UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

PRESS ROBINSON, et al., *Plaintiffs*, v. KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as Secretary of State for Louisiana. *Defendant*.	Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00211-SDD-RLB
EDWARD GALMON, SR., et al., *Plaintiffs*, v. KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as Secretary of State for Louisiana.	Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00214-SDD-RLB

Preliminary Expert Report of Dr. Lisa Handley

I. Introduction

Summary Conclusion Voting in the State of Louisiana is racially polarized. This racial polarization impedes the ability of Black voters to elect candidates of their choice unless congressional districts are drawn that provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their preferred candidates to the U.S. House of Representatives. The 2011 congressional districting plan[1] (2011 Plan) and the recently enacted congressional districting plan[2] (Enacted Plan) provide only one such district. As an illustrative plan (Illustrative Plan) drawn by Plaintiffs' expert demographer, Anthony Fairfax, demonstrates, it is possible to create an additional congressional district that would provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice. By failing to provide an additional Black opportunity district, the Enacted Plan dilutes the opportunity

[1] La. Rev. Stat. § 18:1276.1.

[2] H.B.1, Veto Session ((La. 2022).

Hearing Exhibit
PR-12
3:22-cv-00211-SDD-RLB

of Black voters to participate in the electoral process and elect candidates of their choice to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Scope of Project I was retained by Plaintiffs in this case as an expert to conduct an analysis of voting patterns by race in the State of Louisiana to determine whether voting is racially polarized. In addition, I was asked to assess the opportunities provided to Black voters to elect their candidates of choice to Congress in the Enacted and Illustrative Plans.[3]

II. Professional Background and Experience

I have over thirty-five years of experience as a voting rights and redistricting expert. I have advised scores of jurisdictions and other clients on minority voting rights and redistricting-related issues. I have served as an expert in dozens of voting rights cases. My clients have included state and local jurisdictions, independent redistricting commissions (Arizona, Colorado, Michigan), the U.S. Department of Justice, national civil rights organizations, and such international organizations as the United Nations.

I have been actively involved in researching, writing, and teaching on subjects relating to voting rights, including minority representation, electoral system design, and redistricting. I co-authored a book, *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), and co-edited a volume, *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 2008), on these subjects. In addition, my research on these topics has appeared in peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *Journal of Law and Politics*, and *Law and Policy,* as well as law reviews (e.g., *North Carolina Law Review*) and a number of edited books. I hold a Ph.D. in political science from The George Washington University.

I have been a principal of Frontier International Electoral Consulting since co-founding the company in 1998. Frontier IEC specializes in providing electoral assistance in transitional democracies and post-conflict countries. In addition, I am a Visiting Research Academic at Oxford Brookes University in Oxford, United Kingdom. Attached to the end of this report is a copy of my curriculum vitae.

[3] I am being compensated at a rate of $300 an hour for work on this project.

III. Analyzing Voting Patterns by Race

An analysis of voting patterns by race serves as the foundation of two of the three elements of the "results test" as outlined in *Thornburg v. Gingles*: a racial bloc voting analysis is needed to determine whether the minority group is politically cohesive; and the analysis is required to determine if whites are voting sufficiently as a bloc to usually defeat the candidates preferred by minority voters. The voting patterns of white and minority voters must be estimated using statistical techniques because direct information about the race of the voters is not, of course, available on the ballots cast.

To carry out an analysis of voting patterns by race, an aggregate level database must be constructed since individual level data is not available. The aggregate data relied on is usually election precincts. Information relating to the demographic composition and election results in the precincts is collected, merged, and statistically analyzed to determine if there is a relationship between the racial composition of the precincts and support for specific candidates across the precincts.

Standard Statistical Techniques Three standard statistical techniques have been developed over time to estimate vote choices by race: homogeneous precinct analysis, ecological regression, and ecological inference.[4] Two of these analytic procedures – homogeneous precinct analysis and ecological regression – were employed by the plaintiffs' expert in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, have the benefit of the Supreme Court's approval in that case, and have been used in most subsequent voting rights cases. The third technique, ecological inference, was developed after the *Gingles* decision and was designed, in part, to address some of the disadvantages associated with ecological regression analysis. Ecological inference analysis has been introduced and accepted in numerous district court proceedings.

Homogeneous precinct (HP) analysis is the simplest technique. It involves comparing the percentage of votes received by each of the candidates in precincts that are racially or ethnically homogeneous. The general practice is to label a precinct as homogeneous if at least 90 percent of the voters or voting age population is composed of a single race. In fact, the homogeneous results

[4] For a detailed explanation of homogeneous precinct analysis and ecological regression, see Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, and Richard Niemi, *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality* (Cambridge University Press, 1992). See Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem* (Princeton University Press, 1997) for a more detailed explanation of ecological inference.

reported are not estimates – they are the actual precinct results. However, most voters in Louisiana do not reside in homogeneous precincts and voters who reside in homogeneous precincts may not be representative of voters who live in more racially diverse precincts. For this reason, I refer to these percentages as estimates.

The second statistical technique employed, *ecological regression* (ER), uses information from all precincts, not simply the homogeneous ones, to derive estimates of the voting behavior of minorities and whites. If there is a strong linear relationship across precincts between the percentage of minorities and the percentage of votes cast for a given candidate, this relationship can be used to estimate the percentage of minority and white voters supporting the candidate.

The third technique, *ecological inference* (EI), was developed by Professor Gary King. This approach also uses information from all precincts but, unlike ecological regression, it does not rely on an assumption of linearity. Instead, it incorporates maximum likelihood statistics to produce estimates of voting patterns by race. In addition, it utilizes the method of bounds, which uses more of the available information from the precinct returns than ecological regression.[5] Unlike ecological regression, which can produce percentage estimates of less than 0 or more than 100 percent, ecological inference was designed to produce only estimates that fall within the possible limits. However, EI does not guarantee that the estimates for all of the candidates add to 100 percent for each of the racial groups examined. In conducting my analysis of voting patterns by race in recent elections in Louisiana, I also used a more recently developed version of ecological inference, which I have labeled "EI RxC" in the summary tables. The advantage of EI RxC is that it produces generally accepted confidence intervals for the estimates of minority and white voters supporting each of the candidates. I have included these confidence intervals in the summary tables in the *Appendices*.

Database To analyze voting patterns by race using aggregate level information, a database that combines election results with demographic information is required. This database is almost always constructed using election precincts as the unit of analysis. The demographic composition of the precincts is based on voter registration or turnout by race if this information is available.

[5] The following is an example of how the method of bounds works: if a given precinct has 100 voters, of whom 75 are Black and 25 are white, and the Black candidate received 80 votes, then at least 55 of the Black voters voted for the Black candidate and at most all 75 did. (The method of bounds is less useful for calculating estimates for white voters, as anywhere between none of the whites and all of the whites could have voted for the candidate.)

Where this is not available, voting age population or citizen voting age population is used. Louisiana collects voter registration data by race (registering voters self-identify their race). The 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 election turnout results by race, for all precincts and election cycles, are publicly available on the Louisiana Secretary of State's website.

To build the Louisiana dataset for the purpose of the racial bloc voting analysis, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 precinct-level shapefiles were acquired from the Voting and Election Science Team.[6] These shapefiles were joined to precinct-level election returns and turnout counts by race from the Louisiana Secretary of State's office, both of which were processed and cleaned by OpenElections. Early and absentee votes cast for each of the candidates, reported only at the parish level in Louisiana, were allocated to the parish precincts on the basis of the candidate vote totals on Election Day.[7] The 2020 census block shapefiles, and total and voting age populations by race and ethnicity, were obtained from the Census FTP portal.

The election returns for the 2015–2020 election cycles were disaggregated down to the level of the 2020 census block. This block-level dataset was then reaggregated up to the level of the within-cycle voting precinct for each election year cycle separately, taking into account splits in precincts across district boundaries by the various enacted and proposed plans.

Elections analyzed All recent statewide election contests that included Black candidates were analyzed.[8] These elections are listed in Table 1, below.[9]

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[6] The 2015 precinct-level shapefiles are publicly available on the Louisiana Secretary of State's office website.

[7] Early and absentee votes are reported only at the parish level in Louisiana – they are not allocated back to the precincts where the voters reside. Rather than simply ignore these votes, they have been allocated to the parish precincts proportionally based on the votes received by each of the candidates on Election Day. For example, if Candidate X received 80% of her Election Day parish-wide vote in two-precinct Parish Z from Precinct A and 20% from Precinct B, then 80% of her early and absentee votes would be allocated to Precinct A and 20% to Precinct B.

[8] Courts consider election contests that include minority candidates more probative than contests that include only white candidates for determining if voting is racially polarized. This is because it is not sufficient for minority voters to be able to elect their candidates of choice only if these candidates are white. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that not all minority candidates are the preferred candidates of minority voters.

[9] In one of the elections analyzed – the November 2020 election for U.S. President – it was the running mate, Kamala Harris, who is Black.

Table 1: Louisiana Statewide Elections Analyzed

Election Cycle	Office	Black Candidate(s)
November 2020	U.S. President/Vice President	Kamala Harris
	U.S. Senator	Adrian Perkins
		Derrick Edwards
November 2019	Secretary of State	Gwen Collins-Greenup
October 2019	Lieutenant Governor	Willie Jones
	Attorney General	Ike Jackson
	Treasurer	Derrick Edwards
	Secretary of State	Gwen Collins-Greenup
December 2018	Secretary of State	Gwen Collins-Greenup
November 2018	Secretary of State	Gwen Collins-Greenup
November 2017	Treasurer	Derrick Edwards
October 2017	Treasurer	Derrick Edwards
November 2015	Lieutenant Governor	Kip Holden
October 2015	Lieutenant Governor	Kip Holden
	Attorney General	Ike Jackson
		Geri Broussard Baloney
	Secretary of State	Chris Tyson

Because endogenous elections (elections for the office at issue) are particularly probative in a vote dilution claim, I also conducted a racial bloc voting analysis of all recent congressional elections (2016–2020) that included Black candidates. Table 2, below, lists these contests.

Table 2: Louisiana Congressional Elections Analyzed

Congressional District	Election Cycle	Black Candidate(s)
District 2	October 2020	Cedrick Richmond
		Glenn Harris
	October 2018	Cedric Richmond
		Belden Batiste
		Shawndra Rodriguez
	October 2016	Cedric Richmond
		Kip Holden
		Kenneth Cutno
District 3	October 2020	Braylon Harris
	October 2016	Larry Rader
District 4	October 2020	Kenny Houston
District 5	October 2020	Sandra Christophe
District 6	October 2020	Dartanyon Williams
	October 2016	Jermaine Sampson

Geographic areas analyzed I analyzed voting patterns in all recent statewide elections that included Black candidates (exogenous elections). I also conducted a district-specific racial bloc voting analysis of all recent congressional elections that included Black candidates (endogenous elections). In addition, I examined voting patterns in all of the congressional districts in the Enacted Plan that are likely to contribute voters to an additional majority Black district and are at issue in this litigation.

IV. Voting in Recent Louisiana Elections is Racially Polarized

Statewide elections Voting in recent elections in Louisiana is starkly racially polarized. In every one of the recent 15 statewide contests that included Black candidates, Black voters were very cohesive in support of their preferred candidates and white voters consistently bloc voted

against these candidates. Estimates of the percentage of Black and white voters who supported each of the candidates in these 15 statewide contests can be found in *Appendix A*.

The average percentage of Black voter support for their preferred candidates ("Black-preferred candidates") was 83.8% across all 15 contests.[10] When contests with only two candidates are considered, the level of cohesion was even higher, with Black voters' support averaging 93.5% for the Black-preferred candidates across these nine contests. The average percentage of white voter support for the Black-preferred candidate, on the other hand, was 11.7% across the 15 contests and rose only slightly to 14.1% when contests with only two candidates are considered. While the candidate preferred by Black voters made it to a runoff election on four occasions, the Black-preferred candidates ultimately lost all 15 of these elections. No Black candidate preferred by Black voters was elected to statewide office in the period studied for this report.[11]

Congressional elections Nine recent congressional election contests in Louisiana included Black candidates. The results of my analysis of these contests can be found in *Appendix B*. Three of these contests were conducted in Congressional District 2, which is majority Black in population and represented by Cedric Richmond, a Black Democrat. These election contests were probably not racially polarized, although the estimates for the 2020 contest are not conclusive.[12]

The six elections that occurred in districts other than District 2 were all racially polarized. The Black-preferred candidate did not win any of these six contests. The results of the election contests in these other districts are as follows:[13]

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[10] In all 15 of the contests analyzed, the Black candidate or, if there was more than one Black candidate, one of the Black candidates, was the candidate of choice of Black voters This means that in the two-candidate contests the candidate of choice of Black voters received more than 50% of the vote. However, in the six out of the 15 elections where more than two candidates competed, the candidate of choice of Black voters may have received only a plurality of the Black vote. I averaged the percentage of the vote received by the candidate of choice of Black voters in all 15 contests and in the nine contests with only two candidates. The Black-preferred candidate was always a Black candidate in the statewide elections but not all Black candidates who ran statewide were the candidates of choice and hence are not included in the averages.

[11] While Joe Biden and Kamala Harris actually won the 2020 race for U.S. President/Vice President, they did not carry the State of Louisiana.

[12] In the 2020 election in District 2, the HP, ER and EI 2x2 estimates indicate that voting was polarized, with the plurality of white voters supporting Richmond's white Republican opponent, David Schilling. However, the EI RxC estimate points to Richmond as the plurality choice of white voters.

[13] No Black candidates competed in District 1 in congressional elections in 2016, 2018, or 2020.

- *District 3*: In the 2020 election, a majority of Black voters supported Black Democrat Braylon Harris, who lost to the white-preferred candidate, white Republican Clay Higgins. In 2016, the plurality of Black voters supported Black Democrat Larry Rader, who did not even make it to the runoff – nor did the second choice of Black voters, white Democrat Jacob Hebert. (No Black candidates ran in District 3 in 2018.)
- *District 4*: In 2020, Black Democrat Kenny Houston was supported by a strong majority of Black voters. He was easily defeated by the white-preferred candidate, white Republican Mike Johnson. No Black candidates competed in 2016 or 2018 for this seat.
- *District 5:* In the October 2020 election in District 5, nine candidates ran to replace retiring congressman Ralph Abraham, a white Republican. Black Democrat Sandra Christophe was the plurality choice of Black voters. She received less than 5% of white vote and did not even advance to the runoff.
- *District 6*: In 2020, a strong majority of Black voters supported Black Democrat Dartanyon Williams, who lost to the white-preferred candidate, white Republican Garret Graves. In 2016, the plurality of Black voters supported the white Democrat, Richard Lieberman, with the Black Democrat, Jermaine Sampson, the second choice of Black voters. Neither of these two top choices won or advanced to a runoff. Instead, the candidate preferred by white voters, white Republican Garret Graves, easily won the election. (No Black candidates ran in District 6 in 2018.)

V. The Enacted Congressional Plan Dilutes Black Voting Strength

The 2011 Plan limited Black voters' opportunity to elect their candidates of choice to one congressional district, Congressional District 2. This assessment is based on more than simply the demographic composition of the districts; it takes into account whether a district was "effective" in electing Black-preferred candidates. As the racial bloc voting analysis of recent congressional elections indicates (see the discussion of congressional elections in Section IV), the Black-preferred candidates that ran in districts other than Congressional District 2 consistently failed to win, or even to advance to a runoff, in any of the districts in which Black candidates competed.

The Enacted Plan, like the 2011 Plan, creates only one majority Black district, limiting Black voters' opportunity to elect their candidates of choice to only that district. The Black

voting age populations (BVAP) of all of the districts in the 2011 Plan and the Enacted Plan are listed in Table 3.[14]

Table 3: Percent Black Voting Age Population in 2011 and Enacted Congressional Districts

District	2011 Plan BVAP%	Enacted Plan BVAP%
1	14.6%	13.4%
2	58.6%	58.7%
3	24.5%	24.6%
4	33.4%	33.8%
5	33.0%	32.9%
6	24.7%	24.0%

To assess whether a proposed district is likely to provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice, a district-specific, functional analysis should be conducted. This assessment depends not only upon the demographic composition of the district but the voting patterns in that district and whether the candidates preferred by minority voters are likely to usually win in the district – this is what is meant by "functional." To assess the Enacted Plan, election results recompiled to conform to the boundaries of the proposed districts must be used because no elections have occurred since the new districts were adopted. The best election contests to use for a functional analysis are recent elections that included a Black candidate supported by Black voters, but not by white voters. All 15 of the election contests I analyzed meet these two criteria.

The election results for all 15 recent statewide elections that included Black candidates were recompiled to conform to the congressional district boundaries in the Enacted Plan. These recompiled results were then used to construct two indices, or "effectiveness scores." The first

[14] Black voting age population has been calculated by counting all persons who checked "Black or African American" on their census form.

score (Effectiveness Score #1) indicates the percent of election contests (out of the total 15 statewide contests) that the Black-preferred candidate would have won or advanced to a runoff. The second score (Effectiveness Score #2) reports the percent of two-candidate elections (out of the nine two-candidate contests) that the Black-preferred candidate would have won. It makes it clear that while the Black-preferred candidate may advance to the runoff in some instances, winning the runoff is far more challenging. The two scores for each of the districts in the Enacted Plan can be found in Table 4.

Table 4: Effectiveness Scores for Congressional Districts in Enacted Plan

Enacted Plan District	Effectiveness Score #1: Percent of Contests Black-Preferred Candidate Wins or Advances to Runoff From All 15 Elections	Effectiveness Score #2: Percent of Two-Candidate Contests Black-Preferred Candidate Wins
1	0.0%	0.0%
2	100.0%	100.0%
3	6.7%	0.0%
4	26.7%	0.0%
5	26.7%	0.0%
6	6.7%	0.0%

As this table makes clear, the Enacted Plan, like the 2011 Plan, offers only one district – District 2 – that will provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their preferred candidates to Congress. The effectiveness scores of the other five districts in the Enacted Plan indicate that while the Black-preferred candidates may occasionally make it to a runoff, they are very unlikely to ultimately win the congressional seat in Enacted Districts 1, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

VI. An Additional Majority Black Congressional District Can Be Created

I reviewed an Illustrative Plan created by Plaintiffs' expert Tony Fairfax. This Plan demonstrates that it is possible to create a second majority Black congressional district in Louisiana. Table 5 provides the BVAP percentages of the six districts in the Illustrative Plan.

Table 5: Percent Black Voting Age Population in Illustrative Plan Congressional Districts

District	Illustrative Plan BVAP%
1	18.3%
2	51.0%
3	17.9%
4	31.9%
5	52.1%
6	16.2%

A district-specific, functional analysis of this plan reveals that it offers two districts that are likely to provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice to Congress: Districts 2 and 5. Table 6 mirrors Table 4 but provides the effectiveness scores for the six districts in the Illustrative Plan. The methodology for this functional analysis was the same as used for the analysis for Enacted Plan shown in Table 4.

Table 6: Effectiveness Scores for Congressional Districts in Illustrative Plan

Illustrative Plan District	Effectiveness Score #1: Percent of Contests Black-Preferred Candidate Wins or Advances to Runoff From all 15 Elections	Effectiveness Score #2: Percent of Two-Candidate Contests Black-Preferred Candidate Wins
1	13.3%	0.0%
2	100.0%	100.0%
3	0.0%	0.0%
4	26.7%	0.0%
5	80.0%	77.8%
6	0.0%	0.0%

The effectiveness scores for District 5 indicate that the Back-preferred candidate is likely to win or to advance to a runoff in 80% of the contests held. And in 77.8% of the two-candidate contests (either because only two candidates competed or there was a runoff featuring two candidates), the candidate of choice of Black voters is likely to win.

VII. Voting Patterns in the Enacted Map Districts at Issue

I conducted an analysis of voting patterns for recompiled statewide elections in Enacted Districts 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 because these are the districts that are likely to contribute voters to an additional majority Black district and are at issue in this litigation. The estimates for Black and white voters for each of the candidates in the 15 contests can be found in *Appendices C–F*, with Enacted District 2 estimates in *Appendix C*, Enacted District 3 in *Appendix D*, Enacted District 4 in *Appendix E*, Enacted District 5 in *Appendix F*, and Enacted District 6 in *Appendix G*.

Voting in all of the districts examined was racially polarized. This polarization was particularly stark in Enacted Districts 3, 4, 5, and 6. Black voters were consistently cohesive in all districts, with the average support for Black-preferred candidates ranging from 82.8% (Enacted District 3) to 84.5% (Enacted District 4) in the 15 contests analyzed. When contests

with only two candidates are considered, Black support averages ranges from 91.5% (Enacted District 6) to 94.3% (Enacted District 2).

The percentage of white support for the Black-preferred candidates is remarkably low in all of the Enacted districts except District 2. The average white support for Black voters' candidates of choice, for all contests and for the nine contests with only two candidates, are reported in Table 7.

Table 7: Average White Support for Black-Preferred Candidates

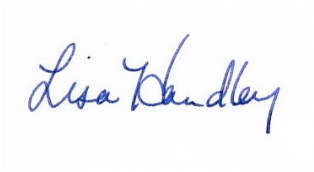
Enacted District	Average White Support for Black-Preferred Candidates	Average White Support for Black-Preferred Candidates, Contests with Two Candidates
2	31.3%	36.1%
3	9.8%	12.3%
4	8.6%	10.8%
5	7.7%	9.8%
6	12.9%	15.0%

Congressional District 2 in the Enacted Plan, like District 2 in the 2011 Plan, is majority Black in population. District 2 in the 2011 Plan consistently elected a Black-preferred Black candidate, Cedric Richmond, to Congress. However, in the elections that he won in 2016 and 2018, when a majority or plurality of white voters supported him, he did not face a white Republican. In 2020, Richmond may not have been the preferred candidate of white voters – a plurality of white voters may have preferred his white Republican opponent. The racial bloc voting analysis in Enacted District 2 indicates that white Republicans are consistently the candidate of choice of white voters in statewide elections – but none of these elections included Black incumbents. Clearly, while a higher percentage of white voters support Black-preferred candidates in this district than in Enacted Districts 3, 4, 5, and 6, it cannot be said that voting is not racially polarized in Enacted District 2.

VIII. Conclusion

On the basis of my analysis of voting patterns by race I have concluded that voting in Louisiana is racially polarized. The Black community is cohesive in support of their preferred candidates and white voters consistently bloc vote to defeat the candidates of choice of Black voters. This is true statewide, in previous congressional elections in all but Congressional District 2, and in the Enacted Plan districts that would contribute voters to an additional Black opportunity congressional district should one be created. The Enacted Plan dilutes the voting strength of Black voters in Louisiana by failing to create a second district that would offer Black voters an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed April 13, 2022.



Lisa Handley, Ph. D.

Lisa R. Handley
CURRICULUM VITAE

Professional Experience

Dr. Handley has over thirty years of experience in the areas of redistricting and voting rights, both as a practitioner and an academician, and is recognized nationally and internationally as an expert on these subjects. She has advised numerous clients on redistricting and has served as an expert in dozens of redistricting and voting rights court cases. Her clients have included the U.S. Department of Justice, civil rights organizations, independent redistricting commissions and scores of state and local jurisdictions. Internationally, Dr. Handley has provided electoral assistance in more than a dozen countries, serving as a consultant on electoral system design and redistricting for the United Nations, UNDP, IFES, and International IDEA. In addition, Dr. Handley served as Chairman of the Electoral Boundaries Commission in the Cayman Islands.

Dr. Handley has been actively involved in research, writing and teaching on the subjects of redistricting and voting rights. She has co-written a book, Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality (Cambridge University Press, 1992) and co-edited a volume (Redistricting in Comparative Perspective, Oxford University Press, 2008) on these subjects. Her research has also appeared in peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *Journal of Law and Politics*, and *Law and Policy,* as well as law reviews and edited books. She has taught political science undergraduate and graduate courses related to these subjects at several universities including the University of Virginia and George Washington University. Dr. Handley is a Visiting Research Academic at Oxford Brookes University in the United Kingdom.

Dr. Handley is the President of Frontier International Consulting, a consulting firm that specializes in providing electoral assistance in transitional and post-conflict democracies. She also works as an independent election consultant both in the United States and internationally.

Education

Ph.D. The George Washington University, Political Science, 1991

Present Employment

President, Frontier International Electoral Consulting LLC (since co-founding company in 1998).

Senior International Electoral Consultant, Technical assistance for clients such as the UN, UNDP and IFES on electoral system design and boundary delimitation

Visiting Research Academic, Centre for Development and Emergency Practice (CENDEP), Oxford Brookes University

U.S. Clients since 2000

American Civil Liberties Union – expert testimony in Voting Right Act challenges in several states, expert testimony in Ohio partisan gerrymander challenge and challenge to Commerce Department inclusion of citizenship question on 2020 census form

Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law – expert testimony in challenges to statewide judicial elections in Texas and Alabama

US Department of Justice – expert witness testimony in several Section 2 and Section 5 cases

Alaska: Redistricting Board (2001 and 2011) – redistricting consultation, expert witness testimony

Arizona: Independent Redistricting Board (2001 and 2021) – redistricting consultation

Colorado: Redistricting Commission (2021), Redistricting Board (2001 and 2011) – redistricting consultation

Connecticut: State Senate and State House of Representatives (2001 and 2011) – redistricting consultation

Florida: State Senate (2000) – redistricting consultation

Kansas: State Legislative Research Department (2001, 2011, 2021) – redistricting consultation

Louisiana: Louisiana Legislative Black Caucus (2001) – expert witness testimony

Massachusetts: State Senate (2001 and 2011) – redistricting consultation

Maryland: Attorney General (2001) – redistricting consultation

Michigan: Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission (2021) – redistricting consultation

Miami-Dade County, Florida: County Attorney (2001 and 2011) – redistricting consultation

Nassau County, New York: Redistricting Commission (2001) – redistricting consultation

New Mexico: State House (2001) – redistricting consultation, expert witness testimony

New York: State Assembly (2001), State Senate (2021) – redistricting consultation

New York City: Redistricting Commission and Charter Commission (2001, 2011) – redistricting consultation and Section 5 submission assistance

New York State Court: Expert to the Special Master (drew congressional lines for state court)

Rhode Island: State Senate and State House (2001 and 2021) – redistricting consultation

Vermont: Secretary of State (2001) – redistricting consultation

International Clients since 2000

United Nations

- Afghanistan – electoral system design and district delimitation expert
- Bangladesh (UNDP) – redistricting expert
- Sierra Leone (UNDP) – redistricting expert
- Liberia (UNMIL, UN peacekeeping mission) – redistricting expert
- Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC, UN peacekeeping mission) – election feasibility mission, electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Kenya (UN) – electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Haiti (UN) – election feasibility mission, electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Zimbabwe (UNDP) – redistricting expert
- Lead Writer on the topic of boundary delimitation (redistricting) for ACE (Joint UN, IFES and IDEA project on the Administration and Cost of Elections Project)

International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)

- Afghanistan – district delimitation expert
- Sudan – redistricting expert
- Kosovo – electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Nigeria – redistricting expert
- Nepal – redistricting expert
- Georgia – electoral system design and district delimitation expert
- Yemen – redistricting expert
- Lebanon – electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Malaysia – electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Myanmar – electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Ukraine – electoral system design and redistricting expert
- Pakistan – consultant for developing redistricting software
- Principal consultant for the Delimitation Equity Project – conducted research, wrote reference manual and developed training curriculum
- Writer on electoral boundary delimitation (redistricting), Elections Standards Project
- Training – developed training curriculum and conducted training workshops on electoral boundary delimitation (redistricting) in Azerbaijan and Jamaica

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA):

- Consultant on electoral dispute resolution systems
- Technology consultant on use of GIS for electoral district delimitation
- Training – developed training material and conducted training workshop on electoral boundary delimitation (redistricting) for African election officials (Mauritius)
- Curriculum development – boundary delimitation curriculum for the BRIDGE Project

Other international clients have included The Cayman Islands; the Australian Election Commission; the Boundary Commission of British Columbia, Canada; and the Global Justice Project for Iraq.

Publications

***Books**:*

Does Torture Prevention Work? Liverpool University Press, 2016 (served as editor and author, with Richard Carver)

Comparative Redistricting in Perspective, Oxford University Press, 2008 (first editor, with Bernard Grofman).

Delimitation Equity Project: Resource Guide, Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance at IFES and USAID publication, 2006 (lead author).

Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality, Cambridge University Press, 1992 (with Bernard Grofman and Richard Niemi).

***Academic Journal Articles**:*

"Drawing Electoral Districts to Promote Minority Representation" Representation, forthcoming, published online DOI:10.1080/00344893.2020.1815076.

"Evaluating national preventive mechanisms: a conceptual model," Journal of Human Rights Practice, Volume 12 (2), July 2020 (with Richard Carver).

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Recent Court Cases

Pending cases:

- Louisiana: *Robinson, et al., v. Ardoin* (Docket Number: 3:22-cv-0211-SDD-SDJ) (Middle District of Louisiana)

- Georgia: *Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., et al., v. Raffensperger, et al*. (Docket Number: 1:21-CV-05337-SCJ) (Northern District of Georgia)

- Arkansas: *Arkansas State Conference NAACP, et al., v. Arkansas Board of Apportionment, et al.* (Case Number: 4:21-cv-01239-LPR) (Eastern District of Arkansas, Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals)

- Ohio: *League of Women Voters of Ohio, et al., v. Ohio Redistricting Commission, et al.* (Case Number: 2021-1193) (Supreme Court of Ohio); *League of Women Voters of Ohio, et al., v. Governor DeWine* (Case Number: 2021-1449) (Supreme Court of Ohio)

Ohio Philip Randolph Institute v. Larry Householder (2019) – partisan gerrymander challenge to Ohio congressional districts; testifying expert for ACLU on minority voting patterns

State of New York v. U.S. Department of Commerce (2018-2019) – challenge to inclusion of citizenship question on 2020 census form; testifying expert on behalf of ACLU

U.S. v. City of Eastpointe (settled 2019) – minority vote dilution challenge to City of Eastpointe, Michigan, at-large city council election system; testifying expert on behalf of U.S. Department of Justice

Alabama NAACP v. State of Alabama (decided 2020) – minority vote dilution challenge to Alabama statewide judicial election system; testifying expert on behalf of Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Lopez v. Abbott (2017-2018) – minority vote dilution challenge to Texas statewide judicial election system; testifying expert on behalf of Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Personhuballuah v. Alcorn (2015-2017) – racial gerrymandering challenge to Virginia congressional districts; expert for the Attorney General and Governor of the State of Virginia

Perry v. Perez (2014) – Section 2 case challenging Texas congressional and state house districts; testifying expert for the U.S. Department of Justice

Jeffers v. Beebe (2012) – Arkansas state house districts; testifying expert for the Plaintiffs

State of Texas v. U.S. (2011-2012) – Section 5 case challenging Texas congressional and state house districts; testifying expert for the U.S. Department of Justice

Appendix A
Statewide

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2020 November													
U.S. President													
Biden/Harris	D	W/B	39.9	86.6	(72.0, 92.9)	96.1	102.0	94.6	18.4	(14.8, 26.7)	12.8	9.8	12.7
Trump/Pence	R	W/W	58.5	12.0	(5.9, 26.2)	3.5	-3.8	3.9	80.9	(72.5, 84.5)	85.3	88.7	85.9
Others			1.6	1.4	(1.2, 1.8)	1.7	1.7	1.5	0.7	(.6, .8)	1.6	1.5	1.4
Black turnout/BVAP			*57.1*										
White turnout/WVAP			*69.9*										
U.S. Senator													
Adrian Perkins	D	B	19.0	49.8	(49.4, 50.1)	50.8	50.9	48.7	6.9	(6.7, 7.1)	5.7	4.3	5.5
Derrick Edwards	D	B	11.1	30.0	(29.7, 30.3)	32.6	32.3	29.5	2.0	(1.8, 2.3)	1.8	1.9	3.3
Bill Cassidy	R	W	59.3	4.7	(4.4, 4.9)	4.5	-0.2	6.4	87.0	(86.8, 87.1)	86.4	88.0	85.2
Others			10.6	15.6	(15.3, 15.9)	17.0	17.0	15.4	4.2	(4.0, 4.3)	5.4	5.8	6.0
Black turnout/BVAP			*57.1*										
White turnout/WVAP			*69.9*										
2019 October													
Lieutenant Governor													
Willie Jones	D	B	31.9	88.6	(88.3, 88.9)	90.0	92.1	85.2	7.6	(7.4, 7.8)	8.0	7.8	10.9
Billy Nungesser	R	W	68.1	11.5	(11.1, 11.7)	10.0	7.9	14.8	92.4	(92.2, 92.6)	92.0	92.2	89.1
Black turnout/BVAP			*35.2*										
White turnout/WVAP			*45.2*										
Attorney General													
Ike Jackson	D	B	33.8	90.6	(90.3, 90.9)	91.2	94.0	87.7	9.4	(9.3, 9.7)	10.1	9.2	12.2
Jeff Landry	R	W	66.2	9.4	(9.1, 9.7)	9.0	6.1	12.3	90.6	(90.3, 90.7)	89.9	90.8	87.8
Black turnout/BVAP			*35.2*										
White turnout/WVAP			*45.2*										

Appendix A
Statewide

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Secretary of State													
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	33.8	91.6	(91.1, 91.9)	92.3	95.0	88.9	9.3	(9.0, 10.0)	9.4	8.5	11.6
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	41.1	3.1	(2.8, 3.9)	2.9	0.5	4.9	57.4	(57.0, 57.6)	57.3	55.9	55.2
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	19.0	3.3	(3.1, 3.5)	2.8	2.7	3.9	25.7	(25.5, 25.8)	25.8	27.1	25.4
Amanda Smith	R	W	6.1	2.0	(1.8, 2.2)	2.1	1.8	2.3	7.7	(7.4, 7.8)	7.8	8.4	7.8
Black turnout/BVAP			*35.2*										
White turnout/WVAP			*45.2*										
Treasurer													
Derrick Edwards	D	B	34.5	94.6	(91.5, 95.0)	94.6	97.4	91.9	11.2	(10.8, 13.3)	9.4	9.0	12.5
John Schroder	R	W	60.0	2.1	(1.7, 5.4)	2.9	-2.1	4.2	84.7	(83.2, 85.0)	84.3	85.0	82.2
Teresa Kenny		W	5.5	3.3	(3.0, 3.6)	4.3	4.7	3.9	4.0	(3.4, 4.3)	5.9	6.0	5.4
Black turnout/BVAP			*35.2*										
White turnout/WVAP			*45.2*										
2019 November													
Secretary of State													
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	40.9	96.1	(95.9, 96.3)	96.0	99.7	93.8	12.9	(12.7, 13.1)	13.7	12.0	15.4
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	59.1	3.9	(3.7, 4.1)	4.0	0.3	6.2	87.1	(86.9, 87.3)	86.4	88.1	84.6
Black turnout/BVAP			*44.0*										
White turnout/WVAP			*47.9*										
2018 November													
Secretary of State													
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	19.8	55.1	(54.8, 55.4)	57.9	56.4	52.8	3.1	(3.0, 3.5)	2.8	3.0	5.2
Renee Fontenot Free	D	W	16.4	34.7	(34.4, 35.0)	37.2	36.8	33.9	8.3	(8.0, 8.5)	6.6	6.8	7.6
Julie Stokes	R	W	11.2	1.7	(1.6, 1.9)	2.0	1.0	2.7	15.2	(15.0, 15.3)	15.5	14.2	15.0
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	20.5	2.2	(2.1, 2.3)	2.3	1.2	3.1	29.2	(29.0, 29.3)	28.9	30.7	28.9
Rick Edmonds	R	W	11.3	1.3	(1.2, 1.4)	1.2	0.5	1.8	16.1	(16.0, 16.2)	16.1	15.3	15.3
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	9.4	1.6	(1.5, 1.7)	1.2	1.1	1.9	13.1	(13.0, 13.2)	13.1	14.6	13.4
Others			11.3	3.5	(3.3, 3.6)	3.0	3.0	3.7	15.0	(14.9, 15.1)	15.1	15.4	14.7
Black turnout/BVAP			*41.1*										
White turnout/WVAP			*49.1*										

Appendix A
Statewide

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2018 December													
Secretary of State													
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	40.7	96.8	(96.6, 97.1)	95.0	101.7	93.7	14.0	(13.8, 14.3)	16.0	12.4	16.0
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	59.3	3.2	(2.9, 3.4)	4.8	-1.7	6.3	86.0	(85.7, 86.2)	84.0	87.6	84.0
Black turnout/BVAP			*14.9*										
White turnout/WVAP			*17.1*										
2017 October													
Treasurer													
Derrick Edwards	D	B	31.3	86.7	(86.2, 87.1)	86.9	90.5	81.0	11.0	(10.7, 11.7)	10.5	8.2	11.1
Angele Davis	R	W	21.6	5.5	(5.3, 5.9)	5.4	4.4	7.1	28.1	(27.8, 28.3)	27.8	28.5	27.3
Neil Riser	R	W	18.1	4.2	(3.9, 4.4)	4.5	2.8	6.3	23.3	(23.1, 23.5)	22.7	27.0	24.1
John Schroder	R	W	24.0	1.7	(1.5, 2.0)	1.5	0.0	2.7	32.7	(32.4, 32.9)	33.1	30.4	31.8
Others			4.9	1.9	(1.8, 2.2)	2.2	2.2	3.0	4.9	(4.7, 5.0)	6.1	5.8	5.6
Black turnout/BVAP			*10.4*										
White turnout/WVAP			*14.5*										
2017 November													
Treasurer													
Derrick Edwards	D	B	44.3	98.5	(98.3, 98.6)	95.8	103.0	96.0	18.7	(18.5, 19.2)	20.7	14.3	18.4
John Schroder	R	W	55.7	1.5	(1.4, 1.7)	4.0	-3.0	4.0	81.3	(80.8, 81.5)	79.3	85.7	81.6
Black turnout/BVAP			*10.8*										
White turnout/WVAP			*12.5*										
2015 October													
Lieutenant Governor													
Kip Holden	D	B	33.3	86.3	(85.9, 86.7)	87.3	87.3	83.2	12.4	(12.2, 12.7)	11.1	10.7	13.4
Billy Nungesser	R	W	29.9	4.1	(3.8, 4.3)	3.7	3.5	5.2	40.4	(40.0, 40.6)	40.9	39.9	39.4
John Young	R	W	28.9	6.1	(5.8, 6.4)	5.8	5.5	7.9	37.5	(37.3, 37.8)	38.5	39.1	37.9
Elbert Guillory	R	B	7.9	3.6	(3.4, 3.8)	4.1	3.8	3.7	9.7	(9.6, 9.8)	9.8	10.3	9.3
Black turnout/BVAP			*30.0*										
White turnout/WVAP			*37.8*										

Appendix A
Statewide

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Attorney General													
Ike Jackson	D	B	10.8	33.1	(32.8, 33.4)	33.6	33.0	30.6	1.7	(1.5, 1.9)	1.8	1.9	2.9
Geri Broussard Baloney	D	B	17.6	46.7	(44.6, 47.2)	48.7	49.1	46.1	5.3	(5.0, 6.3)	5.6	5.3	6.8
Buddy Caldwell	R	W	35.4	14.9	(14.5, 15.6)	13.7	14.1	16.8	44.5	(44.2, 44.7)	44.4	44.2	42.6
Jeff Landry	R	W	32.7	3.3	(3.0, 4.8)	2.4	1.5	4.0	45.0	(44.3, 45.3)	45.3	44.5	43.8
Marty Maley	R	W	3.6	2.0	(1.8, 2.1)	2.2	2.3	2.5	3.6	(3.4, 3.7)	4.1	4.1	3.9
Black turnout/BVAP			*30.0*										
White turnout/WVAP			*37.8*										
Secretary of State													
Chris Tyson	D	B	37.8	93.5	(93.2, 93.9)	94.0	95.5	91.5	14.2	(14.0, 14.8)	14.2	15.4	17.8
Tom Schedler	R	W	62.2	6.5	(6.1, 6.8)	5.9	4.5	8.5	85.8	(85.2, 86.0)	85.8	84.6	82.2
Black turnout/BVAP			*30.0*										
White turnout/WVAP			*37.8*										
2015 November													
Lieutenant Governor													
Kip Holden	D	B	44.6	96.2	(95.9, 96.5)	96.4	98.7	93.2	20.5	(20.2, 20.9)	19.9	19.4	22.2
Billy Nungesser	R	W	55.4	3.8	(3.5, 4.1)	3.6	1.3	6.8	79.5	(79.1, 79.8)	80.0	80.6	77.8
Black turnout/BVAP			*33.2*										
White turnout/WVAP			*37.5*										

Appendix B
Congressional Elections

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Congressional District 2													
2020 October													
Cedric Richmond	D	B	63.3	79.9	(79.4, 80.4)	77.8	78.0	78.0	46.7	(45.3, 48.0)	33.3	33.7	26.5
Glenn Harris	D	B	10.6	12.4	(12.0, 12.8)	13.2	13.6	13.6	3.5	(2.8, 7.4)	4.8	4.8	4.3
David Schilling	R	W	15.0	1.9	(1.6, 2.2)	2.0	2.0	2.2	36.3	(35.4, 37.2)	43.4	41.8	52.0
Others (3)			11.1	5.8	(5.4, 6.3)	6.1	6.4	6.1	13.5	(12.3, 14.9)	20.4	19.8	17.3
Black turnout/BVAP			*22.1*										
White turnout/WVAP			*15.5*										
2018 October													
Cedric Richmond	D	B	80.6	96.1	(95.7, 96.4)	96.9	97.3	94.7	54.3	(53.4, 55.2)	51.5	50.2	38.5
Jesse Schmidt	NP	W	8.7	0.6	(.5, .7)	0.3	-1.0	0.9	24.5	(24.1, 24.9)	24.0	26.2	34.6
Belden Batiste	I	B	7.3	2.0	(1.7, 2.3)	1.9	2.1	2.7	15.3	(14.6, 16.0)	16.7	16.8	18.1
Shawndra Rodriguez	NP	B	3.4	1.3	(1.2, 1.5)	1.4	1.5	1.7	5.9	(5.4, 6.4)	6.9	6.8	8.8
Black turnout/BVAP			*44.6*										
White turnout/WVAP			*46.8*										
2016 October													
Cedric Richmond	D	B	69.8	81.4	(80.8, 81.9)	82.3	82.3	80.6	49.0	(147.7, 50.4)	45.4	45.4	41.9
Kip Holden	D	B	20.1	11.9	(11.5, 12.4)	10.4	10.4	12.3	38.6	(37.6, 39.5)	39.4	39.6	43.5
Kenneth Cutno	D	B	10.2	6.7	(6.3, 7.1)	7.2	7.3	7.1	12.3	(11.2, 13.4)	15.5	14.9	14.6
Black turnout/BVAP			*59.9*										
White turnout/WVAP			*61.4*										
Congressional District 3													
2020 October													
Braylon Harris	D	B	17.9	65.8	(64.4, 67.0)	64.0	69.1	69.1	4.1	(3.5, 4.7)	3.2	1.7	6.1
Rob Anderson	D	W	11.6	22.8	(21.8, 23.8)	22.5	22.4	22.9	8.5	(7.9, 9.0)	8.1	7.9	8.6
Clay Higgins	R	W	67.8	10.0	(8.9, 11.2)	12.1	6.7	6.5	85.2	(84.6, 85.7)	85.7	87.5	82.3
Brandon LeLeux	L	W	2.8	1.4	(1.1, 1.8)	1.9	1.7	1.5	2.3	(1.9, 2.6)	3.1	3.0	2.9
Black turnout/BVAP			*12.9*										
White turnout/WVAP			*11.9*										

Appendix B
Congressional Elections

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2016 October													
Jacob Hebert	D	W	8.9	30.8	(24.8, 32.3)	33.5	33.0	32.1	2.2	(1.6, 4.6)	1.5	1.4	3.4
Larry Rader	D	B	8.7	33.5	(27.5, 35.1)	35.4	37.2	36.0	1.6	(1.2, 3.9)	1.0	0.4	2.9
Clay Higgins	R	W	26.5	6.4	(4.4, 12.5)	3.1	4.4	4.2	32.0	(28.9, 32.9)	33.7	34.7	30.0
Scott Angelle	R	W	28.6	20.1	(19.0, 22.7)	16.2	17.3	16.9	31.6	(30.8, 32.0)	32.3	32.9	30.4
Other Reps (6)	R		25.6	7.0	(5.8, 9.9)	6.1	4.6	8.1	31.8	(31.0, 32.1)	31.6	29.4	32.1
Others (2)			1.7	2.3	(1.9, 2.8)	4.3	3.5	2.6	0.7	(.6, .9)	1.1	1.3	1.3
Black turnout/BVAP			*53.8*										
White turnout/WVAP			*65.8*										
Congressional District 4													
2020 October													
Kenny Houston	D	B	25.5	70.3	(69.4, 71.1)	66.8	70.8	72.8	3.9	(3.5, 4.4)	3.9	1.2	5.6
Ryan Trundle	D	W	7.8	14.9	(14.2, 15.5)	15.4	14.9	14.9	3.5	(3.1, 3.9)	3.6	3.4	4.2
Mike Johnson	R	W	60.4	11.3	(10.4, 12.2)	12.2	10.8	9.3	85.7	(85..1, 86.3)	86.7	86.6	81.8
Ben Gibson	R	W	6.3	3.6	(3.1, 4.1)	3.6	3.5	3.0	6.8	(6.4, 7.3)	7.7	8.8	8.4
Black turnout/BVAP			*15.9*										
White turnout/WVAP			*13.4*										
Congressional District 5													
2020 October													
Sandra Christophe	D	B	16.4	43.2	(42.3, 44.1)	42.9	43.1	41.6	4.5	(4.1, 5.0)	3.6	3.9	4.8
Martin Lemelle	D	W	10.4	30.5	(29.8, 31.1)	30.4	32.1	34.5	1.8	(1.5, 2.1)	1.1	0.0	1.7
Other Dems (2)	D		5.4	13.7	(13.1, 14.3)	12.8	13.1	13.5	1.8	(1.5, 2.2)	1.8	1.7	1.9
Luke Letlow	R	W	33.1	3.8	(3.3, 4.4)	5.2	4.1	3.0	47.7	(47.1, 48.2)	46.6	50.1	44.7
Lance Harris	R	W	16.6	3.2	(2.7, 3.7)	3.4	2.2	2.8	20.1	(19.6, 20.5)	22.9	21.7	22.8
Others (3)			18.2	5.7	(5.0, 6.3)	5.0	5.5	4.5	24.1	(23.6, 24.6)	24.7	22.6	24.1
Black turnout/BVAP			*17.5*										
White turnout/WVAP			*14.7*										

Appendix B
Congressional Elections

				Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	Vote	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Congressional District 6													
2020 October													
Dartanyon Williams	D	B	25.6	74.9	(69.6, 76.3)	72.9	77.6	81.5	7.4	(6.6, 11.0)	6.2	3.3	8.1
Garret Graves	R	W	71.1	22.4	(21.0, 27.7)	22.5	17.8	14.7	91.1	(87.6, 91.8)	91.3	93.8	89.2
Others (2)			3.3	2.7	(2.2, 3.2)	4.6	4.7	3.7	1.5	(1.2, 1.8)	2.8	3.0	2.7
Black turnout/BVAP			*22.3*										
White turnout/WVAP			*16.4*										
2016 October													
Richard Lieberman	D	W	14.9	45.7	(40.3, 47.2)	48.8	48.4	44.0	5.6	(5.0, 8.6)	4.3	4.5	6.9
Jermaine Sampson	D	B	9.0	36.3	(33.4, 37.2)	38.6	36.8	36.2	1.1	(.8, 2.4)	0.6	0.0	2.1
Garret Graves	R	W	62.7	10.1	(8.4, 19.8)	7.4	5.2	13.1	79.8	(75.4, 80.5)	80.4	79.4	77.1
Bob Bell	R	W	10.2	5.0	(4.0, 5.8)	5.3	5.6	3.7	11.9	(11.6, 12.3)	11.7	12.7	10.9
Others (2)			3.3	2.9	(2.3, 3.4)	3.1	3.9	2.9	1.6	(1.3, 1.8)	2.9	3.3	2.9
Black turnout/BVAP			*51.7*										
White turnout/WVAP			*67.3*										

Appendix C
Enacted Plan District 2

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2020 November												
U.S. President												
Biden/Harris	D	W/B	94.0	(88.4, 96.5)	97.5	99.3	95.1	45.4	(40.9, 53.4)	36.3	36.4	16.4
Trump/Pence	R	W/W	5.2	(2.8, 10.7)	1.6	-0.7	3.5	53.5	(45.3, 57.9)	61.4	61.5	82.3
Others			0.8	(.7, 1.0)	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.2	(1.0, 1.4)	2.0	2.1	1.3
U.S. Senator												
Adrian Perkins	D	B	48.9	(48.3, 49.5)	48.4	48.8	48.3	28.3	(27.1, 29.5)	24.8	24.8	8.7
Derrick Edwards	D	B	32.4	(31.9, 33.0)	33.6	33.9	30.8	4.0	(3.4, 4.6)	3.1	3.5	3.5
Bill Cassidy	R	W	4.2	(3.8, 4.6)	3.4	1.4	5.7	62.1	(61.0, 63.0)	63.3	63.0	81.7
Others			14.4	(13.9, 14.9)	15.7	15.9	15.2	5.7	(4.9, 6.5)	8.5	8.7	6.0
2019 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Willie Jones	D	B	86.4	(85.7, 87.0)	86.7	88.4	83.6	25.2	(24.0, 26.5)	26.4	26.8	15.7
Billy Nungesser	R	W	13.6	(13.0, 14.3)	13.3	11.6	16.4	74.8	(73.5, 76.0)	73.5	73.1	84.3
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	91.8	(91.2, 92.4)	92.9	93.7	89.5	31.8	(30.6, 33.4)	32.0	33.5	19.3
Jeff Landry	R	W	8.2	(7.6, 8.8)	7.1	6.2	10.5	68.2	(66.6, 69.4)	67.9	66.4	80.7
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	90.9	(90.4, 91.4)	91.7	93.2	89.1	31.2	(30.2, 32.4)	30.3	31.3	18.3
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	4.5	(4.0, 4.8)	3.8	2.6	5.5	42.8	(41.7, 43.6)	43.1	42.7	51.0
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	2.8	(2.5, 3.2)	2.6	2.4	3.3	20.9	(20.4, 21.5)	21.3	20.5	24.3
Amanda Smith	R	W	1.8	(1.6, 2.0)	1.5	1.9	2.1	5.0	(4.6, 5.5)	6.7	5.6	6.4
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	95.2	(93.9, 95.6)	95.3	96.1	92.5	31.6	(30.4, 33.7)	25.5	27.9	19.4
John Schroder	R	W	2.2	(1.8, 3.5)	1.0	-0.4	3.7	63.7	(61.2, 64.6)	63.7	62.6	75.4
Teresa Kenny		W	2.6	(2.4, 2.9)	3.7	4.3	3.8	4.7	(4.1, 5.3)	9.8	9.6	5.2
2019 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	96.8	(96.3, 97.3)	96.8	98.0	94.7	40.0	(38.6, 41.6)	38.5	37.5	24.6
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.2	(2.7, 3.7)	3.1	2.0	5.3	60.0	(58.4, 61.4)	61.5	62.4	75.4

Appendix C
Enacted Plan District 2

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2018 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	55.7	(55.1, 56.3)	56.4	56.1	53.8	12.5	(11.2, 13.9)	10.5	10.4	8.2
Renee Fontenot Free	D	W	33.7	(33.1, 34.2)	34.0	35.0	33.3	24.1	(22.8, 25.1)	21.8	20.7	11.5
Julie Stokes	R	W	2.8	(2.5, 3.1)	2.7	2.0	3.7	20.9	(20.1, 21.7)	21.7	21.6	21.3
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.4	(2.2, 2.7)	2.2	1.8	2.9	17.7	(17.2, 18.2)	18.0	19.2	24.1
Rick Edmonds	R	W	1.5	(1.3, 1.7)	1.4	1.3	1.8	6.6	(6.2, 6.9)	7.1	7.3	9.3
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	1.1	(.9, 1.2)	1.0	0.9	1.3	8.2	(7.8, 8.7)	9.0	9.1	10.6
Others			2.8	(2.5, 3.1)	3.0	2.9	3.2	10.0	(9.3, 10.6)	11.7	11.6	15.0
2018 December												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	97.0	(96.6, 97.5)	96.9	99.0	95.1	42.7	(41.5, 43.9)	44.4	40.4	30.8
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.0	(2.5, 3.4)	3.1	1.0	4.9	57.3	(56.1, 58.5)	55.5	59.8	69.2
2017 October												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	83.4	(82.9, 84.1)	84.1	85.9	79.8	34.8	(33.6, 36.1)	29.2	24.2	20.1
Angele Davis	R	W	7.0	(6.6, 7.3)	6.7	6.3	7.4	16.2	(15.5, 16.9)	16.0	19.2	22.2
Neil Riser	R	W	4.9	(4.6, 5.3)	3.6	4.5	6.5	13.4	(12.4, 14.4)	16.3	12.9	13.1
John Schroder	R	W	2.1	(1.8, 2.4)	2.0	0.5	3.0	30.7	(30.0, 31.4)	31.3	37.5	38.3
Others			2.6	(2.3, 2.9)	3.1	2.7	3.2	4.8	(4.2, 5.5)	6.7	6.2	6.3
2017 November												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	98.2	(97.7, 98.6)	97.4	100.4	95.9	48.7	(47.1, 50.1)	47.2	33.8	30.9
John Schroder	R	W	1.8	(1.4, 2.3)	2.4	-0.3	4.1	51.3	(49.9, 52.9)	52.6	66.2	69.1
2015 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	84.5	(82.8, 85.1)	85.0	84.4	83.1	21.7	(20.8, 22.8)	17.8	19.1	14.1
Billy Nungesser	R	W	5.9	(5.5, 6.6)	5.3	5.3	6.3	42.5	(41.1, 43.4)	43.2	41.5	49.3
John Young	R	W	7.4	(6.9, 8.3)	7.8	7.8	8.1	33.0	(32.2, 33.9)	35.9	35.7	32.4
Elbert Guillory	R	B	2.2	(2.0, 2.5)	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	(2.5, 3.1)	3.6	3.7	4.2

Appendix C
Enacted Plan District 2

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	31.3	(30.8, 31.9)	31.9	31.4	30.7	3.3	(2.7, 4.2)	2.9	3.5	3.4
Geri Broussard Baloney	D	B	49.4	(48.6, 50.0)	50.0	51.5	47.1	16.2	(15.2, 17.5)	15.1	17.2	9.7
Buddy Caldwell	R	W	13.5	(13.0, 14.0)	12.7	11.9	15.6	41.0	(40.0, 41.8)	41.2	40.6	40.0
Jeff Landry	R	W	2.7	(2.3, 3.1)	2.2	1.9	3.3	34.8	(34.0, 35.5)	35.6	33.4	39.9
Marty Maley	R	W	3.1	(2.9, 3.4)	3.1	3.3	3.3	4.7	(4.2, 5.1)	5.7	5.3	7.1
Secretary of State												
Chris Tyson	D	B	94.4	(94.0, 93.9)	95.4	96.3	92.8	26.1	(25.1, 27.3)	25.4	28.5	21.9
Tom Schedler	R	W	5.6	(5.1, 6.0)	4.6	3.6	7.2	73.9	(72.7, 74.9)	74.6	71.5	78.1
2015 November												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	94.5	(93.9, 94.9)	94.3	95.0	91.8	33.5	(32.3, 34.6)	29.7	31.4	20.5
Billy Nungesser	R	W	5.5	(5.1, 6.1)	5.7	5.0	8.2	66.5	(65.4, 67.7)	70.2	68.5	79.5

Appendix D
Enacted Plan District 3

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2020 November												
U.S. President												
Biden/Harris	D	W/B	81.6	(58.9, 91.8)	96.4	100.6	94.1	16.3	(12.5, 23.4)	9.3	7.9	12.9
Trump/Pence	R	W/W	16.8	(6.8, 39.2)	3.1	-2.6	4.2	83.2	(76.0, 87.0)	89.0	90.5	85.6
Others			1.6	(1.3, 2.0)	2.2	2.0	1.7	0.5	(.4, .6)	1.6	1.6	1.5
U.S. Senator												
Adrian Perkins	D	B	41.1	(40.2, 42.0)	42.3	41.6	37.2	3.9	(3.6, 4.3)	2.9	3.0	4.9
Derrick Edwards	D	B	34.6	(33.7, 35.5)	36.5	36.5	36.6	2.8	(2.4, 3.2)	1.9	1.7	4.0
Bill Cassidy	R	W	5.1	(4.4, 5.9)	3.4	1.4	7.4	88.7	(88.2, 89.0)	89.1	89.2	84.1
Others			19.2	(18.2, 20.1)	20.6	20.4	18.9	4.6	(4.2, 5.1)	5.7	6.2	6.9
2019 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Willie Jones	D	B	90.9	(90.0, 91.9)	92.4	93.2	88.5	6.1	(5.7, 6.6)	5.9	5.8	10.7
Billy Nungesser	R	W	9.1	(8.1, 10.1)	7.6	6.9	11.5	93.9	(93.4, 94.3)	94.1	94.2	89.3
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	90.0	(89.0, 91.0)	91.6	92.1	88.0	7.5	(7.1, 7.9)	7.3	7.1	12.1
Jeff Landry	R	W	10.0	(9.0, 11.0)	8.4	8.0	12.0	92.5	(92.1, 92.9)	92.7	92.9	87.9
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	91.0	(90.0, 91.9)	92.8	93.0	88.7	8.2	(7.7, 8.6)	6.8	6.8	11.6
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.1	(2.3, 3.9)	2.7	1.3	4.9	64.1	(63.6, 64.5)	64.5	63.5	60.3
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	4.3	(3.6, 5.0)	3.8	3.9	4.3	22.3	(22.0, 22.6)	22.7	23.2	22.0
Amanda Smith	R	W	1.6	(1.2, 2.1)	2.5	1.9	2.1	5.4	(5.1, 5.7)	6.3	6.5	6.1
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	93.9	(93.0, 94.8)	94.2	95.8	90.4	9.4	(9.0, 9.8)	7.4	7.4	12.4
John Schroder	R	W	2.3	(1.6, 3.3)	2.8	-0.6	5.0	86.5	(86.1, 86.8)	86.5	86.6	81.9
Teresa Kenny		W	3.8	(3.2, 4.4)	4.4	4.9	4.5	4.2	(3.9, 4.5)	5.9	5.9	5.7
2019 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	94.5	(93.7, 95.4)	95.9	97.0	91.2	9.8	(9.4, 10.5)	9.4	9.6	14.9
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	5.5	(4.6, 6.3)	4.1	3.1	8.8	90.2	(89.5, 90.6)	90.6	90.4	85.1

Appendix D
Enacted Plan District 3

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2018 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	51.8	(51.0, 52.6)	53.9	53.2	49.5	3.4	(3.0, 3.7)	2.5	2.8	5.5
Renee Fontenot Free	D	W	38.2	(37.3, 39.0)	39.5	39.4	37.3	7.4	(7.0, 7.8)	6.7	6.7	8.6
Julie Stokes	R	W	1.1	(.9, 1.4)	0.9	0.6	1.7	11.2	(10.9, 11.4)	11.5	11.3	11.2
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.3	(1.8, 2.7)	1.8	1.5	3.4	35.7	(35.4, 36.0)	35.9	36.0	33.4
Rick Edmonds	R	W	1.0	(.8, 1.3)	1.1	0.2	1.8	15.8	(15.5, 16.1)	16.0	15.6	15.5
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	1.9	(1.5, 2.2)	1.1	1.4	2.0	13.2	(13.0, 13.4)	13.4	14.2	12.9
Others			3.8	(3.2, 4.3)	3.6	3.7	4.3	13.3	(13.0, 13.7)	13.7	13.5	12.9
2018 December												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	96.2	(95.4, 97.0)	95.0	100.0	92.9	11.7	(11.2, 12.2)	11.9	10.7	15.8
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.8	(3.0, 4.6)	5.0	0.0	7.1	88.3	(87.8, 88.8)	87.9	89.3	84.2
2017 October												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	87.5	(85.6, 89.2)	87.1	92.4	85.8	9.1	(8.6, 9.6)	8.7	8.2	11.4
Angele Davis	R	W	6.6	(5.3, 8.1)	6.8	5.7	8.3	33.8	(33.3, 34.4)	33.6	33.3	32.5
Neil Riser	R	W	1.8	(1.3, 2.4)	1.0	-0.2	1.7	22.6	(22.1, 23.1)	22.9	23.0	22.5
John Schroder	R	W	1.5	(1.0, 2.0)	2.3	-0.4	1.2	28.5	(28.0, 28.9)	28.3	29.1	27.2
Others			2.7	(2.0, 3.5)	2.0	2.5	3.1	6.0	(5.6, 6.4)	6.7	6.4	6.3
2017 November												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	97.3	(96.4, 98.2)	95.9	101.1	96.5	14.8	(14.3, 15.4)	15.1	14.8	18.1
John Schroder	R	W	2.7	(2.0, 3.6)	4.1	-1.0	3.5	85.2	(84.6, 85.7)	84.9	85.2	81.9
2015 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	84.8	(83.8, 85.7)	87.7	86.4	82.0	9.8	(9.3, 10.3)	8.3	9.3	12.7
Billy Nungesser	R	W	2.3	(1.9, 2.8)	1.9	1.2	3.7	42.9	(42.5, 43.3)	43.3	43.3	40.9
John Young	R	W	4.5	(3.8, 5.2)	4.0	3.7	5.7	35.1	(34.6, 35.4)	35.3	35.4	34.1
Elbert Guillory	R	B	8.4	(7.6, 9.2)	8.6	8.7	8.6	12.2	(11.8, 12.6)	12.7	11.9	12.2

Appendix D
Enacted Plan District 3

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	32.5	(28.0, 33.7)	32.6	33.2	29.4	1.6	(1.3, 3.0)	1.5	1.7	3.0
Geri Broussard Baloney	D	B	47.5	(41.1, 49.1)	49.3	49.6	51.0	5.1	(4.6, 7.1)	4.3	4.2	6.7
Buddy Caldwell	R	W	9.6	(8.7, 10.6)	8.8	8.6	10.2	31.1	(30.7, 31.6)	31.2	31.4	31.5
Jeff Landry	R	W	9.4	(7.6, 19.4)	7.1	7.7	8.1	60.6	(56.9, 61.3)	61.5	60.5	56.5
Marty Maley	R	W	1.1	(.9, 1.5)	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.6	(1.3, 1.8)	2.2	2.2	2.3
Secretary of State												
Chris Tyson	D	B	94.0	(93.0, 94.9)	94.6	95.4	91.2	15.8	(15.3, 16.3)	14.8	15.9	19.0
Tom Schedler	R	W	6.0	(5.1, 7.0)	5.4	4.7	8.8	84.2	(83.7, 84.7)	85.2	84.1	81.0
2015 November												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	97.1	(96.3, 97.8)	98.2	99.2	93.9	18.9	(18.4, 19.6)	18.1	19.0	22.9
Billy Nungesser	R	W	2.9	(2.2, 3.7)	2.3	0.8	6.1	81.1	(80.4, 81.6)	81.9	81.0	77.1

Appendix E
Enacted Plan District 4

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2020 November												
U.S. President												
Biden/Harris	D	W/B	87.4	(68.3, 94.5)	95.6	101.1	93.9	15.3	(11.3, 25.5)	8.5	4.9	9.9
Trump/Pence	R	W/W	11.1	(4.1, 30.2)	3.8	-3.2	4.3	84.1	(73.8, 88.1)	89.8	94.0	89.0
Others			1.5	(1.3, 1.7)	1.9	2.2	1.9	0.6	(.5, .8)	1.2	1.1	1.1
U.S. Senator												
Adrian Perkins	D	B	63.8	(63.2, 64.5)	65.6	62.7	62.3	4.0	(3.7, 4.4)	2.9	1.1	4.3
Derrick Edwards	D	B	20.8	(20.1, 21.2)	21.3	22.6	18.8	1.4	(1.2, 1.7)	1.7	1.8	2.7
Bill Cassidy	R	W	3.0	(2.5, 3.5)	4.3	0.1	6.0	90.2	(89.7, 90.6)	90.0	92.0	87.0
Others			12.5	(11.9, 13.2)	14.0	14.6	12.8	4.4	(4.0, 4.8)	5.0	5.1	6.0
2019 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Willie Jones	D	B	91.0	(90.3, 91.7)	91.1	92.8	87.0	6.2	(5.8, 6.7)	6.1	5.7	9.9
Billy Nungesser	R	W	9.0	(8.3, 9.7)	8.9	7.2	13.0	93.8	(93.3, 94.2)	94.0	94.4	90.1
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	88.0	(87.2, 88.7)	88.7	89.2	83.0	6.4	(5.9, 6.8)	6.0	5.6	9.6
Jeff Landry	R	W	12.0	(11.3, 12.8)	11.3	10.7	17.0	93.6	(93.2, 94.1)	94.1	94.4	90.4
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	92.4	(91.5, 93.1)	92.2	93.9	89.7	6.8	(6.4, 7.3)	6.1	5.0	9.3
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.3	(1.8, 2.9)	3.5	1.1	3.5	57.0	(56.5, 57.3)	56.4	56.1	54.4
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	3.6	(3.1, 4.2)	3.3	3.2	4.3	28.4	(27.9, 28.8)	29.2	29.7	27.6
Amanda Smith	R	W	1.7	(1.4, 2.1)	1.6	1.9	2.5	7.9	(7.5, 8.2)	9.0	9.3	8.7
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	94.5	(92.4, 95.2)	94.3	96.0	92.0	8.1	(7.5, 9.6)	6.9	6.3	10.7
John Schroder	R	W	2.1	(1.5, 4.5)	3.1	-0.4	4.4	88.4	(87.3, 88.9)	88.3	88.7	84.7
Teresa Kenny		W	3.4	(3.0, 3.8)	3.7	4.3	3.6	3.6	(3.1, 3.9)	4.5	5.0	4.6
2019 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	96.0	(95.5, 96.4)	95.2	98.4	93.1	8.5	(8.0, 8.9)	8.8	7.2	12.0
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	4.0	(3.6, 4.5)	4.8	1.6	6.9	91.5	(91.1, 92.0)	91.2	92.8	88.0

Appendix E
Enacted Plan District 4

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2018 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	53.8	(53.1, 54.4)	55.5	54.3	51.5	2.9	(2.5, 3.3)	2.3	2.1	4.4
Renee Fontenot Free	D	W	35.5	(34.9, 36.1)	37.7	36.5	34.2	5.8	(5.5, 6.2)	4.5	4.4	6.5
Julie Stokes	R	W	1.2	(1.0, 1.4)	1.3	1.4	1.7	7.4	(7.2, 7.7)	7.3	7.6	7.8
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.2	(1.9, 2.6)	2.7	1.4	3.2	31.1	(30.8, 31.5)	30.6	33.6	31.1
Rick Edmonds	R	W	1.2	(1.0, 1.4)	1.1	1.0	1.9	23.8	(23.5, 24.1)	24.1	20.4	20.4
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	2.2	(1.9, 2.5)	1.9	1.9	2.7	14.9	(14.5, 15.2)	15.2	15.8	14.7
Others			4.0	(3.7, 4.4)	3.2	3.3	4.8	14.0	(13.7, 14.3)	14.1	16.2	15.1
2018 December					103.4	99.8						
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	96.2	(95.6, 96.8)	94.9	99.2	92.3	10.6	(10.0, 11.1)	11.9	8.0	13.8
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.8	(3.2, 4.4)	5.2	0.8	7.7	89.4	(88.9, 90.0)	88.0	92.0	86.2
2017 October												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	90.7	(89.6, 91.7)	88.7	93.3	87.3	7.1	(6.6, 7.7)	7.6	6.2	9.5
Angele Davis	R	W	3.5	(2.8, 4.4)	3.2	1.7	5.2	29.4	(28.9, 30.0)	29.3	30.6	29.4
Neil Riser	R	W	2.4	(1.8, 3.1)	2.6	2.5	3.8	30.1	(29.6, 30.6)	29.7	29.4	29.5
John Schroder	R	W	1.8	(1.4, 2.3)	1.4	1.7	2.0	27.3	(26.8, 27.8)	28.1	27.4	25.2
Others			1.6	(1.3, 2.1)	0.7	0.9	1.7	6.0	(5.7, 6.3)	6.6	6.5	6.4
2017 November												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	98.1	(97.6, 98.6)	94.4	101.9	96.6	11.2	(10.6, 11.8)	13.4	10.6	13.9
John Schroder	R	W	1.9	(1.4, 2.4)	5.7	-1.9	3.4	88.8	(88.2, 89.4)	86.6	89.4	86.1
2015 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	83.2	(82.4, 83.9)	84.4	83.7	79.1	9.3	(8.8, 9.7)	7.7	9.2	12.1
Billy Nungesser	R	W	2.5	(2.2, 3.0)	2.3	2.6	3.3	34.3	(33.8, 34.7)	35.2	33.9	33.4
John Young	R	W	8.1	(7.4, 8.7)	8.2	7.0	12.1	41.6	(41.1, 42.1)	41.7	41.5	40.5
Elbert Guillory	R	B	6.2	(5.7, 6.8)	6.3	6.6	5.4	14.9	(14.5, 15.2)	15.1	15.4	14.1

Appendix E
Enacted Plan District 4

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	31.7	(31.0, 32.3)	31.2	32.3	30.1	2.2	(1.9, 2.5)	2.5	2.3	3.5
Geri Broussard Baloney	D	B	45.3	(42.0, 46.3)	46.4	45.1	44.1	5.0	(4.6, 6.0)	4.4	4.9	6.4
Buddy Caldwell	R	W	18.7	(17.8, 20.4)	18.2	19.0	20.5	44.5	(43.8, 45.0)	44.6	43.8	43.6
Jeff Landry	R	W	3.0	(2.4, 4.9)	2.4	2.4	4.0	44.8	(44.1, 45.2)	45.5	44.7	42.7
Marty Maley	R	W	1.4	(1.2, 1.6)	1.0	1.2	1.2	3.6	(3.4, 3.8)	4.0	4.3	3.8
Secretary of State												
Chris Tyson	D	B	90.0	(89.2, 90.8)	90.7	90.0	87.2	14.1	(13.6, 14.6)	13.7	15.5	18.5
Tom Schedler	R	W	10.0	(9.2, 10.8)	9.3	9.9	12.8	85.9	(85.4, 86.4)	86.4	84.5	81.5
2015 November												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	97.7	(97.3, 98.1)	97.5	99.1	95.3	16.9	(16.4, 17.4)	16.9	17.6	21.7
Billy Nungesser	R	W	2.3	(1.9, 2.7)	2.5	0.9	4.7	83.2	(82.6, 83.6)	83.1	82.4	78.3

Appendix F
Enacted Plan District 5

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2020 November												
U.S. President												
Biden/Harris	D	W/B	87.2	(70.0, 93.9)	95.3	99.7	94.2	12.3	(8.6, 21.2)	7.3	5.3	8.5
Trump/Pence	R	W/W	11.5	(4.9, 28.5)	4.2	-1.6	4.1	87.2	(78.2, 90.8)	91.1	93.6	90.4
Others			1.3	(1.2, 1.6)	1.8	1.9	1.7	0.6	(.5, .7)	1.3	1.1	1.1
U.S. Senator												
Adrian Perkins	D	B	42.4	(41.8, 42.9)	43.4	42.9	41.9	2.1	(1.9, 2.3)	1.9	1.3	3.0
Derrick Edwards	D	B	34.0	(33.4, 34.5)	35.1	34.8	32.5	1.4	(1.1, 1.6)	1.5	1.6	2.9
Bill Cassidy	R	W	6.5	(5.9, 7.0)	6.5	4.4	8.6	91.4	(90.9, 91.7)	90.9	91.3	88.3
Others			17.2	(16.6, 17.7)	18.8	18.0	17.0	5.2	(4.8, 5.5)	5.0	5.8	5.9
2019 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Willie Jones	D	B	90.1	(89.5, 90.8)	90.2	91.7	87.8	4.9	(4.6, 5.3)	5.1	5.3	8.2
Billy Nungesser	R	W	9.9	(9.2, 10.5)	9.7	8.3	12.2	95.1	(94.7, 95.4)	94.9	94.7	91.8
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	89.1	(88.4, 89.7)	89.0	90.9	85.8	5.1	(4.8, 5.5)	5.5	5.5	8.2
Jeff Landry	R	W	10.9	(10.3, 11.6)	11.0	9.1	14.2	94.9	(94.5, 95.2)	94.5	94.5	91.8
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	91.0	(90.4, 91.5)	90.7	92.8	87.8	5.2	(4.9, 5.8)	5.4	5.2	7.9
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.2	(1.8, 2.6)	2.3	1.1	3.8	53.6	(53.0, 54.0)	53.7	52.6	51.5
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	4.5	(4.0, 4.9)	4.1	3.9	5.5	31.6	(31.3, 31.9)	31.6	32.0	31.0
Amanda Smith	R	W	2.4	(2.1, 2.7)	2.1	2.1	2.9	9.5	(9.3, 9.8)	9.9	10.2	9.7
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	93.7	(93.2, 94.3)	93.3	95.7	91.2	7.1	(6.7, 7.7)	6.8	6.5	9.4
John Schroder	R	W	2.2	(1.8, 2.6)	3.8	-0.4	4.6	88.3	(88.0, 88.6)	87.9	88.1	85.7
Teresa Kenny		W	4.1	(3.7, 4.5)	4.1	4.8	4.2	4.6	(4.2, 4.9)	5.3	5.4	5.0
2019 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	96.0	(95.5, 96.5)	95.2	98.0	93.5	8.1	(7.8, 8.5)	8.5	8.1	11.0
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	4.0	(3.5, 4.5)	4.8	2.0	6.5	91.9	(91.5, 92.2)	91.4	91.9	89.0

Appendix F
Enacted Plan District 5

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2018 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	54.5	(53.9, 55.1)	57.0	55.6	52.0	2.1	(1.8, 2.5)	1.6	2.0	4.0
Renee Fontenot Free	D	W	35.2	(34.6, 35.7)	36.7	36.3	34.4	5.3	(5.0, 5.5)	4.1	4.3	5.4
Julie Stokes	R	W	1.0	(.8, 1.1)	0.8	1.2	1.2	10.3	(10.1, 10.5)	10.6	10.1	9.5
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.2	(1.9, 2.5)	2.7	1.5	3.3	33.7	(33.4, 34.0)	33.4	34.3	32.9
Rick Edmonds	R	W	1.2	(1.0, 1.5)	0.9	0.5	1.8	15.1	(14.8, 15.3)	15.2	14.9	15.2
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	2.3	(2.0, 2.6)	1.9	1.5	3.2	18.6	(18.3, 18.8)	18.7	19.6	18.6
Others			3.7	(3.4, 4.1)	3.2	3.5	4.2	15.0	(14.7, 15.2)	15.3	14.8	14.4
2018 December												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	96.1	(95.6, 96.6)	93.4	99.8	92.1	8.6	(8.1, 9.1)	10.6	7.5	9.7
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.9	(3.4, 4.4)	6.6	0.2	7.9	91.4	(90.9, 91.9)	89.3	92.5	90.3
2017 October												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	86.7	(84.0, 88.0)	82.9	89.5	83.3	5.6	(5.1, 6.4)	6.4	4.0	7.7
Angele Davis	R	W	4.5	(3.6, 5.6)	5.0	5.2	5.4	25.7	(25.2, 26.1)	25.6	25.7	22.7
Neil Riser	R	W	4.6	(3.8, 5.6)	6.8	1.9	8.4	47.7	(47.2, 48.1)	46.6	51.9	50.0
John Schroder	R	W	1.9	(1.4, 3.2)	0.5	1.2	1.1	17.1	(16.7, 17.5)	18.1	14.5	15.6
Others			2.3	(1.8, 3.0)	1.0	2.1	1.7	3.9	(3.6, 4.2)	4.3	3.9	3.9
2017 November												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	98.1	(97.7, 98.6)	93.0	102.8	96.6	11.4	(11.0, 12.0)	14.0	9.8	13.1
John Schroder	R	W	1.9	(1.5, 2.3)	7.0	-2.8	3.4	88.6	(88.0, 89.0)	86.0	90.2	86.9
2015 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	90.0	(89.3, 90.6)	90.1	91.2	86.9	8.9	(8.5, 9.3)	8.7	8.9	10.5
Billy Nungesser	R	W	3.4	(2.9, 3.9)	3.2	3.0	4.6	40.2	(39.8, 40.6)	40.4	39.3	38.2
John Young	R	W	4.1	(3.6, 4.6)	4.2	3.6	5.4	40.3	(39.9, 40.6)	40.1	40.5	40.1
Elbert Guillory	R	B	2.5	(2.2, 2.9)	2.2	2.3	3.0	10.7	(10.4, 10.9)	10.9	11.5	11.2

Appendix F
Enacted Plan District 5

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	34.4	(33.8, 35.0)	34.6	33.5	30.8	1.5	(1.3, 1.8)	1.7	1.8	2.7
Geri Broussard Baloney	D	B	43.5	(42.2, 44.3)	44.9	45.1	43.1	4.0	(3.7, 4.5)	3.7	3.7	5.3
Buddy Caldwell	R	W	17.6	(16.9, 18.5)	15.7	18.1	20.7	51.5	(51.1, 51.9)	52.0	51.9	49.8
Jeff Landry	R	W	2.9	(2.5, 3.5)	2.2	1.8	3.7	39.2	(38.8, 39.5)	39.6	38.3	38.5
Marty Maley	R	W	1.5	(1.3, 1.7)	1.5	1.5	1.7	3.8	(3.6, 3.9)	4.1	4.4	3.9
Secretary of State												
Chris Tyson	D	B	93.2	(92.6, 93.9)	92.9	93.7	91.2	13.7	(13.3, 14.3)	13.7	14.4	16.5
Tom Schedler	R	W	6.8	(6.1, 7.4)	7.2	6.3	8.8	86.3	(85.7, 86.7)	86.3	85.6	83.5
2015 November												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	97.6	(97.2, 98.0)	96.7	99.9	95.3	16.7	(16.3, 17.4)	17.1	17.0	17.8
Billy Nungesser	R	W	2.4	(2.0, 2.8)	3.3	0.1	4.7	83.3	(82.6, 83.7)	82.9	83.0	82.2

Appendix G
Enacted Plan District 6

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2020 November												
U.S. President												
Biden/Harris	D	W/B	79.5	(57.8, 92.1)	96.6	102.3	92.3	19.0	(13.8, 26.5)	10.8	9.1	12.7
Trump/Pence	R	W/W	19.1	(6.7, 40.4)	2.1	-4.0	6.4	80.4	(72.9, 85.6)	87.0	89.1	85.7
Others			1.4	(1.0, 1.8)	1.3	1.6	1.3	0.6	(.5, .7)	2.0	1.8	1.6
U.S. Senator												
Adrian Perkins	D	B	49.7	(48.4, 51.0)	53.0	51.4	55.9	5.7	(5.2, 6.2)	4.5	3.8	6.0
Derrick Edwards	D	B	30.1	(29.0, 31.1)	33.3	32.9	23.6	1.5	(1.3, 1.9)	1.5	1.5	3.0
Bill Cassidy	R	W	6.3	(5.3, 7.3)	3.5	0.2	8.0	88.7	(88.1, 89.0)	88.8	89.4	85.4
Others			13.9	(12.8, 15.0)	15.4	15.5	12.5	4.1	(3.7, 4.6)	4.9	5.3	5.6
2019 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Willie Jones	D	B	84.6	(83.2, 86.0)	87.8	89.7	81.3	7.5	(7.0, 8.0)	7.3	7.1	11.3
Billy Nungesser	R	W	15.4	(14.0, 16.8)	12.1	10.3	18.7	92.5	(92.0, 93.0)	92.7	92.9	88.7
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	90.8	(89.4, 92.0)	92.6	95.8	87.3	9.2	(8.8, 9.7)	9.2	8.3	12.5
Jeff Landry	R	W	9.2	(8.0, 10.6)	7.4	4.2	12.7	90.8	(90.3, 91.2)	90.8	91.7	87.5
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	91.1	(88.0, 92.4)	93.6	95.9	89.0	9.8	(9.1, 11.4)	8.3	7.8	12.1
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	4.5	(3.4, 7.4)	3.0	1.3	7.0	65.4	(63.8, 65.9)	65.4	64.5	61.5
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	2.9	(2.2, 3.9)	1.7	1.7	2.4	18.9	(18.5, 19.2)	19.6	20.4	19.4
Amanda Smith	R	W	1.5	(1.0, 2.1)	2.4	1.1	1.5	6.0	(5.5, 6.4)	6.8	7.3	7.0
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	92.3	(83.5, 93.8)	93.8	96.3	90.2	11.5	(10.8, 14.5)	8.6	8.6	13.3
John Schroder	R	W	5.2	(3.7, 13.8)	2.3	-0.5	6.4	84.9	(82.3, 85.4)	85.5	85.3	81.2
Teresa Kenny		W	2.5	(1.8, 3.3)	3.6	4.2	3.4	3.6	(3.2, 4.1)	5.7	6.0	5.5
2019 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	95.0	(93.8, 96.0)	96.4	99.8	93.7	12.6	(12.1, 13.1)	12.5	11.3	16.5
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	5.0	(4.0, 6.2)	3.6	0.3	6.3	87.4	(86.9, 87.9)	87.5	88.7	83.5

Appendix G
Enacted Plan District 6

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
2018 November												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	60.1	(58.8, 61.3)	64.8	62.9	60.3	2.6	(2.2, 3.1)	2.1	2.1	4.8
Renee Fontenot Free	D	W	30.3	(29.0, 31.5)	33.4	32.6	26.2	8.5	(8.0, 9.0)	6.9	7.2	7.6
Julie Stokes	R	W	1.9	(1.3, 2.7)	1.7	2.6	3.1	14.1	(13.6, 14.6)	14.4	13.8	12.6
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	2.7	(2.0, 3.5)	1.9	0.5	4.8	33.0	(32.6, 33.4)	33.2	34.3	33.1
Rick Edmonds	R	W	1.1	(.7, 1.7)	0.8	-2.4	1.7	22.4	(22.2, 22.7)	22.7	21.4	22.4
Thomas Kennedy III	R	W	1.3	(.9, 1.8)	0.8	0.8	1.1	9.0	(8.8, 9.2)	9.3	10.2	9.4
Others			2.6	(1.9, 3.3)	2.3	3.0	2.8	10.3	(9.8, 10.6)	10.5	11.0	10.1
2018 December												
Secretary of State												
Gwen Collins-Greenup	D	B	97.0	(95.9, 97.8)	96.8	103.8	95.1	14.8	(14.2, 15.4)	15.6	11.0	17.9
Kyle Ardoin	R	W	3.0	(2.2, 4.1)	3.1	-3.7	4.9	85.2	(84.6, 85.7)	84.4	89.0	82.1
2017 October												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	86.2	(84.2, 87.9)	89.2	91.9	82.5	10.4	(9.8, 11.0)	8.7	8.0	12.2
Angele Davis	R	W	3.6	(2.4, 5.2)	3.6	2.8	4.9	41.9	(41.3, 42.4)	42.3	39.1	40.1
Neil Riser	R	W	6.6	(5.2, 8.0)	2.3	5.8	7.6	11.8	(11.3, 12.3)	13.5	10.1	11.6
John Schroder	R	W	2.1	(1.4, 3.0)	0.8	-1.9	2.0	30.5	(30.0, 31.0)	30.8	36.1	29.8
Others			1.6	(1.1, 2.4)	1.4	1.3	3.0	5.4	(4.9, 5.8)	6.6	6.7	6.2
2017 November												
Treasurer												
Derrick Edwards	D	B	96.8	(95.4, 97.9)	97.3	104.0	94.1	16.1	(15.5, 16.9)	16.5	13.4	19.1
John Schroder	R	W	3.2	(2.1, 4.6)	2.8	-3.8	5.9	83.9	(83.1, 84.5)	83.5	86.6	80.9
2015 October												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	91.3	(89.2, 92.7)	93.6	95.5	91.9	24.7	(24.1, 25.4)	22.6	20.2	24.7
Billy Nungesser	R	W	3.0	(2.1, 4.2)	1.2	5.4	3.1	37.9	(37.4, 38.3)	38.5	40.4	37.9
John Young	R	W	3.9	(2.8, 5.2)	2.4	0.3	2.7	31.3	(30.8, 31.8)	32.1	31.6	30.0
Elbert Guillory	R	B	1.9	(1.3, 2.6)	1.7	0.2	2.3	6.1	(5.7, 6.6)	7.7	7.8	7.5

Appendix G
Enacted Plan District 6

			Estimates for Black Voters					Estimates for White Voters				
	Party	Race	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP	EI RxC	95% confidence interval	EI 2x2	ER	HP
Attorney General												
Ike Jackson	D	B	38.7	(37.6, 39.7)	40.5	40.8	34.5	1.6	(1.4, 2.0)	1.2	1.1	3.0
Geri Broussard Baloney	D	B	39.6	(38.0, 41.1)	41.4	41.9	37.0	5.4	(4.9, 6.0)	4.8	5.1	7.0
Buddy Caldwell	R	W	16.9	(15.4, 18.4)	15.8	14.6	22.8	50.0	(49.5, 50.5)	50.2	48.6	46.8
Jeff Landry	R	W	2.4	(1.6, 4.5)	1.3	0.3	3.5	38.3	(37.7, 38.7)	38.6	39.8	38.3
Marty Maley	R	W	2.3	(1.7, 3.0)	2.2	2.5	2.1	4.6	(4.2, 5.1)	5.6	5.3	4.9
Secretary of State												
Chris Tyson	D	B	92.1	(90.3, 93.7)	93.8	94.9	91.8	13.4	(12.8, 14.2)	12.7	13.9	18.2
Tom Schedler	R	W	7.9	(6.3, 9.7)	6.2	5.2	8.2	86.6	(85.8, 87.2)	87.2	86.0	81.8
2015 November												
Lieutenant Governor												
Kip Holden	D	B	95.7	(94.2, 96.9)	97.1	99.8	93.3	31.0	(30.4, 31.8)	29.8	27.9	32.7
Billy Nungesser	R	W	4.3	(3.1, 5.8)	2.9	0.2	6.7	69.0	(68.2, 69.6)	70.2	72.1	67.3