

SC101570

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF MISSOURI

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ELIZABETH HEALEY, et al.,

Appellants,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI, et al.,

Respondents.

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From the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Missouri

The Honorable Adam L. Caine, Circuit Judge

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**APPELLANTS' EXHIBITS (VOLUME II)**

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## APPELLANTS' EXHIBIT LIST

Pursuant to Missouri Supreme Court Rule 81.16(a), Appellants provide this Court with exhibits Appellants believe are “necessary to the determination of any point relied on[.]” A listing and description of the exhibits deposited by Appellants are included below.

<b>Exhibit Number</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i><b>Volume I</b></i>	
PX 05	Elizabeth Healey Affidavit
PX 06	Giselle Anatol Affidavit
PX 07	Marques Bussey Affidavit
PX 08	Mary Sapp Affidavit
PX 09	Louie Wright Affidavit
PX 21	Dr. Stern Dec. 30 Report (Amended)
PX 22	Dr. Stern Jan. 14 Rebuttal Report
PX 23	Dr. Cervas Dec. 30 Report (Amended)
<i><b>Volume II</b></i>	
PX 24	Dr. Cervas Jan 14. Rebuttal Report
PX 25	Dr. Cromartie Dec. 22 Report
PX 26	Dr. Cromartie Jan. 14 Rebuttal Report
PX 27	Dr. Rodden Dec. 22 Report
PX 28	Dr. Rodden Jan. 14 Rebuttal Report
PX 30	Gov. Kehoe Aug. 29 Proclamation
PX 31	Gov. Kehoe Aug. 29 X Map Post
PX 32	Gov. Kehoe Aug. 29 X Video
PX 33	Gov. Aug. 30 MO First Map PR
PX 35	SOS May 2022 Email (EalomDep.1)
PX 36	SOS May 2022 Email (Zorich Prod.)
PX 37	SOS May 2022 Email Att. (KiefferDep.2)
PX 39	SOS Jan. 2026 Email (KiefferDep.3)
PX 40	HB 1 Bill Text
PX 41	HB 1 Map Image
<i><b>Volume III</b></i>	
PX 42	HB 1 Landscape Maps (District)
PX 43	HB 2909 Bill Text
PX 44	HB 2909 Map Image
PX 45	HB 2117 Joint Press Release
PX 46	HB 2117 House Committee Passage Press Release
PX 47	HB 2117 House Passage Press Release
PX 48	House Special Committee on Redistricting Meeting
PX 50	Gov. Parson HB 2902 PR
PX 84	Maps w/ Density Compilation

<i>Volume IV</i>	
PX 86	Cervas Alternative Maps
PX 87	Joint Stipulations
DX 101	Amended Expert Report of Dr. Trende (Jan. 13, 2026)
IX 215	Expert Report of M.V. (Trey) Hood III

PX 32 and PX 48 are video exhibits and will be delivered on a DVD to the Court. Appellants certify that the disk submitted disk submitted has been scanned for viruses and that it is virus-free.

Dated: April 22, 2026

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ J. Andrew Hirth

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# Rebuttal Report of Jonathan Cervas

*Wise v. State*, 2516-CV29597 (Circuit Court of Jackson County, Missouri)

Wednesday, January 14, 2026

1. I submitted my expert report in this matter on December 22, 2025 (amended December 30, 2025). In that report, I analyzed the congressional district map enacted by the Missouri legislature (“2025 Map”).

2. Plaintiffs’ counsel has informed me that Missouri law requires districts to be “as compact ... as may be,” which has been interpreted to mean that districts are drawn such that “closely united territory” are combined and deviations from compactness must be to comply with constitutional requirements for congressional redistricting in Article III, Section 45 of the Missouri Constitution, to comply with or resolve potential violations of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 or U.S. Constitution, or to abide by a set of recognized factors. These recognized factors include political subdivision boundaries, including counties, cities, and precincts; population density; natural boundary lines; and historical boundary lines of prior redistricting maps.

3. I created a set of eight illustrative maps that adhere to the requirements and factors listed above.

4. The alternative maps I created preserve the Missouri legislature’s preferences about the configuration of congressional districts (“CD”) by keeping all the non-challenged districts entirely or almost entirely intact while resolving the alleged violations in challenged CDs 4 and 5.

5. I found that CDs 4 and 5 in 2025 Map are together less compact than the 2022 Map and less compact than the eight illustrative maps I prepared in my opening report. My illustrative maps showed that the configuration of CDs 4 and 5 can be drawn to be significantly more compact, both quantitatively and qualitatively, while matching or beating the 2025 Map in terms of compliance with the requirements and recognized factors in Missouri law. Thus, they show that the requirements and recognized factors cannot account for the non-compact CDs 4 and 5 in the 2025 Map. I conclude that CDs 4 and 5 in the 2025 Map are therefore not “as compact ... as may be.”

6. I also concluded that the legislative text of House Bill 1, which became the 2025 Map, does not provide clear guidance about which voting tabulation districts (VTDs) should be assigned to which district in the 2025 Map.

7. I have one addition and two corrections to my opening report.

(1) On Wednesday, December 24, 2025, I filed an expert report in *Driver et al. v. Houston County, GA et al*, 5:25-cv-00025 (M.D. Ga.), that should now be considered part of my list of engagements.

(2) In the first paragraph of page 8, I incorrectly include CD 4 in the list of districts I did not change in my illustrative maps.

(3) Page 10 has transcription errors in the second and third sentences of the first paragraph. Those sentences should read: “As shown in **Table 2**, the 2025 Map reduced CD 5’s Reock score from 0.42 to 0.29 and its Polsby-Popper score from 0.40 to 0.20. As for CD 4, the 2025 Map increased its Polsby-Popper score from 0.30 to 0.33 but significantly decreased its Reock score from 0.51 to 0.39.” This change does not affect my conclusions. The numbers reported in these sentences were intended to transcribe the data presented in Table 2, from which I drew my conclusions.

8. I have now been asked to respond to reports of Dr. Hood and Dr. Trende.

## 1. Summary of Responses

9. My report is almost entirely undisputed. Neither Dr. Hood nor Dr. Trende dispute that I have created eight illustrative maps that are each more compact than the 2025 Map, and that are consistent with federal and state law and constitutional provisions governing redistricting.

10. I will highlight Dr. Trende’s own words regarding my report: “Dr. Cervas’ report mostly serves to demonstrate that districts 4 and 5 could have been redrawn in such a way as to improve compactness scores. He does so while achieving certain goals: keeping core retention, compactness scores, and political subdivision splits within rough range of the Enacted Map.” (Trende at 27). These are among the recognized factors Missouri courts have previously said can explain a reduction of compactness. Even still, my plans *increased* the compactness of CDs 4 and 5 while accounting for these recognized factors.

11. Responding to my illustrative plans, Dr. Hood says, “It is certainly possible to create a hypothetical congressional districting plan for Missouri where the districts are more compact than those in the 2025 plan.” (Hood at 14). Though he says that I could not have accounted for all the criteria considered by the legislature, he fails to recognize that my plans are almost entirely deferring to the considerations of the legislature since I freeze as many as six out of eight districts. Moreover, he neglects, unlike Dr. Trende, that I have accounted for the recognized factors.

12. When comparing my illustrative plans and the 2022 Map to the 2025 Map, the reduction in compactness of the challenged districts is not a close call. These deviations from compactness are not minimal and cannot be explained by recognized factors.

## 2. Responses to Dr. Hood

13. I have read and reviewed Dr. Hood’s report, and his report serves to reinforce the opinions and conclusions from my opening report.

14. Dr. Hood does not provide any rebuttal to my report’s conclusions regarding “KC 811.” (Cervas at 26). His analysis of the contiguity of the 2025 Map is limited to a single sentence: “I will note that the eight congressional districts from the 2025 plan are contiguous.” (Hood at 4).



15. Dr. Hood and I agree that no single measure can capture all dimensions of compactness (Hood at 4). We further agree that it is “possible, however, to compare districts (or whole plans) in order to make a determination that a comparison set is more or less compact.” (Id.).

16. Dr. Hood and I disagree about “what should be compared to what.” (Id.). In his footnote 5, he cites to a paper which observes the following about appropriate comparisons: “Differences across states, for example, are inevitable and usually inconsequential because of differing initial shapes.” (Niemi et al., 1990 at 1176). I agree with this quote but would emphasize that even comparisons of one set of districts in a part of the state against another set in a different part are problematic for the same reason: they have “differing initial shapes.” Moreover, comparing across decades is less informative than comparing plans during the same time period because of shifts in population, population patterns, and population density over time. Importantly, the number of districts may change as well.

17. The rest of the section from that paper is worth quoting directly from as well, since it illustrates the utility (and limitations) for using measures of compactness: “...for largely the same reason, quantitative scores should be used to make comparisons, not to eliminate plans or districts that fail to meet a predetermined level. [fn16: While we emphasize comparisons of entire plans, there may be instances in which the compactness of specific districts is at issue (e.g., when it is alleged that specific districts and not others were gerrymandered).] There is no score for any one measure, much less for all of them, that on the face of it indicates unsatisfactory compactness; characteristics of the area being districted make identification of such level impossible. The fact that compactness is a relative measure does not render it meaningless. We deal with many such concepts every day. There is no precise temperature, for example, that marks the transition from cold to hot. Yet 10 degrees is rather uniformly regarded as cold and 90 degrees as hot.”

18. Dr. Hood compares challenged districts in the 2025 Map to non-challenged districts in the 2025 Map. (Hood at 8-9; Figures 1-3). This is an improper comparison in this instance. The challenged districts are in one part of the state, and non-challenged districts are in another. Those non-challenged districts are subject to different geographic constraints by virtue of where they are in the state and are of limited value in determining if CDs 4 and 5 were drawn to be “as compact... as may be.” Moreover, the low compactness in non-challenged districts might account for recognized factors.

19. Dr. Hood presents data in Figures 1-3 that show compactness scores for each of the eight districts across a range of plans but leave out important context and detail. From Dr. Hood’s figures, one cannot tell that CDs 4 and 5 both have become significantly less compact (using Reock) under the 2025 Map compared to the 2022 Map, and that CD 5 has become significantly less compact using Polsby-Popper (while CD 4 has become marginally more compact). My figures show this same data (though without the 2012 Map comparison), but with enough detail to recognize the increased compactness scores of non-challenged districts has been achieved at a cost of a huge decrease in compactness of the challenged districts. My Figures 2 and 3 also compare the eight illustrative plans I created and show that it was not necessary to reduce the compactness scores in CDs 4 and 5 to achieve increased compactness in the other six districts.

20. Dr. Hood compares districts in the 2025 Map to those in the 2012 Map. (Hood at 7). However, one should be careful when comparing plans that depend on different data, constraints, and circumstances. The population of different areas grows and shrinks across censuses, which require drawing different arrangements that might affect compactness. In addition, the characteristics of these districts might change over time. These all affect other recognized factors such as core preservation, accounting for natural boundaries, and others. Therefore, the most helpful comparisons are maps that are drawn under similar constraints, such as districts drawn with the same population data.

21. Dr. Hood's "zone of similarity" is not a concept I have seen in the literature. I understand it to mean a comparison between the minimum and maximum compactness scores of the challenged districts to any district with "similar" scores in other plans. As I described above (paragraph 18), this kind of comparison is of limited value. In Figures 2 and 3 of my opening report, I provide plots of the same data (with slight differences given our respective sources of data), but I provide context by showing the challenged districts' ranking against the other six districts in each plan (I understand that the Plaintiffs in *Wise v. State* are only challenging CDs 4 and 5). When adding labels for the challenged districts, one can see that CDs 4 and 5 can be drawn much more compactly (according to mathematical scores) than the 2025 Map without needlessly decreasing the compactness in other districts. Dr. Hood's figures obscure this fact by failing to identify the challenged districts in the 2022 Map.

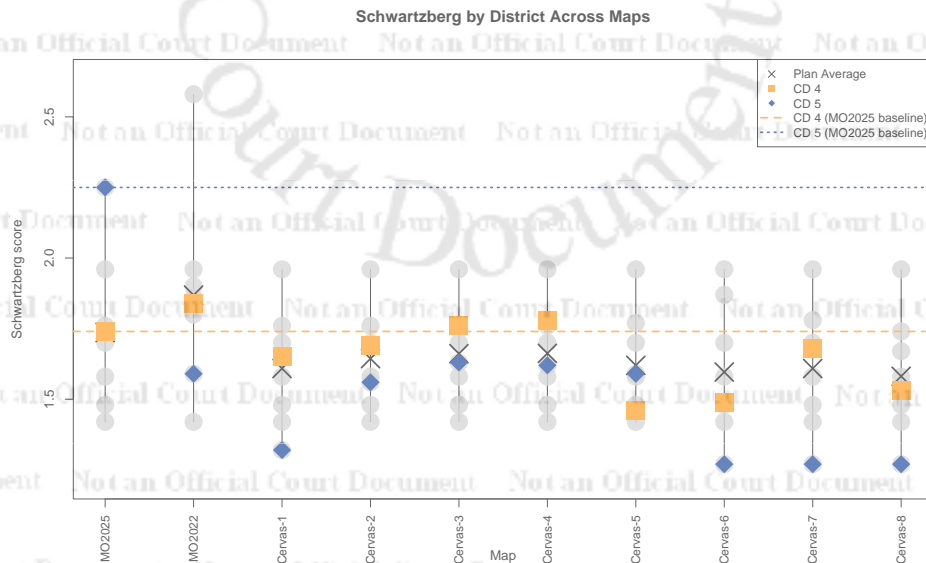
22. Dr. Hood suggests using a threshold for minimum compactness suggested by Professors Pildes and Niemi in their 1993 article (see Hood fn. 13 at 8). But the authors point out the thresholds suggested were somewhat arbitrary and designed to detect potential racial gerrymandering violations after *Shaw v. Reno* based on the bizarre appearance of districts. (Pildes and Niemi at 564). The authors did not suggest that these thresholds should be used to assess compliance with specific state compactness rules. The authors additionally warn "One must make comparisons carefully because of the effects of state shapes." (Pildes and Niemi at 565).

23. Dr. Hood also uses a measure of compactness similar to Polsby-Popper known as Schwartzberg. Under his unnormalized version of the measure, scores are always greater than one, lower scores mean more compact, and higher scores mean less compact. In other words, lower is better. Because the version of Schwartzberg Dr. Hood reports (which he calls Alternate Schwartzberg) is available only in Maptitude, I calculate Schwartzberg in R using a formula similar to the one available in Dr. Trende's disclosed code. My scores, like Dr. Hood's, are not normalized and are comparable to the scores found in Table 4 of Dr. Hood's report. I report these Schwartzberg scores in Table 1. For the alternative maps, the districts altered from the 2025 Map are shaded light grey. A red up arrow (▲) indicates an increase in the relevant score compared to the 2025 Map (*less compact*), an equal sign (=) indicates no change, and a green down arrow (▼) indicates a decrease (*more compact*).

**Table 1 - District-wide Schwartzberg Scores**

Schwartzberg	2022 Map	2025 Map	Cervas 1	Cervas 2	Cervas 3	Cervas 4	Cervas 5	Cervas 6	Cervas 7	Cervas 8
Mapwide Avg.	1.87	1.74	1.61 ▼	1.65 ▼	1.66 ▼	1.66 ▼	1.62 ▼	1.60 ▼	1.61 ▼	1.58 ▼
CD 4 & 5 Avg.	1.72	2.00	1.49 ▼	1.63 ▼	1.70 ▼	1.70 ▼	1.53 ▼	1.38 ▼	1.47 ▼	1.40 ▼
1	1.80	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48
2	1.86	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58
3	2.58	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.67 ▼
4	1.84	1.74	1.65 ▼	1.69 ▼	1.76 ▲	1.78 ▲	1.46 ▼	1.49 ▼	1.68 ▼	1.53 ▼
5	1.59	2.25	1.32 ▼	1.56 ▼	1.63 ▼	1.62 ▼	1.59 ▼	1.27 ▼	1.27 ▼	1.27 ▼
6	1.90	1.76	1.76	1.76	1.76	1.76	1.77 ▲	1.87 ▲	1.78 ▲	1.74 ▼
7	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42	1.42
8	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96	1.96

**Figure 1 - Plot of District-Level Schwartzberg Scores by Map**



24. My opinion as to whether CDs 4 and 5 were drawn to be “as compact ... as may be” is reinforced after reviewing the Schwartzberg scores associated with each district and when compared to the 2022 Map and my eight alternative maps. CDs 4 and 5 on average in the 2025 Map are less compact on Schwartzberg compared to each of my illustrative plans and compared to the 2022 Map.

25. Dr. Hood states: “It is certainly possible to create a hypothetical congressional districting plan for Missouri where the districts are more compact than those in the 2025 plan.”



(Hood at 14). I agree. In fact, CDs 4 and 5 in my eight plans and the 2022 Map are more compact than those in the 2025 Map.

26. The legislature's preferences are reflected in the lines that they drew, and I adopted them by freezing districts as drawn in the 2025 Map. Dr. Hood asks "But could such a hypothetical plan take into account all of the criteria considered by the Missouri General Assembly? The answer is almost certainly no." (Id.). But I did incorporate most of the legislature's considered criteria. As I show in my opening report, my plans retain *at least* 82.4% of the legislature's choices in the 2025 Map. (Cervas at 7, Table 1). I made no changes to CDs 1, 2, 7, or 8 in any plan. I make changes to only CDs 4 and 5 in four of my illustrative plans, CDs 4, 5, and 6 in three plans, and CDs 3, 4, 5, and 6 in one plan. I also considered recognized factors and found that none of those criteria explain the non-compactness of CDs 4 and 5 in the 2025 Map. All my plans are illustrative of different choices the legislature could have made and are not exhaustive of all the potential choices they could make while creating a plan where CDs 4 and 5 were "as compact...as may be." All my plans show the legislature could have pursued largely the same redistricting objectives while creating a plan where CDs 4 and 5 were significantly more compact.

27. Dr. Hood says in footnote 21 on page 14: "The expert reports of Professor Cervas and Professor Stern do not include any interviews with legislators nor any examination of the legislative record regarding the 2025 congressional redistricting." Methodologically, talking to some or all legislators would not help to determine whether districts were drawn in compact ways or provide a full account of what the legislature sought to accomplish in configuring congressional districts. To the extent that I could account for the testimony of different legislators, it is unclear how an expert should weigh conflicting testimony or goals. What the legislature collectively wanted to achieve in congressional redistricting is reflected the congressional districts themselves. That is how my eight illustrative plans account for the legislature's prerogatives, by preserving the lines the legislature drew and retaining the cores of most of the districts. Moreover, on the latter point, Dr. Hood is incorrect. In my opening report, I considered recognized factors as well as other goals allegedly desired by proponents of the 2025 Map (such as avoiding pairing incumbents).

28. To the extent that Dr. Hood is arguing that CD 5 in the 2025 Map is made less compact to accommodate a more compact CD 4 or 6 (see Hood fn 8 at 5), it is unsupported by the facts. Table 2 in my opening report shows that CD 5 can improve on compactness scores while simultaneously increasing or keeping constant the compactness scores of adjacent districts. Comparing the 2025 Map to each of my eight illustrative plans, the Reock score is the same or increases in every single district. For Polsby-Popper scores, every district has the same or increased compactness score except for CD 4 in Cervas 3 and Cervas 4, which is less than the 2025 CD 4 by 0.01, and CD 6 in Cervas 6, which was 0.03 less than the 2025 Map. My maps Cervas 7 and Cervas 8 also increase the Reock and Polsby-Popper scores compared to the 2025 Map in every district, including CDs 4 and 6. The reduction in the compactness of CD 5 cannot be explained by a desire to increase the compactness of CD 4 or CD 6. My maps show that all three districts' compactness could be improved simultaneously.

### 3. Response to Dr. Trende

29. I have read and reviewed Dr. Trende's report, and his report serves to reinforce the opinions and conclusions from my opening report.

30. Dr. Trende agrees with my analysis that the text in House Bill 1 is ambiguous as to which district(s) the voting tabulation districts ("VTD") "KC 811" are assigned to. We both agree that there are two VTDs with the same name in the 2020 census and we both agree that they have a unique id.

31. Like Dr. Trende, I am not certain which "election officials would actually have discretion to prescribe a different outcome," nor should my report be read to indicate that I have a legal opinion on such a matter. I simply point out that the text of House Bill 1 does not clearly describe how these VTDs should be assigned to districts, based on the text. Only through assumption can one determine which districts the two VTDs "KC 811" should be assigned.

32. Dr. Trende states that I do not contemplate these two VTDs being assigned in a way in which they would not result in malapportioned and noncontiguous districts. (Trende at 16). However, in Table 1 of my opening report, I do note that the 2025 Map reflected in the shapefile available on the website of the Missouri Office of Administration, Division of Budget & Planning (<https://budplan.ao.mo.gov/redistricting-office/2025-us-congressional-house-maps>), assigns the areas labeled "KC 811" to CDs 4 and 5 in a way that makes both districts equally populated and contiguous. Additionally, I analyze the 2025 Map in my opening report using the contiguous version from the above website.

33. Dr. Trende and I both use Dave's Redistricting App to report Reock and Polsby-Popper compactness scores. There is no dispute about the suitability of these measurements for the purpose of comparison.

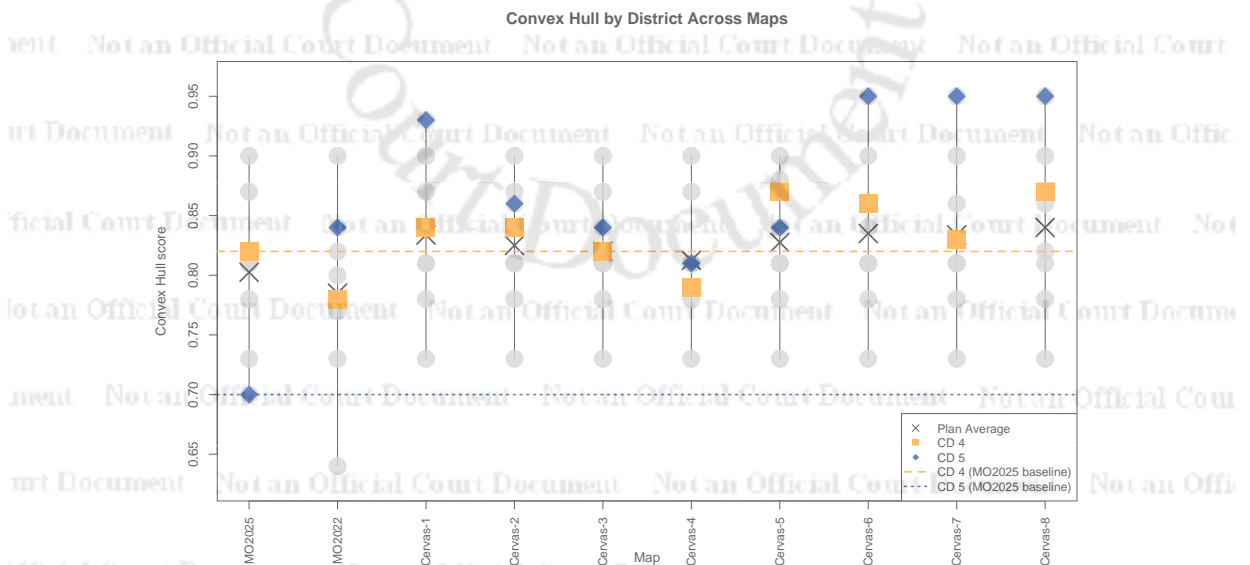
34. Dr. Trende also reports the "Convex Hull" and "IKIWISI" scores. He did not report these scores for my illustrative plans, nor did he provide the scores for each district individually in any plan. I have calculated these scores for each plan and each district.<sup>1</sup> The Convex Hull scores are provided in Table 2. The Convex Hull score is like the Reock score but instead of comparing the district to its smallest bounding circle, Convex Hull compares the district to its smallest bounding polygon. For the alternative maps, the districts altered from the 2025 Map are shaded light grey. A green up arrow (▲) indicates an increase in the relevant score compared to the 2025 Map, an equal sign (=) indicates no change, and a red down arrow (▼) indicates a decrease. The scores range from 0 to 1, where 1 is most compact.

<sup>1</sup> I used the algorithms found in Dr. Trende's production code to calculate Convex Hull scores. I compare the numbers I generated with those in his Table 1 on page 18 (Trende) and see that our numbers are comparable.

**Table 2 - District-Level Convex Hull Scores**

Convex Hull	2022 Map	2025 Map	Cervas 1	Cervas 2	Cervas 3	Cervas 4	Cervas 5	Cervas 6	Cervas 7	Cervas 8
Mapwide Avg.	0.79	0.80	0.83 ▲	0.83 ▲	0.82 ▲	0.81 ▲	0.83 ▲	0.84 ▲	0.83 ▲	0.84 ▲
CD 4 & 5 Avg.	0.81	0.76	0.89 ▲	0.85 ▲	0.83 ▲	0.80 ▲	0.86 ▲	0.91 ▲	0.89 ▲	0.91 ▲
1	0.77	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78
2	0.80	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81
3	0.64	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.82 ▲
4	0.78	0.82	0.84 ▲	0.84 ▲	0.82 =	0.79 ▼	0.87 ▲	0.86 ▲	0.83 ▲	0.87 ▲
5	0.84	0.70	0.93 ▲	0.86 ▲	0.84 ▲	0.81 ▲	0.84 ▲	0.95 ▲	0.95 ▲	0.95 ▲
6	0.82	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.88 ▲	0.84 ▼	0.86 ▼	0.86 ▼
7	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90
8	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.73

**Figure 2 - Plot of District-Level Convex Hull Scores by Map**



35. My opinion as to whether CDs 4 and 5 were drawn to be “as compact ... as may be” is reinforced after reviewing the Convex Hull scores associated with each district and when compared to the 2022 Map and my eight alternative maps. CDs 4 and 5 on average in the 2025 Map are less compact on Convex Hull compared to each of my illustrative plans and compared to the 2022 Map.

36. I report the district level and average scores for “IKIWISI” in Table 3. The “IKIWISI,” as the measure’s authors describe in their paper, is a “statistical model that predicts, with high accuracy, solely from the geometric features of the district, compactness

evaluations by judges and public officials.”<sup>2</sup> The scores range from 0 to 100, where higher scores indicate more compact districts. A green up arrow (▲) indicates an increase in the relevant score compared to the 2025 Map, an equal sign (=) indicates no change, and a red down arrow (▼) indicates a decrease.

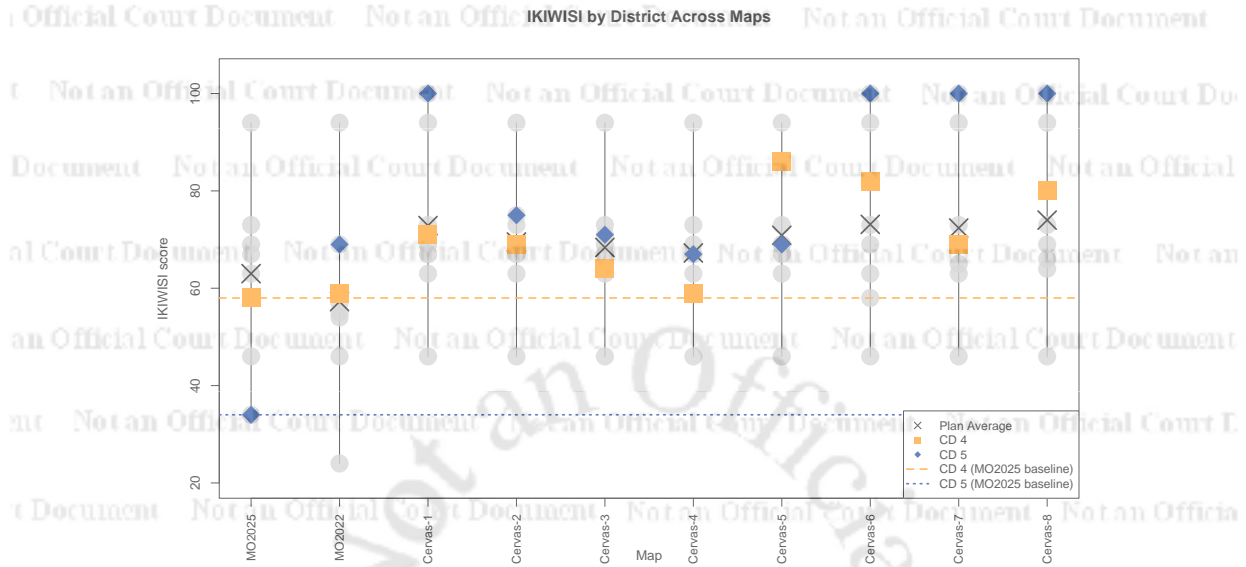
**Table 3 - District-Level “IKIWISI” Scores**

District	2022 Map	2025 Map	Cervas 1	Cervas 2	Cervas 3	Cervas 4	Cervas 5	Cervas 6	Cervas 7	Cervas 8
<i>Mapwide Avg.</i>	57.3	63	72.9 ▲	69.5 ▲	68.4 ▲	67.3 ▲	70.9 ▲	73.1 ▲	72.4 ▲	74 ▲
<i>CD 4 &amp; 5 Avg.</i>	64	46	85.5 ▲	72 ▲	67.5 ▲	63 ▲	77.5 ▲	91 ▲	84.5 ▲	90 ▲
<i>1</i>	57	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73
<i>2</i>	55	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	69	69
<i>3</i>	24	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	64 ▲
<i>4</i>	59	58	71 ▲	69 ▲	64 ▲	59 ▲	86 ▲	82 ▲	69 ▲	80 ▲
<i>5</i>	69	34	100 ▲	75 ▲	71 ▲	67 ▲	69 ▲	100 ▲	100 ▲	100 ▲
<i>6</i>	54	67	67	67	67	67	67 =	58 ▼	65 ▼	66 ▼
<i>7</i>	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
<i>8</i>	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46

<sup>2</sup> Kaufman, Aaron R., Gary King, and Mayya Komisarchik. 2021. “How to Measure Legislative District Compactness If You Only Know It When You See It.” *American Journal of Political Science* 65(3): 533–50. doi:10.1111/ajps.12603.



**Figure 3 - Plot of District-Level “IKIWISI” Scores by Map**



37. My opinion as to whether CDs 4 and 5 were drawn to be “as compact ... as may be” is reinforced after reviewing the “IKIWISI” scores associated with each district and when compared to the 2022 Map and my eight alternative maps. CDs 4 and 5 in the 2025 Map are less compact on average and individually on “IKIWISI” compared to each of my illustrative plans and compared to the 2022 Map.

38. I was also asked by Plaintiffs’ counsel to report the “IKIWISI” scores for the three maps created by another expert, and those which I adjusted in my opening report. That data is reported in Table 4.

**Table 4 - District-Level “IKIWISI” Scores for Simulated Maps**

IKIWISI	2022 Map	2025 Map	map71871	Adjusted	map11029	Adjusted	map11163	Adjusted
<i>Mapwide Avg.</i>	57.3	63	67.3 ▲	67.1 ▲	66.1 ▲	66.3 ▲	70.4 ▲	68.4 ▲
<i>CD 4 &amp; 5 Avg.</i>	64	46	63 ▲	62.5 ▲	58.5 ▲	59 ▲	75.5 ▲	67.5 ▲
4	59	58	59 ▲	59 ▲	67 ▲	67 ▲	71 ▲	69 ▲
5	69	34	67 ▲	66 ▲	50 ▲	51 ▲	80 ▲	66 ▲

39. Dr. Trende makes the same conceptual mistake that Dr. Hood makes by comparing individual districts in the 2025 Map to those in other geographic areas of the state, or that use a different population baseline, like the 2012 Map. He compares CD 5 to individual districts across three plans: the 2012 Map, the 2022 Map, and the 2025 Map. In doing so, he attempts to show that some districts are less compact than CD 5 in the 2025 Map according to certain quantitative metrics. To the extent that these comparisons are at all proper, it is worth considering CD 5 against all the districts in the plans he is comparing it to. He compares CD 5

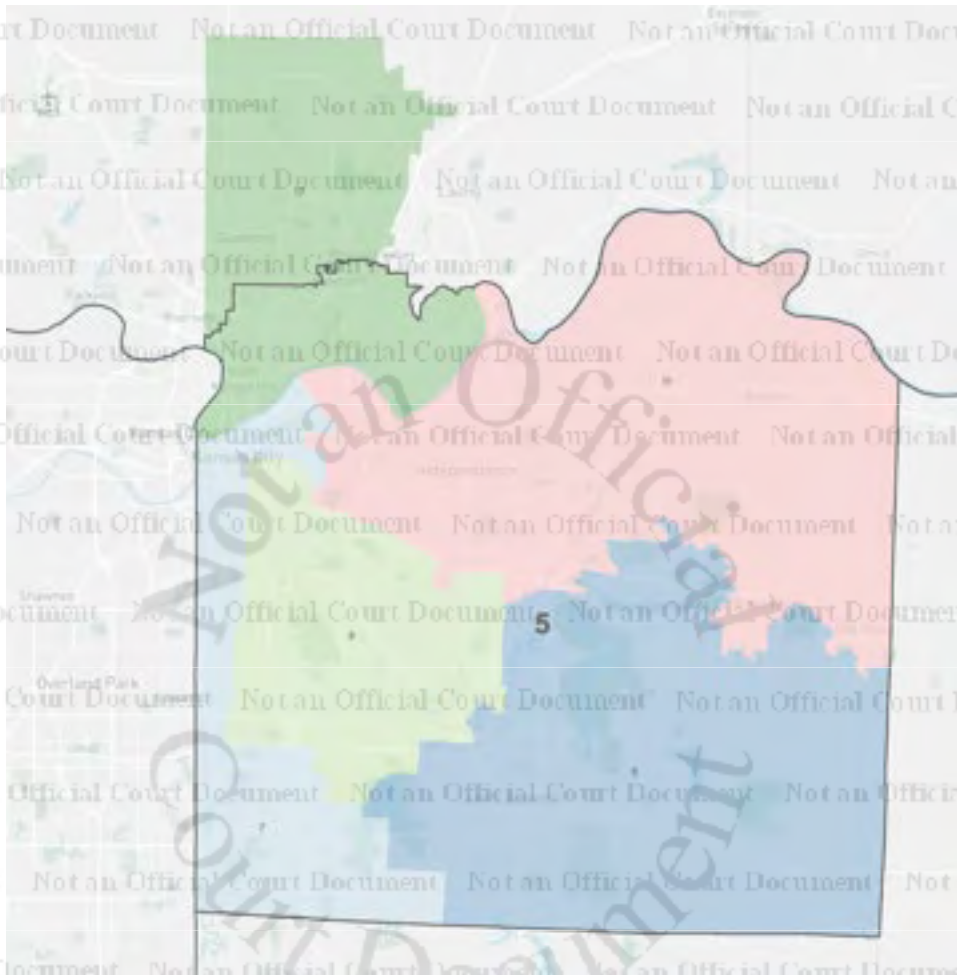
to the eight districts in each of the 2022 and 2012 Maps, and to the other seven districts in the 2025 Map (comparing CD 5 to 23 other districts in total). He shows that CD 5 in the 2025 Map is less compact than 83% of the districts using Reock (19 out of 23), 91% of the districts using Polsby-Popper (21 out of 23), 87% using Convex Hull (20 out of 23), and 91% of all districts using IKIWISI (21 out of 23).

40. These numbers are reported by Dr. Trende without any context as to how the compactness of these districts is affected by their compliance with other requirements or recognized factors.

41. On page 21-23, Dr. Trende discusses the dividing line between CDs 4 and 5 in the 2025 Map. He seems to suggest that this line follows the boundaries of state senate districts ("SD"). State senate districts also must abide by the US Constitution's mandate of one person, one vote. In terms of population, a congressional district is more than four times as large as a state senate district in Missouri. It is therefore possible to keep most state senate districts fully contained within congressional districts.

42. It was possible to avoid splitting all but one senate boundary in CD 5 by keeping Jackson County whole. SDs 7, 8, 9, and 11 are wholly contained in Jackson County, while a piece of SD 17 is in Jackson County. The remaining population of SD 17 is in Clay County.

43. My alternative plans—Cervas 6, 7, and 8—all show that accounting for senate boundaries cannot explain the non-compact configuration of CDs 4 and 5 in the 2025 Map. Maps 7 and 8 match or improve on all criteria and recognized factors while making CDs 4 and 5 more compact. Additionally, CD 5 in these plans includes all of Jackson County, which means SDs 7, 8, 9, and 11 are fully contained in the district, as shown in Figure 4. In so far as preserving the state senate districts was among the legislature's priorities, it cannot explain the non-compact districts in and around Jackson County.

**Figure 4 - Cervas 6/7/8 with Missouri State Senate Districts**

44. Considering Dr. Trende's comments about state senate districts, I measured across all the plans the number of senate districts divided between districts and the total number of divisions. Unlike counties or municipalities, senate districts all have roughly the same population. Each congressional district should have more than four but less than five senate districts inside them.

**Table 5 - Senate District Splits**

	2022 Map	2025 Map	Cervas 1	Cervas 2	Cervas 3	Cervas 4	Cervas 5	Cervas 6	Cervas 7	Cervas 8
# of Total Senate District Splits	17	17	15 ▼	15 ▼	17 =	16 ▼	16 ▼	14 ▼	14 ▼	14 ▼
# of Senate Districts Split	21	22	18 ▼	18 ▼	20 ▼	20 ▼	20 ▼	16 ▼	17 ▼	17 ▼

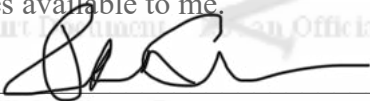
45. The 2025 Map either does the same (total senate district splits) or *worse* (an additional split senate district) than the 2022 Map. All eight of my maps have the same or fewer total senate district splits and split fewer senate districts.

46. Dr. Trende notes on page 27 that the downtown airport (“MKC”) is in CD 6. This downtown airport is also in CD 6 in each of my illustrative plans Cervas 1, 2, 3, and 4. I would further note that the Kansas City International Airport (“MCI”) is in CD 6 in the 2025 Map, the 2022 Map, and in each of my illustrative plans. Placing the airport in CD 6 cannot explain why CDs 4 and 5 were made less compact.

47. Dr. Trende writes that my illustrative plans “... demonstrate that districts 4 and 5 could have been redrawn in such a way as to improve compactness scores. He does so while achieving certain goals: keeping core retention, compactness scores, and political subdivision splits within rough range of the Enacted Map.” (Trende at 27). I agree.

\* \* \*

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge. I reserve the right to revise, update, or supplement my opinions as new information becomes available to me.



Dr. Jonathan Cervas



**Assessing Rural and Urban Territory in Western Missouri**

***Expert Report for Wise v. State Plaintiffs***

John B. Cromartie, Ph.D.

**PX  
25**

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## Summary of Findings

I was asked by the Plaintiffs in *Wise v. State* to examine whether the Kansas City area constitutes a closely united territory that is distinct from other parts of western Missouri, and whether the 2025 configuration of Congressional Districts (“CDs”) 4 and 5 does more or less than the 2022 configuration of CDs 4 and 5 to keep alike territory together. Based on my analysis, I conclude the following:

- 1) Kansas City constitutes a closely united territory distinct from other parts of western Missouri.
  - a) At the municipal level, Kansas City—which predominantly sits in Jackson County, but also includes portions of Clay, Cass, and Platte Counties—is by far the largest incorporated city in western Missouri, more than four times larger than the next largest municipality.
  - b) For decades, Jackson and Clay Counties have been the overwhelming demographic magnets of population growth in western Missouri, out-pacing the national average growth rates while the rest of the region experienced either slow growth or, in many areas, chronic population decline.
  - c) The Kansas City area stands in marked contrast to nearby rural areas in its ability to attract newcomers from other parts of the United States (domestic migration), in its role as an immigration hub, and in its growth from natural change (births minus deaths). All of these trends create a much younger population compared with nearby rural counties.
  - d) These differing demographic trends are critical in forming distinct closely united communities because of their impacts on economic and social life. In Kansas City, as elsewhere, population trends help shape job opportunities, industrial structure, education and training, transportation, housing and access to services.
- 2) Taking into account rural-urban differences, contrasting demographic trends, and consequent economic and social conditions, the 2025 configuration of CDs 4 and 5 divides closely united communities, both urban and rural, whereas the 2022 CDs 4 and 5 better kept together alike territory.
  - a) Over 88 percent of 2022 CD 5’s population live in Kansas City’s Metropolitan Core, and the remainder, with the exception of the just under one percent of the district who live in rural areas, live in Kansas City’s Metropolitan Outlying areas.
  - b) The urban/Metro core of Kansas City is now fractured across the reconfigured CDs 4, 5, and 6.
  - c) The populations of the reconfigured CDs 4 and 5 reside across all categories of the rural-urban continuum, tying together downtown Kansas City with remote rural outposts far apart in both distance and makeup.



## Background and Qualifications

In September 2025, I retired from my position as Research Geographer at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service (USDA-ERS), having served in that position for 35 years. During that time, I was the Department's leader in the development and reporting of policy-relevant analyses of population trends and migration patterns affecting rural United States communities and households. Much of my research focused on rural-urban differences in demographic trends and their comparative impacts on economic growth and community well-being. In addition to being a leading scholar of rural demography, I also served as the leading national expert on defining and interpreting rural and urban definitions at the county and subcounty levels. My research and expertise were essential in myriad research, policy, and program applications both within USDA and across many other Federal agencies. Finally, I was a key expert in the knowledge, use, and dissemination of data sources used in rural analysis.

### *Research on rural population trends*

I received my Ph.D. in Geography from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1990, with a specialization in both Population Geography and Geographic Information Systems. My dissertation, titled "Black Return and Nonreturn Migration to the US South: A Comparison of Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Destinations," uncovered a previously unseen migration trend hidden in the data, showing children and grandchildren of original southern out-migrants moving back to rural "home places," a form of intergenerational return migration.<sup>1</sup>

My research at USDA-ERS required the use of theory and methodology from related disciplines, including geography, demography, sociology, and economics. I combined multiple perspectives on rural population change, economic restructuring, aging of the population, net migration and immigration. I was responsible for producing current data and statistics on population and migration used throughout the academic and governmental research community. I was required to use geographic information systems to support and demonstrate rural economic and demographic analysis and data. Based on research results and personal expertise, I produced authoritative technical advice and guidance on Departmental actions and policy decisions aimed at fostering rural prosperity.

Much of my research focused on United States age-specific migration trends. In the 2000s, for instance, members of the baby boom cohort entered a period in their lives when moves to rural destinations increased. Given the potential rural development impacts of these trends, I identified a need for policymakers and regional planners to better understand how migration patterns shift as Americans move through their working-age and retirement years and what

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<sup>1</sup> John B. Cromartie and Carol B. Stack, "Reinterpretation of Black Return and Nonreturn Migration to the South, 1975-80." *Geographical Review*, Volume 79 (1989), pp. 297-310.

types of rural areas are likely to be affected by these shifts. Life-cycle perspectives dominated current research on migration, but this analysis was one of the first to use regression models to measure how rural migration destinations shift with age. The publications focused on the declining significance of employment-related factors in explaining baby boomer migration and the emerging geographic shift among this cohort toward more isolated settings, especially those with scenic amenities and lower housing costs.<sup>2</sup>

In 2013, I became the first scholar to show that rural areas as a whole were losing population for the first time in history.<sup>3</sup> While rural areas in some parts of the country have experienced population decline for decades, this was the first time rural areas as a whole had lost population. My analysis showed this to be a signal of structural demographic change emerging over time and thus not likely to be a short-lived trend. This research had a high policy impact by documenting early-on the degree to which new demographic trends in the 2010s broke with long-established population patterns in rural America. Research results were reported in the *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and the *Washington Post*. I presented findings as part of my invited appearance on CSPAN's weekly show *America by the Numbers*.

The 2017 "Report to the President of the United States from the Task Force on Agriculture and Rural Prosperity," written as a roadmap for the new administration on ways to promote agriculture and rural prosperity, included findings from my research on drivers of rural population change, aging, return migration, and housing affordability.

#### *Research on rural-urban definitions*

Population trends over several decades have reconfigured rural-urban distinctions, making it necessary to continually modify federal rural-urban definitions, such as the Census Bureau's Urban Areas and the Office of Management and Budget's (OMB's) Metropolitan Areas, discussed further below. Beginning in 1991, I served on OMB's Committee on Metropolitan Standards that oversaw a major reconfiguration of these standards in 2000. My research and advocacy influenced the decision at that time to add Micropolitan Areas, bringing federal recognition to the importance of small cities and towns throughout the US.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> John B. Cromartie and Peter M. Nelson, P. *Baby Boom Migration and Its Impact on Rural America*. Economic Research Report, ERR-79, USDA-ERS (August 2009), 30 pp.

<sup>3</sup> John B. Cromartie, "Nonmetro Areas as a Whole Experience First Period of Population Loss" *Amber Waves* (May 6, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> David Brown, John Cromartie, Lazlo Kulcsar, "Micropolitan Areas and the Measurement of American Urbanization." *Population Research and Policy Review*, Volume 23 (2004), pp. 299-418.

Numerous federal departments administer programs to provide support to rural people and communities, including the USDA, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), the Veterans Administration (VA), and others. These programs require up-to-date definitions of “rural” to determine eligibility tailored to the specific goals of the legislation. Starting in 2009, I served on the USDA Taskforce on Rural Definitions, to assess rural definitions that determine eligibility for over 40 Rural Development programs. The work of the Taskforce resulted in the Secretary’s “Report on the Definition of ‘Rural’” in 2013 that fulfilled a Congressional mandate to simplify rural criteria used in those programs.

During my career, I developed two new rural-urban classifications designed to address specific policy needs: the Rural-Urban Commuting Area (RUCA) codes and the Frontier and Remote Area (FAR) codes. Following the theoretical concepts used by the OMB to define county-level metropolitan and micropolitan areas, the sub-county RUCA codes identify urban cores of varying sizes and adjacent territory that is economically integrated with those cores via commuting. The FAR codes identify U.S. areas with low population and high remoteness, using travel time to urban areas to define levels of increasing remoteness. The more geographically-detailed information provided by RUCA and FAR codes have been widely used to improve rural research and policy. HHS uses both of these classifications to determine eligibility for funding health services in rural areas. The VA adopted RUCA codes to help address unique challenges facing veterans living in small town and remote areas.

In 2015, I helped organize and served as presenter and discussant for a 2-day National Academies of Science workshop on *Rationalizing Rural Area Classifications*. I co-wrote the proposal, served on the Steering Committee and assisted with editing the final report. Participants included leading international experts and the White House Senior Advisor for Rural Affairs. Consensus results were highly supportive of both the RUCA and FAR code classifications as they are used for both academic research and federal policy making.

In 2018, I was invited to the United Nation’s Food and Agricultural Organization headquarters in Rome to participate in the UN’s Expert Group Meeting on Improving Rural Statistics. The meeting was convened to assess a proposed global definition of rural to enhance the comparability of agricultural and rural statistics across all countries.

## Methodology

This report employs a comparative spatial framework, descriptive analysis, and mapping approach commonly found in rural demographic research.<sup>5</sup> The underlying premise, based on widely accepted research and my own decades of research, is that rural communities generally face a diverse set of economic and social challenges that differ from those found in urban areas. These challenges are inextricably linked with population change and its components: births, deaths, and migration. Demographic change is both a cause and consequence of differences in job opportunities, workforce skills, education and training, transportation, housing, access to services, and other factors. In many parts of the U.S., these dynamics lead to significant economic disparities between rural and urban communities, with important implications for federal legislation and policy making aimed at promoting rural prosperity. Comparative demographic analysis helps to articulate both the challenges and possible remedies.

I provide a portrait of the rural-urban divide in western Missouri, highlighting the stark contrast between Kansas City and the rest of the region. I use data on incorporated places and urban areas from the U.S. Census Bureau. I also use the Rural-Urban Commuting Area (RUCA) codes from USDA-ERS, taking advantage of its detailed geography and 10-level classification. The Census Tract geography of the RUCA codes allows a comprehensive assessment of differences in rural-urban diversity within CDs 4 and 5.<sup>6</sup>

I also use data from the U.S. Census Bureau and USDA's Economic Research Service to assess population trends in western Missouri, specifically territory included in the 2022 and 2025 CDs 4 and 5. The comparative analysis of population trends is carried out using county-level population data from the U.S. Census. I compare trends among: 1) the Metro Core counties of the Kansas City Metropolitan Area; 2) the Metro Outlying counties in the study area; and 3) Nonmetro counties in the study area (Figure 1).

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<sup>5</sup> The Rural Population Research Network provides examples of recent publications of leading United States rural demographers: <https://rprn.org/publications/>.

<sup>6</sup> The alignment is not perfect, because Congressional Districts are built from smaller Census Blocks whereas RUCA codes are assigned by census tract. The differences in populations incorrectly included and excluded are less than 2 percent in any given CD represented, with negligible impact on the rural-urban portrait provided here and no impact on my ultimate conclusions.



## Notes on Terminology

### Urban and rural definitions

There are several definitions for “urban” and “rural” based on different theoretical concepts and used in different research and policy contexts. As noted in the methodology section, this report relies on two sources of data which each carry their own definitions of “urban” and “rural.” I outline below which subparts I consider “urban” or “rural” for the purposes of assessing the presence of an “urban-rural divide.”

### Census Urban and Rural Areas

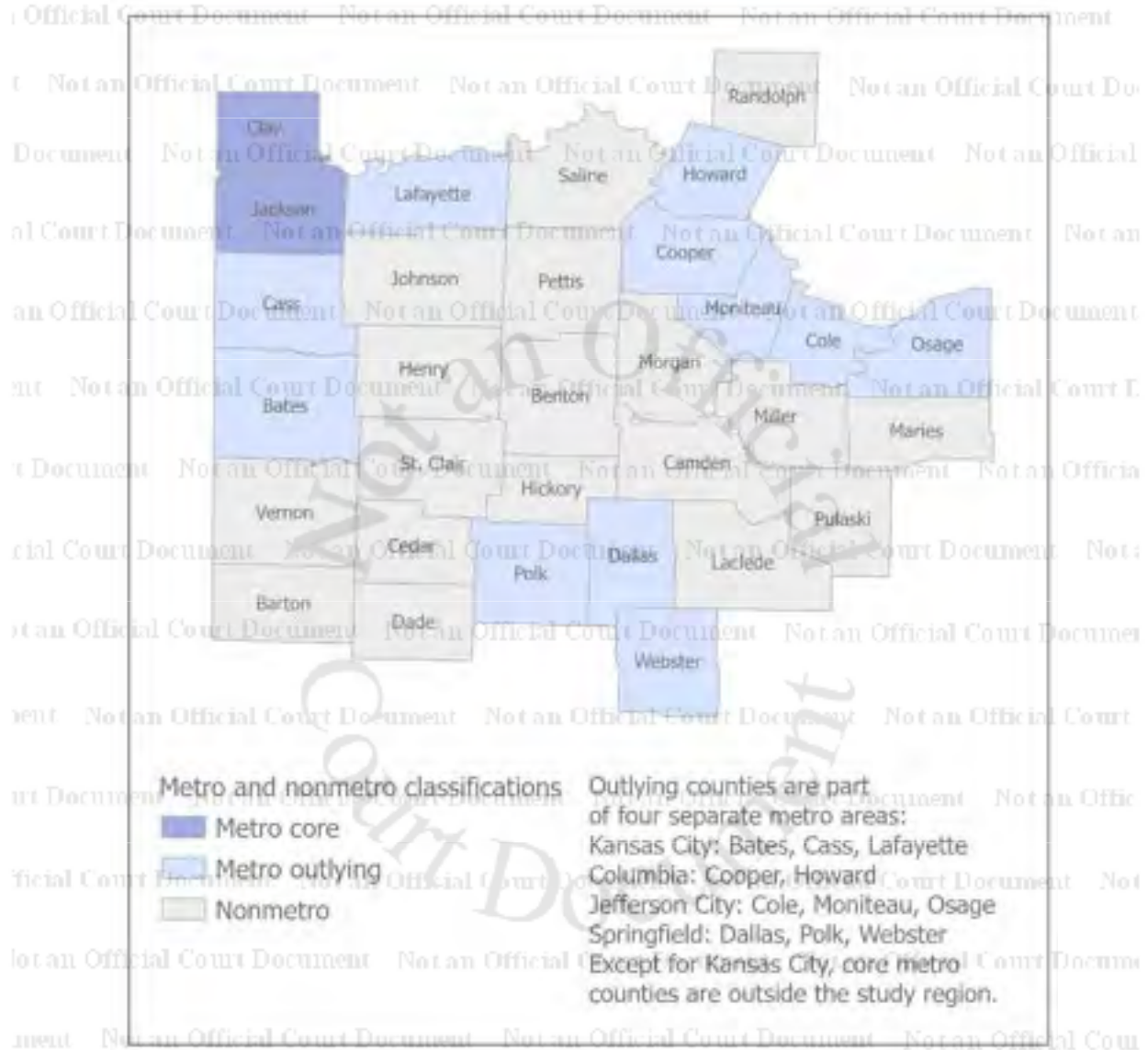
The Census Bureau’s definition of “urban areas” is based on housing unit density at the block level, and to qualify as urban a census block must have 425 housing units per square mile. In this definition, “rural areas” comprise open country and settlements with fewer than 2,000 housing units and 5,000 residents. Census urban areas consist of both the “urban core,” with the higher density housing, and surrounding areas with lower density housing. The data collected by the Census Bureau in making these categories is one of the factors included in the RUCA codes (discussed below), but I do not use them independently for this report.

### Office of Management and Budget Metropolitan and Micropolitan Areas

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) defines “Metropolitan” and “Micropolitan” areas at the county level. Metropolitan areas include “Metro Core” counties with one or more urban areas of 50,000 people or more, and “Metro Outlying” counties that are economically tied to Metro Core counties as measured by the share of the employed population commuting to and from Core counties. All counties that lie outside of these commuting zones are labelled “Nonmetro” counties. They include “Micro Core” counties and their respective “Micro Outlying” counties as well as counties that are outside Metro or Micro areas. By these definitions, an OMB-defined Metro Area often extends well beyond its built-up urban core. Because of the population growth patterns and attendant attributes typical of Metro counties as compared with those of Nonmetro counties, this report considers Metro and Nonmetro Counties as urban and rural, respectively, when assessing the nature of the urban-rural divide in western Missouri. The report also assesses additional distinctions between Metro Core and Metro Outlying counties that differ from the Nonmetro counties. Figure 1 presents the Metro Core, Metro Outlying, and Nonmetro designations of the counties in the western Missouri study area.



Figure 1. OMB Metropolitan Designations of Western Missouri



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

### USDA-ERS Rural-Urban Commuting Areas

The USDA-ERS's RUCA codes provide a census-tract-level breakdown of areas into ten different numbered classes based on core identified areas and commuting flows into those areas. The ten classifications are broken down as follows:

Figure 2. RUCA Code Classification Definitions

1 = Metropolitan core: primary commuting flow is within an urban area of 50,000 or more people (metro UA)
2 = Metropolitan high commuting: primary commuting flow is 30 percent or more to a metro UA
3 = Metropolitan low commuting: primary commuting flow is 10 percent to 30 percent to a metro UA
4 = Micropolitan core: primary flow is within an urban area of 10,000 to 49,999 people (micro UA)
5 = Micropolitan high commuting: primary commuting flow is 30 percent or more to a micro UA
6 = Micropolitan low commuting: primary commuting flow is 10 percent to 30 percent to a micro UA
7 = Small town core: primary commuting flow is within an urban area of 9,999 or fewer people (small town UA)
8 = Small town high commuting: primary commuting flow is 30 percent or more to a small town UA
9 = Small town low commuting: primary commuting flow is 10 percent to 30 percent to a small town UA
10 = Rural areas: primary commuting flow is to a tract outside an UA

Source: USDA-ERS Rural-Urban Commuting Area Codes, census tracts, Codebook

While the primary RUCA codes include 10 classification levels, in this report I combine the Metropolitan, Micropolitan, and Small-Town high and low commuting areas into combined Outlying areas for each type, resulting in 7 total classification levels:<sup>7</sup>

- Metro Core (RUCA 1)
- Metro Outlying (RUCA 2 and 3)
- Micro Core (RUCA 4)
- Micro Outlying (RUCA 5 and 6)
- Small Town Core (RUCA 7)
- Small Town Outlying (RUCA 8 and 9)
- Rural (RUCA 10)

This report then considers the Metro Core and Metro Outlying areas as urban/Metro and the remaining five groups as rural/Nonmetro, conceptually corresponding with OMB's county-level Metro Core, Metro Outlying, and Nonmetro areas.

### **“Western Missouri”**

I refer to the area I assess, which covers the areas included in either the 2022 or 2025 CDs 4 and 5, as “western Missouri.” This includes the following counties: Barton, Bates, Benton, Boone, Camden, Cass, Cedar, Clay, Cole, Cooper, Dade, Dallas, Henry, Hickory, Howard, Jackson, Johnson, Laclede, Lafayette, Maries, Miller, Moniteau, Morgan, Osage, Pettis, Polk, Pulaski, Randolph, Saline, St. Clair, Vernon, and Webster.

By referencing these areas together as “western Missouri,” I do not mean to imply or suggest that these areas are united or that grouping them together is logical. There are various regional

<sup>7</sup> The combination of the high and low commuting areas for the purposes of assessment is commonly done in various applications of RUCA codes including, for example, in HHS determinations for eligibility for rural-based healthcare programs.

groupings to use in breaking down Missouri which are consistent with my analysis of alike territory, like the Missouri Department of Economic Development's Regional Map which separates out the Kansas City Region—covering Jackson, Cass, Platte, Clay, and Ray counties—from the Central Region,<sup>8</sup> or the Missouri Economic Research and Information Center which separates out the Kansas City Region—again covering Jackson, Cass, Platte, Clay, and Ray counties—from the West Central and Central Regions.<sup>9</sup>

## The Rural-Urban Divide in Western Missouri

### ***Rural and urban areas: distant, disconnected, disadvantaged***

Differences in population between urban/Metro and rural/Nonmetro areas will have significant impacts on the distinct needs of those areas.

On average, rural areas exhibit higher poverty rates, higher unemployment, and lower educational attainment. These rural disparities are often associated with long-term population decline, especially from out-migration of young adults, leading to fewer workers and an aging population. Aging itself poses distinct challenges in rural America, reducing workforce capacity and increasing demand for healthcare, housing, and other services geared to the needs of an older population.

Population aging is occurring more rapidly in rural areas than in urban areas. Rural areas are also home to larger shares of older and sicker people, and rural-urban and within-rural disparities in health and mortality are large and growing. Rural areas are also depopulating, raising questions about the implications for the people and places left behind.

Rural areas draw on a distinct store of assets not typically found in urban areas, including abundant land, natural resources, scenic amenities, recreational opportunities, less congestion and a slower pace of life. Rural areas are disproportionately dependent on resource-based industries such as agriculture, mining, and manufacturing. These industries continue to anchor the economies of thousands of rural counties but employ far fewer people than in the past due to significant, long-term productivity gains.

Rural areas remain less connected to reliable high-speed internet, which limits business growth and access to e-commerce, telehealth, tele-legal services, and digital learning.

<sup>8</sup> Missouri Dep't of Econ. Dev., *About*, <https://ded.mo.gov/about> (last visited Dec. 22, 2025).

<sup>9</sup> Missouri Econ. Rsch. and Info. Ctr., *Regional Profiles*, <https://meric.mo.gov/regional-profiles> (last visited Dec. 22, 2025).

People in rural areas are employed in industries with some of the highest rates of workplace accidents. Disability rates are disproportionately high in rural areas, problematic in areas with limited access to emergency rooms and legal advice.

These differences are also generally applicable to the assessed urban and rural areas in western Missouri where, for example, urban and rural areas have varying levels of access to healthcare and high-speed internet.

### ***Population change in western Missouri***

Massive population shifts since 1950 reshaped the United States in profound ways. People moved to cities in record numbers following the end of World War II and the suburbs of large cities such as Kansas City benefited the most. Expanding Metro regions became the focus of an urban-centric population boom, leaving behind thousands of slow-growing or declining Nonmetro counties. Small towns and rural areas across the country found it difficult to adjust to large-scale out-migration of young people. Nonmetro out-migration left behind a smaller, less-skilled work force and an increasingly aging population. The result is an economic and social landscape strongly differentiated along Metro-Nonmetro boundaries.

For the most part, western Missouri fits this historic demographic pattern. Between 1950 and 2020 nearly three-quarters of all population growth occurred in Metropolitan counties (Table 1). Two-thirds of all growth occurred in just two counties, Jackson and Clay, which make up the 2022 CD 5. Nonmetro counties in this region did not fare quite as badly in terms of overall population growth as in other parts of the country, in part due to the development of a major national transportation corridor (I-70) and the presence of recreation and retirement destinations in the Ozarks. Nonetheless, the emerging demographic divide can be seen in western Missouri in the much lower rate of population growth in Nonmetro counties (64 percent) compared with Metro Outlying counties (99 percent) in the 1950-2020 period.

The demographic divide came into sharp relief during the 2010s, a decade that saw Nonmetro population loss for the first time. While Nonmetro areas in many parts of the country had experienced population decline for decades, this was the first time that Nonmetro areas as a whole had lost population. This shift was a manifestation of long-term declines in fertility rates affecting the country as a whole, together with Nonmetro aging, and thus is not likely reversible in the long run.

Western Missouri took part in this historic shift, with its Nonmetro counties showing a decline in population for the first time in the 2010-2020 period (Table 1). Metro Outlying counties in western Missouri also experienced a downward shift in population, growing at just 2.9 percent, less than half the national growth rate of 7 percent. This too reflected a nationwide shift

toward slower suburban expansion. As a result, during the 2010s, close to 90 percent of all population growth in western Missouri took place in the Kansas City area's two Metro Core counties and the combined Metro Core and Metro Outlying areas accounting for 100% of the 2010-2020 population growth in western Missouri.

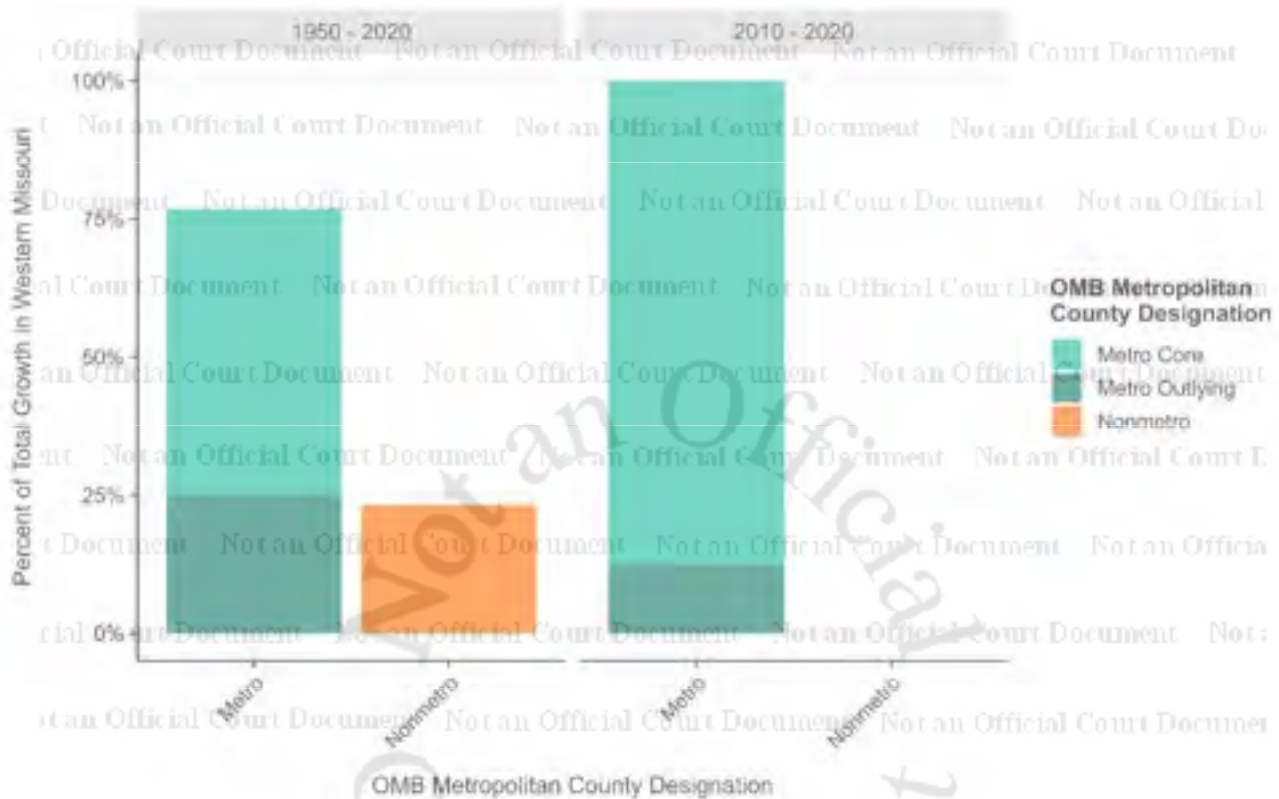
*Table 1. Population Change in Western Missouri, 1950-2020 and 2010-2020*

	1990 - 2020			2010 - 2020		
	<b>Numeric Population Growth</b>	<b>Percentage Population Growth</b>	<b>Percentage of All Growth in Western Missouri</b>	<b>Numeric Population Growth</b>	<b>Percentage Population Growth</b>	<b>Percentage of All Growth in Western Missouri</b>
<b>Metro</b>	<b>+572,361</b>	<b>+73.8%</b>	<b>76.8%</b>	<b>+85,003</b>	<b>+6.7%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
Core	+384,283	+65.5%	51.6%	+74,442	+8.3%	87.6%
Outlying	+188,078	+99.1%	25.2%	+10,561	+2.9%	12.4%
<b>Nonmetro</b>	<b>+173,071</b>	<b>+63.9%</b>	<b>23.2%</b>	<b>-2,157</b>	<b>-0.5%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>

*Source: U.S. Census Bureau*



Figure 3: Percent of Population Change in Western Missouri, 1950-2020 and 2010-2020



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The rural-urban divide is strongly evident when county population change is divided into its two major components: natural change (births minus deaths) and net migration (in-migrants minus out-migrants). From the 1950s through the 1970s, Nonmetro population loss was driven almost exclusively by net out-migration. Natural increase continued to add population in the vast majority of Nonmetro counties. Lower fertility rates and increasing mortality (due to the aging of the population) has in more recent decades led to a significant jump in the number of Nonmetro counties experiencing natural decrease, a phenomenon that has been labelled “more coffins than cribs.” By 2020, over half of Nonmetro counties in the United States had shifted to natural decrease, and western Missouri followed this trend. Of the 32 counties used in this analysis, 22 had begun to experience more deaths than births by 2020. Six of these were Metro Outlying counties and the remaining 16 were Nonmetro. In contrast, natural increase remained a major contributor to population growth in the Kansas City area’s Metro Core counties.

### ***Differences in rural-urban territory among 2022 and 2025 Congressional Districts 4 and 5***

The 2020 RUCA codes provide a detailed portrait of population settlement diversity in western Missouri which I apply here to the 2022 and 2025 CDs 4 and 5. As mentioned above, here I use a 7-level classification ranging from the most densely-settled Metropolitan (Metro) Core regions down to the most sparsely-settled rural areas. The 7-level RUCA classification for the 2022 and 2025 configurations of CDs 4 and 5 is presented below in a table (Table 2), bar graph (Figure 4) and in two maps (Figures 5 and 6).

*Table 2. RUCA Code Populations in Congressional Districts 4 and 5 for 2022 and 2025*

	<b>Metro Core</b>	<b>Metro Outlying</b>	<b>Micro Core</b>	<b>Micro Outlying</b>	<b>Small Town</b>	<b>Small Town Outlying</b>	<b>Rural</b>
<b>2022 CD 4</b>	157,111	152,517	109,739	70,525	47,443	34,523	183,120
<b>2025 CD 4</b>	287,370	191,153	55,055	42,450	45,803	31,605	120,239
<b>2022 CD 5</b>	673,058	90,926	0	0	0	0	115
<b>2025 CD 5</b>	426,340	114,024	67,042	35,106	27,979	2,918	101,206

*Source: 2020 USDA-ERS Rural-Urban Commuting Area Codes, census tracts*

Figure 4. RUCA Code Populations in Congressional Districts 4 and 5 for 2022 and 2025

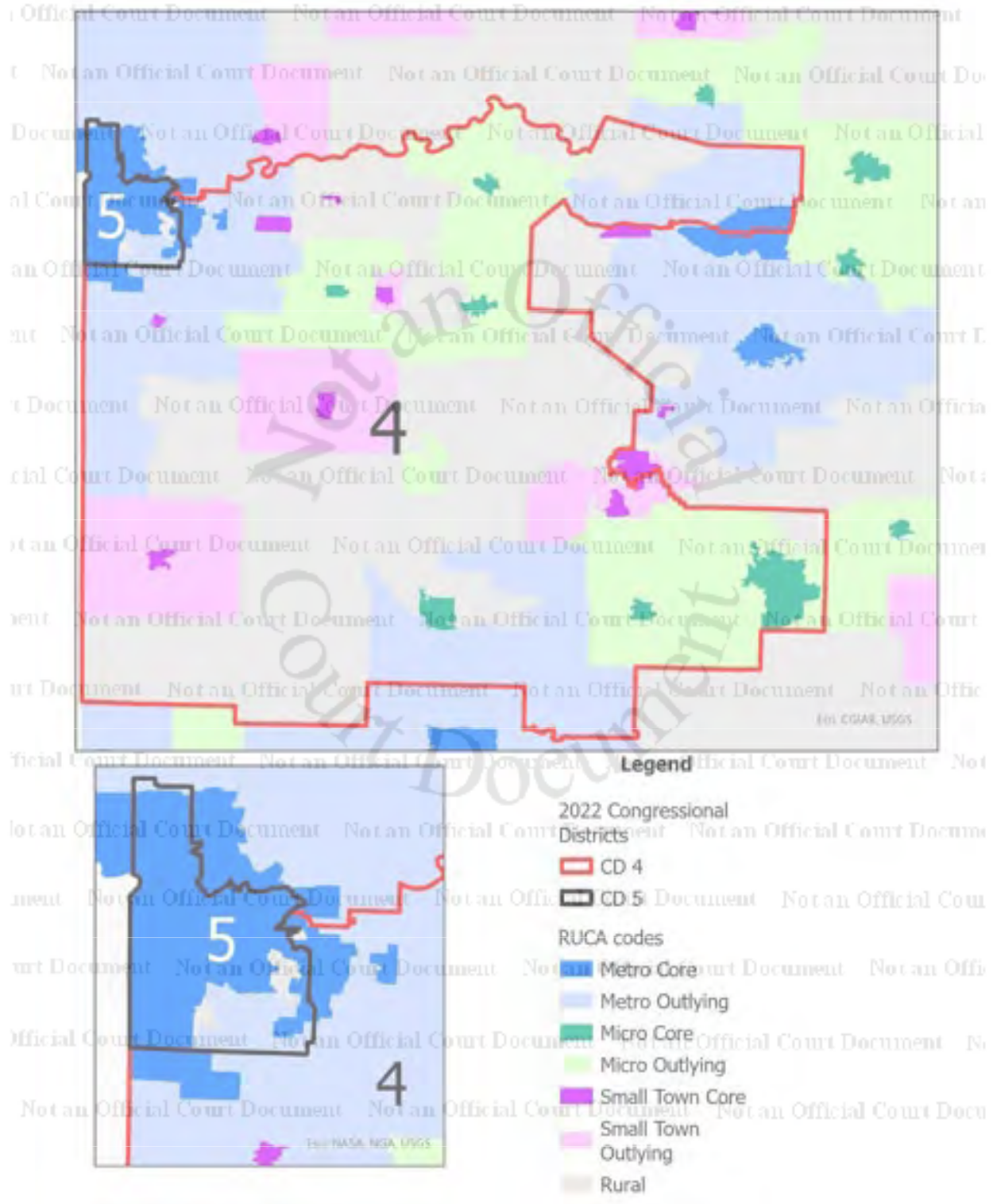


Source: 2020 USDA-ERS Rural-Urban Commuting Area Codes, census tracts

2022 District 5 largely coincided with the Metro Core of Kansas City. Eighty-eight percent of District 5's population resided in the Metro Core. The remaining population lived in Metro Suburbs (RUCA level 2) except for 0.02 percent that lived in rural territory. This is an excellent picture of a congressional district built around closely united urban territory (Figure 5).

The 2022 District 4 included population and territory from across the rural-urban spectrum. However, it is primarily made up of people living outside Metro areas, in Nonmetro territory (RUCA levels 4-10). Whereas less than 15 percent of U.S. residents live in Nonmetro areas, the number is just under 60 percent in 2022 District 4. In addition, over 35 percent of the 2022 CD 4 population live in Small Town areas (RUCA levels 7-9) and Rural areas (RUCA level 10), compared with 6 percent in the U.S. as a whole. This was a district made up largely of Nonmetro rural and small-town communities united by shared concerns regarding rural opportunities and challenges.

Figure 5. Rural-Urban Classifications in Missouri's 2022 Congressional Districts 4 and 5



Source: 2020 USDA-ERS Rural-Urban Commuting Area Codes, census tracts, Missouri Office of Administration: Division of Budget & Planning

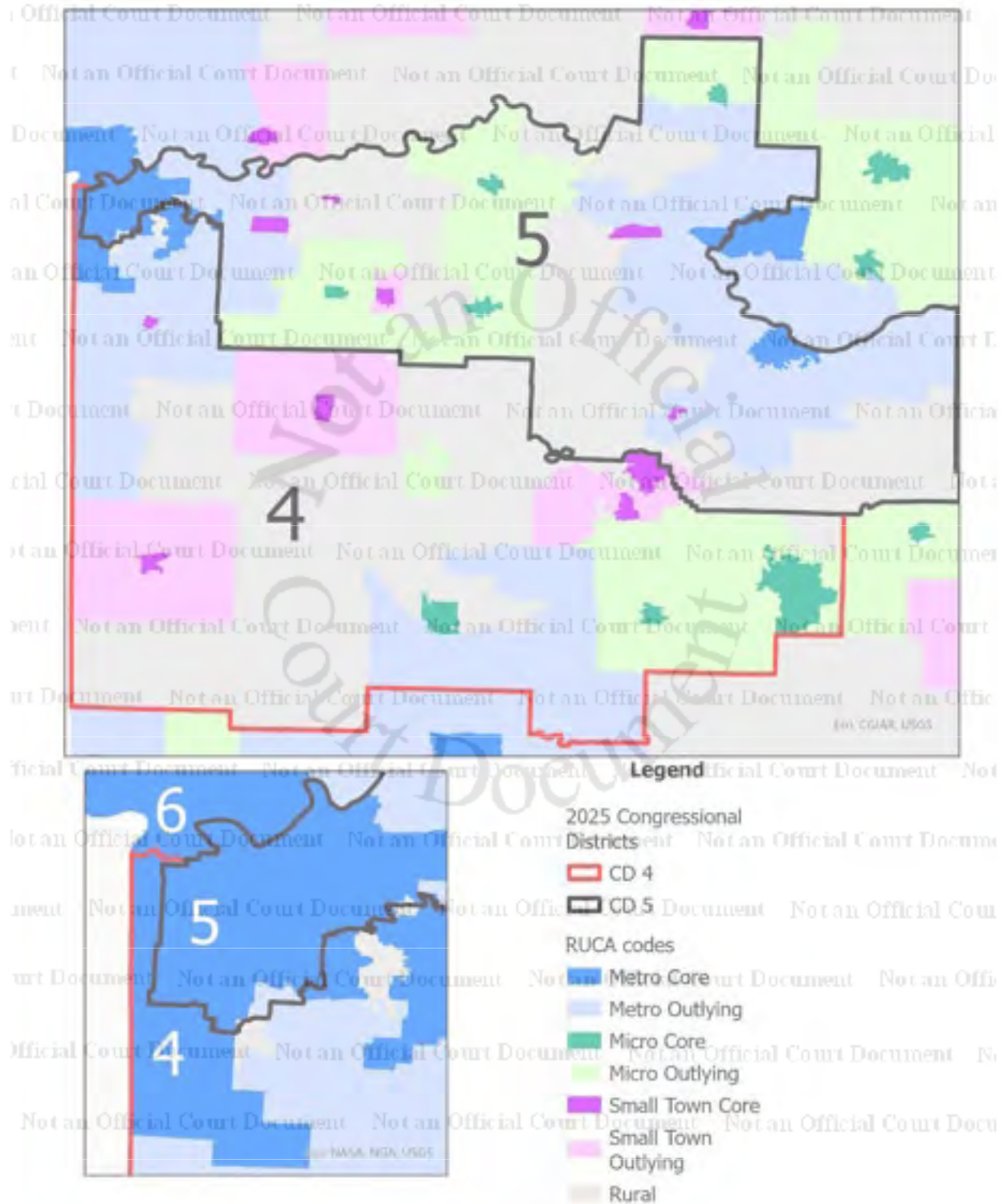


The reconfiguration of Missouri's congressional districts in 2025 caused a major realignment of rural and urban territory in western Missouri (Figure 6). The two districts no longer constitute two united territories, one almost entirely Metro/urban and one mostly Nonmetro/rural, but instead both now include some population living in all 7 RUCA code classes. First and foremost, the Metro Core region of Kansas City was split in three across Districts 4, 5, and 6. District 5 therefore went from having 88 percent of its population in the Kansas City Metro Core down to 55 percent. District 5 previously had no population living in Micropolitan or Small Town communities. Now over 35 percent of its residents reside in these smaller, less-densely settled areas. Inversely, District 4 went from just 21 percent Metro Core up to 37 percent. District 4 is now 62 percent Metropolitan, compared with 40 percent previously, and dropped from 35 to 25 percent living in Small Town and Rural areas.

In sum, the 2025 CD 4 and 5 configuration splits up the almost wholly urban/Metro 2022 CD 5, and the 2025 CD 4 incorporates significantly more urban presence into the predominantly rural/Nonmetro 2022 CD 4. Ultimately, this is impactful because of the continuing and increasing salience of the urban-rural divide. Joining together these rural and urban areas combines communities with deep disparities between them. Those disparities are associated with and arise from the varying patterns of population growth and decline, resulting in differing opportunities and challenges across the urban-rural divide. In addition, fracturing the Kansas City Metro area eliminates a district which encompasses a unified urban community and its own unique features and needs.



Figure 6. Rural-Urban Classifications in Missouri's 2025 Congressional Districts 4 and 5



Source: 2020 USDA-ERS Rural-Urban Commuting Area Codes, census tracts, Missouri Office of Administration: Division of Budget & Planning

## Conclusion

Based on the analysis above, I conclude that the Kansas City urban/Metro area is a closely united territory that experiences more domestic migration, immigration, and natural population growth than the rural/Nonmetro parts of western Missouri. Those trends create significant differences in the economic and social lives of western Missouri's urban and rural communities. Where 2022 CD 5 was centered on the Kansas City urban/Metro Core, the reconfigured CDs 4, 5, and 6 fracture that area. Reconfigured CDs 4 and 5 now include populations across all categories of the rural-urban continuum, and tie the urban core of Kansas City with remote rural areas far in both distance and makeup. I find that the 2025 configuration of CDs 4 and 5 does significantly less than the 2022 CDs 4 and 5 to keep alike urban and rural areas of western Missouri together.

Signature: John B Cromartie

Date: 12/22/2025

## Appendix A: Additional Briefings, Presentations, Awards, and Academic Experience

### *Selected briefings and invited presentations*

- "Demographic Trends Affecting Rural America." Briefing for the Senate Economic Mobility Caucus, June 2016.
- "Nonmetropolitan outmigration counties: some are poor, many are prosperous." Invited paper presented at the National Academies of Science, Geographical Sciences Committee's planning session on Place-Based Rural Development Policies, Washington, DC, February 9, 2011.
- "New Views of Rural America from the 2010 Census and Beyond." Invited briefing for the Undersecretary for Rural Business at the USDA Rural Business Strategy Meeting, Washington, DC, April 28, 2010.
- "Defining the "Rural" in Rural America." Briefing for the Undersecretary of Research, Education and Extension and other USDA administrators, Washington, DC, August 1, 2009.
- "Exploring Measures in State Allocation Formulas for Rural Business and Community Development Programs." Invited briefing for the Undersecretary of Rural Development and other USDA administrators, March 6, 2009.
- "USDA Research on Rural Poverty: Past Accomplishments and Future Directions." Invited paper presented at the National Academies of Science planning session on Poverty and Spatial Dynamics, Washington, DC, February 28, 2008.
- "Rural Definitions Used for Program Eligibility." Briefing to the House Agriculture Committee, Washington, DC, June 25, 2007.
- "Micropolitan Statistical Areas and What They Mean for Rural Policy." Invited paper presented at the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics, Alexandria, VA, November 4, 2003.
- "The Nature of Rurality in Post Industrial Society." Invited paper presented at the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population's Conference on New Forms of Urbanization in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Bellagio, Italy, March 12, 2002.
- "Definitions of Rural." Invited Presentation to the National Advisory Committee on Rural Health, January 22, 1998.
- "Recent Population Trends in the Western United States." Testimony before the House Committee on Natural Resources, at a hearing on the Changing Needs of the West, April 7, 1994.

## Awards

- USDA Secretary's Honor Award for Excellence, for the development of an innovative, science-based measure of "rugged terrain" to improve rural policy and increase more equitable access to rural resources and opportunities, 2025.
- REE Under Secretary's Award, for major contributions to the Report of the Task Force on Agriculture and Rural Prosperity, which provides a road map for the President's rural economic agenda, 2018.
- USDA Secretary's Honor Award for Superior Service, for outstanding accomplishment and exemplary service in the design and implementation of the Atlas of Rural and Small Town America, 2011.

## Academic Experience

- September 2005-June 2014, Visiting Lecturer, Department of Geography, The George Washington University.
- January-May 1996, Visiting Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Maryland at College Park.

At both universities, I developed a curriculum and taught an advanced undergraduate class in Population Geography.





I was asked to provide a response to the January 7, 2026 Expert Report of Sean P. Trende, Ph.D. in *Wise v. State*. On page 30 of that report, Dr. Trende briefly touches on my analysis, noting that I “appear[] to draw some type of conclusion by the fact that the Enacted Map includes districts combining very different types of counties and extending into different metropolitan areas.” My assessment of population trends at the county-level is informative in assessing the growth patterns of Metro, Metro-Outlying, and Non-Metro areas included in CDs 4 and 5. However, considering just the types of *counties* included in a map, as Dr. Trende does, will not provide the same picture of rural-urban diversity as my analysis, because my analysis of the territories included within CDs 4 and 5 was not done at the county level. The analysis of the territory within the assessed districts was carried out at the census-tract level which provides a much more detailed portrait of the distribution of rural and urban territory in CDs 4 and 5.

On page 30 of his report, Dr. Trende stated that “It is unclear how Boone County would be classified, but one assumes it is Metro Core.” In my initial report I stated, “I refer to the area I assess, which covers the areas included in either the 2022 or 2025 CDs 4 and 5, as ‘western Missouri.’ This includes the following counties: Barton, Bates, Benton, Boone, Camden, Cass, Cedar, Clay, Cole, Cooper, Dade, Dallas, Henry, Hickory, Howard, Jackson, Johnson, Laclede, Lafayette, Maries, Miller, Moniteau, Morgan, Osage, Pettis, Polk, Pulaski, Randolph, Saline, St. Clair, Vernon, and Webster.” As shown in Figure 1 in my initial report, I did not include Boone County, which is classified as Metro Core, in my county-level assessment of population change.

Boone, Clay, and Webster counties were not fully part of the 2022 and 2025 CDs 4 and 5. For my initial report’s analysis of population change, which required using county-level data, I chose to include Clay and Webster counties because the types of territory in those counties that were included in CDs 4 and 5 in the 2022 and 2025 maps largely correspond with those counties’ OMB designations (Metro Core for Clay and Metro Outlying for Webster). I chose to exclude Boone County because, in both the 2022 and 2025 maps, the majority of the Metro Core areas of Boone County are outside the study area.

However, as demonstrated by Table 3 below, which shows the county-level assessment of population change in the study area including Boone County, the inclusion only further supports the overall patterns of population growth relevant to my analysis.

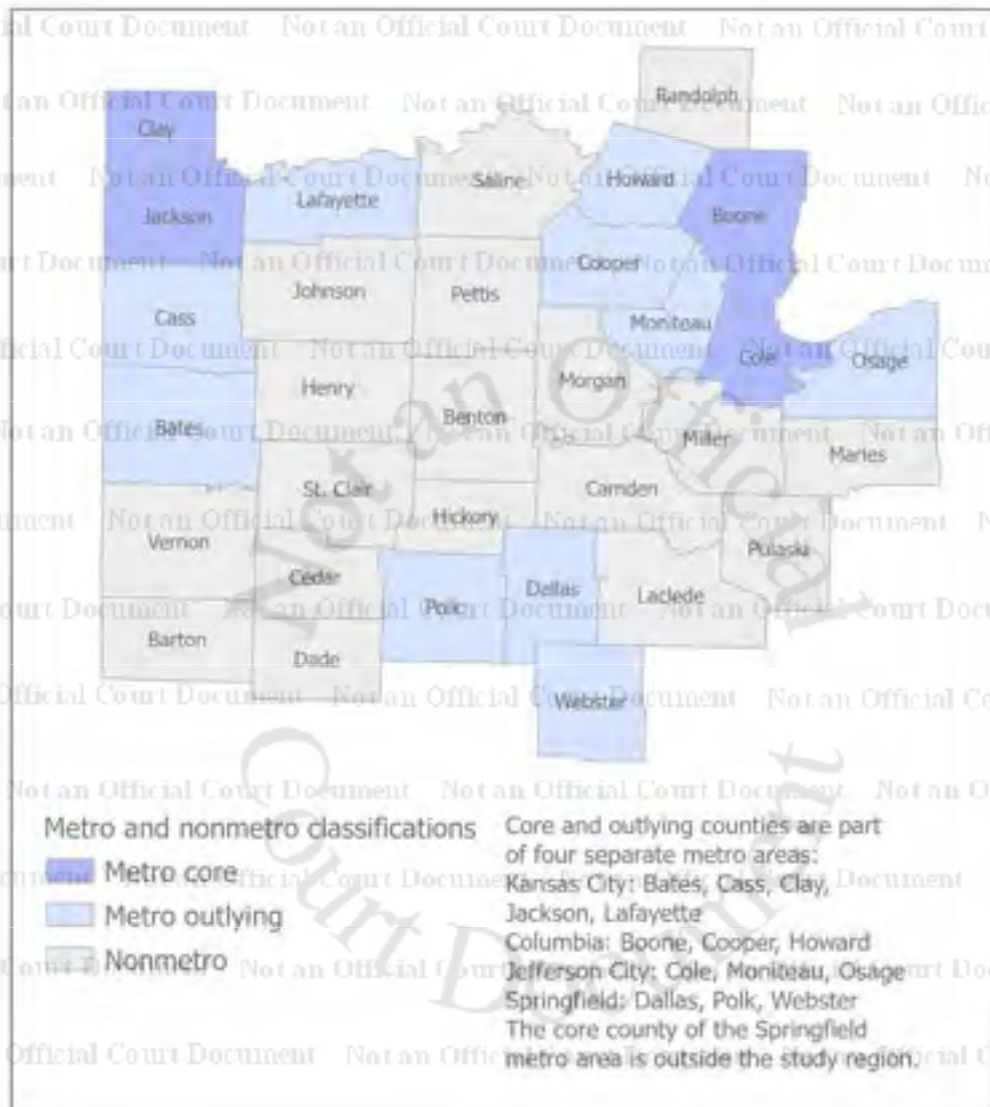
Table 3: Population Change in Western Missouri (with Boone County), 1950-2020 and 2010-2020

	1950 - 2020			2010 - 2020		
	Numeric Population Growth	Percentage Population Growth	Percentage of All Growth in Western Missouri	Numeric Population Growth	Percentage Population Growth	Percentage of All Growth in Western Missouri
<b>Metro</b>	<b>707,539</b>	<b>85.8%</b>	<b>80.3%</b>	<b>105,971</b>	<b>8.4%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
Core	561,276	83.8%	63.7%	96,699	10.8%	91.3%
Outlying	146,263	94.8%	16.6%	9,272	3.2%	8.7%
<b>Nonmetro</b>	<b>173,071</b>	<b>63.9%</b>	<b>19.7%</b>	<b>-2,157</b>	<b>-0.5%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>

In the course of reviewing my data to respond to Dr. Trende, I discovered that my initial analysis miscoded Cole County as Metro Outlying instead of Metro Core. Updated Figure 1A, Table 1A, and Figure 3A below (numbered to correspond with the figures and tables in my initial report) show the correct coding and statistics accounting for the classification of Cole County as Metro Core. Table 3 above also reflects the corrected coding of Cole County. The changes in the statistics shown do not impact my ultimate conclusion, in particular because they strengthen rather than contradict the conclusions about differential growth in urban and rural areas drawn in my report.

Neither the Boone nor the Cole County adjustment in the county-level analysis in any way impacts the RUCA-code, census-tract level analysis included in my initial report.

Figure 1A. OMB Metropolitan Designations of Western Missouri



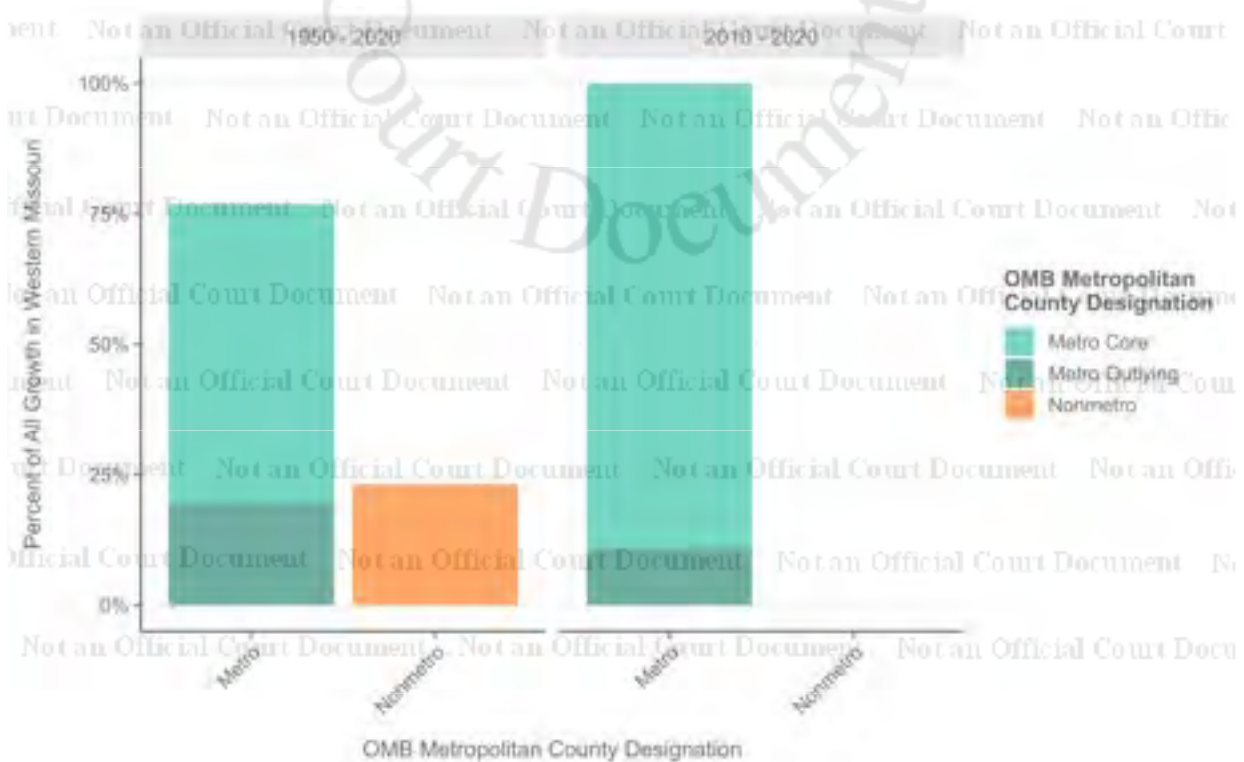
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 1A. Population Change in Western Missouri, 1950-2020 and 2010-2020

	1950 - 2020			2010 - 2020		
	Numeric Population Growth	Percentage Population Growth	Percentage of All Growth in Western Missouri	Numeric Population Growth	Percentage Population Growth	Percentage of All Growth in Western Missouri
<b>Metro</b>	<b>572,361</b>	<b>73.8%</b>	<b>76.8%</b>	<b>85,003</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
Core	426,098	68.5%	57.2%	75,731	8.5%	89.1%
Outlying	146,263	94.8%	19.6%	9,272	3.2%	10.9%
<b>Nonmetro</b>	<b>173,071</b>	<b>63.9%</b>	<b>23.2%</b>	<b>-2,157</b>	<b>-0.5%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 3A. Percent of Population Change in Western Missouri, 1950-2020 and 2010-2020



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

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IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI  
AT KANSAS CITY

TERRENCE WISE, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI, et al.,

Defendants.

Case No. 2516-CV29597

Division 15

ELIZABETH HEALEY, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI, et al.,

Defendants.

Case No. 2516-CV31273

Division 15

EXPERT REPORT OF DR. JONATHAN RODDEN

*Jonathan Rodden*

December 22, 2025

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27

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## I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

I have been asked to examine the newly enacted Missouri congressional redistricting plan (henceforth the “2025 Plan”), using the factors set forth by the Missouri Supreme Court in *Pearson v. Koster*, 367 S.W.3d 36 (Mo. banc. 2012), to determine whether the districts in a Missouri redistricting plan are “compact as may be.” Above all, this calls for an examination of whether the districts are composed of “closely united territory.” I conclude that by any reasonable definition of closely united territory, Districts 4, 5, and 6 in the 2025 Plan violate this principle by breaking the densely populated portions of the Kansas City metropolitan area into three fragments that extract urban neighborhoods from their closely united neighbors and connect them with faraway rural areas with very different social and economic characteristics. I demonstrate that Kansas City has been treated by congressional mapmakers as closely united territory ever since the city’s incorporation in the 1850s—a history from which the 2025 Plan is a radical departure.

I also demonstrate that the 2025 Plan breaks up geographic clusters of workers and firms that are likely to have common interests in policy and common requests of their members of Congress. These include not only urban and rural residents, but also renters, public transit users, technology workers, and those who work in more traditional non-metro economic sectors, including agriculture. The 2025 Plan divided the closely unified territory of the prior Districts 4, 5, and 6, and changed them into heterogenous amalgams of urban and rural interests, renters and homeowners, and tech workers and farmers.

*Pearson v. Koster* provides that, once a violation of the principle of “closely united territory” is established, the court must examine whether “minimal and practical deviations” may have occurred as a result of several factors, including “(1) the interrelationship in standards for the population equality and compactness requirements” and “(2) the contiguity requirement.” 367 S.W.3d at 53. Throughout this report, I demonstrate that deviations from the principle of closely united territory in the Kansas City area were neither minimal nor practical. Moreover, the General Assembly, in drawing the redistricting plan enacted in 2022 and used in the 2022 and 2024 congressional elections (henceforth the “2022 Plan”), was able to work with the same geography and census data and construct compact, contiguous districts with equal population in the Kansas City metro area (and beyond), and those districts did not violate the principle of closely united territory.

Next, *Pearson v. Koster* calls for an examination of whether deviations from the principle of closely united territory can be explained by efforts to abide by “(3) federal laws, including the Voting Rights Act.” *Id.* I demonstrate that the violation of the principle of closely united territory in the configuration of districts of the 2025 Plan in Kansas City cannot be explained as an effort to comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. On the contrary, by extracting a narrow strip of White residents from the rest of Kansas City between the Kansas border and Troost Avenue—a historical line of racial segregation—the 2025 Plan potentially raises new concerns under federal law about its use of race. I conclude that violations of the principle of closely united territory in the 2025 Plan cannot be explained by efforts to comply with federal law.

Finally, *Pearson v. Koster* calls for an examination of whether deviations from the principle of closely united territory may have occurred as a result of “(4) the recognized factors of population density, natural boundary lines, boundaries of political subdivisions, and historical boundary lines of prior redistricting maps.” *Id.* I consider each of these factors individually and conclude that none of them can explain the unusual treatment of Kansas City in the 2025 Plan. On the contrary, the 2025 Plan pays little attention to patterns of population density or natural boundary lines or political subdivisions. It creates districts that are extremely heterogeneous with respect to population density and other features, connecting urban neighborhoods with rural places on the other side of the state. It splits school districts, city council districts, and historical neighborhoods, slicing through a university campus, a hospital campus, and even a high school building.

## II. QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

I am currently a tenured Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and the founder and director of the Stanford Spatial Social Science Lab—a center for research and teaching with a focus on the analysis of geo-spatial data in the social sciences. I am engaged in a variety of research projects involving large, fine-grained geo-spatial data sets including ballots and election results at the level of polling places, individual records of registered voters, census data, and survey responses. I am also a senior fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research and the Hoover Institution. Prior to my employment at Stanford, I was the Ford Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I received my Ph.D. from Yale University and my B.A. from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, both in political science. I am a native

of Florissant, Missouri and a graduate of McCluer North High School. A copy of my current C.V. is included as Exhibit A.

In my current academic work, I conduct research on voting, demographics, geography, and aspects of election administration, including registration, the structure of precincts, redistricting, and methods of voting. Recent papers and books focus on the relationship between the patterns of political representation, geographic location of demographic and partisan groups, and the drawing of electoral districts. I have published papers using statistical methods to assess political geography, balloting, and representation in a variety of academic journals including *Statistics and Public Policy*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, *Science Advances*, *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*, the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, the *Virginia Law Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, the *Annual Review of Political Science*, and the *Journal of Politics*. One paper was selected by the American Political Science Association as the winner of the Michael Wallerstein Award for the best paper on political economy, another received an award from the American Political Science Association section on social networks, and another received an award for the best paper published in the journal in the last year.

In 2025, I was selected as an Andrew Carnegie Fellow. In 2021, I received a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, and, for my 2006 book *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*, received the Martha Derthick Award of the American Political Science Association for "the best book published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations."

I have written a series of papers, along with my co-authors, using automated redistricting algorithms to assess partisan gerrymandering. This work has been published in the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Election Law Journal*, and *Political Analysis*, and it has been featured in more popular publications like the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and *Boston Review*. I authored a book titled *Why Cities Lose*, published by Basic Books in June of 2019, on the relationship between political districts, the residential geography of social groups, and their political representation in the United States and other countries that use winner-take-all electoral districts. The book was reviewed in *The New York Times*, *The New York Review of Books*, *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist*, and *The Atlantic*, among others.



I have expertise in the use of large data sets and geographic information systems (GIS) and conduct research and teaching on applied statistics related to elections. I frequently work with geo-coded voter files and other large administrative data sets, including in recent papers published in the *Annals of Internal Medicine* and *The New England Journal of Medicine*. I have developed a national data set of geo-coded precinct-level election results that has been used extensively in policy-oriented research related to redistricting and representation.

I have been accepted and testified as an expert witness in over a dozen election law and redistricting cases, all of which are listed in my CV. Much of the testimony in these cases had to do with geography, electoral districts, voting, ballots, and election administration.

### III. DEVIATIONS FROM THE STANDARD OF CLOSELY UNITED TERRITORY IN THE 2025 PLAN

In *Pearson v. Koster*, the Missouri Supreme Court affirmed its tradition of interpreting “compactness” as fundamentally a matter of whether a district is composed of “closely united territory,” clarifying that this “does not refer solely to physical shape or size” and that “a visual observation...is not the decisive factor.” 367 S.W.3d at 48-49. No matter how one might define “closely united territory,” Kansas City, Missouri—especially the section to the south of the Missouri River in Jackson County—can be understood as a closely united territory since its incorporation in 1850 as a trading hub at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers. Since then, Kansas City has grown into a major city with a closely integrated labor market and commuting zone. This integrated urban zone has expanded over the years—first to the south and east and later across the Missouri River to the north—as have the boundaries of the city of Kansas City.

This section of my report examines the principle of closely united territory from three perspectives. **First**, I turn to history, and ascertain that when drawing congressional districts, the General Assembly has treated Kansas City as a closely united territory since the very early days of its existence. **Second**, I examine a variety of demographic indicators showing that Kansas City can be understood as closely united territory, and that this territory is divided in exceptionally unnatural ways by the 2025 Plan. In addition, I point out that the 2025 Plan’s splitting of Kansas City has implications not only for metro-area voters, but also for rural voters and agricultural producers in the 2022 Plan’s Districts 4 and 6 who have historically been placed in districts based

on closely united territory. **Third**, I build on these observations and present a simple district-level metric, “district sprawl,” that helps quantify the extent to which the 2025 Plan violates the standard of closely united territory: the distance from the median population center of the district to its furthest geographic extent.

#### **A. Kansas City as Closely United Territory in Historical Congressional Plans**

The General Assembly has always held the central business district of Kansas City together in a single district. Moreover, as the population grew and Kansas City annexed surrounding areas, the General Assembly drew districts that respected the closely united territory of Kansas City.

This historical precedent can be observed in **Figure 1**, which provides maps of the Kansas City area under each congressional redistricting plan enacted since 1900. Each of the maps focuses on Jackson County and its surroundings. The central business district of Kansas City is portrayed in white. This is an area bounded by 31<sup>st</sup> Avenue to the south, the Missouri River to the north, the Kansas border to the west, and Woodland Avenue to the east. This also corresponds to the historical boundary of Kansas City for much of the 1800s, but note that by 1901, the eastern boundary of the city had moved significantly eastward, and by 1909 it reached all the way to the Blue River. The blue area in each map portrays the city boundaries (as documented in historical maps) that were in place when each map was enacted. Looking through these maps, one can track the expansion of Kansas City’s boundaries first to the east and south, and then north into Clay County and eventually Platte County.

From 1821 to 1847, all of Missouri was an at-large district. From 1848 to 1900, the Kansas City-area districts were composed of all of Jackson County combined with other surrounding counties, and from 1900 to 1933, all of Jackson County was its own district. From 1933 to 1935 (not shown in Figure 1), Missouri returned to an at-large system. In 1935, Missouri returned to drawing districts. At that time, Kansas City’s population was far larger than the average size of a congressional district in Missouri, and it was necessary to draw two Kansas City districts.

Figure 1: Jackson County Congressional Districts since 1900

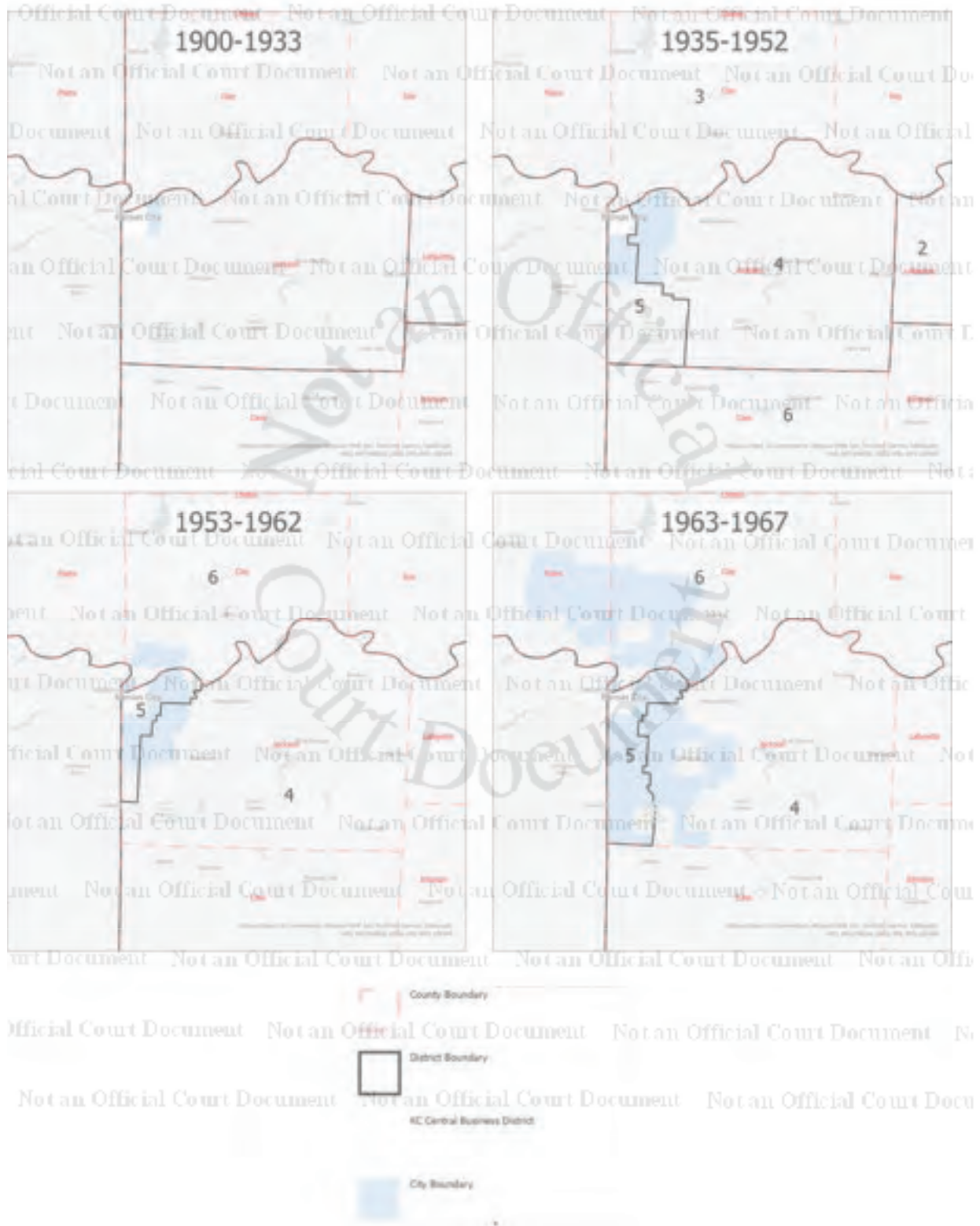




Figure 1 (continued): Jackson County Congressional Districts since 1900

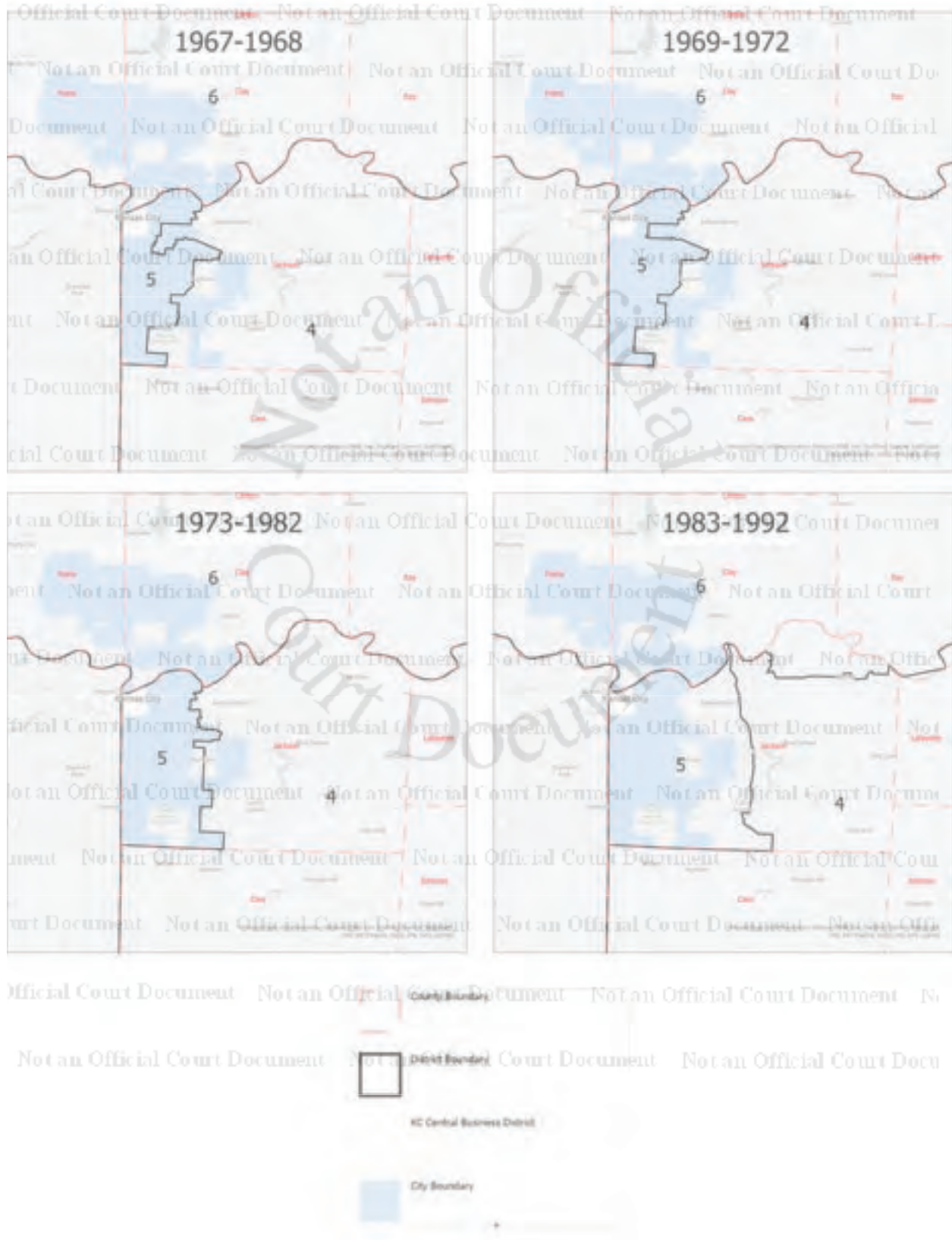
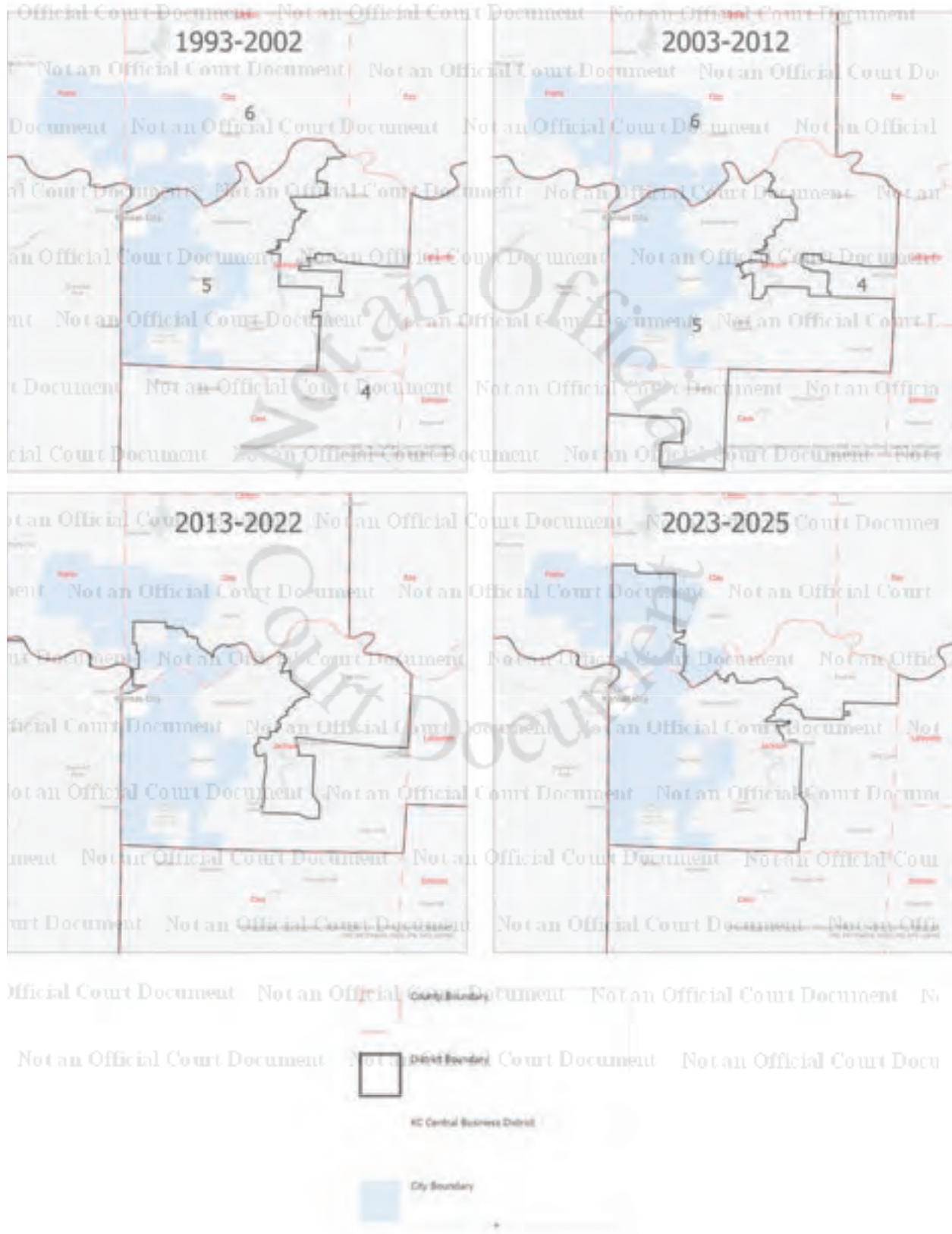


Figure 1 (continued): Jackson County Congressional Districts since 1900





In the map used from 1935 through 1952, District 5 included the central business district and neighborhoods to the south, while District 4 included many of the newly annexed areas to the east. A similar approach was taken when new districts were drawn after the 1950 census and again after the 1960 census, although in these plans, District 5 was drawn to pull in a larger share of Kansas City's densest urban population, whereas District 4 focused on suburban and surrounding rural areas. Kansas City began to annex areas outside Jackson County to the north of the Missouri River in the 1950s. Since then, the General Assembly has placed those areas in District 6 and kept the core Jackson County portion of Kansas City together, with as much of it as possible kept in District 5.

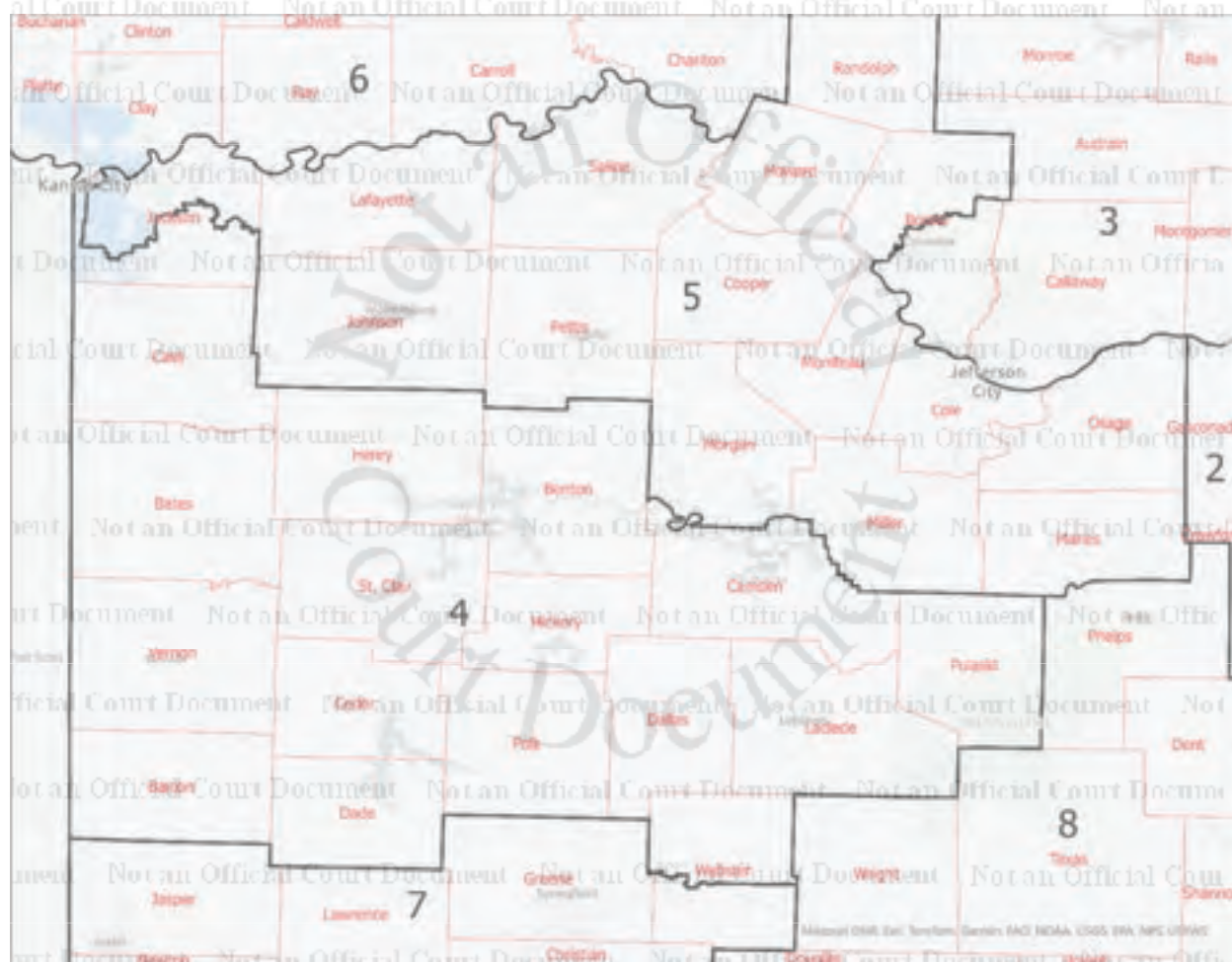
In every redistricting plan since the 1950s, District 5 brings as much of the Jackson County population of Kansas City as possible together in a single district, and more recently, brings in a substantial portion of the Clay County parts of Kansas City as well. In fact, the Jackson County portion of Kansas City has not been split since the round of redistricting that took place after the 1980 census. In prior maps, this split of the Jackson County portion of Kansas City was strictly necessary because the population of the Jackson County portion of Kansas City was too large relative to the target size of a congressional district. That is to say, from the 1950s until the 1980 census, a minimal and practical deviation from the "closely united territory" standard was required by the necessity of drawing districts with equal population pursuant to *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962) and *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964).

This was no longer the case after the 1980 decennial census, when the population of the Jackson County portion of Kansas City fell below the size of a congressional district. Thereafter, District 5 has been drawn to include all of the Jackson County portion of Kansas City. The last four maps in **Figure 1** above cover the period from the 1990 census to the present—a period when the population of Kansas City makes up a declining share of the overall state population, which makes it very easy to respect the closely united territory of Kansas City. These plans keep the Kansas City portion of Jackson County together and combine it with suburban, exurban, and rural areas to the east. The two most recent plans have also reached across the Missouri River to keep even more of Kansas City together in District 5.



The eastern sections of Kansas City are now in a sprawling rural-oriented district that reaches well over 200 miles across the state, almost reaching Rolla, so that the furthest reaches of the district are between three and four hours away by car (see **Figure 3** below). The remaining portion of the central business district is placed in District 6, which for the last 200 years has never crossed the Missouri River into Kansas City.

**Figure 3: Districts 4 and 5 in the 2025 Plan**



*Pearson v. Koster* examined the congressional plan enacted in 2011 (the “2011 Plan”), which had District 5 extend to a portion of Kansas City north of the Missouri River and left out a non-Kansas City part of Jackson County to the east (see the penultimate map in **Figure 1** above). In explaining its decision to uphold the constitutionality of District 5, the Missouri Supreme Court noted of the 2011 Plan that “the boundaries of the Map were drawn in consideration of the legitimate factor of keeping a greater portion of Kansas City in district 5.” 367 S.W.3d at 56. This

was clearly not a factor in the design of District 5 in the 2025 Plan. Using block-level data from each decennial census from 1990 to 2020, I calculate the share of Kansas City residents placed in District 5 in each redistricting plan. I plot this quantity in **Figure 4** below, naming each plan according to the decennial census after which it was drawn (except for the mid-decade 2025 Plan).

**Figure 4: Share of Kansas City Population Included in Congressional District 5**



For three decades, a little under 80 percent of Kansas City's total population was in District 5. In the 2022 Plan, the figure was 84 percent. But in the 2025 Plan, this falls all the way to 34 percent.

Further, as mentioned above, the share of the Kansas City population of Jackson County placed in District 5 has been 100 percent since the redistricting following the 1990 census. As can be seen in **Figure 5** below, in 2025, this has fallen to 55 percent.

**Figure 5: Share of Jackson County Kansas City Population Included in Congressional District 5**

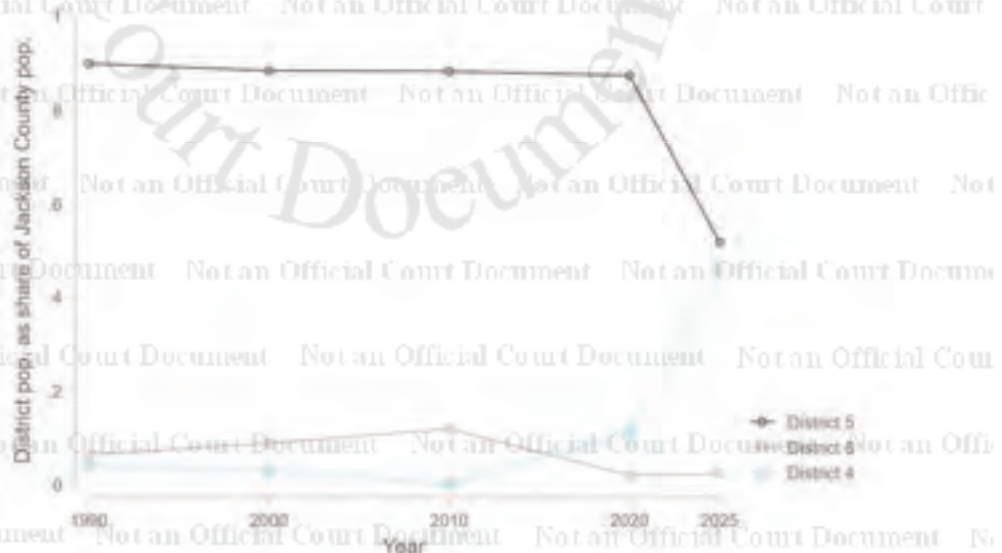




In *Pearson v. Koster*, the Missouri Supreme Court also discussed previous congressional maps that had been considered at trial, stating the following: “These maps demonstrated that a portion of Jackson County historically has been carved out of district 5 and appended to other districts (both districts 4 and 6). The current Map only slightly expands that carved-out portion.” 367 S.W.3d at 36. It is possible to quantify this insight. Again using block-level decennial census data, I calculate the share of the Jackson County population falling into each district in each redistricting plan since 1990 and plot the data in **Figure 6** below.

**Figure 6** demonstrates that in each redistricting plan from 1990 to 2020, between 87 and 90 percent of Jackson County’s population was placed in District 5, and between 10 and 13 percent of the population was “carved out” into either District 4 or 6. The Court was correct to characterize the size of the “carved out” portion in the challenged redistricting plan after the 2010 census as in keeping with recent history. However, the 2025 Plan presents a radical departure from this history, with the District 5 portion suddenly falling to 52 percent, and the “carved out” portion increasing to 48 percent.

**Figure 6: Share of Jackson County Population Falling into Districts 4, 5, and 6**



Another way to consider the deviation of the 2025 Plan from Missouri’s tradition of closely united territory is to examine the extent to which this plan deviates from the prior plan. Even if prior plans were consistent with the Missouri Constitution and comprised of closely united territory, changes with each decennial census might be necessitated by population shifts, such as the growth of suburbs, exurbs, and midsize metros like Springfield. But if the 2022 Plan reflected



the principle of closely united territory, it is not clear how this principle might necessitate large changes to the structure of districts in a mid-decade redistricting where the same population data are used.

To examine the extent of these changes, I identify the census blocks placed in each district of the 2012 Plan, the 2022 Plan, and the 2025 Plan. First, I calculate the share of individuals in each district of the 2022 Plan who had been placed in the same district in the prior, 2012 Plan. We can refer to this as the extent to which the population “core” of the district was retained. Next, I calculate the share of individuals in each district of the 2025 Plan who were in the same district in the 2022 Plan. This metric of “core retention” is displayed for each district in each plan in **Table 1** below.

**Table 1: Core Retention in 2022 and 2025**

District	% of core retained 2022	% of core retained 2025
1	89.99%	93.94%
2	71.29%	77.25%
3	58.15%	60.41%
4	76.53%	61.88%
5	84.72%	42.74%
6	82.74%	79.31%
7	98.90%	100.00%
8	83.25%	100.00%

Districts 4 and 5 stand out. When redrawing the district after the 2020 census—after a decade of significant population movements associated with suburbanization in the Kansas City Metro area—around 77 percent of the people placed in District 4 a decade ago were placed once again in District 4. And in District 5, around 85 percent of the newly drawn district’s population had been in the district for the last decade. In 2025, without a new population count, only 62 percent of the people placed in District 4 were in that district in the 2024 election, and this was true for only 43 percent of the population in the 2025 version of District 5.

## B. Census Demographics and Closely United Territory

Throughout its history, Missouri legislators have treated Kansas City as closely united territory, keeping the central business district together and making clear efforts to keep as much as possible of Kansas City—especially the Jackson County section—in a single district. It is worthwhile taking a close look at *why* they have done so.

Kansas City and its surrounding suburbs constitute the second-largest metropolitan statistical area (MSA) in Missouri. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) defines a metropolitan statistical area as a geographic region with a large urban core, with at least 50,000 residents and sufficient population density, plus surrounding counties that demonstrate strong social and economic ties to the core area, primarily measured by commuting patterns.<sup>1</sup> The U.S. Census department carries out rigorous analysis to measure these social and economic ties and designate MSAs. In other words, the MSA is a concept created by OMB and implemented by the Census Bureau to designate closely unified territory. The core of the Kansas City MSA is in Jackson County, but the MSA also includes Cass, Bates, and Lafayette Counties to the South of the Missouri River, and Platte, Clay, Clinton, Caldwell, and Ray Counties to the north. The population of the Missouri side of the MSA is too large to place in a single congressional district. The social and economic ties that define an MSA are typically strongest in the urban core and inner-ring suburbs with the highest population density.<sup>2</sup> As seen above, the General Assembly has always tried to keep as much of the urban core together as possible in District 5, with the more exurban, lower-density northern counties of the MSA in District 6, and the southern exurban areas in District 4.

### 1. Population density

In *Pearson v. Koster*, the Missouri Supreme Court mentions “population density” as a “recognized factor” that may be considered in redistricting. 367 S.W.3d at 53. Voters living in close proximity to one another in a high-density environment are likely to have different interests and make different demands of their legislators than voters living in exurban or rural areas. For

<sup>1</sup> Glossary, United States Census Bureau, [\(https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/metro-micro/about/glossary.html#:~:text=contain%20metropolitan%20divisions.-,Metropolitan%20Statistical%20Area,Statistical%20Areas%22%20\(CBSAs\)\)](https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/metro-micro/about/glossary.html#:~:text=contain%20metropolitan%20divisions.-,Metropolitan%20Statistical%20Area,Statistical%20Areas%22%20(CBSAs)) (last visited Dec. 12, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> See Wei Pan et al., “Urban characteristics attributable to density-driven tie formation,” *Nature Communications* 4, 1961 (2013); Edward Glaeser, *Triumph of the City*, Penguin Press (2011).

instance, individuals living in high-density environments are likely to care more about investments in public transportation, parks and common spaces, public housing, and other collective goods that are less cost-effective in sparse environments. Perhaps for these and other reasons, Missouri district-drawers have clearly used population density as an important guide to applying their notion of closely united territory.

Using data from each decennial census at the level of census tracts<sup>3</sup> since 1980, **Figure 7** below maps the population of metro Kansas City, where each dot corresponds to 100 residents. **Figure 7** demonstrates how suburbanization has led to a spread of population density over time, but every decade, the General Assembly has tried to keep the densest parts of Jackson County together in District 5. In 2012 and 2022, efforts were also made to include the densest areas north of the Missouri River in District 5, which ensured that District 6 would retain its mostly rural character. The plan that was challenged in *Pearson v. Koster* (titled “2012” in **Figure 7**) was likewise drawn to keep the densest neighborhoods in metro Kansas City, both on the north and south sides of the Missouri River, in District 5.

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<sup>3</sup> A census tract is a “small, relatively permanent statistical subdivision” defined by the U.S. Census Bureau. See *Glossary*, United States Census Bureau, <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/geography/about/glossary.html>.

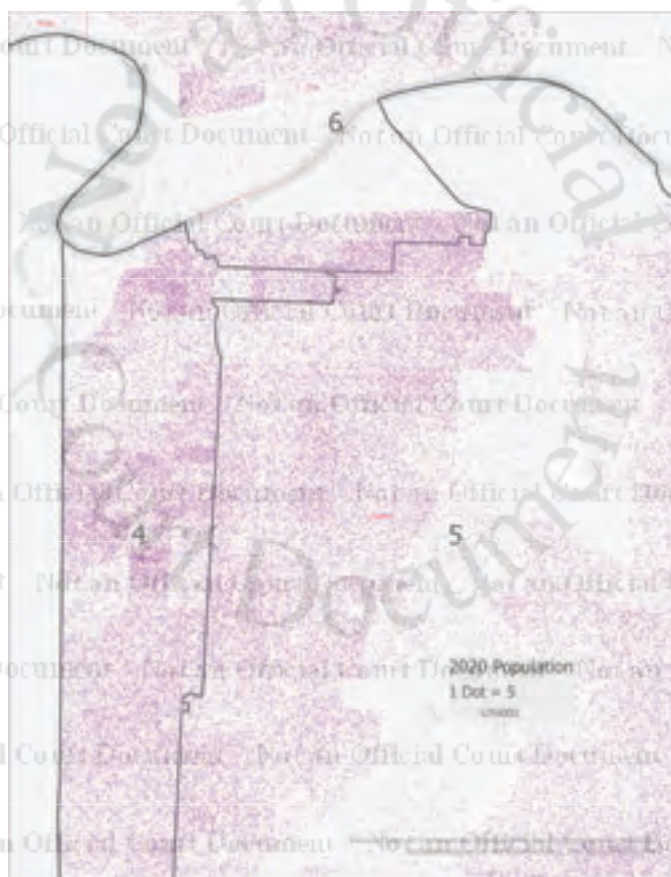
**Figure 7: Population Density and Congressional Districts in the Kansas City Metro Area from 1980s to the present**





The final image of **Figure 7** shows that the 2025 Plan is a dramatic departure from the prior treatment of Kansas City as a closely united territory: the densest neighborhoods in Kansas City are now split between Districts 4, 5, and 6. In fact, the 2025 Plan chooses one of the densest parts of the central business district as the meeting point for these three districts, so that the parts of Kansas City with relatively high density are divided across the three districts. **Figure 8** below demonstrates this by zooming in on the urban core in a dot density map where each dot corresponds to five individuals.

**Figure 8: Population Density and the 2025 Plan in Downtown Kansas City**

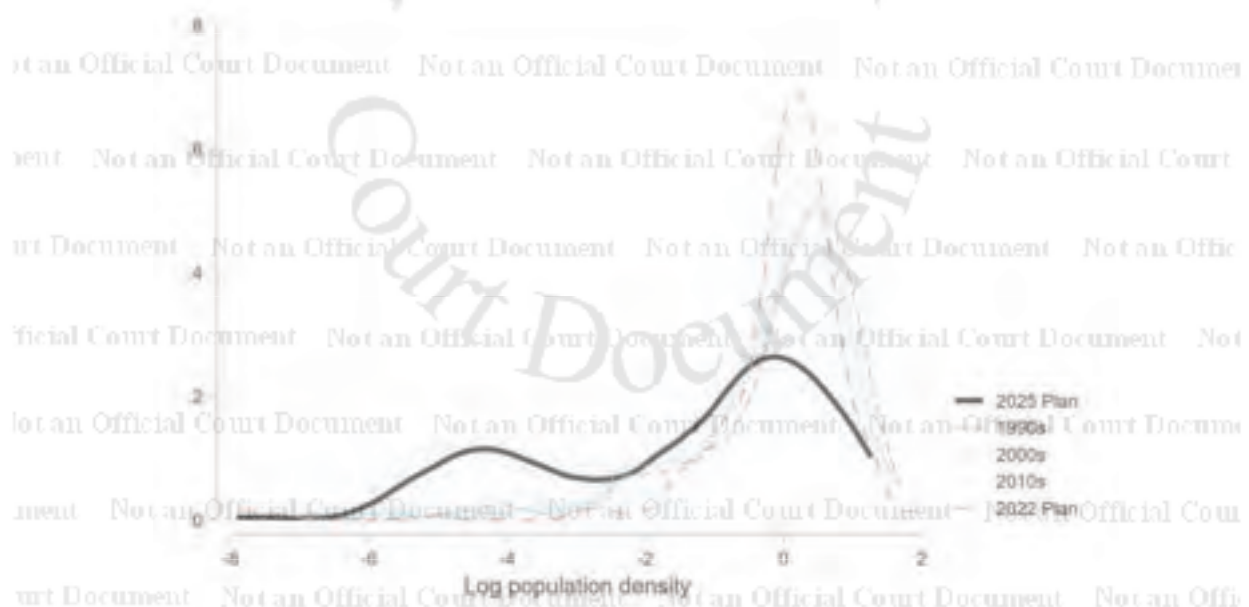


A good way to appreciate the 2025 Plan's departure from historical norms is to examine how the distribution of population density at the level of the census tracts within each district has changed across redistricting maps. **Figure 9** below provides a kernel density of the population density of each tract in District 5 of each districting plan, from the 1990s to the present. The previous plans are presented in various colors, and the September 2025 Plan is portrayed in thick black font. A kernel density is a smoothed histogram, suitable for displaying the distribution of a



variable. **Figure 9** provides another way of seeing what one can also appreciate in the dot density maps above: District 5 has traditionally been composed of a set of Kansas City census tracts with similarly high levels of population density, as reflected by the large peak on the right side of the graph for each previous version of District 5. There are only a handful of low-density tracts in the left tails of these distributions. Suddenly, with the 2025 Plan, the distribution of population density across census tracts in District 5 has changed dramatically. The sharp peak—indicative of a district based on closely united high-density tracts—has become much smoother, and the distribution has now become bimodal. This means that District 5 is now a combination of some dense urban census tracts that have been carved away from Kansas City (on the right side of the graph) and a group of faraway, rural, sparsely populated tracts (on the left side of the graph). Instead of being formed of closely united territory, District 5 is now an urban-rural amalgam.

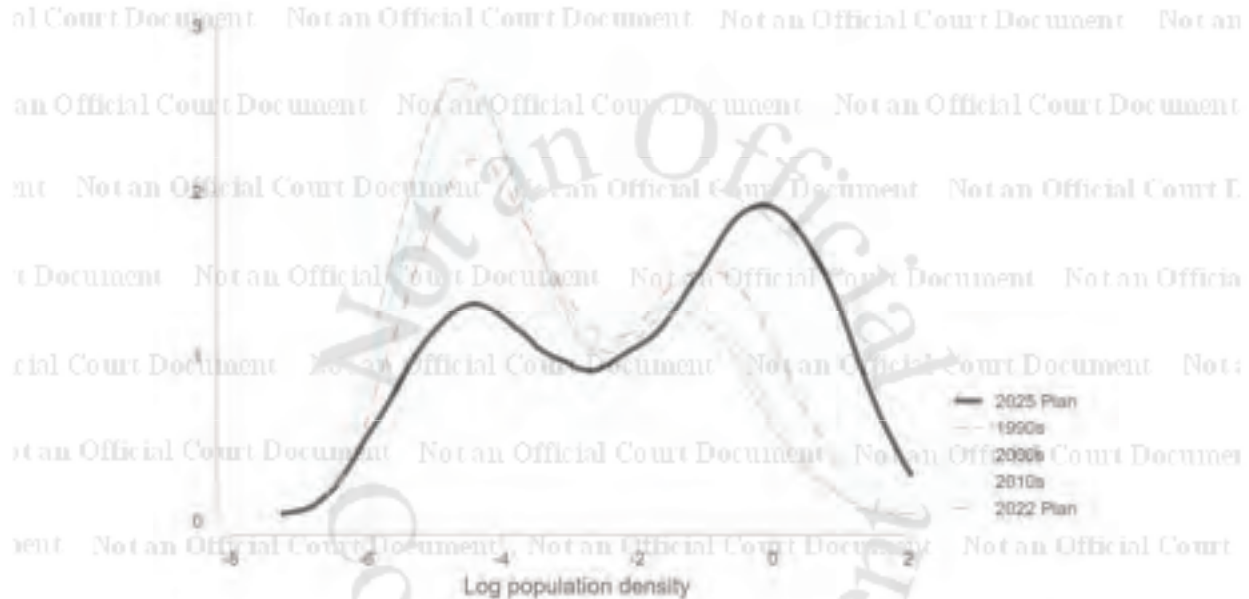
**Figure 9: Kernel Densities of Tract-Level Population Density in District 5 of Congressional Redistricting Plans from 1990s to 2025**



The changing character of District 4 can be reflected in a similar way. **Figure 10** below provides a kernel density plot of tract-level population density for District 4. The tract-level population density of District 4 has demonstrated a bimodal distribution for decades, but District 4's low-density rural tracts have always outnumbered the relatively denser Kansas City-area exurban tracts on the right side of the graph. The 2025 Plan transforms District 4 by reaching into the urban core and extracting dense urban neighborhoods from Kansas City. The right-hand

(urban) peak has moved to the right in Figure 10 and is now taller than the rural peak on the left, meaning the rural character of District 4 has been lost. District 4 is now an urban-suburban-rural amalgam, with the metro-area portion of the district now comprising a larger share of the district's population than the rural part.

**Figure 10: Kernel Densities of Tract-Level Population Density in District 4 of Congressional Redistricting Plans from 1990s to 2025**

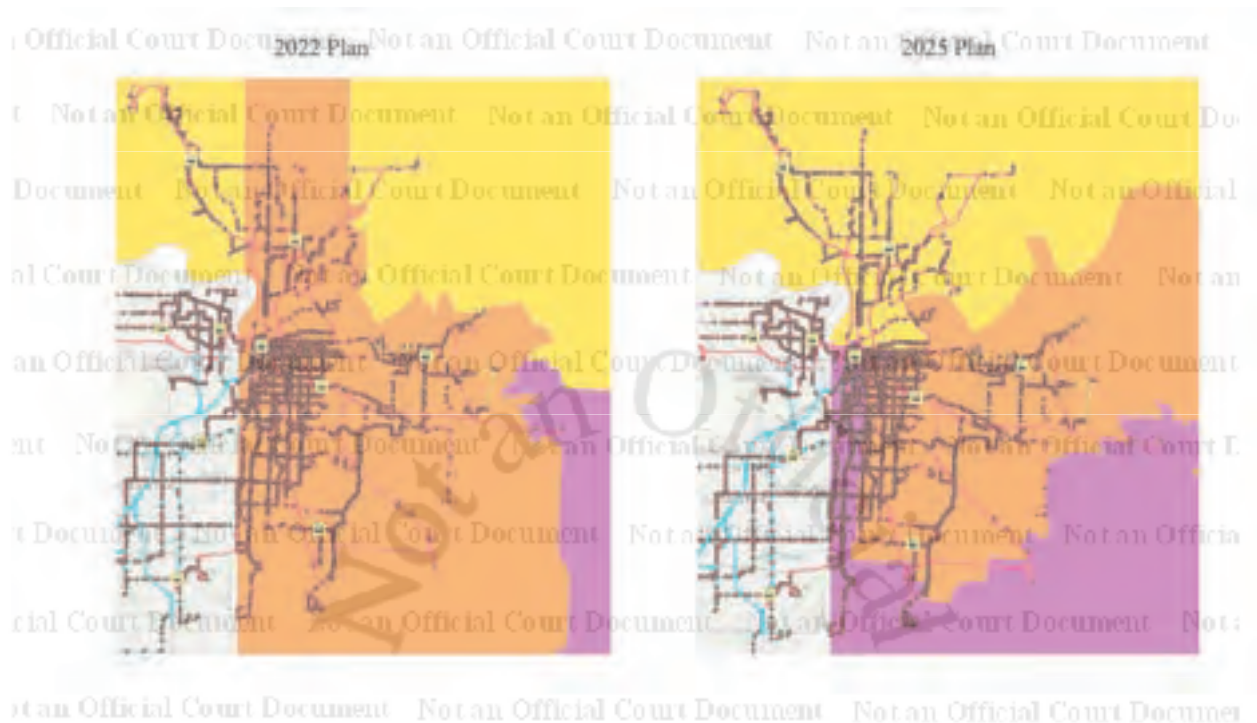


## 2. *Transportation networks*

Transportation networks and commuting behavior are also an important part identifying closely united territory. **Figure 11** below assembles data from the Kansas City Area Transportation Authority (KCATA) on all public streetcar and bus routes in its system, superimposing the transit lines and stops over the boundaries of the districts in the 2022 Plan and the 2025 Plan. On this metric, the 2022 Plan was a good example of an application of the closely unified territory standard. The district boundaries keep as many of the neighborhoods served by the (Missouri side) KCATA routes as possible in District 5.

The 2025 Plan, in contrast, pays no attention to the closely united territory that has been created over decades through investments in transportation infrastructure. It divides the transit network across three congressional districts. Every bus line in Jackson County that travels east-west will cross a congressional boundary on each run. The southern terminus of several routes is now in District 4, and the routes serving north Kansas City now travel from District 5 to District 6.

**Figure 11: Kansas City Area Transportation Authority Routes and District Boundaries**



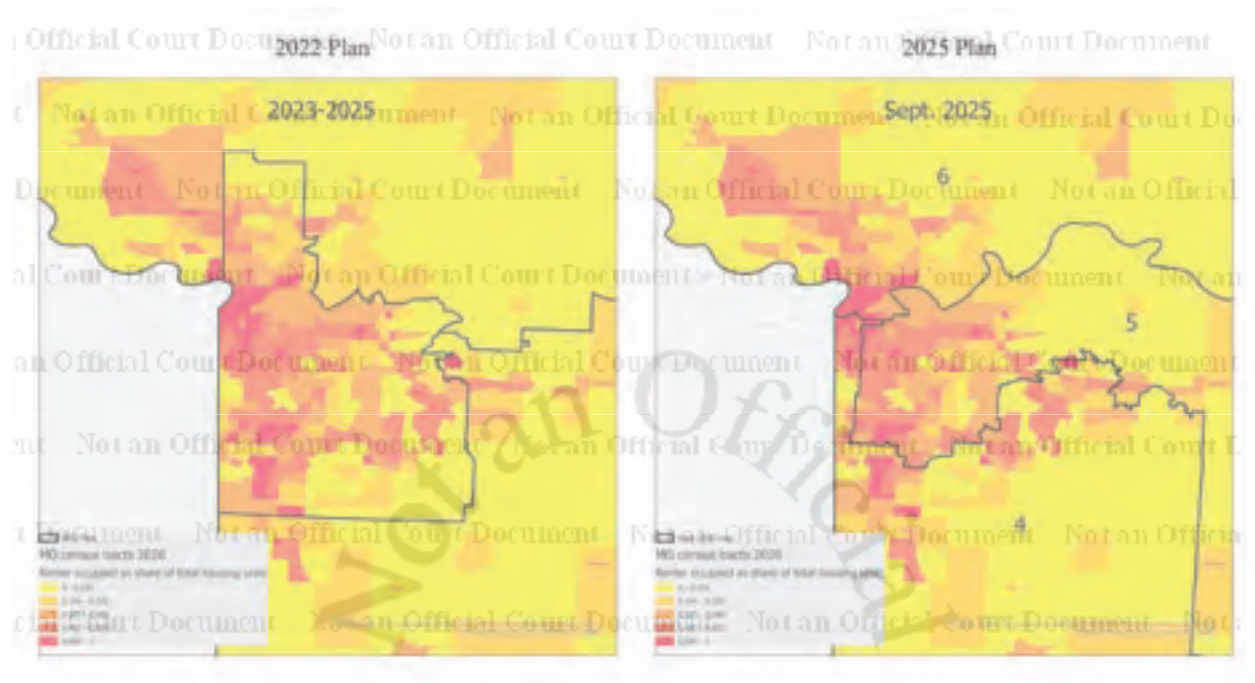
Under the 2025 Plan, voters and interest groups who care about transit policy and local transit officials who might wish to lobby members of Congress for policies and funding are forced to seek out three different members of Congress who represent relatively exurban and rural-oriented districts with very low levels of public transit use. There will be no single member of Congress with an encompassing interest in Kansas City public transit.

### 3. *Renters versus homeowners*

Within metropolitan areas, political scientists and economists have noted that political preferences and demands made to representatives are driven in large part by whether one owns a home or rents.<sup>4</sup> Among other things, renters and homeowners have distinctive preferences about taxation, land use, school finance, and rent control. **Figure 12** below uses data from the 2020 decennial census from Missouri census tracts, portraying the share of housing units that are rented rather than owner-occupied.

<sup>4</sup> Fischel, William. 2001. *The Homevoter Hypothesis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Hall, Andrew B., and Jesse Yoder. "Does homeownership influence political behavior? Evidence from administrative data." *The Journal of Politics* 84.1 (2022): 351-366; Marble, William, and Clayton Nall. "Where self-interest trumps ideology: liberal homeowners and local opposition to housing development." *The Journal of Politics* 83.4 (2021): 1747-1763.

**Figure 12: Rental Units as Share of Housing Units in Metro Kansas City**



**Figure 12** demonstrates that the community of renters in Kansas City was largely contained in District 5 in the 2022 Plan, whereas this population is scattered across Districts 4, 5, and 6 in the 2025 Plan.

#### 4. *Occupations and industrial sectors*

Occupations and industrial sectors are also clustered in geographic space and form an important locus for representational demands and hence make up an additional component of the notion of “closely united territory.” For instance, employers and workers in science and technology might have specific concerns about regulations and funding for science, technology, and higher education. Kansas City has been one of the most economically successful cities in the Midwest in part because its leaders have deftly embraced and fostered knowledge-based industries, developing strengths in technology, life sciences, and healthcare, with strong links between the private sector and universities and a vibrant entrepreneurial scene. In 2023, the Kansas City region was designated by the U.S. Economic Development Administration as a federal “tech hub,” specifically focused on biologics and biomanufacturing via the KC BioHub.<sup>5</sup> The goal of this designation was

<sup>5</sup> Press Release, U.S. Economic Development Administration, Biden-Harris Administration Designates Tech Hub in Kansas City Region to Drive Innovation in Vaccine-Related Biologics Manufacturing (Oct. 23, 2023),



to position Kansas City as a global leader in life sciences and vaccine development.<sup>6</sup> Close coordination with the federal government and procurement of federal grants are a central part of this vision.

The 2025 Plan splits Kansas City's biotechnology research and manufacturing institutions into different congressional districts. Research and manufacturing in biotechnology is quite dispersed throughout metro Kansas City.<sup>7</sup> The 2025 Plan places the most central cluster of research organizations, in the vicinity of the UMKC Health Sciences District and Union Station, into the narrow strip of urban, more affluent areas to the west of Troost Avenue that are combined in District 4 with rural areas that extend to Fort Leonard Wood. In contrast, most of Rockhurst University is placed in District 5. Advocacy for federally funded Kansas City biotech research might be undermined by the need for coordination among three members of Congress, each of whom only represents a slice of the Kansas City knowledge economy.

**Figure 13** and **Figure 14** below illustrate how the 2025 Plan shifts workers in the knowledge economy from District 5 to District 4, changing the character of both districts. One way of measuring employment in the knowledge economy is to examine the share of adults employed in professional, scientific, management, and administrative industries. **Figure 13** below displays tract-level employment shares in these fields, focusing on Districts 4 and 5, with the panel on the left displaying the 2022 Plan, and the panel on the right displaying the 2025 Plan. Knowledge-economy employees are scattered throughout the Kansas City area, but they are somewhat clustered on the west side of Kansas City and in suburbs and exurbs to the south, west, and north (as well as on the Kansas side). The previous version of District 5 kept many of these areas in a compact Kansas City district that also included technology firms and universities. The 2025 Plan extracts these employees from their western Kansas City neighborhoods and southwestern suburbs and moves them to a district with a very different occupational and industrial mix.

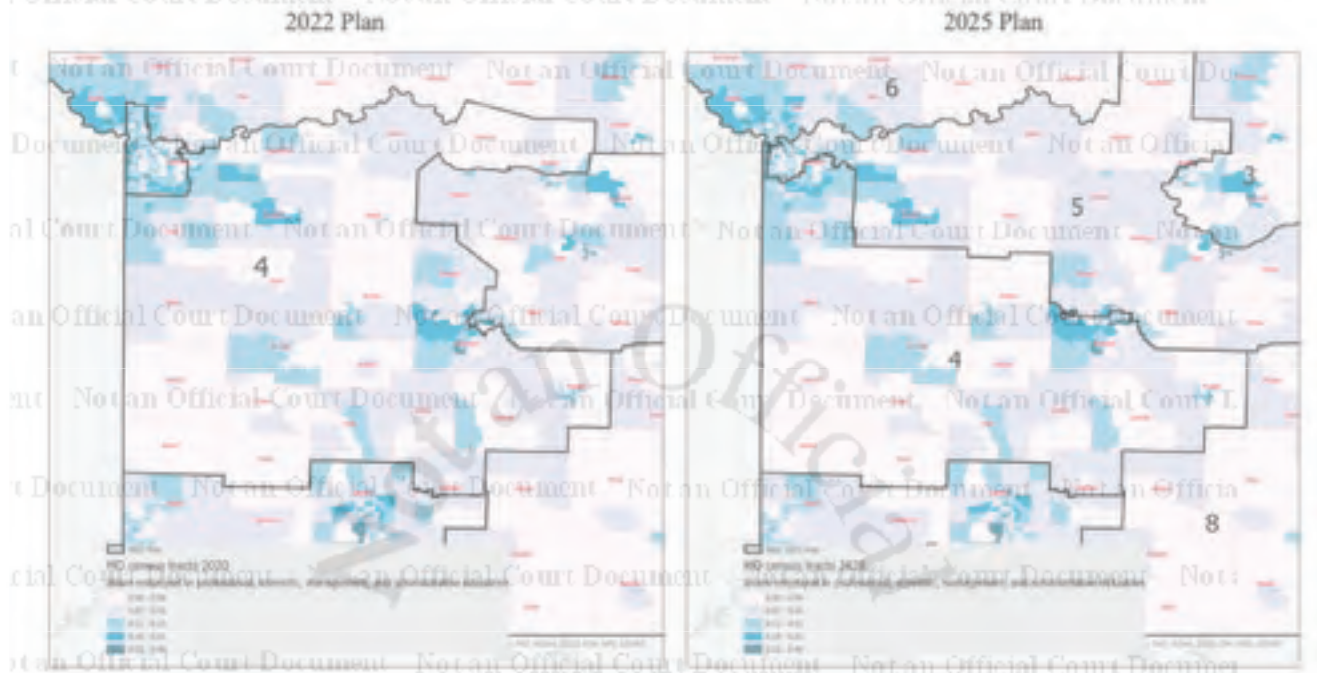
<https://www.eda.gov/news/press-release/2023/10/23/Kansas-City-Inclusive-Biologics-and-Biomanufacturing-Tech-Hub>.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> BioNexus KC, *Kansas City Regional Life Sciences Industry Census 2018* (2019), <https://bionexuskc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/BioNexus-KC-Census-Report-2018-FINAL-1.17.19.pdf>.

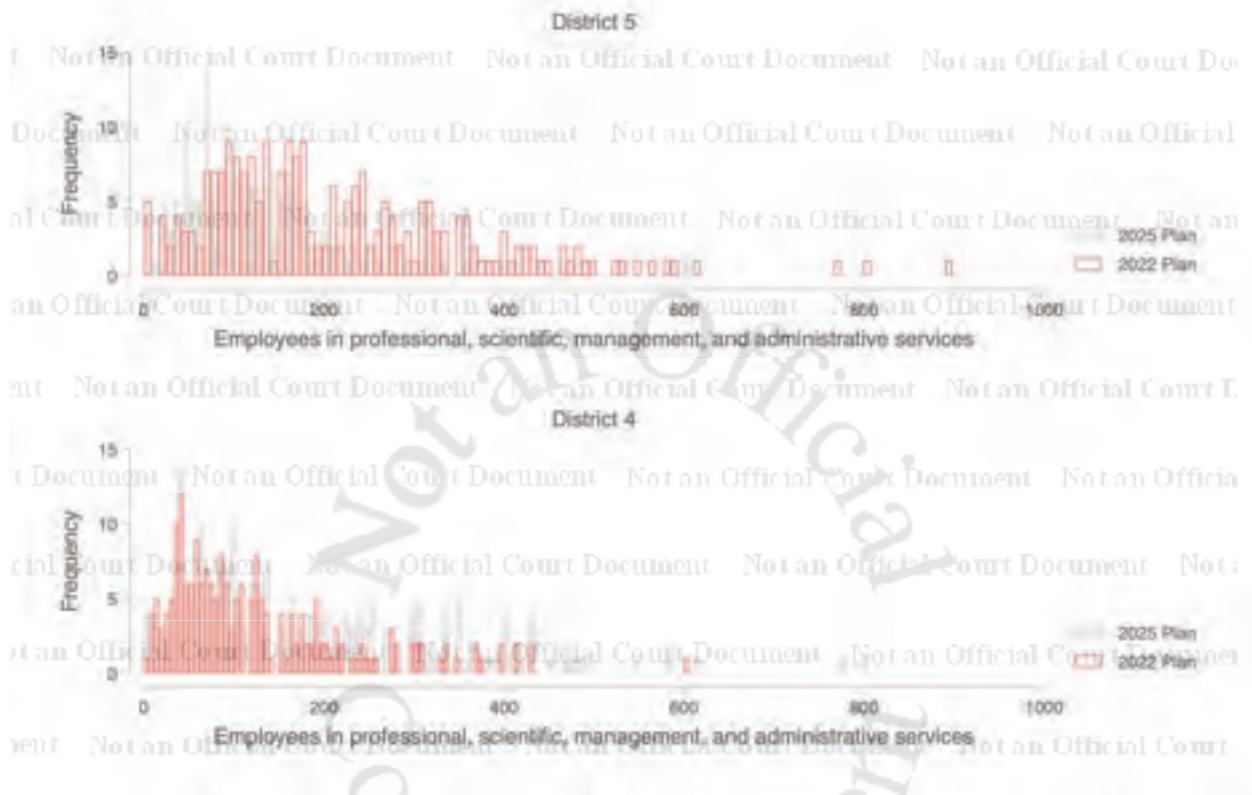


**Figure 13: Share of Adults Employed in Professional, Scientific, Management, and Administrative Industries**



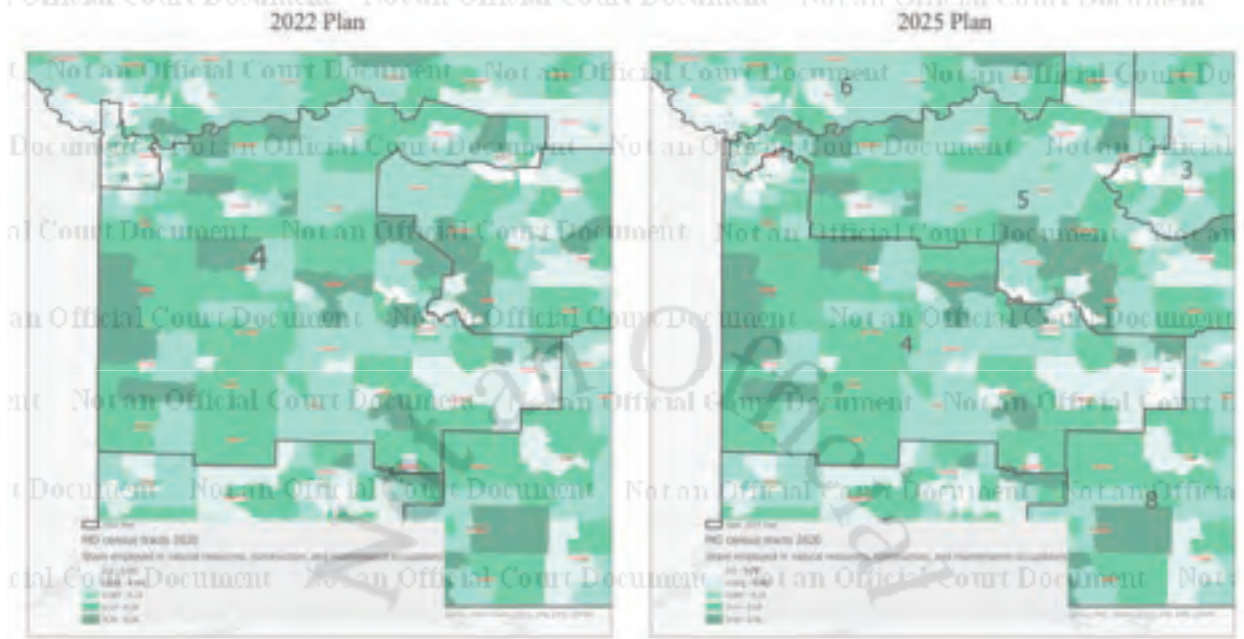
**Figure 14** below provides a histogram of tract-level employment in these industries in Districts 5 and 4 in the 2022 Plan, represented with hollow bars outlined in red; and the 2025 Plan, represented with solid gray bars. The presence of red bars on the right side of the graph and absence of gray bars demonstrates how District 5 lost some of its densest clusters of knowledge workers. The peak of the gray distribution (reflecting the 2025 Plan) is well to the left of the distribution for the 2022 Plan. The second histogram is for District 4. The growth of gray bars on the right side of the graph indicates that District 4 gained some of the tracts with the highest concentrations of knowledge employees. The 2025 Plan not only shifts knowledge workers from one district to another but also scatters them across districts. The estimated number of employees in these industrial sectors in District 5 went from around 51,000 in the 2022 Plan to around 30,000 in the 2025 Plan. In District 4, the number went from around 26,000 to around 42,000. By absorbing parts of Kansas City's northern suburbs, District 6 also saw a small increase in knowledge workers, from around 30,000 to 35,000.

**Figure 14: Tract-level Histograms of Employees in Professional, Scientific, Management, and Administrative Industries, Districts 5 and 4, 2022 and 2025 Plans**



**Figure 15** below focuses on a mix of occupational categories that are more common in the areas to the east and south of Kansas City: natural resources (including agriculture), construction, and maintenance. **Figure 15** shows that relatively lower shares of the population are engaged in these activities in Kansas City, with higher shares in more rural areas. A crucial change effected by the 2025 Plan is that District 4 drops a large portion of its rural territory and adds urban and suburban parts of Kansas City, where employment in natural resources, construction, and maintenance is less common.

**Figure 15: Share Employed in Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance Occupations**



Again, this shift in the character of the districts can be visualized by comparing tract-level histograms. **Figure 16** below provides histograms for tract-level employment in natural resources, construction, and maintenance in Districts 4 and 5 in the 2022 Plan (once again outlined in red) and the 2025 Plan (in solid gray). The difference is especially noticeable on the left-hand side of the graphs. District 5 previously had a large density of census tracts with minimal employment in these areas. Those tracts have now moved to District 4, appearing in solid gray on the left-hand side of the second histogram. The 2025 Plan has changed District 4 into a hybrid district combining urban knowledge-based employees with college degrees and rural employees engaged in more traditional economic activities.



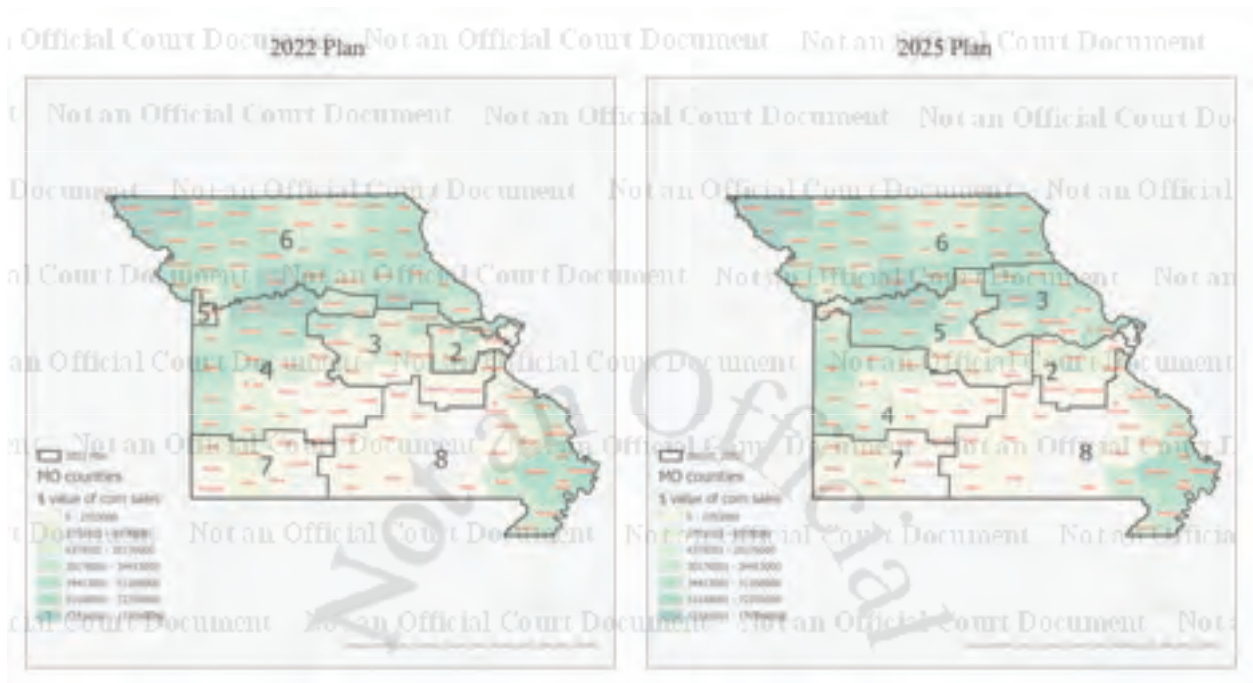
**Figure 16: Tract-level Histograms of Employees in Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance in Districts 5 and 4, 2022 and 2025 Plans**



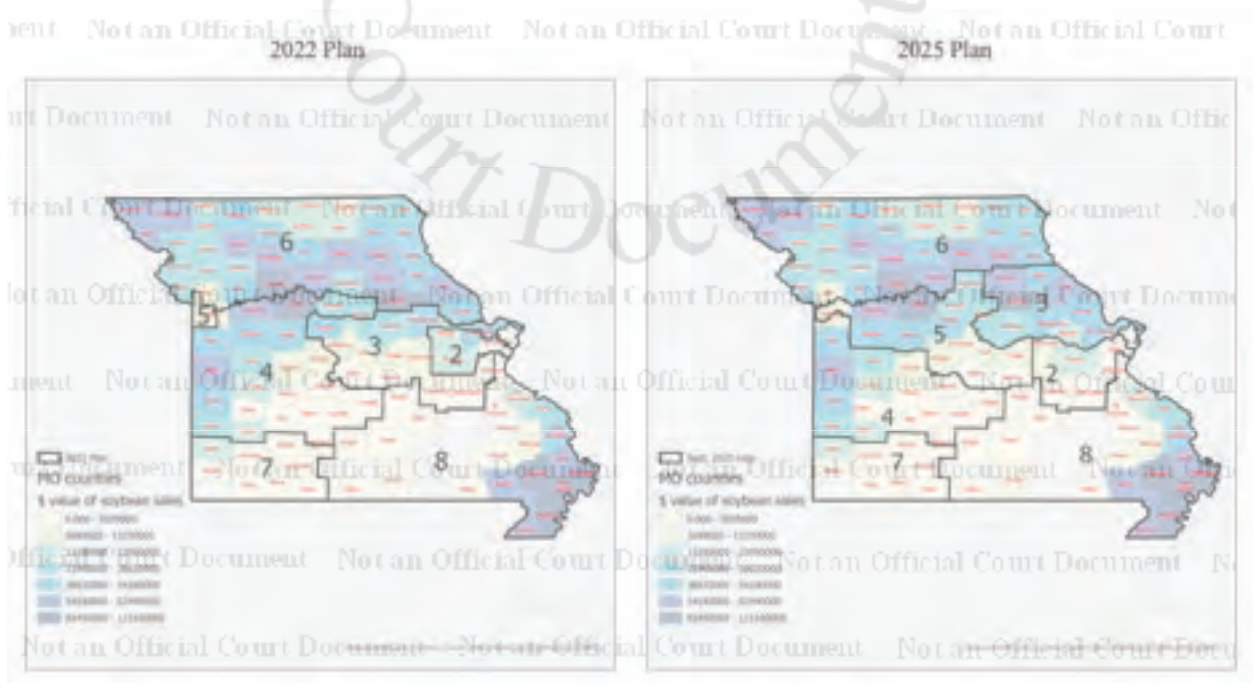
The difference is especially pronounced for agricultural workers. The estimated total number of employees in District 5 working directly in “agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, and mining” was around 1,900 in the 2022 Plan, but with the 2025 Plan’s addition of rural territory to District 5, it jumped to 6,300. In contrast, the number of agricultural employees in District 4 was around 9,800 in the 2022 Plan, but it fell to 6,600 in the 2025 Plan. In other words, as with knowledge workers, the 2025 Plan scatters agricultural workers across more than one district.

The 2025 Plan also shifted the agricultural makeup of District 6. The two largest crops in Missouri are corn and soybeans. Using data from the United States Department of Agriculture, **Figure 17a** and **Figure 17b** below present county-level data on the value of crops sold for corn and soybeans in 2022, the most recent year for which data were available. In the 2022 Plan, District 6 was clearly crafted around a closely united territory of corn and soybean producers. The 2025 Plan alters this closely united territory. It adds suburban areas north of Kansas City and a chunk of Kansas City’s urban core to District 6, forcing the district to shed population elsewhere. As a result, District 6 has lost several core corn- and soybean-producing counties in the eastern part of Missouri. These counties were added to District 3, the population of which is dominated by St. Charles, Missouri—a growing suburban part of the St. Louis metropolitan area, where voters have little connection to the needs of agricultural producers.

**Figure 17a: County-level value of corn sales, 2022**



**Figure 17b: County-level value of soybean sales, 2022**



In the 2022 Plan, District 4 drew together the core agricultural counties of western Missouri to the south of the Missouri River. In the 2025 Plan, these counties are now scattered between Districts 4 and 5, which are now urban-rural hybrids with much less concentrated agricultural

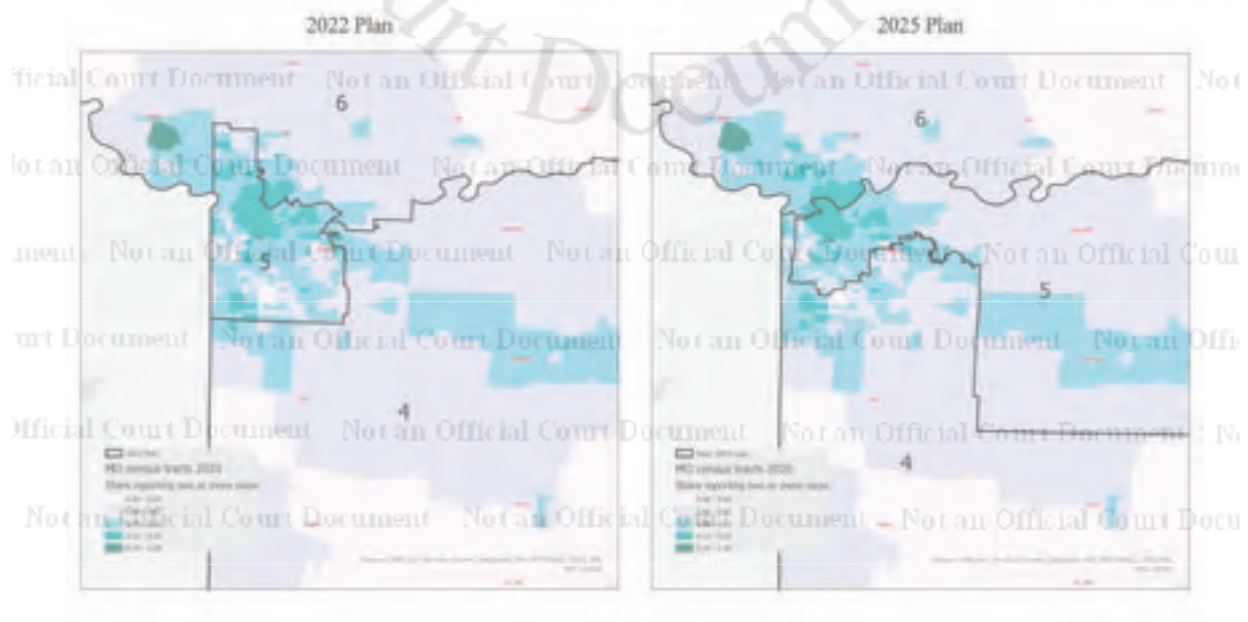


presence. In sum, as with technology workers and firms, the 2025 Plan splits agricultural producers across districts, potentially reducing the likelihood they can get the close attention of their congressional representatives.

In addition to population density, home ownership, transit, employment, and industrial patterns, an additional indicator of “closely united territory” can be race. Although they are sometimes starkly segregated—and Kansas City is certainly no exception— American cities can also facilitate racial integration. One often-overlooked aspect of diverse metropolitan areas is that they create an environment where people of different backgrounds live and work together, which facilitates greater social and workplace contact between members of different groups, which leads to community integration and a blurring of strict racial categories.<sup>8</sup> A good way to see this is to examine census data specifying which respondents identified themselves with more than one racial category.

**Figure 18** below displays such tract-level data on the share of the population reporting that they identify with more than one racial category. There is a clear cluster in the Kansas City metro area, and the boundary of District 5 in the 2022 Plan largely surrounds it. The boundaries of the 2025 Plan divide this cluster into three segments.

**Figure 18: Share of population reporting two or more races**



<sup>8</sup> Davenport, Lauren. "The fluidity of racial classifications." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23.1 (2020): 221-240.

**C. District Sprawl: A Metric for Assessing Whether Districts Meet the Closely United Territory Standard**

Table 2 below presents two of the most commonly used measures of geographic compactness for Districts 4, 5, and 6 in the 2022 and 2025 Plans, along with an average for all 8 districts.

**Table 2: Traditional Compactness Measures, Challenged Districts**

District	Reock 2022 Plan	Reock 2025 Plan	PP 2022 Plan	PP 2025 Plan
4	0.506	0.391	0.296	0.331
5	0.420	0.292	0.396	0.199
6	0.247	0.281	0.277	0.322
Avg. of challenged districts	0.391	0.322	0.323	0.284
Avg. of all districts	0.417	0.413	0.310	0.353

According to the Reock measure, which calculates the area of the district by the area of the smallest circle that would completely enclose it, the 2025 Plan's move from an urban Kansas City-oriented District 5 to a sprawling urban-rural hybrid District 5 is associated with a substantial decline in compactness. The same is also true for the Polsby-Popper score, which examines the area of the district relative to its perimeter, meaning that it is more sensitive to physical geography like meandering rivers or coastlines. District 4 also became less compact according to the Reock measure, but not Polsby-Popper. District 6, by shedding some agricultural counties, became slightly more compact in the 2025 Plan.

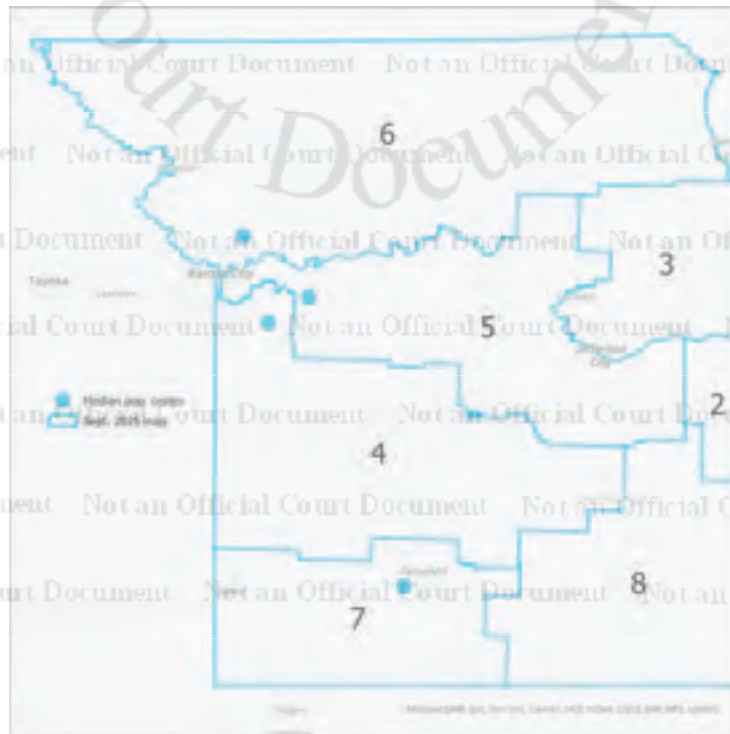
In *Pearson v. Koster*, however, the Missouri Supreme Court expressed skepticism about the usefulness of traditional compactness metrics like the Reock and Polsby-Popper measures. Indeed, these measures shed little light on the more substantive notion of closely united territory favored in Missouri, and apparent non-compactness according to these measures can even be driven by the desire to keep elongated but closely united territory together, or to observe natural boundaries like rivers or mountains.

Accordingly, it is useful to examine a measure that more closely corresponds to the notion of closely united territory than traditional compactness measures. Rather than focusing on shapes and visual images of districts, my analysis below examines the extent to which districts keep clumps of proximate voters in the same district, and prevent pairing them with faraway populations

with whom they are unlikely to share the same representational interests. Here, I introduce a simple measure of *district sprawl*, which I define as the distance between the median population center of the district and its furthest geographic extent. When districts are composed of closely united territory, districts keep geographic clusters of proximate voters together in the same district rather than combining them with faraway voters.

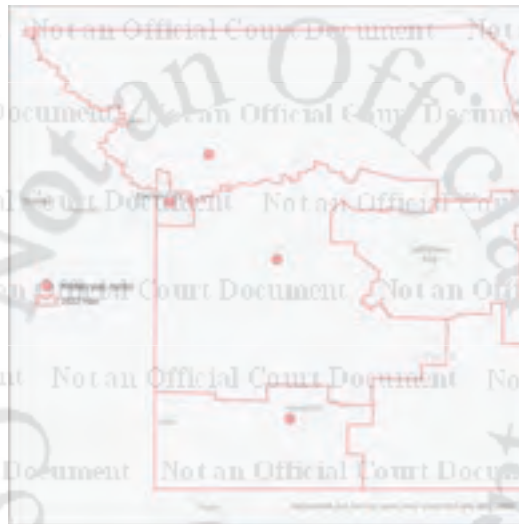
To see this, we can use tract-level population data to calculate the median population center of each district. The median population center of a district is the point where half the population lives to the east and half to the west, and half to the north and half to the south. Because so much of the population of western Missouri lives in the Kansas City metro area, the median population centers of Districts 4, 5, and 6 in the 2025 Plan are relatively close to Kansas City, as depicted in **Figure 19** below. However, the furthest reaches of the district are quite far away from the population center of each district. The median population center of District 5 is 143 miles away from the southeast corner of the district. The median population center of District 4 is 147 miles away from the southeast corner of the district, and the median population center of District 6 is 176 miles away from the furthest point in the district.

**Figure 19: Median Population Centers of Districts in 2025 Plan**



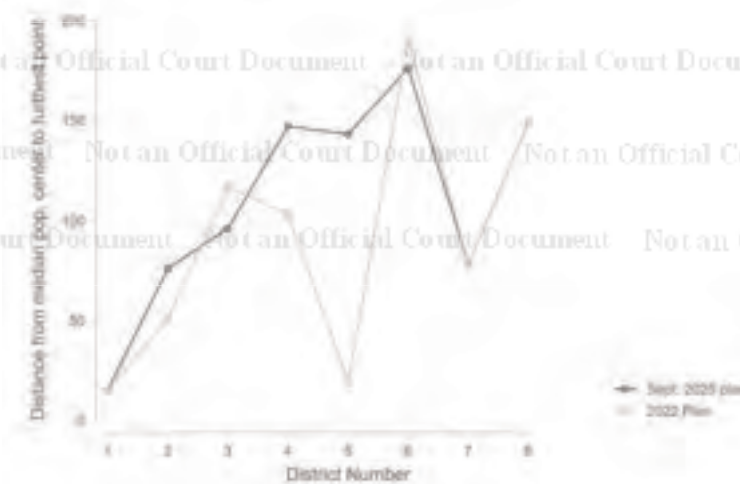
Such distances between the median population center and the farthest population in the district are entirely avoidable. **Figure 20** below displays the same information for the 2022 Plan. While the median population center of District 6 is still quite far from the eastern extent of the district in that plan (190 miles), the median population center of District 5 is only 19 miles from the furthest point in the district (rather than 143 miles), and the median population center of District 4 is 103 miles away from its furthest point (rather than 147 miles).

**Figure 20: Median Population Centers of Districts in 2022 Plan**



**Figure 21** below provides information on these distances for each district in the 2022 Plan and the 2025 Plan. The figure shows that in the 2022 Plan the distances are rather similar for all the districts except Districts 4 and 5, whereas in the 2025 Plan Districts 4 and 5 become dramatically less compact by the metric of district sprawl.

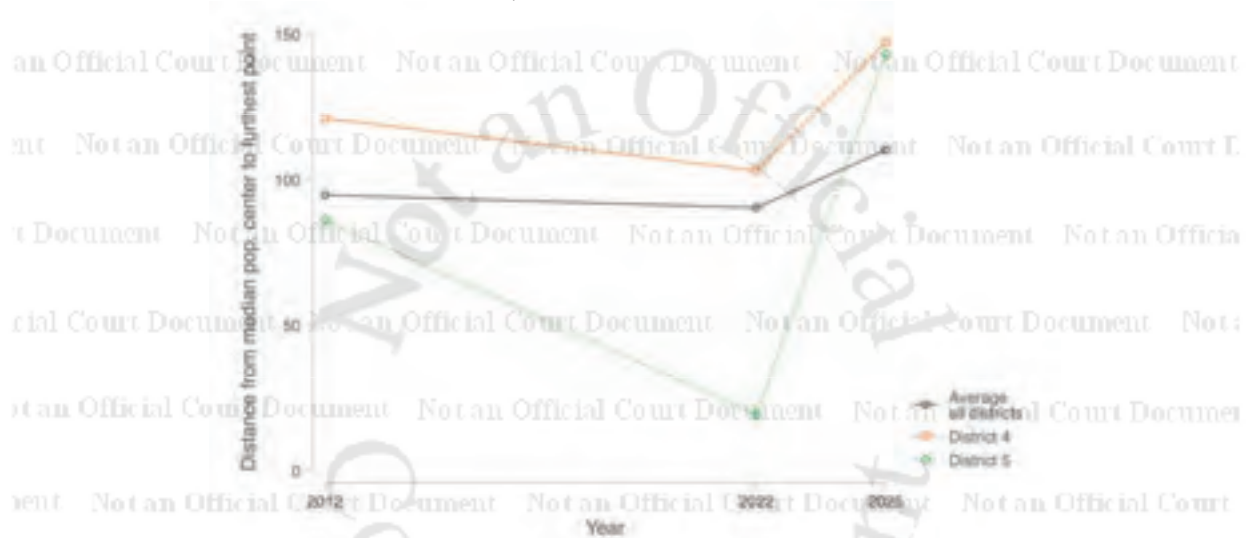
**Figure 21: Distances from Median Population Centers of Districts to Furthest Point in District, 2022 Plan and 2025 Plan**





Relative to past congressional plans, the district sprawl for Districts 4 and 5 increased dramatically in the 2025 Plan. **Figure 22** below provides another visualization of this change, by plotting the distance from the median population centers of Districts 4 and 5 to the furthest points of those districts for each version of the congressional map enacted since Missouri went from nine congressional districts to eight after the 2010 census cycle.

**Figure 22: Average Distance from Median Population Center of District to Furthest Point in District, Plans from 2012 to Present**



#### IV. CAN DEVIATIONS FROM COMPACTNESS BE EXPLAINED BY OTHER RECOGNIZED FACTORS?

The 2025 Plan clearly falls short of the “closely united territory” standard of compactness. The remainder of this report considers several reasons, enumerated by the Missouri Supreme Court in *Pearson v. Koster*, as to why “minimal and practical deviations” from compactness may occur, namely: “(1) the interrelationship in standards for the population equality and compactness requirements; (2) the contiguity requirement; (3) federal laws, including the Voting Rights Act; and (4) the recognized factors of population density, natural boundary lines, boundaries of political subdivisions, and historical boundary lines of prior redistricting maps.” *Pearson v. Koster*, 367 S.W. 3d 36, 53 (Mo. 2012).

The 2025 Plan’s division of Kansas City into three districts is neither minimal nor practical in its deviation from the principle of closely united territory. It is not possible to claim that these deviations were required by efforts to draw contiguous, equal-population districts, since the General Assembly used the same geography and population data in drawing the 2022 Plan and



was able to keep most of the closely united territory of Kansas City together in a single district, and was able to draw more rural-oriented versions of Districts 4 and 6. Above, I demonstrated in Part III.B.1 that without doubt, the 2025 Plan was not drawn with any regard for population density, and in Part III.A that it was a radical departure from historical district boundaries. This Part explains why none of the remaining factors of federal law, natural boundary lines, or boundaries of political subdivisions explain the 2025 Plan's stark deviation from the closely united territory standard of compactness.

#### **A. Federal Law**

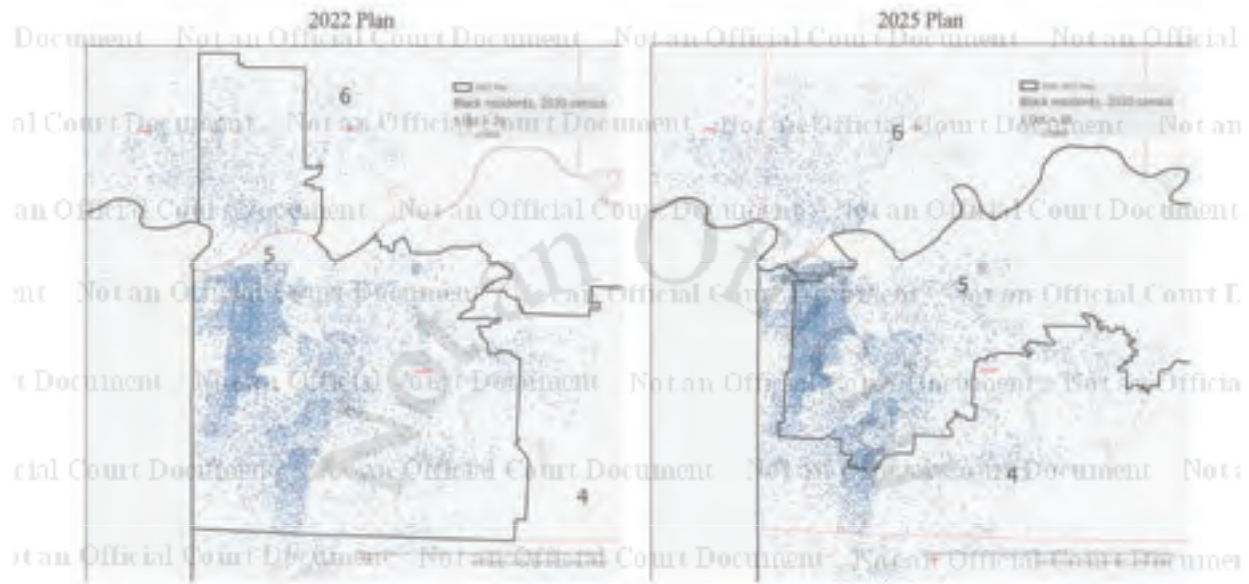
Efforts to comply with federal law do not explain the 2025 Plan's violation of the closely united territory standard. When drawing a redistricting plan in the United States, district-drawers must be aware of the federal Voting Rights Act (VRA). If there is a sufficiently large concentration of minority voters in an area, and racially polarized voting might be present, the district-drawer might need to conduct some additional analysis to establish whether racially polarized voting is indeed present and whether minority voters typically are unable to elect their candidates of choice. The first question under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act is whether the minority group is large enough and geographically compact enough to form a majority in a single-member district. If the answer is "no," the VRA does not compel consideration of race in drawing the districts.

In the Kansas City area, there is no minority group large enough to form a majority in a single-member district. The Black voting-age population on the Missouri side of the Kansas City metropolitan statistical area is well under 200,000, and the target size of a Missouri congressional district is 769,364 people. Moreover, the Black voting-age population share of District 5 in the 2022 Plan was only 22.45 percent. As can be seen in the left-hand panel of **Figure 23** below, that district was already drawn in a way that included much of the Black population in the Kansas City area. Accordingly, a district-drawer would have known immediately that Section 2 of the VRA would not be implicated in the Kansas City area. In any case, the VRA cannot explain the deviations from the standard of closely united territory in the Kansas City area.

In fact, the 2025 Plan was drawn in such a way as to potentially invite scrutiny related to racial gerrymandering and the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment. **Figure 23** below is a dot density map of the Black population of metro Kansas City from the 2020 Census. By extracting a strip of Kansas City bounded north-south along Troost Avenue—one of the most famous racial dividing lines in the

United States<sup>9</sup>—the 2025 Plan appears to sort voters into District 5 and out of District 4 along racial lines.

**Figure 23: Dot Density Map of Black Population in Metro Kansas City with 2022 and 2025 Plan District Boundaries**



## B. Natural Boundary Lines

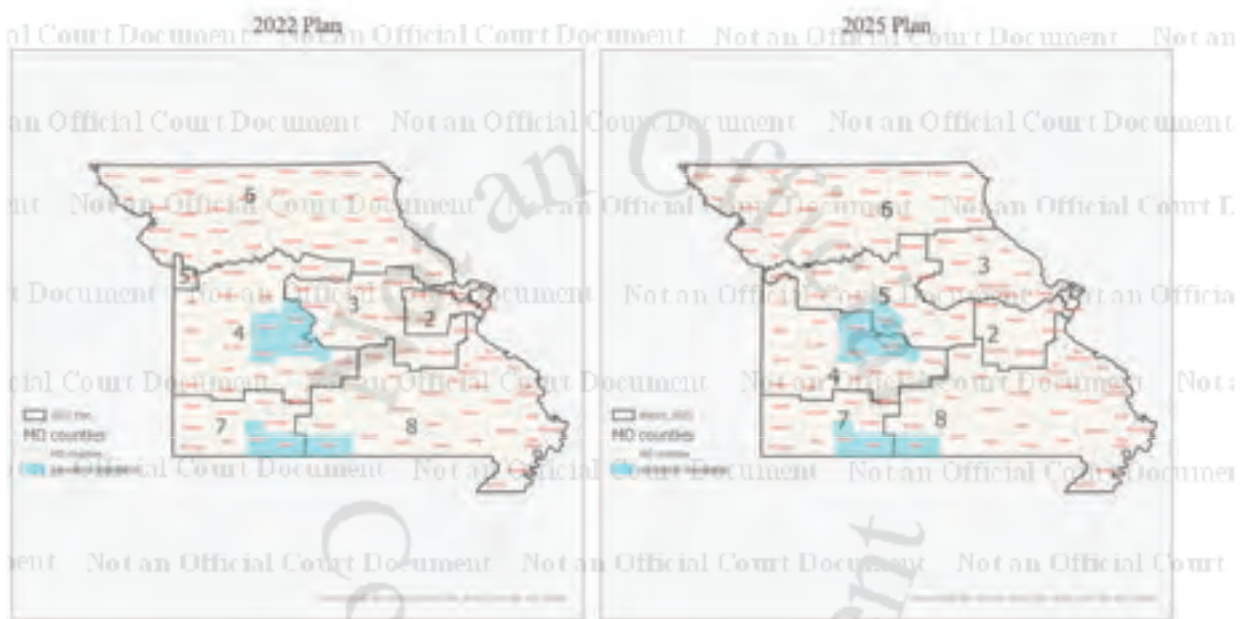
The boundaries that subdivide Kansas City in the 2025 Plan do not appear to be driven by a desire to follow bodies of water or other natural features. In fact, the 2025 Plan breaches a significant natural boundary that prior congressional maps have respected. As demonstrated in the historical maps in Part III, the Missouri River has long been part of the dividing line between Districts 5 and 6 in the Kansas City area. In the 2025 Plan, District 6 dips down across the Missouri River and extracts part of Kansas City south of the river for the first time in history.

The 2025 Plan breaches natural boundary lines in other areas of the state as well. The 2025 Plan's boundary between District 4 and District 5 subdivides the Lake of the Ozarks recreation area. **Figure 24** below depicts the “recreation dependent” counties of Missouri, using the U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service’s classification of counties by economic

<sup>9</sup> Sherry Lamb Schirmer, *A City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City, 1900-1960*. University of Missouri Press (2016); Kevin Fox Gotham, *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2010*, State University of New York Press (2014).

dependence based on job and income concentration.<sup>10</sup> Previous redistricting plans kept Morgan County—home to a part of the Lake of the Ozarks—together with the other recreation-dependent counties in District 4. The 2025 Plan moves Morgan County to District 5, where it is the only recreation-dependent county.

**Figure 24: Recreation-Dependent Counties of Missouri**



### C. Boundaries of Political Subdivisions

The 2025 Plan's lack of compactness cannot be explained by a desire to respect the boundaries of political subdivisions. In fact, the 2025 Plan introduces new splits of political subdivisions at multiple levels of government.

The 2025 Plan violates the principle of closely united territory in western Missouri by dividing the political subdivision of Kansas City—and even the central business district of Kansas City—into three congressional districts. The boundary of District 5 in the 2025 Plan also splits the cities of Columbia and Jefferson City, both of which are also designated by the OMB and the U.S. Census Bureau as metropolitan statistical areas.

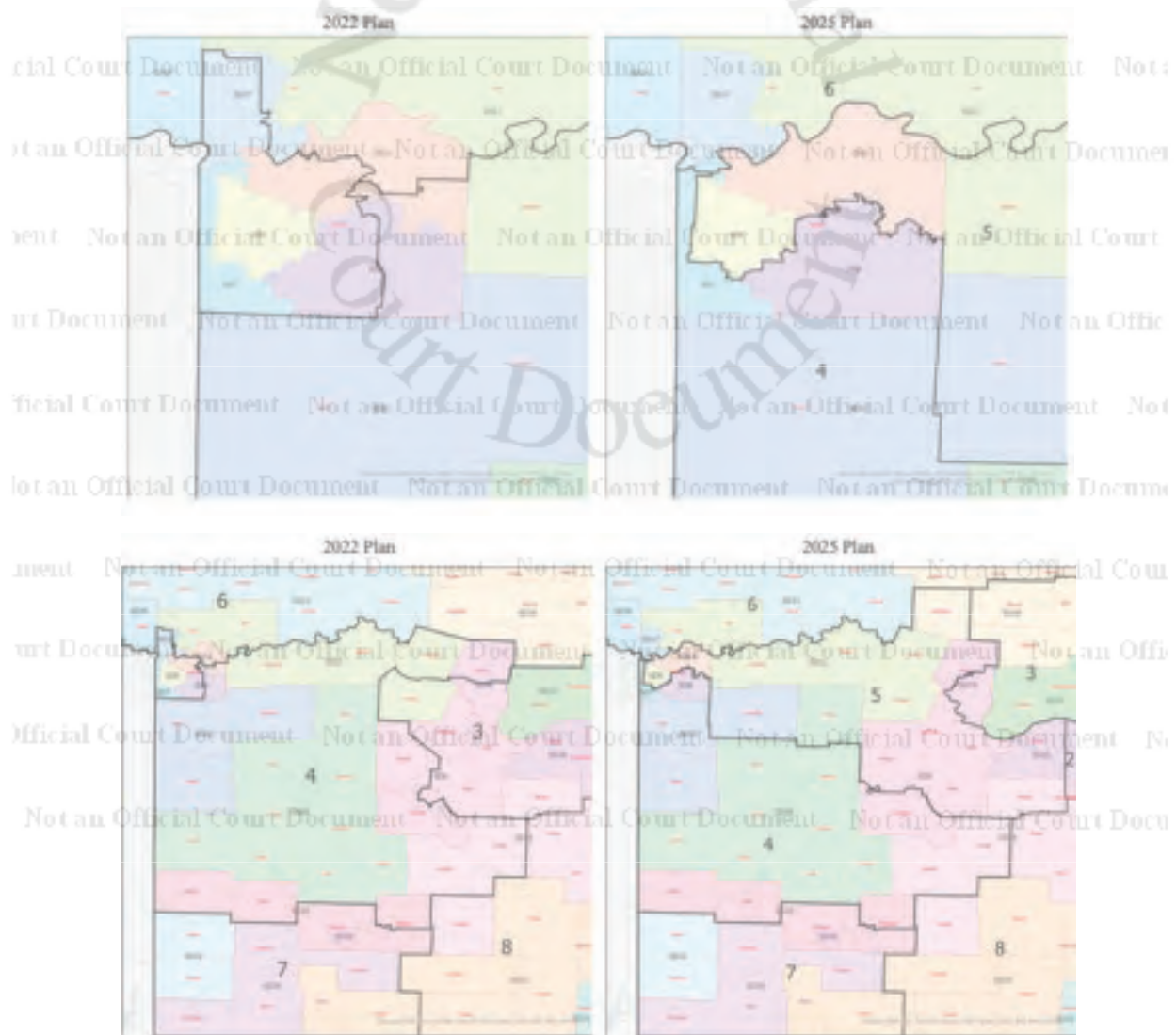
<sup>10</sup> Count Typology Codes – Descriptions and Maps, Economic Research Service, U.S. Dep't of Agriculture (updated Apr. 11, 2025), <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/county-typology-codes/descriptions-and-maps#highrec>.



These violations of closely united territory cannot be explained by a desire to minimize splits of state legislative districts, city council districts of Kansas City, school districts, or neighborhoods.

It does not appear that the 2025 Map's deviation from the principle of closely united territory arose from an effort to preserve boundaries of Missouri Senate districts. **Figure 25** below superimposes the boundaries of the 2022 Plan and the 2025 Plan on a map of Missouri State Senate districts. The first set of images zoom in on Jackson County, and the second set of images zoom out to the entire extent of Districts 4 and 5. In the first set of images, one can see that the 2025 Plan partially follows the boundaries of the state senate districts in Jackson County (which also follow municipal boundaries in part), which was less clearly the case in the 2022 Plan.

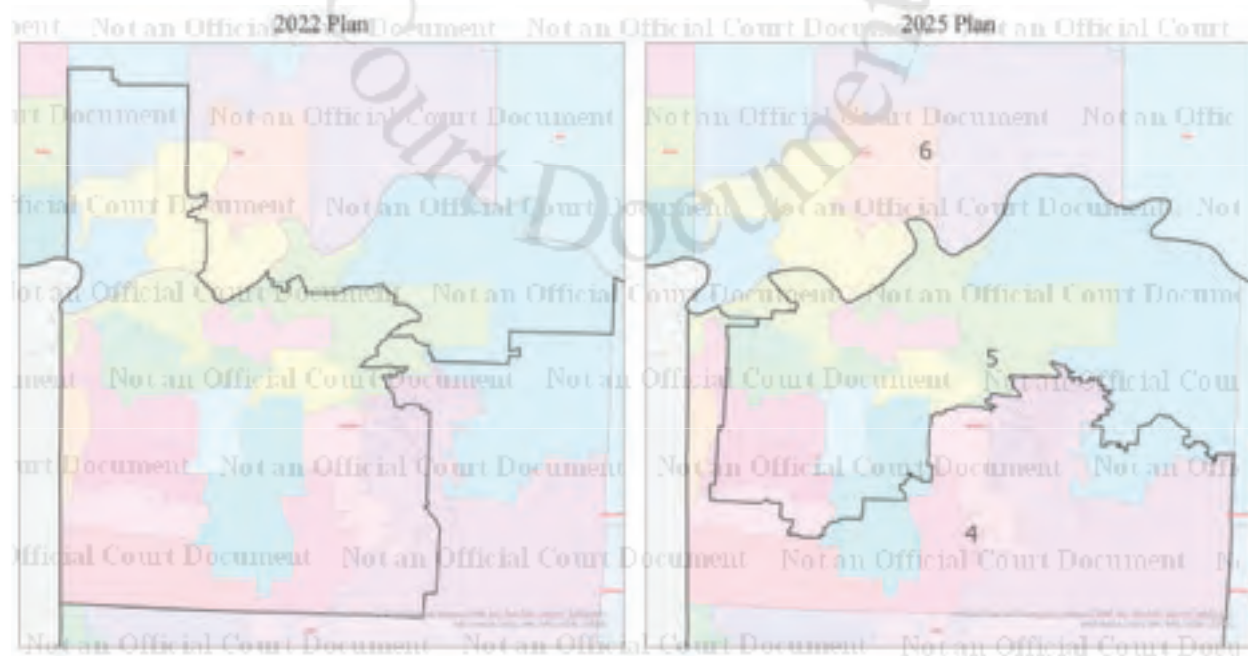
**Figure 25: Missouri State Senate Districts and Boundaries of 2022 and 2025 Plans**



However, the first set of images also shows that the 2025 Plan divides State Senate District 7 in the Kansas City central business district into three congressional districts. Moreover, the second set of images shows that the 2022 Plan's overall correspondence with state senate districts was greater than the 2025 Plan. The boundary of District 5 in the 2022 Plan only split three State Senate districts, whereas the boundary of District 5 in the 2025 Plan splits nine.

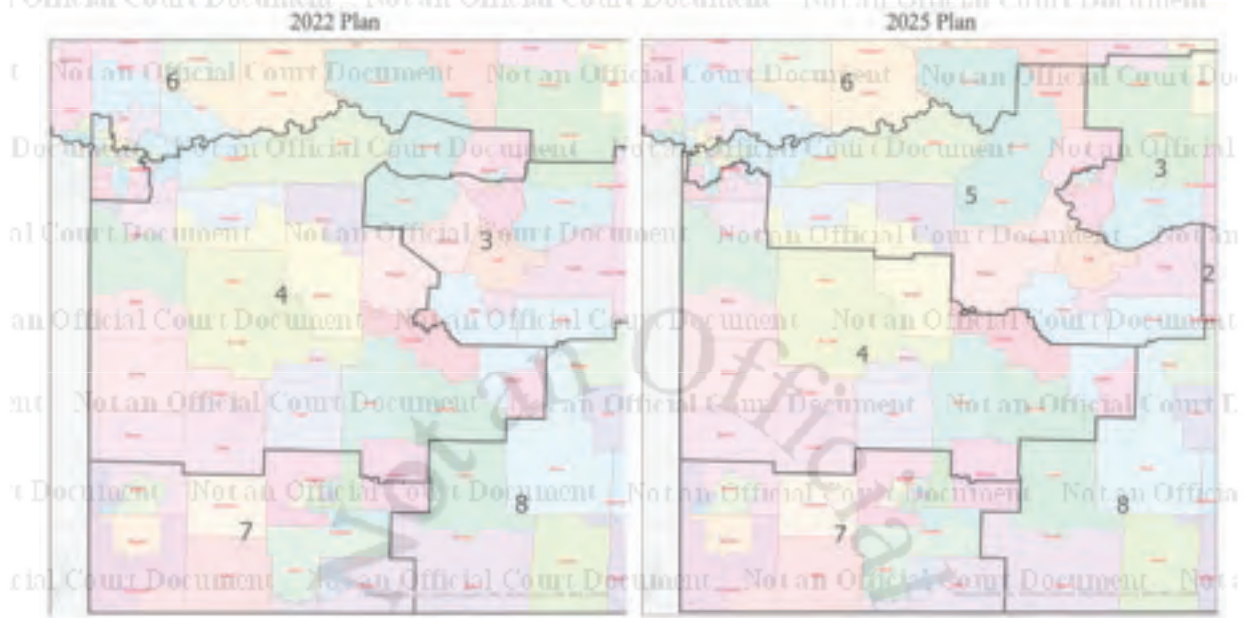
**Figure 26** below provides similar maps for Missouri State House districts. Here again, it does not appear that deviation from Kansas City's closely united territory arose from an effort to preserve boundaries of Missouri House districts. The intersection of Districts 4, 5, and 6 in the 2025 Plan splits a State House district into three congressional districts. Whereas the boundary of District 5 in the 2022 Plan split five State House districts in total, the boundary of District 5 in the 2025 Plan split six State House districts on the Troost Avenue corridor alone, eight total in Jackson County, and 16 overall.

**Figure 26: Missouri State House Districts and Boundaries of 2022 and 2025 Plans**



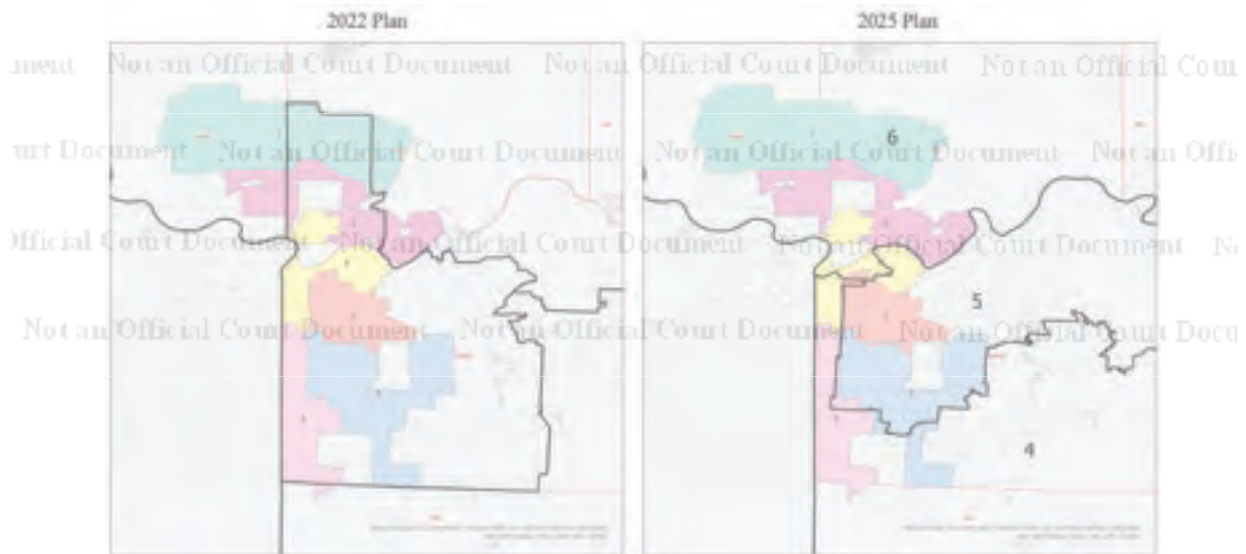


**Figure 26 (continued): Missouri State House Districts and Boundaries of 2022 and 2025 Plans**



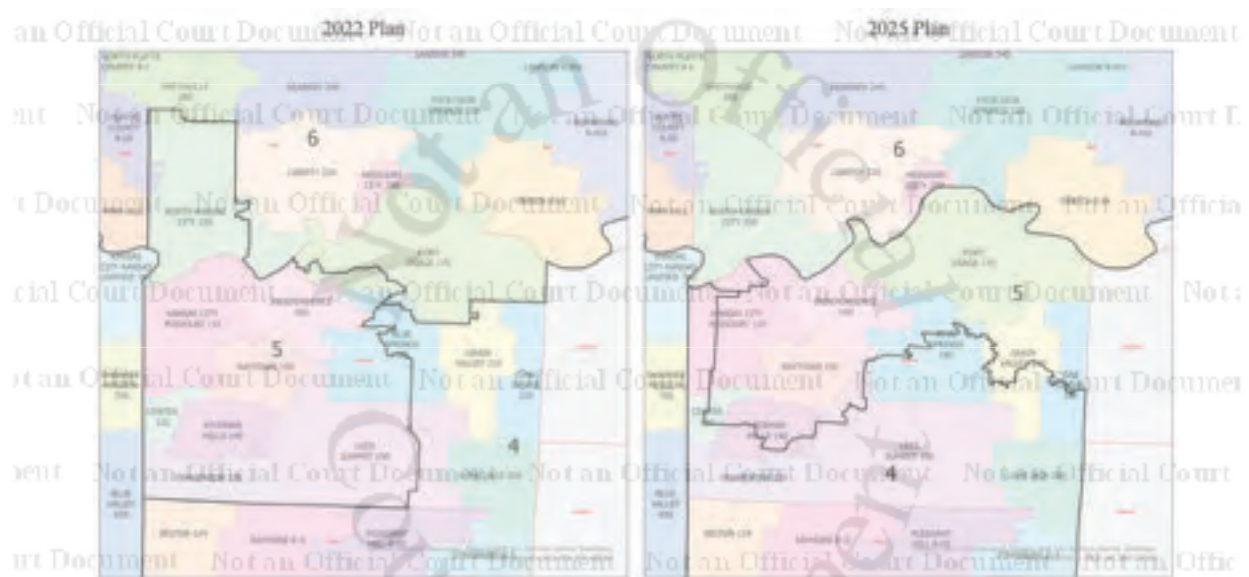
The story is the same for city council districts. **Figure 27** below provides a map of city council districts and includes the boundaries of the 2022 and 2025 Plans. While the 2022 Plan split City Council Districts 1 and 2 in Clay County, it did not split any of the four city council districts in Jackson County. The 2025 Plan does the opposite: while it does not split the two Clay County districts, it splits all four of the Jackson County districts. Remarkably, two city council districts—3 and 4—are subdivided into three different congressional districts.

**Figure 27: City Council Districts of Kansas City and Boundaries of 2022 and 2025 Plans**



When it comes to school districts, it appears that neither the 2022 nor 2025 Plans paid special attention to the boundaries of school districts. In any case, the desire to respect boundaries of political subdivisions cannot possibly explain violations of the principle of closely united territory. As shown in **Figure 28** below, the 2025 Plan's District 5 boundary splits seven school districts in Jackson County. The 2025 Plan also splits the Kansas City School district across three congressional districts.

**Figure 28: Boundaries of Kansas City-Area School Districts**



It is also useful to briefly consider how the 2025 Plan divides Kansas City's neighborhoods. The intersection of Districts 4, 5, and 6 in Kansas City is portrayed in **Figure 29** below, along with boundaries of Kansas City neighborhoods. Historic neighborhoods in the northern part of the city, including Pendleton Heights and Scarritt Point, have been carved out of Jackson County and placed in District 6, which reaches over 200 miles to the east, all the way to Hannibal and the Mississippi River.

The neighborhoods immediately to the south—Independence Plaza, Forgotten Homes, and Parkview—have been extracted via a narrow, winding corridor and connected to rural-oriented District 4, which terminates in Fort Leonard Wood. Other parts of these same neighborhoods have been placed in District 5, which extends over 200 miles to the eastern part of the state, splitting Jefferson City and Columbia along the way.



## V. CONCLUSION

Kansas City and its surrounding metro area constitutes closely united territory, and it has been treated as such in the drawing of congressional district boundaries throughout Missouri history. The 2025 Plan is a major deviation from this tradition. It divides the core of Kansas City into three heterogeneous districts. In doing so, it divides urban residents and the interests of urban workers and firms across three congressional districts, potentially undermining the representation of a wide range of groups including renters, transit advocates, and technology firms and workers. While District 5 in the 2025 Plan loses its urban character, District 4 loses its rural character, forcing workers and firms in more traditional economic sectors to compete for influence with a new set of high-tech firms and university-educated workers. Districts 4 and 5 have become far more heterogeneous with respect to population density, and the district boundaries have stretched far away from the median population center of the district.

The 2025 Plan demonstrates that these deviations from Missouri's tradition of drawing districts around closely united territory cannot be explained by the challenge of drawing contiguous, equal-population districts. Nor can these deviations be explained by efforts to abide by federal law or respect for prior districts, natural boundaries, or boundaries of political subdivisions or neighborhoods.



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## Education

Ph.D. Political Science, Yale University, 2000.

Fulbright Scholar, University of Leipzig, Germany, 1993–1994.

B.A., Political Science, University of Michigan, 1993.

## Academic Positions

Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2012–present.

Senior Fellow, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, 2020–present.

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2012–present.

Director, Spatial Social Science Lab, Stanford University, 2012–present.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2010–2012.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2007–2012.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA, 2006–2007.

Ford Career Development Associate Professor of Political Science, MIT, 2003–2006.

Visiting Scholar, Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University, 2004.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, MIT, 1999–2003.

Instructor, Department of Political Science and School of Management, Yale University, 1997–1999.

## Publications

### Books

*Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Divide*. Basic Books, 2019.

*Decentralized Governance and Accountability: Academic Research and the Future of Donor Programming*. Co-edited with Erik Wibbels, Cambridge University Press, 2019.

*Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*, Cambridge University Press, 2006. Winner, Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics, 2007; Martha Derthick Award for lasting contribution to the study of federalism, 2021.

*Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints*, MIT Press, 2003. Co-edited with Gunnar Eskeland and Jennie Litvack.

### Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

The Great Global Divider? A Comparison of Urban-Rural Partisan Polarization in Western Democracies, 2024, *Comparative Political Studies* 58(2): 261-290 (with Twan Huijsmans). Winner, Frances Rosenbluth Best Paper Award, *Comparative Political Studies*.

The Great Recession and the Public Sector in Rural America, 2024, *Journal of Economic Geography* 24(3): 441-458.

How Social Context Affects Immigration Attitudes, 2023, *Journal of Politics* 85( 2): 372-388 (with Adam Berinsky, Christopher Karpowitz, Zeyu Chris Peng, and Cara Wong).

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Handgun Ownership and Suicide in California, 2020, *New England Journal of Medicine* 382: 2220-2229 (with David M. Studdert, Yifan Zhang, Sonja A. Swanson, Lea Prince, Erin E. Holsinger, Matthew J. Spittal, Garen J. Wintemute, and Matthew Miller).

Viral Voting: Social Networks and Political Participation, 2020, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 163: 265-284, (with Nick Eubank, Guy Grossman, and Melina Platas). Winner, *Political Ties Award* for the best paper on the subject of political networks.

It Takes a Village: Peer Effects and Externalities in Technology Adoption, 2020, *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3): 536-553, (with Romain Ferrali, Guy Grossman, and Melina Platas). Winner, 2020 Best Conference Paper Award, American Political Science Association Network Section.

Assembly of the LongSHOT Cohort: Public Record Linkage on a Grand Scale, 2019, *Injury Prevention* 26: 153-158 (with Yifan Zhang, Erin Holsinger, Lea Prince, Sonja Swanson, Matthew Miller, Garen Wintemute, and David Studdert).

Crowdsourcing Accountability: ICT for Service Delivery, 2018, *World Development* 112: 74-87 (with Guy Grossman and Melina Platas).

Geography, Uncertainty, and Polarization, 2018, *Political Science Research and Methods* doi:10.1017/psrm.2018.12 (with Nolan McCarty, Boris Shor, Chris Tausanovitch, and Chris Warshaw).

Handgun Acquisitions in California after Two Mass Shootings, 2017, *Annals of Internal Medicine* 166(10):698-706. (with David Studdert, Yifan Zhang, Rob Hyndman, and Garen Wintemute).

Cutting Through the Thicket: Redistricting Simulations and the Detection of Partisan Gerrymanders, 2015, *Election Law Journal* 14(4): 1-15 (with Jowei Chen).

The Achilles Heel of Plurality Systems: Geography and Representation in Multi-Party Democracies, 2015, *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 789-805 (with Ernesto Calvo). Winner, Michael Wallerstein Award for best paper in political economy, American Political Science Association.

Why has U.S. Policy Uncertainty Risen Since 1960?, 2014, *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* May 2014 (with Nicholas Bloom, Brandice Canes-Wrone, Scott Baker, and Steven Davis).

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Dual Accountability and the Nationalization of Party Competition: Evidence from Four Federations, 2011, *Party Politics* 17, 5: 629-653 (with Erik Wibbels).

The Geographic Distribution of Political Preferences, 2010, *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 297-340.

Fiscal Decentralization and the Business Cycle: An Empirical Study of Seven Federations, 2009, *Economics and Politics* 22(1): 37-67 (with Erik Wibbels).

Getting into the Game: Legislative Bargaining, Distributive Politics, and EU Enlargement, 2009, *Public Finance and Management* 9(4) (with Deniz Aksoy).

The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting, 2008. *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 215-232 (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder).

Does Religion Distract the Poor? Income and Issue Voting Around the World, 2008, *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4): 437-476 (with Ana Lorena De La O).

Purple America, 2006, *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20(2) (Spring): 97-118 (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder).

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The Dilemma of Fiscal Federalism: Grants and Fiscal Performance around the World, 2002, *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 670-687.

Strength in Numbers: Representation and Redistribution in the European Union, 2002, *European Union Politics* 3(2): 151-175.

Does Federalism Preserve Markets? 1997, *Virginia Law Review* 83(7): 1521-1572 (with Susan Rose-Ackerman). Spanish version, 1999, in *Quorum* 68.

### Working Papers

Elections, Political Polarization, and Economic Uncertainty, NBER Working Paper 27961 (with Scott Baker, Aniket Baksy, Nicholas Bloom, and Steven Davis).

Federalism and Inter-regional Redistribution, Working Paper 2009/3, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona.

Representation and Regional Redistribution in Federations, Working Paper 2010/16, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona (with Tiberiu Dragu).

Changing the Default: The Impact of Motor-Voter Reform in Colorado (with Justin Grimmer), 2022.

### Chapters in Books

Recessions and Ratchets: Federal Funds and Public Sector Employment, in *American Federalism Today*, edited by Michael Boskin, Hoover Institution Press.

The Urban-Rural Divide in Historical Political Economy, in *Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*, edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin, 2023, Oxford University Press.

Political Geography and Representation: A Case Study of Districting in Pennsylvania (with Thomas Weighill), in *Political Geometry*, edited by Moon Duchin and Olivia Walch, 2022, Springer.

Keeping Your Enemies Close: Electoral Rules and Partisan Polarization, in *The New Politics of Insecurity*, edited by Frances Rosenbluth and Margaret Weir, 2022, Cambridge University Press.

Decentralized Rule and Revenue, 2019, in Jonathan Rodden and Erik Wibbels, eds., *Decentralized Governance and Accountability*, Cambridge University Press.

Geography and Gridlock in the United States, 2014, in Nathaniel Persily, ed. *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge University Press.

Can Market Discipline Survive in the U.S. Federation?, 2013, in Daniel Nadler and Paul Peterson, eds., *The Global Debt Crisis: Haunting U.S. and European Federalism*, Brookings Press.

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Federalism and Inter-Regional Redistribution, 2010, in Nuria Bosch, Marta Espasa, and Albert Sole Olle, eds., *The Political Economy of Inter-Regional Fiscal Flows*, Edward Elgar.

Back to the Future: Endogenous Institutions and Comparative Politics, 2009, in Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (Second Edition), Cambridge University Press.

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Fiscal Discipline in Federations: Germany and the EMU, 2006, in Peter Wierds, Servaas Deroose, Elena Flores and Alessandro Turrini, eds., *Fiscal Policy Surveillance in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan.



The Political Economy of Pro-cyclical Decentralised Finance (with Erik Wibbels), 2006, in Peter Wierds, Servaas Deroose, Elena Flores and Alessandro Turrini, eds., *Fiscal Policy Surveillance in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan.

Globalization and Fiscal Decentralization, (with Geoffrey Garrett), 2003, in Miles Kahler and David Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*, Princeton University Press: 87-109. (Updated version, 2007, in David Cameron, Gustav Ranis, and Annalisa Zinn, eds., *Globalization and Self-Determination: Is the Nation-State under Siege?* Routledge.)

Introduction and Overview (Chapter 1), 2003, in Rodden et al., *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Soft Budget Constraints and German Federalism (Chapter 5), 2003, in Rodden, et al, *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Federalism and Bailouts in Brazil (Chapter 7), 2003, in Rodden, et al., *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Lessons and Conclusions (Chapter 13), 2003, in Rodden, et al., *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

### Online Interactive Visualization

Stanford Election Atlas, 2012 (collaboration with Stephen Ansolabehere at Harvard and Jim Herries at ESRI)

### Other Publications

Supporting Advanced Manufacturing in Alabama, Report to the Alabama Innovation Commission, Hoover Institution, 2021.

How America's Urban-Rural Divide has Shaped the Pandemic, 2020, *Foreign Affairs*, April 20, 2020.

An Evolutionary Path for the European Monetary Fund? A Comparative Perspective, 2017, Briefing paper for the Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

Amicus Brief in *Rucho et al. v. Common Cause*, 2019, Supreme Court of the United States, with Wesley Pegden and Samuel Wang.

Amicus Brief in *Gill et al. v. Whitford et al.*, 2017, Supreme Court of the United States, with Jowei Chen and Wesley Pegden.

Representation and Regional Redistribution in Federations: A Research Report, 2009, in *World Report on Fiscal Federalism*, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona.

On the Migration of Fiscal Sovereignty, 2004, *PS: Political Science and Politics* July, 2004: 427-431.

Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints, *PREM Note 41*, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, World Bank, Washington, D.C. (July).

Decentralization and Hard Budget Constraints, *APSA-CP* (Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics, American Political Science Association) 11:1 (with Jennie Litvack).

Book Review of *The Government of Money* by Peter Johnson, *Comparative Political Studies* 32,7: 897-900.

## Fellowships, Honors, and Grants

Andrew Carnegie Fellow, 2025.

Frances Rosenbluth Best Paper Award, 2025, *Comparative Political Studies*.

National Science Foundation, funding for study "Segregation, Suburbanization, and Representation," 2023.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 2021.

Martha Derthick Award of the American Political Science Association for "the best book published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations," 2021.

National Institutes of Health, funding for "Relationship between lawful handgun ownership and risk of homicide victimization in the home," 2021-2024.

National Collaborative on Gun Violence Research, funding for "Cohort Study Of Firearm-Related Mortality Among Cohabitants Of Handgun Owners." 2020.

Fund for a Safer Future, Longitudinal Study of Handgun Ownership and Transfer (LongSHOT), GA004696, 2017-2018.

Stanford Institute for Innovation in Developing Economies, Innovation and Entrepreneurship research grant, 2015.

Michael Wallerstein Award for best paper in political economy, American Political Science Association, 2016.

Common Cause Gerrymandering Standard Writing Competition, 2015.

General support grant from the Hewlett Foundation for Spatial Social Science Lab, 2014.

Fellow, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Stanford University, 2012.

Sloan Foundation, grant for assembly of geo-referenced precinct-level electoral data set (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder), 2009-2011.

Hoagland Award Fund for Innovations in Undergraduate Teaching, Stanford University, 2009.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, beginning Fall 2010.

Research Grant on Fiscal Federalism, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona, 2009.

Fellow, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Stanford University, 2008.

United Postal Service Foundation grant for study of the spatial distribution of income in cities, 2008.

Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics, 2007.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 2006-2007.

National Science Foundation grant for assembly of cross-national provincial-level dataset on elections, public finance, and government composition, 2003-2004 (with Erik Wibbels).

MIT Dean's Fund and School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences Research Funds.

Funding from DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), MIT, and Harvard EU Center to organize the conference, "European Fiscal Federalism in Comparative Perspective," held at Harvard University, November 4, 2000.

Canadian Studies Fellowship (Canadian Federal Government), 1996-1997.

Prize Teaching Fellowship, Yale University, 1998-1999.

Fulbright Grant, University of Leipzig, Germany, 1993-1994.

Michigan Association of Governing Boards Award, one of two top graduating students at the University of Michigan, 1993.

W. J. Bryan Prize, top graduating senior in political science department at the University of Michigan, 1993.

## Other Professional Activities

Selection committee, best paper award, American Journal of Political Science.

Selection committee, best paper award, American Political Economy

International Advisory Committee, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2006–2010.

Selection committee, Mancur Olson Prize awarded by the American Political Science Association Political Economy Section for the best dissertation in the field of political economy.

Selection committee, Gregory Luebbert Best Book Award.

Selection committee, William Anderson Prize, awarded by the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the field of federalism and intergovernmental relations.

## Courses

### *Undergraduate*

Politics, Economics, and Democracy

Introduction to Comparative Politics

Introduction to Political Science

Political Science Scope and Methods

Institutional Economics

Spatial Approaches to Social Science

### *Graduate*

Political Economy

Political Economy of Institutions

Federalism and Fiscal Decentralization

Politics and Geography

## Consulting

2017. Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

2016. Briefing paper for the World Bank on fiscal federalism in Brazil.

2013-2018: Principal Investigator, SMS for Better Governance (a collaborative project involving USAID, Social Impact, and UNICEF in Arua, Uganda).

2011-2014: Consultation with investment groups and hedge funds on European debt crisis.

2011-2014: Lead Outcome Expert, Democracy and Governance, USAID and Social Impact.

2010: USAID, Review of USAID analysis of decentralization in Africa.

2006-2009: World Bank, Independent Evaluations Group. Undertook evaluations of World Bank decentralization and safety net programs.

2008-2011: International Monetary Fund Institute. Designed and taught course on fiscal federalism.

1998-2003: World Bank, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit. Consultant for *World Development Report*, lecturer for training courses, participant in working group for assembly of decentralization data, director of multi-country study of fiscal discipline in decentralized countries, collaborator on review of subnational adjustment lending.

## Expert Testimony

2025. Expert witness in *Williams v. Hall* No. 1:23-cv-01057 (M.D. NC. 2025).

2023. Expert witness in *Agee, Jr. et al v. Benson et al*, No. 1:22-cv-00272 (W.D. Mi. 2023).

2022. Expert witness in *Rivera v. Schwab* No. 2022-cv-89 (Kan. Dist. Ct. 2022)

2022. Drew Pennsylvania Congressional redistricting plan that was chosen by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for implementation in *Carter v. Chapman* No. 7 MM 2022, 2022WL 549106 (Pennsylvania Supreme Court).

2022. Written expert testimony in *Benninghoff v. 2021 Legislative Reapportionment Commission* (Pennsylvania Supreme Court).

2022 Expert witness in *Bennett v. Ohio Redistricting Commission*, No. 2012-1198 (Ohio Supreme Court).

2022 Expert witness in *Adams v. DeWine* No. 2012-1428 (Ohio Supreme Court).

2022 Expert witness in *Neiman v. LaRose* No. 2022-0298 (Ohio Supreme Court)

2019: Written expert testimony in *McLemore, Holmes, Robinson, and Woullard v. Hosemann*, United States District Court, Mississippi.

2019: Expert witness in *Nancy Corola Jacobson v. Detzner*, United States District Court, Florida.

2018: Written expert testimony in *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner* No. 4:18-cv-002510, United States District Court, Florida.

2018: Written expert testimony in *College Democrats of the University of Michigan, et al. v. Johnson, et al.*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.



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2017: Expert witness in *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia Board of Elections*, No. 3:14-CV-00852, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.

2017: Expert witness in *Arizona Democratic Party, et al. v. Reagan, et al.*, No. 2:16-CV-01065, United States District Court for Arizona.

2016: Expert witness in *Lee v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 3:15-cv-357, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Richmond Division.

2016: Expert witness in *Missouri NAACP v. Ferguson-Florissant School District*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, Eastern Division.

2014-2015: Written expert testimony in *League of Women Voters of Florida et al. v. Detzner, et al.*, 2012-CA-002842 in Florida Circuit Court, Leon County (Florida Senate redistricting case).

2013-2014: Expert witness in *Romo v Detzner*, 2012-CA-000412 in Florida Circuit Court, Leon County (Florida Congressional redistricting case).

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IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF JACKSON COUNTY  
STATE OF MISSOURI, AT KANSAS CITY

TERRENCE WISE, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI, et al.,

Defendants.

Case No. 2516-CV29597

Division 11

ELIZABETH HEALEY, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI, et al.,

Defendants.

Case No. 2516-CV31273

Division 11

Rebuttal Report of Dr. Jonathan Rodden

*Dr. Jonathan Rodden*

January 14, 2026

PX  
28

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## I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

I have been asked to reply to the expert reports of Dr. Sean Trende and Dr. M.V. Hood III, both of which were provided to me on January 8, 2026. Both reports focus primarily on a notion of compactness that draws on standard measures from the academic literature that consider the physical shape and size or visual appearance of electoral districts. But my understanding based on *Pearson v. Koster*, 367 S.W.3d 36 (Mo. banc 2012), is that Missouri courts reject “the proposition that ‘compact’ refers solely to physical shape or size,” instead characterizing these factors as “relevant” but “not the decisive factor in determining whether a district departs from the principle of compactness.” Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood have little to say about Missouri’s definition of compactness as “closely united territory,” which encompasses broader considerations of the arrangement of people in geographic space and an analysis of the social and economic ties between them.

The first section of this report examines the data associated with the “physical shape” approach to compactness favored by Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood. When placed in full context, I demonstrate that under this approach, District 5 in the 2025 Plan is one of the most non-compact Missouri congressional districts in the last 50 years.

The second section of my report suggests, as an alternative to metrics focused on “physical shape,” a quantitative approach to “closely united territory” that pays attention to population distribution and density. Using this metric, which I term “district sprawl,” we see that the 2025 Plan’s District 5 is by far the least compact Kansas City-based district in Missouri history.

Next, I reply to Dr. Trende’s and Dr. Hood’s discussion of county and municipality splits. I demonstrate that while the raw number of county and municipal splits is smaller in the 2025 Plan than in the 2022 Plan, the splits affect more people and are therefore more consequential in the 2025 Plan.

Finally, I evaluate Dr. Trende’s claim that non-compact features of the 2025 Plan can be understood, at least in the Kansas City area, as arising from an attempt to keep state senate districts together. I demonstrate that state senate district boundaries may have little correspondence with the notion of closely united territory, and in any case, the 2025 Plan undermines any possible aspiration to adhere to state senate district boundaries in the greater Kansas City area.



## II. STATISTICAL MEASURES OF “PHYSICAL SHAPE” AS INDICATORS OF COMPACTNESS

Both Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood dedicate the lion’s share of their reports to consideration of traditional measures of compactness from the academic literature. The Reock score captures the extent to which a district approximates a minimal bounding circle, penalizing districts that are distended. The Polsby-Popper score considers a circle that has the same perimeter as the district and calculates the percentage of such a circle that the district would fill, thus penalizing a district with many arms and inlets that add to its perimeter. The Schwarzberg score (discussed by Dr. Hood but not Dr. Trende) is closely related to the Polsby-Popper score: it is the ratio of the perimeter of the district to the circumference of a circle whose area is equal to the area of the district. This is the only indicator considered here where higher numbers are associated with *lower* levels of compactness. Instead of a circle, the Convex Hull score (discussed by Dr. Trende) examines the percentage of the district that would fit within a minimal bounding polygon, rewarding a distended district resembling a very elongated rectangle, but penalizing, for instance, a horseshoe-shaped district. Finally, Dr. Trende also discusses a metric called “you know it when you see it” (KIWYSI), which is based on subjective judgments about the types of districts viewed as acceptable.

To begin, Dr. Trende’s report presents an incomplete summary of how districts in Missouri’s congressional plans from 1972 to 2025 perform on these metrics. Dr. Trende calculates the Reock, Polsby-Popper, Convex Hull, and KIWYSI statistics for each district in each enacted Missouri congressional plan from 1972 to 2022 as well as the 2025 Plan, which should result in scores for a total of 61 districts (because the number of districts in Missouri’s congressional map has changed over time: ten in 1972; nine in 1982, 1992, and 2002; and eight in 2012, 2022, and 2025). But Dr. Trende does not present the traditional compactness metrics for each of these 61 congressional districts. Instead, he presents a table of statewide averages for each metric over time. See Expert Report of Sean P. Trende at 19 (Table 2). Statewide averages are of limited value in assessing the compactness of the districts in the Kansas City area. Indeed, statewide averages can mask the existence of a highly non-compact district in one part of the state with more compact districts elsewhere.

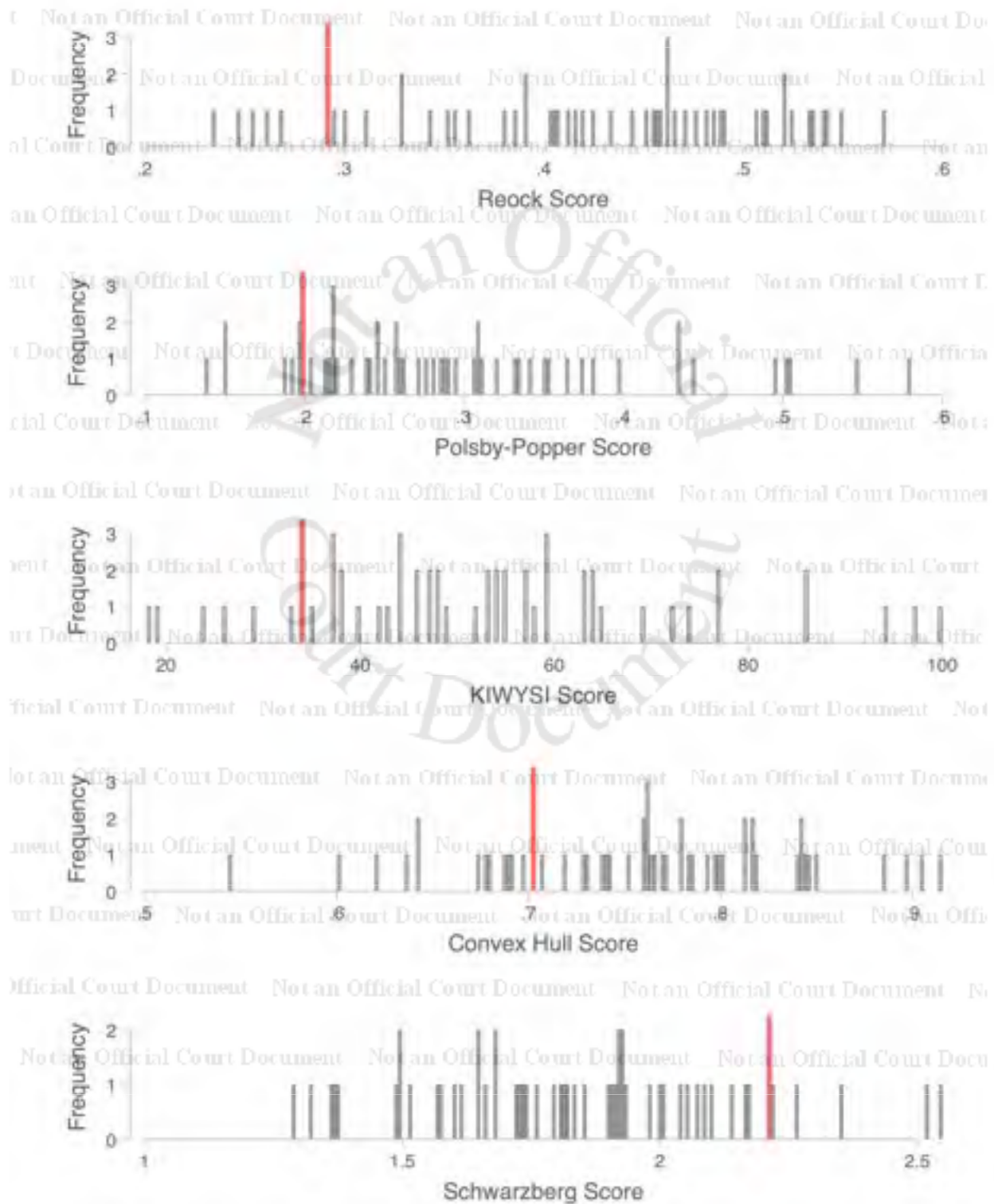
Without explaining why, Dr. Trende also presents the average statewide traditional metrics of compactness for the current operative state legislative districts. Drawing state legislative

districts in Missouri is an entirely different undertaking than drawing congressional districts. The Missouri Constitution imposes partisan fairness and competitiveness requirements for state legislative maps. It also requires that state legislative maps minimize splits of counties and cities and provides that more populous political subdivisions should generally be divided rather than less populous subdivisions. This means that a map-drawer crafting state legislative districts may string together a handful of entire counties within a relatively small region while applying different substantive requirements than for congressional districts. Direct comparisons of compactness metrics across these very different scales for redistricting for different types of districts makes little sense.

Dr. Trende provides information specific to individual congressional districts only in the text of his report, but even there, he only provides information for a small handful of districts. For each compactness metric, Dr. Trende provides a short list of districts with lower compactness scores than District 5 in the 2025 Plan. The purpose of this exercise is evidently to demonstrate that the low compactness score of District 5 in the 2025 Plan is not singular in recent Missouri history. This exercise is of limited usefulness, however, since it contrasts the compactness score of District 5—historically one of the most compact in the state—with districts that are perennially relatively near the bottom of compactness score ranking due to their geography (such as District 6 in northern Missouri). As demonstrated in my initial report, Missouri map-drawers have traditionally been able to draw a relatively compact District 5 based in Kansas City.

Even if one accepts it is worthwhile to contrast District 5's performance on traditional metrics of compactness with other districts in Missouri's congressional map, a review of the full set of Missouri's congressional districts since 1972 demonstrates that the 2025 Plan's District 5 is an outlier. **Figure 1** below provides a histogram of the traditional compactness metrics for all 61 congressional districts drawn since 1972, where the compactness measure for District 5 in the 2025 Plan is indicated with a bold red vertical line. This figure indicates that even when throwing all Missouri congressional districts together without regard for specific constraints of local geography, jurisdictional structure, or population density, District 5 in the 2025 Plan is relatively non-compact by most measures.

**Figure 1: Histograms of Traditional “Physical Shape” Compactness Metrics for All Missouri Congressional Districts since 1972, with District 5 of the 2025 Plan Indicated in Red**



The Reock and KIWYSI scores of District 5 in the 2025 Plan are ranked 55<sup>th</sup> out of the 61 districts, which places it in the 10<sup>th</sup> percentile.<sup>1</sup> District 5 in the 2025 Plan ranked 54<sup>th</sup> on the Polsby-Popper metric, which places it in the 11.5<sup>th</sup> percentile. Note that higher values of the Schwarzberg score indicate lower levels of compactness, so that District 5 in the 2025 Plan is ranked 56<sup>th</sup> out of 61 districts, placing it in the 8<sup>th</sup> percentile. Only on the Convex Hull score is District 5 in the 2025 Plan closer to the middle of the distribution, ranking 46<sup>th</sup>, placing it in the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile. This is not surprising, since District 5 in the 2025 Plan does not have the distinctive feature of low compactness according to the Convex Hull score: a large “carved out” section in a horseshoe-like arrangement, such as District 3, which wraps around St. Louis County in the 2022 Plan.

One might argue that a better comparison is with only the 2012 and 2022 Plans, since each of these plans had eight districts, while previous plans had nine (or ten in 1972). Looking at only the 2012, 2022, and 2025 Plans, the compactness of District 5 in the 2025 Plan was ranked 22<sup>nd</sup> of 24 districts for Polsby-Popper and KIWYSI (falling in the 8<sup>th</sup> percentile), 21<sup>st</sup> for Schwarzberg and Convex Hull (falling in the 12.5<sup>th</sup> percentile), and 20<sup>th</sup> for Reock (falling in the 17<sup>th</sup> percentile).

As mentioned above, this approach to ranking compactness is potentially misleading, since the geographic constraints associated with districts in different parts of the state are so different, and District 5 has historically been one of the most compact districts in Missouri according to traditional compactness metrics. Perhaps a more illuminating approach is to examine the typical rank of District 5 relative to other districts within each of the previous congressional plans that Dr. Trende analyzes and compare this with the rank of District 5 in the 2025 Plan. For congressional plans prior to the 2025 Plan, the median compactness rank of District 5 was 3<sup>rd</sup> for Reock and Convex Hull, and 2.5 for Polsby-Popper, Schwarzberg, and KIWYSI. In contrast, in the 2025 Plan, District 5’s Reock score is ranked 7<sup>th</sup> of eight districts (only slightly edging out District 6), and for the other four indicators, District 5 is ranked dead last. In other words, Dr. Trende’s data indicate that no matter which metric is used, District 5 had previously ranked highly in terms of traditional “physical shape” measures of compactness relative to other districts in the same plan, but it is at or near the bottom in the 2025 Plan. Dr. Trende’s data show that the 2025 Plan is indeed quite unusual relative to prior plans.

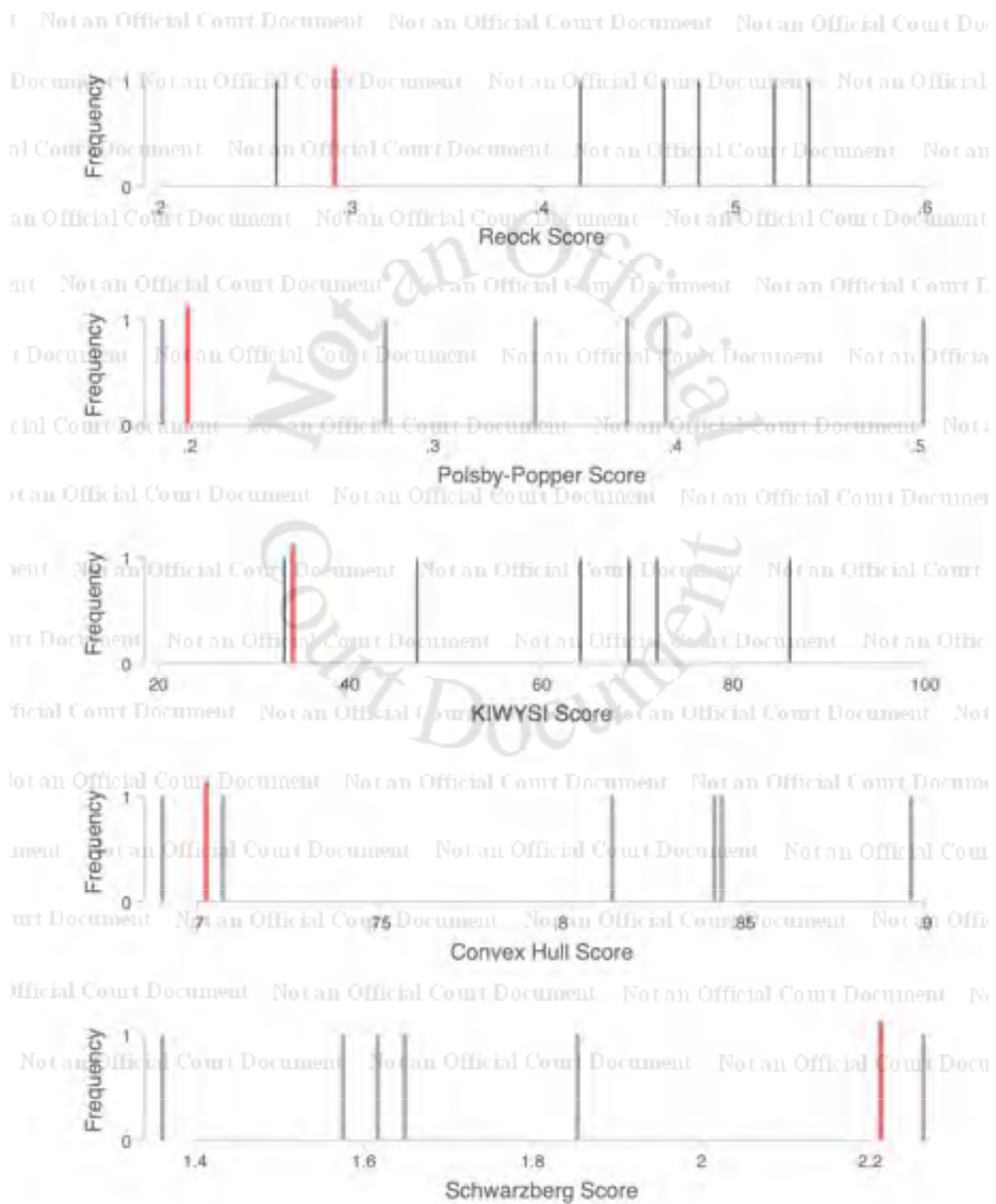
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<sup>1</sup> Note that one of the lower-ranked districts according to the Reock measure was also in the 2025 Plan (District 6).



Thus far I have examined traditional compactness metrics of District 5 in the 2025 Plan relative to (1) a ranking of all congressional districts in the last 50 years, and (2) rankings within each individual plan over the last 50 years. We can also contrast District 5 in the 2025 Plan with other versions of District 5 over the last 50 years. **Figure 2** below displays compactness scores for other versions of District 5 since 1972 with vertical black lines, with the 2025 version of District 5 indicated in red. In each case, the black line slightly to the left of the red line for the 2025 Plan (or to the right for Schwarzberg) is the compactness score for the 2012 Plan, which was challenged but ultimately upheld in *Pearson v. Koster*. In terms of the traditional “physical shape” notions of compactness, the 2012 and 2025 Plans are outliers relative to the typical compactness of a Kansas City district. One can also appreciate this by simply visualizing the images of the districts in my initial report.

**Figure 2: Histograms of Traditional “Physical Shape” Compactness Metrics for All Kansas City-Based District 5 Iterations since 1972, with District 5 of the 2025 Plan Indicated in Red**

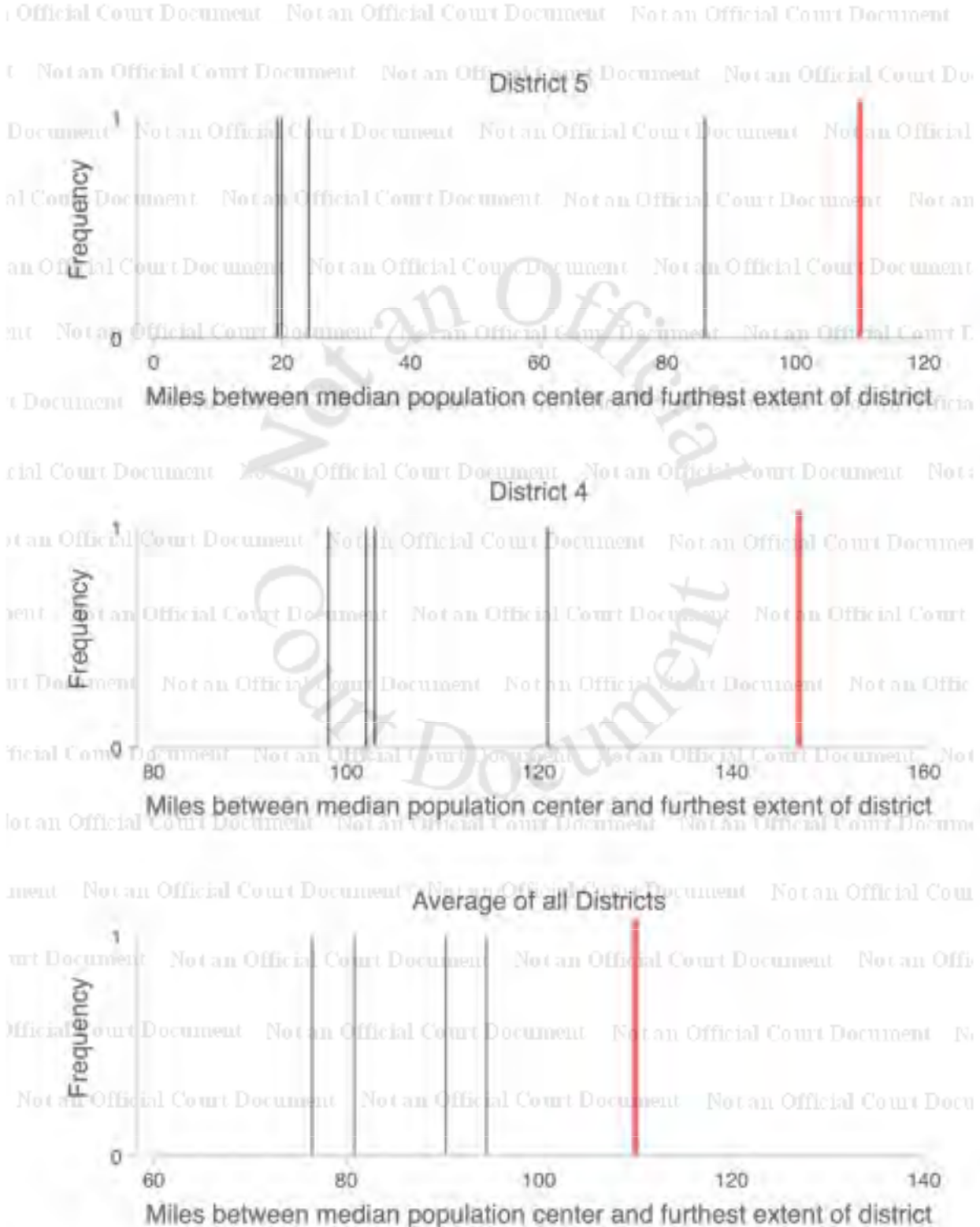


However, the Missouri Supreme Court has made clear that the resemblance of a district to a circle or bounding polygon is not at the heart of its notion of “closely united territory.” Like all its predecessors, District 5 in the 2012 Plan held the densely populated Jackson County portion of Kansas City together, then reached its population target not by moving further north, but by adding three whole counties to the east. The inclusion of these sparsely populated counties made the district more elongated and added significantly to its perimeter, thus decreasing its performance on “physical shape” compactness metrics. However, these changes did little to undermine the integrity of the closely united territory of Kansas City. Above all, a focus on closely united territory calls for an awareness not only of district shapes in the abstract, but of the arrangement and density of the population that inhabits them. I discuss those additional factors in the following section.

### **III. DISTRICT SPRAWL: A POPULATION-BASED INDICATOR OF COMPACTNESS**

In my initial report, I presented a measure of compactness that considers the arrangement of people within districts and thus comes closer to the notion of closely united territory than the abstract focus on shapes and appearances favored by Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood. Using fine-grained population data from census tracts, I locate the median population center of each district and calculate the distance from that point to the furthest extent of the district. This measure of “district sprawl” captures the extent to which clusters of population in a region—or in a districting plan as a whole—are carved out from their geographic context and combined with faraway voters. **Figure 3** below summarizes the district sprawl for District 4 and District 5 in each redistricting plan since 1992, as well as the average district sprawl in each redistricting plan since 1992. I begin with 1992 because I do not have access to full tract-level population data in prior censuses that is necessary to locate the median population center of each district.

**Figure 3: District Sprawl in Redistricting Plans Since 1992, with the 2025 Plan Indicated in Red**





On this indicator, the 2025 Plan is clearly an outlier. The 2025 Plan combines the median population center of District 5 with much more distant populations than ever before. While I only have the requisite census data to calculate district sprawl since 1992, there has always been a small Kansas City-oriented District 5 since the 1930s, and from 1900 to 1930, Jackson County was its own district. Thus, by this metric, District 5 in the 2025 Plan is by far the least compact Kansas City-oriented district since at least 1900, and likely in all of Missouri history, with one exception: District 4 in the 2025 Plan. Relative to other congressional plans since 1992, by becoming a second Kansas City-oriented district, the 2025 Plan's District 4 has also become far less compact.

It is worth noting that on the other side of the state, in every redistricting plan since 1992, the distance between the median population center of District 1 in St. Louis and its furthest geographic extent has been in a narrow band between 12 and 15 miles, and although the requisite data are not available to obtain a precise measure, the distance was also very small in all previous St. Louis-based districts. Thus, the district sprawls of 143 and 147 miles for Districts 5 and 4 in the Kansas City area in the 2025 Plan are truly extraordinary for an urban Missouri congressional district, far surpassing even District 5 in the 2012 Plan.

The final panel in **Figure 3** above demonstrates that the 2025 Plan's large increases in within-district distances between voters in Districts 5 and 4 had a substantial effect on the average compactness of all districts in the 2025 Plan. In sum, a quantitative metric of compactness that considers population and territory rather than abstract physical shapes demonstrates that the 2025 Plan is the least compact plan since appropriate data became available with the publication of the 1990 census, and likely much earlier.

#### IV. COUNTY AND MUNICIPALITY SPLITS

Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood both seem to recognize that keeping voters from the same county or municipality together in the same congressional district might be relevant to the notion that districts should be drawn based on the principle of closely united territory. Both reports draw attention to the fact that the raw number of county splits is lower in the 2025 Plan than in the 2022 Plan. However, the raw number of county splits in an entire redistricting plan can be a poor proxy for the extent to which the plan undermines the types of closely connected communities that sometime correspond to county boundaries. One type of county split might remove a rural, sparsely populated corner of a county from one predominantly non-metropolitan district and place it in

another similarly non-metropolitan district in order to achieve population equality, thereby having no substantive impact on closely united territory. Another type of county split might remove a substantial number of people in a densely populated urban area from their neighborhood and place them in a rural-oriented district that extends to the other side of the state, as does District 6 in the 2025 Plan with the Kansas City neighborhoods of Pendleton Hights, Scarritt Point, and North Indian Mound. These different types of splits have very different impacts on the notion of closely united territory.

Dr. Trende points out that a three-way split of Jackson County is not unprecedented in a congressional map. However, the splits of Jackson County in previous plans were far less disruptive to the closely united territory of Kansas City. **Figure 1** of my initial report demonstrates that in every redistricting plan since 1982 (with the exception of the 2012 Plan, when Jackson County was split into only two districts), the most rural parts of southeastern Jackson County have been joined with a rural-oriented District 4, and the most rural parts of northeastern Jackson County have been joined with a rural-oriented District 6, with the largest chunk of the county reserved for an urban-oriented District 5. In other words, past splits of Jackson County have *enhanced* rather than undermined the principle of closely united territory. As explained in my initial report, the 2025 Plan diverges from this past practice and instead creates two hybrid urban-rural districts (Districts 4 and 5) and extracts an additional urban chunk of Kansas City and places it into a rural District 6 that reaches all the way to the Mississippi River.

One way to examine the number of people affected by a county split is to identify the largest fragment of the split county and ask how many residents were carved off into a different district or districts. In the 2012 Plan, 87,412 Jackson County residents were excluded from the dominant district in the county (District 5). In the 2022 Plan, 90,966 Jackson County residents were excluded from District 5. In the 2025 Plan, the number almost quadrupled, to 346,336. Even by this simple metric that ignores population density or economic and social ties, the impact of the 2025 Plan's split of Jackson County is clearly far greater than prior splits.

Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood also discuss municipality splits. As with county splits, the raw number of splits is a very poor indicator of the extent to which these splits violate the principle of closely united territory. One type of split might remove a mostly unpopulated tentacle of a small municipality that was annexed at some point to add a park or airport, while another type of split might extract a large urban neighborhood from the core of a city and place it in a sprawling rural

district. Again, to assess the impact of a split municipality, it is useful to identify the largest fragment of the split municipality and count the number of residents who have been placed into another district or districts. While Dr. Hood notes that the number of split municipalities declined statewide in the 2025 Plan relative to the 2022 Plan when aggregating across the entire state, the number of “extracted” residents in split municipalities was 267,248 in the 2022 Plan, and 312,910 in the 2025 Plan.

Dr. Trende focuses on split municipalities in Jackson County, pointing out that relative to the 2022 Plan, the 2025 Plan “fixed” the splits of some relatively small municipalities like Lake Lotawana while introducing its novel splits to Kansas City. Within Jackson County, however, only 23,788 people lived in the smaller fragment of a split municipality in the 2022 Plan. In the 2025 Plan, this number expanded to 300,419. From the perspective of closely united territory, the Jackson County municipality splits in the 2025 Plan are radically more disruptive to closely united territory than those in previous plans.

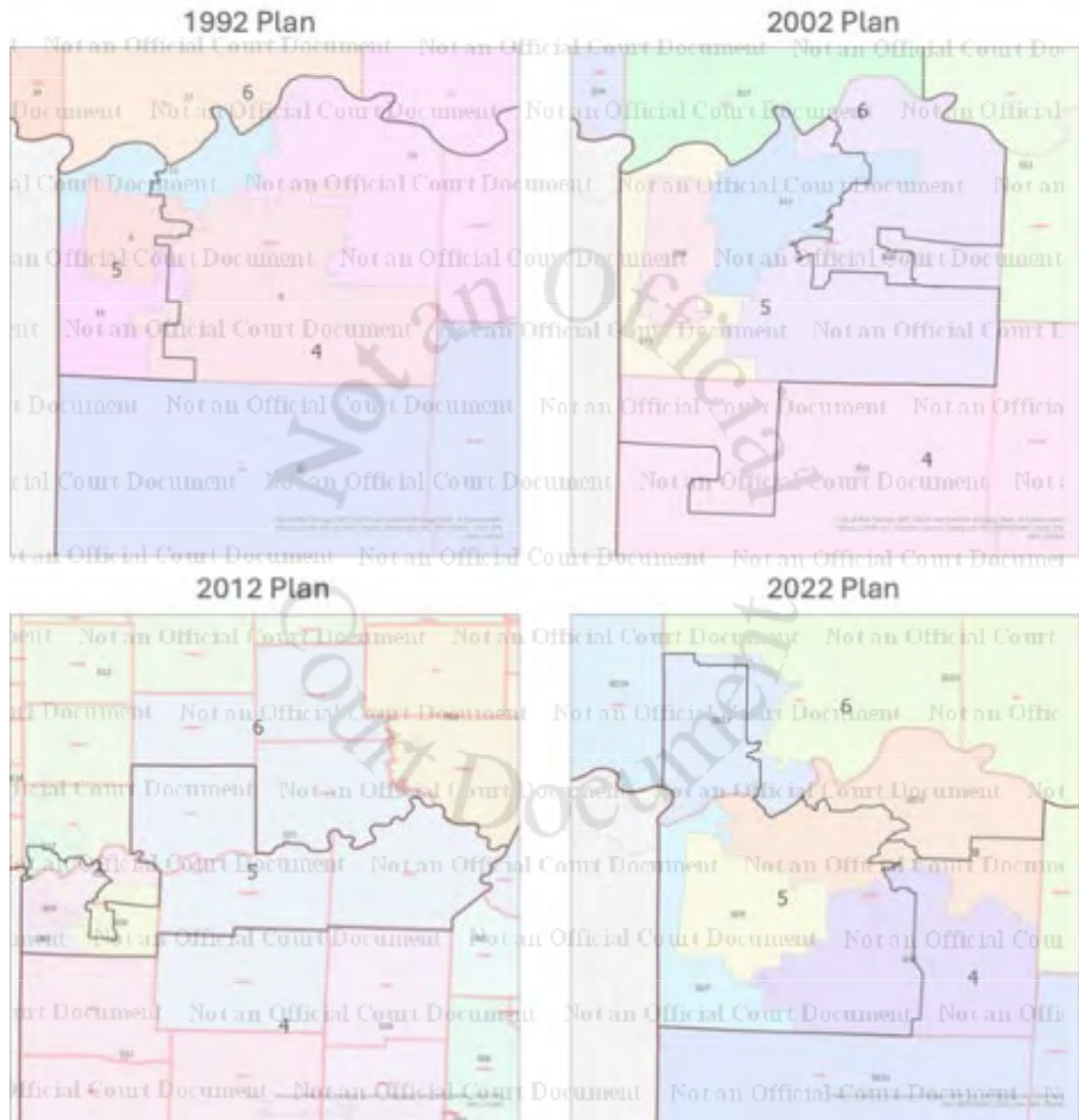
## V. STATE SENATE DISTRICTS

In *Pearson v. Koster*, the Missouri Supreme Court indicated that deviations from compactness in a congressional map might be acceptable if they result from efforts to consider “the boundaries of political subdivisions, including counties, municipalities, and precincts.” 367 S.W. 3d at 50. The Court did not mention state legislative districts, which are quite different from county and municipal boundaries in that they may be redrawn every decade and are bound by different constitutional criteria. As Dr. Trende points out in his discussion of the 2022 Plan, *see* Expert Report of Sean P. Trende at 31, it does not appear that Missouri congressional districts, or District 5 in particular, have typically been drawn with a special effort to keep state senate districts whole within congressional districts.

**Figure 4** displays the boundaries of Missouri’s state senate districts from 1992 to 2022, superimposing them on congressional districts with a focus on District 5.<sup>2</sup> **Figure 5** provides a similar visual for the 2025 Plan. **Figure 6** zooms in on Jackson County in the 2025 Plan. All three figures are below.

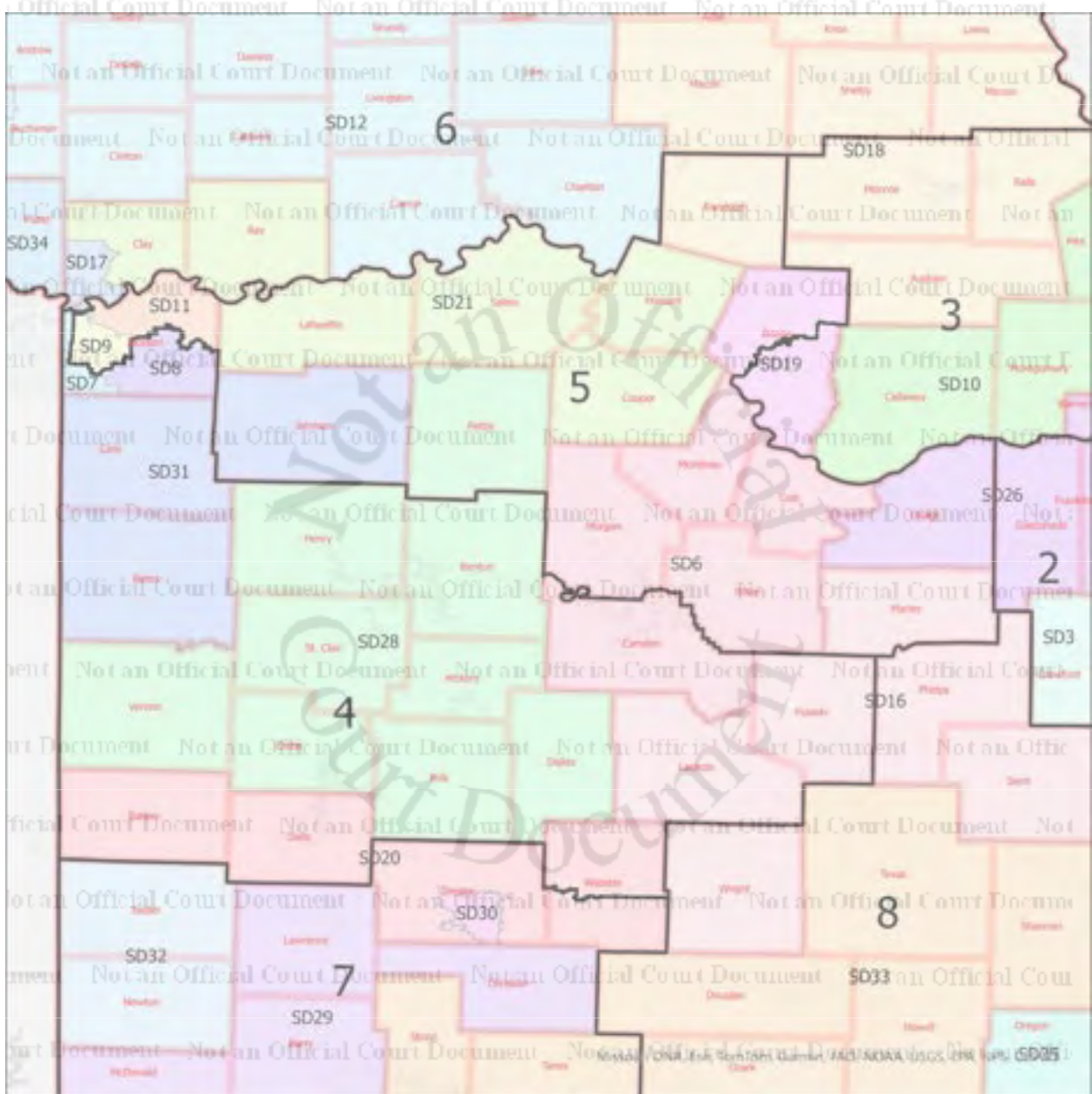
<sup>2</sup> I obtained state legislative boundaries from Jonathan Schroeder, David Van Riper, Steven Manson, Katherine Knowles, Tracy Kugler, Finn Roberts, and Steven Ruggles. IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 20.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS. 2025. <http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V20.0>.

**Figure 4: Boundaries of State Senate Districts and Congressional Districts for Redistricting Plans from 1992 to 2012**

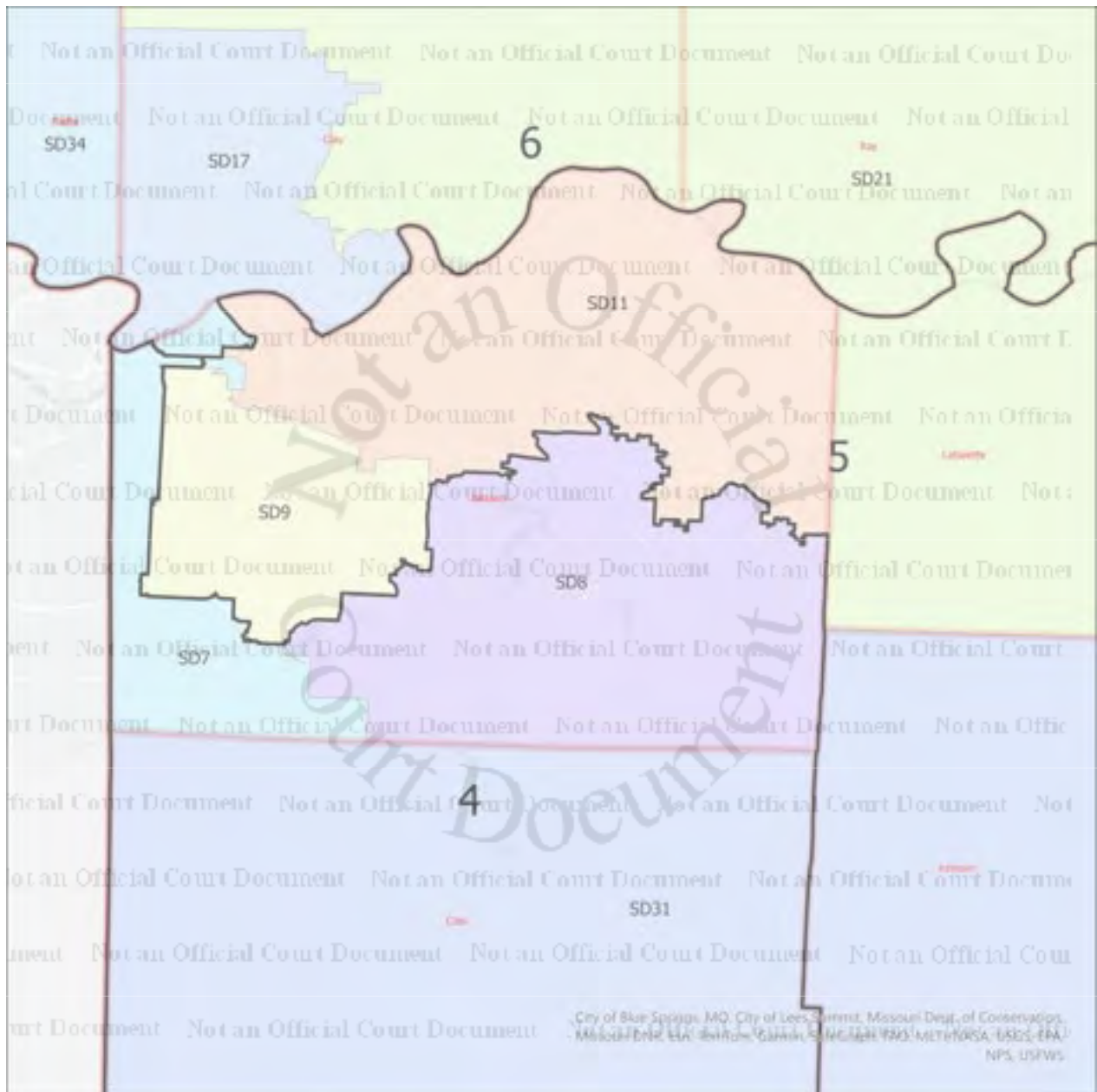




**Figure 5: Boundaries of State Senate Districts and Congressional Districts for 2025 Plan**



**Figure 6: Boundaries of State Senate Districts and Congressional Districts in Jackson County for 2025 Plan**



The maps in **Figure 4** do not indicate a history of efforts to keep state senate districts whole within Jackson County or in neighboring counties. In the 1992 Plan, District 5 was composed of fragments of four state senate districts. In the 2002 Plan, District 5 was composed of five state senate districts: two whole state senate districts in Jackson County and fragments of three others. In the 2012 Plan, District 5 was composed of six state senate districts: two whole Jackson County districts and fragments of four others. In the 2022 Plan, District 5 was composed of five districts: two whole Jackson County districts and fragments of three other districts. In sum, since 2002, the typical pattern has been to include two whole Jackson County state senate districts and either three or four additional fragments.

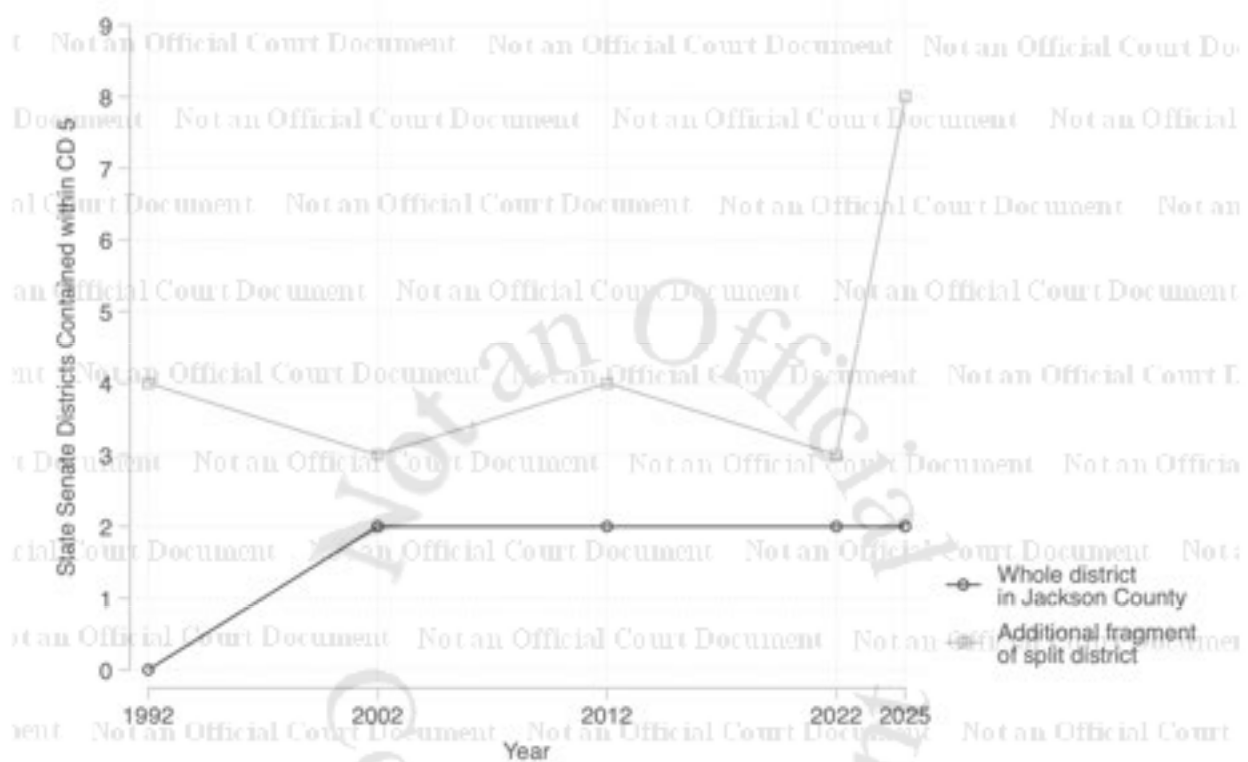
While preservation of whole state senate districts in and around Jackson County does not appear to have been a goal in the past, Dr. Trende seems to imply that the historically unprecedented deviation from the principle of closely united territory in the Kansas City metropolitan area in the 2025 Plan can be explained by an approach to district drawing that is motivated by an attempt to keep state senate districts whole within congressional districts or to reduce splits of state senate districts (but not state house districts). Dr. Trende points out that within Jackson County, the split of Kansas City and its central business district<sup>3</sup> into three districts appears to have been achieved by extracting the entirety of State Senate Districts 9 and 11 from Jackson County and joining them with fragments of far-flung rural state senate districts to the east, while splitting State Senate District 7 across Districts 4, 5, and 6. **Figure 5** depicts this arrangement.

This map-drawing approach cannot be explained by an attempt to keep state senate districts whole within congressional districts or reduce splits of state senate districts, because it fails to do either. **Figure 7** below depicts the makeup of District 5 in terms of state senate districts split versus kept whole in each congressional plan since 1992. The number of whole state senate districts contained in District 5 is the same in each historical plan as in the 2025 Plan: two. However, while previous plans added fragments of either three or four additional state senate districts to District 5, the 2025 Plan adds fragments of eight additional senate districts. In other words, in the Kansas City area, the 2025 Plan is far less respectful of boundaries of state senate districts than previous plans.

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<sup>3</sup> In his report, Dr. Trende requests a source for my definition of the Kansas City Central Business District. I rely on the Downtown Area Plan, adopted on March 11, 2010 and available from the City Clerk of Kansas City. See Resolution Approving the Greater Downtown Area Plan, as amended, Resolution No. 100049, Kan. City Council (Mar. 11, 2010), <https://perma.cc/DSJ8-CZT6>. It is also possible to view a map here: <https://perma.cc/WT4X-8SFM>.

**Figure 7: Composition of District 5 in Terms of Whole State Senate Districts and Fragments of State Senate Districts: 1992-2025**



The boundary of District 5 in the 2022 Plan split three state senate districts. Using the technique discussed in the previous section, if we identify the largest fragment of each state senate district cleaved by District 5's boundary in the 2022 Plan, and sum up the people who were carved away from it into another congressional district (or districts), there were 123,842 such people. In the 2025 Plan, the District 5 boundary cleaves eight state senate districts (one of them twice), leaving 483,821 people fragmented into another congressional district or districts. If we consider all the state senate districts cleaved by either the congressional boundary of either District 4 or 5, there were 466,084 people cleaved from the larger part of their state senate district in the 2022 Plan, and 524,893 such people in the 2025 Plan.

In sum, even though State Senate Districts 9 and 11 were extracted in their entirety from Jackson County, this choice cannot be explained as an effort to align congressional and state senate boundaries in the Kansas City area, because it had the opposite effect: the boundaries of Districts 4 and 5 in the 2025 Plan split a larger number of individuals from the dominant portion of their state senate district than the 2022 Plan. Moreover, the non-compact nature of Kansas City-area



congressional districts in the 2025 Plan cannot be explained as a byproduct of the legislature's desire to keep state senate districts whole within congressional districts. Jackson County's population is just below the population of a Missouri congressional district based on the results of the most recent federal census, so a desire to minimize splits of state senate districts could have been achieved by keeping Jackson County whole in District 5—thus preserving State Senate Districts 7, 8, 9, and 11—or alternatively, making a Kansas-City-focused combination of State Senate Districts 7, 9, 11, and 17.

## VI. CONCLUSION

District 5 in the 2025 Plan is quite non-compact relative to its historical predecessors according to compactness metrics that assess the physical shape of districts. However, these metrics are not determinative in Missouri. The reports of Dr. Trende and Dr. Hood do not undermine the conclusions of my initial report, which demonstrated that the 2025 Plan deviates from Missouri's tradition of drawing districts based on the principle of closely united territory. The splits of counties, municipalities, and state senate districts in the 2025 Plan undermine this principle of closely united territory to a greater extent than in the past.

**PROCLAMATION**

**WHEREAS**, the General Assembly has adjourned its regular legislative session without having enacted new congressional district boundaries; and

**WHEREAS**, Article III, Section 45 of the Missouri Constitution authorizes the General Assembly to divide the state into districts for the United States House of Representatives; and

**WHEREAS**, the State of Missouri's current congressional district map may be vulnerable to a legal challenge under the Voting Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment, due to a lack of compactness in certain districts; and

**WHEREAS**, our congressional delegation should reflect the values of Missourians; and

**WHEREAS**, congressional candidate filing for the 2026 election cycle begins on February 24, 2026; and

**WHEREAS**, legislation to establish new congressional districts for the State of Missouri cannot be accomplished in the 2026 Regular Session; and

**WHEREAS**, the failure to establish new congressional districts constitutes an extraordinary occasion that warrants immediate legislative action; and

**WHEREAS**, the swift and efficient resolution of this matter is necessary to prepare for the upcoming election cycle and to provide certainty for voters; and

**WHEREAS**, a fair and transparent initiative petition process is essential for the citizens of the State of Missouri to propose and enact laws; and

**WHEREAS**, the current initiative petition process may be vulnerable to foreign and out-of-state influence; and

**WHEREAS**, certain ballot initiatives can be confusing to voters and lead to unintended consequences; and

**WHEREAS**, Article IV, Section 9 of the Missouri Constitution authorizes the Governor on extraordinary occasions, to convene the General Assembly by proclamation, specifying each matter requiring action.

**NOW, THEREFORE**, on the extraordinary occasion that exists in the State of Missouri:

**I, MIKE KEHOE, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI**, pursuant to the authority vested in me as Governor by the Constitution of the State of Missouri, do, by this Proclamation, convene the One Hundred Third General Assembly in the Second Extraordinary Session of the First Regular Session; and

**I HEREBY** call upon the Senators and Representatives of said General Assembly to meet in the State Capitol in the City of Jefferson at the hour of 12:00 p.m. on Wednesday, September 3, 2025; and

**PX  
30**

I HEREBY state that the action of said General Assembly is deemed necessary concerning each matter specifically designated and limited hereinafter as follows:

1. To enact legislation to establish new congressional districts for the State of Missouri.
2. To enact legislation to amend the state's initiative petition process as follows:
  - a. To ban foreign nationals from contributing to committees for or against a statewide ballot measure; and
  - b. To establish a criminal election offense for fraudulently signing or gathering signatures for a statewide ballot measure; and
  - c. To provide that a statewide ballot measure be passed only if a majority of voters statewide and a majority of voters in each congressional district vote to adopt the proposed measure; and
  - d. To require that before a statewide ballot measure is certified for signatures to be gathered, there shall be an opportunity for public comment; and
  - e. To require that the full text of a statewide ballot measure be printed and available to voters at all election sites and polling places.



IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have  
hereunto set my hand and caused to be  
affixed the Great Seal of the State of  
Missouri, in the City of Jefferson, on this  
29th day of August, 2025.

MIKE KEHOE  
GOVERNOR

ATTEST:

DENNY HOSKINS  
SECRETARY OF STATE



Post

Governor Mike Kehoe  
@GovMikeKehoe

Today, I am calling on the General Assembly to take action on congressional redistricting and initiative petition reform to ensure our districts and Constitution truly put Missouri values FIRST.

Visit [governor.mo.gov](https://governor.mo.gov)



0:04 / 2:56

Special Session on Redistricting & IP Reform

2:16 PM · Aug 29, 2025 · 429.3K Views

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575

2.2K

106



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31

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Document available in original form:

*Governor Kehoe 2025 map announcement video.mp4*

Downloaded from

<https://x.com/goymikekehoe/status/1961538399229075941>

*Wise, et al. v. State, et al.*

Case No. 2516-CV29597, Division 15

Circuit Court of Jackson County, Missouri at Kansas City

&

*Healey, et al. v. State, et al.*

Case No. 2516-CV31273, Division 15

Circuit Court of Jackson County, Missouri at Kansas City



Post



Governor Mike Kehoe  
@GovMikeKehoe

Thank you, @POTUS.

Missouri's conservative, common-sense values should be truly represented at all levels of government, and the Missouri First Map delivers just that.



11:58 AM · Aug 30, 2025 · 34.5K Views

166

132

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28



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PX  
33

From: [Peters, Chrissy](#)  
To: [Brianna Lennon](#); [Camden Co Clerk \(rowland\\_todd@camdenmo.org\)](#); [Camden Co - Becky Farris \(becky\\_farris@camdenmo.org\)](#); [pattylamb@claycoelections.com](#); [TiffanyEllison@claycoelections.com](#); [tbrown@icebmo.org](#); [szorich@icebmo.org](#); [Jeannie Goff](#); ["CountyClerk@Jeffcom.org"](#); [kbahr@sccmo.org](#); [Fey, Eric](#); [rstream@stlouisco.com](#); [Warren County: clerk@webstercountymo.gov](#); [swhitehurst@webstercountymo.gov](#)  
Subject: Congressional District Map  
Date: Friday, May 13, 2022 4:44:04 PM  
Attachments: [2021redistricting instructions - adding district to precincts and splits.docx](#)

---

**[External Source]** Take caution! This communication originated outside of **boonecountymo.org**. DO NOT CLICK links or attachments unless they are familiar to you and you feel the content is safe. DO NOT SHARE information with unfamiliar senders.

The redistricting congressional map passed yesterday in the General Assembly. The Governor recently stated that his office is already starting the review process of the proposed map and will be prepared to take action soon after the bill is sent to him on May 18. In the meantime; the SOS has uploaded the new districts into MCVR.

Attached is instructions on redistricting in MCVR. Below is a sharefile link to the documents received from the House of Representatives GIS Analyst which include shape files, and excel spreadsheet of census blocks and HB 2909. Please contact me to let me know if you have any questions or where can be assistance.

<https://mosecretaryofstate.sharefile.com/d-sab0372c97c40441b8dd6842f93d85961>

In Service,  
**Chrissy Peters | Director of Elections**  
Missouri Secretary of State Jay Ashcroft  
600 West Main Street | Jefferson City, MO 65102  
Phone: (573) 526-3986 | 1-800-669-8683



Missouri Secretary of State  
**Elections**

Exhibit

1

PX  
35

**From:** Peters, Chrissy <chrissy.peters@sos.mo.gov>

**Sent:** Friday, May 13, 2022 3:43 PM

**To:** blennon@boonecountymmo.org; Camden Co Clerk (rowland\_todd@camdenmo.org)  
<rowland\_todd@camdenmo.org>; Camden Co - Becky Farris (becky\_farris@camdenmo.org)  
<becky\_farris@camdenmo.org>; pattylamb@claycoelections.com;  
TiffanyEllison@claycoelections.com; Tammy Brown <tbrown@jcebmo.org>; Sara Zorich  
<szorich@jcebmo.org>; Jeannie Goff <jgoft@jeffcomo.org>; 'CountyClerk@Jeffcomo.org'  
<CountyClerk@Jeffcomo.org>; kbahr@sccmo.org; Fey, Eric <EFey@stlouiscountymmo.gov>;  
rstream@stlouisco.com; Warren County <Warren.County@sos.mo.gov>;  
clerk@webstercountymmo.gov; whitehurst@webstercountymmo.gov

**Subject:** Congressional District Map

The redistricting congressional map passed yesterday in the General Assembly. The Governor recently stated that his office is already starting the review process of the proposed map and will be prepared to take action soon after the bill is sent to him on May 18. In the meantime; the SOS has uploaded the new districts into MCVR.

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<https://mosecretaryofstate.sharefile.com/d-sab0372c97c40441b8dd6842f93d85961>

In Service,

**Chrissy Peters | Director of Elections**

Missouri Secretary of State Jay Ashcroft

600 West Main Street | Jefferson City, MO 65102

Phone: (573) 526-3986 | 1-800-669-8683

 ElectionsLogo-2

**PX  
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## Redistricting – Adding New Districts to Precincts/Splits:

### Single district of a type:

If the entire county (jurisdiction) falls within a single district of a type (all of your jurisdiction is in only one Congressional District – or Legislative or Senate):

#### 1. Open Districts and Precincts.

The screenshot shows the 'Districts And Precincts' application window. The 'Districts' tab is active, and the 'Add District' option is selected from the dropdown menu. The main area displays a search bar and a table with columns 'Code' and 'Name'. At the bottom, there are buttons for 'New', 'Detail', 'Delete', and 'Close'.

#### 2. Choose “Districts” from the dropdown menu.

#### 3. Choose “Add District” from the list.

The screenshot shows the 'Add District To Precinct' application window. The 'Operating Mode' is set to 'Current'. The 'District Type' and 'District Name' are selected. The 'Add the above district to all the following:' section shows a list of precincts with 'ARGYLE' selected. Below are sections for 'Which contain the following district:' and 'Which do not contain the following district:'. At the bottom, there are 'Save' and 'Close' buttons.

EXHIBIT

2

PX  
37

4. In the Add District to Precinct window, choose the district type from the dropdown (20 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, 20 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT or 20 STATE SENATE)
5. Choose the District name from the dropdown.
6. In the area where you are adding the district to the precincts, click on the "Select All" button. (If you have a Blank Precinct, uncheck it as you do not want to tie the district to the blank precinct).
7. Click on the Save button.
8. If you wish to add an audit comment, you may do so in that window. This is optional. Click on the Save button in the Audit Comment window. Since the system must add this district to all voter records and address ranges, it may take awhile.

**Audit Comment**

[Help](#)

Audit Comment

☐ Generate Voter Identification Cards

Save Cancel

9. Click on the Close button.

## Multiple districts of the same type (Congressional, Legislative, or State Senate)

If your county contains multiple districts of the same type there will be three things to consider before making the updates:

- Does the entire precinct fall into a single district? If yes, see step 1a below.
- Is the precinct split into multiple districts? If so, follow steps 2-11 below.
- Is the split divided between multiple districts? If so, see instructions for that in the next section.

1. Determine which splits will contain which district.
  - a. If the entire precinct is in the same district, use steps 1-5 above to add the district – in step 6, choose only the precincts the district is in.
  - b. If a precinct is split between two or more districts, follow steps 2-11 below.
2. To add a district to only specific splits in a precinct, click on the Splits tab.
3. Choose the Precinct from the dropdown.
4. Click on the Search button – this will bring up a list of the splits in that precinct.

The screenshot shows the 'Districts And Precincts' application window. The 'Splits' tab is selected. The 'Precinct' dropdown is set to 'WESTPHALIA'. The 'Split Code' field is empty. The 'Search' button is visible. Below the search fields, a table titled 'Current' displays the following data:

Code	Precinct
01	WESTPHALIA
02	WESTPHALIA
03	WESTPHALIA
04	WESTPHALIA
05	WESTPHALIA
06	WESTPHALIA
07	WESTPHALIA
08	WESTPHALIA
09	WESTPHALIA
10	WESTPHALIA
11	WESTPHALIA
12	WESTPHALIA

At the bottom of the window, there are buttons for 'New', 'Detail', 'Delete', 'Save As', and 'Close'.

5. Highlight the split for which you need to add the district and click on the Details button.
6. Find the district type in the list on the right side and click the plus sign + next to it.
7. Find the district name in the list that appears and highlight it.
8. Click on the left arrow button between the two columns < to move the district into the left side.
9. Click on the Save button.

Split Details | Districts And Precincts | Dashboard

Split Code: 07

Precinct: WESTPHALIA

Number Of Voters: 200

Districts | Address Library

Type	Code	Description
10 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	10 ...	US Representative
10 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT	10 L...	State House Distr
10 STATE SENATE	10 S...	State Senate Dist
AMBULANCE	AM0...	OSAGE AMBULANC
AMBULANCE SUBDISTRICT	AM0...	OSAGE AMBULANC
APPELLATE DISTRICT	AC E	Eastern Appellate
CIRCUIT COURT	CC 20	CIRCUIT 20
CITY	C10...	CITY OF WESTPHA
COMMISSION	CO0...	COMMISSIONER D
COUNTY AT-LARGE	CAL	OSAGE COUNTY
FIRE	FRO...	WESTPHALIA FIRE
HEALTH CENTER	HC0...	DEVELOPMENTAL
JUDICIAL DISTRICT	CC 20	Circuit Court Circ
LIBRARY DISTRICT	LI00...	LIBRARY DISTRICT
ROAD	RD0...	ROAD DISTRICT W
SCHOOL	SC5...	OSAGE COUNTY R
SUPREME COURT	SUP	Missouri Supreme

Available Districts

- 10 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
- 10 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT
- 10 STATE SENATE
- 20 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
- 20 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT
- STATE HOUSE DISTRICT 61
- STATE HOUSE DISTRICT 62
- 20 STATE SENATE
- AMBULANCE
- AMBULANCE SUBDISTRICT
- APPELLATE DISTRICT
- CIRCUIT COURT
- CITY
- COMMISSION
- COUNTY AT-LARGE
- FIRE
- HEALTH CENTER
- JUDICIAL DISTRICT

Save Close

10. In the Audit Comment window, you can add a comment if you wish (this is optional). Click on the Save button.

Audit Comment

Help

Audit Comment

Redistricting 2021

☐ Generate Voter Identification Cards

Save Cancel

11. Continue for all splits that need to have the district added.



## Splits that are divided into multiple districts

There could be instances in which an existing split is partly in one district, and partly in another. If this occurs, you will need to make the changes using multiple steps. The first step is to create the 2<sup>nd</sup> split – the simplest way to do this (to avoid confusion) is to copy the existing split that will need to be further split.

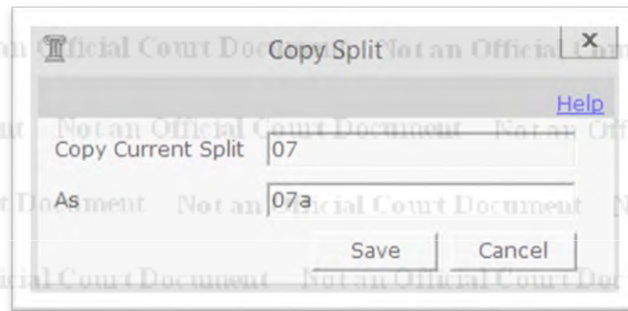
Prior to this, you may wish to run one of the absentee reports and use it to manually determine which address ranges will be in the new splits, and in some cases which address ranges will need to be further split to accommodate the changes. The ALEX-001 is in spreadsheet format, and the AL-001 is in printed format.

1. Open Districts & Precincts and go to the Splits tab.
2. Choose the split that is being divided between two districts
3. Click the Save As button

The screenshot shows the 'Districts And Precincts' application window. The 'Splits' tab is selected. The 'Precinct' dropdown menu is set to 'WESTPHALIA'. Below the dropdown is a table with 12 rows, each representing a split code and its corresponding precinct. All precincts listed are 'WESTPHALIA'. At the bottom of the window, the 'Save As' button is highlighted.

Code	Precinct
01	WESTPHALIA
02	WESTPHALIA
03	WESTPHALIA
04	WESTPHALIA
05	WESTPHALIA
06	WESTPHALIA
07	WESTPHALIA
08	WESTPHALIA
09	WESTPHALIA
10	WESTPHALIA
11	WESTPHALIA
12	WESTPHALIA

4. In the Copy Split window, enter the new split number. This can be either the next number in sequence, or you can just add a letter to the existing split number and later update all split numbers.
5. Click Save.



Copy Split

Copy Current Split: 07

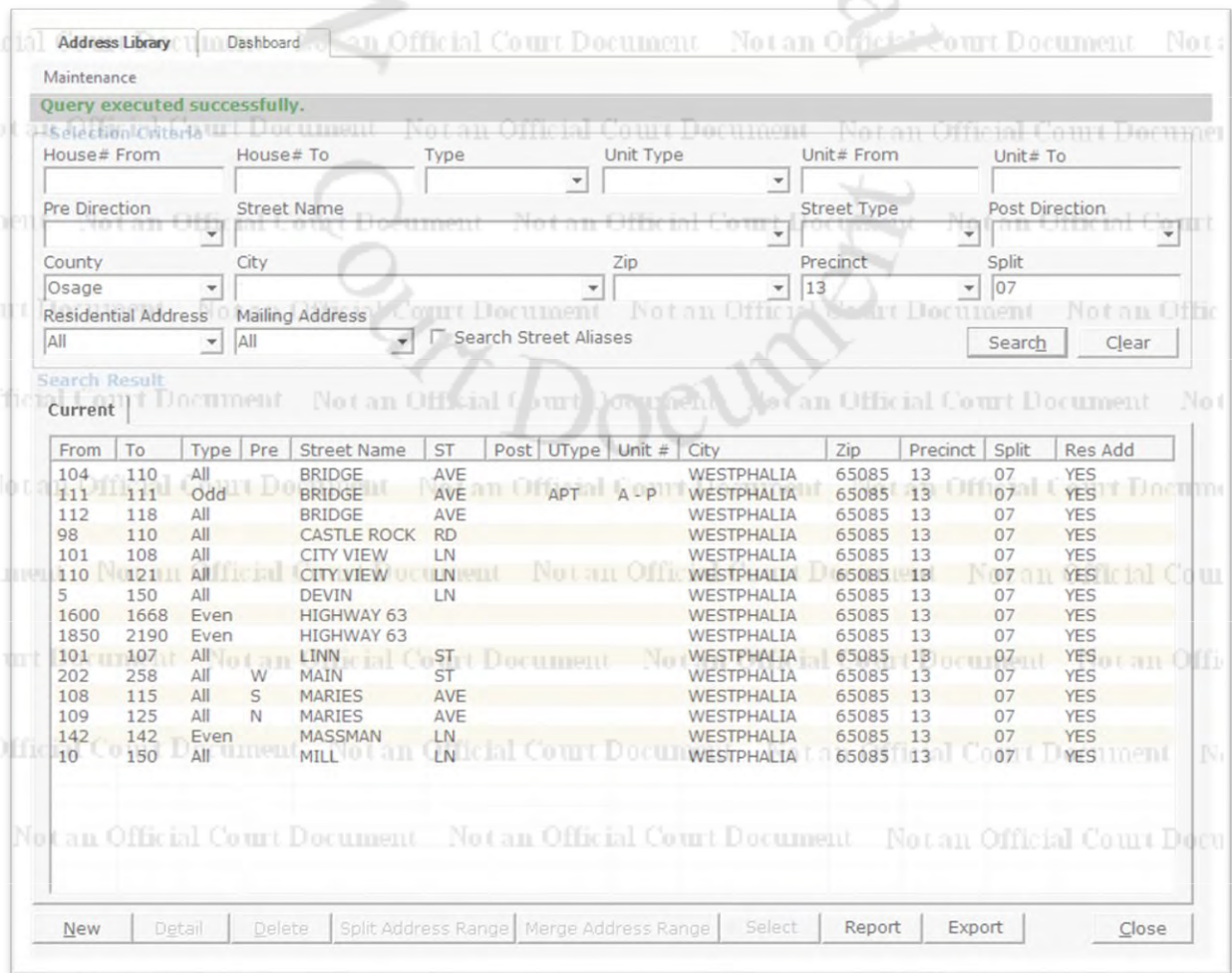
As: 07a

Save Cancel

6. The new split will now be listed but not tied to any voters.
7. Open the details for the newly created split and if you have already assigned the district to the original one, remove it and assign the district to the new one.

The next steps will need to be done in the Address Library module:

1. Open Address Library
2. Enter the precinct and split for the original split that you just copied.
3. Click Search



Address Library | Dashboard

Maintenance

Query executed successfully.

Selection Criteria

House# From: , House# To: , Type: , Unit Type: , Unit# From: , Unit# To: , Pre Direction: , Street Name: , Street Type: , Post Direction: , County: Osage, City: , Zip: , Precinct: 13, Split: 07, Residential Address: All, Mailing Address: All, Search Street Aliases: ☐

Search Result

Current

From	To	Type	Pre	Street Name	ST	Post	UType	Unit #	City	Zip	Precinct	Split	Res Add
104	110	All		BRIDGE	AVE				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
111	111	Odd		BRIDGE	AVE		APT	A - P	WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
112	118	All		BRIDGE	AVE				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
98	110	All		CASTLE ROCK	RD				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
101	108	All		CITY VIEW	LN				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
110	121	All		CITY VIEW	LN				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
5	150	All		DEVIN	LN				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
1600	1668	Even		HIGHWAY 63					WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
1850	2190	Even		HIGHWAY 63					WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
101	107	All		LINN	ST				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
202	258	All	W	MAIN	ST				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
108	115	All	S	MARIES	AVE				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
109	125	All	N	MARIES	AVE				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
142	142	Even		MASSMAN	LN				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES
10	150	All		MILL	LN				WESTPHALIA	65085	13	07	YES

New Detail Delete Split Address Range Merge Address Range Select Report Export Close

4. Locate the addresses that are going to be in the newly created split
  - a. If the entire range will be in the new split, continue with steps 5-8

- b. If part of the range will be in one split and the other part in another, split the range accordingly before processing (either by even/odd or by house numbers, depending how the range is to be divided)
5. Highlight the first range that will be moved to the new split
6. Click details
7. In the split field, change the split to the correct new split
8. Click Save.

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Address Range Details Address Library Dashboard

Street Name Aliases

House# From	House# To	Type	Pre Direction	Street Name	Street Type	Post Direction
105	117	Odd		BRIDGE	AVE	

Unit Type Unit# From Unit# To

City State Zip Route Number

WESTPHALIA MO 65085

County Precinct Split Voter Counts

Osage 13 07a 26 View Voters

☐ Unusable Address ☐ Mailing Address Required ☐ Unit Required

NOTES AND AND

Remove

Split Lookup Districts List Save Close

Now all voters in that address range will be in the new split.

## Changing Districts to Appear On Voter ID Cards

If you have your system set up to print a voter's districts on his/her ID card, you will need to make changes to these after the set up of the new Congressional, Senate, and House Districts. The steps to do this are as follows:

1. From the main screen open System Configuration.
2. Choose County Configuration from the column on the left.
3. Then choose County Parameters.
4. From the list of districts, uncheck the old Congressional, Senate, and House (if they were originally chosen).
5. Check the new Congressional, Senate, and House, if you wish to include them.
6. If you wish to change the order of the districts, use the arrow buttons to the right of the listing.
7. Click on the Save button.
8. Click on the Close button.

The screenshot shows the 'County Parameters' window. On the left is a tree view with the following items: ADDRESSES, VOTER RECORD, ELECTIONS, PETITIONS, POLLING PLACE/LOCATION, ELECTION WORKERS, STATE CONFIGURATION, COUNTY CONFIGURATION (expanded), County Contacts, County Parameters (selected), CANDIDATE FILING - COUNTY, and ERROR LOG. The main area contains a table with the following data:

Parameter Name	Parameter Value
Add Date of Birth to the Precinct Roster/ Ad	
Add Voter ID barcode to Voter ID Card (1= Y 1	
Ballot Processing Records Per Page(1-6)	
Ballot Receiving Message: Ballot(s) issued af	
Ballot Receiving Message: Other ballot(s) alr	
Ballot Receiving Message: Process normally	
Ballot Receiving Message: Replacement ballo	

Below the table are three sections:

- District Types to be printed on Voter ID Cards**: A list of district types with checkboxes. The selected types are:
  - ☐ 10 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT
  - ☐ 10 STATE SENATE
  - ☒ 20 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
  - ☒ 20 LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT
  - ☒ 20 STATE SENATE
- Address on Voter ID Card**: Osage County Clerk, P.O. Box 826, Linn, MO 65051.
- Address on Absentee Application**: Osage County Clerk, P.O. Box 826, Linn, MO 65051.
- Selected County District Types**: A list of district types with checkboxes. The selected types are:
  - ☐ AMBULANCE
  - ☐ AMBULANCE SUBDISTRICT
  - ☐ CITY
  - ☐ FIRE
  - ☐ SCHOOL
  - ☐ ROAD
  - ☐ WATER
  - ☐ TOWNSHIP
  - ☐ COMMISSION
- Correspondence Details**: Osage County Clerk.

At the bottom right are 'Save' and 'Close' buttons.



EXHIBIT

3

exhibitsticker.com

From: **Denny Hoskins** <[Denny.Hoskins@sos.mo.gov](mailto:Denny.Hoskins@sos.mo.gov)>

Date: Fri, Jan 9, 2026 at 3:59 PM

Subject: Files from the Office of Administration

To:

Dear Local Election Authorities,

Our office has received the updated district boundary shapefiles and the block equivalency spreadsheet from the Office of Administration in regards to House Bill 1, passed in the 2025 special session by the General Assembly. Below you will find a Sharefile link containing the information that has been filed by the Office of Administration.

<https://mosecretaryofstate.sharefile.com/d-sb8020aa96916440eb7bd13922341bc47>

The Secretary of State's office is currently involved in several pending cases related to redistricting and the referendum. We appreciate your patience during this ongoing process.

Thank you,

**Denny Hoskins**

Missouri Secretary of State



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**PX  
39**

KCEB 0001

## SECOND EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE

## FIRST REGULAR SESSION

[TRULY AGREED TO AND FINALLY PASSED]

**HOUSE BILL NO. 1****103RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

3344H.01T

2025

**AN ACT**

To repeal sections 128.345, 128.346, and 128.348, RSMo, and to enact in lieu thereof twelve new sections relating to the composition of congressional districts.

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Missouri, as follows:*

Section A. Sections 128.345, 128.346, and 128.348, RSMo, are repealed and twelve new sections enacted in lieu thereof, to be known as sections 128.345, 128.346, 128.348, 128.471, 128.472, 128.473, 128.474, 128.475, 128.476, 128.477, 128.478, and 128.479, to read as follows:

128.345. 1. All references in sections 128.451 to 128.458 to counties, voting districts (VTD), and tract-blocks (Block) mean those counties, voting districts (VTD), and tract-blocks (Block) as reported to the state by the United States Bureau of the Census for the 2010 census.

2. All references in sections 128.461 to ~~128.468~~ **128.478** to counties, voting districts (VTD), and tract-blocks (Block) mean those counties, voting districts (VTD), and tract-blocks (Block) as reported to the state by the United States Bureau of the Census for the 2020 census.

128.346. 1. The districts established by the provisions of sections 128.400 to 128.440 for the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States shall be effective beginning with election to the 108th Congress and through the election of the 112th Congress.

2. The districts established by sections 128.451 to 128.458 for the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States shall be effective beginning with the election to the 113th Congress and through the election of the 117th Congress.

3. The districts established by sections 128.461 to 128.468 for the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States shall be effective beginning with the election to the 118th Congress **and through the election of the 119th Congress.**

EXPLANATION — Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets **[thus]** in the above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted from the law. Matter in **bold-face** type in the above bill is proposed language.

HB 1 Document Not an Official Court Document 2 Not an Official Court Document Not an O

10 **4. The districts established by sections 128.471 to 128.478 for the election of**  
11 **representatives to the Congress of the United States shall be effective beginning with the**  
12 **election of the 120th Congress.**

Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official  
2 128.348. 1. Effective with the election for the 113th Congress and through the  
3 election of the 117th Congress, the state of Missouri shall consist of eight congressional  
4 districts.

5 2. Effective with the election of the 118th Congress, the state of Missouri shall consist  
6 of eight congressional districts.

7 **3. Effective with the election of the 120th Congress, the state of Missouri shall**  
8 **consist of eight congressional districts.**

9 **4. The legal voters of each district shall elect one member of Congress of the United**  
10 **States.**

11 **128.471. The first congressional district shall be composed of the following:**

12 **County: St. Louis City MO**

13 **County: St. Louis MO**

14 **VTD: AP001**

15 **VTD: AP002**

16 **VTD: AP003**

17 **VTD: AP004**

18 **VTD: AP005**

19 **VTD: AP006**

20 **VTD: AP007**

21 **VTD: AP008**

22 **VTD: AP009**

23 **VTD: AP010**

24 **VTD: AP011**

25 **VTD: AP012**

**VTD: AP013**

**VTD: AP014**

**VTD: AP015**

**VTD: AP016**

**VTD: AP017**

**VTD: AP018**

**VTD: AP019**

**VTD: AP020**

**VTD: AP021**

**VTD: AP022**

26 VTD: AP023  
27 VTD: AP024  
28 VTD: AP025  
29 VTD: AP026  
30 VTD: AP027  
31 VTD: AP028  
32 VTD: AP029  
33 VTD: AP030  
34 VTD: AP031  
35 VTD: AP033  
36 VTD: AP034  
37 VTD: AP035  
38 VTD: AP036  
39 VTD: AP037  
40 VTD: AP038  
41 VTD: AP039  
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61 VTD: AP216  
62 VTD: AP217



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75 VTD CC048 Subtotal  
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80 VTD CC203 Subtotal Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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85 VTD: CLA004  
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95 Block: 291892165004014  
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97 Block: 291892165004016  
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109 **VTD: CLA008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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120 **VTD: CLA022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
121 **VTD: CLA023** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
122 **VTD: CLA027** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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125 **VTD: CLA031** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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167 VTD: FER029  
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169 VTD: FER031  
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179 VTD: FER041 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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210 VTD: FLO023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document



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214 **VTD: FLO027** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
215 **VTD: FLO028** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
216 **VTD: FLO029** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
217 **VTD: FLO030** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
218 **VTD: FLO031** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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225 **Block: 291892198011013**  
226 **Block: 291892198011014** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
227 **Block: 291892198011020**  
228 **Block: 291892198012013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court  
229 **Block: 291892198012015**  
230 **Block: 291892198012016** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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258 **Block: 291892197005002**  
259 **Block: 291892197005014**  
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263 **Block: 291892198013017**  
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270 **Block: 291892199001001**  
271 **Block: 291892199001002**  
272 **Block: 291892199001003**  
273 **Block: 291892199001004**  
274 **Block: 291892199001005**  
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276 **Block: 291892199001008**  
277 **Block: 291892199001009**  
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HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 10 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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321 **VTD: HAD034**

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 11 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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326 VTD: JEF007  
327 VTD: JEF008  
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HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 16 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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528 VTD: NOR044 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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530 VTD: NOR046 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
531 VTD: NOR047 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
532 VTD: NOR048 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
533 VTD: NOR049 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
534 VTD: NOR050 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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541 VTD: NOR200 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
542 VTD: NOR201 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
543 VTD: NOR202 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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544 VTD: NOR203 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
545 VTD: NOR204 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
546 VTD: NOR208 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
547 VTD: NOR213 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
548 VTD: NOR218 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
549 VTD: NOR222 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
550 VTD: NRW001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
551 VTD: NRW002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
552 VTD: NRW003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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569 VTD: NRW020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
570 VTD: NRW021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
571 VTD: NRW022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
572 VTD: NRW023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
573 VTD: NRW024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
574 VTD: NRW025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
575 VTD: NRW026 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
576 VTD: NRW027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
577 VTD: NRW028 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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579 VTD: NRW030 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
580 VTD: NRW031 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

HB 18 Not an Official Court Document

581 VTD: NRW032  
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 584 VTD: NRW035  
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 590 VTD: NRW041  
 591 VTD: NRW042  
 592 VTD: NRW043  
 593 VTD: NRW044  
 594 VTD: NRW045  
 595 VTD: NRW046  
 596 VTD: NRW047  
 597 VTD: NRW048  
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 599 VTD: NRW050  
 600 VTD: NRW051  
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HB1 Document Not an Official Court Document19 Not an Official Court Document Not an O



HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 20 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

655 **VTD: NW207** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
656 **VTD: NW208**  
657 **VTD: NW209** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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659 **VTD: NW212** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
660 **VTD: NW213**  
661 **VTD: NW214** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
662 **VTD: NW215** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
663 **VTD: NW216**  
664 **VTD: NW217** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
665 **VTD: NW219**  
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667 **Block: 291892132031024**  
668 **VTD: NW220 Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
669 **VTD: NW224**  
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671 **VTD: NW226**  
672 **VTD: NW227** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
673 **VTD: NW229**  
674 **VTD: SF001** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
675 **VTD: SF002**  
676 **VTD: SF003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
677 **VTD: SF004**  
678 **VTD: SF005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
679 **VTD: SF006**  
680 **VTD: SF007** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
681 **VTD: SF008**  
682 **VTD: SF009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
683 **VTD: SF010**  
684 **VTD: SF011** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
685 **VTD: SF012**  
686 **VTD: SF013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
687 **VTD: SF014**  
688 **VTD: SF015**  
689 **VTD: SF016**  
690 **VTD: SF017**  
691 **VTD: SF018**

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 21 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

692 VTD: SF019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
693 VTD: SF020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
694 VTD: SF021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
695 VTD: SF022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
696 VTD: SF023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
697 VTD: SF024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
698 VTD: SF025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
699 VTD: SF026 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
700 VTD: SF027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
701 VTD: SF028 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
702 VTD: SF029 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
703 VTD: SF030 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
704 VTD: SF031 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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709 VTD: SF200 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
710 VTD: SPL001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
711 VTD: SPL002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
712 VTD: SPL003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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719 VTD: SPL010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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726 VTD: SPL017 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
727 VTD: SPL018 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
728 VTD: SPL019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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729 VTD: SPL020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
730 VTD: SPL021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
731 VTD: SPL022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
732 VTD: SPL023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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735 VTD: SPL026 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
736 VTD: SPL027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
737 VTD: SPL028 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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739 VTD: SPL202 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
740 VTD: SPL207 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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742 VTD: UNV001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
743 VTD: UNV002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
744 VTD: UNV003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
745 VTD: UNV004 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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752 VTD: UNV011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
753 VTD: UNV012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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756 VTD: UNV015 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
757 VTD: UNV016 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
758 VTD: UNV017 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
759 VTD: UNV018 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
760 VTD: UNV019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
761 VTD: UNV020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
762 VTD: UNV021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
763 VTD: UNV022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
764 VTD: UNV023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
765 VTD: UNV024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

HB 1 Document Not an Official Court Document 23 Not an Official Court Document Not an O

766 **VTD: UNV025**  
 767 **VTD: UNV026**  
 768 **VTD: UNV027**  
 769 **VTD: UNV028**  
 770 **VTD: UNV029**  
 771 **VTD: UNV030**  
 772 **VTD: UNV031**  
 773 **VTD: UNV032**  
 774 **VTD: UNV033**  
 775 **VTD: UNV034**  
 776 **VTD: UNV035**  
 777 **VTD: UNV036**  
 778 **VTD: UNV037**  
 779 **VTD: UNV038**  
 780 **VTD: UNV039**  
 781 **VTD: UNV040**  
 782 **VTD: UNV041**  
 783 **VTD: UNV042**  
 784 **VTD: UNV043**  
 785 **VTD: UNV045**  
 786 **VTD: UNV201**  
 787 **VTD: UNV202**  
 788 **VTD: UNV205**  
 789 **VTD: UNV206**  
 790 **VTD: UNV208**  
 791 **County St. Louis MO Subtotal**  
 792 **District 1 Total**  
 128.472. The second congressional district shall be composed of the following:  
 2 **County: Crawford MO**  
 3 **County: Franklin MO**  
 4 **County: Gasconade MO**  
 5 **County: Jefferson MO**  
 6 **VTD: Brennan**  
 7 **Block: 290997002111020**  
 8 **Block: 290997002111021**  
 9 **Block: 290997003032017**  
 10 **Block: 290997003051001**



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11 **Block: 290997003051003**  
12 **Block: 290997003052001**  
13 **Block: 290997003052002**  
14 **Block: 290997003052003**  
15 **Block: 290997003052004**  
16 **Block: 290997003052005**  
17 **Block: 290997003052025**  
18 **VTD Brennan Subtotal**  
19 **VTD: Byrnes Mill W-1**  
20 **VTD: Byrnes Mill W-2**  
21 **VTD: Byrnes Mill W-3**  
22 **VTD: Byrnesville**  
23 **VTD: Cedar Hill**  
24 **VTD: Cedar Hill Lakes**  
25 **VTD: De Soto W-1**  
26 **VTD: De Soto W-2**  
27 **VTD: De Soto W-3**  
28 **VTD: De Soto W-4**  
29 **VTD: Dulin Creek**  
30 **VTD: Goldman**  
31 **VTD: Grubville**  
32 **VTD: Grubville 2**  
33 **VTD: High Ridge**  
34 **VTD: Hillsboro W-1**  
35 **VTD: Hillsboro W-2**  
36 **VTD: Hillsboro W-3**  
37 **VTD: Hillsboro W-4**  
38 **VTD: Hoene Springs**  
39 **VTD: House Springs**  
40 **VTD: Lake Tekawitha**  
41 **VTD: Lake Tishomingo**  
42 **VTD: Meramec Valley**  
43 **VTD: North Jefferson**  
44 **Block: 290997002062004**  
45 **Block: 290997002062005**  
46 **Block: 290997002072000**  
47 **Block: 290997002072001**

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48 **Block: 290997002072002** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
49 **Block: 290997002072003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
50 **Block: 290997002072004** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
51 **Block: 290997002072005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
52 **Block: 290997002072006** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
53 **Block: 290997002072007** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
54 **Block: 290997002072008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
55 **Block: 290997002072009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
56 **Block: 290997002072010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
57 **Block: 290997002072011** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
58 **Block: 290997002072012** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
59 **Block: 290997002072013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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61 **Block: 290997002072017** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
62 **Block: 290997002072018** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
63 **Block: 290997002072019** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
64 **Block: 290997002072020** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
65 **Block: 290997002072021** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
66 **Block: 290997002072022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
67 **Block: 290997002072023** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
68 **Block: 290997002072024** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
69 **Block: 290997002072025** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
70 **Block: 290997002111019** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
71 **Block: 290997002113004** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
72 **Block: 290997002113005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
73 **Block: 290997002113006** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
74 **Block: 290997002113007** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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77 **Block: 290997002113012** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
78 **Block: 290997002113013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
79 **Block: 290997002113014** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
80 **Block: 290997002113015** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
81 **Block: 290997002113016** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
82 **Block: 290997002113017** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
83 **Block: 290997002113019** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
84 **Block: 290997003022000** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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85 **Block: 290997003022001**  
86 **Block: 290997003022002**  
87 **Block: 290997003022015**  
88 **Block: 290997003023002**  
89 **Block: 290997003063001**  
90 **Block: 290997003063003**  
91 **Block: 290997003063004**  
92 **Block: 290997003063005**  
93 **VTD North Jefferson Subtotal**  
94 **VTD: Northwest**  
95 **VTD: Parkdale**  
96 **VTD: Peaceful Village**  
97 **VTD: Raintree**  
98 **VTD: Rockwood**  
99 **VTD: Scotsdale**  
100 **VTD: Valle**  
101 **Block: 290997010023040**  
102 **Block: 290997010023041**  
103 **Block: 290997012006047**  
104 **Block: 290997012006053**  
105 **Block: 290997012006061**  
106 **Block: 290997012006062**  
107 **Block: 290997013001001**  
108 **Block: 290997013001002**  
109 **Block: 290997013001003**  
110 **Block: 290997013001004**  
111 **Block: 290997013001055**  
112 **Block: 290997013001062**  
113 **Block: 290997013001063**  
114 **Block: 290997013001064**  
115 **Block: 290997013001065**  
116 **Block: 290997013001066**  
117 **Block: 290997013001067**  
118 **Block: 290997013001070**  
119 **Block: 290997013001075**  
120 **Block: 290997013001077**  
121 **Block: 290997013003003**

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128 **Block: 290997013003021** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
129 **Block: 290997013003022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
130 **Block: 290997014012008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
131 **Block: 290997014012009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
132 **Block: 290997014012017** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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134 **Block: 290997014012022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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138 **Block: 290997014012066** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
139 **Block: 290997014012067** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
140 **VTD Valle Subtotal**  
141 **VTD: Victoria** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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143 **Block: 290997010013008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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145 **Block: 290997010013033** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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147 **Block: 290997010021022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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151 **Block: 290997010022001** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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158 **Block: 290997010022010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document



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159 **Block: 290997010022011**  
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161 **Block: 290997010022017**  
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HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 29 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

196 **Block: 290997012001029** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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199 **VTD: Vineland** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
200 **VTD: Ware** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
201 **County Jefferson MO Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
202 **County: St. Louis MO** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
203 **VTD: AP032** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
204 **VTD: AP041** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
205 **VTD: AP201** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
206 **VTD: AP202** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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- 736 VTD: MER200
- 737 VTD: MER202
- 738 VTD: MER204
- 739 VTD: MER207
- 740 VTD: MER209
- 741 VTD: MER210
- 742 VTD: MER213
- 743 VTD: MER214
- 744 VTD: MER215
- 745 VTD: MER219
- 746 VTD: MHT001
- 747 VTD: MHT002
- 748 VTD: MHT003
- 749 VTD: MHT004
- 750 VTD: MHT005

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 44 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

751 VTD: MHT006 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
752 VTD: MHT007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
753 VTD: MHT008 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
754 VTD: MHT009 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
755 VTD: MHT010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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757 VTD: MHT012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
758 VTD: MHT013 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
759 VTD: MHT014 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
760 VTD: MHT015 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
761 VTD: MHT016 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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764 VTD: MHT019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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767 VTD: MHT022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
768 VTD: MHT023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
769 VTD: MHT024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
770 VTD: MHT025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
771 VTD: MHT026 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
772 VTD: MHT027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
773 VTD: MHT028 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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775 VTD: MHT030 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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781 VTD: MHT036 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
782 VTD: MHT037 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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786 VTD: MHT041 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
787 VTD: MHT042 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 45 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

788 VTD: MHT043 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
789 VTD: MHT044 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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791 VTD: MHT046 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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801 VTD: MHT056 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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811 VTD: MHT212 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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818 VTD: MHT223 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
819 VTD: MR001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
820 VTD: MR002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
821 VTD: MR003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
822 VTD: MR004 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
823 VTD: MR005 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
824 VTD: MR006 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 46 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

825 VTD: MR007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
826 VTD: MR008  
827 VTD: MR009 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
828 VTD: MR010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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830 VTD: MR012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
831 VTD: MR013  
832 VTD: MR014 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
833 VTD: MR015  
834 VTD: MR016 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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836 VTD: MR018 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
837 VTD: MR019  
838 VTD: MR020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
839 VTD: MR021  
840 VTD: MR022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
841 VTD: MR023  
842 VTD: MR024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
843 VTD: MR025  
844 VTD: MR026 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
845 VTD: MR027  
846 VTD: MR028 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
847 VTD: MR029  
848 VTD: MR030 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
849 VTD: MR031  
850 VTD: MR032 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
851 VTD: MR033  
852 VTD: MR034 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
853 VTD: MR035  
854 VTD: MR036 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
855 VTD: MR037  
856 VTD: MR038 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
857 VTD: MR039  
858 VTD: MR040  
859 VTD: MR041  
860 VTD: MR042  
861 VTD: MR043

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 47 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

862 **VTD: MR044** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
863 **VTD: MR045**  
864 **VTD: MR046** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
865 **VTD: MR047** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
866 **VTD: MR048**  
867 **VTD: MR049** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
868 **VTD: MR050**  
869 **VTD: MR051** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
870 **VTD: MR052**  
871 **VTD: MR053** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
872 **VTD: MR054**  
873 **VTD: MR055** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
874 **VTD: MR056**  
875 **VTD: MR057** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
876 **VTD: MR058**  
877 **VTD: MR059** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
878 **VTD: MR200**  
879 **VTD: MR202** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
880 **VTD: MR203**  
881 **VTD: MR204** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
882 **VTD: MR205**  
883 **VTD: MR209** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
884 **VTD: MR210**  
885 **VTD: MR212** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
886 **VTD: MR213**  
887 **VTD: NW001** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
888 **Block: 291892132023003**  
889 **Block: 291892132023004** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
890 **Block: 291892132023005**  
891 **Block: 291892132023006** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
892 **Block: 291892132023007**  
893 **Block: 291892132023008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
894 **Block: 291892132023009**  
895 **Block: 291892132025008**  
896 **Block: 291892132025009**  
897 **Block: 291892132025010**  
898 **Block: 291892132025011**



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899 **Block: 291892132025012**  
900 **Block: 291892132025013**  
901 **Block: 291892132025014**  
902 **Block: 291892132025015**  
903 **VTD NW001 Subtotal**  
904 **VTD: NW013**  
905 **Block: 291892151431031**  
906 **Block: 291892151431044**  
907 **Block: 291892151431045**  
908 **Block: 291892151431046**  
909 **Block: 291892151431047**  
910 **Block: 291892151431049**  
911 **Block: 291892151431050**  
912 **Block: 291892151431052**  
913 **Block: 291892151431055**  
914 **Block: 291892151431056**  
915 **Block: 291892151431057**  
916 **Block: 291892151431063**  
917 **VTD NW013 Subtotal**  
918 **VTD: NW019**  
919 **VTD: NW020**  
920 **VTD: NW029**  
921 **VTD: NW033**  
922 **VTD: NW035**  
923 **Block: 291892151432000**  
924 **Block: 291892151432011**  
925 **Block: 291892151432012**  
926 **Block: 291892151432013**  
927 **Block: 291892151432017**  
928 **Block: 291892151432018**  
929 **Block: 291892151432019**  
930 **Block: 291892151432020**  
931 **Block: 291892151432021**  
932 **Block: 291892151432022**  
933 **Block: 291892151432023**  
934 **VTD NW035 Subtotal**  
935 **VTD: NW038**

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 49 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

936 VTD: NW047 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
937 VTD: NW049  
938 VTD: NW052 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
939 VTD: NW201  
940 VTD: NW211 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
941 VTD: OAK001  
942 VTD: OAK002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
943 VTD: OAK003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
944 VTD: OAK004  
945 VTD: OAK005 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
946 VTD: OAK006  
947 VTD: OAK007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
948 VTD: OAK008  
949 VTD: OAK009 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
950 VTD: OAK010  
951 VTD: OAK011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
952 VTD: OAK012  
953 VTD: OAK013 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
954 VTD: OAK014  
955 VTD: OAK015 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
956 VTD: OAK016  
957 VTD: OAK017 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
958 VTD: OAK018  
959 VTD: OAK019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
960 VTD: OAK020  
961 VTD: OAK021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
962 VTD: OAK022  
963 VTD: OAK023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
964 VTD: OAK024  
965 VTD: OAK025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
966 VTD: OAK026  
967 VTD: OAK027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
968 VTD: OAK028  
969 VTD: OAK029  
970 VTD: QUE001  
971 VTD: QUE002  
972 VTD: QUE003

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 50 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

973 VTD: QUE004 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
974 VTD: QUE005 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
975 VTD: QUE006 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
976 VTD: QUE007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
977 VTD: QUE008 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
978 VTD: QUE009 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
979 VTD: QUE010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
980 VTD: QUE011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
981 VTD: QUE012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
982 VTD: QUE013 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
983 VTD: QUE014 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
984 VTD: QUE015 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
985 VTD: QUE016 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
986 VTD: QUE017 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
987 VTD: QUE018 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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990 VTD: QUE021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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993 VTD: QUE024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
994 VTD: QUE025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
995 VTD: QUE026 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
996 VTD: QUE027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
997 VTD: QUE028 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
998 VTD: QUE029 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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1003 VTD: QUE034 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1004 VTD: QUE035 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1005 VTD: QUE036 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1006 VTD: QUE037 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1007 VTD: QUE038 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1008 VTD: QUE039 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1009 VTD: QUE040 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 51 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

- 1010 VTD: QUE041
- 1011 VTD: QUE042
- 1012 VTD: QUE043
- 1013 VTD: QUE044
- 1014 VTD: QUE045
- 1015 VTD: QUE046
- 1016 VTD: QUE047
- 1017 VTD: QUE048
- 1018 VTD: QUE049
- 1019 VTD: QUE200
- 1020 VTD: QUE201
- 1021 VTD: QUE202
- 1022 VTD: QUE203
- 1023 VTD: QUE204
- 1024 VTD: QUE205
- 1025 VTD: QUE207
- 1026 VTD: QUE208
- 1027 VTD: QUE209
- 1028 VTD: QUE210
- 1029 VTD: QUE211
- 1030 VTD: QUE213
- 1031 VTD: TSF001
- 1032 VTD: TSF002
- 1033 VTD: TSF003
- 1034 VTD: TSF004
- 1035 VTD: TSF005
- 1036 VTD: TSF006
- 1037 VTD: TSF007
- 1038 VTD: TSF008
- 1039 VTD: TSF009
- 1040 VTD: TSF010
- 1041 VTD: TSF011
- 1042 VTD: TSF012
- 1043 VTD: TSF013
- 1044 VTD: TSF014
- 1045 VTD: TSF015
- 1046 VTD: TSF016

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 52 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

1047 VTD: TSF017 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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1049 VTD: TSF019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1050 VTD: TSF020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1051 VTD: TSF021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1052 VTD: TSF022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1053 VTD: TSF023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1054 VTD: TSF024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1055 VTD: TSF025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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1057 VTD: TSF027 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1058 VTD: TSF201 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1059 VTD: WH001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1060 VTD: WH002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1061 VTD: WH003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1062 VTD: WH004 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1063 VTD: WH005 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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1069 VTD: WH011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1070 VTD: WH012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1071 VTD: WH013 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1072 VTD: WH014 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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1076 VTD: WH018 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1077 VTD: WH019 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1078 VTD: WH020 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1079 VTD: WH021 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1080 VTD: WH022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1081 VTD: WH023 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1082 VTD: WH024 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
1083 VTD: WH025 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document



HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 53 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

- 1084 VTD: WH026
- 1085 VTD: WH027
- 1086 VTD: WH028
- 1087 VTD: WH029
- 1088 VTD: WH030
- 1089 VTD: WH031
- 1090 VTD: WH032
- 1091 VTD: WH033
- 1092 VTD: WH034
- 1093 VTD: WH035
- 1094 VTD: WH036
- 1095 VTD: WH037
- 1096 VTD: WH038
- 1097 VTD: WH039
- 1098 VTD: WH040
- 1099 VTD: WH041
- 1100 VTD: WH042
- 1101 VTD: WH043
- 1102 VTD: WH044
- 1103 VTD: WH045
- 1104 VTD: WH046
- 1105 VTD: WH047
- 1106 VTD: WH200
- 1107 VTD: WH201
- 1108 VTD: WH202
- 1109 VTD: WH203
- 1110 VTD: WH208
- 1111 County St. Louis MO Subtotal
- 1112 County: Washington MO
- 1113 District 2 Total

**128.473. The third congressional district shall be composed of the following:**

- 2 District 3
- 3 County: Audrain MO
- 4 County: Boone MO
- 5 VTD: 17
- 6 Block: 290190015062014
- 7 Block: 290190015062023

HB 1 Document Not an Official Court Document 54 Not an Official Court Document Not an O

8 **Block: 290190015062031** Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

9 **VTD 17 Subtotal**

10 **VTD: 1A** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Do

11 **VTD: 1B** Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official

12 **VTD: 1C** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official

13 **VTD: 1D** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an

14 **VTD: 1E** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an

15 **VTD: 1F** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

16 **VTD: 1G**

17 **VTD: 1H** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court D

18 **VTD: 1J**

19 **VTD: 1K** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official

20 **VTD: 1L**

21 **VTD: 1M** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not

22 **VTD: 20**

23 **Block: 290190014024009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

24 **Block: 290190014024010**

25 **VTD 20 Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court

26 **VTD: 21**

27 **Block: 290190013003006** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

28 **Block: 290190013003008**

29 **Block: 290190013003009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not

30 **Block: 290190013003023**

31 **Block: 290190018061001** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

32 **Block: 290190018061002**

33 **Block: 290190018061003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court

34 **Block: 290190018061004**

35 **Block: 290190018061008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Offi

36 **Block: 290190018061009**

37 **Block: 290190018061010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document N

38 **Block: 290190018061011**

39 **Block: 290190018061012** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

40 **Block: 290190018061016**

41 **Block: 290190018061017**

42 **VTD 21 Subtotal**

43 **VTD: 22**

44 **Block: 290190014013035**

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 55 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

45 **Block: 290190014013036** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

46 **Block: 290190014013041**

47 **Block: 290190014013045** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

48 **Block: 290190014013046**

49 **VTD 22 Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

50 **VTD: 23**

51 **VTD: 24** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

52 **VTD: 25** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

53 **VTD: 26**

54 **VTD: 27** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

55 **VTD: 28**

56 **VTD: 29** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

57 **VTD: 2A**

58 **VTD: 2B** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

59 **VTD: 2C**

60 **VTD: 2D** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

61 **VTD: 2F**

62 **VTD: 2G** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

63 **VTD: 2H**

64 **VTD: 2I** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

65 **Block: 290190014011007**

66 **Block: 290190014011008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

67 **Block: 290190014011009**

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71 **Block: 290190014011013**

72 **Block: 290190014011014** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

73 **Block: 290190014011015**

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76 **Block: 290190014011018** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

77 **Block: 290190014011019**

78 **Block: 290190014011020**

79 **Block: 290190014012014**

80 **Block: 290190014012017**

81 **Block: 290190014012022**

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 56 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

82 **Block: 290190014012023** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

83 **Block: 290190014012024**

84 **Block: 290190014012025** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

85 **Block: 290190014012026**

86 **Block: 290190014012029** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

87 **Block: 290190014012030**

88 **Block: 290190014013007** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

89 **Block: 290190014013008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

90 **Block: 290190014013009**

91 **Block: 290190014013010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

92 **Block: 290190014013011**

93 **Block: 290190014013013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

94 **Block: 290190014013014**

95 **Block: 290190014013015** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

96 **Block: 290190014013016**

97 **Block: 290190014013018** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

98 **Block: 290190014013019**

99 **Block: 290190014013020** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

100 **Block: 290190014013021**

101 **Block: 290190014013022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

102 **Block: 290190014013023**

103 **Block: 290190014013024** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

104 **Block: 290190014013034**

105 **Block: 290190014013037** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

106 **Block: 290190014013038**

107 **Block: 290190014013039** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

108 **Block: 290190014013040**

109 **Block: 290190014013042** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

110 **Block: 290190014013043**

111 **Block: 290190014013044** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

112 **Block: 290190014013047**

113 **Block: 290190014013052** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

114 **Block: 290190014013058**

115 **Block: 290190015033022**

116 **VTD 2I Subtotal**

117 **VTD: 2J**

118 **VTD: 2K**

HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 57 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

119 **Block: 290190013003002** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
120 **Block: 290190013003005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
121 **Block: 290190013003007** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
122 **Block: 290190013003010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
123 **Block: 290190013003024** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
124 **Block: 290190013003025** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
125 **Block: 290190013003026** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
126 **Block: 290190013003027** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
127 **VTD 2K Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
128 **VTD: 2L** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
129 **VTD: 30** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
130 **VTD: 31** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
131 **VTD: 32** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
132 **VTD: 33** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
133 **VTD: 34** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
134 **VTD: 35** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
135 **VTD: 36** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
136 **VTD: 37** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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142 **VTD: 3A** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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155 **Block: 290190015032005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document



HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 58 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

156 **Block: 290190015032006** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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169 **Block: 290190015073002** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
170 **Block: 290190015073003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
171 **Block: 290190015073006** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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174 **Block: 290190015073009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
175 **Block: 290190015073010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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178 **Block: 290190015081003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
179 **Block: 290190015081017** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
180 **Block: 290190015081018** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
181 **Block: 290190015081019** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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183 **Block: 290190015081024** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
184 **Block: 290190015081025** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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188 **Block: 290190015081029** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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191 **VTD: 3B**  
192 **Block: 290190015032001**

HB 1 Document Not an Official Court Document 59 Not an Official Court Document Not an O

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196 Block: 290190015061000  
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198 Block: 290190015061002  
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215 Block: 290190015061019  
216 Block: 290190015061020  
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222 Block: 290190015062005  
223 Block: 290190015062013  
224 Block: 290190015062015  
225 Block: 290190015062016  
226 Block: 290190015062022  
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229 Block: 290190015062029

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237 **Block: 290190015062040** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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239 **Block: 290190015062042** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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243 **Block: 290190015062046** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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245 **Block: 290190015071023** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
246 **Block: 290190015071024** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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248 **Block: 290190015073005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
249 **Block: 290190015073012** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
250 **Block: 290190016031015** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
251 **Block: 290190016031016** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
252 **VTD: 3B Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
253 **VTD: 3C** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
254 **VTD: 3D** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
255 **VTD: 3E** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
256 **VTD: 3F** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
257 **VTD: 3G** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
258 **VTD: 3H** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
259 **VTD: 3I** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
260 **VTD: 3J** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
261 **VTD: 3L** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
262 **VTD: 3M** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
263 **VTD: 3N** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 61 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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279 **VTD 45 Subtotal**  
280 **VTD: 4A** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not  
281 **VTD: 4B**  
282 **Block: 290190012013004** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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286 **Block: 290190012013008** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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288 **Block: 290190012014018** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
289 **VTD 4B Subtotal**  
290 **VTD: 4C** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
291 **VTD: 4D**  
292 **VTD: 4E** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
293 **VTD: 4F**  
294 **VTD: 4G** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
295 **VTD: 4H**  
296 **VTD: 4I** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
297 **VTD: 4J**  
298 **VTD: 4K** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
299 **Block: 290190018061000**  
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301 **Block: 290190018061006**  
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304 **Block: 290190018071017**  
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321 **Block: 290190018072037**  
322 **VTD 4K Subtotal**  
323 **VTD: 4L**  
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340 **Block: 290190012014019**



HB 1 Not an Official Court Document 63 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

341 **Block: 290190012014020** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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347 **Block: 290190012014026** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
348 **VTD 4L Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
349 **VTD: 4M** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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351 **VTD: 5B** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
352 **VTD: 5C** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
353 **VTD: 5D** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
354 **VTD: 5E** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
355 **VTD: 5F** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
356 **VTD: 5G** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
357 **VTD: 5H** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
358 **VTD: 5I** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
359 **VTD: 5J** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
360 **VTD: 5K** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
361 **VTD: 5L** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
362 **VTD: 5M** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
363 **VTD: 5N** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
364 **VTD: 5P** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
365 **VTD: 6A** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
366 **VTD: 6B** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
367 **VTD: 6C** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
368 **VTD: 6D** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
369 **VTD: 6E** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
370 **VTD: 6F** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
371 **VTD: 6G** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
372 **VTD: 6H** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
373 **VTD: 6I** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
374 **VTD: 6J** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
375 **VTD: 6K** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
376 **VTD: 6L** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
377 **VTD: 6M** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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378 **County Boone MO Subtotal**  
379 **County: Callaway MO**  
380 **County: Lincoln MO**  
381 **County: Monroe MO**  
382 **County: Montgomery MO**  
383 **County: Pike MO**  
384 **County: Ralls MO**  
385 **County: St. Charles MO**  
386 **County: St. Louis MO**  
387 **VTD: NW013**  
388 **Block: 291892151431003**  
389 **Block: 291892151431005**  
390 **Block: 291892151431006**  
391 **Block: 291892151431007**  
392 **Block: 291892151431008**  
393 **Block: 291892151431009**  
394 **Block: 291892151431010**  
395 **Block: 291892151431011**  
396 **Block: 291892151431012**  
397 **Block: 291892151431013**  
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399 **Block: 291892151431015**  
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408 **Block: 291892151431029**  
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413 **Block: 291892151431053**  
414 **Block: 291892151431054**

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415 **Block: 291892151431064**  
 416 **VTD NW013 Subtotal**  
 417 **VTD: NW021**  
 418 **VTD: NW035**  
 419 **Block: 291892151432001**  
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 430 **Block: 291892151432015**  
 431 **Block: 291892151432016**  
 432 **VTD NW035 Subtotal**  
 433 **VTD: NW203**  
 434 **VTD: NW220**  
 435 **Block: 291892132031027**  
 436 **VTD NW220 Subtotal**  
 437 **County St. Louis MO Subtotal**  
 438 **County: Warren MO**  
 439 **District 3 Total**  
 128,474. The fourth congressional district shall be composed of the following:  
 2 **County: Barton MO**  
 3 **County: Bates MO**  
 4 **County: Benton MO**  
 5 **County: Camden MO**  
 6 **County: Cass MO**  
 7 **County: Cedar MO**  
 8 **County: Dade MO**  
 9 **County: Dallas MO**  
 10 **County: Henry MO**  
 11 **County: Hickory MO**  
 12 **County: Jackson MO**

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13 VTD: 412  
14 VTD: 413  
15 VTD: 414  
16 VTD: 415  
17 VTD: 616  
18 VTD: 617  
19 VTD: 618  
20 VTD: 619  
21 VTD: KC 1001  
22 VTD: KC 1002  
23 VTD: KC 1003  
24 VTD: KC 1004  
25 Block: 290950100021002  
26 Block: 290950100021008  
27 Block: 290950100021014  
28 VTD KC 1004 Subtotal  
29 VTD: KC 1005  
30 VTD: KC 1006  
31 VTD: KC 1007  
32 VTD: KC 1008  
33 Block: 290950100022004  
34 Block: 290950100022008  
35 Block: 290950100022011  
36 VTD KC 1008 Subtotal  
37 VTD: KC 1009  
38 Block: 290950100022002  
39 Block: 290950100022003  
40 Block: 290950100023000  
41 Block: 290950100023001  
42 Block: 290950100023002  
43 Block: 290950100023003  
44 Block: 290950100023004  
45 Block: 290950100023005  
46 Block: 290950100023006  
47 VTD KC 1009 Subtotal  
48 VTD: KC 101  
49 VTD: KC 1010

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50 VTD: KC 1011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
51 VTD: KC 1012  
52 VTD: KC 102 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
53 VTD: KC 103  
54 VTD: KC 104 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
55 VTD: KC 105  
56 VTD: KC 106 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
57 VTD: KC 107 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
58 VTD: KC 1101  
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62 Block: 290950003001014  
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66 Block: 290950003001020  
67 Block: 290950003001022 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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76 Block: 290950003003025  
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78 VTD: KC 1108  
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80 Block: 290950018002002  
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83 Block: 290950018002005  
84 Block: 290950018002006  
85 Block: 290950018002007  
86 Block: 290950018002008



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87 **Block: 290950018002009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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91 **VTD: KC 1112** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
92 **VTD: KC 1916** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
93 **VTD: KC 1919** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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592 **Block: 290950148062010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
593 **Block: 290950148062011** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
594 **Block: 290950148062012** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
595 **Block: 290950148062013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
596 **Block: 290950148062014** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
597 **Block: 290950148062015** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
598 **Block: 290950148063000** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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600 **Block: 290950148063002** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
601 **Block: 290950148063003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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605 **Block: 290950148063007**  
606 **Block: 290950148063008**  
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608 **Block: 290950148063010**  
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613 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 08 Subtotal**  
614 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 09**  
615 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 10**  
616 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 11**  
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618 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 13**  
619 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 14**  
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633 **Block: 290950149052019**  
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635 **Block: 290950149052021**  
636 **Block: 290950149052022**  
637 **Block: 290950149052025**  
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642 **Block: 290950149052033**  
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644 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 15**  
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664 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 17**  
665 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 18**  
666 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 19**  
667 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 20**  
668 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 21**  
669 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 22**  
670 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 23**  
671 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 24**  
672 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 25**  
673 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 26**  
674 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 27**  
675 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 28**  
676 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 29**  
677 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 30**  
678 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 31**

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679 VTD: Sni-A-Bar 32  
680 VTD: Sni-A-Bar 33  
681 VTD: Sni-A-Bar 34  
682 VTD: Sni-A-Bar 35  
683 VTD: Sni-A-Bar 36  
684 VTD: Sni-A-Bar 37  
685 Block: 290950140021009  
686 Block: 290950140021011  
687 Block: 290950140021014  
688 Block: 290950140021015  
689 Block: 290950140021026  
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697 Block: 290950140021036  
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703 Block: 290950140022011  
704 Block: 290950140022012  
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706 Block: 290950140022016  
707 Block: 290950140022017  
708 Block: 290950140022018  
709 Block: 290950140022040  
710 Block: 290950140022041  
711 Block: 290950140051019  
712 Block: 290950140063021  
713 Block: 290950140063022  
714 Block: 290950140063023  
715 Block: 290950140063024

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716 **Block: 290950140063025**  
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726 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 37 Subtotal**  
727 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 41**  
728 **Block: 290950141281000**  
729 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 41 Subtotal**  
730 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 45**  
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733 **Block: 290950140021022**  
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750 **Block: 290950140054015**  
751 **Block: 290950140054016**  
752 **Block: 290950140054018**

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753 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 45 Subtotal**  
 754 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 83**  
 755 **VTD: Van Buren 01**  
 756 **VTD: Van Buren 02**  
 757 **VTD: Van Buren 03**  
 758 **VTD: Van Buren 04**  
 759 **VTD: Van Buren 06**  
 760 **VTD: Van Buren 07**  
 761 **VTD: Van Buren 08**  
 762 **VTD: Van Buren 09**  
 763 **VTD: Van Buren 10**  
 764 **VTD: Van Buren 11**  
 765 **VTD: Van Buren 12**  
 766 **VTD: Van Buren 13**  
 767 **VTD: Van Buren 14**  
 768 **VTD: Van Buren 15**  
 769 **VTD: Van Buren 16**  
 770 **VTD: Van Buren 17**  
 771 **VTD: Van Buren 18**  
 772 **VTD: Van Buren 19**  
 773 **VTD: Washington 01**  
 774 **VTD: Washington 02**  
 775 **VTD: Washington 03**  
 776 **VTD: Washington 04**  
 777 **VTD: Washington 05**  
 778 **VTD: Washington 06**  
 779 **VTD: Washington 07**  
 780 **VTD: Washington 08**  
 781 **VTD: Washington 09**  
 782 **VTD: Washington 10**  
 783 **VTD: Washington 11**  
 784 **VTD: Washington 12**  
 785 **County Jackson MO Subtotal**  
 786 **County: Laclede MO**  
 787 **County: Polk MO**  
 788 **County: Pulaski MO**  
 789 **County: St. Clair MO**

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790 **County: Vernon MO** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
791 **County: Webster MO** Not an Official Court Document  
792 **VTD: East Ozark** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
793 **VTD: Grant** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
794 **Block: 292254701021041** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
795 **Block: 292254701021042** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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827 **Block: 292254701022034** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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856 **Block: 292254701023085** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
857 **Block: 292254701023086** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
858 **VTD Grant Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
859 **VTD: High Prairie**  
860 **VTD: Jackson**  
861 **VTD: Marshfield East**  
862 **VTD: Marshfield West**  
863 **VTD: Niangua**

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864 **VTD: Northview A** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
865 **VTD: Northview B**  
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870 **Block: 292254702022019** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
871 **Block: 292254702022020** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
872 **Block: 292254702022021** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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 904 **Block: 292254703023034** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 905 **VTD Northview B Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 906 **VTD: Union** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 907 **VTD: Washington** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 908 **County Webster MO Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 909 **District 4 Total** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 128.475. The fifth congressional district shall be composed of the following:  
 2 **County: Boone MO**  
 3 **VTD: 07** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 4 **VTD: 08** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 5 **VTD: 09** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 6 **VTD: 10** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 7 **VTD: 11** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 8 **VTD: 12** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 9 **VTD: 15** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 10 **VTD: 16** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 11 **VTD: 17** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 12 **Block: 290190015031004** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
 13 **Block: 290190015031013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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64 Block: 290190019033057  
65 Block: 290190019033059

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67 **VTD: 17 Subtotal**  
68 **VTD: 18** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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70 **VTD: 20**  
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73 **Block: 290190014013032** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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75 **Block: 290190014013051** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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116 **Block: 290190019013050** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
117 **VTD 20 Subtotal**  
118 **VTD: 21** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
119 **Block: 290190013003003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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133 **Block: 290190018071027** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
134 **Block: 290190018071028** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
135 **Block: 290190018072000** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
136 **Block: 290190018072012** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
137 **Block: 290190018072014** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
138 **Block: 290190018072017** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
139 **Block: 290190018072018** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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140 **Block: 290190018072022** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
141 **Block: 290190018072023** Not an Official Court Document  
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159 **Block: 290190014012027** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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176 **Block: 290190014013033** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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177 **Block: 290190014013055**  
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179 **Block: 290190018031013**  
180 **Block: 290190018031014**  
181 **Block: 290190018031029**  
182 **Block: 290190018031030**  
183 **VTD 22 Subtotal**  
184 **VTD: 2I**  
185 **Block: 290190014013053**  
186 **VTD 2I Subtotal**  
187 **VTD: 2K**  
188 **Block: 290190018072001**  
189 **Block: 290190018072002**  
190 **Block: 290190018072003**  
191 **Block: 290190018072004**  
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193 **Block: 290190018072006**  
194 **Block: 290190018072007**  
195 **Block: 290190018072008**  
196 **Block: 290190018072010**  
197 **VTD 2K Subtotal**  
198 **VTD: 37**  
199 **Block: 290190017021039**  
200 **Block: 290190017021040**  
201 **Block: 290190018062032**  
202 **Block: 290190018062034**  
203 **Block: 290190018062039**  
204 **Block: 290190018062040**  
205 **Block: 290190018062041**  
206 **Block: 290190018062042**  
207 **Block: 290190018062043**  
208 **Block: 290190018062045**  
209 **VTD 37 Subtotal**  
210 **VTD: 38**  
211 **VTD: 39**  
212 **VTD: 3A**  
213 **Block: 290190015062030**

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214 **VTD 3A Subtotal**  
215 **VTD: 3B**  
216 **Block: 290190015062017**  
217 **VTD 3B Subtotal**  
218 **VTD: 40**  
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221 **Block: 290190015031007**  
222 **Block: 290190015031008**  
223 **Block: 290190015031009**  
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225 **Block: 290190015031022**  
226 **Block: 290190015031026**  
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228 **Block: 290190015033001**  
229 **Block: 290190015033002**  
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233 **Block: 290190015033009**  
234 **Block: 290190015033010**  
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238 **Block: 290190015033017**  
239 **Block: 290190015033018**  
240 **Block: 290190015033019**  
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245 **Block: 290190015033031**  
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247 **Block: 290190015033054**  
248 **Block: 290190015033055**  
249 **Block: 290190019032050**  
250 **Block: 290190019032051**

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251 **Block: 290190019032054**  
252 **VTD 40 Subtotal**  
253 **VTD: 45**  
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262 **Block: 290190015032015**  
263 **Block: 290190015033027**  
264 **Block: 290190015033029**  
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266 **Block: 290190015033049**  
267 **Block: 290190015033050**  
268 **Block: 290190015033051**  
269 **Block: 290190015033056**  
270 **Block: 290190015033057**  
271 **Block: 290190015033058**  
272 **Block: 290190015081000**  
273 **Block: 290190015081001**  
274 **VTD 45 Subtotal**  
275 **VTD: 4B**  
276 **Block: 290190018071000**  
277 **Block: 290190018071001**  
278 **Block: 290190018071002**  
279 **Block: 290190018071003**  
280 **Block: 290190018071004**  
281 **Block: 290190018071005**  
282 **Block: 290190018071006**  
283 **Block: 290190018071007**  
284 **Block: 290190018071008**  
285 **Block: 290190018071009**  
286 **Block: 290190018071010**  
287 **Block: 290190018072009**



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288 **Block: 290190018072011**  
289 **Block: 290190018072013**  
290 **Block: 290190018072016**  
291 **Block: 290190018072019**  
292 **Block: 290190018072020**  
293 **Block: 290190018072021**  
294 **Block: 290190018072026**  
295 **VTD 4B Subtotal**  
296 **VTD: 4K**  
297 **Block: 290190018072027**  
298 **VTD 4K Subtotal**  
299 **VTD: 4L**  
300 **Block: 290190018072015**  
301 **VTD 4L Subtotal**  
302 **County Boone MO Subtotal**  
303 **County: Cole MO**  
304 **County: Cooper MO**  
305 **County: Howard MO**  
306 **County: Jackson MO**  
307 **VTD: 1603**  
308 **VTD: Blue 01-01**  
309 **VTD: Blue 01-02**  
310 **VTD: Blue 01-03**  
311 **VTD: Blue 01-04**  
312 **VTD: Blue 01-05**  
313 **VTD: Blue 01-06**  
314 **VTD: Blue 01-07**  
315 **VTD: Blue 01-08**  
316 **VTD: Blue 01-09**  
317 **VTD: Blue 02-01**  
318 **VTD: Blue 02-02**  
319 **VTD: Blue 02-03**  
320 **VTD: Blue 02-04**  
321 **VTD: Blue 02-05**  
322 **VTD: Blue 02-06**  
323 **VTD: Blue 02-07**  
324 **VTD: Blue 03-01**

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325 VTD: Blue 03-02 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
326 VTD: Blue 03-03 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
327 VTD: Blue 03-04 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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329 VTD: Blue 03-06 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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360 VTD: Blue 07-02 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
361 VTD: Blue 07-03 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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- 362 VTD: Blue 07-04
- 363 VTD: Blue 07-05
- 364 VTD: Blue 07-06
- 365 VTD: Blue 07-07
- 366 VTD: Blue 07-08
- 367 VTD: Blue 07-09
- 368 VTD: Blue 08-01
- 369 VTD: Blue 08-02
- 370 VTD: Blue 08-03
- 371 VTD: Blue 08-04
- 372 VTD: Blue 08-05
- 373 VTD: Blue 08-06
- 374 VTD: Blue 08-07
- 375 VTD: Blue 08-08
- 376 VTD: Brooking No. 1
- 377 VTD: Brooking No. 10
- 378 VTD: Brooking No. 11
- 379 VTD: Brooking No. 12
- 380 VTD: Brooking No. 13
- 381 VTD: Brooking No. 14
- 382 VTD: Brooking No. 15
- 383 VTD: Brooking No. 16
- 384 VTD: Brooking No. 17
- 385 VTD: Brooking No. 18
- 386 VTD: Brooking No. 19
- 387 VTD: Brooking No. 2
- 388 VTD: Brooking No. 20
- 389 VTD: Brooking No. 3
- 390 VTD: Brooking No. 4
- 391 VTD: Brooking No. 5
- 392 VTD: Brooking No. 6
- 393 VTD: Brooking No. 7
- 394 VTD: Brooking No. 8
- 395 VTD: Brooking No. 9
- 396 VTD: Fort Osage 01
- 397 VTD: Fort Osage 02
- 398 VTD: Fort Osage 03

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399 **VTD: Fort Osage 04**  
400 **VTD: Fort Osage 05**  
401 **VTD: Fort Osage 06**  
402 **VTD: Fort Osage 07**  
403 **VTD: Fort Osage 08**  
404 **VTD: Fort Osage 09**  
405 **VTD: Fort Osage 10**  
406 **VTD: KC 1004**  
407 **Block: 290950100021000**  
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419 **VTD KC 1008 Subtotal**  
420 **VTD: KC 1009**  
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425 **Block: 290950018002000**  
426 **VTD KC 1108 Subtotal**  
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432 **Block: 290950007003007**  
433 **Block: 290950007003008**  
434 **Block: 290950008002000**  
435 **Block: 290950008002001**

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473 VTD: KC 1503  
 474 VTD: KC 1504  
 475 VTD: KC 1505  
 476 VTD: KC 1506  
 477 VTD: KC 1507  
 478 VTD: KC 1508  
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 496 VTD: KC 1602  
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 501 VTD: KC 1608  
 502 VTD: KC 1609  
 503 VTD: KC 1610  
 504 VTD: KC 1611  
 505 VTD: KC 1612  
 506 VTD: KC 1613  
 507 VTD: KC 1614  
 508 VTD: KC 1615  
 509 VTD: KC 1701

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510 VTD: KC 1702 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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515 VTD: KC 1707 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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522 VTD: KC 1714  
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524 VTD: KC 1802  
525 VTD: KC 1803 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
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540 VTD: KC 1902  
541 VTD: KC 1903 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
542 VTD: KC 1904  
543 VTD: KC 1905  
544 VTD: KC 1906  
545 VTD: KC 1907  
546 VTD: KC 1908

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547 VTD: KC 1909  
 548 VTD: KC 1910  
 549 VTD: KC 1911  
 550 VTD: KC 1912  
 551 VTD: KC 1913  
 552 VTD: KC 1914  
 553 VTD: KC 1915  
 554 VTD: KC 1917  
 555 VTD: KC 1918  
 556 VTD: KC 1919  
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 558 Block: 290950130032034  
 559 VTD KC 1919 Subtotal  
 560 VTD: KC 1920  
 561 VTD: KC 1921  
 562 VTD: KC 1922  
 563 VTD: KC 1923  
 564 VTD: KC 2001  
 565 Block: 290950132082004  
 566 Block: 290950132082005  
 567 VTD KC 2001 Subtotal  
 568 VTD: KC 2004  
 569 Block: 290950102011012  
 570 VTD KC 2004 Subtotal  
 571 VTD: KC 2005  
 572 Block: 290950102011011  
 573 VTD KC 2005 Subtotal  
 574 VTD: KC 2006  
 575 Block: 290950101031016  
 576 Block: 290950101032004  
 577 Block: 290950101032005  
 578 Block: 290950101033007  
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 583 Block: 290950154012032

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596 **Block: 290950154013011**  
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615 **Block: 290950161002014**  
616 **Block: 290950161002015**  
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618 **Block: 290950161002017**  
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620 **VTD: KC 204**

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621 **VTD: KC 207**  
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 623 **VTD: KC 210**  
 624 **VTD: KC 212**  
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 630 **Block: 290950161001028**  
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 632 **Block: 290950161002032**  
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 634 **Block: 290950161002038**  
 635 **Block: 290950161002039**  
 636 **VTD KC 212 Subtotal**  
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 638 **VTD: KC 214**  
 639 **VTD: KC 215**  
 640 **VTD: KC 217**  
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 643 **Block: 290950154012045**  
 644 **Block: 290950154012049**  
 645 **Block: 290950154012050**  
 646 **VTD KC 217 Subtotal**  
 647 **VTD: KC 218**  
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 649 **Block: 290950154012048**  
 650 **Block: 290950154012051**  
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 652 **Block: 290950154012053**  
 653 **Block: 290950161002031**  
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 655 **Block: 290950161002037**  
 656 **Block: 290950161002041**  
 657 **VTD KC 218 Subtotal**



658 VTD: KC 2301  
659 VTD: KC 2302  
660 VTD: KC 2303  
661 VTD: KC 2304  
662 VTD: KC 2305  
663 VTD: KC 2306  
664 VTD: KC 2307  
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673 VTD: KC 2316  
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694 VTD: KC 2421

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695 **VTD: KC 2422**  
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724 **Block: 290959883001000**  
725 **Block: 290959883001001**  
726 **Block: 290959883001002**  
727 **Block: 290959883001003**  
728 **Block: 290959883001005**  
729 **Block: 290959883001006**  
730 **Block: 290959883001008**  
731 **Block: 290959883001009**

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732 **Block: 290959883001010** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
733 **Block: 290959883001033**  
734 **VTD KC 2503 Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
735 **VTD: KC 2504**  
736 **VTD: KC 2505** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
737 **VTD: KC 2506**  
738 **VTD: KC 2507** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
739 **VTD: KC 2508** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
740 **Block: 290950131001010**  
741 **Block: 290950132033004** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
742 **Block: 290950132033005**  
743 **Block: 290950132034003** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
744 **Block: 290950132034004**  
745 **Block: 290950132034005** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
746 **Block: 290950132034006**  
747 **Block: 290950132034007** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
748 **Block: 290950132034008**  
749 **Block: 290950132034009** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
750 **Block: 290950132034010**  
751 **Block: 290950132034011** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
752 **Block: 290950132034012**  
753 **Block: 290950132034013** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
754 **Block: 290950132034014**  
755 **Block: 290950132082000** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
756 **Block: 290950132082001**  
757 **Block: 290950132082002** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
758 **Block: 290950132082003**  
759 **Block: 290950132082015** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
760 **Block: 290950132082017**  
761 **VTD KC 2508 Subtotal** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
762 **VTD: KC 2509**  
763 **VTD: KC 2513** Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
764 **VTD: KC 2514**  
765 **VTD: KC 2601**  
766 **VTD: KC 2602**  
767 **VTD: KC 2603**  
768 **VTD: KC 2604**

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769 VTD: KC 2605  
770 VTD: KC 2606  
771 VTD: KC 2607  
772 VTD: KC 2608  
773 VTD: KC 2609  
774 VTD: KC 2610  
775 VTD: KC 2611  
776 VTD: KC 2612  
777 VTD: KC 2613  
778 VTD: KC 301  
779 VTD: KC 302  
780 VTD: KC 303  
781 VTD: KC 304  
782 VTD: KC 305  
783 VTD: KC 306  
784 VTD: KC 307  
785 VTD: KC 308  
786 VTD: KC 309  
787 VTD: KC 310  
788 VTD: KC 311  
789 VTD: KC 312  
790 VTD: KC 313  
791 VTD: KC 314  
792 VTD: KC 315  
793 VTD: KC 316  
794 VTD: KC 317  
795 VTD: KC 318  
796 VTD: KC 701  
797 VTD: KC 702  
798 VTD: KC 703  
799 VTD: KC 704  
800 VTD: KC 705  
801 VTD: KC 706  
802 VTD: KC 707  
803 VTD: KC 708  
804 VTD: KC 709  
805 VTD: KC 710

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806 **VTD: KC 711**  
807 **VTD: KC 712**  
808 **VTD: KC 713**  
809 **VTD: KC 714**  
810 **VTD: KC 715**  
811 **VTD: KC 716**  
812 **VTD: KC 717**  
813 **VTD: KC 718**  
814 **VTD: KC 809**  
815 **Block: 290950086001010**  
816 **Block: 290950086001012**  
817 **VTD KC 809 Subtotal**  
818 **VTD: KC 811**  
819 **VTD: KC 905**  
820 **VTD: KC 913**  
821 **VTD: KC WD13 PCT1302**  
822 **VTD: KC WD2 PCT205**  
823 **VTD: KC WD2 PCT206**  
824 **VTD: KC WD2 PCT211**  
825 **Block: 290950018004000**  
826 **Block: 290950018004001**  
827 **Block: 290950018004002**  
828 **Block: 290950018004003**  
829 **Block: 290950018004005**  
830 **Block: 290950018004006**  
831 **Block: 290950018004007**  
832 **Block: 290950018004008**  
833 **Block: 290950018004009**  
834 **Block: 290950018004010**  
835 **Block: 290950018004011**  
836 **Block: 290950018004012**  
837 **Block: 290950018004013**  
838 **Block: 290950018004014**  
839 **Block: 290950018004015**  
840 **Block: 290950160001000**  
841 **Block: 290950160001001**  
842 **Block: 290950160001002**



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843 **Block: 290950160001003**  
844 **Block: 290950160001004**  
845 **Block: 290950160001005**  
846 **Block: 290950160001006**  
847 **Block: 290950160001007**  
848 **Block: 290950160001008**  
849 **Block: 290950160001009**  
850 **Block: 290950160001010**  
851 **Block: 290950160001011**  
852 **Block: 290950160001012**  
853 **Block: 290950160001013**  
854 **Block: 290950160001014**  
855 **Block: 290950160001015**  
856 **Block: 290950160001016**  
857 **Block: 290950160001017**  
858 **Block: 290950160001018**  
859 **Block: 290950160001019**  
860 **Block: 290950160001020**  
861 **Block: 290950160001021**  
862 **Block: 290950160001022**  
863 **Block: 290950160001023**  
864 **Block: 290950160001024**  
865 **Block: 290950160001025**  
866 **Block: 290950160001028**  
867 **Block: 290950160001029**  
868 **Block: 290950160001030**  
869 **Block: 290950160001032**  
870 **Block: 290950160001033**  
871 **Block: 290950160001034**  
872 **Block: 290950160001035**  
873 **Block: 290950160001036**  
874 **Block: 290950160001037**  
875 **Block: 290950160001038**  
876 **Block: 290950160001039**  
877 **Block: 290950160001051**  
878 **Block: 290950160001052**  
879 **VTD KC WD2 PCT211 Subtotal**

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880 **VTD: KC1314**  
881 **VTD: Prairie 27**  
882 **Block: 290950185003004**  
883 **VTD Prairie 27 Subtotal**  
884 **VTD: Prairie 29**  
885 **Block: 290950185003000**  
886 **Block: 290950185003001**  
887 **Block: 290950185003002**  
888 **Block: 290950185003003**  
889 **Block: 290950193022014**  
890 **VTD Prairie 29 Subtotal**  
891 **VTD: Prarie 01**  
892 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 01**  
893 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 02**  
894 **Block: 290950145031003**  
895 **Block: 290950145031004**  
896 **Block: 290950145031013**  
897 **Block: 290950145031014**  
898 **Block: 290950193012014**  
899 **Block: 290950193022000**  
900 **Block: 290950193022009**  
901 **Block: 290950193022010**  
902 **Block: 290950193022011**  
903 **Block: 290950193022019**  
904 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 02 Subtotal**  
905 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 03**  
906 **Block: 290950193022006**  
907 **Block: 290950193022007**  
908 **Block: 290950193022008**  
909 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 03 Subtotal**  
910 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 04**  
911 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 05**  
912 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 06**  
913 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 07**  
914 **Block: 290950148041042**  
915 **Block: 290950148041043**  
916 **Block: 290950148041044**

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917 **Block: 290950149033024**  
918 **Block: 290950149033025**  
919 **Block: 290950149033026**  
920 **Block: 290950149033027**  
921 **Block: 290950149033028**  
922 **Block: 290950149041000**  
923 **Block: 290950149041001**  
924 **Block: 290950149041004**  
925 **Block: 290950149041010**  
926 **Block: 290950149041011**  
927 **Block: 290950149041012**  
928 **Block: 290950149052005**  
929 **Block: 290950149052006**  
930 **Block: 290950149054000**  
931 **Block: 290950149054001**  
932 **Block: 290950149054011**  
933 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 07 Subtotal**  
934 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 08**  
935 **Block: 290950148042027**  
936 **Block: 290950148042028**  
937 **Block: 290959892001006**  
938 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 08 Subtotal**  
939 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 14**  
940 **Block: 290950140091012**  
941 **Block: 290950149051000**  
942 **Block: 290950149052014**  
943 **Block: 290950149052015**  
944 **Block: 290950149052026**  
945 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 14 Subtotal**  
946 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 16**  
947 **Block: 290950140083002**  
948 **Block: 290950141221004**  
949 **Block: 290950141221005**  
950 **Block: 290950141221010**  
951 **Block: 290950141221021**  
952 **Block: 290950141281026**  
953 **Block: 290950141281027**

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954 **Block: 290950141281029**  
955 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 16 Subtotal**  
956 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 37**  
957 **Block: 290950140021004**  
958 **Block: 290950140021005**  
959 **Block: 290950140021008**  
960 **Block: 290950140021010**  
961 **Block: 290950140021012**  
962 **Block: 290950140021013**  
963 **Block: 290950140021016**  
964 **Block: 290950140063005**  
965 **Block: 290950140063007**  
966 **Block: 290950140063013**  
967 **Block: 290950140063019**  
968 **Block: 290950140063020**  
969 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 37 Subtotal**  
970 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 38**  
971 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 39**  
972 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 40**  
973 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 41**  
974 **Block: 290950140081000**  
975 **Block: 290950140081001**  
976 **Block: 290950140081002**  
977 **Block: 290950140081003**  
978 **Block: 290950140081004**  
979 **Block: 290950140081005**  
980 **Block: 290950140081006**  
981 **Block: 290950140081007**  
982 **Block: 290950140081008**  
983 **Block: 290950140081009**  
984 **Block: 290950140081010**  
985 **Block: 290950140081011**  
986 **Block: 290950140081012**  
987 **Block: 290950140081013**  
988 **Block: 290950140081014**  
989 **Block: 290950140081015**  
990 **Block: 290950140081016**

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991 **Block: 290950140081017**  
992 **Block: 290950140081018**  
993 **Block: 290950140081019**  
994 **Block: 290950140082004**  
995 **Block: 290950140082005**  
996 **Block: 290950141281023**  
997 **Block: 290950141281030**  
998 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 41 Subtotal**  
999 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 42**  
1000 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 43**  
1001 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 44**  
1002 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 45**  
1003 **Block: 290950140021021**  
1004 **Block: 290950140051020**  
1005 **Block: 290950140051021**  
1006 **Block: 290950140051022**  
1007 **Block: 290950140051023**  
1008 **Block: 290950140051024**  
1009 **Block: 290950140051025**  
1010 **Block: 290950140051026**  
1011 **Block: 290950140051029**  
1012 **Block: 290950140051030**  
1013 **Block: 290950140051031**  
1014 **Block: 290950140051032**  
1015 **Block: 290950140051033**  
1016 **Block: 290950140051034**  
1017 **Block: 290950140051038**  
1018 **Block: 290950140051043**  
1019 **Block: 290950140051044**  
1020 **Block: 290950140054011**  
1021 **Block: 290950140054012**  
1022 **Block: 290950140054013**  
1023 **Block: 290950140054014**  
1024 **Block: 290950140054017**  
1025 **VTD Sni-A-Bar 45 Subtotal**  
1026 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 46**  
1027 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 47**



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- 1028 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 48**
  - 1029 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 49**
  - 1030 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 50**
  - 1031 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 51**
  - 1032 **VTD: Sni-A-Bar 52**
  - 1033 **County Jackson MO Subtotal**
  - 1034 **County: Johnson MO**
  - 1035 **County: Lafayette MO**
  - 1036 **County: Maries MO**
  - 1037 **County: Miller MO**
  - 1038 **County: Moniteau MO**
  - 1039 **County: Morgan MO**
  - 1040 **County: Osage MO**
  - 1041 **County: Pettis MO**
  - 1042 **County: Randolph MO**
  - 1043 **County: Saline MO**
  - 1044 **District 5 Total**
- 128,476. The sixth congressional district shall be composed of the following:**
- 2 **County: Adair MO**
  - 3 **County: Andrew MO**
  - 4 **County: Atchison MO**
  - 5 **County: Buchanan MO**
  - 6 **County: Caldwell MO**
  - 7 **County: Carroll MO**
  - 8 **County: Chariton MO**
  - 9 **County: Clark MO**
  - 10 **County: Clay MO**
  - 11 **County: Clinton MO**
  - 12 **County: Daviess MO**
  - 13 **County: DeKalb MO**
  - 14 **County: Gentry MO**
  - 15 **County: Grundy MO**
  - 16 **County: Harrison MO**
  - 17 **County: Holt MO**
  - 18 **County: Jackson MO**
  - 19 **VTD: KC 1101**
  - 20 **Block: 290950003001001**

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21 Block: 290950003001002  
22 Block: 290950003001003  
23 Block: 290950003001004  
24 Block: 290950003001005  
25 Block: 290950003001006  
26 Block: 290950003001007  
27 Block: 290950003001008  
28 Block: 290950003001009  
29 Block: 290950003001010  
30 Block: 290950003001021  
31 Block: 290950003002001  
32 Block: 290950003002002  
33 Block: 290950003002006  
34 Block: 290950003002007  
35 Block: 290950003002008  
36 Block: 290950003002009  
37 Block: 290950003002010  
38 Block: 290950003002011  
39 Block: 290950003003000  
40 Block: 290950003003001  
41 Block: 290950003003002  
42 Block: 290950003003003  
43 Block: 290950003003004  
44 Block: 290950003003005  
45 Block: 290950003003006  
46 Block: 290950003003007  
47 Block: 290950003003008  
48 Block: 290950003003009  
49 Block: 290950003003012  
50 Block: 290950003003013  
51 Block: 290950003003014  
52 Block: 290950003003017  
53 Block: 290950003003018  
54 Block: 290950003003019  
55 Block: 290950003003023  
56 Block: 290950003003027  
57 VTD KC 1101 Subtotal

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58 **VTD: KC 1102**  
 59 **VTD: KC 1103**  
 60 **VTD: KC 1104**  
 61 **VTD: KC 1105**  
 62 **VTD: KC 1106**  
 63 **VTD: KC 1107**  
 64 **VTD: KC 1109**  
 65 **VTD: KC 1110**  
 66 **VTD: KC 1111**  
 67 **VTD: KC 1113**  
 68 **VTD: KC 1114**  
 69 **VTD: KC 1201**  
 70 **Block: 290950007002002**  
 71 **Block: 290950007002003**  
 72 **Block: 290950007002010**  
 73 **Block: 290950007002011**  
 74 **Block: 290950008001000**  
 75 **Block: 290950008001001**  
 76 **Block: 290950008001002**  
 77 **Block: 290950008001003**  
 78 **Block: 290950008001004**  
 79 **Block: 290950008001006**  
 80 **Block: 290950008001007**  
 81 **Block: 290950008003000**  
 82 **Block: 290950008003001**  
 83 **Block: 290950008003002**  
 84 **Block: 290950008003003**  
 85 **Block: 290950008003004**  
 86 **VTD KC 1201 Subtotal**  
 87 **VTD: KC 1202**  
 88 **VTD: KC 1203**  
 89 **VTD: KC 1204**  
 90 **VTD: KC 1312**  
 91 **VTD: KC 216**  
 92 **County Jackson MO Subtotal**  
 93 **County: Knox MO**  
 94 **County: Lewis MO**

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95 **County: Linn MO**  
 96 **County: Livingston MO**  
 97 **County: Macon MO**  
 98 **County: Marion MO**  
 99 **County: Mercer MO**  
 100 **County: Nodaway MO**  
 101 **County: Platte MO**  
 102 **County: Putnam MO**  
 103 **County: Ray MO**  
 104 **County: Schuyler MO**  
 105 **County: Scotland MO**  
 106 **County: Shelby MO**  
 107 **County: Sullivan MO**  
 108 **County: Worth MO**  
 109 **District 6 Total**

**128,477. The seventh congressional district shall be composed of the following:**

2 **County: Barry MO**  
 3 **County: Christian MO**  
 4 **County: Greene MO**  
 5 **County: Jasper MO**  
 6 **County: Lawrence MO**  
 7 **County: McDonald MO**  
 8 **County: Newton MO**  
 9 **County: Stone MO**  
 10 **County: Taney MO**  
 11 **County: Webster MO**  
 12 **VTD: Benton**  
 13 **VTD: Diggins**  
 14 **VTD: Finley**  
 15 **VTD: Fordland**  
 16 **VTD: Grant**  
 17 **Block: 292254701022060**  
 18 **Block: 292254701022062**  
 19 **VTD Grant Subtotal**  
 20 **VTD: Hazelwood**  
 21 **VTD: Northview B**  
 22 **Block: 292254703022008**

- 23 **Block: 292254703022012**
- 24 **Block: 292254703022013**
- 25 **Block: 292254703022014**
- 26 **Block: 292254703022030**
- 27 **Block: 292254703022031**
- 28 **Block: 292254703022032**
- 29 **Block: 292254703022033**
- 30 **Block: 292254703022034**
- 31 **Block: 292254703022035**
- 32 **Block: 292254703023007**
- 33 **Block: 292254703023008**
- 34 **Block: 292254703023009**
- 35 **Block: 292254703023010**
- 36 **Block: 292254703023011**
- 37 **Block: 292254703023012**
- 38 **Block: 292254703023013**
- 39 **Block: 292254703023028**
- 40 **Block: 292254703023029**
- 41 **Block: 292254703023030**
- 42 **Block: 292254703023031**
- 43 **Block: 292254703023032**
- 44 **Block: 292254703023035**
- 45 **Block: 292254703023036**
- 46 **Block: 292254703023037**
- 47 **Block: 292254703023038**
- 48 **Block: 292254703023039**
- 49 **Block: 292254703023040**
- 50 **Block: 292254703023041**
- 51 **Block: 292254703023042**
- 52 **Block: 292254703023046**
- 53 **Block: 292254703023047**
- 54 **Block: 292254703023048**
- 55 **Block: 292254703023049**
- 56 **Block: 292254703023050**
- 57 **Block: 292254703023051**
- 58 **Block: 292254703023052**
- 59 **Block: 292254703023053**



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60 **Block: 292254703023054**  
61 **Block: 292254703023055**  
62 **Block: 292254703023062**  
63 **Block: 292254703023063**  
64 **Block: 292254703023069**  
65 **Block: 292254703023074**  
66 **Block: 292254703023079**  
67 **VTD Northview B Subtotal**  
68 **County Webster MO Subtotal**  
69 **District 7 Total**  
**128,478. The eighth congressional district shall be composed of the following:**  
2 **County: Bollinger MO**  
3 **County: Butler MO**  
4 **County: Cape Girardeau MO**  
5 **County: Carter MO**  
6 **County: Dent MO**  
7 **County: Douglas MO**  
8 **County: Dunklin MO**  
9 **County: Howell MO**  
10 **County: Iron MO**  
11 **County: Jefferson MO**  
12 **VTD: Airport**  
13 **VTD: American Legion**  
14 **VTD: Antonia**  
15 **VTD: Arnold W-1**  
16 **VTD: Arnold W-2**  
17 **VTD: Arnold W-3**  
18 **VTD: Arnold W-4**  
19 **VTD: Athena**  
20 **VTD: Barnhart**  
21 **VTD: Brennan**  
22 **Block: 290997002101000**  
23 **Block: 290997002101015**  
24 **Block: 290997002111000**  
25 **Block: 290997002111001**  
26 **Block: 290997002111002**  
27 **Block: 290997002111005**

28 Block: 290997002111006 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
29 Block: 290997002111007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
30 Block: 290997002111008 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
31 Block: 290997002111010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
32 Block: 290997002111011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
33 Block: 290997003031000 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
34 Block: 290997003031001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
35 Block: 290997003031002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
36 Block: 290997003031003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
37 Block: 290997003031004 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
38 Block: 290997003031005 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
39 Block: 290997003031006 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
40 Block: 290997003031007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
41 Block: 290997003031008 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
42 Block: 290997003031009 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
43 Block: 290997003031010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
44 Block: 290997003031011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
45 Block: 290997003031012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
46 Block: 290997003031013 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
47 Block: 290997003031014 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
48 Block: 290997003031015 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
49 Block: 290997003031016 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
50 Block: 290997003032000 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
51 Block: 290997003032001 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
52 Block: 290997003032002 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
53 Block: 290997003032003 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
54 Block: 290997003032004 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
55 Block: 290997003032005 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
56 Block: 290997003032006 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
57 Block: 290997003032007 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
58 Block: 290997003032008 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
59 Block: 290997003032009 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
60 Block: 290997003032010 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
61 Block: 290997003032011 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
62 Block: 290997003032012 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
63 Block: 290997003032013 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document  
64 Block: 290997003032014 Not an Official Court Document Not an Official Court Document

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65 **Block: 290997003032015**

66 **Block: 290997003033000**

67 **Block: 290997003033001**

68 **Block: 290997003033002**

69 **Block: 290997003033003**

70 **Block: 290997003033004**

71 **Block: 290997003033005**

72 **Block: 290997003033006**

73 **Block: 290997003033007**

74 **Block: 290997003033008**

75 **Block: 290997003033009**

76 **Block: 290997003033010**

77 **Block: 290997003033011**

78 **Block: 290997003033012**

79 **Block: 290997003033013**

80 **Block: 290997003033014**

81 **Block: 290997003033015**

82 **Block: 290997003033016**

83 **Block: 290997003033017**

84 **Block: 290997003033018**

85 **Block: 290997003033019**

86 **Block: 290997003051000**

87 **Block: 290997003052000**

88 **Block: 290997003052026**

89 **VTD Brennan Subtotal**

90 **VTD: Crystal City W-1**

91 **VTD: Crystal City W-2**

92 **VTD: Crystal City W-3**

93 **VTD: Crystal City W-4**

94 **VTD: Festus Outside**

95 **VTD: Festus W-1**

96 **VTD: Festus W-2**

97 **VTD: Festus W-3**

98 **VTD: Festus W-4**

99 **VTD: Flamm City**

100 **VTD: Hematite**

101 **VTD: Herculaneum**

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102 **VTD: Herculaneum W-2**  
 103 **VTD: Herculaneum W-3**  
 104 **VTD: Imperial**  
 105 **VTD: Imperial 2**  
 106 **VTD: Jefferson Heights**  
 107 **VTD: Jefferson R7**  
 108 **VTD: Kimmswick W-1**  
 109 **VTD: Lonedell**  
 110 **VTD: Mapaville**  
 111 **VTD: Marble Springs**  
 112 **VTD: Mastodon**  
 113 **VTD: Maxville**  
 114 **VTD: Meramec Heights**  
 115 **VTD: Miller**  
 116 **VTD: Murphy**  
 117 **VTD: North Jefferson**  
 118 **Block: 290997002112008**  
 119 **Block: 290997002112009**  
 120 **Block: 290997002112010**  
 121 **Block: 290997002112011**  
 122 **Block: 290997002112012**  
 123 **Block: 290997002112013**  
 124 **Block: 290997002112014**  
 125 **Block: 290997002112015**  
 126 **Block: 290997002112016**  
 127 **VTD North Jefferson Subtotal**  
 128 **VTD: Oakvale**  
 129 **VTD: Olympian Village**  
 130 **VTD: Otto**  
 131 **VTD: Pevely W-1**  
 132 **VTD: Pevely W-2**  
 133 **VTD: Pevely W-3**  
 134 **VTD: Pevely W-4**  
 135 **VTD: Plattin**  
 136 **VTD: Riverview**  
 137 **VTD: Rock Creek**  
 138 **VTD: Rock Creek 1**

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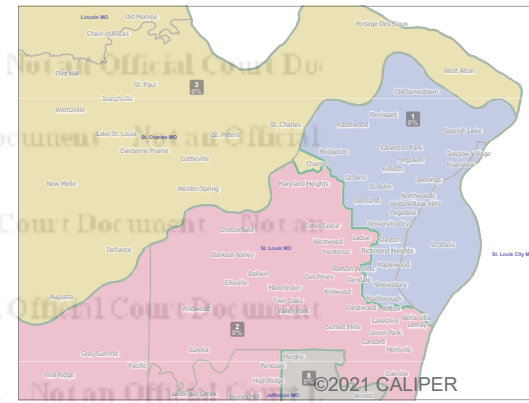
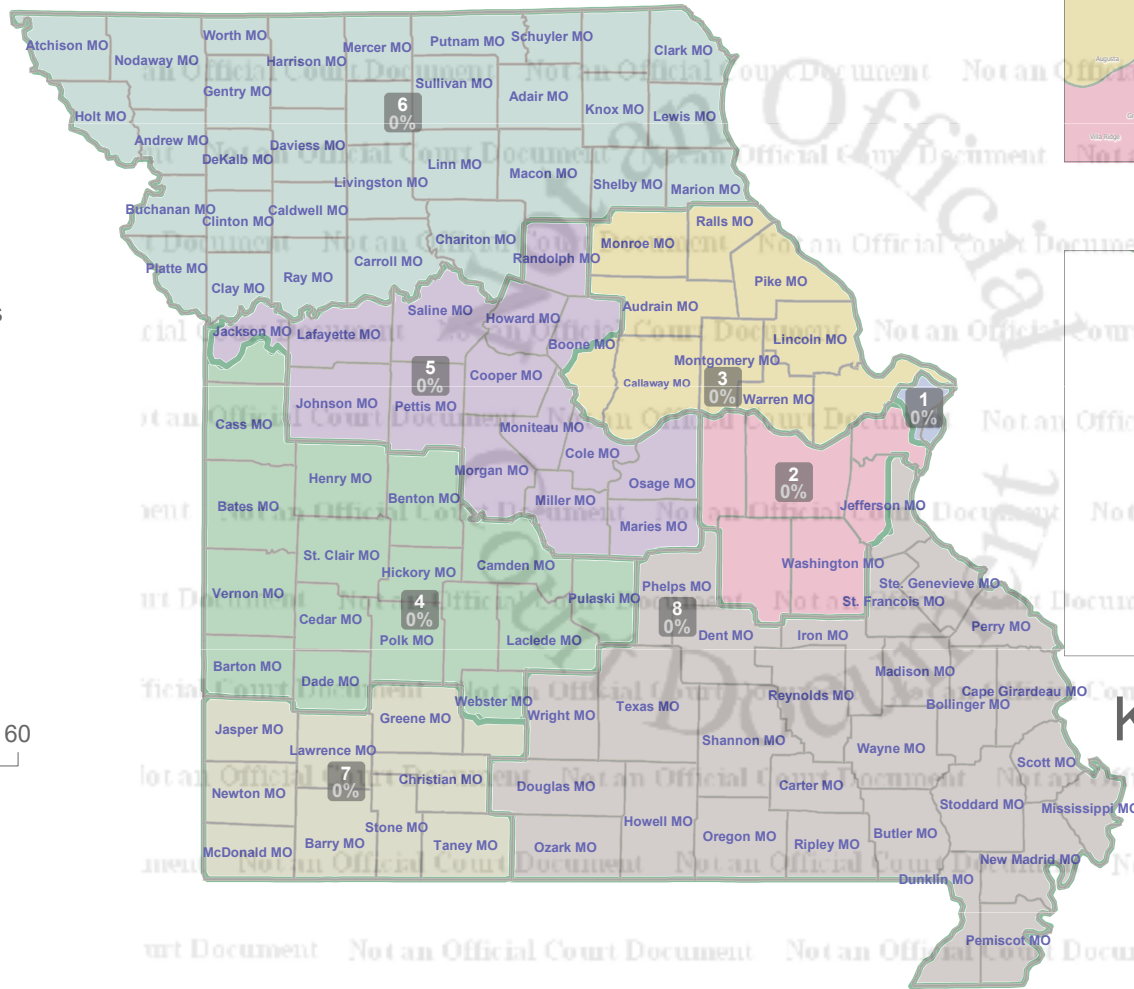
139 **VTD: Romaine Creek**  
140 **VTD: Saline**  
141 **VTD: Springdale**  
142 **VTD: Sunrise**  
143 **VTD: Valle**  
144 **Block: 290997012006056**  
145 **Block: 290997013002004**  
146 **Block: 290997013002005**  
147 **Block: 290997013002006**  
148 **Block: 290997013003000**  
149 **Block: 290997013003001**  
150 **Block: 290997013003002**  
151 **Block: 290997013003012**  
152 **Block: 290997013003026**  
153 **Block: 290997014012007**  
154 **Block: 290997014012012**  
155 **VTD Valle Subtotal**  
156 **VTD: Victoria**  
157 **Block: 290997010021006**  
158 **Block: 290997010021008**  
159 **Block: 290997010021019**  
160 **Block: 290997010021021**  
161 **Block: 290997010023004**  
162 **Block: 290997010023005**  
163 **Block: 290997010023006**  
164 **Block: 290997010023012**  
165 **Block: 290997010023013**  
166 **Block: 290997010023029**  
167 **Block: 290997010023030**  
168 **Block: 290997010023035**  
169 **VTD Victoria Subtotal**  
170 **VTD: Windsor**  
171 **County Jefferson MO Subtotal**  
172 **County: Madison MO**  
173 **County: Mississippi MO**  
174 **County: New Madrid MO**  
175 **County: Oregon MO**



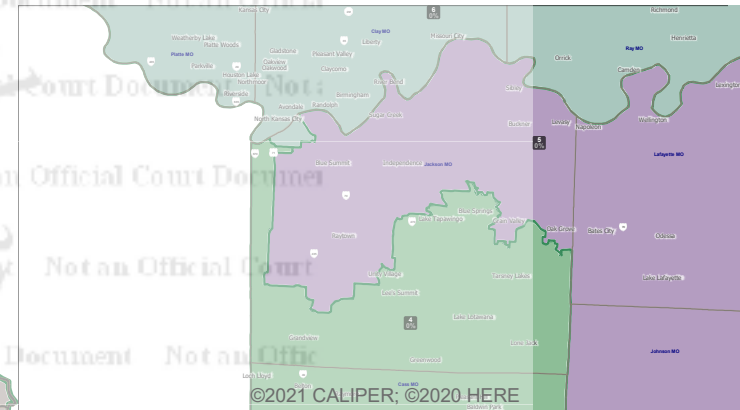
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176	County: Ozark MO
177	County: Pemiscot MO
178	County: Perry MO
179	County: Phelps MO
180	County: Reynolds MO
181	County: Ripley MO
182	County: Scott MO
183	County: Shannon MO
184	County: St. Francois MO
185	County: Ste. Genevieve MO
186	County: Stoddard MO
187	County: Texas MO
188	County: Wayne MO
189	County: Wright MO
190	District 8 Total

1 **128.479. Upon the passage and enactment of sections 128.471 to 128.478, and as**  
2 **provided to the revisor of statutes, the revisor of statutes shall publish the graphical map**  
3 **representation of the official congressional district boundaries as an appendix of the**  
4 **Revised Statutes of Missouri.**



St. Louis Area Detail



Kansas City Area Detail

Map prepared by House  
Research LR #3344H.01T