

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
EL PASO DIVISION

LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN
AMERICAN CITIZENS,

Plaintiffs,

GREG ABBOTT, et al.,

Defendants.

Case No. 3:21-cv-00259

[Lead Case]

SUPPLEMENTAL EXPERT REPORT OF SEAN P. TRENDE, Ph.D.

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1 Executive Summary

Pursuant to this Court’s 3/19/2025 Scheduling Order, I am submitting the following Supplemental Expert Report. This report includes the following:

- An updated description of qualifications and c.v.;
- A description of the population totals in the districts in existence at the end of the previous decade (“Benchmark Districts” or “Benchmark Maps”), including their deviations from the ideal population;
- A description of the performance of the Enacted Districts in the 2022 and 2024 elections (where available) as well as a description of the performance of the Demonstration Districts.

2 Expert Qualifications

2.1 Career

I serve as Senior Elections Analyst for Real Clear Politics. I joined Real Clear Politics in January of 2009 and assumed a fulltime position in March of 2010. Real Clear Politics is a company of approximately 50 employees, with its main offices in Washington D.C. It produces one of the most heavily trafficked political websites in the world, which serves as a one-stop shop for political analysis from all sides of the political spectrum and is recognized as a pioneer in the field of poll aggregation. Real Clear Politics produces original content, including both data analysis and traditional reporting.

My main responsibilities with Real Clear Politics consist of tracking, analyzing, and writing about elections. I collaborate in rating the competitiveness of Presidential, Senate, House, and gubernatorial races. As a part of carrying out these responsibilities, I have studied and written extensively about demographic trends in the country, exit poll data at the state and federal level, public opinion polling, and voter turnout and voting behavior. In particular, understanding the way that districts are drawn and how

geography and demographics interact is crucial to predicting United States House of Representatives races, so much of my time is dedicated to that task.

I am currently a Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, where my publications focus on the demographic and coalitional aspects of American Politics.

I am also a Lecturer at The Ohio State University. My courseload is detailed below.

2.2 Publications and Speaking Engagements

I am the author of the 2012 book *The Lost Majority: Why the Future of Government is up For Grabs and Who Will Take It*. In this book, I explore realignment theory. It argues that realignments are a poor concept that should be abandoned. As part of this analysis, I conducted a thorough analysis of demographic and political trends beginning in the 1920s and continuing through modern times, noting the fluidity and fragility of the coalitions built by the major political parties and their candidates.

I also co-authored the 2014 *Almanac of American Politics*. The *Almanac* is considered the foundational text for understanding congressional districts and the representatives of those districts, as well as the dynamics in play behind the elections. My focus was researching the history of and writing descriptions for many of the 2012 districts, including tracing the history of how and why they were drawn the way that they were drawn. Because the 2014 *Almanac* covers the 2012 elections, analyzing how redistricting was done was crucial to my work. I have also authored a chapter in Dr. Larry Sabato's post-election compendium after every election dating back to 2012. I have spoken on these subjects before audiences from across the political spectrum, including at the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, the CATO Institute, the Bipartisan Policy Center, and the Brookings Institution. In 2012, I was invited to Brussels to speak about American elections to the European External Action Service, which is the European Union's diplomatic corps. I was selected by the United States Embassy in Sweden to discuss the 2016 elections to a series of audiences there and was selected by the United

States Embassy in Spain to fulfill a similar mission in 2018. I was invited to present by the United States Embassy in Italy, but was unable to do so because of my teaching schedule.

2.3 Education

I received my Ph.D. in political science at The Ohio State University in 2023. I passed comprehensive examinations in both Methodology and American Politics. The first chapter of my dissertation involves voting patterns on the Supreme Court from 1900 to 1945; the second chapter involves the application of integrated nested Laplace approximations to enable the incorporation of spatial statistical analysis in the study of United States elections. The third chapter of the dissertation involves the use of communities of interest in redistricting simulations. In pursuit of this degree, I also earned a Master's Degree in Applied Statistics. My coursework for my Ph.D. and M.A.S. included, among other things, classes on G.I.S. systems, spatial statistics, issues in contemporary redistricting, machine learning, non-parametric hypothesis tests and probability theory. I also earned a B.A. from Yale University in history and political science in 1995, a Juris Doctor from Duke University in 2001, and a Master's Degree in political science from Duke University in 2001.

In the winter of 2018, I taught American Politics and the Mass Media at Ohio Wesleyan University. I taught Introduction to American Politics at The Ohio State University for three semesters from Fall of 2018 to Fall of 2019, and again in Fall of 2021. In the Springs of 2020, 2021, 2022 and 2023, I taught Political Participation and Voting Behavior at The Ohio State University. This course spent several weeks covering all facets of redistricting: how maps are drawn, debates over what constitutes a fair map, measures of redistricting quality, and similar topics. It also covers the Voting Rights Act and racial gerrymandering claims. I also taught survey methodology in Fall of 2022 and Spring of 2024. Finally, I am currently teaching Introduction to the Policy Process.

2.4 Prior Engagements as an Expert

A full copy of all cases in which I have testified or been deposed is included on my C.V., attached as Exhibit 1. In 2021, I served as one of two special masters appointed by the Supreme Court of Virginia to redraw the districts that will elect the Commonwealth's representatives to the House of Delegates, state Senate, and U.S. Congress in the following decade. The Supreme Court of Virginia accepted those maps, which were praised by observers from across the political spectrum.¹

In 2019, I was appointed as the court's expert by the Supreme Court of Belize. In that case I was asked to identify international standards of democracy as they relate to malapportionment claims, to determine whether Belize's electoral divisions (similar to our congressional districts) conformed with those standards, and to draw alternative maps that would remedy any existing malapportionment.

I served as a Voting Rights Act expert to counsel for the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission in 2021 and 2022.

3 Scope of Engagement

I have been retained by the Office of the Texas Attorney General on behalf of its clients in the above-captioned action, to supplement my previous reports. I am being compensated at a rate of \$450/hr. My compensation is in no way dependent upon the conclusions that I reach. All opinions are offered to a reasonable degree of scientific certainty.

4 Summary of Population Deviations

I have been asked to explore the population deviations in the Benchmark Maps.

¹See, e.g., *New Voting Maps, and a New Day, for Virginia*, The Washington Post (Jan. 2, 2022), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/01/02/virginia-redistricting-voting-maps-gerrymander>; Henry Olsen, *Maryland Shows How to do Redistricting Wrong. Virginia Shows How to Do it Right*, The Washington Post (Dec. 9, 2021), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/12/09/maryland-virginia-redistricting>; Richard Pildes, *Has VA Created a New Model for a Reasonably Non-Partisan Redistricting Process*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 9, 2021), available at <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=126216>.

4.1 Tables of Population Deviation: Congress

Figure 1: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark Congressional Districts, 1-18

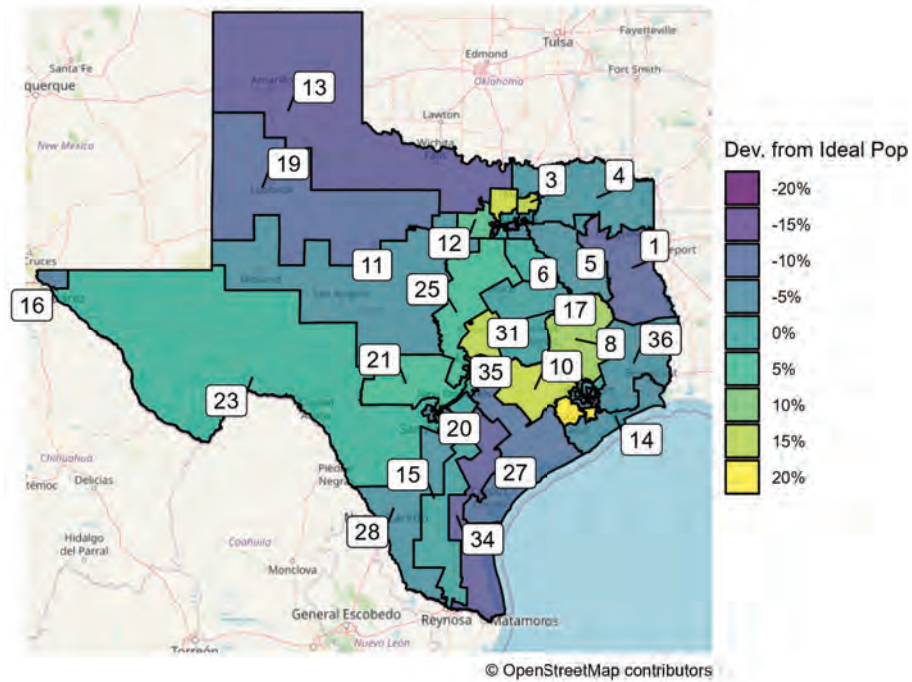
District	Pop.	% Dev.
1	722,363	-10.8%
2	814,704	0.6%
3	933,008	15.2%
4	787,256	-2.8%
5	783,116	-3.3%
6	824,978	1.9%
7	800,911	-1.1%
8	916,386	13.2%
9	770,798	-4.8%
10	937,982	15.9%
11	779,694	-3.7%
12	864,524	6.8%
13	707,470	-12.6%
14	774,686	-4.3%
15	807,702	-0.2%
16	757,362	-6.5%
17	805,606	-0.5%
18	796,908	-1.6%

Figure 2: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark Congressional Districts, 19-36

District	Pop.	% Dev.
19	731,424	-9.7%
20	772,103	-4.6%
21	848,070	4.8%
22	972,309	20.1%
23	834,649	3.1%
24	822,706	1.6%
25	846,452	4.6%
26	943,106	16.5%
27	739,697	-8.6%
28	781,276	-3.5%
29	717,255	-11.4%
30	782,976	-3.3%
31	933,772	15.3%
32	789,666	-2.5%
33	720,644	-11.0%
34	711,851	-12.1%
35	832,396	2.8%
36	779,699	-3.7%

4.2 Maps of Population Deviation: Congress

Figure 3: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Congressional Districts



Summary of Population Deviations — 8

Figure 4: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Congressional Districts, Houston Area

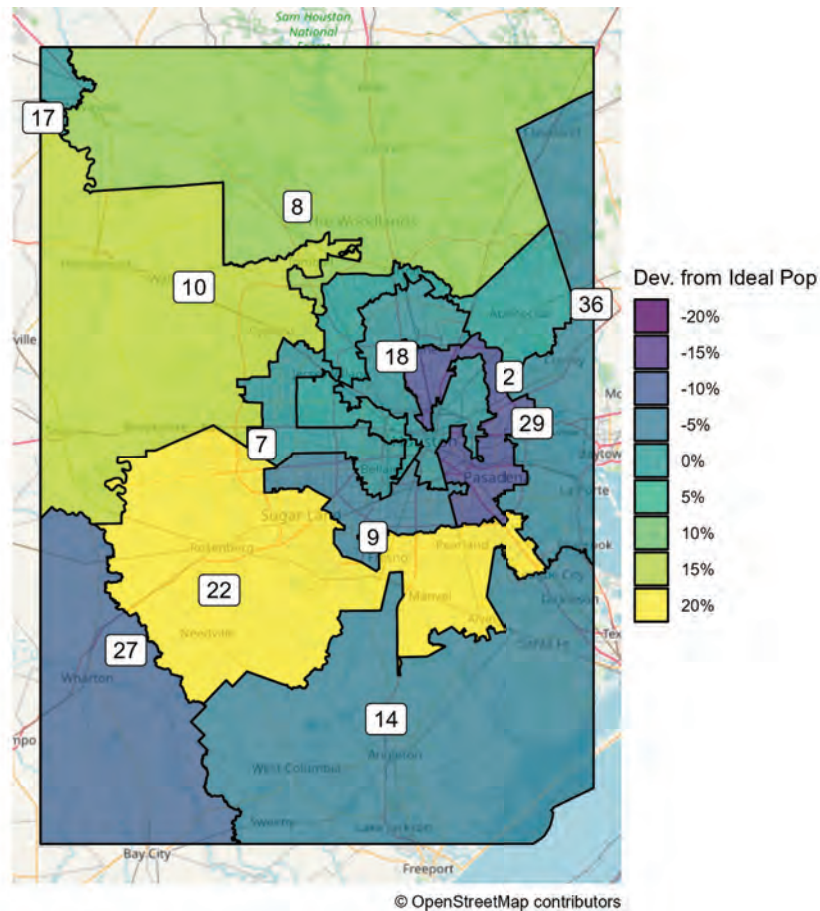


Figure 5: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Congressional Districts, Dallas Area

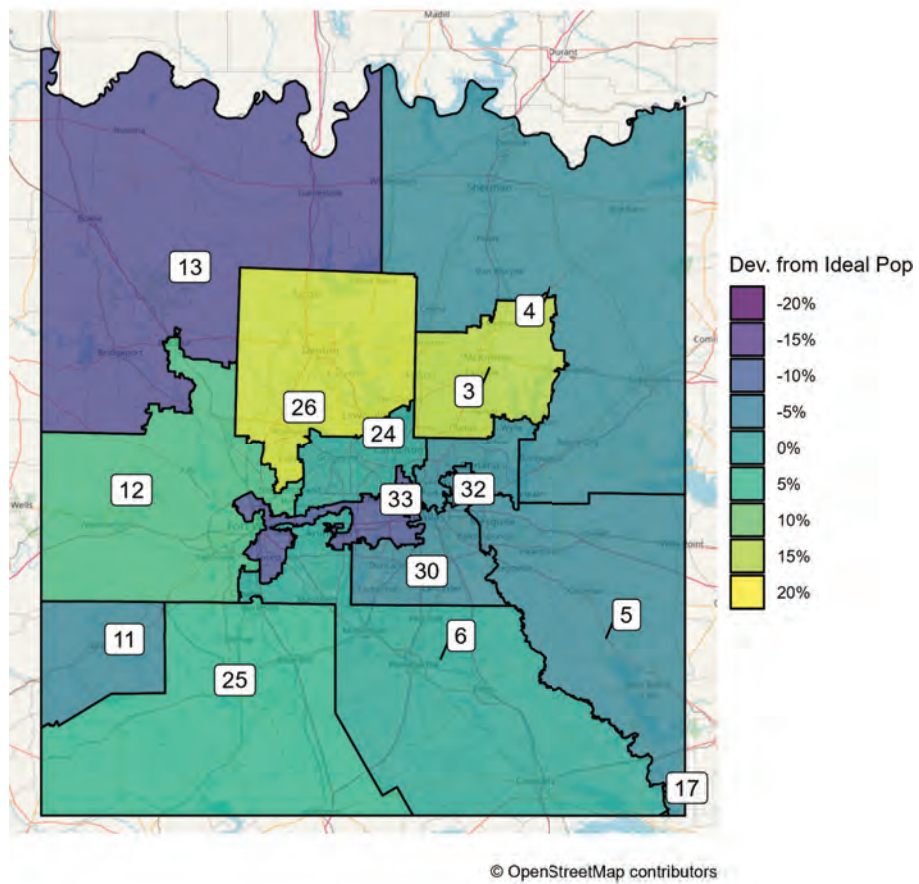
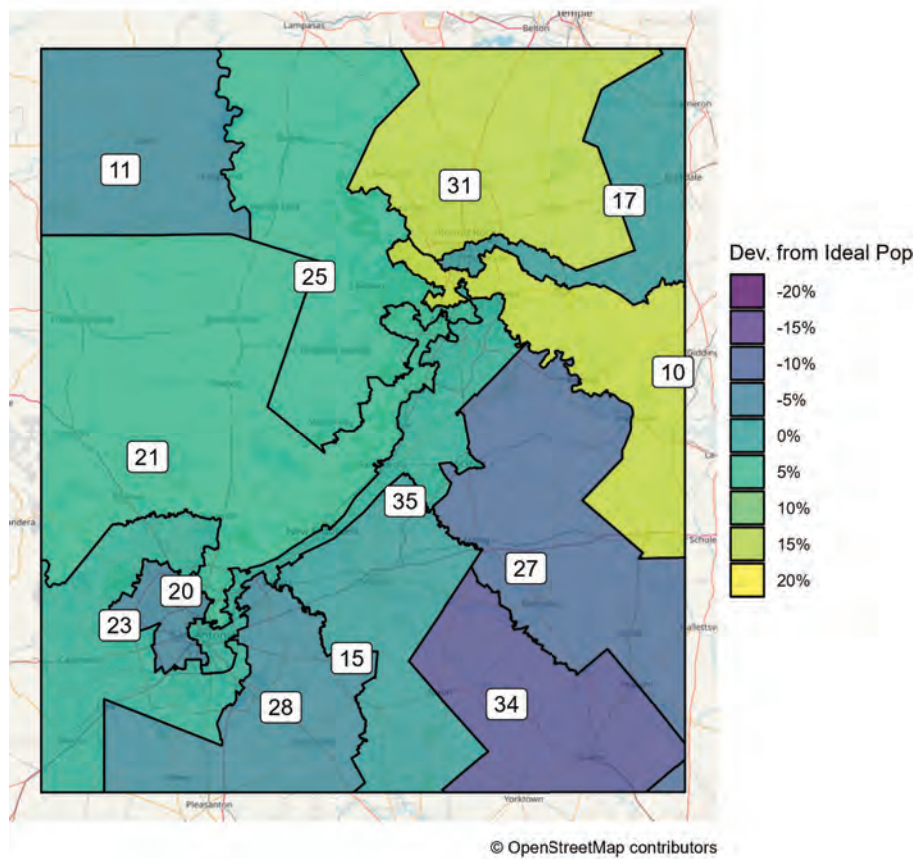


Figure 6: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Congressional Districts, Austin-San Antonio Area



4.3 Tables of Population Deviation: State Senate

Figure 7: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark Senate Districts, 1-15

District	Pop.	% Dev.
1	845,787	-10.0%
2	944,576	0.5%
3	877,170	-6.7%
4	1,019,150	8.4%
5	1,060,800	12.8%
6	833,989	-11.3%
7	1,009,368	7.4%
8	998,133	6.2%
9	924,657	-1.7%
10	945,496	0.6%
11	933,256	-0.7%
12	1,086,379	15.6%
13	891,837	-5.1%
14	1,044,307	11.1%
15	943,568	0.4%

Figure 8: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark Senate Districts, 16-31

District	Pop.	% Dev.
16	926,818	-1.4%
17	957,529	1.8%
18	1,036,193	10.2%
19	952,214	1.3%
20	907,674	-3.5%
21	901,254	-4.1%
22	944,022	0.4%
23	887,105	-5.6%
24	926,790	-1.4%
25	1,103,479	17.4%
26	840,565	-10.6%
27	831,674	-11.5%
28	796,007	-15.3%
29	879,174	-6.5%
30	1,027,265	9.3%
31	869,269	-7.5%

4.4 Maps of Population Deviation: State Senate

Figure 9: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Senate Districts

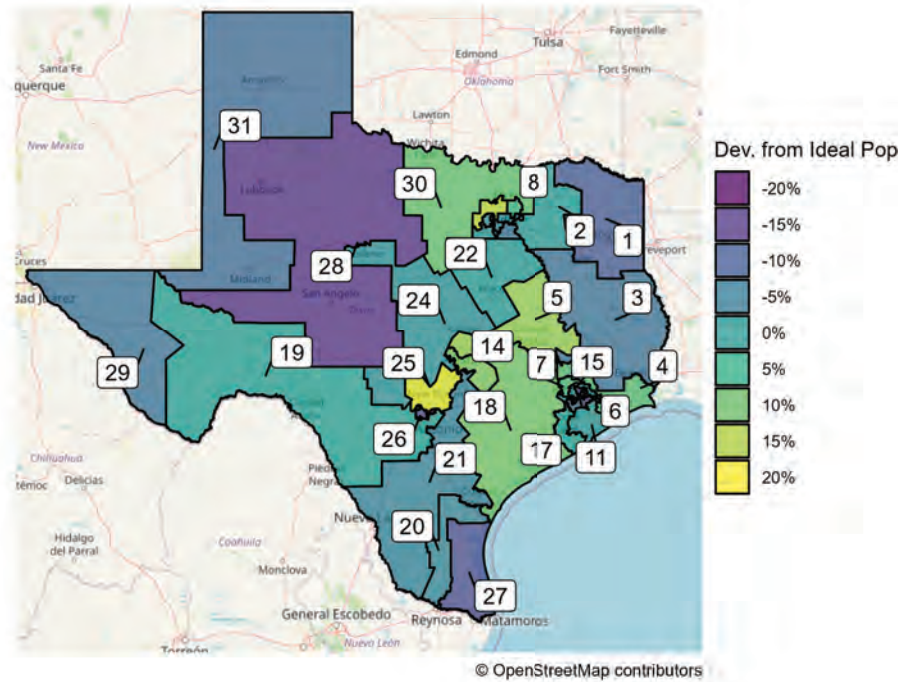


Figure 10: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Senate Districts, Houston Area

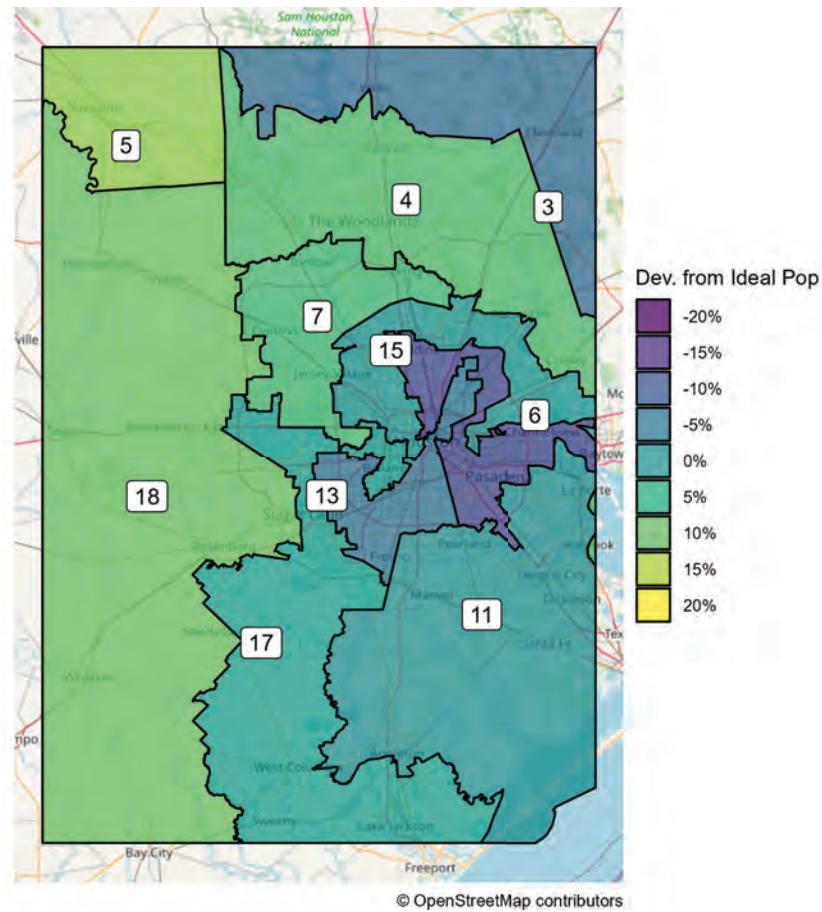


Figure 11: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Senate Districts, Dallas Area

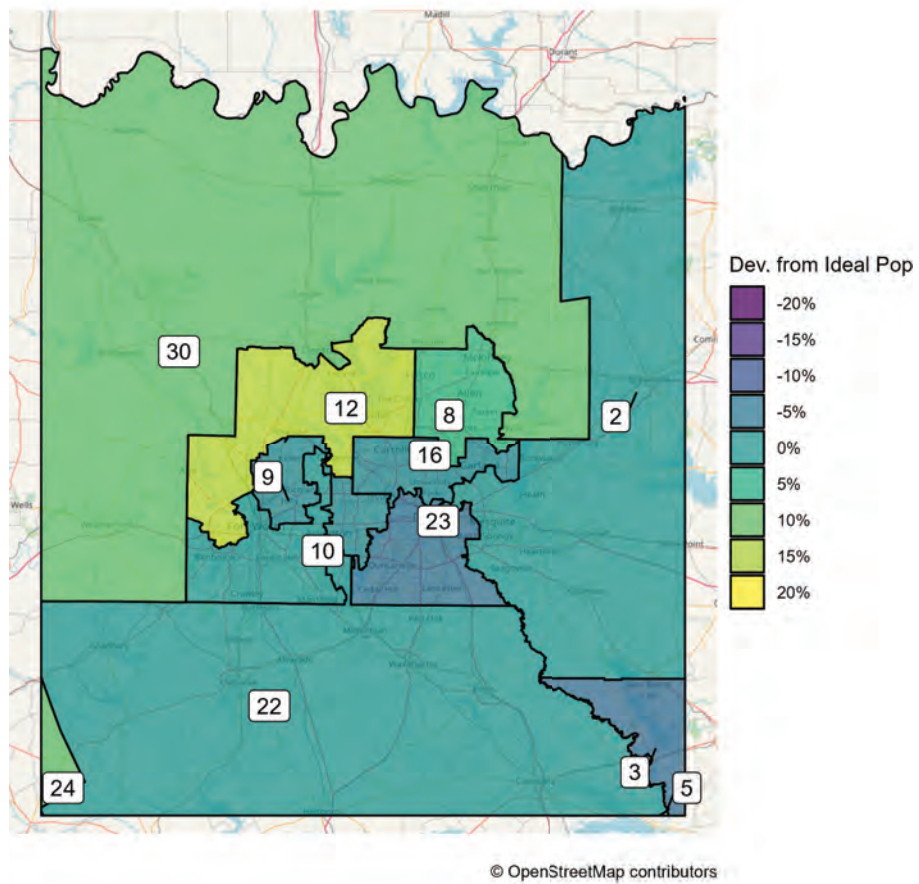
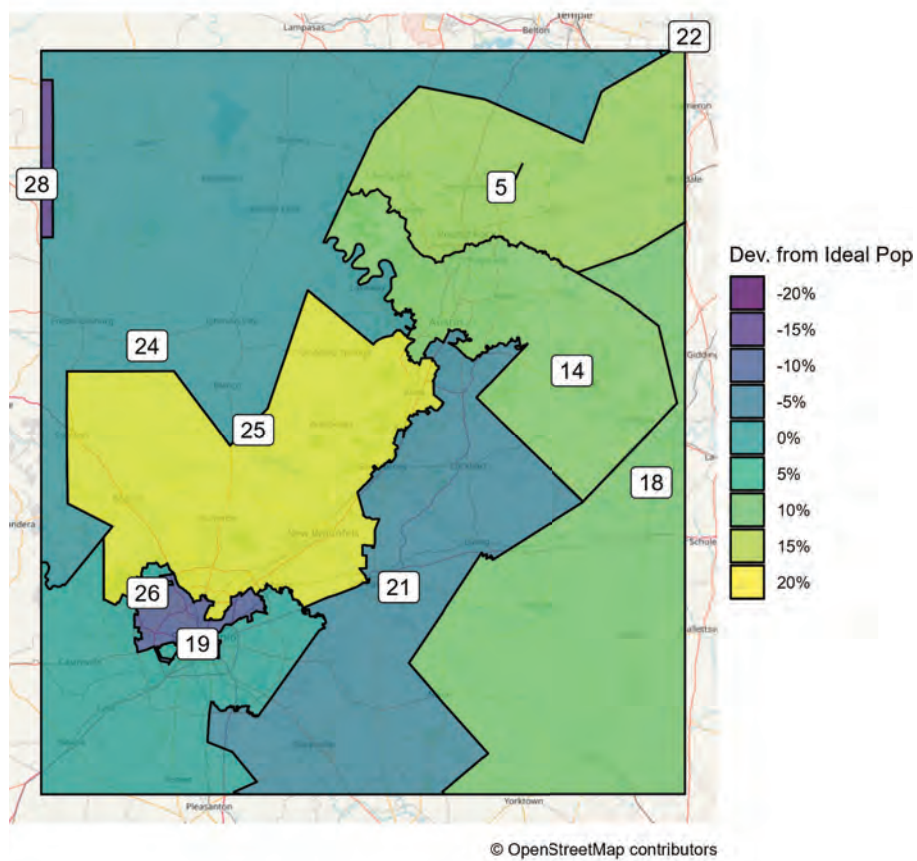


Figure 12: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark Senate Districts, Austin-San Antonio Area



4.5 Tables of Population Deviation: State House

Figure 13: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 1-19

District	Pop.	% Dev.
1	164,927	-15.1%
2	196,284	1.0%
3	226,855	16.8%
4	213,992	10.1%
5	169,073	-13.0%
6	177,097	-8.9%
7	165,131	-15.0%
8	165,855	-14.6%
9	163,425	-15.9%
10	205,923	6.0%
11	167,279	-13.9%
12	168,040	-13.5%
13	178,211	-8.3%
14	196,210	1.0%
15	228,783	17.7%
16	221,599	14.0%
17	194,940	0.3%
18	195,430	0.6%
19	171,349	-11.8%

Figure 14: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 20-38

District	Pop.	% Dev.
20	218,549	12.5%
21	184,761	-4.9%
22	156,573	-19.4%
23	198,143	2.0%
24	199,110	2.5%
25	183,103	-5.8%
26	186,766	-3.9%
27	194,552	0.1%
28	297,064	52.9%
29	225,183	15.9%
30	168,832	-13.1%
31	175,759	-9.5%
32	182,505	-6.1%
33	270,547	39.2%
34	170,673	-12.2%
35	187,781	-3.4%
36	178,913	-7.9%
37	161,877	-16.7%
38	186,538	-4.0%

Figure 15: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 39-57

District	Pop.	% Dev.
39	175,874	-9.5%
40	210,173	8.2%
41	190,642	-1.9%
42	166,051	-14.5%
43	169,733	-12.6%
44	222,459	14.5%
45	252,441	29.9%
46	209,174	7.7%
47	250,555	29.0%
48	194,702	0.2%
49	197,562	1.7%
50	228,359	17.5%
51	209,836	8.0%
52	235,259	21.1%
53	168,742	-13.2%
54	206,833	6.4%
55	185,441	-4.6%
56	186,049	-4.2%
57	159,155	-18.1%

Figure 16: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 58-76

District	Pop.	% Dev.
58	198,162	2.0%
59	174,475	-10.2%
60	179,425	-7.7%
61	216,854	11.6%
62	176,435	-9.2%
63	222,155	14.3%
64	200,065	3.0%
65	197,156	1.5%
66	190,523	-1.9%
67	210,875	8.5%
68	154,894	-20.3%
69	156,041	-19.7%
70	284,925	46.6%
71	177,609	-8.6%
72	178,737	-8.0%
73	232,505	19.7%
74	162,430	-16.4%
75	226,395	16.5%
76	146,284	-24.7%

Figure 17: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 77-95

District	Pop.	% Dev.
77	148,049	-23.8%
78	181,367	-6.7%
79	163,562	-15.8%
80	176,186	-9.3%
81	203,216	4.6%
82	195,659	0.7%
83	200,425	3.2%
84	175,792	-9.5%
85	200,955	3.4%
86	183,460	-5.6%
87	169,089	-13.0%
88	148,927	-23.4%
89	215,414	10.9%
90	164,589	-15.3%
91	174,830	-10.0%
92	189,668	-2.4%
93	221,101	13.8%
94	179,593	-7.6%
95	193,712	-0.3%

Figure 18: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 96-114

District	Pop.	% Dev.
96	204,480	5.2%
97	191,226	-1.6%
98	195,573	0.7%
99	207,394	6.7%
100	174,885	-10.0%
101	188,474	-3.0%
102	176,749	-9.0%
103	188,983	-2.7%
104	167,252	-13.9%
105	193,464	-0.4%
106	287,046	47.7%
107	185,064	-4.8%
108	192,419	-1.0%
109	200,788	3.3%
110	183,408	-5.6%
111	181,209	-6.7%
112	189,219	-2.6%
113	195,740	0.7%
114	185,840	-4.4%

Figure 19: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 115-133

District	Pop.	% Dev.
115	198,519	2.2%
116	182,233	-6.2%
117	273,489	40.8%
118	185,915	-4.3%
119	183,920	-5.3%
120	199,717	2.8%
121	193,988	-0.2%
122	241,492	24.3%
123	173,307	-10.8%
124	195,882	0.8%
125	179,381	-7.7%
126	190,307	-2.1%
127	204,069	5.0%
128	201,418	3.7%
129	195,120	0.4%
130	232,768	19.8%
131	200,485	3.2%
132	281,835	45.0%
133	199,683	2.8%

Figure 20: Summary of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, 134-150

District	Pop.	% Dev.
134	204,588	5.3%
135	195,026	0.4%
136	229,093	17.9%
137	181,751	-6.5%
138	187,077	-3.7%
139	195,639	0.7%
140	177,698	-8.5%
141	194,056	-0.1%
142	203,568	4.8%
143	170,844	-12.1%
144	159,977	-17.7%
145	168,129	-13.5%
146	185,997	-4.3%
147	201,690	3.8%
148	175,938	-9.5%
149	183,586	-5.5%
150	239,896	23.5%

4.6 Maps of Population Deviation: State House

Figure 21: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts

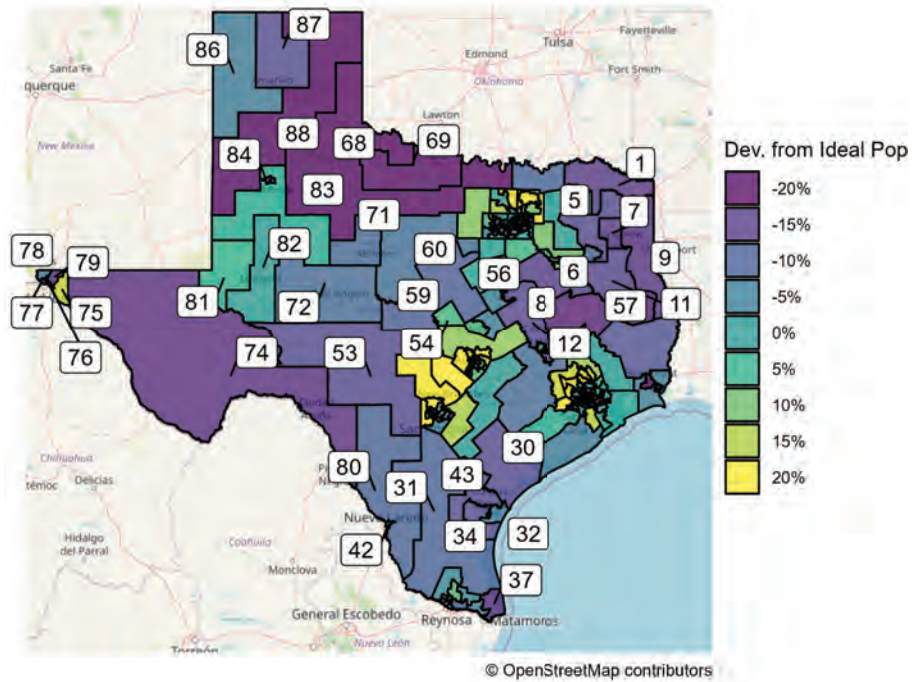


Figure 22: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, Houston Area

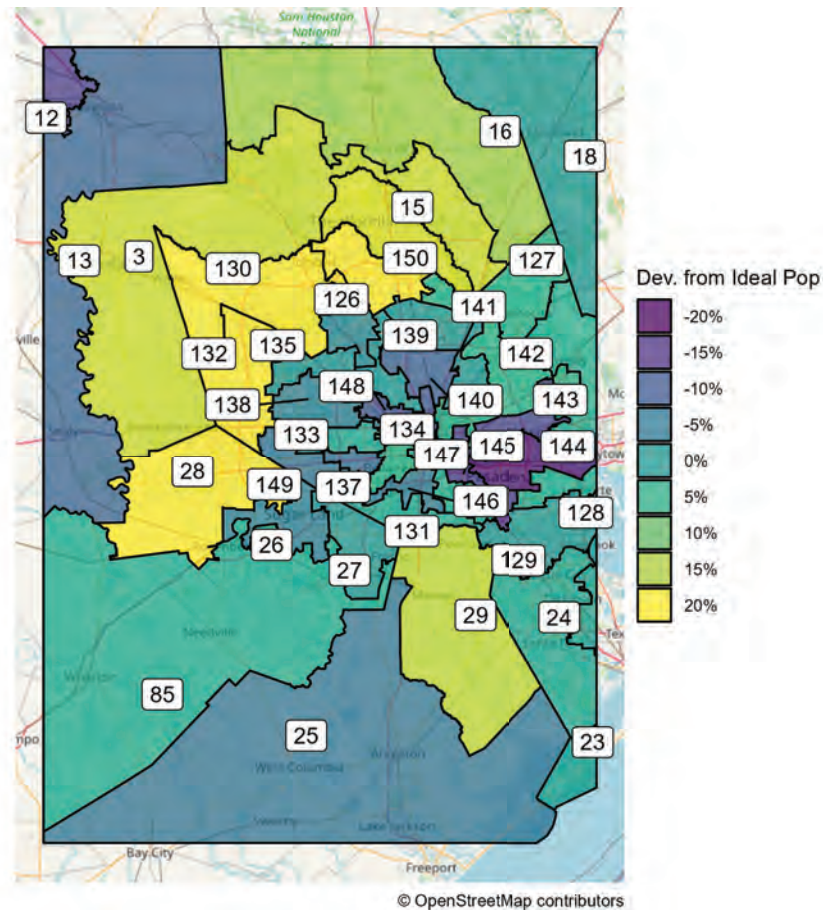


Figure 23: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, Dallas Area

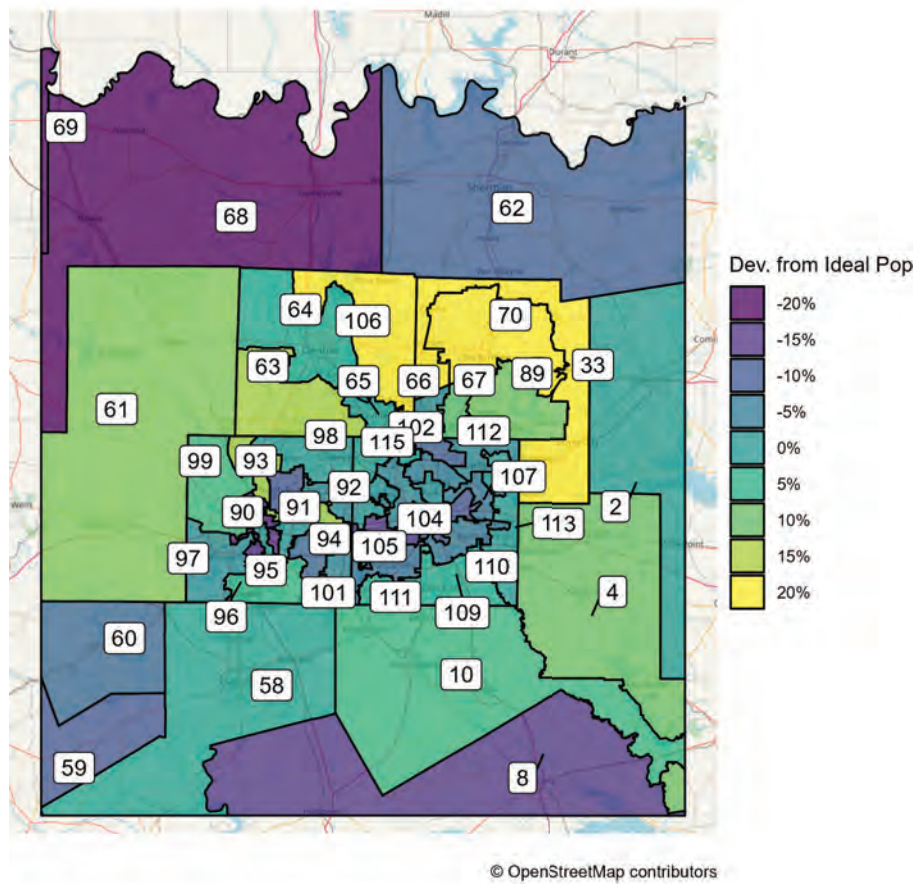
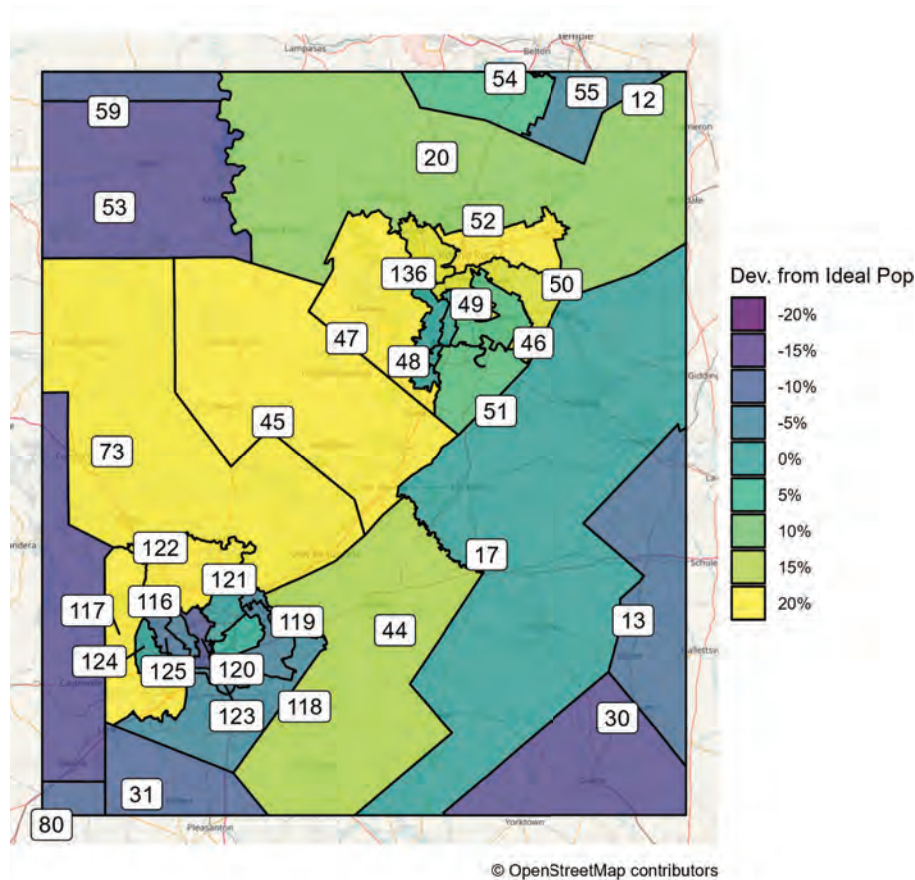


Figure 24: Map of Population Deviations, Benchmark House Districts, Austin-San Antonio Area



5 Performance of Enacted Districts

Next, I was asked to explore the performance of the Enacted Districts in non-judicial statewide elections since 2020. I first took block-level election data from the Redistricting Data Hub website for 2022 and merged it into Texas' census block data. For 2024, I obtained precinct-level data from the New York Times' website. There were around 25 counties with relatively low populations where precinct-level data were not available. For these counties, I used countywide data. Data were then disaggregated to the census block level using the "geo_match" and "estimate_down") commands in R. They were then re-aggregated to the district level (this is the typical way that election

results for districts are calculated given that precincts are frequently split).

Figure 25: Republican Vote Share of Enacted Congressional Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (1 of 2)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
1	78.0%	77.5%	77.4%	77.7%	78.5%	77.6%	75.8%
2	63.0%	63.0%	63.1%	64.3%	65.5%	65.5%	62.0%
3	60.0%	59.2%	59.2%	61.6%	63.2%	62.4%	60.3%
4	66.5%	65.6%	65.7%	67.4%	68.8%	68.1%	66.5%
5	64.2%	63.6%	63.7%	64.5%	66.0%	65.3%	63.7%
6	65.3%	64.6%	64.9%	65.9%	67.2%	66.5%	64.4%
7	35.7%	35.3%	35.5%	37.8%	39.2%	38.5%	39.3%
8	67.4%	67.2%	67.4%	68.4%	69.5%	69.3%	67.2%
9	23.4%	23.4%	23.3%	24.3%	25.0%	24.8%	27.6%
10	62.4%	61.8%	61.6%	63.3%	65.1%	63.9%	62.3%
11	74.6%	74.3%	73.9%	74.4%	75.8%	75.3%	72.9%
12	60.8%	59.9%	60.3%	62.0%	63.2%	62.7%	61.4%
13	75.7%	75.1%	75.1%	75.6%	76.8%	76.7%	74.1%
14	67.4%	67.0%	67.1%	67.6%	68.7%	68.5%	67.2%
15	53.1%	53.8%	52.2%	52.7%	54.2%	53.3%	59.0%
16	35.3%	36.7%	35.4%	35.7%	36.9%	36.3%	41.9%
17	65.6%	65.3%	65.1%	66.1%	67.3%	66.1%	64.8%
18	25.6%	25.9%	25.6%	27.4%	28.2%	28.1%	29.8%

Figure 26: Republican Vote Share of Enacted Congressional Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (2 of 2)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
19	77.6%	77.0%	76.9%	77.3%	78.9%	78.6%	76.1%
20	32.9%	34.0%	33.1%	33.8%	35.0%	34.4%	39.3%
21	61.7%	61.5%	61.1%	62.2%	64.8%	63.1%	62.0%
22	60.3%	60.2%	60.4%	62.0%	63.5%	62.8%	60.0%
23	55.2%	55.6%	54.8%	55.5%	57.9%	56.5%	57.9%
24	58.4%	56.6%	56.9%	59.8%	62.3%	60.6%	57.9%
25	68.8%	67.7%	68.2%	69.2%	70.5%	70.3%	68.4%
26	62.1%	61.3%	61.6%	63.6%	65.0%	64.8%	61.9%
27	64.8%	64.7%	63.9%	64.3%	66.3%	63.7%	65.0%
28	47.3%	48.2%	46.1%	46.5%	48.5%	47.5%	53.7%
29	30.4%	31.4%	30.6%	31.7%	32.7%	32.6%	39.7%
30	22.3%	21.8%	21.8%	22.8%	23.9%	23.2%	26.3%
31	62.3%	61.8%	61.6%	63.0%	64.6%	63.8%	61.8%
32	34.9%	34.0%	33.8%	36.4%	38.7%	37.2%	37.8%
33	26.1%	26.1%	25.7%	26.9%	27.9%	27.5%	32.7%
34	43.3%	45.0%	42.2%	42.5%	43.8%	42.2%	52.2%
35	26.1%	26.6%	25.9%	27.2%	28.6%	28.0%	32.9%
36	68.4%	68.1%	68.3%	68.9%	70.0%	69.8%	68.6%
37	21.7%	21.0%	20.3%	23.2%	25.6%	23.9%	24.9%
38	61.5%	60.8%	61.3%	63.4%	64.9%	64.4%	60.6%

Figure 27: Republican Vote Share of Enacted Senate Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (1 of 2)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
1	79.3%	78.7%	78.7%	78.9%	79.8%	78.9%	77.3%
2	60.1%	59.2%	59.4%	60.9%	62.7%	61.8%	60.3%
3	78.1%	77.5%	77.6%	77.7%	78.5%	77.9%	76.5%
4	68.4%	68.2%	68.3%	69.3%	70.4%	70.3%	67.3%
5	61.7%	61.2%	61.1%	62.5%	63.9%	63.1%	61.6%
6	32.3%	33.3%	32.5%	33.7%	34.7%	34.7%	40.6%
7	60.8%	60.6%	60.9%	62.6%	63.8%	63.6%	60.7%
8	59.2%	58.4%	58.4%	60.7%	62.3%	61.5%	59.6%
9	58.3%	57.6%	57.9%	59.7%	60.9%	60.6%	58.8%
10	61.0%	60.0%	60.5%	61.7%	62.9%	62.6%	60.8%
11	59.6%	59.3%	59.5%	60.7%	61.8%	61.8%	60.3%
12	59.2%	57.7%	58.0%	60.5%	62.8%	61.5%	59.4%
13	21.2%	21.3%	21.2%	22.0%	22.6%	22.5%	25.8%
14	22.7%	22.1%	21.3%	24.2%	26.5%	24.9%	26.3%
15	34.3%	34.1%	34.1%	36.6%	37.9%	37.4%	37.1%

Figure 28: Republican Vote Share of Enacted Senate Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (2 of 2)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
16	37.3%	36.4%	36.0%	38.4%	41.1%	39.2%	40.6%
17	62.3%	61.7%	62.0%	63.9%	65.4%	64.7%	61.6%
18	64.4%	64.2%	64.2%	65.2%	66.7%	65.7%	63.9%
19	44.5%	45.5%	44.5%	45.0%	46.7%	45.8%	49.3%
20	45.5%	46.1%	44.4%	44.8%	46.4%	44.4%	52.1%
21	41.3%	41.5%	39.8%	40.8%	42.6%	41.8%	48.4%
22	65.0%	64.3%	64.5%	65.6%	66.9%	66.2%	64.2%
23	22.5%	22.0%	22.0%	23.1%	24.2%	23.5%	26.5%
24	63.3%	63.1%	62.8%	63.9%	65.3%	64.6%	62.7%
25	60.9%	60.7%	60.3%	61.7%	64.2%	62.6%	61.1%
26	33.8%	34.5%	33.8%	34.5%	36.3%	35.2%	38.6%
27	49.7%	51.0%	48.7%	49.0%	50.6%	48.5%	56.1%
28	77.9%	77.3%	77.1%	77.5%	79.1%	78.8%	76.1%
29	37.2%	38.4%	37.1%	37.2%	38.6%	38.0%	43.6%
30	64.1%	63.6%	63.6%	65.2%	66.3%	66.1%	64.0%
31	82.9%	82.2%	82.1%	82.4%	83.8%	83.5%	81.0%

Figure 29: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (1 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
1	80.1%	79.2%	79.7%	79.6%	80.2%	80.0%	78.0%
2	82.7%	81.6%	82.4%	82.9%	83.9%	83.6%	81.8%
3	78.8%	78.6%	78.9%	79.6%	80.7%	80.5%	76.4%
4	70.2%	69.5%	70.0%	70.8%	72.0%	71.6%	67.7%
5	84.2%	83.6%	83.6%	83.8%	84.5%	83.5%	82.6%
6	73.5%	73.3%	72.8%	73.5%	74.5%	73.1%	71.0%
7	75.5%	75.0%	74.7%	74.9%	75.9%	75.1%	73.1%
8	82.3%	81.5%	81.9%	81.9%	83.1%	82.1%	80.8%
9	81.1%	80.4%	80.5%	80.8%	81.5%	80.7%	79.2%
10	68.1%	67.4%	67.8%	69.2%	70.4%	69.8%	65.7%
11	80.1%	79.7%	79.7%	79.9%	80.4%	79.8%	78.3%
12	76.7%	75.8%	76.2%	76.9%	78.1%	76.9%	74.9%
13	77.1%	76.4%	76.8%	77.2%	78.0%	76.8%	75.8%
14	58.0%	57.9%	57.4%	59.9%	60.6%	59.3%	59.3%
15	64.5%	64.3%	64.5%	66.1%	67.2%	67.3%	63.7%
16	80.4%	79.9%	80.3%	81.1%	82.0%	81.7%	78.4%
17	66.2%	65.6%	65.2%	66.0%	67.8%	66.6%	66.1%
18	84.8%	84.4%	84.7%	84.6%	85.5%	85.2%	82.8%
19	72.2%	71.4%	71.2%	72.6%	74.4%	73.6%	71.4%

Figure 30: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (2 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
20	57.5%	56.9%	56.5%	58.3%	60.0%	59.6%	57.4%
21	81.4%	81.1%	80.9%	80.8%	81.6%	81.0%	79.4%
22	45.2%	44.5%	44.5%	44.2%	45.1%	44.5%	44.0%
23	63.0%	62.8%	62.9%	63.6%	64.7%	64.6%	64.9%
24	67.8%	67.3%	67.6%	68.5%	69.7%	69.6%	67.8%
25	60.3%	60.0%	60.1%	61.3%	62.1%	62.0%	59.8%
26	58.5%	58.4%	58.7%	60.8%	62.4%	61.6%	57.9%
27	28.6%	28.7%	28.7%	29.6%	30.4%	30.0%	32.1%
28	59.0%	58.9%	59.3%	61.0%	62.5%	61.7%	58.6%
29	59.7%	59.5%	59.6%	61.0%	62.0%	62.0%	60.1%
30	79.6%	79.1%	78.5%	79.0%	80.8%	79.4%	77.3%
31	63.3%	64.7%	63.1%	63.2%	65.1%	63.2%	68.6%
32	62.3%	62.4%	61.9%	62.3%	64.2%	60.8%	62.7%
33	63.0%	62.1%	62.2%	64.2%	66.0%	65.3%	63.2%
34	47.6%	47.6%	46.6%	46.3%	48.3%	44.6%	50.7%
35	40.5%	42.1%	39.0%	39.5%	40.6%	40.1%	53.5%
36	39.6%	41.1%	38.4%	39.2%	40.4%	40.4%	52.9%
37	51.7%	52.6%	50.4%	50.8%	51.9%	50.4%	55.5%
38	37.1%	39.4%	35.7%	35.8%	37.2%	36.6%	49.6%

Figure 31: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (3 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
39	40.5%	42.8%	39.8%	40.2%	41.5%	40.7%	51.2%
40	38.4%	39.7%	37.5%	37.8%	38.9%	38.2%	50.0%
41	44.0%	44.8%	43.2%	43.9%	45.1%	44.1%	50.8%
42	38.6%	38.9%	35.0%	35.9%	37.7%	37.1%	50.2%
43	64.4%	63.7%	62.8%	62.9%	64.7%	60.6%	65.7%
44	66.8%	67.3%	66.7%	67.2%	68.9%	68.1%	66.0%
45	39.6%	39.6%	38.8%	40.4%	42.6%	42.1%	43.5%
46	22.2%	22.2%	21.5%	23.6%	25.1%	24.4%	27.4%
47	37.6%	36.6%	35.8%	39.1%	42.3%	40.6%	38.6%
48	27.4%	26.4%	25.5%	28.8%	32.1%	29.6%	29.3%
49	14.2%	13.7%	13.2%	15.9%	17.8%	16.1%	19.0%
50	20.2%	20.2%	19.6%	21.6%	23.0%	22.3%	25.6%
51	14.6%	14.8%	14.1%	16.2%	17.4%	16.5%	22.9%
52	53.4%	52.9%	52.6%	54.6%	56.3%	55.9%	54.2%
53	79.6%	79.2%	78.8%	79.1%	80.8%	80.2%	78.1%
54	60.6%	60.7%	60.1%	61.0%	62.0%	60.9%	58.5%
55	59.3%	59.4%	58.7%	60.1%	61.0%	59.8%	57.9%
56	69.7%	69.1%	69.0%	70.5%	71.7%	69.9%	68.2%
57	58.9%	58.4%	58.5%	60.3%	61.6%	61.6%	58.8%

Figure 32: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (4 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
58	78.3%	77.3%	78.1%	78.9%	79.9%	79.6%	76.5%
59	81.2%	80.1%	80.7%	81.0%	82.4%	81.9%	80.0%
60	84.2%	83.1%	83.9%	84.6%	85.5%	85.3%	83.7%
61	56.8%	56.4%	56.1%	58.8%	60.2%	59.5%	57.6%
62	80.3%	79.6%	79.5%	80.0%	81.0%	80.7%	79.2%
63	55.6%	54.8%	55.1%	57.5%	59.0%	58.7%	55.4%
64	62.3%	61.9%	61.9%	63.2%	64.3%	64.2%	63.1%
65	57.7%	56.8%	57.0%	59.5%	61.0%	60.5%	58.4%
66	57.7%	56.7%	56.6%	59.6%	61.2%	60.3%	57.5%
67	57.1%	56.4%	56.2%	58.5%	60.2%	59.4%	57.5%
68	87.8%	86.8%	87.3%	87.4%	88.5%	87.9%	86.5%
69	80.4%	79.7%	79.3%	79.6%	80.7%	80.7%	77.7%
70	46.5%	45.5%	45.1%	48.2%	50.5%	49.1%	47.1%
71	80.0%	79.5%	79.1%	79.6%	81.2%	81.2%	77.9%
72	80.5%	79.6%	79.4%	79.7%	81.3%	81.0%	78.4%
73	70.4%	70.0%	69.9%	70.6%	72.5%	71.8%	70.1%
74	49.6%	49.9%	48.2%	47.6%	50.1%	49.1%	57.4%
75	35.4%	37.0%	35.8%	36.0%	37.2%	36.9%	47.6%
76	40.4%	40.6%	40.5%	41.8%	42.9%	42.3%	45.6%

Figure 33: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (5 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
77	25.8%	27.4%	25.8%	25.9%	26.9%	26.5%	34.1%
78	42.0%	43.4%	42.2%	42.8%	44.3%	43.2%	45.4%
79	34.9%	36.2%	35.0%	35.0%	36.1%	35.6%	40.3%
80	53.0%	53.7%	52.1%	51.7%	54.4%	52.8%	61.7%
81	77.4%	77.2%	76.8%	76.8%	78.5%	78.2%	77.5%
82	82.3%	82.1%	81.6%	82.3%	83.8%	83.3%	80.8%
83	80.4%	79.6%	79.7%	80.1%	81.8%	81.3%	78.5%
84	62.2%	62.2%	61.8%	62.7%	64.3%	64.2%	63.7%
85	73.9%	73.4%	73.7%	74.6%	76.3%	75.1%	71.1%
86	83.4%	82.5%	82.7%	83.1%	84.3%	84.2%	81.2%
87	82.2%	81.3%	81.3%	81.6%	82.8%	82.6%	79.5%
88	87.7%	86.5%	86.9%	87.0%	88.3%	87.7%	85.5%
89	58.3%	57.7%	57.8%	60.0%	61.5%	60.8%	59.0%
90	31.2%	31.1%	30.8%	32.4%	33.3%	33.0%	36.4%
91	61.2%	60.6%	60.8%	62.4%	63.7%	63.7%	61.1%
92	40.7%	40.2%	40.2%	41.8%	43.1%	43.0%	42.2%
93	58.4%	58.2%	58.3%	60.0%	60.8%	61.0%	59.7%
94	55.6%	54.1%	54.7%	56.6%	58.1%	57.8%	54.9%
95	25.4%	24.9%	25.0%	25.9%	26.3%	26.3%	29.0%

Figure 34: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (6 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
96	55.8%	54.8%	55.2%	56.7%	57.9%	57.8%	55.4%
97	56.0%	54.4%	54.9%	57.5%	58.8%	58.0%	55.3%
98	64.1%	62.7%	63.2%	65.6%	67.2%	66.6%	63.3%
99	59.5%	58.6%	59.1%	60.9%	62.2%	61.3%	60.5%
100	15.7%	15.5%	15.4%	16.1%	16.7%	16.4%	22.3%
101	32.8%	32.6%	32.5%	33.6%	34.3%	34.5%	36.4%
102	36.9%	35.9%	35.7%	37.7%	40.2%	38.8%	39.8%
103	26.5%	26.3%	25.9%	28.1%	29.9%	28.6%	32.5%
104	31.3%	31.4%	30.6%	32.0%	33.6%	32.5%	37.3%
105	42.8%	42.5%	42.0%	43.4%	45.6%	44.5%	46.6%
106	59.1%	58.3%	58.5%	60.7%	62.1%	61.8%	58.6%
107	37.5%	37.2%	36.6%	37.9%	39.8%	38.9%	40.6%
108	53.3%	50.3%	50.1%	55.0%	59.9%	55.3%	52.9%
109	21.2%	20.7%	20.9%	21.2%	21.9%	21.4%	23.9%
110	14.9%	14.6%	14.6%	14.7%	15.0%	14.7%	21.7%
111	21.6%	21.0%	21.0%	21.6%	22.5%	22.0%	24.2%
112	51.3%	49.8%	49.8%	52.5%	55.1%	53.4%	51.9%
113	41.8%	41.3%	41.2%	42.4%	43.9%	43.4%	43.8%
114	31.3%	30.3%	30.1%	33.4%	35.9%	34.1%	35.8%

Figure 35: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (7 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
115	42.7%	41.5%	41.4%	44.0%	46.3%	45.0%	43.9%
116	30.5%	31.5%	30.6%	31.7%	33.2%	32.3%	36.0%
117	37.7%	39.0%	38.1%	38.8%	40.1%	39.6%	44.0%
118	49.2%	50.4%	49.5%	49.8%	51.7%	50.8%	52.4%
119	35.3%	36.5%	35.4%	35.7%	37.0%	36.4%	40.1%
120	32.7%	33.5%	32.8%	33.2%	34.6%	33.8%	37.0%
121	51.9%	51.7%	51.3%	52.9%	56.2%	52.8%	52.5%
122	55.4%	55.4%	55.0%	56.7%	59.6%	57.6%	55.8%
123	32.6%	32.9%	32.3%	33.4%	35.8%	33.7%	36.4%
124	31.7%	32.9%	32.0%	32.4%	33.4%	33.2%	38.8%
125	37.5%	38.4%	37.6%	38.4%	39.9%	39.2%	42.5%
126	60.3%	60.0%	60.3%	61.9%	63.1%	63.0%	59.3%
127	59.3%	59.4%	59.5%	60.6%	61.8%	61.8%	57.6%
128	69.7%	69.6%	69.7%	70.4%	71.7%	71.6%	69.3%
129	57.8%	57.4%	57.7%	59.2%	60.5%	60.4%	59.0%
130	68.3%	67.9%	68.5%	70.0%	71.2%	71.0%	67.2%
131	19.0%	19.3%	19.1%	19.5%	20.1%	20.1%	25.7%
132	57.8%	57.4%	57.8%	59.6%	60.8%	60.6%	57.1%
133	55.2%	53.8%	54.4%	57.5%	59.2%	58.4%	53.6%

Figure 36: Republican Vote Share of Enacted House Districts in 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential elections (8 of 8)

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
134	36.7%	35.4%	35.7%	39.5%	41.4%	40.2%	37.1%
135	40.5%	41.0%	40.9%	42.2%	43.2%	43.2%	46.0%
136	35.9%	35.4%	34.8%	37.3%	38.9%	38.4%	37.8%
137	36.9%	36.9%	37.0%	38.5%	39.9%	39.4%	40.9%
138	55.0%	54.3%	54.5%	57.0%	58.6%	58.1%	54.4%
139	26.6%	26.9%	26.7%	28.1%	28.9%	28.8%	30.7%
140	29.9%	31.6%	30.0%	31.1%	32.1%	32.0%	41.4%
141	17.9%	18.1%	18.0%	18.3%	18.6%	18.8%	24.5%
142	25.1%	25.7%	25.4%	26.3%	26.7%	26.8%	30.9%
143	34.4%	35.7%	34.9%	35.5%	36.9%	36.8%	43.1%
144	44.1%	45.2%	44.2%	45.2%	46.7%	46.7%	51.5%
145	27.8%	27.9%	27.6%	30.7%	31.9%	31.5%	33.3%
146	20.2%	20.1%	20.1%	21.2%	21.9%	21.7%	22.7%
147	19.3%	19.4%	19.2%	21.1%	21.5%	21.5%	23.9%
148	41.9%	42.5%	42.0%	44.0%	45.3%	45.0%	45.6%
149	37.8%	38.2%	37.9%	38.6%	39.7%	39.7%	44.6%
150	59.2%	59.4%	59.5%	60.9%	62.0%	62.0%	58.3%

6 Performance of Duchin Districts

2

I was next asked to engage in the same exercise for evaluating Dr. Duchin's districts from her initial report:

Figure 37: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan C1 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
6	72.8%	71.8%	72.4%	73.3%	74.5%	74.0%	71.1%
12	33.6%	33.4%	32.9%	34.5%	36.3%	35.3%	38.2%
24	53.0%	51.2%	51.4%	54.5%	57.3%	55.3%	53.3%
25	72.4%	71.4%	72.0%	73.3%	74.4%	74.0%	72.2%
30	25.6%	25.0%	25.2%	25.9%	26.7%	26.4%	28.2%
32	35.3%	34.3%	34.0%	36.5%	39.0%	37.3%	37.8%
33	42.8%	42.3%	42.3%	43.9%	44.9%	44.7%	45.0%

Figure 38: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan C2 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
6	72.8%	71.8%	72.4%	73.3%	74.5%	74.0%	71.1%
12	33.6%	33.4%	32.9%	34.5%	36.3%	35.3%	38.2%
24	53.0%	51.2%	51.4%	54.5%	57.3%	55.3%	53.3%
25	72.4%	71.4%	72.0%	73.3%	74.4%	74.0%	72.2%
30	25.6%	25.0%	25.2%	25.9%	26.7%	26.4%	28.2%
32	35.3%	34.3%	34.0%	36.5%	39.0%	37.3%	37.8%
33	42.8%	42.3%	42.3%	43.9%	44.9%	44.7%	45.0%

²I do not have, and counsel has been able to locate, shapefiles or block assignment files for the MALDEF districts, which would enable me to perform similar analyses there. In the event that we are able to obtain those files, I will supplement my analysis accordingly

Figure 39: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan S2 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
9	61.5%	60.4%	60.8%	62.8%	64.1%	63.7%	61.2%
10	40.7%	40.2%	40.2%	41.9%	43.1%	42.8%	42.9%
12	52.6%	51.1%	51.2%	54.1%	56.7%	55.0%	52.7%
16	35.1%	34.5%	34.0%	36.3%	38.7%	37.0%	39.1%
22	76.8%	75.9%	76.4%	77.2%	78.3%	77.6%	75.4%
23	22.8%	22.3%	22.4%	23.1%	23.9%	23.6%	26.3%
30	66.4%	65.9%	66.0%	67.4%	68.5%	68.3%	66.3%

Figure 40: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan S2 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
9	61.5%	60.4%	60.8%	62.8%	64.1%	63.7%	61.2%
10	40.7%	40.2%	40.2%	41.9%	43.1%	42.8%	42.9%
12	52.6%	51.1%	51.2%	54.1%	56.7%	55.0%	52.7%
16	35.1%	34.5%	34.0%	36.3%	38.7%	37.0%	39.1%
22	76.8%	75.9%	76.4%	77.2%	78.3%	77.6%	75.4%
23	22.8%	22.3%	22.4%	23.1%	23.9%	23.6%	26.3%
30	66.4%	65.9%	66.0%	67.4%	68.5%	68.3%	66.3%

Figure 41: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan H1 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
90	39.1%	39.1%	38.9%	40.3%	41.5%	41.1%	44.4%
91	54.8%	53.9%	54.3%	55.9%	57.1%	57.0%	55.2%
92	45.1%	44.4%	44.6%	45.9%	47.3%	47.1%	46.0%
93	59.2%	58.8%	58.9%	60.7%	61.7%	61.8%	59.9%
94	38.4%	37.6%	37.7%	39.3%	40.6%	40.4%	39.2%
95	27.1%	26.5%	26.6%	27.6%	27.9%	28.0%	29.9%
96	58.5%	57.4%	57.8%	59.5%	60.7%	60.5%	57.3%
97	50.4%	48.7%	49.2%	52.2%	53.6%	52.3%	51.4%
98	65.3%	63.7%	64.4%	66.6%	68.3%	67.7%	64.1%
99	65.1%	64.7%	65.0%	66.5%	67.4%	67.3%	65.2%
101	39.9%	39.3%	39.3%	40.8%	41.7%	41.8%	41.6%

Figure 42: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan H2 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
100	28.9%	27.7%	27.6%	30.3%	32.8%	30.9%	31.2%
102	38.5%	37.1%	36.9%	39.4%	42.6%	40.5%	40.7%
103	25.2%	25.2%	24.5%	26.1%	27.8%	26.7%	32.9%
104	42.7%	42.8%	42.1%	43.2%	45.3%	44.1%	46.0%
105	39.4%	38.8%	38.5%	40.7%	42.8%	41.7%	43.1%
107	37.5%	37.2%	36.6%	37.9%	39.8%	38.9%	40.6%
108	51.0%	48.2%	48.0%	52.5%	57.0%	52.8%	50.8%
109	24.2%	23.5%	23.6%	24.2%	25.2%	24.7%	26.1%
110	20.3%	20.0%	20.1%	20.2%	20.8%	20.3%	25.9%
111	17.0%	16.5%	16.4%	17.2%	18.1%	17.4%	21.3%
112	49.7%	48.6%	48.6%	50.8%	52.9%	51.9%	50.9%
113	43.2%	42.7%	42.5%	43.7%	45.4%	44.6%	44.5%
114	25.3%	24.9%	24.6%	27.3%	29.0%	27.7%	31.4%
115	44.7%	43.0%	42.9%	45.9%	48.9%	46.8%	45.0%

Figure 43: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan H3 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
57	58.9%	58.5%	58.7%	60.2%	61.3%	61.5%	58.4%
63	64.5%	63.5%	64.0%	66.3%	67.8%	67.5%	64.0%
64	64.6%	64.1%	64.2%	65.6%	66.7%	66.5%	65.3%
65	43.8%	43.3%	43.2%	45.7%	47.1%	46.8%	45.9%
106	54.6%	53.7%	53.8%	56.5%	58.1%	57.6%	54.8%

Figure 44: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan H4 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
83	72.8%	72.3%	72.0%	72.3%	74.1%	73.7%	71.4%
84	73.2%	72.8%	72.8%	73.6%	75.2%	74.9%	72.6%

Figure 45: Republican Vote Share of Duchin Plan H5 Districts, 2022 non-judicial state-level contests and 2024 presidential election

District	Governor	Lt. Gov.	Atty Gen.	Ag. Comm	Comptroller	Land Comm	POTUS 24
25	75.0%	74.6%	74.8%	75.6%	76.7%	76.4%	74.2%
29	46.5%	46.4%	46.6%	48.2%	49.0%	49.0%	47.5%

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of Ohio that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. Executed on March 31, 2025 in Delaware, Ohio.

Sean P Trende

Sean P. Trende

7 Exhibit 1 – Sean Trende C.V.

SEAN P. TRENDE

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., The Ohio State University, Political Science, 2023. Dissertation titled *Application of Spatial Analysis to Contemporary Problems in Political Science*, September 2023.

M.A.S. (Master of Applied Statistics), The Ohio State University, 2019.

J.D., Duke University School of Law, *cum laude*, 2001; Duke Law Journal, Research Editor.

M.A., Duke University, *cum laude*, Political Science, 2001. Thesis titled *The Making of an Ideological Court: Application of Non-parametric Scaling Techniques to Explain Supreme Court Voting Patterns from 1900-1941*, June 2001.

B.A., Yale University, with distinction, History and Political Science, 1995.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Law Clerk, Hon. Deanell R. Tacha, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, 2001-02.

Associate, Kirkland & Ellis, LLP, Washington, DC, 2002-05.

Associate, Hunton & Williams, LLP, Richmond, Virginia, 2005-09.

Associate, David, Kamp & Frank, P.C., Newport News, Virginia, 2009-10.

Senior Elections Analyst, RealClearPolitics, 2010-present.

Columnist, Center for Politics Crystal Ball, 2014-17.

Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute, 2018-present.

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *The Red Ripple*, Ch. 15 (2023).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *A Return to Normalcy?: The 2020 Election that (Almost) Broke America* Ch. 13 (2021).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *The Blue Wave*, Ch. 14 (2019).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke all the Rules* (2017).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *The Surge: 2014's Big GOP Win and What It Means for the Next Presidential Election*, Ch. 12 (2015).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *Barack Obama and the New America*, Ch. 12 (2013).

Barone, Kraushaar, McCutcheon & Trende, *The Almanac of American Politics* 2014 (2013).

The Lost Majority: Why the Future of Government is up for Grabs – And Who Will Take It (2012).

PREVIOUS EXPERT TESTIMONY AND/OR DEPOSITIONS

Dickson v. Rucho, No. 11-CVS-16896 (N.C. Super. Ct., Wake County) (racial gerrymandering).

Covington v. North Carolina, No. 1:15-CV-00399 (M.D.N.C.) (racial gerrymandering).

NAACP v. McCrory, No. 1:13CV658 (M.D.N.C.) (early voting).

NAACP v. Husted, No. 2:14-cv-404 (S.D. Ohio) (early voting).

Ohio Democratic Party v. Husted, Case 15-cv-01802 (S.D. Ohio) (early voting).

Lee v. Virginia Bd. of Elections, No. 3:15-cv-357 (E.D. Va.) (early voting).

Feldman v. Arizona, No. CV-16-1065-PHX-DLR (D. Ariz.) (absentee voting).

A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Smith, No. 1:18-cv-00357-TSB (S.D. Ohio) (political gerrymandering).

Whitford v. Nichol, No. 15-cv-421-bbc (W.D. Wisc.) (political gerrymandering).

Common Cause v. Rucho, No. 1:16-CV-1026-WO-JEP (M.D.N.C.) (political gerrymandering).

Mecinas v. Hobbs, No. CV-19-05547-PHX-DJH (D. Ariz.) (ballot order effect).

Fair Fight Action v. Raffensperger, No. 1:18-cv-05391-SCJ (N.D. Ga.) (statistical analysis).

Pascua Yaqui Tribe v. Rodriguez, No. 4:20-CV-00432-TUC-JAS (D. Ariz.) (early voting).

Ohio Organizing Collaborative, et al v. Ohio Redistricting Commission, et al, No. 2021-1210 (Ohio) (political gerrymandering).

NCLCV v. Hall, No. 21-CVS-15426 (N.C. Sup. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

Szeliga v. Lamone, Case No. C-02-CV-21-001816 (Md. Cir. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

In the Matter of 2022 Legislative Districting of the State, Misc. No. 25 (Md. Ct. App.) (political gerrymandering)

Montana Democratic Party v. Jacobsen, DV-56-2021-451 (Mont. Dist. Ct.) (early voting; ballot collection).

Carter v. Chapman, No. 464 M.D. 2021 (Pa.) (map drawing; amicus).

NAACP v. McMaster, No. 3:21-cv-03302 (D.S.C.) (racial gerrymandering).

Alexander v. NAACP, Case No. 3:21-cv-03302-MBS-TJH-RMG (D.S.C.) (racial gerrymandering).

Graham v. Adams, No. 22-CI-00047 (Ky. Cir. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

Harkenrider v. Hochul, No. E2022-0116CV (N.Y. Sup. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

LULAC v. Abbott, Case No. 3:21-cv-00259 (W.D. Tex.) (racial/political gerrymandering/VRA).

Moore et al., v. Lee, et al., (Tenn. 20th Dist.) (state constitutional compliance).

Milligan v. Allen, Case No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM (N.D. Ala.) (VRA).

Nairne v. Ardoin, NO. 22-178-SDD-SDJ (M.D. La.) (VRA).

Robinson v. Ardoin, NO. 22-211-SDD-SDJ (M.D. La.) (VRA).

Republican Party v. Oliver, No. D-506-CV-2022-00041 (N.M. Cir. Ct. (Lea County)) (political gerrymandering).

Palmer v. Hobbs, Case No. 3:22-CV-5035-RSL (W.D. Wash) (VRA; remedial phase only).

Clarke v. Evers, No. 2023AP001399-OA (Wisc.) (Political gerrymandering; remedial phase only).

Stone v. Allen, No. 2:21-cv-1531-AMM (N.D. Ala.) (VRA).

Milligan v. Allen, No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM (S.D. Ala.) (VRA).

Pierce v. NC State Board of Elections, Case No. 4:23-cv-193 (E.D.N.C.) VRA.

Harkenrider v. Hochul, No. E2022-0116CV (N.Y. Sup. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

LULAC v. Abbott, Case No. 3:21-cv-00259 (W.D. Tex.) (racial/political gerrymandering/VRA).

Moore et al., v. Lee, et al., (Tenn. 20th Dist.) (state constitutional compliance).

Agee et al. v. Benson, et al., (W.D. Mich.) (racial gerrymandering/VRA).

Faatz, et al. v. Ashcroft, et al., (Cir. Ct. Mo.) (state constitutional compliance).

Coca, et al. v. City of Dodge City, et al., Case No. 6:22-cv-01274-EFM-RES (D. Kan.) (VRA).

Pierce v. NC State Board of Elections, Case No. 4:23-cv-193 (E.D.N.C.) (VRA).

Williams v. Hall, Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057 (M.D.N.C.) (VRA, Racial Gerrymandering).

Hodges v. Passidomo, Case No. 8:24-cv-879-CEH-TPB-ALB (M.D. Fla.) (Racial Gerrymandering).

Coads v. Nassau County, Index No. 611872/2023 (N.Y. Sup. Ct., Nassau County) (political gerrymandering, racial gerrymandering, NYVRA).

COURT APPOINTMENTS

Appointed as Voting Rights Act expert by Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (2020)

Appointed Special Master by the Supreme Court of Virginia to redraw maps for the Virginia House of Delegates, the Senate of Virginia, and for Virginia's delegation to the United States Congress for the 2022 election cycle.

Appointed redistricting expert by the Supreme Court of Belize in *Smith v. Perrera*, No. 55 of 2019 (one-person-one-vote).

INTERNATIONAL PRESENTATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

Panel Discussion, European External Action Service, Brussels, Belgium, Likely Outcomes of 2012 American Elections.

Selected by U.S. Embassies in Sweden, Spain, and Italy to discuss 2016 and 2018 elections to think tanks and universities in area (declined Italy due to teaching responsibilities).

Selected by EEAS to discuss 2018 elections in private session with European Ambassadors.

TEACHING

American Democracy and Mass Media, Ohio Wesleyan University, Spring 2018.

Introduction to American Politics, The Ohio State University, Autumns 2018, 2019, 2020, Spring 2018.

Political Participation and Voting Behavior, Springs 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023.

Survey Methodology, Fall 2022, Spring 2024.

PUBLICATIONS

James G. Gimpel, Andrew Reeves, & Sean Trende, “Reconsidering Bellwether Locations in U.S. Presidential Elections,” *Pres. Stud. Q.* (2022) (forthcoming, available online at <http://doi.org/10.1111/psq.12793>).

REAL CLEAR POLITICS COLUMNS

Full archives available at http://www.realclearpolitics.com/authors/sean_trende/