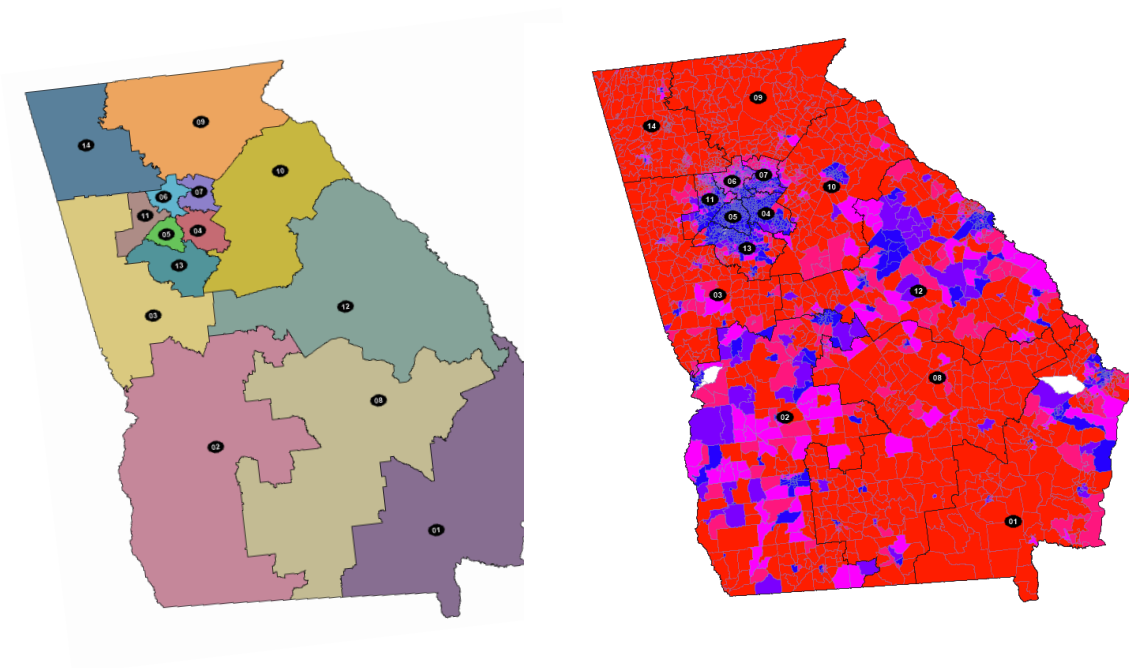


# Georgia



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Winter 2022  
April 4, 2022

## Introduction

This plan seeks to achieve proportional representation, electing representatives that reflect the partisan divide within Georgia. This is a departure from the enacted 2020 Georgia plan, which includes nine Republican districts, one competitive district and four Democratic districts.<sup>1</sup> That breakdown is not representative of Georgia, which currently has six Democratic members of the House of Representatives and two Democratic senators,<sup>2</sup> and which elected President Biden in the 2020 election.<sup>3</sup>

In the decade since 2010, Georgia experienced population growth that shifted the dynamics of the state. The population increased by 10.6% to 10,711,908 people.<sup>4</sup> The population of non-Hispanic white individuals decreased by 4.0% to make up only 51.9% of the state's population.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the population of individuals that identify as any part Black increased by 15.8%, now accounting for 33.0% of the state's population.<sup>6</sup> There is a strong correlation between race and party preference in Georgia.<sup>7</sup>

Georgia has a history of racial discrimination in voting.<sup>8</sup> It was one of the states subject to preclearance under § 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (the "VRA"),<sup>9</sup> and its racially

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<sup>1</sup> *What Redistricting Looks Like In Every State: Georgia*, FIVETHIRTYEIGHT, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-2022-maps/georgia/> (Apr. 1, 2022, 9:25 PM).

<sup>2</sup> *United States Congressional Delegations from Georgia*, BALLOTPEDIA, [https://ballotpedia.org/United\\_States\\_congressional\\_delegations\\_from\\_Georgia](https://ballotpedia.org/United_States_congressional_delegations_from_Georgia) (last visited Apr. 3, 2022).

<sup>3</sup> *Georgia Election Results*, NY TIMES: 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-georgia.html> (last visited Apr. 3, 2022).

<sup>4</sup> America Counts Staff, *Georgia: 2020 Census*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU (Aug. 25, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/georgia-population-change-between-census-decade.html>.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

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

<sup>7</sup> Complaint at ¶ 40, *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:21-CV-05339 (N.D. Ga. Dec. 30, 2021).

<sup>8</sup> See Complaint at ¶¶ 43-55, *Pendergrass*.

<sup>9</sup> *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301, 329-30 (1966). Preclearance is no longer required following the Court finding the coverage formula unconstitutional. See *Shelby County v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013).

discriminatory voting “schemes” led to hundreds of instances of federal intervention.<sup>10</sup> These themes persist today, reflected in the current redistricting cycle.

Redistricting in Georgia occurs through the state legislature, which passes a statute with the proposed lines that is subject to veto by the governor.<sup>11</sup> Maps for the 2020 cycle were passed and ultimately signed by Governor Kemp on December 30, 2021, and litigation challenging the plans promptly followed.<sup>12</sup> As of February 28, 2022, a preliminary injunction was denied, resulting in the use of the new map for the 2022 election cycle.<sup>13</sup> As the litigation continues, however, the claims brought against the current plan shed light on some of the choices and challenges in creating this map.

The argument in *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger* emphasizes the racial polarization of voting in Georgia and the deep history of racial discrimination in the state.<sup>14</sup> At its core, the case alleges that there should have been an additional majority-Black district in the western Atlanta metropolitan area.<sup>15</sup> *Georgia NAACP v. Raffensperger* and *Common Cause v. Raffensperger*, consolidated since filing, allege that relative to the enacted plan, there should be two additional Congressional districts that give people of color a “meaningful opportunity to elect candidates of their choice”—a fifth majority-minority district in the Atlanta metropolitan area and one in the southeastern part of the state.<sup>16</sup> This ongoing litigation presents issues to think about with regard to demographic representation and legal compliance of this plan.

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<sup>10</sup> Complaint at ¶ 37, *Common Cause v. Raffensperger*, No 1:22-CV-00090 (N.D. Ga. Jan. 7, 2022).

<sup>11</sup> *Georgia*, ALL ABOUT REDISTRICTING, <https://redistricting.ils.edu/state/georgia> (last visited Apr. 3, 2022).

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> Order Following Coordinated Hearing on Motions for Preliminary Injunction, *Pendergrass*.

<sup>14</sup> Complaint at ¶ 43-55, *Pendergrass*.

<sup>15</sup> Complaint at ¶ 3, *Pendergrass*.

<sup>16</sup> *See* Complaint at ¶ 130, *Georgia NAACP v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:21-CV-05338 (N.D. Ga. Dec. 30, 2021).

## Legal Framework

Legal requirements for Georgia maps derive from federal standards. The Georgia congressional map must comply with the constitutional provisions in Article I, § 2, known as the “one person, one vote” principle.<sup>17</sup> Ideally, maps will have perfect population equality between districts, though there are instances in which deviations may be justified to fulfill legitimate state objectives.<sup>18</sup> This plan, however, adheres to a maximum deviation of one person.

The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the use of race as the predominant factor in drawing a district, unless such consideration is intended to satisfy a compelling interest such as creating a majority-minority district compliant with the VRA.<sup>19</sup> Some indicators, though not dispositive, that a district relied primarily on race include irregularly shaped districts or a clear de-emphasis on traditional principles such as compactness, contiguity, and respect for political subdivision lines.<sup>20</sup>

Section 2 of the VRA establishes that the use of race in districting is permissible, even required, to ensure that minority groups have an equal opportunity to elect their candidates of choice when they make up a (1) “sufficiently large and geographically compact” population that (2) is “politically cohesive” with (3) a majority white population that votes as a bloc to usually “defeat the minority’s preferred candidate.”<sup>21</sup> Five such majority-minority districts were present in the 2010 Georgia map,<sup>22</sup> and it is essential to maintain at least that level of representation in the 2020 map. Additionally, it is possible to draw at least one additional majority-minority district.

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<sup>17</sup> *Larios v. Cox*, 300 F.Supp.2d 1230 (N.D. Ga. 2004); *Karcher v. Daggett*, 462 U.S. 725 (1983).

<sup>18</sup> *Karcher*, 426 U.S. 725; *Tennant v. Jefferson County*, 567 U.S. 758 (2012).

<sup>19</sup> *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993).

<sup>20</sup> *See Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. at 646-47; *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900, 912-13 (1995).

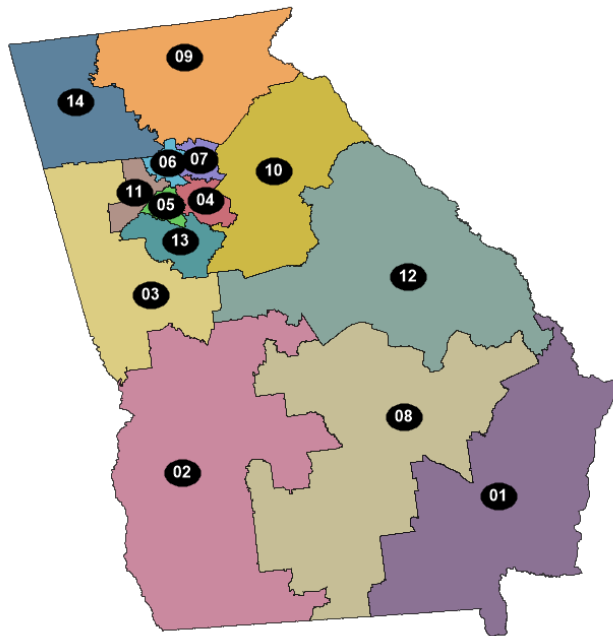
<sup>21</sup> *See Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 50-51 (1986).

<sup>22</sup> *Majority-Minority Districts*, BALLOTPEDIA, [https://ballotpedia.org/Majority-minority\\_districts](https://ballotpedia.org/Majority-minority_districts) (last visited Apr. 3, 2022).

Unlike race, partisan considerations used in drawing districts are no longer justiciable.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, a district drawn on the basis of party is not drawn on the basis of race, even when party and race are extremely correlated.<sup>24</sup> This map is drawn to emphasize partisan considerations, but it does ensure that there are sufficient majority-minority districts to comply with the VRA.

Georgia does not impose independent restrictions on congressional maps.<sup>25</sup>

Plan Summary



*Map 1: Proposed Plan*

This plan seeks to achieve proportional representation, electing representatives that reflect the partisan divide within the state. While doing so, it also seeks to create districts that are contiguous, relatively compact, equal in population, and in compliance with the VRA. In the

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<sup>23</sup> *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S.Ct. 2482 (2019).

<sup>24</sup> *Easley v. Cromartie*, 532 U.S. 234 (2001).

<sup>25</sup> ALL ABOUT REDISTRICTING, *supra* note 11.

2020 presidential election, President Biden won the state with 49.47% of the vote,<sup>26</sup> making the benchmark that the plan aims for 50% Democratic districts.

When evaluated in PlanScore, this map is well-balance upon partisan lines. It has four districts that are Democratic (04, 05, 11, and 13), three districts that lean Democratic (02, 06, and 07), one district that leans Republican (12), and six districts are Republican (01, 03, 08, 09, 10, and 14).<sup>27</sup> There is a slight partisan bias in favor of Republicans, though only 0.4%. The Democratic districts are concentrated around the Atlanta area and were made possible by avoiding packing or cracking Democrat voters and instead creating districts where those voters would be proportionally represented.

Though primarily focused on partisan balance, this map also maintained levels of majority-minority representation consistent with the prior maps, while adding an additional majority-minority district. Based on the voting age population, there are four majority-Black districts in Georgia, three in the southern Atlanta region and one in the southwest of the state. There are two additional majority-minority districts in the northern Atlanta region. This is consistent with the goals framed in the *Georgia NAACP* complaint as necessary to comply with the VRA.<sup>28</sup>

While aiming for proportional representation, it was important to consider other redistricting factors as well, if with less emphasis. Compactness is a general redistricting principle that this plan sought to consider. In some instances, the plan attempts to increase the compactness of certain districts (like District 08), though generally the goal was simply to avoid non-compact districts and improve or remain consistent relative to the prior map. The plan

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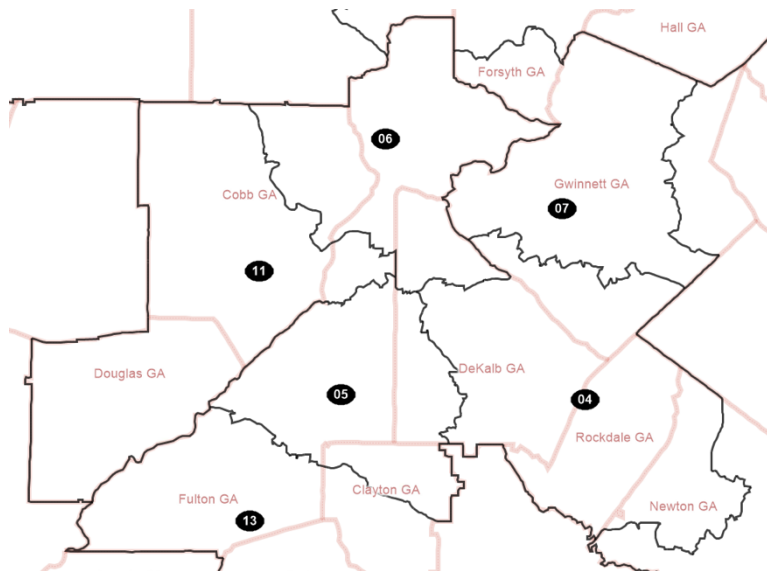
<sup>26</sup> *Georgia Election Results*, *supra* note 3.

<sup>27</sup> The full PlanScore report for this proposed plan can be accessed at this link: <https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/plan.html?20220330T201140.243864121Z>.

<sup>28</sup> See Complaint at ¶ 130-171, *Georgia NAACP*.

accomplishes this goal. For example, the mean Reock compactness score for the 2010 map is 0.45, which is consistent with this plan. Similarly, the mean Polsby-Popper compactness score for both maps is 0.26. The Alternate Schwartzberg compactness score for the 2010 map is 2.00 while for the current map it is 1.98, showing slight improvement. Overall, this plan did not compromise on compactness.

Political subdivision splits are another general redistricting principle to consider. Here, the focus was to achieve proportional representation, and the plan was able to do so without too much sacrifice to splits. In the 2010 map, 143 counties were not split, while in this map 139 counties are not split. In both cases, 64 voting districts were split across more than one district. Within the Atlanta area particularly, it was necessary to intentionally split counties to distribute the population among the six districts that comprise that area.

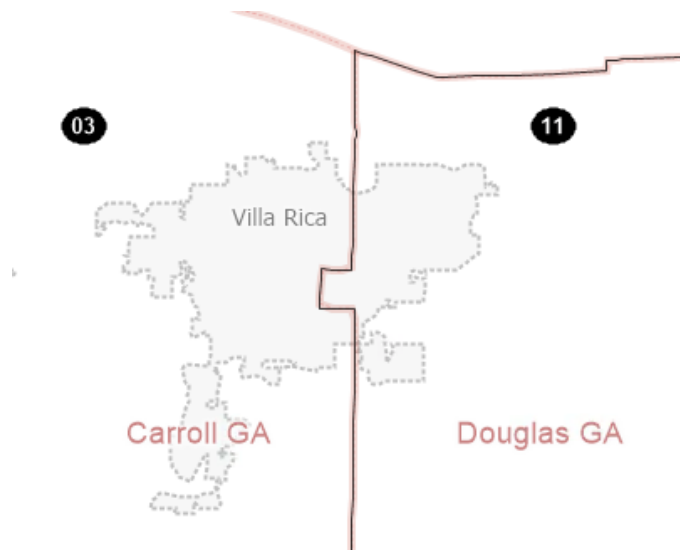


Map 2: Atlanta Metropolitan Area Districts and Counties

In the Atlanta area, it was also difficult to keep some cities and towns together given the population density, the numerous counties, and cities and towns whose boundaries do not align with county borders. For example, Atlanta itself is split across Districts 05, 06, and 11. This is

primarily due to equal population considerations given the population density at the center of the metropolitan area, but Atlanta extends across the Fulton / DeKalb boundary in multiple places, including at very small incursion into District 06. There, the county line was respected over the city line.

Even outside the Atlanta area, conflicting city and county lines led to splits. Villa Rica is split between Carroll and Douglas Counties, and thus Districts 03 and 11 along that boundary. Generally, the districts in the Atlanta area have proportionally more split cities and towns than the districts in less densely populated regions. For example, District 05, in the heart of the Atlanta area, has 12 partial towns and 6 full towns, while the nearby District 10 has 7 partial towns and 64 full towns.



Map 3: City (grey), County (red), and District (black) Boundaries around Villa Rica

Political subdivisions were split elsewhere in the state to achieve population equality between the districts, though when necessary the plan attempts to respect natural boundaries such as major highways or city limits. Deviating slightly from these core principles was important to



achieve the proportional goals of the map and equal representation, but even so the map scores well on compactness and minimizes political subdivision splits to the extent possible.

While not a least change plan by any means, this map sought to preserve the cores of existing districts and build from the current framework rather than completely starting to apportion the state from a blank slate. This aids in comparison to the prior and current enacted plans and demonstrates that Georgia could achieve more balanced districts without a radical departure from their current map.

### Process Summary

The previous Georgia map packed Democratic (and minority) voters into the districts central to the Atlanta area, creating a Republican **District 11**. I began by apportioning Bartow and Cherokee counties, in the northern part of the former **District 11**, into **District 14** to reverse that effect. To bring the population of **District 11** closer to the goal of 765,136, I added the south part of Cobb and Douglass Counties to **District 11**.

This necessitated shifting **District 13** south to include portions of Fayette, Henry, and Spaulding counties, which also served to unpack some of the Democratic voters in the Atlanta area. Making these changes to **Districts 11 and 13** added an additional Democratic (and majority-minority) district to the Atlanta area.

The additional population in **District 14** from the prior **District 11** necessitated shifting some voters out of that district, which was achieved by adding Haralson, Polk, and Paulding counties to **District 03**. This also helped increase the population of **District 03** which was diminished when **District 13** shifted south.

Minor modifications facilitated equal population in the northern districts, including moving population in Forsyth County from **District 07** to **District 09**. To bring additional

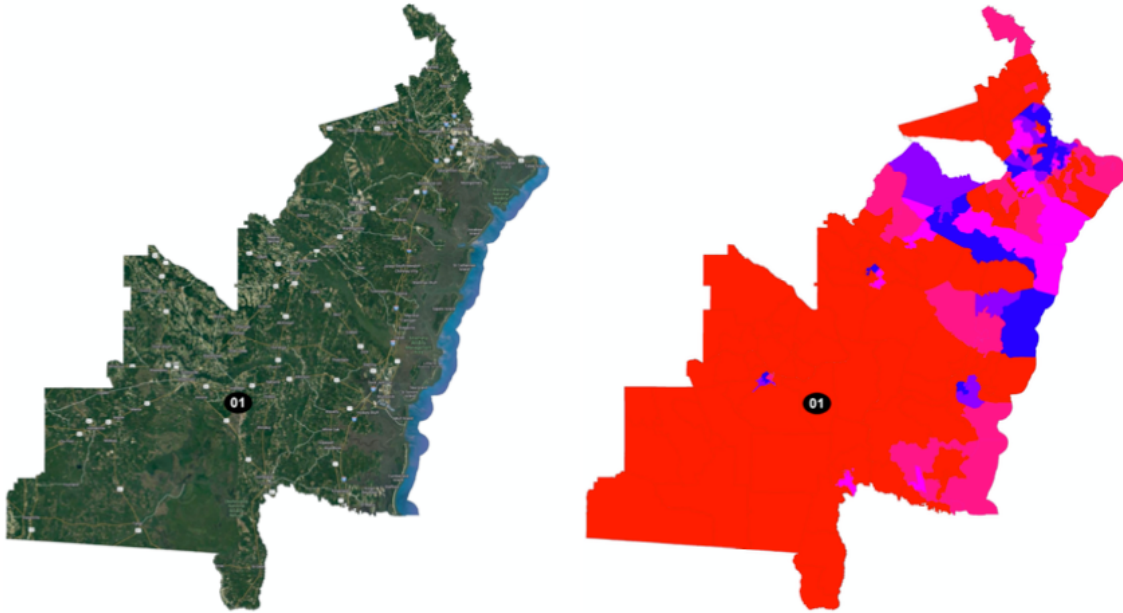
population into **District 09**, Pickens and Murray Counties were added, as was a portion of the population in Cherokee County.

Next, I focused on the southern part of the state. **Districts 01 and 08** lacked population due to changes over the census decade. This required shifting population out of the northern part of the state by adding additional counties to **District 10**, including Madison, Elbert, Hart, Jackson, and Franklin Counties. Next, **District 12** shifted north, including a reallocation of Monroe, Jones, and parts of Bibb and Twiggs Counties into **District 12** to create more compact districts in the southern part of the state. **District 01** expanded north, but it was kept largely intact to preserve the coastal community, and **District 08** moved south and east.

Finally, it was necessary to expand **District 02** into Bibb and Twiggs Counties. This ensured that **District 02** was comfortably Democratic, and including a portion of Brooks County rendered **District 02** majority-Black based on voting age population, preserving its status as a majority-minority district.

## District Summary

### *District 01*



*Map 4: District 01 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap<sup>29</sup>*

District 01 covers Georgia’s southeast coast. It is a Republican district,<sup>30</sup> with 56.7% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. Relative to the 2010 map, the district is similar, although it splits Effingham County rather than Lowndes County. Relative to the enacted 2020 map,<sup>31</sup> the district is similar, although it includes Clinch and Echols Counties rather than Appling County.

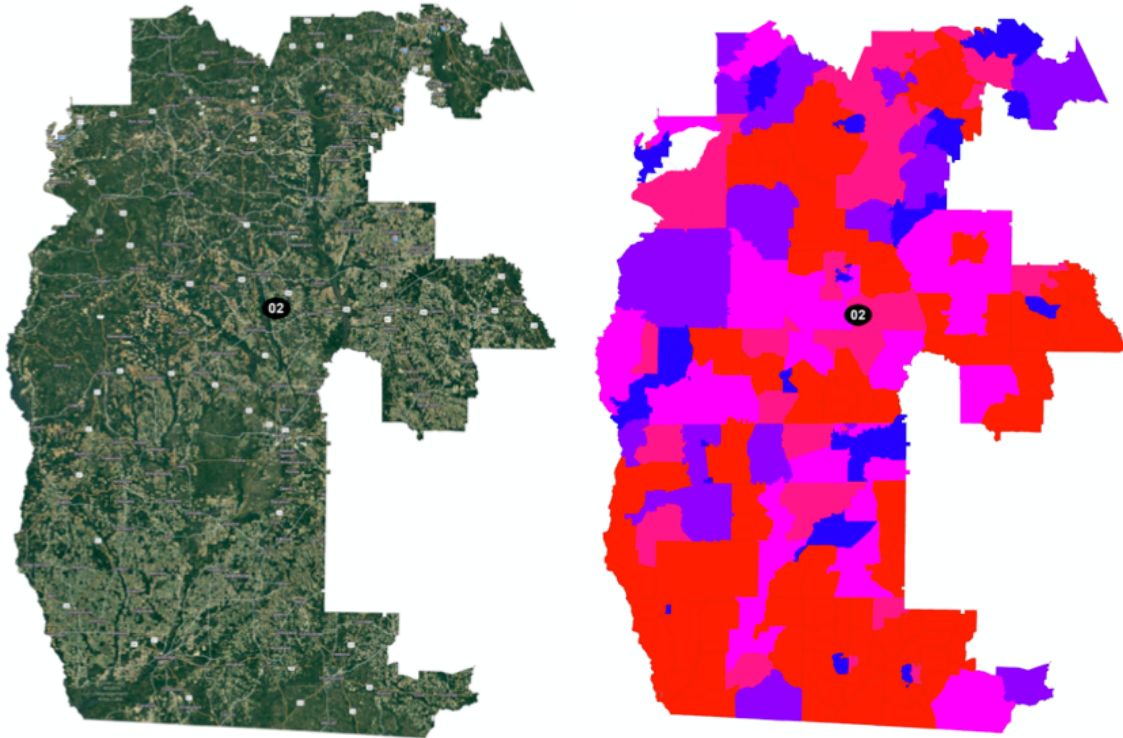
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<sup>29</sup> Partisan heatmaps rely on the field “% D 20\_Pres.” Heatmap thresholds are [0-0.35), [0.35-0.45), [0.45-0.55), [0.55-0.65), [0.65-1] from red to blue.

<sup>30</sup> Partisan determinations in this section are from the PlanScore report, *supra* note 27.

<sup>31</sup> Comparisons to the enacted 2020 map at the county level come from data downloaded from All About Redistricting, *supra* note 11.

*District 02*



*Map 5: District 02 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 02 covers Georgia’s southwest region. It is a Democratic-leaning district, with 54.9% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Additionally, this is a majority-Black district based on voting age population. Relative to the 2010 map, this district includes additional counties—parts of Thomas and Brooks, as well as Wilcox, Turner, Twiggs, and part of Houston Counties. This district was also Democratic-leaning in 2010 and was one of the majority-Black districts in the state, so this plan retains that status.<sup>32</sup>

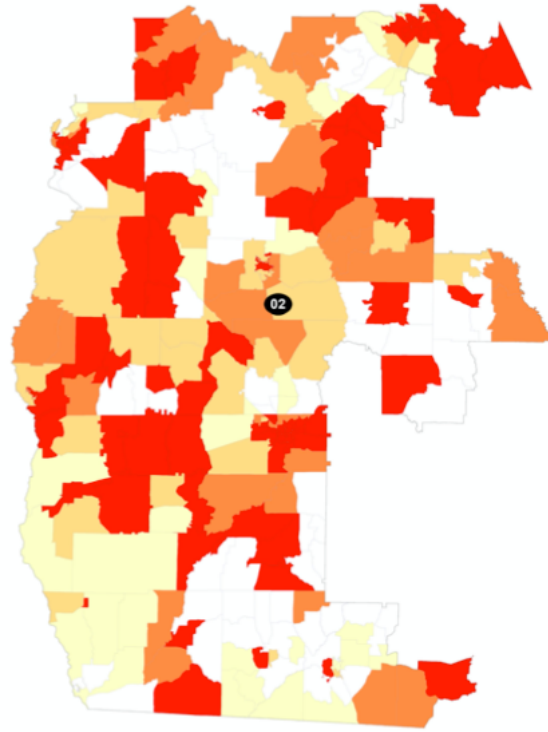
In the enacted 2020 map, this is a competitive district,<sup>33</sup> excluding all of Brooks, Turner, Crisp, Wilcox, and Twiggs Counties, shifting the demographic balance of the district.

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<sup>32</sup> Complaint at ¶ 161, *Georgia NAACP*.

<sup>33</sup> Comparisons to the partisan lean of the 2010 and enacted 2020 districts come from FiveThirtyEight, *supra* note 1.

Differences between this district and the enacted 2020 district are driven by efforts to intentionally make this district Democratic and majority-minority.

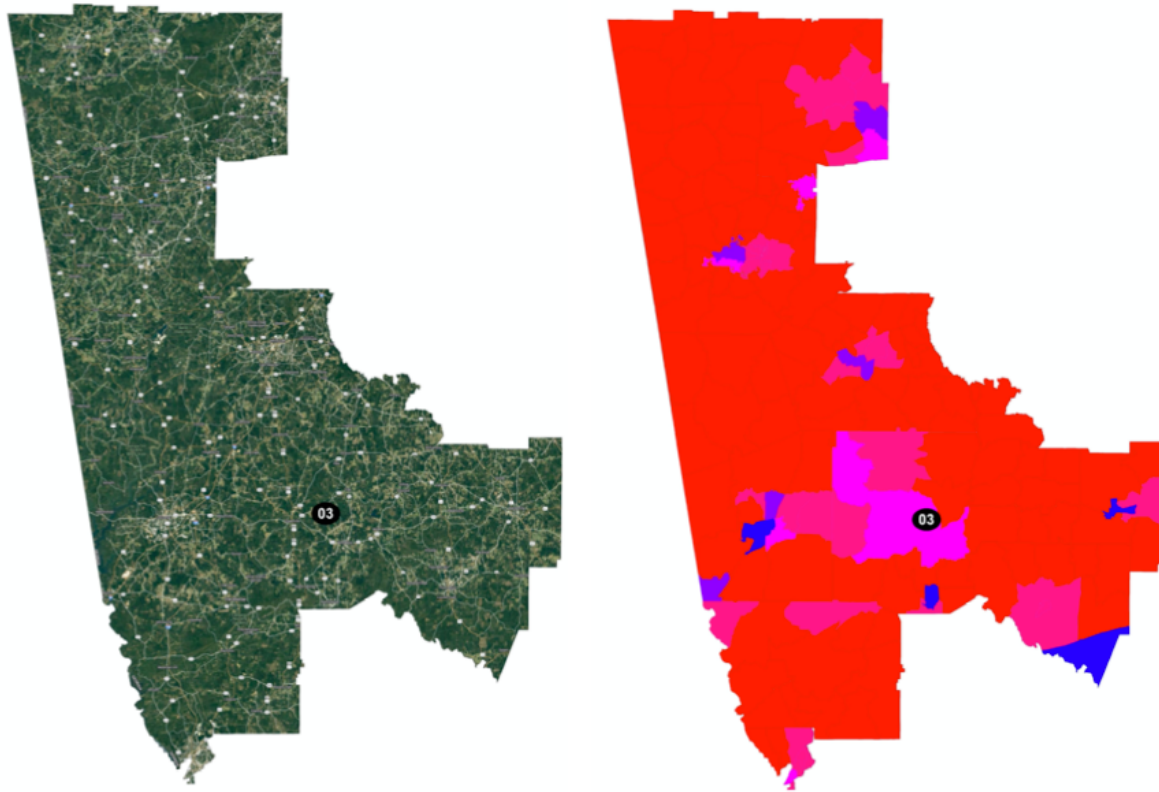


Map 6: District 02 BVAP Heatmap<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> BVAP (Black voting-age population) heatmaps rely on the data field “% 18+\_AP\_Bl.” Heatmap thresholds are [0.2-0.3), [0.3-0.4), [0.4-0.5), and [0.5-1] from light yellow to red. Values below 0.2 are white.

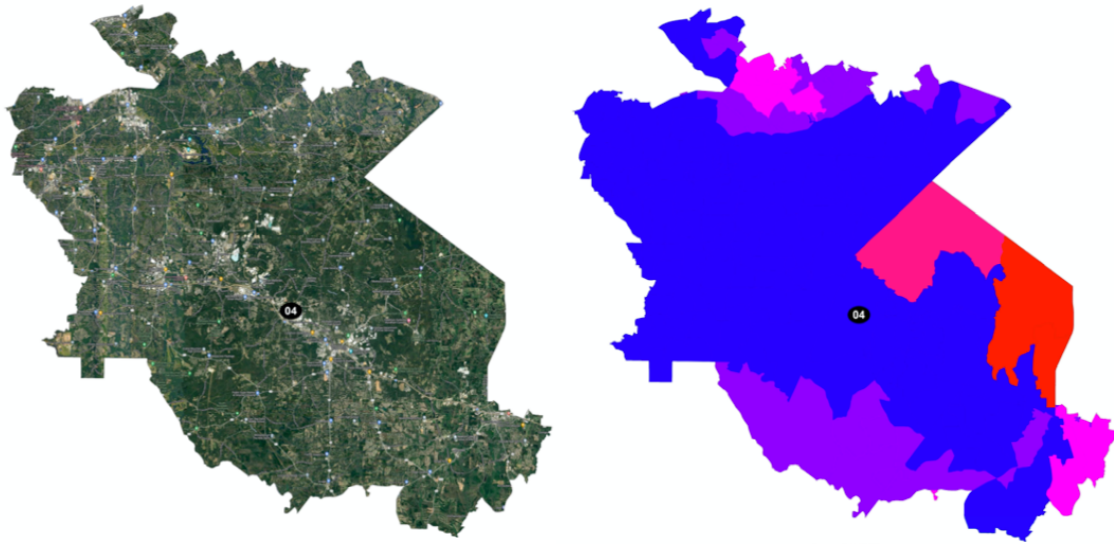
*District 03*



*Map 7: District 03 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 03 runs along the middle of the western edge of Georgia. It is a Republican district, with 68.7% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. Relative to the 2010 map, this district includes additional counties—Polk, Paulding, and Haralson—and excludes other counties—portions of Spalding, Fayette, and Henry—shifting the district north. Relative to the enacted 2020 map, this district includes Polk and Paulding Counties, but excludes part of Douglas, Fayette, Henry, and Spalding Counties. In both other maps, this district is a Republican district.

## District 04



Map 8: District 04 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap

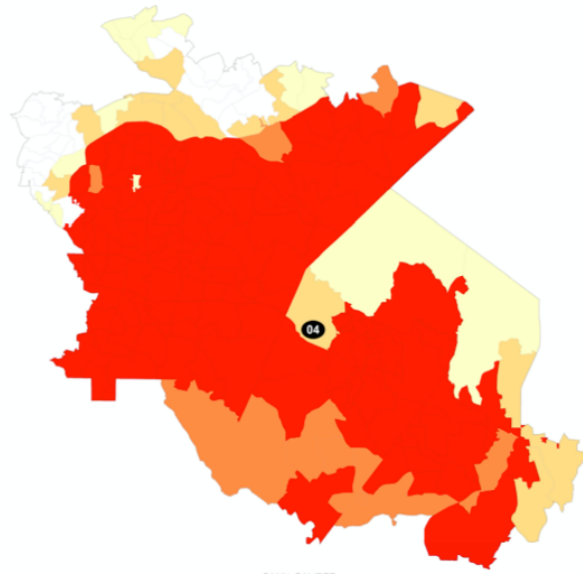
District 04 is part of the Atlanta metropolitan area. It is a Democratic district, with 80.1% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Additionally, this is a majority-Black district based on the voting age population. Relative to the 2010 map, the district spans the same counties but with slightly different boundaries, primarily in Newton County. This is in a densely populated, Democratic area, surrounded by other districts, so there was limited opportunity to unpack any of the Democratic voters without sacrificing compactness. Additionally, this remains a majority-minority district as it was in 2010.<sup>35</sup>

In the enacted 2020 map, this district extends all the way to the north of DeKalb County, has less area in Newton County, and excludes Gwinnett County. This serves to incorporate even more Democratic voters in exchange for Republican voters, as part of modifications that gave the Atlanta metropolitan area four Democratic districts in the enacted 2020 plan as compared to the

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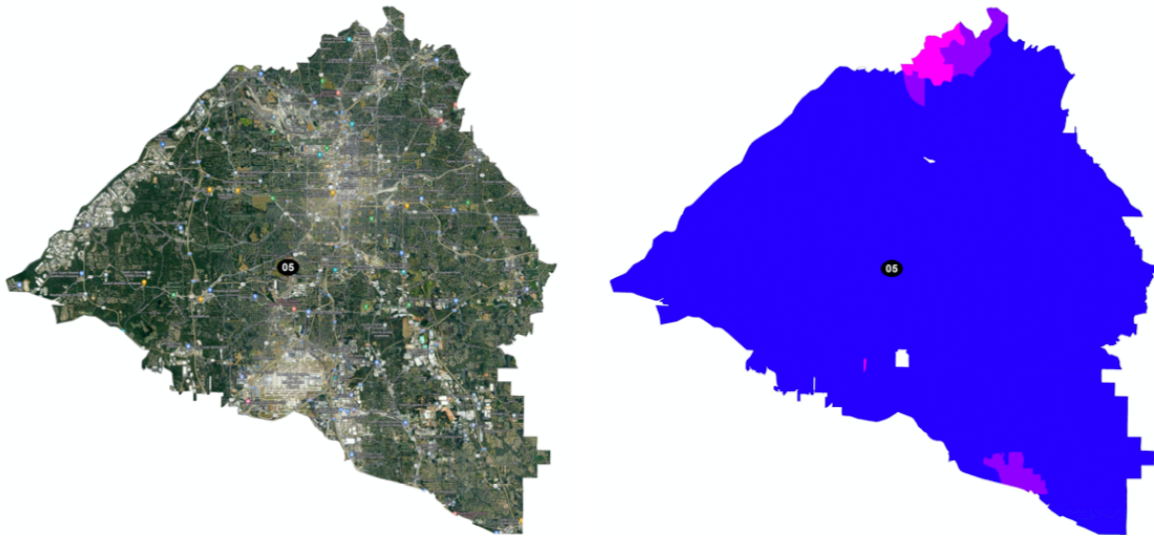
<sup>35</sup> *Majority-Minority Districts, supra* note 22.

three Democratic districts and two competitive districts in 2010, or the four Democratic districts and two competitive, Democratic-leaning districts here.



*Map 9: District 04 BVAP Heatmap*

### *District 05*

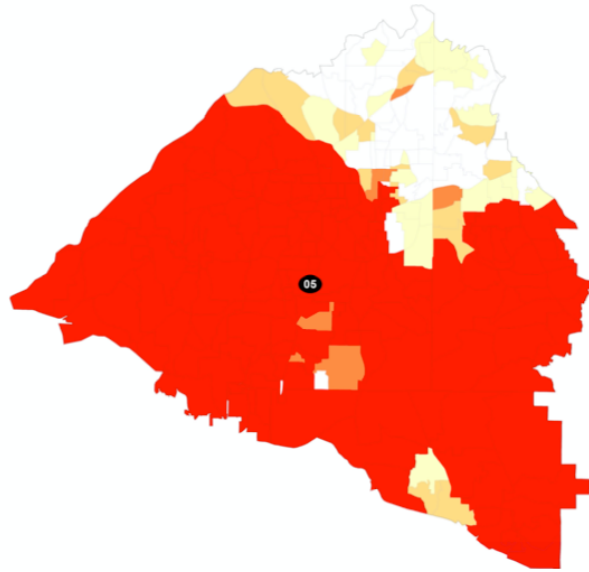


*Map 10: District 05 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 05 is also part of the Atlanta metropolitan area and has evolved like District 04. It is a Democratic district, with 87.3% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Additionally, this is a majority-Black district based on voting age population. Relative to the

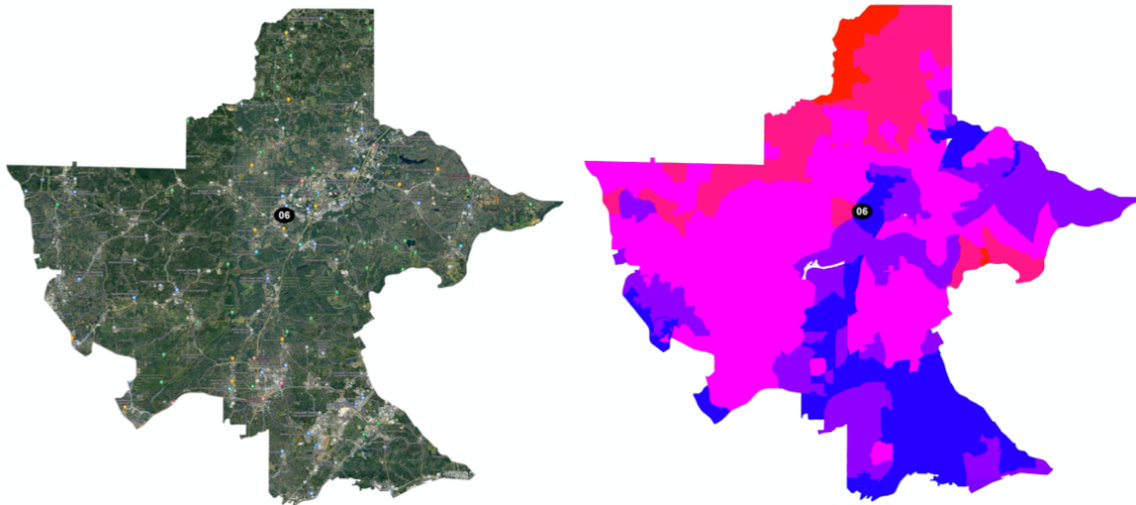


2010 map, the district spans the same counties but with slightly different boundaries, adjusted for equal population. This remains a majority-minority district as it was in 2010.<sup>36</sup> In the enacted 2020 map, this district extends further north into Fulton County and covers less area in Clayton County, though it remains a Democratic district throughout.



*Map 11: District 05 BVAP Heatmap*

### *District 06*



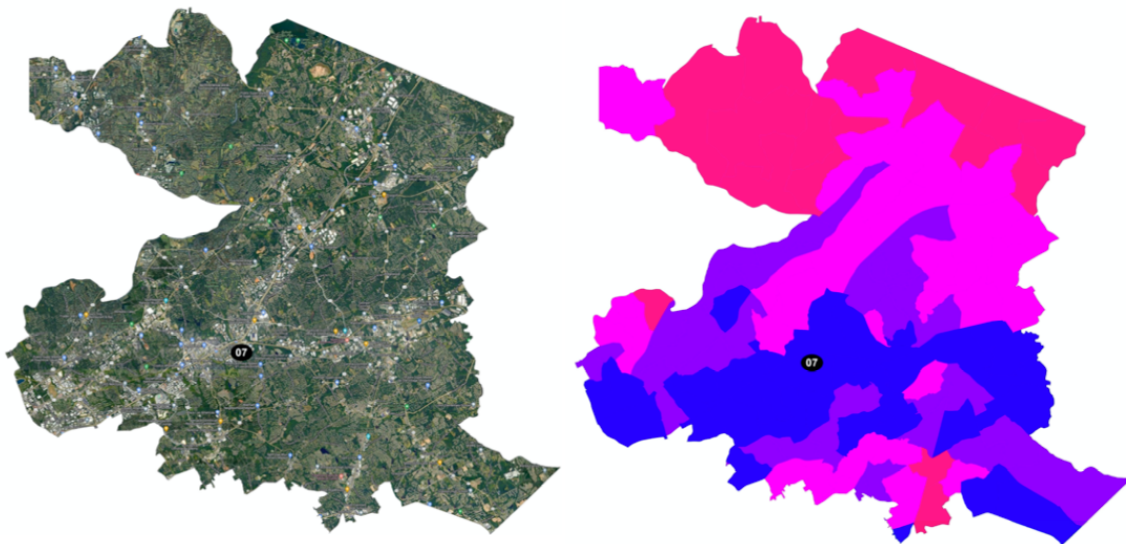
*Map 12: District 06 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

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<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

District 06 is also part of the Atlanta metropolitan area. It is a Democratic-leaning district, with 55.8% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Relative to the 2010 map, this district spans the same counties with differing borders in DeKalb County to adjust for equal population. In the 2010 map, this was a competitive district. This district differs substantially from the enacted 2020 district, which excludes DeKalb County, includes much less of Fulton County, and extends north into Cherokee, Forsyth, Dawson, and Gwinnett Counties. This serves to add voters that render this district solidly Republican in the enacted 2020 plan. This is one of the most substantial differences between this map and the enacted 2020 map that allows this map to achieve proportional representation.

*District 07*

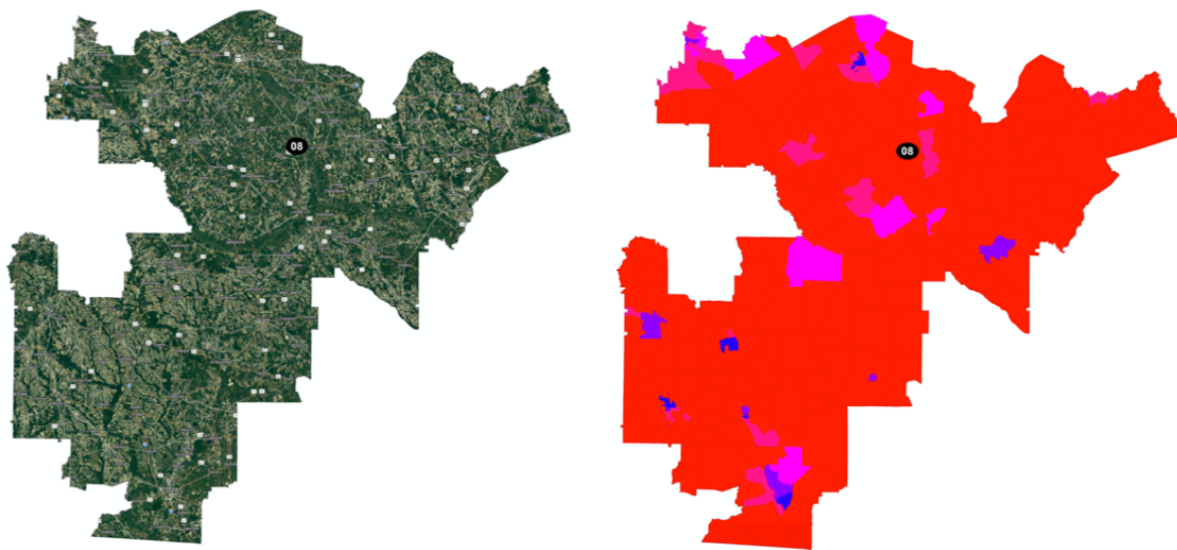


*Map 13: District 07 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 07 is also part of the Atlanta metropolitan area. It is a Democratic-leaning district, with 56.3% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Additionally, this is a majority-minority district, with substantial Black, Asian, and Hispanic voting age populations and only a 37.7% non-Hispanic white voting age population. Relative to the 2010 map, this district spans the same counties, but covers much less of Forsyth County. In 2010, this was a

competitive district. Additionally, it was also a majority-minority district.<sup>37</sup> In the 2020 map, this district covers more of Gwinnett County in the south and includes a small portion of Fulton County in the north, excluding Forsyth County altogether. This served to create a solidly Democratic district in the Atlanta area, at the expense of one of the prior competitive districts or another Democratic-leaning district as seen in this map.

*District 08*



*Map 14: District 08 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

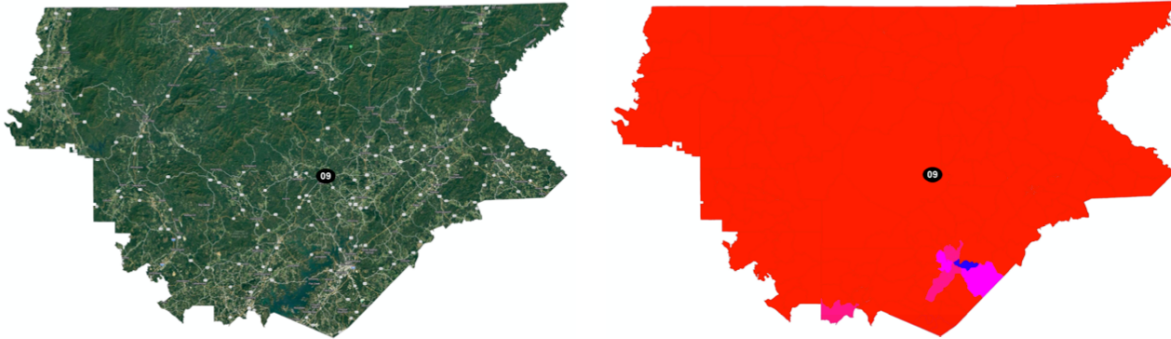
District 08 covers the central part of south Georgia. It is a Republican district, with 66.6% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. In both the 2010 and enacted 2020 maps, this is also a Republican district. In this map, however, the district is shifted south and east, so that it is concentrated more in the southern part of the state without reaching as far north. This change included removing counties like Monroe, Jones, Wilkinson, Bibb, and portions of Twiggs and Houston Counties in the north, Wilcox and Turner Counties in the central part, and portions of Thomas and Brooks Counties in the south. Additionally, it includes all of Lowndes County,

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<sup>37</sup> *Id.*

which was previously split with District 01, and eleven full new counties in the east-central part of the state along with a portion of Bulloch County. This served to increase the compactness of the district, changing the Reock compactness score, for example, from 0.33 to 0.43 (where 1 is the most compact score).

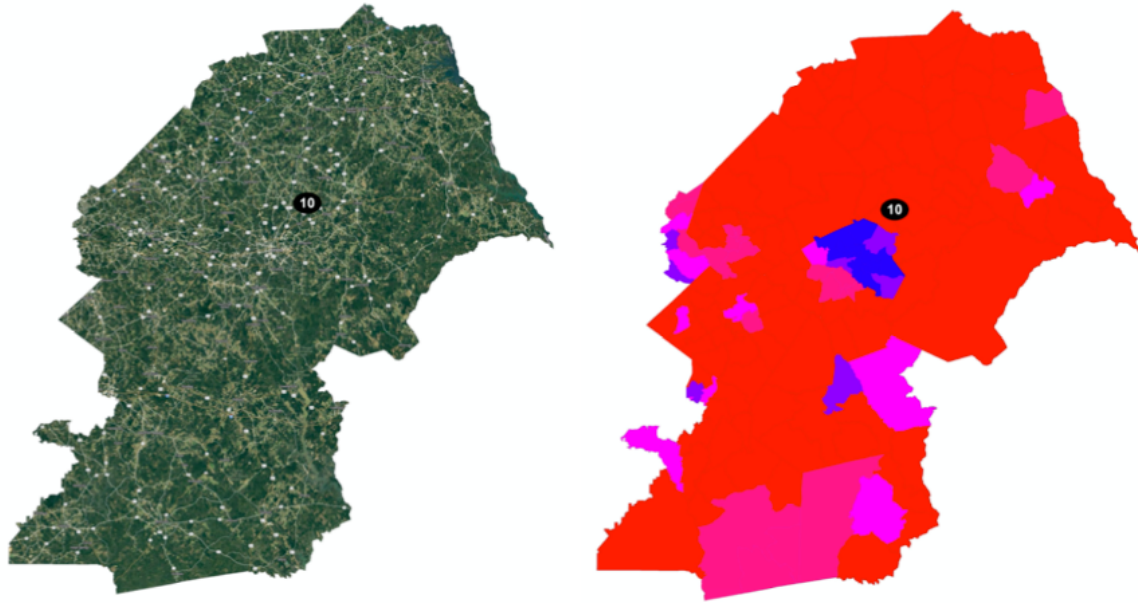
*District 09*



*Map 15: District 09 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 09 covers the northeast portion of Georgia. It is a Republican district, with 77.3% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. Relative to the 2010 map, this district is shifted north and slightly west, including Murray County, part of Cherokee County, and more of Forsyth County, while excluding Clarke, Elbert, Madison, Jackson, Hart, Franklin, and a portion of Banks Counties. The enacted 2020 district differs as it excludes the southern portion of the 2010 district, some of the western portion of this district, and it extends further south into the Atlanta metropolitan area. This serves to incorporate some Democratic voters in the Atlanta area with the more solidly Republican voters in the northeast of the state. Across all three maps, this district remains Republican.

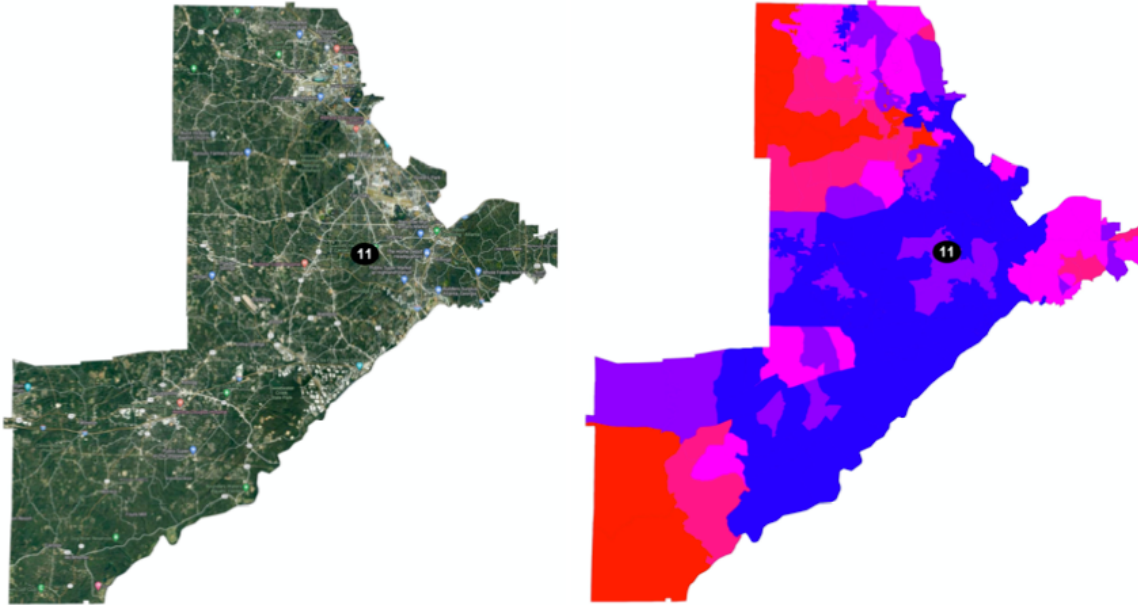
## District 10



*Map 16: District 10 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 10 covers the area east of Atlanta. It is a Republican district, with 64.8% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. Relative to the 2010 map, this district covers less area and is shifted north, covering an area more similar to the enacted 2020 map. In all three cases, this district is Republican, as it sits in an area that is largely Republican with the exception of Clarke County (where the University of Georgia is based).

## District 11



*Map 17: District 11 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

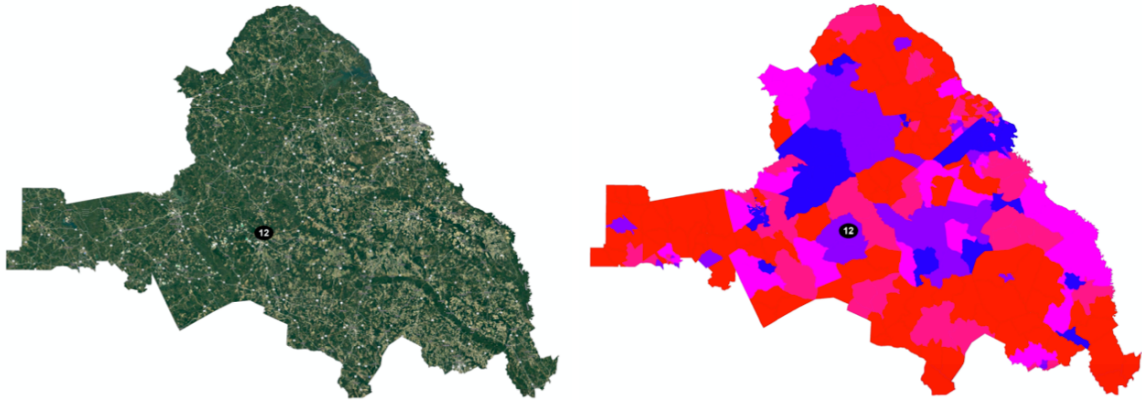
District 11 is in the western part of the Atlanta metropolitan area. It is a Democratic district, with 60.3% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Additionally, it is a majority-minority district with a 46.2% non-Hispanic white voting age population. This district differs substantially from the 2010 map. In 2010, District 11 included Bartow and Cherokee Counties, both of which have large Republican populations, and portions of Cobb and Fulton Counties. This resulted in a Republican district that included many Democratic voters from the Atlanta area. In the enacted 2020 map, District 11 covered similar areas, though it included less of Cherokee County, none of Fulton County, and Pickens County in the north. This resulted in a similar situation as the 2010 map.

This map allocates Bartow and Cherokee Counties to Districts 14 and 09, and groups the Democratic voters in Cobb and Fulton Counties with voters in Douglas County. This serves to create another Democratic district in the Atlanta area, increasing the proportionality of representation, and it creates an additional majority-minority district in the state. While this



district improved proportionality for the map as a whole, it sacrifices some compactness measures. The Reock score, for example, decreased from 0.5 in the 2010 plan to 0.38 here.

*District 12*



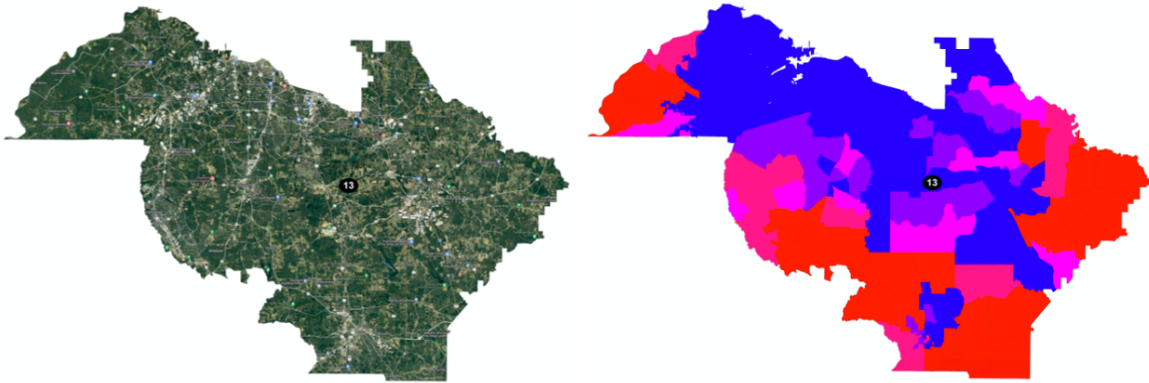
*Map 18: District 12 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 12 covers a large portion of the east side of Georgia. It is a Republican-leaning district, with 52.6% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. This differs substantially from the 2010 district, which covers an area farther south that is very solidly Republican. The enacted 2020 district shifts further north, but still does not go as far north as to include counties like Hancock, Taliaferro, and Greene. Additionally, this plan extends District 12 farther west into Baldwin, Wilkinson, Monroe, and Jones Counties as part of an effort to make District 08 more concentrated in the southern part of the state. This district is very narrowly Republican, and also very narrowly majority-white (53.8% voting age population). It is possible that this district could be construed to lean Democrat or become a majority-minority district. However, the additional Democratic district in Atlanta rendered representation proportional, and because District 02 was previously majority-minority,<sup>38</sup> the priority was to maintain that status there.

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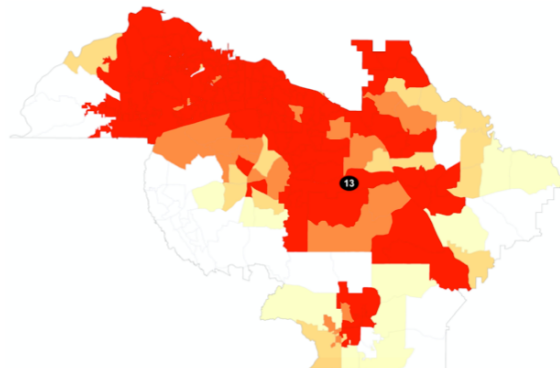
<sup>38</sup> *Id.*

## District 13



*Map 19: District 13 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

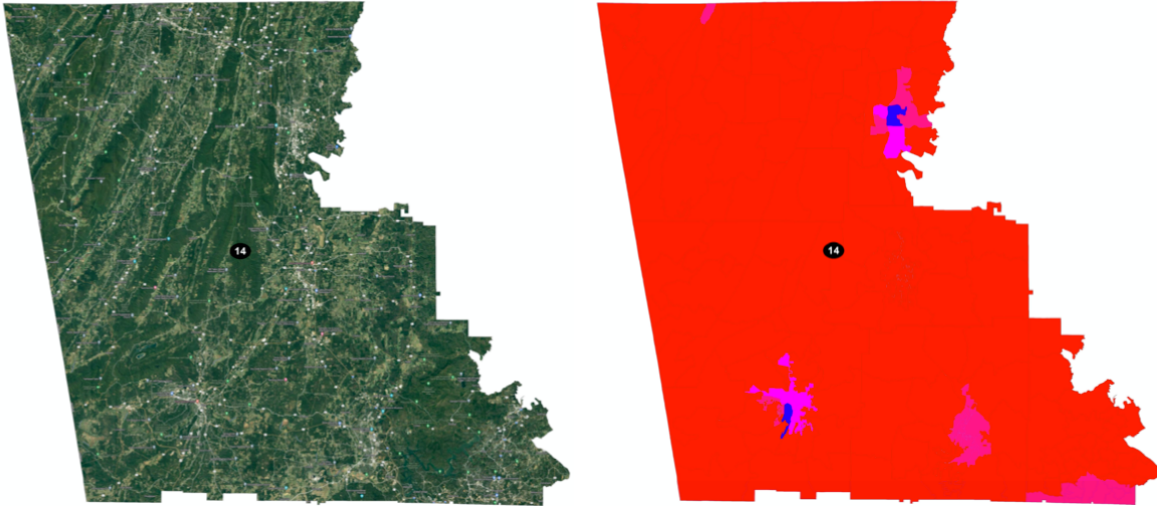
District 13 sits in the south of the Atlanta metropolitan area. It is a Democratic district, with 67.9% Democratic votes in the 2020 presidential election. Additionally, this is a majority-Black district based on the voting age population. This district differs substantially from the 2010 and 2020 maps, largely because of the changes to District 11. In 2010, District 13 included Douglas County and a portion of Cobb County, both of which are now in District 11. The northern border of the district in Fulton and Clayton Counties is similar, though slightly different to account for equal population. Now, the district extends farther south into Fayette and Spalding Counties, and includes all of Henry County, which was previously split. This district is Democratic in all three maps. Here, however, some of the prior Democratic population is allocated to District 11, while there are more Republican voters in the southern part of the district.



*Map 20: District 13 BVAP Heatmap*



## *District 14*



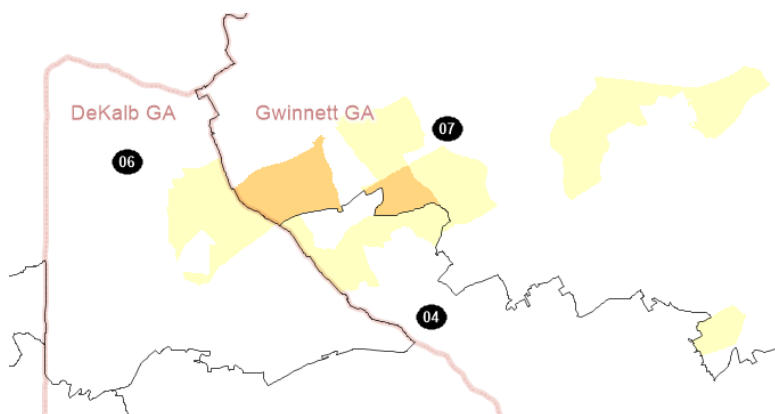
*Map 21: District 14 Hybrid View and Partisan Heatmap*

District 14 covers the northwest corner of Georgia. It is a Republican district, with 73.1% Republican votes in the 2020 presidential election. This district differs from those in the 2010 and enacted 2020 maps because of the changes to District 11. Some of the more heavily Republican portions of the former District 11—in Bartow and Cherokee Counties—were assigned to District 14. This also led to allocating the southern portion of the 2010 district—Polk, Paulding, and Haralson Counties—to District 03 to balance population. Murray County was moved from District 14 to District 09 as well, as was the portion of Pickens County formerly in District 14. Compared to the enacted 2020 district, this map excludes Murray County, as well as Polk, Paulding, and part of Cobb County, while including Bartow and part of Cherokee Counties.

### Trade-Offs

One trade-off not previously discussed is the treatment of the Hispanic community in the eastern part of Atlanta. Though this community could be kept together as a community of interest, the population spans DeKalb and Gwinnett Counties, and the population is split into

three districts, with one split across county lines (Map 22). This served to minimize political subdivision splits and control compactness, but the plan could better preserve communities of interest by keeping this population together.



Map 22: Hispanic CVAP Heatmap—DeKalb and Gwinnett Counties<sup>39</sup>

Another trade-off was the treatment of District 12, which ended up as a Republican-leaning, majority-white district. *Georgia NAACP* proposes that this could become a majority-minority coalition district.<sup>40</sup> Ultimately, having achieved proportional representation and six majority-minority districts, District 12 was not adjusted accordingly in this plan. Doing so might require taking some of the Black population out of District 02, which could jeopardize that majority-Black district. Even so, here District 12 is a competitive Republican district with almost double the chance of a Democratic win relative to the enacted plan.<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusion

This plan creates a proportional representation map that is reasonably compact and compliant with the VRA. Additionally, the similarities to the 2010 and enacted 2020 plans

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<sup>39</sup> The Hispanic CVAP (citizen voting-age population) heatmap relies on the calculation of “H CVAP 19” / “Total CVAP 19.” Heatmap thresholds are [0.2-0.3), [0.3-0.4), [0.4-0.5), and [0.5-1] from light yellow to red. Values below 0.2 are white. CVAP is used for this population rather than VAP given the larger delta between the two figures here than for other demographic groups, to give a more realistic idea of voters in the district.

<sup>40</sup> Complaint at ¶ 170, *Georgia NAACP*.

<sup>41</sup> *Georgia Final Congressional Plan*, PLANSCORE (Jan. 12, 2022), <https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/plan.html?20220112T175102.385451348Z>.

demonstrate that Georgia could create a proportional map without making drastic changes to its districting plans. This map could likely be more compact, split fewer subdivisions, or account even more for communities of interest, but even so it creates a plan that provides fair representation to voters in Georgia.

#### Attachments

1. State Cover Photo
2. Partisan Full State Photo
3. Hybrid Mapbook
4. Partisan Mapbook
5. BVAP Mapbook
6. Hispanic CVAP Zoom
7. Atlanta Metro Districts and Counties
8. Demographic Data
9. Measures of Compactness
10. Political Subdivision Splits—County
11. Community of Interest—County/District
12. Community of Interest—City/Town
13. Block Equivalency File
14. GeoJSON
15. PlanScore Report