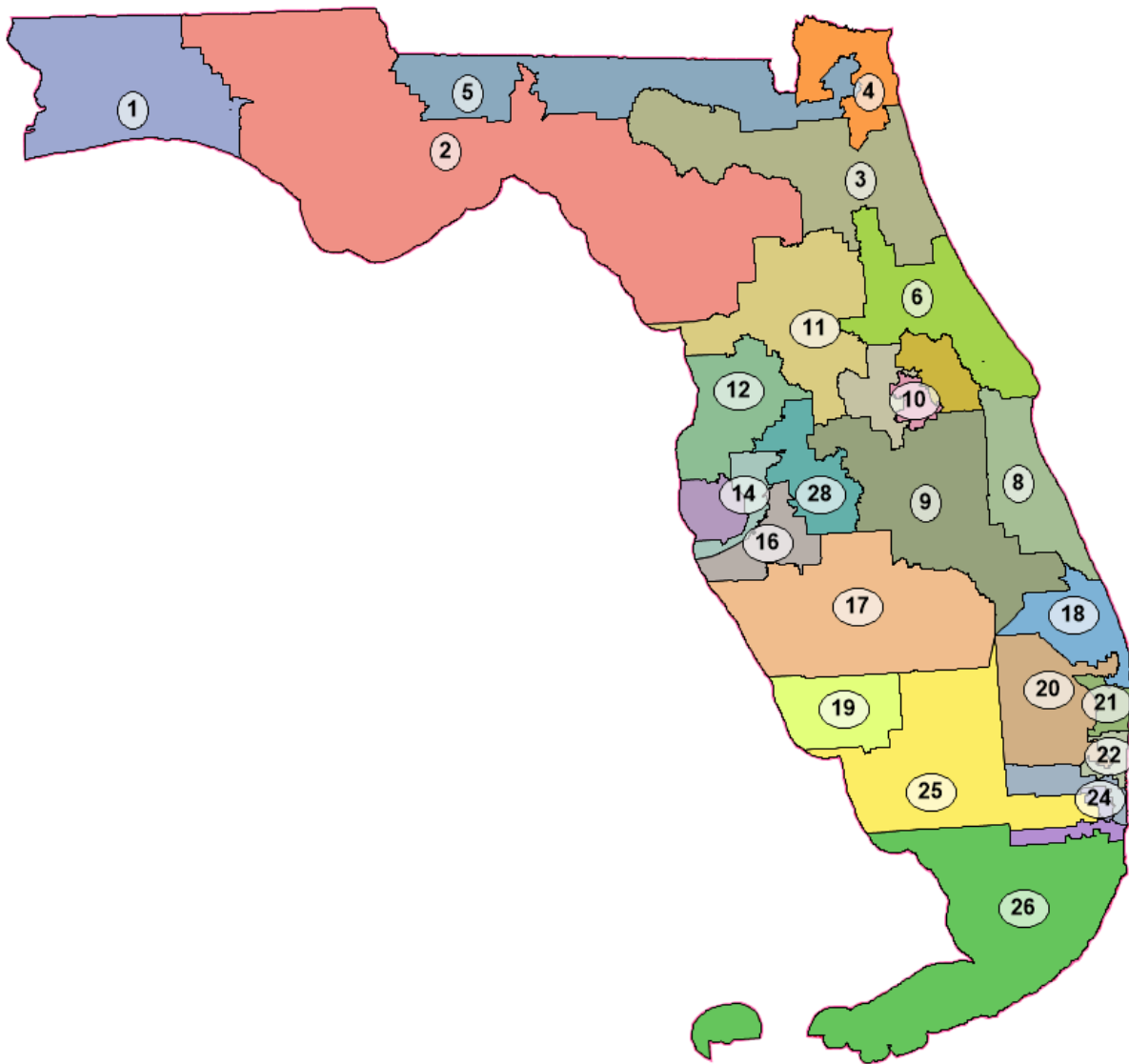


I. Introduction

Florida has gone from 27 to 28 districts this cycle due to the population growth, which now includes over 21 million people. As of March 15, the state had still not adopted a map for the 2022 elections. The republican-held state legislature has presented multiple maps for consideration that are relatively unchanged from the existing map; as much as anything can be “unchanged” with the addition of a new district. The governor has presented more inflammatory maps, which, if adopted, would likely be subject to substantial legal challenges because they effectively eliminate many of the majority-minority districts in the state. This is impermissible under both the state’s Fair District Amendment and the federal voting rights act.

This paper presents a map of Florida that prioritizes certain good government mapping principles by keeping political subdivisions of counties and cities/towns together where possible. This map also seeks to maintain the Black majority-minority districts of District 5 (connecting the metro areas of Tallahassee and Jacksonville), District 20 (connecting the Black populations of Broward and Palm Beach counties), and District 24 in the Miami metro area. There are three Hispanic majority-minority districts in the Miami metro area that remain intact, although with a modified arrangement in an effort to unpack the Hispanic population in this region. This experiment was only partially successful. The Hispanic district drawn in the Orlando area conflicts with the principle to keep counties and cities/towns together because of the arrangement of the Hispanic population in the region. This district could be subject to a challenge under Florida state law in the proposed map, as explained below.

MAP 01: Florida Proposed Map, District View



II. Legal Landscape

The Florida constitution requires fairness (partisan and otherwise), compactness, respect for political subdivisions and prohibits retrogression in redistricting. The Fair Districts Amendment has two tiers of requirements. Tier 1 prohibits districts from being drawn (a) with intent to favor or disfavor a political party of an incumbent or (b) with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the

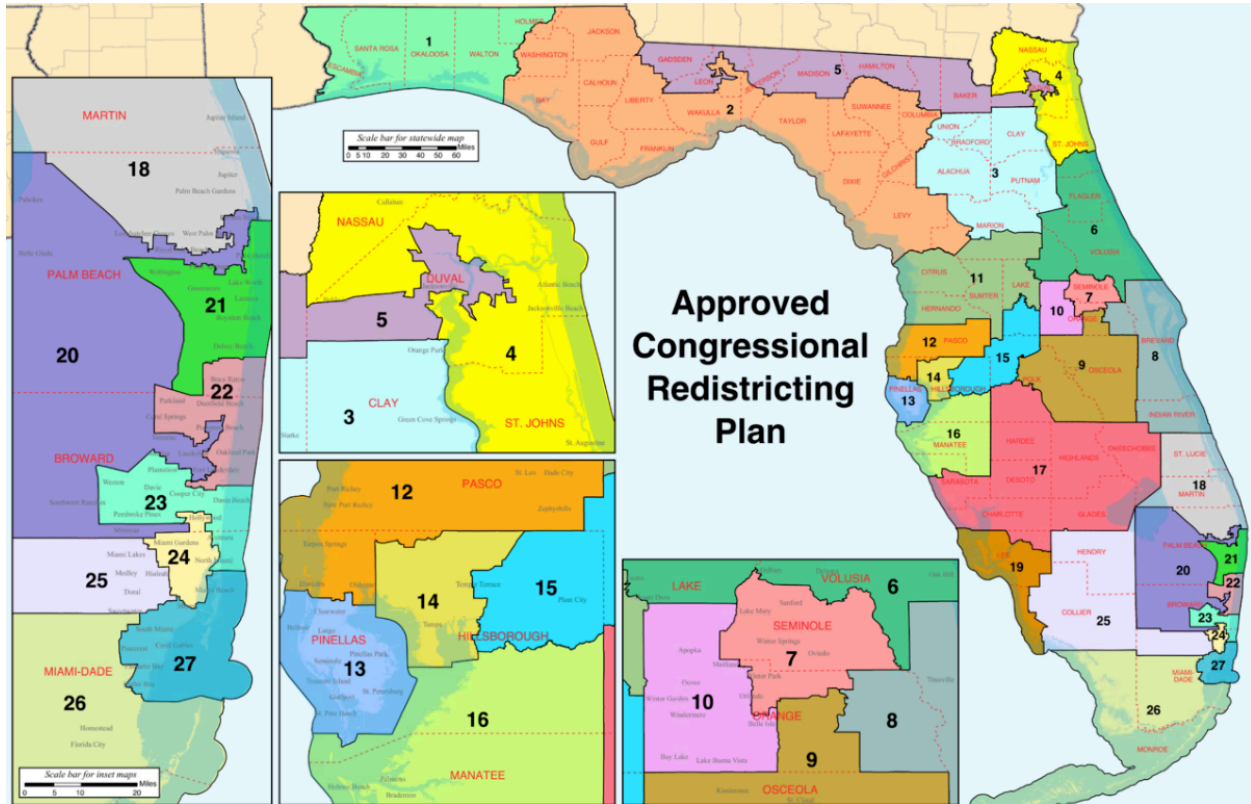
political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice or (c) requires contiguity¹. These three criteria cannot be subverted for any other redistricting principle. Tier II of the Fair Districts Amendment requires districts to (a) be as nearly as equal in population as is practicable, (b) be compact, and (c) utilize existing political and geographical boundaries where feasible.

The Florida Supreme Court has interpreted section (b) of Tier I to incorporate Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (the “VRA”). However, this section is now defunct, so it is unclear if the Florida Supreme Court will modify this interpretation in the coming redistricting cycle. For retrogression analysis, the question is whether the minority group is made worse off by the redistricting plan rather than on vote dilution. The court analyzes the following questions: whether there is a preliminary showing of political cohesion within the minority group; and whether the minority candidate of choice is as likely to prevail in the party primary and general elections under the new map as under the currently-enacted map. If the minority group position is weakened under this analysis, it fails retrogression.

The map below is the 2010 congressional map, against which the retrogression challenge would be analyzed. Much of this existing map is maintained in the map proposed by this paper, precisely because of the strict retrogression requirements. In particular, Districts 5 and 20 are narrowly tailored for the Black population in North Florida and Southeast Florida respectively and to redraw those districts without the opportunity for the Black population to elect their candidate of choice would likely violate Florida law.

¹ Fla. Const. art. III, §20(a)

MAP 02: Florida Congressional District Map, 2010



The state rules listed above are in addition to the federal minimum standards laid out in the Constitution. Article I, Section 2 states that every vote be given the same weight as all other votes and has been interpreted to require virtually identically-sized Congressional districts², any deviation from such absolute population equality must be justified by the state³. The VRA adds additional requirements on redistricting. Racial discrimination is prohibited. The VRA also prohibits race as a predominant factor in redistricting except where it is narrowly tailored to advance a compelling state interest.⁴

The VRA may also require the creation of minority opportunity districts when certain requirements are met. When the *Gingles* factors are present, majority-minority districts are

² *Karcher v. Daggett*, 462 US 725, 730 (1983)

³ *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler*, 394 US 526, 531 (1969)

⁴ *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 US 630 (1993)

required⁵. The factors require a class of citizens that is “sufficient[ly] large and reasonably compact as to constitute a majority.” There must be a political cohesion between the class (meaning, they vote together to elect a candidate of choice) and a historical white voting bloc that would vote in a way to prohibit the minority’s candidate of choice. If the factors are present, the court makes a determination based on the totality of the circumstances. If there is a minority that is sufficiently large and compact, there is entitlement to a majority-minority district under Section 2.

III. Florida Geography

Florida population is 21,538,187 as of April 1, 2020, over 17 million of which are of voting age. This cycle Florida gained a congressional seat due to a population increase of 2.7 million people since the last census. With 28 districts in the state, each district needs to have approximately 769,221 people to achieve population equality to be constitutionally compliant.

The demographics of Florida are: 77% white, 16.9% Black, and 26.4% Hispanic. There are many different population centers in a state of that many people, but there are three primary areas of concern for redistricting. They are, from North to South: the Jacksonville metropolitan area (and, for the purposes of District 5, the Tallahassee metro area), the Orlando metropolitan area, and the Miami metropolitan area, which includes the state’s three most populous counties: Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach. Each of these three metro areas contain minority opportunity districts that have been shaped over time and will be subject to strict retrogression analysis.

Presently there are three Black minority opportunity districts. District 5 is in the far north of the state. It connects the metro areas of Tallahassee in the mid to western portion of the

⁵ *Thornberg v. Gingles*, 478 US 30 (1986)

panhandle and continues eastward along the northern edge of the state into the Jacksonville metro area. This district is not compact and selects particularly for the Black populations in those metro areas. District 20 in southern Florida also connects the Black populations in two separate metro areas – Broward County and Palm Beach County. This district is also not compact, but is a slight “C” shape with the arms of the C reaching into the Black populations of Palm Beach County in the north and Broward County to the south. They are connected by the relatively unpopulated Everglades in the central part of the state. Finally, District 24 is a compact minority opportunity district comprised of the Black population in the Miami area. This district can be drawn to be “landlocked” and include Miami population of the west, or it can include population to the east along the water.

Presently there are four Hispanic minority opportunity districts. District 10 contains much of the Orlando metro area, including the Hispanic population to the southwest of the metro area. There are three majority Hispanic districts in the Miami area. In the 2010 map all three of Districts 25, 26 and 27 were over 70% Hispanic.

IV. The Proposed Map

The plan presented in this paper (the “proposed map”) seeks to prioritize two of the principles of the Fair Districts Amendment: respect for political subdivisions (using the counties and city/town layers in Maptitude) and retrogression. First, the new district, District 28 must be added to the map. The bulk of the population growth was in the center of the state, so it made logical sense to place that district there in Polk County. From there, I sought first to allocate counties as best as possible across the state as a starting point.

Next, I made sure to account for the minority opportunity districts in District 5 in North Florida and in the greater Miami/South Florida regions. Then, I went to work on population

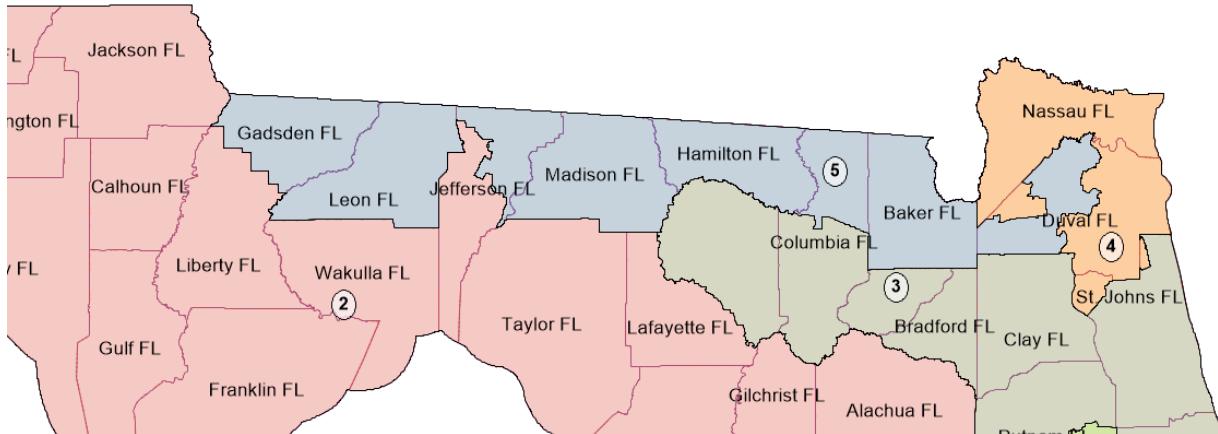
equality. In this phase, my first priority was keeping cities and municipalities whole where possible. This became challenging with the large metro area of Orlando and minority population concentrations in the outskirts of the Orlando-metro area. Under these principles this map was drawn.

A. North Florida

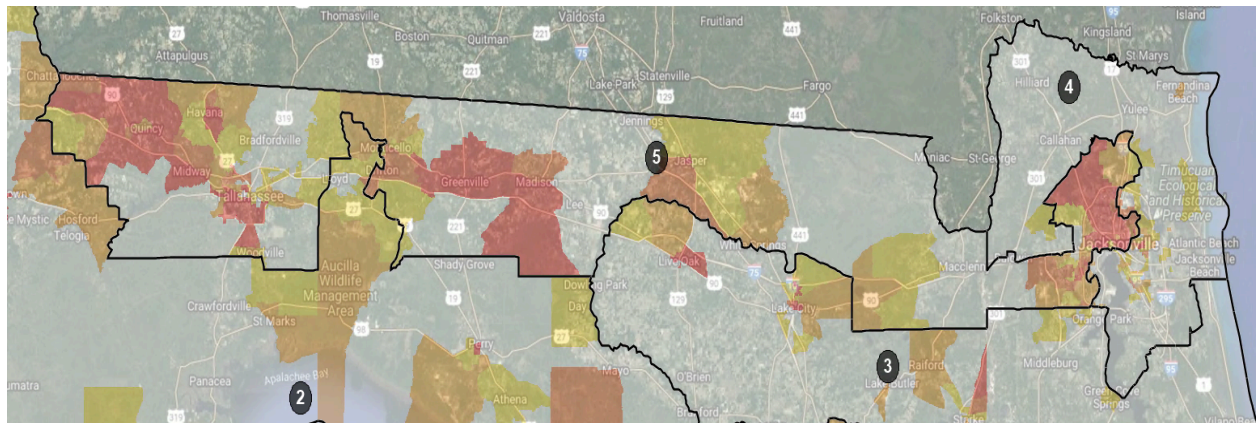
The north Florida area is challenging to draw because under the Fair Districting Amendment there needs⁶ to be a Black minority opportunity district, but there are three different concentrations of Black residents in the north area of the state. They are: Tallahassee on the panhandle, Jacksonville in the far northeast corner and Gainesville in the north-central region. The 2010 map links the Jacksonville and Tallahassee regions to create a minority opportunity district. My version of the map recreates the 2010 map, linking those two populations. Because it is an existing district, it is unlikely to come under legal challenge if adopted as it has been. However, the way that District 5 pulls from Jacksonville’s Black population means that District 4 is a reverse C-shape around Jacksonville’s Black population in a very non-compact way.

⁶ This district should be required under the Fair Districts Amendment that prohibits retrogression. One of the sticking points in this cycle, however, is that Governor DeSantis is arguing that this is an unconstitutional gerrymander. His proposed maps, and one of the legislature’s proposed maps, eliminate this district and effectively nullify the Black vote in north Florida.

MAP 03: North Florida Map, District View



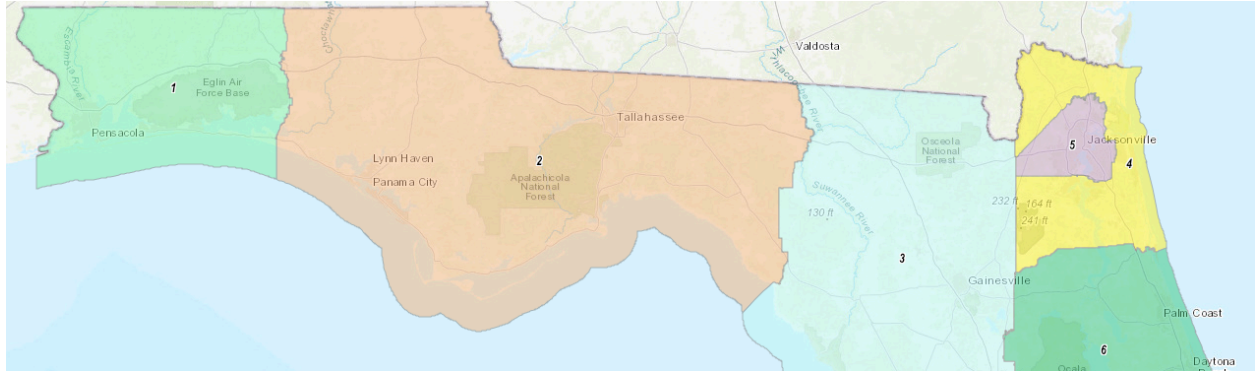
MAP 04: North Florida, Heatmap of Black Population



Because this district has been drawn in the last several maps, the odd shape is likely to overcome any challenges based on *Shaw* despite the fact that the district is drawn specifically to pull from the Black populations in North Florida. In fact, removing this minority opportunity district may be subject to a state-based retrogression challenge. For example, the map below, one of many proposed by the Florida Republicans in the legislature and the governor’s office, would remove the oddly-shaped district that connects the Black populations in north Florida. This is likely impermissible under the Fair District Amendment because there the Black populations of Tallahassee, Gainesville, and Jacksonville have been split into three separate districts (Districts

2, 3, and 5, respectively) where two of the three need to be combined to create a minority opportunity district.

MAP 05: North Florida, Proposed by Florida House Redistricting Committee

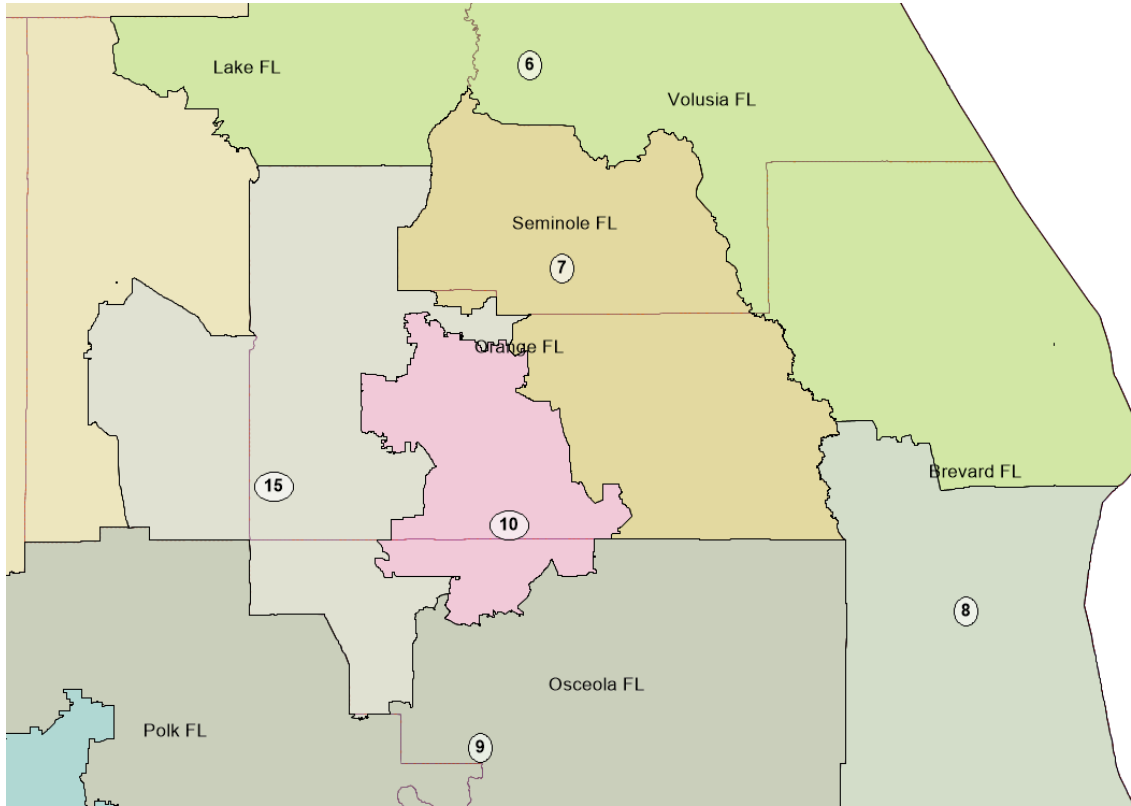


District 5 has historically been a democratic district. In 2020, it was a D+12 district. The PlanScore analysis for this district (PlanScore data included in Section IV(D)) shows that it is likely to remain democratic as a D+4 district, but it will be more competitive.

B. Central Florida

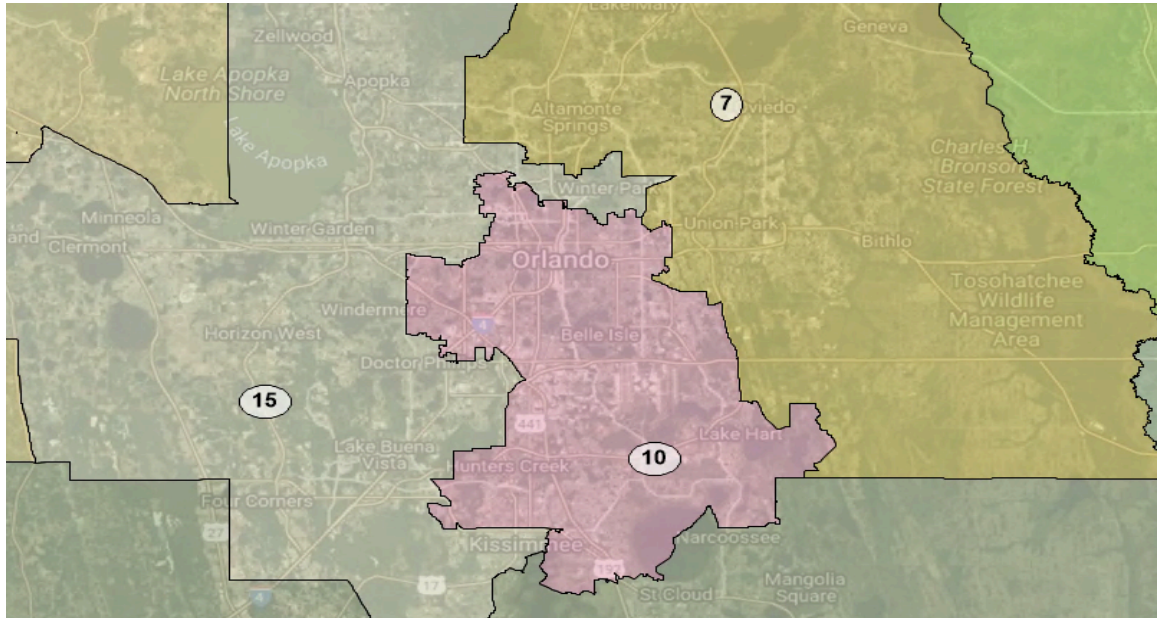
In central Florida, the challenge for the principles used in this map is to keep Orlando, a city of 307, 573 people, as a political subdivision together *and* account for the minority populations in the region. The Orlando Metro area comprises a population of over 2.6 million people, including the population of the principle county in the region, Orange County, with 1.4 million people. As the over-arching theme of this map was to first keep counties together then to keep cities and municipalities together, there was the potential for tension in some areas where the racial minorities to not neatly align with the political subdivisions.

MAP 06: Central Florida, Orlando Area with County Labels



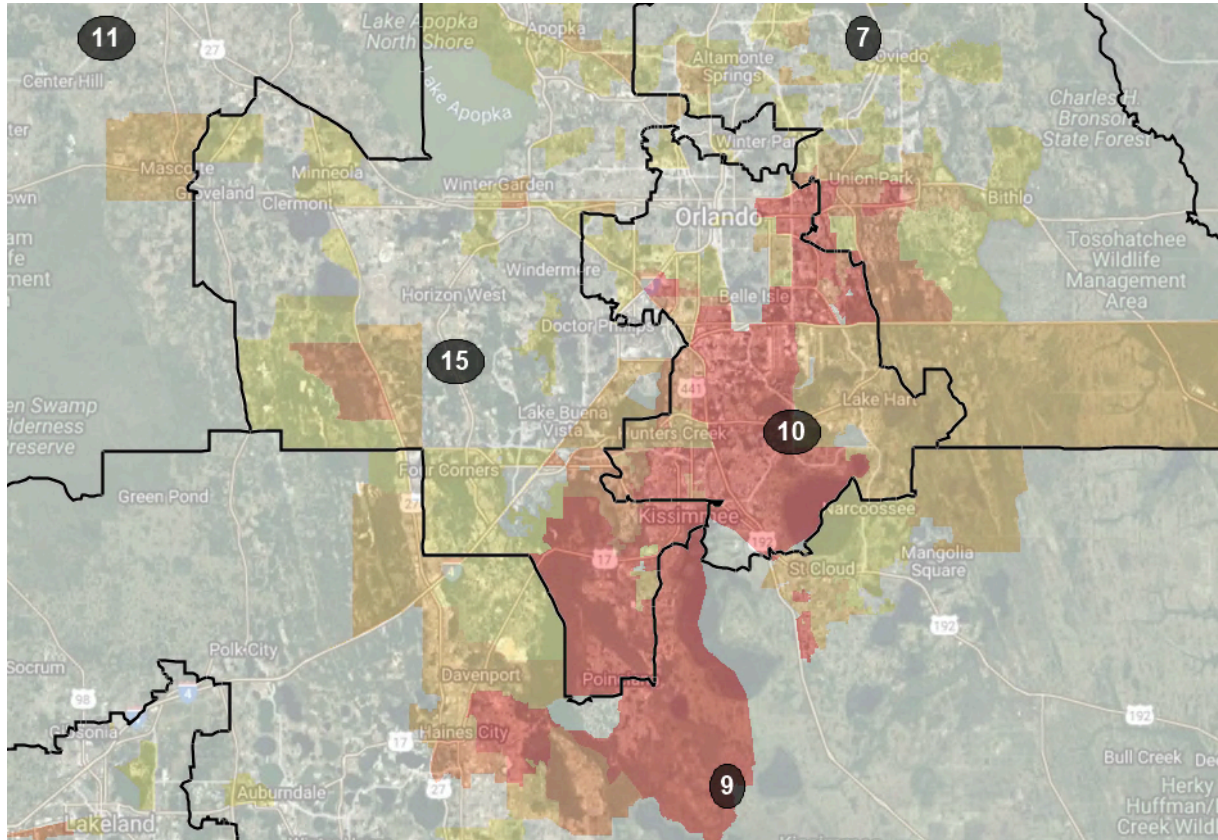
The map above shows how Orange County was split between District 10, which comprises Orlando, District 15 to the west and District 7 to the east. Where District 15 has an arm that comes around the north of District 10, that is to take as much population on the outer edge of Orlando without breaking that city boundary. While it is non-compact, it serves an overall purpose for the map to keep the city intact.

MAP 07: Central Florida, Orlando Area with Google Hybrid Overlay



The following maps show the dispersion of the Hispanic minority population to the southwest of Orlando and the Black minority population to the northwest of Orlando. Most of the maps, including the 2010 adopted map and the various republican-proposed maps this cycle split the city of Orlando in order to keep the Hispanic population together in District 10. In an effort to offset this crack, District 10 was drawn to extend south of the Orange County border into Osceola County and District 9. This is a tradeoff I made in an effort to keep the city/towns together. As discussed previously, this opens this map up to a retrogression challenge. However, it is possible that with the Hispanic population of 45% in District 10 there is still the opportunity for this district to perform for that population. A retrogression challenge will hinge on that performance.

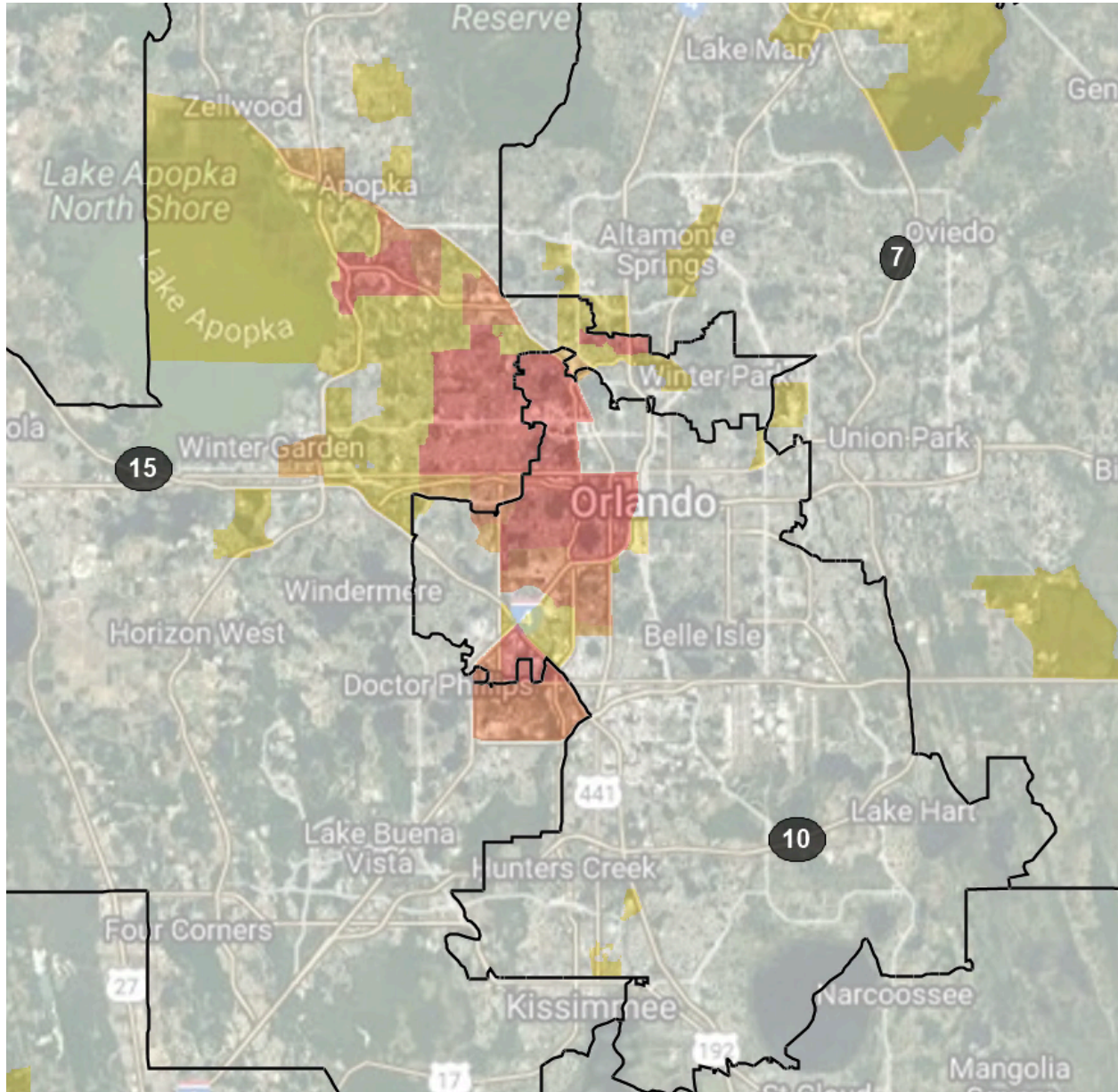
MAP 08: Central Florida Heatmap, Hispanic Population



In the proposed map, the minority opportunity district casualty was the Orlando area. It keep the city of Orlando together, but provide for as much integrity in the counties and other subdivisions, the black population in north-west Orlando was “cracked.” That is, the black population in the city limits of Orlando and the north-west suburbs was split with the urban population in District 10, which contains the entirety of the city of Orlando and the suburban black population in District 15 to the center of the state.

It is possible that the cracking of this population could constitute retrogression because it splits the population. However, this is unlikely for two reasons. First, the Black population in the Orlando area is not substantial enough to create a minority opportunity district. Second, under Tier 2 of the Fair Districts Amendment prioritizes the integrity of political subdivisions.

MAP 09: Central Florida, Black Population Heatmap



The other districts whose shape and composition are most effected by the decisions in District 10 are Districts 15 and 7. District 15 contains the other portion of the cracked Black population in Orlando’s northwest suburbs. It has moved considerably from the 2010 map, where the district was an oblong diagonal from northeast to southwest across the middle of the state. Instead, District 15 is comprised of parts of Lake, Orange, and Osceola Florida and does not

extend into Polk County. It was an R+6 district in 2020. It may be competitive or lean democratic with this iteration containing some of the metro area of Orlando; PlanScore predicts a D+3 district.

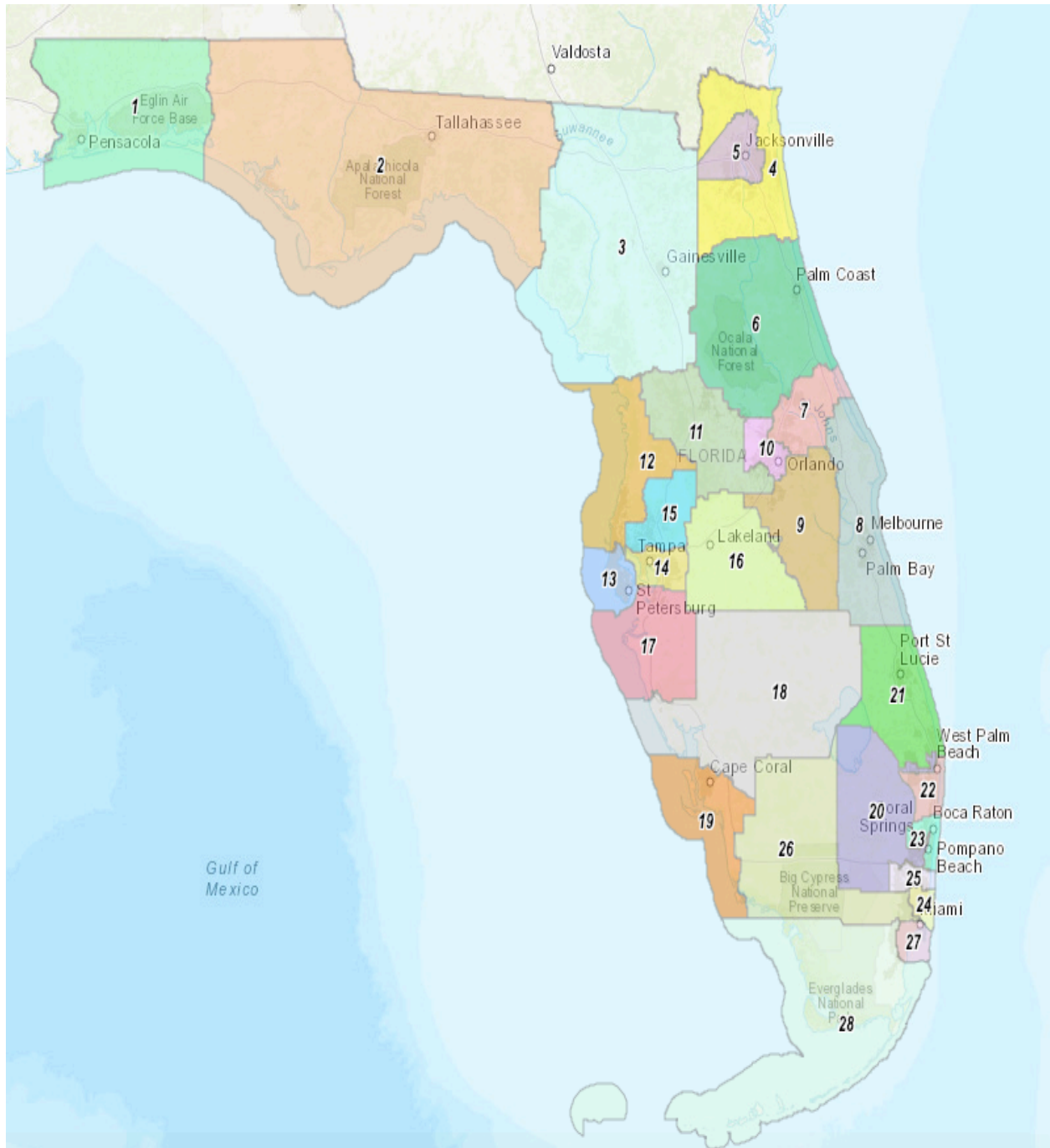
District 7 was much more compact around the metro area of Orlando, containing the northeast portion of the city in the 2010 map and the University of Central Florida. The district still contains all of Seminole, but also extends into the entire eastern half of Orange County. This is for the purpose of keeping the city of Orlando together. The 7th was a D+3 district in 2020. PlanScore predicts that this district is a tossup as it is currently drawn in the proposed map.

One of the biggest features of the Florida redistricting cycle for 2020 is that the state gained a district. In this version of the map, District 28 has been added into the middle of the state. This was primarily done for population reasons because this part of the state grew the most since the last districting cycle in 2010. Because of this population growth in central Florida, there is an extra district (not always called District 28) in the middle of the state seeking to achieve population equality.

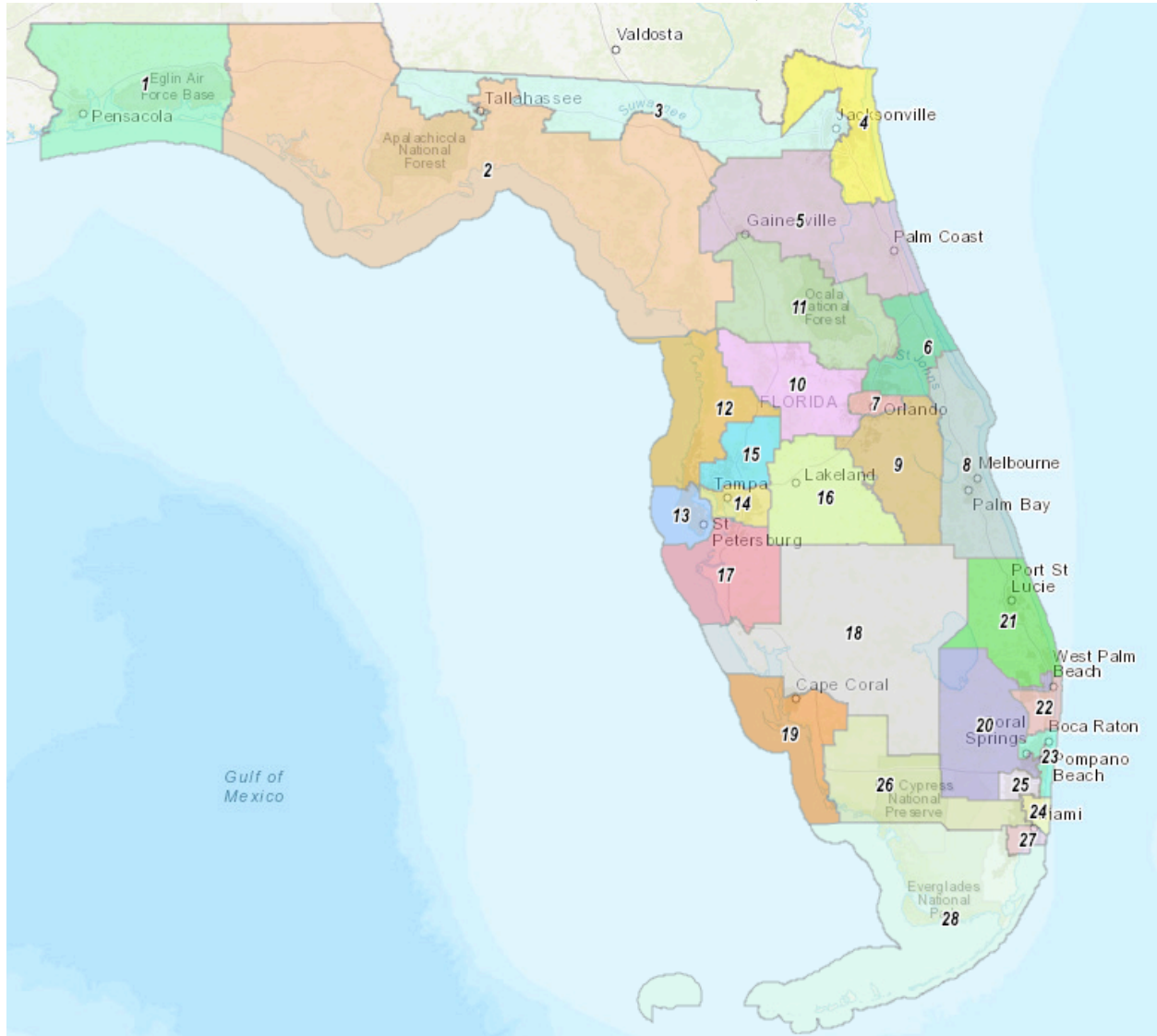
District 28 in the proposed map includes parts of Pasco, Hillsborough and Polk counties. Both of the republican proposed maps below do a better job of maintaining compactness in the central part of the state. In these maps, District 16 is where roughly where I have placed District 28. These maps have the district taking the entirety of Polk County, which is logical because the county falls just short of the target population of 769,221 at 725,046 people. Then the republican maps take a small portion of eastern Hillsborough to make up the population difference. Those maps are able to achieve this by splitting up Orlando with District 7, 9 and 10, which my map refused to do.

Instead, District 28 is more elongated north to south in the central-west of the state. Since this is a new district, there are not historical electoral data to use as a comparison, but PlanScore predicts that this will be a D+4 district.

Map 10: Florida House Redistricting Commission Map (removing minority opportunity district in North Florida)



MAP 11: Florida House Redistricting Commission Map (maintaining minority opportunity districts in Jacksonville and Palm Beach/Broward Counties)

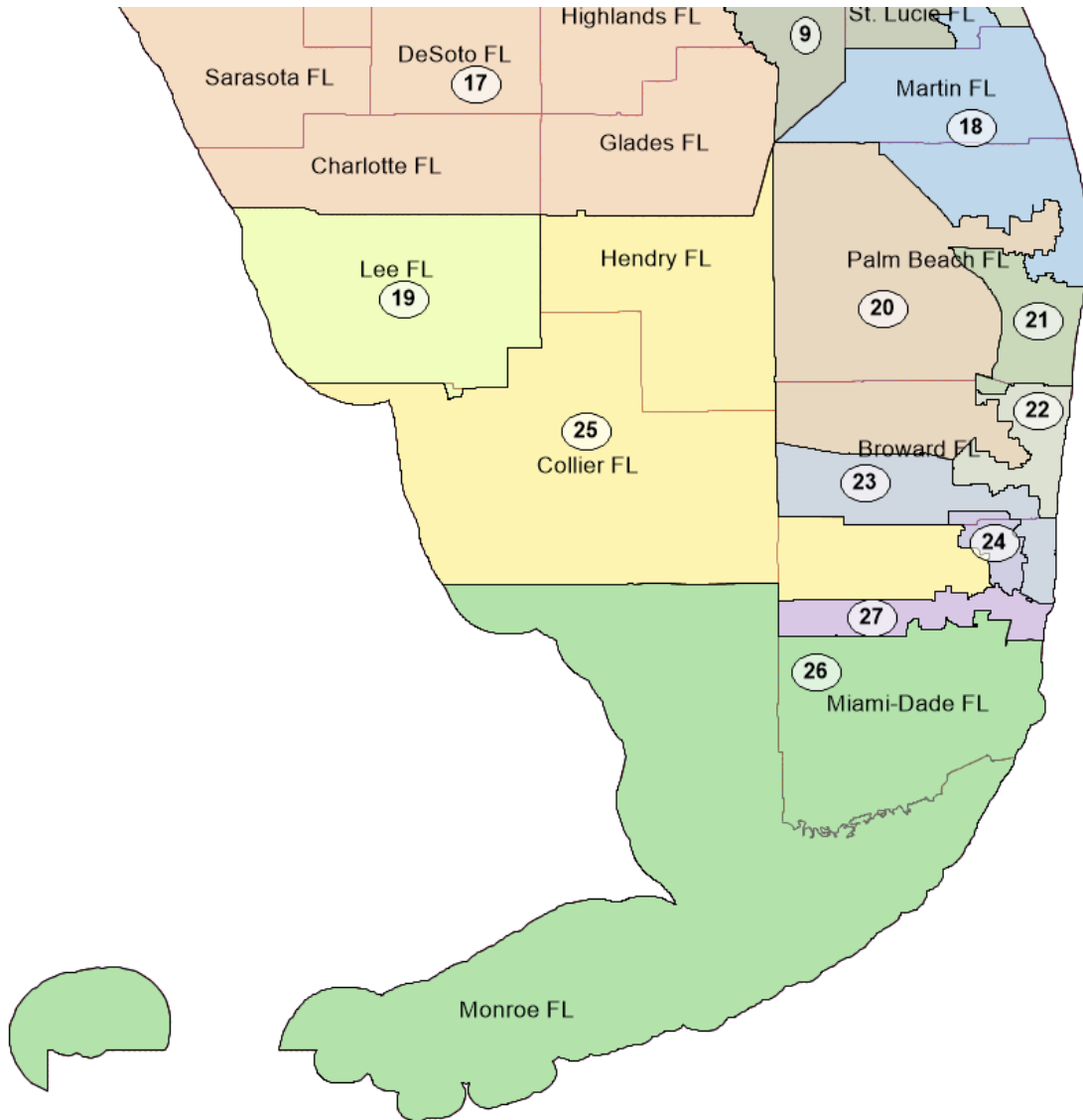


C. South Florida

The southeast region of Florida is the most populous in the state and boasts the Miami metropolitan area, home to over 6.1 million people and includes the three most populous counties: Miami-Dade, Broward to the immediate north, and Palm Beach one county further north. The geography of the area is unique in that it is contained to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and to the west by the Everglades. The population is heavily concentrated on the coast and

travels north to south with the westward expansion of the population centers anywhere from 20 miles wide to bare 5 miles across.

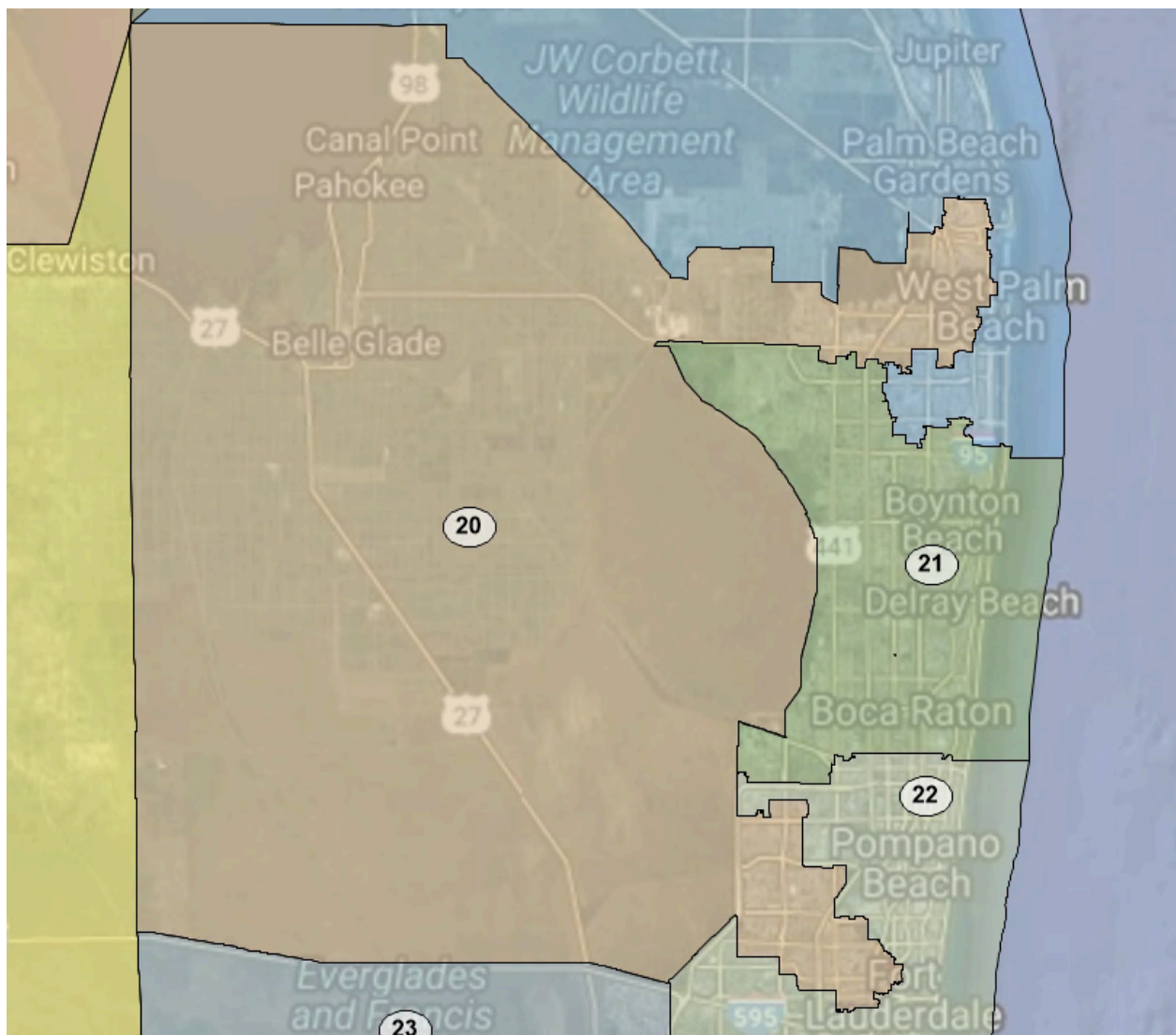
MAP 12: South Florida Districts and County View



Miami-Dade County has a population of 2.7 million people, 69% of which identify as Hispanic or Latino and 17.7% identify as Black. Miami-Dade County, of course, includes the city of Miami among other surrounding cities. Broward County’s population consists of 1.94 million people, 63% of which are white, 30% are Black and 30% are Hispanic. It contains Fort

Lauderdale as its major population center, as well as many surrounding towns. Finally, Palm Beach County has a population of 1.5 million people. In South Florida and the Miami-Dade area there are two majority Black districts (20 and 24) and three majority Hispanic districts (25, 26 and 27). The proposed map does not make substantial changes to the two Black districts, but attempts to find another way to draw the Hispanic districts for the purposes of unpacking the Hispanic population.

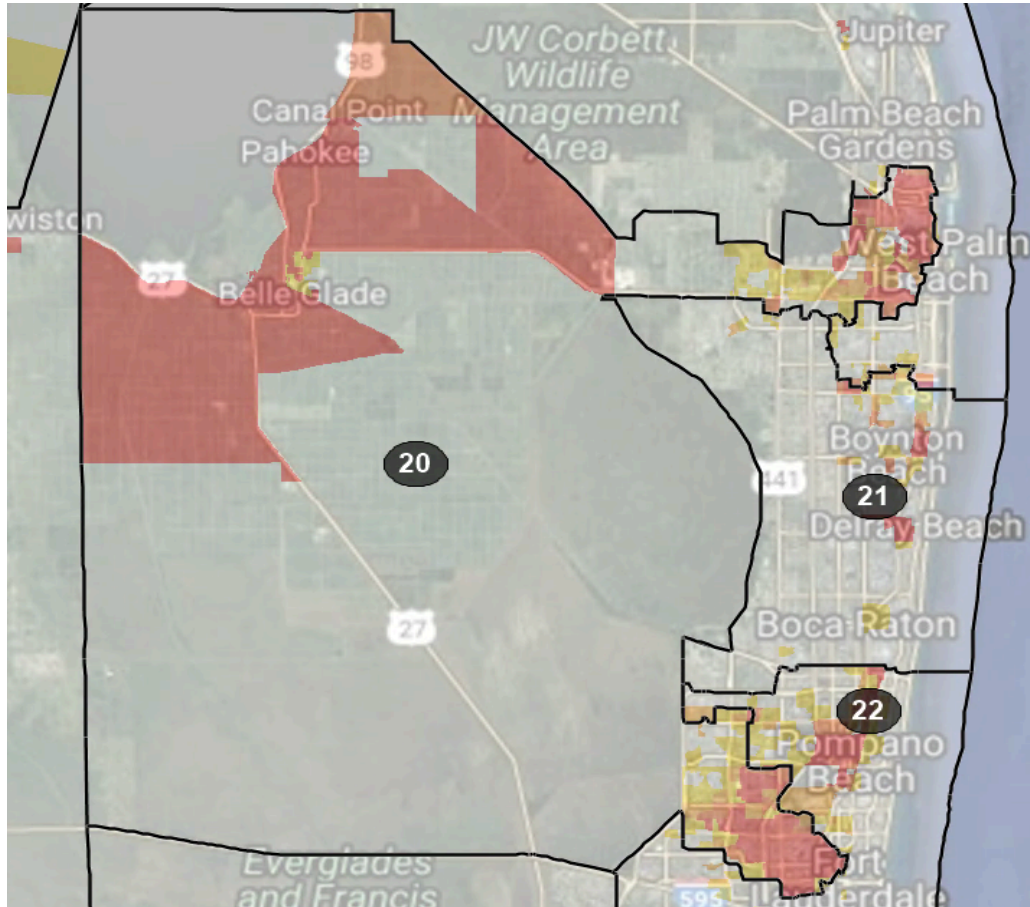
MAP 13: South Florida, District 20



The proposed map maintains the shape and structure of the district, which links the Black population in West Palm Beach and the Black population of northern Fort Lauderdale via the Everglades to the west, including parts of southeast Lake Okeechobee. One of the consequences of drawing a district like the 20th is the cascading effects of a misshapen district. District 18, 21 and 22 are all shaped in and around District 20, creating “C” shapes and otherwise to pick up the population outside the Black-concentrated areas.

District 20 is historically one of the most Democratic districts in Florida and was D+28 in 2020. Despite the attempt to recreate the shape and demographics of the District, PlanScore predicts that this will instead be an R+11 district with the proposed map. This is illogical based on other priors this map takes for granted. This district is over 47% Non-Hispanic Black CVAP, which should perform for the democrats. However, the Hispanic influence in South Florida, in particular the conservative Cuban population in Miami belies many of the demographic voting assumptions based on national trends.

MAP 14: South Florida, District 20, Heatmap of Black population

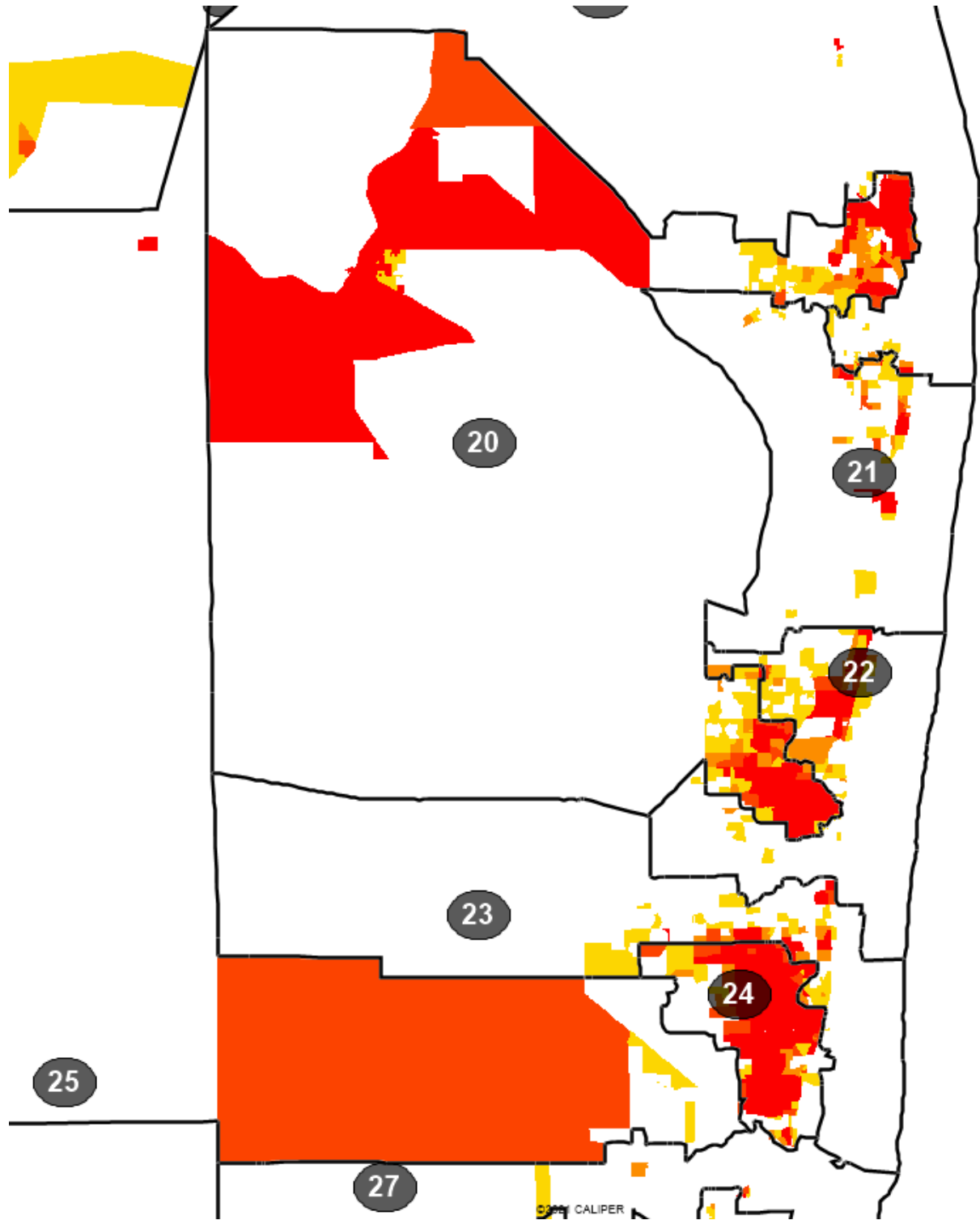


District 18, which hugs around the Palm Beach County arm of District 20 extends further south than the 2010 map, where it ended flush with the arm. In 2020 it was an R+6 district. The change in this map to include more of West Palm Beach has made District 18 more democratic. According to PlanScore, it is likely to be a more competitive district at R+3.

District 21 is contained on the coast between the Palm Beach and Broward County. It remains very similar, if shifted slightly to the south compared to the 2010 map. It was a D+8 district in 2020, but PlanScore predicts it will instead be an R+5 district with the new shape. This is likely related to District 18's shift slightly more democratic.

District 22 is also largely unchanged from 2010 except for the shift south. IT was a D+6 district in 2020 and PlanScore predicts it will be more democratic at D+13 with this map.

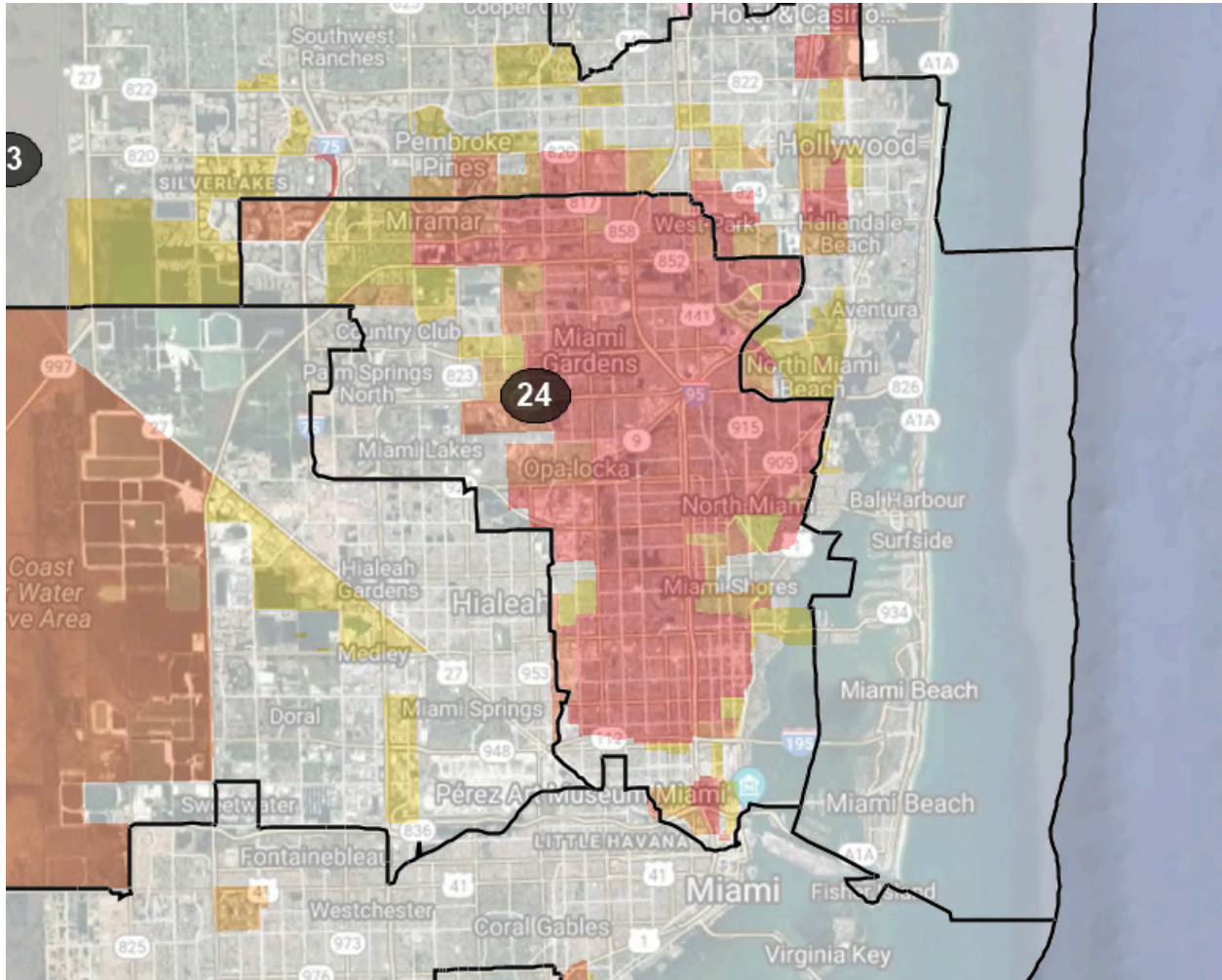
MAP 15: South Florida, Black Heatmap



This heatmap is a clear demonstration of the three concentrations of Black population in the South Florida region. The individual populations in Palm Beach and Fort Lauderdale are

insufficient on their own to create a majority-minority district. They must be linked to create a population sufficient to vote in a block for their particular party. In the deep red area in between the numbers 23 and 27 on the map that is contained is District 25 is slightly misleading. It is a very unpopulated single voting district in a rural part of the Everglades.

MAP 16: South Florida, District 24, Heatmap of Black population



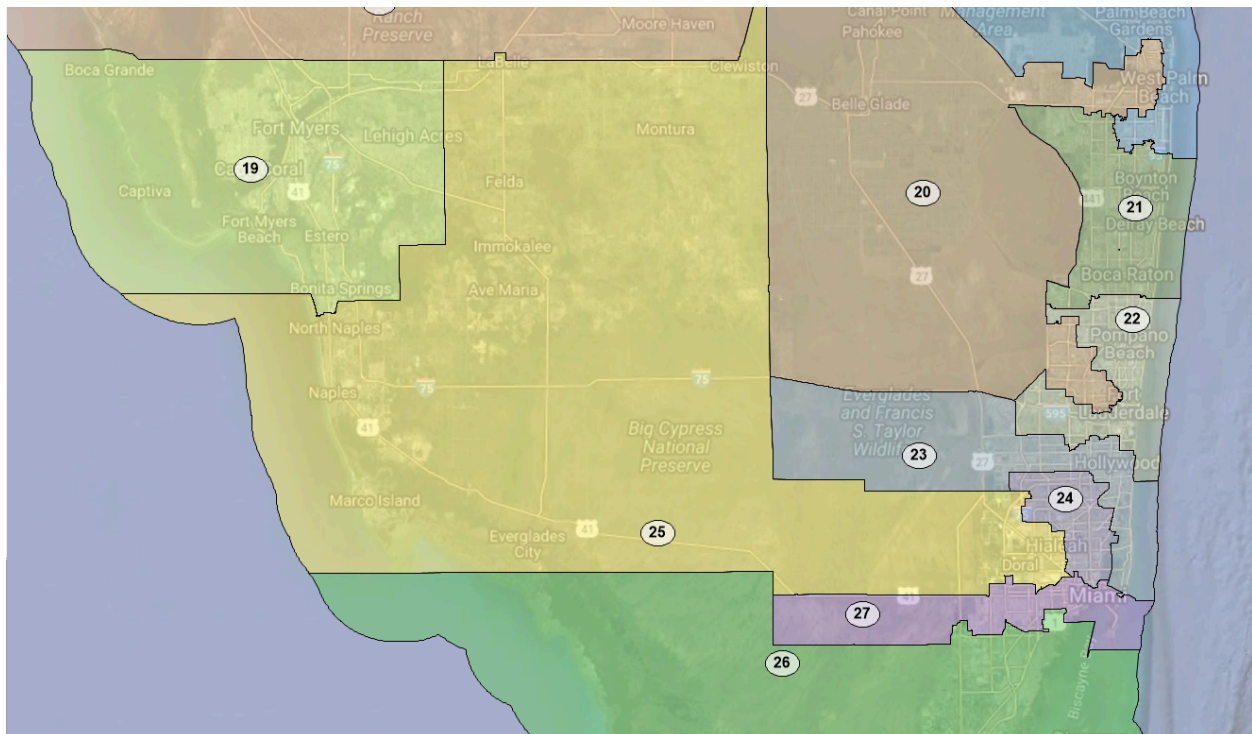
The Miami area is where the principle of keeping cities and towns together breaks down. There are so many municipalities so densely concentrated, some must inevitably be broken up. While the broad strokes of the map were drawn to account for this, the dense population and

need to maintain the integrity of the majority-minority districts in the Miami area meant that the city of Miami could not be kept together.

District 24 is the other majority-Black district in the state and is drawn with 49.98% non-Hispanic Black CVAP in the proposed map. It is mostly contained in Miami-Dade County, but the small portion to the north is in Broward County. It was a D+28 district in 2020 and is predicted to stay Democratic, although less so at D+6.

District 23 is the start of the elongated districts in the Miami area and contains rural Broward County out to the Everglades and the coastal part of northern Miami in a reverse “L” shape. It was D+9 in 2020, but is predicted to perform as an R+6 by PlanScore. It is a diverse population district at 14% non-Hispanic Black, 44% Hispanic, and 40% white (all CVAP).

MAP 17: South Florida, Miami Zoom

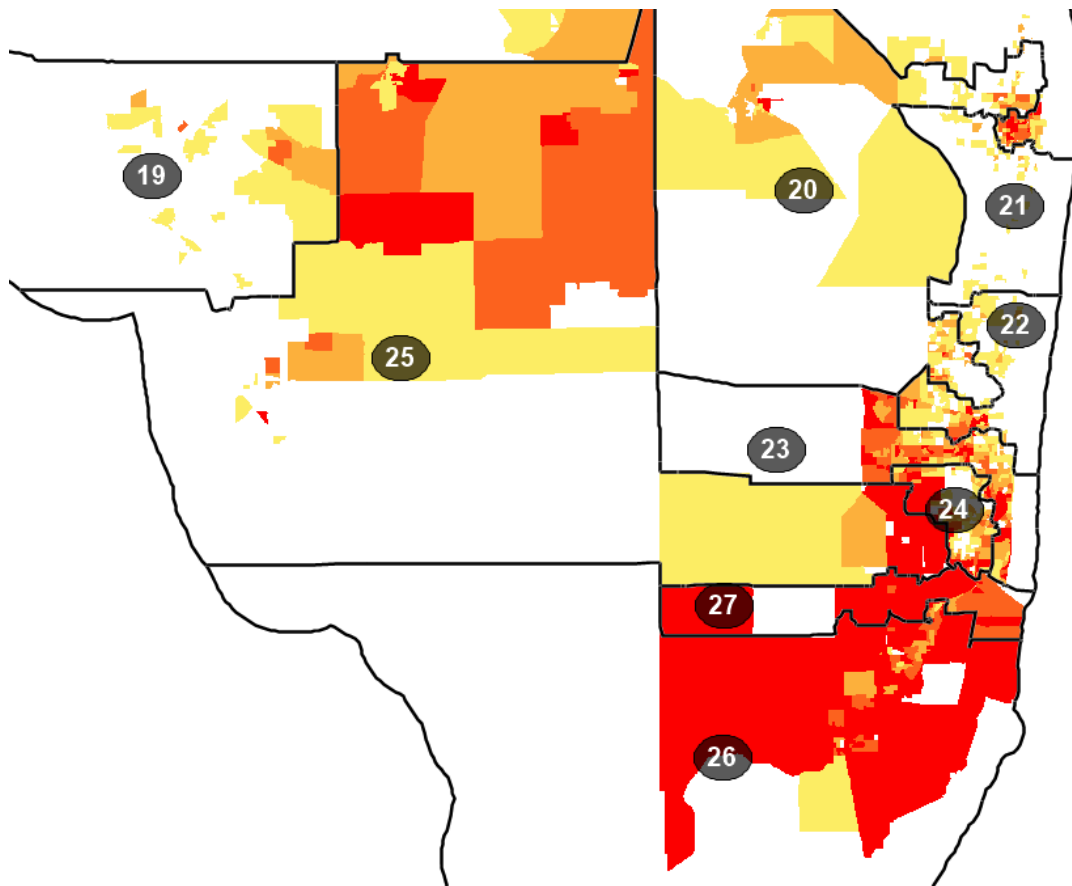


One of the choices I made in drawing this proposed map was to seek an alternative method of unpacking the Hispanic population in the Miami area. This is a challenge, but

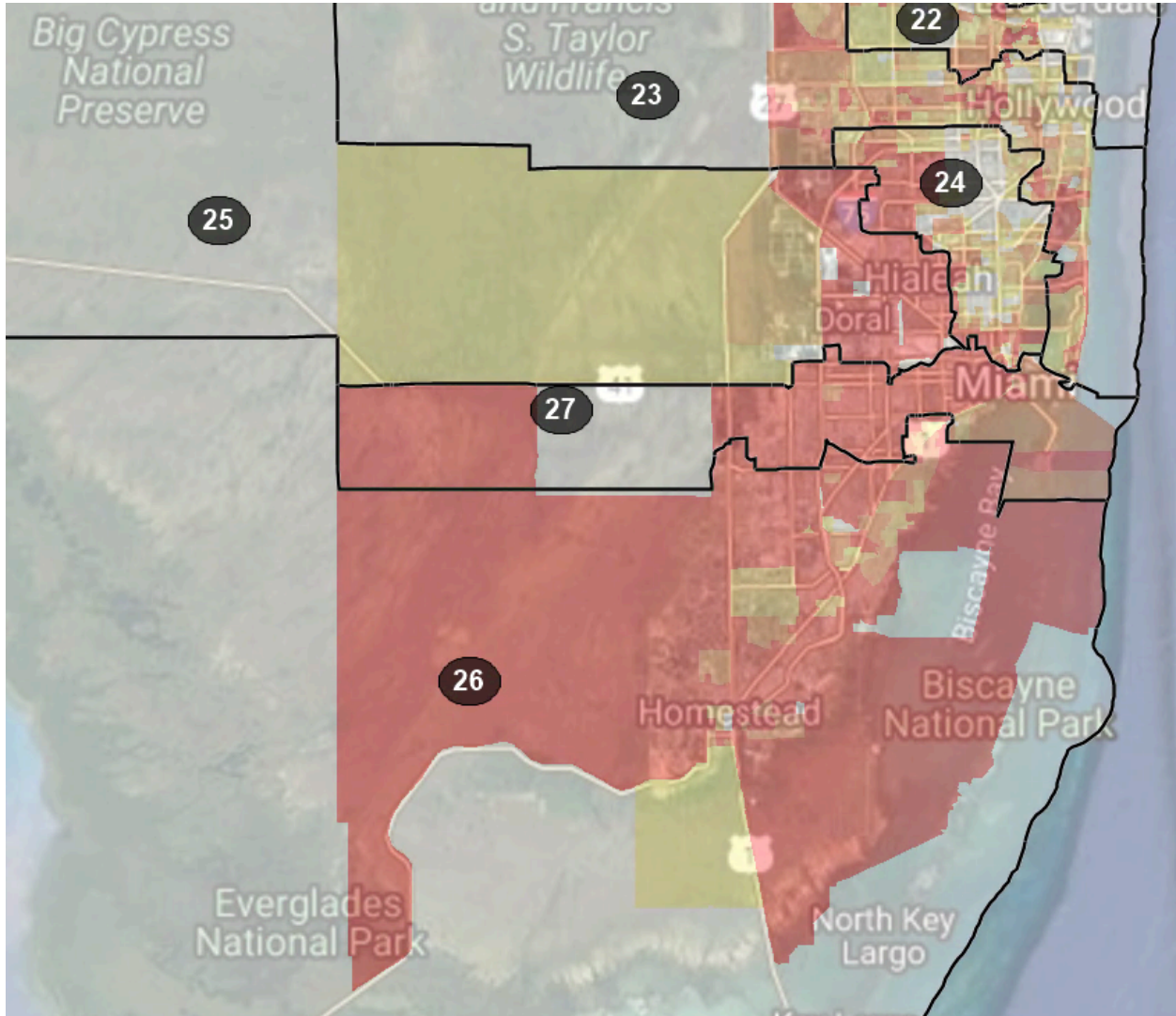
typically the districts are drawn in a more compact circular/oval shape where all three (25, 26, and 27) achieve a Hispanic population around 70%. By elongating the districts out from Miami westward, there was some marginal unpacking of the Hispanic population: District 25 has 47.93% Hispanic CVAP and District 26 has 55% Hispanic CVAP. But, the consequence of that is that District 26 then has 84% Hispanic CVAP. So, instead of unpacking from all three, I succeeded in packing more Hispanic population into one district and out of two others.

In terms of political performance, District 25 was R+8 in 2020. PlanScore predicts it will be more republican as an R+11 district. District 26 was competitive, as a D+1 in 2020, but is predicted to be R+11. Similarly, District 27 was D+4 in 2020 and is now predicted to be R+11.

MAP 18: South Florida, Hispanic Heatmap



MAP 19: South Florida, Hispanic Heatmap with Google Hybrid



D. Other Districts

Other districts not discussed above are discussed briefly herein in reference to the difference between the proposed map and the 2010 map, as well as any relevant PlanScore analysis. As with the rest of this paper’s organization, the districts will be discussed North to South.

Districts 1 remains largely unchanged. It is the western-most part of the panhandle. It has shrunk slightly in geographic size due to population growth. As a result, Walton County is split

instead of Holmes County. District 1 is a Republican district (R+20 in 2020) and, according to the PlanScore analysis, would likely remain similarly situated.

District 2 moves further east than the 2010 map, incorporating Alchua County, which is home to the metropolitan area of Gainesville. This change meant that District 2 only split Walton County in its border with District 1 and Jefferson County with District 5. The district in the proposed map includes the suburbs of Tallahassee as well as the metro area of Gainesville. Despite these two metro areas, this region of Florida is one of the least dense and urbanized in the state. In 2010, District 2 moved further east to split Marion County in the north-central part of the state. This was a R+20 district in 2020, but PlanScore rates this newly-shaped district as a D+7. This is likely because of the incorporation of the more urban Gainesville area.

District 3 changed substantially. Instead of being a landlocked district, as it was in 2010, District 3 moved both to the eastern coast and extended an arm northwest into Suwanee County. The effect is a less compact and more elongated shape. The district splits Columbia County with District 5, St. Johns County with District 4 and Putnam County with District 6. The district was R+9 in 2020 and PlanScore indicates that it will be more heavily republican (R+18) with this design.

District 4 remained largely unchanged in that is comprised of Nassau County, the state's most northeastern region, is "cupped" around the Black population of Jacksonville in District 5, and takes some small parts of northern St. Johns County. This was an R+13 district in 2020 and is likely to remain a republican district (R+15), according to PlanScore.

Continuing down the east coast of the state is District 6, which has a slightly less compact shape than the 2010 map. There is a northern arm into Putnam County, where visually it would make more sense to extend the district into Flagler County on the coast. This was done, however,

because the population of Flagler is very dense and contains many contiguous towns. In an effort for this map to maintain the integrity of the cities and towns, the decision was made to incorporate Putnam rather than Flagler County. With this design no additional cities/towns were split. This was a R+10 district in 2020, but with its new shape will be competitive as a D+1 district.

Because of the shift to include District 3 on the coastline, the other eastern coastline districts are shifted south. District 8, which in 2010 ended at Indian River County now extends all the way through the coastal part of St. Lucie County to the Marin County border. In 2020, the district was R+12, which looks unchanged as PlanScore predicts an R+13 district.

District 11 is relatively unchanged from the 2010 map, although it has less coastline. It contains the entirety of Marion County, but splits Citrus, Sumter, and Lake Counties. It was an R+18 district in 2020 and will likely maintain its republican status as an R+14 with the new shape.

District 12 has more coastline than before, where District 11 previously had it. It contains coastline in Citrus, Hernando, Pasco and Pinellas Counties. It splits Pinellas County in the north such that the remaining part of the county is entirety of District 13, which includes St. Petersburg along the Gulf Coast. District 12 was an R+11 district in 2020, when the shape included more of central Florida. PlanScore indicates that this version of the map would likely favor democrats by 16 points. District 13, by contrast was an even district with a democratic incumbent that PlanScore predicts will become more solidly democratic by 8 points.

MAP 20: PlanScore Chart, Districts 1 through 13

District	Candidate Scenario	Pop. 2020	Hispanic CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Black CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Asian CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Native CVAP 2019	Chance of 1+ Flips†	Chance of Democratic Win	Predicted Vote Shares	Biden (D) 2020	Trump (R) 2020
1	Republican Incumbent	769,221	5.2%	13.6%	2.9%	1.4%	No	<1%	31% D / 69% R	140,801	276,457
2	Republican Incumbent	769,221	39.9%	17.1%	4.5%	0.3%	No	92%	57% D / 43% R	206,571	114,386
3	Republican Incumbent	769,221	7.8%	8.9%	1.3%	0.7%	No	<1%	32% D / 68% R	154,671	291,680
4	Republican Incumbent	769,221	8.9%	3.8%	1.7%	0.6%	No	<1%	35% D / 65% R	166,414	268,468
5	Democratic Incumbent	769,222	7.5%	11.3%	3.0%	0.6%	Yes	79%	54% D / 46% R	224,197	208,754
6	Republican Incumbent	769,222	21.8%	20.8%	4.4%	0.6%	Yes	58%	51% D / 49% R	212,456	158,174
7	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	15.7%	12.5%	2.2%	0.7%	Yes	50%	50% D / 50% R	185,800	204,746
8	Republican Incumbent	769,221	7.7%	4.8%	1.2%	0.5%	No	<1%	37% D / 63% R	186,498	271,664
9	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	16.1%	8.6%	2.0%	0.4%	Yes	44%	49% D / 51% R	188,320	217,682
10	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	13.4%	6.9%	1.6%	0.5%	No	12%	44% D / 56% R	159,958	237,202
11	Republican Incumbent	769,221	5.8%	15.5%	2.1%	1.1%	No	<1%	36% D / 64% R	152,756	237,158
12	Republican Incumbent	769,221	18.1%	47.2%	2.4%	0.3%	No	>99%	66% D / 34% R	251,463	84,655
13	Democratic Incumbent	769,223	12.8%	10.9%	2.8%	0.4%	No	96%	58% D / 42% R	248,404	187,382
14	Democratic Incumbent	769,219	20.9%	16.4%	2.9%	0.3%	No	99%	60% D / 40% R	230,068	158,122

District 14 is the Tampa district. Like Orlando, the goal was to make sure that all of Tampa remained in one district. This was also the case in the 2010 map; therefore, District 14 remains largely unchanged. The 14th includes the Tampa International Airport and the MacDill Air Force Base. It was D+7 in 2020 and is predicted to remain solidly democratic at D+10 under the proposed map.

District 16 contains parts of Hillsborough and Manatee Counties, but does not extend into Sarasota County as it did in 2010. It was an R+7 district in 2020. PlanScore estimates that it will change to a D+16 district due to the extension into the greater Tampa metro area in Hillsborough County.

District 17 contains parts or all of 7 counties in west central Florida. It includes Sarasota and Charlotte counties on the coast and Hardee, DeSoto, Highlands and Glades counties in the center of the state. This district is similar to the 2010 district, but there is more coastline and does not extend as far to the west into Okeechobee County. The district was solidly republican as R+16 in 2020 and will remain the same according to PlanScore analysis.

District 19 is more compact in the proposed map. In 2010, it extended much further south along the coast. Instead, this proposed map has District 19 in the entirety of Lee County, population of 760,822. Therefore, the district only needed just under 9,000 people for population equality. That population came from Collier County to the south, out of District 25. The district was R+12 in 2020 and is predicted to remain solidly republican at R+11.

MAP 21: PlanScore Chart, Districts 14 through 28

District	Candidate Scenario	Pop. 2020	Hispanic CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Black CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Asian CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Native CVAP 2019	Chance of 1+ Flips†	Chance of Democratic Win	Predicted Vote Shares	Biden (D) 2020	Trump (R) 2020
12	Republican Incumbent	769,221	10.1%	47.2%	2.4%	0.3%	No	>99%	60% D / 34% R	231,403	64,000
13	Democratic Incumbent	769,223	12.8%	10.9%	2.8%	0.4%	No	96%	58% D / 42% R	248,404	187,382
14	Democratic Incumbent	769,219	20.9%	16.4%	2.9%	0.3%	No	99%	60% D / 40% R	230,068	158,122
15	Republican Incumbent	769,220	40.2%	14.7%	3.5%	0.5%	Yes	71%	53% D / 47% R	220,046	150,577
16	Republican Incumbent	769,243	37.9%	50.0%	1.8%	0.2%	No	>99%	66% D / 34% R	240,002	80,871
17	Republican Incumbent	769,222	47.9%	4.2%	1.2%	0.3%	No	<1%	34% D / 66% R	129,619	216,953
18	Republican Incumbent	769,216	55.6%	13.8%	2.3%	0.2%	Yes	27%	47% D / 53% R	189,009	167,116
19	Republican Incumbent	769,223	84.3%	2.3%	1.3%	0.2%	No	1%	39% D / 61% R	147,261	193,795
20	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	6.7%	11.2%	2.0%	0.8%	No	<1%	39% D / 61% R	146,579	292,237
21	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	7.2%	13.4%	4.3%	0.7%	Yes	15%	45% D / 55% R	171,676	242,977
22	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	5.6%	41.8%	2.3%	0.5%	No	>99%	63% D / 37% R	235,442	141,917
23	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	10.2%	9.8%	1.5%	0.7%	No	10%	44% D / 56% R	171,509	251,466
24	Democratic Incumbent	769,221	23.9%	10.8%	4.4%	0.4%	No	89%	56% D / 44% R	212,725	179,305
25	Republican Incumbent	769,221	9.0%	10.9%	1.9%	0.6%	No	<1%	39% D / 61% R	189,599	253,488
26	Republican Incumbent	769,221	20.9%	12.3%	1.7%	0.8%	No	1%	39% D / 61% R	163,038	210,630
27	Republican Incumbent	769,220	15.5%	12.9%	2.6%	0.6%	No	<1%	39% D / 61% R	160,916	211,802
28	Open Seat	769,200	25.1%	16.6%	3.9%	0.4%	Yes	82%	54% D / 46% R	211,260	159,067

V. Current Status of Map Adoption

As of the writing of this paper, March 16 2022, the state of Florida has not yet adopted a map for the 2022 election cycle. The republican-held state legislature has been in conversation and debate with Governor DeSantis over the redistricting process. Two of the proposed maps shown above are just examples of the many different maps that have been proposed. The legislature has proposed maps that maintain the existing minority opportunity districts as well as those that do not, like the one that eliminates the Black majority voting population in the Jacksonville and Tallahassee metro areas in the north of the state. DeSantis continues to threaten

to veto the legislatively-proposed maps that maintain the status quo of minority opportunity districts. So far, the state senate has approved two maps, one that diminishes the Black vote in north Florida and one that does not, to keep their options open in case of judicial intervention.

Two lawsuits were filed on March 11, 2022, one in state⁷ court and one in federal⁸ court. The lawsuits stress the judicial urgency of adopting a map immediately for the upcoming elections. They also allege the unconstitutionality of the DeSantis-backed maps citing the Fair Districts Amendment under Florida law. The federal lawsuit in the Northern District of Florida requests declaratory and injunctive relief. The state lawsuit requests the same.

Candidates must qualify for their elections by June 17 ahead of the August primaries. This deadline is three months away in a state that is adding a new district and there still has not been a map sent to the Governor’s desk. There is concern that DeSantis will follow through on his threat to veto. The republicans in the legislature do not have enough votes to override a veto. The lawsuit argues that urgent judicial action is needed so that candidates can determine their qualifications and begin their campaigns. This cannot happen until a new map is adopted, and based on the current status, there is no indication this will be resolved quickly.

VI. Appendix

MAP 01: Florida Proposed Map, District View

MAP 02: Florida Congressional District Map, 2010

MAP 03: North Florida Map, District View

MAP 04: North Florida, Heatmap of Black Population

MAP 05: North Florida, Proposed by Florida House Redistricting Committee

MAP 06: Central Florida, Orlando Area with County Labels

MAP 07: Central Florida, Orlando Area with Google Hybrid Overlay

MAP 08: Central Florida Heatmap, Hispanic Population

MAP 09: Central Florida, Black Population Heatmap

Map 10: Florida House Redistricting Commission Map (removing minority opportunity

⁷ Case # 145549010 (Filed 3/11/2022) Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in and for Leon County, Florida

⁸ Case 5:22-cv-00059-TKW-MJF (Filed 3/11/2022) United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee Division

district in North Florida)

MAP 11: Florida House Redistricting Commission Map (maintaining minority opportunity districts in Jacksonville and Palm Beach/Broward Counties)

MAP 12: South Florida Districts and County View

MAP 13: South Florida, District 20

MAP 14: South Florida, District 20, Heatmap of Black population

MAP 15: South Florida, Black Heatmap

MAP 16: South Florida, District 24, Heatmap of Black population

MAP 17: South Florida, Miami Zoom

MAP 18: South Florida, Hispanic Heatmap

MAP 19: South Florida, Hispanic Heatmap with Google Hybrid

MAP 20: PlanScore Chart, Districts 1 through 13

MAP 21: PlanScore Chart, Districts 14 through 28