

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION

In re: Public Meeting of the Legislative
Reapportionment Commission

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Stenographic report of hearing held
in Hearing Room No. 1, North Office
Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Monday
November 15, 2021
4:00 p.m.

MARK A. NORDENBERG, CHAIRMAN

MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION

Sen. Kim Ward	Rep. Joanna McClinton
Sen. Jay Costa	Rep. Greg Rothman, (Deputy Commissioner for Rep. Kerry Benninghoff

Also Present:

Robert L. Byer, Esq., Chief Counsel
G. Reynolds Clark, Executive Director
Dr. Jonathan Cervas, Redistricting Consultant
G. Carlton Logue, Esq. Deputy Counsel, Senate Majority Leader
Chad Davis, Research Analyst, Senate Republican Policy Office
C.J. Hafner, Esq., Chief Counsel, Senate Democratic Leader
Ronald N. Jumper, Esq. Deputy Chief Counsel, Senate Democratic
Leader
Lora S. Schoenberg, Director, Senate Democratic Legislative
Services
Rod Corey, Esq., Chief Counsel, House Republican Caucus
James Mann, Esq., Senior Deputy Chief Counsel, House
Republican Caucus
Katherine Testa, Esq., Senior Legal Counsel, House
Republican Caucus
William R. Schaller, Director, House Republican District
Operations

Reported by:
Ann-Marie P. Sweeney
Official Reporter

1 Also Present:

2 Michael Schwoyer, Esq., Special Counsel, Deputy Chief of
3 Staff for Legislation and Policy, House Democratic Caucus
4 Justin Klos, Director, House Democratic Office of
5 Demographic Analysis
6 David Brogan, Esq., Director, House Democratic Legislation
7 and Policy
8 Andrew McGinley, Esq., General Counsel, House Democratic
9 Government Oversight Committee
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1 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Good afternoon, everyone. Let
2 me call this meeting of the Legislative Reapportionment
3 Commission to order.

4 My name is Mark Nordenberg. I chair the
5 Commission. I have the privilege of welcoming you on behalf
6 of each of its Members. They include Senator Kim Ward, the
7 Majority Leader of the Senate; Senator Jay Costa, the
8 Democratic Leader of the Senate; Representative Kerry
9 Benninghoff, the Majority Leader of the House of
10 Representatives; and Representative Joanna McClinton, the
11 Democratic Leader of the House of Representatives. Senator
12 Ward, as you can see, is joining us by Zoom.

13 Welcome, Senator.

14 SENATOR K. WARD: Thank you. I have four
15 grandchildren at my house for the weekend, all 3 and under, so
16 I'm somewhere in my house where I hope there's no noise.

17 CHAIR NORDENBERG: You know, if any one of them
18 wants to speak, just give me a signal.

19 (Laughter.)

20 CHAIR NORDENBERG: And Majority Leader Benninghoff
21 is being represented this afternoon by one of his
22 distinguished colleagues who will be his Deputy, that is
23 Representative Greg Rothman.

24 This is the ninth hearing to be held by the
25 Commission. To date, we have heard from--or by the end of

1 this afternoon, we will have had 29 presentations by invited
2 experts, we will have heard from 51 citizen witnesses, we have
3 received to date 490 written submissions from citizens to our
4 website portal. We also have received 17 maps in more recent
5 days - 3 complete House maps and 9 complete Senate maps.

6 Today, we are going to hear from a series of
7 invited guests. They include Carol Kuniholm, the Co-Founder
8 and Chair of Fair Districts Pennsylvania, who is going to
9 discuss the People's Maps that they have developed; David
10 Thornburgh, the President and CEO of The Committee of Seventy,
11 and Justin Villere, the Managing Director of Draw the Lines,
12 which is a project of the Committee of Seventy. David and
13 Justin will be talking about representative maps with the
14 citizens who developed them. Amanda Holt, who already has
15 become an historic figure both as a mapper and as a litigant,
16 is here to discuss her most recent efforts in creating plans
17 for the House of Representatives and the Senate. And Salewa
18 Ogunmefun, the Executive Director of PA Voice, is going to
19 discuss the Unity Maps that they have developed and that have
20 been incorporated to some considerable extent into the Fair
21 Districts Unity Map or People's Maps.

22 So, why do we not begin with Dr. Kuniholm. She
23 has been here to testify before. Welcome back.

24 DR. KUNIHOLM: Thank you so much for having me. I
25 am not going to be showing you the maps in their entirety,

1 because once you look at a map, that's all you're going to do
2 is just look at the maps. And the links or the URLs to the
3 People's Maps are in the supplemental testimony that I believe
4 all of you have. What I want to do is to tell you kind of the
5 story behind the maps, the priorities, the process, and a
6 little bit about how we are evaluating the maps we've done,
7 and we'll be evaluating your maps as well.

8 When we launched Fair Districts PA in January
9 2016, the immediate goal was to offer support for a
10 constitutional amendment already introduced by Senators
11 Boscola and Browne to create an independent citizens
12 redistricting commission. Such commissions are now completing
13 their work in seven States, and we have a chance to watch how
14 that process plays out. But here in Pennsylvania, that bill,
15 and others like it, never received a final vote. When time
16 ran out for such a commission in this redistricting cycle,
17 Senator Boscola and Representative Thomas introduced LACRA,
18 the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act, providing
19 clear guidelines for the redistricting process and product.
20 Those bills also did not receive a final vote, but given new
21 tools available to everyday citizens, we decided last spring
22 we would do our best to demonstrate those principles in
23 practice by creating our own People's Maps.

24 As a way to jump-start that process, in late June
25 we announced a LACRA mapping competition, inviting

1 Pennsylvanians to draw House and Senate maps using Dave's
2 Redistricting app or DistrictBuilder. With a deadline less
3 than three weeks later, the rules were simple: meet the
4 criteria proposed in LACRA. Those criteria affirm the
5 constitutional requirements that districts be compact and
6 contiguous. We added a requirement that counties can't be
7 split more than mathematically necessary plus-1 for Senate
8 districts and plus-2 for House districts. Minimizing splits
9 is in the Constitution, and yet that seems to not have carried
10 much weight, so we thought putting an actual guideline on it
11 would perhaps hold it in better focus. LACRA also prohibits
12 splitting precincts. We've seen firsthand the confusion to
13 voters and the administrative burden to election officials and
14 the potential for longer lines caused by precinct splits.

15 Beyond those requirements, LACRA affirms the
16 principles embedded in the Voting Rights Act stating that
17 districts shall provide racial and language minorities with an
18 equal opportunity to participate in the political process and
19 may not dilute or diminish their ability to elect candidates
20 of choice by themselves or in coalition with others.

21 Secondary criteria include protection of communities of
22 interest, respect for natural boundaries, responsiveness to
23 voters, and limits on partisan bias.

24 Despite this short timeframe for the contest and
25 the significant investment of time needed to create PA Senate

1 and House districts, particularly House districts with their
2 203 districts, we received 25 entries from 15 different
3 mappers. And that set off a round of mapping conversations
4 with redistricting experts willing to help evaluate maps and
5 select the top five in each category. The winning maps were
6 instructive. In Pennsylvania, the constitutional values of
7 compactness and contiguity, and as few splits as possible, can
8 work in opposition to each other. Our counties and
9 municipalities are rarely compact. Often they have squiggly
10 lines, sometimes formed by rivers, some are not contiguous, so
11 to make districts contiguous can take some ingenuity.

12 Minimizing splits to the exclusion of other concerns can yield
13 unresponsive districts and can lock in partisan bias across
14 the map as a whole. Maximizing the influence of racial and
15 language minorities can work in opposition to compactness and
16 minimizing splits. Maps that excelled in one area often did
17 poorly in others. We did not plan to choose a winning map,
18 because we knew that there was no way to say which is the
19 best. Metrics need to be held in balance. Instead, we had
20 planned to identify five in each category that balanced
21 criteria effectively. And from those we drew metric baselines
22 any good map should be able to meet.

23 And I will share a few slides as we go along. Is
24 that going to show up, or do I need to do something to make it
25 show up? There it is. Excellent. Thank you. We found that

1 metric patterns are a bit different for the House and Senate
2 since smaller districts can provide more opportunity for
3 racial or language minority influence, while larger districts
4 are less likely to force split municipalities in approaching
5 population equivalents.

6 Once we'd identified winning maps, we invited
7 those mappers to help us in the next phase, adding community
8 input. Several of the winning mappers were high school
9 students heading to college, several were starting grad
10 school, one a campus minister, one a teacher, and two were
11 able to promise substantial time to the project. Michael
12 Skros, from Chester County, a senior at Millersville
13 University, updated his House map with 2020 Census data when
14 it became available in August to provide the starting point
15 for our House map. Michael Waxenberg, an IT risk specialist
16 in Pike County who has given testimony here, did the same to
17 provide the starting point for the Senate map. From there, we
18 examined the other winning maps to pull in good solutions to
19 difficult areas while inviting input in regional and local
20 community mapping conversations. We were aided in that by
21 volunteers across the State with local and regional insight
22 and networks fostered over the past five years.

23 Not all members of our mapping team were mappers.
24 One, Karen Calhoun, drew on her experience in library science
25 to compile a searchable spreadsheet of all location-specific

1 testimony from public hearings and comments submitted online
2 to this Commission, to the State Government Committees, and to
3 the Governor's Redistricting Advisory Council. All of that
4 testimony was consulted as we fine-tuned our maps.

5 On October 27, we held a virtual press conference
6 attended by about 250 supporters from across the Commonwealth
7 to announce draft maps and invite public feedback. Last week,
8 we adjusted the drafts to incorporate the certified, adjusted
9 data and as much feedback as possible, and released our final
10 maps last Wednesday, November 10. The final maps include the
11 Unity Maps prepared by Pennsylvania Voice, combining community
12 maps drawn by hundreds of local mappers. Our maps also
13 include input from dozens of community mapping conversations.
14 Some of those were large, regional events. Some were very
15 focused Zoom meetings with local administrators or community
16 leaders in places that we were struggling to understand the
17 best way to provide representation. Those meetings involved
18 dozens of organizations from well over half of Pennsylvania's
19 67 counties. Testimony and feedback forums added local
20 insight from almost 300 more individuals, with input of some
21 form from every county in the Commonwealth.

22 We do not claim that our People's Maps are
23 perfect. As Michael Skros, our college mapper, said in our
24 virtual press conference, it's really easy for citizens to
25 produce a good map that is better than our current maps. As

1 you can tell from looking at the metrics, it's really
2 challenging to create a great map, because creating a great
3 map involves engaging citizens from every county to hear their
4 specific concerns and insights about their community. And
5 most of all, it's impossible to create a perfect map. There
6 are always going to be some winners and some losers, but the
7 goal is to make everyone as happy as possible, or to spread
8 the unhappiness around.

9 While not everyone will be happy with every part
10 of our maps, we have already had many endorsements from some
11 surprising directions, and you will see some of them on your
12 own comment portal. We have a team still counting split
13 municipalities and split school districts, but the metrics
14 we've already seen show significant improvement over the
15 current House and Senate maps. And here are the metrics
16 comparing ours to the current maps.

17 There's a large important national debate taking
18 place about the best ways to insure maps that provide fair
19 representation. Some advocates suggest that a fully public
20 process with an independent citizens commission with no
21 involvement from legislators and no attention to data or
22 metrics is the only way to insure fair maps. Others argue
23 that reliance on clearly-defined metrics enacted into law may
24 be even more effective. LACRA affirms and clarifies values in
25 our Constitution, Voting Rights Act, and legal precedent,

1 while also providing for public input as maps are drawn, and
2 then before they are finalized. We believe our government,
3 our elections, and our district maps belong to the people
4 they're intended to serve, and that our democracy works best
5 when we have a voice in every part of that, with districts
6 that reflect communities well and maps as a whole that are
7 responsive to the majority will of the people of Pennsylvania.

8 This Commission, your Commission, is already well
9 on the way to showing what a fair process can look like. Your
10 Chair, your hearings, your website, and your provision of
11 necessary data all correlate with LACRA provisions. I
12 encourage you to continue in that course and adopt LACRA
13 priorities as you draw your maps and invite public feedback.
14 In doing so, you could provide an important encouragement to
15 the people of Pennsylvania and to the entire national
16 conversation about redistricting.

17 I'd like to address a few specific issues we
18 wrestled with. First, numbering and attention to incumbents.
19 The LACRA contest allowed for contestants to start from the
20 core of current districts. A few tried, as I have and others
21 of our mappers, but the consensus has been that the current
22 maps are so distorted already that adjusting them further to
23 reflect population changes yields even more distortions. The
24 maps we used for our final maps started from bare maps without
25 attention to incumbent residences. We continued in that, and

1 then at the end renumbered as logically as possible, given the
2 uneven distribution of districts, starting with one in the
3 northwest corner of the State and ending with 50 and 203 in
4 the southeast.

5 We had multiple conversations about how to handle
6 the fact that Senate elections are staggered, based on odd-
7 and even-numbered districts. We did not have exact addresses
8 of Senators, determined not to obtain them, and numbered as
9 well as we could without that information. We did not attempt
10 to harm or benefit any legislator or potential candidate. We
11 affirmed the value in continued, consistent representation
12 when legislators serve constituents well, but we know that the
13 current districts are so skewed that this may be the decade
14 for radical revisions. It would also be helpful to renumber
15 districts, whether they include current cores or not. It's
16 confusing to have Senate District 40 in Monroe and
17 Northampton, 44 in Montgomery and Chester, 48 in Lebanon,
18 Dauphin, and York, with other districts in the 40s in the far
19 western side of the State. Renumbering both maps in a similar
20 way would help address confusion.

21 The second issue of concern, geography. For five
22 years I fielded calls to FDPA's 800 number from folks across
23 the Commonwealth who want to voice their complaint about
24 districts that make no sense given their local geography. I'm
25 sure you have heard some of those here. I've heard from

1 people in rural south central PA whose best route to their
2 Representative's office is a 40-minute drive through Maryland.
3 I've heard from people in northeast PA who have to drive
4 through two other districts to get to their Senator's office.
5 I've heard from folks in urban districts who can't walk to
6 their legislator's office because it's on the other side of a
7 river where there's no bridge and the only public transit
8 requires multiple transfers. This is an egregious one that
9 we've spent some time talking about, Lebanon County with a
10 piece of Dauphin, and then crossing the Susquehanna River to a
11 part of York, where there is no bridge and where the folks in
12 York say they have never seen their State Senator in their
13 part of the district.

14 In drawing the People's Maps, we worked hard to
15 find out where our ridges and rivers should be considered
16 clear boundaries and where river or ridge towns might be seen
17 as communities of interest. Another concern of geography in
18 our most rural areas, districts can sprawl across many
19 counties to gain appropriate population. We looked for ways
20 to mitigate that by attempting to keep those districts as
21 compact as possible.

22 A third area is communities of interest and
23 minority representation. We are well aware that there are
24 many ways to interpret communities of interest. We gave high
25 priority to communities of interest as defined by minority

1 groups themselves, as with the PA Voice Unity Maps, which
2 you'll hear about later. We incorporated them as closely as
3 we could, making small adjustments to avoid splitting
4 precincts and to address population equivalence. We know that
5 some of those districts looked oddly shaped. Some might even
6 say they are gerrymandered. Gerrymandering, by definition, is
7 the manipulation of district lines for partisan or personal
8 advantage. Extensive case law supports lines drawn even in
9 strange shapes to avoid vote dilution of racial or language
10 minorities.

11 In some parts of Pennsylvania, geographic sorting
12 is deeply rooted in racial and economic inequity, including
13 historic segregation, redlining, and now gentrification. Even
14 in the last decade, minority communities in cities like
15 Pittsburgh have continued to be pushed to the margins as
16 desirable riverfront properties or trendy neighborhoods have
17 seen prices rise. Districts drawn to address these inequities
18 and to ensure marginalized communities can participate fully
19 are legal, appropriate, and a high priority for Fair Districts
20 PA.

21 While the Unity Maps were a big contribution to
22 our efforts on behalf of minority representation, we also did
23 additional research and networking on our own. Growth in
24 Pennsylvania's population in the last decade was driven by
25 growth among Latinos, yet Pennsylvania has never had a Latino

1 Senator. We spent considerable time asking about ways to
2 create a VRA Section 2 Latino Senate district, but the
3 population density was not adequate. Instead, we created two
4 Latino opportunity districts, one in Allentown and one in
5 Philadelphia, with a Latino influence district along the Route
6 222 corridor in Berks County, linking Kutztown and Reading.
7 These are not VRA-compliant districts and may not yet have the
8 citizen voting age population to elect a Latino Senator, but
9 they provide opportunity for the future, lend encouragement
10 for the present, and acknowledge the need for more equitable
11 representation.

12 We also looked at ways to maximize Latino
13 influence in the House with a Latino unity district in
14 Lancaster, two in Reading, then two majority-minority
15 districts, and two minority-influence districts in the Lehigh
16 Valley. In Philadelphia, the Latino community was divided
17 carefully into three districts, all with input and feedback
18 from local community leaders. Across the State, we looked at
19 ways to maximize minority influence with the minority
20 influence district in Erie, and House districts in
21 Philadelphia drawn to maximize the influence of dispersed
22 Asian neighborhoods, as well as coalition districts in diverse
23 immigrant communities.

24 Two other forms of communities of interest were
25 mentioned often in testimony. We've all heard compelling

1 testimony from college students about the harms of divided
2 campuses, as seen in places like State College. In some
3 places, large campuses sprawl. In others, they straddle
4 county lines. But we did our best to keep all of
5 Pennsylvania's more than 160 colleges and universities intact,
6 with help from people who live in those local communities, to
7 encourage and support civic engagement on the part of young
8 voters.

9 We also tried to keep school districts together.
10 In many places, those are our best indicators of communities
11 of interest. In counties with very large or sprawling
12 districts, it was not always possible to avoid splitting those
13 districts. In fact, some are so large they can't be contained
14 in one House district, but we did our best to keep them as
15 intact as possible. A surprising number of PA school
16 districts span county lines. Since minimizing county splits
17 is in the PA Constitution and school districts are not
18 mentioned, county lines took precedence, except in places
19 where population adjustments required some crossing of lines.
20 In those places, we tried to do so in a way that kept more
21 school districts together, sometimes yielding things that look
22 a little strange. On the House map, Scalp Level, along the
23 border of Cambria and Somerset, is one such example. On the
24 Senate map, Gregg Township, in the far northeast corner of
25 Union County, is another example, drawn to be part of the

1 Warrior Run School District in the northwestern edge of
2 Northumberland County. Changes like these may not make a
3 difference in the overall metrics. In fact, sometimes the
4 metrics take a slight hit for adjustments that look less than
5 compact. But for the people in those communities, it can make
6 a big difference, and their feedback and insight were an
7 important part of our process.

8 Before I conclude, I'd like to say just a few more
9 words about metrics. It's not hard to create maps with far
10 better metrics than our current maps, and new digital tools
11 make comparison very easy. Competitiveness and
12 proportionality are not in the PA Constitution or legal
13 precedent, but they do give an indication of whether a map
14 will be responsive to voters. The other three metrics
15 demonstrated on Dave's spider graphs are non-negotiable
16 priorities: minority representation, compactness, and
17 splitting. And you can see here how our House compares to the
18 current PA State House. It's easy to see on Dave's
19 Redistricting if a map has attempted to address imbalance in
20 these metrics or simply ignored one or more of them, and it's
21 easy to overlay maps to compare them to each other. For our
22 current Senate and House maps, it appears compactness and
23 minimizing split counties and municipalities was not of much
24 interest.

25 Another type of graphic available on Dave's shows

1 where maps fall with regard to other similar maps. So you can
2 see, our current House falls very well in terms of minority
3 representation among the top possibilities; falls within the
4 kind of median range for competitiveness, compactness, and
5 splitting; does well in terms of proportionality. And you can
6 begin to compare, again, and see where they fall short and
7 where they fall within a median range. Comparisons are not
8 hard to make. I don't have time to linger on these, but they
9 are available in the testimony supplement you've received, and
10 voters will be looking at these as your maps are shared.

11 Another form of comparison is provided by Campaign
12 Legal Center's PlanScore. They have used forms of comparison
13 that have been admitted as testimony in litigation. According
14 to their scores, our maps both have a slight Republican skew,
15 but compared to past enacted PA maps, ours are far more
16 balanced.

17 When we began in 2016, there were very few easily
18 available tools for comparison, and showing the reality of
19 gerrymandering was a challenge. Now, anyone with a computer
20 can see for themselves the difference between a deliberate
21 gerrymander and a reasonable attempt at fairness. This is the
22 comparison of our House map to the current House map. In the
23 same way that we can compare car safety ratings without
24 knowing the many tests and equations behind them, we can also
25 compare district plans and see where they fall short or how

1 much they are skewed to benefit one party.

2 As I said, our maps are not perfect. Some
3 counties have more divided municipalities than we would like.
4 Some areas were much harder to map than others. Some
5 districts wander more than we would prefer. Not all requests
6 in testimony or feedback could be accomplished, but overall
7 we're proud of our process, proud of the maps, and proud of
8 how many people we've taught to study and evaluate district
9 plans. We're happy to share our maps and invite continued
10 review and evaluation. Although we won't be making more
11 changes, now it's up to you to decide what you're going to do
12 with them. We look forward to the chance to share and
13 evaluate yours sometime soon. We ask you to consider the
14 balance of priorities proposed in LACRA, and we invite you to
15 meet or exceed our metrics, while including the concerns and
16 ideas of Pennsylvanians about what their own districts should
17 be.

18 I appreciate this chance to share our work, and
19 I'm happy to answer any questions now or as you continue your
20 own mapping process. Thank you.

21 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you very much.

22 Are there questions from Members of the
23 Commission?

24 SENATOR K. WARD: Me, Chancellor.

25 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Leader Ward.

1 SENATOR K. WARD: Thank you.

2 So I'm interested in, you talked about the Latino
3 district in Allentown. That's already all there. Does that
4 get combined with another area in order to make it a more
5 competitive Latino district?

6 DR. KUNIHOLM: Are you speaking for the Senate or
7 for the House?

8 SENATOR K. WARD: Senate.

9 DR. KUNIHOLM: For the Senate, there is not. If
10 you look at the way the Senate has been drawn currently, the
11 Latino community is divided. It's not kept as compact as
12 possible. That district is rather strangely divided. So I
13 would say that our Senate district map does a much, much
14 better job of keeping that Latino community together.

15 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Leader McClinton.

16 REPRESENTATIVE McCLINTON: Thank you, Mr.
17 Chairman. And thank you, Dr. Kuniholm, for your testimony and
18 your galvanizing of support across the Commonwealth for the
19 last five years.

20 So you have, of course, rightfully argued this
21 afternoon, again today, that so much of our current map was
22 gerrymandered for partisan purposes, but just as importantly,
23 failed to adequately reflect the diversity in our Commonwealth
24 in terms of both ethnic and language minorities. Now, you
25 have raised concerns and questions about this, and you've even

1 given us demonstrations of areas where we can improve the
2 fairness, but one thing that you did note is that so many of
3 these different groups are not fairly in one municipal
4 boundary or within one county. So as we get ready to, in the
5 very nearer future than it has been, you know, have a map in
6 front of the public, what would you propose we do to have as
7 an acceptable population deviation to make sure that this map
8 will achieve the diversity that is a fact of our Commonwealth?

9 DR. KUNIHOLM: So by law, by legal precedent,
10 population deviation is allowed to be plus- or minus-5. In
11 our last PA House and Senate maps, it was plus- or minus-8 --
12 I mean, plus- or minus-4, for a combined total of 8. And I
13 believe I had a metric, I showed the metrics--here it is,
14 population deviation. If you look, the current Senate map is
15 7.96. We were able to do a People's Senate map 4.98, and I
16 think it's possible to get better minority representation than
17 what we did. I'd be really curious to see how you do it,
18 because we worked hard on that. The current PA House map is
19 7.88. Ours is 8.04, and our metrics on minority
20 representation are quite a bit higher. I believe we
21 accomplished 29 majority-minority districts compared to, I
22 believe, it's 23 currently. So that's an additional six
23 majority-minority districts that we were able to do without
24 going beyond the 8. But we have no strong opinions about
25 population deviation. By law, it can be plus- or minus-5.

1 REPRESENTATIVE McCLINTON: Thank you.

2 DR. KUNIHOLM: And I will say one other thing. I
3 mean, there are places where I think it's really important and
4 appropriate to split municipal lines, because the minority
5 populations do cross those lines. And that's certainly the
6 case with the Pennsylvania Voice Unity Maps. They're places
7 where you might say, well, they divided some municipalities to
8 do that. Municipalities are not -- often, the actual lines
9 have racist reasons embedded within them, and so I think it's
10 important to recognize that, that there are--and I've had
11 legislators point to their own municipal lines, their own
12 non-contiguous districts, and say, well, there are some
13 stories behind this, and those stories often have to do with
14 historic racism. So I think to draw maps that address that
15 historic racism sometimes will cause more municipal splits
16 than you might like. And that's actually the case. As we
17 added the PA Voice maps, our splits score went down, but our
18 minority representation score went up. And I think that's an
19 appropriate trade-off.

20 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Other questions?

21 Senator Costa.

22 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you very much, and again,
23 thank you very much for your testimony and the work that you
24 all have done, as was mentioned by my colleague, Leader
25 McClinton.

1 Just a quick question. When we are potentially
2 faced with a situation where the question becomes deviation
3 versus splitting a county, for example, where do you
4 recommend, which has the higher priority, splitting of a
5 county or, you know, again, bumping up maybe a 5 on deviation?
6 You indicated you're at 4, but what if the issue was close to
7 5, versus going into another county? What would your
8 recommendation be to us?

9 DR. KUNIHOLM: I would say the goal is to
10 represent communities, to represent people. So, you know, as
11 long as it's within the legal deviation, I don't see a
12 problem, as long as it's within the legal deviation. And as I
13 said, I think the goal is to make sure that communities have
14 input into what's being done, and representing communities is,
15 to me, more important than the population deviation, as long
16 as it's within legal limits.

17 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you.

18 DR. KUNIHOLM: And again, all of these things have
19 to be held in balance. You know, if you just say we're going
20 to split communities without thinking about it, that's a
21 problem. But if you have a thoughtful reason that is making
22 it more representative for communities to do that, we see no
23 problem with that at all.

24 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you.

25 DR. KUNIHOLM: And again, let me say. So if you

1 look at our metrics for splitting communities, the current
2 House map scores 40. Our People's House Map scores 76. And
3 so there are places that are split, but nowhere near the
4 numbers of splits that were done in past maps. And the
5 rationale for the splits in the past maps were never given to
6 the public, but they were either to, you know, keep incumbents
7 in districts, which meant, you know, getting more and more
8 squirrely and strange districts. Or in my own region, very
9 clearly done to maintain partisan advantage. So there have
10 been many splits in the past. I would say we would like to
11 see the metrics closer to ours, but the deviation is not, for
12 us, a big concern.

13 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you.

14 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I have two basic questions.
15 How many Senate maps and how many House maps did you get that
16 became the basis for your further work?

17 DR. KUNIHOLM: We received, I think I said in my
18 testimony the number. Numbers don't stay.

19 CHAIR NORDENBERG: You said 25 total, or?

20 DR. KUNIHOLM: Twenty-five total, yes. And more
21 of those were Senate than House. I believe there were 15
22 Senate and 10 House. And some people did two. So there were
23 not a huge amount of maps, but it was a three-week window in
24 the dead--you know, we didn't think we were going to do this.
25 We actually had some other ideas about how we were going to

1 approach this and then realized in June that if we were going
2 to have maps to start with, we needed to move quickly, and so
3 we did this. I'm so sorry. I had this turned off, but that
4 one line comes through. Yeah, so I think we had 15--I believe
5 it was 15 Senate maps and 10 House maps. House maps are much
6 more time-consuming to do.

7 CHAIR NORDENBERG: We're learning that. Some of
8 us are learning that.

9 I just also want to make certain that I understand
10 your metrics. The minimization of splits, typically splits
11 are just counted and so lower is better than higher, but your
12 metrics, higher is better than lower. Can you explain that
13 please?

14 DR. KUNIHOLM: So Dave's Redistricting app is a
15 wonderful app. And when we started to evaluate our maps, I
16 reached out to them and said, explain. And they were gracious
17 enough to get on several Zoom calls with us, quite extensive
18 Zoom calls, to explain how they had normalized. So normalized
19 was just to kind of--and if you look at their site, they've
20 got all sorts of equations which explain how they take
21 different counts and then do different equations so that it
22 all ends up on a rank to 100, which allows, just to kind of
23 compare in a really simplified sort of way. We also are doing
24 our own, by hand, counts of municipalities. And we're doing
25 our own, by hand, counts of school districts. That's a much

1 more time-consuming process, and so we will also have the
2 actual numbers of those. And we'll do that for your maps as
3 soon as they are available, too. Our folks have kind of put
4 together a strategy to be able to count more quickly as they
5 do this. But the normal, as I said, we don't know how the
6 metrics are done when, you know, they do car safety rankings.
7 They normalize it so they just have these nice numbers, and
8 behind that are many equations, and the same with the Dave's
9 Redistricting app. They have normalized--they have equations
10 behind it, but they've made it so it's on a rank from 0 to
11 100, just to make it easy to make comparisons.

12 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you.

13 DR. KUNIHOLM: And if you want to hear more,
14 you'll have to call David Bradlee or Alec Ramsay with Dave's
15 Redistricting, or ask Jonathan. I'm sure he can -- Jonathan
16 Cervas, I'm sure, could explain in detail.

17 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I've had little to do with
18 equations since my undergraduate days as a math major, and I'd
19 just assume not return. So--

20 DR. KUNIHOLM: I avoid them.

21 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I appreciate your explanation.
22 Any other questions?

23 SENATOR COSTA: I have none.

24 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Again then, we thank you very
25 much.

1 DR. KUNIHOLM: Thank you so much.

2 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Next, we have Committee of
3 Seventy and Draw the Lines. David Thornburgh is here in
4 person. His colleague, Justin Villere, is going to be
5 appearing on the big screen. And there he is. I told Justin
6 I was glad he was coming because I'd finally have a chance to
7 meet him in person. He decided, upon receiving that message,
8 that he would stay at home. David, why don't I turn it over
9 to you.

10 MR. THORNBURGH: Thank you so much, Chair
11 Nordenberg, and thank you, Leader Costa, Leader McClinton,
12 Leader Ward, and Representative Rothman, for the chance to
13 spend some more time with you. I'll note that today is 70
14 days before the January 24 deadline that, as you know, the
15 Department of State outlined as the date by which maps needed
16 to be in hand. Just also know that I have a certain fondness
17 for that 70 day, given the name of my organization. But I
18 think, no news to you and no news to lots of us, that the
19 clock is ticking, and we are waiting anxiously for you to work
20 through this last phase of your work. As you do, I know you
21 will continue the commitment to transparency and
22 accountability that you've expressed so far. And I truly,
23 truly appreciate that commitment.

24 I will say, however, that as I have worked on this
25 process, Leader Costa and former Leader Dermody and I spent

1 more than a few days and weeks two years ago on the
2 Redistricting Commission, I've come to appreciate that
3 transparency and accountability relative to citizen input
4 really only becomes truly meaningful when citizens have a
5 chance to look at a map, because the rest of the
6 considerations end up sounding theoretical and speculative.
7 And so I look forward, soon, to the day when citizens can
8 engage in the kind of back and forth that we have today, which
9 also leads me to another point.

10 In a minute, I'm going to enlist my colleague,
11 Justin Villere, to take you for a tour of two representative
12 maps that have been developed by some of our citizen-mappers.
13 And that is part of, as you know, this Draw the Lines project
14 that we've been running for the last 3 1/2 years, which has
15 brought on an extraordinary demonstration of the commitment of
16 the citizens of this Commonwealth to this process and to our
17 democracy. And I just wanted to stop for a second and let
18 that sink in, because it's really important. We're now in a
19 time where all this technology that we're using so fluently
20 these days, it was once--I'll call weaponized. It was held in
21 the hands of a few and available only to a few, and now it has
22 been truly democratized to the point that in our Draw the
23 Lines process, we have enlisted 7,211 citizens to draw -- the
24 vast majority of them drawing congressional maps, and I was
25 thinking about how to express that commitment in more tangible

1 terms. If on average each one of those 7,000 people spent
2 maybe three or four hours per map, that's a total of about
3 25,000 maps. Which if you boiled that down to one person, not
4 7,000 people working, that would be one person working
5 full-time for 10 years drawing maps. So just stop and
6 remember, and that is not counting the Fair Districts folks.
7 That's not counting Amanda Holt or our friends from PA Voice,
8 and many, many others. The level of engagement in this is not
9 just a conversational notion, but the folks who have truly dug
10 in to understand and apply their own thinking and values to
11 this process is really extraordinary.

12 I told you earlier, a second ago, that most of the
13 maps that we've been working with for Draw the Lines have been
14 on the congressional process and the congressional maps, for
15 good reason. Introducing citizens to the complexities of 253
16 maps is a lot more difficult than 17 maps. But I think it
17 still carries the same weight and depth of commitment. But
18 today I did want to share with you, again with my colleague
19 Justin, two representative maps - one House, one Senate - that
20 were developed by some of our best citizen-mappers. We have
21 kind of an elite corps of citizens we call the citizen map
22 corps; of the best of our 7,000 mappers, there's about 40 or
23 50 of them.

24 And I'm going to ask Justin to show the video.
25 We've got basically a narrated video, sort of a tour of these

1 two maps with narration by our citizen map corps members. But
2 I want to sort of set up the clip, as they say in the talk
3 show business. These are not composite maps, similar to the
4 ones that we presented in the congressional process. We'll
5 call these representative maps. These were two winning maps
6 by two of our mappers, but they don't represent the same depth
7 or breadth of knowledge or effort that we have in the
8 congressional map or that maybe Carol's has as well. But what
9 I'd like you to listen to, in addition to the tour of the map,
10 is the commentary from the mappers. What you'll hear is a lot
11 of young voices, you'll hear voices from all over the
12 Commonwealth, and you'll hear folks that are pretty
13 well-versed in their communities, in the map-making process,
14 have developed an intuitive understanding of all of the checks
15 and balances and considerations that you folks are dealing
16 with. So I hope what this represents and shares with you is a
17 very human, sort of the human face of those 7,000. If you
18 throw in the Fair Districts folks, the thousands and thousands
19 of people who have taken the time to develop their own maps.

20 I'll also say one other thing. You'll hear some
21 criticisms - some, I'll call it, constructive criticism of
22 these maps, which again, in an ideal process, is what we're
23 after. That what we're after as you share your maps, as we
24 share our representative maps, that you look for ways to
25 improve them. That is the whole point behind the process of

1 engaging citizens in this conversation. It's not to just
2 thumbs up or thumbs down. It's to say, have you thought about
3 this, or have you thought about that, or could you swap this
4 in for that? So I think you'll hear that spirit of
5 constructive criticism as we take this tour. I'll just say at
6 the outset, one of these maps was developed by a young man
7 named Ryan Cedzo, from northwestern Pennsylvania, and the
8 other map was developed by another young man, William
9 Billingsley, from Wilkes-Barre. So with that I will,
10 technology willing, I will ask Justin to share the video with
11 you, and then he and I will come back and be happy to answer
12 questions.

13 MR. VILLERE: All right, technology willing is the
14 operative word there. Hopefully, this comes through here.
15 Please let me know if not.

16 (Whereupon, a video was presented, which was
17 transcribed as follows.)

18 So, right now we're looking at Ryan Cedzo's recent
19 House map. Ryan is a multi-time winner in the Draw the Lines
20 competitions that we've done on congressional, State House,
21 and State Senate. This one of his State House maps that he
22 did, and we're going to turn it over to Ryan, and he's going
23 to give us a quick summary on what he was trying to
24 accomplish. And then we'll go around the State and hear how
25 he did in different parts of the Commonwealth. So Ryan,

1 thanks for drawing the map and joining us.

2 MR. CEDZO: All right. Thanks.

3 So my main goal in this map was for minimizing
4 splits, and then a secondary goal was compactness. So in the
5 end, the main idea was to pretty much have the least number of
6 splits that I could while also maintaining nice, compact
7 districts. In some areas, especially like Allegheny County, I
8 tried to focus on mapping using the rivers as natural
9 boundaries, because I felt that the rivers made really nice
10 natural boundaries in terms of where you try and draw
11 districts. In the Philadelphia area, well, I think I used the
12 one river as a natural boundary for my mapping. So that's
13 pretty much the main overview.

14 MR. VILLERE: Let's stay right where we're at now
15 and let's go to Anne, another one of our expert members,
16 champion mappers, from Draw the Lines.

17 So, Anne, what do you think of the Philly area.

18 MS. HANNA: So, first of all, Philly looks really
19 clean right now, like you said, very nice, compact districts.
20 And I think it looks like you did do a pretty good job of
21 keeping the ward splits down, which is also nice, because that
22 is one of the State constitutional criteria. One thing that
23 is becoming more and more important in Philadelphia is
24 Hispanic representation, particularly in this North Central
25 Philadelphia that's almost in the middle of the map here, like

1 125, 126, whatever that neon green district is. Yeah, so you
2 can see like 127, is you know, it's really kind of the bulk of
3 that district. The problem is it's almost packing the
4 Hispanic community by doing that. And you kind of have these
5 other three little projections into 125, 126, and whatever
6 that one is to the west. And so that one might be a case
7 where you might want to actually just kind of more cleanly
8 divide that community into like two districts.

9 MR. CEDZO: Okay, yeah.

10 MS. HANNA: As opposed to having, you know, kind
11 of like one big district that's most of it and then three
12 little pieces in other districts. And then there's a similar
13 choice down around Chinatown, if you switch the Asian
14 population. Yeah. So, between 132 and 128, that's basically
15 Chinatown that you just kind of cut right in half there. So I
16 might tweak lines in that area a little bit, too.

17 MR. VILLERE: So let's go north. I have Alex
18 Duffy on as well. Alex is a student at Abington Heights High
19 School and one of our most recent competition winners.

20 And so, Alex, what do you think of how this map
21 looks in your neck of the woods.

22 MR. DUFFY: I am living in what would be District
23 80. That goes down into Luzerne County to Pittston. Yeah,
24 that seems all right.

25 MR. CEDZO: Does this one split Scranton here?

1 MR. DUFFY: Yeah. I think I have an idea. Maybe
2 we could bring the top of that District 78, it looks like,
3 yeah, we could shave some off that and bring that down a bit
4 further to Taylor, which is just above Old Forge there. I
5 feel like that's all similar.

6 MR. VILLERE: Now, we're going to head back to
7 check on how Lancaster and Chester County look with Michael
8 Skros. Michael is a multi-time winner with Draw the Lines as
9 well. You've done a fair amount of legislative mapping too
10 over the few months.

11 MR. SKROS: Yeah, so, one of my biggest pet peeves
12 with the existing map that's in place is for Chester County,
13 most of the districts run north to south, and like some of
14 them go across like half the county, and there's just no point
15 to that. So this map does an excellent job at keeping all the
16 districts really compact, which I appreciate. For District
17 190, the southern edge, it's like a perfectly straight line
18 and it is parallel to Route 30, I believe, which is how I've
19 drawn all my maps. It looks beautiful. The one thing is that
20 it does split Coatesville from South Coatesville. So South
21 Coatesville is really tiny, but it's located south of Route
22 30. Yeah, so it's that little area.

23 And then over in Lancaster County, similar story,
24 keeping the rural areas, because there's a pretty sharp rural/
25 urban divide in the county. For Lancaster city, it can be

1 split up. I believe this map does put portions of the city
2 into the neighboring districts, which I think is necessary
3 with the population of the city. The one advantage of doing
4 it the way you did, the districts that are surrounding the
5 city of Lancaster are slightly competitive.

6 MR. VILLERE: All right. Let's bring in Logan
7 Ford. Logan is a multi-time winner and so he's drawn a number
8 of these maps himself, a graduate of MercyHurst College in
9 Erie.

10 And so, Logan, you spent a lot of time there. How
11 does this map look?

12 MR. FORD: Ryan, why did you kind of split the
13 west from the east? I know you said you're from Erie too,
14 right?

15 MR. CEDZO: Yeah. It was definitely a tough
16 decision there where I wanted to take some of the eastern side
17 of Erie and throw it in with that District 1 area, or if I
18 wanted to split it into two districts and then keep more of
19 the city together in two districts.

20 MR. FORD: I'm noticing like where our
21 Representatives' districts are now, and something that we
22 probably will have to acknowledge is, you know, where the
23 current incumbents are. But as far as the layout, I think it
24 makes sense. And I think Mill Creek all together makes sense.
25 And I think having the southern part of the county kind of go

1 down into the next district in Crawford, that makes sense.
2 Having Corry over there by itself, it makes more sense than
3 trying to connect it all of the way to the border with Ohio.

4 MR. CEDZO: I don't like how I brought District 5
5 all the way down to Mercer. I wish I kind of drew that
6 southern part of District 5 and had it more into Crawford.

7 MS. BAN: Hi. My name is Lauren Ban. I'm a
8 member of the citizen map corps of Drawn the Lines PA, and I'm
9 here to give a bit of Butler perspective on the House map that
10 we're submitting to the LRC.

11 The southern few blocks of Butler County are
12 divided off into their own House region. I would say that
13 that's a good idea because the southern portion of the county
14 tends to be a bit more metropolitan compared to the rest of
15 Butler County. It's a bit closer to Allegheny County, and
16 there's where you're going to see like your Cranberry Township
17 type areas. My only issue with this map really comes up
18 around Butler City, right in the center of the map. Butler
19 City itself is preserved, but Butler Township is split.

20 MR. VILLERE: All right, we're going to go to the
21 southwestern part of Pennsylvania and look at the Washington,
22 Greene, Fayette area, Allegheny County. And so we're going to
23 bring in Christian SeseK, who was a Draw the Lines winner last
24 year.

25 MR. SESEK: I think there are a few municipal

1 splits looking at that district between the 58th and the
2 Greene County district in the corner there. Trying to
3 minimize that would be ideal, especially since I grew up in
4 Brownsville. Trying to cluster close to school districts and
5 communities of interest I think would be very important, but
6 the district ultimately doesn't look too different from the
7 current one. But one positive thing about this map is that
8 the clusters of communities are close together. You don't
9 really see communities pulled from one side of a county to
10 another. You don't see weird squiggles. You don't see
11 gerrymanders, for sure. Allegheny, I think, looks pretty good
12 in terms of what they've accomplished there. And again,
13 keeping communities closer together.

14 One point of note is that Beaver County, I believe
15 it's split between four separate legislative districts in this
16 map. I don't know that Beaver would need to be split four
17 separate ways. It's always exciting to see where a district
18 could be, as it is in Armstrong County, just an entire county
19 as a district. I think that, you know, if you can avoid
20 splitting and you can avoid cutting up counties where it's not
21 necessary, I think it's very important to do so.

22 MR. BILLINGSLEY: So I drew this map. The initial
23 version had every district under 250 in population. I think
24 you should know this. So no more or no less than 250 people.
25 There are some sacrifices that have to be made, but, I mean,

1 in terms of like the rest of the State, since I'm from the
2 northeast part of the State in Luzerne County, I try to
3 minimize splits of counties where possible, but not every
4 county has enough people, so it's kind of tough. And
5 especially with the northern parts of the State which are very
6 depopulated, I guess you could say, like Potter County in the
7 top middle, and even Luzerne County has to be split to a
8 degree. So this is kind of a bunch of tradeoffs. But, I
9 mean, in the initial map that I drew, I mean, you know, you
10 definitely go wider than 250, like I did, even, to keep
11 communities of interest together, or other things like that.

12 MR. WILLIAMS: Could you zoom in to the city of
13 Philadelphia? So I think that's one of the things that we
14 have some, managing any of the big cities, you know, is always
15 a challenge, or around a bigger city, and so, yeah. So
16 having, I think we tried hard to have whole districts within
17 the city and maybe have one district bleed in or bleed out.
18 So, you know, here we have, you know, all three bordering
19 districts as bleeding over, but otherwise, yeah, no, those are
20 good and compact. There's some, right where your hand is
21 right now in the middle of the 40th, there's some interest by
22 some because there's a Hispanic community to the east of Broad
23 Street, which is that big line that goes north/south. Yeah,
24 it's right where Justin was there. So some people pay
25 attention to that as a community of interest.

1 MR. VILLERE: Now let us go up into Montgomery
2 County and throughout the rest of the southeast. Mike.

3 MR. WALSH: Well, obviously, the districts are
4 pretty compact. That's fine. I just looked at all the
5 districts in the southeast and just sort of added them up just
6 to see how much extra population they had, and there's a lot
7 of extra population in these districts now.

8 MR. BILLINGSLEY: I wonder if Reading is split,
9 that might be something that people would--

10 MR. WALSH: Yeah, I hadn't notice that. Yeah.

11 MR. BILLINGSLEY: So this would be something
12 that--

13 MR. WALSH: Oh, yeah. Right, right.

14 MR. BILLINGSLEY: The second swing, though.

15 MR. WAXENBERG: This is Mike from Pike here. It
16 looks like Will was working his way up from the Lehigh Valley
17 and he had some leftover precincts in Northampton County, so
18 he did the sensible thing with those. He combined them with
19 Monroe County and Carbon as well, and that district is fine.
20 From my point of view up in Pike County, though, it does leave
21 the rest of the region kind of out in the cold. We end up in
22 a collar district wrapped around Scranton that is reminiscent
23 of the current heavily gerrymandered 20th. Will's version is
24 much more compact, much cleaner, but it does share some of
25 those problems of being non-compact and combining communities

1 that have very little in common. It also looks like Will has
2 a combined Scranton/Wilkes-Barre district right in the middle
3 of the region. And that's fine too. I mean, that's a
4 well-defined metro area. Scranton and Wilkes-Barre share an
5 airport, they share a ballpark. You've even got the old
6 mascot here on my cap. But it does lead to dividing
7 Lackawanna County and splitting both cities off from some of
8 their satellite communities, so that's not great.

9 From my point of view, the northeast is pretty
10 simple. On the Senate map, you can have a well-defined
11 Wyoming Valley district. In Luzerne County, starting with
12 Wilkes-Barre and extending southwest toward Hazleton, you can
13 have a good, solid Lackawanna County district anchored on
14 Scranton with some of its outlying areas. And then a good,
15 solid Pocono district with Pike and Monroe Counties together.

16 MR. VILLERE: All right. So now we're going to go
17 to the central part of Pennsylvania. And we've got Jesse
18 Stowell here. Jesse is from Dauphin County. He is a multiple
19 time Draw the Lines winner as well.

20 What are your thoughts.

21 MR. STOWELL: One of them is that the districts
22 are fairly compact, and that's great. So that's positive
23 feedback that they aren't distorted shapes, and with that,
24 that there's a big effort to not split counties very much.
25 The other feedback I had is that I noticed that large

1 municipalities are split a lot. So that had me concerned,
2 because these larger cities tend to be where the most
3 minorities live in the city. So I noticed my own city in
4 Harrisburg, my neighborhood, is put off with the rest of
5 Cumberland County, while the rest of Harrisburg is in a
6 different district. The same with York. York is also split.
7 But if instead you start with those larger cities as a central
8 focal point of the district, you can build more small boroughs
9 and townships around it without splitting the population
10 nearly as much and making sure that the places that have a
11 bigger sense of community and have the largest number of
12 people are held together.

13 MR. FORD: I really like how this one, as opposed
14 to the current map, has more of Erie County. The current map
15 kind of slices off the entire southern portion, and I think
16 that might have made sense 10 years ago, but with the
17 population decline, we can get more of Erie County in there.
18 I think that we do have to break it up a little bit, but I
19 think that it makes sense in this map because people of Corry
20 probably have less in common with the people of Erie than say
21 down in the Meadville area, so that makes sense.

22 In Venango, I think we're using the Allegheny
23 River as a natural border. And I know in a lot of maps,
24 talking to people from other parts of the State, whether it
25 was down in Pittsburgh, where we have all the natural

1 boundaries with the rivers, or even over in Philadelphia,
2 those natural resources, those natural boundaries just sort of
3 make logical sense, and the people that live there agree and
4 they sort of identify as, you know, the north side of the
5 river, the south side of the river.

6 MS. BAN: So I'm from Butler County. So if you
7 look at the Butler County region on this map, you're going to
8 see that Butler County itself is lumped in with Armstrong. I
9 personally think that that's a very good idea. I would say
10 that the people of Butler County and Armstrong County have
11 shared values and could be considered to be a community of
12 interest. Similarly, if you look at the Senate district that
13 is next to Butler in the Lawrence County and Beaver areas,
14 again, I would say that that's another good lumping in of two
15 communities that have a very much shared interest. As you get
16 more down towards the Allegheny region, perhaps that strays a
17 bit, but if we're looking at minimizing county splits, I would
18 say that, you know, those are two counties that are, again,
19 good to lump together.

20 MR. VILLERE: And next we're going to go to the
21 Pittsburgh area, Allegheny County and southwestern PA. And so
22 we have Christian Sesek.

23 MR. SESEK: Here you see Washington County
24 completely intact, and I think that that's important. The
25 same with Greene. And I actually, the reason I bring up

1 Brownsville is that I noticed the borough of Brownsville in
2 Fayette County actually is in the 11th District, and it looks
3 like the borough and the township, as well as Knoll in Fayette
4 County. And I would support a decision doing something like
5 that because Brownsville is a Mon Valley community, and what
6 you have there are communities across the river like
7 California, Charleroi, Monongahela, that have very similar
8 situations like that of Brownsville. You know, they're
9 dealing with blight. They're dealing with problems like that.
10 And I'm very pro keeping communities of interest together, so
11 I think that the 11th District does a really good job of that.
12 If Beaver and Lawrence could continue to be one Senate
13 district that is truly a 50-50 competitive result, and I think
14 that that would really--I mean, I think that Beaver County, if
15 I'm not mistaken, is split between two districts, kind of
16 hooks up in there, and I think that the other district spans
17 into Butler, and it's the same with Butler and Armstrong. I
18 think that if you're keeping whole counties intact, it's a lot
19 better than splitting up the results.

20 MR. THORNBURGH: Thank you. I hope that was an
21 instructive tour of the Commonwealth and to hear some of the
22 voices of the dedicated citizen-mappers that we have brought
23 into this process. And now Justin, remotely, and myself, in
24 person, will be happy to answer questions or clear things up.

25 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Questions from Members of the

1 Commission?

2 Leader McClinton.

3 REPRESENTATIVE McCLINTON: Thank you, Mr.
4 Chairman, and thank you, David. We appreciate the
5 presentation and the overview from all the citizens across the
6 Commonwealth. Their input is totally invaluable.

7 It's our understanding that the Citizens' Map does
8 not take incumbency into consideration. To the extent that
9 incumbency would or should be considered, do you think a map
10 that respects incumbency in any form could perform similarly
11 on the criteria of compactness, contiguity, competitiveness,
12 and municipal splits, or even come close?

13 MR. THORNBURGH: Thank you for your question,
14 Leader McClinton.

15 Just one thing, we don't refer to this as the
16 Citizens' Map. The Citizens' Map is what we've called our
17 congressional 17-map creation that I shared with the State
18 Government Committee last week.

19 I would say, and I'll invite Justin's comment on
20 this as well, that, you know, because the Legislative
21 Reapportionment Commission has, I'll call them operating
22 instructions embedded in the Constitution, those are the --
23 that's where we should begin and sometimes end conversations
24 about priorities. You know, when we get past that, then it's
25 a question of whether or not we can achieve some kind of a

1 balance, as reflected by the conversations that you have with
2 your constituents or that we bring to you to sort of derive
3 other priorities. But it is, again, really important because
4 those were drafted and, you know, approved by the people over
5 60 years ago, I guess, that that's where we begin.

6 But Justin, let me turn to you for your comments
7 as well.

8 MR. VILLERE: Surely. I think incumbency, it
9 really, I'll quote David here, he said this frequently over
10 the last couple of months, that we really need to see a map
11 first to really be able to answer that question. And so if
12 you create a map, as long as there's a level of transparency
13 that you have taken incumbent locations into account, you
14 know, you don't have to share the addresses, but at least like
15 understanding that cores of districts were kept together so
16 that citizens had a common sense of continuity with their
17 Representatives, then I think there needs to be a level of
18 transparency there. I imagine, I tried to do this, and I
19 imagine folks at Fair Districts did as well, when you start
20 mapping towards incumbency in a Commonwealth that has seen a
21 vast amount of population change, it becomes quite difficult
22 to maintain other values like compactness and county splits.
23 So there's going to have to be a tradeoff. But ultimately, I
24 think that the piece that is necessary is, you know, being
25 transparent with the public that you did take incumbent

1 locations into account, if that's something you did.

2 MR. THORNBURGH: I'll just add one point, Leader
3 McClinton. I think, first of all, it's not easily and readily
4 apparent for folks like us to figure out incumbent addresses.
5 It's kind of a laborious process. I think Carol mentioned
6 that. So that's one thing for the future, for that sort of
7 data, to make that more available would be helpful. But the
8 other thing is, my sense is that constituents, you know, they
9 want everything, but I think folks were okay with recognizing
10 some level of incumbent addresses in exchange for a sense of
11 stability. And I see that. So if there were some way to
12 acknowledge that a certain number of districts were kept, you
13 know, taken that more into account than others, or were part
14 of a sort of a more gradual journey towards, you know,
15 districts with respect to the constitutional criteria and
16 others, my sense is that folks would be okay with that. It's
17 when, and we've seen this in the past five decades, that when
18 incumbency and protecting incumbents, or punishing
19 challengers, becomes clearly a part of the decisions that
20 result in the lines that are drawn, that people are offended.
21 So I hope that's a useful addition in your thought process.

22 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I think it was very useful.
23 Thanks.

24 Other questions?

25 (There was no response.)

1 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you for today. Thank you
2 for yesterday. Thank you for all the help that you've given
3 to us. And thank you, Justin.

4 MR. VILLERE: I look forward to meeting you, Mr.
5 Chairman.

6 MR. THORNBURGH: Thank you.

7 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Our third speaker, who is
8 experienced at doing these things, is already on her feet and
9 on her way to the microphone. This is Amanda Holt.

10 MS. HOLT: Good afternoon. Or are we in evening
11 now? On that border; that time when who knows what time it
12 is. But it's good to be back again. It's good to see you
13 all.

14 I am here to provide you with, I'll emphasize,
15 draft legislative district plans for consideration. And as we
16 look at these, I would ask you to consider five things. So
17 there are five considerations, five principles, I would like
18 you to consider as we look at these maps. And they're things
19 that I considered as I worked on my draft maps, so that's why
20 they're relevant to discuss, although they're things that I
21 have discussed with you all before, so they should probably be
22 familiar to you.

23 The first one is to consider the definition of
24 absolute necessity and to consider this when no other recourse
25 is available to meet the Constitution. So one part of the

1 Pennsylvania Constitution, as you all know, states that
2 divisions to jurisdictions should only be made unless
3 absolutely necessary. If other constitutional parameters may
4 be met without dividing a jurisdiction, is that split
5 absolutely necessary? And I would suggest it is not, because
6 a recourse exists to avoid it while still complying with the
7 Constitution.

8 I would also ask you consider the definition of
9 "equal as practicable." This is something that was debated at
10 length at the Constitutional Convention of 1968. It was
11 unclear at the time what overall population range the courts
12 would allow in legislative districts moving forward. Some
13 thought 30 percent overall range would be fine, others said it
14 should be 20 percent. In the end, they decided to defer to
15 the yet-to-be-determined court standard. And today, we know
16 that to be a 10-percent overall range. But is that too high?
17 Many U.S. Supreme Court Justices have found it to be an
18 acceptable range when it's been questioned in court. The
19 minor harm it may cause is worth the ability it gives to
20 protect the boundaries of jurisdictions and the voice of the
21 people. In fact, the Constitutional Convention agreed, they
22 found that divisions to jurisdictions should only be permitted
23 to meet population thresholds. They did not suggest divisions
24 should be allowed to create compact or contiguous districts.
25 Delegate Baldrige, who was the one who introduced Proposal 1,

1 as it was known then, said, "We do provide for the compact,
2 contiguous districts with no ward, borough, county, and so
3 forth, lines being divided unless absolutely necessary under
4 the 'one man, one vote rule.' Ignoring this rule to avoid
5 divisions leaves discretionary decisions unchecked and exposes
6 a district plan to manipulation."

7 And it is the most common population range found
8 in other State redistricting plans. Twenty-seven States used
9 variances between 8 and 10 percent, or even greater than 10
10 percent in 2010. So I'd ask you consider not dividing
11 jurisdictions for population reasons unless there is no other
12 recourse available that would keep the plan within a 10-
13 percent overall range.

14 I would also ask you also to consider the
15 definition of "contiguous." You may be familiar with this
16 district, I'm sure. Thanks to Charles II, Pennsylvania has an
17 island. There are also other small geographic anomalies
18 throughout the State. In previous redistricting plans, these
19 geographic anomalies were permitted to exist, even though
20 technically not contiguous. I would ask you to consider
21 continuing with this practice.

22 Fourth, I would ask you consider the definition of
23 "compactness." In previous redistricting plans, no precise or
24 mathematical standard has been established because of
25 geographic boundaries not falling into neat shapes. I would

1 agree that this principle is better adhered to in a general
2 sense rather than setting some kind of specific standard.

3 I would also ask that you consider the definition
4 of "minority districts." So while not covered by the PA
5 Constitution, districts must still not discriminate against
6 minorities. So I'd ask you to consider minority districts,
7 one, in which the voting age population of one minority group
8 is greater than the white voting age population in that
9 district.

10 And so these considerations are reflected in the
11 draft maps that I'm presenting today. And as we look at
12 these, it's good to make sure we understand terms in the same
13 way. So a big term I will use is "splits," and there are two
14 ways that splits can be referred to. There are the splits
15 themselves which count the number of places divided, and then
16 there are total splits, which count the number of times a
17 place is divided. And this is an example from the 2001 map of
18 Monroe County. You can see it's one county and it contains
19 five total splits. I think that total splits is perhaps a
20 more important number to consider, but you want to also look
21 at the split count so that you don't end up with like another
22 Monroe County situation, which, of course, was not good and
23 was rectified in the 2010 maps, fortunately.

24 Another term to consider is "pre-determined"
25 versus "discretionary" splits. So pre-determined means

1 there's no choice based on the population of the jurisdiction.
2 It has to be divided that way, or there have to be that many
3 splits in it. Discretionary is when you have a choice of
4 where the split goes. And the number I think is appropriate
5 to focus on is the one that can be controlled, which is
6 discretionary splits. So as I discuss the maps with you, my
7 focus will be on those where there's an actual choice of where
8 those splits might go. And I think the only permissible
9 divisions are ones which are unavoidable to meet equal
10 population or the Voting Rights Act requirement.

11 So in the maps I will show you, I worked with a
12 10-percent overall range. And for the Voting Rights Act
13 requirements, I referenced the number of minority districts
14 and locations in 2011, as well as reviewing populations of
15 neighboring districts that were being created in the maps, and
16 adjustments were made using the minimum divisions needed to
17 meet the Voting Rights Act requirements as presently
18 understood. And more work maybe could be done in that area.
19 You may hear from testimony later. I will also add a
20 disclaimer that I did not, when I was assigning district
21 numbers, I made an effort to try to keep them within their
22 current counties, but I might have failed. So there may be
23 some strays. There's no slight intended there. And I didn't
24 give consideration to incumbents in drawing them. Although
25 when I was making discretionary splits, I would consider

1 school district boundaries.

2 So I did find that there were divisions necessary
3 to keep districts within the 10-percent overall range. I did
4 find that it was necessary to make divisions to meet with the
5 Voting Rights Act requirements. The districts that you will
6 see are contiguous based on past practices, although both maps
7 do include some geographic anomalies, and, generally speaking,
8 they are compact. So I think it's possible to draw districts
9 that do comply with the Constitution and Federal standards
10 while still minimizing divisions.

11 So you see here the total splits in the draft
12 Senate plan that I sent you. There are 32 that are pre-
13 determined, and then there were 5 that I found that were
14 necessary to either address population issues or for minority
15 districts. And you can see that these still met the
16 constitutional requirements by creating minority districts, by
17 containing equal population, by having contiguous districts,
18 and also compact districts. And there is a picture of what
19 this particular version looked like.

20 And then in the House, I found that there are 194
21 total splits that were pre-determined to be necessary, and
22 there were an additional 44 that were discretionary. And I
23 did a little bit of a breakdown here on the right side. So I
24 showed how many I found to be necessary for the purposes of
25 population and how many were necessary for minority districts.

1 And then you can see below that it still met with the
2 constitutional parameters for minority districts, equal
3 population, contiguous, as well as compact districts. And
4 there is a picture of the House map, as well as in the
5 southeast a close-up of the southeast and the southwest for
6 your reference.

7 And I am happy to answer any questions that you
8 may have.

9 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Well, you packed a lot into
10 your presentation.

11 Are there any questions from Members of the
12 Commission?

13 (There was no response.)

14 CHAIR NORDENBERG: How do these splits compare
15 with the splits in the maps you drew 10 years ago?

16 MS. HOLT: They are comparable. I think the total
17 split count was like 258 in the House, and this was a little
18 less than that because those maps used a lower population
19 variance. So I think this is pretty much on par with what
20 happened 10 years ago.

21 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Senator Costa.

22 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
23 And Ms. Holt, good to see you again.

24 MS. HOLT: Good to see you, too.

25 SENATOR COSTA: Your point number four, consider

1 the definition of compactness. And you indicate that we
2 should use a general sense of compactness, I believe, and not
3 a mathematical formula or threshold. One of the things that
4 we've been doing is measuring districts by looking at these
5 different compactness tests. Are you suggesting that we
6 should maybe do more of a visual look at a district to
7 determine compactness, or a combination of both, or one or the
8 other? Can you explain a little bit about that?

9 MS. HOLT: Sure. So I'm suggesting, for instance,
10 the compactness measurements measure different types of
11 things, right. So there are different ways to measure it. So
12 the question is, if you are looking for a plan to have, let's
13 say you decide the average plan should have a compactness
14 score of 30 and you have one with 29. Is that going to be
15 unacceptable? Or does every plan have to have a district that
16 reaches a certain threshold, meaning every one has to meet a
17 certain compactness? And then how do you decide which
18 measurement you're going to use? So I think it's appropriate
19 to reference them as a general rule to see like what their
20 compactness scores might be, and those scores can be useful in
21 helping evaluate how it's measuring up on compactness. But I
22 think choosing to use a specific metric may not be quite as
23 useful, because if you have a district maybe that falls below
24 because it's trying to accommodate, for instance, minority
25 groups or something like that, they can sometimes be less

1 compact and you've now set a standard that says districts have
2 to reach a certain threshold and now that's going to fall, you
3 know, out of line with that. I'm not sure that that's
4 appropriate to do.

5 So I think it's not just a visual. I mean, I
6 think it's okay to use metrics and reference metrics. I just
7 don't know that you want to have a specific number that you've
8 assigned that says a district is not compact unless it reaches
9 this particular number. If that makes sense.

10 SENATOR COSTA: Yeah, I get. Yeah. And if I
11 could just ask another question, quickly.

12 Consideration number five, the definition of
13 "minority districts." You indicate that voting age population
14 of one minority group is greater than the white voting age
15 population. So if we have a 34-percent Latino population and
16 a 24-percent white and a 16-percent or 20-percent African
17 American, is it your position that that should be considered a
18 Voting Rights Act minority district?

19 MS. HOLT: I don't know if it would be a Voting
20 Rights Act minority district, because they have specific
21 standards about, you know, what qualifies under the Voting
22 Rights Act, but I think it certainly constitutes the minority
23 having a majority. I mean, the one case where it talked about
24 the 50-percent threshold for minority districts was one in
25 which I believe the white majority was at 60 percent, and they

1 were debating whether the black majority could be 35 percent
2 or 39 percent. So they could never form a majority that would
3 be greater than the white voters in that district. And so I
4 think that it's important to, while that's a good standard to
5 follow, the 50-percent rule, I don't think we should lose
6 sight of the fact that minorities can sometimes form a
7 majority of a district and yet not still achieve the 50-
8 percent threshold, if you will.

9 SENATOR COSTA: Hence a coalition district, I
10 suspect.

11 MS. HOLT: Um-hum. So I think consideration
12 should be given to those, to some degree.

13 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you very much.

14 MS. HOLT: Especially when they come very close to
15 the 50-percent mark.

16 SENATOR COSTA: Thank you.

17 CHAIR NORDENBERG: And do you have a tally, as
18 Fair Districts did, about the number of minority districts
19 that exist in these two maps?

20 MS. HOLT: Yes. On the summary page I did here,
21 which I flew past, so I'll go back there again, you can see
22 here I did count the number of districts in which the Black
23 population formed the largest share of the voting age
24 population. There are four in the Senate. One with
25 Hispanics, and to Senator Costa's point, that one was not at a

1 50-percent threshold. I think it was 37 or 39 percent, and
2 there was a coalition district there as well. And on the
3 House side, there are 19 districts in which Blacks formed the
4 largest share of the voting age population, 4 in which
5 Hispanics formed the largest share of the voting age
6 population, and 4 coalition districts. And I'll acknowledge
7 that some of those, they may have been at like 49.4 percent
8 instead of at 50-percent, but they still formed a greater
9 share than the white voters. And it allowed, in some
10 instances, for maybe them to have two neighboring districts in
11 which they formed an almost greater share than the white
12 voters. But there could be adjustments made there. So I
13 don't know if that helps.

14 CHAIR NORDENBERG: It does help, and you did fly
15 over it. So, thank you.

16 MS. HOLT: I did. I did. I wanted to get to your
17 questions. What can I say?

18 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Are there other questions?

19 SENATOR COSTA: Just very briefly, Mr. Chairman,
20 if I could.

21 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Please.

22 SENATOR COSTA: Could you identify the two
23 districts you referred to in the Senate as the one Hispanic
24 share of VAP and one coalition district? Can you point to
25 them on your map or at least help me find them or--

1 MS. HOLT: Help you find them. Ah--

2 SENATOR COSTA: --send me an email, or something,
3 whatever?

4 MS. HOLT: Yeah. I can send an email. Because
5 it's really, they're in the Philadelphia area, and it's really
6 small here, so I'm not sure I'm going to be able to point it
7 on here.

8 SENATOR COSTA: Okay. But if you could then--

9 MS. HOLT: But I will follow up with you on that,
10 because I didn't do a zoom-in on that particular area.

11 SENATOR COSTA: Okay. Thank you.

12 MS. HOLT: But I can definitely provide that to
13 you.

14 SENATOR COSTA: Yep, thank you.

15 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you very much.

16 MS. HOLT: I think it's District 2 and 26. It
17 just came to me.

18 SENATOR COSTA: 2 and 26?

19 MS. HOLT: 2 is Hispanic, and the coalition I
20 think is the 26, but I can confirm that.

21 CHAIR NORDENBERG: And those are the existing
22 district numbers? Because we've had maps that have been
23 renumbered.

24 MS. HOLT: It was an attempt. It's a little
25 challenging to line up existing district boundaries with the

1 one I was drawing, but it was an attempt.

2 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Okay.

3 MS. HOLT: I will say that.

4 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you very much.

5 MS. HOLT: You're welcome. Thank you.

6 CHAIR NORDENBERG: And that actually is a topic
7 that provides a nice transition into our final speaker, Salewa
8 Ogunmefun.

9 MS. OGUNMEFUN: Ogunmefun.

10 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Am I doing better every time
11 you come?

12 MS. OGUNMEFUN: Yes, you are. Ogunmefun.

13 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I'm working at it.

14 MS. OGUNMEFUN: Very close.

15 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Welcome.

16 MS. OGUNMEFUN: Thank you, and thank you for
17 allowing me to testify today.

18 Good afternoon, Chair Nordenberg, Leaders
19 McClinton, Costa, and Ward, and Representative Rothman. My
20 name is Salewa Ogunmefun, and I am the Executive Director at
21 Pennsylvania Voice, a partnership of over 45 organizations
22 across the Commonwealth working year-round to create a more
23 accessible, inclusive, and representative democracy by
24 amplifying the voices, leadership, and expertise of
25 communities that have historically experienced deliberate

1 barriers to civic participation. Our Keystone Counts
2 coalition began our work around legislative reapportionment in
3 2017 and continues to be led by Make the Road Pennsylvania,
4 Amistad Law Project, One Pennsylvania, CASA, Action for
5 Climate Emergency, Campus Vote Project, and Common Cause
6 Pennsylvania.

7 We've been encouraged by the vast discussion in
8 these proceedings around racial equity and hope that my
9 testimony today will aid this Commission in the creation of
10 maps that ensure fair voting power for all and uphold the
11 State constitutional mandate that equality of rights under the
12 law shall not be denied or abridged in the Commonwealth of
13 Pennsylvania because of race or ethnicity of the individual.
14 Our Unity Maps are a result of more than three years of
15 strategic research and planning, a robust Census field program
16 led by the Pennsylvania Voice integrated voter engagement work
17 group, which contacted over 405,000 Pennsylvanians during the
18 Census in order to ensure the most accurate data to inform the
19 reapportionment process, nearly a year of popular education
20 sessions about redistricting with community members across the
21 State, and months of encouraging Black, Indigenous, and people
22 of color leaders to submit community-of-interest maps.

23 We did not consider partisan preference in the
24 drafting of our Unity Maps at all. Communities of color who
25 are entirely driving population growth in Pennsylvania are

1 growing at 12 times the rate of the white population. 2020
2 Census data shows that Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Asian
3 American and Pacific Islander, and other communities of color
4 across the Commonwealth, account for 26.5 percent of
5 Pennsylvania's total population. However, according to the
6 National Conference of State Legislatures, Pennsylvania's
7 highest lawmaking body, the General Assembly, is currently 90
8 percent white, as well as 73 percent male. That leaves over a
9 15-percent gap between the ethnic makeup of the State's
10 population and the makeup of the leadership in the General
11 Assembly. The significant gap between the citizenry and the
12 Representatives suggest that the residents of the Commonwealth
13 had been denied equal access to the political process on the
14 basis of their race. The reality of this discrepancy in
15 representation impacts policy, resources, and legislative
16 priorities which compound on existing racial disparities and
17 economic stability, education, and health.

18 I just want to note Dr. Kuniholm's testimony
19 earlier when she noted the comparison between housing
20 discrimination and red-lining in Pennsylvania with a lot of
21 the lines that we see in the stark difference between racial
22 demographics within a lot of the communities, and we'll talk
23 about that when we get to the maps in a little bit.

24 As a partnership committed to justice, we
25 conducted a racial growth analysis and identified seven key

1 counties that had experienced tremendous growth in people of
2 color during the last decade; Allegheny, Berks, Delaware,
3 Lancaster, Lehigh, Philadelphia, and York. We respectfully
4 ask that as this committee adopts the maps, it does so with
5 the changes in population growth in mind and draws maps in a
6 manner that complies with the Pennsylvania Constitution,
7 insuring that individuals have an equal right to vote and
8 opportunities to select Representatives that reflect their
9 interests. When you look at the Pennsylvania State
10 legislative percentages, in the Black community we are talking
11 about a population at about 12.7 percent. And currently in
12 the percentage of representation in the legislature, we're at
13 9 percent. With the Latinx community, a population of about
14 8.1 percent, Representative percentage in the legislature is 1
15 percent. Asian American, Pacific Islander communities, about
16 4.7 percent statewide. Current legislative seat percentage is
17 zero percent. There is an API State legislator, but when you
18 add it into the overall population, it still comes out
19 statistically to zero percent.

20 When we're looking at the Black and Indigenous
21 population growth over the last 10 years, in Allegheny County,
22 we're talking about an increase of 5.6 percent; in Berks
23 County, 9 percent; in Delaware County, 8.1 percent; in
24 Lancaster County - I'm sorry, I'm originally from Maryland and
25 so a bunch of times I may mispronounce "Lancaster," but I

1 promise, I am trying and I am going to get it right before the
2 end of this testimony. Ten years, you would think I had it
3 right, but every now and then I slip up. Lancaster, we're
4 talking about 5.2 percent. Lehigh, we are talking about 10.7
5 percent. In Philadelphia, 2.5 percent, but if you look at the
6 population total, it is a lot of people; York, 6.1 percent;
7 and statewide, about 6 percent.

8 Across these growing counties, our partners
9 invited community members to submit community of interest maps
10 and collectively gathered more than 700 submissions that
11 captured where communities exist and demonstrated why they
12 should be kept together. Our partners at More Equitable
13 Democracy, national redistricting experts who advance
14 electoral system reforms to increase representation for
15 under-represented communities to strengthen our democracy,
16 helped compile our community of interest maps into eight Unity
17 Maps representing proposed House districts, while Keystone
18 Counts held nearly 10 feedback sessions to hear directly from
19 community members to insure that these maps reflected their
20 interest while also adhering to constitutional mandates. We
21 adjusted the maps based on the feedback from community members
22 and went back to partner organizations who affirmed the final
23 maps.

24 After a rigorous process of engaging racially and
25 linguistically-diverse community members on behalf of Keystone

1 Counts, I present for your review our eight Unity Maps. I'm
2 going to focus specifically in three geographies, which
3 represents about four of those maps, and respectfully ask the
4 Legislative Reapportionment Commission to adopt them as you
5 begin the legislative mapping process statewide. It is our
6 belief that in order to produce the most equitable and
7 representative maps, it is imperative that we listen to
8 communities that have historically been underrepresented in
9 part due to our current General Assembly district lines.

10 So we're going to start in Berks County, where
11 particularly we're focusing in on the city of Reading. And
12 our partners at Make the Road Pennsylvania led the effort for
13 community members to actually participate, draw their own
14 communities of interest that were drafted and translated into
15 the maps that you see in front of you. In Berks County, we
16 saw significant growth in populations of color, and an overall
17 decrease in the population of white voters. Our two proposed
18 districts, informed by 114 maps submitted by community
19 members, would empower more Latinx and mixed-race voters than
20 the current lines do. Currently, communities of color in
21 Berks County are disproportionately packed into Pennsylvania's
22 127th House District, where they make up 66 percent of the
23 electorate. As a consequence of this packing, voters of color
24 make up just 40 percent of the electorate in the neighboring
25 126th District. This dilutes the voting power of communities

1 of color. Instead of packing communities of color together,
2 these proposed maps would instead split communities evenly
3 between the two districts while respecting municipal borders
4 and would create two districts wherein communities of color
5 comprise a majority of the electorate.

6 In addition to these maps, we have a couple
7 different versions of them. The first version shows you the
8 city lines and how our proposed map actually takes into
9 account the cities that are in this geography. The next map
10 shows you a heat map based on where our community members
11 actually show that they live their lives, they live, they
12 work. Where you see the red is the highest concentration.
13 Where you see the orange, it goes a little bit further out.
14 And when we get into the yellow, folks saw that community a
15 little different than their own communities.

16 And then this last map shows you the actual people
17 of color, voting age population in this area, and again, when
18 you look at the way that we chose to split the maps in Berks
19 County, specifically, we had the choice between splitting the
20 city of Reading east to west or splitting the city of Reading
21 north to south. That was actually a conversation that we had
22 with the community members themselves, and they better saw
23 themselves and felt the maps better represented them when it
24 was split the way that you see represented here versus the way
25 you see it if the line itself was actually vertical. And I

1 think that that was in part based on these maps, which
2 actually show a little bit of the economic interest inside of
3 these communities. They felt that if you split the city of
4 Reading so that the line actually went vertical versus
5 horizontal, that it gave a little bit less power to working
6 class communities. When you split it this way, the interest
7 of those communities were able to actually have a little bit
8 more power in one of those districts.

9 The next place that we will talk about is
10 Lancaster. Our partners over at CASA are the partners that
11 actually led the process in Lancaster in drafting this map and
12 getting community-of-interest maps submitted by community
13 members. Over the last decade, Lancaster County has grown
14 rapidly. Overall, since 2010, 30,000 people of color moved
15 into the county and the white population has just slightly
16 decreased. In particular, the Latinx and mixed race
17 communities have seen significant growth. We drew our maps
18 based in part off of the 149 submissions from community
19 members who identified the parts of Lancaster County that
20 represent their communities. This map would drop the
21 wealthier, whiter populations from northwest Lancaster,
22 including Franklin and Marshall College, from the 69th House
23 District. To take their place, this map would add communities
24 from southwest of Lancaster to the district where most of
25 Lancaster County's communities of color are located. As a

1 result, the electorate of PA's 96th House District would go
2 from being majority white to majority people of color, which
3 would provide the much-needed ability for more Pennsylvania
4 communities of color to elect their candidates of choice.

5 Similar for the Lancaster maps, we also have the
6 same city breakdown. I will just go ahead and address the
7 city of Lancaster, understanding that the constitutional
8 requirement is that you have to not divide municipal
9 boundaries as much as possible. This is one of the areas that
10 we're making the argument that the interest of keeping an
11 actual minority community together, which can then actually
12 have their own voting power, should be prioritized over the
13 municipal boundary that doesn't allow that community to be
14 fully represented. Again, looking at this map, you'll see
15 where our community of interest submissions actually were the
16 heaviest versus where folks didn't really see their interest
17 or didn't see those areas as their own communities. You will
18 see here, and I think particularly if you look at this map,
19 you'll see why there is a dip inside of the, I guess like,
20 southeastern part of this district. In the southeastern part
21 of this district, particularly to make sure that we were
22 keeping that community of interest together as a minority
23 community that can actually exercise their own voting power if
24 they are kept together. And then this map, similar to the
25 more recent one, also shows the actual economic breakdown of

1 these communities and how that is impacted with this map.

2 The last area that I will focus in on during my
3 presentation today is Philadelphia County. Our partners that
4 were part of the community of interest collections and the map
5 submissions in Philadelphia County were One Pennsylvania,
6 Campus Vote Project, Amistad Law Project, and Make the Road
7 Pennsylvania. Philadelphia County has seen significant growth
8 among communities of color and a net loss of white residents.
9 Our proposed districts for Philadelphia are based on over 170
10 community map submissions from our members. Currently, the
11 district maps around Philadelphia are visibly gerrymandered to
12 a significant extent. Our gathered community of interest data
13 shows that the communities where our partners live are
14 currently split between Pennsylvania's 181st, 190th, 195th,
15 197th, and 198th House Districts. These district lines
16 artificially divide our communities and do not reflect the
17 borders and boundaries real people see and experience on the
18 ground in Philadelphia every day.

19 Our proposed map would keep the general shape of
20 what is currently HD 195, but would drop the
21 disproportionately white population south of Girard Avenue,
22 add more neighborhoods of color between West Lehigh and West
23 Erie Avenue, and clean up the border surrounding the district.
24 As a consequence, it will be easier for candidates,
25 organizations, and voters to reach out to voters in their

1 community. Notably, this map would not include areas around
2 Temple University that contain high concentrations of
3 students, allowing those students to be collectively
4 represented in a district that closer resembles the behavioral
5 patterns and economic interests of the student population.

6 You'll see that we do not have the city breakdown
7 with the Philadelphia maps because the entire Philadelphia is
8 made up inside of one city. The interest of our partner
9 organizations' members, you will see on this map, trying to
10 make sure that folks were actually kept together as an
11 organizing base and community of interest that is consistently
12 working together towards specific policy goals and demands.
13 You'll see here the breakdown of racial demographics in this
14 area. This area is a predominantly and heavily Black area,
15 and this district will maintain that it will be a majority
16 Black district and the economic interests of these communities
17 as well.

18 Before I move on to the conclusion, I will just
19 note that we did also draft maps in Allegheny County, and we
20 drafted maps in York County as well.

21 Political districts define who has representation
22 and who those Representatives will be accountable to. When
23 injustice is intentionally ingrained in the redistricting
24 process, it limits the community's ability to create the
25 changes they need. Under your leadership, Pennsylvania is in

1 a historic moment. This Commission has the opportunity to
2 propose more fair and equitable maps than we have seen in the
3 past, the opportunity to resolve 30 years of racial inequities
4 that have deprived generations of Pennsylvanians of their
5 representation and power they deserve in State government. We
6 also ask you to consider the demographic trends in our
7 Commonwealth, population growth that will only continue to
8 accelerate over the next 10 years during which these maps will
9 be in effect. These population trends show the rapid growth
10 in Black, Indigenous, and other communities of color will
11 continue to increase, and we ask that the maps introduced by
12 this Commission maintain equal representation and equality of
13 rights over the decade that they are in place.

14 Finally, I would call for this Commission, Judge
15 Byer's recent testimony, that a map can meet all
16 constitutional requirements and still dilute the voting power
17 of minority communities. Producing maps that don't create
18 additional opportunities for Black, Indigenous, and people of
19 color communities across the Commonwealth would represent a
20 missed opportunity to produce a legislature that, for the
21 first time in the Commonwealth's history, is representative of
22 and accountable to all the communities it serves.

23 Thank you again, Chair Nordenberg and esteemed
24 Commissioners, for the opportunity to be here today. I'm
25 eager to answer any questions you may have, as our Keystone

1 Counts leadership organizations that I named prior.

2 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you very much.

3 MS. OGUNMEFUN: Of course.

4 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I didn't realize that your many
5 talents included being able to speak so fast and get so much
6 into a compressed period of time.

7 MS. OGUNMEFUN: I hear that a lot also.

8 CHAIR NORDENBERG: And I do want to underscore a
9 fact that our witness mentioned, and that is that there is in
10 her written testimony reference to Allegheny County districts
11 and also districts in York County.

12 Are there questions from any of the Commissioners?

13 (There was no response.)

14 CHAIR NORDENBERG: I think probably we want to
15 have a chance to think about all that you shared with us
16 today. This is very helpful. As you know, we've had, oh, I
17 bet a half-dozen witnesses at least talking about the Voting
18 Rights Act and its importance, so thank you for your
19 contributions.

20 MS. OGUNMEFUN: Of course. Thank you for allowing
21 me to be here, and I am available anytime, as are the partner
22 organizations whose community members actually created the
23 maps and submitted them.

24 CHAIR NORDENBERG: Thank you, and thank you all.

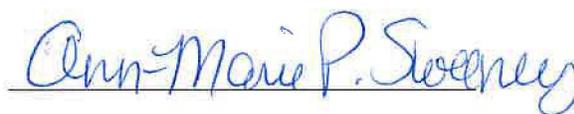
25 As David Thornburgh was kind enough to remind us,

1 the days of the calendar are passing. What I think was left
2 out of your presentation, David, is that we do, of course,
3 have a calendar that is built into the Constitution, and built
4 into the Constitution are periods of time when citizens have
5 the opportunity to react. We can't do anything about
6 compressing those periods of time, so we're working as
7 diligently as we can to get our own work done well, but as
8 quickly as possible. And I do need to say that the Members of
9 the Commission, the Caucus leaders, the members of their
10 staffs, are working very hard recognizing that this is an
11 important undertaking.

12 So thank you all for being here. Thanks, in
13 particular, to our witnesses for their contributions today.
14 And with that, this meeting is adjourned.

15 (Whereupon, the meeting was recessed at 5:41 p.m.)
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1 I hereby certify that the proceedings and evidence
2 are contained fully and accurately in the notes taken by me
3 during the hearing of the within cause, and that this is a
4 true and correct transcript of the same.

5
6
7
8 

9
10 ANN-MARIE P. SWEENEY
11 Official Reporter
12 Legislative Reapportionment
13 Commission

14
15 THE FOREGOING CERTIFICATION DOES NOT APPLY TO ANY
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18
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House of Representatives
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Majority Leader

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November 15, 2021

Chairman Mark Nordenberg
Legislative Reapportionment Commission
Main Capitol Building
Harrisburg, PA 17120

Dear Chairman Nordenberg,

Pursuant to Article II, Section 17(b) of the Pennsylvania Constitution, I hereby appoint Representative Greg Rothman to serve as my deputy at the meeting of the Legislative Reapportionment Commission to be held on November 15, 2021 at 4 p.m. Representative Rothman may vote on all matters that come before the Commission on my behalf.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Kerry A. Benninghoff".

Kerry A. Benninghoff
Majority Leader
Legislative Reapportionment Commission, Member

Agenda

Hearing #9

Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment Commission

November 15, 2021

4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

North Office Building, Hearing Room 1

Citizen Mapping Efforts

1. Call to Order and Opening Remarks
2. Carol Kuniholm – Co-Founder and Chair, Fair Districts PA
3. David Thornburgh - President and CEO, Committee of Seventy
Justin Villere - Managing Director, Draw the Lines
4. Amanda Holt – Citizen Mapper
5. Salewa Ogunmefun – Executive Director, PA Voice
6. Closing Remarks and Adjournment

Carol Kuniholm, Fair Districts PA Chair, Testimony to the Legislative Reapportionment Commission regarding the PA People's Maps, November 15, 2021

Thank you for the opportunity to talk about the Fair Districts PA People's maps and the priorities and process behind them.

When we launched Fair Districts PA in January 2016, the immediate goal was to offer support for a constitutional amendment already introduced by Senators Boscolas and Browne to create an independent citizens redistricting commission. Such commissions are now completing their work in seven states. Here in Pennsylvania, that bill, and others like it, never received a final vote.

When time ran out for such a commission in this redistricting cycle, Senator Boscola and Representative Thomas introduced LACRA, the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act, providing clear guidelines for the redistricting process and product. Those bills also did not receive a final vote, but given new tools available to everyday citizens, we decided last spring we would do our best to demonstrate those principles in practice by creating our own People's maps.

As a way to jumpstart that process, In late June we announced a LACRA mapping competition, inviting Pennsylvanians to draw House and Senate maps using Dave's Redistricting App or District Builder, with a deadline less than three weeks later. The rules were simple: meet criteria proposed in LACRA, the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act:

Those criteria affirm the constitutional requirements that districts be compact and contiguous, adding a requirement that counties can't be split more than mathematically necessary +1 for senate districts and +2 for house districts.

LACRA also prohibits split precincts. We've seen firsthand the confusion to voters, the administrative burden to election officials, and the potential for longer lines caused by precinct splits.

Beyond those requirements, LACRA affirms the principles embedded in the Voting Rights Act, stating that districts shall provide racial and language minorities with an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and may not dilute or diminish their ability to elect candidates of choice by themselves or in coalition with others.

Secondary LACRA criteria include

- Protection of communities of interest
- Respect for natural boundaries (including rivers, ridges, highways, or other major dividers)
- Responsiveness to voters (demonstrated through some level of both competitiveness and proportionality)

Despite the very short timeframe for the contest, and the significant investment of time needed to create PA state and house districts, we received 25 entries from 15 different mappers. That set off a

series of zoom discussions with redistricting experts willing to help evaluate the maps and select the top five in each category.

The winning maps were instructive. In Pennsylvania, the constitutional values of compactness and contiguity work in opposition to each other. Our counties and municipalities are rarely compact. Some are not contiguous, so to make districts contiguous can take some ingenuity.

Minimizing splits to the exclusion of other concerns can yield unresponsive districts and lock in partisan bias across the map as a whole. Maximizing the influence of racial and language minorities can work in opposition to compactness and minimized splits. Maps that excelled in one area often did poorly in others.

We did NOT choose one winning map. Instead, we identified five in each category that balanced criteria most effectively. From those we drew metric baselines any good map should be able to meet. **[SLIDE 1: CONTEST METRICS]**

We found that metric patterns are a bit different for house and senate, since smaller districts can provide more opportunity for racial or language minority influence, while larger districts are less likely to force split municipalities in approaching population equivalence.

Once we had identified winning maps, we invited those mappers to help us in the next phase, adding community input. Several of the winning mappers were high school students heading off to college; several were starting graduate school. One was a campus minister. One was a teacher. Two were able to promise substantial time to the project: Michael Skros from Chester County, a senior at Millersville University, updated his House map with 2020 census data when that became available in mid-August, providing the starting point for our House map. Michael Waxenberg, an IT risk specialist in Pike County, did the same to provide the starting point for the Senate map.

From there we examined the other winning maps to pull in good solutions to difficult areas, while inviting input in regional and local community mapping conversations. We were aided in that by our network of local coordinators, volunteers across the state with local and regional insight and networks fostered over the past five years. Not all members of our mapping team were mappers. One, Karen Calhoun, drew on her experience in library science to compile a searchable spreadsheet of all location-specific testimony from public hearings and comments submitted online to this commission, the state government committees, and the Governor's Redistricting Advisory Council. All of that testimony was consulted in fine-tuning our maps.

On October 27 we held a virtual press conference, attended by about 250 supporters from across the commonwealth, to announce our draft maps and invite public feedback. Last week we adjusted the drafts to incorporate certified, adjusted data and as much feedback as possible, and released our final maps last Wednesday, November 10.

The final maps include the Unity Maps prepared by Pennsylvania Voice, combining community maps drawn by hundreds of local mappers. Our maps also include input from dozens of community

mapping conversations, some large regional events, some very focused zoom meetings with local administrators or community leaders. Those meetings involved dozens of organizations from well over half of Pennsylvania's 67 counties. Testimony and feedback forms added local insight from almost 300 more individuals, with input of some form from every county in the commonwealth.

We do not claim that our People's Maps are perfect. As Michael Skros, our college mapper said in our virtual press conference: "It's really easy for citizens to produce a good map that is better than our current maps. It's really challenging to create a great map, because creating a great map involves engaging citizens from every county to hear their specific concerns and insights about their community. And most of all it's impossible to create a perfect map. There are always going to be some winners and losers, but the goal is to make everyone as happy as possible or to spread the unhappiness around."

While not everyone will be happy with every part of our maps, we have already had many endorsements from some surprising directions. We have a team still counting split municipalities and school districts, but the metrics we have already show significant improvement over the current House and Senate maps. **[SLIDE 2: MAP METRICS]**

There is a large, important national debate taking place about the best ways to ensure maps that provide fair representation. Some advocates suggest that a fully public process, with an independent citizens commission, with no involvement from legislators and no attention to data or metrics, is the only way to ensure fair maps. Others argue that reliance on clearly defined metrics, enacted into law, may be even more effective. LACRA affirms and clarifies values in our constitution, Voting Rights Act and legal precedent, while also providing for public input as maps are drawn and then before they're finalized. We believe our government, our elections and our district maps belong to the people they are intended to serve, and that our democracy works best when we have a voice in every part of that, with districts that reflect communities well, and maps as a whole that are responsive to the majority will of the people of PA.

This commission is already well on the way to showing what a fair process can look like. Your chair, your hearings, your website and your provision of necessary data all correlate with LACRA provisions. I encourage you to continue in that course and adopt LACRA priorities as you draw your maps and invite public feedback. In doing so, you could provide an important encouragement to the people of Pennsylvania and to the entire national conversation.

I'd like to address a few specific issues we wrestled with:

First, numbering and attention to incumbents. The LACRA contest allowed for contestants to start from the core of current districts. A few tried, as have I and other of our mappers, but the consensus has been that the current maps are so distorted already that adjusting them further to reflect population changes yields even more distortions. The maps we used for our final maps started from bare maps without attention to incumbent residences. We continued in that, and then at the end renumbered as logically as possible, given the uneven distribution of districts, starting with 1 in the Northwest corner of the state and ending with 50 and 203 in the southeast.

We had multiple conversations about how to handle the fact that senate elections are staggered, based on odd and even numbered districts. We did not have exact addresses of senators, determined not to obtain them, and numbered as well as we could without that information.

We did not attempt to harm or benefit any legislator or potential candidate. We affirm the value in continued, consistent representation when legislators serve constituents well, but note that the current districts are so skewed that this may be the decade for radical revisions. It would also be helpful to renumber districts, whether they include current cores or not. It's confusing to have Senate District 40 in Monroe and Northampton, 44 in Montgomery and Chester, 48 in Lebanon, Dauphin and York, with all other districts in the 40s in the far western side of the state. Renumbering both maps in a similar way would help address confusion.

Second, geography. For five years I've fielded calls to FDPA's 800 number from folks across the commonwealth who want to voice their complaint about districts that make no sense given their local geography. I've heard from people in rural south central PA whose best route to their representative's office is a forty minute drive through Maryland to circle ridges without any way across. I've heard from people in Northeast PA who have to drive through two other districts to get to their senators' office. I've heard from folks in urban districts who can't walk to their legislator's office because it's on the other side of a river where there's no bridge, and the only public transit requires multiple transfers. **[SLIDE 3: SD 48]** We've done our best to call attention to some of the more egregious examples, including Senate District 48, which spans the Susquehanna River in a place where there's no bridge.

In drawing the People's Maps we worked hard to find out where our ridges and rivers should be considered clear district boundaries and where river or ridge towns might be seen as communities of interest. Another concern of geography: in our most rural areas, districts can sprawl across many counties to gain appropriate population. We looked for ways to mitigate that by keeping those districts as compact as possible.

Third: communities of interest and minority representation. We are well aware that there are many ways to interpret communities of interest. We gave high priority to communities of interest as defined by minority groups, as with the PA Voice unity maps. **[SLIDE 4: UNITY DISTRICTS]** We incorporated them as closely as we could, making small adjustments to avoid splitting precincts and to address population equivalence. We know that some of those districts look oddly shaped; some might even say gerrymandered. Gerrymandering, by definition, is the manipulation of district lines for partisan or personal advantage. Extensive case law supports lines drawn, even in strange shapes, to avoid vote dilution of racial or language minorities.

[SLIDE 5: PITTSBURGH UNITY DISTRICTS] In some parts of Pennsylvania, geographic sorting is deeply rooted in racial and economic inequity, including historic segregation, redlining, and now, gentrification. Even in the last decade, minority communities in cities like Pittsburgh have continued to be pushed to the margins as desirable river-front properties or trendy neighborhoods have seen prices rise. Districts drawn to address these inequities and to ensure marginalized communities can

participate fully are legal, appropriate, and a high priority for Fair Districts PA.

While the Unity maps were a big contribution to our efforts on behalf of minority representation, we also did additional research and networking on our own. Growth in PA population in the last decade was driven by growth among Latinos. Yet Pennsylvania has never had a Latino senator. We spent considerable time asking about ways to create a VRA Section 2 Latino senate district, but the population density was not adequate. **[SLIDE 6: BERKS/LEHIGH VALLEY]** Instead, we created two Latino opportunity districts, one in Allentown and one in Philadelphia, with an Latino influence district along the Route 222 corridor in Berks County, linking Kutztown and Reading. These are not VRA compliant districts, and may not yet have the citizen voting age population to elect a Latino senator, but they provide opportunity for the future, lend encouragement for the present and acknowledge the need for more equitable representation.

We also looked at ways to maximize Latino influence in the House, with a Latino unity district in Lancaster, two in Reading, then two majority-minority districts and two minority influence districts in the Lehigh Valley. In Philadelphia, the Latino community was divided carefully into three districts, all with input and feedback from local community leaders.

Across the state we looked at ways to maximize minority influence, with a minority influence district in Erie, and House districts in Philadelphia drawn to maximize the influence of dispersed Asian neighborhoods, as well as coalition districts in diverse immigrant communities.

Two other forms of communities of interest were mentioned often in testimony. We've all heard compelling testimony from college students about the harms of divided campuses, as seen in places like State College **[SLIDE 7: STATE COLLEGE]**. In some places large campuses sprawl, and in others they straddle county lines, but we did our best to keep all of PA's more than 160 colleges and universities intact, to encourage and support civic engagement on the part of young voters.

We also tried to keep school districts together. In many places, those are our best indicators of communities of interest. In counties with very large or sprawling districts it was not always possible to avoid splitting school districts. In fact, some are so large they can't be contained in one house district, but we did our best to keep them as intact as possible.

A surprising number of PA's school districts span county lines. Since minimizing county splits is in the PA constitution and school districts are not mentioned, county lines took precedence except in places where population adjustments required some crossing of lines. In those places, we tried to do so in a way that kept more school districts together. **[SLIDE 8: EXAMPLES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT ADJUSTMENTS]** On the House map, Scalp Level, along the border of Cambria and Somerset, is one such example. On the Senate map, Gregg Township, in the far northeast corner of Union County, is another example, drawn to be part of the Warrior Run School District in the Northwestern edge of Northumberland County. Changes like these may not make a difference in the overall metrics; in fact, sometimes the metrics take a slight hit for adjustments that look less

compact. But for the people in those communities, it can make a big difference, and their feedback and insight were an important part of our process.

[SLIDE 9: SPIDER GRAPH] Before I conclude, I'd like to say just a few more words about metrics. It's not hard to create maps with far better metrics than our current maps, and new digital tools make comparison very easy. Competitiveness and proportionality are not in the PA constitution or legal precedent, but they do give an indication of whether a map will be responsive to voters. The other three metrics demonstrated on Dave's spider graphs are non-negotiable priorities. **[SLIDE 10: SPIDER GRAPH OVERLAYS]** It's easy to see if a map has attempted to address and balance those metrics, or simply ignored one or more of them. For our current Senate and House maps, it appears compactness and minimizing split counties and municipalities was not of much importance.

[SLIDE 11: ONE BOX PLOT] Another type of graphic available on Dave's shows where maps fall with regard to other similar maps: **[SLIDE 12: FOUR BOX PLOTS]** Again, comparisons are not hard to make. I don't have time to linger on these, but they're available in the testimony supplement you've received.

[SLIDE 13: SENATE MEAN-MEDIAN] Campaign Legal Center PlanScore is another source to compare proposed plans against previously enacted maps. According to their scores, our maps both have a slight Republican skew but compared to past enacted PA maps, ours are far more balanced.

When we began in 2016, there were very few easily available tools for comparison, and showing the reality of gerrymandering was a challenge. Now, anyone with a computer can see for themselves the difference between a deliberate gerrymander and a reasonable attempt at fairness. **[SLIDE 14: HOUSE MEAN-MEDIAN]** in the same way we can compare car safety ratings without knowing the many tests and equations behind them, we can compare district plans and see where they fall short or how much they're skewed to benefit one party.

As I said, our maps aren't perfect. Some counties have more divided municipalities than we'd like. Some areas were much harder to map than others. Some districts wander more than we'd prefer. Not all requests could be accomplished. Not all feedback has been glowing. We would have benefited from another week or two of feedback and review.

Overall, we're proud of our process, proud of the maps, and proud of how many people we've taught to study and evaluate district plans. We're happy to share our maps and invite continued review and evaluation. We look forward to the chance to share and evaluate yours sometime soon. We ask you to consider the balance of priorities proposed in LACRA, and we invite you to meet or exceed our metrics while including the concerns and ideas of Pennsylvanians about what their own districts should be.

I appreciate this chance to share our work and am happy to answer any questions, now or as you continue in your own mapping process.

Carol Kuniholm Testimony Supplement; November 15, 2021

To view maps:

<https://tinyurl.com/PAPeoplesHouse>

<https://tinyurl.com/PAPeoplesSenate>

Toggle county, district and city lines on lower left.

Check statistics, analysis, compare and advanced icons in the top right for more information.

Original cores of proposed districts can be found on the Compare Maps page

For more information, FAQ and additional links:

<https://www.fairdistrictspa.com/peoples-maps>

To compare current and proposed districts at the district level:

<https://pennsylvania.redistrictingandyou.org/>

Compare current PA House, Senate and Congressional districts to those proposed by Fair Districts PA and Draw the Lines. LRC and General Assembly proposals will also be shared here when ready.

To find location specific testimony:

Citizen Testimony Spreadsheet: <https://tinyurl.com/PATestimony>

Legislative Reapportionment Commission, State Government Committee and Redistricting Advisory Council Testimony: Location Specific Summaries and Links

Campaign Legal Center PlanScore:

Pennsylvania enacted plans: <https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/pennsylvania>

People's House: <https://tinyurl.com/PlanScorePeoplesHouse>

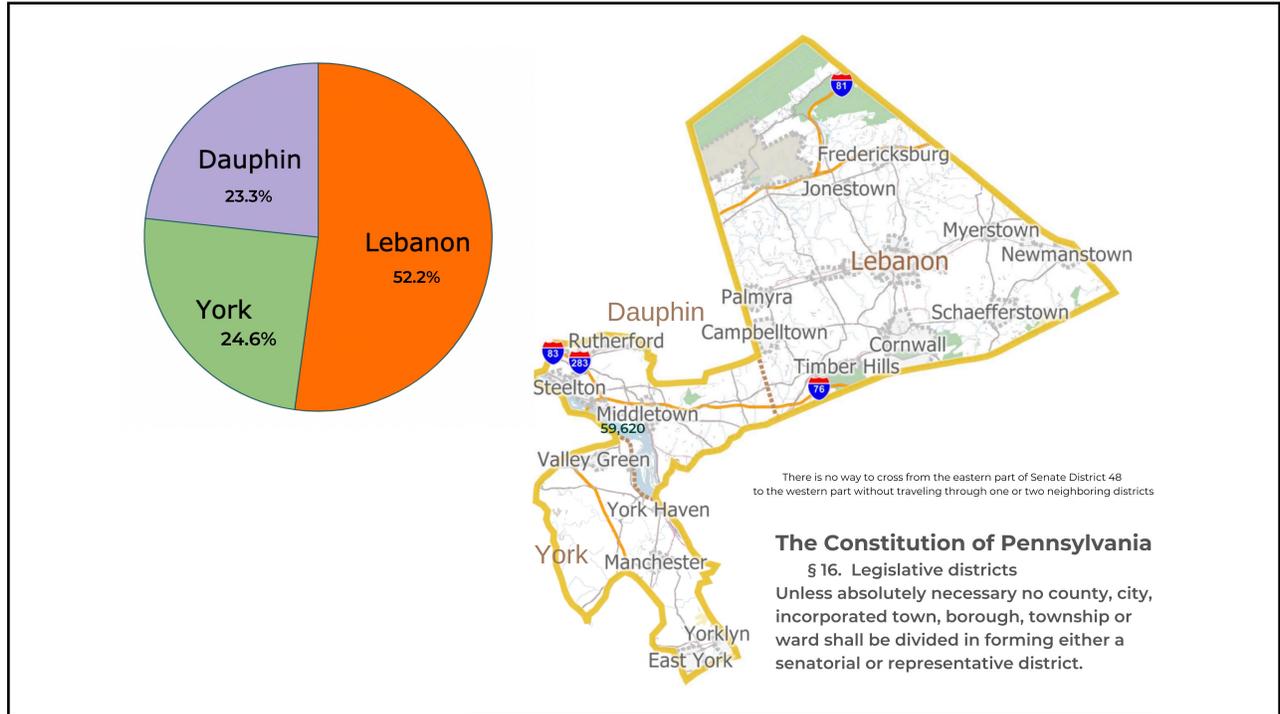
People's Senate: <https://tinyurl.com/PlanScorePeoplesSenate>

METRICS as seen in Dave's Redistricting App (using 2010 data for all)	Compactness	Minimized Splits	Partisan Bias Score	Minority Representation	Number of Majority/ Minority Districts
	Higher is better: Range to 100				Total #
CURRENT PA SENATE	41	54	35	50	5
MEAN FOR WINNING ENTRIES	70	83.2	49.8	48.6	4.4
MEDIAN FOR WINNING ENTRIES	73	81	54	48	4
CURRENT PA HOUSE	45	53	32	68	23
MEAN FOR WINNING ENTRIES	65.6	88.6	47	57.8	20.2
MEDIAN FOR WINNING ENTRIES	68	88	44	58	20

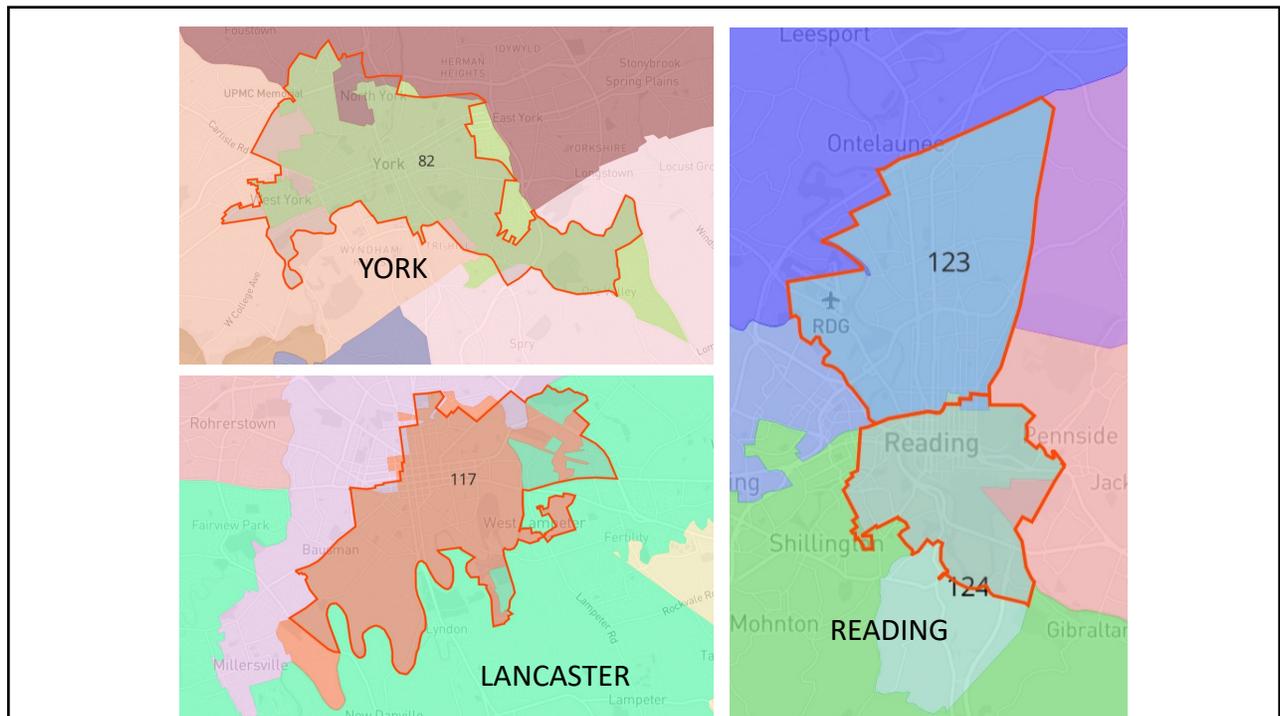
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METRICS as seen in Dave's Redistricting App (using 2010 data for current House/Senate)	Compactness	Minimized Splits	Partisan Bias Score	Minority Representation	# of Majority/ Minority Districts	Population Deviation
	Higher is better: Range to 100				Total #	Legal precedent allows 10 (+ or - 5%)
Current Senate	41	38	35	53	5	7.96
People's Senate Map	62	77	49	61	5	4.98
Current House	45	40	32	65	23	7.88
People's House Map	64	76	47	68	29	8.04

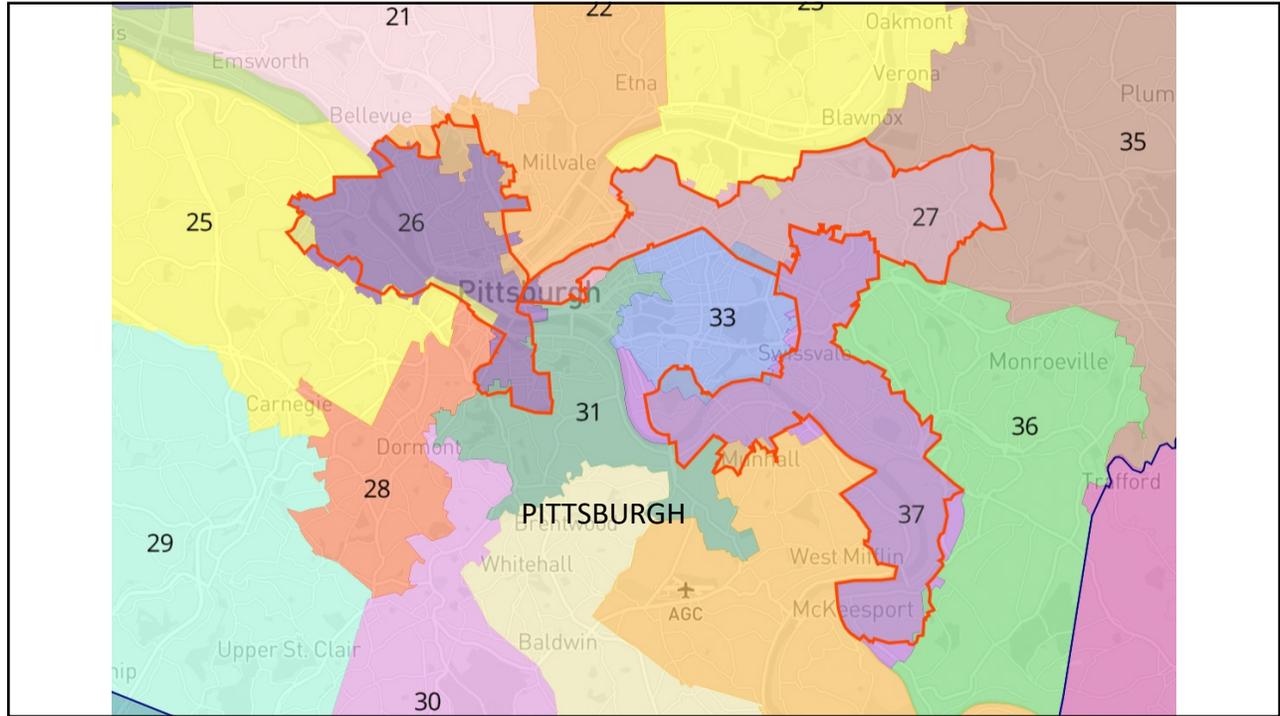
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The 222 Corridor is the heart of the Latino community – *el corazón de la comunidad*. 6 out of the top 8 cities in Pennsylvania with largest Latino population are located in the 222 Latino Corridor. The school districts of Reading, Allentown, Lancaster, Lebanon have majority Latino student population – Reading surpassing 80%, Allentown and Lancaster more than 60%. [PA Latino Convention 2021]

A map of the 222 Corridor region in Pennsylvania, highlighting school districts 28 (Allentown) and 33 (Reading). A collage of photos shows Latino families and students. A white line with red dots connects the locations of Allentown, Reading, and Lancaster.

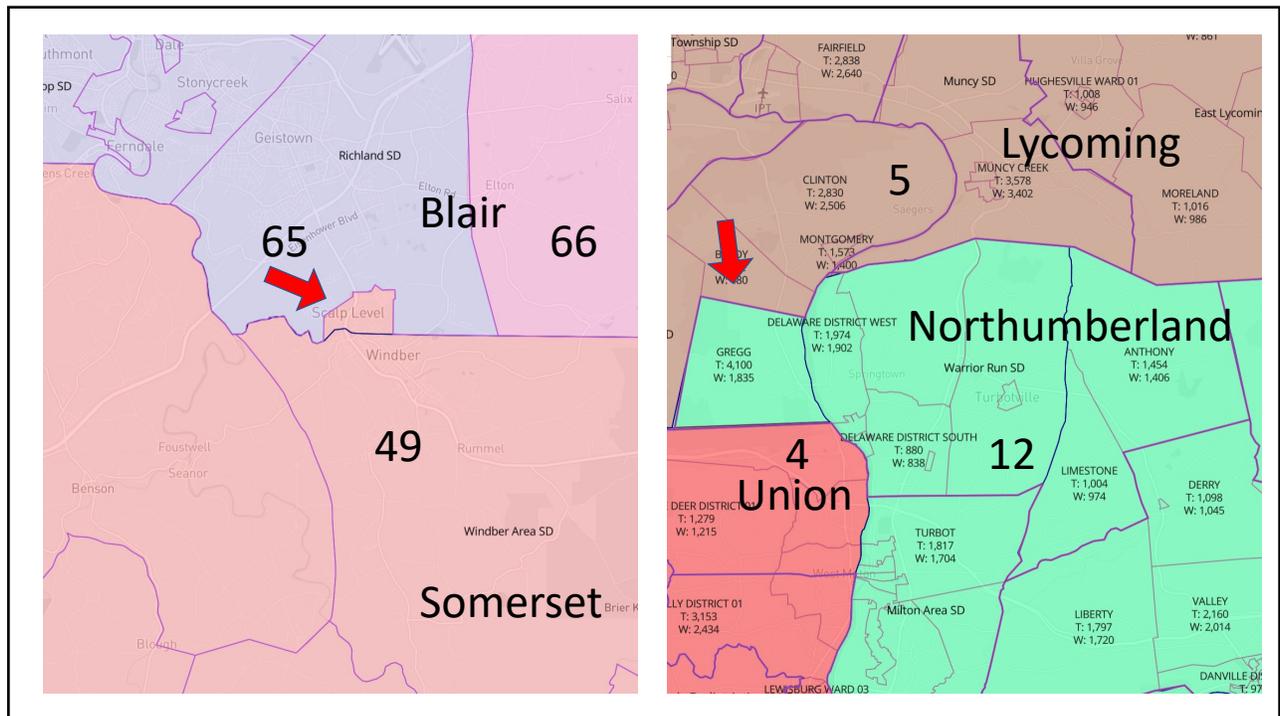
	Minority VAP	Latino VAP
SD 33 (Reading corridor)	39.6	29.6
SD 28 (Allentown corridor)	43.6	29.7

6

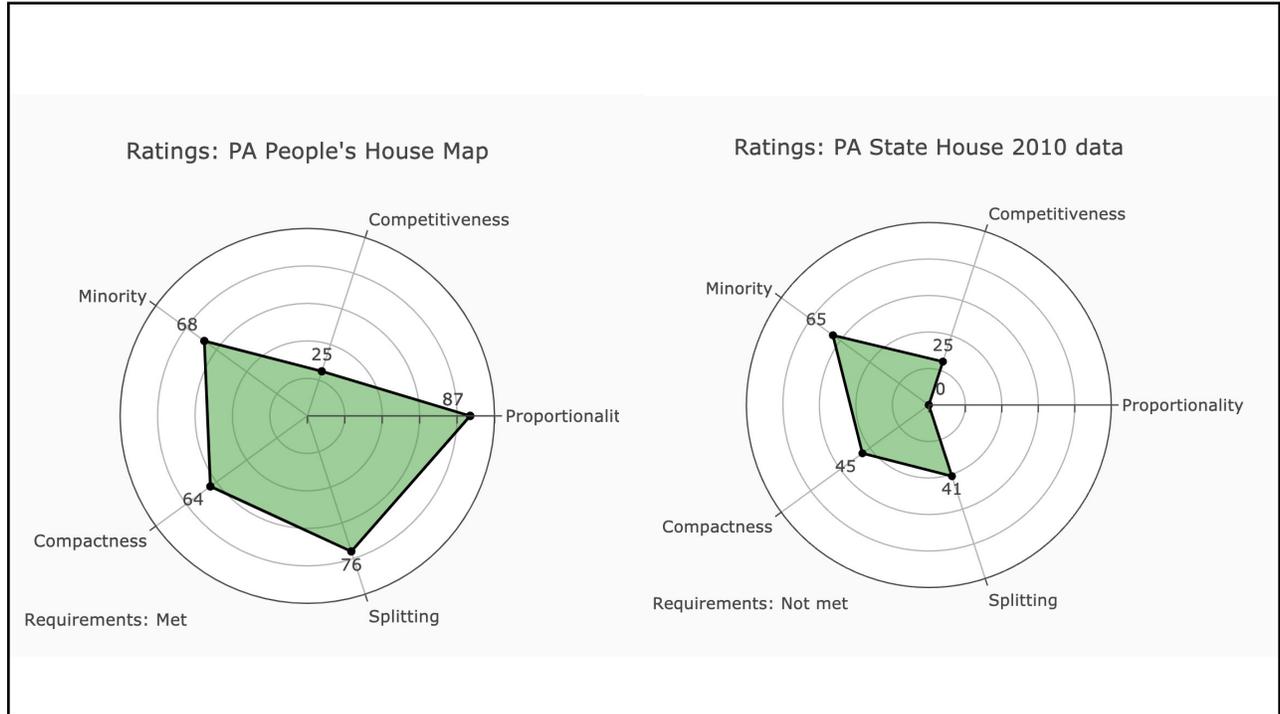
State College:
Student complex split



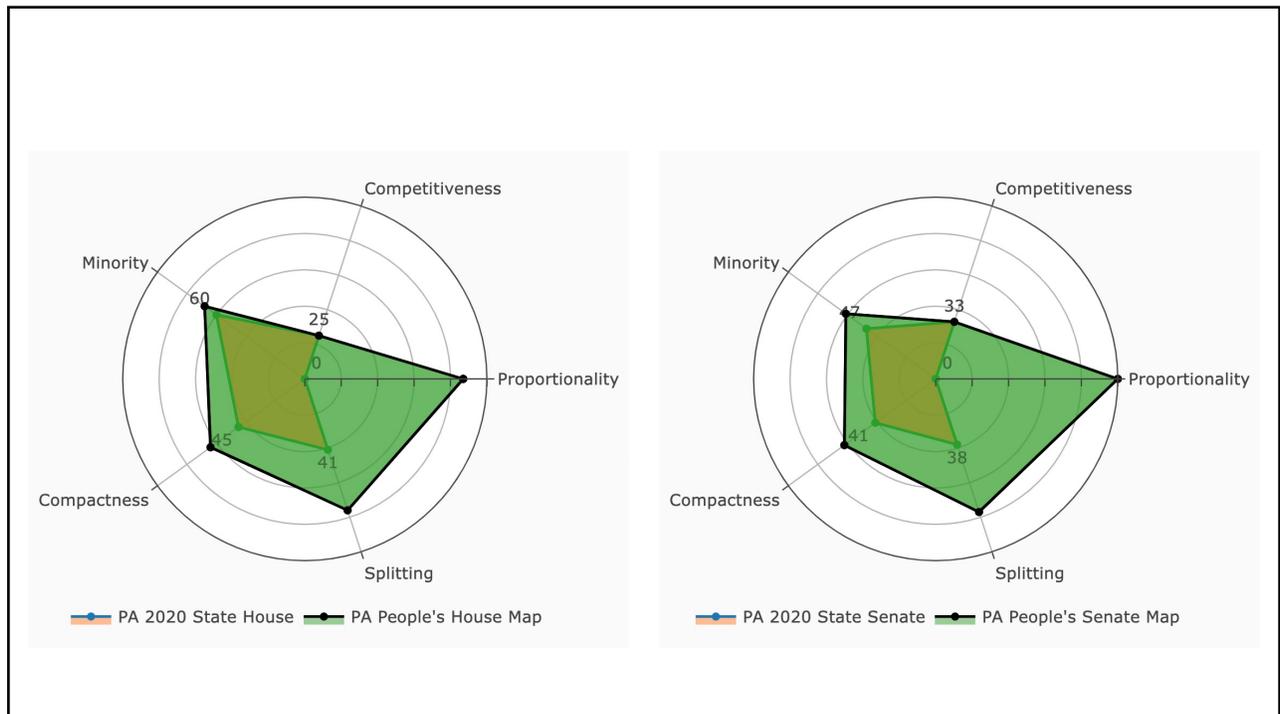
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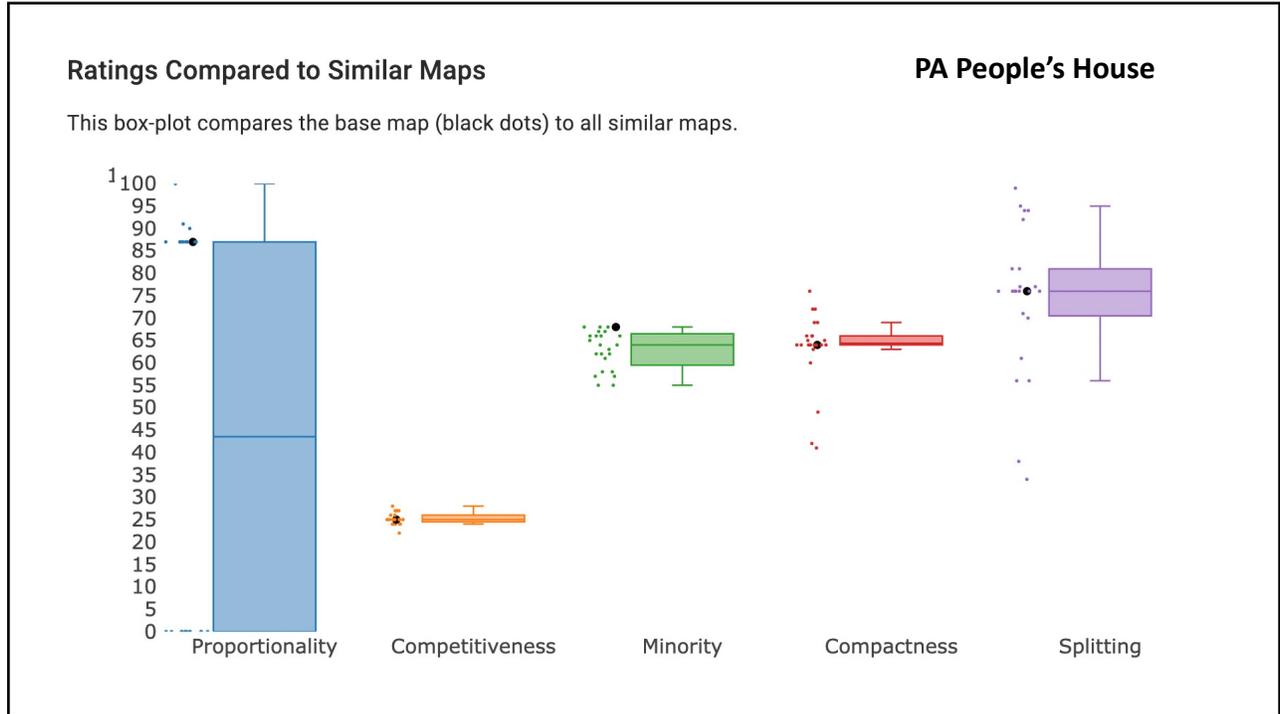
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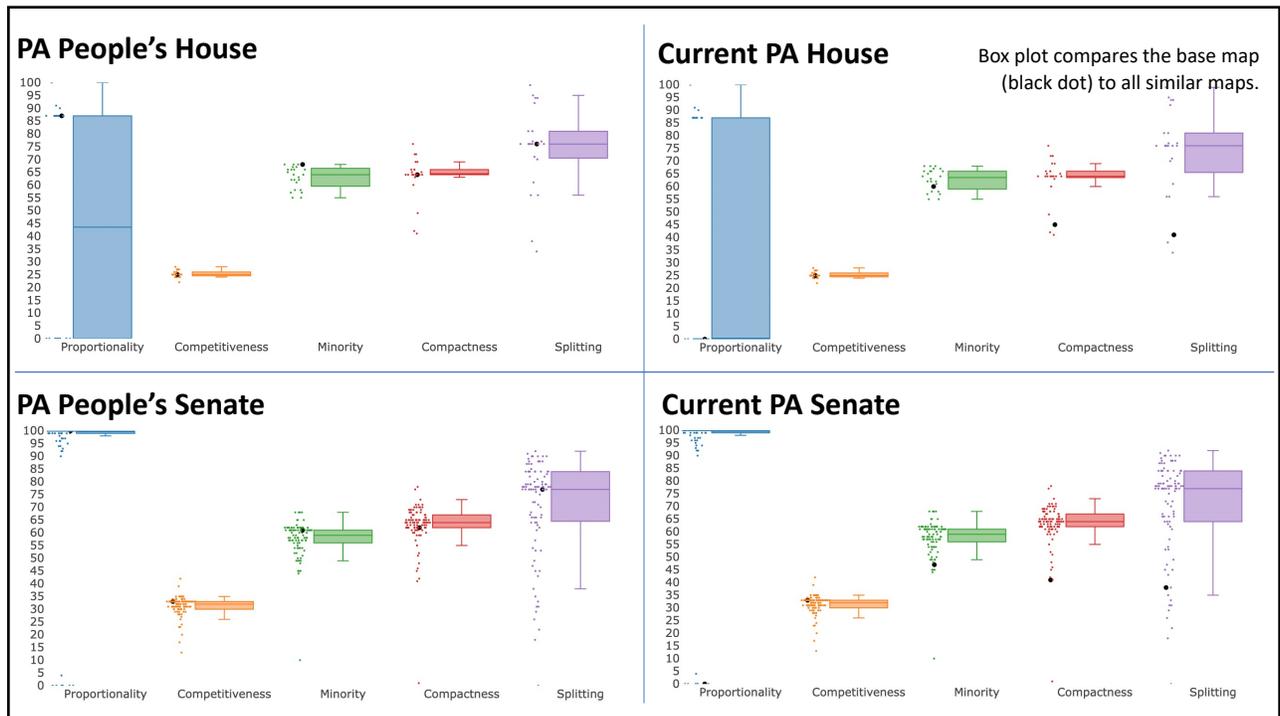
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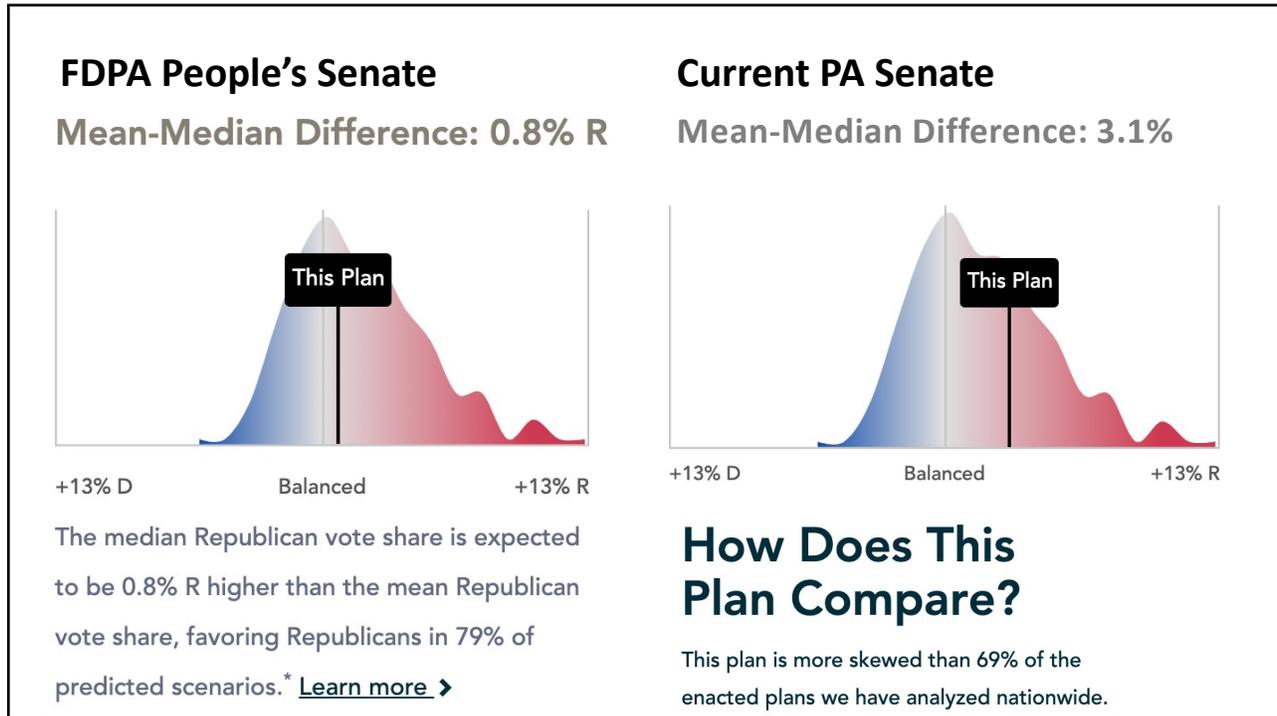
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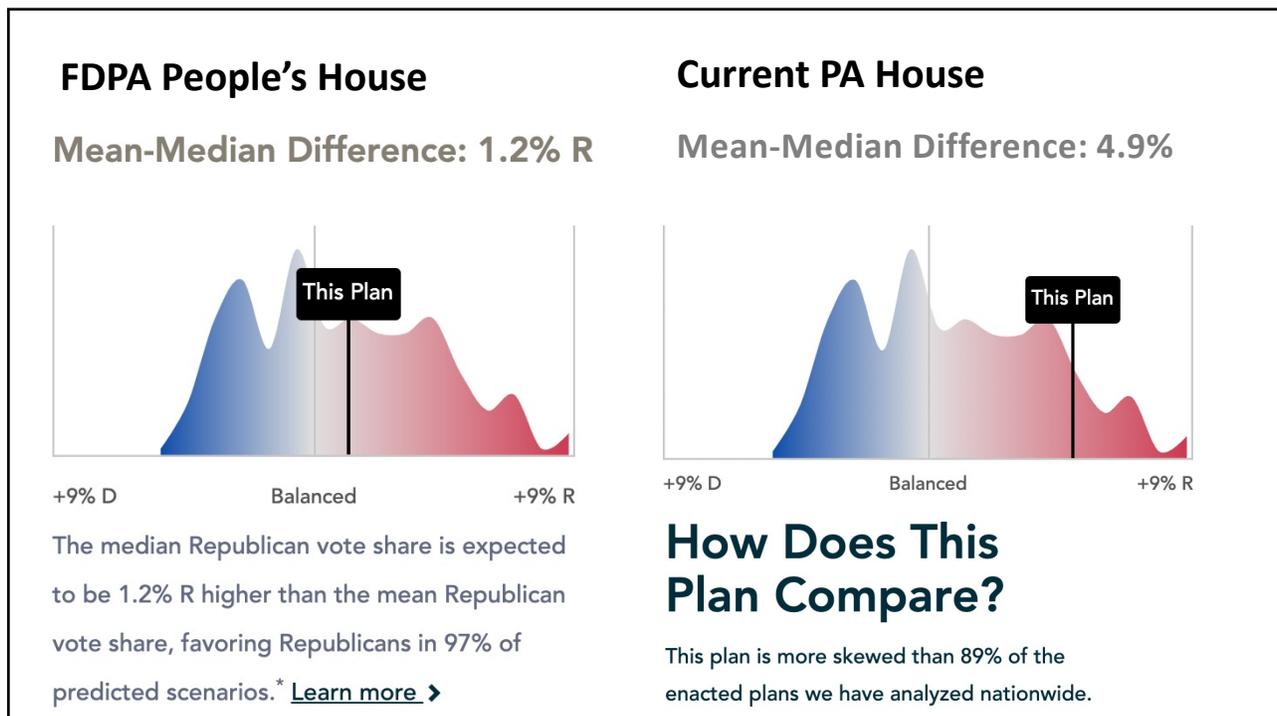
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14

Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act

House Bill 22 and Senate Bill 222 (LACRA)

Builds on and improves existing redistricting systems



- Transparent Process
- Public Engagement
- Map-drawing Criteria
- Legislators' Roles Remain

Legislators' Roles Remain



Clear Prohibitions



Transparency



Public Engagement



Map-drawing Criteria



LACRA (House Bill 22 and Senate Bill 222) will give us:

Greater Transparency and More Public Engagement

- A user-friendly website for free public access to data, maps and all redistricting information
- Multiple statewide public hearings before and after redistricting plans are approved
- Meetings that are all subject to the Open Meetings Law
- The ability to submit a redistricting plan or part of a plan which the committee must review (this applies to every Pennsylvanian)
- A written report of decisions, rationale and process

Clear and Measurable Redistricting Criteria

- Mandates compact and contiguous federal and state districts
- Adds enforceable limits on splitting counties beyond what is required by population and bans dividing voting precincts
- Protects racial and language minorities against discrimination in the mapping process
- Outlaws district plans designed to protect incumbents or discriminate against political parties

Hearings must:

- be live streamed
- held at convenient times for the public
- accommodate for multiple languages

Promotes:

- Keeping communities of interest intact
- Responding to voter preferences as measured by widely accepted tests
- Conforming districts to natural boundaries like rivers, mountains, etc.

Summary of House Bill 22 and Senate Bill 222

Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act (LACRA)

Make Redistricting Transparent

Framework for Reform

- Proposed Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act (LACRA) retains and builds upon Pennsylvania's existing redistricting systems: Legislative Reapportionment Commission (LRC) for legislative redistricting and passage of legislation for congressional redistricting.
- LACRA introduces greater transparency into both redistricting processes and expands opportunities for meaningful public engagement.
- It also introduces clear, measurable map-drawing criteria designed to prevent partisan gerrymandering and promote accountability to voters.

Greater Transparency and Meaningful Public Engagement

- Bipartisan Legislative Data Processing Committee (LDPC) would receive Census data and use that data to do preliminary work necessary for district mapping processes.
- LDPC would create a user-friendly website for dissemination of data, proposed maps and analyses, public comments and other information free of charge to the public.
- Multiple statewide public hearings would be required both before and after preliminary redistricting plans are approved. Hearings on congressional redistricting would be held by Senate and House State Government Committees and could be held jointly.
- All meetings would be subject to the Open Meetings Law and all hearings would be livestreamed, with accommodations for multiple languages and held at convenient times for the public.
- Any Pennsylvania resident could submit a redistricting map covering any or all districts or parts of districts. Submitted maps would be available on the public website and be given consideration equal to formal testimony presented at public hearings.
- A written report would be part of final plan submissions, explaining any divisions of political units and analyzing compliance with criteria and responsiveness to public comment.

Clear and Measurable Redistricting Criteria

- LACRA adds qualifications for Chair of the LRC (e.g., no lobbyists or party operatives or their spouses).
- Existing PA Constitution requirements for compactness, contiguity and prohibited division of political subdivisions "unless absolutely necessary" would apply to both legislative and congressional redistricting.
- LACRA would provide enforceable limits on splitting counties beyond what is required by population and a prohibition against dividing voting precincts.
- Racial and language minorities would be protected against discrimination in the mapping process.
- LACRA explicitly prohibits district plans designed to protect incumbents or to unfairly discriminate against political parties.
- To the extent possible without violating other criteria, redistricting plans must also:
 - Keep communities of interest intact;
 - Be responsive to voter preferences as measured by widely accepted tests; and
 - Conform district boundaries to natural boundaries, like rivers, mountains, etc.

LACRA & RESPONSIVENESS



Summary

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has refused to transfer its redistricting power to an independent commission. Therefore, a legislative contingency plan containing line-drawing criteria and increasing public input and transparency has been introduced as the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act (“LACRA”). This bill (HB22/SB222), would ensure that whatever maps the Legislative Reapportionment Commission and congressional redistricting committees produce in 2021 will be responsive to changes in voters’ preferences.

What is responsiveness? What does it seek to measure?

As defined in LACRA, the responsiveness criterion seeks to ensure that a particular group of voters can “translate their popular support into representation” and “that such representation is . . . reflective of shifts in the electorate’s preferences.” Concretely, responsiveness is the rate at which a change in a party’s vote-share increases or decreases in proportion to that party’s seat-share.

Essentially, a responsiveness criterion measures whether election outcomes will respond to changes in the will of the people or whether they will be durable against shifts in popular opinion. In general, low responsiveness will protect incumbents from any party due to cemented margins of victory. Such insulation eliminates a voter’s ability to vote out their representative. High responsiveness, on the other hand, will benefit whichever party wins a majority of votes in a given legislative or congressional election and can allow districts to switch parties from election to election if the voters so choose. Importantly, responsiveness does not favor any particular party.

How is responsiveness typically measured? And how reliable is it?

Since responsiveness is a relationship between a party’s vote-share and its seat-share, the [seats-to-votes curve](#) “is the most appropriate vehicle to assess” a particular district plan. Once the seats-to-votes curve is plotted, experts create a “line of best fit” to estimate the relationship between vote-share and seat-share, and responsiveness is measured by the slope of this line. Generally, a steeper slope for the [part of the curve](#) that falls closest to the state’s average vote-share will correspond with a responsive map. For example, the slope for the seats-to-votes curve of [Pennsylvania’s unresponsive 2012-2016 congressional map](#) is nearly flat within the range of actual vote-share between 2006-2016. The curve for the [remedial 2018 map](#), on the other hand, is smooth, constant, and steep within that critical range, showing that it is likely more responsive.

Using the seats-to-votes curve analysis, responsiveness is generally a reliable criterion for gauging a voting bloc’s ability to translate its popular support into representation. It becomes all the more reliable when combined with the criterion that prohibits the undue favoring of a party on a statewide basis. All that said, as with other metrics, responsiveness may be affected by things like incumbency and political geography.

How does it work in the map-drawing process? Do you first draw a map that meets your other goals, and then test whether it results in districts that are likely to be responsive?

Yes, a map-drawer would first draw a map that complies with all of LACRA’s other criteria (e.g., compactness, communities of interest, county-splitting rules, etc.), and then the map-drawer would run the responsiveness analysis. If the analysis shows that a map is sufficiently responsive based upon the seats-to-votes curve measure described above, then the map has met this criterion. If not, the map-drawer would return to the drawing board.

Why is responsiveness desirable as a goal? And what are its advantages as a redistricting criterion?

Responsiveness is a desirable goal because it seeks to prevent the worst ill of gerrymandering: durable lack of representation. As defined by [Bernard Grofman and Ronald Gaddie](#), “If a map is responsive, then when voters change their allegiances, their representation also changes.” Further, responsiveness is advantageous as a redistricting criterion because rather than focusing purely on partisan outcomes or ensuring that every district is as close to 50% as possible, it makes sure that the preferences of the voters can adequately translate into representation in Congress and in the Pennsylvania General Assembly.



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LACRA'S PUBLIC INPUT & TRANSPARENCY

Summary

The Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act, or “LACRA” (HB22/SB222), is a bill that would increase transparency and public input in the redistricting process, along with enshrining clear criteria to prevent a number of redistricting offenses. It would not change who draws new legislative and congressional districts (the Legislative Reapportionment Commission (LRC) and the Legislature, respectively), but it would ensure greater public access and accountability throughout the process.

How does LACRA increase public input in the redistricting process?

LACRA would mandate formal avenues for input in the form of public hearings, map submissions, and public comments. For legislative redistricting, the LRC would have to hold four hearings in different regions of the Commonwealth prior to completing a preliminary plan; another two hearings would be held if exceptions to the plan were filed. For congressional redistricting, four hearings in different regions would be required both before and after the approval of a preliminary plan. A similar number of hearings is required in [Illinois](#), [Oregon](#), and [Utah](#). Throughout both processes, citizens would be allowed to submit their own draft plans for any and all districts and/or communities of interest.

Finally, the bipartisan [Legislative Data Processing Committee](#) (LDPC) would create an electronic public comment portal to facilitate the submission of written testimony. These new public input requirements are [pivotal to the success](#) of LACRA's new community-of-interest criterion.

What additional transparency requirements does LACRA put in place?

LACRA also includes procedural provisions to guarantee greater transparency. The LRC and congressional redistricting committees would be subject to Pennsylvania's Open Meetings Law, a common transparency mechanism in [a number of states](#). All meetings would be livestreamed, held at convenient times, and available in multiple languages. In addition, adequate notice would be required before any meeting, with a video archive made available after. LACRA would also mandate the timely publication of all underlying data, preliminary and final plans, testimony transcripts, and analytical reports. This wealth of information would (1) be accessible on a public, free, and user-friendly website established by the LDPC; (2) be provided with adequate time to review; and (3) remain on the website for at least 10 years following its publication.

Why is it useful to have so many types of data released free of charge for public use?

The public release of data is necessary for meaningful citizen involvement in the redistricting process. For example, LACRA's required publication of all underlying data used to create plans, in formats easily usable for analysis, would allow citizens to scrutinize released plans and to create and present their own to the LRC and congressional redistricting committees. Live and archived meetings would allow the public to directly participate in, and keep an eye on, the process to ensure that it is fair. Lastly, the provisions for real-time, electronic input would allow citizens from all over the Commonwealth to participate. Such capability has become especially important as social distancing becomes commonplace in response to the current public health crisis.

What else does LACRA do to guard the integrity of the redistricting process?

In addition to increased public input and transparency requirements, LACRA would impose additional eligibility requirements for the LRC chairperson to guard against undue political influence. Currently, the [state constitution](#) only stipulates that the chairperson cannot presently hold political office. Under the new qualifications outlined in LACRA, the chairperson cannot have registered as a lobbyist, been nominated for office, or served as a staff member of a political group – nor have a spouse who has done any of the above – in the preceding five years. These requirements will protect the independence of the LRC and the redistricting process and are common among other commissions.

Furthermore, the Chair would be required to meet ethical standards already spelled out in Pennsylvania law. The Chair would also have to fill out a financial disclosure form before taking office and one year after leaving.



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LACRA'S MINORITY PROTECTIONS

Summary

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has refused to transfer its redistricting power to an independent commission. Therefore, a legislative contingency plan containing line-drawing criteria and increasing public input and transparency has been introduced as the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act ("LACRA"). This bill (HB22/SB222) would ensure that communities of color are protected in whatever maps the Legislative Reapportionment Commission and congressional redistricting committees produce in 2021.

Does LACRA protect communities of color in the redistricting process?

Yes, and it does so in two key ways: (1) increasing public input and (2) a specific line-drawing criterion. First, by increasing public input, LACRA will allow communities of color to have a voice in the redistricting process, ensuring that they can point out any potential harms that ought to be remedied. Second, the bill includes language that mirrors, but expands upon, the [federal Voting Rights Act](#) (VRA): "Districts shall provide racial and language minorities with an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and may not dilute or diminish their ability to elect candidates of choice by themselves or in coalition with others."

What does it mean to say that a district map "may not dilute or diminish their ability to elect candidates of their choice by themselves or in coalition with others?"

First and foremost, this language means that a map must give fair representation to communities of color. As noted, LACRA's language mirrors the federal VRA's Section 2. Under the federal law, majority-minority districts may be required in areas that [satisfy certain criteria](#), where the minority voting age population percentage is above 50% and is politically cohesive. The minority group must also be competing against a bloc of white voters that always defeats minority candidates of choice. Currently, these districts result in almost assured victory for a minority group's candidate of choice but they also lead to a decline in minority influence on a statewide basis.

Based on American Community Survey data from 2018, [17 of Pennsylvania's 203](#) state House districts are above [a threshold estimated](#) that may give minority communities the ability to elect their candidates of choice. Five of these districts have a Black voting age population (BVAP) above 80%. The BVAP in these districts may be indicative of packing. LACRA would more equitably spread out minority voters in order to create fairer representation of these communities. It would also allow districts that unite communities of color to create coalition districts. [Coalition districts](#) are ones where racial groups vote in a bloc to elect mutually agreed upon candidates of choice.

Is LACRA's language more expansive than the federal VRA?

Yes, it is. LACRA's language is similar to the federal VRA, but it expands upon it by allowing for districts that rely on coalitions between minority groups. Currently, [federal law is split](#) on whether coalition districts satisfy the federal VRA's requirements for redistricting. By including the phrase "in coalition with others," LACRA eliminates this confusion within Pennsylvania. Similar language has passed in [Illinois](#), [Missouri](#), and [Virginia](#) and has been recently proposed in [Maryland](#), [Minnesota](#), [Nevada](#), [North Dakota](#), and [Rhode Island](#).

How is that language likely to be interpreted by the courts?

Previously, the [Florida Supreme Court](#) has interpreted this type of language in lockstep with the federal requirements. But the Florida Constitution does not consider coalition districts, so the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania would likely interpret LACRA differently. The minority protection provision would likely be interpreted similar to the current federal requirement, requiring that a group is sufficiently large and cohesive to create a single-member district. But instead of basing this calculus on a single group, LACRA would likely be interpreted to require districts that include multiple minority groups.

Importantly, rather than relying upon the federal Supreme Court's interpretation of the federal VRA, plaintiffs would be able to bring redistricting vote dilution cases based solely upon state law. Therefore, no matter what the federal Supreme Court decides in future cases, LACRA would maintain redistricting protections for communities of color, even if the federal VRA is invalidated in the future.



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LACRA & COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST

Summary

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has refused to transfer its redistricting power to an independent commission. Therefore, a legislative contingency plan containing line-drawing criteria and increasing public input and transparency has been introduced the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act (“LACRA”). This bill (HB22/SB222), would ensure that communities of interest are protected in whatever maps the Legislative Reapportionment Commission and congressional redistricting committees produce in 2021.

What is a community of interest?

Generally, a community of interest (COI) is a group of Pennsylvanians who share similar interests that might be the subject of legislation. Specifically, LACRA would define a COI as “a neighborhood or geographically confined area of persons who share similar social, cultural and economic interests or other shared interests that may be subject to legislative action. A community’s shared interest does not include a shared relationship with a political party, incumbent or political candidate.” This language is common among recent reform laws and proposals in places like [Colorado](#), [Michigan](#), [Nevada](#), [North Dakota](#), [Oklahoma](#), [Oregon](#), and [Virginia](#).

But can’t public input about COI be used to game the system?

Examples from other states have shown instances where public input has been used by partisan actors. However, LACRA’s clear definition of what is and isn’t a COI will mitigate concerns about potential misuse while ensuring that districts are more representative of the people of the Commonwealth. Not only that, but other redistricting criteria in the bill will ensure that potential sabotage is prevented by a number of competing considerations.

In addition, LACRA’s public input provisions will play a large role in the success of the COI criterion. As stated by [Michael Li and Yuriy Rudensky](#) from the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU, “[t]o ascertain whether a community of interest exists, public input is essential.” LACRA’s public input requirements that allow for both in-person and virtual input will allow members of the public to challenge and reject false testimony about COIs. This type of robust public involvement can also be strengthened by the submission of community of interest maps through software like [Representable](#) and [Districtr](#). In particular, Representable’s ability to show aggregate community data will help show where COIs exist, as proven by broad public consensus.

What does COI add to LACRA?

The COI provision provides a manner for certain communities to be recognized that might not otherwise get proper representation. Although Pennsylvanians strongly identify with their particular town or county, people don’t always live neatly within the boundaries of subdivision lines, so relying upon these subdivisions can still split communities. While subdivisions can often overlap with communities, [former Speaker Mike Turzai](#) has noted that “consideration and preservation of communities of interest ensures that implicit communities are not destroyed by explicit, but invisible and sometimes outdated, municipal boundaries.” The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania came to a similar conclusion in [a 2012 case](#). Lastly, [a large coalition of national civil rights and reform organizations](#) have also spoken about the importance of COI, writing that “[c]onsideration of communities of interest is essential to successful redistricting.”

What are examples of COI that may not be represented well within municipal boundaries?

Certain communities can be cut by municipal lines. For example, it is likely that Native American or Amish communities do not neatly follow county boundaries. Some economic communities cross these boundaries too. In fact, a 2012 alternative plan [split apart coal mining operations](#) due to a focus on maintaining political subdivision boundaries, even though this economic COI would likely benefit from shared representation. Additionally, even school districts, an easy proxy for a neighborhood COI, may be affected by a heavy focus municipal boundaries.

Further, [Common Cause PA](#) has noted that a COI provision can be critical in ensuring that smaller communities of color are adequately represented (e.g. smaller Latinx communities in Allentown, Philadelphia, and Reading). Admittedly, rules limiting municipal splits protect these communities to an extent by striving to keep their cities whole as much as possible. But if a city split is needed to comply with population requirements, a COI provision would ensure that the required split does not harm communities.



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LACRA & PARTISAN FAIRNESS



Summary

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has refused to transfer its redistricting power to an independent commission. Therefore, a legislative contingency plan containing line-drawing criteria and increasing public input and transparency has been introduced as the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Act (“LACRA”). This bill (HB22/SB222) would ensure that whatever maps the Legislative Reapportionment Commission (LRC) and congressional redistricting committees produce in 2021 will not be drawn to unduly favor one party or person and will prohibit partisan gerrymandering.

What is partisan gerrymandering?

Partisan gerrymandering is when district lines are drawn to purposefully favor or disfavor a political party, candidate, or incumbent. Typically, this is achieved in one of two ways: “cracking” or “packing.” Cracking is when districts split up a group of voters such that their preferred party will never have enough votes to win in those districts. Packing, on the other hand, is when a district contains a much higher number of a party’s voters than would be necessary to win in that district. When done effectively and armed with sophisticated redistricting software, both of these practices will result in large numbers of wasted votes for the targeted group. At its worst, partisan gerrymandering will result in a party winning a minority of the votes, but a majority of the seats.

How does LACRA prevent partisan gerrymandering?

First, LACRA would explicitly prohibit the favoring of parties, candidates, and incumbents and require that districts be responsive. Focusing on the former, by prohibiting favoring parties on a statewide basis, LACRA inherently considers the use of statistical measures of partisan fairness, which have been relied upon by a number of federal and state courts.

Second, LACRA would require increased public input and transparency. Therefore, citizens can act as watchdogs over the redistricting process, armed with the data that must be published under LACRA’s data transparency provisions. Further, citizens can submit their own maps, analyze them, and present them as fair, non-partisan alternatives. Public input, analysis, and alternative map submissions will help to keep the LRC and congressional redistricting committees honest.

Third, LACRA creates a list of clear rules (e.g. county-splitting, minority protection, communities of interest, etc.) which will rein in any potential partisan gerrymandering by the LRC and congressional redistricting committees.

How is partisan fairness typically measured?

Several metrics have been proposed to measure partisan fairness, and in a closely divided state like Pennsylvania, [certain metrics may work better than others](#). According to metrics calculated by PlanScore, [Pennsylvania’s invalidated congressional map](#) was a gerrymander that was [remedied](#) by the 2018 Special Master.

One possible metric would be the [mean-median difference](#), which compares the average district’s vote-share to the median district’s vote-share to find partisan asymmetry across a district plan. If the median district’s vote-share is considerably lower than the average district’s, the plan likely cracks and packs voters of one party. As the difference gets closer to zero, partisan fairness is more likely.

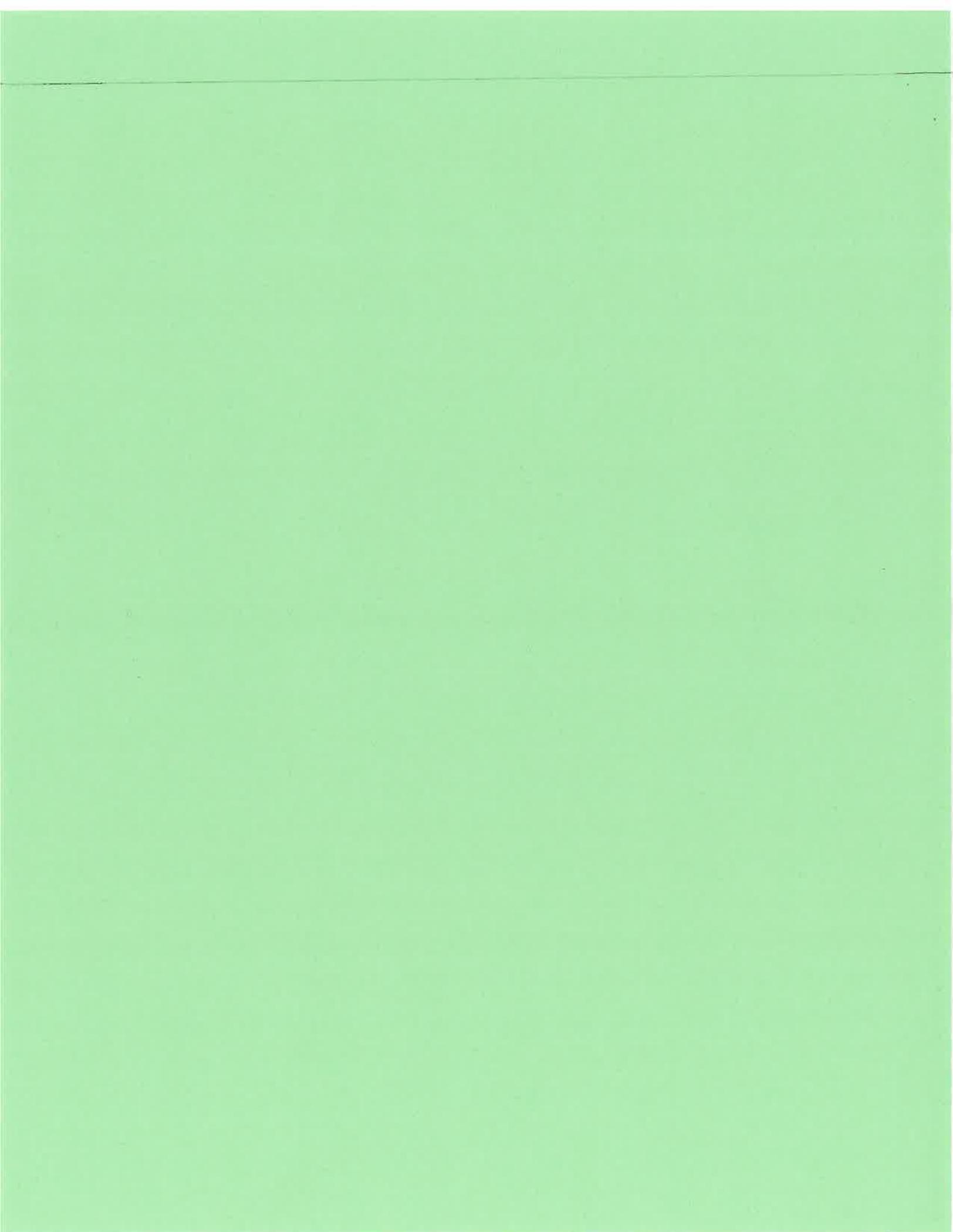
Another metric would be the [efficiency gap \(EG\)](#), which compares parties’ wasted votes to test for unequal outcomes. The EG adds together all the votes for a losing party and the votes for a winning party in excess of 50%+1 to get the total number of wasted votes. This number is then divided by the total number of votes to see how efficiently votes were spread across a district plan. Generally, an EG over 8% is considered evidence of a gerrymander. One caveat is that minimizing the EG in the pursuit of partisan fairness will affect a plan’s responsiveness, precipitating some degree of a “winner’s bonus” or seat-share advantage to the majority party.

A number of other metrics to measure partisan fairness could be used to meet LACRA’s criterion, including the [lopsided wins test](#), [partisan bias](#), and [declination](#). When based upon these widely-accepted statistical measures, maps produced in accordance with LACRA will ensure that the parties are treated fairly by the LRC and congressional redistricting committees.



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**Legislative Reapportionment Commission
November 15, 2021**

Draft Legislative District Plans

Submitted by Amanda Holt

Five Considerations

#1

**Consider the definition of
absolute necessity:**

No other recourse is available
to meet the Constitution.

#2

**Consider the definition of
“equal as practicable”:**

Use the Federal Standard of
a 10% overall population range.

#3

**Consider the definition of
“contiguous”:**

Allow geographic anomalies
(even though technically
not contiguous)

Example of a Geographic Anomaly



#4

**Consider the definition of
“compactness”:**

Use in a general sense
(without a mathematical threshold).

#5

**Consider the definition of
“minority districts”:**

VAP of one minority group
is greater than the white VAP.

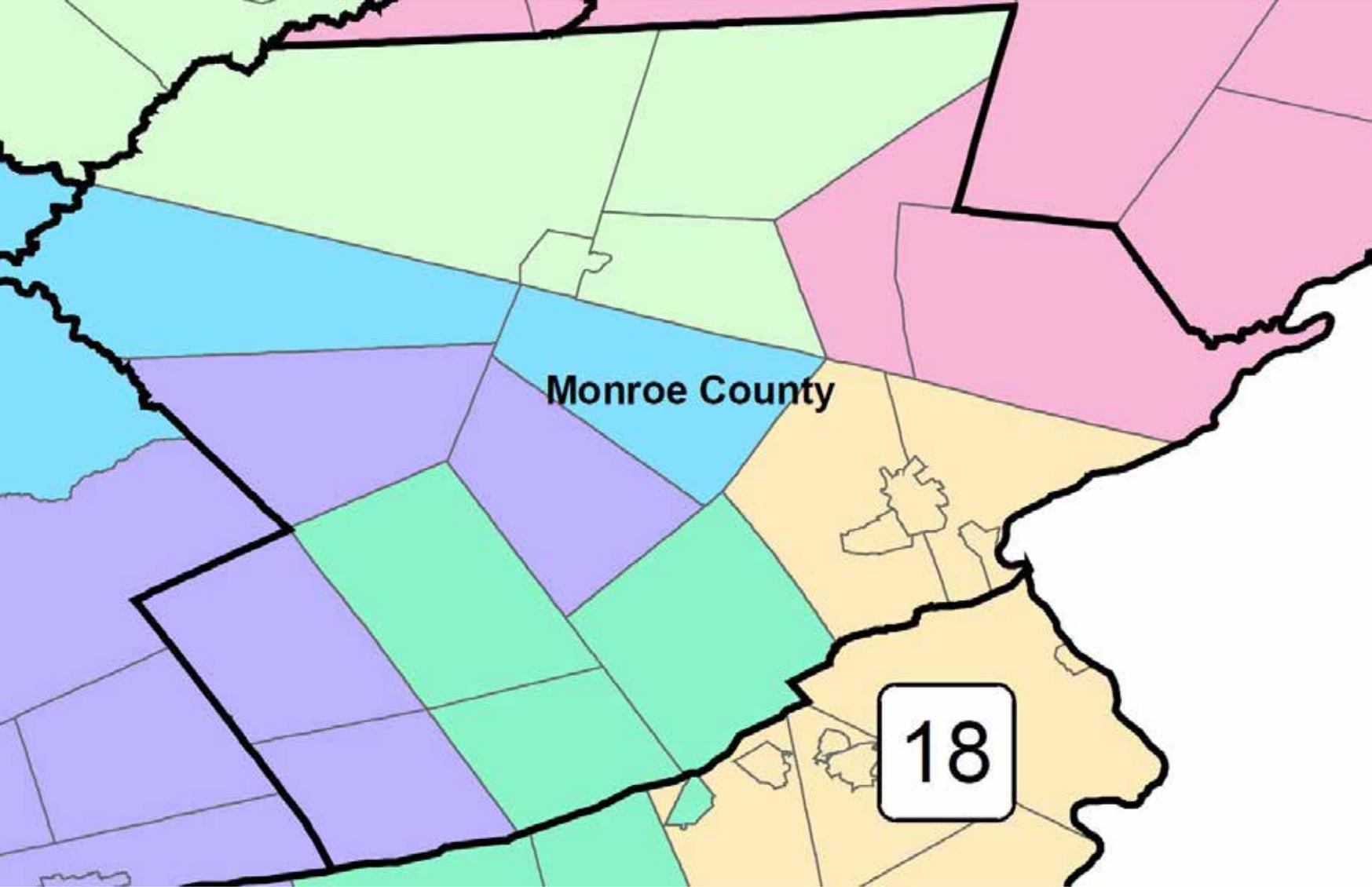
Terms to Clarify

Splits vs. Total Splits

Splits count the number
of places divided.

Total Splits count the number
of times a place is divided

Example: 1 County, 5 Total Splits



Terms to Clarify

Pre-determined vs. Discretionary Splits

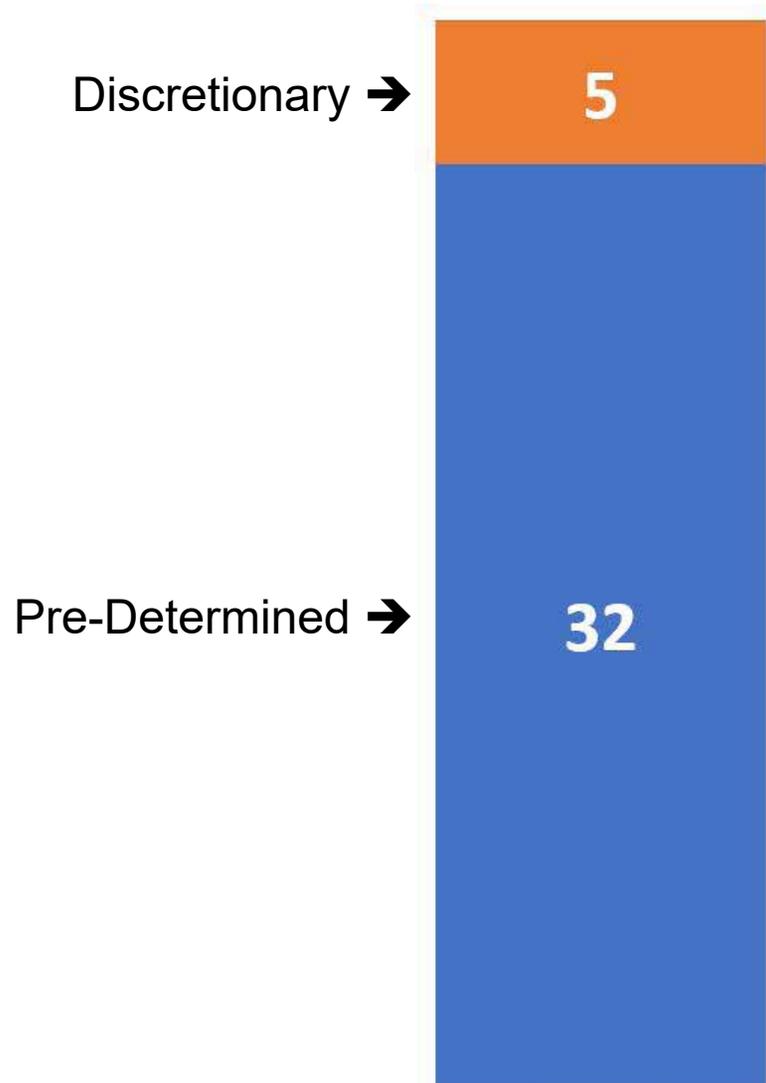
Pre-determined = no choice based
on population of jurisdiction.

Discretionary =
choice of placement.

What is the minimum number of “absolutely necessary” divisions to achieve:

- Minority Districts
- Equal Population
- Contiguous Districts
- Compact Districts

Total Splits in Draft Senate Plan:



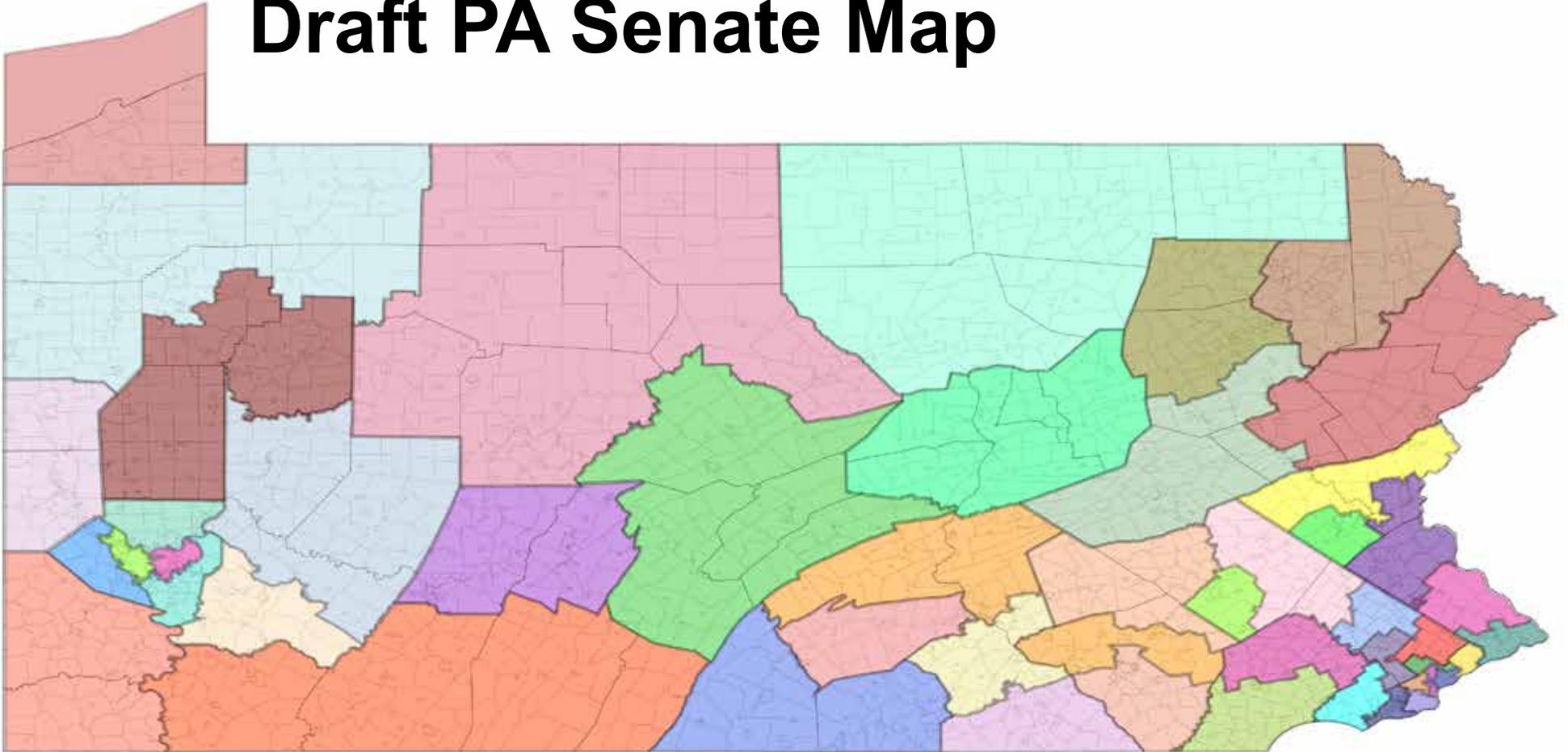
Details on Discretionary Total Splits

- 3 in counties for population
- 2 in wards for minority districts

Constitutional Requirements

- Minority Districts
 - 4 = Blacks largest share of VAP
 - 1 = Hispanics share of VAP
 - 1 = Coalition district
- Equal Population
 - 9.84% Overall Range
- Contiguous Districts
 - Yes with one with a geographic anomaly (in Chester County district)
- Compact Districts —
 - District Builder: 37%
 - Roeck: .3991
 - Polsby-Popper: .3617

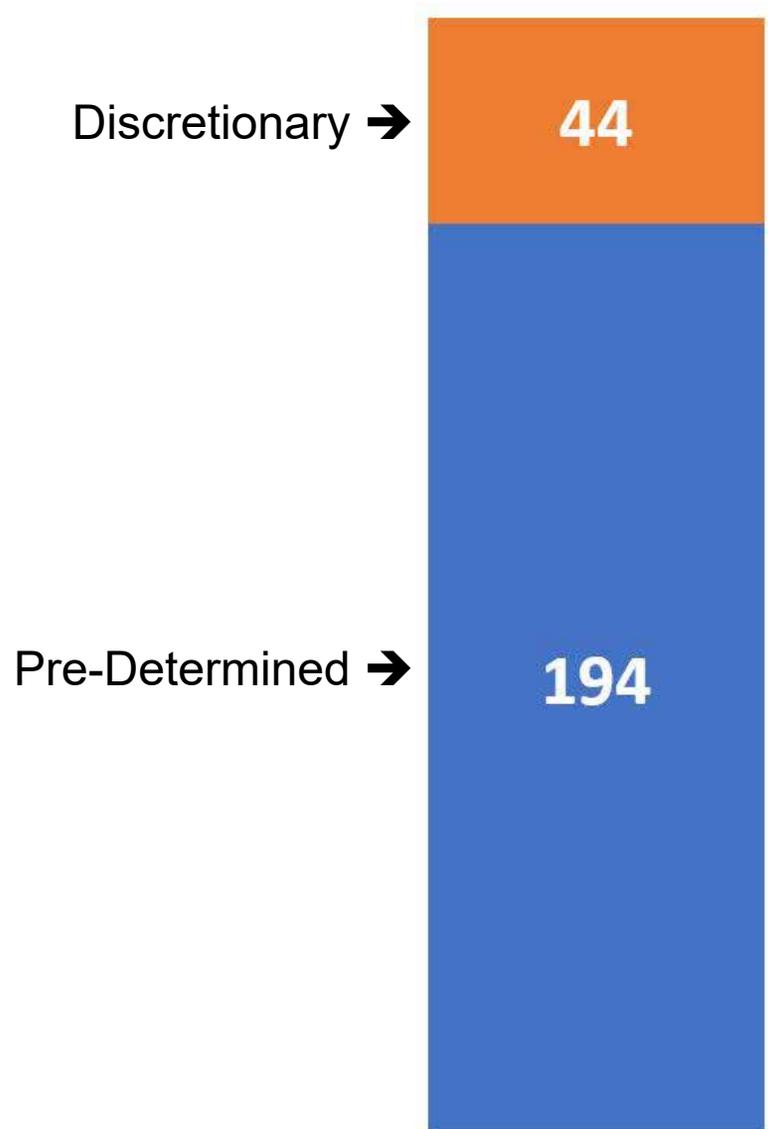
Draft PA Senate Map



Dave's Redistricting App: <https://davesredistricting.org/join/e71cc1cb-68f1-425f-b5fa-e9077803d553>

District Builder: <https://app.districtbuilder.org/projects/b9d8ec30-fb31-4a63-bafe-315b806be289>

Total Splits in Draft House Plan:



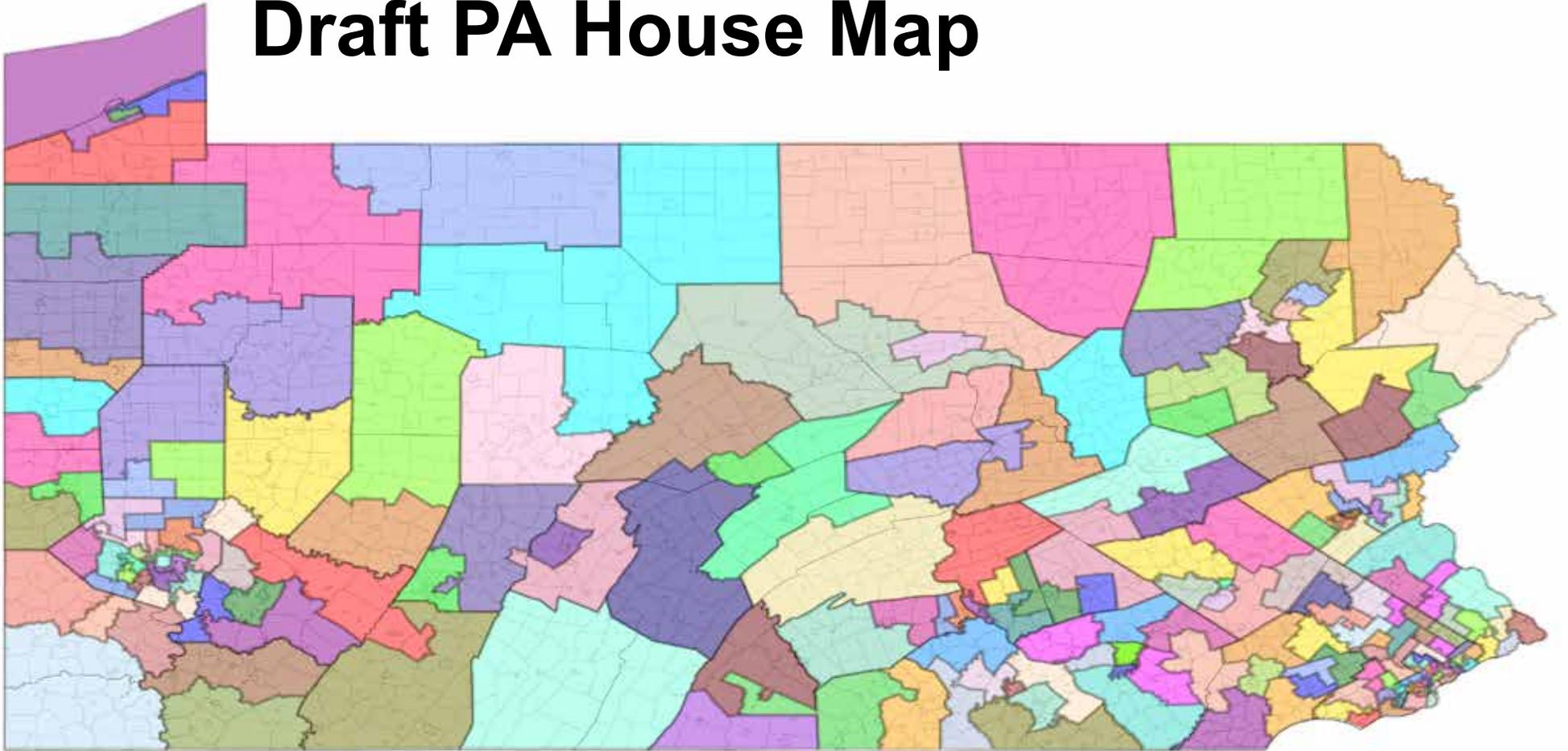
Details on Discretionary Total Splits

	For Population	For Minority Districts
In Counties	11	
In Municipalities	6	9
In Wards	9	9
In Total	36	18

Constitutional Requirements

- Minority Districts
 - 19 = Blacks largest share of VAP
 - 4 = Hispanics largest share of VAP
 - 4 = Coalition districts
- Equal Population
 - 9.66% Overall Range
- Contiguous Districts
 - Yes with three with a geographic anomaly (in the counties of Chester, Lancaster, and Lehigh)
- Compact Districts
 - District Builder: 36%
 - Roeck: .3850
 - Polsby-Popper: .3539

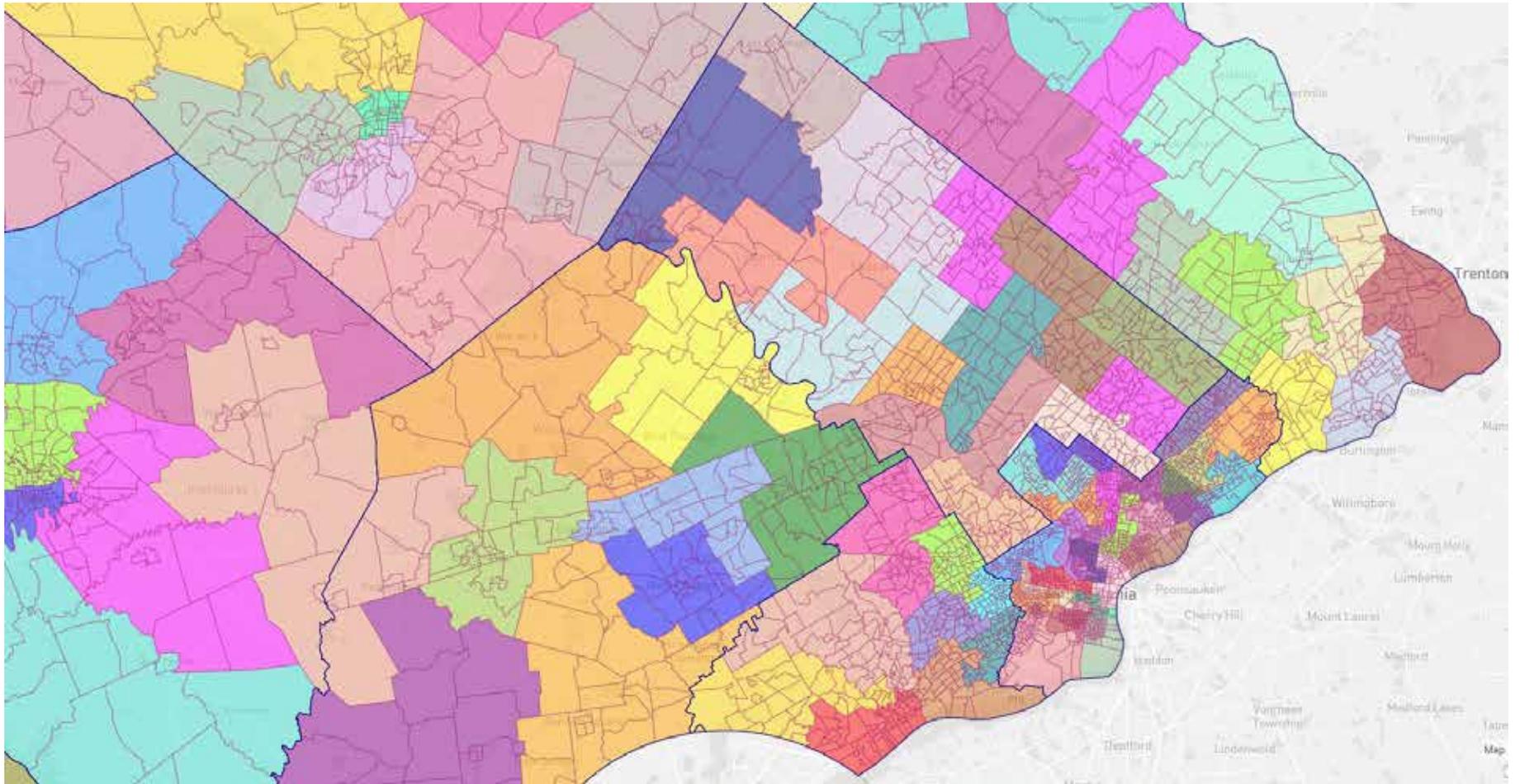
Draft PA House Map



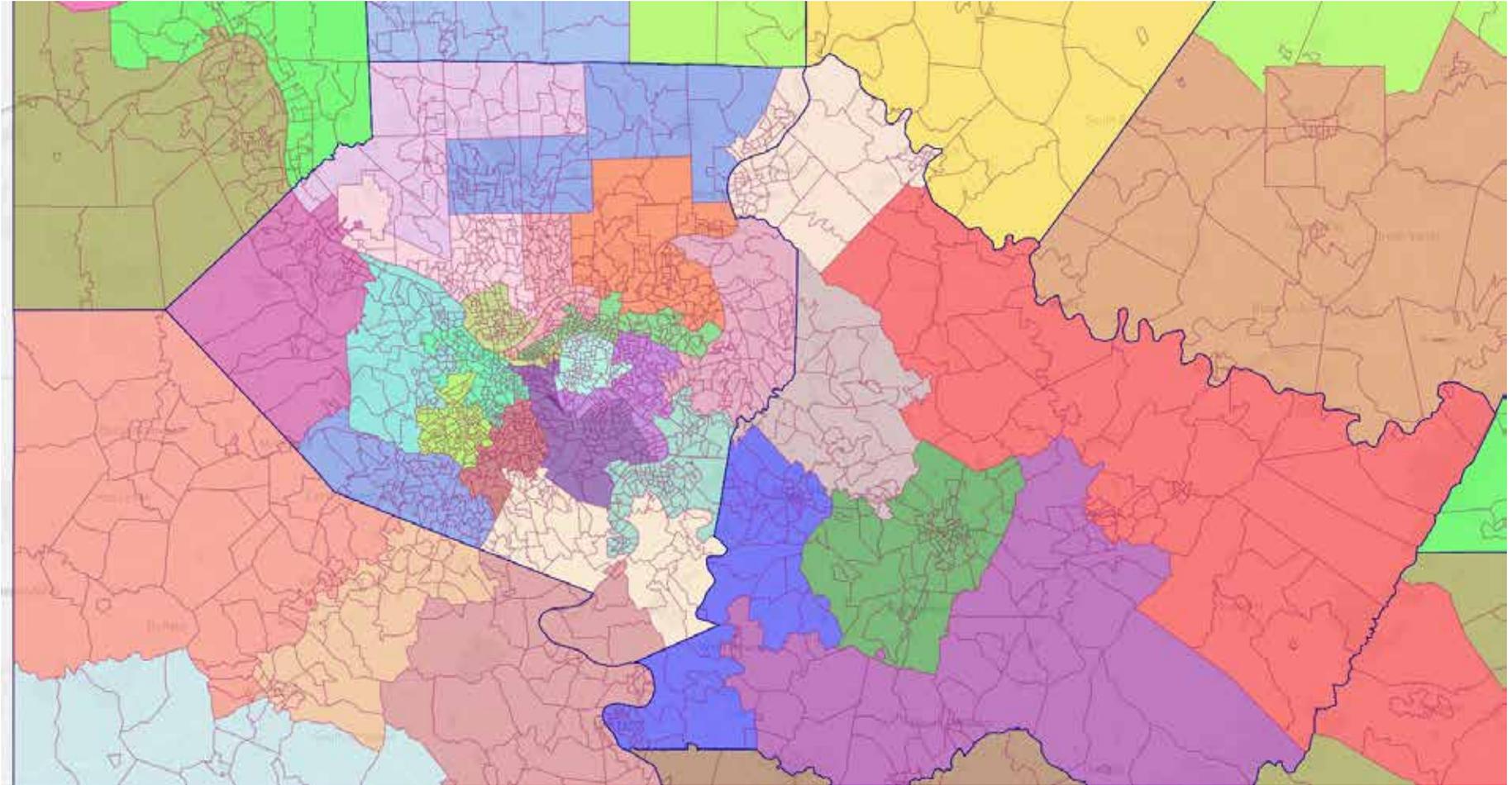
Dave's Redistricting App: <https://davesredistricting.org/join/a3a79f0d-f80c-4a80-8013-758bdb7d7d92>

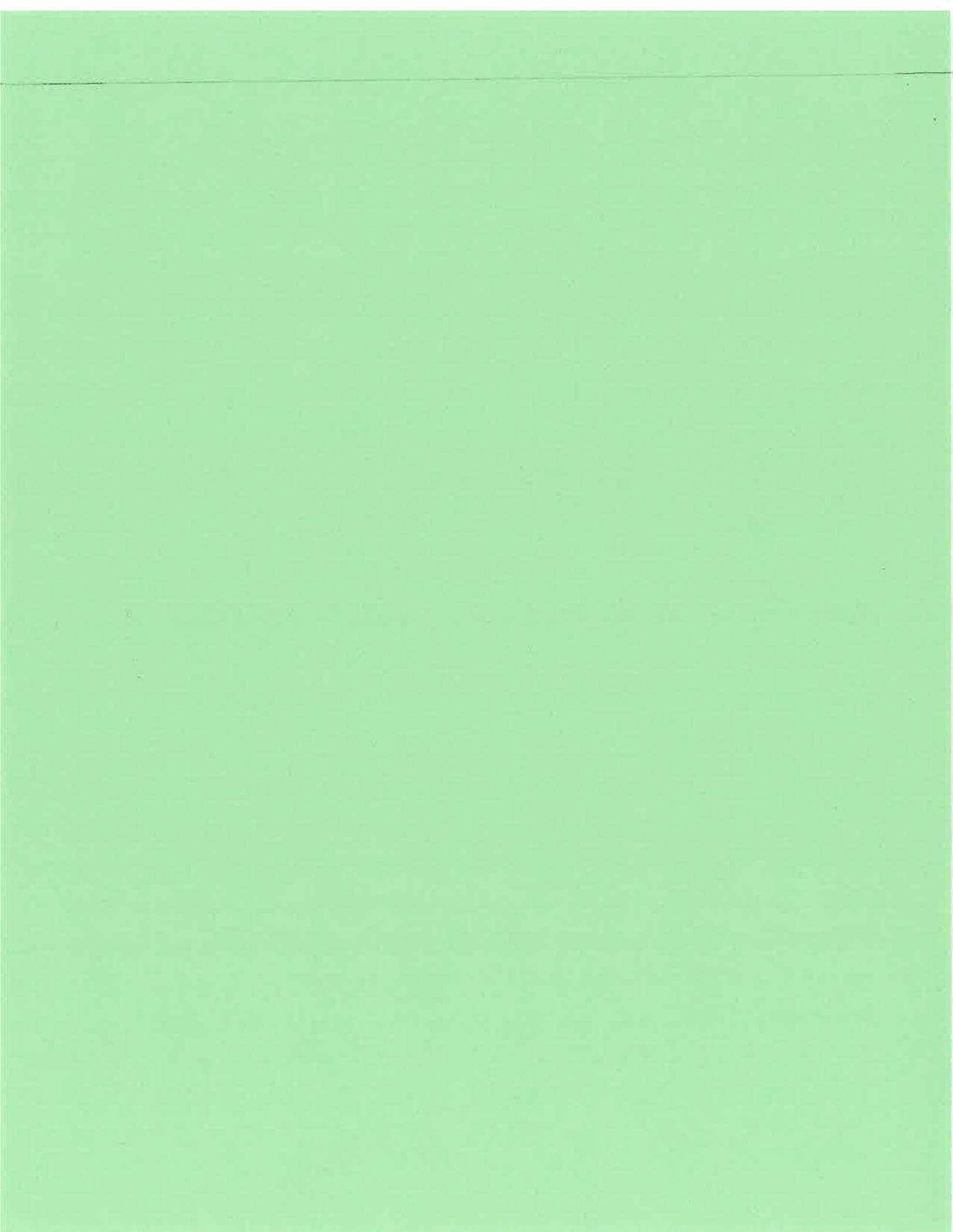
District Builder: <https://app.districtbuilder.org/projects/1e53ed31-a005-4cee-8951-bcc26aff54d0>

Draft PA House Map: Southeast



Draft PA House Map: Southwest







Who We Are: Keystone Counts

Keystone Counts is a statewide coalition of advocacy groups, service providers, and community organizations joined together to build an education and outreach effort for a fair and accurate 2020 census. Our members represent communities across Pennsylvania – and we’re growing.

The coalition is staffed by Pennsylvania Voice, a nonpartisan network of service providers; membership, community, and grassroots organizations; as well as policy, advocacy, and legal partners. The group brings organizations together to ensure that everyone in Pennsylvania is counted.

Thanks to the work of incredible partner organizations, **our field program, the largest nongovernmental effort in the country, reached over 405,000 traditionally undercounted households** in order to provide accurate data during the latest census to inform the process of representation across the commonwealth.

A Community Driven Mapping Process

The most recent census data shows Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and AAPI communities account for 27.5% of Pennsylvania’s total population, and as of 2018 its highest law making body – the state Legislature – was 89% white (as well as 75% male).

After conducting a racial growth analysis, we identified key counties that had experienced a tremendous growth in people of color during the last decade: Allegheny, Berks, Delaware, Lancaster, Philadelphia, Reading, and York.

Across these growing counties, we invited community members to submit Community of Interest (COI) Maps and collectively gathered over 700+ submissions that captured where communities exist and why they should be kept together. We compiled the COI Maps into 8 unity maps representing proposed house districts and held nearly 10 feedback sessions to hear directly from communities to ensure these maps reflected their interests while also adhering to constitutional mandates.

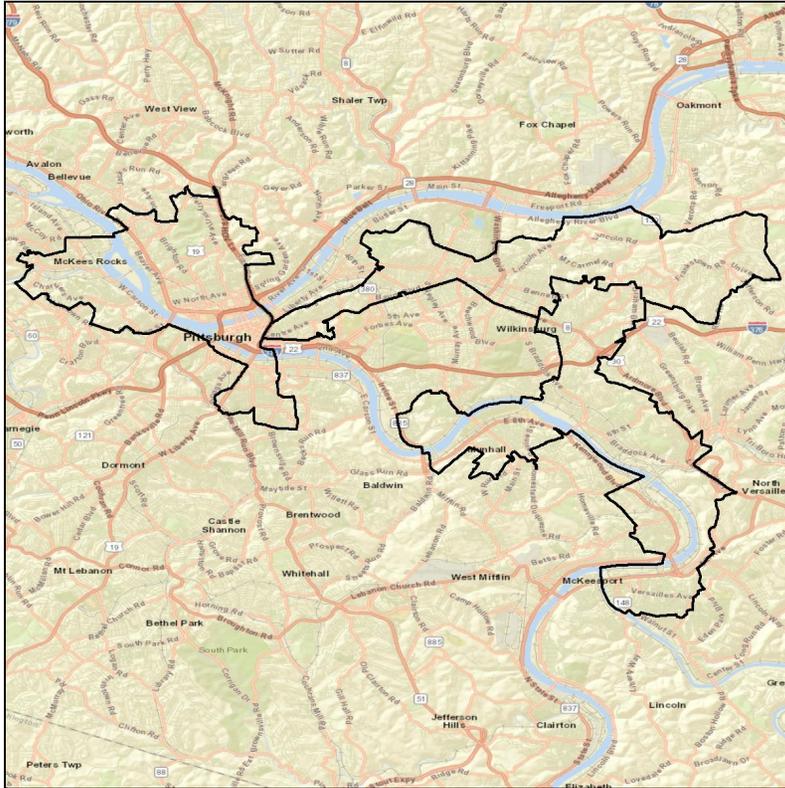
After a long and rigorous process of engaging racially and linguistically-diverse community members, **we attach our 8 proposed House District Maps from across the commonwealth and respectfully ask the Legislative Reapportionment Commission (LRC) to adopt them as we kick off the legislative mapping process statewide.** In order to produce the most equitable and representative maps, it is imperative that we listen to communities that have historically been excluded from the redistricting process.

Community members across the state are showing the LRC how simple creating racially equitable districts can and should be by drawing district maps ourselves. Join us in calling for the commission to develop maps that center our voices.

Questions: Contact Salewa Ogunmefun at sogunmefun@pavoice.org



ALLEGHENY COUNTY-AREA LEGISLATIVE MAPS



In Allegheny County, the API, Latino, and mixed-race populations have grown dramatically, the African American population has held steady, and the white population has decreased. Our proposed districts are based off of 151 submissions from community members. Under the federal voting rights act, the LRC must create two majority-minority citizen voting age population districts in Allegheny county. Our recommendation, in keeping with historic precedent for the Pittsburgh area, is to create two majority-African American districts. Due to migration patterns and gentrification, the two districts

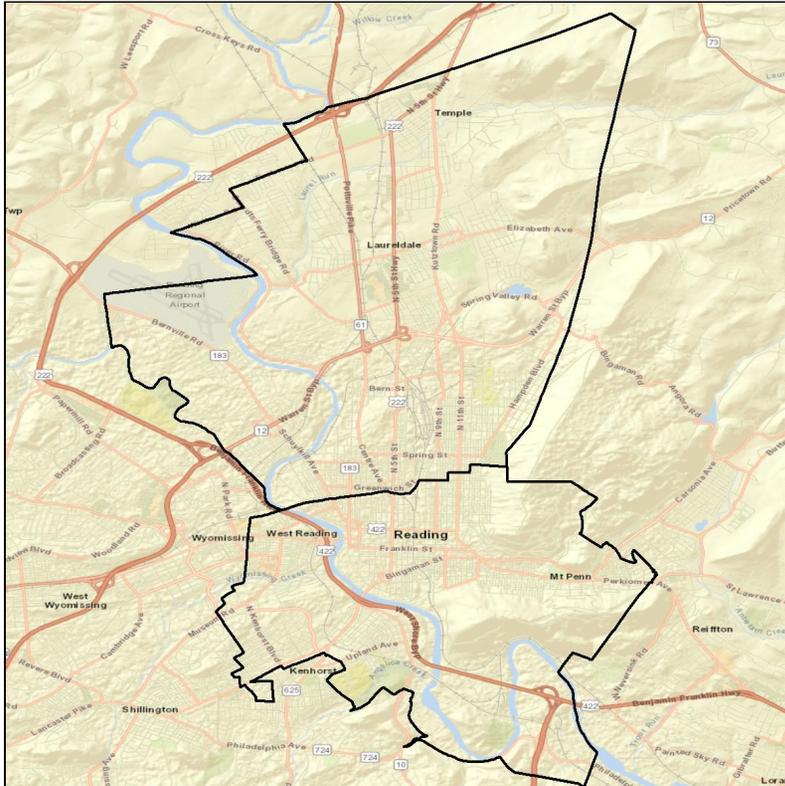
that began the decade as those same voting rights act districts are no longer majority-African American, and so a significant realignment of boundaries is necessary.

This map would create two majority-African American citizen voting age population districts in HD 24 and HD 34. HD 34 would achieve this by dropping whiter communities like Churchill, Forest Hills, Chalfant, Turtle Creek, parts of Edgewood, and parts of Swissvale, and in their place adding more heavily African American communities in East Pittsburgh, Duquesne, McKeesport. Additionally, it would also take parts of Wilkinsburg that are currently in the 24th House District. For HD 24, those dropped parts of Wilkinsburg would be replaced by adding the most diverse core of downtown Pittsburgh and parts of the Penn Hill area.

As an effect of these maps, the Allegheny area would once again have two federally-mandated majority African American districts as required by the Federal Voting Rights Act. Additionally, House District 34 would lose some of its most wealthy communities and replace them with more working-class communities, thus increasing the electoral power of working people.

	Allegheny		
	19	24	34
Population	64,045	64,062	64,076
Deviation	-8	9	23
API VAP	3%	5%	2%
AA VAP	40%	52%	55%
Latino VAP	3%	3%	2%
POC VAP	48%	61%	59%
POC CVAP	44%	58%	56%
AA CVAP	36%	51%	52%
Latino CVAP	2%	2%	2%

BERKS COUNTY-AREA LEGISLATIVE MAPS



Berks County, like York County, saw significant growth in populations of color and an overall decrease in the population of white voters. Our two proposed districts, informed by 114 maps submitted by community members, would empower more Latino and mixed-race voters than the current lines.

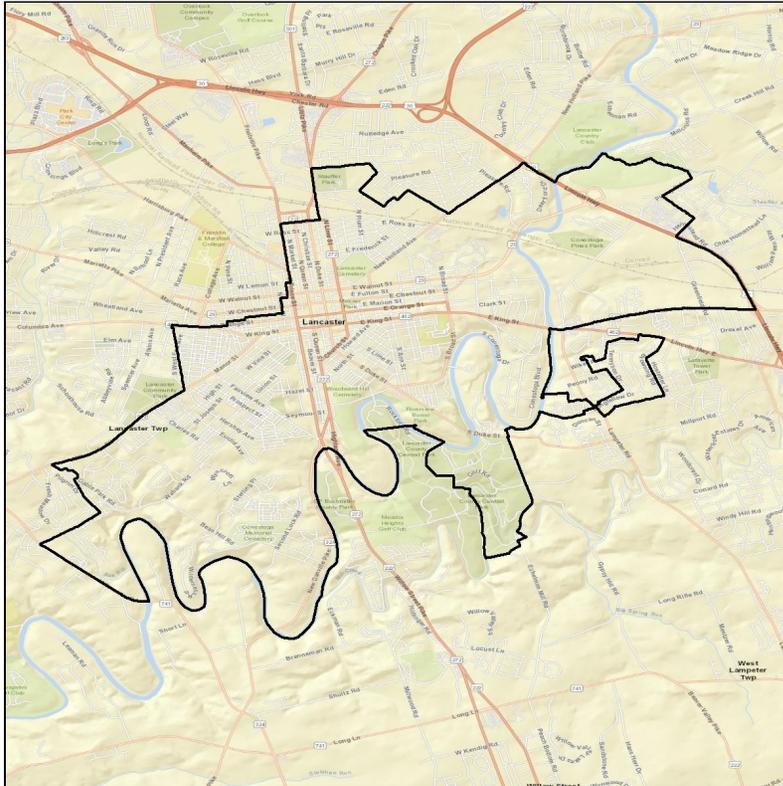
Currently, communities of color in Berks County are disproportionately packed into Pennsylvania's 127th House District, where they make up 66% of the electorate. As a consequence of this

packing, voters of color makeup just 40% of the electorate in the neighboring 126th district. This dilutes the voting power of communities of color.

Instead of packing communities of color together, these proposed maps would instead split communities of color evenly between the two districts, while respecting municipal borders, and would create two districts wherein communities of color are the majority of the electorate.

Berks		
	North	South
Population	64,099	64,017
Deviation	46	-36
API VAP	2%	2%
AA VAP	12%	16%
Latino VAP	50%	57%
POC VAP	61%	70%
POC CVAP	51%	61%
AA CVAP	7%	10%
Latino CVAP	42%	46%

LANCASTER COUNTY- AREA LEGISLATIVE MAPS

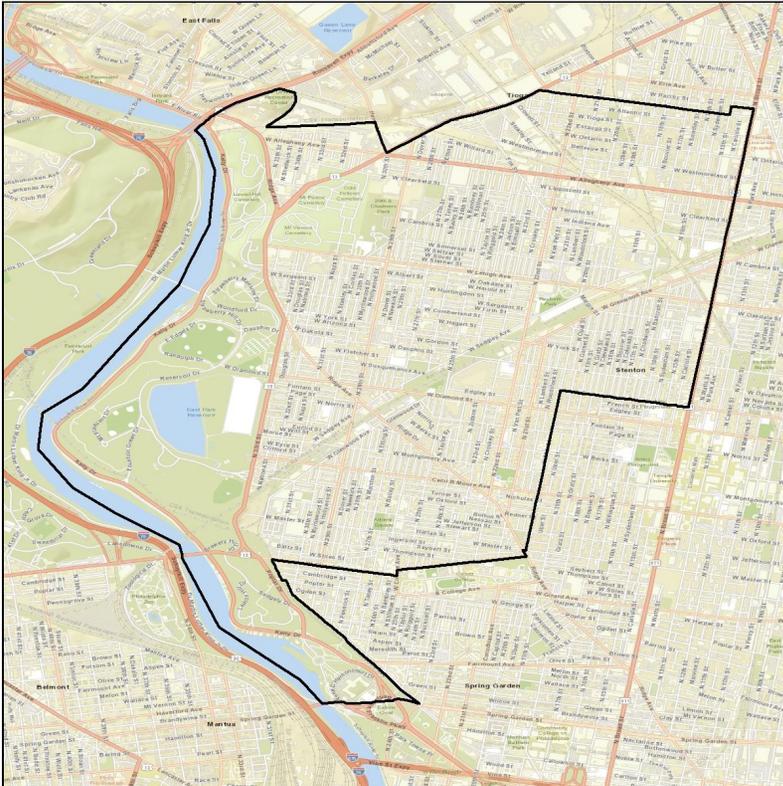


This map would drop the wealthier, whiter populations from northwest Lancaster, including Franklin and Marshall College, from the 96th House District. To take their place, this map would add communities from the southwest of Lancaster to the district, where most of Lancaster County's communities of color live. As a result, the electorate of PA's 96th House District would go from being majority-white to majority people of color, which would provide the much-needed ability for more Pennsylvania communities of color to elect their candidates of choice.

Lancaster	
Population	64,045
Deviation	-8
API VAP	5%
AA VAP	19%
Latino VAP	38%
POC VAP	59%
POC CVAP	53%
AA CVAP	14%
Latino CVAP	35%

Over the last decade, Lancaster County has grown rapidly: overall, since 2010 30,000 people of color moved into the county and the white population has just slightly decreased. In particular, the Latino and mixed race communities have seen significant growth. We drew our maps based in part off of 149 submissions from community members who identified the parts of Lancaster County that represent their community.

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY- AREA LEGISLATIVE MAPS



Philadelphia County has seen significant growth among communities of color and a net loss of white residents. Our proposed districts for Philadelphia are based on over 170 community map submissions from our members. Currently, the district maps around Philadelphia are visibly gerrymandered to significant extent. Our gathered community of interest data shows that our communities are currently split between Pennsylvania's 181st, 190th, 195th, 197th, and 198th House Districts. These district lines artificially divide our communities

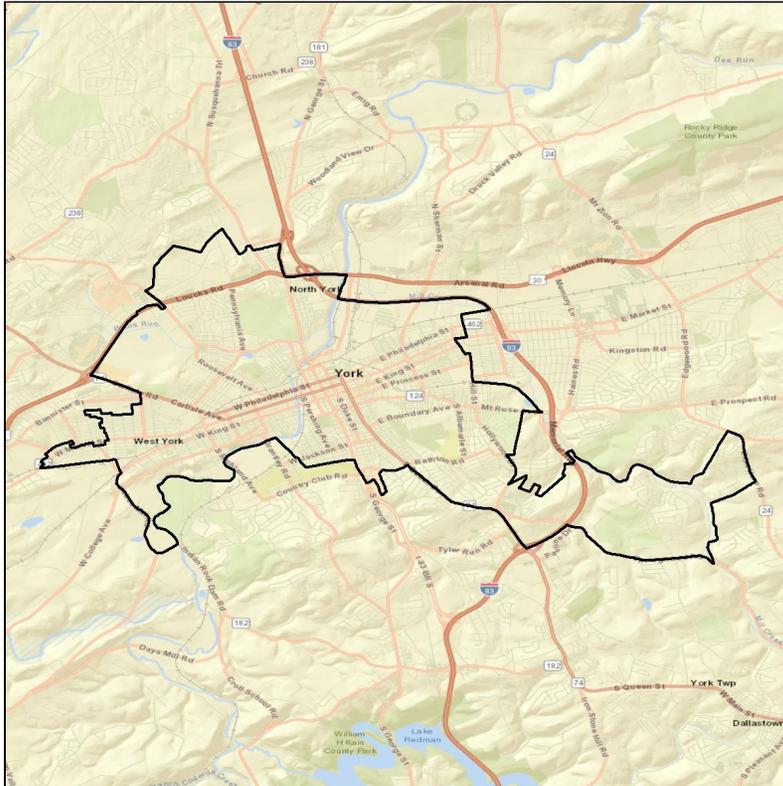
and do not reflect the borders and boundaries real people see and experience on the ground, in Philadelphia, every day.

Philadelphia's current district maps are visibly gerrymandered to a significant extent. Our gathered community of interest data shows that our communities are currently split between Pennsylvania's 181st, 190th, 195th, 197th, and 198th House Districts. These district lines artificially divide our communities and do not reflect the borders and boundaries real people see and experience on the ground, in Philadelphia, every day.

Our proposed map would keep the general shape of what is currently HD 195, but would drop the disproportionately-white population south of Girard Ave, add more neighborhoods of color between W Lehigh Ave and W Erie Ave, and clean up the borders surrounding the district. As a consequence, it will be easier for candidates, organizations, and voters to reach out to voters in their community. Notably, this map would not include high-concentrated areas of students around Temple University, allowing those students to be collectively represented in their own district.

Philadelphia	
Population	64,053
Deviation	0
API VAP	2%
AA VAP	86%
Latino VAP	4%
POC VAP	92%
POC CVAP	93%
AA CVAP	87%
Latino CVAP	4%

YORK COUNTY- AREA LEGISLATIVE MAPS



populations. Instead of voting power in this district being split between wealthy communities and more working-class one, this map would create a working-class district that enhances the voting power of people of color and young people.

York	
Population	64,062
Deviation	9
API VAP	2%
AA VAP	24%
Latino VAP	27%
POC VAP	52%
POC CVAP	44%
AA CVAP	19%
Latino CVAP	19%

York County's Latino and mixed race populations have grown over the last decade and the white population has decreased. Our proposed map, informed in part by 120 submissions from community members, would empower a larger share of Latino and mixed race voters than the current districts do.

This map would replace the wealthy, disproportionately white community of Grantley from Pennsylvania's 95th district with North York, Queens Gate, and other outlying areas with higher POC