LET’S START FROM THE BEGINNING

Jeff Greenfield, Legislative Process Manager, House Majority Office, Connecticut
Alexis Stangl, Senate Counsel, Minnesota

October 25, 2019
What is Reapportionment? Redistricting? Gerrymandering?

**Reapportionment**
The process of assigning seats in a legislative body among pre-existing political subdivisions such as states or counties

**Redistricting**
The redrawing or revision of boundaries for representational districts

**Gerrymandering**
A term of art to describe a plan or a district intentionally drawn to advantage one group or party over another, sometimes identified by bizarre shapes

*Source of definitions: NCSL Redistricting Glossary*
The original Gerrymander of 1812
Congressional Reapportionment

• Dates back to the first Census of 1790
• Membership in the US House of Representatives has been apportioned based on the Census every 10 years since then (with the exception of the 1920 Census)
Representatives Apportioned to Each State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Virginia</th>
<th>New York State</th>
<th>California</th>
<th>Texas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Redistricting by State Legislatures

• Through most of American history, legislatures were in control of redistricting.
• As population shifts accelerated, legislatures often failed to redraw lines, leading to dramatic differences in population between legislative districts
The Connecticut Example, Part 1 – the State Senate

• For over 60 years, the CT Senate’s lines barely changed. Following the 1950 Census, for example, some districts had more than four times the population as others
Population of Select CT State Senate Districts, 1950

- 111,412
- 122,931
- 104,585
- 31,352
- 33,141
- 28,618
The Connecticut Example, Part 2 – the House of Representatives

- The CT House apportioned members by town. Differences in voting power among residents of various towns in the House over time became exponentially greater than even in the Senate.
1950 population and number of representatives of selected CT towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>177,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterbury</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>104,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>164,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgeport</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>158,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goshen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colebrook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>People/Member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Cities</td>
<td>605,026</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>75,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Towns</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CT House of Representatives - 1950
Population & Voting Power of 4 Cities vs. Rest of State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>House Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Cities:</td>
<td>605,026</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Waterbury</td>
<td>605,026</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder of State</td>
<td>1,402,257</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why We All Now Redistrict

• As a result of disparities like these in CT and elsewhere, the U.S. Supreme Court finally stepped into the “political thicket” in the 1960s, establishing the fundamental principle of One Person, One Vote.

• Congress also acted in the same period, passing the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to address practices including in redistricting that prevented minority voters from participating in the electoral process.
When Do We Redistrict?

• April 1, 2020: Census Day
• December 31, 2020: Apportionment counts delivered to the President
• April 1, 2021: Deadline for Census Bureau to provide detailed population data to states for redistricting

• Timeline and deadlines for redistricting vary from state to state – know yours!
LEGAL AUTHORITY TO REDISTRICT

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

- US Constitution:
  - Article 1, §2: “Representatives … shall be apportioned among the several states … according to their respective numbers…”
  - Article 1, §4: “The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof…”

- Federal Law
  - 2 U.S.C.A. § 2a(c): “Until a State is redistricted in the manner provided by the law thereof …”

- Case Law

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS

- State Constitutions
- State Statutes
- Case law
WHO CONDUCTS REDISTRICTING?

Legislature  Commission  Nonpartisan Staff

Courts  Executive Branch
Majority of states draw districts through legislative action
Follows legislative process
Usually done as a bill
**METES AND BOUNDS & STREET FILES**

**Metes and bounds:** A detailed and very specialized description of district boundaries using specific geographic features and street directions as are usually found in describing real property for legal purposes.

**Example:** District 1 consists of the portion of City lying east of a line described as follows: commencing at the intersection of the northern boundary of City and Main Street, southerly and southeasterly along Oak Street and Maple Street to Lake Avenue, southerly along 1st Street to 13th Street, northeasterly along 13th Street to Erie Ave, southeasterly along Huron East to State Highway 100 …

**Street files:** street files are tabular in nature, with additions being added as a spreadsheet of some kind is edited.

**Example**
- 300 – 500 Main St., even numbers
- 301 – 501 Main St., odd numbers
- 502-750 Main St., even numbers
- Senate District 1, House District 1A
- Senate District 1, House District 1B
- Senate District 2, House District 2A
SHAPEFILES & BLOCK EQUIVALENCY FILES

Shapefile: A data format used in geographic information systems (GIS) software. A shapefile is a combination of several files and data sets.

Example: Sec. 1. PLAN ADOPTED. Legislative redistricting plan 123, on file with the GIS office and published on its Web site on May 1, 2021, is adopted as the legislative redistricting plan for this state. Each senate district is composed of the two house districts, A and B, of the same number.

Block equivalency file: A table that provides a one-to-one correspondence between census blocks and districts.

Example:
- Census block 1 Senate District 1 House District 1A
- Census block 2 Senate District 1 House District 1A
- Census block 3 Senate District 1 House District 1B
- Census block 4 Senate District 1 House District 1B
## Redistricting Commissions Conduct Redistricting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Legislative</th>
<th>Congressional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary responsibility</td>
<td>Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Michigan,</td>
<td>Arizona, Colorado, California, Hawaii, Idaho,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisory commission to</td>
<td>Maine, New York, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia</td>
<td>Maine, New York, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist the legislature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backup commission</td>
<td>Connecticut, Illinois, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas</td>
<td>Connecticut, Indiana, Ohio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NONPARTISAN STAFF CONDUCT REDISTRICTING

LSA nonpartisan staff draw maps and submits the redistricting plans in bill form to the General Assembly

TRAC conducts public hearings and submits report to General Assembly

General Assembly considers bill*

General Assembly votes no on the bill

General Assembly votes yes on the bill

*General Assembly cannot amend first two bills; may amend the third bill

Maps sent to governor for signature or veto
COURT & EXECUTIVE BRANCH ROLES IN REDISTRICTING

- Courts
  - Appointments
  - Serve on commissions
  - Draw districts
  - Lawsuits

- Executive Branch
  - Appointments
  - Serve on commissions
  - Veto
  - Administerial
How to Redistrict

• Data and Technology

Source: Dave’s Redistricting App
2020 Census Questionnaire

Start here OR go online at (not removed)
Use a blue or black pen.

Before you answer Question 1, count the people living in this house, apartment, or mobile home using our guidelines:
- Count all people, including babies, who live and sleep here most of the time.
- If you live in and sleep at this address most of the time, go online at (not removed) or call the number on page 1.
The Census must also include people without a permanent place to live, too:
- If a person who does not have a permanent place to live is staying here on April 1, 2020, count that person.
The Census Bureau conducts counts in institutions and other places, too:
- Do not count anyone living away from home, either at college or in the Armed Forces.
- Do not count anyone in a nursing home, jail, prison, detention facility, etc., on April 1, 2020.
- Let everyone count only once if they will return to live here after they leave college, the nursing home, the military, etc. Otherwise, they may be counted twice.

1. How many people were living or staying in this house, apartment, or mobile home on April 1, 2020?
Number of people = [ ]

2. Were there any additional people staying here on April 1, 2019, that do not live here any more?

3. In this house, apartment, or mobile home — Mark [ ] for each person in this household with a mortgage or
rental payment
- Mark [ ] for each person in this household who is a renter
- Mark [ ] for each person in this household who is a homeowner
- Mark [ ] for each person in this household who is a renter without a mortgage or rent
- Mark [ ] for each person in the household who does not pay rent

4. What is your telephone number?
We will only contact you if needed for official Census Bureau business.
Telephone Number

Source: US Census Bureau
5. Please provide information for each person living here. If there is someone living here who pays the rent or owns this residence, start by filling in or box for Person 1. If the owner or the person who pays the rent does not live here, start by filling in any adult living here as Person 1.

What is Person 1’s name? Print name below.

First Name

Last Name

6. What is Person 1’s sex? Mark ONE box.

 Male

 Female

7. What is Person 1’s age and what is Person 1’s date of birth? If Person 1 is under 1 year old, don’t write the age in 

 Mark 0 as the age.

Age as of April 1, 2020

 Month

 Day

 Year of birth

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

 Yes, Mexican

 Yes, Puerto Rican

 Yes, Cuban

 Yes, other Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin—Print for 

 example: Spanish, Guatemalan, Mexican, Colombian, Salvadoran, 

 Ecuadorian, etc.

9. What is Person 1’s race? Mark ONE or more of the boxes and print the origin.

 Black or African American—Print for example: African American, 

 American Indian or Alaska Native—Print for example: American Indian, 

 Asian—Print for example: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, 

 Asian Pacific Islander—Print for example: Hawaiian, Samoan, 

 Native Hawaiian—Print for example: Hawaiian, Samoan, 

 Other race—Print for example: Pakistani, Vietnamese, 

 American Indian and Alaska Native—Print for example: 

 American Indian, Alaskan Native, 

 Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish, etc.

 Some other race—Print as shown

 If more people were counted in Question 1 on the front page, continue with Person 2 on the next page.

Source: US Census Bureau
Data

• Census Geography
• Legislative and Voting District boundaries
• Other geographic boundaries and information
• PL 94-171 Redistricting Data
• American Community Survey data
• Demographic Data from your state or other sources
• Election Returns
• Voter Data

Technology

• GIS brings it all together
REDISTRICTING PRINCIPLES

- What are they? the principles or criteria that guide redistricting
- Where are they found?
  - US Constitution
  - Federal Law
  - Court opinions
  - State Statute
  - Resolution
  - Court Order
PRINCIPLES FROM FEDERAL LAW

• Population Equality
  • U.S. constitution Article 1, §2 requires representatives to “be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers.”
    • Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1 (1964): Congressional districts must be as nearly equal as possible
  • 14th Amendment to US Constitution: equal protection clause
    • Reynolds v. Sims, 377 U.S. 533 (1964): Legislative districts must be substantially equal in population
    • Gray v. Sanders, 372 U.S. 368 (1962): One person, one vote
  • Voting Rights Act of 1965: prohibits plans that intentionally or inadvertently discriminate on the basis of race
COMMON PRINCIPLES

- Compactness
- Contiguity
- Preservation of political subdivisions
- Preservation of communities of interest
- Preservation of cores of prior districts
- Avoiding pairing incumbents

EMERGING PRINCIPLES

- Prohibition on favoring/disfavoring incumbents/party
- Prohibition on using partisan/political data
- Competitiveness
- Preservation of partisan advantage
- Proportionality

WHAT SHOULD STAFF THINK ABOUT?

- Big picture
- Public outreach/input
- Committees
- Staff
- Space
- Software and hardware
- Training
- Budget
The purpose of redistricting is to establish and maintain voting districts that are faithful to the principle of one-person, one-vote. In Connecticut, responsibility for redrawing legislative and congressional district lines generally rests with the General Assembly.

2011 Plans & Maps

State House of Representatives Redistricting Plan 2011
(Approved by the Commission 11/30/2011: See Meeting Minutes)

- Statewide Map
- Geography Report
  (Please note: The Reapportionment Commission adopted the geography report with two corrections: (1) the population count for the 41st district is reduced by 534 people and the population count for the 30th district is increased by 315 people and (2) the portion of Trumbull removed and incorporated by Brookfield pursuant to Special Act 11-12 was corrected part of the 120th district). The shapefile and pdf maps reflect this transfer but the block equivalency file and Geography Report do not)
- House District Maps
- House Town Maps
- House Shapefiles (.zip)
- House Block Equivalency File (.csv)

State Senate Redistricting Plan 2011
(Approved by the Commission 11/30/2011: See Meeting Minutes)

- Statewide Map
- Geography Report
- Senate District Maps
- Senate Town Maps
- Senate Shapefiles (.zip)
- Senate Block Equivalency File (.csv)

Congressional Redistricting Plan 2011
(Adopted by the State Supreme Court 2/10/2012: See Final Order)

The Reapportionment Commission did not approve a Congressional Plan by the November 30, 2011 deadline (see FAQs for more information on the deadlines). Thus, jurisdiction over this plan shifted to the state Supreme Court, which appointed a Special Master to review the Congressional lines.

- Supreme Court Proceedings & Special Master Documents
- Statewide Map
- Congressional District Maps
- Congressional Town Maps
- Congressional Shapefiles (.zip)
- Congressional Block Equivalency Files (.csv)
2011 Timeline

This timeline provides an overview of the 2011 redistricting cycle, beginning with the establishment of the Reapportionment Committee and ending with the adoption of the final Congressional Redistricting Plan.

- **January 13-14, 2011**: Legislative leaders designated members to serve on the Reapportionment Committee
- **February 15, 2011**: Constitutional deadline for the General Assembly to appoint Reapportionment Committee (Conn. Const. Art. III, § 6)
- **March 9, 2011**: U.S. Census Bureau delivered Connecticut 2010 Census redistricting data required under P.L. 94-171
- **April 8, 2011**: First Reapportionment Committee meeting (elected co-chairs)
- **May 16, 2011**: Second Reapportionment Committee meeting (set public hearing schedule)
- **July 5-20, 2011**: Committee held public hearings in state’s five Congressional districts
- **August 17, 2011**: Third Reapportionment Committee meeting
- **September 12, 2011**: Final Reapportionment Committee meeting (announced that the committee would not make the September 18th constitutional deadline)
- **September 15, 2011**: Constitutional deadline for the General Assembly to adopt a plan of districting (Conn. Const. Art. III, § 6)
- **October 5, 2011**: Governor appointed Reapportionment Commission members based on legislative leaders’ designations
- **November 3, 2011**: First Reapportionment Commission meeting (elected co-chairs and appointed ninth member)
- **November 30, 2011**: Final reapportionment Commission meeting (unanimously adopted state Senate and House redistricting plans and announced that the commission had not reached agreement on the Congressional Redistricting Plan and would seek an extension from the state Supreme Court)
- **November 30, 2011**: Constitutional deadline for the Reapportionment Commission to submit a plan of districting to the secretary of the state (Conn. Const. Art. III, § 6)
- **December 1, 2011**: Secretary of the state notified the Chief Justice of the state Supreme
Frequently Asked Questions

Why is the General Assembly redrawing Congressional and legislative district lines?

Federal and state laws require it. Federal law requires districts to have about equal populations so that everyone's vote has equal importance ("One person, one vote"). State law requires that Congressional and legislative district lines be redrawn every 10 years. The districts must be based on the federal census and consistent with federal constitutional standards.

Who draws the lines?

A bipartisan Reapportionment Committee is charged with preparing the plan and the General Assembly must approve it by September 15, 2011 with a two-thirds vote in each chamber. The committee is made up of eight legislators (two from each party's caucus in the Senate and House of Representatives).

If the General Assembly does not approve a plan by the September 15 deadline, a nine-member Reapportionment Commission is formed. The commission must prepare a plan by November 30, 2011. The four top legislative leaders designate eight members (two each) to the commission, whom the governor appoints. The eight appointees must select a state elector as the ninth member.

The 2011 committee members were: Senate President Pro Tempore Donald Williams (Co-chair), House Minority Leader Lawrence Cafero (Co-chair), Senator Majority Leader Martin Looney, Senate Minority Leader John McKinney, Senator Leonard Fasano, House Speaker Christopher Donovan, Representative Sandy Naftz, and Representative Arthur O'Neill.

The 2011 commission members were the same as the above committee members with two exceptions. During the first commission meeting on November 3, 2011, members unanimously chose Kevin Johnstone as the ninth member. And on December 1, 2011, Representative Brendan Sharkey replaced Representative Donovan, who resigned from the commission on November 30, 2011.
### Meetings & Hearings

#### Commission Meeting Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Meeting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Related Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11/30/2011</td>
<td>4:00 pm</td>
<td>Commission Meeting</td>
<td>Hearing Room 1B Legislative Office Building Hartford, CT</td>
<td>Agenda Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/3/2011</td>
<td>1:30 pm</td>
<td>Commission Meeting</td>
<td>Hearing Room 1E Legislative Office Building Hartford, CT</td>
<td>Agenda Minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Committee Meeting Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Meeting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Related Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>05/15/2011</td>
<td>1:00 pm</td>
<td>Committee Meeting</td>
<td>Hearing Room 1D Legislative Office Building Hartford, CT</td>
<td>Agenda Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/17/2011</td>
<td>2:30 pm</td>
<td>Committee Meeting</td>
<td>Hearing Room 1C Legislative Office Building Hartford, CT</td>
<td>Agenda Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/16/2011</td>
<td>1:00 pm</td>
<td>Committee Meeting</td>
<td>Hearing Room 1C Legislative Office Building Hartford, CT</td>
<td>Agenda Minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04/05/2011</td>
<td>1:00 pm</td>
<td>Committee Meeting</td>
<td>Hearing Room 1B Legislative Office Building Hartford, CT</td>
<td>Agenda Minutes Rep: Carter's Opening Remarks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Public Hearing Schedule
WHAT SHOULD STAFF THINK ABOUT?

- Big picture
- Public outreach/input
- Committees
- Staff
- Space
- Software and hardware
- Training
- Budget
WHAT ARE SOME RESOURCES?

- Who is in your state? GIS, legislative staff, leadership, commission
- What happened last time? Look at past redistricting cycles from your state
- Who do you know in other states? Talk with them about their experiences
- NCSL: so many resources!
  - NCSL Redistricting Seminars
  - NCSL’s “Into the Thicket: A Redistricting Starter Kit for Legislative Staff”
  - NCSL Red Book

NCSL Redistricting and Election Contacts

- Wendy Underhill:
  - [Wendy.Underhill@ncsl.org](mailto:Wendy.Underhill@ncsl.org)
  - 303-856-1379
- Christi Zamarripa
  - [Christi.Zamarripa@ncsl.org](mailto:Christi.Zamarripa@ncsl.org)
  - 303-856-1419
- Ben Williams
  - [Ben.Williams@ncsl.org](mailto:Ben.Williams@ncsl.org)
  - 303-856-1640
QUESTIONS?

Contact Information:
Jeff Greenfield
Legislative Process Manager,
House Majority Office, CT
860-240-8693
jeff.greenfield@cga.ct.gov

Contact Information:
Alexis Stangl
Senate Counsel, MN
651-296-4397
alexis.stangl@senate.mn