



How Voters Choose Their Legislators



www.FairDistrictsPA.com
August 21, 2017
Joe McLaughlin



How **Politicians** Choose Their **Voters**

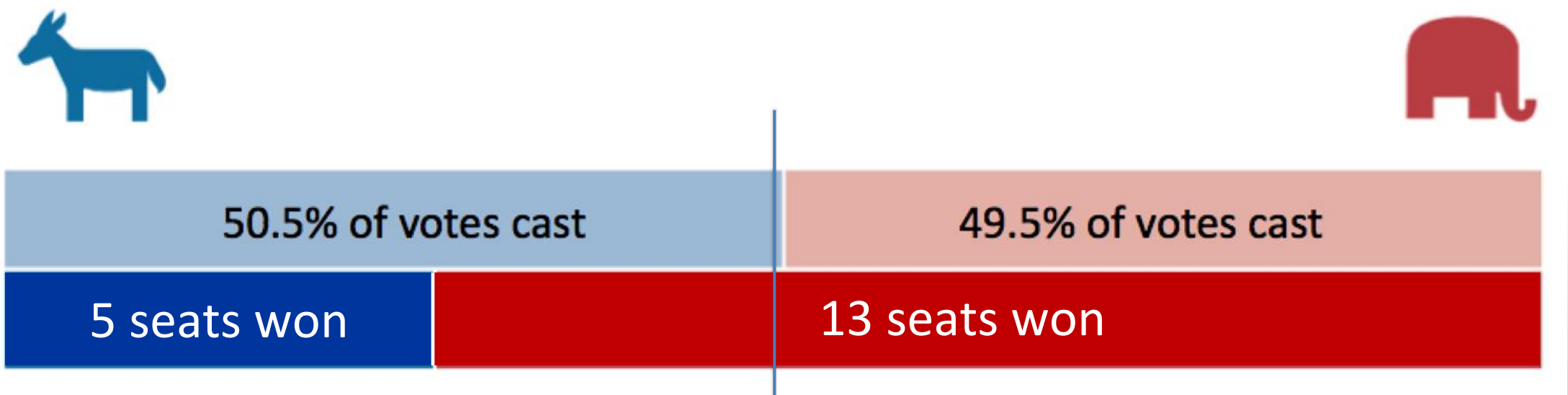
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Something Has Gone Wrong

Although winning fewer than half of the vote, Republicans gained **13 of 18 seats** in the 2012 US Congressional election in Pennsylvania.





Agenda

- I. Basics
- II. U. S. Congressional Gerrymandering
- III. PA Legislative Gerrymandering
- IV. Consequences
- V. Solutions



Basics

- FDPA: Fair Districts PA
- Common Cause + League of Women Voters of PA (LWVPA)
- Mission: Fair Districts PA is a **nonpartisan**, statewide coalition of individuals and organizations working to ensure Pennsylvania's redistricting process is:
 - **transparent**
 - **impartial,**
 - **accountable,** and
 - **fair.**



Basics

Important terms:

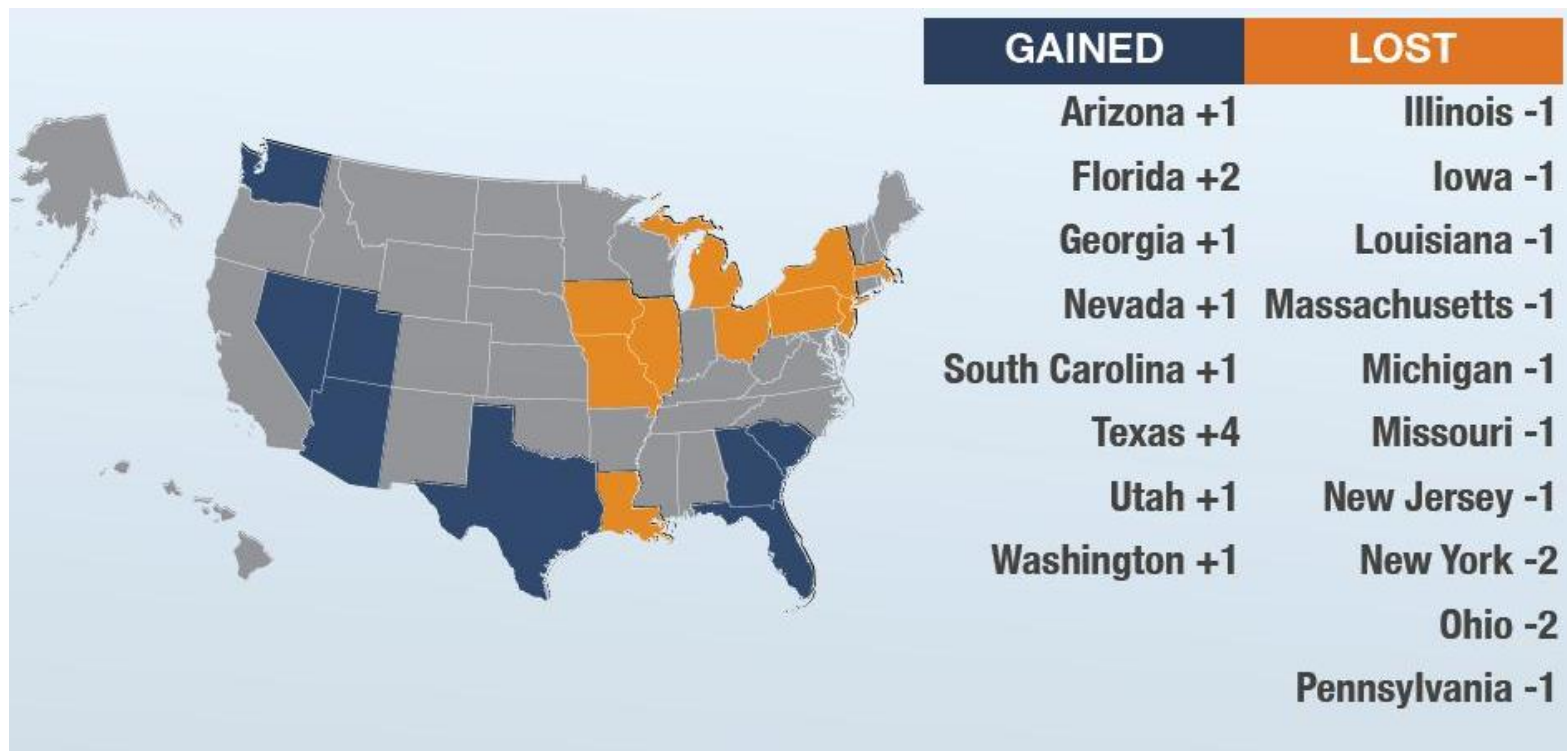
- “Primarying”
- Safe district
- Reapportionment
- Redistricting
- Gerrymandering:
 - “packing”
 - “cracking



Basics

- District types:
 - Federal:
 - 2 senators (Patrick Toomey and Robert Casey: both represent all constituents)
 - 18 representatives (“congressional”)
 - PA Commonwealth:
 - 50 senators
 - 203 representatives

Reapportionment



- There are **435** seats in the US House of Representatives.
- Seats are reapportioned every **10 years** after national census.
- In the 2010 reapportionment Pennsylvania **lost 1 seat**.

Redistricting

Redistricting is changing the boundaries of legislative districts:

- For US Congress: **changes in population** cause a change the state's **number of seats**.
- For US Congress and for the state legislature due to **population shifts** within the state.
- **Different processes** for congressional and PA senators and representatives.
- Always political, but **conflict of interest** can be removed.

Gerrymandering

- Drawing district boundaries to benefit a party or candidate

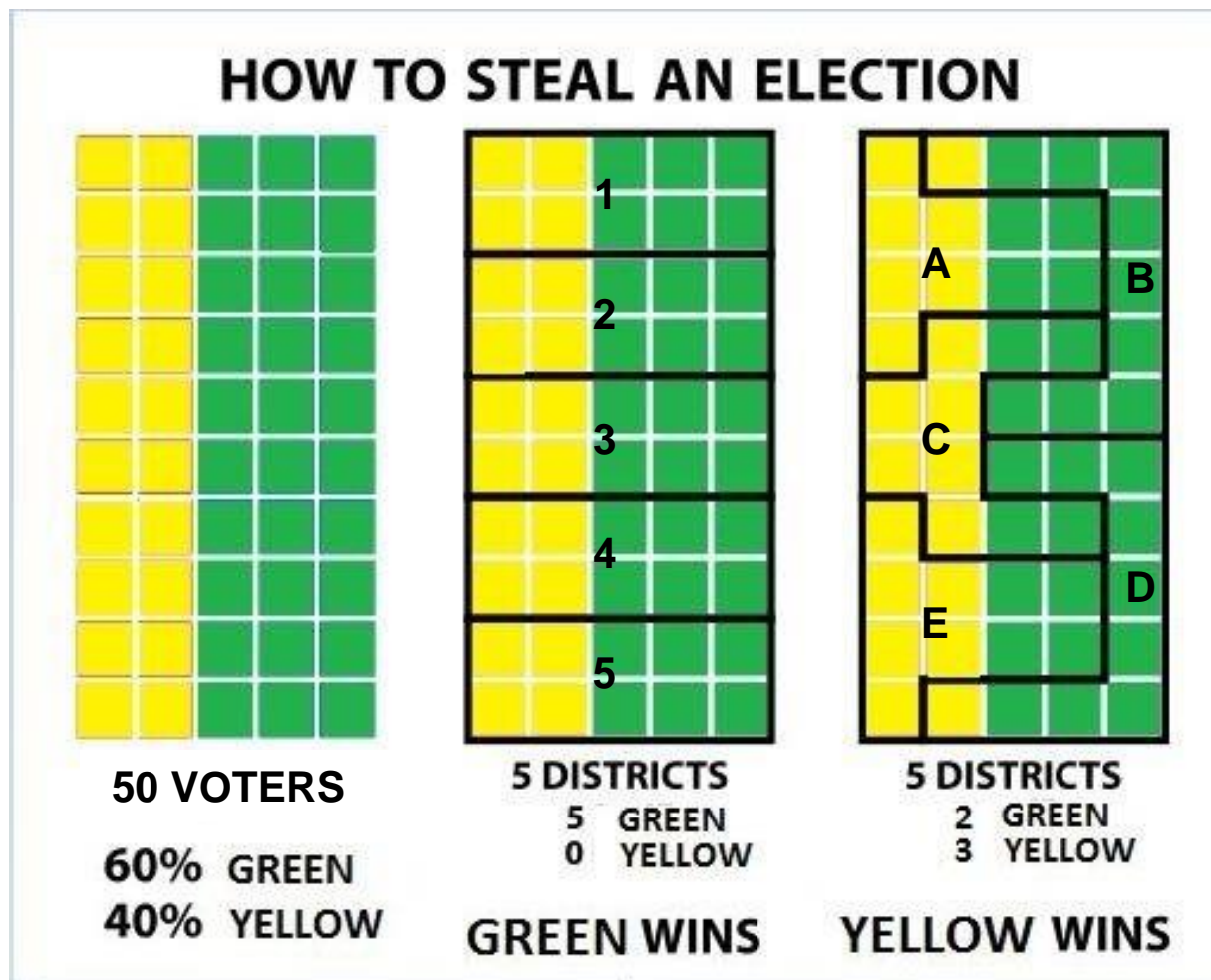
In 1812 MA Gov. Elbridge *Gerry* approved a bill that drew districts favoring his party. His map looked like a salamander, hence the term *Gerrymander*.



Gerrydragon?

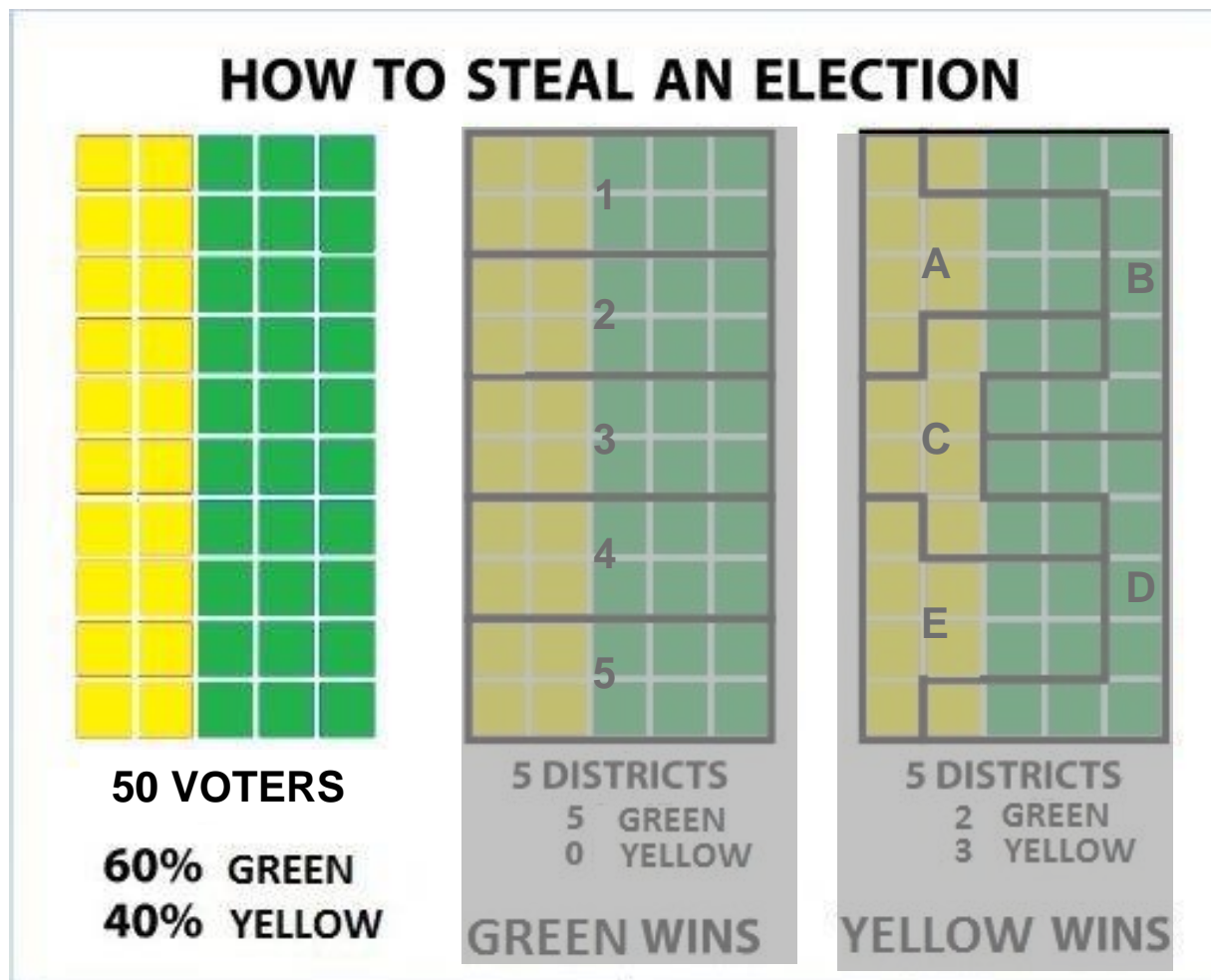


Gerrymandering Tricks



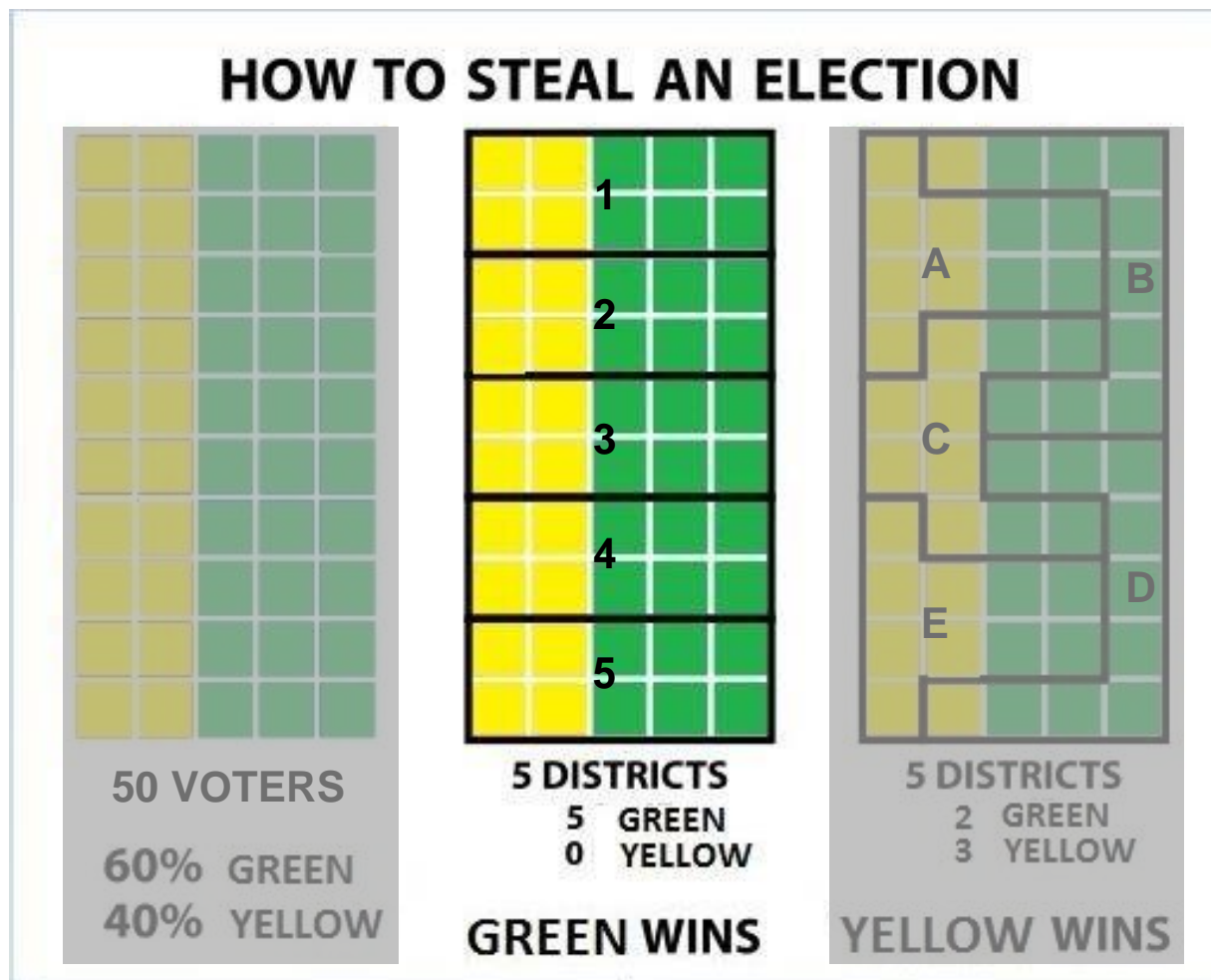
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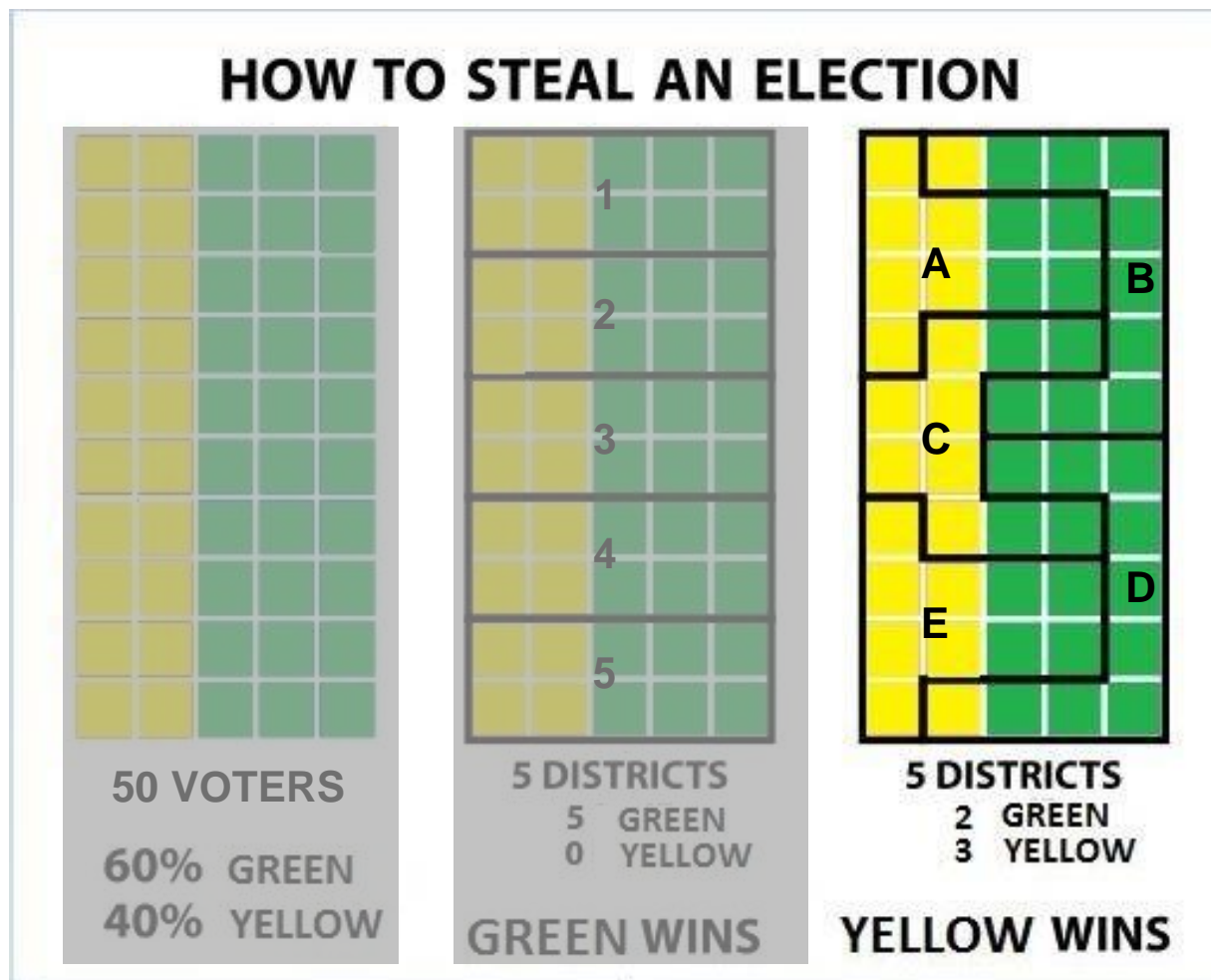
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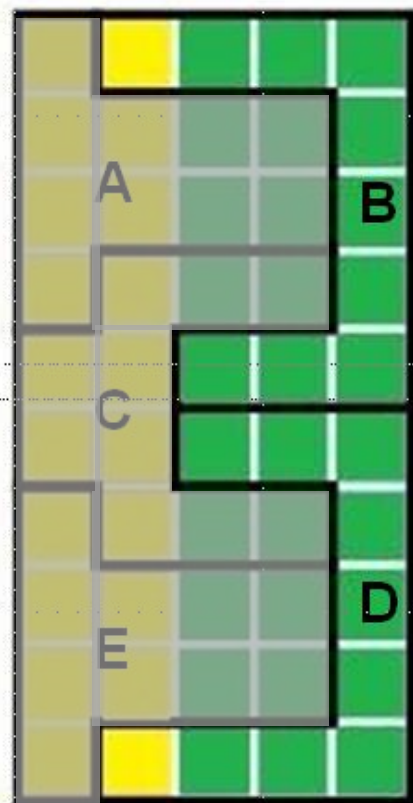
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Packing & Cracking

B and D are
PACKED

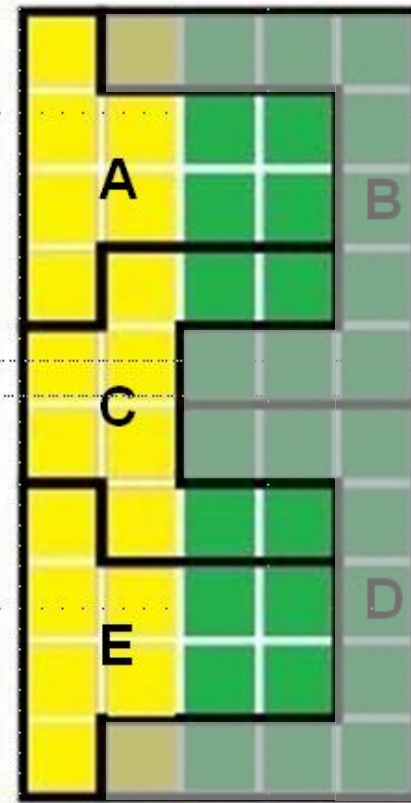


5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

Districts 1-5
were
CRACKED



5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

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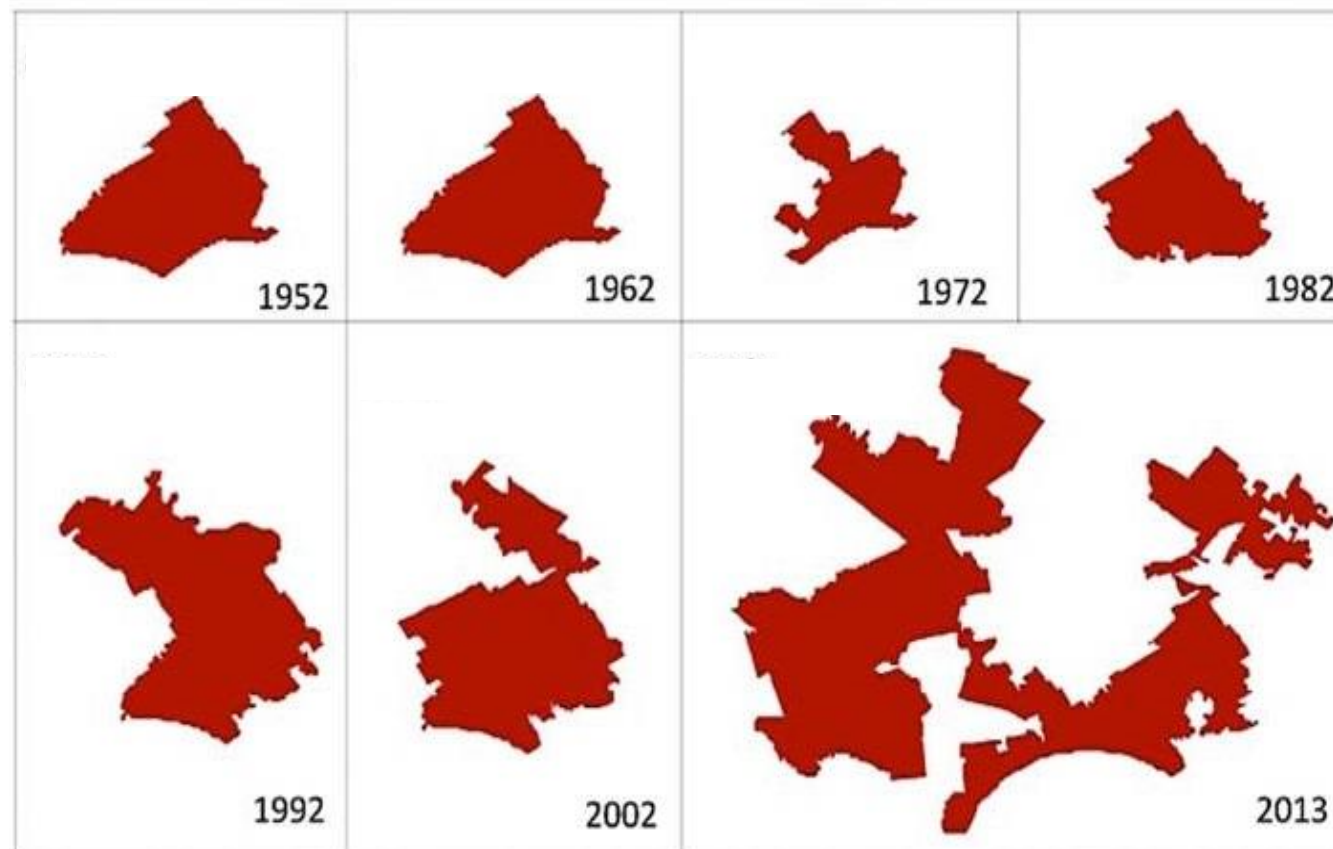
Redistricting for Congress

U.S. Constitution Article I, Section 4:

"The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations...."

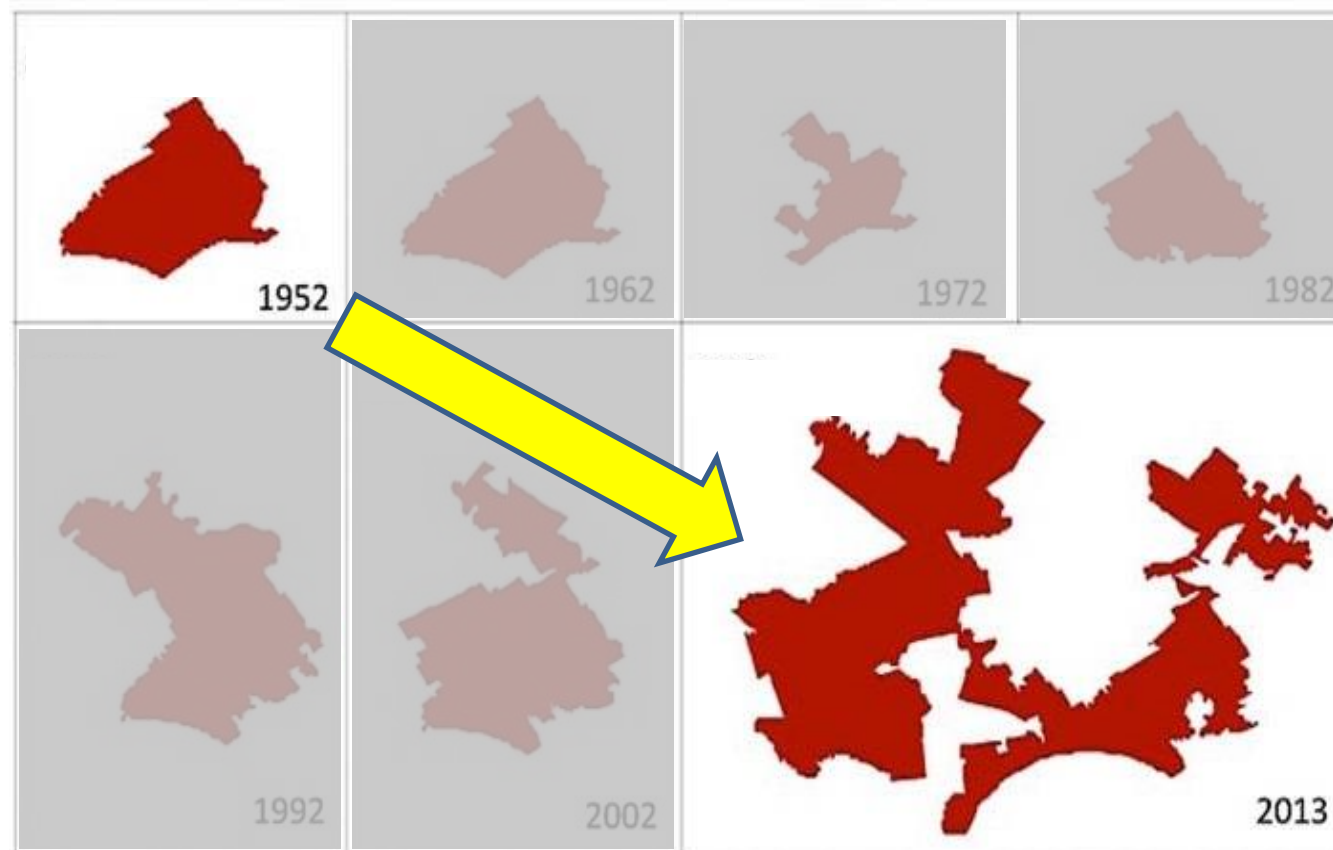
In Pennsylvania, congressional districts are determined by the **ordinary legislative process**. Congressional maps are introduced **by the majority party**, voted on by both houses, and signed by the governor.

The *DE*volution of PA's 7th Congressional District



SOURCE: Shapefiles maintained by Jeffrey B. Lewis, Brandon DeVine, Lincoln Pritcher and Kenneth C. Martis, UCLA.
Drawn to scale.
GRAPHIC: The Washington Post. Published May 20, 2014

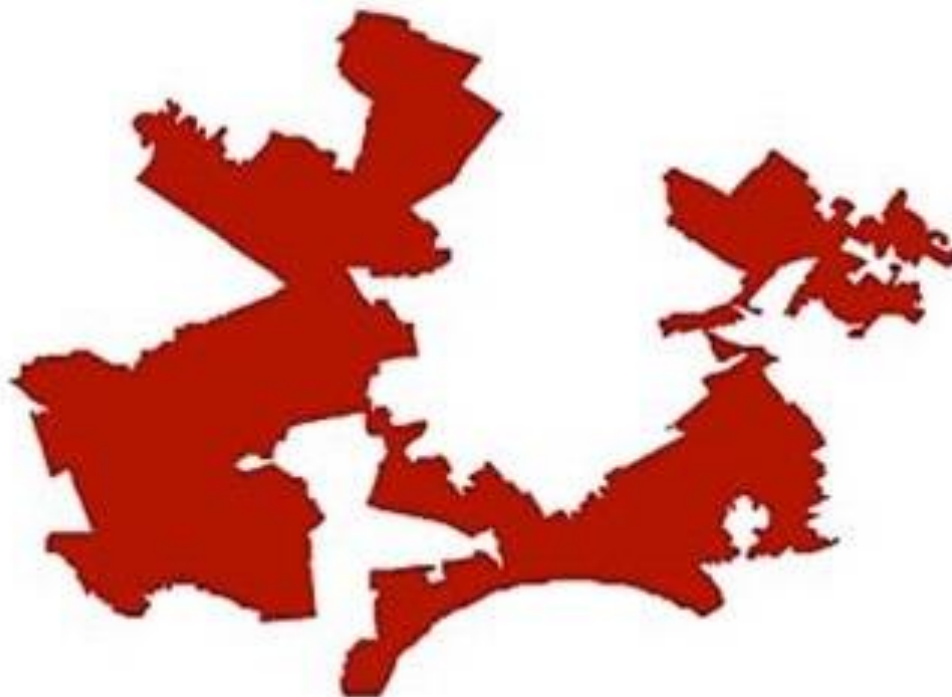
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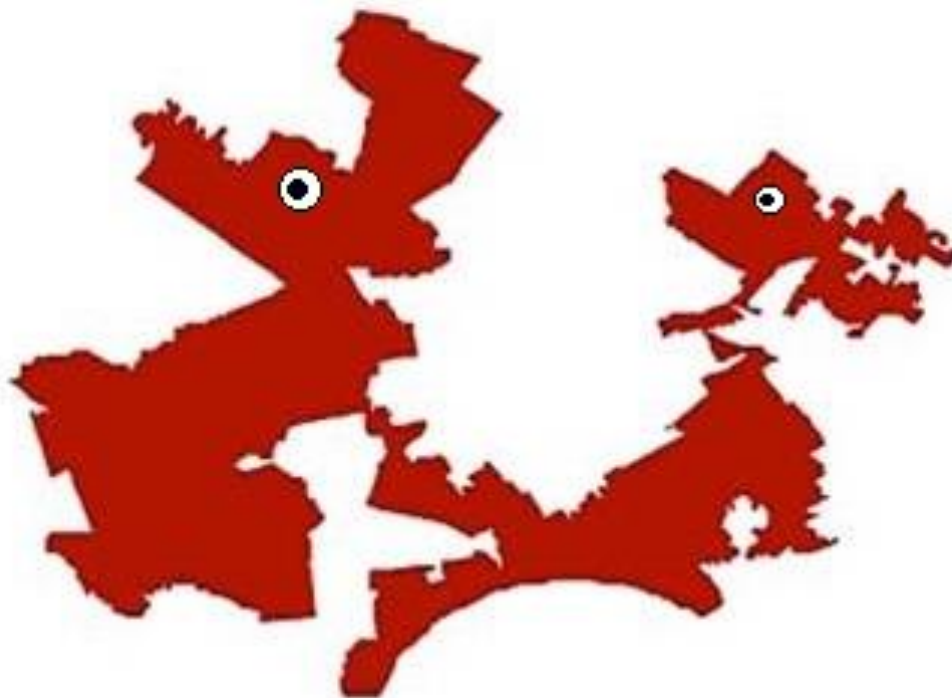
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The *DE*volution of PA's 7th Congressional District



Goofy kicking Donald??



The *DE*volution of PA's 7th Congressional District





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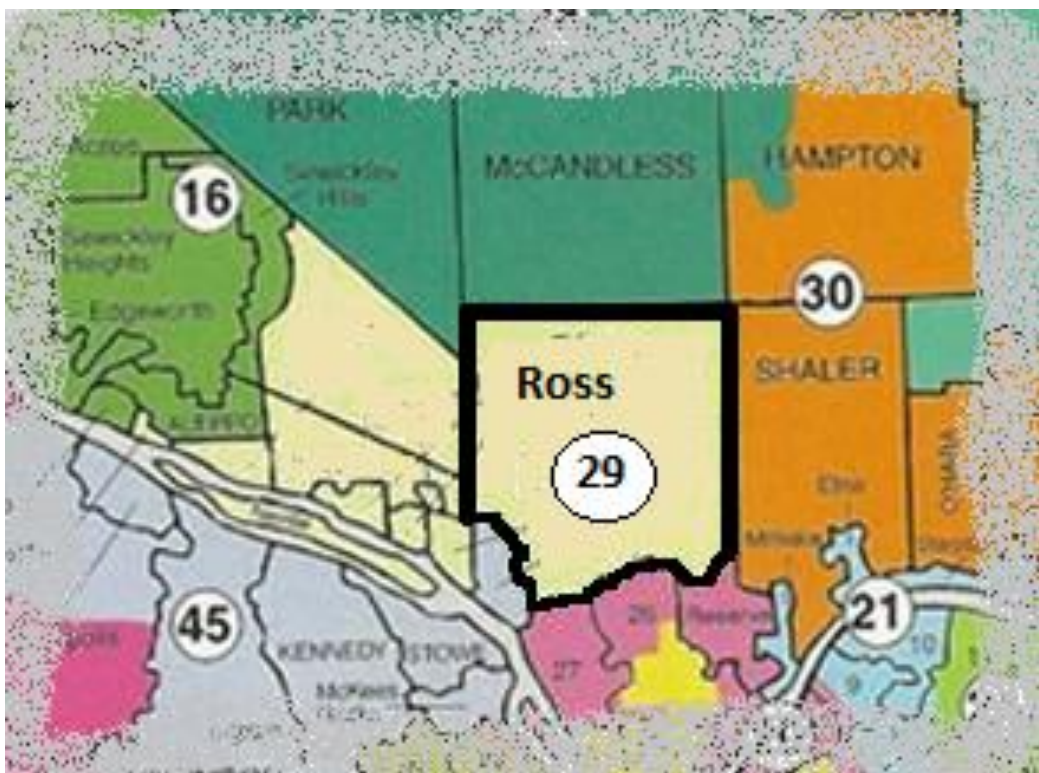


Redistricting for the PA Legislature

- PA Constitution Article II, Section 16 (abridged):
 - 50 senatorial and 203 representative districts: must be **compact and contiguous territory**
 - **Unless absolutely necessary no** (municipality) **shall be divided.**
- PA State House & Senate districts: drawn by a **5-person commission**: 4 party leaders + chair.
- Constituents may file an **appeal** from the final plan directly to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court .

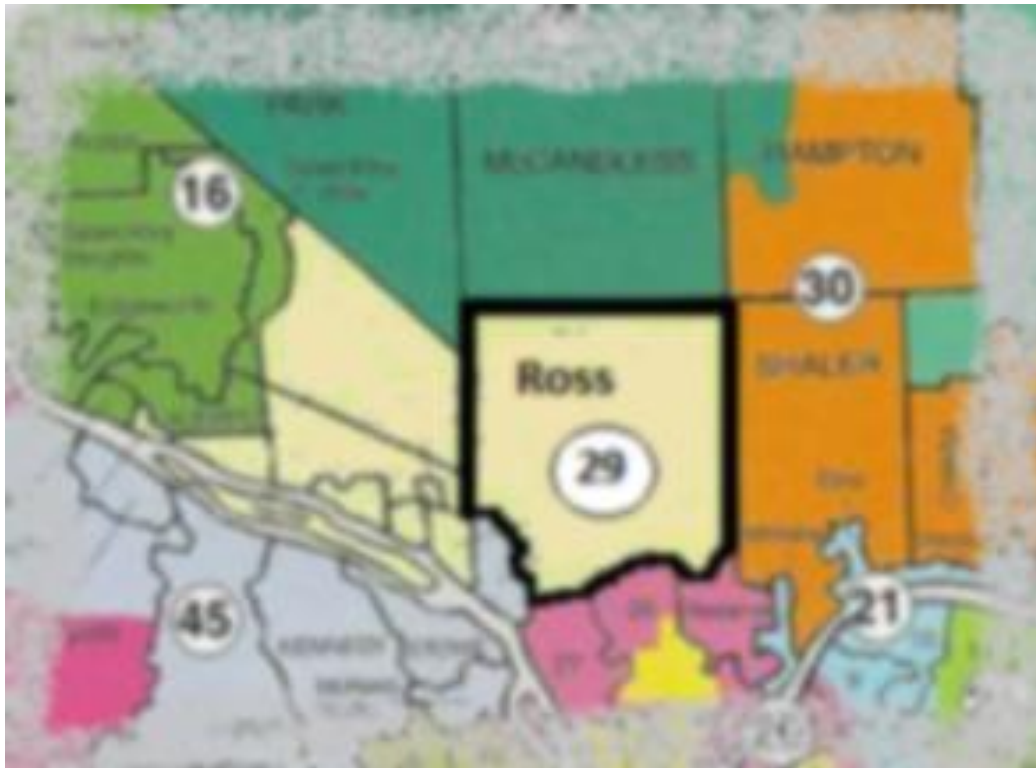
Cracking Ross Township

29th Legislative District in 1999: Ross Township is completely within the 29th District.

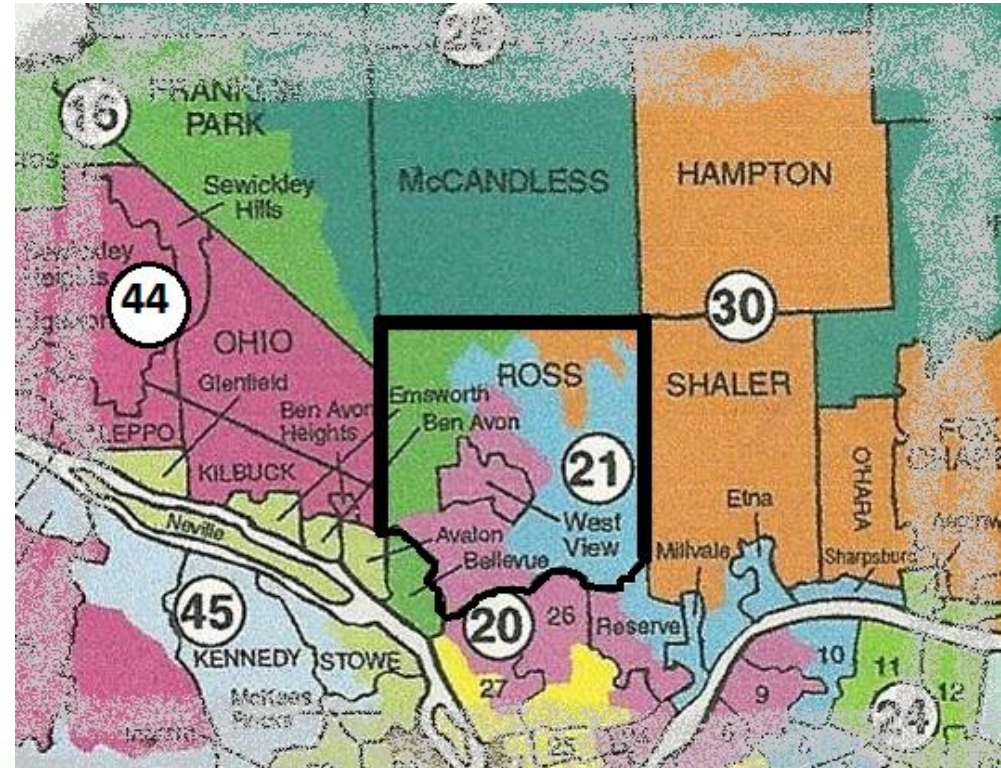


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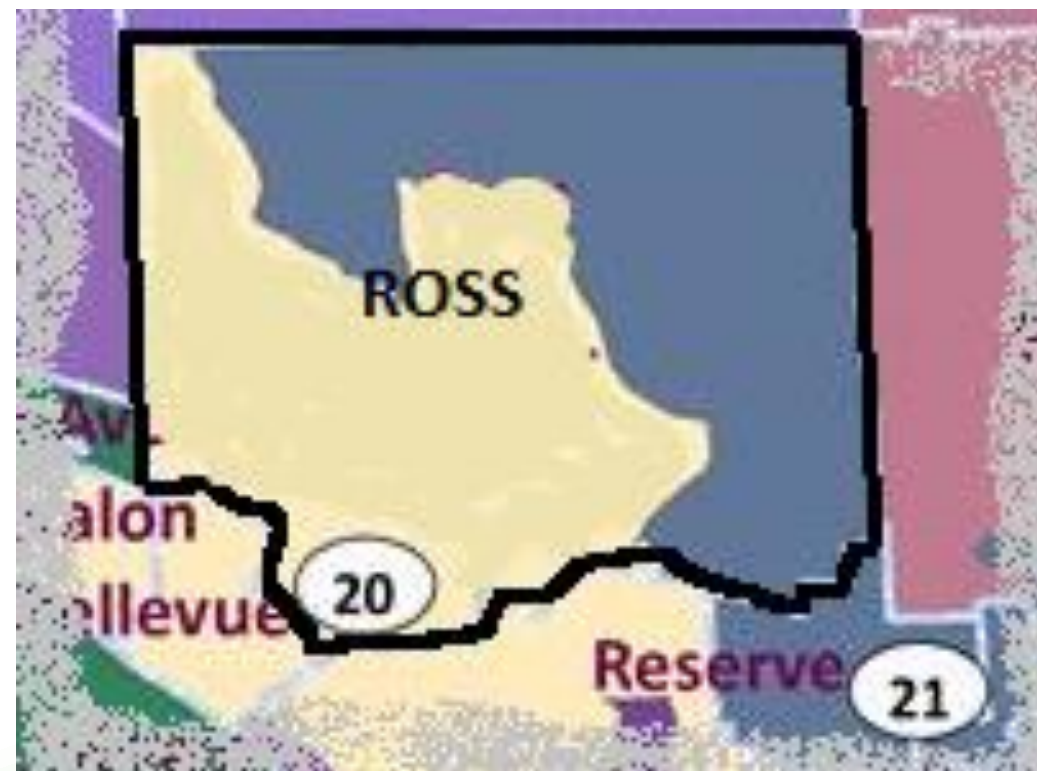
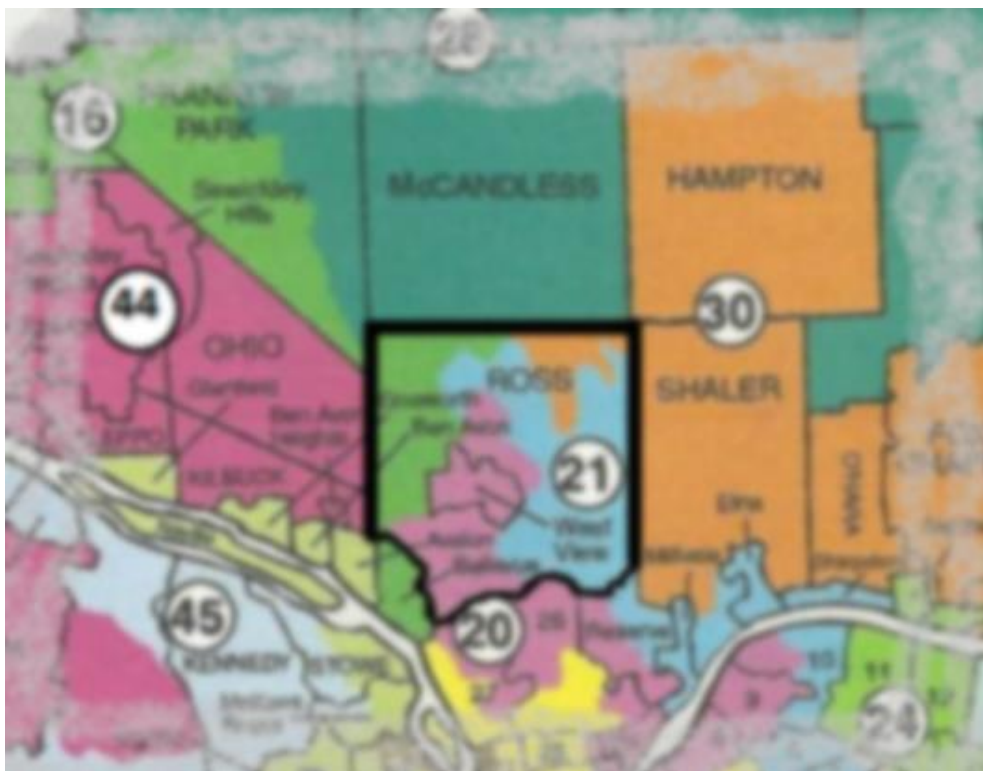
In 2001 Ross Township is divided among four districts: 20th, 21st, 30th, and 44th.



How Much Better Is This?

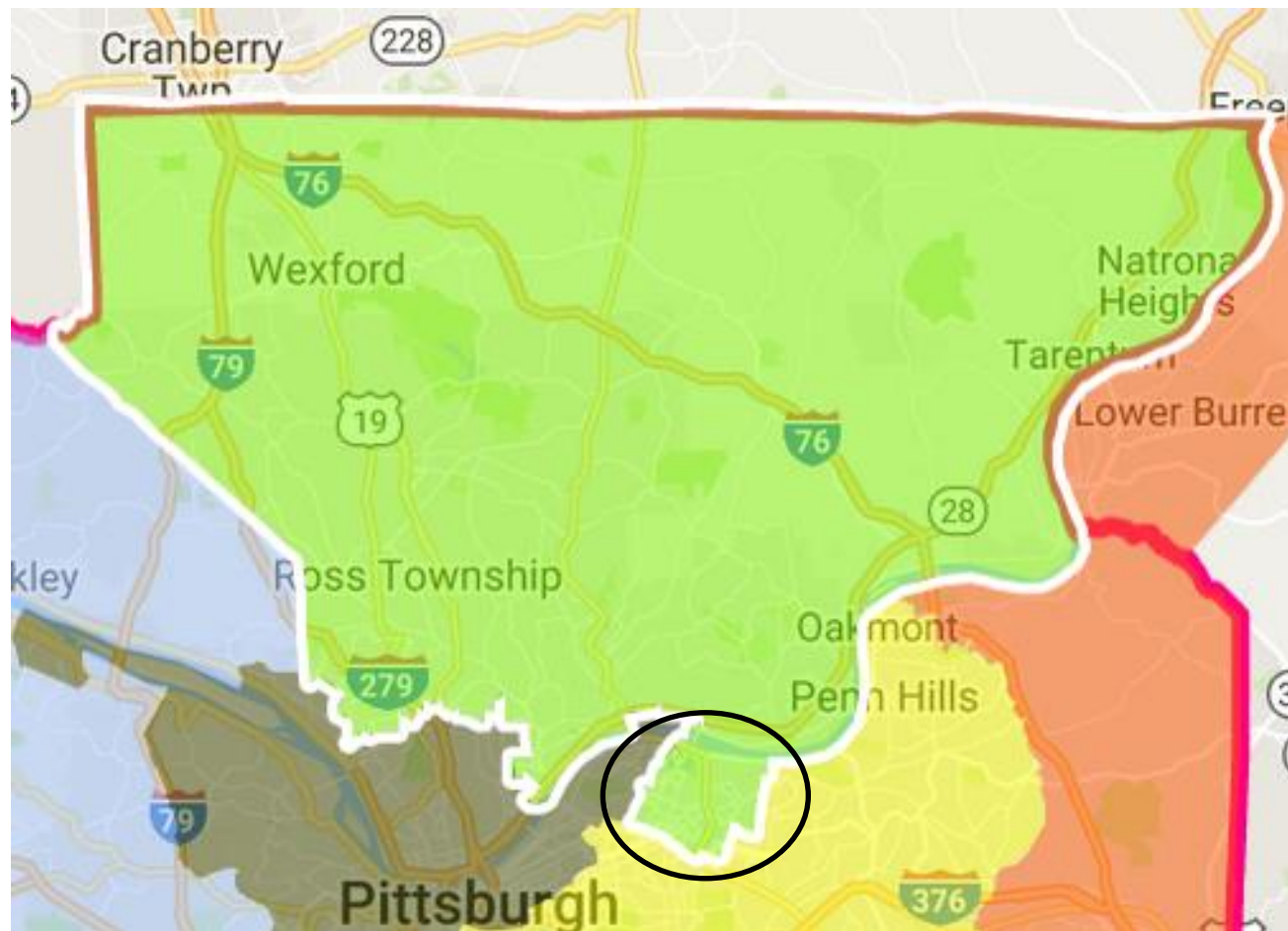
In 2001 Ross Township is divided among four districts: 20th, 21st, 30th, and 44th.

2012: Ross divided among 20th and 21st districts:
“..unless absolutely necessary no... township or ward shall be divided”



Another “Political Termination”?

- PA 38th Senate District (in green)
- Area circled comprises wards in Pittsburgh- and the residence of former state Senator Jim Ferlo
- Was this done to freeze him out?
- This also happened to Representative Obama in Illinois



We'll See You in Court!

- In 2012, Amanda Holt, a Pennsylvania resident, drew a map with fewer splits.
- Amanda's group challenged commission's plan in the PA Supreme Court and forced a revision.
- Amanda's group still didn't like it, took the final plan to court again, failed to get it changed.
- **A very expensive, uncertain process**
- **Doesn't solve problem** for the next census
- **SB22 and HB722 cover both US congressional and PA legislative gerrymandering.**



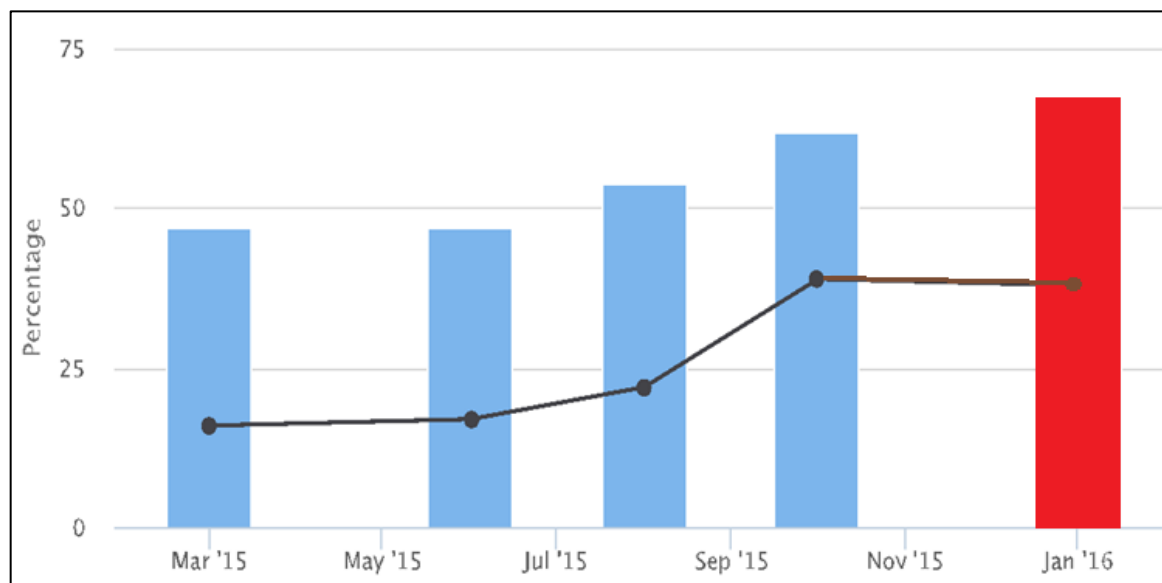


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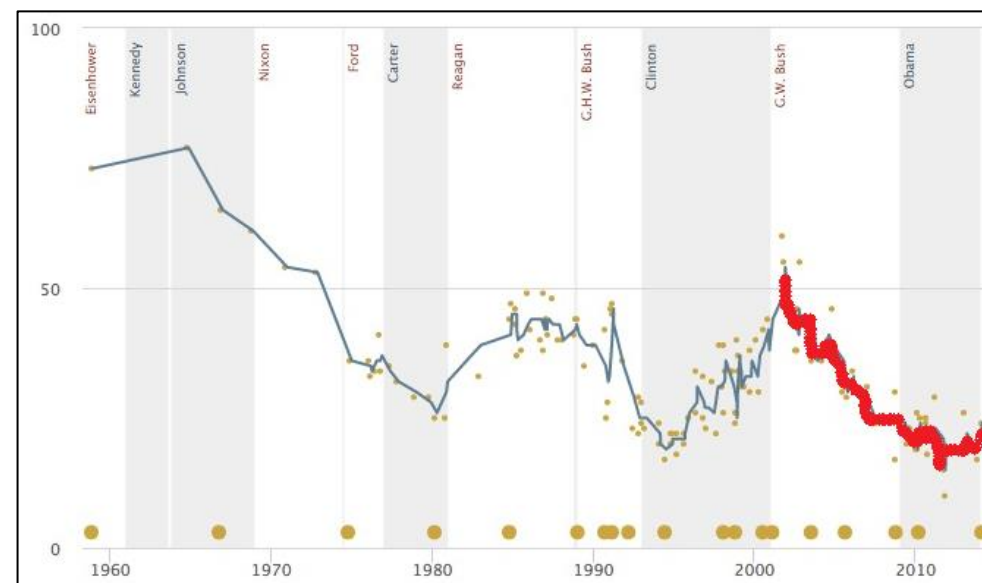
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How Gerrymandering Affects Voters

Voter frustration with government



Public trust in government





How Gerrymandering Affects Economy

- Large firms have **unfair influence** on legislation and the political process
- Small businesses **lose out**
- Loss of **local control**
- **Low** state credit rating
- **Poor** workforce development

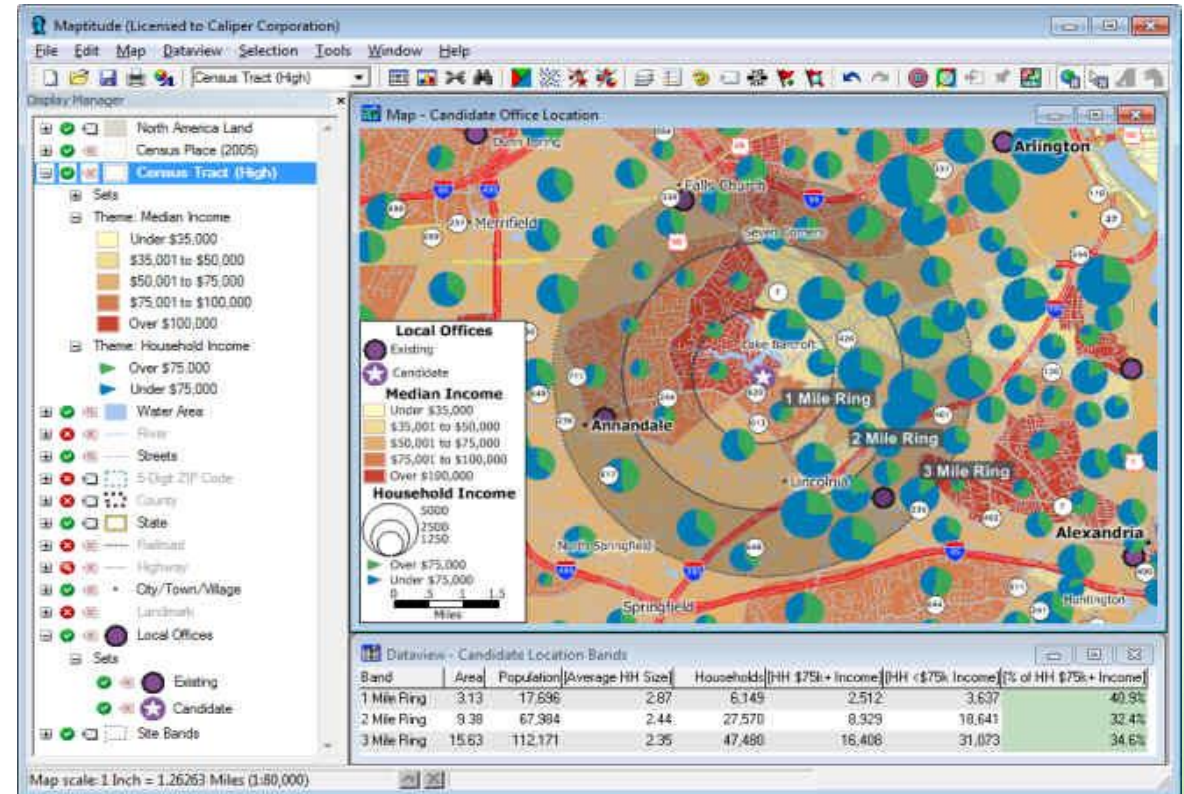


How Gerrymandering Affects Politics

- Parties shift to **winning and control**.
- **Power** is held by **party leadership**.
- Rank-and-file **don't have much say**.
- Legislators fear being "**primaried**" by the extreme wing.
- This often increases **polarization**.

What Has Changed?

- Mapping technology
- Data mining
- Huge infusion of undisclosed outside money





Why PA is a Gerrymandering Target

- A large **swing state**, very few left
- Only Florida is larger
- PA is expected to **lose another district** in the 2020 census



Without Redistricting Reform, Expect:

- All out, **nasty war** in PA between major parties:
 - REDMAP 2020 (Republicans) vs.
 - ADVANTAGE 2020 (Democrats)
- No **compromises** on important issues
- Ongoing voter **disenfranchisement**
- Continued **lack of representation** for women and minorities
- Lengthy, costly **legal challenges**



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**FAIR
DISTRICTS
PA**
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[Local Groups](#)
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[The Problem](#)
[How We'll Fix It](#)
[Take Action](#)
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Pennsylvania has some of the most unfair congressional districts in the country.



Gerrymandered district lines weaken the power of our votes—and politicians are working behind closed doors to keep it that way. We all pay the price.

- ✗ Incumbents draw lines that protect their seats
- ✗ Politicians feel safe—so they ignore issues you care about
- ✗ Gridlock worsens in Harrisburg and Washington
- ✗ People feel powerless and voter turnout goes down



Volunteer with us

We need help with everything from public speaking to event planning to administrative support. Sign up now.



Contact your legislators

Find your representatives, get insight into their positions, and download talking points.



Join a local group

Find a Fair Districts PA group in your community, and join them for events like letter-writing nights and working groups.



Write an op-ed

Learn how to get a letter or editorial published in your local newspaper.



Senate Bill 22 and House Bill 722

- SB 22 and HB 722 create an **independent commission** of 11 members:
 - 4 from party with **largest** voter registration
 - 4 from party with **second largest** voter registration
 - 3 **not affiliated** with either of the above parties
- **Criteria** include no office holders, their spouses, lobbyists, paid staff & officers of political party in last 5 years.
- The **Secretary of the Commonwealth** checks qualifications, sorts into 3 pools, sorts 40 in each pool randomly.
- Legislative leaders may each **strike** 2 per pool.
- Secretary **randomly selects** the 11 members
- Provisions for **racial, geographic and gender diversity**.



Senate Bill 22 and House Bill 722

- Selection of chair requires **approval** by at least 6 members.
- The Commission draws maps, according to a **strict timeline** through a **transparent process**.
- Commission may not use voters' **address, political affiliation, or previous election results**.
- The Commission holds **public hearings**.
- The final map **must have approval of at least one member of the three groups**.
- The legislature and governor are **not involved**.
- Any **PA citizen can challenge maps** in the PA Supreme Court.



Constitutional Amendment Timeline

Requires passage by **two consecutive legislative sessions**, followed by a **public referendum**:

- Passage by legislature in **2017-2018** session (before July 2018)
- Passage by legislature early in **2019-2020** session
- Public referendum in **2020**
- In place for redistricting process triggered by 2020 census
- This is fast track- **we have 1-2 more years to accomplish this.**



What You Can Do

- **GET EDUCATED!**
- **Join Fair Districts PA** <http://www.FairDistrictsPA.com/join>. Check the box at the bottom of the page if you wish to volunteer.
- **Donate** to FDPA
- **Establish communication with your legislators.**
 - Write a **letter or send an email** to your state legislators expressing your concern, ask them to co-sponsor SB22 or HB722.
 - Follow up with **brief phone calls or emails** occasionally.
 - **Thank them if they already co-sponsored the bill.**
 - See <http://www.FairFistrictsPA.com/take-action/contact-your-legislator>

What You Can Do

- **Spread the word.** If you belong to an interested group, request a speaker through www.FairDistrictsPA.com
- **Pass a local resolution:** Get your city, borough, township, or county government to pass a resolution in favor of fair redistricting.
- Eliminating gerrymandering is **necessary, but not sufficient**, to end extreme partisanship.
- **Recruit Republicans, Independents, & 3rd Party voters**
- Keep on keepin' on. Freedom isn't free.

It's a heavy lift





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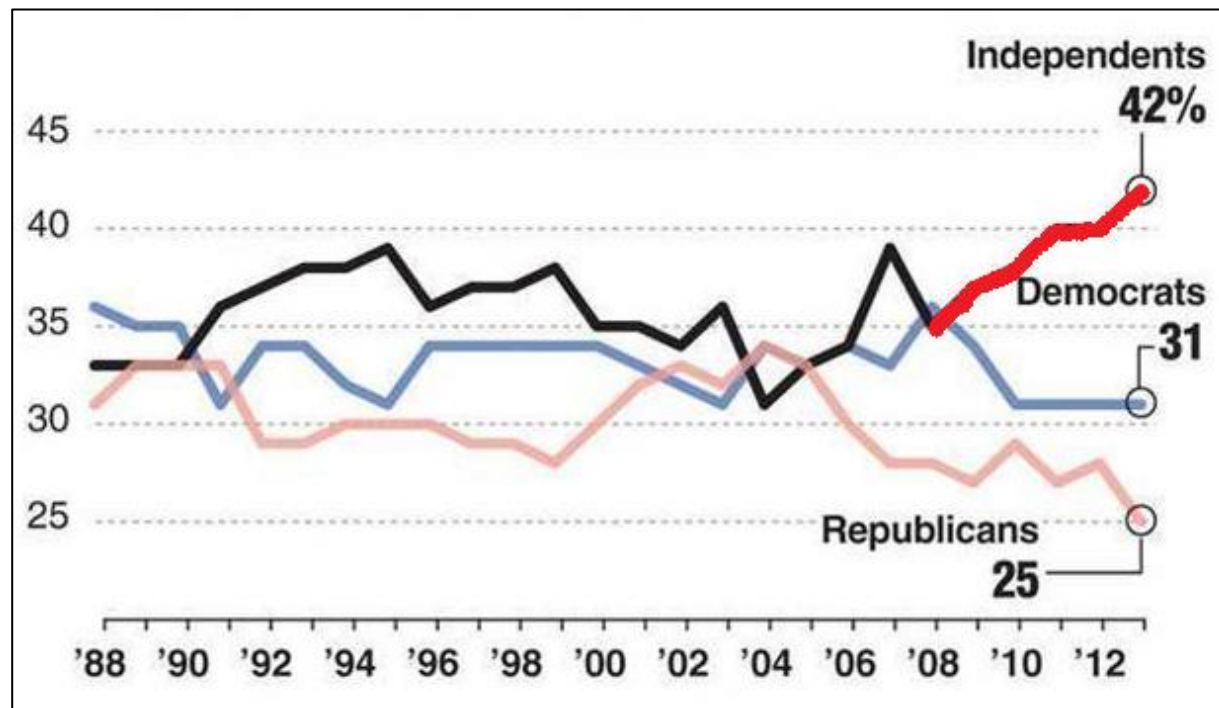
Thanks for attending!

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Download the presentation at:
www.NonProfTech.info/FDPA

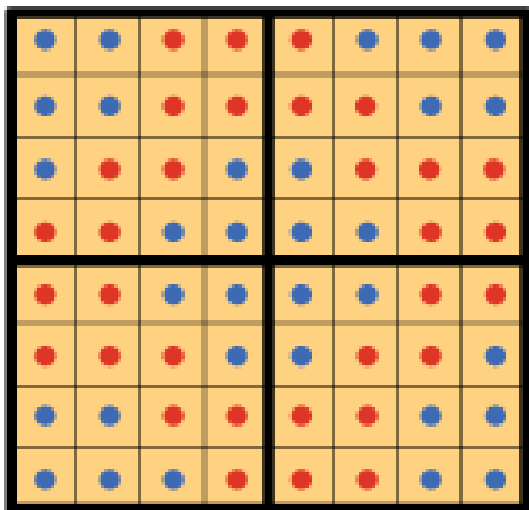
How Gerrymandering Affects Politics

- Fewer voters identify with the major parties
- Independents on the rise

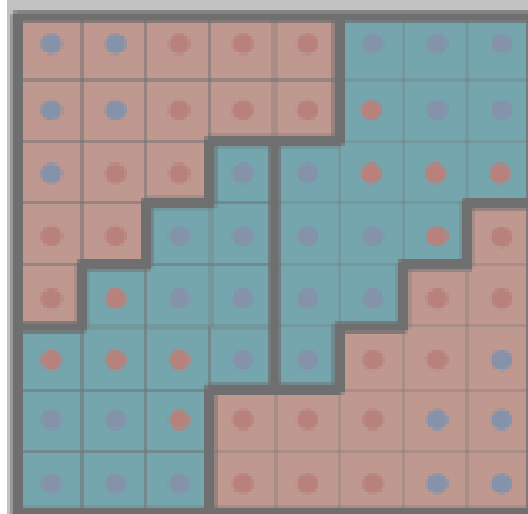


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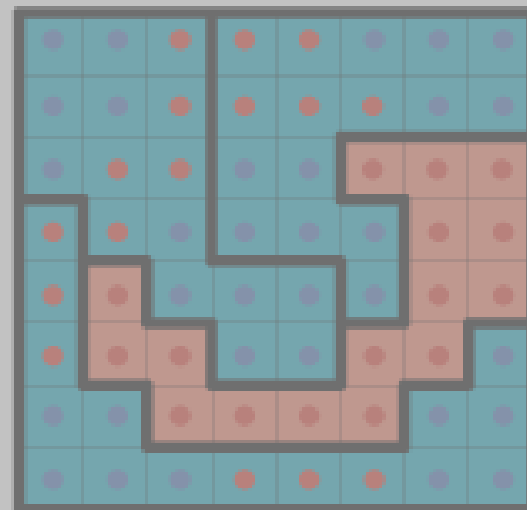
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- 2. Sweetheart: Same 64 voters split into 2 red & 2 blue districts.
- 3. Packing: Same voters packed to create 3 blue and 1 red district.
- 4. Cracking: Same voters split into 3 red and 1 blue district.



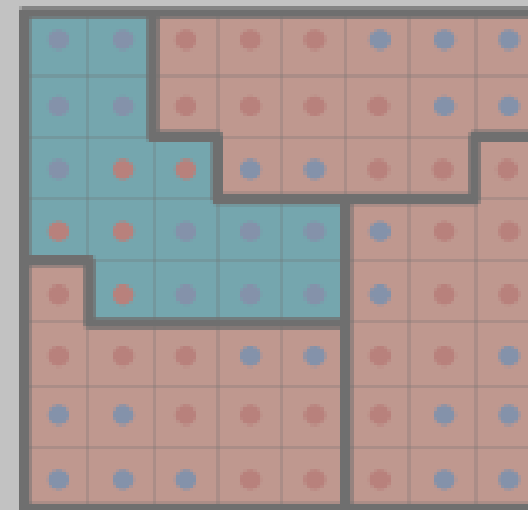
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2. SWEETHEART



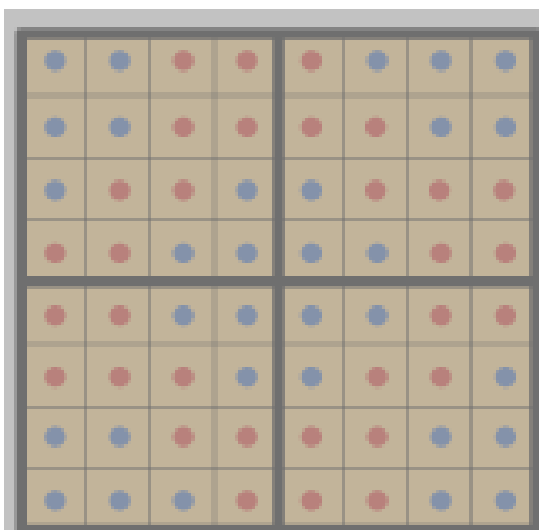
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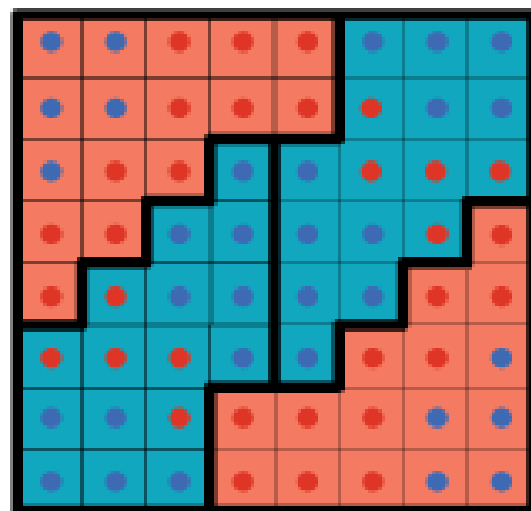
4. CRACKING

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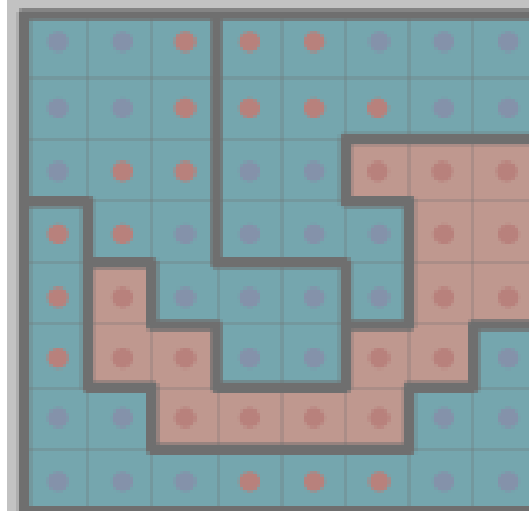
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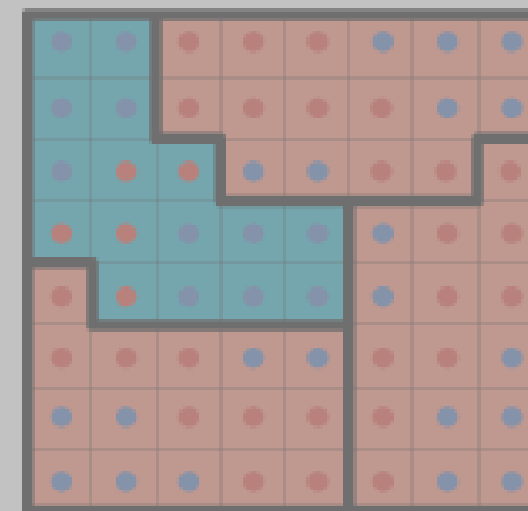
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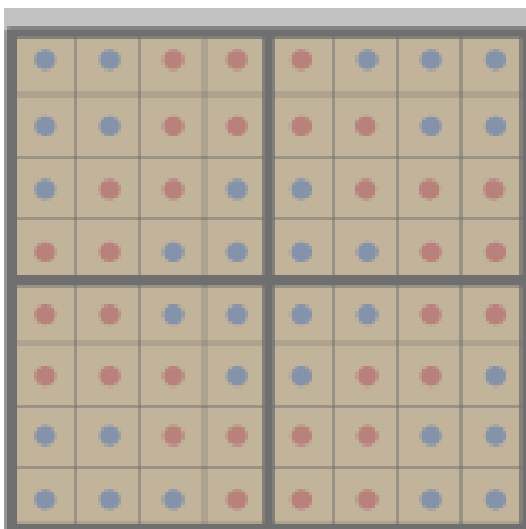
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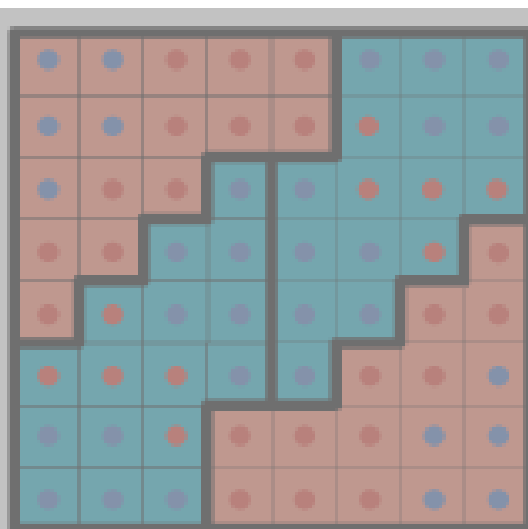
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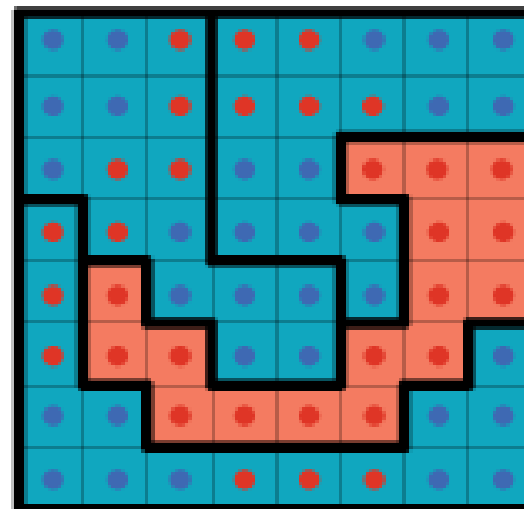
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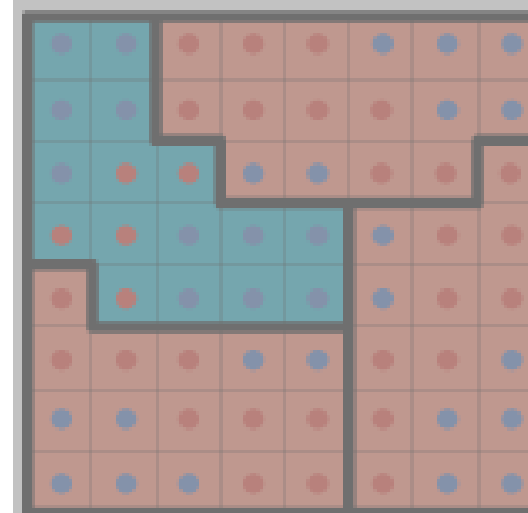
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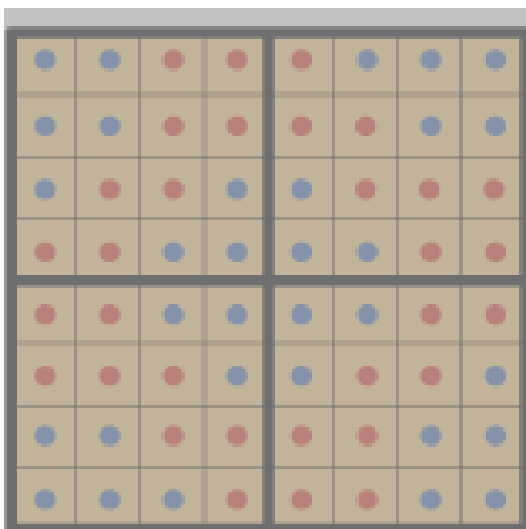
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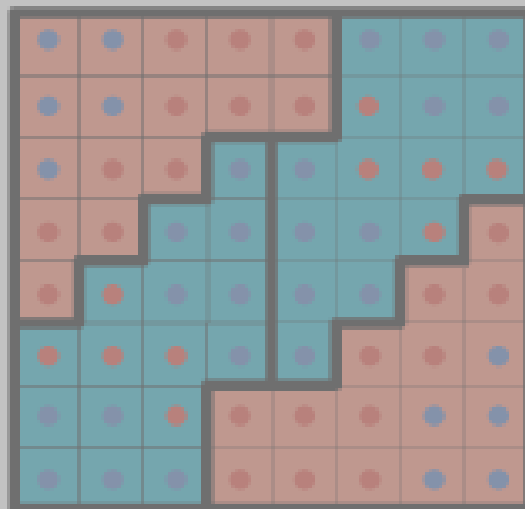
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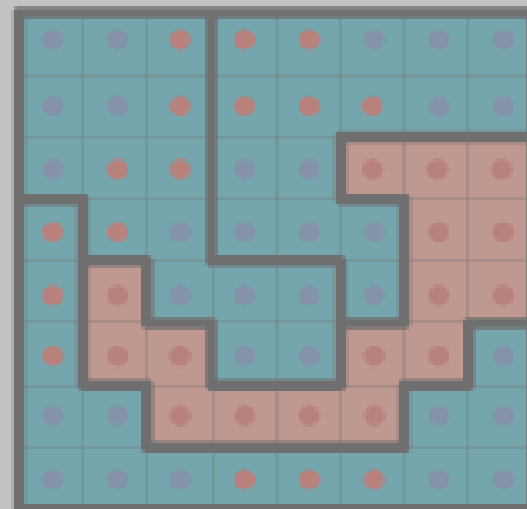
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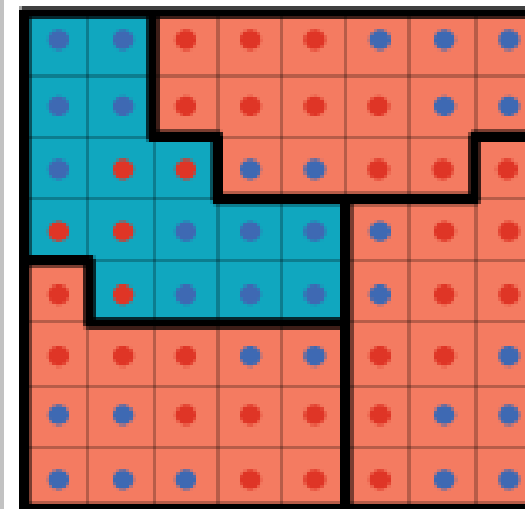
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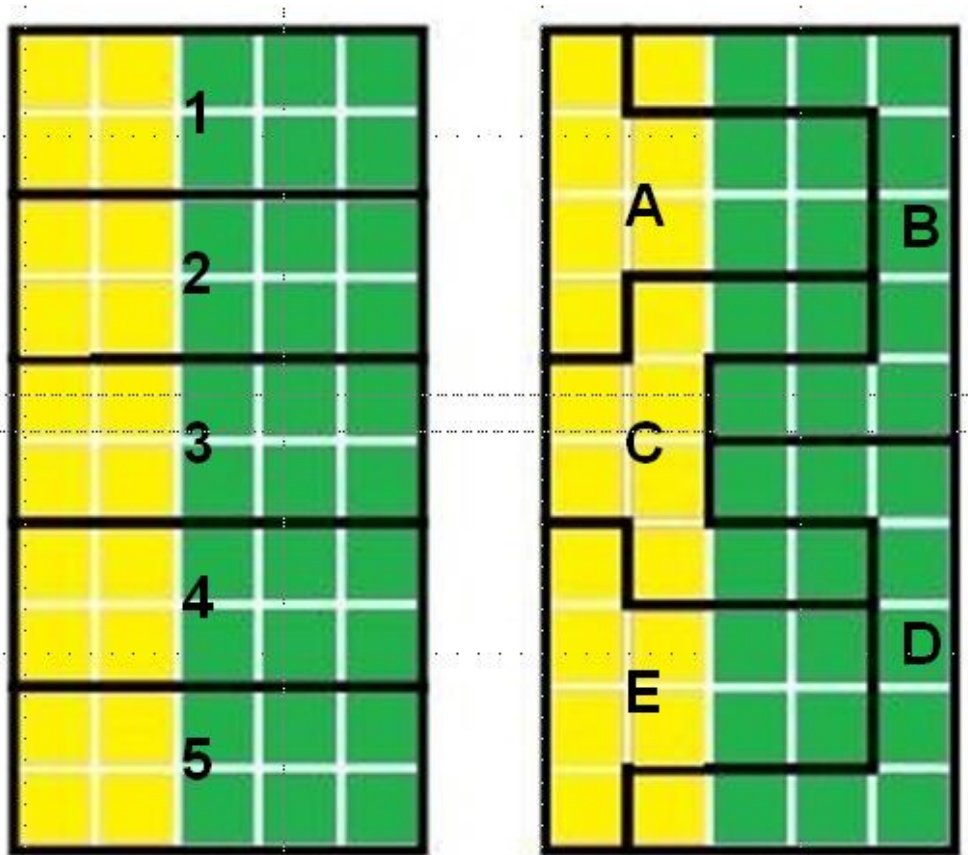


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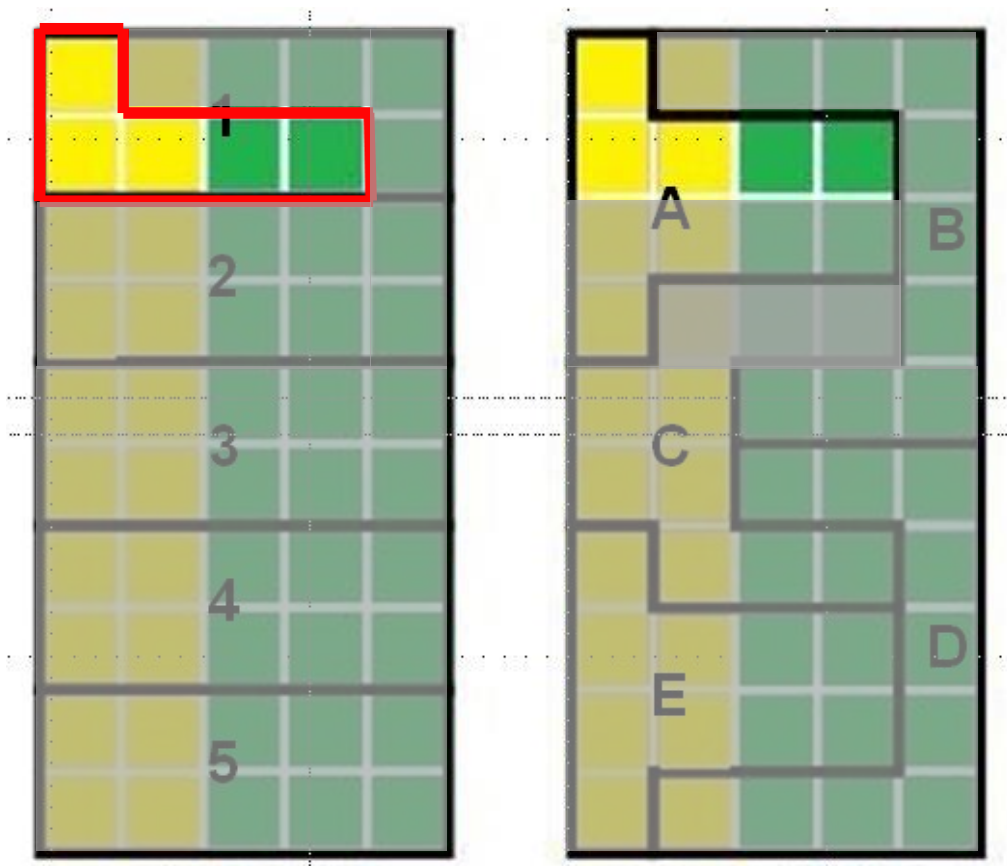
Cracking and Packing



Let's see how 3 "yellow" districts were gerrymandered from a majority of green voters:

By Steven Nass -
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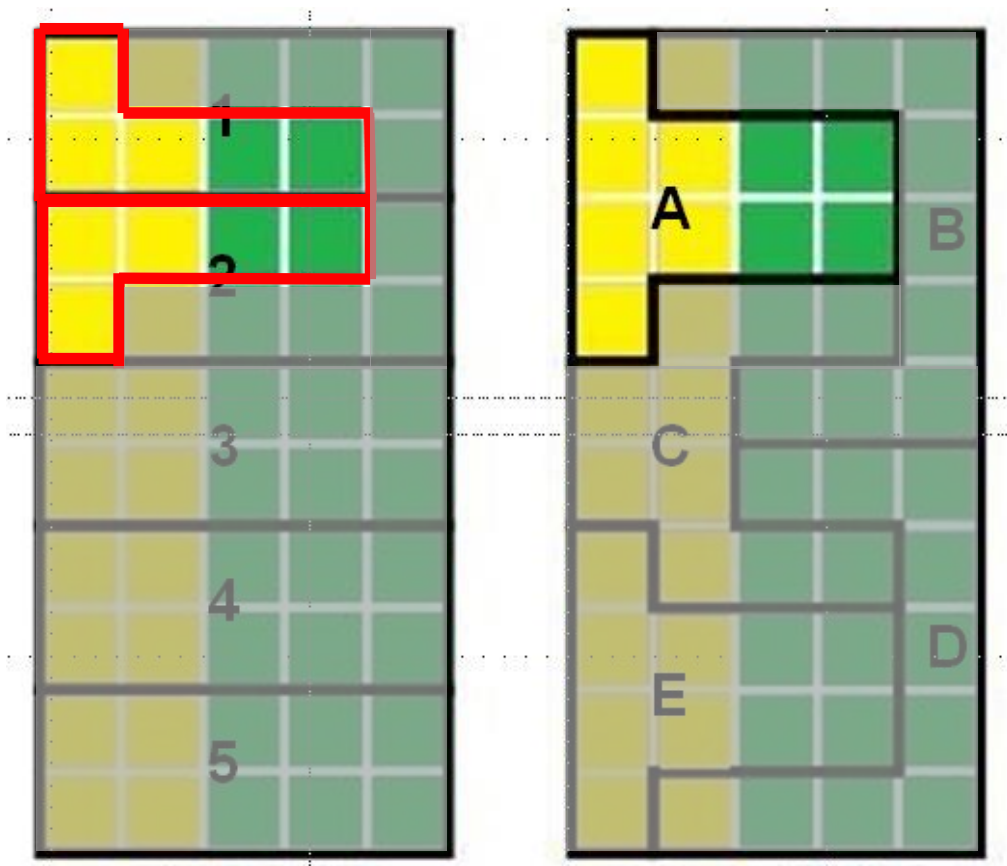


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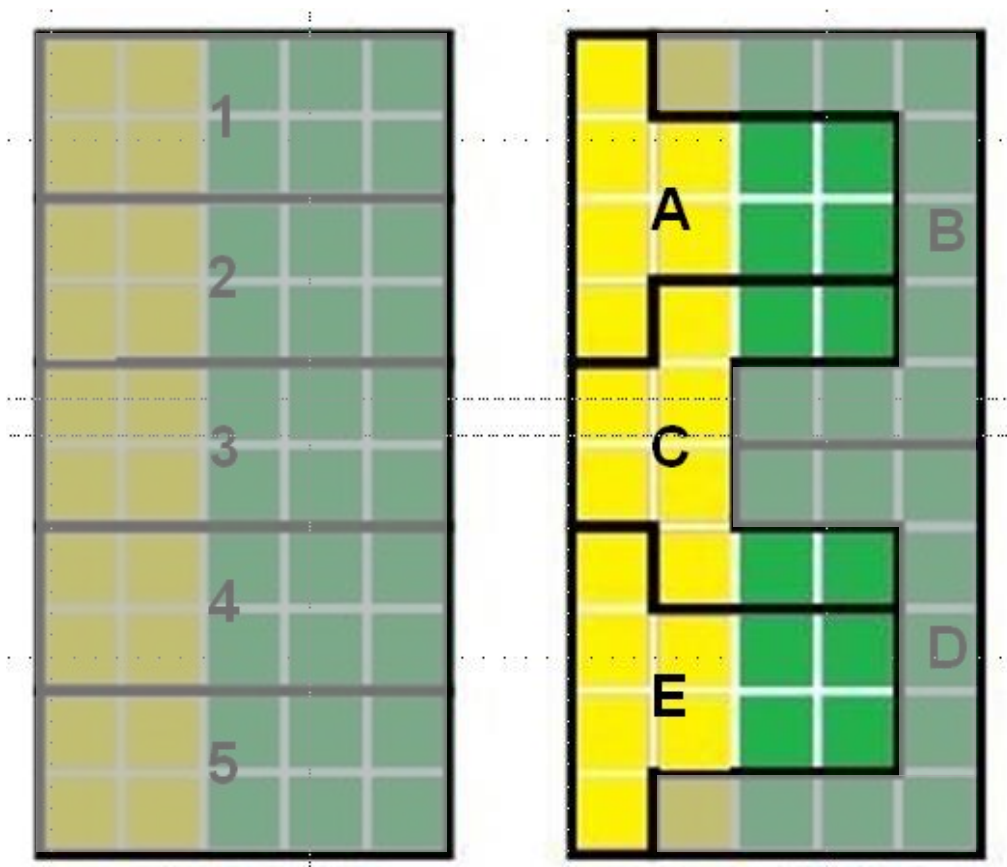


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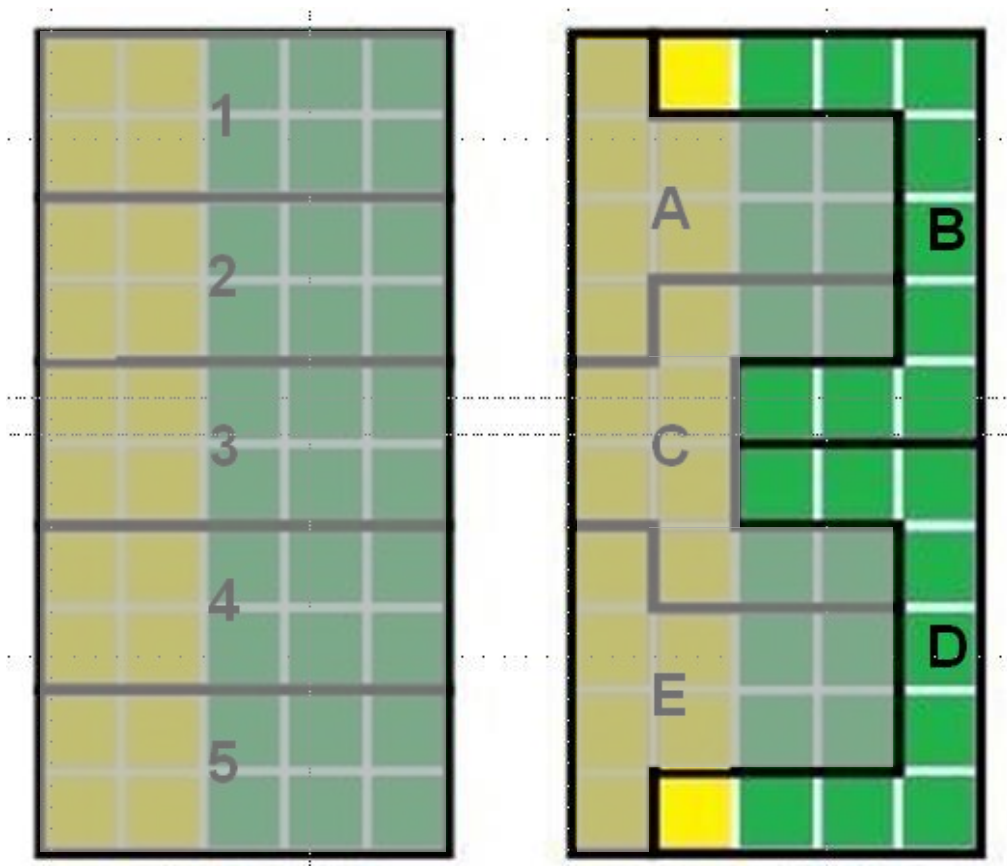


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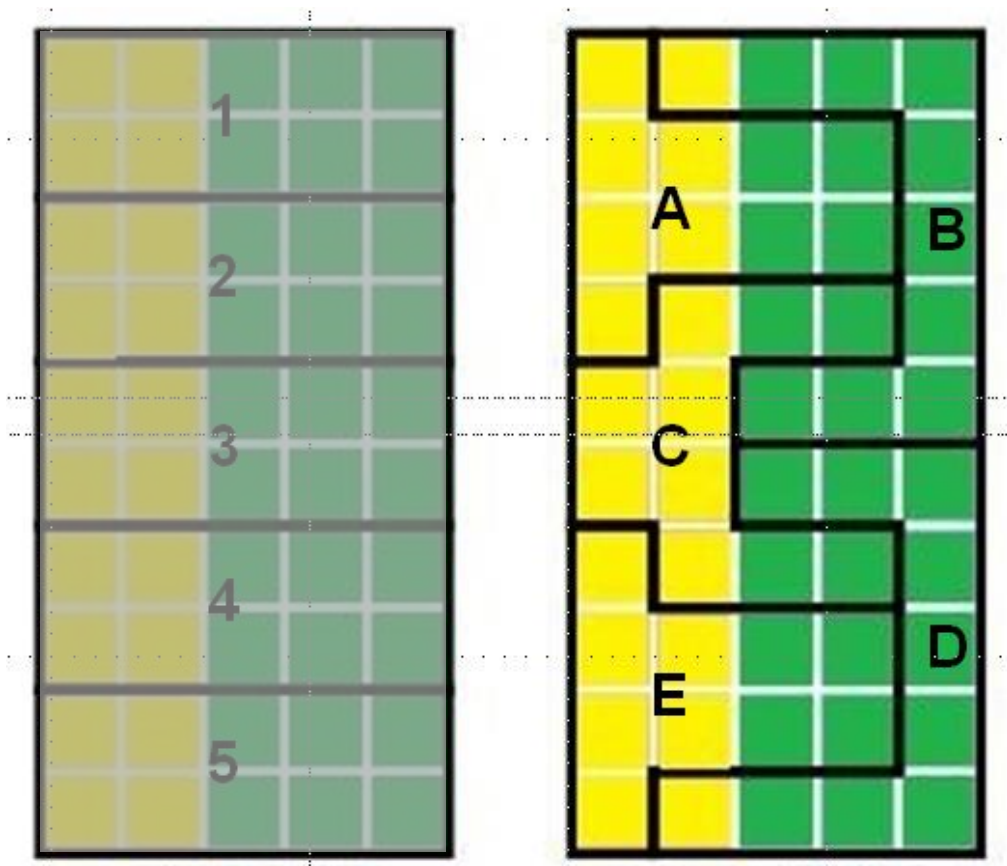


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<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=60129008>

Cracking and Packing

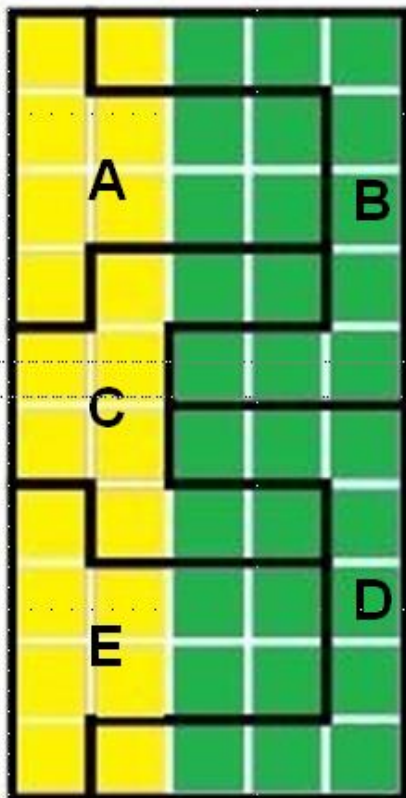


Let's see how 3 "yellow" districts were gerrymandered from a majority of green voters:

- District 1 was "**cracked**"- 2 green voters were moved to district A.
- District 2 was cracked similarly with 2 green also moved to A.
- The result of cracking the remaining districts is A, C, and E with yellow majorities..... and the 2 districts B and D **packed** with green voters....
giving the yellow (minority) party the upper hand.

By Steven Nass -
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:How_to_Steal_an_Election_-_Gerrymandering.svg, CC BY-SA 4.0,
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=60129008>

Efficiency Gap



5 DISTRICTS

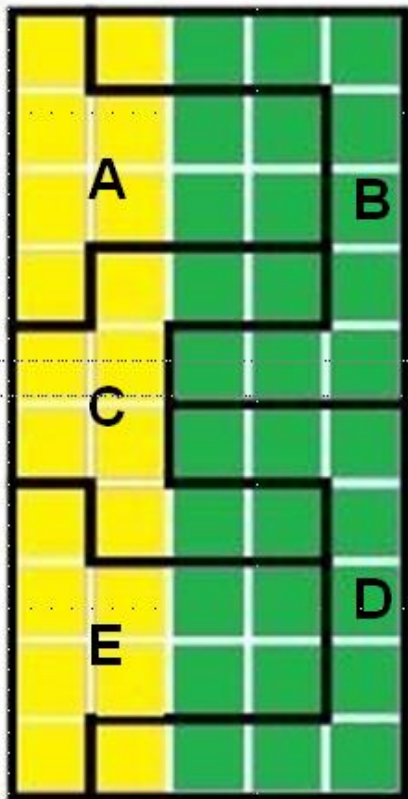
2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS
A	6	4	Y
B	1	9	G
C	6	4	Y
D	1	9	G
E	6	4	Y
TOTAL	20	30	

Assume all voters voted and followed their party.
Candidates need 6 votes to win the district, so any votes over 6 in a district are wasted.

Efficiency Gap



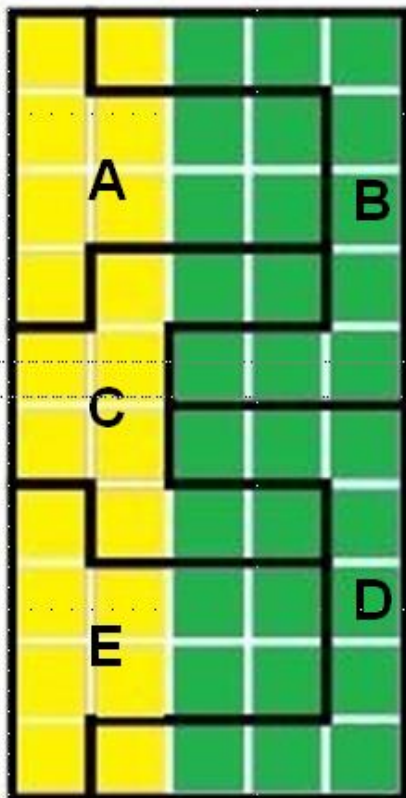
5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS	#Y WASTED VOTES	#G WASTED VOTES	NET WASTED VOTES
A	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
B	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
C	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
D	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
E	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
TOTAL	20	30		2	18	16 G

Efficiency Gap



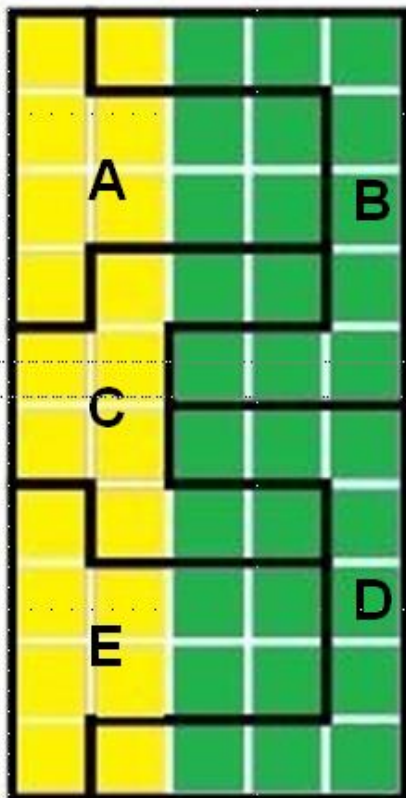
5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS	#Y WASTED VOTES	#G WASTED VOTES	NET WASTED VOTES
A	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
B	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
C	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
D	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
E	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
TOTAL	20	30		2	18	16 G

Efficiency Gap



5 DISTRICTS

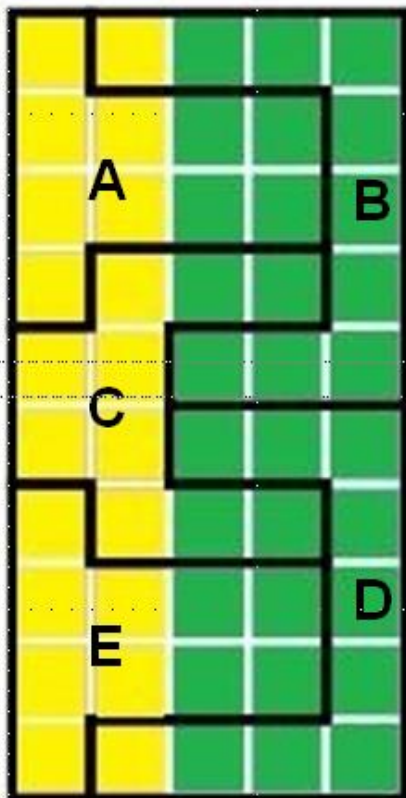
2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS	#Y WASTED VOTES	#G WASTED VOTES	NET WASTED VOTES
A	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
B	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
C	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
D	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
E	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
TOTAL	20	30		2	18	16 G

(G's wasted votes – Y's wasted votes)/
Total Votes=

Efficiency Gap



5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

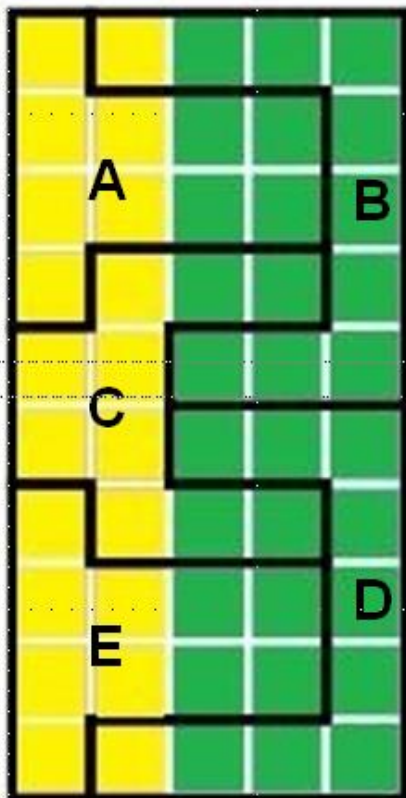
DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS	#Y WASTED VOTES	#G WASTED VOTES	NET WASTED VOTES
A	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
B	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
C	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
D	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
E	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
TOTAL	20	30		2	18	16 G

(G's wasted votes – Y's wasted votes)/

Total Votes=

$$(18-2)/(20+30)=$$

Efficiency Gap



5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

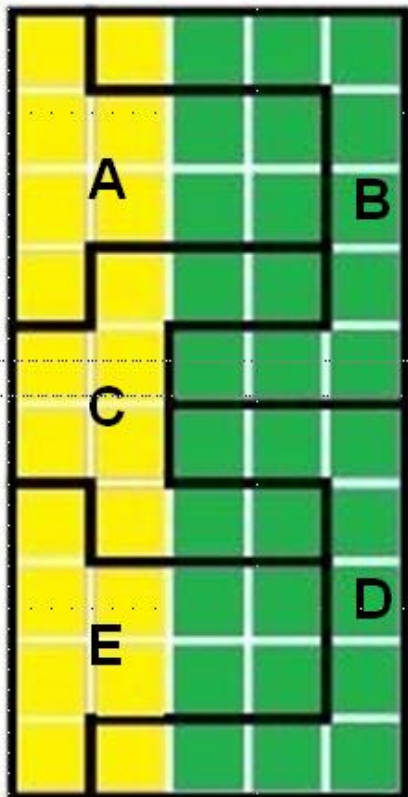
DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS	#Y WASTED VOTES	#G WASTED VOTES	NET WASTED VOTES
A	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
B	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
C	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
D	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
E	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
TOTAL	20	30		2	18	16 G

(G's wasted votes – Y's wasted votes)/

Total Votes=

$$(18-2)/(\mathbf{20+30})=$$

Efficiency Gap



5 DISTRICTS

2 GREEN

3 YELLOW

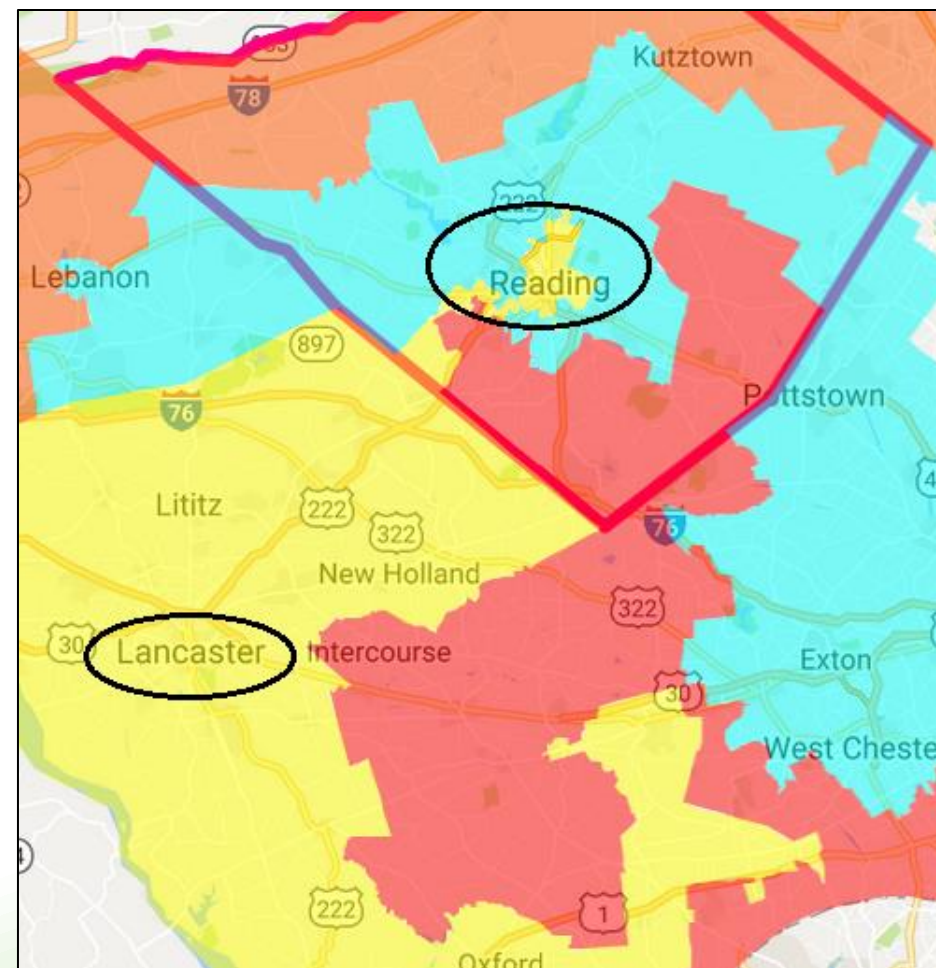
DISTRICT	#Y VOTES	#G VOTES	WINS	#Y WASTED VOTES	#G WASTED VOTES	NET WASTED VOTES
A	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
B	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
C	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
D	1	9	G	1	3	2 G
E	6	4	Y	0	4	4 Y
TOTAL	20	30		2	18	16 G

$$(G's \text{ wasted votes} - Y's \text{ wasted votes}) / \text{Total Votes} = (18 - 2) / (20 + 30) = 16 / 50 = 0.32 = 32\%$$

An Example of Cracking

Congressional District 16 (in yellow):

- Mostly in Lancaster County, known for tourism and farming
- Reading is a very poor town with a failing economy.
- District 16 **cracks** Reading
- Voters in Reading are **likely ignored**.



An Example of Packing

- Congressional District 14 (in green):
- Extends up the Allegheny River picking up towns with strong union background.
- “Packs” this “squiggle” with overwhelmingly Democratic Pittsburgh
- **SB22 and HB722 address the problem of Congressional Gerrymandering.**





PA Congressional District Gerrymandering Lawsuit

- Filed on June 15, 2017 by LWVPA and Public Interest Law Center
- on behalf of Democratic voters in each of the state's 18 congressional districts
- FDPA strongly supports this lawsuit
- **NOT partisan**- similar lawsuits in states gerrymandered by Democrats
- FDPA's mission is passage of SB22 and HB722



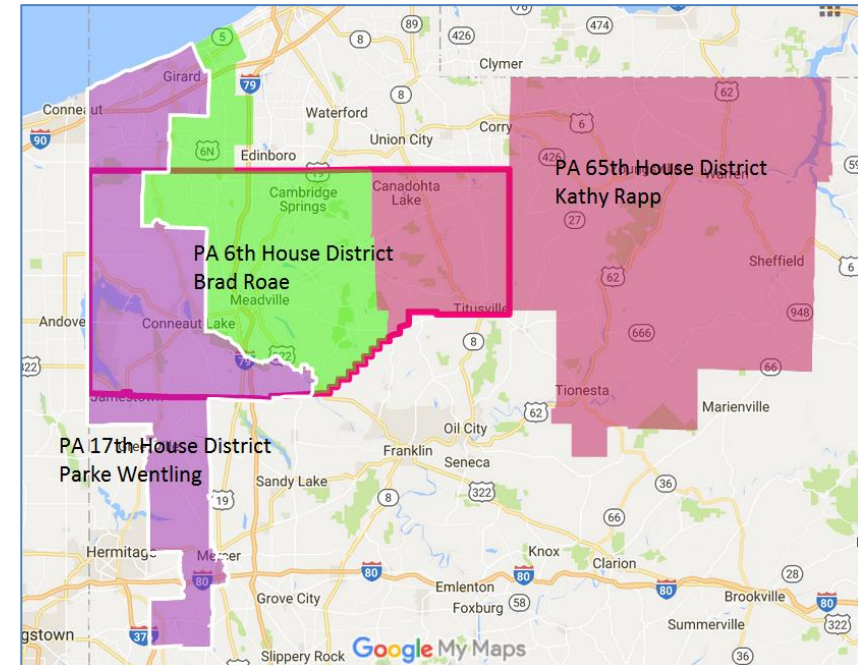
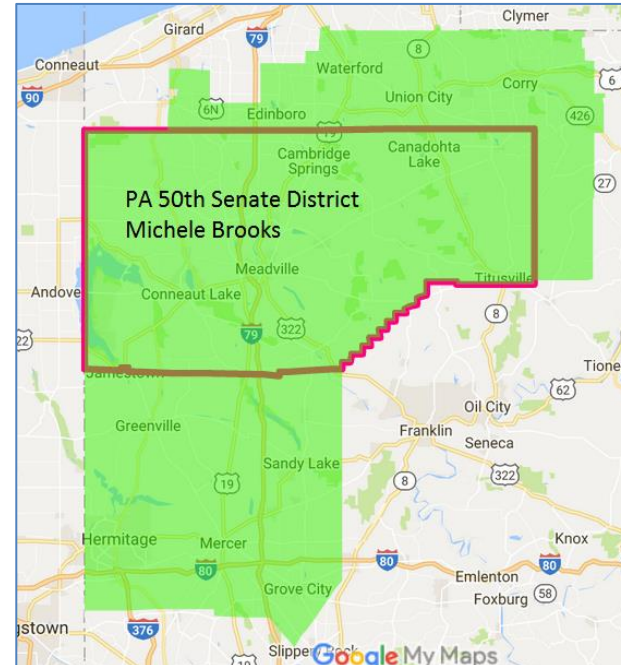
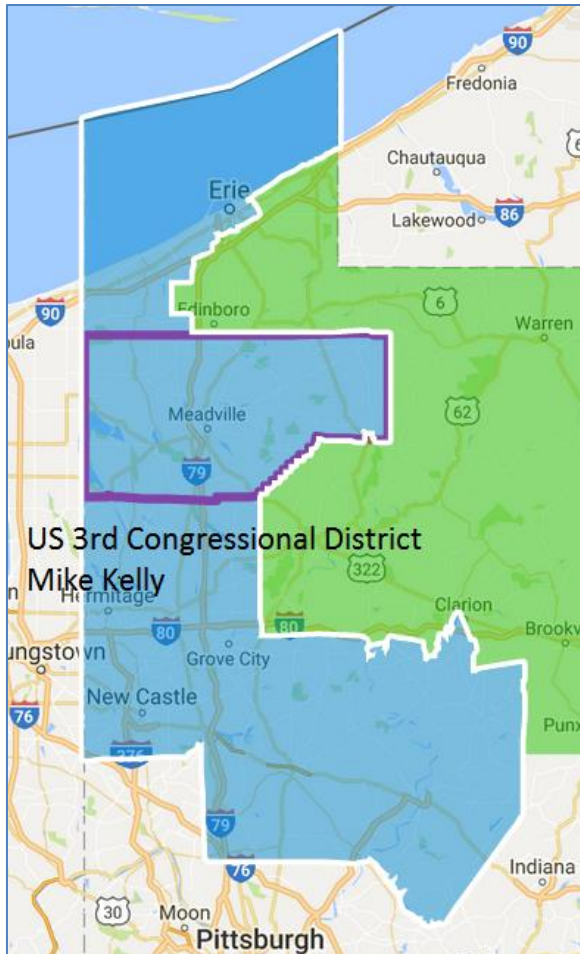
PA is a Gerrymandering Target Because

The Center for Public Integrity ranked PA 43rd of 50 States for integrity of electoral process, with a grade of F.





Crawford Co. Maps

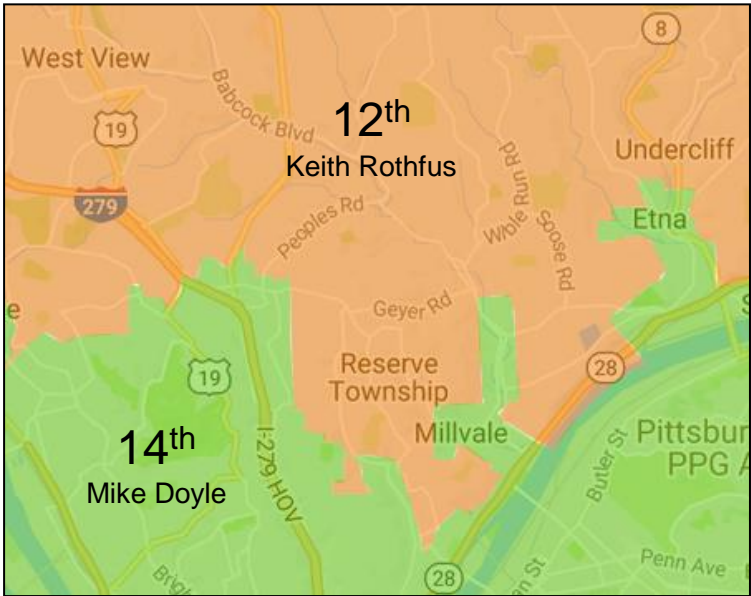


Find your PA legislator:
<http://www.TinyURL.com/FDPA-leg>

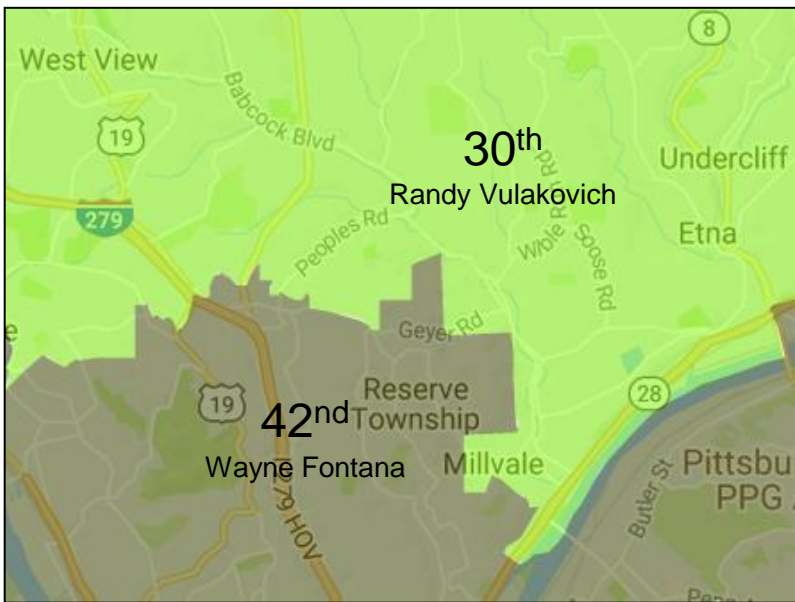


Allegheny Co. North Maps

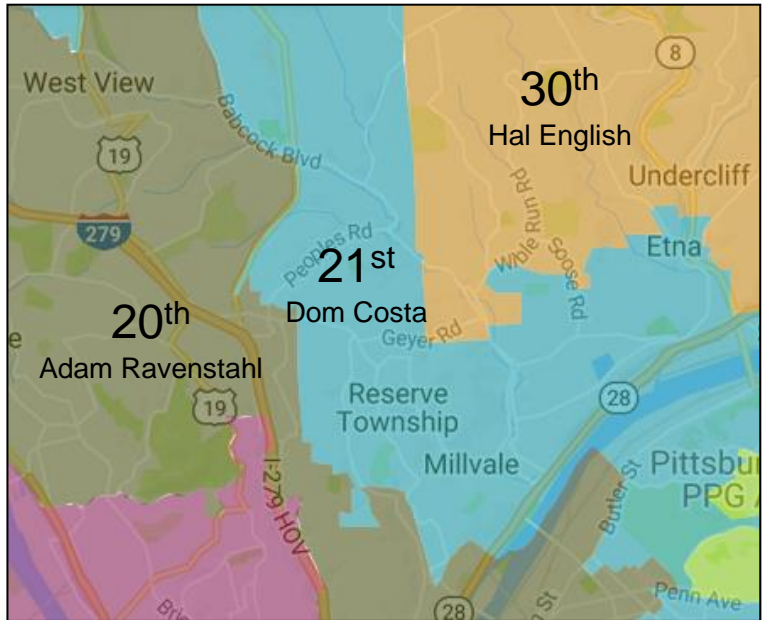
Congressional



Senate



House



Find your PA legislator:
<http://www.TinyURL.com/FDPA-leg>

PA Without Gerrymandering

