

Gerrymandering Blocks Good Government ...

... We Can Fix it

Gerrymandering may not be the issue you care about most ...

It's just the issue we <u>need to fix first</u>.

Fair Districts PA is a citizen-led coalition of the League of Women Voters PA and good-governance groups across PA

www.FairDistrictsPA.com

Presenter: Terry Schettini, TerryLV4@gmail.com

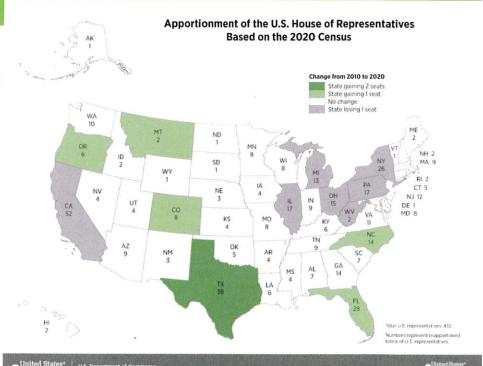


Reapportionment



- After every U.S. Census, the 435
 Congressional seats are reallocated based upon population changes
- ~782,000 residents/district (2020)
- Some states gain, some states lose

PA's Trend 1990 - 21 2000 - 19 2010 - 18 2020 - 17 2030 - ??





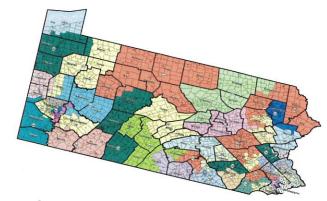
Redistricting Also every 10 Years

Each state redraws its boundaries

PA has two redistricting procedures

Congressional Districts

Regular bill process

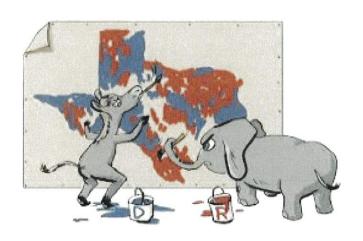


State Legislative Districts (State Senate, State House)

Legislative Reapportionment Commission, 1968 PA constitutional amendment



No other major democracy allows legislators to have such a dominant role in drawing their own district's lines.





Redistricting Rules in the PA Constitution

Article II, Section 16 regarding state legislative districts:

- " ... <u>shall be</u> **composed of compact and contiguous territory** as nearly equal in population as practicable."
- "Unless absolutely necessary <u>no</u> county, city, incorporated town, borough, township or ward <u>shall be</u> divided ..."

Simple, right? Well, not quite:

For decades, LRC has often ignored these constitutional rules. Why?

In order to gerrymander



So, what is Gerrymandering?

Drawing district boundaries to benefit a party or candidate

In 1812 MA Gov. Elbridge Gerry approved districts maps favoring his party. One district map looked like a salamander — hence the term Gerrymander.



Why does it matter?

"Safe" districts contribute to polarization and gridlock



Gerrymandering Negatively Impacts

Legislators and the Legislature

- Major parties focus on control, not governance
- Incumbents (especially leadership) are protected
 - Very high re-election rate (many run unopposed)
 - Note: Legislative leaders draw the maps
- Rank & File beholden to party leaders, not constituents. Why?
 - Redistricting every 10 years. In between- legislative rules, budget
- Elections increasingly decided in our primaries



Gerrymandering Negatively Impacts

All of Us

Increasing polarization makes compromise difficult (Pew Research Ctr, 2014)

And the resulting gridlock (Fair Districts PA, January 2025a) ...

- ... is bad for business and communities
- US less competitive & economy threatened (Harvard Business School, 2016, 2017)
- Gerrymandered districts receive <u>fewer</u> discretionary federal funds and have <u>less access</u> to consumer credit (SSRN, 2018, 2021)



Polarization & Gridlock Negatively Impacts All of Us

PA: Failing Grades and Overdue for Reform

2024 Best States Rankings, US News & World Report, 2025





#40 in Best States

#16	Crime &	#41	Economy
	Corrections		

#39	Education	#44	Fiscal Stability
#11	Health Care	#43	Infrastructure

#37 Natural #24 Opportunity Environment





And that Polarization & Gridlock Play a Role in our Legislature's Inaction & Dysfunction

In past 10 years < 10% of proposed bills enacted

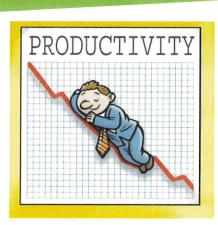
One example (Fair Districts PA, Jan. 2025a, p7)
Inaction on UNANIMOUS votes!

- 25% no floor vote in full chamber (23/24)
- 56% no floor vote in other chamber (21/22)

Some say it's about Quality, not Quantity



Quality and Quantity Matter

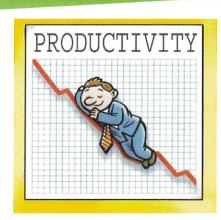


Critical issues directly affecting local governments and schools ... *Not* dealt with for years ...

- Provisions affecting Local Governments (many > 50 yrs old)
 - Analysis of Gen. Assembly Local Govt. Commission database Identified 6,000 statutory provisions / >3,000 mandatory / many of them regarding taxation (*PEL*, 2017, 2022)
- Election Administration Reforms (post Act 77, 2019)
 - <u>Mail-in Ballots</u>: Pre-canvassing, 15-day application deadline (*CCAP 2021, 2025*)
- ** Equitable School Funding (decades)
 - 2023 lawsuit / \$5.4B Adequacy Gap / FY2025 \$500M (Basic Ed Funding Commission, 1/11/24; Spotlight PA, 1/14/25)
- Pick an Issue You Care About _____!!



Quality and Quantity Matter



Critical issues affecting <u>all of us</u>...

<u>Not</u> dealt with for years ...

- Redistricting Reform
 - LWVPA working on this for more than 30 years!
- ** Testing for Lead in Children (2017 study / 2022 bill amended)
 - Violating their own rules, the Appropriations Committee changed <u>mandate to suggestion</u> (Fair Districts PA, Jan 2025a, p12)
- Pick an Issue You Care About _____!!

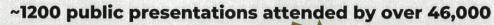
Recent redistricting reform bills illustrate the legislature's *In*action *and* Dysfunction ...





110 House cosponsors in 2018 - more than 1/2 the PA House

Over 104,000 petition signatures - from every county in PA





Thousands of calls, emails, letters & postcards

Hundreds of in-person

ills Never Got a amg 24 counties

million more than 70% of PA population

wide Poll*



66% support redistricting reform

want an independent commission to draw state legislative district *F&M Poll August 2019 **Public comment in support**

600+ editorials, op-eds and columns

600+ letters to the editor, published in...

100+ media outlets in cities and towns acr

1700+ news articles



1

FIX Harrisburg: Bipartisan Bills Deserve a Vote



Why No Debate or Vote?



Legislative Rules Are The Problem

- · Rules Govern the Process
- · Majority Party Makes the Rules
- · Rules Give Party Leaders Control

Unchecked Power Creates
Dangerous Imbalance

One Committee Chair Outweighs:

- · The House and Senate
- · The Will of the People



It Doesn't Have to Be This Way!

Rule Changes that <u>hopefully</u> would get Hyper-partisan Thumbs off the Scale



Guarantee:

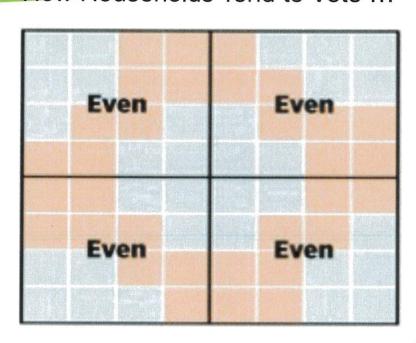
- A committee vote for bipartisan bills
- A floor vote for bipartisan bills voted out of committee
- Bipartisan bills that pass one chamber get a committee vote in the other chamber

We've seen what gerrymandering is and why it's part of the problem.

Let's take a look at how it is done.

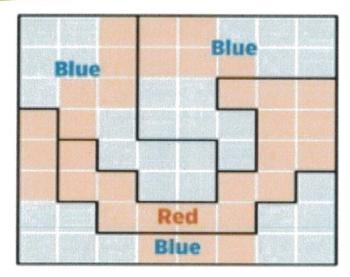


How Does Gerrymandering Happen? First, Mappers Gather Info on How Households Tend to Vote ...

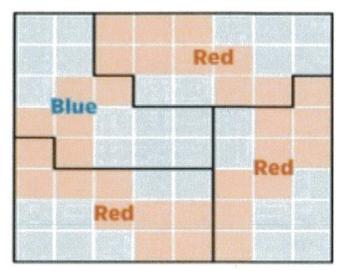




... Then They Pack & Crack Voters into Districts That Favor the Major Parties, not Voters



Packing 1 red, 3 blue

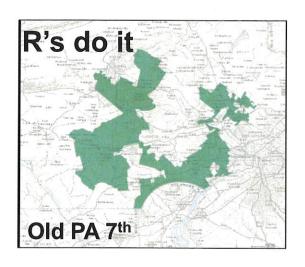


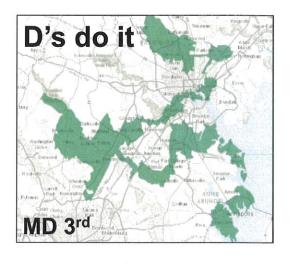
Cracking 3 red, 1 blue



Gerrymandering is

An equal opportunity power grab ... relished by <u>BOTH</u> major political parties







Lehigh Valley's Congressional District 1972 to 2010

1970's

For 40 years the Lehigh Valley remained fairly intact



1990's





2000's

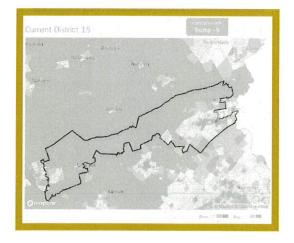
1980's





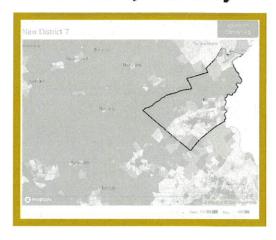
Lehigh Valley's Congressional District 2012 through 2020

PA15: 2012, 2014, 2016



What is Going On?

PA7: 2018, 2020 Only



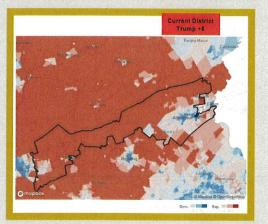
Looks Familiar, right?



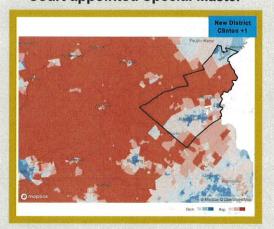
Lehigh Valley's Congressional District 2012 through 2020

PA15: 2012, 2014, 2016

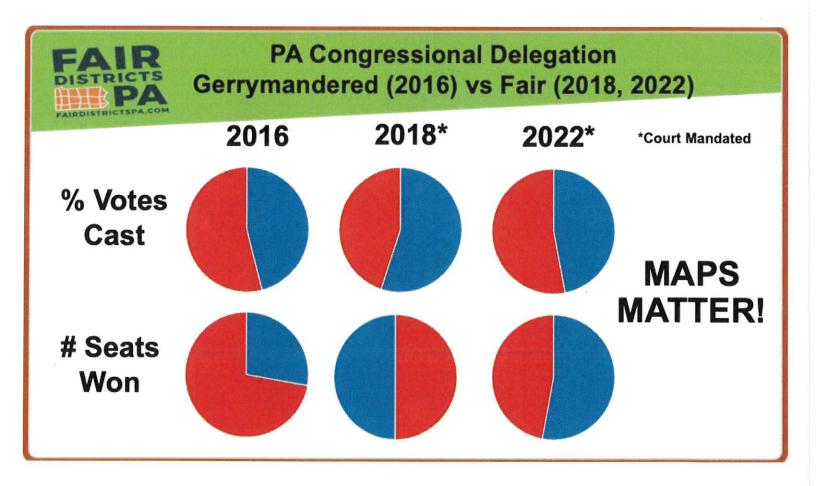
2011: Rs controlled House, Senate, Governorship, SCOPA



LWVPA et al sue PA7: 2018, 2020 Only Court appointed Special Master



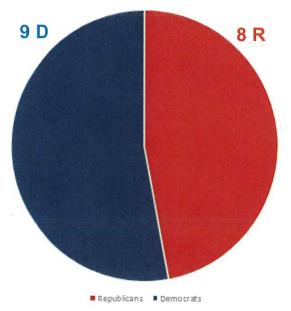
Process Matters!



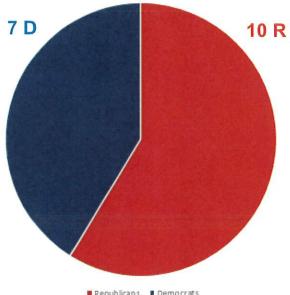


A Fair Congressional Map ... A Delegation that Responds to Voter Sentiment









Republicans Democrats





STATE Legislative Redistricting NOT fixed by the Court

Legislative Reapportionment Commission (LRC)

The four legislative leaders (majority & minority leaders from each chamber)

- · Elect tie-breaking chair
 - If unable to agree then PA State Supreme Court appoints the chair
 - If SCOPA selects partisan chair, then maps could be drawn by 3 people

Wait, aren't the maps approved ... or at least reviewed by ...?

- The full legislature?

No.

- The Governor?

No!

- The public?

No!!



LRC has long history of partisan-chair-enabled gerrymandering

2021 redistricting cycle was unique!

- SCOPA-selected LRC Chair lauded by both parties
 Mark Nordenberg, Chancellor Emeritus of the University of Pittsburgh & Chair of the University's Institute of Politics
- Public attention & engagement was very high
- · Resulting maps are better than in the past

Some say, it worked! So, no need to change the law ...

Wrong! The law is, and

the legislative leaders' participation was ... as flawed as ever!

Hmmm ... fair, yet flawed ... let's take a closer look



Comparison of House Maps

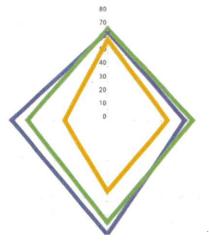
Final Map 2014

Partisan Bias

LRC 2021

People's 2021

Minority Representation



Compactness



Splitting Municipalities

Scores are normalized composites of accepted metrics from Dave's Redistricting App; bigger is better on a scale to 100



PA House 2021 Redistricting Process

[LRC Chair Report 2022, pp 36-39]

- 2 House Leaders came with incompatible expectations
- Direct negotiations soon stopped
- To keep process moving LRC Chair met with leaders ... separately/privately (Chair held public hearings & had robust website)
- Commission staff produced final "composite" map

Final House map drawn with input from, rather than dictated by, party leaders ... thanks to LRC Chair & Staff



Comparison of Senate Maps

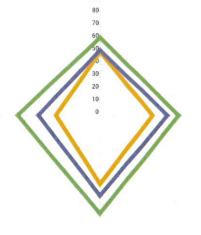
Final Map 2014

LRC 2021

People's 2021

Minority Representation

Partisan Bias



Compactness

Splitting Municipalities



Scores are normalized composites of accepted metrics from Dave's Redistricting App; bigger is better on a scale to 100



PA Senate 2021 Redistricting Process

[LRC Chair Report 2022, pp 36-39]

- 2 Senate Leaders attend initial LRC meetings, then ...
- "... regularly discussed reapportionment issues and negotiated between themselves."
- · Chair served as mediator, when asked
- So, final "consensus" map dictated by Senate Leaders

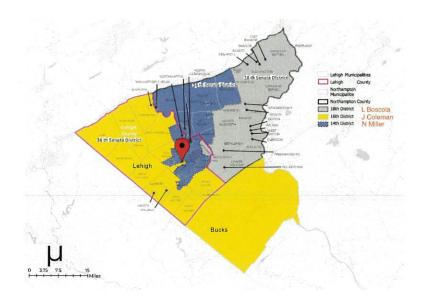
A Classic Buddymander...

When party leaders make a "Sweetheart Deal" ... usually to protect status quo / incumbents



While there are examples across the State ...

We can see one right here in the LV!





Let's take a closer look at Senate District 16





How Can We Fix It?

PA Constitutional Amendment to Create

an Independent Redistricting Commission

HB 31 (53*) Pennsylvania General Assembly House Bill 31 SB 131 (19*) Pennsylvania General Assembly Senate Bill 131

*Cosponsors as of June 22, 2025

Bill Summary (Fair Districts PA, 2025b)

Comparison of Current & Proposed Commissions (Fair Districts PA, 2025c)

One Commission would draw district lines for

- Congressional
- State Senate
- State House

No process is perfect but we know these principles help:

- · Commission Independence
- · Transparent Public Process
- Prioritized Mapping Criteria





Why does PA Need an IRC?

The next redistricting cycle will be in 2031, following the 2030 U.S. Census

No one knows ...

- · Who will control the PA House or Senate
- · Who will sit in the Governor's Office
- Which party will hold the PA Supreme Court majority

So, no one knows who will have final say in determining PA's legislative districts

- In 2008 Dems thought they would be in control, then came 2010 Red Wave

What we <u>DO</u> know

- Parties will gerrymander, increasing partisanship and voters' distrust
- True IRCs will draw maps that represent all of us (Campaign Legal Ctr, 2024)



11 member IRC

formed every 10 years during the census cycle

Drawn from 3 pools of voters

4 voters

registered with 2nd largest party

4 voters

registered with largest party

3 voters

Not registered with 2 largest parties

- January 1: Application process widely publicized
- Three vetting steps to narrow pools:
 - Ineligible applicants removed (politicians, staff, consultants, family, lobbyists)
 - · State Ethics Commission (independent state agency) selects 60 most qualified in each pool
 - · Senate & House Majority/Minority Leaders may each strike up to 2 applicants from each pool
- After vetting, first six commissioners selected by public random draw (2 from each pool)
- Six commissioners select remaining 5 for needed skills, geographic & demographic representation



What We Propose: Process Transparency



- Follow Open Meetings Rules
- Public Access to Tools & Data
- Commission Maps Supported by Explanatory Data & Reports
- Public review for 10 days before voting on a map
- Open Commission Votes
 - need 7 to pass
 - at least 2 from each pool
- Fail-Safe Protections
 - Elimination vote
 - Deadline



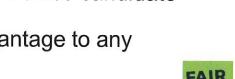
What We Propose: Clearly Defined & Prioritized Mapping Criteria

The redistricting plan must:

 Follow US Constitution, Federal Laws, Voting Rights Act

The redistricting plan shall not:

- Purposefully/unduly favor/disfavor an incumbent, a candidate or prospective elective office candidate
- On a statewide basis provide an artificial advantage to any political party.





What We Propose: Clearly Defined & Prioritized Mapping Criteria

The redistricting plan shall

- Provide equal opportunity of representation for Racial Minorities
- Respect Communities of Interest (to the extent possible)
- Minimize County/Municipal Splits
- Adhere to Population Deviation Ranges
- Be Contiguous*
- Meet Standard Measures of Compactness (to the extent possible)







Avoiding a Deadlock: The Fail-Safe Vote

In the unlikely event the commission fails to approve a map with the proposed voting mechanism, any commissioner would be allowed to propose a map, accompanied by approved metrics and an explanatory report.



All proposed maps and reports would be posted on the commission website for ten days of public scrutiny and comment.

After 10-day review, the commission votes using an elimination bracket, in a publicly accessible voting event.

- o All commissioners rank all maps in that category.
- A pair of maps is randomly selected, and the one preferred by a majority is retained, the other eliminated.
- This is repeated until a final winning map is determined.



One More Important Change the Bill Makes ...

It Eliminates Prison Gerrymandering

If you lived in PA before you were incarcerated,

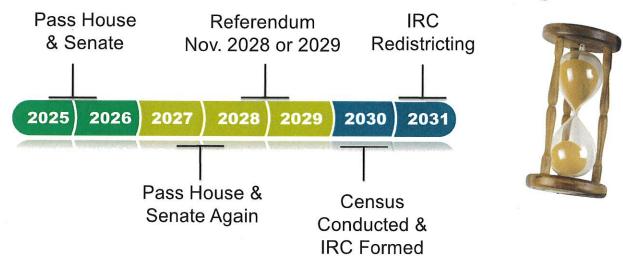
You would get counted where you lived prior to incarceration





2030 is So Far Away ... Why Do We Need Your Help Now?

Constitutional Amendments Take a Long Time







So, How Could You Help?

Greatest need for next few months: Help us meet with your legislator to ...

Ask them to: Co-sponsor / help get public hearings <u>and</u> a vote on HB31/SB131

If they already are a co-sponsor: Thank them!

And ask them to help get a vote

Training & support are available before, during, & after meeting with them

Learn more at:

Email:

www.FairDistrictsPA.com/take-action

FDPALehighValleyPA@gmail.com



LV Legislator Support for Independent Redistricting Commission

District	State Senator
14	Nick Miller
16	Jarrett Coleman
18	Lisa Boscola

HB31 / SB131 Support Co-Sponsor * Prime Sponsor Not yet co-sponsoring As of June 22, 2025

District	State Representative
22	Joshua Siegel
131	Milou Mackenzie
132	Michael Schlossberg *
133	Jeanne McNeill
134	Peter Schweyer
135	Steve Samuelson *
136	Robert Freeman
137	Joe Emrick
138	Ann Flood
183	Zachary Mako
187	Gary Day



More Ways to Help

Spread the word to family & friends. Finally, an issue you can agree on!

Call or Meet with your Legislator: Teams forming now!

- Ask them to co-sponsor; thank them when they do co-sponsor
- Ask them to call for public hearings <u>and</u> a vote on HB31/SB131

Request a Speaker: For your community organization or congregation

Write a Letter to the Editor: Examples available

Staff a Table on Election Day 2025: Talk to voters AFTER they vote!

Staff a Table at Community Events

Follow Us on Social Media: Help boost our posts

Tips & Help at www.FairDistrictsPA.com/take-action



Learn more ...

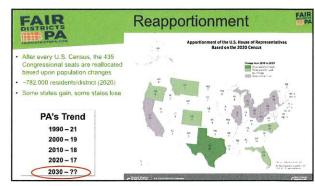
- www.FairDistrictsPA.com
 - Background info and latest updates
 - Find online and in-person events and ways you could help
 - Find your legislator ... and see whether they are supporters of HB31/SB131
 - Click Join Us button to explore volunteer options to find ones that work for you
- Monthly FDPA Zoom updates: at www.FairDistrictsPA.com/events
 - Scroll down to find next meeting, or other events you might like to attend
- X/Twitter: @FairDistrictsPA
- Facebook: @FairDistrictsPA or @FairDistrictsLehighNorthampton

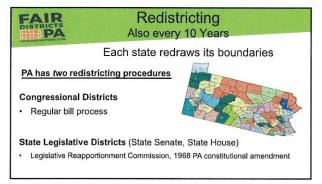


What's the Take-Away?









No other major democracy allows legislators to have such a dominant role in drawing their own district's lines.

Article II, Section 16 regarding state legislative districts:

" ... shall be composed of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as practicable."

"Unless absolutely necessary no county, city, incorporated town, borough, township or ward shall be divided ..."

Simple, right? Well, not quite:

For decades, LRC has often ignored these constitutional rules. Why?

In order to gerrymander

Drawing district boundaries to benefit a party or candidate

In 1812 MA Gov. Elbridge Gerry
approved districts maps favoring
his party. One district map looked
like a salamander — hence the
term Gerrymander.

Why does it matter?

"Safe" districts contribute to polarization and gridlock

6

4



Gerrymandering Negatively Impacts

Legislators and the Legislature

- · Major parties focus on control, not governance
- · Incumbents (especially leadership) are protected
- · Very high re-election rate (many run unopposed)
- · Note: Legislative leaders draw the maps
- · Rank & File beholden to party leaders, not constituents. Why?
- · Redistricting every 10 years. In between-legislative rules, budget
- · Elections increasingly decided in our primaries

/

PA R

Gerrymandering Negatively Impacts

All of Us

Increasing polarization makes compromise difficult (Pew Research Ctr, 2014)

And the resulting gridlock (Fair Districts PA, January 2025a) ...

- ... is bad for business and communities
- US less competitive & economy threatened (Harvard Business School, 2016, 2017)
- Gerrymandered districts receive <u>fewer</u> discretionary federal funds and have <u>less access</u> to consumer credit (SSRN, 2018, 2021)

8



PA's legislature:

Largest Full-time
Very Expensive
Unproductive
One example

And that Polarization & Gridlock
Play a Role in our Legislature's

Inaction & Dysfunction

In past 10 years < 10% of proposed bills enacted

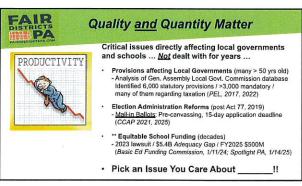
One example (Fair Districts PA, Jan. 2025a, p7) Inaction on UNANIMOUS votes!

- 25% no floor vote in full chamber (23/24)
- 56% no floor vote in other chamber (21/22)

Some say it's about Quality, not Quantity

9

10



Critical issues affecting all of us ...

Not dealt with for years ...

Redistricting Reform

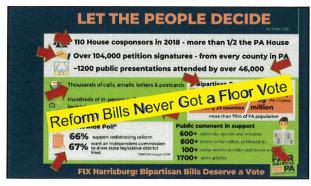
LWVPA working on this for more than 30 years!

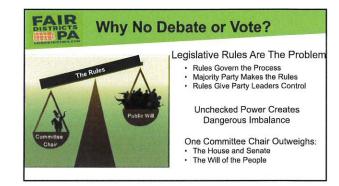
"Testing for Lead in Children (2017 study / 2022 bill amended)
- Violating their own rules, the Appropriations Committee changed mandate to suggestion (Fair Districts PA, Jan 2025a, p12)

Pick an Issue You Care About _____!!

Recent redistricting reform bills illustrate the legislature's Inaction and Dysfunction ...

11





Rule Changes that hopefully would get Hyper-partisan Thumbs off the Scale

Guarantee:

A committee vote for bipartisan bills

A floor vote for bipartisan bills voted out of committee

Bipartisan bills that pass one chamber get a committee vote in the other chamber

We've seen what gerrymandering is and why it's part of the problem. Let's take a look at how it is done.

How Does Gerrymandering Happen?
First, Mappers Gather Info on
How Households Tend to Vote ...

Even Even

That Favor the Major Parties, not Voters

That Favor the Major Parties, not Voters

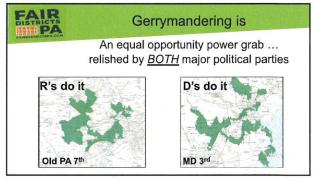
Blue

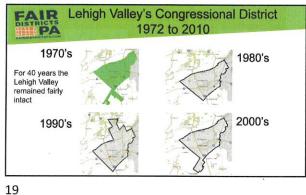
Red

Blue

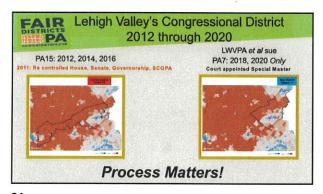
Packing
1 red, 3 blue

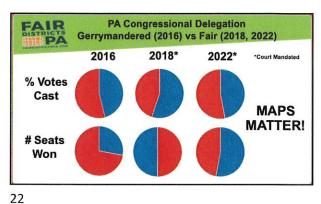
Cracking
3 red, 1 blue

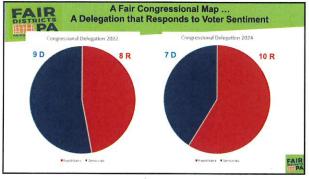












STATE Legislative Redistricting NOT fixed by the Court Legislative Reapportionment Commission (LRC) The four legislative leaders (majority & minority leaders from each chamber) · Elect tie-breaking chair - If unable to agree then PA State Supreme Court appoints the chair - If SCOPA selects partisan chair, then maps could be drawn by 3 people Wait, aren't the maps approved ... or at least reviewed by ...? - The full legislature? No. - The Governor? No! - The public? No!!

24



LRC has long history of partisan-chair-enabled gerrymandering

2021 redistricting cycle was unique!

- SCOPA-selected LRC Chair lauded by both parties
 Mark Nordenberg, Chancellor Emeritus of the University of Pittsburgh & Chair of the University's Institute of Politics
- · Public attention & engagement was very high
- · Resulting maps are better than in the past

Some say, it worked! So, no need to change the law ...

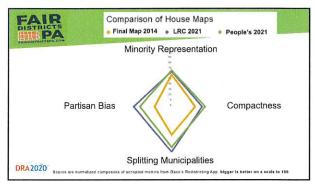
Wrong!

The law is, and

the legislative leaders' participation was ... as flawed as ever!

Hmmm ... fair, yet flawed ... let's take a closer look

25



26

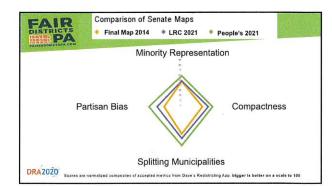
FAIR DISTRICTS PA

PA House 2021 Redistricting Process [LRC Chair Report 2022, pp 36-39]

- · 2 House Leaders came with incompatible expectations
- · Direct negotiations soon stopped
- To keep process moving LRC Chair met with leaders ... separately/privately (Chair held public hearings & had robust website)
- · Commission staff produced final "composite" map

Final House map drawn with input from, rather than dictated by, party leaders ... thanks to LRC Chair & Staff

27



28

FAIR DISTRICTS PA

PA Senate 2021 Redistricting Process [LRC Chair Report 2022, pp 36-39]

- · 2 Senate Leaders attend initial LRC meetings, then ...
- "... regularly discussed reapportionment issues and negotiated between themselves."
- · Chair served as mediator, when asked
- · So, final "consensus" map dictated by Senate Leaders

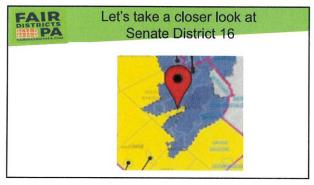
A Classic Buddymander...

When party leaders make a "Sweetheart Deal" ... usually to protect status quo / incumbents

While there are examples across the State ...

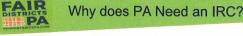
We can see one right here in the LV!

29



How Can We Fix It? PA Constitutional Amendment to Create an Independent Redistricting Commission HB 31 (53*) Pennsylvania General Assembly House Bill 31 SB 131 (19*) Pennsylvania General Assembly Senate Bill 131 *Cosponsors as of June 22, 2025 Bill Summary (Fair Districts PA. 2025b) Comparison of Current & Proposed Commissions (Fair Districts PA, 2025c) One Commission would draw district lines for Congressional State Senate State House No process is perfect but we know these principles help: Commission Independence Transparent Public Process Prioritized Mapping Criteria

31



The next redistricting cycle will be in 2031, following the 2030 U.S. Census

No one knows ...

- · Who will control the PA House or Senate
- · Who will sit in the Governor's Office

Which party will hold the PA Supreme Court majority

So, no one knows who will have final say in determining PA's legislative districts

- In 2008 Dems thought they would be in control, then came 2010 Red Wave

What we DO know

- Parties will gerrymander, increasing partisanship and voters' distrust
- True IRCs will draw maps that represent all of us (Campaign Legal Ctr, 2024)

33



34

32



What We Propose:
Clearly Defined & Prioritized Mapping Criteria

The redistricting plan must:

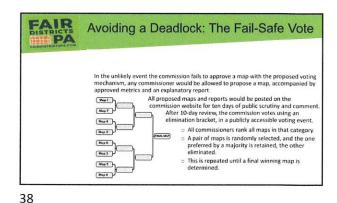
Follow US Constitution, Federal Laws, Voting Rights Act

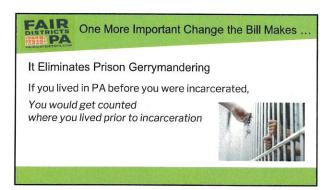
The redistricting plan shall not:
Purposefully/unduly favor/disfavor an incumbent, a candidate or prospective elective office candidate

On a statewide basis provide an artificial advantage to any political party.

35















Tips & Help at www.FairDistrictsPA.com/take-action

** **Www.FairDistrictsPA.com**
 ** Background info and latest updates**
 ** Find online and in-person events and ways you could help**
 ** Find your legislator**
 ** and see whether they are supporters of HB31/SB131*
 ** Click Join Us button to explore volunteer options to find ones that work for you

 ** Monthly FDPA Zoom updates** at www.FairDistrictsPA.com/events**
 ** Scroll down to find next meeting, or other events you might like to attend**

 ** X/Twitter** @FairDistrictsPA**

 ** Facebook**: @FairDistrictsPA**

 ** Facebook**: @FairDistrictsPA**

 ** The stricts of the stricts of

44

43

