

IN THE COMMONWEALTH COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA

No. 464 M.D. 2021

Carol Ann Carter; Monica Parrilla; Rebecca Poyourow; William Tung; Roseanne Milazzo; Burt Siegel; Susan Cassanelli; Lee Cassanelli; Lynn Wachman; Michael Guttman; Maya Fonkeu; Brady Hill; Mary Ellen Bachunis; Tom DeWall; Stephanie McNulty; and Janet Temin,

Petitioners,

vs.

Leigh Chapman, in Her Official Capacity as the Acting Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and Jessica Mathis, in Her Official Capacity as Director of the Bureau of Election Services and Notaries,

Respondents.

No. 465 M.D. 2021

Philip T. Gressman; Ron Y. Donagi; Kristopher R. Tapp; Pamela A. Gorkin; David P. Marsh; James L. Rosenberger; Amy Myers; Eugene Boman; Gary Gordon; Liz McMahon; Timothy G. Feeman; and Garth Isaak

Petitioners,

vs.

Leigh Chapman, in her Official Capacity as the Acting Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania ; and Jessica Mathis, in Her Official Capacity as Director of the Bureau of Election Services and Notaries,

Respondents.

**PRE-HEARING OPENING BRIEF OF SENATE REPUBLICAN
INTERVENORS JAKE CORMAN, PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA SENATE, AND KIM WARD, MAJORITY LEADER OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA SENATE**

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Pursuant to the Court’s January 14, 2022 order, Intervenors Jake Corman, President *Pro Tempore* of the Pennsylvania Senate, and Kim Ward, Majority Leader of the Pennsylvania Senate (together, “Senate Republican Intervenors”), jointly submit this pre-hearing opening brief.

I. INTRODUCTION

Under federal law, based on the results of each decennial Census, each state is assigned and must draw a particular number of congressional districts. U.S. Const. art. I, § 4; 2 U.S.C. § 2a. Under Article I, Section 4 of the United States Constitution, congressional “redistricting is a legislative function, to be performed in accordance with the State’s prescriptions for lawmaking.” *Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Indep. Redistricting Comm’n*, 576 U.S. 787, 808 (2015). But when the state’s legislature and governor do not reach an agreement on a map, a court may be “left with the unwelcome obligation of performing in the legislature’s stead, while lacking the political authoritativeness that the legislature can bring to the task.” *Connor v. Finch*, 431 U.S. 407, 415 (1977). In whatever manner that it is adopted – through a legislature or a court – a redistricting map must comply with “traditional,” constitutionally-derived criteria, as well as statutory requirements that pertain to voting rights. Beyond these factors, legislatures, as they engage in redistricting, may (and should) take into account a variety of other variables that relate to state policies and interests. It follows that, if a court is required to adopt a redistricting plan for a

state and is assessing which one to adopt, it should give special weight to any plan that has moved through the state’s legislative process, so long as that plan meets the background redistricting requirements. *See, e.g., Donnelly v. Meskill*, 345 F. Supp. 962, 965 (D. Conn. 1972) (faced with obligation to select congressional redistricting map after state’s governor vetoed legislature’s map, court adopted the legislature’s proposed plan, explaining that “[t]he legislative adoption of Public Act 807 tips the scales in favor of the plan” and observing that the plan had “the added advantage that it is basically the plan adopted by the legislature”).

II. CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING REQUIREMENTS

A. Traditional, Constitutionally-Derived Criteria

In *League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth*, 178 A.3d 737 (Pa. 2018), the Pennsylvania Supreme Court applied Article I, Section 5 of Pennsylvania Constitution, the “Free and Equal Elections Clause,” to the Pennsylvania Congressional Redistricting Act of 2011. In doing so, it determined that, under the Free and Equal Elections Clause, the criteria in Article II, Section 16 of the Pennsylvania Constitution, which apply to the creation of state legislative districts, likewise apply to congressional redistricting. The Court therefore concluded that, to pass constitutional muster, congressional redistricting maps must meet three traditional criteria: (1) compact and contiguous territory, (2) population equality as nearly as practicable, and (3) respect for the boundaries of political subdivisions and

dividing as few of those subdivisions as possible. *League of Women Voters*, 178 A.3d at 816.

1. Compact and Contiguous Territory

A congressional district must be compact and contiguous. The compactness of a district “must be evaluated objectively and with allowance for the elements of unavoidable noncompactness.” *Com ex rel. Specter v. Levin*, 293 A.2d 15, 24 (Pa. 1972), *abrogated on other grounds by Holt v. 2011 Legislative Reapportionment Comm’n*, 38 A.3d 711, 752 (Pa. 2012) (“*Holt I*”). As the Pennsylvania Supreme Court stated in *League of Women Voters*, “odd shapes and seemingly arbitrary political subdivision splits are not themselves sufficient to conclude” that a redistricting plan “is not predicated on the traditional redistricting factors.” *League of Women Voters*, 178 A.3d at 819; *see also Specter*, 293 A.2d at 24 (stating that “a determination that a reapportionment plan must fail for lack of compactness cannot be made merely by a glance at an electoral map and a determination that the shape of a particular district is not aesthetically pleasing”).

As for contiguity, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has stated that a contiguous district is one in which “a person can go from any point within the district to any other point (within the district) without leaving the district, or one in which no part of the district is wholly physically separate from any other part.” *Holt v.*

2011 Legislative Reapportionment Comm’n, 67 A.3d 1211, 1242 (Pa. 2013) (“*Holt II*”) (quoting *Specter*, 293 A.2d at 23).

2. Population Equality As Nearly As Practicable

For purposes of a congressional redistricting plan, the representational districts must be equal in population as nearly as practicable. This requirement emanates from both Pennsylvania and federal constitutional law. *Holt I*, 38 A.3d 711 (noting that Article II, Section 16’s population equality requirement “exists as an independent command of federal constitutional law, including decisional law which changes and evolves”). The federal constitutional overlay establishes a “high standard of justice and common sense” in requiring “equal representation for equal numbers of people.” *Karcher v. Daggett*, 462 U.S. 725, 730 (1983) (quoting *Wesberry v. Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1, 18 (1964)). Although “[p]recise mathematical equality . . . may be impossible to achieve in an imperfect world,” the U.S. Supreme Court has interpreted the concept of “as nearly as practicable” to mean that deviations from exact population equality are permitted only when they are “unavoidable despite a good-faith effort to achieve absolute equality, or for which justification is shown.” *Id.* (quoting *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler*, 394 U.S. 526, 531 (1969)).

3. Respect for Political Subdivision Boundaries

A redistricting plan should be “attentive to the concerns of historically unified subdivisions, such as County seats.” *Holt I*, 38 A.3d at 758. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, however, “recognize[s] that the Pennsylvania Constitution permits absolutely necessary political subdivision splits, and that some divisions are inevitable.” *Id.* For instance, subdivision splits can be “made absolutely necessary” by “competing constitutional, demographic, and geographic factors[.]” *Holt II*, 67 A.3d at 1240. Additionally, “redistricting efforts may properly seek to preserve communities of interest which may not dovetail precisely with the static lines of political subdivisions.” *Id.* at 1241.

B. Additional Factors

1. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (“VRA”) prohibits the states and their instrumentalities and subdivisions from employing any “voting or standard, practice, or procedure . . . in a manner which results in a denial or abridgement of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color” or language-minority status. 52 U.S.C. § 10301(a). “A violation” of this provision is established if, based on the totality of circumstances, it is shown that “the political processes leading to nomination or election in the State or political subdivision are not equally open to participation by members of a class of citizens [*i.e.*, citizens of a

given race, color, or language minority] protected by [the VRA] in that its members have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. *Id.* at § 10301(b). Under Section 2, a plaintiff need not “prove the discriminatory intent of state or local governments in adopting or maintaining the challenged electoral mechanism.” *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 71 (1986). A state, therefore, may be required to affirmatively take action in order to avoid a Section 2 violation.

In this regard, in order to prevail on a Section 2 claim, a plaintiff must first prove that the three “*Gingles* preconditions” are satisfied: (1) the minority group in question must be sufficiently compact to compose a majority in one or more single-member representational districts; (2) the minority group must be politically cohesive; and (3) the majority must vote sufficiently as a bloc to enable it to usually defeat the preferred candidates of the minority group. *Jenkins v. Manning*, 116 F.3d 685, 690–91 (3d Cir. 1997) (discussing *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 50–51).

The U.S. Supreme Court has indicated that, for purposes of the first precondition, “a party asserting § 2 liability must show by a preponderance of the evidence that the minority population in the potential election district is greater than 50 percent.” *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 19–20 (2009) (plurality opinion). Courts have also indicated that states cannot be required to draw minority “crossover” districts, *i.e.*, districts that are composed of less than a strict 50% voting-

age majority population of the relevant minority group. *Id.* at 22–23. *See also, e.g., United States v. City of Euclid*, 580 F. Supp. 2d 584, 594-95 (N.D. Ohio 2008) (defining the first *Gingles* precondition in terms of voting-age majority).

If the threshold *Gingles* preconditions are satisfied, the analysis turns on the totality of the circumstances, which involves a qualitative review of numerous factors. *Jenkins*, 116 F.3d at 690. The factors include “the extent of any history of official discrimination,” “the extent to which members of the minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health,” and “the extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction.” *Id.* “[T]here is no magical number of factors which must be shown to exist.” *Id.*

2. The Fourteenth Amendment and Racial Gerrymandering

The Fourteenth Amended prohibits “the deliberate segregation of voters into separate districts on the basis of race.” *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630, 641 (1993) (*Shaw I*). The U.S. Supreme Court has developed a two-part test for evaluating “racial gerrymandering” claims. First, the plaintiff must show “that race was the predominant factor motivating the legislature’s decision to place a significant number of voters within or without a particular district.” *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Bd. of Elections*, 137 S. Ct. 788, 797 (2017) (citation omitted). The question, in this regard, is whether “the legislature subordinated traditional race-neutral

districting principles, including but not limited to compactness, contiguity, and respect for political subdivisions or communities defined by actual shared interests, to racial considerations.” *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900, 916 (1995). “Where a challenger succeeds in establishing racial predominance, the burden shifts to the State to ‘demonstrate that its districting legislation is narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling interest.’” *Bethune-Hill*, 137 S. Ct. at 800-01 (citation omitted).

3. Political Factors

In *League of Women Voters*, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court acknowledged that, under the Commonwealth’s Constitution, factors like “protection of incumbents” and “the maintenance of the political balance which existed after the prior reapportionment” are allowed to play a role in the creation of a redistricting plan. 178 A.3d at 817. But the court also concluded that, under the Free and Equal Elections Clause, those factors must be “wholly subordinate” to the “neutral [redistricting] criteria of compactness, contiguity, minimization of the division of political subdivisions, and maintenance of population equality among . . . districts.” *Id.* The Court then stated (in *dicta*) that, when a redistricting body uses the subordinate factors as part of creating a redistricting plan, it may not “unfairly dilute the power of a particular group’s vote for a...representative.” *Id.* It did not attempt to define the contours of “unfair” vote-dilution.

III. APPLICATION OF REDISTRICTING REQUIREMENTS TO THE LEGISLATIVE PLAN

In tandem with this brief, and in accordance with Paragraph 3 in the January 14, 2022 order, the Senate Republican Intervenors are providing this Court with a “proposed 17-district congressional redistricting plan” that is “consistent with the results of the 2020 Census.” In particular, the Senate Republican Intervenors are providing this Court with the plan that is embodied in HB 2146 (the “Legislative Plan”), which uses the Legislative Reapportionment Commission’s dataset #1. On January 12, 2022, the Pennsylvania House of Representatives passed HB 2416 and referred it to the Senate for consideration. The bill was referred to the Senate State Government Committee, which passed it on January 12, 2022. The Senate gave HB 2146 first consideration on January 18, 2022 and second consideration on January 19, 2022. The Senate is scheduled to be in session on January 24, 25, and 26, 2022, and HB 2146 is eligible for third consideration and final passage on any of those dates, or on any future legislative session that may be convened.

This brief is also accompanied by an expert report in which John Memmi, Ph.D, assesses the Legislative Plan.

Given what is evident on the face of the Legislative Plan and for the reasons that Dr. Memmi explains in his expert report, the plan satisfies all of the applicable redistricting requirements that are described above.

IV. THE LEGISLATIVE PLAN IS ENTITLED TO DEFERENCE

As the U.S. Supreme Court has stressed, under Article I, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution, congressional “redistricting is a legislative function, to be performed in accordance with the State’s prescriptions for lawmaking.” *Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Indep. Redistricting Comm’n*, 576 U.S. 787, 808 (2015); *see also League of Women Voters*, 178 A.3d at 821-22 (stating that the “primary responsibility and authority for drawing federal congressional legislative districts rests squarely with the state legislature”). Pennsylvania’s legislative power (and therefore its power to engage in congressional redistricting) is vested exclusively in the General Assembly. *See* Pa. Const. art. II, § 1. Although the Court may intervene when the General Assembly and Governor do not reach an agreement on a map, there is no doubt that redistricting remains a fundamentally legislative act. The Legislative Map, which the Senate Republican Intervenors are submitting to the Court with this brief, is therefore entitled to deference and special weight as a reflection of the legislative process (given that the House has passed it and it is making its way through the Senate) and the will of the people’s elected representatives.

In adopting remedial redistricting plans, courts have given special consideration to the policy judgments that are reflected in legislatively-designed maps. The Fifth Circuit, in reviewing a district court’s rejection of a legislative map

in favor of a different map, described the legislative process as “the proper means toward the essentially political end of reapportionment.” *Cook v. Lockett*, 735 F.2d 912, 918 (5th Cir. 1984). This “political process,” the court noted, “involved just the sort of give-and-take between citizens and their elected officials that federal courts are unable to achieve.” *Id.* The court further explained that federal courts must “honor state policies to the greatest extent possible when choosing among available plans or fashioning [their] own” and “when the court is presented with a legislative plan whose constitutional or statutory flaws are capable of correction by minor adjustments, *Upham* requires the court to minimize violence to those legislative policies embodied in the plan by changing it only to the extent necessary to cure its cognizable flaws.” *Cook v. Lockett*, 735 F.2d 912, 918 (5th Cir. 1984) (citing *Upham v. Seamon*, 456 U.S. 37 (1982)). “In fashioning a reapportionment plan or in choosing among plans, a district court should not pre-empt the legislative task nor ‘intrude upon state policy any more than necessary.’” *White v. Weiser*, 412 U.S. 783, 795 (1973) (quoting *Whitcomb v. Chavis*, 403 U.S. 124, 160 (1971)).

The decision in *Donnelly v. Meskill*, 345 F. Supp. 962 (D. Conn. 1972) helps to illustrate the point. In *Donnelly*, the court was obligated to select a congressional redistricting map for Connecticut after the state’s governor vetoed the state legislature’s map. The court adopted the legislature’s proposed plan, explaining that “[t]he legislative adoption of Public Act 807 tips the scales in favor of the plan in

Exhibit B-1, which provides districts essentially as outlined by the legislature, with adjustments necessary to bring about virtually complete population equality.” *Id.* at 965. The court recognized that the plan it adopted had “the added advantage that it is basically the plan adopted by the legislature.” *Id.*

The same result is warranted here. Given that the House has passed it and it is moving through the Senate, the Legislative Map reflects a deliberative, legislative process, which involves negotiations, compromise, and policy judgments, and which the people’s elected representatives are undertaking in order to memorialize and implement state policy that reflects the will of their constituents. The legislative process is one that, under both the U.S. and Pennsylvania Constitutions, is the principal and preferred method for drawing congressional districts. The Constitution does not envision that a supercomputer or individual expert witness will create a redistricting plan that will govern congressional elections for a decade. The Legislative Map, therefore, is entitled to deference from the Court in order to honor the General Assembly’s constitutional prerogative to engage in redistricting.

V. CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, the Senate Republican Intervenors respectfully request that the Court adopt the Legislative Map.

Dated: January 24, 2022

Respectfully submitted,

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CERTIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE

I hereby certify that this filing complies with the provisions of the *Case Records Public Access Policy of the Unified Judicial System of Pennsylvania* that require filing confidential information and documents differently than non-confidential information and documents.

/s/ Anthony R. Holtzman
Anthony R. Holtzman

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I am this day serving the foregoing document upon the persons and in the manner indicated below, which service satisfies the requirements of Pa.R.A.P. 121:

Service by PACFile eService as follows:

All counsel of record

Date: January 24, 2022

/s/ Anthony R. Holtzman
Anthony R. Holtzman

Expert Report of John M. Memmi, Ph.D. in the Matter of *Carter v. Degraffenreid*, in *The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania*, No. 464 M.D. 2021 (Consolidated)

Congressional Redistricting Criteria Applied to Districts Under HB2146

My name is John Memmi. I am consultant in the field of redistricting. I have more than 20 years of experience with the process of drawing redistricting maps, particularly in Pennsylvania. A copy of my *curriculum vitae* is attached as Appendix A.

I was retained on behalf of Jake Corman, President Pro Tempore of the Pennsylvania Senate, and Kim Ward, Majority Leader of the Pennsylvania Senate, who are Intervenors in this matter.

I was asked to evaluate the redistricting map associated with House Bill 2146 of 2021 in relation to traditional and applicable criteria for compactness, contiguity, population equality, and maintenance of political subdivisions.

To conduct this evaluation, I used generally accepted methodologies in the field of drawing and evaluating congressional redistricting maps. I relied on numerous sources of information, which are identified herein. Key references and data sources are listed in Appendix B. I am also generally informed by a broad range of technical literature relevant to congressional redistricting, and by my education and experience. The opinions expressed in this report are stated to a reasonable degree of scientific certainty.

Based on my evaluation, I provide the following key opinions. These and additional opinions are further described in the subsequent sections of this report.

1. **Compactness:** HB2146 complies with this criterion.
2. **Contiguity:** HB2146 complies with this criterion.
3. **Population Equality:** HB2146 complies with this criterion.

4. **Maintenance of Political Subdivisions:** HB2146 complies with this criterion.

Compactness

Compactness is a measure of the geographic shape of a district. Although many such measures are available, the two most common are Polsby-Popper and Reock. Polsby-Popper evaluates irregularity in the perimeter of a district and Reock examines district area.

Polsby-Popper and Reock scores range from 0 to 1, the more compact the district the greater the score.

Figure 1 offers bar charts of and descriptive statistics on compactness scores for HB2146. Inspection of the charts reveals no district with an extreme (low) score, and the nearly equal range and standard deviation for each measure support this observation.

Contiguity

Redistricting Law 2020 (NCSL, 2019, page 258) defines contiguity as the condition in which “all parts of a district are connected geographically at some point with the rest of the district.” In Pennsylvania, drawing contiguous districts can be a challenge: the Pennsylvania State Data Center identifies 58 non-contiguous municipalities and 95 non-contiguous precincts (see Appendices C and D). For example, Lancaster Township, Lancaster County, comprises eight tracts, and Precinct 1, Pine Township, Mercer County, comprises nine tracts. Pennsylvania also has one non-contiguous county, Chester.

Despite these non-contiguities, HB2146 comprises 17 contiguous districts, as verified by *autoBoundEDGE*, redistricting software published by Citygate GIS.

Population Equality

The Commonwealth must comprise 12 districts with total populations of 764,865 and five districts with total populations of 764,864, for a grand total of 13,002,700 persons.

HB2146 complies with this criterion, as listed in Table 1.

Maintenance of Political Subdivisions

County and municipal governments function more efficiently when their jurisdictions are within one district. In theory, the only political subdivisions that must be split are those with total populations greater than one district. In 2020, three counties had such populations: Philadelphia (1,603,797 or 2.10 districts), Allegheny (1,250,578; 1.64), and Montgomery (856,553; 1.12).

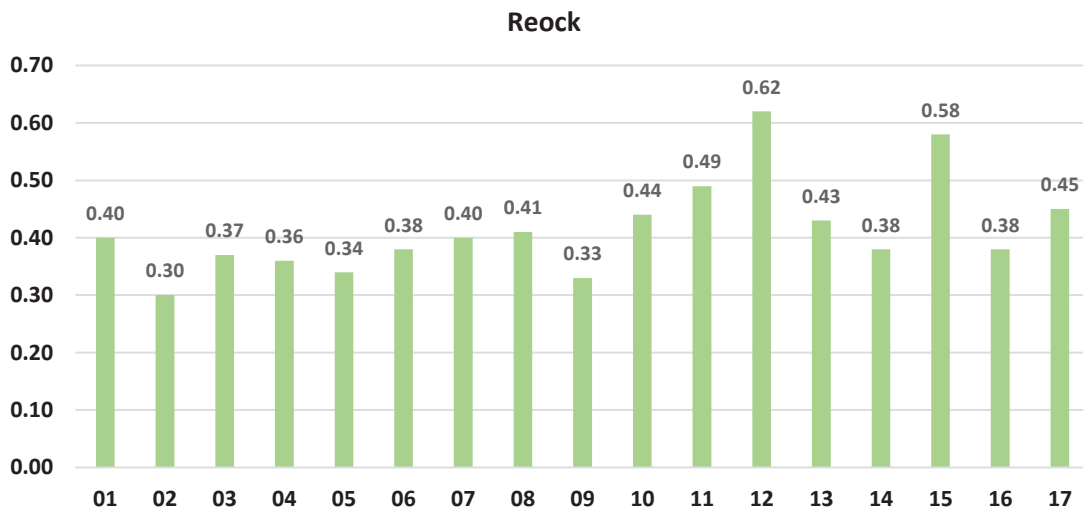
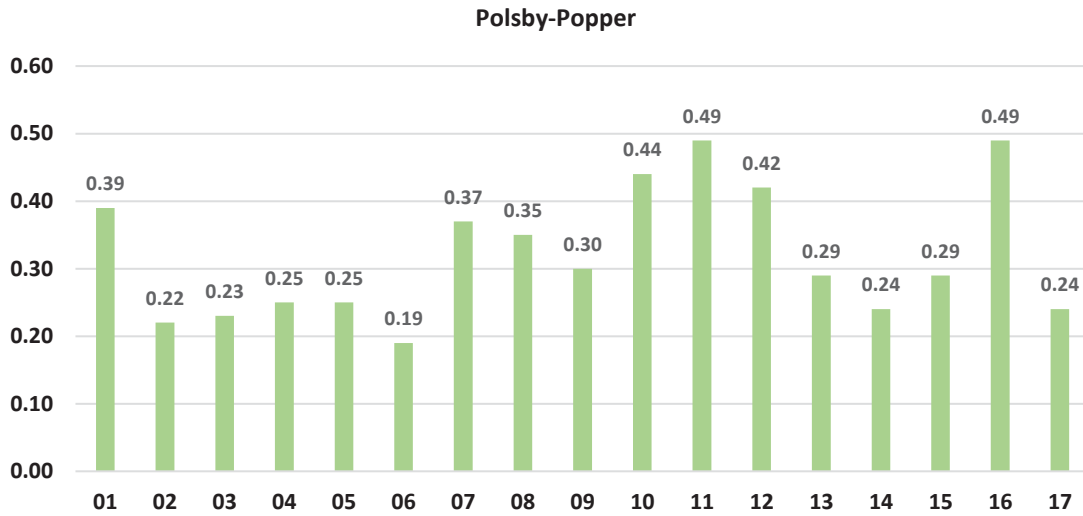
A graphical and tabular summary of political subdivisions, both whole and split in HB2146, is given in Figure 2. The plan splits only 0.3 percent of the Commonwealth's 16,127 subdivisions.

Submitted by:

John M. Memmi

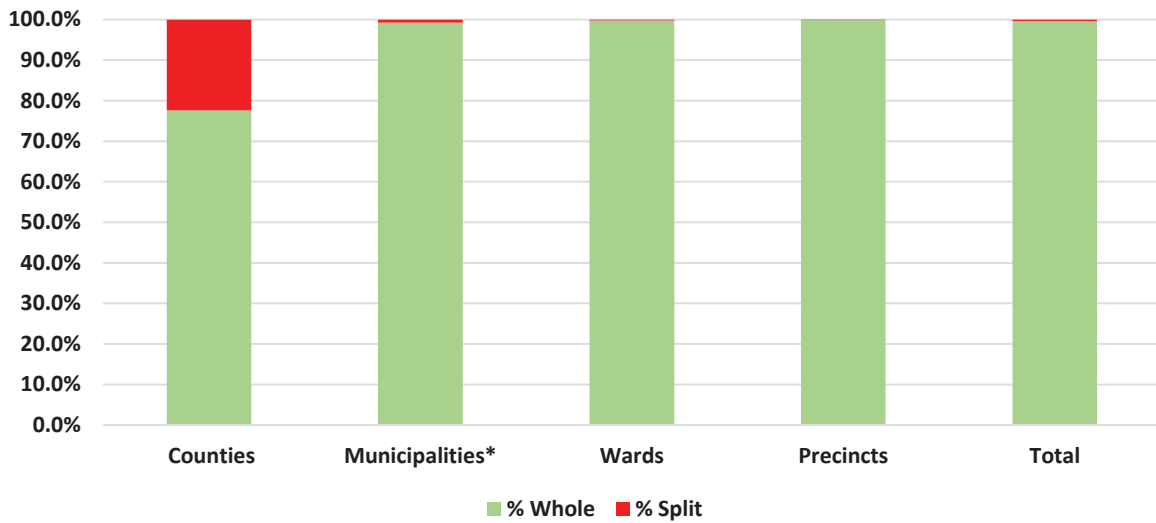
John M. Memmi

Figure 1. Compactness Scores for Congressional Districts Under HB2146



	Polsby-Popper	Reock
maximum	0.49	0.62
minimum	0.19	0.30
range	0.30	0.32
median	0.29	0.40
average	0.32	0.42
standard deviation	0.10	0.08

Figure 2. Split Political Subdivisions in Congressional Districts Under HB2146



Subdivision	Total	Split	% Whole	% Split	Total Splits
Counties	67	15	77.6%	22.4%	19
Municipalities*	2,572	19	99.3%	0.7%	21
Wards	4,310	9	99.8%	0.2%	9
Precincts	9,178	9	99.9%	0.1%	9
Total	16,127	52	99.7%	0.3%	58

* includes 3 municipalities that are split by county lines

Table 1. Total Population and Select Components for Congressional Districts Under HB2146

CD	Total Population	Ideal Population	Absolute Deviation	Voting Age Population						
				Total	% of Total	Hispanic %	NH White %	NH Black %	NH Asian %	NH Other %
01	764,865	764,865	0	608,600	79.6%	5.0%	82.0%	3.8%	6.3%	2.9%
02	764,865	764,865	0	596,061	77.9%	22.0%	43.0%	21.7%	9.5%	3.7%
03	764,865	764,865	0	623,430	81.5%	5.5%	31.6%	51.9%	7.2%	3.8%
04	764,865	764,865	0	602,151	78.7%	5.3%	74.3%	9.7%	7.5%	3.2%
05	764,865	764,865	0	599,534	78.4%	4.7%	67.3%	19.1%	5.9%	2.9%
06	764,865	764,865	0	586,692	76.7%	14.0%	73.7%	5.2%	4.1%	2.9%
07	764,864	764,865	-1	607,455	79.4%	16.2%	72.6%	5.2%	3.2%	2.9%
08	764,864	764,865	-1	616,620	80.6%	7.8%	81.6%	5.5%	1.9%	3.2%
09	764,864	764,865	-1	613,895	80.3%	5.8%	88.1%	2.5%	0.9%	2.6%
10	764,865	764,865	0	599,883	78.4%	7.2%	80.0%	6.8%	2.7%	3.3%
11	764,865	764,865	0	591,364	77.3%	9.7%	82.0%	3.2%	2.6%	2.6%
12	764,865	764,865	0	625,013	81.7%	1.9%	90.6%	2.5%	2.0%	3.0%
13	764,864	764,865	-1	603,809	78.9%	3.7%	86.1%	5.0%	2.1%	3.1%
14	764,865	764,865	0	623,024	81.5%	1.2%	92.5%	2.6%	0.7%	3.0%
15	764,864	764,865	-1	632,367	82.7%	2.6%	71.8%	17.3%	4.5%	3.8%
16	764,865	764,865	0	609,794	79.7%	2.1%	89.1%	4.0%	1.3%	3.5%
17	764,865	764,865	0	613,856	80.3%	1.9%	87.9%	3.9%	3.1%	3.2%
PA	13,002,700			10,353,548	79.6%	6.8%	76.1%	10.0%	3.8%	3.2%

NH: Not Hispanic or Latino

APPENDIX A TO EXPERT REPORT OF JOHN MEMMI

John M. Memmi, Ph.D.

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Redistricting Experience

Consultant December 2017 - Present

- ♦ Providing redistricting expertise to confidential clients

Specialist PA State Senate Republican Caucus 2000-2002 and 2009-2013

- ♦ Generated Congressional and state senatorial test plans to achieve varying goals
- ♦ Produced 100s of hypothetical plans based on the following redistricting criteria:
 - absolutely equal population
 - voting rights
 - traditional (compactness, contiguity, preservation of political units, preservation of communities of interest, preservation of district cores, incumbency protection)
 - political (strong Democrat lean, strong Republican lean, competitive, proportional)
- ♦ Compiled, queried, and generated reports on population and political data for:
 - 67 counties
 - ~2,600 municipalities
 - ~9,500 precincts
 - 325,000-420,000 census blocks
- ♦ Supplied maps and reports to the bipartisan Legislative Reapportionment Commission
- ♦ Determined Congressional seats in response to changing population estimates
- ♦ Aided litigation as both technical advisor and fact witness

Additional Consulting Experience

Mineral Exploration: Ashton Mining, BHP, Kennecott

Information Technology: USDA Forest Service

Education

Doctor of Philosophy, Geological Sciences, The Ohio State University

APPENDIX B TO EXPERT REPORT OF JOHN MEMMI

References

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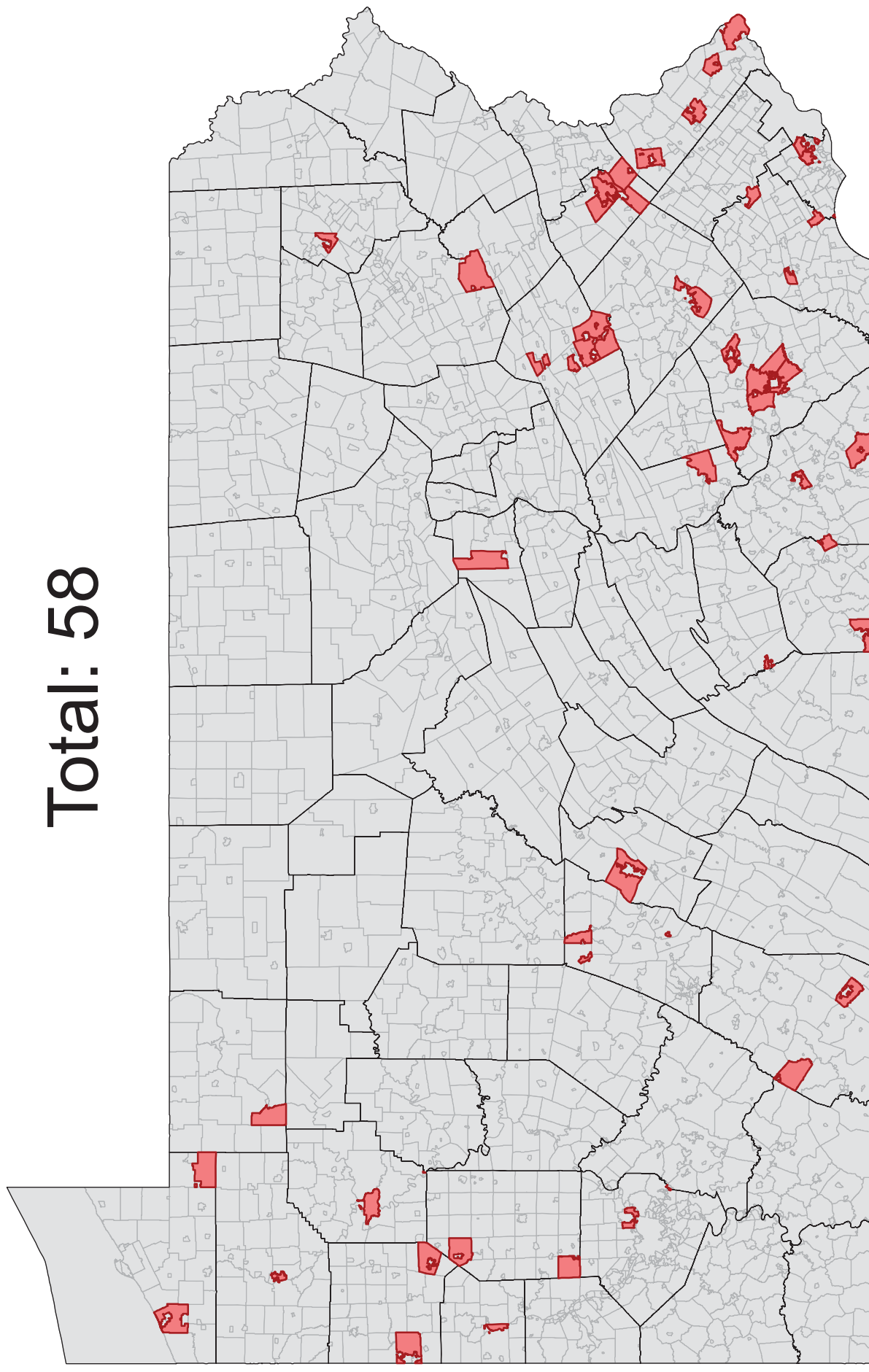
Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
<https://www.legis.state.pa.us/WU01/LI/LI/CT/HTM/00/00.HTM>

League of Women Voters, et al. v. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, et al. – 159 MM 2017, 2018, Opinion and Order Adopting Remedial Plan,
<https://www.pacourts.us/Storage/media/pdfs/20211214/194537-feb.19.2018-opinionandorderadoptingremedialplan.pdf>

autoBoundEDGE, 2020, Citygate GIS, <https://citygategis.com/products/autoboundEDGE/>

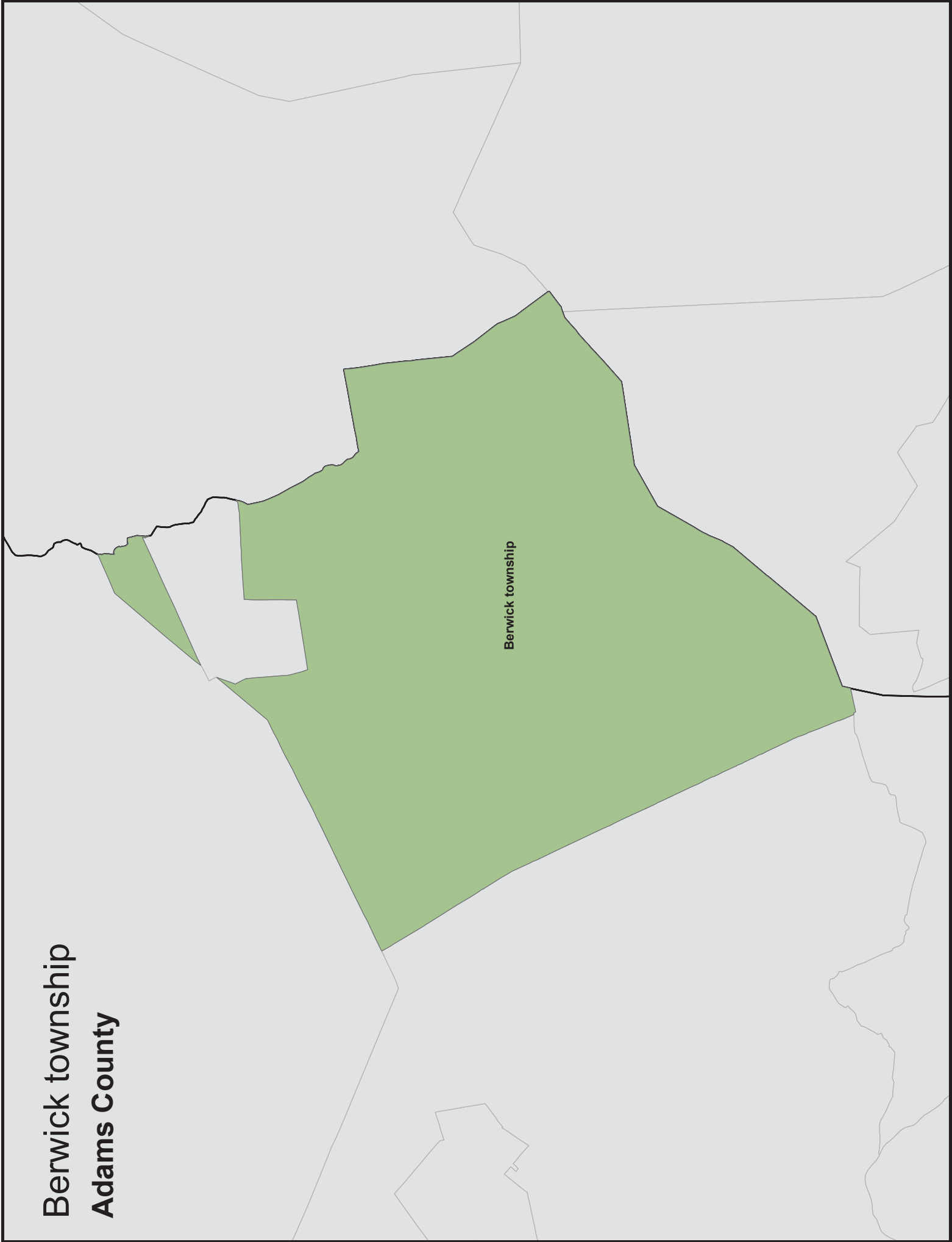
Non-Contiguous MCDs Present in Final 2011 Submission

Total: 58



Berwick township
Adams County

Berwick township



Liberty township
Adams County

Liberty township

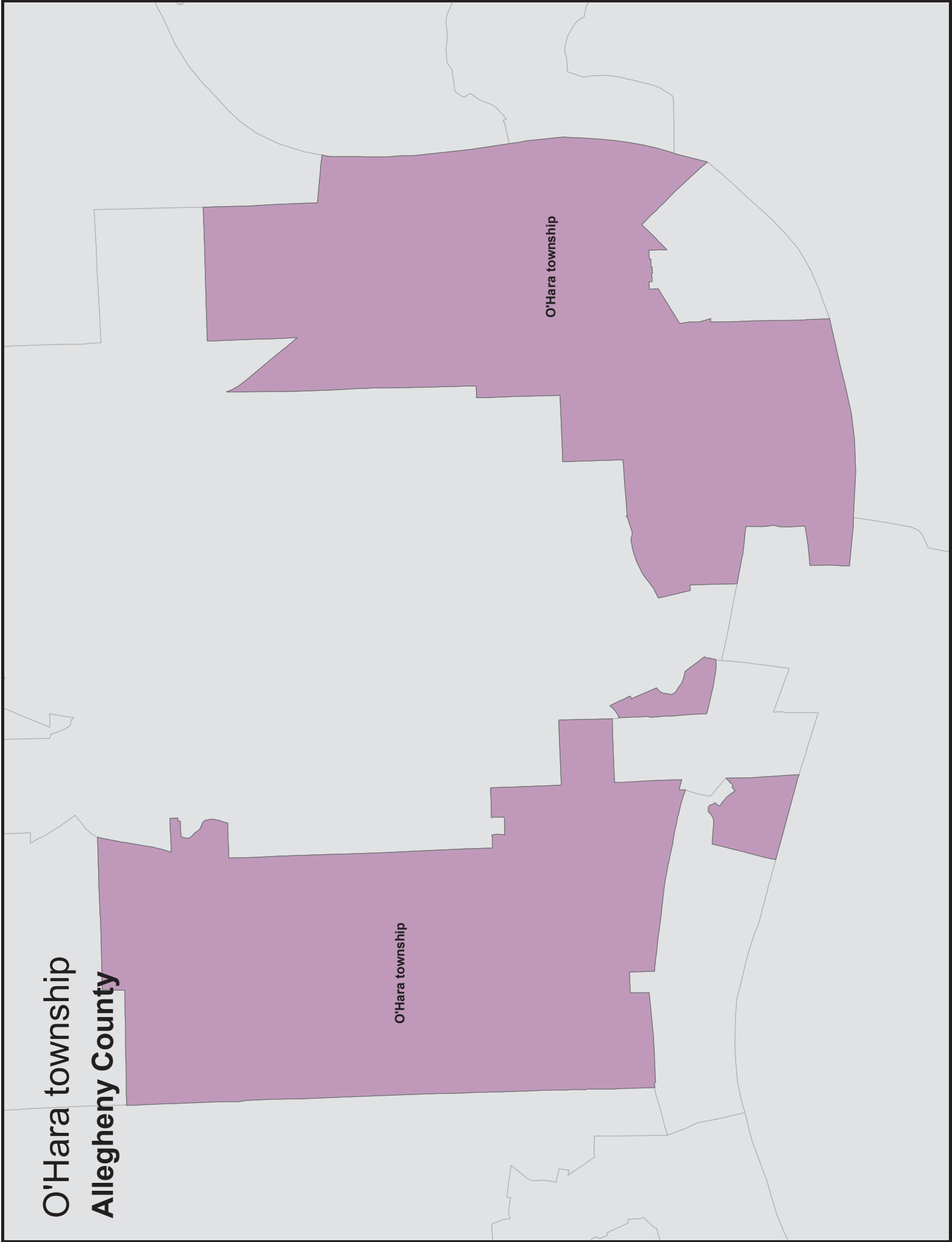
Liberty township



**O'Hara township
Allegheny County**

O'Hara township

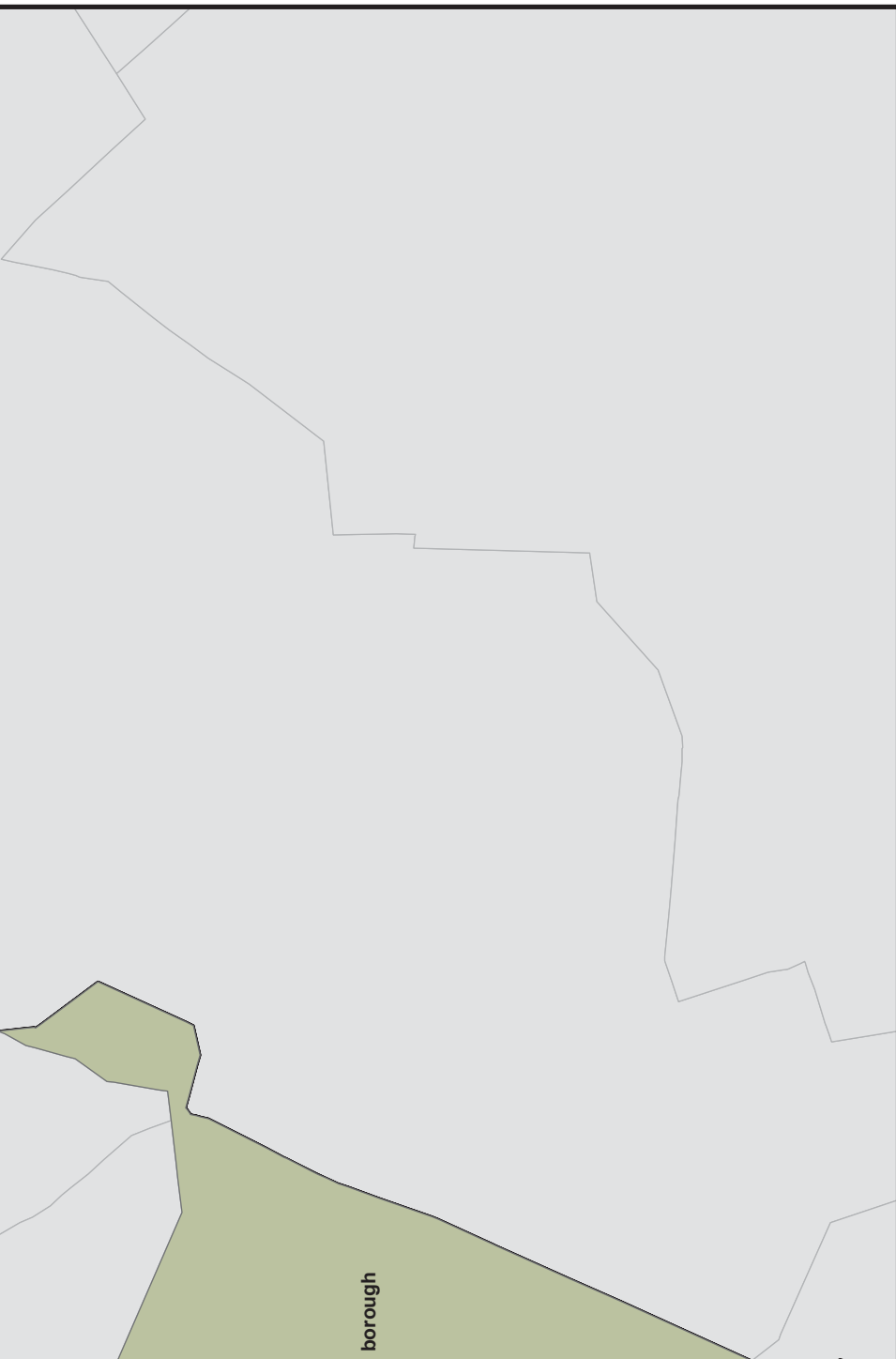
O'Hara township



Trafford borough
Allegheny County



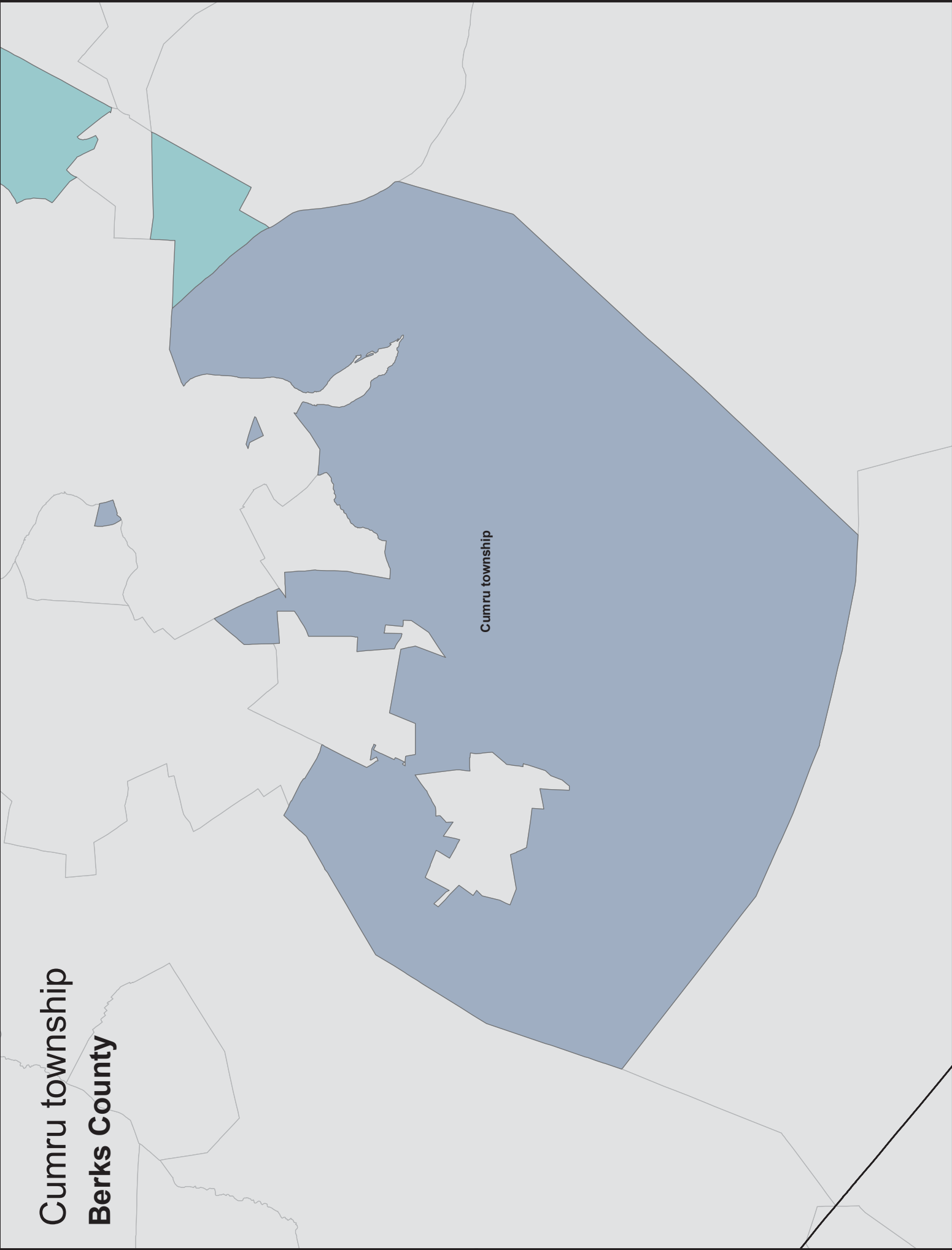
Trafford borough



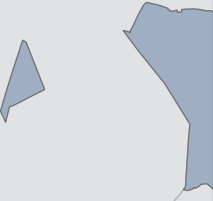
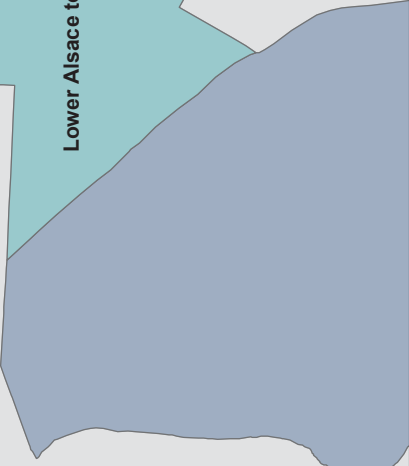
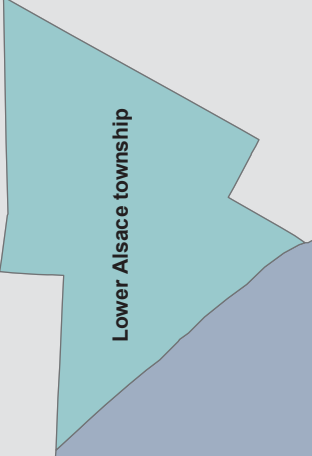
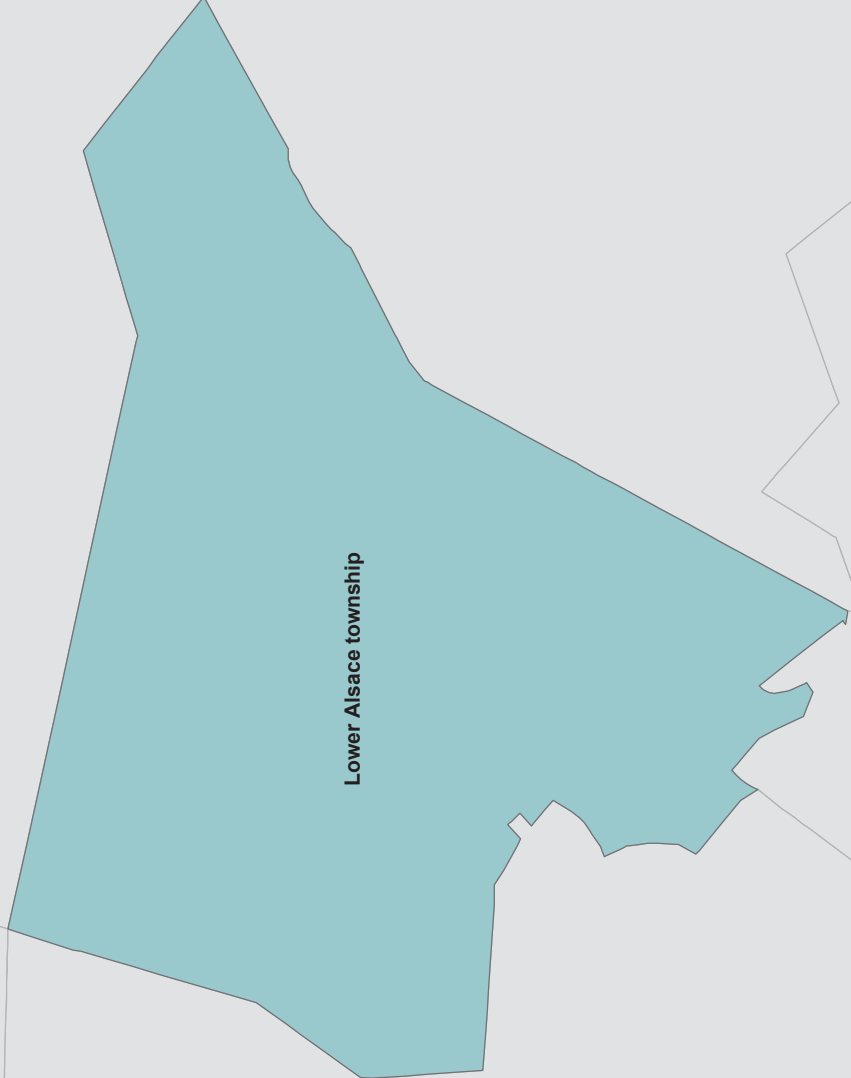
Trafford borough

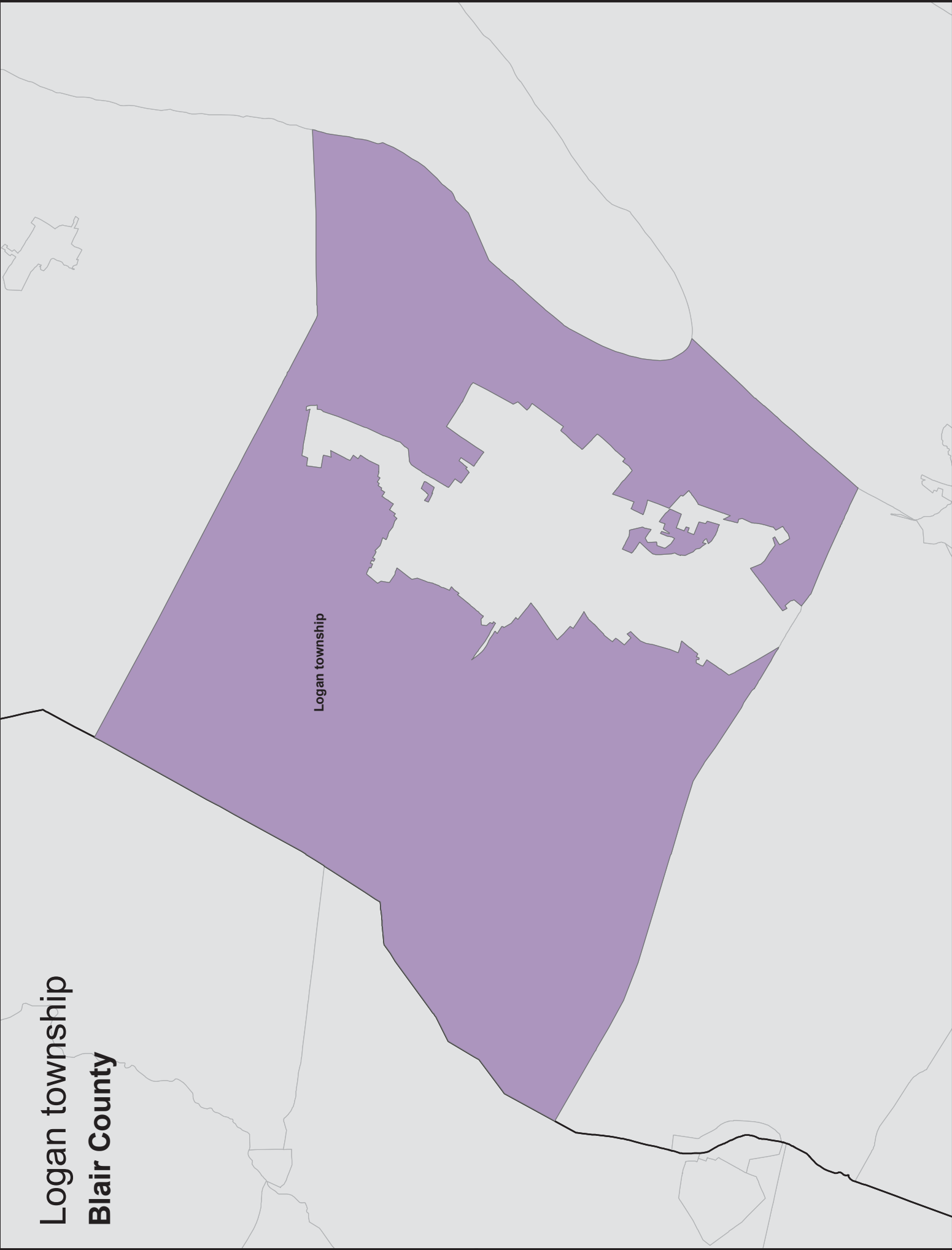
Cumru township
Berks County

Cumru township



**Lower Alsace township
Berks County**





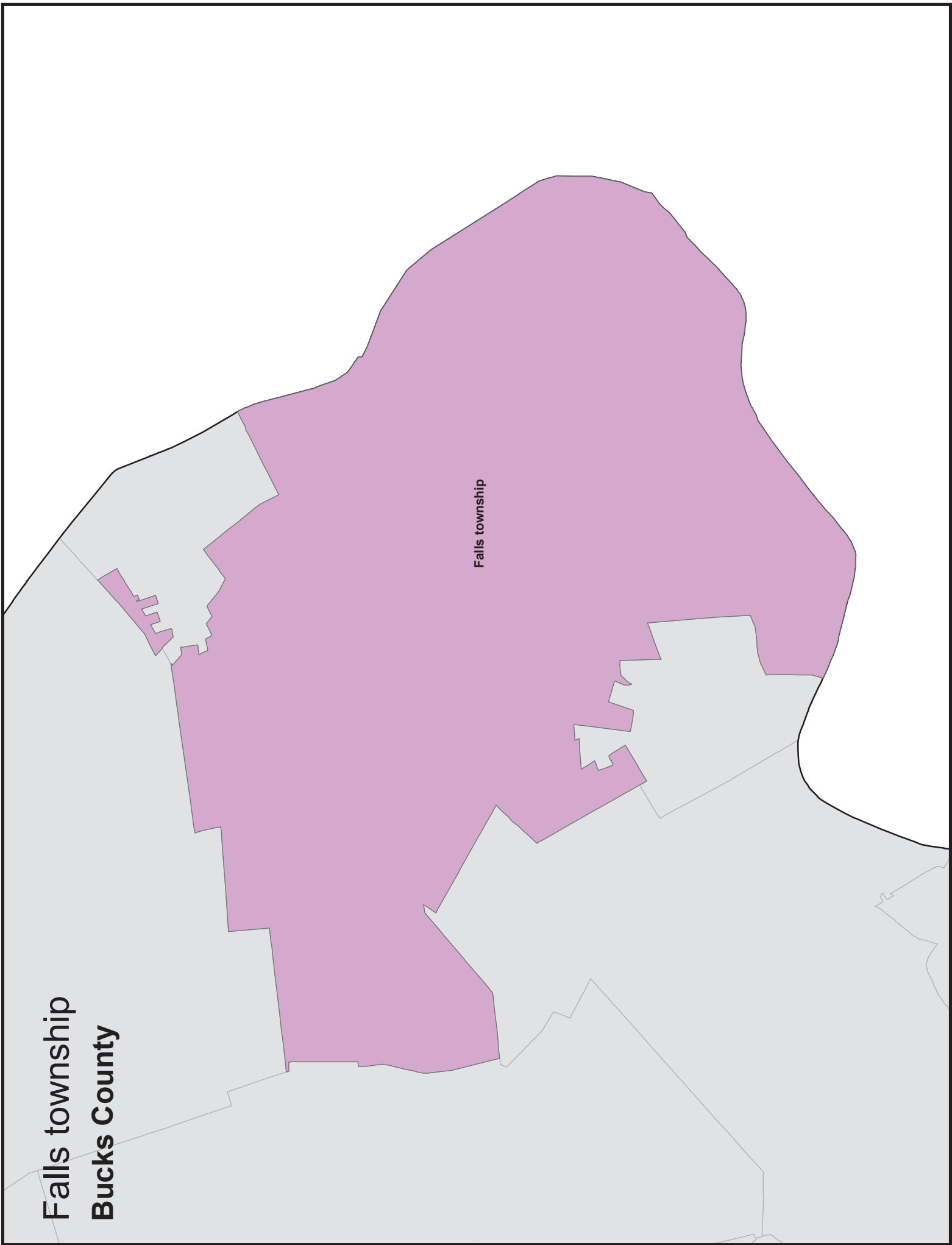
Logan township

Logan township
Blair County

Doylestown township
Bucks County

Doylestown township

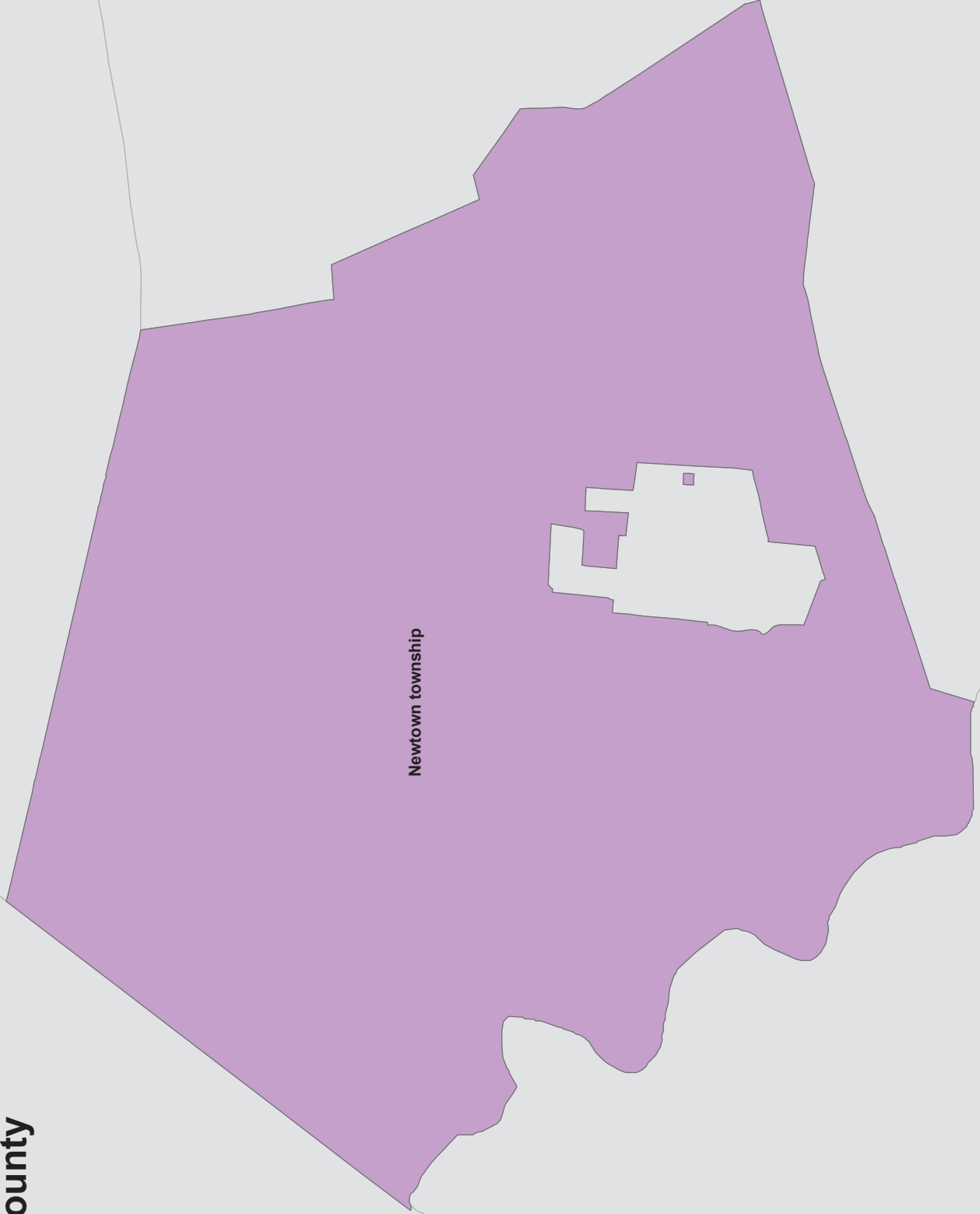
A map showing the geographical boundaries of Doylestown township in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The township is highlighted in a solid green color, while the surrounding areas are light gray. The map includes several irregularly shaped white areas within the green boundary, representing water bodies or other land features. The text 'Doylestown township' is printed vertically in the center of the green area, and 'Doylestown township Bucks County' is printed vertically in the bottom-left corner of the map frame.



Falls township
Bucks County

Falls township

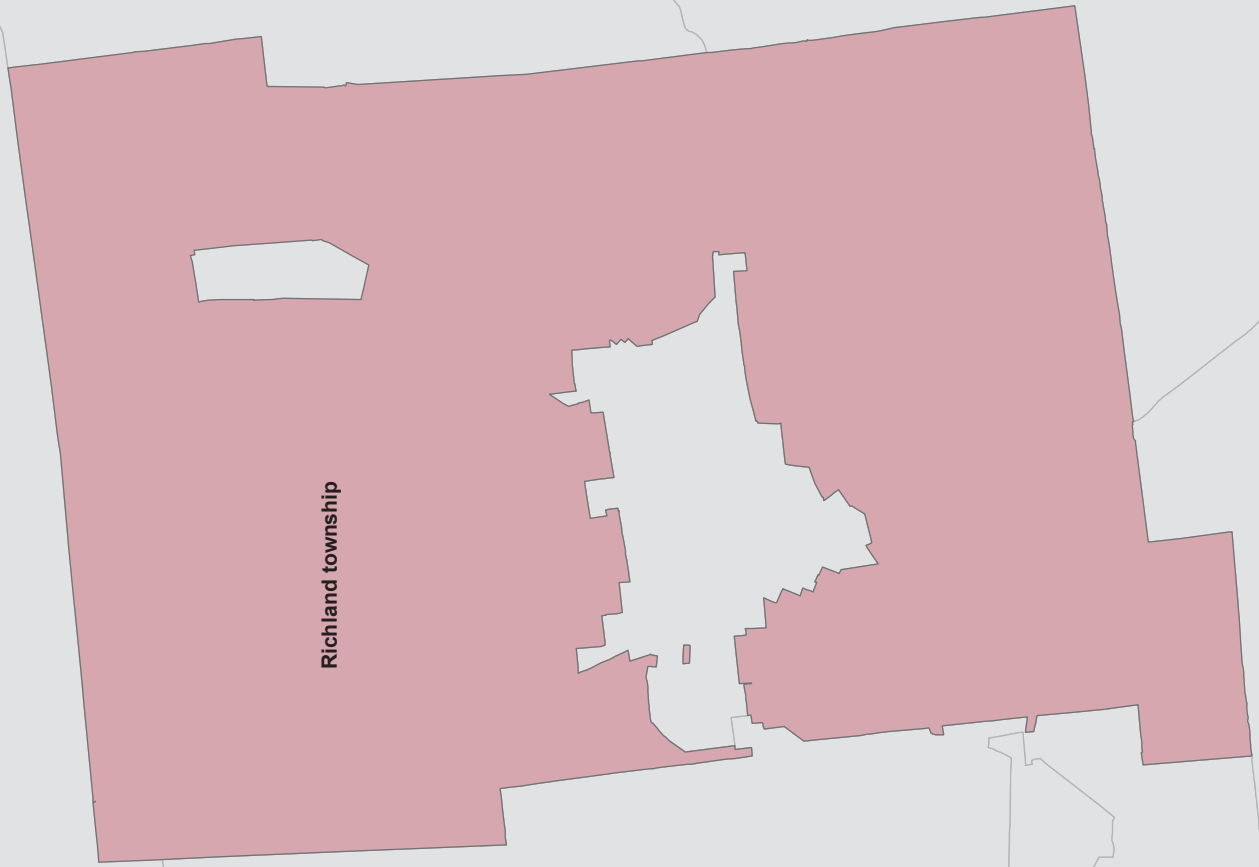
**Newtown township
Bucks County**



Newtown township

Richland township
Bucks County

Richland township



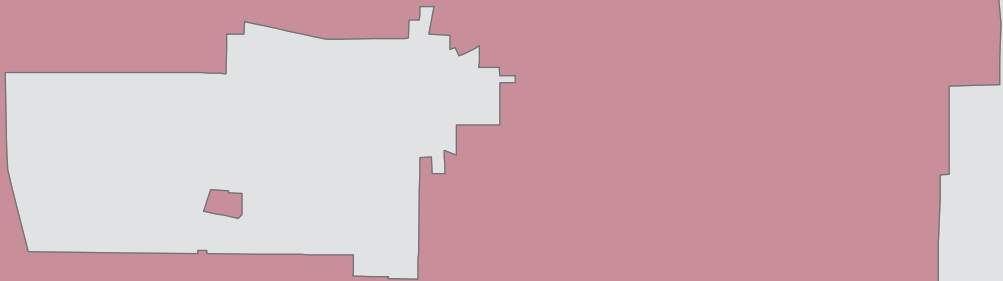
Cranberry township
Butler County

Cranberry township



Slippery Rock township
Butler County

Slippery Rock township



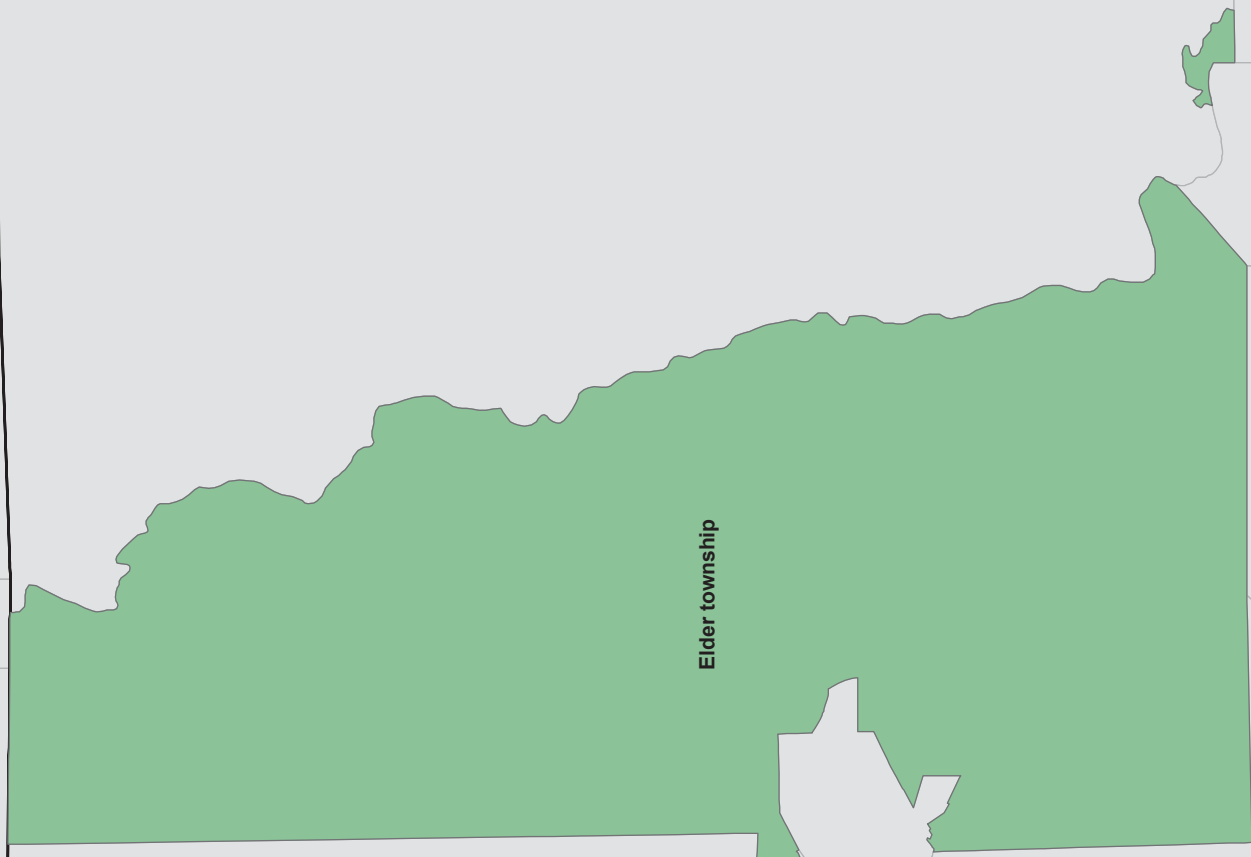
Portage borough
Cambria County



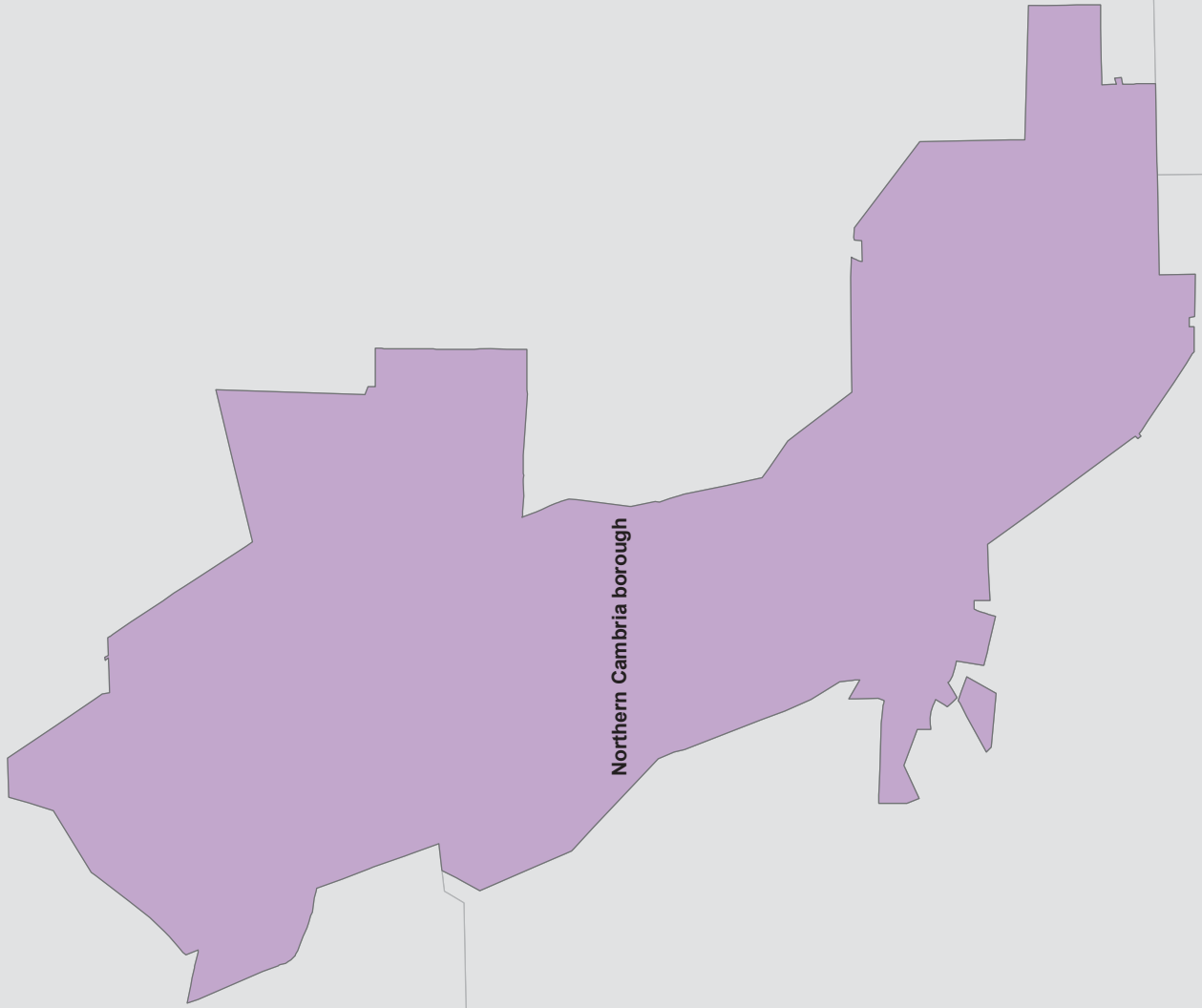
Elder township

Cambria County

Elder township



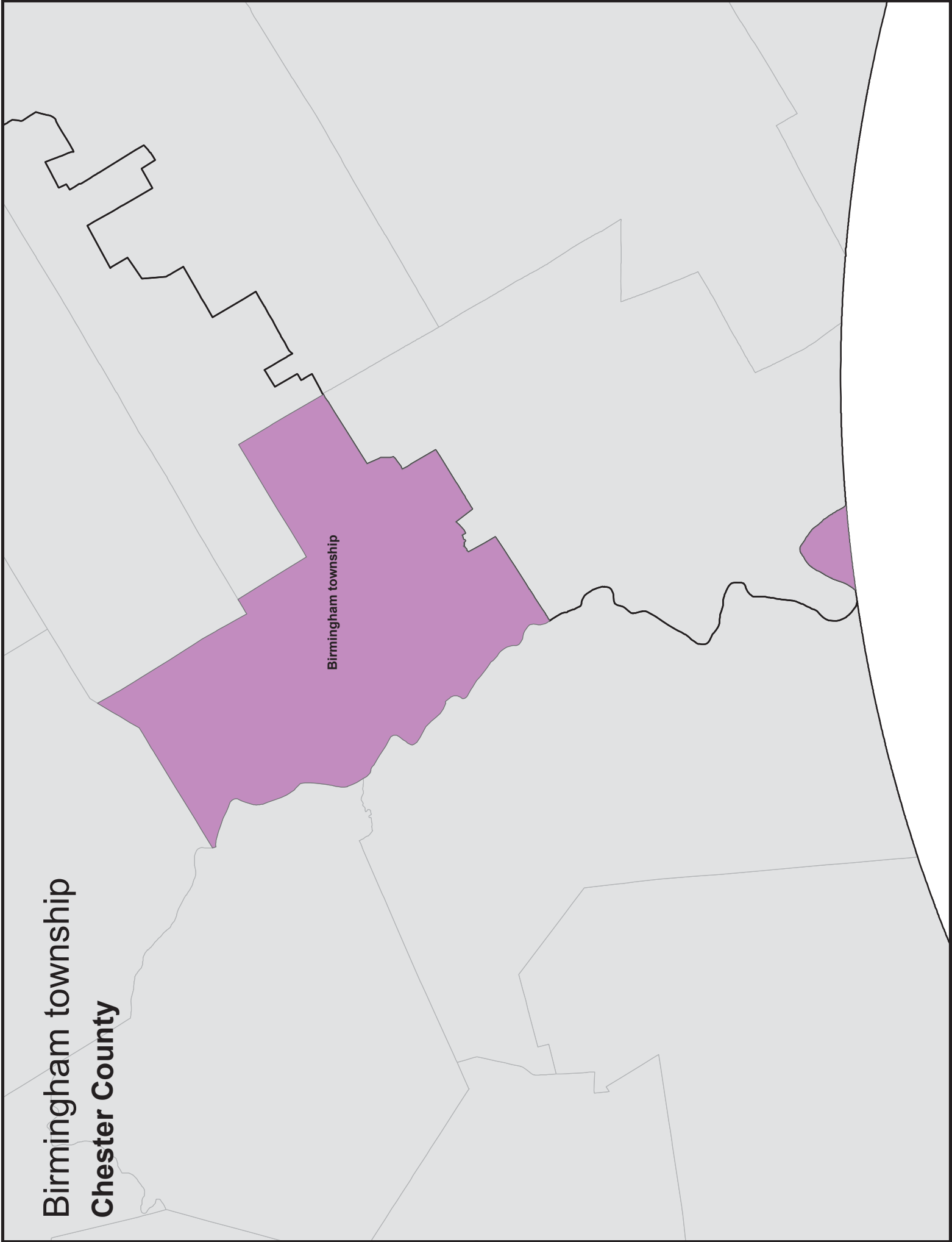
**Northern Cambria borough
Cambria County**



Northern Cambria borough

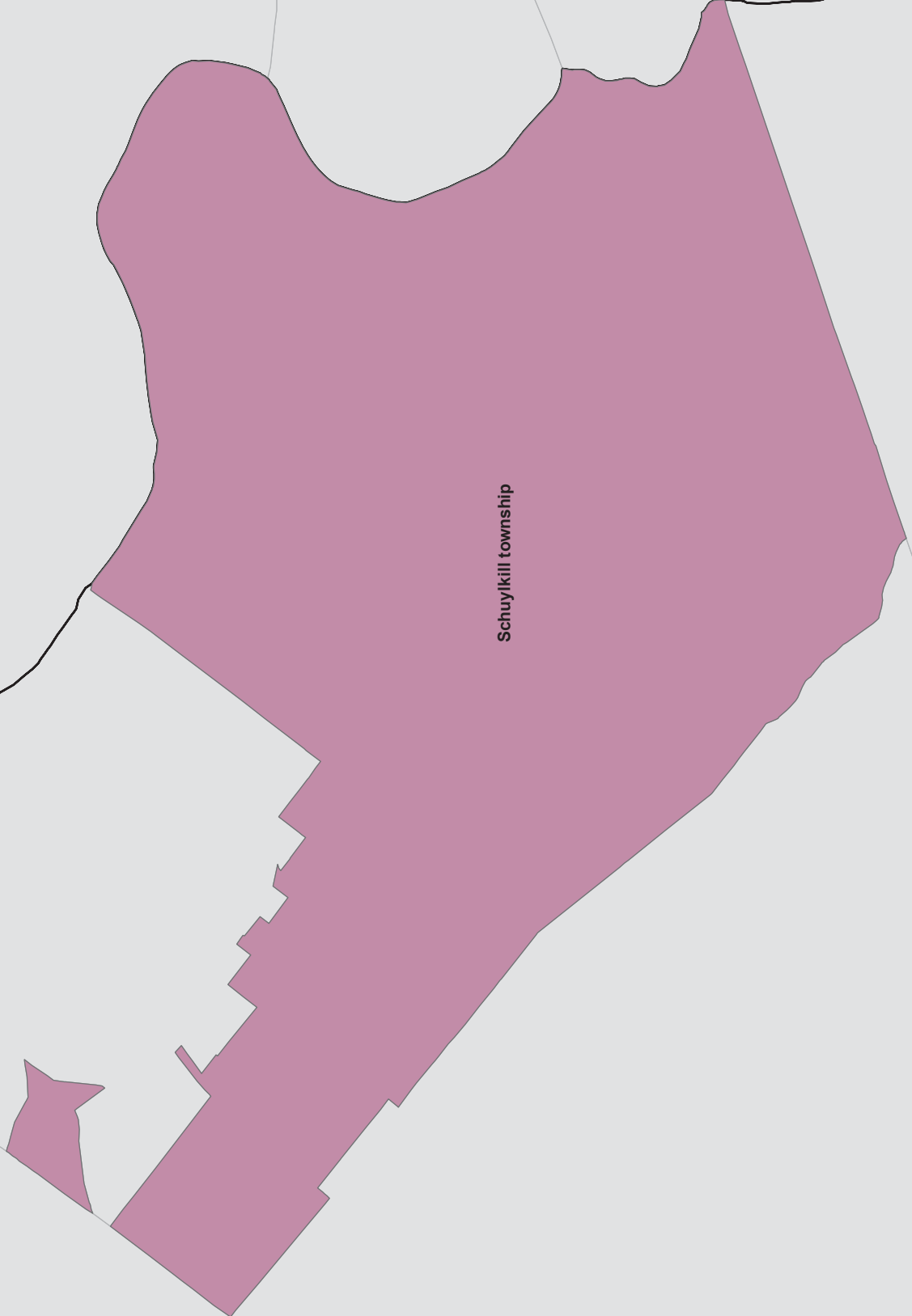
Birmingham township
Chester County

Birmingham township



**Schuylkill township
Chester County**

Schuylkill township



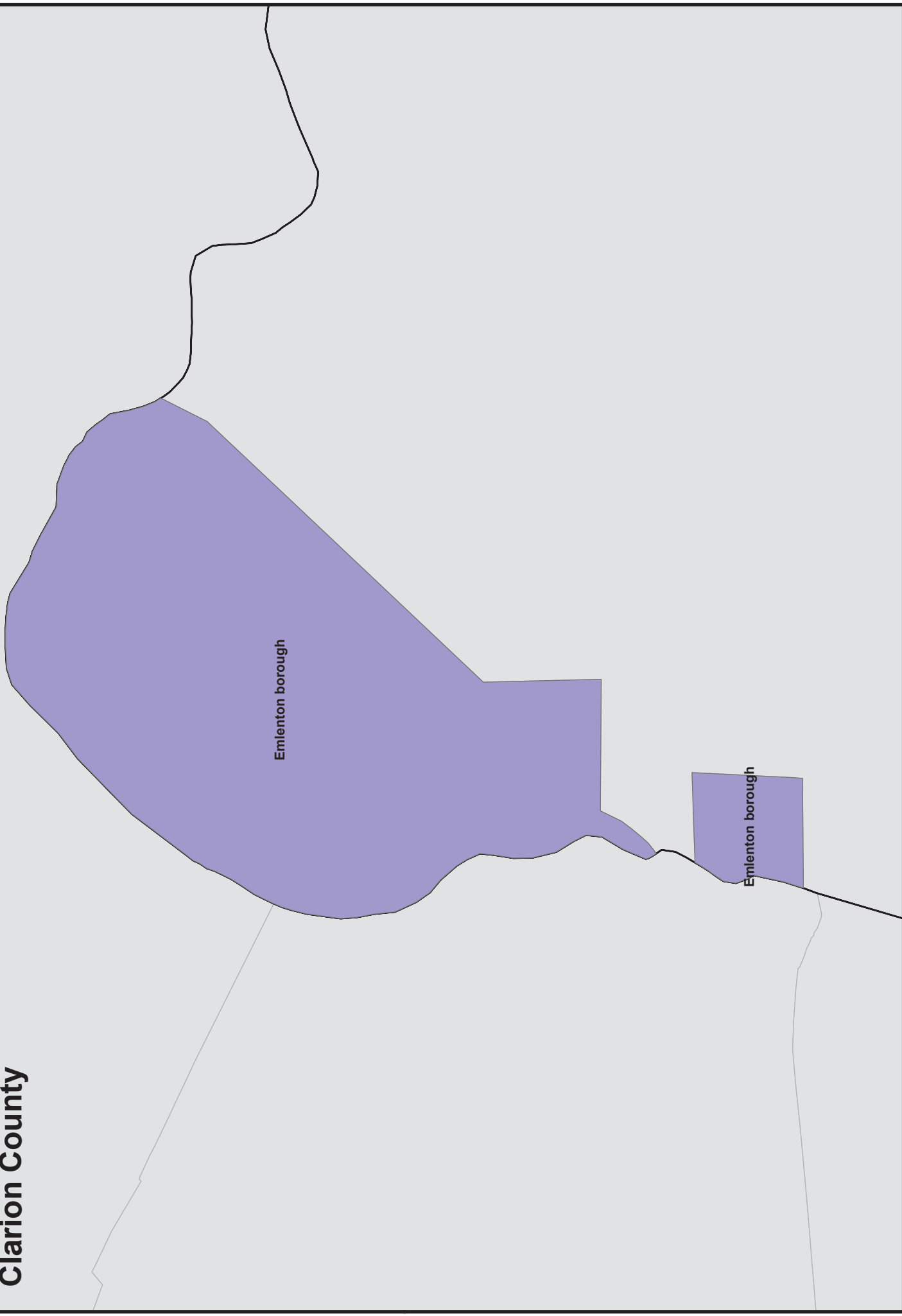
**Valley township
Chester County**

Valley township

Valley township



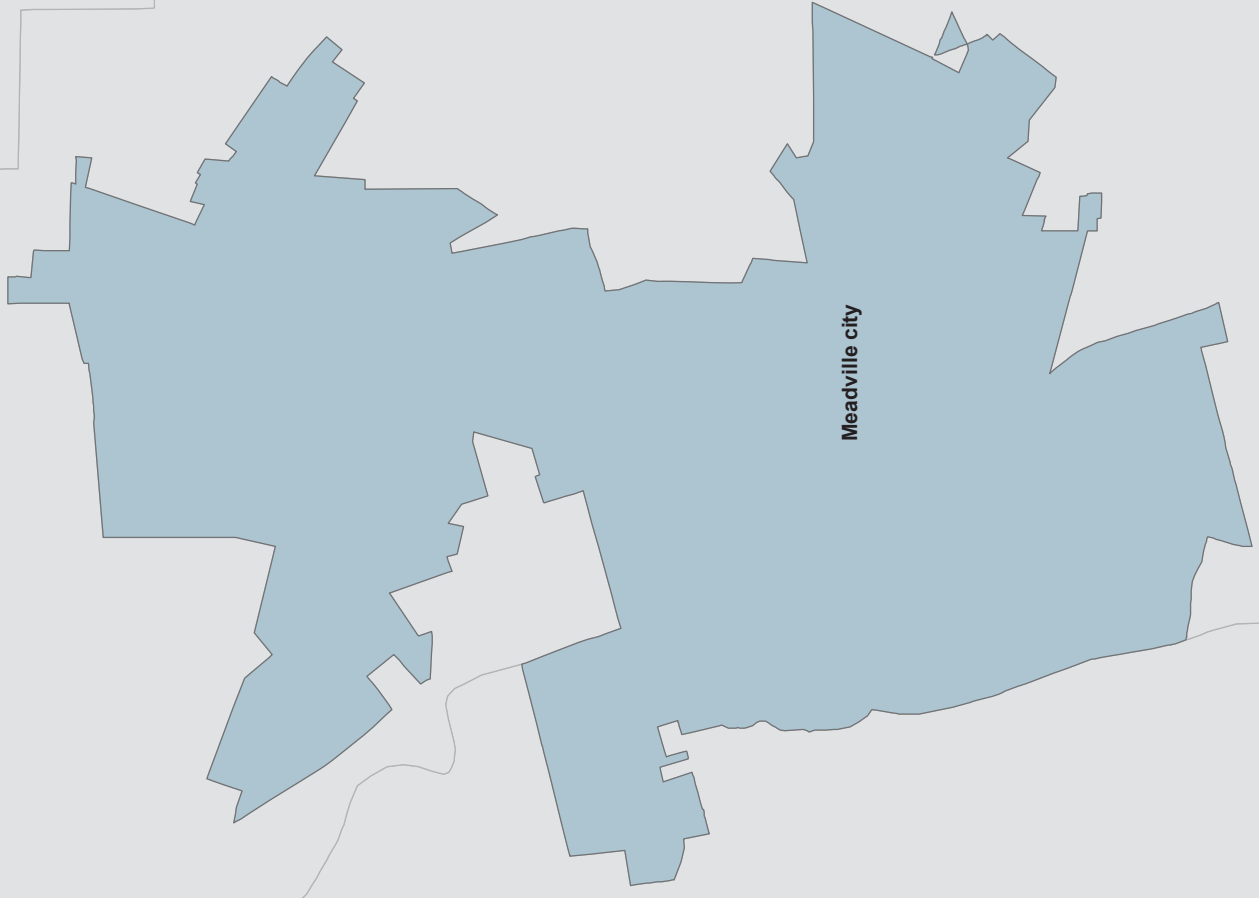
**Emlenton borough
Clarion County**



Emlenton borough

Emlenton borough

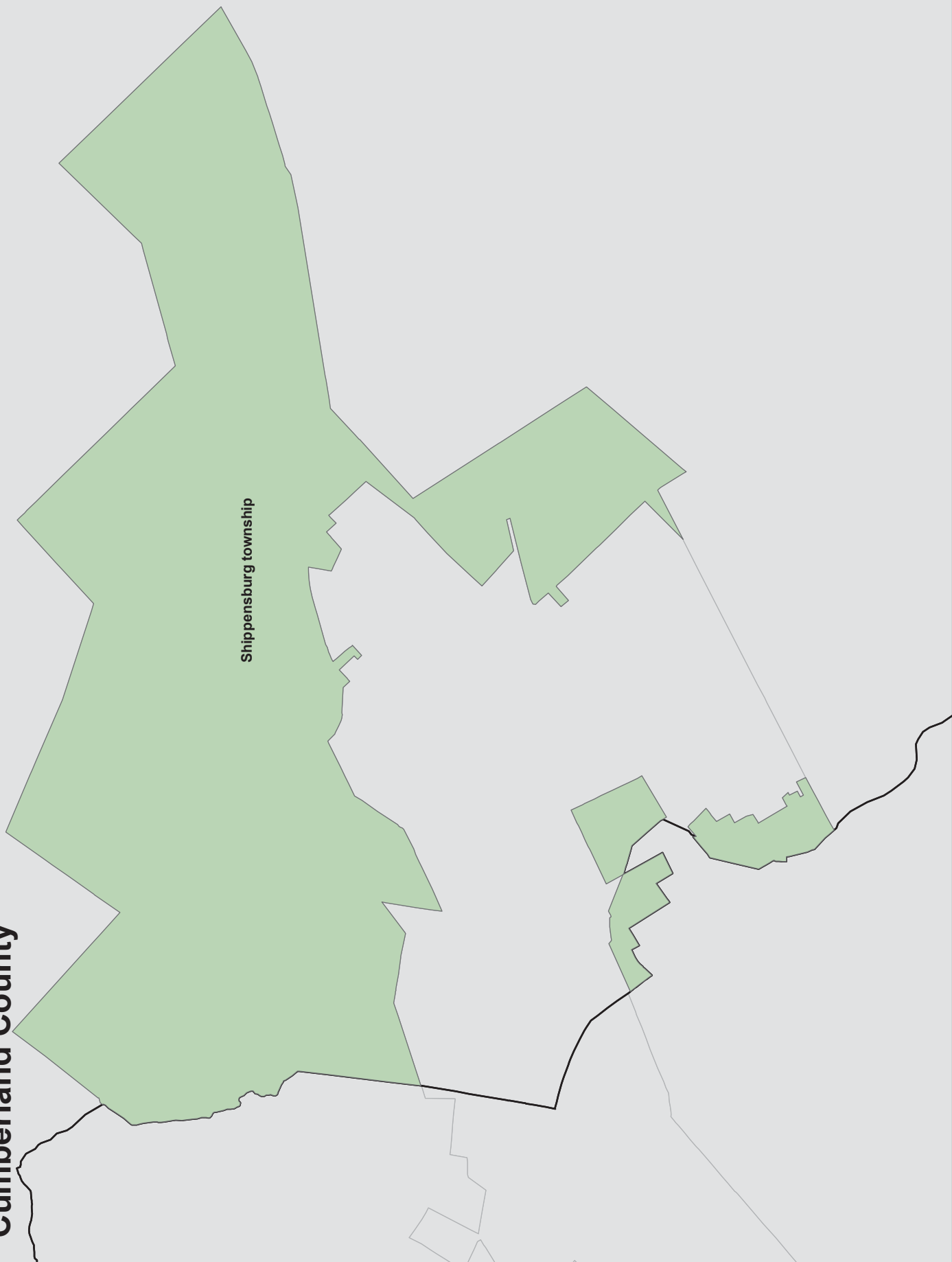
Meadville city
Crawford County



Meadville city

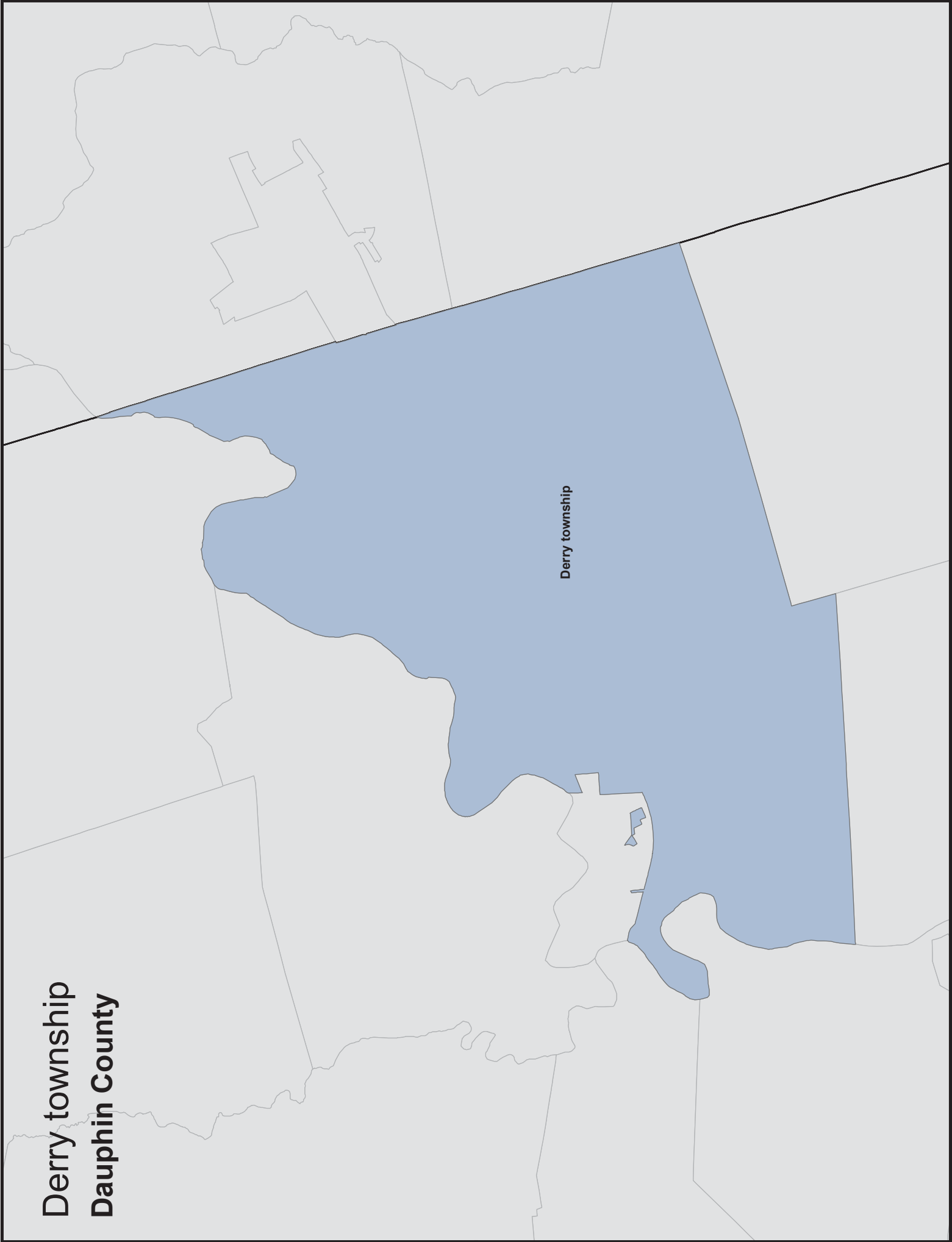
Shippensburg township
Cumberland County

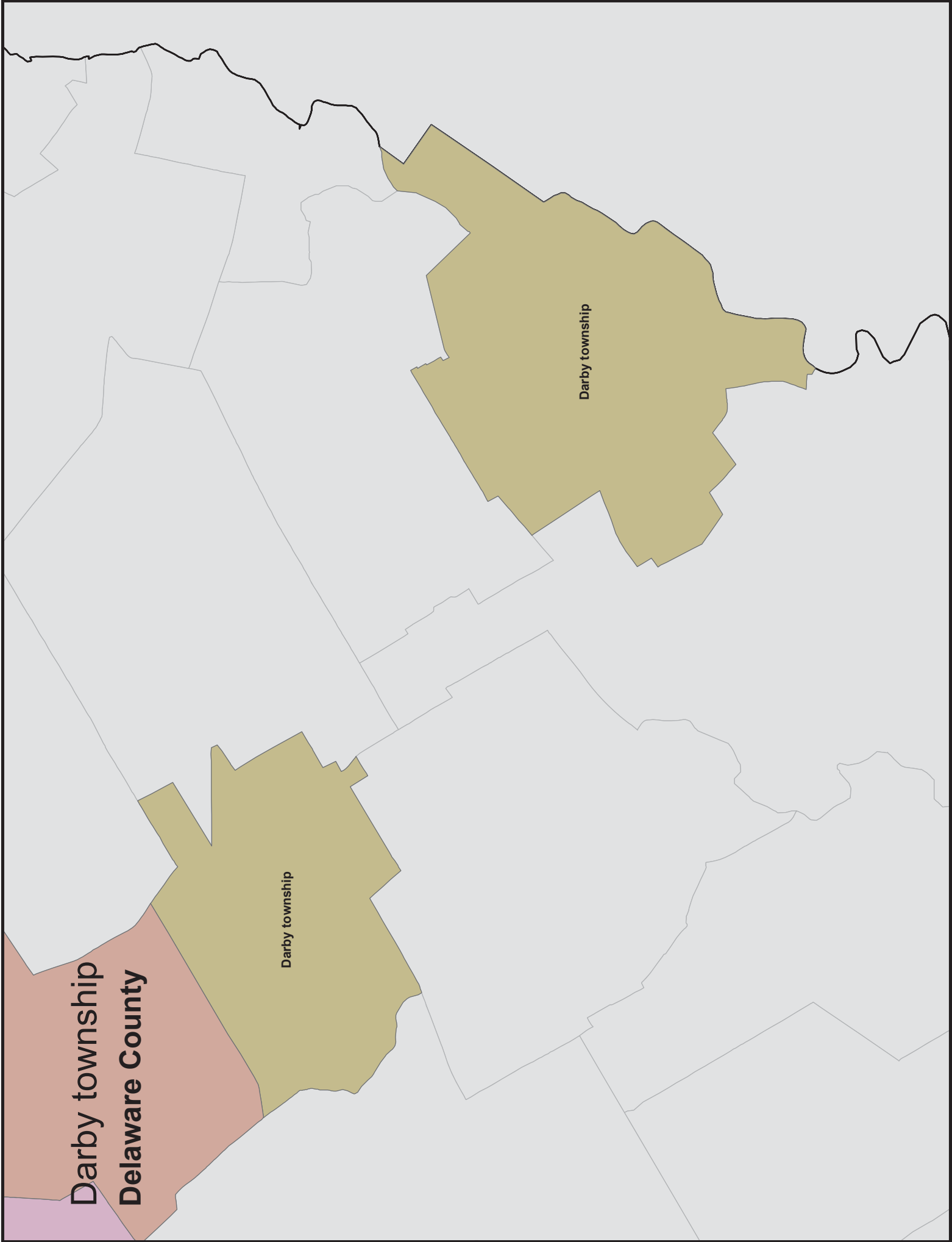
Shippensburg township



**Derry township
Dauphin County**

Derry township





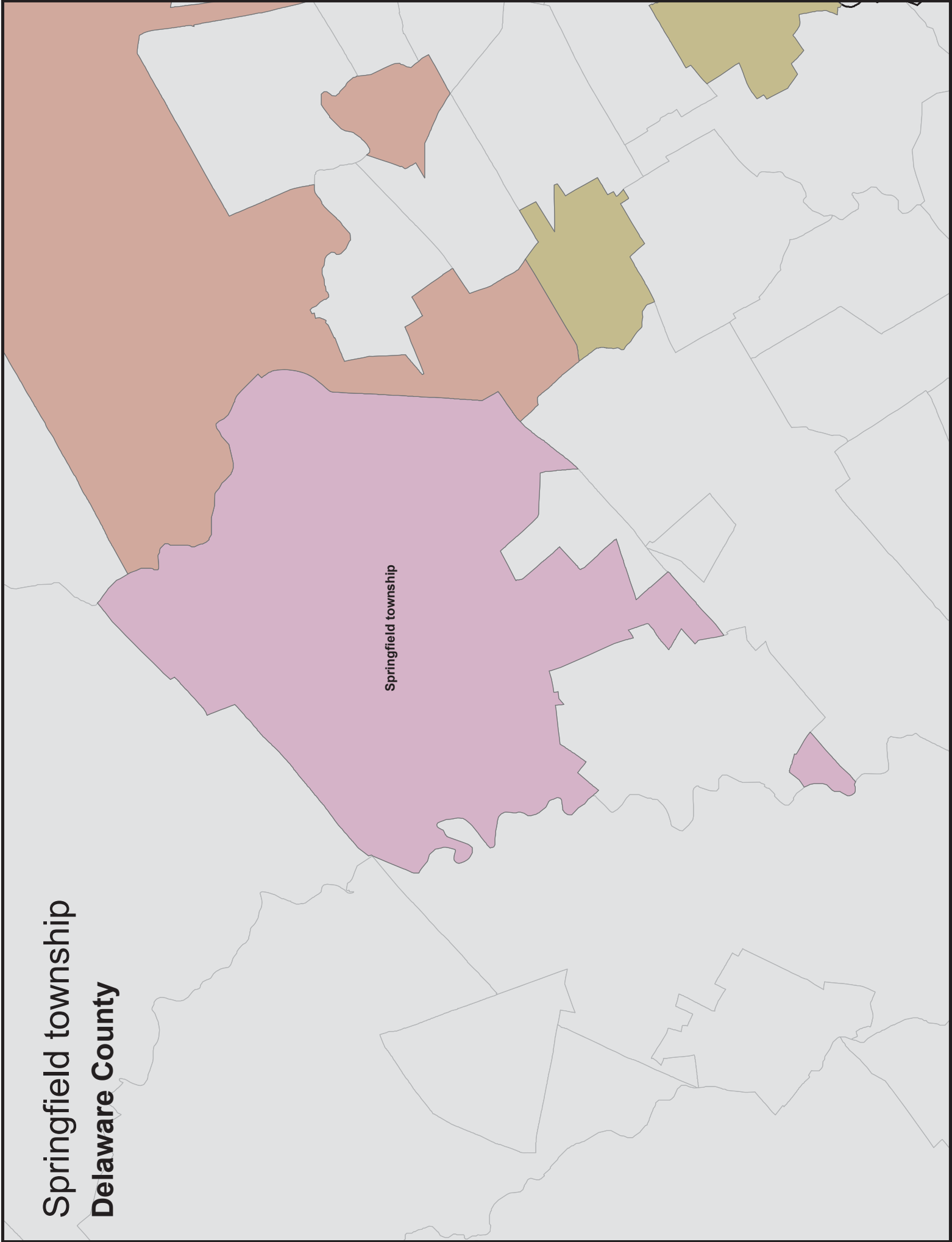
Darby township
Delaware County

Darby township

Darby township

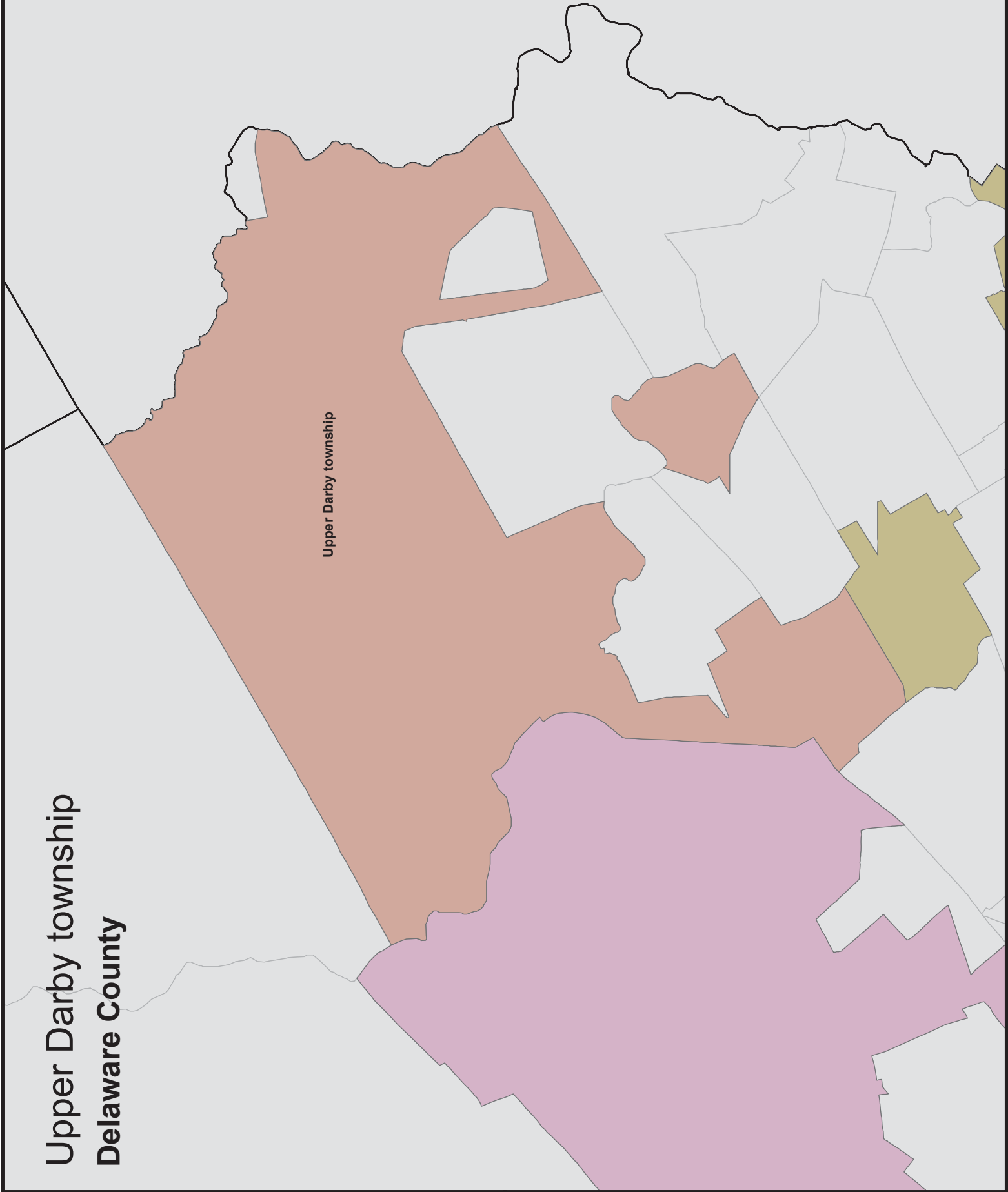
**Springfield township
Delaware County**

Springfield township



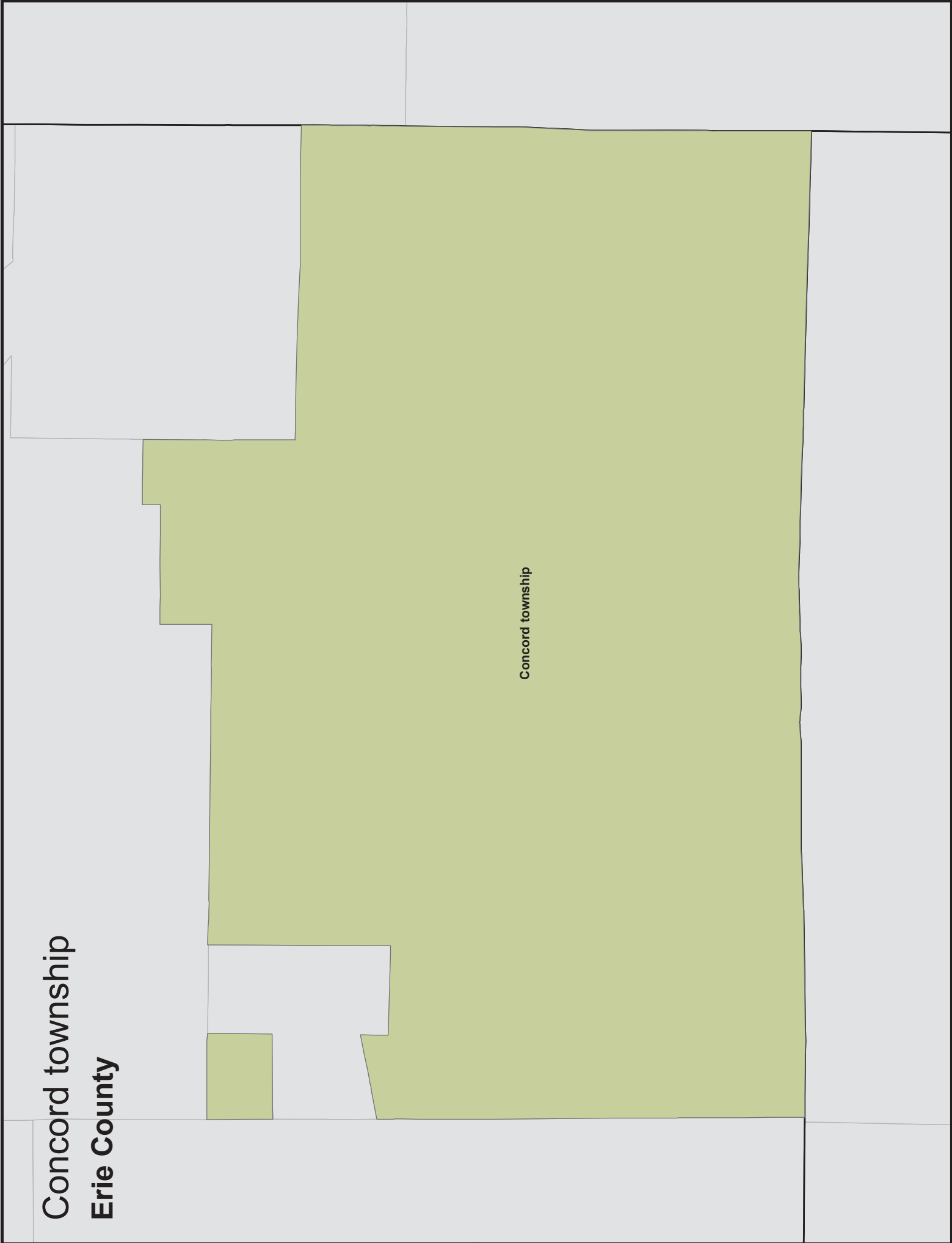
**Upper Darby township
Delaware County**

Upper Darby township



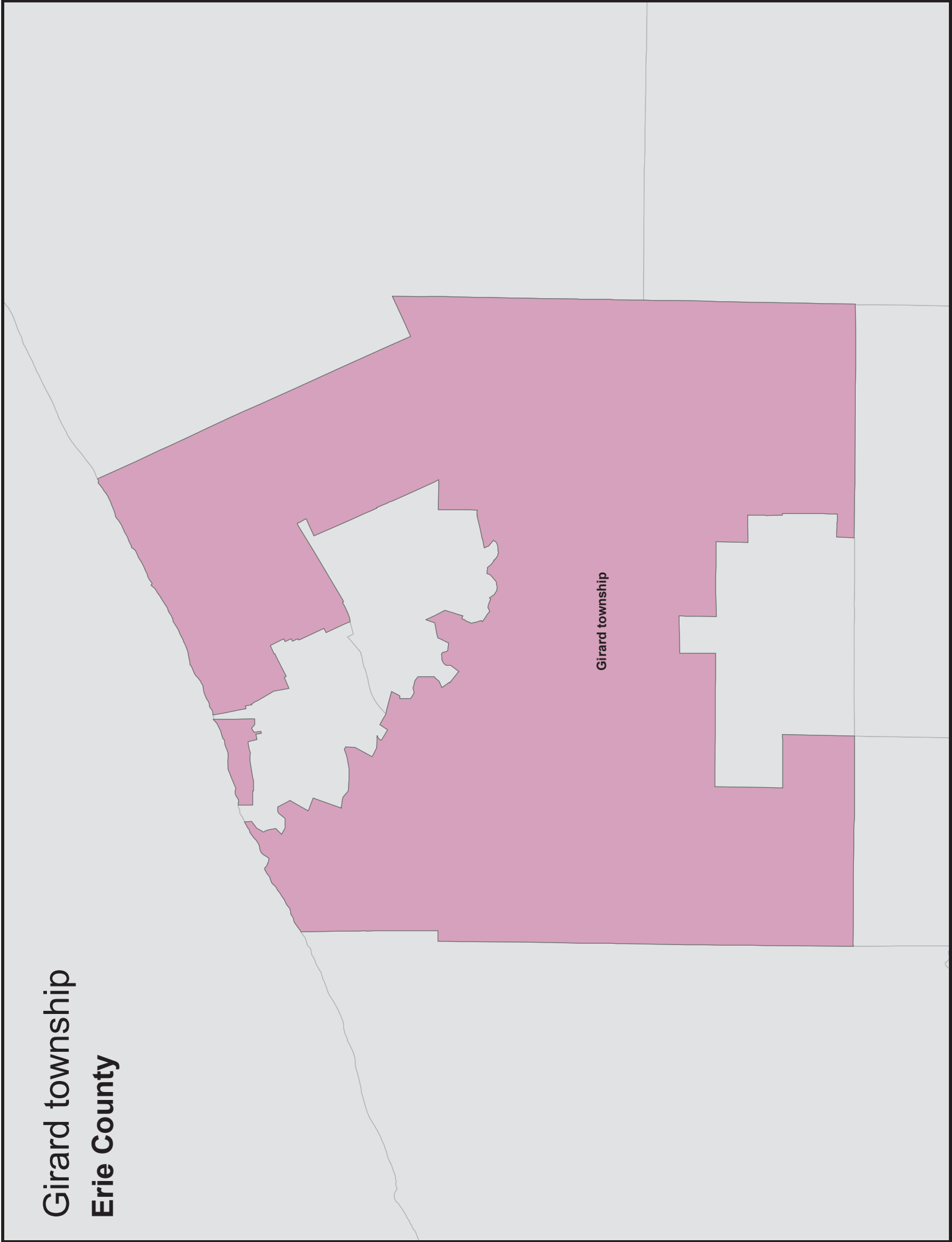
Concord township
Erie County

Concord township



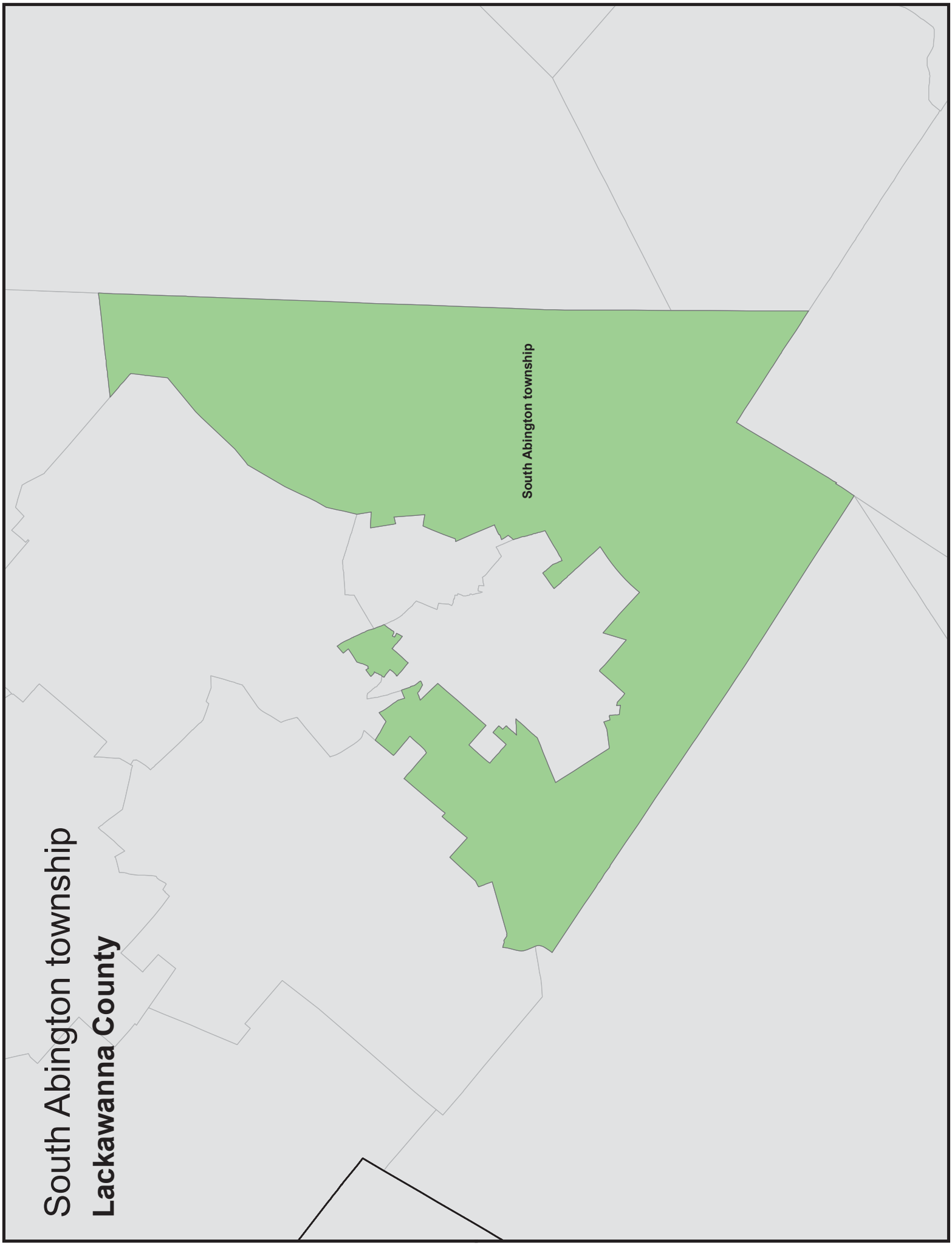
Girard township
Erie County

Girard township



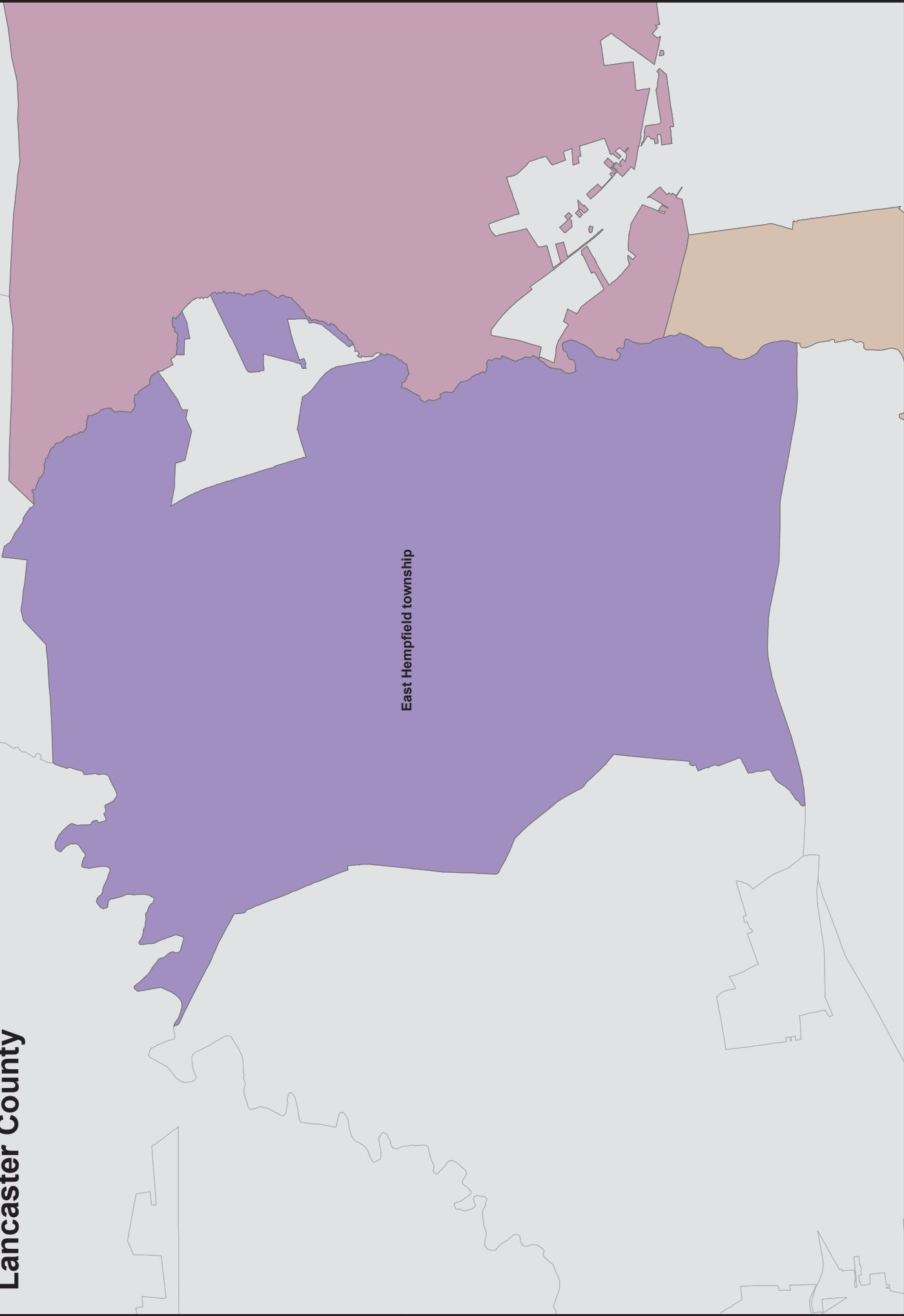
South Abington township
Lackawanna County

South Abington township



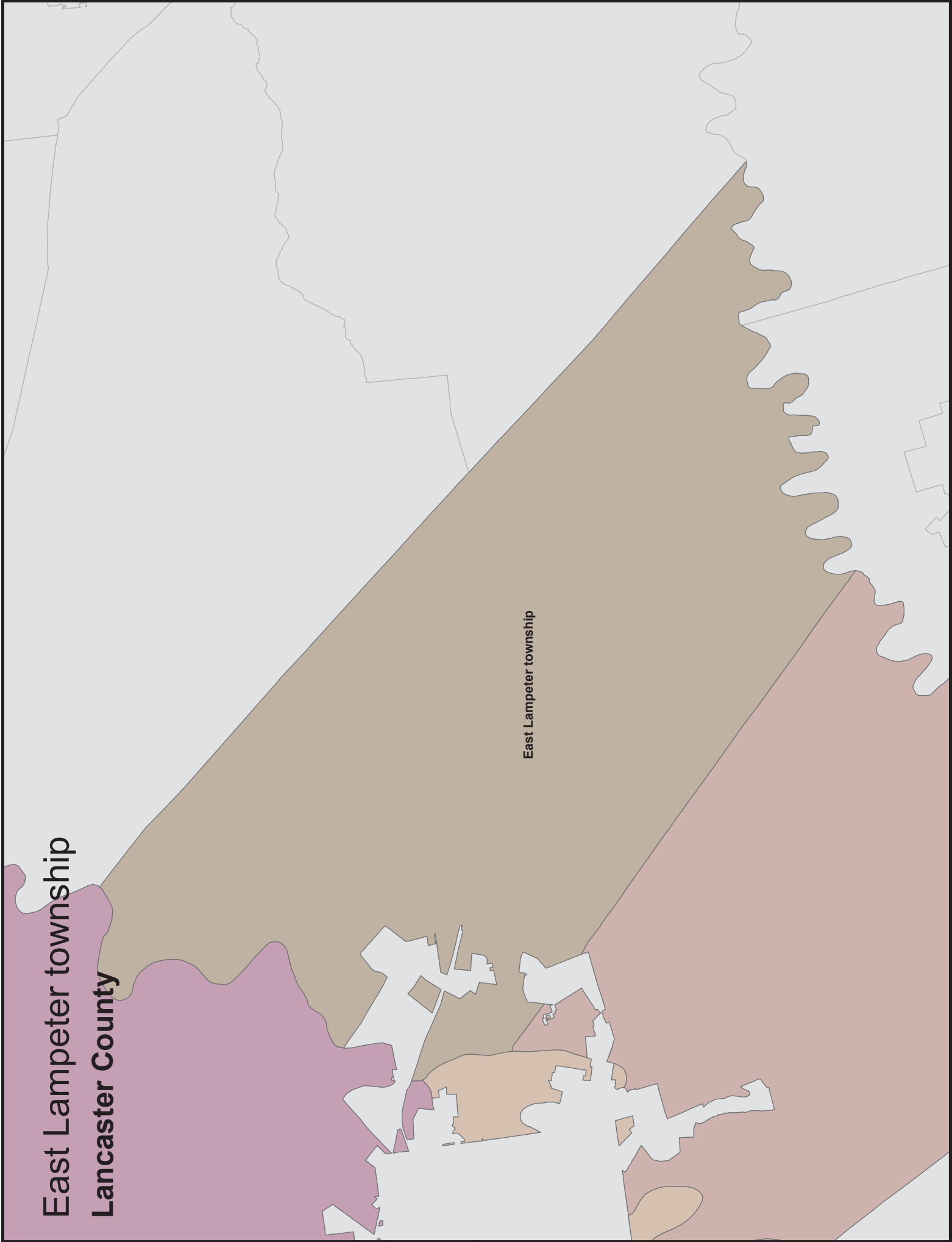
**East Hempfield township
Lancaster County**

East Hempfield township



East Lampeter township
Lancaster County

East Lampeter township



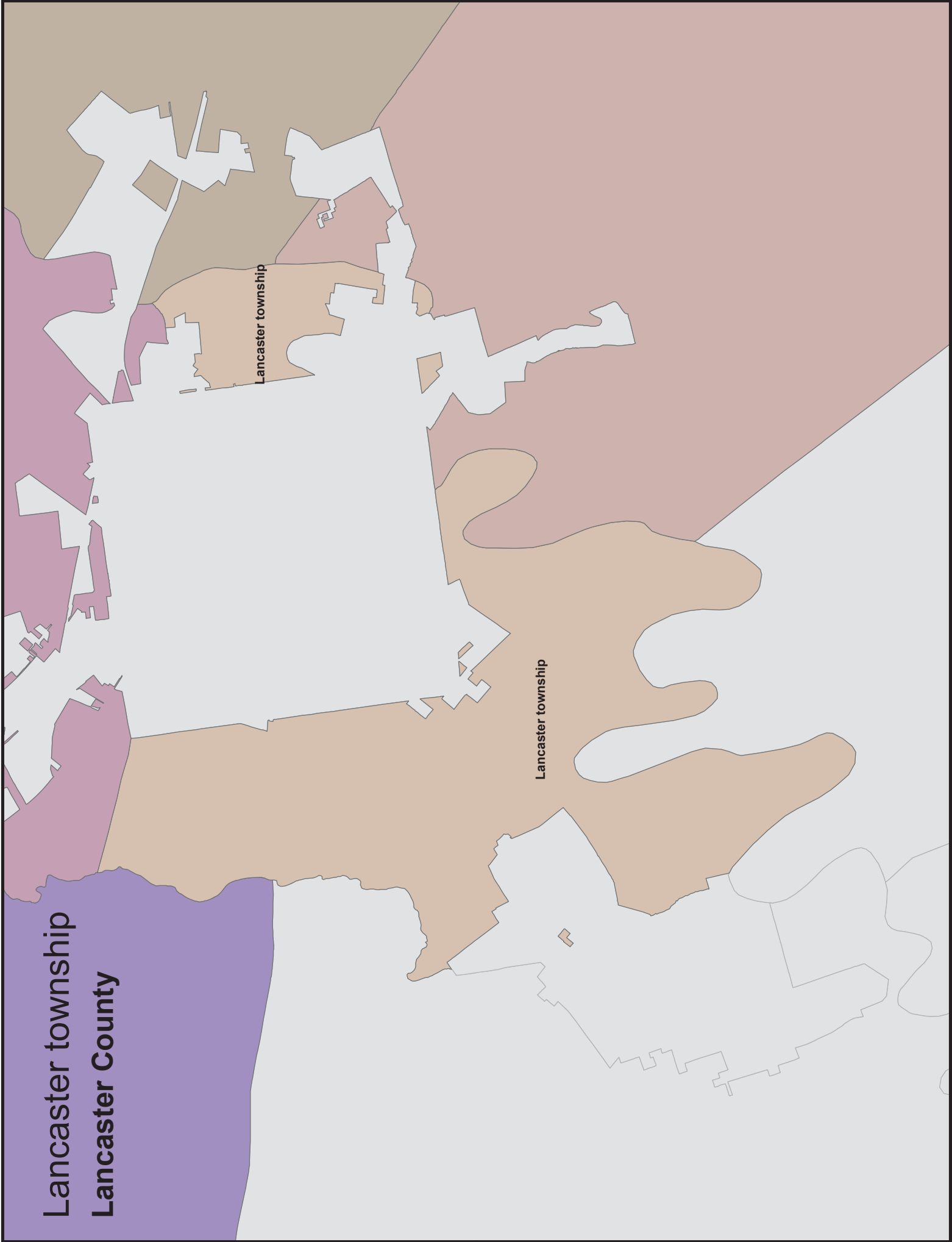
Ephrata township
Lancaster County



Lancaster township
Lancaster County

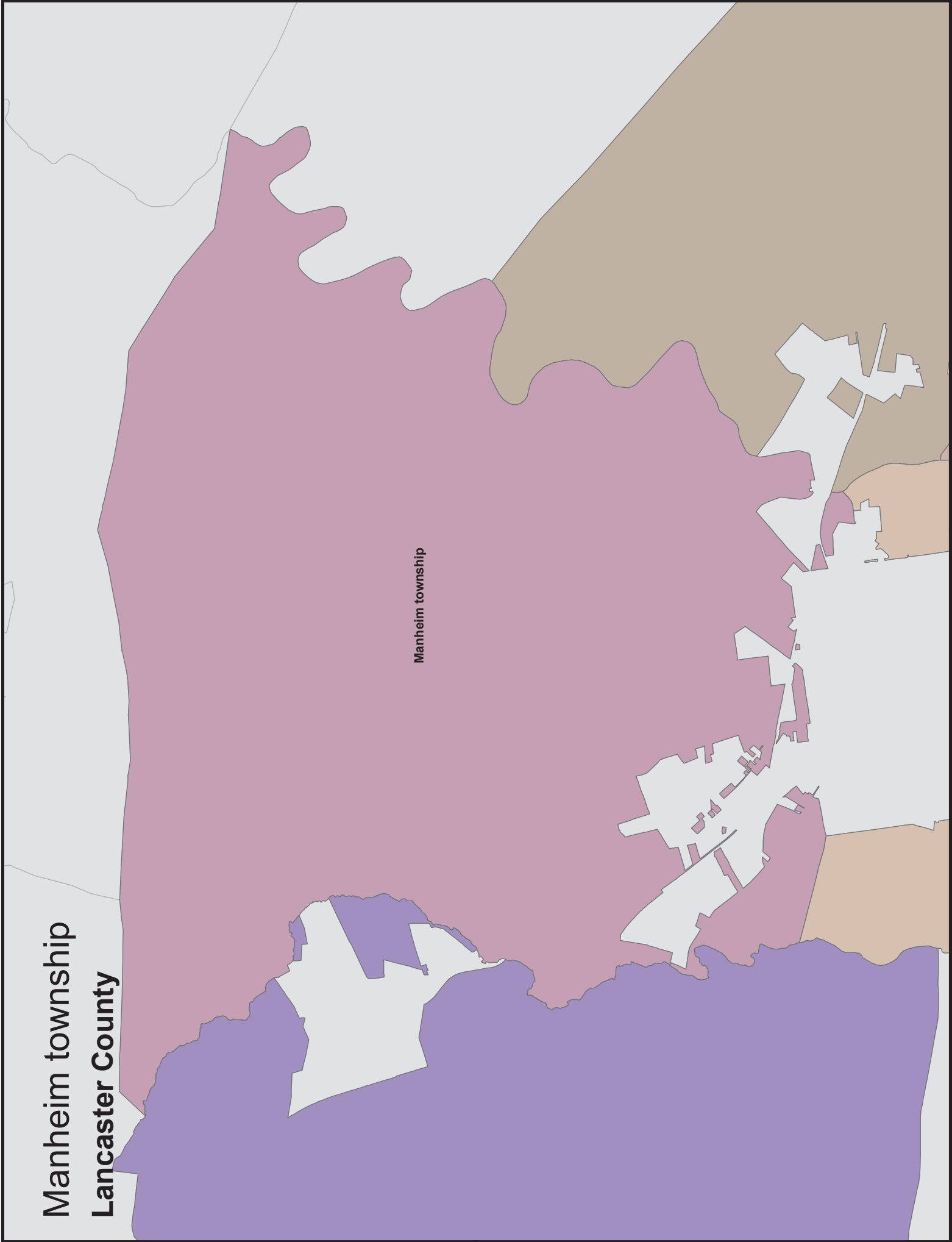
Lancaster township

Lancaster township



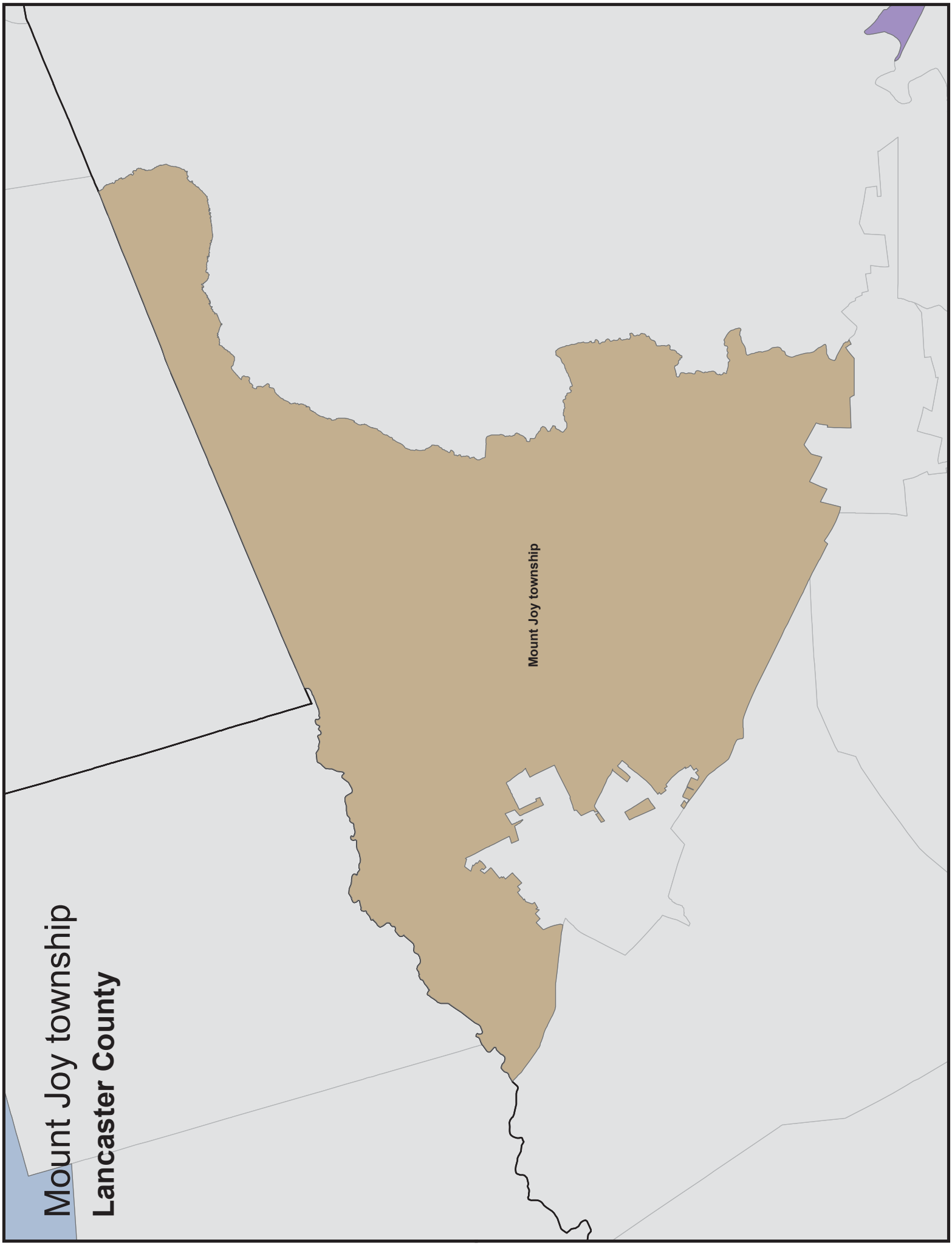
Manheim township
Lancaster County

Manheim township



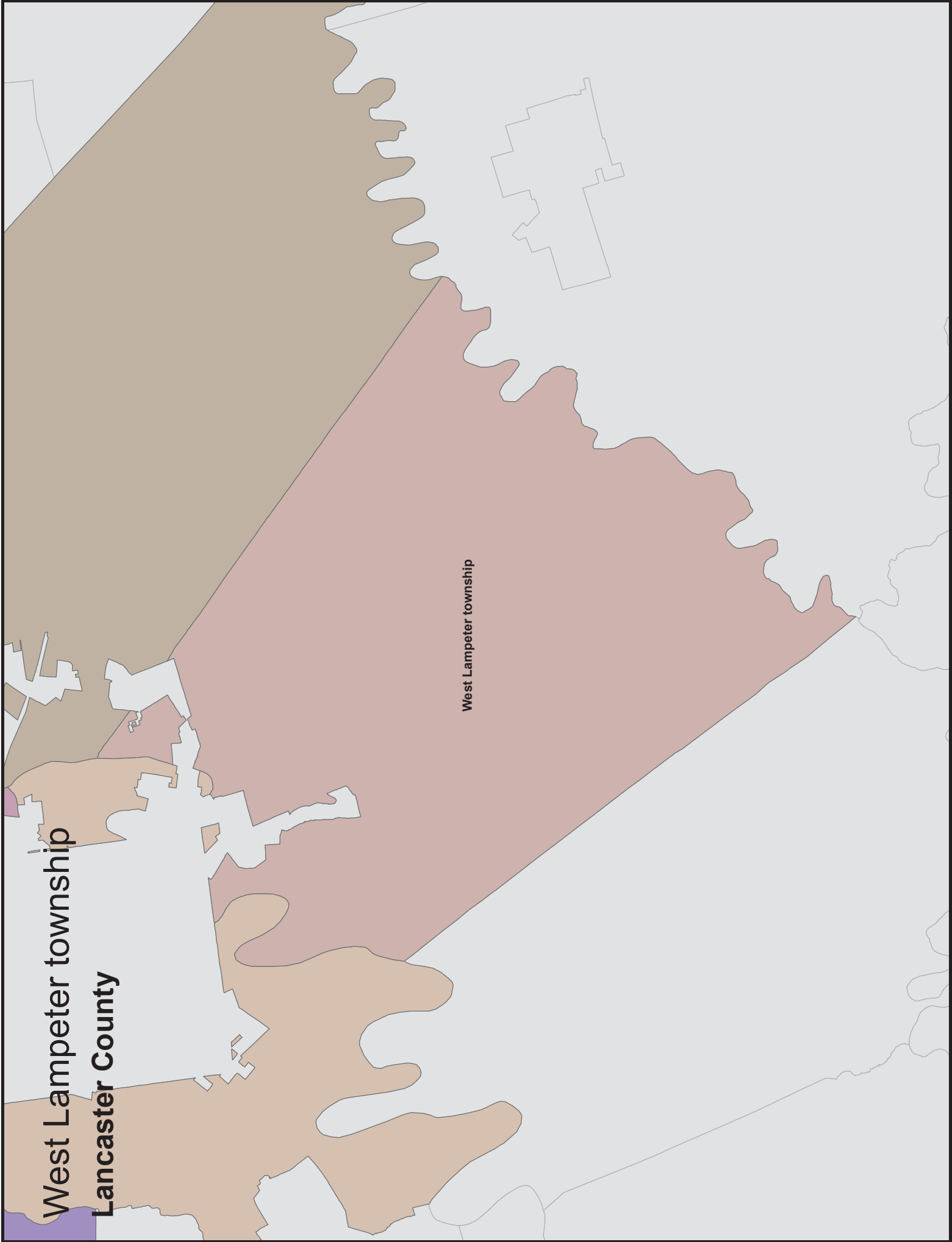
Mount Joy township
Lancaster County

Mount Joy township



West Lampeter township
Lancaster County

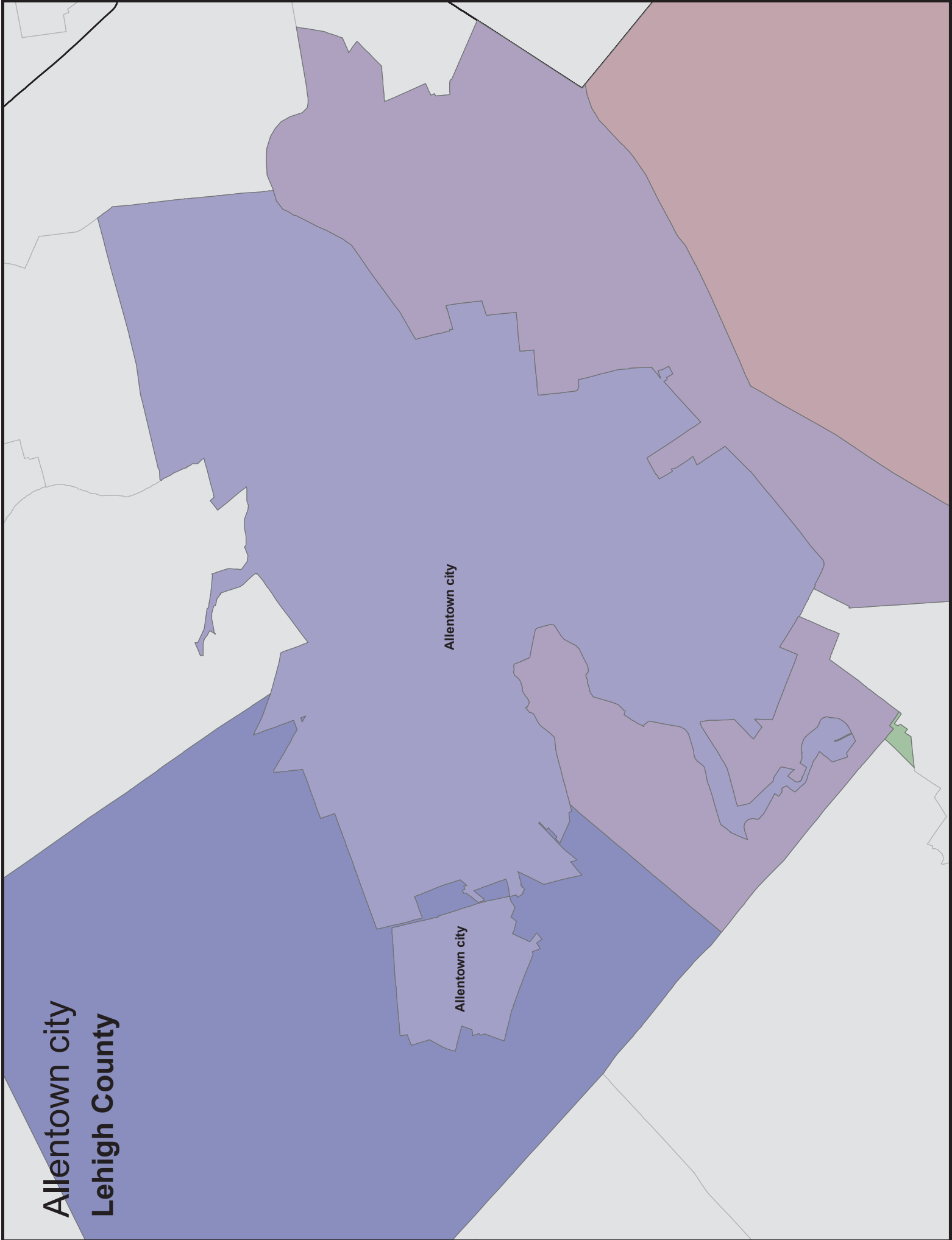
West Lampeter township



**Taylor township
Lawrence County**



Taylor township



Allentown city
Lehigh County

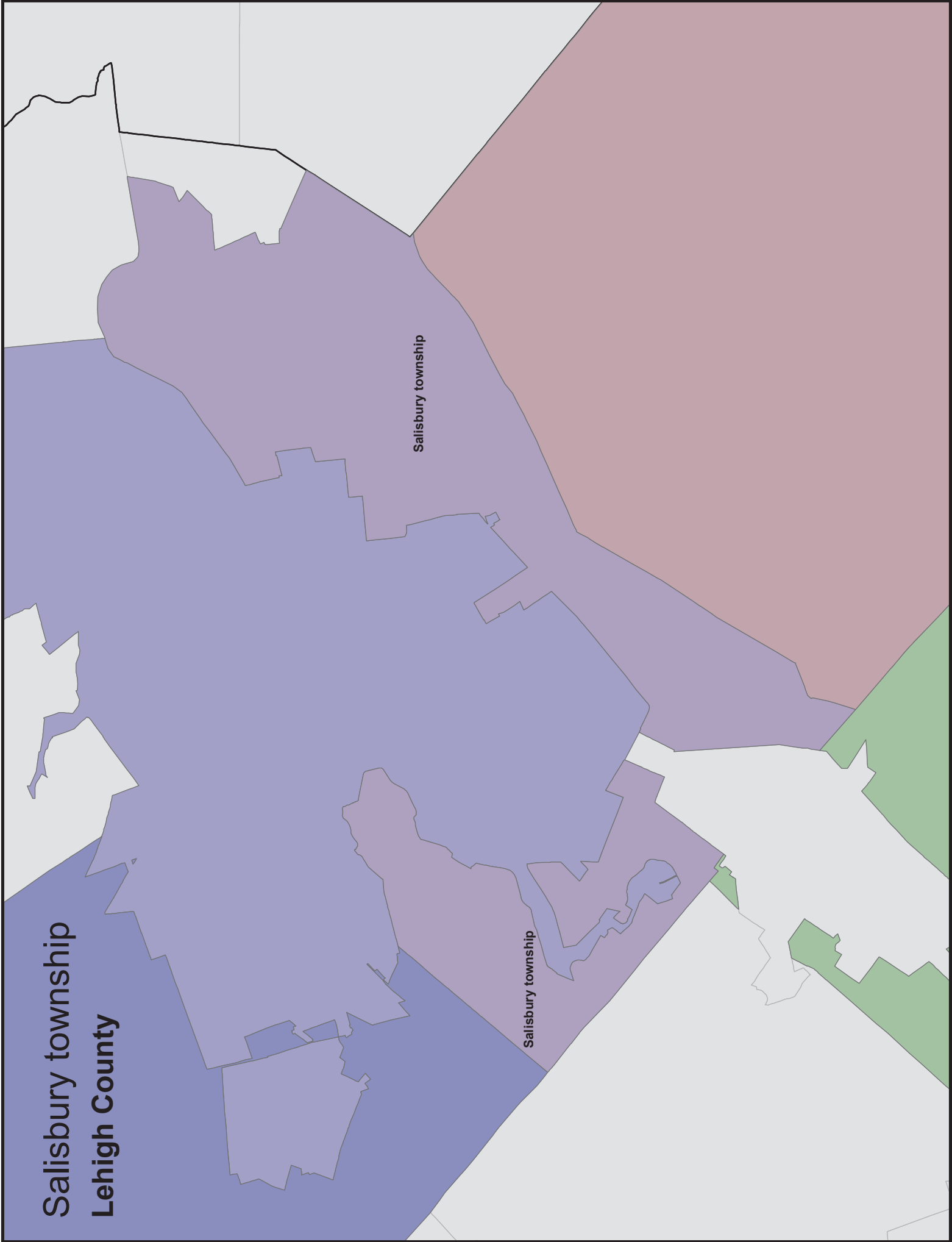
Allentown city

Allentown city

**Salisbury township
Lehigh County**

Salisbury township

Salisbury township



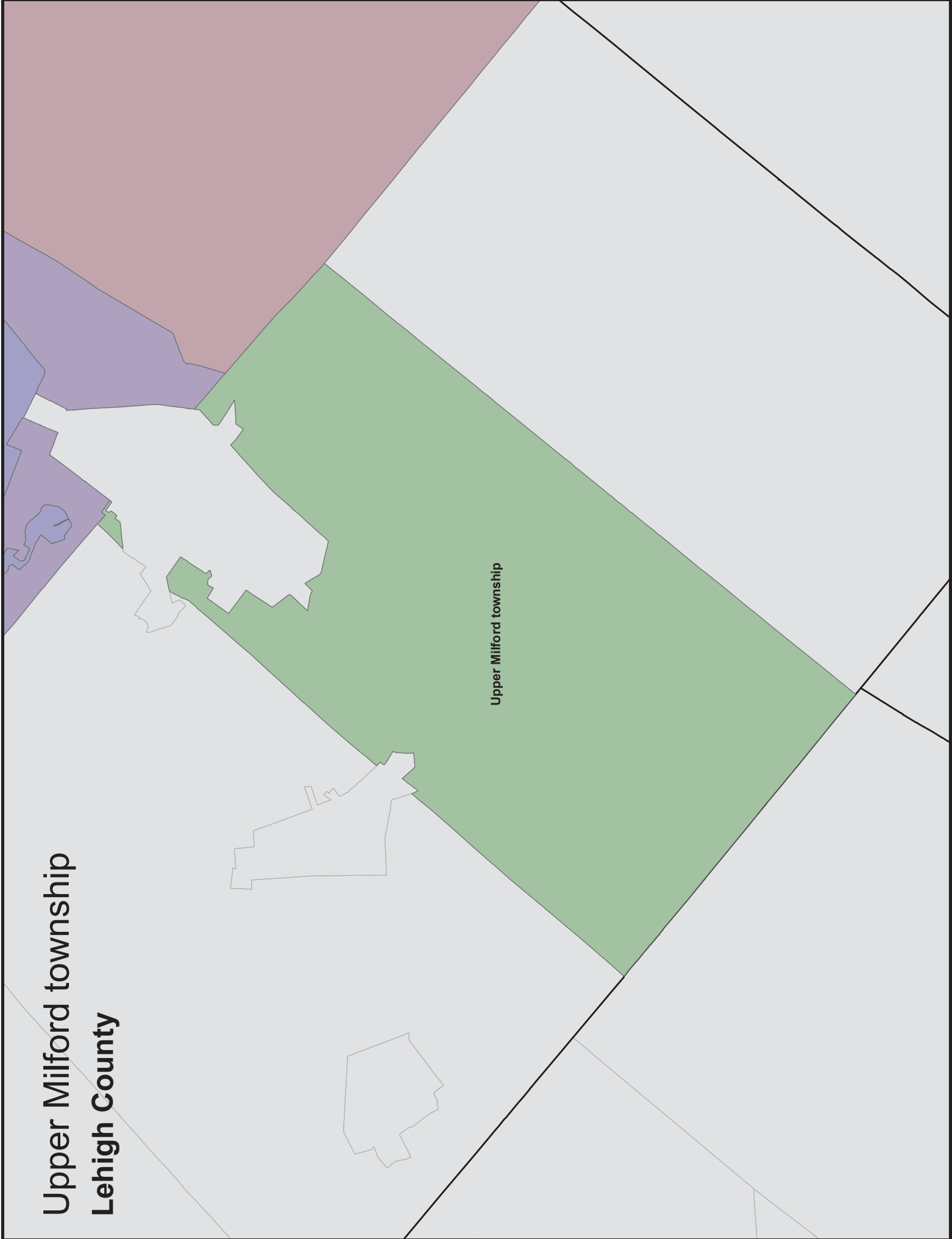
**South Whitehall township
Lehigh County**

South Whitehall township

A map of South Whitehall township in Lehigh County. The township is outlined in a dark blue color. Inside the township, there are several distinct regions shaded in different colors: a large light purple area in the upper right, a medium purple area in the center, and a dark blue area in the lower right. The rest of the map is a light gray color, representing the surrounding area. The text 'South Whitehall township' is written vertically in the center of the township. The text 'South Whitehall township Lehigh County' is written vertically on the left side of the map.

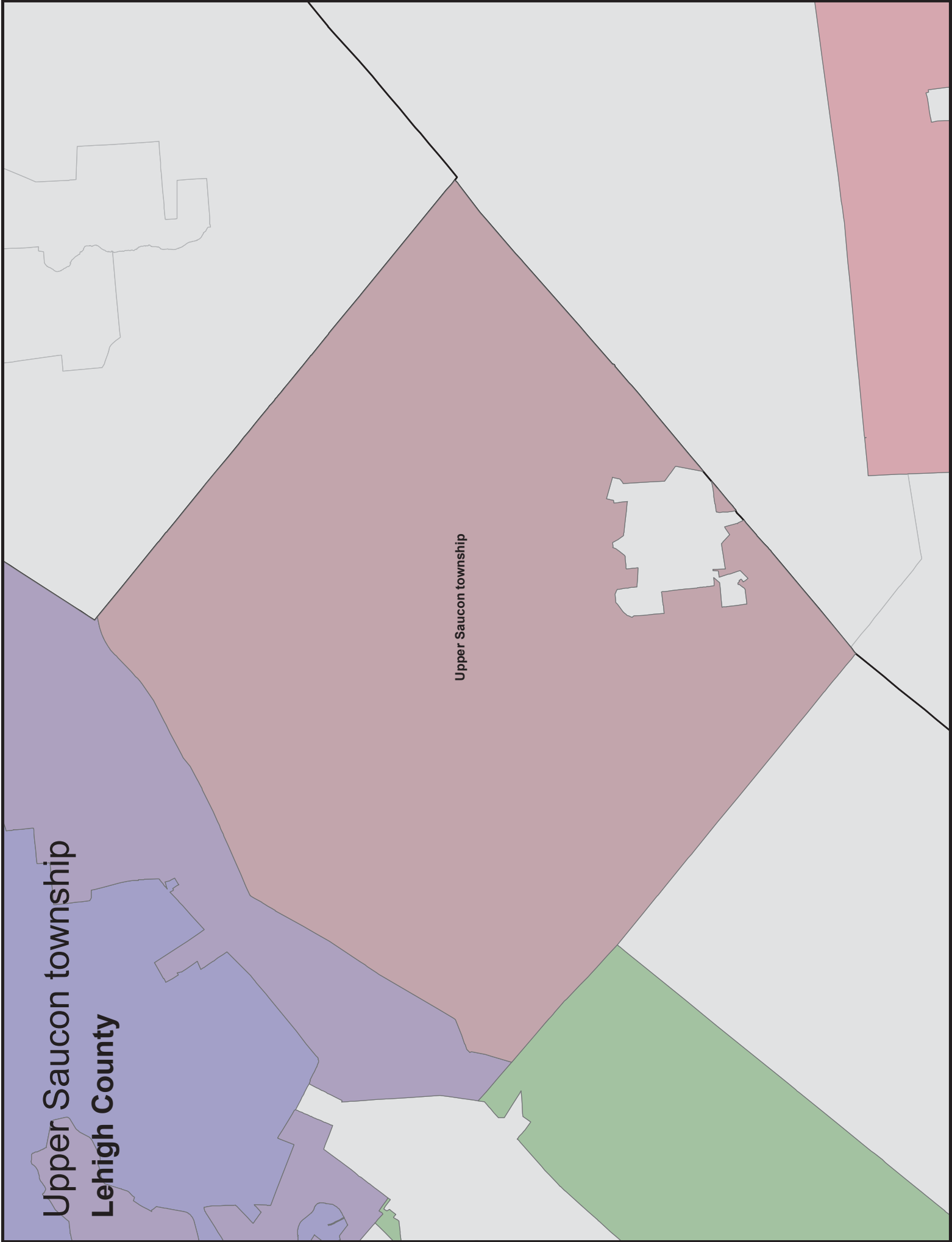
**Upper Milford township
Lehigh County**

Upper Milford township



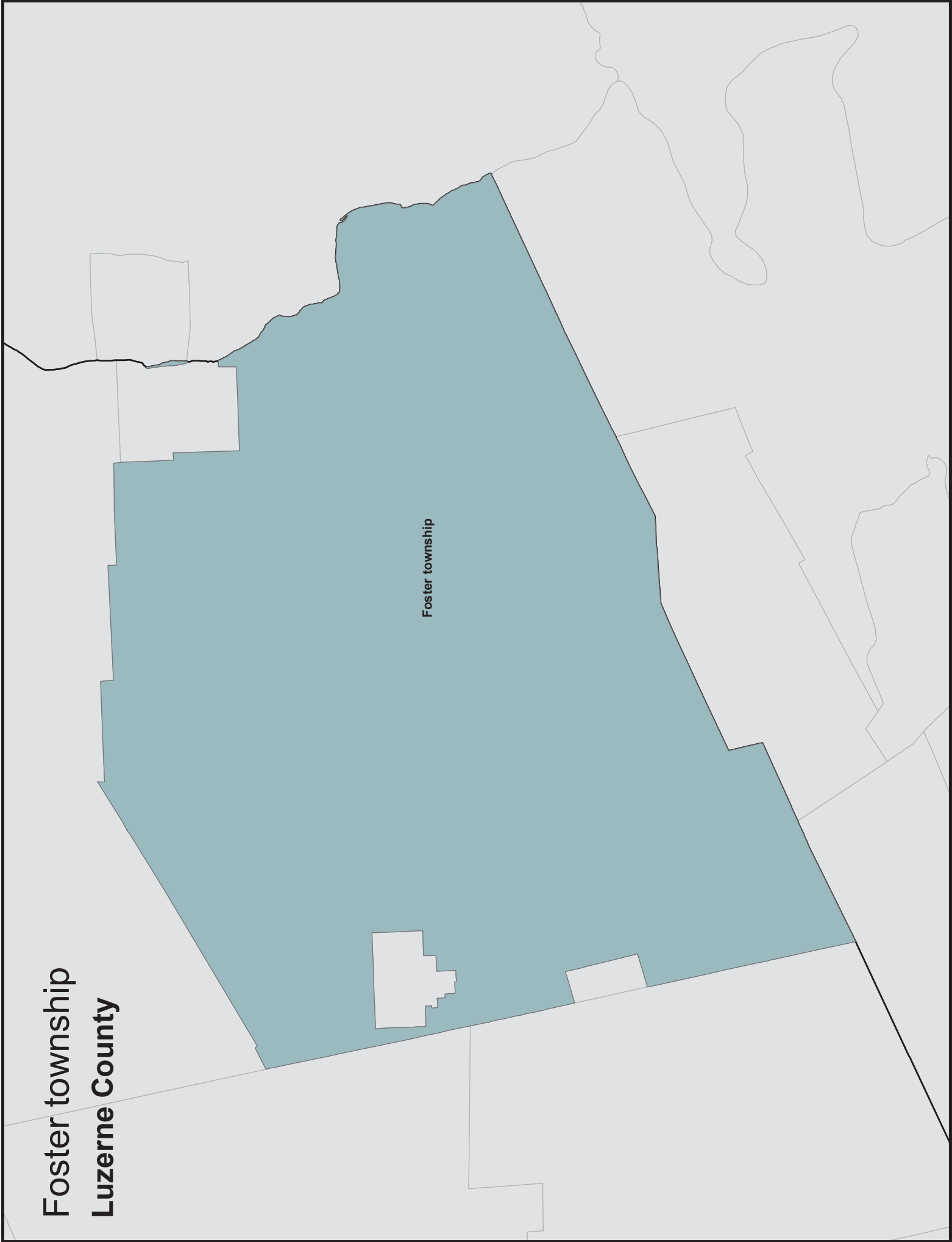
**Upper Saucon township
Lehigh County**

Upper Saucon township



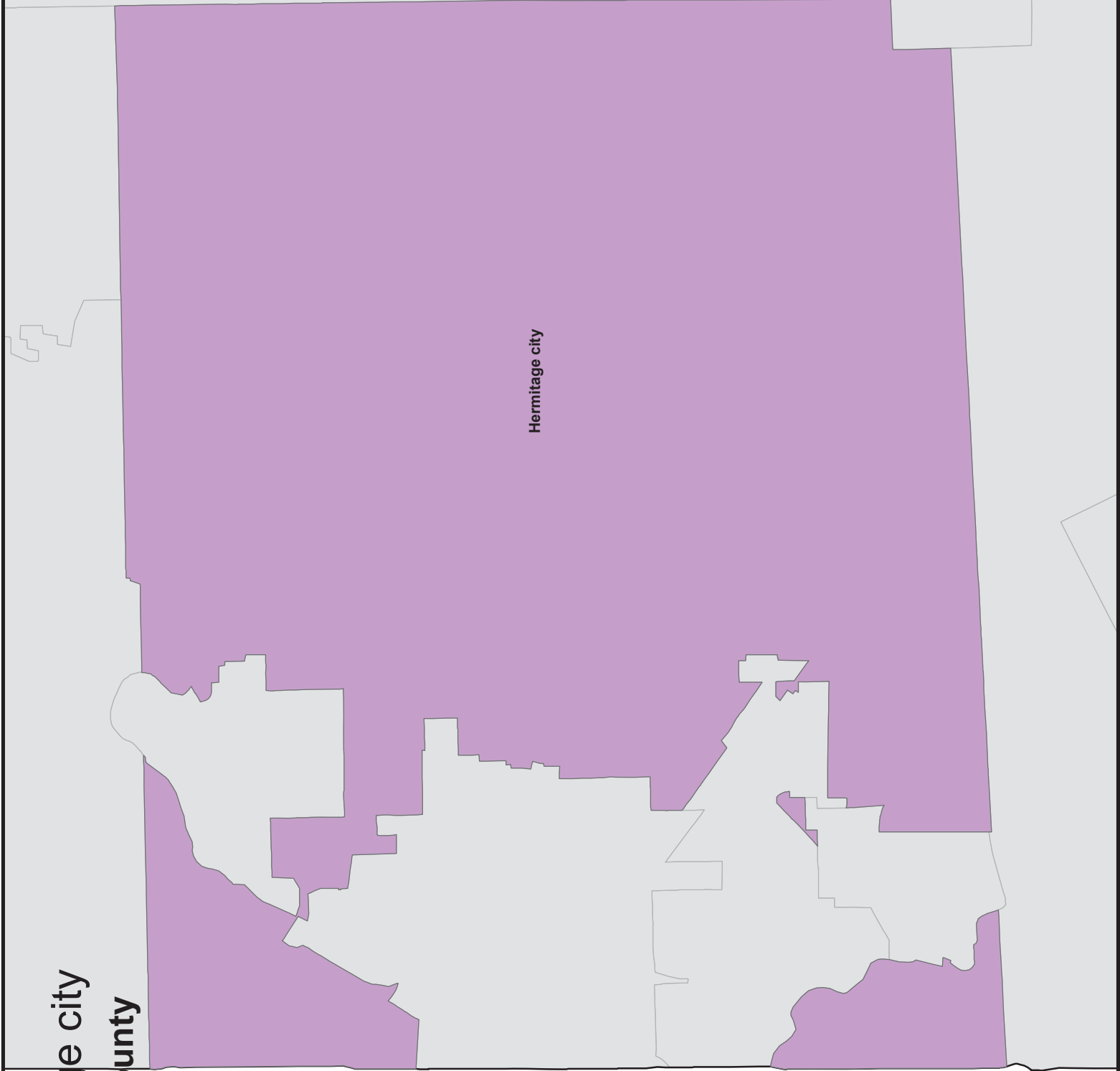
Foster township
Luzerne County

Foster township



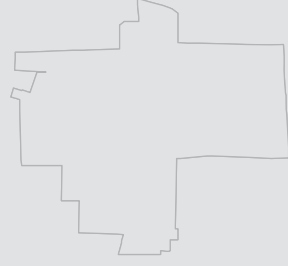
Hermitage city
Mercer County

Hermitage city



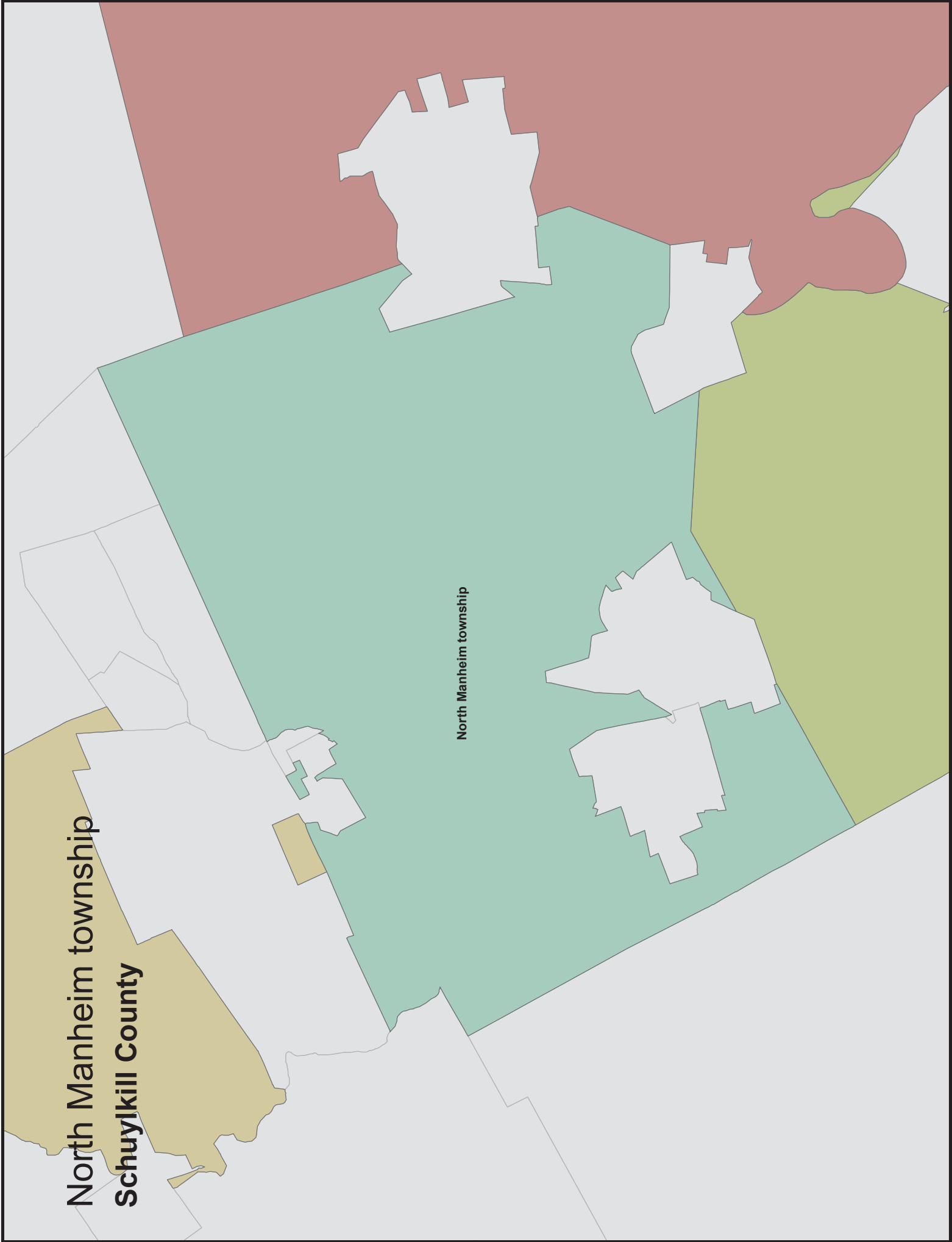
**Pine township
Mercer County**

Pine township



North Manheim township
Schuylkill County

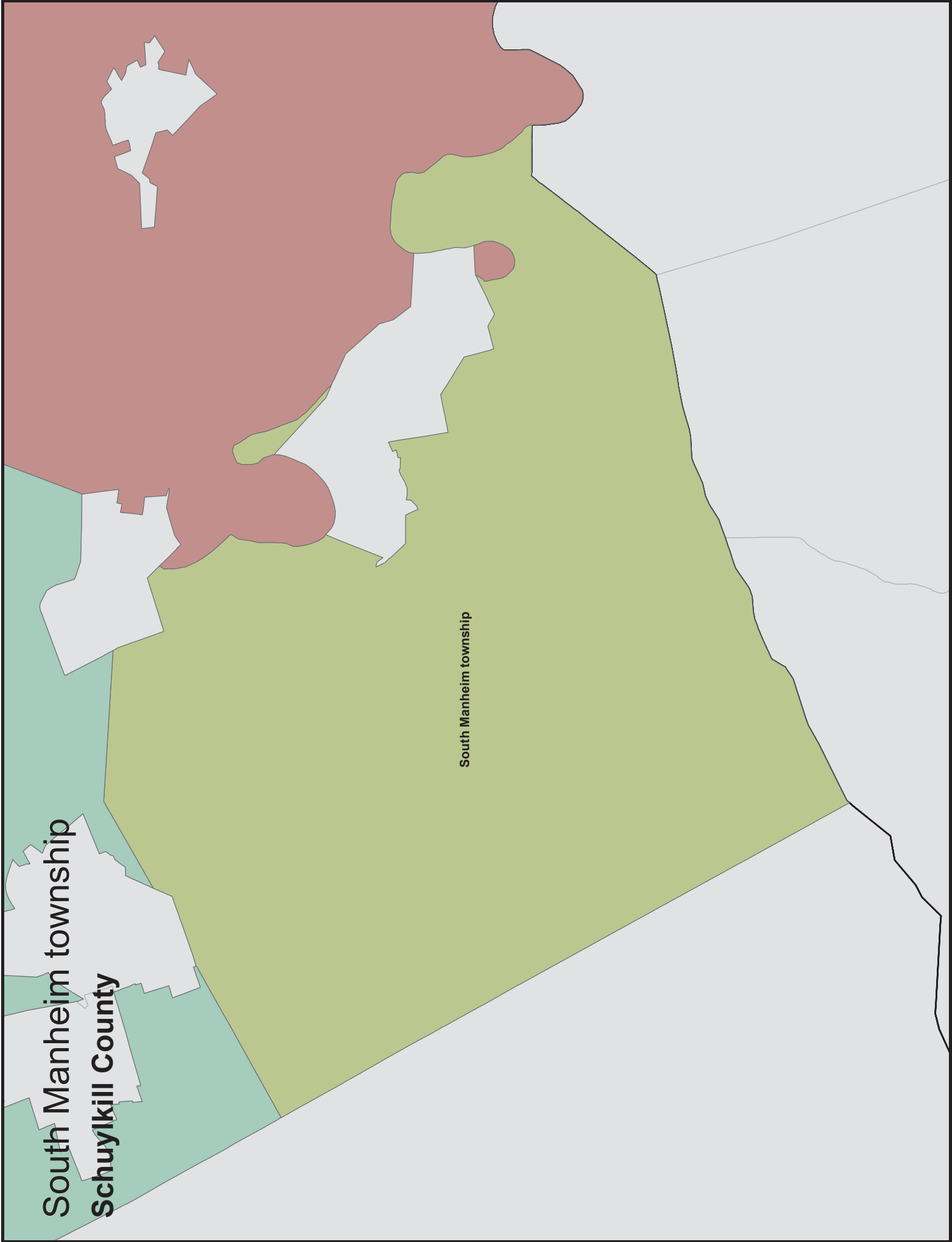
North Manheim township



**Norwegian township
Schuylkill County**

Norwegian township



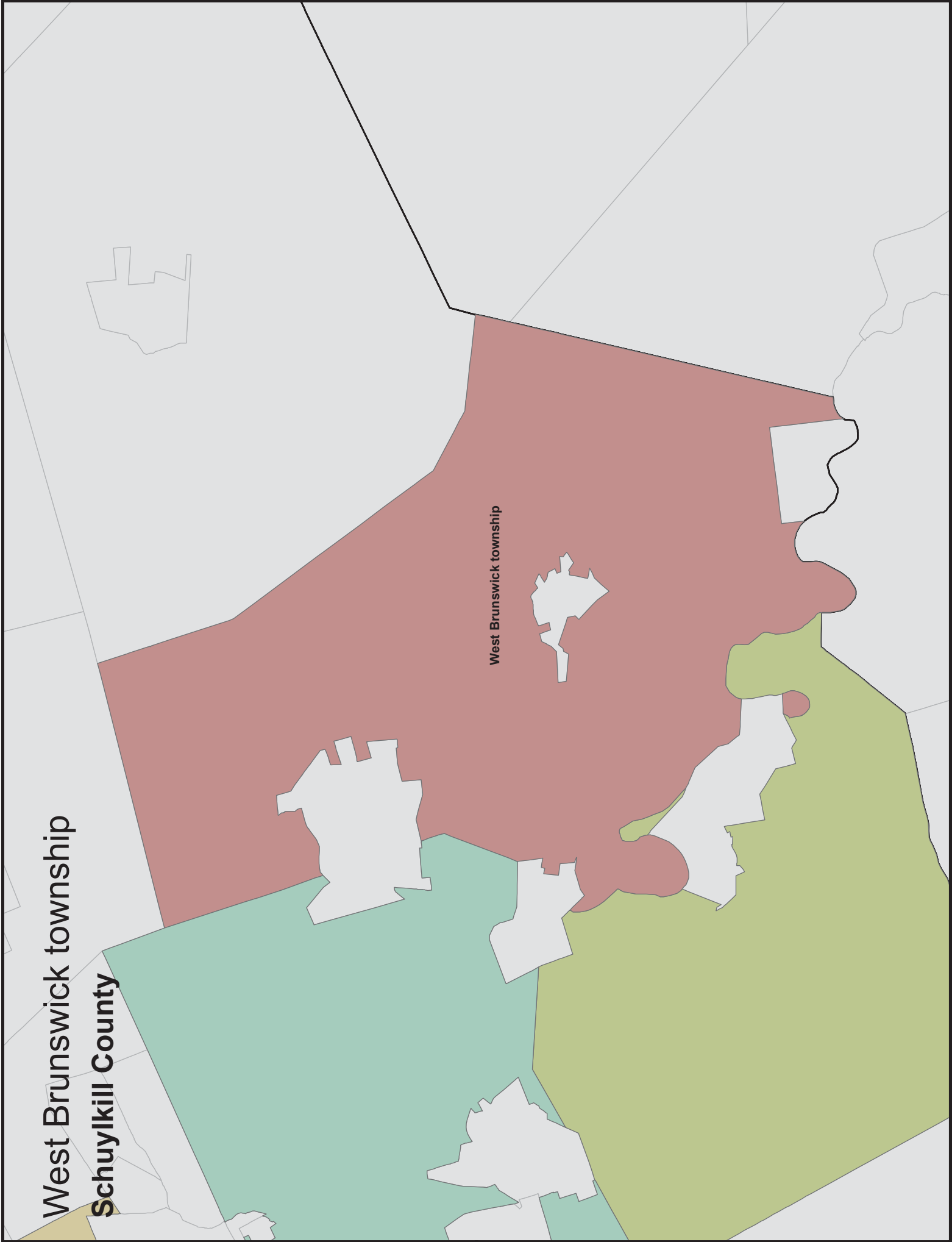


South Manheim township
Schuylkill County

South Manheim township

West Brunswick township
Schuylkill County

West Brunswick township



**West Mahanoy township
Schuylkill County**



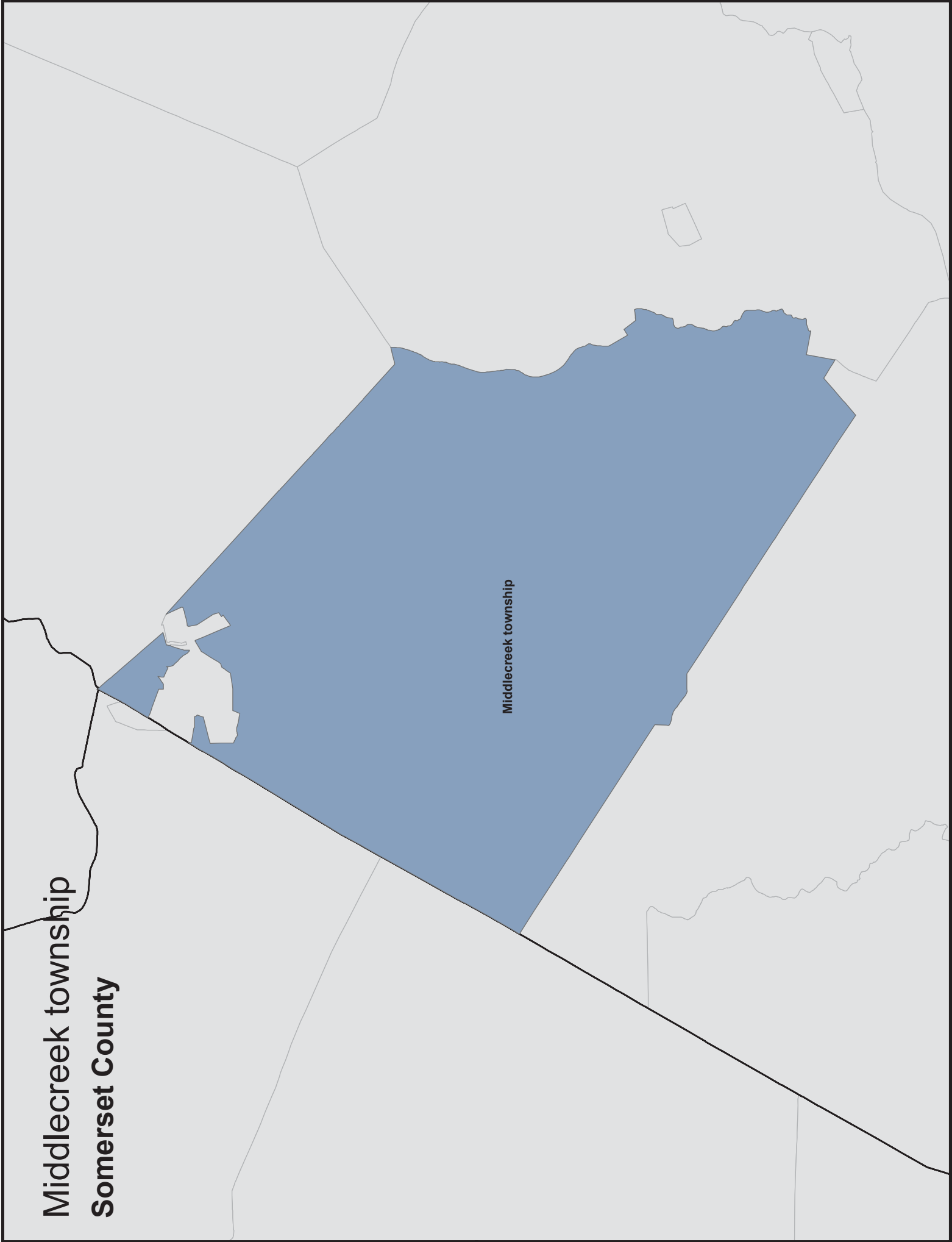
**Larimer township
Somerset County**

Larimer township



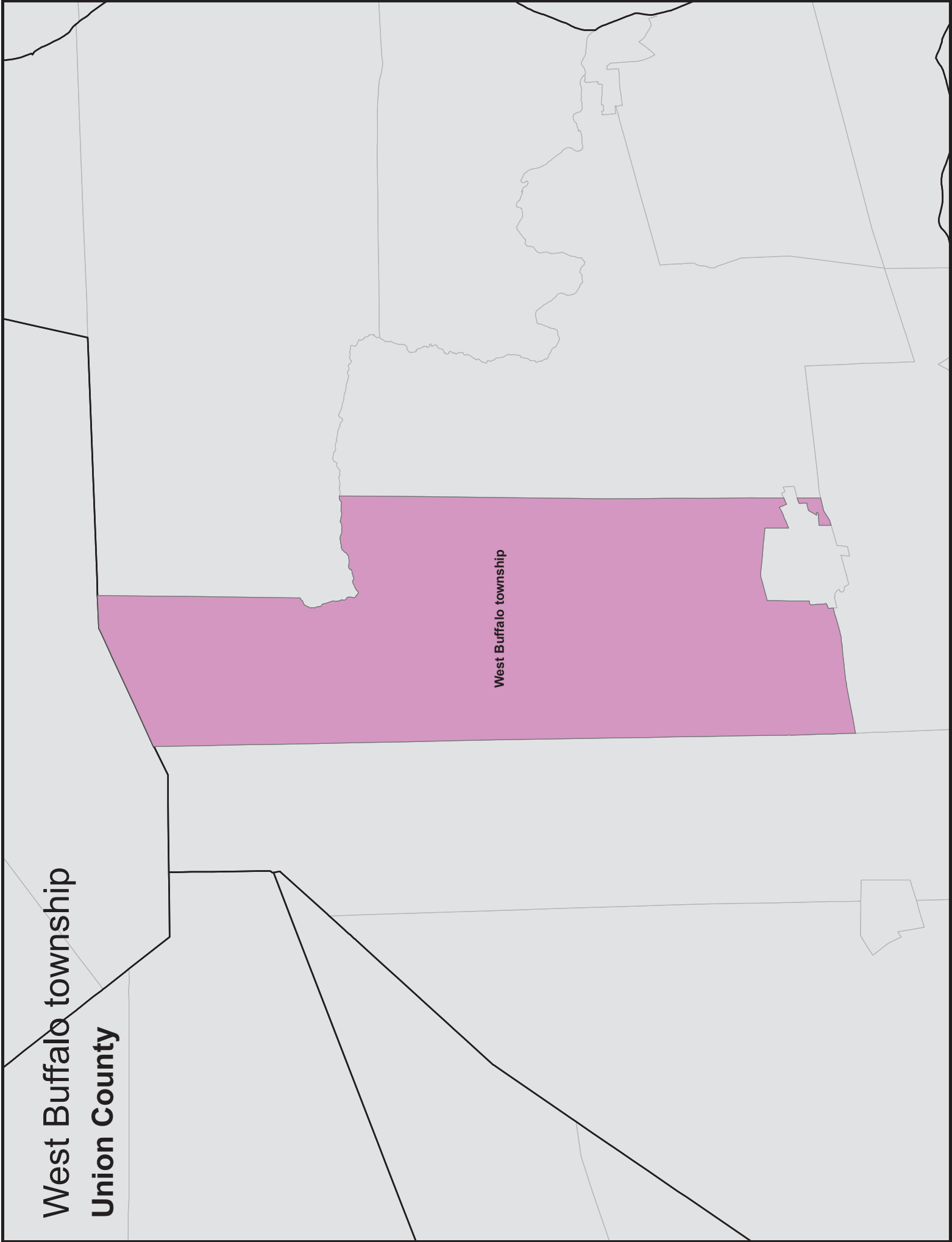
Middlecreek township
Somerset County

Middlecreek township



West Buffalo township
Union County

West Buffalo township



Sandycreek township
Venango County

Sandycreek township



Triumph township
Warren County

Triumph township

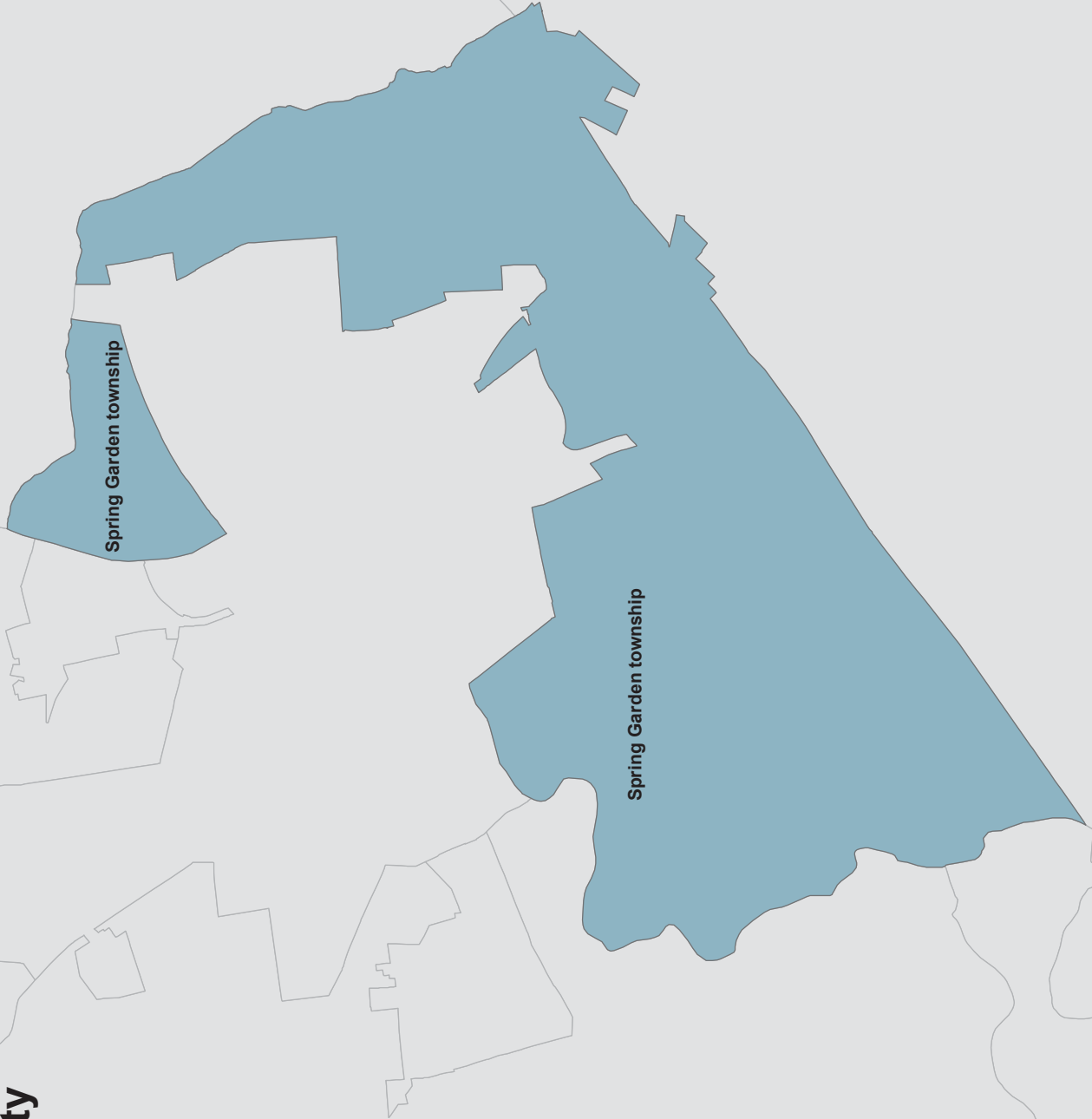


Hopewell township
York County

Hopewell township

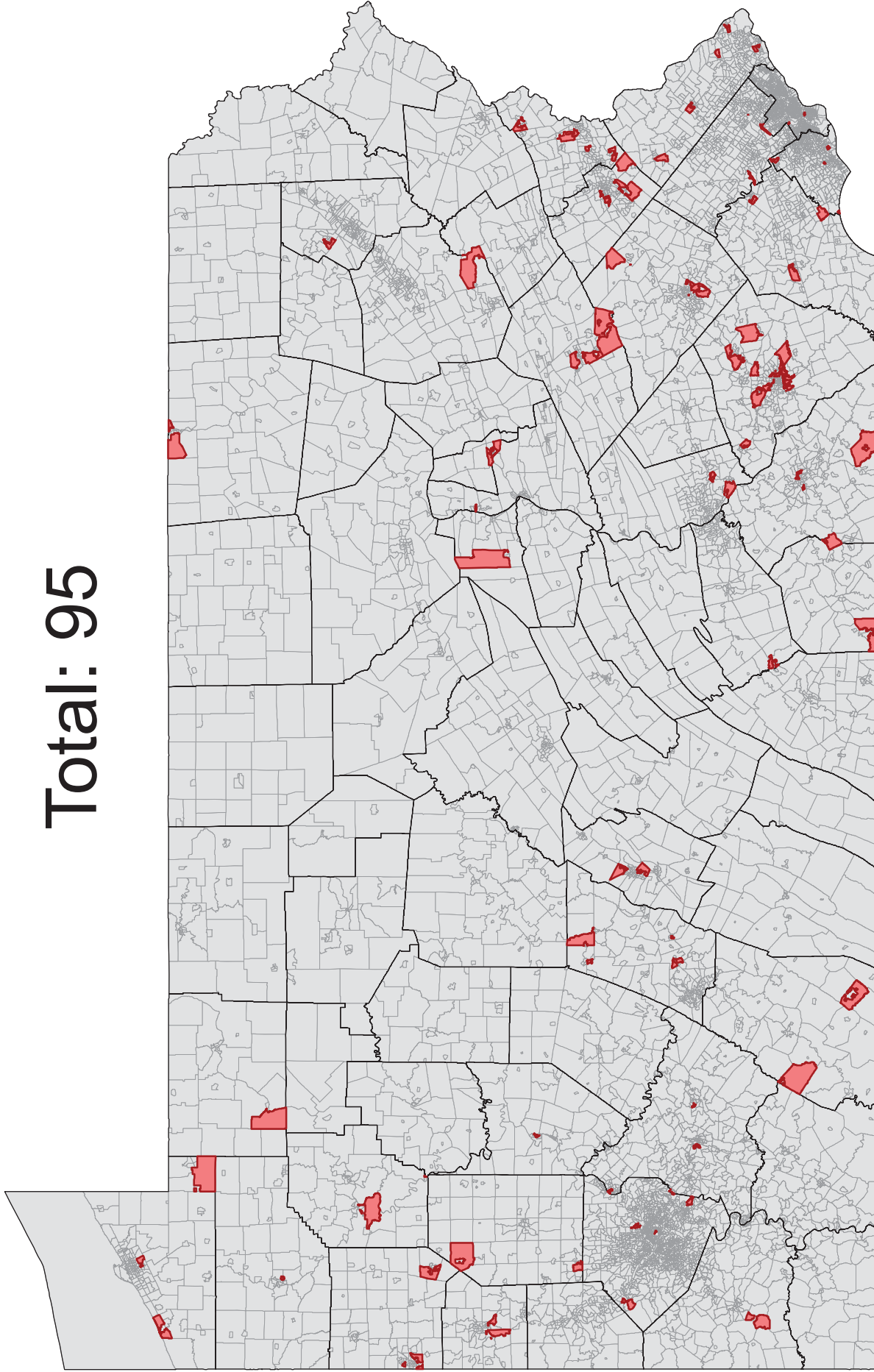


**Spring Garden township
York County**



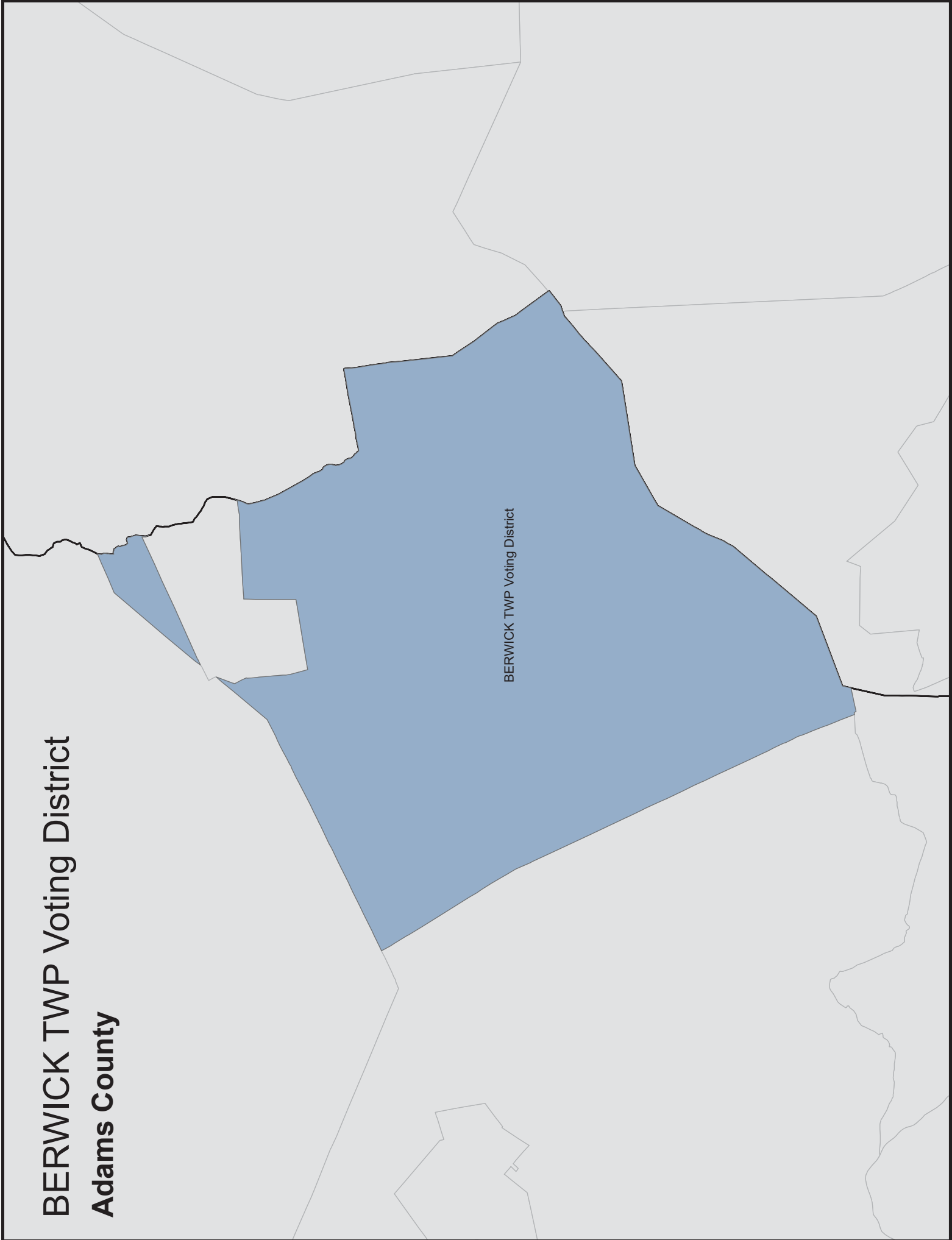
Non-Contiguous VTDs Present in Final 2011 Submission

Total: 95



BERWICK TWP Voting District
Adams County

BERWICK TWP Voting District



LIBERTY TWP Voting District
Adams County

LIBERTY TWP Voting District

LIBERTY TWP Voting District



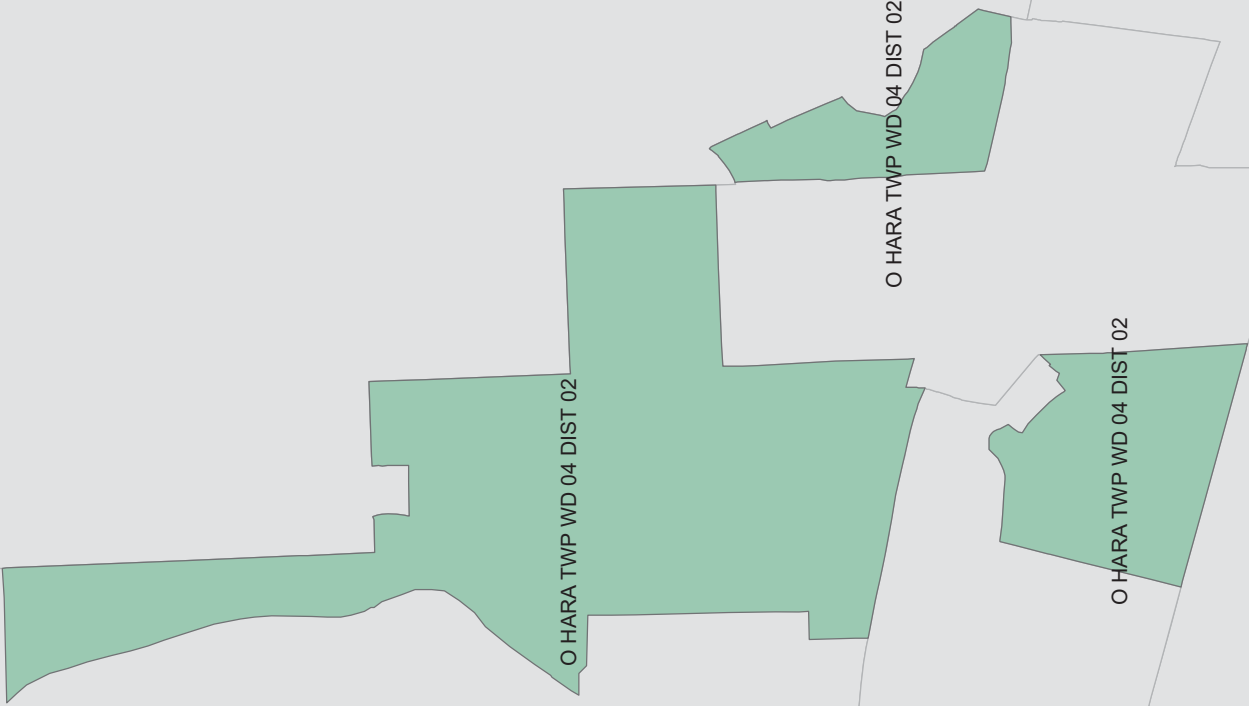
MOON TWP DIST 09
Allegheny County



MOON TWP DIST 09

MOON TWP DIST 09

O HARA TWP WD 04 DIST 02
Allegheny County

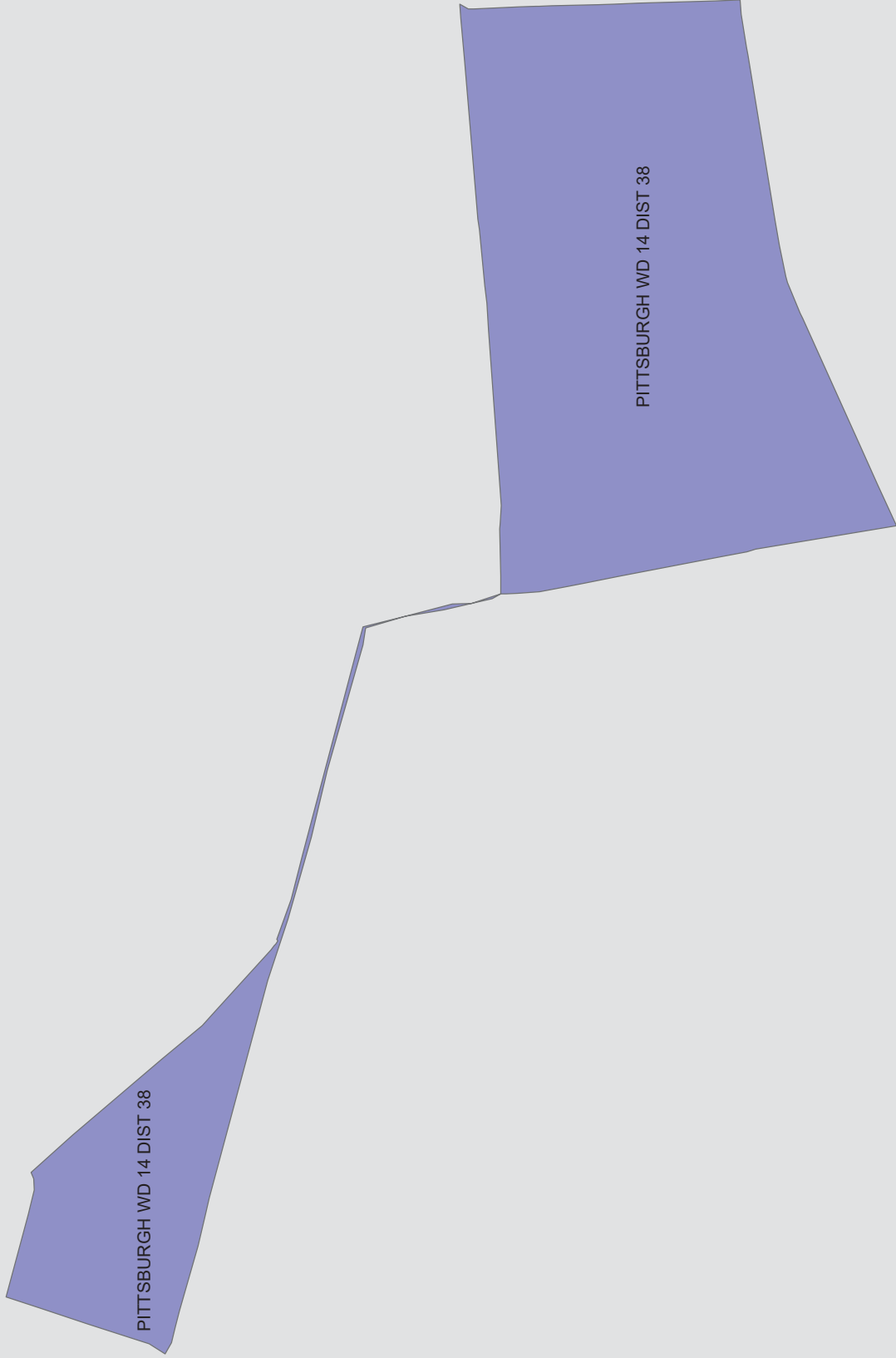


O HARA TWP WD 04 DIST 02

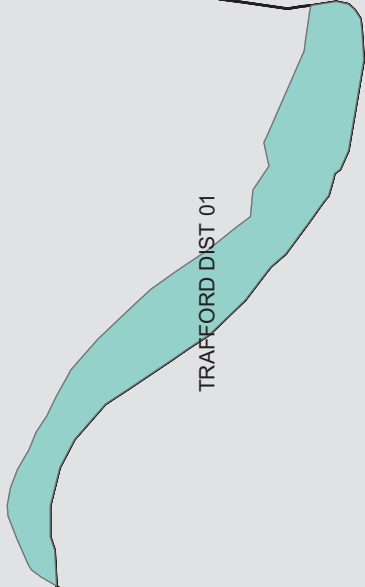
O HARA TWP WD 04 DIST 02

O HARA TWP WD 04 DIST 02

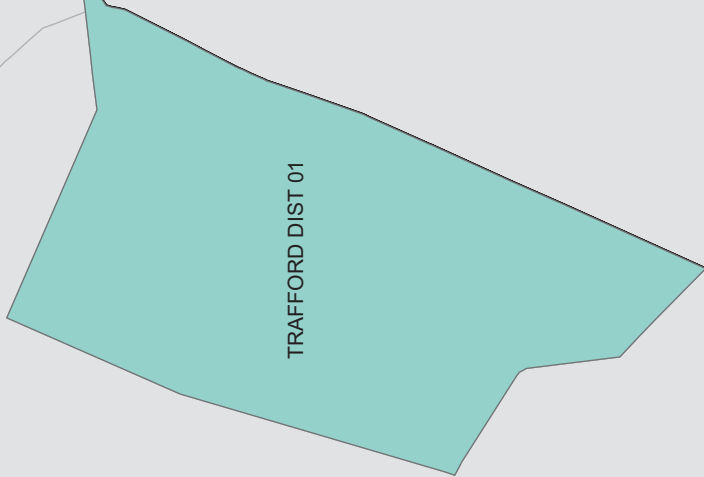
PITTSBURGH WD 14 DIST 38
Allegheny County



TRAFFORD DIST 01
Allegheny County



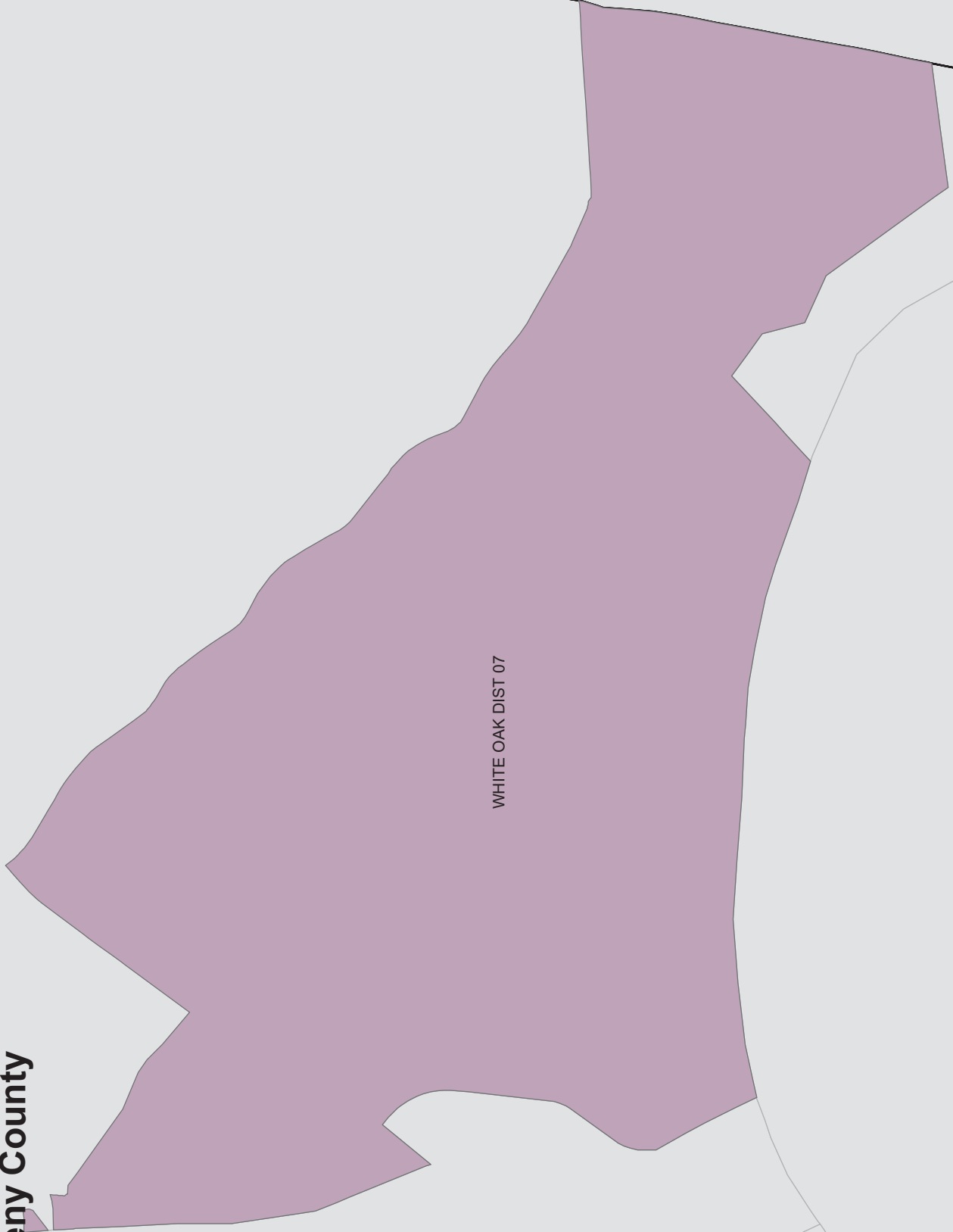
TRAFFORD DIST 01



TRAFFORD DIST 01

WHITE OAK DIST 07
Allegheny County

WHITE OAK DIST 07



KITTANNING WD 03
Armstrong County

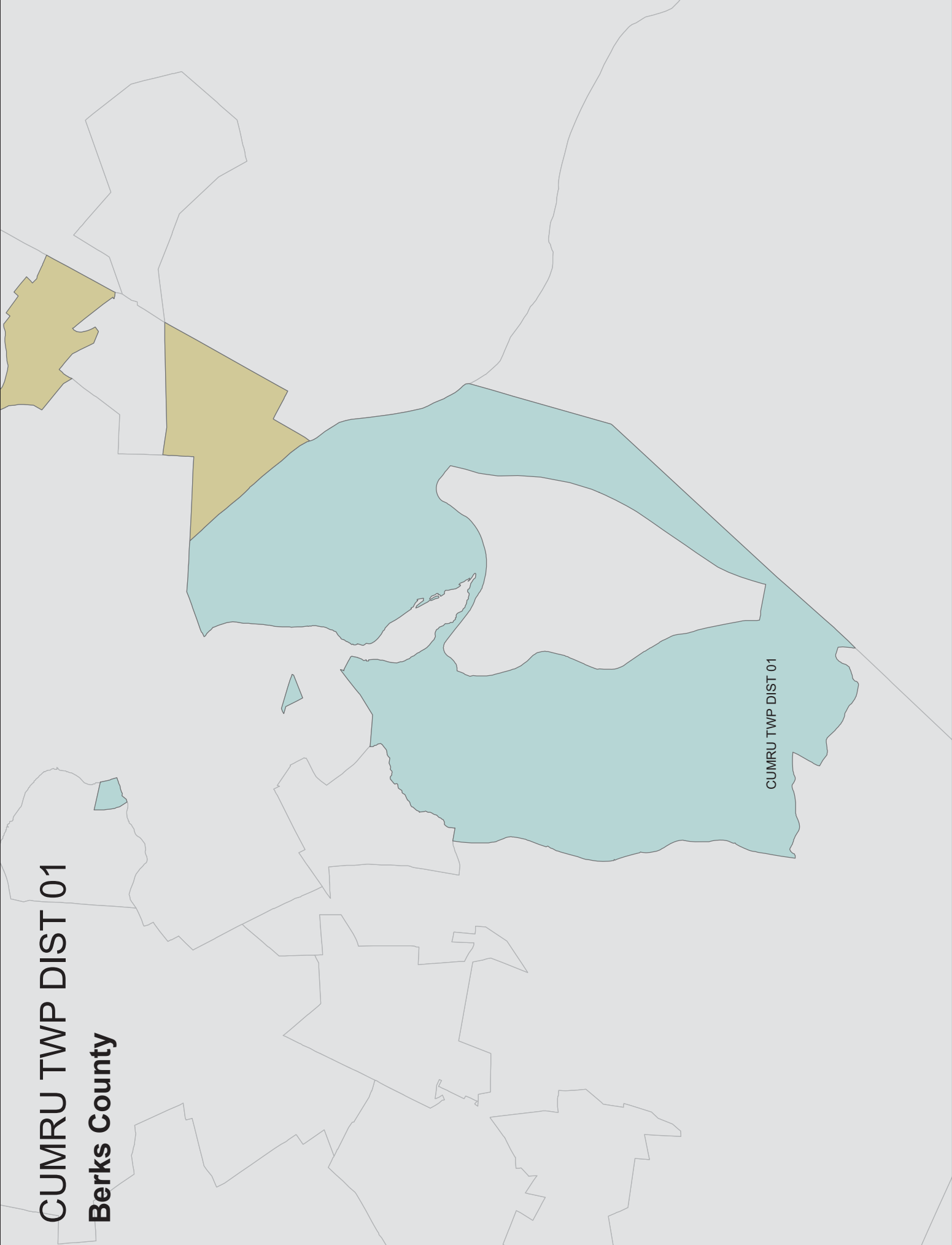


KITTANNING WD 03

KITTANNING WD 03

CUMRU TWP DIST 01
Berks County

CUMRU TWP DIST 01

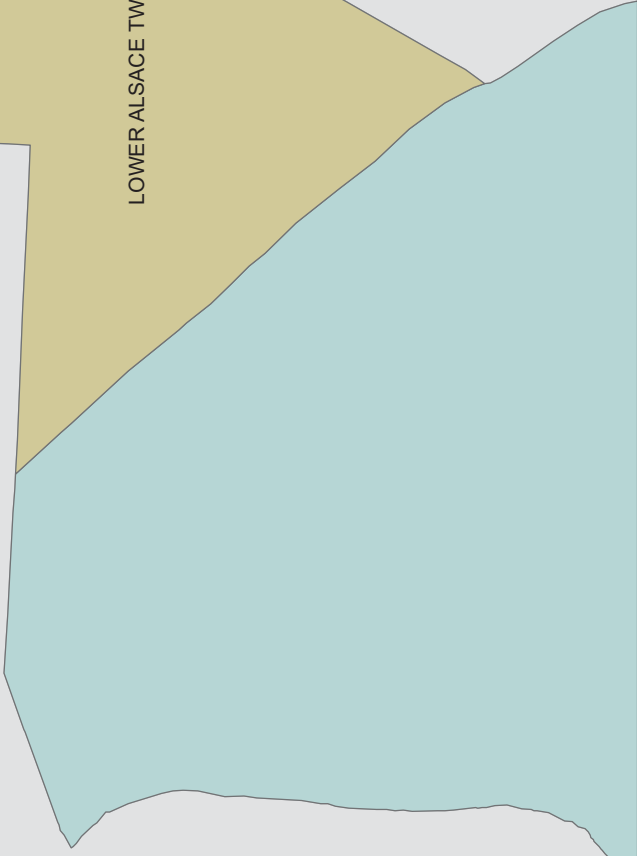
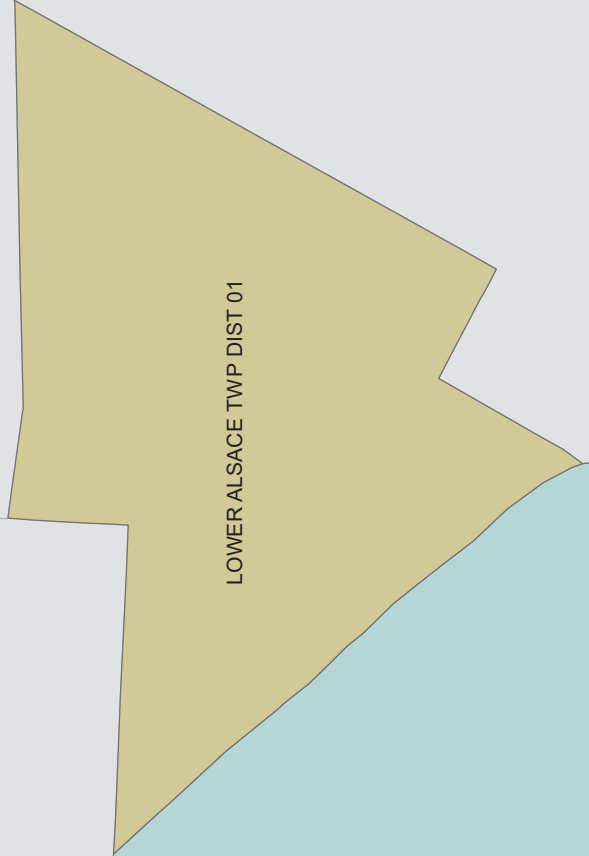


GREENWICH TWP DIST 02
Berks County

GREENWICH TWP DIST 02



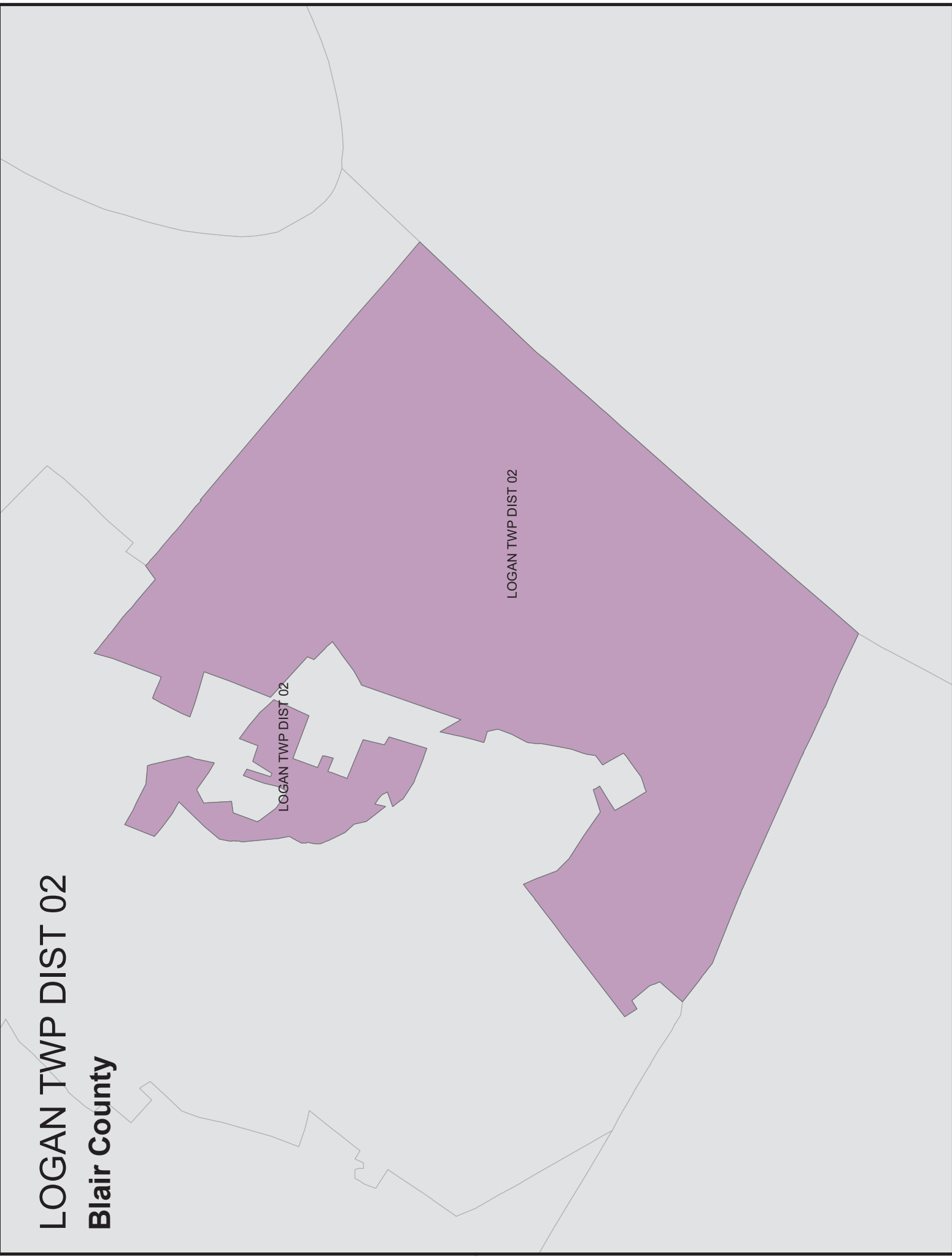
LOWER ALSACE TWP DIST 01
Berks County



LOGAN TWP DIST 02
Blair County

LOGAN TWP DIST 02

LOGAN TWP DIST 02

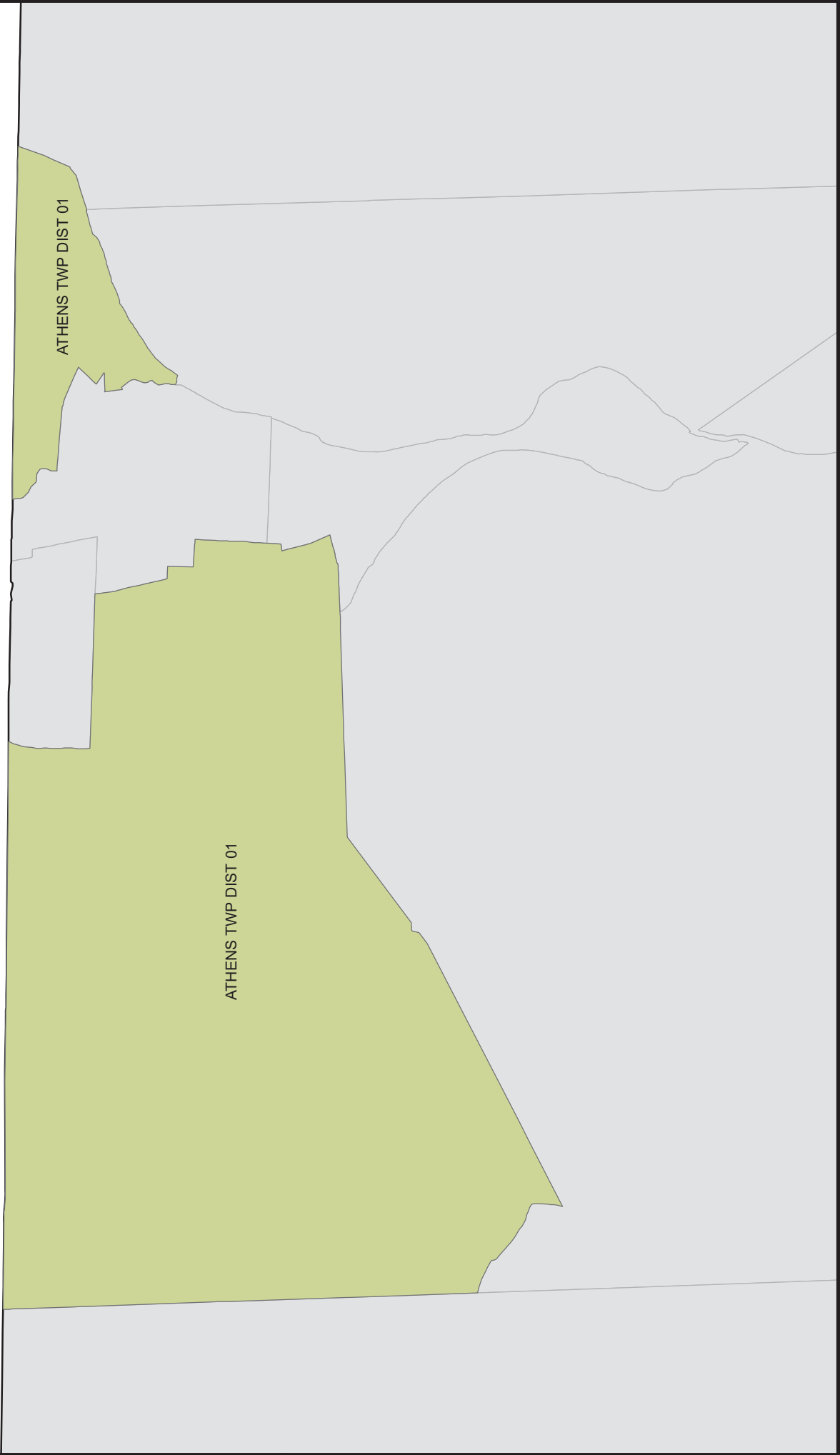


LOGAN TWP DIST 03
Blair County

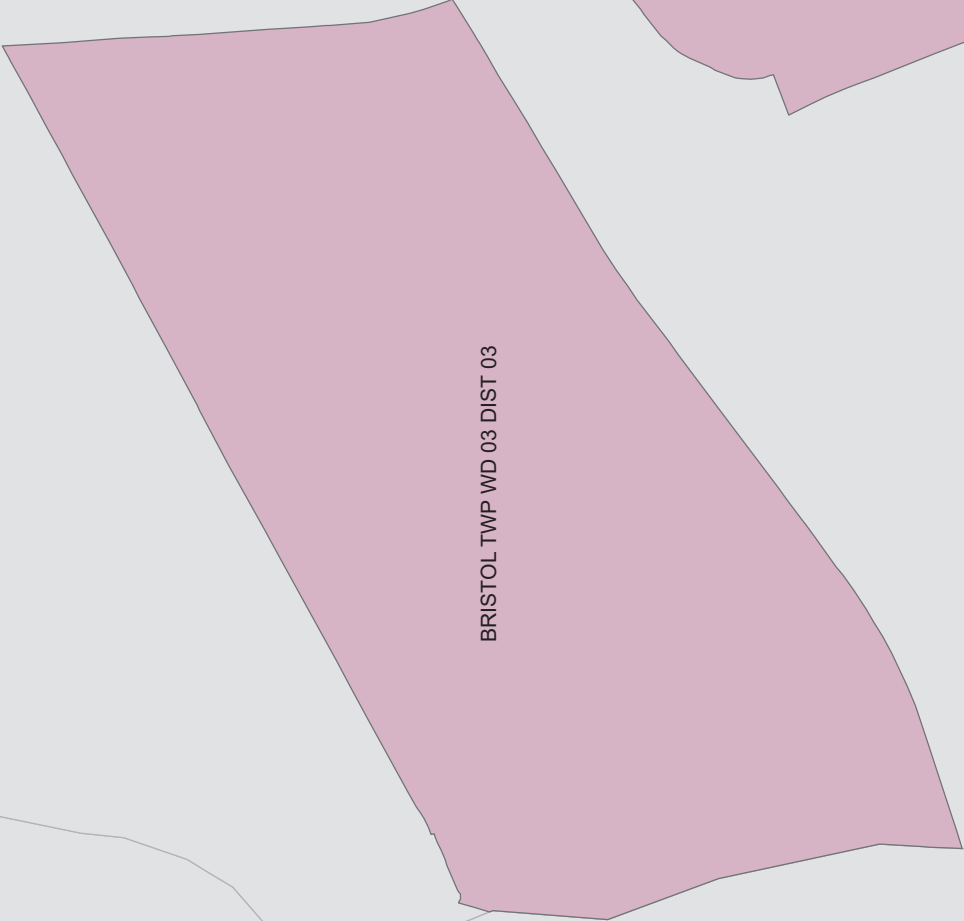
LOGAN TWP DIST 03



ATHENS TWP DIST 01
Bradford County



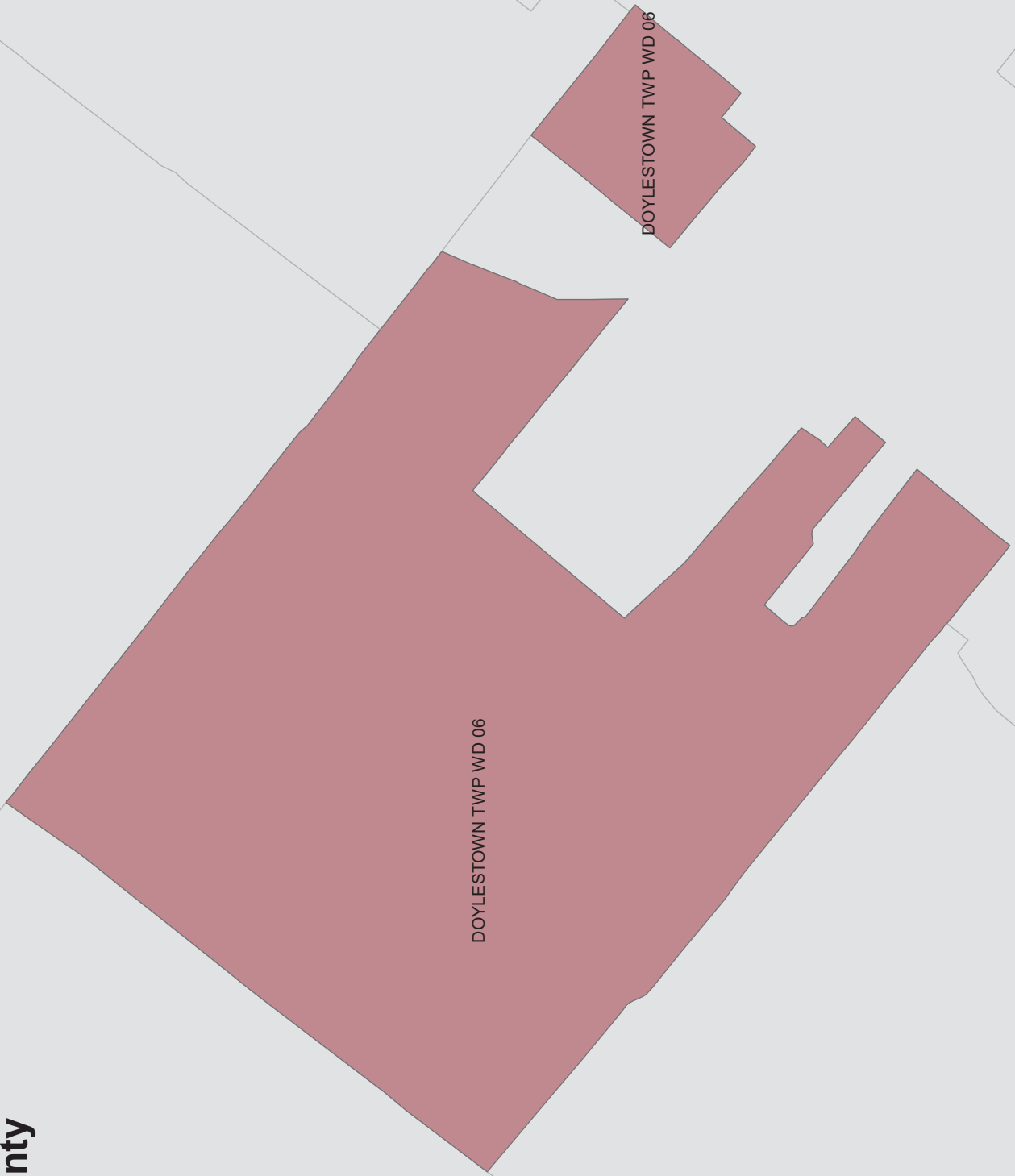
BRISTOL TWP WD 03 DIST 03
Bucks County



BRISTOL TWP WD 03 DIST 03

BRISTOL TWP WD 03 DIST 03

DOYLESTOWN TWP WD 06
Bucks County



DOYLESTOWN TWP WD 06

DOYLESTOWN TWP WD 06

FALLS TWP WD 01 DIST 05
Bucks County

FALLS TWP WD 01 DIST 05

FALLS TWP WD 01 DIST 05



NEWTOWN TWP DIST 06
Bucks County

NEWTOWN TWP DIST 06



RICHLAND TWP VTD 04
Bucks County




RICHLAND TWP VTD 04

CRANBERRY TWP VTD EAST ED 03

Butler County

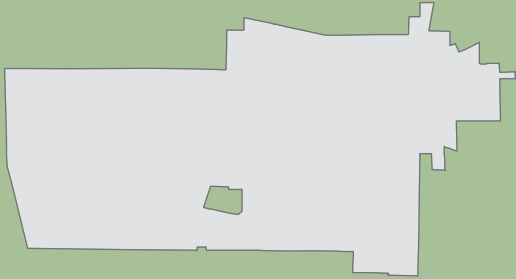
CRANBERRY TWP VTD EAST ED 03

A map showing the geographical boundaries of Cranberry Twp VTD East ED 03. The area is shaded in a light brown color. The map includes several irregular shapes and protrusions, particularly along the top and right edges, which represent the specific boundaries of this voting district. The text 'CRANBERRY TWP VTD EAST ED 03' is printed vertically in the center of the shaded area.

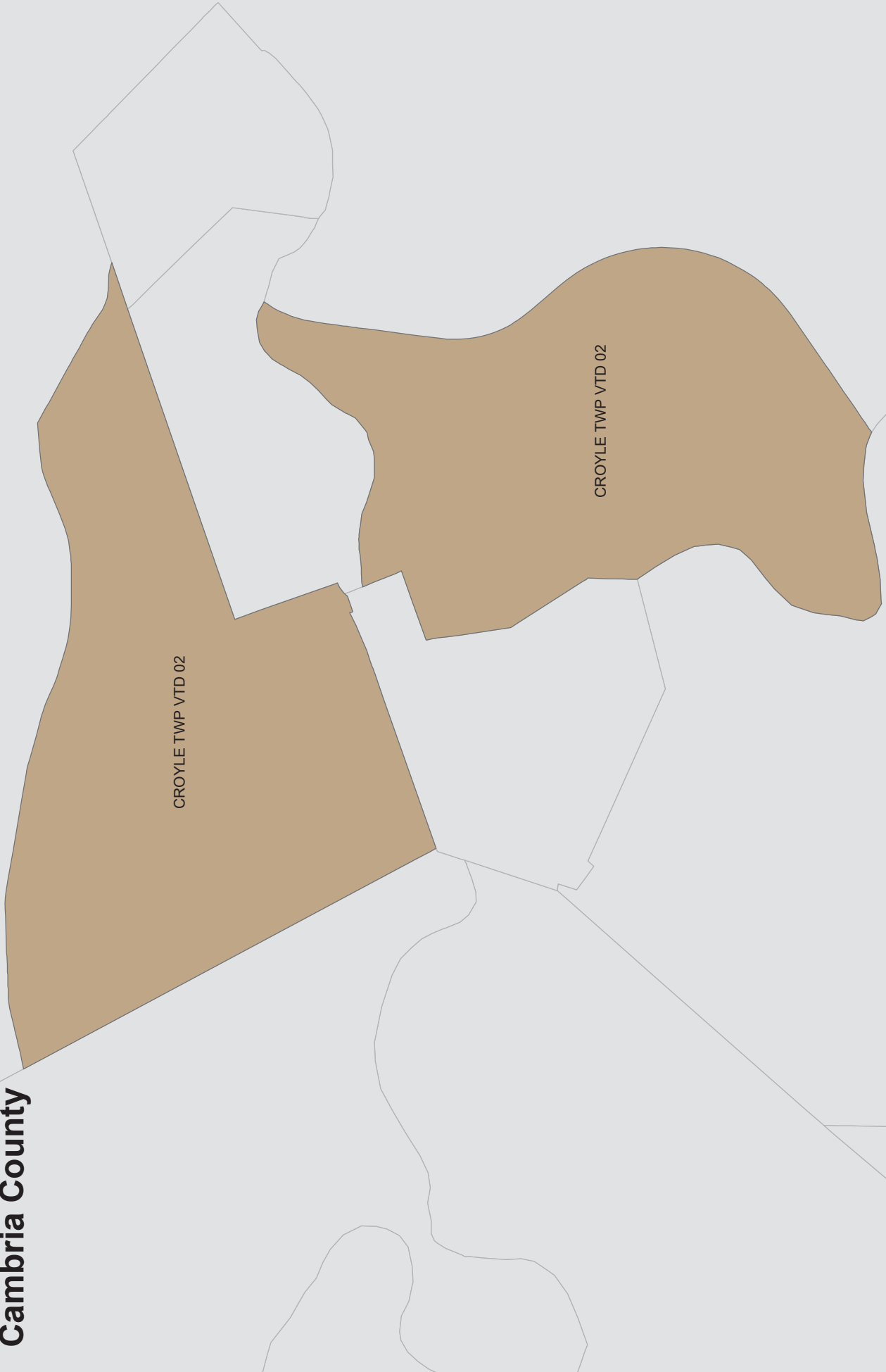
SLIPPERY ROCK TWP Voting District

Butler County

SLIPPERY ROCK TWP Voting District



CROYLE TWP VTD 02
Cambria County



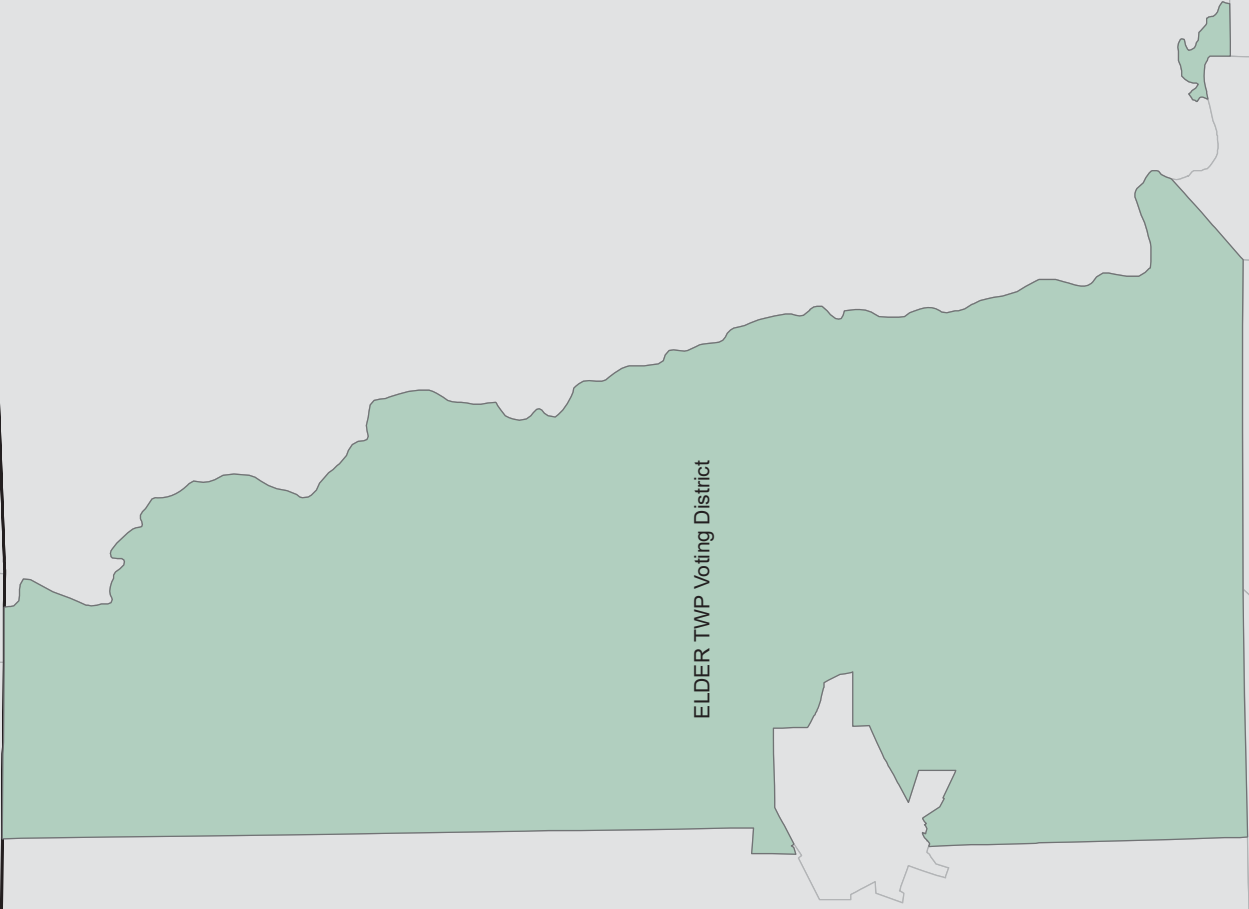
CROYLE TWP VTD 02

CROYLE TWP VTD 02

ELDER TWP Voting District

Cambria County

ELDER TWP Voting District

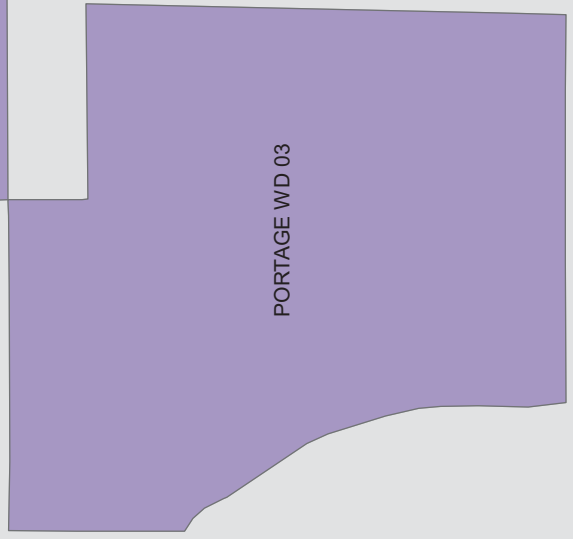
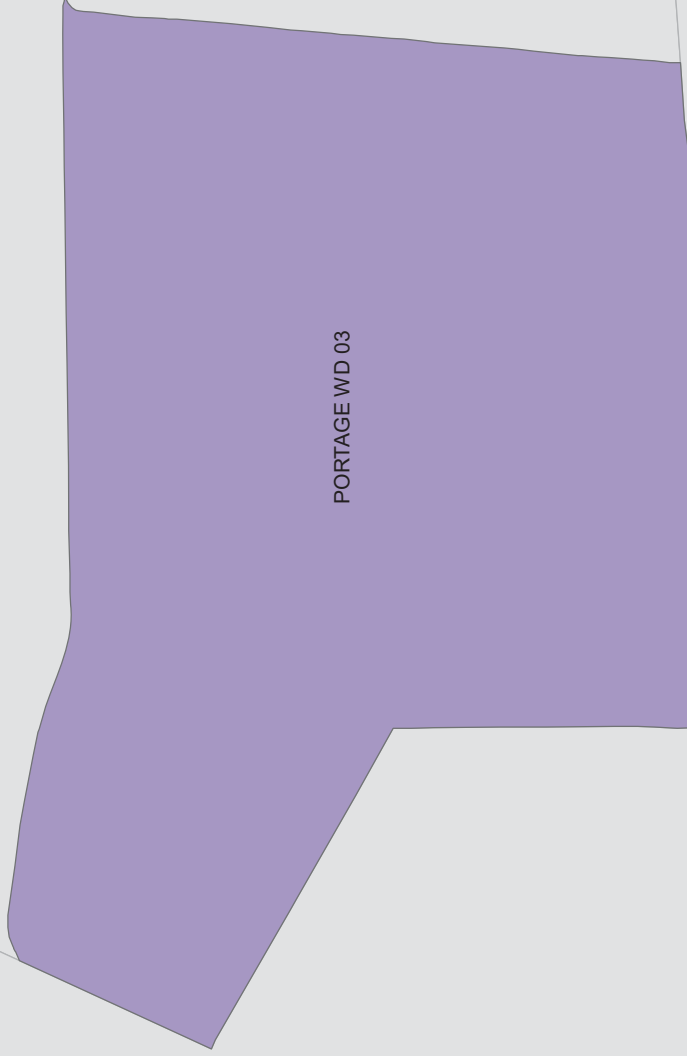


NORTHERN CAMBRIA 03

Cambria County

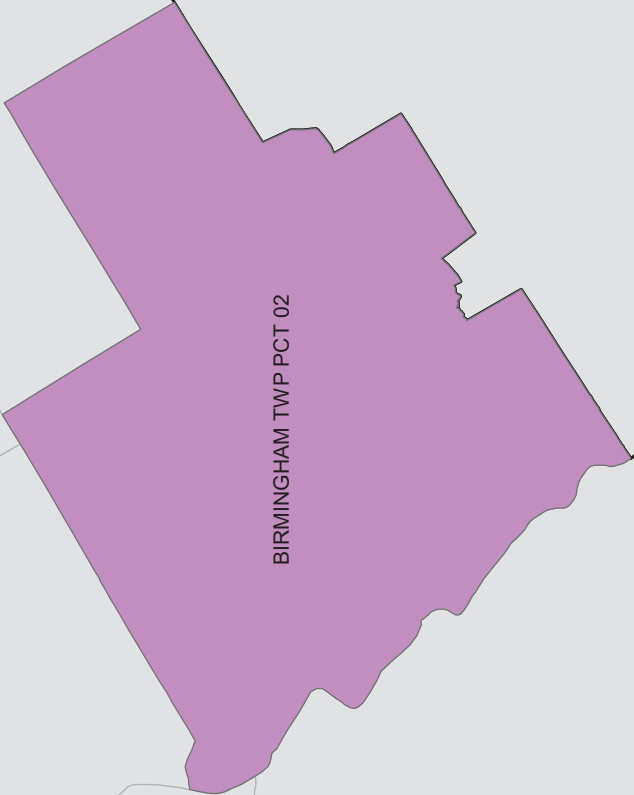
NORTHERN CAMBRIA 03

PORTAGE WD 03
Cambria County



BIRMINGHAM TWP PCT 02
Chester County

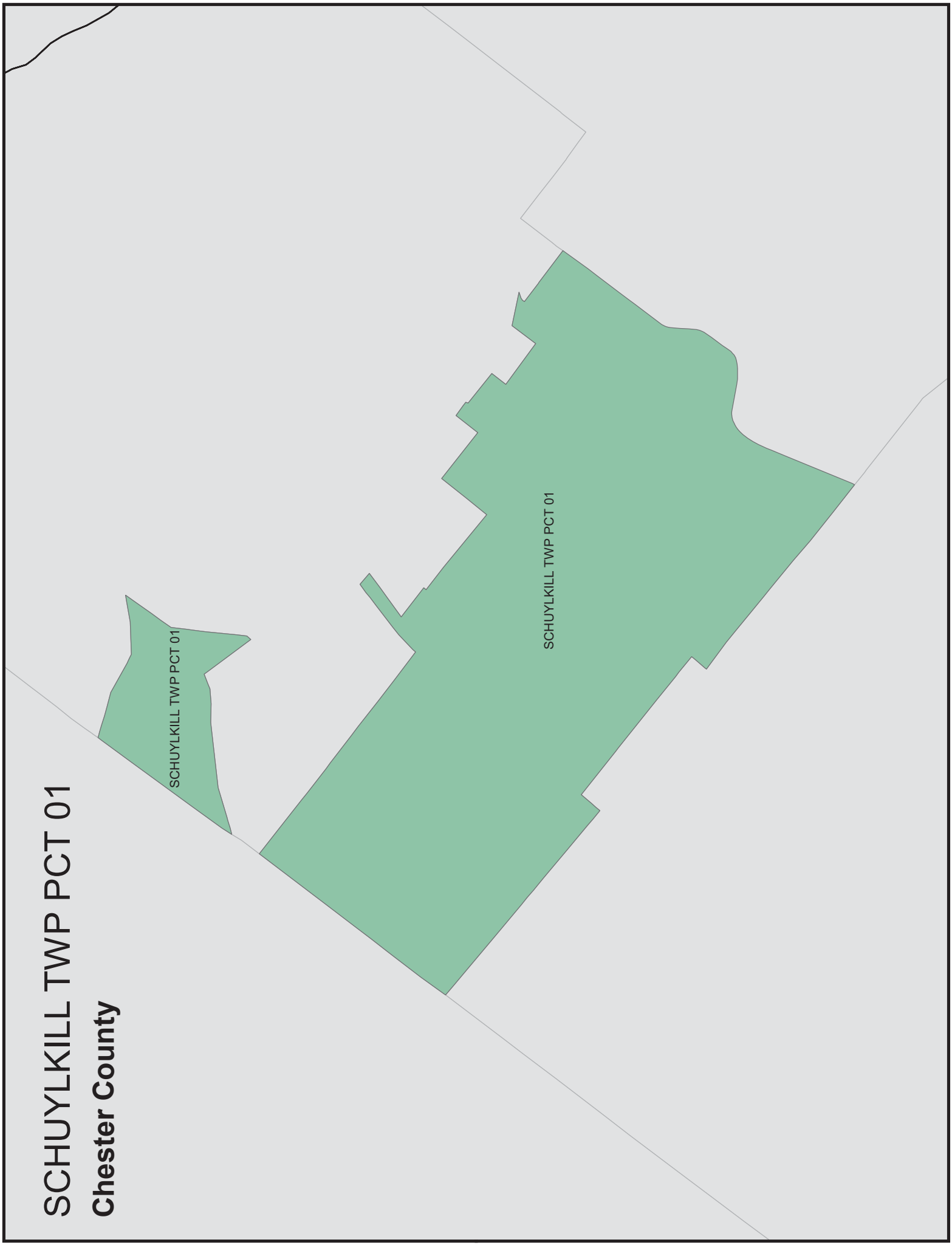
BIRMINGHAM TWP PCT 02



SCHUYLKILL TWP PCT 01
Chester County

SCHUYLKILL TWP PCT 01

SCHUYLKILL TWP PCT 01



VALLEY TWP PCT NORTH
Chester County



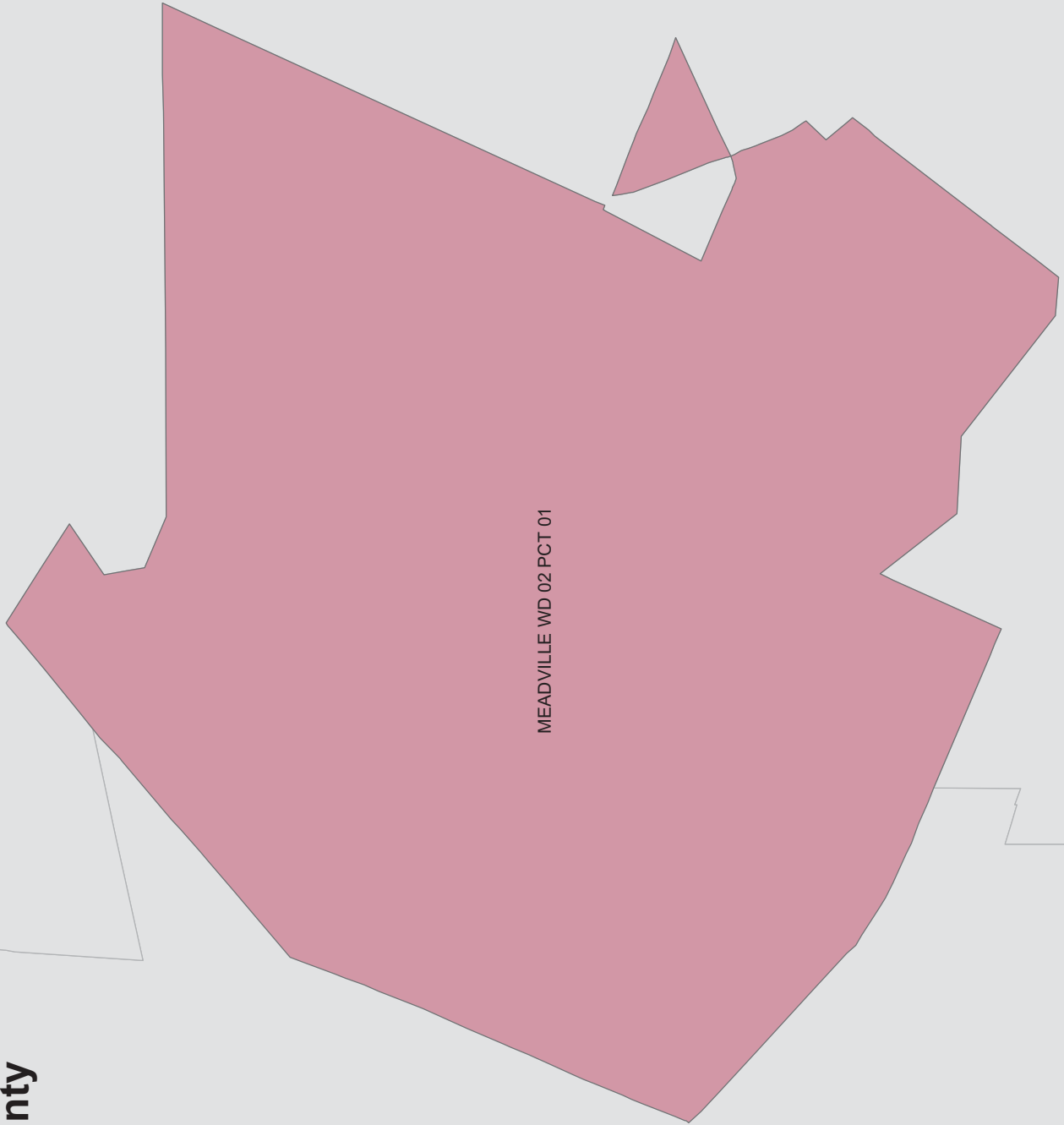
RICHLAND TWP Voting District-Psudo (Emlenton Borough)
Clarion County



RICHLAND TWP Voting District-Psudo (Emlenton Borough)

RICHLAND TWP Voting District-Psudo (Emlenton Borough)

MEADVILLE WD 02 PCT 01
Crawford County



MEADVILLE WD 02 PCT 01

SHIPPENSBURG TWP Voting District

Cumberland County

SHIPPENSBURG TWP Voting District



DERRY TWP PCT 14
Dauphin County



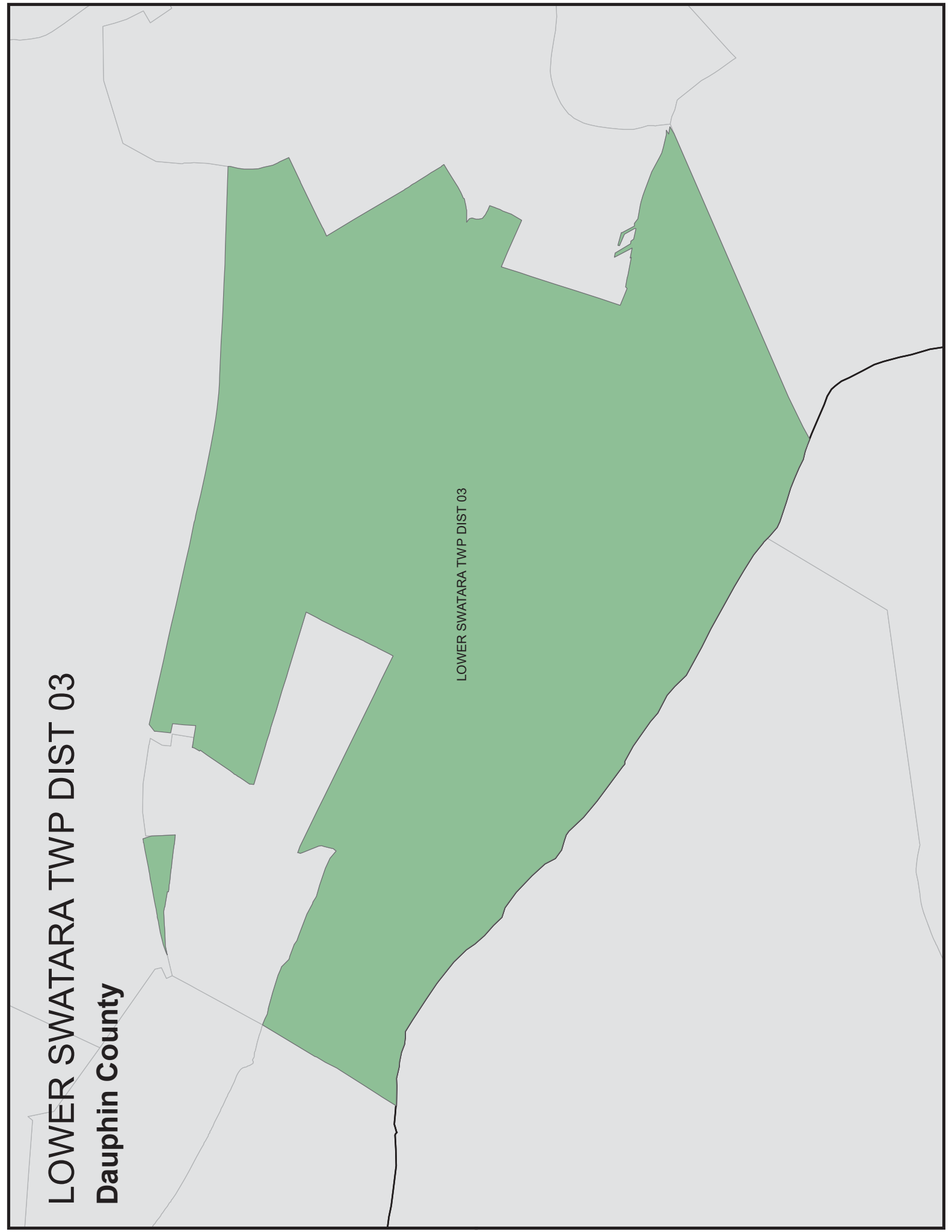
DERRY TWP PCT 14

LOWER SWATARA TWP DIST 03

Dauphin County

LOWER SWATARA TWP DIST 03

17



NETHER PROVIDENCE 06 01
Delaware County

NETHER PROVIDENCE 06 01

NETHER PROVIDENCE 06 01



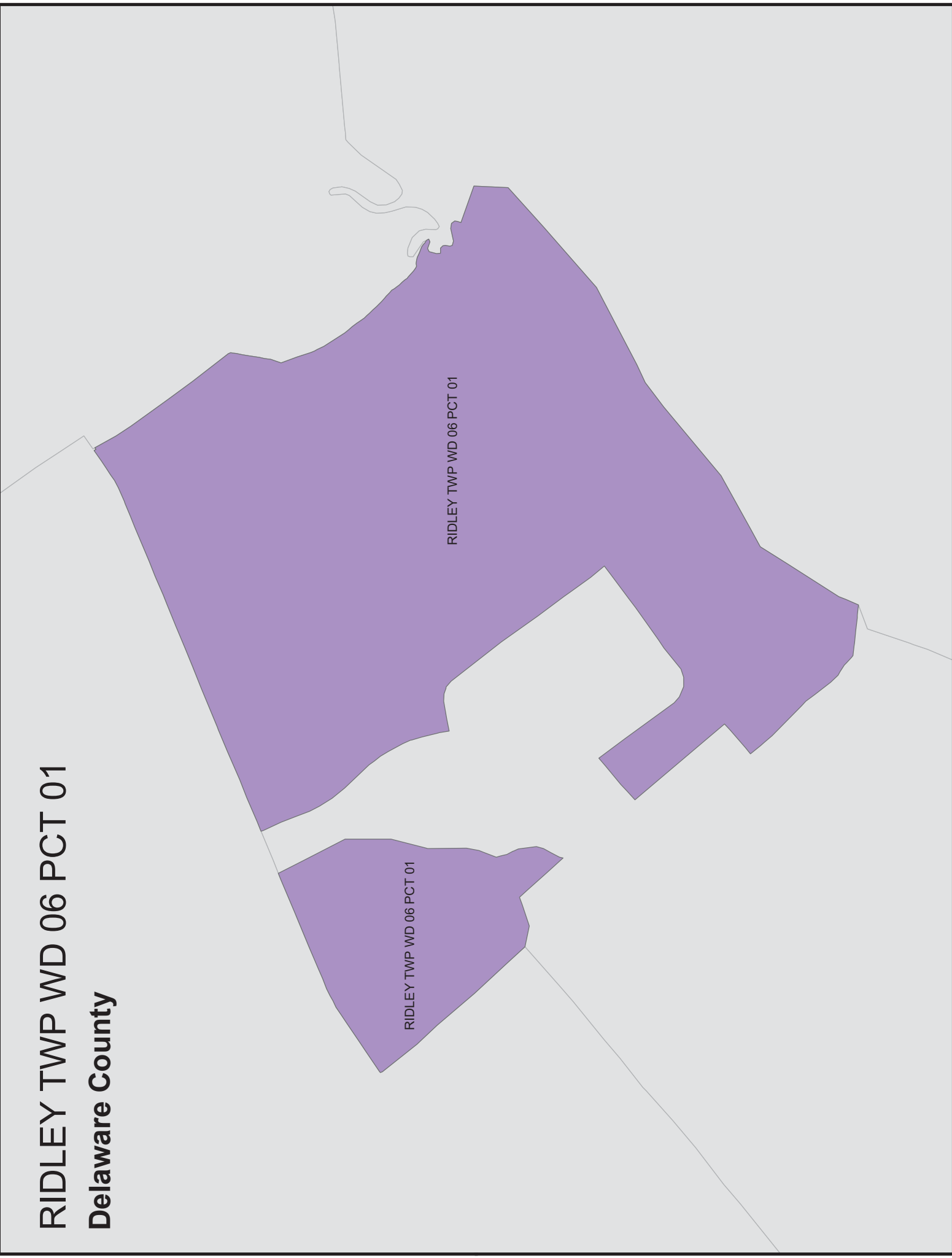
RADNOR TWP WD 02 PCT 01
Delaware County

RADNOR TWP WD 02 PCT 01

RADNOR TWP WD 02 PCT 01



RIDLEY TWP WD 06 PCT 01
Delaware County



RIDLEY TWP WD 06 PCT 01

RIDLEY TWP WD 06 PCT 01

CONCORD TWP Voting District

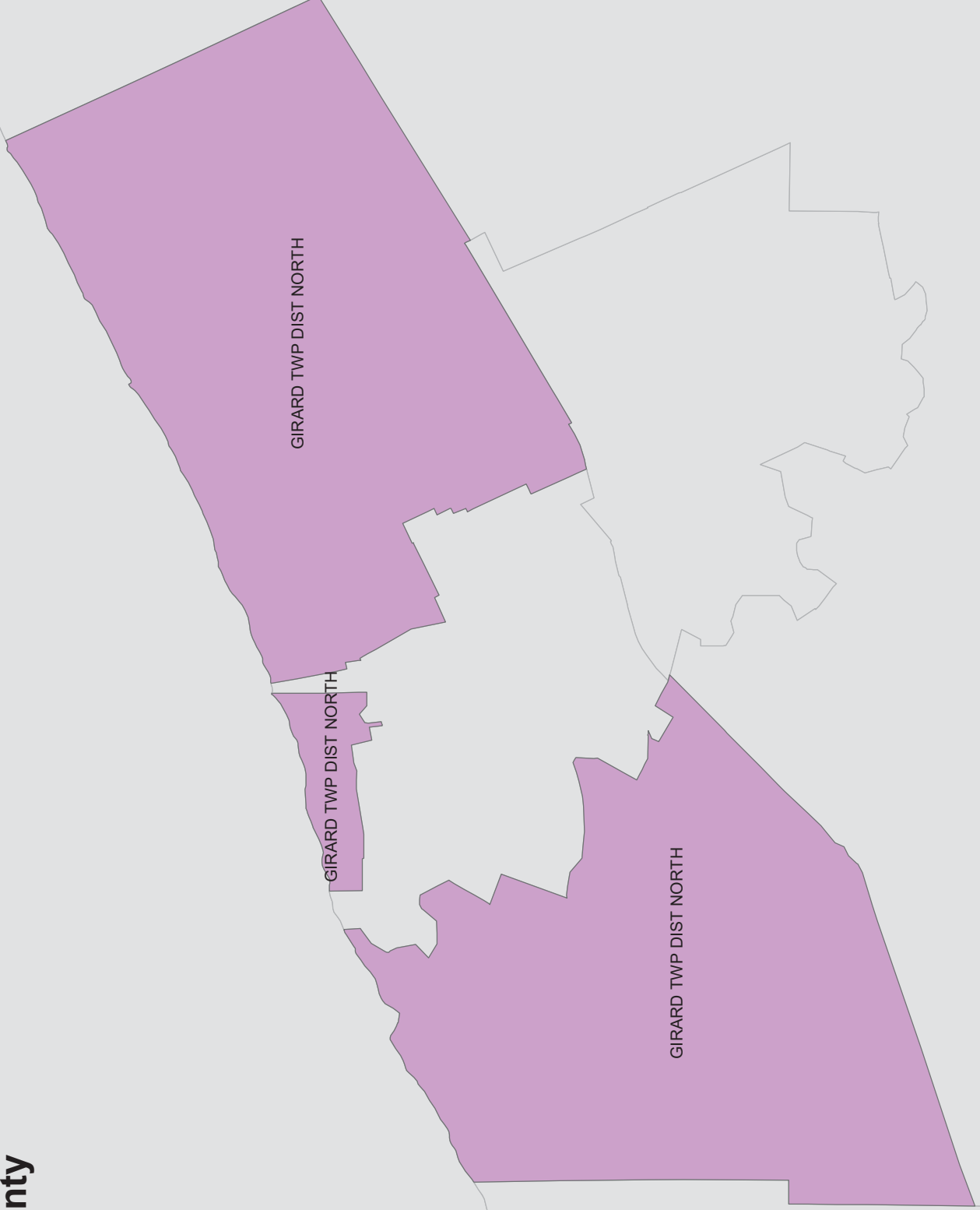
Erie County

CONCORD TWP Voting District

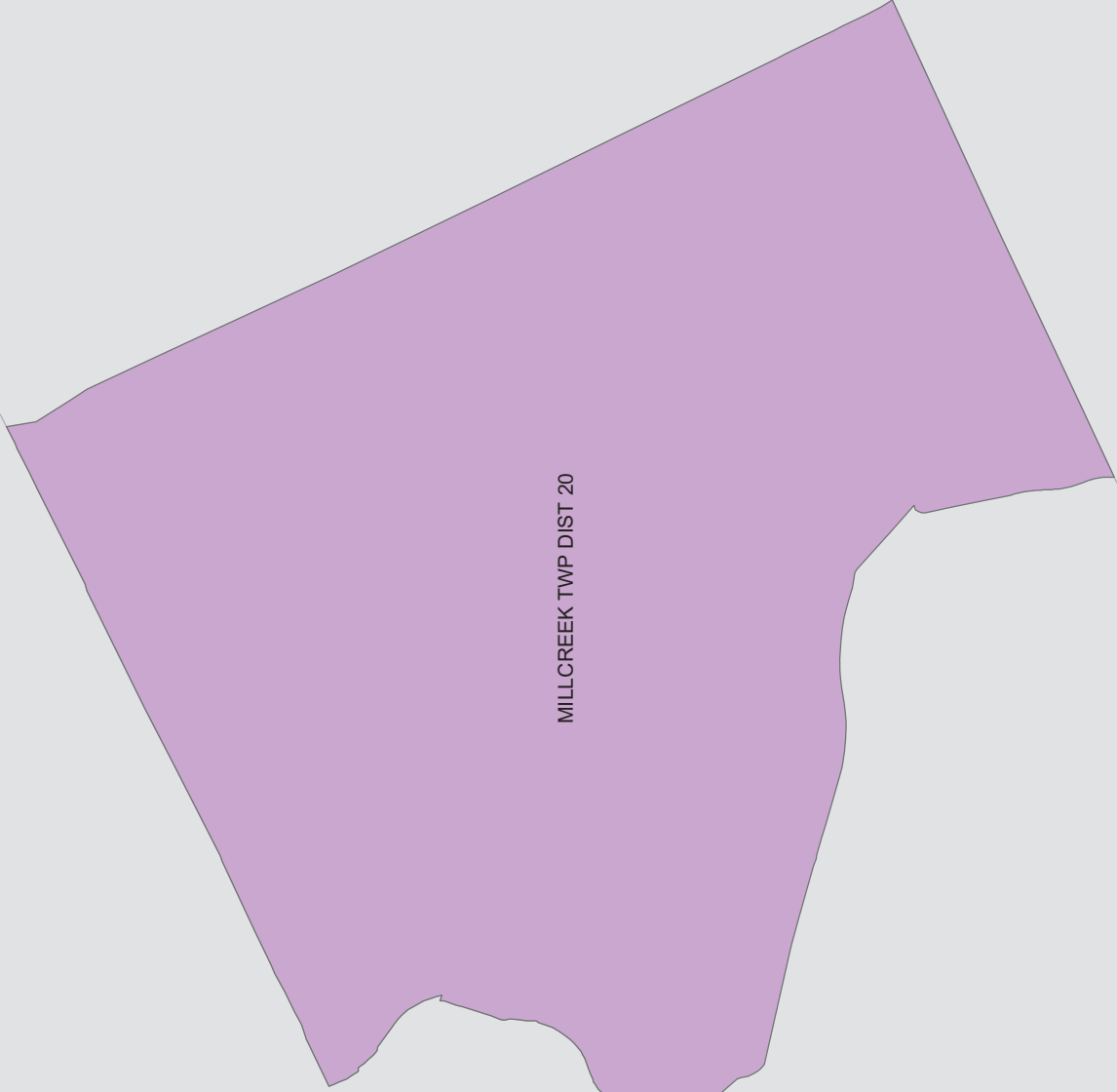


GIRARD TWP DIST NORTH

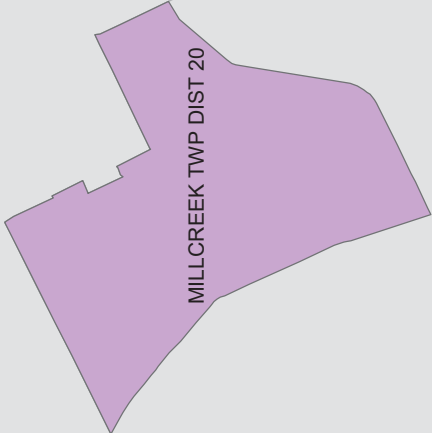
Erie County



MILLCREEK TWP DIST 20
Erie County



MILLCREEK TWP DIST 20



MILLCREEK TWP DIST 20

SOUTH ABINGTON TWP DIST 02
Lackawanna County



SOUTH ABINGTON TWP DIST 02

EARL TWP DIST MARTINDALE
Lancaster County

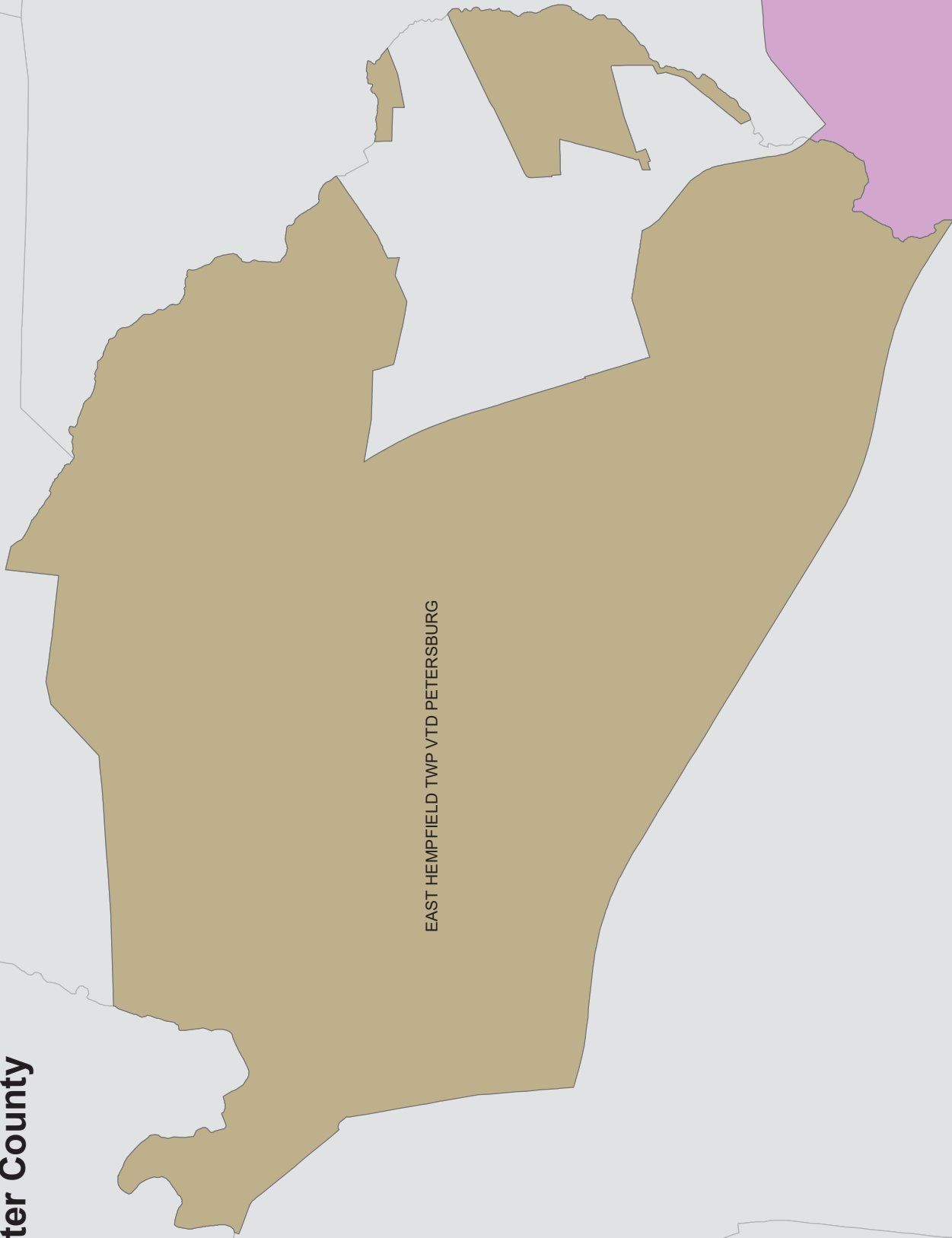
EARL TWP DIST MARTINDALE



EAST HEMPFIELD TWP VTD PETERSBURG

Lancaster County

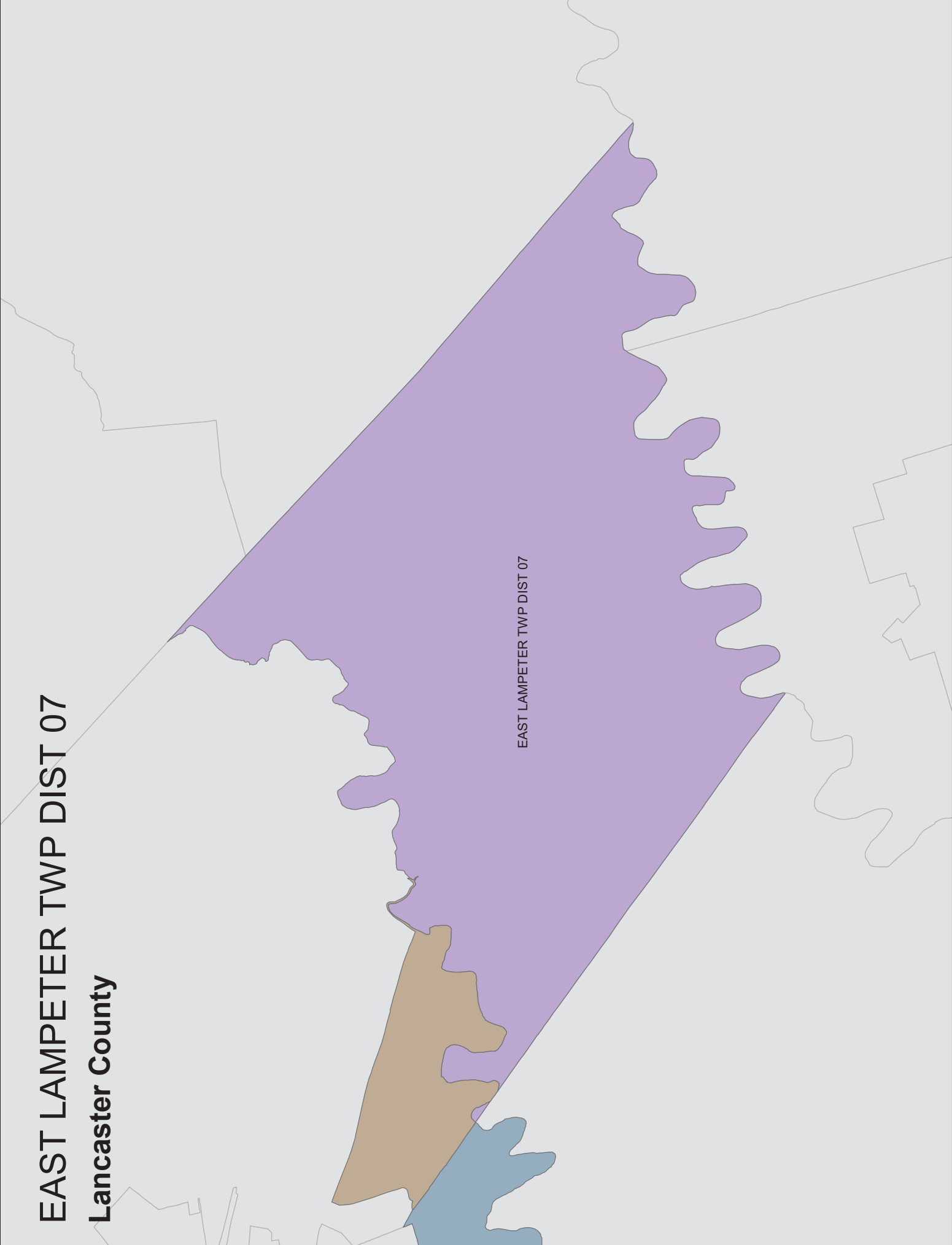
EAST HEMPFIELD TWP VTD PETERSBURG



EAST LAMPETER TWP DIST 07

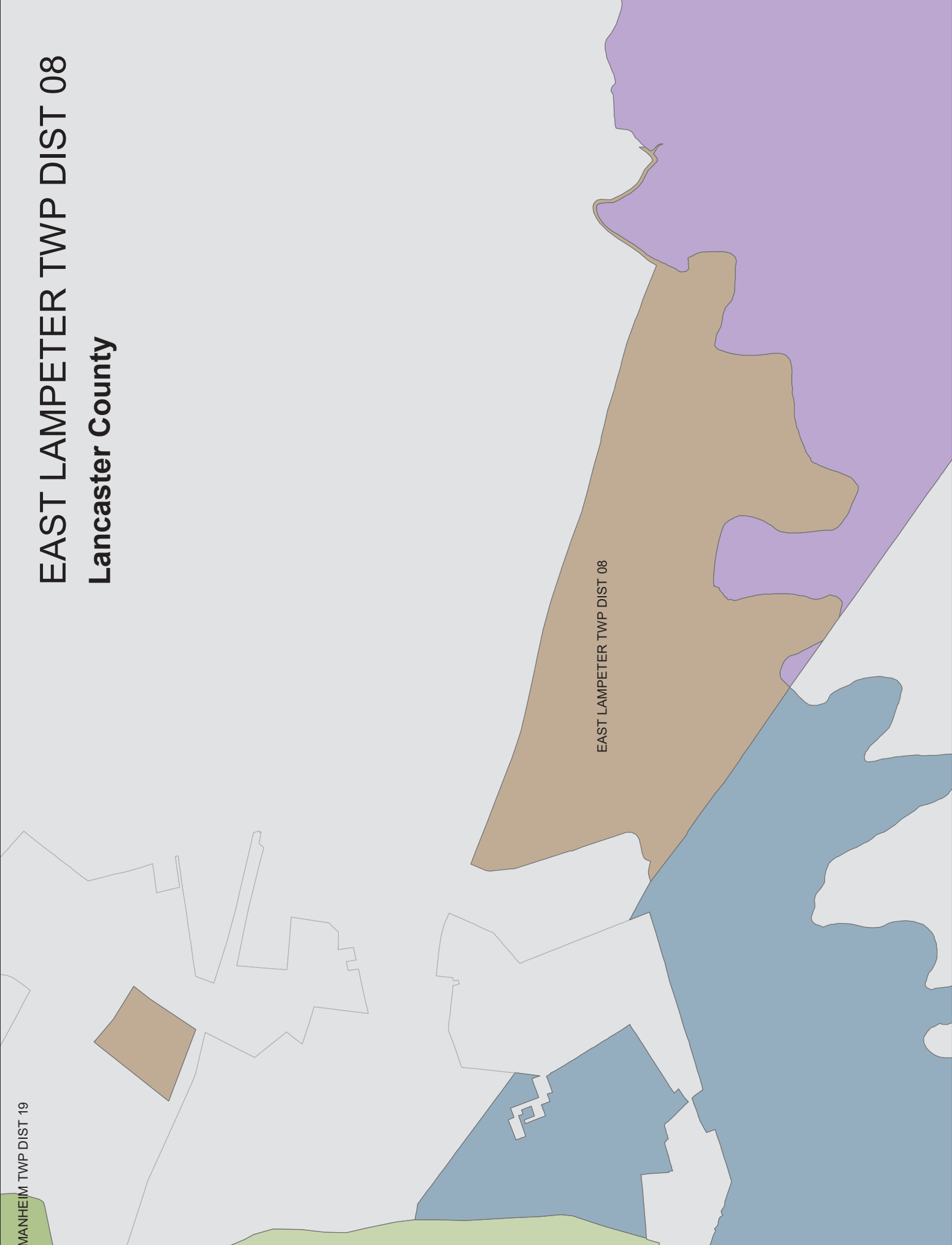
Lancaster County

EAST LAMPETER TWP DIST 07



EAST LAMPETER TWP DIST 08

Lancaster County

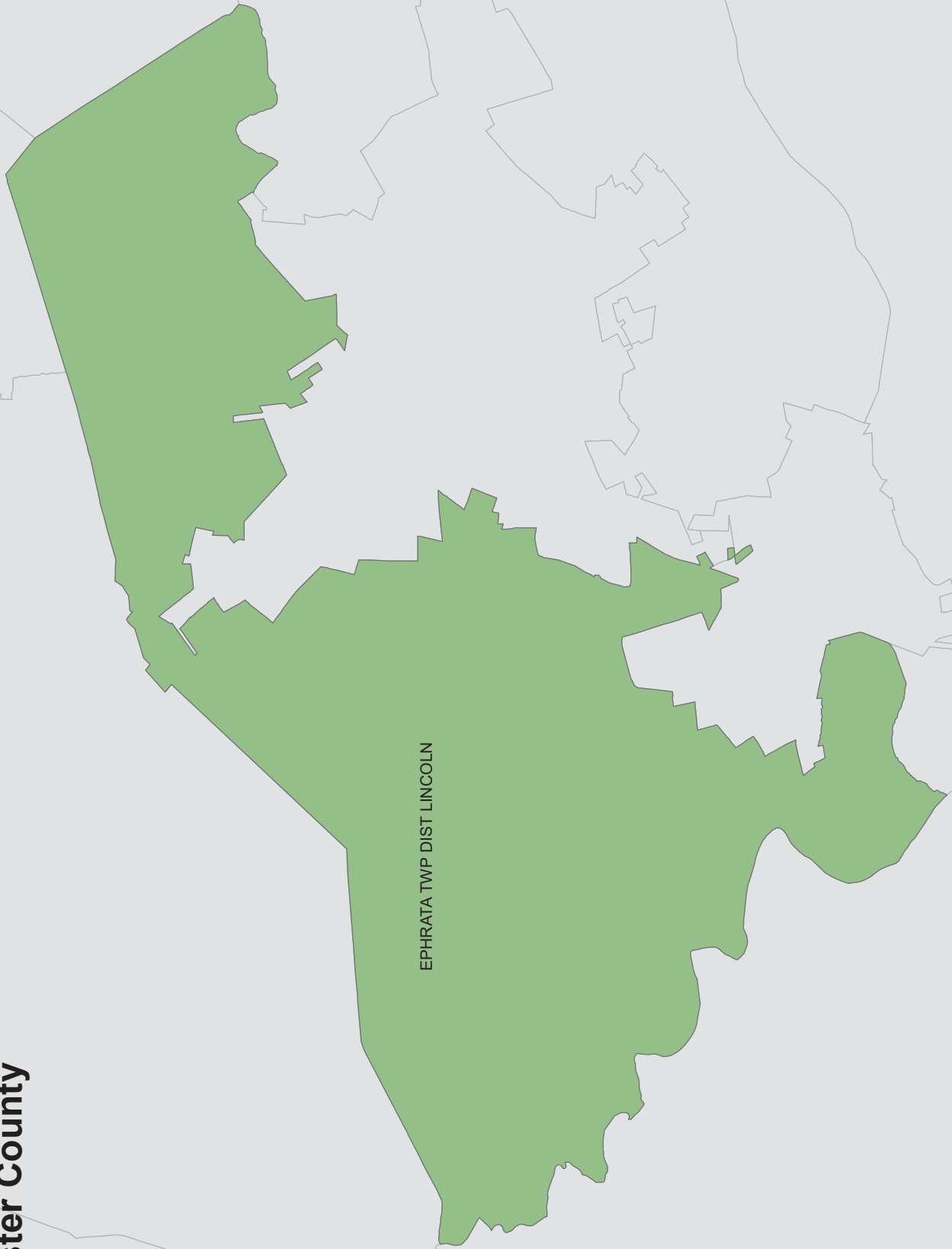


MANHEIM TWP DIST 19

EAST LAMPETER TWP DIST 08

EPHRATA TWP DIST LINCOLN
Lancaster County

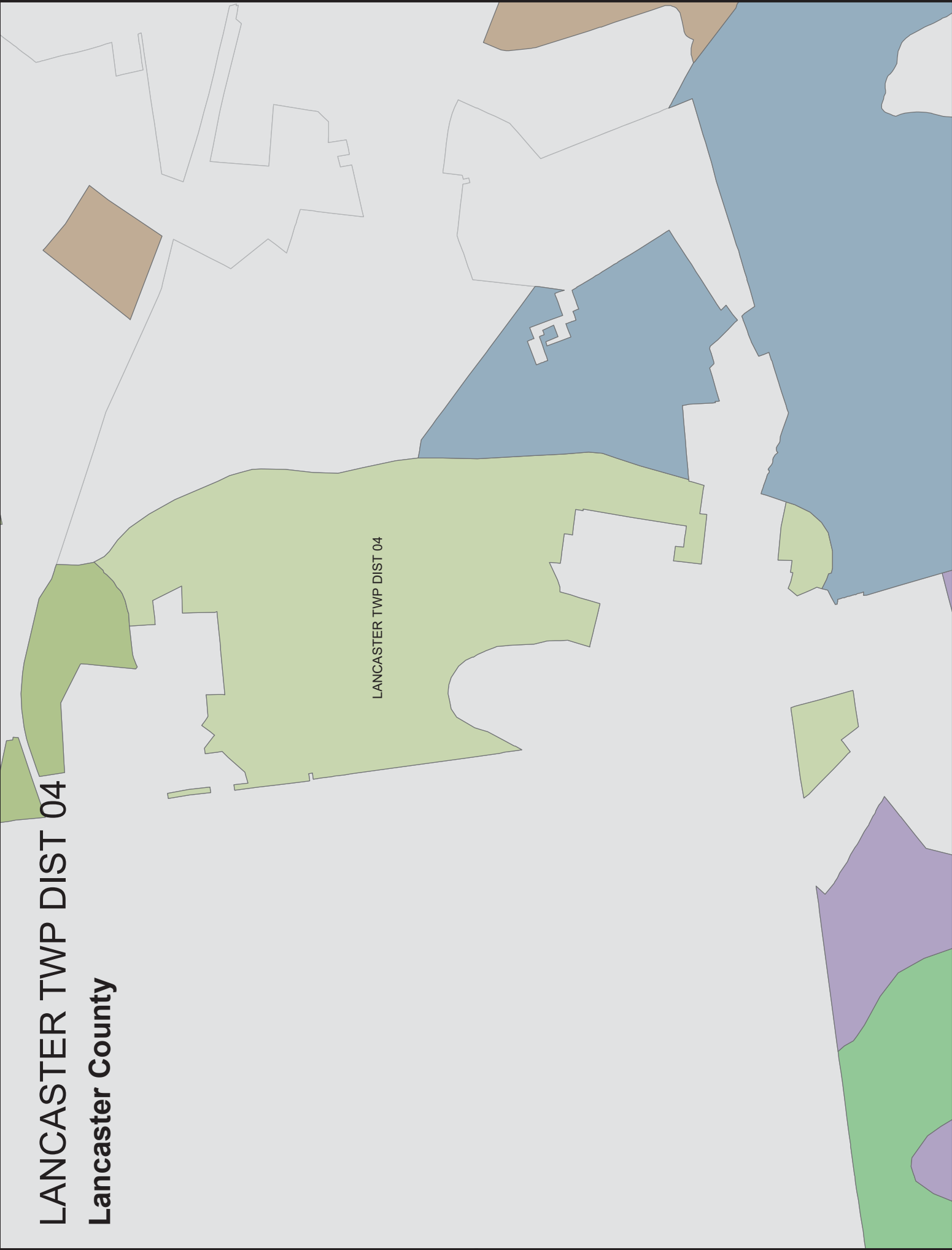
EPHRATA TWP DIST LINCOLN



LANCASTER TWP DIST 04

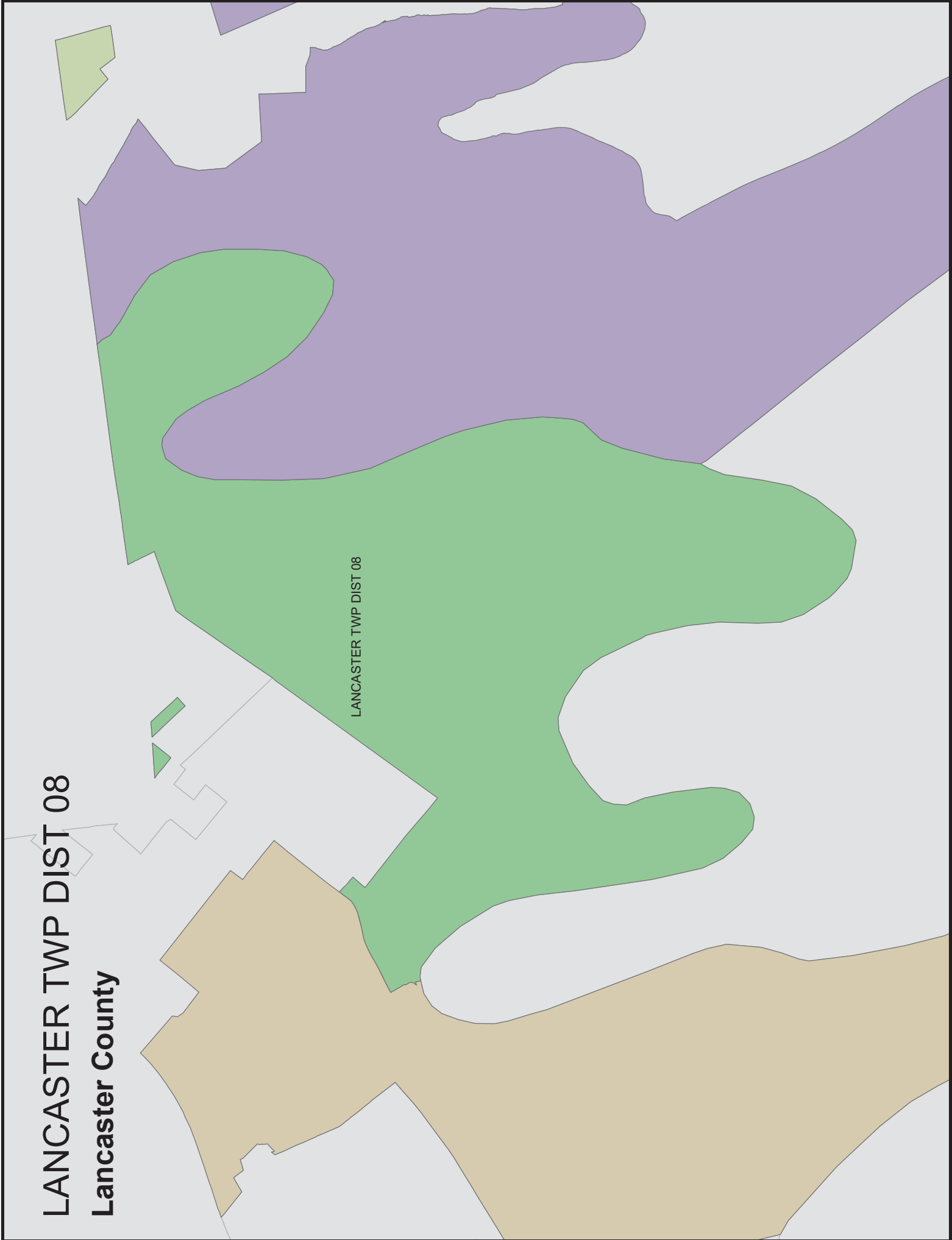
Lancaster County

LANCASTER TWP DIST 04



LANCASTER TWP DIST 08
Lancaster County

LANCASTER TWP DIST 08



LANCASTER TWP DIST 09
Lancaster County

LANCASTER TWP DIST 09



MANHEIM TWP DIST 02
Lancaster County



MANHEIM TWP DIST 02

MANHEIM TWP DIST 07 (HD096)

Lancaster County

MANHEIM TWP DIST 07 (HD096)

MANHEIM TWP DIST 07 (HD096)

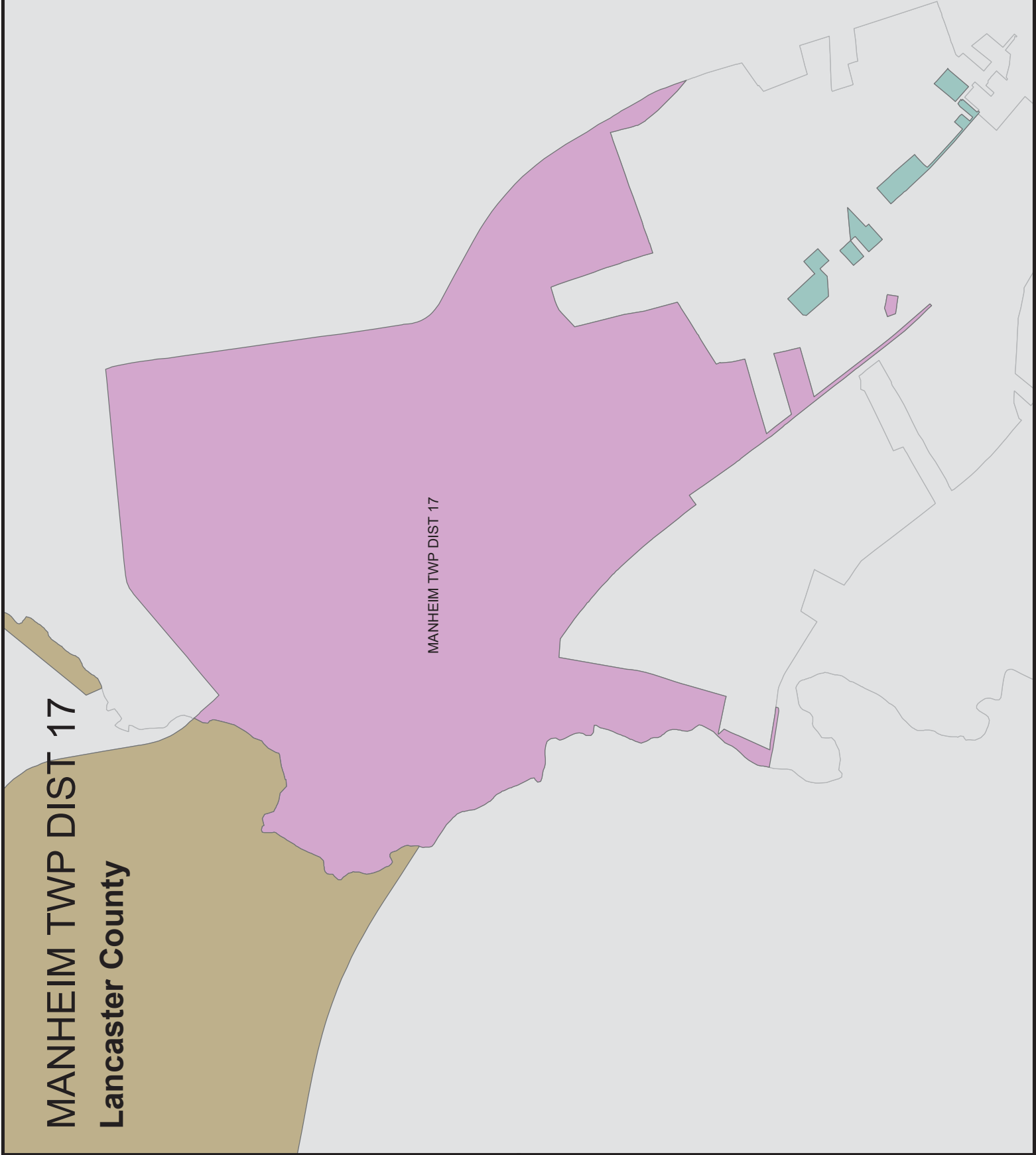
MANHEIM TWP DIST 07 (HD096)

MANHEIM TWP DIST 07 (HD096)

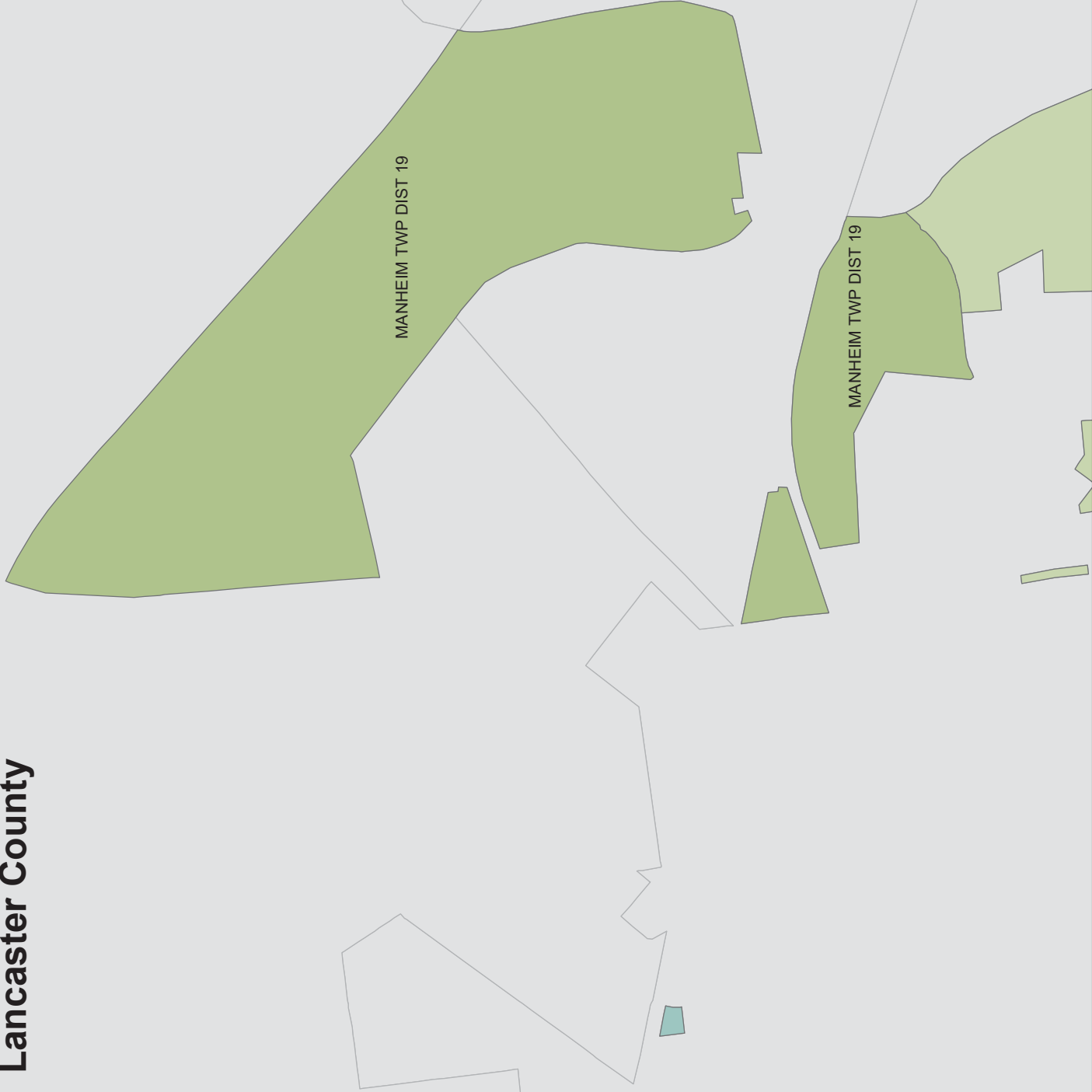


MANHEIM TWP DIST 17
Lancaster County

MANHEIM TWP DIST 17



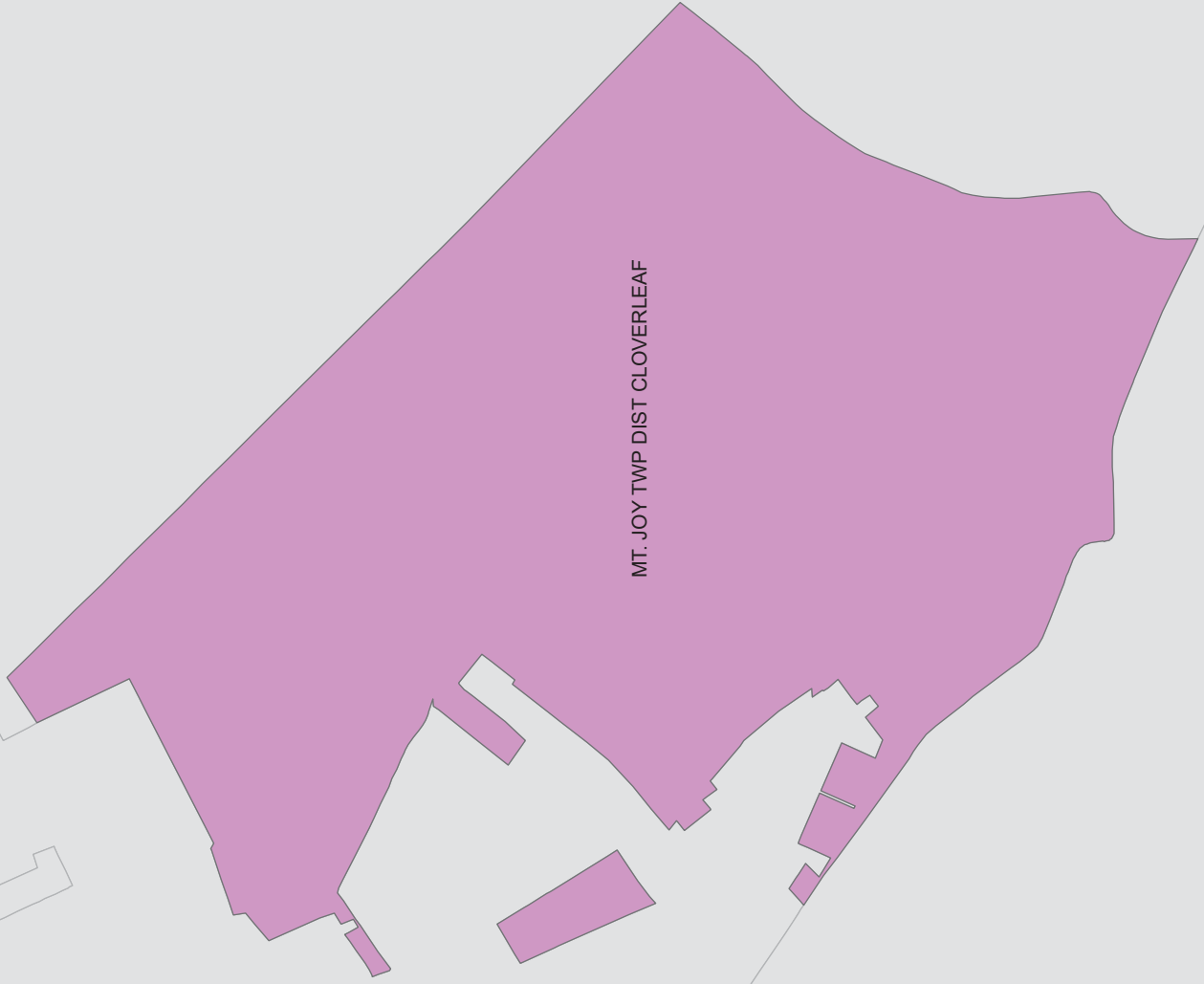
MANHEIM TWP DIST 19
Lancaster County



MT. JOY TWP DIST CLOVERLEAF

Lancaster County

MT. JOY TWP DIST CLOVERLEAF

A map showing the Mt. Joy Twp Dist Cloverleaf area in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The area is shaded in a light pink color. The map includes several smaller rectangular parcels, some of which are also shaded in pink, and others that are white. The text "MT. JOY TWP DIST CLOVERLEAF" is printed vertically in the center of the pink area. The text "MT. JOY TWP DIST CLOVERLEAF" is also printed vertically on the left side of the map, and "Lancaster County" is printed vertically below it.

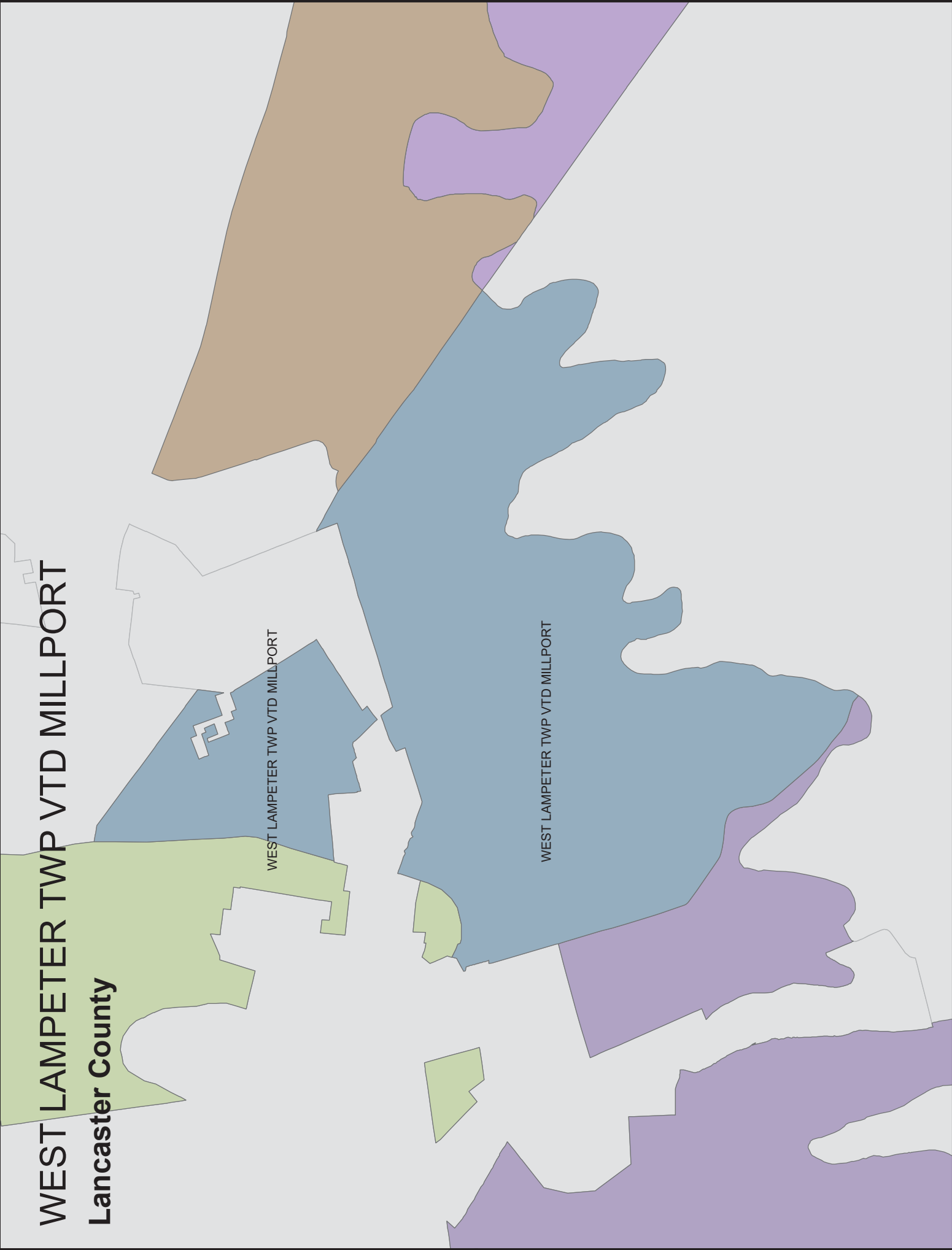
WEST LAMPETER TWP VTD LYNDON
Lancaster County



WEST LAMPETER TWP VTD MILLPORT
Lancaster County

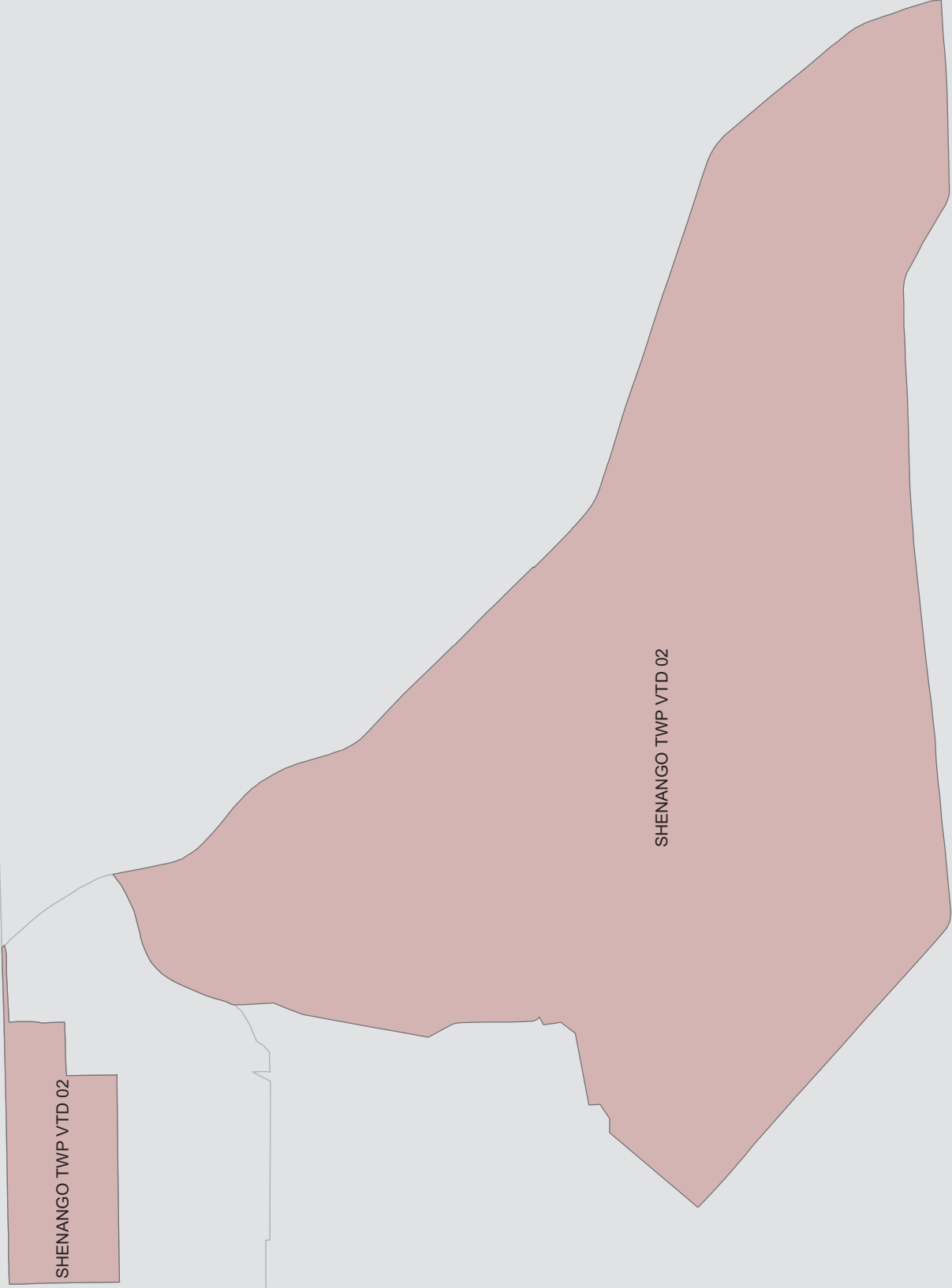
WEST LAMPETER TWP VTD MILLPORT

WEST LAMPETER TWP VTD MILLPORT



SHENANGO TWP VTD 02

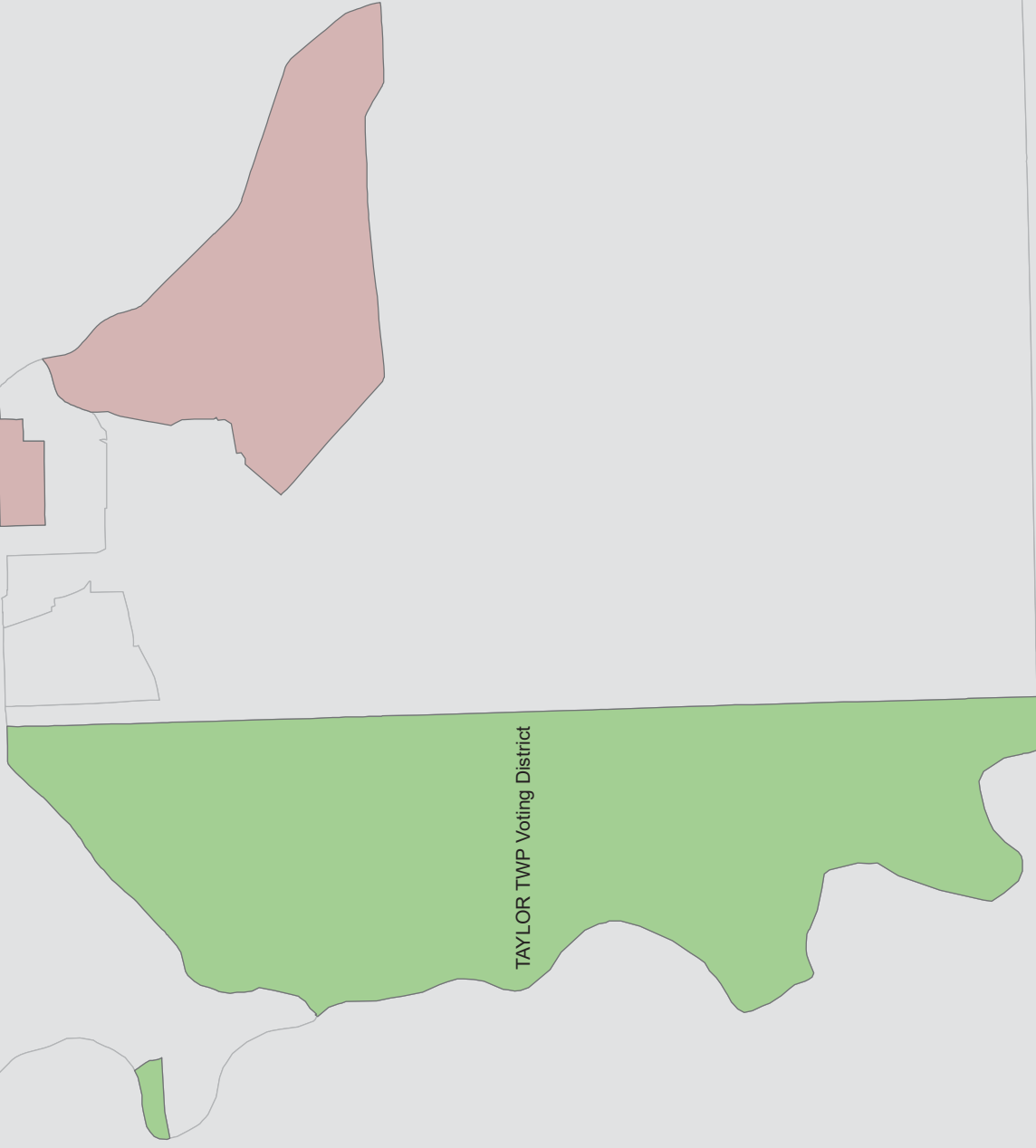
Lawrence County



SHENANGO TWP VTD 02

SHENANGO TWP VTD 02

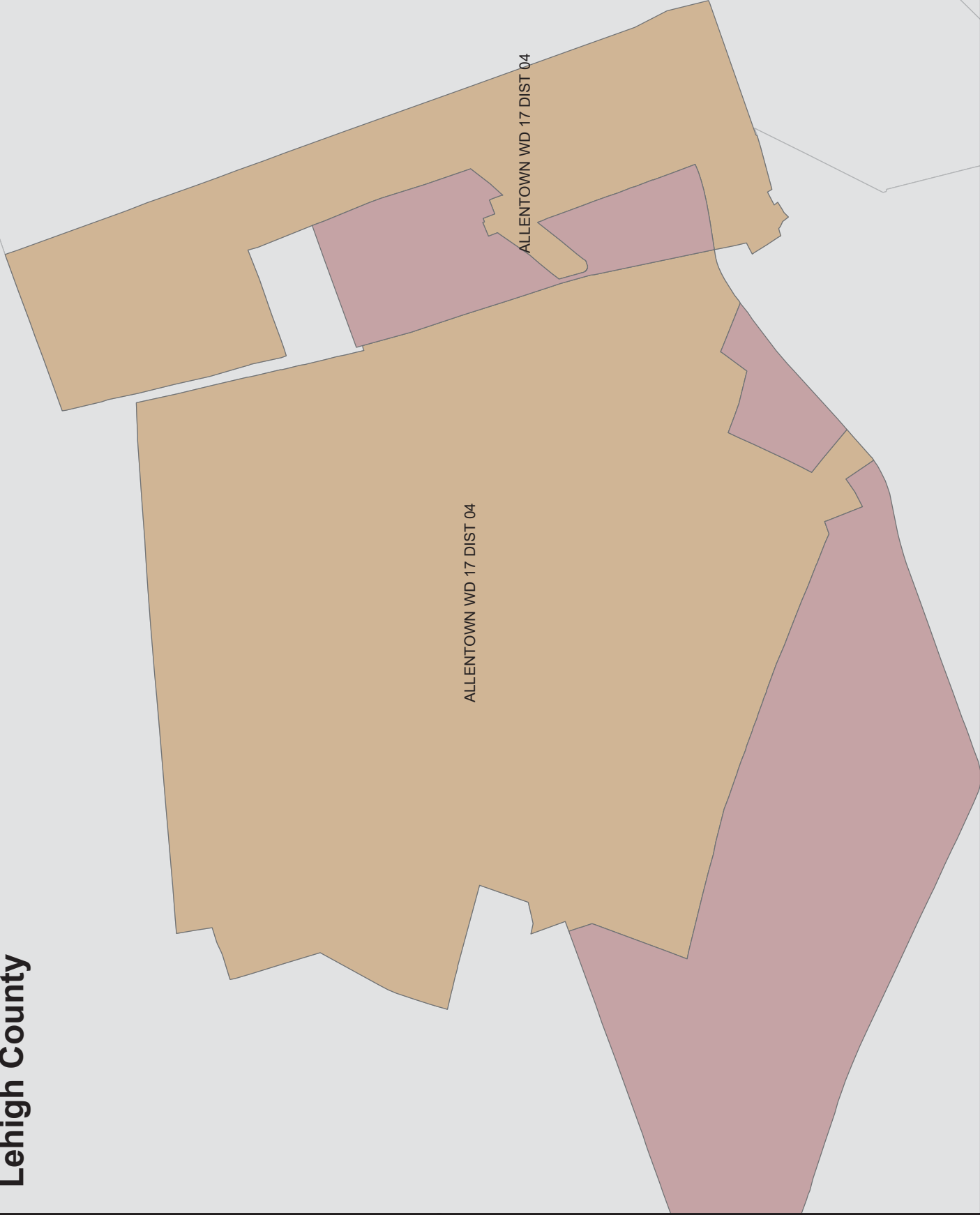
TAYLOR TWP Voting District
Lawrence County



TAYLOR TWP Voting District

ALLENTOWN WD 17 DIST 04

Lehigh County



SALISBURY TWP WD 03 DIST 01
Lehigh County

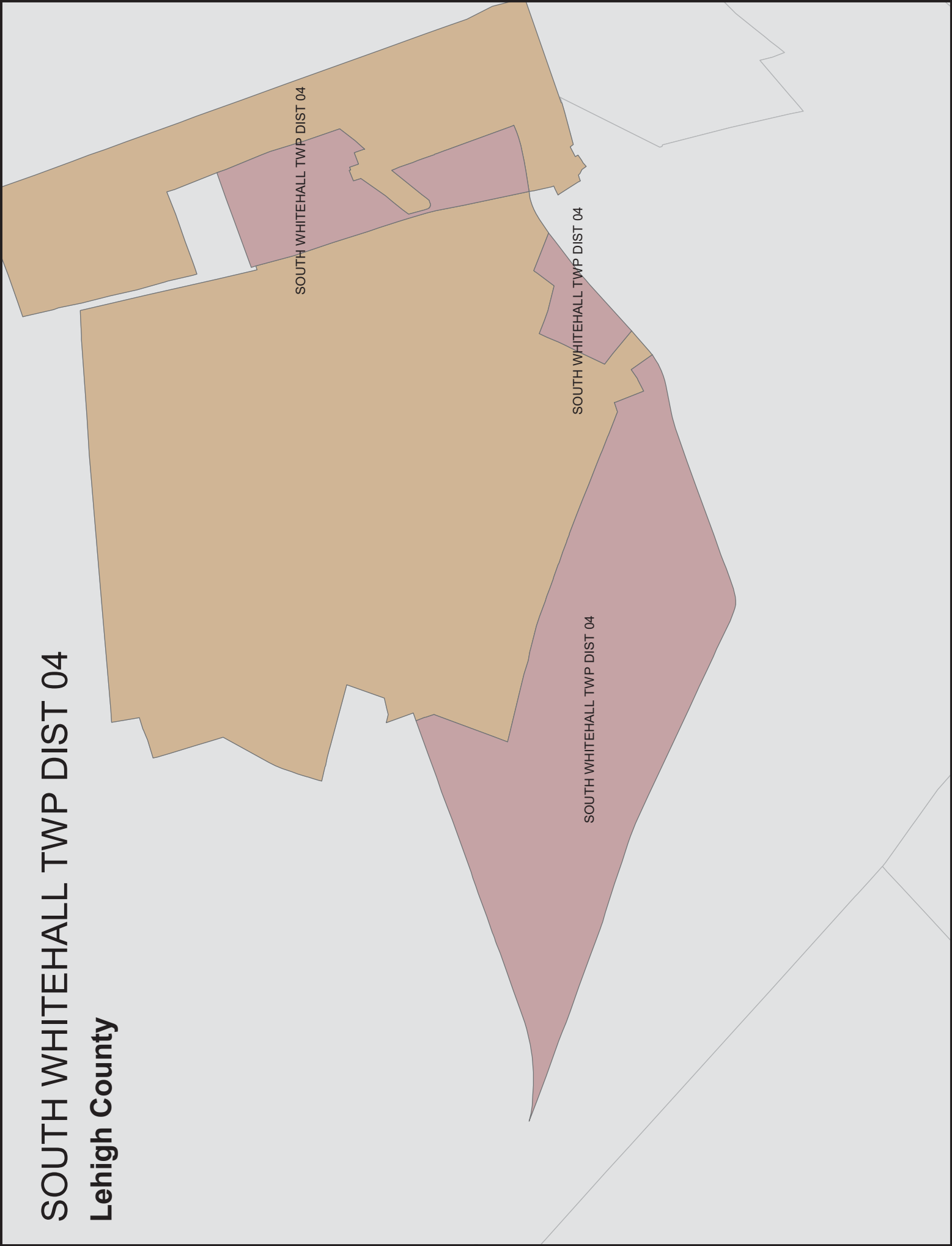


SALISBURY TWP WD 03 DIST 01

SOUTH WHITEHALL TWP DIST 02
Lehigh County



SOUTH WHITEHALL TWP DIST 04
Lehigh County



SOUTH WHITEHALL TWP DIST 04

SOUTH WHITEHALL TWP DIST 04

SOUTH WHITEHALL TWP DIST 04

UPPER MILFORD TWP DIST EASTERN

Lehigh County

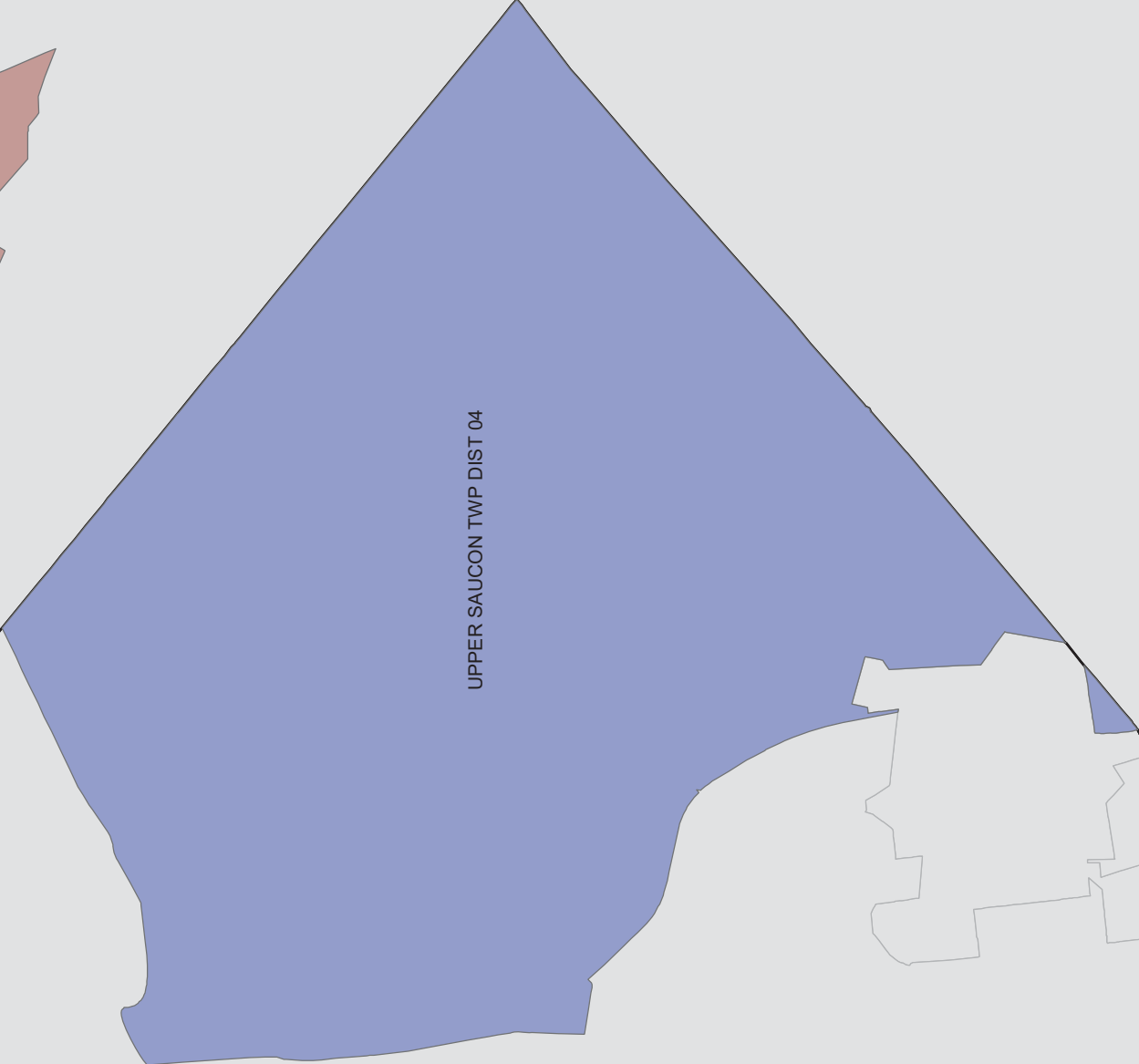
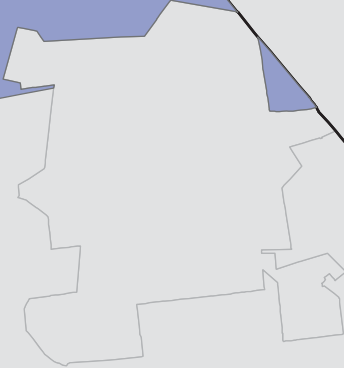
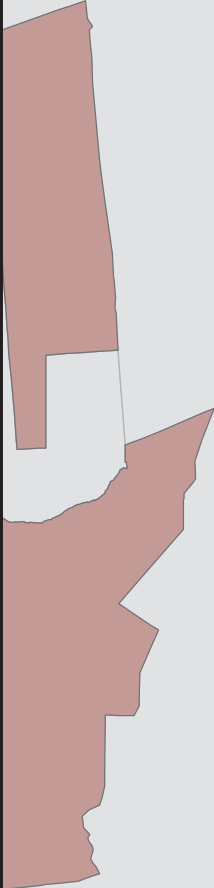
UPPER MILFORD TWP DIST EASTERN

A map showing the geographical boundaries of the Upper Milford Twp Dist Eastern in Lehigh County. The district is shaded in a light blue color. To its west, there is a light green shaded area. The rest of the map is light gray. The text 'UPPER MILFORD TWP DIST EASTERN' is printed vertically within the blue shaded area. The title 'UPPER MILFORD TWP DIST EASTERN' and the county name 'Lehigh County' are printed vertically on the left side of the map.

UPPER SAUCON TWP DIST 04

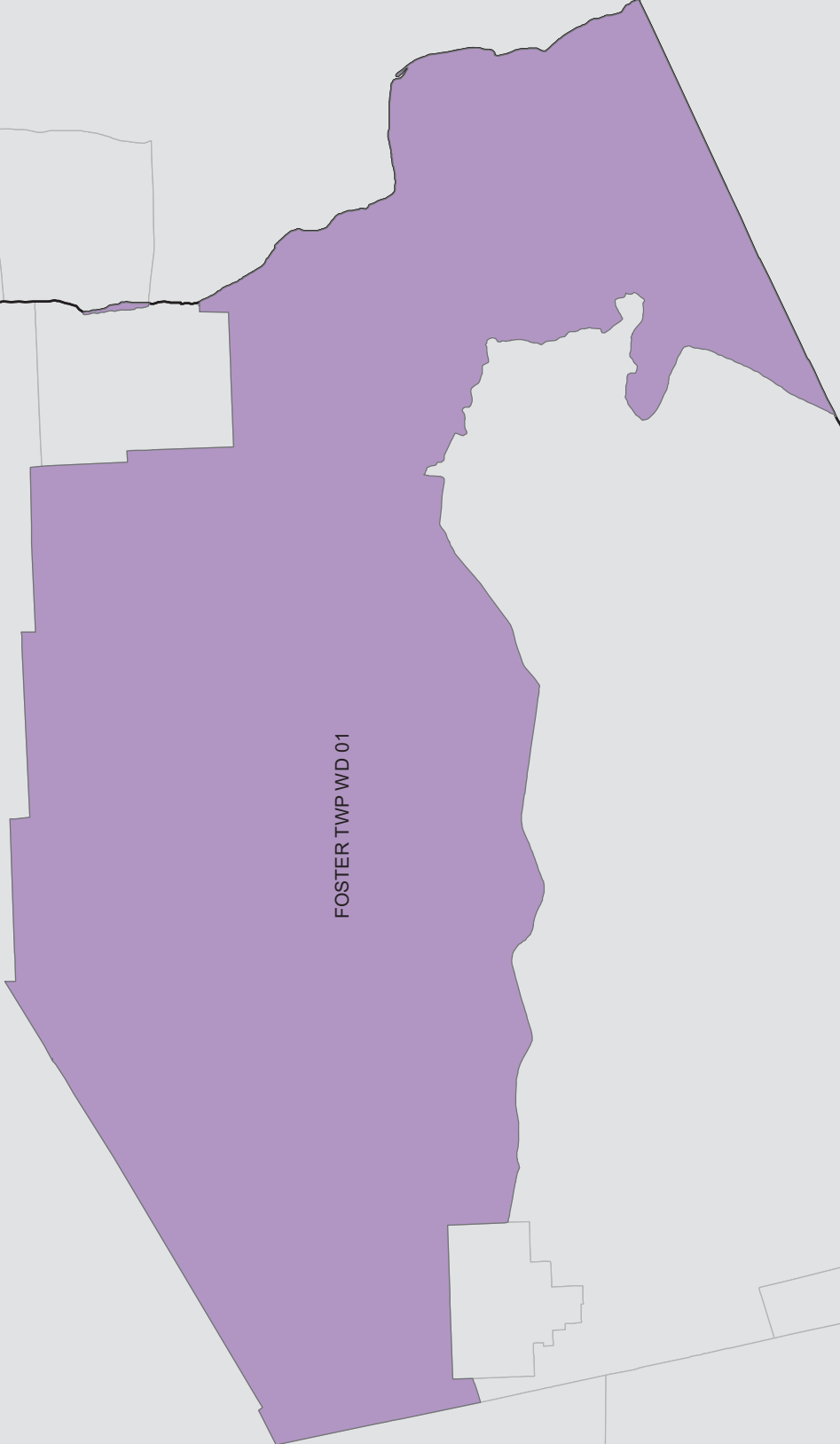
Lehigh County

UPPER SAUCON TWP DIST 04



FOSTER TWP WD 01
Luzerne County

FOSTER TWP WD 01

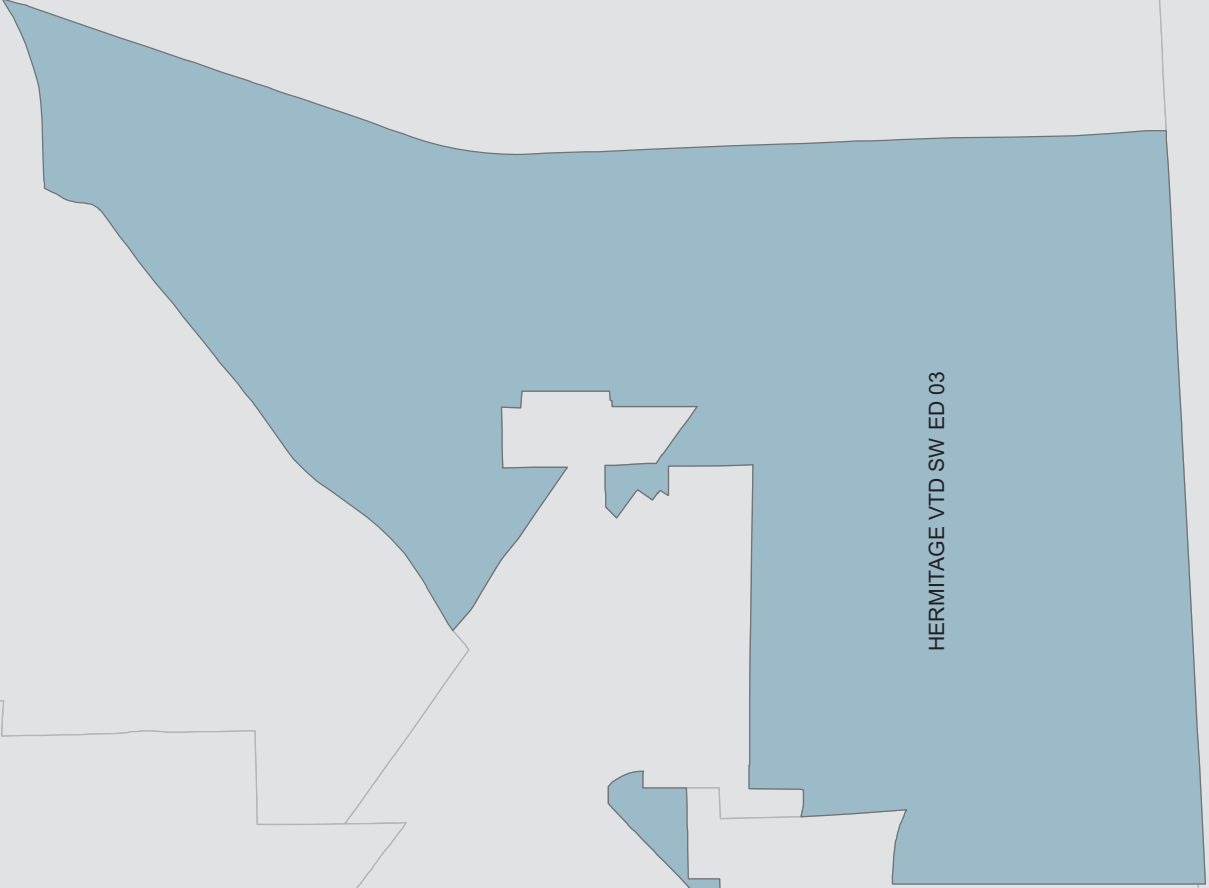


HERMITAGE VTD SW ED 03

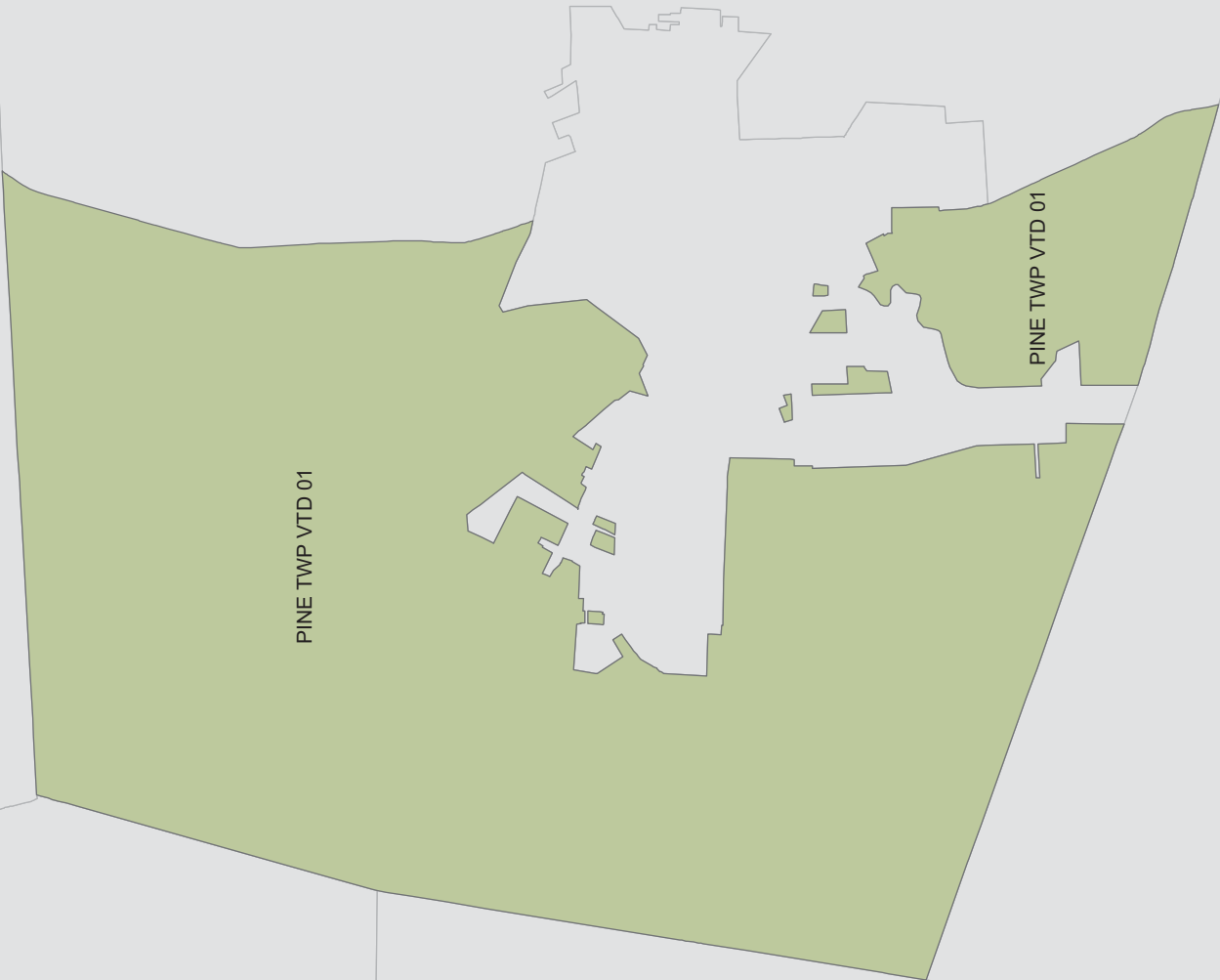
Mercer County

HERMITAGE VTD SW ED 03

HERMITAGE VTD SW ED 03



PINE TWP VTD 01
Mercer County

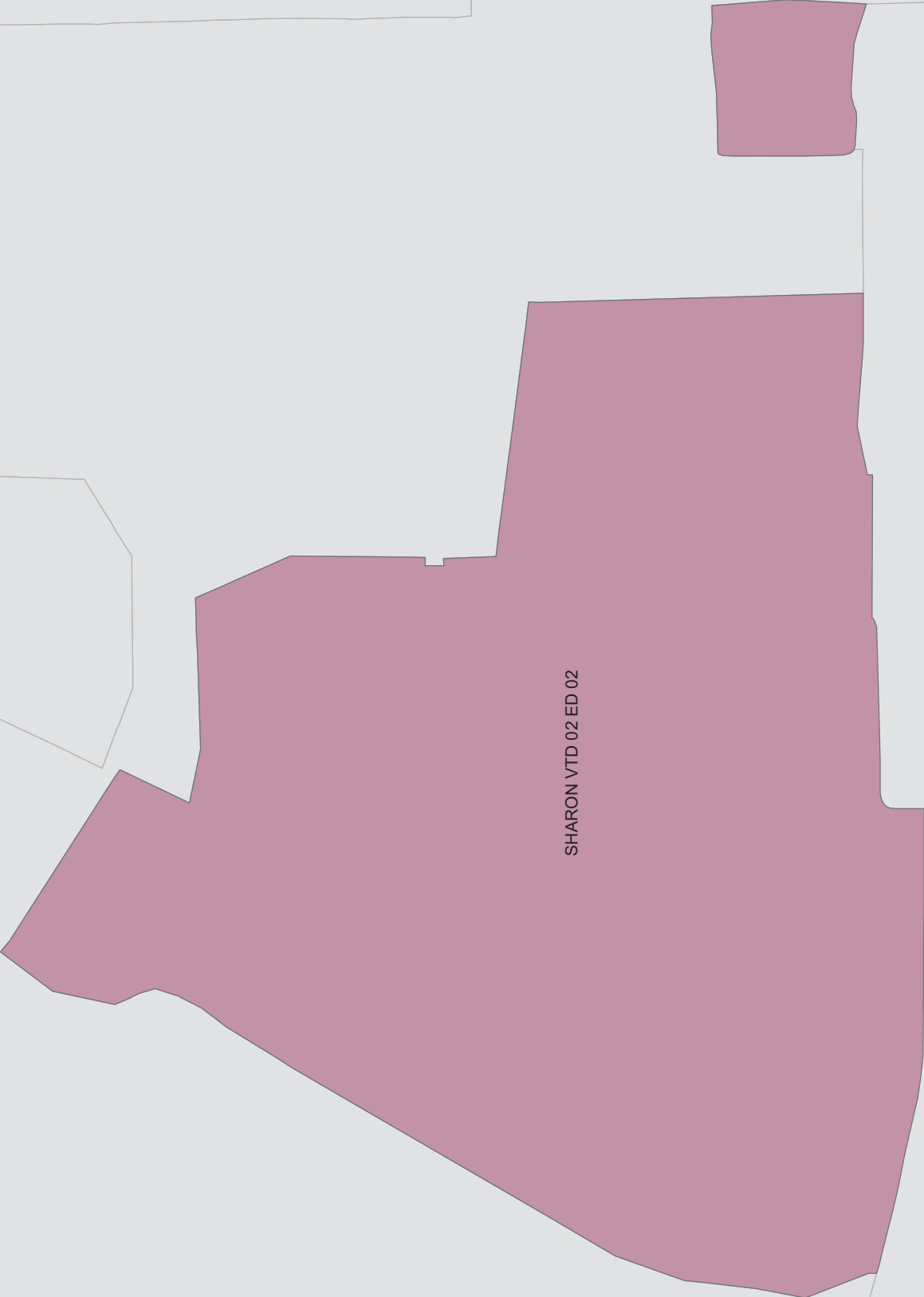


PINE TWP VTD 01

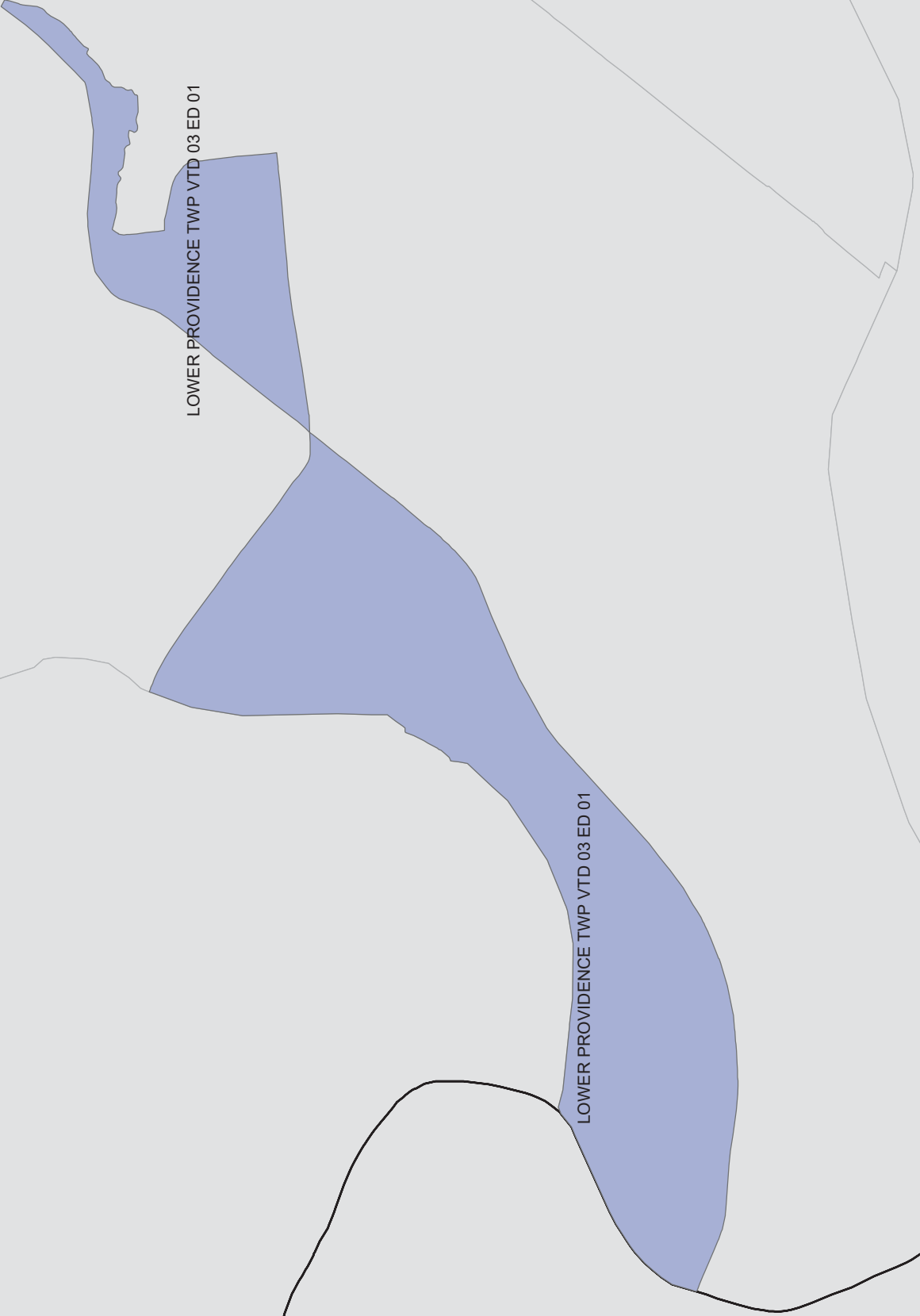
PINE TWP VTD 01

SHARON VTD 02 ED 02
Mercer County

SHARON VTD 02 ED 02



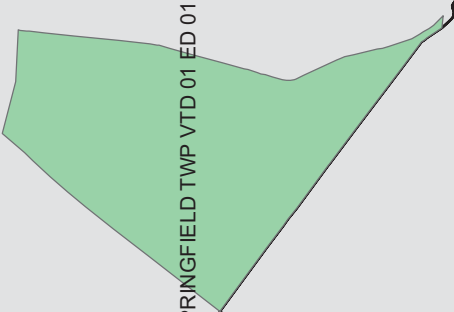
LOWER PROVIDENCE TWP VTD 03 ED 01
Montgomery County



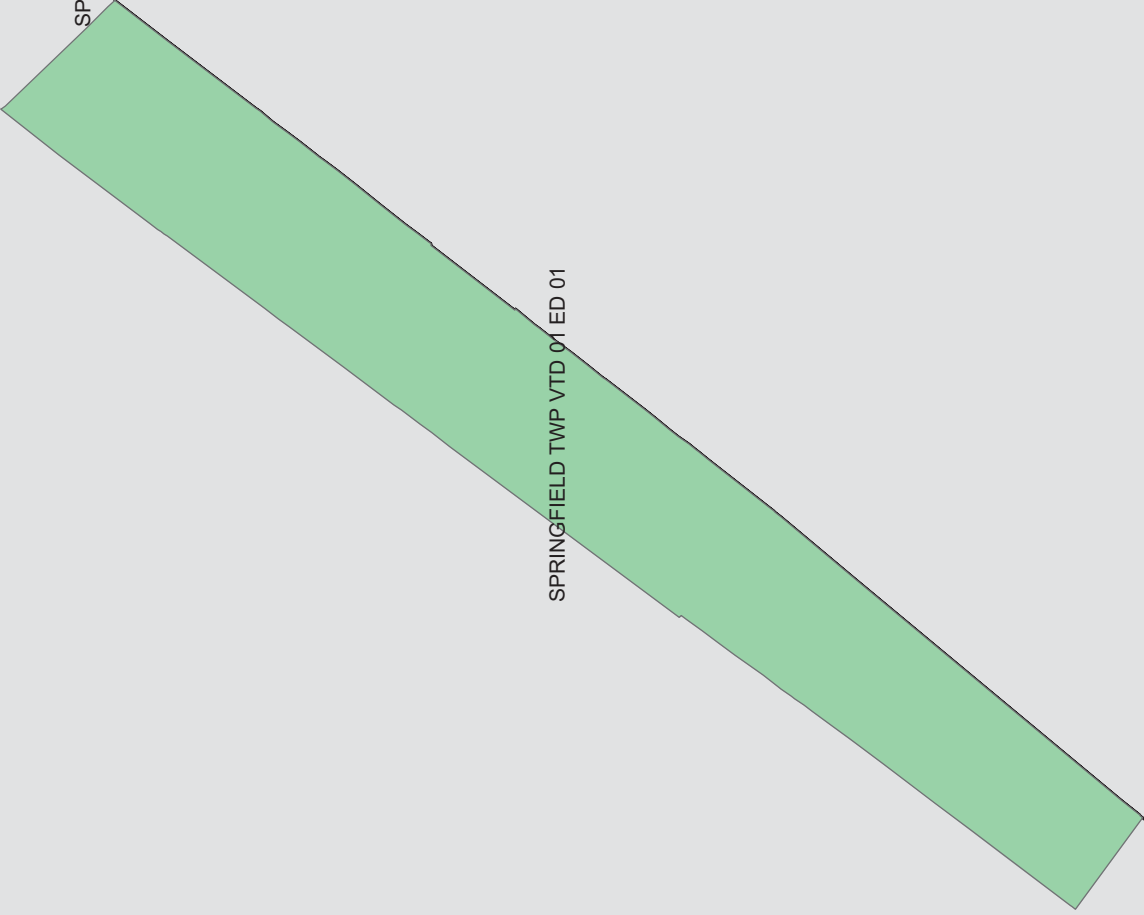
LOWER PROVIDENCE TWP VTD 03 ED 01

LOWER PROVIDENCE TWP VTD 03 ED 01

SPRINGFIELD TWP VTD 01 ED 01
Montgomery County

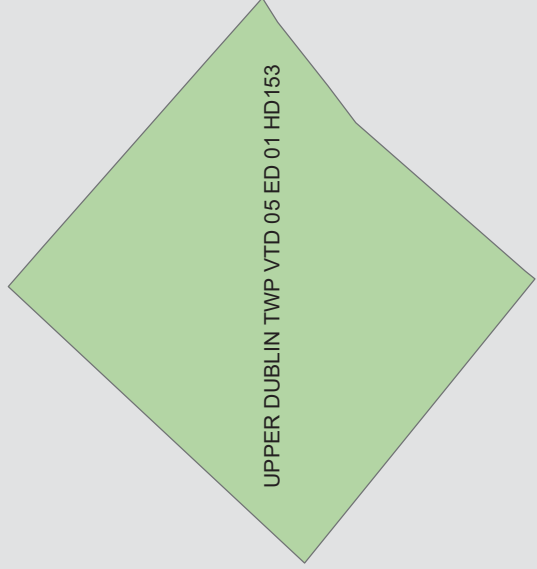


SPRINGFIELD TWP VTD 01 ED 01

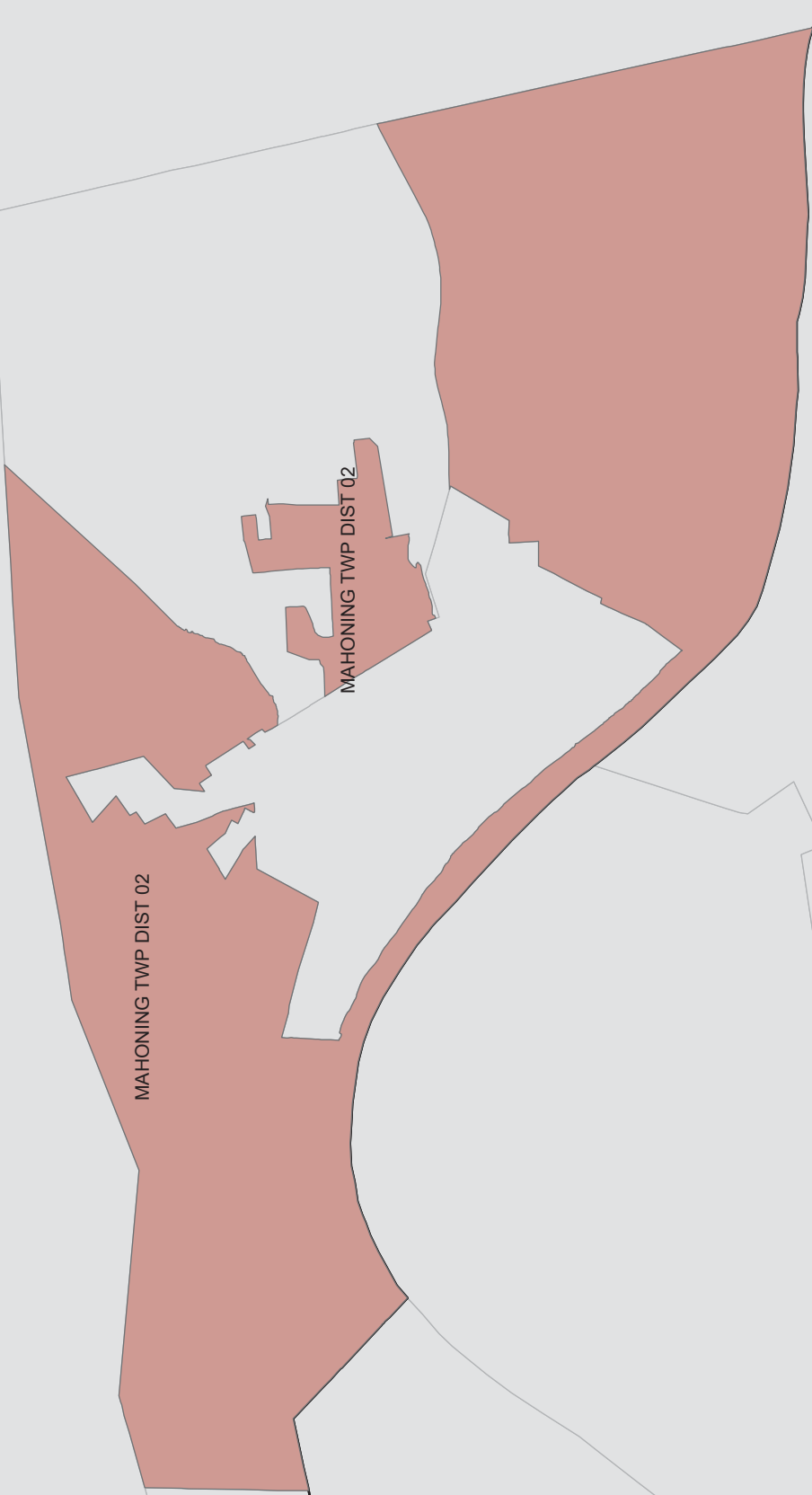


SPRINGFIELD TWP VTD 01 ED 01

UPPER DUBLIN TWP VTD 05 ED 01 HD153
Montgomery County



MAHONING TWP DIST 02
Montour County

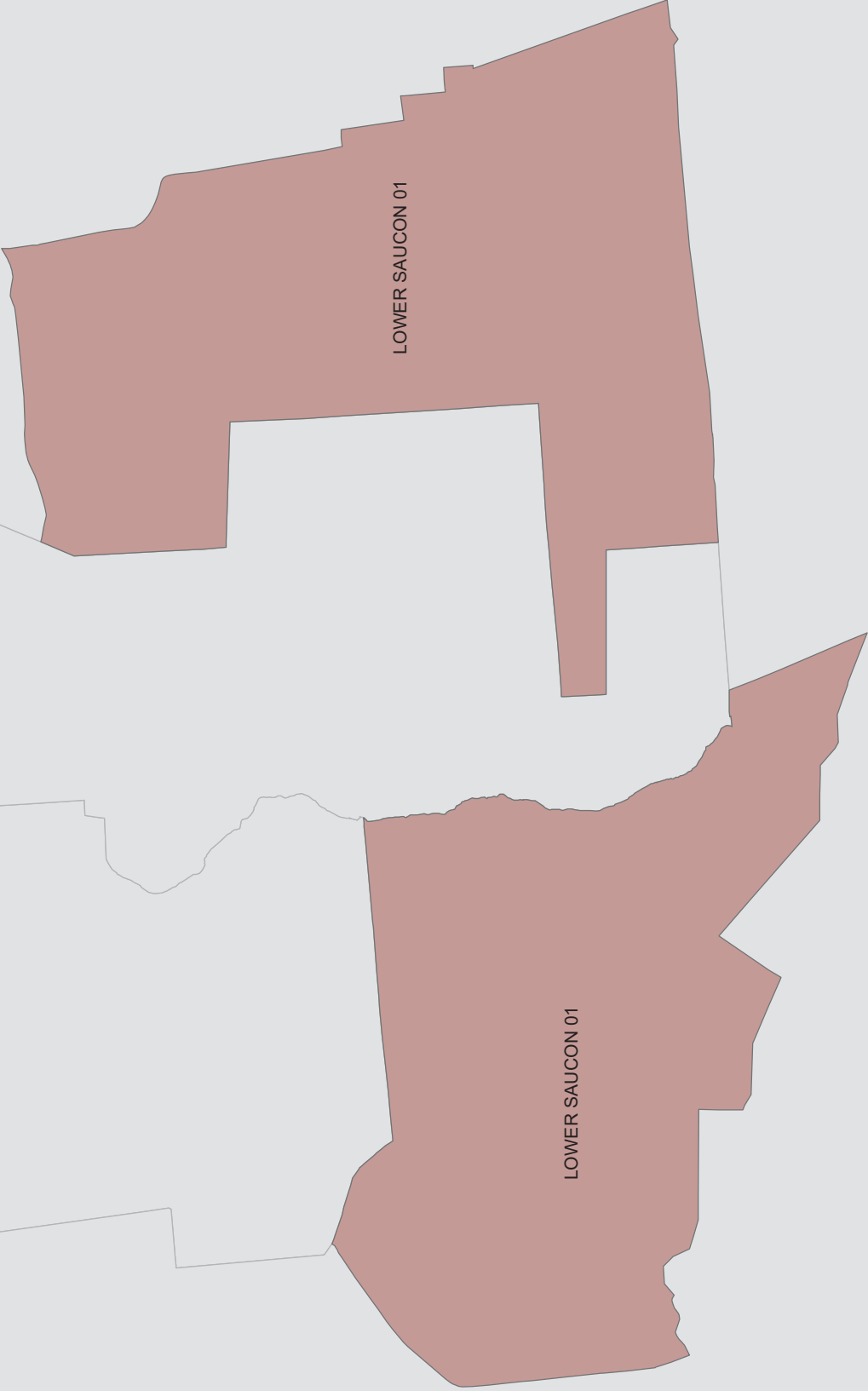


BETHLEHEM TWP WD 03 DIST 04

Northampton County



LOWER SAUCON 01
Northampton County



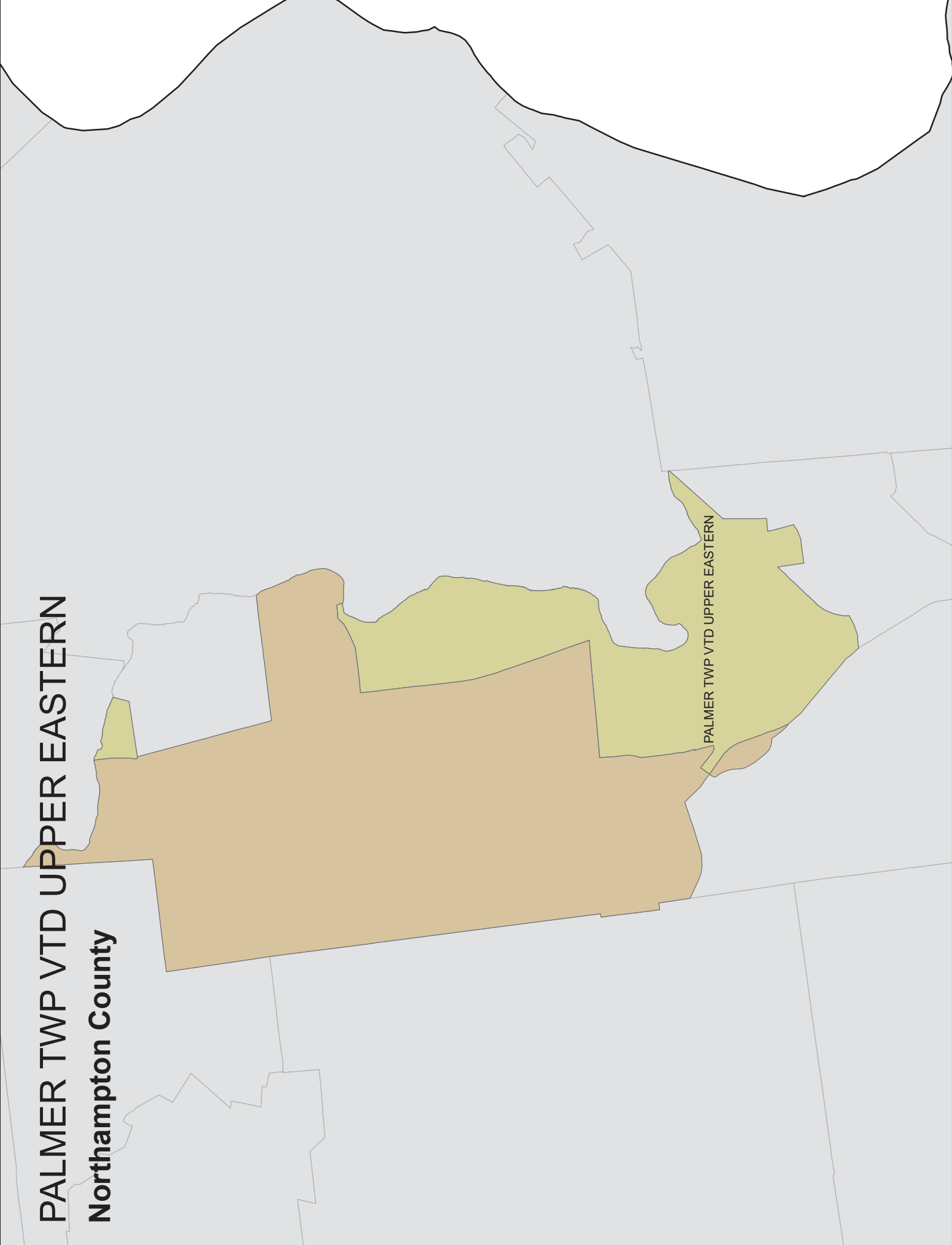
LOWER SAUCON 01

LOWER SAUCON 01

PALMER TWP VTD UPPER EASTERN

Northampton County

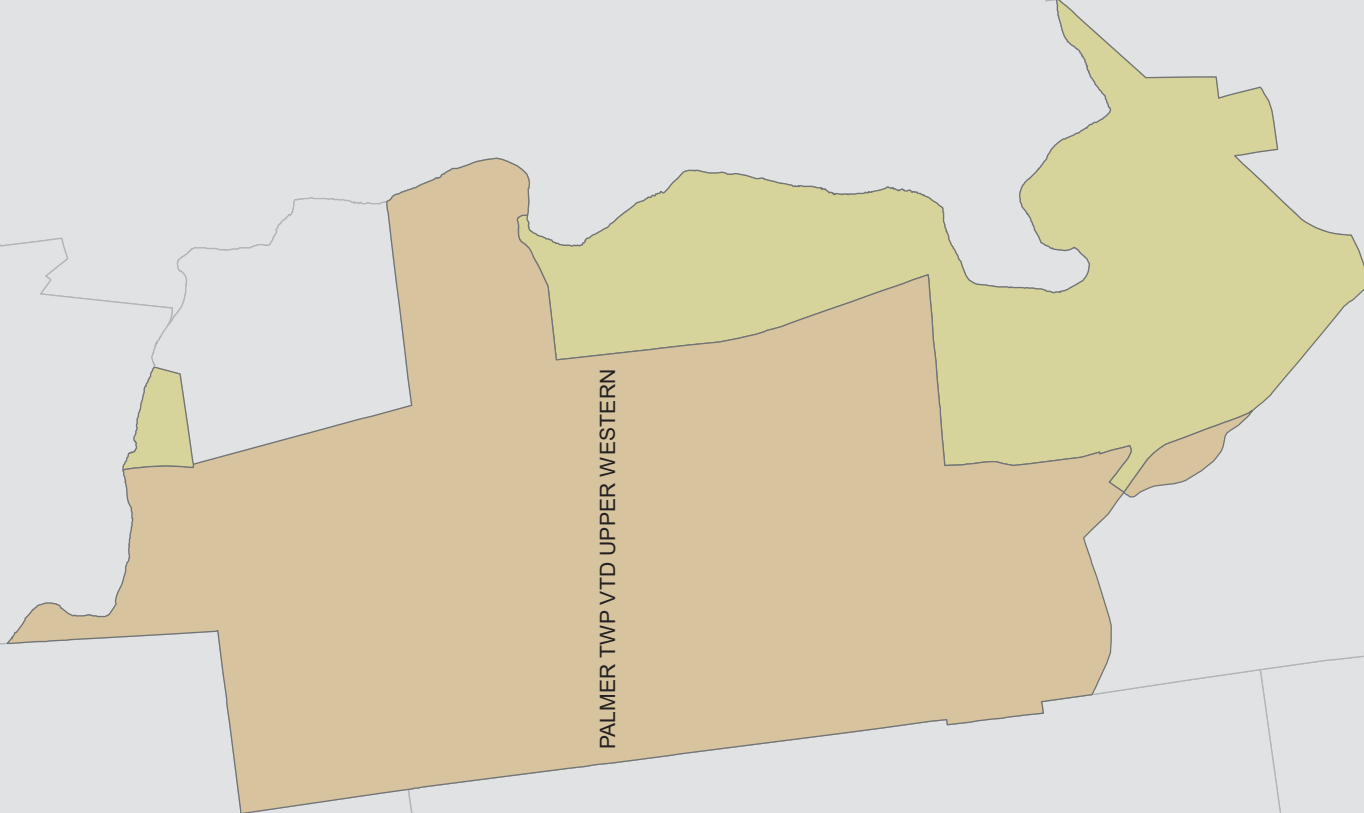
PALMER TWP VTD UPPER EASTERN



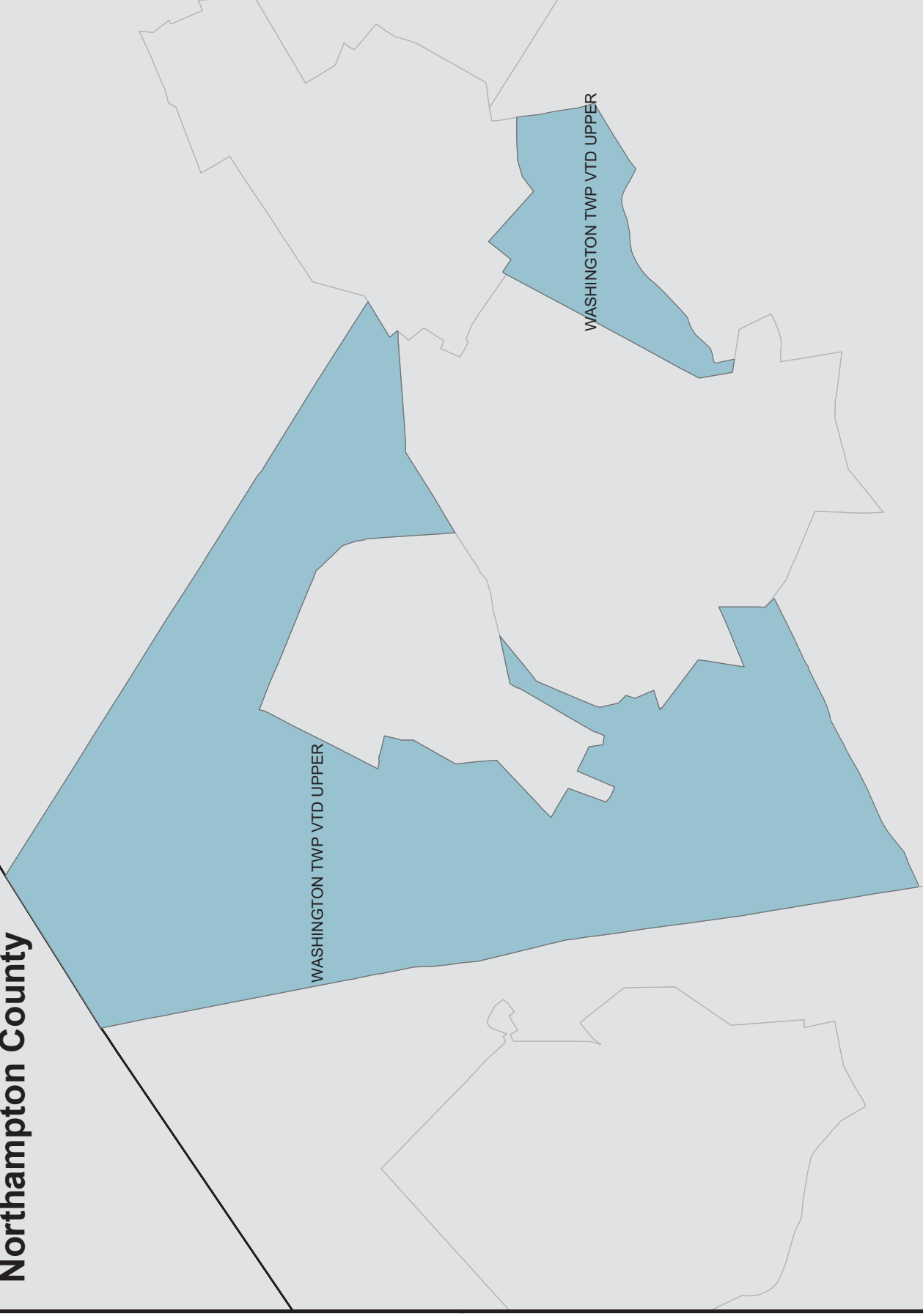
PALMER TWP VTD UPPER WESTERN

Northampton County

PALMER TWP VTD UPPER WESTERN



WASHINGTON TWP VTD UPPER
Northampton County



WASHINGTON TWP VTD UPPER

WASHINGTON TWP VTD UPPER

MILTON WD 03

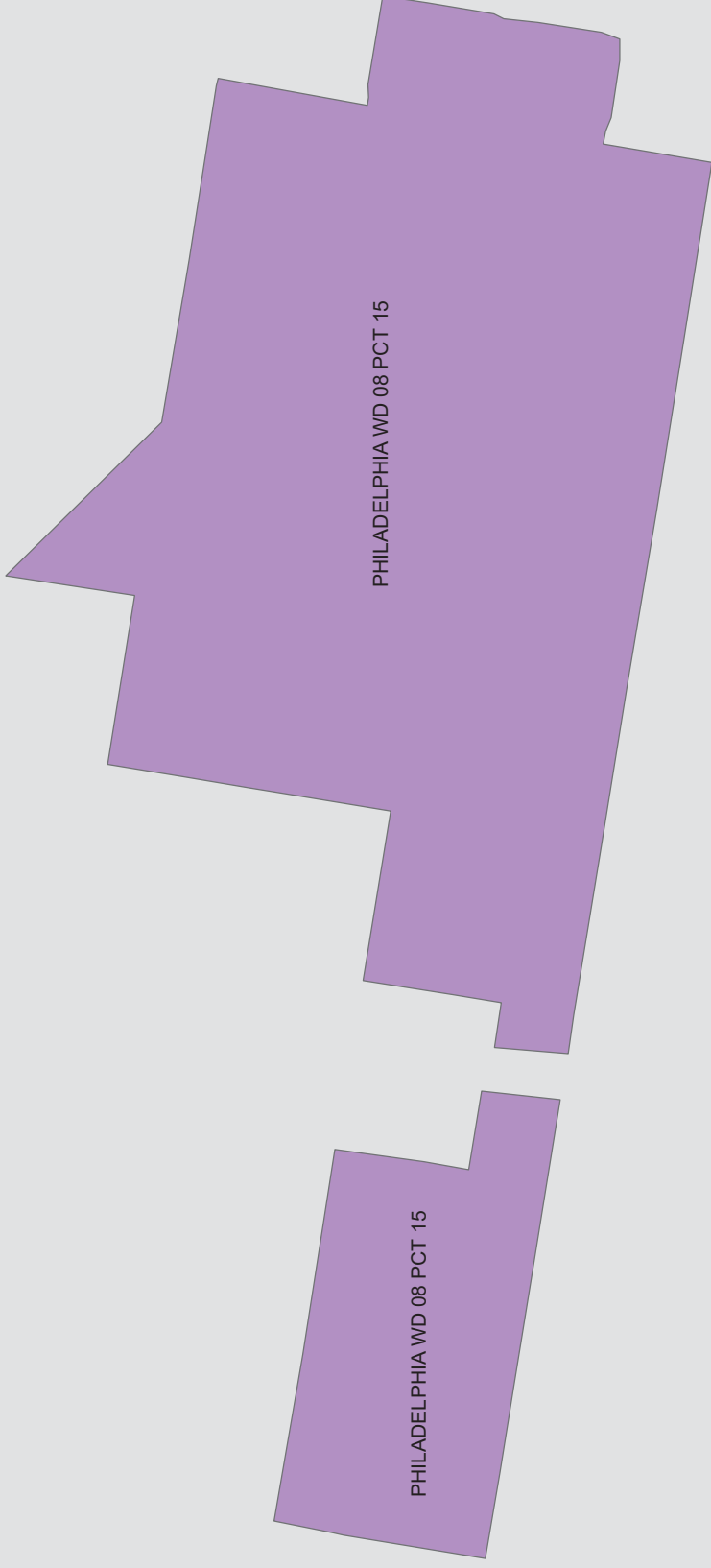
Northumberland County

MILTON WD 03

MILTON WD 03



PHILADELPHIA WD 08 PCT 15
Philadelphia County

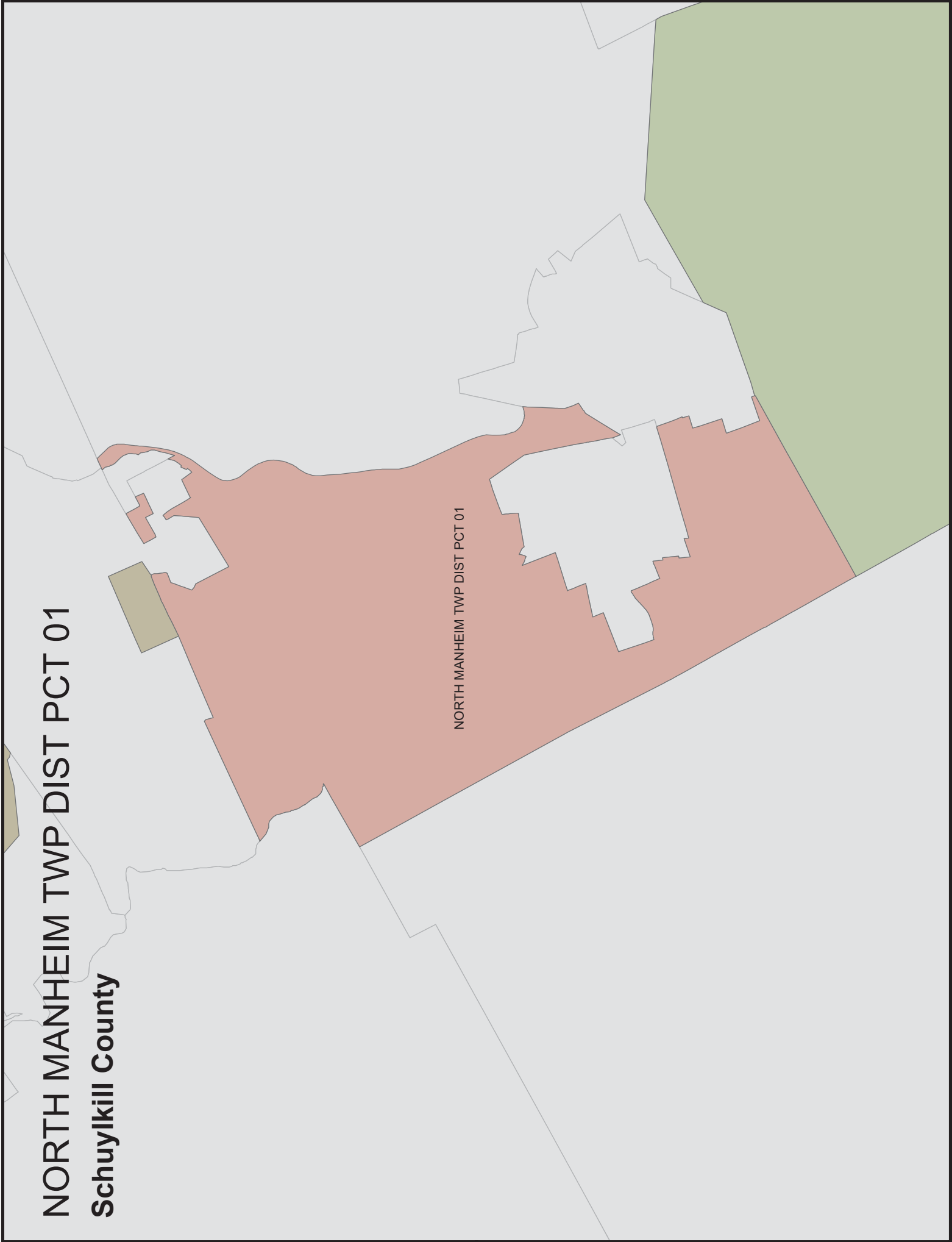


PHILADELPHIA WD 52 PCT 07
Philadelphia County



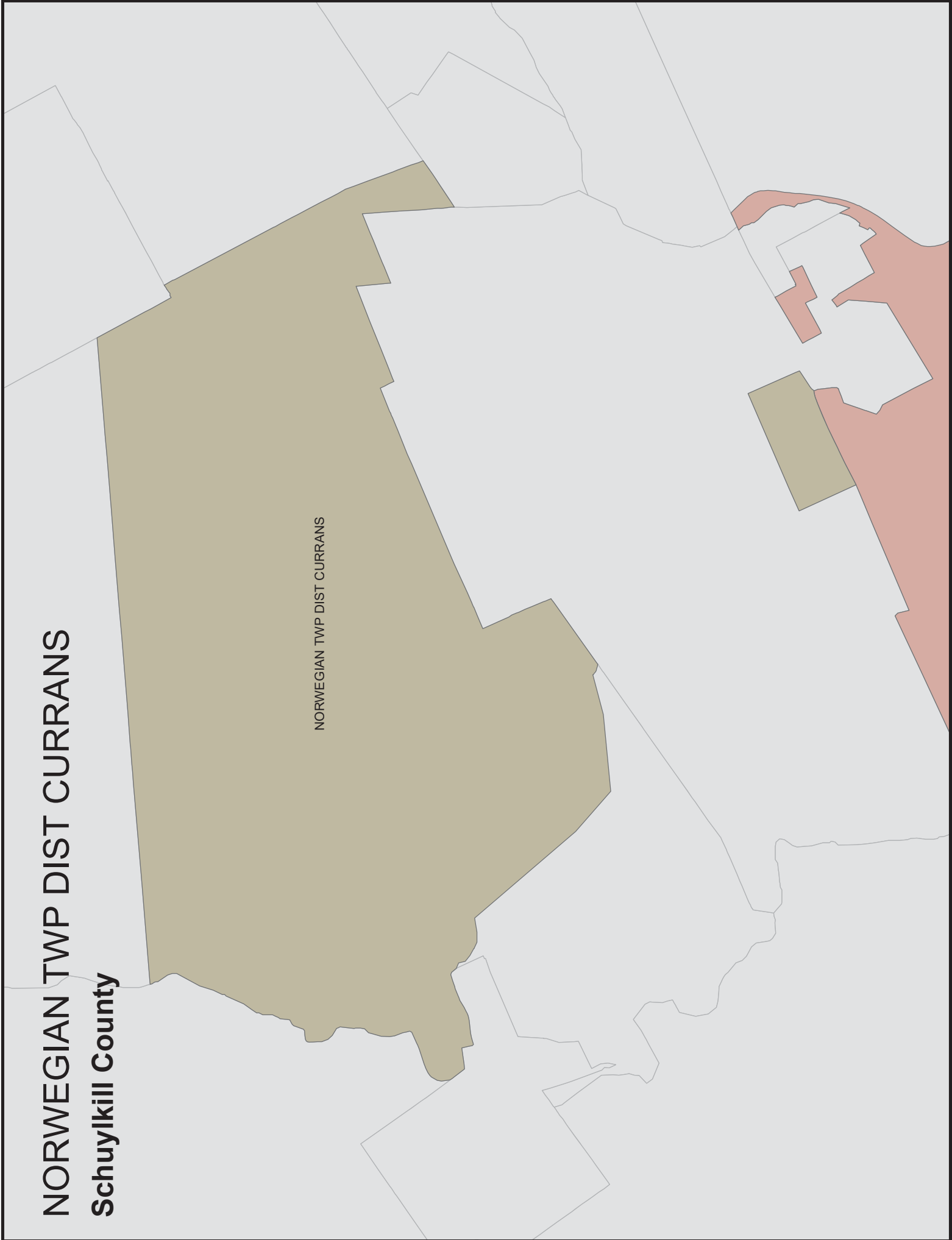
NORTH MANHEIM TWP DIST PCT 01
Schuylkill County

NORTH MANHEIM TWP DIST PCT 01



NORWEGIAN TWP DIST CURRANS
Schuylkill County

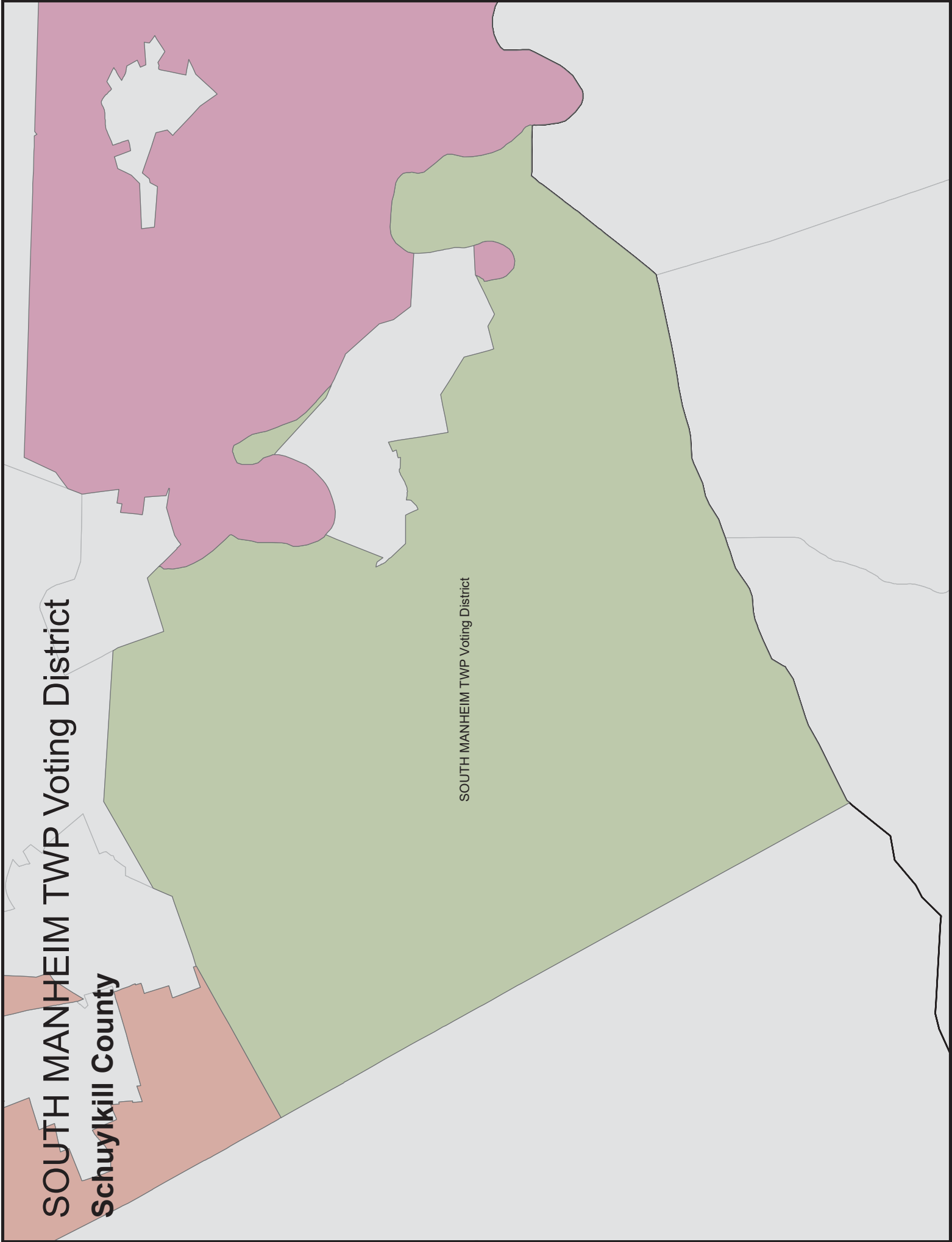
NORWEGIAN TWP DIST CURRANS



SOUTH MANHEIM TWP Voting District

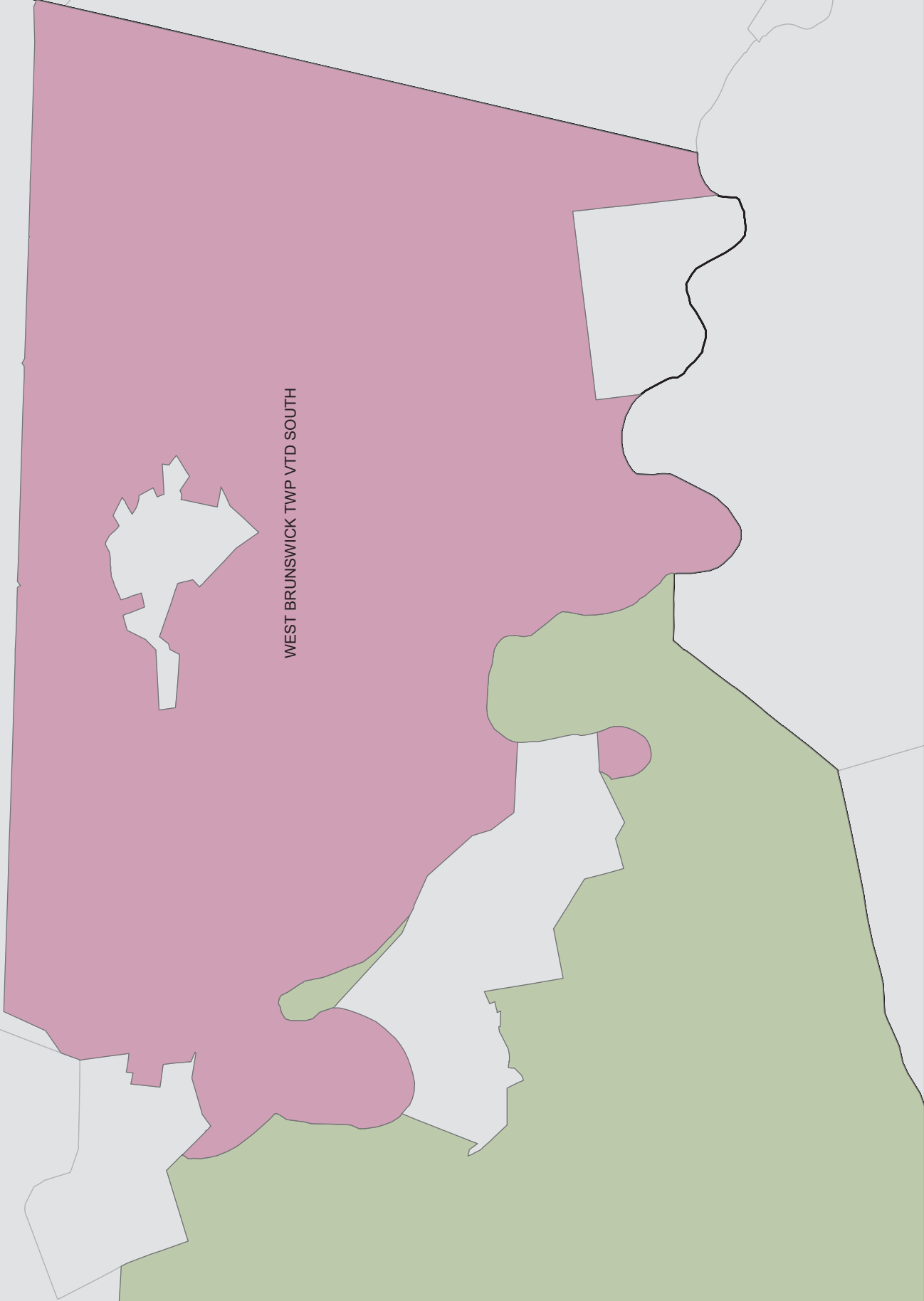
Schuykill County

SOUTH MANHEIM TWP Voting District



WEST BRUNSWICK TWP VTD SOUTH
Schuylkill County

WEST BRUNSWICK TWP VTD SOUTH



LARIMER TWP Voting District
Somerset County

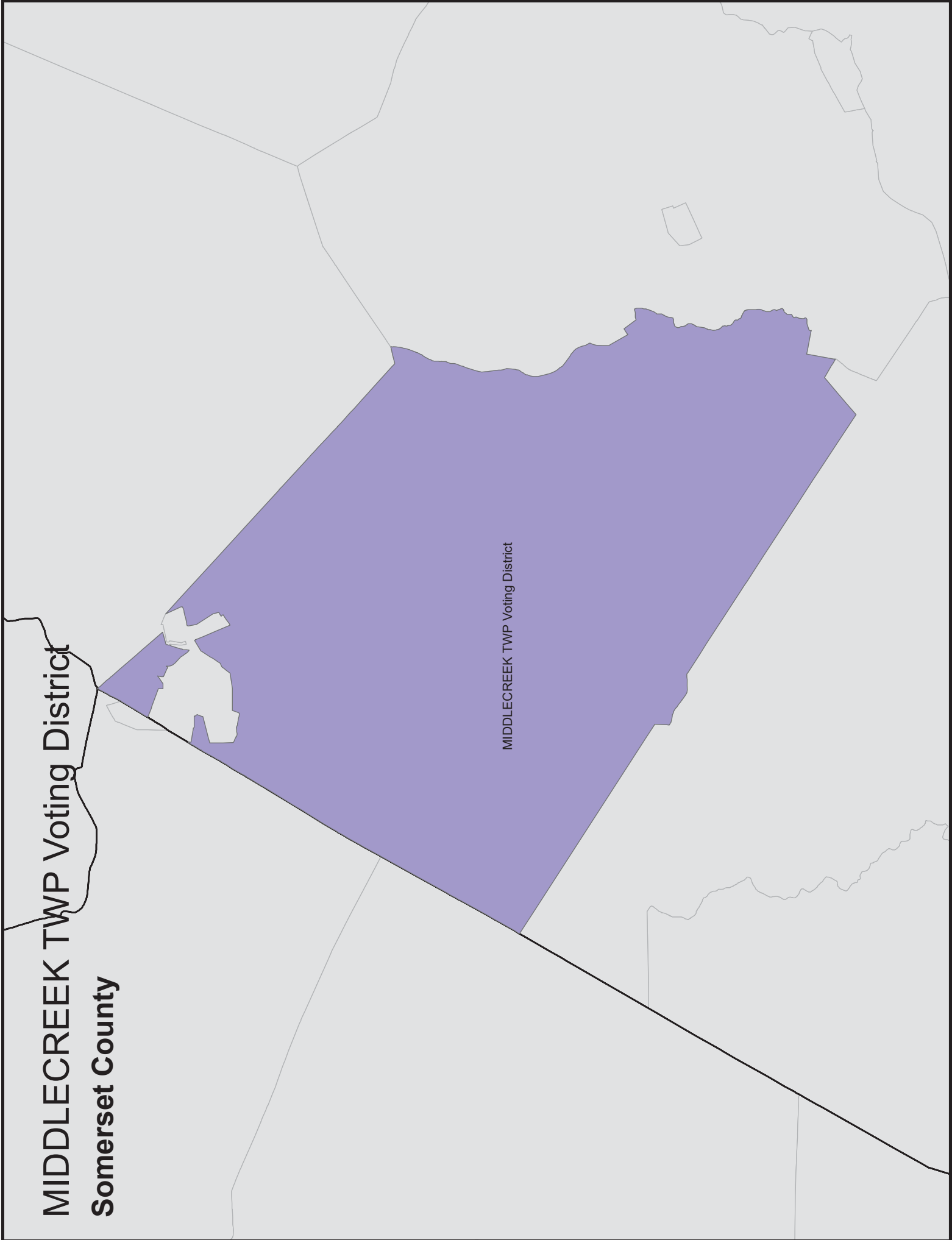


LARIMER TWP Voting District

MIDDLECREEK TWP Voting District

Somerset County

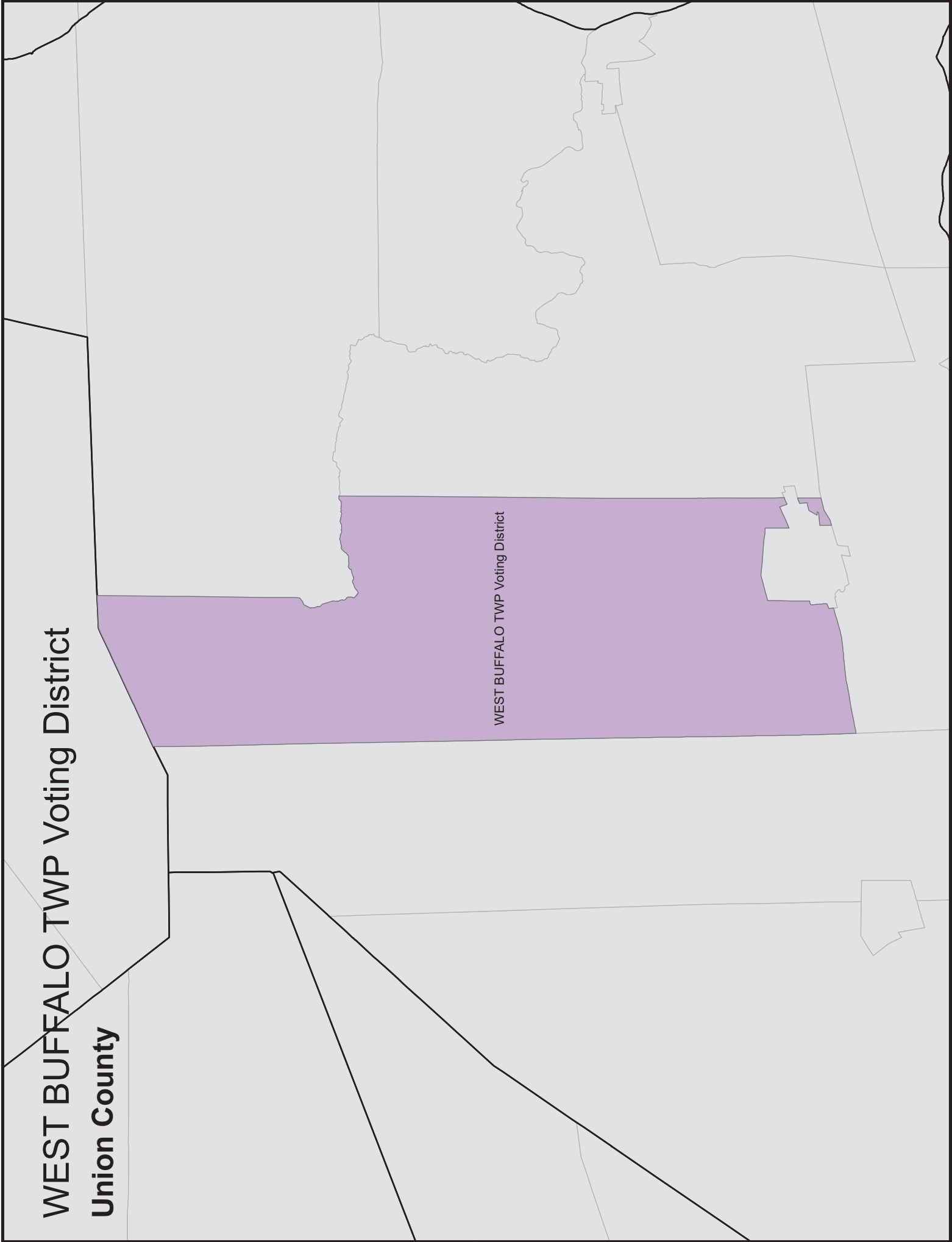
MIDDLECREEK TWP Voting District



WEST BUFFALO TWP Voting District

Union County

WEST BUFFALO TWP Voting District



SANDYCREEK TWP Voting District

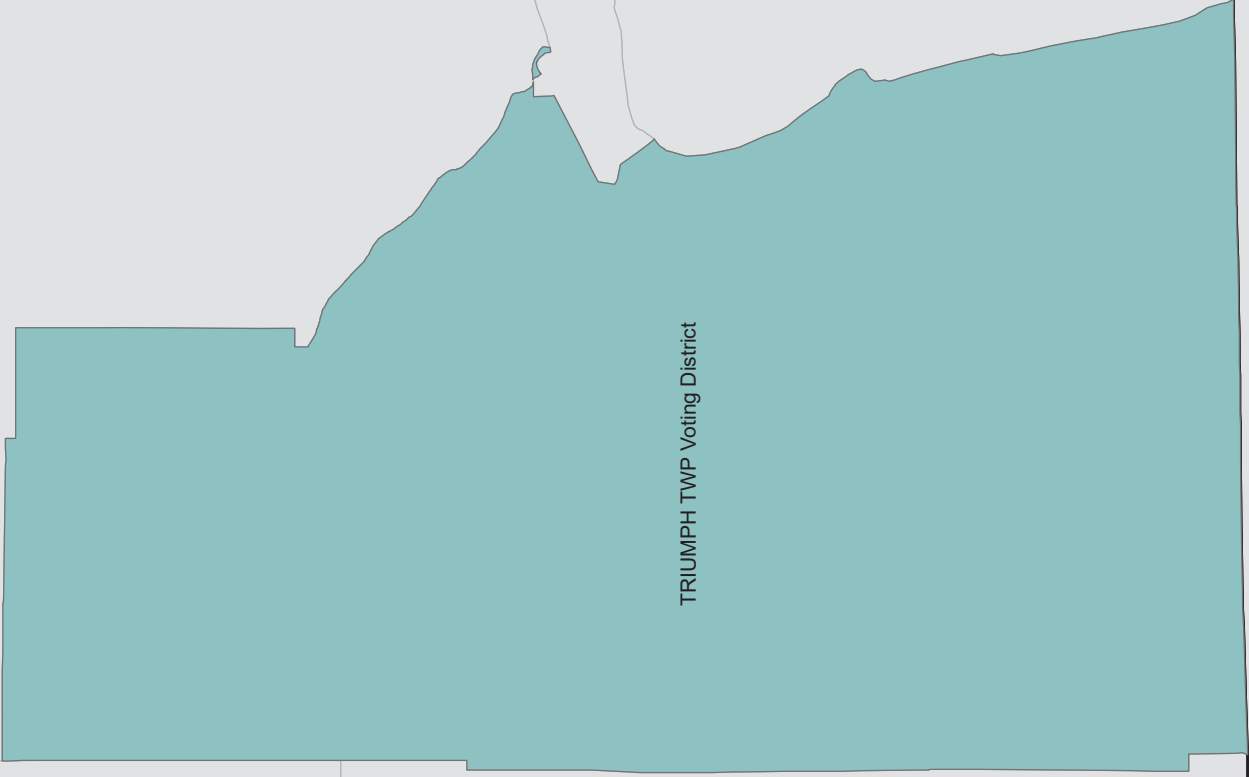
Venango County

SANDYCREEK TWP Voting District

A map showing the boundaries of the Sandycreek TWP Voting District in Venango County. The district is shaded in a reddish-brown color and has an irregular, elongated shape. It includes a small, separate area to the west. The surrounding area is light gray with thin white lines representing other geographical features or boundaries.

TRIUMPH TWP Voting District
Warren County

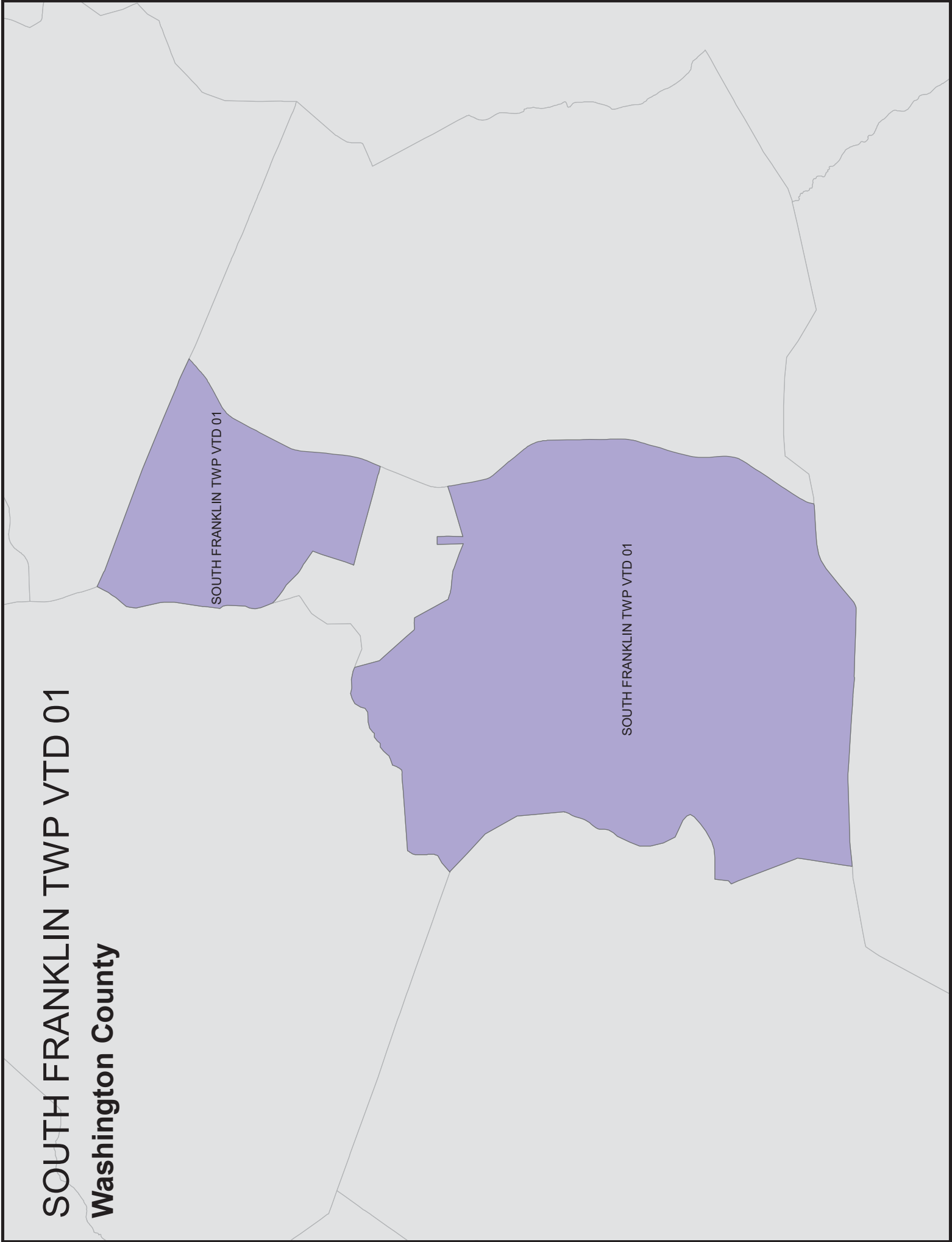
TRIUMPH TWP Voting District



SOUTH FRANKLIN TWP VTD 01
Washington County

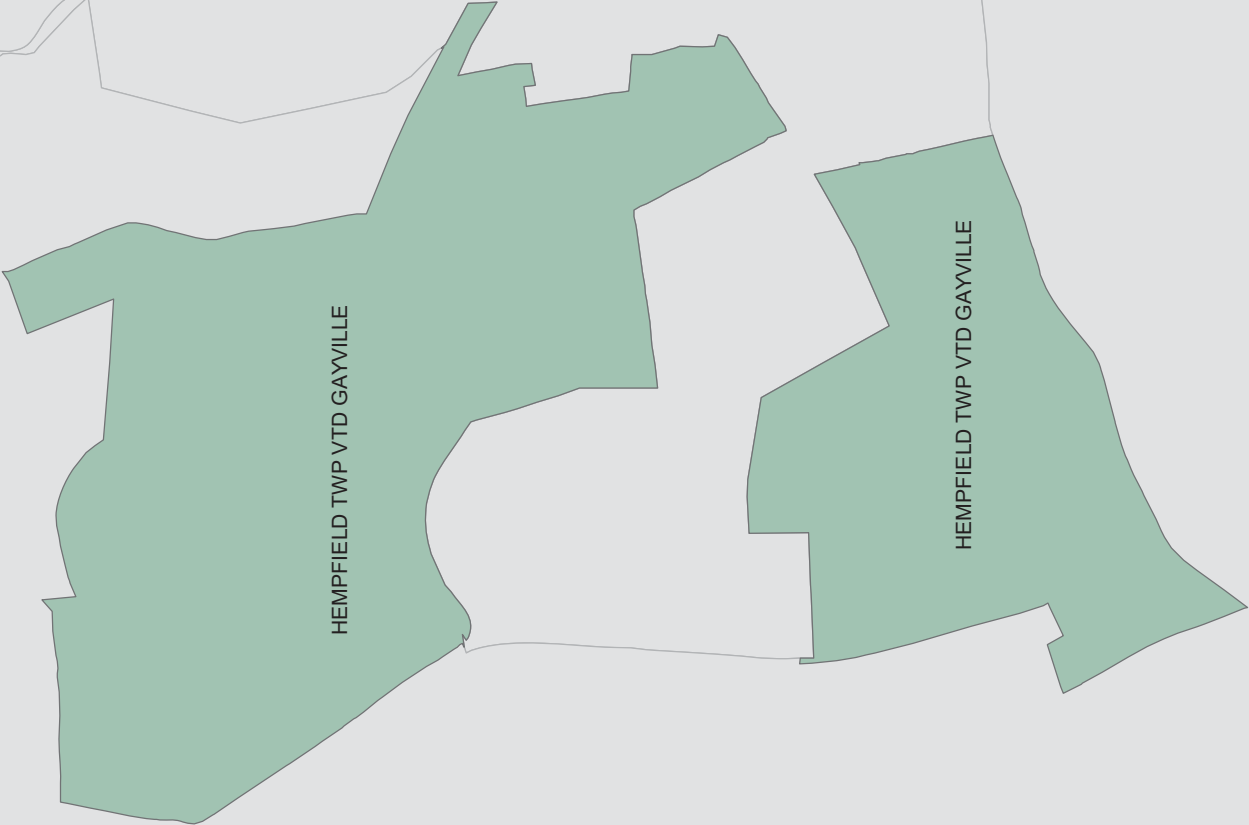
SOUTH FRANKLIN TWP VTD 01

SOUTH FRANKLIN TWP VTD 01



HEMPFIELD TWP VTD GAYVILLE

Westmoreland County



HEMPFIELD TWP VTD GAYVILLE

HEMPFIELD TWP VTD GAYVILLE

LATROBE WD 06
Westmoreland County

LATROBE WD 06

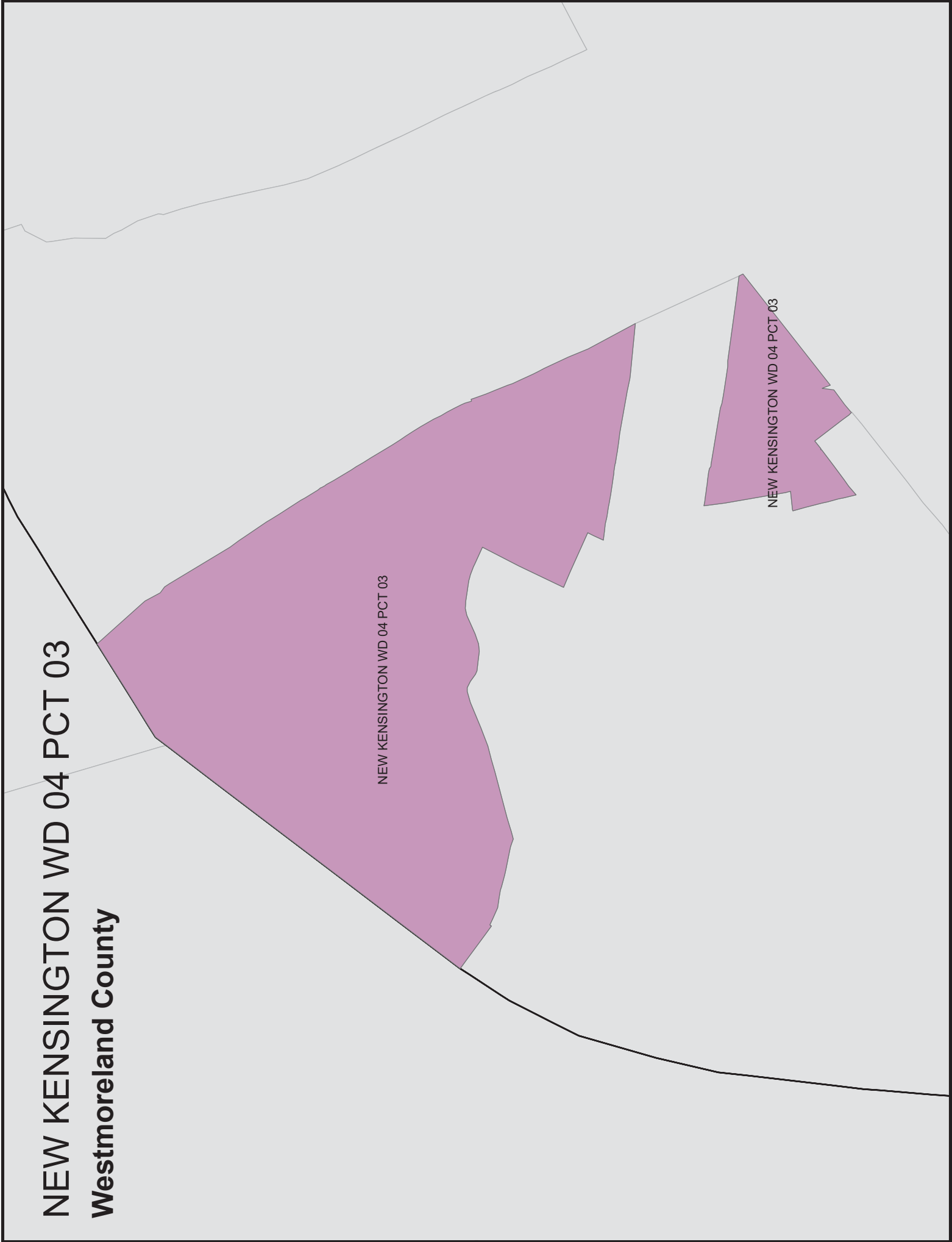
LATROBE WD 06



NEW KENSINGTON WD 04 PCT 03
Westmoreland County

NEW KENSINGTON WD 04 PCT 03

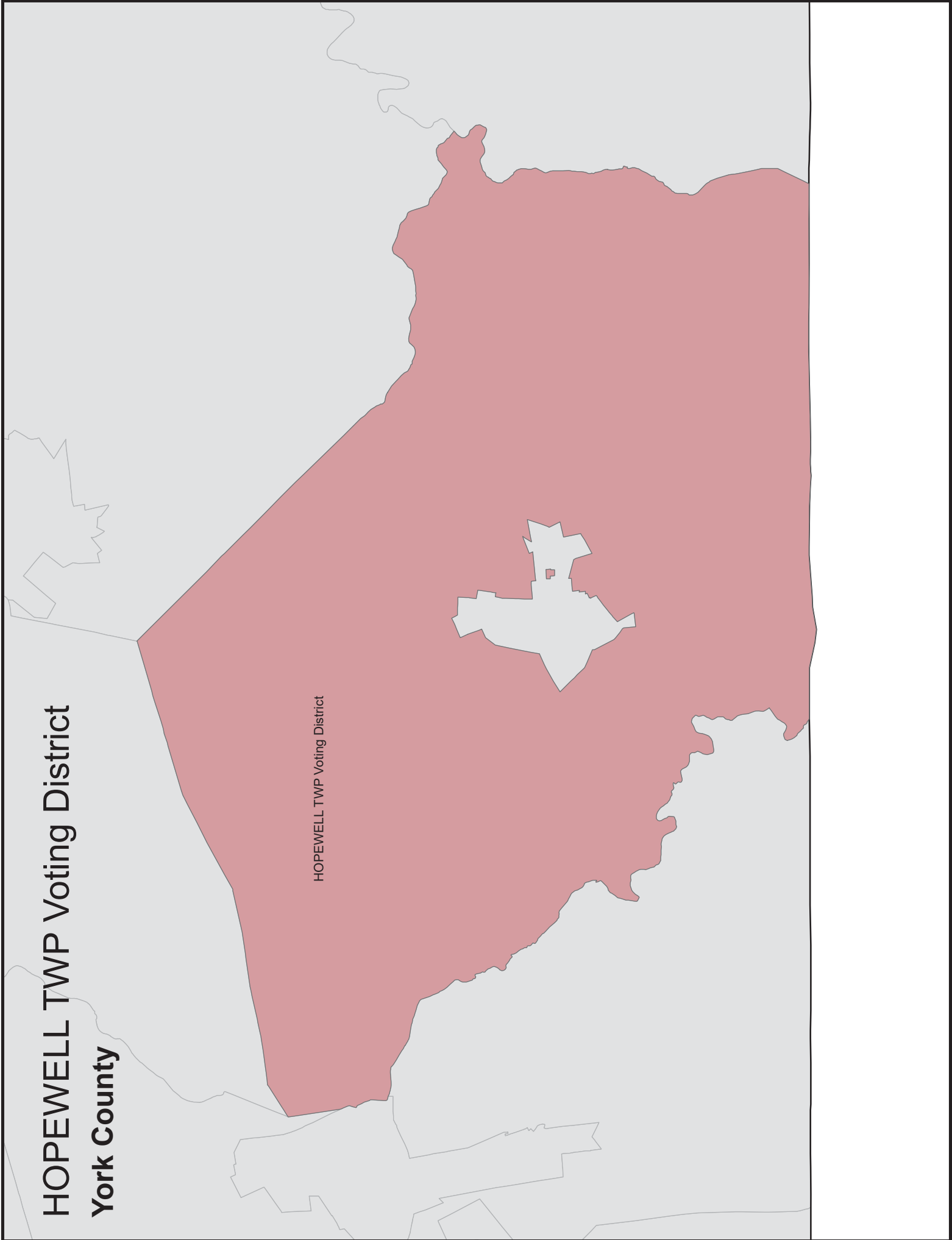
NEW KENSINGTON WD 04 PCT 03



HOPEWELL TWP Voting District

York County

HOPEWELL TWP Voting District

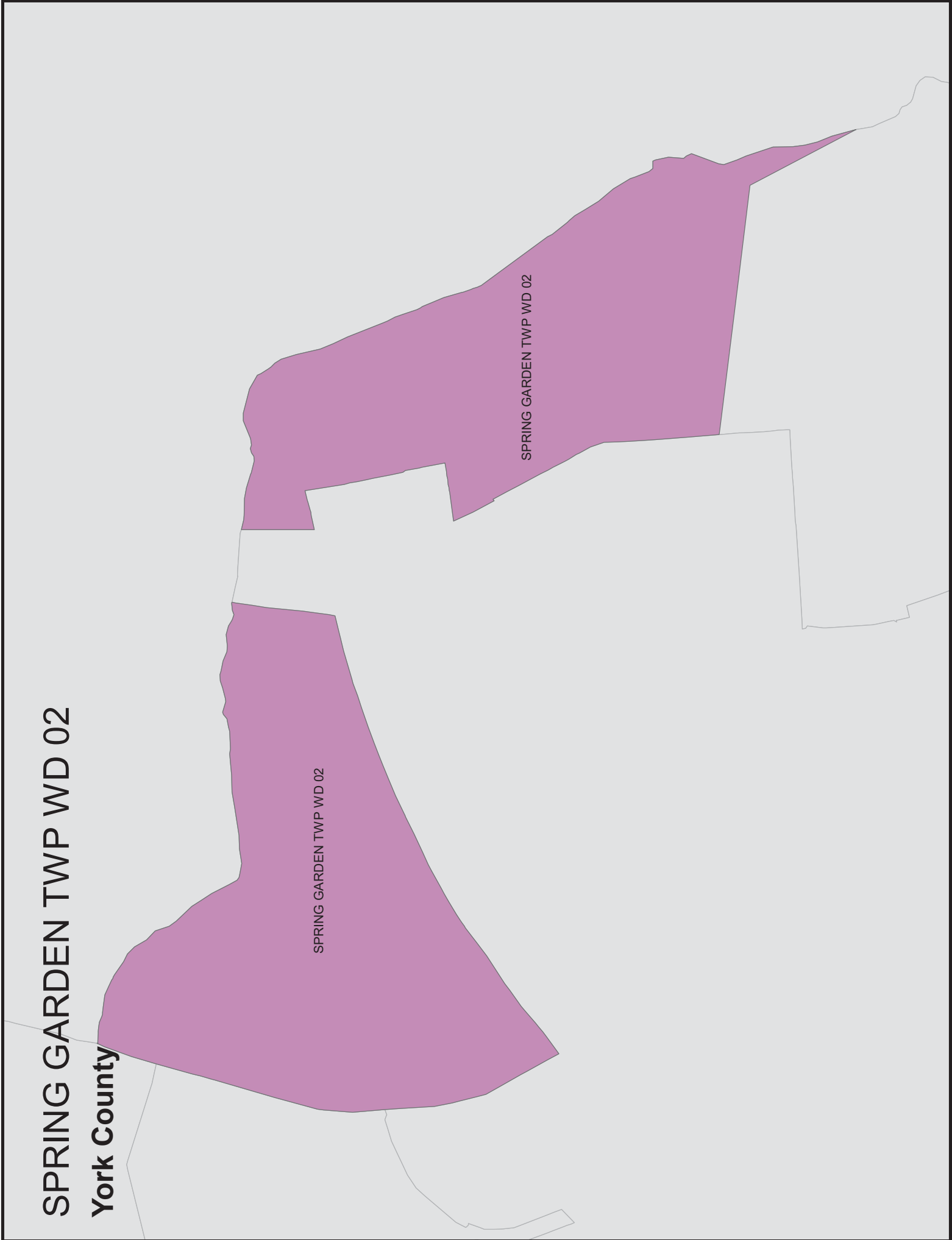


SPRING GARDEN TWP WD 02

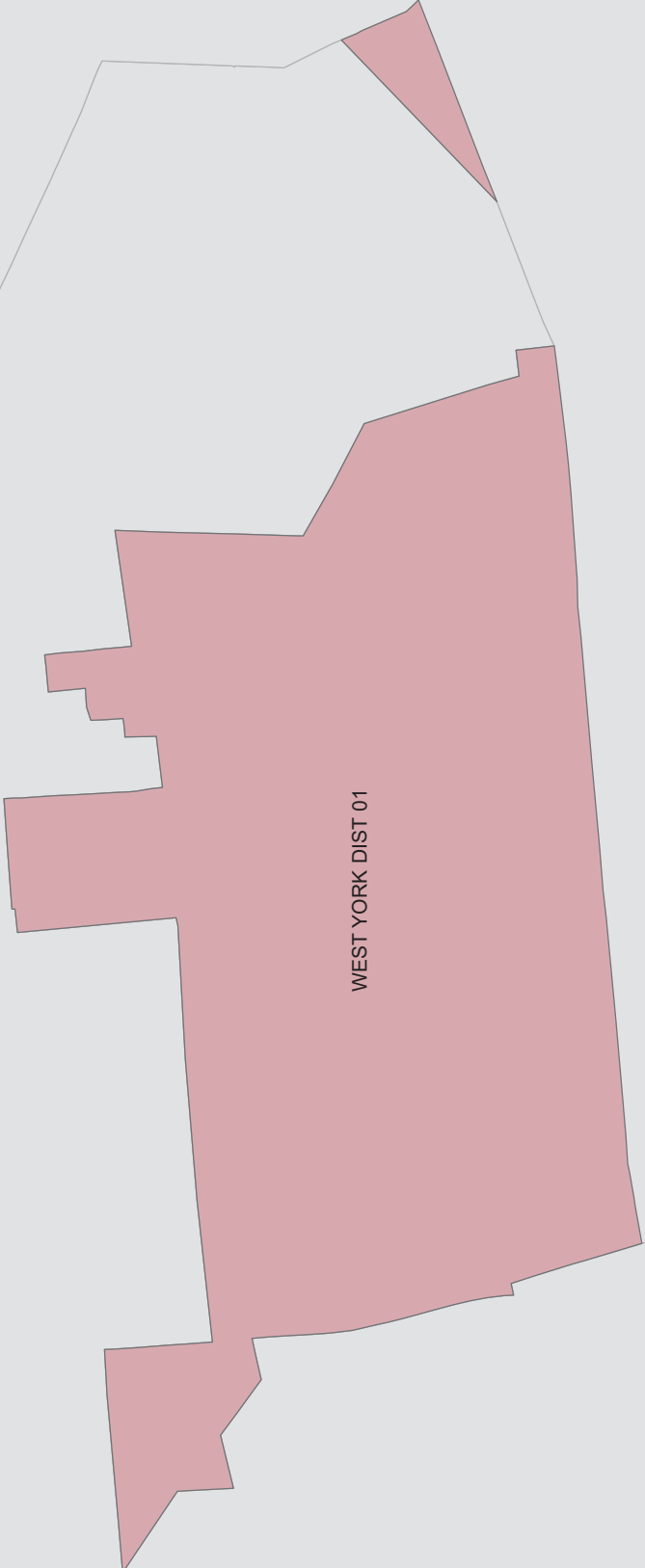
York County

SPRING GARDEN TWP WD 02

SPRING GARDEN TWP WD 02



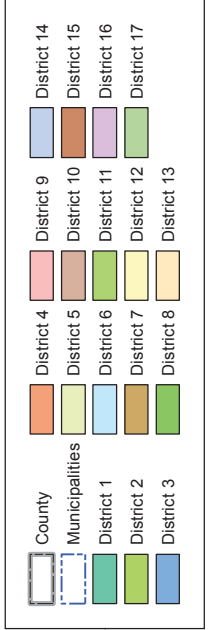
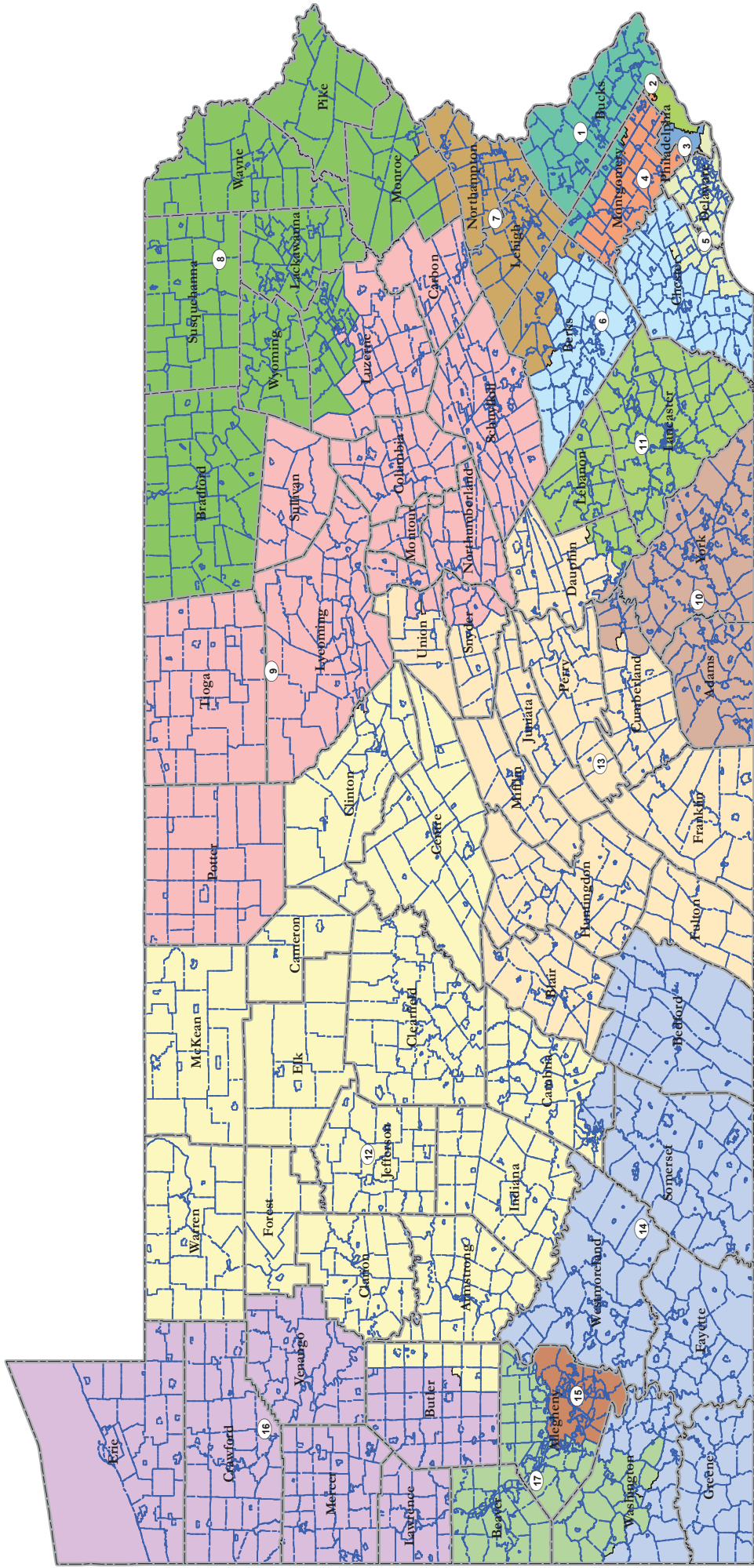
WEST YORK DIST 01
York County



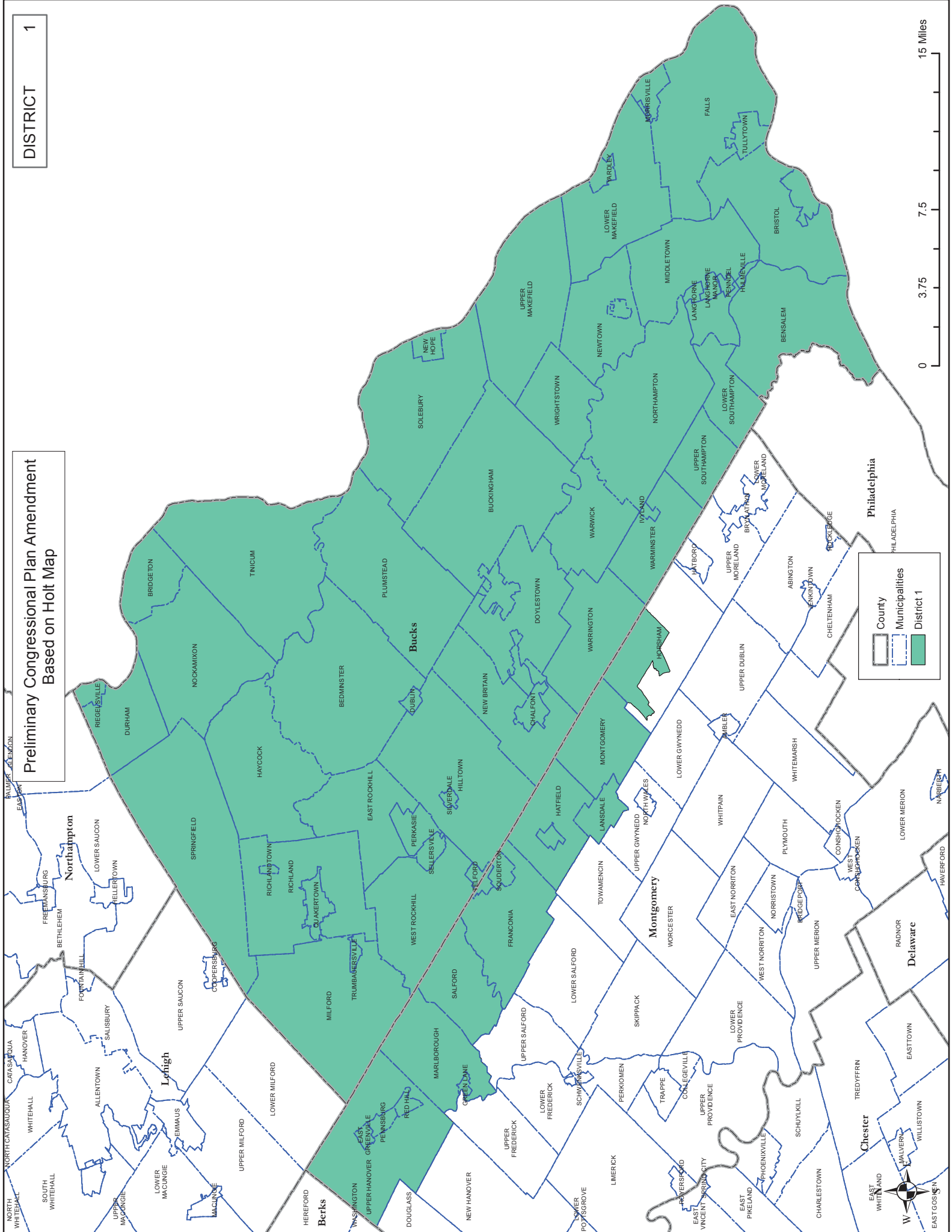
WEST YORK DIST 01

Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Holt Map

Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Holt Map



Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Holt Map



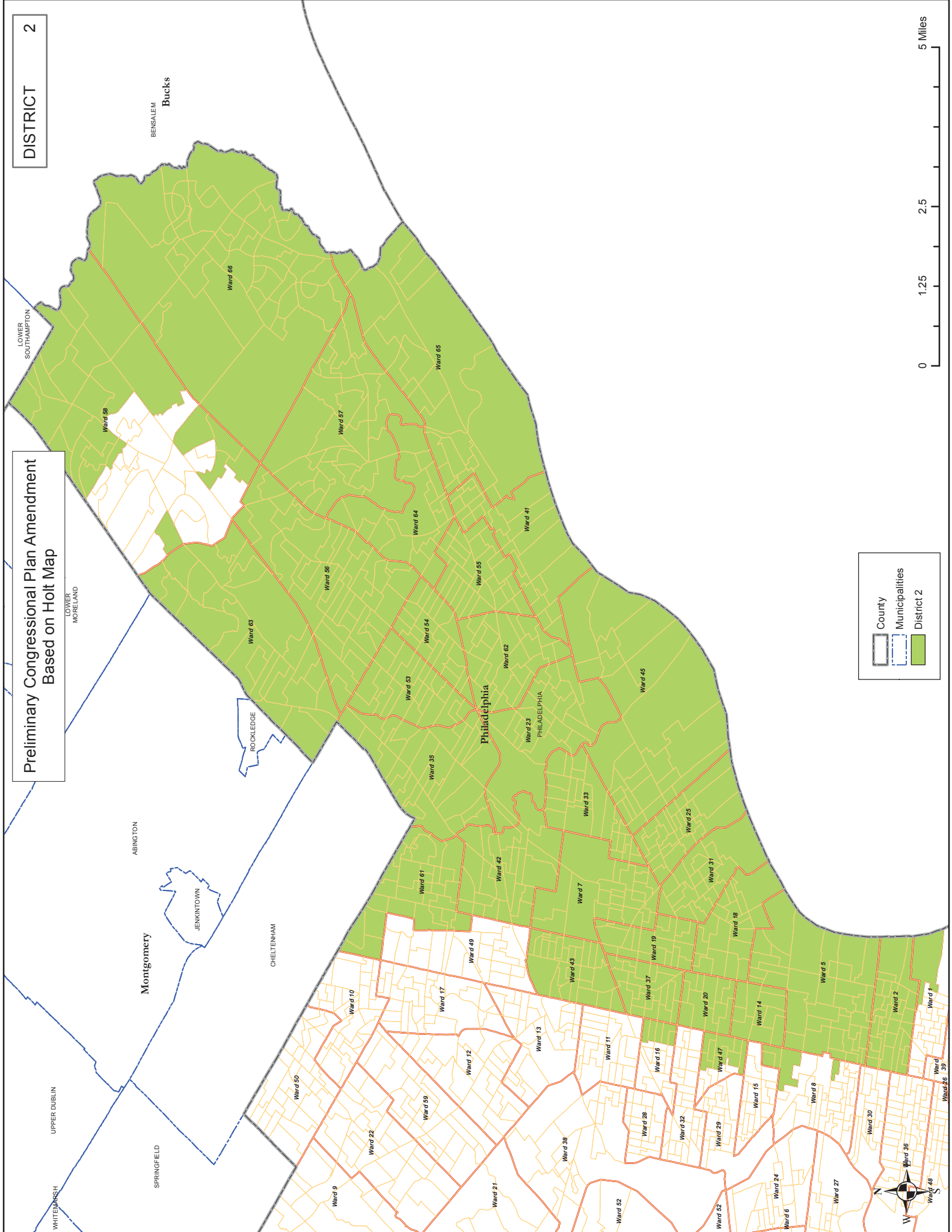
0 3.75 7.5 15 Miles

Legend:

- County (solid line)
- Municipalities (dashed line)
- District 1 (green fill)



Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Holt Map

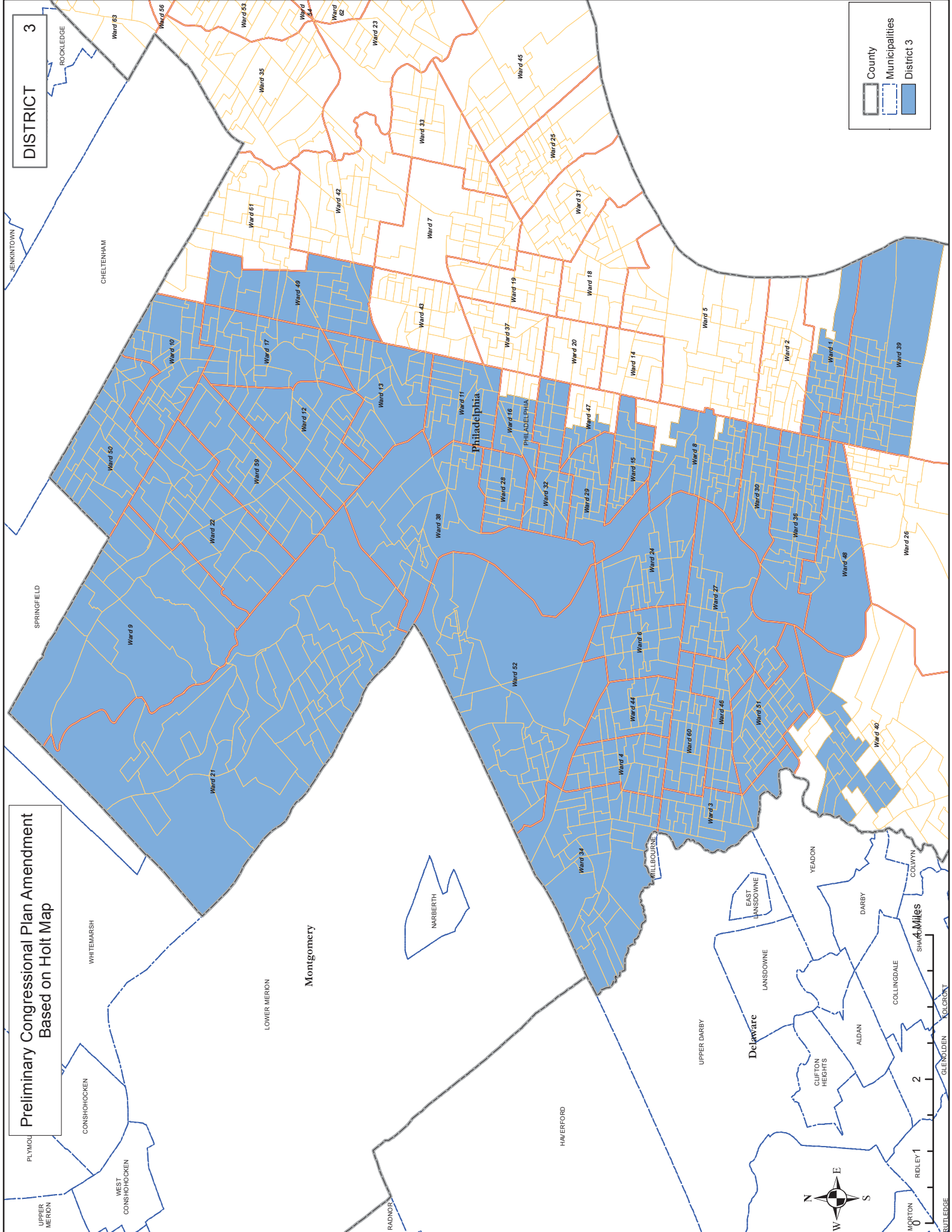


Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment Based on Holt Map

DISTRICT 3

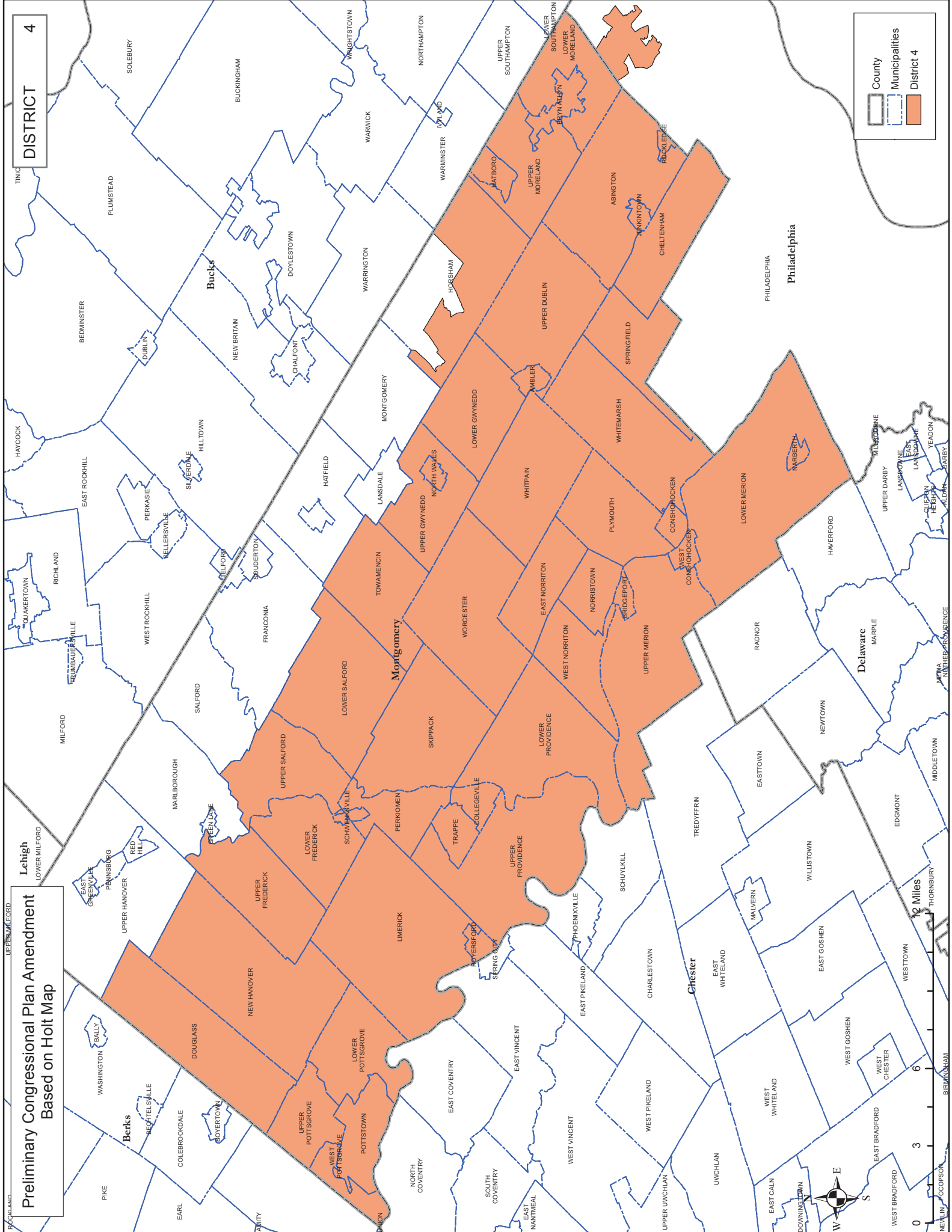
Legend:

- County (thick grey line)
- Municipalities (dashed blue line)
- District 3 (solid blue fill)



Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Holt Map

County
Municipalities
District 4

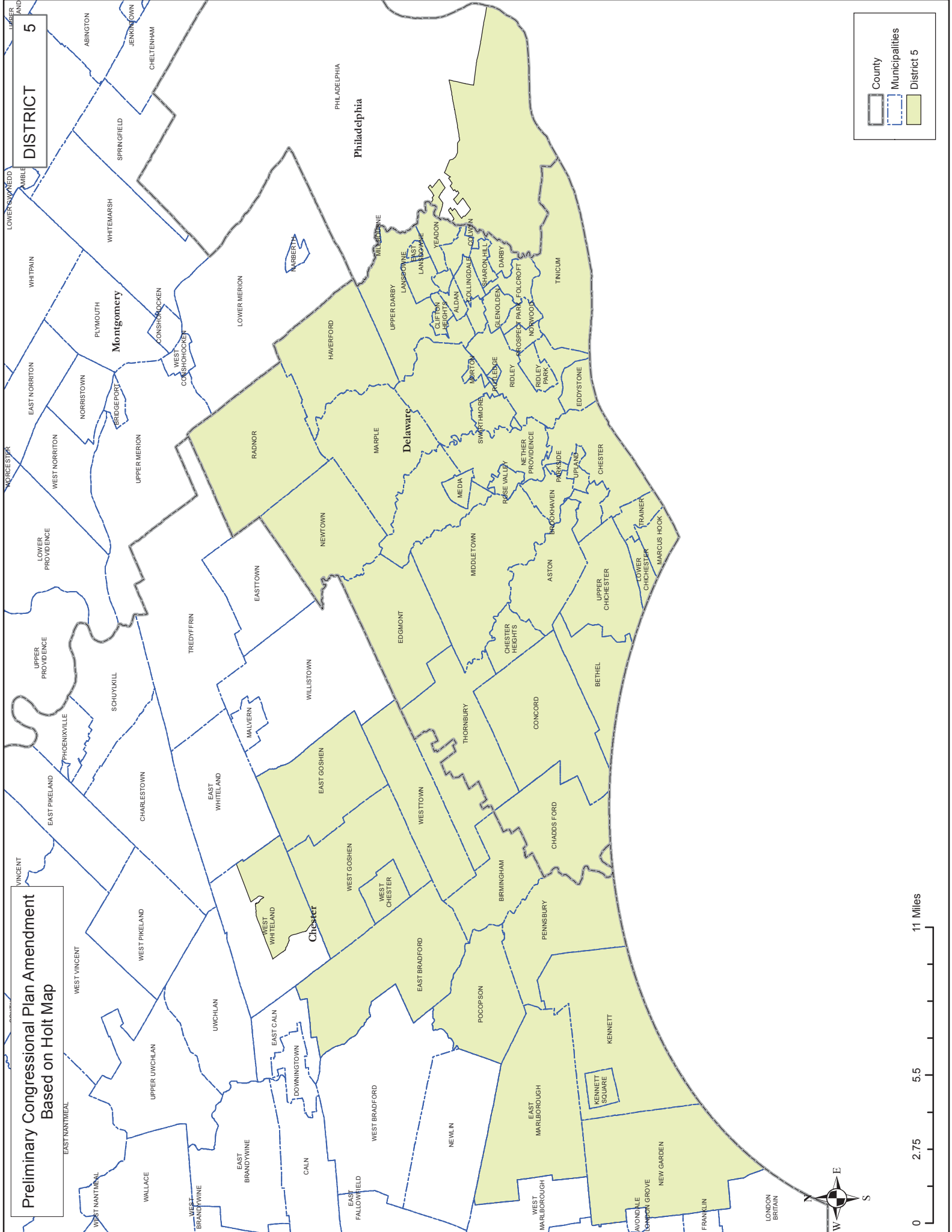


12 Miles

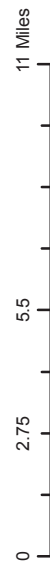


Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment Based on Holt Map

DISTRICT
5

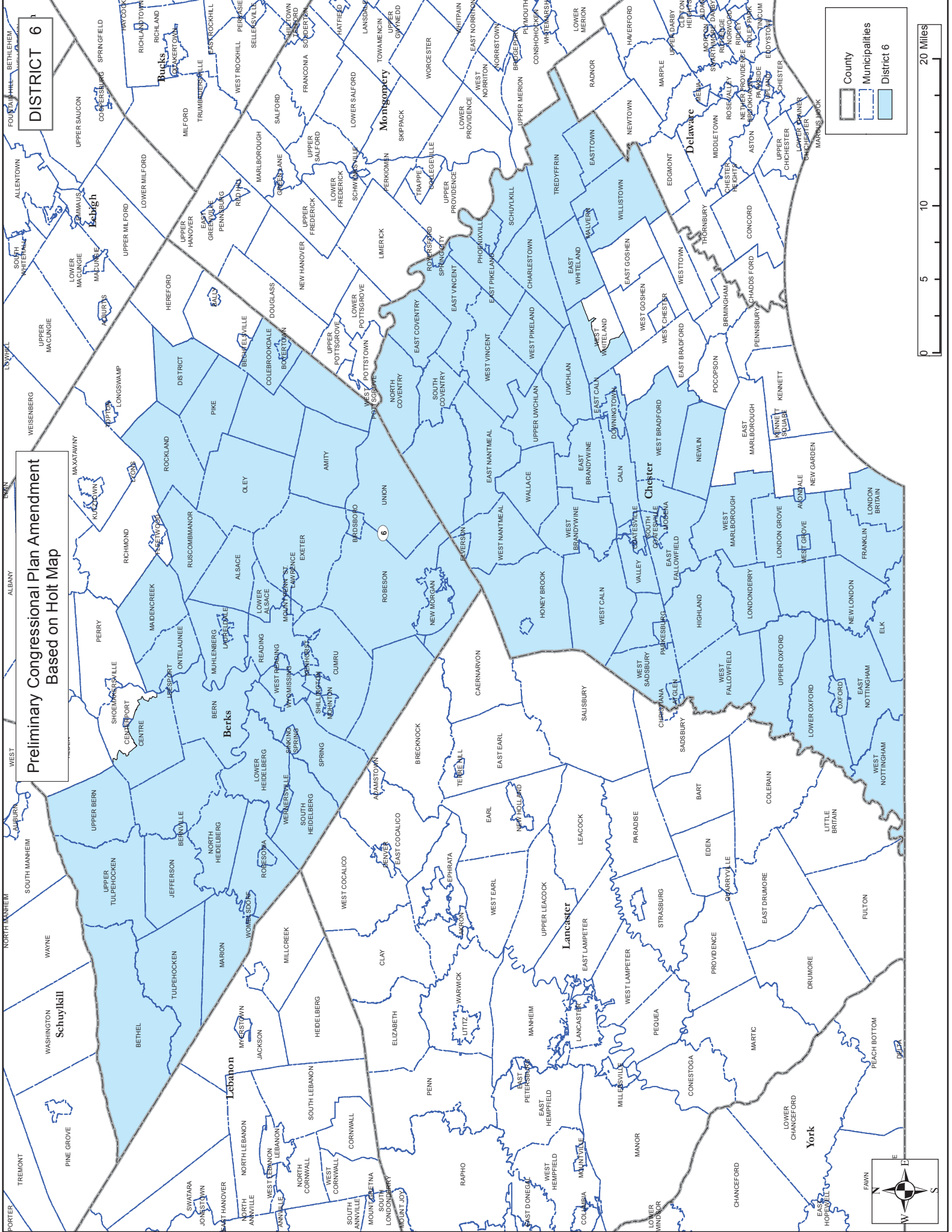


County
Municipalities
District 5



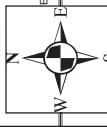
Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment Based on Holt Map

DISTRICT 6



Legend:

- County (black outline)
- Municipalities (dashed line)
- District 6 (light blue fill)

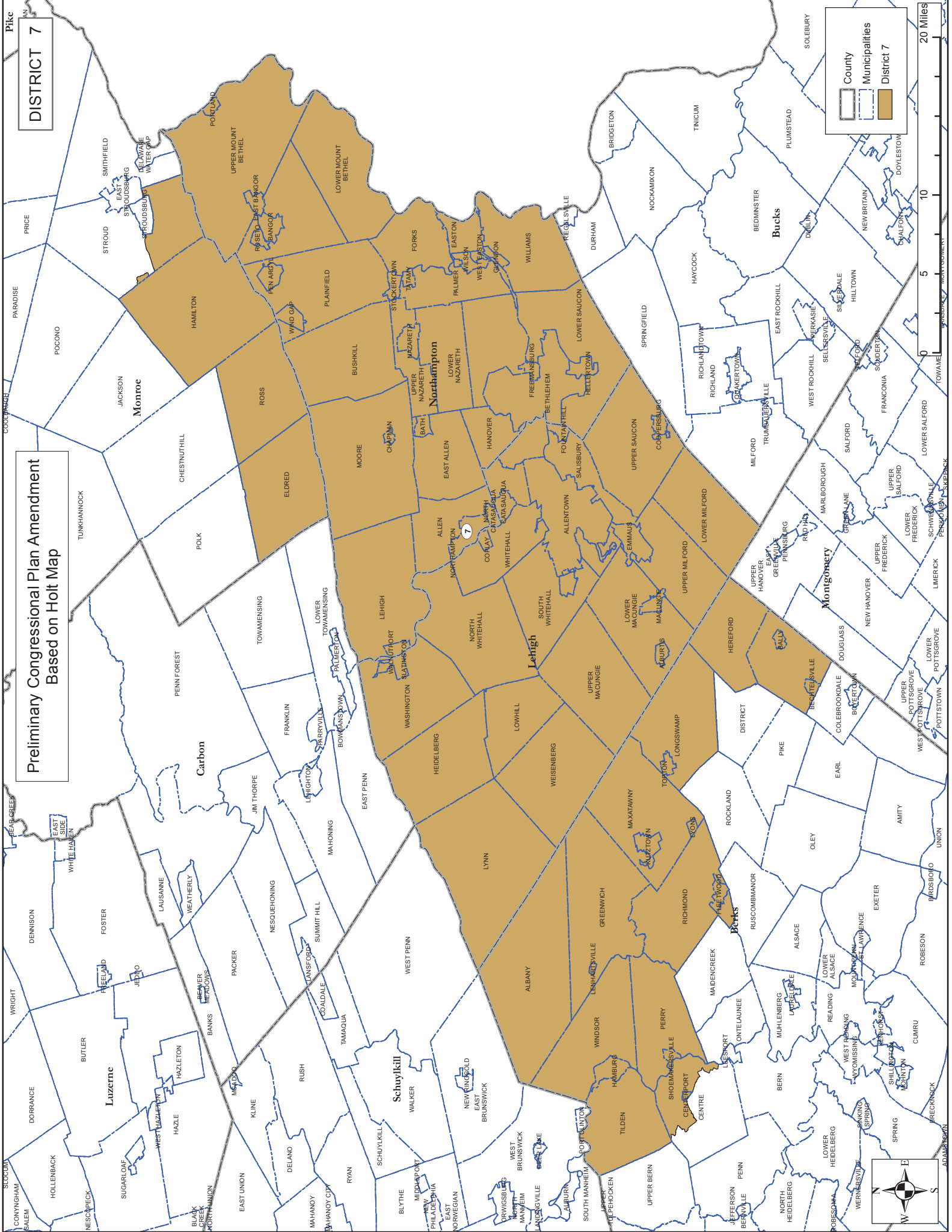


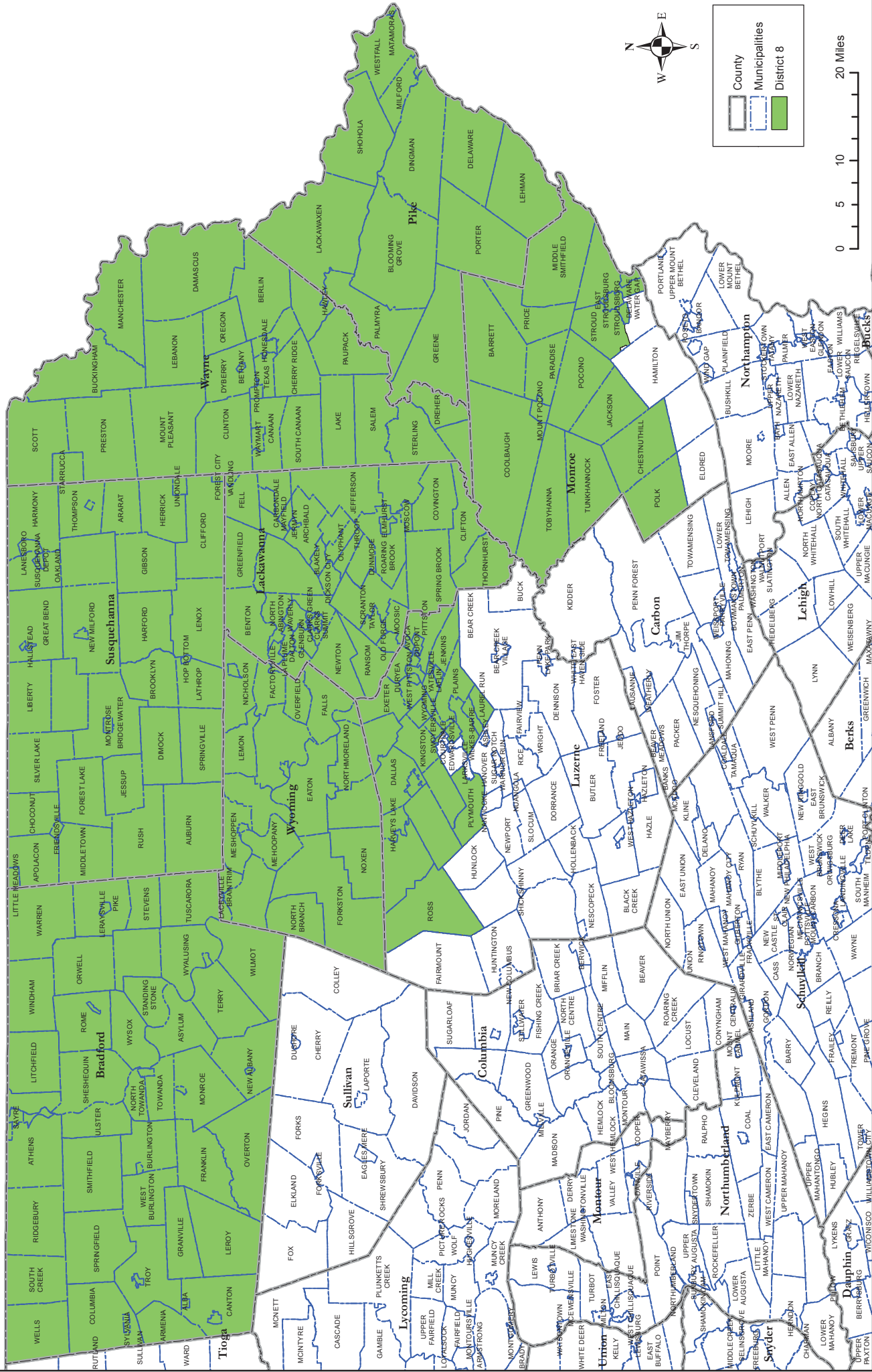
Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment Based on Holt Map

Pike
DISTRICT 7

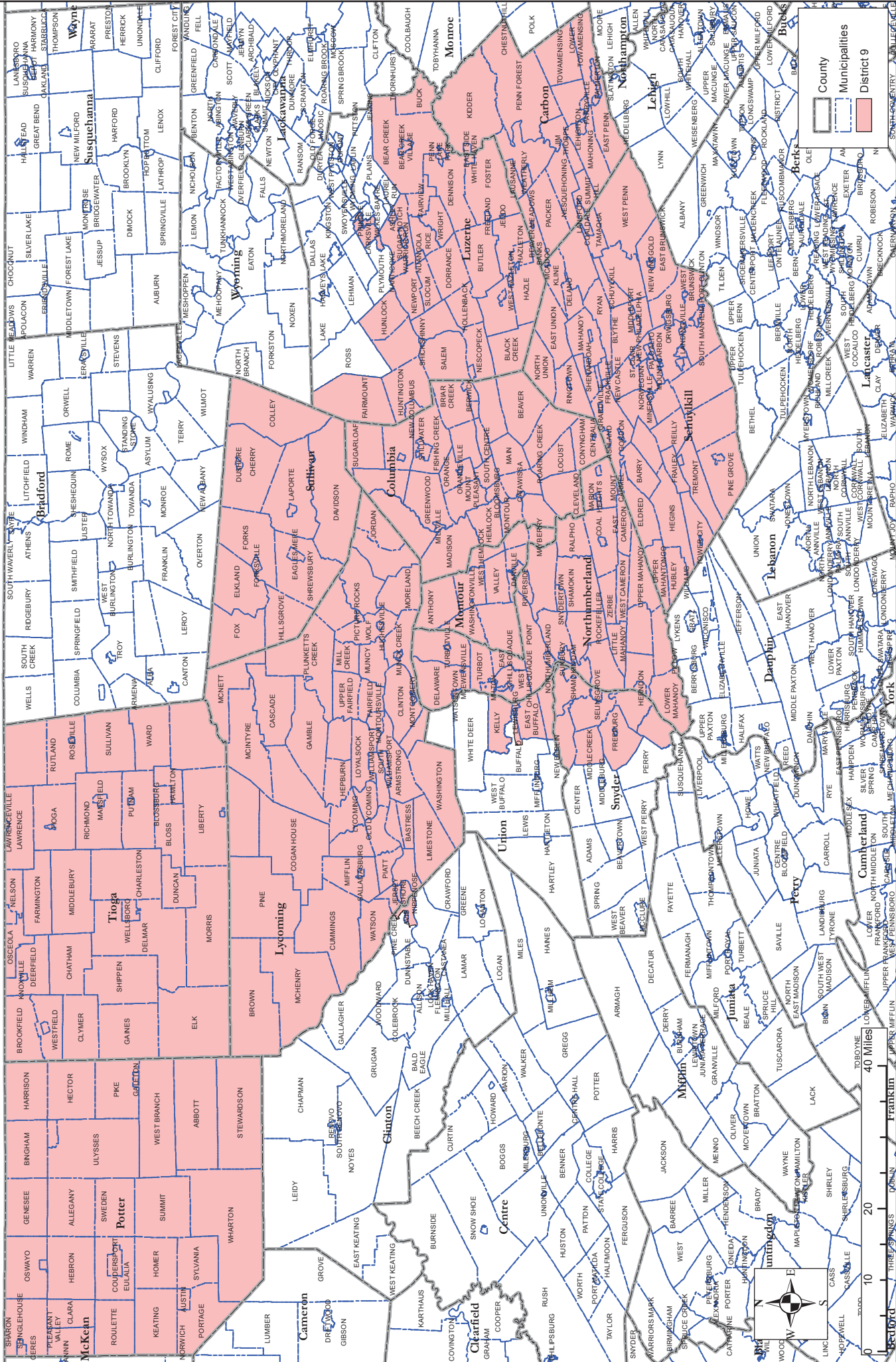
Legend:

- County (Outline)
- Municipalities (Dashed Outline)
- District 7 (Solid Brown Fill)



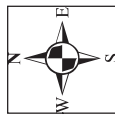
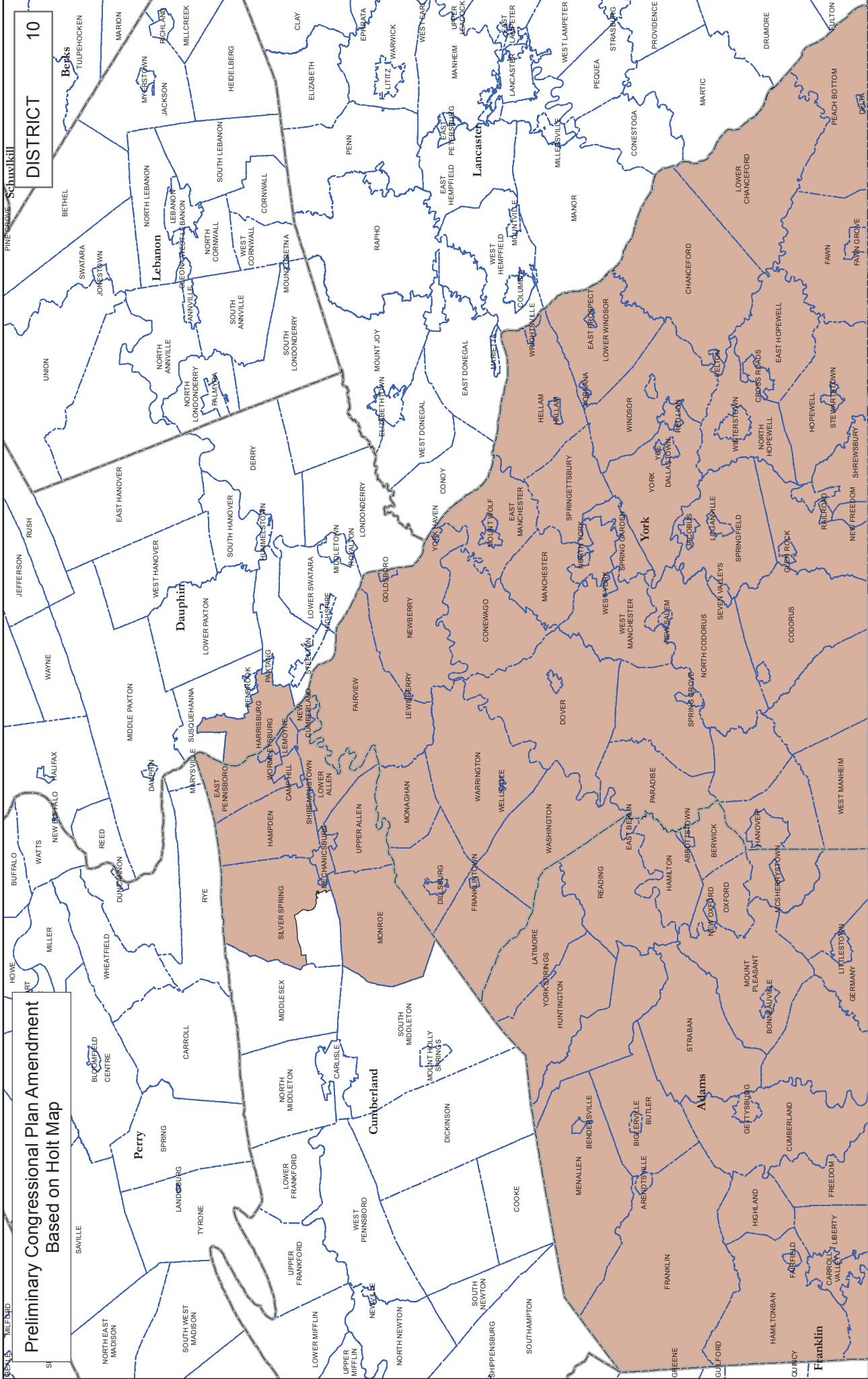


Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Holt Map



Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment Based on Holt Map

DISTRICT 10

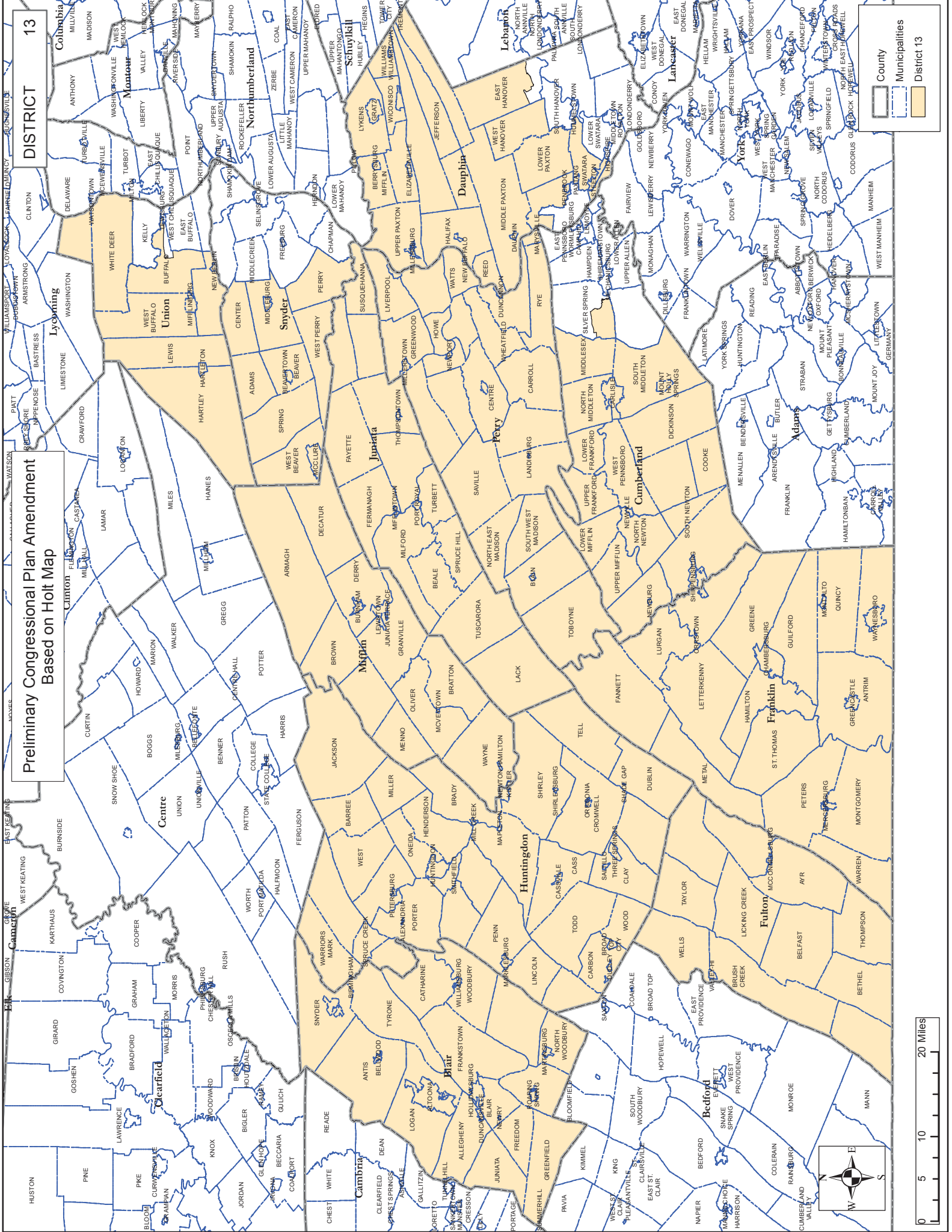


Legend:

- County (Solid line)
- Municipalities (Dashed line)
- District 10 (Shaded area)

Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment Based on Hot Map

DISTRICT 13



County
Municipalities
District 13



Preliminary Congressional Plan Amendment
Based on Hot Map

County Municipalities District 15

