UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN ARKSIDE

THE ELECTION EXPERIENCE DISCUSSION SERIES WILL BEGIN SHORTLY



20 ELECTION 20 EXPERIENCE

DISCUSSION SERIES

WEEK 4 – SEPTEMBER 30, 2020



INTRODUCTION BY:
Dr. Christopher Hudspeth

UPCOMING EVENTS

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6

ELECTION EXPERIENCE: The Peoples' Map

6:00PM | Virtual

The Peoples' Map Task Force to address the increasing concerns throughout the state regarding potential partisan gerrymandering. Panel Participants are Dale Schultz and Tim Cullen, former members of the Wisconsin State Senate.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7

ELECTION EXPERIENCE: Public Monuments and the Legacy of Racism

12:00PM | Virtual

VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

8 PM | Virtual through Discord Join us along with sponsors AASCU & ADP for a virtual debate watch party.



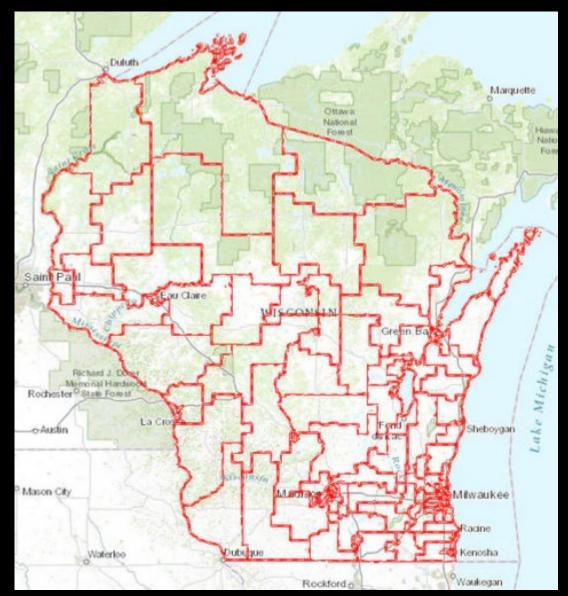
Register for Events at: www.uwp.edu/eeevents

Gerrymandering in Wisconsin: Role of Geography in Election Outcomes

Dr. Kenny French

Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. History of Districting
- III. Gerrymandering
 - a. Origin
 - b. Tactics
 - c. Examples
- IV. Wisconsin's Case
 - a. Background
 - b. Gill v Whitford
 - c. Current Debate
- IV. Solutions?
- V. Discussion



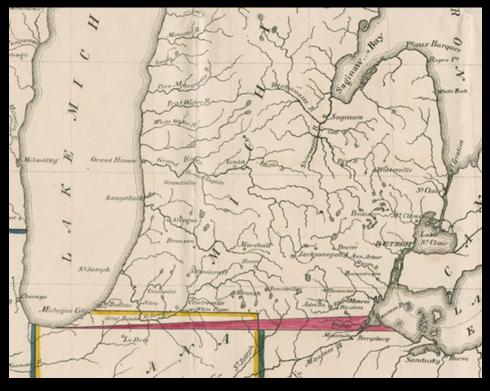
Map Source: Washington Post

I. Introduction

- Political boundaries can change over time

- A common political fight is over the drawing of districts
- Geography can be used to favor one political party over others

The Toledo Strip



Map Source: Detroit Metro Times

II. History of Districting

a. Purpose of Districting

- Equal representation in government is based on population numbers

- Main reason of the U.S. Census (every 10 years)

- +/- Legislative Seats

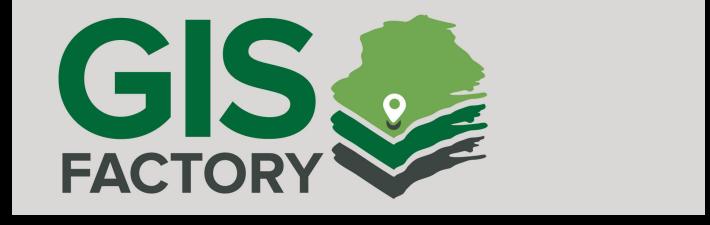
- States can re-draw their legislative boundaries after each Census

II. History of Districting

b. Role of Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

- GIS is a computer system that analyzes and displays geographic data

- Cartographers have been instrumental in drawing legislative boundaries



a. Origin

- Gerrymandering is the deliberate distortion of boundaries for political purposes (Shelley et al., 1996: 159)

- Named after Massachusetts
Gov. Elbridge Gerry
(approved 1812 districting bill to ensure Republican majority)

Original Gerrymandering

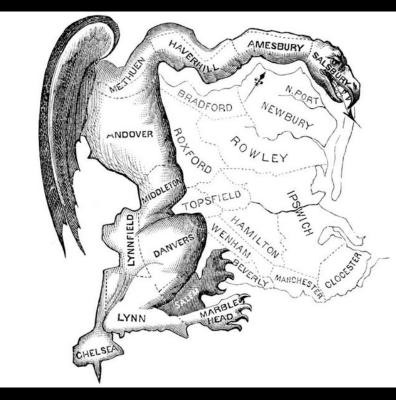


Image Source: Smithsonian

b. Tactics

- Packing involves concentrating a group's electoral strength so as to dilute their political power

- Cracking involves dispersing a group's electoral strength to dilute their political power

- There is also Skimping and Plumping

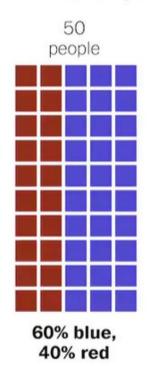
All definitions by Grofman and Cervas, 2020: 14

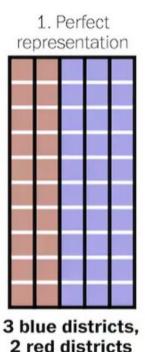
Cracking

b. Tactics

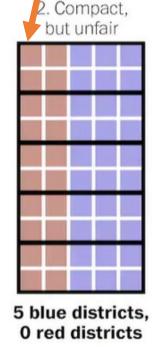
Gerrymandering, explained

Three different ways to divide 50 people into five districts

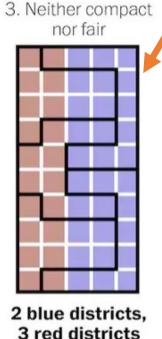




BLUE WINS



BLUE WINS



Packing

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WONKBLOG

Adapted from Stephen Nass

RED WINS

Image Source: Washington Post

c. Examples

North Carolina's 12th District (1990s)

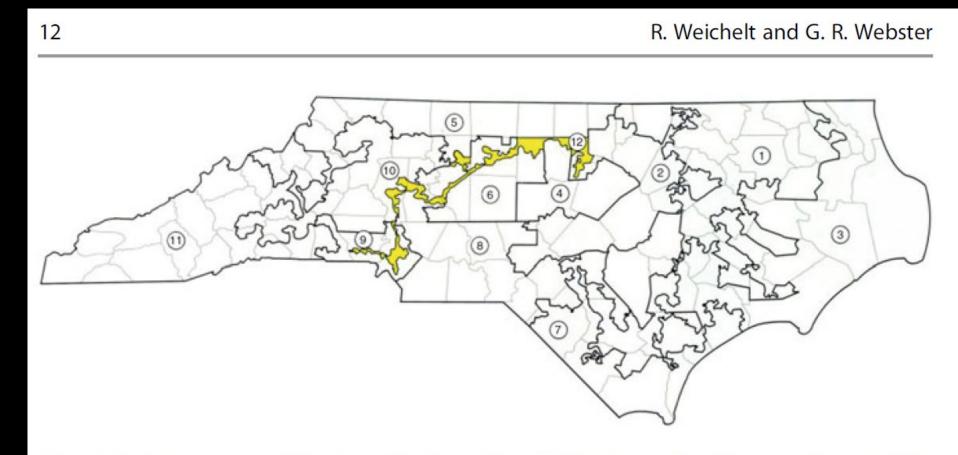


Fig. 2 12th Congressional District of North Carolina, 1993. (Source: http://law.onecle.com, 2007)

c. Examples

- *Shaw v Reno (1993)*, North Carolina voters challenged the 170-mile-long African American majority-minority district

- Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs:

North Carolina's 12th district is a clear example of racial gerrymandering (Weichelt and Webster, 2019)

c. Examples

- Racial Gerrymandering vs. Partisan Gerrymandering

- Gerrymandering has be done by all political parties (Democrats, Republicans, Whigs, & Federalists)

Excellent!



Image Source: Pintrest

c. Examples

- Partisan Gerrymandering:

"Usually the voters get to pick the politicians. In redistricting, the politicians get to pick the voters."

-Thomas Hofeller, 2000 (Vox, 2019)

- Hofeller's redistricting map efforts in North Carolina (2018): Democrats only won three of 13 seats

a. Background

- Wisconsin Constitution, Article 4, Section 4 requires districts to be contiguous and compact (Weichelt and Webster, 2019: 16)

- Wisconsin's legislative boundaries were to be re-drawn in 2011 after the 2010 U.S. Census

- Republican political power in the State and passed Act 43

a. Background

- 2018: Gov. Scott Walker (R) lost the election with 49% of vote, yet Republicans won 63 of the 99 Assembly seats (Wisconsin State Journal, June 28, 2019)

- Research "found robust evidence that the district maps are highly gerrymandered and that this gerrymandering likely altered the partisan make up of the Wisconsin General Assembly" (Herschlag, Ravier, and Mattingly, 2017)

a. Background

- Synopsis video of Wisconsin's Case:

"Testing the limits of partisan gerrymandering" (PBS, 2017)

- Notice the geography and GIS!

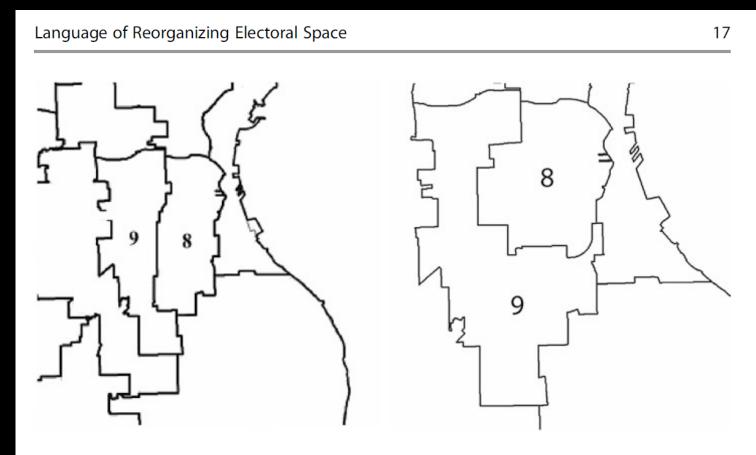


Fig. 4 Wisconsin Assembly Districts 8 and 9. Left: Act 43 district boundaries. Right: federally (current) redrawn boundaries. (Source: Redistricting Attachments 2011)

Redrawn due to "Cracking" the Latinx vote. (Weichelt and Webster, 2019: 17)

b. Gill v Whitford

- This court case is about Partisan Gerrymandering

- Supreme Court deciding on:

- * Does it violate previous rulings? (Vieth v Jubelirer, 2004)
- * Can partisan gerrymandering claims be heard?

(Weichelt and Webster, 2019)

b. Gill v Whitford

- 2015: Professor William Whitford sued State Election Board (chaired by Beverly Gill)

- 2016:
 - * U.S. District Courts struck down the redistricting maps
 - * Rationale: maps unfairly maximized Republican advantages in Assembly seats
- Case was appealed to the Supreme Court

- b. Gill v Whitford
- 2018 Unanimous Ruling (9-0): Remanded back to the lower courts
 - * Plaintiffs failed to demonstrate personal harm (majority opinion by Chief Justice Roberts)
 - * Left for another day: theory of harm tied to partisan gerrymandering (Concurrence opinion by Justice Kagan)

b. Gill v Whitford

- 2019: Maryland and North Carolina gerrymandering cases

- Ruling (5-4):
 - * Federal courts do not have the power to decide cases related to partisan gerrymandering
 - * "[P]artisan gerrymandering claims present political questions beyond the reach of the federal courts"
 - -Chief Justice Roberts, June 28th, 2019

c. Current Debate

- What happens after the 2020 U.S. Census?

- People's Maps Commission
 - * Gov. Tony Evers Executive Order on Jan. 27, 2020
 - * No politicians or lobbyists
- Kenosha Referendum: Should WI legislature create a nonpartisan procedure to prepare all district maps...

IV. Solutions?

- Call on Geographers, Political Scientists, Mathematicians, etc.

- Gerrymandering Solutions:

- * Bi-partisan Districting
- * Nonpartisan Districting (States often use commissions)
- * Iowa: nonpartisan legislative staff create the new districts and there is an "up" or "down" vote

V. Discussion

First: Thank you UW-Parkside Peeps!

Second: Any questions or comments?

Sources

- Grofman, B. and Cervas, J. 2020. *The Terminology of Districting*. University of California, Irvine.
- Herschlag, G., Ravier, R., and Mattingly, J. 2017. *Evaluating Gerrymandering in Wisconsin*. Duke University.
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- Shelley, F., Archer, J.C., Davidson, F., and Brunn, S. 1996. *Political Geography of the United States*. The Guilford Press: New York.
- Vox. 2019. *The Man Who Rigged America's Election Map*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpamjJtXqFI
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