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# ROBIN J. VOS

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SPEAKER OF THE WISCONSIN STATE ASSEMBLY

October 28, 2021

Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and Consumer Protection  
Assembly Committee on State Affairs  
Testimony on Senate Bill 621 and Assembly Bill 624

Chairman Swearingen and Stroebel, and members of the Joint Committee,

Thank you for the opportunity to testify in support of SB621 and AB624, bills to amend existing Legislative districts to reflect 2020 census data.

Every ten years, following the release of data from the U.S. Census Bureau, Wisconsin's Legislature is charged with redrawing legislative district boundaries in order to balance population. To be clear, it is the duty of the state Legislature, as laid out in our state constitution, to "apportion and district anew the members of the Senate and Assembly..." It is not the duty of appointed commissions or the executive branch.

The Legislative redistricting process began by providing Democrats and Republicans in both houses with equal access to redistricting equipment and resources. Republican Legislative employees crafted these maps within the confines of the state capitol and completed this work on their own without the involvement of outside counsel or redistricting experts. These employees were instructed not to consider race when drafting the legislative maps, instead, relying on classic redistricting principles, adjusting for population changes.

To ensure adherence to classic redistricting principles and reaffirm their importance, the Legislature passed Senate Joint Resolution 63. The resolution furthers transparency in the process by informing the public of the criteria being considered. Briefly, the resolution requires that districts:

1. comply with state and federal law
2. have equal population
3. retain the core of existing districts
4. are compact
5. are contiguous
6. maintain communities of interest
7. avoid municipal splits
8. promote continuity of representation by avoiding incumbent pairing
9. follow natural and manufactured boundaries

Our goal from start to finish was to produce a "least-changes" map that prioritized core retention while adjusting for population change. The strength of this proposal is a result of strict adherence to the governing principles included in our resolution, along with significant public input.



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The 2021 redistricting process has been open, transparent, and has invited broad public input. On August 1, the Legislature launched our Draw Your District Wisconsin website allowing Wisconsinites to provide input on the 2021 redistricting process in an easy and efficient way. We asked all members of the Legislature, both Republican and Democrat, to promote this website and public participation in the process. This is the first time in state history the public has been able to submit maps directly to the Legislature for consideration. We also sent a letter to Governor Evers' hand-picked 'People's Maps Commission' asking for their participation.

The amount of public feedback received exceeded expectations. Those who participated were able to create statewide and regional versions of Legislative or Congressional maps. Members of the public were also able to identify communities of interest throughout the state.

Overall, we received 401 total submissions through the draw your district website. There were 53 statewide entries, 46 regional entries, and over 300 communities of interest identified. This was an incredible amount of feedback, and although there are too many to discuss today, we would like to highlight some common themes incorporated in the map you see before you:

- Milwaukee North Shore Communities – Each submission defined this community of interest with slight differences but most included Whitefish Bay, Bayside, Fox Point, and River Hills. Other submissions occasionally included Brown Deer, Glendale and Shorewood.
- The City of Brookfield, Town of Brookfield, and City of New Berlin – Under the existing map, these municipalities are split between Assembly and Senate districts. Our proposal before you today would keep these municipalities whole as was done in many community of interest and map submissions.
- Menominee Reservation and Neighboring Townships – Bartelme and Red Springs Townships are adjacent to the Menominee Reservation but include tribal land. Previously, these townships were located in separate Assembly and Senate districts. Our proposal ensures all these tribal lands are incorporated into the same district.
- The Villages of Deforest and Windsor – Public input notes that these two municipalities are a community of interest. Under the previous map, three Assembly districts shared these areas. Our proposal reduces the number of splits to two as was done in multiple map submissions.

Throughout the process, we have continued to track public submissions and have incorporated them into our proposal when possible while also adhering to the redistricting principles laid out in our joint resolution. To further our commitment to transparency our draft maps were released to the public well in advance of today's hearing, allowing citizens adequate time to review our work.

I mentioned earlier in my testimony our commitment to traditional redistricting principles. The map being presented today scores well on these metrics and improves on past maps in several key areas:



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Population Deviation is the metric used to measure the overall difference in population from the largest district to the smallest. For example, a map with the largest district being 3% above the ideal population and the smallest being 2% below the ideal population would have a total deviation of 5%. A deviation below 1% overall has been considered in the past to be very desirable and this map ensures we are well below that mark. The Legislature's proposal has an overall range of population deviation of .76% for the Assembly map and .57% for the Senate map. This is the same deviation as was approved in Act 43 for the Assembly and is better than the 2002 court-approved map. The Senate map has a lower deviation than both Act 43 and the 2002 court-approved map.

Counties and Municipalities are a defined community of interest - the fewer county and municipal splits, the better. While it is not currently possible to completely eliminate county and municipal splits, the new maps are an improvement when compared to recently approved maps. The Assembly map splits 53 counties and 48 municipalities for a total of 101 overall splits while the Senate map splits 42 counties and 28 municipalities for a total of 70.

Core retention calculates the percentage of individuals in a district who are represented by the same individual under this map as under our existing map. Continuity of representation or core retention is a long-time redistricting principle. Not only does prioritizing this metric maintain existing relationships between incumbents and constituents, it also helps to ensure that contests between incumbents are avoided. Due to significant population changes in southeast and south central Wisconsin, this was difficult to achieve. Several districts in the Milwaukee area needed to grow significantly as they had lost population over the decade while the reverse was true in Dane County. Under this proposal, the average core retention for Assembly districts is 84 percent and 92 percent for Senate districts. Our proposal scores better on this metric than both Act 43 and the 2002 U.S. Court maps.

Limiting incumbent pairs ensures accountability and continuity of representation. Under our map, six representatives and zero senators were paired. This is well below Act 43. No Assembly or Senate Democrats have been paired under the proposed map.

These metrics show that the map before you today is a fair and legal map. Statewide election results point to the fact that both Democrats and Republicans can achieve a majority in the state Assembly. Under both the enacted map and the proposed map, former Governor Walker and Senator Tammy Baldwin would each win a majority of Assembly districts in their respective elections. In fact, former Governor Walker would win fewer Assembly seats under this map than the enacted map.

This information reveals a common trend here in Wisconsin. Candidates determine who is successful in our elections, not simply the partisan makeup of a district. Under our proposed map, Senator Baldwin carried sixteen Assembly districts also won by a Republican. Sixteen. The same is true under the current map where Senator Baldwin took the majority in seventeen Assembly seats also won by an Assembly Republican. If Legislative Democrats were able to find candidates able to win even a portion of these seats, they would have a majority in the state Assembly under both the current map and our proposal.



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The drawing of legislative boundaries is a legislative duty. The People's Maps Commission is an attempt by Governor Evers to circumvent the constitutional duty of the Legislature for political gain under the guise of partisan fairness. When Governor Evers announced the formation of his People's Maps Commission, he laid out a list of traditional redistricting criteria similar to the resolution passed by the Legislature. These criteria were later incorporated by the commission to guide their process. As you will see, the draft maps released prioritize partisanship over traditional map-making criteria.

As a brief disclaimer, the draft maps released by the commission contained inconsistent district numbering making our analysis difficult. The following figures are our best attempt to interpret the work done by the commission.

- The population deviation in the commission's Assembly maps was at least three times as large as the population deviation in our proposal.
- Even though the commission ranked limiting county and municipal splits as a top priority, they failed in comparison to both the current map and the proposal before you today. Both draft maps contain nearly 50 more total splits than the Legislature's map.
- A quick analysis of the Governor's maps would conclude core retention was completely ignored. Each map paired over 40 incumbent representatives compared to six under our proposal. A core retention score was nearly impossible to calculate due to inconsistent district numbering, but will be considerably worse as the commission did not prioritize a least changes map.

Finally, while difficult to quantify, both the Legislature and the People's Maps Commission claimed to prioritize communities of interest, however, the following examples illustrate how the Governor's hand-picked commission misses the mark:

- Many Wisconsinites would agree that Madison's isthmus is one of the most well-known and identifiable communities of interest in the state. However, the commission split this community in half just blocks from the capitol square.
- When drawing a map, there is no doubt that municipal splits are unavoidable, especially with heavily populated cities. But, the Governor's commission split a city of fewer than 3,000 people three times. Any Wisconsinite you ask would be able to identify that city by its popular moniker "*The Waterpark Capital of the World*". With visitors from as far away as Massachusetts, you'd think a commission hand-picked by the Governor would be able to identify this popular tourist destination as a community of interest.
- In clear partisan fashion, the Governor's non-partisan commission drew a district that reaches from Lake Mills in Jefferson County to the shores of Lake Monona in Madison. This district ignores multiple traditional principles in the name of partisan gain.

These examples make it clear that partisanship was first and foremost on the commission's mind. Traditional criteria were only considered when it was politically expedient.



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The map before you today is a fair map that scores well on traditional redistricting criteria. Our proposal maintains core constituencies, avoids significant incumbent pairs, has exceptionally low population deviation, and drives down municipal splits. We accomplish all of this despite significant population shifts in Milwaukee and Dane counties. This success is attributable to our first-of-its-kind, transparent approach that emphasized the public's role in the map drawing process.

We are happy to answer any questions.



## MEMORANDUM

**TO:** Majority Leader Devin LeMahieu and Speaker Robin Vos  
**FROM:** Legislative Reference Bureau  
**DATE:** October 20, 2021  
**SUBJECT:** LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1 State Legislative Data

You requested information related to LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1 on state legislative redistricting. Specifically, you asked for data on the bill's population deviation, core retention, disenfranchised population, compactness, split geographies, and incumbent pairings.

The data provided in this memo is derived from the Legislative Technology Services Bureau's WISE-District Application unless otherwise stated.

### Population deviation

Ideal population represents the target population for each legislative district in a redistricting plan. This figure is calculated by dividing the total population of the state by the number of legislative districts. According to the 2020 U.S. Census, Wisconsin's total population is 5,893,718. Because Wisconsin has 33 senate districts and 99 assembly districts, the ideal population for each senate district is 178,598 and the ideal population for each assembly district is 59,533.

The following table presents deviation scores for legislative districts. Courts will presume that a state legislative plan is constitutional if it has an overall range in deviation of 10 percent or less.<sup>1</sup>

	<b>Deviation from Ideal Population</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Assembly</b>	Mean Deviation	112	0.19
	Largest Positive Deviation	231	0.39
	Largest Negative Deviation	-221	-0.37
	Overall Range in Deviation	±452	± 0.76

<sup>1</sup> Brown v. Thomson, 462 U.S. 835, 842-3 (1983).

<b>Senate</b>	<b>Deviation from Ideal Population</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Percent</b>
	Mean Deviation	175	0.10
	Largest Positive Deviation	520	0.29
	Largest Negative Deviation	-506	-0.28
	Overall Range in Deviation	±1,026	± 0.57

### Core retention

The average core retention rate for assembly districts is 84.16 percent and the average core retention rate for senate districts is 92.21 percent.

### Disenfranchisement

138,753 voters from odd-numbered senate districts were moved to even-numbered senate districts. These voters, had they not been moved, would have voted in a state senate election at the 2022 general election, but will now not have the opportunity to vote in a state senate election until the 2024 general election. This movement from one district to another involved 14 senate districts.

### Compactness

Compactness, in the redistricting context, refers to the “tightness” of a district’s geometric shape. Compactness is measured by comparing a district to the shape of a perfect circle, but no district is expected to be perfectly compact. The two most common mathematical models to measure compactness are the Reock Degree of Compactness Score and the Polsby–Popper Test. A perfectly compact district would have a compactness score of 1.0 under either model.

The Reock Degree of Compactness Score is calculated by dividing the area of the voting district by the area of the smallest circle that would completely enclose it.

The Polsby–Popper Test is calculated by dividing the area of a circle with the same perimeter as the district by the square of the perimeter of the district.

<b>Assembly</b>	<b>Reock Degree of Compactness Score</b>	<b>Polsby–Popper Test</b>
Mean	0.363	0.234
Maximum	0.688	0.603
Minimum	0.152	0.048

<b>Senate</b>	<b>Reock Degree of Compactness Score</b>	<b>Polsby–Popper Test</b>
Mean	0.374	0.216
Maximum	0.647	0.409
Minimum	0.129	0.046

## Split geographies

The assembly map splits 53 counties and 48 municipalities, while the senate map splits 42 counties and 28 municipalities.

According to the Department of Administration's Demographic Services Center, there are 57 municipalities that are split between two or more counties.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the data on split geographies may reflect the overall number of municipal splits rather than an indicator of a district not drawn according to traditional redistricting principles.

## Incumbent pairings

Under LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1, there are three incumbent pairings in the assembly and none in the senate.

<b>LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1 District</b>	<b>Current Elected District</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Party</b>
Assembly District 15	Assembly District 15	Rep. Joe Sanfelippo	Republican
	Assembly District 84	Rep. Mike Kuglitsch	Republican
Assembly District 82	Assembly District 82	Rep. Ken Skowronski	Republican
	Assembly District 83	Rep. Chuck Wichgers	Republican
Assembly District 93	Assembly District 30	Rep. Shannon Zimmerman	Republican
	Assembly District 93	Rep. Warren Petryk	Republican

We hope you find this information useful. Please let us know if you have any questions or if we can provide any additional assistance.

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<sup>2</sup> "Population and Housing Unit Estimates – Minor Civil Division Final Population Estimates," Department of Administration, Demographic Services Center, accessed October 19, 2021, <https://doa.wi.gov/pages/home.aspx>.

**Written Testimony From Congressmen Glenn Grothman, Mike Gallagher,  
Bryan Steil, Tom Tiffany, and Scott Fitzgerald To The Senate Committee On  
Government Operations, Legal Review, And Consumer Protection, And The  
Assembly Committee On State Affairs, In Support Of SB 622/AB 625, An Act To  
Repeal And Recreate Sections 3.11 to 3.18 Of The Wisconsin Statutes, Relating To  
Congressional Redistricting**

Dear Senator Stroebel and Representative Swearingen:

We thank you for the opportunity to submit this written testimony to your Committees in support of SB622/AB625. We also wish to thank each member of your Committees and the authors of this proposal for working to address the population imbalance among Wisconsin's congressional districts, as determined by the 2020 U.S. Census.

As members of the Wisconsin congressional delegation, we wish to express our support for the proposed map before you today. Importantly, the proposed map addresses the population imbalance among congressional districts working from the 2010 court-approved maps, while making the least changes necessary to achieve population equality. The clear goal of the proposed map is to maintain continuity with Wisconsin's existing congressional districts map, adjusting it as needed to equally apportion the State after the 2020 Census.

Wisconsin's existing map reflects a bipartisan process, after Republicans consulted with their Democratic colleagues and worked to incorporate their feedback in the map passed 10 years ago. *See Baldus v. Members of Wis. Gov't Accountability Bd.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840, 854 (E.D. Wis. 2012). This map has served the people of Wisconsin well for the last decade and has withstood any political and legal challenges thrown at it. By building off of this already approved map, we can reduce

disruptions for constituents, and we are confident that the proposed map before you will likewise serve our State well.

We wish to highlight a few of the limited changes that the proposed map makes to Wisconsin's existing congressional districts, given the 2020 Census, to reapportion the State. Largely, the modifications are driven by two factors, rapid population growth in the Second Congressional District, which causes a need for that district to contract in size, and a reduction in population in the Fourth Congressional District, creating a need for that district to expand in size.

Beginning with the First District, the proposed map makes only a single change to reach equal reapportionment, adjusting its western boundary with the overpopulated Second District only to the extent needed to reach equal population. Moving to the Second District, the map shifts its boundary with the Third District to reach an equal population. As population changes demanded that the Third District move south and into the previous Second District, the proposed map reaches an equal population by adjusting its boundaries in the two most logical places—the most northern and eastern extremities—and by removing the multiple county splits in its middle. Finally, the proposed map's changes to the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Districts are similarly limited and targeted only to equalizing population among the districts.

Whenever possible, and consistent with the least changes necessary approach, considerable effort was made to eliminate or avoid municipal and county splits and to ensure compactness and maintenance of communities of interest. We believe that

this proposed map is not only consistent with the currently existing map, but also that it is highly consistent with historical congressional maps from Wisconsin. Any visual review of the map will clearly show that it meets the “eyeball” test.

To conclude, we respectfully request your support for SB622/AB625 as the proposed map makes the least changes necessary to accommodate population shifts reflected in the 2020 Census. This resulted in a reapportionment for Wisconsin that creates congressional districts that are equally populated, as the Constitution requires, while limiting the number of county and municipal splits.

We thank you for the opportunity to present our written testimony to your Committees.

Dated October 28, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

CONGRESSMAN GLENN GROTHMAN  
*Representative From Wisconsin's Sixth  
Congressional District*

CONGRESSMAN MIKE GALLAGHER  
*Representative From Wisconsin's Eighth  
Congressional District*

CONGRESSMAN BRYAN STEIL  
*Representative From Wisconsin's First  
Congressional District*

CONGRESSMAN TOM TIFFANY  
*Representative From Wisconsin's Seventh  
Congressional District*

CONGRESSMAN SCOTT FITZGERALD  
*Representative From Wisconsin's Fifth  
Congressional District*

Act 10, Act 43

Legislative Hearing on New Maps – SB 621 and AB 624  
10.28.21

My name is Myra Enloe. I have lived in rural Iowa County for the past 38 years. I'm here today to oppose AB 624 and SB 621.

Also 17  
also 51

The Princeton Gerrymandering Project provides nonpartisan analyses of voting maps across the country. Wisconsin received an F grade for each of its 2021 maps. Wisconsin's 2011 maps are considered some of the worst examples of partisan gerrymandering in the country. Even during the Gill vs Whitford Supreme Court case, the attorney defending the 2011 maps admitted they chose maps that most advantaged Republicans because it wasn't unconstitutional to do so. They rigged the maps because they could. These new maps in 2021 are gerrymandered even more and will likely provide Republicans with a super majority and the ability to override gubernatorial vetoes. They give Republicans a stranglehold on power, even though Wisconsin voters are nearly evenly split between Republicans and Democrats. Issues important to many of us will continue to be ignored.

I want to live in a state and country that values diversity of opinions, ideas, solutions, people. I want to trust that most people want to do the right thing. I want some shared values – like compassion, kindness, truth, respect for others, fairness. I want to live in a country where I can trust the system of government and the institutions we hold dear. I want a system that checks power and corruption. My belief in these things has been sorely tested these last ten years as partisanship and power seem to be of higher value to many.

Gerrymandering is a significant root cause behind the extreme partisanship and discord gripping our country. Please reject these maps, adopt more fair maps as drawn by the People's Maps Commission and commit to strengthening our democracy.

elections are won in primaries when candidates are pushed to the extreme ends of their partis platform

Thanks for the opportunity

SB 389  
AB 395

✓ without voting

10/28/21

**We the People**, more eloquent words have never been uttered, especially in light of what has happened to our wonderful country of late. Ladies and Gentlemen of the Joint committee, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce you to your constituents. A very wise friend once told me, you've got to dance with the one that brought you... the one that brought you my friends are here, We the people...

The division of our nation has occurred historically for corrupt causes, bereft of any conscionable moral fiber, the corrupt centralization of power only by the means of oppressing the rights of others. Our own Civil war was a terrible example of this and the result of the Battle cry of freedom resulted in the deaths of at least 660,000 Americans - fully 7 Percent of the American population at the time.

The very roots of the dissection of the country can be traced to organized efforts to misinform, to control the discussion and to outright lie. This has stirred the souls of our citizens and fostered the division of not only our neighborhoods but our families as well. There is no question that this occurs in the media, but the corrupt point of departure has its basis in the very hallowed halls of government and has led to insurgency on our streets and outright insurrection at our Nation's Capital.

The obligation of the government to serve the people is specified in Thomas Jefferson's words in the Declaration of Independence "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Again, just powers from the Consent of the Governed... Not the consent of a political party.

Our political machines have corrupted this consent through their manipulation of the process. The devil is in the details, unfortunately for all of us - this is an ugly part of our history. The people here today are asking to take their government back. Honesty and true patriotism will win this day. It's a call for statesmen to come home to their constituents and become beholden to them, not some

insidious political machinery. All political parties are guilty of this... It has got to end.

President George Washington warned us in 1796 in his farewell address to the nation. "All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the Constituted authorities are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party... However, combinations or associations of the above description may now & then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People, & to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion."

President Washington's prophetic vision of unprincipled individuals usurping the consent of the people has led us to the state of the nation now. Thomas Paine said "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands by it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman...These are the times that try the souls of us all. The people here are calling upon our elected officials to right the ship. Stop the tyranny of unprincipled persons that have lost their vision

President Reagan clearly defined that "We the People tell the Government what to do, it doesn't tell us. We the people are the driver - the Government is the car. And we decide where it should go, and by what route, and how fast. Almost all the world's constitutions are documents in which governments tell the people what their privileges are. Our Constitution is a document in which We the People tell the Government what it is allowed to do..." The corrupt methods now undertaken to draw simple lines on a map do in fact disenfranchise "We the people". I know it, the people that brought me to the dance today know it, you folks know it personally, but the unprincipled engines of party politics tell you different. We the people out here also understand you may suffer the consequences of opposition to these unprincipled people.

Have faith that collectively, we can all come together. That is what makes America Great. We have done this together throughout history, and the result has been the salvation of our world from tyranny, from terrorism, and Armageddon. The greatness of America is derived from the consent of the governed. We trust principled people to come together and work for the good of us all. America and her Constitution started out as such a noble experiment. It's been a long journey, we have had so many disasters, some minor, some major but at the end of the day - we are still here. The only reason that the experiment continues though is because we come together. The division fostered by party politics is why we are meeting today. This is a very real threat to our legacy. I'm a dad to 2 great kids and I want them to have the opportunities that are derived from our noble experiment. I'm also in an elected position and I stand before my constituency every 4 years to be held accountable by them. In my case, I'm responsible to about 2500 railroad families both working and retired.

Howls from all directions for term limits come from a frustrated electorate that has allowed party politics to continue and build. I believe in term limits too; they are called elections! Apathy no more my friends, the time has come to restore our obligation to each other and establish a more perfect union. I'm afraid that you folks are more beholden to the power-hungry despots that instruct you on how to utilize the blessings bestowed upon you by We the People... There it is again... We the People.

We the people hereby call upon you to restore the promise of our country and establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our Posterity. We want our government back. We the people are here today to ensure that the nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

William (Andy) Hauck – Oshkosh WI – Statement to Wisconsin State Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and Consumer Protection and Wisconsin Assembly Committee on State Affairs.

## Legislative Hearing on New Maps – SB 621 and AB 624

10.28.21

My name is Myra Enloe. I have lived in rural Iowa County for the past 38 years. I'm here today to oppose AB 624 and SB 621.

The Princeton Gerrymandering Project provides nonpartisan analyses of voting maps across the country. Wisconsin received an F grade for each of its 2021 maps. Wisconsin's 2011 maps are considered some of the worst examples of partisan gerrymandering in the country. Even during the Gill vs Whitford Supreme Court case, the attorney defending the 2011 maps admitted they chose maps that most advantaged Republicans because it wasn't unconstitutional to do so. They rigged the maps because they could. These new maps in 2021 are gerrymandered even more and will likely provide Republicans with a super majority and the ability to override gubernatorial vetoes. They give Republicans a stranglehold on power, even though Wisconsin voters are nearly evenly split between Republicans and Democrats. Issues important to many of us will continue to be ignored.

I want to live in a state and country that values diversity of opinions, ideas, solutions, people. I want to trust that most people want to do the right thing. I want some shared values – like compassion, kindness, truth, respect for others, fairness. I want to live in a country where I can trust the system of government and the institutions we hold dear. I want a system that checks power and corruption. My belief in these things has been sorely tested these last ten years as partisanship and power seem to be of higher value to many.

Gerrymandering is a significant root cause behind the extreme partisanship and discord gripping our country. Please reject these maps, adopt more fair maps as drawn by the People's Maps Commission and commit to strengthening our democracy.

Brandt Testimony before  
Assembly Committee on State Affairs; and  
Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and  
Consumer Protection  
10/28/2021

My name is Janet Brandt and I live in the Town of Arena, Iowa County. I'm speaking today to the GOP members of the committee. Unfortunately, I know that public input won't have any impact on your decision to approve your new partisan district maps. Recent surveys show between 72 and 87% of Wisconsin voters oppose drawing maps that favor one political party. And yet, that's what you've done - again. Your thirst for remaining in power and keeping your jobs has overridden your responsibilities as public servants. I'm ashamed of you.

As you know, Iowa County is a small mostly rural county. Prior to 2011, almost the entire county was in one Assembly district, district 51. Iowa County was and is our primary community of interest. But the 2011 maps and the AB 624 maps split our county into 3 separate assembly districts. I'm packed into District 81, where Iowa County residents represent less than 5% of that district's population. My Assembly representative has constituents in 5 different counties. How do I compete for his attention on Iowa County concerns?

Last month, I sat through my County Board's meetings to set municipal and ward boundaries. Unlike your secretive and partisan efforts, I was extremely impressed with my local officials' efforts to draw fair boundaries. I deeply regret that you don't have the same respect for fairness.

SB621 SB622

October 28, 2021

Testimony on ~~SB 621~~ and ~~AB 621~~ before the Joint Committees: Senate Committee on Government Operations and Assembly Committee on State Affairs

Hello, my name is Amanda Peterson and I live in the Village of Oregon, about 7 miles south of Madison. I am in the 80th Assembly District and the 27th Senate District. I serve as a Trustee on the Village Board and I'm an organizer for the Wisconsin Fair Maps Coalition. I'm a registered voter and I strongly oppose SB 621 and ~~AB 621~~. SB622

The people of Oregon as a whole, consider their community of interest to be the communities that are part of the Oregon School District, including the Town of Oregon, Town of Dunn, Town of Rutland, Village of Brooklyn, and part of Fitchburg. You can tell this by the way we name our organizations: the Oregon Area Fire/EMS district, the Oregon Area Food Pantry, the Oregon Area Senior Center, the Oregon Area Progressives, and so on. We are red and blue, urban and rural.

The current maps drawn in 2011 divided the Oregon School District into 3 assembly and 3 senate districts. That effectively watered down our legislative voice. It was unnecessarily confusing to residents and discouraged them from seeking solutions to issues that can only be fixed at the state level.

These proposed 2021 legislative maps are equally terrible for my community. The Oregon School District has again been carved into 3 assembly and 3 senate districts.

Using the current maps as a starting point for drawing the current maps is a bad idea. It's especially disingenuous to claim that this will maintain existing communities of interest. That isn't what happened in my community after 2011, and I'm willing to bet that isn't true elsewhere either. Communities rally around relevant issues, not legislative boundaries.

Please respect the wishes of the people. Redraw these maps, and create a nonpartisan legislative redistricting process. Thank you.

Ms. Amanda Peterson (she/her)  
301 S Main St  
Oregon, WI 53575  
[aarp8629@gmail.com](mailto:aarp8629@gmail.com)  
608-438-8629

**TESTIMONY room 412 East in Capitol - Thursday, October 28, 2021**

My name is CHERYL MAPLETHORPE. I live in Clifton township which is just west of River Falls. I drove 4 hours to get here and paid for a hotel last night because this hearing started at 9 a.m. I paid all that money in hopes that you will listen to what I have to say.

Wisconsin is now one of the most Gerrymandered states in America and with the new maps you have produced it will be even more GERRYRIGGED. A Marquette Law School poll earlier this year showed that 72 percent of Wisconsinites want to ban gerrymandering and implement a process for non-partisan redistricting. After the 2010 census 300,000 Wisconsinites needed to be moved to new voting districts and yet the 2011 new map moved 2.4 million people into new districts. These 2021 maps try to continue that gerryrigging.

For 10 years the people of Wisconsin have been cheated. A comparison of PARTISAN SYMMETRY shows the result of gerryrigging. In 2012, Republicans received 48% of the votes and 60% of the seats. In 2018 Democrats received the same 48% of the votes but only 36% of the seats. This GERRYRIGGING must end.

With gerryrigging, the political competition moves to the primary and not the main election. This results in more extreme representatives, greater polarization, and less willingness to compromise. Does that sound familiar?

Wisconsin citizens need a bipartisan commission to draw FAIR MAPS. You need to pass and implement Senate Bill 389 and Assembly Bill 395. Those bills create a bipartisan commission to oversee drawing the new voting districts instead of having only the side that's in power draw districts that ensure they stay in power. It's constitutional and it balances the two parties' power which will create a FAIR VOTING MAP and make every vote count equally.

Wisconsin is so heavily gerrymandered with unfair voting district maps that the vote on every single law is distorted. The true amount of support that any law might get in the legislature is hidden by these unfair voting districts.

The citizens of Wisconsin can't tolerate this GERRYRIGGING for another 10 years. I'm 72. I may be dead by the time we get another opportunity to redraw the districts. I want to finish my days in a DEMOCRACY. I don't want to live in a one-party dictatorship that Gerrymandering creates.

Please let a bipartisan commission draw FAIR MAPS!

Cheryl Maplethorpe

W11385 840<sup>th</sup> Ave.

River Falls, Wisconsin 54022

Clifton Township

Pierce County

715-307-8036

## **Testimony for Public Hearing on AB 624 and 625**

Shirley D. Smith, 2nd Congressional District

1634 Randy Lane, Madison WI 53704

October 28, 2021

I oppose AB 624 and 625. These maps continue an unfair advantage to Republican candidates that was egregiously engineered in 2011.

I have never been a political activist, always assuming most of our legislators in Wisconsin were elected to office because they proposed ideas the majority of their constituents liked. Sometimes my party won elections, sometimes the opposing party earned the upper hand; it switched back and forth over the years. The change in political will could be disheartening and sad, but that's the nature of democratic elections. You don't always get your way--you just keep voting in each election and the best ideas will make their way into law.

Over the past decade I became extremely frustrated that progress was invisible on the issues I, and most people, care about. I gradually realized my vote was never going to change anything because of voting district maps. The more I learned, the more I understood why this was. The maps enable Republicans in office to do whatever they want without worrying about being re-elected. And what they want to do is dictated not by the people of Wisconsin, but by their party bosses. (It's the same way in Illinois...only with Democrats.)

A fair election has become a cheater's game in Wisconsin. Didn't we all grow up honoring the principle that you play by the rules so each player has a fair chance? That the outcomes depend on skill, not manipulation of the rules?

I want all of our state representatives to win elections because they're skilled at tapping into the needs of their constituents, not because they've pledged allegiance to their political party. These maps stand between the people of Wisconsin and their wishes.

WRITTEN TESTIMONY JOINT COMMITTEE ON REDISTRICTING PUBLIC HEARING

Thursday, October 28, 2021 @ 9:00am

MADISON, WI

Capitol Building

Room 412E

*Oppose AB624/SB621  
AB625/SB622*

*Vicki Aro-Schackmuth*

**Dear Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and Consumer Protections and Assembly State Affairs Committee Members,**

My name is Vicki Aro-Schackmuth. I live in the very Republican district of Senator Kapenga and Representative Dittrich. I am not a Republican or a Democrat I am an Independent, you could say, I don't have a dog in the race. All this partisanship leaves me weary. So, I have one simple point to make:

## **Gerrymandering is wrong**

I know it

**YOU** know it

It is undemocratic and

It is destructive to our democracy

When I hear statements coming from GOP leadership that there isn't anything preventing them from gerrymandering. I ask you: how about being an American? I can't prevent the destruction of our democracy, but **YOU** can. **YOU** are the only people who can stop the gerrymandering. Have you done that? No, **YOU** passed a joint resolution several days ago ensuring gerrymandering. **YOU** could just as easily pass a resolution preventing gerrymandering or support the bipartisan legislation that languishes without a hearing.

**YOU** proposed those gerrymandered maps.

**YOU** have the power to fix them.

**YOU** also have the responsibility to do so.

**YOU**, not the committee, decide whether democracy stands or if it falls.

I hope **YOU** do the right thing.

Thank you,

Vicki Aro-Schackmuth

920 S. Imperial Dr.

Hartland, WI 53029

[varoschackmuth@gmail.com](mailto:varoschackmuth@gmail.com)

414-688-1164

From Nancy Miller, Mequon, Wisconsin (AD 23)

[Rmiller319@aol.com](mailto:Rmiller319@aol.com) / 262-241-5522 (H)

I am unable to attend today's hearing but ask that the following statement be put into the record:

What are you afraid of? I know, you are afraid of people who don't look like you, who believe in a woman's right to choose, are LGBTQ, and probably don't pray like you.

In other words, you are xenophobic and want to make sure that only your beliefs prevail. The Pledge of Allegiance says "with liberty and justice for all".

In 2011 after the census came out you were able to gerrymander this state so that fair representation disappeared. Just like Eldridge Gerry did in 1812, you drew district lines to favor your own party and to expand your power.

Today, in 2021, after another census, you are once again attempting to do the same thing. As a citizen, the Constitution gives me the right to vote; but, I expect my vote to matter. This led me to become a member of the Wisconsin Fair Maps Coalition and to draw a map. The maps drawn by this coalition don't look at parties; rather, they look at how to provide equitable distribution, how to look at what makes a community, what are shared values, and not to turn this into a political power grab. I live in Mequon and my district is so gerrymandered that my right to vote is laughable—the same people keep getting re-elected time after time. Is this Fair? Isn't it time to put politics aside and do what is best for the state and the citizens—learn how to compromise, how to talk to one another, and how to work for the betterment of Wisconsin.

Thank you for your time.

Mike DeRubis  
416 Meadow Oak Trail  
DeForest WI 53532  
Assembly District 37  
Senate District 13

I moved to the DeForest/Windsor area more than 5 years ago for a few reasons. We had friends in the area, the cost of housing was reasonable, and there was a real sense of community here. DeForest and Windsor share many services, including schools, police, and fire protection. What I came to realize, though, was that this community is carved up into 3 different assembly districts, and our collective voice is diminished as a result. Politics is already divisive, and these district lines only serve to divide us further.

Gerrymandering is a bipartisan problem. Democrats in Illinois are busily rigging the maps in their favor so 14 of 17 seats are safe, just as Republicans had done here in Wisconsin in 2011. Just as many Republicans in Illinois feel their voices don't matter, many Democrats in Wisconsin feel the same. Never mind the Independents, but that's a conversation for another day.

In a free market society, we should have competitive political races so all citizens feel their voices are heard. Who wants to participate in a process when there is a foregone conclusion? It's similar to going to a game where we already know the winner. Interest is understandably low when so many of the races are predetermined. The highly gerrymandered maps have turned people off to politics. We feel our voices aren't heard and our votes don't matter.

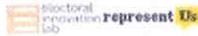
I strongly oppose the proposed maps by the legislature today. At the state level, we should create a more level playing field with some healthy competition. Similar to what Iowa has done for 40 years, Wisconsin needs an independent, transparent and fair redistricting process. In Iowa, they do not waste taxpayer dollars on litigation since the fair process means the courts don't even need to be involved.

As President Ronald Reagan said many years ago, "That's all we're asking for: an end to the antidemocratic and un-American practice of gerrymandering...The fact is, gerrymandering has become a national scandal." The sad truth is that it's nearly forty years later and it's only gotten worse.

We, the People, should be the priority, and Fair Maps put people first.  
Gerrymandering is a bipartisan problem, and Fair Maps are the nonpartisan solution.

Thank you.

# Redistricting Report Card

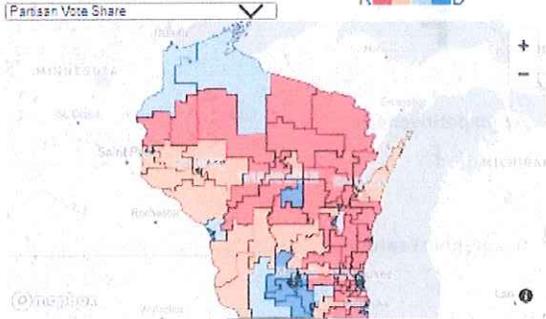


Learn more about the Wisconsin redistricting process

## Wisconsin 2021 State Legislative State Assembly Draft Plan SB621

Select VAP on Tooltip (BVAP) [V] [O]

Map color scale:



Link to plan source | Download Map Data | Download Score Data  
Show additional details

Select a map to view its report card and metric dashboard

Wisconsin 2021 State Legislative State Assembly Draft Plan SB621

### Overall Grade

**F**

#### Partisan Fairness

**F**

Significant Republican advantage.

#### Competitiveness

**C**

Similarly competitive relative to other maps that could have been drawn

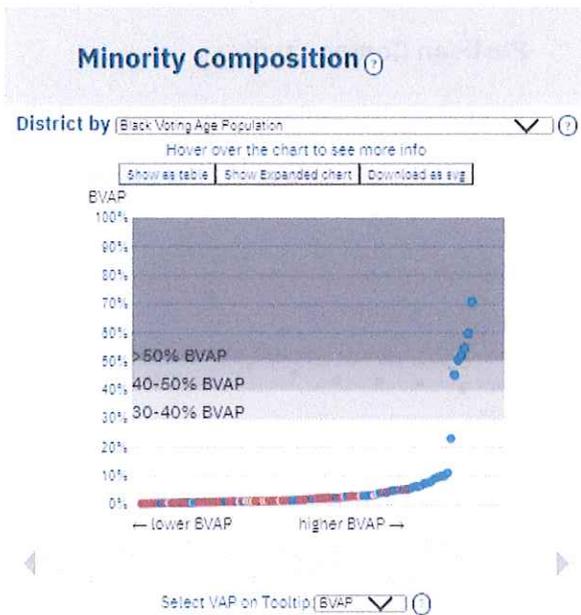
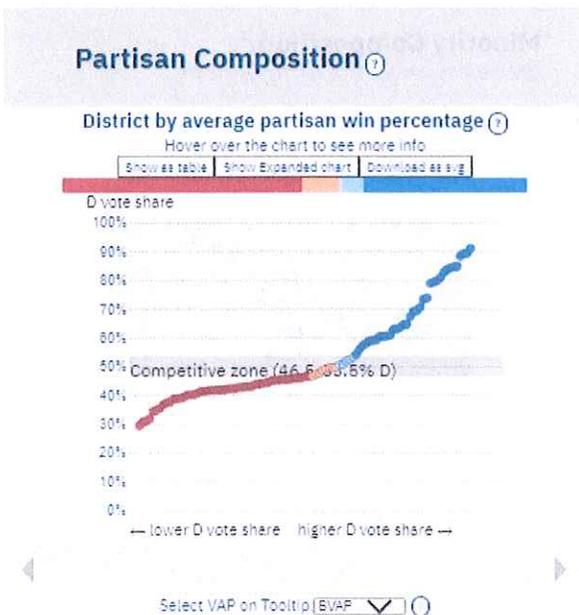
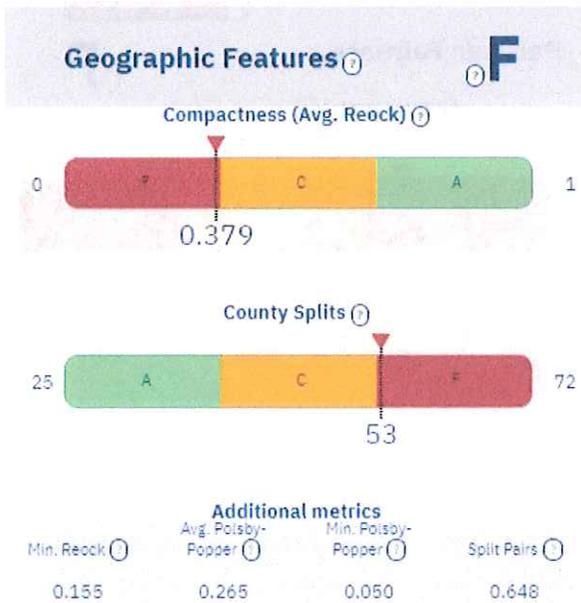
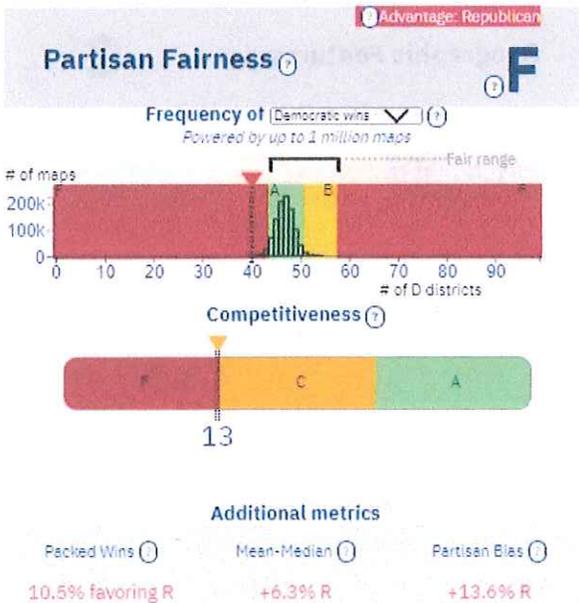
#### Geographic Features

**F**

Non-compact districts, more county splits than typical.

A: Good for the category  
B: Better than average for the category, but bias still exists  
C: Average for the category, could be better, but also could be worse  
F: Poor for the category, could be much better

## Metrics



# Redistricting Report Card

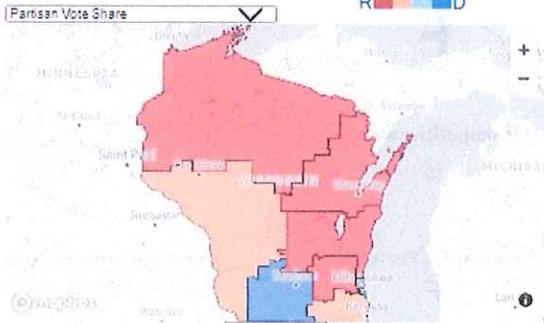


Learn more about the Wisconsin redistricting process

## Wisconsin 2021 State Legislative Congressional Draft Plan SB622

Select VAP on Tooltip (BVAP) [v]

Map color scale:



[Link to plan source](#) [Download Map Data](#) [Download Score Data](#)  
Show additional details

Select a map to view its report card and metric dashboard

Wisconsin 2021 State Legislative Congressional Draft Plan SB622

Overall Grade

**F**

Partisan Fairness

**F**

Significant Republican advantage. Advantages incumbents

Competitiveness

**F**

Very uncompetitive relative to other maps that could have been drawn

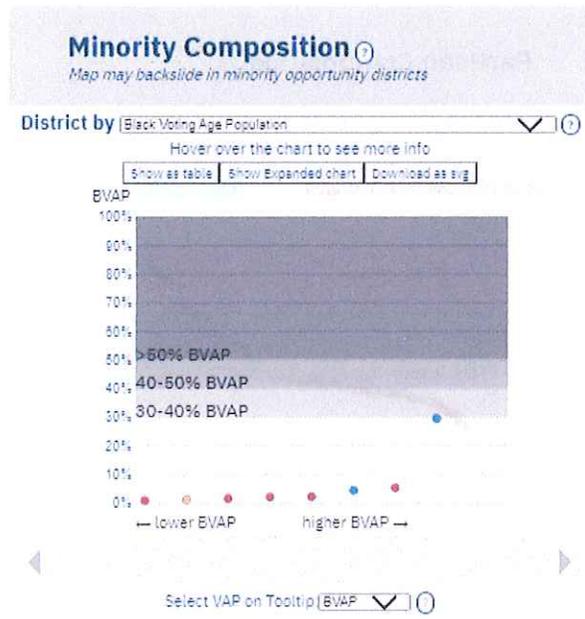
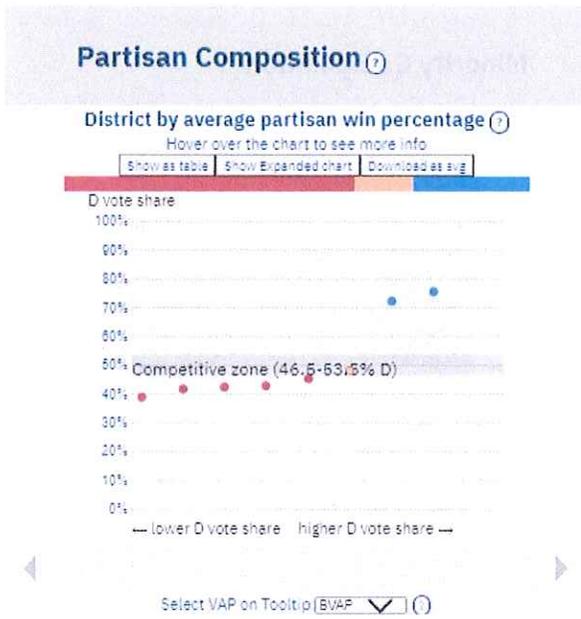
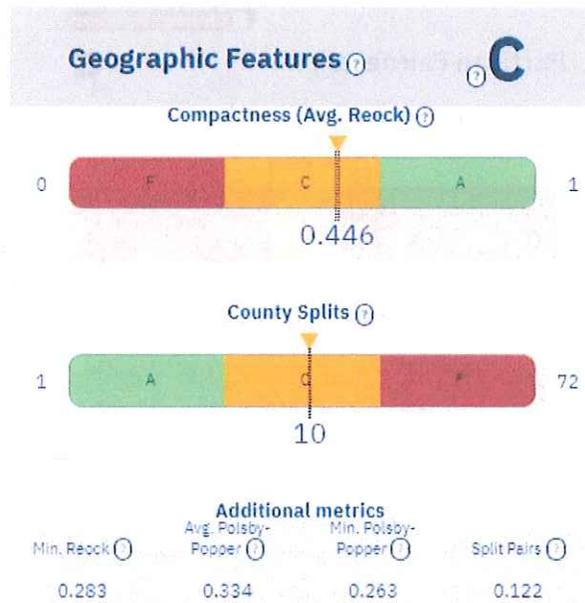
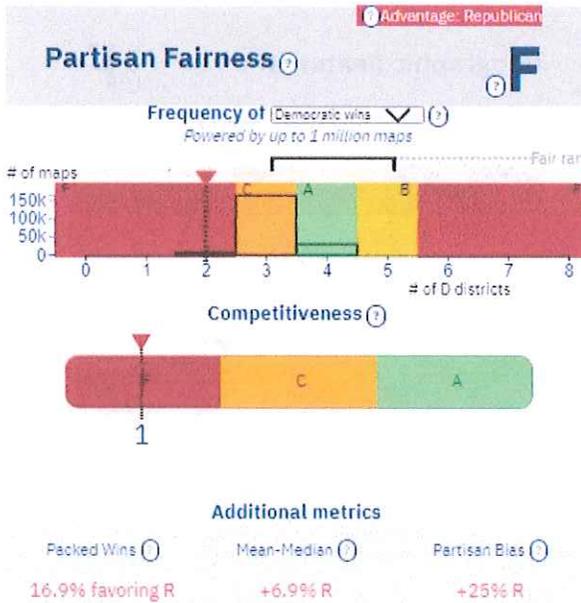
Geographic Features

**C**

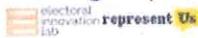
Compact districts, typical number of county splits

A: Good for the category  
B: Better than average for the category, but bias still exists  
C: Average for the category, could be better, but also could be worse  
F: Poor for the category, could be much better

## Metrics



## Redistricting Report Card

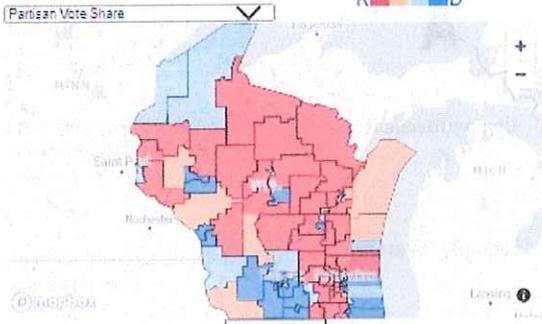


Learn more about the Wisconsin redistricting process

### Wisconsin 2021 People's Commission Draft Assembly Map 2

Select VAP on Tooltip [BVAP] [0]

Map color scale:



[Link to plan source](#) | [Download Map Data](#) | [Download Score Data](#)  
Show additional details

Select a map to view its report card and metric dashboard

Wisconsin 2021 People's Commission Draft Assembly Map 2 [X] [v]

Overall Grade

**A**

Partisan Fairness

**A**

No advantage

Competitiveness

**C**

Similarly competitive relative to other maps that could have been drawn

Geographic Features

**B**

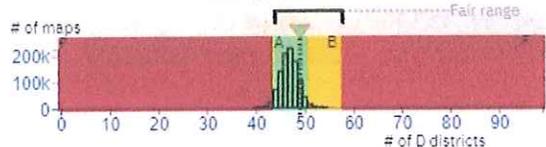
Very compact districts, typical number of county splits

**A:** Good for the category  
**B:** Better than average for the category, but bias still exists  
**C:** Average for the category, could be better, but also could be worse  
**F:** Poor for the category, could be much better

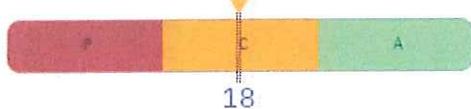
## Metrics

Partisan Fairness [?] **A**

Frequency of [Democratic wins] [?]  
Powered by up to 1 million maps



Competitiveness [?]



Additional metrics

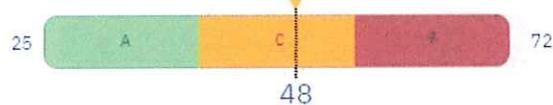
Packed Wins [?] 5.5% favoring R  
Mean-Median [?] +2.7% R  
Partisan Bias [?] +7.6% R

Geographic Features [?] **B**

Compactness (Avg. Reock) [?]



County Splits [?]



Additional metrics

Min. Reock [?] 0.209  
Avg. Polsby-Popper [?] 0.364  
Min. Polsby-Popper [?] 0.061  
Split Pairs [?] 0.622

Partisan Composition [?]

District by average partisan win percentage [?]

Shows as table | Show Expanded chart | Download as avg

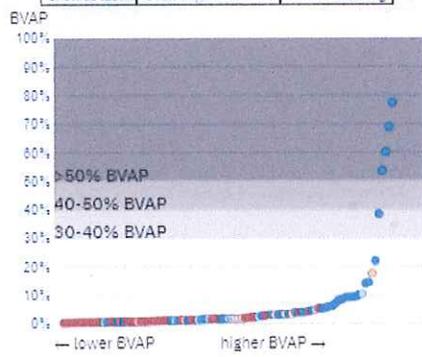


Minority Composition [?]

Map may backslide in minority opportunity districts

District by [Black Voting Age Population] [?]

Shows as table | Show Expanded chart | Download as avg



Select VAP on Tooltip [BVAP] [0]

Select VAP on Tooltip [BVAP] [0]

# Redistricting Report Card



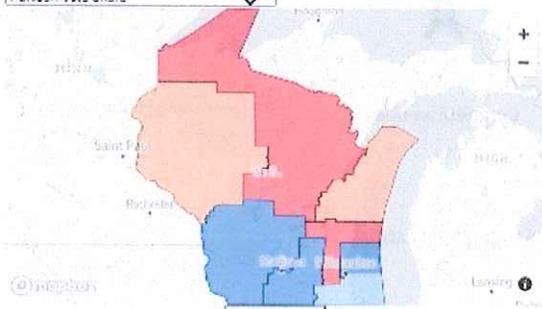
Learn more about the Wisconsin redistricting process

## Wisconsin 2021 People's Commission Draft Congressional Map D

Select VAP on Tooltip (BVAP)

Map color scale:

R ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ D



[Link to plan source](#) | [Download Map Data](#) | [Download Score Data](#)  
Show additional details

Select a map to view its report card and metric dashboard

Wisconsin 2021 People's Commission Draft Congressional Map D

Overall Grade

**A**

Partisan Fairness

**A**

No advantage

Competitiveness

**C**

Similarly competitive relative to other maps that could have been drawn

Geographic Features

**C**

Compact districts, typical number of county splits

A: Good for the category

B: Better than average for the category, but bias still exists

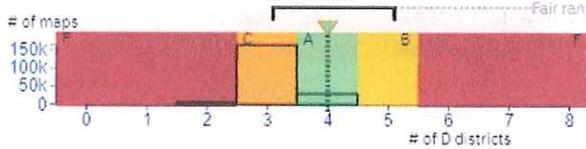
C: Average for the category, could be better, but also could be worse

F: Poor for the category, could be much better

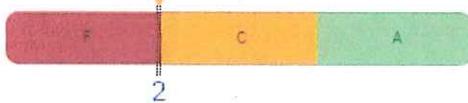
### Metrics

Partisan Fairness **A**

Frequency of Democratic wins  
Powered by up to 1 million maps



Competitiveness **C**



Additional metrics

Packed Wins

4.9% favoring R

Mean-Median

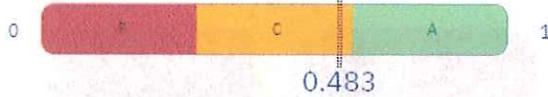
+2.1% R

Partisan Bias

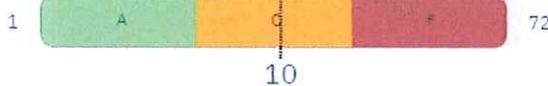
+/- 0%

Geographic Features **C**

Compactness (Avg. Reock)



County Splits



Additional metrics

Min. Reock

0.347

Avg. Polsby-Popper

0.423

Min. Polsby-Popper

0.236

Split Pairs

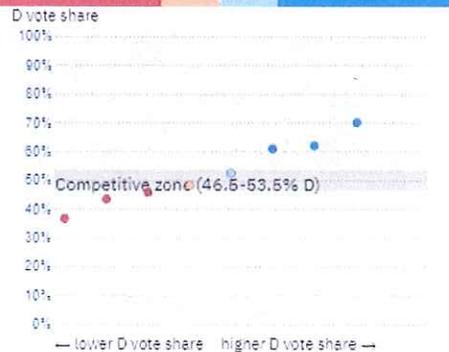
0.174

Partisan Composition **C**

District by average partisan win percentage

Hover over the chart to see more info

Show as table | Show Expanded chart | Download as svg



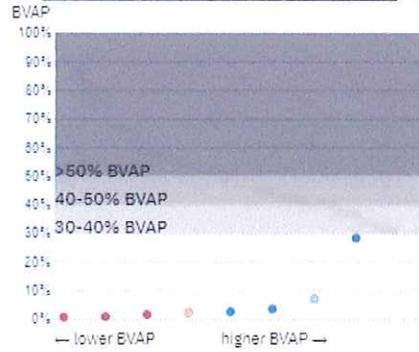
Minority Composition **C**

Map may backslide in minority opportunity districts

District by Black Voting Age Population

Hover over the chart to see more info

Show as table | Show Expanded chart | Download as svg



[Find gerrymanders on our new Redistricting Report Card!](#)

## Princeton Gerrymandering Project

ABOUT ▼

MAPS ▼

RESOURCES

STATES ▼

SUBMIT FEEDBACK

RELATED PROJECTS ▼

Methodology used for  
the report card, to  
grade maps

We're tracking and scoring maps throughout redistricting. [Check out our grades at our \*Redistricting Report Card\*](#) ↗

## Dashboard Metrics

### GEOGRAPHIC SCORES

#### Compactness:

- Average Reock score over all districts
- Minimum Reock score over all districts
- Average Polsby-Popper score over all districts
- Minimum Polsby-Popper score over all districts

For each district, the Reock score is calculated by taking the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the minimum circumscribing circle, or in other words, the smallest circle that entirely encapsulates the district. The closer the district resembles a circle, the more compact it is. The score ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 is not compact and 1 is optimally compact.

Reock score is the ratio of the area of the red district to the area of its minimum bounding circle. [See here for an example.](#)

For each district, the Polsby-Popper score is calculated by taking the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the circle whose circumference matches the perimeter of the district, in other words, the circle that would result if you stretched out the district into a circle. The less contorted the boundaries of the district and the closer it resembles a circle, the more compact the district. The score ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 is not compact and 1 is optimally compact.

Polsby-Popper score is the ratio of the area of the red district to area of the circle whose perimeter is identical to the district's perimeter. [See here for an example.](#)

#### County Splits:

The number of county splits is the count of the number of counties that are split into at least 2 districts. The minimum number of county splits is calculated as the count of the number of counties that have populations larger than the ideal population size of a district. These counties are too large to fit into one district and therefore must be split. The maximum number of county splits is the total number of counties in a given state.

We also include a more nuanced county splits metric developed by Wachspress et al. called split pairs (Wachspress J., Moffatt C., Adler W. Metrics of locality splitting in political districting (version 0.0.3)). It's calculated as the proportion of pairs of people in the same county that are in different voting districts. Imagine there's a random voter that does not remember their voting district. This person picks someone randomly from their county and asks what voting district they are in. If they guess that they are in the same voting district, the split pairs metric tells us the probability of being wrong. The metric ranges from 0 to 1 and the closer to 0, the better.

---

## PARTISAN SCORES

We use statewide elections to calculate a partisan index of each voting precinct which we can then use to calculate district-by-district estimates for Democratic vote share percentage (it is common practice to study estimates from the Democratic point of view, but one could easily flip the analysis and consider it from the Republican point of view). To calculate the partisan index, we consider an average of the most recent statewide elections for the U.S. President, U.S. Senate, and Governor.

Partisan metrics:

- Democratic seat share
  - Calculated by counting the number of districts whose Democratic vote share percentage estimate is greater than 50%
- Number of competitive seats
  - Calculated by counting the number of districts whose Democratic and Republican vote share percentages estimate is between 46.5-53.5%
- Partisan bias
  - Calculated as the difference between a party's seat share and 50% in a hypothetical election where each party receives exactly 50% of the vote share. This captures if one party is unfairly winning additional seats. A positive difference indicates a partisan advantage for Republicans and a negative difference advantages Democrats.
- Packed Wins
  - Calculated as the difference between the average win percentage of each party's wins. If one party is packed into a few districts and cracked into many others, it will have a much higher average win percentage than the other party. Packed wins quantifies the difference between the two major parties' average win percentages. In an ideally fair map, both parties would have similar average win percentages.
- Mean-median difference
  - Calculated as the difference between a party's average vote share and its median vote share across all districts. This measures if voters are being packed into a few districts and cracked into others. A positive difference indicates a partisan advantage for Republicans and a negative difference advantages Democrats.

---

## MINORITY COMPOSITION

We use minority voting age population (VAP) to approximate a given minority group's political influence in a given district. This number is used, in combination with sophisticated analysis of racially polarized voting, in Voting Rights Act legal cases.

Displayed measures:

- Sorted District-by-district demographic estimates of:
  - Black VAP percentage (BVAP)
  - Hispanic VAP percentage (HVAP)
  - Asian VAP percentage (AVAP)
  - American Indian or Alaska Native VAP percentage (NVAP)
  - Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander VAP percentage (PVAP)
  - Minority VAP percentage (MVAP)
    - Calculated as the sum of BVAP, HVAP, AVAP, NVAP, and PVAP

---

## PARTISAN COMPOSITION

We plot sorted district-by-district estimates of Democratic vote shares for the map. Within the plot, we show the competitiveness zone which we define as districts where the Democratic and Republican vote share is between 46.5%-53.5%.

## Report Card Scoring

---

### GEOGRAPHIC REPORT CARD SCORING

#### Compactness scoring

Many state constitutions include language to draw relatively compact districts. Using a set of maps drawn by the legislature, organizations, and individuals from the Princeton Mapping Corps:

- Calculate each of their average Reock scores
- Set the "F" and "A" grade thresholds respectively at the 5th and 95th percentile of the set of average Reock scores
- All maps between the 5th and 95th percentiles receive a "C"

#### County Splits scoring

Many state constitutions include language to respect existing administrative and political boundaries such as county lines. Using a set of maps drawn by the legislature, organizations, and individuals:

- Calculate each of their county splits scores
- Set the "A" and "F" grade thresholds respectively at the 5th and 95th percentile of the set of county splits scores
- All maps between the 5th and 95th percentiles receive a "C"

If map receives an "A" for compactness and county splits, it receives an "A" in geography. If it receives an "F" for compactness and county splits, it receives an "F" in geography. If it receives one "A" and one "C" for compactness and county splits, it

receives a "B" for geography. All other maps receive a "C" for geography.

---

## COMPETITIVENESS SCORING

Often, a gerrymandered map produces a majority of districts that are not competitive, effectively guaranteeing electoral victories to members of only one party in these districts. We define a competitive district as one where the Democratic (and Republican) vote share is within 46.5-53.5%. Using the distribution of the number of competitive seats derived from the ensemble, we give an:

- "A" to maps with more competitive districts than 95% of the maps in the ensemble
- "C" to maps where the number of competitive districts is between the 5th and 95th percentile of the distribution
- "F" to maps with fewer competitive districts than 95% of the maps in the ensemble

An "A" map is particularly competitive, an "F" is particularly uncompetitive, and a "C" map lands within the majority of maps we see in the distribution. We distinguish between "A" and "C" because having a very competitive map could result in a distorted partisan fairness grade. This is because having many competitive districts near the 50% threshold could result in far fewer or more Democratic seats depending on small electoral changes.

---

## PARTISAN FAIRNESS SCORING

When determining whether a redistricting plan is a partisan gerrymander or not, there are two perspectives that must be considered.

The first is an aspirational view of fairness. We take the normative stance that the parties should be treated symmetrically (i.e., if Democrats get 60% of the vote in a state and get X% of the seats, Republicans should also get X% of the seats if they would have received 60% of the vote). We use the cube law to encode what the seat share should be for a given vote share. This empirical result in the political science literature finds that the ratio of seat shares should be proportional to the ratio of the cubes of the vote shares. This law matches up closely with what would naturally occur for the distribution of vote shares across the U.S. When a seat share falls outside a reasonable range defined by the cube law, it indicates that the map does not comport with an aspirational view of partisan fairness.

The second is a practical view of what's possible to draw under the state-specific conditions. Using the ensemble method, we are able to generate a large set of alternative districting plans that follow traditional redistricting criteria. The resulting distribution of Democratic seat shares for each of the maps in the ensemble gives a baseline for the naturally occurring seat shares for a state given its political geography and redistricting rules. When the seat share falls outside the bulk of the distribution defined by the ensemble, it indicates that the map may have been drawn using partisan criteria beyond the traditional principles defined in the state's constitution.

In essence, the normative symmetry standard tests whether a map is "good" in being fair to the parties whereas the ensemble method tests whether a map could have been drawn by a nonpartisan actor.

The normative symmetry range is calculated by taking the statewide vote share, deriving the expected Democratic seat share using the cube law, and building a range around that seat share. Because the range of acceptable outcomes is related to the number of total

seats, we define the range as the maximum of 1 seat and 7% times the total number of seats. The ensemble range is determined by the 5th and 95th percentile of distribution of seat shares in the maps in the ensemble.

## Partisan Fairness Report Card Grades

Since the normative symmetry method is more aspirational and the ensemble method is more practical, we reward maps with higher grades when they are in the normative range, but make sure that maps that are in the ensemble range are not penalized too harshly.

When the normative symmetry range and ensemble range overlap:

Normative Symmetry Range	Ensemble Range
A PASS	PASS
B PASS	FAIL
C FAIL	PASS
F FAIL	FAIL

When the normative symmetry range and ensemble range do not overlap, we assign an "A" to the seat share value at the edge of the ensemble range in the direction of the normative range. This seat share represents a naturally occurring result that is also close to being normatively "good". We assign a "B" to all seat share values in the normative range and between the normative and ensemble ranges. We assign a "C" to all other seat shares in the ensemble range. Finally, we assign an "F" to all seat shares on the exterior of the ensemble and normative ranges.

In both scenarios, we want to curve the grades in such a way that we don't harshly penalize maps that are close to the normative range and firmly within the ensemble range. To do this, we create a "leeway" seat amount by calculating  $(0.07 * \text{total number of districts})$  and round down to the nearest integer. We then pad the ends of the normative symmetry range with the leeway seat amount and grade those values as "B" as long as they are still in the ensemble range.

Finally, if competitiveness is an "A", we bump up the overall partisan fairness grade by one letter. If competitiveness is an "F", we downgrade the overall partisan fairness grade by one letter.

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## MINORITY COMPOSITION

If any specific minority group or coalition of minority groups have fewer districts that are greater than 30% than the last court-accepted map, we flag that map as possibly backsliding in minority opportunity-to-elect districts. If any specific minority group or coalition of minority groups have more districts greater than 60% than the last court-accepted map, we flag that map as possibly over-packing a specific minority group or coalition of minority groups. Again, we do not claim to capture VRA compliance, as it requires the performance of racially polarized voting analysis on a district-by-district basis. Our analysis is a simplification to study minority demographics, which is an assessment of composition; opportunity to elect and achieve minority representation requires more complicated analysis.

# Explanation of Ensemble Methodology

To generate a large set of alternative districting plans, we used the open-source package, [Gerrychain](#), that is commonly used in computational redistricting. We run the algorithm on precinct-level statewide files.

If the state did not have a reapportioned number of representatives, the last court-accepted plan was used as the starting partition. If the state had a different number of congressional districts than the previous cycle, a random partition was created and then optimized to pass the backsliding test and to have a reasonable number of cut edges (compactness) and county splits relative to the last court-accepted plan. This optimized partition closely matches the conditions in the last court-accepted plan and is used as the starting partition.

The ensemble constrains maps to have population equality within 5%, fewer or the same number of county splits and cut edges as the starting partition, and minority representation as dictated by the backsliding test. The algorithm is run for 1,000,000 steps which results in 1,000,000 alternative maps that strictly follow traditional redistricting criteria.

On this ensemble of alternative maps, we calculate the number of Democratic districts and the number of competitive districts using a partisan index that's the average of the most recent statewide elections for the U.S. President, U.S. Senate, and Governor. This gives us a distribution of the number of Democratic districts and number of competitive districts for maps that could have been drawn in the state that follow traditional criteria, but have no partisan intent.

## Report Card Grading

We combine the graded categories into a final report card grade. However, each of these categories is given different weight depending on its importance in capturing gerrymandering. Our partisan fairness category is the most robust in detecting gerrymandering harms, so our final grade is heavily influenced by the partisan fairness grade with the other categories making grade adjustments. Specifically, we start with partisan fairness grade as our base final report card grade. If geographic features is an "F", we downgrade the final grade by one letter. We acknowledge that this is only one possible grading scheme that we have developed using the expertise at the Electoral Innovation Lab and have provided the individual grades and scores.

*Page last updated: Sep 29th 2021*

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## Princeton Gerrymandering Project

### External links

[PRINCETON ELECTION CONSORTIUM](#)  
[OPENPRECINCTS](#)  
[REPRESENTABLE](#)  
[TWITTER](#)

### About

Public Hearing Statement for SB621 and SB622

My name is Lena Eng. I'm the daughter of immigrants from Taiwan. I've lived in New Berlin of Waukesha County for 30 years. I'm here today because I'm deeply concerned about how divisive politics has become. Our country is being ripped apart and we are feeling it all the way down to our local public schools.

*Nearly* Everyone agrees our political system is broken. As a strong conservative and Evangelical Christian, I am urging you to be part of the solution of fixing our broken political system instead of exasperating the divide.

Before you pass this bill, please work with Governor Evers in good faith to come up with consensus maps. I am frustrated when our tax dollars are spent on unnecessary litigation - something that all Republicans should hate.

I agree with Speaker Vos's statement about the need to restore faith in our election system - but it **MUST** include ensuring that the starting points of our elections are fair maps, not rigged maps that go against the spirit of our shared American desire for a more perfect union.

We are too busy fighting each other instead of focusing our energy and effort to deal with America's biggest threat - China. If we don't shape up and pull together now, China is poised to overtake America's democratic influence and prove that their communist system of government is much more effective than our republic. Please represent the millions of Wisconsinites like me who want an end to gerrymandering, who want to fix our broken politics and bring our state and our country back together again.

Thank you!

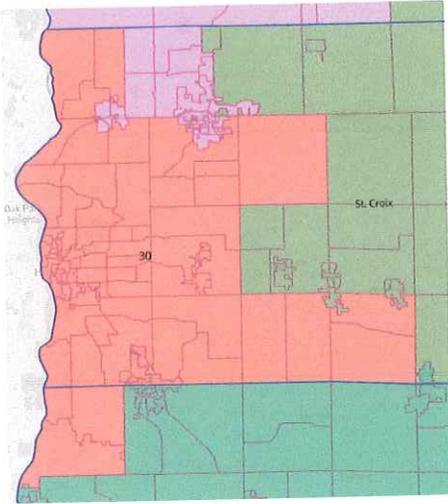
Lena Eng  
13330 Kirkwood Dr.  
New Berlin, WI 53151

## Testimony for Oct 28, 2021 on the legislature's proposed district maps

My name is Jenelle Ludwig Krause.

I'm here today because I care deeply about my family, my community and our state. I want us to have the resources we need to survive and thrive.

I currently live in Assembly District 29 and would be in Assembly District 30 under these proposed maps which would be a terrible gerrymander looking like some kind of post apocalyptic creature.



I would live out on a limb over here separated from my community to the North, East & South.

It may seem funny to have these wild shapes but their impact would be with us for far longer than the next 10 years.

I moved to the majestic woods in Western WI 14 years ago. After living in cities my whole life, it was such a pleasure to drink the crisp and delicious water from our very own well. Drinking water filtered through 150 feet of earth in an aquifer below my feet. How magical!

I started to be concerned though when neighbors showed up at our house one day to say that a local factory farm was adding hundreds of cows. How would this impact water quality? How would this impact air quality? Could all the impacted and concerned neighbors have a voice? Turns out, because of the lack of local control, there was nothing we could do.

The people of WI want local control & we want clean air and clean drinking water. Why are we not getting these things? Because this is not the agenda of party bosses. Our representatives are not listening to us - they don't have to because of our gerrymandered districts. Their seats are safe.

If we poison our wells even further in the next 10 years, they are not suddenly going to be clean when we end gerrymandering & our representatives pay attention to what the people of WI are saying. The nitrates coming from factory farms and forever chemicals coming from factories in our aquifers will be there for decades & centuries to come.

The decision you make on our district maps has a very long tail, stretching far into the future & impacting your children, your grandchildren & their descendants too.

This will be your legacy. I invite you to be a hero & do what is right for WI!

Jenelle Ludwig Krause  
2240 10th Ave W  
Baldwin, WI 54002  
715-410-1566

Testimony re district maps, 28 October 2021  
Maureen Ash  
N7659 950<sup>th</sup> St , River Falls, WI 54011

Thank you for hearing my testimony. I concur with what has been said regarding the proposed maps. They are, with a few exceptions, the same maps that have been proven in federal court to have been gerrymandered.

Several years ago I had occasion to attend a bird show. The smart birds had been trained to do a lot of things, including to ride tiny bicycles. But the real crowd pleaser happened when we were asked to hold up money for the birds to retrieve. This was in a country where the various denominations of paper money are in different colors.

The thing that made the crowd laugh was that the birds flew out and retrieved the bills held up that were of the highest denomination first. Smart birds!

These maps are like that. They've been drawn to select for the densest populations of desirable—that is, majority party-favorable--voters. I'm far less entertained by this than I was by the bird show. No one was harmed by those color-savvy parrots, but our beloved state and its forward motion toward a better life for its residents is being callously trashed by those who push upon us these self-serving maps.

My neighbors and I are not extremists. We share a desire to hold polluters accountable, to have better health care, and to improve our schools. Over and over, polls show us that a majority of Wisconsinites want these things. Instead, we get this recent resolution to keep voting-district maps essentially the same as the ones that were gerrymandered in 2010. It took five days to pass that resolution, while in the meantime bills to create a fair process to draw voting districts without using partisan voting data, as Iowa has done for forty years, have lain on the table for something like four months and twenty days. Extreme gerrymandering leads to extremist agendas. These maps are harmful to Wisconsin.

Statement to the Wisconsin State Legislative Committees on SB621 and SB622 **OPPOSED**

10/28/2021

By Jeannine Ramsey, Wisconsin Resident

Thank you for holding this listening session and for allowing me to speak.

My name is Jeannine Ramsey. I am a recently-retired public school librarian and a lifelong resident of Wisconsin.

I oppose the maps submitted by the state legislature because they are gerrymandered to favor one party.

- This is evident in the **F** grade from the **Princeton Gerrymandering Project**, a non-partisan entity.
- And by a high partisan bias score on **Planscore**, an online non-partisan evaluation tool.
- These proposed maps are intentionally based on previously gerrymandered maps with the stated goal to "*retain as much as possible the core of existing districts*," despite having no such qualms in the 2011 redistricting where well over 1 million people were moved from their previous districts.

**Gerrymandered maps negatively impact me and all of the citizens of Wisconsin.** These unfair maps allow our elected officials to repeatedly ignore us and our concerns no matter where we live in the state or how we vote.

I care about public education funding and I know most Wisconsin residents do too. I care about equity in terms of broadband access for all students and all residents of our state. I care about clean drinking water as do many citizens in our state. I understand that in 2019, the year of clean water in Wisconsin, a committee was formed by the legislature to study the issue and that nothing was done. Nothing. Nothing needed to be done other than the appearance of doing something because of safe seats due to the gerrymandered maps.

**Wisconsinites are deprived of the ability to hold state legislators accountable in the way that we can hold our other elected officials accountable.** If our mayor or our governor or our US senators don't listen to us or address our concerns we can "throw the bums out," as we should be able to do. Gerrymandered maps have allowed an almost complete lack of accountability at the state legislative level.

I wonder who those in power in the Wisconsin legislature truly represent when they close their ears to the concerns of the majority of people in the state, including their own constituents. Their party?

**If you do not listen to us or if you fail to work together to address our concerns in concrete ways, please allow us a fair and democratic way to hold you accountable: give us fair maps.** I urge you to not be afraid of us, your voters, the people of Wisconsin. If you listen to us, your constituents, and work in good faith on our behalf you have nothing to fear.

Please adopt fair maps to show that you are not afraid of us, your constituents, or the democratic process!

Thank you.

**Before the The Senate Committee on Governmental Operations and the Assembly  
Committee on State Affairs  
Hearing on SB 621/622 & AB 624/625  
October 28, 2021**

**Written Testimony in Opposition of SB 621/622 & AB 624/625  
Cheyenne Otto-Defoe, Lead Organizer, Progress North**

Chairman Duey Strobel and Chairman Rob Swearingen and members of each committee:

Miigwech/Thank you for the opportunity to present testimony in opposition of Senate Bill 621 and 622 and Assembly Bill 624 and 625 on behalf of myself and Progress North.

Boozhoo, Cheyenne Otto-Defoe indizhinikaaz makwa nindoodem Superior nindoojiiba. I said hello, my name is Cheyenne Otto-Defoe. I am Bear Clan and I am here today traveling from Superior and I am a member of the Red Cliff Anishinaabe Nation right outside of Bayfield. I am here today to let you know you have our attention. But before I dig into that, I want to acknowledge the privilege we all hold to be able to be here on a Thursday morning. It is no accident that decision making happens at a time and location where most working class community members are unable to have access or resources to attend in person to voice their support or in this case, opposition to proposed bills that hold such high stakes for themselves and their loved ones.

Wisconsinites believe in fair play. We are sick and tired of powerful elected officials rigging the game. Elected officials shouldn't choose their voters; voters should choose their elected officials. A majority of Wisconsinites across the political spectrum want to end gerrymandering and I am one of them. A Marquette Law School poll showed that 72 percent of Wisconsinites want fair, nonpartisan redistricting – and that includes 63 percent of Republicans and 76 percent of Independents. The bipartisan support for banning gerrymandering is also reflected in the fact that the current reform bills have five Republican co-sponsors and in the fact that more than 75 percent of the 55 counties that are on board are “red” counties. The GOP proposed boundaries we are here today discussing are not only based on the currently ultra-rigged maps but actually make them worse. The Republican redistricting plan is a hyper partisan concoction deliberately designed to ensure their uninterrupted control of both chambers of the Wisconsin Legislature throughout the next decade and likely beyond. It increases from five to six the number of congressional seats controlled by the GOP and continues the practice of packing Democrats into fewer districts.

Now how does that relate to me? I come from a community where resources are few and far between. A rural community. I need investments in infrastructure and I am not just referring to asphalt. I need healthcare for all so my diabetic mother and father who navigate autoimmune diseases are able to access the care they need to get and stay well. I need access to quality and affordable childcare. It shouldn't cost an arm and a leg nor should child care workers be paid at a gruesomely low rate despite caring for and nurturing the future of our great state. I need access to mental health resources and providers so I no longer have to wait 6 months to see a mental health professional. I am not asking for a free handout, I am asking for an even playing field and equitable representation. I see what you're doing. We all see what you're doing. It's cheating. It's wrong. And it goes against every shared value Wisconsinites have.

Chairman Duey Strobel and Chairman Rob Swearingen and members of each committee, I urge you to oppose Senate Bill 621 and 622 and Assembly Bill 624 and 625. Thank you for the opportunity to present testimony in opposition to said bills. Miigwech.

**Before the Senate Committee on Governmental Operations and the Assembly Committee  
on State Affairs  
Hearing on SB621/622 & AB 624/625  
October 28, 2021**

**Written Testimony in Opposition of SB 621/622 & 624/625  
Jade Livingston, Regional Organizer, Progress North**

Chairman Duey Strobel and Chairman Rob Swearingen and members of each committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to present testimony in opposition of Senate Bill 621 & 622 and Assembly Bill 624 & 625.

Hello, my name is Jade Livingston. I'm here to share my concerns about the proposed maps. I am a member of the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Anishinaabe, born and raised on a reservation outside of Ashland, the city from where I am traveling today. I grew up being taught that I lived in a democratic republic; where if we did our duty and voted in elections, the candidate we collectively agreed on by majority would be elected to be our representative. Simple and fair. Easily understandable, even for a 5th grader. Now at 22, I know that our district maps that have existed for half of my life (and all of my adult life) make this impossible in Wisconsin.

Our current maps have been called unconstitutional in courts during multiple cases after the 2011 maps were put into effect, for diluting votes and disenfranchising voters. We saw this in 2016, when Republicans received 52% of votes cast, yet won 65% of the Assembly seats. It was also clear in 2018, when Democratic Assembly candidates secured about 53% of total votes, but they only ended up with 36% of the chamber's seats. In other districts, there is virtually no chance of pushing a Democrat out of their safe seat. Instead of every vote being equal, as it should be- right now every voter, regardless of party, is at risk of their vote being diluted.

It's incredibly obvious that our maps are rigged, yet the court cases against our district maps went nowhere because of expensive lawyers- that were hired by Republican legislators but paid for by Wisconsin taxpayers. To date Republicans have spent over 4 million dollars defending these maps. Over 4 million dollars, while I was a homeless teen missing school to go to work. Over 4 million dollars, while I starved to pay my bills and have a roof over my head. Over 4 million dollars, while I lose friends and neighbors to mental health crises or addiction. Over 4 million dollars, while my community deteriorates from poverty, lack of healthcare, resulting in high numbers of suicides and overdoses. Over 4 million dollars, while my community grows more tired, stretched thin trying to survive and push on. Over 4 million dollars defending maps that have disenfranchised every voter in Wisconsin for the past decade- people that needed and deserved better.

Now, the proposed maps for the coming decade are being proudly described as 'as similar as possible' to these undemocratic, unconstitutional, oppressive maps. Even further, they've been made more oppressive to the representation of the people of Wisconsin. To approve these maps would be to approve the continued oppression and disenfranchisement of every last Wisconsinite- that is embarrassing, disappointing, and extremely telling- "Representative" is far from the word I would use.

Chairman Duey Strobel and Chairman Rob Swearingen and members of each committee, I urge you to oppose Senate Bill 621 and 622 and Assembly Bill 624 and 625. Thank you for the opportunity to present testimony in opposition to said bills. Miigwech.

Thursday, October 28, 2021

Thank you, Chairperson Swearingen, and Chairperson Stroebel.

I come before you today to speak against the proposed redistricting maps of the Republican party.

Even though these unfair maps allow Republicans to win, everyone—yes, everyone--loses when the competitive nature of elections is drawn out of the maps. Competitive elections allow more voices to be heard, more voices heard means more robust, diverse, and creative discussions to help our people, our communities, and our world flourish.

Situated a few miles from my home in Holmen is the University of Wisconsin in La Crosse. Matthew, a current student, shared with me how his age group feels significantly at risk of being overlooked with gerrymandered maps. He says, "Here at UW-L we aren't receiving funding to complete phase II of our science center, home to one of our most popular majors. We also aren't receiving funding to update our residence halls which were built in the 1960's."

In 2011, the Republican majority would cut UW's budget by \$250 million, and then go on to secretly draw unfair maps to ensure their own future election victories, which is why cuts to the UW budget remain unchallenged ten years later. Matthew says, "If gerrymandering continues and is used as a political tool it's doubtful UW-L will receive the needed funding and attention to issues we face as a student body. This could further hinder the university's ability to provide the best for its students."

Could it be that the lack of competitiveness drawn into unfair maps will also result in the University of Wisconsin losing its competitive edge? Those seeking election must listen to the robust, diverse, and creative voices of the 164,000 students across our 13 universities if we as a people, as communities, and as a world are to flourish.

With unfair maps, too many voices are lost and everyone loses.

I join with the overwhelming majority of Wisconsin voters who demand fair maps.

Thank you.

Sincerely,  
Lori Toso  
N6779 Amy Dr  
Holmen, WI 54636  
608-399-5450  
loristeege@hotmail.com

Thank you for the opportunity to be heard.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District, drawn by the Republican legislature no longer encompasses Stevens Point or Portage County.

This college town has become a political football over the last 30 years. With Portage County out of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, Republicans have a better crack at getting closer to a veto proof majority. It is wrong.

Prison gerrymandering pads the numbers for rural counties. This means that one can be elected with a smaller number of voters while on paper being as big as its neighbors. *[The population in Assembly District 42, represented by Mr. Hines (R), includes 2,052 prisoners as 3.8% of its population. Of those, the 1,277 prisoners in the Federal Correctional Institution at Oxford are not even necessarily from the state of Wisconsin, or even physically located in the district. **The Census Bureau mistakenly counted the prison in Oxford [Marquette County] even though it is actually 12 miles away in Adams County.**]*

It is not that Republicans are by nature cheaters and liars and hypocrites without a shred of honesty, hell bent on gaining & retaining power by any means. But the fatal flaw is having politicians in charge of maps: It invites and encourages partisan gerrymandering with all the problems associated to that: Namely:

- ❖ Campaigns are more and more expensive as politicians spend more time raising money than fixing our problems.
- ❖ Politics has become a sport for the Rich, and the interests of We the People are not heard. All constituents suffer from being disenfranchised, not just Democrats.
- ❖ Unresponsive politicians enrich themselves with donations while doing very little for their constituents...
- ❖ Our taxes are spent on constant lawsuits, like this latest FRAUDIT and on useless recounts instead of better infrastructure or childcare or Education...
- ❖ Our time is spent on Culture wars, like hating Muslims and their "Sharia Law" but, truth be

told they **offer \*their\* women parental leave.** <https://ph.ucla.edu/news/press-release/2018/feb/paid-family-medical-leave-us-good-families-good-economy>

❖ While we unconstitutionally seek to deny our women control over their own bodies.

So, dear Republicans, your maps will be rejected, and it is only right. They were created behind closed doors, with non disclosure agreements, by experts in map rigging, aided by technology that was not available a few years ago.

Every Wisconsin County that has had a chance to pronounce itself on Fair Maps has agreed, by an overwhelming majority Rs and Ds, Reds and Blues that **they do not want rigged maps.**

So will you finally listen and represent us?

Cécile Stelzer Johnson B.S, MEPD

11831, 80<sup>TH</sup> St. South

Wisconsin Rapids, WI 54494

[\*\*frenchieonspyder@gmail.com\*\*](mailto:frenchieonspyder@gmail.com)

715-325-1930

## WHO AM I?

- JEAN RADTKE, 6750 MAPLE TERRACE, WAUWATOSA, WI 53213, 414-531-3187, [JRADTKE@PHOENIXMGI.COM](mailto:JRADTKE@PHOENIXMGI.COM)
  - RAN A MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS FIRM FOR 40 YEARS
  - AN INDEPENDENT VOTER FOR 20 YEARS
- 

## TESTIMONY ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 2021

TO: SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS, AND  
ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON STATE AFFAIRS

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## WHY AM I HERE?

### TO TESTIFY IN OPPOSITION OF THE LEGISLATURE'S NEW MAPS

1. IF WE DON'T HAVE FAIR MAPS WE WILL LOSE OUR DEMOCRACY
2. I'VE LOST TRUST IN THE GOP.

### STATISTICS:

WISCONSIN IS 42% DEMOCRAT, 42% REPUBLICAN, AND 16% NO LEAN

<https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/state/wisconsin/party-affiliation/>

72% of Wisconsinites want Fair Maps

56 Counties back Fair Maps, 16 not yet passed

<https://www.wisdc.org/reforms/support-fair-voting-maps>

[https://madison.com/ct/opinion/column/dave\\_zweifel/plain-talk-wisconsin-voters-want-fair-maps/article\\_a6aeacc3-bc77-57f2-8e57-f777203415e3.html](https://madison.com/ct/opinion/column/dave_zweifel/plain-talk-wisconsin-voters-want-fair-maps/article_a6aeacc3-bc77-57f2-8e57-f777203415e3.html)

<https://www.wisdc.org/news/commentary/6290-vast-majority-of-wisconsinites-favor-fair-maps>

### WHAT WE WANT FROM OUR GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES:

VOTERS VOTE FOR CANDIDATES THEY BELIEVE WILL DO WHAT'S BEST FOR THEM, WHO WILL REPRESENT THEM, NOT THEIR DONORS.

WHAT I WANT: FAIR AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS IN HEALTH, EDUCATION, CHILD CARE, JOBS, HOUSING, CLIMATE CONTROL AND CLEAN ENERGY, GUN LAWS. WITHOUT THIS, OUR PLANET IS DOOMED. We need to get back to caring about each other and problem solving, and quit focusing on lies, hate and fear.

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## 1. IF WE DON'T HAVE FAIR MAPS WE WILL LOSE OUR DEMOCRACY

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### STAND UP FOR DEMOCRACY and get FAIR MAPS –

the United States exemplifies the varied nature of a constitutional republic (AKA a democratic republic)—a country where some decisions (often local) are made by direct democratic processes, while others (often federal) are made by **democratically elected representatives**. We elect you to represent us, not your donors. As with many large systems, US governance is incompletely described by any single term. It also employs the concept, for instance, of a constitutional democracy in which a court system is involved in matters of jurisprudence.

#### Questions to Wisconsin Legislators:

1. Will you give us FAIR MAPS?
  2. Will you commit to accepting the popular vote – now and in the future?  
If not, how do we ever trust you again?
- 

#### HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE:

**In 2011, the GOP in Wisconsin swept to power and redrew district maps** not in public, in the Wisconsin Capitol, but in a **locked office of the law firm of Michael Best & Friedrich**. The media, the public, Democrats were not let in. Even **Republican legislators** who were not in leadership had to ask to be let in the locked room, and once they got to see their own redrawn districts, they had to **sign an oath of secrecy**. The Republican leadership hired demographic and computer experts with the latest mapping technology to **create rigged maps**. The leadership **rammed the new district maps through the legislature in ten days flat**. **The bill, 2011 Act 43, was then signed into law by Gov. Scott Walker.**

The new maps did what they were designed to do: They ensured that the Republicans grabbed more seats. **In the first election under the plan, Republicans won 60 out of 99 seats in the Assembly despite losing the aggregate statewide vote.**

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## **SUPREME COURT RULING:**

Later, in court, it was an exchange between Justice Sonya Sotomayor, a nominee of President Barack Obama, and then-Wisconsin Solicitor General Misha Tseytlin, who was arguing the case for Republicans.

Sotomayor took issue with the way the maps were drawn and pressed Tseytlin for answers.

Tuesday, Oct. 3, 2017. Shawn Johnson/WPR

"They kept going back to fix the map to make it more gerrymandered," Sotomayor said. "People involved in the process had traditional maps that complied with traditional criteria and then went back and threw out those maps and created some that were more partisan."

"That's correct, your honor," Tseytlin said.

"Why didn't they take one of the earlier maps?" Sotomayor asked.

"Because there was no constitutional requirement that they do," Tseytlin said. "They complied with that state law and they complied with all traditional districting principles."

This in a nutshell is redistricting law. It's where we were when this case was heard, and it's where we are today.

Wisconsin's map, which has been in place for nearly a decade, still stands.

<https://www.wpr.org/mappedout/wisconsin-republicans-map-still-stands-supreme-court-case-could-have-changed-everything>

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## MAPS PROPOSAL BY REPUBLICANS IN CONTROL OF THE LEGISLATURE:

An analysis, produced by a national group called The Campaign Legal Center, showed Republicans would be nearly 100 percent certain to retain their majorities in the Senate and Assembly under these maps and would be heavily favored to win six out of Wisconsin's eight congressional districts.

Republicans already hold a 21-12 majority in the state Senate, a 61-38 majority in the state Assembly and represent five of the state's eight congressional districts.

I submitted my community map to both People's Map's Commission and the Senate Maps Commission related to my Congressional District #5. During the last election, in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, a suburb of Milwaukee County, where I live, I saw nothing but Tom Palzewicz signs for Congress District #5. Not a single sign was in favor of Scott Fitzgerald, yet we got Scott Fitzgerald. This is not who my community wants.

Wisconsin's 5th Congressional District includes Jefferson and Washington counties and parts of Dodge, Milwaukee, Walworth, and Waukesha counties.

- i. "Not surprised to see the gerrymandered Wisconsin legislature produce another extreme gerrymander as their proposal for the next decade," tweeted Ruth Greenwood, director of the Election Law Clinic at Harvard University.
- ii. "These new maps are nothing more than gerrymandering 2.0," Assembly Minority Leader Gordon Hintz (D-Oshkosh) said in a statement. "What Republicans have unveiled is simply a minor retooling of maps that were already found unconstitutional by the courts, using the same corrupt and secretive methods as last time around."
- iii. Wisconsin's most competitive congressional district would be easier for Republicans to win under a political redistricting plan unveiled last week by GOP lawmakers. The plan would also add to Republicans' advantage in state Senate districts outside Milwaukee, according to redistricting analysts.
- iv. The review also shows Republicans would be favored to win six out the state's eight congressional districts, especially WI-03, which is being vacated by retiring Democratic Rep. Ron Kind.
- v. What changes did the **People's Maps Commission** make to its initial drafts? The maps are updated versions of those the commission had released on Sept. 30 as initial drafts. After receiving some feedback from the public, members of the commission narrowed nine draft maps into seven, which they also released Wednesday for more input.
  - a. <https://spectrumnews1.com/wi/milwaukee/politics/2021/10/21/redistricting-in-wisconsin--3-things-to-know-about-new-maps>
  - b. <https://patch.com/wisconsin/waukesha/fitzgerald-vs-palzewicz-wi-5th-house-district-election-results>

- c. <https://www.wpr.org/new-republican-drawn-maps-would-extend-gop-edge-wisconsin-next-decade>
- d. <https://urbanmilwaukee.com/2021/10/25/redistricting-plan-seeks-republicans-gain-of-another-congressional-seat/?fme=5fb59e1e03>

### The Downsides of Gerrymandering

**Gerrymandering allows the elected officials to pick their voters rather than the other way around. It allows a political party that happens to hold the state assembly, the state senate, and the governorship on even-decade years to rig maps to keep themselves in power for another 10 years. It deprives voters of other parties of an equal chance at political power, interfering with their First Amendment and Fourteenth Amendment rights. And fundamentally, it leads to unrepresentative government.**

One major downside of gerrymandering is that it makes more districts more uncompetitive, and as a result, **the elected officials in these districts do not have to be responsive to their constituents who are in the minority.** This, in turn, leads to hyper-partisanship

**When incumbents are in safe districts, they don't need to listen to those constituents who disagree with them.** They can be as dogmatic as they'd like because they won't pay any price for it. As a result, compromise becomes nearly impossible, and even plain old courtesy goes out the window. On top of that, incumbents are threatened within their own parties if they dare to stray from the party line; they are told they will be "primaried" by a candidate who is more in lockstep with the leadership, which will provide a lot of funding for that challenger.

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## Solution

### The "Iowa Model" for Redistricting

Iowa has found an easy and reliable way to achieve fair voting maps. For the past 35 years, career civil servants – and not the leaders of the party in power – have drawn the district maps there, with specific criteria that guard against partisanship and favoritism. It works well there. With some state-specific adjustments, it would work well in Wisconsin, too. Will you commit to doing this?

Senator Dave Hansen of Green Bay and Representative Robyn Vining of Wauwatosa have introduced companion bills to adopt the Iowa Model for Wisconsin: [Senate Bill 288](#) and [Assembly Bill 303](#).

SB288 and AB303 would give us a fair, independent, nonpartisan way to do redistricting. Their bills are co-sponsored by five Republicans: [Rep. Joel Kitchens](#) (R-Sturgeon Bay), [Rep. Jeff Mursau](#) (R-Crivitz), [Rep. Todd Novak](#) (R-Dodgeville), [Rep. Loren Oldenburg](#) (R-Viroqua), and [Rep. Travis Tranel](#) (R-Cuba City). The bills would empower career nonpartisan civil servants at the [Legislative Reference Bureau](#) to draw the maps – and not the politicians.

<https://www.ncsl.org/research/redistricting/the-iowa-model-for-redistricting.aspx>

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## 2. I'VE LOST TRUST IN THE GOP.

a. **GOP supports the Big Lie – The truth is President Biden received 81 million popular votes. Trump only received 74 million, meaning Biden defeated Trump by 7 million.**

- i. <https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/2021/10/20/republican-party-cant-leave-big-lie-why-im-leaving/8527660002/>
  - ii. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/09/13/politics/trump-big-lie-gop-belief/index.html>
  - iii. <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/poll-support-trump-big-lie-defines-republican-politics-n1279062>
  - iv. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/jun/13/republicans-big-lie-us-election-trump>
  - v. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2021/08/09/the-big-money-behind-the-big-lie>
  - vi. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2021/08/09/the-big-money-behind-the-big-lie>
  - vii. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2021/06/republicans-now-bragging-about-being-trump-big-lie-pushers>
  - viii. <https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2021/0928/The-big-lie-loyalty-to-Trump-and-the-defense-of-democracy>
  - ix. <https://www.usatoday.com/restricted/?return=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.usatoday.com%2Fstory%2Fnews%2Fpolitics%2F2021%2F10%2F11%2Fsecretary-state-races-emerge-new-big-lie-battleground-2022%2F5902346001%2F&gnt-tng-s=1>
  - x. <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/10/trump-demands-republicans-solve-the-big-lie.html>
  - xi. <https://abc7chicago.com/wisconsin-audit-news-gop-voter-fraud-republican-2020-election/11162091/>
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- b. **GOP supports Fraudits** - It has been harder than Republicans imagined to undermine the credibility of an **election with the highest turnout in history**. Given how many times **state returns were checked and rechecked**, it was arguably the cleanest in history. Hence, the **difficulty in finding even a shred of evidence to support the unhinged former president's delusion that he won**.

**Though few incidents of voter fraud were found, most were done by Republicans. And, there were 4 (four) cases of voter fraud in Wisconsin out of 3 million voters.**

- i. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/10/14/fraudits-are-flopping/>
  - ii. <https://www.wispolitics.com/2021/kaul-sues-to-bar-gableman-from-enforcing-subpoenas-issued-to-elections-commission-in-20-election-review/>
  - iii. <https://www.businessinsider.com/wisconsin-nonpartisan-election-audit-safe-secure-voter-integrity-fraud-2021-10>
  - iv. <https://www.superiortelegram.com/news/government-and-politics/7253054-Nonpartisan-review-of-Wisconsins-2020-election-finds-no-widespread-fraud>
  - v. <https://abc7chicago.com/wisconsin-audit-news-gop-voter-fraud-republican-2020-election/11162091/>
  - vi. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/10/22/politics/texas-voter-fraud-award/index.html>
  - vii. <https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-elections-wisconsin-presidential-elections-election-2020-fda123341e70119ade5fd7e0bad814bb>
  - viii. <https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2021-09-23/3rd-wisconsin-voter-out-of-3-million-charged-with-fraud>
  - ix. <https://www.wpr.org/it-was-not-rigged-ron-johnson-paul-ryan-push-back-gop-election-fraud-claims>
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**c. GOP supports voter suppression, particularly with minorities** - In the aftermath of the 2020 election, Republican lawmakers **have pushed new voting restrictions in nearly every state**. From making it **harder to cast ballots early** to increasing the frequency of **voter roll purges**, to **reducing poll stations**, to **banning water and food** for those standing in long lines, the GOP has introduced such measures in the name of "**election integrity**." **The truth is they're doing it to support former President Donald Trump's baseless claim that the 2020 election was stolen from him. "We had an election that was amazing in the midst of a pandemic. And instead of applauding themselves for it, they went with a Trumpian lie."**

- i. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-the-republican-push-to-restrict-voting-could-affect-our-elections/>
  - ii. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/apr/07/republican-voter-suppression-policy-stop-the-steal>
  - iii. <https://news.berkeley.edu/2020/09/29/stacking-the-deck-how-the-gop-works-to-suppress-minority-voting/>
  - iv. <https://www.vox.com/22463490/voting-rights-democracy-texas-georgia-suppression-jim-crow-supreme-court-sb7>
  - v. <https://www.npr.org/2018/10/23/659784277/republican-voter-suppression-efforts-are-targeting-minorities-journalist-says>
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d. The GOP is anti-democracy.

I didn't march in the 1960's for women's rights and civil rights for nothing. You cannot take away our right to vote, nor do you have the right to overturn elections.

Between January 1 and the end of September, at least 19 states had enacted 33 bills that made it more difficult to vote, [according to the Brennan Center for Justice](#).

Independent Senator Angus King stated:

"The United States of America is an anomaly in world history. We are a two-hundred-and-forty-five year old experiment in self-government which is based upon an idea which was radical in 1776, was tested at Gettysburg, Antietam, Shiloh, and The Wilderness, was defended at Anzio, Iwo Jima, and Normandy, and was codified in 1965— an idea that the people—all the people—are the ultimate source of power and can govern themselves through their elected representatives."

"Given the consistent history of this experience, it's clear that our experiment is fragile, that what we have and take for granted is in no way guaranteed. As has been the case with democratic experiments throughout history, it can fail—rarely from external attack, almost always from erosion from within."

- i. [https://www.king.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/we-are-at-a-hinge-of-history\\_senator-king-delivers-impassioned-speech-on-the-senate-floor-urging-action-to-defend-voting-rights](https://www.king.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/we-are-at-a-hinge-of-history_senator-king-delivers-impassioned-speech-on-the-senate-floor-urging-action-to-defend-voting-rights)
- ii. <https://newrepublic.com/article/164104/angus-king-voting-rights-filibuster>
- iii. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2021-06-23/republican-party-anti-democratic-faction>
- iv. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/05/17/republicans-are-sprinting-away-democracy/>
- v. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/06/06/six-point-plan-stop-republicans-anti-democratic-moves/>
- vi. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/22274429/republicans-anti-democracy-13-charts>

- e. **The GOP relies on right-wing propaganda (Fox News, OANN and NewsMax) and Dark Money, often Russian.**

**A study covering 1997 to 2002, when Fox News was still being rolled out across the country, compared members of Congress in districts where Fox News was available to members in districts where it wasn't, specifically examining how frequently they voted along party lines.**

**The state lobbying efforts feature deep-pocketed conservative bastions such as the American Legislative Exchange Council (Alec), Heritage Action, FreedomWorks and the State Policy Network, a loose-knit group of rightwing thinktanks, a number of which have received grants from the donor network led by the billionaire oilman Charles Koch and the Bradley Foundation. Other influential players pushing stricter voting laws include the Honest Elections Project and the Opportunity Solutions Project.**

**The right's lobbying tactics range from providing state legislators with model bills to paying for Facebook ads in many states that have included dubious information about some of the bills.**

**In 2015-16, everything changed. Blavatnik's political contributions soared and made a hard right turn as he pumped \$6.35 million into GOP political action committees, with millions of dollars going to top Republican leaders including Sens. Mitch McConnell, Marco Rubio and Lindsey Graham.**

**Blavatnik contributed \$1.1 million to Unintimidated PAC, associated with Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, via Access Industries.**

**Data by Wisconsin Democracy Campaign (WDC) on the state's top 20 individual donors and on the list was the Russia-connected business man, Leonard Blavatnik, of New York City, who gave \$100,000 to the state Republican Party in August 2018, at a time when the party was controlled by Gov. Scott Walker. Walker had earlier received \$1.75 million for his run for president from Blavatnik's company Access Industries.**

**The Russian asset National Rifle Association has been illegally coordinating with Republican senators' campaigns, according to a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission.**

**The nonprofit and nonpartisan organization Campaign Legal Center has filed an FEC complaint alleging the NRA's coordination with Republican Sen. Ron Johnson of Wisconsin in the 2016 campaign through a shell corporation called Starboard, which illegally funneled potentially millions from the NRA in in-kind contributions. "There is substantial evidence that the NRA funneled millions through a shell corporation to unlawfully coordinate with candidates it was backing," Brendan Fischer, director of federal reform at the CLC, said. "The NRA using inside information about a candidate's strategy to create 'independent' ads supporting him creates an unfair advantage and it violates the law."**

- xxii. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2018/05/08/how-putin-s-oligarchs-funneled-millions-into-gop-campaigns/>
  - xxiii. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/two-gop-operatives-one-pardoned-by-trump-indicted-in-campaign-finance-scheme-involving-russian-national/2021/09/20/19d2a0c6-1a68-11ec-a99a-5fea2b2da34b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/two-gop-operatives-one-pardoned-by-trump-indicted-in-campaign-finance-scheme-involving-russian-national/2021/09/20/19d2a0c6-1a68-11ec-a99a-5fea2b2da34b_story.html)
  - xxiv. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2018/12/17/464235/following-the-money/>
  - xxv. <https://urbanmilwaukee.com/2019/02/12/back-in-the-news-walker-and-the-russian-connection/>
  - xxvi. <https://shepherdexpress.com/news/taking-liberties/hidden-coronavirus-tax-cut-benefits-sen-johnson-and-trump/?fbclid=IwAR1GRVT9WEELSYS8mpGtzeyGdHMmZf71WFBAkxbBR-fTi1rHPvwuHowF-28#.XrAn4MPbAIU.facebook>
  - xxvii. <https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2019/9/30/1889009/-Republicans-Ron-Johnson-Cory-Gardner-Thom-Tillis-allegedly-got-illegal-NRA-help-in-2014-2016>
  - xxviii. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/senator-seeks-documents-on-russia-money-links-to-the-nra>
  - xxix. <https://www.alternet.org/2019/10/gop-sens-ron-johnson-and-marsha-blackburn-are-tied-to-russian-money-and-trump-conspiracy-theories-theyre-not-alone/>
  - xxx. <https://washingtonmonthly.com/2020/08/14/is-senator-johnson-acting-as-putins-useful-idiot/>
  - xxxi. <https://www.natlawreview.com/article/why-does-it-matter-if-nra-used-russian-money-to-help-donald-trump-s-election>
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- f. **The GOP is okay with violence during the January 6, 2021 insurrection and lying about Covid-19.**

**Jan. 6 Protest Organizers Say They Participated in ‘Dozens’ of Planning Meetings With Members of Congress and White House Staff - and received a “blanket pardon” promise from the Oval Office - Hunter Walker, October 24, 2021**

**Multiple members of Congress were intimately involved in planning Trump’s efforts to overturn his election loss and the violent Jan. 6 events. They interacted with members of Trump’s team, including former White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, who they describe as having had an opportunity to prevent the violence. They also helped plan a series of demonstrations that took place in multiple states. Multiple people associated with the March and Stop the Steal events communicated with members of Congress throughout this process. Along with Marjorie Greene, the pair both say the members who participated in these conversations or had top staffers join in included Rep. Paul Gosar (R-Ariz.), Rep. Lauren Boebert (R-Colo.), Rep. Mo Brooks (R-Ala.), Rep. Madison Cawthorn (R-N.C.), Rep. Andy Biggs (R-Ariz.), and Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas).**

**Senator Ron Johnson pushes Hydroxychloroquine**

**45.5 MILLION CASES IN U.S., 738,000 Deaths in U.S.**

**5X as many Republicans are dying of Covid-19 as Democrats.**

**The conservative majority on the [Wisconsin Supreme Court](#) [overturns](#) an emergency public health order in the middle of a pandemic — even as new COVID cases rise. [Writing](#) for the majority, Justice [Brian Hagedorn](#) acknowledges that the virus is “dangerous” and has “taken far too many lives,” but the important issue, he writes — bolstered by two separate amicus briefs from the Republican-controlled Wisconsin Legislature — is that “the power to end and to refuse to extend a state of emergency resides with the legislature even when the underlying occurrence creating the emergency remains a threat.”**

**Great for the Legislature. Too bad for you and me.**

- i. <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/exclusive-jan-6-organizers-met-congress-white-house-1245289/>
- ii. <https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2021/10/20/2059267/-Jim-Jordan-and-Matt-Gaetz-ride-to-Steve-Bannon-s-defense-and-get-so-so-roasted?detail=emaildkbow>
- iii. <https://twitter.com/i/status/1450871802675306500>
- iv. <https://twitter.com/i/status/1450880470753886211>
- v. <https://urbanmilwaukee.com/2020/05/05/murphys-law-did-trump-ron-johnson-endanger-lives/>
- vi. <https://urbanmilwaukee.com/2021/04/01/op-ed-wisconsin-needs-fair-maps/>

- vii. [https://www.google.com/search?q=deaths+from+covid+in+us&rlz=1C1HLDY\\_enUS760US760&oq=DEA&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i57j46i433i512i3j69i60i3.6732j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8](https://www.google.com/search?q=deaths+from+covid+in+us&rlz=1C1HLDY_enUS760US760&oq=DEA&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i57j46i433i512i3j69i60i3.6732j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8)
- viii. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/27/briefing/covid-red-states-vaccinations.html>
- ix. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/07/29/covid-19-is-crushing-red-states-why-isnt-trump-turning-his-rallies-into-mass-vaccination-sites/>
- x. [https://news.yahoo.com/covid-cases-deaths-notably-worse-035707646.html?guccounter=1&guce\\_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xiLmNvbS8&guce\\_referrer\\_sig=AQAAAN1qWhCaTq0iSmXXyvT3u9ok5NDAPDT\\_21ml6TPxNKezxV1FQ55BbnesT9ZYLp1qWQn7oTDqsNT7c3VoRKOWHkXhSostyDgqMdWSnkB776x02BBvvS-tJri4em2JXDH\\_f1w9SDOj8yZitSsCxbAL5lnpk0b8JISMODuxzvaVhrhR](https://news.yahoo.com/covid-cases-deaths-notably-worse-035707646.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xiLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAN1qWhCaTq0iSmXXyvT3u9ok5NDAPDT_21ml6TPxNKezxV1FQ55BbnesT9ZYLp1qWQn7oTDqsNT7c3VoRKOWHkXhSostyDgqMdWSnkB776x02BBvvS-tJri4em2JXDH_f1w9SDOj8yZitSsCxbAL5lnpk0b8JISMODuxzvaVhrhR)
- xi. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/09/21/conservatives-are-dying-own-libs-can-anyone-use-that-logic-get-them-vaccinated/>

My October 2020 testimony (last two minutes of video) -  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5J6l5Pnm1s8>

#### SUMMARY

And, after his 30,000+ lies, insurrection, two impeachments, tax fraud, bank fraud, insurance fraud, foundation frauds, and sexual assault charges, the GOP still chooses to fear Trump.

To quote Boston lawyer Joseph Welch at a session on June 9, 1954, after McCarthy charged that one of Welch's attorneys had ties to a Communist organization ... As an amazed television audience looked on, Welch responded with the immortal lines that ultimately ended McCarthy's career:

"Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness." When McCarthy tried to continue his attack, Welch angrily interrupted, "Let us not assassinate this lad further, senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency?"

## Legislative Failure to Provide for Wisconsin's Children

Testimony by Janine C. Edwards, PhD  
Address: 6767 Frank L. Wright Ave. #101  
Middleton, WI 53562

*Janine C. Edwards*  
*10/28/20*

I write in opposition to SB 621/622 because these voting district maps are gerrymandered to hold Republicans in the majority in the state legislature for the next ten years. I request that the legislature pass AB 395 and SB 389, which would enact a nonpartisan process for drawing the maps.

The maps presented in SB 621 /622 hew as closely as possible to the 2011 gerrymandered maps. The negative results of the 2011 gerrymandered maps that placed Republicans in the majority are in plain view. Public schools are a case in point. The Republican- led legislature passed a budget for 2022-23 with \$128 million for K-12 schools. This gave no increase to any aspect of school funding. The legislators relied on using the federal COVID -19 funds to supplant state funds. Then, forced by the distinct possibility of losing federal funds of \$3.1 billion, the legislature approved \$400 million, which was a slight of hand. That additional money does not improve school funding. Because of the revenue limits, that money lowers property taxes. In terms of increases in K-12 public education funding between 2010 and 2018, **Wisconsin now ranks 49<sup>th</sup> out of 50 states.**

Yet, the state has a surplus of \$2.58 billion and a rainy day fund of \$1.73 billion. Education for the children of Wisconsin is a sure investment for the future of our state. Failure to adequately fund public education is a failure that will deprive future generations of Wisconsinites the opportunities that America, in the past, has offered.

Republican legislators are acting on the ideology of decreasing the size of government. They do this at the behest of corporate owners, who want no taxes and no restraints on their greed to hold power. Gerrymandering the 2021 voting districts is a major strategy for seizing power, corrupting democracy.

Good morning. I'm Jordan Ellenberg, the John D. MacArthur Professor of Mathematics at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, speaking here not as a representative of the University but as a Wisconsin resident and voter. I have written extensively on the mathematical aspects of redistricting, in professional journals (The Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society), in major publications (the New York Times, Slate), and in a 70-page chapter in a best-selling book published this year. My focus has particularly been on maps for the Wisconsin Assembly, since this is where I live and vote and where I know the political landscape best.

This background enables me to state with complete confidence that the map proposed by the Legislature, like the one previously enacted by Act 43 ten years ago, is an egregious gerrymander, designed to ensure Republican control of the Assembly majority even if the people of Wisconsin definitively oppose it. I speak today to ask legislators to withdraw this map.

This is a long hearing, so I'll be brief. Here is what we know.

1. There are many ways to divide Wisconsin into 99 districts that comply with federal and state law; among these, a small fraction drastically favor one or the other of the two major parties. It is possible to draw maps which provide extreme bias in favor of one party which also have "nicely-shaped" districts; gerrymandering is not typically visible to the naked eye. Modern computational techniques make gerrymandering both more powerful and harder to detect than it was in the 20th century. Maps can now be drawn in a politically balanced state like Wisconsin that offer one party a near-certain monopoly on the legislative majority.

2. The current Assembly maps, as we know from testimony at the time, were drawn with exactly this purpose, and with great success. Between 2016 and 2018, voting patterns in Wisconsin shifted drastically from Republicans to Democrats, with Democratic candidates winning every statewide race; but the composition of the Assembly remained almost unchanged, the balance of power changing from 64-35 to 63-35. This is the power of the gerrymandered map, ensuring that meaningful changes of course on the part of the electorate aren't reflected by meaningful shifts in the composition of the Assembly.

3. Some people have argued that the current imbalance in the Assembly in this politically balanced state is due to "natural political geography," the fact that many Democratic votes are concentrated in areas in Milwaukee and Dane County, including 14 districts where Republicans draw less than 25% of the vote; by contrast, there are no Assembly districts in the entire state where Democrats get less than 25% of the vote. This does indeed give Republicans an advantage in the race for the Assembly majority even when the popular vote is evenly split. But we can measure how large this advantage is. The Princeton Gerrymandering Project produced 1,000,000 randomly selected Assembly maps, all compliant with federal and state law, drawn by a computer without any partisan bias. The majority of these maps, 57% of them, had either 46, 47, or 48 districts projected to have more Democratic than Republican voters. That is: under conditions of overall political parity in this state, Republicans are quite likely to hold a modest majority of 51-53 Assembly seats.

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4. The proposed map, by contrast, yields 60 districts projected to go Republican. That is what's called, in statistics, an "extreme outlier." Only 39 of the 1,000,000 maps produced by the Princeton Gerrymandering Project had this many Republican seats, and none had more. The proposed map squeezes every possible ounce of Republican advantage out of the power to redistrict. It is not in any way "natural" -- it is engineered to preserve a Republican majority in the Assembly even when Democrats win the state by a sizable margin, and to bring Republicans within reach of the 66 votes in the Assembly needed to override a governor's veto.

To sum up: the map proposed by the legislature is designed to break the fundamental bond of accountability between our Assembly and the people its duty is to represent. This kind of map, drawn by legislators with the intent, not to gather together natural political communities with common interests, not to represent the will of the people, but to preserve one party's leadership in a comfortable seat of power, flies in the face of Wisconsin's good-government tradition. Legislators, you know what this map is, and everybody knows that you know. Is this the way we want our state to be governed?

I believe that most legislators, including most Republicans, want to win their seats and their fight for a legislative majority fair and square, not on a slanted playing field. That's certainly what the people of Wisconsin want. 56 of 72 Wisconsin's counties, including both rural and urban areas, Democratic counties and Republican ones, have passed resolutions asking that our maps be drawn by a non-partisan body. The current law of Wisconsin doesn't require us to do this. But it doesn't stop us from doing it, either. As a Wisconsin voter and as someone who's spent a lot of time studying the corrosive effect of gerrymandering, by both parties, in Wisconsin and around the country, I ask the legislature not to pass this bill, and commit to joining with the governor in enacting a nonpartisan district map.

Remarks at 10/28/21 Legislative Hearing – SB621/622

Deborah Patel / River Hills (AD24) / [deborah.j.patel@gmail.com](mailto:deborah.j.patel@gmail.com) / 414.807.4233

When I was in kindergarten I cheated on a test and I got caught. I ran all the way home, tears in my eyes, and told my mother I was a copy kitten. Cheating in kindergarten was one of the smartest things I ever did. I have never knowingly cheated again. As the saying goes, everything you need to learn you learn in kindergarten.

My father was a federal law enforcement officer who taught me to revere America's institutions, the flags in this room, and the republic for which those flags stand. What does it mean to live in a republic? It means every member of this Legislature derives their **just** powers – moral powers -- from the consent of the governed.<sup>1</sup>

It means we choose you. We have the freedom to vote and to have those votes matter, to have a say in the things that affect our lives. But when our votes don't matter, we have not consented and your power is unjust. Unfair. Wrong.<sup>2</sup>

Ten years ago the party bosses that control this Legislature rigged our maps so our votes would not matter. They pledged allegiance to their party instead of these flags. That was wrong.

I co-lead North Shore Fair Maps and am part of the Wisconsin Map Assessment Project - WIMAP. Did you know ordinary citizens have analyzed your maps? Well we did. We released some of our findings yesterday, along with a YouTube video. Your old and your new maps are rigged for partisan advantage. We the People proved it.<sup>3</sup>

What lesson did your bosses not learn in kindergarten?

Where does your moral allegiance lie?

Your party bosses have drunk deep from the well of power and now they lust for more. Power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Please do not drink from the cup your bosses offer. Honor these flags. Drink from the well of moral courage. It may taste bitter but will serve you better. History will judge you better. Your maker will judge you better. As God is my witness, you will be judged.

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<sup>1</sup> Wisconsin Constitution Section I opens with this sentence: "All people are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; to secure these rights, governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

<https://docs.legis.wisconsin.gov/constitution/wi/000226/000002>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.thesaurus.com/browse/unjust>.

<sup>3</sup> <https://northshorefairmaps.com/maps-matter-your-districts-for-a-decade/>

## Listen to your Employer

My name is Terry Schoonover. I live in the 92nd Assembly District of Wisconsin, just south of Alma, along the coast of western Wisconsin.

Why would I give up a day of bow hunting to spend a day in committee at the capitol? What can I say in 2 or 3 minutes that will sway you to support the maps created by The People's Maps Commission (PMC)?

Well, in conservative Buffalo County where I live, 68% of the **TOTAL** voters (Republicans and Democrats) passed the Fair Maps Referendum last April. The vast majority of voters in our state want Fair Maps! Yet here we are, imploring you to hear us.

I have no doubt that many of you believe the best thing you can do for Wisconsin democracy is to insure more Republican legislators get elected. The new maps in SB 621/AB 624 will certainly do that. Maybe that's why they received an overall grade of "F" by the Princeton Gerrymandering Project.

The Project's overall grade for the PMC's maps are an "A" and for good reason. I saw firsthand how inclusive and transparent their process was. I testified at one of their District Hearings. Their maps were created **AFTER** hearing from citizens, and revised (based on feedback) to make them better. It will be interesting to see how much your maps change after today's testimony.

10 years ago Republicans in our state legislature rigged the electoral maps in their favor behind closed doors. Democrats rig maps too, based on current lawsuits in neighboring Illinois. We should be able to agree that gerrymandering hurts Republicans, Democrats, and most importantly ... our democracy.

My state representative, on multiple occasions, refused to meet with or talk to me about my concerns on gerrymandering, or to at least explain his position. I don't know if he's being told to ignore the issue by his leadership, or just doesn't care. I don't expect us to agree on every issue, but he was elected to represent everyone in our district. What harm is there in discussing Fair Maps? And that's the rub ... legislators in this state are no longer accountable to their constituents when they have no possibility of being voted out of office. That's what your maps encourage.

I'm not naive. I know you will pass these two bills, regardless of what the majority of voters want. I know Governor Evers will veto them. Why not pass PMC's grade "A" maps, and save us all the wasted time and money?

47 years ago I was selected to represent Loyal High School (near Marshfield) at Badger Boys State in Ripon. That was quite an honor. In the mid-seventies, Wisconsin's government was envied, considered one of the best in the country. Now we're known for having the worst gerrymandered maps in the nation. That is embarrassing.

Thank you for having a public hearing this time around, and for allowing me this opportunity. I hope you hear today what the majority of your constituents are telling you. Stop lamenting how partisan politics has become. Fix the problem ... pass the People's Maps Commission maps.

October 28, 2021

Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and Consumer Protection

Hello, I'm Mark Scheffler, lifelong resident of Wisconsin, current resident and taxpayer in the City of Appleton. I'm a successful business owner – my firm has created more than \$100 million of economic impact in my community, I'm an avid outdoorsman, an active volunteer and non-profit board member, and I am a declared candidate for Wisconsin State Senate.

Like you, I love this State and its people. All of them, Democrat and Republican – doesn't matter to me in the least. We all share a love for this state, for the nation, and for the democratic institutions that we rely on to objectively serve us.

I have carefully studied the new legislative maps drawn by Republicans and proposed for the Assembly, the State Senate, and for the U.S. House of Representatives. While I strongly oppose these maps, I will not raise the issues that so many others who you have heard or will hear from today have voiced - I won't raise concerns about not involving Democratic colleagues in the process, I won't speak about the easily measured unbalanced outcomes, nor will I even mention the surgical precision that you have exacted to draw maps that make more than 90% of future races uncompetitive.

I rise today to say simply that there is a better way forward.

You see a legislative map does two things: it allows voters to choose their representatives, and it simultaneously allocates legislative power to that elected representative. In a healthy democracy, if a party wins 52% of the statewide total vote in the Assembly, for example, that party would rightly earn 52% of the legislative power. No more, and no less. That's what an efficient and fair map would do. The party that wins elections in any year should control that body, and the power allocated should exactly equal that granted to them by the voters.

Your proposed maps do not accomplish this most basic tenant of democratic governance. Frankly, it is folly to expect that any map drawn by either party or by an independent commission could. And here's why:

People allocate power. Maps do not. And a hearing like this should be used to explore innovative ways to perfectly balance that legislative power – accurately, objectively, and consistently. I join you today to start a conversation about taking innovative steps to protect Democratic voters from Republican Party gerrymandering, and to simultaneously protect Republican voters from future Democratic party gerrymandering.

I support a weighted voting system for the Assembly and the State Senate, a bold and innovative reform which would separate the act of electing a representative from the act of allocating power. Weighted voting adjusts the power of a vote cast by an Assembly Representative or a State Senator so that no party would have more power than that granted to them by the voters

regardless of how many seats any party controls. This system fixes gerrymandering overnight, it perfectly takes power derived from the voters and allocates it to winning candidates. It is based on fifth grade math, it has already been deemed constitutional by numerous courts and it perfectly protects the idea of “one person – one vote.”

A weighted voting system would end the partisan bickering forever, it would alleviate Chairman Stobel’s argument made last week that non-partisan boards are an impossibility – I happen to agree – and it would alleviate Governor Evers’ and Assembly Democrats’ concern that these proposed maps give Republicans a massively unfair and un-American advantage, with which I also agree.

But the best argument for adopting a weighted voting system is simply this: it proves to all of the voters in the State of Wisconsin that our leaders are truly looking out for them, for the voters and taxpayers of this State – all of them. It would prove to the voters that elections really do matter again, it would force our leaders to share and promote bold solutions to this universal problem, and it would show the rest of the Nation what the Wisconsin idea can really do.

It’s time to move away from maps as a way of allocating power, and toward a system in which the will of the voters is respected above the will of either party.

Thank you.

Mark Scheffler  
522 E Pacific Street  
Appleton, WI 54911

Testimony at Hearing on proposed redistricting maps October 28, 2021

In Opposition

John Henderson  
W4723 Pine Ct  
Elkhorn, WI 53121

State Assembly District 32  
State Senate District 11

I am a lifelong (75 years) resident of Walworth County, a very conservative area of Wisconsin.

Why I object:

1. Republicans and Democrats have Gerrymandered voting districts for many years but it needs to become a non-partisan function now and end the back and forth that wastes time & money in the effort to suppress the votes of many.

2. Why would you pass this knowing it will be vetoed wasting more time and taxpayer money fighting in court.

3. You are supposed to be representing all the constituents in your district of all persuasions.

4. Currently over 87% of Wisconsin voters want to end Gerrymandering and 56 of the 72 counties in Wisconsin are on record in favor of banning gerrymandering and giving us independent, nonpartisan redistricting.

What to do:

1. With new census and current technology it will be easy to have fair maps drawn so whoever is running can do so on their merits.

2. Follow Iowa, another strong conservative state, that has done this already.

In Closing:

I have been a Rotarian for 52 years serving my community and the world. Rotary is in more countries and territories than McDonalds! This is a non-political and non-religious organization with high ethics at its core. Rotary's 4-Way Test of the things we think say and do is one that I hope you will take to heart in your decision.

1. Is it the Truth?
2. Is it Fair to All Concerned?
3. Will it Build Good Will and Better Friendships?
4. Will it Be Beneficial to All Concerned?

I oppose the redistricting Senate Bills (621 & 622) and Assembly Bills (624 & 625).

I live in beautiful Port Washington in Ozaukee County, Senate District 20 and Assembly District 60.

I oppose these redistricting bills not only because their maps received an F grade for significant partisan gerrymandering from the Princeton Gerrymandering Project, but because these bills propose maps that are – as planned -- a repeat of the 2011 maps, which were also judged to be partisan gerrymandered in federal court and by metrics of redistricting experts.

Not once in the past 10 years have I heard either of my state representatives deny that the 2011 maps gave a significant advantage to their own political party. Not once have I heard a defense of why partisan gerrymandering is good for their constituents much less good for the people of WI.

“Maintaining political subdivisions”, as stated in the State Constitution, must not have been important in 2011 when little Ozaukee County –where I live -- was split into 3 Assembly districts and 2 Senate districts, all with a Republican advantage. The lack of willingness to face constituents and opponents became apparent in 2018 when I tried to organize candidate forums, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, for the 3 Assembly Districts that cross Ozaukee County. All had opponents in the general election. However, the incumbents, all Republican, refused to participate in the forum for a multitude of reasons, mainly because they would only participate as a bloc -- all together in one forum rather than each facing his own opponent in their District. It didn't matter to them if they were speaking to their own constituents or not. This is not how voters are informed nor how a representative republic should work, in my opinion. It is what happens when partisan gerrymandering gives incumbents no reason to face constituent questions alongside an opponent.

I just learned recently that my Assembly district, #60, served as an example of partisan gerrymandering in 2012 court testimony by redistricting expert Dr. Ken Mayer, “They could have left the 60th Assembly District in Ozaukee County largely alone because it was underpopulated by just 10 people. Instead, they . . . moved 719 times as many people as was necessary”.<sup>1</sup>

How revealing that in the 2021 proposed Assembly map in Ozaukee County there are still 3 voting districts. However, District 23, which was won by a Democrat in 2020, was significantly re-drawn to give her only a small piece of Ozaukee County. The remainder of the old District 23 was attached to District 24, becoming a contorted shape but with a Republican advantage.

Public Hearing on SB 621 / AB 624 and SB 622 / AB 625: Legislative and Congressional Redistricting  
October 28, 2021, Madison, WI

Testimony of Louise Mollinger, 424 W Grand Ave, #2, Port Washington, WI 53074

The most personal example of the unresponsiveness of my representatives led up to the 2021 biennial budget process. I had been working for several years with a statewide organization on the issue of improving behavioral health access for Wisconsinites with hearing loss. This is a very personal issue for my family. Several years ago, when I wanted to talk directly with my Senator, I had to travel to Madison to talk with Senate staff. The issue subsequently went nowhere with the senator's office. But our working group went back to the drawing board, and, refined our request for the 2021 budget. Letters, phone calls, and testimony at the Joint Finance Committee never got me a phone call or meeting with my Senator, and, this budget item never made it into the budget.

Many of us who are fortunate enough to live close to Lake Michigan are also concerned about the health of our Great Lakes, but this doesn't seem to be open for discussion from our representatives who in this last budget supported significant underfunding of the Knowles-Nelson Stewardship Program.

I oppose these bills because I've felt the impact of partisan gerrymandering: unresponsive representatives; non-competitive districts, and unwillingness of representatives to work within duly elected divided government. We currently have taxpayer funded governance by lawsuit. The new maps assure that this will continue through the next decade.

To me this whole process since 2011 to the present has not been a good civics lesson for our kids, and they are watching.

[<sup>1</sup> September 27, 2021. Patrick Marley. *Republicans say they want few redistricting changes, but a decade ago they moved millions of voters into new districts.* Accessed October 5, 2021 at:

<https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/2021/09/27/wisconsin-gop-wants-few-redistricting-changes-after-moving-millions-voters/5885010001/> ]



October 28, 2021

**RE: Assembly Bills 624 & 625 and Senate Bills 621 & 622 – legislative and congressional districting**

Chairs Swearingen and Stroebel, Members of the Committees, thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony and speak in opposition to Assembly Bills 624 & 625 and Senate Bills 621 & 622.

**Wisconsin Farmers Union believes citizens' democratic right to vote is diminished and voter turnout is reduced when voters do not get to vote on competitive races or have meaningful choices at the polls.**

We are proud to be “Farmers for Fair Maps.”

**Wisconsin Farmers Union supports the creation of a nonpartisan entity to perform all future redistricting for city, county, state and federal offices in the state of Wisconsin.**

Such a commission should conduct redistricting according to logical geographical and jurisdictional boundaries, striving to keep communities of interest intact.

**The aforementioned bills do the exact opposite: they appear to be a continuation of Wisconsin's highly-partisan, biased maps, and we cannot support them as written.**

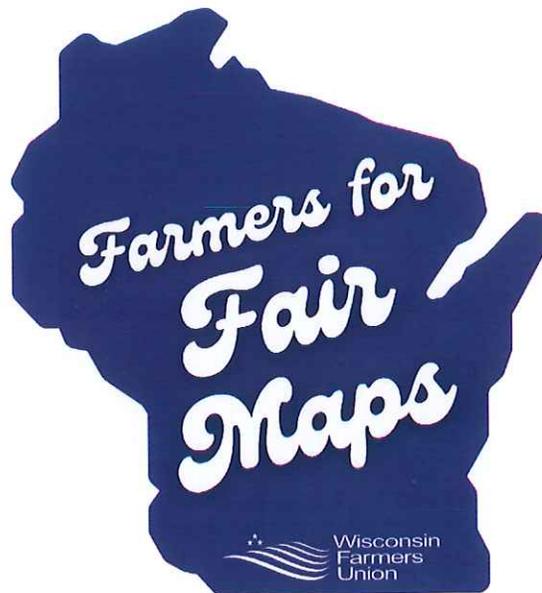
### **The Problem with Gerrymandering**

- **VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT** — Wisconsin's current district maps were ruled unconstitutional by a federal court in 2016 because they unfairly dilute the votes of over half of the state's citizens, violating the First Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. **We should empower voters to participate in the democratic process by preserving our right to open and accountable elections.**
- **UNCOMPETITIVE RACES** — In competitive districts, candidates and elected officials have an obligation to respond to the needs of their constituents. In the November 2018 general election, 33 of the 99 state Assembly races featured candidates who ran unopposed. In the state Senate, only six races were decided by fewer than 10 percentage points. **In order for democracy to thrive, voters must have a real choice when they go to the polls.**
- **EXTREME PARTISANSHIP** — Most Wisconsinites want members of the Legislature to work across party lines. Unfortunately, our legislative districts are drawn to be “safe” for one party or the other, favoring extreme partisanship. **Nonpartisan redistricting would result in more mixed districts where moderate views prevail.**
- **VOTER AND CANDIDATE CONFUSION** — Voters and elected officials alike count on town halls, county fairs, and other local events to meet one another. When districts are carved up, constituents struggle to know whether they're talking to the right legislator, and candidates struggle to know whether they're talking to one of their

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constituents. **Fair maps would cut the confusion and lead to more robust dialogue between elected officials and voters.**

- **UNNECESSARY EXPENSE** — Partisan political maps have resulted in expensive court battles at taxpayer expense. Rather than drawing fair, nonpartisan districts, the state has spent over \$4 million to defend the current gerrymandered maps. **Taxpayer dollars should be used for public needs like roads, schools, internet infrastructure, and clean water, not to defend political battles the majority of citizens do not support.**

### **Solutions to the Problem**

- **GIVE A PUBLIC HEARING TO AND PASS THE FAIR MAPS BILLS (SB 389 and AB 395)**
  - The Fair Maps Bill creates a fair and transparent process for all future legislative and congressional redistricting plans in Wisconsin. The bill directs the nonpartisan Legislative Reference Bureau to draw redistricting plans and establishes a citizen-led Redistricting Advisory Commission to have an impartial role in developing new electoral maps. **These bills have not been granted a hearing since their introduction in June, while Assembly Bills 624 & 625 and Senate Bills 621 & 622 have been fast-tracked.**
- **STOP SPENDING TAXPAYER MONEY TO DEFEND GERRYMANDERED LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS**
  - There is no justification for spending taxpayer money to oppose fair legislative districts. **Voters want the legislature to spend tax dollars on roads, schools, internet infrastructure, and clean water — not costly legal battles over redistricting.**
- **STOP MAKING THIS A PARTISAN ISSUE**
  - Although Republicans were in power for the previous redistricting and now Democrats are calling for reform, the opposite is true in Illinois. In their last redistricting in 2010-2011, Democrats gerrymandered the state to their advantage and Republicans are now calling for redistricting by an independent commission. **Both parties will continue to use this to their own advantage until it is given over to a nonpartisan commission, and both parties will eventually suffer unless something is changed.**

Wisconsin citizens overwhelmingly support a nonpartisan redistricting process. In fact, **56 counties, representing over 80% of Wisconsin residents, have passed resolutions urging legislators to support nonpartisan redistricting reform. 32 counties have held referenda on nonpartisan redistricting reform and all passed with an average of 70% of the vote.**

To ignore this overwhelming support for nonpartisan redistricting is to ignore the will of the people.

Thank you for the opportunity to present Wisconsin Farmers Union's views on this very important issue.

Nick Levendofsky  
WFU Government Relations Director  
[nick@wisconsinfarmersunion.com](mailto:nick@wisconsinfarmersunion.com)

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October 28, 2021

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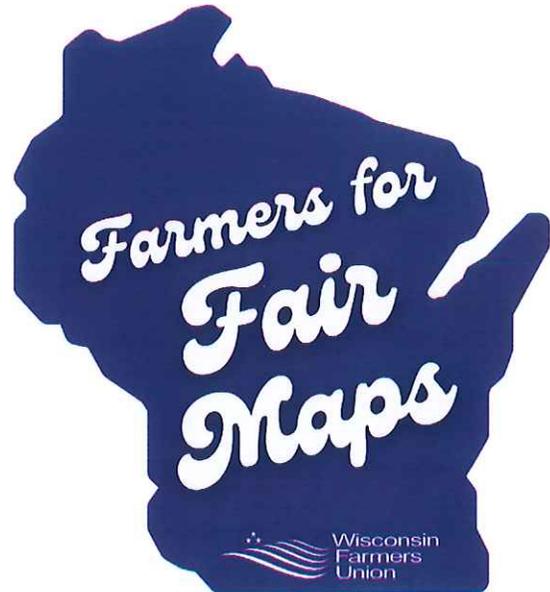
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Joint Hearing regarding AB 624 & SB 621

Thursday, October 28, 2021

Hello all, my name is Rob Haskins. I live in and love Milwaukee and want badly to be proud to call Wisconsin home, since this is where I grew up. But let's just say that extreme gerrymandering makes that harder.

I'm going to get right into this. I like things in life to be fair, without cheating or trying to achieve unjust advantage, fair; and gerrymandering is not fair. What is gerrymandering? Wisconsin-GOP-Mandering, excuse me, gerrymandering, is a practice intended to establish an unfair political advantage for a particular party or group by manipulating the boundaries of electoral districts. And when I say a particular party or group I think we all know that in this state, I mean Republicans.

As of right now, Republicans make up 21 out of 33 state senate seats, 61 out of 99 state assembly seats, and represent 5 out of 8 state congressional districts. Yet, their statewide vote totals are nowhere near that. They lost the popular vote in 2018 for legislature while dropping every statewide contest. While they carried the legislative popular vote last year it's largely because Democrats wouldn't even run in many seats. Oh, and by the way, the Republicans also lost the statewide election for President fair and square. Let's put things into perspective with numbers, in 2012 Democrats got a majority of the state assembly vote with 53% while only getting 39 out of 99 seats. Republicans took 47% of the vote yet they took home a whopping 60 out of 99 state assembly seats. I sit and think to myself how fair is this? In 2016 Dems got 47% of the vote and got 35 seats while Republicans got 53% of the vote and got 64 out of 99 state assembly seats. Do they feel they don't have a chance on an even playing field?

My question is why? Why does the Wisconsin GOP feel the need to have this advantage, do they feel they are outnumbered?

We see what's going on and we are fed up. These Scott Walker like tactics have to go just like he did. Every map presented from the GOP is a complete disadvantage for fairness. Analysts know, we know, and you know.

With that being said, we are not asking for you all to do anything but give us a fair chance at democracy. Gerrymandering is in fact a threat to democracy. It's a clear cut and drawn advantage that the people don't agree with. My team and I have entered maps that seem to be a lot fairer that we would like you all to take into consideration when making these maps and cutting districts. Please save our elections, because we need fair maps now.

Thank you.

Robert Haskins  
3216 N. 7<sup>th</sup> Street  
Milwaukee, WI 53212



Joint Hearing regarding AB 624 & SB 621

Thursday, October 28, 2021

Good Morning,

My name is Calena Roberts, I reside in Milwaukee, WI. For years I have fought against various civil rights injustices, today I stand before you doing the same. Many people say that Wisconsin's political geography favors Republicans, but voters like me say otherwise. WI has voted Democrat for 8 of 9 presidential elections back to 1988, (and I have voted in all of them, now I'm dating myself) and it's voted Democrat in all the partisan statewide races in the 2018 and 2020 cycles. Yes, Republicans have had successes but it's been even at most.

The will of the people is tied or slightly leans to the Democratic side. There is absolutely no reason, none whatsoever, that maps must favor Republicans, unless you are saying some voters deserve more of a say than others.

When you say that Democrats in urban areas like Kenosha, Milwaukee, Madison, Racine, Beloit or Green Bay should get less representation than voters in West Bend or Walworth County, what are you really saying? What's different about most voters in Milwaukee vs. voters in West Bend?

The answer is obvious, you are simply saying that black and brown voters should have less of a say than white voters. You can dress it up all you want, you can blame it on geography, you can pretend that it's about the concern of having super-majority minority districts in Milwaukee, but believe me, we the people can see right through that. We see it in voter suppression and we see it in gerrymandering.

You don't want me to vote and if I do vote you don't want my vote to count as much as yours, **shame on you**. The game is up, Wisconsin's gerrymandering looks like a racist ploy, and regardless of its stated intent, it must end now.

I thank you for your time and would like to leave you with this; **"A democracy cannot thrive where power remains unchecked and justice is reserved for a select few. Ignoring these cries and failing to respond, is simply not an option-for peace cannot exist where justice is not served."** (The late Congressman John Lewis)

Calena Roberts  
8832 W. Potomac Avenue  
Milwaukee, WI 53225

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Calena Roberts'. The signature is fluid and cursive, written over the printed name and address.



Joint Hearing regarding AB 624 & SB 621

Thursday, October 28, 2021

My name is Stephanie Johnson. I work as the deputy field director for a Wisconsin based healthcare workers organization, SEIU, and have been a homecare worker myself for the past 4 years. I have lived in Milwaukee, Wisconsin for most of my life, but also lived in Appleton, Wisconsin for a couple of those years.

Many - if not most of the people I speak with as an organizer, are a lot like me. That means, many are working women and men, many are black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American and white but what unites us is that we are from working families and we are too often overlooked by government at the state level.

We see some leaders trying to make progress - like when our Federal Government approved the \$300/month child tax credits and stimulus payments to help people through the pandemic. Now they are engaged in a robust debate over how to address infrastructure and long-term care needs. Closer to home, we need more responsiveness. While we can see our Governor doing his level best to squeeze every dollar he can into education and healthcare, we see our legislature blocking him at every turn and ignoring public health advice to control the pandemic's spread.

It's as if our legislature doesn't listen to us because they simply don't think they need to listen. They are comfortable because they think they can draw lines to allow them to ignore black, brown and white working families wherever they are in the state.

I come here today to let the committee - and anyone else watching - know that you are on notice: No longer can you ignore the will of the people and think we won't care.

Our field campaign has been running social media spots on redistricting for a couple of weeks and has already collected over 1,062 petitions from every corner of our state. We have heard from folks like Martin in Middleton, Sandra in Waterford, Cheri in Chippewa Falls, and Cynthia in Milwaukee.

We all agree that no matter our race, income or zip code, we deserve to have fair representation and the only way to ensure that happens is to draw fair redistricting maps. As I said before, we are all races and all gender expressions. We are from all parts of the state from the banks of the Mississippi to the shores of Lakes Superior and Michigan, and even down to the toll plazas by the Illinois border. We're sick and tired of gerrymandering the maps to rig our elections. The people should pick their leaders, not the other way round!

Stephanie Johnson  
5640 N. 34<sup>th</sup> Street  
Milwaukee, WI 53209

## TESTIMONY ON SB261

I'm Cheryl Maranto. I co-lead North Shore Fair Maps, a nonpartisan group of citizens working to educate ourselves and our neighbors about the intricacies of redistricting. Our team is centered in the North Shore suburbs of Milwaukee. I am also part of WIMap, a group of citizens from Western Wisconsin and across the state, who used DRA 2020, a free districting software, to analyze the SB 261 map and all 30 statewide assembly maps submitted to either the Peoples' Maps Commission or the Draw Your District websites.

In the Milwaukee North Shore, two Assembly districts, 23 and 24, had become competitive by 2020, despite the 2011 gerrymander. When in 2020 a Democrat slayed the gerrymander in District 23, your map makers let it go, so that you could grab some Republican voters from 23 to pack in AD 24.

You took two competitive districts and made one reliably red and one reliably blue.

These changes illustrate the blatant partisan gerrymander accomplished with these maps. WIMap's analysis found that the SB 261 map achieved the WORST PARTISAN FAIRNESS SCORES OF ALL 30 MAPS that were submitted to either website. It also achieved the worst scores on compactness, a statutory requirement.

Whether a safe district is red or blue, it creates the same problem. It makes our "representatives" less accountable to us, shuts down compromise, and enhances the power of the party bosses. It's why our communities so often don't get what they need.

We know what it's like to have our voices ignored in uncompetitive districts – we've lived it for 10 years. We do not seek partisan advantage. We just want a level playing field that allows for the competition of ideas to inform the policies that impact our lives. Do the right thing: reject these grossly unfair maps.

Cheryl L. Maranto, 6563 N Crestwood Drive, Glendale, WI

My name is Bruce Jamison and I am a Dane County resident. I oppose AB 624 and SB 621.

As a citizen I don't have time to keep up with all that happens in the process of governing the State of Wisconsin. I have selected legislators in the State Assembly and State Senate to represent my point of view. On rare occasions I feel the need to be sure my view is accurately represented. That is why I spent the day to be here.

Today we are talking about how I go about the important task of selecting my legislators. It turns out I really don't have a choice. My district is packed with voters who generally agree with my opinions. There is no serious opposition from candidates who try to get my vote. This is the result of maps created in 2011 that are widely seen to be among the most gerrymandered in the country.

I may strongly object to a position my legislator takes, but they don't have to listen or moderate their position because they don't need my vote. The lack of competition for my vote allows elected officials to take extreme positions. There is no motivation to discuss and compromise with those who hold different views.

A fair, transparent, and nonpartisan process for districting in Wisconsin would create the competitive elections needed to encourage responsive Government. The maps proposed in AB 624 and SB 621 simply keep the rigged maps of 2011 in place. Wisconsin should look to Iowa as a model for creating fair maps that lead to competitive elections.

Bruce Jamison  
916 Magdeline Drive  
Madison, WI 53704

Oct 28, 2021

My name is Ellen Magee.

I am a resident of N. Madison

I oppose these district lines and bills.

In 2011 district lines were drawn to favor Republican candidates - thus the ~~rise of Robin Vos~~ and the ongoing ~~state of the current~~ Republican vice-grip on our state government.

According to a recent analysis by Princeton ~~entity~~, the Republican ~~district~~ proposals for 2021 maps is a dismal failure ~~as far as~~ giving unfair advantage to one party.

We have seen the obvious effects of a single party manipulating voting districts to favor themselves. It distorts the voting power of <sup>SOME</sup> voters to unfair advantage. The voice of the <sup>SOME</sup> People is missing - that is not democracy.

There are <sup>computerized</sup> working models we could use as in IOWA. We also have a highly acclaimed, <sup>non-partisan</sup> People's map specific to WI.

As our representatives, I expect and demand that you abide by the rules of fair democracy. Ensure a fair redistricting process this year. We need a working state government.

The most heartbreaking thing I've heard today is the support for Tammy Baldwin - who's efforts to

Income Height or hood by Trux Field aren't habitable.



Testimony in Opposition to SB 625 & AB 624 and SB 622 & AB 625  
Jennifer Giegerich, Government Affairs Director  
October 28, 2021

Good morning. I am Jennifer Giegerich, Government Affairs Director for Wisconsin Conservation Voters. We have offices in Madison, Milwaukee, La Crosse, and Green Bay, where we work with our network of over 40,000 members and supporters to engage voters to protect our environment. We work in close partnership with many local conservation groups around the state. Thank you for this opportunity to testify on SB 621 & AB 624 and SB 622 & AB 625.

We urge members of the committee to reject this legislation as it undermines a functioning a democracy that benefits all Wisconsinites. Fair legislative or congressional maps would reflect the competitive nature of the state, and keep communities of interest together as much as possible.

Competitive districts are healthy for our democracy – no matter where on the political spectrum you sit. Competitive districts means competitive ideas and that means innovation. With one party and one slate of ideas installed permanently by an imbalanced system, Wisconsin is doomed to a future in which innovation and progress is victim to ideology over impact.

Analysis of these legislative maps by Craig Gilbert compares Wisconsin Assembly districts over the last decade with the decade before and found that the odds of an Assembly seat changing hands in a given election plummeted from about 1-in-10 during the 2000s to less than 1-in-50 during the 2010s.

The lack of competitive districts doesn't just benefit one party over the other, it also reduces the ability of individual members to be able to advocate for their district's interests because it consolidates power, not just in one party, but more specifically, one party's leadership.

For example, last session, several Republican legislators noted that there were significant threats to drinking water in their district due to nitrate contamination. The Speaker announced a Task Force to address this issue with legislators across the state. This Task Force went around the state soliciting public comments from the public and experts. Not only did they hear of significant need to address nitrate in drinking water, but also other concerns like PFAS, lead, and mining waste. Task force members heard that people are

suffering because they don't have clean drinking water in their own homes. But, when it came time to announce their legislation, for the most part, the Speaker's Task Force on Water Quality had inadequate legislation on things that didn't even begin to address the problems task force members heard about from their constituents. In some cases, they actually *undermined* clean water protections – exactly the opposite of what they heard from people desperate for safe drinking water.

The legislation reflected what legislative leadership wanted to draft, not what people in those impacted areas need and had asked for. The bottom line? When the vast majority of legislators are sitting in safe districts, they have no reason to listen to their constituents, but every reason to follow the directives from legislative leadership. That is not democracy. On top of that, while the Assembly was able to pass this dramatically scaled down package, the Senate didn't want to take them up.

So, at the end of the day, despite a clear desire by people to have their legislators address documented threats to their drinking water in their communities, the chokehold on the legislative pipeline by leadership kept any meaningful legislation from being passed. And, that has a direct impact on communities in Republican and Democratic districts.

This is just one specific policy example from last session. But, there are so many others. When we say we want the legislative and congressional maps that are "fair," we don't mean for one political party or another. We mean representation that is fair to the people living in those districts and ensures that issues that they bring to their elected officials, whether they are of the same party or not, will be addressed and debated by the full body. A more-than 'fair' chance that their lives can be improved.

We urge members of the committee to oppose SB 625 & AB 624 and SB 622 & AB 625.

Thank you.

###

*Wisconsin Conservation Voters is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to encouraging lawmakers to champion conservation policies that effectively protect Wisconsin's public health and natural resources. For more information, contact Government Affairs Director Jennifer Giegerich at [jennifer@conservationvoters.org](mailto:jennifer@conservationvoters.org) or 608-208-1130.*

Thank you for holding this public hearing. My name is Michael Nichols and I am from Barron, Wisconsin. Like some on this committee, I, too, attend UW-Madison studying Real Estate and Economics. I am here to speak about why I am against these proposed legislative and congressional voting district maps. These proposed maps have a profound impact on the youth of our state. Like me, many of us care deeply about the survival of our planet and value transparency in our leaders.

I first became interested in the impacts of redistricting on legislation through my frustration with the lack of governmental leadership regarding climate change. I didn't understand why Wisconsin wasn't working to find solutions and provide opportunities for us to protect our planet. I soon learned that this issue, like many others, is not addressed in our government due to a toxic political climate produced by gerrymandering and the lack of accountability to us, the people of Wisconsin, to address the issues that concern us, like climate change and environmental degradation.

Two years ago, it was easy for me to picture a well-functioning government where all representatives do what is best for the health of our state, but since learning about how citizens are being taken advantage of, I cannot say that I have the same hope and optimism. But this doesn't mean I won't try to make an impact. I started at my local level, where I led citizens and spoke at the city council about Gerrymandering. Like many other municipalities and counties in our state, Barron's citizens clearly expressed their desire for nonpartisan maps that are made in a transparent fashion. Sadly, these proposed maps do not recognize the will of the people. Today, as I speak to you all, I am persevering and trying to make an impact because I recognize the impact you all have on the future of our state.

Unfortunately, gerrymandering isn't illegal, but politicians using citizens as pawns for political gain is most certainly a violation of ethical principles. Choosing to employ maps that are designed unethically and divide our state will only sow more seeds of doubt in government into the minds of others like me: the future of Wisconsin. Thank you.

To the members of the Senate Committee on Governmental Operations and the Assembly Committee on State Affairs regarding AB624, AB625, SB621, SB622, AB395, SB389

How would most voters answer the question of whether they live in a state governed by democracy? Are we governed by the will of the people? Unfortunately, the real answer is that the state of Wisconsin has been governed for a decade by extremely gerrymandered district maps that favor Republicans. In this era when so much data is available on voters, and computer software can draw district lines that accurately predict the outcome of elections in most districts, the district maps are doing the governing. In the 2018 Assembly election, 54% voted for a Democrat to represent them, but only 36% of the Assembly seats were won by Democrats. The people voted and the partisan district maps won the election and control of the Assembly. In the 2020 election, voters showed their preference for Democrats in all the statewide races, where partisan district maps cannot skew the results, but Republicans won 61 of 99 Assembly seats. Again the maps won the Wisconsin Legislature.

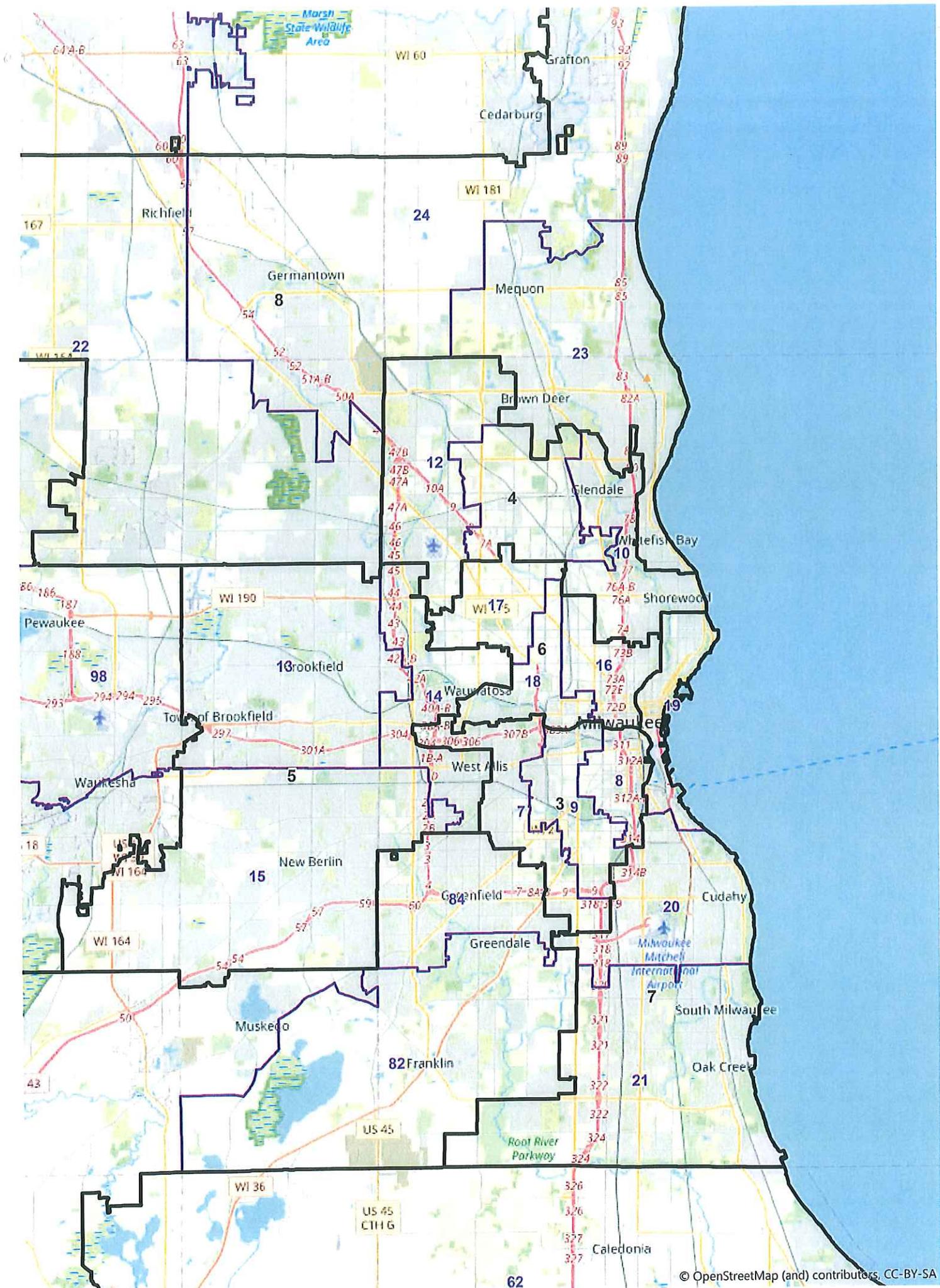
Now the Republican-controlled Legislature is proposing maps that the Campaign Legal Center and the Princeton Gerrymandering Project have analyzed and determined would favor Republican candidates even more. The Legislature is proposing maps for this decade in bills AB624 & 625 and SB 621 & 622. I strongly oppose these bills and I oppose allowing the people who were elected by partisan maps to remain in control of drawing the new district maps. I support AB395 and SB389 which would create new non-partisan procedures for drawing district lines.

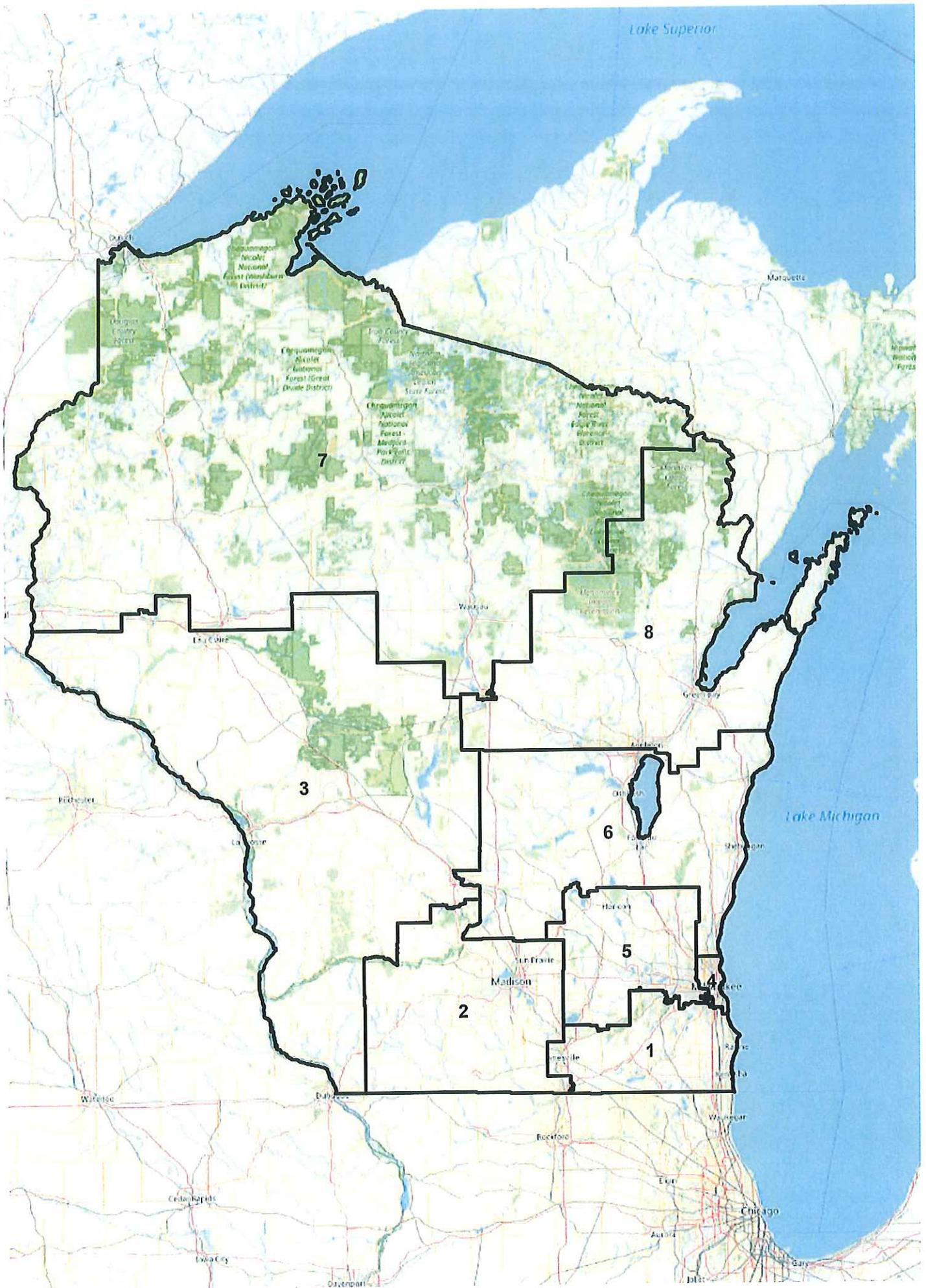
Republicans Sen. Stroebel and Rep. Swearingen have refused to hold any hearings on the bills that would create non-partisan procedures for redistricting. They are ignoring the Marquette Law School poll that shows 72% of Wisconsinites, and even 63% of Wisconsin Republican voters, favor non-partisan redistricting. They are ignoring that 55 out of 72 Wisconsin counties have passed resolutions favoring non-partisan procedures. This is but one example of the legislature ignoring what the people of Wisconsin want.

A Marquette Law School poll in 2019 shows that 62% of Wisconsin voters favored accepting Medicaid expansion, only 25% opposed, and 80% favored a universal background check on gun purchases, but the legislature ignores what the voters of our state want. The website [We-The-Irrelevant.com](http://We-The-Irrelevant.com) documents the results of open records requests to legislators on citizen contacts concerning ten different bills promoted by Republican leadership from 2015-2019. Careful counting of those messages from citizens shows only one district where the messages to legislators opposing the legislation was less than 73%. Despite a total of 651,456 messages to legislators showing extremely high opposition to these ten bills, most of them passed. Even when voters made the effort to write or call their legislators, their wishes were ignored.

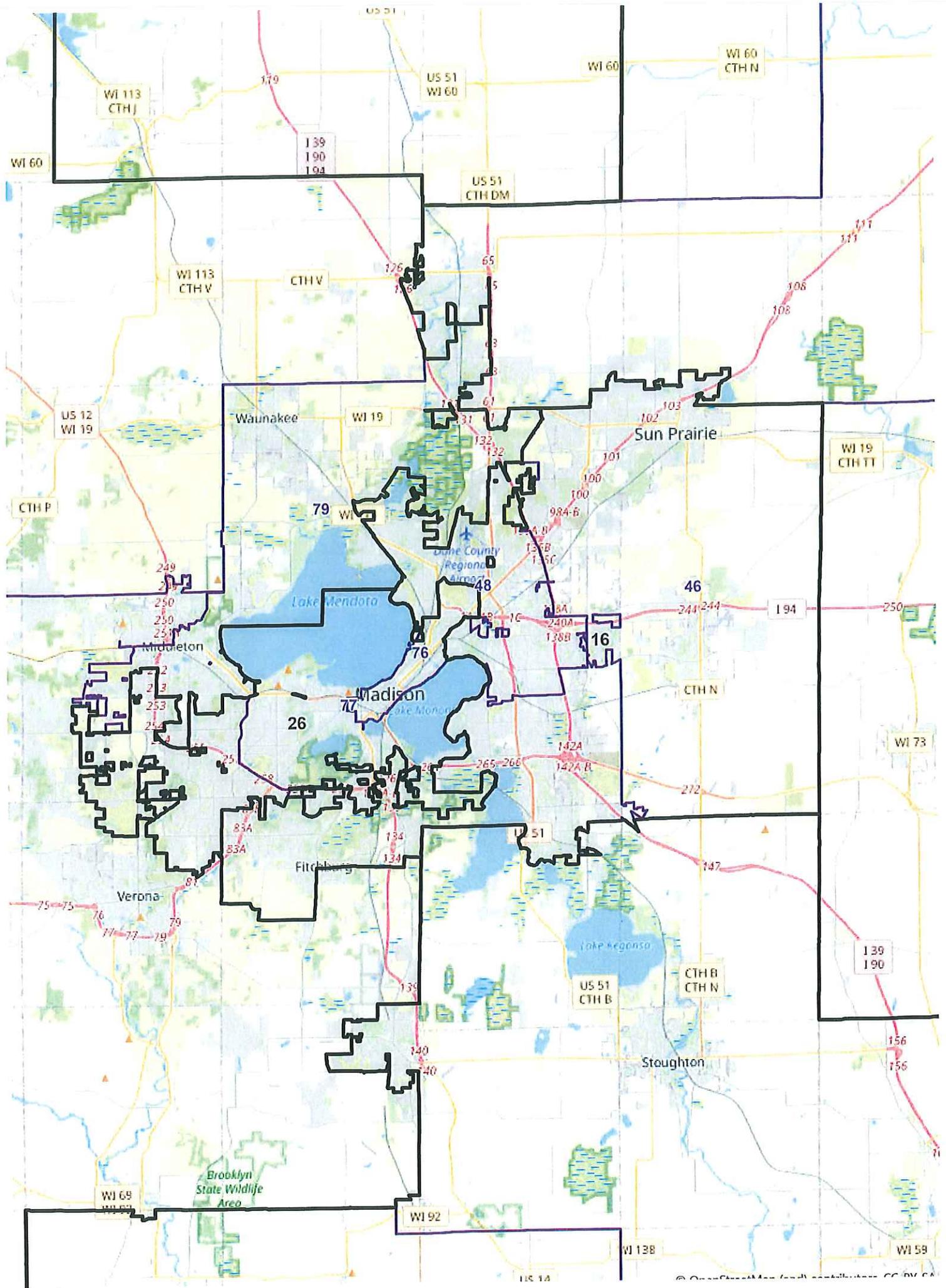
So far the courts have not helped. There are court cases pending in both state and federal courts, but if it is like 2011, those cases will cost the people of our state millions, but will not resolve the problem. I call on voters who have habitually voted Republican to vote for democracy rather than the partisans who plan to use gerrymandering to keep a stranglehold on the legislature that is not representing what the people of our state want and need.

Submitted by  
Rebecca L. Alwin  
1422 N. Westfield Rd.  
Middleton, WI 53562









WI 113  
CTH J

US 51  
WI 60

WI 60  
CTH N

WI 60

US 51  
CTH DM

WI 113  
CTH V

CTH V

US 12  
WI 19

Waunakee

WI 19

Sun Prairie

WI 19  
CTH TT

CTH P

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Dane County  
Regional  
Airport

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Fitchburg

Verona

Lake Kegonsa

Stoughton

WI 69

Brooklyn  
State Wildlife  
Area

WI 92

WI 138

WI 59

US 14

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Senate Committee on Government Services, Legal Review and Consumer Protection  
Testimony on SB621/622  
Assembly Committee on State Affairs  
Testimony on AB624/625

October 28, 2021

Good Afternoon Chairpersons Stroebel and Swearingen, and Committee Members,

My name is Ann Muenster and I live in a part of Appleton which is part of Assembly District 56. I've lived in Wisconsin my entire life.

As a child, my parents and teachers taught me to "play fair." I wonder whose face or voice you see or hear when you remember who taught you about fair play? Maybe it was your parents, a coach or someone at your church.

As an adult, I taught Speech & Language and Early Childhood-Special Education. While learning about fairness, my preschoolers found it much easier for them to identify the absence of fairness, often expressed by "That's not fair."

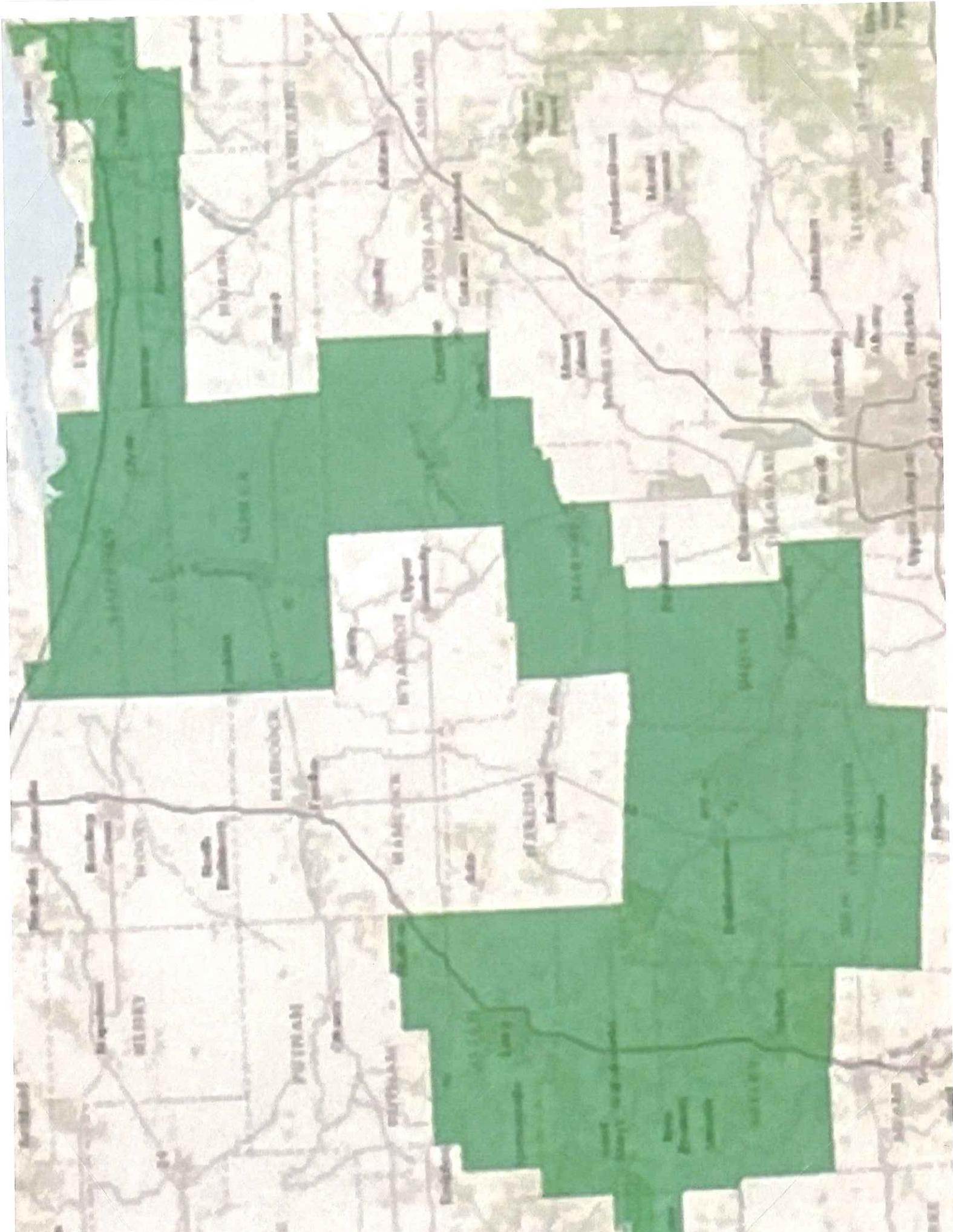
This brings me to the proposed legislative maps. Quite simply, they're not fair, and they're wrong for Wisconsin. Here is a current map of Assembly District 56. It's easy to see why I call it the Pac Man district, as it curves and closes in, around 55 and 57. The gerrymandering of my district and our state is even more blatant in the proposed maps, as you've already heard from others.

Over 70% of Wisconsinites, both Republicans and Democrats, have made it clear. We want a non-partisan process for creating voting districts. Politicians drew these proposed maps, and they gave their party an unfair advantage. No matter which party does it, it's wrong.

Gerrymandering has resulted in a disregard for the will of the people. Thinking of all my past students and of today's students, the vast majority of Wisconsinites want adequate funding for our public schools and a substantial increase in the reimbursement rate for special education services, but our voices have gone unanswered. Gerrymandering eliminates any need for accountability to the voters.

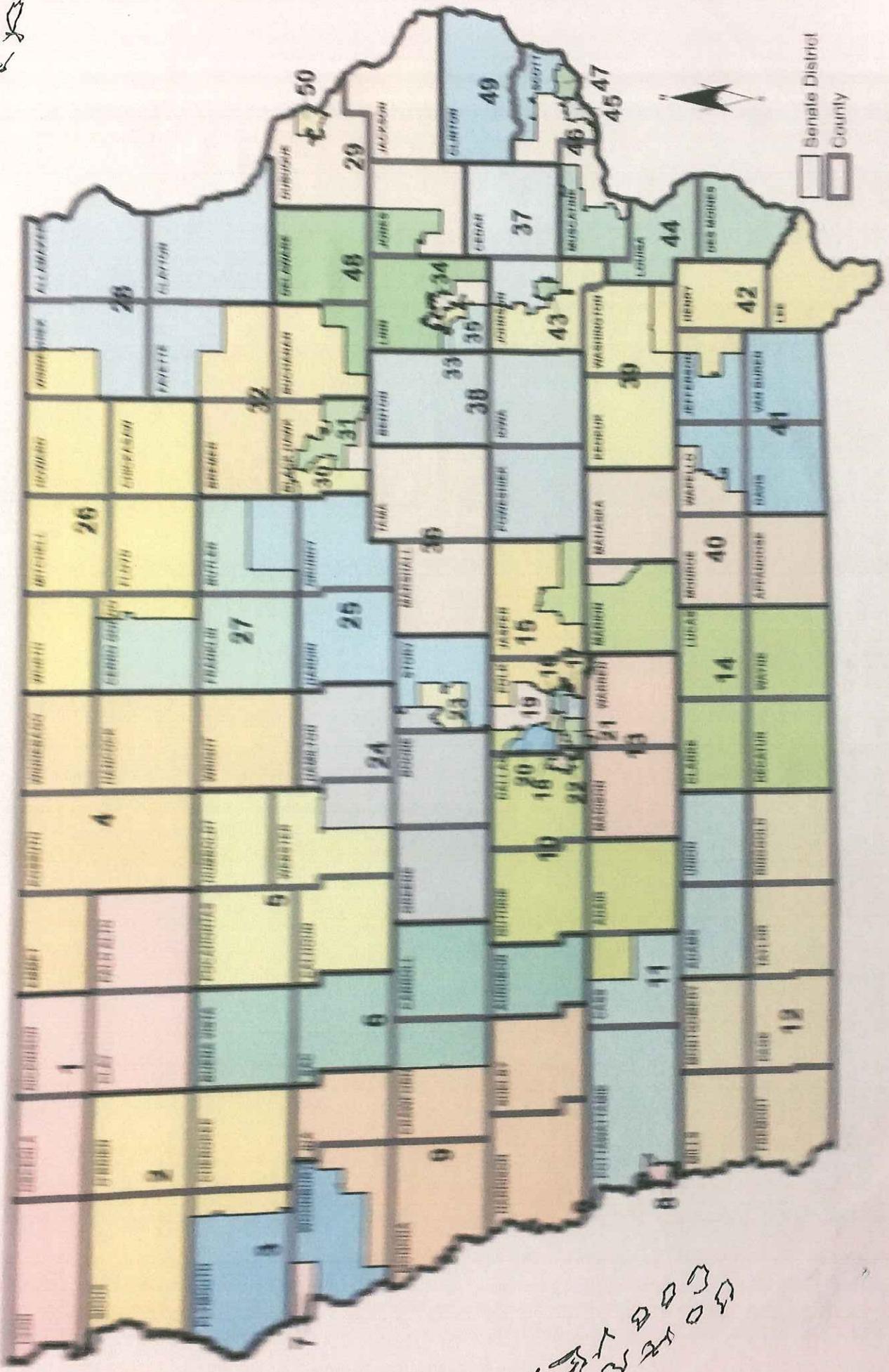
Please, play fair. Reject these gerrymandered maps and introduce fair maps. Give us fair representation and responsive government. Thank you.

Ann Muenster  
3528 Hillsborough Drive  
Appleton, WI  
920-277-9792



# IOWA SENATE DISTRICTS

Effective Beginning with the Elections in 2012 for the 85th General Assembly



*Handwritten notes:*  
 1-2  
 3-4  
 5-6  
 7-8  
 9-10

*Handwritten notes:*  
 11-12  
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Senate Committee on Government Services, Legal Review and Consumer Protection  
Testimony on SB621/622  
Assembly Committee on State Affairs  
Testimony on AB624/625

October 28, 2021

Good Afternoon Chairpersons Stroebel and Swearingen, and Committee Members, my name is Grace Quinn and I live in district 3 on Menominee land, also known as Appleton, Wisconsin. I am here today as a young person to urge you to adopt SB389 and AB395 and reject the recently drawn maps, as they are heavily gerrymandered and are a gross disrespect to our democracy,

Gerrymandering allows our policymakers to be comfortable and play to their own interests, rather the interests of their constituents. This partisanship and polarization created by gerrymandering strays us away from being able to have those uncomfortable, controversial, and yet so necessary conversations. One of which being, climate change. It is no secret that our earth is burning and it would be naive to think that Wisconsinites are immune to the effects. Farmers' crops are drying up and dying and they are losing their livelihood. There are children in Milwaukee that are exposed to daily hazardous air pollutants. The beloved hobby of fishing is in danger as the population of walleye and perch decline. In my own district, D3, there are people who are receiving dirty and polluted water from

broken septic systems. But this isn't being addressed, as my representative lives comfortably in the urbanized pocket packed into my district.

As a young person, I am terrified for my future and the state of our democracy.

These maps are going to shape lives and communities for the next decade. Within this upcoming decade, we are facing the looming threat of climate change. Recent reports show that how we address the climate crisis in the next few years are going to set us on course for what our future will look like in the coming centuries.

Wisconsin needs to start addressing the crisis at hand. But how do we get there if gerrymandering isn't even allowing for these conversions to be had or heard?

We are living in a unique era of transformation for our economy, social justice, and most importantly, our environment. All of which your constituents have a stake in. Your constituents have opinions, they have ideas, values, wants, and needs. But the current maps silence our voices and our vote because our current maps ensure the politicians will hold their seats election after election, no matter what they say or what they do. The maps should represent the interest of the people, not the politicians.

## Redistricting testimony Thursday October 28<sup>th</sup> 2021

My name is Sally Huntington. I currently live in Appleton, Wisconsin formerly lived in Green Bay, La Crosse, Black Creek & Janesville & I grew up in Rural Shawano County. What do these areas all have in common? All of them experienced massive changes in their voting districts in 2010. Many lost seats and a voice at the state level because of this. Each is its unique community with concerns and priorities that may often differ. That's why it's so important that each of these communities are fairly represented at the state legislative level.

I live in Assembly District 56 that includes Winneconne, Hortonville, Greenville, takes in the Northern part of the city of Appleton and includes a large rural area north of my home. The North Appleton & Grand Chute areas are growing rapidly, and this new suburban area was deliberately gerrymandered back in 2010 by the Republican led legislature.

The new maps you introduce are not thoughtfully designed and were drawn to keep an unfair majority in the legislature. If you are a Democrat living in a Red district do not expect your legislature to give you the time of day. Instead expect them to pursue dog whistle legislation instead of addressing the infrastructure improvements we need, funding for our schools and actual issues like gun violence, water quality, affordable childcare, and jobs instead of spending money on pointless audits of our elections. You passed a law banning trans students from sports, are blocking the teaching of actual history in our schools & introducing laws that make it harder to vote. How does this improve lives in our state? Single party rule is not what Wisconsin needs. We need more democracy and non-partisan debate over issues that will enhance the lives of our citizens. The best ideas are generated with an open mind and when we listen to divergent views, not by blocking them.

So you took a short cut and cut and pasted the current maps that were rated as unconstitutional and simply enlarged a few areas. You refuse to even consider the alternative maps presented by the Fair Maps commission or those presented by concerned citizens. The citizens of this state support an end to partisan Gerrymandering. Why are you afraid of this? Both rural and urban citizens of this state appreciate fair play, honesty and hard work. Wisconsin was once a beacon of progressive thinking, with a superior education system, great roads and a strong vibrant economy. That's the state I loved and I want it back.

Sincerely,

Sally Huntington

1100 W Ridgeview Drive

Appleton, WI 54914

[Sallyp56@msn.com](mailto:Sallyp56@msn.com)

**Testimony for Joint Legislative Hearing on the new District Maps put forward by the Legislature, Thursday October 28<sup>th</sup> 2021, Rm.412E, Wisconsin State Capitol, beginning 9am**

Thank you for this opportunity. Please vote down SB621 & SB622.

My name is Ellen Ochs. I live in Menomonie, in Senate District 10, Assembly District 29.

Twenty-one years ago my family's small business needed help when a required floorplan was mislaid in Madison – couldn't open our pharmacy next morning without approval of it! I had met my state senator, and in desperation contacted her. She had me fax the plan to her office, to be walked over to its destination. So grateful! Would I get such prompt help now?

Now I'm a Co-President of the League of Women Voters- Greater Chippewa Valley, a nonpartisan, political organization, - I know that combination will make you smile! We don't support or oppose any candidate, but believe in informed and active participation in government. We help beginners register to vote and we hold public candidate forums so voters can see and hear candidates.

The pandemic taught us to do forums virtually. But we notice this job is getting harder. In the fall of 2020, the minority candidates all agreed to participate, but not one of the majority party, whether incumbent or novice, would agree to take part. Some ignored us entirely, and some were endlessly evasive about possible dates. We were polite, enthusiastic, persistent - to no avail. All of our forums had to be cancelled. This unanimity can't be accidental. Other Leagues have experienced it too.

When the maps are as unfair as the 2011 maps, or today's version, our legislators don't have to care about us. You don't have to come home to meet with the unimportant people.



REPRESENTATIVE  
**SYLVIA ORTIZ-VELEZ**  
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 8

Rob Swearingen  
Chair, Committee on State Affairs  
2 E. Main St. Madison, WI  
53703

My name is Representative Ortiz-Velez and I represent the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly District located in Milwaukee on the near Southside which encompasses the Latino Community of Milwaukee. I have reviewed the maps before us and I wish to make the following observations. Under this Map, District 8 has a total Hispanic population of 69.42% and a Voting Age population of 65.9%. District 9's total Hispanic population is 58.34% and a VAP of 52.96%. District 7 has a 24.23% total Hispanic Population and Voting Age Population of 19.86%. Finally, Senate District 3 has a total Hispanic population of 50.53% and VAP of 45.13%. I want to say firstly that I agree with these percentages of Total Population and Voting population in creating two Majority Hispanic Assembly Districts and one influence district. Any percentages lower than this would not be acceptable under the *Baldus V. Brennan* 2012 court ruling. Due to the voting behavior of the Latino Community, I contend that you must keep these three Assembly Districts together to give the Latino Community an opportunity to elect the Senator of their choice.

In *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the Supreme Court reviewed these factors in clarifying the test for a vote dilution claim. The court held that a successful claim requires showing that: 1) The effected minority group is sufficiently large enough to elect a representative of its choice; 2) The minority group is politically cohesive; 3) White majority voters vote in sufficient numbers to usually defeat the minority group's preferred candidates. I believe the current legislative map of District 8 is a serious violation of section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, on account of white majority voters defeating the minority group's preferred candidates. In District 8, which contains 27 wards, according to Milwaukee County electoral data, 24% of the vote is concentrated in one ward (ward 235, Walker's Point). That ward is a majority white voting bloc with a disproportionate electoral impact that dilutes the voting power and political voice of Milwaukee's Latino community. Additionally, that ward is east of I-94, separate from the majority of Latino majority wards in the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly District, and has a median income higher than the remaining wards as well. From data that is available, it appears there are multiple other ways to draw District 8 as a Hispanic-majority district without diluting the Latino vote. This area east of I-94/43 are a majority white and has a high voter turnout, as demonstrated by the data from the Milwaukee County Elections Commission which is being provided with this written testimony. This area also will likely continue to grow in population, given certain commercial and residential developments in the area, and will continue to dilute the Latino Vote.

Sylvia Ortiz-Velez  
Assembly District 8

Primary Election Result in the 8th AD

2014			2016		
Ward	Total	% of vote	Ward	Total	% of Vote
222	50	4.4%	222	58	5%
223	74	6.6%	223	59	6%
224	30	2.7%	224	42	4%
225	38	3.4%	225	33	3%
228	31	2.8%	228	31	3%
229	30	2.7%	229	22	2%
230	80	7.1%	230	77	7%
231	37	3.3%	231	30	3%
232	18	1.6%	232	9	1%
233	22	2.0%	233	16	2%
234	33	2.9%	234	41	4%
<b>235</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>15%</b>
236	65	5.8%	236	61	6%
237	44	3.9%	237	33	3%
238	46	4.1%	238	40	4%
239	41	3.6%	239	57	5%
<b>240</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>5%</b>
249	33	2.9%	249	34	3%
250	32	2.8%	250	48	5%
251	17	1.5%	251	13	1%
254	17	1.5%	254	8	1%
255	18	1.6%	255	33	3%
256	20	1.8%	256	20	2%
257	92	8.2%	257	56	5%
321	21	1.9%	321	12	1%
323	24	2.1%	323	20	2%
324	13	1.2%	324	3	0%
Total	1124			1066	

Currently 235 and 240 are east of I-94.

## 2018

Ward	Total	% of vote
222	55	4%
223	65	5%
224	40	3%
225	36	3%
228	39	3%
229	25	2%
230	79	6%
231	29	2%
232	10	1%
233	18	1%
234	76	6%
<b>235</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>23%</b>
236	37	3%
237	47	4%
238	31	2%
239	51	4%
<b>240</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>5%</b>
249	36	3%
250	46	4%
251	22	2%
254	9	1%
255	25	2%
256	29	2%
257	68	5%
321	27	2%
323	25	2%
324	13	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1304</b>	

## 2020

Ward	Total	% of Vote
222	66	4%
223	85	5%
224	41	2%
225	51	3%
228	43	3%
229	40	2%
230	75	4%
231	30	2%
232	16	1%
233	26	2%
234	96	6%
<b>235</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>24%</b>
236	67	4%
237	66	4%
238	55	3%
239	70	4%
<b>240</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>6%</b>
249	55	3%
250	61	4%
251	23	1%
254	17	1%
255	32	2%
256	29	2%
257	83	5%
321	15	1%
323	32	2%
324	14	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1696</b>	

## Sylvia vrs Joanna

	Sylvia	Joanna	Total	Sylvia	Joanna
Ward					
222	35	31	66	53%	47%
223	46	39	85	54%	46%
224	29	12	41	71%	29%
225	28	23	51	55%	45%
228	23	20	43	53%	47%
229	21	19	40	53%	48%
230	49	26	75	65%	35%
231	12	18	30	40%	60%
232	6	9	15	40%	60%
233	20	6	26	77%	23%
234	48	48	96	50%	50%
<b>235</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>55%</b>
236	41	26	67	61%	39%
237	44	22	66	67%	33%
238	30	25	55	55%	45%
239	36	34	70	51%	49%
<b>240</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>50%</b>
249	30	25	55	55%	45%
250	32	28	60	53%	47%
251	4	19	23	17%	83%
254	9	8	17	53%	47%
255	24	8	32	75%	25%
256	15	14	29	52%	48%
257	49	34	83	59%	41%
321	3	12	15	20%	80%
323	20	12	32	63%	38%
324	12	2	14	86%	14%

**Statement to Legislature on SB621/AB624**  
Colleen Robson from East Troy WI (Currently AD32/SD11)

I grew up as the daughter of a minister in the days when frequent moves were the norm. I have lived in 15 Wisconsin towns ranging in size from a few hundred to thousands. I have taught in Hudson, New Berlin, and Kenosha. In addition, my family is scattered across the United States and the political spectrum. Neither politics nor religion were ever off the table during our family gatherings. As a result, I developed a deep love of our state and country where we are blessed to be able to freely debate issues and still respect each other.

As our district maps have become increasingly partisan, I have become increasingly alarmed at the growing divisiveness within our society and legislative bodies. Clearly the legislators who served previously missed their opportunity to strengthen our representative government by establishing nonpartisan redistricting. I am urging our current representatives to not make the same mistake. Do what is right. Go down in history for putting the state of our democratic Republic above party politics by creating fair maps, as well as establishing a nonpartisan redistricting process for drawing future maps.

The Legislature's proposed maps move us further away from that goal by promoting the current gerrymandered districts. Their objective stated in AJR80/SJR63 is to "Retain as much as possible the core of existing districts, thus maintaining existing communities of interest, and promoting the equal opportunity to vote by minimizing disenfranchisement due to staggered Senate terms." Their maps actually divide more counties, municipalities, and communities of interest than before while further rigging the maps in their favor. That's just plain wrong! Many people had their senate and assembly districts changed in 2011, including me. Changing them again would not be a hardship as long as the results are fair maps. This is for the long-term good of our state. We need a fair process that starts with our actual communities and not the rigged 2011 maps.

I had hoped I could have had a good talk with my representatives about this issue as I have had with my uncle who served on task forces for several GOP Presidents including Regan and Trump, but they did not respond to attempts to schedule a meeting. I would like to know what is keeping them from committing to a fair, nonpartisan process. Perhaps if they were not in safe seats, they would have time to listen to constituents with diverse ideas.

The Legislature still has the opportunity to do the right thing for our state by working with the People's Map Commission to create fair maps and passing nonpartisan redistricting legislation. Our representatives need to join Lincoln as statesmen who work to ensure that this state and nation, *"conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal...can long endure."*

TESTIMONY  
Public Hearing: AB 624; AB 625  
October 28, 2021

I founded my website, We the Irrelevant in 2015. Since then, I've sent you open records requests on a wide range of proposed legislation, asking for related citizen contacts.

In total, you've received 652,417 contacts opposed to your proposed legislation and 11,278 in favor. That's 98% opposed. In the face of that overwhelming opposition, you passed nearly every one of those bills.

Why? Because you could. Your 2011 gerrymander neutralized competition, thereby ensuring your respective seats. With your power secure, you were free to ignore the voices of opposition. You did that again and again.

Now, it's time for new maps. It's easy to understand why you want to preserve the lines you drew in secret in 2011. You have unilateral power, and you want to keep it. But, you've forgotten something fundamental. Let me remind you of it.

Power belongs to the citizens of Wisconsin. We made our wishes clear in 2018 and 2020. You refused to accept our decision then and now. Your gerrymander made that refusal easy. And, that is why it must go away. That is why we demand fair maps.

The people demand fair maps and the responsive legislature that is their inevitable result. We are tired of being ignored by those who cynically claim to represent us.

In response to a question about what kind of government we had, Benjamin Franklin famously said, "A republic, if you can keep it." I'm putting you on notice: we intend to keep it.

Sheila K. Plotkin  
5111 Brookfield Pkwy.  
Apt. 302  
Madison, WI 53718

What Republicans and Democrats both don't understand is that the people – all the people, whichever way they vote to express their frustration – are sick of partisanship. We're sick of parties doing what is best for parties, not the people of Wisconsin. A great majority of the state has expressed itself through the ballot box as being against rigged district voting maps, whichever party does them.

I reference the October 20, 2021, article by Michael Li for the Brennan Center, in which he reminds us that 32 years ago, in 1989, Republicans led by President George H.W. Bush and Sen. Mitch McConnell tried to, in Bush's words, "outlaw gerrymandering," which had been employed (in a primitive way compared to today) by the Democrats up till then to keep their seats safe. Bush's and McConnell's arguments then mirrored Democrats' arguments now, and the principles and means of eliminating it they proposed in 1989 are nearly indistinguishable from the Democrats' proposals in 2021.

Democrats then did the partisan thing, not the right thing. It's hypocritical of them to ask for fairness now when they didn't give it then, but we're asking you to stop the endless cycle of hypocrisy, and do what is right for all the people instead of just your side. And if you don't do it because it's right, do it because you will be the minority party again someday, and wish you had.

Mark Peters

6229 W. Wisconsin Ave.

Wauwatosa

NASW WI TESTIMONY IN OPPOSITION TO ASSEMBLY BILLS 624 AND 625 AND SENATE BILL 621 AND 622 ON THURSDAY OCTOBER 28, 2021 BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON STATE AFFAIRS AND THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, LEGAL REVIEW AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

Chairpersons Stroebel and Swearingen:

On behalf of the National Association of Social Workers, Wisconsin Chapter I am speaking in opposition to Assembly Bills 624 and 625 and Senate Bills 621 and 622.

As a lobbyist for NASW WI for 29 years, I work “across the aisle” on behalf of policies that support our profession and clients. Although I respect different perspectives and value orientations of legislators, what has bothered me over the years is that on a number of issues, I have had multiple experiences with legislators who tell me privately that they support our position but publicly are unable to do so. The major causes of this situation appear to be 1) the influence of special interest groups with money and a loud and angry base of supporters and 2) the fear that they will be “primaried” if they take a principled position that may anger some of members of their political party in their district. Because the districts are so gerrymandered, even if a majority of their constituents support a position, they only need to worry about what the political base in their party is concerned about. If the legislative districts were less gerrymandered and more “purplish” the legislators could feel free to vote their conscience as they would need to respond to independent and swing voters to win re-election.

I can give you several examples of this dynamic. In the 2006 election, Democrats took back 8 of the 11 legislative seats they needed to win a majority and could be seen as “breathing down the necks” of the Republican majority. During the 2007-2008 legislative session a bill was introduced to require hospitals to provide victims of rape the morning after pill. While this bill was very popular statewide there was strong opposition from portion of the base of the majority party at that time and the Speaker sent the bill to a committee whose chair did not support the bill. However the lead Republican author of the bill, who was passionate about the need for the bill, pointedly told his colleagues, many who were in swing districts, that if they did not allow this bill a vote, they could lose the next election because the issue was popular. The bill did pass the State Legislature despite opposition from a part of the base of the party.

On the other hand I have worked on issues such as a social work safety bill, the Child Victim’s Act, banning conversion therapy, and the Extreme Risk Protection Order, where some members of the majority party have initially told me they supported the bill and in a few cases had agreed to be the lead sponsor. However after pushback from special interest groups and because of fear of being “primaried”, I have seen these legislators back away from a bill they supported and not even sign on as a co-sponsor on the bill.

I strongly believe districts that are more balanced and created by an impartial body would result in legislators being more able to vote their conscience and work on a bi-partisan basis to problem solve state issues. I also believe more balanced districts could also result in public policy that more



# N A S W • WISCONSIN CHAPTER

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## National Association of Social Workers

accurately reflected the will of a majority of Wisconsin residents. As examples, polls have shown consistently that a majority of Wisconsin residents favor policies such as medical marijuana, accepting federal monies to expand Medicaid to serve the working poor, or closing the loopholes on background checks for the purchase of guns, but these bills can't even get a public hearing or vote.

As a lobbyist for 29 years I have met wonderful legislators from both sides of the aisle who want to make a difference for the future of Wisconsin. I truly believe most legislators would welcome a redistricting system that give them more space to vote their conscience and work on a bi-partisan basis to address challenges facing our state.

Please vote no on AB 624 and 625 and SB 621 and 622 and instead support Senate Bill 389 and Assembly Bill 395 so that our legislative districts can be drawn in an impartial manner.

I am happy to take questions.

Marc Herstand, MSW CISW  
Executive Director  
National Association of Social Workers, Wisconsin Chapter



# DEVIN LEMAHIEU

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## SENATE MAJORITY LEADER

October 28, 2021

Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and Consumer Protection  
Assembly Committee on State Affairs  
Testimony on Senate Bill 621 and Assembly Bill 624

Chairmen Stroebel and Swearingen, and members of the Joint Committee,

Thank you for the opportunity to testify in support of SB621 and AB624, bills to amend existing Legislative districts to reflect the 2020 Census data.

Every ten years, the Legislature re-draws Legislative districts to reflect changes in population and ensure compliance with state and federal law. This year, the Legislature committed to a transparent process that incorporated input from the public to help determine how the new maps would be drawn. The resulting maps, introduced as SB621 and AB624, comply with state and federal law, reflect the public's input, and were guided by the established criteria outlined in Senate Joint Resolution 63.

Before discussing dive into the specifics on the new maps, it is good to revisit why the Legislature must take up this process.

The U.S. Constitution requires a census every ten years. The first census took place in 1790 and 2020 marks the 24<sup>th</sup> time the census has been conducted.

In Wisconsin, the new census data is used to redraw state legislative boundaries to reflect changes in population to ensure equal representation. Typically, the state receives census data by March 31 and the Legislature begins its work shortly thereafter. This year, census data was delayed until mid-August as a result of the pandemic delaying the Census Bureau's ability to execute the census in a timely fashion.

The state constitution vests the duty for redistricting with the Legislature. The bills before you fulfill the Legislature's constitutional responsibility to complete the redistricting process. The lines were drawn by the Legislature in the State Capitol without outside advice on how the lines should be drawn.

On September 28, the Legislature passed Senate Joint Resolution 63, which outlined the Legislature's criteria for the creation of new legislative districts, which is based on state and federal law and legal precedent. Specifically, the Joint Resolution established that legislative districts should:

- Comply with state and federal law;
- Maintain equal population;
- Retain the core of existing districts;
- Minimize disenfranchisement due to staggered Senate terms;
- Be compact;
- Be contiguous;

- Maintain communities of interest;
- Avoid county and municipal splits;
- Avoid incumbent pairing; and,
- Follow natural boundaries.

The bills before you today reflect the criteria laid out in Senate Joint Resolution 63.

The notion of “one-person, one-vote” is central to our representative democracy. State and federal law, as well as legal precedent, has reinforced the importance of equally balanced legislative districts. As a result of the 2020 Census, Wisconsin’s legislative districts no longer comply with the federal requirement for equal population.

Not adjusting legislative boundaries would ignore federal law and leave some parts of the state under-represented and other parts of the state over-represented.

The new maps protect the notion of “one-person, one-vote” by producing districts that have strong population balance while also balancing other, sometimes competing, map-drawing criteria.

To attain maximum input, we reached out to minority rights groups seeking feedback on Wisconsin’s current majority-minority districts to ensure maps that fully comply with state and federal law. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment prohibits us from passing a law that discriminates on the basis of race. Accordingly, we asked the public whether we should draw the new maps with race data.

The new maps were drafted without the use of race data at any point in the process, to ensure compliance with the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

SB621 and AB624 fulfill Wisconsin’s legal and constitutional requirement for redistricting.

Not only do these bills fulfill our constitutional requirements, the new maps were drafted with a historic level of public input and influence.

For the first time in state history, the public could submit full state maps or communities of interest for consideration. Wisconsinites submitted, directly to the Legislature, over 400 statewide legislative maps and communities of interest which were considered during the map drawing process.

We also proactively reached out to the People’s Maps Commission, minority rights groups, and interested stakeholder groups to gather additional feedback to inform the map drawing process.

We heard overwhelmingly from Wisconsinites that the new maps should be drawn using wards instead of census blocks. The new maps were drawn using wards.

We heard from our friends and neighbors that communities of interest should be considered as part of the map drawing process. As a result, the new maps place over 500 communities of interest, identified by Wisconsinites in every corner of the state, wholly within Senate or Assembly districts.

We heard about the burden created for local units of government when counties and municipalities are split between Senate and Assembly lines. The new maps limit both the number of counties and local municipalities split between legislative districts.

Since only half of the 33 State Senate districts are up for election every two years, we heard concerns about staggered-term disenfranchisement. The new maps move fewer voters from odd-numbered Senate districts to even-numbered Senate districts than were moved in redistricting since at least 1990, a period that includes two maps that were drawn by the court.

SB621 and AB624 reflect the input we received.

In summary, the Legislature committed to a transparent process that incorporated input from the public to help determine how the new maps would be drawn. The resulting maps, introduced as SB621 and AB624, comply with state and federal law, reflect the public's input, and were guided by the established criteria outlined in Senate Joint Resolution 63.

Thank you Committee members for hearing SB621 and AB624 today, and I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

2011\_Act43wBvB\_LegislativeDistricts\_By\_2020\_PL94171\_Population

DISTRICT	PERSONS	DEVIATION	DEV. %
1	59,834	301	0.51%
2	62,808	3,275	5.50%
3	61,884	2,351	3.95%
4	58,716	-817	-1.37%
5	67,155	7,622	12.80%
6	57,397	-2,136	-3.59%
7	59,382	-151	-0.25%
8	53,999	-5,534	-9.30%
9	57,312	-2,221	-3.73%
10	52,628	-6,905	-11.60%
11	54,185	-5,348	-8.98%
12	56,419	-3,114	-5.23%
13	61,779	2,246	3.77%
14	60,136	603	1.01%
15	57,145	-2,388	-4.01%
16	53,739	-5,794	-9.73%
17	55,343	-4,190	-7.04%
18	52,987	-6,546	-11.00%
19	62,056	2,523	4.24%
20	56,812	-2,721	-4.57%
21	58,547	-986	-1.66%
22	60,940	1,407	2.36%
23	60,776	1,243	2.09%
24	60,737	1,204	2.02%
25	57,986	-1,547	-2.60%
26	58,693	-840	-1.41%
27	59,311	-222	-0.37%
28	59,274	-259	-0.44%
29	61,746	2,213	3.72%
30	62,735	3,202	5.38%
31	59,955	422	0.71%
32	59,397	-136	-0.23%
33	58,509	-1,024	-1.72%
34	60,803	1,270	2.13%
35	56,431	-3,102	-5.21%
36	57,713	-1,820	-3.06%
37	61,151	1,618	2.72%
38	61,645	2,112	3.55%
39	58,190	-1,343	-2.26%
40	57,150	-2,383	-4.00%
41	57,738	-1,795	-3.02%
42	58,372	-1,161	-1.95%
43	59,504	-29	-0.05%
44	58,605	-928	-1.56%
45	57,664	-1,869	-3.14%

46	65,087	5,554	9.33%
47	63,653	4,120	6.92%
48	63,758	4,225	7.10%
49	57,952	-1,581	-2.66%
50	58,713	-820	-1.38%
51	56,867	-2,666	-4.48%
52	59,848	315	0.53%
53	58,689	-844	-1.42%
54	57,273	-2,260	-3.80%
55	61,992	2,459	4.13%
56	64,544	5,011	8.42%
57	57,966	-1,567	-2.63%
58	59,053	-480	-0.81%
59	58,160	-1,373	-2.31%
60	59,344	-189	-0.32%
61	59,987	454	0.76%
62	58,422	-1,111	-1.87%
63	59,792	259	0.44%
64	57,846	-1,687	-2.83%
65	57,248	-2,285	-3.84%
66	56,026	-3,507	-5.89%
67	60,512	979	1.64%
68	61,863	2,330	3.91%
69	57,133	-2,400	-4.03%
70	58,313	-1,220	-2.05%
71	57,827	-1,706	-2.87%
72	57,669	-1,864	-3.13%
73	58,507	-1,026	-1.72%
74	59,010	-523	-0.88%
75	58,752	-781	-1.31%
76	71,716	12,183	20.46%
77	62,918	3,385	5.69%
78	66,838	7,305	12.27%
79	70,111	10,578	17.77%
80	65,735	6,202	10.42%
81	59,944	411	0.69%
82	59,749	216	0.36%
83	58,770	-763	-1.28%
84	59,529	-4	-0.01%
85	58,645	-888	-1.49%
86	60,488	955	1.60%
87	57,052	-2,481	-4.17%
88	62,916	3,383	5.68%
89	60,143	610	1.02%
90	57,912	-1,621	-2.72%
91	59,374	-159	-0.27%
92	59,336	-197	-0.33%

93	60,723	1,190	2.00%
94	62,060	2,527	4.24%
95	58,724	-809	-1.36%
96	58,372	-1,161	-1.95%
97	56,595	-2,938	-4.94%
98	61,423	1,890	3.17%
99	57,551	-1,982	-3.33%

2011\_Act43wBvB\_LegislativeDistricts\_By\_2020\_PL94171\_Population

DISTRICT	PERSONS	DEVIATION	DEV. %
1	184,526	5,928	3.32%
2	183,268	4,670	2.61%
3	170,693	-7,905	-4.43%
4	163,232	-15,366	-8.60%
5	179,060	462	0.26%
6	162,069	-16,529	-9.25%
7	177,415	-1,183	-0.66%
8	182,453	3,855	2.16%
9	175,990	-2,608	-1.46%
10	183,755	5,157	2.89%
11	177,861	-737	-0.41%
12	174,947	-3,651	-2.04%
13	180,986	2,388	1.34%
14	173,260	-5,338	-2.99%
15	175,773	-2,825	-1.58%
16	192,498	13,900	7.78%
17	173,532	-5,066	-2.84%
18	175,810	-2,788	-1.56%
19	184,502	5,904	3.31%
20	176,557	-2,041	-1.14%
21	178,201	-397	-0.22%
22	171,120	-7,478	-4.19%
23	179,508	910	0.51%
24	173,809	-4,789	-2.68%
25	176,269	-2,329	-1.30%
26	201,472	22,874	12.81%
27	195,790	17,192	9.63%
28	178,048	-550	-0.31%
29	176,185	-2,413	-1.35%
30	180,971	2,373	1.33%
31	179,433	835	0.47%
32	179,156	558	0.31%
33	175,569	-3,029	-1.70%



## MEMORANDUM

**TO:** Majority Leader Devin LeMahieu and Speaker Robin Vos  
**FROM:** Legislative Reference Bureau  
**DATE:** October 20, 2021  
**SUBJECT:** LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1 State Legislative Data

You requested information related to LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1 on state legislative redistricting. Specifically, you asked for data on the bill's population deviation, core retention, disenfranchised population, compactness, split geographies, and incumbent pairings.

The data provided in this memo is derived from the Legislative Technology Services Bureau's WISE-District Application unless otherwise stated.

### Population deviation

Ideal population represents the target population for each legislative district in a redistricting plan. This figure is calculated by dividing the total population of the state by the number of legislative districts. According to the 2020 U.S. Census, Wisconsin's total population is 5,893,718. Because Wisconsin has 33 senate districts and 99 assembly districts, the ideal population for each senate district is 178,598 and the ideal population for each assembly district is 59,533.

The following table presents deviation scores for legislative districts. Courts will presume that a state legislative plan is constitutional if it has an overall range in deviation of 10 percent or less.<sup>1</sup>

	<b>Deviation from Ideal Population</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Assembly</b>	Mean Deviation	112	0.19
	Largest Positive Deviation	231	0.39
	Largest Negative Deviation	-221	-0.37
	Overall Range in Deviation	±452	± 0.76

<sup>1</sup> *Brown v. Thomson*, 462 U.S. 835, 842-3 (1983).

Senate	Deviation from Ideal Population	Persons	Percent
	Mean Deviation	175	0.10
	Largest Positive Deviation	520	0.29
	Largest Negative Deviation	-506	-0.28
	Overall Range in Deviation	±1,026	± 0.57

### Core retention

The average core retention rate for assembly districts is 84.16 percent and the average core retention rate for senate districts is 92.21 percent.

### Disenfranchisement

138,753 voters from odd-numbered senate districts were moved to even-numbered senate districts. These voters, had they not been moved, would have voted in a state senate election at the 2022 general election, but will now not have the opportunity to vote in a state senate election until the 2024 general election. This movement from one district to another involved 14 senate districts.

### Compactness

Compactness, in the redistricting context, refers to the “tightness” of a district’s geometric shape. Compactness is measured by comparing a district to the shape of a perfect circle, but no district is expected to be perfectly compact. The two most common mathematical models to measure compactness are the Reock Degree of Compactness Score and the Polsby–Popper Test. A perfectly compact district would have a compactness score of 1.0 under either model.

The Reock Degree of Compactness Score is calculated by dividing the area of the voting district by the area of the smallest circle that would completely enclose it.

The Polsby–Popper Test is calculated by dividing the area of a circle with the same perimeter as the district by the square of the perimeter of the district.

Assembly	Reock Degree of Compactness Score	Polsby–Popper Test
Mean	0.363	0.234
Maximum	0.688	0.603
Minimum	0.152	0.048

Senate	Reock Degree of Compactness Score	Polsby–Popper Test
Mean	0.374	0.216
Maximum	0.647	0.409
Minimum	0.129	0.046

### Split geographies

The assembly map splits 53 counties and 48 municipalities, while the senate map splits 42 counties and 28 municipalities.

According to the Department of Administration’s Demographic Services Center, there are 57 municipalities that are split between two or more counties.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the data on split geographies may reflect the overall number of municipal splits rather than an indicator of a district not drawn according to traditional redistricting principles.

### Incumbent pairings

Under LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1, there are three incumbent pairings in the assembly and none in the senate.

<b>LRB-5017/1 and LRB-5071/1 District</b>	<b>Current Elected District</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Party</b>
Assembly District 15	Assembly District 15	Rep. Joe Sanfelippo	Republican
	Assembly District 84	Rep. Mike Kuglitsch	Republican
Assembly District 82	Assembly District 82	Rep. Ken Skowronski	Republican
	Assembly District 83	Rep. Chuck Wichgers	Republican
Assembly District 93	Assembly District 30	Rep. Shannon Zimmerman	Republican
	Assembly District 93	Rep. Warren Petryk	Republican

We hope you find this information useful. Please let us know if you have any questions or if we can provide any additional assistance.

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<sup>2</sup> “Population and Housing Unit Estimates – Minor Civil Division Final Population Estimates,” Department of Administration, Demographic Services Center, accessed October 19, 2021, <https://doa.wi.gov/pages/home.aspx>.

Simple Core Constituency Retention for Assembly districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621

Assembly District	2020 District	District Types	Person	Persons 18+	Core Retention
<b>1</b>					
		1 CORE	59,444	48,427	
		Other Subtotal	0	0	
		District Total	59,444	48,427	100.00%
<b>2</b>					
		2 CORE	48,619	37,843	
		88 OTHER	10,744	8,240	
		4 OTHER	11	8	
		1 OTHER	390	316	
		5 OTHER	0	0	
		Other Subtotal	11,145	8,564	
		District Total	59,764	46,407	81.35%
<b>3</b>					
		3 CORE	53,544	40,130	
		25 OTHER	3,005	2,259	
		57 OTHER	3,179	2,437	
		Other Subtotal	6,184	4,696	
		District Total	59,728	44,826	89.65%
<b>4</b>					
		4 CORE	52,489	41,279	
		89 OTHER	2,803	2,153	
		5 OTHER	4,344	3,162	
		Other Subtotal	7,147	5,315	
		District Total	59,636	46,594	88.02%
<b>5</b>					
		5 CORE	48,104	36,603	
		4 OTHER	4,795	3,828	
		2 OTHER	266	223	
		3 OTHER	6,209	4,745	
		56 OTHER	0	0	
		Other Subtotal	11,270	8,796	
		District Total	59,374	45,399	81.02%
<b>6</b>					
		6 CORE	48,049	37,322	
		5 OTHER	11,085	8,450	
		35 OTHER	320	237	
		Other Subtotal	11,405	8,687	
		District Total	59,454	46,009	80.82%

<b>7</b>				
	7 CORE	51,760	39,901	
	13 OTHER	7,843	6,428	
	Other Subtotal	7,843	6,428	
	District Total	59,603	46,329	86.84%
<b>8</b>				
	8 CORE	53,999	36,690	
	9 OTHER	5,363	3,749	
	Other Subtotal	5,363	3,749	
	District Total	59,362	40,439	90.97%
<b>9</b>				
	9 CORE	51,949	36,408	
	7 OTHER	7,622	5,830	
	Other Subtotal	7,622	5,830	
	District Total	59,571	42,238	87.21%
<b>10</b>				
	10 CORE	46,146	34,322	
	11 OTHER	6,276	5,075	
	24 OTHER	7,081	5,823	
	Other Subtotal	13,357	10,898	
	District Total	59,503	45,220	77.55%
<b>11</b>				
	11 CORE	46,274	31,789	
	12 OTHER	6,809	4,642	
	10 OTHER	6,482	4,735	
	Other Subtotal	13,291	9,377	
	District Total	59,565	41,166	77.69%
<b>12</b>				
	12 CORE	49,610	35,398	
	24 OTHER	1,571	1,267	
	11 OTHER	1,635	1,097	
	22 OTHER	6,535	4,848	
	Other Subtotal	9,741	7,212	
	District Total	59,351	42,610	83.59%
<b>13</b>				
	13 CORE	29,445	23,271	
	14 OTHER	30,106	22,838	
	98 OTHER	0	0	
	Other Subtotal	30,106	22,838	
	District Total	59,551	46,109	49.45%

<b>14</b>				
	14 CORE	24,032	18,442	
	13 OTHER	14,063	11,462	
	15 OTHER	21,514	17,246	
	Other Subtotal	35,577	28,708	
	District Total	59,609	47,150	40.32%
<b>15</b>				
	15 CORE	35,631	28,976	
	84 OTHER	19,634	15,502	
	97 OTHER	848	672	
	83 OTHER	3,263	2,571	
	Other Subtotal	23,745	18,745	
	District Total	59,376	47,721	60.01%
<b>16</b>				
	16 CORE	53,739	41,231	
	18 OTHER	5,975	4,384	
	Other Subtotal	5,975	4,384	
	District Total	59,714	45,615	
<b>17</b>				
	17 CORE	52,204	38,035	
	14 OTHER	5,998	4,798	
	18 OTHER	1,233	927	
	Other Subtotal	7,231	5,725	
	District Total	59,435	43,760	87.83%
<b>18</b>				
	18 CORE	45,779	33,437	
	17 OTHER	3,139	2,152	
	13 OTHER	10,428	8,383	
	Other Subtotal	13,567	10,535	
	District Total	59,346	43,972	77.14%
<b>19</b>				
	19 CORE	59,320	55,412	
	Other Subtotal	0	0	
	District Total	59,320	55,412	100.00%
<b>20</b>				
	20 CORE	56,812	45,984	
	19 OTHER	2,736	2,302	
	Other Subtotal	2,736	2,302	
	District Total	59,548	48,286	95.41%
<b>21</b>				

21 CORE	58,547	46,021	
82 OTHER	1,045	787	
Other Subtotal	1,045	787	
District Total	59,592	46,808	98.25%

**22**

22 CORE	42,396	33,294	
58 OTHER	4,673	3,685	
98 OTHER	12,397	9,416	
Other Subtotal	17,070	13,101	
District Total	59,466	46,395	71.29%

**23**

23 CORE	40,196	30,376	
24 OTHER	19,187	15,136	
Other Subtotal	19,187	15,136	
District Total	59,383	45,512	67.69%

**24**

24 CORE	32,898	25,726	
23 OTHER	20,580	16,543	
22 OTHER	6,225	4,817	
Other Subtotal	26,805	21,360	
District Total	59,703	47,086	55.10%

**25**

25 CORE	53,065	41,951	
27 OTHER	2,210	1,697	
2 OTHER	4,185	3,410	
Other Subtotal	6,395	5,107	
District Total	59,460	47,058	89.24%

**26**

26 CORE	56,829	44,358	
59 OTHER	2,715	2,170	
27 OTHER	96	83	
Other Subtotal	2,811	2,253	
District Total	59,640	46,611	95.29%

**27**

27 CORE	57,005	44,471	
59 OTHER	1	0	
25 OTHER	857	660	
26 OTHER	1,864	1,380	
Other Subtotal	2,722	2,040	
District Total	59,727	46,511	95.44%

<b>28</b>				
	28 CORE	45,092	35,473	
	75 OTHER	839	715	
	29 OTHER	13,812	10,403	
	Other Subtotal	14,651	11,118	
	District Total	59,743	46,591	75.48%
<b>29</b>				
	29 CORE	42,813	33,768	
	67 OTHER	13,393	10,198	
	75 OTHER	3,298	2,499	
	Other Subtotal	16,691	12,697	
	District Total	59,504	46,465	71.95%
<b>30</b>				
	30 CORE	47,974	36,397	
	93 OTHER	2,177	1,670	
	29 OTHER	5,121	3,750	
	28 OTHER	4,291	3,252	
	Other Subtotal	11,589	8,672	
	District Total	59,563	45,069	80.54%
<b>31</b>				
	31 CORE	36,372	28,322	
	45 OTHER	3,434	2,724	
	32 OTHER	4,162	3,313	
	33 OTHER	2,472	2,028	
	43 OTHER	13,154	11,365	
	Other Subtotal	23,222	19,430	
	District Total	59,594	47,752	61.03%
<b>32</b>				
	32 CORE	46,712	36,793	
	31 OTHER	12,844	10,470	
	Other Subtotal	12,844	10,470	
	District Total	59,556	47,263	78.43%
<b>33</b>				
	33 CORE	33,021	26,204	
	43 OTHER	18,178	14,603	
	38 OTHER	0	0	
	31 OTHER	4,831	3,687	
	44 OTHER	3,561	2,765	
	Other Subtotal	26,570	21,055	
	District Total	59,591	47,259	55.41%
<b>34</b>				

	34 CORE	53,892	45,267	
	35 OTHER	2,076	1,823	
	74 OTHER	3,552	2,652	
	Other Subtotal	5,628	4,475	
	District Total	59,520	49,742	90.54%
<b>35</b>				
	35 CORE	52,572	42,259	
	36 OTHER	6,986	6,157	
	Other Subtotal	6,986	6,157	
	District Total	59,558	48,416	88.27%
<b>36</b>				
	36 CORE	50,727	40,369	
	34 OTHER	6,911	5,789	
	89 OTHER	0	0	
	6 OTHER	1,803	1,376	
	Other Subtotal	8,714	7,165	
	District Total	59,441	47,534	85.34%
<b>37</b>				
	37 CORE	52,539	40,076	
	42 OTHER	3,058	2,378	
	79 OTHER	13	11	
	39 OTHER	3,772	3,006	
	38 OTHER	0	0	
	Other Subtotal	6,843	5,395	
	District Total	59,382	45,471	88.48%
<b>38</b>				
	38 CORE	51,006	39,462	
	37 OTHER	8,612	6,442	
	Other Subtotal	8,612	6,442	
	District Total	59,618	45,904	85.55%
<b>39</b>				
	39 CORE	51,507	40,641	
	42 OTHER	7,930	6,252	
	Other Subtotal	7,930	6,252	
	District Total	59,437	46,893	86.66%
<b>40</b>				
	40 CORE	51,773	41,449	
	6 OTHER	7,545	5,957	
	Other Subtotal	7,545	5,957	
	District Total	59,318	47,406	87.28%

<b>41</b>				
	41 CORE	42,245	34,730	
	81 OTHER	14,964	11,882	
	42 OTHER	1,216	971	
	40 OTHER	1,006	799	
	Other Subtotal	17,186	13,652	
	District Total	59,431	48,382	71.08%
<b>42</b>				
	42 CORE	44,089	34,522	
	41 OTHER	15,493	12,512	
	Other Subtotal	15,493	12,512	
	District Total	59,582	47,034	74.00%
<b>43</b>				
	43 CORE	27,862	21,917	
	80 OTHER	9,540	6,735	
	46 OTHER	17,403	13,729	
	47 OTHER	4,880	4,050	
	Other Subtotal	31,823	24,514	
	District Total	59,685	46,431	46.68%
<b>44</b>				
	44 CORE	55,044	42,848	
	31 OTHER	4,678	3,480	
	43 OTHER	19	7	
	Other Subtotal	4,697	3,487	
	District Total	59,741	46,335	92.14%
<b>45</b>				
	45 CORE	52,059	39,131	
	80 OTHER	6,112	4,773	
	31 OTHER	1,230	992	
	43 OTHER	291	236	
	Other Subtotal	7,633	6,001	
	District Total	59,692	45,132	87.21%
<b>46</b>				
	46 CORE	47,684	35,247	
	79 OTHER	3,295	2,606	
	48 OTHER	6,990	5,913	
	47 OTHER	1,351	1,083	
	37 OTHER	0	0	
	Other Subtotal	11,636	9,602	
	District Total	59,320	44,849	80.38%
<b>47</b>				

47 CORE	57,416	44,595	
46 OTHER	0	0	
48 OTHER	2,175	1,894	
Other Subtotal	2,175	1,894	
District Total	59,591	46,489	96.35%

**48**

48 CORE	52,466	41,929	
76 OTHER	7,189	5,973	
79 OTHER	36	23	
47 OTHER	6	5	
Other Subtotal	7,231	6,001	
District Total	59,697	47,930	87.89%

**49**

49 CORE	57,952	45,443	
51 OTHER	541	416	
50 OTHER	975	759	
96 OTHER	240	178	
Other Subtotal	1,756	1,353	
District Total	59,708	46,796	97.06%

**50**

50 CORE	54,975	42,947	
51 OTHER	496	382	
81 OTHER	1,801	1,418	
96 OTHER	2,184	1,643	
Other Subtotal	4,481	3,443	
District Total	59,456	46,390	92.46%

**51**

51 CORE	55,830	43,220	
45 OTHER	2,171	1,682	
50 OTHER	883	643	
81 OTHER	781	627	
Other Subtotal	3,835	2,952	
District Total	59,665	46,172	93.57%

**52**

52 CORE	54,543	42,996	
59 OTHER	1,884	1,468	
53 OTHER	3,152	2,457	
Other Subtotal	5,036	3,925	
District Total	59,579	46,921	91.55%

**53**

53 CORE	53,202	42,344	
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	42 OTHER	28	25	
	54 OTHER	0	0	
	56 OTHER	6,395	5,070	
	Other Subtotal	6,423	5,095	
	District Total	59,625	47,439	89.23%
<b>54</b>				
	54 CORE	57,273	46,605	
	53 OTHER	2,335	2,063	
	Other Subtotal	2,335	2,063	
	District Total	59,608	48,668	96.08%
<b>55</b>				
	55 CORE	54,756	42,405	
	57 OTHER	0	0	
	56 OTHER	4,781	3,906	
	Other Subtotal	4,781	3,906	
	District Total	59,537	46,311	91.97%
<b>56</b>				
	56 CORE	49,750	37,641	
	5 OTHER	3,622	2,836	
	55 OTHER	6,224	4,770	
	Other Subtotal	9,846	7,606	
	District Total	59,596	45,247	83.48%
<b>57</b>				
	57 CORE	54,787	43,013	
	56 OTHER	3,618	2,774	
	55 OTHER	1,012	774	
	Other Subtotal	4,630	3,548	
	District Total	59,417	46,561	92.21%
<b>58</b>				
	58 CORE	54,380	42,532	
	59 OTHER	5,217	4,217	
	60 OTHER	10	6	
	Other Subtotal	5,227	4,223	
	District Total	59,607	46,755	91.23%
<b>59</b>				
	59 CORE	48,343	38,194	
	25 OTHER	1,059	866	
	3 OTHER	2,131	1,715	
	39 OTHER	2,911	2,110	
	52 OTHER	5,305	4,224	

	Other Subtotal	11,406	8,915	
	District Total	59,749	47,109	80.91%
<b>60</b>				
	60 CORE	59,334	46,437	
	Other Subtotal	0	0	
	District Total	59,334	46,437	100.00%
<b>61</b>				
	61 CORE	59,409	47,040	
	Other Subtotal	0	0	
	District Total	59,409	47,040	100.00%
<b>62</b>				
	62 CORE	51,118	40,415	
	63 OTHER	3,273	2,562	
	83 OTHER	5,034	3,960	
	Other Subtotal	8,307	6,522	
	District Total	59,425	46,937	86.02%
<b>63</b>				
	63 CORE	56,519	45,266	
	32 OTHER	2,105	1,700	
	64 OTHER	910	813	
	Other Subtotal	3,015	2,513	
	District Total	59,534	47,779	94.94%
<b>64</b>				
	64 CORE	54,819	43,317	
	61 OTHER	578	448	
	66 OTHER	3,965	2,881	
	Other Subtotal	4,543	3,329	
	District Total	59,362	46,646	92.35%
<b>65</b>				
	65 CORE	57,248	42,834	
	64 OTHER	2,117	1,579	
	Other Subtotal	2,117	1,579	
	District Total	59,365	44,413	96.43%
<b>66</b>				
	66 CORE	52,061	37,970	
	62 OTHER	7,304	5,517	
	Other Subtotal	7,304	5,517	
	District Total	59,365	43,487	87.70%
<b>67</b>				
	67 CORE	43,934	34,266	

75 OTHER	1	1	
68 OTHER	12,744	9,734	
91 OTHER	216	162	
93 OTHER	2,696	2,118	
Other Subtotal	15,657	12,015	
District Total	59,591	46,281	73.73%

**68**

68 CORE	43,977	32,842	
67 OTHER	1,498	1,160	
69 OTHER	4,255	2,926	
87 OTHER	840	562	
93 OTHER	8,852	6,919	
Other Subtotal	15,445	11,567	
District Total	59,422	44,409	74.01%

**69**

69 CORE	49,163	37,195	
92 OTHER	8,452	6,820	
87 OTHER	1	1	
86 OTHER	1,731	1,361	
Other Subtotal	10,184	8,182	
District Total	59,347	45,377	82.84%

**70**

70 CORE	55,583	42,892	
94 OTHER	1,711	1,257	
96 OTHER	19	10	
71 OTHER	2,123	1,658	
Other Subtotal	3,853	2,925	
District Total	59,436	45,817	93.52%

**71**

71 CORE	55,704	44,963	
72 OTHER	2,516	2,018	
70 OTHER	1,227	971	
Other Subtotal	3,743	2,989	
District Total	59,447	47,952	93.70%

**72**

72 CORE	55,153	44,307	
40 OTHER	4,371	3,755	
Other Subtotal	4,371	3,755	
District Total	59,524	48,062	92.66%

**73**

73 CORE	48,523	39,509	
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	28 OTHER	9,891	7,922	
	75 OTHER	197	154	
	74 OTHER	856	679	
	Other Subtotal	10,944	8,755	
	District Total	59,467	48,264	81.60%
<b>74</b>				
	74 CORE	54,602	44,739	
	73 OTHER	4,985	4,154	
	Other Subtotal	4,985	4,154	
	District Total	59,587	48,893	91.63%
<b>75</b>				
	75 CORE	54,417	43,104	
	28 OTHER	0	0	
	73 OTHER	4,999	3,961	
	Other Subtotal	4,999	3,961	
	District Total	59,416	47,065	91.59%
<b>76</b>				
	76 CORE	59,664	55,125	
	Other Subtotal	0	0	
	District Total	59,664	55,125	100.00%
<b>77</b>				
	77 CORE	54,498	44,954	
	76 OTHER	4,863	4,257	
	Other Subtotal	4,863	4,257	
	District Total	59,361	49,211	91.81%
<b>78</b>				
	78 CORE	53,744	43,597	
	77 OTHER	5,509	4,116	
	79 OTHER	423	291	
	80 OTHER	48	36	
	Other Subtotal	5,980	4,443	
	District Total	59,724	48,040	89.99%
<b>79</b>				
	79 CORE	41,555	31,604	
	48 OTHER	2,127	1,807	
	77 OTHER	2,911	2,512	
	78 OTHER	13,094	10,345	
	Other Subtotal	18,132	14,664	
	District Total	59,687	46,268	69.62%
<b>80</b>				

80 CORE	44,497	34,259	
79 OTHER	15,058	11,018	
78 OTHER	0	0	
Other Subtotal	15,058	11,018	
District Total	59,555	45,277	74.72%

**81**

81 CORE	42,398	33,324	
79 OTHER	9,731	7,458	
80 OTHER	5,538	4,231	
42 OTHER	2,051	1,589	
Other Subtotal	17,320	13,278	
District Total	59,718	46,602	71.00%

**82**

82 CORE	46,783	36,768	
83 OTHER	12,581	9,662	
Other Subtotal	12,581	9,662	
District Total	59,364	46,430	78.81%

**83**

83 CORE	30,172	23,746	
32 OTHER	6,418	5,076	
33 OTHER	23,016	17,728	
Other Subtotal	29,434	22,804	
District Total	59,606	46,550	50.62%

**84**

84 CORE	39,895	32,357	
82 OTHER	11,921	9,901	
83 OTHER	7,720	6,151	
Other Subtotal	19,641	16,052	
District Total	59,536	48,409	67.01%

**85**

85 CORE	58,645	45,981	
86 OTHER	391	302	
35 OTHER	636	494	
Other Subtotal	1,027	796	
District Total	59,672	46,777	98.28%

**86**

86 CORE	57,432	44,578	
87 OTHER	0	0	
69 OTHER	2,276	1,897	
Other Subtotal	2,276	1,897	

	District Total	59,708	46,475	96.19%
<b>87</b>				
	87 CORE	56,211	43,914	
	86 OTHER	934	688	
	69 OTHER	1,439	1,082	
	35 OTHER	827	671	
	Other Subtotal	3,200	2,441	
	District Total	59,411	46,355	94.61%
<b>88</b>				
	88 CORE	47,392	36,594	
	2 OTHER	9,738	7,341	
	90 OTHER	2,412	1,699	
	Other Subtotal	12,150	9,040	
	District Total	59,542	45,634	79.59%
<b>89</b>				
	89 CORE	57,340	44,714	
	90 OTHER	1,988	1,514	
	Other Subtotal	1,988	1,514	
	District Total	59,328	46,228	96.65%
<b>90</b>				
	90 CORE	53,512	40,082	
	88 OTHER	4,780	3,615	
	4 OTHER	1,421	1,155	
	Other Subtotal	6,201	4,770	
	District Total	59,713	44,852	89.62%
<b>91</b>				
	91 CORE	59,158	48,107	
	93 OTHER	255	154	
	68 OTHER	0	0	
	Other Subtotal	255	154	
	District Total	59,413	48,261	99.57%
<b>92</b>				
	92 CORE	50,884	38,766	
	93 OTHER	3,498	2,743	
	68 OTHER	5,142	3,896	
	Other Subtotal	8,640	6,639	
	District Total	59,524	45,405	85.48%
<b>93</b>				
	93 CORE	43,245	33,562	
	67 OTHER	1,687	1,247	
	30 OTHER	14,761	12,088	

	Other Subtotal	16,448	13,335	
	District Total	59,693	46,897	72.45%
<b>94</b>				
	94 CORE	59,594	45,263	
	Other Subtotal	0	0	
	District Total	59,594	45,263	100.00%
<b>95</b>				
	95 CORE	58,724	49,482	
	94 OTHER	755	609	
	Other Subtotal	755	609	
	District Total	59,479	50,091	98.73%
<b>96</b>				
	96 CORE	55,929	42,128	
	50 OTHER	1,880	1,337	
	70 OTHER	1,503	1,154	
	Other Subtotal	3,383	2,491	
	District Total	59,312	44,619	94.30%
<b>97</b>				
	97 CORE	45,223	35,117	
	99 OTHER	12,699	10,123	
	38 OTHER	1,598	1,224	
	98 OTHER	144	143	
	83 OTHER	0	0	
	Other Subtotal	14,441	11,490	
	District Total	59,664	46,607	75.80%
<b>98</b>				
	98 CORE	48,882	39,051	
	97 OTHER	10,524	8,279	
	Other Subtotal	10,524	8,279	
	District Total	59,406	47,330	82.28%
<b>99</b>				
	99 CORE	44,852	34,784	
	38 OTHER	9,041	7,245	
	22 OTHER	5,784	4,320	
	Other Subtotal	14,825	11,565	
	District Total	59,677	46,349	75.16%

Simple Core Constituency Retention for Senate districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621

Assembly District	2020 District	District Types	Person	Persons 18+	Core Retention
<b>1</b>					
		1 CORE	161,997	126,716	
		30 OTHER	10,744	8,240	
		2 OTHER	11	8	
		9 OTHER	3,005	2,259	
		19 OTHER	3,179	2,437	
		Other Subtotal	16,939	12,944	
		District Total	178,936	139,660	90.53%
<b>2</b>					
		2 CORE	168,866	130,644	
		30 OTHER	2,803	2,153	
		1 OTHER	6,475	4,968	
		19 OTHER	0	0	
		12 OTHER	320	237	
		Other Subtotal	9,598	7,358	
		District Total	178,464	138,002	94.62%
<b>3</b>					
		3 CORE	170,693	122,578	
		5 OTHER	7,843	6,428	
		Other Subtotal	7,843	6,428	
		District Total	178,536	129,006	95.61%
<b>4</b>					
		4 CORE	163,232	117,058	
		8 OTHER	15,187	11,938	
		Other Subtotal	15,187	11,938	
		District Total	178,419	128,996	91.49%
<b>5</b>					
		5 CORE	154,791	122,235	
		33 OTHER	848	672	
		28 OTHER	22,897	18,073	
		Other Subtotal	23,745	18,745	
		District Total	178,536	140,980	86.70%
<b>6</b>					
		6 CORE	162,069	120,166	
		5 OTHER	16,426	13,181	
		Other Subtotal	16,426	13,181	
		District Total	178,495	133,347	90.80%
<b>7</b>					

	7 CORE	177,415	149,719	
	28 OTHER	1,045	787	
	Other Subtotal	1,045	787	
	District Total	178,460	150,506	99.41%
<b>8</b>				
	8 CORE	161,482	125,892	
	20 OTHER	4,673	3,685	
	33 OTHER	12,397	9,416	
	Other Subtotal	17,070	13,101	
	District Total	178,552	138,993	90.44%
<b>9</b>				
	9 CORE	171,926	134,600	
	1 OTHER	4,185	3,410	
	20 OTHER	2,716	2,170	
	Other Subtotal	6,901	5,580	
	District Total	178,827	140,180	96.14%
<b>10</b>				
	10 CORE	159,103	123,043	
	25 OTHER	4,137	3,214	
	23 OTHER	13,393	10,198	
	31 OTHER	2,177	1,670	
	Other Subtotal	19,707	15,082	
	District Total	178,810	138,125	88.98%
<b>11</b>				
	11 CORE	140,414	110,817	
	15 OTHER	38,327	31,457	
	13 OTHER	0	0	
	Other Subtotal	38,327	31,457	
	District Total	178,741	142,274	78.56%
<b>12</b>				
	12 CORE	173,164	141,664	
	25 OTHER	3,552	2,652	
	30 OTHER	0	0	
	2 OTHER	1,803	1,376	
	Other Subtotal	5,355	4,028	
	District Total	178,519	145,692	97.00%
<b>13</b>				
	13 CORE	167,436	129,627	
	14 OTHER	10,988	8,630	
	27 OTHER	13	11	

	Other Subtotal	11,001	8,641	
	District Total	178,437	138,268	93.83%
<b>14</b>				
	14 CORE	155,822	124,983	
	2 OTHER	7,545	5,957	
	27 OTHER	14,964	11,882	
	Other Subtotal	22,509	17,839	
	District Total	178,331	142,822	87.38%
<b>15</b>				
	15 CORE	135,275	104,139	
	27 OTHER	15,652	11,508	
	16 OTHER	22,283	17,779	
	11 OTHER	5,908	4,472	
	Other Subtotal	43,843	33,759	
	District Total	179,118	137,898	75.52%
<b>16</b>				
	16 CORE	168,088	130,666	
	27 OTHER	3,331	2,629	
	13 OTHER	0	0	
	26 OTHER	7,189	5,973	
	Other Subtotal	10,520	8,602	
	District Total	178,608	139,268	94.11%
<b>17</b>				
	17 CORE	171,652	133,810	
	32 OTHER	2,424	1,821	
	27 OTHER	2,582	2,045	
	15 OTHER	2,171	1,682	
	Other Subtotal	7,177	5,548	
	District Total	178,829	139,358	95.99%
<b>18</b>				
	18 CORE	170,505	136,465	
	20 OTHER	1,884	1,468	
	14 OTHER	28	25	
	19 OTHER	6,395	5,070	
	Other Subtotal	8,307	6,563	
	District Total	178,812	143,028	95.35%
<b>19</b>				
	19 CORE	174,928	135,283	
	2 OTHER	3,622	2,836	
	Other Subtotal	3,622	2,836	
	District Total	178,550	138,119	97.97%

<b>20</b>				
	20 CORE	167,284	131,386	
	9 OTHER	1,059	866	
	1 OTHER	2,131	1,715	
	13 OTHER	2,911	2,110	
	18 OTHER	5,305	4,224	
	Other Subtotal	11,406	8,915	
	District Total	178,690	140,301	93.62%
<b>21</b>				
	21 CORE	170,319	135,283	
	28 OTHER	5,034	3,960	
	11 OTHER	2,105	1,700	
	22 OTHER	910	813	
	Other Subtotal	8,049	6,473	
	District Total	178,368	141,756	95.49%
<b>22</b>				
	22 CORE	170,210	128,581	
	21 OTHER	7,882	5,965	
	Other Subtotal	7,882	5,965	
	District Total	178,092	134,546	95.57%
<b>23</b>				
	23 CORE	155,571	118,123	
	25 OTHER	1	1	
	31 OTHER	20,216	16,019	
	29 OTHER	2,572	1,924	
	Other Subtotal	22,789	17,944	
	District Total	178,360	136,067	87.22%
<b>24</b>				
	24 CORE	172,306	136,809	
	32 OTHER	1,730	1,267	
	14 OTHER	4,371	3,755	
	Other Subtotal	6,101	5,022	
	District Total	178,407	141,831	96.58%
<b>25</b>				
	25 CORE	168,579	136,300	
	10 OTHER	9,891	7,922	
	Other Subtotal	9,891	7,922	
	District Total	178,470	144,222	94.46%
<b>26</b>				
	26 CORE	178,278	152,049	
	27 OTHER	471	327	

	Other Subtotal	471	327	
	District Total	178,749	152,376	99.74%
<b>27</b>				
	27 CORE	158,777	121,894	
	16 OTHER	2,127	1,807	
	26 OTHER	16,005	12,857	
	14 OTHER	2,051	1,589	
	Other Subtotal	20,183	16,253	
	District Total	178,960	138,147	88.72%
<b>28</b>				
	28 CORE	149,072	118,585	
	11 OTHER	29,434	22,804	
	Other Subtotal	29,434	22,804	
	District Total	178,506	141,389	83.51%
<b>29</b>				
	29 CORE	173,613	135,463	
	12 OTHER	1,463	1,165	
	23 OTHER	3,715	2,979	
	Other Subtotal	5,178	4,144	
	District Total	178,791	139,607	97.10%
<b>30</b>				
	30 CORE	167,424	128,218	
	1 OTHER	9,738	7,341	
	2 OTHER	1,421	1,155	
	Other Subtotal	11,159	8,496	
	District Total	178,583	136,714	93.75%
<b>31</b>				
	31 CORE	157,040	123,332	
	23 OTHER	6,829	5,143	
	10 OTHER	14,761	12,088	
	Other Subtotal	21,590	17,231	
	District Total	178,630	140,563	87.91%
<b>32</b>				
	32 CORE	175,002	137,482	
	17 OTHER	1,880	1,337	
	24 OTHER	1,503	1,154	
	Other Subtotal	3,383	2,491	
	District Total	178,385	139,973	98.10%
<b>33</b>				
	33 CORE	162,324	127,497	

13 OTHER	10,639	8,469	
28 OTHER	0	0	
8 OTHER	5,784	4,320	
Other Subtotal	16,423	12,789	
District Total	178,747	140,286	90.81%

## Compactness metrics for Assembly districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621

Assembly District	Reock	Polsby Popper
1	0.156	0.094
2	0.211	0.156
3	0.31	0.235
4	0.237	0.142
5	0.557	0.242
6	0.288	0.236
7	0.182	0.133
8	0.589	0.356
9	0.433	0.232
10	0.378	0.157
11	0.38	0.238
12	0.516	0.339
13	0.602	0.515
14	0.318	0.14
15	0.303	0.273
16	0.473	0.358
17	0.352	0.314
18	0.299	0.209
19	0.247	0.122
20	0.432	0.385
21	0.353	0.335
22	0.283	0.28
23	0.347	0.232
24	0.278	0.189
25	0.407	0.384
26	0.43	0.234
27	0.486	0.261
28	0.548	0.265
29	0.348	0.235
30	0.402	0.158
31	0.26	0.207
32	0.275	0.295
33	0.446	0.341
34	0.564	0.558
35	0.288	0.31
36	0.525	0.201
37	0.166	0.176
38	0.298	0.226
39	0.283	0.26
40	0.563	0.365
41	0.311	0.21
42	0.351	0.194
43	0.429	0.17
44	0.386	0.051

45	0.24	0.263
46	0.574	0.333
47	0.152	0.048
48	0.329	0.081
49	0.472	0.342
50	0.418	0.269
51	0.418	0.296
52	0.452	0.438
53	0.479	0.124
54	0.315	0.06
55	0.304	0.296
56	0.292	0.267
57	0.39	0.227
58	0.499	0.157
59	0.307	0.218
60	0.44	0.232
61	0.3	0.152
62	0.201	0.224
63	0.25	0.29
64	0.21	0.062
65	0.688	0.204
66	0.31	0.115
67	0.39	0.249
68	0.375	0.261
69	0.3	0.29
70	0.17	0.146
71	0.45	0.303
72	0.361	0.266
73	0.258	0.166
74	0.407	0.144
75	0.536	0.603
76	0.191	0.223
77	0.375	0.082
78	0.367	0.06
79	0.224	0.065
80	0.321	0.125
81	0.381	0.227
82	0.302	0.354
83	0.293	0.266
84	0.41	0.333
85	0.428	0.167
86	0.292	0.126
87	0.295	0.346
88	0.354	0.183
89	0.289	0.199
90	0.342	0.168
91	0.356	0.07

92	0.348	0.363
93	0.184	0.225
94	0.428	0.201
95	0.309	0.101
96	0.405	0.323
97	0.322	0.141
98	0.617	0.472
99	0.517	0.19

Mean:	0.363	0.234
Max:	0.688	0.603
Min:	0.152	0.048

**Compactness metrics for Senate districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621**

<b>Senate District</b>	<b>Reock</b>	<b>Polsby Popper</b>
1	0.129	0.06
2	0.277	0.186
3	0.412	0.283
4	0.337	0.227
5	0.415	0.239
6	0.398	0.227
7	0.288	0.178
8	0.283	0.172
9	0.488	0.409
10	0.389	0.312
11	0.446	0.313
12	0.484	0.365
13	0.481	0.236
14	0.419	0.188
15	0.419	0.247
16	0.312	0.084
17	0.45	0.288
18	0.4	0.258
19	0.36	0.342
20	0.443	0.268
21	0.489	0.141
22	0.234	0.055
23	0.322	0.215
24	0.285	0.197
25	0.368	0.132
26	0.31	0.046
27	0.517	0.16
28	0.258	0.228
29	0.225	0.233
30	0.262	0.102
31	0.293	0.25
32	0.498	0.281
33	0.647	0.215
Mean:	0.374	0.216
Max:	0.647	0.409
Min:	0.129	0.046

**Disenfranchisement Report for Senate districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621**  
 Disenfranchised = FROM: ODD, TO: EVEN

Displayed by AB 624/SB 621 District

2021 AB

624/SB 621 2011 Act 43 Senate

Senate District	District	Persons
	1	6,475
2		0
2	Subtotal (SEN 2):	6,475
	5	16,426
6	Subtotal (SEN 6):	16,426
	33	12,397
8	Subtotal (SEN 8):	12,397
	23	13,393
10		4,137
10		2,177
10	Subtotal (SEN 10):	19,707
	25	3,552
12	Subtotal (SEN 12):	3,552
	27	14,964
14	Subtotal (SEN 14):	14,964
	13	0
16		3,331
16	Subtotal (SEN 16):	3,331
	19	6,395
18	Subtotal (SEN 18):	6,395
	1	2,131
20		1,059
20		2,911
20	Subtotal (SEN 20):	6,101
	21	7,882
22	Subtotal (SEN 22):	7,882
	27	471
26	Subtotal (SEN 26):	471

28	11	29,434
	Subtotal (SEN 28):	29,434
30	1	9,738
	Subtotal (SEN 30):	9,738
32	17	1,880
	Subtotal (SEN 32):	1,880

Total Disenfranchised: 138,753

**Displayed by Act 43 District**

2011 Act 43 Senate District	2021 AB 624/SB621 Senate District	Persons
1	2	6,475
1	20	2,131
1	30	9,738
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 1):	18,344
19	2	0
19	18	6,395
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 19):	6,395
5	6	16,426
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 5):	16,426
33	8	12,397
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 33):	12,397
23	10	13,393
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 23):	13,393
25	10	4,137
25	12	3,552
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 25):	7,689
31	10	2,177
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 31):	2,177
27	14	14,964
27	16	3,331
27	26	471
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 27):	18,766

13	16	0
13	20	2,911
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 13):	2,911
9	20	1,059
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 9):	1,059
21	22	7,882
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 21):	7,882
11	28	29,434
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 11):	29,434
17	32	1,880
	Subtotal (2011 SEN 17):	1,880

Total Disenfranchised: 138,753

## Incumbent Report for Assembly districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621

AB 624/SB 621 Assembly District	Incumbents in district	2020 Assembly District	Name	Party	House
1	1	1	1 Representative Joel Kitchens	Republican	Assembly
2	1	2	2 Representative Shae A. Sortwell	Republican	Assembly
3	1	3	3 Representative Ron W. Tusler	Republican	Assembly
4	1	4	4 Representative David J. Steffen	Republican	Assembly
5	1	5	5 Representative Jim Steineke	Republican	Assembly
6	1	6	6 Representative Gary J. Tauchen	Republican	Assembly
7	1	7	7 Representative Daniel G. Riemer	Democrat	Assembly
8	1	8	8 Representative Sylvia Ortiz-Velez	Democrat	Assembly
9	1	9	9 Representative Marisabel Cabrera	Democrat	Assembly
10	1	10	10 Representative David F. Bowen	Democrat	Assembly
11	1	11	11 Representative Dora E. Drake	Democrat	Assembly
12	1	12	12 Representative LaKeshia Myers	Democrat	Assembly
13	1	13	13 Representative Sara J. Rodriguez	Democrat	Assembly
14	1	14	14 Representative Robyn Vining	Democrat	Assembly
15	2	15	15 Representative Joe J. Sanfelippo	Republican	Assembly
		84	84 Representative Mike Kuglitsch	Republican	Assembly
16	1	16	16 Representative Kalan Haywood	Democrat	Assembly
17	1	17	17 Representative Supreme Moore Omokunde	Democrat	Assembly
18	1	18	18 Representative Evan Goyke	Democrat	Assembly
19	1	19	19 Representative Jonathan F. Brostoff	Democrat	Assembly
20	1	20	20 Representative Christine Sinicki	Democrat	Assembly

21	1	21 Representative Jessie Rodriguez	Republican	Assembly
22	1	22 Representative Janel E. Brandtjen	Republican	Assembly
23	1	23 Representative Deb Andraca	Democrat	Assembly
24	1	24 Representative Daniel R. Knodl	Republican	Assembly
25	1	25 Representative Paul R. Tittl	Republican	Assembly
26	1	26 Representative Terry A. Katsma	Republican	Assembly
27	1	27 Representative Tyler J. Vorpagel	Republican	Assembly
28	1	28 Representative Gae Magnafici	Republican	Assembly
29	1	29 Representative Clint P. Moses	Republican	Assembly
30	0			
31	1	31 Representative Amy Loudenbeck	Republican	Assembly
32	1	32 Representative Tyler C. August	Republican	Assembly
33	1	43 Representative Don J. Vruwink	Democrat	Assembly
34	1	34 Representative Rob M. Swearingen	Republican	Assembly
35	1	35 Representative Calvin T. Callahan	Republican	Assembly
36	1	36 Representative Jeffrey L. Mursau	Republican	Assembly
37	1	37 Representative William Penterman	Republican	Assembly
38	1	38 Representative Barbara Dittrich	Republican	Assembly
39	1	39 Representative Mark L. Born	Republican	Assembly
40	1	40 Representative Kevin D. Petersen	Republican	Assembly
41	1	41 Representative Alex A. Dallman	Republican	Assembly
42	1	42 Representative Jon Plumer	Republican	Assembly
43	0			
44	1	44 Representative Sue S. Conley	Democrat	Assembly

45	1	45 Representative Mark E. Spreitzer	Democrat	Assembly
46	1	46 Representative Gary A. Hebl	Democrat	Assembly
47	1	47 Representative Jimmy P. Anderson	Democrat	Assembly
48	1	48 Representative Samba Baldeh	Democrat	Assembly
49	1	49 Representative Travis Tranel	Republican	Assembly
50	1	50 Representative Tony Kurtz	Republican	Assembly
51	1	51 Representative Todd D. Novak	Republican	Assembly
52	1	52 Representative Jeremy J. Thiesfeldt	Republican	Assembly
53	1	53 Representative Michael K. Schraa	Republican	Assembly
54	1	54 Representative Gordon N. Hintz	Democrat	Assembly
55	1	55 Representative Rachael Cabral-Guevara	Republican	Assembly
56	1	56 Representative David J. Murphy	Republican	Assembly
57	1	57 Representative Lee Snodgrass	Democrat	Assembly
58	1	58 Representative Rick Gundrum	Republican	Assembly
59	1	59 Representative Timothy S. Ramthun	Republican	Assembly
60	1	60 Representative Robert A. Brooks	Republican	Assembly
61	1	61 Representative Samantha Kerkman	Republican	Assembly
62	1	62 Representative Robert Wittke	Republican	Assembly
63	1	63 Representative Robin J. Vos	Republican	Assembly
64	1	64 Representative Tip McGuire	Democrat	Assembly
65	1	65 Representative Tod O. Ohnstad	Democrat	Assembly
66	1	66 Representative Greta Neubauer	Democrat	Assembly
67	1	67 Representative Rob L. Summerfield	Republican	Assembly

68	1	68 Representative Jesse L. James	Republican	Assembly
69	1	69 Representative Donna M. Rozar	Republican	Assembly
70	1	70 Representative Nancy L. VanderMeer	Republican	Assembly
71	1	71 Representative Katrina E. Shankland	Democrat	Assembly
72	1	72 Representative Scott S. Krug	Republican	Assembly
73	1	73 Representative Nick J. Milroy	Democrat	Assembly
74	1	74 Representative Beth M. Meyers	Democrat	Assembly
75	1	75 Representative David Armstrong	Republican	Assembly
76	1	76 Representative Francesca Hong	Democrat	Assembly
77	1	77 Representative Shelia Stubbs	Democrat	Assembly
78	1	78 Representative Lisa B. Subeck	Democrat	Assembly
79	1	79 Representative Dianne Hesselbein	Democrat	Assembly
80	1	80 Representative Sony M. Pope	Democrat	Assembly
81	1	81 Representative Dave L. Considine	Democrat	Assembly
82	2	83 Representative Chuck C. Wichgers 82 Representative Ken P. Skowronski	Republican Republican	Assembly Assembly
83	1	33 Representative Cody J. Horlacher	Republican	Assembly
84	0			
85	1	85 Representative Patrick J. Snyder	Republican	Assembly
86	1	86 Representative John S. Spiros	Republican	Assembly
87	1	87 Representative James W. Edming	Republican	Assembly
88	1	88 Representative John J. Macco	Republican	Assembly
89	1	89 Representative Elijah Behnke	Republican	Assembly
90	1	90 Representative Kristina M. Shelton	Democrat	Assembly

91	1	91 Representative Jodi Emerson	Democrat	Assembly
92	1	92 Representative Treig E. Pronschinske	Republican	Assembly
93	2	30 Representative Shannon M. Zimmerman 93 Representative Warren L. Petryk	Republican Republican	Assembly Assembly
94	1	94 Representative Steve P. Doyle	Democrat	Assembly
95	1	95 Representative Jill E. Billings	Democrat	Assembly
96	1	96 Representative Loren Oldenburg	Republican	Assembly
97	1	97 Representative Scott E. Allen	Republican	Assembly
98	1	98 Representative Adam Neylon	Republican	Assembly
99	1	99 Representative Cindi S. Duchow	Republican	Assembly

## Incumbent Report for Senate districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621

AB 624/SB 621 Senate District	Count	2020 Senate District	Name	Party	House
1	1	1	1 Senator André M. Jacque	Republican	Senate
2	1	2	2 Senator Robert L. Cowles	Republican	Senate
3	1	3	3 Senator Tim Carpenter	Democrat	Senate
4	1	4	4 Senator Lena C. Taylor	Democrat	Senate
5	1	5	5 Senator Dale P. Kooyenga	Republican	Senate
6	1	6	6 Senator LaTonya Johnson	Democrat	Senate
7	1	7	7 Senator Chris Larson	Democrat	Senate
8	1	8	8 Senator Alberta Darling	Republican	Senate
9	1	9	9 Senator Devin LeMahieu	Republican	Senate
10	1	10	10 Senator Rob R. Stafsholt	Republican	Senate
11	1	11	11 Senator Stephen L. Nass	Republican	Senate
12	1	12	12 Senator Mary J. Felzkowski	Republican	Senate
13	0				
14	1	14	14 Senator Joan A. Ballweg	Republican	Senate
15	1	15	15 Senator Janis A. Ringhand	Democrat	Senate
16	1	16	16 Senator Melissa K. Agard	Democrat	Senate
17	1	17	17 Senator Howard L. Marklein	Republican	Senate
18	1	18	18 Senator Dan Feyen	Republican	Senate
19	1	19	19 Senator Roger Roth	Republican	Senate
20	1	20	20 Senator Duey Stroebel	Republican	Senate
21	1	21	21 Senator Van H. Wanggaard	Republican	Senate
22	1	22	22 Senator Robert W. Wirch	Democrat	Senate

23	1	23 Senator Kathleen M. Bernier	Republican	Senate
24	1	24 Senator Patrick Testin	Republican	Senate
25	1	25 Senator Janet T. Bewley	Democrat	Senate
26	1	26 Senator Kelda Roys	Democrat	Senate
27	1	27 Senator Jon Erpenbach	Democrat	Senate
28	1	28 Senator Julian Bradley	Republican	Senate
29	1	29 Senator Jerry Petrowski	Republican	Senate
30	1	30 Senator Eric Wimberger	Republican	Senate
31	1	31 Senator Jeff Smith	Democrat	Senate
32	1	32 Senator Brad Pfaff	Democrat	Senate
33	1	33 Senator Chris L. Kapenga	Republican	Senate

Split Geography Report for Assembly districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621

COUNTIES:

Split Geography

53 Counties Split

Assembly Districts in County

DISTRICT: {Persons}

Adams	41; 72	41: {13,128}	72: {7,526}
Barron	67; 75	67: {25}	75: {46,686}
Brown	1; 2; 4; 5; 6; 88; 89; 90	1: {8,815}	2: {40,437} 4: {59,636} 5: {15,006} 6: {6,441}
Calumet	3; 25; 27; 59	88: {59,542}	89: {19,150} 90: {59,713}
Chippewa	67; 68	3: {37,994}	25: {4,854} 27: {347} 59: {9,247}
Clark	68; 69	67: {51,920}	68: {14,377}
Columbia	37; 39; 41; 42; 81	68: {15,874}	69: {18,785}
Dane	37; 38; 43; 46; 47; 48; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81	37: {6,166}	39: {4,761} 41: {14,899} 42: {29,141} 81: {3,523}
Dodge	37; 39; 42; 53; 59	37: {19,270}	38: {12,303} 43: {39,409} 46: {59,320} 47: {59,591}
Douglas	73; 74	48: {59,697}	76: {59,664} 77: {59,361} 78: {59,724} 79: {59,687}
Dunn	29; 67; 93	80: {52,997}	81: {20,481}
Eau Claire	67; 68; 91; 92; 93	37: {19,272}	39: {54,676} 42: {7,644} 53: {7,795} 59: {9}
Fond du Lac	42; 52; 53; 59	73: {38,970}	74: {5,325}
Green	43; 45; 51; 80	29: {38,209}	67: {1,496} 93: {5,735}
Green Lake	41; 42	67: {6,150}	68: {29,171} 91: {59,413} 92: {1,205} 93: {9,771}
Iowa	49; 51; 80; 81	42: {12,149}	52: {59,579} 53: {15,500} 59: {16,926}
Jackson	69; 70; 92	43: {498}	45: {14,535} 51: {16,850} 80: {5,210}
Jefferson	33; 37; 38; 99	41: {12,865}	42: {6,153}
Juneau	41; 50	49: {146}	51: {16,330} 80: {1,348} 81: {5,885}
Kenosha	32; 61; 64; 65	69: {8,452}	70: {1,628} 92: {11,065}
La Crosse	70; 94; 95	33: {41,112}	37: {14,674} 38: {29,112} 99: {2}
Lafayette	49; 51	41: {4}	50: {26,714}
Manitowoc	2; 3; 25; 27	32: {3,396}	61: {59,409} 64: {46,981} 65: {59,365}
Marathon	35; 69; 85; 86; 87	70: {1,711}	94: {59,594} 95: {59,479}
Marinette	36; 89	49: {1,690}	51: {14,921}
Marquette	41; 42	2: {19,043}	3: {773} 25: {54,606} 27: {6,937}
		35: {1,958}	69: {14,684} 85: {59,672} 86: {52,639} 87: {9,060}
		36: {19,101}	89: {22,771}
		41: {11,097}	42: {4,495}

7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16;  
17; 18; 19; 20; 21; 23; 82; 84

Milwaukee

8: {59,362} 9: {59,571} 10: {59,503} 11: {59,565}

7: {59,603}

12: {59,351}

13: {5,097} 14: {59,609} 15: {14,814} 16: {59,714}

17: {59,435}

18: {59,346} 19: {59,320} 20: {59,548} 21: {59,592}

23: {38,804}

82: {47,719} 84: {59,536}

70: {30,442}

96: {15,832}

6: {0}

35: {4,533} 36: {17,025} 89: {17,407}

34: {36,473}

35: {1,372}

2: {284}

3: {20,961} 4: {0} 5: {44,368} 6: {19,991}

40: {2,343}

55: {7,972} 56: {59,596} 57: {35,190}

23: {20,579}

24: {24,406} 60: {46,518}

92: {3,177}

93: {4,141}

30: {2,177}

93: {40,035}

28: {42,912}

29: {1,987} 75: {78}

70: {10,057}

71: {59,447} 72: {873}

62: {59,425}

63: {59,534} 64: {12,381} 66: {59,365} 83: {7,022}

49: {5,694}

50: {8,341} 51: {3,269}

31: {20,532}

33: {18,479} 43: {19,778} 44: {59,741} 45: {45,157}

41: {6,345}

50: {21,294} 51: {8,295} 81: {29,829}

74: {1,824}

87: {16,250}

6: {31,755}

35: {3,789} 36: {5,323} 40: {14}

26: {59,640}

27: {52,443} 59: {5,951}

28: {16,831}

29: {19,308} 30: {57,386} 93: {11}

49: {240}

50: {3,107} 96: {27,367}

31: {39,062}

32: {56,160} 63: {0} 83: {11,256}

73: {3,971}

75: {12,652}

22: {15,564}

24: {21,158} 58: {59,607} 59: {27,616} 60: {12,816}

13; 15; 22; 24; 38; 82; 83; 97; 98;

13: {54,454}

15: {44,562} 22: {43,902} 24: {14,139} 38: {18,203}

99

82: {11,645}

83: {41,328} 97: {59,664} 98: {59,406} 99: {59,675}

Waukesha

Waupaca  
 Waushara  
 Winnebago  
 Wood

6: {1,267}  
 40: {6,416}  
 53: {36,330}  
 69: {17,426}

40: {50,545}  
 41: {1,093}  
 54: {59,608}  
 70: {15,598}

6; 40  
 40; 41; 72  
 53; 54; 55; 57  
 69; 70; 72; 86

**Cities, Villages, Towns:**

**Split Geography**

Brown, Ashwaubenon - V  
 Brown, Green Bay - C  
 Brown, Howard - V  
 Dane, Burke - T  
 Dane, DeForest - V  
 Dane, Fitchburg - C  
 Dane, Madison - C

**48 CTVs Split**

**Districts in County**

4; 5  
 1; 4; 88; 89; 90  
 4; 89  
 46; 79  
 37; 79  
 47; 80  
 46; 47; 48; 76; 77; 78; 79

**DISTRICT: {Persons}**

4: {12,196}  
 1: {21}  
 4: {15,608}  
 46: {2,686}  
 37: {10,787}  
 47: {24,698}  
 46: {7,182}  
 78: {59,724}  
 79: {16,270}  
 37: {3,339}  
 37: {644}  
 67: {3,454}  
 68: {4,438}  
 64: {40,621}  
 61: {174}  
 61: {2,860}  
 94: {2,289}  
 12: {1,571}  
 21: {2,300}  
 82: {11,500}  
 7: {7,371}

5: {4,795}  
 4: {17,676}  
 89: {4,342}  
 79: {579}  
 79: {24}  
 80: {4,911}  
 47: {9,420}  
 48: {58,329}  
 79: {18,329}  
 80: {5,557}  
 79: {5,415}  
 39: {522}  
 68: {4,365}  
 93: {3,224}  
 65: {59,365}  
 64: {818}  
 64: {5,542}  
 95: {2,515}  
 23: {10,936}  
 82: {34,516}  
 84: {3,354}  
 82: {1,703}

88: {27,997}  
 89: {1,988}  
 90: {59,713}

Dane, Middleton - C

Dane, Windsor - V

Dodge, Lowell - T

Eau Claire, Eau Claire - C

Eau Claire, Washington - T

Kenosha, Kenosha - C

Kenosha, Somers - T

Kenosha, Somers - V

La Crosse, Shelby - T

Milwaukee, Brown Deer - V

Milwaukee, Franklin - C

Milwaukee, Greendale - V

Milwaukee, Greenfield - C

Milwaukee, Milwaukee - C

Milwaukee, Wauwatosa - C

Milwaukee, West Allis - C

79; 80

37; 79

37; 39

67; 68; 91; 93

68; 93

64; 65

61; 64

61; 64

94; 95

12; 23

21; 82

82; 84

7; 82; 84

7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 16; 17; 18; 19;

12; 13; 14; 18

7; 14; 15

7: {35,225}

12: {56,023}

20: {32,183}

12: {1,757}

7: {17,007}

8: {59,362}

16: {59,714}

84: {19,733}

13: {5,097}

14: {28,504}

9: {55,457}

17: {59,435}

14: {31,105}

15: {14,814}

10: {32,287}

18: {48,918}

11: {59,565}

19: {59,320}

84: {28,729}

Outagamie, Appleton - C	3; 56; 57	3: {3,150}	56: {24,559}	57: {35,190}
Outagamie, Grand Chute - T	55; 56	55: {7,972}	56: {15,859}	
Outagamie, Seymour - T	5; 6	5: {732}	6: {459}	
Ozaukee, Mequon - C	23; 24	23: {17,185}	24: {7,957}	
Portage, Hull - T	70; 71	70: {4,115}	71: {1,172}	
Racine, Mount Pleasant - V	62; 63; 64	62: {3,762}	63: {18,984}	64: {4,986}
Racine, Racine - C	62; 64; 66	62: {11,775}	64: {6,885}	66: {59,156}
Racine, Waterford - T	62; 83	62: {5,034}	83: {1,480}	
Rock, Beloit - C	31; 45	31: {7,292}	45: {29,365}	
Rock, Beloit - T	31; 45	31: {5,135}	45: {2,586}	
Rock, Janesville - C	31; 33; 43; 44	31: {39}	33: {5,823}	43: {12}
Rock, Plymouth - T	43; 45	43: {954}	45: {291}	44: {59,741}
Sheboygan, Sheboygan - C	26; 27	26: {31,334}	27: {18,595}	
Washington, Hartford - T	58; 59	58: {2,474}	59: {926}	
Washington, Trenton - T	58; 60	58: {1,032}	60: {3,493}	
Waukesha, Lisbon - T	22; 99	22: {4,885}	99: {5,592}	
Waukesha, Menomonee Falls - V	22; 24	22: {24,388}	24: {14,139}	
Waukesha, Mukwonago - T	83; 97	83: {5,395}	97: {2,386}	
Waukesha, Muskego - C	82; 83	82: {11,645}	83: {13,387}	
Waukesha, Summit - V	97; 99	97: {1,590}	99: {3,194}	
Waukesha, Waukesha - C	97; 98	97: {35,904}	98: {35,254}	
Waukesha, Waukesha - T	15; 97	15: {4,111}	97: {4,346}	
Winnebago, Fox Crossing - V	55; 57	55: {11,449}	57: {7,525}	
Winnebago, Oshkosh - C	53; 54	53: {7,208}	54: {59,608}	
Wood, Marshfield - C	69; 86	69: {14,101}	86: {4,018}	

**101 Counties, cities, villages, and towns split**

**Total Split:**

**Split Geography Report for Senate districts in 2021 Assembly Bill 624 and Senate Bill 621**

COUNTIES:	42 Counties Split	Senate Districts in County	DISTRICT: {Persons}
<b>Split Geography</b>			
Adams	14; 24	14: {13,128}	24: {7,526}
Barron	23; 25	23: {25}	25: {46,686}
Brown	1; 2; 30	1: {49,252}	2: {81,083}
Calumet	1; 9; 20	1: {37,994}	9: {5,201}
Columbia	13; 14; 27	13: {10,927}	14: {44,040}
Dane	13; 15; 16; 26; 27	13: {31,573}	15: {39,409}
Dodge	13; 14; 18; 20	13: {73,948}	14: {7,644}
Dunn	10; 23; 31	10: {38,209}	23: {1,496}
Eau Claire	23; 31	23: {35,321}	31: {70,389}
Fond du Lac	14; 18; 20	14: {12,149}	18: {75,079}
Green	15; 17; 27	15: {15,033}	17: {16,850}
Iowa	17; 27	17: {16,476}	27: {7,233}
Jackson	23; 24; 31	23: {8,452}	24: {1,628}
Jefferson	11; 13; 33	11: {41,112}	13: {43,786}
Juneau	14; 17	14: {4}	17: {26,714}
Kenosha	11; 21; 22	11: {3,396}	21: {59,409}
La Crosse	24; 32	24: {1,711}	32: {119,073}
Manitowoc	1; 9	1: {19,816}	9: {61,543}
Marathon	12; 23; 29	12: {1,958}	23: {14,684}
Marinette	12; 30	12: {19,101}	30: {22,771}
Milwaukee	3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 28	3: {178,536}	4: {178,419}
		8: {38,804}	5: {79,520}
		24: {30,442}	6: {178,495}
Monroe	24; 32	24: {30,442}	7: {178,460}
Oconto	2; 12; 30	2: {0}	30: {17,407}
Outagamie	1; 2; 14; 19	1: {21,245}	14: {2,343}
Ozaukee	8; 20	8: {44,985}	19: {102,758}
Pierce	10; 31	10: {2,177}	31: {40,035}
Polk	10; 25	10: {44,899}	25: {78}
Racine	21; 22; 28	21: {118,959}	22: {71,746}
Rock	11; 15	11: {39,011}	15: {124,676}
			26: {178,749}
			27: {133,165}
			28: {7,022}

Sauk	14: {6,345}	14: {17; 27}	17: {29,589}	27: {29,829}
Sawyer	25: {1,824}	25; 29	29: {16,250}	
Shawano	2: {31,755}	2; 12; 14	12: {9,112}	14: {14}
Sheboygan	9: {112,083}	9; 20	20: {5,951}	
St. Croix	10: {93,525}	10; 31	31: {11}	
Vernon	17: {3,347}	17; 32	32: {27,367}	
Walworth	11: {95,222}	11; 21; 28	21: {0}	28: {11,256}
Washington	8: {36,722}	8; 20	20: {100,039}	
Waukesha	5: {99,016}	5; 8; 13; 28; 33	8: {58,041}	13: {18,203} 28: {52,973} 33: {178,745}
Waupaca	2: {1,267}	2; 14	14: {50,545}	
Waushara	14: {7,509}	14; 24	24: {17,011}	
Winnebago	18: {95,938}	18; 19	19: {75,792}	
Wood	23: {17,426}	23; 24; 29	24: {49,712}	29: {7,069}

**28 CTVs Split**

**Cities, Villages, Towns:**

**Split Geography**

Brown, Green Bay - C	1; 2; 30		2: {17,676}	30: {89,698}
Brown, Howard - V	2; 30		30: {4,342}	
Dane, Burke - T	16; 27		27: {579}	
Dane, DeForest - V	13; 27		27: {24}	
Dane, Fitchburg - C	16; 27		27: {4,911}	
Dane, Madison - C	16; 26; 27		26: {176,580}	27: {18,329}
Dane, Windsor - V	13; 27		27: {5,415}	
Eau Claire, Eau Claire - C	23; 31		31: {59,419}	
Eau Claire, Washington - T	23; 31		31: {3,224}	
Kenosha, Somers - T	21; 22		22: {818}	
Kenosha, Somers - V	21; 22		22: {5,542}	
Milwaukee, Brown Deer - V	4; 8		8: {10,936}	
Milwaukee, Franklin - C	7; 28		28: {34,516}	
Milwaukee, Greenfield - C	3; 28		28: {30,432}	
Milwaukee, Milwaukee - C	3; 4; 6; 7; 28		4: {147,875}	6: {168,067} 7: {91,503} 28: {19,733}
Milwaukee, Wauwatosa - C	4; 5; 6		5: {36,202}	6: {10,428}
Milwaukee, West Allis - C	3; 5		5: {43,318}	
Outagamie, Appleton - C	1; 19		19: {59,749}	

**DISTRICT: {Persons}**

1: {21}	
2: {15,608}	
16: {2,686}	
13: {10,787}	
16: {24,698}	
16: {74,931}	
13: {3,339}	
23: {7,819}	
23: {4,438}	
21: {174}	
21: {2,860}	
4: {1,571}	
7: {2,300}	
3: {7,371}	
3: {150,044}	
4: {1,757}	
3: {17,007}	
1: {3,150}	

Racine, Mount Pleasant - V	21; 22	21: {22,746}	22: {4,986}
Racine, Racine - C	21; 22	21: {11,775}	22: {66,041}
Racine, Waterford - T	21; 28	21: {5,034}	28: {1,480}
Rock, Beloit - C	11; 15	11: {7,292}	15: {29,365}
Rock, Beloit - T	11; 15	11: {5,135}	15: {2,586}
Rock, Janesville - C	11; 15	11: {5,862}	15: {59,753}
Waukesha, Lisbon - T	8; 33	8: {4,885}	33: {5,592}
Waukesha, Mukwonago - T	28; 33	28: {5,395}	33: {2,386}
Waukesha, Waukesha - T	5; 33	5: {4,111}	33: {4,346}
Wood, Marshfield - C	23; 29	23: {14,101}	29: {4,018}

**Total Split: 70 Counties, cities, villages, and towns split**

STATE POLITICS

# Lawmakers were made to pledge secrecy over redistricting

Public comments were to be ignored, GOP memo shows

Feb. 06, 2012

## **Election 2012**



**Madison** - As legislative leaders secretly developed new election maps last year to strengthen their majority, Republican lawmakers were told to ignore public comments and instead focus on what was said in private strategy sessions, according to a GOP memo that became public Monday.

Other newly released documents also show almost all Republican lawmakers signed legal agreements promising not to discuss the new maps while they were being developed.

GOP lawmakers fought releasing these new documents and testifying about the maps in a pending court case but relented after a panel of three federal judges based in Milwaukee last month found they had filed frivolous motions in trying to shield the information from the public.

Included in the documents released Monday was a set of talking points that stressed that those who discussed the maps could eventually be called as a witness in a court case.

"Public comments on this map may be different than what you hear in this room. Ignore the public comments," the talking points also say.

Every 10 years, states must draw new legislative and congressional maps to account for population changes recorded by the U.S. Census Bureau. In Wisconsin, courts have largely drawn the maps in past decades because of partisan gridlock, but Republicans were able to approve maps that benefited them last year because they controlled state government.

Even before the maps were unveiled, a group of Democratic residents sued over the issue in federal court in Milwaukee. The case goes before the three-judge panel Feb. 21 to hear the group's arguments that the maps violate the U.S. Constitution and federal Voting Rights Act because of the way they treat minority communities and move voters from one district to another.

An immigrant rights group contends that Republicans violated the state's open meetings law in how they developed the maps and filed a complaint Monday with Dane County District Attorney Ismael Ozanne.

Legislative leaders sometimes ask rank-and-file legislators to keep quiet about sensitive legislation, but they do not ask them to sign pledges of secrecy.

The agreement tells each lawmaker "you agree not to disclose the fact and/or contents of such discussions or any draft documents within your possession."

## **Signed By Attorney**

All the agreements were also signed by Eric McLeod of Michael Best & Friedrich, one of several attorneys who advised lawmakers on the maps. Legislative leaders have committed \$400,000 in taxpayer money to pay Michael Best and the Troupis Law Office for their work on the maps.

McLeod has drawn attention in recent months for providing legal services to state Supreme Court Justice Michael Gableman under an arrangement in which Gableman did not have to pay.

Republicans and Michael Best turned over the legislative maps and talking points in response to a federal court order. Based on those documents, the immigrant rights group Voces de la Frontera asked McLeod to turn over the confidentiality agreements with 75 Republicans, something he did last week.

Senate Majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald (R-Juneau) and Assembly Speaker Jeff Fitzgerald (R-Horicon), the brothers who hold the top two spots in the Legislature, declined to comment through aides on Monday because of the pending litigation.

Electronic records say the talking points were created by "afoltz," an apparent reference to Adam Foltz, a legislative aide to Jeff Fitzgerald who helped draft the maps. It was created June 20 and last saved July 7 - the weeks just before the new maps were introduced as legislation.

In a deposition Wednesday, Foltz said he probably helped write the talking points but did not specifically remember doing so.

He said he couldn't remember why the document was created or to whom it was given. When asked what was meant by the suggestion in the document to "ignore the public comments," Foltz said he believed it

referred to the public at large, rather than comments leaders made to the public.

"I would assume the general public. I honestly don't know exactly what it's referring to there," Foltz said.

But Voces attorney Peter Earle said it was clear from the case's record that GOP lawmakers were being told to ignore what their leaders were saying publicly and to focus on what they said in private.

## **Maps Compared**

The new batch of records also includes memos from Foltz to Republican lawmakers telling them how GOP candidates performed in their districts under the new and old maps. In a deposition in December, Foltz testified the new maps were not meant to increase the GOP majority in the Legislature.

Of the 58 Republicans in the state Assembly at the time, 33 would pick up additional Republican voters. For instance, the district for freshman Rep. Mike Endsley (R-Sheboygan) would go from marginally to solidly Republican.

Those Republican representatives experiencing a drop in the number of Republican voters in their district under the redistricting plan would still have a strong Republican majority of voters. For instance, the district represented by Rep. Joel Kleefisch (R-Oconomowoc) would still be about 60% Republican despite losing a share of its GOP bases under the redistricting plan.

Republicans had the maps drafted in Michael Best's Madison offices and believed the process they used granted them attorney-client privilege that would keep their communications from being disclosed publicly. But the three-judge panel has rejected that argument and said

lawmakers were trying to keep too much under wraps. McLeod and two other attorneys in the case were ordered to pay nearly \$17,500 last month after the court found they had filed frivolous motions trying to keep information secret.

Senate President Mike Ellis (R-Neenah) said Monday he had never before been asked to sign a confidentiality agreement during his four decades in office.

He said he visited Michael Best's office to review his map last year but those at the office would not permit his aide to see it. He said the meeting lasted about five minutes.

"It was a pain in the you-know-what," he said.

The lawsuit over the maps was first brought by the group of Democratic residents. It was consolidated with a similar lawsuit by Voces. That is the group that filed the complaint Monday with the Dane County district attorney.

"This is an intentional plan to legislate in secret under the guise of attorney-client privilege," Earle said.

Ozanne, the district attorney, said he had just received the complaint and couldn't comment until he had had a chance to review it thoroughly.

Ozanne last year brought a complaint against state lawmakers contending they violated the open meetings law when they passed a bill that curbed collective bargaining for most public workers. The state Supreme Court ruled in June that legislators had not violated the meetings law and that key aspects of the law do not apply to the Legislature.

Earle's complaint argues the redistricting meetings at the Michael Best offices amounted to a violation of the open meetings law. That's because the individual meetings were about whether the lawmakers supported the redistricting bill and together all the Republican lawmakers from the Senate and Assembly amounted to a "secret majority" that would vote in favor of the redistricting bill.

However, the state's open meetings law has an explicit exemption for private meetings of the Legislature's Republican and Democratic caucuses.

<https://archive.jsonline.com/news/statepolitics/lawmakers-were-made-to-pledge-secrecy-over-redistricting-9643ep0-138826854.html/>



October 28, 2021

Testimony of Matt Rothschild

Executive Director, Wisconsin Democracy Campaign

Joint Public Hearing Before the Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review,  
and Consumer Protection and the Assembly Committee on State Affairs

**In opposition to SB 621/AB 624 and SB 622/AB 625**

Mister Chairmen and other distinguished members of the Committee,

I'm Matt Rothschild, the executive director of the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, which, since 1995, has been tracking and exposing the money in Wisconsin politics and advocating for a full range of pro-democracy reforms, including banning gerrymandering.

That's why we oppose SB 621/AB 624 and SB 622/AB 625.

Meet the new maps, just like the old maps. Wisconsinites won't get fooled again.

These maps are a cynical, partisan maneuver to keep one political party in power not by changing a single voter's mind but simply by moving lines here and there on a map to give yourselves an advantage.

This is not fair play. This is not Wisconsin nice.

As the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* reported, under the new map, "61 of the Assembly's 99 districts would lean Republican." The State Senate would also be heavily tilted toward Republicans. And six of our eight Congressional districts would be solidly Republican, even though Wisconsin is evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats.

The maps would also be very uncompetitive. As the *Journal Sentinel* noted, 81 of the 99 Assembly seats "have double-digit leans" in favor of one party or another. The only election that would matter in these 81 districts would be the primary. And if a candidate is not toeing the party line, he or she would be primaried by their leadership. So members of both parties will become more partisan and less willing to work across the aisle to pass laws and enact policies that Wisconsinites urgently need.

The bias of these maps is not surprising. The Legislature passed a joint resolution a few weeks ago, with the majority announcing out loud that one of its primary goals was to "retain as much

as possible the core of existing districts.” That is, you wanted to keep the old rigged maps of 2011 intact as much as possible.

Congratulations: You’ve succeeded in doing so. As the Legislative Reference Bureau noted: “The average core retention rate for Assembly districts is 84.16 percent and the average core retention rate for Senate districts is 92.21 percent.”

The problem at the core of these maps is that they’re grossly unfair. In fact, a panel of federal judges in November 2016 ruled that they were so unfair as to be unconstitutional. “There is no question,” they said, that the maps were “designed to make it more difficult for Democrats, compared to Republicans, to translate their votes into seats. . . . It secured for Republicans a lasting Assembly majority. It did so by allocating votes among the newly created districts in such a way that, in any likely electoral scenario, the number of Republican seats would not drop below 50%.”

In January 2017, those judges ordered the maps to be redrawn. Here’s what they said: “The people of Wisconsin already have endured several elections under an unconstitutional reapportionment scheme. If they are to be spared another such event, a new map must be drawn in time for the preparatory steps leading up to the election.”

That was almost five years ago. Now you want the people of Wisconsin to have to endure dozens of additional elections under a similar scheme for another decade to come?

That is simply intolerable.

And the people of Wisconsin will not tolerate it.

Already, 56 counties have told you, via county board resolution or referendum, that their citizens want independent, nonpartisan redistricting.

This is anything but.

By rigging the maps again, you’re not only **not** doing what We, the People, want. You’re doing the opposite of what We, the People, want.

And in the process, you are undermining people’s faith in our democracy.

Thank you for considering our view on this crucial issue.

Primary Election Result in the 8th AD

2014			2016			2018	
Ward	Total	% of vote	Ward	Total	% of Vote	Ward	Total
222	50	4.4%	222	58	5%	222	
223	74	6.6%	223	59	6%	223	
224	30	2.7%	224	42	4%	224	
225	38	3.4%	225	33	3%	225	
228	31	2.8%	228	31	3%	228	
229	30	2.7%	229	22	2%	229	
230	80	7.1%	230	77	7%	230	
231	37	3.3%	231	30	3%	231	
232	18	1.6%	232	9	1%	232	
233	22	2.0%	233	16	2%	233	
234	33	2.9%	234	41	4%	234	
235	157	14.0%	235	162	15%	235	3
236	65	5.8%	236	61	6%	236	
237	44	3.9%	237	33	3%	237	
238	46	4.1%	238	40	4%	238	
239	41	3.6%	239	57	5%	239	
240	41	3.6%	240	48	5%	240	
249	33	2.9%	249	34	3%	249	
250	32	2.8%	250	48	5%	250	
251	17	1.5%	251	13	1%	251	
254	17	1.5%	254	8	1%	254	
255	18	1.6%	255	33	3%	255	
256	20	1.8%	256	20	2%	256	
257	92	8.2%	257	56	5%	257	
321	21	1.9%	321	12	1%	321	
323	24	2.1%	323	20	2%	323	
324	13	1.2%	324	3	0%	324	
Total	1124			1066		Total	13

Currently 235 and 240 are east of I-94.

## Mitchell, Summer

---

**From:** Bryant, Michelle  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 28, 2021 11:06 AM  
**To:** Mitchell, Summer  
**Subject:** FW: 8th Assembly District Primary Results

Rob Swearingen

Chair, Committee on State Affairs

2 E. Main St. Madison, WI

53703

My name is Representative Ortiz-Velez and I represent the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly District located in Milwaukee on the near Southside which encompasses the Latino Community of Milwaukee. I have reviewed the maps before us and I wish to make the following observations. Under this Map, District 8 has a total Hispanic population of 69.42% and a Voting Age population of 65.9%. District 9's total Hispanic population is 58.34% and a VAP of 52.96%. District 7 has a 24.23% total Hispanic Population and Voting Age Population of 19.86%. Finally, Senate District 3 has a total Hispanic population of 50.53% and VAP of 45.13%. I want to say firstly that I agree with these percentages of Total Population and Voting population in creating two Majority Hispanic Assembly Districts and one influence district. Any percentages lower than this would not be acceptable under the *Baldus V. Brennan* 2012 court ruling. Due to the voting behavior of the Latino Community, I contend that you must keep these three Assembly Districts together to give the Latino Community an opportunity to elect the Senator of their choice.

In *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the Supreme Court reviewed these factors in clarifying the test for a vote dilution claim. The court held that a successful claim requires showing that: 1) The effected minority group is sufficiently large enough to elect a representative of its choice; 2) The minority group is politically cohesive; 3) White majority voters vote in sufficient numbers to usually defeat the minority group's preferred candidates. I believe the current legislative map of District 8 is a serious violation of section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, on account of white majority voters defeating the minority group's preferred candidates. In District 8, which contains 27 wards, according to Milwaukee County electoral data, 24% of the vote is concentrated in one ward (ward 235, Walker's Point). That ward is a majority white voting bloc with a disproportionate electoral impact that dilutes the voting power and political voice of Milwaukee's Latino community. Additionally, that ward is east of I-94, separate from the majority of Latino majority wards in the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly District, and has a median income higher than the remaining wards as well. From data that is available, it appears there are multiple other ways to draw District 8 as a Hispanic-majority district without diluting the Latino vote. This area east of I-94/43 are a majority white and has a high voter turnout, as demonstrated by the data from the Milwaukee County Elections Commission which is being provided with this written testimony. This area also will likely continue to grow in population, given certain commercial and residential developments in the area, and will continue to dilute the Latino Vote.

Sincerely,

Sylvia Ortiz-Velez

State Representative

Assembly District #8

October 28, 2021

TO: Wisconsin State Senate Committee on Governmental Operations  
Sen. Duey Stroebel, Chair

Wisconsin State Assembly Committee on State Affairs  
Rep. Rob Swearingen, Chair

FROM: Henry Veleker, Retired Public Management Professional  
Current residence: City of Waupaca (Senate District 14 and Assembly District 40)

RE: SB 621 and AB 624 – Establishing Legislative Districts for State and National  
Elections based on 2020 Decennial US Census Data

Thank you Chairs Stroebel and Swearingen and members of the joint committee for allowing me to testify on SB 621 and AB 624.

I would like to focus my comments today on two points – transparency and leadership. Both inform and support one other and in my view are keys to not only success in the public sphere but the private sphere as well.

On the topic of transparency. Reporting in the Sunday, October 17, 2021 edition of my regional paper “The Post Crescent” stated that this public hearing would not happen. I’m glad that this hearing is happening because it’s important to our democracy. You as state representatives have an obligation to be transparent in your proceedings as well as to allow your constituents, whoever they may be, the opportunity to be heard. So thank you for calling and attending this public hearing.

In my 30+years in local government, I learned that transparency in legislating and policy making can have a positive impact on decisions, in making better decisions. I can’t count how many times I would find members of the Common Councils I worked for having a pre-determined idea or made a preliminary decision or judgement on a particular policy matter or vote, only to change their minds after hearing from the public. In the end, these local officials have the best interest of the community top of mind so hearing from the public should always be looked upon positively. It shouldn’t be seen as a “have to” just to check a box. My guess is that many of you have come into this hearing having determined how you intend to vote on the bills before you. My hope, and the hope of those testifying today, is that you do indeed listen to the comments/concerns you receive on how to make these bills better.

My second point is on leadership. I am frankly dismayed and disappointed by our elected “leaders” actions and behaviors. Please note that I am saying “leaders”. As such you have an obligation to lead us. That means making decisions that factor in the opinions and ideas of broad constituencies. Doing this is not easy to be sure. By definition the best public policy

decisions take into account the interests of all of us. The essence of which is compromise. It's not easy for sure but by always taking issues and concerns to the brink and many times involving the courts is in my opinion an abdication of your duties as legislators. We voted you all into office to legislate, to find compromise and success. To lead. If you proceed with these bills as currently written, then we will see just another decision punted to the courts. Why? Why the delay, why the additional cost of having our courts do YOUR WORK? The party in leadership has a particular burden to see that all opportunity is taken to achieve compromise. To make the best decision(s) possible by factoring in the interests of many. In my estimation you haven't done so to date. There are proposals before you that will improve and enhance the redistricting work your committees have done to date. I hope you seize the opportunity to make our voting districts in Wisconsin more competitive and as representative as they can be.

In closing, transparency enhances effective leadership and informs us about the character of our public leaders. Leadership utilizes transparency and the fruits from that transparency when making decisions and crafting policy that move ALL of us "Forward" not backward.

Thank you again for the opportunity to comment.



THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF DANE COUNTY'S POSITION STATEMENT ON THE  
LEGISLATURE'S RELEASE OF THE 2021 CONGRESSIONAL AND REPRESENTATIVE MAPS FOR  
WISCONSIN

October 28, 2021

I am speaking on behalf of the League of Women Voters of Dane County in opposition to the congressional and representative maps that the Legislature just released. These maps violate all the positions that the League represents in terms of transparent government responsibilities and procedures, the fair administration of justice, ethical social policy and informed and active participation in government.

I was an appointed member of the Dane County Redistricting Commission for the supervisory maps and the Madison Ad Hoc Redistricting Committee for the municipal and ward maps. These committees have spent countless hours working on nonpartisan redistricting with the direct mandate not to factor in incumbency. This Legislature has chosen to ignore all the work done by the People's Maps Commission, which considered massive citizen commentary and maps for the last year.

This Legislature, through Act 39, has re-engineered redistricting from a bottom-up process, with its foundation in local community work on maps, to the top-down mandate of this Legislature. Before Act 39, the Legislature reviewed all the local maps and only then drew the congressional and representative maps, incorporating the work of the local jurisdictions. With Act 39, this Legislature mandates that counties and municipalities must adjust to the Legislature's maps, thereby eliminating all local citizen input. Unlike in 2011, when this Legislature drew its maps in secret, citizens now know this Legislature has deliberately chosen to ignore the extraordinary citizen commitment to a nonpartisan process.

In another betrayal of the citizens of Wisconsin, this Legislature has hired private lawyers at taxpayer expense to leverage partisan advantage and create maps that earned the grade of "F" from the Princeton Gerrymandering Project, while the Peoples' Maps Commission received an "A" in terms of nonpartisanship.

To further its leverage, this Legislature petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to dismiss the consolidated lawsuits in a federal court, which has scheduled a full evidentiary trial in January 2022 to hear all the evidence from citizens across the state. Instead, this Legislature is advocating that the Wisconsin Supreme Court hear the redistricting impasse as an original action, so that there will be no adversarial evidentiary trial. Unfortunately, the Wisconsin Supreme Court has granted the lawsuit as an original action, despite the fact that this same Court in 2009 rejected its years-long study, concluding "it was not the best forum to engage in fact-finding and draw new districts," and expressed its preference for having federal courts handle redistricting disputes.

The League of Women Voters of Dane County strongly opposes the maps created by this Legislature in a process that intentionally ignored the informed and active participation of its citizens. We vow to continue to fight this assault on our right to have nonpartisan representation in our state.

Joan Schwarz

Advocacy Chair  
League of Women Voters of Dane County

Dear committee members,

I believe in fairness. The current district maps are an extreme gerrymander. They cause my voice in our elections to be diluted. This hurts me and it hurts my community; my elected representatives do not have to be responsive if they are in safely gerrymandered seats.

When representative democracy is undermined, we all lose.

I oppose the gerrymandered maps because they lead to elected officials who aren't accountable to voters, but rather are more loyal to their party and donors. This causes polarization and prevents compromise. Elected representatives move to the extremes without consequence.

I'm calling on you to reject the unfair maps introduced by Assembly/Senate Republicans.

Thank you,

Lisa Heuler Williams  
1935 Underwood Avenue  
Wauwatosa WI  
53213

Sent from my iPhone

Sent from my iPhone

**I have Oneida, Menominee and Ojibwe family members.**

**Rather than the plan before us, I submitted a plan for a state senate district along the top tier of Wisconsin including 11 counties and 10 tribal communities.**

**The land there is considered sacred land – In a habitat that includes Wild Rice and wetlands of international importance with species endangered.**

**But Wisconsin has been mostly setting its Northern Districts vertically. It is about time to listen to Northern WI about a Congressional District all across the top of Wisconsin.**

**Given our history, it is the time to create just and healthy relationships. Let us start with fair maps for real democracy.**

**Chair of the Oneida Nation, Tehassi Hill, recently testified before the People's Maps Commission with a "Main Ask": Keep reservations together and where possible include the Native people living near a reservation into the same Assembly District as their nearby reservation. There are many Native families or part Native families who live near a reservation and whose community of interest is definitely with the reservation.**

**It is time to undo districts like Senate District 29. It runs from part of Marathon County, up and over through all of Taylor county, then up and over through all of Rusk County and then straight up through 3/4ths of Sawyer County. Sawyer County is the home of the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe, Besides its college it is known in Indian Country as the Ojibwe band that won the Voigt decision... meaning that the Ojibwe who had ceded territories of land but reserved rights to use that ceded land and its resources could protect those lands from pollution. White landowners who used to be hostile now realize that these Ojibwe could help protect the water and land and fishing that they also loved.**

**It is time that we change our ways and follow our own State Constitution. Let us reset Districts that do not meet the requirements of our State Constitution. Let us adopt compact, contiguous districts that avoid splitting up counties and municipalities.**

**I close with the words of Paul DeMain – who is both Oneida and Ojibwe, living in Hayward, as he submitted some maps to the Legislature’s “Draw Your District” And he did so, saying, “Putting the Northern Native Nations of Wisconsin into one district means we will need to be heard, for a change.”**

**Mary Kay Baum**

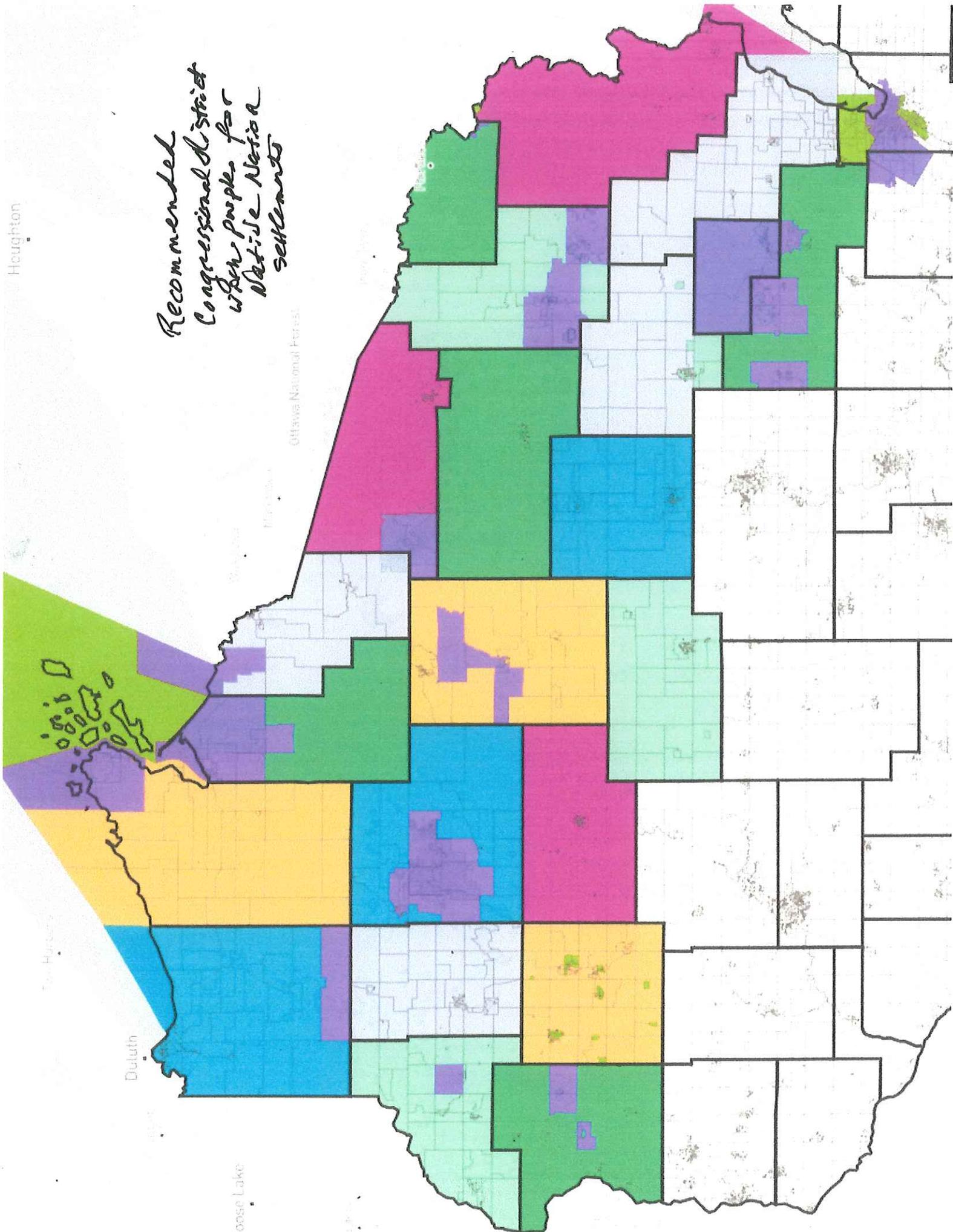
**201 Dougherty CT**

**Ridgeway, WI 53582**

**[marykbaum@gmail.com](mailto:marykbaum@gmail.com)**

**608-935-5834**

*Recommended  
Congressional District  
when people for  
Native Nation  
settlements*



Statement to the Wisconsin State Legislative Committees on SB621 and SB622 **OPPOSED**  
10/28/2021

By Jeannine Ramsey, Wisconsin Resident

Thank you for holding this listening session and for allowing me to speak.

My name is Jeannine Ramsey. I am a recently-retired public school librarian and a lifelong resident of Wisconsin.

I oppose the maps submitted by the state legislature because they are gerrymandered to favor one party.

- This is evident in the **F** grade from the **Princeton Gerrymandering Project**, a non-partisan entity.
- And by a high partisan bias score on **Planscore**, an online non-partisan evaluation tool.
- These proposed maps are intentionally based on previously gerrymandered maps with the stated goal to *"retain as much as possible the core of existing districts,"* despite having no such qualms in the 2011 redistricting where well over 1 million people were moved from their previous districts.

**Gerrymandered maps negatively impact me and all of the citizens of Wisconsin.** These unfair maps allow our elected officials to repeatedly ignore us and our concerns no matter where we live in the state or how we vote.

I care about public education funding and I know most Wisconsin residents do too. I care about equity in terms of broadband access for all students and all residents of our state. I care about clean drinking water as do many citizens in our state. I understand that in 2019, the year of clean water in Wisconsin, a committee was formed by the legislature to study the issue and that nothing was done. Nothing. Nothing needed to be done other than the appearance of doing something because of safe seats due to the gerrymandered maps.

**Wisconsinites are deprived of the ability to hold state legislators accountable in the way that we can hold our other elected officials accountable.** If our mayor or our governor or our US senators don't listen to us or address our concerns we can "throw the bums out," as we should be able to do. Gerrymandered maps have allowed an almost complete lack of accountability at the state legislative level.

I wonder who those in power in the Wisconsin legislature truly represent when they close their ears to the concerns of the majority of people in the state, including their own constituents. Their party?

**If you do not listen to us or if you fail to work together to address our concerns in concrete ways, please allow us a fair and democratic way to hold you accountable: give us fair maps.** I urge you to not be afraid of us, your voters, the people of Wisconsin. If you listen to us, your constituents, and work in good faith on our behalf you have nothing to fear.

Please adopt fair maps to show that you are not afraid of us, your constituents, or the democratic process!

Thank you.

Jane Benson  
3672 Hallers Creek Rd  
Suamico, WI 54313  
920-434-6975

October 28, 2021

Assembly district 89 - Assembly Bill 624  
Senate district 30 - Senate Bill 621

I've been a poll worker in the Village of Suamico for about 15 years. Occasionally, we have multiple ballots school districts. Those elections require a lot of concentration to give voters the right ballot as they sign in to vote.

We're commonly called Howard-Suamico, and our sister village, Howard, is "cracked" into 3 state assembly districts. In 2018, neighbors went to the same church location to vote and in the 1st hour "one" poll worker gave 244 people the wrong ballot. Those votes were cast wrong and could not be corrected because all our votes are secret.

Rep. David Steffen's wife went to vote in the first hour. On her drive home, she called her husband crying because he "wasn't on the ballot." That led to phone calls to the village to fix the problem, but by that time 244 wrong votes had already been irretrievably cast.

You are setting up poll workers for more such errors in the latest maps you've created, which are even more gerrymandered than the old ones.

**Exhibit A**

Look at the language from Assembly Bill 624 describing Representative Steffens' District 4. Howard, Ashwaubenon, and Green Bay are all cracked block-by-block to advantage Republicans.

**Exhibit B**

Here is the map of Howard. It's basically a triangle.

**Exhibit C**

You can see in the districts map how the triangle is cut apart to gerrymander the 4th district. We suspect this was done to create a narrow corridor of district contiguity to gerrymander Senate District 30.

We see what you're doing and ask that you remedy the maps to keep the sister cities of Howard and Suamico together.

Attachments: Exhibits A-C

DAVID STEFFEN

4.04 Fourth assembly district. All of the following territory constitutes the 124th assembly district:

Exhibit A  
AB624

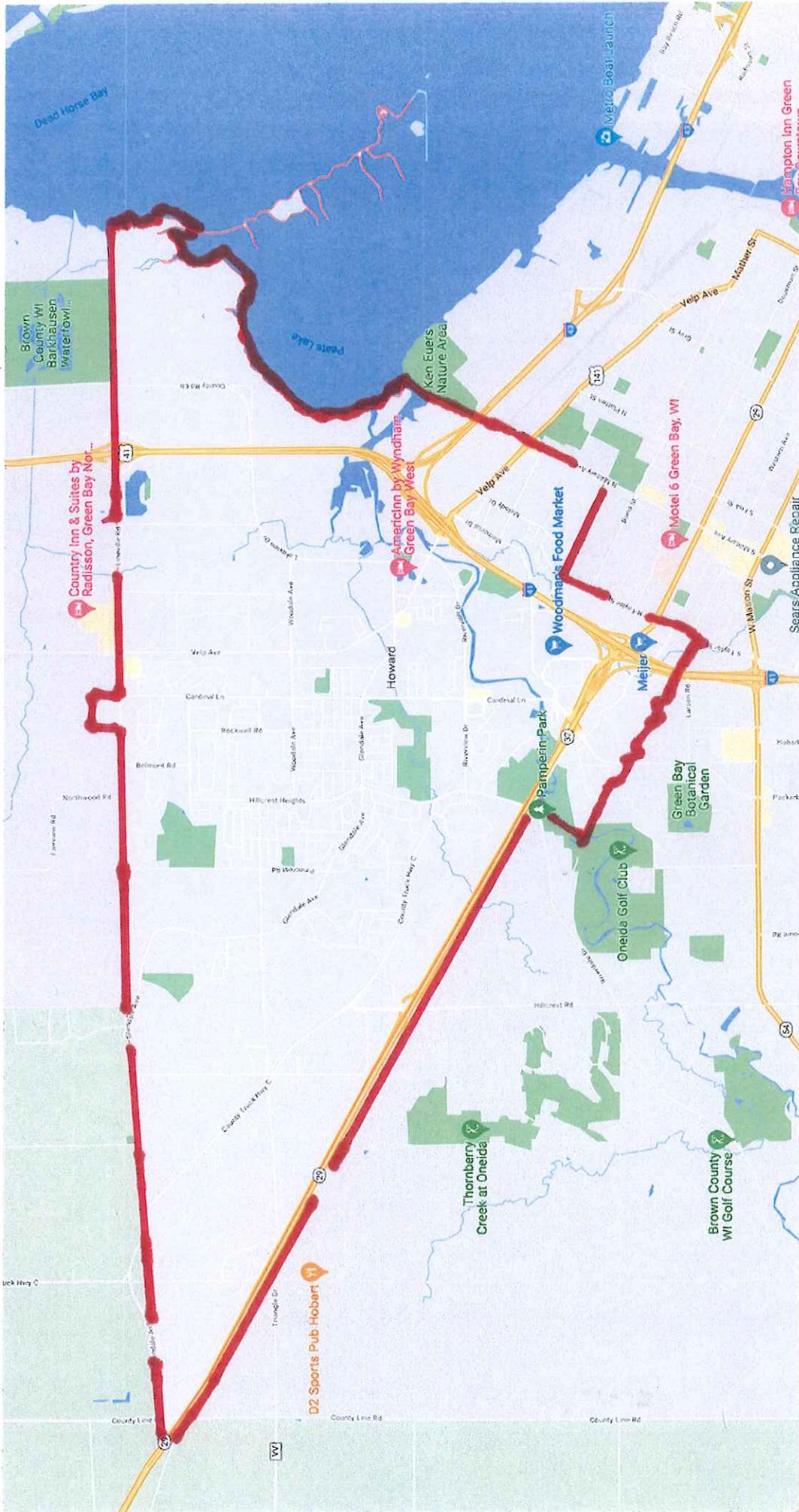
13(1) Brown County. That part of Brown County consisting of all of the following:

14(a) The village of Allouez.

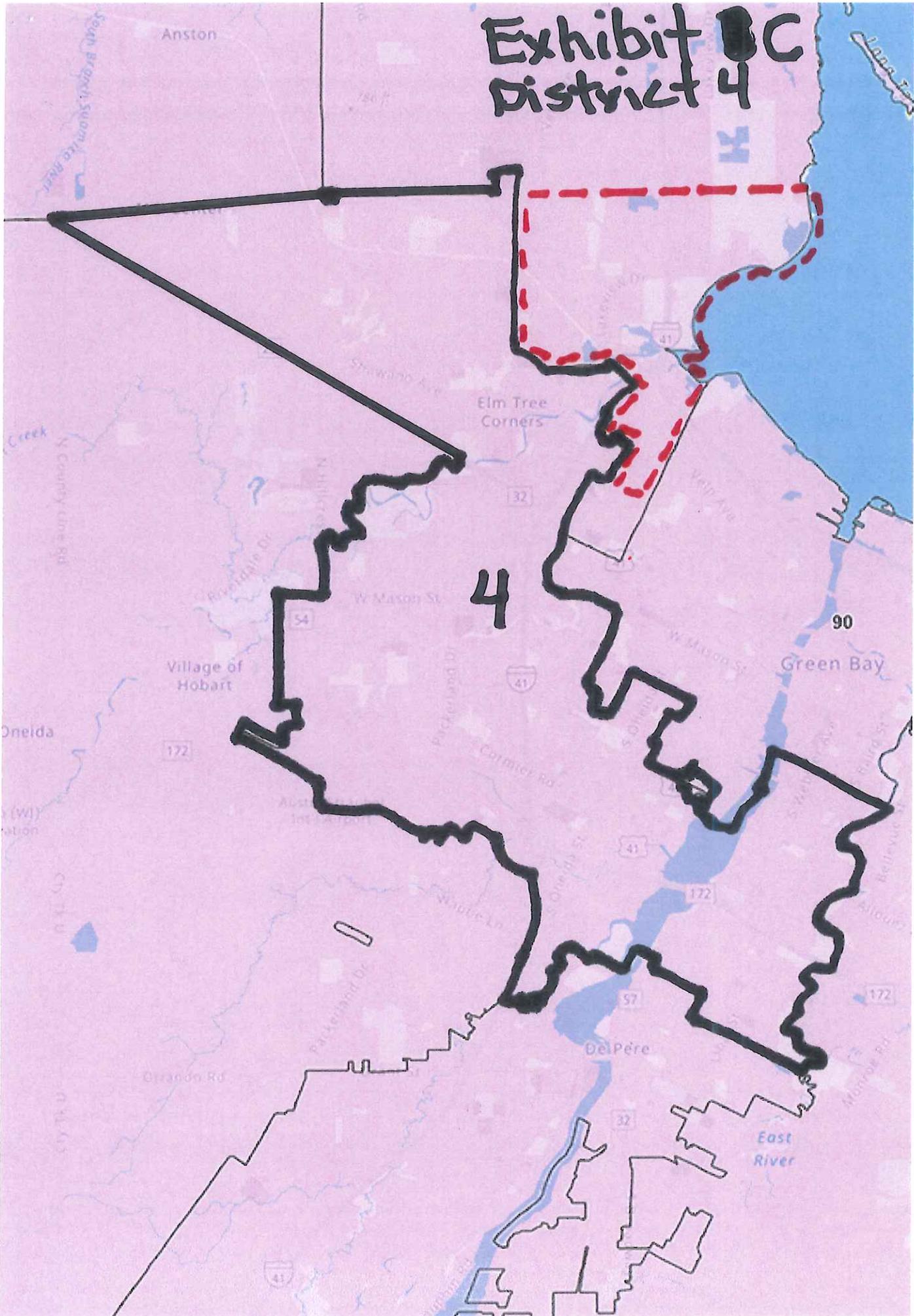
15(b) That part of the village of Ashwaubenon comprising U.S. census tract 800, 16 blocks 2046, 2049, 2050, 2051, and 2052; and tract 21301, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 171003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 2000, 182001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 3000, 3001, 193002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 203016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 213030, 3031, and 3032; and tract 21302, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 221006, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 231026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 241040, 1041, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 252012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 12026, 2027, 2029, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2045, 2046, 22047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2052, 2053, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 33008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 43022, and 3023; and tract 21303, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 51007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 61021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 72010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 83006, 3007, 4000, 4001, 4002, 4003, 4004, 4005, 4006, 4007, 4008, 4009, 4010, 4011, 94012, 4013, 4014, 4015, 4016, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4020, 4021, 4022, 4023, 4024, 4025, 104026, 4027, 4028, 4029, 4030, 4031, 4032, 4033, 4034, 4035, 4036, 4037, 4038, 4039, 114040, 4041, 4042, 4043, 4044, 4045, 4046, 4047, 4048, 4049, 4050, 4051, 4052, 4053, 124054, 4055, 4056, 4057, 4058, 4059, 4060, 4061, 4062, 4063, 4064, 4065, 4066, 4067, 134068, 4069, 4070, 4071, and 4072; and tract 21304, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 141004, 1005, 1006, and 1007; and tract 940002, blocks 1038, 1040, and 1041.

15(c) That part of the village of Howard comprising U.S. census tract 20502, 16 blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 171013, 1014, 1015, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 182011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 192025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 202039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 212053, 2054, 3004, 3005, 3006, 4039, and 4040; and tract 20504, blocks 1000, 1001, 221002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 231016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 2000, 2001, 2002, 242003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019, 252020, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007,

# Exhibit B Howard



# Exhibit BC District 4



**October 28, 2021**

**Dear**

[Sen Stroebel \(Chair\),](#)

[Sen Felzkowski \(Vice-Chair\),](#)

[Sen Bradley,](#)

[Sen Roys,](#)

[Sen Smith](#)

[Rep Swearingen \(Chair\),](#)

[Rep Vorpapel \(ViceChair\),](#)

[Repr Kuglitsch,](#)

[Rep Tauchen,](#)

[Rep Summerfield,](#)

[Rep Spiros,](#)

[Rep Knodl,](#)

[Rep Brooks,](#)

[Rep Schraa,](#)

[Rep Sinicki,](#)

[Rep Pope,](#)

[Rep Ohnstad,](#)

[Rep McGuire](#)

I am writing to request that you follow fair maps that have been created in a rigorous, nonpartisan, inclusive process with equitable representation from our communities. As a woman of color, my voice, and the voices of many other black and brown people, has often been silenced by people in power. However, it is important to remember that we, the people, have empowered you to represent us. Our vote is our political voice and I demand that you listen to us and chose to follow our wishes.

As a voting Wisconsinite I join others in our state that support a nonpartisan process for drawing voting district maps. We want fair maps that provide equitable representation where black and brown people are counted, and their voices are heard.

I thank you for your service and for taking the Oath of Allegiance to follow the Wisconsin State Constitution. I ask that you represent us fairly, listen to us, and chose to follow our wishes.

Respectfully,



Ryminhild Kaio

822 E Washington Avenue, Apt 415

Madison, WI 53703

Testimony on Senate bills 621 and 622 - Hearing on October 28, 2021

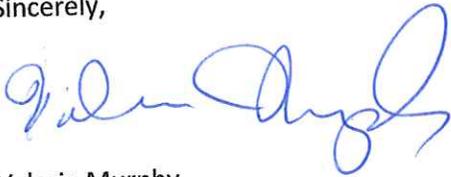
Dear Senator Stroebel,

I oppose the bills that present redistricting maps that largely preserve the 2011 gerrymandered districts drawn in secret by Republicans in 2011. Voters should be able to pick their representatives, instead of legislators picking their voters.

One issue that affects me and that has been driven by Republican legislative control, is the failure of Wisconsin to approve Medicaid expansion. I have a close relative with a spotty employment history and some mental health issues who really has not been able to get reasonable medical care, because he can't afford it. Democrats have proposed Medicaid expansion for a decade and as recently as May of 2021, the Republicans voted it down, choosing to give up \$1 billion in Federal Aid, which is RIDICULOUS.

Wisconsin voters deserve fair, non-partisan maps. So please vote against these two bills. Wisconsin voters need a legislature that represents them, not the special interests.

Sincerely,



Valerie Murphy  
7616 Widgeon Way  
Madison, WI 53717



STATE REPRESENTATIVE  
**KRISTINA SHELTON**

October 28<sup>th</sup>, 2021

To the honorable members of the Assembly Committee on State Affairs,

Thank you for taking my written testimony into consideration today, in opposition of AB 624 relating to: legislative redistricting and AB 625 relating to: congressional redistricting. Once a decade, the state of Wisconsin has the opportunity to update our legislative maps to best represent our collective constituencies. This is an opportunity to adjust the maps based on current census data and to address the failures and harm of the previous maps in failing to fairly represent the people of Wisconsin in both the State Legislature and in Congress.

Unfortunately, the bills in front of us today are moving in the opposite direction of justice, and further dividing our communities in order to maintain (and strengthen) the illicit stronghold of Republican leadership on the people of our state. Instead of listening to public commentary, organized in communities across Wisconsin and through the Governor's People's Maps Commission, my colleagues Representative Vos and Senator LeMaheiu submitted these maps overnight, without circulation in the Legislature and with no insight into what interests were considered in the process. Further, these bills have widespread opposition both in and outside of the building. If we as legislators represent the voices of our constituents, we should ask ourselves - whose interests do these maps truly represent?

There is no justice in a government where elected officials get to select their voters, and not the other way around. We must be accountable to our voters, which can only be achieved through fair maps created through a nonpartisan process.

Thank you for your consideration.

Kristina Shelton

State Representative

90<sup>th</sup> Assembly District

October 28, 2021

Testimony for Redistricting: Opposed to AB 624 and SB 621, and AB 625 and SB 622

Dear Members of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and the Assembly Committee on State Affairs:

My name is Patricia Zody, and I am writing you on behalf of the League of Women Voters in Beloit.

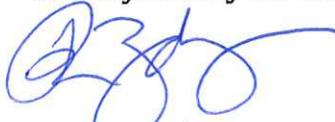
In reviewing the Wisconsin Legislature's Proposed Redistricting Maps, I am truly disturbed that very few changes have been made to the 2020 Proposed Redistricting Maps

The City of Beloit, along with the townships of Beloit, Newark, and Turtle, still remains divided into two Assembly and Senate districts. I believe strongly that the larger Beloit community should remain in one district instead of two. This approach was taken by the State after the 1990 and 2000 Censuses until the Beloit Community was divided into two after the 2010 Census. Having divided the City of Beloit in half in 2011 by creating two districts for the city and surrounding areas, the entire Beloit Community lost its ability to be heard clearly on issues that mattered to its constituents.

Everyone in the Beloit Community attends the same schools, depends on the same medical facilities, shops at the same places, and enjoys the same parks. In so doing, it would be much better for us if we were in one community with the same state representative and senator.

I would kindly ask that the Wisconsin Legislature return to its redistricting plans and create maps that keep communities, cities, and counties together as much as possible rather than pulling them apart.

Thank you for your thoughtful consideration of my concerns,



Patricia Zody  
709 Harrison Ave  
Beloit WI 53511

**Statement on Assembly Bill B624 and Senate Bill 621  
Public Hearing, October 28, 2021**

My name is Victoria Biwan Hildebrandt. I am from Kiel, Wisconsin and am represented by Senator Devin LeMahieu and Assemblyman Tyler Vorpapel. During my 10 years as a trustee on the Lakeshore Technical College Board, these two men advocated for fair and equitable access to education for their constituents and appeared to care for their community and the democratic process they chose to be a part of. Today I call upon them, and the other Wisconsin legislators, to reject this legislative district map proposed in AB624 and SB621 that is being proposed because it does not contain fair maps which harms the communities they serve and undermines the democratic process that they claim to be a part of as our legislative representatives.

Sheboygan Wisconsin, with a population 50,000 people, is a part of Vorpapel's district, but the man does not represent the ENTIRE city of Sheboygan. That's because the previous legislative map, and the one being proposed, cuts through the center – the very heart – of Sheboygan. Even though redistricting guidelines say district lines should be drawn for compactness and contiguity – that we keep communities together.

As a member of the Sheboygan County League of Women Voters, we manned information tables about Sheboygan's legislative and congressional maps throughout summer and early fall of 2021. We didn't have to say anything. We simply showed the citizens of Sheboygan the map and the blatant attempt to consolidate political power by the Republican Party soon became evident. The response – whether from a Democratic or Republican voter – was confusion, frustration, and anger at the lack of "fairness" of the current maps. The maps proposed in this legislation continue to mirror the maps designed in 2011 and continue confuse, frustrate, and anger the votes in the divided Sheboygan community.

I am opposed to the proposed gerrymandered maps and instead, encourage my legislators to use a fair and equitable map that is drawn by an independent, nonpartisan citizens group like the People's Maps Commission. Take partisanship out of redistricting, so legislative and congressional maps are drawn in a neutral and fair way.

The current legislative district maps as proposed do not give voice to Wisconsin's citizens, but instead splits Sheboygan in half in order to consolidate the power of the Republican Party – much to the detriment of our community and the democratic process.



*Victoria Biwan Hildebrandt*  
Victoria Biwan Hildebrandt  
922 First Street  
Kiel, Wisconsin 53042

## Gerrymandering Testimony

The definition of gerrymandering is to achieve a result by manipulating the boundaries of an electoral constituency, creating the total freedom to gerrymander the results they want to favor one party or class.

This is happening right now by our State Representatives of the Republican Party. Democracy is a system of government in which policies, leadership and major undertakings of a state are decided by the people. Every eligible individual in a democracy has the right to vote their preference, whatever gender, race, political leanings, or station of life they are part of. To interfere in this process breaks the laws of our Constitution and steals the rights and opportunities our Democracy is supposed to offer to us.

Every voice has the right to be heard and counted. As our country evolves and changes, we need continued input and ideas from every eligible voter. Our Representatives don't have the privilege of making them their own personal choices.

If our voices are lost; our Democracy will crumble.

Gerrymandering must be eliminated!!

Mary Ann Jordan

4118 Hazelnut Ct

Sheboygan, WI 53081

*Mary Ann Jordan*  
*920-946-9443*



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October 28, 2021

To: Assembly Committee on State Affairs and Senate Committee on Government Operations, Legal Review and Consumer Protection  
From: League of Women Voters of Wisconsin  
Re: Statement on SB 621 and 622/AB 624 and 625

Thank you all for holding this important public hearing. I am Debra Cronmiller, Executive Director of the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin.

For 101 years the League has been defending democracy and empowering voters. The record voter turnout in the 2020 presidential election showed the true power of the people. We fear the response from some politicians is to try to take away that power and hold onto it for themselves. The gerrymandered maps of 2011 led to some very real and negative consequences for Wisconsin.

Crucial programs and services are going unfunded while some legislators are trying to divert our attention from topics that truly matter most to voters such as transparent, fair, and representative government. The vast majority of voters want our legislators to end this pandemic, approve fair maps, make healthcare affordable, ensure our kids can go to school safely and provide clean water to drink and air to breathe. But instead we are getting frivolous spending on partisan fishing expeditions.

Today, we ask you to reject maps that would only ensure another 10 years of hyper-partisanship. Another 10 years of politics that empowers the elected and not the people. Voters in Wisconsin deserve to be heard and we are saying "let us vote, listen to our needs, enact policies that reflect our will."

The League has long advocated for good government practices. We support free, accessible and secure elections. We seek a government that is transparent. We seek civil discourse that encourages compromise and compassion. We are here today to ask you, our elected officials, to hear our voices and oppose the proposed maps. Restoring good government hinges on fair maps that are free from partisanship. Compactness, competitiveness, demographic equity, proper apportionment - these are the signs of fairly drawn maps. Elected officials protected by gerrymandered maps do not have to represent the will of the people, and, because of this, they represent parties and donors.

The League has fought in state and federal courts to eliminate these hyper-partisan maps and to ensure representative government. We will continue to fight for the basic right to vote and to have that vote count. Today we ask you to end gerrymandering so we the people get the policies we want and our communities get the resources they need to solve the real issues facing us all. Today, we ask you for fair maps.

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**Wisconsin State AFL-CIO**

6333 W. Bluemound Road, Milwaukee, WI 53213

Phone: 414-771-0700, wisafclcio.org

President: Stephanie Bloomingdale, Secretary-Treasurer: Dennis Delie

To: Members of the Assembly Committee on State Affairs and Senate Committee on Governmental Operations, Legal Review, and Consumer Protection  
Fr: Stephanie Bloomingdale, President  
Date: October 28, 2021

**In opposition of Redistricting Bills (AB 624 & AB 625 and SB 621 & SB 622)**

Good morning Chairman Stroebel, Chairman Swearingen, and Committee members. I submit this written testimony today on behalf of the hard-working men and women of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO to urge you to oppose these bills that would cement-in our current maps, which were drawn in contravention of basic democratic norms as they do not allow voters to pick their legislators, but instead allow partisan legislators to pick their voters for ten years. Wisconsin voters want and deserve maps that are drawn fairly, without regard to partisan politicians' crave for power. Fair maps start with census data and draw districts in public view, wherein citizens would have an equal voice in the voting booth and holding accountable their elected officials. These maps (AB 624 & AB 625 and SB 621 & SB 622) are just the opposite of fair maps: they were drawn in secret by Republicans, for the benefit of Republican politicians, and at the expense of Wisconsin voters.

**State Legislative Maps: AB 624 & SB 621**

The legislative district maps are significantly flawed as the authors failed to start with census data and simultaneously ignored the fact that Wisconsin is a 50/50 state, where every voter deserves to have their vote matter. If the Republican authors had started with the 2020 Census data, they would have ended with fair maps that would allow Wisconsinites to pick their legislators.

The proposed legislative maps in AB 624 and SB 621 will ensure another decade of Republican rule in the Legislature, even though our state is a truly 50/50 state. Despite Democratic candidates winning statewide in 2018 and 2020, these proposed maps cement-in our current, distorted maps that were gerrymandered in 2011 for Republican gain and power.

**Congressional Maps: AB 625 & SB 622**

Wisconsin has eight Congressional districts, a number that is unchanged after the 2020 Census. There are currently five Congressional districts that have been led by Republican candidates and three that have been led by Democratic candidates. Again, these proposed Congressional maps did not start with the 2020 Census results but started with political, gerrymandered districts. The proposed maps in AB 625 and SB 622 redraw our eight Congressional districts in abrogation of the will of the people such that these proposed maps give Republican politicians an advantage in the vast majority of Congressional districts. Again, these proposed maps do not reflect the true 50/50 nature of our State and therefore ignore the will of the voters who deserve fair, non-partisan maps.

For the above reasons, I urge each of you on this committee to oppose AB 624 & AB 625 and SB 621 & SB 622.

4.04 Fourth assembly district. All of the following territory constitutes the 12th assembly district:

- 13(1) Brown County. That part of Brown County consisting of all of the following:  
 14(a) The village of Allouez.
- 15(b) That part of the village of Ashwaubenon comprising U.S. census tract 800, 16blocks 2046, 2049, 2050, 2051, and 2052; and tract 21301, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 171003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 2000, 182001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 3000, 3001, 193002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 203016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 213030, 3031, and 3032; and tract 21302, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 221006, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 231026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 241040, 1041, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 252012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 12026, 2027, 2029, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2045, 2046, 22047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2052, 2053, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 33008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 43022, and 3023; and tract 21303, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 51007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 61021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 72010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 83006, 3007, 4000, 4001, 4002, 4003, 4004, 4005, 4006, 4007, 4008, 4009, 4010, 4011, 94012, 4013, 4014, 4015, 4016, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4020, 4021, 4022, 4023, 4024, 4025, 104026, 4027, 4028, 4029, 4030, 4031, 4032, 4033, 4034, 4035, 4036, 4037, 4038, 4039, 114040, 4041, 4042, 4043, 4044, 4045, 4046, 4047, 4048, 4049, 4050, 4051, 4052, 4053, 124054, 4055, 4056, 4057, 4058, 4059, 4060, 4061, 4062, 4063, 4064, 4065, 4066, 4067, 134068, 4069, 4070, 4071, and 4072; and tract 21304, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 141004, 1005, 1006, and 1007; and tract 940002, blocks 1038, 1040, and 1041.
- 15(c) That part of the village of Howard comprising U.S. census tract 20502, 16blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 171013, 1014, 1015, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 182011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 192025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 202039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 212053, 2054, 3004, 3005, 3006, 4039, and 4040; and tract 20504, blocks 1000, 1001, 221002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 231016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 2000, 2001, 2002, 242003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019, 252020, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 13008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, and 3019; and tract 220505, blocks 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 31015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 41029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 52013, 2014, 2015, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 63011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, and 3016; and tract 20506, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 71009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 81023, and 1024.
- 9(d) That part of the city of Green Bay comprising U.S. census tract 302, blocks 102000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 112016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 123008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 133022, and 3023; and tract 402, blocks 1004, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1010, 2003, 2004, 2005, 142006, 2012, 3002, 3003, 3006, 3007, 3010, and 3011; and tract 600, blocks 3000, 3001, 153002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3009, 3010, 4000, 4001, 4002, 4003, 4004, 4005, 164006, 4007, 4008, 4009, 4010, 4011, 4012, 4013, 5002, 5003, 5004, 5005, 5006, 5007, 175008, 5009, 5010, 5011, 5012, 5013, 5014, 5015, 5016, and 5017; and tract 700, blocks 184020, 4022, 4023, and 4024; and tract 21302, blocks 1007, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 191021, and 1042; and tract 940002, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 201007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 211023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1036, 1037, 1039, 2000, 2001, 222002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 232016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, and 2024; and tract 940003, blocks 241000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 251014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 12010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2 and 2024; and tract 940004, blocks 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 31008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 41022, 1023, 1024, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 52011, 2012, 2013, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 63011, 3012, 3013, and 3014.

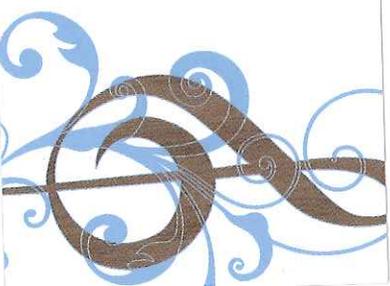
# Gerrymandering - Sing to the tune "Oh, My Darling Clementine"

Lyrics: Joy A. E. Morgen, WD004, AS48, AL 16, SS16, SU24, CG02  
1901 Dondee Road, Madison, 53716

1. Gerrymander, lines meander  
Skewing power in our state.  
Shaping districts, changing numbers,  
Tipping legislative fate.
2. Closed door meetings, basic cheating,  
"Cracking" districts, "packing" votes,  
True deception, from inception,  
No honest ethics, can I quote.
3. Gerrymander, it's a slander  
When you want a valid vote.  
Controlling party rigs the districts  
Then they cross their arms and gloat.
4. Gerrymander, raise your dander  
Calling Fair Maps into play,  
Letting voters choose their members:  
One person, one vote, is the way!
5. An algorithm thwarts a schism  
Let the computer do the math,  
It's transparent, not aberrant  
Impartial data with no wrath. (OR...)
6. Gerrymander, let's not pander  
To democracy's decay.  
A commission, independent,  
Can these voting woes allay.
7. Population distribution  
Chunky districts make more sense.  
End all unfair gerrymand'ring.  
No more party impudence.

P.S. It's actually "gary"-mandering, but, unfair no matter how you shake it!

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October 28, 2021

Testimony of Dana S. Johnson, 1009 Hampshire Place, Madison WI 53711 (608-271-7827)  
Joint Public Hearing on Wisconsin Assembly Bills 624 and 625

Like the farmers who meet mid-morning at the town café for coffee or a second breakfast to argue the issues of the day and, perhaps, come to some agreement on one or two of them. So, too, do I meet regularly with a group of senior women for coffee, conversation, and exchange of views on the circumstances that affect our lives.

The women in this group have been teachers, machinists, accountants, secretaries, art designers, project managers, mothers, and widows. Although retired, among the group are two poll workers and a prison volunteer.

The group has discussed, argued, and come to solid agreement regarding the need for new redistricting maps—maps drawn, not by any elected official, nor by any partisan, but by an independent group whose livelihood is not dependent upon the outcome.

We strongly believe that the maps proposed in these two bills must be discarded and the entire process be separated from the legislature and placed in nonpartisan hands. Do take our viewpoint to heart when considering your redistricting bills.

Team Henderson 73 Former Educator  
Community Volunteer  
W4723 Pine Ct.  
Elkhorn, WI 53121

262 723 5414  
jeanjohnh@gmail.com

While we seem to be emphasizing moving forward and leaving history behind, past actions are dictating our future, It's acknowledged that previously-drawn maps presented some of the most grievously mangled and unfair maps in the country. Closely repeating this pattern only perpetuates these errors and unfairness. The maps now drawn do NOT improve fairness but instead decrease citizens' opportunities to participate in our governing process. 10 years is a long time - ~~with~~ where serious damage could occur.