IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA
MIDDLE DISTRICT

GABRIEL INGRAM, RUTH MOTON, MARK KIRCHGASSER and SUSAN POWELL,	:	**No.:** _____
	:	
Petitioners,	:	**ORIGINAL JURISDICTION**
	:	
v.	:	**PETITION FOR REVIEW CHALLENGING THE LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION FINAL PLAN**
2021 LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION,	:	
	:	Counsel of Record Petitioners:
Respondent.	:	
	:	**Dillon, McCandless, King, Coulter & Graham L.L.P.**
	:	
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**PETITION FOR REVIEW CHALLENGING THE
LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION FINAL PLAN**

Petitioners, Gabriel Ingram, Ruth Moton, Mark Kirchgasser, and Susan Powell (collectively "Petitioners"), by and through their undersigned counsel, to respectfully file the within Petition for Review Challenging the Legislative Reapportionment Commission Final Plan averring in support thereof, as follows:

I.   PARTIES

1.   Petitioner, Gabriel Ingram, is a resident and registered voter in the 159th Legislative District. Petitioner Ingram resides at 2218 West 12th Street, Chester, PA 19013.

2.   Petitioner, Ruth Moton, is a resident and registered voter in the 159th Legislative District. Petitioner Moton is a former and potential future candidate for the 159th House of Representatives District. She resides at 2250 Blue Ball Avenue, Upper Chichester, Delaware County, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 19961. Ms. Moton is an African American citizen.

3.   Petitioner, Mark Kirchgasser, is a resident and registered voter in the 168th Legislative District. Petitioner Kirchgasser resides at 466 Old Forge Road, Media, Delaware County, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 19063.

4.   Petitioner, Susan Powell, is a resident and registered voter in the 161st Legislative District. Petitioner Powell resides at 200 Meadowcroft Lane, Media, Delaware County, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 19063.

5.   Respondent, 2021 Legislative Reapportionment Commission, is the commission duly constituted pursuant to Article II – The Legislature, Section 17 – Legislative Reapportionment Commission of the Pennsylvania Constitution. Pa. Const. art. II, §17.

6.   Respondent Commission is comprised of five (5) members, to wit: Representative Kerry Benninghoff, the majority leader of the House of Representatives; Representative Joanna McClinton, minority leader of the House of Representatives; Senator Kim Ward, majority leader of the Senate; Senator Jay Costa, minority leader in the Senate; and Mark A. Nordenberg, who was selected by this Court to serve as the fifth member and Chair of the Commission.

II.   STATEMENT OF JURISDICTION

7.   This Court has jurisdiction pursuant to Article II, Section 17(d) of the Pennsylvania Constitution and Title 42 Pa. C.S. § 725(1) which grants this Court exclusive jurisdiction of appeals from final orders of the Legislative Reapportionment Commission.

8.   This Petition for Review is filed pursuant to the Rules of Appellate Procedure, Rule 3321, and this Court's Orders dated February 17, 2022, and February 23, 2022.

III.   STANDARD OF REVIEW

9.   The Court's standard of review is defined by the Pennsylvania Constitution: the plan may be held unconstitutional only if the appellants establish that it is "contrary to law." *Holt v. 2011 Legislative Reapportionment Comm'n*, 38 A.3d 711, 733 (2012), *citing* Pa. Const. art. II, § 17(d).

10.   The Court's review is *de novo,* and the Legislative Reapportionment Commission's final plan should not be presumed to be constitutional.

11.   The Legislative Reapportionment Commission's final plan "enjoys the same status as any action or decision where the challenging party bears the burden; and here, the burden is upon appellants to show that the plan is contrary to law." *Holt v. 2011 Legislative Reapportionment Commission*, 67 A.3d 1211 (2013), *citing Holt I,* 38 A.3d at 735.

RELEVANT CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

12.   Section 5 – Elections of Article I of the Pennsylvania Constitution states in relevant part as follows:

Elections shall be free and equal; and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of right of suffrage.

Pa. Const. art. I, §5.

13.   Section 29 – <u>Prohibition against denial or abridgement of equality of rights because of race or ethnicity</u> of Article I of the Pennsylvania Constitution states in relevant part as follows:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania because of the race or ethnicity of the individual.

Pa. Const. art. I, §29.

14.   Section 16 – <u>Legislative Districts</u> of Article II of the Pennsylvania Constitution states in relevant part as follows:

The Commonwealth shall be divided into fifty senatorial and two hundred three representative districts, which shall be composed of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as practicable. Each senatorial district shall elect one Senator, and each representative district one Representative. Unless absolutely necessary no county, city, incorporated town, borough, township or ward shall be divided in forming either a senatorial or representative district.

Pa. Const. art. II, §16.

15.   Section 17 – <u>Legislative Reapportionment Commission</u> of Article II of the Pennsylvania Constitution states in relevant part as follows:

(a)   In each year following the year of the Federal decennial census, a Legislative Reapportionment Commission shall …

(b)   The commission shall … No later than 60 days following the official reporting of the Federal decennial census as required by Federal law, …

(d)   Any aggrieved person may file an appeal from the final plan directly to the Supreme Court within thirty days after the filing thereof. If the appellant establishes that the final plan is contrary to law, the Supreme Court shall issue an order remanding the plan to the commission and directing the commission to reapportion the Commonwealth in a manner not inconsistent with such order.

Pa. Const. art. II, §17(a), (b) & (d).

V.   OBJECTIONS TO THE 2021 LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION FINAL PLAN

16.   Section 16 of Article II of the Pennsylvania Constitution requires districts to be "composed of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as practicable" and that "[u]nless absolutely necessary no county, city, incorporated town, borough, township or ward shall be divided in forming either a senatorial or representative district." Pa. Const. art. II, §16.

17.   Despite the clear constitutional requirements for a legislative redistricting plan in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Legislative Reapportionment Commission relied on political factors such as the existence of a red-wave or a blue-wave, or voter preference, in the creation of its 2021 Final Plan.

18.   As stated by the March 4, 2022, Report of Mark A. Nordenberg,

Chair of the 2021 Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment Commission

Regarding the Commission's Final Plan,

> [m]ost basically, a fair map should be responsive to voters'
> preferences. Otherwise, why would people vote? So when voter
> preferences change dramatically, so too should the composition
> of the General Assembly. To put it in simple terms, when there is
> a blue-wave election, the makeup of the General Assembly
> should reflect that blue wave, and when there is a red-wave
> election, the makeup of the General Assembly should reflect that
> red wave. … It also is reasonable to expect that the party that
> wins the most votes generally also should win the most seats.
> Similarly, when the two parties each receive 50% of the votes,
> they should each received about 50% of the seats. Both of these
> expectations are consistent with basic fairness and democratic
> principles, according to Professor Warshaw.

See Appendix "B," March 4, 2022, Report of Mark A. Nordenberg, Chair of

the 2021 Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment Commission Regarding

the Commission's Final Plan.

19.   The 2021 Legislative Reapportionment Commission's Final Plan

is in violation of Section 16 of Article II of the Pennsylvania Constitution, as

more fully detailed below.

20.   The evidence in this matter clearly demonstrates that the Final

Plan unnecessarily divides counties, cities, towns, boroughs, townships,

other municipalities and/or other political subdivisions throughout the

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, including, but not limited to, those located within Petitioners' districts.

21.   The evidence in this matter clearly demonstrates that the Final Plan fails to establish House of Representatives districts throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that are "as nearly equal in population as practicable" as required by Section 16 of Article II of the Pennsylvania Constitution, as more fully detailed below.

22.   By way of example, the Final Plan unnecessarily divides Middletown Township, Delaware County, including districts and precincts within Middletown Township, into two House of Representatives districts. Middletown Township District No. 1, which includes Precincts 1, 2, and 3, and Middletown Township District No. 2, which includes Precincts 1 and 2, have been split from the 168th House of Representatives district and moved into the 161st House of Representatives district. While the Middletown Township District No. 1, Precinct No. 1, remains in the 168th House of Representatives district. *See* Appendix "A."

23.   Under the Final Plan, the 161st House of Representatives district consists of "Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Aston, Chester, Middletown (PART, Districts 01 and 02 [PART, Divisions 01 and 02]), Nether Providence and Ridley (PART, Wards 01 [PART, Divisions

01 and 03], 02, 05 [PART, Division 01] and 07) and the BOROUGHS of Brookhaven, Rose Valley and Upland" with a total population of 63,804. *See* Appendix "A." *See also red highlighted area below.*
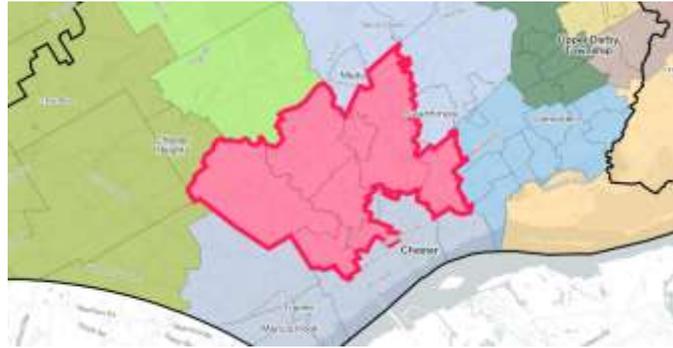
24. Under the Final Plan, the 168th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Edgmont, Middletown (PART, Districts 02 [PART, Division 03], 03 and 04), Newtown and Radnor" with a total population of 62,978. *See* Appendix "A." *See also light green highlighted area below.*
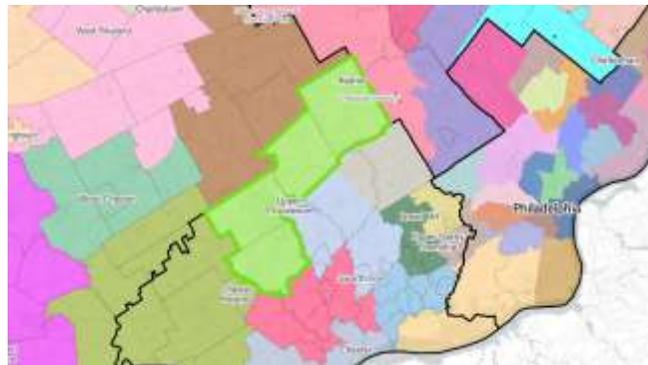
25. Middletown Township, Delaware County, is one example of the numerous occasions where the 2021 Legislative Reapportionment Commission unnecessarily divided counties, cities, towns, boroughs,

townships, other municipalities and/or other political subdivisions throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in violation of the Pennsylvania Constitution.

26. By way of further example of the Final Plan's violation of the Pennsylvania Constitution, the total population of the 161st House of Representatives district has a deviation of -249 or -0.39% from the average population of 64,053, per district. The total population of the 168th House of Representatives district has a deviation of -1,075 or -1.68% from the average population of 64,053, per district. Additional examples of population deviations are illustrated below. *See* Appendix "A"

27. Delaware County is one of the many counties throughout the Commonwealth that contain multiple communities comprised of smaller municipalities and political subdivisions with a shared and distinct sense of community and common interests.

28. By way of further example, the 2021 Final Plan unnecessarily divides the Rose Tree School District into three House of Representative districts: the 161st, 165th, and 168th. The Commission was presented with several reapportionment options in compliance with the constitutional requirements that did not divide the Rose Tree School District into multiple

districts. In the prior House of Representatives map, the entire Rose Tree School District was in the 168th House District.

29.   In addition to the 161st and 168th House of Representatives districts described above, under the Final Plan, the 165th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Marple (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Division 02], 05, 06 and 07), Springfield and Upper Providence and the BOROUGHS of Media, Moton and Swarthmore" with a total population of 62,800. *See* Appendix "A." *See also light blue highlighted area below.*
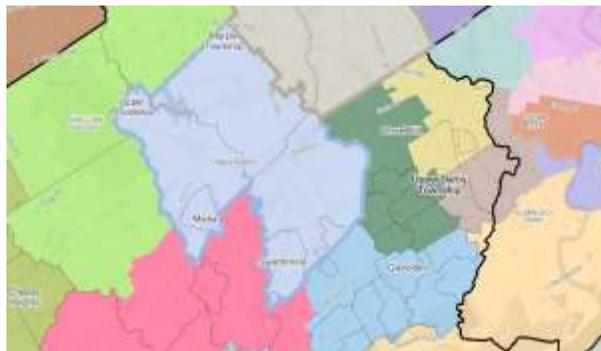
30.   The total population of the 165th House of Representatives district has a deviation of -1,253 or -1.96% from the average population of 64,053, per district.

31.   The 2021 Final Plan unnecessarily further divides the Marple Newtown School District into three House of Representative districts: the 165th, 166th, and 168th. The Commission was presented with several reapportionment options in compliance with the constitutional requirements

that did not further divide the Marple Newton School District into three districts.

32.   In addition to the 161ˢᵗ, 165ᵗʰ, and 168ᵗʰ House of Representatives districts described above, under the Final Plan, the 166th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Haverford and Marple (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03 and 04 [PART, Divisions 01 and 03])" with a total population of 63,050. *See* Appendix "A." *See also gray highlighted area below.*
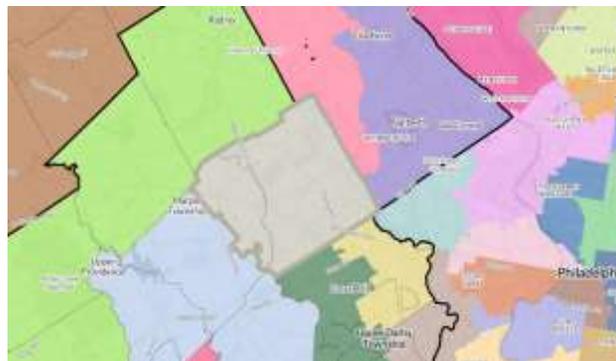
33.   The total population of the 166ᵗʰ House of Representatives district has a deviation of -1,003 or -1.57% from the average population of 64,053, per district.

34.   The 2021 Final Plan unnecessarily divides the Wallingford-Swarthmore School District into two House of Representative districts: the 161ˢᵗ and 165ᵗʰ. The Commission was presented with several reapportionment options in compliance with the constitutional requirements that did not divide the Wallingford-Swarthmore School District into two

districts. In the prior House of Representatives map, the entire Wallingford-Swarthmore School District was in the 161st House District.

35. The 2021 Final Plan unnecessarily divides the Unionville-Chadds Ford School District into two House of Representative districts: the 160th and 158th. The Commission was presented with several reapportionment options in compliance with the constitutional requirements that did not divide the Unionville-Chadds Ford School District into two districts. In the prior House of Representatives map, the entire Unionville-Chadds Ford School District was in the 160th House District.

36. Under the Final Plan, the 160th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Birmingham, Pennsbury, Thornbury and Westtown and Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Bethel, Chadds Ford, Concord and Thornbury and the BOROUGH of Chester Heights" with a total population of 63,956. *See* Appendix "A." *See also dark green highlighted area below.*
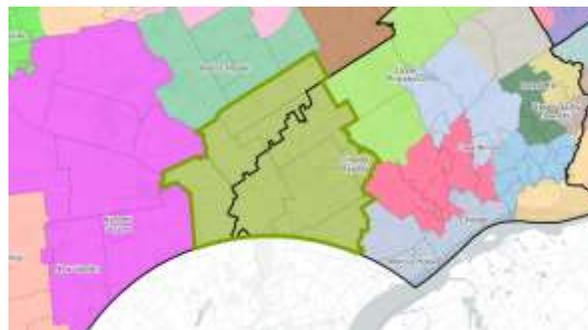
37.   The total population of the 160th House of Representatives district has a deviation of -97 or -0.15% from the average population of 64,053, per district.

38.   Under the Final Plan, the 158th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of East Fallowfield, East Marlborough, Kennett, New Garden, Newlin, Pocopson, West Bradford and West Marlborough and the BOROUGHS of Avondale and Kennett Square" with a total population of 62,792. *See* Appendix "A." *See also purple highlighted area below.*
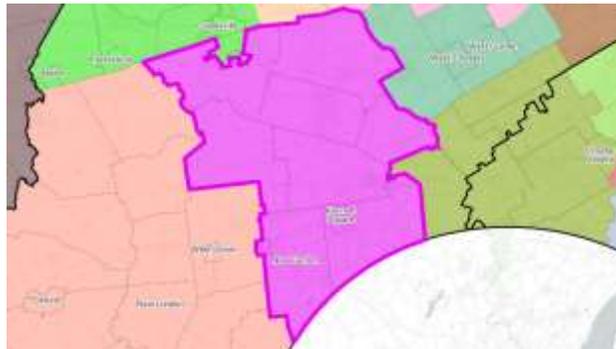
39.   The total population of the 158th House of Representatives district has a deviation of -1,261 or -1.97% from the average population of 64,053, per district.

40.   The 2021 Final Plan unnecessarily divides the Chester Upland School District into two House of Representative districts: the 159th and 161st. The Commission was presented with several reapportionment options in compliance with the constitutional requirements that did not divide the

Chester Upland School District into two districts. In the prior House of Representatives map, the entire Chester Upland School District was in the 159th House District.

41.   In addition to the 161st House of Representatives district described above, under the Final Plan, the 159th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the CITY of Chester and the TOWNSHIPS of Lower Chichester and Upper Chichester and the BOROUGHS of Eddystone, Marcus Hook, Parkside and Trainer" with a total population of 61,801. *See* Appendix "A." *See also blue/grey highlighted area below.*
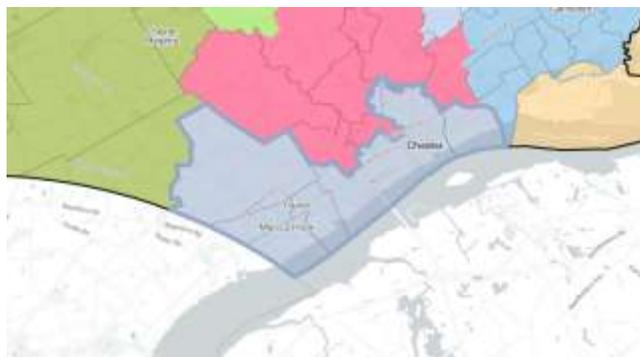
42.   The total population of the 159th House of Representatives district has a deviation of -2,252 or -3.52% from the average population of 64,053, per district.

43.   Chester Township was split from Chester City which alters the racial makeup of the 159th House of Representatives district converting it from a Majority Minority district to a Plurality Minority district. Further, the

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159th House of Representatives district is underrepresented in population by 2,252 people which is one of the highest under representations in the Commonwealth.

44. Petitioner Moton therefore believes and thus avers that the elimination of the Majority-Minority district violates the Pennsylvania and United States Constitutions and may likely result in the elimination of a seat held by an African American or other minority member.

45. Colwyn Borough and Tinicum Township in Delaware County are now part of the 185th House of Representatives District.

46. Under the Final Plan, the 185th House of Representatives district consists of "Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of Tinicum and the BOROUGH of Colwyn and Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of Philadelphia (PART, Wards 26, 40 [PART, Divisions 01, 03, 04, 06, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50 and 51] and 48 [PART, Divisions 08, 12 and 17])" with a total population of 61,863. *See* Appendix "A." *See also yellow highlighted area below.*

47. The total population of the 185th House of Representatives district has a deviation of -2,190 or -3.42% from the average population of 64,053, per district. The 185th House of Representatives district is underrepresented in population by 2,190 people and, like the 159th House of Representatives district, is one of the highest under representations in the Commonwealth.

48. The "two hundred three representative districts, shall be composed of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as practicable. …" Pa. Const. art. II, §16.

49. The population deviations contained in the Final Plan are, at best, on the outer limits of acceptable deviations which further illustrates that the 2021 Legislative Reapportionment Commission made the constitutional directives of Article II, Section 16, subordinate to political and partisan interests. *See Holt v. 2011 Legislative Reapportionment Comm'n*, 38 A.3d 711 (2012).

50. Further, the population deviations overwhelmingly favor historically Democratic districts which are overwhelmingly underpopulated while historically Republican districts are overwhelmingly overpopulated under the Final Plan.

51. This fact further illustrates that the Legislative Reapportionment Commission made the constitutional directives of Article II, Section 16, subordinate to political and partisan interests.

52. By a partisan vote, the Legislative Reapportionment Commission decided to alter the 2020 census data to include approximately thirty thousand (30,000) state prisoners within the population count of their pre-incarceration districts of residence.

53. By contrast, the U.S. Census Bureau includes incarcerated prisoners within the population counts of their districts of incarceration.

54. Further, the Legislative Reapportionment Commission's decision to alter the 2020 census data is contrary to the method utilized to formulate Congressional Reapportionment Plans within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

55. The Congressional Reapportionment Plan recently approved by this Court used the U.S. Census Bureau data which included incarcerated prisoners within the population counts of their districts of incarceration.

56. By unilaterally altering the 2020 census date, the Legislative Reapportionment Commission has created a Final Plan in violation of the Pennsylvania Constitution and the United States Constitution.

VI. RELIEF REQUESTED

57. Petitioners respectfully request that this Honorable Court enter an Order holding:

a) That the 2021 Final Plan is contrary to law in that it violates Article I, Section 5; Article I, Section 29; Article II, Section 16; and, Article II, Section 17 of the Pennsylvania Constitution.

b) That the 2021 Final Plan is contrary to law in that it violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

c) That the Legislative Reapportionment Commission's decision to alter and/or deviate from the United States Census data to include approximately thirty thousand (30,000) state prisoners within the population count of their pre-incarceration districts of residence is contrary to the law.

d) Remanding the Final Plan to the Legislative Reapportionment Commission with directions to eliminate the unnecessary splitting of political subdivisions; to reduce the total population deviation in the districts; to properly count incarcerated prisoners

within the population count of the districts of incarceration; unless

presented with a compelling state interest, to refrain from using

race as a primary factor in reapportionment; and to utilize the

Article II, Section 16 criteria as the primary reapportionment

criteria.

e) That the 2022 elections for the General Assembly will occur

pursuant to the districts adopted in the 2012 Final Plan.

f) Any other relief deemed appropriate by the Court.

Respectfully Submitted,

Date: <u>March 7, 2022</u>

By: <u>/s/ Thomas E. Breth, Esq.</u>
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Counsel Petitioners

VERIFICATION

I, Gabriel Ingram, 159th District, am authorized to make this verification. I verify that the statements made in the foregoing document are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief. I understand that the statements herein are made subject to the penalties of perjury of 18 Pa.C.S. § 4904 relating to unsworn falsification to authorities.
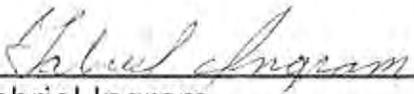
Gabriel Ingram
Gabriel Ingram

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

I certify that this filing complies with the provisions of the Public Access

Policy of the Unified Judicial System of Pennsylvania: Case Records of the

Appellate and Trial Courts that require filing confidential information and

documents differently than non-confidential information and documents.

/s/ Thomas E. Breth
Thomas E. Breth, Esq.

DISTRICT	POPULATION	DEVIATION
	The Statewide population = 13,002,700	
	The Average population per district = 64,053	
1	65,227	+1,174 (1.83%)
2	65,669	+1,616 (2.52%)
3	65,250	+1,197 (1.87%)
4	64,282	+229 (0.36%)
5	65,035	+982 (1.53%)
6	64,059	+6 (0.01%)
7	65,917	+1,864 (2.91%)
8	65,051	+998 (1.56%)
9	63,610	-443 (0.69%)
10	61,532	-2,521 (3.94%)
11	64,833	+780 (1.22%)
12	64,712	+659 (1.03%)
13	64,075	+22 (0.03%)
14	66,854	+2,801 (4.37%)
15	66,277	+2,224 (3.47%)
16	64,976	+923 (1.44%)
17	65,933	+1,880 (2.94%)
18	63,773	-280 (0.44%)
19	61,450	-2,603 (4.06%)
20	61,715	-2,338 (3.65%)
21	62,076	-1,977 (3.09%)
22	62,468	-1,585 (2.47%)
23	61,580	-2,473 (3.86%)
24	61,444	-2,609 (4.07%)
25	64,844	+791 (1.24%)
26	64,162	+109 (0.17%)
27	61,874	-2,179 (3.40%)
28	63,153	-900 (1.40%)
29	65,554	+1,501 (2.34%)
30	63,488	-565 (0.88%)
31	66,821	+2,768 (4.32%)
32	64,205	+152 (0.24%)

33	61,859	-2,194 (3.42%)
34	61,582	-2,471 (3.86%)
35	64,711	+658 (1.03%)
36	61,727	-2,326 (3.63%)
37	66,593	+2,540 (3.97%)
38	64,487	+434 (0.68%)
39	65,835	+1,782 (2.78%)
40	66,305	+2,252 (3.52%)
41	64,434	+381 (0.60%)
42	63,959	-94 (0.15%)
43	64,434	+381 (0.60%)
44	66,419	+2,366 (3.69%)
45	65,880	+1,827 (2.85%)
46	66,666	+2,613 (4.08%)
47	64,984	+931 (1.45%)
48	65,851	+1,798 (2.81%)
49	62,983	-1,070 (1.67%)
50	66,562	+2,509 (3.92%)
51	65,033	+980 (1.53%)
52	63,125	-928 (1.45%)
53	64,733	+680 (1.06%)
54	63,471	-582 (0.91%)
55	66,435	+2,382 (3.72%)
56	64,562	+509 (0.80%)
57	66,577	+2,524 (3.94%)
58	64,556	+503 (0.79%)
59	66,601	+2,548 (3.98%)
60	64,259	+206 (0.32%)
61	63,924	-129 (0.20%)
62	64,920	+867 (1.35%)
63	65,048	+995 (1.55%)
64	62,365	-1,688 (2.63%)
65	61,937	-2,116 (3.30%)
66	62,378	-1,675 (2.61%)
67	61,546	-2,507 (3.91%)
68	63,772	-281 (0.44%)

69	63,457	-596 (0.93%)
70	65,364	+1,311 (2.05%)
71	62,849	-1,204 (1.88%)
72	64,105	+52 (0.08%)
73	61,454	-2,599 (4.06%)
74	64,829	+776 (1.21%)
75	63,767	-286 (0.45%)
76	62,712	-1,341 (2.09%)
77	61,876	-2,177 (3.40%)
78	62,267	-1,786 (2.79%)
79	63,269	-784 (1.22%)
80	62,295	-1,758 (2.74%)
81	64,708	+655 (1.02%)
82	62,294	-1,759 (2.75%)
83	63,798	-255 (0.40%)
84	64,134	+81 (0.13%)
85	66,424	+2,371 (3.70%)
86	64,092	+39 (0.06%)
87	66,300	+2,247 (3.51%)
88	64,646	+593 (0.93%)
89	66,531	+2,478 (3.87%)
90	64,923	+870 (1.36%)
91	65,612	+1,559 (2.43%)
92	66,531	+2,478 (3.87%)
93	65,319	+1,266 (1.98%)
94	63,281	-772 (1.20%)
95	66,193	+2,140 (3.34%)
96	63,476	-577 (0.90%)
97	65,859	+1,806 (2.82%)
98	66,784	+2,731 (4.26%)
99	64,103	+50 (0.08%)
100	64,207	+154 (0.24%)
101	65,422	+1,369 (2.14%)
102	65,771	+1,718 (2.68%)
103	64,346	+293 (0.46%)
104	65,491	+1,438 (2.25%)

105	62,825	-1,228 (1.92%)
106	66,872	+2,819 (4.40%)
107	65,921	+1,868 (2.92%)
108	65,258	+1,205 (1.88%)
109	64,825	+772 (1.21%)
110	63,536	-517 (0.81%)
111	65,251	+1,198 (1.87%)
112	62,766	-1,287 (2.01%)
113	62,709	-1,344 (2.10%)
114	62,413	-1,640 (2.56%)
115	62,673	-1,380 (2.15%)
116	63,945	-108 (0.17%)
117	61,755	-2,298 (3.59%)
118	61,770	-2,283 (3.56%)
119	61,334	-2,719 (4.24%)
120	61,645	-2,408 (3.76%)
121	61,466	-2,587 (4.04%)
122	64,866	+813 (1.27%)
123	65,886	+1,833 (2.86%)
124	64,846	+793 (1.24%)
125	64,693	+640 (1.00%)
126	63,936	-117 (0.18%)
127	62,627	-1,426 (2.23%)
128	62,731	-1,322 (2.06%)
129	63,444	-609 (0.95%)
130	65,179	+1,126 (1.76%)
131	65,219	+1,166 (1.82%)
132	63,677	-376 (0.59%)
133	65,425	+1,372 (2.14%)
134	62,882	-1,171 (1.83%)
135	65,793	+1,740 (2.72%)
136	63,648	-405 (0.63%)
137	65,856	+1,803 (2.82%)
138	66,215	+2,162 (3.38%)
139	63,297	-756 (1.18%)
140	61,806	-2,247 (3.51%)

141	64,322	+269 (0.42%)
142	65,233	+1,180 (1.84%)
143	65,742	+1,689 (2.64%)
144	65,208	+1,155 (1.80%)
145	63,152	-901 (1.41%)
146	65,008	+955 (1.49%)
147	65,711	+1,658 (2.59%)
148	63,587	-466 (0.73%)
149	64,410	+357 (0.56%)
150	63,779	-274 (0.43%)
151	63,765	-288 (0.45%)
152	61,386	-2,667 (4.16%)
153	62,313	-1,740 (2.72%)
154	63,038	-1,015 (1.58%)
155	64,311	+258 (0.40%)
156	66,169	+2,116 (3.30%)
157	62,988	-1,065 (1.66%)
158	62,792	-1,261 (1.97%)
159	61,801	-2,252 (3.52%)
160	63,956	-97 (0.15%)
161	63,804	-249 (0.39%)
162	64,947	+894 (1.40%)
163	63,755	-298 (0.46%)
164	63,129	-924 (1.44%)
165	62,800	-1,253 (1.96%)
166	63,050	-1,003 (1.57%)
167	63,435	-618 (0.96%)
168	62,978	-1,075 (1.68%)
169	64,977	+924 (1.44%)
170	62,661	-1,392 (2.17%)
171	65,554	+1,501 (2.34%)
172	64,450	+397 (0.62%)
173	62,913	-1,140 (1.78%)
174	62,812	-1,241 (1.94%)
175	62,108	-1,945 (3.04%)
176	62,863	-1,190 (1.86%)

177	62,232	-1,821 (2.84%)
178	65,518	+1,465 (2.29%)
179	61,563	-2,490 (3.89%)
180	62,540	-1,513 (2.36%)
181	62,079	-1,974 (3.08%)
182	66,317	+2,264 (3.54%)
183	66,148	+2,095 (3.27%)
184	64,108	+55 (0.09%)
185	61,863	-2,190 (3.42%)
186	62,436	-1,617 (2.52%)
187	66,296	+2,243 (3.50%)
188	61,778	-2,275 (3.55%)
189	61,876	-2,177 (3.40%)
190	61,771	-2,282 (3.56%)
191	62,629	-1,424 (2.22%)
192	61,419	-2,634 (4.11%)
193	64,302	+249 (0.39%)
194	62,236	-1,817 (2.84%)
195	62,205	-1,848 (2.88%)
196	65,953	+1,900 (2.97%)
197	62,586	-1,467 (2.29%)
198	63,729	-324 (0.51%)
199	64,111	+58 (0.09%)
200	65,563	+1,510 (2.36%)
201	66,430	+2,377 (3.71%)
202	64,695	+642 (1.00%)
203	65,519	+1,466 (2.29%)

LEGISLATIVE DATA PROCESSING CENTER

COMPOSITE LISTING

OF

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICTS

<u>DISTRICT NUMBER</u>   <u>DESCRIPTION</u>

Dist. 1   ERIE County.
             Part of ERIE County consisting of the CITY of Erie
             (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03, 04 and 06) and the TOWNSHIPS
             of Lake Erie and Lawrence Park.
             Total population: 65,227

Dist. 2   ERIE County.
             Part of ERIE County consisting of the CITY of Erie
             (PART, Ward 05) and the TOWNSHIPS of Greene,
             Harborcreek and Summit and the BOROUGH of Wesleyville.
             Total population: 65,669

Dist. 3   ERIE County.
             Part of ERIE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Fairview and Millcreek.
             Total population: 65,250

Dist. 4   ERIE County.
             Part of ERIE County consisting of the CITY of Corry
             and the TOWNSHIPS of Amity, Concord, Franklin, Girard,
             Greenfield, Leboeuf, McKean, North East, Union,
             Venango, Washington, Waterford and Wayne and the
             BOROUGHS of Edinboro, Elgin, Girard, Lake City,
             McKean, Mill Village, North East, Platea, Union City,
             Waterford and Wattsburg.
             Total population: 64,282

Dist. 5   BERKS County.
             Part of BERKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Bern, Bethel, Centre, Heidelberg, Jefferson, Lower
             Heidelberg, Marion, North Heidelberg, Ontelaunee,
             Penn, Perry, South Heidelberg, Spring (PART, Districts
             05, 07 and 08) and Tulpehocken and the BOROUGHS of
             Bernville, Centerport, Leesport, Robesonia,
             Shoemakersville, Wernersville and Womelsdorf.
             Total population: 65,035

Dist. 6   CRAWFORD and ERIE Counties.
           Part of CRAWFORD County consisting of the CITY of
           Meadville and the TOWNSHIPS of Beaver, Conneaut, East
           Fairfield, East Fallowfield, East Mead, Fairfield,
           Greenwood, Hayfield, North Shenango, Pine, Randolph,
           Sadsbury, South Shenango, Spring, Summerhill, Summit,
           Union, Vernon, Wayne, West Fallowfield, West Mead and
           West Shenango and the BOROUGHS of Cochranton, Conneaut
           Lake, Conneautville, Linesville and Springboro and
           Part of ERIE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
           Conneaut, Elk Creek and Springfield and the BOROUGHS
           of Albion and Cranesville.
           Total population: 64,059

Dist. 7   MERCER County.
           Part of MERCER County consisting of the CITIES of
           Farrell, Hermitage and Sharon and the TOWNSHIPS of
           Greene, Hempfield, Lackawannock, Pymatuning, Shenango,
           South Pymatuning and West Salem and the BOROUGHS of
           Clark, Greenville, Jamestown, Sharpsville, West
           Middlesex and Wheatland.
           Total population: 65,917

Dist. 8   BUTLER and LAWRENCE Counties.
           Part of BUTLER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
           Brady, Center, Clay, Connoquenessing, Forward,
           Franklin, Lancaster, Middlesex, Muddycreek, Penn and
           Worth and the BOROUGHS of Connoquenessing,
           Portersville, Prospect, West Liberty and West Sunbury
           and Part of LAWRENCE County consisting of the
           TOWNSHIPS of Little Beaver, Perry, Plain Grove, Scott,
           Slippery Rock, Washington and Wayne and the BOROUGHS
           of Ellport, Ellwood City (Lawrence County Portion),
           Enon Valley, New Beaver, Volant and Wampum.
           Total population: 65,051

Dist. 9   LAWRENCE County.
           Part of LAWRENCE County consisting of the CITY of New
           Castle and the TOWNSHIPS of Hickory, Mahoning,
           Neshannock, North Beaver, Pulaski, Shenango, Taylor,
           Union and Wilmington and the BOROUGHS of Bessemer,
           New Wilmington, S.N.P.J. and South New Castle.
           Total population: 63,610

Dist. 10   PHILADELPHIA County.
            Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
            Philadelphia (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Divisions 01, 07,
            08 and 12], 06 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05,
            06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12 and 16], 08 [PART,
            Divisions 17, 18, 19, 22, 23 and 29], 24, 44 [PART,
            Divisions 03, 04, 06, 08, 09, 10, 13, 14, 15 and 16]
            and 60 [PART, Divisions 04, 05, 06, 07, 11, 14, 15,
            16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22]).
            Total population: 61,532

Dist. 11   BUTLER County.
            Part of BUTLER County consisting of the CITY of Butler
            and the TOWNSHIPS of Buffalo, Butler, Clearfield,
            Clinton, Donegal, Jefferson, Oakland, Summit and
            Winfield and the BOROUGHS of Chicora, East Butler and
            Saxonburg.
            Total population: 64,833

Dist. 12   BUTLER County.
            Part of BUTLER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Adams, Cranberry and Jackson and the BOROUGHS of
            Callery, Evans City, Harmony, Mars, Seven Fields,
            Valencia and Zelienople.
            Total population: 64,712

Dist. 13   CHESTER County.
            Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            East Nottingham, Elk, Franklin, Highland, London
            Britain, London Grove, Londonderry, Lower Oxford, New
            London, Penn, Upper Oxford, West Fallowfield and West
            Nottingham and the BOROUGHS of Oxford and West Grove.
            Total population: 64,075

Dist. 14   BEAVER County.
            Part of BEAVER County consisting of the CITY of Beaver
            Falls and the TOWNSHIPS of Chippewa, Darlington,
            Daugherty, Franklin, Marion, New Sewickley, North
            Sewickley, Patterson, Pulaski and White and the
            BOROUGHS of Big Beaver, Bridgewater, Darlington,
            Eastvale, Economy, Ellwood City (Beaver County
            Portion), Fallston, Homewood, Koppel, New Brighton,
            New Galilee, Patterson Heights and West Mayfield.
            Total population: 66,854

Dist. 15   BEAVER and WASHINGTON Counties.
            Part of BEAVER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Brighton, Greene, Hanover, Independence, Potter,
            Raccoon, South Beaver and Vanport and the BOROUGHS of
            Beaver, Frankfort Springs, Georgetown, Glasgow,
            Hookstown, Industry, Midland, Ohioville and
            Shippingport and Part of WASHINGTON County consisting
            of the TOWNSHIPS of Blaine, Buffalo, Canton, Cross
            Creek, Donegal, Hanover, Hopewell, Independence,
            Jefferson, Robinson and Smith and the BOROUGHS of
            Burgettstown, Claysville, Midway and West Middletown.
            Total population: 66,277

Dist. 16   BEAVER County.
            Part of BEAVER County consisting of the CITY of
            Aliquippa and the TOWNSHIPS of Center, Harmony,
            Hopewell and Rochester and the BOROUGHS of Ambridge,
            Baden, Conway, East Rochester, Freedom, Monaca,
            Rochester and South Heights.
            Total population: 64,976

Dist. 17   BUTLER and MERCER Counties.
Part of BUTLER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Allegheny, Cherry, Concord, Fairview, Marion, Mercer, Parker, Slippery Rock, Venango and Washington and the BOROUGHS of Bruin, Cherry Valley, Eau Claire, Fairview, Harrisville, Karns City, Petrolia and Slippery Rock and Part of MERCER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Coolspring, Deer Creek, Delaware, East Lackawannock, Fairview, Findley, French Creek, Jackson, Jefferson, Lake, Liberty, Mill Creek, New Vernon, Otter Creek, Perry, Pine, Salem, Sandy Creek, Sandy Lake, Springfield, Sugar Grove, Wilmington, Wolf Creek and Worth and the BOROUGHS of Fredonia, Grove City, Jackson Center, Mercer, New Lebanon, Sandy Lake, Sheakleyville and Stoneboro.
Total population: 65,933

Dist. 18   BUCKS County.
Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of Bensalem and the BOROUGH of Hulmeville.
Total population: 63,773

Dist. 19   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 01, 02 [PART, Division 01], 03, 04 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 17 and 19], 05 [PART, Divisions 01, 02 and 16], 15 [PART, Divisions 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19], 17 [PART, Divisions 01, 02 and 03], 18 [PART, Divisions 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10 and 11], 20 [PART, Divisions 08, 09, 10, 11, 12 and 13], 21, 22, 23 [PART, Division 02], 25, 26 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 10, 11, 14 and 16], 27 [PART, Divisions 06, 09, 10, 11, 12 and 13] and 30).
Total population: 61,450

Dist. 20   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 26 [PART, Divisions 12, 13 and 15] and 27 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 07 and 08]) and the TOWNSHIP of Ross and the BOROUGHS of Avalon, Bellevue and West View.
Total population: 61,715

Dist. 21   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of
            Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 02 [PART, Division 02], 06,
            09, 10 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07
            and 10], 23 [PART, Divisions 01 and 03], 24 and 26
            [PART, Divisions 09 and 17]) and the TOWNSHIPS of
            Reserve and Shaler and the BOROUGHS of Etna and
            Millvale.
            Total population: 62,076

Dist. 22   LEHIGH County.
            Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the CITY of
            Allentown (PART, Wards 01, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08 [PART,
            Divisions 01, 02, 03, 05 and 06], 09, 10, 11 [PART,
            Division 02], 14 and 15) and the TOWNSHIP of Salisbury
            (PART, Wards 01, 02 and 03 [PART, Division 02]).
            Total population: 62,468

Dist. 23   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of
            Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Divisions 05, 08,
            09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16], 07 [PART,
            Divisions 01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 10, 13 and 14], 14
            [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09,
            10, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29,
            30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41]
            and 15 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07,
            08, 09, 10, 11 and 12]).
            Total population: 61,580

Dist. 24   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of
            Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Divisions 03, 04,
            06, 07 and 18], 05 [PART, Divisions 03, 04, 05, 06,
            07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18], 07
            [PART, Divisions 03, 04, 08, 09, 11 and 12], 08, 10
            [PART, Divisions 08, 09, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,
            18 and 19], 11, 12 and 13 [PART, Divisions 02, 03,
            04, 05, 06, 07, 09, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19]).
            Total population: 61,444

Dist. 25   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of North Versailles and the BOROUGHS of East McKeesport, Monroeville, Pitcairn, Plum (PART, Districts 04, 05, 06, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16), Trafford (Allegheny County Portion), Turtle Creek, Wall and Wilmerding.
Total population: 64,844

Dist. 26   CHESTER County.
Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of East Coventry, East Nantmeal, East Pikeland, East Vincent, North Coventry, South Coventry, Warwick and West Nantmeal and the BOROUGHS of Elverson, Phoenixville and Spring City.
Total population: 64,162

Dist. 27   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 19 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 13 and 28], 20 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18] and 28) and the TOWNSHIP of Scott and the BOROUGHS of Crafton, Green Tree, Heidelberg, Ingram, Rosslyn Farms and Thornburg.
Total population: 61,874

Dist. 28   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Hampton (PART, Districts 01, 02, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10 and 11), Marshall, Pine, Richland and West Deer and the BOROUGH of Bradford Woods.
Total population: 63,153

Dist. 29   BUCKS County.
Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Buckingham, Doylestown and Solebury and the BOROUGHS of Chalfont, Doylestown, New Britain and New Hope.
Total population: 65,554

Dist. 30   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
of Hampton (PART, Districts 03, 04, 05, 12 and 13),
Kilbuck, McCandless and Ohio and the BOROUGHS of Ben
Avon, Ben Avon Heights, Emsworth and Franklin Park.
Total population: 63,488

Dist. 31   BUCKS County.
Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
Lower Makefield, Newtown and Upper Makefield and the
BOROUGHS of Newtown and Yardley.
Total population: 66,821

Dist. 32   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIP
of Penn Hills and the BOROUGHS of Oakmont, Plum (PART,
Districts 01, 02, 03, 07, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21) and
Verona.
Total population: 64,205

Dist. 33   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
of East Deer, Fawn, Frazer, Harmar, Harrison, Indiana,
O'Hara and Springdale and the BOROUGHS of Aspinwall,
Blawnox, Brackenridge, Cheswick, Fox Chapel,
Sharpsburg, Springdale and Tarentum.
Total population: 61,859

Dist. 34   ALLEGHENY County.
Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of
Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 13 [PART, Divisions 01, 08,
10, 13 and 14] and 14 [PART, Divisions 12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 17 and 18]) and the TOWNSHIP of Wilkins and
the BOROUGHS of Braddock, Braddock Hills, Chalfant,
Churchill, East Pittsburgh, Edgewood, Forest Hills,
North Braddock, Rankin, Swissvale and Wilkinsburg.
Total population: 61,582

Dist. 35   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITIES of
            Clairton, Duquesne and McKeesport and the TOWNSHIP of
            South Versailles and the BOROUGHS of Homestead,
            Liberty, Lincoln, Munhall, Port Vue, Versailles, West
            Homestead, West Mifflin (PART, Districts 03, 04 and
            15), Whitaker and White Oak.
            Total population: 64,711

Dist. 36   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of
            Pittsburgh (PART, Wards 16, 17 [PART, Divisions 04,
            05, 06, 07 and 08], 18 [PART, Division 01], 19 [PART,
            Divisions 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22,
            23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36,
            37 and 38], 29 and 32) and the BOROUGHS of Brentwood
            and Mount Oliver.
            Total population: 61,727

Dist. 37   LANCASTER County.
            Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Clay, Elizabeth, Penn, Rapho and Warwick and the
            BOROUGHS of Lititz and Manheim.
            Total population: 66,593

Dist. 38   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the CITY of
            Pittsburgh (PART, Ward 31) and the BOROUGHS of
            Baldwin, Dravosburg, Glassport, West Mifflin (PART,
            Districts 01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13,
            14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21) and Whitehall.
            Total population: 64,487

Dist. 39   ALLEGHENY and WASHINGTON Counties.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Elizabeth, Forward and South Park and the BOROUGHS
            of Elizabeth, Jefferson Hills, Pleasant Hills and West
            Elizabeth and Part of WASHINGTON County consisting of
            the CITY of Monongahela and the TOWNSHIPS of Carroll
            (PART, Districts 01 and 02) and Union and the BOROUGHS
            of Finleyville and New Eagle.
            Total population: 65,835

Dist. 40   ALLEGHENY and WASHINGTON Counties.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIP
            of Upper St. Clair (PART, Wards 03 [PART, Divisions
            01 and 02], 04 [PART, Divisions 02, 03 and 04] and
            05) and the BOROUGH of Bethel Park and Part of
            WASHINGTON County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of
            Peters.
            Total population: 66,305

Dist. 41   LANCASTER County.
            Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of East Hempfield, Manor (PART, Districts Bethel,
            Hambright and West Lancaster) and West Hempfield and
            the BOROUGHS of Columbia and Mountville.
            Total population: 64,434

Dist. 42   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Baldwin, Mount Lebanon and Upper St. Clair (PART,
            Wards 01, 02, 03 [PART, Division 03] and 04 [PART,
            Division 01]) and the BOROUGHS of Castle Shannon and
            Dormont.
            Total population: 63,959

Dist. 43   LANCASTER County.
            Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Earl, Ephrata, Leacock, Upper Leacock and West Earl
            and the BOROUGHS of Akron, Ephrata and New Holland.
            Total population: 64,434

Dist. 44   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Aleppo, Crescent, Findlay, Leet, Moon and North
            Fayette and the BOROUGHS of Bell Acres, Edgeworth,
            Glen Osborne, Glenfield, Haysville, Leetsdale,
            Sewickley, Sewickley Heights and Sewickley Hills.
            Total population: 66,419

Dist. 45   ALLEGHENY County.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Collier, Kennedy, Neville, Robinson and Stowe and
            the BOROUGHS of Bridgeville, Carnegie, Coraopolis,
            McKees Rocks and Pennsbury Village.
            Total population: 65,880

Dist. 46   ALLEGHENY and WASHINGTON Counties.
            Part of ALLEGHENY County consisting of the TOWNSHIP
            of South Fayette and the BOROUGHS of McDonald
            (Allegheny County Portion) and Oakdale and Part of
            WASHINGTON County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Cecil, Chartiers, Mount Pleasant and North Strabane
            (PART, Districts 06, 07, 08 and 09) and the BOROUGHS
            of Canonsburg, Houston and McDonald (Washington County
            Portion).
            Total population: 66,666

Dist. 47   YORK County.
            Part of YORK County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Conewago, East Manchester, Hellam, Manchester and
            Springettsbury (PART, Districts 02, 03 and 07) and
            the BOROUGHS of Hallam, Manchester, Mount Wolf and
            Wrightsville.
            Total population: 64,984

Dist. 48   WASHINGTON County.
            Part of WASHINGTON County consisting of the CITY of
            Washington and the TOWNSHIPS of Amwell, Carroll (PART,
            Districts 03, 04 and 05), East Finley, Fallowfield,
            Morris, North Franklin, North Strabane (PART,
            Districts 01, 02, 03, 04 and 05), Nottingham,
            Somerset, South Franklin, South Strabane and West
            Finley and the BOROUGHS of Donora, East Washington
            and Green Hills.
            Total population: 65,851

Dist. 49   LANCASTER County.
            Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the CITY of
            Lancaster (PART, Wards 02 [PART, Division 02], 03,
            04, 06 [PART, Division 08], 07 and 08) and the
            TOWNSHIP of Lancaster and the BOROUGH of Millersville.
            Total population: 62,983

Dist. 50   GREENE and WASHINGTON Counties.
             All of GREENE County and Part of WASHINGTON County
             consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of East Bethlehem, North
             Bethlehem, West Bethlehem and West Pike Run and the
             BOROUGHS of Allenport, Beallsville, Bentleyville,
             California, Centerville, Charleroi, Coal Center,
             Cokeburg, Deemston, Dunlevy, Elco, Ellsworth, Long
             Branch, Marianna, North Charleroi, Roscoe, Speers,
             Stockdale, Twilight and West Brownsville.
             Total population: 66,562

Dist. 51   FAYETTE County.
             Part of FAYETTE County consisting of the CITY of
             Uniontown and the TOWNSHIPS of Georges, German, Henry
             Clay, Menallen, Nicholson, North Union, South Union,
             Springhill and Wharton and the BOROUGHS of Fairchance,
             Markleysburg, Masontown, Point Marion and Smithfield.
             Total population: 65,033

Dist. 52   FAYETTE County.
             Part of FAYETTE County consisting of the CITY of
             Connellsville and the TOWNSHIPS of Brownsville,
             Bullskin, Connellsville, Dunbar, Franklin, Jefferson,
             Lower Tyrone, Luzerne, Perry, Redstone, Saltlick,
             Springfield, Stewart, Upper Tyrone and Washington and
             the BOROUGHS of Belle Vernon, Brownsville, Dawson,
             Dunbar, Everson, Fayette City, Newell, Ohiopyle,
             Perryopolis, Seven Springs (Fayette County Portion),
             South Connellsville and Vanderbilt.
             Total population: 63,125

Dist. 53   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Franconia (PART, Precincts 02, 05 and 08), Hatfield
             and Montgomery (PART, Districts 01, 02 and 03) and
             the BOROUGHS of Hatfield, Lansdale, Souderton and
             Telford (Montgomery County Portion).
             Total population: 64,733

Dist. 54   MONTGOMERY County.
Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIP
of Plymouth and the BOROUGHS of Conshohocken and
Norristown.
Total population: 63,471

Dist. 55   WESTMORELAND County.
Part of WESTMORELAND County consisting of the CITIES
of Arnold, Lower Burrell (PART, Ward 04 [PART,
Division 01]) and New Kensington and the TOWNSHIPS of
Bell, Derry (PART, Districts Alters and Simpsons),
Loyalhanna, Salem, Upper Burrell and Washington and
the BOROUGHS of Avonmore, Delmont, Export,
Murrysville, New Alexandria and Oklahoma.
Total population: 66,435

Dist. 56   WESTMORELAND County.
Part of WESTMORELAND County consisting of the CITY of
Jeannette and the TOWNSHIPS of North Huntingdon (PART,
Wards 01, 02, 04 [PART, Divisions 01, 03 and 04], 05,
06 and 07) and Penn and the BOROUGHS of Irwin, Manor,
North Irwin, Penn and Trafford (Westmoreland County
Portion).
Total population: 64,562

Dist. 57   WESTMORELAND County.
Part of WESTMORELAND County consisting of the CITY of
Greensburg and the TOWNSHIP of Hempfield and the
BOROUGHS of Adamsburg, Arona, New Stanton, South
Greensburg, Southwest Greensburg and Youngwood.
Total population: 66,577

Dist. 58   WESTMORELAND County.
Part of WESTMORELAND County consisting of the CITY of
Monessen and the TOWNSHIPS of East Huntingdon, Mount
Pleasant (PART, Districts Bridgeport, Duncan, Heccla
and Spring Garden), North Huntingdon (PART, Wards 03
and 04 [PART, Division 02]), Rostraver, Sewickley and
South Huntingdon and the BOROUGHS of Hunker, Madison,
Mount Pleasant, North Belle Vernon, Scottdale,
Smithton, Sutersville and West Newton.
Total population: 64,556

Dist. 59   WESTMORELAND County.
            Part of WESTMORELAND County consisting of the CITY of
            Latrobe and the TOWNSHIPS of Cook, Derry (PART,
            Districts Bradenville, Cokeville, Cooperstown,
            Kingston, Loyalhanna, Millwood, New Derry, Peanut,
            Saxman, Scalp Level and Torrance), Donegal, Fairfield,
            Ligonier, Mount Pleasant (PART, Districts Laurel Run,
            Mammoth, Pleasant Valley, Ridgeview, United and
            Westmoreland), St. Clair and Unity and the BOROUGHS
            of Bolivar, Derry, Donegal, Laurel Mountain, Ligonier,
            New Florence, Seward and Youngstown.
            Total population: 66,601

Dist. 60   ARMSTRONG and WESTMORELAND Counties.
            Part of ARMSTRONG County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Bethel, Burrell, Cadogan, East Franklin, Gilpin,
            Kiskiminetas, Manor, North Buffalo, Parks, South Bend
            and South Buffalo and the BOROUGHS of Apollo,
            Applewold, Ford City, Ford Cliff, Freeport, Leechburg,
            Manorville, North Apollo and West Kittanning and Part
            of WESTMORELAND County consisting of the CITY of Lower
            Burrell (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03 and 04 [PART, Division
            02]) and the TOWNSHIP of Allegheny and the BOROUGHS
            of East Vandergrift, Hyde Park, Vandergrift and West
            Leechburg.
            Total population: 64,259

Dist. 61   MONTGOMERY County.
            Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Lower Gwynedd, Towamencin, Upper Gwynedd and
            Whitpain (PART, Districts 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07
            and 12) and the BOROUGH of North Wales.
            Total population: 63,924

Dist. 62   INDIANA County.
            Part of INDIANA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Armstrong, Blacklick, Brush Valley, Buffington,
            Burrell, Center, Cherryhill, Conemaugh, East
            Wheatfield, Pine, Washington, West Wheatfield, White
            and Young and the BOROUGHS of Armagh, Blairsville,
            Clymer, Creekside, Homer City, Indiana, Saltsburg and
            Shelocta.
            Total population: 64,920

Dist. 63   ARMSTRONG and CLARION Counties.
Part of ARMSTRONG County consisting of the CITY of
Parker City and the TOWNSHIPS of Boggs, Bradys Bend,
Cowanshannock, Hovey, Kittanning, Madison, Mahoning,
Perry, Pine, Plumcreek, Rayburn, Redbank, Sugarcreek,
Valley, Washington, Wayne and West Franklin and the
BOROUGHS of Atwood, Dayton, Elderton, Kittanning,
Rural Valley, South Bethlehem and Worthington and All
of CLARION County.
Total population: 65,048

Dist. 64   CRAWFORD and VENANGO Counties.
Part of CRAWFORD County consisting of the CITY of
Titusville and the TOWNSHIPS of Oil Creek, Rome,
Steuben and Troy and the BOROUGHS of Hydetown and
Townville and All of VENANGO County.
Total population: 62,365

Dist. 65   CRAWFORD, FOREST and WARREN Counties.
Part of CRAWFORD County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
of Athens, Bloomfield, Cambridge, Cussewago, Richmond,
Rockdale, Sparta, Venango and Woodcock and the
BOROUGHS of Blooming Valley, Cambridge Springs,
Centerville, Saegertown, Spartansburg, Venango and
Woodcock; All of FOREST County and All of WARREN
County.
Total population: 61,937

Dist. 66   INDIANA and JEFFERSON Counties.
Part of INDIANA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
Banks, Canoe, East Mahoning, Grant, Green, Montgomery,
North Mahoning, Rayne, South Mahoning and West
Mahoning and the BOROUGHS of Cherry Tree, Ernest, Glen
Campbell, Marion Center, Plumville and Smicksburg and
All of JEFFERSON County.
Total population: 62,378

Dist. 67   CAMERON, MCKEAN and POTTER Counties.
All of CAMERON County; All of MCKEAN County and All
of POTTER County.
Total population: 61,546

Dist. 68   BRADFORD and TIOGA Counties.
Part of BRADFORD County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Armenia, Burlington, Canton, Columbia, Franklin, Granville, Leroy, Monroe, North Towanda, Overton, Ridgebury, Smithfield, South Creek, Springfield, Towanda, Troy, Wells and West Burlington and the BOROUGHS of Alba, Burlington, Canton, Monroe, Sylvania and Troy and All of TIOGA County.
Total population: 63,772

Dist. 69   SOMERSET County.
Part of SOMERSET County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Addison, Allegheny, Black, Brothersvalley, Conemaugh, Elk Lick, Fairhope, Greenville, Jefferson, Jenner, Larimer, Lincoln, Lower Turkeyfoot, Middlecreek, Milford, Northampton, Quemahoning, Shade, Somerset, Southampton, Stonycreek, Summit and Upper Turkeyfoot and the BOROUGHS of Addison, Benson, Berlin, Boswell, Callimont, Casselman, Central City, Confluence, Garrett, Hooversville, Indian Lake, Jennerstown, Meyersdale, New Baltimore, New Centerville, Rockwood, Salisbury, Seven Springs (Somerset County Portion), Shanksville, Somerset, Stoystown, Ursina and Wellersburg.
Total population: 63,457

Dist. 70   MONTGOMERY County.
Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of East Norriton, Perkiomen, Skippack, West Norriton (PART, Districts 01, 02 and 04), Whitpain (PART, Districts 08, 09, 10 and 11) and Worcester and the BOROUGH of Schwenksville.
Total population: 65,364

Dist. 71   CAMBRIA and SOMERSET Counties.
            Part of CAMBRIA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Adams, Allegheny, Chest, Clearfield, Cresson, Dean,
            Gallitzin, Munster, Portage, Reade, Richland,
            Stonycreek, Summerhill, Washington and White and the
            BOROUGHS of Ashville, Cassandra, Chest Springs,
            Cresson, Ferndale, Gallitzin, Geistown, Lilly,
            Loretto, Portage, Sankertown, Scalp Level, South Fork,
            Tunnelhill (Cambria County Portion) and Wilmore and
            Part of SOMERSET County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Ogle and Paint and the BOROUGHS of Paint and
            Windber.
            Total population: 62,849

Dist. 72   CAMBRIA County.
            Part of CAMBRIA County consisting of the CITY of
            Johnstown and the TOWNSHIPS of Blacklick, Cambria,
            Conemaugh, Croyle, East Taylor, Jackson, Lower Yoder,
            Middle Taylor, Upper Yoder and West Taylor and the
            BOROUGHS of Brownstown, Daisytown, Dale, East
            Conemaugh, Ebensburg, Ehrenfeld, Franklin, Lorain,
            Nanty Glo, Southmont, Summerhill, Vintondale and
            Westmont.
            Total population: 64,105

Dist. 73   CAMBRIA and CLEARFIELD Counties.
            Part of CAMBRIA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Barr, East Carroll, Elder, Susquehanna and West
            Carroll and the BOROUGHS of Carrolltown, Hastings,
            Northern Cambria and Patton and Part of CLEARFIELD
            County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Beccaria,
            Bigler, Boggs, Bradford, Burnside, Chest, Cooper,
            Covington, Decatur, Girard, Goshen, Graham, Gulich,
            Jordan, Karthaus, Knox, Lawrence, Morris, Pine and
            Woodward and the BOROUGHS of Brisbin, Burnside,
            Chester Hill, Clearfield, Coalport, Glen Hope,
            Houtzdale, Irvona, Osceola Mills, Ramey, Wallaceton
            and Westover.
            Total population: 61,454

Dist. 74   CHESTER County.
           Part of CHESTER County consisting of the CITY of
           Coatesville and the TOWNSHIPS of Caln (PART, Districts
           01, 02 and 03), Honey Brook, Sadsbury, Valley, West
           Caln and West Sadsbury and the BOROUGHS of Atglen,
           Honey Brook, Modena, Parkesburg and South Coatesville.
           Total population: 64,829

Dist. 75   CLEARFIELD and ELK Counties.
           Part of CLEARFIELD County consisting of the CITY of
           Dubois and the TOWNSHIPS of Bell, Bloom, Brady,
           Ferguson, Greenwood, Huston, Penn, Pike, Sandy and
           Union and the BOROUGHS of Curwensville, Falls Creek
           (Clearfield County Portion), Grampian, Mahaffey, New
           Washington, Newburg and Troutville and All of ELK
           County.
           Total population: 63,767

Dist. 76   CLINTON and UNION Counties.
           All of CLINTON County and Part of UNION County
           consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Buffalo, Hartley,
           Kelly, Lewis, Limestone and West Buffalo and the
           BOROUGHS of Hartleton, Lewisburg, Mifflinburg and New
           Berlin.
           Total population: 62,712

Dist. 77   CENTRE County.
           Part of CENTRE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
           Ferguson, Halfmoon, Huston, Patton, Rush, Taylor and
           Worth and the BOROUGHS of Philipsburg, Port Matilda
           and State College (PART, Districts East Central [PART,
           Division 02], Northwest, South [PART, Division 01],
           West and West Central).
           Total population: 61,876

Dist. 78   BEDFORD and FULTON Counties.
           All of BEDFORD County and All of FULTON County.
           Total population: 62,267

Dist. 79   BLAIR County.
            Part of BLAIR County consisting of the CITY of Altoona
            and the TOWNSHIPS of Allegheny and Logan and the
            BOROUGH of Tunnelhill (Blair County Portion).
            Total population: 63,269

Dist. 80   BLAIR and HUNTINGDON Counties.
            Part of BLAIR County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Antis, Blair, Catharine, Frankstown, Freedom,
            Greenfield, Huston, Juniata, North Woodbury, Snyder,
            Taylor, Tyrone and Woodbury and the BOROUGHS of
            Bellwood, Duncansville, Hollidaysburg, Martinsburg,
            Newry, Roaring Spring, Tyrone and Williamsburg and
            Part of HUNTINGDON County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Franklin and Warriors Mark and the BOROUGH of
            Birmingham.
            Total population: 62,295

Dist. 81   FRANKLIN and HUNTINGDON Counties.
            Part of FRANKLIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Fannett, Letterkenny, Lurgan, Metal, Southampton
            and St. Thomas and the BOROUGHS of Orrstown and
            Shippensburg (Franklin County Portion) and Part of
            HUNTINGDON County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Barree, Brady, Carbon, Cass, Clay, Cromwell, Dublin,
            Henderson, Hopewell, Jackson, Juniata, Lincoln, Logan,
            Miller, Morris, Oneida, Penn, Porter, Shirley,
            Smithfield, Springfield, Spruce Creek, Tell, Todd,
            Union, Walker, West and Wood and the BOROUGHS of
            Alexandria, Broad Top City, Cassville, Coalmont,
            Dudley, Huntingdon, Mapleton, Marklesburg, Mill Creek,
            Mount Union, Orbisonia, Petersburg, Rockhill,
            Saltillo, Shade Gap, Shirleysburg and Three Springs.
            Total population: 64,708

Dist. 82   CENTRE County.
            Part of CENTRE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Benner, Boggs, Burnside, College, Curtin, Harris,
            Howard, Liberty, Marion, Snow Shoe and Union and the
            BOROUGHS of Howard, Milesburg, Snow Shoe, State
            College (PART, Districts East, East Central [PART,
            Division 03], North, Northeast, Penn State Univ.
            (hub), South [PART, Division 02], South Central and
            Southeast) and Unionville.
            Total population: 62,294

Dist. 83   LYCOMING and UNION Counties.
            Part of LYCOMING County consisting of the CITY of
            Williamsport and the TOWNSHIPS of Armstrong, Brady,
            Clinton, Loyalsock, Susquehanna and Washington and
            the BOROUGHS of Duboistown, Montgomery and South
            Williamsport and Part of UNION County consisting of
            the TOWNSHIPS of Gregg and White Deer.
            Total population: 63,798

Dist. 84   LYCOMING and SULLIVAN Counties.
            Part of LYCOMING County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Anthony, Bastress, Brown, Cascade, Cogan House,
            Cummings, Eldred, Fairfield, Franklin, Gamble,
            Hepburn, Jackson, Jordan, Lewis, Limestone, Lycoming,
            McHenry, McIntyre, McNett, Mifflin, Mill Creek,
            Moreland, Muncy, Muncy Creek, Nippenose, Old Lycoming,
            Penn, Piatt, Pine, Plunketts Creek, Porter,
            Shrewsbury, Upper Fairfield, Watson, Wolf and Woodward
            and the BOROUGHS of Hughesville, Jersey Shore,
            Montoursville, Muncy, Picture Rocks and Salladasburg
            and All of SULLIVAN County.
            Total population: 64,134

Dist. 85   JUNIATA, MIFFLIN, SNYDER and UNION Counties.
            Part of JUNIATA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Fayette and Monroe; Part of MIFFLIN County consisting
            of the TOWNSHIPS of Decatur and Derry and the BOROUGH
            of Burnham; All of SNYDER County and Part of UNION
            County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of East Buffalo
            and Union.
            Total population: 66,424

Dist. 86   JUNIATA and PERRY Counties.
            Part of JUNIATA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Beale, Delaware, Fermanagh, Greenwood, Lack, Milford,
            Spruce Hill, Susquehanna, Turbett, Tuscarora and
            Walker and the BOROUGHS of Mifflin, Mifflintown, Port
            Royal and Thompsontown and All of PERRY County.
            Total population: 64,092

Dist. 87   CUMBERLAND County.
            Part of CUMBERLAND County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Lower Allen (PART, Precinct 02), Monroe, Silver
            Spring, South Middleton (PART, Precincts 01, 02, 06,
            07, 08 and 09) and Upper Allen and the BOROUGH of
            Mount Holly Springs.
            Total population: 66,300

Dist. 88   CUMBERLAND County.
            Part of CUMBERLAND County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Hampden and Lower Allen (PART, Precincts 01, 03,
            04, 05 and 06) and the BOROUGHS of Mechanicsburg, New
            Cumberland and Shiremanstown.
            Total population: 64,646

Dist. 89   FRANKLIN County.
            Part of FRANKLIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Greene, Guilford and Hamilton and the BOROUGH of
            Chambersburg.
            Total population: 66,531

Dist. 90   FRANKLIN County.
            Part of FRANKLIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Antrim, Montgomery, Peters, Quincy, Warren and
            Washington and the BOROUGHS of Greencastle,
            Mercersburg, Mont Alto and Waynesboro.
            Total population: 64,923

Dist. 91   ADAMS County.
Part of ADAMS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Conewago, Cumberland, Franklin, Freedom, Germany, Hamiltonban, Highland, Liberty, Mount Joy, Mount Pleasant, Straban and Union and the BOROUGHS of Bonneauville, Carroll Valley, Fairfield, Gettysburg, Littlestown and McSherrystown.
Total population: 65,612

Dist. 92   YORK County.
Part of YORK County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Carroll, Dover (PART, District 02), Fairview, Franklin, Monaghan, Newberry, Warrington and Washington and the BOROUGHS of Dillsburg, Franklintown, Goldsboro, Lewisberry, Wellsville and York Haven.
Total population: 66,531

Dist. 93   YORK County.
Part of YORK County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of East Hopewell, Fawn, Hopewell, North Hopewell, Springfield and York and the BOROUGHS of Cross Roads, Dallastown, Fawn Grove, Jacobus, Loganville, Shrewsbury, Stewartstown, Winterstown and Yoe.
Total population: 65,319

Dist. 94   YORK County.
Part of YORK County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Lower Windsor, Peach Bottom, Springettsbury (PART, Districts 01, 04, 05, 06 and 08) and Windsor and the BOROUGHS of Delta, East Prospect, Felton, Red Lion, Windsor and Yorkana.
Total population: 63,281

Dist. 95   YORK County.
Part of YORK County consisting of the CITY of York and the TOWNSHIP of Spring Garden and the BOROUGHS of North York and West York.
Total population: 66,193

Dist. 96   LANCASTER County.
             Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the CITY of
             Lancaster (PART, Wards 01, 02 [PART, Division 01],
             05, 06 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06 and
             07] and 09) and the TOWNSHIP of Manheim (PART,
             Districts 01, 03, 04, 05, 07 A, 07 B, 08, 09, 10, 11,
             14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23) and the
             BOROUGH of East Petersburg.
             Total population: 63,476

Dist. 97   LANCASTER County.
             Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Conestoga, East Lampeter, Manheim (PART, Districts
             02, 06, 12 and 13), Manor (PART, Districts Hershey
             Mill, Indiantown, Leisure, Manor, New, New East and
             Washington Boro), Pequea and West Lampeter.
             Total population: 65,859

Dist. 98   LANCASTER and LEBANON Counties.
             Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Conoy, East Donegal, Mount Joy and West Donegal
             and the BOROUGHS of Elizabethtown, Marietta and Mount
             Joy and Part of LEBANON County consisting of the
             TOWNSHIPS of South Annville and South Londonderry and
             the BOROUGH of Mount Gretna.
             Total population: 66,784

Dist. 99   BERKS and LANCASTER Counties.
             Part of BERKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Brecknock, Cumru (PART, Districts 03 and 05) and
             Spring (PART, Districts 11 and 12) and the BOROUGHS
             of Adamstown (Berks County Portion) and Mohnton and
             Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Brecknock, Caernarvon, East Cocalico, East Earl,
             Salisbury (PART, District Cambridge) and West Cocalico
             and the BOROUGHS of Adamstown (Lancaster County
             Portion), Denver and Terre Hill.
             Total population: 64,103

Dist. 100   LANCASTER County.
             Part of LANCASTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Bart, Colerain, Drumore, East Drumore, Eden,
             Fulton, Little Britain, Martic, Paradise, Providence,
             Sadsbury, Salisbury (PART, Districts Gap and White
             Horse) and Strasburg and the BOROUGHS of Christiana,
             Quarryville and Strasburg.
             Total population: 64,207

Dist. 101   LEBANON County.
             Part of LEBANON County consisting of the CITY of
             Lebanon and the TOWNSHIPS of North Cornwall, North
             Lebanon, South Lebanon, West Cornwall and West Lebanon
             and the BOROUGH of Cornwall.
             Total population: 65,422

Dist. 102   LEBANON County.
             Part of LEBANON County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Annville, Bethel, East Hanover, Heidelberg, Jackson,
             Millcreek, North Annville, North Londonderry, Swatara
             and Union and the BOROUGHS of Cleona, Jonestown,
             Myerstown, Palmyra and Richland.
             Total population: 65,771

Dist. 103   CUMBERLAND and DAUPHIN Counties.
             Part of CUMBERLAND County consisting of the TOWNSHIP
             of East Pennsboro and the BOROUGHS of Camp Hill,
             Lemoyne and Wormleysburg and Part of DAUPHIN County
             consisting of the CITY of Harrisburg (PART, Wards 01
             [PART, Division 01], 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09 [PART,
             Division 01], 10, 11, 12, 14 and 15).
             Total population: 64,346

Dist. 104   DAUPHIN County.
             Part of DAUPHIN County consisting of the CITY of
             Harrisburg (PART, Wards 01 [PART, Divisions 02 and
             03], 02, 09 [PART, Divisions 02, 03, 04 and 05] and
             13) and the TOWNSHIPS of Lower Swatara (PART, District
             03) and Swatara and the BOROUGHS of Highspire, Paxtang
             and Steelton.
             Total population: 65,491

Dist. 105   DAUPHIN County.
             Part of DAUPHIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Lower Paxton (PART, Districts 01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 08,
             10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25 and 26) and
             Susquehanna and the BOROUGH of Penbrook.
             Total population: 62,825

Dist. 106   DAUPHIN County.
             Part of DAUPHIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Conewago, Derry, East Hanover, Londonderry, Lower
             Swatara (PART, Districts 01, 02 and 04) and South
             Hanover and the BOROUGHS of Hummelstown, Middletown
             and Royalton.
             Total population: 66,872

Dist. 107   NORTHUMBERLAND and SCHUYLKILL Counties.
             Part of NORTHUMBERLAND County consisting of the CITY
             of Shamokin and the TOWNSHIPS of Coal, East Cameron,
             Jackson, Jordan, Little Mahanoy, Lower Augusta, Lower
             Mahanoy, Mount Carmel, Ralpho, Shamokin, Upper
             Mahanoy, Washington, West Cameron and Zerbe and the
             BOROUGHS of Herndon, Kulpmont, Marion Heights and
             Mount Carmel and Part of SCHUYLKILL County consisting
             of the TOWNSHIPS of Barry, Eldred, Foster, Frailey,
             Hegins, Hubley, Pine Grove, Porter, Reilly, Tremont,
             Upper Mahantongo and Washington and the BOROUGHS of
             Pine Grove, Tower City and Tremont.
             Total population: 65,921

Dist. 108   MONTOUR and NORTHUMBERLAND Counties.
             All of MONTOUR County and Part of NORTHUMBERLAND
             County consisting of the CITY of Sunbury and the
             TOWNSHIPS of Delaware, East Chillisquaque, Lewis,
             Point, Rockefeller, Rush, Turbot, Upper Augusta and
             West Chillisquaque and the BOROUGHS of McEwensville,
             Milton, Northumberland, Riverside, Snydertown,
             Turbotville and Watsontown.
             Total population: 65,258

Dist. 109   COLUMBIA County.
             ; All of COLUMBIA County.
             Total population: 64,825

Dist. 110   BRADFORD and WYOMING Counties.
             Part of BRADFORD County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Albany, Asylum, Athens, Herrick, Litchfield,
             Orwell, Pike, Rome, Sheshequin, Standing Stone,
             Stevens, Terry, Tuscarora, Ulster, Warren, Wilmot,
             Windham, Wyalusing and Wysox and the BOROUGHS of
             Athens, Leraysville, New Albany, Rome, Sayre, South
             Waverly, Towanda and Wyalusing and All of WYOMING
             County.
             Total population: 63,536

Dist. 111   SUSQUEHANNA and WAYNE Counties.
             All of SUSQUEHANNA County and Part of WAYNE County
             consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Berlin, Buckingham,
             Canaan, Clinton, Damascus, Dyberry, Lebanon,
             Manchester, Mount Pleasant, Oregon, Preston, Scott
             and Texas and the BOROUGHS of Bethany, Honesdale,
             Prompton, Starrucca and Waymart.
             Total population: 65,251

Dist. 112   LACKAWANNA County.
             Part of LACKAWANNA County consisting of the CITY of
             Carbondale and the TOWNSHIPS of Carbondale, Fell and
             Jefferson and the BOROUGHS of Archbald, Blakely,
             Dunmore, Jermyn, Jessup, Mayfield, Olyphant, Throop
             and Vandling.
             Total population: 62,766

Dist. 113   LACKAWANNA County.
             Part of LACKAWANNA County consisting of the CITY of
             Scranton (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Division 01], 05, 06,
             09, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22 and 24)
             and the TOWNSHIPS of Clifton, Covington, Elmhurst,
             Madison, Roaring Brook, Spring Brook and Thornhurst
             and the BOROUGH of Moscow.
             Total population: 62,709

Dist. 114   LACKAWANNA County.
Part of LACKAWANNA County consisting of the CITY of
Scranton (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03, 04 [PART, Division
02], 07, 13, 21 and 23) and the TOWNSHIPS of Benton,
Greenfield, North Abington, Scott, South Abington and
Waverly and the BOROUGHS of Clarks Green, Clarks
Summit and Dickson City.
Total population: 62,413

Dist. 115   MONROE County.
Part of MONROE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
Barrett, Coolbaugh, Middle Smithfield (PART, District
West), Paradise, Pocono, Price and Stroud (PART,
Districts 02, 04 and 05) and the BOROUGH of Mount
Pocono.
Total population: 62,673

Dist. 116   LUZERNE and SCHUYLKILL Counties.
Part of LUZERNE County consisting of the CITY of
Hazleton and the TOWNSHIP of Hazle and the BOROUGH of
West Hazleton and Part of SCHUYLKILL County consisting
of the TOWNSHIPS of East Union, Kline, Mahanoy, North
Union and Union and the BOROUGHS of Mahanoy City,
McAdoo, Ringtown and Shenandoah.
Total population: 63,945

Dist. 117   LUZERNE County.
Part of LUZERNE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
Black Creek, Butler, Conyngham, Dennison, Dorrance,
Fairmount, Foster, Hollenback, Hunlock, Huntington,
Lake, Lehman, Nescopeck, Ross, Salem, Slocum,
Sugarloaf and Union and the BOROUGHS of Conyngham,
Dallas, Freeland, Harveys Lake, Jeddo, Nescopeck, New
Columbus, Nuangola, Penn Lake Park, Shickshinny and
White Haven.
Total population: 61,755

Dist. 118   LACKAWANNA and LUZERNE Counties.
             Part of LACKAWANNA County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Glenburn, La Plume, Newton, Ransom and West
             Abington and the BOROUGHS of Dalton, Moosic, Old Forge
             and Taylor and Part of LUZERNE County consisting of
             the CITY of Pittston and the TOWNSHIPS of Jenkins and
             Pittston and the BOROUGHS of Avoca, Dupont, Duryea,
             Hughestown, Laflin, West Pittston and Yatesville.
             Total population: 61,770

Dist. 119   LUZERNE County.
             Part of LUZERNE County consisting of the CITY of
             Nanticoke and the TOWNSHIPS of Fairview, Hanover,
             Newport, Plymouth, Rice and Wright and the BOROUGHS
             of Ashley, Edwardsville, Larksville, Plymouth, Sugar
             Notch and Warrior Run.
             Total population: 61,334

Dist. 120   LUZERNE County.
             Part of LUZERNE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Dallas, Exeter, Franklin, Jackson and Kingston and
             the BOROUGHS of Courtdale, Exeter, Forty Fort,
             Kingston, Luzerne, Pringle, Swoyersville, West Wyoming
             and Wyoming.
             Total population: 61,645

Dist. 121   LUZERNE County.
             Part of LUZERNE County consisting of the CITY of
             Wilkes-Barre and the TOWNSHIPS of Bear Creek, Buck,
             Plains and Wilkes-Barre and the BOROUGHS of Bear Creek
             Village and Laurel Run.
             Total population: 61,466

Dist. 122   CARBON County.
             ; All of CARBON County.
             Total population: 64,866

Dist. 123   SCHUYLKILL County.
            Part of SCHUYLKILL County consisting of the CITY of
            Pottsville and the TOWNSHIPS of Blythe, Branch,
            Butler, Cass, East Norwegian, New Castle, North
            Manheim, Norwegian, Wayne and West Mahanoy and the
            BOROUGHS of Ashland (Schuylkill County Portion),
            Cressona, Frackville, Gilberton, Girardville, Gordon,
            Mechanicsville, Middleport, Minersville, Mount Carbon,
            New Philadelphia, Palo Alto, Port Carbon, Schuylkill
            Haven and St. Clair.
            Total population: 65,886

Dist. 124   BERKS and SCHUYLKILL Counties.
            Part of BERKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Albany, Greenwich, Maxatawny, Tilden, Upper Bern,
            Upper Tulpehocken and Windsor and the BOROUGHS of
            Hamburg, Kutztown and Lenhartsville and Part of
            SCHUYLKILL County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Delano, East Brunswick, Rush, Ryan, Schuylkill, South
            Manheim, Walker, West Brunswick and West Penn and the
            BOROUGHS of Auburn, Coaldale, Deer Lake, Landingville,
            New Ringgold, Orwigsburg, Port Clinton and Tamaqua.
            Total population: 64,846

Dist. 125   DAUPHIN County.
            Part of DAUPHIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Halifax, Jackson, Jefferson, Lower Paxton (PART,
            Districts 03, 04, 09, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24 and 27),
            Lykens, Middle Paxton, Mifflin, Reed, Rush, Upper
            Paxton, Washington, Wayne, West Hanover, Wiconisco
            and Williams and the BOROUGHS of Berrysburg, Dauphin,
            Elizabethville, Gratz, Halifax, Lykens, Millersburg,
            Pillow and Williamstown.
            Total population: 64,693

Dist. 126   BERKS County.
            Part of BERKS County consisting of the CITY of Reading
            (PART, Wards 12 [PART, Division 05], 13, 14 [PART,
            Division 06], 16 [PART, Division 05] and 17) and the
            TOWNSHIPS of Exeter (PART, Precincts 04, 05 and 11),
            Lower Alsace and Muhlenberg and the BOROUGHS of
            Laureldale, Mount Penn and St. Lawrence.
            Total population: 63,936

Dist. 127   BERKS County.
Part of BERKS County consisting of the CITY of Reading
(PART, Wards 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11,
12 [PART, Divisions 01 and 03], 16 [PART, Divisions
01, 02 and 04] and 18) and the TOWNSHIP of Cumru
(PART, Districts 06 and 07) and the BOROUGHS of
Kenhorst and Shillington.
Total population: 62,627

Dist. 128   BERKS County.
Part of BERKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
Amity, Caernarvon, Cumru (PART, Districts 01, 02 and
04), Douglass, Exeter (PART, Precincts 01, 02, 03,
06, 07, 08, 09 and 10), Robeson and Union and the
BOROUGHS of Birdsboro and New Morgan.
Total population: 62,731

Dist. 129   BERKS County.
Part of BERKS County consisting of the CITY of Reading
(PART, Wards 06, 14 [PART, Divisions 01, 04 and 05],
15 and 19) and the TOWNSHIP of Spring (PART, Districts
01, 02, 03, 04, 06, 09, 10 and 13) and the BOROUGHS
of Sinking Spring, West Reading and Wyomissing.
Total population: 63,444

Dist. 130   BERKS County.
Part of BERKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
Alsace, Colebrookdale, District, Earl, Hereford,
Longswamp, Maidencreek, Oley, Pike, Richmond,
Rockland, Ruscombmanor and Washington and the BOROUGHS
of Bally, Bechtelsville, Boyertown, Fleetwood, Lyons
and Topton.
Total population: 65,179

Dist. 131   LEHIGH, MONTGOMERY and NORTHAMPTON Counties.
             Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Lower Milford, Salisbury (PART, Ward 03 [PART,
             Division 01]), Upper Milford and Upper Saucon and the
             BOROUGH of Coopersburg; Part of MONTGOMERY County
             consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Marlborough, Salford
             and Upper Hanover and the BOROUGHS of East Greenville,
             Green Lane, Pennsburg and Red Hill and Part of
             NORTHAMPTON County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of Lower
             Saucon (PART, Districts 01, 02, 04, 07 and 08).
             Total population: 65,219

Dist. 132   LEHIGH County.
             Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the CITY of
             Allentown (PART, Wards 08 [PART, Divisions 04 and 07],
             11 [PART, Divisions 04, 05, 06 and 07], 13 [PART,
             Division 04], 17 and 18) and the TOWNSHIPS of South
             Whitehall and Upper Macungie (PART, Districts 01, 02,
             04, 05 and 06).
             Total population: 63,677

Dist. 133   LEHIGH County.
             Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the CITY of
             Bethlehem (Lehigh County Portion) and the TOWNSHIPS
             of Hanover and Whitehall and the BOROUGHS of
             Catasauqua, Coplay and Fountain Hill.
             Total population: 65,425

Dist. 134   LEHIGH County.
             Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the CITY of
             Allentown (PART, Wards 02, 03, 11 [PART, Divisions 01
             and 03], 12, 13 [PART, Divisions 01, 02 and 03], 16
             and 19) and the TOWNSHIP of Salisbury (PART, Wards 04
             and 05) and the BOROUGH of Emmaus.
             Total population: 62,882

Dist. 135   NORTHAMPTON County.
             Part of NORTHAMPTON County consisting of the CITY of
             Bethlehem (Northampton County Portion) and the
             TOWNSHIP of Hanover (PART, Districts 01, 02, 03, 04
             and 06).
             Total population: 65,793

Dist. 136   NORTHAMPTON County.
             Part of NORTHAMPTON County consisting of the CITY of
             Easton and the TOWNSHIPS of Lower Saucon (PART,
             Districts 03, 05 and 06), Palmer (PART, Districts
             Eastern and Western [PART, Division 01]) and Williams
             and the BOROUGHS of Freemansburg, Glendon, Hellertown,
             West Easton and Wilson.
             Total population: 63,648

Dist. 137   NORTHAMPTON County.
             Part of NORTHAMPTON County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Bethlehem, Hanover (PART, District 05), Lower
             Nazareth, Palmer (PART, Districts Middle, Upper
             Eastern, Upper Western and Western [PART, Division
             02]) and Upper Nazareth and the BOROUGHS of Nazareth
             and Tatamy.
             Total population: 65,856

Dist. 138   NORTHAMPTON County.
             Part of NORTHAMPTON County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Bushkill, Forks, Lower Mount Bethel, Moore (PART,
             Districts Eastern and Pt. Phillips), Plainfield, Upper
             Mount Bethel and Washington and the BOROUGHS of
             Bangor, Chapman, East Bangor, Pen Argyl, Portland,
             Roseto, Stockertown and Wind Gap.
             Total population: 66,215

Dist. 139   PIKE and WAYNE Counties.
             Part of PIKE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Blooming Grove, Dingman, Greene, Lackawaxen, Milford,
             Palmyra, Shohola and Westfall and the BOROUGHS of
             Matamoras and Milford and Part of WAYNE County
             consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Cherry Ridge, Dreher,
             Lake, Lehigh, Palmyra, Paupack, Salem, South Canaan
             and Sterling and the BOROUGH of Hawley.
             Total population: 63,297

Dist. 140   BUCKS County.
             Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Falls and Middletown (PART, District Lower [PART,
             Divisions 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11 and 12])
             and the BOROUGHS of Morrisville and Tullytown.
             Total population: 61,806

Dist. 141   BUCKS County.
            Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of
            Bristol and the BOROUGH of Bristol.
            Total population: 64,322

Dist. 142   BUCKS County.
            Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Lower Southampton, Middletown (PART, Districts Lower
            [PART, Divisions 01, 02 and 13] and Upper) and
            Northampton (PART, Districts 09, 10 and 14) and the
            BOROUGHS of Langhorne, Langhorne Manor and Penndel.
            Total population: 65,233

Dist. 143   BUCKS County.
            Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Bedminster, Hilltown, New Britain (PART, Districts
            East and West), Plumstead and Tinicum and the BOROUGHS
            of Dublin, Perkasie, Sellersville and Silverdale.
            Total population: 65,742

Dist. 144   BUCKS County.
            Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            New Britain (PART, District South), Warminster and
            Warrington and the BOROUGH of Ivyland.
            Total population: 65,208

Dist. 145   BUCKS County.
            Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Bridgeton, Durham, East Rockhill, Haycock, Milford,
            Nockamixon, Richland, Springfield and West Rockhill
            and the BOROUGHS of Quakertown, Richlandtown,
            Riegelsville, Telford (Bucks County Portion) and
            Trumbauersville.
            Total population: 63,152

Dist. 146   MONTGOMERY County.
            Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
            of Limerick, Lower Pottsgrove and West Pottsgrove and
            the BOROUGHS of Pottstown and Royersford.
            Total population: 65,008

Dist. 147   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Douglass, Franconia (PART, Precincts 01, 03, 04,
             06 and 07), Lower Frederick, Lower Salford, New
             Hanover, Upper Frederick, Upper Pottsgrove and Upper
             Salford.
             Total population: 65,711

Dist. 148   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Lower Merion (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03, 05 [PART,
             Divisions 01 and 02], 07, 09, 12, 13 and 14) and
             Whitemarsh and the BOROUGH of Narberth.
             Total population: 63,587

Dist. 149   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Lower Merion (PART, Wards 04, 05 [PART, Division
             03], 06, 08, 10 and 11) and Upper Merion and the
             BOROUGHS of Bridgeport and West Conshohocken.
             Total population: 64,410

Dist. 150   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Lower Providence, Upper Providence and West
             Norriton (PART, District 03) and the BOROUGHS of
             Collegeville and Trappe.
             Total population: 63,779

Dist. 151   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Horsham, Montgomery (PART, Districts 04, 05, 06,
             07 and 08) and Upper Dublin (PART, Districts 01 [PART,
             Division 02], 02 [PART, Division 03], 03, 06 and 07)
             and the BOROUGH of Ambler.
             Total population: 63,765

Dist. 152   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Abington (PART, Wards 05, 08, 10 [PART, Division
             02], 14 [PART, Division 01] and 15 [PART, Division
             02]), Lower Moreland and Upper Moreland and the
             BOROUGHS of Bryn Athyn and Hatboro.
             Total population: 61,386

Dist. 153   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Abington (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03, 04, 06, 07, 09,
             10 [PART, Divisions 01 and 03], 11, 12, 13, 14 [PART,
             Division 02] and 15 [PART, Division 01]) and Upper
             Dublin (PART, Districts 01 [PART, Divisions 01 and
             03], 02 [PART, Divisions 01 and 02], 04 and 05) and
             the BOROUGH of Rockledge.
             Total population: 62,313

Dist. 154   MONTGOMERY County.
             Part of MONTGOMERY County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Cheltenham and Springfield and the BOROUGH of
             Jenkintown.
             Total population: 63,038

Dist. 155   CHESTER County.
             Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Caln (PART, District 04), East Brandywine, Upper
             Uwchlan, Uwchlan, Wallace and West Brandywine and the
             BOROUGH of Downingtown.
             Total population: 64,311

Dist. 156   CHESTER County.
             Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             East Bradford, East Goshen (PART, Precincts 01, 02,
             03, 04, 07, 08 and 09) and West Goshen and the BOROUGH
             of West Chester.
             Total population: 66,169

Dist. 157   CHESTER County.
             Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Easttown, Schuylkill, Tredyffrin and Willistown.
             Total population: 62,988

Dist. 158   CHESTER County.
             Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             East Fallowfield, East Marlborough, Kennett, New
             Garden, Newlin, Pocopson, West Bradford and West
             Marlborough and the BOROUGHS of Avondale and Kennett
             Square.
             Total population: 62,792

Dist. 159   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the CITY of
             Chester and the TOWNSHIPS of Lower Chichester and
             Upper Chichester and the BOROUGHS of Eddystone, Marcus
             Hook, Parkside and Trainer.
             Total population: 61,801

Dist. 160   CHESTER and DELAWARE Counties.
             Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Birmingham, Pennsbury, Thornbury and Westtown and Part
             of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Bethel, Chadds Ford, Concord and Thornbury and the
             BOROUGH of Chester Heights.
             Total population: 63,956

Dist. 161   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Aston, Chester, Middletown (PART, Districts 01 and
             02 [PART, Divisions 01 and 02]), Nether Providence
             and Ridley (PART, Wards 01 [PART, Divisions 01 and
             03], 02, 05 [PART, Division 01] and 07) and the
             BOROUGHS of Brookhaven, Rose Valley and Upland.
             Total population: 63,804

Dist. 162   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Darby (PART, Wards 01 and 02) and Ridley (PART,
             Wards 01 [PART, Division 02], 03, 04, 05 [PART,
             Division 02], 06, 08 and 09) and the BOROUGHS of
             Folcroft, Glenolden, Norwood, Prospect Park, Ridley
             Park, Rutledge and Sharon Hill.
             Total population: 64,947

Dist. 163   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Darby (PART, Wards 03, 04 and 05) and Upper Darby
             (PART, Districts 01, 02, 03 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
             03, 04, 05, 08, 09, 10 and 11] and 05 [PART, Divisions
             04, 06, 08 and 09]) and the BOROUGHS of Aldan, Clifton
             Heights and Collingdale.
             Total population: 63,755

Dist. 164   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of
             Upper Darby (PART, Districts 03 [PART, Divisions 06
             and 07], 04, 05 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 05, 07
             and 10], 06 and 07) and the BOROUGHS of East
             Lansdowne, Lansdowne and Millbourne.
             Total population: 63,129

Dist. 165   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Marple (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Division 02], 05, 06
             and 07), Springfield and Upper Providence and the
             BOROUGHS of Media, Morton and Swarthmore.
             Total population: 62,800

Dist. 166   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Haverford and Marple (PART, Wards 01, 02, 03 and
             04 [PART, Divisions 01 and 03]).
             Total population: 63,050

Dist. 167   CHESTER County.
             Part of CHESTER County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Charlestown, East Caln, East Goshen (PART, Precincts
             05 and 06), East Whiteland, West Pikeland, West
             Vincent and West Whiteland and the BOROUGH of Malvern.
             Total population: 63,435

Dist. 168   DELAWARE County.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Edgmont, Middletown (PART, Districts 02 [PART,
             Division 03], 03 and 04), Newtown and Radnor.
             Total population: 62,978

Dist. 169   YORK County.
Part of YORK County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Codorus, Manheim, Penn, Shrewsbury and West Manheim and the BOROUGHS of Glen Rock, Hanover, Jefferson, New Freedom and Railroad.
Total population: 64,977

Dist. 170   PHILADELPHIA County.
Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of Philadelphia (PART, Wards 58 [PART, Divisions 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 43] and 66 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44 and 45]).
Total population: 62,661

Dist. 171   CENTRE and MIFFLIN Counties.
Part of CENTRE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Gregg, Haines, Miles, Penn, Potter, Spring and Walker and the BOROUGHS of Bellefonte, Centre Hall and Millheim and Part of MIFFLIN County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of Armagh, Bratton, Brown, Granville, Menno, Oliver, Union and Wayne and the BOROUGHS of Juniata Terrace, Kistler, Lewistown, McVeytown and Newton Hamilton.
Total population: 65,554

Dist. 172   PHILADELPHIA County.
Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of Philadelphia (PART, Wards 56 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 33, 34, 36, 37 and 40], 58 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 09, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 36, 42 and 44] and 63).
Total population: 64,450

Dist. 173   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 41 [PART, Divisions 15, 16,
             17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26], 57 [PART,
             Divisions 01, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22 and 28], 64 [PART,
             Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11,
             13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18] and 65).
             Total population: 62,913

Dist. 174   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 56 [PART, Divisions 11, 12,
             17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29,
             30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39 and 41], 57 [PART, Divisions
             02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16,
             19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27] and 66 [PART,
             Divisions 10, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32,
             37, 40, 43 and 46]).
             Total population: 62,812

Dist. 175   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 02 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
             13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29], 05 [PART,
             Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17,
             18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33,
             34, 35, 36 and 37], 18 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 04,
             05, 06, 07, 10, 11, 12, 18 and 19] and 31 [PART,
             Divisions 03, 04, 05, 06, 13 and 15]).
             Total population: 62,108

Dist. 176   MONROE County.
             Part of MONROE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Chestnuthill, Eldred, Hamilton, Jackson, Polk, Ross,
             Tobyhanna and Tunkhannock.
             Total population: 62,863

Dist. 177   PHILADELPHIA County.
            Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
            Philadelphia (PART, Wards 23 [PART, Division 13], 25
            [PART, Divisions 01, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 10, 11,
            12, 22 and 23], 31 [PART, Divisions 07, 08, 10, 11,
            12, 14, 16, 17, 18 and 19], 41 [PART, Divisions 01,
            02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 13 and 14],
            45 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 12,
            15, 20, 22, 23, 24 and 25], 55 [PART, Divisions 01
            and 02] and 62 [PART, Divisions 03, 05, 07, 10, 11,
            12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19]).
            Total population: 62,232

Dist. 178   BUCKS County.
            Part of BUCKS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
            Northampton (PART, Districts 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06,
            07, 08, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18), Upper
            Southampton, Warwick and Wrightstown.
            Total population: 65,518

Dist. 179   PHILADELPHIA County.
            Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
            Philadelphia (PART, Wards 23 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
            03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16,
            17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23], 33 [PART, Divisions
            01 and 05], 35 [PART, Divisions 21, 22, 23, 24, 26,
            27, 28, 29 and 30], 42 [PART, Divisions 01, 12, 13,
            14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 and 25] and 62
            [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 04, 06, 08 and 09]).
            Total population: 61,563

Dist. 180   PHILADELPHIA County.
            Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
            Philadelphia (PART, Wards 07 [PART, Divisions 05, 06,
            07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,
            20, 21, 22 and 23], 25 [PART, Divisions 02, 09, 13,
            14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 24], 33 [PART,
            Divisions 02, 03, 04, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13,
            14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24] and 45
            [PART, Divisions 08, 09, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18,
            19 and 21]).
            Total population: 62,540

Dist. 181   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 08 [PART, Divisions 25, 26,
             30 and 32], 14, 15 [PART, Divisions 03, 07 and 10],
             18 [PART, Divisions 09, 14, 15 and 16], 20, 37 [PART,
             Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11,
             12, 14, 17 and 18] and 47).
             Total population: 62,079

Dist. 182   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 02 [PART, Divisions 03, 04,
             05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21,
             22, 23 and 24], 05 [PART, Divisions 06, 07, 08, 09,
             11, 14, 22, 28 and 29], 08 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
             03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15,
             16, 20, 21, 27, 28, 33, 34 and 35] and 30 [PART,
             Divisions 01, 02, 03, 06, 07, 08, 09, 15 and 16]).
             Total population: 66,317

Dist. 183   LEHIGH and NORTHAMPTON Counties.
             Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Lowhill and North Whitehall and the BOROUGH of
             Slatington and Part of NORTHAMPTON County consisting
             of the TOWNSHIPS of Allen, East Allen, Lehigh and
             Moore (PART, Districts Beersville and Klecknersville)
             and the BOROUGHS of Bath, North Catasauqua,
             Northampton and Walnutport.
             Total population: 66,148

Dist. 184   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 01 and 39).
             Total population: 64,108

Dist. 185   DELAWARE and PHILADELPHIA Counties.
             Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the TOWNSHIP of
             Tinicum and the BOROUGH of Colwyn and Part of
             PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 26, 40 [PART, Divisions 01,
             03, 04, 06, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 27,
             28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42,
             43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50 and 51] and 48 [PART,
             Divisions 08, 12 and 17]).
             Total population: 61,863

Dist. 186   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 30 [PART, Divisions 04, 05,
             10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 17], 36, 48 [PART, Divisions
             01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 09, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15,
             16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23] and 51 [PART, Divisions
             03, 09, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 24 and 25]).
             Total population: 62,436

Dist. 187   LEHIGH County.
             Part of LEHIGH County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Heidelberg, Lower Macungie, Lynn, Upper Macungie
             (PART, Districts 03, 07 and 08), Washington and
             Weisenberg and the BOROUGHS of Alburtis and Macungie.
             Total population: 66,296

Dist. 188   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 27, 46, 51 [PART, Divisions
             01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 08, 14, 15 and 23] and 60 [PART,
             Divisions 01, 02, 03, 08, 09, 10, 12, 13 and 23]).
             Total population: 61,778

Dist. 189   MONROE and PIKE Counties.
             Part of MONROE County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Middle Smithfield (PART, District East), Smithfield
             and Stroud (PART, Districts 01, 03, 06 and 07) and
             the BOROUGHS of Delaware Water Gap, East Stroudsburg
             and Stroudsburg and Part of PIKE County consisting of
             the TOWNSHIPS of Delaware, Lehman and Porter.
             Total population: 61,876

Dist. 190   PHILADELPHIA County.
              Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
              Philadelphia (PART, Wards 06 [PART, Divisions 13, 14,
              15, 17 and 18], 11, 13 [PART, Divisions 16, 18, 20,
              21, 22, 23, 24 and 25], 28 [PART, Divisions 01, 04,
              05, 06, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18],
              38 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08,
              09, 10, 17 and 21], 44 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 05,
              07, 11, 12, 17, 18 and 19] and 52 [PART, Divisions
              01, 02, 03, 04, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17,
              21, 22, 23, 24 and 28]).
              Total population: 61,771

Dist. 191   DELAWARE and PHILADELPHIA Counties.
              Part of DELAWARE County consisting of the BOROUGHS of
              Darby and Yeadon and Part of PHILADELPHIA County
              consisting of the CITY of Philadelphia (PART, Wards
              03, 40 [PART, Divisions 02, 05, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11,
              20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 33, 34 and 47] and 51 [PART,
              Divisions 04, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27 and 28]).
              Total population: 62,629

Dist. 192   PHILADELPHIA County.
              Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
              Philadelphia (PART, Wards 04 [PART, Divisions 02, 03,
              04, 05, 06, 09, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,
              20 and 21], 34 and 52 [PART, Divisions 05, 14, 15,
              16, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26 and 27]).
              Total population: 61,419

Dist. 193   ADAMS and CUMBERLAND Counties.
              Part of ADAMS County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
              Berwick, Butler, Hamilton, Huntington, Latimore,
              Menallen, Oxford, Reading and Tyrone and the BOROUGHS
              of Abbottstown, Arendtsville, Bendersville,
              Biglerville, East Berlin, New Oxford and York Springs
              and Part of CUMBERLAND County consisting of the
              TOWNSHIPS of Cooke, Dickinson, Penn, Shippensburg,
              South Newton and Southampton and the BOROUGH of
              Shippensburg (Cumberland County Portion).
              Total population: 64,302

Dist. 194   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 09 [PART, Divisions 04, 05,
             06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 16 and 17], 21 [PART, Divisions
             01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13,
             14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27,
             28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40,
             41, 42, 43, 44 and 45] and 38 [PART, Divisions 11,
             12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19 and 20]).
             Total population: 62,236

Dist. 195   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 08 [PART, Divisions 24 and
             31], 15 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 04, 05, 06, 08, 09,
             11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19], 16, 28 [PART,
             Divisions 02, 03, 07 and 08], 29 and 32).
             Total population: 62,205

Dist. 196   YORK County.
             Part of YORK County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS of
             Dover (PART, Districts 01, 03 and 04), Heidelberg,
             Jackson, North Codorus, Paradise and West Manchester
             and the BOROUGHS of Dover, New Salem, Seven Valleys
             and Spring Grove.
             Total population: 65,953

Dist. 197   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 07 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
             03 and 04], 18 [PART, Divisions 03, 08, 13 and 17],
             19, 31 [PART, Divisions 01, 02 and 09], 37 [PART,
             Divisions 13, 15, 16, 19, 20 and 21], 42 [PART,
             Divisions 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11 and
             22], 43 and 49 [PART, Divisions 01 and 13]).
             Total population: 62,586

Dist. 198   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 10 [PART, Divisions 01, 07,
             08, 09, 10, 11 and 12], 12 [PART, Divisions 08, 11,
             17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 24], 13 [PART, Divisions 01,
             02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14,
             15, 17 and 19], 49 [PART, Divisions 02, 03, 04, 05,
             06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,
             20, 21 and 22] and 61 [PART, Divisions 01, 02, 03,
             04, 06, 07, 08, 09, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26]).
             Total population: 63,729

Dist. 199   CUMBERLAND County.
             Part of CUMBERLAND County consisting of the TOWNSHIPS
             of Hopewell, Lower Frankford, Lower Mifflin,
             Middlesex, North Middleton, North Newton, South
             Middleton (PART, Precincts 03, 04 and 05), Upper
             Frankford, Upper Mifflin and West Pennsboro and the
             BOROUGHS of Carlisle, Newburg and Newville.
             Total population: 64,111

Dist. 200   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 09 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
             03, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15], 10 [PART, Divisions 02,
             03, 04, 05, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 29],
             21 [PART, Division 24], 22 and 50).
             Total population: 65,563

Dist. 201   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 10 [PART, Divisions 06, 16,
             18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26 and 27], 12 [PART, Divisions
             01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 09, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15,
             16, 22 and 23], 17 and 59).
             Total population: 66,430

Dist. 202   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 41 [PART, Division 12], 54,
             55 [PART, Divisions 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10,
             11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,
             24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29], 62 [PART, Divisions 14,
             20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26] and 64 [PART, Division
             12]).
             Total population: 64,695

Dist. 203   PHILADELPHIA County.
             Part of PHILADELPHIA County consisting of the CITY of
             Philadelphia (PART, Wards 35 [PART, Divisions 01, 02,
             03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15,
             16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, 31 and 32], 53 and 61 [PART,
             Divisions 05, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20,
             27 and 28]).
             Total population: 65,519

                 Population of all districts: 13,002,700

45 TOTAL COUNTIES   186 TOTAL SPLITS

ADAMS   091 193

ALLEGHENY   019 020 021 023
                                     024 025 027 028
                                     030 032 033 034
                                     035 036 038 039
                                     040 042 044 045
                                     046

ARMSTRONG   060 063

BEAVER   014 015 016

BERKS   005 099 124 126
                                     127 128 129 130

BLAIR   079 080

BRADFORD   068 110

BUCKS   018 029 031 140
                                     141 142 143 144
                                     145 178

BUTLER   008 011 012 017

CAMBRIA   071 072 073

CENTRE   077 082 171

CHESTER   013 026 074 155
                                     156 157 158 160
                                     167

CLEARFIELD   073 075

CRAWFORD   006 064 065

CUMBERLAND   087 088 103 193
                                     199

DAUPHIN   103 104 105 106
                                             125

DELAWARE   159 160 161 162
                                             163 164 165 166
                                             168 185 191

ERIE   001 002 003 004
                                             006

FAYETTE   051 052

FRANKLIN   081 089 090

HUNTINGDON   080 081

INDIANA   062 066

JUNIATA   085 086

LACKAWANNA   112 113 114 118

LANCASTER   037 041 043 049
                                             096 097 098 099
                                             100

LAWRENCE   008 009

LEBANON   098 101 102

LEHIGH   022 131 132 133
                                             134 183 187

LUZERNE   116 117 118 119
                                             120 121

LYCOMING   083 084

MERCER   007 017

MIFFLIN   085 171

MONROE   115 176 189

MONTGOMERY	053 054 061 070
	131 146 147 148
	149 150 151 152
	153 154
NORTHAMPTON	131 135 136 137
	138 183
NORTHUMBERLAND	107 108
PHILADELPHIA	010 170 172 173
	174 175 177 179
	180 181 182 184
	185 186 188 190
	191 192 194 195
	197 198 200 201
	202 203
PIKE	139 189
SCHUYLKILL	107 116 123 124
SOMERSET	069 071
UNION	076 083 085
WASHINGTON	015 039 040 046
	048 050
WAYNE	111 139
WESTMORELAND	055 056 057 058
	059 060
YORK	047 092 093 094
	095 169 196

PLACES SPLIT BY HOUSE DISTRICTS

56 TOTAL PLACES   92 TOTAL SPLITS

ALLEGHENY COUNTY
  PITTSBURGH   CITY   019 020 021 023 024
                                            027 034 036 038
  HAMPTON   TOWNSHIP   028 030
  UPPER ST. CLAIR   TOWNSHIP   040 042
  PLUM   BOROUGH   025 032
  WEST MIFFLIN   BOROUGH   035 038

BERKS COUNTY
  READING   CITY   126 127 129
  CUMRU   TOWNSHIP   099 127 128
  EXETER   TOWNSHIP   126 128
  SPRING   TOWNSHIP   005 099 129

BUCKS COUNTY
  MIDDLETOWN   TOWNSHIP   140 142
  NEW BRITAIN   TOWNSHIP   143 144
  NORTHAMPTON   TOWNSHIP   142 178

CENTRE COUNTY
  STATE COLLEGE   BOROUGH   077 082

CHESTER COUNTY
  CALN   TOWNSHIP   074 155
  EAST GOSHEN   TOWNSHIP   156 167

CUMBERLAND COUNTY
  LOWER ALLEN   TOWNSHIP   087 088
  SOUTH MIDDLETON   TOWNSHIP   087 199

DAUPHIN COUNTY
  HARRISBURG   CITY   103 104
  LOWER PAXTON   TOWNSHIP   105 125
  LOWER SWATARA   TOWNSHIP   104 106

DELAWARE COUNTY
  DARBY   TOWNSHIP   162 163
  MARPLE   TOWNSHIP   165 166
  MIDDLETOWN   TOWNSHIP   161 168
  RIDLEY   TOWNSHIP   161 162
  UPPER DARBY   TOWNSHIP   163 164

ERIE COUNTY
  ERIE   CITY   001 002

LACKAWANNA COUNTY
  SCRANTON   CITY   113 114

LANCASTER COUNTY
  LANCASTER   CITY   049 096
  MANHEIM   TOWNSHIP   096 097
  MANOR   TOWNSHIP   041 097
  SALISBURY   TOWNSHIP   099 100

LEHIGH COUNTY
  ALLENTOWN   CITY   022 132 134
  SALISBURY   TOWNSHIP   022 131 134
  UPPER MACUNGIE   TOWNSHIP   132 187

MONROE COUNTY
  MIDDLE SMITHFIELD TOWNSHIP   115 189
  STROUD   TOWNSHIP   115 189

MONTGOMERY COUNTY
  ABINGTON   TOWNSHIP   152 153
  FRANCONIA   TOWNSHIP   053 147
  LOWER MERION   TOWNSHIP   148 149
  MONTGOMERY   TOWNSHIP   053 151
  UPPER DUBLIN   TOWNSHIP   151 153
  WEST NORRITON   TOWNSHIP   070 150
  WHITPAIN   TOWNSHIP   061 070

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY
  HANOVER   TOWNSHIP   135 137
  LOWER SAUCON   TOWNSHIP   131 136
  MOORE   TOWNSHIP   138 183
  PALMER   TOWNSHIP   136 137

PLACES SPLIT BY HOUSE DISTRICTS

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY
    PHILADELPHIA   CITY   010 170 172 173 174
                                               175 177 179 180 181
                                               182 184 185 186 188
                                               190 191 192 194 195
                                               197 198 200 201 202
                                               203

WASHINGTON COUNTY
    CARROLL   TOWNSHIP   039 048
    NORTH STRABANE   TOWNSHIP   046 048

WESTMORELAND COUNTY
    LOWER BURRELL   CITY   055 060
    DERRY   TOWNSHIP   055 059
    MOUNT PLEASANT   TOWNSHIP   058 059
    NORTH HUNTINGDON   TOWNSHIP   056 058

YORK COUNTY
    DOVER   TOWNSHIP   092 196
    SPRINGETTSBURY   TOWNSHIP   047 094

WARDS SPLIT BY HOUSE DISTRICTS

87 TOTAL WARDS   98 TOTAL SPLITS

ALLEGHENY COUNTY
  PITTSBURGH   CITY
    WARD 02   019 021
    WARD 04   019 023 024
    WARD 05   019 024
    WARD 07   023 024
    WARD 10   021 024
    WARD 13   024 034
    WARD 14   023 034
    WARD 15   019 023
    WARD 17   019 036
    WARD 18   019 036
    WARD 19   027 036
    WARD 20   019 027
    WARD 23   019 021
    WARD 26   019 020 021
    WARD 27   019 020
  UPPER ST. CLAIR   TOWNSHIP
    WARD 03   040 042
    WARD 04   040 042

BERKS COUNTY
  READING   CITY
    WARD 12   126 127
    WARD 14   126 129
    WARD 16   126 127

BUCKS COUNTY
  MIDDLETOWN   TOWNSHIP
    WARD LOWER   140 142

CENTRE COUNTY
  STATE COLLEGE   BOROUGH
    WARD EAST CENTRAL   077 082
    WARD SOUTH   077 082

DAUPHIN COUNTY
  HARRISBURG   CITY
    WARD 01   103 104
    WARD 09   103 104

DELAWARE COUNTY
  MARPLE   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 04   165 166
  MIDDLETOWN   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 02   161 168
  RIDLEY   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 01   161 162
     WARD 05   161 162
  UPPER DARBY   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 03   163 164
     WARD 05   163 164

LACKAWANNA COUNTY
  SCRANTON   CITY
     WARD 04   113 114

LANCASTER COUNTY
  LANCASTER   CITY
     WARD 02   049 096
     WARD 06   049 096

LEHIGH COUNTY
  ALLENTOWN   CITY
     WARD 08   022 132
     WARD 11   022 132 134
     WARD 13   132 134
  SALISBURY   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 03   022 131

MONTGOMERY COUNTY
  ABINGTON   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 10   152 153
     WARD 14   152 153
     WARD 15   152 153
  LOWER MERION   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 05   148 149
  UPPER DUBLIN   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 01   151 153
     WARD 02   151 153

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY
  PALMER   TOWNSHIP
     WARD WESTERN   136 137

Appendix A   0060A

WARDS SPLIT BY HOUSE DISTRICTS

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY
  PHILADELPHIA   CITY
    WARD 02   175 182
    WARD 04   010 192
    WARD 05   175 182
    WARD 06   010 190
    WARD 07   180 197
    WARD 08   010 181 182
                                             195
    WARD 09   194 200
    WARD 10   198 200 201
    WARD 12   198 201
    WARD 13   190 198
    WARD 15   181 195
    WARD 18   175 181 197
    WARD 21   194 200
    WARD 23   177 179
    WARD 25   177 180
    WARD 28   190 195
    WARD 30   182 186
    WARD 31   175 177 197
    WARD 33   179 180
    WARD 35   179 203
    WARD 37   181 197
    WARD 38   190 194
    WARD 40   185 191
    WARD 41   173 177 202
    WARD 42   179 197
    WARD 44   010 190
    WARD 45   177 180
    WARD 48   185 186
    WARD 49   197 198
    WARD 51   186 188 191
    WARD 52   190 192
    WARD 55   177 202
    WARD 56   172 174
    WARD 57   173 174
    WARD 58   170 172
    WARD 60   010 188
    WARD 61   198 203
    WARD 62   177 179 202
    WARD 64   173 202
    WARD 66   170 174

WESTMORELAND COUNTY
  LOWER BURRELL   CITY
     WARD 04   055 060
  NORTH HUNTINGDON   TOWNSHIP
     WARD 04   056 058

REPORT OF MARK A. NORDENBERG

CHAIR OF THE 2021 PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION

REGARDING THE COMMISSION'S FINAL PLAN

MARCH 4, 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.   Introduction

In his concurring and dissenting opinion in *Holt v. 2011 Legislative*

Reapportionment Commission, 38 A.3d 711 (Pa. 2012) ("*Holt I*"), former Justice

Eakin offered a perspective that almost certainly would resonate with anyone who

has been deeply involved in the redistricting process:

> The process of redistricting is complex beyond words. The need to consider all the factors necessary— contiguousness, compactness, equality of population, respecting political subdivisions down to the ward level, avoiding disenfranchising racial and ethnic groups, the federal Voting Rights Act—makes this a daunting task for the [Legislative Reapportionment Commission ("LRC")]. The result of changing any one area of its plan was likened by counsel to squeezing a water balloon: if you squeeze here, it will bulge over there. If you change one line, it causes ripples that necessitate changes elsewhere.[1]

Id. at 762-63 (Eakin, J., concurring and dissenting).

In that same opinion, Justice Eakin also described one particular difficulty

faced by the Supreme Court in reviewing the challenges brought to it:

> An inherent problem in reviewing challenges to the ultimate plan is that no mechanism exists for the LRC to justify or explain its considerations or decisions. For better or for worse, there are no means for it to explain individual lines or boundaries. It is never "absolutely necessary" to

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[1] Because of these difficulties and ripple effects, the Supreme Court will only invalidate the Commission's Final Plan if the Plan as a whole is contrary to law. *See Holt I*, 38 A.3d at 733. Any appeal presenting a localized challenge to the way a district was drawn or complaining that a municipality was divided necessarily fails. *See Holt v. Legislative Reapportionment Comm'n*, 67 A.3d 1211, 1217 n.2 (Pa. 2013) ("*Holt II*").

> draw a line in any spot—it could always go elsewhere, but
> there is no process articulating what considerations were
> behind the decision to put it where the LRC did.

Id. at 763 (Eakin, J., concurring and dissenting).

In his opinion for the Court in that same case, former Chief Justice Castille also addressed this latter challenge, suggesting that the Commission consider "a process in its development of a Final Plan where it provides explanations or responds to objections." *Id.* at 737.

Building on the commitment to openness that has been a hallmark of this Commission, this Report attempts to provide the better-developed sense of context that was called for by the Court and that also will be of interest to the public.[2] Much of what has been included here already is in the record and can be found in the transcripts of the Commission's public meetings. However, providing that same information, supplemented as appropriate, in the form of a report should make it far more usable. The Report also could be seen as functioning like an opinion or adjudication from an administrative agency, which is typically the work product reviewed by the Supreme Court.[3]

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[2] In keeping with the Commission's commitment to transparency, this Report is also being published on the Commission's website: www.redistricting.state.pa.us.

[3] It also should be noted that Resolutions 8A 2-4-22 and 8B 2-4-22, which were adopted unanimously by the Commission at its February 4, 2022 meeting, direct the Chair and Executive Director to prepare a Commission report. Though that final report will be somewhat more expansive, this document will be a part of it.

To be clear, this Report does not attempt to reflect the views of all of the Commission members. However, it does reflect my views as the Commission's Court-appointed Chair, and because the other Commissioners, as a matter of choice and custom, focused all of their efforts exclusively on their own Chamber, only the Chair and the Commission's staff were actively engaged in developing the entire plan.

It also should be noted that Majority Leader Benninghoff, the only Commission member to dissent in the 4-1 vote favoring the Final Plan's adoption, already has filed exceptions and a Petition for Review. He presumably also will be filing a brief. This Court, then, will have easy access to statements of his positions. In fact, because that Petition already has been filed and consists of a broad-based attack against the Final Plan, there will be somewhat frequent reference to it in this Report. Hopefully, that will also be helpful to the Court and of interest to the public.

The fact that one member did dissent from the vote to approve the Final Plan also underscores another decision-making challenge faced by the Commission. Most other efforts to develop new legislative maps, such as the mapping efforts promoted by good-governance groups or the work of court-appointed special masters, are undertaken by a single individual or by a group of largely like-minded individuals. Those must be the mapping experiences that sometimes are described

as easy. However, the composition of the Commission essentially guarantees that its processes, though hopefully civil, will be strongly influenced by partisan interests and will largely be adversarial. Having direct experience with them, I now can say, without hesitation, that the Commission's processes are anything but easy.

Article II, § 17(b) of the Pennsylvania Constitution provides, "[t]he Commission shall consist of five members: four of whom shall be the Majority and Minority Leaders of both the Senate and the House of Representatives." It would be surprising if each of those four caucus leaders, elected to a leadership position by his or her caucus members, was not highly motivated to secure the adoption of a plan that would best advance the interests of that caucus. Those interests can include the wishes of individual caucus members but mainly involve the conflicting goals of caucuses seeking to protect a majority and caucuses seeking to gain a majority.

That observation is not intended to suggest that the composition of the Commission necessarily should change. Among other things, it is not yet clear how successful the independent commissions created in other states will have been during this redistricting cycle. Further, as the drafters of the Commission envisioned, legislative leaders bring important experiences, knowledge, and perspectives to the process. However, when four of the five members of the Commission are driven by frequently competing interests, it does mean that

concessions will need to be made and compromises will need to be struck to gain the votes necessary to secure even a majority decision, much less a bipartisan or unanimous decision, which presumably would be the goal of every Chair.

II.   The Challenges of Redistricting in Pennsylvania

The Pennsylvania Constitution is, as it must be, the starting point for the Commission's reapportionment process. This foundational document states that "[i]n each year following the year of the Federal decennial census, a Legislative Reapportionment Commission shall be constituted for the purpose of reapportioning the Commonwealth." Pa. Const. art. II, § 17(a). Under the Constitution, the "Commonwealth shall be divided into 50 senatorial and 203 representative districts, which shall be composed of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as practicable." Pa. Const. art. II, § 16. In addition to the requirements of compactness and contiguity, the Constitution provides that, "[u]nless absolutely necessary[,] no county, city, incorporated town, borough, township or ward shall be divided in forming either a senatorial or representative district." *Id.*

A.   Legal Framework

1.   Requirements of Article II, § 16

Pennsylvania's population is 13,002,700, according to the 2020 federal census, which means that the ideal Senate district has 260,054 people, and the ideal

House district has 64,053 people.[4] Thus, redistricting involves creating 50 Senate

districts and 203 House districts with populations that are as close to this ideal as

practicable, that are compact and contiguous, and that avoid splitting counties,

cities, incorporated towns, boroughs, townships, and wards, unless absolutely

necessary. This task is all the more difficult because, in addition to having one of

the nation's largest legislatures, our Commonwealth has more local government

units than almost any other state. Pennsylvania has 67 counties, 56 cities, 955

boroughs, 2 incorporated towns, and 1,547 townships. *See* 124 Pennsylvania

Manual § 6-3 (2020). In all, Pennsylvania has 2,560 recognized municipalities and

67 counties—all of which should not be split unless absolutely necessary. That is a

daunting task simply as a matter of geometry.

Of course, some divisions are absolutely necessary based purely on

population alone. For example, Philadelphia has a population of 1,603,797, which

means Philadelphia must be divided into a minimum of 25 House districts and 7

Senate districts.[5] Pittsburgh has a population of 302,971 people, which translates to

a minimum of 5 House districts and 2 Senate districts.[6] Berks County has a

population of 428,849 people, Lehigh County has a population of 374,557 people,

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[4] *See* https://data.census.gov/cedsci/all?q=pennsylvania

[5] *See* https://data.census.gov/cedsci/all?q=philadelphia

[6] *See* https://data.census.gov/cedsci/all?q=pittsburgh

and Westmoreland County has a population of 354,663 people. (*See* Penn State

Data Center, County and Municipal Population Change Table.)[7] All these counties,

among others, must be split in both the Senate and House maps. Thus, the

requirement to avoid splitting political subdivisions is often at odds with the

requirement of having as close to equal population in each district as is practicable.

Holt I, 38 A.3d at 738 ("The central difficulty of the LRC's test arises not only

because of the political and local interests that are affected by any change in the

existing scheme, but also because accommodating one command can make

accomplishing another command more difficult.").

One type of local government unit that is *not* mentioned in the Constitution

is school districts, of which there are 500 in Pennsylvania. *See* 124 Pennsylvania

Manual § 6-3 (2020). The Commission heard from many citizens that school

districts are important "communities of interest" and that these entities, too, should

be kept whole. Communities of interest, such as school districts, can be a

"legitimate factor in drawing fair and politically sensitive districts." Ken Gormley,

Racial Mind-Games and Reapportionment: When Can Race Be Considered

(Legitimately) in Redistricting, 4 U. Pa. J. Const. L. 735, 779-80 (2002). However,

because school districts are not expressly listed in Article II, § 16 as a priority for

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[7] Available at https://pasdc.hbg.psu.edu/Portals/48/Features/CountyAndMunicipal
PopulationChange_2010to2020.xlsx?ver=2021-08-24-080135-920

keeping whole, the consideration given to counties, cities, incorporated towns, boroughs, townships, and wards must necessarily be given greater weight.

Achieving nearly equal populations and minimizing divisions of political subdivisions are not the only requirements in Article II, § 16 of the Constitution. That section of the Constitution also requires districts to be compact and contiguous. "[A] contiguous district is 'one in which a person can go from any point within the district to any other point (within the district) without leaving the district, or one in which no part of the district is wholly physically separate from any other part.'" *Holt v. 2011 Legislative Reapportionment Comm'n*, 67 A.3d 1211, 1242 (Pa. 2013) ("*Holt II*") (quoting *Commonwealth ex rel. Specter v Levin*, 293 A.2d 15, 23 (Pa. 1972)). While this may seem like an easy criterion to satisfy, Pennsylvania's political geography sometimes makes literal compliance impossible. The Commonwealth has seven political subdivisions that are, themselves, discontiguous. *Id.* The Supreme Court has generally found that the Commission's plan complies with the Constitution's contiguity requirement where the only discontiguous sections of the district are the result of keeping the discontiguous municipalities whole. *Id.*

Compactness is harder to define. The Supreme Court has never adopted a particular standard for measuring compactness. *Id.* Two common measures—the Reock and Polsby-Popper tests—are often cited by both federal and state courts

when considering redistricting standards. *See id.*; *League of Women Voters v.*

Commonwealth, 178 A.3d 737, 772 (Pa. 2018); *Cooper v. Harris*, 137 S. Ct. 1455,

1475 (2017); *Comm. for a Fair & Balanced Map v. Ill. State Bd. of Elec.*, 835 F.

Supp. 2d 563, 570 (N.D. Ill. 2011) (three-judge district court).

All of these constitutional criteria—near population equality, compactness,

contiguity, and minimization of political subdivision splits—must be balanced

against each other. *See Holt I*, 38 A.3d at 759.

2. Additional State Constitutional Criteria

Although the requirements of Article II, § 16 tend to be the focus of many

redistricting challenges and court decisions, other provisions of the Pennsylvania

Constitution are also relevant to the Commission's work. One such provision is the

Free and Equal Elections Clause of Article I, § 5, which states, "Elections shall be

free and equal; and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent

the free exercise of the right of suffrage." Pa. Const. art. I, § 5.

The Supreme Court emphasized the relevance of this provision in the

redistricting context in *League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth*, 178 A.3d 737

(Pa. 2018), which held that the Commonwealth's 2011 Congressional districts

were an impermissible partisan gerrymander. The Court explained that the first

clause of Article I, § 5 "mandates clearly and unambiguously, and in the broadest

possible terms, that *all* elections conducted in this Commonwealth must be 'free

and equal.'" *Id.* at 804. By using this language, the Constitution's framers intended that "all aspects of the electoral process, to the greatest degree possible, be kept open and unrestricted to the voters of our Commonwealth." *Id.* The clause also protects, "to the greatest degree possible, a voter's right to equal participation in the electoral process for the selection of his or her representatives in government." *Id.* In other words, all citizens have an equal right to elect their representatives, and "all voters have an equal opportunity to translate their votes into representation." *Id.*

The Free and Equal Elections Clause has at least two specific implications for redistricting. First, the Clause prohibits partisan gerrymandering, because such gerrymandering "dilutes the votes of those who in prior elections voted for the party not in power to give the party in power a lasting electoral advantage." *Id.* at 814. Partisan gerrymandering dilutes the votes of citizens favoring the party out of power by placing those voters "in districts where their votes are wasted on candidates likely to lose (cracking), or by placing such voters in districts where their votes are cast for candidates destined to win (packing)." *Id.*

Second, the Clause recognizes that voters should not have their votes diluted based on where they live. *See id.* at 809 (explaining that previous versions of the Free and Equal Elections Clause were meant to "exclude not only all invidious discriminations between individual electors, or classes of electors, but also

between different sections or places in the State" (quotation omitted)); *see also id.* at 808 (noting that the 1790 convention was motivated, in part, by "the primary cause of popular dissatisfaction which undermined the governance of Pennsylvania: namely, the dilution of the right of the people of this Commonwealth to select representatives to govern their affairs based on considerations of the region of the state in which they lived").

In all, the Free and Equal Elections Clause serves to protect the fundamental precept that "the voters should choose their representatives, not the other way around." *Id.* at 740-41. In this way, the constitutional criteria in Article II, § 16 are linked to the Free and Equal Elections Clause. Adherence to each of these criteria helps guard against vote dilution. *See id.* at 815-16. In fact, violence to the neutral redistricting criteria of Article II, § 16 is one indication of a partisan gerrymander and a dilution of disfavored votes. *Id*. at 816.

The other major constitutional provision impacting the Commission's redistricting efforts is of much more recent origin. Just last year, the voters of Pennsylvania adopted Article I, § 29, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity. This provision states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania because of the race or ethnicity of the individual." Pa. Const. art. I, § 29. Although there are not yet any Supreme Court opinions discussing the impact of this amendment, either in

the redistricting context or more generally, the importance of ensuring that the

right to vote is not abridged or denied based on the race or ethnicity of the person

voting is central to the ideals of democracy and equality.

> *3.   Federal Constitutional and Statutory Requirements*

The Pennsylvania Constitution is not the only source of law impacting the

Commission's work in redistricting the Commonwealth. The federal

Constitution—in particular, the 14th Amendment to the United States

Constitution—and the federal Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. § 10301, *et seq.*, also

impose certain requirements and limits on any redistricting efforts. When these

provisions conflict with state law, the federal requirements necessarily take

precedence. *See* U.S. Const. art. VI, cl. 2 ("This Constitution, and the Laws of the

United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or

which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the

supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby,

any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary

notwithstanding."); *Holt I*, 38 A.3d at 738 (acknowledging the impact of federal

law on state redistricting efforts).

B.   <u>Problems and Delays in Census Data</u>

The task of the Commission was far more difficult in this census cycle

because of the compressed timeline that the Commission faced. The Pennsylvania

Constitution directs that, "[i]n each year following the year of the Federal decennial census, a Legislative Reapportionment Commission shall be constituted for the purpose of reapportioning the Commonwealth." Pa. Const. art. II, § 17(a). The Commission's constitutional deadlines are largely tied to receipt of "population data for the Commonwealth as determined by the Federal decennial census." *Id.* § 17(c). Federal law requires the Census Bureau to transmit census data to the states "as expeditiously as possible," and further provides, more specifically, that it "shall, in any event, be completed, reported, and transmitted to each respective State within one year after the decennial census date." 13 U.S.C. § 141(c). In other words, the Census Bureau was required by federal statute to provide Pennsylvania with its population data by April 1, 2021. *Id.*; *see also* 13 U.S.C. § 141(a) (establishing April 1st as the "decennial census date").

That did not happen. Because of pandemic-related delays, the census was not completed within the statutory timeline. Rather than transmitting census data on or before April 1, 2021, the Census Bureau was first able to provide census data to Pennsylvania, in a "legacy format," on August 12, 2021. (*See* Oct. 25, 2021 Tr. at 840-41.) Subsequently, the data was provided in a user-friendly version—known as the full redistricting toolkit— on September 16, 2021.[8] At a minimum, then, the

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[8] *See* https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/2020-census-redistricting-data-easier-to-use-format.html

Commission faced a 4.5-month delay in being able to begin the process of redistricting the Commonwealth.

Even after data has been received from the Census Bureau, it must be further processed and verified to ensure that the census data is accurate and in a usable format, and thus is available to the Commission. For the last forty years, the Commission has considered the census data to be "available" to the Commission—triggering the Constitution's ninety-day timeline for developing a preliminary plan—after the data has been reviewed and corrected by the Legislative Data Processing Center. *See* Ken Gormley, The Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment of 1991, at 22-24 (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Bureau of Publications 1994); *see also Holt I*, 38 A.3d at 719 n.6.

This long-standing interpretation is based on a March 26, 1981 unpublished order from the then-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Henry O'Brien, stating that "in accordance with § 17(c) of Article II of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the ninety day period begins to run from the date that the Commission receives the population data of the Commonwealth, as determined by the Federal Dicennial [sic] Census, in usable form (breakdown of data by precinct and ward) for the Commission's performance of its Constitutional duties." *In re Section 17(c) of the Constitution of Pennsylvania*, No. 29 M.D. Misc. Dkt. 1981 (Pa. Mar. 26, 1981); *see also* Gormley, The Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment of 1991, at 23.

The Commission has generally followed the practice of "certifying" the data as being in usable form and establishing a definitive date for the time periods of Article II, § 17 to begin to run.

As Brent McClintock, the Executive Director of the Legislative Data Processing Center, testified in multiple Commission hearings, work done by the LDPC and its selected GIS vendor, the Penn State Data Center, is vital to the process of making the census data usable for the Commission. The LDPC is often required to make corrections and adjustments in the census data and was required to do so again this redistricting cycle. (*See* Oct. 25, 2021 Tr. at 841-42.) These corrections and adjustments include adjusting election precincts that were altered after December 2019 (when they were provided to the Census Bureau); creating split blocks to reflect the precinct boundary changes that occurred since providing information to the Census Bureau; adjusting population data if needed; and correcting block coding errors and voting district name errors, among other coding errors. (*Id.*) After the Penn State Data Center makes these adjustments to the data and ensures that the adjustments are reflected in the geography files, the LDPC undertakes a comprehensive review of the data to ensure that it is accurate. (*Id.*)

In previous redistricting cycles, this quality assurance process added about four months to the timeline for when the Commission could begin its work. (*See* Aug. 24, 2021 Tr. at 654.) Thanks to the tireless efforts of the LDPC and the Penn

State Data Center, that timeline was significantly reduced this year. More specifically, the LDPC was able to provide traditional census data, for use by the General Assembly in developing new Congressional districts, in a format usable to the Commission on October 5, 2021. (*See* Oct. 25, 2021 Tr. at 843.) Just nine days later, on October 14, 2021, the LDPC was able to provide usable data that had been adjusted to reflect the Commission's resolution to reallocate the data for certain state prisoners, which is discussed in more detail below. (*Id.*)

The Commission met on October 25, 2021 to certify retroactively that the census data had been available to it on October 14, 2021. (*See* Resolution 6A 10-25-22.) October 14, then, officially marked the beginning of the 90-day period within which the Commission would be required to create a preliminary reapportionment plan for the House of Representatives and for the Senate. It is important to note that the nine days that were required for the LDPC to convert traditional census data to data that had been adjusted to comply with the Commission's prisoner allocation resolution is the extent of the delay that can be attributed to the Commission's consideration of that issue. Statements that delays attributable to the Commission's consideration of that issue were much longer are simply not accurate.[9]

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[9] It is true that the Commission considered the issues presented by so-called "prison gerrymandering" very carefully. The issue was raised by House Democratic Leader Joanna McClinton at the Commission's initial organizational

Throughout the process, the Commission worked as quickly as possible—while keeping in mind the enormity and importance of the task—to create both a Preliminary Plan and a Final Plan for reapportioning the two chambers of the General Assembly within a time period that would allow for meaningful review by this Court and would accommodate the scheduled May 17, 2022 primary election.

In pursuit of that goal, the Commission moved more quickly than constitutionally required for all deadlines within its control. The Commission approved its Preliminary Plan on December 16, 2021—63 days (out of the allotted 90 days) after the receipt of usable census data. The Commission, of course, provided the public with the full 30 days provided for in the Constitution to submit exceptions to the Preliminary Plan. Following that period, which expired on January 18, 2022, the Commission adopted its Final Plan on February 4, 2022—17 days (out of the allotted 30 days) after the expiration of the exceptions period.

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meeting on May 26, 2021. It was also the subject of extensive citizen testimony and submissions, as well as expert testimony. During the weeks of summer, the issue was discussed and briefed and members of the Commission staff and caucus teams worked with both the Penn State Data Center and the Department of Corrections to determine whether or not the data essential to altering existing practices could be generated if the Commission decided to make a change. The Commission first voted to reallocate certain prisoner data at its meeting on August 24, 2021, and usable census data (even not accounting for the prisoner reallocation resolution) was not received until early October. For the entire time that the Commission was considering the issue, then, it did not yet have the usable census data even to begin the reapportionment process.

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Appendix B   0082B

C.   Summary of Population and Demographic Shifts

Pennsylvania's population and demographics changed dramatically in the decade between the 2010 and 2020 censuses. Therefore, the districts for the House and the Senate necessarily also must be changed in order to reflect those population shifts adequately and accurately. In particular, two unmistakable trends drove the population changes that inevitably shaped the Commission's work: first, the ongoing shift in population from rural to urban areas—particularly from the north and west of the Commonwealth to the south and east of the Commonwealth; and second, the increase in Pennsylvania's non-white population. (*See* Supplemental Testimony of Kyle C. Kopko, Ph.D., Director, Center for Rural Pennsylvania.)[10]

1.   *Population Trends*

The 2020 census revealed that Pennsylvania's population grew from 12,702,379 to 13,002,700, for a total increase of 300,321. In other words, Pennsylvania's population grew by 2.4% during the last decade. (*See* Penn State Data Center Data Brief, August 2021.)[11]

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[10] Available at Tab 16 of the Commission's Certified Record.

[11] Available at
https://pasdc.hbg.psu.edu/sdc/pasdc_files/researchbriefs/August_2021.pdf

That growth, however, was not evenly distributed across the Commonwealth. Of Pennsylvania's 67 counties, 44 of those counties lost population, and 23 counties grew in population. (*Id.*) The counties that gained in population are largely classified as urban. For example, Philadelphia County remained the most populous county and grew by 5.1% since 2010. Allegheny County remained the second largest county, and experienced 2.2% growth since 2010. (*Id.*) Pennsylvania's next three largest counties—Montgomery County, Bucks County, and Delaware County—all grew at rates greater than Pennsylvania's overall growth rate. (*Id.*) By contrast, the counties that lost population—such as Susquehanna County, Forest County, and Wyoming County—are largely rural.[12] (*See* Kopko Supplemental Testimony.) Indeed, over the past decade, Pennsylvania's rural population actually declined. (*Id.*)

While looking at population growth or loss in percentage terms can provide a helpful sense of these trends, the actual numbers (not percentages) of population growth and loss are far more relevant to the Commission's work. Thus, while a number of witnesses testified that Cumberland County was the fastest growing county in the Commonwealth, with a growth rate of 10.2%, that percentage growth

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[12] Forest County, which houses a substantial number of prisoners in a state correctional institution, experienced significant population loss even when not accounting for the Commission's decision to reallocate some prisoners from the place of their incarceration to their home residence for reapportionment purposes.

rate translates into an absolute increase in population of around 24,000 people, or just a little more than one-third of the population needed to support a single House district. (*See* Penn State Data Center, County and Municipal Population Change Table.) Philadelphia County, by contrast, grew by 5.1%, a much lower percentage. (*Id.*) However, in absolute numbers, Philadelphia's population grew by approximately 77,000 people (even before considering prisoner reallocation), which is well over the population needed to support a House district. (*Id.*)

Much of Pennsylvania's growth occurred—both in terms of percentage increase and in terms of absolute numbers—in the Southeastern portion of the state. This area increased in population by 344,075 people in the last ten years, and that growth stands in stark contrast to the rest of the Commonwealth, which experienced a decline in population of 43,754.

These population shifts also mean that the current maps, which were approved by the Supreme Court in 2013, now are severely malapportioned and fail to satisfy the constitutional requirement of "one person, one vote." For example, the current map, when combined with the 2020 census data, reveals that the House districts along the Commonwealth's northern border are underpopulated, with populations that are between 6% and 11% below the ideal population for a House

district. (*See* Nordenberg Opening Statement, Jan. 6, 2022, at 7.)[13] The same is true

along the western border of the Commonwealth, with the exception of some areas

of population growth in the Greater Pittsburgh area. (*Id.*) For example, some

districts along the western border of the state have populations that are between 10-

12% below the ideal population size. (*Id.*)

The converse is true of the southeastern portion of the Commonwealth,

where the existing House districts are significantly overpopulated in light of the

new census data. Multiple House districts in this region have populations more

than 15% over the ideal population size, and one House district is even 21.1%

above the ideal population. (*Id.* at 8.)

These population shifts and regional trends have political implications. The

rural areas, which lost population, tend to identify as Republican and be

represented by Republican members of the General Assembly. The urban areas,

which experienced population growth, tend to identify as Democratic and be

represented by Democratic members of the General Assembly. Therefore, any

attempts to adjust the districts for the House and Senate in response to population

changes also necessarily result in changes to the partisan makeup of the maps as a

whole.

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[13] Available at Tab 29b of the Commission's Certified Record.

2. *Demographic Trends*

In addition to showing the areas in which the population grew or shrank, the 2020 census also revealed that Pennsylvania's population continues to become more diverse. In 2000, approximately 1.97 million people of color lived in Pennsylvania. (*See* Kopko Supplemental Testimony.) According to the 2020 census, that number is now approximately 3.46 million. (*Id.*) In other words, the population of people of color increased by 76% over two decades. (*Id.*)

This trend was true across the Commonwealth, with both rural and urban areas becoming more diverse. Nevertheless, the vast majority of people of color—upwards of 90%—live in urban areas. (*Id.*)

III. Reallocating Some State Prisoners Based on Their Residence Prior to Incarceration

At the Commission's meeting of May 26, 2021, its first meeting after my appointment as Chair, Representative Joanna McClinton, the House Democratic Leader, presented for initial discussion a resolution providing that, for redistricting purposes, inmates incarcerated in state correctional facilities would be considered to be residents of the communities in which they lived prior to their incarceration, rather than as residents of the places of their incarceration. In doing so, she noted that similar adjustments were being made in a growing number of states, driven by a desire to address at least one consequence of mass incarceration and to ensure that the political power of minority and urban voters is not diluted.

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The Commission received a large number of written submissions favoring such an approach from citizens and good-governance groups and received testimony from both citizen and expert witnesses. Among those groups and individuals who expressed support for the prisoner reallocation resolution were Fair Districts PA, Common Cause PA, and Governor Wolf. (*See* Aug. 3, 2021 2PM Tr. at 329-332, 356; Aug. 20, 2021 Letter from Gov. Wolf.[14])

The legal teams representing the four caucuses were asked to research and brief the issue. Chief Counsel Byer not only had the benefit of those shared perspectives but also conducted his own research and then presented his legal findings and recommendations to the Commission prior to its August 24, 2021 vote on this issue. Let me quickly summarize the guidance he provided.

First, Mr. Byer concluded that neither the United States Constitution nor the Pennsylvania Constitution would be violated either if the Commission chose to maintain the current practice of considering prisoners to be residents of the place of their incarceration for reapportionment purposes or chose to change the current practice, as proposed in Leader McClinton's resolution.

Second, Mr. Byer advised that the provisions of the Election Code and the Voter Registration Act concerning residents and prisoners for purposes of voter

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[14] Available at Tab 14m of the Commission's Certified Record.

registration and voting do not control where prisoners are counted for purposes of redistricting. However, he advised that those statutes do express a public policy that the Commission may consider.

Third, because the 1968 amendments to the Pennsylvania Constitution adopting Article II, § 17 in its current form and rescinding former Article II, § 18 were intended to remove the General Assembly from its role in legislative redistricting and to instead place those responsibilities with the Commission, legislation would not be required for the Commission to make the changes proposed in Leader McClinton's resolution. In other words, in amending the Constitution to create the Commission, the voters removed the power of the General Assembly over legislative redistricting and placed that power exclusively in the Commission.

In summary, Mr. Byer concluded that the Commission had the legal authority to choose to count prisoners based on their place of residence prior to incarceration, but that the Commission was not required to do so. Therefore, it was a policy choice for the Commission to make.

The Commission exercised its authority to adopt the resolution by Leader McClinton through a public 3-2 vote, with the majority consisting of the two Democratic leaders and me. Thus, the Commission resolved to count inmates in state correctional facilities, other than inmates serving life sentences without the

possibility of parole, as residents not of the municipality where they are incarcerated as of the decennial census day, but as residents of the communities where they lived prior to incarceration.

That resolution was subsequently altered—again through a 3-2 vote, this time with the majority consisting of the two Republican leaders and me—after Senator Kim Ward, the Senate Majority Leader, proposed an amendment. That amendment precluded prisoners with more than ten years left to serve on their sentences as of the decennial census day from being considered to be residents of their pre-incarceration community for redistricting purposes.

Each of the Commissioners presumably had his or her own reasons for voting for or against these resolutions. I publicly shared my own views prior to the Commission's first vote on the issue. Among other things, I said that, when a system holds and counts a person in one place but forces him or her to vote in another place, it creates issues of fundamental fairness for that person. (*See* Aug. 24, 2021 Tr. at 631.) When the numbers are large enough, those practices also implicate the principle of one-person-one-vote, creating issues of voter equality, from district to district. (*See id.*)

A similar view had been expressed by Professors Rory Kramer and Brianna Remster from Villanova University, who have studied this topic, with a particular

focus on Pennsylvania, and testified at a Commission hearing. This is a small part

of what they said:

> [P]rison gerrymandering distorts representation by strengthening the political voices of Pennsylvanians who live near a prison while simultaneously weakening the voices of residents who live near high crime areas. Counting incarcerated people where they are imprisoned affects the entire communities and towns from which large numbers of people are being incarcerated. And with patterns of residential segregation, prison gerrymandering does so in a racially unequal way.

(*See* Written Testimony Professors Kramer and Remster, at 3.)[15]

Though I found this line of reasoning to be persuasive, before I could

support the proposal, I needed to know both that the data necessary to implement it

would be available and that the Commission had the authority to direct that

prisoner data be reallocated. My practical concern regarding data availability was

heightened by the pressures tied to our constitutional deadlines, deadlines relating

to the upcoming primary election schedule, and the already-dramatically delayed

delivery of census data. However, after a number of interactions with the

Department of Corrections, the Penn State Data Center confirmed that creating a

population dataset incorporating Leader McClinton's resolution would only result

in a comparatively short delay, and that proved to be the case.

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[15] Available at Tab 13d of the Commission's Certified Record.

As noted, I also was concerned with whether or not the Commission had the authority to adopt such a resolution, but I was persuaded by the recommendations and conclusions of Chief Counsel Byer. Most basically, the Commission simply was altering a longstanding practice of the Census Bureau, which the Bureau itself has acknowledged is not determinative for legislative redistricting.[16] In fact, the Bureau is now proactively helping states to make these data adjustments, if they wish to do so.[17]

It also was persuasive to me that there is not any statutory limitation on the Commission's action, nor could there be. Instead, the history of the Commission's creation and the removal of the General Assembly from the legislative reapportionment process reveals that, while its structure was intended to infuse the Commission with the special wisdom of legislative leaders by providing for their membership on the Commission, the Commission itself was created by the Constitution to be independent of the General Assembly.

In that regard, an initial cause for concern had been the fact that nine of the twelve other states that have adopted prisoner reallocation measures have done so

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[16] *Fletcher v. Lamone*, 831 F. Supp. 2d 887, 895 (D. Md. 2011) (three-judge district court) ("According to the Census Bureau, prisoners are counted where they are incarcerated for pragmatic and administrative reasons, not legal ones.").

[17] Final 2020 Census Residence Criteria and Residence Situations, 83 Fed. Reg. 5525, 5528 (Feb. 8, 2018).

through legislation. However, research revealed that in each of those nine states the legislature either had retained complete control or some significant level of control over the legislative reapportionment process. Far closer to our situation are three states—California, Colorado and Montana—that have created independent commissions. In California, the legislature recognizes that it lacks power over the redistricting commission, and therefore only "request[ed]" that the commission reallocate prisoners. Cal. Elec. Code § 21003. In Colorado, the Supreme Court has indicated that the legislature has no authority to control the decision of whether to reallocate Census data, a decision that rests with the Commission.[18] *In re Interrogatories on Senate Bill 21-247 Submitted by Colorado General Assembly*, 488 P.3d 1008, 1020 (Colo. 2021). More recently, the Montana Redistricting and Apportionment Commission has taken steps to reallocate prisoners and has done so without any legislative direction. *See* Nov. 9, 2021 Commission Minutes.[19]

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[18] Colorado has two separate commissions—one for congressional redistricting and one for legislative redistricting. The commission in charge of legislative redistricting chose to reallocate prisoners. This is in contrast to the commission in charge of congressional redistricting, which ultimately decided not to reallocate prisoners when drawing the new congressional districts. *See* "Redistricting commissions diverge on prison gerrymandering, and the 3rd Congressional Redistrict revisited," Colorado Sun (Aug. 16, 2021), available at https://coloradosun.com/2021/08/16/redistricting-newsletter-2021-second-edition/.

[19] Available at https://leg.mt.gov/content/Districting/2020/Meetings/November-9-2021/DAC-minutes-Nov-9-2021.pdf. As the examples from California, Colorado, and Montana show, the statement in the Benninghoff Petition that "[n]o state has

I further agreed that reallocating prisoners would be consistent with the Commonwealth's policy as it relates to inmates and voting. In particular, § 1302 of the Voter Registration Act states, "Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, no individual who is confined in a penal institution shall be deemed a resident of the election district where the institution is located. The individual shall be deemed to reside where the individual was last registered before being confined to the penal institution, or, if there was no registration prior to confinement, the individual shall be deemed to reside at the last known address prior to confinement." 25 Pa.C.S. § 1302(a)(3). That language can be viewed as a strong and longstanding expression of legislative policy, and it would be consistent with that policy to count prisoners for redistricting purposes in the same place they could vote, if able.

I also considered the impact of the opinion in *League of Women Voters*. That opinion did not directly address the question of prisoner reallocation, but there are some passages and overarching principles that seem relevant. In particular, the Court explained that "[t]he broad text of the first clause of [Article I, Section 5 of the Pennsylvania Constitution] mandates clearly and unambiguously, and in the broadest possible terms, that *all* elections conducted in this Commonwealth must

established a policy regarding prisoner reallocation for reapportionment purposes absent legislation" (*see* Benninghoff Petition at ¶ 62), is simply not accurate.

be 'free and equal.'" *League of Women Voters*, 178 A.3d at 804 (emphasis in

original). The Court further explained that its analysis of the Free and Equal

Elections Clause "leads [the Court] to conclude the Clause should be given its

broadest interpretation, one which governs all aspects of the electoral process, and

which provides the people of this Commonwealth an equally effective power to

select the representatives of his or her choice, and bars the dilution of the people's

power to do so." *Id.* at 814.

These statements by the Supreme Court mirror the statements made by Jerry

Powell, a delegate at Pennsylvania's Constitutional Convention in 1968, during the

debates that ultimately resulted in the creation of the Commission. He stated, "[a]

plan which places a number of citizens in a legislative district in which they can

have virtually no hope of affecting the outcome of an election or the official

conduct of the elected legislators can as effectively disenfranchise those people as

a population imbalance." 1 Daily Journals of the Pennsylvania Constitutional

Convention of 1967-1968, at 532 (1968). Counting prisoners in one place for

redistricting purposes, yet requiring them to vote in a different place, is a type of

disenfranchisement and unfairness that should be avoided. And looking at the

impacts more broadly, it distorts the reapportionment process by giving certain

classes of voters—here, voters living in districts with state correctional

institutions—more voting power than voters who reside in districts that do not

include such institutions. For these reasons, I voted in favor of Leader McClinton's resolution.

I also considered it to be a prudent policy decision to vote in favor of Leader Ward's resolution in recognition of the fact that prisoners with more than ten years left on their sentences of incarceration would not be returning to their home communities during the period for which the Commission's maps would be in effect. Thus, voting in favor of these two resolutions struck the appropriate balance in adhering to the spirit of the Free and Equal Elections Clause.

Thanks to extraordinary efforts of the LDPC and the Penn State Data Center, the Commission's decision to adopt resolutions providing for the reallocation of certain prisoners, as noted above, did not delay the work of the Commission in any meaningful sense. Both the LDPC and the Penn State Data Center were able to outperform their projections and deliver a revised dataset within nine days of the original, non-reallocated dataset being made available. (*See* Oct. 25, 2021 Tr. at 843.) Indeed, as Mr. McClintock and I both confirmed at the hearing in which the Commission certified the data, the non-reallocated dataset was completed and made available to the Commission on October 5, 2021, and the dataset that was

adjusted to account for the prisoner reallocation resolutions was made available on

October 14, 2021.[20] (*Id.*)

IV.   The Commission's Process

A.   The Commission's Commitment to Public Engagement

From the outset of the Commission's work, both good-governance groups

and many members of the public stressed the importance of public engagement in

the redistricting process. The Commission was urged to both be as open and

transparent as possible and to take public input and feedback into account when

drawing and approving the plans for the House and Senate districts.

The Commission worked to be as responsive to these recommendations as

possible, within the constraints of the process and timeline outlined in Article II,

§ 16, as well as the pressures of the upcoming primary elections. In particular,

from the time when the full Commission first met on May 26, 2021, the

Commission conducted seven public meetings and hosted sixteen public hearings.

At those hearings, the Commission heard from 36 invited witnesses, typically

experts, and from 145 citizen-witnesses, who offered both perspectives on the

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[20] In the end, while it may be said that the Commission's reallocation of prisoner data was important, it did not have a significant effect on the Plan as a whole. To measure the impact of data reallocation, we examined the Final Plan using unadjusted 2020 census data. Not surprisingly, the population deviations increased—in the Senate plan to 8.5% and in the House plan to 9.88%—but remained under the presumptive 10% maximum.

Commission's process and information about their home communities. The

Commission also created a website to receive citizen comments, which attracted

5,856 submissions. The Commission also received 155 submissions through mail

or email, for a grand total of more than 6,000 submissions.

All of these comments and submissions were read by at least two members

of the Commission team, and the submissions were organized into a usable tool to

consider and, where appropriate and feasible, to implement public feedback into

the Final Plan. The Commission also was attentive to the testimony that was

solicited by the House Republican Caucus in meetings that it independently held in

McCandless and Mechanicsburg regarding the Preliminary Plan.

The Commission's Final Plan incorporates many suggestions and comments

that came from citizens, as well as comments and suggestions made by members of

the General Assembly. Members from both groups often are more aware of local

communities of interest or specific community needs than members of the

Commission staff or the caucus teams could possibly be.

Perhaps the most visible example of such responsiveness resulted from

testimony at one of our public hearings offered by a bipartisan group of four House

members from the Greater Pittsburgh region. They made a persuasive, professional

presentation about the need for drawing districts that cross the border between

Allegheny and Washington Counties, as well as making other adjustments to the

proposed districts in that region. These Representatives focused on distinctive regional needs, such as coordinated responses to flooding, key economic development initiatives that cross county lines, and the needs of the Greater Pittsburgh International Airport, and supported their positions with letters from local officials and constituents.

The Commission also received numerous citizen submissions regarding Horsham Township in Montgomery County and benefited from both public testimony and private conversations with the Republican House member whose district includes that Township. Here, too, the presentations and submissions were persuasive because they focused on the distinctive needs of the Horsham Township community. More specifically, the Commission learned about the challenges Horsham is facing because of the need to remediate the environmental hazards on the site of what had been the Willow Grove Naval Air Station. As a result, we kept Horsham whole in our Final Plan, rather than dividing the Township as had been done in our Preliminary Plan.[21]

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[21] There are less visible instances of Commission responsiveness as well. For example, the Commission was directly contacted by the Republican House member representing the 84th District, which had received so much attention because of its unusual shape. With his help, we were able to create a better plan for the people and communities of Union, Lycoming, and Sullivan Counties. Unfortunately, we also feel quite certain that there were other good ideas held by members of the General Assembly that, for whatever reason, were not brought to

Other examples of the Commission's responsiveness to public comment can be found throughout both maps. For example, the Commission's Final Plan no longer divides Aspinwall, McCandless, Mechanicsburg, or Murrysville. The Final Plan also no longer divides the City of Scranton into four different districts, as had been done in the Preliminary Plan. The Commission's Final Plan further reflects testimony about communities of interest, such as reasons for putting East Caln Township in the same district as Downingtown, keeping Abbottstown with other communities with which it shares municipal services, and respecting the Wissahickon Gorge as a relevant dividing line for certain Philadelphia neighborhoods.

Similar changes were made to the Senate map between release of the Preliminary Plan and approval of the Final Plan. For example, responding to suggestions made by numerous citizens and good-governance groups, the Commission created more compact districts in Philadelphia and, in the process, created a Latino-influence district in the Senate map. The Commission also responded to testimony that West Bethlehem, though it is in a different county, should not be in a different Senate district from the rest of the City of Bethlehem.

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the Commission, either by the affected members or by Caucus Leadership, in time for us to assess and act upon them, if they got to us at all.

Of course, not all comments and public feedback could be implemented.

Changes to one area of the map often create ripple effects throughout the map. *See*

Holt I, 38 A.3d at 762-63 (Eakin, J., concurring and dissenting). Requests not to

split one municipality almost always require splits to be made in other

municipalities.[22]

Perhaps not surprisingly, some public comments were directly at odds with

other public comments. For example, the Commission received both comments

supporting the decision to divide the City of Lancaster and to combine it with areas

of Manheim Township and East Petersburg Borough and comments opposing that

decision. Throughout the process, though, the Commission tried to be as receptive

and attentive to public feedback as possible.

B.   A Consensus Map and a Composite Map

In addition to public meetings and hearings and opportunities for public

comment, the Commission staff and I had frequent meetings with members of the

caucus teams. I also had frequent meetings with individual caucus leaders. Of

course, it was not possible for me to have any private meetings with two caucus

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[22] For example, when we decided to follow the recommendation made at the House
Republican Caucus's McCandless hearing to keep McCandless whole, the result
was a cut to Hampton Township, a neighboring municipality in the suburban North
Hills of Pittsburgh, which displeased some of the residents and leaders of that
community.

leaders at the same time, because the three of us would represent a quorum of the Commission, triggering the requirement that it be a public meeting.

Members of the caucus teams were encouraged to discuss challenges, opportunities, and priorities and to share and discuss proposed maps. Each caucus had the same ability to be involved in the development of maps as every other caucus. When I took the initiative to schedule meetings with the Commissioners and their teams, I did so in a uniform, even-handed way. Each Commissioner and caucus also was equally free to request meetings with the Commission team or me and to submit materials in whatever form they believed would advance their case. Almost from the beginning, however, the caucus teams took vastly different approaches to working with each other, and that necessarily impacted the process.

Senate Leaders Ward and Costa, as well as their respective teams, regularly discussed reapportionment issues and negotiated between themselves. They wanted the first opportunity to come to agreement on as many essential features of the Senate map as they could—clearly hoping to develop a consensus map, if that was possible. Though we maintained regular contact throughout the process, I was most heavily engaged in helping to resolve issues on which they could not agree. To some considerable extent, I functioned as a mediator, but I also worked to effectively discharge an independent responsibility to ensure that any agreements reached were consistent with governing law and advanced the interests of the

citizenry. Particularly over the course of a few days leading up to the adoption of the Preliminary plan and a longer period leading up to the adoption of the Final Plan, such involvements on the Senate side were frequent and intense.

Caucus interactions with respect to the House map took a very different form, with far less interaction between the caucus leaders and their teams. That more distanced approach principally reflected significantly different perceptions about the process and what should be accomplished through it. Democratic Leader McClinton believed that population shifts, as well as partisan flaws in the existing map, meant that substantial change was required, while Majority Leader Benninghoff and his team, from the outset, were very resistant to change. This stark difference seemed to fuel a judgment by Democratic Leader McClinton that direct negotiations would not be productive.

Still, I tried to encourage interaction and brought the two caucus teams together with the understanding that we would begin by focusing on two specific regions—Southwestern Pennsylvania and Bucks County in the Southeast. The discussions seemed productive, and we left our meeting with an understanding that the Bucks County map drawn by the Democrats and the Southwestern Pennsylvania map drawn by the Republicans would provide the foundation for future discussions. However, shortly after that meeting, the Democrats asserted that the Republican team had breached a confidentiality agreement by providing a

proposal submitted by the Democratic Leader to a member of the Republican

caucus who had, in turn, shared it with members of the Democratic caucus who

had not yet been briefed by the Democratic Leader.[23] That seemed to bring an end

to any efforts to work together.

As a result, the Commission team was tasked with dealing with the two

House caucuses separately, having tried, without success, to bridge the gap

between them. The House map, then, is more of a composite map than a consensus

map, with the Commission team taking the best features of maps offered by each

of the House caucuses and attempting to knit them together.

C.   The Use of Expert Witnesses

As has already been noted, the Commission received thirty-six presentations

from expert witnesses. The great majority of those presentations came relatively

early in the process, when the Commission was moving through what might have

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[23] At a very early point in the process, and in response to a question posed by
caucus counsel, Chief Counsel for the Commission indicated that documents
exchanged in discussions seeking agreement on maps should be treated as
confidential, much as communications made in pursuit of settlement in litigation
would be. That approach was agreed to by caucus counsel. I have no first-hand
knowledge of what happened in this earlier incident. However, the understanding
described also calls into question the propriety of counsel's inclusion as Appendix
I to Leader Benninghoff's Petition for Review a document that is described as
follows: "[D]uring one meeting on November 16, 2021, a member of Leader
McClinton's staff circulated a sheet analyzing certain proposed districts in or about
Bucks County . . . ." (*See* Appendix I to Benninghoff Petition for Review.) It is
interesting that Bucks County was the subject of both disclosures.

been viewed as its "educational phase." However, at a public hearing on January 14, 2022, after the Preliminary Plan had been filed, the Commission also provided each caucus with an opportunity to present expert testimony either for or against the Plan. That naturally was a more adversarial process.

On December 23, 2021, Chief Counsel Byer wrote to counsel for all four caucuses, setting the parameters for what was intended to be a fair and orderly process. More specifically, he directed that caucus counsel identify each expert they intended to call by December 30, 2021 and provide a written statement from each such witness by January 7, 2021. He further advised that experts called by opponents of the Plan would testify first and that experts called by proponents of the Plan would testify after them at the January 14, 2022 hearing.

Only two caucuses, the House Republicans and the House Democrats provided notice that they intended to present testimony from expert witnesses. The House Republicans advised that they intended to call two experts, Associate Professor Michael Barber from Brigham Young University and Professor Jonathan Katz from the California Institute of Technology. The House Democrats identified three experts witnesses who they intended to call, Professor Matt Barreto from UCLA, Professor Kosuke Imai from Harvard, and Associate Professor Christopher Warshaw from George Washington University.

As time passed, the House Republicans indicated, without further explanation, that they were unable to produce a report from Professor Katz and that he would not be testifying at the upcoming expert-witness hearing. However, on the day of that hearing, without prior notice or explanation, they did present a report from Professor Katz, which I accepted for the record, over the objection of Leader McClinton, in the spirit of openness. However, because the untimely submission of this report was a surprise, because Professor Katz never was made available for questioning by members of the Commission, and because Professor Barreto's rebuttal was so persuasive, I gave less weight to his report, and I am sure that was the case for other Commission members as well.[24]

The testimony and reports offered by Professor Barber provide the essential foundation for most of the arguments advanced in Leader Benninghoff's Petition for Review. Professor Barber's work is mentioned in no fewer than eighteen paragraphs of that Petition and is offered in support of its major themes – that the

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[24] In his rebuttal report, Professor Barreto dealt directly and substantively with the critiques advanced by Professor Katz against his report, ultimately dismissing them as "baseless." (Barreto Rebuttal Report at 2, available at Tab 34g of the Commission's Certified Record.) He also questioned the breaches of process in the presentation of the Katz report to the Commission: "Given that a federal judge so soundly dismissed Dr. Katz's theory concerning homogenous precincts, the Commission should question why such a debunked theory was offered at the very last moment. The late submission suggests that proponents of Dr. Katz's report held it until the 11th hour to shield both Dr. Katz and his report from fair examination and scrutiny." (*Id.* at 3.)

Final Plan is "an extreme partisan gerrymander," that the plan cuts mid-sized cities for "partisan political gain," and that the plan dilutes the votes of minority groups. Each of those assertions is being addressed separately in this report, but given the indispensable nature of the support provided by Professor Barber for Leader Benninghoff's Petition, it also seemed important to separately look at his credentials as an expert and compare them to the credentials possessed by the competing experts called by the House Democratic Caucus.

As I stated at the Commission's meeting of February 4, 2022, when the Final Plan was approved, at an earlier point in my career, I taught courses in civil procedure, advanced civil procedure, evidence and trial advocacy and had a strong grounding in the law governing the qualifications and testimony of courtroom experts, but that knowledge now is quite dated. However, over the course of a more recent twenty-year period of my career, assessing the academic records of faculty members from wide-ranging disciplines in a major research university was one of my central responsibilities. In this case, though Professor Barber's record is commendable in other ways, it surprised me that, even though this academic was being presented as an expert, he had not written a single academic paper that was directly relevant to the areas in which his testimony was being offered.

This stands in sharp contrast to the expert witnesses called by the House Democratic caucus. Professors Barreto, Imai, and Warshaw are very well

published in the areas about which they offered testimony, and they each also are distinctively well-credentialed in other ways.

Professor Barreto is one of the country's leading scholars of Latino politics and the Voting Rights Act. He has faculty appointments at UCLA in both Political Science and Chicana/o Studies and also serves as Faculty Director of the UCLA Voting Rights Project. In addition, he is the president and founder of BSP Research, a leading Latino polling and data analytics company, and founder of the Latino Policy and Politics Initiative at UCLA.

Professor Imai is regarded by many to be the world's leading quantitative social scientist. He is the first person ever to hold appointments in both the Department of Government and the Department of Statistics at Harvard. He served on the Princeton faculty for fifteen years and was the founder of its Program in Statistics and Machine Learning. He also developed the algorithm that was used by Professor Barber and was Professor Barber's graduate-school advisor.

Professor Warshaw, who now is at George Washington University, earlier held a faculty appointment at MIT. He is a Pennsylvania native whose expert testimony was cited by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in the *League of Women*

Voters case. He not only has published academic papers directly relevant to his testimony but also is a member of the Advisory Board of PlanScore.[25]

There is, in sum, a stark difference in credentials.

V.   The Commission's Priorities, Values, and Challenges

In drafting the Preliminary and Final Reapportionment Plans for the House and Senate, the Commission's predominant purpose always was to create districts that comply in all respects with the requirements of the Pennsylvania Constitution—most notably, Article II, § 16 (which sets forth requirements for legislative districts); Article I, § 5 (also known as the "Free and Equal Elections" clause); and Article I, § 29 (the Racial and Ethnic Equality clause). Of course, the Commission was also attentive to the requirements of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution and to the federal Voting Rights Act. In fact, the Commission heard from a sizeable number of Voting Rights Act experts, both before and after the Commission approved its Preliminary Plan.

When circumstances permitted the Commission to do so, and after ensuring compliance with all aspects of state and federal law, the Commission fashioned

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[25] PlanScore is a project of Campaign Legal Center, a nonpartisan organization working to advance democracy through law. The PlanScore website (https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/) allows policymakers, advocates, and the public to evaluate district plans according to peer-reviewed measures of partisan fairness.

districts to create additional opportunities beyond the minimum requirements of

the Voting Rights Act, positioning voters in racial and language minority groups to

influence the election of candidates of their choice. Going beyond these minimum

requirements not only is consistent with the Voting Rights Act, but also is

consistent with, and possibly required by, both the Free and Equal Elections Clause

and the Racial and Ethnic Equality Clause of the Pennsylvania Constitution.

When able to do so, the Commission team sought to create minority

opportunity and influence districts without an incumbent, so as to provide the

greatest potential for racial and language minority voters to influence the election

of candidates of their choice.[26] Again, the Commission did so while being mindful

of and adhering to the traditional redistricting criterial of Article II, § 16 and other

constitutional mandates.

A.   Prioritization of Article II, § 16 Criteria

The Commission's starting point for all of its work was the language of

Article II, § 16 of the Pennsylvania Constitution, which provides:

> The Commonwealth shall be divided into fifty senatorial
> and two hundred three representative districts, which shall
> be composed of compact and contiguous territory as
> nearly equal in population as practicable. Each senatorial

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[26] The importance of drawing districts without an incumbent was underscored by
the testimony that a Latina candidate in an Allentown district had lost a primary
election contest waged against an incumbent by only 55 votes, suggesting that,
absent her opponent's incumbency advantage, she would have won.

district shall elect one Senator, and each representative district one Representative. Unless absolutely necessary no county, city, incorporated town, borough, township or ward shall be divided in forming either a senatorial or representative district.

Pa. Const. art. II, § 16. This section can best be summarized as having four requirements: nearly equal population, compactness, contiguity, and minimization of county and political subdivision splits. However, not all of these four criteria is given equal weight. The Constitution makes clear that population equality does not need to be exact, but instead only needs to be as nearly equal "as practicable." Further, the Constitution provides that counties and designated political subdivisions should only be split if "absolutely necessary"—language that does not appear in connection with the other three criteria.

However, even within the sentence stating that counties and political subdivisions should not be split, the Constitution is silent as to which of these recognized entities should be prioritized when making the difficult choices surrounding redistricting. For example, the Commonwealth has municipalities that cross county lines, yet the Constitution does not specify whether the Commission should prioritize keeping the county whole (which necessarily results in a divided municipality) or whether the Commission should prioritize keeping the municipality whole (which necessarily results in a divided county).

To address these issues in a consistent way, the Commission staff and I attempted to establish a hierarchy for protected political subdivisions for when to divide protected areas, when such splits became necessary. The Commission team first decided to prioritize county lines over municipalities. Counties are often the most recognizable and influential form of local government in the Commonwealth and generally are also reflective of larger communities of interest. Counties also play important roles in administering elections and in allocating emergency funding and other important resources.

This prioritization was not a hard-and-fast rule however. Some counties must be divided based purely on their large populations. And in some situations drawing districts that cross county lines may be *more* representative of the communities of interest and the needs of the citizens. Such was the case with the areas described in the bipartisan presentation by the Representatives from the Allegheny County and Washington County area. When compelling cases were made for why counties should be divided, the Commission attempted to accommodate those requests, as long as the map as a whole continued to comply with the requirements of Article II, § 16.

When faced with situations in which some municipalities must be divided, the Commission team generally chose to divide the more populous municipalities, rather than the less populous municipalities. When areas with greater population

are divided, their communities still represent sizeable constituencies that can garner attention from their elected officials. Further, these communities still have significant voting share and can therefore continue to influence the election for their representatives. The same often is not true for less populous communities. Even when whole, these communities may struggle to attract the attention of elected officials or to influence elections—especially when the smaller communities are grouped with much larger communities. When these less populous communities are divided, their chances for influence are further diminished.

Residents of less populous municipalities also tend to identify more closely with their municipalities. By contrast, residents of large municipalities often define their communities more in terms of neighborhoods. Therefore, residents of larger municipalities tend to accept being divided into multiple legislative districts more willingly than residents of smaller municipalities.

These sentiments were often expressed by citizens living in these smaller communities, who were concerned that their voices would not be heard if their communities were divided among legislative districts. For example, the Commission received almost 90 submissions objecting to the division of Aspinwall in the Preliminary Plan—a remarkable number considering Aspinwall has a population of less than 3,000 people.

This policy judgment also is reflected in the Commission's decision to divide some of Pennsylvania's mid-sized cities, as opposed to smaller communities, when a split municipality was necessary. For example, when it was apparent that a municipality in the Centre County region needed to be divided in order to equalize population, the Commission chose to divide State College Borough, the most populous municipality in the region. Though Leader Benninghoff's Petition for Review criticizes the Commission for ignoring "important feedback" on this issue, the Commission's decision was met with widespread support from local officials in the State College region, including the Mayor of State College Borough, numerous current and former members of the State College Borough Council, members of the State College Area School District board, and a member of the Centre County Board of Commissioners, as well as other citizens.[27]

The Commission team made similar choices when dividing mid-size cities like Reading, Lancaster, Harrisburg, and Allentown. Divisions in Reading and

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[27] The Benninghoff Petition also fails to acknowledge that if State College had been kept whole, it most logically might have been included in the District represented by Leader Benninghoff himself, since he is the closest to it, as was true in the People's Map released by Fair Districts PA. Presumably, he would not have welcomed that infusion of Democratic-leaning voters, and the Commission staff and I had made the early decision not to be disruptive of the districts represented by the caucus leaders unless that became absolutely necessary.

Allentown were already absolutely necessary based on population alone. However, it was also clear that a municipality in each of the four cities' general regions needed to be split in order to achieve population equality. The Commission exercised its discretion to place those splits in areas that would be more acceptable to the residents of those communities and that would ensure that municipalities of all sizes would have effective representation. *See Holt I*, 38 A.3d at 735 n.22 (recognizing that the Commission has "considerable discretion" in deciding how to redistrict the Commonwealth); *see also id.* at 763 (Eakin, J., concurring and dissenting) (noting that "[i]t is never 'absolutely necessary' to draw a line in any spot" because "it could always go elsewhere").

The Commission's plan was met with approval by legislators representing districts in these cities and by elected officials holding municipal offices in them. Among those expressing support for the Commission's plan were Representative Manuel Guzman, Jr., who represents House District 127, comprised of Reading and other areas of Berks County (*see* Letter to Commission from Rep. Guzman, Rep. Angel Cruz, and Rep. Danillo Burgos (January 14, 2022)),[28] and Mayor Danene Sorace, the mayor of Lancaster (*see* "We're Pa. small city mayors, fair

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[28] Available in Tab 40 of the Commission's Certified Record.

legislative maps will aid our recovery," Pennsylvania Capital Star (January 19, 2022).[29]

The Commission team, of necessity, also attempted to balance the requirement of avoiding county and municipal splits when possible with the requirement of nearly equal population. In many cases, keeping counties and municipalities whole required greater tolerance for population deviations. In some cases, the Commission chose to draw districts that divided county or municipal lines in pursuit of more equal population, especially where the affected communities explained that crossing county or municipal lines would be beneficial from the standpoint of effective representation.

B.   Fairly Reflecting Population Shifts

The primary purpose of decennial redistricting is to develop legislative maps that fairly reflect population changes as revealed by the federal census. As already has been noted, significant population shifts did occur in Pennsylvania during the last decade. In fact, with the population of Southeastern Pennsylvania growing by more than 340,000 people, and with the population having declined in all of the rest of the state taken together, it was apparent that some districts would need to be moved to accommodate these population shifts.

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[29] Available at https://www.penncapital-star.com/commentary/were-pa-small-city-mayors-fair-legislative-maps-will-aid-our-recovery-opinion/

The Commission determined that it would be appropriate to move House districts into Lancaster, Montgomery, and Philadelphia Counties—all areas that experienced significant population growth. Implementing that decision, though, proved to be more challenging. Perhaps because the population losses over the past decade had most affected House districts represented by Republicans, the House Republican team clearly would have preferred to minimize the extent of change by maintaining the core of the map from the previous decade. Moving past that position was a struggle.

Then, even after the team came to accept that some seats held by their caucus members would need to be moved from areas of declining population, they maintained that they had the right to pick the location to which "their" seat would be moved and to draw the new district. In other words, they viewed the seat as belonging to them. However, legislative districts do not belong to either politicians or their parties but, instead, belong to the people, and the Final Plan for the House reflects the population trends of the past decade and recognizes that "Legislators represent people, not trees or acres." *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 562 (1964)

C.   Respecting Democratic Ideals

The Commission staff and Chair also were attentive to the Free and Equal Elections Clause in Article I, § 5 of the Pennsylvania Constitution and the interpretation given to that Clause by the Supreme Court in *League of Women*

Voters. Notably, that case was decided several years after the last round of state legislative redistricting, meaning the maps now in place were not drawn with its lessons in mind.

The *League of Women Voters* decision recognized that there is a constitutional dimension to avoiding partisan bias and held that partisan gerrymandering violates the Free and Equal Elections Clause. The Commission heard from multiple experts, good-governance groups, and interested citizens about what it means to avoid partisan bias. Needless to say, the opinions of these experts, organizations, and citizens were not always aligned. Still, there seem to be some fundamental principles about which there should be basic agreement.

Most basically, a fair map should be responsive to voters' preferences. Otherwise, why would people vote? So when voter preferences change dramatically, so too should the composition of the General Assembly. To put it in simple terms, when there is a blue-wave election, the makeup of the General Assembly should reflect that blue wave, and when there is a red-wave election, the makeup of the General Assembly should reflect that red wave.

Put another way, one party should not have entrenched political power that is so strong as to not reflect the actual votes of the citizens of Pennsylvania. Professor Warshaw discussed this type of responsiveness in his report and

explained that it is one of the basic benchmarks of the fairness of a redistricting

plan. (*See* Warshaw Report at 20-21.)[30]

It also is reasonable to expect that the party that wins the most votes

generally also should win the most seats. Similarly, when the two parties each

receive 50% of the votes, they should each receive about 50% of the seats. Both of

these expectations are consistent with basic fairness and democratic principles,

according to Professor Warshaw. (*See id.* at 6, 17-18.) In fact, in response to a

question about that precise issue, Professor Warshaw stated that "among scholars

of political representation and democracy writ large," it is "a consensus view that

the party that wins a majority of the votes should win enough seats to control the

legislature." (*See* Jan. 14, 2022 PM Tr. at 1572.) Professor Warshaw further

explained that, if the party that wins the most votes does not win the most seats in

the legislature, that "calls into question the democratic bona fides of any

government." (*Id.*)

Leader Benninghoff's Petition seems to claim that the Commission is

seeking to impose proportional representation. However, as Professor Warshaw

explained, proportional representation is not the same thing as the majoritarian

principle that the party that wins the most votes generally should win the most

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[30] Available at Tab 34d of the Commission's Certified Record.

seats. Proportional representation "is the idea that if we were electing perhaps 100 representatives statewide, . . . the party that wins 53 percent of the vote should get exactly 53 percent of those 100 seats." (*Id*. at 1571.) However, this Commission neither argued for nor made any attempt to achieve a direct correlation between vote share and seat share.

In fact, the map that the Commission adopted for the House as part of the Final Plan still leans in favor of Republicans. As Professor Warshaw explained, Republicans may not need a majority of the statewide vote share to win a majority of the seats. (*Id.* at 1569.) However, compared to the current maps, the Republican Party as a whole would need to come closer to that 50% threshold to keep control of the General Assembly. In other words, the Commission's Final Plan is still biased in favor of Republicans, just not to the same extent as previous maps.

D.   Simulating an Extreme Partisan Gerrymander

Another criticism of the Final Plan is that, instead of minimizing partisan bias, the Final Plan is an "extreme partisan gerrymander." This attack features prominently in the Petition for Review filed by Leader Benninghoff, for which the Petition relies exclusively on the testimony of Professor Barber.

Professor Barber argues that any "fair" redistricting plan must respect Pennsylvania's natural political geography, where Democratic voters have "packed" themselves inefficiently in the cities, and where Republican voters are

more efficiently spread throughout the Commonwealth.[31] Professor Barber

attempts to show that the Preliminary Plan and the Final Plan are partisan

gerrymanders by looking at large numbers of simulations of possible redistricting

plans based only on the quantifiable criteria in Article II, § 16—which, he says, are

necessarily unbiased.[32]

Professor Barber explains his approach in the following way:

> If the Commission's map produces a similar outcome as
> the alternative set of maps [*i.e.*, the simulations], we may
> reasonably conclude that the Commission's plan also is
> unbiased. Alternatively, if the Commission's proposed
> plan significantly diverges from the set of simulated maps,
> it may be that the proposed plan is biased in favor of one
> party.

(Supplemental Barber Report, Appendix A to Benninghoff Petition, at 4.) Because

the Commission's plan did diverge significantly from his set of simulated maps,

both Professor Barber and the Benninghoff Petition labeled it "an extreme partisan

outlier."

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[31] Both Professor Barber and the Benninghoff Petition are fond of reciting that, because of Pennsylvania's political geography, Democrats can only compete under a redistricting plan that "carve[s] up large cities like pizza slices or spokes of a wheel." (*See, e.g.*, Benninghoff Petition at ¶ 37.) However, there is nothing in the Commission's maps consistent with those attention-grabbing images.

[32] In his assessment of the Commission's Preliminary Plan, the number of simulations was 50,000. In his assessment of the Commission's Final Plan, the number of simulations was 17,537.

It is important to remember that in his assessment of the Preliminary Plan, Professor Barber's simulations were limited to the quantifiable criteria found in Article II, § 16 of the Pennsylvania Constitution and ignored all racial considerations. That is a puzzling choice because, under certain circumstances, the Commission is *required* to take account of racial considerations and, in a broader set of circumstances, the Commission is permitted to do so.[33]

When Professor Imai, who developed the algorithm that Professor Barber reported he had used, analyzed Professor Barber's report, he reached three conclusions. First, he could not replicate Professor Barber's results, which raises serious questions about Professor Barber's methodology and data. Second, when Professor Imai used the algorithm that he had developed to assess the Commission's Preliminary Plan himself, he found the plan to be less of a statistical outlier than Professor Barber had claimed. And third, when Professor Imai factored in racial data to ensure that all the ensembles produced would comply with the Voting Rights Act, he concluded that, when "majority-minority districts are

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[33] In his more recently updated report, Professor Barber does include some racial considerations in his simulations, but they are not as expansive as the considerations that framed the mapping choices made by the Commission. Interestingly, in his updated report, *not one* of his 17,537 simulations has as few split municipalities as the Commission's Final Plan, so that the Commission's plan is an outlier in that (presumably good) sense, too. This also raises questions about his methodology.

considered, the [P]reliminary [P]lan is not a partisan gerrymander in terms of the likely number of Democratic districts." (*See* Imai Presentation, "Summary of findings," at 12.)[34]

Even more recently, a similar issue was raised with respect to a report offered by Professor Barber in a reapportionment case in another state. Dr. Moon Duchin, a Professor of Mathematics at Tufts University and a highly regarded expert in this field, filed an affidavit in which she said the following:

> I have made a very serious attempt at replication in the very limited time available and have not been able to figure out how Dr. Barber arrives at his numbers, exactly. My conclusion is one of two things: either the discrepancy owes to the problematic way he blends elections together, which I will describe below, or he is actually using a different method from the one he describes in his report.

Second Affidavit of Dr. Moon Duchin on Remedies, submitted in *North Carolina League of Conservation Voters v. Hall*, Nos. 21 CVS 015426, 21 CVS 500085 (N.C. Super.), at 13.

John Nagle, a professor emeritus from Carnegie Mellon University, had appeared as a citizen-witness at one of our earlier hearings and returned in that role in January. Professor Nagle was a professor of physics and the biological sciences at Carnegie Mellon and had used statistical simulations extensively in his work.

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[34] Available at Tab 37c of the Commission's Certified Record.

Interestingly, though this was not his original field, unlike Professor Barber, a political scientist, Professor Nagle now has published four directly relevant papers in *Election Law,* a top-ranked, peer-reviewed political science journal. He also invented two of the partisan bias metrics used by Dave's Redistricting App.[35] In addition to his more scientific observations, Professor Nagle offered a down-to-earth, but thought-provoking, perspective on the method employed by the House Republican's expert witness.

> The fallacy of averaging the ensemble of simulations can be revealed by analogy. A professional basketball coach could consider 1,000 people who know how to play the game and then randomly choose an average one to play center. That is like choosing a plan from many simulated plans in the middle of an ensemble of simulated plans. Or the coach could hire Lebron James. That is like picking the LRC proposed plan.

(*See* Nagle Report at 6.)[36]

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[35] Dave's Redistricting App (https://davesredistricting.org) is run by a team of volunteers whose mission is to empower civic organizations and citizen activists to advocate for fair congressional and legislative districts and increased transparency in the redistricting process. In addition to allowing the public to view and draw maps, the App also includes a rich set of analytics, including measures of proportionality, competitiveness, minority representation, compactness, splitting, and partisan bias.

[36] Available at Tab 38c of the Commission's Certified Record

Professor Duchin recently made a similar point in the North Carolina case to which I just referred:

> It is important to note that outlier status is a flag of intentionality, but not necessarily a smoking gun of wrongdoing. Being in a tail[] of a distribution that was created around certain design principles can often provide persuasive evidence that other principles or agendas were in play. For example, a map might be an outlier as the most compact, or the map that gives minority groups the greatest chance to elect their candidates of choice—these kinds of outlier status would not be marks of a bad plan.

Affidavit of Dr. Moon Duchin on Remedies, submitted in *North Carolina League of Conservation Voters v. Hall*, Nos. 21 CVS 015426, 21 CVS 500085 (N.C. Super.), at 4.

E.   Creating Appropriate Opportunities for Minority Voters to Influence the Election of Candidates of Choice

After considering the traditional redistricting criteria of Article II, § 16 and the requirements of the Free and Equal Elections Clause, the Commission also sought to ensure that any final plan complied with the Voting Rights Act, which prohibits redistricting plans that dilute the opportunities of racial or language minority groups to elect representatives of their choice. The Commission received expert testimony on the Voting Rights Act from a number of witnesses throughout the process and, in the final stages of its work, relied, in particular, on the testimony and reports of Professor Matt Barreto.

U.S. Supreme Court authority gives significant latitude to states in how they effectuate the goals and requirements of the Voting Rights Act. *See Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 23 (2009). The goal of the Voting Rights Act—prevention of minority vote dilution—is also important in the context of the Free and Equal Elections Clause and the Racial and Ethnic Equality Clause of Pennsylvania's Constitution.

As was earlier noted, the Commission further recognized that incumbency is often a barrier that prevents minority voters from electing candidates of their choice. To counter that political reality, the Commission looked for opportunities where districts with sizeable minority communities could be drawn in ways that did not include an incumbent as a resident. To be clear, however, the Commission did so only when consistent with other traditional redistricting criteria and while also keeping in mind the requirements and prohibitions of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

One of the challenges leveled at the Final Plan by Leader Benninghoff's Petition for Review is that the Plan dilutes minority votes, particularly by splitting cities like Reading and Allentown. Repeating a familiar pattern, for this claim, too, the Benninghoff Petition relies on Professor Barber's analysis. As noted above, Professor Barber's ensemble analysis did not include racial data. However, neither that fact nor the fact that this is another area in which he has no academic

publications to his credit, kept Professor Barber from basing much of his analysis on the sweeping theme that, if minority-group voters are spread across legislative districts, their influence is inevitably diluted.

Of course, the influence of a minority group can be diluted either by cracking or by packing. *See Voinovich v. Quilter*, 507 U.S. 146, 153 (1993). The law does not sanction a simplistic approach for determining whether a minority group's voting power is diluted. Knowing where the correct balance between packing and cracking can be struck requires an intensive local appraisal, which Professor Barber did not perform.

By contrast, Professor Barreto did perform such an analysis at both the statewide and local levels. In analyzing the redistricting plan currently in effect, Professor Barreto analyzed each of the factors set forth in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), for establishing a violation of the Voting Rights Act.

Professor Barreto first concluded that, in regions with sizeable populations of White and minority voters, those voters engage in a clear pattern of racially polarized voting. (*See* Barreto, Voting Rights Act Compliance in Pennsylvania, at 5.)[37] "Black, Latino and Asian American voters demonstrate unified and cohesive voting, siding for the same candidates with 75% to 90% support. In contrast, White

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[37] Available at Tab 34b of the Commission's Certified Record.

voters tend to block vote against minority candidates of choice." (*Id.*) Professor

Barreto noted that his findings are in line with basic exit poll reporting from recent

elections, which tend to exhibit racially polarized voting. (*Id.*)

Professor Barreto expanded on his analysis by looking at voting patterns in

different regions of the Commonwealth. He demonstrated that each region of the

Commonwealth with significant minority populations exhibited racially polarized

voting. (*Id.* at 6-8 (Southwest region), 9-11 (Lehigh Valley), 11-13 (Philadelphia

region), 14-16 (Central Pennsylvania region), 17-19 (Allegheny County).)

Professor Barreto also examined the current House map. He concluded that

multiple Black-performing and Latino-performing districts are packed and exhibit

wasted minority votes, which results in vote dilution. (*See* Barreto Presentation,

"Summary of Voting Analysis" Slide.)[38] He also concluded that, given the growth

of the minority population in certain regions of the Commonwealth, existing

minority districts should be unpacked, and new minority-performing districts

should be created in order to comply with the Voting Rights Act. (*Id.*) Finally, in

analyzing the Commission's Preliminary Plan, Professor Barreto concluded that

the Commission's Preliminary Plan created districts that comply with the Voting

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[38] Available at Tab 37d of the Commission's Certified Record.

Rights Act and that will provide opportunities for minority voters to elect candidates of their choice.

The unsupported contention in the Benninghoff Petition that "the 2021 Final Plan's splitting of various cities and urban areas in numerous House districts acts to 'crack' and dilute the minority communities," (*see* Benninghoff Petition ¶ 81e), certainly has not been embraced by the individuals and organizations that have long been working to enhance the voting impact of minority groups in Pennsylvania. Instead, there have been strong expressions of support for the LRC's plan. Consider these examples.

Representatives Manuel Guzman, Jr., Danillo Burgos, and Angel Cruz, the three Latino Representatives currently serving in the Pennsylvania House, applauded the work of the Commission in adopting a plan that they view as responsive to the growth of the Latino community. (*See* Letter to Commission from Rep. Guzman, Rep. Angel Cruz, and Rep. Danillo Burgos (January 14, 2022)).[39] For the districts in Reading, in particular, Representative Guzman agreed that the Commission's Preliminary Plan "unpacks the Latino population in House Districts 126 and 127 and increases the Latino population in House District 129 to

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[39] Available in Tab 40 of the Commission's Certified Record.

more than 35%. The effect of these changes is that the Latino community in Berks

County will now have three opportunities to elect candidates of choice." (*Id.*)

A similarly positive response also was offered by the Pennsylvania

Legislative Black Caucus. Its Chair, Representative Donna Bullock, wrote a

supportive letter that said, in part:

> I have watched the reapportionment process closely. I am truly impressed by the process . . . and the commitment to fairness and transparency that you have demonstrated in the creation of a preliminary map. I am pleased to fully endorse this preliminary plan [as] responsive to the growth of communities of color across the Commonwealth. . . .
>
> In addition to preserving and expanding districts in which a racial minority group makes up a majority of the population, the preliminary plan takes the important step of including coalition districts.
>
> These districts, in which diverse communities of color make up a majority or plurality of the population, recognize the commonalities of Black, Latino, Asian and Indigenous Pennsylvanians and will allow these communities to fully realize their political power. . . .
>
> I want to thank you . . . for your tireless efforts in the redistricting-cycle and for recognizing that the diversity of our Commonwealth is a strength. Your efforts have led to a plan that will uplift—rather than dilute—our voices.

(*See* Letter to Commission from Rep. Bullock (January 18, 2022)).[40]

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[40] Available in Tab 40 of the Commission's Certified Record.

In an op-ed entitled "Thirty Years of racial inequity vs. Pennsylvania's only growing populations," Salewa Ogunmefun, the Executive Director of PA Voice, wrote that "the LRC released a draft set of maps that demonstrated a commitment to ensuring that Pennsylvania's rapidly-growing Black, Latinx, and Asian-American populations will have a greater opportunity to elect candidates that truly represent them over the course of the next ten years."[41]

Ray Block, the Brown-McCourtney Career Development Professor and Associate Professor of Political Science and African American Studies at Penn State, testified as a Voting Rights Act expert at a Commission hearing and subsequently wrote an op-ed entitled "The proposed legislative redistricting map complies with the Voting Rights Act."[42] This is part of what he said: "The preliminary map proposed by the Commission recognizes the growing minority populations and fulfills the objectives of the requirements of the VRA by creating more opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities to achieve meaningful representation . . . . The preliminary plan offered by the Commission takes us one

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[41] Available at https://www.pennlive.com/opinion/2022/01/thirty-years-of-racial-inequity-vs-pennsylvanias-only-growing-populations-opinion.html.

[42] Available at https://www.pennlive.com/opinion/2022/02/the-proposed-legislative-redistricting-maps-complies-with-the-voting-rights-act-opinion.html.

step towards correcting past wrongs through faithful adherence to the requirements in the state's Constitution."

Michael Jones-Correa, the President's Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration at the University of Pennsylvania also testified before the Commission and wrote a separate op-ed entitled "Ensuring Pennsylvania's Latino voters have a say."[43] In it, he said: "The preliminary plan for House and Senate districts recognizes the significant growth in communities of color like Latinos across the Commonwealth [and] reverses decades of partisan gerrymandering that led to the dilution of the political power of Black, Latino and Asian Pennsylvanians by packing them into a small number of districts with incredibly high populations of people of color."

It has been heartening to receive such expressions of support from leaders from within the minority communities that stand to benefit from the shape of the new maps. And it again should be underscored that the Commission was able to make these important, and obviously welcome, strides while focusing predominantly on the traditional redistricting criteria in Article II, § 16, while adhering to the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, and while respecting the

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[43] Available at https://www.inquirer.com/opinion/commentary/pennsylvania-redistricting-latino-community-20220106.html.

Constitutional requirements of the Free and Equal Elections Clause and the Racial and Ethnic Equality Clause of the Pennsylvania Constitution.

VI.   The Legislative Reapportionment Commission's Final Plan

The LRC's Final Plan, adopted by a 4 to 1 vote of the Commission, is the product of exhaustive efforts by the Commission members and their teams, unprecedented levels of contact with and feedback from the public, and a deep reservoir of invaluable expert advice. The LRC's Final Plan performs better on almost every metric than the plan currently in effect. Indeed, the Commission's maps for the House and Senate score better on county splits, municipal splits, and compactness than the maps currently in effect. The only metric for which the current maps outperform the Commission's Final Plan is population deviations. However, as explained above, the Commission chose to prioritize, consistent with governing legal precedent, the redistricting criteria set forth in Article II, § 16 of the Pennsylvania Constitution, while also abiding by other mandates of state and federal law, and it has long been recognized that performing better on some metrics often requires sacrificing performance on other metrics.[44]

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[44] Even maps that perform better on population deviations and municipal splits must sacrifice some other metric. For example, the Benninghoff Amendment, discussed in more detail below, is more biased in favor of Republicans than the Commission's Final Plan, according to PlanScore.

The Commission's Final Plan is also significantly less biased than the plan currently in effect, as measured by PlanScore, a tool accessible to the public and frequently used to measure bias. PlanScore defines partisan bias as "the difference between each party's seat share and 50% in a hypothetical, perfectly tied election. For example, if a party would win 55% of a plan's districts if it received 50% of the statewide vote, then the plan would have a bias of 5% in this party's favor."[45]

PlanScore gives the current Senate map a partisan bias score of 4.1% in favor of Republicans, which means that Republicans would be expected to win 4.1% extra seats (or 2 extra Senate seats) in a hypothetical, perfectly tied election.[46] The Commission's proposed map reduces this bias to 3.1% in favor of Republicans, which means that the map still favors Republicans, who would be expected to win 3.1% extra seats (or 1.5 extra Senate seats) in a hypothetical, perfectly tied election.[47]

The reduction in partisan bias for the House map is even more marked, even though the Commission's Final Plan continues to favor Republicans. According to PlanScore, the current House plan has a partisan bias score of 4.5%, meaning

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[45] "Partisan Bias," PlanScore, https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/metrics/partisanbias/

[46] https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/plan.html?20220204T133732.129648635Z

[47] https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/plan.html?20220207T161907.945950188Z

Republicans would be expected to win 4.5% extra seats (or 9 extra House seats) in a hypothetical, perfectly tied election.[48] The Commission's House map, by contrast, has a partisan bias score of only 2.3%, meaning it still favors Republicans who would be expected to win 2.3% extra seats (or 4.7 extra House seats) in a hypothetical, perfectly tied election.[49]

The tables below show that the Commission's Final Plan does a markedly better job in adhering to the applicable redistricting criteria compared to the current plan. In reviewing the charts, it should be remembered that scoring higher on the Reock and Polsby-Popper tests is better:

Senate Plan Comparisons

	Current Senate Plan	2022 Senate Plan
Counties Split	25	23
Number of County Splits	53	47
Municipalities Split	2	4
Number of Municipality Splits	11	10
Reock	0.38	0.39
Polsby-Popper	0.27	0.33
Smallest District	243,944	248,858
Largest District	264,160	269,942
Overall Deviation	7.96%	8.11%
Average Deviation	2.3%	2.1%
Partisan Bias	4.1%	3.1%

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[48] https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/plan.html?20220126T152843.418880351Z

[49] https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/plan.html?20220207T162001.827086135Z

House Plan Comparisons

	Current House Plan	2022 House Plan
Counties Split	50	45
Number of County Splits	221	186
Municipalities Split	77	54
Number of Municipality Splits	124	92
Reock	0.39	0.42
Polsby-Popper	0.28	0.35
Smallest District	60,111	61,334
Largest District	65,041	66,872
Overall Deviation	7.87%	8.65%
Average Deviation	2.0%	2.1%
Partisan Bias	4.5%	2.3%

It is important to underscore that the Commission's Final Plan not only scores well on these metrics but also has succeeding in providing more opportunities for Pennsylvania's growing minority communities to elect representatives of their choice, consistent with the Voting Rights Act, the Free and Equal Elections Clause, and the Racial and Ethnic Equality Clause.

Since the meeting at which the LRC adopted its Preliminary Plan, the work of the Commission has been attacked on a succession of specious grounds. Consider just the following.

- The most prominent visual image to emerge from that meeting was the juxtaposition of an irregularly drawn district with the salamander shape that has traditionally been associated with a gerrymander. This was cited as proof that the Commission's plan was itself a political gerrymander.

However, the district in question was a Republican district, surrounded by other Republican Districts. Its configuration, then, did nothing to benefit any Democrat and, by definition, was not a gerrymander.

- It was contended that Dave's Redistricting App [DRA] proved that the Commission's preliminary House map had been "drawn to cement House Democrats in the legislative majority for the coming decade."[50] More particular reference was made to a DRA projection that House Democrats would secure "a legislative majority of 106 seats, up from their current total of 90 seats." This was true only when the app was calibrated for an election in which the Democrats won 5% more votes, in which case a 106 to 97 majority does not seem unreasonable. According to DRA, in a perfectly equal election, the Republicans would be projected to win 105 seats compared to the Democrat's 98 seats, making it clear that the plan still favors the Republicans.

- It also was asserted that the preliminary map's pairing of twelve Republican incumbents and only two Democratic incumbents was a clear

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[50] "Proposed state House map is a partisan gerrymander," Centre Daily Times (Dec. 22, 2021), available at https://www.centredaily.com/opinion/opn-columns-blogs/article256757467.html.

sign of partisan bias. However, a party holding a substantial majority of seats and holding most of the seats in parts of the state that have lost population would naturally be the subject to more pairings, and preliminary maps submitted by two respected good-governance advocates each actually paired 36 Republican incumbents. It also should be noted that the number of Republican incumbents paired in the Final Plan has been reduced, and some of those pairings involve incumbents who plan to retire.

Many of the attacks made on the Final Plan have been addressed above. However, there are at least two additional points that should be made.

- The language of the Benninghoff Petition itself asserts that "[a] plaintiff alleging a racial gerrymandering claim need only show that race was the 'predominant factor motivating the legislature's decision.'" (Benninghoff Petition at ¶ 67 (quoting *Bethune Hill v. Va. State Board of Elections*, 137 S.Ct. 788, 792 (2017).) However, the fact that race is **a** factor, or even **an** important factor, does not make it **the** predominant factor, as the governing authority requires.

- The Benninghoff Petition also states that "[d]rawing lines to intentionally benefit one political party over another, whether to negate a natural disadvantage or not, is still a gerrymander and a violation of Article II,

Section 16 and the Free and Equal Elections Clause under Article I,

Section 5 of the Pennsylvania Constitution." (Benninghoff Petition at ¶

49.) However, in its *League of Women Voters* opinion, the Pennsylvania

Supreme Court defined what is a gerrymander in a far different way:

"Specifically, partisan gerrymandering dilutes the votes of those who in

prior elections voted for the party not in power to give the party in power

a lasting electoral advantage." 178 A.3d at 814. There has been no

suggestion that anything of that nature has been involved in the

Commission's work.

It is often said that there is no such thing as a perfect plan, and the Supreme

Court has never held the Commission to the standard of perfection or required that

the Commission produce the best possible plan on all available metrics.[51]

However, the Commission's plan is a very good plan, one that was approved by a

majority of the Commission that had worked diligently to create it and one that has

received praise from many quarters. Earlier this week, for example, the Founder

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[51] The Benninghoff Petition contends that Majority Leader Benninghoff has
produced a better plan. However, it was presented to the Commission in a fashion
that precluded serious consideration, not having been shared with the Commission
until the day of the meeting scheduled to approve the Final Plan, though from dates
on the document, it appears to have been available several days earlier. More
substantively, that map also would produce markedly higher levels of partisan bias,
which a majority of the Commission has sought to avoid.

and Chair of Fair Districts PA, a non-partisan, citizen-led coalition working to stop gerrymandering, described the plan in following way: "The final maps show that it's possible to balance concern for incumbents with traditional redistricting criteria, provide representation for minority communities and yield maps that limit partisan bias."[52] I would only add more explicitly that these maps should serve the people of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania democracy well for the next ten years, and also extend my thanks to all the many people who contributed to this effort.
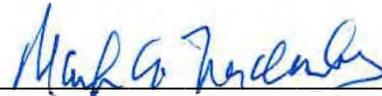
Mark A. Nordenberg
Chair
2021 Legislative Redistricting Commission

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[52] "The good and the bad of Pennsylvania redistricting," Lancaster Online (Mar. 2, 2022), available at https://lancasteronline.com/opinion/columnists/the-good-and-the-bad-of-pennsylvania-redistricting-column/article_f4852e2a-998c-11ec-b226-5741c8513951.html