

REPORT ON PENNSYLVANIA'S  
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

BY

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I have been retained as an expert to provide analysis relevant to the composition of Pennsylvania's congressional districts.

I am employed in the Department of Political Science at West Chester University (WCU) where I am a Full Professor. My full curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit 1. I have written three books on state politics, *The Contemporary Pennsylvania Legislature* (1999), *Pennsylvania Elections* (2005, revised edition 2014), and *Pennsylvania Government and Politics* (2017). I teach a number of classes relevant to American Government, in particular a course entitled Pennsylvania Government and Politics every spring semester. Part of my service to the university includes previously holding the title of faculty advisor for the political science club the College Republicans, and currently, the College Democrats.

I am currently an editorial advisory board member for *Commonwealth, A Journal of Pennsylvania Policy and Politics*. I have also served on the Executive Board of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association (PPSA) and was a charter member of the Pennsylvania Policy Forum. In 2012, I was chair and a panelist for the PPSA plenary session on redistricting in Pennsylvania. From 2004-2016, I was the WCU chair of the Association of Pennsylvania State Colleges and University Faculties and co-chair of the committee in the past year. I was also the statewide chair of the same committee from 2005-2006. From 2000-2004, I served as a political analyst for NBC-10 Philadelphia and also was the co-director of a number of statewide public opinion polls that WCU's Center for Social and Economic Research conducted. During the period 2004-2008, I served in the same capacity for WHYY-PBS 12 National Public Radio. In 2015, I was selected as Keynote speaker at the Undergraduate Research at the Capitol-Pennsylvania (URC-PA) Poster Conference held in the state capital. I was especially honored to have been selected by the Office of Pennsylvania's Speaker of the House to be one of the guest speakers assigned to discuss the history of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 2006, marking the centennial for the state capitol building.

I am being compensated at a rate of \$220 per hour by the firm Arnold & Porter Kaye Scholer LLP.

# **I. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS**

## **A. Key Concepts**

### **1. Redistricting and Gerrymander**

Following the nationwide census which is mandated every ten years, each state is responsible for drawing its state legislative and congressional districts based upon how many it is assigned by the Department of Commerce relative to its population. The decision to award a particular state a certain number of seats is known as apportionment. Pennsylvania was given 18 congressional seats following the 2010 apportionment.

Once a state has been allocated its share of the congressional seats, it is up to each state to draw the lines outlining the districts. This process is known as redistricting. A gerrymander is when a legislature seeks to advance certain political goals through the redistricting process, often by ignoring natural geographic and cultural distinctions.

### **2. Communities of Interest**

Among the many consequences of gerrymandering is the splitting of counties and other communities of interest. This has real consequences for those communities and for the members of Congress who represent them. For example, the current map splits Montgomery County into five congressional districts, while Berks and Westmoreland Counties have each been divided into four. And some small municipalities – the Caln, Cumru, and Spring townships along with the city of Monroeville – have been divided into three different congressional districts. This can cause confusion and impede effective representation – for example, it is not clear to which member of Congress residents and officials in Montgomery, Berks, or Westmoreland County should go when those residents and officials need federal government representation.

### **3. Cracking, Packing, and Hijacking**

As to how gerrymanders take place, there are two prevalent techniques that ignore natural geographic boundaries. These are *cracking* and *packing*.

*Cracking* involves splitting voters of a particular party across several districts in order to dilute their overall voting power. Cracking “wastes” the votes

of voters of a particular party by intentionally placing them in a district where they are outnumbered by voters of the opposing party. By cracking generally like-minded voters throughout several congressional districts in a state, it is unlikely that such voters can elect candidates of their choice in any of the districts, even though these voters likely could have elected a candidate of their choice in one or more districts had they not been cracked.

*Packing* involves drawing lines to squeeze in as many partisans of one side as possible, providing that party with a safe or giveaway seat, but weakening that party's support throughout a larger area, thereby creating more seats for the party drawing the map. The party handed a packed district will waste votes in that district, decreasing its likelihood of success elsewhere.

There is also a technique that has been referred to as "hijacking." *Hijacking* involves combining two districts controlled by the opposite party, forcing their incumbents to run against one another in a primary election and thereby ensuring that one will be eliminated. Extended further, hijacking may result in a district that leaves one of the two incumbents surviving a primary election in a more difficult position in the general election. Hijacking is a less commonly implemented technique because the opportunities are more limited.

## **B. Summary of Key Findings and Conclusions**

### **1. Splitting Communities of Interest**

In the 23 election cycles which occurred between the first redistricting map of the modern era in 1966 and the last one prior to the current map in 2011, the margin between Democratic and Republican seats was +1 in either direction in over half (13 cycles).

In the three election cycles that have taken place since the last redistricting, however, Democrats have won only five of 18 seats, and not one seat has changed party hands at all. In other words, the status quo has held in all 54 races.

**Table A: Partisan Distribution of Seats in Pennsylvania's  
Congressional Delegation, 2012-2016**

Year	Districts	Democratic Seats	Republican Seats	Democratic Vote Percentage <sup>1</sup>	Republican Vote Percentage
2012	18	5	13	50.8%	49.2%
2014	18	5	13	44.5%	55.5%
2016	18	5	13	45.9%	54.1%

*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

In order to accomplish the 13-5 split that has existed since the first election under this map in 2012, the congressional districts splintered Pennsylvania's geographic landscape dramatically. In particular, the current district map splits more counties and municipalities into separate congressional districts than any prior map (save one the General Assembly enacted in response to a court order).<sup>2</sup>

**Table B: Split Counties and Municipalities by Decade<sup>3</sup>**

Year	Split Counties	Split Municipalities
1966-1972	7	2
1970s	9	4
1980s	16	3
1990s	19	14
2000s	25	67
2010s	28	68

*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

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<sup>1</sup> The Democratic and Republican vote shares measure each party's share of the two-party vote across all congressional elections in the state. These vote shares are calculated using data from the Pennsylvania Department of State.

<sup>2</sup> Following the 2000 census, the General Assembly enacted a map intended to govern Pennsylvania's congressional elections for the next decade. That map governed the 2002 elections. In response to a court order, the General Assembly enacted a new map that changed the district boundaries in minor ways to accommodate population equality. Unless otherwise indicated, references in my report to the 2000s map are to the General Assembly's original map.

<sup>3</sup> Details of these figures are provided in the Appendix.

The current map also splits considerably more census blocks – the smallest geographic unit for which the Census Bureau collects data – into separate congressional districts than any previous map. In other words, this map split people who reside in the same neighborhoods to a far greater extent than any prior Pennsylvania congressional districting map.

**Table C: Number of Municipalities  
Split at the Block Level by Decade**

1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
0	0	3	6	19

*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

Census Blocks are classified by the US Census Bureau as “the smallest geographic area for which the Bureau of the Census collects and tabulates decennial census data,” and are formed by “streets, roads, railroads, streams and other bodies of water, other visible physical and cultural features, and the legal boundaries shown on Census Bureau maps.”<sup>4</sup>

Census blocks are generally defined as containing between 600 and 3,000 residents. Reviewing these census blocks highlights the disruption to some communities by carving up neighborhoods into different congressional districts. As Table C notes, for the first two decades of the modern redistricting era, there were no municipalities divided at the block level. The next two decades, the 1990s and the 2000s, possessed only a few divided blocks within municipalities – three and six divided blocks, respectively. In this most recent round, however, the number increases to 19, over three times that of the map used during the 2000s.

At least one Republican member of the Pennsylvania congressional delegation has personally expressed to me his concern that splitting communities in this way impedes effective representation. On February 22, 2012, then-Congressman Mike Fitzpatrick was a guest speaker for my Pennsylvania Government and Politics class. When asked by my students about gerrymandered districts, I vividly recall his response that he did not understand how some of his colleagues could properly represent the many diverse interests across such broad geographic areas in their districts.

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<sup>4</sup> Geographic Area Reference Manual, United States Census Bureau.

## **2. Cracking, Packing, and Hijacking**

The 2011 plan also cracks and packs Democratic voters in an egregious manner. One example of cracking is the division of Reading in Berks County. Prior to the 2000 map, Berks County had never been split and was located exclusively within the 6<sup>th</sup> District. Now, Berks County is divided up into four districts, the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup>. Rather than Reading being located in a district in which it shares interests of commonality, this county seat is separated from the rest of Berks and tacked on as an appendage to the 16<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, a Lancaster County-based district populated with small rural farming communities. This wastes the Democratic votes in Reading in an otherwise overwhelmingly Republican district.

Another example of cracking is in Dauphin County, which contains the city of Harrisburg. Once a bastion of GOP domination, Dauphin County has recently been trending Democratic. It had never been divided in any of the maps prior to the current one, resting entirely within the previous 17<sup>th</sup> Congressional District. The county is now split into three congressional districts, the 4<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup>, each with a strong Republican tilt, thereby diluting the county's overall impact. Harrisburg itself is cracked, divided between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> districts.

Yet another example of cracking in this map is in the 15<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, which traditionally was a Lehigh Valley-based district and one of the most competitive and compact in the state prior to the current districting. However, for the first time since the modern era of redistricting began, Northampton County was split, with areas of Democratic Party strength such as parts of the city of Bethlehem and the entire city of Easton removed. The district itself was pushed further west and now includes parts of Dauphin and Lebanon counties, both considerably distant from the Lehigh Valley.

An example of packing, the 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District corrals Democratic pockets of voters in Pennsylvania's southeastern corner, packing the Democratic votes in cities like Chester and Swarthmore with Democratic votes in Philadelphia. This creates an extremely Democrat-friendly 1<sup>st</sup> District, while diluting the surrounding districts of Democratic votes. Similarly, the 14<sup>th</sup> District packs the Democratic areas along the Allegheny River in the northern reaches of Allegheny and Westmoreland counties with Pittsburgh, removing the Democratic votes in Allegheny and Westmoreland from the more competitive district to the north.

As for hijacking, the 2011 map provides one example in the form of the new 12<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, which was created by dismantling the old Beaver County-based 4<sup>th</sup> District and pushing boundaries far enough to the east to merge with the old 12<sup>th</sup> District based in Cambria County. By merging these two congressional seats held by Democrats Jason Altmire and Mark Critz, it automatically eliminated at least one Democratic seat. The two incumbents were subsequently pitted against one another in the 2012 primary, which Critz narrowly won. In the general election, Critz was then defeated by Republican Keith Rothfus in this more GOP-friendly redrawn 12<sup>th</sup> District. Rothfus had originally lost to Altmire in the 2010 general election in the old 4<sup>th</sup> District. Combining communities in southern Lawrence County with those in Somerset County as the 12<sup>th</sup> District does makes little sense geographically. In fact one would need to drive through three other congressional districts – the 9<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> – to journey from one county to the other.

## **II. ANALYSIS**

### **A. Pennsylvania's Redistricting History and the Splitting of Communities of Interest**

#### **1. Pre-Modern Era of Redistricting: The 1960s Map**

The modern era of redistricting in Pennsylvania effectively starts with the redistricting process in the late 1960s. This followed the landmark US Supreme Court decisions of the previous decade. The Supreme Court first ruled in *Baker v. Carr* (1962) that redistricting was a justiciable issue, leading to *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964), where the Court held that all US congressional districts must be as nearly equal in population as is “practicable.”

In the last round of redistricting that took place prior to these decisions, there were no counties which were split and there were wildly divergent populations within districts across the Commonwealth. The largest gap was that between the 7<sup>th</sup> District, based solely in Delaware County, which had 553,154 residents, and the 15<sup>th</sup> District, located in Carbon, Monroe, Northampton, and Pike counties, which had just 303,025 residents, a difference of 250,129.

#### **2. The 1966 Map**

With the “one person, one vote” principle established, state legislatures in Pennsylvania and elsewhere were required to redistrict mid-decade. On March 8,



1966, the Pennsylvania General Assembly approved a revised map taking into consideration the US Supreme Court's guidelines. This map (Map 1) was the first in modern times to actually split counties and municipalities. Still, efforts were made to minimize how many counties were split and the final number was just seven split counties (Appendix, Table A1). It should be noted that four of these counties (Allegheny, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia) had populations that were too large to fit into just one congressional district. Furthermore, only two municipalities were split, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, each too large to be contained in just one congressional district (Appendix, Table A2). Thus, there were no unnecessary divisions of any municipalities in the state.

**Map 1**



*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

In the three election cycles that occurred between the first redistricting map of the modern era in 1966 and 1970, the margin between Democratic and Republican seats was +1 in either direction.

**Table D: Partisan Distribution of Seats in Pennsylvania's Congressional Delegation, 1966-1970**

Year	Districts	Democratic Seats	Republican Seats
1966	27	14	13
1968	27	14	13
1970	27	14	13

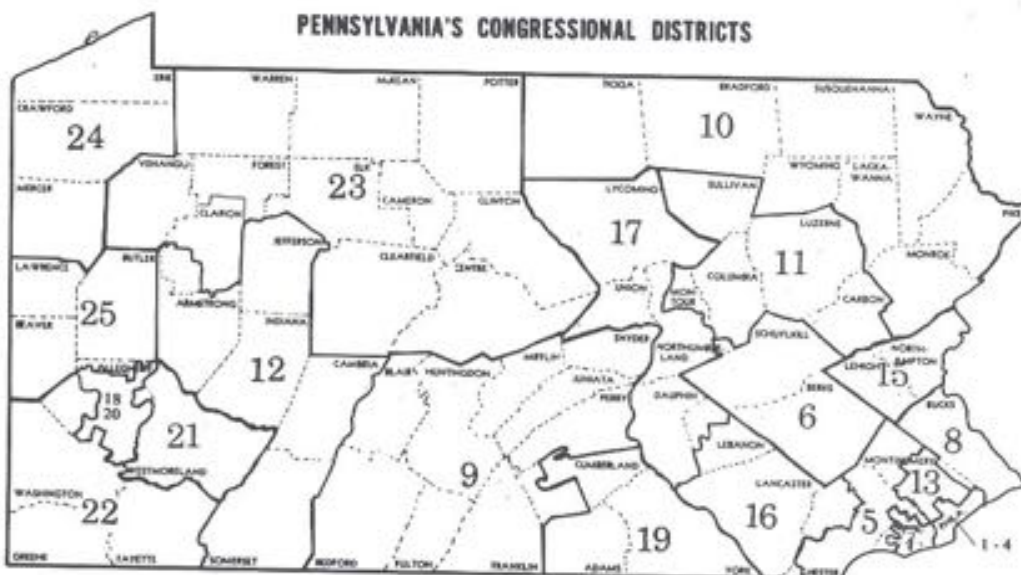
*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

### 3. The 1970s Map

A few years later, at the start of a new decade, the state was once again required to redistrict and the 1970s map (Map 2) departed only marginally in terms of split jurisdictions, possessing two additional split counties (for nine in total) (Appendix, Table A3) and two extra split municipalities, Telford and Trafford, which are both split between two counties (Appendix, Table A4).

In the 1970s map, only one district, the 5<sup>th</sup>, contained as many as three split counties. The City of Philadelphia was carved into five congressional districts, while Pittsburgh, Telford, and Trafford were divided into two. It is worth noting that although the small municipalities of Telford and Trafford were divided, the fact that they are already split into two different counties reduced the impact of splitting them into two congressional districts.

**Map 2**



*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

With possession of both houses of the state legislature and the governorship, the Democrats controlled the process during the 1970s cycle. Act 3 passed in the Pennsylvania Senate by a 48-1 vote and the House of Representatives by a 104-87 margin. However, the net change in the delegation from the 1970 congressional election to the 1972 election was nil, going from 14D-13Rs to 13D-12Rs (the state lost two seats). The political impact of the Watergate scandal and the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon provided Democrats in Pennsylvania and nationally a considerable boost, but those gains were temporary and by the end of the decade, the previous balance had returned (Table E).

**Table E: Pennsylvania's Congressional Delegation, 1972-1980**

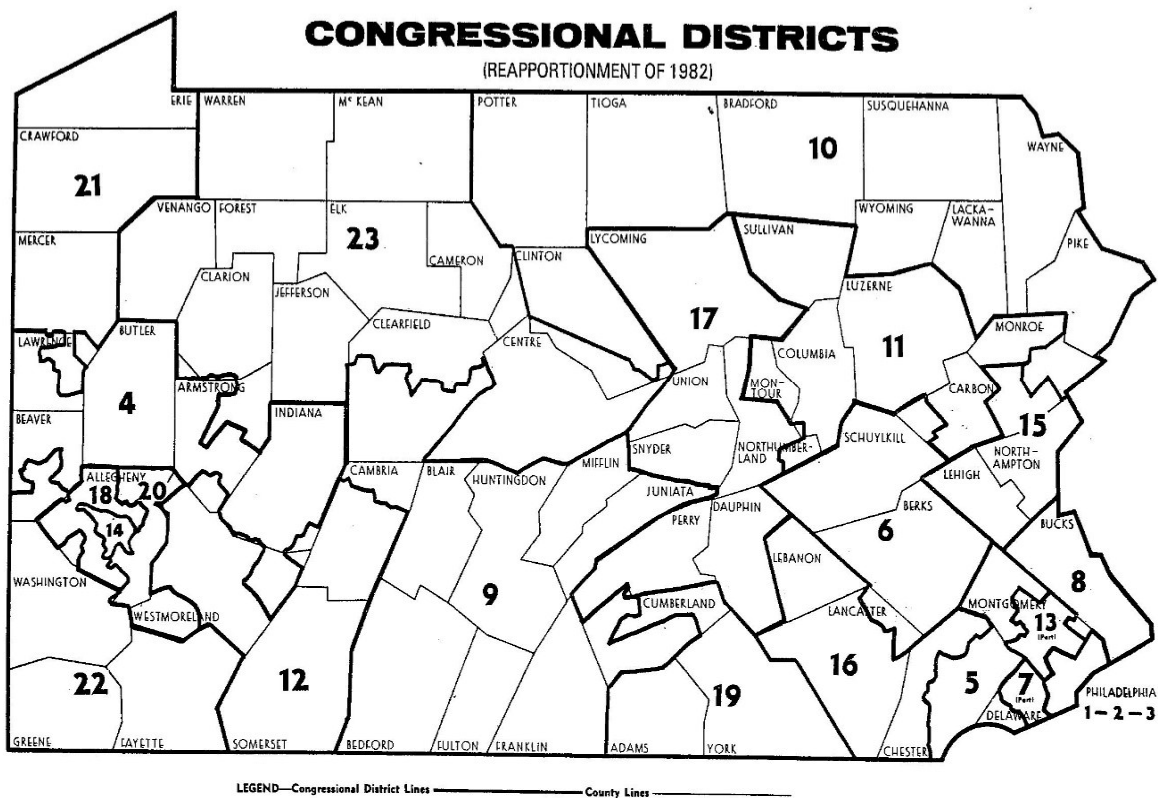
Year	Districts	Democratic Seats	Republican Seats
1972	25	13	12
1974	25	14	11
1976	25	17	8
1978	25	15	10
1980	25	13	12

*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

#### **4. The 1980s Map**

For the 1980s cycle, the Democrats were again in control of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, however this time the Republicans held both a majority of the State Senate and the Governor's mansion. The final map (Map 3) ultimately passed 186-7 and 28-22 in the House and Senate, respectively. This time, the partisan delegation marginally changed from 13D-12Rs in 1980 to a 13D-10Rs ratio following the 1982 midterm. By the end of this cycle the GOP had regained a one seat advantage (Table F).

### Map 3



*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

**Table F: Pennsylvania's Congressional Delegation, 1982-1990**

Year	Districts	Democratic Seats	Republican Seats
1982	23	13	10
1984	23	13	10
1986	23	12	11
1988	23	12	11
1990	23	11	12

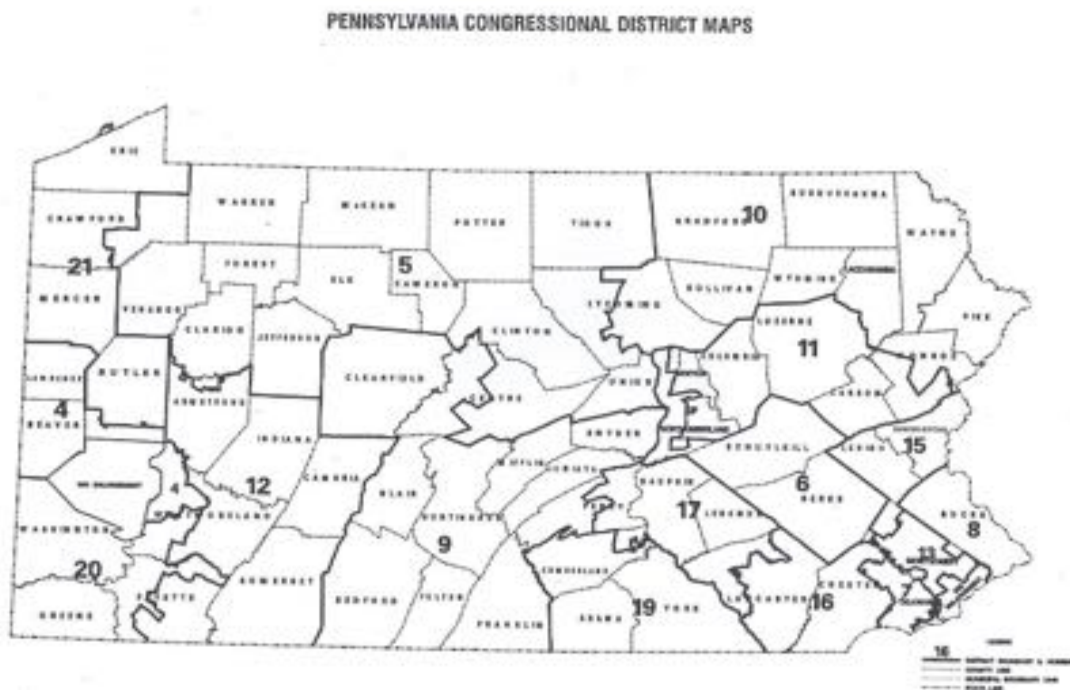
*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

While there was an increase to 16 in the amount of counties that overall were split (Appendix, Table A5), the number of split municipalities was just three, with Philadelphia, Telford, and Tunnelhill (Appendix, Table A6). At the county level, four congressional districts, the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup>, contained as many as three split counties. As for municipalities, once again, Tunnelhill, a small borough like Telford and Trafford, was already divided along county lines, in this case Blair and Cambria. Philadelphia was split into five congressional districts, while Telford and Tunnelhill were split into two. The state's second largest city, Pittsburgh, resided entirely within the 14<sup>th</sup> District.

## 5. The 1990s Map

The 1990s redistricting process was more contested than those previously as the Democratic-controlled House and the Republican-controlled Senate were unable to agree to a compromise. The dispute was ultimately settled by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The party ratios were only marginally impacted under the new plan (Map 4), going from 11D-12Rs in the last cycle under the 1990 map to 11D-10Rs following the 1992 election. The map of the 1990s also produced the most evenly competitive cycle to date, with neither party able to gain more than a one seat advantage throughout the ten year period (Table G)

**Map 4**



*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

**Table G: Partisan Distribution of Seats in Pennsylvania's Congressional Delegation, 1992-2000**

Year	Districts	Democratic Seats	Republican Seats
1992	21	11	10
1994	21	11	10
1996	21	11	10
1998	21	11	10
2000	21	10	11

*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

There was a slight increase in the number of counties split in this decade, increasing to 19 across the Commonwealth (Appendix, Table A7). While the number of municipalities splintered did increase, the overall number (14) was still relatively small (Appendix, Table A8). Philadelphia was once again the only municipality divided into more than two congressional districts (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>). Again, Pittsburgh was placed wholly within the 14<sup>th</sup> District.

## **6. The 2000s Map**

With control of the Governor's mansion and both branches of the General Assembly, the Republicans controlled the process entirely in the 2000s and were subsequently able to construct the most partisan gerrymander to date at that time (Map 5). This contributed to a marked shift in the Pennsylvania congressional delegation from 10D-11Rs following the 2000 election to 7D-12Rs after the 2002 cycle, a +4 increase in Republican advantage in just one cycle.

## Map 5



*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

In order to accomplish this political maneuver, it was necessary to manufacture districts that belied the normal geographic landscape and instead put more emphasis on packing and cracking voting blocs along partisan lines than previous plans. There was a noticeable increase in the number of split counties, jumping from 19 to 25 (Appendix, Table A9). But even more dramatically, the number of split municipalities skyrocketed from 14 under the 1990s plan to 67 under this plan (Appendix, Table A10).

There was also an increase in the number of split counties within certain congressional districts. Most of these splits occurred in the western part of the state. For the first time, one district (12<sup>th</sup>) contained eight counties that were split between the 12<sup>th</sup> and another district, while the 9<sup>th</sup> had eight such counties, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> had six each. In addition, the 12<sup>th</sup> contained 26 split municipalities while the 18<sup>th</sup> contained 24 municipalities that were divided between that district and another one.

The decade was marked by political turbulence leading to considerable shifts within the delegation. In 2006, the Democrats rode a national wave to pick up four seats, while in 2010 the Republicans picked up five. But the results from the 2004 election are a good indicator of the effects of the gerrymander: even though the vote was roughly evenly split, Republican won 12 of 19 seats that year.

**Table H: Partisan Distribution of Seats in Pennsylvania's Congressional Delegation, 2002-2010**

Year	Districts	Democratic Seats	Republican Seats	Democratic Vote Percentage <sup>5</sup>	Republican Vote Percentage
2002	19	7	12	42.0%	58.0%
2004	19	7	12	49.1%	50.9%
2006	19	11	8	56.2%	43.8%
2008	19	12	7	56.0%	44.0%
2010	19	7	12	48.2%	51.8%

*Source: The Pennsylvania Manual*

## **7. The Current Map**

With complete control over the process once again following the 2010 midterms, Republicans constructed the most partisan gerrymander to date, and which by many accounts is one of the worst gerrymanders in the nation (Map 6).

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<sup>5</sup> See footnote 2, *supra*.



Map 6



Source: *The National Atlas*<sup>6</sup>

As mentioned previously, under the current map, the degree to which counties and municipalities are carved up is greater than in the past, even more than under the 2002 map. The current plan splits 28 counties and 68 municipalities overall (Appendix, Tables A11 and A12).

Additionally, more congressional districts than ever before contain at least three counties that are split between that district and another one, with 11 of the 18 (61 percent) of the districts containing three or more split counties.

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<sup>6</sup> Available at [https://nationalmap.gov/small\\_scale/printable/images/pdf/congdist/pagecgd113\\_pa.pdf](https://nationalmap.gov/small_scale/printable/images/pdf/congdist/pagecgd113_pa.pdf).

The 1<sup>st</sup> District, which historically was confined to Philadelphia, now contains 7 municipalities split between the 1<sup>st</sup> and another district. The 6<sup>th</sup> District, which pushes out from the northwest suburbs of Philadelphia into central Lebanon County, is home to 15 municipalities that are split between the 6<sup>th</sup> and at least one other district. The 13<sup>th</sup> District, which includes parts of Philadelphia and Montgomery County, serves as a repository for packed Democratic votes and contains 15 municipalities that are split with another district. However, the district which contains the most split municipalities, with 28 overall, is the 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, arguably the most contorted in the entire nation.

While a number of counties are splintered into only two congressional districts, others are more extensively divided, as Appendix Table A11 shows. Montgomery County (pop. 799,814, based upon the most recent US Census data), is split into 5 congressional districts, while the Democratic-leaning Berks County (pop. 411,442) and Westmoreland County (pop. 365,169) are each divided into 4 congressional districts, despite having relatively small populations.

At the municipal level there are several communities that are especially impacted by the current congressional map:

- Bethlehem is split, with part of the city moved from the previously-Lehigh Valley-based 15<sup>th</sup> District to the 17<sup>th</sup> District.
- Easton has been moved entirely out of its traditional home, the previously competitive Lehigh Valley-based 15<sup>th</sup> District, and pushed into the Democrat-packed 17<sup>th</sup> District. Easton, as the county seat of Northampton County, is thereby isolated from the majority of the rest of its home county residents.
- Reading is another county seat separated from most of its home county, in this case Berks. Reading has been moved into the more rural and traditionally Lancaster County-based 16<sup>th</sup> District.
- Coatesville has been moved into the 16<sup>th</sup> District and split from most of the rest of Chester County.

- Chester is splintered, with most of the city packed into the Philadelphia-based and Democratic dominated 1<sup>st</sup> District and a smaller portion placed in the 7<sup>th</sup> District.
- Harrisburg is sliced between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> districts.
- Monroeville, Allegheny County (pop. 28,386) is split between three congressional districts, the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and the 18<sup>th</sup>. It is 19.9 square miles (US Census Bureau).
- Wilkes-Barre is cut out of the traditional Luzerne County seat (now the 11<sup>th</sup>) and packed with other Democratic bastions in the 17<sup>th</sup> District.

However, it is not just cities that have been excessively divided by this particular map. Consider the following examples:

- Caln Township (Chester County, pop. 13,817) is split between the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup> districts. It is 8.8 square miles (US Census Bureau).
- Cumru Township (Berks County, pop. 15,147) is also split between three congressional districts, the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup>. It is 20.9 square miles (US Census Bureau).
- Spring Township (Berks County, pop. 27,119) is split between the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup> districts. It is 18.3 square miles (US Census Bureau).

These features of the 2011 map have important and profoundly negative representational consequences for Pennsylvania's voters. It is puzzling how voters in these cities and townships can even know who their congressional representative is. One can imagine the confusion in some of the neighborhoods. The residents of Caln Township, Chester County cannot be expected to relate to their member of Congress when there are three representing their municipality, which is less than 9 square miles. Even if they could relate to their Congressional representatives, they cannot expect meaningful representation in this scenario. Consider also the dividing of counties and municipalities, such as Montgomery County, which is represented by five members of congress (none of whom actually reside in Montgomery County) and Berks County, which is represented by four members.

These communities cannot effectively seek federal government assistance from several different lawmakers, none of whom represents them completely.

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In Pennsylvania, with its Quaker beginnings emphasizing tolerance and equality and later the evolving cultural pluralism that came with subsequent immigration, there are important regional and local identities with which voters associate their interests. These local identities are tied to Pennsylvanians' counties and municipalities of residence, and so those identities suffer as a matter of political representation when local jurisdictions are split. As Pennsylvania historian Dr. Philip S. Klein once noted, Pennsylvanians "lack a real sense of identity, because traditionally people's allegiance has centered around their home towns rather than the total entity of the state...Ask a Texan where he comes from and he'll almost always say 'Texas.' But a Pennsylvanian is more likely to respond with the name of his home town..."<sup>7</sup>

This remains the case, as Pennsylvanians continue to identify with their local communities, whether they live in the Lehigh Valley or the Monongahela Valley or South Philadelphia. It is therefore important to the citizens of this state that their government also reflects this identity. The one level of government that everyone in the state belongs to are its counties. Pennsylvanians are already accustomed to dealing with counties as a unique entity, be it for human services, public health, community colleges, or libraries. Considerable effort therefore should be made to preserve the integrity of counties in drawing Pennsylvania's congressional districts. The current congressional map not only fails to do this, but seems to go out of its way to do just the opposite, dividing 28 counties overall.

Additionally, at the local level, municipalities are also excessively splintered, 68 in all, with communities such as Caln, Cumru, Spring townships, and the city of Monroeville bearing a particular burden. Such divisions further confuse, divide, and potentially isolate the Commonwealth's citizens from their members of Congress and the federal government.

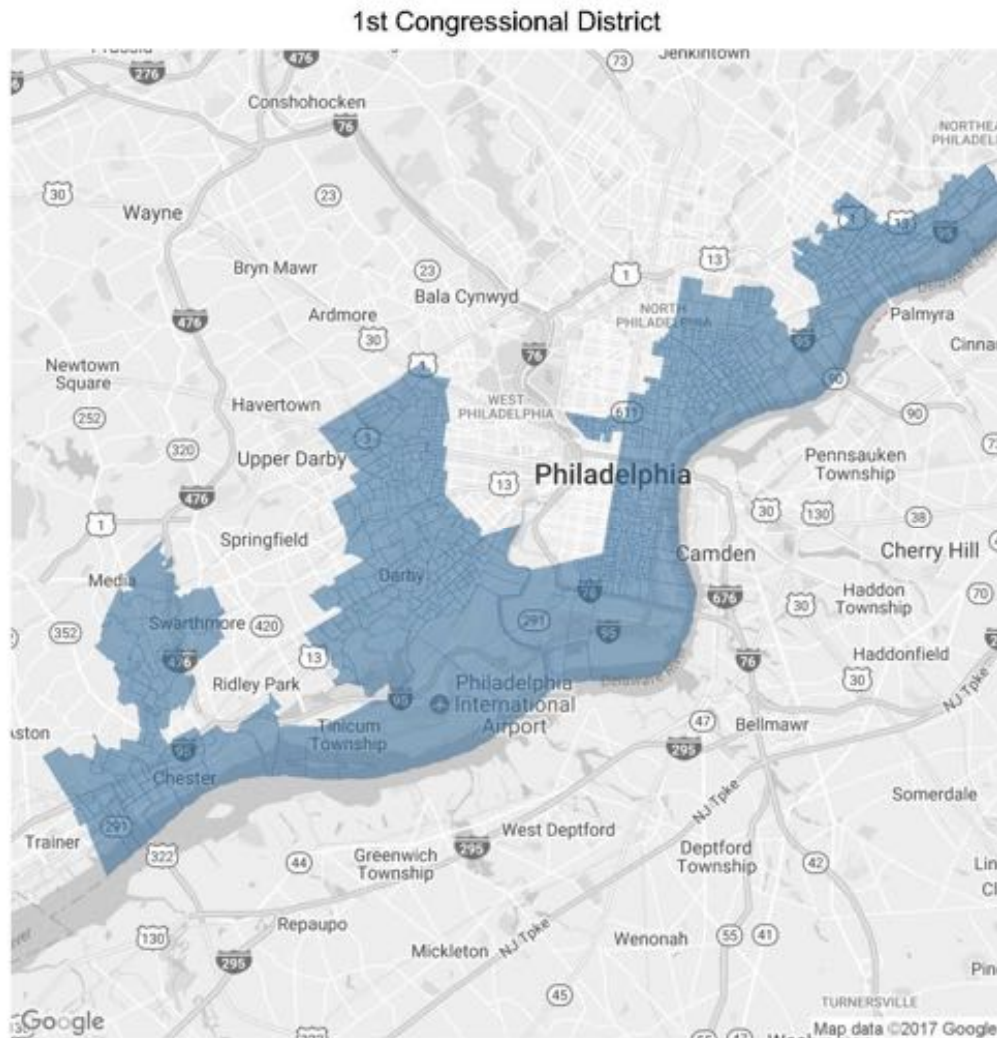
## **B. Analysis of Pennsylvania's Current Congressional Districts**

In this section, I analyze the composition of each of Pennsylvania's current 18 congressional districts.

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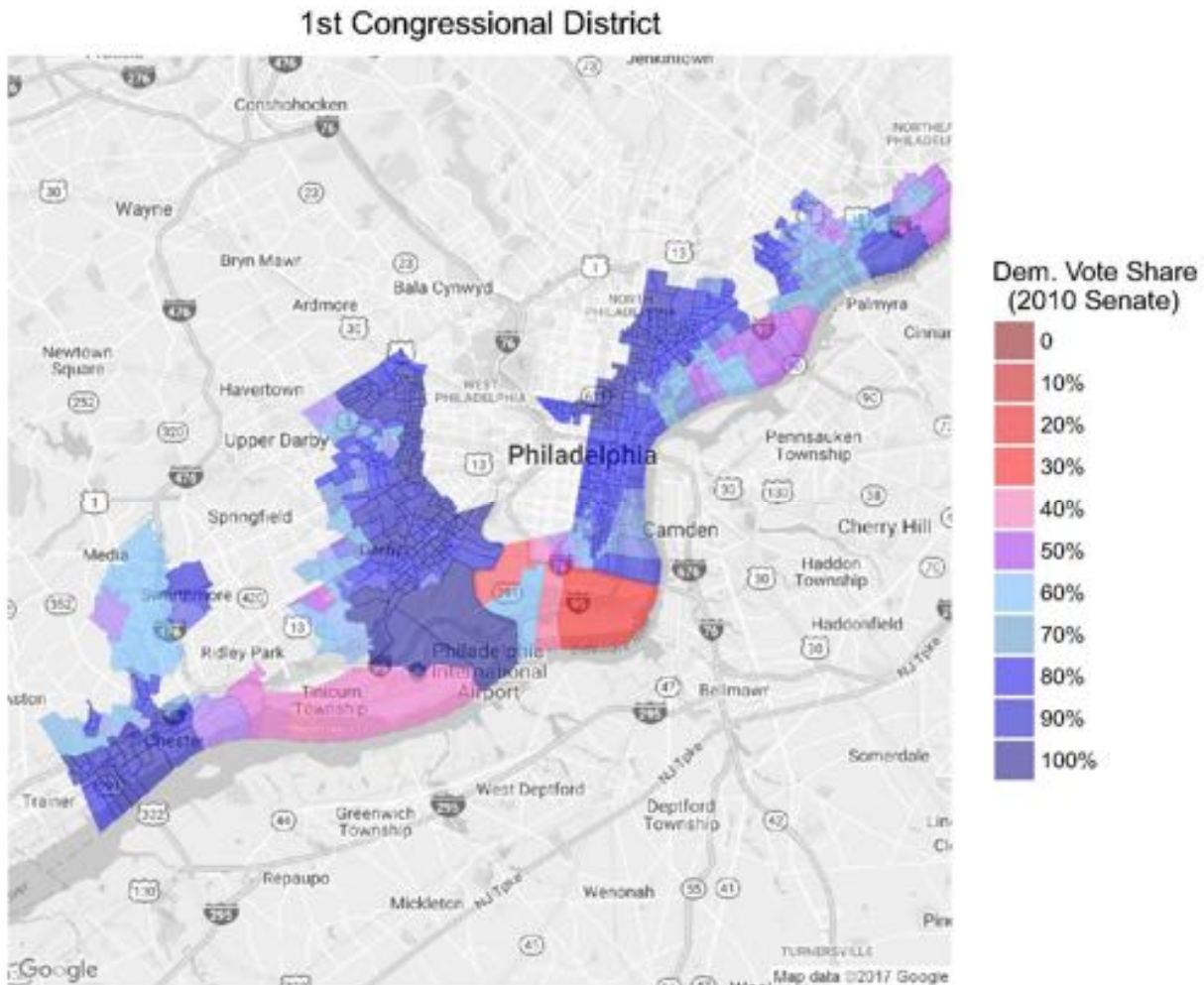
<sup>7</sup> Paul B. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics, Today and Yesterday*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press (1980), p. 1.

## *District 1*



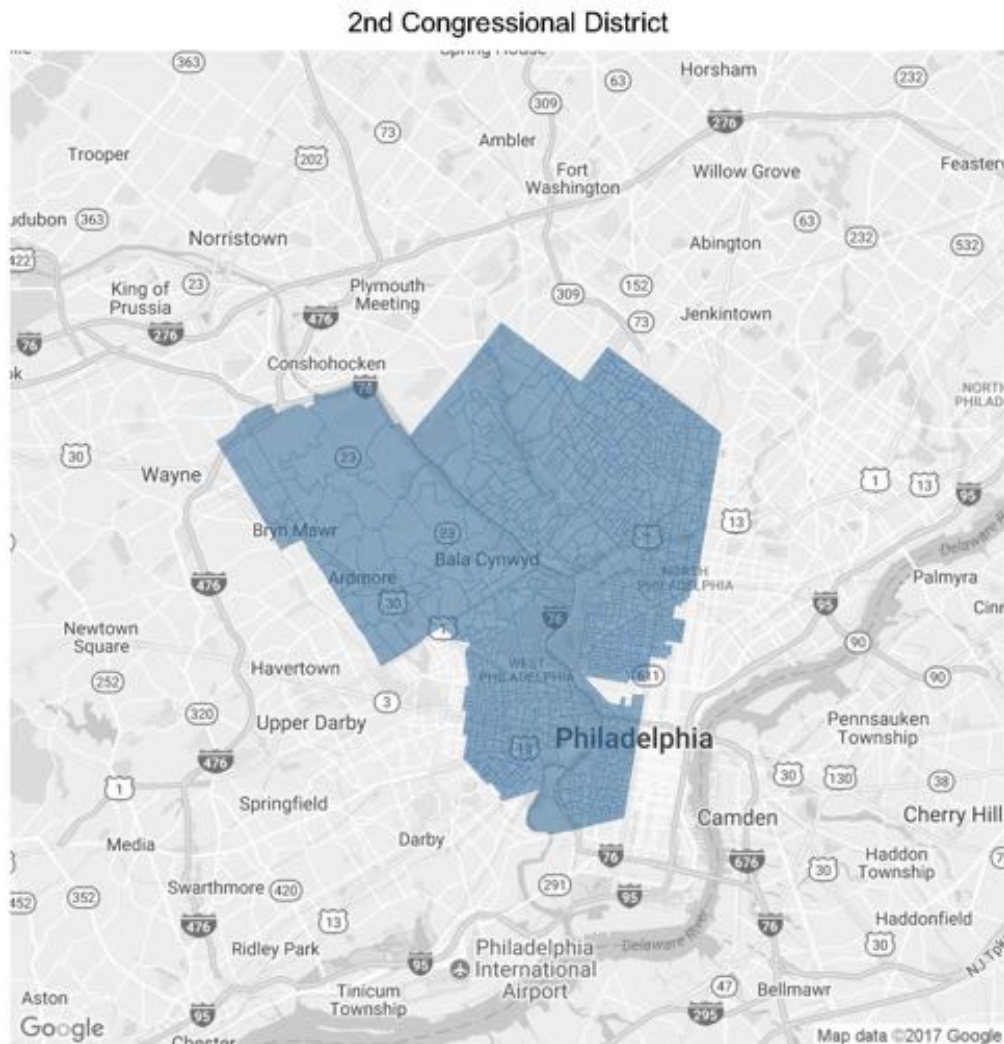
Historically based within the state's largest city, Philadelphia, the 1<sup>st</sup> District in Pennsylvania has expanded in the last several decades. As demonstrated in the map below, the 2011 map packs highly Democratic municipalities from outside Philadelphia into the 1<sup>st</sup> District. These include a number of Delaware County municipalities, which were taken out of the 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, traditionally a Delaware County-based seat, thus making the 7<sup>th</sup> more GOP friendly. These Delaware County municipalities overwhelmingly voted for the Democratic candidate in the 2010 US Senate race, including the boroughs of Collingdale (62 percent voted for the Democratic candidate), Colwyn (85 percent), Millbourne (80 percent), Sharon Hill (78 percent), Swarthmore (82 percent), and Upland (62 percent), as well as the city of Chester (89 percent) and Upper Darby Township (60 percent). Chester, where 89 percent of votes went to the Democratic US Senate candidate in 2010, was formerly split between this safe Democratic 1<sup>st</sup> District and

the more competitive 6<sup>th</sup> District. However, all but three divisions of one ward (there are 11 wards total) were put into the 1<sup>st</sup> District in the 2011 map. It is also worth noting that while the 1<sup>st</sup> District has a significant numbers of African-Americans, the overall number of African-Americans dropped relative to the population within the previous boundaries of the 1<sup>st</sup> District.



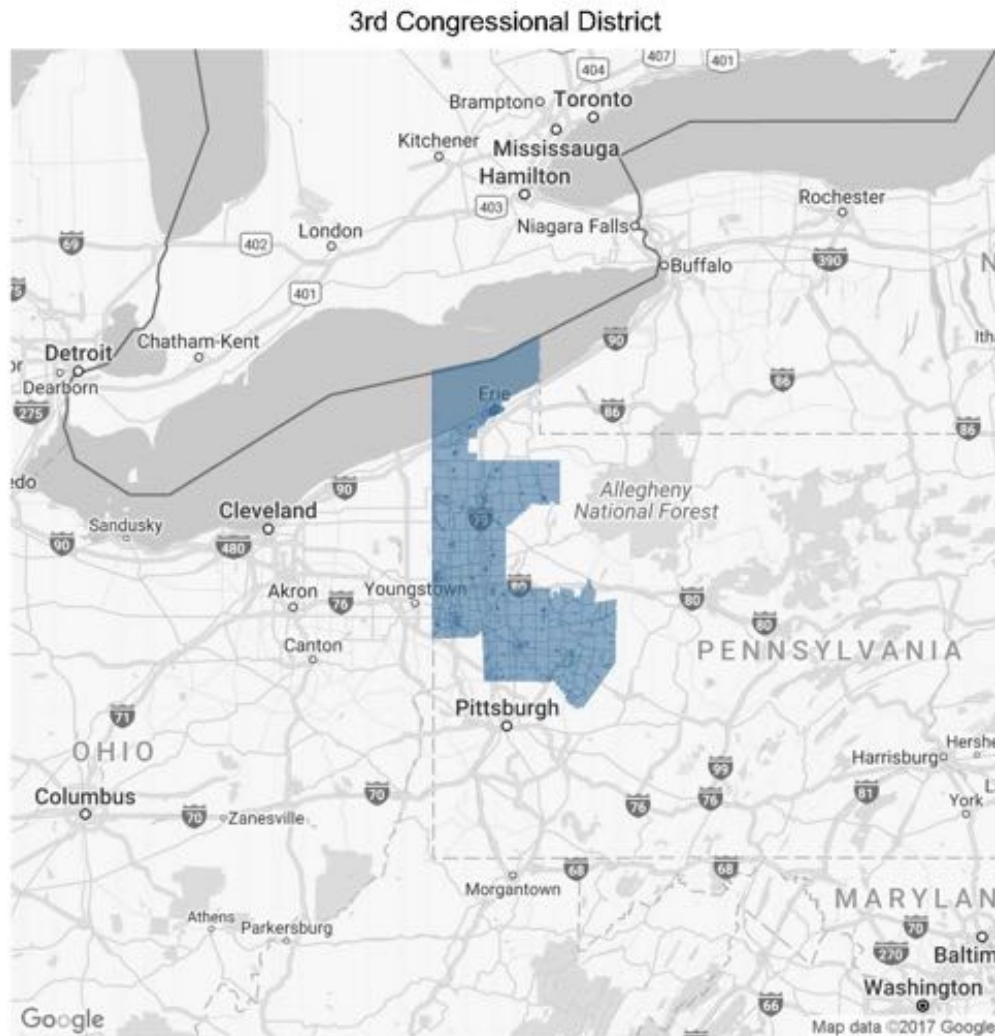


## *District 2*



The 2<sup>nd</sup> District is another district historically based in Philadelphia and continues to be so under the latest map. However, in 2011, the 2<sup>nd</sup> District also gained Democratic-leaning municipalities within southeastern Montgomery County, including Narberth Borough (which voted 73 percent for the 2010 U.S. Democratic Senate candidate) and Lower Merion Township (67 percent), removing both Democratic-leaning municipalities from the competitive 6<sup>th</sup> District. Narberth was pushed into the 2<sup>nd</sup> District, while Lower Merion was split between the Democratic dominated 2<sup>nd</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> districts. These changes had the effect of packing Democratic voters from Montgomery County with other Democratic voters in Philadelphia, removing them from the more competitive 6<sup>th</sup> District.

### *District 3*



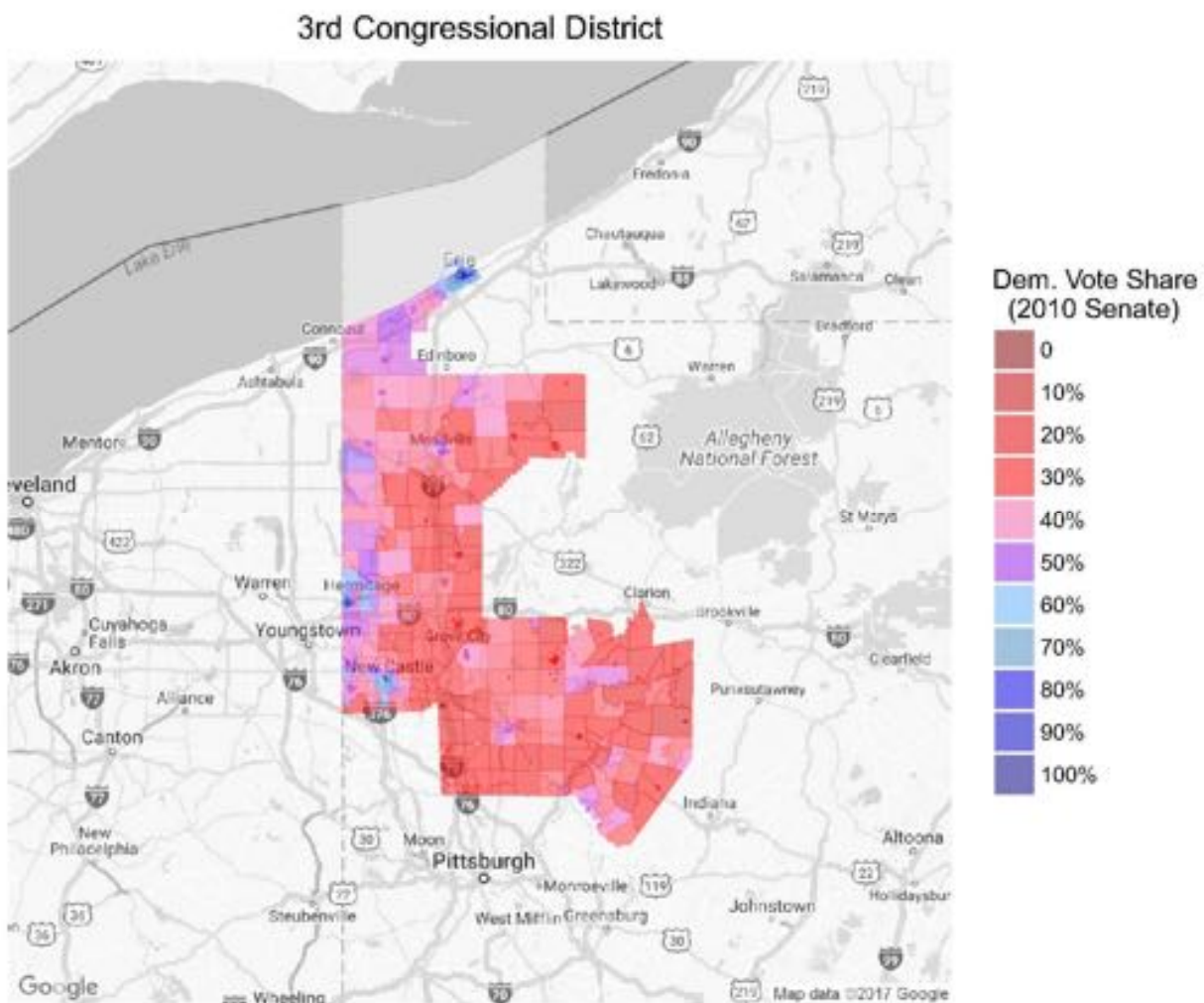
There has always been a congressional district comprised of Pennsylvania's northwestern corner, which includes Erie County, the most populated within the region. Until 2011, heavily-Democratic Erie County was never split between congressional districts. However, in the 2011 map, Erie County is cracked practically right down the center, with the eastern half moved into the GOP-dominated 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District.

With Erie County's location in the far northwest corner, bordering New York, Ohio, and Lake Erie on three sides and abutting only two other Pennsylvania counties (Crawford County to the south and Warren County in the southeast), there are no seeming imperatives to split this county based on geography or other practical considerations. In other words, there is no apparent non-partisan

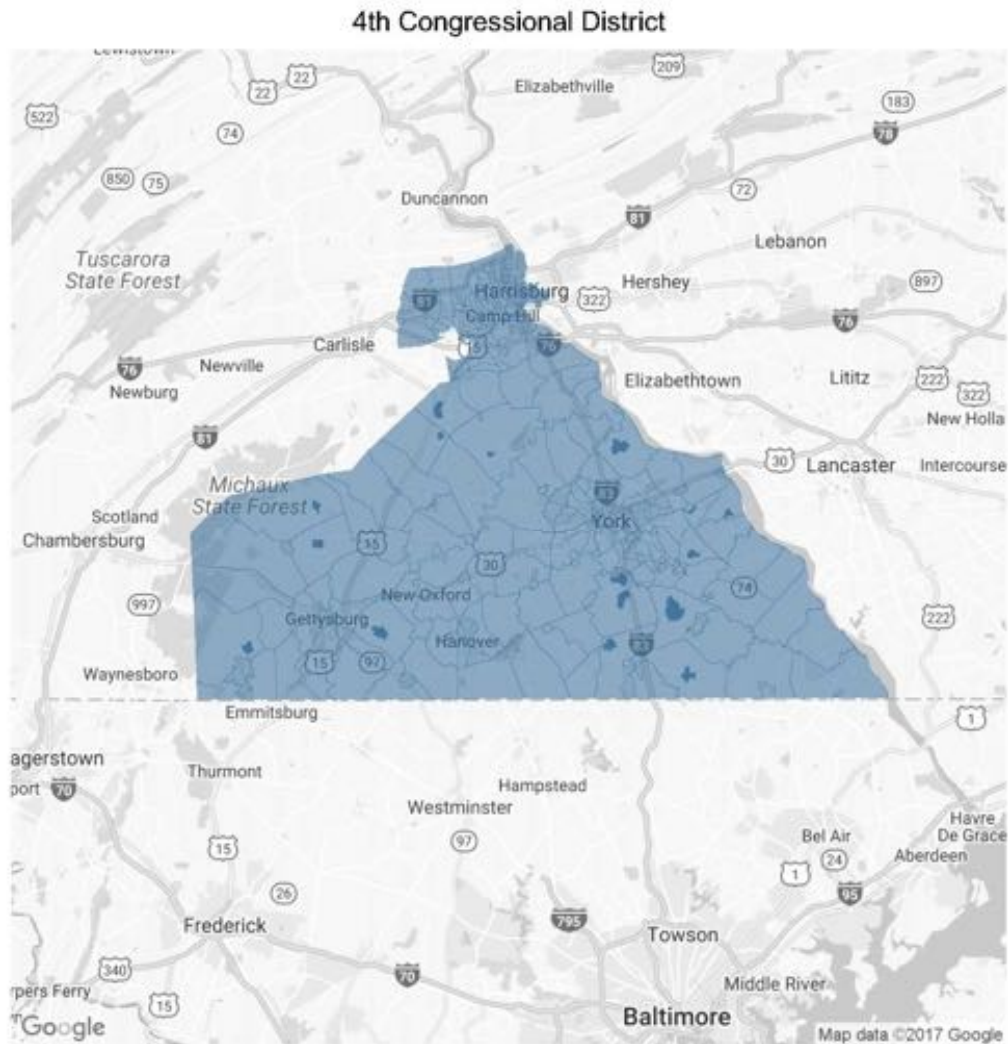


explanation as to why the western part of Erie County was separated from its eastern half.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> District also stretches south to include the Republican-dominated suburbs north of Pittsburgh, thereby counteracting the Democratic leaning voters of Mercer County. This shift of the 3<sup>rd</sup> District's boundaries to the south thereby replaces the Democratic voters who were cracked from Erie County with Republican voters from Butler County.

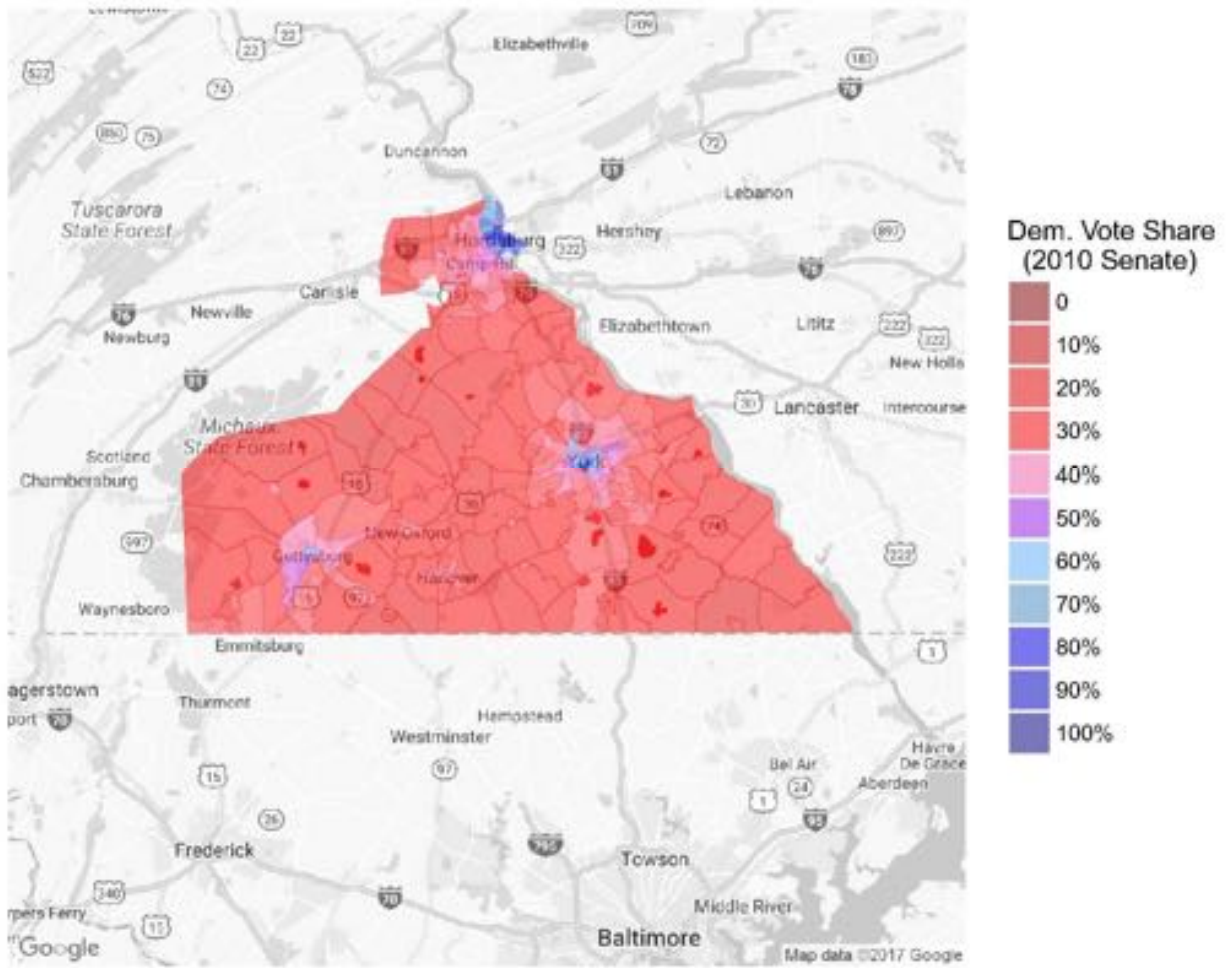


## *District 4*

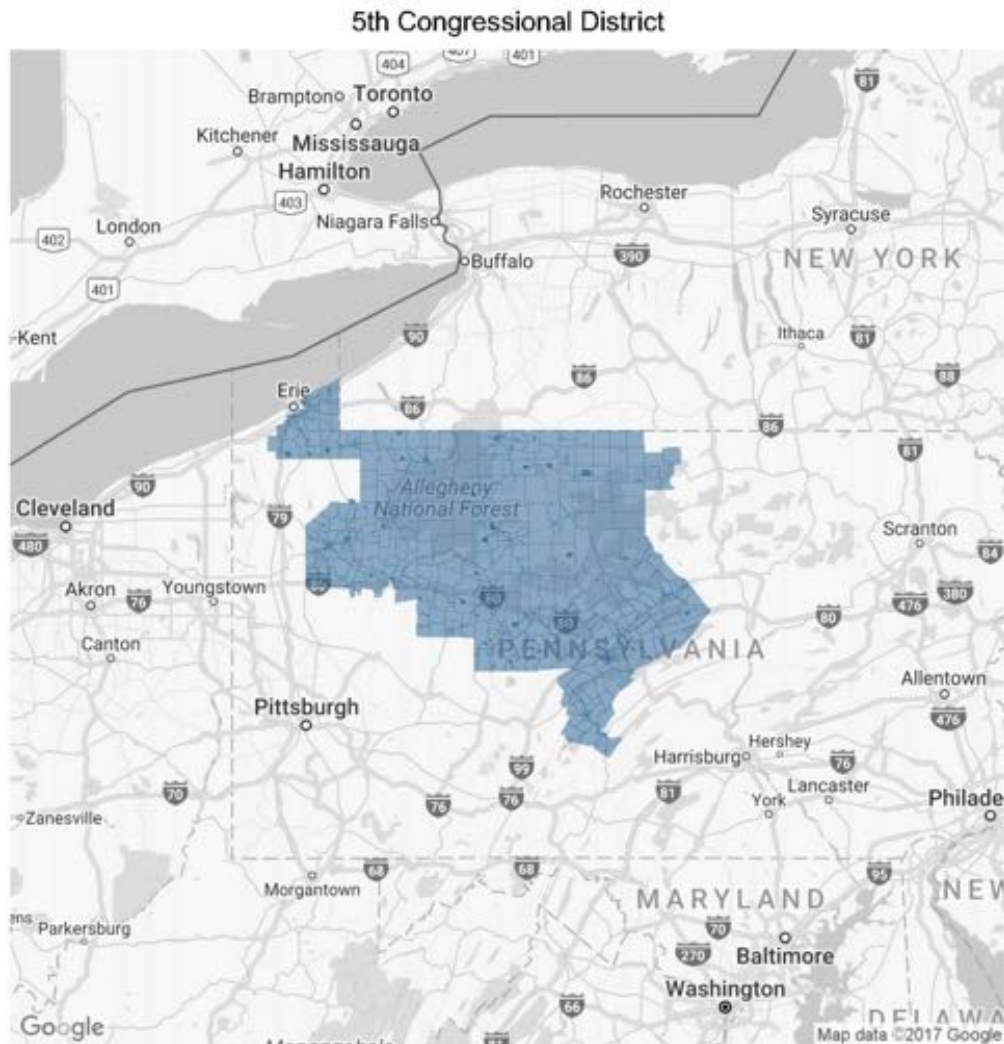


This Republican dominated district, which includes the counties of Adams, Cumberland, Dauphin, and York, appears less manipulated at first glance since it is generally contiguous and the number of divided counties (two) and municipalities (four) is relatively small. However, the 4<sup>th</sup> District is also home to a large portion of Harrisburg, a now solidly Democratic municipality. As depicted in the image below, the boundaries of the 4<sup>th</sup> District cut through Harrisburg, cracking the Democratic voters in the city (between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> districts) and its environs (between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> districts), thereby diluting their power in this and neighboring districts.

### 4th Congressional District



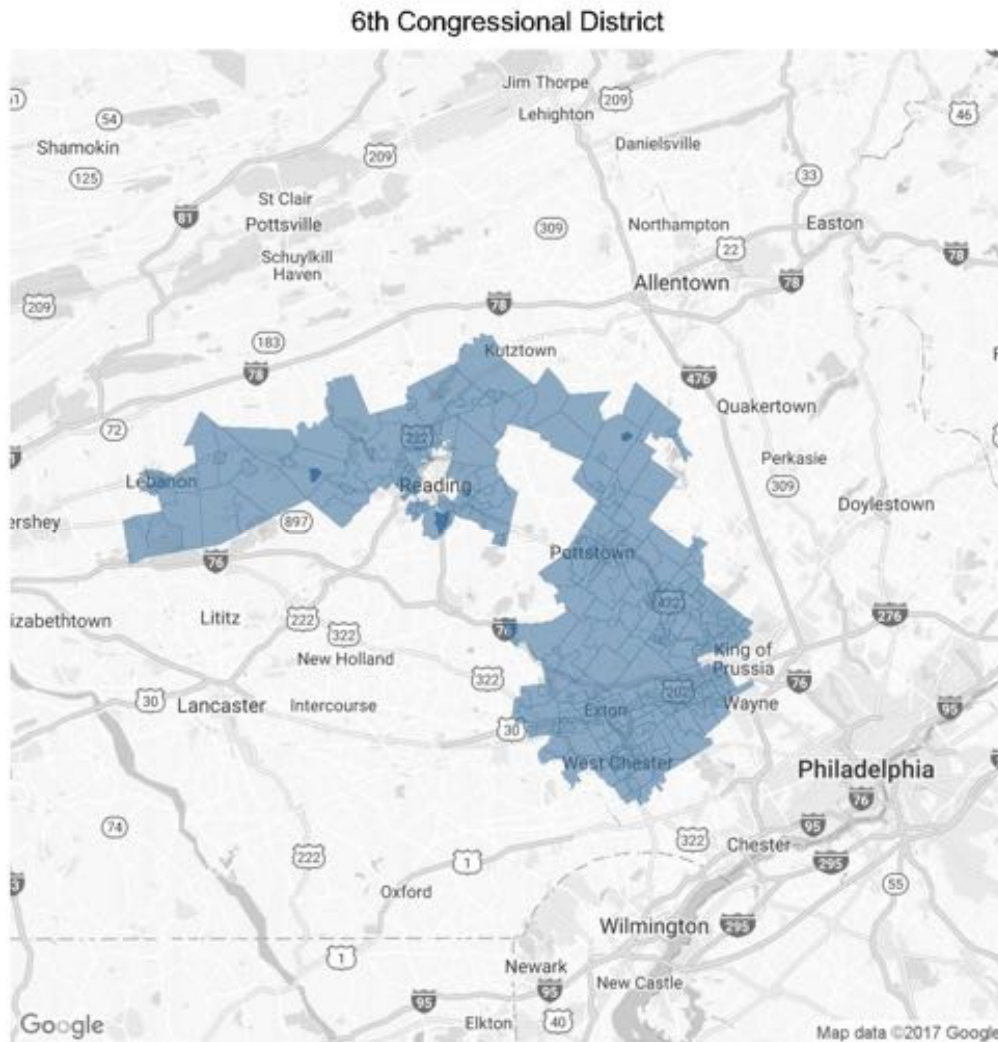
## *District 5*



Containing 15 counties, the 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District has historically been the most expansive within the state and that remains the case (though the new 10<sup>th</sup> District now rivals it). While its sprawling expanse may be necessitated, in part, by its rural nature, as previously mentioned, the conspicuous inclusion of eastern Erie County in this district does not seem to serve any purpose other than to reduce the weight of Erie's voters. The voters in the eastern side of the Erie metropolitan area have been cracked from the 3<sup>rd</sup> District and placed in the 5<sup>th</sup>, an overwhelmingly Republican district that stretches from Pennsylvania's northwestern corner halfway across the state.

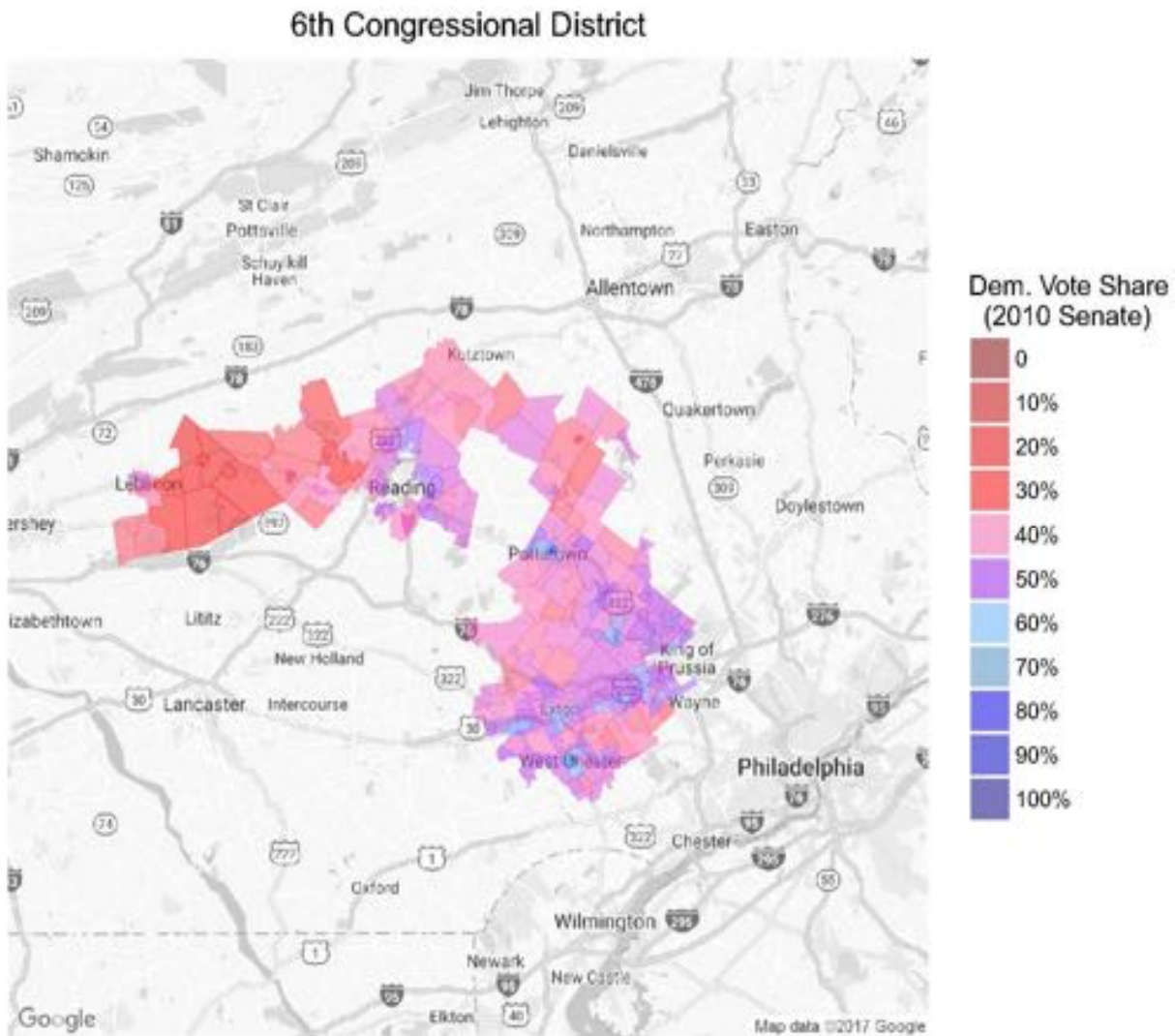


## *District 6*

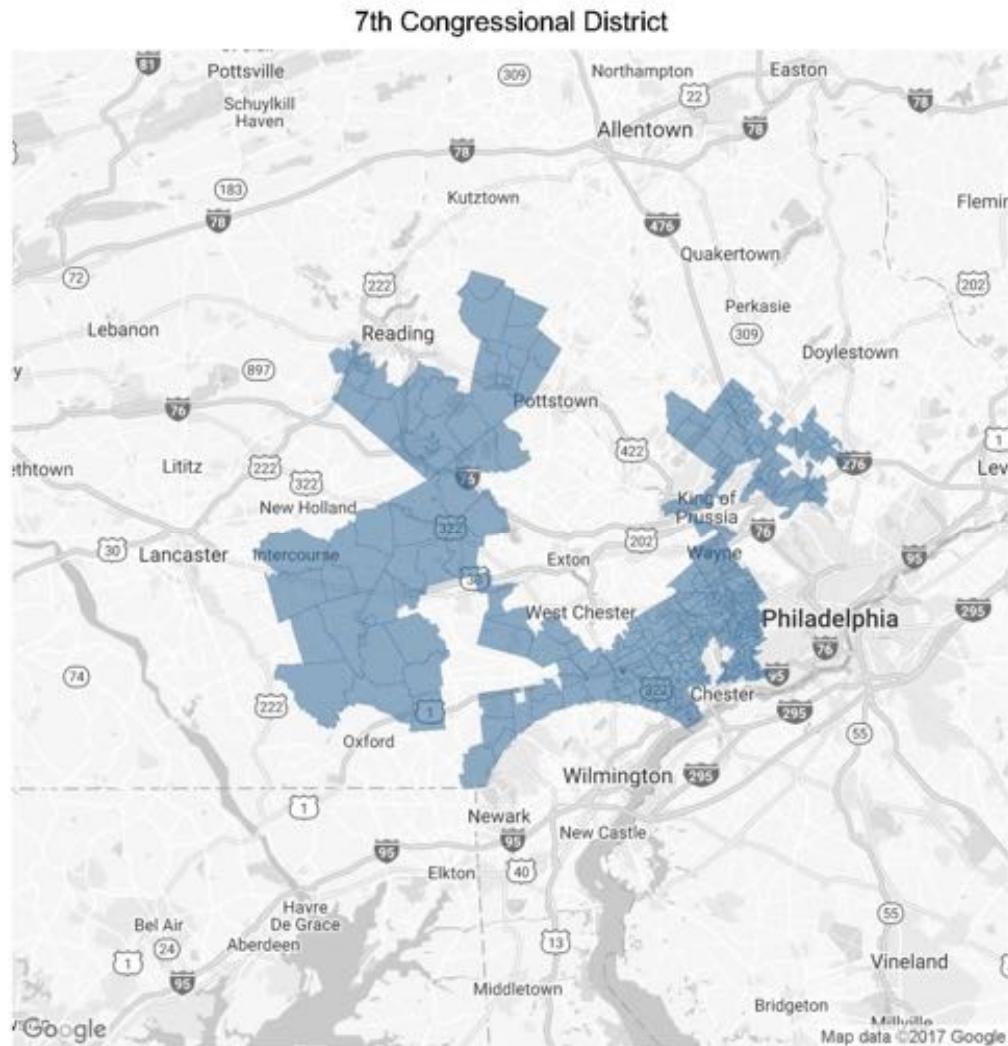


The shape of Pennsylvania's 6<sup>th</sup> Congressional District speaks for itself. There can be no logical explanation for a district that begins in Thornbury Township, located in lower Chester County, heads north into Upper Hanover Township, located at the northwestern tip of Montgomery County, before cutting a swath through the middle of Berks County to the west (though noticeably omitting Reading) until reaching West Cornwall Township in the middle of Lebanon County. This oddly-shaped hodgepodge of municipalities disrespects any and all natural boundaries and appears to serve no purpose other than a partisan one. In service of achieving this shape, the 6<sup>th</sup> Congressional District includes four counties that are split between the 6<sup>th</sup> and another district and 15 split municipalities.

The most conspicuous aspect of the 6<sup>th</sup> District is the incision into its northern portion, which allows it to avoid encapsulating the city of Reading, a Democratic Party stronghold and the county seat of Berks. Reading is isolated from the rest of its surrounding areas in order to crack its Democratic voters and place them within the more safely GOP terrain of the 16<sup>th</sup> Congressional District.



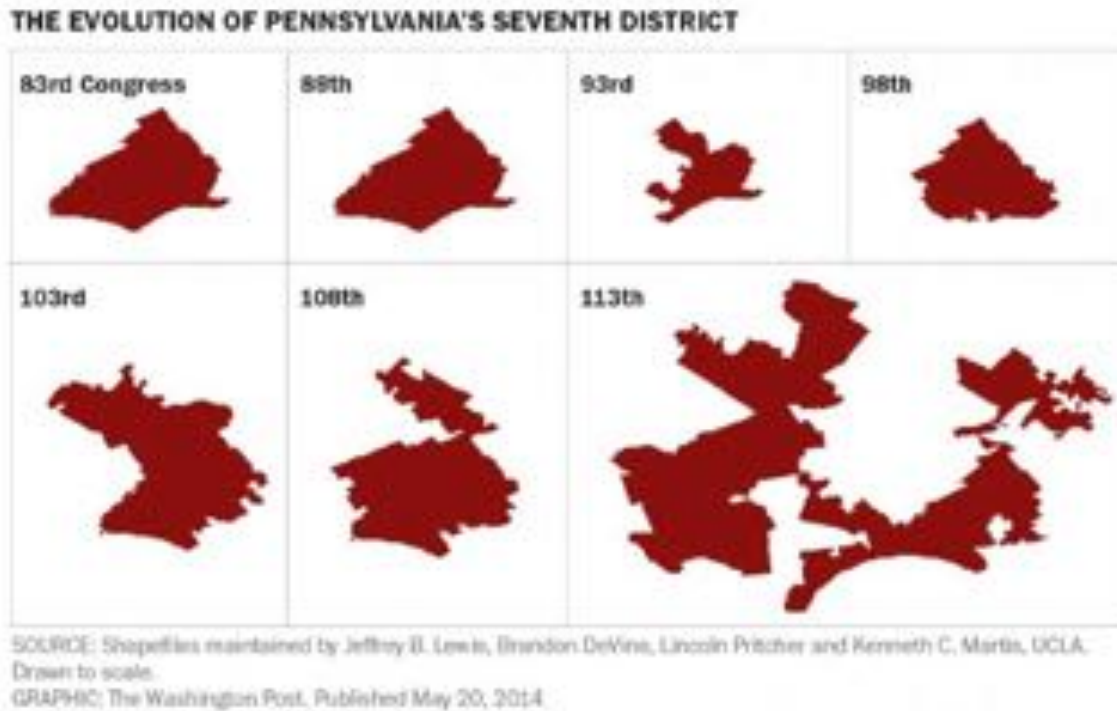
## *District 7*



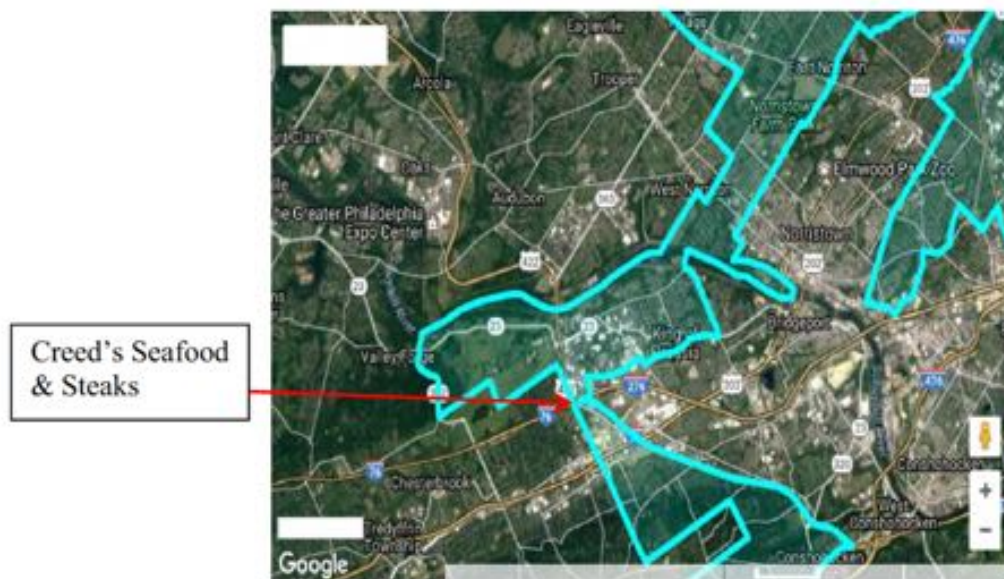
As bizarre as the 6<sup>th</sup> District appears, it almost pales in comparison to its neighboring district, which is arguably the most absurdly drawn congressional district in the nation. Known by many as the “Goofy kicking Donald Duck” district, it ultimately splits five counties and 26 municipalities in a way that results in a reasonably safe Republican seat. Essentially its shape is that of two different districts separated by the 6<sup>th</sup> Congressional District and connected only by a small piece of tract along Route 30. As it winds its way from eastern Delaware County into both Berks and Lancaster counties, it also manages to avoid Democratic pockets such as the boroughs of Downingtown and West Chester and the city of Coatesville. To drive from the 7<sup>th</sup> District’s eastern half in Thornbury Township, Delaware County to Wallace Township, Chester County, one would need to drive through approximately 21 miles of the 6<sup>th</sup> District.



As demonstrated in the image below, the evolution of the 7<sup>th</sup> District over time demonstrates that the current shape bears no resemblance to earlier maps and has no historical rationale.



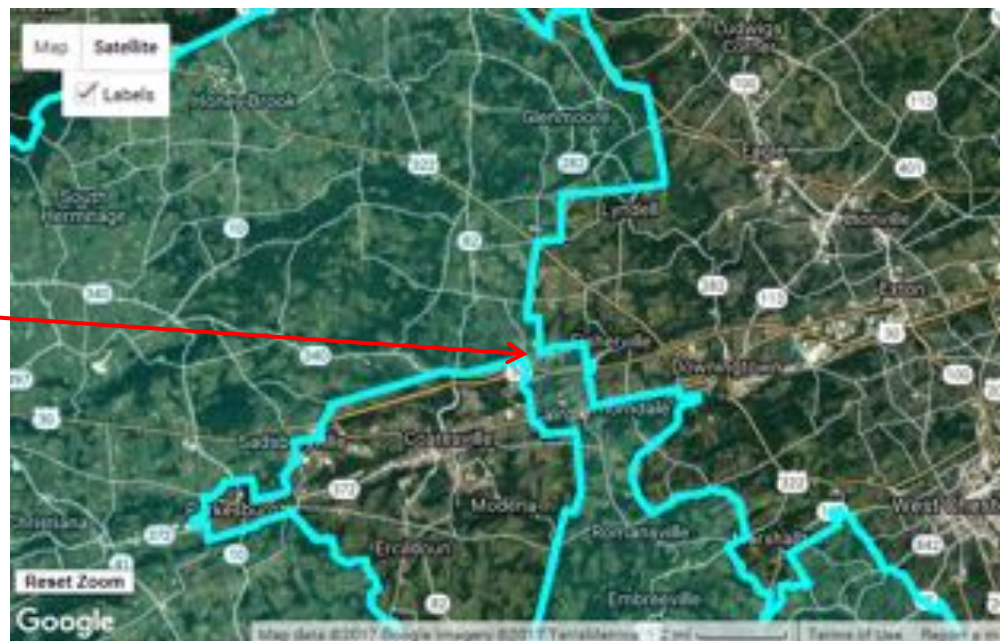
The irrational boundaries of the 7<sup>th</sup> are also laid bare at other points within the district. Perhaps the most absurd example is a point within the 7<sup>th</sup> where the district is held together solely by Creed's Seafood & Steak, near the King of Prussia Mall in Upper Merion Township.



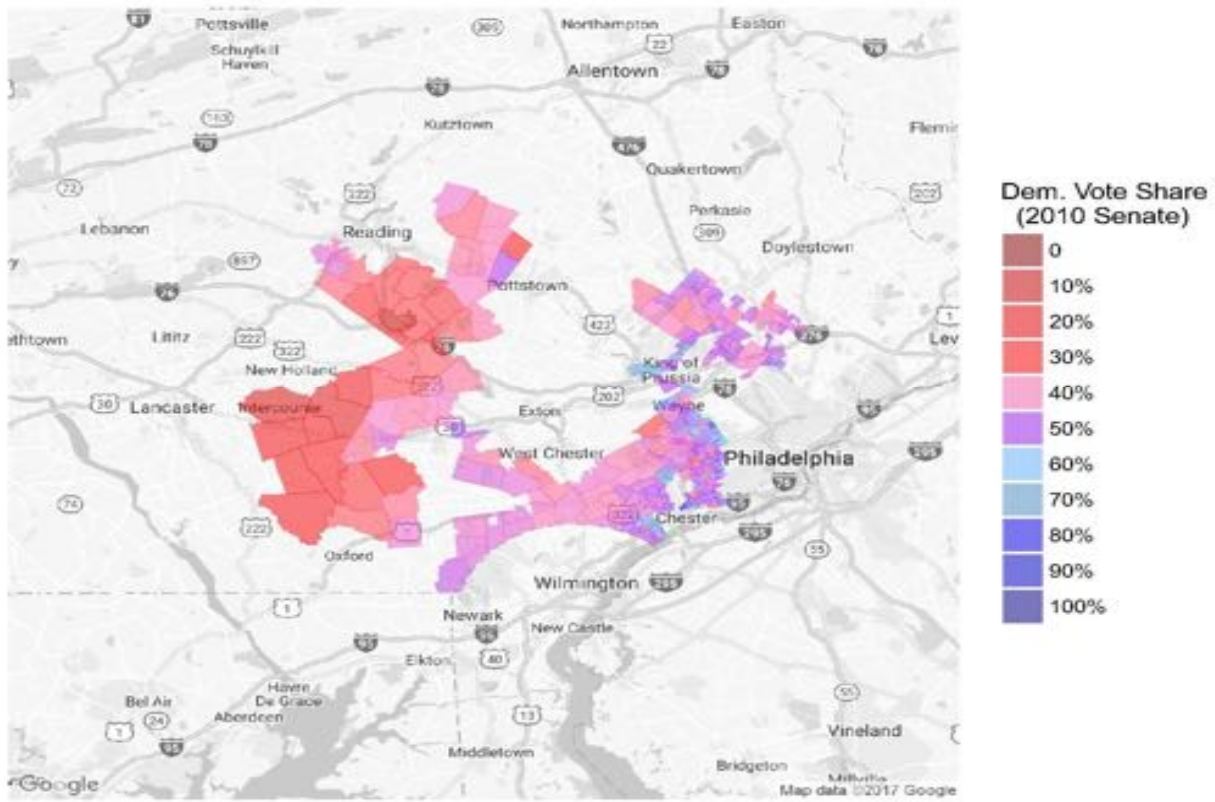


At another point, the District is connected solely by Brandywine Hospital, which though it has a Coatesville mailing address, is actually located in Caln Township. This is an indication of how the boundaries of the 7<sup>th</sup> District appear to go out of their way to avoid a small pocket around Coatesville, a Democratic city. Brandywine Hospital functionally serves as a bridge between the otherwise disconnected northern and southern Republican-leaning portions of the 7<sup>th</sup> District – a bridge that avoids Coatesville to the west and the Democratic communities of Downingtown and Exton to the east.

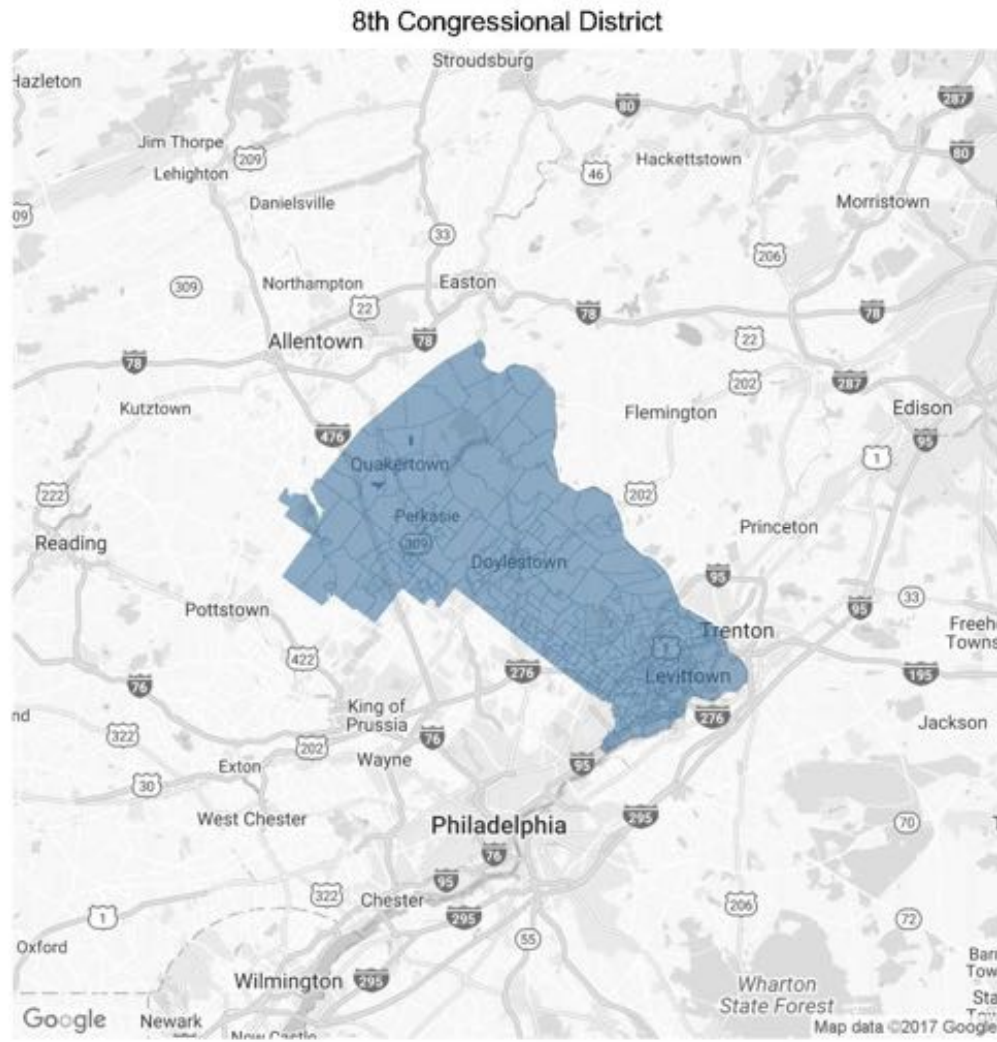
Brandywine  
Hospital



### 7th Congressional District

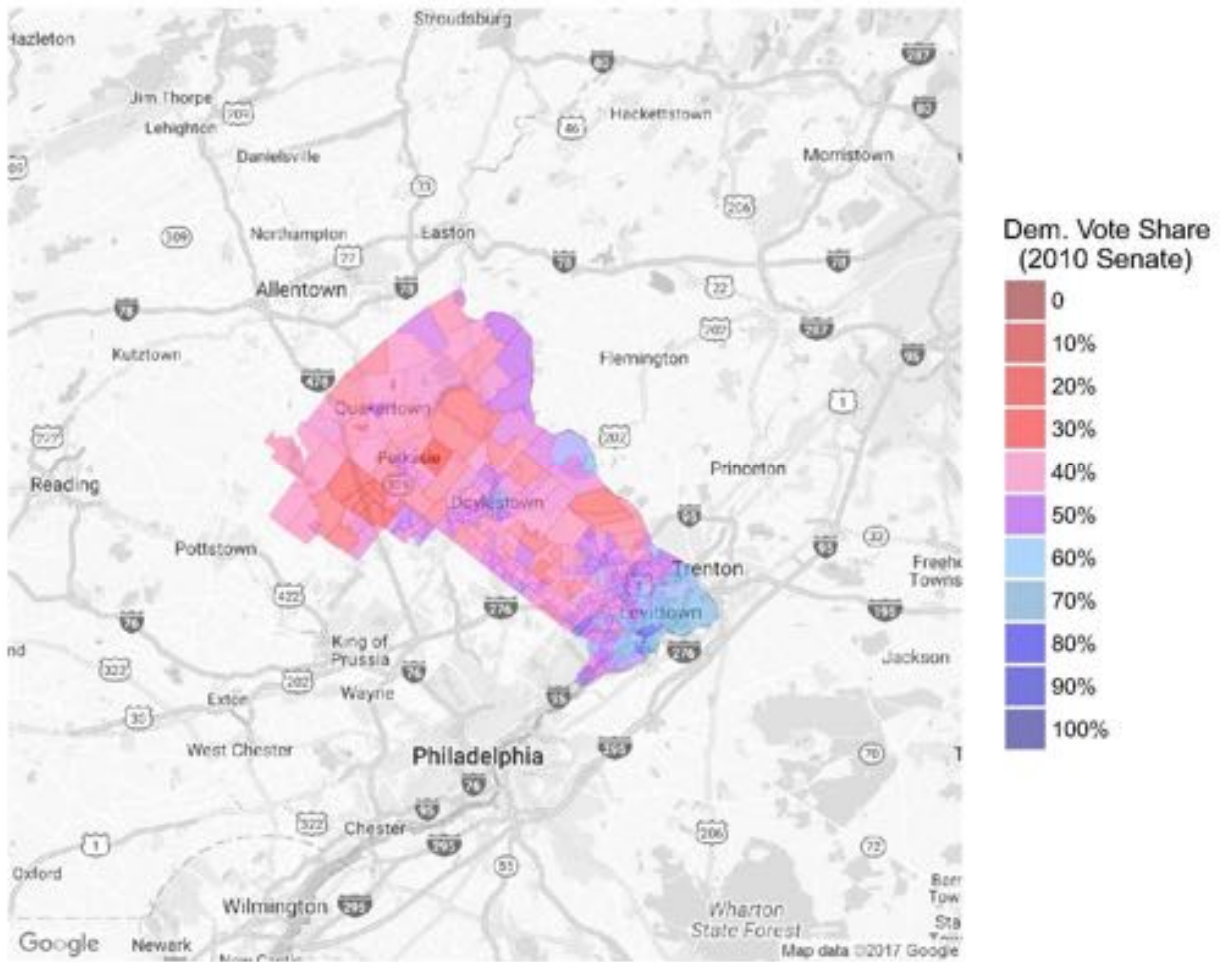


## *District 8*



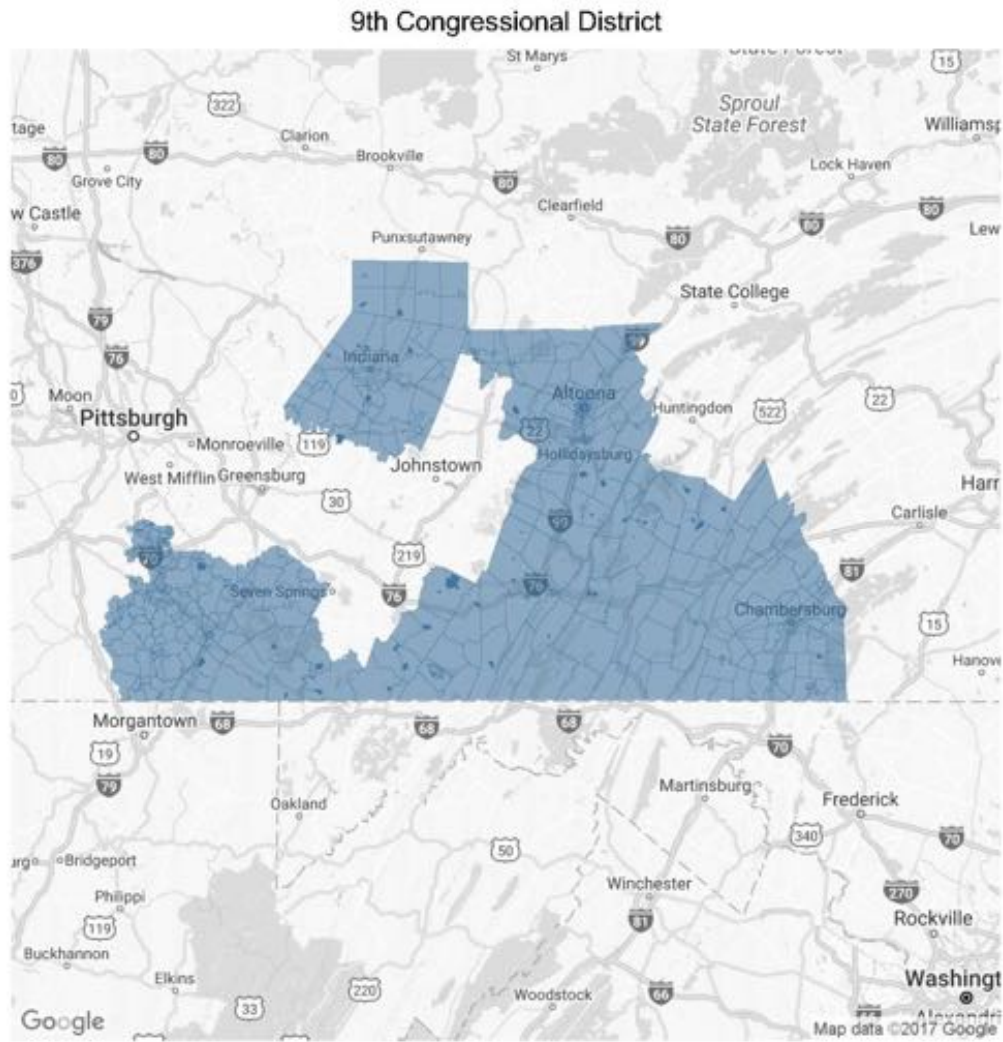
The 8<sup>th</sup> District splits only three municipalities, Hatfield, Upper Hanover, and Telford, the latter of which is already divided between Bucks and Montgomery counties. However, the 2011 boundaries have expanded south to encompass the GOP-dominated, northeastern portion of Montgomery County within the 8<sup>th</sup> District. As demonstrated in the image below, this helps offset the influence of the Democratic voters in the Levittown area, in the southern portion of Bucks County. Of course, the additional portion of Montgomery County could only be added by splitting up that county and cracking its Democratic voters between four other districts.

## 8th Congressional District



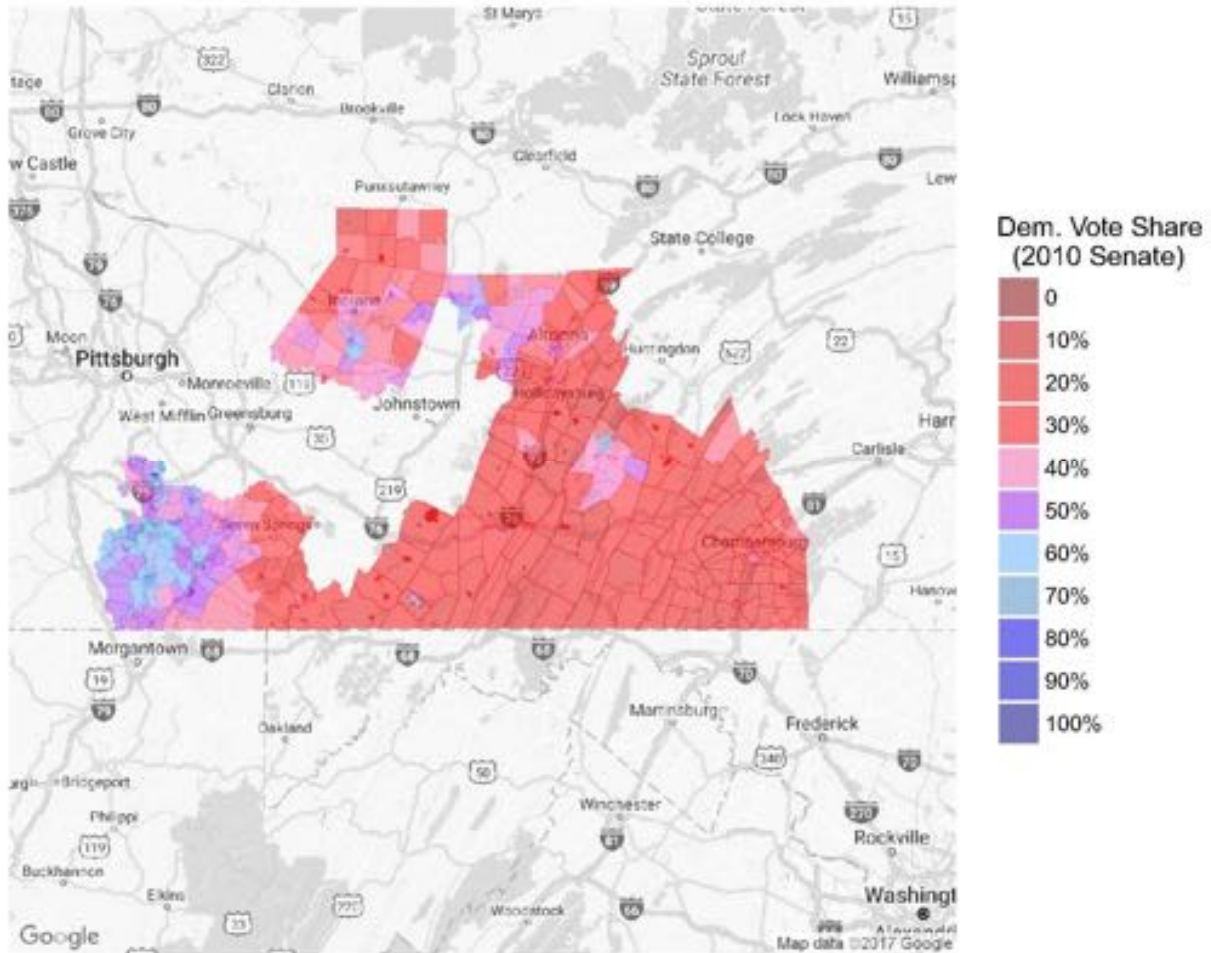


## *District 9*

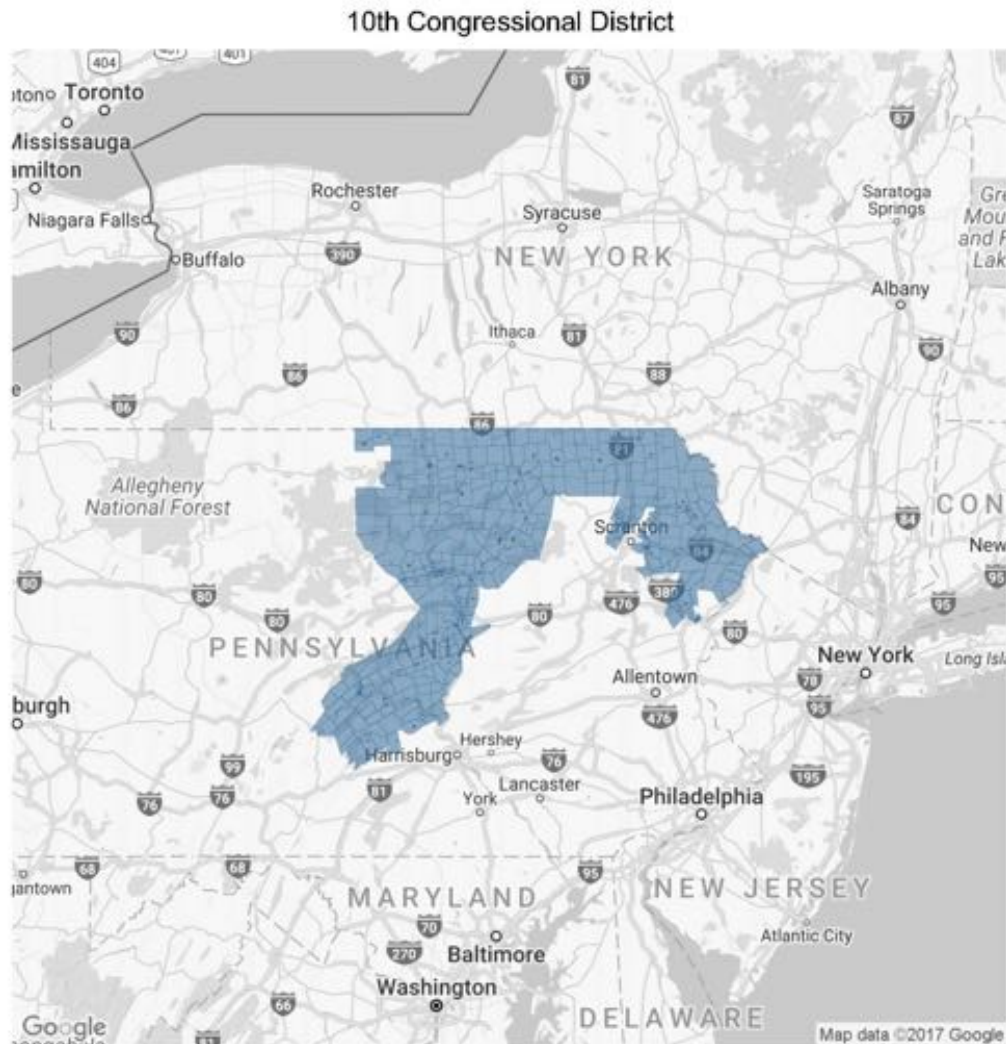


Containing 12 counties, the 9<sup>th</sup> Congressional District is located along the southwest-central border of Pennsylvania. Six of the counties within the 9<sup>th</sup> District are split and four of its municipalities are split. Appearing like a claw with blue tips, the 9<sup>th</sup> District includes traditionally Democratic areas south of Pittsburgh in the Monongahela Valley such as Fayette County and parts of Greene and Washington counties, while at the same time incorporating Democratic areas in southern Indiana County. In such a way, the 9<sup>th</sup> District cracks these Democratic voters from the neighboring 3<sup>rd</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Districts and places them with Republican strongholds in Bedford, Blair, and Somerset counties to the east.

## 9th Congressional District



## *District 10*



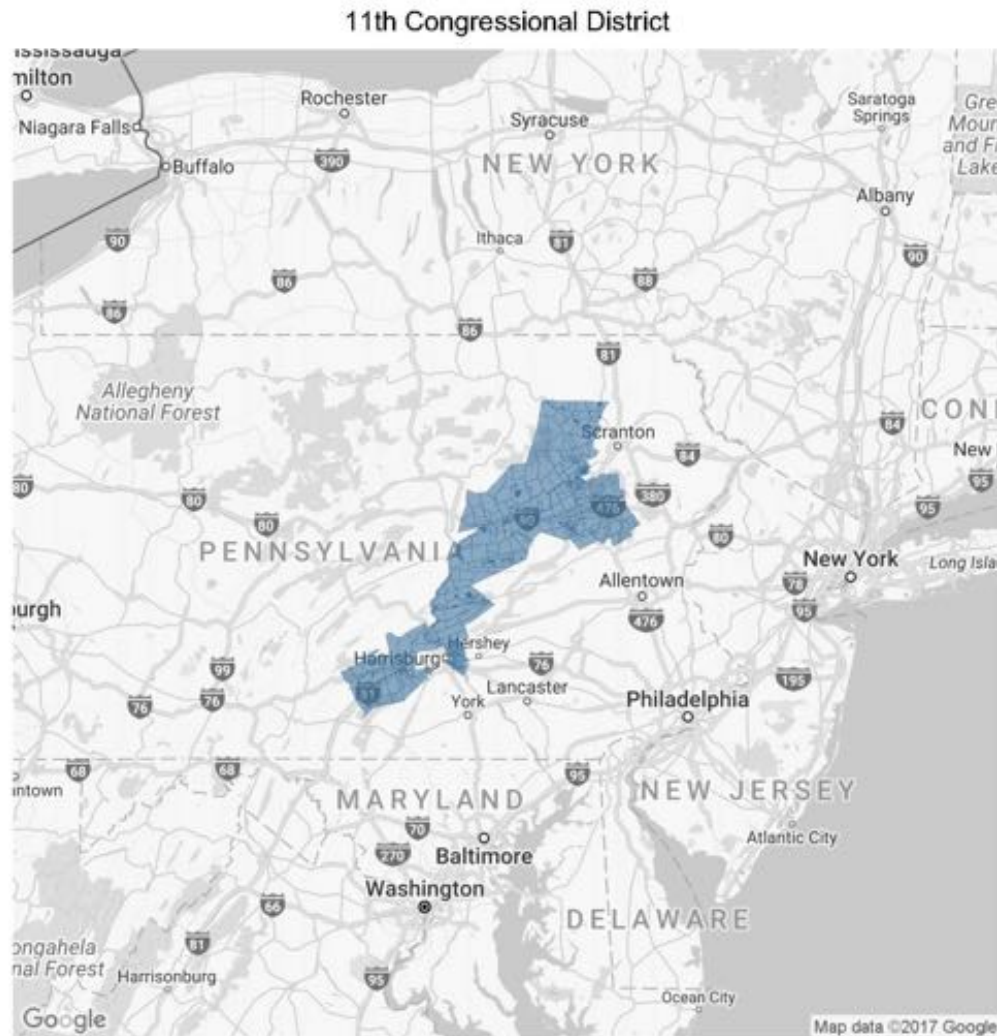
Unlike some of the other more rural districts in Pennsylvania, the 10<sup>th</sup> District was politically competitive in the previous decade and, in fact, elected a Democrat in both 2006 and 2008. The current Congressman, Republican Thomas Marino, was elected in 2010 under the previous boundaries, but the Democratic share of the vote dropped from 45% in 2010 to less than 35% in 2012 under the current boundaries.

The current 10<sup>th</sup> District's boundaries stretch from Westfall Township in the far northeast corner of the state down the western side of the Susquehanna River until ending at the bottom of Perry County in Toboyne Township, a distance that measures slightly over 200 miles. As it makes this journey across northeastern Pennsylvania it also manages to skirt Democratic areas such as Scranton and

Wilkes-Barre before veering far to the west and then south. The geography of these boundaries produces an unnecessary hardship as far as constituent service is concerned. An individual residing in the borough of Sayre, located at the tip of Bradford County, would need to travel roughly 75 miles to visit the nearest office of the current congressperson, Representative Thomas Marino.



## *District 11*

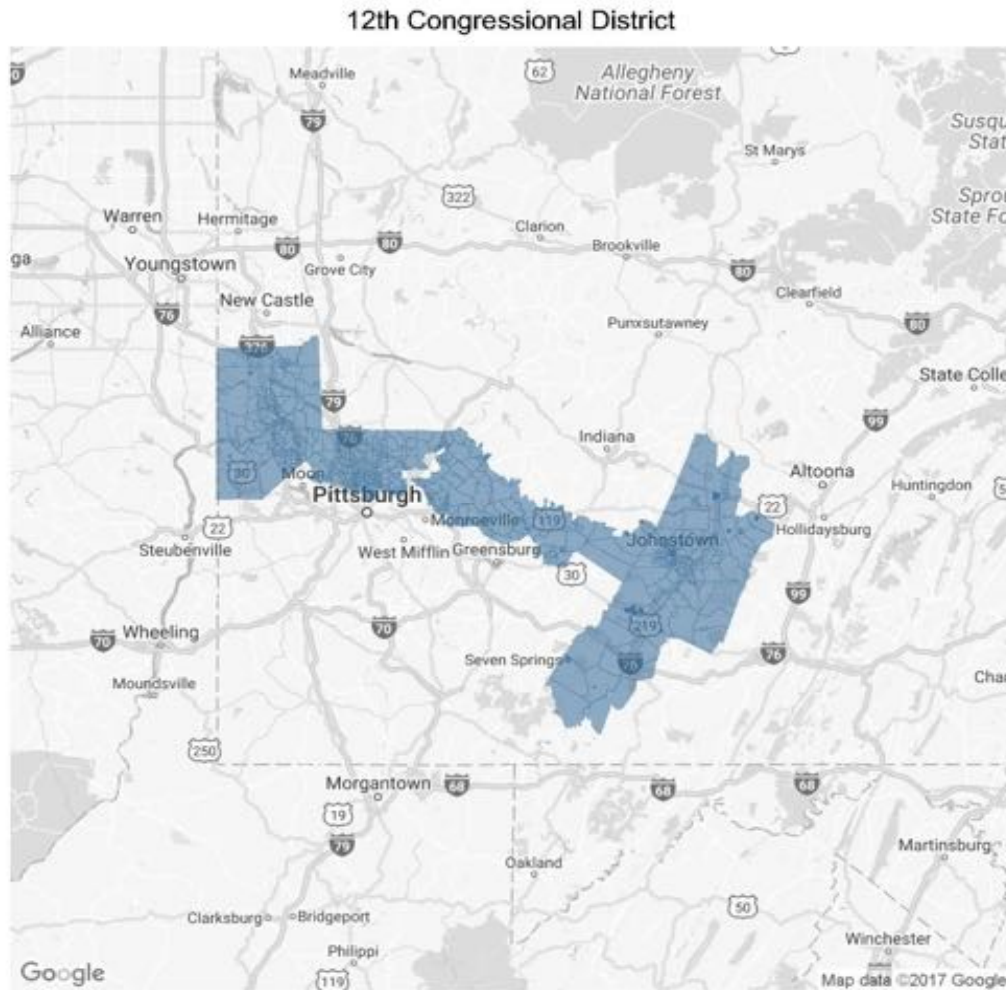


Historically, the 11<sup>th</sup> District had been dominated by the Democratic Party, which had held it since 1955 (with the exception of a two year period from 1981-1983) until the GOP wave of 2010. Irish and Eastern European immigrants arrived here a century ago to work in its industrial plants and coal mines while belonging to their associated labor unions. In fact, Lackawanna (Irish) and Luzerne (Polish) counties are two of only four counties in the entire state in which German ancestry is not the plurality (the others are Delaware, where those of Irish descent are the plurality, and in Philadelphia, where African-Americans are the plurality). Lackawanna and Luzerne have also been Democratic strongholds, for reasons associated with this history and their demographic compositions. However, the current boundaries of the 11<sup>th</sup> District do not incorporate Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, the Lackawanna and Luzern county seats. The voters from these two

Democratic municipalities are cracked from the 11<sup>th</sup> District and packed with other Democratic strongholds such as Easton in the 17<sup>th</sup> District.

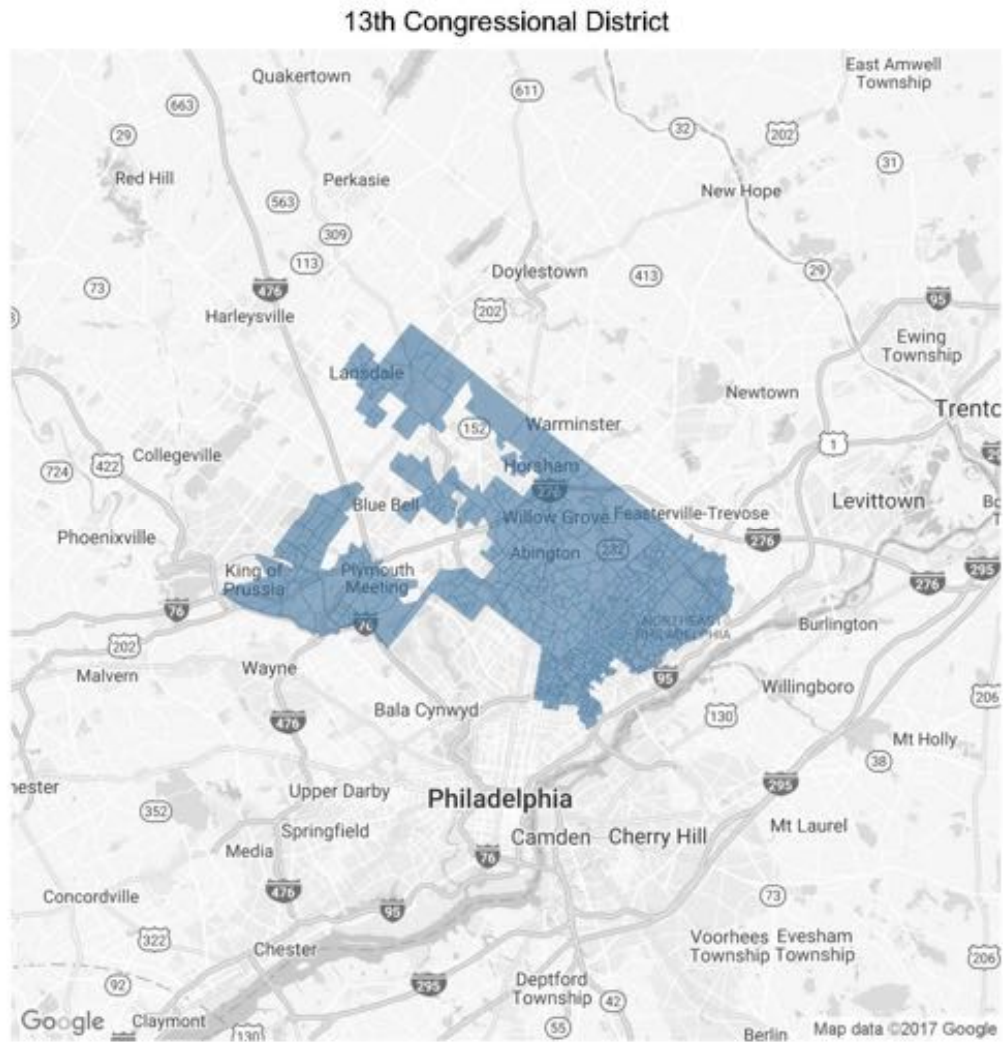
To achieve this cracking, the 11<sup>th</sup> District boundaries split six counties and four municipalities. The almost total vertical geographic nature of this district creates a distance of over 200 miles from the borough of Nicholson at the northern tip of Wyoming County to Southampton Township at the southern end of Cumberland County. An individual from Nicholson would need to travel approximately 80 miles just to get to the nearest district office located in Hazelton.

## *District 12*



Containing six counties, only one of which (Beaver) is completely included, the 12th District changed considerably from its pre-2011 boundaries, with its southern part removed and its western side elongated. Now, the 12<sup>th</sup> District runs from the southern end of Lawrence County, incorporating Beaver County before it slices eastward through the northern parts of Allegheny and Westmoreland counties and concludes at the eastern end of Cambria and Somerset Counties. In doing so, it borders four other congressional districts, the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> districts. The odd shape of the 12<sup>th</sup> District appears meticulously calculated to merge two former Democratic seats – the old 4<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> districts. As mentioned earlier, these two Democratic incumbents, Jason Altmire and Mark Critz, were subsequently forced to face off against one another. The driving distance from Little Beaver Township, Lawrence County to Windber Township, Somerset County is approximately 120 miles.

## *District 13*

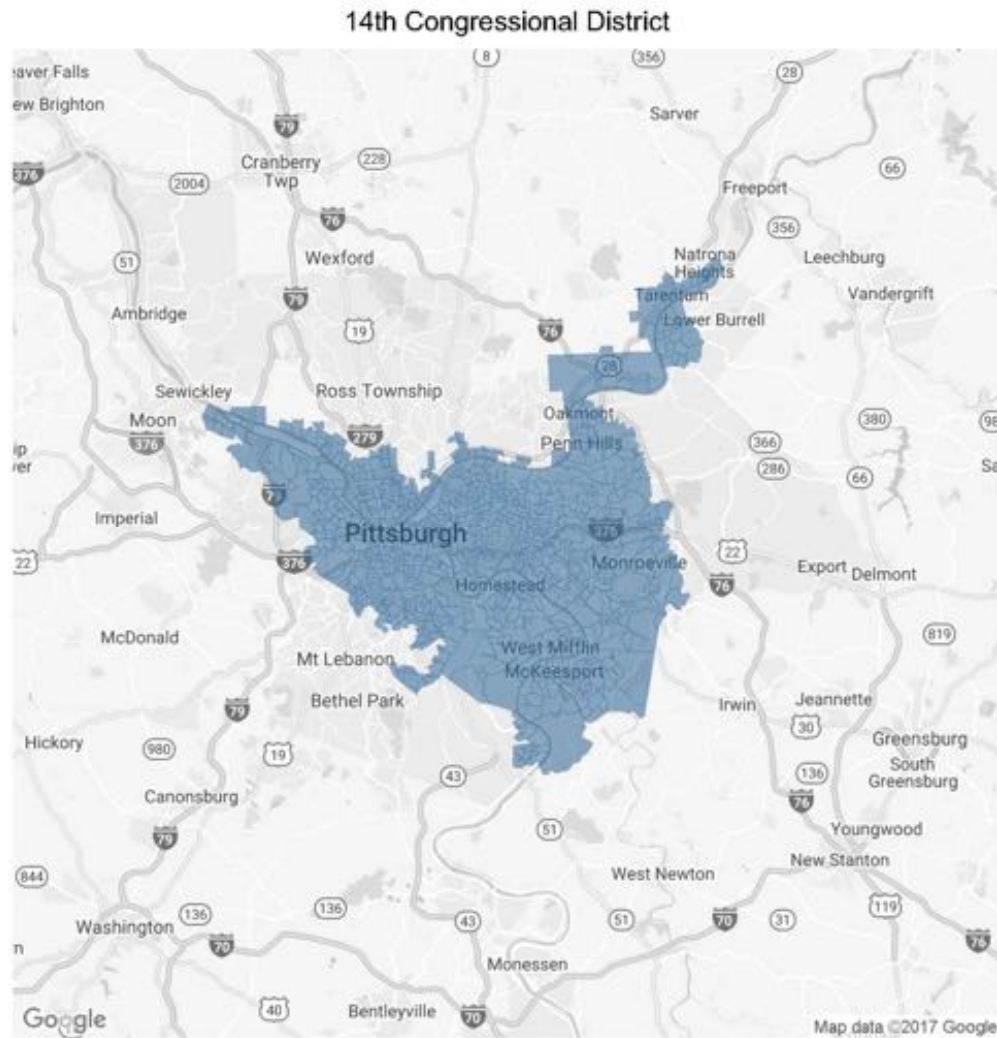


The eastern half of the 13<sup>th</sup> District includes northeast Philadelphia and eastern Montgomery County, both Democratic-leaning areas. Its boundaries also encompass portions of Montgomery County in Plymouth Meeting via a narrow strip of land, thereby packing even more Democratic voters and allowing for the adjacent districts to push further westward so they are more conducive to a Republican lean. The oddly shaped chunk that appears to be missing from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> District is in the sprawling 7<sup>th</sup> District, where it results in the odd appendage that appears to be “Goofy’s head.”

The disruption that this produces for voters in the area is made clear by the treatment of Montgomery County, the third largest county in the Commonwealth, which is divided into five different congressional districts. This suburban county

was once a linchpin of Republican support until it began trending more Democratic in the mid-1990s. A decade ago, the Democrats finally overtook the GOP and their advantage has only accelerated in recent years. With the declining Republican influence it was a natural target to be carved up. Additionally, the 13<sup>th</sup> District also contains 14 municipalities that are split between the 13<sup>th</sup> and another district. The degree to which some of the communities are carved up is particularly excessive, with three being split at the census block level. In fact, Hatfield Township is split such that only one census block is included in the 13<sup>th</sup> District. Similarly, in Horsham Township, only two blocks are included. There are other block-level divisions in Lower Merion Township.

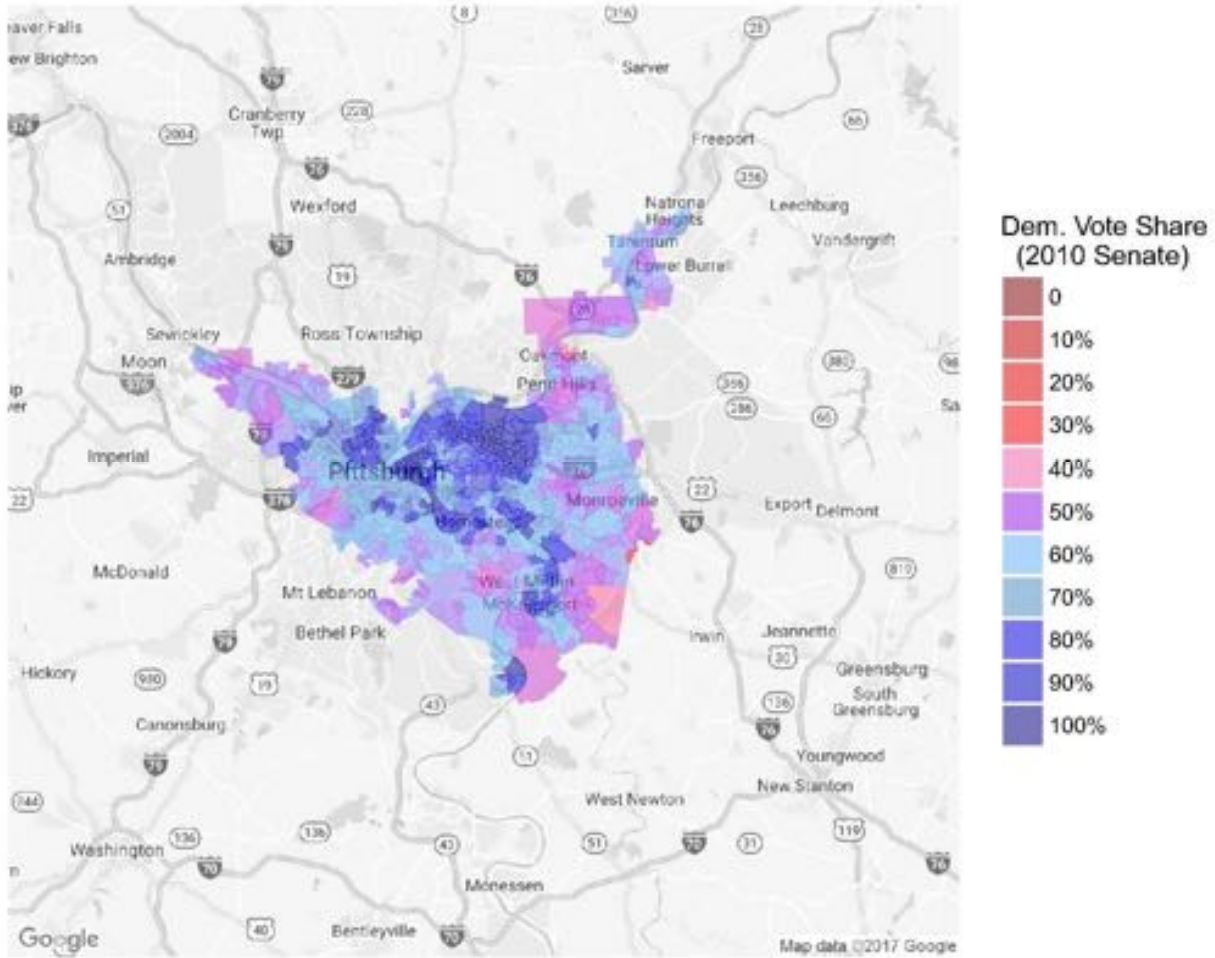
## *District 14*



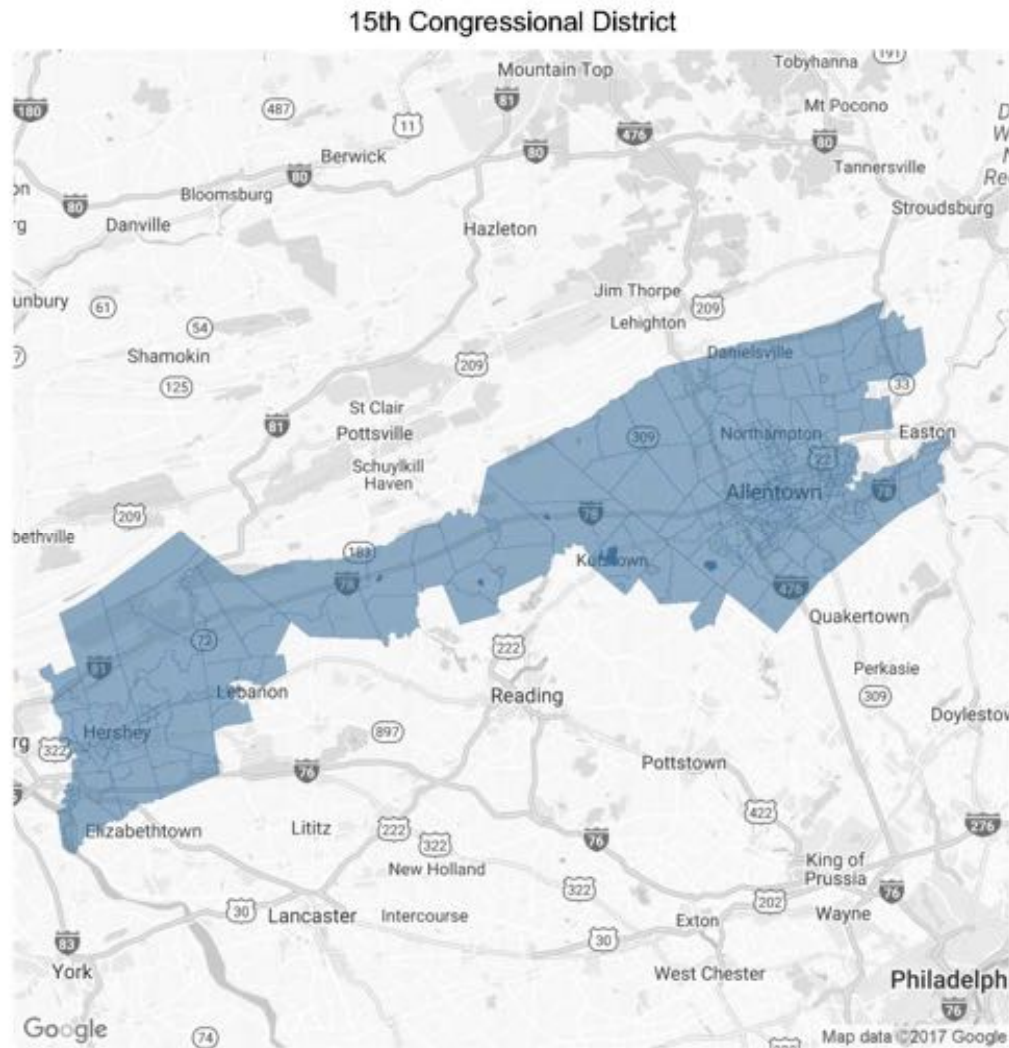
The 14<sup>th</sup> District is based around the state's second largest city, Pittsburgh, which is just a little less than half of the district's overall population. The district also packs in Democratic voters from outside this Democratic urban center by splitting outlying municipalities of Pittsburgh. For instance, Monroeville Township is split into three congressional districts, one of which is the 14<sup>th</sup> District. There are several other municipalities that are significantly splintered, such as Whitehall Township and Harrison Township. The northeastern "horn" of the district stretches north to capture Democratic-leaning voters near Tarentum and Natrona Heights, packing those voters into the 14<sup>th</sup> District and removing them from the 12<sup>th</sup> District to the north.



## 14th Congressional District



## *District 15*



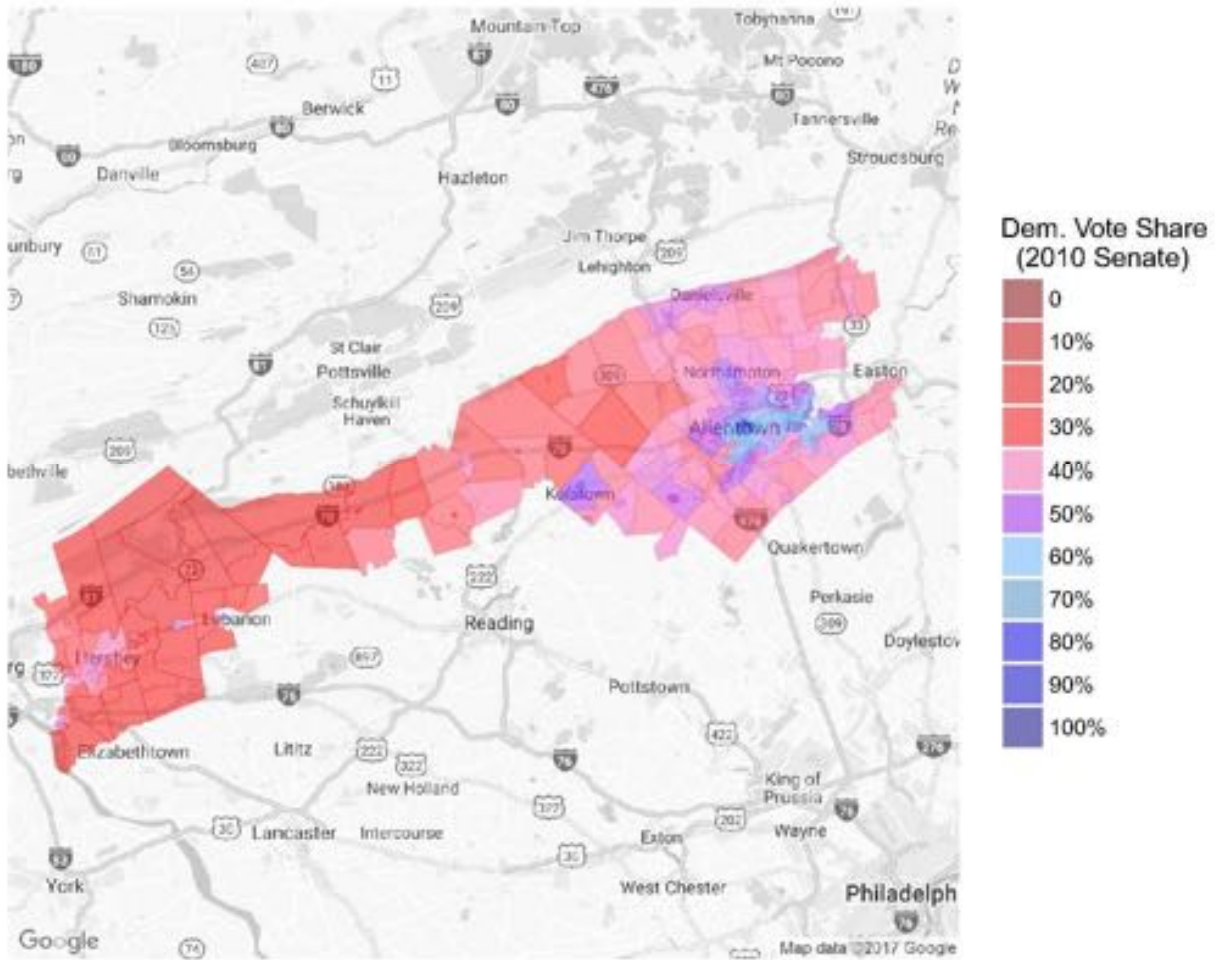
The current borders of the Lehigh Valley-based 15<sup>th</sup> District leave out Easton, the county seat of Northampton County, and pack its Democratic-leaning voters into the heavily-Democratic 17<sup>th</sup> District. This fundamentally changed the partisan makeup of what was historically one of the most competitive districts in the state to the detriment of Democratic voters in Lehigh Valley. Since Democrat Francis E. Walter was elected in 1952 until the reelection last year of incumbent Republican Charlie Dent, both parties have held this Lehigh Valley district exactly 16 terms apiece. However, by stripping away Easton, a Democratic Party stronghold from its traditional home and pushing it further west, the 15<sup>th</sup> District is now safer for the Republicans. The Democratic voters cracked from Easton have been packed into the 17<sup>th</sup> District along with the Democratic voters in Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, which were themselves cracked from the 11<sup>th</sup> District.



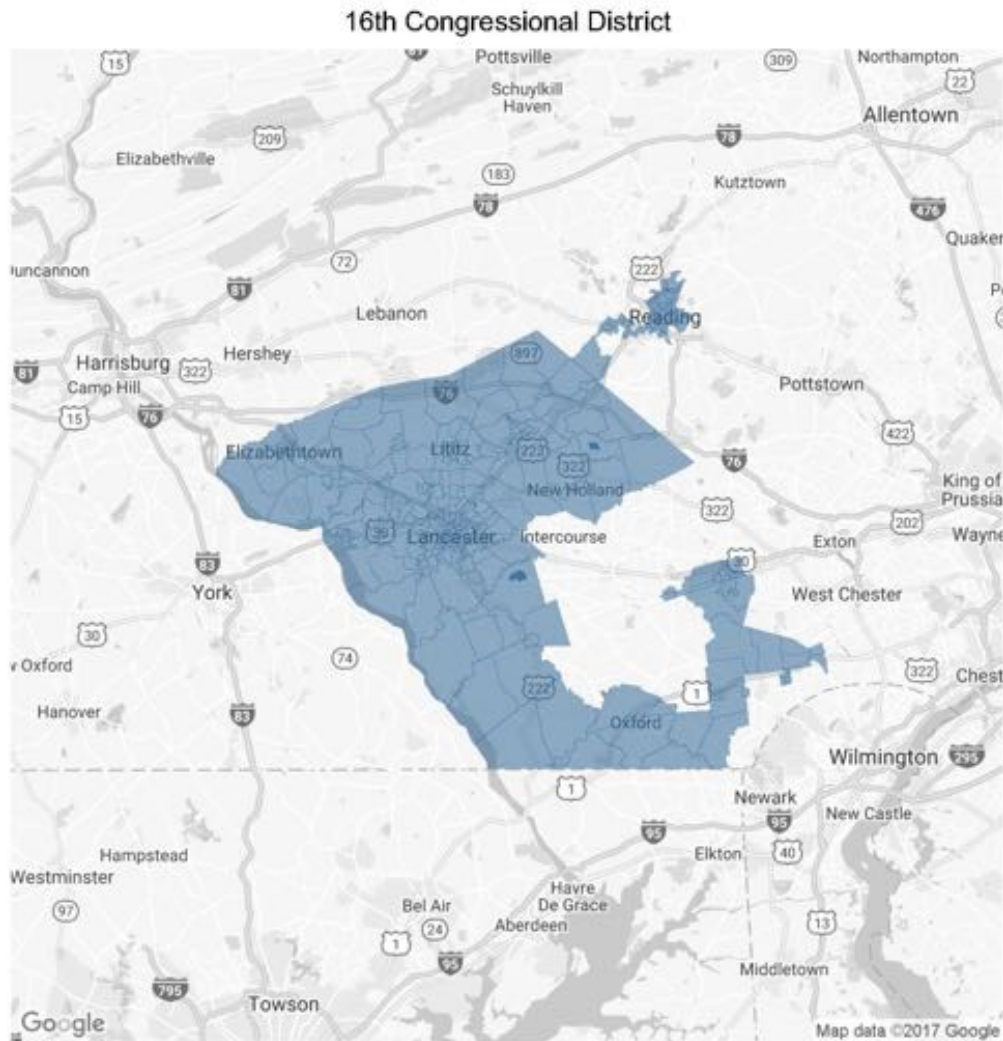
As a historical note, the 1970s map contained just Lehigh and Northampton Counties in the 15<sup>th</sup> District. In the 1980s, this district again left these two counties undivided, while also adding a small portion of Monroe County. In the next two decades, the 1990s and 2000s, the 15<sup>th</sup> District again included the entirety of Lehigh and Northampton Counties (except a single township district of Lehigh County), while also adding a slice of northern Montgomery County. These boundaries all made sense in the context of ensuring there was a “Lehigh Valley district.” In general, residents of the Lehigh Valley, the state’s third largest metropolitan area, identify themselves with the overall region and this is manifest in a variety of ways, governmental and otherwise. For instance, this area is home to the Lehigh Valley International Airport (LVIA), the Lehigh Valley Planning Commission (LVPC), the Lehigh and Northampton Transportation Authority (LANTA), the Lehigh Valley Chamber of Commerce (located in Easton), and even the minor league baseball team, the Lehigh Valley Iron Pigs. In the current map, however, the 15<sup>th</sup> District now includes parts of Berks, Dauphin, and Lebanon counties, communities that have little in common with what once was the base of this district. While Lehigh County is included and intact, its sister county within the Lehigh Valley, Northampton, is split. Namely, parts of Bethlehem and Easton have been removed from the 15<sup>th</sup> District.

Additionally, without any apparent reason other than the removal of Democratic voters, the city of Bethlehem is split between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Districts. While the majority of Bethlehem remains in the 15<sup>th</sup> District, this municipality has been splintered down to the census block level. The 15<sup>th</sup> District now includes just one intact Democratic area—the city of Allentown. Thus, as shown below, the Democratic voters in this city are cracked into a district that, given the other changes referenced above, is now extremely Republican.

## 15th Congressional District

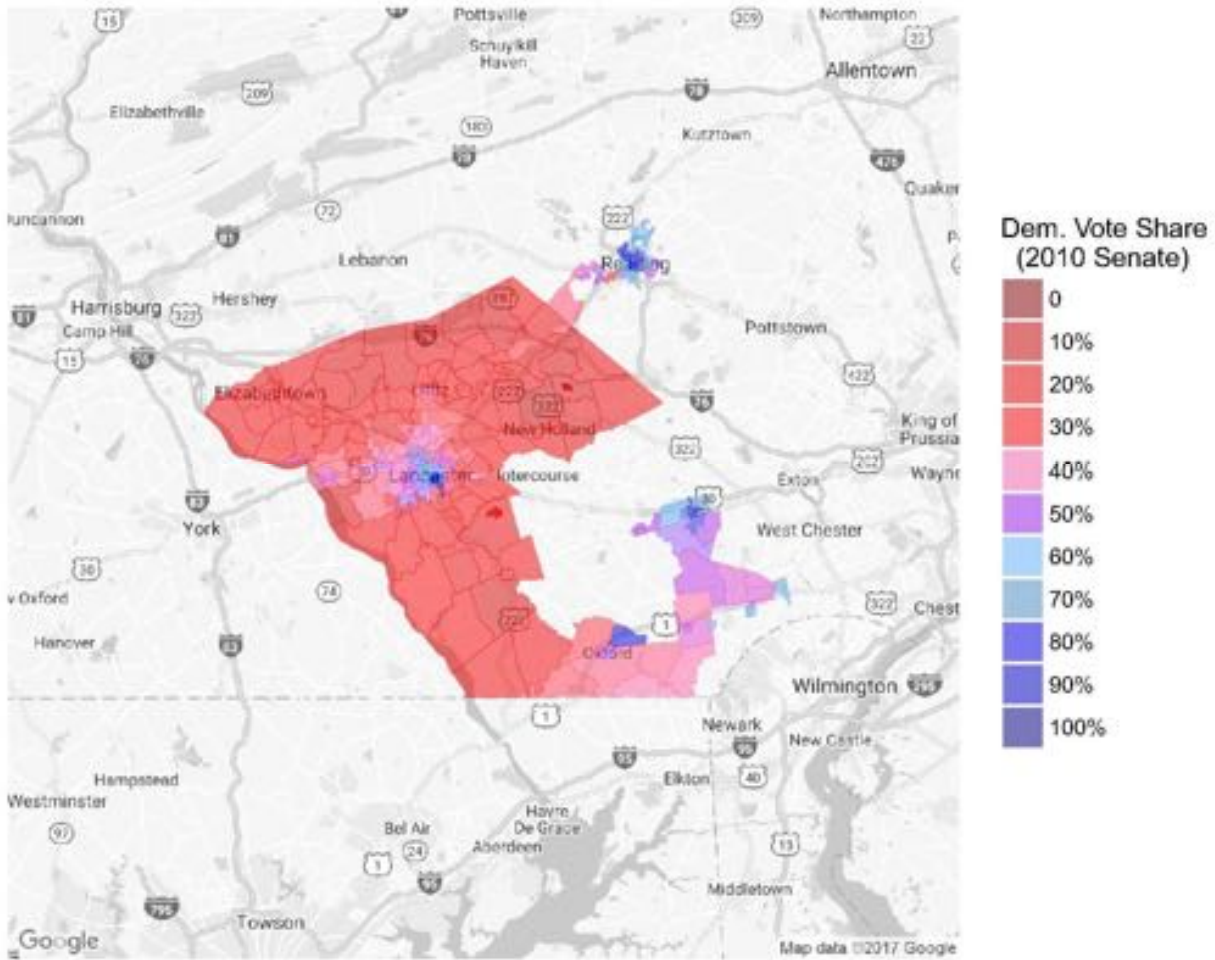


## *District 16*

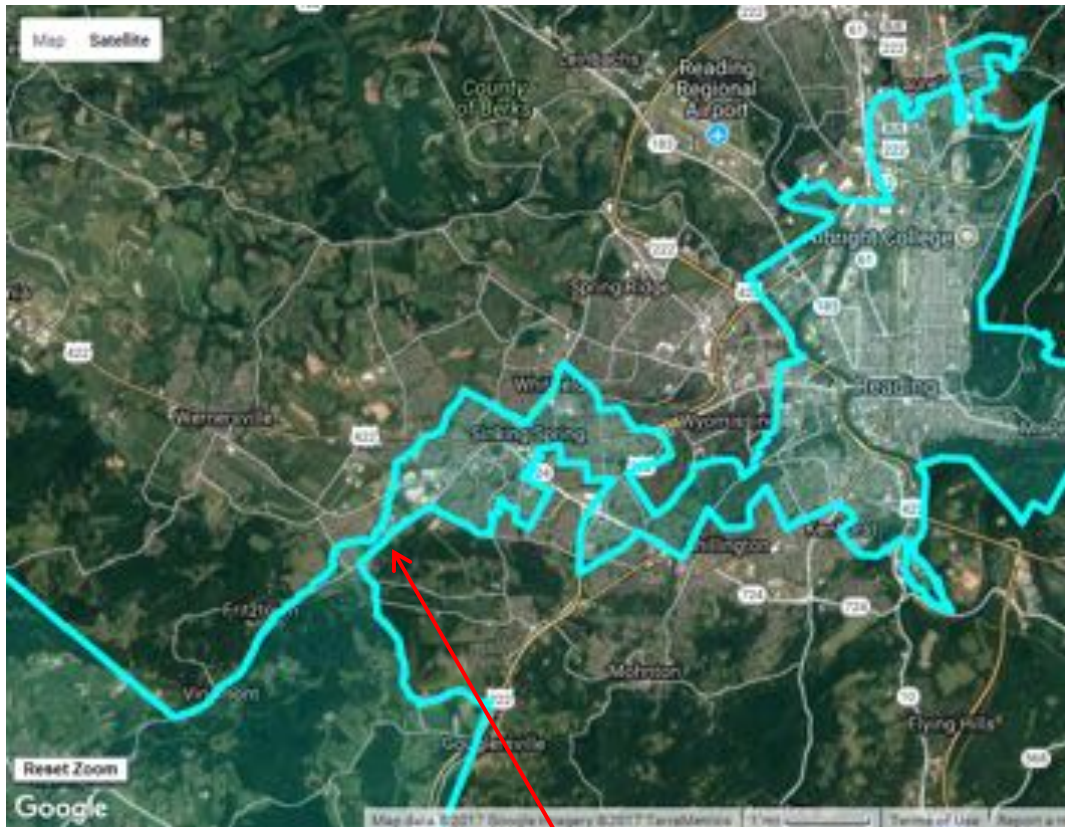


As previously mentioned, moving the heavily-Democratic city of Reading from its traditional Berks County home and placing into the Lancaster County-based 16<sup>th</sup> District has no other explanation other than the deliberate cracking of Democratic voters. Many of the issues and challenges faced by what is one of the most economically challenged cities in the state have little in common with the farming interests present in the remainder of the district, which includes the heart of Amish country. The tortured shape of this district, including a land bridge to Reading that is no more than the width of a mulch store and service station, cracks the city away from the rest of Berks County.

## 16th Congressional District





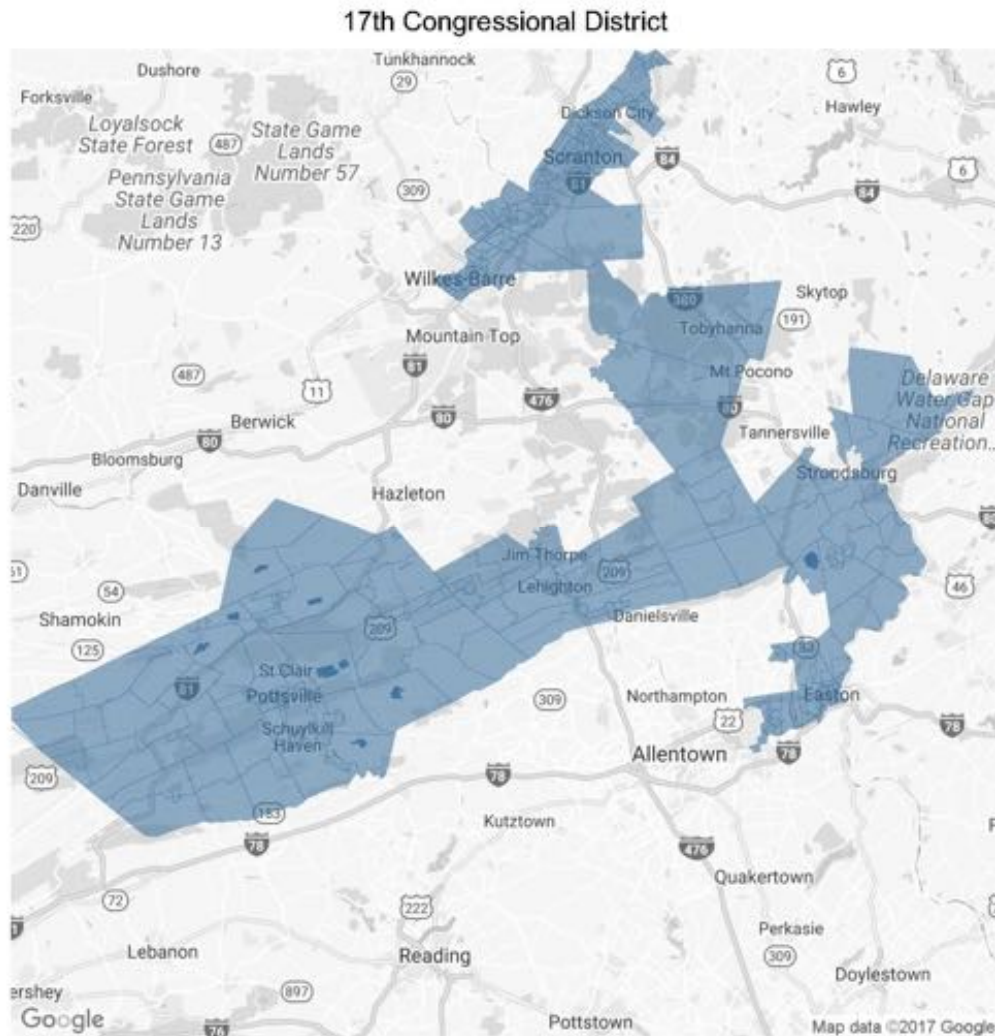


Berks County is itself divided into four different congressional districts and splintered more per-capita than any other area of the state. This district also contains parts of Cumru and Spring townships, both divided into three different congressional districts, with the former also divided at the census block level. Laureldale Township in Berks County, as well as Kennett Township in Chester County, are also subdivided down to the block level. The borough of Kennett Square is also corralled into this district by virtue of a land bridge that consists of nothing but a cemetery and an adjacent park. It should be noted that Kennett Square is the residence of former Congressman Joseph Pitts, a longtime Congressman who held office from 1997 until his retirement in 2016.



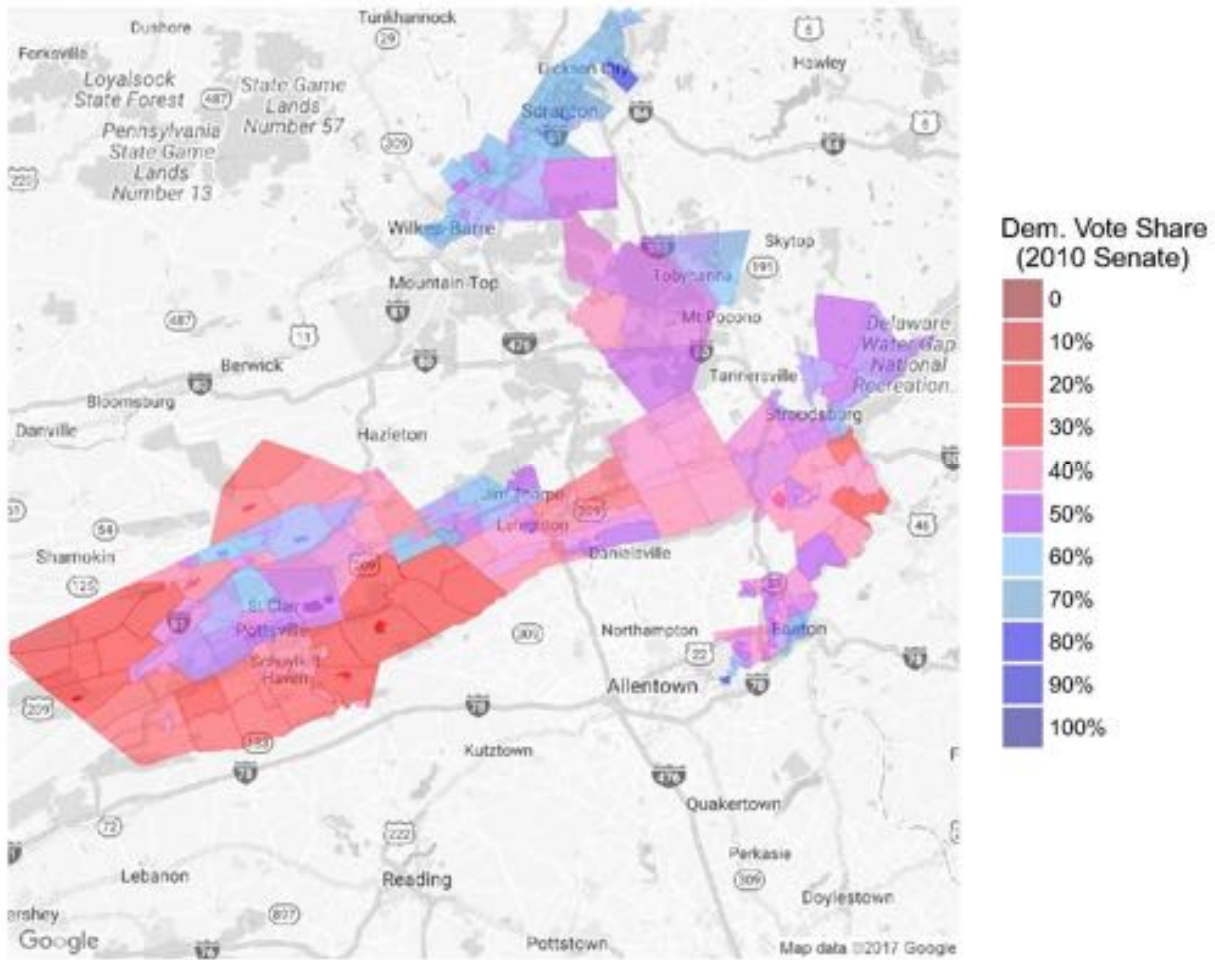


*District 17*

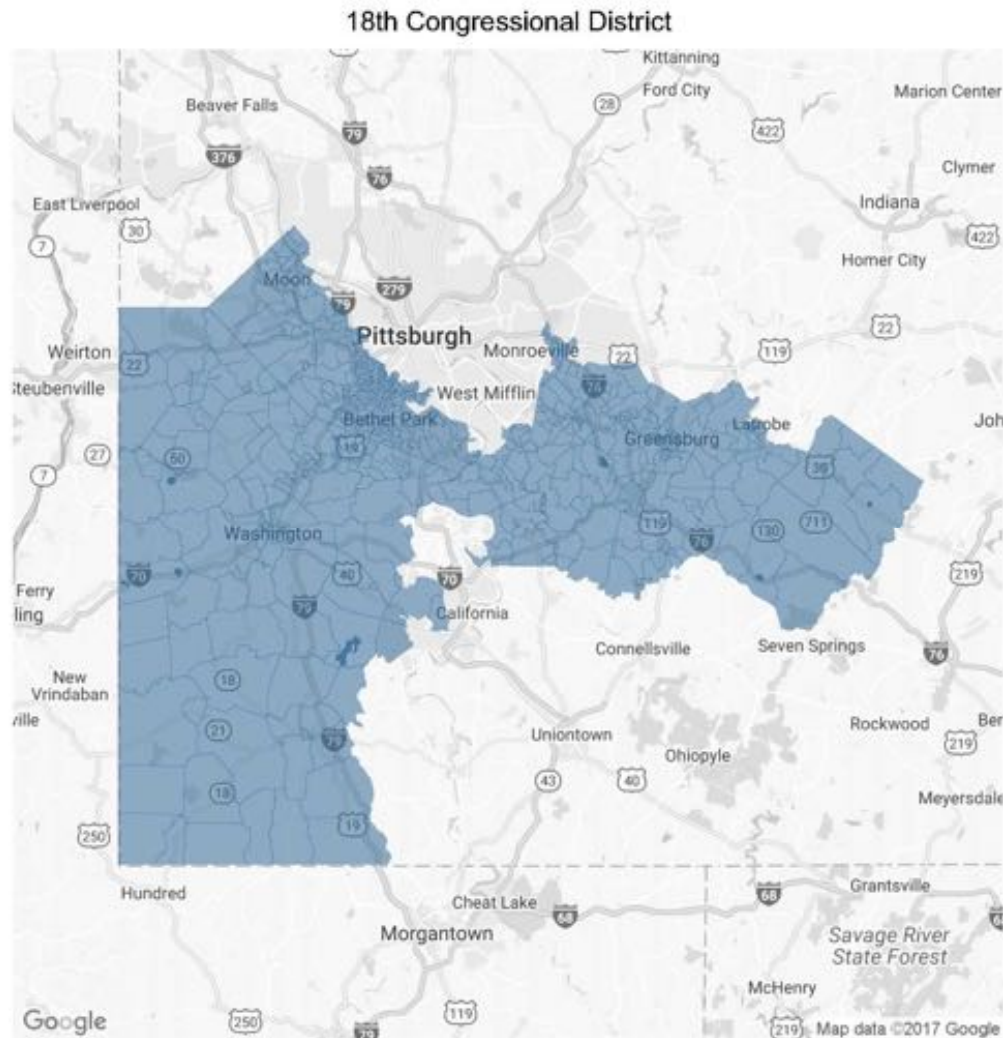


As previously discussed, the 17<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, located in the northeastern part of the state, appears designed to pack as many Democratic voters in it as possible. To accomplish this, part of the city of Bethlehem, in the southwest, and the entire city of Easton, in the southeast, have been removed from their traditional Lehigh Valley-based district (the 15<sup>th</sup> District). In order to drive from the Bethlehem-Easton appendage of this district to the other end in Schuylkill County, one would need to travel approximately 50 miles through the 15<sup>th</sup> District. At the north end of the district, Democratic voters in Wilkes-Barre and Scranton have been cracked from other districts and packed on in an outlying appendage.

## 17th Congressional District



## *District 18*



The final district in Pennsylvania is the eighth of the Commonwealth's 18 congressional districts that fails to contain even one complete county (the others being the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup> districts). The 18<sup>th</sup> District also contains five divided municipalities including the aforementioned Monroeville as well Whitehall Township, Allegheny County and Fallowfield, Washington County, both of which are subdivided down to the block level. Notably, the district was expanded southward since the last redistricting and now incorporates the area of Greene County that was part of the pre-2011 12<sup>th</sup> District. This change to the 18<sup>th</sup> District makes way for the newly drawn 12<sup>th</sup> District, which was shifted west in

such a way as to pair two Democratic incumbents in 2010, Jason Altmire and Mark Critz.

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Assessing Pennsylvania's eighteen congressional districts on an individual basis allows one to witness the contortions required to produce this map so obviously designed to meet some particular end. Whether it is visually (with its bizarre shapes), or numerically (the number of splits that it produces for both counties and municipalities even down to the census block level), or practically (with portions of districts held together by steakhouses or mulch stores), this is a textbook example of a political gerrymander. Unfortunately, the best interests for many Pennsylvanians appear neglected, whether it is maintaining the integrity of their communities, or something as simple as the convenience of visiting the district office of their own member of the United States Congress.

## APPENDIX<sup>8</sup>

**Table A1: Split Counties, 1966-1970s**

Count	Split Counties	Number of Districts Falling Within
1	Allegheny	4
2	Dauphin	2
3	Delaware	2
4	Fayette	2
5	Lehigh	2
6	Montgomery	2
7	Philadelphia	5

**Table A2: Split Municipalities, 1966-1970**

Count	Split Municipalities
1	Philadelphia
2	Pittsburgh

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<sup>8</sup> The Source for all Tables presented in this Appendix is the Pennsylvania Manual.

**Table A3: Split Counties, 1970s**

Count	Split Counties	Number of Districts Falling Within
1	Allegheny	6
2	Chester	2
3	Clarion	2
4	Cumberland	2
5	Delaware	2
6	Lebanon	2
7	Montgomery	3
8	Northumberland	2
9	Philadelphia	5

**Table A4: Split Municipalities, 1970s**

Count	Split Municipalities
1	Philadelphia
2	Pittsburgh
3	Telford *
4	Trafford *

\* Denotes a municipality that crosses county lines.



**Table A5: Split Counties, 1980s**

Count	Split Counties	Number of Districts Falling Within
1	Allegheny	4
2	Armstrong	2
3	Beaver	2
4	Cambria	2
5	Carbon	2
6	Chester	2
7	Clearfield	2
8	Cumberland	2
9	Delaware	2
10	Lancaster	2
11	Lawrence	2
12	Monroe	3
13	Montgomery	3
14	Northumberland	2
15	Philadelphia	5
16	Westmoreland	2

**Table A6: Split Municipalities, 1980s**

Count	Split Municipalities
1	Philadelphia
2	Telford *
3	Tunnelhill *

\* Denotes a municipality that crosses county lines.

**Table A7: Split Counties, 1990s**

Count	Split Counties	Number of Districts Falling Within
1	Allegheny	4
2	Armstrong	2
3	Butler	2
4	Centre	2
5	Chester	2
6	Clarion	2
7	Clearfield	3
8	Crawford	2
9	Cumberland	2
10	Delaware	3
11	Fayette	2
12	Lancaster	2
13	Lycoming	2
14	Monroe	2
15	Montgomery	5
16	Northumberland	3
17	Perry	2
18	Philadelphia	3
19	Westmoreland	3

**Table A8: Split Municipalities, 1990s**

Count	Split Municipalities
1	Adamstown *
2	Chester
3	East Hempfield
4	East Stroudsburg
5	Hampden
6	Lower Moreland
7	Philadelphia
8	Pottstown
9	Ridley
10	Sandy
11	Shippensburg *
12	Telford *
13	Trafford *
14	Upper Merion

\* Denotes a municipality that crosses county lines.

**Table A9: Split Counties, 2000s**

Count	Split Counties	Number of Districts Falling Within
1	Allegheny	4
2	Armstrong	2
3	Berks	3
4	Butler	2
5	Cambria	2
6	Chester	3
7	Clearfield	2
8	Crawford	2
9	Cumberland	2
10	Delaware	2
11	Fayette	2
12	Indiana	2
13	Lackawanna	2
14	Luzerne	2
15	Lycoming	2
16	Mercer	2
17	Mifflin	2
18	Montgomery	6
19	Perry	2
20	Philadelphia	4
21	Somerset	2
22	Venango	2
23	Warren	2
24	Washington	2
25	Westmoreland	3

**Table A10: Split Municipalities, 2000s**

Count	Split Municipalities
1	Abington
2	Adamstown
3	Avalon
4	Baldwin
5	Bern
6	Brackinridge
7	Canonsburg
8	Carroll
9	Charleroi
10	Chartiers
11	Connelsville
12	Crafton
13	Darby
14	Dickson
15	Dunbar
16	Earl
17	East Bradford
18	East Deer
19	East Huntingdon
20	East Washington
21	Elizabeth
22	Emlenton
23	Etna
24	Fallowfield
25	Georges
26	Hempfield
27	Hermitage
28	Indiana
29	Jessup
30	Marlborough
31	Monroeville
32	Mt. Pleasant
33	Muhlenberg
34	North Strabane
35	North Union
36	North Versailles

37	O'Hara
38	Olyphant
39	Penn Hills
40	Philadelphia
41	Pitcairn
42	Plymouth
43	Reading
44	Ridley
45	Robinson
46	Salem
47	Sewickly
48	Shippensburg
49	South Buffalo
50	South Heidelberg
51	South Huntingdon
52	South Strabane
53	South Union
54	Southampton
55	Spring
56	Springhill
57	Swoyersville
58	Telford
59	Tinicum
60	Trafford *
61	Upper Dublin
62	Upper Moreland
63	Unity
64	Washington
65	White
66	Whitemarsh
67	Wilkins

\* Denotes a municipality that crosses county lines.



**Table A11: Split Counties, Current Map**

Count	Split Counties	Number of Districts Falling Within
1	Allegheny	3
2	Berks	4
3	Cambria	2
4	Carbon	2
5	Chester	3
6	Clarion	2
7	Crawford	2
8	Cumberland	2
9	Dauphin	3
10	Delaware	2
11	Erie	2
12	Greene	2
13	Huntingdon	2
14	Lackawanna	2
15	Lancaster	2
16	Lawrence	2
17	Lebanon	2
18	Luzerne	2
19	Monroe	2
20	Montgomery	5
21	Northampton	2
22	Northumberland	2
23	Perry	2
24	Philadelphia	3
25	Somerset	2
26	Tioga	2
27	Washington	2
28	Westmoreland	4

**Table A12: Split Municipalities, Current Map**

Count	Split Municipalities
1	Archbald
2	Barr
3	Bethlehem
4	Caln
5	Carbondale
6	Chester
7	Cumru
8	Darby
9	East Bradford
10	East Carroll
11	East Norriton
12	Fallowfield
13	Glenolden
14	Harrisburg
15	Harrison
16	Hatfield
17	Hereford
18	Horsham
19	Kennett
20	Laureldale
21	Lebanon
22	Lower Alsace
23	Lower Gwynedd
24	Lower Merion
25	Mechanicsburg
26	Millcreek
27	Monroeville
28	Morgan
29	Muhlenberg
30	North Lebanon
31	Northern Cambria
32	Olyphant
33	Penn
34	Pennsbury
35	Perkiomen
36	Philadelphia

37	Piney
38	Plainfield
39	Plymouth Township
40	Ridley
41	Riverrside
42	Robinson
43	Sadsbury
44	Seven Springs *
45	Shippen
46	Shippensburg *
47	Shirley
48	Spring
49	Springfield
50	Stroud
51	Susquehanna
52	Throop
53	Tinicum
54	Trafford *
55	Upper Allen
56	Upper Darby
57	Upper Dublin
58	Upper Gwynedd
59	Upper Hanover
60	Upper Merion
61	Upper Nazareth
62	West Bradford
63	West Hanover
64	West Norriton
65	Whitehall
66	Whitemarsh
67	Whitpain
68	Wyomissing

\* Denotes a municipality that crosses county lines.

**Table A13: Districts and Counties  
That Contain Census Block Splits, Current Map**

District	Counties
2	Montgomery
3	Clarion
4	Dauphin
5	Clarion
	Huntingdon
	Tioga
6	Berks
	Lebanon
	Montgomery
7	Chester
	Montgomery
8	Montgomery
9	Cambria
	Huntingdon
	Washington
10	Lackawanna
	Northumberland
	Tioga
11	Dauphin
	Northumberland
12	Cambria
13	Montgomery
14	Allegheny
15	Lebanon
	Northampton
16	Berks
	Chester
17	Lackawanna
	Northampton
18	Allegheny
	Washington

November 27, 2017

I hereby certify that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief. This verification is made subject to the penalties of 18 Pa.C.S. § 4904 relating to unsworn falsification to authorities.



John J. Kennedy, PhD

# Exhibit 1



## **JOHN J. KENNEDY**

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Department of Political Science  
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West Chester, PA 19383  
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### **WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY FACULTY APPOINTMENT**

- Full Professor and Tenured, 2017–current
- Associate Professor and Tenured, 2006–2017
- Assistant Professor, 2001–2006
- Adjunct Professor, 1997–2001

### **EDUCATION**

- Doctor of Philosophy, Temple University, Political Science, May 1996  
Dissertation Title: "The State of the Pennsylvania Legislature in the 1990s"  
Fields of Study: American Politics, State and Local Government, Elections, Congress, Presidency, Public Opinion and the Media
- University of Houston  
Doctoral Student in Political Science  
Teaching Assistantship Grant
- Master in Public Administration, Kutztown University, May 1988
- Bachelor of Science Degree in Public Administration, Kutztown University, May 1984

### **RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

#### **Books**

- Kennedy, John J. "Pennsylvania Government and Politics." Cognella Academic Press. August 2017.
- Kennedy, John J. "Pennsylvania Elections, Statewide Contests from 1950–2014. Revised Edition." University Press of America, Inc., 2014.
- Kennedy, John J. "Pennsylvania Elections, Statewide Contests from 1950–2004." University Press of America, Inc., 2005.
- Kennedy, John J. "The Contemporary Pennsylvania Legislature." University Press of America, 1999.

- Kennedy, John J. "The Adolescent Family Life Act;" "The Danforth Act;" "The Hatch Act;" "The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917" and "The Smith-Lever Act of 1914." in *The Encyclopedia of Women in American Politics*. Oryx Press. Publication Date: November 1998.

#### **Peer Reviewed Article**

- Kennedy, John J. "Sometimes it Does Matter: The 2016 Presidential Primary in Pennsylvania" in *Commonwealth*. November 2016.

#### **Book Review**

- Kennedy, John J. in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. "The Realignment of Pennsylvania Politics Since 1960: Two-Party Competition in a Battleground State." By Renee Lamis. April 2010.

#### **INVITED PRESENTATIONS**

- Keynote Speaker. 2015 Undergraduate Research at the Capitol-Pennsylvania (URC-PA) Poster Conference. Harrisburg, PA. March 3, 2015.
- Chair and Panelist at Plenary Panel on Redistricting in Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Allentown, PA, March 30, 2012
- Panelist at Plenary Panel on Race and Religion in the 2008 Election. Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Elizabethtown, PA, March 27, 2009.
- The Capitol Centennial Commission presents 100 Years of Pennsylvania Political History. Responsible for discussing the political system of Pennsylvania for the years 1986-2006. October 2, 2006.
- Arbiter of Debate Criteria for Congressional Election in Delaware 2006.

#### **NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS**

- Subject: Pennsylvania's Status as a Swing State in Presidential Politics. Philadelphia Inquirer. October 30, 2012.
- Subject: Pennsylvania Senate Election, Sestak v. Toomey. Philadelphia Inquirer. October 30, 2010.
- Subject: Revisiting the Year of the Woman. The Morning Call. October 28, 1998.
- Columns and Viewpoints Editorial. Subject: United States Presidential Election. The Morning Call August 4, 1995.

- Columns and Viewpoints Editorial. Subject: Candidate Recruitment for Elections to the United States Senate. The Morning Call. April 21, 1994.

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

- Paper Title: "Democratic Party Futility in U.S. Senate Elections in Pennsylvania: An Analysis of Voting Behavior in the Southwest." Pennsylvania Political Science Association Meeting. April 1–2, 2005.
- Paper Title: "Technology Enhancing Political Science: Overcoming Institutional Obstacles and Building Bridges for Change." With Dr. R. Lorraine Bernotsky. The American Political Science Association. Boston, MA. August 29–September 1, 2002.
- Paper Title: "Election 2000: Using Tracking Polls to Teach Undergraduate Research Methods." With Dr. R. Lorraine Bernotsky. The American Political Science Association. San Francisco, CA. August 30–September 2, 2001.
- Paper Title: "Suburban Migration and the Vote in Southeastern Pennsylvania: 1950-2000." With Dr. R. Lorraine Bernotsky. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Harrisburg, PA, April 6–7, 2001.
- Paper Title: "The Forgotten Ones: Electoral Experiences of the Defeated Candidates to the Pennsylvania Legislature." The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Huntingdon, PA. April 3–4, 1998.
- Paper Title: "Candidate Recruitment in a Changing Environment: The Pennsylvania Legislature in the 1990s." The Northeastern Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. November 13–15, 1997.
- Panel Chair: "State Innovations: Models and Methods." The Northeastern Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. November 13–15, 1997
- Paper Title: "Role Orientations and Political Ideologies of Pennsylvania's Legislators." The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Elizabethtown, PA. April 4–5, 1997.
- Paper Title: "Candidate Recruitment in a Changing Environment: The Pennsylvania Legislature 1994." The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Easton, PA. April 11–12, 1996.

### **CONFERENCE CHAIR ACTIVITIES**

- Panel Chair: Pennsylvania Politics. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Allentown, PA, March 30–31, 2012.

- Panel Chair: Pennsylvania Politics. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Harrisburg, PA, April 8–9, 2011.
- Panel Chair: Pennsylvania Politics. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Harrisburg, PA, March 26–27, 2010.
- Panel Chair: Pennsylvania Politics. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Elizabethtown, PA, March 27–28, 2009.
- Panel Chair: Pennsylvania Politics. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Harrisburg, PA, April 2–4, 2008.
- Panel Chair: Pennsylvania Politics. The Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Kutztown, PA, April 1–3, 2007.

### **MEDIA ANALYST**

#### **Newspapers**

- Various Times in National (Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Associated Press), Regional (Philadelphia Inquirer, Pittsburgh Tribune, Harrisburg Patriot, Allentown Morning Call), and local (Daily Local News, Pottstown Mercury)

#### **Television and Radio**

- KYW-Eyewitness News, Channel 3. Discussion of Polling and Presidential Campaign, October 27, 2016.
- WHYY–Philadelphia National Public Radio. Discussion of Congressional Elections. Philadelphia, PA. Taped. October 11, 2010.
- PBS12 Newscast. Discussion of Presidential Election. Taped on WCU Campus. October 10, 2008.
- WHYY–Philadelphia National Public Radio. Discussion of Presidential Election. Philadelphia, PA. Live. October 8, 2008.
- PBS12 Newscast. Pennsylvania Primary Coverage. Co-host and Analyst. Philadelphia, PA. Live. April 22, 2008.
- Al Jazeera English. Interview on Upcoming Pennsylvania Primary. Taped on WCU Campus. April 17, 2008.

- WHYY–Philadelphia National Public Radio. “Day to Day” Program. Discussion of Pennsylvania Primary. Philadelphia, PA. Taped Interview. April 14, 2008.
- PBS12 Newscast. Delaware Tonight. Analysis of Pennsylvania Elections. Wilmington, DE. Live. October 16, 2006.
- PBS12 Newscast. Delaware Tonight. Analysis of Polling and Election Results. Wilmington, DE. Live. November 5, 2004.
- WHYY–Philadelphia National Public Radio. Interview on Pennsylvania Congressional Elections. “BBC World Update” Program. Philadelphia, PA. Taped Interview. October 8, 2006.
- UMGA–TV. Book Chat. Interview and Discussion of Pennsylvania Elections Book. March 29, 2006
- WHYY–Philadelphia National Public Radio. Analysis of Pennsylvania Elections. Philadelphia, PA. Taped Interview. October 29, 2004.
- WHP Talk Radio 580. Analysis of Pennsylvania Elections. Harrisburg, PA. Taped Interview. October 29, 2004.
- WHYY Philadelphia National Public Radio. Analysis of Pennsylvania Elections. Philadelphia, PA. Taped Interview. October 5, 2004.
- PBS12 Newscast. Delaware Tonight. Analysis of Delaware Elections. Wilmington, DE. Live. September 28, 2004.
- WILM Radio Interview. Analysis of Delaware Elections. Wilmington, DE. Live Interview. September 28, 2004.
- PBS12 Newscast. Delaware Tonight. Analysis of Delaware Elections. Wilmington, DE. Live Interview. September 27, 2004.
- NBC–10 Live at Issue-Sunday Morning News Program. Philadelphia, PA. Live. November 24, 2002.
- NBC–10 Election Night Coverage. Philadelphia, PA. Live Broadcast. November 5, 2002.
- NBC–10 Newscast. Philadelphia, PA. Analysis of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware Elections. Live and Tape Broadcast. October 27, 2002.
- NBC–10 Newscast. Philadelphia, PA. Analysis of New Jersey Elections. Live and Tape Broadcast. October 20, 2002.

- NBC–10 Newscast. Philadelphia, PA. Analysis of Pennsylvania Elections. Tape Broadcast. October 15, 2000.
- NBC–10 Newscast. Philadelphia, PA. Analysis of Pennsylvania Elections. Tape Broadcast. October 13, 2002.
- Pennsylvania Cable Network. Harrisburg, PA. Booknotes. Tape Broadcast. March 10, 2000.
- WFMZ–69 Newscast. Allentown, PA. Report on New Hampshire Primary. February 2, 2000.

### **PUBLIC OPINION POLLING**

- Political Analyst, 2008. West Chester Center for Social and Economic Research. Conducted 3 statewide surveys (2 Pennsylvania and 1 Delaware). With R. Lorraine Bernotsky.
- Political Analyst, 2006. West Chester Center for Social and Economic Research. Conducted 4 statewide surveys (3 Pennsylvania and 1 New Jersey). With R. Lorraine Bernotsky.
- Political Analyst, 2004. West Chester Center for Social and Economic Research. Conducted 4 statewide surveys (3 Pennsylvania and 1 Delaware). With R. Lorraine Bernotsky.
- Political Analyst, 2002. West Chester Center for Social and Economic Research. Conducted 5 statewide surveys (2 Pennsylvania, 1 New Jersey and 1 Delaware). With R. Lorraine Bernotsky.
- Political Analyst, 2000. West Chester Center for Social and Economic Research. Conducted 3 statewide surveys (Pennsylvania). With R. Lorraine Bernotsky.

### **GRANTS**

- Faculty Research Grant, College of Business and Public Affairs. 2015.

### **TEXTBOOK CONSULTING**

- CQ Press. *Governing States and Localities*. Kevin Smith and Alan Greenblatt. 2016.



### **UNIVERSITY-LEVEL SERVICE**

- Political Analyst. Center for Social and Economic Research. 2001–2008
- Curriculum and Planning Committee 2006–2008, 2016–Present
- Committee for Action through Politics (CAP) Statewide Chair. APSCUF. 2004–2006.
- Statewide CAP Committee Vice-Chairperson. APSCUF. 2003–2004.
- WCU Representative on the CAP Committee. APSCUF. 2004–Present.
- WCU Legislative Chair. APSCUF. 2001–2004.
- Faculty Advisor. College Democrats. 2006–Present.
- Faculty Advisor. College Republicans. 2016–2017.
- Faculty Senate. Member. 2003–2006.
- Program Liaison. The Washington Center. 2003–Present.
- Faculty Advisor. Political Science Club. 2001–2006.

### **COLLEGE-LEVEL SERVICE**

- Evaluation Committee Member, Dr. Jeffery Osgood for Promotion to Full Professor. 2015.
- Evaluation Committee Chair, Dr. Allison Turner for Tenure and Promotion to Associate Professor. 2014.
- Evaluation Committee Chair, Dr. Jeffery Osgood for Tenure and Promotion to Associate Professor. 2013.
- Evaluation Committee Chair, Dr. Jeremy Phillips for Tenure and Promotion to Associate Professor. 2011–2013 and 2016–current.
- Search Committee Member, Dr. Mark Davis for Tenure and Promotion to Associate Professor. 2013–2015.
- Search Committee Member, College of Business and Public Affairs, Assistant Dean, 2010.

- Search Committee Member, Master of Public Administration. Assistant Professor. 2012
- Commencement Marshall, 2001–2010.

### **DEPARTMENTAL-LEVEL SERVICE**

- Internship Director and Co-Director. 2002–Present
- Director of the Legislative Fellowship Program. 2002–Present.
- Assessment Coordinator, Political Science Department. 2004–2007.
- Member of WCU Academic Advising Committee. 2002–2010.
- Advisor Liaison, Political Science Department. 2016–Present.
- Mayo Scholarship Selection Chair. 2007–Present.
- Jack Shea Scholarship Selection Chair. 2013–Present.
- Roy Reinard Scholarship Selection Chair. 2007–Present.
- Chair, Department Evaluation Committee. 2010–Present
- Search Committee. Political Science Department, Assistant Professor. 2014.
- Search Committee Political Science Department, Chair, Assistant Professor, 2010.
- Search Committee Political Science Department, Assistant Professor, 2005.
- Evaluation Committee Chair, Dr. Chris Stangl for Promotion to Associate Professor. 2014–2015.
- Evaluation Committee Member, Dr. Ashlie Delshad for Tenure and Promotion to Associate Professor. 2011–2015.
- Evaluation Committee Member, Dr. Chris Stangl for Tenure. 2006–2013.

### **COURSES TAUGHT AT WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY**

- PSC 100 Introduction to American Government
- PSC 325 Campaigns and Elections

- PSC 324 American Political Parties
- PSC 355 Congressional Politics
- PSC 370 Pennsylvania Politics
- PSC 371 State and Local Government

### **PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

- Commonwealth: A Journal of Pennsylvania Policy and Politics. Editorial Advisory Board Member.
- Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Member, 1995–current.
- Pennsylvania Political Science Association, Executive Board Member. 2009–2014.
- Pennsylvania Policy Forum. Charter Member.

### **AWARDS**

- WCU Honors College and Honors Student Association. Outstanding Faculty READ Poster. 2016.
- WCU Honors College. Outstanding Faculty Recipient. 2011.
- “Recognition” presented by Lieutenant Governor Catherine Baker Knoll. 2006.
- Featured in West Chester Magazine article, Fall 2014.