Redistricting technology through the ages

Will Adler Senior Technologist, Elections & Democracy Center for Democracy & Technology cdt.org @wtadler wadler@cdt.org



• pre-computer age **1971–1990**

• pre-computer* age **1971–1990**

*(mostly)

- pre-computer* age **1971–1990**
- PC age 1991-2010

*(mostly)

- pre-computer* age **1971–1990**
- PC age **1991–2010**
- Internet age

2011-

*(mostly)

1790–1870

1790–1870

"Clerks who made tally marks or added columns of figures with a pen or a pencil."

1790–1870

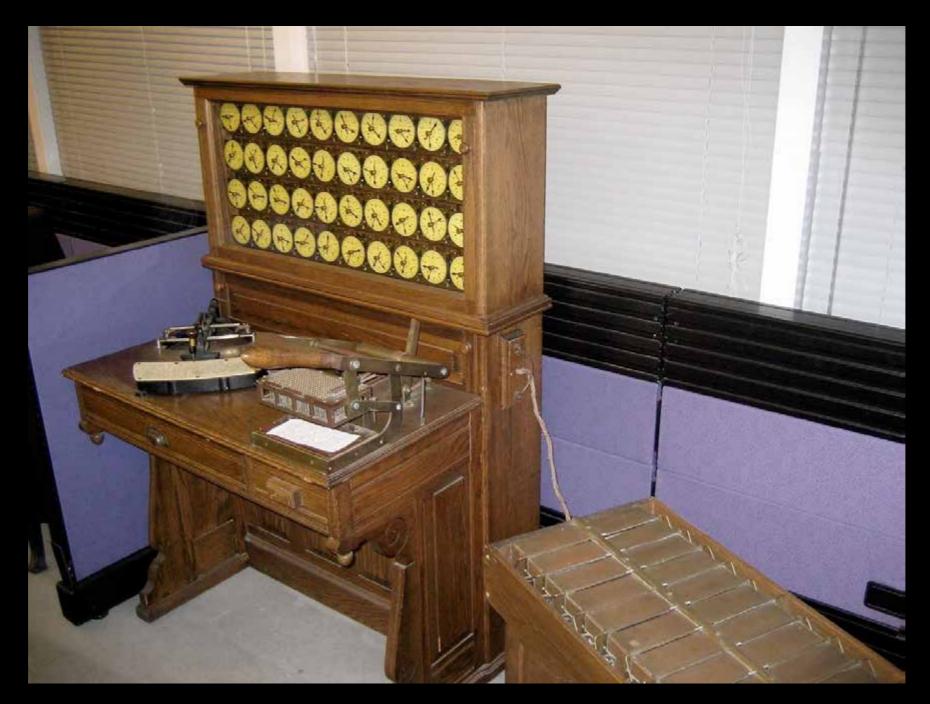
"Clerks who made tally marks or added columns of figures with a pen or a pencil."

1880

"A tabulating machine: a wooden box in which a roll of paper was threaded past an opening where a clerk marked the tallies in various columns and then added up the marks."

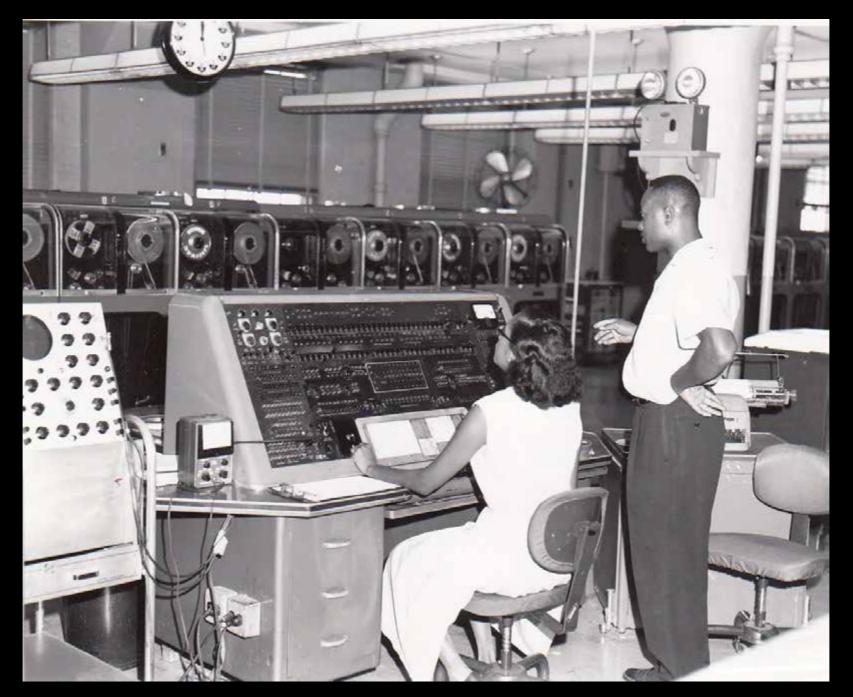
1890–1940

Hollerith machine



1951

UNIVAC I computer



1971: Very little computerization

- Perhaps only CA, DE, IA, GA, WA use computers.
- Census small geographies were not very useful.

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- Census small geographies were not very useful.

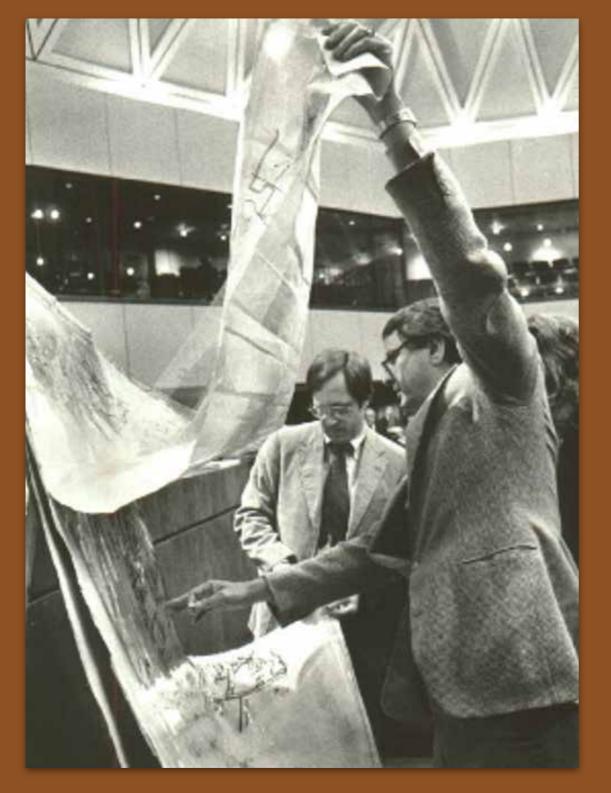
1975: PL94-171

• 1975: Congress passes PL94-171 to allow states to work with the Census on geographies. NCSL plays key role in getting it passed.

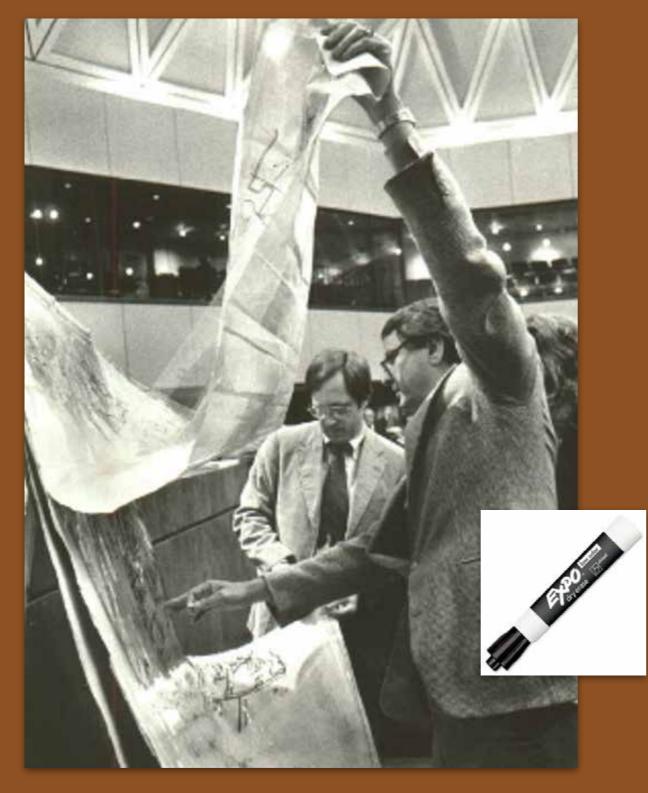
1981

- Census data not perfect, but much better than 1971.
- Even for the states that did use computers, incredibly laborintensive process.











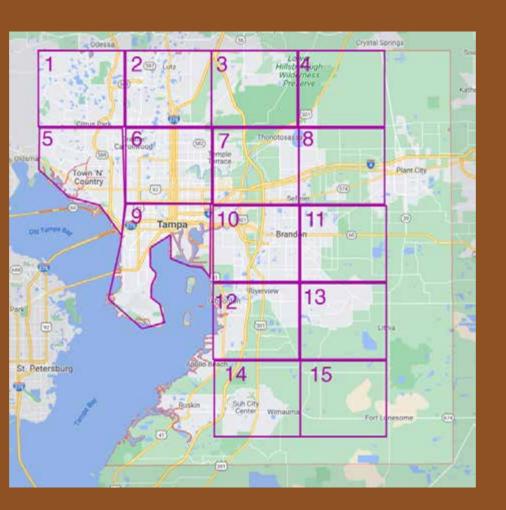


Tract	POP	CVAP	BVAP
1	6118	4894	1835
2	3324	2659	997
3	589	471	177
4	8251	6601	2475
5	9749	7799	2925
6	4319	3455	1296
7	1155	924	347
8	6355	5084	1907

Step 2. Print out a really big map.

Step 1. Receive data from the Census

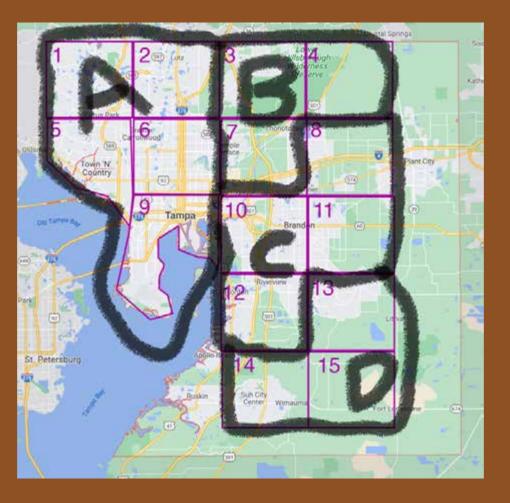
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Step 2. Print out a really big map.

Step 3. Crawl around on your hands and knees with dry erase markers, drawing districts on acetate.



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Step 4. Record district-tract assignments onto punch cards.

District	Tract
Α	1
Α	2
Α	5
Α	6
Α	9
В	3
В	4

Tract	POP	CVAP	BVAP
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Α	2
Α	5
Α	6
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В	4
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Step 5. Drive to the local university. Run the punch cards through the mainframe overnight.

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Step 4. Record district-tract assignments onto punch cards.

District	Tract
Α	1
Α	2
Α	5
Α	6
Α	9
В	3
В	4

Step 6. Pick up your report.

District	POP	CVAP	BVAP
Α	25,910	20,728	7,773
В	1,410	1,128	423
С	2,909	2,327	873
D	32,809	26,247	9,843

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В	3
В	4

Step 7. Did you achieve your objectives? No? Go back to step 2.





Source: KXAS-TV





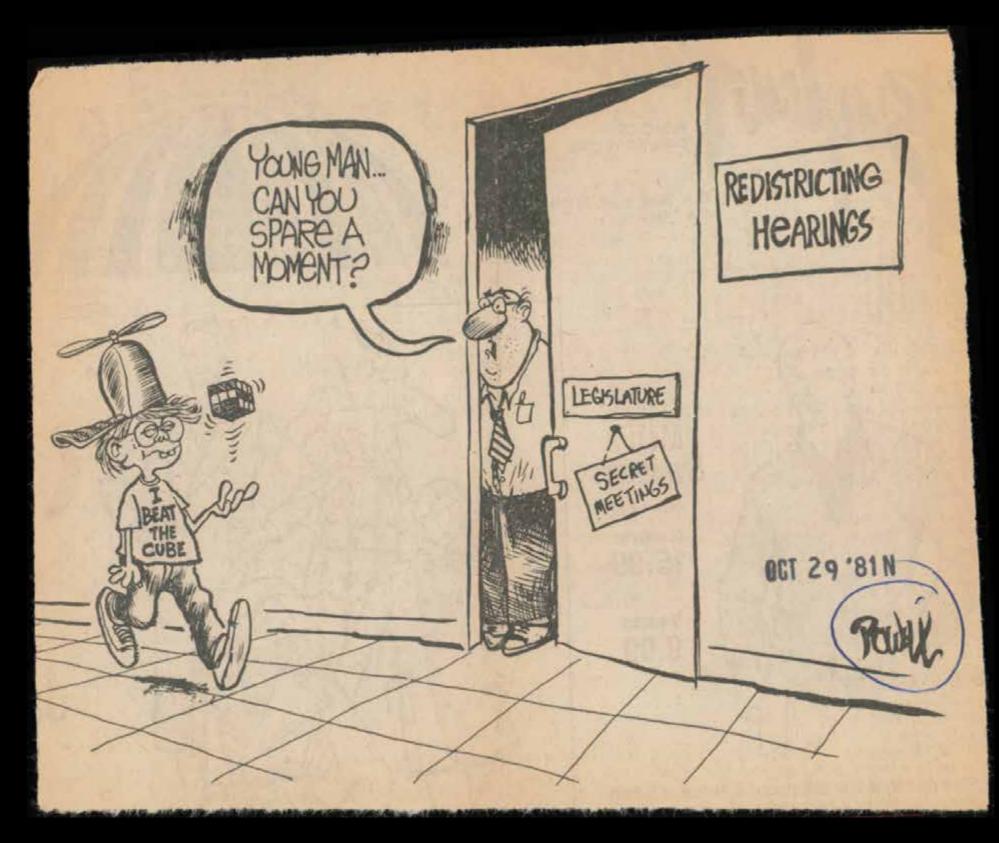
Source: KXAS-TV



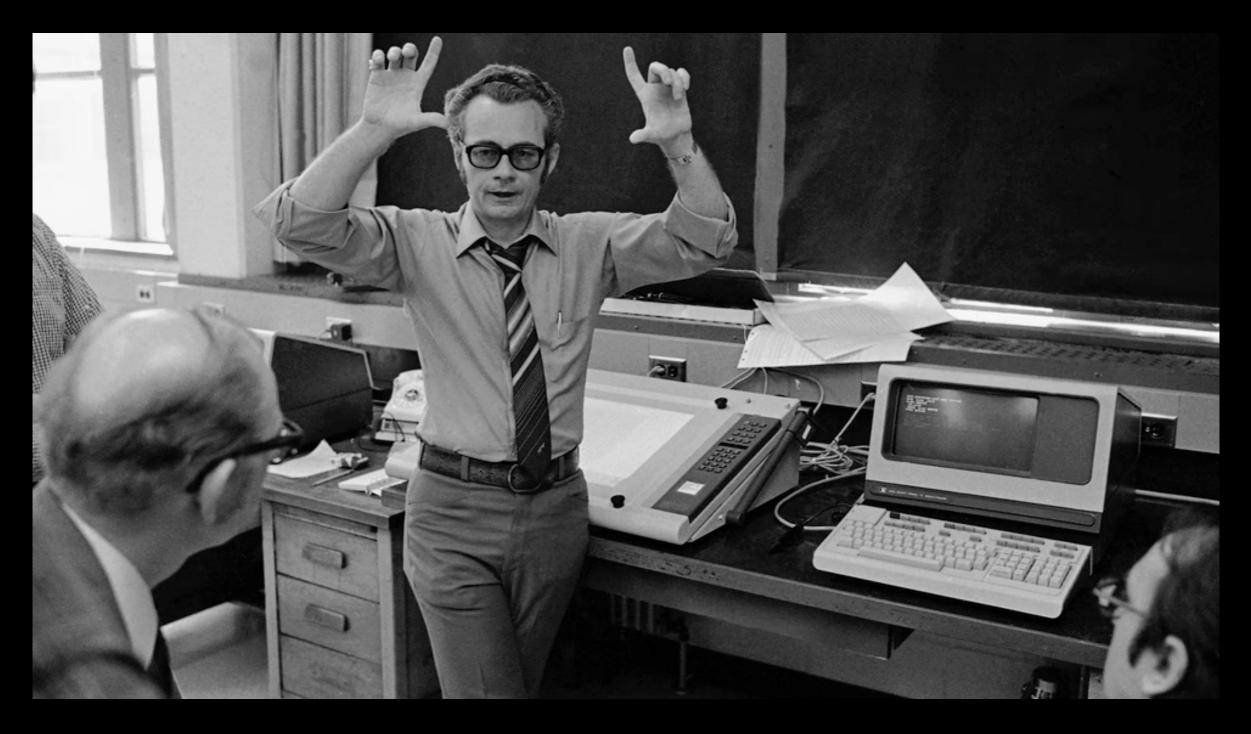


Source: KXAS-TV

1981







Source: Gary Stewart / AP

• In the mid-80s, revolutions were underway...

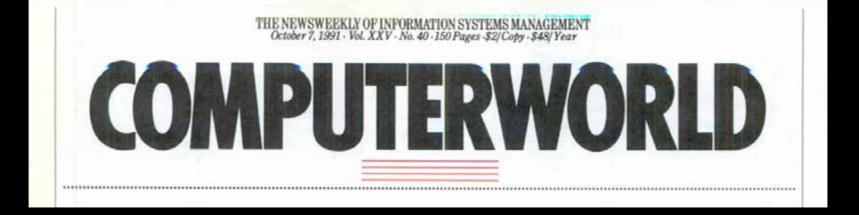
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COMPUTERWORLD

1 Out Of 3 ClOs Lose Their Jobs.

Were they unable to communicate their strategies?
Did they make

uninformed technology decisions?

• Were they overwhelmed by the issues?

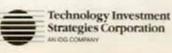
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*Source: Computerworld article, February 1991

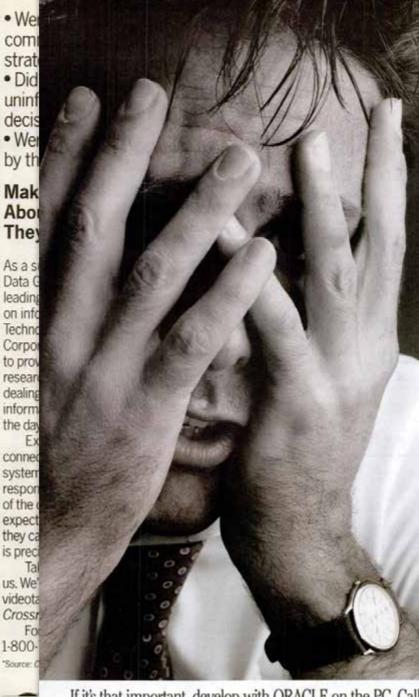


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Okav. You're using dBASE. You're trying to develop a payroll application for the entire company, and you've just hit the wall. So the first thing you do is try a few workarounds, then some more. And ignore the fact that you don't have any decent back-up and recovery, data integrity, database security or multi-user concurrency. No big deal. It's only the fate of the company, your closest friends, and their children.

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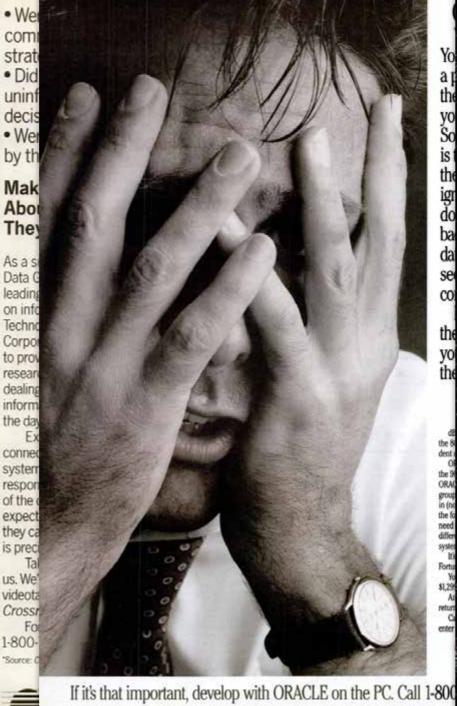
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ESCAPE FROM THE DATA SHOP **OF HORRORS.**

Get your VM Data Center Under Control at the VM Software Seminar.

Tired of dueling with DASD demons? Stuck in the slime of security management? Up to your eyeballs in user abuse? You're not alone. There's a whole army of virtual vermin ready to apply cruel and unusual punishment to your entire VM data center-if you let them. Yet there is a way out. And as thousands have discov-

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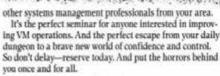
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ance throughout your SNA network. And you'll have a (703) 264-8413 chance to exchange insights on a variety of subjects with Contro Soc. (Name Arbondance by a soften





Agenda			
Registration and coffee Seminar begins		Break Free lunch	

Seminar dates and locations

Atlanta, GA	Detroit, MI	Long Island, NY	Seamle, WA
Novomber 17	November 34	October #	October 24
Beaton, MA	Hasbrouck Heights, NJ	Minneapolis, MN	Tampa, FL
October 12	October 11	October 3	Sovember 36
Cherry IIII, NJ	tharmond, CT	New York, NY	Tarranos, ON
October II	Occuber 20	October 10	October 17
Chicago, IL	Houston, TX	Ortawa, ON	Washington, DC*
October 8	November 9	October 18	November J
Cleveland, Off	Indianapolia, IN	Balaigh, NC	'Highlighting Folen
October 4	Ocudier 5	November 3	
Dellas, TX	Katsus City, MO	San Francison, CA	Government houses
November 18	November 8	October 26	
Denver, CO	Long Beach, CA	San Jose, CA	



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other systems management professionals from your area. It's the perfect seminar for anyone interested in improv-

ing VM operations. And the perfect escape from your daily dungeon to a brave new world of confidence and control. So don't delay-reserve today. And put the horrors behind you once and for all.

Agenda 8:30 Registration and coffee 10:15 Break 9:00 Seminar begins 12:00 Free lunch

Seminar dates and locations

	Contraction and the	street to the contraction	
Atlanta, GA	Detroit, MI	Long Island, NY	Seattle, WA
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October 4	October 5	November 3	Government Insure
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November 18	November 8	October 26	
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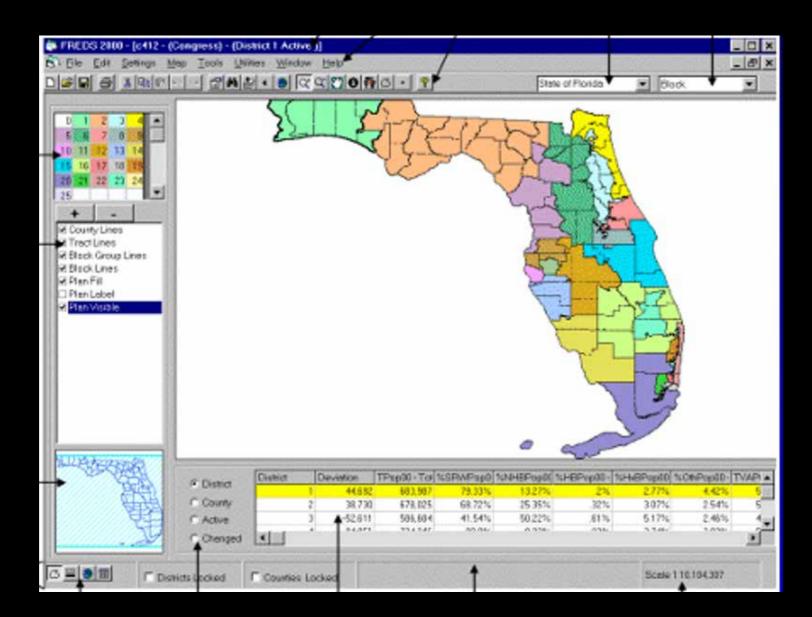
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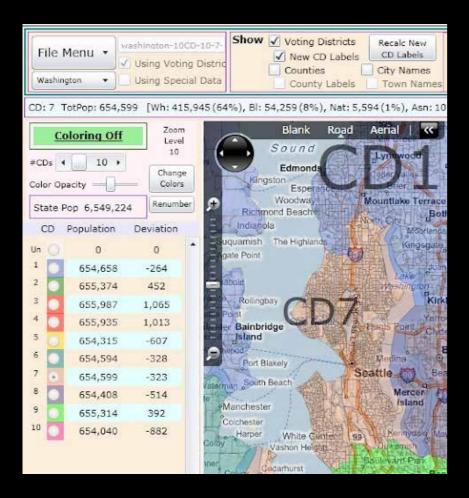
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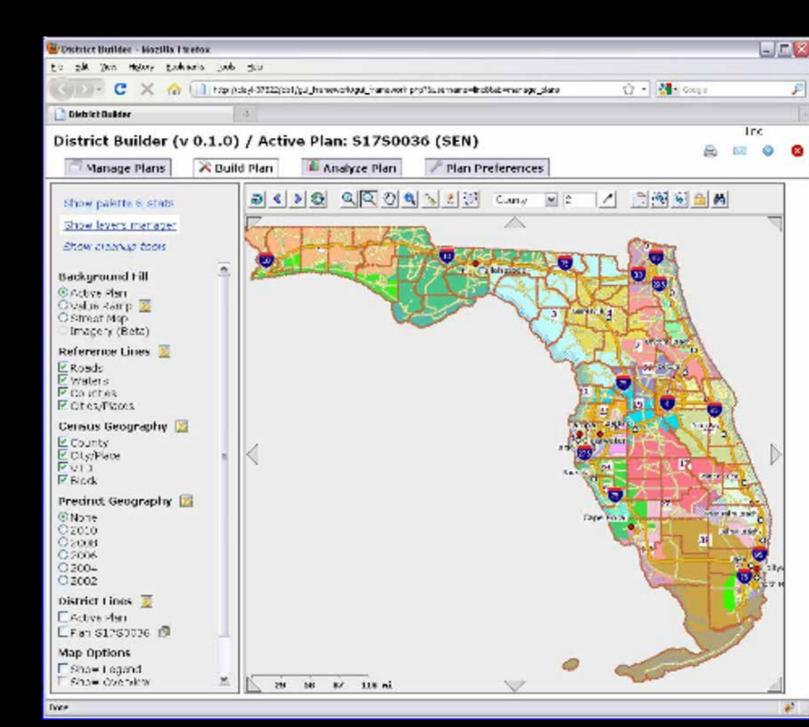
- Commercial off-the-shelf software available: CityGate, Maptitude
- Can be run off of laptops
- Uses of the Internet are rudimentary
- Some legislatures still building their own software



2011: The Internet age

- Free Internet redistricting software: Dave's Redistricting App, DistrictBuilder
- Public workstations
- Increased access
- Great data journalism







Proliferation of free online tools



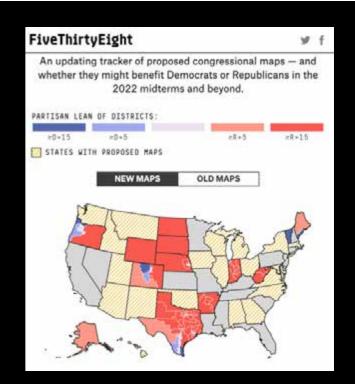












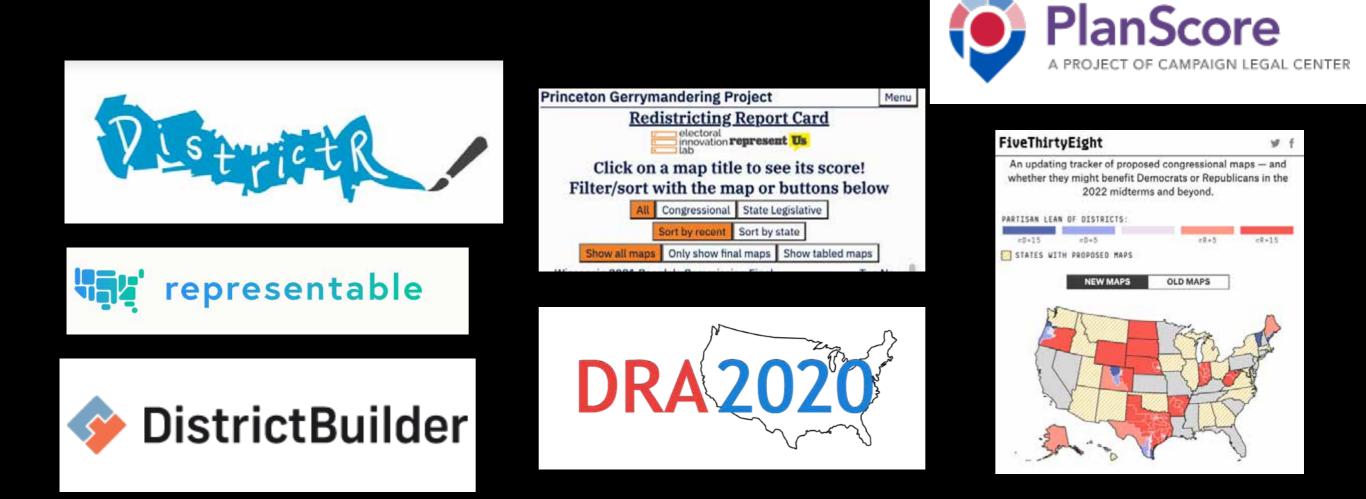


- Proliferation of free online tools
- States seeing unprecedented interest in redistricting



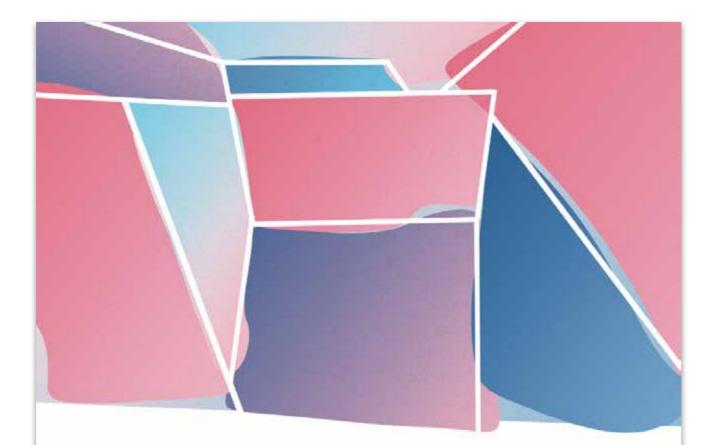


- Proliferation of free online tools
- States seeing unprecedented interest in redistricting
- Legislatures, commissions, soliciting public input



Beyond 2021

- Anyone can draw a map now.
- Soliciting public input is great, but how are legislatures supposed to make sense of all this public input?



Split Decisions

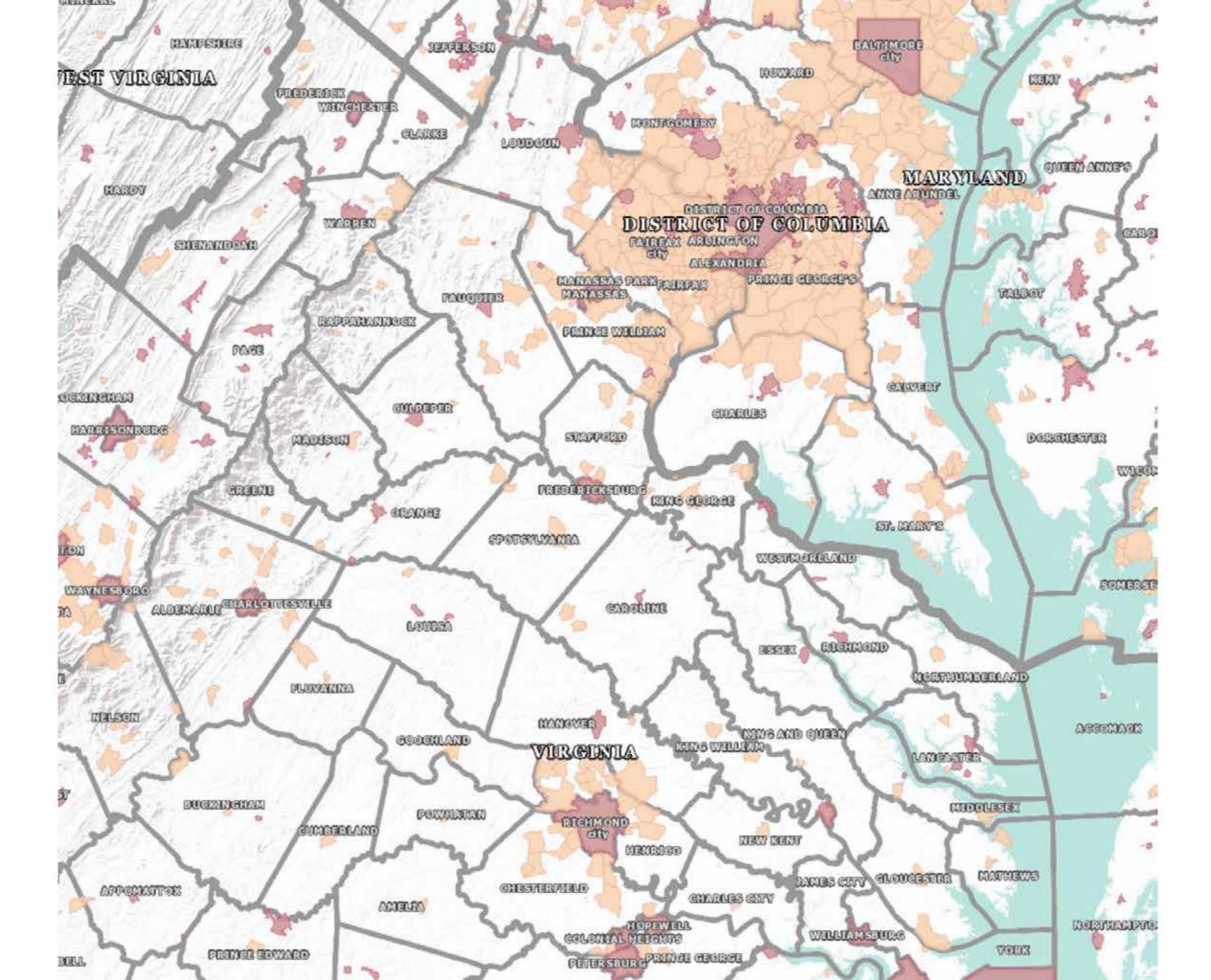
Guidance for Measuring Locality Preservation in District Maps

> CONTRACT DEMOCRACY STECHNOLOGY

November 2021

What's a locality?

- Counties
- Communities of interest (COIs)
- Cities, towns, municipalities (Census term: "incorporated places")
- Unincorporated communities (Census term: "censusdesignated places"
- American Indian reservations and associated statistical areas



Preserve political power

- Preserve political power
- Empower communities

- Preserve political power
- Empower communities
- Inform voters

- Preserve political power
- Empower communities
- Inform voters
- Simplify election administration

Statutory requirements

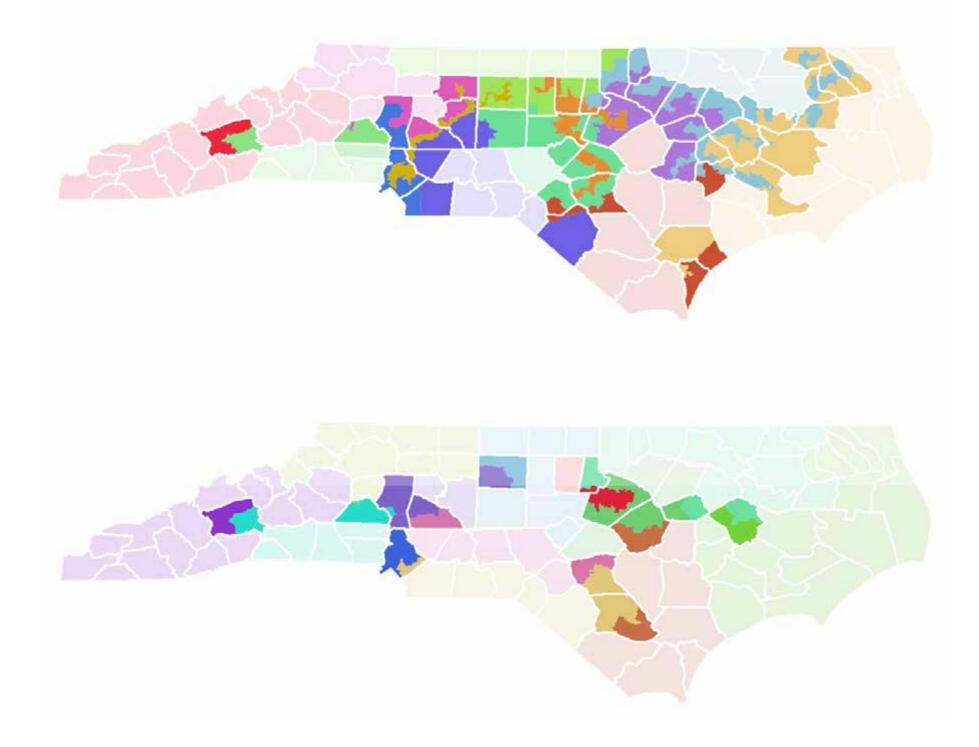
• Detailed rules (OH):

...of the eighty-eight counties in this state, sixty-five counties shall be contained entirely within a district, eighteen counties may be split not more than once, and five counties may be split not more than twice. The authority drawing the districts may determine which counties may be split...No two congressional districts shall share portions of the territory of more than one county, except for a county whose population exceeds four hundred thousand...

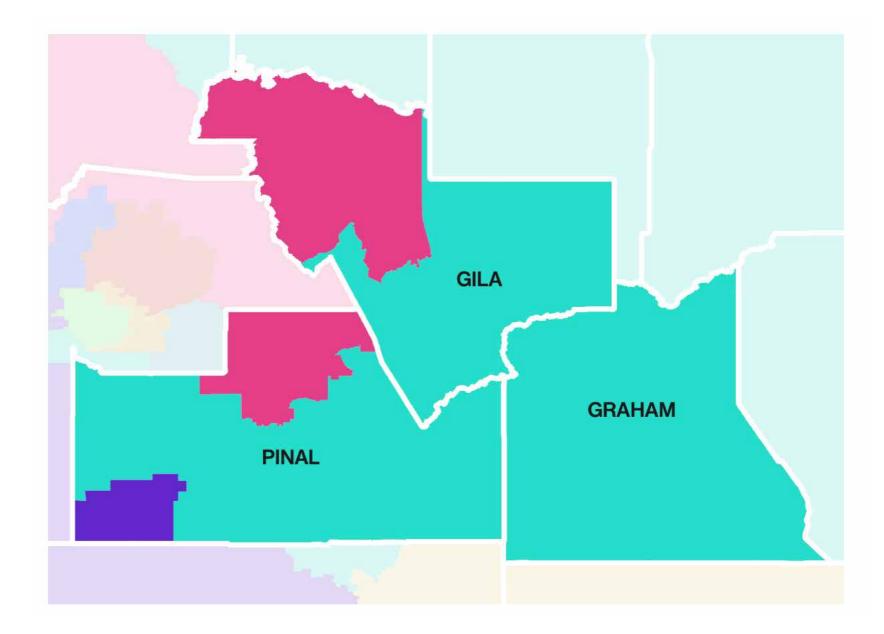
• Ambiguous rules (ID):

...[t]o the maximum extent possible, districts shall preserve traditional neighborhoods and local communities of interest.

One way to measure split localities: Just count them



Another way: Count the pieces



What's wrong with just counting splits or pieces?

What's wrong with just counting splits or pieces?

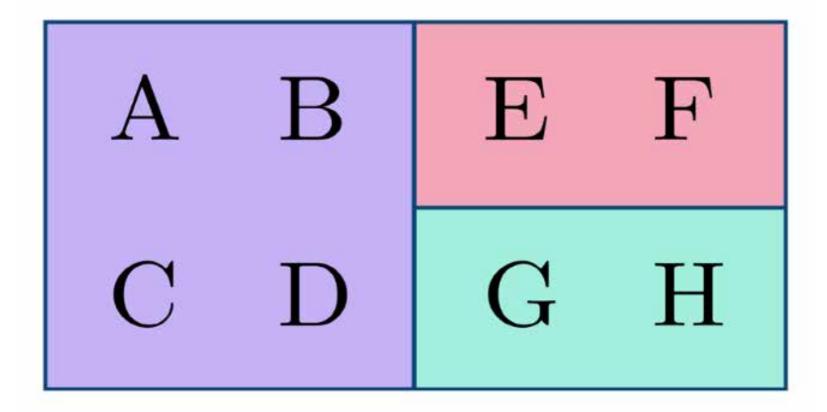
- They don't take into account where *people* are. People need representation, not land.
- A 99/1 split counts the same as a 50/50 split.
- Splitting a low-population locality counts the same as splitting a high-population locality.

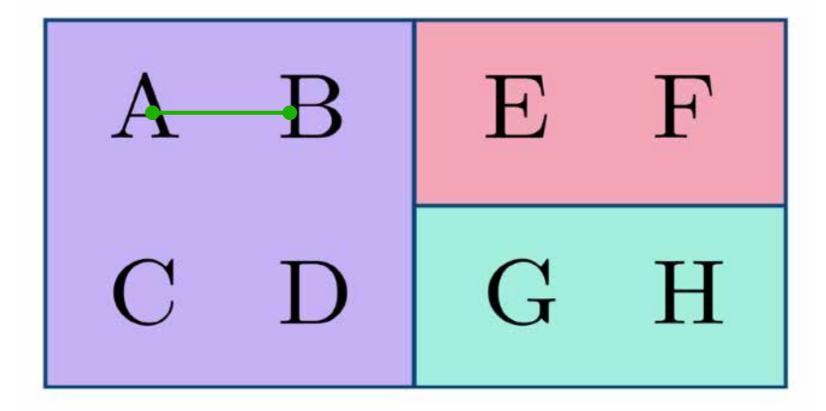
A better way: Population-based metrics

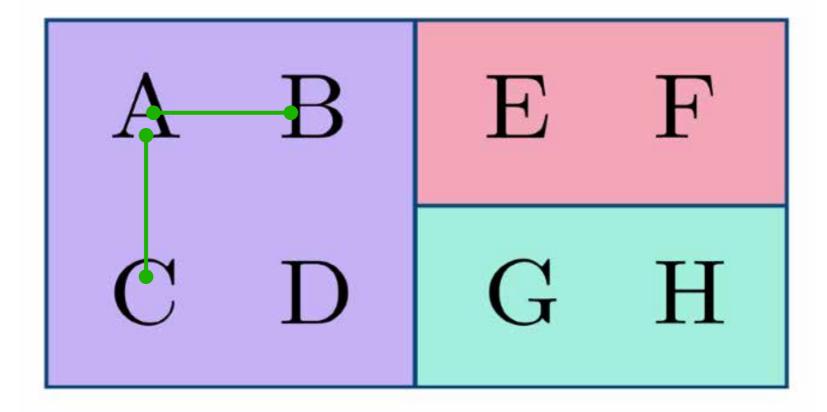
- Effective splits
- Conditional entropy
- Square root entropy
- Split pairs

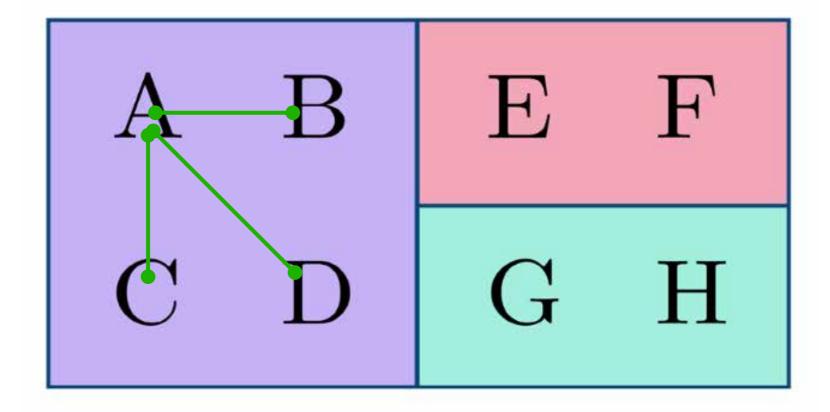
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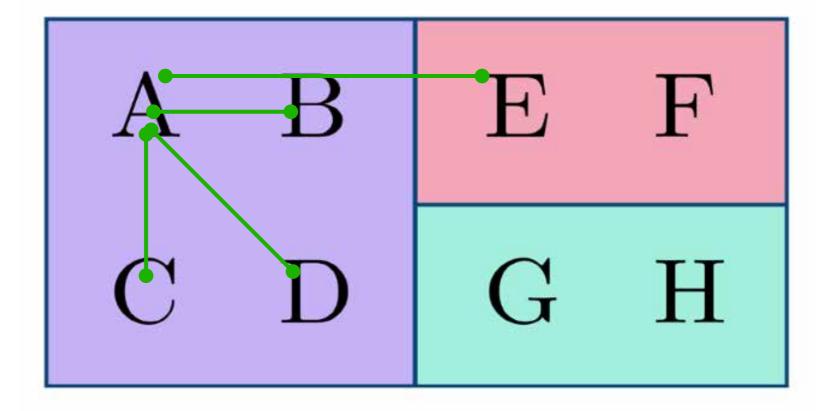
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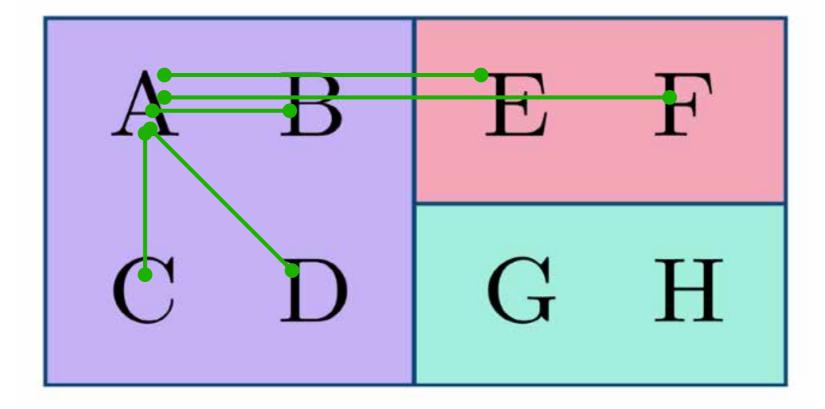


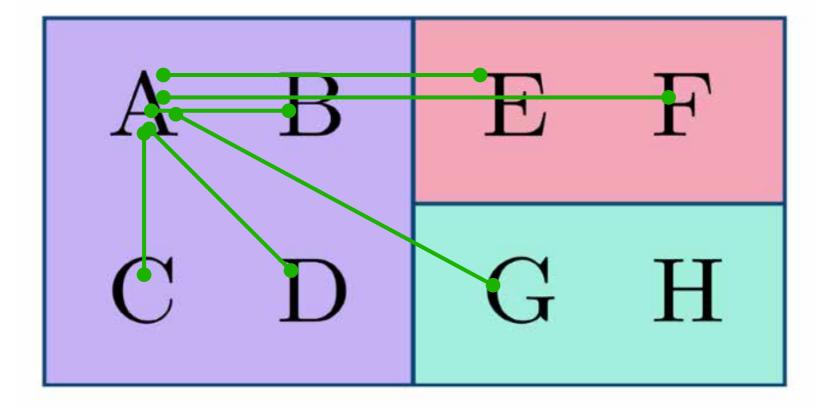


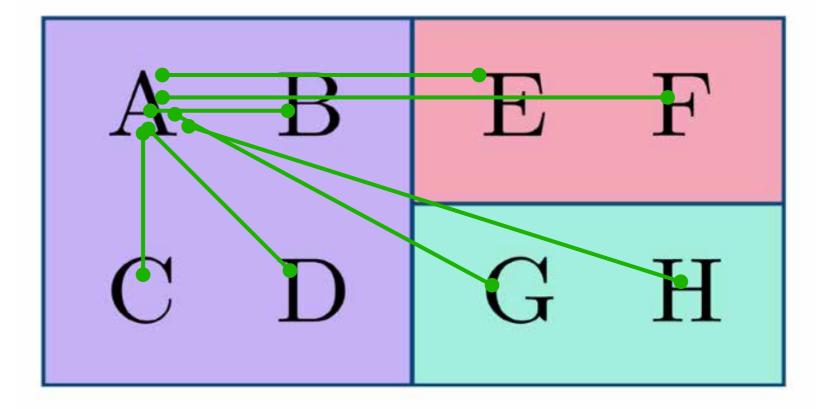


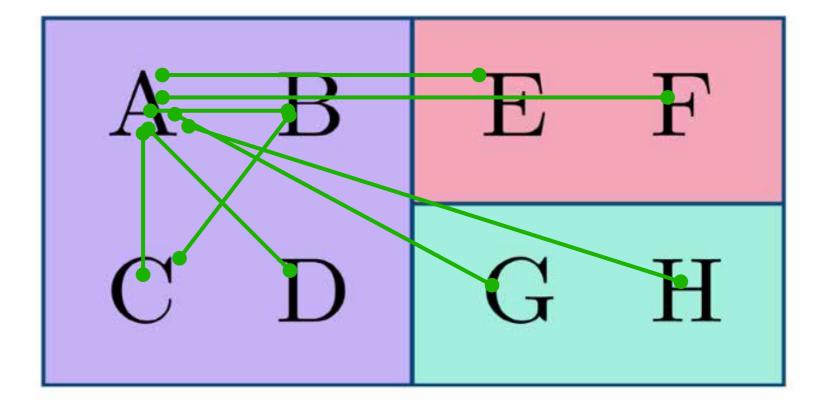


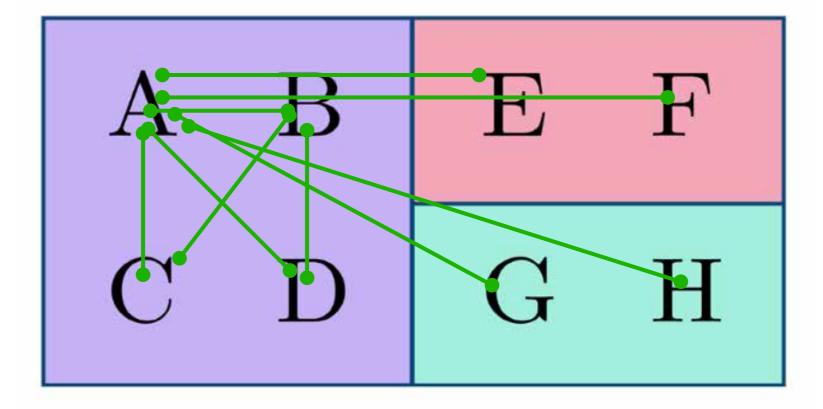


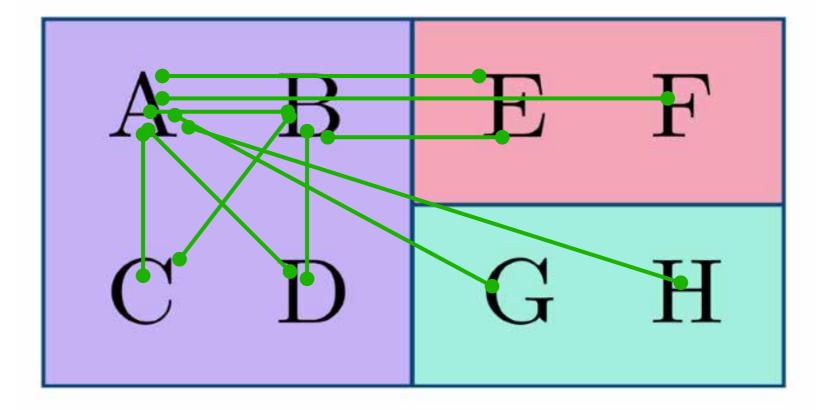


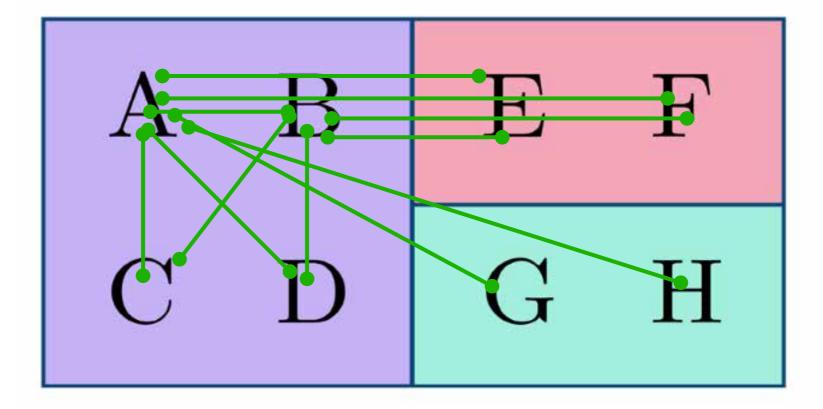


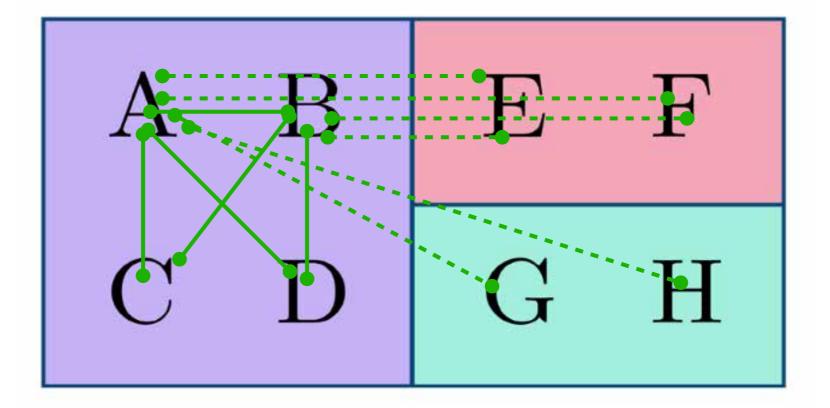




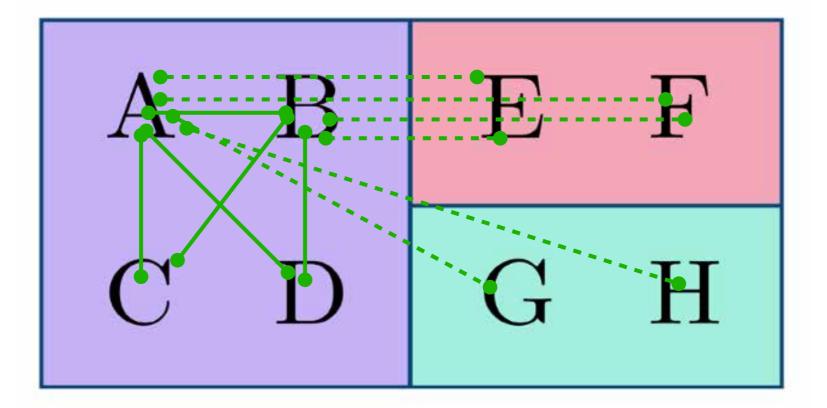








20/28 pairs of people are split, for a score of 20/28=0.71

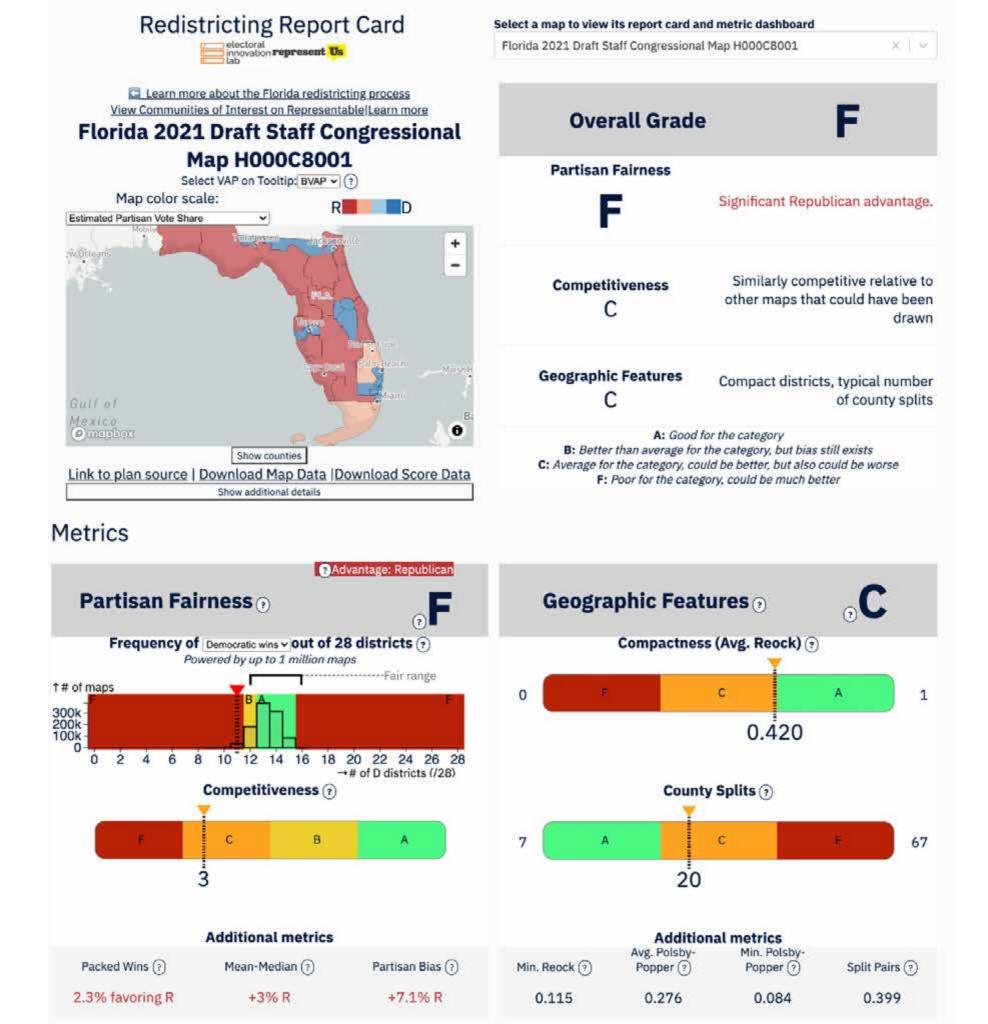


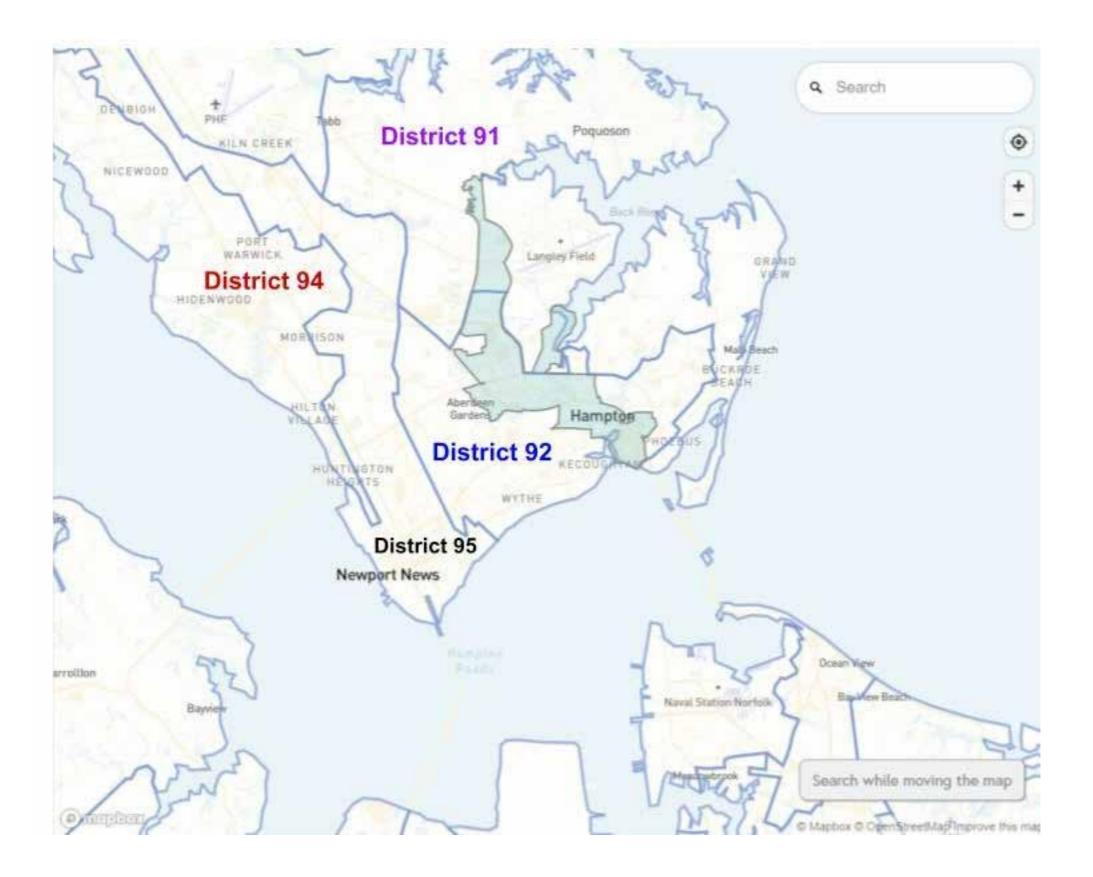
20/28 pairs of people are split, for a score of 20/28=0.71

A random person does not remember his congressional district, so he picks a person randomly from his locality and asks what that person's district is. Then he guesses that he lives in the same district. What is the probability of guessing wrong? The split pairs metric.

Where to try these metrics?

- Currently:
 - Princeton Gerrymandering Project report card
 - Representable





jacobw	achspress / locality-splitting Public	lic	
> Code	⊙ issues 🏦 Pull requests ⊙ A	ctions 🔟 Projects 🖽 Wiki 🛈 Security 🗠 Insights	
	I' master - I' 2 branches 🛇 0 ta	gs Go to file Add file	e • Code
	wtadler Update README.md	ec4d485 24 days ago	3 71 commit
	clean_data	fix census population variable, re-upload classifications	3 months ag
	geoprocessing	fix census population variable, re-upload classifications	3 months ag
	🗅 .gitignore	add symmetric splitting scores to geo metrics, update analysis noteb	2 months ag
	CITATION.eff	Create CITATION.cff	4 months ag
	C README.md	Update README.md	24 days ag
	block_equivalency_file.py	allow user to input FIPS, state name, or fuzzy statename	3 months ag
	metrics.py	add symmetric splitting scores to geo metrics, update analysis noteb	2 months ag
	splitting_metric_comparisons.ipynb	add symmetric splitting scores to geo metrics, update analysis noteb	2 months ag

Metrics of locality splitting/preservation in district maps



This code accompanies the Center for Democracy & Technology report, Split Decisions: Guidance for Measuring Locality Preservation in District Maps, by Jacob Wachspress and William T. Adler.

This repository contains Python code that implements a number of metrics for quantifying locality (e.g. county, community of interest) splitting in districting plans. The metrics implemented are:

· Geography-based

- Number of localities split
- Number of locality-district intersections
- · Population-based
 - · Effective splits1
 - Conditional entropy²
 - Square root entropy³
 - Split pairs⁴

Thanks!