Explanation of Governor's Proposed Map

In September 2021, in preparation for congressional redistricting, the Governor convened a Pennsylvania Redistricting Advisory Council made up of six members with expertise in redistricting, political science and mapmaking, to establish a set of Redistricting [Principles](#) to help guide his review of maps considered and ultimately passed by the General Assembly.

The Council met numerous times and subsequently held a series of eight in-person public listening sessions across the state, as well as a virtual public listening session, to take public feedback on the Redistricting Principles and the redistricting process. The final Redistricting Principles, which include "Legal Principles" and "Principles of Representation," were made public in late November last year. They consist of (1) directives for compliance with legal requirements, such as ensuring that population deviations between districts comply with the Constitution; as well as (2) guidance to ensure that communities of interest are maintained, representation is fair, and that the public can participate meaningfully in the process.

The Governor's Map was drawn as one of many possible maps that would follow the Principles. At the same time, the Governor endorsed the Draw the Lines Citizens' Map as another such example. There are certainly other possible configurations that would comply. The Governor remains eager to evaluate a fair map passed by the General Assembly, and puts forward this map, and the narrative description below, in the hopes of moving the process forward to an outcome that allows all Pennsylvanians' voices to be heard. Every ten years, leaders of this commonwealth have an opportunity to look beyond partisan-interest and commit themselves to the core principles of a health democracy. Guided by the Principles, the Governor proposes his map in an honest attempt to meet this test and put the interests of all Pennsylvanians first.

I.   **Creating a Congressional Map that Fully Respects Legal Principles**

In developing the Governor's Map, decisions about where to draw new boundaries were made in accordance first and foremost with the neutral criteria of compactness, contiguity, minimization of division of political subdivisions, and maintenance of population equality among congressional districts. These requirements, interpreted by the United States and Pennsylvania Supreme Courts, implement the fundamental federal right to vote and the Free and Equal Clause of Article I Section 5 of Pennsylvania's Constitution, which was intended by the Constitution's Framers to guarantee, to the greatest degree possible, a voter's right to equal participation in the electoral process for the selection of his or her representatives in government.

a.   Maintaining Population Equality and Contiguity Among Districts

In keeping with the Legal Principles advanced by the Council, the Governor's Map ensures that the difference in populations between districts complies with the requirements of the U.S. and Pennsylvania Constitutions. Changes in the Governor's Map from the 2018 Remedial Plan map are driven by population shifts in the 2020 Census, which saw 44 counties—including particularly those in the West and North area of the state—losing population, while the remaining 23— predominantly but not exclusively in the Southeast—gained population. The Governor's Map

responds to these shifts in population—and the consequent loss of a Congressional seat—in a natural way by expanding districts beginning in the northwest to encompass additional population in keeping with Court precedent, the Advisory Council Redistricting Principles and the many comments and maps submitted via the Pennsylvania Redistricting Public Comment Portal.

The difference in population between the largest and smallest of Pennsylvania's 17 Congressional Districts—known as the population deviation—under the Governor's Map is one person, thereby guaranteeing the precept of "one person, one vote." The map is also contiguous and ensures that all parts of the district are in contact with another part of the district and no parts of the map are connected at a narrow single point.

b. Ensuring District Compactness

Accounting for the important constitutional principle of compactness, the Governor's Map prioritizes plan level geographic compactness and improves—to 0.3690—upon the 0.3270 Polsby-Popper score of the 2018 Remedial Plan map. Moreover, the Governor's Map is significantly more compact than the HB 2146 map passed by the Republican-controlled House of Representatives (the "House Map"), which has a Polsby-Popper score of 0.3134.

c. Minimizing Subdivision Splits in District

In addition, the Governor's Map adheres to another important constitutional consideration by seeking to minimize subdivision splits. Due both to counties with population greater than the number required for a Congressional District, and the need to balance population, the Governor's Map creates 16 county splits, which is in line with the number in many proposed maps. The rationale for this small number of splits is discussed in further detail in the District Descriptions below.

d. Complying with the Voting Rights Act

Finally, in preparing the Governor's Map, an independent evaluation of the requirements of the Voting Rights Act was undertaken to determine whether the Act requires the creation of districts that allow minorities to effectively elect their candidates of choice. The Governor's map contains two Majority-Minority Districts—the 2nd and 3rd—one of which (the 3rd) is a Majority Black District.

II. Giving Consideration to Principles of Representation

After ensuring that the Governor's Map complied with all legal requirements—including particularly the neutral criteria which the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has referred to as a "'floor' of protection for an individual against the dilution of his or her vote in the creation of such districts"—the Governor considered the Principles of Representation made by the Redistricting Advisory Council.

First, the Governor's Map makes carefully considered decisions to ensure that cohesive communities of interest ("COI") are preserved. In many cases, these decisions were drawn from feedback submitted via the Public Comment Portal and in testimony received by the Council in listening sessions. These COI decisions are further outlined below in the descriptions of each individual District. For example, numerous comments submitted to the Public Comment Portal requested that the City of Reading not be divided, in order to preserve an expanding Latino community in the city. In addition, numerous comments similarly requested that Centre County be kept whole. Both of these suggestions were ultimately honored in the Governor's Map.

Second, the Council advised that the Governor analyze how the map would have performed in a full range of prior statewide elections when compared to other potential maps that could have been drawn. The Council noted that a map with expected performance proportional to statewide voter preference should be favored as comporting with broad principles of fairness.

The Governor's Map does not provide a structural advantage to either party. A comparison of the Governor's Map to prior election results and to neutrally drawn maps, using rigorous mathematical methodology, demonstrates that the Governor's Map would be expected to result in a roughly proportionate number of seats to candidates of each party when compared with Pennsylvania voters' preferences. This is in strong contrast with the House Map, which would be expected to consistently deliver a disproportionate number of seats to Republican candidates over time.

Third, the Council advised that the Governor analyze how a map would have performed in a full range of prior statewide elections and favor a map with districts where partisan swings would be reflected in changes in the congressional delegation. The Governor's Map is responsive, with five "swing" districts that can demonstrably be won by members of either major party under recent voting patterns. Furthermore, recent voting patterns show that a substantial share of contests are likely to be close at the district level.

Overall, the Governor's Map maintains a degree of continuity with the 2018 Remedial Plan map while making targeted changes to comply with the U.S. and Pennsylvania Constitutions and in line with the Redistricting Principles recommended by the Redistricting Advisory Council.

III. Trusting a Transparent Process

The Redistricting Advisory Council advised the Governor to ensure that maps under consideration afford the public significant opportunity for consideration and comment process. This was one of the most frequently reiterated comments from members of the public at the Council's listening sessions and via the Public Comment Portal. The Council also noted that a process of robust public engagement and transparency dictates that there be a public record accompanying the map setting forth why specific decisions were made as they were.

The Governor has worked to engage with the legislative process in an open and transparent manner by working with the Redistricting Advisory Council to finalize and make the Principles

public well in advance of the development of maps by the General Assembly. He has also publicly provided feedback on the House Map, which does not comport with the Redistricting Principles. To ensure the public's voice was heard in the process of developing the Principles, the Council held eight in-person public listening sessions in geographically diverse regions across the state, as well as a virtual public listening session held in the evening to allow all members of the public to participate. Video of each of these sessions, as well as information about the redistricting process and links to the Principles and Redistricting Public Comment Portal are available at the Governor's Redistricting feedback [website.](#)

As of mid-January, the Redistricting Public Comment Portal has received more than 500 submissions of comments, communities of interest and full congressional maps. Each of these submissions was reviewed and contributed to the development of the Governor's Map and this narrative. The Governor appreciates every Pennsylvanian who took time to contribute to this process and believes that it helped strengthen his map.

The Governor is releasing his map now both to further engagement with the General Assembly as well as to provide an opportunity for public consideration and comment. The Governor's Map is available at the Public Comment Portal, where members of the public are welcome to provide their feedback.

District-by-District Descriptions

District 1 — Greater Bucks County: Includes all communities of Bucks County outside of those immediately adjacent to Northeast Philadelphia and connects them with similar communities in Montgomery County. These communities include similar economic traits and are experiencing increased population. This district in Montgomery County has grown slightly to adjust for needed population in Bucks County. Numerous comments on the Redistricting Public Comment Portal noted that Bucks County is a swing district and that it should continue to maintain its competitiveness. The minimal shifts in the boundaries of District 1 will continue to make it a competitive district going forward.

District 2 — The Great Northeast: Maintains the entirety of Northeast Philadelphia and North Philadelphia east of Broad Street, with the western and southern borders unchanged and linking with the similar suburban communities of Bensalem and Eddington. Interstate 95 and the Roosevelt Boulevard (US-1) run through the district and SEPTA connects the district through multiple bus and train lines. This is an Opportunity District (in other words, Black and Latino voters make up a majority of voters in the district).

District 3 — Schuylkill East: District 3 unites the communities of Northwest and West Philadelphia and North Philadelphia west of Broad Street and Center City, largely along similar lines as the current district. The district picks up a small amount of additional needed population in Southwest and South Philadelphia, but largely maintains continuity with the existing District. This is a Majority-Black District (in other words, Black voters make up a majority of voters in the district).

District 4 — MontCo/Berks: District 4 includes the majority of Montgomery County, which has a fast-growing population that requires more than one district. Popular with commuters to Philadelphia or King of Prussia, the district includes the neighboring communities of Lower Merion, Abington, Cheltenham, Norristown, Upper Dublin, and Lower Providence. Like the existing map, District 4 includes a portion of Berks County.

District 5 — Southeast Corner: With all of Delaware County and portions of South Philadelphia and southern Montgomery County, these communities comprise the southeast border with New Jersey and Delaware. The region has the Philadelphia International Airport, which spans the county border, and industrial areas in Southwest Philadelphia, PhilaPort and the fast-growing Navy Yard, linking them with industrial and port facilities south of Philadelphia in Delaware County. To attain needed population, the district expands slightly beyond its current area in Montgomery County along the Schuylkill River.

District 6 — Keystone: Much like the current congressional map, District 6 connects Chester County and a portion of southern Berks County including Reading, the fourth largest city in Pennsylvania. Both counties have a rich history dating back to the founding of the commonwealth and contain significant state parks and green space. With Chester among the fastest growing counties in the state, and similarly strong population growth in Reading and the surrounding area, only slight adjustments are needed from the current map. In the Public Comment Portal, numerous comments expressed a desire that Reading not be split—noting that Reading has grown in population and contains an expanding Latino population for which constituents wanted to have equitable representation. This map honors the request and keeps Reading whole.

District 7 — The Lehigh Valley: This district comprises all of Lehigh and Northampton counties and southern Monroe County. Much like the existing district, this map has three third-class cities of Allentown, Bethlehem and Easton with their shared heritage of manufacturing and common interests. The district is crisscrossed by major intersecting highways including I-78, I-476 and the Lehigh Valley Thruway, Route 22, making this area an increasing warehousing and logistics hub, and spurring growth that landed Lehigh County in the top five fastest growing counties in the state over the past decade.

District 8 — Mountain Northeast: District 8 centers around the cities of Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and Hazelton. With all of Lackawanna, Pike and Carbon counties, along with neighboring communities in Luzerne, Monroe and Wayne counties, these communities share cultural and geographical similarities as part of the Pocono region. The outdoors and recreation are important to the region's economy and lifestyle, with many state parks, forests, and game lands. The district includes fast-growing bedroom communities for New York City, and like District 7, is connected by major highways I-78, I-81 and I-476, offering access to both New York and Philadelphia population centers.

District 9 — East Central: Connecting communities with common socio-economic and cultural interests, District 9 includes counties of the Northern Tier with adjoining counties to the south,

as well as much of the North Branch of the Susquehanna River with the exception of portions included in District 8 to avoid splitting Wilkes-Barre and Scranton. The district includes larger communities of Lebanon, Pottsville, Bloomsburg, Tunkhannock and Forest City.

District 10 — Susquehanna Valley West: Extending west from the Susquehanna River, District 10 includes all of York and Adams counties, and eastern Cumberland County. This district shares a rich agricultural heritage and identity, even as the district's economy modernizes increasingly towards manufacturing and logistics. Close to the Maryland border and rich with Pennsylvania history, District 10 contains several interstates – I-81, I-83, I-76 and US 11/15 – making it a busy corridor for the trucking industry, commuters, and visitors to central Pennsylvania creating ease of travel between counties, cities, boroughs, and townships. Residents of Cumberland, Adams and York counties share high quality K-12 schools and top-rated public and private colleges and universities, such as Dickinson, Gettysburg, York, Central Penn, and Penn State York. This region boasts farmland, state parks, ski resorts, and seasonal festivals, as well as a variety of industries from health care and retail to technology, and manufacturing.

District 11 — Susquehanna Valley East: District 11 unites the fast-growing areas of Lancaster County with southern Dauphin County, including Harrisburg. Linked by Route 283, Amtrak's Keystone Service and the Turnpike, the counties have vibrant urban centers with significant cultural opportunities and restaurants, as well as suburban enclaves transitioning gradually to less dense agricultural areas and rich history in agriculture. The district is home to the State Capitol, and various industries, including candy and confection giant The Hershey Company, major health care providers with Lancaster General Hospital and the Penn State Health Milton S. Hershey Medical Center, along with significant agricultural operations and small farms throughout. The Pennsylvania Redistricting Public Comment Portal received many comments on how this area of the map should be drawn, a frequent comment concerned keeping Harrisburg whole and not connecting it with other counties to the north.

District 12 — Ridge and Valley: This district comprises much of the same area as the current 13th District, but like other districts, has stretched eastward, following the ridge and valley geography of the Appalachians. District 12 includes the third-class city of Altoona and significant recreational areas including Raystown Lake, numerous large Game Land tracts and State Parks and Forests.

District 13 — Southwest Corner: District 13 combines the major energy-producing counties of Washington, Greene, Fayette, Somerset and Westmoreland into one compact district in the southwest with their shared industries of gas exploration and mining. The district unites businesses and families of the Mon Valley communities—with common interests and history with communities to the east and west. Outdoor recreation with the Laurel Highlands and Great Allegheny Passage Trail is helping to drive tourism to the area. As with other areas of the map, the shifts in District 13 are driven by population shifts, with the addition of Somerset County as the district expands eastward to add needed population.

District 14 — Pennsylvania Wilds: This district joins some of the most rural counties in Pennsylvania and is known for its tourism and outdoor assets, including the largest free-roaming

elk herd in the northeastern United States, the Allegheny National Forest, the darkest skies on the East Coast, and several state parks and outdoor recreational opportunities. This district includes all of Warren, McKean, Potter, Tioga, Forest, Elk, Cameron, Clinton, Clarion, Jefferson, Clearfield, Centre, Armstrong, and Indiana counties as well as a portion of Lycoming County. This core of this district remains the same as the current 15th District but has shifted eastward due to population decline in the Northwest and North Central part of the state. The district includes Warren, Bradford, Coudersport, St. Marys, Emporium, Lock Haven, Clarion, Brookville, DuBois, Bellefonte, Parker, and Indiana. Multiple public comments from the Governor's Redistricting Portal suggest that Centre County not be divided and District 14 honors that request by keeping Centre County whole.

District 15 — The I-79 Corridor: District 15 includes Erie and counties to the south along the Ohio border to Lawrence and Butler counties. For the western tip of Pennsylvania, manufacturing, retail trade, and health care and social assistance are among the largest employers. From shipping ports and vineyards to hiking and biking trails, the northern I-79 corridor of the Lake Erie region bordering Ohio and New York includes counties that are designated transitional as their economic status. As with other areas of the map, the shifts in District 15 are responses to population changes by adding Venango County, and most of Butler County, which was divided nearly in half under the current map. The district expands eastward to add needed population. District 15 includes Erie, along with other communities, including Meadville, Titusville, Oil City, Franklin, Sharon, and New Castle.

District 16 — Allegheny West: Unites Beaver County with western Allegheny County, including part of Pittsburgh and a small part of Butler County. Rich with a history in manufacturing along the Ohio River and throughout the region, the District is transforming with smaller manufacturing and service industries. This configuration was modelled on the original Draw the Lines Pennsylvania Citizens' Map. In evaluating the 1,500 submissions that contributed to the Citizens' Map, Draw the Lines found that many mappers created a clear line of demarcation between Beaver County and Washington County and put Butler County in a district with Erie. They thus adopted these preferences and divided Pittsburgh to ensure that there would only be a single county split in Allegheny County.

District 17 — Allegheny East: Connects the eastern portion of Pittsburgh to the eastern suburbs along the Parkway East and south to the entrance to the upper Mon Valley and a portion of Westmoreland County. This map recognizes the decades-long economic connection of these communities and the area's evolving technology sector along with strong educational and medical institutions.