

REDISTRICTING PLAN SUBMISSION

CONGRESSIONAL

MILEM EXACT

I am furnishing this document pursuant to a Commission rule which requires that those who submit plans intended to be formal plans under the rules provide certain information regarding the plans they submit.

My name is John Milem; my address is 1600 NE 125th Avenue, Vancouver, Washington 98684, and my telephone number is 360.909.7592.

I am submitting one plan in this submission. I expect to submit additional plans in separate submissions.

The plan is being submitted as a shapefile .dbf. In nature, it is a block assignment file. The file is named c03.dbf and consists of 195,574 records. Each record contains two fields: geoid varchar(15) consisting of statefips(2), countyfips(3), tractfips(6), blockfips(4); district varchar(2) consisting of district identifiers composed of two alpha characters.

This plan was prepared using census geography furnished by the Census Bureau in connection with the 2010 census and using the PL 94-171 data also furnished by the Census Bureau. I have also used materials available online relating to such matters as annexations, urban growth boundaries, and changes in precinct boundaries since the census. I have also used election returns for the general elections of 2006, 2008 and 2010 disaggregated by commission staff to units of census geography. Since this disaggregated data does not add to the actual totals reported by the Secretary of State, I have used the official returns for all undivided counties and I have adjusted the disaggregated data to produce totals for divided counties which match those reported by the Secretary of State. I have also used various supplementary mapping sources, both online and printed. And I have attended all seventeen of the public forums thus far sponsored by the commission and have utilized information obtained through that attendance. And, finally, I am in my sixth decade of doing work of this sort, and I have drawn upon those decades of study and experience in preparing this plan.

The rules of the commission require that each person submitting a plan intended to be a formal one state in narrative how the plan complies with the applicable requirements of the state constitution. These requirements are as follows:

“In the redistricting plan:

“(1) Districts shall have a population as nearly equal as is practicable, excluding nonresident military personnel, based on the population reported in the federal decennial census.

“(2) To the extent consistent with subsection (1) of this section the commission plan should, insofar as practical, accomplish the following:

“(a) District lines should be drawn so as to coincide with the boundaries of local political subdivisions and areas recognized as communities of interest. The number of counties and municipalities divided among more than one district should be as small as possible;

“(b) Districts should be composed of convenient, contiguous, and compact territory. Land areas may be deemed contiguous if they share a common land border or are connected by a ferry, highway, bridge, or tunnel. Areas separated by geographical boundaries or artificial barriers that prevent transportation within a district should not be deemed contiguous; and

“(c) Whenever practicable, a precinct shall be wholly within a single legislative district.

“(3) The commission's plan and any plan adopted by the supreme court under RCW 44.05.100(4) shall provide for forty-nine legislative districts.

“(4) The house of representatives shall consist of ninety-eight members, two of whom shall be elected from and run at large within each legislative district. The senate shall consist of forty-nine members, one of whom shall be elected from each legislative district.

“(5) The commission shall exercise its powers to provide fair and effective representation and to encourage electoral competition. The commission's plan shall not be drawn purposely to favor or discriminate against any political party or group.”

Paragraph 1.

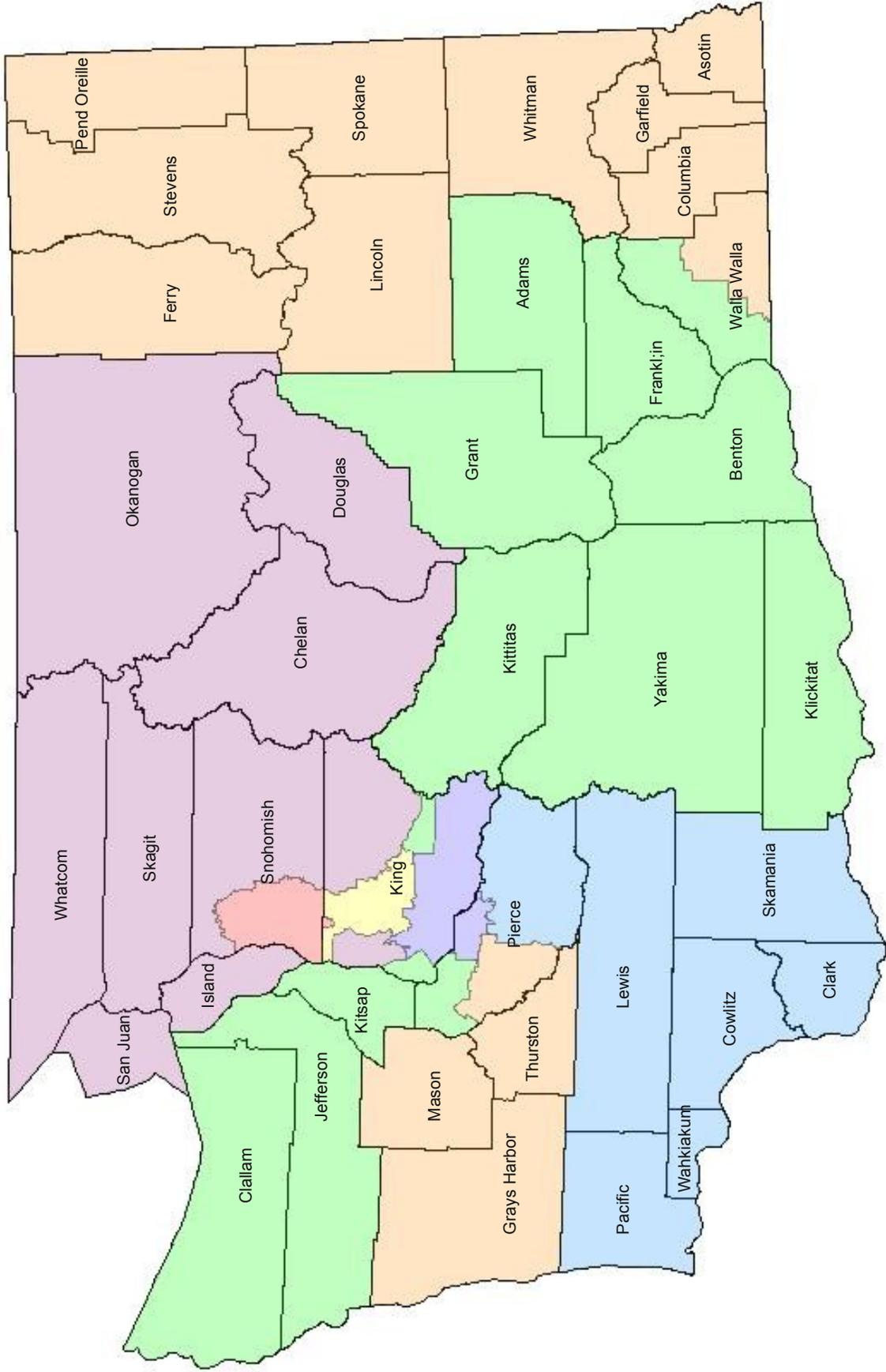
The population of each district proposed by this plan is 672,454. This plan does not take advantage of the “legitimate state purposes” which allow an overall range of 6,724 persons from the smallest to the largest in population of the state's congressional districts. As a result, it unnecessarily divides communities which would not otherwise be divided.

Paragraph 2(a).

The constitution specifies that the number of counties divided in forming districts shall be “as small as possible.” Three counties in the state, King, Pierce and Snohomish, are each too large in population to be a single district. Therefore, they must be divided. As the plan identified as Milem Preferred (previously submitted) shows, it is unnecessary to divide any other county in order to meet the one percent overall range allowed within the expression “as nearly equal as is practicable.” However, to bring all districts to the ideal population, one additional county must be divided. In this plan, that county is Walla Walla county.

The constitution specifies that the number of municipalities divided in forming districts shall be “as small as possible.” No municipality in the state is too large in population to be a single district. As this plan demonstrates, it is not necessary to divide the population of any municipality in the formation of congressional districts; however, the areas of three municipalities are divided. In the case of the town of Coulee Dam, it is located in three counties. In this plan, these counties are not all placed in the same district. However, the part of Coulee Dam in Grant county has no population. All of the population is in Okanogan and Douglas counties which are placed within the same district. The cities of Everett and Snoqualmie consist of non-contiguous parts. Some of these non-contiguous, unpopulated parts cannot be placed in the same district with the populated part of the municipality without unnecessarily dividing other populations. In addition, after the census Snoqualmie annexed an unpopulated area which included uninhabited parts of inhabited census blocks. The best solution here is to leave the unpopulated annexed area with its old precinct rather than to bring inhabited, unincorporated areas of the census blocks into the district with the city, thereby creating an orphan

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

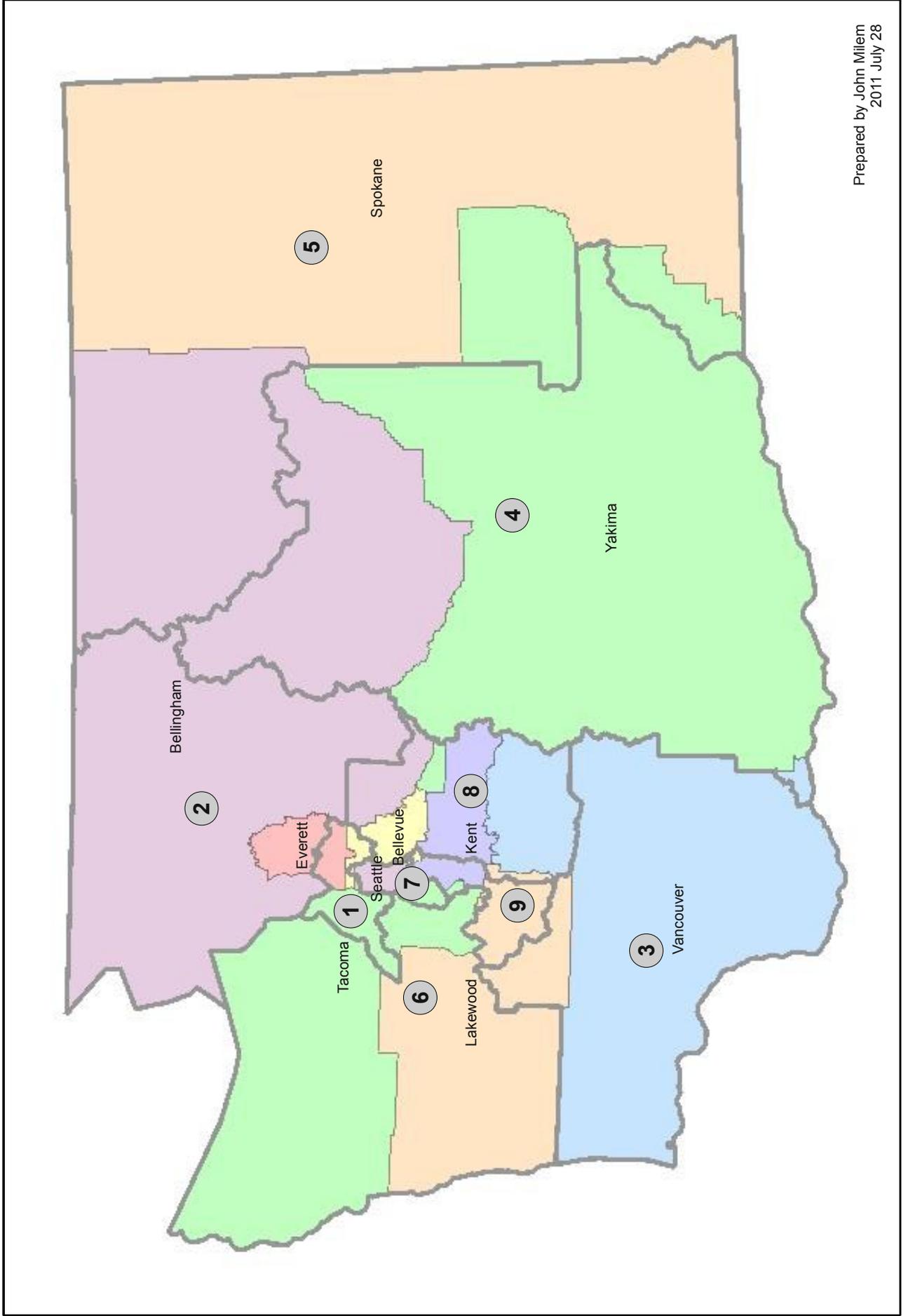


precinct situation with possible ballot privacy issues.

The constitution provides that district boundaries shall follow boundaries of political subdivisions and communities of interest to the extent otherwise possible given population limitations. In the testimony received by the commission in its public forums, a great deal of emphasis was put on the unity of school districts, particularly in rural areas. This plan minimizes the division of school districts, subject, of course, to the necessity not to divide a county or municipality in order to keep a school district whole. The following school districts are divided because they are divided by a county boundary which is also a proposed congressional district boundary in this plan: Almira, Centralia, Coulee-Hartline, Curlew, Endicott, Ephrata, Grand Coulee Dam, LaCrosse, Lamont, North Mason, North River, Oakville, Ocosta, Odessa, Quincy, Republic, Ritzville, Rochester, Sprague, Washtucna, White Salmon Valley, and Wilson Creek. The following school districts are divided along municipal boundaries which are also proposed congressional district boundaries: Clover Park, Fife, Kent, Lake Washington, Northshore, Renton, Seattle, Steilacoom, Tacoma, and Tukwila. Four Snohomish county school districts, Arlington, Granite Falls, Monroe, and Snohomish, are divided to provide the populations necessary to meet the zero deviation standard and to enhance the urban character of the proposed Everett district and the rural character of the proposed Bellingham district. Similarly, three school districts in Pierce County, Bethel, Eatonville and White River, are divided, mostly along major highways, to provide the necessary Pierce county population for the proposed Vancouver district and to allow for a more simple boundary between that district and the proposed Lakewood and Kent districts. Two other school districts in Pierce county are divided in this plan. The Puyallup school district, with almost 120,000 people is too large to be placed in a single district without significantly and adversely impacting the convenience and compactness of that district and the ones adjoining it. Similarly, the Franklin Pierce school district, with a population of about 50,000 lies at the junction of three districts, each of which needs some of its population. In King county, the Snoqualmie Valley school district is divided to allow population requirements for the Bellingham and Yakima districts to be met and to allow for the use of major highways and the boundaries of municipalities and urban growth areas to be used as proposed congressional district boundaries. The Highline and Tahoma school districts are divided to satisfy zero deviation. Also to satisfy zero deviation, Walla Walla county is divided, and this division involves dividing three school districts, Prescott, Touchet and Walla Walla. The division except in Touchet school district is along precinct boundaries, which seem more suitable than school district boundaries in this county. Although three school districts are divided, only one precinct is divided.

Although it is not at all clear that urban growth areas constitute political subdivisions, it is clear that they represent a very clear boundary between areas intended for urban development and areas not so intended. As such, and to simplify election administration in case of annexation, it is generally desirable to include an entire urban growth area within the same district as the municipality, if any, with which it is identified. The Coulee Dam UGA is divided along a county boundary which is also a proposed congressional district boundary. The UGA geography provided by the census bureau also requires the division of the Bothell, SeaTac and Woodinville UGAs because a portion of each UGA is part of another municipality. Surely these are errors of census geography. The North Bend and Snoqualmie UGAs are divided for the same reasons as are mentioned in discussion above of the division of the Snoqualmie Valley school district. The Tacoma urban growth area participates in the same problems as were discussed in connection with the Franklin Pierce school district. So, this urban growth area is divided for reasons of population and compactness. Two uninhabited blocks of Huckleberry precinct in Snohomish county are coded to the Arlington urban growth area. One of these is on the Arlington side of the south fork of the Stillaguamish River and has been included in the same district as the city in this plan. The inclusion of the second block appears to be an error in census

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
in color
CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
gray boundaries and district numbers



geography since the river is the boundary of the UGA and flows between the two blocks.

There are urban growth areas in the state which are not identified to any municipality. Some of these have very large populations and are composed of non-contiguous parts. For example, the King County UGA has almost 200,000 people and the Pierce County UGA, over 100,000.. In these cases, I have made no effort to preserve the integrity of the UGA, placing the focus instead on school districts and CDPs.

Another element of communities is reflected in the determination by the census bureau that certain unincorporated places should be recognized by the census. These are called census-designated places, or CDPs. This plan makes an effort to avoid unnecessarily dividing such places. The Coulee Dam and Queets CDPs are divided along county boundaries which are also proposed congressional district boundaries. The Inglewood-Finn Hill and Kingsgate CDPs are divided due to annexation of portions of them by the city of Kirkland. The municipal boundary is a proposed congressional district boundary. Six CDPs are divided along school district boundaries which are proposed congressional district boundaries. These are Cottage Lake, Fairwood, Maple Heights-Lake Desire, McMillin, Prairie Ridge and Union Hill-Novelty Hill. Just as some school districts in Snohomish and Pierce counties were divided, some CDPs in the same parts of those counties are divided for the same reasons. These are Clear Lake, Graham, LaGrande, Three Lakes and Woods Creek. High Bridge and Lochsloy CDPs are divided to avoid otherwise unnecessary division of a precinct for the sake of an uninhabited block. A number of other CDPs are divided other than along governmental unit boundary lines or major highways to satisfy zero deviation in this plan. These are Ames Lake, Boulevard Park, Hobart, Lake Bosworth, Midland, Riverbend, Shadow Lake, South Hill, Summit View and Wilderness Rim.

Paragraph 2(b).

The districts proposed in this plan are composed of contiguous territory.

They are as reasonably compact as possible without dividing counties or municipalities. Although the compactness of the districts is not seriously compromised by adherence to zero deviation, there are a number of school districts and CDPs which are divided in unusual ways to satisfy zero deviation.

The Bellingham district's compactness is compromised by the fact that it is a rural district which encompasses (on three sides) a metropolitan district, the Everett district. Its convenience is compromised by the fact that it is the largest in the state and that it includes counties on both sides of the Cascade Range. However, this is required to satisfy the population requirement. The transportation web in this district is formed primarily of I-5, US 97, US 2 and SR 20.

The compactness of the Everett district is compromised somewhat by following school district boundaries in the northwest and by following precinct boundaries along the east side of the district, and by the inclusion of the entire city of Bothell and its potential annexation area in King county. The Everett district is a very convenient one, served as it is by several major north-south highways, including I-5.

The compactness of the Bellevue district is compromised by its partial encirclement of the Seattle district. However, the Shoreline area fits best into the Bellevue district and the exclusion of Bothell from the district is for the sake of keeping Bothell whole within the Everett district. This is a convenient district lying on both sides of I-405. The area east of Lake Sammamish within the district is

well connected by I-90 and SR 202.

The Seattle district is significantly more compact than the present 7th district, largely through excluding Vashon island from the district and utilizing the northern boundary of the city of Seattle as the northern boundary of the proposed district.

The Kent district is a very compact district, except for the inclusion of the city of Tukwila which creates a peninsula effect on the north. Its convenience is a function of the availability of I-5 and SRs 18, 164, 167 and 169.

The Tacoma district is an appropriate district composed as it is of peninsulas. It is not as compact as a district might be, but the considerations of keeping the Olympic and Kitsap peninsulas in a district with the city of Tacoma justify the structure of this district. The addition of Vashon Island improves the compactness of the district without detracting from its convenience, since Vashon is served by ferries to both Tacoma and Kitsap.

The Lakewood district is one of the most compact in this plan. Its convenience is dependent upon I-5, US 12, US 101, SRs 7, 8, 507 and 512.

The Vancouver district is T-shaped, due to the protrusion to the west from I-5, including Pacific and Wahkiakum counties and the western parts of Lewis and Cowlitz counties. However, short of annexing Clatsop and Columbia counties in Oregon, nothing can be done to improve this. This district's principal transportation web is composed of I-5, US 12, SRs 4, 6, 7 and 14.

The Yakima district is made more compact and more convenient by the removal of the northern counties from the current 4th district. The district is connected by I-90, I-82, US 97 and US 395, and SRs 14 and 17. The addition of a small area of King county to provide necessary population compromises its compactness somewhat, but the fact that the population is located along I-90 mitigates inconvenience.

The compactness of the Spokane district is enhanced by the removal of Okanogan county and part of Walla Walla county presently in the 5th. Its compactness is damaged by the removal of most of Adams county. It is the only proposed district entirely contained within one existing congressional district. This is the only proposed district in which an interstate highway does not play a backbone role in the transportation web within the district. The district is connected by US 2, 12, 195 and 395 and SR 20, 25, 26, 28 and 127.

I conclude that these proposed districts are reasonably compact and as convenient as the topography and population distribution within the state allow.

Paragraph 2(c).

Precincts are to be retained whole to the extent possible.

In this plan, precincts are divided in only four of 39 counties.

In Snohomish county, seven precincts are divided, Sofie and Huckleberry (note apparent error in census geography) along urban growth boundaries, Pipeline and Wagner along a CDP boundary for compactness and boundary simplicity reason, Outlook because it is an attenuated, dumbbell shaped

precinct which cannot very conveniently be placed into either district, and Bosworth and Lupine to satisfy zero deviation.

In King county, 37 precincts are divided. Of these, thirteen are divided because the proposed district boundary follows a school district boundary which runs through the precinct. These precincts are Adair, Alder Springs, Cedar River, Douglas, Fairhaven, Lake Desire, Morris, Trillium, Twinberry, Vincent, Webster, Weeks and Welcome Lake.. Two are divided because of the annexation of most of Kingsgate by the city of Kirkland. These are Kingswood and Norway Hill.

Three precincts, Grizzly, Middle Fork and Ramona, are divided along an urban growth area boundary. Sno-Pass and Twin Falls precincts are divided to allow I-90 to be used as a district boundary. Aldarra and Eagle are divided to avoid splitting the Fall City CDP. SNQ 5-1097 is divided as discussed in the paragraph on municipalities. The other fourteen precincts are divided to meet population requirements in a relatively compact manner and/or to accommodate zero deviation. These are Ames Lake, Atkinson, Francis, Glendale, Jutland, Lynx, Patterson, Riverbend, Riverside, Sean, Shadow Lake, Sno-Valley, Sweeney and Wolf.

In Pierce county, 21 precincts are divided. Of these, seven are divided because a proposed district boundary follows a school district boundary which runs through the precinct. These precincts are 02-045, 02-059, 02-062, 02-063, 02-064, 31-664 and 31-666. Precincts 25-153 and 25-172 are divided because a proposed district boundary follows the Puyallup UGA boundary which runs through these precincts. Precincts 29-517, 29-520 and 31-670 are divided because a proposed district boundary follows a municipal boundary which runs through the precinct (obviously, these precincts are not compliant with the state requirement that no precinct include both incorporated and unincorporated areas). Precinct 25-146 is divided so that SR 512 may be used as a proposed district boundary. Precincts 02-052 and 02-053 are divided so that SR 161 may be used as the proposed district boundary through the Bethel school district. Precinct 02-054 is divided so that SR 7 may be used as a district boundary through the Enumclaw school district. Precincts 02-051, 25-143, 25-173, 25-174 and 29-553 are divided to accommodate zero deviation.

The division of Walla Walla county is necessary to satisfy zero deviation. One precinct, Touchet, is divided in this county.

Paragraph 5.

The constitution requires that there be no purposeful bias toward or against any political party or group.

First of all, I should say that my work is generally done without taking the political aspects into account. There are enough requirements to be satisfied that I believe it is essential to give attention to those first. Which I have done. When a plan is finished, I then make an evaluation of it to understand what the political effects are. Often it is the case that, even if one wished to adjust the partisan leanings or other political effects of a plan, the applicable requirements prevent that from being done.

To evaluate the political effect of a redistricting plan, I create a descriptor for each district based upon its votes cast in recent two-party statewide elections. Data presently available in form suitable for this processing includes only the eleven statewide partisan contests from 2006 through 2010. I don't consider this to be very much data, but it's all we have available now.

The descriptor is similar in concept to the well-known CPVI , the Cook Partisan Voting Index. Here's part of the Wikipedia entry on CPVI as of July 22, 2011.

“The Cook Partisan Voting Index (CPVI), sometimes referred to as simply the Partisan Voting Index (PVI), is a measurement of how strongly an American congressional district or state leans toward one political party compared to the nation as a whole. . . .

“The index for each congressional district is derived by averaging its results from the prior two presidential elections and comparing them to national results. The index indicates which party's candidate was more successful in that district, as well as the number of percentage points by which its results exceeded the national average. The index is formatted as a letter followed by a plus sign and then a number; in a district whose CPVI score is R+2, a generic [Republican](#) presidential candidates would be expected to receive 2 percentage points more votes than the national average. Likewise, a CPVI score of D+3 shows that a generic [Democratic](#) candidate would be expected to receive 3 percentage points more votes than the national average.”

The CPVI has some limitations within our context. It is based, for evident reasons, on the only national contest we have, for president. It uses the last two results. This is even less data than I mentioned in a previous paragraph and half of the data is older than the state data we have available for evaluating plans. More importantly in the context of Washington, both Republican candidates were from the Sun Belt. The performance of Sun Belt Republicans in Washington differs materially from the performance of Washington Republicans in Washington. In brief, Sun Belt Republicans do worse in metropolitan Puget Sound (in comparison to the state as a whole) than do Washington Republicans. And Sun Belt Republicans do unusually well in outside metropolitan Puget Sound compared to Washington Republicans. More about that in a moment.

The CPVI for the state of Washington is D+5. I think this slightly overstates Democratic strength in Washington for the reason mentioned above about Sun Belt Republican candidates, coupled with the fact that metropolitan Puget Sound casts considerably more votes than does the rest of the state.

The descriptor is formatted as a numeral(s), a letter, the +/- signs and a numeral. The first numeral(s) reflects the typical difference between the state and district in party preference, the letter indicates which party, and the numeral following the +/- indicates a range which captures at least two-thirds of the cases in the data set, which on this data means eight out of eleven contests. Certain districts are less predictable in party preference than others. For example, because of the tendency of Thurston county voters to vote for incumbents in state offices regardless of party, the range for any district containing Thurston county is likely to be wider than for the same district if Thurston county were excluded from it. In addition, there is a certain compression at the extremes. When a Democratic candidate runs extremely well in the state, his ability to perform as much better than usual in Seattle, for example, is limited by the fact that there is a much smaller pool of voters there for him among whom to experience that better performance. As a result, districts which always vote for the candidate of one party usually show the poorest performances compared to the state for the strongest candidates of the party they usually favor. The result is that the range of expected results is wider for such districts.

If the vote in the state is divided 54% for the Democratic candidate and 46% for the Republican candidate, and in the particular district being evaluated the vote was 57% for the Democratic candidate and 43% for the Republican candidate, the district, based on that single contest, would be described as 3D, or three percentage points more Democratic than the state. As additional contests are examined,

the descriptor is adjusted and a range is added. The final descriptor might be 2D+/-2. This would mean that the central tendency of the district is to be two percentage points more Democratic than the state, and that in at least two-thirds of the cases the outcome will fall within two points of that, or within a range from 0 to 4 points more Democratic than the state.

On this basis, the descriptors for the current congressional districts, based upon the eleven statewide contests, are the following, compared to the CPVI (adjusted from the national standard to the state standard by subtracting five points from the D entries and adding five to the R entries):

<u>District</u>	<u>Descriptor</u>	<u>Adjusted CPVI</u>
1	2D+/-2	D+4
2	1R+/-1	R+2
3	3R+/-2	R+5
4	14R+/-4	R+18
5	9R+/-3	R+12
6	1D+/-2	Even
7	23D+/-4	D+26
8	3R+/-2	R+2
9	0+/-2	Even

To support the point regarding Sun Belt Republicans, note that the range in percentage points between the most Republican and most Democratic districts in the state according to CPVI is 26 + 18 or 44 points. However, using descriptors, the difference is only 23 + 14 or 37 points. I believe that this supports my point that using out of state Republican candidates to evaluate the propensity of Washington voters in their party preferences distorts the analysis.

Cook's adjusted view of Washington is that we have five congressional districts more Republican than the state, two more Democratic and two which are about the same as the state. My view, based on descriptors is that we have five districts more Republican than the state, but by less than Cook thinks, except for the 8th; we have three more Democratic than the state, but again generally by less than Cook thinks, and we have one district which votes like the state.

The power of incumbency is such that I don't consider the outcome in contests for congressional seats to be very helpful in evaluating the partisan tendencies of particular districts. This was a prime point of contention in the 1991 commission when one of the Republican commissioners insisted that the 5th was a Democratic district because of the long tenure of Tom Foley. I don't consider the length of Foley's tenure a reliable indicator of the partisan tendency of that district.

Nevertheless, there is a reasonable correlation between the actual control of these nine districts in the recent past with the descriptors shown in the table above.

I have previously spoken to the commission about the bias toward the Republicans in that Democratic voters are more concentrated in certain parts of the state and, comparatively, Republicans are somewhat more evenly distributed. The results of this disparity in distribution of voters also shows up in the descriptor table above and in Cook's analysis. So, when the voters of the state are equally divided in terms of which party they want in control of Congress, the districts bias the outcome toward the Republicans to the extent of one to two seats.

Within the framework of the constitutional disciplines on construction of districts, not much can be done about this.

The average 2010 population of a district represented by a Democrat is 727,284, while the average population of a district represented by a Republican is 772,030. This suggests that in redistricting, the populations available for designing a new district are going to be principally populations more Republican than the state. Without considering the geography for the moment, if we were to form the new district simply from the excess populations of the existing districts, the districts represented by Democrats would contribute 274,150 people and the districts represented by Republicans would contribute 398,304 people. From this it is reasonably foreseeable that the new district is likely to be more Republican than the state, wherever in the state it is formed. If a way should be found to construct a new district more Democratic than the state, the cost would be that some other district(s) more Democratic than the state will be converted to more Republican than the state.

And this brings us to the political leanings of the congressional districts proposed in this plan. The descriptors for these districts compared with the descriptors for the current districts are as follows:

<u>Current District</u>	<u>Descriptor</u>	<u>Proposed District</u>
7	23D+/-4	Seattle
1	2D+/-2	
	2D+/-3	Bellevue
6	1D+/-2	Tacoma
	1D+/-1	Everett
9	0+/-2	
	1R+/-3	Lakewood
2	1R+/-1	
	2R+/-2	Kent
8	3R+/-2	
3	3R+/-2	
	4R+/-2	Bellingham
	5R+/-3	Vancouver
	8R+/-3	Spokane
5	9R+/-3	
4	14R+/-4	Yakima

This table indicates that the proposed replacement districts for the current districts 1, 4, 6 and 7 are not materially different in partisan propensity than the current districts. The Lakewood and Kent districts are more similar, one point apart, than current districts 8 and 9, three points apart. The Vancouver district is two points more Republican than the current 3rd, a reasonably expectable outcome considering that Thurston county is removed from it. The Spokane district is one point less Republican than the current 5th. And finally, the proposed Everett district is two points more Democratic and the proposed Bellingham district three points more Republican than the current 2nd district.

In the eleven statewide partisan contests mentioned above, here is the number of victories for the candidates of each party in each current and proposed district.

<u>Current District</u>	<u>Number of Times Won by Democrat</u>	<u>Proposed District</u>
7	11	Seattle
1	9	Bellevue
	9	Everett
6	8	Tacoma
9	8	Lakewood
2	8	
	6	Kent
8	5	
	5	Bellingham
3	5	Vancouver
	4	Spokane
5	3	
4	0	Yakima

All of the proposed districts voted for the same candidates in the eleven contests as the current districts, except for the replacement districts for the 2nd, 5th and 8th. The proposed Kent and Spokane districts each voted for one more Democrat than did the current 8th and 5th districts. The proposed Everett district voted for one more Democrat than did the current 2nd, and the proposed Bellingham district voted for three fewer Democrats than did the current 2nd.

Based on all of this, I believe that it is fair to conclude that the bias toward the Republican party in this plan is a function of the differential concentration of Democrats and Republicans in the state. In this respect, it does not differ from the current districts.

Now, to encouraging electoral competition

This is less straightforward. There is not general agreement on the target of competitiveness. To me, the underlying issue is whether districts are composed in such a way that when a majority of the people want to change the control of a legislative body, evidenced by how they vote, such a change actually occurs. I remember in 1994 when the Republicans won a majority of the seats in the U S House of Representatives how extremely variable the results were from state to state. In competitive Washington, the Democrats won 8 of 9 districts in 1992 and the Republicans won 7 of 9 in 1994. In gerrymandered Texas, the Democrats won 21 of 30 districts in 1992 and 19 of 30 in 1994. Nationally, the Republicans gained about 21% of the districts previously represented by Democrats. In Washington, it was 75%, in Texas under 10%. I have previously mentioned with dissatisfaction that the 1991 commission was not able to provide any objective evidence that their plan encouraged electoral competition. The next two elections proved correct their subjective judgment that it did.

I believe that electoral competition is always a good thing, regardless of how lopsided the outcomes may be, because it is through elections that legislators are held accountable. However, I am unwilling to compromise the desirability of legislative control switching when the voters indicate that they want it to switch. For this reason, I believe that competitiveness in congressional elections should be focused at the national level, rather than the state level.

A difficulty in having an objective instrument for measuring this is that it requires that one

come to a conclusion similar to Charlie Cook's conclusion that Washington is D+5. As I've indicated, I believe that overstates the case. My sense is that the state is about four percentage points more Democratic than the nation. If this is the case, then my table of descriptors, keyed to the nation rather than the state, would look like this:

<u>Current District</u>	<u>Descriptor</u>	<u>Proposed District</u>
7	27D+/-4	Seattle
1	6D+/-2	
	6D+/-3	Bellevue
6	5D+/-2	Tacoma
	5D+/-1	Everett
9	4D+/-2	
	3D+/-3	Lakewood
2	3D+/-1	
	2D+/-2	Kent
8	1D+/-2	
3	1D+/-2	
	0+/-2	Bellingham
	1R+/-3	Vancouver
	4R+/-3	Spokane
5	5R+/-3	
4	10R+/-4	Yakima

On the basis of my assumption on the state's Democratic tendency, Washington presently has seven congressional districts more Democratic than the nation and two which are more Republican. Under the plan proposed in this submission, there will be six districts more Democratic than the nation, three more Republican and one which votes as does the nation.

Another matter about which there is not agreement is what should be considered a competitive district. Some people use a range as narrow as 48%-52%. Others use a range as wide as 45%-55%. Using the narrow range, only two current districts are competitive, the 3rd and the 8th. Under the proposed plan, this number would increase to three, the proposed Kent, Bellingham and Vancouver districts. Using the wider range, six current districts would be considered competitive, all but the 1st, 4th and 7th. And under the plan proposed in this submission, seven districts would be considered competitive, all but the proposed Seattle, Bellevue and Yakima districts.

I think it is worth observing here that the current 1st district and the proposed Bellevue district have voted for two statewide Republican candidates among the last eleven statewide partisan contests. This supports the idea that the wider range is a more appropriate way to evaluate competitiveness and maybe the range should be slightly broader than 45%-55% to encompass the current 1st and proposed Bellevue districts as competitive.

In any case, it seems clear to me that the proposed plan does nothing to diminish the overall electoral competitiveness of Washington's congressional districts.

Another clause in the constitution requires that the plan adopted provide for fair and effective representation. This is a rather amorphous, subjective standard. How does one prove that one's plan

satisfies it?

I believe that fair and effective representation is enhanced by providing districts which the average voter can recognize and relate to, can understand the commonality of.

The only one of these proposed districts which may fall short of that objective is the proposed Bellingham district which crosses the Cascades. But, the creation of such a district is required by the population distribution. However, this district has several characteristics which can help to overcome the difficulty of the Cascade Range. One is that after all this is a North Cascades district. The district is very mountainous, except for Douglas and Island counties. Mountains run virtually all the way from the Columbia at the eastern border of Ferry county to Chuckanut on salt water and on to the San Juan Islands. The district is the most rural in the state. It is second in value of agricultural production. And there is a significant tourist and recreational component in the economic profiles of counties on both sides of the Cascades.

All of the other districts are readily recognizable. The Everett district is the more urban part of western Snohomish county plus the part of Bothell and its potential annexation area in King county. The Seattle district is composed only of the cities of Seattle and Burien and the White Center and Boulevard Park CDPs (the Riverton CDP having been annexed into Burien along with parts of White Center and Boulevard Park). The Bellevue district is the Eastside district which was specifically requested by some participants in the forums. And it includes the city of Renton which was specifically requested by a representative of that city. The Kent district is the south King county district along with a part of northern Pierce county including four cities which overlap the county boundary. The Tacoma district is the "military" district which has been requested, keeping Tacoma and Bremerton in the same district, and Clallam and Jefferson are certainly more proximate to Kitsap county than to any other county. The Lakewood district is basically a South Sound and Grays Harbor district. The Vancouver district is recognizable as a successor to the 3rd district in southwest Washington. The Yakima district is the southern part of the current 4th district in south central Washington. It is almost entirely composed of the Yakima River watershed and the Columbia basin. The Spokane district is nearly all of eastern (as opposed to central) Washington. I believe that the average voter in all of these districts (with the possible exception of the unavoidable cross-Cascades district) will be readily able to identify with the district in which he lives.

Supplementary comments.

This plan is very similar to the introductory plan which I offered to the commissioners during the series of public forums. It has been informed by the comments made by participants in the forums and by questions and comments by commissioners.

Most of the world uses names rather than numbers for parliamentary constituencies. I believe it would be a move in a voter-friendly direction to use names for congressional districts rather than numbers. This would anchor each district to a recognizable place rather than to an anonymous number which few other than the highly politically aware can keep track of.

The district names I have used are in each case the name of the most populous municipality within the proposed district. In my electronic submission I have used two letter abbreviations for these names. In all cases they are simply the first two letters of the district names, except for Bellingham which is coded BH and Bellevue which is coded BV.

This submission is compliant with the commission rule that census geography be used. However, in some situations using census geography will require the division of presently-existing precincts which would not otherwise have to be split.

Because of the requirement to follow census geography, three presently-existing precincts in King county would have to be split in executing this plan. These are Kingswood, Norway Hill and SNQ 05-3513.

The census bureau used the Tolt Valley Pipeline as a block boundary in Kingsgate, but stopped at 116th Avenue NE, just short of I-405. This left three census blocks crossing the pipeline, including one in the median of I-405. When Kirkland annexed Kingsgate, the annexation followed the pipeline and split these three blocks. Two of the blocks were in Norway Hill precinct and the portions north of the new municipal boundary continue in that precinct. The third block was in Woodlands precinct which was included in the annexation, except for the part of the single block which crossed the pipeline. This area has now been added to Kingswood precinct. In order to follow census geography, this plan would require that this uninhabited area be separated from the precincts it is in and made a new precinct with no inhabitants and no voters. The better solution would be to acknowledge the failure of census geography to suitably bound this area and to split these three blocks along the municipal boundary.

Precinct SNQ 05-3513 is the precinct to which the area annexed after the census (mentioned in the discussion of municipalities) has been added. To avoid splitting this precinct, it would be appropriate to divide the census blocks along the new municipal boundary.

I mention this because they are examples in this plan of a problem which will be more prevalent in legislative districting plans, due to various post-census annexations which split census blocks.

I am including with this submission tables which provide detailed population, area, and electoral data for the proposed districts.

Populations of Proposed Districts by County

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima District	Spokane District
Adams									18,728	21,623
Asotin									175,177	
Benton										
Chelan	72,453					71,404				
Clallam								425,363		
Clark								102,410		4,078
Columbia										
Cowlitz										
Douglas	38,431									7,551
Ferry										2,266
Franklin									78,163	
Garfield									89,120	
Grant										
Grays Harbor							72,797			
Island	78,506									
Jefferson					506,606	29,872			1,858	
King	43,816	23,437	672,454	672,454		10,624			40,915	
Kitsap						251,133			20,318	
Kittitas										
Klickitat								75,455		
Lewis										
Lincoln										10,570
Mason							60,699			
Okanogan	41,120							20,920		
Pacific										
Pend Oreille								33,262		13,001
Pierce					165,848	309,421	286,694			
San Juan	15,769									
Skagit	116,901									
Skamania								11,066		
Snohomish	64,318	649,017								
Spokane										471,221
Stevens										43,531
Thurston										
Wahkiakum										
Walla Walla									4,944	53,837
Whatcom	201,140									
Whitman									243,231	44,776
Yakima										
	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>

Populations of Proposed Districts by Current District

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima District	Spokane District
1	138	389,674	218,308	11,565		119,770				
2	477,261	282,780					143,120	636,228	660,561	
3								2,964	10,035	672,454
4	110,884									
5	41,120									
6						521,402	188,168			
7			38,809	642,955	11,837	10,624				
8	43,051		370,610		285,115		76,858	33,262	1,858	
9			44,727	17,934	375,502	20,658	264,308			
	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>	<u>672,454</u>

Areas and Population Densities of Proposed Districts

<u>Proposed District</u>	<u>Land Area</u>	<u>Water Area</u>	<u>Total Area</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Density</u>
Yakima	16,797	316	17,113	672,454	40
Bellingham	16,709	1,539	18,249	672,454	40
Spokane	15,104	224	15,328	672,454	45
Vancouver	8,041	441	8,482	672,454	84
Tacoma	4,147	1,617	5,764	672,454	162
Lakewood	3,934	500	4,434	672,454	171
Kent	844	28	873	672,454	796
Everett	423	77	500	672,454	1,589
Bellevue	358	36	394	672,454	1,877
Seattle	97	65	162	672,454	6,920

Prepared by John Milem
2011 July 27

Populations of Proposed Districts not in any Urban Growth Area
This data is a proxy for rural population until Summary File 1 is released.

299,835	Bellingham
248,305	Vancouver
244,281	Lakewood
214,128	Spokane
207,732	Tacoma
182,741	Yakima
82,680	Kent
76,060	Everett
54,744	Bellevue
0	Seattle

Prepared by John Milem
2011 July 24

Value of Agricultural Production by County
2007 Census of Agriculture

Counties in Proposed Bellingham District	Value(\$000,000)	Other Counties	Value(\$000,000)
		Yakima	\$1,200
		Grant	\$1,190
		Benton	\$526
		Franklin	\$467
		Adams	\$344
		Walla Walla	\$344
Whatcom	\$326		
Skagit	\$256		
		Whitman	\$254
Chelan	\$209		
Okanogan	\$209		
Douglas	\$193		
King*	\$127		
		Lincoln	\$126
Snohomish*	\$126		
		Thurston	\$118
		Spokane	\$117
		Lewis	\$110
		Pierce	\$83
		Kittitas	\$61
		Klickitat	\$57
		Clark	\$53
		Columbia	\$40
		Mason	\$37
		Pacific	\$35
		Grays Harbor	\$33
		Cowlitz	\$26
		Garfield	\$26
		Stevens	\$25
Island	\$14		
		Asotin	\$13
		Clallam	\$11
		Jefferson	\$9
		Kitsap	\$7
San Juan	\$4		
		Ferry	\$3
		Pend Oreille	\$3
		Skamania	\$3
		Wahkiakum	\$3

*County only partly in district

Revised by John Milem
2011 July 27

Populations of Divided Municipalities and CDPs by Proposed District

The proposed Spokane district is omitted from this table because it includes no divided municipality or CDP.

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima District
Coulee Dam town	1,098								0
Everett city	0	103,019							
Snoqualmie city	10,670	0							
Ames Lake CDP	93		1,393	3,514	1,773		646	773	
Boulevard Park CDP									
Clear Lake CDP									
Cottage Lake CDP	138		22,356						
Fairwood CDP			3,168		15,934		12,363	11,128	
Graham CDP									
High Bridge CDP	0	2,994							
Hobart CDP			2,099		4,122				
Inglewood-Finn Hill CDP			20,122						
Kingsgate CDP		2,585	11,496						
LaGrande CDP		1,569					8	101	
Lake Bosworth CDP	425	242							
Lochsloy CDP	0	2,533							
Maple Heights-Lake Desire CDP			1,670						
McMillin CDP					1,482				
Midland CDP					745		0	802	
Prairie Ridge CDP					0	8,410	552	649	
Queets CDP					10,815	174	0		
Riverbend CDP	5		1,938						189
Shadow Lake CDP			158						
South Hill CDP					2,104			19	
Summit View CDP					1,609		50,803		
Three Lakes CDP	54	3,130			458		6,778		
Union Hill-Novelty Hill CDP	2,283		16,522						
Wilderness Rim CDP			900						623
Woods Creek CDP	5,446	143							

Populations of Divided School Districts in Divided Counties by Proposed District

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima District	Spokane District
Arlington	11,658	18,077								
Bethel							88,963	11,585		
Clover Park						2,183	74,780			
Eatonville							5,798	6,286		
Fife					20,451	11				
Franklin Pierce					4,924	8,250	37,250			
Granite Falls	10,872	2,413								
Highline				63,048						
Kent			1,205		61,433					
Lake Washington		0	177,476		157,028					
Monroe	6,760	30,846								
Northshore		69,783	52,901						881	468
Prescott										
Puyallup					65,235		53,711			
Renton			115,475		36					3,187
Republic	101									
Seattle				609,013	458					
Snohomish	1,234	50,616							1,858	
Snoqualmie Valley	23,874		9,322							
Steilacoom						0	20,920			
Tacoma						208,382	556			
Tahoma			5,166						163	961
Touchet				393						
Tukwila					17,645					
Walla Walla					20,782				8	37,571
White River								1,334		

Populations of Divided Urban Growth Areas Identified to Municipalities by Proposed District

The proposed Vancouver and Spokane districts are omitted from this table because they include no such divided urban growth areas. As discussed in the text, possibly half of these entries involve errors in census geography.

	<u>Bellingham District</u>	<u>Everett District</u>	<u>Bellevue District</u>	<u>Seattle District</u>	<u>Kent District</u>	<u>Tacoma District</u>	<u>Lakewood District</u>	<u>Yakima District</u>
Arlington	0	18,489						
Bothell		33,505	0					0
Coulee Dam	187							0
North Bend	6,744		1,679	37	26,909			0
SeaTac								
Snoqualmie	10,671		673					
Tacoma					1,183	208,511	52,863	
Woodinville		0	10,938					

Election Results in Proposed Districts with Democratic Percentage of Two-Party Vote and Variance from State Result

	Cantwell	McGavick	D%	Vari	Obama	McCain	D%	Vari	Gregoire	Rossi	D%	Vari	Owen	McCraw	D%	Vari
	1,184,659	832,106	58.74		1,750,848	1,229,216	58.75		1,598,738	1,404,124	53.24		1,718,033	1,107,634	60.80	
Bellingham	119,767	103,546	53.63	-5.11	173,575	146,974	54.15	-4.60	159,159	164,871	49.12	-4.12	173,303	132,667	56.64	-4.16
Everett	112,133	75,607	59.73	0.99	178,517	115,846	60.65	1.89	158,922	138,144	53.50	0.26	174,876	106,711	62.10	1.30
Bellevue	137,571	85,819	61.58	2.84	211,434	111,631	65.45	6.69	182,420	140,868	56.43	3.19	188,019	107,624	63.60	2.80
Seattle	191,496	39,610	82.86	24.12	296,005	52,767	84.87	26.12	275,680	72,477	79.18	25.94	240,935	78,916	75.33	14.53
Kent	99,038	76,308	56.48	-2.26	152,706	115,553	56.92	-1.83	136,593	133,711	50.53	-2.71	151,661	99,790	60.31	-0.49
Tacoma	136,826	89,247	60.52	1.78	189,894	128,787	59.59	0.84	175,940	145,917	54.66	1.42	194,426	112,247	63.40	2.60
Lakewood	108,435	76,507	58.63	-0.11	161,746	122,028	57.00	-1.75	152,289	134,480	53.11	-0.14	175,061	98,424	64.01	3.21
Vancouver	100,581	88,800	53.11	-5.63	150,147	140,000	51.75	-7.00	135,822	155,562	46.61	-6.63	154,245	122,996	55.64	-5.17
Yakima	69,697	88,718	44.00	-14.74	92,633	135,868	40.54	-18.21	81,100	150,687	34.99	-18.25	108,510	112,320	49.14	-11.66
Spokane	109,115	107,944	50.27	-8.47	144,191	159,762	47.44	-11.31	140,813	167,387	45.69	-7.55	156,997	135,939	53.59	-7.21
	1,184,659	832,106	58.74		1,750,848	1,229,216	58.75		1,598,738	1,404,124	53.24		1,718,033	1,107,634	60.80	
	0	0			0	0			0	0			0	0		
Osgood	1,175,086	1,644,587	41.67		1,420,022	1,360,063	51.08		1,770,977	1,016,396	63.54		1,152,174	1,689,764	40.54	
Bellingham	119,706	185,824	39.18	-2.49	142,147	159,300	47.15	-3.92	176,822	124,592	58.66	-4.87	115,705	191,372	37.68	-2.86
Everett	121,479	160,050	43.15	1.48	142,254	136,824	50.97	-0.11	181,126	98,358	64.81	1.27	110,301	173,349	38.89	-1.66
Bellevue	119,975	174,896	40.69	-0.99	145,724	144,044	50.29	-0.79	197,272	91,688	68.27	4.73	112,741	187,965	37.49	-3.05
Seattle	189,734	129,444	59.44	17.77	228,859	86,525	72.57	21.49	266,459	48,086	84.71	21.18	194,778	128,021	60.34	19.80
Kent	100,921	149,760	40.26	-1.42	120,285	126,654	48.71	-2.37	159,371	88,815	64.21	0.68	95,923	158,922	37.64	-2.90
Tacoma	129,431	174,515	42.58	0.91	156,455	144,437	52.00	0.92	199,628	104,145	65.72	2.18	135,074	172,875	43.86	3.32
Lakewood	101,519	171,631	37.17	-4.51	135,042	132,398	50.49	-0.58	177,331	93,991	65.36	1.82	105,356	169,328	38.36	-2.19
Vancouver	115,812	160,634	41.89	0.22	133,493	140,530	48.72	-2.36	154,468	120,146	56.25	-7.29	116,795	158,503	42.42	1.88
Yakima	70,615	150,510	31.93	-9.74	86,585	131,350	39.73	-11.34	105,374	112,445	48.38	-15.16	65,597	156,345	29.56	-10.99
Spokane	105,894	187,323	36.11	-5.56	129,178	158,021	44.98	-6.10	153,126	134,130	53.31	-10.23	99,904	193,084	34.10	-6.44
	1,175,086	1,644,587	41.67		1,420,022	1,360,063	51.08		1,770,977	1,016,396	63.54		1,152,174	1,689,764	40.54	
	0	0			0	0			0	0			0	0		
Goldmark	1,416,904	1,385,903	50.55		1,679,696	1,056,693	61.38		1,314,930	1,196,164	52.36					
Bellingham	144,934	159,778	47.56	-2.99	168,286	126,960	57.00	-4.39	133,238	146,109	47.70	-4.67				
Everett	143,174	135,757	51.33	0.78	172,576	101,065	63.07	1.68	130,772	116,698	52.84	0.48				
Bellevue	157,845	133,482	54.18	3.63	186,919	96,609	65.93	4.54	156,293	117,395	57.11	4.74				
Seattle	243,884	72,856	77.00	26.45	260,912	47,023	84.73	23.35	229,960	53,874	81.02	28.65				
Kent	118,402	132,083	47.27	-3.28	148,075	97,791	60.23	-1.16	111,239	111,701	49.90	-2.47				
Tacoma	151,104	154,158	49.50	-1.05	188,053	110,488	62.99	1.61	145,604	123,883	54.03	1.67				
Lakewood	120,724	151,783	44.30	-6.25	167,195	100,667	62.42	1.03	122,631	114,925	51.62	-0.74				
Vancouver	123,024	151,413	44.83	-5.73	145,671	121,825	54.46	-6.93	107,831	134,910	44.42	-7.94				
Yakima	80,466	137,235	36.96	-13.59	97,924	116,031	45.77	-15.62	69,186	125,881	35.47	-16.90				
Spokane	133,347	157,358	45.87	-4.68	144,085	138,234	51.04	-10.35	108,176	150,788	41.77	-10.59				
	1,416,904	1,385,903	50.55		1,679,696	1,056,693	61.38		1,314,930	1,196,164	52.36					
	0	0			0	0			0	0						

Variance and Descriptor Table for Proposed Districts

This table shows the variance from the state results in the Democratic percentage of the vote in each of eleven statewide partisan contests. Negative results (in red) indicate results more Republican than the state. Positive results (in black) indicate results more Democratic than the state. Underscored results fall outside the descriptor range. A black underscore indicates out-of-range on the Democratic side (that is, the Democratic candidate received an unusually high percentage of the vote in this district compared with the candidate's percentage statewide). A red underscore indicates out-of-range on the Republican side (that is, the Republican candidate received an unusually high percentage of the vote in this district compared with the candidate's percentage statewide).

	Sen06	Pres	Gov	LtGov	SoS	Treas	Aud	AG	CPL	Ins	Sen10	Mean	Variances		Max	Descriptor
													Min	Max		
Bellingham	-5.11	-4.60	-4.12	-4.16	-2.49	-3.92	-4.87	-2.86	-2.99	-4.39	-4.67	-4.02	-5.11	-2.49	4R+/-2	
Everett	0.99	1.89	0.26	1.30	1.48	-0.11	1.27	-1.66	0.78	1.68	0.48	0.76	-1.66	1.89	1D+/-1	
Bellevue	2.84	6.69	3.19	2.80	-0.99	-0.79	4.73	-3.05	3.63	4.54	4.74	2.58	-3.05	6.69	2D+/-3	
Seattle	24.12	26.12	25.94	14.53	17.77	21.49	21.18	19.80	26.45	23.35	28.65	22.67	14.53	28.65	23D+/-4	
Kent	-2.26	-1.83	-2.71	-0.49	-1.42	-2.37	0.68	-2.90	-3.28	-1.16	-2.47	-1.84	-3.28	0.68	2R+/-2	
Tacoma	1.78	0.84	1.42	2.60	0.91	0.92	2.18	3.32	-1.05	1.61	1.67	1.47	-1.05	3.32	1D+/-2	
Lakewood	-0.11	-1.75	-0.14	3.21	-4.51	-0.58	1.82	-2.19	-6.25	1.03	-0.74	-0.93	-6.25	3.21	1R+/-3	
Vancouver	-5.63	-7.00	-6.63	-5.17	0.22	-2.36	-7.29	1.88	-5.73	-6.93	-7.94	-4.78	-7.94	1.88	5R+/-3	
Yakima	-14.74	-18.21	-18.25	-11.66	-9.74	-11.34	-15.16	-10.99	-13.59	-15.62	-16.90	-14.20	-18.25	-9.74	14R+/-4	
Spokane	-8.47	-11.31	-7.55	-7.21	-5.56	-6.10	-10.23	-6.44	-4.68	-10.35	-10.59	-8.05	-11.31	-4.68	8R+/-3	

Because these variances are variances in the Democratic percentage in the district compared with the Democratic statewide percentage, the maximum variance shown is the most Democratic result produced in the district in the eleven contests. Conversely, the minimum variance is the most Republican result produced in the district. The three negative (red) results in the maximum variance column call attention to the three districts which voted more Republican than the state in all eleven contests. The one positive (black) result in the minimum variance column indicates the one district which voted more Democratic than the state in all contests. The other six districts voted more Democratic than the state in some contests and more Republican than the state in others.