REDISTRICTING PLAN SUBMISSION

CONGRESSIONAL

MILEM PREFERREDv2

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. This plan replaces the plan I submitted on July 25 as Milem Preferred Congressional Plan.

The plan is being submitted as a shapefile .dbf. In nature, it is a block assignment file. The file is named c24.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 identifers 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."
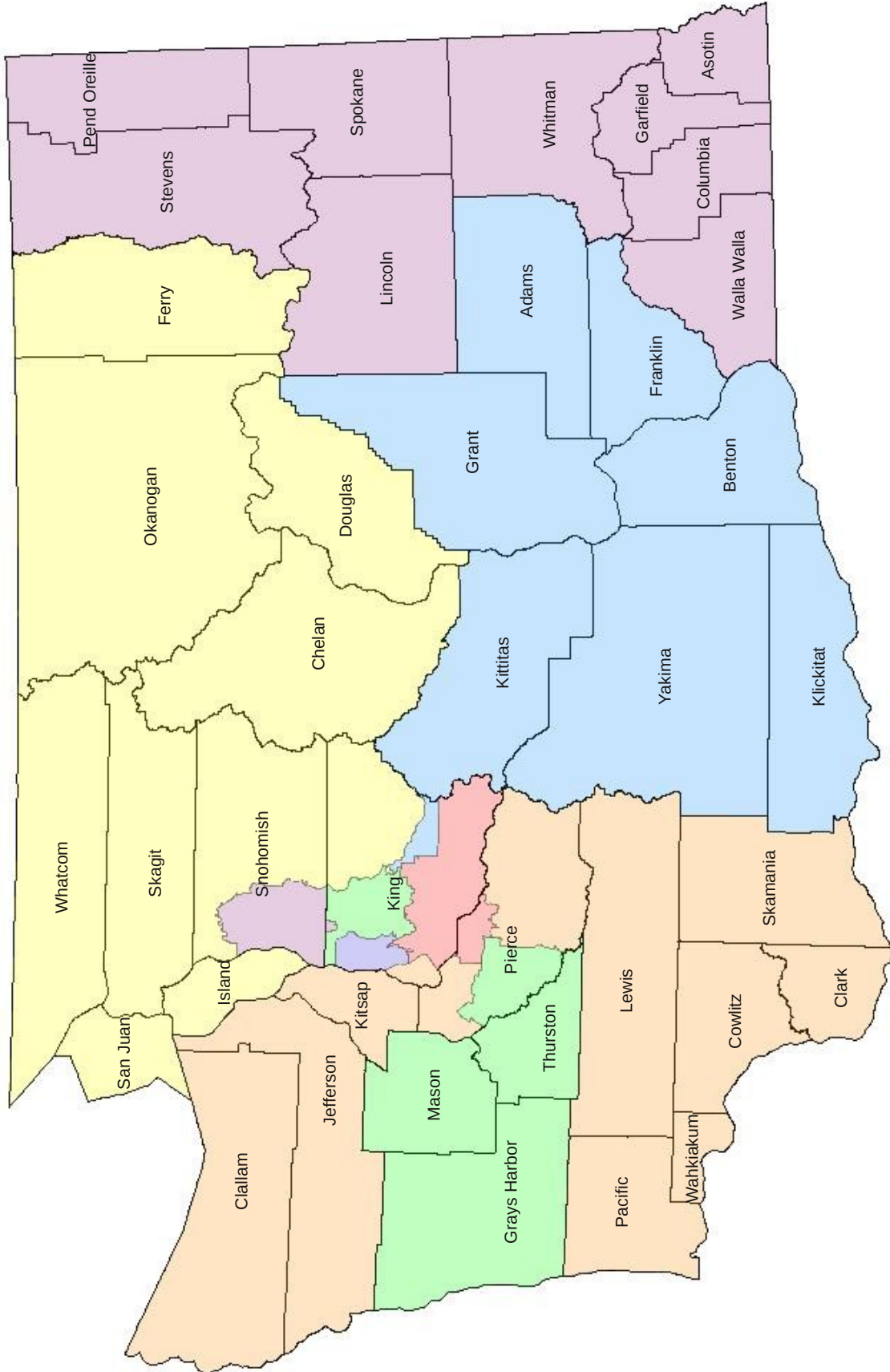
Paragraph 1.

The populations of the districts proposed by this plan are as follows:

Population	Proposed district
672,978	Bellingham
673,146	Everett
669,378	Bellevue
674,227	Seattle
674,184	Kent
673,006	Tacoma
673,493	Lakewood
672,503	Vancouver
671,778	Yakima
669,847	Spokane
6,724,540	

The requirement regarding population equality is that populations be as nearly equal as is practicable. These are the words the United States Supreme Court began to use in the early redistricting cases in the 1960s. Over the decades, the Court has fleshed out its meaning of these words by indicating that for "legitimate state purposes" an overall range of one percent is allowed in variations from exact equality in populations of congressional districts. This range based on 2010 census results for Washington would allow an overall range of 6,724 persons between the districts largest and smallest in population. The plan which I am proposing has an overall range of 4,849 persons, from 669,378 in the proposed Bellevue district to 674,227 in the proposed Seattle district.

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Pend Oreille

Spokane

Whitman

Asotin

Garfield

Columbia

Stevens

Lincoln

Adams

Walla Walla

Ferry

Grant

Franklin

Okanogan

Douglas

Benton

Chelan

Kittitas

Yakima

Klickitat

Whatcom

Skagit

Snohomish

King

Skamania

Island

Kitsap

Pierce

Clark

San Juan

Jefferson

Mason

Thurston

Lewis

Cowlitz

Clallam

Grays Harbor

Pacific

Wahkiakum

These variations are permissible because they are utilized for the "legitimate state purposes" enumerated in the provisions of the state constitution which appear above and further discussed below.

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. However, as this plan 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."

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 or creating districts which fail to meet the standard of convenience contained in the constitution. 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 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, Endicott, Ephrata, Grand Coulee Dam, Kettle Falls, LaCrosse, Lamont, North Mason, North River, Oakville, Ocosta, Odessa, Orient, Quincy, 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, Highline, Kent, Lake Washington, Northshore, Renton, Seattle, Steilacoom, Tacoma, Tahoma, and Tukwila. Four Snohomish county school districts, Arlington, Granite Falls, Monroe, and Snohomish, are divided, almost entirely along precinct boundaries, (i) to provide the Snohomish county population necessary in the proposed Bellingham district, (ii) to enhance the urban character of the proposed Everett district and the rural character of the proposed Bellingham district, (iii) and to allow for districts more compact than they would be were school district boundaries to be followed. 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. And in King county, the Riverview and Snoqualmie Valley school districts are divided to allow population

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
in color

CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
gray boundaries and district numbers

Spokane

Bellingham

Yakima

Everett

Seattle

Bellevue

Kent

Tacoma

Vancouver

Lakewood

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
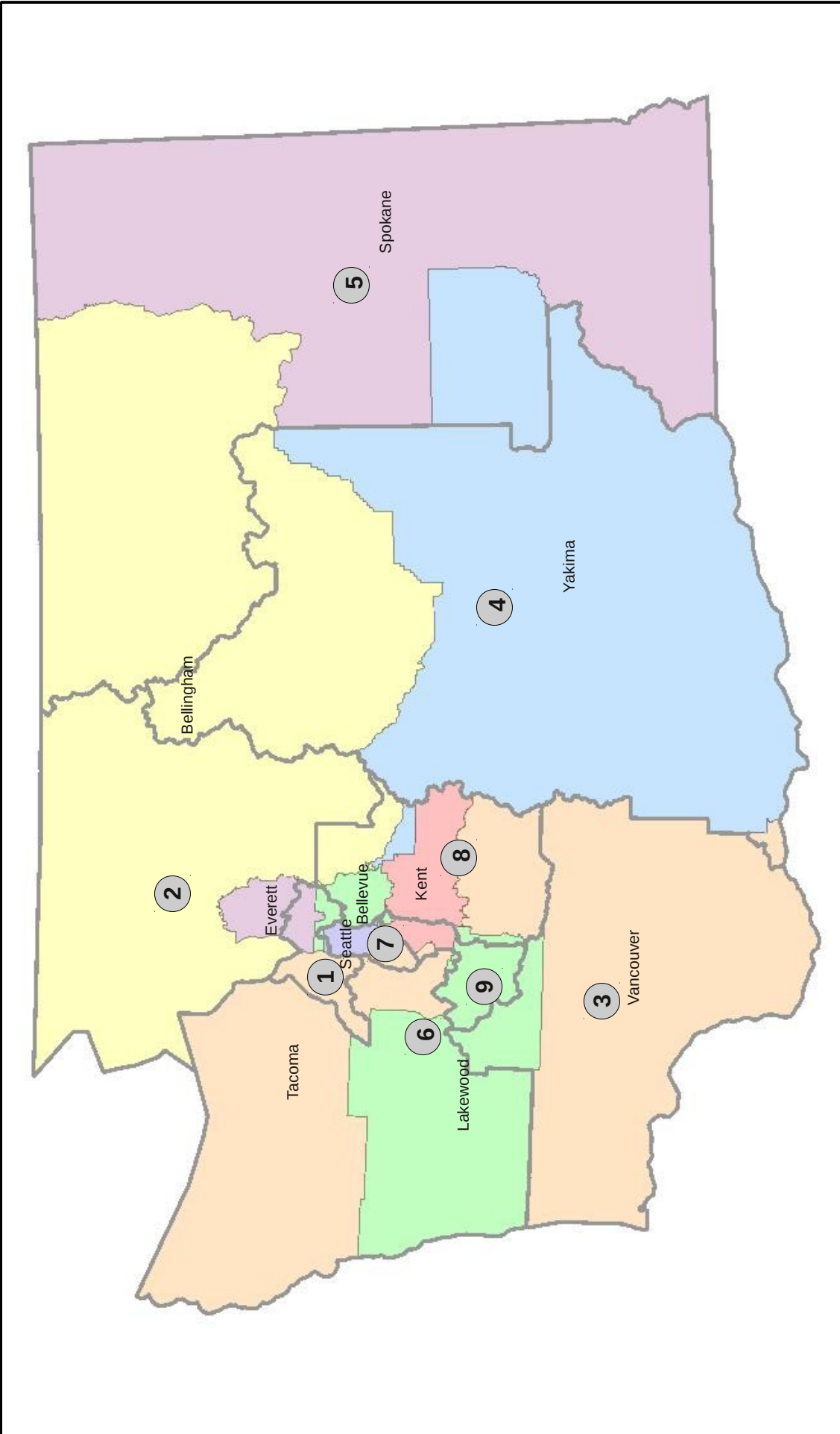
requirements for the Bellingham and Yakima districts to be met and to allow for the use of major highways and the boundaries of municipalities and urban growth areas to be used as proposed congressional district boundaries.   Finally, two other school districts in Pierce county are divided in this plan. 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. So, it is divided along the southern boundary of the Puyallup urban growth area. 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. By dividing this district, it is possible to avoid dividing the city of Tacoma and the Parkland, Midland, Summit, Clover Creek, Summit View, Waller and Frederickson CDPs and to use SR 512 between Parkland and Puyallup as the boundary between the proposed Kent and Lakewood districts.

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, compactness and boundary simplicity.   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 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. Seven CDPs are divided along school district boundaries which are proposed congressional district boundaries. These are East Renton Highlands, Fairwood, Hobart, Maple Heights-Lake Desire, McMillin, Mirrormont, and Prairie Ridge. The South Hill CDP is divided along school district boundaries and, within the Puyallup school district, it is divided along the southern boundary of the Puyallup urban growth area. Just as some school districts in Snohomish, King 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, Riverbend, Three Lakes and Woods Creek. Three other CDPs are divided to avoid otherwise unnecessary division of a precinct. These are Lake Bosworth, Lochsloy and Midland.

Paragraph 2(b).

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

They are as reasonably compact as possible without dividing counties, municipalities, or otherwise undivided school districts. In two areas, Snohomish county between Granite Falls and Monroe and in eastern Pierce county south of South Hill, school districts were divided to allow for more compact districts. In Snohomish county the boundary is primarily precinct boundaries. In Pierce county, it is primarily SR 161.

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 Spokane district is less compact than one might prefer. However, given the need to move some eastern counties into a western district and the obvious appropriateness of a district in south central Washington, the Spokane district has a bit of a sense of being the left over. On the other hand, it is the only district in this plan formed only of whole counties and only 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 three of 39 counties.

In Snohomish county, seven precincts are divided, Bosworth, Huckleberry (note apparent error in census geography) and Sofie along urban growth boundaries, Pipeline and Wagner for population, compactness and boundary simplification, Tualco, to enable SR 203 to be the district boundary south of Monroe, and Outlook because it is an attenuated, dumbbell shaped precinct which cannot very conveniently be placed into either district.

In King county, 29 precincts are divided. Of these, twelve are divided because the proposed district boundary follows a school district boundary which runs through the precinct. These twelve precincts are Cedar Park, Cedar River, Daniel, Fairhaven, Hobart, Hutchinson, Lake Alice, Milwaukee, Preston, Rattlesnake, Riverside and Valencia. Two are divided because of the annexation of most of Kingsgate by the city of Kirkland. These are Kingswood and Norway Hill. SNQ 05-1097 is divided as discussed in the paragraph on municipalities.

Thirteen precincts are divided to provide the proper population for the proposed Bellingham district in King county and to allow for major roads to be used as district boundaries, I-90 and SRs 202 and 203. These precincts are Cherry Valley, Grizzly, Horseshoe, Middle Fork, Novelty, Ramona, Riverbend, Sean, Sno Pass, Sno-Valley, Tolt, Twin Falls, Twin Peaks and Vincent.

In Pierce county, 24 precincts are divided. Of these, eight are divided because a proposed district boundary follows a school district boundary which runs through the precinct. These precincts are 02-045, 02-051, 02-059, 02-062, 02-063, 02-064, 31-664 and 31-666. Four are divided because a

proposed district boundary follows the Puyallup UGA boundary which runs through the precinct. These precincts are 25-153, 25-172, 25-173, and 25-174. 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 a precinct not include both incorporated and unincorporated areas). Three precincts are divided so that SR 512 may be used as a proposed district boundary. These precincts are 25-143, 25-146, and 25-148. Precincts 31-668 and 31-669 are divided so that SR 165 may be used as the proposed district boundary through the White River School District. 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. Precinct 29-553 is divided so that the boundary between Parkland CDP and Midland CDP may be used as a proposed district boundary.

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):

District	Descriptor	Adjusted CPVI
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:

Current District	Descriptor	Proposed District
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.

Current District	Number of Times Won by Democrat	Proposed District
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:

Current District	Descriptor	Proposed District
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.

Prepared by John Milem
2011 July 29

Populations of Proposed Districts by County

County	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima District	Spokane District
Adams									18,728	
Asotin										21,623
Benton									175,177	
Chelan	72,453									
Clallam						71,404				
Clark								425,363		
Columbia										4,078
Cowlitz								102,410		
Douglas	38,431									
Ferry	7,551									
Franklin									78,163	
Garfield										2,266
Grant									89,120	
Grays Harbor							72,797			
Island	78,506									
Jefferson						29,872				
King	37,481	23,437	669,378	674,227	509,976	10,624			6,126	
Kitsap						251,133				
Kittitas									40,915	
Klickitat									20,318	
Lewis								75,455		
Lincoln										10,570
Mason							60,699			
Okanogan	41,120									
Pacific								20,920		
Pend Oreille										13,001
Pierce					164,208	309,973	287,733	33,311		
San Juan	15,769									
Skagit	116,901									
Skamania								11,066		
Snohomish	63,626	649,709								
Spokane										471,221
Stevens										43,531
Thurston							252,264			
Wahkiakum								3,978		
Walla Walla										58,781
Whatcom	201,140									
Whitman										44,776
Yakima									243,231	
	672,978	673,146	669,378	674,227	674,184	673,006	673,493	672,503	671,778	669,847

Prepared by John Milem
2011 July 23

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		389,674	218,446	11,565		119,770				
2	476,569	283,472								
3							143,120			
4	110,884							636,228	660,561	
5	48,671							2,964	5,091	669,847
6			38,809	644,728	10,064	521,954	187,616			
7			367,396		289,076	10,624				
8	36,854		44,727	17,934	375,044	20,658	77,991	33,311	6,126	
9							264,766			
	672,978	673,146	669,378	674,227	674,184	673,006	673,493	672,503	671,778	669,847

Areas and Population Densities of Proposed Districts

Proposed District	Land Area	Water Area	Total Area	Population	Density
Bellingham	18,872	1,592	20,464	672,978	36
Yakima	16,117	287	16,404	671,778	42
Spokane	13,597	198	13,795	669,847	49
Vancouver	8,041	441	8,482	672,503	84
Tacoma	4,147	1,617	5,764	673,006	162
Lakewood	3,935	500	4,434	673,493	171
Kent	883	28	911	674,184	764
Everett	431	77	508	673,146	1,562
Bellevue	335	37	372	669,378	1,997
Seattle	97	65	162	674,227	6,916

Prepared by John Milem
2011 July 24

POPULATIONS OF PROPOSED DISTRICTS NOT IN ANY URBAN GROWTH AREA
This data is a proxy for rural population until Summary File 1 is released.

300,186	Bellingham
248,354	Vancouver
244,245	Lakewood
210,639	Spokane
207,778	Tacoma
181,673	Yakima
87,763	Kent
76,752	Everett
53,126	Bellevue
0	Seattle

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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 25

Populations of Divided Municipalities and CDPs by Proposed Districts

The proposed Seattle and Spokane districts are omitted from this table because they include no divided municipalities or CDPs.

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima District
Coulee Dam town	1,098							0
Everett city	0	103,019						0
Snoqualmie city	10,670							
Clear Lake CDP						646	773	
East Renton Highlands CDP			10,926	214				
Fairwood CDP			3,168	15,934				
Graham CDP						12,363	11,128	
Hobart CDP			133	6,088				
Inglewood-Finn Hill CDP		2,585	20,122					
Kingsgate CDP		1,569	11,496					
LaGrande CDP						8	101	
Lake Bosworth CDP	5	682						
Lochsloy CDP	0	2,533						
Maple Heights-Lake Desire CDP			0	3,152				
McMillin CDP				745		0	802	
Midland CDP				0	8,962			
Mirrormont CDP			3,468	191				
Prairie Ridge CDP				10,815			649	
Queets CDP					174	0		
Riverbend CDP	5							
South Hill CDP				501		51,911	19	
Three Lakes CDP	54	3,130						
Woods Creek CDP	5,446	143						

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2011 July 23

Populations of Divided School Districts in Divided Counties by Proposed District

The proposed Spokane district is omitted from this table because it includes no divided county.

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Vancouver District	Yakima 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	8,802	36,698		
Granite Falls	10,230	3,055							
Highline				64,778	59,703				
Kent					157,028				
Lake Washington		0	177,476						
Monroe	6,710	30,896	1,205						
Northshore		69,783	52,901						
Puyallup					63,644		55,302		
Renton			115,475		36				
Riverview	15,952		3,363						
Seattle				609,056	415				
Snohomish	1,234	50,616							
Snoqualmie Valley	20,902		8,026						
Steilacoom						0	20,920		6,126
Tacoma						208,382	556		
Tukwila				393	17,645				
White River					20,733			1,383	

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.

	Bellingham District	Everett District	Bellevue District	Seattle District	Kent District	Tacoma District	Lakewood District	Yakima District
Arlington	0	18,489						0
Bothell		33,505	0					
Coulee Dam	187							
North Bend	6,749							1,674
SeaTac				37	26,909			
Snoqualmie	10,671							
Tacoma					1,183	209,007	52,367	673
Woodinville		0	10,938					

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

	Cantwell 1,184,659	McGavick 832,106	D% 58.74	Vari	Obama 1,750,848	McCain 1,229,216	D% 58.75	Vari	Gregoire 1,598,738	Rossi 1,404,124	D% 53.24	Vari	Owen 1,718,033	McCraw 1,107,634	D% 60.80	Vari
Bellingham	119,391	103,848	53.48	-5.26	172,751	147,210	53.99	-4.76	158,532	164,961	49.01	-4.23	172,757	132,778	56.54	-4.26
Everett	112,247	75,702	59.72	0.98	178,712	116,005	60.64	1.89	159,094	138,331	53.49	0.25	175,071	106,856	62.10	1.30
Bellevue	137,026	85,268	61.64	2.90	210,658	110,701	65.55	6.80	181,696	139,850	56.51	3.27	187,197	106,893	63.65	2.85
Seattle	191,708	39,684	82.85	24.11	296,391	52,881	84.86	26.11	276,021	72,656	79.16	25.92	241,272	79,037	75.32	14.52
Kent	99,663	77,047	56.40	-2.34	153,423	116,488	56.84	-1.91	137,205	134,790	50.44	-2.80	152,421	100,558	60.25	-0.55
Tacoma	136,891	89,287	60.52	1.78	189,997	128,857	59.59	0.84	176,036	145,995	54.66	1.42	194,534	112,306	63.40	2.60
Lakewood	108,611	76,693	58.61	-0.13	161,999	122,327	56.98	-1.78	152,515	134,809	53.08	-0.16	175,324	98,679	63.99	3.19
Vancouver	100,587	88,803	53.11	-5.63	150,158	140,012	51.75	-7.00	135,830	155,577	46.61	-6.63	154,256	123,008	55.64	-5.17
Yakima	70,067	88,537	44.18	-14.56	93,519	135,565	40.82	-17.93	81,884	150,463	35.24	-18.00	109,042	112,206	49.28	-11.52
Spokane	108,468	107,237	50.29	-8.46	143,240	159,170	47.37	-11.39	139,925	166,692	45.64	-7.61	156,159	135,313	53.58	-7.22
	1,184,659	832,106	58.74	0	1,750,848	1,229,216	58.75	0	1,598,738	1,404,124	53.24	0	1,718,033	1,107,634	60.80	0

	Osgood 1,175,086	Reed 1,644,587	D% 41.67	Vari	McIntire 1,420,022	Martin 1,360,063	D% 51.08	Vari	Sonntag 1,770,977	McEntee 1,016,396	D% 63.54	Vari	Ladenburg 1,152,174	McKenna 1,689,764	D% 40.54	Vari
Bellingham	119,588	185,523	39.19	-2.48	141,902	159,130	47.14	-3.94	176,152	124,867	58.52	-5.02	115,571	191,017	37.70	-2.85
Everett	121,612	160,259	43.14	1.47	142,407	137,006	50.97	-0.11	181,333	98,488	64.80	1.27	110,427	173,564	38.88	-1.66
Bellevue	119,363	173,950	40.69	-0.98	145,034	143,202	50.32	-0.76	196,382	91,010	68.33	4.80	112,194	186,897	37.51	-3.03
Seattle	190,012	129,623	59.45	17.77	229,169	86,675	72.56	21.48	266,817	48,183	84.70	21.17	195,043	128,224	60.33	19.79
Kent	101,304	150,884	40.17	-1.50	120,767	127,656	48.61	-2.46	160,165	89,526	64.15	0.61	96,227	160,182	37.53	-3.01
Tacoma	129,508	174,601	42.59	0.91	156,546	144,507	52.00	0.92	199,739	104,199	65.72	2.18	135,150	172,964	43.86	3.32
Lakewood	101,668	172,005	37.15	-4.53	135,243	132,710	50.47	-0.61	177,629	94,209	65.34	1.81	105,523	169,690	38.34	-2.20
Vancouver	115,821	160,647	41.89	0.22	133,505	140,541	48.72	-2.36	154,481	120,155	56.25	-7.29	116,802	158,518	42.42	1.88
Yakima	71,076	150,479	32.08	-9.59	87,094	131,214	39.90	-11.18	106,069	112,167	48.60	-14.93	66,026	156,395	29.69	-10.86
Spokane	105,134	186,616	36.04	-5.64	128,355	157,422	44.91	-6.16	152,210	133,592	53.26	-10.28	99,211	192,313	34.03	-6.51
	1,175,086	1,644,587	41.67	0	1,420,022	1,360,063	51.08	0	1,770,977	1,016,396	63.54	0	1,152,174	1,689,764	40.54	0

	Goldmark 1,416,904	Sutherland 1,385,903	D% 50.55	Vari	Kreidler 1,679,696	Adams 1,056,693	D% 61.38	Vari	Murray 1,314,930	Rossi 1,196,164	D% 52.36	Vari
Bellingham	144,608	159,732	47.52	-3.04	167,671	127,138	56.87	-4.51	132,547	146,266	47.54	-4.83
Everett	143,330	135,938	51.32	0.77	172,760	101,205	63.06	1.68	130,925	116,865	52.84	0.47
Bellevue	157,160	132,575	54.24	3.69	186,124	95,887	66.00	4.62	155,818	116,683	57.18	4.82
Seattle	244,199	73,002	76.99	26.43	261,260	47,126	84.72	23.33	230,226	53,983	81.01	28.64
Kent	118,973	133,042	47.21	-3.34	148,789	98,534	60.16	-1.22	111,819	112,656	49.81	-2.55
Tacoma	151,185	154,244	49.50	-1.05	188,159	110,547	62.99	1.61	145,675	123,947	54.03	1.66
Lakewood	120,907	152,129	44.28	-6.27	167,452	100,925	62.39	1.01	122,813	115,198	51.60	-0.77
Vancouver	123,031	151,429	44.83	-5.73	145,684	121,835	54.46	-6.93	107,839	134,921	44.42	-7.94
Yakima	81,099	137,056	37.17	-13.38	98,571	115,797	45.98	-15.40	69,821	125,755	35.70	-16.66
Spokane	132,412	156,756	45.79	-4.76	143,226	137,699	50.98	-10.40	107,447	149,890	41.75	-10.61
	1,416,904	1,385,903	50.55	0	1,679,696	1,056,693	61.38	0	1,314,930	1,196,164	52.36	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	Variances Mean	Min	Max	Descriptor
Bellingham	-5.26	-4.76	-4.23	-4.26	-2.48	-3.94	-5.02	-2.85	-3.04	-4.51	-4.83	-4.11	-5.26	-2.48	4R+/-2
Everett	0.98	1.89	0.25	1.30	1.47	-0.11	1.27	-1.66	0.77	1.68	0.47	0.75	-1.66	1.89	1D+/-1
Bellevue	2.90	6.80	3.27	2.85	-0.98	-0.76	4.80	-3.03	3.69	4.62	4.82	2.63	-3.03	6.80	2D+/-3
Seattle	24.11	26.11	25.92	14.52	17.77	21.48	21.17	19.79	26.43	23.33	28.64	22.66	14.52	28.64	23D+/-4
Kent	-2.34	-1.91	-2.80	-0.55	-1.50	-2.46	0.61	-3.01	-3.34	-1.22	-2.55	-1.92	-3.34	0.61	2R+/-2
Tacoma	1.78	0.84	1.42	2.60	0.91	0.92	2.18	3.32	-1.05	1.61	1.66	1.47	-1.05	3.32	1D+/-2
Lakewood	-0.13	-1.78	-0.16	3.19	-4.53	-0.61	1.81	-2.20	-6.27	1.01	-0.77	-0.95	-6.27	3.19	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	-14.56	-17.93	-18.00	-11.52	-9.59	-11.18	-14.93	-10.86	-13.38	-15.40	-16.66	-14.00	-18.00	-9.59	14R+/-4
Spokane	-8.46	-11.39	-7.61	-7.22	-5.64	-6.16	-10.28	-6.51	-4.76	-10.40	-10.61	-8.09	-11.39	-4.76	8R+/-3

Because these variances are variance 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.