POLS 2998W – Congressional Redistricting and Apportionment
Fall 2019

Course

Room: Oak 308	**Dr. Jeffrey Ladewig**
Time: T 3:30-6p	**Office: Oak 434**
Web Page: http://lms.uconn.edu	**Office Hours: T,TH 10:30a-12p**
	jeffrey.ladewig@uconn.edu

This course is an in-depth examination of the representative organization of the U.S. Congress. There are two fundamental processes to the representative organization of, in particular, the U.S. House of Representatives: apportionment and redistricting. Together, these processes define the size, shape, demographics, and quantity of congressional districts within and among the states. The outcome of these decisions has a significant impact on many—if not all!—aspects of our democracy.

We will examine many of the historical, legal, practical, computational, and mathematical aspects for each of these frequent re-organizations. We will first examine congressional apportionment. A particular focus of this section will be the politics and mathematics of political equality. The second section of the course examines congressional redistricting. A particular focus of this section will be on the current practice of redistricting as well as quantitatively analyzing the political, economic, demographic, and legal consequences.

Texts

The following texts are required. The reading assignments for this course are essential and include all assigned pages. Any student who intends to do well will find the readings indispensable. This is a lecture-based course. Still, I will not highlight all of important points in the books, and I will be providing additional information that is not in the books. Because you are responsible for all of the assigned material, I strongly recommend a thorough and timely reading all of the assignments.

Required

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2008. *The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics*. WW Norton: New York, NY. **(**ISBN: 9780393931037)

- Balinski, Michel L. and H. Peyton Young. 2001. *Fair Representation: Meeting the Ideal of One Man, One Vote*, 2nd ed. Brookings Institution Press. **(**ISBN: 9780815701118)

- Bullock, Charles S. III. 2010. *Redistricting: The Most Political Activity in America*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (ISBN: 9781442203549)

  Additional required readings will be posted on HuskyCT.

Recommended

Strunk, William, Jr. and E. B. White. 1999. *The Elements of Style*, 4th ed. Longman.

Alexander, Michael, Dick Kusleika, and John Walkenbach. 2018. *Excel 2019 Bible*. Wiley.

Requirements

Your grade will be based on two writing projects and weekly homework assignments. The dates for each are listed under the Course Outline.

The projects have three main inter-related parts. First, each contains a writing assignment. As a W course, any student who does not pass the writing assignments in this course will not pass the course. Second, the projects require the students to think critically and analytically about the subject matter and the various readings. Third, the projects require the students to engage in some of the basic computational and mathematical aspects of congressional apportionment and redistricting. Each project is worth a total of 200 points. Details will be provided in handouts.

The weekly homework assignments are designed to fulfill two inter-related roles. First, most of the homeworks will provide the students with an introductory knowledge of MS Excel—or similar software (e.g. the free Open Office suite (see http://www.openoffice.org)). MS Excel is a relatively simple but powerful spreadsheet software program that is ubiquitous in just about all professions. Second, the specific weekly homework will build on the students' previous knowledge and provide important insights into the mathematical and computational work necessary for the two projects. There are 10 homework assignments, which will be on HuskyCT and due the following Tuesday. Each is worth 10 points. The homework assignments are worth a potential of 100 total points.

The final grade, then, will consist of 500 points (100 homework points; 400 project points). The grades will follow a standard distribution:

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A : 500 - 463 points.
A-: 462 - 448 points.
B+: 447 - 438 points.
B : 437 - 413 points.
B-: 412 - 398 points.
C+: 397 - 388 points.
C : 387 - 363 points.
C-: 362 - 348 points.
D+: 347 - 338 points.
D : 337 - 298 points.
F : 297 or fewer points.
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The best way to perform well in this course is to attend and be prepared for each class. The homeworks and project will consist of material that may only be addressed in the assigned readings or only in lecture. As such, missing class could be very costly. If you choose to skip a reading, you will likely have a more difficult time. Additionally, I encourage discussion and debate in-class and on the class HuskyCT discussion board. Participation will improve your knowledge of the information, and marginal grades of active students (in-class *and/or* online) will be given a second consideration.

Administrative Policies

There will be no make-up assignments for unexcused absences and late assignments will not be accepted. An absence is excused only in the case of an emergency; documentation is required. You are responsible for providing the documentation and arranging alternative plans.

Academic dishonestly is not tolerated. I will deal with it, should it occur, in the swiftest possible manner allowed by University regulations. UConn provides definitions and examples of plagiarism, the judicial process, and your rights. I strongly recommend that you review this information.

See: http://lib.uconn.edu/help/writing/plagiarism-resources/
            http://web.uconn.edu/irc/PlagiarismModule/intro_m.htm

For discrimination and sexual harassment policies,

See: http://policy.uconn.edu/?p=2884
            http://sexualviolence.uconn.edu/

Finally, we are here to facilitate your learning. I encourage you to take advantage of the course by keeping up with the readings, visiting the web site, thinking about the material, and discussing it in class, with me, with the TA, and with your colleagues.

<u>**Congressional Apportionment**</u>

Week 1   **Introduction**
- Basics of Apportionment and Redistricting
- Ladewig, Jeffrey W. 2015. "Before the Lines are Drawn." *Jigsaw Politics*. (posted online)
- Federalist Papers, no. 54. (<u>recommended</u>: posted online)
- Federalist Papers, no. 55. (<u>recommended</u>: posted online)

- Homework 1 Handed Out: Apportionment Population Calculations.

Week 2   **Methods of Apportionment, Part 1**
- Balinski and Young, Chapters 1-3.

- Homework 1 Due.
- Homework 2 Handed Out: Jefferson Method of Apportionment Calculations and Formalizing the Constitution.
  - Formulas I: Walkenbach, Chapter 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 32.

Week 3   **Methods of Apportionment, Part 2**
- Balinski and Young, Chapters 4-5.

- Homework 2 Due.
- Homework 3 Handed Out – Hamilton, Adams, and Webster Methods of Apportionments.
  - Formulas II: Walkenbach, Chapter 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 32.

- First Project Handed Out.

Week 4   **Methods of Apportionment, Part 3**
- Balinski and Young, Chapters 6, 8-11.

- Homework 3 Due.
- Homework 4 Handed Out – Dean and Hill Methods of Apportionment.
  - Formulas III: Walkenbach, Chapter 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 32.

Week 5   **Baker v. Carr and One Person, One Vote**
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2008. *The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics*. Parts I & II.
- "Supreme Court: The Political Question." In Epstein, Lee, and Thomas G. Walker, eds. 2013. *Constitutional Law for a Changing America: Institutional Powers and Constraints*, 8th ed. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (posted online)
- "Baker v. Carr (1962) – Analysis." In Epstein, Lee, and Thomas G. Walker, eds. 2013. *Constitutional Law for a Changing America: Institutional Powers and Constraints*, 8th ed. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (posted online)
- "Reynolds v. Sims (1964) – Analysis." In Epstein, Lee, and Thomas G. Walker, eds. 2013. *Constitutional Law for a Changing America: Institutional Powers and Constraints*, 8th ed. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (recommended: posted online)
- *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964). (recommended: posted online)
- "Miller v. Johnson (1995) – Analysis." In Epstein, Lee, and Thomas G. Walker, eds. 2013. *Constitutional Law for a Changing America: Institutional Powers and Constraints*, 8th ed. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (recommended: posted online)
- *New York Times (3.11.13)*. (recommended: posted online)
- *Evenwel v. Abbott (2016) – SCOTUS* "Argument". (recommended: posted online).

- Homework 4 Due.
- Homework 5 Handed Out – Malapportionment and Measurements of Dispersion.

Week 6   **Resolving (Some) Paradoxes and Issues**
- *Dep't of Commerce v. Montana* (1991). (posted online)
- Edelman, Paul H. 2006. "Getting the Math Right: Why California Has Too Many Seats in the House of Representatives." *Vanderbilt Law Review* 59 (2): 297-346. (posted online)
- Ladewig, Jeffrey W. 2011. "One Person, One Vote, and 435 Seats." *Connecticut Law Review* 43 (4): 1125-56. (posted online)
- Neubauer, Michael G., and Joel Zeitlin. 2003. "Outcomes of Presidential Elections and House Size." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (4): 721-25. (recommended: posted online)
- *Clemens et. al. v. Dep't of Commerce*, Jurisdictional Statement to the U.S. Supreme Court (2010). (recommended: posted online)
- Ladewig, Jeffrey. 2019. "Democrats want to make D.C. a state. Here's what it would take." *The Washington Post*, June 21. (recommended: posted online)
- Ladewig, Jeffrey. 2019. "Trump's fight to count US citizen and non-citizen: 5 questions answered." *The Conversation*, August 8. (recommended: posted online)

- Homework 5 Due.
- ***First Project Draft Due – October 2nd.***

Congressional Redistricting

Week 7   **Formal Requirements**
                   • Work Week
                   • FiveThirtyEight, "The Gerrymandering Project" Podcasts (6 of them):
                          https://fivethirtyeight.com/tag/the-gerrymandering-project/
                   • FiveThirtyEight, "The Gerrymandering Project: The Atlas of
                          Redistricting": https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-
                          maps/#Competitive

                   First Project Due – October 11ᵗʰ

Week 8   **Formal Requirements, con't.**
                   • Bullock, Chapter 1-3.
                   • *New York Times* (2.2.13) article. (posted online)
                   • Persily (2012). (posted online)
                   • Toobin, Jeffery. 2006. "Drawing the Line: Will Tom Delay's
                          Redistricting in Texas Cost Him His Seat?" *The New Yorker*.
                          (posted online)
                   • McKee, Seth C., Jeremy M. Teigen, and Mattieu Turgeon. 2006. "The
                          Partisan Impact of Congressional Redistricting: The Case of
                          Texas, 2001-2003." *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (2): 308-317.
                          (recommended: posted online)

                   • Homework 6 Handed Out: Redistricting Simulations.

Week 9   **Mapping Congressional Districts, part 1**
                   • Bullock, Chapters 4.
                   • U.S. Congressional Research Service. 2008. *The Voting Rights Act of
                          1965, As Amended: Its History and Current Issues*. By Garrine P
                          Laney. CRS Report for Congress, Code 95-896. Washington
                          D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office. (recommended:
                          posted online)
                   • Forgette, Richard, and John W. Winkle III. 2006. "Partisan
                          Gerrymandering and the Voting Rights Act." *Social Science
                          Quarterly* 87 (1): 155-73. (recommended—specifically pages
                          155-162: posted online)

                   • Homework 6 Due.
                   • Homework 7 Handed Out: Redistricting using Basic GIS Maps.
                          • Walkenbach, Chapters 1-4.

Week 10	**Mapping Congressional Districts, part 2** • Bullock, Chapters 5 and 7. • Bullock, Chapter 6 (<u>recommended</u>). • Stephanopoulos, Nicholas O., and Eric M. McGee. 2015. "Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap." University of *Chicago Law Review* 82 (2): 831-900. (posted online) • Homework 7 Due. • Homework 8 Handed Out: Political Statistics of Redistricting and Measuring the Efficiency Gap.
Week 11	**The Practice and Consequences of Redistricting, part 1** • Ladewig, Jeffrey W. 2018. "'Appearances Do Matter': Congressional Districts Compactness and Its Electoral Consequences." *Election Law Journal* 17 (2): 137-50. (posted online) • Levy, Dena, and Peverill Squire. 2000. "Television Markets and the Competitiveness of U.S. House Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25 (2): 313-25. (posted online) • Schaffner, Brian F. 2006. "The Political Geography of Campaign Advertising in U.S. House Elections." *Political Geography* 25: 775-88. (posted online) • Homework 8 Due. • Homework 9 Handed Out: Economic and Demographic Statistics of Redistricting.
Week 12	**The Practice and Consequences of Redistricting, part 2** • Masket, Seth E., Jonathan Winburn, and Gerald C. Wright. 2012. "The Gerrymanders Are Coming!" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 45 (1): 39-43. (posted online) • Gelman, Andrew et al. 2007. "Rich State, Poor State, Red State, Blue State: What's the Matter with Connecticut." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2: 345-67. (posted online) • Seabrook, Nicholas R. 2010. "The Limits of Partisan Gerrymandering: Looking Ahead to the 2010 Congressional Redistricting Cycle." The *Forum* 8 (2): 1-16. (<u>recommended</u>: posted online) • *League of Latin American Citizens v. Perry* (2006). (<u>recommended</u>: see http://www.oyez.org/cases/2000-2009/2005/2005_05_204 and posted online) • Homework 9 Due. • Homework 10 Handed Out: Measurements of Compactness and Calculating Using Python and ARCGIS. 　• Presentation of Data: Walkenbach, Chapter 5-7 & 18-19.

Week 13   **Redistricting Overview**
                 • Levinson, Sanford. 2001-2002. "One Person, One Vote." *North
                     Carolina Law Review* 80: 1268-1297. (posted online)
                 • Katz, Elled D. 2013. "How big is *Shelby County*?" Scotus Blog. (posted
                     online)
                 • Pildes, Richard. 2014. "Legal scholarship highlight: How should the
                     Court assess the workings of the other institutions of
                     government?" *Scotus Blog.* (posted online)
                 • Levitt, Justin. 2017. "The fight to end partisan gerrymandering is far
                     from over." Washington Post. (posted online)

                 • Homework 10 Due.

Week 14   **Thanksgiving Break**

Week 15   **Group Presentations**

                 Second Project Draft Due – December 4th.

December F.E.D.   ***Second Project Due***

Note: Congressional Apportionment and Redistricting are dynamic and current topics that
are frequently in the news. As such, the content of this syllabus is subject to change as
new issues and material arise.