VIRGINIA:

GENERAL ASSEMBLY HEARING SENATE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

IN RE: SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 5001

SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 502

When heard at:

General Assembly Building Ninth & Broad Street Richmond, Virginia 23219

CRANE-SNEAD & ASSOCIATES, INC. 4914 Fitzhugh Avenue - Suite 203 Henrico, Virginia 23230

1	A-P-P-E-A-R-A-N-C-E-S
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4	SENATORS OF THE COMMITTEE: Martin, Deeds, Whipple,
5	Obenshain, Puckett, Edwards, Blevins, McEachin,
6	Smith, Barker, Northam, Vogel, McWaters & Howell.
7	
8	Senator Watkins
9	Staff Legislative Services: Mary Spain, Jack Austin
10	& David Cotler.
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12	Senate Committee Operations: Hobie Lehman.
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1	NOTE: The hearing proceeded at
2	2:21 p.m. Roll was taken and
3	the following was had:
4	MADAM CHAIRMAN: We have three pieces of
5	business to do today. The first is, we have
6	some appointments from the governor that I
7	would hope that we would approve.
8	We also have criteria for our senate
9	redistricting. This will be a P & E
10	resolution. There are two that have been
11	submitted so far.
12	And thirdly, we have criteria for
13	congressional redistricting. And I have
14	introduced a proposal for that.
15	So if we might begin first with the
16	governor's appointment.
17	SENATOR WHIPPLE: Madam chair, I move that
18	we confirm 5,001, these are appointments to the
19	Chesapeake Bay Bridge and Tunnel Commission,
20	two appointments. Aubrey L. Layne, Jr. and J.
21	W. Salm. And an appointment to the State
22	Lottery Board, Albert H. Poole.
23	Is there a second?
24	SENATOR MARTIN: Second.
25	MADAM CHAIRMAN: These appointments

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recommended confirmed. 1 2 I just wanted to check with staff that indeed the required paperwork has been 3 submitted. 4 MS. SPAIN: Yes, it has. And the 5 paperwork was nominations and confirmations 6 7 subcommittee, so the resolution is ready to 8 report. 9 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. Are there any 10 questions or comments on this? 11 All in favor of reporting the appointments 12 say aye. 13 14 NOTE: Various members of the 15 panel said aye. 16 17 Anyone opposed? No response. 18 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. That passes. The next item of business will be criteria 19 20 for state senate redistricting. As I said, we 21 have two proposals. This will be a privileges 22 and elections committee resolution as it's been 23 in the past. Once it passes us today, 24 hopefully, it will be the criteria against 25 which the various plans which they need to

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1 conform to.

2 We have Senator Watkins here he introduced 3 one.

And Senator, if you would like to speak toyour proposal.

6 SENATOR WATKINS: Thank you, Madam chair,
7 members of the committee.

8 I introduce senate resolution number 502. 9 This resolution is not very dissimilar to resolutions that were introduced and accepted 10 some ten years ago when we looked at 11 12 redistricting before. There are a couple of noteworthy points of deviations of difference. 13 14 One of them being with regard to the amount of 15 deviation. This resolution draws down the 16 deviation to one half of 1 percent. That is doable in this day and time. 17

I think that if you look at the criteria that we utilized the congressional plan as I understand it that's coming to us from our friends north of the tunnel is actually down to individual numbers of people which are much much less than even one half of 1 percent.

I think it's worthy to note as well thatthe lesser number of districts that you have

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1 the easier it is to draw down that percentage of deviation. I'm not certain, I did not 2 attend the meeting up the hall, but I think 3 4 that the house adopted a 1 percent deviation up 5 there this afternoon for the district lines 6 with the house plans. I would hope that we can 7 do better than that being one and a half or 8 times smaller we should actually be able to draw it down to lower. 9 SENATOR McEACHIN: Madam chair. 10 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McEachin. 11 12 SENATOR McEACHIN: Senator Watkins, since 13 I didn't have the privilege of being in this 14 spot ten years ago, could you educate me as to 15 whether or not this was adopted ten years ago; 16 and if not, was it proposed; and if not, why 17 not? SENATOR WATKINS: This resolution? 18 19 SENATOR McEACHIN: With your population deviation? 20 21 SENATOR WATKINS: No. That was not the 22 deviation at that time. 23 SENATOR McEACHIN: Was it proposed? 24 SENATOR WATKINS: I do not believe that it 25 was.

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1 SENATOR McEACHIN: Can you tell me why it 2 wasn't proposed? 3 SENATOR WATKINS: I have no idea why it 4 was not proposed I was not on the P & E 5 Committee at that time. 6 SENATOR McEACHIN: Different series of 7 questions, Madam Chair. 8 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McEachin. 9 SENATOR McEACHIN: Senator Watkins, since this would be a change in how we draw our 10 11 districts would it not have to go through DOJ 12 for preclearance? SENATOR WATKINS: I think this entire 13 14 proceeding here goes to DOJ. 15 SENATOR McEACHIN: But I'm talking about 16 if we were to adopt this particular resolution 17 as versus doing what we have done in the past, would that not require preclearance? 18 19 SENATOR WATKINS: I think that this would be a part of the submission to DOJ. 20 21 SENATOR MCEACHIN: So it's your opinion 2.2 that this resolution in and of itself would not 23 have to go to DOJ? 24 SENATOR WATKINS: I do not think so. 25 SENATOR McEACHIN: I differ on that.

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1 Thank you, madam chair. 2 SENATOR PUCKETT: Madam chair. MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Puckett. 3 4 SENATOR PUCKETT: Senator Watkins, do you 5 have any idea what this might do to the rural 6 areas of the Commonwealth? It seems to me --7 and I wasn't a part of what happened in 2001 8 either, but it was extremely difficult at that 9 time to try to meet the 2 percent deviation 10 without splitting communities wide open. In the southwest, for example, I have a 11 12 town that's split three ways in the voting 13 block, whatever those are called. I'm sure 14 that's not the right word. Census block. 15 Thank you. 16 It seems to me that the tighter you make 17 these deviation the more problem we are going to have in the southwest of splitting up 18 19 counties. And some people drive a long ways, I 20 can sympathize with people in the cities or, 21 but in the rural areas if you start splitting 22 these things up a lot it seems to me it's going 23 to be very difficult for people who are going 24 to vote. At one time we were 5 percent then we went 25

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to 2, which created some problems for us particularly in the rural area. I wondered if you looked at that. 9

4 SENATOR WATKINS: Senator Puckett, I did. 5 And the one difference that exists today that 6 did not exist ten years ago, and this -- I will 7 say this is the fourth redistricting that I 8 have been to. And when I first got elected in 9 the House of Delegates we had done 10 redistricting that was a plan prepared by the then majority of the House of the Senate in a 11 12 house that had multiple other districts. As 13 you can well imagine that didn't pass scrutiny. 14 The deviation if I remember correctly was 15 something like 5 or 7 percent, somewhere in that nature. 16

So we had to run for reelection three 17 years in a row because of the court battle. 18 19 And the party in power at that time didn't want 20 to do away with multi-member districts. As a 21 matter of fact they left them in Norfolk and it 22 got ruled invalid. So we had to go back and do 23 it all over again. And then the governor at 24 that time had just been elected into office was 25 Governor Dalton and he attempted to try to get

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the same amount of districts.

2 But all of that said, I worked with that and was involved with that at that time. 3 4 Subsequently, I was in the House and I was on 5 House P & E when we did the next redistricting 6 in '90. I also was involved in redistricting ten years ago. If you remember ten years ago 7 8 in the Senate of Virginia we didn't have computers. We weren't even allowed to use them 9 because the email was thought to be something 10 11 that was, had to fall under the Freedom of Information Act. So we did not have the 12 13 technology at that time that we have today to 14 do this redistricting. 15 MADAM CHAIRMAN: I'm wondering if perhaps 16 you misspoke or if you didn't. 17 SENATOR DEEDS: 2001 we had computers. 18 You guys had the computers. 19 SENATOR WATKINS: We didn't have very good 20 ones did we. 21 SENATOR DEEDS: But they did, you had the 22 computers. 23 SENATOR WATKINS: They did not, the 24 computers I'm talking about we didn't have them available to us at each of our desks and 25

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1 frequent use. We had computers. They were not very good. And there is a little irony to this 2 because it seems like every time that a party 3 is in charge of redistricting they suffer from 4 5 it. And we have been there too. 6 7 NOTE: Senator Northam has just 8 arrived. 9 10 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Excuse me. I'm sorry. 11 SENATOR PUCKETT: Let John finish then I 12 have another question. SENATOR WATKINS: I just wanted to assure 13 14 Senator Puckett that in attempting to look at 15 what we need to do here and even with the half 16 percent deviation I am certain that it can be done and that in deed we will split fewer 17 18 jurisdictions than are currently split around 19 Virginia. And the primary beneficiary of that 20 is going to be the rural parts of the state. 21 SENATOR PUCKETT: Madam chair. 2.2 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Puckett. 23 SENATOR PUCKETT: I'd certainly like to 24 see that. Because I don't share that belief. It seems to me the tighter you ratchet 25

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1 this thing down the more difficult it is to 2 keep jurisdictions together. Because you've got to go pick from one or another to make 3 everything work a half of a percent. Obviously 4 5 the best way to do that is increase it then you 6 have an opportunity to keep communities 7 together. If you ratchet this thing down to 8 half of a percent there is going to be, I 9 believe, more. I may be way off, but I believe there is a whole lot more precincts that are 10 going to be split than you would if you had 2 11 12 percent or 5 percent. But I would certainly 13 like to see those figures, if that's the case. 14 I may be wrong. 15 SENATOR DEEDS: Madam chair. 16 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Deeds. 17 SENATOR DEEDS: I was struck, Senator Watkins, by a statement you made a minute ago 18 19 about the party that's in the minority suffers 20 every time. 21 SENATOR WATKINS: In the majority suffers. 22 SENATOR DEEDS: If we stick with the 23 criteria that the majority ten years ago 24 adopted of 2 percent deviation, which was down 25 from 5 percent in '91, if we stick with

1 2 percent what's the big deal. If it was good for you in 2001, why isn't it good now? 2 If the capability is 3 SENATOR WATKINS: there to take it to a lower deviation that 4 emphatically underlines the need and the 5 6 purpose of one man, one vote. The tighter we 7 get it the more important the equal 8 representation becomes. 9 SENATOR McWATERS: Madam chair. 10 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Yes. Senator McWaters. 11 SENATOR McWATERS: I wanted to stay on 12 that discussion for a second just to make sure 13 I understand the math. We are talking about a 2 percent deviation which could mean some 14 15 districts are 4,000 up and some are 4,000 down 16 that are right next to each other right. 17 Versus this, now the House of Representatives is at zero percent; is that correct, 11 18 19 positions? 20 MADAM CHAIRMAN: That's true. 21 SENATOR McWATERS: We are trying to now 22 down the hall they are shooting for 1 percent 23 as well. Those are the facts, right? 24 Maybe, Senator McEachin, I think you can help me with this history. This issue is going 25

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back have we seen a continued movement that we've seen from 5 percent to 2 percent. I don't know historically the house numbers perhaps you or others that have been here longer know how the house numbers have migrated; do we know that?

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7 SENATOR MCEACHIN: I don't know the answer 8 to that question. I do know that ten years ago 9 the Senate of Virginia adopted a 2 percent deviation. I think the technology was there to 10 11 do better than that should the Senate chosen to 12 do better than that if you consider less to be better. I am of the firm belief that should we 13 14 adopt something different than we did in 2001 15 it will have to go to DOJ for preclearance. Ιf 16 it does not go to DOJ for preclearance I think 17 we open ourselves up to a lawsuit and perhaps even having the matter thrown back to us for 18 the simple fact we didn't preclear the 19 20 percentages that we are using.

21 SENATOR McWATERS: I think our first 22 objective of the committee is to look at the 23 good government I suppose. Our objective is 24 not to pre-think what the DOJ is going to do or 25 presuppose what they are going to do.

It's our objective for this committee is to come up with the best redistricting maps we can for the voters in Virginia. So one person, one vote representation.

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5 To have these 8,000 swings seems to me in 6 today's technology if the United States House 7 of Representatives can accomplish a zero 8 variance if the House of Delegates can 9 accomplish a 1 percent variance, why can't we be somewhere in the middle of the those two 10 when we have forty districts compared to 100 11 districts. And look at the math and in 12 13 progression of the math it seems reasonable 14 that for a good governance this half percent 15 makes sense today with the technology that we 16 have.

17 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McEachin.

SENATOR McEACHIN: In terms of technology 18 19 we had the technology ten years ago to do 20 1 percent or half of a percent. I think 21 certainly the computers might have been slower 22 and used different wires and gismos, but 23 certainly they had the ability to do that. 24 Furthermore, I would suggest to you that 25 it is part of our concern to look at what DOJ

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1	will do. That is part of our good governance.
2	It is my opinion that, one, if it was good
3	enough ten years ago it's certainly good enough
4	now in terms of the deviation.
5	And two, I think we need to move on with
6	putting together a plan that's good for
7	Virginia, good for the voters of Virginia and
8	serve our common interest of the good
9	governance and not slow things down by having
10	to submit something like this to the Department
11	of Justice.
12	SENATOR McWATERS: Madam chair, if I could
13	continue on that.
14	MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McWaters.
15	SENATOR McWATERS: I'm just trying to
16	understand why is good governance better if
17	there is an 8,000 shift versus if we now can,
18	using technology. I understand that ten years
19	ago things were done different in a lot of ways
20	20 years ago more different. But we are here
21	today here to help for a next ten years we are
22	solving the problem for the future not to
23	rectify the future trying to figure out how to
24	get a best governance going forward. We have
25	the technology that 8,000 shifts in these

1 districts which may create lines that are not 2 good government lines that we should do our 3 best with the technology we have to adopt this particular resolution. 4 5 I'm sorry, madam chair. 6 SENATOR VOGEL: Madam chair. 7 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Vogel. SENATOR VOGEL: This is not in the form of 8 9 a question to the patron but more in terms of a comment. And I think in response to what the 10 Senator from Henrico had said. That was what 11 12 was the major difference between redistricting 13 ten years ago and redistricting today. 14 And I think that there is one important 15 issue and that is having consulted with the 16 patron when we were working to come up with the resolution criteria. It wasn't anything weird 17 or strange about going from a 2 percent or half 18 19 percent. It was merely an effort to 20 accommodate, but states have struggled to 21 accommodate in the last ten years in the last 22 redistricting. And subsequent court cases the 23 Larios case being one of those. The Larios 24 case they had an issue of the much bigger 25 deviation than what we are talking about now.

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What the court continued to say about their deviation is that they are looking for a small deviation as you can possibly accomplish. And so I just wanted to address that. And that really is the rational behind bringing that deviation lower.

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7 Your comment about going to DOJ really had 8 not occurred to me that might ever be a 9 barrier. My sense would be that the Department of Justice would say that is more reflective of 10 11 a fair division of districts the closer that 12 they are to a proportion that is consistent of 13 one person one vote the better that would be. 14 In my view I consider that to be a good thing.

15 I think genuinely my motive in working 16 with this I hope this is a process that works 17 through amicably and we are successful. But at the end of the day putting something forward 18 19 that is more fair and that has a better shot at 20 making its way through. One of the few states 21 were we have elections this year I think it is 22 helpful to be mindful of those considerations 23 and certainly to be mindful about what the 24 courts have said.

25 I just wanted to address that as being one

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1 of the significant difference between where states were last time when they drew their 2 lines and where states find themselves now. 3 4 And they are struggling to make those 5 adjustments from prior redistricting to include 6 criteria that substantially lower that 7 deviation. 8 SENATOR McEACHIN: Madam chair. 9 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McEachin and then 10 Senator Martin. 11 SENATOR McEACHIN: I'd ask Senator Vogel, in the Larios Case, aren't we talking about a 12 13 deviation higher than 2 percent? SENATOR VOGEL: I believe that is 14 15 accurate. That deviation was, I believe, 16 5 percent. What the Court said then and that's 17 been upheld in subsequent cases where they said, now you do have new technology where you 18 have the abilities to draw deviations smaller. 19 20 And they listed a number of criteria that 21 really are not justification communities of 22 interest certainly isn't justification for 23 deviation. 24 I would make one observation. Τn 25 particular with rural districts. I represent a

1 largely rural district and one of my concerns is with every redistricting rural districts 2 suffer from because they, by definition, 3 4 populations grow in urban areas around the 5 state. My sense would be if you have a 6 community of interest issue, where you are 7 trying to protect a community if, in fact, you 8 have enough of a population difference that 9 community would warrant representation by two members versus one member I don't see any 10 scenario that would have negative impact or 11 disproportionately negative impact on the rural 12 13 communities. I wanted to follow-up and make 14 that comment.

15 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Martin.

16 SENATOR MARTIN: The question of counsel 17 either Jack Austin or Mary Spain best suited to 18 answer this trying to get the facts on the 19 table here. I know you are best suited to 20 answer this.

In an effort to over the last forty years there has been especially a growing effort to try to make sure we get down as best we can one man, one vote rule. That's what the one man, one vote and to provide equalization among the

1 districts. Gradually we have migrated in those numbers.

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When I first came here several 3 4 redistrictings back trying to get far down 5 under 5 percent and then it shrunk from there. 6 What is the history. What have we moved in the last four redistrictings since '81. 7

8 MS. SPAIN: Since '81, '82 the series of three elections in a row the deviation in that 9 house I think was 23.7 percent. The Mayland 10 case upheld at 16 percent on rational of the 11 12 Virginia held all of its whole country and City 13 didn't split anything then the 5 percent 14 predominated after we went to single member 15 districts and it was plus or minus 5 percent.

16 Last go round in 2001 house and senate committee criteria took 2 percent on, I think 17 the rational that that protected them against 18 19 challenges from people with lesser deviation 20 plans it honored one man, one vote. And so we 21 were at the 2 percent, up 2 percent down in the 22 committee resolutions from 2001. 23 SENATOR MARTIN: Just a follow-up.

24 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Martin.

25 SENATOR MARTIN: So we are actually to try

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to assure one man, one vote to make sure that we have equity in voting strength. We really sought to get as close to zero as possible as close to practical is that what we are trying to do.

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6 MS. SPAIN: In 2001 we went to zero 7 population on congressional. I think it was 19 8 people down 23 people up among the 9 congressional always a zero deviation figure 10 showed on the reports in congressional. 11 Technology was there to go to zero ten years 12 ago.

13 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Is it not true though 14 that the Supreme Court has had different 15 standards for congressional and state. My 16 understanding is congressional must be exactly 17 even but the states it seems to be they are 18 permitting a variation a deviation of 5 percent 19 of 5 percent down.

20 MS. SPAIN: There is Supreme Court 21 language indicating the plus or minus 5 percent 22 is not a safe harbor but a prima facie valid 23 deviation. When you get into court and 24 challenged by plans with lower deviation that 25 plus or minus 5 percent may not hold us as in

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1 the Larios case.

2 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Martin. SENATOR MARTIN: Continuing with the 3 4 question, Mary, you are doing fine. In that 5 case, again, it's a trying to make it as 6 equalized as possible, knowing full well it 7 becomes less equal. You wouldn't see that the 8 justice department would be concerned about us 9 doing better than 2 percent would they. MS. SPAIN: I don't think that the Justice 10 11 Department is concerned with a deviation. Thev 12 approved the 16 percent plan, they approved the 13 27 percent plan. I think justice looks at their sections or section five 14 15 non-retrogression and minority voting and strengths issues rather than deviations. 16 SENATOR MARTIN: So in that case it's not 17 going to be an issue of deviation its that 18 19 question of the minority make-up of those matters just raised not the deviation itself. 20 21 That's rights. I think MS. SPAIN: 22 deviation at the Justice Departments review is 23 not the primary focus at all. 24 SENATOR MARTIN: This is final. It's an 25 observation I would not expect at the Justice

Departments would have a concern that we've done better than 2 percent. The question is what we've done with that whether the criteria we had to resolve that.

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5 I would note that the difference between a 6 half percent lets go with the mathematical 7 equivalence. The house is able to do one 8 percent. The mathematical equivalent for the 9 Senate would be point four, being two and a half percent larger. I would call your 10 11 attention to the fact that the difference here 12 is between 8,000/ 4,000 higher in one district 4,000 lower with the swing of 8,000 from one 13 14 district to another as opposed to 1/4th of that 15 under the Senator's criteria, Senator Watkins 1/4th of that a which would be the possibility 16 of a 2,000 swing. 1,000 high/1,000 low. 17 Ι recognize the concern. And I will stop here. 18 I recognize the concern in rural areas but the 19 truth is I believe that you will find that and 20 21 I know it can be done, you have quite the 22 division that you think you would have. And 23 also in those larger jurisdictions, for 24 example, Virginia Beach and other such 25 jurisdiction around the state.

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1 If you stick with the tighter representation in fact if the jurisdiction is 2 large enough to have that great of an impact 3 where its 8,000 people that are having to be 4 5 divided its significant enough probably to 6 benefit from having two centers instead of one. 7 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Watkins, we 8 started asking questions and I'm not even sure 9 you were finished with your presentation. Did you have anything more you wanted to say? 10 11 SENATOR WATKINS: Madam Chair, I think 12 most of the rest is pretty much self 13 explanatory. 14 SENATOR DEEDS: Can I ask a question? 15 Except for that 2 percent half percent deviation, are their differences in this 16 criteria from the 2001 criteria. 17 18 SENATOR WATKINS: I think that perhaps the 19 only terminology on line, beginning on line 34 20 Voting Rights Act Preclearance is a little more 21 specific to section five of the Voting Rights 22 Act nuance, if you would. 23 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Are there any further 24 questions for Senator Watkins? I think what we will do is then we will 25

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1 look at the proposal I have put forward and then we will ask if the public has any 2 3 questions -- excuse me, comments on what we are 4 talking about, and then we will have some 5 votes. 6 SENATOR WATKINS: Thank you, Madam Chair. 7 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you Senator. 8 What I have put forward is identical to P 9 & E resolution of ten years ago with one difference and that is we have added under the 10 court cases, the Wilkins versus West case that 11 12 happened in 2002. So it was subsequent to those redistricting criteria, otherwise it is 13 14 identical as having been assumed during this 15 discussion. It has the two percent deviation 16 plus or minus two percent. It does highlight 17 the importance of following the Voting Rights Act, makes it a very high priority. Talks 18 about a continuity and compactness it does 19 allow continuity by water as it did ten years 20 21 It requires single member districts. And aqo. 22 it outlines the variety of the community ease 23 of interest. I believe that language is 24 identical to Senator Watkins's language. 25 And it says when the criteria have a need

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1 to be prioritized the Voting Rights Act state a constitutional requirements are given priority 2 and that is basically what it is. It is 3 similar to some of us who were here ten years 4 5 aqo. 6 Are their questions on that? 7 Not hearing anything. Is there anybody, 8 anyone in the public who would like to comment on either of these or in the criteria in 9 10 general? 11 AUDIENCE MEMBER: Good afternoon, members 12 of the committee. I'm Lisa Guthrey. I'm the executive direct of the Virginia League of 13 Conservative Voters. I'm here to talk about 14 15 our interests in fair redistricting. Our 16 organization has been a member of the redistricting coalition in Virginia for three 17 years. Our coalition brought together faith 18 19 business conservation and civic organization to promote reform of the Virginia redistricting 20 21 process. 2.2 Our coalition made it possible for the 23 student line drawing competition. You may have 24 heard about some of that earlier in the week. 25 They did an outstanding job. Our coalition

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also ethicated legislation to institute a
bipartisan commission. When that legislation
failed in the House of Delegates we asked
Governor McDonald to advance the commission we
are pleased he did and we appreciate the
efforts the commission made to hear citizen
comments around the state.

8 Why did we advocate for a different 9 approach for 2011. We believe Virginia 10 deserves the following: Number one, fairly 11 drawn districts to create more competitive 12 elections which have a 51 percent higher voted 13 turnout. Virginia needs competitive elections 14 to remain at the forefront of the nation.

15 Number two, districts should reflect our
 16 communities. District boundaries should be
 17 compact keeping our communities together.

18 Number three, allow transparency and
19 citizen input to instill a greater sense of
20 fairness and accountability in the process.

21 Number four, incumbent protection should 22 not be a ruling factor. Citizens should have a 23 choice to select their elected officials.

In addition to these four overallobjectives we have some other questions and

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considerations that I bring to your attention.

2 One, the public, even though this is very much at the forefront of your deliberations the 3 4 public still for the most part is not aware of 5 this redistricting process, and if they are 6 aware of it and wish to participate that may 7 not understand that the criteria that the 8 government provided for the commission may be different than the criteria at the privileges 9 and elections committee may adopt. 10

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In other states citizens have access to the legislative computers and line drawing software themselves. Our citizens may be unaware of the very abbreviated public comment hearing leading up to the special session on April 4th.

17 The governor indicated that he wants 18 districts to be nearly equal to the population 19 there of every other district as practicable. 20 The means the district should have a very small 21 population deviation as you have been 22 discussing.

The house plan that they voted on has an overall deviation of 1 percent stricter than the two percent they adopted ten years ago.

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And the governor indicated that he wants all districts to respect the boundary lines of existing political subdivision where counties and cities divided among multiple districts to be minimal.

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Some of these criteria and goals seem to contradict one another. We know it's difficult to draw districts that have minimum population deviation and not divide counties and city and also preserve communities of interests. 10

11 Finally, the governors criteria states 12 that all districts shall be composed of 13 contiguous and compact territory. The state 14 constitution also required that districts be 15 contiguous. 20 years ago the definition required districts crossing water bodies to 16 have at least a tunnel, a road, a bridge or a 17 18 ferry to connect separate land masses. That 19 requirement was eliminated ten years ago. And 20 we think it makes sense for districts to be 21 connected in a way that residence will be able 22 to travel from one point to another without 23 having to go through an intersecting district 2.4 or at least be able to get to that other 25 district conveniently.

31 1 Again, I thank you for your hard work, your deliberation on this. We are under a 2 tight timeline, I recognize, because we have 3 elections this year and many other states do 4 5 not. But I wish the public had more of an 6 opportunity to participate in this very 7 important aspect for our democracy. 8 Thank you, madam chair. 9 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Ms. Guthrey. SENATOR McWATERS: Madam chair, if I could 10 ask Ms. Guthrey some questions. 11 12 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Are you willing to answer 13 questions? 14 MS. GUTHREY: Certainly. 15 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McWaters. 16 SENATOR McWATERS: Thank you for your presentation. Well done. 17 The student competition it was a competition I guess you 18 called it, right? 19 20 MS. GUTHREY: Yes. 21 SENATOR McWATERS: Was that done ten years 22 ago? MS. GUTHREY: This was the first time this 23 24 has been attempted. We had 16 teams from 25 various colleges and universities participate.

1 SENATOR MCWATERS: I read about it in the 2 paper and I noticed winning partis UVA, William & Mary and other colleges. It looks like a 3 4 neat process. So I assume that this computer 5 line drawing technology then wasn't used ten 6 years ago, if the students didn't have the 7 test. My question is if they had the test that 8 Senator Watkins issue of the line drawing 9 technology that can even be done yourself. Ι tried to draw them but it didn't work to well 10 11 for me.

I have a question and I don't know the answer so it's not a leading question. What was the deviation for the winning student; do you recall?

MS. GUTHREY: Keep in mind the students did not keep any of the current districts in mind. They started from scratch many of them and did not consider incumbency at all. With that elimination they were freer to select deviation. And some of them had deviation some of them had zero deviation.

SENATOR McWATERS: How about the winners?
 MS. GUTHREY: I think the winner of the
 overall congressional had no deviation. I

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33 1 don't remember what the UVA team. 2 What about the senate? SENATOR MCWATERS: MS. GUTHREY: I do not recall what their 3 deviation was. 4 5 SENATOR McWATERS: Thank you. 6 SENATOR WHIPPLE: Madam chair. 7 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Whipple. SENATOR WHIPPLE: First observation and 8 9 then question. Something I have been proud of over the last several years that the senate has 10 adopted a bill that would require a bipartisan 11 redistricting commission. That's always failed 12 to make it into law. Even people who said that 13 14 they would support it didn't end up doing that. 15 I'm assuming that and I think I'm correct 16 on this that your group had supported that bill 17 for a bipartisan redistricting commission. 18 MS. GUTHREY: That's correct. We were 19 thrilled to have Lieutenant Governor Bowling, 20 Senator Deeds, Attorney General Cuccinelli, a 21 number of supporters in the senate. 22 Unfortunately we were not able to be successful 23 on the house side and that's why we appealed it 2.4 to Governor McDonald to create the commission. 25 SENATOR WHIPPLE: The advisory group.

34 1 MS. GUTHREY: Advisory. And hopefully in another ten years we will continue to work on 2 it. 3 Thank you. 4 SENATOR WHIPPLE: 5 SENATOR McEACHIN: Madam chair. 6 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McEachin. 7 SENATOR McEACHIN: Do you have an opinion 8 or does your group have an opinion as you weigh 9 the options between a deviation as under 2 percent and as you compare that to need to 10 11 keep communities of the interest and 12 subdivisions together? Have you had an opportunity to prioritize whether it's more 13 14 important to keep the communities together or 15 to lower the deviation. 16 MS. GUTHREY: Our group, the Virginia Redistricting Coalition has not taken a 17 18 position on that. So obviously we have focused 19 on communities of interest and compact and 20 contiguous more-so than whether we have the 21 magic number of 2 percent, 5 percent, 22 1 percent. We do think that you can't ignore 23 the other just looking at the deviation. 2.4 You've got to have the other factors taken into consideration. 25

35 1 SENATOR McWATERS: Madam chair. 2 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McWaters. 3 SENATOR McWATERS: In your question imply that keeping communities of interest together 4 5 and in tact somehow required a higher 6 deviation. I'm not sure I would agree with 7 that. 8 SENATOR McEACHIN: Senator, that wasn't 9 implied in my question at all. My question was simply what their groups position was. Had 10 11 they had an opportunity to prioritize it or 12 not. 13 SENATOR McWATERS: Okay. I just wanted 14 to --15 SENATOR McEACHIN: -- there was nothing 16 implied in the question. 17 SENATOR MCWATERS: Okay. Thank you. 18 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Through the Chair, 19 please. 20 SENATOR MARTIN: Madam chair. 21 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Martin. 22 SENATOR MARTIN: Since it wasn't implied 23 there I suggest that would be a false choice as 24 to having to choose between those two things. 25 That you may not have to choose between a lower

1 deviation and keeping the communities together. 2 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. Yes. Madam chairman, members of the 3 A CITIZEN: Committee. Claire Guthrey on behalf of myself 4 5 as private citizen today. I wanted to put a 6 couple of things on the record looking backward 7 at history is sometimes not a good thing to do 8 is sometimes it is. I think looking back on '91 is differentiating it for 2001 I would hope 9 this committee would look at and think about in 10 a positive way for a number of reasons. 11 One, I just wanted to, A, point out to the 12 process in '91 was different in that the 13 14 criteria were available to the public May, 15 before the general assembly session. In other 16 words a year before the time that it was taken 17 place now. In 2001 that time period was truncated as it has been this year to the point 18 where a criteria available to the public less 19 than a week before their decisions are going to 20 21 be made. 22 In addition on the substantive side of the 23 criteria in addition to changing the standard 24 of equal representation to plus or minus five 25 to plus or minus two. There were several major

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changes made in 2001 not all of which, I personally believe were not positive in there affect on the citizens of the Commonwealth.

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The first is that we change the standard 4 5 for contiguity by water, Ms. Lisa Guthrey pointed out. In '91 the criteria stated the 6 7 districts shall be composed of contiguous 8 territory which language is in the resolution 9 that you are looking at. But it went on to say that contiguity by water was defined as, quote 10 11 acceptable to link territory within a district in order to meet the other criteria stated 12 herein. In other words communities provided 13 reasonable opportunity for travel within the 14 15 district. That limitation of the contiguity by water was abandoned in 2001. 16

17 I think personally the standard it's now 18 the standard that it is sufficient period 19 without limitation. And I think that's related 20 to unfortunate line drawing as Senator McEachin 21 may remember from his house district 22 particularly.

In addition the 2001 criteria abandoned
the long standing policy of the Commonwealth
against splitting political subdivisions. The

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'91 criteria and criteria before '91 stated explicitly plans should be drawn to avoid splitting counties, cities and towns to the extent practicable and precincts should serve as a basic building blocks for districts when it is necessary to split any county or city.

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7 The 2001 criteria included the language 8 that's reflected in this resolution that says 9 that local government jurisdiction may reflect communities of interest that are not entitled 10 to greater rate than any other identifiable 11 12 community of interest. I think that was something that -- was not something that moved 13 14 us forward in a positive direction.

15 And then the 2001 criteria changed the 16 standard self for preserving communities of 17 interest. In '91 previously criteria stated that quote consideration shall be given to 18 preserving communities of interest. The 2001 19 20 criteria had the language reflected here that 21 says inevitable that some interests advanced 22 more than others by choice of particular 23 configurations and discernment way balances should be left to the elected representative. 24 25 And, finally, the 2001 criteria eliminated

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1 explicit requirements for input from the group. The '91 criteria and criteria before then 2 stated explicitly quote, the committee seeks 3 4 the participation of minority group members and 5 redistricting process. A minority group member 6 shall be afforded a full and fair opportunity 7 to participate in the process leading to the 8 adoption of a plan. In 2001 that explicit 9 criteria for participation was eliminated to the detriment of the citizens of Virginia. 10 Sometimes when we move forward it isn't 11 always in my view a positive move forward. 12 Ι hope you think a little bit about what was on 13 14 the table in '91 and previous years. Maybe 15 there are some traditions that are worth 16 preserving as we move forward in 2011. 17 Thank you. 18 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Yes. 19 A CITIZEN: Madam chair, committee

20 members, my name is Carol Noggle and I am 21 representing the League of Woman Voters of 22 Virginia today. And I really appreciate the 23 opportunity to speak to you about this. I'm 24 not going to speak to the population deviation 25 issue, but I am very concerned about public

awareness and public input. So I do appreciate the hearing that will be taking place throughout the state starting next week I believe.

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But I really believe that had we not had the governors bipartisan commission there would be far less interest from the public. I think awareness has heightened but not enough.

9 One of our goals would be to have more of 10 the public have access to the maps, not only the maps themselves, but the rational for the 11 boundary lines because that explanation, I 12 think, would help a great deal. So when the 13 14 maps are available if that can be part of it to 15 include a narrative of the rational for the boundaries for all of the senate, house and the 16 17 congressional districts.

And would it be possible that there will be more than one map so there will be comparison, possible, and to provide that opportunity. So I appreciate that and would certainly urge for that's to happen.

MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you. On your web
site, the Division of Legislative Services
various proposed maps will be posted. So the

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41 1 public will be able to review those. 2 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Madam chair. 3 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Obenshain. SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Does the chair wish to 4 5 let us know when those maps will be posted. 6 MADAM CHAIRMAN: We have been -- we are not sure is the bottom line. We are not sure. 7 8 We are still working on proposals and any 9 proposal that are introduced will be posted. Madam chairman, I 10 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: 11 appreciate what the lady from the League of Woman Voters said. And I concur in her concern 12 13 about public awareness. I know we are 14 scheduled to convene in April 4 for purposes of 15 starting and concluding this process. Does the 16 chair expect us to see a map next week? MADAM CHAIRMAN: We are definitely working 17 18 on it. I have been reflecting back on ten years ago when no one saw the map. No one read 19 20 proposed criteria until the day we came back 21 into session for the redistricting session. We 22 are working diligently to try and get things 23 prepared before that. 24 And of course now we are doing the 25 criteria ten days earlier.

SENATOR OBENSHAIN: So at least the day
 before?

3 MADAM CHAIRMAN: We are working on it. SENATOR WHIPPLE: Madam chair. 4 5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Whipple. 6 SENATOR WHIPPLE: May I just make an 7 observation about the public hearing and 8 congratulate the League of Women Voters for 9 coming to the hearing held last fall. Thev were quite poorly attended. It is difficult 10 when you do things in advance to get people to 11 focus. So I really congratulate the league who 12 was represented at all of the hearings last 13 fall. 14

15 MADAM CHAIRMAN: If I may also say we have 16 available a list of public hearings. Staff has made them available. I believe there are eight 17 18 throughout the state that we will be doing. We 19 are trying to be as convenient as possible to 20 the public under this extraordinarily tight 21 timeframe. 2.2 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Madam chair. 23 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Obenshain. 24 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Madam chairman, do you 25 expect that maps will be available before the

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public hearing?

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2 MADAM CHAIRMAN: We are working on it, as 3 I said before.

Thank you.

5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. Now is there 6 anyone else who wished to speak. Okay. We 7 have two -- I'm sorry.

SENATOR OBENSHAIN:

8 A CITIZEN: Madam chair and members, I am 9 Anne Sterling, also of the League of Women Voters of Virginia am very proud to have a 10 colleague lobbing with me. My associate has 11 12 proved very good at this. I just wanted to add 13 that those of you interested in taking a look 14 at the student maps, they will be available 15 starting sometime today, perhapses by the time 16 you go back to your cars. At the library of Virginia, they agreed to display them for the 17 18 next week.

19And we are hoping that a week from today20we can display them in the General Assembly21Building itself. There are 13 posters that22display the winning maps from four different23schools. And it turns out we need permission24of the house and senate clerks and they in turn25must get notes from the presidents of UVA and

44 1 William & Mary. So it's complicated to get them over here to this building. But we are 2 doing our best. We hope that you will take a 3 4 look at the student maps. 5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: I'm delighted they are going to be on the web. So regardless of where 6 7 they are posted they will conveniently be 8 available on your computers. 9 SENATOR EDWARDS: I have a question. MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Edwards. 10 11 SENATOR EDWARDS: Ms. Sterling, could you 12 appear for a question? We heard about the contest and the winners. And I'm curious as to 13 the criteria for determining the winners and 14 15 who did the judging? A CITIZEN: Well, first of all we 16 distinguished judges from the American 17 18 Enterprise Institute and the Trucking 19 Institution, Thomas Mann and Norman Hornstein who, I believe, live outside of the 20 21 Commonwealth, so they were neutral judges. And 22 they came down to deliver their area opinions. 23 SENATOR EDWARDS: And just those two 24 people, do they have to agree? 25 A CITIZEN: They did and apparently they

45 1 had no trouble agreeing. There were very outstanding maps submitted and the rationals 2 were included as well. 3 It was very interesting in the contest the 4 5 students were asked to draw two sets of maps. 6 And most of the teams did comply with this. One that would produce competitive districts 7 8 and the other that would not take 9 competitiveness into consideration at all. And so that's why we have two sets of winners. 10 One 11 competitive and one just done to satisfied the other criteria. 12 Otherwise the criteria were quite close to 13 14 criteria given by the governor to his 15 bipartisan redistricting commission. SENATOR EDWARDS: Madam chairman. 16 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Edwards. 17 18 SENATOR EDWARDS: How does the governor's criteria differ from the two proposals we have 19 20 before us. 21 A CITIZEN: I believe that the most 2.2 important thing was that he asked that 23 political boundaries be respected entirely. 24 And so it was please do not start from scratch. And the students did in some cases and did not 25

1 in others.

2	But the requirement that each district
3	must be connected by tunnel or bridge if water
4	is involved was one of the governor's criteria.
5	SENATOR EDWARDS: What about deviation?
6	A CITIZEN: I believe the governor I
7	will check, but I'm pretty sure he did not
8	mention deviation. And there I will just
9	tell you that in the work sessions of the
10	governor's commission they had very interesting
11	discussions about this. And one former
12	secretary of the State Board of Education
13	suggested that deviation may go up as high as
14	10 percent.
15	She gave the eastern shore of Virgina as
16	an example. She said in many cases they may be
17	happier having more of them share a state
18	senator in order to have someone that
19	represents all of them.
20	And I thought that was the kind of the
21	thing that is interesting to contemplate that
22	people themselves may be happy to have more of
23	them in a district if it gives them one person
24	to refer to and feel they belong to.

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1 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Anyone else? 2 Okay. We have then the two proposed sets of criteria. I'm looking forward to a motion. 3 SENATOR VOGEL: Can I make a comment 4 5 before we take the motion? 6 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Yes. SENATOR VOGEL: I don't want this 7 8 deviation discussion to necessarily detract from what is our larger mission which is a 9 good, clean, fair map that keeps and honors the 10 11 boundaries of district counties and cities and towns. With that said, I did want to make that 12 13 observation. I think it helps us when we go out into the public and we talk about the 14 15 effort to draw fair maps. I think all of us here were advocates of 16 the bipartisan commission. We are all clearly 17 generally the same bent there. I think it is a 18 good thing to be able to tell the public we are 19 20 mindful of that deviation. 21 And I know that Senator Watkins and I had 22 a discussion prior to the conclusion of session 23 about the resolution we would put forward. 24 Looking at the resolution being done last time 25 and understanding that there would probably be

48 1 one resolution we were not aware of what the 2 alternative proposal might be. But we looked at the 5 percent given what the case law has 3 4 been and what we believe would generally be a 5 pretty aggressive effort to challenge us on our 6 criteria and challenge us in the map that we 7 draw. 8 And I think that at the end of the day we 9 all benefit by trying to keep the criteria 10 keeping it at a high standard. 11 Thank you, madam chair. 12 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Is there a motion? 13 14 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Madam chair, I quess I 15 move to recommend reporting Senate resolution number 502. 16 17 SENATOR VOGEL: Second. 18 SENATOR DEEDS: Madam chair, I make a 19 substitute motion that we adopt the resolution 20 proposed by the Chair. Unnumbered committee 21 resolution. 22 MS. SPAIN: It would be Committee 23 Resolution 1. It's a committee resolution that 24 would take effect immediately as opposed to the 25 senate resolution not effective until it goes

1 to the senate.

2 MADAM CHAIRMAN: So there is a substitute motion. Is there a second? 3 4 SENATOR McEACHIN: Second. 5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Substitute motion has 6 been moved and seconded. 7 SENATOR MARTIN: Madam chair. 8 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Martin. SENATOR MARTIN: Could I offer an 9 amendment to this. I would like to make an 10 amendment to the proposal. But I'm aware, 11 12 since we don't have line numbers. I would like to offer an amendment. 13 SENATOR DEEDS: Madam chair. 14 15 SENATOR MARTIN: The unnumbered --16 SENATOR DEEDS: Point of order, madam chair. Can there be an amendment to a 17 substitute motion? 18 19 MADAM CHAIRMAN: No. 20 SENATOR MARTIN: I would like for the 21 committee, since I was unaware that we were 22 going to go at it this way. I expected to have 23 something in front of me with a line item. Ι 24 offer an amendment so I paused for to many 25 seconds. I apologize. If you would

1 accommodate me I think we should have an amendment offered to the resolution that you 2 can reject. 3 4 SENATOR WHIPPLE: Everyone would have to 5 withdraw the motion. 6 MADAM CHAIRMAN: If everyone withdraws 7 their motions we can do that. 8 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: I gladly withdraw my motion. 9 SENATOR DEEDS: I withdraw mine. 10 11 Madam chair, I move we adopt the 12 resolution, committee resolution one. MADAM CHAIRMAN: Is there a second to 13 adopting the committee resolution one. 14 15 SENATOR WHIPPLE: Second. MADAM CHAIRMAN: The move is seconded. 16 Now, the amendment. 17 SENATOR MARTIN: I would like to offer an 18 amendment to that, if you could draw my 19 attention to the language that sets up to 20 21 deviation. 22 SENATOR McEACHIN: Section one. 23 SENATOR MARTIN: In that case, lines 21 24 and 22 of Senate resolution number five, I would like to have inserted as a new deviation 25

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51 1 paragraph on committee number one. MADAM CHAIRMAN: Just so I understand and 2 staff understands, you want to actually insert 3 4 the language or do you just want to change it 5 to plus or minus 1/2 percent? 6 SENATOR MARTIN: That's the problem. Just 7 change that to 1/2 percent. 8 MADAM CHAIRMAN: All right. So we have a 9 motion for an amendment to change it to plus or minus 1/2 percent; is there a second? 10 11 SENATOR VOGEL: Second. 12 MADAM CHAIRMAN: It's been moved and seconded. Is there discretion on this. 13 14 SENATOR MARTIN: Speaking to it there is a 15 significant difference there. We are 16 technologically we are much more prepared to 17 get this closer to a one man one more vote. 18 SENATOR WHIPPLE: Let's work on one person 19 one vote. 20 SENATOR MARTIN: Sorry about that I was 21 not trying to be sexist. We are 22 technologically much more prepared to do it. 23 Our desire to be there we have a desire and we 24 have the ability to do that. I think it would 25 be wrong to deviation if the house can do

1 1 percent we certainly can do a half of 2 percent. 3 And I would encourage you to support. 4 SENATOR PUCKETT: Madam chair. 5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Puckett. 6 SENATOR PUCKETT: Speaking to the 7 substitute, there have been a lot of talk about 8 what we can do with technology and everything. 9 No one has produced anything that said this won't split communities, towns, cities, 10 11 counties. Until I see something that convinces 12 me that it won't split people more than it's 13 already splitted or split. I'm sorry. I'm not 14 going to support it. That's just my position. Madam chair. 15 SENATOR MCWATERS: 16 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McWaters. SENATOR MCWATERS: 17 In response to that, I 18 think that Virginia Beach is the largest most populated city in the Commonwealth. We have 19 20 five senators that represent that region. 21 Only three of those, two of those senators 22 actually live in Virginia Beach and are 23 elected, madam chair, by people mostly who live 24 outside of Virginia Beach. 25 And so I live in a district recently

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1 elected in a district in a city that is split. So I think this issue of splitting is of 2 concern across rural areas as well as the 3 4 largest city in the state. 5 So I think that there can be an 6 opportunity to do as the senator has suggested, 7 Madam chair, to put these various maps together 8 under each of the two scenarios. I think it 9 should be our job to look at half percent 10 versus 2 percent. Perhapses we shouldn't vote on this today. Perhaps we should put this vote 11 12 off until there is an opportunity to do as the 13 senator has suggested to lay these maps down 14 and see if we can have a better government map 15 in this process. SENATOR WHIPPLE: Madam chair. 16 17 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Whipple. 18 SENATOR WHIPPLE: I oppose the amendment. 19 I think that the one person one vote is a very important one. And I think it's one we believe 20 21 And as we know probably already it's out in. 22 of date because the census was taken last year. 23 And as you know, now we've got a situation 24 senate hearing comes to mind representing a 25 district that had two hundred thousand people

and has I think 350 thousand people in it now.

So it's a lot objecting. We know right now but by the end of this decade it's not going to be within a half percent or 2 percent or any other probably percentage because people move to places and things change.

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Senator Puckett is exactly right. Every time you squeeze the population deviation you make it much more likely you are going to have division. So when you have a slightly higher number it gives you more flexibility to observe some of the other criteria that are also very important.

And in addition to that, what it does is establish outside boundary. It doesn't say there might not be something less than that.

So I think that it would be, in my view,
wrong to constrain ourselves so much on
population deviation that it limits our
opportunity to observe some of the other
criteria.
MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you.
SENATOR SMITH: Madam chair.

24 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Smith.

25 SENATOR SMITH: Speaking to the amendment

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1 there is something here that for any of us who have worked with this mapping, and I don't 2 profess to be very computer literate but I 3 found that I could free mapping, a program that 4 5 was online that in deed someone of my caliber 6 and ability with computer use could draw a line and could draw it. And we are talking about 7 8 the 2 percent, half of a percent, could draw it 9 within a 1/10th of a percent. And to say otherwise, it strikes a little 10

11 bit. Professional wrestling when we are 12 watching it on TV and the camera saw the guy 13 pounding him on his head, but no one else. The 14 referee didn't see it.

Any way, anyone who has worked with this program knows full well that we can do it and we can do it just as the congressional districts are done. We are kidding everyone to say it can't be done and we just as well admit why we can't do it.

21 Thank you.

22 SENATOR McEACHIN: Madam chair.

MADAM CHAIRMAN: Yes. Senator McEachin.
SENATOR McEACHIN: I find the discussion
interesting. I find the discussion about

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1 technology interesting. But the one thing that 2 has not been answered by the members of the other side of the isle is why didn't you do it 3 4 ten years ago, why do you want to do it today. 5 All of those questions remain unanswered. 6 It's not a matter of trying to say we 7 didn't have the technology, because we did. Ιt 8 may not have been available to college 9 students, it may not have been available to others, but we had that technology then. 10 You-all didn't want to do it then. 11 12 And it seems less than genuine to suggest 13 that you want to do it now for some other 14 reason. 15 SENATOR MCWATERS: Madam chair. 16 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator McWaters. 17 SENATOR McWATERS: He said, you-all didn't want to do it then. Well, we-all weren't here. 18 19 We can't answer that question. It's a good question. And I understand we went from five 20 21 to two. Am I correct about that, Mary? 22 MS. SPAIN: 5 percent in '91. 23 SENATOR DEEDS: So we went from five 20 24 years ago to two, so that's a reduction. All 25 we are suggesting is follow that line follow

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57 1 that same curve it get's you about the same number. It's not rocket science it's just 2 3 better government. SENATOR MARTIN: Madam chair. 4 5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Yes. I wanted to however 6 to comment, better government also means 7 keeping communities of interest together and 8 that does not follow a deviation line. 9 SENATOR McWATERS: Well, Madam chair, I'm 10 not sure I would agree with that. I think both can be accomplished I think that's been part of 11 12 our argument here and I raised it earlier with 13 Senator McEachin. I don't think you can say 14 those are contradictory. 15 MADAM CHAIRMAN: I was trying to imply 16 that they are sometimes and can be. 17 Senator Martin. 18 SENATOR MARTIN: On both issues the issues 19 of whether or not speaking to again speaking to both matters speaking to both one is the issue 20 21 of we didn't want to do it ten years ago. Ten 22 years ago we cut it from five to two. 23 Technologically we thought that was a huge 24 jump. We thought we were tightening down the 25 criteria to where we got it much closer to one

person one vote. To suggest that we weren't wanting to do something back then is false, because we thought we were making tremendous strides in doing that.

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5 We now know we know it so well we can do a 6 half percent we know it so well that down the 7 hall we down the hall we've got 1 percent which 8 the mathematical equivalent is point four 9 person. And yet you are going to turn around and tell us you don't think it can you be. 10 Ι 11 happen to know it can be done. And over the 12 next week or so we will see that it can be 13 done. And you will have that opportunity to 14 see that. On this -- so I quess that's 15 sufficient on that.

16 But the fact is that it absolutely can be 17 done. And to suggest that you are having to make a choice between having either split 18 19 communities or a tighter criteria is false. So on both issues the fact that you have to choose 20 21 between those two are false. And the fact that 22 we refused to do it ten years ago is also 23 false. Because we, in fact, made a significant 24 improvement by going from five to two percent. 25 SENATOR DEEDS: Madam chair.

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1 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Deeds. 2 SENATOR DEEDS: Senator Martin, ten years ago the congressional districts were drawn with 3 no deviation. So you had the ability to draw 4 5 these districts with no deviation and you chose 6 not to; isn't that correct? 7 SENATOR MARTIN: The last part of your 8 question was what? 9 SENATOR DEEDS: Isn't that correct. 10 SENATOR MARTIN: You are asking me whether 11 or not there was a proposal? 12 SENATOR DEEDS: Senator Martin, what I 13 said was a fact. Ten years ago you drew the 14 districts, your side of the aisle drew the 15 congressional district to zero deviation, you 16 had the ability to draw the senate district to zero deviation and you chose not to; isn't that 17 18 correct? 19 SENATOR MARTIN: Obviously, that is 20 correct. 21 SENATOR DEEDS: No further questions, Your 22 Honor. 23 SENATOR MARTIN: But I'm not finished 24 answering. 25 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. Let's go through

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1 the chair.

2 SENATOR MARTIN: No, Madam chairman, I am
3 responding to that question.

MADAM CHAIRMAN: I'm not shutting you off, 4 5 I'm asking you to please go through the chair. 6 SENATOR MARTIN: Okay. Madam chair, 7 absolutely. That's absolutely correct. We 8 were instructed that we had to be at zero with 9 the congressional and the population is much larger and much easier to attain. The smaller 10 11 the population the more challenging it is to 12 attain that. That's the reason it's harder for 13 the house to get down to a half percent. We 14 are two and a half times larger.

So once again, there was a tremendous stride ten years ago. And yes, we probably could have gotten it tighter but we had gotten be tell like we had gotten it quite a bit tighter than it had ever been before.

20 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. We have a vote in 21 front of us and it's on the amendment to senate 22 committee resolution, P & E Committee 23 Resolution Number 1, to change the percent from 24 plus or minus 2 percent to plus or minus 1/2 of 25 1 percent. All in favor of that please say,

61 1 aye. 2 (Various committee members 3 respond in the affirmative.) 4 5 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Opposed? 6 (Various committe members rspond 7 8 in the negative.) 9 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Yes, please call the 10 11 roll. 12 THE CLERK: Senator Martin. 13 SENATOR MARTIN: Aye. 14 THE CLERK: Senator Deeds. 15 SENATOR DEEDS: No. 16 THE CLERK: Senator Whipple. 17 SENATOR WHIPPLE: No. THE CLERK: Senator Obenshain. 18 19 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: To the amendment, aye. 20 THE CLERK: Senator Puckett. 21 SENATOR PUCKETT: No. 22 THE CLERK: Senator Edwards. 23 SENATOR EDWARDS: No. 24 THE CLERK: Senator Blevins. 25 SENATOR BLEVINS: Aye.

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1	THE CLERK: Senator McEachin.
2	SENATOR McEACHIN: No.
3	THE CLERK: Senator Petersen.
4	Senator Smith.
5	SENATOR SMITH: Aye.
б	THE CLERK: Senator Barker.
7	SENATOR BARKER: No.
8	THE CLERK: Senator Northam.
9	SENATOR NORTHAM: No.
10	THE CLERK: Senator Vogel.
11	SENATOR VOGEL: Aye.
12	THE CLERK: Senator McWaters.
13	SENATOR McWATERS: Aye.
14	THE CLERK: Senator Howell.
15	SENATOR HOWELL: No.
16	THE CLERK: Six ayes, eight nays.
17	MADAM CHAIRMAN: The amendment fails on
18	the vote of six ayes, eight nos.
19	So now we are back to the original motion,
20	which is to approve P & E Committee Resolution
21	Number 1.
22	SENATOR EDWARDS: Move.
23	MADAM CHAIRMAN: It's been moved and
24	seconded.
25	SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Substitute motion to

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1	approve Senate Joint Resolution 502.	
2	SENATOR MARTIN: Second.	
3	MADAM CHAIRMAN: There a substitute	
4	motion, if the clerk will call the roll on the	
5	substitute motion.	
6	THE CLERK: Senator Martin.	
7	SENATOR MARTIN: Aye.	
8	THE CLERK: Senator Deeds.	
9	SENATOR DEEDS: No.	
10	THE CLERK: Senator Whipple.	
11	SENATOR WHIPPLE: No.	
12	THE CLERK: Senator Obenshain.	
13	SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Aye.	
14	THE CLERK: Senator Puckett.	
15	SENATOR PUCKETT: No.	
16	THE CLERK: Senator Edwards.	
17	SENATOR EDWARDS: No.	
18	THE CLERK: Senator Blevins.	
19	SENATOR BLEVINS: Aye.	
20	THE CLERK: Senator McEachin.	
21	SENATOR McEACHIN: No.	
22	THE CLERK: Senator Petersen. Senator	
23	Smith.	
24	SENATOR SMITH: Aye.	
25	THE CLERK: Senator Barker.	

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1	SENATOR BARKER: No.
2	THE CLERK: Senator Northam.
3	SENATOR NORTHAM: No.
4	THE CLERK: Senator Vogel.
5	SENATOR VOGEL: Aye.
6	THE CLERK: Senator McWaters.
7	SENATOR McWATERS: Aye.
8	THE CLERK: Senator Howell.
9	SENATOR HOWELL: No.
10	THE CLERK: Six ayes, eight nays.
11	MADAM CHAIRMAN: The motion fails.
12	We are now at the primary motion, which is
13	to adopt Privileges and Elections Resolution
14	Number 1.
15	Clerk, call the roll.
16	THE CLERK: Senator Martin.
17	SENATOR MARTIN: No.
18	THE CLERK: Senator Deeds.
19	SENATOR DEEDS: Yes.
20	THE CLERK: Senator Whipple.
21	SENATOR WHIPPLE: Aye.
22	THE CLERK: Senator Obenshain.
23	SENATOR OBENSHAIN: No.
24	THE CLERK: Senator Puckett.
25	SENATOR PUCKETT: Aye.

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1	THE CLERK: Senator Edwards.	
2	SENATOR EDWARDS: Aye.	
3	THE CLERK: Senator Blevins.	
4	SENATOR BLEVINS: No.	
5	THE CLERK: Senator McEachin.	
6	SENATOR McEACHIN: Aye.	
7	THE CLERK: Senator Petersen.	
8	Senator Smith.	
9	SENATOR SMITH: No.	
10	THE CLERK: Senator Barker.	
11	SENATOR BARKER: Aye.	
12	THE CLERK: Senator Northam.	
13	SENATOR NORTHAM: Aye.	
14	THE CLERK: Senator Vogel.	
15	SENATOR VOGEL: No.	
16	THE CLERK: Senator McWaters.	
17	SENATOR McWATERS: No.	
18	THE CLERK: Senator Howell.	
19	SENATOR HOWELL: Aye.	
20	THE CLERK: Eight ayes, six nays.	
21	MADAM CHAIRMAN: The resolution passes	
22	eight to six.	
23	On our agenda we have one remaining item	
24	and that is the criteria for the congressional	
25	redistricting. And as has been indicated it is	3

1 identical wording to ten years ago with the update of the one court case that was 2 intervening. 3 Is there any discussion on this? 4 5 SENATOR McEACHIN: Move to adopt the 6 resolution. 7 SENATOR WHIPPLE: Second. 8 MADAM CHAIRMAN: It's been moved and 9 seconded. SENATOR DEEDS: Madam chair. 10 11 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Senator Deeds. 12 SENATOR DEEDS: Claire Guthrey are you still out there? 13 14 MS. GUTHREY: Yes. 15 SENATOR DEEDS: With respect to the congressional criteria would your critique 16 still hold? 17 MS. GUTHREY: Yes. 18 19 SENATOR DEEDS: These changes were made 20 between '91 and '01. 21 MS. GUTHREY: Yes, sir. 2.2 SENATOR DEEDS: Just a matter of record. 23 MADAM CHAIRMAN: Is there any discussion 24 on this. All in favor? 25 SENATOR McEACHIN: Madam chair, I don't

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67 1 know that you actually asked the public for 2 comment, for the record. MADAM CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. 3 Is there anyone in the public who would like to 4 5 speak to congressional criteria? 6 I don't see anyone. Thank you, Senator McEachin. I really would have remembered in 7 8 the middle of the night and felt terrible. All in favor of -- Senator Obenshain. 9 10 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Madam chair, I would 11 make a motion that we amend this to change the 12 deviation to half a percent. MADAM CHAIRMAN: This is the 13 congressional, which is actually zero. We are 14 15 not allowed to have any deviation. 16 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: Am I looking at the 17 wrong one? SENATOR WHIPPLE: The law prescribes it 18 19 has to be zero. 20 SENATOR OBENSHAIN: I was looking at the 21 wrong one. My apologies. 22 MADAM CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the 23 resolution say aye. 2.4 25 (All respond in the

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1	affirmative.)
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3	MADAM CHAIRMAN: Any opposed?
4	
5	(No response.)
6	
7	MADAM CHAIRMAN: Okay. Now, before we
8	leave I would like to remind everyone about the
9	eight public hearings coming up starting next
10	Thursday. And then there will be more on
11	Saturday and a final one here in Richmond on
12	the 4th, Monday.
13	We definitely want to hear from people and
14	urge you to come out and tell us your views.
15	With that, if there is no more business, the
16	committee will rise.
17	NOTE: The hearing concluded at
18	3:37 p.m.
19	
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21	
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24	
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1 COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,

2 CITY OF RICHMOND:

3 4 I, Sherelle A. Bradley, a Certified Court Reporter and Notary Public for the State of Virginia 5 6 at Large, do hereby certify that the foregoing hearing of March 25, 2011 was duly taken and sworn 7 8 to before me at the time and place set out in the 9 caption hereto. 10 Further, that the transcript of the 11 hearing is true and correct to the best of my 12 ability. 13 WITNESS MY HAND this 3rd day of May, 2011. 14 15 Sherelle A. Bradley - Certified Court Reporter Notary Public for the State of Virginia #337599 16 17 My commission expires: 09/30/2013. 18 19 20 21 2.2 23 24 25