

Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission
June 29, 2021 Meeting Public Comment

Date of Submission: Monday, June 28, 2021 10:48 AM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Robert Taylor
Subject: (no subject)

Redistricting is critical to our election process. I am concerned with the timing and cutoff dates.

The committee needs time to evaluate the census data. We have lost a congressional seat, primarily from the Detroit area. Outstate Michigan should be left pretty much alone. Redaw the Detroit boundaries. Thank you. Robert Taylor, Tecumseh, Mich.

Date of Submission: Monday, June 28, 2021 9:47 AM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Harrison Reed Duke III
Subject: Citizen Comments on Commission Task/Work

Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission
To whom it may concern;

Comments from Citizen Harrison R. Duke III, resident City of Detroit;

I have watched several of the Public Hearing Meetings by Zoom. Though I am fully vaccinated, I am in the high risk category (c19) because of existing health challenges, thus not attending in person. Gerrymandering is an inherent divisive policy that is historically documented to suppress the concerns of citizens living within a community yet disconnected to the local elected officials because of the salamander design of the voters district. Designed to keep an individual or party in office as the priority, not leading, nor implementing policies that affect the quality of life for the citizen voter. As the citizens voices are silenced on basic day to day concerns, dinner table issues, they lose confidence in their elected leaders, the system and any hope of meaningful changes that will improve their quality of life. This dumbing down of the Government and Civics curriculums in "middle school", began the injection of ignorance into the the citizens consciousness, creating an uniformed citizen, unaware that this was a planned action. An action that pushed them into the arena of grievance politics and angry rhetoric. Another by-product of this gerrymandering is a political system that requires the political leadership to spend a considerable amount of time and resources on raising campaign funds to stay in office. This results seeking out big money donators and illegal/dark money funds to support their campaigns. The big money gets their agenda on the table, discussed and laws passed to full fill their interest, not the community citizen voter. The wishes of the majority of MI voters want to redraw the voting districts. Listen to the people, the community citizen voters not corporate and political leaders that have a selfish, in debt to you for your cash donation position and turn a blind eye to real time, real life everyday people concerns of representation. Listen to the people not special interest. Draw lines with the uniting of communities with common interest, mutual concerns; health care, public education, higher education,

infrastructure, climate change, child care, living wages, and others. Citizens voters are discussed with the system because leaders are not listening across the board on local issues and across the nation on federal issues and solutions. The vast/large majority of Americans want: 80% Gun safety, 80% better less expensive health care, 90% no wars, 80% infrastructure/physical and human, 70% social justice/police reform, 80% funding public education, 80% living wages, ect, and our elected leadership chooses to ignore the polls the will of the people. Your commission can restore trust and truth back into the system and give the voter some stress release, that things will improve. Your commission must create and win the trust of the people. Listen to the PEOPLE. Currently the goals, focus and energies are allocated to strip away the voice of voters, not empower them. Currently the goals, focus and energies of politicians are to smother the vote, dilute/weaken the voter base, deprive the voter of a voice, a soap box, a forum to speak and be heard. Currently the entire focus appears to only help the politician get re-elected, re-elected and keep a job and not respect the people. Gerrymandering allow the politician to select his voter not the voter select their representative.

Detroit must be designed to represent all of the citizens within the city and then reach out to surrounding communities that boarder Detroit. The concerns urban Detroit have, are overwhelming and should be address systemic, every Detroit citizen involved regrading electing officials, quality of life and political concerns.

Thank you for your service. I hope this is a new day for our city, county, state and nation regarding, safe, free elections that empower the citizen voter, return trust and truth to the election process and provide every citizen the resources to vote without barriers. All of the voter that spoke during the public meeting are on the same page and want the same structural improvements to the system. Across the board, across the state, young, old, all want change, change that will improve the voting system not suppress nor smother voters rights.

Respectfully,
Harrison R. Duke III
Detroit Resident

Date of Submission: Monday, June 28, 2021 8:31 AM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Mary Hunt
Subject: Proposed Redistricting Recommendation

I have lived in Grandville, Michigan for over 40 years. Grandville is located in Kent County, a suburb of Grand Rapids, and is considered part of the Grand Rapids metropolitan area according to Wikipedia. Grandville is approximately 7.7 square miles with a population of approximately 16,000 people. Grandville has been in the 2nd US Congressional District for many years - which makes absolutely no sense to me. The districting lines are jagged to include Grandville (again part of Kent County) in the 2nd District along with Ottawa, Muskegon, Newaygo, Oceana, Ludington and Lake Counties. I do not feel like Grandville has anything in common with these counties and I strongly request that lines be redrawn to include Grandville with the rest of Kent County in the 3rd US Congressional District.

Thank you for your attention.

Mary L. Hunt


Grandville, MI 49418

Date of Submission: Saturday, June 26, 2021 10:04 AM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Marcia Koppa
Subject: On Drawing Maps from a Clean Slate

Dear Commissioners,

Thank you for the admirable work you are taking on. Am very proud of you and your staff.

As to the approach on drawing these maps. Is it feasible to first draw maps using 2010 data to see the issues/ problems that currently exist? From that, you can be mindful of these issues and then start from scratch to draw the 2020 map. The "clean slate" approach has already been discussed in the public and "promised", at least to my understanding. In the long term, you would be saving yourself potential grief by starting from scratch.

Respectfully,

Marcia Koppa

Date of Submission: Friday, June 25, 2021 11:08 AM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Edward C. Lorenz
Subject: Proposed Redistricting Recommendation
attachments included at the end of the document

Attached is a description of the "Community of Interest in which I believe I and many others in my region belong. The word document attached is an explanation of the Community of Interest and also attached is an image of a map I would suggest to the Commission for a Michigan House district to specifically represent this community. Of course, at the state Senate and U.S. House levels, with their much larger populations my Community of Interest would have to be merged with other communities of interest.

Thank you for your work.

Edward C. Lorenz

Date of Submission: Thursday, June 24, 2021 12:54 PM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Robert Norton
Subject: Prof. Stephen Markman's Memorandum to the Commission
attachments included at the end of the document

To the Members of the Commission:

In light of its mission to provide all who wish to learn the education necessary for preserving "the blessings of civil and religious liberty" in Michigan and across the nation, Hillsdale College has commissioned Professor Stephen Markman to author a memorandum in response to the University of Michigan's CLOSUP Report published last August. Professor Markman has taught constitutional law at the College for nearly three decades, and has served on the Michigan Supreme Court as an Associate Justice and later Chief Justice. Having served on the state's highest court, Professor Markman is experienced, well-respected, and well-known for his sound, fair, and sharp legal reasoning. His perspective should be considered.

An earlier version of Professor Markman's memorandum was mailed to the Commission's PO Box two weeks ago. However, since we were not sure if the memorandum reached the Commission, we thought it best to send it via email as well. Please accept this updated version of the memorandum in its place. The updated memorandum and an accompanying cover letter are attached. The memorandum can also be found at info.hillsdale.edu/redistricting.

Professor Markman has RSVP'd to speak briefly on this report at the Muskegon public hearing on Tuesday, June 29. He looks forward to speaking to the Commission.

Robert Norton

Vice President and General Counsel

Date of Submission: Wednesday, June 23, 2021 10:37 AM
Method of Submission: Email To <Redistricting@Michigan.gov>
Name: Jacqueline Stewart
Subject: Public Comment Tool

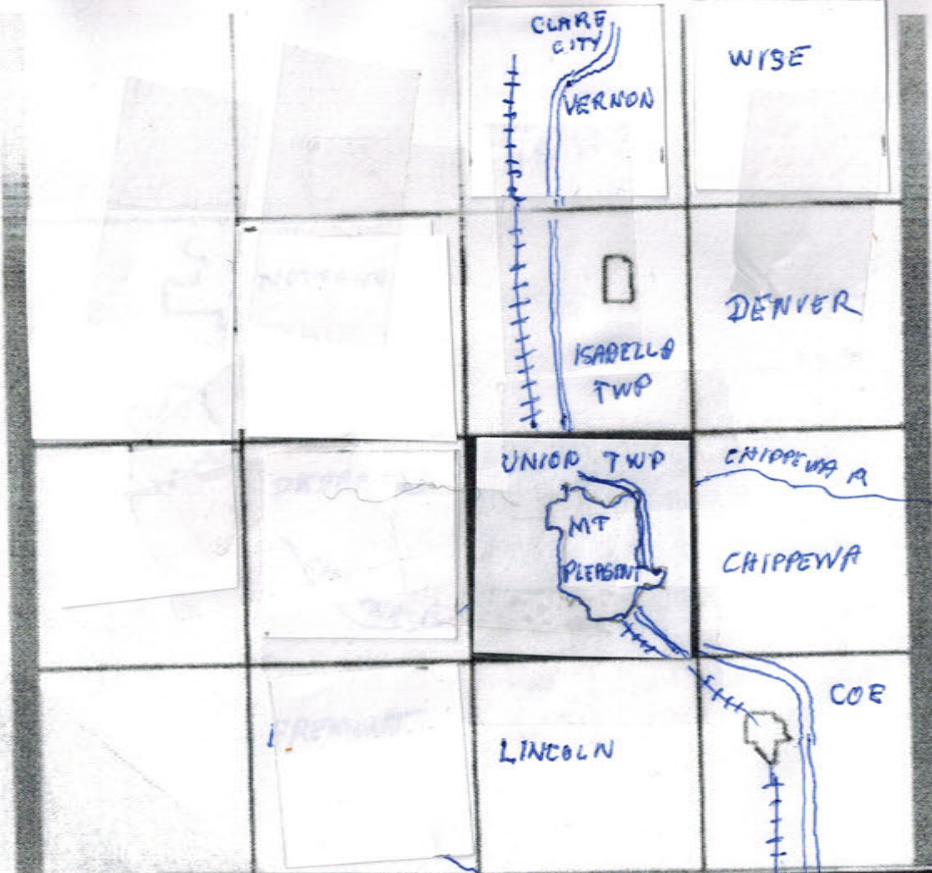
In the discussion on Jun 17 the number of in-person public comments and digital comments was compared. Also the number of people attending but not commenting was mentioned.

I suggest you have a station with a computer and scanner, and a person to assist, at each Hearing and in-person Meeting, to allow people who make an in person comment to type the comment into the Public Comment Tool, if they wish, with a scan of whatever references or maps they have. Those who came to listen but did not register to speak could also type their comments into the Public Comment Tool at this time. I think this will allow everyone to be heard, even if they did not register, and even if they have more than they can say in 2 minutes.

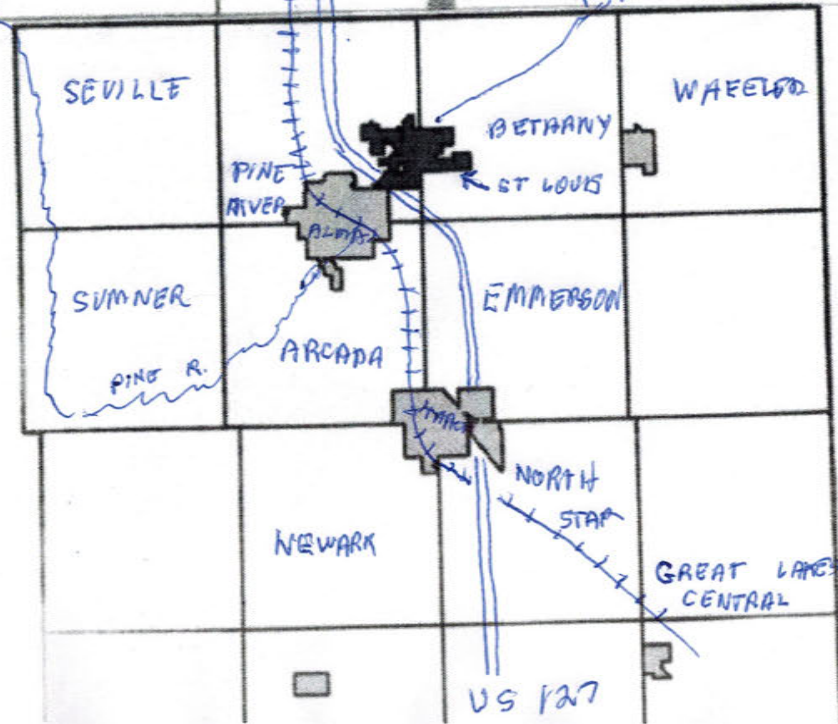
Please consider doing this to make more efficient use of the Public Comment Tool.

Thank you,

Jacqueline Stewart



ISABELLA COUNTY



GRATIOT COUNTY



May 13, 2021

Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission

Dear Commissioners:

I write on behalf of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi (NHBP) asking for your consideration to maintain our current legislative district configuration. NHBP operations are located in Athens and Emmett Townships within Calhoun County and provide governmental services and economic support to the local community and tribal members. NHBP's historical land base known as the Pine Creek Potawatomi Reservation in Athens Township, Michigan and all lands now held or hereafter acquired by or for the Band, or held in trust for the Band by the United States, including lands in which rights have been reserved or never ceded by the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi in previous treaties.

As a community of interest, it is imperative that our governmental and economic arms remain united and we ask to retain our representation in the Michigan legislature of one State Representative and one State Senator. The seat of our Tribal Government is in Athens Township, which provides essential services for over 1,500 members and the surrounding community including: public works programs, medical and social services, police, and tribal elders.



ÉJE-DBAKNEGEK • LEGAL

Our economic arm in Emmett Township is home to Firekeepers Casino and Resort which is the top employer in Calhoun County. Our casino provides nearly all the funding for our essential governmental programs and services. Unlike state governments, NHBP depends on our economic enterprises to fund our government operations and social service programs.

NHBP's current legislative districts have helped keep our community united, and we ask to keep our community of interest together. An attempt to divide our representation would place our government and economic entities under multiple legislators, which we perceive as detrimental to NHBP, its members, economic enterprises, and the surrounding communities.

We would be happy to answer any questions or to discuss this matter in greater detail at your convenience.

Migwéché,

Jamie Stuck
NHBP Tribal Council Chairperson

JS/jss



June 4, 2021

Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission
PO Box 30318
Lansing, MI 48909

To the Members of the Commission:

Hillsdale College is an independent institution of higher learning founded in 1844 with the explicit mission of furnishing “all persons who wish, irrespective of nation, color, or sex, a literary, scientific, [and] theological education” outstanding among American colleges. The College considers itself a trustee of our Western philosophical and theological inheritance, a heritage finding its clearest expression in the American experiment of self-government under law. Accordingly, the College promotes a right understanding of the Constitution and the system of representative government it enshrined into law. It also shares a common interest with all Americans in seeing the integrity of this system maintained and preserved. The work of the Commission in devising and executing a redistricting plan for the state of Michigan is therefore of academic interest to the College.

Of particular interest to the College is a report submitted to the Commission by the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy at the University of Michigan’s Gerald Ford School of Public Policy last August: “The Role of Communities of Interest in Michigan’s New Approach to Redistricting: Recommendations to the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission”. While the report is thoughtful in many ways, it displays serious deficiencies in its understanding of American constitutionalism and of Michigan’s electoral process.

The College has commissioned Professor Stephen Markman to author a memorandum highlighting these deficiencies. Professor Markman has taught constitutional law at the College for the last 28 years. He also has served as an Associate Justice and later Chief Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court. His expertise as a constitutional scholar and his long experience of public service to the State of Michigan and the nation provide him with an unequalled perspective worth heeding.

The College humbly submits Professor Markman’s memorandum for the Commission’s consideration.

Best regards,



Robert Norton II

MEMORANDUM

To

**Michigan Independent
Citizens Commission**

From

Stephen Markman
Michigan Supreme Court Justice (retired)
Professor of Constitutional Law, Hillsdale College
Commissioned by Hillsdale College

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Memorandum addresses the Report of the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy at the University of Michigan, offering “Recommendations to the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission.” The recommendations of the Report are neither in full accord with the language of the Amendment nor with the “common understanding” of the Amendment on the part of the people of Michigan who ratified it.

In particular, the concept of the “community of interest” has been significantly distorted from its previous legal usage. The Report fails to acknowledge what the term historically has meant in Michigan—electoral boundaries built upon counties, cities, and townships, the genuine communities of interest to which all citizens of our state equally belong. In its place, the Report would define the “community of interest” on the basis of groups in support of and in opposition to “public policy issues;” media markets and special assessment tax districts; “shared visions of the future” of communities; and by introducing into the Michigan Constitution for the first time express consideration of “race, ethnicity, and religion.” As a result, what the people of Michigan wished to see ended by their ratification of the Amendment—a redistricting process characterized by partisanship, self-dealing, and gerrymandering—risks being reintroduced under a different name.

The Report’s reinterpretation of the “communities of interest” concept is predicated upon what its author describes as a “new theory of representation.” This “new theory” would replace the citizen as the core of the democratic process with the interest group; it would substitute for the ideal of equal citizenship favored and disfavored voting blocs; it would replace partisanship with ideology; it would enhance the role of “race, ethnicity, and religion” in the construction of electoral districts; and it seeks to build an electoral and political foundation upon the judgments of “experts” rather than those of ordinary citizens.

The new Commission has the opportunity either to separate or to unite—to separate our people as members of interest groups and identity categories or to unite them as equal citizens, entitled to an equal role in the electoral process. Furthermore, the Commission is positioned to influence similar amendments being considered by other states, which are now assessing the Michigan experience. This memorandum presumes that in ratifying the Amendment, the people were doing exactly what was heralded at the time: they were establishing a redistricting process at whose core would be “voters not politicians” and not “reimagining” their democracy or experimenting with “new theories of representation.”

MEMORANDUM

To: Commission Members
From: Stephen Markman
Re: Role of the Commission

Hillsdale College

Hillsdale College is a private liberal arts college in Hillsdale, Michigan with a student body of approximately 1400. It was founded in 1844 by Free Will Baptist abolitionists and has long maintained a liberal arts curriculum grounded upon the institutions and values of Western culture and Judeo-Christian tradition. Since its inception, Hillsdale has been non-denominational and takes pride in having been the first American college to prohibit discrimination based upon race, religion, or sex in its official charter, becoming an early force in Michigan for the abolition of slavery. A higher percentage of Hillsdale students enlisted during the Civil War than from any other western college. Of its more than 400 students who fought for the Union, four earned the Congressional Medal of Honor, three became generals, many more served as regimental commanders, and sixty students gave their lives. Many notable speakers visited Hillsdale's campus during the Civil War era, including social reformer and abolitionist Frederick Douglass and the man whose remarks preceded those of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, Edward Everett. Hillsdale College plays no partisan role in American politics.

Purpose

Hillsdale College commissioned retired Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court Stephen Markman to review the Report of the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy at the University of Michigan ["Report"] issued last August. This Report proposes "Recommendations to the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission" ["Commission"] in implementing a state redistricting plan in accordance with the constitutional amendment ["Amendment"] ratified by the people by initiative in 2018. While the Report and its recommendations are thoughtful in many ways, its conclusions and recommendations, in our judgment, are fundamentally mistaken. The purpose of this Memorandum is to highlight the Report's deficiencies and to offer an alternative view that more closely adheres to the principles of American constitutionalism and incorporates more fully the legal and constitutional history of redistricting in Michigan. Specifically, this Memorandum offers thoughts and recommendations in support of what we believe to be the common interest of Michigan citizens that our public institutions uphold principles fundamental to our State constitution: the principles of representative self-government.

Formative Role

The present thirteen Commissioners comprise the Commission's formative membership and, as a result, your policies and procedures will come to define the work of this new institution. These policies and procedures will continue to define the Commission as new members join it, as new political balances arise in Michigan, and as new public policy controversies and partisan disputes come to the fore. Your legacy of public service will determine the extent to which the Commission endures as an institution and its reforms become permanent. Each of you has been afforded a rare opportunity to help construct the constitutional course of our state. As with the best of public servants, you must rise to this occasion.

Absence of Perspective

A threshold concern with the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy's Report is the absence of historical and constitutional perspective. Of particular concern is the Report's failure to take into adequate consideration in its Recommendations aspects of our federal and state constitutional systems that may be relevant in effectively and responsibly implementing the new Amendment. While the Amendment has removed our state redistricting process from within the traditional purview of the legislative power, it has not removed this process from within the purview of our Constitution. State constitutional principles and values remain applicable to the work of the Commission, including that of judicial review, as do all federal constitutional and legal principles and values. These may include, for example, the guarantee to every state of a "republican form of government;" norms of democratic electoral participation; recognition of our nation as a continuing experiment in self-government; and such fundamental precepts as federalism, equal protection, due process, equal suffrage, checks and balances, and governmental transparency. In other words, the Commission, as with *all* public bodies, does not stand *outside* the "supreme law" of our federal and state constitutions. For that reason, debates and discussions within the Commission that proceed without reference to any value of government larger than how best to define a "community of interest," or that reflect little historical or constitutional perspective, are likely to prove shallow, sterile, and stunted.

Oath of Office

As Commissioners, you must bear in mind the oath you have each taken, affirming support for the "Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this state" and vowing to "faithfully discharge the duties of [your] office according to the best of [your] ability." Const 1963, art 11, § 2. While you will exercise your own best judgments in satisfying these obligations, as with all who exercise public authority, you must each familiarize yourself with our federal and

state constitutions, just as you have familiarized yourselves with Michigan's redistricting process and the new Amendment.

Apol Standards

As just one illustration, there is an absence in the UM Report of even a single mention of the "Apol standards" which have guided our state's redistricting process for at least forty years in *name* and for far longer *in practice*. Named after Bernard Apol, a former State Director of Elections, and prepared under the leadership of Michigan Supreme Court Justice Charles Levin, these standards can offer practical guidance to the Commission in understanding and implementing the present Amendment. The Supreme Court has summarized these standards as follows:

1. The Senate consists of 38 districts.
2. The House consists of 110 districts.
3. All districts shall be contiguous, single-member districts.
4. The districts shall have a population not exceeding 108.2% and not less than 91.8% of the ideal district which, based on the 1980 census, would contain 243,739 persons in the Senate and 84,201 persons in the House.
5. The boundaries of the districts shall first be drawn to contain only whole counties to the extent this can be done within the 16.4% range of divergence and to minimize within that range the number of county lines which are broken.
6. If a county line is broken, the fewest cities or townships necessary to reduce the divergence to within 16.4% shall be shifted; between two cities or townships, both of which will bring the district within the range, the city or township with the least population shall be shifted.
7. Between two plans with the same number of county line breaks, the one that shifts the fewest cities and townships statewide shall be selected; if more than one plan shifts the same number of cities and townships statewide, the plan that shifts the fewest people in the aggregate statewide to election districts that break county lines shall be selected.
8. In a county which has more than one senator or representative, the boundaries of the districts shall first be drawn to contain only whole cities and townships to the extent this can be done within the 16.4% range of divergence and to minimize within that range the number of city and township lines that are broken.

9. If a city or township line is broken, there shall be shifted the number of people necessary to achieve population equality between the two election districts affected by the shift, except that, in lieu of absolute equality, the lines may be drawn along the closest street or comparable boundary; between alternate plans, shifting the necessary number of people, the plan which is more compact is to be selected.

10. Between two plans, both of which have the same number of city and township breaks within a particular county, the one that minimizes the population divergence in districts across the county is to be selected.

11. Within a city or township that is apportioned more than one senator or representative, election district lines shall be drawn to achieve the maximum compactness possible within a population range of 98%–102% of absolute equality between districts within that city or township.

12. Compactness shall be determined by circumscribing each district within a circle of minimum radius and measuring the area, not part of the Great Lakes and not part of another state, inside the circle but not inside the district. The plan to be selected is the plan with the least area within all the circles not within the district circumscribed by the circle. *In re Apportionment State Legislature-1992*, 439 Mich 715, 720-22.

Particular attention should be given to standards 5-10, each of which in some manner gives significant regard to counties and municipalities in Michigan's redistricting process. The Apol standards are emphasized because: (a) they offer useful perspective to the Commission that is missing from the Report; (b) the Michigan Supreme Court has observed that these standards are compatible with the state *constitutional* value of "autonomy of local governmental subdivisions," a value that also goes unmentioned in the Report; and (c) these standards are fair-minded, neutral and non-partisan, and unrelated in any way to the public concerns that led to the present Amendment. Those concerns—partisanship, self-dealing, and gerrymandering—are in no way related to or attributable to the Apol standards.

The Law

The provision central to the UM Report, as well as to this Memorandum, is Const 1963, art 4, § 6, 13 (c), which states in relevant part,

Districts shall reflect the state's diverse population and communities of interest. Communities of interest may include, but shall not be limited to, populations that share cultural or historical characteristics or economic interests.

Communities of Interest

The UM Report makes clear its sense of the importance of the “communities of interest” concept to the implementation of the new Amendment, at least as the Report understands this concept. While recognizing that the concept is “subjective” and “not well-defined,” the Report nonetheless proceeds to explain its own very broad understanding of this new political foundation upon which our governmental system allegedly now rests. “Communities of interest” comprise the new “building blocks” of our democracy; “communities of interest” will determine “how well a community is represented;” representatives will be assessed by how responsive they are to the ‘community [of interest’s] needs;” representatives will be “attentive” to “members [of the “communities of interest”]; “communities of interest” will play a “leading role in the process;” “[t]o be an effective representative, a legislator must represent a district that has reasonable homogeneity of needs and interests;” “‘communities of interest’ can pick up the texture of bonds and interests within a political jurisdiction;” “‘communities of interest’ can capture the current patterns of community life;” and “‘communities of interest’ are “primary elements of the new redistricting process,” whose recognition by the Commission “will lead to fairer and more effective representation.” Although the term is not well defined in the Amendment (the Amendment largely sets forth examples or illustrations of what “may be included” within the term), the “community of interest” is enthusiastically embraced by the Report as the dominant institution mediating between voters and their elected officials.

The Citizen (1)

While the Report has much to say concerning “communities of interest,” it has little to say concerning the American political system’s *genuine* “building block,” the citizen. Each citizen participates in the electoral process, not as a component of vaguely defined interest groups accredited by a governmental commission, but by casting his or her vote in accord with individual judgment and personal conscience. Yes, the citizen is a part of a community. But it is not a community arbitrarily cobbled together by a public commission and its “experts” and legitimated only after a majority vote has been cast following months of public hearings and lobbying. And it is not a community to which only *some* citizens belong or a community in which its supposed members may not even have *known* of their affiliation until after the community had been officially endorsed by the Commission. Rather, the citizen belongs to a *genuine* “community of interest,” one to which *all* citizens belong *equally* and in which all share a common interest and influence. And it is one whose definition requires no prolonged hearings or votes or expert consultations. It is *this* “community of interest” that has always served as the foundation of our electoral process, the community to which each of us belongs and is actually *from*, the community that most embodies our status as free and independent citizens, the community we each call *home*.

The Citizen (2)

To the extent American citizens are defined and officially separated by governmental agencies on the basis of their membership in arbitrarily-defined “communities of interest”—“communities” defined by “interest, identity and affinity” groupings, as the Report proposes—we are stereotyped and divided as a people. If we must be defined in collective terms, it should only be as part of “we the people,” in whose name our constitutions were ratified, not compartmentalized in the most fundamental sphere of our citizenship on the basis of considerations such as race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, or skin color. The first obligation of the Commission is to ensure the enactment of a fair-minded, neutral, and non-partisan redistricting process—what would be a remarkable contribution to good government if it could be achieved. It is not an obligation, as the Report instead recommends, to assemble an electoral checkerboard upon which “interest, identity, and affinity” groups can compete for electoral advantage. Such a system would depart drastically from the fundamental principles of the consent of the governed and the equality of all under the law, as it inevitably would elevate some groups of citizens, but not others, to a privileged status.

Duties of Commission

The Report appears to view the lack of clarity and the obscurity of definition of the “community of interest” concept as presenting an *opportunity*, empowering the Commission, with the assistance of the “philanthropic and non-profit sectors” and the “print and broadcast media,” to fill an empty constitutional vessel as the Commission sees fit. Operating in accordance with the Report, the Commission is to be occupied in doing at least the following: (a) examining the qualifications of “interest, identity, and affinity” groups to determine which should be favored in the redistricting process as “communities of interest;” (b) assessing which of the resulting “communities of interest” should be “linked” or not “linked” with other “interest, identity, and affinity” groups, both within and across electoral districts, to establish larger “communities of interest;” and (c) deciding under which circumstances “communities of interest” should be concentrated within a single district in order that the “community” be capable of electing a member of that “community” as its representative, or dispersed among districts in order that the “influence” of that “community” be more broadly felt. Such a process is a zero-sum game in which there are winners *and* losers. The latter will be comprised not only of “interest, identity and affinity” groups rejected as “communities of interest,” but also ordinary Michigan citizens, not belonging to any such “community,” and who might not have appreciated that such affiliation was a prerequisite for their full exercise of equal suffrage rights in the redistricting process.

Rule of Law

What is perhaps *most* troubling about this decision-making process imposed upon the Commission is that it is an essentially standardless process. The rule of law—to which the Commission, as with all public bodies, must adhere—is all about standards: the setting of rules, criteria and procedures that are defined in *advance* of a decision and applied in an equal and consistent manner. Standards lie at the core of public decision-making, for these ensure that the law is applied today as it was yesterday, and as it will be tomorrow. The constitutional guarantees of both due process and equal protection, for example, are heavily dependent upon the government establishing and abiding by standards. As this pertains to “communities of interest”—which the Report describes as our new “building blocks” of democracy—these standards must ultimately be derived from our constitutions and laws, taking into account their language, structure, history, and purpose. In particular, the language of Michigan’s constitution must be understood in the “sense most obvious to the common understanding . . . as reasonable minds, the great mass of the people themselves, would give it.” *Traverse City Sch Dist v Att’y Gen*, 384 Mich 390, 405 (1971), quoting Thomas Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*. In other words, vagueness and unclear language in the Amendment does not warrant the Commission ‘making up’ the law, acting in an arbitrary fashion, exercising merely personal discretion, or formulating rules and procedures on a case-by-case basis. This is not how the rule of law operates, particularly where the most fundamental institutions of our representative architecture are being constructed.

“Subjective” and “Not Well-Defined”

What makes the meaning of “communities of interest” in Const 1963, art IV, § 6, 13(c), so challenging is not only the potentially *boundless* implications of the “may include, but are not limited to” language, but also the potential breadth of other critical terms such as “diversity,” “cultural,” “historical,” and “economic.” For these reasons, the term “communities of interest” is correctly characterized by the Report as not only being “subjective” and “not well-defined,” but as “opaque at best” in a recent article, Liscombe & Rucker, *Redistricting in Michigan*, Mich Bar J, Aug 2020. The Report further summarizes a survey of local officials responding to questions on the meaning and implications of “communities of interest.” Significant numbers of these officials responded that “there were no significant local COIs” in their jurisdictions, that the matter was “inapplicable to their jurisdiction,” that they “didn’t understand what was being asked,” or that the new constitutional provision was “not legitimate.” In consequence, the Report describes the tenor of these responses as evidencing “uncertainty or skepticism,” or, perhaps better put, “uncertainty and utter confusion.” Despite this, the Report proceeds to give even the most obscure language of the Amendment meaning, its *own* meaning.

Compounding the Confusion

Consider, for example, the threshold question of giving proper meaning to the term “community of interest.” The definition in the Amendment is already highly confusing, stating merely that the term “may include, but are not limited to” populations that “share cultural or historical characteristics or economic interests.” The Report then proceeds to *compound* what is confusing about the Amendment by introducing a host of additional and equally amorphous concepts, including: “racial, ethnic, and religious identities”; “common bonds”; “link[age] to a set of public policy issues that are affected by legislation”; “shared vision[s] of the future of a community”; “communities concerned about environmental hazards”; “media markets”; “affinity groups among neighboring jurisdictions”; “invisible [“communities of interest”]; “like-minded nearby communities”; “shared identities”; “what binds [the] community together”; “how the community currently engages with the political process”; “particular governmental policies that are high priority”; “nearby areas whose inclusion . . . would strengthen . . . and weaken representation for your community of interest”; and “metrics to transform [the term] ‘reflect’ into a clear measure of compliance with [the Amendment’s redistricting] criteria.” All of this occurs with little explanation or analysis, and with no reference whatsoever to Michigan’s constitutional history. Of course, such complexity and convolution would be unnecessary if the Report viewed the Commission’s work as “merely” redistricting Michigan in a “fair-minded, neutral, and non-partisan” way. But far more is required if the “building block” of our democracy is to be reconfigured in pursuit of a reimagined “theory of representation.”

Reflections on Report

It is not entirely the fault of the Report’s authors for promoting an incorrect understanding of “communities of interest” because this term, as used in the Amendment, is defined inadequately and confusingly. Nonetheless, the Report is deeply flawed, and there is a far more reasonable understanding of “communities of interest” that should guide the work of the Commission, not only to render its efforts in better accord with our Constitution, but also to render this work more broadly unifying. The following are several specific observations in this regard:

(1) The Report asserts that “communities of interest” must be somehow “linked” to a “public policy issue that [is] affected by legislation.” Why must this be so? What if a “community” is simply distinguished by the warmth and neighborliness of its people; by people with a common love for the outdoors and who revel in local recreational opportunities; by people enamored with the peace and quiet of the community; by people who relish the quality of local schools, libraries, shops or restaurants; or by people who simply appreciate its proximity to their place of

work or to family members, or its affordability? What, of course, is logically implicit but unstated in the Report's assertion is that there must also be some *common* point-of-view on the "public policy issue that [is] affected by legislation," lest the "community of interest" join people among whom there is actually an *absence* of agreement on the "public policy issues." And if there must be a common point-of-view on a "public policy issue that [is] affected by legislation," how is this consideration any different from the partisan considerations that were meant to be precluded by the Amendment in the first place? After all, attitudes toward "public policy issues that [are] affected by legislation" are exactly what characterizes American political parties. They are not fraternities or sororities, social clubs, or charitable societies, but rather groupings of citizens, broadly sharing "common points-of-view" on the role and responsibilities of government, and separated from other groupings of citizens, broadly sharing "contrary points-of-view." Indeed, by the Report's own understanding, the political party itself might be defined as a "community of interest," except that it was a dominant purpose of the Amendment to *reduce* partisan influence within the redistricting process, not to heighten it.

(2) Furthermore, the Report's "linkage" requirement, apparently encompassing those with common "racial, ethnic, and religious identities," is seemingly in tension with its *own* definition of "communities of interest." Is the premise of the Report that those possessing common "racial, ethnic, and religious" identities will also tend to possess common attitudes on "public policy issues?" Or is its premise that "communities of interest" should be defined along more narrow, but also more politicized, lines such as, joining together "Asian-American communities favoring globalist and international perspectives," "Hispanic communities with liberal points-of-view," or "Christian communities with socially conservative attitudes?" In either case, the "linkage" requirement is inexplicable in both its rationale and its requirements.

(3) The Report enumerates a variety of "geographically-oriented" groupings that "may" give rise to "communities of interest," including those predicated upon common "media markets," "enterprise zones," "special assessment tax districts," and "transportation districts". The Commission should bear in mind that recommendations of this sort are intended to preclude the Commission from treating *actual* communities—counties, cities, townships, and villages—as "communities of interest." Moreover, are any of the examples set forth by the Report indicative in any way of a *bona fide* community? Is there a single citizen of

Michigan with an allegiance to his or her NBC media market? Or a felt sense of attachment to his or her local “enterprise zone?” Or a kinship with fellow-citizens within his or her “transportation district?” Or a bond with his or her “special assessment tax district?” Are these the types of “building blocks” of a democracy to which a free citizenry would profess their sense of community? If so, what about such “communities of interest” as those based upon sewer districts, subdivisions, apartment complexes, zoning categories, health care centers, tourist areas, policing, firefighting and 911 precincts, downtown development districts, parks and recreational areas, zip-codes, nursing homes, strip malls, and internet protocol addresses? All this to avoid giving consideration to the most genuine of our “communities of interest” —counties, cities and townships, the places where people actually live their lives.

(4) The Report specifies shared “racial, ethnic, or religious identities” as potential “communities of interest” in the redistricting process, while excluding without explanation other standard civil rights categories, including nationality, age, alienage, citizenship, gender, sexual preference, and handicap. The Report specifically offers “racial, ethnic, or religious identities” under the “may include” language of the Amendment, rather than under its “diverse population” language, perhaps because it recognizes that Michiganders are “diverse” in many ways that have nothing to do with identity considerations. However, the truly overarching question is one the Report neither asks nor answers: did the people of Michigan who ratified this Amendment share a “common understanding” that, for the first time in Michigan’s history, its Constitution would impose an affirmative *obligation* upon the state to take “race, ethnicity, and religion” into account in setting public policy even though that dictate, and those terms, *nowhere* appear in the Amendment? And did these same people also share a “common understanding” that, for the first time in Michigan’s history, its Constitution would impose an affirmative obligation upon the state to arrange and configure electoral districts and political influence on the basis of express calculations of “race, ethnicity, and religion?”

(5) And in this same regard, what is the relevance of Const 1963, art I, § 2? (“No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of his civil or political rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof because of religion, race, color or national origin.”) Is the redistricting process not a zero-sum process, in which advantages accorded to one “community of interest” on the basis of “race, ethnicity, or religion” come

necessarily at the expense of *other* “communities of interest,” and other individuals? Moreover, what is the relevance of Const 1963, art I, § 26, enacted by an earlier constitutional initiative of the people in 2006, in supplying evidence of the people’s “common understanding” of the present Amendment? The 2006 provision forbids the state—including expressly the “University of Michigan,” the sponsors of the Report in question—from “discriminating against, or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin,” in the realms of “public employment, public education, and public contracting.” Are these two express constitutional provisions relevant in affording some understanding of what the people meant, and did not mean, in 2018 in ratifying the present Amendment?

(6) The Report states that, “communities concerned about environmental hazards” “may” also be designated as “communities of interest.” What about communities concerned about the adequacy of policing or firefighting resources; communities concerned about the quality of local education; communities concerned about road infrastructure; or even communities concerned about levels of property taxation resulting from the policies favored by communities concerned about environmental hazards? Does this singular and specific recommendation of the Report, not offered as an illustration but as a formal recommendation, strike the Commissioners as satisfying the standards of “fair-mindedness, neutrality, and non-partisanship,” to which the Commission itself is constitutionally obligated?

(7) The Report observes that communities with a “shared vision of the future of a community” may also be designated as “communities of interest” (16). Does this really describe an inquiry of the sort that the Commission wishes to undertake, to distinguish between communities with and without a “shared vision” of the future and then to ascertain *which* specific “shared visions” should be given priority as “communities of interest?” The Commission should reject this invitation to serve as the “Planning Commission for the 21st Century” or as Michigan’s philosopher-kings. Still, let us ask the obvious: what evidence of consensus would conceivably demonstrate a “shared community vision?” How would this be demonstrated in the course of the Commission’s hearings? What would define a sufficiently ennobling “vision” to warrant recognition as a “community of interest?” That the schools of the community might some day provide a quality education for every student without regard to race, ethnicity, or religion? That the community might remain peaceable and responsibly policed? That a supportive ethic among

neighbors might arise and be sustained? That small businesses might prosper? Perhaps relevant to these inquiries, the Hillsdale College community of more than 6000 people *also* harbor what it believes to be a shared, and deeply-held, educational and moral vision for the future of the College, and it has adhered to this vision for 175 years. Doubtless, it is a distinctive vision from that of the University of Michigan, but it is no less of a vision and each of our institutions, and our student bodies, are enhanced by these visions. No public body, however capable and enlightened its members might be, should be engaged in comparing and ranking community “visions.” The Commission would be acting wisely and responsibly in rejecting this recommendation.

(8) Finally, by the sheer breadth and invented character of its recommendations, the Report defines for the Commission a mission that extends well beyond eliminating partisan advantage, ending legislative self-dealing, and curtailing gerrymandering in the redistricting process. For the Commission to succumb to this mission would constitute grievous error and a lost opportunity to bring the people of our state together in the contentious process of redistricting rather than dividing them further. The Commission of thirteen engaged and public-spirited citizens should instead operate faithfully within its charter, act with energy and integrity in pursuit of its constitutional purpose, and define a responsible and lasting legacy for the generations of Commissioners who will follow in the years ahead.

Analysis: Counties

What follows is an analysis concerning how the Commission should give reasonable and faithful meaning to the concept of “communities of interest” in Const 1963, art 4, § 6, 13 (c). Just as there is no reference in the Report to the Apol standards that have long guided the redistricting process in Michigan, there is also no reference to relevant decisions of the Michigan Supreme Court—the highest tribunal of our state and a court possessing the authority to review the legal determinations of the Commission. Const 1963, art 4, § 6, 18-20. There is an utter absence of historical memory in the Report. In 1982, in the course of reviewing the state’s proposed redistricting plan, the Michigan Supreme Court unanimously held,

We see in the *constitutional* history of this state dominant commitments to . . . single-member districts drawn along boundary lines of local units of government . . . Michigan has a consistent *constitutional history* of combining less populous counties and subdividing populous counties to form election districts. As a result, county lines have remained inviolate. The reason for

following county lines was not the “political unit” theory of representation, but rather that each Michigan Constitution has required preservation of the *electoral autonomy* of the counties. *In re Apportionment-1982*, 413 Mich 149, 187 (1982) (emphasis added).

And two Justices, Levin and Fitzgerald, in a bipartisan concurrence, separately wrote in this same regard,

The “*constitutional requirements*” concerning county, city and township lines, which preserve the *autonomy of local government subdivisions* . . . were not part of the political compromise reflected in the weighted land area/population formulae. [Rather,] they are [among] separate requirements which carry forward provisions and concepts which extend back over 100 years from the Constitution of 1850 through the Constitution of 1908 and the 1952 amendment thereto. *In re Apportionment-1982*, 413 Mich 96, 139n24 (1982) (emphasis added).

And the Court unanimously reiterated this same constitutional understanding in assessing Michigan’s 1992 redistricting,

Recognizing the importance of local communities, and the harm that would result from splitting the political influence of these communities, each of [our past] *constitutions* explicitly protected jurisdictional lines . . . For instance, the 1835 constitution said that no county line could be broken in apportioning the Senate. Const. 1835, art. 4, § 6. The 1850 constitution repeated that rule and added that no city or township could be divided in forming a representative’s district. Const. 1850, art. 4, §§ 2-3. [And as] originally enacted, the 1908 constitution continued those rules, though it permitted municipalities to be broken where they crossed county lines. Const. 1908, art. 5, §§ 2-3. *In re Apportionment-1992*, 486 Mich 715, 716, 716 n 6 (1992).

Although without the slightest doubt, our Constitution can be changed or altered by amendment, as it has been here, a responsible assessment of new constitutional language would take into account the interpretive counsel that might be derived from past constitutional provisions and court decisions. And in that regard, what the above decisions indicate is that, *at least* through 2018, “preservation of the electoral autonomy of the counties” was viewed by the highest court of this state as a substantial *constitutional* value, and reflected in our state’s redistricting processes in 1982 and 1992 (and since) by the application of the Apol standards upholding where reasonably possible the integrity of county and municipal boundaries. Moreover, in assessing the “common understanding” of the people who ratified the Amendment in 2018, and in reviewing the language of the Amendment itself, we see no evidence that this constitutional value has been repudiated.

Analysis: Judicial Use of “Communities of Interest”

The Report incorrectly states that the concept of “communities of interest” is an entirely “new” concept in Michigan law. It is not. For example, in the course of a unanimous decision of the Michigan Supreme Court addressing the 1982 redistricting process, the following observations were made in a full concurrence to that decision by Justices Levin and Fitzgerald,

The Court considered whether, when cities or townships must be shifted, there should be shifted (i) the number of cities or townships necessary to equalize the population of the two districts, or (ii) only the number of cities or townships necessary to bring the districts within the range of allowable divergence. The Court concluded that the concept of minimizing the breaking of county lines extended to the shifting of cities and townships. A county is kept more intact as a *community of interest*, and fewer special election districts must be created, when the minimum necessary number of cities or townships are shifted. *In re Apportionment of State Legislature- 1982, 413 Mich 149, 155n 8 (1982).*

* * *

There remained the possibility that two sets of cities or townships might satisfy the above rule; for example, each of two townships might contain the population required to be shifted. The Court again concluded that the concept of preserving counties as *communities of interest* to the fullest extent possible required that the township or set of townships with the fewest people necessary should be shifted. *In re Apportionment of State Legislature- 1982, 413 Mich 149, 155n 8 (1982).*

* * *

The flaw in this method [of redistricting] is that it artificially divides the counties into two groups, treating one group differently than another . . . The historical [redistricting] practice of following county lines never rose to a level of a principle of justice, [but] it has always been simply a device for controlling gerrymandering, facilitating elections and preserving *communities of interest*. Once the rule of following county boundary lines yielded to the principle of ‘entitlement’, the Court could not pretend to have a neutral and objective set of guidelines. *In re Apportionment of State Legislature- 1982, 413 Mich 149, 193-5 (1982).*

Each of these judicial excerpts employs “communities of interest” in a context referring to municipal boundaries and each was specifically made in the course of assessing the ‘Apol standards,’ with its emphasis upon preserving such boundaries wherever reasonably possible. The Supreme Court in the 1992 redistricting process again addressed the term and similarly observed,

The Masters determined that none of the plans submitted to them was satisfactory. They stated that these plans ‘either fail to comply with the 1982 [Apol] criteria or do so only facially.’ Further, the plans exhibited ‘a disregard of some specific criteria, such as *community of interest*. . . . Thus the Masters drew their own plan. In doing so, they followed the same criteria used by Mr. Apol in 1982 *In re Apportionment of State Legislature-1992*, 437 Mich 715, 724 (1992).

* * *

A legislator [can represent his constituents] only if there is some real *community of interest* among the represented group — without that, the legislator cannot speak effectively on the group's behalf. When a small portion of a jurisdiction is split from the remaining body and affixed to another governmental entity in order to reduce population divergence, the shifted area is likely to lose a great portion of its political influence. For that compelling reason, grounded in sound public policy, all four Michigan Constitutions have provided that jurisdictional lines, particularly county lines, are to be honored in the apportionment process. *Id.* at 732-33.

* * *

Nor did the parties' proofs sufficiently demonstrate a *community of interest* between and among the voter populations of Oakland County and the voter populations of the City of Detroit and Wayne County. *Id.* at 737 n 50.

There is, of course, additional language within Const 1963, art IV, § 6, 13(c), that must also be taken into consideration in giving meaning to “communities of interest” in the new Amendment. By these excerpts, however, it is clear that the slate is not quite as blank concerning the meaning of “communities of interest” as the Report would suggest. Especially in the context of an Amendment focused upon redistricting, and in which the critical term has been asserted by the Report to be “new,” it might be thought that clarifying language from Michigan’s highest court in the *two most significant redistricting decisions of the past half-century* would be welcomed and closely considered. And it is clear that the term has specifically been understood to refer to municipal communities and their boundaries.

Analysis: § 13(c)

Next, with regard to the language of the Amendment itself, the first sentence of § 13(c) specifies that the *only* entities that “shall” or “must” be reflected within an electoral district are “communities of interest,” and the “state’s diverse population.” However, the second sentence

of § 13(c) does not set forth anything that “shall” or “must” be designated as a “community of interest” and thus, by cross reference, also does not set forth anything within the first sentence that “shall” or “must” be reflected within an electoral district. Instead, the second sentence communicates only that certain groups “may” be included as a “community of interest” and that a “community of interest” is not “limited to” such groups. It defines nothing that “shall” or “must” be treated as such a community. As a result, when viewed together, the operative language of the Amendment, the first sentence of § 13(c), provides only that communities of interest “shall” be reflected in the redistricting process but only *if* they have been designated in the first place. The problem in focusing upon § 13(c), without also assessing § 13 as a *whole*, is that there may be *no* designated “communities of interest” that “shall” or “must” be reflected within electoral districts, despite an obvious intention that there be such communities.

Analysis: § 13(f)

While the conundrum posed in the previous paragraph—that there may be *no* “community of interest” at all to be considered in the redistricting process—reflects one *conceivable* understanding of § 13(c), it is not the most *reasonable* understanding. Rather, a more reasonable understanding of § 13(c), would be to read § 13 as a whole, and to include as “communities of interest” *precisely* the entities described in § 13(f): the “counties, cities, and townships,” whose boundaries “*shall*” be reflected in the redistricting process. Indeed, these are the *only* entities in the Amendment whose relevance in the redistricting process is made constitutionally *mandatory* and not merely a product of the Commission’s *discretion*, thus avoiding any possibility that the consideration of “communities of interest” in the process is rendered a nullity by the absence of any “community of interest” being *designated* pursuant to the second sentence of § 13(c). This understanding is made even more compelling by the fact that such “counties, cities, and townships” are reasonably understood as the *actual* “communities of interest” referred to in the first sentence of § 13(c). As result, an understanding of § 13 that harmonizes its subsections (c) and (f), which is the obligation of any interpreter of a provision of law, not only offers a more reasonable understanding of § 13(c) by filling in its gaps, but it is an understanding in closest accord with the genuine meaning of the term “community of interest” in Michigan redistricting law and history.

Analysis: Priorities

The Report not only fails to harmonize § 13(c) and § 13(f), but seeks to “deprioritize” the latter provision (requiring the consideration of “counties, cities, and townships”) on the grounds of its relative “order of priority within § 13.” While such an “order of priority” makes sense in defining the organization or sequence of the process by which electoral districts are to be constructed, it runs the risk—one the Report seems content to run—that such an “order of

priority” will effectively read out of the Constitution, or nullify, express constitutional provisions, in this instance, § 13(f) and its *exclusive* requirement that “counties, cities, and townships” “*shall*” be considered in the redistricting process. To understand this concern, we must again review decisions of the Michigan Supreme Court:

[The challenged law in issue] provides for the establishment of a county apportionment commission and that such a commission “shall be governed by the following guidelines in the stated order of importance: “The stated order is: (a) equality of population as nearly as is practicable; (b) contiguity; (c) compact and as nearly square in shape as is practicable; (d, e, f) not joining townships with cities and not dividing townships, villages, cities or precincts unless necessary to meet the population standard; (g) not counting residents of state institutions who cannot vote; and (h) that the district lines not be drawn to effect partisan political advantage.

If the stated order requires exhaustive compliance with each criterion before turning to a succeeding criterion, then criteria (a) through (c) alone would be determinative and criteria (d) through (f) could not be given any effect.

There are an endless number of ways in which one could construct the district lines consistent with criterion (a), equality of population, and criterion (b), contiguity. Criterion (c) requires that all districts shall be as compact and as nearly square in shape as is practicable, depending on the geography of the county area involved. Read literally and given an absolute priority, that criterion would require that the district lines be drawn *without regard* to township, village, city or precinct lines. The apportionment of a county would [then] be a mechanical task.

* * *

We reject such a rigid reading of “stated order” because so read:

* * *

(c) It would give no effect whatsoever to criteria (d) through (f) concerning the preservation of township, city, village and precinct lines, and thereby make meaningless those provisions. It is our duty to read the statute as a whole and to avoid a construction which renders meaningless provisions that clearly were to have effect. *Appeal of Apportionment of Wayne County-1982*, 413 Mich 224, 258-59 (1982); see also *In re Apportionment of State Legislature-1992*, 439 Mich 715, 742n 65 (1992).

In sum, the UM Report seeks, first, to exclude “counties, cities, and townships” from within the purview of the “community of interest”; second, to elevate the role of its own preferred “communities of interest” by giving emphasis to the “may include, but are not limited to”

language of the Amendment; and, third, to “deprioritize” and thereby “preempt” from any material role in the redistricting process “counties, cities, and townships.” None of these approaches—by concocting creative and dubious “communities of interest” one the one hand, and by excluding the most obvious and historically-grounded “communities of interest” on the other—constitute a fair or reasonable way of understanding the Amendment.

Analysis: Home

“Counties, cities, and townships” are not only reasonably understood as our fundamental “communities of interest” on the basis of judicial decisions and historical practice, as well as a close analysis of the Amendment itself, but also in terms of how the ordinary citizen would understand this concept. Such communities are where the people reside; where they sleep, play, relax, worship, and mix with families, friends and neighbors; where their children attend schools, make and play with friends, compete in sports, participate in extracurricular activities, and grow to maturity; where they work, shop, dine, and participate in acts of charity; where their taxes are paid, votes cast, and library books borrowed; and where their police and firefighters serve and protect. In short, these places are meaningful to every Michigander, for they serve to define what we call “home” and they signify to the rest of the world where we are “from.” Nonetheless, with no explanation or analysis, the Report summarily and confidently assures the Commission that a “community of interest is not a political jurisdiction.”

Analysis: Fairness

The Report defines “communities of interest” on the basis of “race, ethnicity, and religion;” “media markets;” “environmental hazards;” “creative arts;” “shared visions of the future;” “immigrant communities;” and “linkages to a set of public policy issues that are affected by legislation”—*none* of which is found anywhere within the law, except that each fits, as would *any other* conceivable entity, within the “may include, but are not limited to” language of § 13(c). Yet, the most obvious and genuine “communities of interest”—the “counties, cities, and townships” of Michigan, the *only* entities that “*shall*” be given consideration in the redistricting process under the Amendment—are to be *excluded* from the term. This is done without the slightest consideration for what may be the *greatest* strength of treating our “counties, cities, townships” as “communities of interests”—namely, that every Michigan citizen is an equal part of *this* “community of interest” and there is no other “community of interest” whose establishment would be more “fair-minded, neutral, and non-partisan.” That is, the definition proposed here—“communities of interest” based upon “communities” of “interest”—has at least the minor virtue of enabling the Commission to avoid struggling with the impossible, and inapt, question, “which citizens should count, and which should count more and which should count less?”

Analysis: Gerrymandering

The Amendment was popularly headlined as an “anti-gerrymandering” measure in such media as the *Detroit Free Press* (November 7, 2018). Yet the Report, in its disdain for municipal “communities of interest”, and in its preference for the dislocated and erratic boundaries of interest and identity groups, is far more likely to give rise to districts that are truly gerrymandered, albeit in different ways than they may sometimes have been gerrymandered in the past. Relying upon county, city, and township lines is simply the most certain and fair-minded way of avoiding gerrymandering altogether, for there is no more neutral and established boundary, with almost all of these having been created either pre-statehood (as with Wayne County in 1796) or shortly thereafter. District maps produced in accordance with the Report will not only appear oddly-shaped and irregular, but they will appear to be so precisely because they will have been constructed in pursuit of traditional gerrymandering considerations, dividing our citizens into winners and losers.

Analysis: “A New Theory of Representation”

In a press release from the University of Michigan, the author of the Report has stated that the Report’s recommendations offer a “new theory of representation.” (closup.umich.edu/policy-reports/18/the-role-of-communities-of-interest-in-michigans-new-approach-to-redistricting-recommendations, Aug 31, 2020.) While its theory is indeed new to the history of American constitutionalism, it is foreign to it as well. It is a “new theory” that replaces the citizen with the interest group as the core of the democratic process; a “new theory” that enhances the role of race, ethnicity, and religion in the construction of electoral districts; a “new theory” that substitutes for the ideal of equal citizenship that of favored and disfavored voting blocs; a “new theory” that replaces partisanship with ideology; a “new theory” that seeks to build a new political foundation upon the judgments of ‘experts’ rather than those of ordinary citizens. Although the author’s assertion that his Report’s recommendations are “unique and interesting” may be also correct, these do not have much to do with the intentions of several million citizens who cast their votes for Proposition 2.

Analysis: Summary

In summary, regarding the threshold policy question that must be addressed by the Commission—the meaning of the “community of interest”—the Report essentially asserts that almost any entity, any asserted “community,” can be included within the “may include, but are not limited to” language of § 13(c) and thus be considered as a “community of interest,” with the singular and remarkable *exception* of the most genuine of these communities, our “counties, cities, and townships.” These are to be excluded, despite the fact:

- * That “counties, cities, and townships” are by any reasonable and ordinary definition of the term *actual* “communities of interest;”
- * That “communities of interests” has been defined in Michigan Supreme Court decisions to refer principally to “counties, cities, and townships;”
- * That such Michigan Supreme Court decisions have pertained specifically and directly to the state’s redistricting process;
- * That “communities of interest,” understood in the context of the ‘Apol standards,’ which have guided Michigan redistricting since at least 1982, have also been understood in terms of “counties, cities, and townships; ”
- * That “counties, cities, and townships” are the only entities that “shall” be reflected in the redistricting process and there is no alternative definition in the Amendment of what “shall” be considered a ‘community of interest;”
- * That “counties, cities, and townships,” as with every other entity the Report would include within “communities of interests” on the basis of the “may include, but are not limited to” language of § 13(c), obviously could also be included on this same basis;
- * That “counties, cities, and townships” would seem to be the most obvious “communities” for inclusion within the Amendment’s undefined and discretionary “community of interest” categories of “shared cultural characteristics,” “shared historical characteristics,” and “shared economic interests;” and
- * That the most reasonable and harmonized understanding of § 13 of the Amendment strongly suggests that the “counties, cities and townships” referred to in § 13(f) are precisely the “communities of interests” referenced in the first sentence of § 13(c).

Authority of the People

In response to this Memorandum, the authors of the Report may contend that the people of Michigan through their constitutional amendment process are entitled to repudiate the Apol standards, the decisions of the Michigan Supreme Court, and historical redistricting practices. This Memorandum would not dispute such an assertion, only that this is not what the people have, *done* by the present Amendment. While the law of Michigan has been modified in important regards—most significantly, by conferring the authority to administer the redistricting

process upon the Commission instead of the Legislature—what the people have *not* done is enact *obligatory* changes in what is meant by the “community of interest.” While the term has been made subject to change at the *discretion* of the Commission, the standards, decisions, and practices addressed in this Memorandum largely pertain to the *mandatory* obligations of the Commission in giving meaning to the “community of interest.” (“Districts *shall* reflect consideration of county, city, and township boundaries.”) In other words, while the Commission may possess the *discretion* to redefine the “community of interest,” it also possesses the *obligation* to consider geographic “communities of interest. The Commission should act to carry out its *obligations* under the Amendment while at the same time exercising its *discretion* not to act *beyond* those obligations in designating “communities of interest.” This would constitute the wisest and most responsible exercise of authority by the Commission and nothing in the debate over Proposition 2 or in the assessment of the people’s “common understanding” or in the language of the Amendment compels any different result.

Conclusion

Districts should be drawn according to the proposition that each voter should be rendered as equal as possible in his or her participation and influence in the democratic process and as individual citizens, rather than as members of interest groups, and that districts should be drawn with a view to uniting rather than dividing society. The guiding ideal should be that the purpose of government is to secure the rights of individual citizens, their common good, and the strengthening of the right of all of our people to pursue happiness under our federal and state constitutions. The best way for the Commission to accomplish this is to rely upon the longstanding definition of “communities of interest” as being primarily “counties, cities, and townships.”

COMMISSIONER RECOMMENDATIONS

Respectfully, the Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission should consider the following recommendations in carrying out its responsibilities under the Amendment:

1. The Commissioners should seek in their decisions to act in a fair-minded, neutral, and non-partisan manner, in accordance with their responsibilities under the Constitution and in accordance with “common understandings” of the Amendment by the people of our state.

2. The Commissioners should work to secure an understanding and perspective, not only of the Amendment and our state's redistricting process, but of the principles and values underlying our two constitutions. You should be guided in this process by your own best judgments as independent citizens and by the legal framework to which "we the people" have assented, not by the judgments of unelected 'experts.'

3. The Commissioners should take care in the redistricting process to maintain and preserve the greatest institution of our people, representative self-government under constitutional rules and principles.

4. The Commissioners should bear in mind that as formative members of the Commission, your decisions and judgments will continue to guide the Commission in the years ahead as partisan majorities, political incumbents, and legislative debates ebb and flow. Your legacy will far outlast your public service, and so requires wisdom and foresight.

5. The Commissioners should show modesty in carrying out their mission. What the people of Michigan understand most clearly of your work is that you have replaced the Legislature in the decennial process of reconstructing our electoral districts. Do not succumb to the invitations of "experts" to broaden what is already a substantial and daunting mission. As with all responsible public servants, you must act within your authority and not within your power.

6. The Commissioners should show humility in recognizing that, however capable and committed each of you might be, you are nonetheless in the unusual position of exercising crucial public responsibilities without ever having been elected or confirmed to your position by a democratic vote of those whom you now represent.

7. The Commissioners should avoid becoming enmeshed or embedded within factions or coalitions on the Commission. You are a single Commission representing a single people.

8. The Commissioners should act as nonpartisans, not bipartisan. Although the presence of independent members of the Commission is one important means of achieving a nonpartisan process, so too are members of the Commission with partisan backgrounds who respect that their constitutional obligation is to avoid a "disproportionate advantage to a political party." Each of you thus constitutes

your own personal “check and balance” upon the Commission to ensure that it acts in the necessary manner.

9. The Commissioners must subordinate their individual attitudes and allegiances to the requirements of the law. As with all public officers, your personal codes and consciences must conform to the rule of law.

10. The Commissioners should maintain their independence from political parties, incumbents, blocs, experts, interest groups, aspirant ‘communities of interest,’ and even from one another, but you cannot be independent of the people or their laws and constitutions.

11. The Commissioners should not seek or accept outside funding, or enter into partnerships, or engage in outreach with businesses, foundations, philanthropic organizations, non-profits, or educational institutions, as has been urged upon you. Yours is an *independent citizens* commission, and the only reason these actions would be necessary would be if you were to expand upon your mission. Do not leave as your legacy one more expensive governmental bureaucracy and carefully consider how dispiriting it would be to the people of this state if *this* Commission was to abuse its power and position.

REDISTRICTING RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Consider carefully the Apol standards and its variations. Do not assume that these standards were repudiated in 2018 or that they contributed in any way to partisanship, legislative self-interest and self-dealing, or gerrymandering in the redistricting process. Do not close yourself to learning from past practice and historical experience. Although with exceptions, the history of Michigan has, by and large, been one of honest and responsible government.

2. Consider defining “communities of interest” exclusively on the basis of fair-minded, neutral, and non-partisan applications of “county, city, and township” boundaries. Every Michigan citizen is equally a member of such “communities of interest.” Once you begin to exercise increasingly broad discretion in defining and creating new “communities of interests,” you will inevitably begin to pit citizens and interests against each other. Resolving these disputes will inevitably place yourselves and the Commission into the type of political process the Commission was meant to transcend.

3. Consider carefully whether you wish to introduce explicit considerations of “race, ethnicity, and religion” into the redistricting process. Not only will such considerations come at the expense of other “races, ethnicities, and religions,” but such policies implicate our nation’s most profound and divisive issues. To paraphrase former U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, “When such lines are drawn by the State, the diverse communities that our Constitution seeks to weld together become separated, and antagonisms are generated that relate to ‘race, ethnicity, and religion,’ rather than to political issues.” A unifying legacy on the part of the Commission would be a momentous legacy.

4. Consider *not* exercising the Commission’s apparently limitless discretion to create new “communities of interests” under its “may include, but are not limited to” authority in § 13(c). This is truly the broadest-possible and most standardless delegation of power ever placed into our Constitution. The language does not reflect well upon the rule of law; do not let it also reflect poorly upon the Commission.

5. Consider carefully the wide variety of means, direct and indirect, obvious and subtle, by which legislators and political strategists have sometimes placed partisan and ‘self-interested’ thumbs on the scales of redistricting justice. For Members of the Commission to do the same would be no step forward in the pursuit of good government. Avoid doing acts of partisanship, as well as acts that are *tantamount* or *equivalent* to partisanship.

6. Consider carefully the regularity of shape of the districts you construct. “Gerrymanders” are not simply oddly shaped districts, but encompass also districts of a more regular character, but with erratic and ‘squiggly’ indentations and protrusions undertaken largely to achieve political or partisan purposes.

7. Consider carefully before you add to the complexity of the redistricting process by the adoption of new legal concepts, new statistical measurements, novel types of “communities of interests,” amorphous political science terms, new ‘metrics,’ and pseudo-scientific concepts of redistricting. None of this complexity and convolution will be necessary if the Commission views its responsibilities simply as the preparation of a “fair-minded, neutral, and non-partisan” redistricting plan, rather than as “reimagining” representative government for Michigan.

8. Consider carefully the risk of nullifying or distorting express provisions of the Amendment, and thereby rewriting the Amendment, by an overly rigid application of the “order” of provisions, by reviewing Michigan Supreme Court decisions in this regard. See “Analysis: Priorities.”

9. Consider carefully whether the phrases and concepts you will hear from the ‘experts,’ such as “common bonds,” “affinities,” “shared characteristics,” “communities,” “identities,” and “like-mindedness” are largely employed to divide and separate people, rather than to join them together and unify.

10. Consider carefully whether “communities,” “identities” “interests,” “groups,” or “populations” are more strengthened in the political process where their members are consolidated within districts or dispersed among districts. Then, consider carefully whether endless calculations of this sort are part of the proper and “common understanding” of the Commission’s work by the people of Michigan who ratified the Amendment.

◆ This Memorandum was commissioned by Hillsdale College and authored by Stephen Markman, a retired Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court and a Professor of Constitutional Law at the College for 28 years.


#53 warmer

PRESENTATION FOR REDISTRICTING COMMITTEE

Good evening. My name is G.J. LaRouche, and I live in Sterling Heights. I want to begin by saying that Michigan has lost a lot of its prestige in the Congress and the Electoral College over the past 50 years. During the 1970s, Michigan had 19 Congressional Districts and 21 Electors. In 2021, Michigan is now down to 13 Congressional Districts and 15 Electors. This means that our state has lost 31% of its Congressional representation over the past half-century.

As for the new 10th Congressional District, I believe it should be exclusive to Macomb County. I realize that I'm in the minority in this opinion, but Macomb County must be united in this regard. As for the city of Detroit, I believe this great city should have only one Congressional district. I realize that current federal law may prohibit Detroit from having only one district, but that is the way I feel.

Thank you for allowing me to give you my opinions on redistricting. I shall submit to you my detailed plans for redrawing the Congressional districts.

Respectfully yours,

G.J. LaRouche

As for the State Legislature, I think there are too many State House and State Senate districts in Wayne County. I believe we should spread out these districts so that the rest of the state will have more representation.

220,000 people / 550 in Wayne County
should have 260,000 people / 550

DISTRICT 6: All of the counties of Berrien, Van Buren, Cass, Kalamazoo, St. Joseph, Branch, and Hillsdale, plus part of Calhoun County not in the 8th District, plus part of Lenawee County.

DISTRICT 7: All of the counties of Washtenaw, Jackson, and Monroe, plus part of Lenawee County not in the 6th District, plus the southwest portion of Wayne County.

DISTRICT 8: All of the counties of Livingston, Ingham, Eaton, plus most of Shiawassee County and part of Calhoun County.

DISTRICT 9: The portions of Macomb and Oakland Counties not in the 10th or 11th Districts, plus northwest corner of Wayne County.

DISTRICT 10: Macomb County, minus Center Line and most of Warren.

DISTRICT 11: Oakland County, minus its southeast portion.

DISTRICT 12: The rest of Wayne County that's not in the 9th or 13th Districts, minus the southwest portion.

DISTRICT 13: Detroit, the Grosse Pointes, Harper Woods, Highland Park, and Hamtramck.

City of Belleville, Sumpter Township and Van Buren Township

Good evening, my name is Kevin McNamara and I am the Supervisor of Van Buren Township. I have no vested interest in the districting process; other than that of being a citizen of our tri-community. **I have been authorized by the governments of the Tri-Community representing Van Buren Township, the City of Belleville and The Township of Sumpter to speak to consolidating these communities as Communities of interest.**

I have Resolutions passed by the Belleville City Council, the Sumpter Twp. Board of Trustees and the Van Buren Twp. board of Trustee's, requesting this commission recognize that we have a 150-year history of being one community (With a shared Museum and Full Time Director to confirm). And a 150-year history of actively working together as a single government from the Civil War and our shared Cemeteries, to the many Shared Festivals thrown in our Tri-Community Downtown of Belleville. We are requesting to have the redistricting lines drawn to include the three communities together.

Our communities border each other as two six by six Mile townships with the City of Belleville in the middle of Van Buren Township. Drawn together, we would be a rectangle 6 miles across and 12 miles long – with a combined population of 40 to 45 thousand. Well within any boundary parameters.

We Share:

The 48111 Zip Code is the Tri-Community area

One School District the Van Buren School District

One Library with a general election - elected board from the Tri-Community

One Museum funded by the three governments and overseen by a board of Tri-Community area

Shared Police Dispatch with Belleville and Van Buren

Shared Mutual Aid Pact for Police, Fire and Emergency for our lake and Dam contingencies

Have active work groups developing a system for our governments to share public services through-out the Tri Community

Most if not all our Service groups are named with the designation prefix "Belleville AREA" Including:

Belleville Area Chamber of Commerce

Belleville Area Council for the Arts

Belleville Area Rotary Club

Belleville Area Museum

Belleville Area District Library

Belleville Area Independent Newspaper (Our paper representing our Tri-Community)

Our Demographics are highly similar with an aging population, a median income of \$61,000 and a Minority population varying from fifteen to thirty percent.



VAN BUREN
CHARTER TOWNSHIP

Resolution 21-14

TO REQUEST THAT THE MICHIGAN INDEPENDENT
CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION (MICRC)

KEEP THE CITY OF BELLEVILLE, VAN BUREN TOWNSHIP, AND SUMPTER TOWNSHIP TOGETHER IN REDISTRICTING PLAN

WHEREAS, in 2018, Michigan voters drastically shifted the redistricting process by adopting Proposal 18-2, allowing citizens to define their district lines, instead of partisan legislators, with respect to their historical, cultural, or economic perspectives that reflect their best interest.

WHEREAS, for the first time in Michigan's history, the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission (MICRC) will lead the redistricting process to draw fair and independent maps. The MICRC has the exclusive authority to redistrict the state under Article IV, Section 6 of the Michigan Constitution of 1963 and is responsible for drawing the district lines for the Michigan Congressional House and Senate.

WHEREAS, the Charter Township of Van Buren collaborates with our neighboring communities of the City of Belleville and Sumpter Township with shared Public Services and Public Safety Dispatch, shared community events, shared land boundaries, a shared School System, the shared Belleville Area Museum and shared Belleville Lake.

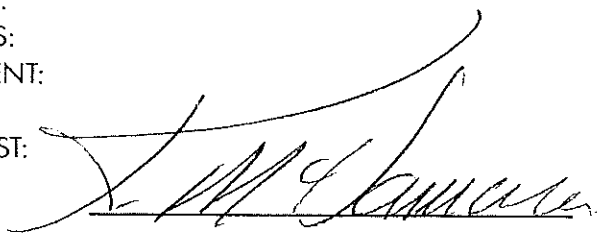
NOW, **therefore be it resolved** the Charter Township of Van Buren hereby request that the MICRC consider keeping the City of Belleville, Sumpter Township and Van Buren Township together as the redistricting plans are drawn and adopted by the State of Michigan.

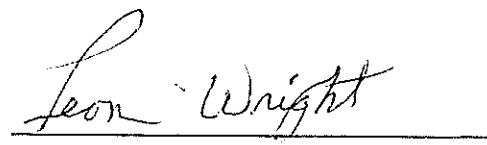
BE IT, **further resolved** this resolution is made a part of the minutes of the Charter Township of Van Buren's regular meeting on June 1, 2021.

PASSED AND APPROVED BY THE CHARTER TOWNSHIP OF VAN BUREN, WAYNE COUNTY, MICHIGAN THIS
THE 1st DAY OF JUNE 2021.

AYES:
NAYS:
ABSENT:

ATTEST:


Kevin McNamara, Supervisor


Leon Wright, Clerk

TOWNSHIP OF SUMPTER

RESOLUTION 2021-09

RESOLUTION TO REQUEST THAT THE MICHIGAN INDEPENDENT CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION (MICRC) KEEP THE CITY OF BELLEVILLE, VAN BUREN TOWNSHIP AND SUMPTER TOWHIP TOGETHER IN THE REDISTRICTING PLAN

WHEREAS, in 2018, Michigan voters drastically shifted the redistricting process by adopting Proposal 18-2. Instead of legislators drawing lines for their best interest, citizens would now draw lines representing their best interests respecting their historical, cultural or economic perspectives.

WHEREAS, for the first time in Michigan's history, the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission (MICRC) will lead the redistricting process to draw fair and independent maps. The MICRC has the exclusive authority to redistrict the state under Article IV, Section 6 of the Michigan Constitution of 1963 and is responsible for drawing the district lines for the Michigan Congressional, House, and Senate.

WHEREAS, Sumpter Township not only collaborates with our neighboring communities, but shares land boundaries with the City of Belleville, numerous School Districts, Belleville Lake and the Downtown District with Van Buren Township.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Sumpter Township hereby requests that the MICRC keep Sumpter Township, Belleville and Van Buren Township in one district because said communities co-existent, share common interest, developments and services, and would benefit from the representation of common Michigan elected officials in addressing the concerns of their locality.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, this resolution is made a part of the minutes of Sumpter Township for May 25, 2021.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Motion by Trustee Oddy, Supported by Trustee LaPorte;

Yes: Supervisor T. Bowman, Trustees; Rush, Oddy, Morgan, LaPorte

Nays: None.

Excused: Clerk E. Hurst and Treasurer J. Clark

Resolution adopted.

CERTIFICATION

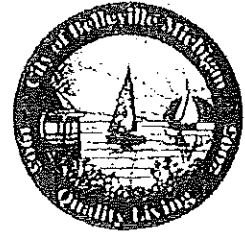
I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Township of Sumpter at its regular meeting held on May 25, 2021 at the Township Hall, Sumpter Township, Belleville, Michigan 48111.

Esther Hurst

Esther Hurst, Township Clerk

City of Belleville

6 Main Street • Belleville, MI 48111-2788
734-697-9323 Fax 734-697-6837 . www.belleville.mi.us



RESOLUTION NO. 21-050

RESOLUTION TO REQUEST THAT THE MICHIGAN INDEPENDENT CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION (MICRC) KEEP THE CITY OF BELLEVILLE, VAN BUREN TOWNSHIP, AND SUMPTER TOWNSHIP TOGETHER IN REDISTRICTING PLAN

WHEREAS, in 2018, Michigan voters drastically shifted the redistricting process by adopting Proposal 18-2. Instead of legislators drawing lines for their best interests, citizens would draw lines that represent their best interests and respect their historical, cultural, or economic perspectives.

WHEREAS, for the first time in Michigan's history, the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission (MICRC) will lead the redistricting process to draw fair and independent maps. The MICRC has the exclusive authority to redistrict the state under Article IV, Section 6 of the Michigan Constitution of 1963 and is responsible for drawing the district lines for the Michigan Congressional, House, and Senate.

WHEREAS, the City of Belleville not only collaborates with our neighboring communities, we share land boundaries, School System, Belleville Lake, and the Downtown District with Van Buren and Sumpter Townships.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, the City of Belleville hereby requests that the MICRC consider keeping the City of Belleville, Sumpter Township and Van Buren Township together as the redistricting plans are drawn and adopted for the State of Michigan.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, this resolution is made a part of the minutes of the City of Belleville City Council meeting on May 17, 2021.


PASSED AND APPROVED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF BELLEVILLE, WAYNE COUNTY, MICHIGAN THIS THE 17th DAY OF MAY 2021.

AYES: Bates, Conley, Fielder, Marcotte and Voigt
NAYS: None
ABSENT: None

ATTEST:



Verna Chapman, City Clerk



Kerreen Conley, Mayor

#3- Warren



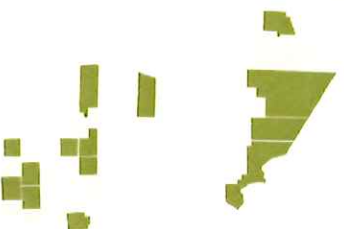
June 24, 2021 Testimony to

Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission

At MRCC Banquet Center in Warren Michigan

Prison Gerrymandering Will Distort Michigan's 2021 Redistricting

Counties that Gain More than 800 in Net Population Due to Prison Gerrymandering



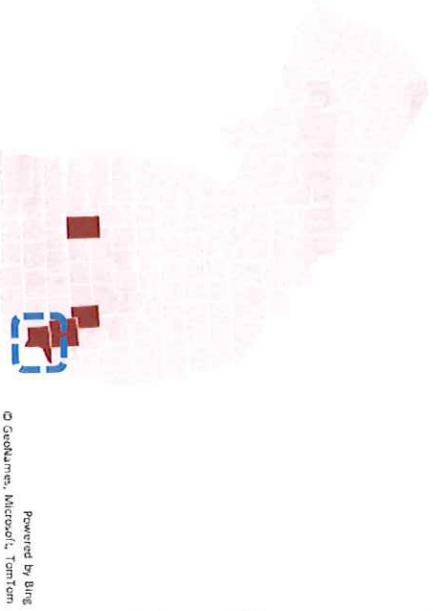
Counties that Lose More than 800 in Net Population Due to Prison Gerrymandering



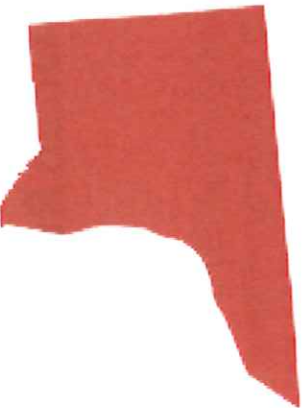
- Prison gerrymandering artificially inflates the voting power of counties with prisons while disempowering counties where incarcerated individuals are from.
- This is because in a system with prison gerrymandering the state counts incarcerated people at their place of confinement rather than in their home communities for the purposes of redistricting.
- Prison gerrymandering creates a system where prisoners are “represented” by officials who have no ties to them, their communities, or their interests, and who they cannot vote for.
- In Michigan, prison gerrymandering not only directly hurts the 40,000 state residents who are incarcerated in state prisons; it also distorts every political district across the state.
- Based on the best publicly available data, there are 10 counties with materially artificially inflated population counts, and 4 counties with materially artificially diminished population counts.

Prison Gerrymandering Harms Communities of Color in Michigan

Counties that Lose More than 800 in Net Population Due to Prison Gerrymandering



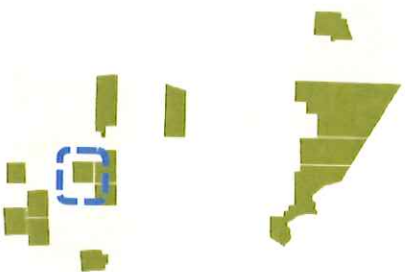
Wayne County



- Wayne County is one of the counties hardest hit by prison gerrymandering in Michigan.
- Nearly one third of the people incarcerated in Michigan come from Wayne County, even though it only makes up 17% of the state's population.
- Wayne County's population is 38.7% Black, 6.1% Hispanic or Latino, 3.5% Asian, and 2.6% multiracial.

Prison Gerrymandering Inflates the Voting Power of Districts with Prisons, Which Are Often Rural, Predominantly White Areas

Counties that Gain More than 800 in Net Population Due to Prison Gerrymandering



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© GeoKart.com, Microsoft, TomTom

Ionia County



- Counties with prisons in Michigan are often rural, predominantly white areas.
- Ionia County has a population of approximately 64,700 people. 92% of the population is white.
- Over 7% of the population of Ionia County is incarcerated in the four state prisons in the county.
- Of the incarcerated population in Ionia County, over 90% are not from Ionia, and the majority are people of color.
- This means that the population of Ionia County is artificially inflated by counting incarcerated individuals (who are majority people of color) where they are incarcerated, rather than in their home communities.

Prison Gerrymandering Inflates the Population of State House of Representative Districts with Prisons

Michigan's 65th State House of Representatives District



- District 65, which includes four state prisons, has a significant incarcerated population: 6,130 people.
- The incarcerated population makes up 6.5% of the total population of the district.
- District 65 is majority white (89%).
- Of the non-white population in the district, nearly 30% are incarcerated in the four state prisons in the district.
- This means that District 65 benefits from an artificially inflated population count due to people of color incarcerated in the district who are not actually from the district and cannot vote there.

Some districts are underpopulated, and the prisons help them meet their constitutional one person one vote requirement.

For example, districts 70 and 110 are both underpopulated and benefit from the fact that 3% of their population counts come from state prisons.

Appendix

Data Sources

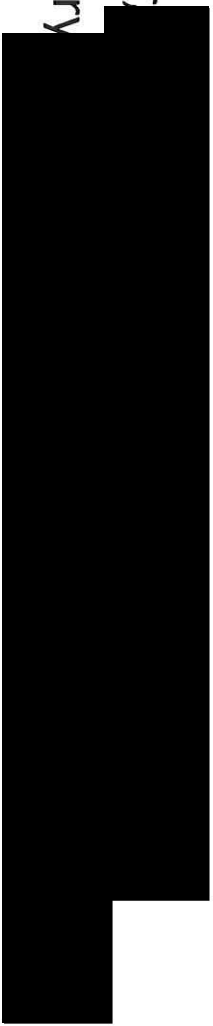
- Michigan Department of Corrections 2019 Statistical Report, section C. https://www.michigan.gov/documents/corrections/MDOC_2019_Statistical_Report_717026_7.pdf
- United States Census Bureau, Annual County Resident Population Estimates by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2019. Michigan 2019 Data. <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2010s-counties-detail.html>
- Pre-Incarceration Home County data was for the prisoner population as of May 2021, received from Senator Jeff Irwin's office.

VAAC Contact Information

- <https://votingaccessforall.org/>
- votingaccessforall@gmail.com

Speakers from VAAC

- Danny Jones, VAAC co-chair
- Ginny Preuss, VAAC secretary



Consider a rectangle 3 miles wide and 3 miles long. The perimeter is 12 miles and the area is still 9 square miles.

The square has **the** minimum perimeter (circles do not fit together like rectangles). Elongated rectangles, like gerrymandered districts, will have large perimeters. More gerrymandering always causes longer total perimeter lengths. The same logic in this simple geometric calculation applies when using population calculations for congressional districts.

So what would happen with these rules? The shapes of the districts would tend to be squares or at least squarish. No district is likely to be a perfect geometric square. The geometric size of districts will vary, of course. Rural districts will have larger geometric areas than urban districts, just as they do now. The populations of the districts would be equal. The districts would not be designed to favor one political party over another. Neighbors will vote with neighbors. No voter would have his vote diminished in value.

Rule #7: This mathematical procedure will be applied to not only U. S. congressional districts but also to the 110 State House districts and the 38 State Senate districts. It is not to apply to the governor's race since the entire State is already the one and only district.

Rule #8: After the three separately drawn maps for congressional, House, and Senate are combined, then overlay the maps for county lines, city lines, township lines and school district lines. Overlaying is a typical procedure in cartography. The gaps between these lines become areas where voting precincts will be drawn. Since all voting precincts are still subject to Rules #9, #10, #11 and #12, some of these gaps will need subdividing. Note that the three redistricting plans that the Commission accepts for the congressional, House, and Senate districts can come from three different Michiganders since the designs are independent from each other.

For voting precincts:

Rule #9: Voting precincts cannot cross county lines, city lines, township lines or school district lines.

Rule#10: Voting precincts shall have an upper limit to the number of residents; for example, 1500 people counted by the census.

Rule#11: Voting precincts shall have an upper limit to the geometric area: for example 40 square miles. Also, the maximum distance between any two points in a precinct cannot be more than 10 miles apart.

Rule#12: There must a specific number of functioning voting booths in each precinct, perhaps 10 per 150 people. If the number of voting booths calculated is not an integral number, round up by 1.

These three rules mean that all voters in a precinct will have the same ballot options, candidates and proposals. Also, the precincts will not be crowded or require voters to travel long distances to vote. All voters will have equal ease of voting. Voting precincts are, of course, for the convenience of the voters.

If you have any questions, let me know and I will improve my explanations.

Sincerely,
Ronald Himmler



R. Himmler

#2 - Women

Rules for a fair and unbiased redistricting plan

Gerrymandering is the process where someone, usually a political party, designs congressional districts to bias election results. Typically, this is done to get more of its own party members elected than the other political party, but it has also been used to minimize the votes of some groups of people. This means the value of the votes of some people will be diminished. This has been done for 200 years. Gerrymandering is contrary to the idea that all men are created equal and that each person's vote is as valuable as the next person's vote. Gerrymandering is not good for citizens or democracy.

Redistricting can be a complicated political process. Fortunately, an unbiased plan is a simple mathematical process.

Rule #1: The population of all congressional districts must be equal. Variations from average could be up to 5 people.

Rule #2: District borders must be continuous, i.e. districts cannot be in two or more separate pieces.

Rule #3: No district can completely surround another district.

Rule #4: City lines, county lines, school district lines, rivers and lakes etc. are ignored.

Rule #5: **This is the key rule.** The Commission is required to confirm, approve, accept, and make legally binding the redistricting plan submitted that has the minimum total perimeter length of all the districts. In other words, for a given plan, the perimeter length of each district is added to the perimeter lengths each of all the other districts in that plan for a grand total. The plan with the smallest grand total **must** be used.

Note that if a plan had lines drawn to reach islands far from the mainland, then the total perimeter length would greatly increase. Such a plan is not likely to have minimal perimeter length and another plan would likely be used. Islands are best associated with the nearest mainland area in order to reduce the total perimeter length.

Rule #6: Any Michigander can propose a plan for the new districts and submit it to the Independent Commission. After a plan is submitted, the Commission will check that the plan meets the rules and check the total perimeter distance. This is easily calculated using computer programs such as the free Google Earth Pro. The lengths of the perimeter lines along the Great Lakes shorelines will not be counted in these perimeter calculations because they do not affect the final results. Islands within a mile of the mainland are most conveniently considered part of the mainland. Residents on each offshore island can still have their own convenient voting precincts, of course.

Since all this is just mathematical calculating, there must be clever computer programmers who could write a program to design the districts with the absolutely minimum perimeter length and equal populations. Once the Commission confirms the plan, then the redistricting process would be quickly done and a lot of effort and possible conflict will be eliminated.

To demonstrate the principle of minimum perimeters consider a simplified geometric example:

Consider a rectangle .1 miles wide and 90 miles long. The perimeter is 180.2 miles and the area is 9 square miles.

Consider a rectangle .5 miles wide and 18 miles long. The perimeter is 37 miles and the area is still 9 square miles.

Consider a rectangle 1 mile wide and 9 miles long. The perimeter is 20 miles and the area is still 9 square miles.

Statement to the Independent Redistricting Commission of Michigan

In 2018, I was a volunteer for a group called Voters Not Politicians. This group was instrumental in getting the Independent Redistricting Proposal on the Michigan ballot.

One of my duties was to canvas voters asking them their views on redistricting. One of the areas I was given was very near the Blue Water Convention Center where this meeting is being held. Whether the voters identified themselves as Democrats, Independents, or Republicans, the majority answered they wanted districts drawn fairly that could be won by either party.

The voters wanted districts where the candidates would listen to their views not the wishes of a political party. After this canvassing, I felt pretty sure the redistricting proposal would pass. However, I was surprised when nearly 2/3 of the voters approved it!

**A. Raymond Kerr
Saint Clair Township**

To: Citizen's Redistricting Commission
Public Comment Meeting June 22, 2021
Blue Water Convention Center, Port
Huron, Michigan

In addition to "squaring up" by considering drawing districts along current county and community entities, a review of current congressional districts 82, 81, 32 (in the shape of a cross), offer an opportunity to draw lines reflecting common interests such as the watersheds that drain into the lakes and the shoreline communities that receive them.

We are small towns with a distinct maritime flavor and life of fishing, boating, and hunting in the large state game area. One common connection is sharing the shoreline of Lakes Huron and St. Clair as well as an international border.

Factors in redistricting that should be considered for our community is the geography of the St. Clair River Watershed and the communities that have developed along the rivers draining into it. We share the Lake Huron shoreline problems such as high destructive water levels and the threats of pollution from industry or farming on our rivers. These current problems have created a strong base for addressing environmental issues now coming forward as we address climate change.

Thank you for providing this opportunity to have some input into this very vexing problem.

Judy Lindberg, citizen

[REDACTED]
Marysville, MI

6/22/21 Port Huron

Greetings,

My name is Richard Matzka. I am a veteran of the US Navy and a resident of St. Clair County since 1968.

Yesterday I drove old M 21 from Imlay City back to Port Huron because I 69 was broken up and closed and I can assure you that St. Clair County is doing quite well as a rural Christian community and I hope you don't try to intermingle us with parts of Flint or Detroit.

I looked over the original Voters not Politicians' Ballot proposal and the list of donors and truthfully I am dismayed by the fallacy of these documents. It looks to me that just different politicians have replaced the former politicians who previously "gerrymandered our districts". Now it is this board's turn to gerrymander our state.

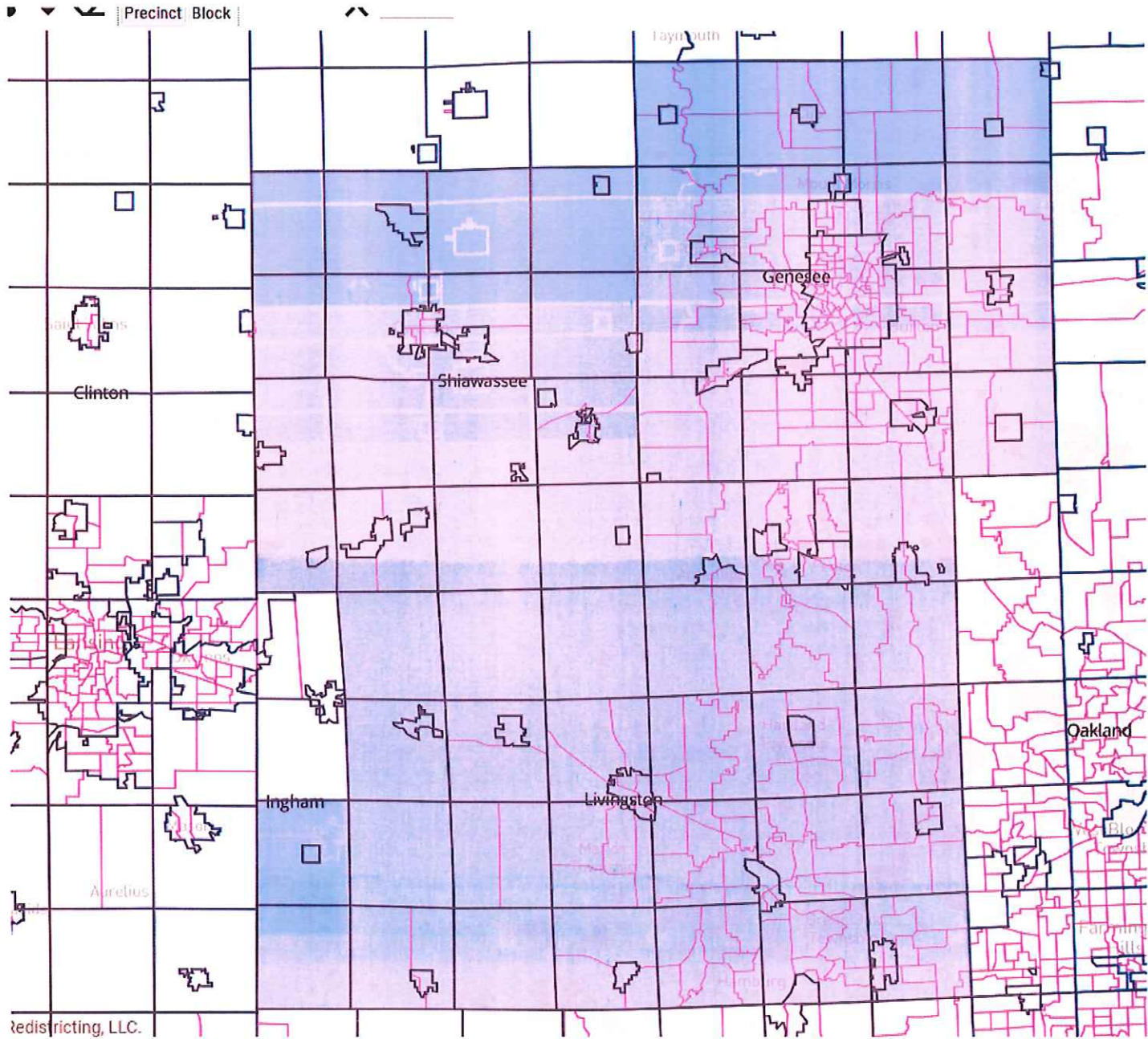
It would seem to me that it would have been much easier if this committee had proposed the changes they expected to do prior to these meetings, rather than trying to get each location to address the "Community of Interest Issues". It seems like such a waste of your time and ours.

Every night just before I go to bed I look into the mirror and ask the question my father taught me, "Did I do the best I could today?"

Now it is your turn to ask that very same question of yourselves. God bless your journey.

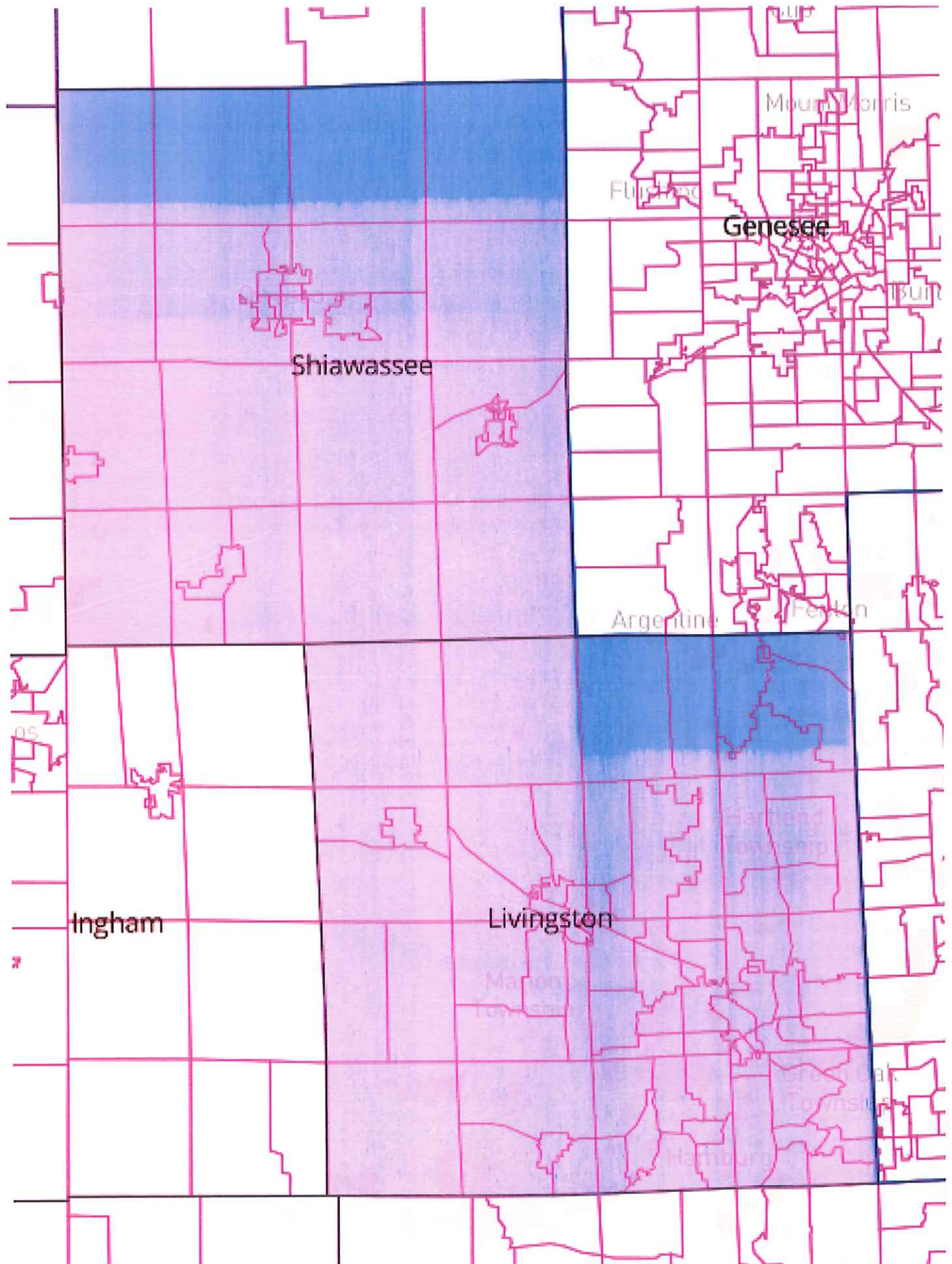
HI. MY NAME IS DON DERBY AND I'M A RESIDENT OF MARYSVILLE, ST. CLAIR COUNTY, MICHIGAN. I'M A VIET NAM ERA DISABLED VETERAN OF THE U.S. NAVY WITH THE PRIVILEGE OF HAVING WORN THE UNIFORM OF THIS COUNTRY FOR 16 YEARS (1966-1970 REGULAR NAVY) & 1980-1992 DRILLING RESERVES. I RECEIVE MANY SERVICES FROM THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION SO THEY ARE VERY HIGH ON MY LIST OF PRIORITIES. I PASTOR TWO METHODIST CHURCHES IN RURAL FARM COUNTRY IN MICHIGAN'S THUMB SO I'M GREATLY CONCERNED OVER ISSUES THAT AFFECT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AS WELL AS THOSE THAT AFFECT OUR FAMILY FARMS IN MICHIGAN. I'M A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S.; ESPECIALLY ISSUES THAT REFLECT ON THE 1ST, 2ND, AND 4TH AMENDMENT AND HOW THEY ARE INTERPRETED AND APPLIED. I WOULD PARTICULARLY LIKE TO SEE CONSTITUTIONAL CARRY OF FIREARMS ADOPTED WITHIN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN AND BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD BE THE ULTIMATE APPLICATION OF NON-INFRINGEMENT ON THE RIGHTS OF U. S. CITIZENS REGARDING FIREARMS. I'M HOPEFUL THAT THE COMMISSION WILL DESIGN THE BOUNDARIES OF MICHIGAN IN SUCH A WAY THAT IS EQUITABLE AND JUST TO ALL MICHIGAN VOTERS AS MUCH AS IS POSSIBLE. THANK YOU ALL FOR YOUR WILLINGNESS TO SERVE.

Congress - Livingston Proposal, 1 District



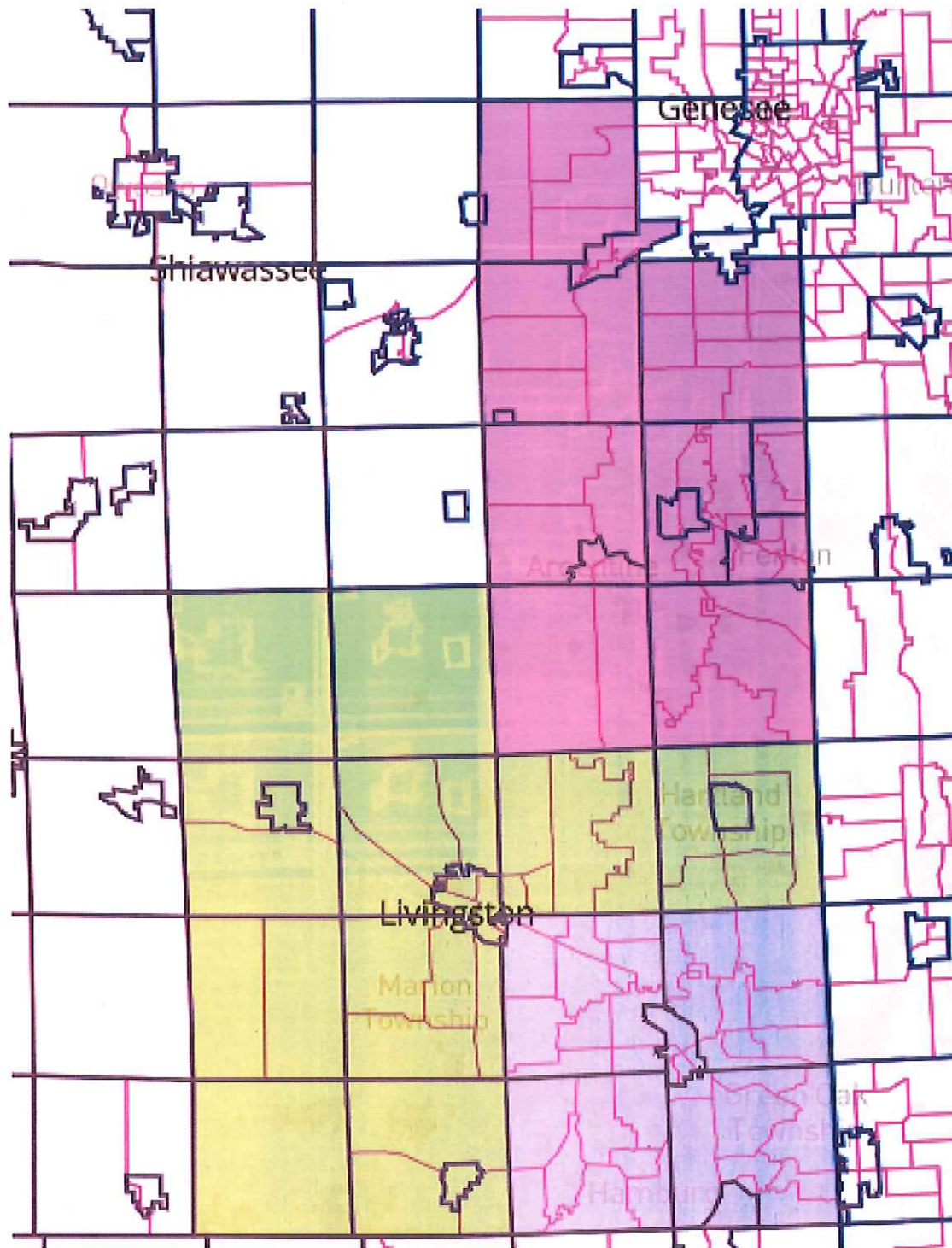
#21 - Novi

State Senate - Livingston Proposal, District



#21 - Novi

State House - Livingston proposal, 3 districts



21 - Novi

Comment #10 Novi

My name is Dan Luria, and I've live in Hamburg Township in Livingston County since 1986. My wife and I pay Hamburg taxes, have a Brighton mailing address, and sent our kids to Pinckney schools. We shop in Brighton and Howell, but seldom venture north of M59 into the northern half of the County. Based on that experience, I have ideas for how the new State House districts – currently the 42nd and 47th – should be redrawn. I'll get to that in a minute.

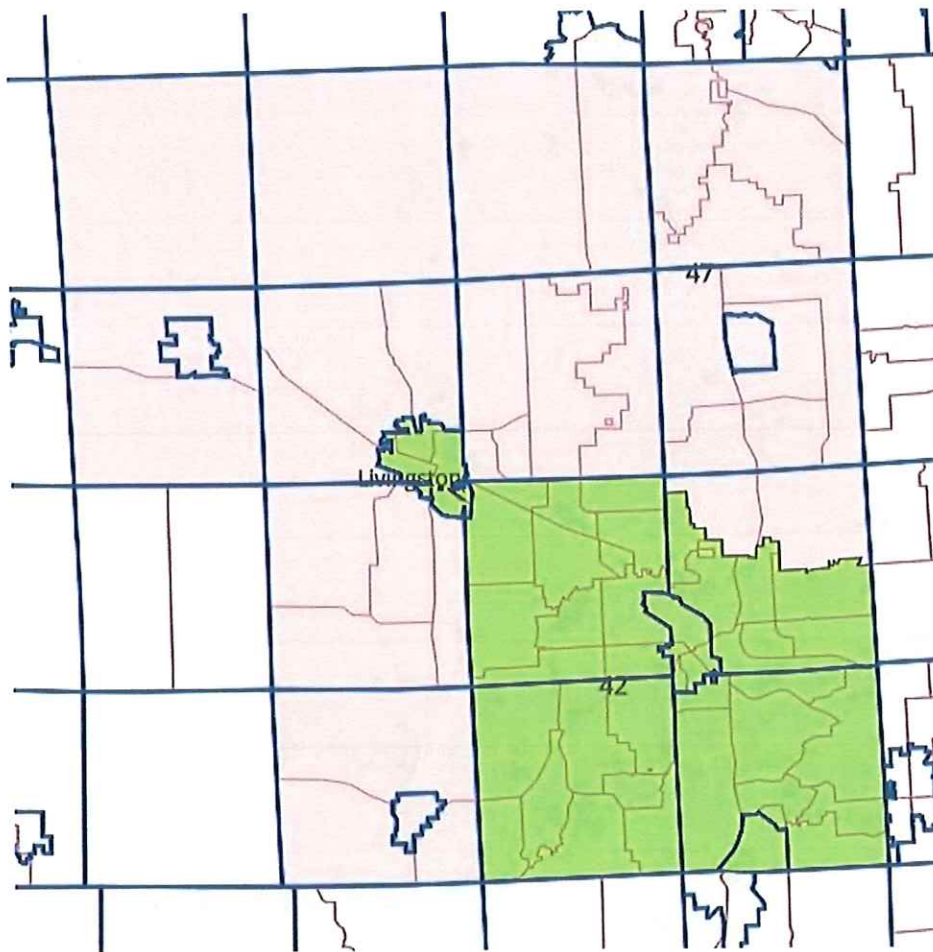
First, though, I want to make a general point. This Commission needs to start from scratch. We know that the current maps are part of a Republican gerrymander. How do we know that? Because in a typical post-2006 election year, Democrats have won 47-54% of the popular vote statewide yet have never held more than 43% of the House seats. In Livingston County, where since 2018 Democrats have won 35-43% of the county-wide vote in partisan races, they have won ZERO% of the seats.

Your job, as I see it, is to draw new maps that result in more contested districts. Safe seats are places where politicians don't have to represent almost half of their constituents. That's why Michiganders voted for Prop 2 – they are tired of politicians who don't represent them.

As for Livingston County, it has both an urban/suburban and a rural character. The Cities of Brighton and Howell belong together: they are the relatively dense urban center of the County, defined by the Grand River Avenue corridor. More than 80% of retail stores and professional offices in the County are on or just off Grand River Avenue. The southeast part of the County is closely tied to Ann Arbor, to which many residents commute on US 23. The northwest part is as close (and sometimes closer) to both Novi and Lansing as to Ann Arbor. There is almost no farmland in the southeast, but a great deal of it in the northwest. The urban/suburban versus rural split could not be clearer.

Because of population growth since 2010, Livingston County no longer fits in just two House districts. Nor does it need to: Unadilla and Iosco Townships are closely tied to Ingham County by the fact that residents' children attend Stockbridge schools. With those two townships pulled out, the County splits nicely into two equal-population districts, one urban/suburban and one rural.

I attach a map that shows how two State House districts could be drawn to express that split.



Thank you for affording me the chance to offer input to your important work of moving from gerrymandered to fair districts.

#16

Detroit now known as Midtown

NW Detroit

I grew up in the Cass Corridor. I have a BS from MSU and a DDS from UofM. I returned to practice Dentistry in Ferndale, MI. 11 years in, I shifted gears and became a Massage Therapist. I have been self-employed as a Massage Therapist since 1990. I still reside in Ferndale, MI.

have lived in 5 since 1984.

What common bond creates your community's shared identity?

The common bond in my community is diversity. Diversity by age, race, gender & economic status. Politically my community is Democrat, Independent, Republican in descending order.

an non-affiliated.

What geographic area is covered by your community?

My community is immediately north of the 8 mile/Woodward corridor. And has many artists, entrepreneurs and is welcoming to all genders, abilities.

How would keeping your community intact enhance the quality of your representation in the Michigan legislature or U.S. Congress?

Keeping my community intact means exactly that. How many things work well when they are fractured? This is about having a cohesive district where district lines don't snake around, go sideways or up and down in narrow bands to reach favorable voters to any given party.

What governmental policies are important for your community? ^{that} are: Access to affordable housing

- Access to affordable and clean water.
- Access to affordable healthcare and the right to have say regarding healthcare decisions.
- Access to free and equitable Public education; People should have the right to learn to read.
- Access to living wage jobs.
- Equal protection and service by Police, Fire & Emergency professionals.
- Access to free and safe public parks & other recreational facilities.
- Expedient attention and upgrades to public infrastructure.
- Open and transparent tax laws. ^{collection +}
- Open and transparent reporting of allocation and ~~distribution~~ of tax dollars.

It's clear that the most egregious abuse of currently drawn district lines has occurred in SE Michigan. These districts should be redrawn with a strictly mathematical algorithm without regard to race, ethnicity, political party or economic status.

^{question:} **Can someone please tell me how the inordinate number of deaths in the year 2020 has been accounted for in the recent census?**

I applied to be on the commission.

NW Detroit #9

The Palmer Park area began attracting a notable LGBTQ residential base in the late 1960s, as much of the white population that remained in Detroit moved to the farther reaches of the city. The Palmer Park Apartment District had its initial gay heyday in the 1970s, when popular gay bars and restaurants opened nearby along McNichols and on Woodward Avenue. It was at Menjo's, which is still operating at 928 West McNichols, where dance instructor Christopher Flynn took his protégée Madonna to experience gay male nightlife for the first time. Some buildings in the neighborhood boasted significant queer occupancy, and one, home to a number of female impersonators who performed at Bookie's Club 870 and other clubs, became known as the Drag Academy. Even after many white gay residents moved out to the suburbs, the more than sixty apartment buildings retained a strong gay cultural imprint, now predominantly reflecting an African American LGBTQ experience. The Park itself was a gathering place and ^{social} cruising spot even in the 1950s, and served as the location for a day-long picnic held the day after Detroit's first Pride parade and rally in June 1972. Since 1996, the glades of Palmer Park have been home to the signature picnic of the annual Hotter Than July celebration. LGBT Detroit is North America's largest African American found and led LGBT non-profit organization and is located within the community of interest map along with the Palmer Park community. We request that the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission refrain from dividing this community of interest as maps are developed.

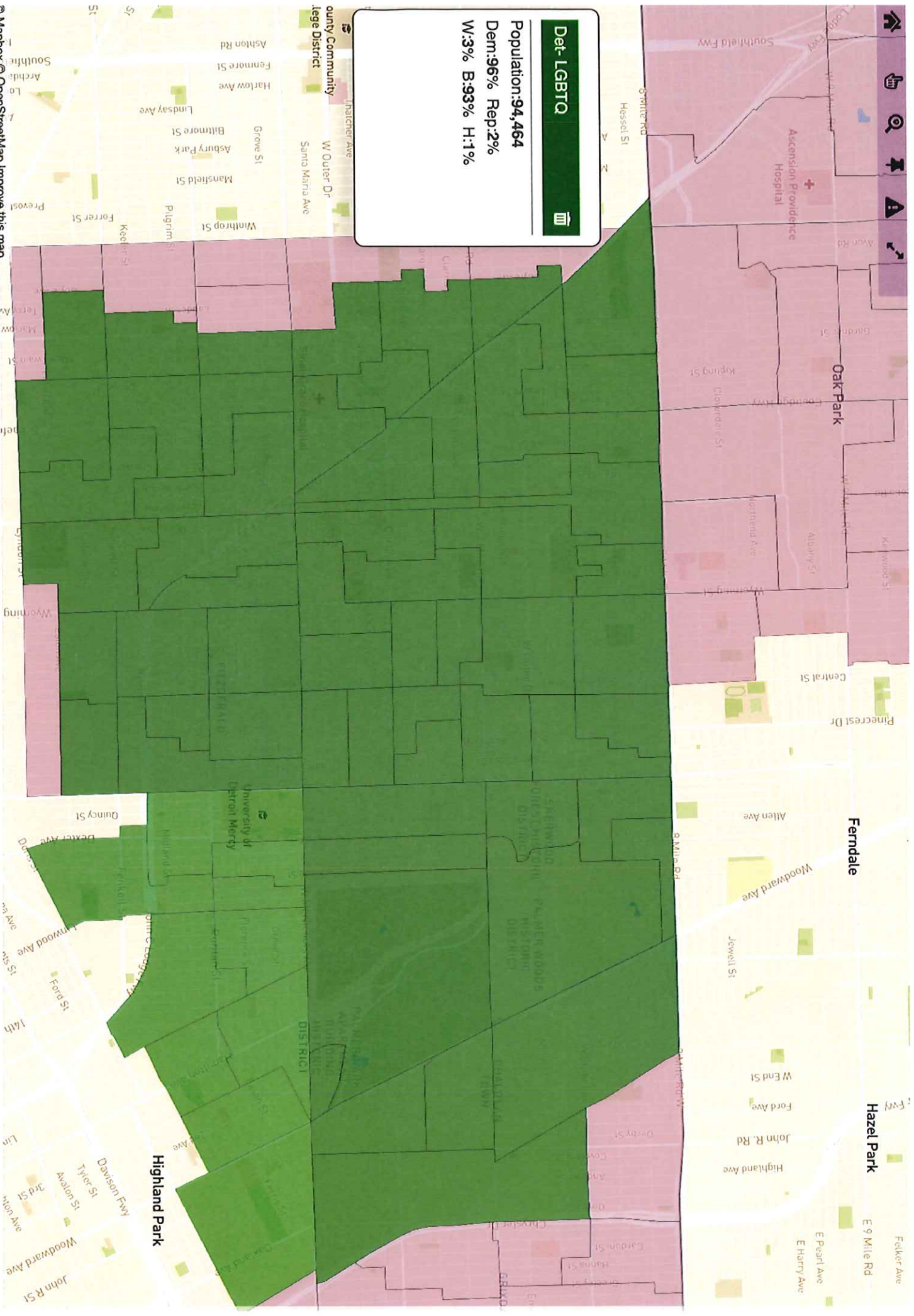
POD Detroit #9

Det- LGBTQ

Population: 94,464

Dem: 96% Rep: 2%

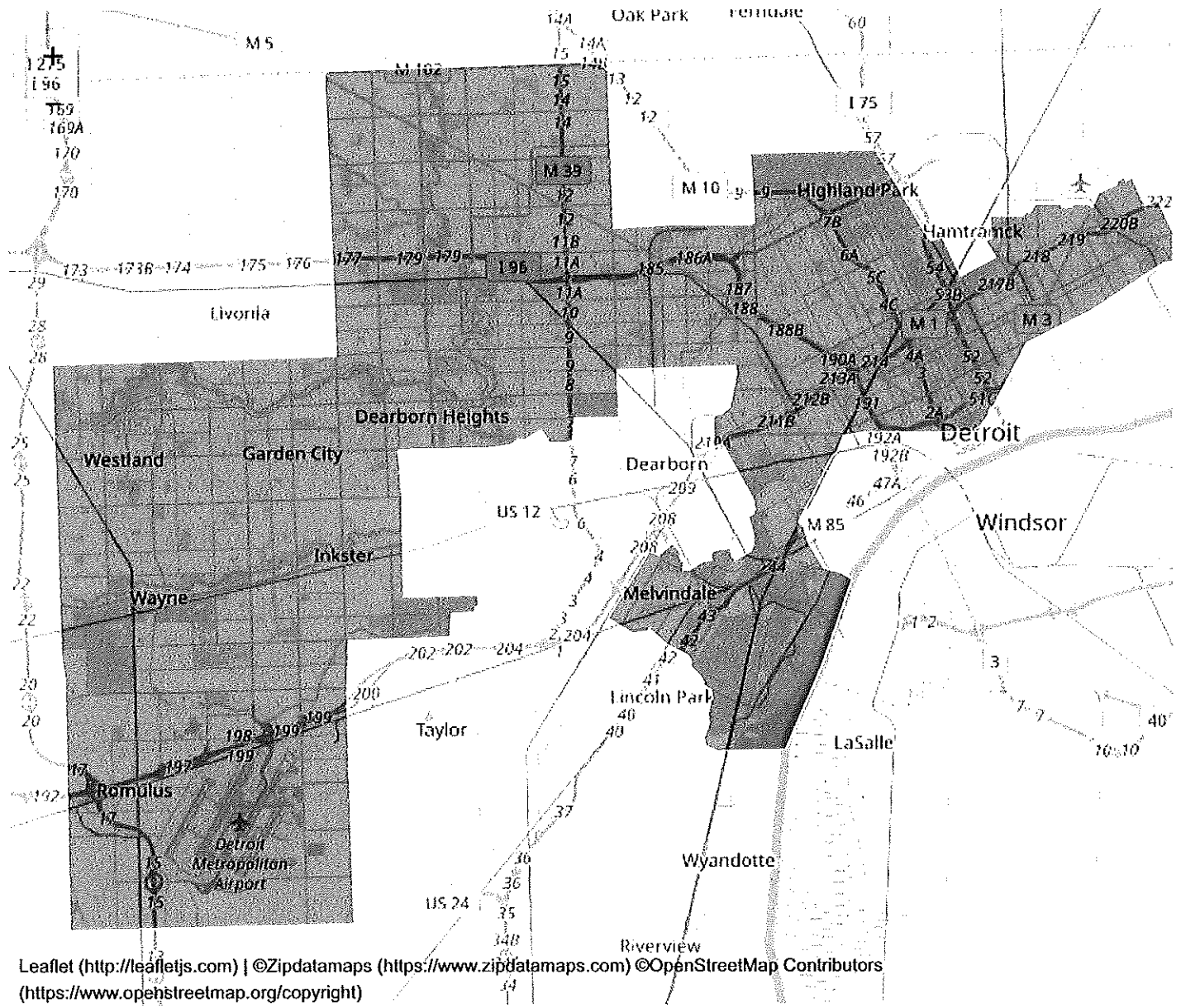
W: 3% B: 93% H: 1%



NW Detroit
#6

Home (index.php) / Atlas of Michigan Politics (atlas/politics/political-atlas-of-michigan)
/ Michigan Congressional Districts (politics/national/districts/map-of-michigan-congressional-districts)
/ 13th Congressional District Map

Map of Michigan 13th Congressional District Border



Leaflet (<http://leafletjs.com>) | ©Zipdatamaps (<https://www.zipdatamaps.com>) ©OpenStreetMap Contributors (<https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>)

Detroit 6/17

Three tight-knit Detroit neighborhoods: East English Village, Morningside, & Cornerstone

Submitted by Nancy Brigham



#11 Detroit
6/17/21

Communities of Interest

● Detroit-Hamtramck Coalition for Advancing Healthy Environments

This map includes the City of Hamtramck, the City Airport Neighborhood, the Farnsworth, Milwaukee Junction and East Poletown neighborhoods, to name a few.

These are extremely ethnically, culturally, religiously diverse communities and are composed of members of the Black, Middle-Eastern, South Asian and Polish communities, amongst others.

A large portion of the communities living in this area are living under the poverty threshold. As an example, based on City-Data.com, the estimated median household income in Hamtramck in 2019 was \$29,149.

With that said, given that there are a lot of Arabic, Bangla, Ukrainian, Bosnian speakers, amongst others, in the area, a lot of residents experience linguistic isolation. In other words, large groups are not included in government and research institutes' processes to collect socio-economic data. This means that the poverty rate is likely higher and that the ethnic makeup of the area is not fully reflected.

Given these demographics, it is no surprise that these communities at large are faced with extreme environmental injustice. The area was home to the largest municipal waste incinerator in the US until it closed its doors in 2019 after 40 years of grassroots advocacy. There is still much work left to be done. Despite this major victory, the area remains an industrial Sacrifice Zone and is home to numerous industrial sites, such as US Ecology North and South (hazardous waste processing plants), PVS Chemicals, Hamtramck-Detroit Assembly Plant, I-94 Industrial Park, Mt. Elliot Industrial Corridor, Strong Steel Scrap Yard, Hamtramck Recycling, federal train tracks, truck routes, junk yards, the William Dickerson Detention Facility, Detroit Detention Center, and Wayne County jail, which is under construction.

Food deserts in the Detroit area, illegal dumping, energy and water burdens.

Residents of the area have suffered from chronic respiratory diseases and higher mortality rates both in general and throughout the COVID crisis, than in the rest of Michigan.

Simultaneously, rents are rising in places like Hamtramck and Milwaukee Junction as a result of gentrification

Despite all this injustice, communities in the area have demonstrated incredible resilience across the decades. They have organized around these issues to find creative solutions to these problems.

The area is home to many Detroit and Hamtramck staples, such as numerous urban gardens, culturally diverse restaurants, Yemen Cafe, 1923 Cafe, Oloman Cafe, Iyengar Yoga, the Detroit Zen Center, Georgia Street Community Collective, the Russell Industrial Center, Better Made Chips, Kowalski Sausage, Al Haramain International Foods.

It is an area well worth visiting and supporting! Please be sure that as you redistrict Michigan, you keep communities like ours intact.

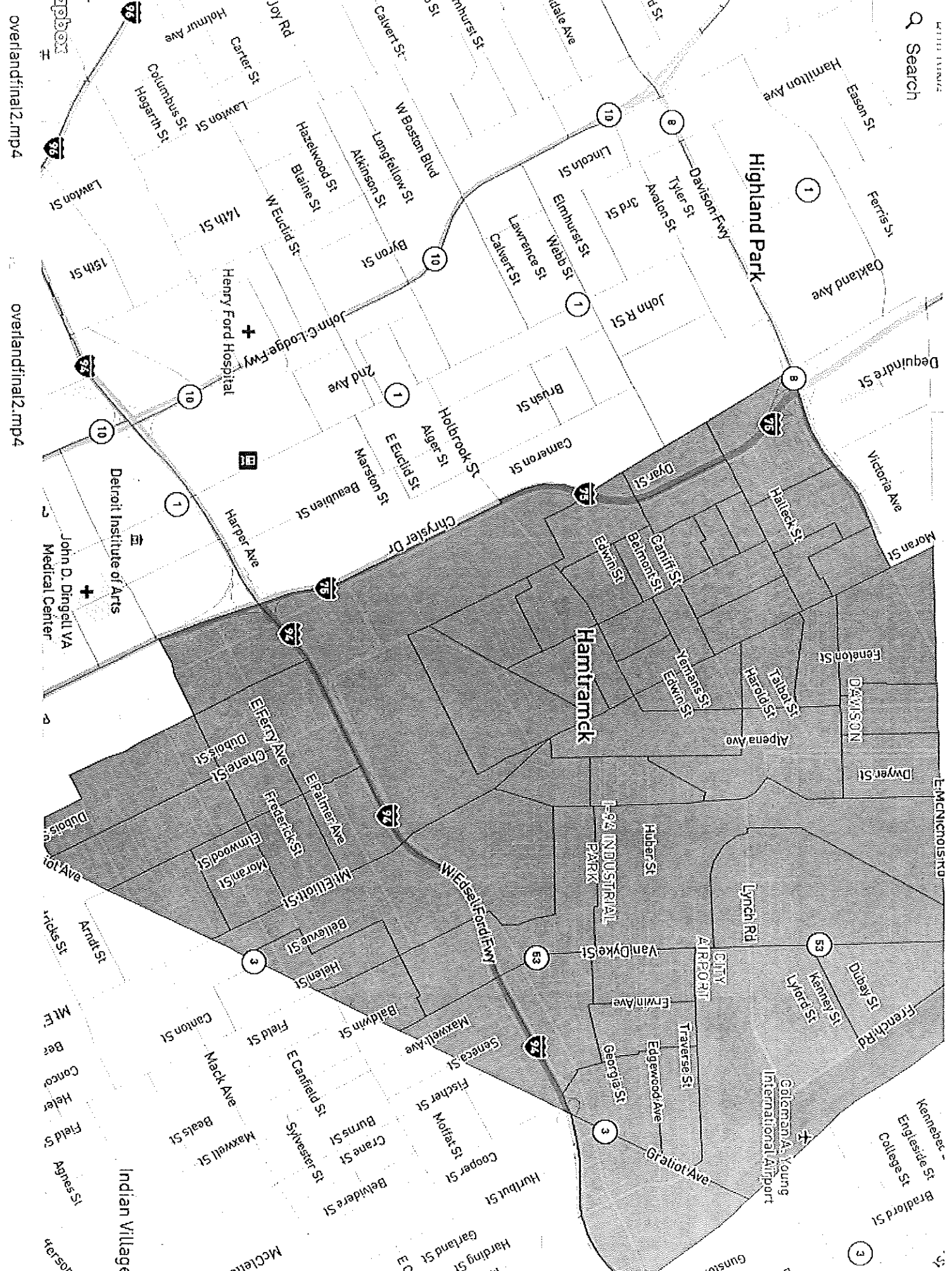
Highland Park

Hamtramck

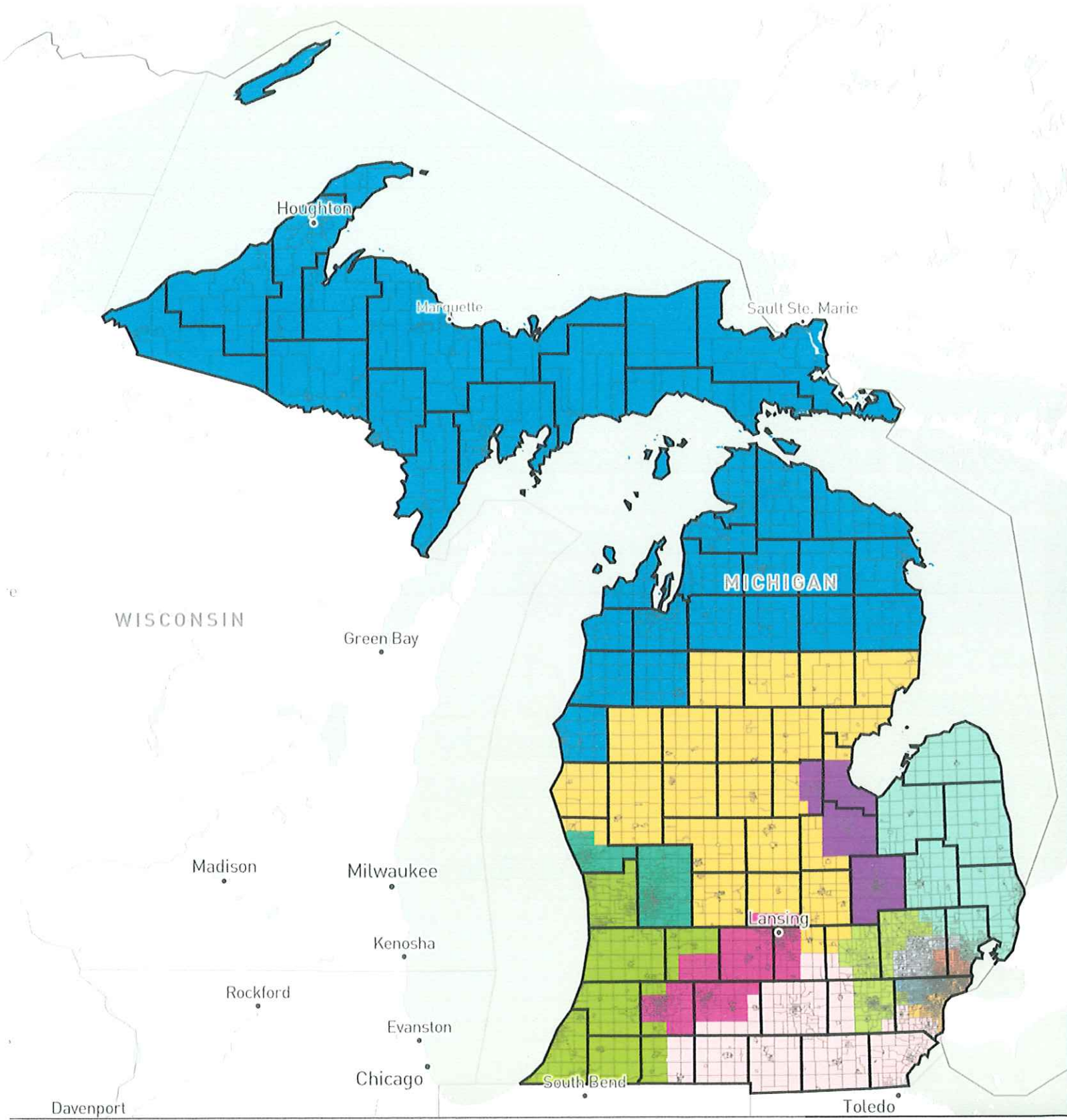
1-94 INDUSTRIAL PARK

Coltman A. Young International Airport

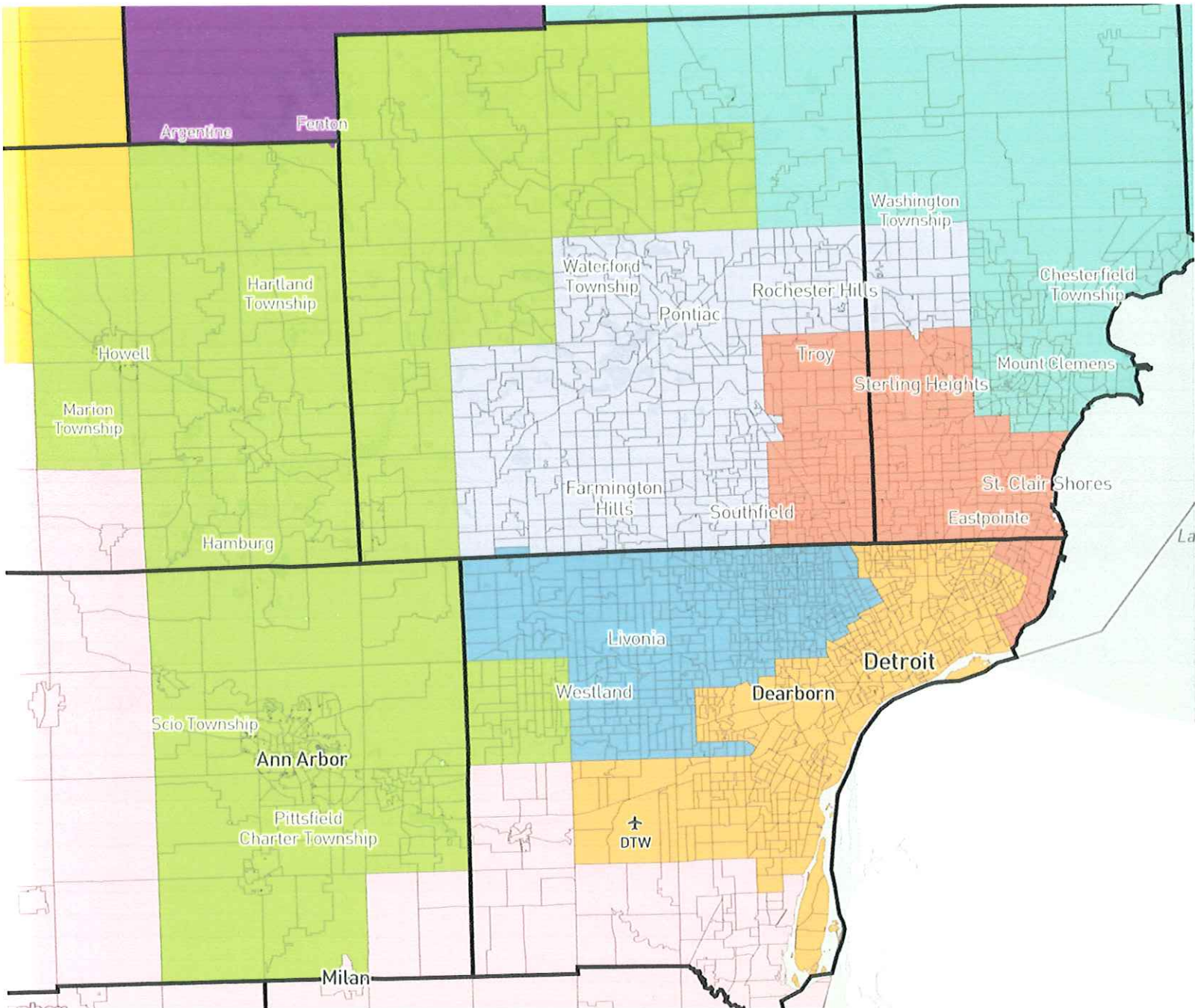
Indian Village



#55 ~~to~~ Detroit 6/17/21



#55 Detroit 6/17/21



Amazon.com/OTTISSIPPI, Morgan

Non Fiction 600 pages

Ebook has searchable Table of Contents for research

ISBN 978-0-9993923-0-0



AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

This book came about after a visit to the library where I could not find local Indian History. I grew up in the St. Clair and Black River area of Michigan, fishing on all the area waters with my father and brothers. I loved books, libraries, horses and puzzles; I was not a tech person. I love to cook, garden, travel, and camp. I determined to find and share the truth. This has been a difficult journey in every way. I give you, the reader, the truth and blessings I also reaped. - Cheryl Morgan

Cheryl Morgan lives near Port Huron, Michigan with her husband Tom and dog Fred.

CHERYL L. MORGAN

OTTISSIPPI

THE TRUTH

about

GREAT LAKES INDIAN HISTORY

and

The Gateway to the West

OTTISSIPPI THE TRUTH about GREAT LAKES INDIAN HISTORY

and
The Gateway to the West

**THE SWEEPING HISTORY OF THE OJIBWE AND THREE
FIRES PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN!**

The indigenous Anishinabe – original men, and the many tribes connected to the Great Lakes. This truth that has been scattered and hidden, inaccessible, due to time, complexity and name changes of peoples, places and governments. The great unknown, what we never learned about Indian History! Now accessible, you can know the truth in one volume!

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**A VERY IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION AND
HISTORY!**

After digging for information for three months, the author realized this history had not been written and compiled. So, she became a research historian and writer, deciphering the great puzzle of peoples, places, name changes, governments, Indian culture and lifeways, and tribes connected to Michigan, the Great Lakes, and the Northwest Territory. Know the truth about Indian history!

**GROUNDBREAKING, RESEARCH CLARIFIES AND REVEALS
THE INACCESSIBLE COMPLEX HISTORY.**

THE TRUTH ABOUT GREAT LAKES INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE INCLUDES:

Origins, prophecies, and migration; The Three Fires, Ojibwe - Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Huron, Wyandotte, Iroquois, Miami, Shawnee, Fox - Mesquackie, Sauk, and many other tribes connected to Michigan; Piracy, slavery, religion, the Mediwin, chiefs, totems, clans, amazing culture and lifeways, war, disease, hunting, counting coup, missions, Biography, and Metis; The French, British, English and American, Dutch, Spanish, explorers, traders, voyageurs, missionaries, settlers, immigrants, northern slavery and pioneers; The Fire water and Fusees, Aamjiwnaang Territory, the Ottissippi – The Detroit Strait, and Lake Huron Land Bridge; Racism, treaties, reservations, mounds, boarding schools, and modern Indigenous history. So much more!

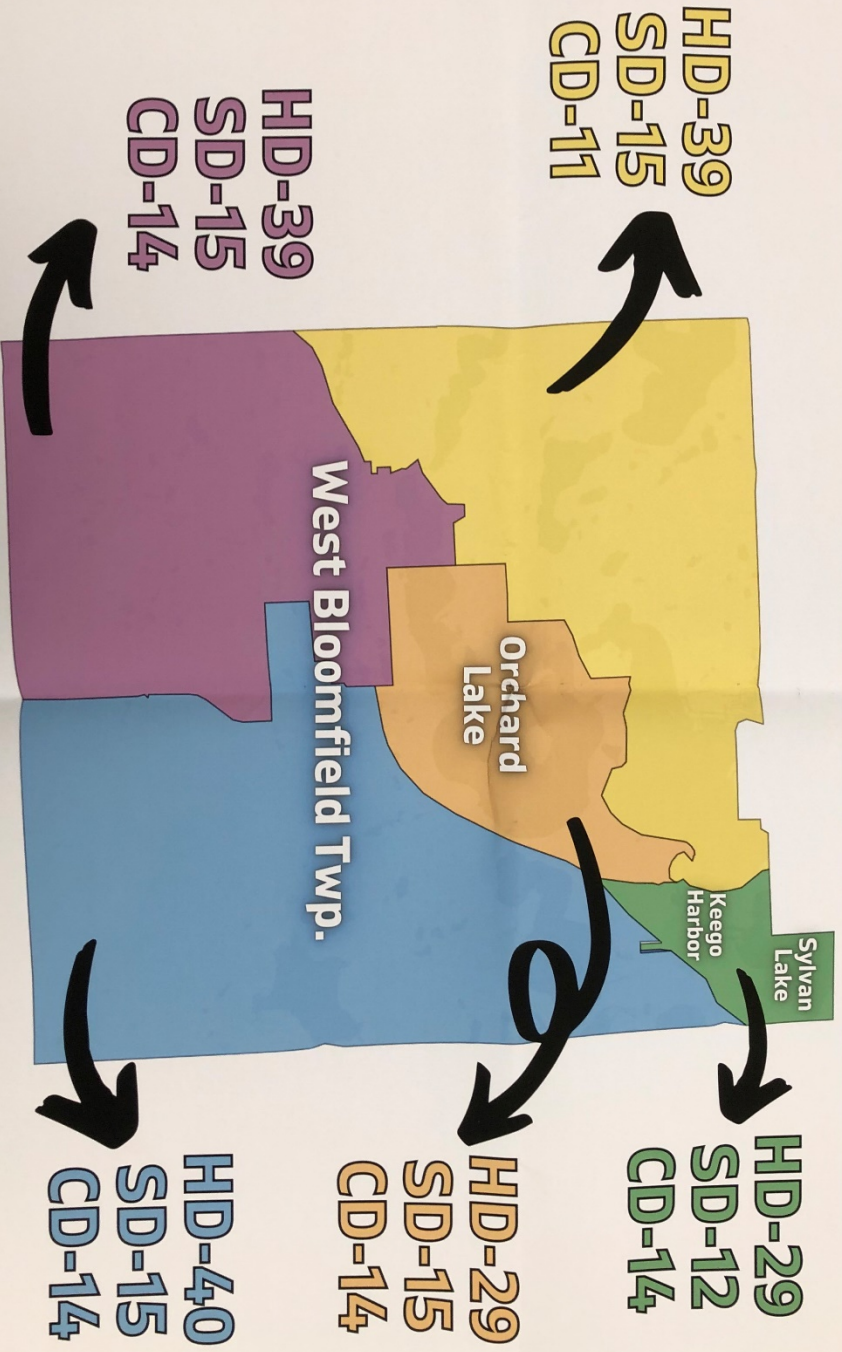
A REFERENCE TREASURY!

After a three-month search, I realized the Southeast Michigan Indian History had not been written. It is buried, erased, forgotten, scattered, inaccessible, lost to time and change. I believe a person should be able to easily find this information at the library and on the Internet. It is now a very complex, difficult search and dissemination of information. The Great Black Hole, the huge mess no one talks about is now recorded in one volume. This groundbreaking research and sweeping history creates understanding where there is none for the good of mankind.

OTTISSIPPI is the collection and compilation of many early writers, historians, and others who recorded something about the Indians of Southeast Michigan, the Great Lakes and the Northwest Territory. It includes, interviews and modern writers who added valuable contributions to the Indian History of Michigan and beyond.

#12
-
A001

WHO IS MY REPRESENTATIVE? The Fragmentation of Greater West Bloomfield



**GREATER WEST BLOOMFIELD:
A COMMUNITY OF INTEREST**



GREATER WEST BLOOMFIELD
COMMUNITY COALITION



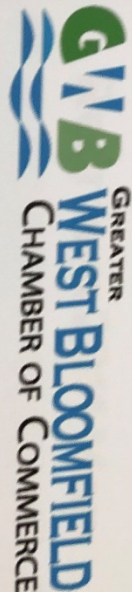
GREATER WEST BLOOMFIELD
CABLE COMMUNICATIONS
COMMISSION

West Bloomfield Journal

*Jews and Ethnic Iraqis:
A Neighborhood's Story*



- Ethnically Diverse**
- Largest Jewish community in MI (25%)
 - Largest Japanese community in MI
 - Large Chaldean/Assyrian community
 - Large Arab community
 - Significant Black community
 - Significant Asian communities



West Bloomfield
SCHOOL DISTRICT



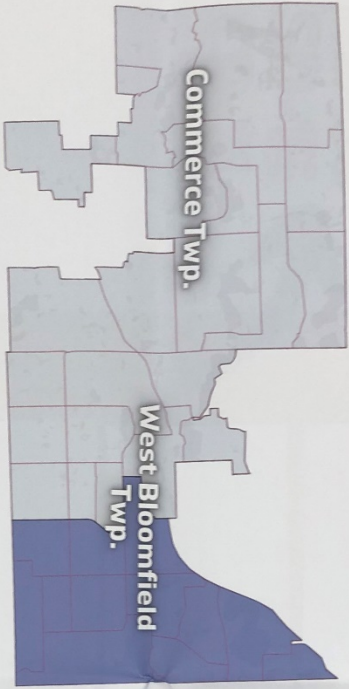
Headwaters of
Three Watersheds

MICRC:
DO NOT DIVIDE West Bloomfield
Twp, and keep it with GWB
communities of Orchard Lake,
Keego Harbor, & Sylvan Lake in
all State House, State Senate, &
Congressional maps

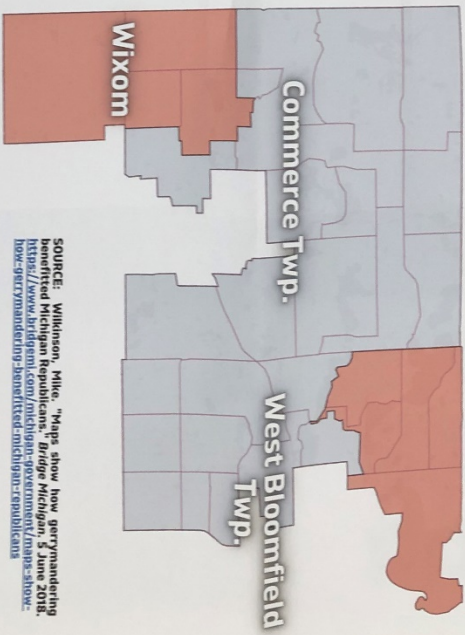
#42
1991

THE PUNITIVE GERRYMANDERING OF WEST BLOOMFIELD TOWNSHIP

HD-39 (2001 map)



Redrawn 2011 Map



SOURCE: Wilkinson, Mike, "Maps show how gerrymandering benefited Michigan Republicans," *Bridge Michigan*, 5 June 2018. <https://www.bridge-mi.com/michigan-government/maps-show-how-gerrymandering-benefited-michigan-republicans>

Highly Competitive
Lean Democratic
District



Uncompetitive
Safe Republican
District