A Guide to Programming

November 8th
Ames Courtroom
Harvard Law School

A conference on Gerrymandering, Redistricting, and American Democracy
# Table of Contents

## Agenda  
2-4

## Wireless Access  
5

### Speaker Biographies  
6-19

- Cornell William Brooks  
- E.J. Dionne  
- Moon Duchin  
- Cathy Duvall  
- Douglas Elmendorf  
- Archon Fung  
- Ruth Greenwood  
- Chris Jankowski  
- Alex Keyssar  
- Randall Kennedy  
- Michael Li  
- Terry Ao Minnis  
- Janai Nelson  
- Thomas Saenz  
- Miles Rapoport  
- John H. Thompson  
- Wendy Underhill  
- Arturo Vargas  
- Dan Vicuña  
- Kelly Ward

## Gerrymandered States  
20-24

## Directions to American Academy of Arts & Sciences  
25
Agenda

Check In and Coffee
8:30 – 9:15 AM

Welcome Remarks
9:15 – 9:45 AM
- Randall Kennedy, Michael R. Klein Professor, Harvard Law School
- Douglas Elmendorf, Dean, Harvard Kennedy School
- Miles Rapoport, Senior Practice Fellow in American Democracy, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation

Gerrymandering: A Tortuous History
9:45 – 10:15 AM
- Introduction by Archon Fung, Academic Dean and Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship, Harvard Kennedy School
- Alex Keyssar, Matthew W. Stirling Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

Break
10:15 – 10:30 AM

Race and Redistricting 2021
10:30 AM – 11:45 AM
- Moderator: Randall Kennedy, Michael R. Klein Professor, Harvard Law School
- Terry Ao Minnis, Director of Census and Voting Programs, Asian Americans Advancing Justice
- Janai Nelson, Associate Director/Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Thomas Saenz, President and General Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
Agenda

Lunch Session: Redistricting Through a Partisan Lens
12:00 – 1:15 PM
• Moderator: Archon Fung, Academic Dean and Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship, Harvard Kennedy School
• Chris Jankowski, Republican Consultant and Former Director, Operation REDMAP
• Kelly Ward, Executive Director, National Democratic Redistricting Committee

Landscape of Reform: Issues and States
1:30 – 3:15 PM
• Moderator: E.J. Dionne, Columnist, Washington Post, William H. Bloomberg Visiting Professor, HDS

Featured Presentation: Gill v. Whitford and its Potential Impact
• Ruth Greenwood, Senior Legal Counsel, Voting and Redistricting, Campaign Legal Center
• Moon Duchin, Associate Professor and Director, Program in Science, Technology, & Society, Tufts University
• Cathy Duvall, Redistricting Reform Project
• Dan Vicuña, National Redistricting Manager, Common Cause
• Michael Li, Senior Counsel, Brennan Center for Justice
• Wendy Underhill, Redistricting and Elections Director, National Conference of State Legislatures

Census 2020: Challenges to a Fair and Accurate Count
3:30 – 4:30 PM
• Moderator: Cornell William Brooks, Visiting Fellow and Director of Campaigns and Advocacy Program (CAP) at Harvard Institute of Politics and Former President and CEO of the NAACP
• John H. Thompson, Executive Director, Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics and Former Director of U.S. Census Bureau
• Arturo Vargas, Executive Director, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund

Continued on next page...


Agenda

Closing Remarks
4:45 – 5:00 PM
Optional Shuttles to American Academy of Arts and Sciences
*Walking Directions on page 26

American Academy of Arts and Sciences Event
American Academy of Arts and Sciences Reception
5:00 – 6:00 PM
Stated Meeting: Redistricting and Representation
6:00 – 7:30 PM
- Moderator: Hon. Patti Saris, Chief Judge, U. S. District Court, District of Massachusetts
- Moon Duchin, Associate Professor of Mathematics, Tufts University
- Jamal Greene, Dwight Professor of Law, Columbia Law School
- Gary King, Weatherhead University Professor and Director of the Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Harvard University
Digital Conference Information

Connect Online

Wireless Access
*For those without a Harvard ID

1. Connect to the “Harvard University” wireless network.
2. Go to http://getonline.harvard.edu in your preferred browser.
4. Follow the instructions on screen to register for guest access.
5. Guest credentials will be displayed on the registration page.

For further instructions visit www.harvard.service-now.com and search “Guest Access.”

Video Livestream

The Ash Center will be streaming the day’s events via Facebook, Facebook.com/AshCenter. We encourage you to share the stream with friends or colleagues that aren’t in attendance today. After the event all videos will be archived on the Center’s page for reference.

Join the Conversation on Social Media

The Ash Center will be tweeting about today’s events from @HarvardAsh. Join us in conversation about redistricting reform by using the hashtag #FairMaps.

Don’t forget to follow our co-sponsors on Twitter: @HarvardIOP @HoustonInst @IQSS

For tonight’s event, follow The American Academy of Arts & Sciences @AmericanAcad.
Speakers

Cornell William Brooks
Visiting Fellow and Director of Campaigns and Advocacy Program (CAP) at Harvard Institute of Politics and Former President and CEO of the NAACP

Cornell William Brooks is a fourth-generation ordained minister, civil rights attorney, social justice activist, coalition builder, and writer. Most recently, he served as the 18th President and CEO of the NAACP. Rev. Brooks led the organization in securing 11 legal victories against voter suppression in 12 months; a dramatic increase in the level, visibility and breadth of grassroots activism; high profile opposition to civil rights violations through testimony before the U.S. Senate, engaging/confronting the White House, and using mass civil disobedience; rapid expansion in the number, diversity, and youth of new membership; developing new programs, including a pioneering social impact investing initiative; as well as raising $80 million in new support.

President and CEO (18th), NAACP (2014-2017); President and CEO, New Jersey Institute for Social Justice (2007-2014); Senior Counsel and Special Counsel, Federal Communications Commission (1999-2007); Democratic Nominee for U.S. Congress, 10th District of Virginia (1997-1998); Trial Attorney, Department of Justice (1994-1997); Executive Director, Fair Housing Council of Greater Washington (1992-1994); and Trial Attorney, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights (1991-1992). He is currently a regular Contributor for CNN; Visiting Professor of Ethics, Law, and Justice Movements, Boston University; and a Senior Fellow, Brennan Center for Justice.
Speaker Biographies

E.J. Dionne
William H. Bloomberg Visiting Professor, Harvard Divinity School
Columnist, Washington Post

E.J. Dionne is a distinguished journalist and author, political commentator, and longtime op-ed columnist for the Washington Post. He is also a senior fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution, a government professor at Georgetown University, and a frequent commentator on politics for National Public Radio, ABC’s “This Week,” and MSNBC.

Professor Dionne comes to HDS through a joint appointment with Harvard’s Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the Harvard Kennedy School, which was made possible by the Office of the President and the Office of the Provost. In 2017–18, Dionne will teach at HDS and in Social Studies at FAS, and be an affiliate at HKS.

Moon Duchin
Associate Professor and Director, Program in Science, Technology, & Society, Tufts University

Moon Duchin is an Associate Professor of mathematics at Tufts University and serves as director of Tufts’ interdisciplinary Science, Technology, and Society program. Her mathematical research is in geometric group theory, low-dimensional topology, and dynamics. She is also one of the leaders of the Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group, a Tisch College-supported project that focuses mathematical attention on issues of electoral redistricting.

Duchin has also worked and lectured on issues in the history, philosophy, and cultural studies of math and science, such as the role of intuition and the nature and impact of ideas about genius.
Cathy Duvall
Redistricting Reform Project

Cathy Duvall is the director of the Redistricting Reform Project at New Venture Fund. Her focus is to build a more collaborative funding space on a range of redistricting projects, strengthen existing coalitions, and provide strategic advice to state redistricting efforts. She is working with state and national organizations to define strategies, opportunities and gaps for the redistricting reform efforts and litigation, to secure data and technical support, and to build out the broad engagement necessary to create more fair representation in the 2021 redistricting cycle.

Douglas Elmendorf
Dean, Harvard Kennedy School
Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy

Douglas W. Elmendorf began his tenure as dean and Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School in January 2016. He had been a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution after serving as the director of the Congressional Budget Office from January 2009 through March 2015. Before CBO, he spent two years at Brookings, where he was a senior fellow, the Edward M. Bernstein Scholar, and the director of the Hamilton Project.

He was previously an assistant professor at Harvard University, a principal analyst at CBO, a senior economist at the White House’s Council of Economic Advisers, a deputy assistant secretary for economic policy at the Treasury Department, and an assistant director of the Division of Research and Statistics at the Federal Reserve Board. In those positions, Elmendorf worked on budget policy, health care issues, the macroeconomic effects of fiscal policy, Social Security, income security programs, financial markets, macroeconomic analysis and forecasting, and a range of other topics. He earned his PhD and AM in economics from...
Speaker Biographies

Harvard University, where he was a National Science Foundation graduate fellow, and his AB summa cum laude from Princeton University.

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Archon Fung
Academic Dean, Harvard Kennedy School
Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship

Archon Fung is the Academic Dean and Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship at the Harvard Kennedy School. His research explores policies, practices, and institutional designs that deepen the quality of democratic governance. He focuses upon public participation, deliberation, and transparency. He co-directs the Transparency Policy Project and leads democratic governance programs of the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation at the Kennedy School.

His books include Full Disclosure: The Perils and Promise of Transparency (Cambridge University Press, with Mary Graham and David Weil) and Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy (Princeton University Press). He has authored five books, four edited collections, and over fifty articles appearing in professional journals. He received two S.B.s — in philosophy and physics — and his Ph.D. in political science from MIT.

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Ruth Greenwood
Senior Legal Counsel, Voting and Redistricting, Campaign Legal Center

Ruth Greenwood joined CLC in March 2016. Ruth litigates a wide variety of redistricting cases, with a particular focus on ending partisan gerrymandering and promoting minority representation. Ruth also has expertise in voting rights, election administration, and youth civic engagement issues. Continued on next page...
Speaker Biographies

Ruth was previously the Lead Counsel for Voting Rights at the Chicago Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and prior to that a Redistricting Fellow with the Democratic National Committee’s Voting Rights Institute. She received her LL.M from Columbia Law School in 2009, and her LL.B./B.Sc. from the University of Sydney in 2005. Ruth is admitted to practice as an attorney in Illinois and New York.

Ruth is a 2016 Civic Leadership Academy Fellow and was awarded an Exceptional Service Award by the Chicago Board of Elections’ in 2014 for her work on Chicago Democracy Week. She is also an adjunct professor, teaching election law, at Loyola University Chicago Law School.

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Chris Jankowski
Republican Consultant and Former Director, Operation REDMAP

Chris Jankowski is a leading Republican strategist in state elections, state policy issues, and state government. In 2010 Jankowski served as the executive director of the REDMAP Project at the Republican State Leadership Committee. This project was a strategic effort to win Republican control of state legislatures immediately prior to the decennial redrawing of Congressional district lines.

Under Jankowski’s direction, Republicans gained control of twenty additional legislative chambers and saw a net gain of approximately 700 state legislative seats. REDMAP is widely credited with providing a strategic advantage in the 2012 Congressional elections, resulting in a 33-seat Republican margin in the 113th Congress. Jankowski went on to serve as president of the RSLC for three years in Washington, D.C. In 2014 Jankowski returned to Richmond, Virginia where he runs a political consulting firm.

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Speaker Biographies

Alexander Keyssar
Matthew W. Stirling, Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

Alexander Keyssar is the Matthew W. Stirling Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy. An historian by training, he has specialized in the explanation of issues that have contemporary policy implications.

His book, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (2000), was named the best book in U.S. history by both the American Historical Association and the Historical Society; it was also a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and the Los Angeles Times Book Award. A significantly revised and updated edition of The Right to Vote was published in 2009. His 1986 book, *Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts*, was awarded three scholarly prizes. Keyssar is coauthor of *The Way of the Ship: America’s Maritime History Reenvisioned*, 1600-2000 (2008), and of *Inventing America*, a text integrating the history of technology and science into the mainstream of American history. In addition, he is coeditor of a series on Comparative and International Working-Class History.

In 2004/5, Keyssar chaired the Social Science Research Council’s National Research Commission on Voting and Elections, and writes frequently for the popular press about American politics and history. Keyssar’s current research interests include election reform, the history of democracies, and the history of poverty.

Randall Kennedy
Michael R. Klein Professor, Harvard Law School

Randall Kennedy is Michael R. Klein Professor at Harvard Law School where he teaches courses on contracts, criminal law, and the regulation of race relations. He was born in Columbia, South Carolina. For his education he attended St. Albans School, Princeton University, Oxford University, and Yale Law School.

*Continued on next page...*
He served as a law clerk for Judge J. Skelly Wright of the United States Court of Appeals and for Justice Thurgood Marshall of the United States Supreme Court. He is a member of the bar of the District of Columbia and the Supreme Court of the United States.


Michael Li
Senior Counsel, Brennan Center for Justice

Michael Li serves as Senior Counsel for the Brennan Center’s Democracy Program, where his work focuses on redistricting, voting rights, and elections. Prior to joining the Brennan Center, Mr. Li practiced law at Baker Botts L.L.P. in Dallas for ten years and is the author of a widely cited blog on Texas redistricting and election law issues that The New York Times called “indispensable.”

He is a regular writer and commentator on election law issues, appearing on MSNBC and in print in The New York Times, Roll Call, Texas Tribune, Dallas Morning News, and San Antonio Express-News, among others.

In addition to his election law work, Mr. Li previously served as executive director of Be One Texas, a donor alliance that oversaw strategic and targeted investments in non-profit organizations working to increase voter participation and engagement in
historically disadvantaged African-American and Hispanic communities in Texas.

Mr. Li received his J.D., with honors, from Tulane Law School and his undergraduate degree in history from the University of Texas at Austin.

Terry Ao Minnis
Director of Census and Voting Programs
Asian Americans Advancing Justice

Terry is the director of the census and voting programs for Advancing Justice at Asian Americans Advancing Justice. Terry co-chairs the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights’ Census Task Force and sat on the U.S Department of Commerce’s 2010 Census Advisory Committee from 2002 through 2011, when the committee’s charter ran out. She has published several articles, including “When the Voting Rights Act Became Un-American: The Misguided Vilification of Section 203” (Alabama Law Review).

Terry has been counsel on numerous amicus briefs filed before the Supreme Court, including Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder, Arizona v. The InterTribal Council of Arizona, Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder and Crawford v. Marion County Election Board. She was also counsel on a joint amicus brief with MALDEF in Bartlett vs. Strickland. She was one of the key leaders in campaigns on reauthorizing the Voting Rights Act in 2006 and Census 2010 and is actively engaged in addressing the Supreme Court’s decision in Shelby County v. Holder. Terry holds a law degree, cum laude, from American University’s Washington College of Law and a bachelor’s degree in economics at The University of Chicago.
Janai Nelson is the seventh Associate Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., the country’s first civil and human rights law organization. As an organizational thought-leader at LDF, Ms. Nelson works with the President and Director-Counsel to determine and execute LDF’s strategic vision and oversee the operation of its programs. She is also one of the lead counsel in Veasey v. Abbott, a federal challenge to Texas’s voter ID law. Prior to joining LDF in June 2014, Ms. Nelson was Associate Dean for Faculty Scholarship and Associate Director of the Ronald H. Brown Center for Civil Rights and Economic Development at St. John’s University School of Law where she is also a full professor of law.

Ms. Nelson received the 2013 Derrick A. Bell Award from the American Association of Law Schools (AALS) Section on Minority Groups and was named one of Lawyers of Color’s 50 Under 50 minority professors making an impact in legal education. Prior to joining St. John’s faculty, Ms. Nelson was a Fulbright Scholar at the Legal Resources Center in Accra, Ghana. She began practicing law as the 1998 recipient of the NAACP LDF/Fried Frank Fellowship, following federal district and appellate court clerkships. Ms. Nelson later became Director of LDF’s Political Participation Group, overseeing all voting related litigation and matters, litigating voting rights and redistricting cases, and working on criminal justice issues. Ms. Nelson has appeared in various media as an expert on race, civil rights, constitutional law and election law, and regularly speaks at conferences and symposia nationwide.
**Thomas Saenz**  
*President and General Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund*

Thomas A. Saenz is the President and General Counsel of MALDEF, where he leads the civil rights organization’s five offices in pursuing litigation, policy advocacy, and community education to promote the civil rights of Latinos living in the United States. Saenz re-joined MALDEF in August 2009, after spending four years on Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa’s executive team as Counsel to the Mayor. He previously spent 12 years at MALDEF practicing civil rights law as a staff attorney, regional counsel, and Vice President of litigation. He served as MALDEF’s lead counsel in numerous cases in the areas of education, employment, immigrants’ rights, and voting rights. Saenz graduated from Yale College and Yale Law School, and he clerked for two federal judges before initially joining MALDEF in 1993.

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**Miles Rapoport**  
*Senior Practice Fellow in American Democracy*  
*Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School*

Miles Rapoport, a longtime organizer, policy advocate, and elected official, brings to the Ash Center four decades of experience working to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in the United States. Prior to his appointment to the Ash Center, Rapoport was most recently president of the independent grassroots organization Common Cause. For 13 years, he headed the public policy center Dēmos.

Rapoport previously served as Connecticut’s Secretary of the State and a state legislator for ten years in Hartford. He has written, spoken, and organized widely on issues of American democracy. He was a member of the Harvard class of 1971.  
*Continued on next page...*
Rapoport is the first fellow appointed as part of the Ash Center’s new Senior Practice Fellowship in American Democracy, which seeks to deepen the Center’s engagement on fundamental issues of democratic practice. This new fellowship is also intended to expand the connections between scholarship and the field of practice of people and organizations working to defend and improve our public institutions.

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**John H. Thompson**

*Executive Director, Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics and Former Director of U.S. Census Bureau*

John H. Thompson is the Executive Director of the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS). COPAFS represents over 300,000 individual researchers, educators, public health professionals, civic groups, and businesses that rely on the quality and accessibility of statistics that can only be effectively collected by the federal government.

Thompson served as the 24th Director of the U.S. Census Bureau from August 2013 through June 2017. As Director, Thompson oversaw preparations for the 2020 Census and presided over more than 100 other censuses and surveys, which measure America’s people, places and economy and provide the basis for crucial economic indicators.

A statistician and executive, Thompson had been President and CEO of NORC at the University of Chicago from 2008 through July 2013, when he left NORC for the Census Bureau. He served as the independent research organization’s Executive Vice President from 2002 to 2008. NORC was previously known as the National Opinion Research Center.

Thompson had a distinguished career at the Census Bureau from 1975 to 2002 before joining NORC. Most notably, as an Associate Director, he was the senior career executive responsible for all aspects of the 2000 Census. A longtime leader in the social science research community,
Speaker Biographies

Thompson is an elected fellow of the American Statistical Association and past chair of the association’s Social Statistics Section and Committee on Fellows. He served as a member of the Committee on National Statistics at the National Academy of Sciences. He participated as a member of the CNSTAT panel on the design of the 2010 Census Program of Evaluations and Experiments and the panel to review the 2010 Census.

He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in mathematics from Virginia Tech.

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Wendy Underhill
Redistricting and Elections Director, National Conference of State Legislatures

Wendy Underhill is the director for elections and redistricting at the National Conference of State Legislatures, headquartered in Denver. She has been with NCSL for six years. During the first four years, Underhill specialized in research and analysis on elections issues, such as online voter registration, voter ID, voting technology, early voting and more.

Most recently, she added redistricting to her portfolio, continuing NCSL’s decades-long tradition of providing objective, bipartisan information and analysis on redistricting law and processes. This year she is engaged in redesigning NCSL’s Redistricting Law book, also known as “the Red Book.”

Previously, Underhill worked as a policy analyst for the U. S. Senate and the U.S. Department of the Treasury, and in management for various Colorado nonprofits.

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Speaker Biographies

**Arturo Vargas**  
*Executive Director, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund*

Arturo Vargas is the Executive Director of NALEO Educational Fund, a national nonprofit organization that strengthens American democracy by promoting the full participation of Latinos in civic life. He also serves as the Executive Director of NALEO, a national membership organization of Latino policymakers and their supporters. Arturo has held these positions since 1994.

Prior to joining NALEO Educational Fund, Arturo held various positions at the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), including Vice President for Community Education and Public Policy. Before joining MALDEF, he was the senior education policy analyst at the National Council of La Raza in Washington, D.C.

Arturo is a nationally recognized expert in Latino demographic trends, electoral participation, voting rights, the Census, and redistricting.

Arturo holds a master’s degree in Education and a bachelor’s degree in History and Spanish from Stanford University.

**Dan Vicuña**  
*National Redistricting Manager, Common Cause*

Dan Vicuña is National Redistricting Manager for Common Cause. He supports Common Cause state chapters in their campaigns to implement redistricting reform. Before joining Common Cause, Dan was a staff attorney and Campus Vote Project coordinator at the Fair Elections Legal Network, analyzed Supreme Court cases at Alliance for Justice, worked in a New Hampshire congressional campaign and for the League of Conservation Voters. Dan has a law degree from American University and a B.A. in political science from UCLA.
**Kelly Ward**  
*Executive Director, National Democratic Redistricting Committee*

Kelly Ward is the Executive Director of the National Democratic Redistricting Committee, a newly formed organization chaired by former Attorney General Eric Holder that will enact a comprehensive, multi-cycle redistricting strategy for Democrats.

She previously served four years as the Executive Director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), where she oversaw a $200 million budget and led the overall strategy to elect Democrats to the U.S. House of Representatives. Ward also served the DCCC as Political Director in the 2012 cycle.

A skilled campaigner, Kelly Ward has an array of experience running political and advocacy campaigns. Before joining the DCCC, she served as Campaign Manager for Alan Khazei’s U.S. Senate campaign in Massachusetts, building his first statewide campaign in fewer than 100 days. She also ran Harry Mitchell’s first congressional campaign in Arizona’s fifth district, defeating a 12-year incumbent.

Additionally, she worked for Governor Janet Napolitano in the Arizona Governor’s Office, focusing on community outreach and key public policy matters including workforce development and women’s issues.

Kelly Ward received her Bachelor’s Degree from the University of Arizona and Masters in Public Policy from the Harvard Kennedy School. She’s originally from Las Vegas, NV and currently lives in Washington, DC with her daughter.
Examples of Gerrymandered Districts

Gerrymandering in 2017

The following maps are examples of states identified by “Extreme Maps,” a report by the Brennan Center for Justice’s Michael Li and Laura Royden, as exhibiting high levels of partisan gerrymandering.

The full report can be found on the Brennan Center for Justice website, www.brennancenter.org.
Examples of Gerrymandered Districts

**Michigan**

**North Carolina**
Examples of Gerrymandered Districts

**Pennsylvania**

![Pennsylvania Map]

**Florida**

![Florida Map]
Examples of Gerrymandered Districts

**Ohio**

**Texas**
Examples of Gerrymandered Districts

Virginia

Directions to
American Academy of Arts & Sciences

136 Irving St, Cambridge, MA 02138

Turn left and walk across the quad toward Oxford St

Turn left onto Oxford St
62 ft

Turn right toward Bryant St
358 ft

Turn right toward Bryant St
0.2 mi

Continue onto Bryant St (passing Lauder Laboratory and Museum of Comparative Zoology)
292 ft

Turn left onto Irving St
Destination will be on the right