

# MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

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MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE  
AUGUSTA, MAINE 04333

COMMISSION TO REAPPORTION  
MAINE'S CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

August 31, 2011

The Honorable Heather J.R. Priest  
Clerk of the House  
125th Maine Legislature  
2 State House Station  
Augusta, Maine 04333

Dear Clerk Priest:

The Commission to Reapportion Maine's Congressional Districts is pleased to submit its proposal for reapportionment pursuant to Joint Order H.P. 1186. The plan was approved by a closely divided vote. Because of the closeness of the vote, we submit the final proposals of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Commission members and the staff members of both parties for their thorough and collegial work on these proposals.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Friedman", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Michael Friedman  
Chairman

**Majority Report**  
**To the 125<sup>th</sup> Maine State Legislature**  
**of the**  
**Commission to Reapportion Maine's Congressional Districts**



Augusta, Maine  
August 31, 2011

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## **Commission Membership**

### **Chair**

Michael Friedman, Esq. (public member, Bangor)

### **Democratic Members**

Senator Seth A. Goodall (D-Richmond) (Senate Member)  
Senator Phillip L. Bartlett (D-Gorham) (Senate Member)  
Representative John L. Martin (D-Eagle Lake) (House Member)  
Representative Joan W. Welsh (D-Rockport) (House Member)  
Representative Henry E. M. Beck (D-Waterville) (House Member)  
Richard Grandmaison (D-Lewiston) (Democratic Party Designee)  
Cathy Newell (D-Greenwood) (Democratic Public Member)

### **Republican Members**

Senator Debra D. Plowman (R-Hampden) (Senate Member)  
Senator Rodney L. Whittemore (R-Skowhegan) (Senate Member)  
Representative Leslie T. Fossel (R-Alna) (House Member)  
Representative Richard M. Cebra (R-Naples) (House Member)  
Representative Kenneth Wade Fredette (R-Newport) (House Member)  
Dan Billings, Esq. (R-Bowdoin) (Republican Party Designee)  
Honorable Joshua Tardy (R-Newport) (Republican Public Member)

**Majority Report**  
**To the 125<sup>th</sup> Maine State Legislature**  
**of the**  
**Commission to Reapportion Maine's Congressional Districts**

This is the majority report of the 2011 Commission to Reapportion Maine's Congressional Districts. The Commission was established pursuant to HP1186, a Joint Order of the 125<sup>th</sup> Legislature, and 21-A MRSA 1206. The Commission complied with the United States Supreme Court's one person-one vote rule established in Wesberry v. Sanders....., Kirkpatrick v. Preisler 394 U.S. 526 (1969) and Karcher v. Daggett, 462 U.S. 725 (1983).

An examination of the 2010 United States Census data revealed that Maine's two congressional districts are malapportioned. The population of the First Congressional District has increased at a faster rate than that of the Second Congressional District. Southern Maine's population has increased to a greater extent than that in Northern Maine. Suburbs have grown relatively faster than urban areas, and inland areas have grown at a greater rate than coastal areas. These population shifts resulted in a difference of 8,669 residents between the two districts.

Over a five week period the Commission met to discuss possible plans and criteria for reapportioning Maine's congressional districts. In meeting its mandate the Commission gave top priority to the constitutional principle of one person-one vote, but it also considered other criteria.

Under the one person-one vote standard the ideal population of a congressional district is 664,181. While United States Supreme Court cases allow for *de minimis* deviations from precise mathematical equality, the ideal absolute deviation for the final congressional map recommended by the Commission is 1.

The Commission also considered compactness, contiguity and the goal of minimizing splits of political subdivisions, as long required by Maine law<sup>1</sup>.

The Commission also minimized the displacement of communities and voters from existing districts, to the extent possible.<sup>2</sup> This was done to minimize disruption, confusion and inconvenience to voters and municipalities. When districts change, lines of accountability and cooperation are changed, new relationships are established, and voter confusion occurs. Continuity of representation is a factor recognized by the courts and a factor that was important to the majority of the Commission.

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<sup>1</sup> 21-A MRSA 1206

<sup>2</sup> See IN RE 2003 APPORTIONMENT OF THE STATE SENATE AND UNITED STATES CONGRESSIONAL Districts, 2003 ME 86

The Commission also considered the geographic size of the districts and other travel burdens. The Commission avoided any major increase to the size of the Second Congressional District, in particular. The Second District is already the largest congressional district east of the Mississippi River and the Commission wished to avoid additional burdens on travel or access to constituents for any Member of Congress for that district. [ME Supreme Court Apportionment Plan 2003, DOCKET NO. SJC-03-237]

### **Apportionment Process**

Due to requirements established by HP1185 as passed by the 125<sup>th</sup> Legislature the deadline for submission of a plan to the Legislature is August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2011. According to the Federal District Court's Administrative Order in Desesna & Dunham v. Maine [1:11-cv-117-GZS-DBH-BMS] the deadline for Legislative enactment of the plan is September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2011. If the Legislature fails to enact the submitted plan, or a plan of its own, with a 2/3rds vote of both chambers by that time, the Maine Supreme Judicial Court will be required to draw the district lines<sup>3</sup>. Should an apportionment plan fail to be adopted by November 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011, the Federal District Court will proceed to apportion Maine's Congressional Districts.

#### Process:

The Commission met on July 20, 2011 for an organizational session.

The Commission met on August 15, 2011 and representatives from the Democratic and Republican caucuses submitted apportionment plans.

The Commission held a public hearing on August 23<sup>rd</sup> to receive public comment on the proposed plans. The Commission collected oral and written testimony which is included with this report.

On August 30<sup>th</sup> the Commission met for a final time and a majority of the Commission voted to adopt the enclosed congressional apportionment plan. Copies of that plan have been provided to the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate.

### **Redistricting Criteria**

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<sup>3</sup> 21-A MRSA 1206

The following terms are used in the apportionment plan:

**Absolute Deviation:** The number by which a given district is higher or lower than the ideal district.

**Relative Deviation:** The percent by which a given district is higher or lower than the ideal district.

**Absolute Mean Deviation:** The sum of all absolute deviations (ignoring plus or minus signs) divided by the number of districts.

**Ideal District:** The total State population divided by the number of districts allowed.

### **Apportionment Plan for The First and Second Congressional Districts of Maine**

In apportioning Maine's two Congressional Districts the Commission accepted the population figure of 1,328,361 as the official Federal Census figure for the State of Maine. The ideal district was determined to have a population of 664,181. The Commission's plan calls for a First District population of 664,181 and a Second District population of 664,180. The absolute deviation for each district is 1, and the relative deviation is .00015%.

The plan splits only one county, Kennebec, which has been split between the two congressional districts continually since 1993. The plan moves exactly seven towns between the two congressional districts comprising 19,192 people. The plan adds a net of only 75.1 square miles to the Second District, minimizing any increases in geographic size or travel impediment.

A majority of the Commission recommends that the First and Second Districts consist of the following counties:

**First District: Cumberland, Knox, Lincoln, Sagadahoc, York and part of Kennebec** (Albion, Augusta, Belgrade, China, Chelsea, Farmingdale, Hallowell, Manchester, Monmouth, Mount Vernon, Oakland, Pittston, Randolph, Readfield, Sidney, Wayne, Windsor, West Gardiner, and Winthrop)

**Second District: Androscoggin, Aroostook, Franklin, Hancock, Oxford, Penobscot, Piscataquis, Somerset, Waldo, Washington and part of Kennebec** (Benton, Clinton, Fayette, Gardiner, Litchfield, Rome, Unity Township, Vassalboro, Vienna, Waterville, and Winslow)

**Report Approved by:**

Michael Friedman, Esq. (public member, Bangor)  
Senator Seth A. Goodall (D-Richmond) (Senate Member)  
Senator Phillip L. Bartlett (D-Gorham) (Senate Member)  
Representative John L. Martin (D-Eagle Lake) (House Member)  
Representative Joan W. Welsh (D-Rockport) (House Member)  
Representative Henry E. M. Beck (D-Waterville) (House Member)  
Richard Grandmaison (D-Lewiston) (Democratic Party Designee)  
Cathy Newell (D-Greenwood) (Democratic Public Member)

# The Vassalboro Gardiner Plan

Population: (.00015% deviation)

CD-1 - 664,181 (+0)

CD-2 - 664,180 (+1)

Population Displacement

The plan moves the towns of Gardiner, Vassalboro, Vienna, Rome, Oakland, Wayne, and Unity Township comprising 19,192 people between CD-1 and CD-2.

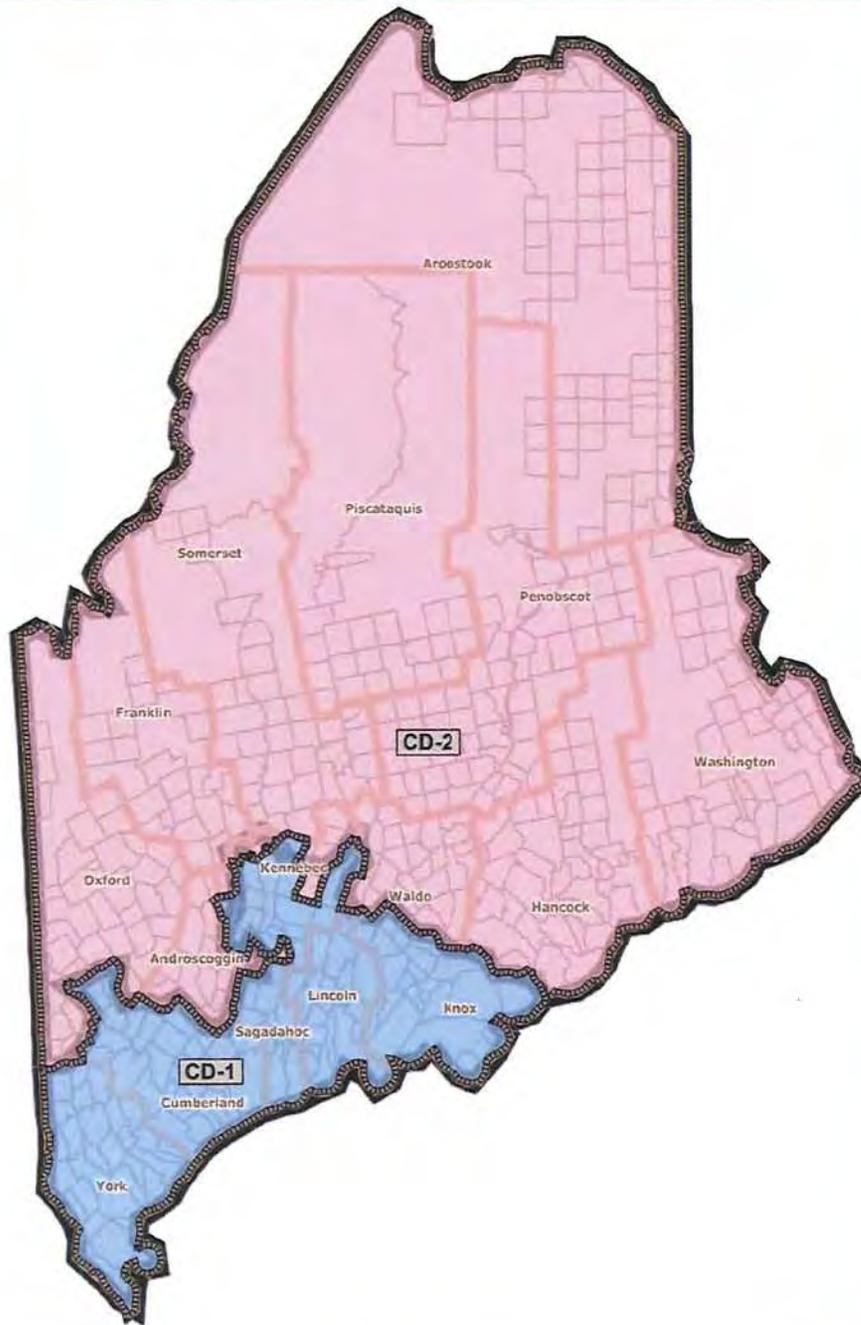
County Splits

The plan splits only Kennebec County.

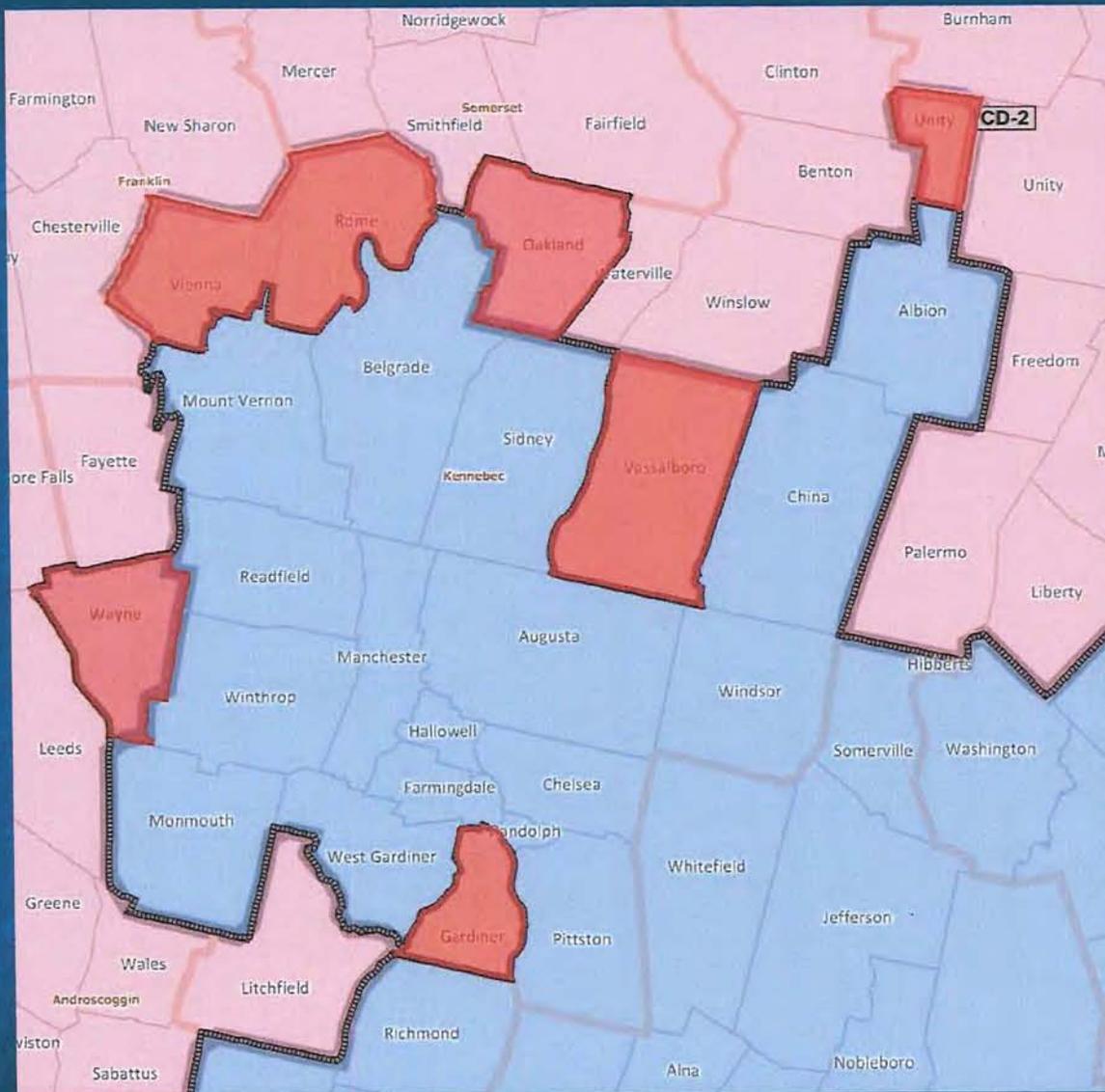
Area

CD-1: 3,460.15 sq. miles (currently 3,535.25 sq. miles)

CD-2: 27,401.41 square miles (currently 27,326.31 sq. miles)



# The Vassalboro Gardiner Plan – Close Up:



- **CD-1: Cumberland, Knox, Lincoln, Sagadahoc, York and part of Kennebec** (Albion, Augusta, Belgrade, China, Chelsea, Farmingdale, Hallowell, Manchester, Monmouth, Mount Vernon, Oakland, Pittston, Randolph, Readfield, Sidney, Wayne, Windsor, West Gardiner, and Winthrop)
- **CD-2: Androscoggin, Aroostook, Franklin, Hancock, Oxford, Penobscot, Piscataquis, Somerset, Waldo, Washington and part of Kennebec** (Benton, Clinton, Fayette, Gardiner, Litchfield, Rome, Unity Township, Vassalboro, Vienna, Waterville, and Winslow)

# Grading the Vassalboro Gardiner Plan Based On Legal Criteria

- Equal Population – The plan creates two districts with a combined absolute deviation of 1: an absolute deviation of +0 in CD-1 and of -1 in CD-2. This creates the lowest deviation possible.
- Compactness and Contiguity – The plan features a Roeck Compactness\* score of .38 in CD-1 and .48 in CD-2, for a mean score of .43, equal to that of the 2003 Apportionment Plan.
- Political Subdivisions – The plan does not divide any municipalities and divides only Kennebec county. (It also keeps the fast growing counties of Androscoggin, Oxford, and Franklin in CD-2)
- Displacement – The plan preserves the existing districts almost in their entirety, moving only 19,192 people or less than 2.88% of either district.
- Travel Burden – The plan avoids increasing the travel burden on either of the Congressional Districts, and only adds a net of 75.1 square miles to CD-2.

\*Roeck Compactness is the most commonly used compactness measure in Maine redistricting cases and was used in the 2003 Maine Supreme Court Apportionment Plan. The Roeck test involves finding the smallest circle containing the district and takes the ratio of the district's area to that of the circle. This ratio is always between 0 and 1; the closer it is to 1 the more compact the district is.



# Congressional Redistricting *State of Maine - 2011*

## The Republican Plan



## **ABSTRACT:**

Since 1973, the State of Maine has conducted its Congressional and Legislative reapportionment in the third year following the decennial census. A lawsuit brought against the state in the spring of 2011 has resulted in a Federal Court ruling that struck down the apportionment of Maine's two Congressional Districts as being unconstitutional due to the population disparity between them. The population difference between them is now 8,669 as determined by the final 2010 US Census data released in March, 2011. Maine has been ordered by a panel of three Federal judges to reapportion its two congressional districts in time for the new boundaries to be in place for the 2012 Congressional Election cycle. Accordingly, the 125<sup>th</sup> Maine Legislature has established a Special Reapportionment Commission consisting of seven Republican members; seven Democratic members; and an independent chairman. The Commission is charged with the responsibility of developing a consensus plan if possible, or instead, presenting the Legislature two or more reports for its consideration when it meets in Special Session on September 27<sup>th</sup> to adopt a Congressional reapportionment plan. Failure of the Governor and Legislature to adopt a plan would send the question to the Maine Supreme Court, which would then have the authority to draw the map. Ultimately, however, the three-judge Federal panel can exert its jurisdictional authority in the event that, in its opinion, neither the Maine Legislative or Judicial branches are likely to produce a constitutional redistricting plan by the end of the year.

## **CRITERIA:**

The Republican Party strictly relies upon Federal case law relating to reapportionment and the requirements of the Maine Constitution to guide their approach to reapportionment. It is well understood that the various criteria may, at times, conflict with one-another given the variations of geography, population distribution, the boundaries of political subdivisions, etc. For example, a Congressional District that perfectly conforms to county boundaries cannot mathematically achieve the ideal district population; and a district that achieves a very high degree of compactness and an ideal population would, of necessity, cross two or more county and/or municipal boundaries. Consequently, some compromise between the criteria is unavoidable in any constitutional plan. Our views on the criteria follow:

- ***Deviation.*** As Republicans read and apply Federal case law to Maine reapportionment, we assert that achieving a minimum population deviation between Congressional Districts is, by far, the most important criterion, far surpassing all others in relative importance. This assertion is based upon Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1, 18 (1969), and is well-presented in the Plaintiff's Brief submitted by Timothy S. Woodcock, Esq', as Attorney for Plaintiff in the case William Desena and Sandra W. Dunham v. State of Maine. The brief states, in part:

“The current 8,669 population variance between Maine's congressional districts also is unconstitutional *per se*. The 8,669-person variance does not meet the

“one person, one vote” requirement of Article I, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution as set forth by the United States Supreme Court. Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1, 18 (1969). The Supreme Court will not uphold population deviations among districts, “no matter how small,” if they are not the result of good-faith effort to achieve population equality. Kirkpatrick, 394 U.S. Defendants cannot seriously contend that the current 8,669 resident variance complies is as close to equal as practicable as required by the U.S. Constitution. Wesberry, 376 U.S. at 7-8.”

And elsewhere in the brief,

“During the Supreme Court's Reapportionment Revolution, the clear constitutional goal of the apportionment process was defined, starting with Karcher v. Daggett, 462 U.S. 725 (1983), and Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1 (1964). The Court stated that “the command of Art. I, § 2, that Representatives be chosen ‘by the People of the several States’ means that as nearly as is practicable one man’s vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another’s.” Wesberry, 376 U.S. at 7-8.”

And in another section,

“The United States Constitution requires that each congressional district in a state contain equal population. See Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1, 18 (1964). Article I, section 2 of the Constitution requires that “as nearly as is practicable one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's.” Wesberry, 376 U.S. at 18. The Supreme Court has been exceedingly clear in requiring lower courts to balance population among congressional districts with precision. See Karcher v. Daggett, 462 U.S. 725, 734 (1983) (“there are no *de minimis* population variations, which could practicably be avoided, but which nonetheless meet the standard of Art. I, § 2 without justification.”) The “as nearly as practicable” standard articulated in Wesberry “requires that the State make a good-faith effort to achieve precise mathematical equality.” Kirkpatrick v. Preisler, 394 U.S. 526, 531 (1969) (“[T]he State must justify each variance, no matter how small.”). In a challenge to a congressional redistricting plan, the plaintiff bears the burden of proving that the differences in district-to-district population could have been reduced or eliminated altogether by a “good-faith effort to draw districts of equal population.” Karcher, 462 U.S. at 730.”

According to the 2010 US Census, Maine has a population of 1,328,361. Therefore, the minimum population difference between the two new congressional districts is *one*. Accordingly, one of the new districts must have a population of 664,181 and the other must have a population of 664,180.

We further assert that it is not necessary to accept a deviation greater than *one person* for the simple reason that the Republicans have drafted several redistricting plans that achieve a deviation of one. Therefore, the creation of such a minimum-deviation

redistricting plan is practicable *per se*. Moreover, as we will show, these plans conform to other redistricting criteria as set out by the Maine Constitution.

- **Variance from minimum deviation.** Karcher (462 U.S. at 741) and Kirkpatrick (394 U.S. at 530) note that Courts might allow a redistricting plan that does not achieve absolute mathematical population equality only where such variance is necessary to achieve a 'legitimate state objective', noting that it is the state's burden to prove that such a legitimate objective exists. Several such objectives have been discussed, including:
  - **The creation of districts having a majority population of a racial minority.** This is not relevant to Maine. Recognized racial minorities make up only 6% of Maine's population;
  - **Making districts more compact.** Republicans have demonstrated in several draft plans that greater compactness does not require a deviation greater than one;
  - **Avoiding the division of a municipality between two districts.** Neither side has proposed dividing a municipality, and it is not necessary to do so;
  - **Avoiding contests between incumbents.** The Republican position is that reapportionment is not intended, and should not be used, merely to protect incumbents. Our goal has been to draw districts that closely comply with the US and State Constitutions. There is no requirement in the US Constitution that a Member of Congress reside within the district he or she represents (although this would be unusual). In any event, a deviation greater than one is not necessary to place Maine incumbents in separate districts;
  - **Preserving the cores of existing districts.** It is the Republican position that the cores of existing districts, in and of themselves, are not important enough to become a reapportionment priority, and may even be detrimental to meaningful political dialog. Incumbents notoriously seek the safety and comfort of friendly and familiar districts that promise easy re-election to office. Iowa, among other states, has established a reapportionment approach that guarantees robust election contests by purposely mixing constituencies and preventing the creation of districts that are predominantly slanted to one party or the other. Moving new territory into an incumbent's district is an effective way to encourage political debate, healthy dialog, and a meaningful election contest. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the Republican preferred plan that divides the State of Maine into East/West districts maintains the cores of existing districts. (First District, 478805 (72%) of 668515 reside in the existing First District; Second District, 473491 (72%) of 659846) currently reside in the existing Second District). In any event, cores are easily maintained in Maine without a variance from minimum deviation;

- **Maintaining districts that have historical significance.** It is important to understand that a district of *historical significance* is not the same thing as a district that *hasn't changed much* for a while. Maine's two districts haven't changed much since the early 1960s when Maine, through reapportionment, lost its Third District. At the time, the Democrats argued for a new First District that contained Androscoggin County; Republicans (the majority party) argued that it should be included in the new Second District, and that is the configuration that prevailed. As recently as 1993, Justice Clifford of the Maine Supreme Court argued that Androscoggin County should be part of the First District. Contrast this with Virginia's 'Fighting Ninth', a district that includes all of Southwest Virginia. The 'Fighting Ninth' has existed since the 1870 census and remains the only district in the US that has its own proper name. The 'Fighting Ninth' was one of the few Southern districts where Republicans were competitive enough to win elections following Reconstruction. Political scientist V. O. Key noted that Virginia was so thoroughly Democratic that the competitive 'Fighting Ninth' was therefore a 'Museum of Democracy'. Contrast this colorful history with either of Maine's current districts for which there is no historical rationale other than for the passage of time; and,
- **Accommodating unique geography.** There is no such qualifying geography in Maine. The intent is to prevent the division of such unique areas as Michigan's Upper Peninsula, or the creation of a district that must include an area entirely separated from the core by a mountain range, bay, or other natural barrier.

It is especially important to understand that the standard set by the Federal Courts to creating any district with a variance from the minimum deviation is very high. As Attorney Woodcock argues in the Desena Brief,

“However, the Court was careful to specify that these reasons only justify minor population deviations among congressional districts. *Id.* The courts have also made clear that the burden borne by the state varies inversely with the magnitude of the population deviation. That is, “the greater the deviation, the more compelling the government’s justification must be.” Vieth, 195 F. Supp. 2d at 677.”

It is central to the Republican argument to understand that a supposed 'legitimate state objective' is not established by a minority of public opinion; it is established by the government of a state by declaring the existence of such a 'legitimate state objective', and by justifying its declaration. In other words, there is no 'legitimate state objective' *unless* and *until* the Governor and the Legislature declare that such exists. Therefore, we argue that since no such declaration exists, none of the conditions listed above that might rationally apply either as a justification of a particular reapportionment configuration or as a justification for a deviation greater than one, are necessary elements of the 2011 reapportionment.

- **Contiguity.** Contiguity is probably the easiest of the reapportionment requirements. It simply means that no portion of a district can be separated from the rest by territory that belongs to another district. In other words, any one component of the district must border directly on the rest. In Maine, contiguity includes adjacent water boundaries as well as adjacent land boundaries. This, of course, is necessary in order to include islands.
- **Compactness.** A perfectly compact district would appear generally circular, since a circle is the most compact shape in plane geometry. In practice, however, no district can perfectly conform to a circular shape since geography and the boundaries of political subdivisions are notoriously irregular. It should be noted that tradeoffs necessary to achieve acceptable compactness can be somewhat subjective, given that a district that adheres to county and municipal boundaries will necessarily take the shape of that geography, which can easily be far from ideal. The Republican plans tend to value the integrity of political subdivision boundaries more than absolute compactness, but seek a high degree of compactness nevertheless.

Compactness is measured mathematically using several standardized tests, each of which compare a trial district to a standard shape, such as a circle. Compactness is then judged by the ratio, or percent, of the trial district area as compared to the standard test area. The Republican plans are measured against six standard tests, each well-known and recognized by mainstream political scientists, as follows:

- **Polsby-Popper Circularity Ratio** – This test produces the ratio of the area of the district to the area of a circle having the same perimeter. The formula is  $4\pi A/P^2$ , where A is the district area and P is the test circle perimeter. A perfect score is a ratio of 1:1, sometimes stated as 1, or 100%.
- **Circumference to Perimeter Ratio** – This test compares the circumference of a circle having an area equal to that of the district to the perimeter of the district. A perfect score is a ratio of 1:1, sometimes stated as 1, or 100%.
- **Schwartzberg Convex Hull Test** – This test compares the area of the district to the area of the districts ‘convex hull’. A convex hull is a polygon created by ‘boxing in’ the district with a series of lines connecting the outlying points of land. Therefore, this test allows unique geography but is very sensitive to indentations. A perfect score is a ratio of 1:1, sometimes stated as 1, or 100%.
- **Ehrenberg Test** – The Ehrenberg Test compares the area of the district to the area of the smallest circle that completely encloses it. Ehrenberg is similar to Polsby-Popper in that it is sensitive to geometry of regular shape. A perfect score is a ratio of 1:1, sometimes stated as 1, or 100%.
- **Roeck Test** – The Roeck Test is similar to Ehrenberg and Polsby-Popper, but it compares the area of the district to the area of the largest circle that completely

fits inside the district. Ehrenberg is, therefore, sensitive to districts that have a particularly long dimension or that are coiled. A perfect score is a ratio of 1:1, sometimes stated as 1, or 100%; and,

- **Radii Ratio** – This test compares the radius of a circle having the same area as the district to the radius of the smallest circle that bounds the district. A perfect score is a ratio of 1:1, sometimes stated as 1, or 100%.
- **Adherence to boundaries of political subdivisions.** The Maine Constitution requires that districts must cross county and municipal boundaries only when necessary to create a constitutional plan. Republicans have demonstrated that it is possible to create new congressional districts having a minimum deviation and splitting only one county while splitting no other political subdivisions.

### **THE REPUBLICAN PLAN:**

Maine Republicans have produced a redistricting plan designed to strictly meet both the US and Maine Constitutional standards.

The preferred plan by the Maine Republican Party and was presented and described at the public hearing on August 23. This plan re-oriens Maine's Congressional Districts creating an East/West division of the state, splitting Franklin County. It has a deviation of 1 person;

The preferred Plan divides the state into two East/West districts, the dividing line running in along a vertical line from the coast east of Brunswick to the Canadian Border in Franklin County. The new First District therefore contains a larger portion of rural Maine than does the current First District, and also encompasses a somewhat greater land area. The philosophical reasons for this configuration are:

- **It creates a more regular configuration.** The current districts are very irregular in shape. A quick look at a map shows a 'dip' where Androscoggin County lies, and a highly irregular Kennebec County border as a result of the 2003 reapportionment. There is only one area on the map that is at all irregular in shape, necessitated by the selection of Franklin County towns to achieve the population deviation of one person. The plan scores well on all of the compactness tests (see below).
- **It mitigates the 'Two Maines' phenomenon.** It has often been observed that there are two Maines. One is wealthy and the other is poor; one is changing rapidly and becoming more urbanized and the other is mostly rural; one is centered in the South and along the coast, and the other is in the North, spread over a huge area of the state; one gets the benefit of attention from Augusta and Washington, and the other often feels that its interests are easily ignored. Moving rural areas of the current Second District into a new

First District will assure that both of our representatives in Congress must and will pay attention to the needs and concerns of the whole state.

- **It maintains a healthy political dialog.** As has been stated, Iowa and a few other states have designed their reapportionment processes to foster debate and competition rather than to create safe districts for incumbents. Safe districts attract only token opposition to incumbents seeking re-election, and that is not a good situation for democracy. Moving incumbents into new territory guarantees competition and dialog. It forces incumbents to heed public opinion and to rethink their positions on issues critical to the state. Maine's two Congressional Districts should be 'Laboratories of Democracy', not bastions of incumbent protection.
- **It addresses the growing disparity in land area.** As Maine's population migrates from rural northern areas to the suburban south, it is inevitable that the First District will shrink in geographical size as the Second District continues to grow. Although the plan cannot make substantial improvements due to Maine's population distribution, it does modestly increase the First District land area from about 11% of the state to about 16%. This has the practical effect of reducing the distances travelled by the Second District Congressman and his staff as they carry out their duties.

**First District territory (population 664,181):** The First District would be comprised of the following areas:

Androscoggin County  
Cumberland County  
Oxford County  
York County  
Franklin County (part)

Avon	Rangeley Plantation
Carthage	Sandy River Plantation
Chesterville	Unorganized Territory of West Central Franklin
Farmington	Weld
Jay	Wilton

**Second District territory (population 664,180):** The Second District would be comprised of the following areas:

Aroostook County  
Hancock County  
Kennebec County  
Knox County  
Lincoln County  
Penobscot County  
Piscataquis County  
Sagadahoc County  
Somerset County

Waldo County	
Washington County	
Franklin County (part)	
Carrabasset Valley	Phillips
Coplin Plantation	Rangeley
Dallas Plantation	Strong
Eustis	Temple
Industry	Unorganized Territory of East Central Franklin
Kingfield	Unorganized Territory of North Franklin
New Sharon	Unorganized Territory of South Franklin
New Vineyard	Wyman Township

<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Republican Plan</u>		<u>Current 2003 Districts</u>	
	<u>1st District</u>	<u>2nd District</u>	<u>1st District</u>	<u>2nd District</u>
Population:	664,181	664,180	668,515	659,846
Deviation by district:	+ .5	- .5	+4334.5	-4334.5
Statewide plan deviation:		1		8,669
Counties split:	1 (Franklin County)		1 (Kennebec County)	
Towns split:	none		none	
Core of current district retained:	478,805	473,491	n/a	n/a
% of current district retained:	71.60%	71.80%	n/a	n/a
Population moved:	376,065 (statewide)		n/a	
% of state moved:	28.30%			
Towns moved:	137, including unorg. territory		n/a	
Land Area:	4,809 SqMi	25,768 SqMi	3,471 SqMi	27,106 SqMi
% of State:	15.70%	84.30%	11.40%	88.60%
Compactness tests:				
<i>Polsby-Popper</i>	25.0%	34.4%	16.4%	27.1%
<i>Circumference to perimeter</i>	50.9%	60.1%	41.6%	53.3%
<i>Schwartzberg</i>	82.3%	86.6%	64.0%	83.2%
<i>Roeck</i>	22.3%	46.3%	33.8%	43.2%
<i>Radii ratio</i>	47.2%	68.1%	58.2%	65.7%

**Summary of the Republican Plan:**

- It greatly improves on the existing geographic configuration making it less convoluted;

- It is more compact than the existing map according to standard compactness tests;
- It mitigates the 'Two Maines' phenomenon;
- It fosters debate and competitiveness among competing ideas and philosophies;
- It slightly decreases the growing land area disparity between districts;
- It maintains the core of existing districts (72% of each district remains where it was);
- It has the minimum deviation of 1 person; and
- It splits only one county (Franklin).