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ELECTIONS

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF REDISTRICTING: THREE SCENARIOS IN 2001

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In an effort to explode the myth that redistricting has little impact upon who is elected, and in order to demonstrate the potential effects of a partisan gerrymander in 2001, we have created three hypothetical redistricting plans for 54 congressional seats, based upon demographic estimates and data from the Statement of the Vote, by census tract, from 1998. The plans demonstrate remarkably different partisan results, showing, once and for all, how the vote of the people can be ignored, if only the lines are cleverly drawn. In effect, the party that redistricts can choose voters for the legislators, rather than voters choosing their legislators. The party that controls the redistricting process can thereby inflate the number of seats that they control, ultimately disenfranchising millions of Californians.

The results of the three plans are:

The "Masters" Plan

Drawn by the "good government" criteria outlined in *Wilson v. Eu* (1992), this plan produced 24 Safe Democrats; 3 Likely Democrats; 7 Toss-ups; 9 Likely Republicans; and 11 Safe Republicans for a net loss of zero (0) Republicans. An alternative plan, incorporating a number of changes suggested by our knowledgeable people who reviewed the plan produced 24 Safe Democrats; 2 Likely Democrats; 8 Toss-ups; 7 Likely Republicans; and 13 Safe Republicans, again for a net loss of zero Republicans.

The "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

This is a modest gerrymander, but still sufficient, depending on redistricting in the other states, to tip control of Congress away from the Republican Party. This plan resulted in 24 Safe Democrats; 11 Likely Democrats; 0 Toss-ups; 6 Likely Republicans; 13 Safe Republicans, for a net loss of six (6) Republicans. Incumbent Republican Congressmen whose seats are lost are: Ose, Rogan, Kuykendall, Horn, Miller, and Bilbray.¹

The "Burton Redux"

A harshly partisan gerrymander, this plan results in: 26 Safe Democrats; 10 Likely Democrats; 1 Toss-up; 2 Likely Republicans; 15 Safe Republicans, for a net loss of eight (8) Republican seats, and other *incumbents* are cut out of seats, even though there is no corresponding loss of a Republican seats in balance. Republicans who are cut out of seats altogether are: Ose, Campbell, Kuykendall, Horn, Rogan or Dreier, Bilbray, and Gallegly or McKeon. Furthermore, Doolittle's hometown of Roseville is moved into the same district as Pombo's forcing the two to run against each other, or one of them to move and run in another seat. Since there is no other obvious seat for Pombo to run in, Doolittle must move and then run against either Herger or Radanovich in a primary. Similarly, the hometowns of Lewis and Bono are forced into one district, as are Royce and Miller, Cox and Rohrabacher, and Hunter and Cunningham. These moves do not cost Republicans any seats, but certainly inconveniences a number of Republican incumbents, requiring them to move if they want to stay in Congress. Finally, the Democrats gain a final seat by preventing Republicans from gaining a new seat that should almost certainly be due the GOP as a result of the reapportionment.

¹ Tom Campbell's seat is drawn into a Safe Democratic District (District 17), but a new "Likely Republican" seat then shows up along the Central Coast, resulting in no net loss of Republicans.

SECTION ONE: METHODOLOGY

A limitation of our analysis is the fact that, since data are not yet available for the 2000 Census, we relied upon a series of demographic estimates. Those used were by census tract for 1998, obtained from Western Economic Research in Mill City, Oregon. Added to those figures were a series of political data—registration and vote totals—also by census tract, from the Statewide Database, maintained by the Institute for Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley. This study is limited, of course, by the accuracy of the data from those two sources, but they are the best to be found.

There are also two inherent flaws with using these census tracts. To begin with, the census geography has not been released for the 2000 Census; therefore, we were forced to use 1990 Census tracts, some of which inevitably will be split in 2000. Secondly, the Legislature in 2001 will not be required to use census tracts to redraw the lines; they could just as easily use census blocks, precincts, or any other unit that they wish. Obviously, therefore, this modeling will not be perfectly predictive of the 2001 redistricting. Nevertheless, this exercise should serve well to demonstrate some of the possible directions of the process.

Another assumption used by this study is that California will gain two (2) congressional seats in the next redistricting. The authors have seen estimates ranging from 1 to 3, and, needing to use a consistent number throughout the plans, decided to split the difference. Therefore, California is divided into 54

congressional seats in each of the three plans. Of the two new seats, we have assumed that each party will gain one: Democrats have a registration advantage statewide, but the fastest growth over the past few years has typically been in areas favorable to Republicans.² With that in mind, if Democrats manage to pick up *both* new seats, one of them counts as a seat pilfered from the Republicans by means of the gerrymander.

Using the population estimates mentioned above, California was estimated to have a total population of 32,528,107. Therefore, the ideal district size for this exercise is 602,372. Considering the limitations of the data mentioned above, "equality of population" is defined, for the purposes of these plans, as being within 2% of the ideal. Subsequently, all the districts must have population between 590,324 and 614,419.

Another consideration is the fact that the 2000 elections could change the equation. We have assumed here, however, that all of the seats will be held by the incumbent party in 2000. The incumbent party is also assumed to hold all "toss-up" seats drawn into these plans, so they do not count as seats taken by the gerrymander. A rough "conversion" chart of old districts to new follows this section.

We have classified all the districts as "Safe Democrat," "Likely Democrat," "Toss-up," "Likely Republican," or "Safe Republican," based upon a number of

² For more information on this fact, see Dan Walters column in the Sacramento Bee on

factors, foremost of which was registration. Any district in which Republicans had a plurality of registration is generally considered to be a safe district. Districts in which they had 40%+ of the vote, but not quite a majority of the twoparty registration, is still considered a reasonably good district. First impressions based upon registration were then confirmed by examination of each of the races listed in the database. The classification was not, however, based upon any scientific formula. Some of the experts who reviewed these plans noted that there were several seats classified as "Likely Republican," which struck them as, really, "Safe Republican" seats.3 Generally, these would be considered "Safe Republican" seats, but when the Republican gubernatorial candidate convincingly loses the district one must think that there is some room for a Democrat to carry the seat—after all, Gray Davis did—and it is therefore difficult to call it "Safe Republican." Nevertheless, in such districts all the stars must align in order for a Democrat to plausibly have a chance in these districts.

One final consideration is the assumptions used with respect to the Voting Rights Act (VRA) and minority seats. For this exercise we have examined the most recent case law on VRA applicability, particularly *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 US 30 (1986) and *Reno v. Bossier Parish School Board*, No. 98-405 (2000). In light of this review, we determined that we were required to make no further great effort to increase the number of minority seats, which had already been increased in

the 1991 redistricting. The current number of majority-minority seats was maintained in each of the plans, to prevent "retrogression," but unless some other goal corresponded with that of adding more minority seats, they were not added. That fact would likely cause any one of these plans to be challenged in court, but since the vast majority of redistricting plans are challenged anyway, and since *Gingles & Bossier Parish* give the plans a reasonable chance of prevailing, this standard was held as acceptable.

The purpose of this paper, as stated above, is simply to demonstrate the deleterious effect that an unrestrained partisan gerrymander can have on representation. An unhindered Democratic gerrymander in 2001 could result in: a change of control of the House of Representatives, whatever may be the wishes of the people; and, as the decade progresses, it could prevent the Republicans from regaining control, even if the people desire it. Over the years, too, it could produce progressive disenfranchisement of voters and a repeat gerrymander in 2011 (if Democrats still hold the governorship).

³ For example, in the Masters plan see districts 25, 27, 28, 30, 45, & 46.

Table 1: Rough Conversion Sheet (Old Districts to New)

Seats that Switched Parties Denoted in **Bold Italics** (Toss-ups not counted as switched parties)

Old District	Current Rep.	Act.	Proj.	"Masters" Equivaler	nt	"Modest" Equivalen	t	"Burton" Equivale	
1	Thompson	D	LD	1	D	1	D	1	B
2	Herger	R	SR	2	R	2	R	2	R
3	Ose	R	LR	5	T	5	D	3	D
4	Doolittle	R	SR	4	R	4	R	4***	R
5	Matsui	D	SD	7	D	7	D	5	D
6	Woolsev	D	SD	3	D	3	D	6	D
7	George Miller	D	SD	9	D	9	D	7	D
8	Pelosi	10	SD	11	D	11	D	8	D
9	Lee	D	SD	10	ō	10	D	9	D
10	Tauscher	D	Ŧ	12	D	12	D	10	D
11	Pombo	R	LR	8	Ŕ	8	R	11	R
12	Lantos	D	SD	13	D	13	D	12	D
13	Stark	T D	SD	15	Ď	15	D	13	D
14	Eshoo	1 5	SD	14	D	14	D	14	D
15	Campbell	R	LD	21*	R	21*	Ř	15	10
		 0	SD	16	B	16	D	16	D
16	Lofgren	16	SD	17	D	17	늄	19	D
17	Farr			18	H	18	Б	18	D
18	Condit	D	T.			20	R	20	R
19	Radanovich	R	LR	20	R	19	F	21	D
20	Dooley	D	LD	19					10
21	Thomas	R	SR	22	R	22	R	27	R
22	Capps	D	T	24	민	24	D	22	닉빌
23	Gallegly	R	T	25	R	25	R	23	D D
24	Sherman	D	SD	33**	D	33**	D	24	
25	McKeon	R	LR	23	R	23	R	25****	D D
26	Berman	D	SD	26	D	26	D	26	D
27	Rogan	R	LD	27	R	27	D	41****	
28	Dreier	R	LR	28	R	28	R	28	B
29	Waxman	D	SD	32	D	32	D	29	D
30	Becerra	D	SD	35	D	35	D	30	D
31	Martinez	D	SD	36	D	36	D	31	D
32	Dixon	D	SD	34	D	34	D	32	
33	Roybal-Allard	D	SD	38	D	38	D	33	D
34	Napolitano	D	SD	39	D	39	D	34	D
35	Waters	D	SD	37	D	37	D	35	D
36	Kuykendall	R	T	41	T	41	D	36	D
37	Millender-McDonald	D	SD	42	D	42	D	37	D
38	Horn	R	LR	43	T	43	D	38	D
39	Royce	R	SR	44	R	44	R	39	R
40	Lewis	R	SR	30	R	30	R	47	R
41	Gary Miller	R	T	40	T	40	D	40	R
42	Joe Baca	D	LD	29	D	29	D	42	
43	Calvert	R	LR	45	R	45	R	48	R
44	Bono	R	LR	46	R	46	R	49	R
45	Rohrabacher	R	SR	47	R	47	R	43	IR
46	Sanchez	D	LD	48	D	48	D	44	D
47	Cox	R	SR	49	R	49	R	46	IR
48	Packard	R	SR	50	R	50	R	50	R
49	Bilbray	R	T	52	T	52	D	52	0
50	Filner	D	SD	53	D	53	D	53	D
51	Cunningham	R	SR	51	Ŕ	51	R	_ 51	F
52	Hunter	R	SR	54	R	54	R	54	B
New	-	2	-	6	D	6	D	17	ID
New		-	-	31	R	31	R	45	0

- Tom Campbell's Republican Bay Area seat is drawn into a "Safe Democratic" seat for Sam Farr, but a new Republican seat shows up along the Central Coast, resulting in no net loss or Republican seats.
- Sherman's seat is largely taken over by Waxman, thus meaning that Sherman may be lost though a Democrat will still be elected to District 33.
- Doolittle's Roseville home is pushed over into District 11, meaning that he is given the option of running against Pombo in a primary, or moving to run against Herger or Radanovich instead. While this move deprives Republicans of an incumbent legislature, the overall partisan balance is not affected by this move, since a "Likely Republican" District in the west of the Central Valley (CD20) is opened up.
- A Republican is elected here also, but Gallegly's Simi Valley home is taken in McKeon's new seat, thus pitting them against each other in a primary if both want to run again. Gallegly has no other Republican district nearby that he can run in.
- Rogan's old district is fused with Dreier's, but the excess population from Rogan's district is made up in the new district 41.

SECTION TWO: THE "MASTERS" PLAN

Results: 24 Safe Democrats; 3 Likely Democrats; 7 Toss-ups; 9 Likely Republicans; and 11 Safe Republicans. (29 Democrats/25 Republicans).

Likely Net Loss⁴ of Republican Seats: None.

Summary. In this plan, one (1) previously Republican seat (Campbell) turns Democratic, but one (1) previously Democratic seats (Farr) turns Republican. If Henry Modest Gerrymander decides to run in District 32 (which seems likely since District 32 is more heavily Jewish, less heavily Hispanic, and is generally wealthier), Brad Sherman will be out of a seat, but his place in the Los Angeles County Democratic delegation would then be picked up by whoever won District 33. If, alternatively, Modest Gerrymander decided to run in District 33, then Sherman would be a natural choice to carry District 32 instead. Either way there are no additional Democratic seats in that area.

Under this plan two Democratic seats are toss-ups, and so are five (5) Republican seats. Of course, all seven of these "toss-up" seats⁵ are generally marginal under the current plan as well, so the net change is less significant than it might seem. As mentioned above, for the purposes of this plan, toss-up

⁴ For the purposes of this exercise, the net number lost is the number of Republican seats in the new plan subtracted from 25—the current 24 plus one of the two new seats.

⁵ Congressmen Ose, Condit, Dooley, Kuykendall, Horn, Bilbray, and Miller. Miller's has not traditionally been so marginal, but changing demographics would have made him so, even if the lines had not changed at all.

districts are assumed to be carried by the incumbent party, so they do not count against the seats that the Democrats drain from the Republicans.

Of the two new seats gained, only one is Democratic (CD 06). The other is "Likely Republican" (CD 31), so on balance Republicans actually come out a little bit ahead compared to the California delegation to the 106th Congress. Under this plan, Republicans have 46.29% of the delegation (25 of 54), compared to 46.15% of the current delegation (24 of 52).

The "Masters" plan was drawn according to the "good government" criteria for redistricting that the Supreme Court outlined in Wilson v. Eu, 1 Cal 4th 707 (1992), which included: "(1) equality of population, (2) contiguity and compactness of districts, (3) respect for county and city boundaries, (4) preservation of the integrity of the state's geographical regions, (5) consideration of the 'community of interests' in each area, (6) formation of state senatorial districts from adjacent assembly districts ('nesting'), and use of assembly district boundaries in drawing congressional district boundaries, and (7) reliance on the current census and undivided census tracts." Criterion 6 is clearly not relevant to this study. Criterion 7 was used to the greatest extent possible, while acknowledging the fact that the population will differ substantially from the 1998

⁶ The state's geographical regions in this plan follow, as much as population allows, the regions detailed in Dan Walters book, *The New California: Facing the 21st Century, 2nd Edition.* (Sacramento, California: California Journal Press), 1991.

estimates in 2000, and also that some tracts, particularly in the Inland Empire, are likely to be split in 2000.

The were three key points of concern among people who reviewed the initial plan:

- 1. The first was to question whether or not the Special Masters would realistically draw a district running all the way from Mono County to Imperial County. Our reviewers split on this question. About half believed that the district was somewhat unlikely. The other half believed that district to be more of a "community of interest" than more compact ones that paired desert communities with younger, more urban, more ethnically-diverse communities closer to Los Angeles.
- 2. The second was whether or not the Masters would cross a mountain range to include Colusa, Glenn, and Sutter Counties in District 01.
- 3. The third was whether the Masters would cross a mountain range in Alameda County to add coastal towns in the Livermore Valley to a Walnut Creek district (12).

We have addressed these concerns by redrawing key districts in an alternative plan. In the desert we have reconfigured Districts 30, 31, and 46 to be more compact. The reconfiguration does nothing to change the partisan balance, however; all three seats still belong to Republicans.

In the Sacramento Valley, Colusa, Glenn, and Sutter are pushed into District 05, and the portion of the City of Sacramento that was previously in 05 is pushed into 07, which in turn loses more population down the delta to 06. District 01 then picks up its extra population from along the edge of District 06 in Solano County. The partisan balance is not changed here at all—District 01 simply becomes "Safe Democrat" as a result of the shift.

In the East Bay, District 12 is pushed to the east of the mountains, and north to the county line to pick up some population from the southern border of District 06. District 06 then moves west to pick up some population from the north edge of District 09. The remainder of 09, all of 10, and the portion of 12 remaining from the west of the mountains are then reconfigured to comprise new Districts 09 and 10. Again, the partisan balance is unchanged. District 12 (Tauscher's seat) is now "Toss-up," rather than "Safe Democrat," because it lost the most Democratic population from the initial district west of the mountains. However, since we are counting "Toss-ups" as staying with the incumbent party, the overall balance of Democrat to Republican does not change here, either.

The result of the reconfigured districts is: 24 Safe Democrats; 2 Likely Democrats; 8 Toss-ups; 7 Likely Republicans; and 13 Safe Republicans. The Likely Net Loss of Republican Seats under the alternative plan is still zero (0). Closer looks at the reconfigured districts, along with the corresponding data, follow the data for the original Masters plan. A revised "conversion table" also accompanies these reconfigurations.

Proposed "Masters" Plan

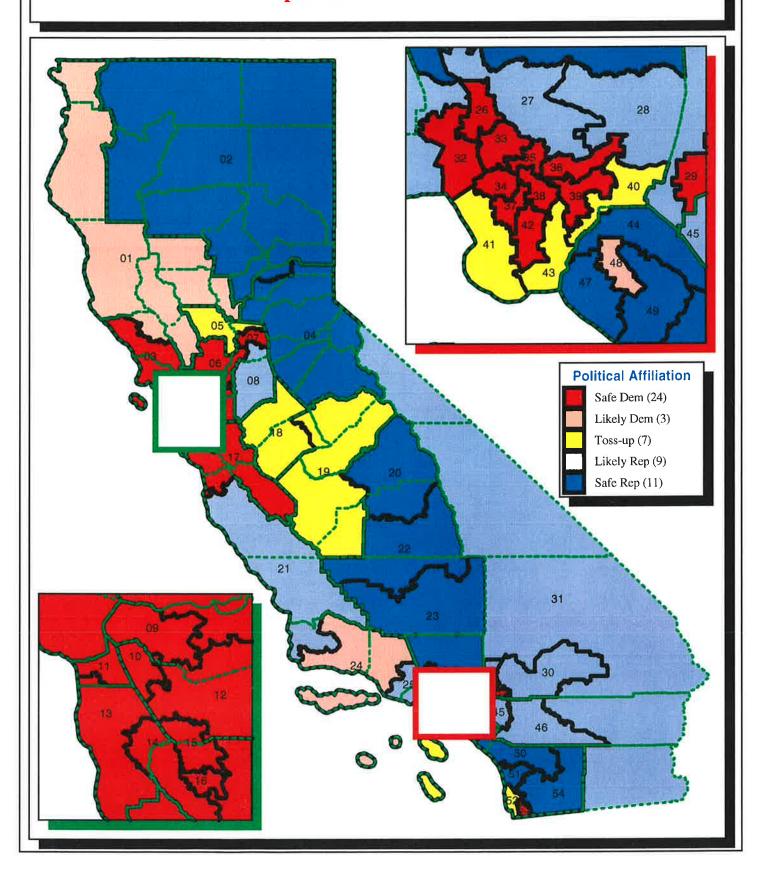


Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD01		CD	02	CD03	
LEANINGS	Likely I)emocrat	Safe Rep	oublican	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	600,513		612,741		597,659	
WHTPOP98	510,284	84.97%	544,600	88.88%	522,916	87.49%
BLKPOP98	6,788	1.13%	10,277	1.68%	14,203	2.38%
INDPOP98	16,675	2.78%	15,362	2.51%	4,433	0.74%
ASNPOP98	23,018	3.83%	19,829	3.24%	27,355	4.58%
OTHPOP98	43,748	7.29%	22,673	3.70%	28,752	4.81%
НЅРРОР98	93,782	15.62%	57,476	9.38%	72,366	12.11%
ADLTPOP98	443,650	73.88%	452,881	73.91%	460,729	77.09%
POP03	632,445		637,487		624,738	
WHTPOP03	526,620	83.27%	559,483	87.76%	536,951	85.95%
BLKPOP03	7,442	1.18%	11,245	1.76%	15,058	2.41%
INDPOP03	17,226	2.72%	15,942	2.50%	4,547	0.73%
ASNPOP03	28,196	4.46%	23,558	3.70%	33,125	5.30%
OTHPOP03	52,961	8.37%	27,259	4.28%	35,057	5.61%
HSPPOP03	113,364	17.92%	69,579	10.91%	88,288	14.13%
ADLTPOP03	470,361	74.37%	475,122	74.53%	483,933	77.46%
TOTREG	322,266		335,087		340,954	
DEM	146,880	45.58%	132,245	39.47%	178,523	52.36%
REP	114,607	35.56%	143,693	42.88%	98,325	28.84%
CNGDEM	85,554	62.78%	50,548	36.50%	118,045	71.66%
CNGREP	50,720	37.22%	87,957	63.50%	46,676	28.34%
GOVDEM	83,233	60.36%	68,649	48.50%	118,893	72.53%
GOVREP	54,650	39.64%	72,886	51.50%	45,021	27.47%
LTGDEM	70,520	56.73%	53,957	41.00%	101,632	68.82%
LTGREP	53,790	43.27%	77,654	59.00%	46,037	31.18%
ATGDEM	69,888	53.47%	56,224	42.36%	102,157	66.42%
ATGREP	60,806	46.53%	76,505	57.64%	51,653	33.58%
CONDEM	83,986	65.22%	71,106	54.32%	111,541	72.80%
CONREP	44,786	34.78%	59,805	45.68%	41,681	27.20%
INSDEM	60,118	46.28%	47,032	35.48%	92,581	61.74%
INSREP	69,780	53.72%	85,532	64.52%	57,376	38.26%
SOSDEM	61,874	47.80%				
SOSREP	67,576	52.20%	80,166		62,278	40.84%
TRSDEM	72,734	57.63%	59,420	46.03%	100,383	67.58%
TRSREP	53,484	42.37%	69,674	53.97%	48,164	32.42%
USSDEM	76,857	55.44%	56,437	41.45%	112,625	68.32%
USSREP	61,773	44.56%	79,730	58.55%	52,229	31.68%
ASSDEM	81,780	59.71%	58,677	42.41%	112,861	70.26%
ASSREP	55,184	40.29%	79,692	57.59%	47,782	29.74%
SENDEM	65,090	48.79%	22,618	33.35%	30,387	63.30%
SENREP	68,311	51.21%	45,201	66.65%	17,617	36.70%

POP1998	600,513	612,741	597,659
1998 DEV.	-0.31%	1.72%	-0.78%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	04	CD	05	CD	06
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	oublican	Toss	s-up	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	590,368		611,237		606,073	
WHTPOP98	546,857	92.63%	472,182	77.25%	403,392	66.56%
BLKPOP98	6,158	1.04%	38,156	6.24%	65,948	10.88%
INDPOP98	7,875	1.33%	7,402	1.21%	5,403	0.89%
ASNPOP98	13,103	2.22%	48,032	7.86%	80,107	13.22%
ОТНРОР98	16,375	2.77%	45,465	7.44%	51,223	8.45%
HSPPOP98	56,452	9.56%	97,981	16.03%	117,685	19.42%
ADLTPOP98	444,478	75.29%	447,994	73.29%	428,414	70.69%
POP03	658,759		641,395		649,737	
WHTPOP03	604,571	91.77%	480,099	74.85%	415,957	64.02%
вькрор03	6,921	1.05%	40,962	6.39%	70,072	10.78%
INDPOP03	8,911	1.35%	7,722	1.20%	5,728	0.88%
ASNPOP03	17,212	2.61%	58,005	9.04%	96,483	14.85%
OTHPOP03	21,144	3.21%	54,607	8.51%	61,497	9.46%
HSPPOP03	73,453	11.15%	118,631	18.50%	141,898	21.84%
ADLTPOP03	499,973	75.90%	473,446	73.82%	463,412	71.32%
TOTREG	343,297		319,976		295,800	
DEM	124,131	36.16%	146,834	45.89%	158,162	53.47%
REP	161,244	46.97%	118,680	37.09%	86,469	29.23%
CNGDEM	58,628	36.08%	67,425	50.48%	73,600	63.96%
CNGREP	103,881	63.92%	66,132	49.52%	41,469	36.04%
GOVDEM	79,651	46.77%	80,328	57.97%	78,375	65.64%
GOVREP	90,660	53.23%	58,252	42.03%	41,032	34.36%
LTGDEM	65,156	40.36%	69,945	53.38%	69,602	63.45%
LTGREP	96,282	59.64%	61,092	46.62%	40,091	36.55%
ATGDEM	64,005	40.32%	66,814	51.24%	67,297	60.42%
ATGREP	94,742	59.68%	63,592	48.76%	44,081	39.58%
CONDEM	85,042	53.38%	79,109	60.92%	76,730	69.71%
CONREP	74,283	46.62%	50,753	39.08%	33,344	30.29%
INSDEM	51,974	32.41%	55,739	42.68%	59,538	
INSREP	108,370	67.59%	74,856	57.32%	51,229	
SOSDEM	58,023	36.98%	58,727	45.51%		
SOSREP	98,897	63.02%	70,328	54.49%	46,772	41.80%
TRSDEM	69,080	44.15%	72,423	56.33%	68,578	63.43%
TRSREP	87,383	55.85%	56,135	43.67%	39,542	36.57%
USSDEM	69,884	41.96%	70,439	52.05%	70,502	60.03%
USSREP	96,675	58.04%	64,893	47.95%	46,938	39.97%
ASSDEM	57,540	36.33%	68,561	52.31%	74,126	64.68%
ASSREP	100,858	63.67%	62,517	47.69%	40,477	35.32%
SENDEM	8,239	43.46%	68,850	53.28%	42,421	56.69%
SENREP	10,718	56.54%	60,365	46.72%	32,404	43.31%

POP1998 590,368		611,237	606,073	
1998 DEV.	-1.99%	1.47%	0.61%	

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD07		CD	08	CD09	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Likely Re	epublican	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	611,679		606,851		612,832	
WHTPOP98	384,500	62.86%	430,122	70.88%	425,633	69.45%
BLKPOP98	71,044	11.61%	30,564	5.04%	67,616	11.03%
INDPOP98	6,036	0.99%	5,881	0.97%	3,042	0.50%
ASNPOP98	101,342	16.57%	86,639	14.28%	86,774	14.16%
ОТНРОР98	48,757	7.97%	53,645	8.84%	29,767	4.86%
нѕррор98	103,341	16.89%	170,328	28.07%	78,089	12.74%
ADLTPOP98	450,908	73.72%	428,571	70.62%	467,568	76.30%
POP03	636,370		653,355		646,972	
WHTPOP03	378,925	59.54%	446,452	68.33%	429,532	66.39%
BLKPOP03	74,197	11.66%	32,473	4.97%	72,424	11.19%
INDPOP03	6,029	0.95%	6,135	0.94%	3,076	0.48%
ASNPOP03	120,061	18.87%	103,536	15.85%	105,394	16.29%
OTHPOP03	57,158	8.98%	64,759	9.91%	36,546	5.65%
HSPPOP03	122,965	19.32%	205,988	31.53%	96,512	14.92%
ADLTPOP03	471,542	74.10%	465,001	71.17%	496,062	76.67%
TOTREG	326,265		259,861		340,573	
DEM	169,926	52.08%	120,460	46.36%	169,593	49.80%
REP	105,948	32.47%	108,390	41.71%	113,147	33.22%
CNGDEM	99,520	67.68%	41,823	39.49%	97,029	68.11%
CNGREP	47,516	32.32%	64,097	60.51%	45,429	31.89%
GOVDEM	97,456	64.88%	58,775	53.42%	98,761	67.77%
GOVREP	52,747	35.12%	51,259	46.58%	46,958	32.23%
LTGDEM	86,039	60.63%	56,306		84,993	64.09%
LTGREP	55,863	39.37%	48,338	46.19%	47,629	35.91%
ATGDEM	82,216	57.79%	49,842	48.30%	82,317	62.41%
ATGREP	60,047	42.21%	53,360	51.70%	49,571	37.59%
CONDEM	92,346	65.11%	63,918		91,740	70.26%
CONREP	49,484	34.89%	39,189	38.01%	38,838	29.74%
INSDEM	69,492	49.16%	43,118	41.50%	75,931	57.28%
INSREP	71,868	50.84%	60,792	58.50%	56,624	42.72%
SOSDEM	70,442	50.13%				57.28%
SOSREP	70,063	49.87%	56,339	54.67%	57,961	42.72%
TRSDEM	87,561	62.60%	51,626	51.36%	81,280	63.41%
TRSREP	52,313	37.40%	48,890	48.64%	46,909	36.59%
USSDEM	85,443	57.52%	53,390	49.49%	90,474	62.65%
USSREP	63,109	42.48%	54,497	50.51%	53,947	37.35%
ASSDEM	85,915	60.76%	65,357	60.82%	84,456	61.15%
ASSREP	55,486	39.24%	42,104	39.18%	53,661	38.85%
SENDEM	53,047	66.91%	861	40.96%	25,198	83.13%
SENREP	26,230	33.09%	1,241	59.04%	5,115	16.87%

POP1998	611,679	611,679 606,851		
1998 DEV.	1.55%	0.74%	1.74%	

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD10		CD	11	CD12	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	614,427		612,347		611,840	
WHTPOP98	251,570	40.94%	292,928	47.84%	420,819	68.78%
BLKPOP98	193,922	31.56%	65,658	10.72%	36,694	6.00%
INDPOP98	3,111	0.51%	2,655	0.43%	4,119	0.67%
ASNPOP98	114,676	18.66%	204,706	33.43%	101,736	16.63%
ОТНРОР98	51,148	8.32%	46,400	7.58%	48,472	7.92%
HSPPOP98	98,259	15.99%	107,933	17.63%	113,099	18.49%
ADLTPOP98	469,374	76.39%	512,441	83.68%	457,286	74.74%
POP03	624,467		636,630		651,780	
WHTPOP03	237,488	38.03%	277,757	43.63%	427,600	65.60%
BLKPOP03	195,758	31.35%	65,928	10.36%	40,602	6.23%
INDPOP03	2,932	0.47%	2,604	0.41%	4,289	0.66%
ASNPOP03	129,268	20.70%	237,103	37.24%	122,681	18.82%
OTHPOP03	59,021	9.45%	53,238	8.36%	56,608	8.69%
HSPPOP03	115,682	18.52%	124,246	19.52%	133,188	20.43%
ADLTPOP03	475,847	76.20%	532,608	83.66%	491,852	75.46%
TOTREG	355,244		374,483		315,242	
DEM	232,066	65.33%	222,990	59.55%	153,531	48.70%
REP	44,975	12,66%	52,329	13.97%	103,146	32.72%
CNGDEM	123,715	86.54%	120,767	88.65%	81,872	64.06%
CNGREP	19,241	13.46%	15,466	11.35%	45,926	35.94%
GOVDEM	130,265	87.59%	123,879	87.20%	85,403	64.65%
GOVREP	18,461	12.41%	18,182	12.80%	46,698	35.35%
LTGDEM	106,579	85.14%	96,081	84.80%	72,733	60.93%
LTGREP	18,608	14.86%	17,225	15.20%	46,646	39.07%
ATGDEM	116,608	85.13%	107,939		77,008	62.73%
ATGREP	20,361	14.87%	19,306	15.17%	45,762	37.27%
CONDEM	121,273	88.06%	108,981	85.88%	83,656	68.83%
CONREP	16,448	11.94%	17,922	14.12%	37,878	31.17%
INSDEM	109,364	81.51%	99,891	80.78%	64,407	54.32%
INSREP	24,812	18.49%		19.22%		45.68%
SOSDEM	109,396	80.40%				
SOSREP	26,661	19.60%		20.57%	54,320	44.88%
TRSDEM	112,616	84.20%	100,246		71,636	61.48%
TRSREP	21,125	15.80%	21,359	17.56%	44,881	38.52%
USSDEM	127,457	83.74%	119,459		78,077	59.50%
USSREP	24,749	16.26%	25,736		53,153	40.50%
ASSDEM	120,830	84.32%	112,081	85.20%	69,149	55.08%
ASSREP	22,474	15.68%	19,476	14.80%	56,385	44.92%
SENDEM	113,041	83.19%	38,060	83.82%	57,842	69.61%
SENREP	22,839	16.81%	7,346	16.18%	25,252	30.39%

POP1998 614,427		612,347	611,840
1998 DEV.	2.00%	1.66%	1.57%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	13	CD	14	CD	15
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	613,215		612,073		610,792	
WHTPOP98	354,866	57.87%	461,217	75.35%	325,441	53.28%
BLKPOP98	29,487	4.81%	27,708	4.53%	26,192	4.29%
INDPOP98	2,277	0.37%	2,074	0.34%	3,631	0.59%
ASNPOP98	189,290	30.87%	89,803	14.67%	182,726	29.92%
OTHPOP98	37,295	6.08%	31,271	5.11%	72,802	11.92%
НЅРРОР98	114,265	18.63%	97,633	15.95%	164,769	26.98%
ADLTPOP98	480,621	78.38%	481,784	78.71%	448,754	73.47%
POP03	649,951		649,901		651,219	
WHTPOP03	350,757	53.97%	470,538	72.40%	321,509	49.37%
BLKPOP03	29,980	4.61%	29,029	4.47%	27,259	4.19%
INDPOP03	2,285	0.35%	2,128	0.33%	3,687	0.57%
ASNPOP03	222,737	34.27%	109,795	16.89%	214,844	32.99%
OTHPOP03	44,192	6.80%	38,411	5.91%	83,920	12.89%
HSPPOP03	135,191	20.80%	119,409	18.37%	190,897	29.31%
ADLTPOP03	510,878	78.60%	513,566	79.02%	481,284	73.91%
TOTREG	295,774		318,018		239,571	
DEM	157,959	53.41%	142,686	44.87%	119,360	49.82%
REP	74,672	25.25%	111,462	35.05%	67,474	28.16%
CNGDEM	86,783	78.54%	90,971	62.61%	66,485	69.02%
CNGREP	23,708	21.46%	54,337	37.39%	29,844	30.98%
GOVDEM	88,624	74.55%	99,683	67.48%	70,141	70.76%
GOVREP	30,253	25.45%	48,037	32.52%	28,978	29.24%
LTGDEM	76,115	72.94%	82,118	62.06%	59,187	66.86%
LTGREP	28,240	27.06%	50,195	37.94%	29,338	33.14%
ATGDEM	73,685	69.60%	81,774	60.66%	59,493	65.45%
ATGREP	32,180	30.40%	53,039	39.34%	31,412	34.55%
CONDEM	76,244	70.73%	85,558		65,120	71.67%
CONREP	31,559	29.27%	49,497	36.65%	25,737	28.33%
INSDEM	68,024	65.25%	73,365	55.44%	52,557	58.89%
INSREP	36,229	34.75%	58,973	44.56%	36,687	41.11%
SOSDEM	70,128	64.28%				60.28%
SOSREP	38,969	35.72%	62,564	45.85%	36,167	39.72%
TRSDEM	70,960	69.26%	81,224	61.60%	59,756	67.73%
TRSREP	31,488	30.74%	50,626	38.40%	28,473	32.27%
USSDEM	80,093	67.75%	91,014	61.42%	62,863	63.32%
USSREP	38,129	32.25%	57,171	38.58%	36,414	36.68%
ASSDEM	83,481	76.31%	86,727	63.22%	60,989	64.19%
ASSREP	25,920	23.69%	50,464	36.78%	34,031	35.81%
SENDEM	79,321	78.71%	0	*	40,637	68.27%
SENREP	21,460	21.29%	0	*	18,884	31.73%

POP1998	POP1998 613,215		610,792
1998 DEV.	1.80%	1.61%	1.40%

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD16		CD17		CD18	
LEANINGS	- Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat		Toss-up	
POP98	611,760		610,337		613,367	
WHTPOP98	387,781	63.39%	433,267	70.99%	438,899	71.56%
BLKPOP98	24,423	3.99%	22,159	3.63%	15,612	2.55%
INDPOP98	3,790	0.62%	4,229	0.69%	5,605	0.91%
ASNPOP98	109,650	17.92%	59,701	9.78%	46,805	7.63%
ОТНРОР98	86,116	14.08%	90,981	14.91%	106,446	17.35%
нѕррор98	194,698	31.83%	182,359	29.88%	191,860	31.28%
ADLTPOP98	453,106	74.07%	444,401	72.81%	421,618	68.74%
POP03	651,084		653,791		646,502	
WHTPOP03	390,667	60.00%	445,640	68.16%	443,929	68.67%
BLKPOP03	25,210	3.87%	21,929	3.35%	15,853	2.45%
INDPOP03	3,864	0.59%	4,346	0.66%	5,699	0.88%
ASNPOP03	128,796	19.78%	72,286	11.06%	54,467	8.42%
OTHPOP03	102,547	15.75%	109,590	16.76%	126,554	19.58%
HSPPOP03	234,754	36.06%	220,997	33.80%	228,749	35.38%
ADLTPOP03	482,398	74.09%	480,536	73.50%	448,745	69.41%
TOTREG	255,491		307,158		274,818	
DEM	126,062	49.34%	151,704	49.39%	138,880	50.54%
REP	78,772	30.83%	94,524	30.77%	97,071	35.32%
CNGDEM	59,243	55.20%	80,506	63.75%	85,484	100.00%
CNGREP	48,075	44.80%	45,777	36.25%	0	0.00%
GOVDEM	75,449	69.14%	85,454	66.84%	54,019	53.12%
GOVREP	33,681	30.86%	42,394	33.16%	47,677	46.88%
LTGDEM	63,370	64.05%	71,935	62.84%	54,527	56.37%
LTGREP	35,575	35.95%	42,533	37.16%	42,198	43.63%
ATGDEM	62,807	62.91%	70,955	60.62%	48,259	50.17%
ATGREP	37,023	37.09%	46,091	39.38%	47,938	49.83%
CONDEM	69,280	69.41%	81,209	69.27%	59,145	61.97%
CONREP	30,536	30.59%	36,033	30.73%	36,295	38.03%
INSDEM	56,111	56.61%	63,006		40,223	41.94%
INSREP	43,015	43.39%	55,341	46.76%	55,677	58.06%
SOSDEM	58,270	58.07%				44.72%
SOSREP	42,078	41.93%	49,897	42.52%	52,763	55.28%
TRSDEM	63,721	65.33%	72,405	63.57%	50,124	53.74%
TRSREP	33,811	34.67%	41,487	36.43%	43,141	46.26%
USSDEM	68,755	63.21%	78,269	61.68%	49,238	49.77%
USSREP	40,022	36.79%	48,621	38.32%	49,700	50.23%
ASSDEM	61,916	60.07%	72,354	59.07%	55,793	56.52%
ASSREP	41,149	39.93%	50,133	40.93%	42,923	43.48%
SENDEM	0	*	1,582	65.00%	49,015	49.03%
SENREP	0	*	852	35.00%	50,953	50.97%

POP1998	611,760	610,337	613,367
1998 DEV.	1.56%	1.32%	1.83%

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD19		CD20		CD21		
LEANINGS	Toss	s-up	Safe Republican		Likely Re	Likely Republican	
POP98	600,241		602,573		604,367		
WHTPOP98	312,058	51.99%	412,419	68.44%	432,477	71.56%	
BLKPOP98	35,421	5.90%	15,224	2.53%	15,459	2.56%	
INDPOP98	6,543	1.09%	5,345	0.89%	5,051	0.84%	
ASNPOP98	46,559	7.76%	45,774	7.60%	32,164	5.32%	
ОТНРОР98	199,660	33.26%	123,811	20.55%	119,216	19.73%	
HSPPOP98	311,790	51.94%	203,206	33.72%	204,532	33.84%	
ADLTPOP98	399,019	66.48%	432,023	71.70%	441,913	73.12%	
POP03	644,854		645,728		633,563		
WHTPOP03	315,555	48.93%	420,529	65.12%	438,714	69.25%	
BLKPOP03	36,680	5.69%	16,583	2.57%	15,511	2.45%	
INDPOP03	6,682	1.04%	5,334	0.83%	5,224	0.82%	
ASNPOP03	51,769	8.03%	54,493	8.44%	36,798	5.81%	
OTHPOP03	234,168	36.31%	148,789	23.04%	137,316	21.67%	
HSPPOP03	367,636	57.01%	245,042	37.95%	238,651	37.67%	
ADLTPOP03	432,213	67.02%	467,461	72.39%	465,728	73.51%	
TOTREG	217,016		266,482		301,991		
DEM	107,333	49.46%	108,957	40.89%	127,900	42.35%	
REP	80,574	37.13%	123,566	46.37%	123,421	40.87%	
CNGDEM	27,642	38.59%	7,886	8.64%	61,167	53.63%	
CNGREP	43,983	61.41%	83,429	91.36%	52,881	46.37%	
GOVDEM	43,971	53.16%	49,589	43.61%	62,206	53.95%	
GOVREP	38,738	46.84%	64,134	56.39%	53,087	46.05%	
LTGDEM	47,670	59.87%	59,238	53.60%	56,189	52.35%	
LTGREP	31,951	40.13%	51,271	46.40%	51,148	47.65%	
ATGDEM	38,619	50.14%	44,218	40.97%	51,966	47.79%	
ATGREP	38,398	49.86%	63,714	59.03%	56,770	52.21%	
CONDEM	46,481	60.86%	54,108	51.29%	63,780	59.30%	
CONREP	29,892	39.14%	51,382	48.71%	43,766	40.70%	
INSDEM	34,589	44.97%	37,411	35.04%	44,558	41.44%	
INSREP	42,326	55.03%	69,364	64.96%		58.56%	
SOSDEM	30,860		32,746				
SOSREP	45,466	59.57%	75,886	69.86%	60,128	56.33%	
TRSDEM	38,364	52.50%	45,185	43.82%	50,262	47.94%	
TRSREP	34,715	47.50%	57,938	56.18%	54,589	52.06%	
USSDEM	39,449	49.63%	45,219	40.60%	53,777	48.09%	
USSREP	40,031	50.37%	66,171	59.40%	58,038	51.91%	
ASSDEM	39,951	48.97%	13,607	15.24%	49,183	43.89%	
ASSREP	41,629	51.03%	75,671	84.76%	62,874	56.11%	
SENDEM	49,741	61.80%	15,872	16.40%	45,821	63.18%	
SENREP	30,748	38.20%	80,894	83.60%	26,706	36.82%	

POP1998	600,241	602,573	604,367
1998 DEV.	-0.35%	0.03%	0.33%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD22		CD23		CD24		
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	Safe Republican		Safe Republican		Likely Democrat	
POP98	605,984		593,516		605,917		
WHTPOP98	353,199	58.29%	434,295	73.17%	423,127	69.83%	
BLKPOP98	32,419	5.35%	31,453				
INDPOP98	7,093	1.17%	5,832	0.98%	5,261	0.87%	
ASNPOP98	25,076	4.14%	22,410	3.78%	34,948	5.77%	
ОТНРОР98	188,197	31.06%	99,526	16.77%	125,152	20.65%	
HSPPOP98	256,013	42.25%	160,495	27.04%	246,810	40.73%	
ADLTPOP98	412,142	68.01%	410,409	69.15%	451,039	74.44%	
POP03	644,774		650,737		633,821		
WHTPOP03	350,935	54.43%	452,654	69.56%	424,172	66.92%	
BLKPOP03	34,847	5.40%	36,017	5.53%	18,069	2.85%	
INDPOP03	7,077	1.10%	6,143	0.94%	5,407	0.85%	
ASNPOP03	28,229	4.38%	28,296	4.35%	40,149	6.33%	
ОТНРОР03	223,686	34.69%	127,627	19.61%	146,024	23.04%	
HSPPOP03	306,480	47.53%	208,901	32.10%	289,611	45.69%	
ADLTPOP03	440,637	68.34%	455,091	69.93%	472,219	74.50%	
TOTREG	243,003		249,705		338,980		
DEM	105,440	43.39%	89,330	35.77%	155,043	45.74%	
REP	105,367	43.36%	118,745	47.55%	115,322	34.02%	
CNGDEM	11,130	14.76%	2,454	2.78%	63,285	56.07%	
CNGREP	64,285	85.24%	85,895	97.22%	49,582	43.93%	
GOVDEM	43,724	45.03%	52,908	45.63%	70,373	62.08%	
GOVREP	53,376	54.97%	63,035	54.37%	42,991	37.92%	
LTGDEM	43,957	47.64%	46,868	43.49%	60,435	58.93%	
LTGREP	48,320	52.36%	60,904	56.51%	42,127	41.07%	
ATGDEM	37,781	41.91%	42,579	39.60%	57,235	55,21%	
ATGREP	52,358	58.09%	64,932	60.40%	46,437	44.79%	
CONDEM	47,171	52.28%	55,123	51.09%	70,572	67.43%	
CONREP	43,059	47.72%	52,762	48.91%	34,092	32.57%	
INSDEM	31,162	33.62%	33,267	30.13%	48,811	46.40%	
INSREP	61,536	66.38%	77,160	69.87%	56,387	53.60%	
SOSDEM	31,212	34.52%					
SOSREP	59,206	65.48%	69,662		51,229	50.22%	
TRSDEM	40,127	46.02%	44,736	42.40%	56,837	56.82%	
TRSREP	47,071	53.98%	60,774	57.60%	43,194	43.18%	
USSDEM	38,764	40.82%	44,486	39.03%	63,829	56.83%	
USSREP	56,203	59.18%	69,483	60.97%	48,482	43.17%	
ASSDEM	32,926	35.55%	36,612	32.98%	60,900	55.80%	
ASSREP	59,686	64.45%	74,388	67.02%	48,249	44.20%	
SENDEM	13,749	17.58%	4,933	33.93%	61,284	71.25%	
SENREP	64,471	82.42%	9,604	66.07%	24,732	28.75%	

POP1998	605,984	593,516	605,917			
1998 DEV.	0.60%	-1.47%	0.59%			

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD25		CD26		CD27	
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Safe De	emocrat	Likely Re	epublican
POP98	591,466		592,722		596,557	
WHTPOP98	490,472	82.92%	276,363	46.63%	405,626	67.99%
BLKPOP98	9,510	1.61%	35,657	6.02%	46,878	7.86%
INDPOP98	2,501	0.42%	2,743	0.46%	2,070	0.35%
ASNPOP98	53,407	9.03%	50,081	8.45%	82,783	13.88%
ОТНРОР98	35,576	6.01%	227,878	38.45%	59,200	9.92%
HSPPOP98	96,684	16.35%	370,310	62.48%	122,651	20.56%
ADLTPOP98	449,997	76.08%	412,194	69.54%	463,324	77.67%
POP03	624,737		620,777		618,626	
WHTPOP03	502,827	80.49%	263,118	42.39%	400,544	64.75%
BLKPOP03	10,435	1.67%	37,337	6.01%	47,533	7.68%
INDPOP03	2,544	0.41%	2,575	0.41%	2,011	0.33%
ASNPOP03	63,982	10.24%	55,899	9.00%	97,053	15.69%
OTHPOP03	44,949	7.19%	261,848	42.18%	71,485	11.56%
HSPPOP03	122,840	19.66%	427,480	68.86%	148,949	24.08%
ADLTPOP03	482,828	77.29%	427,838	68.92%	487,579	78.82%
TOTREG	346,614		191,974		329,797	
DEM	126,439	36.48%	112,858	58.79%	132,478	40.17%
REP	158,599	45.76%	45,820	23.87%	143,211	43.42%
CNGDEM	49,741	37.85%	74,197	92.52%	58,401	38.97%
CNGREP	81,665	62.15%	6,002	7.48%	91,450	61.03%
GOVDEM	80,019	54.65%	70,068	73.30%	88,168	54.44%
GOVREP	66,399	45.35%	25,521	26.70%	73,780	45.56%
LTGDEM	69,253	51.34%	65,374	73.86%	78,477	52.32%
LTGREP	65,642	48.66%	23,139	26.14%	71,525	47.68%
ATGDEM	65,079	48.03%	61,393	69.48%	74,177	49.12%
ATGREP	70,422	51.97%	26,974	30.52%	76,832	50.88%
CONDEM	81,917	60.68%	70,386	77.27%	92,051	60.72%
CONREP	53,084	39.32%	20,705	22.73%	59,553	39.28%
INSDEM	50,166	36.57%	52,812	58.96%	57,430	37.87%
INSREP	87,009	63.43%	36,768	41.04%	94,222	62.13%
SOSDEM	54,442					
SOSREP	79,403	59.32%	32,254	36.74%	87,358	58.24%
TRSDEM	66,808	50.38%	61,250	71.23%	76,196	51.19%
TRSREP	65,806	49.62%	24,741	28.77%	72,654	48.81%
USSDEM	70,493	48.66%	66,388	69.87%	77,210	47.98%
USSREP	74,369	51.34%	28,625	30.13%	83,720	52.02%
ASSDEM	36,947	30.41%	71,487	85.10%	80,863	52.21%
ASSREP	84,549	69.59%	12,517	14.90%	74,026	47.79%
SENDEM	0	*	58,118	72.07%	1,734	56.08%
SENREP	0	*	22,524	27.93%	1,358	43.92%

POP1998	591,466	592,722	596,557
1998 DEV.	-1.81%	-1.60%	-0.97%

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD28		CD29		CD30	
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Safe Democrat		Likely Republican	
POP98	599,472		600,247		611,667	Ī
WHTPOP98	439,415	73.30%	335,291	55.86%	469,737	76.80%
BLKPOP98	33,228	5.54%	65,515		36,933	6.04%
INDPOP98	2,944	0.49%	4,518	0.75%	4,782	0.78%
ASNPOP98	51,315	8.56%	24,496	4.08%	31,731	5.19%
OTHPOP98	72,570	12.11%	170,427	28.39%	68,484	11.20%
HSPPOP98	162,944	27.18%	311,988	51.98%	141,227	23.09%
ADLTPOP98	440,910	73.55%	399,067	66.48%	434,098	70.97%
POP03	629,662		629,766		649,223	
WHTPOP03	443,145	70.38%	333,341	52.93%	482,195	74.27%
BLKPOP03	34,934	5.55%	65,609	10.42%	38,676	5.96%
INDPOP03	2,908	0.46%	4,360	0.69%	4,862	0.75%
ASNPOP03	60,847	9.66%	27,834	4.42%	37,771	5.82%
OTHPOP03	87,828	13.95%	198,622	31.54%	85,719	13.20%
HSPPOP03	198,347	31.50%	363,904	57.78%	177,461	27.33%
ADLTPOP03	470,349	74.70%	421,847	66.98%	464,596	71.56%
TOTREG	296,219		194,556		284,127	
DEM	111,758	37.73%	109,136	56.09%	110,465	38.88%
REP	136,587	46.11%	57,933	29.78%	129,189	45.47%
CNGDEM	55,201	39.53%	41,576	64.40%	41,615	38.04%
CNGREP	84,441	60.47%	22,987	35.60%	67,769	61.96%
GOVDEM	74,483	51.45%	47,160	69.84%	57,912	51.52%
GOVREP	70,297	48.55%	20,362	30.16%	54,492	48.48%
LTGDEM	68,384	50.38%	44,802	70.76%	51,881	49.30%
LTGREP	67,360	49.62%	18,517	29.24%	53,349	50.70%
ATGDEM	62,241	45.90%	41,706	65.31%	48,196	45.26%
ATGREP	73,375	54.10%	22,149	34.69%	58,294	54.74%
CONDEM	82,294	59.98%	48,032	74.26%	62,104	58.46%
CONREP	54,911	40.02%	16,648	25.74%	44,133	41.54%
INSDEM	48,775	35.50%	35,274		36,283	33.94%
INSREP	88,606	64.50%	29,460	45.51%	70,615	66.06%
SOSDEM	53,399					
SOSREP	81,299	60.36%			62,649	60.42%
TRSDEM	64,031	48.15%	41,230	68.10%	49,171	47.62%
TRSREP	68,959	51.85%	19,317	31.90%	54,094	52.38%
USSDEM	65,888	46.34%	43,610	66.48%	50,607	46.24%
USSREP	76,293	53.66%	21,990	33.52%	58,836	53.76%
ASSDEM	49,069	38.10%	40,874	63.35%	21,237	23.47%
ASSREP	79,716	61.90%	23,647	36.65%	69,261	76.53%
SENDEM	9,982	47.42%	43,277	67.26%	5,036	54.12%
SENREP	11,070	52.58%	21,064	32.74%	4,270	45.88%

POP1998	599,472	600,247	611,667
1998 DEV.	-0.48%	-0.35%	1.54%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD31		CD32		CD33		
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Safe De	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	604,065		599,046		599,476		
WHTPOP98	424,401	70.26%	461,220	76.99%	448,005	74.73%	
BLKPOP98	24,116	3.99%	16,352	2.73%	19,323	3.22%	
INDPOP98	8,741	1.45%	1,892	0.32%	2,149	0.36%	
ASNPOP98	14,457	2.39%	61,650	10.29%	59,869	9.99%	
ОТНРОР98	132,350	21.91%	57,932	9.67%	70,130	11.70%	
HSPPOP98	269,960	44.69%	116,176	19.39%	158,455	26.43%	
ADLTPOP98	431,528	71.44%	498,500	83.22%	492,598	82.17%	
POP03	658,995		613,535		614,668		
WHTPOP03	447,978	67.98%	451,953	73.66%	439,990	71.58%	
BLKPOP03	26,693	4.05%	17,976	2.93%	21,001	3.42%	
INDPOP03	8,797	1.33%	1,851	0.30%	2,102	0.34%	
ASNPOP03	17,090	2.59%	71,922	11.72%	69,621	11.33%	
ОТНРОР03	158,437	24.04%	69,833	11.38%	81,954	13.33%	
HSPPOP03	324,597	49.26%	140,416	22.89%	185,400	30.16%	
ADLTPOP03	471,288	71.52%	515,748	84.06%	507,111	82.50%	
TOTREG	221,856		337,021		292,943		
DEM	97,325	43.87%	171,137	50.78%	159,354	54.40%	
REP	87,641	39.50%	106,125	31.49%	75,164	25.66%	
CNGDEM	23,664	29.51%	100,182	66.10%	85,414	74.35%	
CNGREP	56,525	70.49%	51,370	33.90%	29,466	25.65%	
GOVDEM	49,914	55.93%	113,458	70.00%	90,409	75.68%	
GOVREP	39,326	44.07%	48,636	30.00%	29,055	24.32%	
LTGDEM	45,540	53.80%	101,715	68.29%	79,934	73.92%	
LTGREP	39,104	46.20%	47,236	31.71%	28,199	26.08%	
ATGDEM	41,748	49.07%	101,081	66.46%	81,337	71.93%	
ATGREP	43,327	50.93%	51,003	33.54%	31,739	28.07%	
CONDEM	50,851	60.28%	114,282	74.39%	89,446	78.64%	
CONREP	33,504	39.72%	39,338	25.61%	24,295	21.36%	
INSDEM	35,321	41.10%	80,402	53.52%	65,173	59.06%	
INSREP	50,612	58.90%	69,817	46.48%	45,185	40.94%	
SOSDEM	37,006						
SOSREP	45,545	55.17%	63,782	42.44%	38,380	34.67%	
TRSDEM	40,590	49.89%	100,580	67.24%	80,838	72.96%	
TRSREP	40,766	50.11%	49,005	32.76%	29,960	27.04%	
USSDEM	42,785	49.81%	106,736	65.60%	86,670	72.05%	
USSREP	43,109	50.19%	55,974	34.40%	33,628	27.95%	
ASSDEM	37,088	42.93%	95,476	64.72%	87,317	77.43%	
ASSREP	49,302	57.07%	52,055	35.28%	25,450	22.57%	
SENDEM	0	*	12,699	64.43%	12,234	72.70%	
SENREP	0	*	7,012	35.57%	4,593	27.30%	

POP1998	604,065	599,046	599,476
1998 DEV.	0.28%	-0.55%	-0.48%

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	34	CD	35	CD36	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	596,787		593,200		595,529	
WHTPOP98	179,315	30.05%	227,738	38.39%	263,157	44.19%
BLKPOP98	219,150	36.72%	19,409	3.27%	9,573	1.61%
INDPOP98	1,799	0.30%	2,544	0.43%	2,446	0.41%
ASNPOP98	51,811	8.68%	144,730	24.40%	151,128	25.38%
ОТНРОР98	144,712	24.25%	198,779	33.51%	169,225	28.42%
HSPPOP98	229,524	38.46%	391,482	65.99%	369,385	62.03%
ADLTPOP98	445,404	74.63%	416,586	70.23%	413,497	69.43%
POP03	615,217		626,855		623,853	
WHTPOP03	177,492	28.85%	226,230	36.09%	261,795	41.96%
BLKPOP03	210,650	34.24%	19,705	3.14%	10,199	1.63%
INDPOP03	1,769	0.29%	2,430	0.39%	2,346	0.38%
ASNPOP03	58,793	9.56%	159,184	25.39%	165,925	26.60%
OTHPOP03	166,513	27.07%	219,306	34.99%	183,588	29.43%
HSPPOP03	264,840	43.05%	436,930	69.70%	401,447	64.35%
ADLTPOP03	458,031	74.45%	436,481	69.63%	432,621	69.35%
TOTREG	271,541		150,207		185,688	
DEM	196,454	72.35%	92,843	61.81%	107,387	57.83%
REP	33,768	12.44%	28,354	18.88%	42,837	23.07%
CNGDEM	98,566	88.99%	55,193	81.17%	54,359	77.34%
CNGREP	12,198	11.01%	12,806	18.83%	15,926	22.66%
GOVDEM	100,521	88.00%	54,106	80.37%	56,954	75.77%
GOVREP	13,710	12.00%	13,218	19.63%	18,213	24.23%
LTGDEM	92,960	88.05%	49,425	80.56%	53,281	76.58%
LTGREP	12,616	11.95%	11,923	19.44%	16,296	23.42%
ATGDEM	92,939	86.38%	47,438	76.75%	48,818	71.04%
ATGREP	14,657	13.62%	14,371	23.25%	19,900	28.96%
CONDEM	98,636	90.03%	52,598		54,990	77.73%
CONREP	10,929	9.97%	11,568	18.03%	15,756	22.27%
INSDEM	82,445	77.02%	42,748	68.77%	44,557	62.83%
INSREP	24,594	22.98%	19,409	31.23%		37.17%
SOSDEM	85,525	80.72%	43,771			64.95%
SOSREP	20,433	19.28%		29.05%		35.05%
TRSDEM	91,194	86.68%	47,389	78.12%	48,299	72.81%
TRSREP	14,017	13.32%	13,274	21.88%	18,037	27.19%
USSDEM	97,068	84.74%	50,994	75.49%	49,979	66.72%
USSREP	17,476	15.26%	16,556	24.51%	24,933	33.28%
ASSDEM	95,585	87.26%	53,287	80.12%	54,056	74.54%
ASSREP	13,951	12.74%	13,223	19.88%	18,464	25.46%
SENDEM	91,879	89.27%	51,107	99.68%	54,636	77.72%
SENREP	11,040	10.73%	165	0.32%	15,666	22.28%

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POP1998	596,787	593,200	595,529
1998 DEV.	-0.93%	-1.52%	-1.14%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD37		CD38		CD39	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	595,184		595,527		594,980	
WHTPOP98	108,749	18.27%	198,914	33.40%	302,562	50.85%
BLKPOP98	227,319	38.19%	22,824	3.83%	11,235	1.89%
INDPOP98	1,526	0.26%	2,649	0.44%	3,071	0.52%
ASNPOP98	38,222	6.42%	26,105	4.38%	64,459	10.83%
OTHPOP98	219,368	36.86%	345,035	57.94%	213,653	35.91%
HSPPOP98	326,832	54.91%	532,655	89.44%	420,156	70.62%
ADLTPOP98	394,699	66.32%	385,310	64.70%	408,948	68.73%
POP03	619,122		616,563		628,675	
WHTPOP03	110,303	17.82%	201,038	32.61%	299,869	47.70%
BLKPOP03	215,158	34.75%	21,792	3.53%	12,176	1.94%
INDPOP03	1,493	0.24%	2,482	0.40%	2,926	0.47%
ASNPOP03	42,836	6.92%	27,269	4.42%	73,955	11.76%
ОТНРОР03	249,332	40.27%	363,982	59.03%	239,749	38.14%
нѕррор03	371,510	60.01%	564,187	91.51%	471,448	74.99%
ADLTPOP03	408,855	66.04%	394,079	63.92%	429,268	68.28%
TOTREG	205,651		122,162		226,133	
DEM	154,652	75.20%	82,871	67.84%	139,811	61.83%
REP	21,020	10.22%	18,375	15.04%	52,684	23.30%
CNGDEM	68,115	99.96%	42,537	87.73%	72,445	71.43%
CNGREP	29	0.04%	5,952	12.27%	28,971	28.57%
GOVDEM	69,549	90.05%	41,799	86.78%	76,889	72.82%
GOVREP	7,686	9.95%	6,368	13.22%	28,698	27.18%
LTGDEM	64,755	90.04%	39,803	88.20%	74,077	74.66%
LTGREP	7,164	9.96%	5,323	11.80%	25,146	25.34%
ATGDEM	62,810	88.13%	37,417	84.14%	66,284	68.57%
ATGREP	8,458	11.87%	7,055	15.86%	30,383	31.43%
CONDEM	67,323	91.19%	38,912	84.69%	75,812	75.64%
CONREP	6,504	8.81%	7,036	15.31%	24,415	24.36%
INSDEM	59,432	81.33%	35,278	77.92%	60,968	60.84%
INSREP	13,647	18.67%	9,997	22.08%	39,247	39.16%
SOSDEM	60,523	84.98%	34,742	78.76%	62,210	63.93%
SOSREP	10,695	15.02%	9,369	21.24%	35,092	36.07%
TRSDEM	62,607	88.79%	36,400	85.42%	67,048	70.70%
TRSREP	7,908	11.21%	6,211	14.58%	27,781	29.30%
USSDEM	66,789	87.03%	39,973	83.54%	70,467	67.36%
USSREP	9,955	12.97%	7,874	16.46%	34,139	32.64%
ASSDEM	66,162	91.44%	40,550	84.86%	75,183	72.64%
ASSREP	6,196	8.56%	7,236	15.14%	28,313	27.36%
SENDEM	18,322	97.81%	41,911	91.73%	71,884	73.15%
SENREP	410	2.19%	3,779	8.27%	26,383	26.85%

7	POP1998	595,184	595,527	594,980
ľ	1998 DEV.	-1.19%	-1.14%	-1.23%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	40	CD41		CD42	
LEANINGS	Toss	-up	Toss	s-up	Safe Democrat	
POP98	599,025		596,444		593,225	
WHTPOP98	337,772	56.39%	441,274	73.98%	134,877	22.74%
BLKPOP98	36,362	6.07%	18,708	3.14%	177,121	29.86%
INDPOP98	2,490	0.42%	2,526	0.42%	1,830	0.31%
ASNPOP98	127,508	21.29%	91,276	15.30%	69,416	11.70%
ОТНРОР98	94,893	15.84%	42,660	7.15%	209,981	35.40%
HSPPOP98	234,670	39.18%	102,932	17.26%	331,043	55.80%
ADLTPOP98	433,142	72.31%	484,656	81.26%	385,010	64.90%
POP03	630,104		617,576		620,248	
WHTPOP03	331,434	52.60%	438,764	71.05%	134,179	21.63%
BLKPOP03	38,656	6.13%	20,378	3.30%	169,346	27.30%
INDPOP03	2,402	0.38%	2,497	0.40%	1,754	0.28%
ASNPOP03	145,760	23.13%	106,501	17.25%	75,595	12.19%
OTHPOP03	111,852	17.75%	49,436	8.00%	239,374	38.59%
HSPPOP03	276,930	43.95%	119,825	19.40%	378,586	61.04%
ADLTPOP03	461,247	73.20%	507,872	82.24%	403,436	65.04%
TOTREG	258,789		335,363		212,028	
DEM	114,775	44.35%	139,163	41.50%	153,679	72.48%
REP	98,153	37.93%	134,607	40.14%	25,524	12.04%
CNGDEM	49,950	48.09%	69,358	50.29%	63,320	85.85%
CNGREP	53,922	51.91%	68,553	49.71%	10,438	14.15%
GOVDEM	64,016	58.25%	83,791	57.72%	67,352	87.50%
GOVREP	45,889	41.75%	61,366	42.28%	9,626	12.50%
LTGDEM	59,651	58.32%	74,024	55.24%	63,463	88.46%
LTGREP	42,637	41.68%	59,976	44.76%	8,282	11.54%
ATGDEM	53,648	52.73%	71,408	53.11%	62,055	85.95%
ATGREP	48,088	47.27%	63,051	46.89%	10,148	14.05%
CONDEM	68,726	66.31%	88,701	64.83%	66,047	89.08%
CONREP	34,910	33.69%	48,124	35.17%	8,097	10.92%
INSDEM	44,733	43.05%	55,052	40.86%	56,722	77.14%
INSREP	59,187	56.95%	79,684	59.14%	16,814	22.86%
SOSDEM	46,963	46.67%	59,529	44.57%	58,316	81.93%
SOSREP	53,667	53.33%	74,041	55.43%	12,859	18.07%
TRSDEM	55,290	55.49%	71,809	53.97%	61,029	86.57%
TRSREP	44,341	44.51%	61,243	46.03%	9,467	13.43%
USSDEM	55,684	51.25%	74,825	51.65%	64,544	84.51%
USSREP	52,969	48.75%	70,055	48.35%	11,830	15.49%
ASSDEM	52,983	50.10%	81,775	57.59%	64,428	89.02%
ASSREP	52,767	49.90%	60,226	42.41%	7,948	10.98%
SENDEM	7,234	67.21%	57,268	60.54%	33,329	84.45%
SENREP	3,529	32.79%	37,333	39.46%	6,139	15.55%

POP1998	599,025	596,444	593,225
1998 DEV.	-0.56%	-0.98%	-1.52%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD43		CD44		CD45	
LEANINGS	Toss	g-up	Safe Rep	publican	Likely Re	epublican
POP98	599,054		591,602		606,040	
WHTPOP98	378,483	63.18%	429,367	72.58%	417,917	68.96%
BLKPOP98	45,027	7.52%	11,083	1.87%	39,820	6.57%
INDPOP98	3,599	0.60%	2,751	0.47%	4,263	0.70%
ASNPOP98	67,319	11.24%	84,038	14.21%	34,342	5.67%
ОТНРОР98	104,626	17.47%	64,363	10.88%	109,698	18.10%
НЅРРОР98	201,412	33.62%	143,095	24.19%	205,329	33.88%
ADLTPOP98	445,193	74.32%	445,547	75.31%	424,232	70.00%
POP03	616,492		629,968		655,953	
WHTPOP03	363,769	59.01%	435,398	69.11%	433,202	66.04%
BLKPOP03	48,745	7.91%	11,614	1.84%	43,004	6.56%
INDPOP03	3,388	0.55%	2,794	0.44%	4,286	0.65%
ASNPOP03	76,651	12.43%	101,768	16.15%	41,391	6.31%
ОТНРОР03	123,939	20.10%	78,394	12.44%	134,070	20.44%
HSPPOP03	239,066	38.78%	175,323	27.83%	252,060	38.43%
ADLTPOP03	459,010	74.46%	477,325	75.77%	463,121	70.60%
TOTREG	289,875		264,540		238,398	
DEM	148,532	51.24%	84,980	32.12%	93,837	39.36%
REP	95,854	33.07%	137,786	52.09%	108,391	45.47%
CNGDEM	52,281	46.73%	35,243	31.38%	37,673	42.99%
CNGREP	59,592	53.27%	77,071	68.62%	49,963	57.01%
GOVDEM	70,453	61.25%	55,118	45.10%	53,953	56.44%
GOVREP	44,567	38.75%	67,093	54.90%	41,636	43.56%
LTGDEM	65,043	61.22%	47,712	42.18%	48,755	54.93%
LTGREP	41,210	38.78%	65,409	57.82%	40,009	45.07%
ATGDEM	61,252	57.07%	43,893	38.88%	45,108	50.00%
ATGREP	46,072	42.93%	69,003	61.12%	45,108	50.00%
CONDEM	75,262	69.58%	57,733	51.85%	55,664	62.48%
CONREP	32,906	30.42%	53,613	48.15%	33,427	37.52%
INSDEM	48,302	44.41%	33,217	28.77%	34,654	38.03%
INSREP	60,473	55.59%	82,239	71.23%	56,464	61.97%
SOSDEM	54,010	51.47%	36,430	32.63%	39,578	45,25%
SOSREP	50,922	48.53%	75,202	67.37%	47,887	54.75%
TRSDEM	62,714	60.01%	44,118	39.96%	43,533	50.78%
TRSREP	41,794	39.99%	66,279	60.04%	42,189	49.22%
USSDEM	66,008	58.01%	46,492	38.81%	46,997	51.50%
USSREP	47,786	41.99%	73,303	61.19%	44,260	48.50%
ASSDEM	64,351	57.70%	37,554	33.72%	12,814	16.54%
ASSREP	47,179	42.30%	73,804	66.28%	64,644	83.46%
SENDEM	1,257	81.78%	5,957	50.11%	40,868	46.10%
SENREP	280	18.22%	5,930	49.89%	47,784	53.90%

POP1998	599,054	591,602	606,040	
1998 DEV.	-0.55%	-1.79%	0.61%	

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	46	CD47		CD48	
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Safe Rep	publican	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	593,119		602,418		593,997	
WHTPOP98	466,494	78.65%	464,848	77.16%	355,066	59.78%
BLKPOP98	30,664	5.17%	6,757	1.12%	13,622	2.29%
INDPOP98	6,679	1.13%	3,061	0.51%	2,770	0.47%
ASNPOP98	22,149	3.73%	87,223	14.48%	86,120	14.50%
OTHPOP98	67,133	11.32%	40,529	6.73%	136,419	22.97%
HSPPOP98	159,508	26.89%	118,509	19.67%	365,575	61.54%
ADLTPOP98	420,367	70.87%	475,755	78.97%	402,526	67.77%
POP03	660,372		632,252		622,870	
WHTPOP03	504,423	76.38%	467,640	73.96%	349,962	56.19%
BLKPOP03	34,260	5.19%	7,083	1.12%	13,457	2.16%
INDPOP03	7,143	1.08%	3,199	0.51%	2,753	0.44%
ASNPOP03	27,002	4.09%	103,959	16.44%	99,041	15.90%
ОТНРОР03	87,544	13.26%	50,371	7.97%	157,657	25.31%
HSPPOP03	207,300	31.39%	146,967	23.25%	418,164	67.14%
ADLTPOP03	469,517	71.10%	500,016	79.08%	420,036	67.44%
TOTREG	252,328		287,827		149,314	
DEM	92,243	36.56%	90,898	31.58%	68,750	46.04%
REP	122,491	48.54%	145,550	50.57%	55,230	36.99%
CNGDEM	35,103	34.71%	46,742	39.75%	32,418	59.78%
CNGREP	66,018	65.29%	70,848	60.25%	21,807	40.22%
GOVDEM	55,565	51.04%	60,641	47.58%	33,481	59.21%
GOVREP	53,298	48.96%	66,818	52.42%	23,065	40.79%
LTGDEM	49,952	49.22%	52,389	44.34%	30,051	58.07%
LTGREP	51,532	50.78%	65,765	55.66%	21,700	41.93%
ATGDEM	46,314	44.93%	48,280	41.47%	27,801	54.17%
ATGREP	56,773	55.07%	68,145	58.53%	23,517	45.83%
CONDEM	57,485	57.18%	64,014	55.16%	32,964	63.93%
CONREP	43,051	42.82%	52,027	44.84%	18,597	36.07%
INSDEM	35,317	34.08%	35,592	29.92%	23,424	43.92%
INSREP	68,323	65.92%	83,367	70.08%	29,907	56.08%
SOSDEM	39,701	40.28%		35.39%		48.22%
SOSREP	58,851	59.72%	74,894	64.61%	26,590	51.78%
TRSDEM	45,619	46.89%	49,167	42.75%	26,012	51.97%
TRSREP	51,668	53.11%	65,835	57.25%	24,044	48.03%
USSDEM	48,264	46.61%	52,683	42.10%	29,805	53.94%
USSREP	55,282	53.39%	72,451	57.90%	25,452	46.06%
ASSDEM	43,263	41.89%	36,747	33.90%	27,902	51.69%
ASSREP	60,010	58.11%	71,664	66.10%	26,081	48.31%
SENDEM	18,774	36.58%	9,908	47.38%	28,902	54.77%
SENREP	32,549	63.42%	11,002	52.62%	23,864	45.23%

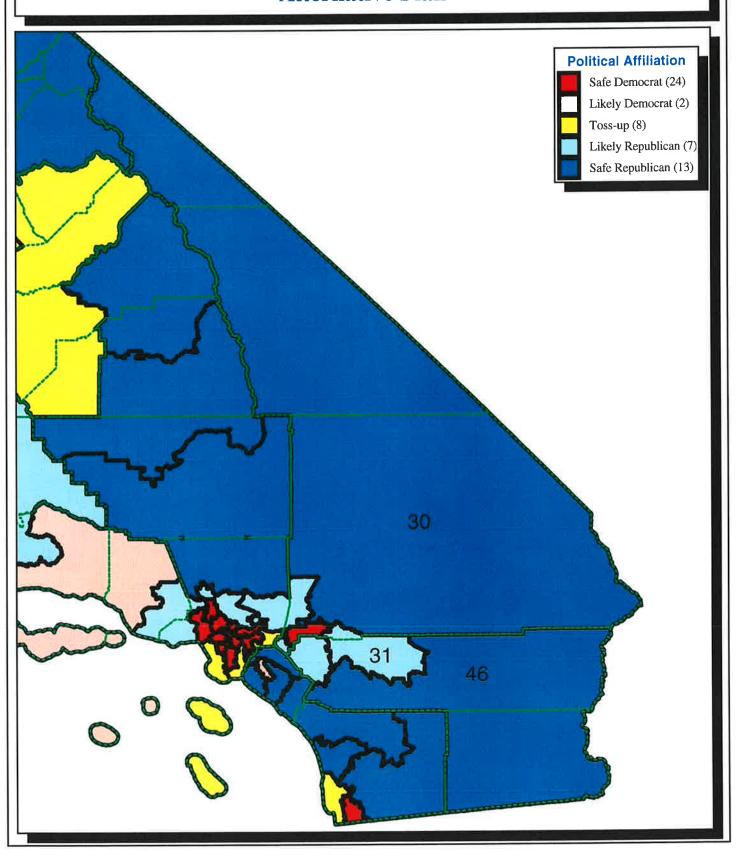
POP	1998	593,119	602,418	593,997
199	8 DEV.	-1.54%	0.01%	-1.39%

Table 2: Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

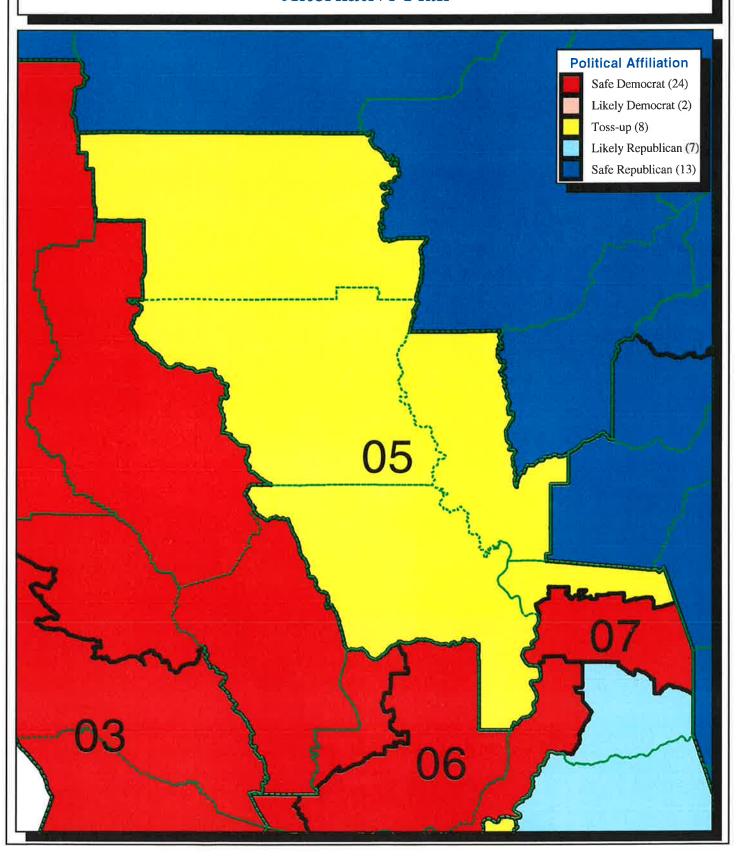
DISTRICT	CD49		CD50		CD51		
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	oublican	Safe Republican		Safe Rep	Safe Republican	
POP98	600,850		602,695		603,430		
WHTPOP98	475,421	79.12%	488,660	81.08%	474,546	78.64%	
вькрор98	10,995	1.83%	21,348	3.54%	12,302	2.04%	
INDPOP98	2,113	0.35%	5,501	0.91%	3,007	0.50%	
ASNPOP98	73,843	12.29%	38,898	6.45%	62,728	10.40%	
ОТНРОР98	38,478	6.40%	48,288	8.01%	50,847	8.43%	
НЅРРОР98	109,702	18.26%	121,351	20.13%	128,960	21.37%	
ADLTPOP98	465,339	77.45%	438,811	72.81%	446,881	74.06%	
POP03	661,438		655,375		651,590		
WHTPOP03	504,242	76.23%	516,910	78.87%	495,036	75.97%	
BLKPOP03	11,903	1.80%	22,884	3.49%	12,965	1.99%	
INDPOP03	2,324	0.35%	5,852	0.89%	3,103	0.48%	
ASNPOP03	93,181	14.09%	49,795	7.60%	78,375	12.03%	
ОТНРОР03	49,788	7.53%	59,934	9.14%	62,111	9.53%	
HSPPOP03	142,144	21.49%	150,895	23.02%	158,041	24.25%	
ADLTPOP03	514,268	77.75%	477,420	72.85%	484,404	74.34%	
TOTREG	290,142		307,320		308,971		
DEM	85,097	29.33%	83,637	27.21%	91,759	29.70%	
REP	155,554	53.61%	166,386	54.14%	150,952	48.86%	
CNGDEM	38,443	31.90%	463	0.50%	43,254	36.33%	
CNGREP	82,082	68.10%	92,669	99.50%	75,805	63.67%	
GOVDEM	59,202	46.01%	55,116	42.04%	58,570	46.64%	
GOVREP	69,470	53.99%	75,976	57.96%	66,997	53.36%	
LTGDEM	50,277	42.28%	46,493	38.28%	49,710	43.07%	
LTGREP	68,643	57.72%	74,971	61.72%	65,698	56.93%	
ATGDEM	46,984	39.27%	43,934	36.54%	46,042	40.37%	
ATGREP	72,666	60.73%	76,303	63.46%	68,003	59.63%	
CONDEM	60,725	51.84%	57,788	48.32%	61,425	53.34%	
CONREP	56,415	48.16%	61,814	51.68%	53,723	46.66%	
INSDEM	35,906	29.83%	33,671	27.71%	37,635	32.80%	
INSREP	84,480	70.17%	87,845	72.29%	77,104	67.20%	
SOSDEM	40,706	34.11%	37,989	31.39%		36.12%	
SOSREP	78,631	65.89%	83,052	68.61%	73,329	63.88%	
TRSDEM	48,621	41.68%	47,110	39.73%	49,708	43.91%	
TRSREP	68,046	58.32%	71,455	60.27%	63,509	56.09%	
USSDEM	51,397	40.45%	49,412	38.20%	55,296	44.21%	
USSREP	75,664	59.55%	79,940	61.80%	69,781	55.79%	
ASSDEM	19,028	18.60%	35,996	30.25%	46,256	40.60%	
ASSREP	83,251	81.40%	82,997	69.75%	67,679	59.40%	
SENDEM	2,262	38.93%	29,591	32.44%	29,952	39.13%	
SENREP	3,548	61.07%	61,627	67.56%	46,585	60.87%	

POP1998	600,850	602,695	603,430
1998 DEV.	-0.25%	0.05%	0.18%

Proposed "Masters" Plan - Desert Districts
Alternative Plan



Proposed "Masters" Plan - Sacramento Valley Districts Alternative Plan



Proposed "Masters" Plan - Desert Districts

Alternative Plan

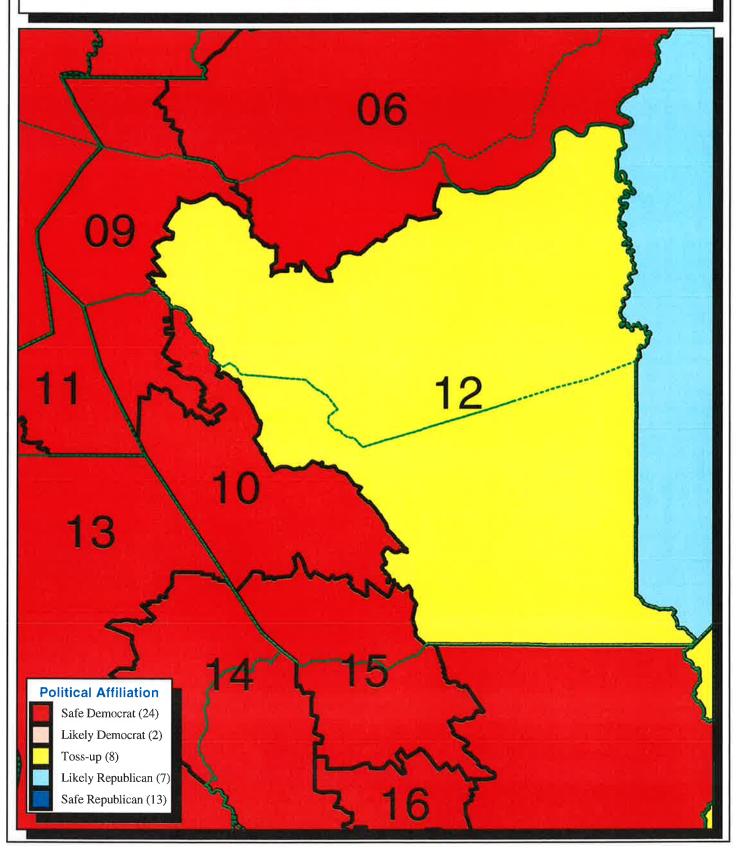


Table 3: Alternative Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	01	CD05		CD06	
LEANINGS	Likely I	Democrat	Toss-up		Safe Democrat	
POP98	602,933		611,546		610,458	
WHTPOP98	503,800	83.56%	482,608	78.92%	397,026	65.04%
BLKPOP98	20,577	3.41%	22,470	3.67%	66,709	10.93%
INDPOP98	15,955	2.65%	7,368	1.20%	4,723	0.77%
ASNPOP98	26,357	4.37%	45,149	7.38%	96,509	15.81%
ОТНРОР98	36,244	6.01%	53,951	8.82%	45,491	7.45%
HSPPOP98	86,467	14.34%	106,081	17.35%	108,880	17.84%
ADLTPOP98	449,015	74.47%	448,615	73.36%	435,221	71.29%
POP03	629,444		650,671		649,507	
WHTPOP03	515,605	81.91%	497,041	76.39%	400,613	61.68%
BLKPOP03	22,087	3.51%	24,560	3.77%	71,202	10.96%
INDPOP03	16,511	2.62%	7,715	1.19%	4,875	0.75%
ASNPOP03	32,319	5.13%	55,335	8.50%	117,581	18.10%
OTHPOP03	42,922	6.82%	66,020	10.15%	55,236	8.50%
HSPPOP03	103,033	16.37%	130,629	20.08%	133,069	20.49%
ADLTPOP03	472,309	75.04%	481,281	73.97%	466,600	71.84%
TOTREG	325,808		318,064		311,994	
DEM	154,537	47.43%	135,929	42.74%	164,030	52.57%
REP	107,575	33.02%	129,967	40.86%	94,739	30.37%
CNGDEM	92,094	66.86%	59,297	44.37%	86,888	67.77%
CNGREP	45,651	33.14%	74,342	55.63%	41,329	32.23%
GOVDEM	87,892	62.97%	74,914	53.88%	87,570	66.87%
GOVREP	51,676	37.03%	64,123	46.12%	43,387	33.13%
LTGDEM	75,554	60.22%	64,256	48.87%	77,940	64.21%
LTGREP	49,916	39.78%	67,238	51.13%	43,434	35.79%
ATGDEM	74,667	56.36%	61,623	47.06%	74,297	61.11%
ATGREP	57,814	43.64%	69,333	52.94%	47,275	38.89%
CONDEM	88,320	67.73%	74,789	57.55%	85,078	70.39%
CONREP	42,078	32.27%	55,167	42.45%	35,781	29.61%
INSDEM	64,334	48.92%	50,573	38.58%	65,961	54.45%
INSREP	67,179	51.08%	80,522	61.42%	55,172	45.55%
SOSDEM	66,841	50.81%				
SOSREP	64,711	49.19%	75,497	58.37%	51,992	42.55%
TRSDEM	77,301	60.35%	67,162	52.16%	75,919	64.20%
TRSREP	50,783	39.65%	61,600	47.84%	42,326	35.80%
USSDEM	81,597	57.90%	64,724	47.89%	78,656	60.96%
USSREP	59,334	42.10%	70,439	52.11%	50,378	39.04%
ASSDEM	87,679	63.07%	63,316	48.08%	81,696	65.27%
ASSREP	51,344	36.93%	68,369	51.92%	43,469	34.73%
SENDEM	70,115	51.72%	64,570	48.27%	33,702	60.60%
SENREP	65,459	48.28%	69,195	51.73%	21,908	39.40%

POP1998	602,933	611,546	610,458	
1998 DEV.	0.09%	1.52%	1.34%	

Table 3: Alternative Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	07	CD09		CD10	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	610,280		613,759		605,035	
WHTPOP98	400,782	65.67%	231,484	37.72%	328,283	54.26%
BLKPOP98	66,120	10.83%	191,793	31.25%	99,527	16.45%
INDPOP98	6,908	1.13%	3,543	0.58%	3,850	0.64%
ASNPOP98	88,006	14.42%	130,173	21.21%	117,893	19.49%
ОТНРОР98	48,464	7.94%	56,766	9.25%	55,482	9.17%
HSPPOP98	102,801	16.84%	110,529	18.01%	120,679	19.95%
ADLTPOP98	454,854	74.53%	459,672	74.89%	454,847	75.18%
POP03	621,069		629,060		628,395	
WHTPOP03	387,772	62.44%	217,048	34.50%	316,607	50.38%
BLKPOP03	68,473	11.03%	196,389	31.22%	103,585	16.48%
INDPOP03	6,871	1.11%	3,346	0.53%	3,860	0.61%
ASNPOP03	101,894	16.41%	146,426	23.28%	139,557	22.21%
OTHPOP03	56,059	9.03%	65,851	10.47%	64,786	10.31%
HSPPOP03	120,028	19.33%	130,452	20.74%	141,520	22.52%
ADLTPOP03	464,591	74.81%	469,784	74.68%	472,843	75.25%
TOTREG	323,033		321,853		317,690	
DEM	168,949	52.30%	215,928	67.09%	193,364	60.87%
REP	102,562	31.75%	35,383	10.99%	64,513	20.31%
CNGDEM	95,553	67.17%	111,962	89.01%	100,865	78.24%
CNGREP	46,707	32.83%	13,825	10.99%	28,053	21.76%
GOVDEM	94,370	64.91%	114,765	88.92%	104,625	78.01%
GOVREP	51,021	35.09%	14,296	11.08%	29,494	21.99%
LTGDEM	83,025	60.61%	95,578	87.35%	89,732	75.41%
LTGREP	53,953	39.39%	13,836	12.65%		24.59%
ATGDEM	79,876	58.05%	101,513	86.64%		76.55%
ATGREP	57,722	41.95%	15,652	13.36%		23.45%
CONDEM	89,301	65.10%	105,969	89.55%		80.67%
CONREP	47,865	34.90%	12,364	10.45%	24,114	19.33%
INSDEM	67,761	49.55%	98,365	83.72%		70.30%
INSREP	68,989	50.45%	19,125			29.70%
SOSDEM	68,432					
SOSREP	67,441	49.64%	19,862			30.33%
TRSDEM	85,121	62.93%	100,208	86.98%		75.22%
TRSREP	50,146	37.07%	15,006	13.02%	29,537	24.78%
USSDEM	83,301	57.94%	112,306	85.26%		73.56%
USSREP	60,467	42.06%	19,412	14.74%	35,540	26.44%
ASSDEM	83,063	60.63%	108,631	87.24%	94,187	73.19%
ASSREP	53,934	39.37%	15,882	12.76%	34,498	26.81%
SENDEM	57,684	66.05%	90,371	86.82%	96,904	75.61%
SENREP	29,653	33.95%	13,714	13.18%	31,261	24.39%

F	OP1998	610,280	613,759	605,035
1	.998 DEV.	1.31%	1.89%	0.44%

Table 3: Alternative Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	DISTRICT CD12		CD15		CD30	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Democrat		Likely Republican	
POP98	612,404		612,949		606,873	
WHTPOP98	523,117	85.42%	326,693	53.30%	473,119	77.96%
BLKPOP98	12,940	2.11%	26,223	4.28%	39,387	6.49%
INDPOP98	3,433	0.56%	3,639	0.59%	8,589	1.42%
ASNPOP98	50,762	8.29%	183,562	29.95%	22,692	3.74%
ОТНРОР98	22,152	3.62%	72,832	11.88%	63,086	10.40%
НЅРРОР98	66,678	10.89%	164,890	26.90%	137,748	22.70%
ADLTPOP98	461,383	75.34%	450,312	73.47%	425,777	70.16%
POP03	672,742		653,468		645,332	
WHTPOP03	560,305	83.29%	322,711	49.38%	487,261	75.51%
BLKPOP03	15,127	2.25%	27,292	4,18%	41,790	6.48%
INDPOP03	3,816	0.57%	3,695	0.57%	8,716	1.35%
ASNPOP03	66,002	9.81%	215,818	33.03%	27,206	4.22%
ОТНРОР03	27,492	4.09%	83,952	12.85%	80,359	12.45%
нѕррор03	83,382	12.39%	191,024	29.23%	174,932	27.11%
ADLTPOP03	513,372	76.31%	482,997	73.91%	455,831	70.64%
TOTREG	355,598		240,897		265,823	
DEM	143,817	40.44%	119,798	49.73%	104,921	39.47%
REP	151,650	42.65%	68,057	28.25%	117,194	44.09%
CNGDEM	81,721	55.22%	66,820	68.94%	38,178	37.78%
CNGREP	66,269	44.78%	30,101	31.06%	62,873	62.22%
GOVDEM	89,341	58.07%	70,485	70.66%	52,861	51.02%
GOVREP	64,517	41.93%	29,262	29.34%	50,749	48.98%
LTGDEM	74,049	52.95%	59,464	66.75%	47,107	48.72%
LTGREP	65,793	47.05%	29,625	33.25%	49,588	51.28%
ATGDEM	74,311	52.65%	59,768	65.33%	44,114	45.02%
ATGREP	66,843	47.35%	31,713	34.67%	53,878	54.98%
CONDEM	84,446	61.03%	65,447	71.58%	56,966	58.28%
CONREP	53,917	38.97%	25,982	28.42%	40,781	41.72%
INSDEM	62,560	45.10%	52,759	58.75%	33,990	34.52%
INSREP	76,154	54.90%	37,041	41.25%	64,464	65.48%
SOSDEM	66,529	46.38%				39.98%
SOSREP	76,916	53.62%	36,529	39.87%	57,290	60.02%
TRSDEM	71,210	52.40%	60,022	67.60%	44,936	47.19%
TRSREP	64,696	47.60%	28,768	32.40%	50,278	52.81%
USSDEM	79,534	52.28%	63,120	63.17%	45,828	45.57%
USSREP	72,611	47.72%	36,795	36.83%	54,740	54.43%
ASSDEM	65,983	45.72%	61,251	64.06%	24,183	27.69%
ASSREP	78,349	54.28%	34,370	35.94%	63,141	72.31%
SENDEM	11,792	56.50%	40,988	68.18%	1,272	66.56%
SENREP	9,079	43.50%	19,131	31.82%	639	33.44%

POP1998	612,404	612,949	606,873	
1998 DEV.	1.67%	1.76%	0.75%	

Table 3: Alternative Hypothetical "Masters" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	31	CD46		
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Likely Re	epublican	
POP98	594,450		607,528		
WHTPOP98	436,014	73.35%	451,499	74.32%	
BLKPOP98	39,961	6.72%	12,365	2.04%	
INDPOP98	5,911	0.99%	5,702	0.94%	
ASNPOP98	33,709	5.67%	11,936	1.96%	
ОТНРОР98	78,855	13.27%	126,026	20.74%	
HSPPOP98	163,089	27.44%	269,858	44.42%	
ADLTPOP98	429,103	72.18%	431,113	70.96%	
POP03	642,804		680,454		
WHTPOP03	453,929	70.62%	493,406	72.51%	
BLKPOP03	43,757	6.81%	14,082	2.07%	
INDPOP03	6,261	0.97%	5,825	0.86%	
ASNPOP03	39,993	6.22%	14,664	2.16%	
OTHPOP03	98,864	15.38%	152,477	22.41%	
HSPPOP03	205,214	31.92%	329,212	48.38%	
ADLTPOP03	465,806	72.46%	483,764	71.09%	
TOTREG	251,956		240,532		
DEM	100,908	40.05%	94,204	39.16%	
REP	111,749	44.35%	110,378	45.89%	
CNGDEM	38,518	38.38%	23,686	26.53%	
CNGREP	61,843	61.62%	65,596	73.47%	
GOVDEM	58,901	55.93%	51,629	50.82%	
GOVREP	46,411	44.07%	49,956	49.18%	
LTGDEM	53,103	53.82%	47,163	49.13%	
LTGREP	45,559	46.18%	48,838	50.87%	
ATGDEM	49,047	49.09%	43,097	44.55%	
ATGREP	50,868	50.91%	53,648	55.45%	
CONDEM	59,777	60.71%	53,697	56.57%	
CONREP	38,682	39.29%	41,225	43.43%	
INSDEM	37,713	37.53%	35,218	36.11%	
INSREP	62,776	62.47%	62,310	63.89%	
SOSDEM	41,920	43.57%	37,660	40.44%	
SOSREP	54,286	56.43%	55,469	59.56%	
TRSDEM	48,420	50.73%	42,024	46.06%	
TRSREP	47,029	49.27%	49,221	53.94%	
USSDEM	51,051	50.29%	44,777	46.26%	
USSREP	50,460	49.71%	52,027	53.74%	
ASSDEM	36,978	39.07%	40,427	41.17%	
ASSREP	57,671	60.93%	57,761	58.83%	
SENDEM	5,356	53.40%	17,182	35.29%	
SENREP	4,674	46.60%	31,506	64.71%	

POP1998	594,450	607,528	
1998 DEV.	-1.32%	0.86%	

Table 4: Rough Conversion Sheet (Old Districts to New)-ALTERNATIVE PLAN

Seats that Switched Parties Denoted in **Bold Italics** (Toss-ups not counted as switched parties)

Old District	Current Rep.	Act.	Proj.	ALT "Masters" Equivale	ent	"Modest" Equivalen	t	"Burton" Equivaler	
1	Thompson	D	LD	1	D	1	D	1	P
2	Herger	R	SR	2	R	2	R	2	F
3	Ose	R	LR	5	T	5	D	3	E
4	Doolittle	R	SR	4	R	4	R	4***	
5	Matsui	D	SD	7	D	7	D	5	D
6	Woolsey	D	SD	3	D	3	D	6	D
7	George Miller	D	SD	6	D	9	D	7	D
8	Pelosi	D	SD	11	D	- 11	D	8	D
9	Lee	D	SD	10	D	10	D	9	D
10	Tauscher	D	T	12	T	12	D	10	TD
11	Pombo	R	LR	8	R	8	R	11	TE
12	Lantos	D	SD	13	D	13	D	12	To
13	Stark	D	SD	15	D	15	D	13	to
14	Eshoo	Ō	SD	14	D	14	D	14	Ī
15	Campbell	R	LD	21*	R	21*	Ŕ	15	1
16	Lofgren	D	SD	16	D	16	D	16	To
17	Farr	D	SD	17	D	17	D	19	To
18	Condit	D	T	18	Ť	18	D	18	1
19	Radanovich	R	LR	20	Ŕ	20	R	20	F
20	Dooley	D	LD	19	T	19	D	21	Tr
21	Thomas	R	SR	22	R	22	R	27	냠
22	Capps	D	т	24	D	24	D	22	1
23	Gallegly	R	T	25	R	25	R	23	+
24	Sherman	6	SD	33**	D	33**	10	24	
	McKeon	R	LR	23	R	23	R	25****	15
25		6	SD	26	D	26	B	26	
26 27	Berman	R	LD	27	R	27	D	41****	1
	Rogan	R	LR	28		28	R	28	1
28	Dreier	D		32	R	32	D	29	F
29	Waxman	 D	SD		ㅂ			30	15
30	Becerra		SD	35		35	D		부
31	Martinez	D	SD	36	D	36	Ē	31	- 12
32	Dixon	D	SD	34	D	34	D	32	ᆜ
33	Roybal-Allard	D	SD	38	D	38	D	33	000
34	Napolitano	D	SD	39	D	39	D	34	1
35	Waters	D	SD	37	D	37	D	35	받
36	Kuykendall	R	I	41	耳	41	D	36	14
37	Millender-McDonald	D	SD	42	D	42	D	37	L
38	Horn	R	LR	43	T	43	D	38	L
39	Royce	R	SR	44	R	44	R	39	-IF
40	Lewis	R	SR	30	R	30	R	47	D D P P P P P P P P
41	Gary Miller	R	T	40	耳	40	D	40	15
42	Joe Baca	D	LD	29	D	29	D	42	10
43	Calvert	R	LR	45	R	45	R	48	P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P
44	Bono	R	LR	46	R	46	R	49	JF
45	Rohrabacher	R	SR	47	R	47	R	43	HF.
46	Sanchez	D	LD	48	D	48	D	44	10
47	Cox	R	SR	49	R	49	R	46	JF.
48	Packard	R	SR	50	R	50	R	50	IF.
49	Bilbray	R	T	52	I	52	D	52	1
50	Filner	D	SD	53	P	53	D	53	10
51	Cunningham	R	SR	51	R	51	R	51	II-
52	Hunter	R	SR	54	R	54	R	54	-JF
New	3.			10	D	6	D	17	0
New	7		•	31	R	31	R	45	IC

- * Tom Campbell's Republican Bay Area seat is drawn into a "Safe Democratic" seat for Sam Farr, but a new Republican seat shows up along the Central Coast, resulting in no net loss or Republican seats.
- ** Sherman's seat is largely taken over by Waxman, thus meaning that Sherman may be lost though a Democrat will still be elected to District 33.
- Doolittle's Roseville home is pushed over into District 11, meaning that he is given the option of running against Pombo in a primary, or moving to run against Herger or Radanovich instead. While this move deprives Republicans of an incumbent legislature, the overall partisan balance is not affected by this particular move, since a "Likely Republican" District in the west of the Central Valley (CD20) is opened up.
- A Republican is elected here also, but Gallegly's Simi Valley home is taken in McKeon's new seat, thus pitting them against each other in a primary if both want to run again. Gallegly has no other Republican district nearby that he can run in.
- Rogan's old district is fused with Dreier's, but the excess population from Rogan's district is made up in the new district 41.

SECTION THREE: THE "MODEST GERRYMANDER" PLAN

Results: 24 Safe Democrats; 11 Likely Democrats; 0 Toss-ups; 6 Likely Republicans; 13 Safe Republicans. (35 Democrats/19 Republicans).

Likely Net Loss of Republican Seats: Six. (Ose, Rogan, Kuykendall, Horn, Miller, Bilbray).

Summary. This "modest gerrymander" plan is remarkably similar to the original Masters plan, but we can see that with some minor tinkering around the edges, the marginal seats that are currently held by Republicans can be made to fall to the Democrats, and marginal Democrats are made safer. As with the Masters plan, Campbell's seat is lost here, but is again counterbalanced by the loss of Sam Farr for the Democrats.

Unlike the Masters plan, the integrity of the State's geographical regions is not a requirement, so the reconfiguration of districts, done to create an alternative Masters plan, is unnecessary here. Indeed, to implement those reconfigurations would be a setback, since Tauscher's seat would be made so marginal.

As noted above, this plan is far from the most extreme gerrymander possible, but, depending on the results in the other states, six seats could well be enough to unjustly tip control of Congress from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party.

The individuals who reviewed the gerrymanders had one question about this plan. They wondered whether Democrats would be willing to make Matsui only a "Likely Democratic" seat in order to get Ose. Some of them believed that Ose would be preserved, and Matsui kept safe, thus resulting in the loss of only five (5) Republican seats. This is, of course, a political calculation that Democrats will be forced to make, but, as this plan shows, if they are willing to weaken Matsui slightly, Ose is certainly within reach.

California Congressional Districts

Proposed "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

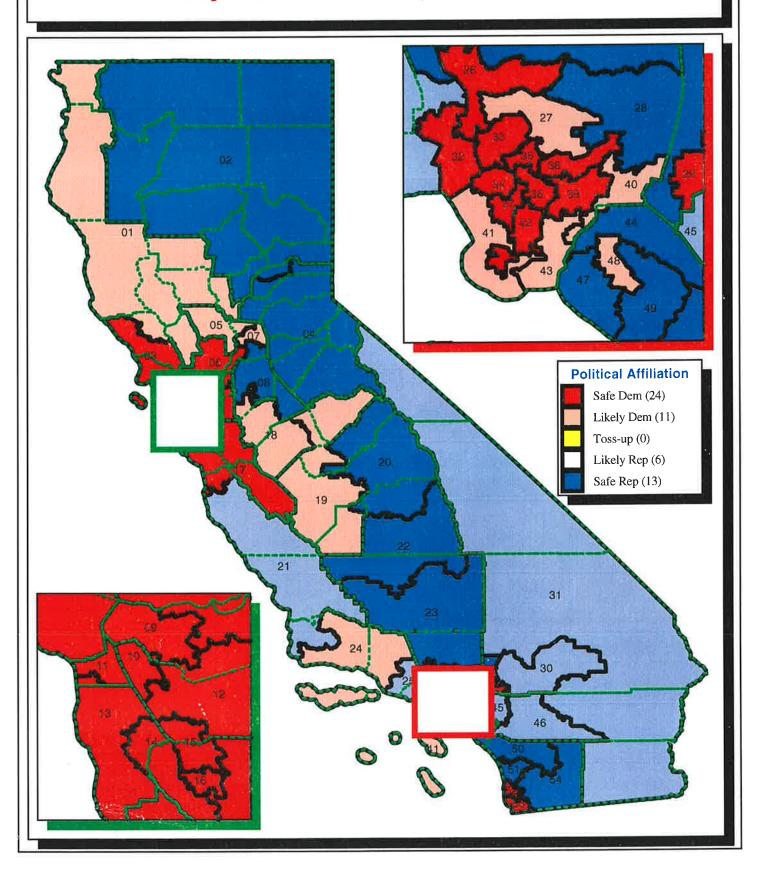


Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	01	CD	02	CD	03
LEANINGS	Likely I	Democrat	Safe Rep	oublican	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	600,513		612,741		597,659	
WHTPOP98	510,284	84.97%	544,600	88.88%	522,916	87.49%
BLKPOP98	6,788	1.13%	10,277	1.68%	14,203	2.38%
INDPOP98	16,675	2.78%	15,362	2.51%	4,433	0.74%
ASNPOP98	23,018	3.83%	19,829	3.24%	27,355	4.58%
ОТНРОР98	43,748	7.29%	22,673	3.70%	28,752	4.81%
НЅРРОР98	93,782	15.62%	57,476	9.38%	72,366	12.11%
ADLTPOP98	443,650	73.88%	452,881	73.91%	460,729	77.09%
POP03	632,445		637,487		624,738	
WHTPOP03	526,620	83.27%	559,483	87.76%	536,951	85.95%
BLKPOP03	7,442	1.18%	11,245	1.76%	15,058	2.41%
INDPOP03	17,226	2.72%	15,942	2.50%	4,547	0.73%
ASNPOP03	28,196	4.46%	23,558	3.70%	33,125	5.30%
OTHPOP03	52,961	8.37%	27,259	4.28%	35,057	5.61%
HSPPOP03	113,364	17.92%	69,579	10.91%	88,288	14.13%
ADLTPOP03	470,361	74.37%	475,122	74.53%	483,933	77.46%
TOTREG	322,266		335,087		340,954	
DEM	146,880	45.58%	132,245	39.47%	178,523	52.36%
REP	114,607	35.56%	143,693	42.88%	98,325	28.84%
CNGDEM	85,554	62.78%	50,548	36.50%	118,045	71.66%
CNGREP	50,720	37.22%	87,957	63.50%	46,676	28.34%
GOVDEM	83,233	60.36%	68,649	48.50%	118,893	72.53%
GOVREP	54,650	39.64%	72,886	51.50%	45,021	27.47%
LTGDEM	70,520	56.73%	53,957	41.00%	101,632	68.82%
LTGREP	53,790	43.27%	77,654	59.00%	46,037	31.18%
ATGDEM	69,888	53.47%	56,224	42.36%	102,157	66.42%
ATGREP	60,806	46.53%	76,505		51,653	33.58%
CONDEM	83,986	65.22%	71,106		111,541	72.80%
CONREP	44,786	34.78%	59,805	45.68%	41,681	27.20%
INSDEM	60,118	46.28%	47,032	35.48%	92,581	61.74%
INSREP	69,780	53.72%	85,532	64.52%	57,376	38.26%
SOSDEM	61,874	47.80%				
SOSREP	67,576	52.20%	80,166		62,278	40.84%
TRSDEM	72,734	57.63%	59,420	46.03%	100,383	67.58%
TRSREP	53,484	42.37%	69,674	53.97%	48,164	32.42%
USSDEM	76,857	55.44%	56,437	41.45%	112,625	68.32%
USSREP	61,773	44.56%	79,730	58.55%	52,229	31.68%
ASSDEM	81,780	59.71%	58,677	42.41%	112,861	70.26%
ASSREP	55,184	40.29%	79,692	57.59%	47,782	29.74%
SENDEM	65,090	48.79%	22,618	33.35%	30,387	63.30%
SENREP	68,311	51.21%	45,201	66.65%	17,617	36.70%

	POP1998	600,513	612,741	597,659
N	1998 DEV.	-0.31%	1.72%	-0.78%

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD04		CD05		CD06	
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	publican	Likely I	Democrat	Safe D	emocrat
POP98	590,368		609,914		606,073	
WHTPOP98	546,857	92.63%	458,347	75.15%	403,392	66.56%
BLKPOP98	6,158	1.04%	40,557	6.65%	65,948	10.88%
INDPOP98	7,875	1.33%	7,675	1.26%	5,403	0.89%
ASNPOP98	13,103	2,22%	54,064	8.86%	80,107	13.22%
ОТНРОР98	16,375	2.77%	49,271	8.08%	51,223	8.45%
НЅРРОР98	56,452	9.56%	101,112	16.58%	117,685	19.42%
ADLTPOP98	444,478	75.29%	451,287	73.99%	428,414	70.69%
POP03	658,759		632,308		649,737	
WHTPOP03	604,571	91.77%	459,116	72.61%	415,957	64.02%
BLKPOP03	6,921	1.05%	43,272	6.84%	70,072	10.78%
INDPOP03	8,911	1.35%	7,927	1.25%	5,728	0.88%
ASNPOP03	17,212	2.61%	63,752	10.08%		14.85%
OTHPOP03	21,144	3.21%	58,241	9.21%		9.46%
HSPPOP03	73,453	11.15%	120,182	19.01%	141,898	21.84%
ADLTPOP03	499,973	75.90%	470,125	74.35%	463,412	71.32%
TOTREG	343,297	The Property	325,947		295,800	
DEM	124,131	36.16%	159,127	48.82%	158,162	53.47%
REP	161,244	46.97%	109,740	33.67%	86,469	29.23%
CNGDEM	58,628	36.08%	76,427	56.63%	73,600	63.96%
CNGREP	103,881	63.92%	58,520	43.37%	41,469	36.04%
GOVDEM	79,651	46.77%	85,916	61.69%	78,375	65.64%
GOVREP	90,660	53.23%	53,354	38.31%	41,032	34.36%
LTGDEM	65,156	40.36%	74,744	57.14%	69,602	63.45%
LTGREP	96,282	59.64%	56,058	42.86%	40,091	36.55%
ATGDEM	64,005	40.32%	72,411	55.25%	67,297	60.42%
ATGREP	94,742	59.68%	58,659	44.75%	44,081	39.58%
CONDEM	85,042	53.38%	83,349	63.86%	76,730	69.71%
CONREP	74,283	46.62%	47,169	36.14%	33,344	30.29%
INSDEM	51,974	32.41%	61,179	46.64%		53.75%
INSREP	108,370	67.59%	70,007	53.36%	51,229	46.25%
SOSDEM	58,023	36.98%	63,764			
SOSREP	98,897	63.02%	65,773	50.78%	46,772	41.80%
TRSDEM	69,080	44.15%	68,274	54.60%	68,578	63.43%
TRSREP	87,383	55.85%	56,781	45.40%	39,542	36.57%
USSDEM	69,884	41.96%	76,127	55.84%	70,502	60.03%
USSREP	96,675	58.04%	60,203	44.16%	46,938	39.97%
ASSDEM	57,540	36.33%	75,684	57.26%	74,126	64.68%
ASSREP	100,858	63.67%	56,493	42.74%	40,477	35.32%
SENDEM	8,239	43.46%	70,336	56.83%	42,421	56.69%
SENREP	10,718	56.54%	53,435	43.17%	32,404	43.31%

POP1998	590,368	609,914	606,073
1998 DEV	-1.99%	1.25%	0.61%

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	07	CD08		CD	09
LEANINGS	Likely I	Democrat	Safe Rep	publican	Safe D	emocrat
POP98	613,002	. vi	610,152		612,832	
WHTPOP98	398,335	64.98%	451,925	74.07%	425,633	69.45%
BLKPOP98	68,643	11.20%	22,157	3.63%	67,616	11.03%
INDPOP98	5,763	0.94%	5,788	0.95%	3,042	0.50%
ASNPOP98	95,310	15.55%	77,814	12.75%	86,774	14.16%
OTHPOP98	44,951	7.33%	52,468	8.60%	29,767	4.86%
HSPPOP98	100,210	16.35%	153,814	25.21%	78,089	12.74%
ADLTPOP98	447,615	73.02%	432,911	70.95%	467,568	76.30%
POP03	645,457		654,854		646,972	
WHTPOP03	399,908	61.96%	468,542	71.55%	429,532	66.39%
BLKPOP03	71,887	11.14%	23,695	3.62%	72,424	11.19%
INDPOP03	5,824	0.90%	6,019	0.92%	3,076	0.48%
ASNPOP03	114,314	17.71%	92,987	14.20%	105,394	16.29%
OTHPOP03	53,524	8.29%	63,611	9.71%	36,546	5.65%
HSPPOP03	121,414	18.81%	186,419	28.47%	96,512	14.92%
ADLTPOP03	474,863	73.57%	468,435	71.53%	496,062	76.67%
TOTREG	320,294		273,417		340,573	
DEM	157,633	49.22%	122,661	44.86%	169,593	49.80%
REP	114,888	35.87%	117,432	42.95%	113,147	33.22%
CNGDEM	90,518	62.15%	47,894	44.07%	97,029	68.11%
CNGREP	55,128	37.85%	60,784	55.93%	45,429	31.89%
GOVDEM	91,868	61.44%	58,591	51.20%	98,761	67.77%
GOVREP	57,645	38.56%	55,850	48.80%	46,958	32.23%
LTGDEM	81,240	57.16%	56,225	51.68%	84,993	64.09%
LTGREP	60,897	42.84%	52,568	48.32%	47,629	35.91%
ATGDEM	76,619	54.11%	49,685	46.20%	82,317	62.41%
ATGREP	64,980	45.89%	57,866	53.80%	49,571	37.59%
CONDEM	88,106	62.41%	64,602	60.26%	91,740	70.26%
CONREP	53,068	37.59%	42,599	39.74%	38,838	29.74%
INSDEM	64,052	45.50%	42,305	39.15%	75,931	57.28%
INSREP	76,717	54.50%	65,760	60.85%		42.72%
SOSDEM	65,405					
SOSREP	74,618	53.29%	61,081	57.00%		42.72%
TRSDEM	74,361	55.74%	52,424	49.49%	81,280	63.41%
TRSREP	59,040	44.26%	53,497	50.51%	46,909	36.59%
USSDEM	79,755	54.05%	53,112	47.39%	90,474	62.65%
USSREP	67,799	45.95%	58,970	52.61%	53,947	37.35%
ASSDEM	78,792	56.16%	63,545	56.98%	84,456	61.15%
ASSREP	61,510	43.84%	47,971	43.02%	53,661	38.85%
SENDEM	51,561	60.86%	5,489	39.92%	25,198	83.13%
SENREP	33,160	39.14%	8,261	60.08%	5,115	16.87%

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POP1998	613,002	610,152	612,832				
1998 DEV.	1.76%	1.29%	1.74%				

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	10	CD11		CD12		
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	
POP98	614,427		612,347		611,840		
WHTPOP98	251,570	40.94%	292,928	47.84%	420,819	68.78%	
BLKPOP98	193,922	31.56%	65,658	10.72%	36,694	6.00%	
INDPOP98	3,111	0.51%	2,655	0.43%	4,119	0.67%	
ASNPOP98	114,676	18.66%	204,706	33.43%	101,736	16.63%	
ОТНРОР98	51,148	8.32%	46,400	7.58%	48,472	7.92%	
HSPPOP98	98,259	15.99%	107,933	17.63%	113,099	18.49%	
ADLTPOP98	469,374	76.39%	512,441	83.68%	457,286	74.74%	
POP03	624,467		636,630		651,780		
WHTPOP03	237,488	38.03%	277,757	43.63%	427,600	65.60%	
BLKPOP03	195,758	31.35%	65,928	10.36%	40,602	6.23%	
INDPOP03	2,932	0.47%	2,604	0.41%	4,289	0.66%	
ASNPOP03	129,268	20.70%	237,103	37.24%	122,681	18.82%	
OTHPOP03	59,021	9.45%	53,238	8.36%	56,608	8.69%	
HSPPOP03	115,682	18.52%	124,246	19.52%	133,188	20.43%	
ADLTPOP03	475,847	76.20%	532,608	83.66%	491,852	75.46%	
TOTREG	355,244		374,483		315,242		
DEM	232,066	65.33%	222,990	59.55%	153,531	48.70%	
REP	44,975	12.66%	52,329	13.97%	103,146	32.72%	
CNGDEM	123,715	86.54%	120,767	88.65%	81,872	64.06%	
CNGREP	19,241	13.46%	15,466	11.35%	45,926	35.94%	
GOVDEM	130,265	87.59%	123,879	87.20%	85,403	64.65%	
GOVREP	18,461	12.41%	18,182	12.80%	46,698	35.35%	
LTGDEM	106,579	85.14%	96,081	84.80%	72,733	60.93%	
LTGREP	18,608	14.86%	17,225	15.20%	46,646	39.07%	
ATGDEM	116,608	85.13%	107,939	84.83%	77,008	62.73%	
ATGREP	20,361	14.87%	19,306	15.17%	45,762	37.27%	
CONDEM	121,273	88.06%	108,981	85.88%	83,656	68.83%	
CONREP	16,448	11.94%	17,922	14.12%	37,878	31.17%	
INSDEM	109,364	81.51%	99,891	80.78%	64,407	54.32%	
INSREP	24,812	18.49%	23,771	19.22%	54,164	45.68%	
SOSDEM	109,396	80.40%		79.43%			
SOSREP	26,661	19.60%	26,591	20.57%	54,320	44.88%	
TRSDEM	112,616	84.20%	100,246	82.44%	71,636	61.48%	
TRSREP	21,125	15.80%	21,359	17.56%	44,881	38.52%	
USSDEM	127,457	83.74%	119,459	82.27%	78,077	59.50%	
USSREP	24,749	16.26%	25,736	17.73%	53,153	40.50%	
ASSDEM	120,830	84.32%	112,081	85.20%	69,149	55.08%	
ASSREP	22,474	15.68%	19,476	14.80%	56,385	44.92%	
SENDEM	113,041	83.19%	38,060	83.82%	57,842	69.61%	
SENREP	22,839	16.81%	7,346	16.18%	25,252	30.39%	

POP1998	614,427	612,347	611,840
1998 DEV.	2.00%	1.66%	1.57%

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD	13	CD14		CD	15
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	613,215		612,073		610,792	
WHTPOP98	354,866	57.87%	461,217	75.35%	325,441	53.28%
BLKPOP98	29,487	4.81%	27,708	4.53%	26,192	4.29%
INDPOP98	2,277	0.37%	2,074	0.34%	3,631	0.59%
ASNPOP98	189,290	30.87%	89,803	14.67%	182,726	29.92%
ОТНРОР98	37,295	6.08%	31,271	5.11%	72,802	11.92%
нѕррор98	114,265	18.63%	97,633	15.95%	164,769	26.98%
ADLTPOP98	480,621	78.38%	481,784	78.71%	448,754	73.47%
POP03	649,951		649,901		651,219	
WHTPOP03	350,757	53.97%	470,538	72.40%	321,509	49.37%
BLKPOP03	29,980	4.61%	29,029	4.47%	27,259	4.19%
INDPOP03	2,285	0.35%	2,128	0.33%	3,687	0.57%
ASNPOP03	222,737	34.27%	109,795	16.89%	214,844	32.99%
OTHPOP03	44,192	6.80%	38,411	5.91%	83,920	12.89%
HSPPOP03	135,191	20.80%	119,409	18.37%	190,897	29.31%
ADLTPOP03	510,878	78.60%	513,566	79.02%	481,284	73.91%
TOTREG	295,774		318,018		239,571	
DEM	157,959	53.41%	142,686	44.87%	119,360	49.82%
REP	74,672	25.25%	111,462	35.05%	67,474	28.16%
CNGDEM	86,783	78.54%	90,971	62.61%	66,485	69.02%
CNGREP	23,708	21.46%	54,337	37.39%	29,844	30.98%
GOVDEM	88,624	74.55%	99,683	67.48%	70,141	70.76%
GOVREP	30,253	25.45%	48,037	32.52%	28,978	29.24%
LTGDEM	76,115	72.94%	82,118	62.06%	59,187	66.86%
LTGREP	28,240	27.06%	50,195	37.94%	29,338	33.14%
ATGDEM	73,685	69.60%	81,774	60.66%	59,493	65.45%
ATGREP	32,180	30.40%	53,039	39.34%	31,412	34.55%
CONDEM	76,244	70.73%	85,558	63.35%	65,120	71.67%
CONREP	31,559	29.27%	49,497	36.65%	25,737	28.33%
INSDEM	68,024	65.25%	73,365	55.44%	52,557	58.89%
INSREP	36,229	34.75%	58,973	44.56%	36,687	41.11%
SOSDEM	70,128					
SOSREP	38,969	35.72%	62,564	45.85%	36,167	39.72%
TRSDEM	70,960	69.26%	81,224	61.60%	59,756	67.73%
TRSREP	31,488	30.74%	50,626	38.40%	28,473	32.27%
USSDEM	80,093	67.75%	91,014	61.42%	62,863	63.32%
USSREP	38,129	32.25%	57,171	38.58%	36,414	36.68%
ASSDEM	83,481	76.31%	86,727	63.22%	60,989	64.19%
ASSREP	25,920	23.69%	50,464	36.78%	34,031	35.81%
SENDEM	79,321	78.71%	0	*	40,637	68.27%
SENREP	21,460	21.29%	0	*	18,884	31.73%

POP1998	613,215	612,073	610,792	
1998 DEV.	1.80%	1.61%	1.40%	

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD16		CD17		CD18	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	611,760		610,337		610,066	
WHTPOP98	387,781	63.39%	433,267	70.99%	417,096	68.37%
BLKPOP98	24,423	3.99%	22,159	3.63%	24,019	3.94%
INDPOP98	3,790	0.62%	4,229	0.69%	5,698	0.93%
ASNPOP98	109,650	17.92%	59,701	9.78%	55,630	9.12%
OTHPOP98	86,116	14.08%	90,981	14.91%	107,623	17.64%
HSPPOP98	194,698	31.83%	182,359	29.88%	208,374	34.16%
ADLTPOP98	453,106	74.07%	444,401	72.81%	417,278	68.40%
POP03	651,084		653,791		645,003	
WHTPOP03	390,667	60.00%	445,640	68.16%	421,839	65.40%
BLKPOP03	25,210	3.87%	21,929	3.35%	24,631	3.82%
INDPOP03	3,864	0.59%	4,346	0.66%	5,815	0.90%
ASNPOP03	128,796	19.78%	72,286	11.06%	65,016	10.08%
ОТНРОР03	102,547	15.75%	109,590	16.76%	127,702	19.80%
HSPPOP03	234,754	36.06%	220,997	33.80%	248,318	38.50%
ADLTPOP03	482,398	74.09%	480,536	73.50%	445,311	69.04%
TOTREG	255,491		307,158		261,262	
DEM	126,062	49.34%	151,704	49.39%	136,679	52.31%
REP	78,772	30.83%	94,524	30.77%	88,029	33.69%
CNGDEM	59,243	55.20%	80,506	63.75%	79,413	96.00%
CNGREP	48,075	44.80%	45,777	36.25%	3,313	4.00%
GOVDEM	75,449	69.14%	85,454	66.84%	54,203	55.71%
GOVREP	33,681	30.86%	42,394	33.16%	43,086	44.29%
LTGDEM	63,370	64.05%	71,935	62.84%	54,608	58.99%
LTGREP	35,575	35.95%	42,533	37.16%	37,968	41.01%
ATGDEM	62,807	62.91%	70,955	60.62%	48,416	52,71%
ATGREP	37,023	37.09%	46,091	39.38%	43,432	47.29%
CONDEM	69,280	69.41%	81,209	69.27%	58,461	64.00%
CONREP	30,536	30.59%	36,033	30.73%	32,885	36.00%
INSDEM	56,111	56.61%	63,006		41,036	44.73%
INSREP	43,015	43.39%	55,341	46.76%	50,709	55.27%
SOSDEM	58,270	58.07%				
SOSREP	42,078	41.93%	49,897	42.52%	48,021	52.58%
TRSDEM	63,721	65.33%	72,405	63.57%	45,416	51.62%
TRSREP	33,811	34.67%	41,487	36.43%	42,567	48.38%
USSDEM	68,755	63.21%	78,269	61.68%	49,516	52.26%
USSREP	40,022	36.79%	48,621	38.32%	45,227	47.74%
ASSDEM	61,916	60.07%	72,354	59.07%	57,605	60.85%
ASSREP	41,149	39.93%	50,133	40.93%	37,056	39.15%
SENDEM	0	*	1,582	65.00%	44,387	50.26%
SENREP	0	*	852	35.00%	43,933	49.74%

POP1998	611,760	610,337	610,066	
1998 DEV.	1.56%	1.32%	1.28%	

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD19		CD20		CD21	
LEANINGS	Likely I	Democrat	Safe Rep	publican	Likely Re	epublican
POP98	607,610		595,204		604,367	
WHTPOP98	298,469	49.12%	426,008	71.57%	432,477	71.56%
BLKPOP98	39,135	6.44%	11,510	1.93%	15,459	2.56%
INDPOP98	5,982	0.98%	5,906	0.99%	5,051	0.84%
ASNPOP98	51,920	8.54%	40,413	6.79%	32,164	5.32%
ОТНРОР98	212,104	34.91%	111,367	18.71%	119,216	19.73%
НЅРРОР98	328,767	54.11%	186,229	31.29%	204,532	33.84%
ADLTPOP98	400,839	65.97%	430,203	72.28%	441,913	73.12%
POP03	645,028		645,554		633,563	
WHTPOP03	293,344	45.48%	442,740	68.58%	438,714	69.25%
BLKPOP03	40,487	6.28%	12,776	1.98%	15,511	2.45%
INDPOP03	5,916	0.92%	6,100	0.94%	5,224	0.82%
ASNPOP03	57,492	8.91%	48,770	7.55%	36,798	5.81%
OTHPOP03	247,789	38.42%	135,168	20.94%	137,316	21.67%
HSPPOP03	385,776	59.81%	226,902	35.15%	238,651	37.67%
ADLTPOP03	427,966	66.35%	471,708	73.07%	465,728	73.51%
TOTREG	210,792		272,706		301,991	
DEM	112,564	53.40%	103,726	38.04%	127,900	42.35%
REP	70,405	33.40%	133,735	49.04%	123,421	40.87%
CNGDEM	25,981	40.33%	9,547	9.69%	61,167	53.63%
CNGREP	38,444	59.67%	88,968	90.31%	52,881	46.37%
GOVDEM	44,073	57.59%	49,487	41.27%	62,206	53.95%
GOVREP	32,453	42.41%	70,419	58.73%	53,087	46.05%
LTGDEM	47,733	64.77%	59,175	50.82%	56,189	52.35%
LTGREP	25,962	35.23%	57,260	49.18%	51,148	47.65%
ATGDEM	39,355	55.32%	43,482	38.21%	51,966	47.79%
ATGREP	31,791	44.68%	70,321	61.79%	56,770	52.21%
CONDEM	45,348	64.37%		49.58%	63,780	59.30%
CONREP	25,106	35.63%	56,168		43,766	40.70%
INSDEM	35,490	49.90%		32.43%	44,558	41.44%
INSREP	35,627	50.10%			62,979	58.56%
SOSDEM	31,614					
SOSREP	38,773	55.09%		72.08%	60,128	56.33%
TRSDEM	32,584	47.45%	47,319	44.11%	50,262	47.94%
TRSREP	36,090	52.55%	59,965	55.89%	54,589	52.06%
USSDEM	40,061	54.40%	44,607	38.05%	53,777	48.09%
USSREP	33,575	45.60%		61.95%	58,038	51,91%
ASSDEM	37,164	50.50%	16,394	16.86%	49,183	43.89%
ASSREP	36,432	49.50%	80,868	83.14%	62,874	56.11%
SENDEM	45,070	61.80%	20,543	19.69%	45,821	63.18%
SENREP	27,858	38.20%	83,784	80.31%	26,706	36.82%

	POP1998	607,610	595,204	604,367			
	1998 DEV.	0.87%	-1.19%	0.33%			

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD22		CD23		CD24	
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	oublican	Safe Rep	publican	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	605,984		593,516		605,917	
WHTPOP98	353,199	58.29%	434,295	73.17%	423,127	69.83%
BLKPOP98	32,419	5.35%	31,453	5.30%	17,429	2.88%
INDPOP98	7,093	1.17%	5,832	0.98%	5,261	0.87%
ASNPOP98	25,076	4.14%	22,410	3.78%	34,948	5.77%
ОТНРОР98	188,197	31.06%	99,526	16.77%	125,152	20.65%
HSPPOP98	256,013	42.25%	160,495	27.04%	246,810	40.73%
ADLTPOP98	412,142	68.01%	410,409	69.15%	451,039	74.44%
POP03	644,774		650,737		633,821	
WHTPOP03	350,935	54.43%	452,654	69.56%	424,172	66.92%
BLKPOP03	34,847	5.40%	36,017	5.53%	18,069	2.85%
INDPOP03	7,077	1.10%	6,143	0.94%	5,407	0.85%
ASNPOP03	28,229	4.38%	28,296	4.35%	40,149	6.33%
ОТНРОР03	223,686	34.69%	127,627	19.61%	146,024	23.04%
HSPPOP03	306,480	47.53%	208,901	32.10%	289,611	45.69%
ADLTPOP03	440,637	68.34%	455,091	69.93%	472,219	74.50%
TOTREG	243,003		249,705		338,980	
DEM	105,440	43.39%	89,330	35.77%	155,043	45.74%
REP	105,367	43.36%	118,745	47.55%	115,322	34.02%
CNGDEM	11,130	14.76%	2,454	2.78%	63,285	56.07%
CNGREP	64,285	85.24%	85,895	97.22%	49,582	43.93%
GOVDEM	43,724	45.03%	52,908	45.63%	70,373	62.08%
GOVREP	53,376	54.97%	63,035	54.37%	42,991	37.92%
LTGDEM	43,957	47.64%	46,868	43.49%	60,435	58.93%
LTGREP	48,320	52.36%	60,904	56.51%	42,127	41.07%
ATGDEM	37,781	41.91%	42,579	39.60%	57,235	55.21%
ATGREP	52,358	58.09%	64,932	60.40%	46,437	44.79%
CONDEM	47,171	52.28%	55,123	51.09%	70,572	67.43%
CONREP	43,059	47.72%	52,762	48.91%	34,092	32.57%
INSDEM	31,162	33.62%	33,267	30.13%	48,811	46.40%
INSREP	61,536	66.38%	77,160	69.87%	56,387	53.60%
SOSDEM	31,212	34.52%				49.78%
SOSREP	59,206	65.48%	69,662	65.05%	51,229	50.22%
TRSDEM	40,127	46.02%	44,736	42.40%	56,837	56.82%
TRSREP	47,071	53.98%	60,774	57.60%	43,194	43.18%
USSDEM	38,764	40.82%	44,486	39.03%	63,829	56.83%
USSREP	56,203	59.18%	69,483	60.97%	48,482	43.17%
ASSDEM	32,926	35.55%	36,612	32.98%	60,900	55.80%
ASSREP	59,686	64.45%	74,388	67.02%	48,249	44.20%
SENDEM	13,749	17.58%	4,933	33.93%	61,284	71.25%
SENREP	64,471	82.42%	9,604	66.07%	24,732	28.75%

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POP1998	605,984	593,516	605,917				
1998 DEV.	0.60%	-1.47%	0.59%				

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	r CD25		CD26		CD27	
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Safe De	emocrat	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	591,466		595,718		593,809	
WHTPOP98	490,472	82.92%	327,304	54.94%	339,497	57.17%
BLKPOP98	9,510	1.61%	27,033	4.54%	56,318	9.48%
INDPOP98	2,501	0.42%	2,831	0.48%	2,234	0.38%
ASNPOP98	53,407	9.03%	47,769	8.02%	86,554	14.58%
OTHPOP98	35,576	6.01%	190,781	32.03%	109,206	18.39%
HSPPOP98	96,684	16.35%	317,462	53.29%	200,353	33.74%
ADLTPOP98	449,997	76.08%	420,727	70.63%	448,997	75.61%
POP03	624,737		622,082		619,363	
WHTPOP03	502,827	80.49%	316,205	50.83%	331,950	53.60%
BLKPOP03	10,435	1.67%	28,768	4.62%	56,976	9.20%
INDPOP03	2,544	0.41%	2,684	0.43%	2,141	0.35%
ASNPOP03	63,982	10.24%	54,298	8.73%	100,019	16.15%
OTHPOP03	44,949	7.19%	220,127	35.39%	128,277	20.71%
HSPPOP03	122,840	19.66%	368,354	59.21%	236,969	38.26%
ADLTPOP03	482,828	77.29%	437,352	70.30%	472,085	76.22%
TOTREG	346,614		221,097		291,871	
DEM	126,439	36.48%	114,757	51.90%	131,999	45.23%
REP	158,599	45.76%	68,132	30.82%	111,540	
CNGDEM	49,741	37.85%	65,310	69.25%	68,309	51.91%
CNGREP	81,665	62.15%	28,994	30.75%	63,286	48.09%
GOVDEM	80,019	54.65%	75,893	65.98%	81,931	59.31%
GOVREP	66,399	45.35%	39,125	34.02%	56,216	
LTGDEM	69,253	51.34%	69,597	65.39%	74,037	57.91%
LTGREP	65,642	48.66%	36,836	34.61%	53,817	42.09%
ATGDEM	65,079	48.03%	65,031	61.17%	70,258	54.58%
ATGREP	70,422	51.97%	41,273	38.83%	58,466	
CONDEM	81,917	60.68%	76,965	70.74%	84,675	
CONREP	53,084	39.32%	31,842	29.26%	45,162	
INSDEM	50,166	36.57%	54,624	50.63%	56,192	
INSREP	87,009	63.43%	53,261	49.37%	72,959	
SOSDEM	54,442	40.68%	58,470		59,947	46.97%
SOSREP	79,403	59.32%	47,425		67,674	
TRSDEM	66,808	50.38%	51,304	50.47%	63,986	
TRSREP	65,806	49.62%	50,348	49.53%	58,082	47.58%
USSDEM	70,493	48.66%	70,721	61.94%	72,798	
USSREP	74,369	51.34%	43,454	38.06%	64,618	
ASSDEM	36,947	30.41%	72,532	70.16%	78,699	59.87%
ASSREP	84,549	69.59%	30,843	29.84%	52,753	40.13%
SENDEM	0	*	49,949	71.22%	14,204	79.35%
SENREP	0	*	20,186	28.78%	3,696	20.65%

POP1998	591,466	595,718	593,809	
1998 DEV.	-1.81%	-1.10%	-1.42%	

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD28		CD29		CD30	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Democrat		Likely Republican	
POP98	595,736		600,247		611,667	
WHTPOP98	440,409	73.93%	335,291	55.86%	469,737	76.80%
BLKPOP98	29,379	4.93%	65,515	10.91%	36,933	6.04%
INDPOP98	2,928	0.49%	4,518	0.75%	4,782	0.78%
ASNPOP98	53,040	8.90%	24,496	4.08%	31,731	5.19%
ОТНРОР98	69,980	11.75%	170,427	28.39%	68,484	11.20%
HSPPOP98	158,783	26.65%	311,988	51.98%	141,227	23.09%
ADLTPOP98	440,349	73.92%	399,067	66.48%	434,098	70.97%
POP03	625,796		629,766		649,223	
WHTPOP03	444,022	70.95%	333,341	52.93%	482,195	74.27%
BLKPOP03	31,166	4.98%	65,609	10.42%	38,676	5.96%
INDPOP03	2,897	0.46%	4,360	0.69%	4,862	0.75%
ASNPOP03	62,889	10.05%	27,834	4.42%	37,771	5.82%
ОТНРОР03	84,822	13.55%	198,622	31.54%	85,719	13.20%
HSPPOP03	193,487	30.92%	363,904	57.78%	177,461	27.33%
ADLTPOP03	469,941	75.09%	421,847	66.98%	464,596	71.56%
TOTREG	295,471		194,556		284,127	
DEM	109,908	37.20%	109,136	56.09%	110,465	38.88%
REP	137,994	46.70%	57,933	29.78%	129,189	45.47%
CNGDEM	55,369	38.97%	41,576	64.40%	41,615	38.04%
CNGREP	86,710	61.03%	22,987	35.60%	67,769	61.96%
GOVDEM	75,025	50.87%	47,160	69.84%	57,912	51.52%
GOVREP	72,458	49.13%	20,362	30.16%	54,492	48.48%
LTGDEM	68,782	49.75%	44,802	70.76%	51,881	49.30%
LTGREP	69,484	50.25%	18,517	29.24%	53,349	50.70%
ATGDEM	62,461	45.24%	41,706	65.31%	48,196	45,26%
ATGREP	75,620	54.76%	22,149	34.69%	58,294	54.74%
CONDEM	83,111	59.52%	48,032	74.26%	62,104	58.46%
CONREP	56,523	40.48%	16,648	25.74%	44,133	41.54%
INSDEM	48,937	34.97%	35,274	54.49%	36,283	33.94%
INSREP	91,012	65.03%	29,460	45.51%	70,615	66.06%
SOSDEM	53,400	38.92%	37,880	60.82%	41,032	39.58%
SOSREP	83,818	61.08%	24,403	39.18%	62,649	60.42%
TRSDEM	62,682	48.48%	41,230	68.10%	49,171	47.62%
TRSREP	66,620	51.52%	19,317	31.90%	54,094	52.38%
USSDEM	65,995	45.56%	43,610	66.48%	50,607	46.24%
USSREP	78,859	54.44%	21,990	33.52%	58,836	53.76%
ASSDEM	49,630	37.76%	40,874	63.35%	21,237	23.47%
ASSREP	81,819	62.24%	23,647	36.65%	69,261	76.53%
SENDEM	9,982	47.42%	43,277	67.26%	5,036	54.12%
SENREP	11,070	52.58%	21,064	32.74%	4,270	45.88%

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POP1998	595,736	600,247	611,667			
1998 DEV.	-1.10%	-0.35%	1.54%			

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD31		CD32		CD33	
LEANINGS	Likely Re	epublican	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	604,065		599,046	- V	597,889	
WHTPOP98	424,401	70.26%	461,220	76.99%	455,723	76.22%
ВЬКРОР98	24,116	3.99%	16,352	2.73%	18,230	3.05%
INDPOP98	8,741	1.45%	1,892	0.32%	2,085	0.35%
ASNPOP98	14,457	2.39%	61,650	10.29%	57,978	9.70%
ОТНРОР98	132,350	21.91%	57,932	9.67%	63,873	10.68%
HSPPOP98	269,960	44.69%	116,176	19.39%	144,189	24.12%
ADLTPOP98	431,528	71.44%	498,500	83.22%	493,825	82.59%
POP03	658,995		613,535		614,825	
WHTPOP03	447,978	67.98%	451,953	73.66%	449,766	73.15%
BLKPOP03	26,693	4.05%	17,976	2.93%	19,901	3.24%
INDPOP03	8,797	1.33%	1,851	0.30%	2,043	0.33%
ASNPOP03	17,090	2.59%	71,922	11.72%	68,159	11.09%
отнрор03	158,437	24.04%	69,833	11.38%	74,956	12.19%
HSPPOP03	324,597	49.26%	140,416	22.89%	169,959	27.64%
ADLTPOP03	471,288	71.52%	515,748	84.06%	510,702	83.06%
TOTREG	221,856		337,021		300,626	
DEM	97,325	43.87%	171,137	50.78%	158,243	52.64%
REP	87,641	39.50%	106,125	31.49%	83,757	27.86%
CNGDEM	23,664	29.51%	100,182	66.10%	84,753	71.08%
CNGREP	56,525	70.49%	51,370	33.90%	34,478	28.92%
GOVDEM	49,914	55.93%	113,458	70.00%	90,841	73.37%
GOVREP	39,326	44.07%	48,636	30.00%	32,974	26.63%
LTGDEM	45,540	53.80%	101,715	68.29%	80,533	71.54%
LTGREP	39,104	46.20%	47,236	31.71%	32,031	28.46%
ATGDEM	41,748	49.07%	101,081	66.46%	81,428	69.49%
ATGREP	43,327	50.93%	51,003	33.54%	35,746	30.51%
CONDEM	50,851	60.28%	114,282	74.39%	90,273	76.64%
CONREP	33,504	39.72%	39,338	25.61%	27,519	23.36%
INSDEM	35,321	41.10%	80,402	53.52%	64,930	56.60%
INSREP	50,612		69,817		49,793	43.40%
SOSDEM	37,006	44.83%			72,064	62.75%
SOSREP	45,545	55.17%			42,772	37.25%
TRSDEM	40,590	49.89%	100,580		61,210	56.51%
TRSREP	40,766	50.11%	49,005		47,109	43.49%
USSDEM	42,785	49.81%	106,736		86,760	69.65%
USSREP	43,109	50.19%	55,974		37,809	30.35%
ASSDEM	37,088	42.93%	95,476		88,369	75.57%
ASSREP	49,302	57.07%	52,055		28,560	24.43%
SENDEM	0	*	12,699		12,234	72.70%
SENREP	0	*	7,012	35.57%	4,593	27.30%

POP1998	604,065	599,046	597,889	
1998 DEV.	0.28%	-0.55%	-0.74%	

* No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD34		CD35		CD36	
LEANINGS	Safe De	mocrat	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	596,787	-	594,539		595,529	
WHTPOP98	179,315	30.05%	235,208	39.56%	263,157	44.19%
BLKPOP98	219,150	36.72%	19,686	3.31%	9,573	1.61%
INDPOP98	1,799	0.30%	2,356	0.40%	2,446	0.41%
ASNPOP98	51,811	8.68%	145,162	24.42%	151,128	25.38%
OTHPOP98	144,712	24.25%	192,127	32.32%	169,225	28.42%
HSPPOP98	229,524	38.46%	380,894	64.07%	369,385	62.03%
ADLTPOP98	445,404	74.63%	421,153	70.84%	413,497	69.43%
POP03	615,217		624,656		623,853	
WHTPOP03	177,492	28.85%	231,961	37.13%	261,795	41.96%
BLKPOP03	210,650	34.24%	19,931	3.19%	10,199	1.63%
INDPOP03	1,769	0.29%	2,250	0.36%	2,346	0.38%
ASNPOP03	58,793	9.56%	159,281	25.50%	165,925	26.60%
OTHPOP03	166,513	27.07%	211,233	33.82%	183,588	29.43%
HSPPOP03	264,840	43.05%	423,477	67.79%	401,447	64.35%
ADLTPOP03	458,031	74.45%	438,870	70.26%	432,621	69.35%
TOTREG	271,541		151,327		185,688	
DEM	196,454	72.35%	92,534	61.15%	107,387	57.83%
REP	33,768	12.44%	29,120	19.24%	42,837	23.07%
CNGDEM	98,566	88.99%	54,833	80.88%	54,359	77.34%
CNGREP	12,198	11.01%	12,966	19.12%	15,926	22.66%
GOVDEM	100,521	88.00%	54,086	80.31%	56,954	75.77%
GOVREP	13,710	12.00%	13,259	19.69%	18,213	24.23%
LTGDEM	92,960	88.05%	49,043	80.21%	53,281	76.58%
LTGREP	12,616	11.95%	12,102	19.79%	16,296	23.42%
ATGDEM	92,939	86.38%	47,628	76.75%	48,818	71.04%
ATGREP	14,657	13.62%	14,431	23.25%	19,900	28.96%
CONDEM	98,636	90.03%	52,568	81.93%	54,990	77.73%
CONREP	10,929	9.97%	11,598	18.07%	15,756	22.27%
INSDEM	82,445	77.02%	42,417		44,557	62.83%
INSREP	24,594	22.98%		31.57%		37.17%
SOSDEM	85,525					
SOSREP	20,433	19.28%			23,918	35.05%
TRSDEM	91,194	86.68%	35,554		48,299	72.81%
TRSREP	14,017	13.32%	25,891	42.14%	18,037	27.19%
USSDEM	97,068	84.74%	50,983		49,979	66.72%
USSREP	17,476	15.26%	16,648		24,933	33.28%
ASSDEM	95,585	87.26%	53,354		54,056	74.54%
ASSREP	13,951	12.74%		19.66%	18,464	25.46%
SENDEM	91,879	89.27%	46,806		54,636	77.72%
SENREP	11,040	10.73%	165	0.35%	15,666	22.28%

POP1998	596,787	594,539	595,529	
1998 DEV.	-0.93%	-1.30%	-1.14%	

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD37		CD38		CD39	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Democrat	
POP98	595,184		595,527		591,285	
WHTPOP98	108,749	18.27%	198,914	33.40%	323,893	54.78%
BLKPOP98	227,319	38.19%	22,824	3.83%	10,473	1.77%
INDPOP98	1,526	0.26%	2,649	0.44%	2,910	0.49%
ASNPOP98	38,222	6.42%	26,105	4.38%	61,819	10.46%
OTHPOP98	219,368	36.86%	345,035	57.94%	192,190	32.50%
HSPPOP98	326,832	54.91%	532,655	89.44%	387,707	65.57%
ADLTPOP98	394,699	66.32%	385,310	64.70%	416,499	70.44%
POP03	619,122		616,563		620,767	
WHTPOP03	110,303	17.82%	201,038	32.61%	318,883	51.37%
BLKPOP03	215,158	34.75%	21,792	3.53%	11,373	1.83%
INDPOP03	1,493	0.24%	2,482	0.40%	2,787	0.45%
ASNPOP03	42,836	6.92%	27,269	4.42%	71,069	11.45%
OTHPOP03	249,332	40.27%	363,982	59.03%	216,655	34.90%
HSPPOP03	371,510	60.01%	564,187	91.51%	437,976	70.55%
ADLTPOP03	408,855	66.04%	394,079	63.92%	434,414	69.98%
TOTREG	205,651		122,162		244,487	
DEM	154,652	75.20%	82,871	67.84%	141,412	57.84%
REP	21,020	10.22%	18,375	15.04%	68,009	27.82%
CNGDEM	68,115	99.96%	42,537	87.73%	68,503	65.23%
CNGREP	29	0.04%	5,952	12.27%	36,511	34.77%
GOVDEM	69,549	90.05%	41,799	86.78%	75,234	69.03%
GOVREP	7,686	9.95%	6,368	13.22%	33,761	30.97%
LTGDEM	64,755	90.04%	39,803	88.20%	71,988	70.35%
LTGREP	7,164	9.96%	5,323	11.80%	30,339	29.65%
ATGDEM	62,810	88.13%	37,417	84.14%	64,503	64.24%
ATGREP	8,458	11.87%	7,055	15.86%	35,904	35.76%
CONDEM	67,323	91.19%	38,912	84.69%	75,123	72.72%
CONREP	6,504	8.81%	7,036	15.31%	28,177	27.28%
INSDEM	59,432	81.33%	35,278	77.92%	58,193	56.22%
INSREP	13,647	18.67%	9,997	22.08%	45,321	43.78%
SOSDEM	60,523	84.98%	34,742			
SOSREP	10,695	15.02%			40,617	40.49%
TRSDEM	62,607	88.79%			52,560	53.34%
TRSREP	7,908	11.21%	6,211	14.58%	45,985	46.66%
USSDEM	66,789	87.03%	39,973		68,387	63.38%
USSREP	9,955	12.97%			39,514	36.62%
ASSDEM	66,162	91.44%			72,361	67.75%
ASSREP	6,196	8.56%			34,440	32.25%
SENDEM	18,322	97.81%				73.29%
SENREP	410	2.19%	3,779	8.27%	21,103	26.71%

POP1998	595,184	595,527	591,285	
1998 DEV.	-1.19%	-1.14%	-1.84%	

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD40		CD41		CD42	
LEANINGS	Likely D	emocrat	Likely I	Democrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	601,681		597,589		592,080	
WHTPOP98	329,789	54.81%	402,447	67.35%	173,704	29.34%
BLKPOP98	41,048	6.82%	30,849	5.16%	164,980	27.86%
INDPOP98	2,492	0.41%	2,605	0.44%	1,751	0.30%
ASNPOP98	123,377	20.51%	86,169	14.42%	74,523	12.59%
ОТНРОР98	104,975	17.45%	75,519	12.64%	177,122	29.92%
нѕррор98	254,370	42.28%	163,153	27.30%	270,822	45.74%
ADLTPOP98	428,998	71.30%	465,726	77.93%	403,940	68.22%
POP03	634,703		619,652		618,172	
WHTPOP03	324,878	51.19%	401,483	64.79%	171,460	27.74%
BLKPOP03	43,337	6.83%	32,502	5.25%	157,222	25.43%
INDPOP03	2,395	0.38%	2,552	0.41%	1,699	0.27%
ASNPOP03	140,865	22.19%	97,690	15.77%	84,406	13.65%
ОТНРОР03	123,228	19.42%	85,425	13.79%	203,385	32.90%
нѕррор03	298,981	47.11%	185,974	30.01%	312,437	50.54%
ADLTPOP03	457,620	72.10%	487,193	78.62%	424,115	68.61%
TOTREG	249,325		301,942		245,449	
DEM	115,075	46.15%	135,655	44.93%	157,187	64.04%
REP	89,213	35.78%	109,756	36.35%	50,375	20.52%
CNGDEM	48,443	50.52%	65,673	54.90%	67,005	72.80%
CNGREP	47,450	49.48%	53,958	45.10%	25,033	27.20%
GOVDEM	61,596	60.83%	77,261	61.38%	73,882	76.76%
GOVREP	39,662	39.17%	48,622	38.62%	22,370	23.24%
LTGDEM	57,590	61.15%	68,679	59.21%	68,808	76.67%
LTGREP	36,588	38.85%	47,322	40.79%	20,936	23.33%
ATGDEM	52,074	55.63%	66,507	57.01%	66,956	74.40%
ATGREP	41,535	44.37%	50,158	42.99%	23,041	25.60%
CONDEM	65,333	68.29%	80,498	67.74%	74,250	80.59%
CONREP	30,342	31.71%	38,333	32.26%	17,888	19.41%
INSDEM	43,654	45.58%	52,389	44.87%	59,385	64.90%
INSREP	52,117	54.42%	64,376	55.13%	32,122	35.10%
SOSDEM	45,982	49.66%				
SOSREP	46,607	50.34%	59,243	51.24%	27,657	31.03%
TRSDEM	46,368	51.41%	55,815	51.01%	51,852	59.47%
TRSREP	43,825	48.59%	53,599	48.99%	35,344	40.53%
USSDEM	54,295	54.20%	69,820	55.57%	69,549	72.74%
USSREP	45,878	45.80%	55,826	44.43%	26,059	27.26%
ASSDEM	51,179	52.45%	74,354	60.55%	71,849	78.46%
ASSREP	46,391	47.55%	48,447	39.45%	19,727	21.54%
SENDEM	8,051	76.09%	54,400	63.92%	36,197	73.92%
SENREP	2,530	23.91%	30,702	36.08%	12,770	26.08%

POP1998	601,681	597,589	592,080				
1998 DEV.	-0.11%	-0.79%	-1.71%				

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CT CD43		CD44		CD45	
LEANINGS	Likely D	emocrat	Safe Republican		Likely Republican	
POP98	603,829	- , 1 -, 1	591,602		606,040	
WHTPOP98	364,141	60.31%	429,367	72.58%	417,917	68.96%
BLKPOP98	44,952	7.44%	11,083	1.87%	39,820	6.57%
INDPOP98	3,774	0.63%	2,751	0.47%	4,263	0.70%
ASNPOP98	72,365	11.98%	84,038	14.21%	34,342	5.67%
ОТНРОР98	118,597	19.64%	64,363	10.88%	109,698	18.10%
HSPPOP98	218,322	36.16%	143,095	24.19%	205,329	33.88%
ADLTPOP98	442,347	73.26%	445,547	75.31%	424,232	70.00%
POP03	623,667		629,968		655,953	
WHTPOP03	350,434	56.19%	435,398	69.11%	433,202	66.04%
BLKPOP03	48,635	7.80%	11,614	1.84%	43,004	6.56%
INDPOP03	3,545	0.57%	2,794	0.44%	4,286	0.65%
ASNPOP03	82,390	13.21%	101,768	16.15%	41,391	6.31%
отнрор03	138,663	22.23%	78,394	12.44%	134,070	20.44%
нѕррор03	255,347	40.94%	175,323	27.83%	252,060	38.43%
ADLTPOP03	457,899	73.42%	477,325	75.77%	463,121	70.60%
TOTREG	281,733		264,540		238,398	
DEM	148,481	52.70%	84,980	32.12%	93,837	39.36%
REP	88,062	31.26%	137,786	52.09%	108,391	45.47%
CNGDEM	57,562	50.57%	35,243	31.38%	37,673	42.99%
CNGREP	56,255	49.43%	77,071	68.62%	49,963	57.01%
GOVDEM	73,986	62.94%	55,118	45.10%	53,953	56.44%
GOVREP	43,570	37.06%	67,093	54.90%	41,636	43.56%
LTGDEM	68,795	63.27%	47,712	42.18%	48,755	54.93%
LTGREP	39,942	36.73%	65,409	57.82%	40,009	45.07%
ATGDEM	64,387	58.94%	43,893	38.88%	45,108	50.00%
ATGREP	44,859	41.06%	69,003	61.12%	45,108	50.00%
CONDEM	78,527	70.98%	57,733	51.85%	55,664	62.48%
CONREP	32,100	29.02%	53,613	48.15%	33,427	37.52%
INSDEM	51,994	46.82%	33,217	28.77%	34,654	38.03%
INSREP	59,063	53.18%	82,239		56,464	61.97%
SOSDEM	57,496	53.52%				
SOSREP	49,938	46.48%			47,887	54.75%
TRSDEM	57,313	54.45%	44,118		43,533	50.78%
TRSREP	47,948	45.55%	66,279		42,189	49.22%
USSDEM	69,370	59.64%	46,492		46,997	51.50%
USSREP	46,936	40.36%	73,303		44,260	48.50%
ASSDEM	68,416	60.15%	37,554		12,814	16.54%
ASSREP	45,325	39.85%	73,804		64,644	83.46%
SENDEM	14,431	68.75%	5,957		40,868	46.10%
SENREP	6,559	31.25%	5,930	49.89%	47,784	53.90%

POP1998	603,829	591,602	606,040
1998 DEV.	0.24%	-1.79%	0.61%

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD46		CD47		CD48	
LEANINGS	Likely Re	publican	Safe Rep	publican	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	593,119	1 2	602,418		593,997	
WHTPOP98	466,494	78.65%	464,848	77.16%	355,066	59.78%
BLKPOP98	30,664	5.17%	6,757	1.12%	13,622	2.29%
INDPOP98	6,679	1.13%	3,061	0.51%	2,770	0.47%
ASNPOP98	22,149	3.73%	87,223	14.48%	86,120	14.50%
OTHPOP98	67,133	11.32%	40,529	6.73%	136,419	22.97%
НЅРРОР98	159,508	26.89%	118,509	19.67%	365,575	61.54%
ADLTPOP98	420,367	70.87%	475,755	78.97%	402,526	67.77%
POP03	660,372		632,252		622,870	
WHTPOP03	504,423	76.38%	467,640	73.96%	349,962	56.19%
BLKPOP03	34,260	5.19%	7,083	1.12%	13,457	2.16%
INDPOP03	7,143	1.08%	3,199	0.51%	2,753	0.44%
ASNPOP03	27,002	4.09%	103,959	16.44%	99,041	15.90%
ОТНРОР03	87,544	13.26%	50,371	7.97%	157,657	25.31%
HSPPOP03	207,300	31.39%	146,967	23.25%	418,164	67.14%
ADLTPOP03	469,517	71.10%	500,016	79.08%	420,036	67.44%
TOTREG	252,328		287,827		149,314	
DEM	92,243	36.56%	90,898	31.58%	68,750	46.04%
REP	122,491	48.54%	145,550	50.57%	55,230	36.99%
CNGDEM	35,103	34.71%	46,742	39.75%	32,418	59.78%
CNGREP	66,018	65.29%	70,848	60.25%	21,807	40.22%
GOVDEM	55,565	51.04%	60,641	47.58%	33,481	59.21%
GOVREP	53,298	48.96%	66,818	52.42%	23,065	40.79%
LTGDEM	49,952	49.22%	52,389	44.34%	30,051	
LTGREP	51,532	50.78%	65,765	55.66%	21,700	41.93%
ATGDEM	46,314	44.93%	48,280	41.47%	27,801	54.17%
ATGREP	56,773	55.07%	68,145	58.53%	23,517	
CONDEM	57,485	57.18%	64,014	55.16%	32,964	63.93%
CONREP	43,051	42.82%	52,027	44.84%	18,597	36.07%
INSDEM	35,317	34.08%	35,592	29.92%	23,424	
INSREP	68,323	65.92%	83,367	70.08%	29,907	
SOSDEM	39,701	40.28%	41,025			
SOSREP	58,851	59.72%	74,894	64.61%	26,590	
TRSDEM	45,619	46.89%	49,167	42.75%	26,012	51.97%
TRSREP	51,668	53.11%	65,835	57.25%	24,044	48.03%
USSDEM	48,264	46.61%	52,683	42.10%	29,805	
USSREP	55,282	53.39%	72,451	57.90%	25,452	46.06%
ASSDEM	43,263	41.89%	36,747	33.90%	27,902	51.69%
ASSREP	60,010	58.11%	71,664	66.10%	26,081	48.31%
SENDEM	18,774	36.58%	9,908	47.38%	28,902	54.77%
SENREP	32,549	63.42%	11,002	52.62%	23,864	45.23%

POP1998	593,119	602,418	593,997	
1998 DEV.	-1.54%	0.01%	-1.39%	

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD49		CD50		CD51	
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	ublican	Safe Rep	oublican	Safe Rep	ublican
POP98	600,850		602,695		603,430	
WHTPOP98	475,421	79.12%	488,660	81.08%	474,546	78.64%
BLKPOP98	10,995	1.83%	21,348	3.54%	12,302	2.04%
INDPOP98	2,113	0.35%	5,501	0.91%	3,007	0.50%
ASNPOP98	73,843	12.29%	38,898	6.45%	62,728	10.40%
ОТНРОР98	38,478	6.40%	48,288	8.01%	50,847	8.43%
HSPPOP98	109,702	18.26%	121,351	20.13%	128,960	21.37%
ADLTPOP98	465,339	77.45%	438,811	72.81%	446,881	74.06%
POP03	661,438		655,375		651,590	
WHTPOP03	504,242	76.23%	516,910	78.87%	495,036	75.97%
BLKPOP03	11,903	1.80%	22,884	3.49%	12,965	1.99%
INDPOP03	2,324	0.35%	5,852	0.89%	3,103	0.48%
ASNPOP03	93,181	14.09%	49,795	7.60%	78 , 375	12.03%
OTHPOP03	49,788	7.53%	59,934	9.14%	62,111	9.53%
HSPPOP03	142,144	21.49%	150,895	23.02%	158,041	24.25%
ADLTPOP03	514,268	77.75%	477,420	72.85%	484,404	74.34%
TOTREG	290,142		307,320		308,971	
DEM	85,097	29.33%	83,637		91,759	29.70%
REP	155,554	53.61%	166,386		150,952	48.86%
CNGDEM	38,443	31.90%	463	0.50%	43,254	36.33%
CNGREP	82,082	68.10%	92,669	99.50%	75,805	63.67%
GOVDEM	59,202	46.01%	55,116	42.04%	58,570	46.64%
GOVREP	69,470	53.99%	75,976	57.96%	66,997	53.36%
LTGDEM	50,277	42.28%	46,493	38.28%	49,710	43.07%
LTGREP	68,643	57.72%	74,971	61.72%	65,698	56.93%
ATGDEM	46,984	39.27%	43,934	36.54%	46,042	40.37%
ATGREP	72,666	60.73%	76,303		68,003	59.63%
CONDEM	60,725	51.84%	57,788		61,425	53.34%
CONREP	56,415	48.16%	61,814		53,723	46.66%
INSDEM	35,906	29.83%	33,671	27.71%	37,635	
INSREP	84,480	70.17%	87,845			
SOSDEM	40,706					
SOSREP	78,631	65.89%			73,329	63.88%
TRSDEM	48,621	41.68%	47,110		49,708	43.91%
TRSREP	68,046	58.32%	71,455			56.09%
USSDEM	51,397	40.45%	49,412		55,296	44.21%
USSREP	75,664	59.55%			69,781	55.79%
ASSDEM	19,028	18.60%			46,256	40.60%
ASSREP	83,251	81.40%			67,679	59.40%
SENDEM	2,262	38.93%			29,952	39,13%
SENREP	3,548	61.07%	61,627	67.56%	46,585	60.87%

POP1998	600,850	602,695	603,430
1998 DEV.	-0.25%	0.05%	0.18%

Table 5: Hypothetical "Modest Gerrymander" Plan

DISTRICT	CD52		CD53		CD54	
LEANINGS	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat		Safe Republican	
POP98	605,982		602,316		599,276	
WHTPOP98	399,195	65.88%	315,632	52.40%	501,212	83.64%
BLKPOP98	52,392	8.65%	56,317	9.35%	18,936	3.16%
INDPOP98	3,552	0.59%	3,147	0.52%	5,098	0.85%
ASNPOP98	58,901	9.72%	101,358	16.83%	34,247	5.71%
ОТНРОР98	91,942	15.17%	125,862	20.90%	39,783	6.64%
HSPPOP98	169,803	28.02%	240,343	39.90%	100,212	16.72%
ADLTPOP98	473,228	78.09%	435,666	72.33%	437,889	73.07%
POP03	629,448		626,649		632,132	
WHTPOP03	398,943	63.38%	307,072	49.00%	514,052	81.32%
BLKPOP03	51,115	8.12%	54,969	8.77%	19,620	3.10%
INDPOP03	3,507	0.56%	3,022	0.48%	5,215	0.82%
ASNPOP03	69,892	11.10%	115,220	18.39%	42,432	6.71%
ОТНРОР03	105,991	16.84%	146,366	23.36%	50,813	8.04%
нѕррор03	199,412	31.68%	283,175	45.19%	127,994	20.25%
ADLTPOP03	490,543	77.93%	455,461	72.68%	464,855	73.54%
TOTREG	307,361		262,637		310,956	
DEM	131,125	42.66%	115,188	43.86%	104,556	33.62%
REP	102,854	33.46%	93,388	35.56%	143,055	46.00%
CNGDEM	61,071	57.17%	59,230	75.63%	7,559	7.83%
CNGREP	45,752	42.83%	19,082	24.37%	89,023	92.17%
GOVDEM	70,040	63.31%	58,394	60.58%	58,597	47.57%
GOVREP	40,594	36.69%	37,999	39.42%	64,580	52.43%
LTGDEM	59,197	59.84%	50,891	57.83%	48,465	43.43%
LTGREP	39,730	40.16%	37,104	42.17%	63,138	56.57%
ATGDEM	56,823	57.05%	47,500			39.58%
ATGREP	42,780	42.95%	40,693			
CONDEM	67,416	67.02%	57,989		60,348	
CONREP	33,176	32.98%	31,758		51,372	45.98%
INSDEM	50,189	49.90%	43,202	48.32%	37,775	
INSREP	50,390	50.10%	46,202		72,771	
SOSDEM	54,058					
SOSREP	46,475	46.23%	44,330		71,438	
TRSDEM	58,225	59.56%	49,029	57.14%	48,136	
TRSREP	39,526	40.44%	36,770	42.86%	61,422	56.06%
USSDEM	67,010	60.25%	54,211	56.29%	53,014	43.67%
USSREP	44,204	39.75%	42,096		68,377	56.33%
ASSDEM	70,500	68.02%	55,478		41,334	37.83%
ASSREP	33,139	31.98%	36,151	39.45%	67,934	62.17%
SENDEM	8,126	86.52%	42,177		28,100	61.71%
SENREP	1,266	13.48%	15,346	26.68%	17,435	38.29%

POP1998	605,982	602,316	599,276
1998 DEV.	0.60%	-0.01%	-0.51%

SECTION FOUR: THE "BURTON REDUX"

Results: 26 Safe Democrats; 11 Likely Democrats; 0 Toss-ups; 1 Likely Republican; 16 Safe Republicans. (37 Democrats/17 Republicans).

Likely Net Loss of Republican Seats: Eight. (Ose, Campbell, Kuykendall, Horn, Rogan or Dreier, Bilbray, Gallegly or McKeon, New (CDs 17 & 45)).

Summary. Ose, Campbell, Kuykendall, Horn, and Bilbray are simply dropped into seats that have been redrawn for Democrats.

Secondly, Rogan and Dreier are essentially forced into the same district, requiring that they run against each other in the primary—not a pleasant choice for either or them. The excess population is then used to create an additional Democratic Latino seat along the southern edge of the San Gabriel Valley (District 41).

Next, Buck McKeon's new seat moves to the west into Ventura County, picking up Elton Gallegly's hometown of Simi Valley. Since there is no other Republican seat nearby for Gallegly to run in, if he wants to stay in Congress he is forced to challenge McKeon in a primary.

Finally, the two new seats gained from reapportionment are both taken by Democrats. One is located in the rapidly growing Democratic area in the East Bay/Sacramento Valley region (District 17). The other, however, is carefully carved out of Democratic pockets of an otherwise *Republican* part of the state in the San Bernardino/Riverside area (District 45).

After destroying as many Republican seats as possible, we made an effort to "scramble the eggs" in safe Republican districts.

Therefore, we have drawn eleven "Safe Republican" districts in such as way as to confuse the situation in these regions as much as possible, and inconvenience the Republican incumbents. First, Doolittle's hometown of Roseville is moved into District 11, which is drawn for Pombo. Therefore, Doolittle is left with the option of running against Pombo in a primary, or moving far enough to challenge Radanovich or Herger in a primary. Since District 20 will likely be won by a Republican, this last move does not cost Republicans a net seat, but either way, only three of four incumbent Republicans are preserved. Next, Jerry Lewis's hometown of Redlands was moved into the same district (49) as Mary Bono's hometown of Palm Springs. Ed Royce's hometown of Fullerton is moved into the same district as Gary Miller's hometown of Diamond Bar. Chris Cox's hometown of Newport Beach is shifted into the same district as Dana Rohrabacher's hometown of Huntington Beach. And Duncan Hunter's El Cajon home is moved into the same district as Duke Cunningham. The result of these shifts is not to decrease the total number of Republican representatives—all are still Republican seats—but to inconvenience incumbents, and, perhaps—in the shake-up—to get lucky. Certainly the process will add another item to the busy schedules of these congressmen, distracting them from other business that could be detrimental to Democratic objectives.

The final factor that is not figured into this plan, or any others, of course, is the ambitions of term-limited Assemblymembers and Senators. For example, as Duncan Hunter is moved out of District 54, an opening is made for Assemblywoman Charlene Zettel, who has represented most of the western portion of the new 54th in the Assembly, who still resides in the new district, and who will be termed out of the Assembly in 2002 to try to move up.

The "scrambling of the eggs" mentioned above could similarly entice other members of the Senate and Assembly to challenge incumbent Republican congressmen who have been cut from their political base by the gerrymander. Transparency overlays of the current Senate and Assembly districts accompany this report.

California Congressional Districts

Proposed "Burton" Redux

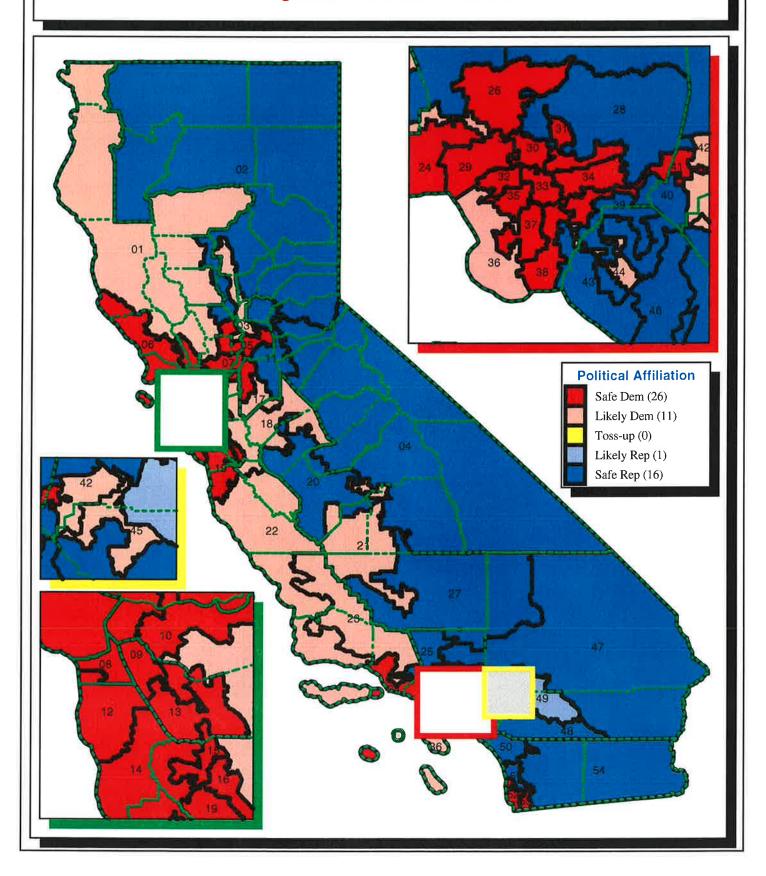


Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	ICT CD01		CD02		CD03	
LEANINGS	Likely D	emocrat	Safe Rep	oublican	Likely I	emocrat
POP98	595,836		612,399		601,226	
WHTPOP98	498,507	83.67%	554,172	90.49%	452,922	75.33%
BLKPOP98	18,473	3.10%	8,953	1.46%	41,636	6.93%
INDPOP98	16,738	2.81%	14,865	2.43%	8,034	1.34%
ASNPOP98	23,234	3.90%	16,610	2.71%	52,057	8.66%
ОТНРОР98	38,884	6.53%	17,799	2.91%	46,577	7.75%
HSPPOP98	85,795	14.40%	54,175	8.85%	95,914	15.95%
ADLTPOP98	438,157	73.54%	452,612	73.91%	449,811	74.82%
POP03	628,917		642,131		621,310	
WHTPOP03	515,077	81.90%	575,604	89.64%	451,453	72.66%
BLKPOP03	20,389	3.24%	9,857	1.54%	44,134	7.10%
INDPOP03	17,368	2.76%	15,536	2.42%	8,220	1.32%
ASNPOP03	29,324	4.66%	19,771	3.08%	62,144	10.00%
ОТНРОР03	46,759	7.43%	21,363	3.33%	55,359	8.91%
HSPPOP03	103,299	16.42%	65,906	10.26%	114,373	18.41%
ADLTPOP03	466,683	74.20%	478,907	74.58%	466,370	75.06%
TOTREG	312,871		336,473		326,809	
DEM	142,086	45.41%	127,424	37.87%	154,306	47.22%
REP	109,601	35.03%	148,795	44.22%	116,250	35.57%
CNGDEM	81,466	60.86%	54,318	35.34%	75,700	58.36%
CNGREP	52,398	39.14%	99,383	64.66%	54,002	41.64%
GOVDEM	80,414	59.15%	74,240	47.11%	79,659	59.94%
GOVREP	55,532	40.85%	83,340	52.89%	53,237	40.06%
LTGDEM	69,000	56.28%	58,869	39.84%	68,153	54.71%
LTGREP	53,606	43.72%	88,893	60.16%	56,417	45.29%
ATGDEM	68,004	52.66%	60,489	40.86%	66,718	53.36%
ATGREP	61,124	47.34%	87,546	59.14%	58,314	46.64%
CONDEM	82,197	64.80%	78,088	53.25%	76,970	61.87%
CONREP	44,645	35.20%	68,568	46.75%	47,442	38.13%
INSDEM	57,155	44.45%	49,971	33.76%	56,447	45.24%
INSREP	71,439	55.55%	98,050	66.24%	68,326	54.76%
SOSDEM	61,723	48.14%	54,766	37.53%	58,248	47.23%
SOSREP	66,502	51.86%	91,162	62.47%	65,084	52.77%
TRSDEM	71,454	57.17%	64,550	44.67%	70,843	57.80%
TRSREP	53,538	42.83%	79,949	55.33%	51,724	42.20%
USSDEM	73,622	53.90%	62,087	40.69%	70,487	54.05%
USSREP	62,959	46.10%			59,935	45.95%
ASSDEM	81,206	60.04%			68,810	54.47%
ASSREP	54,058	39.96%	91,622	60.03%	57,520	45.53%
SENDEM	64,137	48.21%	18,794	32.39%	37,371	55.88%
SENREP	68,890	51.79%	39,234	67.61%	29,507	44.12%

POP1998	595,836	612,399	601,226	
1998 DEV.	-1.09%	1.66%	-0.19%	

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	T CD04		CD05		CD06	
LEANINGS	Safe Republican		Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	612,796		596,384		590,727	
WHTPOP98	489,785	79.93%	372,770	62.51%	516,034	87.36%
вькрор98	8,250	1.35%	60,442	10.13%	14,203	2.40%
INDPOP98	11,652	1.90%	5,691	0.95%	4,712	0.80%
ASNPOP98	18,399	3.00%	99,660	16.71%	27,171	4.60%
ОТНРОР98	84,710	13.82%	57,821	9.70%	28,607	4.84%
HSPPOP98	141,553	23.10%	114,016	19.12%	71,491	12.10%
ADLTPOP98	448,400	73.17%	431,641	72.38%	454,478	76.94%
POP03	670,139		632,395		617,737	
WHTPOP03	522,002	77.89%	376,144	59.48%	529,993	85.80%
BLKPOP03	9,441	1.41%	63,210	10.00%	15,054	2.44%
INDPOP03	12,314	1.84%	5,803	0.92%	4,854	0.79%
ASNPOP03	23,170	3.46%	118,437	18.73%	32,879	
ОТНРОР03	103,212	15.40%	68,801	10.88%	34,957	5.66%
HSPPOP03	173,979	25.96%	137,397	21.73%	87,365	14.14%
ADLTPOP03	495,728	73.97%	461,662	73.00%	477,447	77.29%
TOTREG	302,904		309,028		336,682	
DEM	114,528	37.81%	161,076	52.12%	175,761	52.20%
REP	143,232	47.29%	99,947	32.34%	97,523	28.97%
CNGDEM	23,866	19.48%	87,995	64.04%	116,282	71.54%
CNGREP	98,644	80.52%	49,414	35.96%	46,265	28.46%
GOVDEM	61,818	44.06%	90,400	64.29%	116,971	72.34%
GOVREP	78,482	55.94%	50,221	35.71%	44,721	27.66%
LTGDEM	60,940	45.77%	80,305	60.38%	99,980	68.60%
LTGREP	72,194	54.23%	52,695	39.62%	45,758	31.40%
ATGDEM	51,866	39.28%	76,344	57.35%	100,445	66.18%
ATGREP	80,170	60.72%	56,777	42.65%	51,325	33.82%
CONDEM	69,162	52.78%	86,883	65.41%	109,786	72.60%
CONREP	61,887	47.22%	45,936	34.59%	41,424	27.40%
INSDEM	42,617	32.36%	64,587	48.57%	90,922	61.44%
INSREP	89,079	67.64%	68,392	51.43%	57,075	
SOSDEM	43,472	33.11%	66,850	50.80%		58.88%
SOSREP	87,830	66.89%	64,754	49.20%	61,899	41.12%
TRSDEM	54,598	42.55%	81,349	62.02%	98,883	67.42%
TRSREP	73,709	57.45%	49,813	37.98%	47,786	32.58%
USSDEM	54,353	39.97%	78,850	56.89%	110,899	68.13%
USSREP	81,618	60.03%	59,741	43.11%	51,867	31.87%
ASSDEM	34,090	27.49%	83,049	62.11%	111,231	70.10%
ASSREP	89,923	72.51%	50,664	37.89%	47,455	29.90%
SENDEM	17,595	21.09%	62,206	63.32%	28,614	62.23%
SENREP	65,824	78.91%	36,029	36.68%	17,367	37.77%

				590.727
1	POP1998	612,796	612,796 596,384	
	1998 DEV.	1.73%	-0.99%	-1.93%

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD07		CD08		CD09	
LEANINGS	Safe Democrat		Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	604,127		594,215		601,258	
WHTPOP98	353,522	58.52%	269,948	45.43%	240,626	40.02%
BLKPOP98	99,092	16.40%	71,094	11.96%	193,122	32.12%
INDPOP98	4,203	0.70%	2,539	0.43%	3,064	0.51%
ASNPOP98	100,496	16.63%	201,140	33.85%	113,681	18.91%
OTHPOP98	46,814	7.75%	49,494	8.33%	50,765	8.44%
HSPPOP98	110,403	18.27%	112,874	19.00%	96,643	16.07%
ADLTPOP98	440,784	72.96%	495,433	83.38%	459,033	76.35%
POP03	629,124		617,998		610,916	
WHTPOP03	348,009	55.32%	255,743	41.38%	226,628	37.10%
BLKPOP03	103,810	16.50%	70,957	11.48%	194,881	31.90%
INDPOP03	4,196	0.67%	2,487	0.40%	2,883	0.47%
ASNPOP03	117,371	18.66%	231,873	37.52%	128,010	20.95%
OTHPOP03	55,738	8.86%	56,938	9.21%	58,514	9.58%
HSPPOP03	132,204	21.01%	130,375	21.10%	113,670	18.61%
ADLTPOP03	460,870	73.26%	515,177	83.36%	465,083	76.13%
TOTREG	307,579		357,363		345,992	
DEM	181,909	59.14%	213,791	59.82%	227,030	65.62%
REP	73,567	23.92%	48,255	13.50%	42,191	12.19%
CNGDEM	91,882	73.52%	114,265	88.95%	120,650	87.11%
CNGREP	33,088	26.48%	14,197	11.05%	17,851	12,89%
GOVDEM	94,392	73.89%	116,941	87.79%	127,054	88.17%
GOVREP	33,350	26.11%	16,259	12.21%	17,051	11.83%
LTGDEM	82,798	71.67%	90,787	85.44%	103,766	85.76%
LTGREP	32,724	28.33%	15,476	14.56%	17,230	14.24%
ATGDEM	81,832	69.21%	101,737	85.42%	113,613	85.68%
ATGREP	36,401	30.79%	17,364	14.58%	18,984	14.32%
CONDEM	89,673	76.42%	102,572	86.23%	118,081	88.52%
CONREP	27,666	23.58%	16,386	13.77%	15,313	11.48%
INSDEM	76,163	64.64%	94,335	81.39%	106,804	82.14%
INSREP	41,672	35.36%	21,566	18.61%	23,221	17.86%
SOSDEM	77,633	65.27%	97,186		106,878	
SOSREP	41,306	34.73%	24,019	19.82%	24,969	18.94%
TRSDEM	81,774	71.04%	94,511	83.05%	109,842	84.73%
TRSREP	33,331	28.96%	19,288	16.95%	19,795	15.27%
USSDEM	86,809	68.86%	112,721	82.81%	124,463	84.31%
USSREP	39,260	31.14%	23,398	17.19%	23,162	15.69%
ASSDEM	87,746	71.94%	105,438	85.52%	117,857	84.95%
ASSREP	34,224	28.06%	17,849	14.48%	20,881	15.05%
SENDEM	68,595	67.63%	31,273	84.33%	109,974	83.66%
SENREP	32,835	32.37%	5,812	15.67%	21,476	16.34%

10001 010011001 011701								
POP1998	604,127	594,215	601,258					
1998 DEV.	0.29%	-1.35%	-0.18%					

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD10		CD11		CD12	
LEANINGS	Safe Democrat		Safe Rep	oublican	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	592,738		611,335		590,821	
WHTPOP98	465,433	78.52%	538,005	88.00%	349,074	59.08%
BLKPOP98	28,481	4.80%	15,260	2.50%	22,744	3.85%
INDPOP98	4,078	0.69%	6,266	1.02%	2,276	0.39%
ASNPOP98	61,071	10.30%	27,546	4.51%	183,304	31.03%
ОТНРОР98	33,675	5.68%	24,258	3.97%	33,423	5.66%
нѕррор98	89,810	15.15%	82,449	13.49%	105,734	17.90%
ADLTPOP98	443,645	74.85%	452,187	73.97%	465,248	78.75%
POP03	633,688		671,213		625,446	
WHTPOP03	479,643	75.69%	580,787	86.53%	343,713	
BLKPOP03	31,956	5.04%	16,974	2.53%	23,526	3.76%
INDPOP03	4,306	0.68%	6,913	1.03%	2,285	
ASNPOP03	76,300	12.04%	35,515	5.29%	216,336	
OTHPOP03	41,483	6.55%	31,024	4.62%	39,586	
HSPPOP03	110,925	17.50%	106,058	15.80%	124,946	
ADLTPOP03	476,261	75.16%	501,163	74.67%	493,314	78.87%
TOTREG	319,582		337,491		292,418	
DEM	156,911	49.10%	121,691		157,706	
REP	107,782	33.73%	164,672	48.79%	72,047	24.64%
CNGDEM	84,067	64.46%	51,660	34.76%		
CNGREP	46,354	35.54%	96,967	65.24%		20.76%
GOVDEM	88,364	65.32%	73,017	46.67%	89,308	75.08%
GOVREP	46,909	34.68%	83,433	53.33%	29,637	24.92%
LTGDEM	76,689	61.87%	61,684	41.29%	76,200	73.51%
LTGREP	47,265	38.13%	87,723	58.71%	27,458	26.49%
ATGDEM	74,892	60.61%	57,649	39.50%	74,733	70.46%
ATGREP	48,665	39.39%	88,311	60.50%	31,325	29.54%
CONDEM	84,455	68.94%	76,131		77,454	71.92%
CONREP	38,058	31.06%			30,234	28.08%
INSDEM	66,825	54.45%				66.16%
INSREP	55,910	45.55%		68.11%		
SOSDEM	68,925					
SOSREP	56,325	44.97%		65.03%	38,170	34.97%
TRSDEM	73,102	61.58%		44.36%	71,713	69.97%
TRSREP	45,613	38.42%		55.64%	30,775	30.03%
USSDEM	80,654	60.42%	63,088	41.22%	81,205	68.51%
USSREP	52,843	39.58%	89,955	58.78%	37,327	31.49%
ASSDEM	77,632	59.91%		38.53%	83,920	76.71%
ASSREP	51,943	40.09%		61.47%		23.29%
SENDEM	15,050	66.11%		46.78%	84,359	79.03%
SENREP	7,716	33.89%	31,735	53.22%	22,385	20.97%

POP1998	592,738	611,335	590,821	
1998 DEV.	-1.60%	1.49%	-1.92%	

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	T CD13		CD14		CD15	
LEANINGS	Safe De	mocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	596,396		592,028		597,392	
WHTPOP98	385,495	64.64%	434,524	73.40%	386,628	64.72%
BLKPOP98	33,450	5.61%	28,643	4.84%	19,402	3.25%
INDPOP98	3,970	0.67%	2,158	0.36%	3,065	0.51%
ASNPOP98	118,454	19.86%	92,189	15.57%	143,910	24.09%
ОТНРОР98	55,027	9.23%	34,514	5.83%	44,387	7.43%
HSPPOP98	123,403	20.69%	104,924	17.72%	120,035	20.09%
ADLTPOP98	440,716	73.90%	464,673	78.49%	459,328	76.89%
POP03	632,041		628,825		637,345	
WHTPOP03	385,288	60.96%	442,359	70.35%	387,434	60.79%
BLKPOP03	37,027	5.86%	30,038	4.78%	20,409	3.20%
INDPOP03	4,103	0.65%	2,198	0.35%	3,186	0.50%
ASNPOP03	141,708	22.42%	112,039	17.82%	172,572	27.08%
ОТНРОР03	63,915	10.11%	42,191	6.71%	53,744	8.43%
HSPPOP03	144,134	22.80%	127,349	20.25%	145,434	22.82%
ADLTPOP03	470,942	74.51%	495,266	78.76%	490,382	76.94%
TOTREG	285,375		297,896		266,974	
DEM	147,229	51.59%	138,000	46.32%	123,727	46.34%
REP	83,624	29.30%	99,022	33.24%	85,706	32.10%
CNGDEM	78,339	68.36%	84,725	63.75%	70,975	61.34%
CNGREP	36,265	31.64%	48,174	36.25%	44,735	38.66%
GOVDEM	80,189	67.87%	93,335	69.09%	80,402	68.08%
GOVREP	37,968	32.13%	41,760	30.91%	37,702	31.92%
LTGDEM	68,841	64.72%	77,315	64.13%	66,672	62.85%
LTGREP	37,524	35.28%	43,239	35.87%	39,402	37.15%
ATGDEM	72,583	66.09%	77,148		65,774	61.16%
ATGREP	37,249	33.91%	46,118		41,764	38.84%
CONDEM	78,032	71.53%	79,900	64.53%	73,264	68.19%
CONREP	31,053	28.47%	43,917	35.47%	34,180	31.81%
INSDEM	61,173	57.62%	69,653	57.53%	58,574	55.16%
INSREP	44,985	42.38%			47,613	44.84%
SOSDEM	63,322					
SOSREP	44,593	41.32%			47,955	44.13%
TRSDEM	68,113	65.32%			67,574	63.98%
TRSREP	36,156	34.68%	44,184		38,041	36.02%
USSDEM	73,721	62.73%	85,961	63.41%	71,891	60.69%
USSREP	43,799	37.27%			46,572	39.31%
ASSDEM	67,620	59.54%			67,732	61.52%
ASSREP	45,955	40.46%		31.74%	42,357	38.48%
SENDEM	66,828	70.62%			17,474	66.20%
SENREP	27,805	29.38%	1,337	30.28%	8,922	33.80%

POP1998	596,396	592,028	597,392				
1998 DEV.	-0.99%	-1.72%	-0.83%				

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT CD16		CD17		CD18		
LEANINGS	Safe De	mocrat	Likely I	Democrat	Likely Democrat	
POP98	592,519		607,329	S IN L	601,059	
WHTPOP98	311,330	52.54%	416,823	68.63%	433,583	72.14%
BLKPOP98	26,653	4.50%	32,606	5.37%	13,900	2.31%
INDPOP98	3,824	0.65%	5,885	0.97%	4,661	0.78%
ASNPOP98	133,685	22.56%	91,491	15.06%	47,920	7.97%
ОТНРОР98	117,027	19.75%	60,524	9.97%	100,995	16.80%
НЅРРОР98	242,254	40.89%	166,770	27.46%	186,229	30.98%
ADLTPOP98	418,364	70.61%	425,042	69.99%	421,057	70.05%
POP03	637,485		650,260		649,052	
WHTPOP03	315,387	49.47%	428,052	65.83%	451,202	69.52%
BLKPOP03	26,964	4.23%	34,437	5.30%	14,653	2.26%
INDPOP03	3,825	0.60%	6,086	0.94%	4,832	0.74%
ASNPOP03	155,339	24.37%	108,669	16.71%	57,578	8.87%
ОТНРОР03	135,970	21.33%	73,016	11.23%	120,787	18.61%
НЅРРОР03	284,661	44.65%	200,996	30.91%	222,889	34.34%
ADLTPOP03	454,558	71.30%	459,024	70.59%	459,931	70.86%
TOTREG	223,198		255,267		294,395	
DEM	112,029	50.19%	125,485	49.16%	134,928	45.83%
REP	67,000	30.02%	97,325	38.13%	113,724	38.63%
CNGDEM	60,258	67.34%	53,278	60.61%	78,316	73.09%
CNGREP	29,227	32.66%	34,630	39.39%	28,827	26.91%
GOVDEM	63,681	69.25%	54,295	56.41%	64,820	55.39%
GOVREP	28,276	30.75%	41,960	43.59%	52,199	44.61%
LTGDEM	54,722	65.11%	53,320	58.20%	58,994	54.30%
LTGREP	29,323	34.89%	38,289	41.80%	49,641	45.70%
ATGDEM	53,681	63.53%	47,434	52.51%	55,370	50.85%
ATGREP	30,820	36.47%	42,893	47.49%	53,521	49.15%
CONDEM	58,881	69.54%	58,691		65,393	61.01%
CONREP	25,795	30.46%				38.99%
INSDEM	48,526	57.67%	41,384	45.47%	46,481	43.02%
INSREP	35,612	42.33%			61,552	56.98%
SOSDEM	50,043	59.17%	44,317			
SOSREP	34,539	40.83%		50.85%	59,630	54.40%
TRSDEM	53,686	65.68%			55,067	52.45%
TRSREP	28,052	34.32%			49,913	47.55%
USSDEM	57,460	62.88%			57,731	50.40%
USSREP	33,922	37.12%			56,818	49.60%
ASSDEM	51,942	58.87%			55,420	49.63%
ASSREP	36,296	41.13%		38.21%	56,247	50.37%
SENDEM	3,127	67.25%			27,214	51.63%
SENREP	1,523	32.75%	16,143	51.30%	25,500	48.37%

10001 010011001							
POP1998	592,519	607,329	601,059				
1998 DEV.	-1.64%	0.82%	-0.22%				

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	19	CD	20	CD	21
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Reg	oublican	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	609,382		598,709		612,324	
WHTPOP98	452,467	74.25%	380,705	63.59%	258,566	42.23%
BLKPOP98	22,322	3.66%	24,189	4.04%	39,081	6.38%
INDPOP98	4,126	0.68%	4,919	0.82%	4,845	0.79%
ASNPOP98	55,220	9.06%	56,807	9.49%	38,510	6.29%
OTHPOP98	75,247	12.35%	132,089	22.06%	271,322	44.31%
HSPPOP98	150,258	24.66%	215,308	35.96%	384,192	62.74%
ADLTPOP98	453,684	74.45%	416,250	69.52%	401,652	65.59%
POP03	634,767		631,614		649,557	
WHTPOP03	455,593	71.77%	375,839	59.50%	254,809	39.23%
BLKPOP03	21,342	3.36%	25,885	4.10%	38,985	6.00%
INDPOP03	4,141	0.65%	4,859	0.77%	4,631	0.71%
ASNPOP03	64,839	10.21%	65,648	10.39%	41,696	6.42%
ОТНРОР03	88,852	14.00%	159,383	25.23%	309,436	47.64%
HSPPOP03	180,134	28.38%	261,013	41.32%	439,437	67.65%
ADLTPOP03	475,570	74.92%	442,159	70.00%	426,668	65.69%
TOTREG	319,350		253,796		189,773	
DEM	156,399	48.97%	116,836	46.04%	104,725	55.18%
REP	101,098	31.66%	104,020	40.99%	60,821	32.05%
CNGDEM	76,597	58.24%	27,433	33.83%	34,625	51.29%
CNGREP	54,924	41.76%	53,650	66.17%	32,888	48.71%
GOVDEM	89,137	66.95%	50,213	49.32%	41,318	57.31%
GOVREP	44,003	33.05%	51,601	50.68%	30,780	42.69%
LTGDEM	74,807	62.65%	56,535	57.58%	44,533	64.10%
LTGREP	44,602	37.35%	41,657	42.42%	24,936	35.90%
ATGDEM	73,913	60.47%	45,070	47.05%	36,090	53.72%
ATGREP	48,324	39.53%	50,713	52.95%	31,095	46.28%
CONDEM	84,517	69.23%	53,952	57.18%	42,002	62.96%
CONREP	37,566	30.77%	40,407	42.82%	24,708	37.04%
INSDEM	64,868	52.60%	38,377	40.35%	33,404	49.10%
INSREP	58,456	47.40%	56,740	59.65%	34,622	50.90%
SOSDEM	69,534	56.87%	34,752			43.92%
SOSREP	52,744	43.13%	60,871	63.66%	37,655	56.08%
TRSDEM	75,475	63.31%	45,604	49.83%	35,743	56.18%
TRSREP	43,746	36.69%	45,910	50.17%	27,879	43.82%
USSDEM	81,182	61.64%	45,849	46.24%	37,217	53.26%
USSREP	50,518	38.36%	53,308	53.76%	32,659	46.74%
ASSDEM	75,479	59.56%	33,354	36.83%	35,929	52.79%
ASSREP	51,251	40.44%	57,202	63.17%	32,133	47.21%
SENDEM	0	*	36,819	39.97%	40,564	59.37%
SENREP	0	*	55,291	60.03%	27,756	40.63%

POP1998	609,382	598,709	612,324	
1998 DEV.	1.16%	-0.61%	1.65%	

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 1998

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT CD22		CD23		CD24		
LEANINGS	Likely I	Democrat	Likely Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	612,429		614,068		593,599	
WHTPOP98	442,726	72.29%	413,823	67.39%	477,096	80.37%
BLKPOP98	15,723	2.57%	19,342	3.15%	14,073	2.37%
INDPOP98	5,248	0.86%	3,442	0.56%	3,290	0.55%
ASNPOP98	29,069	4.75%	44,499	7.25%	39,562	6.66%
ОТНРОР98	119,663	19.54%	132,962	21.65%	59,578	10.04%
нѕррор98	209,073	34.14%	261,531	42.59%	132,972	22.40%
ADLTPOP98	460,635	75.21%	445,571	72.56%	464,575	78.26%
POP03	642,927		642,491		611,598	
WHTPOP03	449,787	69.96%	412,466	64.20%	473,964	77.50%
BLKPOP03	16,210	2.52%	20,371	3.17%	15,181	2,48%
INDPOP03	5,456	0.85%	3,451	0.54%	3,365	0.55%
ASNPOP03	33,651	5.23%	51,360	7.99%	46,155	7.55%
ОТНРОР03	137,823	21.44%	154,843	24.10%	72,933	11.92%
HSPPOP03	243,355	37.85%	305,917	47.61%	163,037	26.66%
ADLTPOP03	485,261	75.48%	466,999	72.69%	483,216	79.01%
TOTREG	332,622		274,898		354,578	
DEM	143,139	43.03%	122,484	44.56%	162,144	45.73%
REP	125,111	37.61%	104,680	38.08%	128,351	36.20%
CNGDEM	70,412	59.62%	61,864	59.95%	83,872	57.15%
CNGREP	47,696	40.38%	41,337	40.05%	62,893	42.85%
GOVDEM	67,502	57.19%	65,682	59.37%	96,695	63.78%
GOVREP	50,537	42.81%	44,946	40.63%	54,916	36.22%
LTGDEM	58,475	54.29%	59,245	57.99%	85,541	61.47%
LTGREP	49,236	45.71%	42,914	42.01%	53,613	38.53%
ATGDEM	55,225	50.41%	55,240	53.70%	82,133	58.33%
ATGREP	54,317	49.59%	47,623	46.30%	58,670	41.67%
CONDEM	68,289	62.36%	66,981	64.89%	98,422	69.38%
CONREP	41,213	37.64%	36,247	35.11%	43,434	30.62%
INSDEM	47,334	43.48%	45,607	43.93%	66,009	46.69%
INSREP	61,523	56.52%	58,205	56.07%	75,383	53.31%
SOSDEM	49,328	45.82%	48,121			50.88%
SOSREP	58,319	54.18%	53,374	52.59%	68,257	49.12%
TRSDEM	53,885	50.93%	55,044	55.11%	82,576	59.99%
TRSREP	51,921	49.07%	44,832	44.89%	55,075	40.01%
USSDEM	60,389	52.07%	59,461	54.40%	88,384	58.64%
USSREP	55,581	47.93%	49,848	45.60%	62,327	41.36%
ASSDEM	55,135	47.68%	50,876	50.89%	85,788	60.32%
ASSREP	60,512	52.32%	49,105	49.11%	56,438	39.68%
SENDEM	69,467	69.32%	35,709	64.10%	38,145	66.96%
SENREP	30,746	30.68%	20,002	35.90%	18,822	33.04%

POP1998	612,429	614,068	593,599	
1998 DEV.	1.67%	1.94%	-1.46%	

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	25	CD	26	CD	27
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	oublican	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Rep	publican
POP98	609,040		591,378		613,623	
WHTPOP98	482,224	79.18%	293,302	49.60%	460,602	75.06%
BLKPOP98	17,607	2.89%	30,572	5.17%	30,606	4.99%
INDPOP98	3,237	0.53%	3,108	0.53%	7,471	1.22%
ASNPOP98	50,628	8.31%	53,901	9.11%	20,729	
ОТНРОР98	55,344	9.09%	210,495	35.59%	94,215	15.35%
НЅРРОР98	118,578	19.47%	338,834	57.30%	150,394	24.51%
ADLTPOP98	454,048	74.55%	415,540	70.27%	430,244	
POP03	648,529		623,132		655,737	
WHTPOP03	494,776	76.29%	284,221	45.61%	468,653	71.47%
BLKPOP03	19,189	2.96%	32,213	5.17%	34,887	5.32%
INDPOP03	3,362	0.52%	2,958	0.47%	7,659	1.17%
ASNPOP03	61,000	9.41%	61,028	9.79%	24,496	3.74%
OTHPOP03	70,202	10.82%	242,712	38.95%	120,042	18.31%
HSPPOP03	151,233	23.32%	393,771	63.19%	192,814	29.40%
ADLTPOP03	490,276	75.60%	436,706	70.08%	465,565	71.00%
TOTREG	330,268		212,965		280,822	
DEM	116,157	35.17%	114,434	53.73%	102,284	36.42%
REP	158,014	47.84%	62,593	29.39%	137,017	48.79%
CNGDEM	15,198	13.01%	59,221	72.65%	2,229	2.46%
CNGREP	101,585	86.99%	22,289	27.35%	88,444	97.54%
GOVDEM	74,069	50.60%	64,437	66.68%	48,991	40.96%
GOVREP	72,326	49.40%	32,194	33.32%	70,608	59.04%
LTGDEM	64,492	47.60%	60,046	67.07%	46,252	41.05%
LTGREP	70,996	52.40%	29,475	32.93%	66,433	58.95%
ATGDEM	59,551	43.89%	55,631	62.34%	41,181	37.04%
ATGREP	76,134	56.11%	33,600	37.66%	69,991	62.96%
CONDEM	76,950	56.76%	65,194	71.25%	53,217	
CONREP	58,617	43.24%	26,309	28.75%	57,762	52.05%
INSDEM	45,273	32.83%	46,861	51.69%	31,294	
INSREP	92,642	67.17%	43,798	48.31%	83,164	
SOSDEM	50,522	37.59%	49,807	56.27%		
SOSREP	83,877	62.41%	38,702	43.73%	76,441	68.91%
TRSDEM	62,126	46.70%	56,059	64.49%	44,373	40.92%
TRSREP	70,920	53.30%	30,866	35.51%	64,075	
USSDEM	64,262	44.49%	59,902	62.57%	41,933	35.75%
USSREP	80,186	55.51%	35,834	37.43%	75,352	64.25%
ASSDEM	27,917	22.60%	62,570	74.62%	34,779	30.33%
ASSREP	95,596	77.40%	21,277	25.38%	79,891	69.67%
SENDEM	149	55.19%	38,011	74.68%	4,470	7.21%
SENREP	121	44.81%	12,888	25.32%	57,561	92.79%

POP1998	609,040	591,378	613,623				
1998 DEV.	1.11%	-1.83%	1.87%				

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	28	CD	29	CD	30
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	ublican	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat
POP98	603,081		594,541		593,447	
WHTPOP98	444,239	73.66%	474,806	79.86%	288,379	48.59%
BLKPOP98	15,881	2.63%	21,680	3.65%	14,076	2.37%
INDPOP98	2,046	0.34%	1,817	0.31%	2,573	0.43%
ASNPOP98	97,681	16.20%	52,517	8.83%	127,935	21.56%
ОТНРОР98	43,234	7.17%	43,721	7.35%	160,484	27.04%
нѕррор98	119,901	19.88%	106,290	17.88%	325,179	54.79%
ADLTPOP98	469,689	77.88%	514,623	86.56%	430,550	72.55%
POP03	628,897		609,152		625,964	
WHTPOP03	441,543	70.21%	470,993	77.32%	283,978	45.37%
BLKPOP03	17,350	2.76%	23,587	3.87%	14,817	2.37%
INDPOP03	1,998	0.32%	1,773	0.29%	2,490	0.40%
ASNPOP03	114,689	18.24%	61,437	10.09%	144,560	23.09%
OTHPOP03	53,317	8.48%	51,362	8.43%	180,119	28.77%
HSPPOP03	147,823	23.51%	125,003	20.52%	366,728	58.59%
ADLTPOP03	499,977	79.50%	531,305	87.22%	452,220	72.24%
TOTREG	325,250		340,973		186,647	
DEM	112,812	34.68%	189,176	55.48%	106,515	57.07%
REP	159,625	49.08%	83,367	24.45%	43,647	23.38%
CNGDEM	60,171	36.30%	122,541	77.61%	59,526	75.30%
CNGREP	105,582	63.70%	35,360	22.39%	19,522	24.70%
GOVDEM	84,272	49.24%	125,932	76.98%	60,838	77.24%
GOVREP	86,861	50.76%	37,650	23.02%	17,929	22.76%
LTGDEM	76,405	47.75%	111,039	74.56%	54,914	76.89%
LTGREP	83,611	52.25%	37,895	25.44%	16,506	23.11%
ATGDEM	70,027	43.85%	113,973	73.77%	53,689	73.47%
ATGREP	89,673	56.15%	40,531	26.23%	19,386	26.53%
CONDEM	92,972	57.66%	124,553	79.80%	59,350	79.25%
CONREP	68,259	42.34%	31,538	20.20%	15,543	20.75%
INSDEM	53,416	33.06%	92,219	61.28%	46,180	63.50%
INSREP	108,161	66.94%	58,264		26,545	36.50%
SOSDEM	57,418					
SOSREP	101,772	63.93%	52,028	34.16%	23,683	32.69%
TRSDEM	72,238	45.76%	112,632	74.03%	53,352	74.70%
TRSREP	85,632	54.24%	39,522	25.97%	18,066	25.30%
USSDEM	72,440	42.75%	120,838	73.08%	57,316	72.48%
USSREP	96,993	57.25%	44,512	26.92%	21,763	27.52%
ASSDEM	68,991	42.78%	116,606		61,243	79.04%
ASSREP	92,272	57.22%	37,070	24.12%	16,245	20.96%
SENDEM	1,942	53.21%	8,477	73.94%	40,905	99.60%
SENREP	1,708	46.79%	2,988	26.06%	165	0.40%

Γ	POP1998	603,081	594,541	593,447
Γ	1998 DEV.	0.12%	-1.30%	-1.48%

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	31	CD	32	CD33	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat	
POP98	604,539		593,519		612,788	
WHTPOP98	265,664	43.94%	175,751	29.61%	210,740	34.39%
BLKPOP98	53,235	8.81%	165,300	27.85%	21,730	3.55%
INDPOP98	2,422	0.40%	1,877	0.32%	2,700	0.44%
ASNPOP98	136,598	22.60%	88,174	14.86%	27,350	4.46%
ОТНРОР98	146,620	24.25%	162,417	27.37%	350,268	57.16%
HSPPOP98	291,246	48.18%	263,208	44.35%	552,730	90.20%
ADLTPOP98	436,604	72.22%	442,476	74.55%	395,736	64.58%
POP03	630,830		611,087		637,353	
WHTPOP03	259,729	41.17%	172,074	28.16%	215,682	33.84%
BLKPOP03	54,099	8.58%	158,746	25.98%	20,955	3.29%
INDPOP03	2,333	0.37%	1,823	0.30%	2,525	0.40%
ASNPOP03	151,575	24.03%	96,232	15.75%	28,624	4.49%
OTHPOP03	163,094	25.85%	182,212	29.82%	369,567	57.98%
HSPPOP03	323,898	51.34%	299,372	48.99%	585,885	91.92%
ADLTPOP03	455,161	72.15%	453,369	74.19%	405,810	63.67%
TOTREG	236,075		226,750		124,633	
DEM	131,704	55.79%	158,891	70.07%	87,292	70.04%
REP	61,200	25.92%	31,217	13.77%	16,633	13.35%
CNGDEM	64,264	68.27%	81,112	87.42%	44,108	89.19%
CNGREP	29,867	31.73%	11,674	12.58%	5,344	10.81%
GOVDEM	70,854	71.67%	82,485	86.35%	43,647	88.54%
GOVREP	28,013	28.33%	13,034	13.65%	5,650	11.46%
LTGDEM	65,439	71.65%	76,158	86.42%	41,589	89.92%
LTGREP	25,887	28.35%	11,970	13.58%	4,663	10.08%
ATGDEM	61,547	67.30%	75,818	84.52%	38,992	86.01%
ATGREP	29,908	32.70%	13,881	15.48%	6,342	13.99%
CONDEM	69,950	75.20%	81,221	88.73%	40,415	85.79%
CONREP	23,070	24.80%	10,312	11.27%	6,694	14.21%
INSDEM	53,453	57.64%	67,077	75.18%	37,200	80.39%
INSREP	39,278	42.36%	22,142	24.82%	9,073	19.61%
SOSDEM	55,040	60.83%	69,421	78.53%	36,489	80.90%
SOSREP	35,438	39.17%	18,978	21.47%	8,615	19.10%
TRSDEM	61,527	68.98%	74,623	84.95%	37,966	87.35%
TRSREP	27,673	31.02%	13,220	15.05%	5,500	12.65%
USSDEM	63,280	64.22%	79,417	82.89%	41,714	85.19%
USSREP	35,263	35.78%	16,396	17.11%	7,249	14.81%
ASSDEM	67,829	71.20%	77,961	85.18%	42,600	87.22%
ASSREP	27,443	28.80%	13,559	14.82%	6,243	12.78%
SENDEM	35,994	75.91%	78,484	89.24%	43,000	93.86%
SENREP	11,423	24.09%	9,459	10.76%	2,812	6.14%

POP1998	604,539	593,519	612,788				
1998 DEV.	0.36%	-1.47%	1.73%				

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	34	CD	35	CD	36
LEANINGS	Safe De		Safe De	emocrat	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	599,047		592,345		599,510	
WHTPOP98	307,099	51.26%	92,998	15.70%	396,261	66.10%
BLKPOP98	15,875	2.65%	259,605	43.83%	45,012	7.51%
INDPOP98	2,515	0.42%	1,211	0.20%	2,747	0.46%
ASNPOP98	90,019	15.03%	10,262	1.73%	91,896	15.33%
ОТНРОР98	183,539	30.64%	228,269	38.54%	63,594	10.61%
НЅРРОР98	418,514	69.86%	335,529	56.64%	134,271	22.40%
ADLTPOP98	412,960	68.94%	389,325	65.73%	476,217	79.43%
POP03	631,831		615,154		620,883	
WHTPOP03	307,024	48.59%	98,730	16.05%	391,099	62.99%
BLKPOP03	17,192	2.72%	243,732	39.62%	47,829	7.70%
INDPOP03	2,376	0.38%	1,223	0.20%	2,678	0.43%
ASNPOP03	100,304	15.88%	11,747	1.91%	105,562	17.00%
OTHPOP03	204,935	32.44%	259,722	42.22%	73,715	11.87%
HSPPOP03	467,994	74.07%	381,267	61.98%	155,815	25.10%
ADLTPOP03	433,681	68.64%	402,723	65.47%	496,672	79.99%
TOTREG	215,215		216,979		313,269	
DEM	129,585	60.21%	169,872	78.29%	141,588	45.20%
REP	50,977	23.69%	18,455	8.51%	113,733	36.31%
CNGDEM	63,234	70.88%	75,198	95.19%	71,128	58.11%
CNGREP	25,979	29.12%	3,799	4.81%	51,276	41.89%
GOVDEM	68,689	73.79%	77,643	92.10%	81,707	61.80%
GOVREP	24,399	26.21%	6,663	7.90%	50,499	38.20%
LTGDEM	65,884	75.41%	72,326	92.06%	72,946	59.75%
LTGREP	21,479	24.59%	6,242	7.94%	49,133	40.25%
ATGDEM	59,463	69.61%	71,238	90.95%	70,633	
ATGREP	25,956	30.39%	7,089	9.05%	52,230	
CONDEM	68,066	76.82%	75,068	92.95%	84,937	
CONREP	20,535	23.18%	5,694	7.05%	40,186	
INSDEM	54,259	61.34%	66,995	84.05%	56,432	
INSREP	34,201	38.66%	12,711	15.95%	66,732	
SOSDEM	54,801	64.11%	68,074			
SOSREP	30,680				61,505	
TRSDEM	59,778	71.71%	70,270	91.04%	70,787	58.29%
TRSREP	23,581	28.29%	6,919	8.96%	50,657	41.71%
USSDEM	62,131	67.20%	75,380	89.86%	74,053	56.03%
USSREP	30,320	32.80%		10.14%	58,110	43.97%
ASSDEM	65,789	72.30%	73,456	90.57%	77,025	
ASSREP	25,205	27.70%		9.43%	49,692	39.21%
SENDEM	53,484	78.12%	37,535		44,852	63.06%
SENREP	14,977	21.88%	1,369	3.52%	26,278	36.94%

POP1998	599,047	7 592,345 599,		599,047 592,345 599,5	
1998 DEV.	-0.55%	-1.66%	-0.48%		

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	37	CD38		CD39	
LEANINGS	Safe De	emocrat	Safe De	emocrat	Safe Rep	oublican
POP98	594,914		601,430		597,280	
WHTPOP98	199,778	33.58%	274,853	45.70%	413,954	69.31%
BLKPOP98	142,244	23.91%	79,500	13.22%	13,322	2.23%
INDPOP98	1,753	0.29%	3,436	0.57%	2,847	0.48%
ASNPOP98	78,367	13.17%	75,764	12.60%	102,313	17.13%
ОТНРОР98	172,772	29.04%	167,877	27.91%	64,844	10.86%
HSPPOP98	279,048	46.91%	287,530	47.81%	165,874	27.77%
ADLTPOP98	410,822	69.06%	416,968	69.33%	448,481	75.09%
POP03	621,570		624,823		630,437	
WHTPOP03	199,091	32.03%	262,606	42.03%	413,177	65.54%
BLKPOP03	135,588	21.81%	81,745	13.08%	14,017	2.22%
INDPOP03	1,690	0.27%	3,248	0.52%	2,839	0.45%
ASNPOP03	89,440	14.39%	83,188	13.31%	120,707	19.15%
OTHPOP03	195,761	31.49%	194,036	31.05%	79,697	12.64%
HSPPOP03	316,697	50.95%	334,318	53.51%	204,717	32.47%
ADLTPOP03	431,563	69.43%	432,456	69.21%	476,189	75.53%
TOTREG	243,705		231,958		262,565	
DEM	154,257	63.30%	137,705	59.37%	94,113	35.84%
REP	50,372	20.67%	55,462	23.91%	126,336	48.12%
CNGDEM	66,242	72.64%	50,829	62.90%	40,264	36.83%
CNGREP	24,953	27.36%	29,977	37.10%	69,072	63.17%
GOVDEM	73,354	76.64%	60,061	72.37%	55,863	47.74%
GOVREP	22,356	23.36%	22,932	27.63%	61,140	52.26%
LTGDEM	67,964	76.34%	56,148	73.23%	49,936	45.99%
LTGREP	21,059	23.66%	20,527	26.77%	58,647	54.01%
ATGDEM	65,712	73.74%	53,456	69.32%	45,371	41.92%
ATGREP	23,402	26.26%	23,660	30.68%	62,865	58.08%
CONDEM	73,595	80.68%		77.71%	59,314	55.23%
CONREP	17,629	19.32%	17,531	22.29%	48,082	44.77%
INSDEM	58,047	64.10%	45,454	57.86%	34,954	31.57%
INSREP	32,515	35.90%			75,758	68.43%
SOSDEM	60,248					
SOSREP	27,783	31.56%			68,836	64.24%
TRSDEM	65,334	74.69%	53,423		45,483	42.84%
TRSREP	22,135	25.31%	21,565	28.76%	60,695	57.16%
USSDEM	68,452	72.09%	57,014	69.35%	47,464	41.34%
USSREP	26,500	27.91%		30.65%	67,343	58.66%
ASSDEM	73,492	79.80%		70.86%	41,733	38.19%
ASSREP	18,604	20.20%		29.14%	67,541	61.81%
SENDEM	43,846	72.24%	14,182	79.18%	14,474	47.89%
SENREP	16,845	27.76%	3,728	20.82%	15,749	52.11%

2002 222022000 002,012							
POP1998	594,914	601,430	597,280				
1998 DEV.	-1.24%	-0.16%	-0.85%				

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD4	40	CD	41	CD	42
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	ublican	Safe De	emocrat	Likely D	emocrat
POP98	596,648	d	596,332		602,248	
WHTPOP98	420,961	70.55%	333,190	55.87%	379,509	63.02%
BLKPOP98	19,179	3.21%	35,185	5.90%	62,783	10.42%
INDPOP98	2,541	0.43%	3,140	0.53%	4,120	0.68%
ASNPOP98	80,995	13.58%	56,130	9.41%	27,797	4.62%
ОТНРОР98	72,972	12.23%	168,687	28.29%	128,039	21.26%
НЅРРОР98	166,532	27.91%	329,436	55.24%	249,918	41.50%
ADLTPOP98	443,397	74.31%	414,872	69.57%	406,525	67.50%
POP03	641,723		620,656		636,617	
WHTPOP03	430,801	67.13%	322,863	52.02%	384,527	60.40%
BLKPOP03	20,018	3.12%	36,185	5.83%	63,573	9.99%
INDPOP03	2,637	0.41%	2,964	0.48%	4,003	0.63%
ASNPOP03	98,132	15.29%	64,211	10.35%	32,542	5.11%
OTHPOP03	90,135	14.05%	194,433	31.33%	151,972	23.87%
HSPPOP03	206,453	32.17%	379,718	61.18%	297,027	46.66%
ADLTPOP03	479,985	74.80%	431,894	69.59%	435,220	68.36%
TOTREG	262,337		227,211		227,203	
DEM	84,450	32.19%	117,460	51.70%	111,668	49.15%
REP	135,122	51.51%	72,677	31.99%	83,082	36.57%
CNGDEM	37,439	34.67%	58,207	60.19%	45,594	56.17%
CNGREP	70,541	65.33%	38,498		35,575	43.83%
GOVDEM	54,695	46.87%	66,601	65.10%	52,958	62.88%
GOVREP	62,000	53.13%	35,705		31,264	37.12%
LTGDEM	47,700	44.12%	63,120	65.94%	49,588	62.85%
LTGREP	60,403	55.88%	32,603		29,306	37.15%
ATGDEM	43,181	39.85%	57,212		45,770	57.48%
ATGREP	65,191	60.15%			33,864	42.52%
CONDEM	57,453	53.55%		70.84%	54,846	68.54%
CONREP	49,845			29.16%	25,178	31.46%
INSDEM	33,855				37,616	46.57%
INSREP	76,246				43,154	53.43%
SOSDEM	37,166					
SOSREP	70,313				36,462	47.01%
TRSDEM	44,136				45,661	59.99%
TRSREP	61,366				30,451	40.01%
USSDEM	46,499				48,231	58.90%
USSREP	68,025				33,653	41.10%
ASSDEM	36,758	34.45%			29,522	42.67%
ASSREP	69,953				39,662	57.33%
SENDEM	7,086				34,060	64.21%
SENREP	9,335	56.85%	22,370	34.59%	18,981	35.79%

POP1998	596,648	596,332	602,248
1998 DEV.	-0.95%	-1.00%	-0.02%

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD	43	CD	44	CD	45
LEANINGS	Safe Rep	ublican	Likely I	Democrat	Likely I	Democrat
POP98	593,448		604,687		600,122	
WHTPOP98	490,881	82.72%	348,249	57.59%	369,000	61.49%
BLKPOP98	8,896	1.50%	15,360	2.54%	55,787	9.30%
INDPOP98	2,900	0.49%	2,920	0.48%	4,944	0.82%
ASNPOP98	57,824	9.74%	91,859	15.19%	33,911	5.65%
ОТНРОР98	32,947	5.55%	146,299	24.19%	136,480	
HSPPOP98	94,129	15.86%	380,485	62.92%	252,458	42.07%
ADLTPOP98	477,568	80.47%	407,417	67.38%	403,632	67.26%
POP03	616,533		636,777		645,045	
WHTPOP03	494,652	80.23%	345,632	54.28%	375,160	58.16%
BLKPOP03	9,633	1.56%	15,674	2.46%	59,914	9.29%
INDPOP03	3,003	0.49%	2,931	0.46%	4,929	
ASNPOP03	68,643	11.13%	105,417	16.55%	39,773	
OTHPOP03	40,602	6.59%	167,123	26.25%	165,269	
HSPPOP03	115,770	18.78%	430,612	67.62%	307,870	47.73%
ADLTPOP03	499,083	80.95%	428,015	67.22%	436,483	67.67%
TOTREG	334,691		150,550		206,132	
DEM	115,683	34.56%	75,114		97,859	
REP	165,196	49.36%	50,081	33.27%	77,112	
CNGDEM	53,087	37.17%	32,618	60.28%	37,090	
CNGREP	89,742	62.83%	21,491	39.72%	33,896	47.75%
GOVDEM	73,326	48.19%	35,929	63.14%	49,225	
GOVREP	78,824	51.81%	20,976	36.86%	27,107	35.51%
LTGDEM	64,574	45.71%	32,674	62.59%	45,063	
LTGREP	76,706	54.29%	19,533	37.41%	25,532	36.17%
ATGDEM	59,859	42.59%	30,141	58.35%	42,193	
ATGREP	80,673	57.41%	21,513	41.65%	29,520	
CONDEM	79,740	56.86%	35,417	67.70%	49,165	
CONREP	60,497	43.14%	16,896	32.30%	22,024	
INSDEM	43,720	30.63%	25,897	48.28%	33,956	
INSREP	98,995	69.37%	27,745	51.72%	38,748	
SOSDEM	50,871	36.57%				
SOSREP	88,217	63.43%	24,414	47.28%	31,851	45.93%
TRSDEM	61,986	44.83%	28,778	57.47%	40,518	
TRSREP	76,274	55.17%	21,297	42.53%	27,198	
USSDEM	65,398	43.65%	32,127	57.63%	43,528	
USSREP	84,421	56.35%	23,620	42.37%	29,296	
ASSDEM	49,171	36.58%	31,202	57.06%	18,538	
ASSREP	85,235	63.42%	23,478	42.94%	43,979	
SENDEM	3,286	41.95%	25,645	59.75%	32,568	
SENREP	4,547	58.05%	17,276	40.25%	25,827	44.23%

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POP1998	593,448	604,687	600,122				
1998 DEV.	-1.48%	0.38%	-0.37%				

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD46		CD47		CD48	
LEANINGS	Safe Republican		Safe Republican		Safe Republican	
POP98	606,893		608,498		614,146	
WHTPOP98	458,593	75.56%	466,622	76.68%	507,534	82.64%
BLKPOP98	10,340	1.70%	36,646	6.02%	13,965	2.27%
INDPOP98	2,305	0.38%	7,040	1.16%	5,072	0.83%
ASNPOP98	104,584	17.23%	19,963	3.28%	25,987	4.23%
ОТНРОР98	31,071	5.12%	78,227	12.86%	61,588	10.03%
HSPPOP98	86,730	14.29%	152,610	25.08%	140,300	22.84%
ADLTPOP98	471,129	77.63%	420,309	69.07%	442,688	72.08%
POP03	661,983		663,985		692,190	
WHTPOP03	479,673	72.46%	487,454	73.41%	559,074	80.77%
BLKPOP03	11,077	1.67%	40,662	6.12%	15,789	2.28%
INDPOP03	2,463	0.37%	7,397	1.11%	5,422	0.78%
ASNPOP03	128,695	19.44%	24,840	3.74%	33,304	4.81%
OTHPOP03	40,075	6.05%	103,632	15.61%	78,601	11.36%
HSPPOP03	112,051	16.93%	201,279	30.31%	179,181	25.89%
ADLTPOP03	517,469	78.17%	462,158	69.60%	500,976	72.38%
TOTREG	287,593		249,770		294,228	
DEM	86,935	30.23%	94,327	37.77%	94,609	32.15%
REP	147,660	51.34%	112,662	45.11%	155,677	52.91%
CNGDEM	39,009	34.44%	23,890	26.31%	33,110	29.14%
CNGREP	74,256	65.56%	66,919	73.69%	80,523	70.86%
GOVDEM	59,312	48.06%	48,684	48.75%	59,922	46.99%
GOVREP	64,091	51.94%	51,181	51.25%	67,599	53.01%
LTGDEM	50,241	44.15%	43,407	46.67%	53,252	44.64%
LTGREP	63,547	55.85%	49,607		66,033	55.36%
ATGDEM	47,194	41.51%	40,523	43.13%	49,022	40.64%
ATGREP	66,512	58.49%	53,443	56.87%	71,594	59.36%
CONDEM	60,685	54.23%	52,492	55.83%	63,179	53.65%
CONREP	51,225	45.77%	41,533		54,583	46.35%
INSDEM	35,629	31.04%	31,551		36,354	30.04%
INSREP	79,166	68.96%			84,659	69.96%
SOSDEM	40,468					
SOSREP	72,961	64.32%	56,842		74,790	64.09%
TRSDEM	48,926	43.92%	41,498		49,154	42.80%
TRSREP	62,483	56.08%	50,145		65,688	57.20%
USSDEM	51,390	42.21%	41,879		51,929	42.53%
USSREP	70,370	57.79%	55,433	56.96%	70,159	57.47%
ASSDEM	21,013	21.68%	31,601	33.95%	39,572	33.48%
ASSREP	75,896	78.32%	61,490		78,616	66.52%
SENDEM	8,848	40.90%		*	32,526	37.77%
SENREP	12,784	59.10%	0	*	53,600	62.23%

POP1998	606,893	608,498	614,146	
1998 DEV.	1998 DEV. 0.75%		1.95%	

^{*} No Senate Races Up for Election in 2000

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD49		CD50		CD51	
LEANINGS	Likely Republican		Safe Republican		Safe Republican	
POP98	611,001		613,981		612,296	
WHTPOP98	446,300	73.04%	480,849	78.32%	496,955	81.16%
BLKPOP98	29,476	4.82%	25,568	4.16%	15,184	2.48%
INDPOP98	5,410	0.89%	4,920	0.80%	3,305	0.54%
ASNPOP98	29,446	4.82%	35,551	5.79%	66,354	10.84%
OTHPOP98	100,369	16.43%	67,093	10.93%	30,498	4.98%
HSPPOP98	190,160	31.12%	159,975	26.06%	81,847	13.37%
ADLTPOP98	447,057	73.17%	443,868	72.29%	463,434	75.69%
POP03	656,057		660,030		650,101	
WHTPOP03	462,795	70.54%	500,009	75.76%	510,843	78.58%
BLKPOP03	31,527	4.81%	27,246	4.13%	15,852	2.44%
INDPOP03	5,701	0.87%	5,159	0.78%	3,351	0.52%
ASNPOP03	35,070	5.35%	44,684	6.77%	82,125	12.63%
OTHPOP03	120,964	18.44%	82,932	12.56%	37,930	5.83%
HSPPOP03	230,735	35.17%	198,464	30.07%	101,389	15.60%
ADLTPOP03	481,278	73.36%	475,823	72.09%	494,764	76.11%
TOTREG	266,399		291,705		335,028	
DEM	108,057	40.56%	84,106	28.83%	110,890	33.10%
REP	117,476	44.10%	151,104	51.80%	153,538	45.83%
CNGDEM	38,783	36.83%	5,474	6.16%	43,252	33.87%
CNGREP	66,528	63.17%	83,385	93.84%	84,435	66.13%
GOVDEM	60,687	54.78%	52,836	43.58%	68,714	49.64%
GOVREP	50,103	45.22%	68,399	56.42%	69,709	50.36%
LTGDEM	55,004	52.71%	44,932	40.10%	57,555	45.52%
LTGREP	49,355	47.29%	67,124	59.90%	68,890	54.48%
ATGDEM	50,332	47.78%	42,815	38.55%	53,176	42.22%
ATGREP	55,004	52.22%	68,245	61.45%	72,780	57.78%
CONDEM	61,850	59.40%	55,761	50.21%	70,227	55.60%
CONREP	42,267	40.60%	55,305	49.79%	56,072	44.40%
INSDEM	38,815	36.68%	33,233	29.56%	44,365	35.33%
INSREP	67,004	63.32%	79,205	70.44%	81,220	64.67%
SOSDEM	42,972					
SOSREP	58,930	57.83%	74,456	66.70%	77,848	61.54%
TRSDEM	49,887	49.31%	45,554	41.53%	56,896	45.87%
TRSREP	51,276	50.69%	64,139	58.47%	67,154	54.13%
USSDEM	52,404	48.91%	48,413	40.40%	63,955	46.36%
USSREP	54,737	51.09%	71,413	59.60%	74,003	53.64%
ASSDEM	33,863	34.65%	36,107	32.79%	62,703	49.09%
ASSREP	63,861	65.35%	74,007	67.21%	65,031	50.91%
SENDEM	3,041	53.03%	33,321	33.92%	27,317	46.77%
SENREP	2,694	46.97%	64,910	66.08%	31,084	53.23%

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POP1998	611,001	613,981	612,296			
1998 DEV.	1.43%	1.93%	1.65%			

Table 6: Hypothetical "Burton" Redux

DISTRICT	CD52		CD53		CD54	
LEANINGS	Safe Democrat		Safe Democrat		Safe Republican	
POP98	613,909		611,653		613,878	
WHTPOP98	404,647	65.91%	317,338	51.88%	492,742	80.27%
BLKPOP98	54,431	8.87%	59,005	9.65%	9,806	1.60%
INDPOP98	3,840	0.63%	2,975	0.49%	6,771	1.10%
ASNPOP98	61,510	10.02%	95,421	15.60%	31,052	5.06%
ОТНРОР98	89,481	14.58%	136,914	22.38%	73,507	11.97%
нѕррор98	169,950	27.68%	256,552	41.94%	192,720	31.39%
ADLTPOP98	483,413	78.74%	433,660	70.90%	437,970	71.34%
POP03	636,811	ers of Mon	638,749		664,383	
WHTPOP03	402,031	63.13%	311,577	48.78%	518,303	78.01%
BLKPOP03	53,448	8.39%	57,463	9.00%	10,745	1.62%
INDPOP03	3,800	0.60%	2,866		6,837	1.03%
ASNPOP03	72,448	11.38%	108,643	17.01%	38,757	5.83%
отнрор03	105,084	16.50%	158,200	24.77%	89,741	13.51%
нѕррор03	202,396	31.78%	301,314	47.17%	236,031	35.53%
ADLTPOP03	499,442	78.43%	455,864	71.37%	478,350	72.00%
TOTREG	307,969		264,392		283,963	
DEM	130,526	42.38%	117,977		92,435	32.55%
REP	103,742	33.69%	92,353		134,810	47.47%
CNGDEM	59,747	58.30%	44,286		18,355	18,13%
CNGREP	42,738	41.70%	23,870		82,869	81.87%
GOVDEM	68,283	63.43%	58,129	61.12%	53,788	45.80%
GOVREP	39,374	36.57%	36,983	38.88%	63,658	54.20%
LTGDEM	57,151	59.69%	51,273		45,891	42.55%
LTGREP	38,588	40.31%	35,995		61,958	57.45%
ATGDEM	55,301	57.18%			41,289	38.49%
ATGREP	41,415	42.82%			65,989	61.51%
CONDEM	65,410	66.76%	58,240		56,426	52.53%
CONREP	32,570	33.24%	30,507		50,995	47.47%
INSDEM	49,070	50.09%			35,741	33.32%
INSREP	48,893	49.91%			71,539	66.68%
SOSDEM	52,746					
SOSREP	44,905				69,782	64.96%
TRSDEM	56,641	59.64%			43,769	41.87%
TRSREP	38,337	40.36%			60,764	58.13%
USSDEM	65,340	60.34%			48,344	41.98%
USSREP	42,954	39.66%			66,829	58.02%
ASSDEM	68,150	67.43%			36,195	34.75%
ASSREP	32,917	32.57%			67,960	65.25%
SENDEM	7,074	82.17%			7,869	33.91%
SENREP	1,535	17.83%	24,632	29.09%	15,334	66.09%

POP1998	613,909	611,653	613,878	
1998 DEV.	1.92%	1.54%	1.91%	

APPENDIX 1: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA REDISTRICTING

For decades those drawing electoral district lines in California have abused the process in order to unjustly entrench established interests at the expense of new claimants. The result has been a sea of disenfranchised voters and disadvantaged office-seekers.

1850-1941. The defining characteristic of abuse through the first century of statehood was the attempt on the part of northern California counties (particularly San Francisco and Sacramento) to prevent an erosion of their legislative power corresponding to their loss of population relative to southern California. In 1890, 16.6 percent of the state's population was in southern California. Ten years later, the number was 20.5 percent. The trend continued into the new century—31.1 percent in 1910, 39.3 percent in 1920 and a majority in 1930.7 The dominant northern counties worked tirelessly to prevent southern California and particularly Los Angeles County from draining legislative power from San Francisco and Sacramento. As noted by redistricting expert Leroy Hardy:

Groups whose political power was not commensurate with their growth and size were opposed, every step of the way, by the "vested interest" groups that wanted to retain the political power they possessed on the basis of previous population dominance. Demands for a proportionate share of representation conflicted with the interests of incumbent legislatures and established pressure groups.⁸

The result was a series of agreements each decade that locked in existing power structures to the greatest extent possible,⁹ and in a 1926 initiative, the people of California approved a proposal that would create a federal senate based upon area rather than population. Thus counties that suffered population

⁷ Leroy C. Hardy, Golden Betrayal: The Erosion of Representation and the Loss of Legitimacy in California, (Claremont: Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 1993), 2-3.

⁸ Ibid, 4.

⁹ One example of these agreements was the 1911 arrangement over the passage of the Tidelands bill. Los Angeles sought title to submerged tidelands in order to develop the Port of Los Angeles. San Francisco legislators did not relish the idea of a rival port, but finally agreed to allow the bill to pass in exchange for a promise from the Los Angeles delegation that San Francisco redistricting losses would be kept to a minimum.

decay would maintain representation in one house of the legislature. The plan, backed by rural and slower-growing urban counties, called for Senate districts to be reapportioned among the 58 counties such that no county would have more than one senatorial district, nor would any senatorial district contain more than three counties.

1951. 1951 was the first example of gerrymandering for partisan purposes in California. Since the late nineteenth century Republicans had dominated statewide politics. (In 1901, for example, they held 60 of 80 Assembly seats and 36 of 40 Senate seats.) An influx of Democratic voters in the 1940s, however, made their hold on the legislature increasingly tenuous, and anxious Republicans responded by drawing districts to lock in their partisan advantage. But the gerrymander lacked the technical sophistication that is a hallmark of contemporary redistrictings, and the gerrymander, aided by demographic shifts, ultimately backfired. The Republicans drew too many marginally Republican seats at which Democrats could take aim, and in 1958 the Democrats took control of both houses of the legislature in a landslide.

1961. An angry Democratic majority took its revenge in the 1961 redistricting. The Republican plans in 1951 had focused primarily on congressional seats and generally left Assembly districts alone. The Democrats abandoned this restraint in 1961, and eliminated weak GOP seats throughout the state.

In 1964, the opportunity arose to do even more damage to Republicans when the United States Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling in Reynolds $v. Sims^{11}$ invalidated the federal plan of Senate apportionment. Democrats thus had the opportunity to draw new Senate districts to suit their interests as they had done with Assembly seats several years earlier.

Like the Republicans in 1951, however, the Democrats suffered from a lack of precision in the process because the technology did not exist for them to fully exploit their advantages. In 1968, Republicans narrowly regained the legislature, though the Democrats took it back in 1970, setting the stage for the most complicated redistricting to date.

¹⁰ T. Anthony Quinn, "California," in *Reapportionment Politics: The History of Redistricting in the 50 States*, ed. Leroy Hardy, Alan Heslop, and Stuart Anderson, (Claremont, California: Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 1981), 54.

¹¹ 377 U.S. 533, 12 L. Ed. 2d 506, 84 S. Ct. 1362.

1971. The 1971 redistricting pitted a highly partisan Democratic legislature against arch-Republican governor Ronald Reagan. Time and again Democrats forced a gerrymander through the Assembly and Senate, only to have it vetoed by Reagan. A series of acrimonious negotiations produced a stalemate, and as the 1972 elections approached, the California Supreme Court stepped in. The Court mandated that the existing Assembly and Senate districts be used for the election. Since California had gained five congressional seats in reapportionment, the Court imposed a plan for the election, which had previously been rejected by Reagan. The Court then implored the legislature and the governor to reach an accord.

Accord, however, proved impossible. Reagan and the legislature continued to stand off, and in 1973 the Court intervened once again. This time they appointed three "special masters"—retired judges with no known legislative or partisan ties. The special masters and their staff created a new plan without the scheming that attends legislative redistricting, and the Court imposed the new plan in the fall of 1973.

At first the plan appeared to favor the Democrats as they promptly won 55 of the 80 Assembly seats with 56 percent of the two-party Assembly vote and 28 of 43 congressional seats with 58 percent of the two-party congressional vote. It should perhaps be noted, however, that this was 1974—the year of Watergate—when Republicans were being slaughtered nationwide. By 1980, Republicans in the Assembly had regained 7 seats completely plus one in which the candidate, Carol Harnett (AD 29), won both nominations. In the congressional delegation they actually constituted a majority, 22-21. The Court's plans were not without their flaws perhaps, but they had proved to be far less partisan then their predecessors.

1981. 1981 saw a return of single party control of the redistricting process. Improved computer technology, including statewide databases and digital mapping programs, took the guesswork out of drawing the lines, and a blatantly partisan gerrymander resulted.

Congressman Phil Burton (D-San Francisco) was the mastermind behind the gerrymander that year, and he wielded the process skillfully. He drew astoundingly contorted districts designed to reward his friends and punish his enemies. Of his brother, John Burton's, Assembly district he said, "Oh, it's gorgeous, it curls in and out like a snake," 12 and, "It was my contribution to

¹² T. Anthony Quinn, "California," in *Redistricting in the 1980s: A 50-State Survey*, ed. Leroy Hardy, Alan Heslop, and George Blair, (Claremont, California: Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 1993), 31.

modern art."¹³ Columnist Dan Walters wrote in the Sacramento Union that September that:

Burton's redistricting plan resembles nothing so much as a jigsaw puzzle designed by an inmate of a mental institution. Districts dip and swirl around, picking up a few voters here and a few more there.¹⁴

Despite their abusive nature, Burton's plans became law in late 1981 with two votes extracted from Republican senators by threatening to change the numbers on their districts to make them run again two years early.

Republicans, alarmed by the prospect of being drawn out of the legislature, took action. They qualified three referendums for the 1982 primary ballot in which Californians were asked to approve or reject the legislature's plans. In that election Republicans successfully convinced voters of the plans' danger, and the plans were rejected.

The state Supreme Court required that the Burton plans be used for the 1982 elections, however, until new plans could be drawn. Republicans were hurt badly that year as a result, and they returned to the redistricting table much weakened.

This time the Democrats took a different approach. They redrew the lines to protect incumbents—Republicans included. The effect, of course, was to lock in the gains, which Democrats had made in 1982. Outgoing Democratic governor Jerry Brown (for whom Gray Davis was chief of staff) signed the laws on his last day in office before Republican governor George Deukmajian was inaugurated.

Many Republicans viewed the new plan favorably because it made their seats safer. But a group of Republicans led by Assemblyman Don Sebastiani opposed the plans. They sought to qualify three new initiatives to challenge the new gerrymanders and institute more balanced plans drawn by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government in Claremont, California. The Rose Byrd Supreme Court ended the challenge by ruling the initiatives unconstitutional. The Court justified the decision by determining that the California Constitution only permitted for the lines to be drawn once in a decade. Disgruntled

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid, 32.

Republicans, however, questioned the impartiality of the Byrd Court, and their suspicions were increased when Assembly Speaker Willie Brown was heard to comment with regard to the decision, "Sister Rose and the Supremes took care of that little matter." 15

A comparison of the 1974 and 1984 elections highlights the effects of the 1982 redistricting. As in the 1974 elections, Republicans lost badly to the Democrats in the congressional elections of 1984. Democrats won 27 of the 45 seats (60.0 percent) despite the fact that Republicans won a plurality of the congressional vote. The difference between the two elections was that in 1974 the Republicans' losses paralleled that of the rest of the nation. 1984, however, was a very good year for Republicans as Ronald Reagan won all but ten electoral votes, Republicans retained the Senate, and gained 15 seats in the House of Representatives. To what can this difference be attributed? To suggest that it was solely gerrymandering would be simplistic, but common sense seems to point to redistricting as a significant factor.

1991. The 1991 redistricting followed the model of the 1971 process. A Democratic legislature squared off against a Republican governor—Pete Wilson—who was not reluctant to wield his veto pen. Again the process fell to Court-appointed special masters, and again the result was a more fair, balanced redistricting.

¹⁵ Ibid, 34.