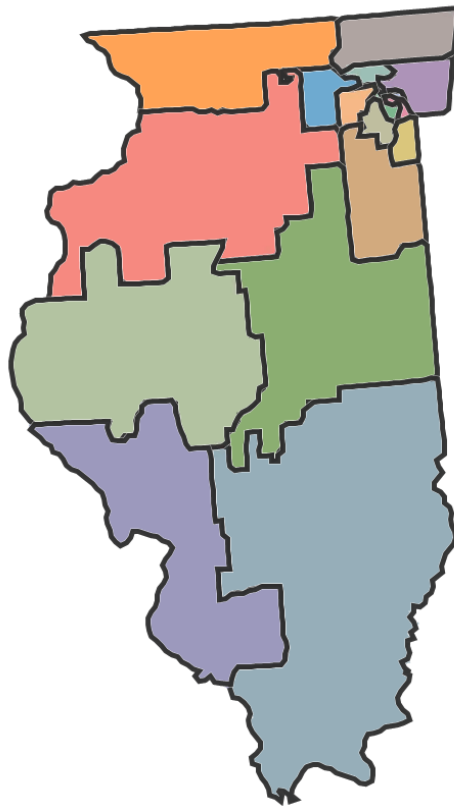


Report on Proposed Illinois Congressional Redistricting Plan

Mary-Claire Spurgin
Stanford Law School
Professor Persily
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I. INTRODUCTION

The plan set forward in this paper proposes a new distribution of congressional districts in the state of Illinois; it serves as an alternative to the enacted 2021 plan. The proposed plan was guided primarily with the intention of ensuring proportional representation of the two major political parties in Illinois. The specific goal of this map was to create a congressional delegation whose partisan composition mirrored the partisan share of votes in Illinois, and it succeeded in that goal: Over the last decade, the average presidential vote share has been 57% Democratic and 40% Republican. The proposed map creates a congressional delegation that is 59% Democratic and 41% Republican, so it is almost entirely proportional with Illinois's partisan composition, at least in presidential elections.

The proposed map was also drawn with the intention of avoiding retrogression in the representation of Illinois' minority voters. It retains the same number of majority-minority districts as the previous congressional map (two majority-Black and one majority-Latino), even though the state has lost a district. Additionally, the map was guided by the general principles of good districting, including drawing compact districts and avoiding splits of political subdivisions and communities of interest wherever possible.

II. ILLINOIS' LANDSCAPE

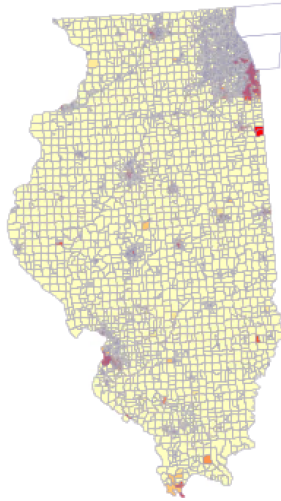
A. Demographic

As of 2020, 12,812,508 people live in Illinois. Almost half of that population (5,275,541 people) is concentrated in Cook County, which is home to Chicago and the suburbs immediately adjacent to it. Other notable population centers include DuPage County (932,877 people), Lake County (714,342 people), and Will County (696,355 people), all of which border Cook County.¹ The parts of Illinois that are not in the Chicago metropolitan area, therefore, are much more sparsely populated.

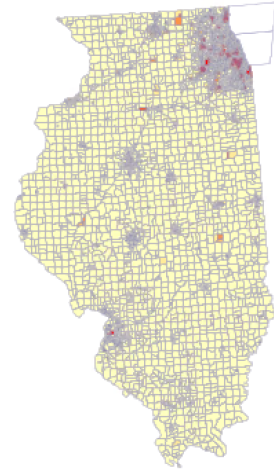
Racially, 76.8% of Illinois' population identifies as white; 14.6% as Black; 5.9% as Asian; 0.8% as American Indian and Alaska Native; 0.1% as Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander; and 2.1% of the population identifies as being of two or more races. Additionally, 17.5% of Illinois' residents are of Hispanic origin.² Both Illinois's Black and Hispanic populations live primarily in the Chicago area; the Black community is especially concentrated in the South Side of Chicago.

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, [Illinois Population Down 0.1% in 2020](#).

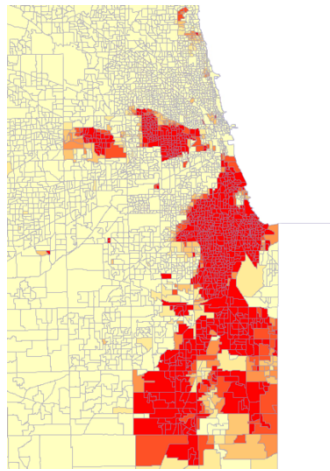
² US Census Bureau, [QuickFacts: Illinois](#).



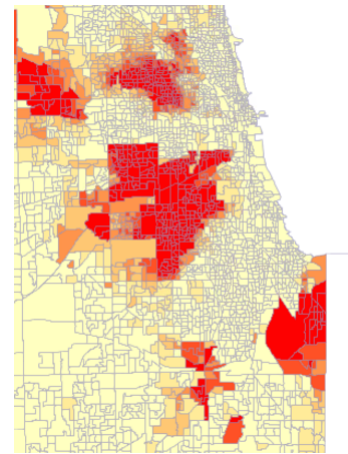
Heatmap of the Black population in Illinois



Heatmap of the Hispanic population in Illinois



Heatmap of the Black population in the Chicago area



Heatmap of the Hispanic population in the Chicago area

B. Political

Given the influence of Chicago's liberal metropolitan area, Illinois has traditionally been a safely Democratic state. Illinois voters have chosen the Democratic candidate in every presidential election since 1992.³ Its two U.S. Senators are both Democrats.⁴ Additionally, Illinois has a Democratic trifecta and triplex, meaning that the party controls the offices of governor, secretary of state, attorney general, and both chambers of the state legislature.⁵

³ Ballotpedia, [Presidential voting trends in Illinois](#).

⁴ Ballotpedia, [List of United States Senators from Illinois](#).

⁵ Ballotpedia, [Party control of Illinois state government](#).

III. PLAN-LEVEL DESIGN

A. Legal Compliance

1. U.S. Constitution

This plan has been drawn in accordance with all federal constitutional requirements. To comply with the Constitution’s Art. I § 2 requirement of equality, each district is within the ideal population of 753,677 by no more than one person.⁶ Additionally, to ensure compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment, race was not used as a predominant factor in the construction of any district. Race was considered as one of multiple factors in the drawing of several districts in the Chicago metropolitan area, but it was used to achieve the “compelling state interest” of ensuring that Black and Latino residents’ voters were not diluted.⁷

2. Voting Rights Act

The plan is also in line with the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, 52 U.S.C. § 10301 (“the VRA”). § 2 of the Act necessitates the creation of a majority-minority district in areas where minority groups’ votes have been demonstrably diluted.⁸ Illinois’ previous congressional maps have not faced suits under the VRA for diluting minority votes under the *Gingles* factors. The Supreme Court struck down the VRA’s § 5 preclearance requirement — which acted as a “retrogression standard” mandating that minority groups could not be *less* represented by a proposed map than a previous one— in 2013.⁹ Still, the proposed map includes two majority-Black and one majority-Latino district, just as the 2011 map did, despite the state’s overall loss of a district. This decision is intended to ensure that Illinois’s minority residents will not suffer from a loss of representation. It will also make the proposed plan less likely to be subject to a VRA challenge.

3. Illinois State Law

Starting in 2025, the state will count incarcerated individuals at their last address before incarceration for purposes of drawing district lines; however, this rule is not yet in place, and as such census data is not available in line with that requirement.¹⁰ Otherwise, Illinois state law does not impose any additional criteria for drawing congressional districts on top of the federal rules.¹¹

B. Responding to Demographic and Political Changes

Between the 2010 and 2020 censuses, Illinois’ population shrank by 0.1%, which resulted in the state losing a congressional seat. It was one of only three states to lose population over that decade. Despite the state’s overall loss of population, however, Chicago continued to grow,

⁶ Appendix A; *Karcher v. Daggett*, 462 U.S. 725, 730 (1983); *see also Wesberry v. Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1, 18 (1964).

⁷ *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993).

⁸ *See Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

⁹ *Shelby Cty., Ala. v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529, 133 S. Ct. 2612, 186 L. Ed. 2d 651 (2013). Note that *Shelby County* didn’t specifically declare the preclearance requirement unconstitutional—rather, it took issue with the coverage formula upon which the requirement was based, but in doing so, it made the requirement essentially meaningless.

¹⁰ All About Redistricting, [Illinois](#).

¹¹ *Id.*

gaining 50,000 residents (an increase of 1.9% in population).¹² Additionally, between 2010 and 2020, Illinois's white population shrank by 14.3% and its Black population shrank by 3.1%. Its Hispanic population, in contrast, grew by 15.3%, an increase of 309,832 people.¹³ This is a substantial increase, and could open the door for the creation of an additional majority-Hispanic or Hispanic-opportunity district.

In the three presidential elections since the 2012 census, the Democratic candidate has received an average of 57% of Illinois' vote, and the Republican candidate, an average of 40%.¹⁴ Illinois' congressional delegation after the 2020 election included 13 Democratic members (72.2% of the delegation) and 5 Republican members (27.8% of the delegation). While the composition of the delegation reflected the fact that the state is majority-Democratic, therefore, it did so in a way that is out of proportion to how Illinois residents actually vote. This is likely a result of Illinois' redistricting process, which is controlled by the state legislature (both chambers of which are currently Democratic) and approved by the governor (a Democrat). The proposed map, therefore, set out to create districts that would be more in proportion to Illinois voters' preferences than the legislature's maps.

IV. DISTRICT-LEVEL DESIGN¹⁵

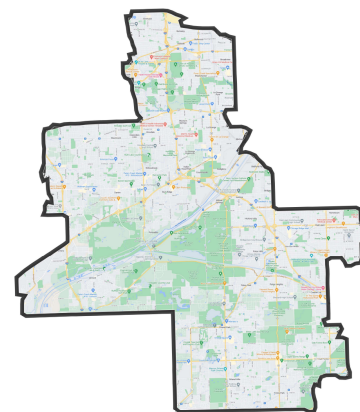
A. Chicago Metropolitan Area

1. District 1

District 1 covers the southwest suburbs of Chicago in Cook and DuPage counties, as well as a small part of northeast Will County.

District 1 is the least diverse of the Chicago districts. Its 753,678 residents are 75.4% white, 9.2% Black, 0.4% American Indian, 4.9% Asian, 0.03% Hawaiian, and 45.3% another race; 13.8% of District 1 is of Hispanic descent.

PlanScore considers District 1 to lean Democratic, with a predicted vote share of 53% Democratic and 47% Republican, and a 77% chance that a Democrat wins the district.



District 1

2. District 2

District 2 covers north-central Chicago, including the Near North Side, Lincoln Park, Lake View, and Logan Square. Its borders are, roughly, Irving Park Road to the north, Highway 43 to the west, Grand Avenue and Route 110 to the south, and Lake Michigan to the east. District 2 is entirely contained within Cook County.



District 2

¹² NBC Chicago, [What the 2020 Census Data Means for Redistricting in Illinois](#).

¹³ U.S. Census Bureau, [Illinois Population Down 0.1% in 2020](#).

¹⁴ Ballotpedia, [Presidential election in Illinois, 2016](#), [Presidential election in Illinois, 2020](#).

¹⁵ See Appendix A for full demographic data about each district and Appendix C for full partisan data.

District 2's 753,678 residents are 58.3% white, 5.4% Black, 1.2% American Indian, 7.2% Asian, 0.05% Hawaiian, and 16.0% another race; 31.1% of its residents are of Hispanic origin. While District 2 is not majority-Hispanic, therefore, this is an "influence district" in which voters of Hispanic descent will have a significant voice in electing the next representative.

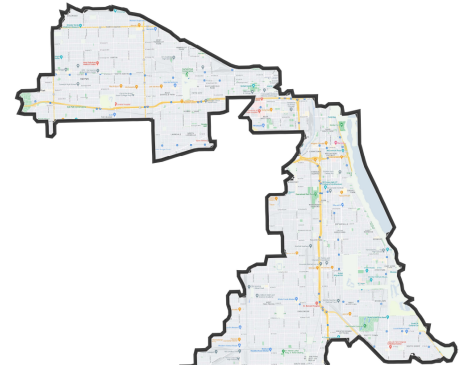
District 2 is safely Democratic. PlanScore predicts a vote share of 77% Democratic and 23% Republican and gives over a 99% chance that a Democrat will win the district.

3. District 3

District 3 has two "arms," one which spans central Chicago and one which extends to south Chicago along Lake Michigan. District 3 is contained entirely within Cook County.

District 3 is the first of the majority-Black VRA districts in the plan. Its 753,678 residents are 63.0% Black, 16.8% white, 0.5% American Indian, 6.9% Asian, 0.04% Hawaiian, and 6.8% another race. 12.6% of its residents are of Hispanic origin.

With over a 99% chance that a Democrat will win this district, PlanScore also considers it safely Democratic, and predicts a vote share of 85% Democratic and 15% Republican.



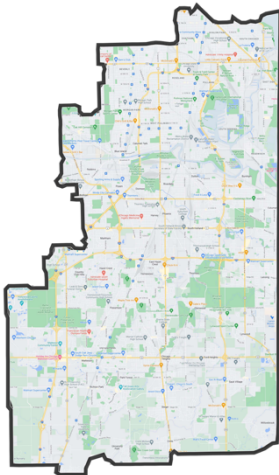
District 3

4. District 4

District 4 contains the southernmost portion of Chicago, along with the suburbs to the south of the city. It is almost entirely within Cook County, but it includes part of northern Will County in order to keep the village of University Park contained within one district.

District 4 has 753,678 residents, and it is the other majority-black VRA district. It is 65.7% Black, 17.4% white, 0.6% American Indian, 0.6% Asian, 0.03% Hawaiian, 8.5% another race, and 16.4% of Hispanic origin.

PlanScore also gives a Democratic candidate over a 99% chance of winning this district, and considers it safely Democratic. Democrats receive a predicted 80% share of the vote and Republicans 20%.



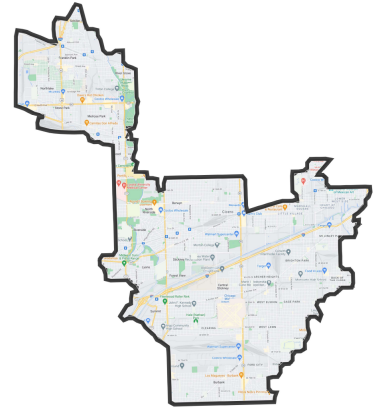
District 4

5. District 5

District 5 primarily covers southwestern Chicago, with an “arm” extending into the central part of the city, as well as some of its southwestern suburbs, including Cicero. District 5 is entirely within Cook County.

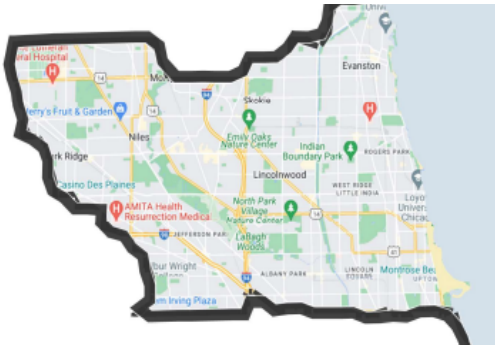
District 5 is this plan’s majority-Hispanic district. Its 753,677 residents are 70.4% Hispanic. They are also 28.3% white, 6.8% Black, 3.0% American Indian, 3.3% Asian, 0.04% Hawaiian, and 38.0% another race.

PlanScore considers the district to be safe for the Democrats and gives them over a 99% chance of winning it. The predicted vote share is 70% Democratic and 30% Republican.



District 5

6. District 6



District 6

District 6 contains the northernmost part of Chicago, along with some of its northern suburbs, including Evanston and Skokie. It is entirely within Cook County.

Of District 6’s 753,676 residents, 56.0% identify as white, 9.3% as Black, 0.8% as American Indian, 15.2% as Asian, 0.04% as Hawaiian, and 9.0% as another race. 18.7% are of Hispanic origin.

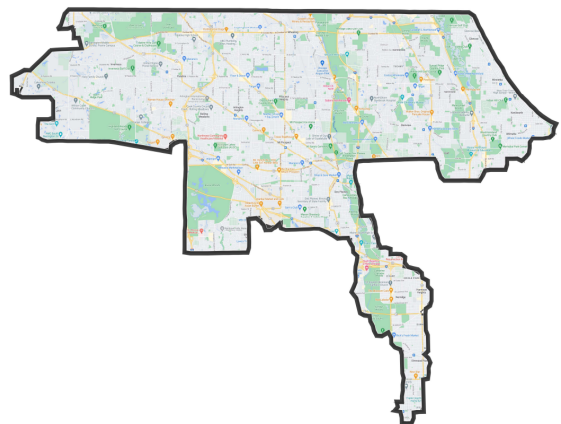
Just like the previous districts, PlanScore predicts over a 99% chance of a Democratic win in District 6, making it safely Democratic. It predicts a vote share of 71% Democratic and 29% Republican.

7. District 7

District 7 contains the rest of the suburbs to the north of Chicago in Cook County, including Northbrook, Glenview, Arlington Heights, and Des Plaines. It also has an arm going south that extends to some of the suburbs between Chicago proper and O’Hare Airport, including Rosemont and Norridge. District 7 is entirely within Cook County.

68.1% of District 7’s 753,676 residents are white; 2.3% are Black; 0.7% are American Indian; 13.2% are Asian; 0.03% are Hawaiian; and 7.3% are another race. 16.1% are Hispanic.

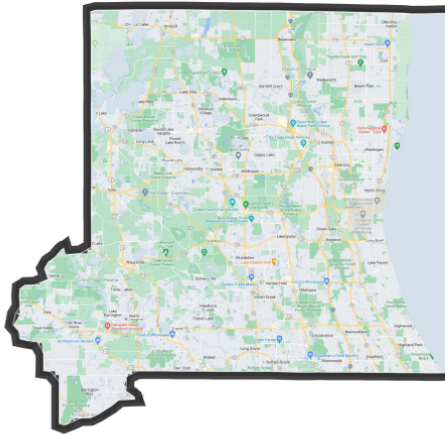
District 7 is also safely Democratic; PlanScore gives it a 96% chance of a Democratic



District 7

win and predicts a vote share of 58% Democratic and 42% Republican.

8. District 8



District 8

District 8 is dominated by Lake County, which is home to the rest of Chicago’s northern suburbs. The district includes Waukegan, which is both the county seat of Lake County and the tenth-most populous city in Illinois. Because Lake’s population is 714,342, parts of other counties needed to be added to District 8 to bring it to equality with the other districts. As a result, the communities in McHenry County that are south of Route 176 and east of Route 31—Cary and Fox River Grove— are part of District 8, as are the parts of Barrington Hills in Cook, Lake, and McHenry counties.

District 8 has 753,677 residents. 62.2% of them are white; 6.5% are Black; 1.0% are American Indian; 8.0% are Asian; 0.06% are Hawaiian; and 11.7% are another race. 23.4% are Hispanic, making District 8 another district with

significant Hispanic influence.

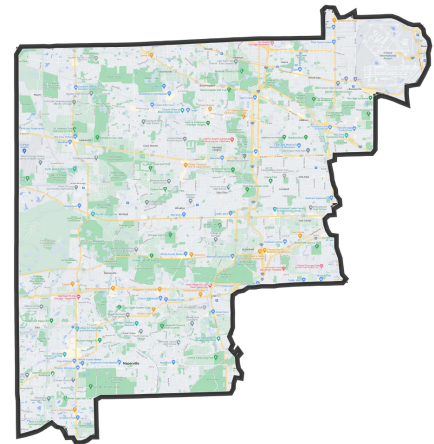
PlanScore considers District 8 to be safely Democratic, with a 95% chance that a Democrat will win it, and a predicted vote share of 58% Democratic and 42% Republican.

9. District 9

District 9 contains most of DuPage County; however, because DuPage’s population is 932,877, its southeast portion is a part of District 1. District 9 also contains a small part of western Cook County, in order to keep Chicago O’Hare International Airport (which straddles counties) in one district. The district includes Naperville, the fourth-largest city in the state, and it extends to a small part of Will County that contains part of the Naperville area.

Of District 9’s 753,678 residents, 63.3% are white, 5.0% are Black, 0.6% are American Indian, 14.1% are Asian, 0.03% are Hawaiian, 7.6% are of another race, and 17.1% are Hispanic.

District 9 is safely Democratic; PlanScore gives a Democrat a 90% chance of winning the district and predicts that the vote share will be 56% Democratic and 44% Republican.



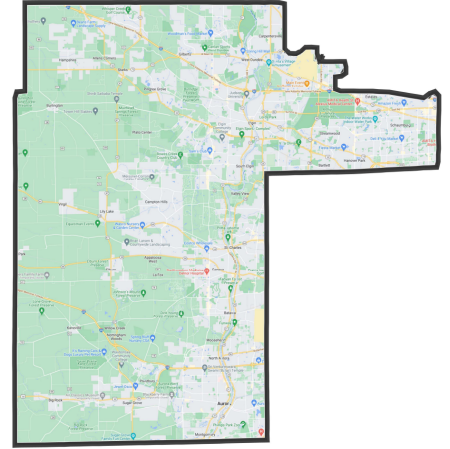
District 9

10. District 10

District 10 spans the entirety of Kane County. Kane County includes Aurora, the second-largest city in Illinois, as well as Elgin, the sixth-largest city. Since Kane has 516,522 residents, the district still needed an additional population of about 250,000, so it extends into the part of Elgin that is in Cook County as well as the surrounding Chicago suburbs, including Schaumburg.

District 10 has 753,676 residents. They are 57.3% white, 5.2% Black, 1.3% American Indian, 9.3% Asian, 0.04% Hawaiian, and 14.7% another race. 30.1% of District 10's residents identify as Hispanic, which is the third-highest proportion of Hispanic residents of districts in the plan.

Under PlanScore's analysis, District 10 leans Democratic; there is an 86% chance that a Democrat will win the seat, and the predicted vote share is 55% Democratic and 45% Republican.



District 10

11. District 13

District 13 includes almost all of Will County, along with the entirety of Kankakee County and the northern parts of Ford and Iroquois counties. It is home to Joliet, the third-largest city in Illinois.

District 13 is home to 753,677 residents, of whom 66.6% are white, 10.5% are Black, 0.6% are American Indian, 4.8% are Asian, 0.01% are Hawaiian, 7.8% are another race, and 18.2% identify as Hispanic.

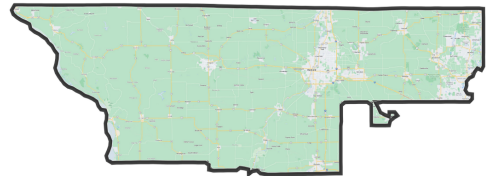
District 13 is the only district that leans Republican in the Chicago metropolitan area. PlanScore predicts that the vote share in the district will be 48% Democratic and 52% Republican, and it gives a 35% chance of a Democratic win in the district.

B. Northern Illinois

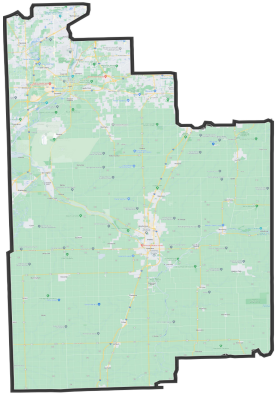
1. District 11

District 11 extends across the northern border of Illinois, from the edge of the Chicago metropolitan area across the state to its western border with Iowa.

District 11 contains all of Winnebago, Stephenson, Joe Daviess, and Carroll counties. It also includes the entire populated portion of Ogle County, as well as all of McHenry County that isn't a part of District 8, and a few communities in northern DeKalb County to bring the district to population equality with the others. District 11 includes Rockford, which is Illinois' fourth-largest city overall and its largest city outside of the Chicago metropolitan area.



District 11

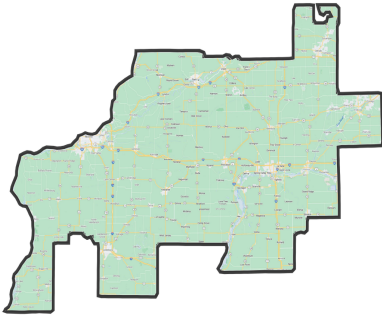


District 13

District 11 has 753,676 residents. They are 75.3% white, 6.7% Black, 0.5% American Indian, 2.3% Asian, 0.02% Hawaiian, and 6.3% of another race. 14.3% are of Hispanic origin. PlanScore considers the district to be solidly Republican, with a predicted vote share of 45% Democratic and 55% Republican and only a 12% chance that there will be a Democratic win in the district.

2. District 12

District 12 spans the rest of north-central Illinois. It includes the entirety of Whiteside, Lee, Kendall, LaSalle, Putnam, Bureau, Henry, Rock Island, Mercer, Henderson, Knox, Stark, and Marshall counties, as well as almost all of DeKalb County, the northern parts of Warren and Woodford counties, the northwest corner of Livingston County, and a small, uninhabited part of Ogle County.



District 12

District 12's 753,677 residents are 78.9% white, 6.2% Black, 0.4% American Indian, 1.8% Asian, 0.03% Hawaiian, and 4.6% of another race; additionally, 12.1% of the population is Hispanic.

Under PlanScore's metrics, District 12 leans Republican: It predicts a vote share of 45% Democratic and 55% Republican, with a 15% chance that a Democrat will win the district.

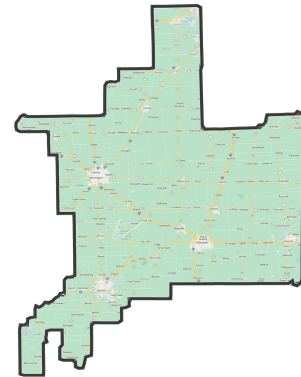
C. **Central Illinois**

1. District 14

District 14 covers east-central Illinois. It includes all of Grundy, McLean, DeWitt, Macon, and Champaign counties, as well as the southern half of Iroquois and Woodford counties and most of Livingston, Christian, and Vermilion counties.

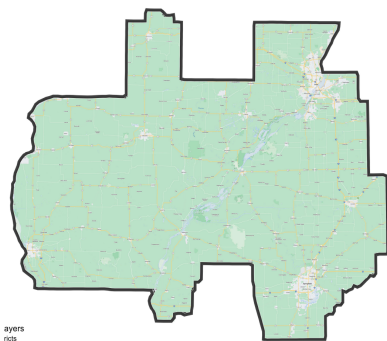
District 14 has 756,676 residents. They are 76.0% white, 10.1% Black, 0.3% American Indian, 4.8% Asian, 0.03% Hawaiian, and 2.6% another race; 6.1% of District 15 is of Hispanic origin.

According to PlanScore, District 14 is safe for Republicans, with only an 8% chance of a Democratic win and a predicted vote share of 43% Democratic and 57% Republican.



District 14

2. District 16



District 16

District 16 contains Illinois' west-central region. It spans the entirety of Peoria, Tazewell, Logan, Sangamon, Menard, Mason, Fulton, Cass, McDonough, Hancock, Schuyler, Adams, and Brown counties, as well as most of Warren and Scott counties and the northernmost part of Pike County and the northwestern corner of Morgan County. District 16 includes Springfield, which is the capital of Illinois and its second-largest city outside of the Chicago area.

District 16's 753,678 residents are 81.2% white, 9.4% Black, 0.3% American Indian, 2.0% Asian, 0.04% Hawaiian, and 1.7% another race; 3.7% are Hispanic. District 16 is safely Republican, with a predicted vote share of 40% Democratic and 60% Republican and only a 2% chance of a Democratic win.

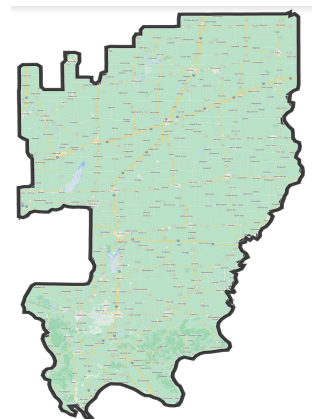
D. Southern Illinois

1. District 15

District 15 covers the southeastern part of Illinois. It includes all of Alexander, Massac, Union, Johnson, Pope, Hardin, Jackson, Williamson, Saline, Gallatin, Franklin, Hamilton, White, Jefferson, Wayne, Wabash, Clinton, Manon, Clay, Richland, Lawrence, Bond, Fayette, Effingham, Jasper, Crawford, Shelby, Cumberland, Clark, Moultrie, Coles, Douglas, Edgar, and Montgomery counties, as well as the southern portion of Christian County and a small sliver of southern Vermilion County.

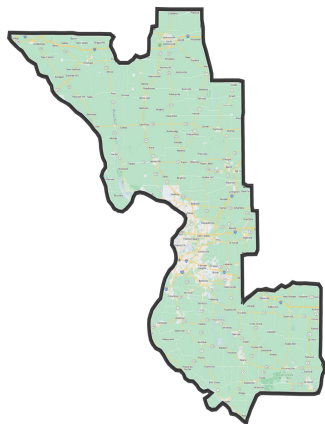
District 15 has a population of 753,676. It is the least diverse district in the state, with 89.1% of its residents identifying as white, 4.1% as Black, 0.3% as American Indian, 0.9% as Asian, 0.03% as Hawaiian, 1.2% as another race, and 2.7% as Hispanic.

District 15 is the safest in the plan for Republicans: PlanScore predicts a vote share of 27% Democratic and 73% Republican and gives odds of less than 1% that a Democrat will win the district.



District 15

2. District 17



District 17

District 17 extends along Illinois' southwest border with Missouri. It includes Perry, Randolph, Monroe, Washington, St. Clair, Madison, Jersey, Macoupin, and Greene counties, along with most of Pike and Morgan counties and the southern portion of Scott County.

Of District 17's 753,676 residents, 77.0% are white, 14.4% are Black, 0.3% are American Indian, 1.0% are Asian, 0.05% are Hawaiian, 1.5% are another race, and 3.7% are of Hispanic origin.

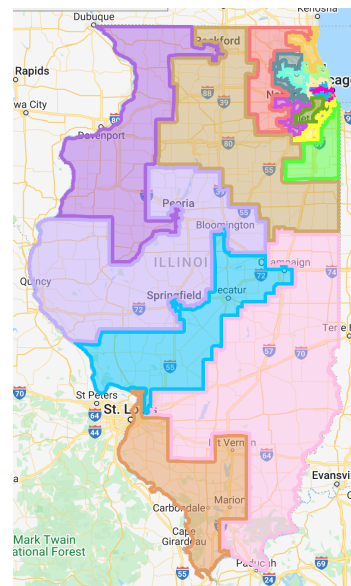
District 17's political leanings closely mirror District 16's: It is safely Republican, with District 16 is safely Republican, with a predicted vote share of 40% Democratic and 60% Republican and a 2% chance that a Democrat will win the district.

V. ENACTED PLANS

A. Existing 2011 plan

Prior to the 2011 redistricting cycle, the Illinois congressional delegation had 11 Republicans and eight Democrats.¹⁶ After the 2010 census, Illinois lost one congressional seat, leaving it with 18 districts.¹⁷

The state General Assembly was responsible for the redistricting process. Both chambers of the legislature passed a map drawn by House Democrats, and Governor Pat Quinn signed it on June 24, 2011. The map faced legislative challenges from both the Republican Party and the League of Women Voters, who argued that the maps reflected an unfair bias toward Democrats and that they illegally diluted Latino votes.¹⁸ In December 2011, a three-judge panel of the District Court for the Northern District of Illinois ruled that although they agreed that the map reflected a bias toward democrats, the Republican Party "failed to present [a] workable standard by which to evaluate [an] equal protection claim based on political gerrymandering," and the plan didn't dilute Latino votes in a way that violated the Voting Rights Act.¹⁹ Another three-judge District Court panel dismissed the case from the League of Women Voters, ruling that the map "in no way burden[ed] the exercise of First Amendment



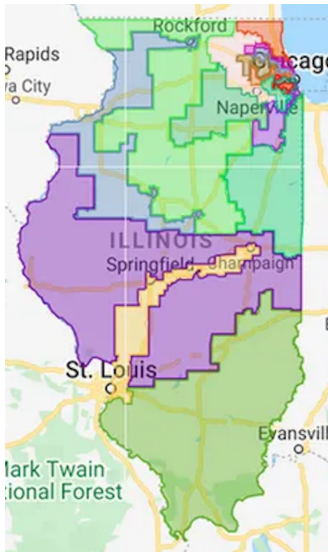
2011 enacted map

¹⁶ HuffPost, [Illinois Redistricting: Quinn Signs Plan To Add Democratic Seats](#).

¹⁷ Ballotpedia, [Redistricting in Illinois after the 2010 census](#).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Comm. for a Fair & Balanced Map v. Illinois State Bd. of Elections*, 835 F. Supp. 2d 563 (N.D. Ill. 2011).



rights,” as the plaintiffs alleged.²⁰ The House Democrats’ map thus survived its challenges, and Illinois used it for the next decade.

B. Enacted 2021 plan

Illinois lost another congressional seat after the 2020 census, so it was allocated 17 districts in the 2021 redistricting cycle. There were no major changes to the redistricting process between the 2011 and 2021 cycles, so once again, the General Assembly was responsible for creating a congressional map.²¹ Democrats drew the map with the intention of “eliminat[ing] two Republican-held districts,” despite the state’s loss of a seat. The legislature approved the congressional map in October 2021, and Governor J.B. Pritzker signed it into law the next month.²² The plan has not faced any major challenges.

C. Comparisons²³

1. Partisan Fairness and Competition

The proposed map was designed in large part to improve on the 2011 and 2021 maps in terms of partisan fairness by reflecting the proportions of Democrats and Republicans in Illinois.

The 2011 enacted map showed slight bias toward Democrats according to PlanScore’s measures.²⁴ Under the 2011 map, Illinois’ congressional delegation, as discussed above, overrepresented Democrats relative to their share of the statewide vote. Similarly, FiveThirtyEight’s analysis of the 2021 enacted map indicates that it has 13 Democratic-leaning seats (76.5% of the delegation), three Republican-leaning seats (17.6% of the delegation), and one highly-competitive seat.²⁵ Like the 2011 enacted map, the 2021 map is not drawn in proportion to the number of Democratic voters statewide. Indeed, the Princeton Gerrymandering Project gave the 2021 map an F for partisan fairness, noting its “significant Democratic advantage” and the fact that it “advantages incumbents.”²⁶ PlanScore’s analysis of the 2021 map also showed significant Democratic bias.²⁷

The proposed plan has eight safe Democratic districts and two districts that lean Democratic (58.8% of the delegation), along with five safe Republican districts and two that lean Republican (41.2% of the delegation).²⁸ These proportions closely mirror the partisan breakdown

²⁰ *League of Women Voters v. Quinn*, No. 1:11-CV-5569, 2011 WL 5143044 (N.D. Ill. Oct. 28, 2011), *aff’d sub nom. League of Women Voters of Illinois v. Quinn*, 566 U.S. 1007, 132 S. Ct. 2430, 182 L. Ed. 2d 1059 (2012).

²¹ Ballotpedia, [Redistricting in Illinois after the 2020 census](#).

²² AP News, [Gov. Pritzker signs new Illinois congressional map into law](#).

²³ Because Illinois does not have state-level requirements for any of these measures, the legislature did not have to publish findings to justify their 2011 or 2021 maps on the basis of any of these measures. It is thus difficult to find adequate data with which to compare the plans.

²⁴ Appendix B.

²⁵ FiveThirtyEight, [What Redistricting Looks Like In Every State - Illinois](#).

²⁶ Princeton Gerrymandering Project, [Redistricting Report Card](#).

²⁷ Appendix B.

²⁸ Appendix C.

of the presidential vote in Illinois over the last decade (57% Democratic and 40% Republican on average). The proposed map thus does the best job of the three ensuring proportional representation of both the major political parties in a hypothetical congressional delegation. It is important to note, however, that the proposed map does show a slight Republican bias under PlanScore's measures.²⁹

2. Compactness

Illinois does not have a certain definition of “compactness” under which it draws districts. Visually, however, the lack of compactness in the 2021 districts is apparent. The plan is characterized by districts with long, spindly “arms” connecting areas that are geographically disparate. The Princeton Gerrymandering Project gave the 2021 enacted map a grade of “F” for compactness, meaning that it is “poor for the category” and “could be much better.” The proposed map keeps districts to more compact geographic areas, without the long, thin strips of territory that are common in the 2021 map. The 2011 map is also slightly less compact than the proposed map, with an average Reock score of 0.32, which is lower than the proposed map's average of 0.41.

3. Political Subdivision Splits

Some political subdivision splits are inevitable in Illinois. Cook County's population, for example, at over 5 million people, necessitates being split into multiple districts. Furthermore, a number of cities and towns cross county lines, so any plan may likely have to choose between splitting those cities or splitting the counties over which they span. The Princeton Gerrymandering Project, however, noted that the 2021 enacted plan has “more county splits than [is] typical” in a congressional map, with 32 of Illinois' 102 counties split.³⁰ The 2011 plan did a better job at honoring political subdivisions, splitting only 18 counties. The proposed plan is an improvement on both, splitting only 16 counties.

4. Demographics and Minority Representation

The proposed map is similar to the 2011 enacted map in terms of minority representation; each has two majority-Black districts and one majority-Hispanic district. The proposed map is not as effective as the 2021 map in ensuring minority representation, however. The 2021 map creates an additional Latino-majority district, which the proposed map does not.³¹

5. Communities of Interest

Illinois does not require consideration of communities of interest in its redistricting process.³² As such, it is difficult to find data on these communities and how various redistricting plans treat them. It is the intent of the proposed map, however, to keep communities of interest intact wherever possible by drawing compact districts, respecting the boundaries of counties, cities, and neighborhoods, and by ensuring representation of minority voters.

²⁹ Appendix B.

³⁰ Princeton Gerrymandering Project, [Redistricting Report Card](#).

³¹ FiveThirtyEight, [What Redistricting Looks Like In Every State - Illinois](#).

³² Representable, [Illinois](#).

VI. POTENTIAL CHALLENGES

Unanswered questions as to Illinois's obligations under the VRA based on 2020 census data leave the proposed map open to a challenge. For example, if a court were to rule that a second majority-Hispanic district is necessary to avoid vote dilution, then it could strike down this plan as unconstitutional under § 2 of the VRA.

VII. CONCLUSION

The proposed plan presents a way of representing Illinois' voters that is more in line with the goal of proportional representation than the state's enacted maps. It further improves on those maps in measures of compactness and number of county splits.

VIII. APPENDICES

A. Appendix A: Demographics of Proposed Map by District

	Pop.	% White	% Black	% Am. Indian	% Asian	% Hawaiian	% Other	% Hispanic
1	753678	0.72152	0.092168	0.00436	0.049285	0.000272	0.052706	0.134714
2	753678	0.583162	0.053738	0.011975	0.07158	0.000458	0.160258	0.310528
3	753678	0.167584	0.630395	0.005358	0.068864	0.000356	0.068123	0.126711
4	753678	0.174873	0.657021	0.005991	0.005999	0.000321	0.08553	0.163685
5	753677	0.283109	0.068444	0.030342	0.032935	0.000425	0.379818	0.704287
6	753676	0.559706	0.093069	0.008403	0.151661	0.000387	0.090073	0.186818
7	753676	0.680624	0.02344	0.006532	0.131708	0.000263	0.073492	0.161301
8	753677	0.621704	0.06545	0.00958	0.080428	0.000598	0.116879	0.233567
9	753678	0.632906	0.05032	0.00615	0.141308	0.000317	0.075999	0.170626
10	753676	0.572501	0.051516	0.012821	0.09263	0.000394	0.147238	0.301067
11	753676	0.753346	0.066762	0.00546	0.022941	0.00024	0.062873	0.142504
12	753677	0.789443	0.062305	0.004341	0.017898	0.000273	0.045778	0.12097
13	753677	0.666143	0.104914	0.00555	0.047841	0.000184	0.077265	0.182168
14	753676	0.760434	0.100912	0.002904	0.047607	0.000336	0.025807	0.06063
15	753676	0.891299	0.040569	0.002773	0.008805	0.000292	0.012305	0.027181
16	753678	0.811745	0.09447	0.002656	0.020112	0.000409	0.016908	0.037214
17	753676	0.76969	0.143771	0.002841	0.009994	0.000447	0.015095	0.037371

B. Appendix B: Comparative PlanScore Measures of Competitiveness

	2011 enacted map	2021 enacted map	Proposed map
Efficiency gap	1.0% D	10.6% D	2.1% R
Declination	0.05 D	0.38 D	0.05 R

C. Appendix C: PlanScore Analysis of Proposed Map

District	Chance of Democratic win	Predicted vote shares
1	77%	53% D / 47% R
2	>99%	77% D / 23% R

3	>99%	85% D / 15% R
4	>99%	80% D / 20% R
5	>99%	70% D / 30% R
6	>99%	71% D / 29% R
7	96%	58% D / 29% R
8	95%	58% D / 42% R
9	90%	56% D / 44% R
10	86%	55% D / 45% R
11	12%	45% D / 55% R
12	15%	45% D / 55% R
13	35%	48% D / 52% R
14	8%	43% D / 57% R
15	<1%	27% D / 73% R
16	2%	40% D / 60% R
17	2%	40% D / 60% R

D. Appendix D: Measures of Compactness of Proposed Map

	Reock	Schwartz-berg	Alt. Schwartz-berg	Polsby-Popper	Pop. Polygon	Area/Convex Hull	Pop. Circle	Ehren-burg	Perimeter	Length-Width
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4,902.62	N/A
Min	0.28	1.31	1.38	0.15	0.39	0.55	0.20	0.19	N/A	0.51
Max	0.63	2.58	2.62	0.53	0.91	0.91	0.81	0.60	N/A	83.16
Mean	0.41	1.74	1.80	0.34	0.75	0.78	0.43	0.39	N/A	23.76
Std. Dev.	0.10	0.34	0.35	0.12	0.15	0.11	0.15	0.10	N/A	26.55

E. Appendix E: Measures of Compactness of 2011 Map

	Reock	Schwartz- berg	Alt. Schwartz- berg	Polsby- Popper	Pop. Polygon	Area/ Convex Hull	Pop. Circle	Ehren- burg	Perimete- r	Length- Width
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6,142.62	N/A
Min	0.19	1.66	1.67	0.05	0.29	0.42	0.07	0.11	N/A	0.26
Max	0.49	4.26	4.29	0.36	0.79	0.81	0.69	0.46	N/A	101.73
Mean	0.32	2.58	2.64	0.17	0.56	0.61	0.34	0.26	N/A	20.27
Std. Dev.	0.06	0.64	0.64	0.07	0.14	0.09	0.16	0.09	N/A	25.51