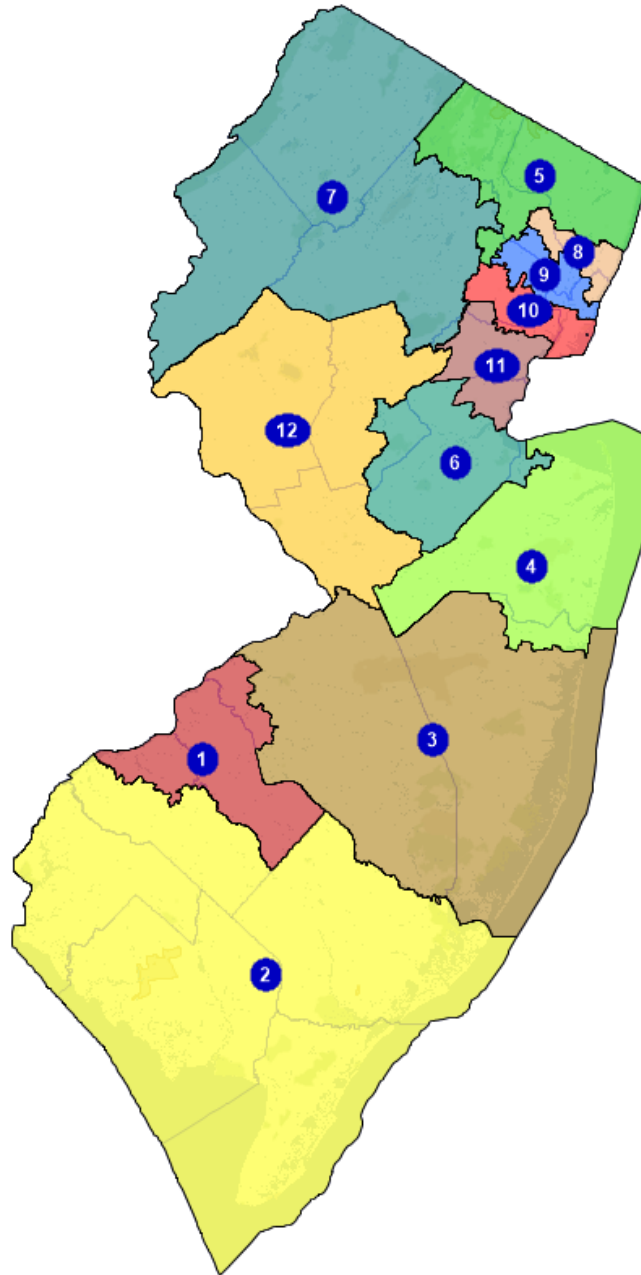


New Jersey Good Government Plan

Gareth Fowler

Policy Practicum: Draw Congress: Stanford Redistricting Project

Winter 2022



I. Introduction

New Jersey is the most densely populated state in the country, as well as one of the most diverse.¹ 2019 survey data estimates that the state's citizen voting-age population is approximately 63 percent Non-Hispanic white, 15 percent Hispanic, 14 percent Non-Hispanic Black, and 7 percent Non-Hispanic Asian. While New Jersey's state constitution imposes relatively strict procedural guidelines for the creation of congressional districts, there are no distinct substantive constitutional or legislative requirements for congressional districts beyond those imposed by federal law (aside from rules concerning the residence of incarcerated individuals).²

New Jersey's redistricting rules therefore offer significant flexibility to map-drawers. This proposed plan generally seeks to follow good-government principles of compactness and respect for political subdivisions, natural boundaries, and communities of interest. However, drawing Voting Rights Act (VRA) districts in the northeast of the state necessarily involved some departure from these criteria. Beyond attempting to conform to good-government criteria, this plan also proposes an alternative method of drawing a Hispanic opportunity district in the New York metro area. This plan was not drawn with reference to partisan data or previously enacted district lines (with one or two exceptions discussed in more detail below).

In general, this plan departs significantly from the pro-Democratic plan actually passed by the New Jersey redistricting commission, and upheld despite GOP-supported legal

¹ *Historical Population Density Data (1910–2020)*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU (Apr. 26, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/dec/density-data-text.html> ; Kaia Hubbard, *The 10 States With the Most Racial Diversity*, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Aug. 19, 2021, <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/slideshows/the-10-most-racially-diverse-states-in-the-us?slide=6>.

² *About Redistricting*, NEW JERSEY CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING COMMISSION, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/aboutredistricting.asp>; *New Jersey*, LOYOLA LAW SCHOOL: ALL ABOUT REDISTRICTING (accessed Apr. 3, 2022), <https://redistricting.lls.edu/state/new-jersey/?cycle=2020&level=Congress&startdate=2021-12-22>.

challenges.³ The plan is significantly more proportional and more compact, and provides similar levels of minority representation. The plan also scores slightly better on subdivision splitting, with fewer county splits but more divisions of urban areas (this stems partly from data/software limitations, as several of the townships split by this plan are not recorded in the City/Town layer in Maptitude).

II. Demographic and Partisan Overview

A. Population and Political Subdivisions

New Jersey has not gained or lost a Congressional district in this redistricting cycle. However, shifts in population distribution have produced significant disparities that would require some adjustment of district lines even in a least-change map. Relative population growth has been highest in central New Jersey and in the New York suburbs, while more rural areas in the northwest and south of the state have lost population.

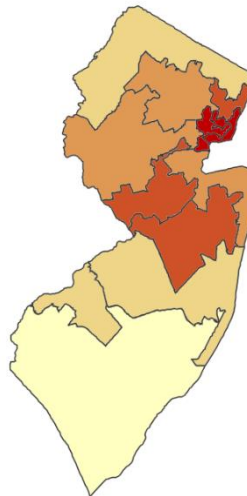


Figure 1: *New Jersey's 2011 districts. Darker colored districts are now overpopulated.*

New Jersey has a relatively small number of counties given the state's large population. With 12 congressional districts and only 21 counties (some of which have larger populations

³ Mike Catalani, *NJ Supreme Court Rejects GOP Effort to Toss Redrawn Map*, AP NEWS, Feb. 3, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/voting-rights-new-jersey-redistricting-congress-c5be3d4e494c384cc7b077a8ed22e66d>.

than the target district population), a high percentage of counties will necessarily be split. My plan splits 12 counties a total of 18 times, with several of the splits (including the 4-way split of Essex County) exacerbated by drawing VRA districts. This still compares favorably to the officially enacted plan, which splits 14 counties a total of 20 times (including a 4-way split of Union County).⁴

B. Racial and Political Demographics

As mentioned above, New Jersey is a highly diverse state with significant Black, Hispanic, and Asian minority populations. The state's nonwhite population lives primarily along a central belt from Trenton to the greater New York metro area, with additional pockets further south in the Philadelphia suburbs and near Atlantic City.

⁴ *NJ 2022 Congressional*, DRA 2020, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#ratings::6ff0b024-2e5d-4e9b-ba0e-56f6de17ea80>.

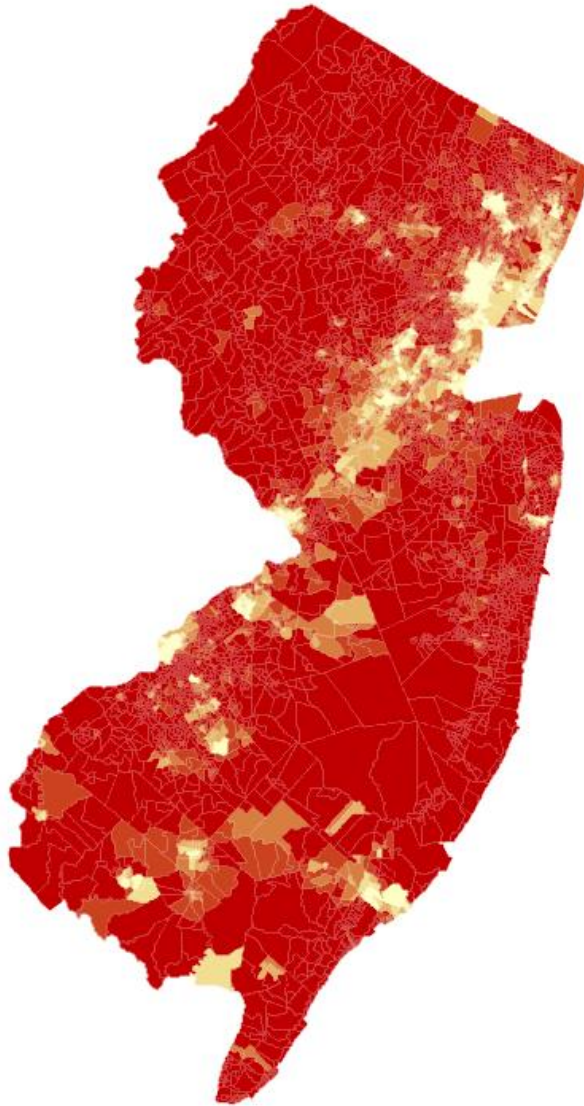


Figure 2: *New Jersey non-Hispanic White CVAP heatmap. Nonwhite communities are marked in yellow/orange.*

New Jersey's Black population is heavily concentrated in a few (mostly urban) areas, particularly around Newark in Essex County and Jersey City in Hudson County. There are also significant Black populations in Trenton, the Philadelphia suburbs of Camden and Willingboro, and Atlantic City. With 12 districts available and Black voters making up about 14 percent of the state by CVAP, they are likely entitled to at least one district under the Voting Rights Act assuming the *Gingles* preconditions can be met (discussed in more detail below). Both the

officially enacted 2011 and 2021 New Jersey plans have a majority-Black district drawn around Newark, and my plan includes such a district as well.⁵

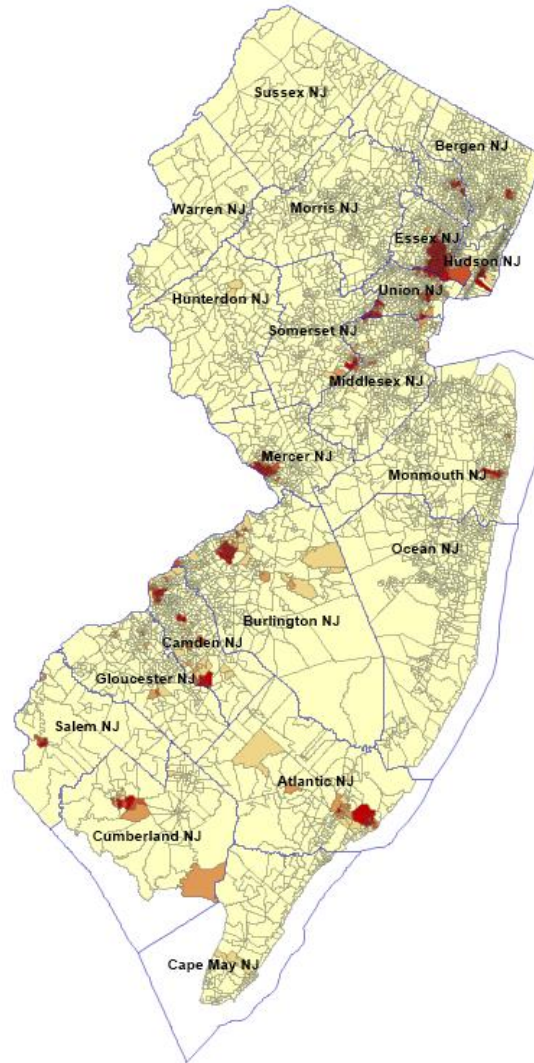


Figure 3: *New Jersey Black CVAP heatmap*

New Jersey’s Hispanic population is primarily concentrated in the Northeast of the state, in a number of urban centers such as Paterson, Passaic County; North Bergen and West New York, Hudson County; Northern Newark, Essex County; Elizabeth, Union County; and Perth Amboy, Middlesex County. Including the undocumented population, New Jersey is even more

⁵ *NJ 116th Congressional*, DRA 2020, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#viewmap::0c3e761c-fb70-4745-9da2-b78b949d4122>.

heavily Hispanic, approaching 20 percent by VAP. While Hispanics make up a lesser 15 percent of New Jersey’s population by CVAP, they are still likely entitled to a VRA district assuming the *Gingles* preconditions can be satisfied. However, drawing such a district is more complicated than drawing a Black opportunity district around Newark. While the heavily Black areas in and near Newark are largely contiguous and fairly compact (see Figure 3 above), Hispanic communities are more dispersed, separated by significant areas with smaller Hispanic populations and sometimes also divided by geographical barriers.

Moreover, like elsewhere in the country, the label “Hispanic” elides substantial differences in culture and national origin among these communities. For example, Newark and Hudson County include large Puerto Rican and Dominican populations, while Paterson and Elizabeth both have large populations of South American origin.⁶

As discussed in more detail below, both the officially enacted 2011 and 2021 plans include a heavily Hispanic district centered on Essex and Hudson counties.⁷ My plan also includes a plurality Hispanic district, but drawn differently in an attempt to create a more

⁶ B03001 | *Hispanic or Latino Origin by Specific Origin*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=national%20origin%20hispanic&g=0400000US34&tid=ACSDT5Y2020.B03001> (New Jersey data); DP05 | *ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=elizabeth.%20NJ&tid=ACSDP5Y2020.DP05> (Elizabeth); DP05 | *ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU, accessed Apr. 3, 2022 <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=paterson.%20NJ&tid=ACSDP5Y2020.DP05> (Paterson); Maria-Pua Negro Chin, *Why Paterson, New Jersey, Is Famous in Lima, Peru*, ATLANTIC, May 18, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/05/peruvians-paterson/483288/>; DP05 | *ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU, accessed Apr. 3, 2022 <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=Newark.%20NJ&tid=ACSDP5Y2020.DP05> (Newark); ‘Havana on the Hudson’: *How Cuban Americans Remade Union City, New Jersey*, SHAREAMERICA, July. 6, 2015, <https://share.america.gov/havana-on-hudson-union-city-n-j/>; Lee Kough, *The List: What — and Who — Makes New Jersey a State of Many Nations?*, NJ SPOTLIGHT NEWS, Feb. 6, 2016, <https://www.njspotlightnews.org/2016/02/16-02-08-the-list-what-makes-new-jersey-a-state-of-many-nations/>; Erin Babich and Jeanne Batalova, *Immigrants from the Dominican Republic in the United States*, MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE, Apr. 15, 2021, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/dominican-immigrants-united-states-2019>.

⁷ NJ 116th Congressional, DRA 2020; NJ 2022 Congressional, DRA 2020.

compact district. However, non-Hispanic population growth in the New York metro area (plus the high undocumented rate) means that neither of our districts are majority-Hispanic by CVAP.

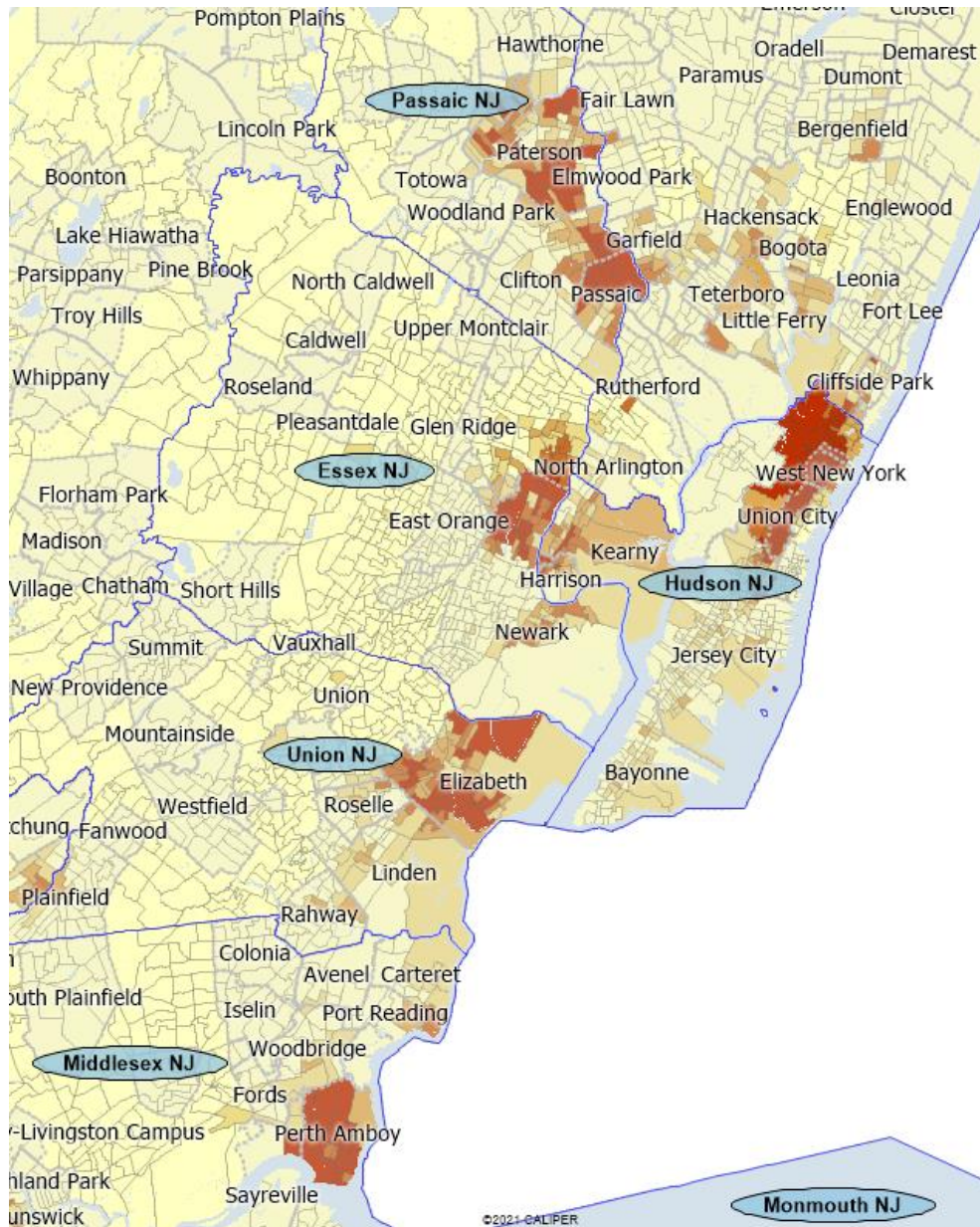


Figure 4: *Hispanic CVAP heatmap in NE New Jersey, county boundaries in blue*

New Jersey’s Asian population is concentrated in the NY suburbs along the Bergen Neck, around Edison in Middlesex County, and east of Princeton on the border between Mercer and Middlesex counties. As Hon-Hispanic Asians constitute over 7 percent of New Jersey’s population by CVAP, it is mathematically conceivable that a plan could include an Asian

opportunity district. However, given the geographic dispersion of heavily Asian voting districts, it is unlikely such a district would pass legal muster even if it could be drawn. For example, the rough outline of a potential district featured below, which includes the Asian population centers around Edison and Princeton, is only 21% Asian by CVAP.⁸ Extending the district further north to the NY suburbs might increase that figure, but would be very non-compact and could produce a *Shaw* violation, even assuming the *Gingles* factors can be met. The enacted 2021 plan does not include any Asian opportunity district, and neither does my plan.

⁸ The rough district shown below is also underpopulated, and would have to add around 40,000, largely non-Asian residents from surrounding areas, pushing the Asian CVAP percentage down further.

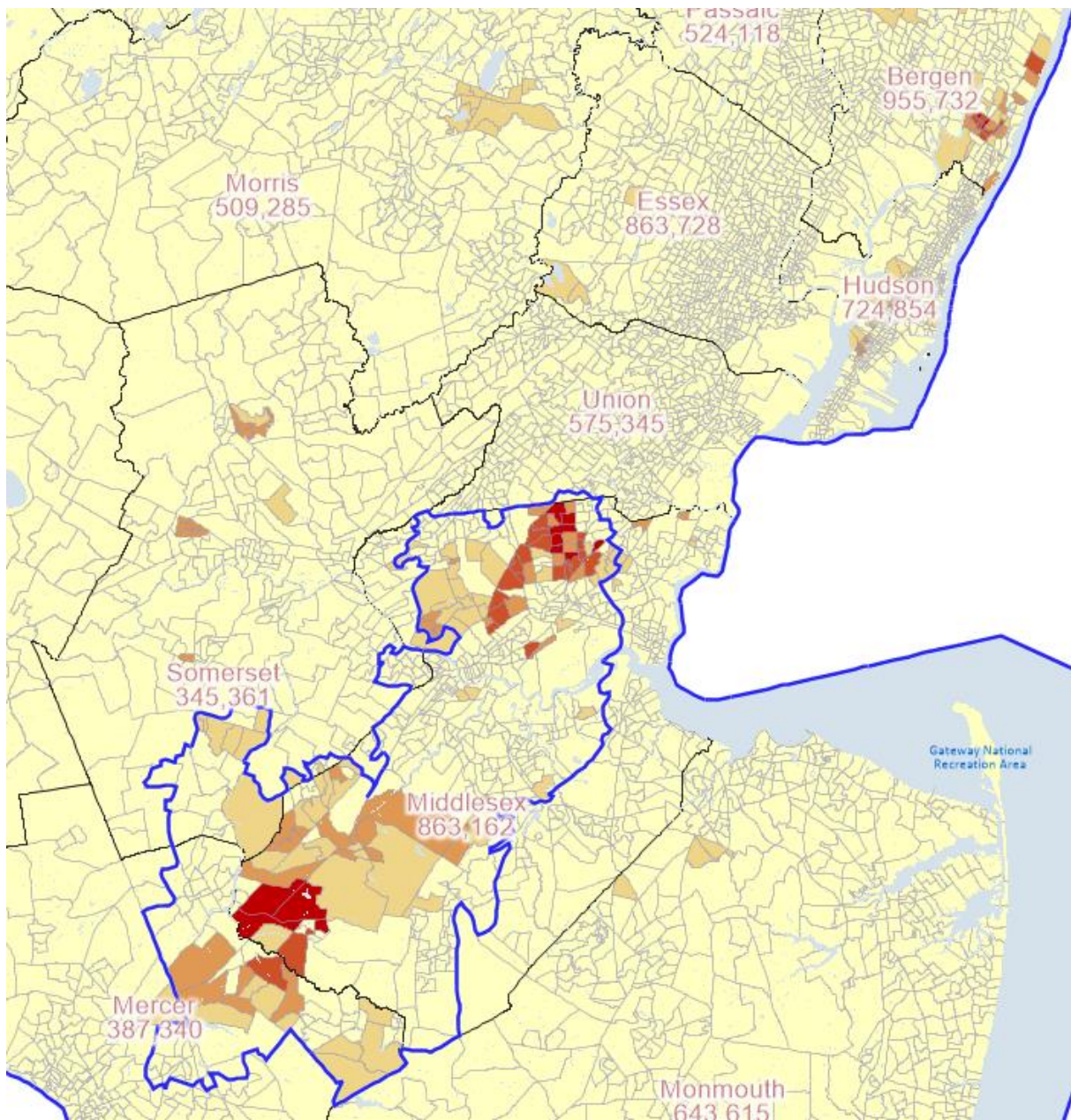


Figure 5: Asian CVAP heatmap, showing the outline of a failed potential Asian opportunity district.

New Jersey is a heavily Democratic state, favoring Biden by 16 percentage points over Trump in 2020 (11 points more Democratic-leaning than the country) and Clinton by 14 points over Trump in 2016 (12 points more Democratic-leaning than the country). As approximately a D+12 state with 12 congressional districts, a perfectly proportional New Jersey map would produce something like a 7-5 Democratic majority.

As elsewhere in the country, Democratic support is concentrated in urban areas such as Newark and Trenton. Drawing compact districts will therefore potentially produce extremely packed pro-Democratic districts, particularly in the New York metro area. As mentioned above, I did not use partisan data when drawing my plan. The ultimate partisan implications of my map are discussed in more detail below.

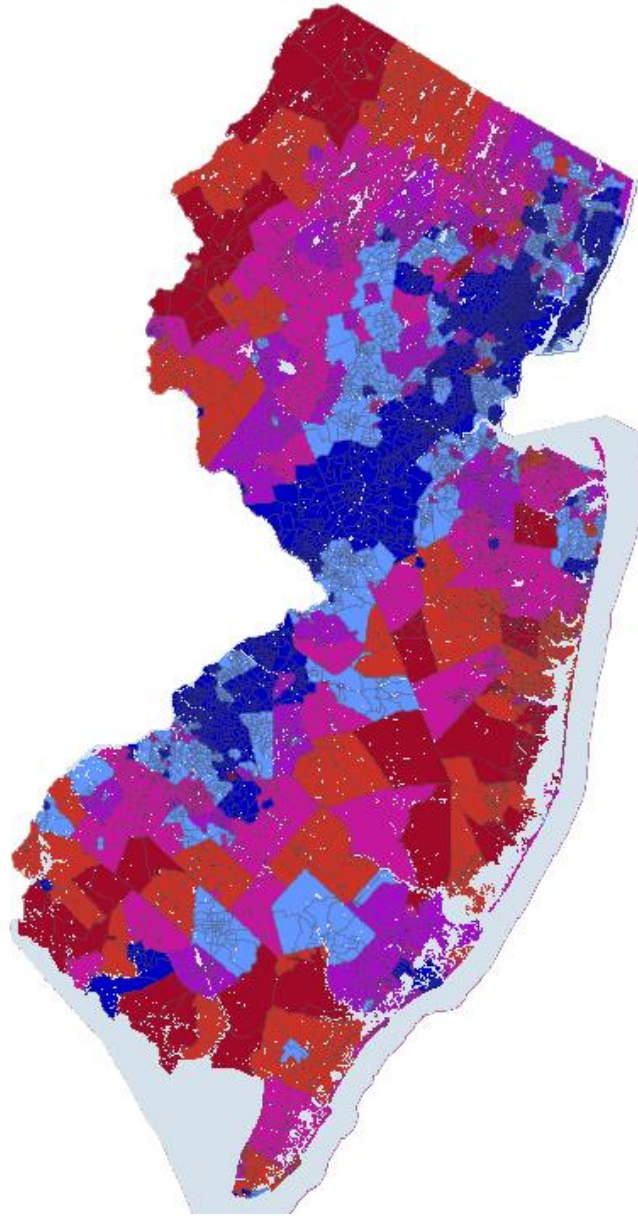


Figure 6: 2020 presidential Democratic vote share heatmap, by voting district

III. Federal and State Legal Constraints

A. General Redistricting Principles

Like all states, New Jersey must comply with federal constitutional guidelines on Congressional redistricting. The Supreme Court has ruled that Article I of the U.S. Constitution requires equal weighting of votes for the House of Representatives.⁹ Any deviations of absolute population equality between districts must be justified by a particular state interest in the deviation.¹⁰

New Jersey has slightly altered the normal interpretation of this requirement by passing a state law requiring that census data be adjusted so that currently incarcerated persons are recorded as living in their last known residential address, rather than their place of incarceration.¹¹ New Jersey law requires that “[t]o the greatest extent practicable, congressional districts... shall be drawn so as to meet equal population requirements calculated under both [pre- and post-adjustment] data sets.”¹² In drawing the 2021 plan, New Jersey appears to have interpreted this language to mean equalizing population based on the adjusted data set, rather than some hybrid of the adjusted and non-adjusted data sets.¹³ My plan does the same, with each district being no more than one person away from the target adjusted population figure of 773,585 persons.

⁹ *Karcher v. Daggett*, 462 U.S. 725, 730 (1983).

¹⁰ *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler*, 394 U.S. 526, 531 (1969).

¹¹ *Frequently Asked Questions*, NEW JERSEY CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING COMMISSION, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/faq.asp>; *New Jersey Laws*, NEW JERSEY CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING COMMISSION, accessed Apr. 3, 2022, <https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/NewJerseyLaws.asp>; N.J. Stat. § 52:4-1.6; Peter Chen, *Redistricting: Where Do Incarcerated people Count?*, NEW JERSEY POLICY PERSPECTIVE, Aug. 30, 2021, <https://www.njpp.org/publications/report/redistricting-where-do-incarcerated-people-count/>.

¹² N.J. Stat. § 52:4-1.6

¹³ *NJ 2022 Congressional*, DRA 2020. Each district in the enacted plan deviates by no more than one person from the target adjusted population figure of 773,585.

Other than the rules on the residence of incarcerated persons, New Jersey does not require that congressional maps follow any particular redistricting standards.¹⁴ New Jersey does require that congressional maps be approved by a bipartisan New Jersey Redistricting Commission, staffed by 6 members from each of the two largest political parties and a tiebreaking independent.¹⁵ Needless to say, this procedural obligation does not impact the content of my proposed plan.

In 2021, the New Jersey Redistricting Commissioner adopted the Democrat's proposed congressional map. Independent commissioner John Wallace sided with the Democrats for the somewhat dubious reason that "the last redistricting map was drawn by the Republicans."¹⁶ A Republican challenge to the map was dismissed by the New Jersey Supreme Court in February, after Wallace clarified that he felt the Democrats' map was more "party-blind" than the Republican proposal.¹⁷

B. Voting Rights Act

The U.S. Constitution and the VRA prohibit racial discrimination in redistricting. The VRA may also affirmatively require the creation of districts that give minority populations the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice, if certain preconditions are met. These *Gingles* factors require 1) a class of citizens "sufficiently large and reasonably compact as to constitute a majority" in a potential district, 2) political cohesion among the minority population, and 3)

¹⁴ *About Redistricting*, NJ REDISTRICTING COMMISSION.

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ Joey Fox, *After Closed-Door Process, Wallace Chooses Democratic Congressional Map*, NEW JERSEY GLOBE, Dec. 22, 2021, <https://newjerseyglobe.com/redistricting/after-closed-door-process-wallace-chooses-democratic-congressional-map/>.

¹⁷ Matt Friedman, *New Jersey Supreme Court Dismisses Republican Challenge to Congressional Map*, POLITICO, Feb. 3, 2022, <https://www.politico.com/news/2022/02/03/new-jersey-supreme-court-dismisses-republican-challenge-to-congressional-map-00005274>; Carly Sitrin, *Wallace: Democrats' Redistricting Map Was More 'Party-Blind'*, POLITICO, Jan. 11, 2022, <https://www.politico.com/states/new-jersey/story/2022/01/11/wallace-democrats-redistricting-map-was-more-party-blind-1405116>.

historic white bloc voting that would otherwise defeat the minority population's preferred candidate.¹⁸ If these factors are identified, the court determines whether, based on the totality of circumstances, a majority-minority district is required.

However, the federal prohibition on racial discrimination in redistricting has also been interpreted as prohibiting the use of race as the predominant factor in the creation of a district, unless the district is narrowly tailored to advance a compelling state interest.¹⁹ Compliance with the VRA has been assumed to present such a compelling state interest, although the precise contours of the VRA's mandate to create majority-minority districts remains uncertain under current jurisprudence.²⁰

A full analysis of the *Gingles* factors' applicability to New Jersey is beyond the scope of this paper. As mentioned above, my plan matches the enacted 2011 and 2021 plans by including a majority-Black and plurality-Hispanic district. There is also one other majority-minority (but plurality non-Hispanic white) district, which was not created intentionally to comply with the VRA.

IV. Plan Analysis

A. The New York Metro Area

1. Hispanic Opportunity District

The original motivation of my plan was to experiment with a new method of creating a Hispanic opportunity district in the New York Metro Area in northeast New Jersey. Both the 2011 and 2021 official maps include a claw-shaped District 8 connecting the Hispanic population centers of West New York, Northern Newark, and Elizabeth. These districts are

¹⁸ *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 278 U.S. 30 (1986).

¹⁹ *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993).

²⁰ *Shaw v. Hunt*, 517 U.S. 899 (1996); *Merrill v. Milligan*, 595 U.S. _ (2022).

highly non-compact and also not land-contiguous within the state. Elizabeth only connects to the rest of the district by water; driving there would require going through Staten Island, NY.

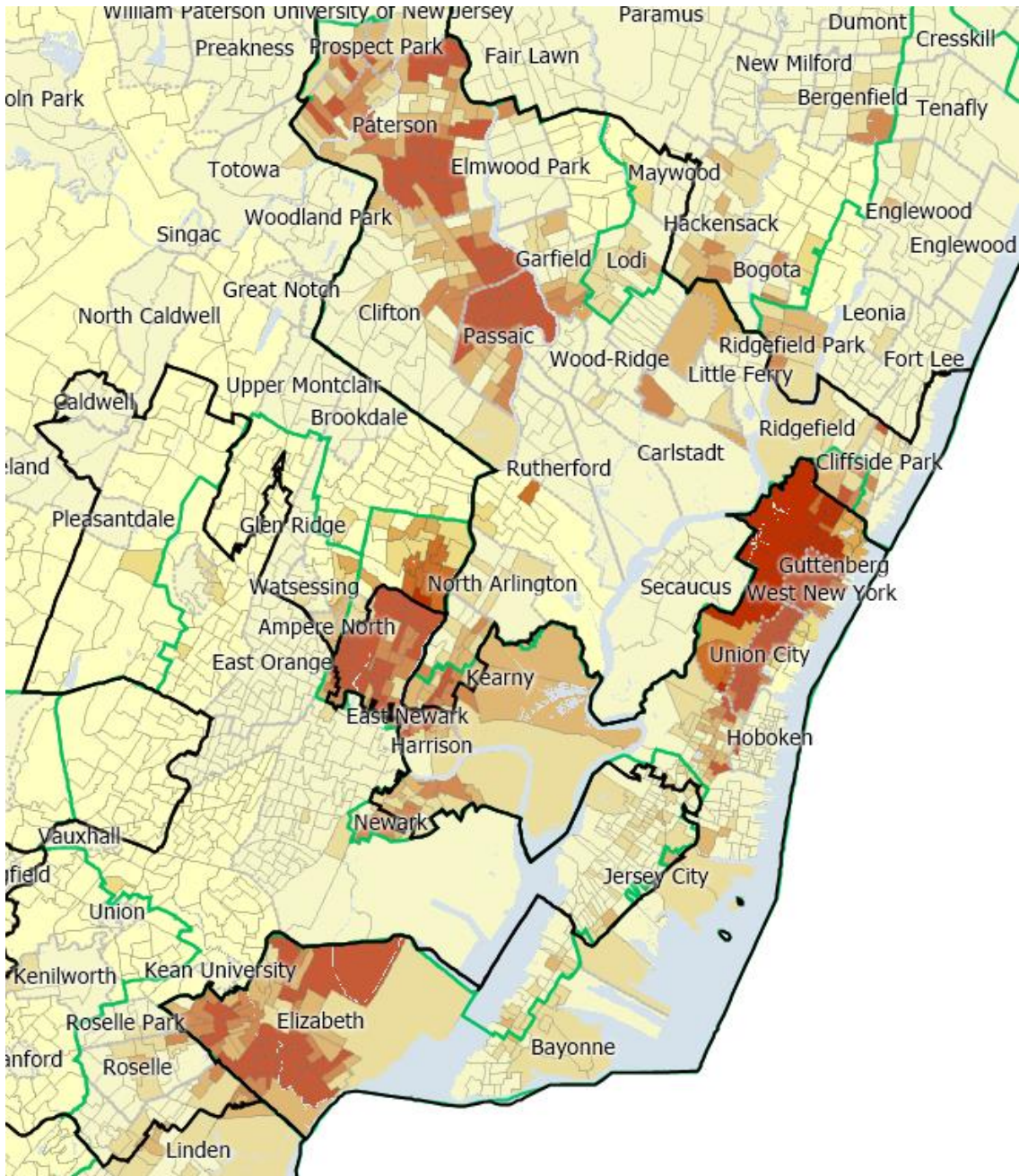


Figure 7: *H CVAP heatmap with 2011 (green) and 2021 (black) enacted districts overlaid. Note the creation of a Hispanic opportunity district by connecting Newark, West New York, and Elizabeth. Elizabeth is only contiguous by water to the rest of the district, unless you drive through New York.*

My plan instead creates a more compact and fully land contiguous Hispanic opportunity district by connecting West New York to Paterson, via Fort Lee. My District 8 is 55 percent

Hispanic by total population, 53 percent by voting age population, and 45.6 percent by CVAP (the enacted 2021 plan's district is 51 percent, 49 percent, and 46.3 percent, respectively). My district voted for Biden 65–32, and for Clinton 72–25. While a full racial bloc voting analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, it is notable that the heavily Hispanic areas of district 8 are strongly Democratic compared to nearby communities (see Figure 9 below). I therefore expect this district to perform, and that its relatively compact shape would help shield it from a potential *Shaw* challenge.²¹

While my District 8 is more compact than the Hispanic opportunity district in the enacted map, it does still require straying over multiple county lines. Part of the boundaries of District 8 traces the line between Bergen and Passaic Counties, but District 8 nonetheless ends up including portions of Hudson, Bergen, and Passaic Counties.

²¹ My District 8 would include the current home residences of representatives Bill Pascrell (Paterson) and Cuban-American Albio Sires (West New York). The retiring Sires is projected to be replaced by Cuban-American Robert J. Menendez, son of Senator Bob Menendez. David Wildstein, *Sires Won't Seek Re-Election to Congress; U.S. Senator's Son Emerges as Likely Successor*, NEW JERSEY GLOBE, Dec. 19, 2021, <https://newjerseyglobe.com/campaigns/sires-wont-seek-re-election-to-congress-u-s-senators-son-emerges-as-likely-successor/>.

2. Black Opportunity District

Drawing a compact Black opportunity district is less difficult because of the heavy geographic concentration of the Black community around Newark and East Orange. District 10 in my plan stretches from the Black community in Jersey City west through Newark and East Orange, with a western boundary at the county line between Essex and Morris Counties. The southern border of the district mostly follows the Essex/Union County line, but strays over slightly to try and keep the Black population southwest of Newark together. This focus on keeping the Black population together might possibly open up District 10 to a *Shaw* claim, but it is reasonably compact and doesn't appear to be more race-focused than the Black opportunity district in the enacted 2021 plan (which strays even further into Union County to pick up the Black population in Roselle).

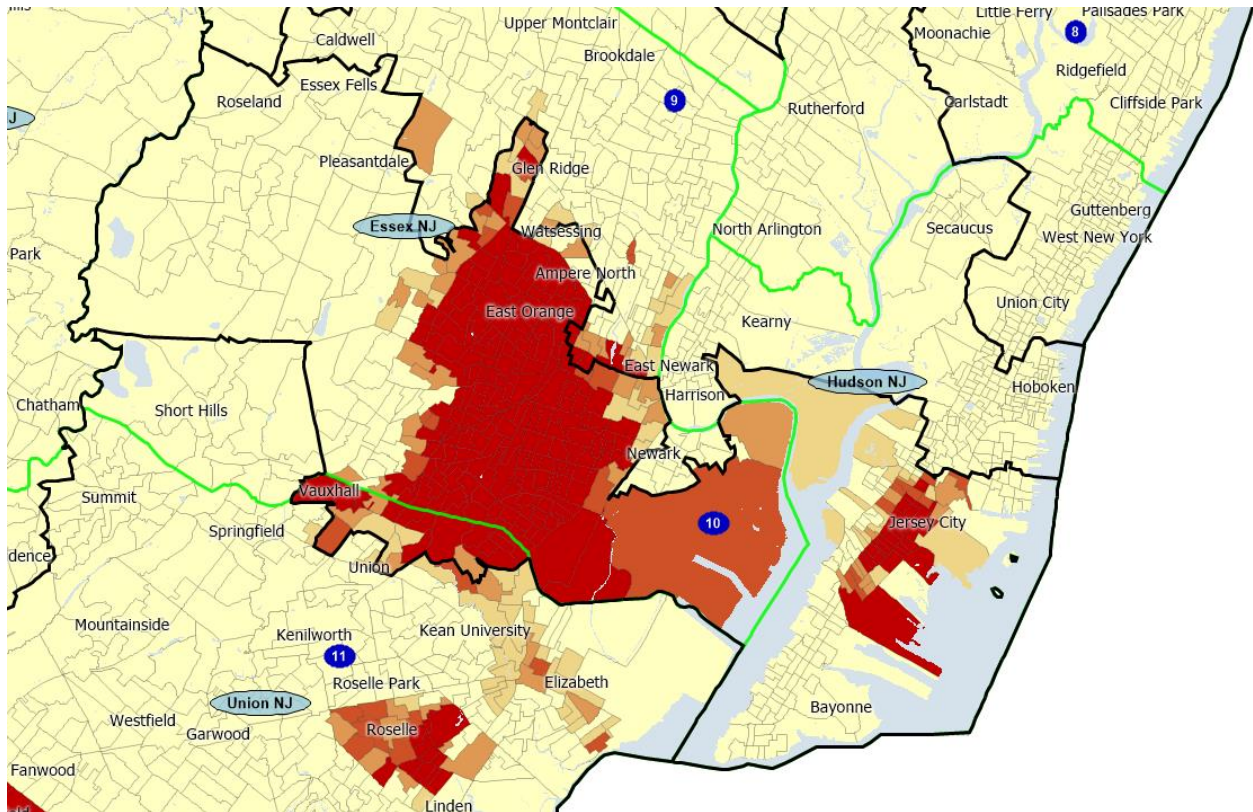


Figure 10: Black CVAP heatmap showing my District 10. County boundaries in green.

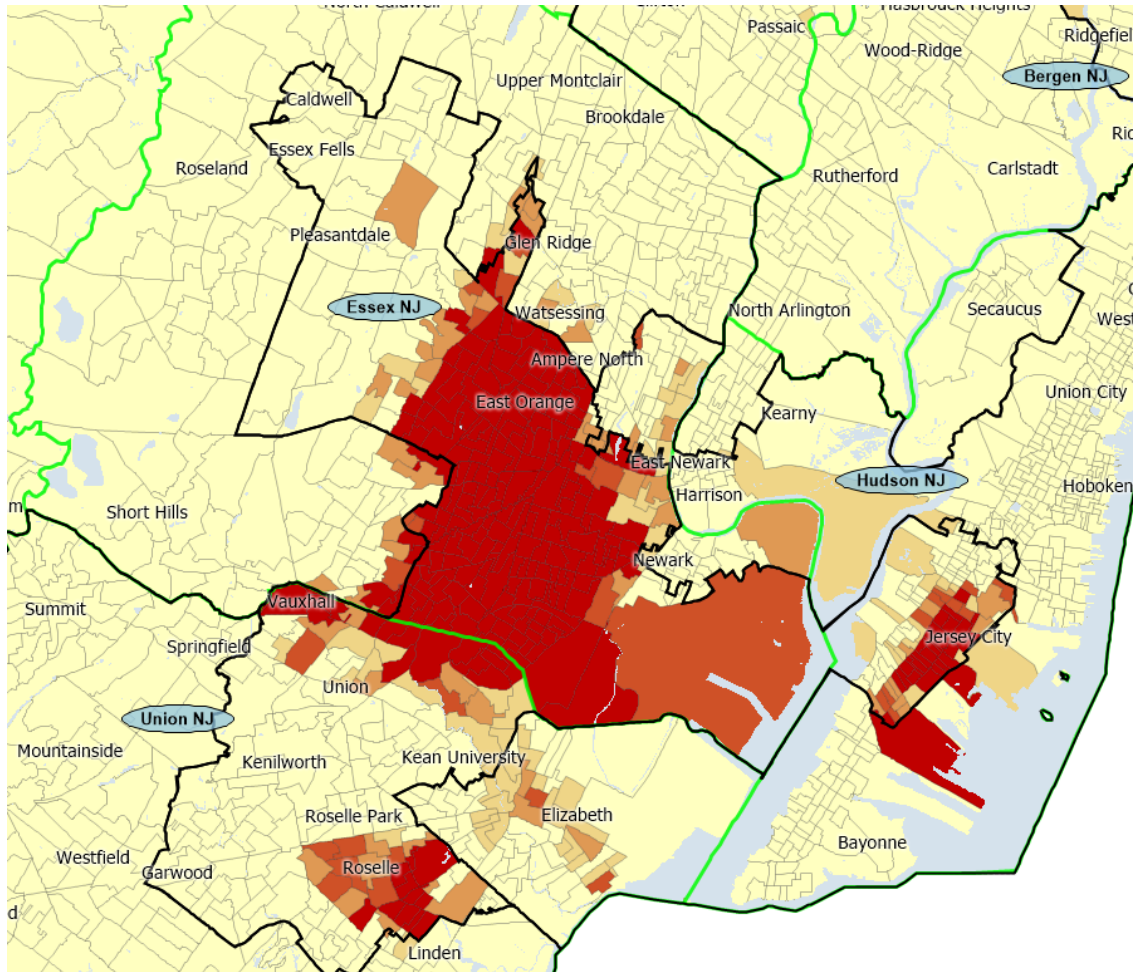


Figure 11: *B CVAP heatmap showing the 2021 enacted District 10. County boundaries in green.*

District 10 is 52 percent Black by CVAP (52.07 percent Non-Hispanic Black), comparable to the 53 percent Black figure in the actual 2021 enacted district. It is an extremely packed Democratic district — favoring Biden over Trump by 82.9–16.3. This is certainly a more heavily Democratic district than is necessary to ensure it performs. However, meaningfully lowering the Democratic lean of the district is difficult since the whole surrounding area is so pro-Democratic. The only significant adjacent Republic voter block is across the Morris County line, requiring an additional county split to pick up. Notably, District 10 in the enacted 2022 plan (which, being a Democratic party map, is unlikely to intentionally over-pack Democratic districts), includes a similarly lopsided 81.5–16.8 estimated partisan lean.

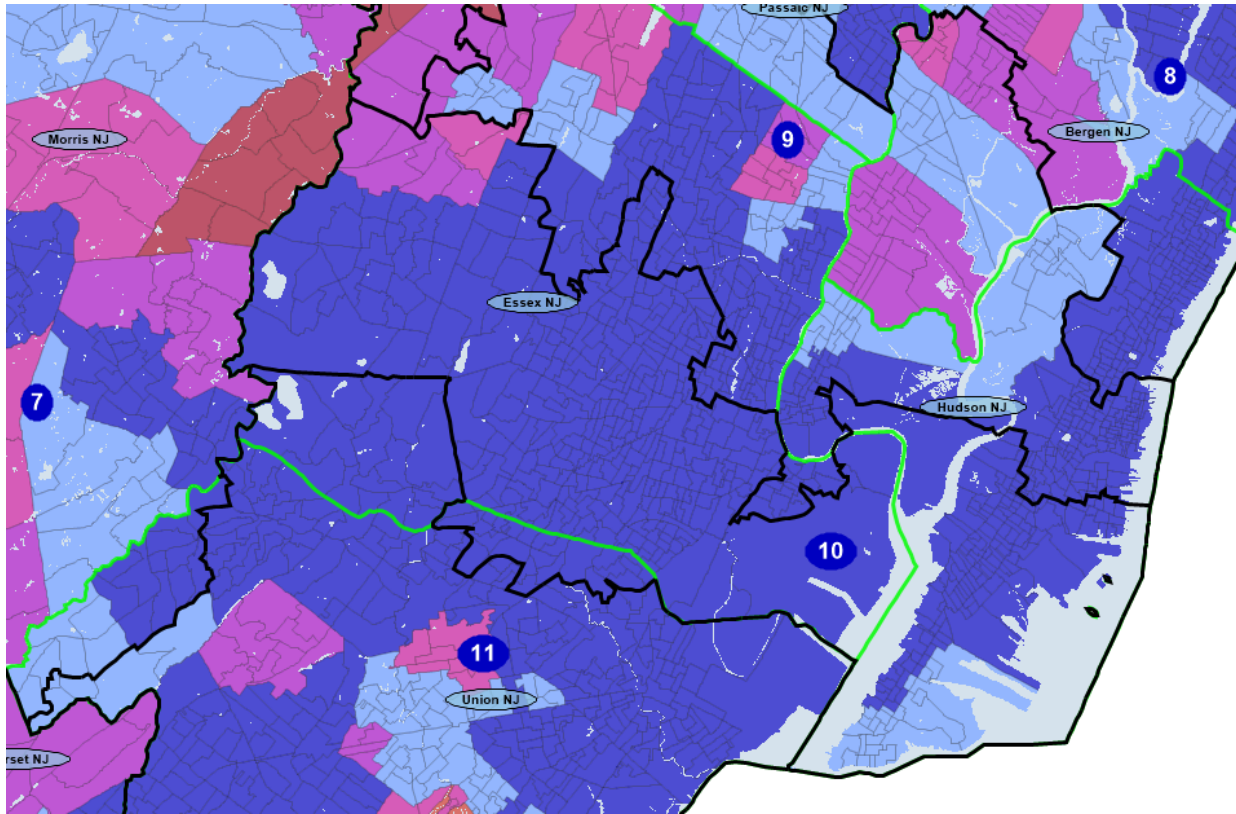


Figure 12: Partisan vote share around District 10. Any compact district in this densely populated area will be a highly packed Democratic district. County boundaries in green.

3. Other Districts

My District 9 is something of a “leftover district,” being composed of the areas not assigned to the two VRA districts in the NY metro area. It includes the central portion of Hudson County around Hoboken, stretching west through Secaucus into Northern Essex and Southern Passaic County. The western border with District 5 was partly drawn to follow township lines (as shown on my City/Town layer), seeking to keep the towns of North Caldwell and Singac unsplit in District 9. The borders with District 8 to the North and District 10 to the south similar try to minimize splits to voting districts and observed towns. District 9 is quite diverse: 55.9% Non-Hispanic White by CVAP, with substantial Hispanic (26.6 percent), Black (8.7%) and Asian (8.5%) minorities. It is also strongly Democratic, voting for Biden by over 30 percentage points.

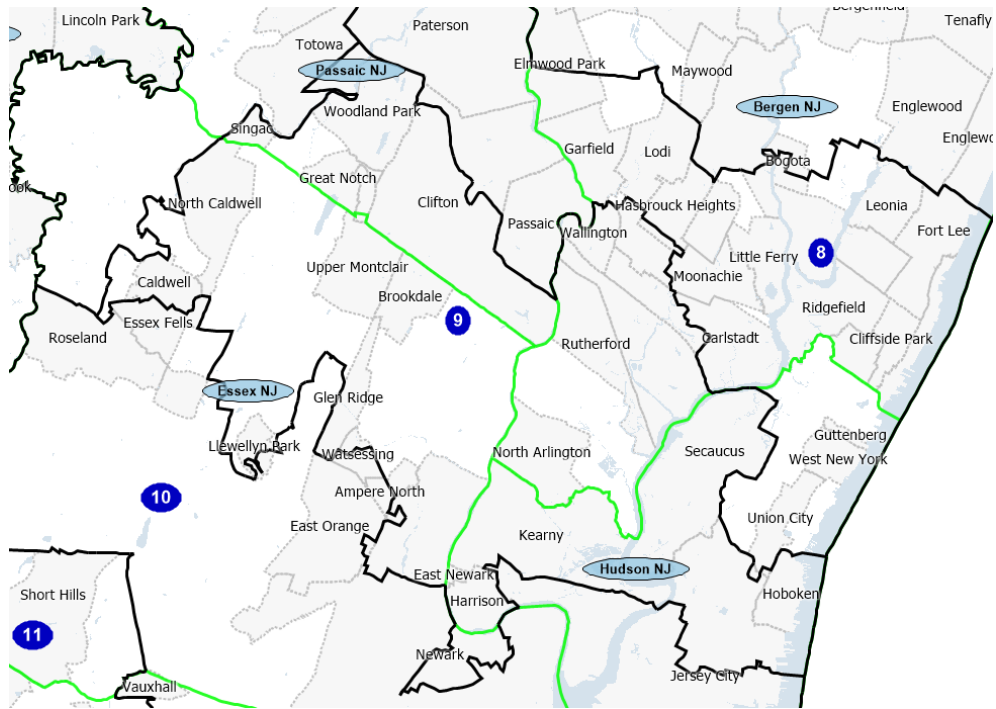


Figure 13: District 9, county boundaries in green.

District 5 includes the portions of Bergen and Passaic Counties not already included in Districts 8, 9, and 10, as well as the northwest corner of Essex County. To equalize population, it also strays slightly over the border into northeastern Morris County. It is heavily non-Hispanic white (almost 72 percent by CVAP) and leans slightly Democratic. It voted for Biden over Trump by 10 points, and Clinton over Trump by 6 points.

means a compact district will inevitably include large minority populations) I am very curious how a Democratic primary would play out in such a district.

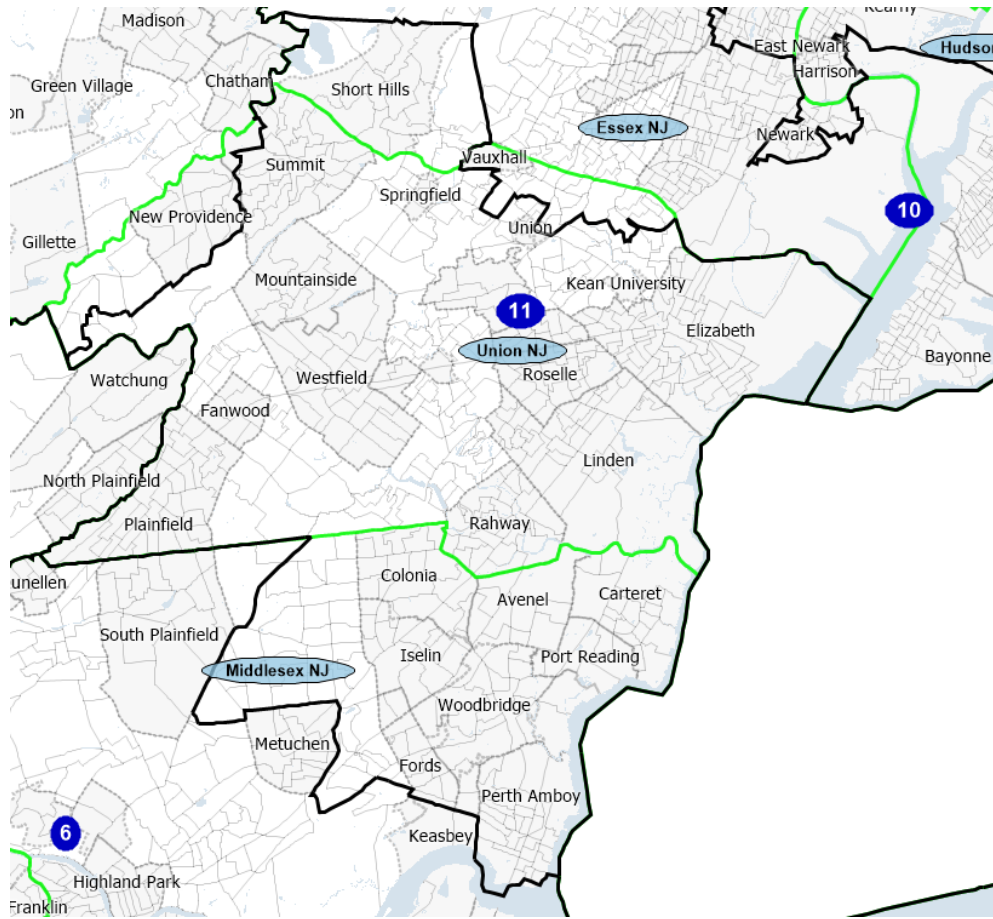


Figure 15: District 11, county boundaries in green

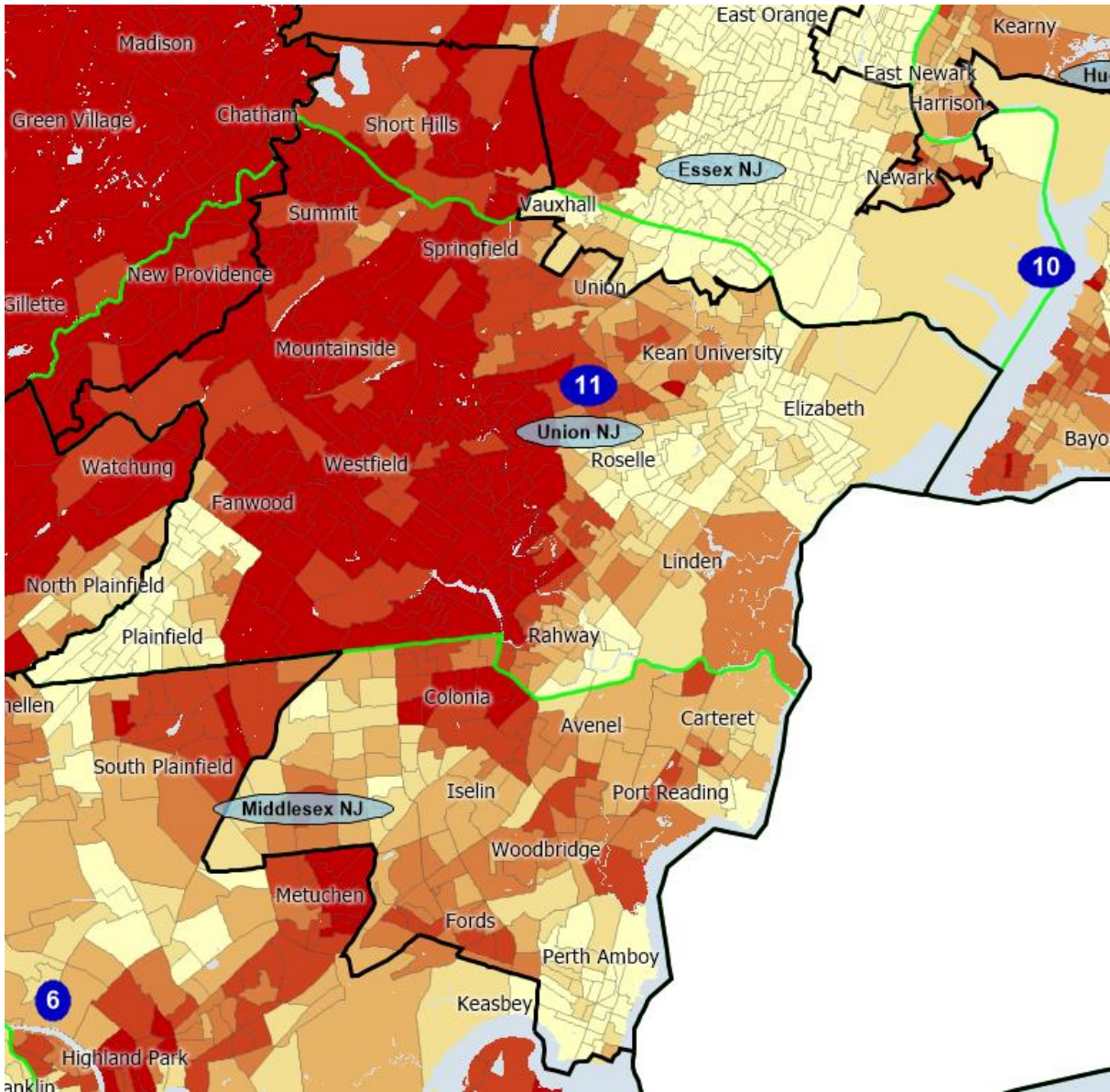


Figure 16: *Non-Hispanic white CVAP heatmap for District 11, showing the large non-white population across much of the district. County boundaries in green.*

B. Northwest New Jersey

District 7 includes sparsely populated Warren and Sussex Counties in the northwest border of the state, as well as the remainder of Morris County (minus the small corner that went to District 5 to equalize population). Because District 7 required further population to comply with One-Person, One-Vote, it includes a small slice of western Union County. Otherwise, the district boundaries follow county lines. District 7 is the second-whitest district in my plan (81.6

percent non-Hispanic white by CVAP) but leans only slightly Republican because of the strong Democratic vote share in southeast Morris County (as well as the portion of Union County included in the district). Trump won it by about 2 points in 2020, but by 11 points in 2016, so the district certainly has upside for Republicans if Democrats are unable to hold onto their gains.

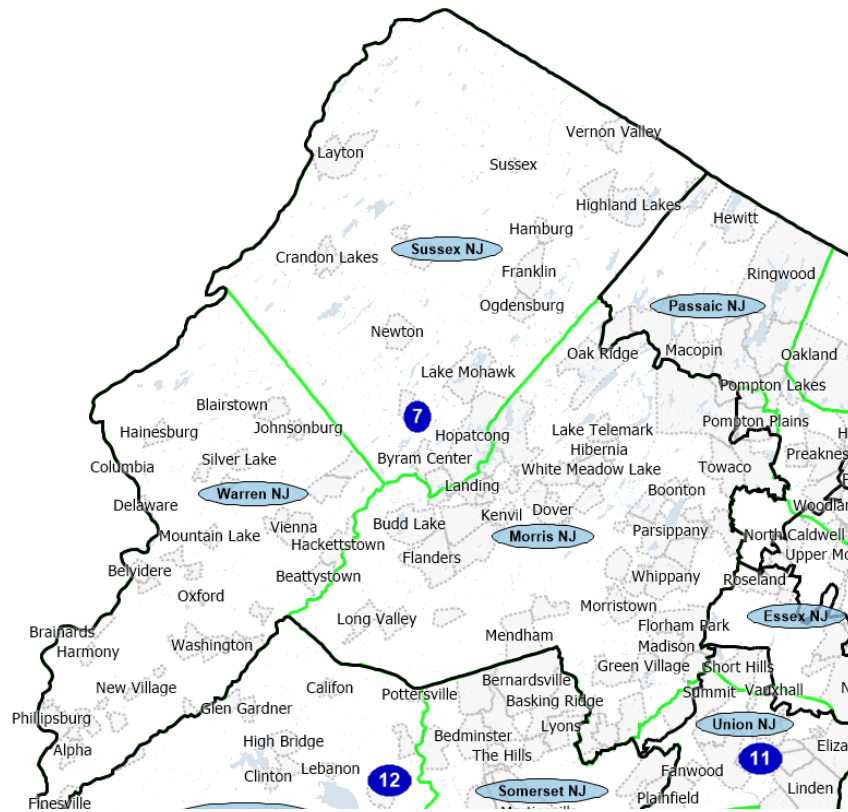


Figure 17: District 7, county boundaries in green

District 12 includes Hunterdon and Mercer Counties as well as most of Somerset County. Within Somerset County, the boundary was drawn to try and keep observed townships together, which in practice could be mostly achieved by placing the boundary along the Millstone River (aside from where overreach was necessary to fully equalize population). District 12 is 2/3 non-Hispanic white by CVAP but solidly Democratic as both Mercer and Somerset counties are heavily blue.

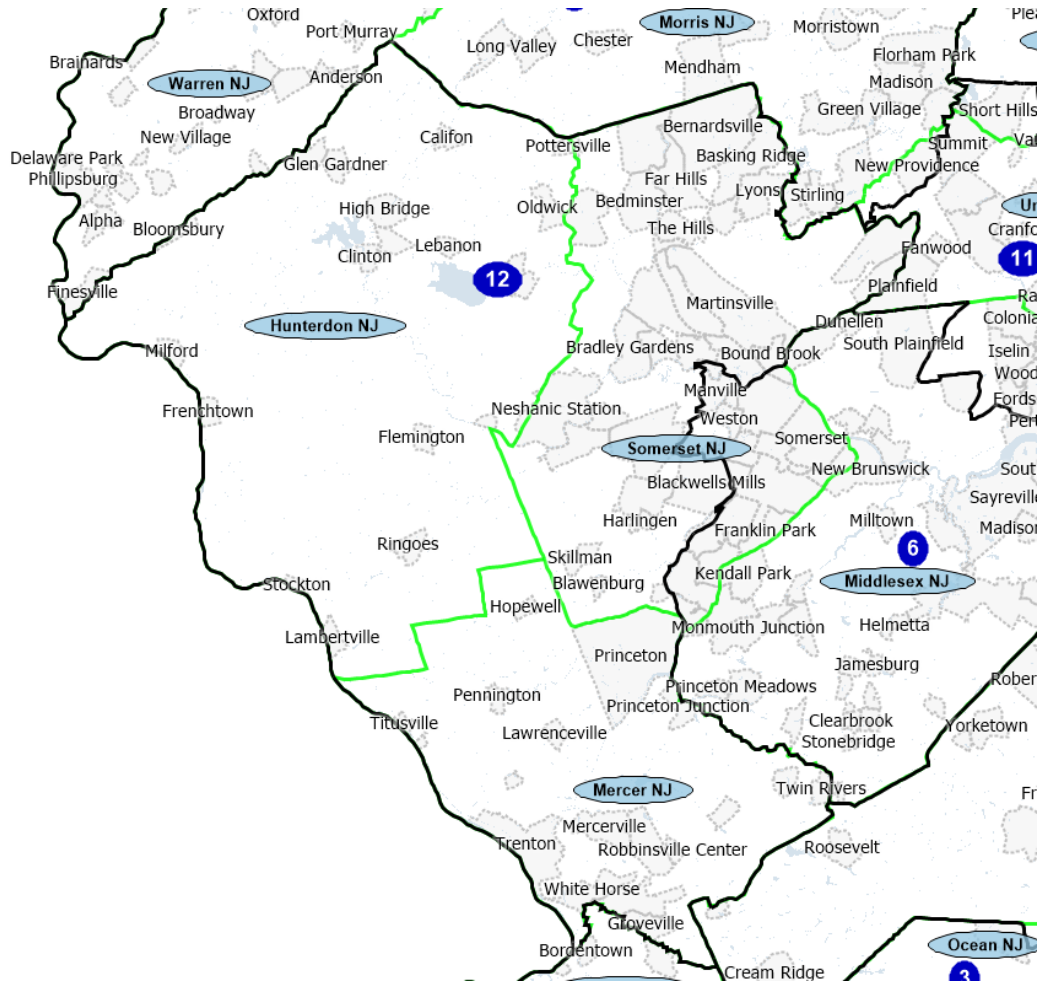


Figure 18: District 12, county boundaries in green

C. Central New Jersey

District 6 includes most of Middlesex County, as well as the southeast corner of Somerset County. Fully equalizing population also required taking a small corner of neighboring Monmouth County. As elsewhere, I attempted to draw this line to avoid voting district and township splits – all of Strathmore, Keyport, and Union Beach moved to District 6, while Morganville and Robertsville were left undivided in District 4. District 6 is mostly white with sizable Black, Asian, and Hispanic minorities (all between 12 and 17 percent by CVAP), and heavily Democratic.

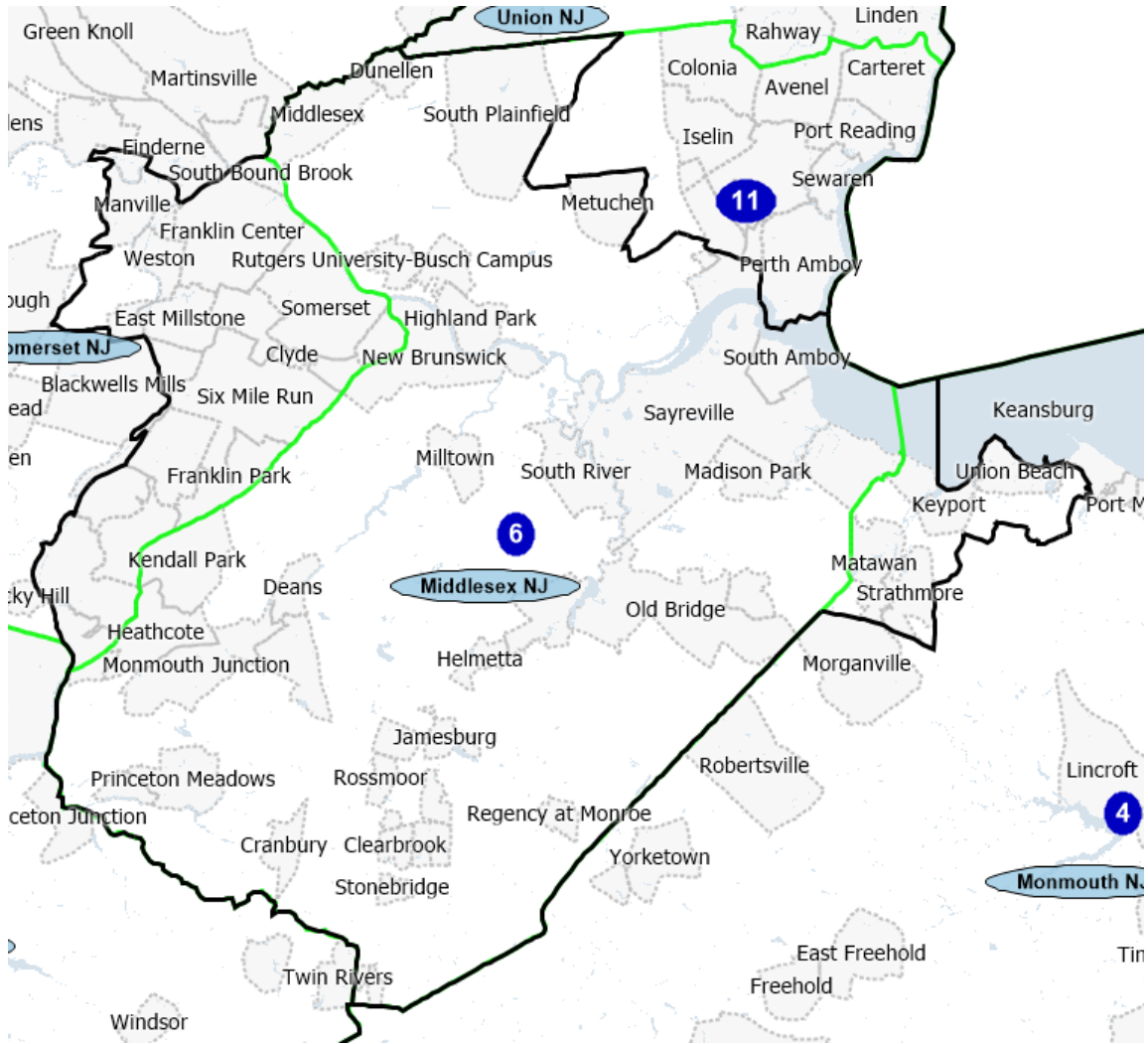


Figure 19: District 6, county boundaries in green

District 4 is centered on the remainder of Monmouth County, as well as a slice of northeast Ocean County. The boundary line was drawn to minimize observed town and voting district splits — Point Pleasant, Bay Head, and Lakewood moved to District 4. District 4 is the whitest district in my plan (82.4 percent by CVAP) and leans Republican. Trump carried it by 9 points in 2020 and 11 points in 2016.

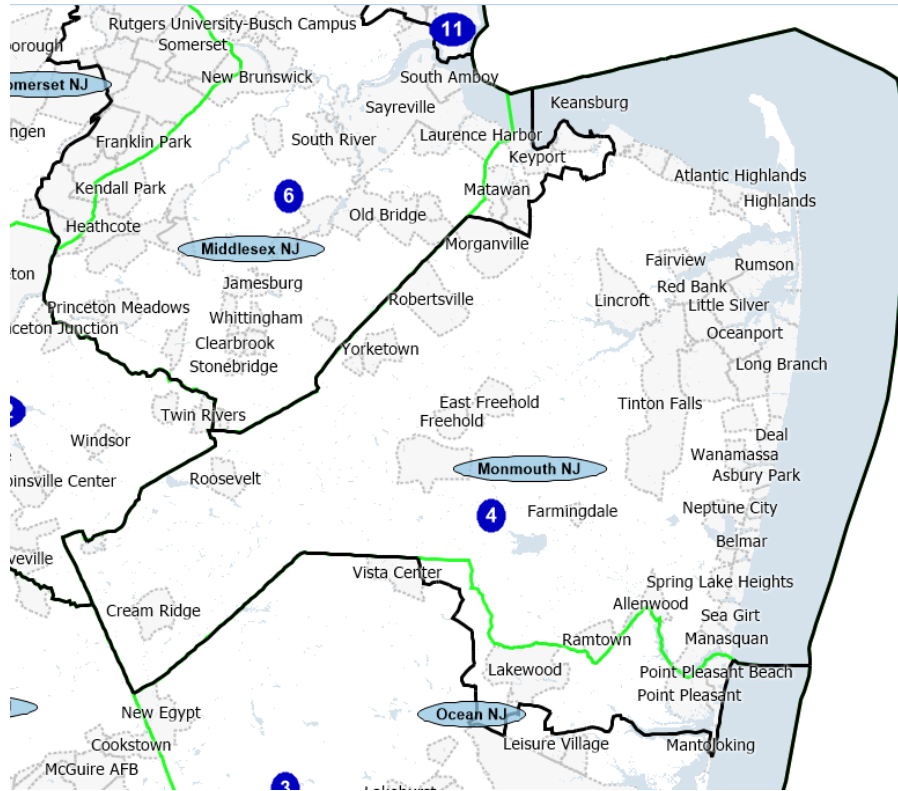


Figure 20: District 4, county boundaries in green

D. South New Jersey

District 3 includes the remainder of Ocean County as well as most of neighboring Burlington County. Equalizing population required that parts of Burlington County, including the towns of Ramblewood, Moorestown-Lenola, and Marlton go to District 1. District 3 is heavily non-Hispanic white (almost 80 percent by CVAP) and leans Republican. It voted for Trump by 12 points in 2016 and 8 points in 2020.

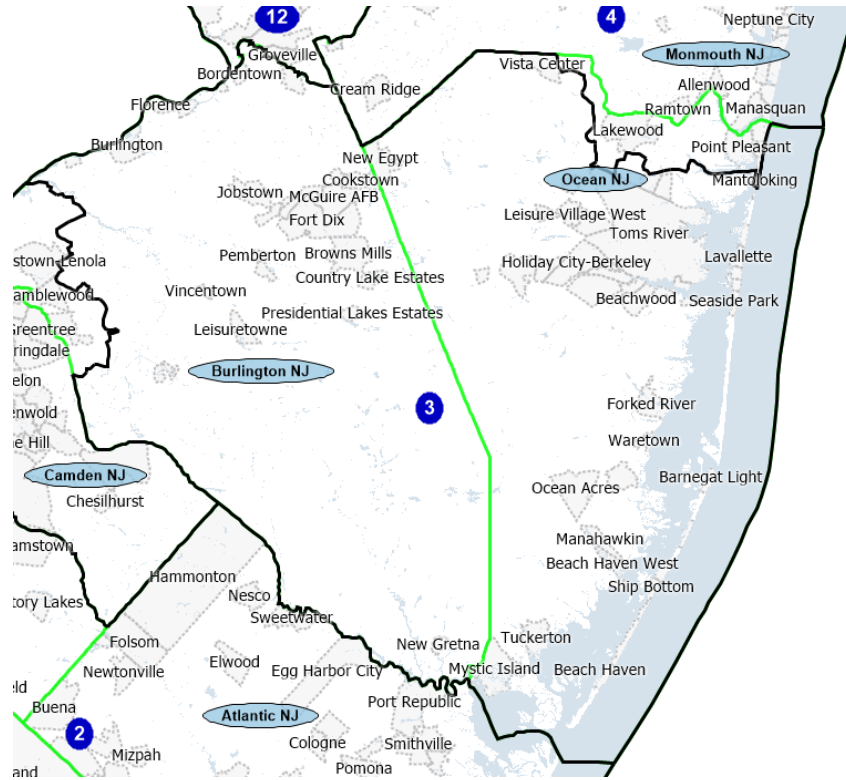


Figure 21: District 3, county boundaries in green

District 1 is centered on Camden County, and includes portions of neighboring Gloucester and Burlington Counties. It is drawn somewhat as a funnel-shape, facing Philadelphia to the West, to try and keep the Philadelphia suburbs along the Delaware River together as much as possible. District 1 is mostly white and strongly Democratic.

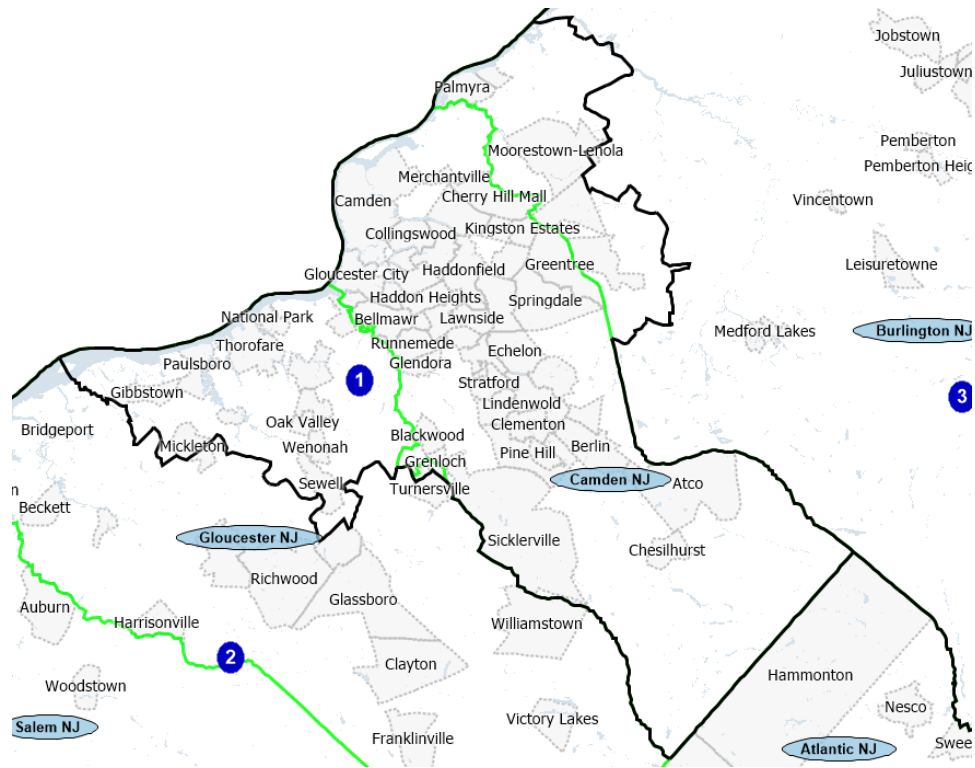


Figure 22: District 1, county boundaries in green

District 2 contains the remaining counties of South New Jersey – the entirety of Atlantic, Cape May, Cumberland, and Salem Counties, as well as the southern portion of Gloucester County. District 2 is geographically expansive because this portion of the state is more sparsely populated. It ranges from the Philadelphia suburbs through more rural areas in Salem and Cumberland Counties to Atlantic City. It is also the most competitive district in my plan — voting for Trump by 0.5 points in 2020 and by 2 points in 2016.

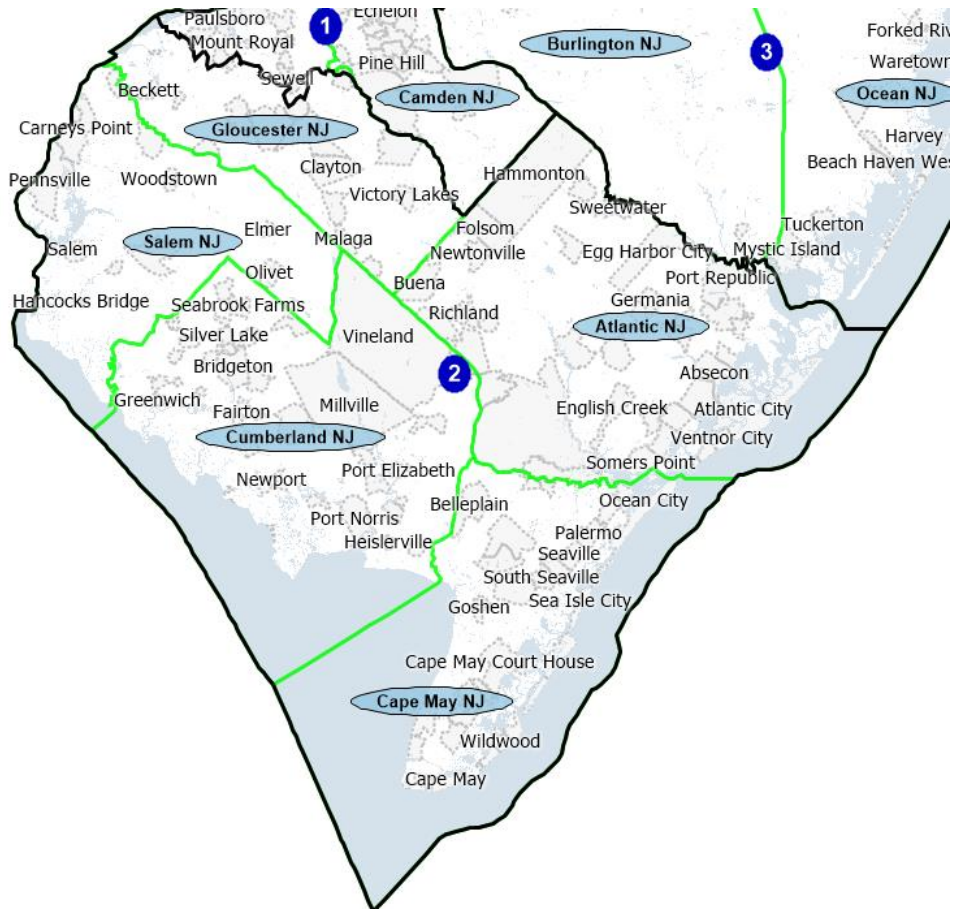


Figure 23: District 2, county boundaries in green

V. Plan Takeaways, Comparisons and Implications

A. Subdivision Splits and Compactness

In total, my plan splits 12 counties 18 times, compared to 20 splits across 14 counties for the officially enacted plan. This slight improvement in county splits is somewhat offset by the need to split Essex County four times, compared to three splits in the official map. However, my map only splits Union County three times, while it is split across four districts in the official map. The main advantage of my plan is fewer splits of counties outside the New York metro area. Unlike the official plan, I avoid splitting Mercer and Sussex Counties, and I split Monmouth County only once instead of twice.

DRA does record my plan as splitting 48 cities, compared to only 16 in the official plan. As mentioned above, I believe this largely results from the Maptitude city/town layer not including all the towns referenced by DRA — several of the towns I split are not visible on the default Maptitude layer. While this is a comparative weakness of my plan, I expect this number could be brought down significantly without impacting my plan’s key features.

A full compactness analysis of my plan is included on the [DrawCongress page](#). By the headline comparisons included in DRA, my map scores significantly better than the official plan. My plan scores 0.4052 by Reock and 0.2764 on Polsby-Popper, compared to 0.3582 and 0.2115, respectively, for the official plan.

Number of cut edges: 3,263

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Alternate Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Population Polygon	Area/Convex Hull	Population Circle	Ehrenburg	Perimeter	Length-Width
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1,830.73	N/A
Min	0.31	1.33	1.50	0.14	0.55	0.66	0.36	0.19	N/A	0.32
Max	0.57	2.61	2.71	0.45	0.88	0.88	0.73	0.61	N/A	6.04
Mean	0.46	1.86	2.00	0.28	0.74	0.76	0.49	0.40	N/A	3.12
Std. Dev.	0.08	0.39	0.38	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.11	0.13	N/A	1.92

Figure 24: Compactness scores for my plan (from Maptitude)

B. Partisan Balance

PlanScore projects my plan as having seven safe Democrat seats, one lean-Democrat seat, two lean-Republican seats (Districts 2 and 7), and two safe Republican seats (Districts 3 and 4).²² By efficiency gap, the map slightly favors Democrats by 4.2 percent. By comparison, the official map includes four safe Democrat seats, 5 lean-Democrat seats, one lean-Republican seat, and two safe Republican seats. The efficiency gap favors Democrats by more than twice as much. DRA projects Democrats would win on average 8.58 seats in my plan, compared to 9.28 in the enacted maps.

²² This assumes open races.

The official map achieves this more pro-Democratic result mainly by cracking the Republican vote in Monmouth County. District 3 in the official map offsets Republican parts of Monmouth County with Democratic voters in Trenton and the Philadelphia suburbs, while District 6 offsets another Republican portion of Monmouth with Democratic voters in Middlesex County. My map creates a compact Republican district centered on Monmouth County (District 4).

District	Candidate Scenario	Pop. 2020	Hispanic CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Black CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Asian CVAP 2019	Non-Hisp. Native CVAP 2019	Chance of 1+ Flips [†]	Chance of Democratic Win	Predicted Vote Shares	Biden (D) 2020	Trump (R) 2020
1	Open Seat	771,804	9.5%	16.0%	4.5%	0.3%	No	99%	60% D / 40% R	255,168	147,478
2	Open Seat	779,046	10.5%	13.4%	3.4%	0.5%	Yes	19%	46% D / 54% R	197,666	199,763
3	Open Seat	777,766	6.6%	10.4%	2.8%	0.4%	No	6%	43% D / 57% R	204,552	236,491
4	Open Seat	772,629	6.7%	6.2%	4.3%	0.2%	No	4%	41% D / 59% R	189,758	227,756
5	Open Seat	773,276	12.2%	6.0%	9.8%	0.2%	Yes	61%	51% D / 49% R	244,148	198,226
6	Open Seat	772,595	12.5%	12.3%	16.1%	0.3%	No	94%	57% D / 43% R	215,781	139,263
7	Open Seat	773,192	8.5%	3.4%	6.1%	0.3%	Yes	13%	45% D / 55% R	217,415	228,248
8	Open Seat	771,916	45.7%	10.6%	10.4%	0.2%	No	>99%	64% D / 36% R	180,351	88,767
9	Open Seat	772,742	26.1%	8.7%	8.5%	0.3%	No	>99%	62% D / 38% R	207,769	108,484
10	Open Seat	773,733	14.9%	52.1%	6.9%	0.3%	No	>99%	80% D / 20% R	237,809	46,747
11	Open Seat	773,886	25.0%	17.9%	9.2%	0.2%	No	>99%	63% D / 37% R	213,975	107,854
12	Open Seat	776,198	9.0%	12.1%	9.4%	0.3%	No	95%	58% D / 42% R	243,888	154,151

Figure 25: Summary scores for my plan (from PlanScore)

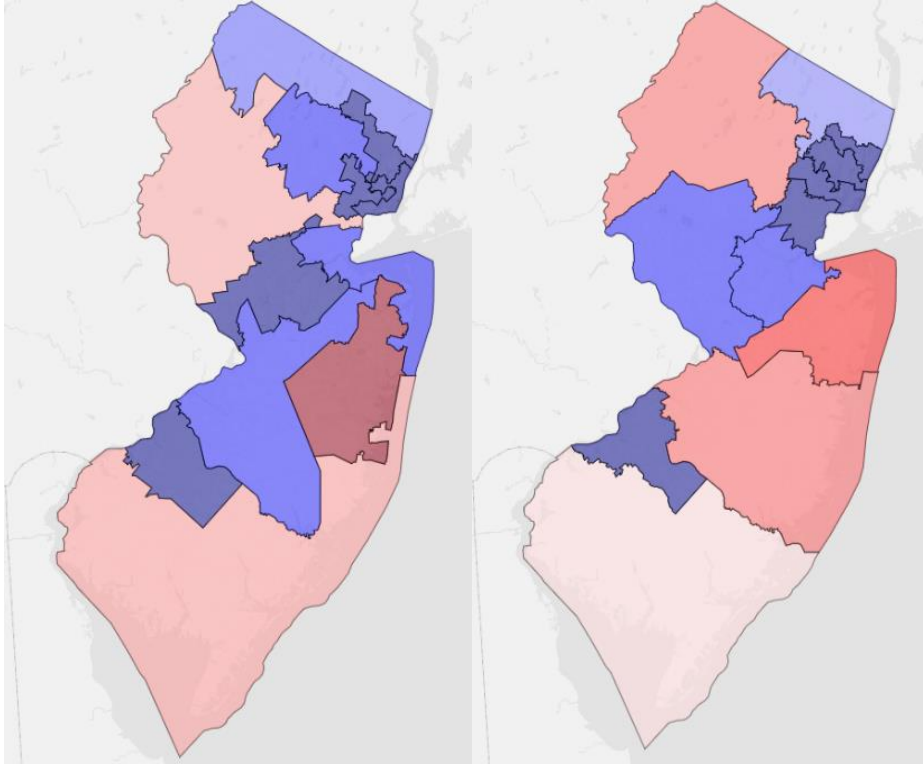


Figure 26: Partisan lean maps for the 2021 enacted maps (left) and my plan (right), from DRA

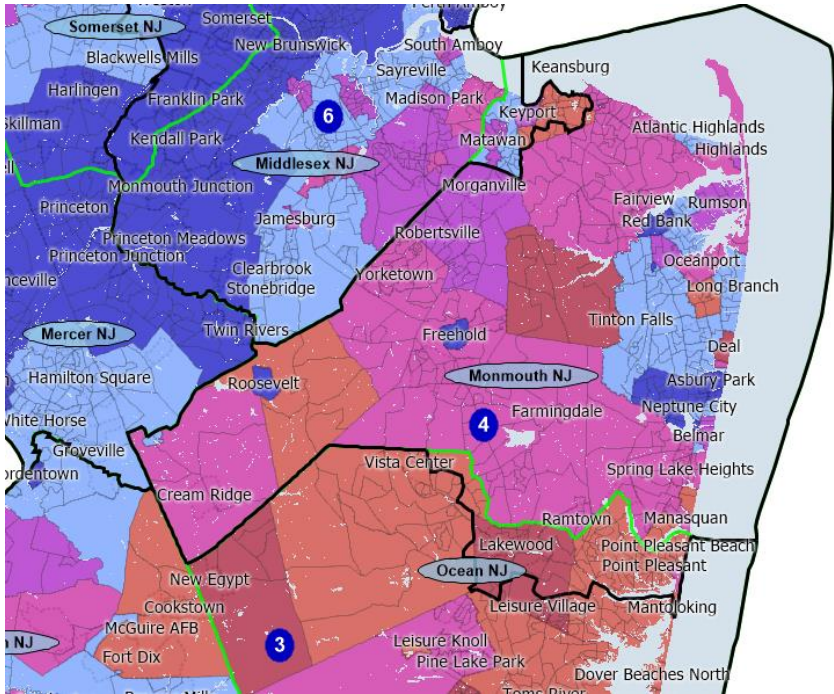


Figure 27: Partisan vote share in my District 4. My plan creates a Republican-leaning district centered in Republican-leaning Monmouth County. County lines in green.

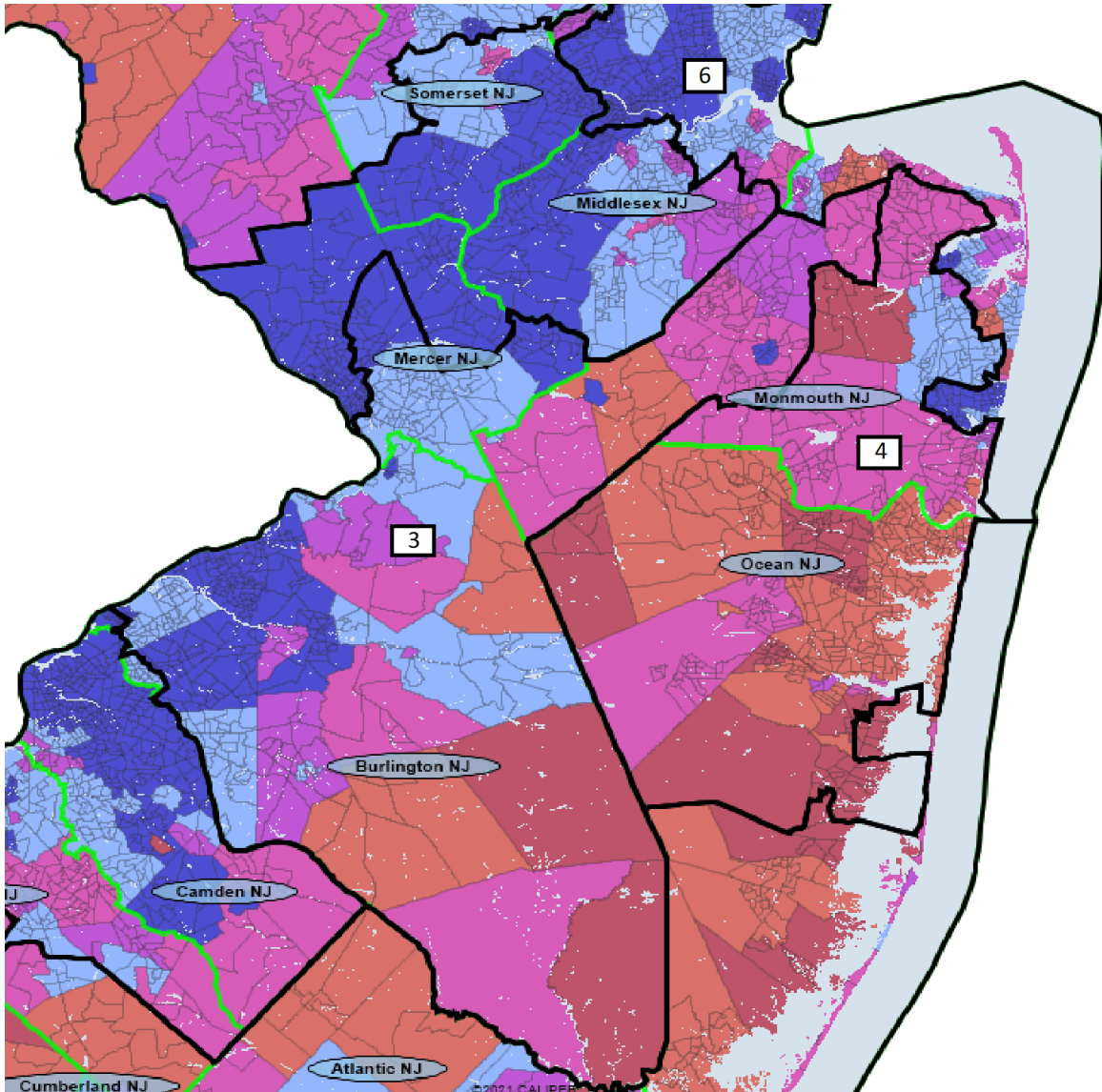


Figure 28: Partisan vote share in the enacted 2021 map. District 3 and District 6 split off part of the Republican vote in Monmouth County into solidly Democratic districts anchored in Burlington/Mercer and Middlesex counties, respectively. That leaves a packed Republican District 4. County lines in green.

VI. Conclusion

My plan improves proportionality and compactness relative to the official plan, while outlining an alternative, more compact method to create a Hispanic opportunity district. New Jersey's loose redistricting standards give lawmakers vast discretion to create partisan maps, which Democrats seem to have taken advantage of this cycle. But I believe this plan better reflects New Jersey's political and racial demographics, while complying with relevant laws.