

# Representation and Voting Rights

**[84-352/84-652] – Elections, Fair Redistricting, Equitable Democracy**

Prof. Jonathan Cervas

Email: cervas@cmu.edu

Location: DH 1112 (Doherty Hall)

Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:00p-3:20p Eastern

Office Hours by appointment (arrange via email)

CMU Academic Calendar

Teaching Fellow: Wyatt Brooks (wmbrooks@andrew.cmu.edu)

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(If needed, our Zoom room will be [https://bit.ly/representation\\_voting\\_rights](https://bit.ly/representation_voting_rights))

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## Description/Objective:

Democracy in the United States is looking a bit rickety. Decades of progress in voting rights are countered by recent efforts to weaken the connection between popular opinion and representational outcomes. This course will address a board set of topics relating to representation, including redistricting, the process of redrawing legislative and congressional lines, which every state will do in 2021. Redistricting can remedy a distorted Census count - or make its effects tenfold worse. We will address how lines can be drawn to enhance fairness and the representation of diverse communities. We will also spend time on the concept of ‘one person, one vote’, the Electoral College, the structure of federalism (vertical representation) and checks and balances in the branches of government (horizontal representation). Special attention will be given to access to the franchise, both in the historical context modern voting rights.

## Key Topics:

The electoral connection, the Voting Rights Act, formal, substantive, descriptive, and symbolic representation, gerrymandering, ‘One person, one vote’, policy congruence

## Course Relevance:

Representation is fundamental to modern government. Understanding how governments respond to public opinion, electoral outcomes, and public sentiment more broadly is key to understanding how republics maintain credibility. Though this class will most squarely focus on the United States, other democratic institutional arrangements will be used for comparison. Recent anti-majoritarian outcomes in the United States have led scholars and the public generally to question the electoral link. One particularly crucial aspect of this is in the manipulation of legislative districts, better known as gerrymandering. We will spend several weeks on the provisions of the U.S. Constitution that require the redrawing of legislative districts every decade, including just recently after the 2020 census. Beyond simply learning about this process, we will draw districts using geographic information systems software. The work product produced in this course can be delivered to state and local governments as public input into the redistricting process. Multiple tracks will be offered for those more interested in the computer science, mathematics, legal, or geographic aspects of redistricting.

## Summary:

In this course, we will explore the concept of representation. There are three major aspects of representation we will explore: 1) voting rights, 2) electoral democracy and representation, 3) formal representation (i.e., redistricting). The principal focus will be on addressing these topics in the context of American politics. But democracy and representation are universal values and insights from other systems may be incorporated.

We will explore the theoretical underpinnings of representation from a democratic norms' perspective, the legal and constitutional nature of U.S. institutions. We will spend several weeks reviewing the history of voting rights in America. Legislative elections in the US are held in single-member districts, which require the drawing of district boundaries every decade. Several weeks of the course will be devoted to understanding this process. We will learn to draw legally compliant electoral maps. We will also explore the possibility to create manipulated districting schemes that can lead to partisan or racial advantages. Moreover, we will learn to identify features of redistricting plans that exhibit these biases.

## Prerequisite Knowledge:

None required. This course will begin with the most basic understanding of democratic processes and attempt to “build the puzzle” of the complex systems that make up our representative democracy. It will be helpful to be comfortable working with probability and statistics. Redistricting will be done on laptop computer running Dave's Redistricting App. Computer programming is optional.

## Learning Objectives:

Students will learn to use concepts from law, political science, math, sociology, and computer science to understand the political world as it relates to voting and elections. They will be able to identify the strengths and weaknesses of different electoral systems with respect to representation and policy outcomes. They will be able to connect voting rights to groups' experiences and opportunities. Students will explore what voting rights mean to different communities, how these differences help inform us about needed areas of improvement, and how institutional design affects incentive structures. This includes how institutions can create disadvantages for minority groups when decisions are made by majority rule. Given the differences in voting rules, students will be able to show how the choice of electoral system can overcome structural discrimination against minority groups.

Students will learn about the US Census and decennial reapportionment. They will develop the necessary skills to design legally compliant political districting maps. They will explore how legislative district lines can differentially affect groups, potentially leading to reduced representation, especially for marginalized groups. Students will learn how to analyze maps using common data techniques. They will be exposed to advanced techniques from computer science and mathematics. Students will create a plan for reducing inequality in voting rights and a more equitable society.

By the end of the course, students will be able to use methods from their own discipline to identify and improve on deficiencies in voting systems and use methods from other disciplines that can enhance approaches to solving problems of democracy.

In general, submitting assignments on time lets me provide feedback in a more timely and efficient manner. Assignments build on each other, so timely submissions are crucial to your progress in the class. However, sometimes life happens. If you cannot submit an assignment on time, the default will be that you will be eligible for 90% of the grade the first 48 hours that the assignment is late. If you must submit beyond 48 hours past the due date, please contact me [cervas@cmu.edu](mailto:cervas@cmu.edu) as soon as possible so we can plan.

## Course Requirements:

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Class Attendance/Participation, 10%	10%
Book Review	20%
In-class exercises	30%

Plan Comparison & Analysis	10%
Ohio U.S. House Map (and write up)	10%
Expert Witness Report	20%

## Books:

- NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES, REDISTRICTING LAW 2020 (National Conference of State Legislatures) (2019) – available free of charge, courtesy of Wendy Underhill and Tim Storey at NCSL available online
- MATTHEW J. STREB, RETHINKING AMERICAN ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY (Routledge 3rd Edition) (2015), Available via Virtual Reserve from CMU library, or from the publisher.

## Assignments:

### Book Review:

You will select from the list below, or from a reading of your choice related to representation or voting rights, a book in which you will review. This review will consist of a summary of the book. I am also interested in your own thoughts about how well the author approached to subject matter, what they did particularly well, and what weaknesses exists. You may also comment on paths for future research, or how the evidence of the book may be applicable to today's political and social world. In total, a book review should not exceed 5 single-spaced pages, but you may not need more than 3 single-spaced pages in total. Grad Students: You will present your book review with a short PowerPoint, appx 10 mins.

### Potential Books (or another, with approval):

- DAVID DALEY, UNRIGGED: HOW AMERICANS ARE BATTLING BACK TO SAVE DEMOCRACY (Liveright) (2020), <https://wnnorton.com/books/9781631495755>
- ROBERT D. PUTNAM & SHAYLYN ROMNEY GARRETT, THE UPSWING: HOW AMERICA CAME TOGETHER A CENTURY AGO AND HOW WE CAN DO IT AGAIN (Simon & schuster) (2021), <https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/The-Upswing/Robert-D-Putnam/9781982129156>
- M.P. FIORINA, UNSTABLE MAJORITIES: POLARIZATION, PARTY SORTING, AND POLITICAL STALEMATE (Hoover Institution Press) (2017), <https://books.google.com/books?id=cLw8DwAAQB AJ>
- JONATHAN A. RODDEN, WHY CITIES LOSE: THE DEEP ROOTS OF THE URBAN-RURAL POLITICAL DIVIDE (Basic Books) (2019), <https://www.basicbooks.com/titles/jonathan-a-rodden/why-cities-lose/9781541644250/>
- RICHARD L. HASEN, CHEAP SPEECH: HOW DISINFORMATION POISONS OUR POLITICS—AND HOW TO CURE IT (Yale University Press) (2022)
- PAUL STARR, ENTRENCHMENT: WEALTH, POWER, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES (Yale University Press) (2019), <https://yalebooks.yale.edu/9780300238471/entrenchment>
- RICHARD ROTHSTEIN, THE COLOR OF LAW: A FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF HOW OUR GOVERNMENT SEGREGATED AMERICA (Liveright) (2017), <https://wnnorton.com/books/the-color-of-law/>

- E.J. DIONNE JR. & MILES RAPOPORT, 100% DEMOCRACY: THE CASE FOR UNIVERSAL VOTING (The New Press) (2022), <https://thenewpress.com/books/100-democracy>
- DAVID A. HOPKINS, RED FIGHTING BLUE: HOW GEOGRAPHY AND ELECTORAL RULES POLARIZE AMERICAN POLITICS (Cambridge University Press 1) (2017), <https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9781108123594/type/book>
- ANGELA Y. DAVIS ET AL., ABOLITION. FEMINISM. NOW. (Haymarket Books) (2022), <https://www.haymarketbooks.org/books/1546-abolition-feminism-now>
- JOHN LEWIS ET AL., CARRY ON: REFLECTIONS FOR A NEW GENERATION (Grand Central Publishing) (2021), <https://www.grandcentralpublishing.com/titles/john-lewis/carry-on/9781538707142/>

### **In-class exercises:**

Throughout the semester, we will have several in-class exercises. These are short, creative-type assignments designed to support your other assignments and to provoke thoughtful evaluations of our democracy. You will be able to collaborate in teams, but each student must submit individually. You will begin these in class and will have until the following day at midnight to submit on Canvas.

### **Plan Comparison:**

You will compare several alternative plans for Ohio US Congressional Districts that were proposed for the 2021 round of redistricting. You will find at least two plans and compare them to the map adopted by the OH legislature (which is illegal after 2022). You should compare it on measure of traditional criteria, and on measures of partisan and racial equity. A very short write-up should accompany your comparisons, not to exceed two pages single-spaced. In addition to the write-up, you should prepare maps (screenshots or otherwise), tables, and any other visuals to enhance your writeup.

### **Redistricting Plan:**

You will create a Congressional plan for US House in Ohio. Each plan should consist of 15 districts. The plan should be fair, as you understand fair. You should then write-up your conclusions about this plan, and why it is fair. This should not exceed one-single-spaced pages and should also include maps and tables (not included in the max page count). You may describe any communities of interests you have preserved in your text.

### **Expert Witness Report:**

Using the two prior assignments, you will construct a report analyzing the illegal Congressional districting plan used in the 2022 election in Ohio. You will be writing as if you were hired by either the plaintiffs or the defendants in response to the Ohio congressional plan. You will evaluate the plan in comparison to your plan (“YOUR-LAST-NAME illustrative plan”), and the other two alternative plans you have analyzed. In your write up, you will describe why the plan should be determined to be legal or illegal (your choice). You can use reports that I have written in this capacity as a guide for your own report. It should be at least 3 and not to exceed 6 single-spaced pages (excluding tables and maps, which you should include). You should also put links to each of the plan’s DRA page so that the reader can access the plans. You should briefly describe the legal requirements for a redistricting plan in Ohio, include state and federal statutory law. You may work with at most 3 other people as a group on this report. If you do this, then you should use maps created by each member in the comparison, and the page length can be at most 10 single-spaced pages to accommodate the extra plans.

### **Important Dates:**

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1/17	First day of class
2/23	Book Review due
4/25	Plan comparison due
4/27	Maps and analysis due
4/27	Final day of class
5/5	Expert Witness Report due
5/16	Final Grades must be submitted

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## Course Structure:

This provides an outline of the course, including topics and a reading schedule. Topics are subject to change (1) because of the virtual nature of the course and (2) democracy often gives us more urgent topics to address. This is not a history course, and we are living in a time when redistricting will be taking place. That said, I will spend a few weeks talking about the history of voting rights in America and how that informs our understanding of contemporary rights.

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## CLASS SCHEDULE

### PART 0 – Introduction

#### Week 1 - Introductions and General Discussion – Creating a Model of Electoral Democracy

##### Jan 17 – First Class, introductions & syllabus

- In-class exercise – Who has the right to vote?
- WHAT DOES THE CONSTITUTION SAY ABOUT THE RIGHT TO VOTE? DEMOCRACY DOCKET, <https://www.democracydocket.com/news/what-does-the-constitution-say-about-the-right-to-vote/>
- Ed Crews, Voting in Early America, COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG JOURNAL (2007), <https://research.colonialwilliamsburg.org/Foundation/journal/Spring07/elections.cfm>

### PART I – Voting Rights in America

The first part of the class will be dedicated to voting rights. I will lecture from Keyssar's classic work on the history of voting rights in the United States. An appreciation for history can allow us to better understand our current context. Graduate students are asked to read the book. Undergraduate students will read supplemental reading material during this part of class.

##### Jan 19 – Voting Rights, an introduction

- (Introduction, pages XVIII-XXVI) ALEXANDER KEYSSAR, THE RIGHT TO VOTE: THE CONTESTED HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES (Basic Books) (2009), <https://ash.harvard.edu/publications/right-vote-contested-history-democracy-united-states>

#### Week 2 – The Road to Partial Democracy

##### Jan 24 – Democracy on ascend

- Francis Newton Thorpe, Democracy in America, THE ATLANTIC, Dec. 1, 1893, <https://web.archive.org/web/20221104152812/https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1893/12/democracy-in->

america/523974/

- THE CITIZEN IN DE TOCQUEVILLE'S AMERICA CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATIONS, <https://www.crf-usa.org/election-central/de-tocqueville-america.html>

### **Jan 26 – Backsliding**

- DANYELLE SOLOMAN ET AL., SYSTEMATIC INEQUALITY AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (2019), <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/systematic-inequality-american-democracy/>
- Kate Masur, Winning the Right to Ride, SLATE, Dec. 26, 2017, <https://slate.com/human-interest/2017/12/black-activists-post-emancipation-battle-for-d-c-s-city-streetcars-one-of-the-first-civil-rights-victories-on-public-transportation.html>

### **Week 3 – Narrowing the Portals**

#### **Jan 31 – America after civil war**

- RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA: RACIAL VIOLENCE AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, 1865-1876 (Equal Justice Initiative), <https://eji.org/report/reconstruction-in-america/>

#### **Feb 2 – World Wars and civil rights**

- RICHARD ROTHSTEIN, BROWN V. BOARD AT 60: WHY HAVE WE BEEN SO DISAPPOINTED? WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED? (Economic Policy Institute) (2014), <https://files.epi.org/2014/EPI-Brown-v-Board-04-17-2014.pdf>
- AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights) (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf) Chapter 1, pages 15-41

### **Week 4 – Towards Universal Suffrage – and Beyond**

#### **Feb 7 – Democracy in the 21st century**

- Geoffrey Skelley & Anna Wiederkehr, How The Frost Belt And Sun Belt Illustrate The Complexity Of America's Urban-Rural Divide, FIVETHIRTYEIGHT, Jan. 27, 2021, <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-the-frost-belt-and-sun-belt-illustrate-the-complexity-of-americas-urban-rural-divide/>
- VOTING RIGHTS: A SHORT HISTORY CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK, <https://www.carnegie.org/our-work/article/voting-rights-timeline/>
- The 'Stolen' Election That Poisoned American Politics. It Happened in 1984., <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2023/01/06/indiana-8th-1984-election-recount-00073924>

### **PART II – Representation**

The second part of the class we will deal with representation more broadly. Much of the reading will be from Streb's book, but I will introduce other topics during lecture/discussion.

**Feb 9 – Representation** In-class exercise – Design your ideal representative - Streb, Chapter 1, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1PliPWsXl3LQfEoigTSkRcPaZijrgRyY4/view?usp=sharing> - Putnam, What's Past is Prologue (Chapter 1, available online)

### **Week 5 – Rethinking the Costs of Voting**

## **Feb 14 – Turnout**

- **In-class exercise – Conspiracy Theories**
- Streb, Chapter 2
- RODRIGO DOMINGUEZ-VILLEGAS & MICHAEL RIOS, FROM ELIGIBILITY TO THE BALLOT BOX: EXAMINING THE RACIAL AND ETHNIC VOTER TURNOUT GAPS IN THE U.S. AND CALIFORNIA (UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Institute) (2022), <https://latino.ucla.edu/research/voter-turnout-gaps-2020/>

## **Feb 16 – The offices we elect/direct democracy**

- Streb, Chapter 3 and 4

## **Week 6 – Rethinking the Mechanics of Voting/ Voting Machines**

### **Feb 21 – Ballot Laws/Voting Machines**

- Streb, Chapter 5
- Streb, Chapter 6
- Mark Scolforo, Majority of 16k canceled Pa. mail-in ballots were from Dems, AP NEWS, Jan. 6, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/2022-midterm-elections-pennsylvania-united-states-government-a1c75c9cfc2f1bfca21ac4a4cbfe60f0>

### **Feb 23 – Presidential Primaries Book Review Due**

*Book Review presentations (grad students)*

- Streb, Chapter 8
- Jeff Greenfield, Iowa and New Hampshire Are Getting the Boot. So What?, POLITICO, Dec. 6, 2022, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2022/12/06/democrats-2024-primary-schedule-iowa-new-hampshire-00072221>
- Paul E. Peterson, How to stop Trump from becoming the GOP nominee again, CNN, Jan. 5, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/01/05/opinions/stopping-trump-2024-proportional-representation-peterson/index.html>

## **Week 7 – Rethinking National Elections**

### **Feb 28 – The Electoral College**

- Streb, Chapter 9
- Tim Lau, The Electoral College, Explained, BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE, Feb. 17, 2021, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/electoral-college-explained>

### **March 2 – Campaign Finance/ Moving Towards a Model Electoral Democracy**

- Streb, Chapter 10 and 11
- TOTAL COST OF 2022 STATE AND FEDERAL ELECTIONS PROJECTED TO EXCEED \$16.7 BILLION OPENSECRETS NEWS, <https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2022/11/total-cost-of-2022-state-and-federal-elections-projected-to-exceed-16-7-billion/>

## **Spring Break March 7 and March 9**

## **Week 9 – Polarization and Sorting**

## **March 14 – Polarization**

- Morris P. Fiorina, Has the American Public Polarized?, 2 HOOVER INSTITUTION PRESS 24 (2016), <https://www.hoover.org/research/has-american-public-polarized>
- Party Sorting And Democratic Politics, 4 HOOVER INSTITUTION PRESS (2016), <https://www.hoover.org/research/party-sorting-and-democratic-politics>

**March 16 – Geographic Polarization and Sorting** In-class exercise – Sorting/Segregation/Partisan & Racial Bias - Greg Martin & Steven Webster, Why Are Americans So Geographically Polarized? - The Atlantic, THE ATLANTIC, Nov. 26, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20221119174825/https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/11/why-are-americans-so-geographically-polarized/575881/> - Emily Badger et al., A Close-Up Picture of Partisan Segregation, Among 180 Million Voters, THE NEW YORK TIMES, Mar. 17, 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20221223201803/https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/03/17/upshot/partisan-segregation-maps.html>

## **Week 10 – Election and Voting Reform**

**March 21 - Election Reform (Wyatt Brooks Guest Lecture)** \*In-class exercise – Design an electoral reform\*\*

- Lee Drutman, How Democracies Revive, NISKANEN CENTER 15 (2022), [https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/drutman\\_howdemocracyrevives\\_final.pdf](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/drutman_howdemocracyrevives_final.pdf)

## **March 23 – Immigration, diversity explosion**

- Chapter 1, pages 1-19 WILLIAM H. FREY, DIVERSITY EXPLOSION (Brookings Institution Press) (2015), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctt6wpc40>

## **PART III – Redistricting**

The third and final part of the class, approximately one month, will be devoted to the topic of legislative redistricting. This is my major area of speciality, and I intend this to be the most interesting part of the course.

## **Week 11 – Counting the people**

### **March 28 – The U.S. Census/ Malapportionment**

- In-class exercise – Census data collections
- NCSL Chapter 1 – Census
- NCSL Chapter 2 – Equal Population
- MOMENTUM GATHERS TO IMPROVE 2030 CENSUS, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/momentum-gathers-improve-2030-census>

## **Principles, criteria, and who draws the lines, Redistricting Commissions**

### **March 30 – Criteria for districting, from traditional principles to more expansive principles**

- NCSL Chapter 4 – Redistricting Principles and Criteria
- NCSL Chapter 5 – Redistricting Commissions



## **Week 12 –How to create a plan**

### **April 4 – Intro to DRA, Redistricting by Computer**

- **In-class exercise – Drawing a districting plan**
- Richard J. Meislin, Computers to Redistrict State in a Beep and a Flash; “An Expensive Pencil” Computers to Redraw the Districts In New York in a Beep and a Flash Graphics in Seconds, THE NEW YORK TIMES, Jul. 10, 1980, <https://www.nytimes.com/1980/07/10/archives/computers-to-redistrict-state-in-a-beep-and-a-flash-an-expensive.html>
- GETTING STARTED IN DRA 2020 DRA 2020, <https://medium.com/dra-2020/getting-started-in-dra-2020-84b76e6ae014>
- BUILDING YOUR DISTRICT MAP DRA 2020, <https://medium.com/dra-2020/building-your-district-map-c4368670648e>

## **Racial and Partisan Gerrymandering**

### **April 6 – Racial Minorities and Racial Gerrymandering**

- NCSL Chapter 3 – Racial and Language Minorities
- Nicholas Casey, Voting Rights Battle in a School Board ‘Coup,’ THE NEW YORK TIMES, Oct. 26, 2020, at 1, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/25/us/politics/voting-rights-georgia.html>
- FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL ERIC HOLDER, <https://www.npr.org/2022/05/10/1097997303/former-attorney-general-eric-holder>

## **Week 13 – Federal Law**

### **April 11 – The Voting Rights Act**

- Carrie Johnson, How The Voting Rights Act Came To Be And How It’s Changed, NPR, Aug. 26, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/08/26/1026457264/1965-voting-rights-act-supreme-court-john-lewis>
  - Nina Totenberg, The Supreme Court Deals A New Blow To Voting Rights, Upholding Arizona Restrictions, NPR, Jul. 1, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/07/01/998758022/the-supreme-court-upheld-upholds-arizona-measures-that-restrict-voting>
  - Eyder Peralta et al., Supreme Court Strikes Down Key Provision Of Voting Rights Law, NPR, Jun. 25, 2013, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2013/06/25/195506795/supreme-court-strikes-down-key-provision-of-voting-rights-law>
- No Class April 13 – Carnival**

## **Week 14 – Political Gerrymandering**

### **April 18 – Partisan Gerrymandering**

- NCSL Chapter 6 – Partisan Redistricting
- Opinion of the Court, pages 1-34 Rucho v. Common Cause, 139 S.Ct. [https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/18pdf/18-422\\_9ol1.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/18pdf/18-422_9ol1.pdf)

## **April 20 – Rucho/Pennsylvania 2018/NY 2022 Court Cases**

- Kagan, Dissenting, pages 1-33 [https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/18pdf/18-422\\_9ol1.pdf#page=40](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/18pdf/18-422_9ol1.pdf#page=40)
- JONATHAN CERVAS, REPORT OF THE SPECIAL MASTER: HARKENRIDER V. HOCHUL (2022), <http://jonathancervas.com/2022/NY/CERVAS-SM-NY-2022.pdf>

## **Week 15 – Computer redistricting**

### **April 25 – Automated Redistricting Plan comparison due**

- REDISTRICTING ALGORITHMS, <http://arxiv.org/abs/2011.09504>

### **April 27 – Democracy in limbo, the future of American Democracy Redistricting Plan due**

- Audie Cornish et al., How the U.S. became a “backsliding democracy,” according to a European think tank, NPR, Nov. 25, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/11/25/1059262066/how-the-u-s-became-a-backsliding-democracy-according-to-a-european-think-tank>

- STOP PROJECTING AMERICA’S DEMOCRATIC DECLINE ONTO THE WORLD FOREIGN POLICY, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/10/18/united-states-democracy-backsliding-world-trump-populism-russia-china/>

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Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form an hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect. – Edmund Burke

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## **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:**

Academic Integrity is a core CMU value, and as a member of the CMU community, it is important that the work you turn in for this class is wholly your own. As your instructor, I will strive to ensure that you develop the necessary knowledge and skills to meet the learning objectives for this class, just as it is your task to put in the effort to complete the work and ask for help if you need it. In this hybrid/remote environment for Spring 2021, you might have questions about what is and is not acceptable. I do not like when politicians steal power from some voters, and likewise I do not like when students steal other’s intellectual property. Do not do it, it is not worth it. I have created a course that everyone can be, and should be, successful in.

As a reminder all students should follow CMU’s Academic Integrity Policy.

## **ACCOMMODATIONS FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES:**

If you have a disability and have an accommodations letter from the Disability Resources office, I encourage you to discuss your accommodations and needs with me as early in the semester as possible. I will work with you to ensure that accommodations are provided as appropriate. If you suspect that you may have a disability and would benefit from accommodations but are not yet registered with the Office of Disability Resources, I encourage you to contact them at [access@andrew.cmu.edu](mailto:access@andrew.cmu.edu).

**STUDENT WELLNESS:**

As a student, you may experience a range of challenges that can interfere with learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, substance use, feeling down, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation. These mental health concerns or stressful events may diminish your academic performance and/or reduce your ability to participate in daily activities. CMU services are available, and treatment does work. You can learn more about confidential mental health services available on campus at: <http://www.cmu.edu/counseling/>. Support is always available (24/7) from Counseling and Psychological Services: 412-268-2922

**DIVERSITY STATEMENT:**

It is my intent that students from all diverse backgrounds and perspectives be well served by this course, that students' learning needs be addressed both in and out of class, and that the diversity that students bring to this class be viewed as a resource, strength and benefit. It is my intent to present materials and activities that are respectful of diversity: gender, sexuality, disability, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race, and culture. Your suggestions are encouraged and appreciated. Please let me know ways to improve the effectiveness of the course for you personally or for other students or student groups. In addition, if any of our class meetings conflict with your religious events, please let me know so that we can plan accordingly.

Like American democracy itself, this syllabus is subject to amendment. The process of amendment is as follows: (1) all students and the professor get one vote; (2) a simple majority of voters agree to a change; (2) a student's vote is weighted as  $1/n$  where  $n$ =number of students and a professor has a vote weighted as  $n+1$ . All amendments will be announced publicly and no student shall be injured by changes. You might notice that this clause creates uneven voting power. Basically, I'm a dictator; but I am benevolent, and I want you to succeed, so I will listen to all requests.