Texas tops red state tilt in census

By Seema Mehta, Tom Hamburger and Kim Geiger TRIBUNE NEWSPAPERS

The nation's population and political heft continued to swing toward the South and West in the 2010 census, the U.S. Census Bu-reau said Tuesday.

The swings signaled shifts that could shape future control of the Congress and even the White House. And population changes were so sharp that California, which has long had the largest delegation in Congress, will not gain more seats for nearly the first time since becoming a state some

time since becoming a state some 160 years ago. Besides Illinois, other politi-cally pivotal states — including Ohio, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania — will lose seats. The U.S. population reached 308.7 million, but the growth rate for the decade way the lower

for the decade was the lowest since the Great Depression.

The big winners in the once-a-decade reallotment of House seats were Texas, which will gain four, and Florida, which will gain two. The biggest losers were New York and Ohio, which will each lose two. Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, South Carolina, Utah and Washington will pick up one seat each. With Illinois in losing one seat are Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The numbers will give Repub-licans an edge in the 2012 congres-

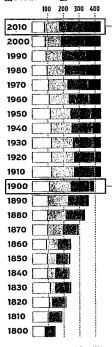
sional and presidential elections. Assuming states follow their past patterns in presidential races, the GOP stands to see a net gain of about seven votes in the Electoral College. President Barack Obama won the 2008 election by a margin of 192 electoral votes.

Republicans are likely to gain in Congress as well. How much will depend in part on whether the new voters who have swelled the populations of Southern and Western states adopt the party loyalties of longtime residents or head in a different direction. "The big question mark long-

Going west, south

Over the past century, America's population, and subsequently its congressional districts, have shifted from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West. New census data point to a continuation of that shift: Northern and Midwestern states lost almost a dozen seats to their Southern and Western neighbors.

Districts by year, by region Northeast Midwest 📕 West 國South



term is Texas," said William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution, who noted that the big gains in that state were due in large part to a growing Latino population. In California, the growth of the Latino vote has made the state considerably more Democratic, but "Democrats can't depend on Hispanics in Texas as much as they might in other states." Frey said.

Another factor will be the stateby-state battles over the drawing of new congressional district lines. Republicans will have the advantage because they control a majority of state legislatures.

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Congressional districts in 2010 ...

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In the census driven reappor-tionment of House seats, each state is guaranteed one spot, and the remaining 385 seats are div-yied among the 50 states using a formula pegged to state popula-tion. The census data will also be used to distribute more than \$400 billion annually from federal pro-grams that allocate funds on a

per-capita basis. Overall, the new census figures reflect how population growth varied regionally, with the South

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and West continuing a multidecade trend of big gains. Nevada led the nation, with a population explosion of 35.1 percent. Growth in the Northeast and the industri-al Midwest was anemic, with Michigan losing 0.6 percent of its

population. Fights over reapportionment are handled differently in each state. In several states, districts will be redrawn by independent bodies to limit political influence.

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau MAX RUST/TRIBUÑE NEWSPAPERS

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But elsewhere, legislatures will craft the new boundaries, often with final approval required from

the governoi: Republicans control both legis-lative houses in 25 states, up from 14 before the election. Democrats control both houses in 16 states.

Democrats acknowledged that they lack power in state capitols but said they have been preparing all year for legal efforts to defend their interests.

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NEWS FOCUS **U.S.** census

Dems have upper hand in redrawing political borders

By Rick Pearson TRIBUNE REPORTER

Illinois will lose one of its 19 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in 2013, federal officials said Tuesday, kicking off a struggle to redraw the state's political boundaries that will be domi-nated by Democrats who already control state government.

National figures unveiled by the U.S. Census Bureau show Illinois' new population total as of April 2010: 12,830,632. That's up 3.3 percent from the 2000 census population of 12,419,293.

But that growth once again didn't keep pace with faster grow-ing states in the West and South, so Illinois will lose congressional representation for the fourth consecutive census — six seats since 1980.

Now the focus shifts to Springfield, where Democrats will have the strong upper hand in laying out not only new congressional boundaries, but all-important state House and Senate districts for the next decade. Mapmakers will employ political art in drawing legislative districts aiméd at passing legal muster while shifting lines to benefit party incumbents and make future gains.

Gov. Pat Quinn's victory in November means the Demo-cratic-controlled Legislature can draw the maps without fear of a governor's veto, though Republicans are already warning they could use legal challenges as their final recourse.

The news is hardly good for the state's five new GOP congressmen, who rode a national anti-incumbent wave but now face the possibility of being thrown against other GOP representatives or into Democratic-leaning districts for the next election.

"Democrats will get together and draw up a plan, and it will become law before people have a chance to take a look at it," said David Yepsen, director of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois, University at

Carbondale, "I'm afraid it's going to be an example of legislators picking their constituents rather than constituents picking their politicians.'

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But a spokesman for Illinois House Speaker Michael Madigan, the veteran Southwest Side lawmaker who also is state Demo-cratic chairman, said rulings by the federal courts largely control how the map lines for congres-

sional districts can be drawn.

sional districts can be drawn. Those rulings work to ensure representation for minorities. "The control of the process will rest in the federal courts because of the (federal) Voting, Rights Act," said Madigan spokesman Steve Brown, "For the not well-informed who think it's all about treating a Democratic relation creating a Democratic majority. look at the history of the federal laws."

Though Quinn has said he supports an open and competitive redistricting process, state Republican Chairman Pat Brady is wary that Democrats will try to ain seats that will last a decade in Congress and the statehouse. Brady said the GOP will turn to the courts if they feel the maps violate federal court rulings that have backed compact districts that do not divide communities.

A decade ago, state lawmakers largely complied with a congressional deal agreed upon by former Republican House Speaker Den-Républican House Speaker Den-nis Hastert and former veteran U.S. Rep. William Lipinski, a Chi-cago Democrat, The deal initially split 18 seats between Democrats and Republicans, while forcing two downstate incumbents, Re-publican John Shimkus and Dem-dorat David Phelps, into a 19th district, which Shimkus won. Throughout the decade, though, Democrats gained and held a majority of congressional

though, Democrats ganed, and held a majority of congressional seats. Entering November, Demo-crats had a 12.7 edge over Repub-licans in the U.S. House dele-gation. But the GOP's national sweep in last month's election reversed the delegation majority. to 11-8 for Republicans in the new Congress that meets in January.

Congress that meets in January. The five incoming Republican congressmen — Bobby Schilling, of the Quad Cities area; central Illinois' Adam Kinzinger, Robert Dold and Joe Walsh in the north suburbs; and Randy Hultgren in the far southwest suburbs suburbs; and kandy many many many many the far southwest suburbs — could find their districts vastly redrawn. And some incumbent Republicans, could find more Democrats in districts once safe

from political challenges. Privately, some Democrats and Republicans agree that potential scenarios could involve merging parts of Schilling's district with those of the 18th central Illinois district of Republican U.S. Rep. Aaron Schock of Peoria and the northwestern Illinois 16th District of U.S. Rep. Donald Manzullo of Leaf River. Schilling, of Colona, lives about 65 miles away from both Schock and from Manzullo, making it easier for mapmakers to set up potential head-to-head matches in a largely rural part of the state.

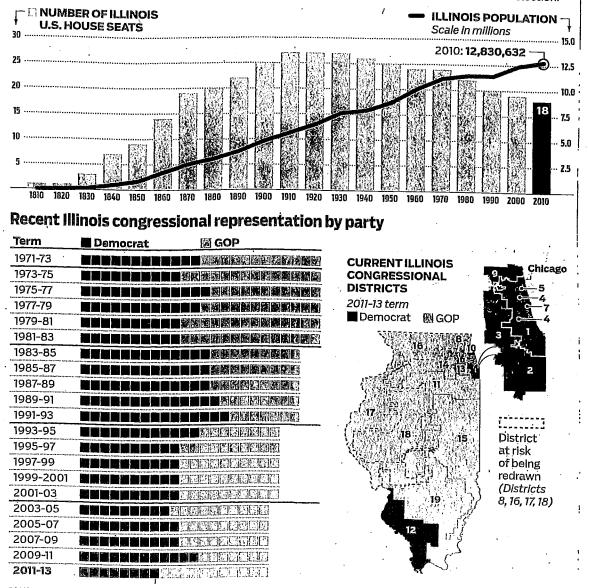
Still, closer to Chicago, elements of Manzullo's district also could be combined with the North Shore 10th District of Dold and 8th District of Walsh. A month of the server as

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State down to 18 representatives

Illinois' population continues to grow more slowly than other parts of the country, resulting in the state losing representation in Congress for the fourth consecutive U.S. census. The Illinois delegation to the U.S. House peaked at 27 in 1930. The state legislature will redraw the congressional district maps for the 2012 election.



SOURCES: U.S. Census Bureau, Illinois Blue Book

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Gov. Pat Quinn signed the remap bill at the Chinese American Service League. The law requires mapmakers to consider racial communities

Quinn signs remap reform, but critics call it too weak

By Rick Pearson TRIBUNE REPORTER

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Gov. Pat Quinn on Monday signed into law a measure aimed at bringing transparency to the politically arduous task of redrawing legislative boundaries, but critics said the changes fail to require input when the public needs it the most: after new map lines have been drawn.

The bill signing took-place at the Chinese American Service League in the heart of the city's Chinatown neighborhood. Another provision in the law requires mapmakers to consider special racial and language-based communities of interest. Leaders have argued that Asian-American interests were diluted by splintering Chinatown into multiple legislative districts.

Redistricting traditionally is one of the most complicated, closely held and politically driven acts of the Legislature — redrawing the state's 59 Senate and 118 House districts to reflect changes in population from the U.S. census. Results from the 2010 federal census were delivered to lawmakers last month.

Democrats control the House, Senate and governor's office. That allows the party to redraw map lines to help Democrats keep control of the Legislature and make it harder for Republicans to get elected. Illinois Republicans were rendered into a decade-long minority under the 2001 map.

The new law will require lawmakers to hold four hearings across the state to get input on "existing districts," rather than, on new districts, that are being proposed. Sen. Kwame Raoul, D Chicago, who sponsored the legislation and heads the Senate's redistricting panel, called the requirement "a floor, not a celling" and said that next week he will announce at least 10 hearings.

Raoul said he also plans to hold hearings on new map lines if it can be "practical," given the Legislature's traditional end-of-session workload in May.

But Cindi Canary, director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform, warned that the new law "makes no guarantee that the public will have time to review new districts and propose improvements. There's nothing to prevent the doors from being shut after a few public hearings are held, and the next thing you know, the map's been passed and there's no opportunity to change it."

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MONDAY, MARCH 21, 2011 USA TODAY

Software opens up redistricting

Technology puts 'power in people's hands' and helps take mystery out of process

By Gregory Korte USA TODAY

FREDERICKSBURG, Va. - Political science professor Chad Murphy often sees senior Mike Kappert wandering around the University of Mary Washington campus with his laptop open and a map of Virginia state Senate districts up in his Web browser.

Kappert, working around the clock to meet a tight deadline, is using new software to draw an updated Senate district map - one he hopes will win his team a \$2,000 top prize in a statewide competition when the winning maps are announced Tuesday. More importantly, he hopes the Virginia Legislature will consider his map as it adjusts political boundaries to the 2010 Census.

Across the USA, college students, citizen activists and political junkies are using similar software to break a mapmaking monopoly held for decades by state lawmakers.

'The technology has evolved so much that it's become almost entirely democratized," says Bob Hols-worth, chairman of Virginia's bipartisan redistricting commission. "This will be a fact of political life from now on.

Virginia is one of the first states to redistrict because it has odd-year state elections this November, but citizen-drawn maps are popping up in other states, too;

Law students at Columbia University in New York City are attempting to draw districts for all 435 U.S. House seats at DrawCongress.org. "The educational

component is for the students themselves, but also the general public," says their professor, Nate Persily. "When the line drawers say something can't be done, we can say 'Look — we did it.' " ► Dave Bradlee, a 55-year-old

Seattle software developer, created DavesRedistricting.com. It's sponsored by the liberal ProgressiveCongress.org, but Bradlee says activists of all stripes use it. "It can put power in people's hands," Bradlee says. "People can see how the process works, so it's a little less mysterious than it was 10 years ago.'

► The Michigan Center for Election Law will host a competition open to any state resident. "The goal is to move beyond just hav-

ing forums with citizens to talk about redistricting, but give citizens the tools to draw their own maps," said Jocelyn Benson, the center's director and a former Democratic candidate for Michigan secretary of state.

'Breakthrough' but no panacea

The Michigan contest — like the one in Virginia — is using software developed by George Mason University and available at Publicmapping.org.



Democratizes political mapmaking: Chad Murphy, center, shows, from left, Mike O'Donnell, Annie Morris and Mike Kappert the redistricting process at the University of Mary Washington in Fredricksburg, Va.

Developers of the software tout it as an antidote to gerrymandering - the drawing of odd-shaped districts to favor the party in power. "Right now, we don't know what all the options are, because we only see a limited number of plans produced by the political

process," said George Mason's Michael McDonald, who helped create the software.

"Certainly, this mapping software is a huge breakthrough," tor of the League of Women Voters of the United States,

of gerrymandering.

The Voting Rights Act says new boundaries can't diminish the ability of minority voters to elect a candidate of their choice. The Justice Department must preapprove Virginia's maps - and those of eight other states with a history of racial discrimination.

Although districts need to change to reflect shifting populations, predictability is also important so voters don't find themselves voting for unfamiliar candidates. "It turns out that people hate it when that happens;" and voter turnout suffers, Murphy tells his students.

Above all, there's "one man, one vote." Districts need to be identical in population. That can take work, Murphy says. "Equal literally means equal."

More than once, Kappert found himself with an un-workable map and had to start over. "The second you move the lines a little bit, the population goes out of whack in other districts," Kappert says. "It's incredible how delicate the balance is. I can't imagine how they did it without software."

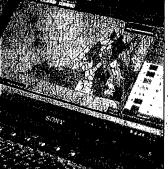
Seeking 'pure' process

The University of Mary Washington is one of 16 Vir-ginia colleges competing for \$13,500 in prizes funded by individual donors who support redistricting reform, said Quentin Kidd of Christopher Newport University, a co-organizer of the contest. On Tuesday, contest judges will pick winning maps to be submitted to the advisory commission for possible consideration by the Legislature.

Rappert, a 21-year-old business and political science major from Columbia, Md., is working with three classmates - Annié Morris, Mike O'Donnell and Nick lacobs – to draw the maps.

As one of the smaller schools in the contest, the Mary Washington students are competing with bigger and more prestigious schools such as the College of William and Mary, whose maps McDonald and Holsworth say could influence lawmakers in Richmond.

Kappert is competing for school pride, but also for good government. Gerrymandered maps rig the process by excluding candidates even before they have a chance to run, he says. His districts are 50% more compact than the current map. "We've all heard about re-districting gone wrong," Kappert says. "I'm really try-ing to make this as pure as possible."



No longer a monopoly: Political redistricting software helps draw legislative district boundaries.

says Nancy Tate, executive direc-

But, she said, it's not a panacea:.. The challenges now are the same as the challenges have always been: This is really complicated. It's not self-evident what is a perfect plan."

Indeed, even politically blind mapmakers have to balance competing objectives: Districts should be compact and follow natural boundaries, lest they be accused

Social Education 74(5), pp 274–278 ©2010 National Council for the Social Studies

The ReDistricting Game: Teaching Congressional Gerrymandering through an Online Simulation Game

Emily Juckett and Joseph R. Feinberg

"It used to be that the idea was, once every two years voters elected their representatives, and now, instead, it's every ten years the representatives choose their constituents."

–Pamela Karlan, quoted in *The New Yorker* (March 6, 2006)¹

he impact of the 2010 Census in conjunction with the outcome of the mid-term elections in November has the potential to alter the American political landscape in a significant way. After the elections, incumbents and newly elected state-level officials will analyze data from the Census to redraw the district lines for the 435 members of the House of Representatives, a process that is, in many ways, famously political. Senator John Cornyn (R-Tex.) is quoted as saying, "You can't take politics out of politics, and there is nothing more political than redistricting."²

Many of the newly elected governors and state legislatures will continue a redistricting practice that became notorious approximately 200 years ago. The process we call gerrymandering became known as such after Elbridge Gerry, who was governor of Massachusetts from 1810 to 1812, signed a map into law that included a uniquely shaped district that appeared to resemble a salamander. The district was nicknamed "gerrymander," which now describes the "intentional manipulation of district boundaries for individual or partisan gain."³ A few states have passed laws making it more difficult for the political parties in power to draw gerrymandered districts, but the majority of states have not instituted these safeguards.

Battles over district lines between Democrats and Republicans will likely make headlines when new lawmakers take office and is sure to be the subject of media scrutiny and citizen concern. Chris Satullo, news director for WHYY, calls the redistricting process, "The fine dark art of drawing the lines of political districts" to benefit incumbents and the party currently in power.⁴ It is important that student citizens learn about and evaluate the practice of drawing favorable district lines, because the impact of these local and regional decisions have important ramifications for the entire nation.

Social studies students may not easily notice or quickly grasp the significance of gerrymandered district lines. By arming students with knowledge and encourag-

ing them to make their voices heard in the political realm, social studies teachers have a unique opportunity to ensure that students discover the power in writing a letter to members of Congress, calling state legislatures, or participating in town hall meetings with fellow citizens. Most students ignore not only the census results but changes in congressional representation and shifts in the balance of political power. However, contemporary instructional methods, such as the digital simulation game described in this article, can make such issues more relevant to students and may encourage them to become more active citizens.

The ReDistricting Game

The ReDistricting Game is an online simulation game that engages learners in the redistricting process and spotlights the problem of gerrymandering districts in the United States.⁵ Hands-on simulation games such as this one can motivate students to think at higher levels and master key concepts. The concept of redistricting does not automatically lend

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itself to a fascinating learning experience for students. It is difficult for students to relate to the intricacies of redrawing congressional districts, let alone understand the political nature of the process. The ReDistricting Game makes the concept of gerrymandering relevant with student participants taking the role of a politician. As Norm Ornstein, of the conservative think tank the American Enterprise Institute noted, "It is not easy to make the redistricting process understandable and near-miraculous to be able to do so in a highly entertaining way."⁶ Through the simulated experience, game players explore solutions to relevant redistricting issues, while witnessing firsthand the consequences of altering districts. If there is limited access to computers or the Internet, we strongly recommend teaching about gerrymandering by using the simulation activity created by Steve Lapham in Middle Level Learning.⁷

Student Responses

In order to gain greater insight into student reactions to The ReDistricting Game and its associated web content, 28 students in a 12th grade honors American government class were asked to reflect on their experience with the game. Initially, they were instructed to explore The ReDistricting Game as a way to experience the process of drawing district lines from the perspective of a politician. Prior to this experience, the class briefly learned about gerrymandering and redistricting as part of a larger lecture, spending about 15 minutes examining the main parts of the processes and the relevant pressures on politicians. The class was given two class periods in the library and time at home to work through the website, play at least three rounds of the game, and explore a world where they have to make decisions from the p'erspective of a politician.

The simulation quickly puts students into the driver's seat of redistricting, showing them how the simple task of drawing lines on a map can quickly lead to unfair gerrymandering practices. By experiencing the simulated pressure of the situation, students learn more about political decision making and how our government functions. The ReDistricting website also offers students a chance to research contemporary gerrymandering issues throughout the nation, connecting them with current events and linking the topic to local challenges as well. As they worked through the game and website, students were asked to record their experiences and respond to a series of questions about the website (See Student Assignment Sheet for The ReDistricting Game on p. 280–281).

During the class time provided, student reactions varied. Some students were initially frustrated with the overwhelming amount of information on the website, but students took wildly different approaches to the task. Several students took the time to read through background information provided by the website, and located in several convenient places, before beginning the game; some read only the background for the first round of the game; and some skipped the background completely and jumped straight into the first scenario. The differing approaches did not seem to affect student success in the game.

As students worked to manipulate the district lines to accommodate the various needs of the scenarios, they had a variety of strategies. Some tried to make honest districts, some tried to make the most outlandish gerrymanders allowed, and one even tried to gerrymander animal shapes into his schemes—and succeeded three out of four times! Student reactions to the game were also divergent. As they worked, some were fixated, some grew frustrated, and some just focused on completing the task for the assignment grade.

The written responses from students revealed how they felt during the experience. Inexperienced gamers seemed to be the most frustrated. A Robotics Team member, who plays first-person shooter games on a regular basis, was also frustrated by the game because it

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failed to challenge his particular game skills. What was interesting was that students who approached the game as a puzzle tended to think that the game was easier and had more success. Those who saw the experience as a school task struggled more to find meaning and to learn from the game.

Students in this class were accustomed to the traditional teacher-centered learning, primarily through lecture format. This affected their answers about the use of the game in the classroom. While in their oral responses to their teacher, most students noted that the game was fun and useful, their written reflections tended to praise the portions of the website that offered vocabulary terms and information about legislation that would be useful when studying for a test. Several said that without this information, the game would be less useful when preparing for a test or quiz, yet they still claimed to learn from the game.

The students' apparent comfort with teacher-centered learning was also reflected in their responses to the question about curriculum design. Most students included in their potential lesson plans some sort of lecture element, but their designs almost all included elements of experiential learning as well. Several suggested that students give presentations to their classmates about various reallife gerrymandering situations because they learn best from teaching information to other students. Most interestingly, eight students suggested lesson plans that included a paper/pencil version of the game. This was evidently a result of several underlying emotions from students including frustration with the technology, feelings of disconnection from other classmates, and desire to learn in their typical or traditional format.

Reflections on Game Implementation

The ReDistricting Game experience is one that receives positive reviews from many sources—members of Congress, newspaper writers, and lobbyists all seem

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to view the game as an effective tool to teach about the issues of gerrymandering in redistricting scenarios.⁸ The students who explored the game gave it generally positive reviews, most saying several days later that the experience was unique in their high school careers and one that should be offered to future government classes. On the unit test following the game play, students overwhelmingly answered the questions on gerrymandering and redistricting correctly. While this may be attributed to their extended exposure to the topic, we believe that the game play had a positive impact in making the information memorable. Several

students mentioned that they later played the game at home voluntarily, and were more successful a second time. One even said that she got her father interested, who forwarded a link for the game to his friends. Overall, the effects of the game exploration were significant enough for the teacher to seriously consider using the game next year.

While the game play was a successful endeavor for this class, we do not suggest that the results would be the same for all other classes or schools. However, this experience does show that game play can be a successful tool for learning. This reinforces an important point about implementing new technology into the classroom: each student will have a different level of experience with technology and learning, and now more than ever teachers must adapt to the needs of their students.

"Here is a telling statistic: 153 of California's congressional and legislative seats were up in the last election and not one changed parties. What kind of democracy is that?"

> —California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger

Student Assignment Sheet for The ReDistricting Game The Redistricting Game

Name:

Your task today is to explore gerrymandering while analyzing this website, www.redistrictinggame.org, for content, interest, and quality. Please answer as honestly about the experience as possible.

Game	Play at least 3 "rounds" of the game, reading the "learn more" and the quotes.
Resources	Look at "How does my state do it" for several states, including GA, TX, CA, NC, and TN.
Forum	(skip this part)
About	Skim through the "Buzz" section.
Take action	(skip this–unless you want to pass the word)

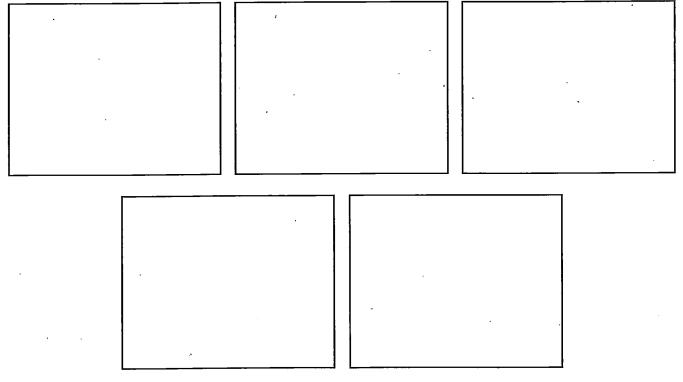
First, explore the website, using the chart below as a guideline:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States...within every subsequent term of ten years..." Article I, Section 2, Clause 3

"You can't take politics out of politics, and there is nothing more political than redistricting," —Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)



Game Results: For each round, use the Squares below to show me your results. Label each with the round number, name, and goal. Shade each district a different color and label D or R by party.



Feedback: Answer the following questions based on your experience. Be thorough and honest—what you say *does* actually matter!

- Is this a *fun* game? Why or why not?
- Would you play this game on your own if it wasn't for school? Why or why not?
- Could you learn enough about gerrymandering to pass a quiz or test if you were restricted to only playing the game? Why or why not?
- 'Could you learn enough about gerrymandering to pass a quiz or^stest from exploring the whole website on your own? Why or why not?
- Which sections of the website are most helpful? Why?

 Which sections of the website are not as useful? Why?

If you were a teacher designing a lesson on gerrymandering, what would you do?

- You tell me—what's the most effective activity or combination of activities—reading a textbook, playing the
- game, give a lecture, do a research project, etc.—be creative but design something that students would like
- while they learn. If you choose to use the Redistricting Game website, you can use the whole thing or only specific part's.
- How would you assess student learning? (Test, quiz, worksheet, presentation, discussion, etc.)

Notes

1. Pamela Karlan, Kenneth and Harle Montgomery Professor of Public Interest Law at Stanford Law School, quoted in Jeffrey Toobin's "Drawing the Line: Will Tom DeLay's Redistricting in Texas Cost Him His Seat?", *The New Yorker*, March 6, 2006.

- Toobin, "Drawing the Line: Will Tom DeLay's Redistricting in Texas Cost Him His Seat?"
- 3. From the Glossary of The Redistricting Game, created by the School of Cinematic Arts for the Annenberg Center for Communications at the University of Southern California, www.redistricting game.org/index.php?pg=glossary.
- Quoted in John Oliver Mason, "Legislative Redistricting 2010, Americans for Democratic Action Forum," *The Philadelphia Jewish Voice 44* (March 2009), www.pjvoice.com/v44/44002redistrict.aspx.
- 5. See www.redistrictinggame.org.
- 6. Norm Ornstein, of the American Enterprise Institute, quoted on the home page of www.redistrictinggame. org.
- See Lapham, S. S. (2009). "How Politicians Gerrymander." Middle Level Learning 36, pp. Ml2-Ml6.
- 8. See Buzz about The Redistricting Game, http://redis trictinggame.blogspot.com/

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