# COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# STATE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE PUBLIC HEARING

THE SIDNEY AND PAULINE FRIEDMAN
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
KINGSTON, PA

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 2021 1:13 P.M.

PRESENTATION ON
CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING
NORTHEAST REGION

### BEFORE:

HONORABLE SETH M. GROVE, MAJORITY CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE RUSS DIAMOND

HONORABLE DAWN KEEFER

HONORABLE ANDREW LEWIS

HONORABLE RYAN E. MACKENZIE

HONORABLE BRETT R. MILLER

HONORABLE ERIC R. NELSON

HONORABLE CLINT OWLETT

HONORABLE FRANCIS X. RYAN

HONORABLE PAUL SCHEMEL

HONORABLE LOUIS C. SCHMITT, JR.

HONORABLE SCOTT CONKLIN, DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE ISABELLA V. FITZGERALD

HONORABLE BENJAMIN V. SANCHEZ

HONORABLE JARED G. SOLOMON

HONORABLE JOE WEBSTER

### ALSO IN ATTENDANCE:

HONORABLE DOYLE HEFFLEY

\* \* \* \*

Debra B. Miller

dbmreporting@msn.com

## I N D E X

## TESTIFIERS

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* * *	
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#### PROCEEDINGS

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MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Good afternoon, everyone. Sorry for the bit of a delay. We were waiting for some testifiers to arrive. Hopefully they will arrive, and we'll just continue down the agenda. Hopefully they do make it in time.

Today, the House State Government Committee will convene the sixth of eight regional hearings across

Pennsylvania on congressional redistricting. Today we'll be hearing testimony from the northeast region of our Commonwealth.

Thank you to the Sidney and Pauline Friedman

Jewish Community Center and Representative Aaron Kaufer for hosting us today. Unfortunately, Aaron couldn't be here.

They just gave birth to a little girl, so he is enjoying time. And I got three kids. The youngest is 3 years old, so I know how quickly that goes, so I hope he enjoys it.

It is their first child.

As a matter of housekeeping before we get started, a reminder that each testifier will be given 10 minutes to present their testimony before the Members of the Committee. We'll be keeping firmly to those time limits. We're here to listen. No questions will be asked of testifiers. We were joking with Representative Heffley,

but no questions. You don't get any questions, bud.

Also, testifiers, please keep your comments relative to the topic at hand. We are here to learn about this region of the State -- its industries, its values, and its unique communities of interest. And due to recent changes to the Sunshine Law, the subject matter of testimony must be confined to the hearing topic only. Testimony outside the scope of this hearing will not be permitted.

We are here to learn from you and to take your input on congressional districts that will be in effect for the next decade. It's an important task, so if a testifier begins to stray from relevant testimony, I will ask you to refocus on the testimony, the topic before us. If you cannot, I will move on to the next listed speaker.

We also ask testifiers speak clearly into the microphone and that attendees here in the room with us today remain quiet and respectful. Today's public input hearing is livestreamed at <a href="www.paredistricting.com">www.paredistricting.com</a>, and it also will be recorded. Please help us ensure that those who are watching at home can easily hear all testimony. Additionally, under the Sunshine Law, if the video stream stops, we will recess the hearing until the issues are fixed.

For the Members attending virtually, please

ensure your microphones are off, and recognize that if your video is on, we can see you.

I would be remiss if I did not also mention that in addition to the testifiers who are present today, the Committee has also received testimony from people all across the Commonwealth who have submitted their written comments online.

For the northeast regional hearing, we have received testimony from Clayton B. from Montrose, Pennsylvania; Sharon N. from Brackney, Pennsylvania; the Pike County Commissioners from Milford, Pennsylvania; Bintou F. from Meadville; Brooklynn J. from Cheltenham, Pennsylvania; Laurie M. from Stevensville, Pennsylvania; and also Darrin Woodruff from the Ali Group North America. That written testimony is before each Member of the House State Government Committee for today's hearing and will be posted online shortly after we conclude.

And finally, before we go to our testifiers, both in-person and whose testimony will be held in our hands, thank you for taking an interest in redistricting and for participating in this once-in-a-decade process.

With that, I'll turn it over to Chairman Conklin for opening comments.

MINORITY CHAIRMAN CONKLIN: Just as always, I want to thank the Chairman and the individuals for coming

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1
       out.
             I think you have covered everything, and I'm ready to
 2
       go.
 3
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: All right.
                 With that, we'll go to introduction of Members,
 4
 5
       starting with Members present and then Members attending
 6
       virtually. For the Members attending virtually, I will
 7
       just announce you, and please just turn on your microphone
       and, if you can, your video and just introduce yourself.
 8
 9
                 Representative Schemel.
10
                 REPRESENTATIVE SCHEMEL: Good morning.
11
                 I'm Paul Schemel. I represent portions of
12
       Franklin County.
13
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative
14
       Seth Grove, the 196th District, York County.
15
                 MINORITY CHAIRMAN CONKLIN: Scott Conklin, the
       77<sup>th</sup> District, Centre County.
16
17
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Lewis.
18
                 REPRESENTATIVE LEWIS: Representative Lewis, the
19
       105th District in beautiful Dauphin County.
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Miller.
20
21
                 REPRESENTATIVE MILLER: Good afternoon.
22
                 Brett Miller, the 41st District, Lancaster County.
23
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Owlett.
24
                 REPRESENTATIVE OWLETT: Representative Owlett,
25
       the 68th District, all of Tioga and part of Bradford and
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1	Potter Counties. Thank you.								
2	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Keefer.								
3	REPRESENTATIVE KEEFER: Good afternoon.								
4	Representative Dawn Keefer, the $92^{nd}$ District,								
5	York and Cumberland Counties.								
6	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Nelson.								
7	REPRESENTATIVE NELSON: Good afternoon.								
8	Representative Nelson, Westmoreland County.								
9	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative								
10	Fitzgerald.								
11	REPRESENTATIVE FITZGERALD: Good afternoon.								
12	I'm Isabella Fitzgerald representing the								
13	203rd Legislative District West Oak Lane, East Oak Lane,								
14	and the Lower Northeast in Philadelphia.								
15	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Ryan.								
16	REPRESENTATIVE RYAN: Representative Frank Ryan,								
17	representing the $101^{\rm st}$ District in Lebanon County,								
18	Pennsylvania.								
19	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Schmitt.								
20	REPRESENTATIVE SCHMITT: Good afternoon,								
21	Mr. Chairman.								
22	Lou Schmitt, the $79^{\text{th}}$ Legislative District, the								
23	city of Altoona, Logan Township, Allegheny Township, all in								
24	the county of Blair.								
25	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Diamond.								

1	REPRESENTATIVE DIAMOND: Good afternoon,
2	everyone.
3	Russ Diamond. I represent the $102^{\text{nd}}$ District in
4	Lebanon County.
5	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative
6	Mackenzie.
7	REPRESENTATIVE MACKENZIE: Good afternoon.
8	Representative Ryan Mackenzie from the
9	$134^{ m th}$ District in portions of Lehigh and Berks Counties.
10	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Sanchez.
11	REPRESENTATIVE SANCHEZ: Good afternoon,
12	everybody.
13	It's Ben Sanchez from the 153rd District in
14	Montgomery County.
15	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative Solomon.
16	REPRESENTATIVE SOLOMON: Hi, everybody.
17	Jared Solomon, the $202^{nd}$ Legislative District in
18	Northeast Philadelphia.
19	Thank you.
20	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: And the catchall: Did
21	I miss anybody?
22	All right. Hearing none, we will move on to
23	testifiers, and first up is Representative Doyle Heffley
24	from the 122 <sup>nd</sup> District, State Representative, Carbon
25	County. And when you are comfortable and ready,

Representative, the floor is yours, and just make sure that little green light is on.

REPRESENTATIVE HEFFLEY: Thank you, and good afternoon, Chairman Grove and Minority Chairman Conklin and Members of the House State Government Committee, both here in person and attending virtually.

As a State Representative, I represent the 122<sup>nd</sup> Legislative District in Carbon County. Thank you for this opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the upcoming congressional redistricting plan for Pennsylvania.

I commend the Chairman and this committee for holding these hearings and providing for a transparent process that includes public input.

My testimony will focus on ensuring we have a redistricting process that adheres to our Constitution and allows for meaningful public participation in a process that is not influenced by special interests, unelected bureaucrats, or activist judges. This occurred in other States like California where partisan organizations and local groups influenced the redistricting process for partisan gain. We are also seeing groups like this actively influencing the redistricting process here in Pennsylvania, with one national group even filing a lawsuit and asked the courts to draw congressional maps. We've seen this happen before, and there is really no evidence

that courts can transparently draw congressional maps.

As in the past, in 2018 when the courts drew maps, they barred the Stanford professor who drew the maps from discussing the process with the public. The authority to draw congressional districts was given to the Commonwealth's elected State Representatives, Senators, and Governor, who have the responsibility to enact legislation that will redraw the boundaries of our State's congressional districts.

Every resident of the Commonwealth has a stake in this process. No voices should be denied, nor should any be elevated. I have spoken to residents throughout the 122<sup>nd</sup> District, many of whom work full time and weren't able to be here today, and I am testifying on their behalf.

Our guidance is "one person, one vote." My focus is to keep Carbon County whole, in one congressional district, so that my constituents will have a voice in selecting who represents them in Congress. Historical ties and voter turnout in recent elections has confirmed that the residents of the 122<sup>nd</sup> Legislative District support their representation and their position in the 9<sup>th</sup> Congressional District. It is my hope that we will continue to reside in a district that reflects our communities and our values. Smaller counties like ours should not be carved up further, reducing our influence in

national matters.

I have serious concerns that special interest groups will have more influence in the process than the voters of Pennsylvania on how boundaries will be drawn. With that in mind, I believe it would be shortsighted for anyone to think that prison inmates should not be counted in the district where they are incarcerated. After all, they use the local infrastructure for water, sewer, broadband, and more.

Rural communities often rely on congressional support for funding of infrastructure projects and could be left out if they are underrepresented. The Committee needs to address the blatant partisan attempt to gerrymander, because it will result in differing populations between Pennsylvania's legislative districts and congressional districts, which could conflict with the Uniformity Clause in our Constitution.

We need an open and transparent, bipartisan redistricting process that does not unnecessarily split counties like mine, which I hope will result in legislation that the General Assembly can support and enact in a timely manner so we can attract worthy candidates to run for office. At the end of the day, it is our responsibility to listen to the voters who elect us and not the special interest groups.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you very much, and we appreciate your time.

Next on the list is Alan Hall, Vice-Chair of the Susquehanna County Board of Commissioners, Hallstead, Pennsylvania.

Commissioner Hall, thank you so much for taking time out of your busy schedule and participating in these regional hearings. As long as there is still a green light there and you're comfortable and ready, the floor is yours and begin.

MR. HALL: Thank you.

Thank you for the opportunity to come today before you and share the concerns that Susquehanna County has with redistricting.

As a third-term county commissioner, I can strongly say that one shoe does not fit all and that one shoe can be very devastating to many, and let me explain.

Size does matter. When you look at the northeast region of 12 counties, the population comparison is staggering. Susquehanna County has a population of approximately 40,000, Luzerne County has approximately 317,000, and Lackawanna has around 210,000. Either of those counties have more population than six of the other counties combined.

If we're talking about fair districting, that also applies to the ability of each of the 12 counties to have the opportunity in a fair market to put forth a qualified candidate for an office and that candidate having a level playing field to succeed. A six-to-one disadvantage does not give rural counties a fair opportunity.

We have seen it before. Susquehanna County being incorporated into Lackawanna County for congressional redistricting will be disastrous because of the social and economic demographics, as each county is unique and different. This example already exists, because Susquehanna County is part of region 4 of PennDOT, headquartered out of Dunmore in Lackawanna County. Over the years, we have seen much needed resources reprioritized to the larger metropolitan areas of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. The roads in Susquehanna County have suffered greatly and are very subpar. And actually, if it was not for the gas companies, more of our roads would be impassable.

Our neighbors to the west -- Bradford, Tioga,

Sullivan, and Lycoming -- are all grouped in region 3.

This group does not have the large metropolitan areas

absorbing all the resources and are performing very well.

Economic development:

Susquehanna County is with the northern tier as part of the Northern Tier Regional Planning & Development Commission, representing Tioga, Bradford, Sullivan, Wyoming, and Susquehanna Counties. NTRPD provides resources to help businesses and entrepreneurs, local governments, nonprofits, and job seekers to meet the challenges to be successful in Pennsylvania. In addition, Susquehanna County contracts with the Progress Authority, which is an economic development company that services Susquehanna and Bradford Counties.

The Progress Authority focuses on projects that involve industrial development, small business development, business financing, public infrastructure, site prep, and marketing. Redistricting our county with a large metropolitan area would jeopardize all of these programs.

The gas industry:

On any given day, Susquehanna County is the number-one producing dry gas county in Pennsylvania, if not in the country. Susquehanna County, along with Tioga, Bradford, Sullivan, Wyoming, and Lycoming represent the entire northeast Marcellus region and are all very rural counties with no large metropolitan areas. It's important for these counties to stay together, as they understand the hardships and requirements for the gas industry. This industry is like no other and is very unique in nature.

Understanding this industry goes far beyond what most can imagine. Even the industry when it came to our area had to learn a lot about our county from our road construction to even the ground formation.

As Susquehanna County knows little about the coal mines in Lackawanna County, the same is true with Lackawanna County understanding the gas industry in Susquehanna County. This is why rural counties with the gas industries need to stay together with other rural counties, as only they can understand their needs.

To summarize:

Again, thank you for the opportunity to come before you today and provide this testimony. Your job with redistricting in a good year is difficult, and the task ahead is very difficult.

As I stated with size matters, one needs to question the census. In our county, they showed up 3 months late to start the process, and at the last count, we had a county average response of around 60 percent. Now we are told that it was up in the upper 90s with a declining population.

Real estate sales were high during the end of 2020 with very low market inventory. The numbers don't add up. Combining with large counties with metropolitan areas provides a disservice not only to the rural counties but

also to the large metropolitan areas. Each have different needs for social and economic programs, and only they understand their needs. The differences go down even to parks, trails, stormwater, manure management, roads, schools, senior services, and housing, to mention a few.

We always look at how we can best provide services to our regions. When all of the areas that we represent have commonality, we become very well educated in the needs and represent well. It's important to focus on the commonalities such as rural counties and those with the natural gas development to be together. In addition, large counties with metropolitan areas can best be represented by someone focusing on their issues and concerns.

And I thank you for the opportunity.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you very much,

Commissioner Hall, for your time today and your testimony.

We greatly appreciate it. Thank you.

Our next testifier, Harry Haas, Luzerne County Council, Kingston, Pennsylvania, unfortunately couldn't make it due to a death in the family. We do have his testimony, and our wishes are out for him and his family at this time.

So we'll move on to our next testifier,

John Moyer, Vice-Chair of the Monroe County Board of

Commissioners from Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania.

Commissioner Moyer, come on up, and when you're comfortable and ready, please feel free to begin. And just make sure that little green light is on. Yep. Thank you very much for your time today.

MR. MOYER: Thank you.

You have had the opportunity to review my written testimony. I'll just make a few comments on it, if you please.

My logic for my recommendations really breaks down into fracturing the counties, which has already been mentioned. We have 20 municipalities in Monroe County.

Twelve of them happen to fall in District 8 and seven of them fall in District 7. That leaves one that is split between District 7 and District 8. So on one side of the street, people are represented by District 7, on the opposite side of the street, perhaps by District 8. And I think it's highly unlikely that a person living in what happens to be Smithfield Township knows the census tract in which he resides. So clarity is one of the important things. People should know who represents them, and it should be certainly constant across the county, but there should be no splitting of particular municipalities.

The other thing is, the political strength, if Monroe County has any, is split by approximately 9 percent in District 7 and 15 percent in District 8. With our

population of approximately 168,000, we're never going to be the big dog in the room in terms of representation if we still are looking at something in the neighborhood of 706,000 souls being represented, but if we were in one particular congressional district, we'd be at 24 percent of the overall population. And I'm not suggesting that we don't get recognition from both of our representatives, but it stands to reason as an elected official, a little bit more attention is going to be given to those places that field a few more votes. So for clarity and for political clout, I would suggest keeping Monroe County together.

The perhaps more important aspect of it is that we are now split with I'll call it the northern counties and the southern counties, although it's not exactly that way. But District 8 represents or encompasses some of the counties to the north, whereas District 7 takes into account two big counties to our south.

We are much more like the counties to our north in District 8 than we are like those in District 7. And I think in the old days when boundaries were set on the basis of mountain ranges, lakes, rivers, et cetera, et cetera, perhaps that made some sense, but I think now the logic should be based more on what counties experience the same kinds of problems, growth, opportunities, as the county that we are focusing on, which in my case is Monroe County.

We have been impacted with sudden growth as a result of COVID for the second time in 20 years. Pike County and some of the surrounding counties have hit the same thing. But we have got alliances already built up with some of the counties that I'm recommending we be combined with. For instance, Monroe County, Carbon County, and Pike County all make up a joinder board for servicing mental health developmental services, so we work well with those counties now.

Secondly, PMVB, our Pocono Mountains Visitors

Bureau, which is our prime economic driver in Monroe County

by virtue of our county being highly reliant upon

recreation and hospitality, they are representing Monroe,

Carbon, Pike, and Wayne. So we have already been put in a

box with those other three counties.

When it comes to the Northeastern Pennsylvania Alliance, which is an economic development organization, again, Monroe, Carbon, Pike, Wayne, Luzerne, Lackawanna, and Schuylkill Counties make it up, and I have to presume there was some logic in how that division was made, primarily based on economic need.

Finally, Monroe, Carbon, Pike, and Wayne make up the Pocono Counties Workforce Development Board. So my recommendation is that Monroe County, Pike County, Carbon County, Wayne County, Schuylkill County, and Lackawanna

County go together, because the needs are similar, the interest of its population is similar, and I believe this makes all the sense in the world.

Now, by my rough calculation, putting those counties together would still net us about 4,000 people short of the 706,000, plus or minus a few, and I am simply promising, give me a couple of weeks and I can get 4,000 people to move from another county into the new district.

But my recommendations are, don't fracture the counties. I think you've heard that before. And secondly, try to keep counties together that have similar interests, economic needs, et cetera, et cetera.

So I thank you for your willingness to listen to mine and other people's testimony. Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you very much for your time, Commissioner. And I'll take note that while you have notes, written testimony, you talked to us and didn't look down at your paper the entire time. So I'm very impressed with your testimony. Thank you very much.

Next, we have Michael Waxenberg, Lords Valley,
Pennsylvania. Thank you for your time. We appreciate your
willingness to come testify. And as long as that little
green light is on and you're ready and comfortable, feel
free to begin when you're ready.

MR. WAXENBERG: Chair Grove, Chair Conklin,
Members and staff of the Committee, thank you for making
the trip up to northeastern Pennsylvania. Thanks for the
opportunity to address you today.

You do have my written remarks, so I'll probably paraphrase. I promise not to break into song, and I promise to stay pretty close to the script.

I'll start with a brief word about myself, then
I'll discuss the northeastern corner of the congressional
map, and lastly, I'll address the map as a whole and
suggest a starting point for your deliberations. I will
try to tie it all back to northeastern Pennsylvania, so I
hope you won't cut me off for straying too far.

My name is Michael Waxenberg. I have been a proud Pike County homeowner for 32 years. My profession, I manage technology risk, but in my spare time, I draw maps, lots and lots of maps. I have drawn prize-winning maps for congressional districts and for the State Senate. I have done it for Draw the Lines Pennsylvania, Fair Districts Pennsylvania, the Princeton Gerrymandering Project, Common Cause. They are all great organizations. I love them all, but today I'm representing only myself.

Since I drew my first congressional map 5 years ago, I have become part of a community that brings together activists, lawyers, cartographers, geographers, computer

scientists, many more. I'm proud to call many of them friends, and I learn from them every day.

One takeaway from my mapping experience has been that none of this is easy. I appreciate the difficulty of the task before the Committee, and I also understand that you face political considerations that we may not fully take into account. I will try to address that aspect as well to the extent I'm able.

But first, let's take a look at the northeast, or NEPA. The last time you all tackled this process, the result in our region was not ideal. Strange shapes aside, and I think you have got that map, the composition of our districts in NEPA really didn't make a lot of sense to the people in them.

The other end of our district, the old

10th District, lay west of Harrisburg at the border of

Franklin County. No disrespect, sir. That's about 3 hours

away from my home on a good day when I-81 isn't dug up or

flooded or jammed. In Pike, we were separated from

Representative Marino's home by two big pieces of

intervening districts, and that meant we didn't see much of

our Congressman and our impression was that he wasn't

paying a lot of attention to us, but that's all history.

In 2018, the Supreme Court struck down that map. They replaced it with one of their own, which, by most of

- 1 | the measures we use as mappers, is a good map. It's also
- 2 | fairly fresh, and importantly, it has the court's blessing.
- 3 And if Pennsylvania still had 18 districts, I would
- 4 | probably tell you to leave well enough alone, tweak
- 5 population, and just stick with it as it is.
- 6 It's particularly good for us in northeastern
- 7 Pennsylvania, by the way, because we have a district that
- 8 is compact and coherent and it's competitive, so our
- 9 Congressman really needs to listen to us. But we're down
- 10 to 17 districts. The population has shifted a lot, so
- 11 there are some hard choices to make all over the State.
- And I'll focus first on the choices in NEPA and then I'll
- 13 move on to the statewide picture.
- Now, depending on whom you ask, northeastern
- 15 | Pennsylvania can extend pretty far west -- Northumberland,
- 16 | Tioga, even farther. I don't know anything about those
- 17 | areas, so I'm going to stick to the two places I know.
- 18 | That's the Wyoming Valley and the Poconos where I am. And
- 19 | actually, the Wyoming Valley has a census name. It's the
- 20 | Scranton-Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton Metropolitan Area. Those
- 21 two communities resemble the core of the current
- 22 8th Congressional District. That combination makes sense
- for some reasons you have heard today and many others make
- sense geographically, historically, culturally,
- 25 economically. And in addition to all that, there are

transportation options that I'm sure you are familiar with that are going to tie those two communities together even more tightly.

Now, I have redrawn this corner of the congressional map probably hundreds of times. I always end up with something very, very similar to that core. The lines change sometimes. I apologize to the commission, sometimes Monroe does get split, but I always end up with something that's based on that core.

Now, conveniently for mappers, those two core communities get us very close to the target population for a congressional district. There are about 500,000 people in the Wyoming Valley; there are about 200,000 in the Poconos, so we're left working the margins to reach the target, which I believe is actually 765,000 this time.

Now, the first direction we tend to look is north, because we're kind of trapped in a corner of the State, and that goes to Wayne County. The southeastern part of Wayne around Hawley and Lake Wallenpaupack, it has a very much Poconos flavor. Our commuter bus route actually terminates there, so we're pretty tightly tied together.

The southwestern part of Wayne is tightly linked to Scranton by two major arteries. We have got I-84 running that way, and then the extension to Route 6 -- I

think it's called the Casey Highway -- goes that way as well.

The big question about Wayne is the northern part. It's very rural. It's kind of Susquehanna-ish. But you're talking about 15,000 people, so the simplest answer is the one the Supreme Court reached in 2018, keep Wayne whole, because we're not supposed to divide counties if we don't have to.

so with Wayne, we're up close to 750,000 people and we have a nice compact district. I should mention in deference to Carbon, you could go to Carbon, but then you're stuck with Wayne hanging out there in the northeastern corner. You have to figure out what to do with it. You end up with a very non-compact district above us.

So where do we go to reach that population target? We're boxed in to the east. In the northeast, there's a river there, and then New York and New Jersey. Heading south, you're into the Lehigh Valley. It's the core of CD 7. It has got its own regional identity. So mostly your options are to the west and maybe the southwest, and that brings us to the bigger picture, because what you do at the margins of CD 8 sends ripples across the State.

Outside the core of CD 8 -- actually, even within

the core of CD 8 -- I rely heavily on the knowledge of the community that I described earlier. I urge you to draw on that knowledge, too, and I can recommend a pretty good way to tap into it.

As you know, the Draw the Lines project team recently unveiled their Citizens' Map. Their goal was to capture the collective wisdom of 1500 contest participants and the wider community of observers into a single map. I was one of those 1500. I had the privilege of contributing to what I believe was a robust and scrupulously fair process. If you have any doubts about the fairness, I can explain the metrics we used. It really was.

In the northeastern corner of the Citizens' Map, CD 8 pretty much is what I described -- Lackawanna, Pike, Wayne, nearly all of Monroe, and the Luzerne County part of the Wyoming Valley. A little bit of Monroe gets shaved off, and along with Carbon, it goes into CD 7 to balance the numbers. I know Representative Heffley might have thoughts about that. But CD 8, to fill it out, gets a little bit more of Luzerne across the valley. Luckily, it does steer clear of Representative Meuser's home, which is just up the road from here in Shavertown.

But it's not that way because of where the incumbents are, and it's not that way because of my opinion or any other individual's opinion. It's that way because

- 1 1500 mappers and commenters converged toward the same basic 2 result, just with small variations around the edges, and
- 3 that's largely true of the whole map. The detailed
- 4 Citizens' Map is uncontroversial. It's crowdsourced.
- 5 Crowdsourcing produces boring results, and in my opinion,
- 6 boring is good.
- Now, there are some tough decisions reflected in
- 8 that map. You'll have to face them, but they were the
- 9 preferred solutions to challenges that confront any
- 10 17-district map. There are no big surprises, no
- 11 | controversial choices that you can't easily undo, and there
- are no dramatic departures from the 2018 map except what's
- necessary to compress 18 districts into 17.
- So, why this map rather than 100 equally good
- 15 maps? That's where the process matters: their process at
- 16 | Draw the Lines; your process here going forward.
- Draw the Lines has already sorted through the
- input from many of your most engaged constituents. They
- 19 have assembled it for you into a single map. If you take
- 20 this map as a starting point, just a starting point for
- 21 your deliberations, you are already halfway to meeting the
- 22 demand for citizen involvement in the reapportionment
- 23 process -- a great shortcut.
- 24 Starting with the Citizens' Map should also put
- 25 you well on your way to worthy approval of Governor Wolf's

panel of experts -- they use the same metrics we do -- and ultimately toward his signature, and you'll have the beginnings of a defense against any legal challenges that make their way to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court because they already imposed a map very much like this one. In fact, the maps don't just look similar. By the metrics we used, our map -- the DTL map, rather -- is basically a 17-district version of the scope of map. Well, without some conspicuously strange lines in their map in Allegheny and Berks Counties, but that's another story.

Now, I understand there are political obstacles to the course that I'm suggesting. Every line involves a clash of interests, and some of you may think your parties will do better if the Supreme Court draws the map or that political conflict may somehow be beneficial. I'm not going to comment on that. If that's where we are, then the cynics are right and the Supreme Court is going to draw our congressional map, and that would be a shame.

If you want this constitutionally mandated process to succeed, and I know you do, the Draw the Lines Citizens' Map offers a head start, and for this corner of northeastern Pennsylvania and for this voter, I think it offers as good a final answer as any.

I thank you for your attention. I'll look forward to watching your process with interest.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you very much for your testimony. And honestly, this is kind of why we want to do this, for that input from individuals like yourselves who love to draw maps. And it did remind me, we will have that map-drawing option available hopefully soon on our website so we can see maps come in. But I just wanted to applaud you for your willingness to testify and being so engaged in this system for so long, so thank you very much.

MR. WAXENBERG: Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: The next testifier is Kenneth Lee from Clarks Summit. Ken, come on up, and as long as that green light is on and you're comfortable and ready, the floor is yours, sir.

MR. LEE: Very good.

Thank you very much for allowing me to speak to the State Government Committee today about redrawing northeast Pennsylvania's congressional district lines. I come before you today merely as a private citizen from Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania, speaking on my own behalf.

However, 30 years ago from 1989 to 1994, I had the honor of being a member of this same State House Government Committee, having been at that time the Republican State Representative for the 111th Legislative District, consisting of all of Sullivan, Wyoming -- all or parts of Wyoming, Sullivan, Bradford, and Susquehanna

Counties. Given this experience, I know how drudgerous it can be to listen to hours upon hours of repetitive committee testimony. With this in mind, I will keep my comments as brief as possible.

I come before you today to request that this committee adopt a congressional redistricting plan for northeastern Pennsylvania which is based upon fairness and common sense rather than upon partisan political considerations. I believe it is unfortunate that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court felt compelled to take over the congressional redistricting process a decade ago. However, it is hard to argue that the maps originally proposed and adopted by the Pennsylvania Legislature were not blatant attempts to redraw district lines solely to favor one political party over the other rather than an honest attempt to draw district lines in a commonsense and equitable fashion.

One might argue that the Supreme Court was also acting in a partisan manner by rejecting the Legislature's district maps. However, when one compares the two maps, even a school child with a cursory knowledge of northeastern Pennsylvania would quickly recognize the more logical of the two.

I do not pretend to believe that politics will not play a part in the congressional redistricting process.

I also do not believe the Republicans have the monopoly on politicizing this process. For proof of this, one need only to look to our bordering State of New York where a democratically controlled Legislature is doing its best to overturn a voter-authorized nonpartisan redistricting process in order to force through a redistricting map that will heavily favor Democrats in the Empire State.

However, despite these facts, I believe that at this crucial moment in America's democracy, we can no longer afford to throw up our hands and surrender this process solely to partisan map manipulators. I therefore urge this committee to redraw its northeast Pennsylvania congressional district maps based upon commonsense principles rather than upon partisan political prerogatives. I do this for two main reasons.

First, I believe that the Pennsylvania Supreme

Court's entry into the redistricting process represented a

dangerous usurpation of the power of the legislative branch

of government by the judicial branch. Denying the court

grounds upon which to do so again by adopting an

objectively reasonable redistricting map would put an end

to the court's meddling in such legislative matters.

Secondly, if a commonsense redistricting plan rather than a gerrymandered one is adopted, northeast Pennsylvania will be less likely to have congressional

districts which strongly favor one political party or the other and, in so doing, will provide centrist candidates with a greater opportunity to win congressional seats in our area.

It is undeniable that our State and Federal Government systems have broken down due largely to the intensely partisan makeup of the U.S. Congress and the Pennsylvania State Legislature. It is also undeniable that part of the reason for this partisanship is the fact that for too long, in order to favor one party or the other, congressional districts have been redrawn in order to pack each district with members of one party or the other, a problem which has only been exacerbated by the introduction of sophisticated computer algorithms into the process. There is also congressional districts with Congressmen and women who have no fear of being defeated in a general election and must instead appeal solely to the members of their own political parties in order to be reelected.

In the end, the question before this committee, as it was in my days in the Legislature, is what should take priority, the democratic process as a whole or the interests of one political party over the other. In answering this question, I know that Committee Members may justify their decision to favor a partisan political approach by reasoning that, well, it has always been done

1 that way; or, if the shoe were on the other foot, the other 2 party would take the same approach; or, that the ends 3 justify the means. However, at this crucial moment of an American republican form of government, I would argue that 5 we cannot afford to allow political self-interests to 6 jeopardize the very future of our democracy, and I 7 therefore urge the Members of this committee to put partisan considerations aside when redrawing our northeast 8 9 Pennsylvania congressional district lines.

Thanks again for allowing me to say a few words.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Representative, thank you so much for your time and commitment, and I appreciate you coming back to testify with us today. Thank you so much.

Next up is Liz -- Terwilliger?

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MS. TERWILLIGER: You got it.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Whew. That's the only one I was kind of worried about.

---from Warren Center, Pennsylvania. Thank you so much for taking the time out of your day to come in and testify. And as long as you got a green light and you're comfortable, please feel free to begin your testimony.

MS. TERWILLIGER: It's on.

I would have been happy to give you the pronunciation if you needed it.

I appreciate the opportunity to come and speak today. In the interests of full disclosure, I want to say that in the 2020 election, I was the Libertarian candidate for Congress in the 12<sup>th</sup> District. And while I intend to run again, I am speaking today as a resident of Bradford County from my personal experience in the county rather than as a candidate, although I have to say, of course, I do have an interest in how this map is drawn.

I'm anxious that you draw this map soon so that we can figure out what the district is going to look like. However, that is a sidebar. All right.

So as I said, I'm from Bradford County, which is in north-central Pennsylvania. In my opinion, it's north-central Pennsylvania. It's just on the edge of the northeast region that was determined for these hearings, which I understand is arbitrary in the sense that you had to draw the line somewhere for the hearings.

So Bradford County is extremely rural. It shares services with surrounding counties and with some counties that are not very close by. I would like to suggest to the Committee that these communities of interest are -- thep thep thep; yeah. So I'm a speech therapist. Let me just say that as I stutter my way through my presentation.

So I would like to suggest to the Committee that communities of interest are formed by their relationships

and shared services between these counties and that they should be preserved within a congressional district when they can be.

I work in early intervention. I work in the birth-to-3 program in Bradford and Sullivan Counties.

That's a joinder that was created by the Commonwealth to meet the needs of two very rural counties. There's a lot of joinders in early intervention in birth-to-3 and in the IU system. These two counties were tied together for service coordination and for service provision for the families that we work with.

The families that I serve transition into the Blast program, which is IU 17's 3-to-5 program. That program serves Bradford, Sullivan, Lycoming, and Tioga Counties. So these educational communities -- I have to look out of my glasses, not under my glasses. These educational communities are currently all encompassed within the 12th Congressional District, so the families and education programs have the benefit of having one representative to whom they can take their concerns, one representative to hear the voices for both sides, and one representative to understand their perspectives and advocate for their unique needs.

Many of the families that I work with have children with special needs that are beyond a developmental

delay, so they have significant medical needs as well, and because we're so rural, pediatric specialty services are not available in Bradford County. They're not available in Sullivan County. They're not available until you get to Geisinger Medical. So all of our kids are referred down to Geisinger because it's the closest service. It's 2 hours from us on a good day, but it's the closest pediatric services. The specialist for complex care, like if you need a cleft-palate team, or if you even just need a pediatric nutritional consultation, they are all at Geisinger in Danville.

Geisinger is in Montour County, which is outside the current 12th Congressional District. Our families with young children rely on Geisinger for pediatric specialties. We had, and this is off of the script a little bit, but we had a significant incident -- time goes fast; I think it was a couple years ago -- with ENT services at Guthrie in Bradford County, and all of the ENT services now are shipped to Geisinger. So ear, nose, and throat specialists are at Geisinger. They do send people up to us sometimes to serve in the Guthrie system as a shared service, but for the most part, our families are driving.

And I would like to also make a plug -- I know this is off topic a little bit -- for the continuation of teleservices beyond March  $31^{\rm st}$  for our rural, our families

that drive all the way to Geisinger for a 15-minute consultation.

As it stands right now, we have one representative for the families that receive services at Geisinger and one representative for Geisinger medical services in Danville, because the district, they're outside of the district. There is no single representative who hears the perspectives of the family and the medical community. There is no single advocate for the needs of both, because the needs of rural health care, we are combined with our service provider and our families.

I propose bringing Montour County where Geisinger lies into the same district as the families for whom we provide this critical service. And by the same logic and for the sake of keeping counties whole, it would really be nice if we could make Northumberland one whole county within the same district. So I would suggest bringing the adjacent Columbia County and the remainder of Northumberland that's not in the district into the same district as well.

In a region of the Commonwealth that is as rural as ours, I know that it's unrealistic to expect a geographically compact district. The district, it will always be probably 2 or 3 hours to drive across our district, and that's just the way it is. And I know that

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       the Committee is going to work hard to maintain whole
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       counties and communities within a single district as much
 3
       as possible, but I'm here today to propose that while
 4
       considering boundaries in redistricting, that our district
 5
      be drawn in a manner that considers these important
 6
       educational and medical communities that are communities of
 7
       interest in our area.
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                 Ba-da-bump. That's what I got.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you very much.
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                 And listen, your opening comments of get maps
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       done because we're all interested, you got, well, now---
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                 MS. TERWILLIGER: I know you guys are feeling
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       that, too.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: ---now 16 Members of
15
       Congress, 2-2 said that in the same boat, potential
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       challengers and all of us. So we---
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                MS. TERWILLIGER: Right.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: ---we all feel that
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       same, but.
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                 MS. TERWILLIGER: Like I said, that doesn't
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       really influence my testimony. I know we're all feeling
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       that, but (snapping fingers) let's go.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Okay.
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                 So thank you very much for your testimony.
25
                 MS. TERWILLIGER:
                                   Thank you.
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MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: We appreciate it. And thank you for your willingness to actually jump in and run for office, too. It's not the easiest thing to do, so thank you.

MS. TERWILLIGER: Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: With that, we'll go to our last testifier, James Barbour, the Pennsylvania Farm Bureau State Board from Hallstead, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Barbour, thank you so much for your time and your willingness to testify today. And as long as that little green light is open and you are ready and comfortable, begin when you're ready.

MR. BARBOUR: Sure.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to be here and to be able to share today.

A little bit about me as a farmer. I'm the third generation on our farm. If you go up 81, we're the last exit before you go into New York State. You don't get much further north. Our water flows north into the Susquehanna while it's still in New York State, so we're only 4 miles from the State line.

I'm here to be able to share not only as a farmer but of the other things that I do. Mentioning the Farm

Bureau, I'm the 1st Vice President of the Susquehanna County

Farm Bureau. I actually am on the State Board for the

Pennsylvania Farm Bureau, representing not only Susquehanna but Wayne, Pike, Wyoming, and Lackawanna Counties. I serve on the executive committee as well. We have grass-fed beef and organically fed hogs and vegetables and herbs that we do CSAs with, so we're involved in a variety of things.

I'm also the President of the North East Aberdeen

Association, which covers the 11 States in the Northeast.

I serve on a number of national committees.

With all that I do, I understand the differences in geography and economy and everything else and the challenges that that brings. But I'm here today with a passionate concern for the future of Susquehanna County, a rural, agricultural, gas-producing county. We need representation that understands who we are and what we do.

Population and politics seem to be the driving factors in redistricting. My concern is that Susquehanna County could, with our relatively low population compared to urban areas south of us, be redistricted in that direction and not have a voice that would be heard through the noise and needs of metropolitan areas. I'm also concerned with the possibility of being redistricted to the east with the DRBC counties. That would leave us as the only gas-producing county and again not be heard.

I strongly affirm that Susquehanna County needs

to stay connected in a district that includes the other northern tier rural, agricultural, gas-producing counties. I have been a proponent for the gas production from the beginning. In the early days, there was a lot of fear and hysteria from lack of understanding and a lot of misleading information. Sadly, many outside of our area still fall into that mindset. We have a mile of pipeline on our farm. It is very well maintained and monitored. We have a compressor station in one of our fields. Noise is not an issue. The gas industry has saved many farms from going out of business and greatly bolstered our local economy.

There is a commonality among the northern tier rural, gas-producing counties, a commonality of issues and interests that must be represented by someone who understands our uniqueness. With whatever redistricting that takes place, I believe that Susquehanna, Bradford, Tioga, Potter, Wyoming, Sullivan, Lycoming, and Clinton Counties must stay in the same district for these reasons given. Now, that is the northern part of the 12th District now, and I think that because of our commonality, we really do need to stay together to be represented for who we are and what we do.

Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you very much for

1 your time and your willingness to come out and testify.

And that was our last testifier, so I'll throw it over to Chairman Conklin for any closing remarks.

MINORITY CHAIRMAN CONKLIN: As always, I just want to thank everyone for coming out. Again, this was another great meeting. I enjoy the backgrounds, the different areas that each individual comes from, and I want to thank you all so very much for coming out. I'm looking forward to getting to work on the maps soon.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN GROVE: Thank you.

And thank you again to our testifiers for your input and impact of the redistricting process on your communities.

I also want to thank the Members in attendance today as well as our hosts, The Sidney and Pauline Friedman Jewish Center and, again, Representative Aaron Kaufer. And again, best wishes to him and his wife on the birth of their first daughter.

I hope it's evident that the House of
Representatives is committed to undertaking the most open,
transparent, and accountable redistricting process in
Pennsylvania history. We believe that transparency and
accountability form the bedrock of good governance, and
public input through these hearings plays a central role in
that.

1		Thank	you	very	much	for	your	time,	and	we are	9	
2	adjourned.											
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