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2011 ILLINOIS STATE SENATE REDISTRICTING COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE HEARING

FRIDAY, MAY 27, 2011  
2:50 P.M.  
ROOM 212 STATE CAPITOL  
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

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## 1 COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

2 SENATOR KWAME RAOUL, Chairman

3 SENATOR MICHAEL NOLAND, Vice Chairman

4 SENATOR JACQUELINE Y. COLLINS, Member

5 SENATOR WILLIAM R. HAINE, Member

6 SENATOR DON HARMON, Member

7 SENATOR MATTIE HUNTER, Member

8 SENATOR EMIL JONES III, Member

9 SENATOR DAVID KOEHLER, Member

10 SENATOR KIMBERLY LIGHTFORD, Member

11 SENATOR EDWARD D. MALONEY, Member

12 SENATOR IRIS Y. MARTINEZ, Member

13 SENATOR DALE A. RIGHTER, Minority Spokesperson

14 SENATOR SHANE CULTRA, Member

15 SENATOR KIRK W. DILLARD, Member

16 SENATOR DAN DUFFY, Member

17 SENATOR DAVID LUECHTEFELD, Member

18 SENATOR PAMELA J. ALTHOFF, Member

19

## 20 CLERK:

21 NATALIA SOLOMON

22

23

24

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PROCEEDINGS

CHAIRMAN RAOUL: The Committee on Redistricting will be called to order. Clerk, please take the roll.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Murphy? Senator Luechtefeld? Senator Duffy? Senator Dillard? Senator Cultra? Senator Righter? Senator Martinez?

SENATOR MARTINEZ: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Maloney?

SENATOR MALONEY: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Lightford?

SENATOR LIGHTFORD: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Koehler?

SENATOR KOEHLER: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Jones?

SENATOR JONES: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Hunter?

SENATOR HUNTER: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Harmon?

SENATOR HARMON: Here.

MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Haine? Senator Collins?

SENATOR COLLINS: Here.

1 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Noland?

2 SENATOR NOLAND: Here.

3 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Mr. Chairman?

4 CHAIRMAN RAOUL: Here.

5 There being ten members present, we have  
6 a quorum. The meeting will be called to order.

7 Senator Harmon, do you seek to be  
8 recognized?

9 SENATOR HARMON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I  
10 see we have a court reporter present once again at  
11 this hearing. I would move that this hearing be  
12 transcribed by the court reporter so that the  
13 Committee can have a full transcript of this hearing  
14 which the Chairman and the Minority Spokesman can  
15 approve at a future time once members and staff have  
16 had time to review the transcript and make any needed  
17 corrections.

18 CHAIRMAN RAOUL: Senator Harmon moves to  
19 allow the court reporter to transcribe the hearing.  
20 Seconded by Senator Martinez. Is there leave?

21 Leave being granted, the motion will  
22 carry.

23 Senator Lightford, do you seek to be  
24 recognized?

1           SENATOR LIGHTFORD: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,  
2           yes. I would like to make a motion to allow any  
3           media present to take still photos and record the  
4           proceedings.

5           CHAIRMAN RAOUL: Senator Lightford moves to  
6           allow the media to take still photos and record the  
7           proceedings. Seconded by Senator Koehler. Is there  
8           leave?

9                        Leave being granted, media shall be  
10           allowed to take photos and record the proceedings.

11                       Senator Martinez, do you seek to be  
12           recognized?

13           SENATOR MARTINEZ: Yes, Mr. Chairman. In  
14           keeping with the precedent set at our last Committee  
15           hearing, I would like to make a motion to allow  
16           everyone in attendance today the option to take  
17           photos as long as they don't interrupt the  
18           proceedings.

19           CHAIRMAN RAOUL: Senator Martinez moves to  
20           allow the public to take photos as long as they don't  
21           interrupt the proceedings. Seconded by Senator  
22           Jones. Is there leave?

23                        Leave being granted, the public will be  
24           able to take photos.

1                   I am going to be stepping around to  
2 address the bill, and I am going to yield the Chair  
3 to Senator Noland.

4                   VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: We are going to stand  
5 at ease to allow our Republican members the  
6 opportunity to attend the hearing. So, Senator  
7 Raoul, please make yourself comfortable there.

8   (Pause.)

9                   I think we would like to go ahead and try  
10 to get underway here with the Senate Redistricting  
11 Committee. I have a couple of housekeeping matters,  
12 if we may.

13                   First of all, I would ask the Clerk to  
14 add Senator Dillard, Senator Luechtefeld, Senator  
15 Duffy, Senator Righter and, pursuant to a letter from  
16 the Minority Spokesperson or, excuse me, Minority  
17 Leader in the Chamber, pursuant to Rule 3-2C, which  
18 states, "I hereby appoint Senator Pamela Althoff to  
19 temporarily replace Senator Matt Murphy as a member  
20 of the Senate Restricting Committee. This  
21 appointment is effective immediately and will  
22 automatically expire on June 22nd, the redistricting  
23 date." Signed Christine Radogno, Senate Republican  
24 Leader.

1                   With that we also have the Illinois  
2 Statehouse News requesting permission to film and  
3 shoot photos. We have the Chicago Tribune wishing to  
4 take photographs, and also the Illinois Info Services  
5 wishing to videotape as well. Is there leave for  
6 permission?

7                   Motion is made. Leave is granted. They  
8 may do so.

9                   Senator Raoul, you have a motion?

10                  SENATOR RAOUL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,  
11 ladies and gentlemen of the Committee.

12                  Earlier today the Illinois House of  
13 Representatives passed Senate Bill 1177 with House  
14 Amendment 2 which contains the Illinois Redistricting  
15 Act of 2011. That legislation is identical to  
16 Amendment 1 of Senate Bill 1176. The bill also  
17 contains modifications to Senate Bill 1175 which we  
18 have had three public hearings in conjunction with  
19 our House colleagues beginning last Saturday.

20                  We have heard from witnesses throughout  
21 the state that simply said thank you for taking into  
22 account the recommendations in our pre-map hearings,  
23 such as a witness from East Rogers Park in Chicago  
24 and two witnesses from Shelby County who testified



1 here in Springfield earlier this week. We have also  
2 heard from witnesses that wanted modification. This  
3 plan reflects some of the testimony we have heard  
4 from those witnesses.

5 Today I am not here to debate process.  
6 We have done a few years of debating process, and I  
7 think we have had a great process over the course of  
8 the last couple of years. Instead, I will limit  
9 today's discussion on the merits of this map  
10 proposal.

11 Senate Bill 1177 contains language aimed  
12 at meeting our obligation to draw legislative and  
13 representative districts in accordance with the law.  
14 In accordance with Article 4, Section 3, of the  
15 Illinois Constitution and Article 1, Section 2, of  
16 the U.S. Constitution, the legislation before this  
17 Committee today accomplishes the task of redrawing  
18 the boundaries of Illinois legislative and  
19 representative districts in order to account for  
20 population shifts since the 2000 census.

21 In establishing boundaries for Illinois  
22 legislative and representative districts in this  
23 proposal, the following redistricting principles were  
24 taken into account:

1           Each of the districts contained in the  
2           General Assembly Redistricting Act of 2011 was drawn  
3           to be substantially equal in population so as nearly  
4           as practicable the total population deviation between  
5           districts is zero;

6           Each of the districts contained in the  
7           General Assembly Redistricting Act of 2011 was drawn  
8           to be consistent with the United States Constitution;

9           Each of the districts contained in the  
10          General Assembly Redistricting Act of 2011 was drawn  
11          to be consistent with the Federal Voting Rights Act  
12          where applicable;

13          Each of the districts contained in the  
14          General Assembly Redistricting Act of 2011 was drawn  
15          to be compact and contiguous as required by the  
16          Illinois Constitution;

17          Each of the districts contained in the  
18          General Assembly Redistricting Act of 2011 was drawn  
19          to be consistent with the Illinois Voting Rights Act  
20          of 2011 where applicable;

21          Each of the districts contained in the  
22          General Assembly Redistricting Act of 2011 was drawn  
23          taking into account the partisan composition of the  
24          districts and of the plan itself.

1                   Additionally, each of the districts  
2                   contained in the General Assembly Redistricting Act  
3                   of 2011 was drawn to reflect a balance of the  
4                   following redistricting principles: The preservation  
5                   of the core or boundaries of existing districts; the  
6                   preservation of communities of interest; respect for  
7                   county, township, municipal, ward and other political  
8                   subdivision boundaries; the maintenance of incumbent  
9                   constituent relationships and tracking of population  
10                  migration; proposals or other inputs submitted by  
11                  members of the public and stakeholder groups; public  
12                  hearing testimony; other incumbent requests; respect  
13                  for geographic features and natural or logical  
14                  boundaries; and other redistricting principles  
15                  recognized by state and federal court decisions.

16                  Our three public hearings that we have  
17                  had, after proposing a map, presented a broad array  
18                  of perspectives. Witnesses haven't always agreed,  
19                  but they each have been respectful and I suspect they  
20                  have appreciated their opportunities to testify.

21                  It's been over a week since I unveiled  
22                  our redistricting proposal. This proposal is in  
23                  accordance with the parameters set by the U.S. and  
24                  State Constitution. It is in accordance with the

1 federal and Illinois Voting Rights Act. It takes  
2 into account recommendations received at our many  
3 hearings.

4 And, Mr. Chairman, members of the  
5 Committee, I would ask for a favorable vote at this  
6 time.

7 VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Thank you, Senator,  
8 for a very thorough presentation of your motion. I  
9 need to state for the record, note that we have a  
10 number of letters that have been submitted to the  
11 Committee. We have one from Lawrence Walsh, Will  
12 County Executive. We also have one from the  
13 Rainbow/PUSH Coalition and the Reverend Jesse L.  
14 Jackson, Sr., a letter dated May 27, 2011. We also  
15 have written testimony of Lawrence Hill on behalf of  
16 the African Americans for Legislative Redistricting  
17 organization.

18 And with that also, too, I would like to  
19 note that as of yet we do not have any witnesses. If  
20 there is any member of the audience who wishes to be  
21 heard today, we would ask that they provide us  
22 witness slips and be prepared to bring them forward.

23 And with that, are there any questions  
24 from the Committee? Senator Dillard.

1           SENATOR DILLARD: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,  
2 and the real Mr. Chairman down at the witness table.

3                     In your opinion is this a politically  
4 fair map? I assume you are going to say yes. So  
5 tell us why.

6           SENATOR RAOUL: Your assumption is accurate,  
7 and I will tell you why. This map was drawn in  
8 accordance with the Illinois Constitution, the  
9 federal Constitution, in accordance with general  
10 redistricting principles, our Illinois Voting Rights  
11 Act, and it was drawn after we had hearings all  
12 throughout the state where we took in input and  
13 considered that input, and I think we have had more  
14 hearings than any redistricting process ever in the  
15 state of Illinois. We have done things such as  
16 allowing the public to have access to work stations.  
17 We have taken in some of that input, as I mentioned  
18 earlier. We have had people from both upstate and  
19 downstate say thank you to us for incorporating their  
20 suggestions.

21           SENATOR DILLARD: What election results were  
22 used by you and your staff to determine that this is  
23 a fair map?

24           SENATOR RAOUL: I didn't personally draw the

1 maps so I don't -- you know, I haven't referred to  
2 any election results.

3 SENATOR DILLARD: Doesn't your staff probably  
4 do what ours do and give you the ranking of these  
5 districts based upon the vote of the Governor or any  
6 U.S. senator or the last presidential race?

7 SENATOR RAOUL: I am not aware because I  
8 didn't personally draw the map.

9 SENATOR DILLARD: Do you know under the map  
10 that you and the Majority Leader Currie are moving  
11 through the legislature today how many seats the  
12 Republicans would likely hold in the new map?

13 SENATOR RAOUL: I am unaware. I imagine they  
14 have an opportunity to run candidates in 59  
15 legislative districts and in 118 representative  
16 districts. I can't predict what the outcome of those  
17 elections will be.

18 SENATOR DILLARD: Under the new proposal how  
19 many Democrat incumbents are paired up in the House  
20 of Representatives under yours and Representative  
21 Currie's map?

22 SENATOR RAOUL: I am not aware.

23 SENATOR DILLARD: Do you know how many  
24 Republicans in the State Senate would be paired up

1       against one another?

2               SENATOR RAOUL:   Excuse me, what was that?

3               SENATOR DILLARD:   Do you know how many of the  
4       Republican incumbents in the State Senate would be  
5       paired up against one another under this particular  
6       proposal?

7               SENATOR RAOUL:   I don't know.

8               SENATOR DILLARD:   Same with Democrats?

9                       On the community of interest issue --

10               SENATOR RAOUL:   I am told that there are  
11       eight total pairings in both chambers, in both  
12       chambers, but I was unaware until a second ago.  
13       Eight total pairings and they are all Republican.

14               SENATOR DILLARD:   And they are all  
15       Republican, okay.   That's here in the Senate, right?

16               SENATOR RAOUL:   That's in the Senate, yes.

17               SENATOR DILLARD:   Do you know what the House  
18       breakdown will be?

19               SENATOR RAOUL:   I do not.

20               SENATOR DILLARD:   One of the real big  
21       concerns of people that testified before the  
22       Committee that you ably chaired was they came in and  
23       there were a number of smaller town people, people in  
24       the south suburbs.   I remember hearing of Governor

1 State University. And they came to these hearings  
2 and they said they wanted to keep municipalities and  
3 counties together. They wanted to keep communities  
4 of interest together.

5 And it is interesting, after listening to  
6 all that testimony, that you and your new map today,  
7 the one that's actually going to be voted on by the  
8 legislature, splits up even more municipalities in  
9 the House than the first proposed map. And, in fact,  
10 it split up 42 more municipalities than what the  
11 Senate Republicans put out yesterday in the Fair Map  
12 Plan.

13 Why are you splitting off in the new  
14 version from what we originally put out there, why  
15 are you splitting up more municipalities and  
16 counties?

17 SENATOR RAOUL: As I mentioned in my opening  
18 remarks, we have drawn this map balancing a number of  
19 redistricting principles. Maintaining municipal  
20 boundaries was one of many, including One Man/One  
21 Vote and many other redistricting principles. If you  
22 wish, I can run through the entire list, but I  
23 mentioned them earlier. It is the balancing act. As  
24 you know, as you quite know, and I know you have



1 presented maps in the past, it is a complex process.

2 SENATOR DILLARD: I know it is. And our Fair  
3 Map proposal, you know, in terms of splitting up  
4 counties, you know, you split nearly 40 percent more  
5 counties in the House than our Fair Map does.

6 SENATOR RAOUL: I haven't had an opportunity  
7 to view your Fair Map. I think it came out  
8 yesterday, and I think the public should have a good  
9 week to look at that.

10 SENATOR DILLARD: But does this map rely on  
11 communities of interest?

12 SENATOR RAOUL: Yes, among other  
13 redistricting principles, yes. And as I mentioned  
14 earlier, it is a balancing of all the redistricting  
15 principles.

16 SENATOR DILLARD: Just one last question,  
17 Mr. Chairman, we heard from -- and they are a great  
18 addition to the state of Illinois -- but many, many  
19 different Latino groups such as the Latino Policy  
20 Forum and MALDEF came in and testified. But one of  
21 the things we heard consistently, consistently, is  
22 that Little Village was a community of interest.  
23 And, I mean, didn't we hear that they wanted to keep  
24 Little Village together?

1           SENATOR RAOUL: I believe we heard that as  
2 well as all sorts of communities. And, again, what  
3 we have tried to do is we have tried to balance all  
4 of the redistricting principles. And this is -- as  
5 you well know, this is a complex process in trying to  
6 balance all the redistricting principles.

7           SENATOR DILLARD: Does your map split Little  
8 Village into two districts?

9           SENATOR RAOUL: I am not sure.

10          SENATOR DILLARD: Just for the Committee --  
11 and thank you very much for your work and, if you had  
12 hair, it would be gray by now, but I thank you.

13                   Representative Currie, in listening to  
14 the debate on the floor today, insinuated that MALDEF  
15 offered to split Little Village. But MALDEF's plan  
16 and MALDEF's map does not split Little Village. And  
17 with all the testimony we have heard from a variety  
18 of Latino groups, I do think splitting Little Village  
19 in half is not what these groups asked us to do when  
20 it came to with respect to drawing one of the major  
21 Latino areas of the state of Illinois.

22                   Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23          SENATOR RAOUL: Thank you.

24          VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Thank you, Senator

1 Dillard.

2 The Clerk will add Senators Cultra and  
3 Haine to the roll, please.

4 Are there any other questions? Senator  
5 Righter.

6 SENATOR RIGHTER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
7 I want to start by following up on Senator Dillard's  
8 reference to MALDEF. You know as well as I do that  
9 MALDEF is a nationally recognized expert when it  
10 comes to Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965,  
11 and they have been involved in not only putting out  
12 Section 2 maps for Illinois for this year, they have  
13 met with us and they have met with the Democrats as  
14 well. And I want to first walk through a little bit  
15 about some of the differences between what they  
16 thought was appropriate for Section 2 and your  
17 response to that insofar as it is embodied in the map  
18 that is before us here today.

19 MALDEF demonstrated that you could draw  
20 six 60 percent voting age population Latino districts  
21 on the south side of Chicago. The map that you are  
22 sponsoring has five. Can you outline for me the  
23 specific factors that drove you to the decision that  
24 five was appropriate in terms of compliance for

1 Section 2 as opposed to the six that MALDEF advocated  
2 for?

3 SENATOR RAOUL: Senator, as you know from our  
4 hearing earlier this week, we have received advice  
5 from our expert, Mr. Lichtman, who has told us that  
6 we have created good opportunity districts for the  
7 Latino community to elect candidates of their choice.

8 SENATOR RIGHTER: Those are the specific  
9 factors on which you relied in drawing the one that  
10 you drew?

11 SENATOR RAOUL: I did not draw anything.

12 SENATOR RIGHTER: That your staff, the bill  
13 that you are sponsoring?

14 SENATOR RAOUL: My staff relied on all of the  
15 redistricting principles. If you wish, I could run  
16 through them all with you.

17 SENATOR RIGHTER: Are these the ones you read  
18 off earlier?

19 SENATOR RAOUL: Yes.

20 SENATOR RIGHTER: Okay. We will assume that  
21 they would be the same if you read them again.

22 MALDEF also requested and demonstrated  
23 that you could have an over 50 percent voting age  
24 population district in the Waukegan area which also

1 is not present in the map that you are the sponsor  
2 of. Can you tell me why that was not present?

3 SENATOR RAOUL: Earlier this week we had  
4 testimony from Mr. Lichtman that gave us testimony  
5 about opportunity districts. We relied on that  
6 testimony, and we balanced all of the traditional  
7 redistricting principles, which I imagine you don't  
8 want me to read off again. But we balanced all of  
9 those redistricting principles in coming up with our  
10 map.

11 SENATOR RIGHTER: Did Mr. Lichtman draw the  
12 map?

13 SENATOR RAOUL: No.

14 SENATOR RIGHTER: Who did?

15 SENATOR RAOUL: Staff. I don't know  
16 precisely who, but different staff, I assume.

17 SENATOR RIGHTER: MALDEF also asked for and  
18 drew a map which created a 60 percent voting age  
19 population Latino district in the Aurora area, and I  
20 am suspecting I am going to hear the same answer from  
21 you about Dr. Lichtman. I would point out that in  
22 his testimony before the Redistricting Committee on  
23 behalf of the Democrat-sponsored map in 2001, Dr.  
24 Lichtman was an adamant proponent of voting age

1 population percentages at least in the middle 50s, up  
2 to the middle 60s.

3 I wonder if you can help me understand,  
4 one, why the Aurora district wasn't drawn and, two,  
5 how you feel about Dr. Lichtman's, for lack of a  
6 better term, watering down the percentages he thinks  
7 are necessary to comply with Section 2.

8 SENATOR RAOUL: I do remember the question  
9 and answer exchange with Dr. Lichtman in which he was  
10 disagreeing with the characterization of his  
11 testimony and his testimony being out of context.  
12 Being that I was not anywhere around the legislature  
13 in 2001, I can't opine on a discussion that took  
14 place when I was not around. So I just believe that  
15 we have a fair map based on Dr. Lichtman's testimony  
16 in 2011. Since we are here in 2011, I am relying on  
17 his testimony that I am aware of.

18 SENATOR RIGHTER: Senator, in the map that  
19 you are sponsoring there are 16 districts that have  
20 an African-American voting age population of 50  
21 percent or greater. The map that we operate under  
22 today has 18. Why did you bring that number down by  
23 two?

24 SENATOR RAOUL: As you know, there has been

1 much population shift, as well as we relied on Dr.  
2 Lichtman's testimony of the opportunity for  
3 African-Americans to elect a candidate of their  
4 choice in the districts that we have created. And we  
5 are confident that African-Americans will be able to  
6 elect a candidate of their choice.

7 SENATOR RIGHTER: Senator, is Dr. Lichtman,  
8 is he here?

9 SENATOR RAOUL: Dr. Lichtman? Dr. Lichtman?  
10 No, he is not here.

11 SENATOR RIGHTER: Well, that's convenient.  
12 In the map that you are sponsoring, House District  
13 114 which is the East St. Louis area has an  
14 African-American voting age population of 42, just a  
15 little over 42 percent, which the materials that I  
16 have read, including the testimony of Dr. Lichtman,  
17 is well below the recommended threshold for voting  
18 population percentages for African-Americans in order  
19 to give them a fair opportunity to elect an  
20 African-American. Do you think that's too low?

21 SENATOR RAOUL: Based on Dr. Lichtman's  
22 assessment of our entire map, I don't think it is too  
23 low, and I think that Africa-Americans will have an  
24 opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice in

1       that district.

2                SENATOR RIGHTER:   Have -- do you know if a  
3       district, that House district, could have been drawn  
4       in a way that would increase that percentage over 50  
5       percent?

6                SENATOR RAOUL:    I don't know.

7                SENATOR RIGHTER:   Have you reviewed -- I am  
8       sure -- well, when I was over on your side of the  
9       floor yesterday, I noticed that on several of the  
10      laptops the Fair Map proposal that I am a sponsor of  
11      was up on several of them, looking at the lines. I  
12      don't remember if it was up on yours.

13               SENATOR RAOUL:    It wasn't.

14               SENATOR RIGHTER:   In that map there was a  
15      House District 114 which actually has -- that  
16      district has a 54 percent voting age population for  
17      African-Americans. Don't you think that gives  
18      African-Americans a much more -- a much better  
19      chance, excuse me, of electing African-Americans to  
20      the House than the 42 percent?

21               SENATOR RAOUL:    I will have to pull up that  
22      map and look at it since you just came forth with it  
23      yesterday. You know, give me a week or so and I will  
24      look at it.



1           SENATOR RIGHTER: Well, mine's been on file  
2 about -- well, actually longer than yours has. But,  
3 regardless, you would disagree that -- you are not  
4 certain that a 54 percent ratio of voting age  
5 population African-Americans doesn't give a better  
6 chance than 42?

7           SENATOR RAOUL: What I feel pretty confident  
8 on is that House District 114 provides ample  
9 opportunity for African-Americans to elect a  
10 candidate of their choice.

11           SENATOR RIGHTER: Let's talk a little bit  
12 about compactness which obviously is -- compactness  
13 which is one of the issues also that anyone who is  
14 drawing a legislative map has to deal with. How does  
15 the map that you are sponsoring, Senator Raoul,  
16 compare to the map that we operate under today in  
17 terms of compactness?

18           SENATOR RAOUL: It is my understanding that  
19 the House and Senate districts are highly similar in  
20 compactness as compared to the current districts.

21           SENATOR RIGHTER: Can you elaborate on the  
22 basis of your understanding?

23           SENATOR RAOUL: We engaged an expert, Jerry  
24 Webster, to opine on that compactness, the same

1 witness, expert, that was relied upon ten years ago.  
2 And, you know, obviously that map was upheld ten  
3 years ago. And he opined that the compactness was  
4 substantially similar to it.

5 SENATOR RIGHTER: What was the gentleman's  
6 name? I am sorry.

7 SENATOR RAOUL: Jerry Webster.

8 SENATOR RIGHTER: Mr. Webster?

9 SENATOR RAOUL: Yes.

10 SENATOR RIGHTER: Do you know anything about  
11 the factors that Mr. Webster relied on, the tools  
12 that he utilized, in order to measure compactness and  
13 compare it to the current map?

14 SENATOR RAOUL: I do not. There are folks  
15 who have far greater expertise than I do in this.  
16 Notwithstanding the fact that I have gone throughout  
17 the state and had hearings on redistricting, I am far  
18 from a redistricting expert, so we relied on  
19 Mr. Webster.

20 SENATOR RIGHTER: Can you tell me whether or  
21 not you have any knowledge as to whether or not this  
22 map is any more compact than the map we are under now  
23 or any less, just to which side of the line we are  
24 falling on there?

1           SENATOR RAOUL: You know, all I can tell you  
2 is that Mr. Webster opined to us that it was just as  
3 compact as the current district.

4           SENATOR RIGHTER: Let me ask you one last  
5 question, Senator Raoul. You have relied clearly,  
6 you and the people you are working with, have clearly  
7 relied heavily on Dr. Lichtman for the map that we  
8 are here today to vote on, correct? You have  
9 referenced him several times, is that fair?

10          SENATOR RAOUL: That's fair.

11          SENATOR RIGHTER: Okay. In the House debate  
12 Majority Leader Currie stated on the record that Dr.  
13 Lichtman hadn't seen the lines, the specific lines,  
14 that are in the map that you are here sponsoring  
15 today. If that's the case, then I am wondering why  
16 he is such a -- endorsed the lines so strongly.

17          SENATOR RAOUL: That's correct. He didn't  
18 see the lines, but it is my understanding that he has  
19 seen the precinct data and relied on the precinct  
20 data.

21          SENATOR RIGHTER: Right. But how would he be  
22 able to make a judgment about whether or not this map  
23 complies with Section 2 if he hasn't seen the lines?  
24 I mean, the court is going to look at the lines, not

1 the precinct data.

2 SENATOR RAOUL: You know, Dr. Lichtman is an  
3 expert and, you know, I think he went through his CV  
4 and he is far more of an expert than I am and he has  
5 testified in multiple states and he has testified on  
6 behalf of maps throughout the country that have  
7 prevailed. And so I cannot question a man with such  
8 great credentials on ecological data with regards to  
9 redistricting. So I choose to just rely on that  
10 expertise. I don't think that I know anybody in this  
11 room that has the same expertise that he has.

12 SENATOR RIGHTER: Well, he may be an expert,  
13 Senator, but he is not magic. I mean, either  
14 Majority Leader Currie was misspoken on the record,  
15 and he actually has seen the lines in the specific  
16 map that you have before us, or he hasn't seen them.  
17 And if he hasn't seen them, I am trying to figure out  
18 how you rely so comfortably on his judgments for  
19 lines that he hasn't seen.

20 SENATOR RAOUL: It is my understanding that  
21 he hasn't seen it, and I don't know if perhaps your  
22 counsel can talk to you about how Voting Rights Act  
23 analysis works with regards to looking at data. But,  
24 again, I am not an expert on this. I wasn't present

1 for the House hearing, but I am relying on Dr.  
2 Lichtman's expertise.

3 SENATOR RIGHTER: Well, I am not an expert,  
4 either. I am really not. But I do know --

5 VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Senator?

6 SENATOR RIGHTER: If I might finish my  
7 question?

8 VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: I am going to allow  
9 you to finish your question, but I am going to impose  
10 here. And I am going to offer you wide latitude, a  
11 wide latitude, in asking questions, understand. But  
12 please, please, let us not be redundant. Okay?  
13 Please ask a new question.

14 SENATOR RIGHTER: Senator Raoul, but I do  
15 know this, that you have to look at where the  
16 boundaries are in the district in order to make a  
17 judgment about Section 2 compliance. I mean, you  
18 have to. I mean, there is a lot of other  
19 information, but you have got to see the line at some  
20 point.

21 So, given that -- this is the last time I  
22 will ask it, Mr. Chairman, thank you for your  
23 indulgence -- how is it that Dr. Lichtman is such a  
24 strong source of support for a map, the lines of

1       which he has not seen according to the Majority  
2       Leader.

3                SENATOR RAOUL:  He has seen the data and,  
4       again, he is an expert of great reputation and far  
5       more of an expert than me; so I rely on his  
6       expertise.

7                SENATOR RIGHTER:  Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8                VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND:  Thank you, Senator  
9       Righter.

10               Senator Harmon, you have a question of  
11       the witness?

12               SENATOR HARMON:  I do, Mr. Chairman, just one  
13       inquiry for this sponsor, and I think this may be  
14       more to your role as the Chairman of the Committee.

15               Two of the prior speakers mentioned the  
16       Mexican American League for Defense and Education  
17       Funding or MALDEF and their proposal.  I would ask  
18       you this, did MALDEF ever submit to the Committee a  
19       comprehensive 59 district legislative map for  
20       Illinois?

21               SENATOR RAOUL:  Never.  And we attempted -- I  
22       personally tried to call them, had staff specifically  
23       request that, and we have never gotten that.

24               SENATOR HARMON:  Thank you very much.

1           VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND:  Senator Luechtefeld,  
2   any questions?

3           SENATOR LUECHTEFELD:  Senator, have you had  
4   conversations with Governor Quinn about this, that he  
5   would sign the map that you have put forward?

6           SENATOR RAOUL:  I have not had a conversation  
7   with Governor Quinn.

8           SENATOR LUECHTEFELD:  What is your feel about  
9   it?  Do you think he will?

10          SENATOR RAOUL:  I have no idea.  I hope he  
11   will.

12          SENATOR LUECHTEFELD:  So it does make a  
13   difference?

14          SENATOR RAOUL:  Yeah.  Generally, a bill goes  
15   to both houses and then the Governor has to sign it  
16   when it comes before him.

17          SENATOR LUECHTEFELD:  I thought I heard you  
18   say that the map was not political.  Did you say that  
19   early on today?

20          SENATOR RAOUL:  I don't recall.

21          SENATOR LUECHTEFELD:  The question was asked,  
22   I think, is this a political map and I think you said  
23   no.

24          SENATOR RAOUL:  I don't recall that question

1 and answer.

2 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Well, let me ask that  
3 now then. Is this political in any way that you know  
4 of?

5 SENATOR RAOUL: Well, this is a map that is  
6 going to draw districts for the state of Illinois  
7 where I presume people will be running against one  
8 another. So it is part of the political process.  
9 Yes, it is political.

10 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Senator, you must have  
11 taken that class in law school where you do a good  
12 job of not answering the question in that regard. So  
13 you say it is or it is not political?

14 SENATOR RAOUL: I think everything we do in  
15 this building is political, is part of the political  
16 process.

17 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: So this is, this is  
18 political. Where would you say -- obviously, when  
19 you set out to draw the map, you had certain goals;  
20 you must meet the state law, the federal law, the  
21 compactness, whatever it might be. Where would you  
22 say the attempt to see to it that one party controls  
23 the state for the next ten years, where does that fit  
24 in, do you think? Does that come after all the other



1 things?

2 SENATOR RAOUL: I think partisan fairness is  
3 one of many factors that needs to be considered in  
4 drawing a map, and you have to balance all of the  
5 factors that I enumerated before.

6 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: So it is then not that  
7 political. You said partisan fairness.

8 SENATOR RAOUL: Yes. Partisan fairness, yes.

9 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: Not political. You  
10 also said --

11 SENATOR RAOUL: I didn't say it is not  
12 political. I said everything we do is political. I  
13 said partisan fairness, along with many other  
14 factors.

15 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: But you also said that  
16 you had nothing to do with drawing the map. Is that  
17 right?

18 SENATOR RAOUL: Right, I did not draw the  
19 map. Staff drew the map.

20 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: You have been the point  
21 man on the map throughout?

22 SENATOR RAOUL: I have been the point man on  
23 redistricting, conducting redistricting hearings  
24 throughout. I am presenting the map right now. But

1 I haven't been the point man on drawing the map.

2 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: All right. Thank you.

3 VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Thank you, Senator  
4 Luechtefeld.

5 Senator Duffy, questions?

6 SENATOR DUFFY: Thank you, Senator.

7 I am just curious; what is your intention  
8 with this bill? Do you intend to call this bill for  
9 a vote today, tomorrow or what are you thinking?

10 SENATOR RAOUL: My hope is to call for this  
11 bill today and get 59 yes votes.

12 VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Okay. Any other  
13 questions?

14 There is a motion to concur with...

15 SENATOR HAINE: I will second.

16 VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: ..House Amendment  
17 Number 2. Seconded by Senator Haine.

18 I'm moving fast. Is there anyone with an  
19 apparent wish to ask further questions? Going once.

20 There has been a motion; there has been a  
21 second. That's true. Madam Clerk will call the  
22 roll.

23 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Murphy?  
24 Senator Althoff?

1 SENATOR ALTHOFF: No.

2 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Luechtefeld?

3 SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: No.

4 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Duffy?

5 SENATOR DUFFY: No.

6 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Dillard?

7 SENATOR DILLARD: No.

8 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Cultra?

9 SENATOR CULTRA: No.

10 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Righter?

11 SENATOR RIGHTER: Just very briefly, Mr.

12 Chairman, if you will allow. I am going to vote no.

13 There are a number of reasons I am voting no, not the

14 least of which is we don't have information about how

15 these lines were drawn the way they were. We don't

16 have information about why the recommendations on

17 Section 2 from MALDEF weren't taken seriously or

18 weren't taken into account or weren't utilized.

19 There is a tragic lack of information about how these

20 lines wound up being the way they are.

21 No. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Martinez?

23 SENATOR MARTINEZ: Yes.

24 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Maloney?

1 SENATOR MALONEY: Yes.

2 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Lightford?

3 Senator Koehler?

4 SENATOR KOEHLER: Yes.

5 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Jones?

6 SENATOR JONES: Yes.

7 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Hunter?

8 SENATOR HUNTER: Yes.

9 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Harmon?

10 SENATOR HARMON: Aye.

11 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Haine?

12 SENATOR HAINE: Aye.

13 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Collins?

14 SENATOR COLLINS: Yes.

15 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Noland --

16 Senator Raoul?

17 SENATOR RAOUL: Yes.

18 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Noland?

19 SENATOR NOLAND: Aye.

20 With that the motion passes at nine  
21 voting aye, six voting nay and none voting present.

22 So, Senator Raoul, you have another  
23 resolution?

24 SENATOR RAOUL: Another resolution, yes.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 I sent Amendment 1 to Senate Resolution  
3 249. Senate Amendment 1 to Senate Resolution 249  
4 contains a district by district breakdown of the 59  
5 legislative districts contained in the Illinois  
6 Redistricting Act of 2011. Let me quickly note that  
7 this is one more additional step that we have taken  
8 to make this process open and transparent. When the  
9 Illinois Campaign for Political Reform testified at  
10 one of our many hearings, on April 6 they said the  
11 following: "If this body does not make draft maps  
12 available to the public for evaluation in advance of  
13 a vote and if it does not provide an opportunity for  
14 the public to propose changes and have those  
15 modifications considered in the public forum, the  
16 transparency initiatives you have undertaken will be  
17 viewed as power gestures."

18 So we are here today at the pre-hearing  
19 after a map has been unveiled with the modifications  
20 to our draft which has been presented. The Campaign  
21 for Political Reform also made a request for a  
22 narrative that would describe our legislative  
23 districts, and this is the narrative we are  
24 presenting and I would ask for your support.

1           VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Very good. Thank you,  
2           Senator. Is there a motion to recommend to adopt --  
3           questions. Senator Righter?

4           SENATOR RIGHTER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5                     Senator Raoul, it is my understanding  
6           that this amendment was filed close to two hours ago,  
7           is that right?

8           SENATOR RAOUL: I don't know exactly what  
9           time it was filed. I didn't personally take it down  
10          to --

11          SENATOR RIGHTER: Do you think that's in the  
12          ballpark?

13          SENATOR RAOUL: I don't know. It was filed  
14          today, but I -- Senator Righter, seriously I don't  
15          know exactly when.

16          SENATOR RIGHTER: Were there any previous  
17          iterations of this resolution before this one today?

18          SENATOR RAOUL: I don't know. This is the  
19          one that we have that's described in the map that we  
20          have before you.

21          SENATOR RIGHTER: Let's say two hours. I  
22          don't think it's been quite two hours, but let's give  
23          you guys the benefit of the doubt and say two hours.  
24          It is a 105-page document which means that a member

1 of the public would have to both access the amendment  
2 and digest it at about the rate of a minute a page in  
3 order to fully understand what it is that you are  
4 doing here in this Committee. Do you think that's  
5 adequate time in order to understand a district by  
6 district breakdown?

7 SENATOR RAOUL: Well, I think the point is  
8 that we were providing a narrative at all. We  
9 provided a map. We have given a one-week time for  
10 people to look at it. You can pull it up. And, you  
11 know, I have got my I-pad right here. You could pull  
12 it up and you could take it down to the street level  
13 and you could look at that. And we have had  
14 people -- I think you questioned one person from my  
15 district that was able to respond to your questions  
16 that actually went on the web and was able to look at  
17 the street level of the map. What we are doing is  
18 providing something additional, a narrative  
19 describing the districts, and I think we are going  
20 well beyond what has ever been done.

21 SENATOR RIGHTER: You know, one of the things  
22 I have enjoyed about serving with you, Senator Raoul,  
23 is that you have what I know at your core is a very  
24 sincere sense of concern for what we would term in

1 rough language as the have-nots. Do you feel really  
2 comfortable that since you can or someone else who  
3 appeared at one of these hearings can download a map  
4 on an I-pad, that because you can do it or a few  
5 others can, that that's sufficient public information  
6 for the people who are going to be represented in  
7 these districts?

8 SENATOR RAOUL: If I had the time and the  
9 capacity, I would go out to every household and  
10 provide them a map. But that's impossible, Senator  
11 Righter. I think we have done better than we have  
12 ever done in the state of Illinois, and I challenge  
13 anybody to contest that.

14 SENATOR RIGHTER: So let me go back to my  
15 original question. Do you think that allowing about  
16 a minute a page to digest information like this is  
17 sufficient for the public to understand a district by  
18 district breakdown of why the lines in this map are  
19 what they are?

20 SENATOR RAOUL: I think that the public will  
21 have plenty of time. This information will be  
22 available to them. They have had time to view the  
23 maps, and I think it is sufficient.

24 SENATOR RIGHTER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



1                   VICE CHAIRMAN NOLAND: Thank you, Senator  
2     Righter.

3                   There is a motion by Senator Collins,  
4     seconded by Senator Maloney.

5                   The clerk will call the roll.

6                   MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Althoff?

7                   SENATOR ALTHOFF: No.

8                   MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Luechtefeld?

9                   SENATOR LUECHTEFELD: No.

10                  MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Duffy?

11                  SENATOR DUFFY: No.

12                  MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Dillard?

13                  SENATOR DILLARD: Just to quickly explain my  
14     vote. It is Memorial Day weekend. Memorial Day  
15     weekend, and I think the public might be distracted  
16     and redistricting may not be the foremost thing on  
17     their mind. And to say that this is the most open  
18     and transparent process in the history of the state  
19     of Illinois is sort of like comparing the  
20     transparency of the KGB to the CIA.

21                  So with that I am going to vote no.

22                  MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Cultra?

23                  SENATOR CULTRA: No.

24                  MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Righter?

1           SENATOR RIGHTER: Thank you. You know, I  
2           can't vote for this because I haven't had time to  
3           read it. I wonder if you have read all 105 pages,  
4           Senator Raoul. I will guarantee you none of my  
5           Republican colleagues have, and I will bet every  
6           dollar I have in my pocket against every dollar that  
7           you have in your pocket that not a member on your  
8           side of the aisle have read all 105 pages also.

9           No.

10          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Martinez?

11          SENATOR MARTINEZ: Yes.

12          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Maloney?

13          SENATOR MALONEY: Yes.

14          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Lightford?

15                 Senator Koehler?

16          SENATOR KOEHLER: Yes.

17          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Jones?

18          SENATOR JONES: Yes.

19          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Hunter?

20          SENATOR HUNTER: Aye.

21          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Harmon?

22          SENATOR HARMON: Aye.

23          MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Haine?

24          SENATOR HAINE: Aye.

1 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Collins?

2 SENATOR COLLINS: Aye.

3 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Raoul?

4 SENATOR RAOUL: I am not the KGB or CIA, but  
5 anybody referring to the KGB, the CIA, as  
6 redistricting of the past is pointing the finger  
7 inward. I vote aye.

8 MS. NATALIA SOLOMON: Senator Noland?

9 SENATOR NOLAND: Aye.

10 With that, the resolution is adopted by a  
11 vote of ten voting aye, six voting nay, none voting  
12 present.

13 As a housekeeping matter, I see I said  
14 nine voted aye on the Redistricting proposal. Ten  
15 voted aye, for the court reporter. Thank you.

16 HEARING ADJOURNED

17

18

19

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21 the Illinois State Senate and will be made available  
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24

1 STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
 )  
2 COUNTY OF SANGAMON)

3 Carla J. Boehl, being first duly sworn on  
4 oath, says that she is a Certified Shorthand  
5 Reporter, that she reported in shorthand the  
6 proceedings given at the taking of said public  
7 hearing, and that the foregoing is a true and correct  
8 transcript of her shorthand notes so taken as  
9 aforesaid and contains all the proceedings given at  
10 said public hearing.

11

12

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13

Certified Shorthand Reporter  
No. 084-002710

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Subscribed and sworn to before me this \_\_\_\_ day of  
\_\_\_\_, 2011.

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Notary Public

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