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SENATE APPORTIONMENT COMMISSION REDISTRICTING HEARING

FEBRUARY 21, 2012

(Commencing at 1:09 p.m.)

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HEARING 2/21/2012

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                     APPEARANCES
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     COMMISSION MEMBERS:
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              Steve Ehlmann, Commissioner
              Nick Myers, Commissioner
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              Jean Paul Bradshaw III, Commissioner
 7
 8
              Mark Ellinger, Commissioner
 9
              Nicole Colbert-Botchway, Commissioner
10
              Mitch Elliott, Commissioner
11
              Trent Skaggs, Commissioner
              Todd Patterson, Commissioner
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              Lowell Pearson, Commissioner
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Page 5 1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (February 21, 2012) 3 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Welcome to this hearing 4 of the Senate Reapportionment Committee. My name is 5 Doug Harpool and I am Chairman and we are just 6 starting our hearing. Some of us are in person and 7 others will be joining us by phone. Let me start on 8 our left and have the different Commissioners 9 introduce themselves. 10 COMMISSIONER MYERS: I am Nick Myers, 11 Commissioner from Joplin. 12 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Steve Ehlmann from 13 St. Charles County. 14 COMMISSIONER COLBERT-BOTCHWAY: Nicole 15 Colbert-Botchway from St. Louis. 16 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: Commissioner 17 Patterson from Jackson County. 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: And I am Doug Harpool and 19 joining us on the phone are Trent Skaggs and Mitch Elliott from Kansas City. 20 21 MR. HESSER: Are we -- are they there, are we hearing them? 22 23 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Trent? 24 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: Yes, this is Trent 25 Skaggs from Clay County. Mitch is still not feeling

- 1 well and he just called me a few minutes before and is
- 2 not going to be able to make it.
- 3 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: All right. So only Trent
- 4 Skaggs is joining us.
- 5 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: That's correct.
- 6 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Anyone else joining us by
- 7 phone?
- 8 COMMISSIONER BRADSHAW: Jean Paul Bradshaw
- 9 from Kansas City.
- 10 COMMISSIONER PEARSON: And Lowell Pearson
- 11 from Columbia.
- 12 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: All right. So we have
- three Commissioners joining us by phone and then we
- 14 have Commissioner Ellinger who is just minutes away
- 15 and will be here in just a moment. He said we could
- 16 go ahead and start. He would join us in progress.
- 17 We are here to receive public comment on
- 18 potential redistricting of the State Senate Districts.
- 19 Please understand that this Commission has not
- 20 formerly debated or voted on any map. I have proposed
- 21 a map just to get the discussion started but it's not
- 22 the work product of this Commission in any way. We
- 23 are here to hear public comment about what changes, if
- 24 any, should be made in the current districts. This
- 25 process is required by law because there have been

- 1 substantial population shifts that have occurred over
- 2 the last ten years making some districts tens of
- 3 thousands greater in population than other districts.
- 4 In fact, I was thinking it was seventy something
- 5 thousand difference. The Constitution guarantees that
- 6 every person's vote should count roughly the same for
- 7 our districts and they do not right now and that is
- 8 why we have a big challenge to change districts.
- 9 There was a citizens' commission appointed
- 10 in 2011. It failed to reach agreement. When that
- 11 occurs this decision goes to the courts. However, the
- 12 maps written by the courts were invalidated by the
- 13 Missouri Supreme Court and the process was started
- 14 over and we are at the beginning stages of the new
- 15 process. While the Constitution guarantees us several
- 16 months to accomplish our work, the practical realities
- of a looming candidate filing date and primary
- 18 election date do not afford us that luxury. Frankly,
- 19 if we are not successful it is likely that the courts
- 20 will again intervene in some respect or in some
- 21 manner.
- 22 Everything that is said in this hearing will
- 23 be recorded by a court reporter. A transcript of it
- 24 will be made and it will be included in the official
- 25 record of this Commission and also available to the

- 1 public. The same can be true of all public comment
- 2 and testimony that was given the prior Commission. As
- 3 one of the first acts of this Commission we
- 4 incorporated all transcripts from the public of the
- 5 prior Commission because we recognize we were moving
- 6 these hearings on a rather expedited basis and we want
- 7 to make sure people who testified last time knew that
- 8 their comments were still being considered and still
- 9 part of our record. We will leave today -- this is
- 10 our last public hearing to receive public comment.
- 11 Tomorrow we will meet and begin the deliberative
- 12 process.
- I have asked people who want to testify to
- 14 give me witness sign-up sheets. At this point I don't
- 15 have any.
- 16 MR. HESSER: I think everyone is trying to
- 17 wait to be the last witness up, Chairman.
- 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: At this point I have no
- 19 witness sign-up sheets but if you would like to
- 20 testify please approach and bring it. I am going to
- 21 let you testify in the order in which I receive them.
- 22 All right. Anyone else? Adolphus, you're first.
- 23 MR. PRUITT: Adolphus Pruitt, President of
- 24 St. Louis NAACP, Chairman for the Political Action
- 25 NAACP Missouri State Conference. Mr. Chairman,

- 1 members of the Commission, I appreciate the
- 2 opportunity to share some words with you with respect
- 3 to course cracking and packing districts and
- 4 particularly as relates to the St. Louis metropolitan
- 5 area. You know we found it very interesting that
- 6 despite all the previous testimony before the
- 7 Commission earlier on, despite testimony before the
- 8 appellate judges and at the end of the day when we
- 9 looked at District 13 in North St. Louis County, which
- 10 naturally grew to a district that was in excess of
- 11 60 percent African American population, that it was
- 12 still reduced down with the appellate map to at least
- 13 53 percent African American, 56 percent minority. We
- 14 found that somewhat troubling because at minimum we
- did testify in favor of the Harpool 3 map, I think it
- 16 was, in which it clearly demonstrated that we can
- 17 realign the Senatorial Districts in the St. Louis
- 18 region without seriously cracking or reducing the
- 19 amount of African American population in the 13th and
- 20 still be able to achieve the necessary goals in the
- 21 14th and in the 4th -- in the 5th rather.
- We are here to say that at minimum we would
- 23 hope that the Commission would at least, when it comes
- 24 to the St. Louis metropolitan area, start with that
- 25 map or those numbers to obtain the same objective we

- 1 did -- tried to overhaul in our previous testimony.
- 2 It absolutely makes no sense to take a district that
- 3 has naturally grown to a district which was
- 4 overwhelming under African American representation to
- 5 over a ten-year period through natural migration to
- 6 grow into a significant majority district and to see
- 7 all of that wiped out with the stroke of opinion, for
- 8 whatever reasons it may be.
- 9 I know that in the previous meeting the
- 10 delegation from the St. Louis metropolitan area from
- 11 both parties, Democratic and Republican, proposed a
- 12 map that they all seemed to agree upon as the panacea
- 13 to resolve the issues in the St. Louis metropolitan
- 14 area, it absolutely was not the case and is still not
- 15 the case. There is no way in the world we want to see
- 16 the 13th District obliterated and as a matter of fact,
- 17 not only reduced down from 63 percent African
- 18 American, which is the population but down to 53. A
- 19 good ten-point swing in the other direction. We just
- 20 thought that was truly uncalled for and that if
- 21 anything happens we won't have a problem seeing the
- 22 representation reduced in the 4th. There is a strong
- 23 incumbent there. We believe that he's going to -- he
- 24 should be able to win. We talk about the 13th. It's
- 25 an open district. There is no incumbent to protect.

- 1 We want to protect the minority population that
- 2 currently resides in that district. We appreciate any
- 3 good and serious look at what has happened in the 13th
- 4 over a period of time and hope that the Commission
- 5 will do the right thing and protect that district.
- 6 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: We appreciate very much
- 7 your input and your continuing efforts to help us.
- 8 You were favorable of the Harpool 3 map presented to
- 9 the first Commission, correct?
- 10 MR. PRUITT: Yes.
- 11 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: And I think so testified
- 12 both to the Commission but to the Appellate Judicial
- 13 Commission?
- MR. PRUITT: Yes.
- 15 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Your goal is three
- 16 majority-minority districts in the St. Louis area?
- 17 MR. PRUITT: At minimum.
- 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: At a minimum, I
- 19 understand that. And do you think that, given their
- 20 present numbers, the obvious third -- the three would
- 21 be 14, 13 and 5?
- MR. PRUITT: Yes.
- 23 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: We have debated at length
- 24 the meaning of a majority-minority district. Is there
- 25 a definition that you would want us to attempt to use?

- 1 MR. PRUITT: I would say that taking a very
- 2 serious look at the voting age population, the voting
- 3 turnout for African Americans historically in those
- 4 areas, I think it's showing that taking those
- 5 considerations, at minimum, 56 to 58 percent African
- 6 American population should be sufficient enough to do
- 7 it in those districts. Of course, when you look at
- 8 the Voting Rights Act and some of the other things
- 9 they will say 60, 65. I think that is unrealistic at
- 10 this point in time.
- 11 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: It is and there are some
- 12 cases under it that have lower numbers. It's hard --
- 13 the reason I ask you that question is if you just read
- 14 the cases they're all across the board as to what it
- 15 takes. Some areas 51 percent is enough and in other
- 16 places they want more but you think for this area 56
- 17 is what you would like to see?
- 18 MR. PRUITT: And I think geographically if
- 19 you take a look at the 13th, 14th and look into North
- 20 St. Louis City, the population is there, the numbers
- 21 are there to create those three districts. It's just
- 22 a matter of what happens with the 4th and of course, I
- 23 know there has been a lot of discussion about the 7th
- 24 and some of the other ones, I'll be the first to admit
- 25 it's not on my radar, Mr. Chairman.

1 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: And you understand 2 unfortunately we have to have a little broader radar than you do but you're correct to push your issue and 3 4 to make us also focus on the important issue that you 5 bring to us, so thank you. Are there other questions? 6 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Do you have any data 7 or feeling about just the difference between the 5th, 8 14th and 13th? My experience in my county is the 9 further away you get from the City of St. Charles the 10 younger the population gets and in that case, it would mean the less people in that particular group are 11 actually voting age. I mean, could you make a case 12 13 that really the highest percentage ought to be in the one further south, which would be the 13th, since 14 there is more young families and children under 18 who 15 16 are not eligible voters? 17 MR. PRUITT: I would agree but I think when we -- let me -- historically, I think when we have 18 looked at the numbers, when we looked at Harpool 3 and 19 we looked at the Voting Rights Act, we looked at all 20 21 the demographics, it was able to achieve that balance 22 and to some degree accomplish some of the things that 23 folks wanted to see happen in the City. It was able to do that. The question is that now that we are back 24 25 at the table, why do we have to dramatically tinker

- 1 with what we were able to accomplish at that point in
- 2 time with those three districts and they all -- what
- 3 was proposed in Harpool 3 definitely, we thought, met
- 4 all of the challenges, all of the criteria to meet
- 5 under the Voting Rights Act as relates to the majority
- 6 -- minority and majority African American districts.
- 7 We thought all of that got achieved. Of course, it
- 8 impacts some other districts but naturally there was
- 9 -- naturally when you look at North St. Louis and
- 10 migration from North St. Louis into North County, we
- 11 see the same thing happening, that is why we did not
- 12 have a serious concern about seeing the 13th reduced
- 13 from 63 percent down to, I think we had 57, 58,
- 14 something like that, we didn't see serious concerns
- 15 because over the next ten years we just saw more of
- 16 that migration taking place and it being restored.
- 17 And, again, it was going further south as African
- 18 Americans move from North County, they wasn't going
- into St. Charles, they were going towards University
- 20 City and other areas. So we just saw that natural
- 21 migration taking place over time and thought it was
- 22 supporting what was there. The question comes in that
- 23 -- and even there is some migration within the City
- 24 from North City to South City. South City is not as
- 25 majority white as people like to think. There is a

- 1 lot of migration happening over there along with the
- 2 Hispanic population but you understand what I am
- 3 getting at. There is lot of changes happening.
- 4 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: My question was just
- 5 really basically you said 56, 58.
- 6 MR. PRUITT: Right.
- 7 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: I guess what I'm
- 8 asking is would you apply the same formula to the 5th,
- 9 14th or the 13th or is it possible that one or more of
- 10 those districts might need a higher percentage, again,
- 11 because of younger population or whatever?
- MR. PRUITT: Well, with the appellate map,
- 13 they had each one --
- 14 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Are you saying just
- take that same formula and apply it equally to all
- 16 three or is there some distinction between?
- 17 MR. PRUITT: There may be some distinction
- 18 as relates to what has occurred in the City of St.
- 19 Louis if you want to keep all of the 5th within the
- 20 City. What we don't want to do is encroach -- we
- 21 don't want the City districts encroaching into North
- 22 County, therefore diluting the voting population in
- 23 North County. That is the greatest issue for us.
- 24 It relates to voting age, you look at the appellate
- 25 numbers, they were roughly around 75 --- anywhere from

- 1 75 to 80 percent and all three of those districts were
- 2 over 18, so they were roughly around the same.
- 3 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Thank you.
- 4 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Mr. Myers?
- 5 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Mr. Pruitt, talking
- 6 about voting age, are those 56, 58 percentages you're
- 7 talking about as it applies to voting age or entire
- 8 citizens?
- 9 MR. PRUITT: That was the voting age,
- 10 population 18 and over.
- 11 COMMISSIONER MYERS: So your 56, 58 is of
- 12 voting age?
- MR. PRUITT: Yes.
- 14 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Do we have actually
- 15 voting age numbers or do we have just population
- 16 numbers?
- 17 MR. HESSER: We can generate any of those
- 18 numbers. We can do voting age, we can do voting age
- 19 by race, minority, ethnicity.
- 20 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: I remain committed to
- 21 Harpool 3 but as you know I couldn't get enough votes
- 22 to pass it, so we're trying to get enough of the map
- 23 that we can get enough votes to pass.
- MR. PRUITT: Does that mean we are going to
- lose the 7th, Mr. Chairman?

- 1 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: We're trying.
- 2 MR. PRUITT: I'm joking.
- 3 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Thank you. Joan Berry?
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: It's Bray. That has happened
- 5 before, believe me.
- 6 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: I should say that
- 7 Mr. Ellinger joined us mid-witness testimony and I
- 8 didn't want to interrupt the witness but he is present
- 9 as we said he would be.
- 10 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: My apologies for
- 11 being late.
- 12 SENATOR BRAY: Mr. Chairman and fellow
- 13 Commissioners of the Chairman, my name is Joan Bray
- 14 and I am here today representing my colleague Senator
- 15 Bob Johnson, retired Senator from Jackson County as in
- 16 the name of Let Missourians Decide.
- 17 Let Missourians Decide is a non-profit,
- 18 non-partisan organization that was formed specifically
- 19 to advocate for competitive legislative districts for
- 20 Missouri. You have our letter and information about
- 21 who we are. We have been involved in this process
- 22 from the beginning, so some of you have seen us
- 23 before. Unfortunately Senator Johnson couldn't be
- 24 here. He teaches over in Kansas City and had his
- 25 teaching schedule and as well as the sort of the late

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- 1 notice of this and couldn't get organized to be here,
- 2 so he asked that I speak on his behalf as well.
- 3 Together we have 41 years of legislature and some
- 4 experience, as well, of the vagaries of redistricting.
- 5 We got involved in Let Missourians Decide because of a
- 6 philosophical belief that districts should be drawn to
- 7 reflect the state's political reality. A legislative
- 8 map should respond equally to shifts of the same
- 9 magnitude in electoral support for each party,
- 10 thereby, if a state votes 50/50 then legislative
- 11 districts should be drawn such that they could be
- 12 50/50, you know, they could be won 50/50. If a party
- 13 wins 52, 53, 54, whatever, the districts would reflect
- 14 that in the legislature. I really strongly believe
- 15 that the responsibility for this Commission is to
- 16 reflect Missouri's voters and Missouri's residents in
- 17 the interest of Missourians. I don't believe that
- 18 your responsibility is to reflect the wishes of
- 19 incumbents, that's not in the interest of the voters
- 20 especially in this term-limited environment where
- 21 there are, you know, there are interests of incumbents
- 22 that only are -- fleetingly on the scene anymore, they
- 23 will be gone soon. And I think that that's what we
- 24 need to have, a more stable system that really
- 25 reflects the voters in the interest of the residents

- 1 of Missouri, not the short-term interest of the
- 2 incumbents.
- 3 You know, I would understand if you thought,
- 4 well, she's a former legislator but she's gone now, so
- 5 she don't have to worry about all of that. Just my
- 6 own experience, I was first elected in the House in
- 7 the redistricting year. Actually, because of the
- 8 changes in the districts I took on an incumbent in my
- 9 own party and so I sort of, you know, took advantage
- 10 of redistricting. When I moved to run for the Senate
- 11 I ran into a district that was 50/50 and I had to
- 12 battle for -- to take -- to switch parties in that
- 13 district and it was a district that I had no hand in
- 14 drawing, believe me that wasn't something that I had,
- 15 you know, that I was able to be involved in. So it's
- 16 not -- I don't believe that we really have an
- 17 obligation to the interests of the incoming
- 18 legislators.
- 19 You have a packet here and we have drawn a
- 20 map that reflects our -- philosophically in Missouri.
- 21 We were able to draw eight competitive districts for
- 22 the Senate. It's a, you know, the nature of our
- 23 population. It's not real easy but we did come up
- 24 with eight competitive districts. We have four
- 25 districts that are in excess of a 54 percent black

- 1 population, so we have majority-minority districts.
- 2 There is four of them and we believe in, you know,
- 3 making sure that we are applying the Voting Rights Act
- 4 principles, as well as the principles of what this
- 5 partisan symmetry, that I have described before, as
- 6 trying to create as many competitive districts in a
- 7 50/50 state like Missouri is. You know, the past ten
- 8 years it has pretty much been a 51 percent Democratic,
- 9 49 percent Republican vote in the statewide polls, so
- 10 we are a 50/50 state and we would like our maps to
- 11 reflect that as closely as possible. So I'll be glad
- 12 to answer any questions if I can.
- 13 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: First of all, we
- 14 appreciate you being here and being here for the long
- 15 haul. The map that you have given us, is that a new
- 16 map?
- 17 SENATOR BRAY: It's not the same map, it's
- 18 --
- 19 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: It looks different than
- 20 any I have seen before.
- 21 SENATOR BRAY: It is different from what we
- 22 have presented before.
- 23 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: And the statistical
- 24 analysis --
- 25 SENATOR BRAY: There is a chart of some of

- 1 the data, yeah.
- 2 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: -- is that an analysis of
- 3 your map?
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: Yes.
- 5 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Your numbering obviously
- 6 is different than any we've used.
- 7 SENATOR BRAY: That is something else we
- 8 have enjoyed. We would like to get the numbers set
- 9 back. It's about time to, you know, make them
- 10 sensible again, rather than having them upside down
- 11 and sideways and being moved whimsically around the
- 12 State, so we just thought why not?
- 13 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: If your map is adopted,
- 14 do you know the ultimate -- how many districts would
- 15 be over 55 percent Democrat, how many would be over 55
- 16 Republican, do you know those numbers?
- 17 SENATOR BRAY: Fifty-five percent?
- 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Yes.
- 19 SENATOR BRAY: No, I think we have -- I
- 20 think we had a couple of versions but I believe we are
- 21 at 14 districts that would be at least 50 percent
- 22 Democrat.
- 23 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: So you would think there
- 24 would be 14 districts that would be competitive for
- 25 the Democratic party?

- 1 SENATOR BRAY: Yes but included in those,
- 2 for both parties, would be those eight that rank in
- 3 that competitive range of 45 to 55.
- 4 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: So eight of the fourteen
- 5 would be competitive?
- 6 SENATOR BRAY: Yeah, with the broad
- 7 definition of competitive.
- 8 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: And your map complied
- 9 with the population deviation?
- 10 SENATOR BRAY: Our population deviation is
- 11 -- actually, I had that on my computer and it
- 12 disappeared. It was about two point --- let's see,
- 13 2.7 I think of the largest and about four point or
- 14 five point something.
- 15 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: So under ten?
- SENATOR BRAY: Oh, yeah, it's a combined of
- 17 under ten, exactly.
- 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Thank you. Other
- 19 questions of this witness?
- 20 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Previously a witness
- 21 testified that the minority-majority districts needed
- to be 50/60, do you take issue with that?
- 23 SENATOR BRAY: I understand what he's
- 24 saying, I just -- you know, our -- our smallest is 54
- 25 point --

- 1 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: So why 54 and not 56
- 2 or 58?
- 3 SENATOR BRAY: Well, because -- well, we
- 4 weren't working with them on this particular map to
- 5 know that that's the number that they would want but,
- 6 you know, if you could rearrange districts the point
- 7 is --
- 8 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: What would be your
- 9 recommendation if we redo the map, what numbers should
- 10 we use?
- 11 SENATOR BRAY: Well, I think somewhere
- 12 around 55 is, you know, is a reasonable number.
- 13 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Not 56, 58?
- 14 SENATOR BRAY: I am not going to say it's
- 15 wrong. It's just that I think the 54 percent district
- 16 we have is defendable, if you get a little higher that
- 17 is okay with me.
- 18 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Okay. But getting a
- 19 little higher we would have to go --
- 20 SENATOR BRAY: Well, you know, map drawing,
- 21 you know, we have drawn a lot of maps in the past
- 22 year. You can -- tweaking and there is a ripple
- 23 effect but I can certainly justify trying to get it to
- 24 that point and just seeing. It may be that it ends up
- 25 54.8 or something like that but I think that is an

- 1 honest effort.
- 2 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Okay. Thanks.
- 3 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Yes, I have several
- 4 questions. Thank you for coming. To follow up on an
- 5 inquiry Commissioner Ehlmann just made talking about
- 6 54, 55 percent, what about 52 percent, would you view
- 7 that to be an affective majority-minority district?
- 8 SENATOR BRAY: I don't -- I think that's
- 9 getting a little bit low, I do.
- 10 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Okay. And if you
- 11 could -- I know your map creates four
- 12 majority-minority districts, correct?
- 13 SENATOR BRAY: It does.
- 14 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I was trying to look
- 15 at the percentages, it looks like it ranges from 62 as
- 16 a high to 54.18 as a low --
- 17 SENATOR BRAY: Correct.
- 18 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: -- something like
- 19 that?
- 20 SENATOR BRAY: Correct.
- 21 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: So, I don't want to
- 22 testify for you, but as a general statement you would
- 23 think that the high -- if you could create four
- 24 majority-minority districts, it's in the best interest
- of the plan to have higher percentages in those four

- 1 districts; is that a fair statement?
- 2 SENATOR BRAY: Well, I think, you know, as
- 3 close as you can get them up there in the 55 to 60
- 4 percent.
- 5 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I also have a couple
- of questions about some comments you made about 50/50
- 7 states.
- 8 SENATOR BRAY: Mm-hmm.
- 9 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And I know that lots
- of people consider Missouri to be a 50/50 state
- 11 depending on what the election is. We vote Republican
- 12 sometimes, we vote Democrat sometimes. Is it your
- 13 all's opinion that we should try to endeavor to create
- 14 50/50 districts across the State?
- 15 SENATOR BRAY: Well, that would be lovely
- 16 but it's not possible.
- 17 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Well, you know,
- 18 let's throw the Constitution out for a minute, which
- 19 is something we want to do but the judges threw the
- 20 Constitution out and got slapped down for it, so I
- 21 might as well, we can speculate a little bit. I mean,
- 22 you can create 50/50 districts in the State of
- 23 Missouri if you do -- I'll use St. Louis as an example
- 24 since we're here, if you use the pie-shaped formula,
- 25 you know, you can take pie wedges into St. Louis City,

- 1 draw them out into St. Louis County and if you
- 2 properly angle the pies and gerrymander sufficiently
- 3 you can really create --
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: I don't think that's
- 5 necessary.
- 6 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: But you can create a
- 7 lot more 50/50 districts if you want.
- 8 SENATOR BRAY: You could.
- 9 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Is that your all's
- 10 -- in an ideal world if the Constitution didn't say
- 11 so, would that be your goal, is to create all 50/50s?
- 12 SENATOR BRAY: Probably not, no, because I
- 13 think -- having been in the legislature I think it's
- 14 legitimate to have people representing districts that
- 15 are say, politically homogeneous, but in those areas
- 16 where we can make it more competitive, I think it
- 17 creates for a much healthier legislature.
- 18 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And when you look at
- 19 where we can create more competitive districts, you
- 20 know, in certain parts of St. Louis and Kansas City,
- 21 Democrat incumbents or Democrat candidates can get 80
- 22 percent of the vote.
- SENATOR BRAY: Mm-hmm.
- 24 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Even in the most
- 25 Republican areas in the State when there are contested

- 1 races, which is a different caveat I realize, but when
- 2 there are contested races very few of them were able
- 3 to pull much above 65 or 70 percent of the vote.
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: But I do think you have to
- 5 look at all the areas where they're not even
- 6 contested.
- 7 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Agreed, I understand
- 8 that. And that skews -- and as a result whenever you
- 9 look at, you know, Republican or Democrat number
- 10 percentages, it skews them tremendously because if one
- 11 person is running without an opponent they get a 100
- 12 percent of the vote. If another person is running
- with an opponent they may win with 57 or 58 percent of
- 14 the vote which is a pretty convincing victory but it
- 15 looks like a very tight race compared to a 100 percent
- 16 race and it skews all your percentages.
- 17 SENATOR BRAY: Well, that's true but I know
- 18 in calculating the State's performance that, you know,
- 19 that look at statewide races in competitive, you know,
- 20 in competitive districts, I think, you know, getting
- 21 that 51/49 or 50/50 calculation, that's done, you
- 22 know, statistically within competitive races.
- 23 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Well, and obviously
- 24 that's a characterization of what's a competitive
- 25 race. I mean, you could look --

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- 1 SENATOR BRAY: Well, I think you could talk
- 2 to a demographer about what, you know, the standards
- 3 for doing that.
- 4 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: What would you
- 5 define as a statewide competitive race?
- 6 SENATOR BRAY: Well, I think a statewide
- 7 competitive race is where there is two vital
- 8 candidates who have the oomph behind them, primarily
- 9 money, to get their message out and we have a lot of
- 10 those.
- 11 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: So a presidential
- 12 race becomes a more definitive race, better race, than
- 13 say --
- 14 SENATOR BRAY: Well, it depends --
- 15 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: -- say a treasurer's
- 16 race, where one side or the other may not have name ID
- 17 or funding?
- 18 SENATOR BRAY: I think that -- I'm not sure
- 19 presidential races were calculated in this. I don't
- 20 know that. I have only thought of just statewide
- 21 races but, again, it depends on whether the race
- 22 really is competitive, whether there are two races
- 23 really being campaigned, being waged.
- 24 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: You know obviously
- 25 --

- 1 SENATOR BRAY: They don't all have to be --
- 2 some of them may come out, you know, 65/35, something
- 3 like that.
- 4 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: You know, use as an
- 5 example 1992, which you were around for, I was around
- for and many of us here recall, you had what looked to
- 7 be a very competitive race. Both sides raised lots of
- 8 money, both sides campaigned very heavily but you
- 9 ended up having a candidate who went to the federal
- 10 penitentiary, changed the entire component of an
- 11 election. It makes an election not necessarily
- 12 competitive just because both can get their message
- out if you have a wounded or flawed candidate.
- 14 SENATOR BRAY: That was a primary, right?
- 15 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: No, this was a
- 16 general. It would have been Mel Carnahan, Bill
- Webster.
- 18 SENATOR BRAY: Right, right, okay, I'm just
- 19 losing -- I'm sorry, I'm not sure --
- 20 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: But the effect being
- 21 it doesn't matter -- in other words, competitiveness
- 22 does not make a difference as to whether both sides
- 23 have money or both sides have message, flawed
- 24 candidate can jeopardize money and message, correct?
- 25 SENATOR BRAY: Well, that's true but both

- 1 sides end up with those, so I think --
- 2 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And a flawed
- 3 environment?
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: You know, you need to talk to
- 5 our statistician about these calculations which are
- 6 generally respected on -- there are methodologies for
- 7 doing this and I am not a statistician but I think --
- 8 I don't think we should discount that area of
- 9 political science that produces these analyses of how
- 10 a state performs, you know, I think it's legitimate.
- 11 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And which political
- 12 scientists are we discussing?
- 13 SENATOR BRAY: I am just saying the fact
- 14 that voter performance is a part of political science,
- 15 the science of studying politics and the way voters
- 16 perform is -- it's a legitimate field within that area
- 17 and I think that, you know, again, I would rather you
- inquire of somebody who knows a lot more about it,
- 19 about exactly how the races are chosen and all that.
- 20 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Ma'am, you're the
- 21 one that submitted this, that's why I am inquiring.
- 22 SENATOR BRAY: And I understand that and
- 23 because I do believe in political, you know, the study
- 24 of political science and how they produce, you know,
- 25 analyses of voter behavior, I respect what they do and

- 1 I, you know, think it has a legitimate part of the
- 2 discussion. So, you know, but I don't do it myself.
- 3 It's just like I could respect a surgeon but I can't
- 4 go do surgery myself.
- 5 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And with your intent
- of trying to come up with as many 50/50 races as
- 7 possible, do you think that creating more
- 8 majority-minority districts goes down the road to
- 9 creating more 50/50 races or do you think those tend
- 10 to be adverse positions?
- 11 SENATOR BRAY: Not adverse, I think it's
- 12 part of the whole picture. All the things that you
- 13 have to take into account. You have to make room for
- 14 some majority-minority districts. I would like to see
- 15 us make room for more competitive districts because we
- 16 are more competitive -- I believe, because, you know,
- 17 my respect for the science, the social science of
- 18 political science, that voter behavior is worth
- 19 looking at.
- 20 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And when you say
- 21 more competitive, that depends on where you're at in
- 22 the state too, obviously?
- 23 SENATOR BRAY: This is judged on -- only on
- 24 statewide races. When the voters speak on statewide
- 25 races.

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- 1 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: But in drawing your
- 2 map you have to use counties and you have to use
- 3 political lines inside of larger counties?
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: Absolutely, absolutely, we
- 5 have got all -- using each one of those we tried to
- 6 come up with a map that tries to, to some degree, meet
- 7 the expectations of that particular angle like
- 8 competitive districts or, you know, majority-minority
- 9 districts and keeping the counties intact and ours is
- 10 all continuous. We are not crossing any rivers
- 11 without bridges and that kind of thing. We paid
- 12 attention to, you know, to all of that but it is a
- 13 melting together and you can't do every one of those
- 14 100 percent.
- 15 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And looking at your
- 16 map I noticed you split Clay County in three parts.
- 17 SENATOR BRAY: Okay.
- 18 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: You understand that
- 19 violates the Constitution.
- 20 SENATOR BRAY: That is -- that could be --
- 21 that's a problem, I understand that.
- 22 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Thank you.
- 23 SENATOR BRAY: I understand that and I
- 24 didn't say we had the perfect map.
- 25 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: May I make it clear

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- 1 that's not true, that is Mr. Ellinger's opinion.
- 2 There are other lawyers who have different opinions.
- 3 SENATOR BRAY: Okay.
- 4 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: It is his opinion and it
- 5 is expressed --
- 6 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It has been the
- 7 Supreme Court's opinion recently.
- 8 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: No, the Supreme Court
- 9 didn't rule on multi-county, next to multi-county and
- 10 you know that.
- 11 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: They ruled on
- 12 multi-counties being split three ways.
- 13 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: John Maupin's map had the
- 14 same type of split.
- 15 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Well, I'm not John
- 16 Maupin and the Supreme Court hadn't ruled at the time
- 17 the John Maupin issue --
- 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Let me say this, that I
- 19 would vote for the map you have proposed if I would
- 20 get the opportunity. I would vote for Harpool 3 if
- 21 given the opportunity. I posted a map that I would
- 22 vote for if given the opportunity, but somewhere we
- 23 got to get some votes from some other people for a map
- 24 and we are still waiting to find that out. Mr. Myers?
- COMMISSIONER MYERS: Ms. Bray, I've got two

- 1 questions for you, one is a general. Can you provide
- 2 us with the races that you did look at to develop your
- 3 Table and your map here?
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: Yes, I am sure. I will have
- 5 to --
- 6 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Do you have folks on
- 7 staff who helped you with this?
- 8 SENATOR BRAY: I don't have a staff but we
- 9 got people who volunteered to help us with this.
- 10 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Who were those folks or
- 11 their qualifications, do you have anybody with Matt's
- 12 caliber or do you have --
- 13 SENATOR BRAY: Oh, yeah, well, I mean --
- 14 COMMISSIONER MYERS: This is all relative.
- 15 SENATOR BRAY: Right, absolutely,
- 16 absolutely. You know, I think we, you know, there are
- 17 some people who have gotten very good over the past
- 18 year in Missouri, lots of opportunity.
- 19 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Republican Senator
- 20 Johnson helped her on this.
- 21 SENATOR BRAY: Yes, exactly, right.
- 22 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Did he help you draw --
- 23 did he draw the map you developed?
- 24 SENATOR BRAY: He and I would sit together
- 25 and we would look at that screen and we would -- yes.

- 1 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Here is my specific
- 2 question then, on your percentage of African American
- 3 column here, is that voting age or is that raw
- 4 statistic?
- 5 SENATOR BRAY: That is census.
- 6 COMMISSIONER MYERS: That is census.
- 7 Earlier Mr. Pruitt spoke on census data as maybe not
- 8 his preferred criteria in that measure?
- 9 SENATOR BRAY: And I can understand that but
- 10 it is what we have.
- 11 COMMISSIONER MYERS: So that is what you
- 12 used, is just census?
- 13 SENATOR BRAY: Right.
- 14 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Raw census data, not
- 15 necessarily the voting population?
- 16 SENATOR BRAY: Right.
- 17 COMMISSIONER MYERS: I was on the House
- 18 Commission when Mr. Johnson testified there and I am
- 19 glad you are here today.
- 20 SENATOR BRAY: He and I kind of divide
- 21 responsibilities.
- 22 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Thank you for coming.
- 23 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: Senator, a quick
- 24 question from me. Let Missourians Decide had a fairly
- 25 broad spectrum of participants and folks who were

- 1 involved back in 2011 during the regular House and
- 2 Senate hearings and that coalition still exists, the
- 3 production of these materials?
- 4 SENATOR BRAY: Yeah, absolutely, yeah, yeah,
- 5 we sort of oomphed everybody back up and said let's go
- 6 again.
- 7 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: Thank you.
- 8 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Thank you for your time.
- 9 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Thank you, ma'am.
- 10 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: John Bowman? By the way
- 11 your exhibit will be marked and made part of the
- 12 record. It will be Bray 1.
- 13 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It's Bray 1,
- 14 correct?
- MR. HESSER: Yes.
- 16 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Mr. Chairman, I
- 17 received some emails today from Springfield that I
- 18 forwarded to Matt Hesser. We will have a hard copy
- 19 tomorrow.
- 20 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: All right. We will
- 21 include those in the record per our discussion and
- 22 agreement yesterday.
- 23 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Great.
- MR. HESSER: Mr. Chairman, I just want to
- let you know that we sort of made an executive

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- 1 decision last night on the testimony that we received
- 2 yesterday from Wierzbicki, is that how you say it?
- 3 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Wierzbicki.
- 4 MR. HESSER: Yes, thank you. We labeled
- 5 that 1 through -- I think it was 7 because it was a
- 6 multi-page document when we put that on the Internet
- 7 in case there was discussion like over the phone over
- 8 it we thought it would be easier to understand what
- 9 portion individuals were looking at. So I just wanted
- 10 to let you know we may do the same thing with Bray,
- 11 where we'll number it 1 through -- there will be a
- 12 separate number for each page.
- 13 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: If there is no objection
- 14 I would yield to Staff how they number the pages on
- 15 exhibits, so long as it is related to --
- MR. HESSER: That testimony.
- 17 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: -- the right witness.
- 18 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I think that makes a
- 19 lot of sense. Thank you, sir.
- 20 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Mr. Bowman, please
- 21 proceed.
- 22 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Thank you,
- 23 Mr. Chair. John Bowman from the 70th State Rep
- 24 District, 14th Senate District. I am here on behalf
- of Senator Robin Wright-Jones because she cannot be

- 1 here. She is very pleased with the efforts of this
- 2 Commission on this particular map. I do not have the
- 3 numbers in front of me in regards to the minority
- 4 demographics. Understanding how you create a
- 5 majority-minority district is always of course
- 6 relevant, but as far as the make up of the district
- 7 that basically needed very little change --
- 8 COMMISSIONER EHLMANN: Mr. Chairman, I'm
- 9 sorry to interrupt, you said, "this map." Which map
- 10 are you referring to?
- 11 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: I'm sorry the new
- 12 map that --
- 13 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: The one that I posted.
- 14 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: What is it called
- 15 Harpool --
- 16 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Harpool 2012-1.
- 17 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Groundhog day.
- 18 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: The Senator was happy
- 19 with that map?
- 20 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Very happy with it,
- 21 yes. She wanted that to be conveyed. It seems like
- 22 you guys have a lot of work ahead of you. I will not
- 23 hold you up unless you have questions.
- 24 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Any questions?
- 25 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Yes, I have a

- 1 question. Mr. Bowman, if you don't mind I am going
- 2 to hand you a document real quick.
- 3 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Sure.
- 4 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I'll pass this out
- 5 so everybody in the Commission can see. Looking at --
- 6 we spent some time and I apologize for coming in late.
- 7 I missed much of the prior testimony. We've been
- 8 talking about majority-minority districts. If these
- 9 were two proposals that were submitted on a
- 10 hypothetical basis, would you have a preference for
- one district or the other or one proposal, Proposal 1
- 12 versus Proposal 2? And these are hypothetical. I'm
- 13 sorry, I have extra copies if someone needs one.
- 14 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Well, it is very
- 15 difficult because when you say District A, I am not
- 16 clear exactly what district that is. If I knew
- 17 exactly what districts we were talking about I would
- 18 have a better feel for it.
- 19 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And that was the
- 20 purpose --
- 21 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: It's not just the
- 22 majority population, you would want to know where they
- 23 live and things like that?
- 24 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Right, absolutely.
- 25 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: And the turnout?

Page 40 1 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: And the turnout. 2 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: But as a general 3 statement, is there one proposal or the other that 4 would be more preferential to you? 5 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Based upon, like I 6 said, my years of experience and I have been through 7 several of these redistricting cycles and there are 8 many elements that go into this, of course, yeah, as a 9 majority-minority district 62.3 percent would be great 10 in all of them but that's not going to happen, so it's hard for me to really decipher which one of these 11 would be a choice without knowing if we were talking 12 13 about the 5th, 14th, 13th or a Kansas City district. 14 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Other questions? 15 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: Mr. Chairman? 16 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Yes. 17 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: This is Trent. 18 apologize since I am not there so I can't see this but did -- Commission Ellinger, did he actually present a 19 20 map? 21 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: No, just --22 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: For the entire State 23 or was it just for that district? 24 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: It was just for four 25 districts that are not numbered but just given

- 1 letters, hypothetical letters.
- 2 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: So is that an official
- 3 proposal that they are going to load up on the OA's
- 4 website then?
- 5 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It is a hypothetical
- 6 question regarding if you had two proposals with
- 7 different majority-minority numbers in four different
- 8 districts.
- 9 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: But it will be --
- 10 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It is not a map.
- 11 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: -- loaded up on the
- 12 OA's website then?
- 13 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It is not a map. It
- 14 will be evidence that will go into the record.
- 15 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: It will not be
- 16 evidence in the record?
- 17 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: No, I assume it will
- 18 be evidence in the record since --
- 19 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: It will be evidence,
- 20 okay.
- 21 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It will not be a
- 22 map, however, because it is not a map. It is
- impossible to be a map when it is not one.
- 24 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: That is what I am
- 25 asking. I just can't see it so I wasn't clear whether

- 1 or not you actually introduced a map but see you just
- 2 have an exhibit that will be included in the record?
- 3 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: That's correct and
- 4 we'll arrange -- Matt can arrange to send that to you
- 5 so you'll have a copy as soon as it goes up on the
- 6 website.
- 7 COMMISSIONER SKAGGS: All right, thank you.
- 8 MR. HESSER: We'll have to get it scanned
- 9 but we can do that.
- 10 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: Representative, you
- 11 represented District 7, wasn't it at the time, in the
- 12 Missouri House?
- 13 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Yes.
- 14 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: Did you grow up in
- 15 that area?
- 16 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: I had lived in that
- 17 area -- I grew up in the City but I lived in the area
- 18 for 25 years today.
- 19 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: So you're a native
- 20 of St. Louis?
- 21 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Yes.
- 22 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: So the public --
- 23 perhaps we don't have a lot of people in the audience
- 24 today but you are -- could be considered an expert
- 25 here of having seen the migration from the City to the

- 1 County. Could you just give us a couple of
- 2 observations of what you think the degree to which
- 3 that migration has affected those districts and
- 4 electorally?
- 5 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Sure.
- 6 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: And secondly, how
- 7 do you think in ten years that migration will take
- 8 shape, what path will it be traveling?
- 9 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: During my younger
- 10 years I can recall when the time the City had two
- 11 African American senators. One was Senator Jet Banks
- 12 and Senator Lacy Clay. Before that, for a period of
- 13 time, there was always two senators in the City and it
- 14 was only -- it was up until the time where senators
- 15 got elected in the County before it came an African
- 16 American holding a Senate office in the County and
- 17 that became true because population for the City
- 18 shifted over to the County. The population shift
- 19 naturally created a majority-minority district and the
- 20 same thing is happening now with the County, where the
- 21 City population is moving over to North County at a
- 22 huge rate. And, you know, one time I think the City
- 23 population was nearing a million, I guess it's about
- 24 370,000 now, so what happens is you end up with no
- 25 African Americans in the County, in those areas of

- 1 Florissant and Blackjack and those areas. Now, I
- 2 think, personally, North County will continue to be
- 3 heavily majority-minority districts. The fact is
- 4 there is some movement, some strange movement that
- 5 goes on in the City now that has caused some people to
- 6 move back in. Even myself, I am considering to move
- 7 back in but for the most part, from what I've seen
- 8 over the past 10 years, 20 years, the population shift
- 9 for minorities has definitely been into North County
- 10 and I suspect it will continue to grow.
- 11 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: Do you see,
- 12 compared to 20, 30 years ago, less concentration of
- 13 African American voters, that they have disseminated
- 14 the region?
- 15 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: They have
- 16 disseminated, sure. As you will find, I'm sure even
- in St. Charles County, there is a larger vote of
- 18 African American population there also. West County,
- 19 we're not just condensed into one area. I mean, we
- 20 definitely are in many different geographical areas
- 21 but as far as minority-majority districts, Kansas City
- 22 appears like they have enough accumulated vote to have
- 23 representation of two senators and according to this
- 24 map, this new map, it looked like there was a
- 25 possibility of four to six senators, minority

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- 1 senators, throughout the State -- I don't know, I
- 2 haven't drilled down into the map yet, so we should
- 3 probably do that. Yes, demographically, I think North
- 4 County and I don't know much about Jackson County, I
- 5 can't speak to that but I do know in the St. Louis
- 6 area, St. Louis City still has a heavy minority
- 7 population. St. Louis County has definitely got a
- 8 minority population.
- 9 COMMISSIONER PATTERSON: But you would say,
- 10 Representative, that that minority population has not
- 11 necessarily increased the numbers but disseminated
- 12 them?
- 13 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Right, right, it's
- 14 just kind of shifted.
- 15 COMMISSIONER MYERS: In ten years we will be
- 16 doing this again. I won't be doing this again, trust
- 17 me, somebody will be doing this again. If you were to
- 18 take preference at this present time, rather than
- 19 participating in what members may approve, in ten
- 20 years would you, on the Table we have got here, would
- 21 you prefer Proposal 2 or Proposal 1?
- 22 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: I think he already
- 23 answered the question.
- 24 COMMISSIONER MYERS: I think you did answer
- 25 that as Proposal 2?

- 1 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: No, I think he said he
- 2 couldn't tell without knowing where the districts
- 3 were.
- 4 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: I really can't
- 5 answer that because I don't know exactly.
- 6 COMMISSIONER MYERS: Well, let's forget this
- 7 Table, would you rather have a big number now or have
- 8 a bigger number later?
- 9 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Could I have both?
- 10 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Well, one of the tough
- 11 issues we do face is would you rather have a better
- 12 chance at four or a solid chance at two and those are
- issues we will debate and we have debated forever, so
- 14 -- or three, let me --
- 15 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I have a couple of
- 16 questions.
- 17 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: We are going to have to
- 18 pass a rule that you get one time per witness or we
- 19 are never going to get done with these -- these
- 20 argumentative questions rather than inquisitive
- 21 questions we are getting.
- 22 COMMISSIONER MYERS: If we are going --
- 23 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Go ahead, Mr. Ellinger.
- 24 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I will try not to be
- 25 argumentative, Mr. Chairman.

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- 1 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: That would be the first
- 2 question you've asked in this hearing that wouldn't be
- 3 or for that matter, the last two days of hearings but
- 4 go ahead.
- 5 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Have you had an
- 6 opportunity to take a look at Mr. Harpool's map as it
- 7 splits up the St. Louis area? This map.
- 8 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: I have seen it
- 9 online. I haven't really had a chance to dig down
- 10 into it.
- 11 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: And obviously
- 12 Senator Jones is in the 5th District.
- 13 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Right.
- 14 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: You've discussed
- 15 that. Are you familiar at all with the 14th district?
- 16 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Yes, I am. I live
- 17 in the 14th District.
- 18 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Oh, you do live in
- 19 the 14th District?
- 20 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Yes.
- 21 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: As this proposed
- 22 14th District is in Mr. Harpool's map and it's hard to
- 23 tell because the versions, you have to really drill
- 24 down, I believe they include and I would stand
- 25 corrected if I am wrong, Creve Coeur, Ladue and

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- 1 Clayton, I believe were all three included in the
- 2 proposed 14th District which then goes up along the
- 3 City boarder into North County all the way up and
- 4 across 270; is that your understanding?
- 5 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Yeah, that sounds
- 6 somewhat similar to a prior map that I have seen from
- 7 the previous redistricting process.
- 8 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I quess my one
- 9 question would be, considering the 14th District going
- 10 from the Creve Coeur, Ladue area up to north of 270
- 11 around 367, do you feel that that district has a
- 12 community of interest, are the interests of folks up
- in North County around 270 the same as the folks in
- 14 West County, St. Louis, Creve Coeur, Frontenac, areas
- 15 like that?
- 16 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: That district has
- 17 always been extremely diverse. You know, before even
- 18 Senator Wayne Goode had that district at one time and
- 19 the population then was -- it was extremely -- U City,
- 20 it's a very diverse district. I don't know what the
- 21 numbers come out of it, that would be my concern.
- 22 What is the minority voting age population? I am not
- 23 sure about that.
- 24 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: I don't know what
- 25 the minority voting age population is but I think this

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- 1 would be a 53 percent --
- 2 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Fifty-three percent.
- 3 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: -- minority
- 4 population, that's obviously -- would be less when you
- 5 get to voting age. Everybody's percentage changes
- 6 when you get to voting age. And I guess my other
- 7 inquiry, speaking with respect to the 14th District
- 8 and I guess tangentially to the 7th, which is right
- 9 next to it, which also extends from West County, St.
- 10 Louis up into the northern part of the County but
- 11 would it make more sense to have the western county,
- 12 part of St. Louis, consolidated more into one district
- and parts of the 14th and the 7th that are farther
- 14 north, would it make more sense to have them more
- 15 consolidated together as a community of interest in
- 16 your opinion?
- 17 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: To be honest I have
- 18 not really looked at the 7th and those areas. I have
- 19 basically focused on the 5th and the 14th, you know,
- 20 and some of the 13th minority district, so it would
- 21 really not be an accurate assessment for me to try to
- 22 tell you whether or not those should be --
- 23 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Basically you came here
- 24 today to say your Senator was happy with the 5th
- 25 District?

- 1 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Basically really,
- 2 that is, you know, that's the great job I get to track
- 3 back down the highway to I get to send those
- 4 wonderful messages.
- 5 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: One more very quick
- 6 question, sir. You mentioned the 13th District, that
- 7 you had an interest in the 13th District?
- 8 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Well, the 13th is a
- 9 part of, sure, some of the conversation.
- 10 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: It's a 35 percent
- 11 minority district. I didn't know if you were aware of
- 12 that or not.
- 13 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: I was not aware of
- 14 that.
- 15 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Thank you. I'm
- 16 sorry.
- 17 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Yeah, yeah but the
- 18 Senator did not put that on my radar.
- 19 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Having moved the fourth
- 20 number into the majority-minority, probably should
- 21 have mentioned that. Thank you, sir, for your time.
- 22 REPRESENTATIVE BOWMAN: Thank you very much.
- 23 MR. HESSER: Mr. Chairman, I just want to
- 24 make sure we are going to label this in as Ellinger 1?
- 25 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Ellinger 1.

- 1 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: That is fine with
- $2 \quad \text{me.}$
- 3 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: John Judd? Thank you for
- 4 your patience and thank you for being here.
- 5 MR. JUDD: Thanks to all the Commissioners
- 6 for coming from all over the State today. I would
- 7 appreciate what Mr. Harpool said in the beginning when
- 8 he said that you all have incorporated all the
- 9 transcripts of all the public comments that came
- 10 before the prior Commission, so I appreciate that that
- 11 has been entered into the record.
- I will be very brief. I just wanted to say
- 13 that the Democratic and the Republican senators pretty
- 14 much all agreed to a map for the St. Louis region and
- 15 I'd like to add to that, that it's my opinion that all
- 16 the Democratic and Republican senators continue to
- 17 support that map.
- 18 COMMISSIONER COLBERT-BOTCHWAY: Which map
- 19 was that?
- 20 MR. JUDD: Well --
- 21 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: On what do you base that
- 22 because I received communication very much to the
- 23 contrary?
- MR. JUDD: I based that upon the fact that
- 25 they sat around until they came up with it and then

- 1 they submitted it.
- 2 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Have you heard anything
- 3 recently?
- 4 MR. JUDD: Well, no, if you've heard
- 5 something to the contrary recently then you have to go
- 6 with that.
- 7 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: The St. Louis City and
- 8 County senators for the first Commission proposed a
- 9 map and it is on the website and that's the map he is
- 10 referring to.
- MR. JUDD: Thank you. Thank you for
- 12 pointing that out to everybody, that's what I was
- 13 referring to. They all came up with that and then
- 14 they submitted that to the very first Commission and
- 15 that's the one I was referring to.
- 16 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: And you would support
- 17 that map?
- 18 MR. JUDD: Yes, I thought that was a pretty
- 19 reasonable map.
- 20 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: Other questions? Thank
- 21 you, sir, for your time.
- 22 COMMISSIONER ELLINGER: Thank you.
- 23 MR. JUDD: Thanks for coming from all over
- 24 the State.
- 25 CHAIRMAN HARPOOL: I have no other witness

Page 53 appearance forms before me but we'd give anyone else 1 2 here that would like to testify an opportunity to fill 3 one out. No one who heard something that they feel demands attention? All right. Well, thank you then. 4 5 This concludes the public hearings of the 2012 Senate 6 Apportionment Commission. We will meet at eleven 7 o'clock tomorrow morning at the districting office to 8 begin the deliberations and perhaps we will reach a 9 map more successfully by agreement which we couldn't do last time. If not, the federal judge will tell us 10 where our districts will be. Thank you all. 11 12 (Exhibits Ellinger 1 and Bray 1 were marked 13 for identification by the court reporter.) 14 15 (Thereupon, the proceedings concluded at 16 2:08 p.m.) 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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1	CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
2	
3	I, Suzanne M. Zes, Certified Court Reporter,
4	within and for the State of Missouri, do hereby
5	certify that the witness whose testimony appears in
6	the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; the
7	testimony of said witness was taken by me to the best
8	of my ability and thereafter reduced to typewriting
9	under my direction; that I am neither counsel for,
10	related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the
11	action in which this deposition was taken, and further
12	that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney
13	or counsel employed by the parties thereto, nor
14	financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of
15	the action.
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