SUPREME COURT

### OF THE

### STATE OF CONNECTICUT

SC 18907

### IN RE PETITION OF REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION, EX. REL.

### **PROCEEDINGS BEFORE SPECIAL MASTER**

### APPENDIX TO REPLY BRIEF OF THE REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS MARTIN LOONEY, SANDY NAFIS, BRENDAN SHARKEY, AND DONALD WILLIAMS IN SUPPORT OF REDISTRICTING PLAN SUBMITTED TO SPECIAL MASTER

### ATTORNEYS FOR REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS

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### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map, Area Changed by the Republican Commission Members' Proposed Plan 1/6/2012	Exhibit 1
Map, Area Changed by the Democratic Commission Members' Proposed Plan 1/6/2012	Exhibit 2
Chart, Comparison of Changes to Districts in Democratic and Republican Proposed Plans	Exhibit 3
Map, Nov. 10, 2011 Minimum Changes Plan Submitted by the Democratic Commission Members	Exhibit 4
Report, Dr. Lisa Handley, A Voting Rights Act Review of the Current and Proposed Congressional District Maps for the State of Connecticut	Exhibit 5
Chart, Comparison of Characteristics of Major 5th District Towns	Exhibit 6

## Area Changed by Republican Commissioners' Proposed Map 1/6/2012



## Area Changed by the Proposed Plan by the Reapportionment Commission Democrats 1/6/2012



		Population	Population			Population	
		<b>Remaining in</b>	Added to	% Retained	% New to	<b>Removed from</b>	% of Current
	District	<b>Current District</b>	District	within District	District	<b>Current District</b>	<b>District Removed</b>
	1	705,060	9,759	98.6%	1.4%	5,891	0.8%
<b>Proposed Plan by</b>	2	714,819	0	100.0%	0.0%	14,952	2.0%
Reapportionment	3	703,735	11,084	98.4%	1.6%	8,604	1.2%
Commission	4	706,740	8,080	98.9%	1.1%	0	0.0%
Democrats	5	714,296	524	99.9%	0.1%	0	0.0%
1/6/2012							
	Total	3,544,650	29,447	99.2%	0.8%		
	1	631,739	83,081	88.4%	11.6%	79,212	11.1%
	2	714,703	116	100.0%	0.0%	15,068	2.1%
Republican	3	696,921	17,898	97.5%	2.5%	15,418	2.2%
Commissioners'	4	706,719	8,101	98.9%	1.1%	21	0.0%
Proposed Map 1/6/2012	5	638,289	76,530	89.3%	10.7%	76,007	10.6%
	Total	3,388,371	185,726	94.8%	5.2%		

### **District Change Overview**

## Nov. 10, 2011 Minimum Changes Plan Submitted by Democratic Members



		Population	
ined	% New to	<b>Removed from</b>	% of Current
strict	District	<b>Current District</b>	District Removed
⁄ 0	1.9%	9,973	1.4%
⁄₀	0.0%	14,952	2.0%
, 0	2.1%	12,620	1.8%
, 0	1.1%	6	0.0%
, 0	0.6%	4,100	0.6%
/ 0	1.2%		

### A Voting Rights Act Review of the Current and Proposed Congressional District Maps for the State of Connecticut

### Prepared by Dr. Lisa Handley

### I. Introduction

I was asked by the Democratic Leadership of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut to review the current congressional plan and the congressional plans proposed by the Reapportionment Commission Democrats ("Democratic Plan") and Republicans ("Republican Plan") in light of the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Connecticut is not a State covered by Section 5 of the Act, nor is the minority population sufficient in size to meet the prerequisites of Section 2 of the Act as interpreted by *Bartlett v Strickland* (2009).

Although Section 2 of the Act does not require changes to district lines where it is not possible to draw a district with a minority population concentration of at least 50 percent, I examined the influence that minority voters have on the election results in the current and the proposed congressional districts. My analysis indicates that the State currently has two congressional districts that can best be described as minority influence districts: Congressional Districts 1 and 3.

In the Democratic Plan, these two districts remain largely intact and would continue to function as minority influence districts. Although the Republican Plan increases the minority percentage in Congressional District 1 slightly (at the expense of making substantial changes to the current congressional plan), the result is precisely the same: Congressional Districts 1 and 3 remain minority influence districts.

**Professional Background and Experience** I have advised numerous jurisdictions and other clients on voting rights-related issues and have served as an expert in dozens of voting rights and redistricting cases. My clients have included scores of state and local jurisdictions, a number of national civil rights organizations, the U.S. Department of Justice, and such international organizations as the United Nations.

I have been actively involved in researching, writing and teaching on subjects relating to voting rights, including minority representation, electoral system design and redistricting. I co-authored a book, *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), and numerous articles, as well as co-edited a volume (*Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford University Press, 2008) on these subjects. I have taught several political science courses, both at the undergraduate and graduate level, related to representation and redistricting. I hold a Ph.D. in political science from George Washington University.

### II. The Current Congressional Plan

The current congressional plan was adopted in 2001 by unanimous agreement of the Reapportionment Commission. There have been no successful legal challenges, including voting rights challenges, to the five-district congressional plan.

The minority composition of the current congressional districts according to the 2010 census can be found in Table 1, below.

Congressional District	Percent Non- Hispanic White Voting Age Population	Percent Non- Hispanic Black Voting Age Population	Percent Hispanic Voting Age Population	Combined N-H Black and Hispanic Voting Age Population
1	68.6	13.7	12.5	26.2
2	86.2	4.1	5.6	9.7
3	72.5	12.1	10.6	22.7
4	66.5	11.4	16.4	27.8
5	76.6	6.1	13.1	19.2

### Table 1: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Current Congressional Districts (2010 Census Data)

The current congressional plan offers two districts that can be characterized as minority influence districts:<sup>1</sup> Congressional Districts 1 and 3. A discussion of these two districts, as well as Districts 4 and 5 follow.<sup>2</sup>

### **Congressional District 1**

Congressional District 1, despite being only a little over 26% black and Hispanic in composition, is clearly an effective minority influence district: minority-preferred candidates consistently win in this district. Even when voting is racially polarized, as it was in the 2010 gubernatorial contest, the minority-preferred candidate (Democrat Dan Malloy) carried this district.

Most of the contests examined in this district were not, in fact, racially polarized: black, Hispanic and white voters usually supported the same (Democratic) candidate for office.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>By "minority influence district" in this context I mean a district in which the minority population is simply too low for minority voters to elect their candidates of choice without substantial support from white voters – support minority voters can usually rely on and support that is sufficient enough, even if voting is occasionally polarized, to allow the minority-preferred candidate to usually win.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The minority population in Congressional District 2 is too small to produce reliable estimates of voting behavior by race/ethnicity and is therefore not discussed in this report.

was not until the 2010 election that the majority of whites declined to cast a vote for at least one of the Democratic candidates competing for office in that election.

In the contests for US Representative, the majority of whites and the overwhelming majority of both black and Hispanic voters supported the Democratic candidate in 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008. In addition, all three groups cast a majority of their votes for the Democratic candidates for State Treasurer in 2006 and US President in 2008.

Estimates of the voting patterns by race/ethnicity for these elections can be found in Appendix A and/or Appendix B.<sup>4</sup>

Appendix A Estimates of the percentage of whites, blacks and Hispanics supporting the candidates listed in Appendix A were derived using a VTD/election precinct level database that covers the time period from 2006 to 2010. (Elections in 2002 and 2004 were not included in this database because VTD-level demographics from the 2000 census were not available; the 2006 – 2010 elections were matched to 2010 census VTDs.)

Three statistical techniques were utilized to produce the estimates included in Appendix A: homogenous precinct analysis, bivariate ecological regression analysis and ecological inference analysis (using a program developed by Dr. Gary King called EzI). However, in many instances it was not possible to produce homogenous precinct or bivariate ecological regression estimates. (When estimates could not be produced, "NP" for "not possible" appears in the tables.)

The contests included in Appendix A are the 2006, 2008 and 2010 races for US Representative, as well as the 2006 and 2010 elections for State Treasurer as these two contests included an African American candidate (Democrat Denise Nappier),<sup>5</sup> the 2008 election for US President, and the closely contested gubernatorial contest in 2010 (which did not include a minority candidate but was a very polarized contest).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>My statistical analysis indicates that minority voters strongly prefer Democratic candidates in recent Connecticut elections. Thus, the sole purpose for considering the election return data summarized in this report is to evaluate minority influence in Connecticut elections, and not to make any point about partisan political performance, which the Special Master is precluded from considering.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Because of time constraints, only general elections were included in the two databases and analyzed. However, there were very few Democratic primary elections for US Representative between 2002 and 2010, and the two primaries that did occur included only white candidates. (The two congressional primaries between 2002 and 2010 were the 2008 contest in the 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District that pitted Jim Himes against L. Lee Whitnum, with Himes winning; and the 2004 primary in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District 2 between Jim Sullivan and Shaun McNally, which Sullivan won.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Denise Nappier was the only minority candidate to compete statewide in the State of Connecticut over the course of the last decade (2002-2010).

*Appendix B* In order to produce estimates of voting patterns by race/ethnicity in the 2002 and 2004 contests for US Representative a town-level database was constructed that included census demographics for both 2000 and 2010. There are fewer data points in this database and the variation in the percentage minority is narrower hence the estimates produced are less reliable than those produced using the VTD database. (In fact, because of these restrictions, it was impossible to derive homogenous precinct or bivariate ecological estimates for blacks or Hispanics in any of the contests analyzed so only ecological inference estimates are reported.) Election results for all US Representative contests between 2002 and 2010 were included in this database so that the estimates produced using the VTD level database for the 2006, 2008 and 2010 contests.

As noted above, no election contest prior to 2010 was polarized in Congressional District 1. However, this pattern changed in 2010. Although the vast majority of black and Hispanic voters continued to support the Democratic candidates in the elections examined, white voters were divided between the Democratic and Republican candidates for US Representative and State Treasurer in 2010 (although in both instances white voters slightly preferred the Democratic candidates) and clearly preferred the Republican candidate, Tom Foley, for Governor in 2010. Despite white support for the Republican gubernatorial candidate, the Democratic candidate carried this congressional district. (The Democratic candidate carried all of the other contests in this congressional district as well, of course.)

The election results by congressional district can be found in Appendices C and D. Appendix C lists the results for all US Representative elections between 2002 and 2010. Appendix D provides the election results by congressional district for the 2006 and 2010 State Treasurer, the 2008 US Presidential race and the 2010 race for Governor.

### **Congressional District 3**

Congressional District 3 has a combined black and Hispanic population of only 22.7% but is, like Congressional District 1, an effective minority influence district. Even when voting was racially polarized in this district, the minority-preferred candidate carried Congressional District 3.

Voting in Congressional District 3 is no more racially polarized than in Congressional District 1 – that is to say, very few of the contests examined in this district were polarized. A large majority of the white voters, and an overwhelming majority of the black and Hispanic voters, supported the Democratic candidate in all of the contests examined in 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008. In 2010, a majority of the white voters (and over 90% of the black and Hispanic voters) also supported the Democratic candidate for US Representative.

In the 2010 contest for Governor, and possibly in the contest for State Treasurer, voting was polarized, however. A clear majority of white voters supported the Republican candidate for Governor in this district, while minority voters continued to cast their ballots for the Democrat. (White voters were divided between the Democratic and Republican candidates for State Treasurer.) The Democratic candidates for both Governor and State Treasurer carried this congressional district despite the presence of racial bloc voting.

#### **Congressional Districts 4 and 5**

Although Congressional District 4 has the highest concentration of minority voters of the five districts (27.8%), minority-preferred candidates have not consistently carried this district. From 2002 through 2006, the district was represented by a Republican despite strong support from minority voters for the Democratic candidates who competed for the office in this district. However, in the congressional contests of 2008 and 2010, the minority-preferred candidate for US Representative won in the district despite racially polarized voting in these two contests.<sup>6</sup> (The majority of white voters cast a ballot for the Republican candidate for US Representative in 2008 and 2010.)

The pattern in Congressional District 5 is similar. The district was represented in Congress by a Republican in 2002 and 2004 although minority voters strongly supported the Democratic candidates in these two elections. In 2006, the Democratic candidate won the race for US Representative with overwhelming support from minority voters and a slight majority of the white votes. In 2008, the Democratic incumbent won, again with overwhelming support from minority voters but with a declining percentage of the white vote (though a plurality of the white voters continued to support the incumbent Democrat). In the 2010 election, a plurality of the white voters supported the Republican candidate but the Democratic incumbent retained his seat because the vast majority of minority voters supported him.<sup>7</sup>

### III. The Democratic Plan

There have been few population shifts in Connecticut since the current congressional districts were drawn in 2001, hence few changes are needed to equalize populations across the five districts.

Because Congressional Districts 1 and 3 are both slightly under-populated, it is necessary to add population to these two districts.<sup>8</sup> As a result, the racial/ethnic composition of the two districts changes slightly in the Democratic Plan. Table 2, below, lists the demographic composition of the districts under the Democratic Plan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>In 2010, the minority-preferred Democratic candidates for State Treasurer and Governor failed to carry this district.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The minority-preferred Democratic candidates for State Treasurer and Governor failed to carry this district in 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The ideal population of a congressional district, given the 2010 census count, is 714,819. Congressional District 1 under the current plan has a population of 710,951 and Congressional District 3 has a population of 712,339.

## Table 2: Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Congressional Districts Proposed by the Democrats (2010 Census Data)

Congressional District	Percent Non- Hispanic White Voting Age Population	Percent Non- Hispanic Black (alone or in combination) Voting Age Population	Percent Hispanic Voting Age Population	Combined N-H Black and Hispanic Voting Age Population
1	68.9	13.5	12.5	26.0
2	86.0	4.1	5.6	9.7
3	72.5	12.2	10.6	22.8
4	66.7	11.4	16.3	27.7
5	76.6	6.1	13.1	19.2

A comparison of Table 1 to Table 2 indicates that the minority concentrations changed slightly from 26.2 to 26.0% in District 1 and from 22.7 to 22.8% in District 3. These very minimal changes in minority population concentrations will not impact the ability of minority voters to influence the elections in these two districts. For example, recompiled election results (see Table 3, below) for the 2010 State Treasurer and the 2010 gubernatorial contests (the two statewide contests that were racially polarized and that the Democratic candidates do not sweep all of the districts) indicate that the minority-preferred candidates carry both proposed districts.

### Table 3: Recompiled Election Results for Select ContestsDemocratic Plan

Congressional District	State Treasurer 2006	US President 2008	State Treasurer 2010	Governor 2010
1	73.7	66.6	60.9	54.5
2	68.0	59.4	55.9	47.8
3	70.2	63.4	60.0	55.2
4	57.1	60.0	49.4	49.8
5	64.0	57.1	51.6	44.5

### IV. The Republican Plan

The Republican Plan makes substantial changes to the existing districts. One notable change is the increase in the percentage minority voting age population in Congressional District 1 from 26.2% to 29.6%. See Table 4, below, for the racial and ethnic composition of the Republican Plan.

## Table 4: Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Congressional DistrictsProposed by the Republicans(2010 Census Data)

Congressional District	Percent Non- Hispanic White Voting Age Population	Percent Non- Hispanic Black (alone or in combination) Voting Age Population	Percent Hispanic Voting Age Population	Combined N-H Black and Hispanic Voting Age Population
1	65.2	14.4	15.2	29.6
2	86.0	4.1	5.6	9.7
3	72.4	12.2	10.7	22.9
4	66.7	11.3	16.3	27.6
5	80.5	5.1	10.4	15.5

The reason given for proposing this change is that "maximizing minority influence in the First District is necessary and appropriate to protect the final redistricting map from a potential legal challenge."<sup>9</sup> However, Congressional District 1 is currently a minority influence district and no increase in the percentage minority of this district is necessary for it to retain this status. As demonstrated by the recompiled election results for the Republican Plan (see Table 5, below), the minority-preferred candidates win the same contests in Congressional District 1 as they do under the Current and the Democratic Plans, and by comparable percentages (that is, the minority-preferred candidate almost always carries the district in a landslide, regardless of the plan considered).

Congressional District	State Treasurer 2006	US President 2008	State Treasurer 2010	Governor 2010
1	75.1	68.6	62.9	56.9
2	68.0	59.4	55.9	47.8
3	70.3	63.6	60.1	55.3
4	57.1	60.0	49.9	49.8
5	63.3	55.4	50.2	42.7

### Table 5: Recompiled Election Results for Select ContestsRepublican Plan

On the other hand, what the Republican Plan does by moving minority voters into Congressional District 1 from Congressional District 5 is to make it more difficult for minority-preferred candidates to win in District 5. Although minority voters are not necessarily successful in electing their preferred candidates in Congressional District 5, they have succeeded in electing their candidate of choice to congressional office in 2006-2010,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Brief and Map of the Republican Members of the Connecticut Reapportionment Commission in Compliance with the Court's January 3, 2012 Order, page 4.

even when voting was slightly polarized, as it was in 2010. But fewer minority voters in the district would put this opportunity in jeopardy – and for no reason since Congressional District 1 is not in need of additional minority voters to ensure that the candidates of choice of minority voters is elected.

### V. Conclusion

It is not possible to create a majority black or majority Hispanic congressional district, or even a combined minority congressional district,<sup>10</sup> in the State of Connecticut. However, there are two districts in the current plan that provide minority voters with an opportunity to influence the outcome of elections – minority-preferred candidates have consistently won in Congressional Districts 1 and 3 in the current plan, even when voting was racially polarized.

Neither of these districts has been changed substantially in the Democratic Plan and that fact, in combination with recompiled election results confirming that the minority-preferred candidates in polarized contests would still carry proposed Districts 1 and 3 in the Plan, leads me to conclude that the Democratic Plan offers minority voters the same opportunity to influence elections as the current plan.

The Republican Plan also offers minority voters two influence districts, albeit in conjunction with substantial changes in many of the district boundaries – changes that were clearly unnecessary to retain the existing minority influence districts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>I have not conducted the type of in-depth analysis that would be required to determine if black and Hispanic voters are sufficiently cohesive in both primary and general elections to combine the groups for purposes of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. I did not do this because even when the two groups are considered together, they are not large enough to meet the *Bartlett* standard of 50% of the voting age population in a district.

### Appendix A

### Voting Patterns by Race/Ethnicity for Select Federal and Statewide Election Contests 2006-2010 Using VTD/Election Precinct Database and Three Statistical Techniques

	Estimates of the Percentage of White and Minority Voters Casting a Vote for Each of the Major Party Candidates									
Congressional	Non-Hispanic White Estimates			Non-H	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates			Hispanic Estimates		
District 1	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	
2006										
US Representative										
Democrat	65.3	70.7	67.8	98.8	NP	96.4	76.1	NP	NP	
Republican	31.8	29.3	32.2	1.6	NP	3.6	26.7	NP	NP	
Turnout	50.3	50.5	49.6	14.8	NP	26.3	1.8	NP	NP	
State Treasurer										
Democrat	68.8	67.5	66.2	98.7	NP	95.9	85.1	NP	NP	
Republican	31.3	29.5	30.8	.8	NP	2.3	11.3	NP	NP	
Turnout	49.8	51.0	50.3	16.7	NP	28.0	1.2	NP	NP	
2008										
US Representative										
Democrat	57.3	59.7	58.1	98.4	NP	97.0	97.4	NP	NP	
Republican	34.2	33.0	35.4	.8	NP	1.9	1.5	NP	NP	
Turnout	66.1	65.6	64.9	30.3	NP	47.4	8.7	NP	NP	

		Estimates of t	he Percentage of	White and Mino	rity Voters Castir	ng a Vote for Eacl	n of the Major Pa	rty Candidates		
Congressional	Non-Hispanic White Estimates			Non-H	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates			Hispanic Estimates		
District 1	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	
US President										
Democrat	56.8	55.9	54.5	99.4	NP	98.0	82.5	NP	NP	
Republican	40.6	42.4	43.9	1.4	NP	2.0	12.7	NP	NP	
Turnout	71.9	71.4	71.6	37.5	NP	60.9	8.4	NP	NP	
2010										
US Representative										
Democrat	47.3	50.4	48.6	97.3	NP	97.4	95.3	NP	NP	
Republican	48.0	45.3	47.9	13.6	NP	1.9	16.9	NP	NP	
Turnout	52.6	53.2	53.1	21.9	NP	36.1	.6	NP	NP	
State Treasurer										
Democrat	45.9	49.1	48.5	97.2	NP	97.7	91.1	NP	NP	
Republican	44.1	46.5	47.8	.6	NP	1.9	2.3	NP	NP	
Turnout	52.1	52.7	52.7	22.3	NP	37.2	9.1	NP	NP	
Governor										
Democrat	41.0	42.1	41.2	98.4	NP	96.0	96.5	NP	NP	
Republican	57.4	53.8	55.4	16.0	NP	3.7	4.7	NP	NP	
Turnout	53.5	54.1	54.1	21.8	NP	37.3	1.3	NP	NP	

		Estimates of the Percentage of White and Minority Voters Casting a Vote for Each of the Major Party Candidates								
Congressional	Non-H	ispanic White Es	stimates	Non-H	lispanic Black Es	timates	Hispanic Estimates			
District 3	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	
2006										
US Representative										
Democrat	72.0	72.8	72.6	95.7	NP	NP	88.0	NP	NP	
Republican	22.7	25.9	26.1	.9	NP	NP	10.2	NP	NP	
Turnout	45.8	46.9	48.2	10.9	NP	NP	8.5	NP	NP	
State Treasurer										
Democrat	61.0	62.2	63.4	98.5	NP	NP	91.0	NP	NP	
Republican	34.8	34.1	33.2	3.2	NP	NP	6.7	NP	NP	
Turnout	42.7	43.7	45.2	8.5	NP	NP	13.2	NP	NP	
2008										
US Representative										
Democrat	62.7	64.0	66.0	95.1	NP	NP	95.4	NP	NP	
Republican	25.4	25.6	25.1	2.5	NP	NP	7.8	NP	NP	
Turnout	63.3	63.0	66.2	24.0	NP	NP	7.3	NP	NP	

		Estimates of t	he Percentage of	White and Mino	rity Voters Castir	ng a Vote for Eacl	n of the Major Pa	rty Candidates	
Congressional	Non-Hispanic White Estimates			Non-H	ispanic Black Es	stimates	Hispanic Estimates		
District 3	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate
US President									
Democrat	52.7	64.0	66.0	95.1	NP	NP	95.4	NP	NP
Republican	46.4	25.6	25.1	2.5	NP	NP	7.8	NP	NP
Turnout	69.0	63.0	66.2	24.0	NP	NP	7.3	NP	NP
2010									
US Representative									
Democrat	52.0	54.2	55.6	99.4	NP	NP	91.8	NP	NP
Republican	42.0	41.5	40.3	1.3	NP	NP	2.9	NP	NP
Turnout	49.0	50.0	52.9	13.0	NP	NP	7.5	NP	NP
State Treasurer									
Democrat	45.4	47.1	48.5	98.2	NP	NP	92.6	NP	NP
Republican	48.6	48.5	47.3	1.5	NP	NP	12.1	NP	NP
Turnout	47.4	48.4	51.3	13.3	NP	NP	30.7	NP	NP
Governor									
Democrat	45.2	42.3	43.5	97.2	NP	NP	94.9	NP	NP
Republican	55.1	54.2	53.0	3.6	NP	NP	26.1	NP	NP
Turnout	49.2	50.1	53.1	31.7	NP	NP	7.8	NP	NP

		Estimates of t	he Percentage of	White and Mino	rity Voters Castir	ng a Vote for Eacl	n of the Major Pa	arty Candidates	
Congressional	Non-H	ispanic White Es	stimates	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates			Hispanic Estimates		
District 4	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate
2006									
US Representative									
Democrat	39.2	42.8	42.7	97.6	NP	NP	96.7	NP	NP
Republican	59.8	56.1	56.1	3.8	NP	NP	3.8	NP	NP
Turnout	56.9	58.2	56.8	16.6	NP	NP	6.2	NP	NP
State Treasurer									
Democrat	45.4	49.3	48.6	96.9	NP	NP	91.0	NP	NP
Republican	51.3	47.3	47.9	26.6	NP	NP	1.9	NP	NP
Turnout	51.1	52.5	51.8	20.1	NP	NP	5.0	NP	NP
2008									
US Representative									
Democrat	35.6	38.5	38.7	84.5	NP	NP	87.2	NP	NP
Republican	61.7	58.6	58.4	14.9	NP	NP	17.5	NP	NP
Turnout	78.0	77.6	77.1	9.3	NP	NP	11.5	NP	NP

		Estimates of t	he Percentage of	White and Mino	rity Voters Castir	ng a Vote for Eacl	n of the Major Pa	rty Candidates		
Congressional	Non-Hispanic White Estimates			Non-H	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates			Hispanic Estimates		
District 4	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	
US President										
Democrat	51.8	50.5	51.6	99.1	NP	NP	96.5	NP	NP	
Republican	49.7	48.7	47.8	5.8	NP	NP	.9	NP	NP	
Turnout	80.3	79.9	79.6	18.7	NP	NP	5.3	NP	NP	
2010										
US Representative										
Democrat	39.3	43.1	42.7	96.4	NP	NP	98.9	NP	NP	
Republican	59.5	55.6	56.0	5.9	NP	NP	.9	NP	NP	
Turnout	58.2	59.1	58.3	4.6	NP	NP	5.4	NP	NP	
State Treasurer										
Democrat	33.7	38.2	38.5	97.6	NP	NP	99.0	NP	NP	
Republican	62.9	58.8	58.6	.6	NP	NP	1.1	NP	NP	
Turnout	55.8	56.9	56.4	3.9	NP	NP	1.7	NP	NP	
Governor										
Democrat	35.1	39.5	39.2	97.1	NP	NP	97.3	NP	NP	
Republican	58.6	58.7	58.9	3.6	NP	NP	.3	NP	NP	
Turnout	58.3	59.2	58.4	7.2	NP	NP	2.3	NP	NP	

		Estimates of t	he Percentage of	White and Mino	rity Voters Castir	ng a Vote for Eacl	n of the Major Pa	arty Candidates	
Congressional	Non-H	ispanic White Es	stimates	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates			Hispanic Estimates		
District 5	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate
2006									
US Representative									
Democrat	50.9	51.8	51.2	81.7	NP	NP	88.8	NP	NP
Republican	47.3	46.1	46.6	10.3	NP	NP	12.8	NP	NP
Turnout	47.2	55.0	52.9	9.2	NP	NP	4.8	NP	NP
State Treasurer									
Democrat	57.8	58.8	58.2	93.4	NP	NP	91.9	NP	NP
Republican	38.7	37.8	38.4	7.6	NP	NP	4.3	NP	NP
Turnout	46.9	51.1	49.3	8.2	NP	NP	8.1	NP	NP
2008									
US Representative									
Democrat	48.5	49.5	49.6	86.4	NP	NP	89.2	NP	NP
Republican	44.9	44.5	43.8	12.5	NP	NP	2.7	NP	NP
Turnout	69.3	71.1	69.6	9.7	NP	NP	1.5	NP	NP

		Estimates of t	he Percentage of	White and Mino	rity Voters Castir	ng a Vote for Eacl	n of the Major Pa	rty Candidates	
Congressional	Non-Hispanic White Estimates			Non-Hispanic Black Estimates			Hispanic Estimates		
District 5	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate	El estimate	Bivariate Regression estimate	Homogenous Precinct estimate
US President									
Democrat	48.9	50.4	50.8	99.6	NP	NP	98.9	NP	NP
Republican	49.8	48.4	47.9	2.4	NP	NP	3.5	NP	NP
Turnout	73.6	75.3	73.5	10.6	NP	NP	2.5	NP	NP
2010									
US Representative									
Democrat	46.4	48.2	48.0	87.5	NP	NP	94.4	NP	NP
Republican	50.4	49.0	49.2	13.1	NP	NP	8.5	NP	NP
Turnout	50.3	56.8	54.9	2.2	NP	NP	1.1	NP	NP
State Treasurer									
Democrat	41.8	43.9	44.1	95.6	NP	NP	95.0	NP	NP
Republican	53.9	52.0	51.9	8.6	NP	NP	3.8	NP	NP
Turnout	52.3	55.4	53.5	12.5	NP	NP	.6	NP	NP
Governor									
Democrat	34.8	37.4	37.7	99.5	NP	NP	91.8	NP	NP
Republican	61.7	59.5	59.2	4.2	NP	NP	5.2	NP	NP
Turnout	53.7	57.1	55.2	7.8	NP	NP	.6	NP	NP

### Appendix B

### Voting Patterns by Race/Ethnicity for US Representative 2002-2010 Ecological Inference Estimates, Using Town Level Database

Congressional		Estimates of the Percentage of White and Minority Voters Casting a Vote for each of the Major Party Candidates					
District 1	Non-Hispanic White Estimates	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates	Hispanic Estimates				
2002							
Democrat	60.0	98.2	82.3				
Republican	40.0	.5	16.4				
Turnout	47.3	16.5	.9				
2004							
Democrat	67.8	99.6	89.6				
Republican	32.2	.7	9.7				
Turnout	64.0	18.6	1.7				
2006							
Democrat	67.6	95.3	69.3				
Republican	31.5	6.6	28.8				
Turnout	48.2	15.8	1.4				
2008							
Democrat	56.9	98.4	90.3				
Republican	34.8	1.8	10.1				
Turnout	64.1	24.8	6.5				
2010							
Democrat	50.8	94.6	90.7				
Republican	49.4	6.6	9.9				
Turnout	51.7	20.7	8.9				

Congressional	Estimates of the Percentage of White and Minority Voters Casting a Vote for each of the Major Party Candidates					
District 3	Non-Hispanic White Estimates	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates	Hispanic Estimates			
2002						
Democrat	64.7	97.8	78.3			
Republican	33.3	1.4	20.2			
Turnout	41.2	7.8	1.5			
2004						
Democrat	68.5	93.6	86.7			
Republican	29.5	5.9	15.2			
Turnout	60.2	10.6	5.2			
2006						
Democrat	72.2	93.6	86.7			
Republican	26.2	5.9	15.2			
Turnout	46.6	10.6	5.2			
2008						
Democrat	63.1	97.1	89.7			
Republican	33.3	3.2	13.8			
Turnout	66.1	25.2	11.0			
2010						
Democrat	53.6	99.5	85.6			
Republican	46.0	.3	15.8			
Turnout	40.2	9.5	.5			

Congressional	Estimates of the Percentage of White and Minority Voters Casting a Vote for each of the Major Party Candidates					
District 4	Non-Hispanic White Estimates	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates	Hispanic Estimates			
2002						
Democrat	24.1	86.0	85.6			
Republican	75.8	13.6	15.6			
Turnout	46.7	2.0	.4			
2004						
Democrat	36.3	99.7	74.6			
Republican	63.4	.4	24.2			
Turnout	68.8	7.5	1.7			
2006						
Democrat	38.7	87.9	97.9			
Republican	58.5	11.6	2.6			
Turnout	55.2	11.3	.4			
2008						
Democrat	33.8	91.6	85.6			
Republican	63.3	8.4	16.1			
Turnout	76.5	12.1	14.6			
2010						
Democrat	49.5	96.0	91.5			
Republican	51.5	5.9	6.7			
Turnout	59.9	1.4	.4			

Congressional	Estimates of the Percentage of White and Minority Voters Casting a Vote for each of the Major Party Candidates					
District 5	Non-Hispanic White Estimates	Non-Hispanic Black Estimates	Hispanic Estimates			
2002						
Democrat	36.8	94.2	88.7			
Republican	59.8	2.5	11.9			
Turnout	47.8	8.4	.5			
2004						
Democrat	32.9	89.1	84.6			
Republican	65.9	9.3	12.9			
Turnout	59.2	10.6	.7			
2006						
Democrat	51.4	88.5	82.4			
Republican	46.3	9.2	15.9			
Turnout	44.7	15.0	3.1			
2008						
Democrat	49.9	89.4	96.5			
Republican	48.9	9.2	5.5			
Turnout	68.4	9.4	5.6			
2010						
Democrat	48.1	90.7	90.6			
Republican	49.3	10.1	10.7			
Turnout	45.0	7.2	2.7			

### Appendix C

Election Results for US Representative, 2002-2010

District	Republican	Democrat	Working Families (if Democratic candidate was endorsed)
2002	66968	134698	
2004	73601	198802	
2006	53010	154539	
2008	76860	194493	17000
2010	84076	130538	7902

### **Congressional District 1**

### **Congressional District 2**

District	Republican	Democrat	Working Families (if Democratic candidate was endorsed)
2002	117434	99674	
2004	166412	140536	
2006	121165	121248	
2008	104574	198984	13164
2010	95671	140888	6860

### **Congressional District 3**

District	Republican	Democrat	Working Families (if Democratic candidate was endorsed)
2002	54757	121557	
2004	69160	200638	
2006	44386	150436	
2008	58583	204761	25441
2010	74107	134544	9021

### **Congressional District 4**

District	Republican	Democrat	Working Families (if Democratic candidate was endorsed)
2002	113197	62491	
2004	152493	138333	
2006	106510	99450	
2008	146854	149345	9130
2010	102030	110746	4605

### **Congressional District 5**

District	Republican	Democrat	Working Families (if Democratic candidate was endorsed)
2002	113626	90616	
2004	168268	107438	
2006	94824	117186	5794
2008	117914	161178	18149
2010	102092	118231	4648

### Appendix D

Election Results by Congressional District for Select Offices

District	Republican Linda Roberts	Democrat Denise Nappier (AA)		
1	53389	151246		
2	70506	149220		
3	53660	125722		
4	78041	103739		
<b>5</b> 67858		123763		
Total	323454	653690		

### State Treasurer 2006

### State Treasurer 2010

District	Republican Jeff Wright	Democrat Denise Nappier (AA)	Working Families Denise Nappier	
1	85511	126654	7737	
2	103398	124480	5372	
3	83471	118017	5799	
4	103669	97081	3532	
5	104574	107514	4084	
Total	480623	573746	26524	

### US President 2008

District	Republican John McCain	Democrat Barack Obama (AA)		
1	108572	218794		
2	139945	204220		
3	117114	201741		
4	126819	190996		
<b>5</b> 136978		182021		
Total	629428	997772		

### Governor 2010

District	Republican Tom Foley	Democrat Dan Malloy	Working Families Dan Malloy	
1	102805	116626	7485	
2	126722	110104	5067	
3	97474	114007	5848	
4	108960	103941	4001	
5	124913	96292	3907	
Total	560874	540970	26308	

### **Comparison of Characteristics of Major 5th District Towns**

City	Population	Total Hispanic Population 2010	Total Hispanic Population Growth Since 2000	Poverty Level (statewide is 8.7%)	Unemployment Rate (statewide is 8.2%)	Education Scores	Manufacturing as a % of Total Employment
New Britain	73,206	37%	27%	18.70%	11.90%	All Mastery test and SAT scores are below the state average.	18.00%
Meriden	60,868	29%	27%	15.80%	10.20%	All Mastery test and SAT scores are below the state average.	18.90%
Waterbury	110,366	31%	30%	20.30%	13.40%	All Mastery test and SAT scores are below the state average.	14.30%
Danbury	80,893	25%	37%	8.50%	7.50%	All Mastery test (except for 4th and 6th grade math) and SAT scores are below the state average.	19.90%

Source for columns B-E: US Census Bureau - American FactFinder (factfinder.census.gov) Source for columns F-H: CT Economic Resource (www.cerc.com/TownProfiles)