## **Senate Joint Resolution 21**

Sponsored by Senator BONHAM (Presession filed.)

## **SUMMARY**

The following summary is not prepared by the sponsors of the measure and is not a part of the body thereof subject to consideration by the Legislative Assembly. It is an editor's brief statement of the essential features of the measure **as introduced.** The statement includes a measure digest written in compliance with applicable readability standards.

Digest: Amends the Constitution to create a body that draws district maps. Refers the amendment to a vote of the people at the next general election. (Flesch Readability Score: 62.1).

Proposes an amendment to the Oregon Constitution establishing a Citizens Redistricting Commission to adopt redistricting maps for the Senate, House of Representatives and United States House of Representatives.

Refers the proposed amendment to the people for their approval or rejection at the next regular general election.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Whereas election day is when Oregonians exercise their right to vote and make their voices heard, and the people of Oregon need an independent commission to draw fair and impartial districts so that every vote matters; and

Whereas under current law, Oregon politicians draw the boundaries for their own state legislative and congressional districts, a serious conflict of interest that harms voters; and

Whereas state and national level districting and redistricting rules should be determined by a politically neutral entity; and

Whereas Oregon state legislators draw district boundary maps every 10 years based on national census data; and

Whereas 96.3 percent of incumbent politicians were reelected in election after election in the districts they had drawn for themselves; and

Whereas current law allows politicians to draw districts to serve their own interests, not those of our communities, dividing places like Clackamas County, Salem and Eugene into multiple oddly shaped districts to protect incumbent legislators; and

Whereas the people of Oregon in many communities have no political voice because they have been split into as many as four different districts to protect incumbent legislators; and

Whereas the people of Oregon believe in fairness, accountability and transparency in political processes; and

Whereas fully one in three Oregonians are not registered with either the Democratic or Republican parties, and have no representation in the Legislative Assembly or United States Congress; and

Whereas Oregon legislative and congressional districts should be drawn to represent voters from all party affiliations, income levels, backgrounds, identities and corners of this state; and

Whereas voters across the country, in states such as Arizona, California, Colorado and Michigan, have been moving to reject partisan gerrymandering, adopting reforms to make the redistricting process open and impartial so it is controlled by people, not partisan politicians; and

Whereas an independent Citizens Redistricting Commission in Oregon would provide greater

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opportunity for underrepresented communities such as low-income Oregonians, persons of color, rural Oregonians and seniors to have a voice in their own representation; and

Whereas the people of Oregon find it necessary to create an independent Citizens Redistricting Commission to draw the state legislative and congressional districts in an impartial and fully transparent manner that will promote inclusion and representation of all Oregonians; and

Whereas the people of Oregon find it necessary to give otherwise-affiliated voters whose voices are underrepresented in the Legislative Assembly and United States Congress an equal voice and vote on the commission alongside registered Democrats and Republicans; and

Whereas the people of Oregon find it necessary to require the independent Citizens Redistricting Commission to draw state legislative and congressional districts based on strict, nonpartisan rules designed to ensure fair representation, to propose reform that will take redistricting out of the partisan battles of the Legislative Assembly and guarantee that redistricting is carried out by a group of impartial Oregonians in open public meetings without favor to incumbents or parties, and to open every aspect of this process to scrutiny by the public and the press; and

Whereas the people of Oregon find it necessary to create an independent Citizens Redistricting Commission because we believe Oregon voters should choose their representatives and representatives should not choose their voters; now, therefore,

## Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

**PARAGRAPH 1.** The Constitution of the State of Oregon is amended by repealing sections 6 and 7, Article IV, and by adopting the following new sections 6 and 7 in lieu thereof:

SECTION 6. (1) The Citizens Redistricting Commission is established. The commission shall consist of 12 commissioners and be created not later than December 31 in each year ending in zero.

- (2) The Secretary of State shall adopt rules the secretary considers necessary to facilitate and assist in achieving and maintaining a maximum degree of correctness, impartiality and efficiency in the administration of subsections (3) and (5) of this section by the Office of the Secretary of State.
- (3)(a) Not later than August 15 in each year ending in nine, the Secretary of State shall initiate a process for individuals to apply for membership on the commission. The process must promote a diverse and qualified applicant pool.
  - (b) An individual may serve on the commission if the individual:
  - (A) Is registered to vote in this state;

- (B) For the three years preceding the initiation of the application process has been registered in Oregon with the same political party or unaffiliated with a political party; and
- (C) Voted in at least two of the three most recent general elections or has been a resident of this state for not less than three years preceding membership on the commission.
- (c) Notwithstanding paragraph (b) of this subsection, an individual may not serve on the commission if the individual is or, within four years preceding the initiation of the application process, was:
- (A) A holder of or candidate for federal, state, county or other elective office for which the holder receives compensation other than for expenses;
  - (B) An officer, employee or paid consultant of a political party;
- (C)(i) An officer, director or employee of a campaign committee of a candidate for or holder of a federal or state office; or
  - (ii) A paid contractor or member of the staff of a paid contractor of a campaign com-

1 mittee of a candidate for or holder of a federal or state office;

- (D) A member of a political party central committee;
- (E) A registered federal, state or local lobbyist;

- (F) A paid congressional or legislative employee;
  - (G) A member of the staff of a holder of a federal or state office;
- (H) A legislative or campaign contractor, or staff of the contractor, to a holder of a federal or state office;
- (I) An individual who has contributed \$2,900 or more in any calendar year to any single candidate for federal or state office; or
- (J) A spouse, parent, child, sibling, in-law or cohabiting member of a household of an individual described in subparagraphs (A) to (I) of this paragraph.
- (d) For purposes of this subsection, "state office" means the office of Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Attorney General, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor and Industries, state Senator, state Representative, judge or district attorney.
- (4)(a) Not later than January 5 in each year ending in zero, the chief administrative law judge of the Office of Administrative Hearings or its successor agency shall designate a review panel composed of three administrative law judges to review the applications identified in paragraph (a) of subsection (5) of this section. The chief administrative law judge shall appoint individuals who possess the most relevant analytical skills, who have the ability to be impartial and promote consensus on the commission and who demonstrate an appreciation for and are reasonably reflective of the diversity of this state, including but not limited to racial, ethnic, geographic and gender diversity.
- (b) The review panel shall include only administrative law judges who have been registered to vote in this state and continuously employed by the Office of Administrative Hearings for not less than two years preceding their appointment, who shall be appointed as follows:
- (A) One administrative law judge who has been registered for not less than the preceding two years with the political party with the largest registration in this state.
- (B) One administrative law judge who has been registered for not less than the preceding two years with the political party with the second largest registration in this state.
- (C) One administrative law judge who has not been registered for not less than the preceding two years with either of the two largest political parties in this state.
- (c) An administrative law judge may not serve on the review panel if the administrative law judge is an individual described in paragraph (c) of subsection (3) of this section.
- (5)(a) Not later than March 15 in each year ending in zero, after removing applicants with conflicts of interest from the applicant pool as described in paragraph (c) of subsection (3) of this section, the Secretary of State shall publish the names of the individuals in the applicant pool in a manner that ensures widespread public access and provide the applications to the review panel.
- (b) If the pool of qualified applicants is greater than or equal to 900, the review panel shall randomly select by lot from all of the eligible applicants the names of 300 applicants registered with the largest party, 300 applicants registered with the second largest party and 300 applicants not registered with either of the two largest parties. If any individual subpool of eligible applicants contains fewer than 300 applicants, no random selection may occur for that subpool.

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- (c) Not later than May 15 in each year ending in zero, the review panel shall present to the Secretary of State the names of 150 individuals from the applicant pool who possess the most relevant analytical skills, who have the ability to be impartial and promote consensus on the commission and who demonstrate an appreciation for and are reasonably reflective of the diversity of this state, including but not limited to racial, ethnic, geographic and gender diversity.
- (d) The review panel shall choose the individuals for the applicant pool by unanimous vote, with three subpools of applicants chosen as follows:
  - (A) Fifty individuals must be registered with the largest political party in this state;
- (B) Fifty individuals must be registered with the second largest political party in this state; and
- (C) Fifty individuals must not be registered with either of the two largest political parties in this state.
- (e) If fewer than 50 qualified individuals within a subpool have applied, the review panel shall choose all of the qualified individuals within the subpool.
- (f) The members of the review panel may not communicate with a member of the Legislative Assembly or the United States Congress, or their agents, about any matter related to the selection of commissioners prior to the presentation of the 150-member applicant pool to the Secretary of State.
- (6) Not later than July 5 in each year ending in zero, at a time and place accessible to members of the public, the Secretary of State shall randomly select by lot six individuals to serve on the commission from the individuals presented under paragraphs (c) to (e) of subsection (5) of this section as follows:
- (a) Two individuals must be from the subpool of individuals registered with the largest political party in this state;
- (b) Two individuals must be from the subpool of individuals registered with the second largest political party in this state; and
- (c) Two individuals must be from the subpool of individuals who are not registered with either of the two largest political parties in this state.
- (7)(a) Not later than August 15 in each year ending in zero, the six commissioners selected under subsection (6) of this section shall review the remaining names in the subpools and select six additional commissioners. The commissioners shall, without the use of specific ratios or formulas, select additional commissioners who possess the most relevant analytical skills, who have the ability to be impartial and promote consensus on the commission and who demonstrate an appreciation for and are reasonably reflective of the diversity of this state, including racial, ethnic, geographic and gender diversity. When selecting the six additional commissioners, the commissioners may consider the applicants' experience in organizing, representing, advocating for, adjudicating the interest of or actively participating in groups, organizations or associations in this state. The selection shall occur as follows:
- (A) Two individuals must be from the subpool of individuals registered with the largest political party in this state;
- (B) Two individuals must be from the subpool of individuals registered with the second largest political party in this state; and
- (C) Two individuals must be from the subpool of individuals who are not registered with either of the two largest political parties in this state.

- (b) Approval of the six additional commissioners requires four affirmative votes of the six initial commissioners, including at least one vote cast by a commission member registered with the largest political party in this state, one vote cast by a commission member registered with the second largest political party in this state and one vote cast by a commission member who is not registered with either of the two largest political parties in this state.
- (8)(a) The Governor may remove a member of the commission for substantial neglect of duty or gross misconduct in office, or if a commission member is unable to discharge the duties of the office. To remove a member, the Governor shall:
  - (A) Serve the member with written notice;

- (B) Provide the member with an opportunity to respond; and
- (C) Obtain concurring votes from two-thirds of the members of the Senate, which shall convene in special session if necessary.
- (b) The member may contest the removal by means of an evidentiary hearing in circuit court in an action in the manner of an action for a declaratory judgment. The circuit court's determination shall take precedence over other matters before the circuit court. Any party may appeal the decision of the circuit court directly to the Supreme Court, which shall accord the highest priority to the matter.
- (c) The removal, if contested by the member, is not effective until judicial review is concluded.
- (9)(a) If a position among the first six randomly selected commissioners on the commission becomes vacant, the commission shall fill the vacancy within 30 days by randomly selecting an appointee from the same subpool from which the vacating member was selected. If a position among the final six appointed commissioners becomes vacant, the commission shall fill the vacancy within 30 days by a vote of a simple majority of the remaining commissioners, with at least one vote cast by a commission member registered with the largest political party in this state, one vote cast by a commission member registered with the second largest political party in this state and one vote cast by a commission member who is not registered with either of the two largest political parties in this state.
- (b) If no individual in the applicable subpool is available to serve, the review panel shall establish a new subpool as provided in paragraph (d) of subsection (5) of this section, and the commission shall fill the vacancy from the new subpool.
- (10)(a) The commission shall make all purchasing and hiring decisions and shall hire commission staff, legal counsel and consultants as needed. The commission shall establish criteria for the hiring and removal of individuals, conflicts of interest, communication protocols and a code of conduct. A member of the staff or a contractor of the commission or the Secretary of State may not serve the commission or the review panel designated under subsection (4) of this section if the staff member or contractor is an individual described in paragraph (c) of subsection (3) of this section other than by virtue of the individual being an employee or contractor of the Secretary of State.
- (b) The Secretary of State shall provide staff and office support to the commission and the commission staff as needed.
- (c)(A) For each day a member is engaged in the business of the commission, the member shall be compensated at a rate equivalent to the amount fixed for per diem allowance that is authorized by the United States Internal Revenue Service to be excluded from gross in-

come without itemization.

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- (B) For each day a member of the review panel or a member of the commission is engaged in the business of the commission, the member shall receive mileage and reimbursement for other reasonable travel expenses.
- (d)(A) An employer may not discharge, threaten to discharge, intimidate, coerce or retaliate against any employee by reason of the employee's service as a commissioner or staff of commission.
- (B) If the employment of a member of the commission is interrupted because of the performance of official duties as a member of the commission, the member's employer shall restore the member to the employment status the member would have enjoyed if the member had continued in employment during the performance of official duties on the commission.
- (C) Subparagraph (B) of this paragraph does not apply if the employer is a small business. As used in this subparagraph, "small business" means an independent business with fewer than 20 employees and with average annual gross receipts over the preceding three years not exceeding \$1 million for construction firms and \$300,000 for nonconstruction firms. "Small business" does not include a subsidiary or parent company belonging to a group of firms that are owned and controlled by the same individuals and that have average aggregate annual gross receipts in excess of \$1 million for construction firms or \$300,000 for nonconstruction firms over the preceding three years.
- (D) Prior to the initiation of the process for individuals to apply for membership on the commission in each year ending in nine, the dollar amounts specified in subparagraph (C) of this paragraph shall be increased or decreased by the Secretary of State based upon any increase or decrease in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, West Region (All Items), as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor or its successor during the preceding 10-year period. The amount determined under this subparagraph must be rounded to the nearest \$1,000.
- (11)(a) Commissioners shall serve a term of office that expires upon the appointment of the first member of the succeeding commission. Other than activities expressly authorized by this section and section 7 of this Article, the commission shall expend funds only if there is active litigation or other ongoing commission business.
- (b) During the term of office of the commissioners or for a period of three years after resignation or removal, a member of the commission may not:
- (A) Hold, or be a candidate for, federal, state, county or other elective office for which the holder receives compensation other than expenses;
- (B) Serve in an office for which the holder is appointed or selected by the Legislative Assembly or United States Congress, or by a member, committee or house of the Legislative Assembly or United States Congress;
- (C) Receive compensation for serving as a consultant or advisor to a member of or candidate for the Legislative Assembly or United States Congress, or to a committee or house of the Legislative Assembly or United States Congress; or
- (D) Receive compensation for lobbying the Legislative Assembly or United States Congress.
  - (12) The Legislative Assembly shall:
  - (a) Appropriate the funds necessary to permit the commission to fulfill the commission's

obligations. For the first year of the redistricting process, the Legislative Assembly shall dedicate funds for the commission from general tax revenues otherwise available for the operation of the Legislative Assembly. For the first year of the redistricting process, the Legislative Assembly shall appropriate or allocate funds to the commission in an amount not less than the Legislative Assembly appropriated or allocated to the legislative branch for redistricting in the 2019-2021 biennium. In all future redistricting cycles, the appropriation may not be less than the amount appropriated in the previous redistricting cycle. If new expenditures are required, the dedicated funding source for the commission must be the income tax. If, after the conclusion of any litigation involving the redistricting, the appropriations to the commission exceed the expenses of the commission, the commission shall return the excess to the General Fund.

- (b) Make available to the commission a complete and accurate computerized database and precinct shapefiles for redistricting.
- (13) Except for an Act appropriating moneys in a manner described in subsection (12) of this section, the Legislative Assembly may enact an Act that directly impacts the functioning of the commission only when:
- (a) The commission recommends by a vote meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (c) of subsection (2) of section 7 of this Article that the Legislative Assembly enact an Act in order to enhance the ability of the commission to carry out the purposes of the commission;
  - (b) The commission provides language for the Act to the Legislative Assembly; and
- (c) The Legislative Assembly enacts the exact language provided under paragraph (b) of this subsection.

SECTION 7. (1) The Citizens Redistricting Commission shall:

- (a) Conduct an open and transparent process enabling full public participation, including public consideration of and comment on the drawing of state legislative and congressional district lines.
  - (b) Draw district lines according to the redistricting criteria specified in this section.
- (c) Conduct all business of the commission with integrity, impartiality and fairness in a manner that reinforces public confidence in the integrity of the redistricting process, including adopting rules that further these purposes.
  - (2)(a) Seven commissioners constitutes a quorum for the conduct of business.
- (b) The commission shall select, by a majority vote, one member to serve as chairperson and one member to serve as vice chairperson. The chairperson and vice chairperson may not be of the same political affiliation.
- (c) Official action by the commission requires an affirmative vote of seven or more commissioners.
- (d) Approval of the final redistricting maps described in subsection (6) of this section requires an affirmative vote of seven or more commission members, including at least one vote cast by a commission member registered with the largest political party in this state, one vote cast by a commission member registered with the second largest political party in this state and one vote cast by a member who is not registered with either of the two largest political parties in this state.
- (e) Not more than three commissioners may discuss with each other the business of the commission other than in a public meeting.

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- (3)(a) The commission shall provide at least 14 days' public notice for each meeting or hearing, except that meetings held within 15 days of August 15 in a year ending in one may be held with three days' notice. If the commission must reconvene following a court order according to paragraph (d) of subsection (7) of this section, meetings and hearings may be held with three days' notice.
- (b)(A) The records of the commission pertaining to redistricting and all data considered by the commission in redistricting are public records.
- (B) The commission must post records and data in a manner that ensures immediate and widespread public access.
- (c) A member of the commission or commission staff or a commission consultant may not communicate with an individual who is not a member of the commission or commission staff or a commission consultant about redistricting other than in a public hearing. Any written communications regarding redistricting received by a member of the commission or commission staff or a commission consultant shall be considered a public record and shall be made available in a manner that ensures widespread public access.
- (4)(a) The commission shall use a mapping process to establish districts for the state Senate and House of Representatives and congressional districts, using the following criteria, to:
- (A) Comply with provisions of the United States Constitution and the federal Voting Rights Act (52 U.S.C. 10101 et seq.) or its successor law.
- (B) Achieve population equality as nearly as practicable using the total population of this state as determined by the decennial census preceding the redistricting process.
  - (C) Be geographically contiguous.

- (D) To the extent practicable, and if possible without conflicting with the criteria set forth in subparagraphs (A), (B) and (C) of this paragraph, respect the geographic integrity and minimize the division of a city, county, local neighborhood, government jurisdiction or community of interest or other contiguous population that shares common social and economic interests and is cohesive for purposes of its effective and fair representation.
- (E) To the extent practicable, and if possible without conflicting with the criteria set forth in subparagraphs (A), (B) and (C) of this paragraph, achieve competitiveness.
- (b) The commission shall determine and adopt a measure or measures of competitiveness prior to any vote or discussion regarding any legislative or congressional district plan or proposal. The commission shall then apply the measure or measures when adopting any legislative or congressional district plan or proposal.
  - (c) When establishing districts under this subsection, the commission may not:
  - (A) Consider the place of residence of a holder of or candidate for public office;
- (B) Favor or discriminate against a holder of or candidate for public office or a political party; or
- (C) Create a district for the purpose of or with the effect of diluting the voting strength of any language or ethnic identity group.
  - (d) As used in this subsection:
- (A) "Common social and economic interests" means interests common to an urban area, a rural area, an industrial area or an agricultural area and those common to areas in which individuals share similar living standards, use the same transportation facilities, reside in the same watershed, have similar work opportunities or have access to the same media of

- communication relevant to the election process. "Common social and economic interests" does not include relationships with political parties, incumbents or political candidates.
- (B) "Competitiveness" means that voting blocs, including partisan and nonaffiliated voters, are substantially and similarly able to translate their popular support into representation in an elected body and that the representation is substantially and similarly reflective of shifts in the electorate's preferences.
- (5)(a) The commission shall hold at least 10 public hearings at locations throughout this state prior to proposing a redistricting plan.
- (b) In addition to the hearings required under paragraph (a) of this subsection, the commission shall:
- (A) Hold not fewer than five public hearings after a redistricting plan is proposed, but before the plan is adopted; and
- (B) Conduct the hearings required under this subsection so that at least one hearing is held in each congressional district of this state and at least one hearing is held in each region of this state, including coastal, Portland, Willamette Valley, southern, central, and east of the Cascade Range.
- (c) The adoption of a redistricting plan may not be delayed by the impracticability of holding one or more of the hearings required under this subsection.
- (d) In holding the hearings required under paragraphs (a) and (b) of this subsection, the commission shall:
- (A) Provide appropriate public notice of the time and location of each hearing in a manner that ensures widespread public access;
- (B) Hold at least one hearing required under paragraph (a) of this subsection and one hearing required under paragraph (b) of this subsection in areas that have experienced the largest shifts in population since the previous redistricting and prioritize holding additional public hearings in these areas; and
- (C) Permit and make provision for individuals at remote sites throughout this state to provide public testimony at the hearings through the use of video technology.
- (6)(a) Not later than August 15 in each year ending in one, the commission shall approve final maps that separately set forth the district boundary lines for congressional districts and district boundary lines for the Senate and the House of Representatives.
- (b) The commission shall issue, along with the final maps, a report that includes an explanation of the basis on which the commission established the districts, responded to public input, and achieved compliance with the criteria listed in subsection (4) of this section and definitions of the terms and standards used in drawing each final map.
- (c) If the commission does not approve a final map under subsection (2) of this section, any group of four or more commissioners that includes at least one commissioner from each subpool may submit a map to the Supreme Court by August 29 in each year ending in one.
- (7)(a) The Supreme Court shall adopt rules of procedure for review of redistricting maps. The Supreme Court's review shall take precedence over other matters before the Supreme Court.
- (b) Any voter registered in this state may file with the Supreme Court a petition for review of final maps approved by the commission. The petition must be filed not later than September 1 in the year in which the maps are approved under subsection (6) of this section.
  - (c) If the Supreme Court determines that a map approved by the commission under

paragraph (a) of subsection (6) of this section substantially complies with the criteria set forth in subsection (4) of this section, the Supreme Court shall approve the map, which shall go into effect.

- (d) If the Supreme Court determines that a map approved by the commission under paragraph (a) of subsection (6) of this section does not substantially comply with the criteria set forth in subsection (4) of this section, the Supreme Court shall remand the map to the commission for correction. The commission shall submit a corrected map within 14 days of the issuance of the remand. If the Supreme Court approves the corrected map, the corrected map shall go into effect. If the Supreme Court does not approve the corrected map, the Supreme Court shall remand the map to the commission for correction. The process of correction and approval or remand shall repeat until the Supreme Court approves a corrected map as being in compliance with subsection (4) of this section.
- (e) To assist the Supreme Court in reviewing maps, the Supreme Court may appoint a special master and vest the special master with the powers needed to assist the Supreme Court. The powers of the special master may not include the development of alternative maps.
- (f) If one or more maps are submitted under paragraph (c) of subsection (6) of this section, the Supreme Court shall:
  - (A) Establish a process for interested persons to become parties;
- (B) Review all submitted maps for compliance with the criteria set forth in subsection (4) of this section; and
- (C) Select the submitted map that best complies with the criteria set forth in subsection (4) of this section.
- (g) The map selected by the Supreme Court under this subsection shall go into effect without any further action by the commission.
- (h) The Supreme Court must complete review or selection of redistricting maps by December 31 of the year in which the maps are due to be approved by the commission under subsection (6) of this section.
- (i) The Supreme Court has original and exclusive jurisdiction in all proceedings in which an approved final map is challenged.
- (8) The provisions of this section and section 6 of this Article supersede any section of this Constitution with which the provision may conflict.

<u>PARAGRAPH 2.</u> The amendment proposed by this resolution shall be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection at the next regular general election held throughout this state.