

The History of the Voting Rights Act in the Seventh Circuit:

A Historical Discussion of the Voting Rights Act, with a focus on litigation in the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals from the early 1980s through 2013

Speakers:

Hon. Lynn Adelman, District Judge, U.S. District Court, E.D. Wisconsin

Hon. Maria Valdez, Presiding Magistrate Judge, U.S. District Court, N.D. Illinois

Jeffrey Cummings, Partner, Miner, Barnhill & Galland, P.C.

Ellen Katz, Professor of Law, University of Michigan Law School

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Presented by the Seventh Circuit Bar Association Diversity and Inclusion Committee

Table of Contents

- I. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended.....p. 2
- II. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act: General Principles.....p. 3
- III. Racially Polarized Voting Can Cause Minority Vote Dilution.....p. 4
- IV. Proof of a Section 2 Violation: The Three *Gingles* Preconditions.....p. 4
- V. Other Relevant Factors In Determining Liability Under Section 2.....p. 6
- VI. Section 2 Litigation Concerning Chicago’s 1992 Ward Map.....p. 7
- VII. Chicago’s 1992 Ward Map Referendum Vote.....p. 8
- VIII. Illustrative Bibliography of Voting Rights Act decisions in the Seventh Circuit.....p. 9–11
- IX. Map 1: Chicago's 1992 Ward Map (with total and voting age population data by race and ethnicity for each ward)
- X. Map 2: The 1998 Remedial Ward Map Imposed After A Finding Of Section 2 Liability In *Barnett v. City of Chicago* (with total and voting age population data by race and ethnicity for each ward)
- XI. Map 3: Chicago's 1992 Ward Map Referendum Vote Illustration
- XII. Map 4: Map Showing Illinois’ Fourth Congressional District and Surrounding Districts, 1993–2002

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended

42 U.S.C. §10301- Denial or abridgment of right to vote on account of race or color through voting qualification or prerequisites; establishment of a violation

- (a) No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision in a manner which results in a denial or abridgement of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color; or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 10303(f)(2) of this title, as provided in subsection (b);

- (b) A violation of subsection (a) is established if, based on the totality of circumstances, it is shown that the political processes leading to nomination or election in the State or political subdivision are not equally open to participation by members of a class of citizens protected by subsection (a) in that its members have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. The extent to which members of a protected class have been elected to office in the State or political subdivision is one circumstance which may be considered: *Provided*, That nothing in this section establishes a right to have members of a protected class elected in numbers equal to their proportion in the population.

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act: General Principles

- Section 2 is intended to eliminate discrimination in the electoral process by guaranteeing minority voters an equal opportunity to elect the candidates of their choice;
 - Section 2 does not guarantee any particular electoral outcome;
- Plaintiffs can prove a violation of Section 2 by showing that an electoral structure, practice, procedure, or standard has a discriminatory *effect* on minority voters;
 - Prior to its amendment in 1982, Section 2 required proof of discriminatory *intent* to establish a violation;
- The Section 2 “effects test” is analogous in some ways to a disparate impact employment discrimination claim brought under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
 - The focus of the inquiry is on the impact that the challenged electoral structure has on members of the protected class, and not on the reason why the challenged structure was enacted;
- Section 2 is the principal means of proving voting discrimination claims in the Seventh Circuit.
 - The “preclearance” provisions of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act never applied to the states within the Seventh Circuit;
 - Plaintiffs also bring voting discrimination claims under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments but the Constitution requires proof of discriminatory intent;
- Section 2 lawsuits may be filed against any “State or political subdivision.” Individual elected officials who have responsibilities related to the voting standard, practice, or process under challenge may also be sued, but only in their *official* capacity

Racially Polarized Voting Can Cause Minority Vote Dilution

- Racially polarized voting, which occurs when voters of different races consistently prefer and vote for different candidates, is a primary cause of minority vote dilution
 - Where voting is racially polarized, a numerical majority of white voters can deny a smaller number of minority group voters the opportunity to elect the candidates of their choice;
- In jurisdictions where multiple representatives are selected in at-large elections where all voters in the jurisdiction can vote for any candidate, racially polarized voting can “submerge” minority group voters and prevent them from electing any of their preferred candidates;
- In jurisdictions that are divided into single member districts where voters in each district can vote only for the representative of their district, racially polarized voting combined with the manner in which district boundary lines are drawn can cause minority vote dilution;
 - District boundary lines can “waste” minority votes by either “packing” minority voters into certain districts in excess of the number needed to provide an equal electoral opportunity and/or by “fracturing” minority voters into majority white districts where they will form an ineffectual minority

Proof of a Section 2 Violation: The Three *Gingles* Preconditions

- The three threshold preconditions for proving a Section 2 violation were developed by the Supreme Court in its decision in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), and they apply to all electoral structures;
- The three preconditions (known as the “*Gingles* preconditions”) focus on the feasibility of a remedy and the existence of polarized voting.

- The first *Gingles* Precondition: Is the minority group sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a voting majority in a single member district (or in an additional single member district where the minority group already has some representation)?
 - Courts have held that unless the minority voters possess the *potential* to elect candidates (or additional candidates) in the absence of the challenged electoral structure, they cannot claim to be injured by that structure and there would be no feasible remedy;
 - As a practical matter, minority voters who are widely dispersed and/or who constitute a small percentage of the jurisdiction’s voting population will be unable to prove this precondition;
- The second *Gingles* Precondition: Are the plaintiff minority voters “politically cohesive”?
 - The central inquiry is whether the minority group voters have expressed clear political preferences that are distinct from those of the majority group voters as evidenced by voting preferences in actual elections;
 - If the minority group voters are not politically cohesive, it cannot be said that the electoral structure thwarts distinctive minority group interests;
 - Political cohesiveness is typically proven by a statistical analysis of voting behavior and anecdotal evidence plays a limited role
- The third *Gingles* Precondition: Do the white majority voters vote sufficiently as a bloc to enable them - - in the absence of special circumstances - - to usually defeat the minority voters’ preferred candidate?
 - Racial bloc voting exists where there is a consistent relationship between the race of the voter and the way in which the voter votes;
 - Racial bloc voting must be “legally significant.” Thus, the white bloc voting must in the ordinary course defeat the minority preferred candidate most of the time. The occasional success of a minority preferred candidate will not defeat a Section 2 claim;

- As with political cohesiveness, bloc voting is established through a statistical analysis of how voters behave in elections;
- An analysis of elections for the office in question is typically more probative than an analysis of elections for other offices;
- Elections for the office in question with candidates of different races are most probative in determining the presence (or absence) of racial bloc voting

Other Relevant Factors In Determining Liability Under Section 2

- Once the three *Gingles* preconditions are proven, courts engage in a more searching consideration of the “totality of the circumstances” to determine whether the challenged electoral structure denies minority voters an equal opportunity to elect the candidates of their choice;
- In conducting this “totality of the circumstances” inquiry, courts consider evidence of the following factors (known as the “Senate factors”):
 - The history of voting-related discrimination in the State or political subdivision;
 - The extent to which voting in the elections of the State or political subdivision is racially polarized;
 - The extent to which the state or political subdivision has used voting practices or procedures that tend to enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group, such as unusually large election districts;
 - The exclusion of members of the minority group from candidate slating processes;
 - The extent to which minority groups bear the effects of past discrimination in areas such as education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process;
 - The use of overt or subtle racial appeals in political campaigns;
 - The extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to political office in the jurisdiction;

- Evidence demonstrating that elected officials are unresponsive to the particularized needs of the members of the minority group; and;
 - Evidence showing that the policy underlying the State’s or political subdivision’s use of the contested practice or structure is tenuous.
- The Supreme Court has held that the extent to which voting is racially polarized and the extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office are the most important of these factors

Section 2 Litigation Concerning Chicago’s 1992 Ward Map

- The City of Chicago is divided into 50 wards and each ward is represented by one alderman.
 - The City redraws its ward boundaries every ten years to account for population shifts and ensure that the population of the wards complies with the “one person, one vote” requirement of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment;
- Per the 1990 Census, the City had a total population of 2,783,726, which was broken down as follows:

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Voting Age Pop.</u>	<u>Citizen Voting Age Pop.</u>
White	1,056,048 (37.9%)	897,405 (43.5%)	(45%)
African-American	1,074,471 (38.6%)	736,560 (35.7%)	(40%)
Latino	545,852 (19.6%)	345,307 (16.8%)	(11%)

- As of 1992, Chicago had 28 white, 18 African-American, and 4 Latino aldermen.

Chicago's 1992 Ward Map Was Adopted By A Racially Polarized Referendum Vote

- The City adopted its 1992 ward map through a referendum vote where voters across the City chose from two competing proposals:
 - the “Fair Map” (which was supported by sixteen of the eighteen African-American aldermen and four of the white aldermen) and the “Referendum Map” (which was supported by the remaining twenty-four white aldermen, two African-American aldermen, and three of the four Latino aldermen);
 - The Fair Map proposal contained more majority African-American wards and fewer white majority wards than the Referendum Map. Both map proposals contained the same number of Latino majority wards;
- The ballot for the referendum vote did not contain actual maps, provide any explanation as to the differences between the proposals or even refer to the proposed maps by their names. Instead, the ballot simply listed the two groups of names of the aldermen who supported the respective proposals;
- The Referendum Map was selected as the City's 1992 ward map by a vote of 257,769 (61.2%) versus a vote of 163,258 (38.8%) for the Fair Map;
- The referendum vote was racially polarized. As the district court found:
 - “The referendum vote broke down along racial lines. African-Americans supported the Fair Map at an estimated rate of approximately 89% while non-African-Americans supported the current ward map at an estimated rate of approximately 87%.” *Barnett v. City of Chicago*, 969 F.Supp. 1359, 1400 (N.D.Ill. 1997), *aff'd in part and rev'd in part on other grounds*, 141 F.3d 699 (7th Cir. 1998).
- The first election under the 1992 Referendum ward map resulted in the election of 24 white, 19 African-American, and 7 Latino aldermen;
- In 1992, African-American and Latino plaintiffs filed Section 2 cases asserting that the Referendum ward map illegally diluted the voting strength of the African-American and Latino communities;
- In 1998, after the longest trial in the history of the Voting Rights Act and multiple appeals, the district court found that the Referendum map violated the rights of the African-American plaintiffs under Section 2

ILLUSTRATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- *Rybicki v. State Bd. of Elections*, 574 F. Supp. 1082 (N.D. Ill. 1982) (“*Rybicki I*”); *Rybicki v. State Bd. of Elections*, 574 F. Supp. 1147 (N.D. Ill. 1983) (“*Rybicki II*”)

African-American plaintiffs challenged the 1981 Illinois legislative redistricting plan claiming that the plan unlawfully diluted the voting strength of African-Americans in violation of the VRA and the 14th and 15th Amendments. *Rybicki II* reevaluated certain claims because the VRA was amended while the Crosby plaintiff’s motion to reconsider was pending.

- *Ketchum v. Byrne*, 740 F.2d 1398 (7th Cir. 1984); *Ketchum v. City Council of Chi.*, 630 F. Supp. 551 (N.D. Ill. 1985)

African-American and Latino plaintiffs claimed that the City of Chicago’s 1981 plan for the redistricting of Chicago’s 50 aldermanic wards violated their rights under Section 2 and the 14th and 15th Amendments. Seventh Circuit affirmed in part, reversed in part, and remanded for reconsideration of appropriate remedy. (Supreme Court denied cert.). On remand, district court ordered special elections.

- *Justice v. Blackwell*, 820 F.2d 238 (7th Cir. 1987)

Rejecting claims of non-residents and finding “no hint of racial animus in the alleged actions of Cronin and the Town does not allege that he had any racial motivation.” (Sec. 1983 claim). Without deciding issue, Seventh Circuit expressed “doubt whether a state official can be liable in his individual capacity for violating either [section of the VRA].”

- *McNeil v. Springfield*, 658 F. Supp. 1015 (C.D. Ill. 1987); *McNeil v. Springfield Park Dist.*, 666 F. Supp. 1208 (C.D. Ill. 1987); *McNeil v. Springfield Park District*, 851 F.2d 937 (7th Cir. 1988)

Plaintiffs claimed that at-large system for electing members in Springfield city council results in a denial or abridgement of their right to vote on account of race. The Court found that defendants violated Section 2 of the VRA. Plaintiffs then brought action challenging the electoral systems for the Springfield Park District and School Board. Seventh Circuit affirmed district court’s grant of summary judgment in favor of defendants in action challenging electoral systems for park district and school board. (Supreme Court denied cert.).

- *Hastert v. State Bd. of Elections*, 777 F. Supp. 634 (N.D. Ill. 1991); *Hastert v. State Bd. of Elections*, 794 F. Supp. 254 (N.D. Ill. 1992); *Hastert v. Ill. State Bd. of Election Comm'rs*, 28 F.3d 1430 (7th Cir. 1993); *Hastert v. Ill. State Bd. of Election Comm'rs*, 1994 U.S. App. LEXIS 13101 (7th Cir. 1994) (amended opinion)

Three-judge district court panel agreed with the intervening plaintiffs and approved a Congressional map in 1991 which created the first majority Latino Congressional District in the Midwest (the Fourth Congressional District) while maintaining the three majority African-American districts. Seventh Circuit concluded that prevailing plaintiff groups were entitled to attorney’s fees. (Supreme Court denied cert.).

- *Baird v. Indianapolis*, 976 F.2d 357 (7th Cir. 1992)

Registered black voters in Marion County filed suit contending that “packing” minorities into 4 districts and electing 4 seats at large undermined the influence of black voters. The Seventh Circuit upheld district court’s finding of no VRA Section 2 violation. (Supreme Court denied cert.).

- *King v. State Bd. of Elections*, 979 F. Supp. 582 (N.D. Ill. 1996); *King v. Ill. Bd. of Elections*, 519 U.S. 978 (1996); *King v. State Bd. of Elections*, 979 F. Supp. 619 (N.D. Ill. 1997); *King v. Ill. Bd. of Elections*, 522 U.S. 1087 (1998); *King v. State Bd. of Elections*, No. 95 C 827, 2003 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 14822 (N.D. Ill. Aug. 19, 2003); *King v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 410 F.3d 404 (7th Cir. 2005)

This lawsuit challenged the *Hastert* plan. A three judge panel concluded that although racial considerations predominated in the creation of the Fourth Congressional District, the *Hastert* congressional plan was constitutional because it was narrowly tailored to serve the compelling state interest in remedying a violation of Section 2 of the VRA. U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the judgment. The State appealed the district court’s fees award. Seventh Circuit affirmed the district court’s conclusion that intervening defendant voters entitled to attorney’s fees in a precedent-setting decision.

- *Barnett v. City of Chi.*, 969 F. Supp. 1359 (N.D. Ill. 1997); *Barnett v. City of Chi.*, 141 F.3d 699 (7th Cir. 1998); *Barnett v. City of Chi.*, 17 F. Supp. 2d 753 (N.D. Ill. 1998); *Barnett v. City of Chi.*, 3 F. App'x 546 (7th Cir. 2001) (fees)

Longest trial in the history of the VRA (48 trial days plus an additional 3 days of trial on remand), the testimony of 32 witnesses including 8 experts, two merits appeals, a mandamus petition, and an attorney’s fee appeal. African-American plaintiffs prevailed in 1998 when the district court found a violation of Section 2 and ordered the implementation of a remedial ward map on the City’s southwest side. Seventh Circuit affirmed in part, vacated in part, and remanded. (Supreme Court denied cert.).

- *Milwaukee Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. v. Thompson*, 116 F.3d 1194 (7th Cir. 1997)

Registered voters in Milwaukee County argued that Section 2 of the VRA requires Wisconsin to replace county-wide elections with smaller districts, which could be drawn so that some districts contain majorities of black voters. Seventh Circuit affirmed district court’s decision after trial that plaintiffs did not prevail because white voters in Milwaukee County have not consistently voted against black judicial candidates. Court also noted Wisconsin’s interest in electing its trial judges from “whole counties.” (Supreme Court denied cert.).

- *Juarez v. Edgar*, Case No. 97 C 4823, 1998 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 7641 (N.D. Ill. May 12, 1998)

District court had *sua sponte* dismissed for lack of subject-matter jurisdiction, finding that the Section 5 preclearance requirement did not apply to any voting district in Illinois. Matter then referred for rule to show cause hearing. Magistrate Judge recommended limited sanction to deter repeated conduct by plaintiffs' counsel or others similarly situated.

- *Frank v. Forest Cty.*, 336 F.3d 570 (7th Cir. 2003)

Seventh Circuit affirmed grant of summary judgment for the defendants in suit by an Indian tribe claiming that a county board of supervisors redistricted the county in a manner that violated the equal protection clause and VRA. (Supreme Court denied cert.).

- *Crawford v. Marion Cty. Election Bd.*, 553 U.S. 181 (2008)

Challenge to constitutionality of Indiana voter ID law. Judgment in favor of Marion County Election Board affirmed.

DOJ Actions

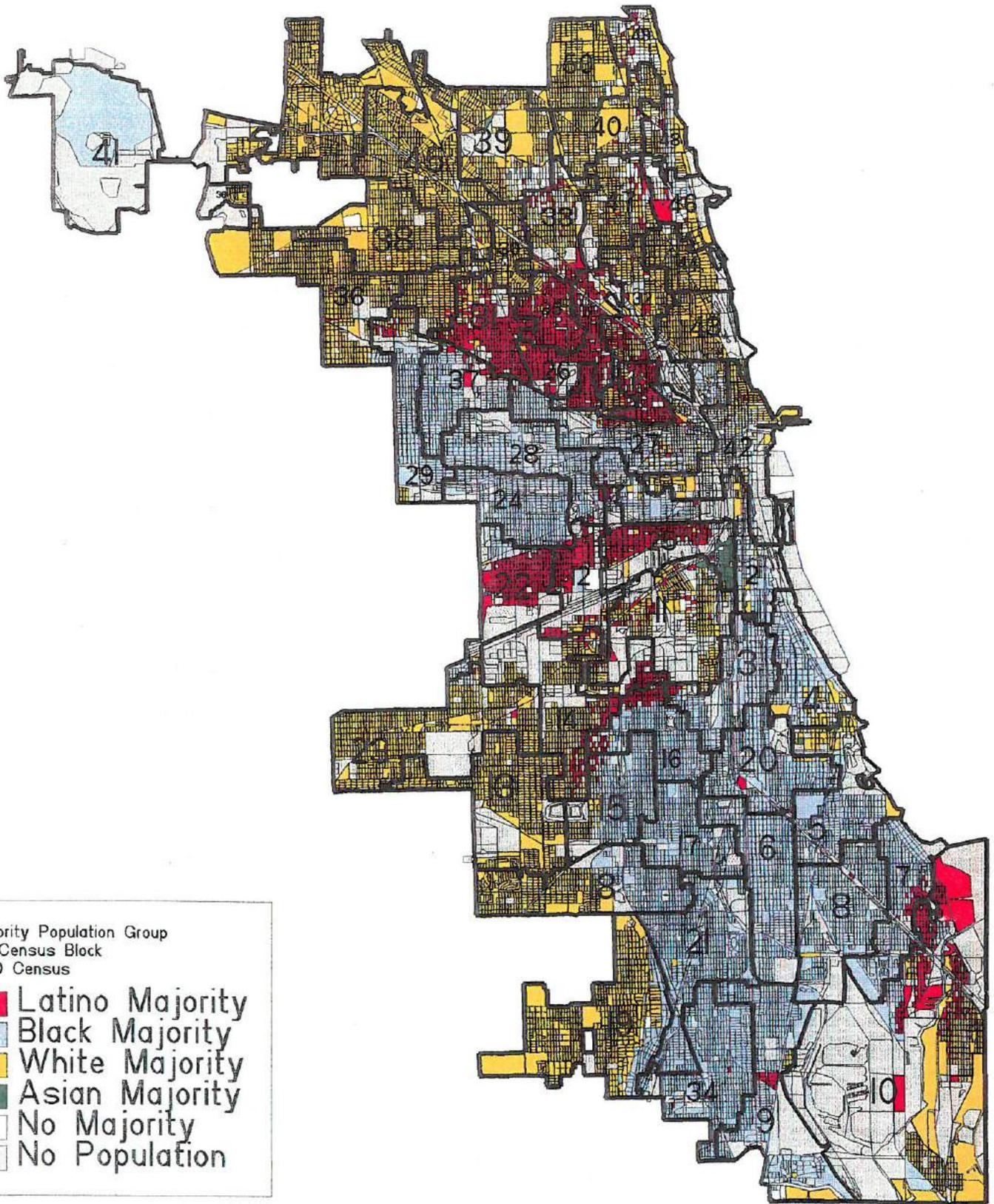
- *United States v. Town of Cicero, IL*, (N.D. Ill. 2000)

DOJ obtained TRO enjoining the Town of Cicero from placing a referendum on the ballot impacting residency requirements to run for mayor. Defendants allegedly had discriminatory purpose to exclude two Hispanic candidates from running for mayor in the 2001 municipal elections, in violation of the VRA, Section 2. Court entered a stipulated order authorizing the appointment of federal observers to monitor town elections through 2005.

- *United States v. Kane County, IL* (N.D. Ill 2007)

DOJ filed a complaint against Kane County alleging violations of Section 203 of the VRA for Hispanic voters. Appointment of federal observers ordered. Parties entered into Memorandum of Agreement to ensure compliance with Sections 203 and 208 of the VRA.

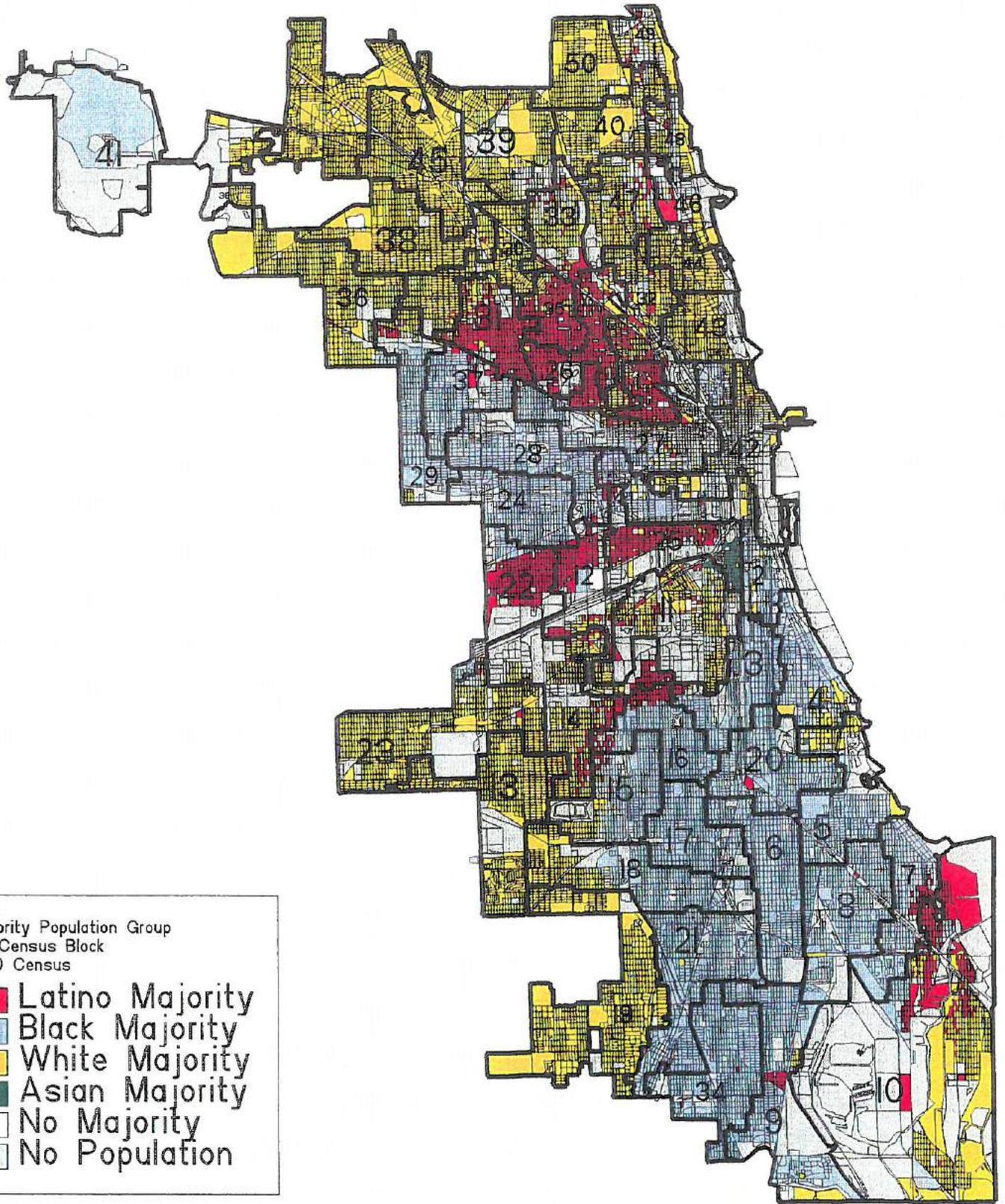
Map 1



POPULATION SUMMARY

W A R D	T O T A L	W H I T E	P C H A S E	A F R I C A N	P C E A S I C	L A T I N O	P C T I C I A N	A S I A N	P C I T I C I A N	T O T A L	W H I T E	P C T I C I A N	A F R I C A N	P C E A S I C	L A T I N O	P C T I C I A N	A S I A N	P C I T I C I A N
1	55616	12120	21.8	4571	8.2	38315	68.9	238	0.4	36674	10448	28.5	2663	7.3	23128	63.1	188	0.5
2	55687	7255	13.0	44567	80.0	1906	3.4	1824	3.3	38591	6832	17.7	28517	73.9	1525	4.0	1606	4.2
3	55680	785	1.4	51965	93.3	2733	4.9	101	0.2	33018	640	1.9	30613	92.7	1650	5.0	65	0.2
4	55622	9171	16.5	44104	79.3	792	1.4	1379	2.5	40832	8156	20.0	30754	75.3	617	1.5	1186	2.9
5	55616	9461	17.0	43695	78.6	734	1.3	1575	2.8	42508	8466	19.9	31941	75.1	582	1.4	1418	3.3
6	55678	287	0.5	54979	98.7	293	0.5	50	0.1	43234	249	0.6	42683	98.7	214	0.5	39	0.1
7	55620	2354	4.2	47707	85.8	5311	9.5	129	0.2	39612	2205	5.6	33823	85.4	3395	8.6	103	0.3
8	55669	706	1.3	54361	97.7	430	0.8	95	0.2	42847	670	1.6	41705	97.3	336	0.8	81	0.2
9	55640	1657	3.0	51491	92.5	2352	4.2	51	0.1	37260	1460	3.9	34350	92.2	1357	3.6	37	0.1
10	55653	24013	43.1	7355	13.2	24005	43.1	110	0.2	39534	19903	50.3	4597	11.6	14834	37.5	87	0.2
11	55697	32785	58.9	1899	3.4	15506	27.8	5296	9.5	40765	25620	63.3	1275	3.1	9550	23.4	3979	9.8
12	55637	10249	18.4	4419	7.9	40356	72.5	395	0.7	37104	8464	22.8	3903	10.5	24282	65.4	304	0.8
13	55633	48258	86.7	113	0.2	6706	12.1	452	0.8	43345	38584	89.0	88	0.2	4278	9.9	324	0.7
14	55651	34977	62.9	349	0.6	19461	35.0	693	1.2	40668	27956	68.7	202	0.5	11867	29.2	527	1.3
15	55659	8761	15.7	39527	71.0	6677	12.0	547	1.0	36930	7183	19.5	25280	68.5	3988	10.8	387	1.0
16	55675	4281	7.7	39333	70.6	11836	21.3	111	0.2	35091	3590	10.2	24376	69.5	6979	19.9	82	0.2
17	55658	550	1.0	54744	98.4	249	0.4	33	0.1	38405	509	1.3	37643	98.0	170	0.4	27	0.1
18	55686	23114	41.5	30840	55.4	1424	2.6	250	0.4	42051	18371	43.7	22553	53.6	900	2.1	189	0.4
19	55636	43876	78.9	10399	18.7	998	1.8	256	0.5	41187	33069	80.3	7261	17.6	613	1.5	181	0.4
20	55675	967	1.7	54150	97.3	274	0.5	206	0.4	38989	868	2.2	37699	96.7	183	0.5	176	0.5
21	55653	406	0.7	54934	98.7	188	0.3	46	0.1	41793	366	0.9	41197	98.6	129	0.3	38	0.1
22	55675	2957	5.3	9492	17.0	43038	77.3	48	0.1	34967	2584	7.4	6203	17.7	26048	74.5	42	0.1
23	55647	49223	88.5	1364	2.5	4466	8.0	519	0.9	45095	40641	90.1	977	2.2	3027	6.7	392	0.9
24	55662	361	0.6	54107	97.2	1120	2.0	17	0.0	36065	319	0.9	34985	97.0	706	2.0	14	0.0
25	55674	6581	11.8	1608	2.9	41487	74.5	5825	10.5	36845	5810	15.8	1167	3.2	25111	68.2	4638	12.6
26	55671	10638	19.1	6008	10.8	38117	68.5	651	1.2	36097	8876	24.6	3379	9.4	23187	64.2	509	1.4
27	55663	10648	19.1	39161	70.4	5370	9.6	359	0.6	38221	9878	25.8	24393	63.8	3533	9.2	329	0.9
28	55707	519	0.9	53513	96.1	1565	2.8	48	0.1	36367	411	1.1	34906	96.0	973	2.7	36	0.1
29	55696	8439	15.2	41061	73.7	5310	9.5	830	1.5	38583	6953	18.0	27557	71.4	3419	8.9	611	1.6
30	55732	43455	78.0	168	0.3	10134	18.2	1834	3.3	45062	36757	81.6	110	0.2	6723	14.9	1366	3.0
31	55692	14465	26.0	2025	3.6	38005	68.2	976	1.8	37453	11918	31.8	1192	3.2	23479	62.7	727	1.9
32	55725	32284	57.9	1800	3.2	19875	35.7	1404	2.5	43916	28298	64.4	1331	3.0	12891	29.4	1137	2.6
33	55714	27293	49.0	1241	2.2	19951	35.8	6881	12.4	40822	22055	54.0	712	1.7	12096	31.6	4943	12.1
34	55689	592	1.1	54568	98.0	433	0.8	44	0.1	39107	553	1.4	38183	97.6	309	0.8	28	0.1
35	55730	14751	26.5	3676	6.6	36259	65.1	846	1.5	38101	12599	33.1	2036	5.3	22717	59.6	615	1.6
36	55668	47138	84.7	2474	4.4	4602	8.3	1377	2.5	44953	39104	87.0	1678	3.7	3110	6.9	1010	2.2
37	55644	2432	4.4	46414	83.4	6150	11.1	540	1.0	36261	2069	5.7	30005	82.7	3707	10.2	421	1.2
38	55681	49291	88.5	280	0.5	4284	7.7	1746	3.1	45057	40605	90.1	171	0.4	2954	6.6	1277	2.8
39	55663	31877	57.3	868	1.6	10806	19.4	11814	21.2	42142	25616	60.8	536	1.3	7254	17.2	8539	20.3
40	55616	32541	58.5	3562	6.4	9768	17.6	9454	17.0	43719	27407	62.7	2340	5.4	6698	15.3	7079	16.2
41	55700	52570	94.4	327	0.6	1643	2.9	1097	2.0	46760	44334	94.8	302	0.6	1229	2.6	849	1.8
42	55646	45244	81.3	4772	8.6	2615	4.7	2898	5.2	52524	43295	82.4	4266	8.1	2252	4.3	2607	5.0
43	55701	49369	88.6	2841	5.1	2074	3.7	1302	2.3	51040	45732	89.6	2295	4.5	1746	3.4	1177	2.3
44	55709	45098	81.0	2703	4.9	5459	9.8	2270	4.1	51286	42579	83.0	2340	4.6	4211	8.2	2012	3.9
45	55698	50550	90.8	81	0.1	3014	5.4	1927	3.5	45804	42113	91.9	59	0.1	2145	4.7	1396	3.0
46	55728	26453	47.5	12759	22.9	10465	18.8	5527	9.9	45570	24686	54.2	9051	19.9	7260	15.9	4191	9.2
47	55727	33401	59.9	1888	3.4	15876	28.5	4060	7.3	44223	28588	64.6	1304	2.9	10847	24.5	3157	7.1
48	55717	26043	46.7	13360	24.0	8497	15.3	7401	13.3	46731	24011	51.4	10399	22.3	6058	13.0	5959	12.8
49	55731	25180	45.2	15217	27.3	10512	18.9	4485	8.0	44211	22892	51.8	10442	23.6	7140	16.1	3517	8.0
50	55679	40622	73.0	1631	2.9	4411	7.9	8760	15.7	43602	32913	75.5	1118	2.6	3100	7.1	6308	14.5
		2783726	1056048	1074471	545852	98777	2061022	897405	736560	345307	75910							

Map 2



POPULATION SUMMARY

W A R D	T O T A L	W H I T E	P R O P O R T I O N	A F R I C A N	P R O P O R T I O N	L A T I N O	P R O P O R T I O N	A S I A N	P R O P O R T I O N	T O T A L	W H I T E	P R O P O R T I O N	A F R I C A N	P R O P O R T I O N	L A T I N O	P R O P O R T I O N	A S I A N	P R O P O R T I O N	
1	55616	12120	21.8	4571	8.2	38315	68.9	238	0.4	36674	10448	28.5	2663	7.3	23128	63.1	188	0.5	
2	55687	7255	13.0	44567	80.0	1906	3.4	1824	3.3	38591	6832	17.7	28517	73.9	1525	4.0	1606	4.2	
3	55680	785	1.4	51965	93.3	2733	4.9	101	0.2	33018	640	1.9	30613	92.7	1650	5.0	65	0.2	
4	55622	9171	16.5	44104	79.3	792	1.4	1379	2.5	40832	8156	20.0	30754	75.3	617	1.5	1186	2.9	
5	55616	9461	17.0	43695	78.6	734	1.3	1575	2.8	42508	8466	19.9	31941	75.1	582	1.4	1418	3.3	
6	55678	287	0.5	54979	98.7	293	0.5	50	0.1	43234	249	0.6	42683	98.7	214	0.5	39	0.1	
7	55620	2354	4.2	47707	85.8	5311	9.5	129	0.2	39612	2205	5.6	33823	85.4	3395	8.6	103	0.3	
8	55669	706	1.3	54361	97.7	430	0.8	95	0.2	42847	670	1.6	41705	97.3	336	0.8	81	0.2	
9	55640	1657	3.0	51491	92.5	2352	4.2	51	0.1	37260	1460	3.9	34350	92.2	1357	3.6	37	0.1	
10	55653	24013	43.1	7355	13.2	24005	43.1	110	0.2	39534	19903	50.3	4597	11.6	14834	37.5	87	0.2	
11	55697	32785	58.9	1899	3.4	15506	27.8	5296	9.5	40765	25820	63.3	1275	3.1	9550	23.4	3979	9.8	
12	55637	10249	18.4	4419	7.9	40356	72.5	395	0.7	37104	8464	22.8	3903	10.5	24282	65.4	304	0.8	
13	55619	49403	88.8	105	0.2	5594	10.1	415	0.7	43735	39717	90.8	80	0.2	3569	8.2	295	0.7	
14	55651	34977	62.9	349	0.6	19461	35.0	693	1.2	40668	27956	68.7	202	0.5	11867	29.2	527	1.3	
15	55686	9173	16.5	39984	70.0	6831	12.3	550	1.0	37008	7513	20.3	24917	67.3	4093	11.1	391	1.1	
16	55675	4281	7.7	39333	70.6	11836	21.3	111	0.2	35091	3590	10.2	24376	69.5	6979	19.9	82	0.2	
17	55713	551	1.0	54799	98.4	245	0.4	33	0.1	38428	510	1.3	37666	98.0	169	0.4	27	0.1	
18	55657	14496	26.0	38885	69.9	1987	3.6	232	0.4	41279	11358	27.5	28439	68.9	1281	3.1	165	0.4	
19	55602	49685	89.4	4240	7.6	1297	2.3	286	0.5	41615	37587	90.3	2981	7.2	775	1.9	214	0.5	
20	55675	967	1.7	54150	97.3	274	0.5	206	0.4	38989	868	2.2	37699	96.7	183	0.5	176	0.5	
21	55648	1657	3.0	53544	96.2	288	0.5	68	0.1	41646	1397	3.4	39939	95.9	191	0.5	54	0.1	
22	55675	2957	5.3	9492	17.0	43038	77.3	48	0.1	34967	2584	7.4	6203	17.7	26048	74.5	42	0.1	
23	55647	49223	88.5	1364	2.5	4466	8.0	519	0.9	45095	40641	90.1	977	2.2	3027	6.7	392	0.9	
24	55662	361	0.6	54107	97.2	1120	2.0	17	0.0	36065	319	0.9	34985	97.0	706	2.0	14	0.0	
25	55674	6581	11.8	1608	2.9	41487	74.5	5825	10.5	36845	5810	15.8	1167	3.2	25111	68.2	4638	12.6	
26	55671	10638	19.1	6008	10.8	38117	68.5	651	1.2	36097	8876	24.6	3379	9.4	23187	64.2	509	1.4	
27	55663	10648	19.1	39161	70.4	5370	9.6	359	0.6	38221	9878	25.8	24393	63.8	3533	9.2	329	0.9	
28	55707	519	0.9	53513	96.1	1565	2.8	48	0.1	36367	411	1.1	34906	96.0	973	2.7	36	0.1	
29	55696	8439	15.2	41061	73.7	5310	9.5	830	1.5	38583	6953	18.0	27557	71.4	3419	8.9	611	1.6	
30	55732	43455	78.0	168	0.3	10134	18.2	1834	3.3	45062	36757	81.6	110	0.2	6723	14.9	1366	3.0	
31	55692	14465	26.0	2025	3.6	38005	68.2	976	1.8	37453	11918	31.8	1192	3.2	23479	62.7	727	1.9	
32	55725	32284	57.9	1800	3.2	19875	35.7	1404	2.5	43916	28298	64.4	1331	3.0	12891	29.4	1137	2.6	
33	55714	27293	49.0	1241	2.2	19951	35.8	6881	12.4	40822	22055	54.0	712	1.7	12896	31.6	4943	12.1	
34	55689	592	1.1	54568	98.0	433	0.8	44	0.1	39107	553	1.4	38183	97.6	309	0.8	28	0.1	
35	55730	14751	26.5	3676	6.6	36259	65.1	846	1.5	38101	12599	33.1	2036	5.3	22717	59.6	615	1.6	
36	55668	47138	84.7	2474	4.4	4602	8.3	1377	2.5	44953	39104	87.0	1678	3.7	3110	6.9	1010	2.2	
37	55644	2432	4.4	46414	83.4	6150	11.1	540	1.0	36261	2069	5.7	30005	82.7	3707	10.2	421	1.2	
38	55681	49291	88.5	280	0.5	4284	7.7	1746	3.1	45057	40605	90.1	171	0.4	2954	6.6	1277	2.8	
39	55663	31877	57.3	868	1.6	10806	19.4	11814	21.2	42142	25616	60.8	536	1.3	7254	17.2	8539	20.3	
40	55616	32541	58.5	3562	6.4	9768	17.6	9454	17.0	43719	27407	62.7	2340	5.4	6698	15.3	7079	16.2	
41	55700	52570	94.4	327	0.6	1643	2.9	1097	2.0	46760	44334	94.8	302	0.6	1229	2.6	849	1.8	
42	55646	45244	81.3	4772	8.6	2615	4.7	2898	5.2	52524	43295	82.4	4266	8.1	2252	4.3	2607	5.0	
43	55701	49369	88.6	2841	5.1	2074	3.7	1302	2.3	51040	45732	89.6	2295	4.5	1746	3.4	1177	2.3	
44	55709	45098	81.0	2703	4.9	5459	9.8	2270	4.1	51286	42579	83.0	2340	4.6	4211	8.2	2012	3.9	
45	55698	50550	90.8	81	0.1	3014	5.4	1927	3.5	45804	42113	91.9	59	0.1	2145	4.7	1396	3.0	
46	55728	26453	47.5	12759	22.9	10465	18.8	5527	9.9	45570	24686	54.2	9051	19.9	7260	15.9	4191	9.2	
47	55727	33401	59.9	1888	3.4	15876	28.5	4060	7.3	44223	28588	64.6	1304	2.9	10847	24.5	3157	7.1	
48	55717	26043	46.7	13360	24.0	8497	15.3	7401	13.3	46731	24011	51.4	10399	22.3	6058	13.0	5959	12.8	
49	55731	25180	45.2	15217	27.3	10512	18.9	4485	8.0	44211	22892	51.8	10442	23.6	7140	16.1	3517	8.0	
50	55679	40622	73.0	1631	2.9	4411	7.9	8760	15.7	43602	32913	75.5	1118	2.6	3100	7.1	6308	14.5	
		2783726	1056048	1074471	545852	98777	2061022	897405	736560	345307	75910								

Ward Remap Referendum: March 1992

