## Congressional Apportionment Bringing Down the House

Charles Biles, Ph.D.
Mathematics 103i: Contemporary Mathematics
Humboldt State University
Fall Semester 2017
website: nia977.wix.com/drbcap
"... no political problem is less susceptible of a precise solution than that which relates to the number most convenient for a representative legislature, ..."

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## The Apportionment Problem

Determine how many seats in the U.S. House of Representatives each state gets.


## Apportionment History

Last time we looked at the first two periods of congressional apportionment history.


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The Basic Divisor Method: 1790-1840.

The Quota Method: 1850-1900.

## 1910

Apportionment based on the 1910 census came from another mutation in apportionment methodology.

Congress abandoned the Quota Method and used a modified divisor method.

## Modified Divisor Methods

Step 1. Select the House size, $h$.
Step 2. Apply a Basic Divisor Method to obtain $h$ seats.

1910: $h=433$ and Webster's method.
Any divisor between 711873 and 711882 , inclusively, will work.

## 1920 Census

In the 1920 decade, for the only time in U. S. History, no census-based re-apportionment act was passed.

Congress could not agree on either the size of the House or on the method of apportionment. Further, the politics of prohibition played a significant role: the dries would not support any proposal that gave the wets more power.

## Today

The current method consists of the Census Act of 1929 (which froze $h=435$ ) and a 1941 amendment that specifies the apportionment method of

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The Huntington-Hill method is a divisor method:
Let $q=p / d$ and $n=\operatorname{int}(q)$.
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Criterion: $a=n+1$ iff $\frac{d}{\left(\frac{p}{n+1}\right)} \leq \frac{\left(\frac{p}{n}\right)}{d}$

## Huntington-Hill

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## The Aftermath

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There are no perfect apportionment methods.

Any method that satisfies the quota rule produces paradoxes; any method that is free of the Alabama paradox may violate the quota rule.

## They Mean Well

A modified divisor method first fixes the House size, then seeks a divisor that when the state's quotients are rounded and summed, the house size is achieved.

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## Montana

In the 1990 apportionment Montana lost one of its two seats it held for 80 years. In 1991 MT filed suit in federal district court (MT vs. US Dept Commerce).

MT argued the H-H method is unconstitutional and that either Dean's or Adams's method should be used. The federal judges voted 2-1 in favor of MT.

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## Today

# Today the Census Bureau obtains apportionments using a priority technique of calculation rather than an ad-hoc technique of calculation. 

Census Bureau video 2:09 minutes. The Amazing Apportionment Machine

## Apportionment by Priority

Step 1. Give one seat to each state.
Step 2. Attach a priority number to each state.
Step 3. Award seats one at a time by priority until the desired House size is reached.

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$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Priority number } \\
\text { for a state with } \\
n \text { seats }
\end{gathered}=\frac{\text { state population }}{\text { ave }(n, n+1)}
$$

## Priority Numbers

| Census $\mathbf{1 7 9 0}$ |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| State | Population | Seats |
| Connecticut | 236841 | 1 |
| Delaware | 55540 | 1 |
| Georgia | 70835 | 1 |
| Kentucky | 68705 | 1 |
| Maryland | 278514 | 1 |
| Massachusetts | 475327 | 1 |
| New Hampshire | 141822 | 1 |
| New Jersey | 179570 | 1 |
| New York | 331589 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 353523 | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 432879 | 1 |
| Rhode Island | 68446 | 1 |
| South Carolina | 206236 | 1 |
| Vermont | 85533 | 1 |
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> Huntington - Hill
> $\operatorname{PN}(1)=p / \sqrt{1 \times 2}=p / \sqrt{2}$

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> $\operatorname{PN}(1)=p / \sqrt{1 \times 2}=p / \sqrt{2}$
> $\operatorname{PN}(2)=p / \sqrt{2 \times 3}=p / \sqrt{6}$

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| State | Population | Seats |
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$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Huntington - Hill } \\
\operatorname{PN}(1)=p / \sqrt{1 \times 2}=p / \sqrt{2} \\
\operatorname{PN}(2)=p / \sqrt{2 \times 3}=p / \sqrt{6} \\
\operatorname{PN}(3)=p / \sqrt{3 \times 4}=p / \sqrt{12}
\end{gathered}
$$

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\operatorname{PN}(3)=p / \sqrt{3 \times 4}=p / \sqrt{12} \\
\operatorname{PN}(4)=p / \sqrt{4 \times 5}=p / \sqrt{20}
\end{gathered}
$$

## Priority Numbers

| Census 1790 |  |  | Priority Numbers H-H |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| State | Population | Seats | 1 seat | 2 seats | 3 seats | 4 seats |
| Connecticut | 236841 | 1 | 167471 | 96689 | 68370 | 52959 |
| Delaware | 55540 | 1 | 39272 | 22674 | 16033 | 12419 |
| Georgia | 70835 | 1 | 50087 | 28918 | 20448 | 15839 |
| Kentucky | 68705 | 1 | 48581 | 28048 | 19833 | 15362 |
| Maryland | 278514 | 1 | 196939 | 113702 | 80400 | 62277 |
| Massachusetts | 475327 | 1 | 336106 | 194051 | 137215 | 106286 |
| New Hampshire | 141822 | 1 | 100283 | 57898 | 40940 | 31712 |
| New Jersey | 179570 | 1 | 126975 | 73309 | 51837 | 40153 |
| New York | 331589 | 1 | 234468 | 135370 | 95721 | 74145 |
| North Carolina | 353523 | 1 | 249978 | 144325 | 102053 | 79050 |
| Pennsylvania | 432879 | 1 | 306091 | 176722 | 124961 | 96794 |
| Rhode Island | 68446 | 1 | 48398 | 27942 | 19758 | 15304 |
| South Carolina | 206236 | 1 | 145830 | 84195 | 59535 | 46115 |
| Vermont | 85533 | 1 | 60480 | 34918 | 24691 | 19125 |
| Virginia | 630560 | 1 | 445873 | 257425 | 182026 | 140997 |
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|  | Vermont | 85533 | 1 | 60480 | 34918 | 24691 | 19125 |
|  | Virginia | 630560 | 3 |  | 257425 | 182026 | 140997 |
|  | US | 3615920 | 19 |  |  |  |  |

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|  | Maryland | 278514 | 2 | 196939 | 113702 | 80400 | 62277 |
| NC 2 | Massachusetts | 475327 | 2 |  | 194051 | 137215 | 106286 |
| 21 NY 2 | New Hampshire | 141822 | 1 | 100283 | 57898 | 40940 | 31712 |
| 22 MD 2 | New Jersey | 179570 | 1 | 126975 | 73309 | 51837 | 40153 |
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|  | Vermont | 85533 | 1 | 60480 | 34918 | 24691 | 19125 |
|  | Virginia | 630560 | 3 |  |  | 182026 | 140997 |
|  | US | 3615920 | 22 |  |  |  |  |

## Priority Numbers

|  | Census 1790 |  | Seats | Priority Numbers H-H |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | State | Population |  | 1 seat | 2 seats | 3 seats | 4 seats |
| 16 VA 2 | Connecticut | 236841 | 1 | 167471 | 96689 | 68370 | 52959 |
| 17 MA 2 | Delaware | 55540 | 1 | 39272 | 22674 | 16033 | 12419 |
| 18 PA 2 | Georgia | 70835 | 1 | 50087 | 28918 | 20448 | 15839 |
| 19 VA 3 | Kentucky | 68705 | 1 | 48581 | 28048 | 19833 | 15362 |
|  | Maryland | 278514 | 2 |  | 113702 | 80400 | 62277 |
|  | Massachusetts | 475327 | 2 |  | 194051 | 137215 | 106286 |
| 21 NY 2 | New Hampshire | 141822 | 1 | 100283 | 57898 | 40940 | 31712 |
| 22 MD 2 | New Jersey | 179570 | 1 | 126975 | 73309 | 51837 | 40153 |
|  | New York | 331589 | 2 |  | 135370 | 95721 | 74145 |
|  | North Carolina | 353523 | 2 |  | 144325 | 102053 | 79050 |
|  | Pennsylvania | 432879 | 2 |  | 176722 | 124961 | 96794 |
|  | Rhode Island | 68446 | 1 | 48398 | 27942 | 19758 | 15304 |
|  | South Carolina | 206236 | 1 | 145830 | 84195 | 59535 | 46115 |
|  | Vermont | 85533 | 1 | 60480 | 34918 | 24691 | 19125 |
|  | Virginia | 630560 | 3 |  |  | 182026 | 140997 |
|  | US | 3615920 | 22 |  | Who's | next? |  |

## Five Averages

## ave

- Greatest Divisors max
- Harmonic Mean HM
- Equal Proportions GM
- Major Fractions AM
- Smallest Divisors min


## The Last Seat

## Who got the $435^{\text {th }}$ seat?

ave 435

- Greatest Divisors max IL
- Harmonic Mean HM MN
- Equal Proportions GM MN
- Major Fractions AM NC
- Smallest Divisors min WA


## The Last Seat

Who gets the $436^{\text {th }}$ seat?
ave $435 \quad 436$

- Greatest Divisors max IL WA
- Harmonic Means HM MN CA
- Equal Proportions GM MN NC
- Major Fractions AM NC MO
- Smallest Divisors min WA PA


## The Last Seat

Who gets the $436^{\text {th }}$ seat?

$$
\text { ave } 435 \quad 436
$$

- Greatest Divisors max IL WA
- Harmonic Means HM MN CA
- Equal Proportions GM MN NC
- Major Fractions AM NC MO
- Smallest Divisors min WA PA


## The Future: Reform?

## Four Proposals:

## The Future: Reform?

## Four Proposals:

- Thirty-thousand.org
- The Wyoming Rule
- Neubauer and Gartner
- Current method with rounding by Webster's Method.


## thirty-thousand.org

Here's an example of a concerned group:
http://www.thirty-thousand.org/

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Comment: This leads to a House with 10283 (10306) representatives.

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Comment: This leads to a House with 10283 (10306) representatives.

Jefferson basic divisor method.
CA: 1244 seats!

## thirty-thousand.org

Here's an example of a concerned group:

## http://www.thirty-thousand.org/

Thirty-thousand.org advocates 50000/representative.
This leads to a House with 6181 representatives using Webster's method of rounding.

California gets 747 seats.

## The Wyoming Rule

The Wyoming Rule is a basic divisor method in which the divisor is the population of the least populous state (currently WY; hence, the name).
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wyoming Rule
http://www.outsidethebeltway.com/representation-in-the-house-the-wyoming-rule/

## The Wyoming Rule

Here are the results of applying the WY Rule to the 2000 and 2010 censuses.

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2000 smallest state: WY, 493782.
$h=569$ Huntington-Hill

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2000 smallest state: WY, 493782.
$h=569$ Huntington-Hill
2010 smallest state: WY, 563626
$h=543$ Dean HI
$h=542$ Huntington-Hill
$h=540$ Webster NJ, SD

## A Proposal

A Proposal for Apportioning the House
Michael G. Neubauer, CSU Northridge, Mathematics Margo G. (Gartner) Carr, Cerro Coso Community College
...the problem of finding a "good" house size and "right" apportionment method are best considered together.

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Definition. A House size is agreeable means that the apportionments by the methods of Hamilton, Dean, Huntington-Hill, and Webster all agree.

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Source: PSC 44(1), January 2011: 1—3.

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Source: PSC 44(1), January 2011: 1—3.

## Webster's Method

The simplest reform would be to replace the geometric mean of decimal rounding in the Huntington-Hill method by the arithmetic mean of decimal rounding in Webster's method.

## Webster's Method

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The research of Balinski and Young has produced the following two key results. Since the Alabama paradox is a deal-breaker, then congressional apportionment must be based on a divisor method. Further, Webster's is the only rounding method that is unbiased towards either larger or smaller states.

Charles M. Biles, Ph.D.
Congressional
Apportionment
HONE
віо
RESOURCES
CONTACT
Constitutional Congregressional Apportionment Problem
How many seats in the U. S. House of Representatives does each stateger?
An answer is presented as an historical narrative with relevant and timely applications in an upcoming book, The History of Congressional Apportionment.

Chapter 1. Congressional Apportionment Based on the Census: 1790.
Chapter 2. Congressional Apportionment Based on the Census: 1800-1840.
Chapter 3. Congressional Apportionment Based on the Census: 1850-1890.
Chapter 4. Congressional Apportionment Based on the Census: 1900-1930.
Chapter 5. Congressional Apportionment Based on the Census: 1940-2010.
Chapter 6. An Historical Overture.


UNDER CONSTRUCTION
Charles Biles
Theriistory of Congressional Apportionment
HSU PTess
Last update: 13 June 2017.
Cover Graphic courtesy of The West Virginia Record

## Thank You

It is time that I took my seat in this House!
http://www.nia977.wix.com/drbcap

## Bonus Resources

## Related Problems

Other problems related to apportionment include:

One Voter, One Vote: The Apportionment of Congressional Seats Reconsidered Author(s): Howard A. Scarrow
Source: Polity, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Winter, 1989), pp. 253-268
Published by: Palgrave Macmillan Journals
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3234834 .

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## Gerrymandering


http://www.nationalatlas.gov/printable/congress.html\#al

## Gerrymandering



## Gerrymandering

| $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ |
| $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ |
| $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ | $\bullet$ |  |  |

Apportion into five districts.

## Gerrymandering

## $\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \quad 0$ $\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$ <br> $\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \quad 0$ <br> 

## Gerrymandering



## Gerrymandering

$$
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\hline
\end{array}
$$

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## Related Problems

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$>$ Voting: the mechanism of voting.

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## US History

For any serious research of U.S. history, one must know about the Journals of Congress which includes the House Journal and the Senate Journal:
http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwhj.html

## Apportionment Problems

On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the $\mathrm{H}-\mathrm{H}$ method was constitutional. The district court's decision was overturned.
http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/91-860.ZS.html
http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US\&vol=503\&invol=442

## Washington's Veto

United States [Philadelphia] April 51792.

## Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

I have maturely considered the Act passed by the two Houses, intitled, "An Act for an apportionment of Representatives among the several States according to the first enumeration," and I return it to your House, wherein it originated, with the following objections.

First-The Constitution has prescribed that representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers: and there is no one proportion or divisor which, applied to the respective numbers of the States will yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the Bill.

Second-The Constitution has also provided that the number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction is, by the context, and by fair and obvious construction, to be applied to the seperate and respective numbers of the States: and the bill has allotted to eight of the States, more than one for thirty thousand.

George Washington.

## First Apportionment

## Act

> Chap. XXIII.-An Jet for apportioning Representatives among the several States, according to the first enumeration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the third day of March one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, the House of Representatives shall be composed of members elected agreeably to a ratio of one member for every thirty-three thousand persons in each state, computed according to the rule prescribed by the constitution; that is to say: Within the state of New Hampshire, four; within the state of Massachussetts, fourteen; within the state of Vermont, two; within the state of Rhode Island, two; within the state of Connecticut, seven; within the state of New York, ten; within the state of New Jersey, five; within the state of Pennsylvania, thirteen; within the state of Delaware, one; within the state of Maryland, eight; within the state of Virginia, nineteen; within the state of Kentucky, two; within the state of North Carolina, ten; within the state of South Carolina, six; and within the state of Georgia, two members.

Approved, April 14, 1792.

## 1790: Why 33000?

| State | Population | 30000 | 31000 | 32000 | 33000 | 34000 | 35000 | 36000 | 37000 | 38000 | 39000 | 40000 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CN | 236841 | 0.8947 | 0.6400 | 0.4013 | 0.1770 | 0.9659 | 0.7669 | 0.5789 | 0.4011 | 0.2327 | 0.0728 | 0.9210 |
| DE | 55540 | 0.8513 | 0.7916 | 0.7356 | 0.6830 | 0.6335 | 0.5869 | 0.5428 | 0.5011 | 0.4616 | 0.4241 | 0.3885 |
| GA | 70835 | 0.3612 | 0.2850 | 0.2136 | 0.1465 | 0.0834 | 0.0239 | 0.9676 | 0.9145 | 0.8641 | 0.8163 | 0.7709 |
| KY | 68705 | 0.2902 | 0.2163 | 0.1470 | 0.0820 | 0.0207 | 0.9630 | 0.9085 | 0.8569 | 0.8080 | 0.7617 | 0.7176 |
| MD | 278514 | 0.2838 | 0.9843 | 0.7036 | 0.4398 | 0.1916 | 0.9575 | 0.7365 | 0.5274 | 0.3293 | 0.1414 | 0.9629 |
| MA | 475327 | 0.8442 | 0.3331 | 0.8540 | 0.4038 | 0.9802 | 0.5808 | 0.2035 | 0.8467 | 0.5086 | 0.1879 | 0.8832 |
| NH | 141822 | 0.7274 | 0.5749 | 0.4319 | 0.2976 | 0.1712 | 0.0521 | 0.9395 | 0.8330 | 0.7322 | 0.6365 | 0.5456 |
| NJ | 179570 | 0.9857 | 0.7926 | 0.6116 | 0.4415 | 0.2815 | 0.1306 | 0.9881 | 0.8532 | 0.7255 | 0.6044 | 0.4893 |
| NY | 331589 | 0.0530 | 0.6964 | 0.3622 | 0.0482 | 0.7526 | 0.4740 | 0.2108 | 0.9619 | 0.7260 | 0.5023 | 0.2897 |
| NC | 353523 | 0.7841 | 0.4040 | 0.0476 | 0.7128 | 0.3977 | 0.1007 | 0.8201 | 0.5547 | 0.3032 | 0.0647 | 0.8381 |
| PA | 432879 | 0.4293 | 0.9638 | 0.5275 | 0.1175 | 0.7317 | 0.3680 | 0.0244 | 0.6994 | 0.3916 | 0.0995 | 0.8220 |
| RI | 68446 | 0.2815 | 0.2079 | 0.1389 | 0.0741 | 0.0131 | 0.9556 | 0.9013 | 0.8499 | 0.8012 | 0.7550 | 0.7112 |
| SC | 206236 | 0.8745 | 0.6528 | 0.4449 | 0.2496 | 0.0658 | 0.8925 | 0.7288 | 0.5739 | 0.4273 | 0.2881 | 0.1559 |
| VT | 85533 | 0.8511 | 0.7591 | 0.6729 | 0.5919 | 0.5157 | 0.4438 | 0.3759 | 0.3117 | 0.2509 | 0.1932 | 0.1383 |
| VA | 630560 | 0.0187 | 0.3406 | 0.7050 | 0.1079 | 0.5459 | 0.0160 | 0.5156 | 0.0422 | 0.5937 | 0.1682 | 0.7640 |
| US | 3615920 | 8.5307 | 8.6426 | 6.9975 | 4.5733 | 6.3506 | 7.3120 | 9.4422 | 9.7276 | 8.1558 | 5.7159 | 9.3980 |
|  | Unrepresen | 255920 | 267920 | 223920 | 150920 | 215920 | 255920 | 339920 | 359920 | 309920 | 222920 | 375920 |

## Alabama Paradox

How is this possible?

| State | House $\mathbf{2 9 9}$ | House $\mathbf{3 0 0}$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| AL | 7.646 | 7.671 |
| TX | 9.640 | 9.672 |
| IL | 18.640 | 18.702 |

With the House size at 299, Alabama was the last state to be allotted an extra representative to make the House size because of it's decimal. When the House size was increased to 300, all states' quotas were increased by $0.33 \%$. And there were two states that got the extra representatives; and, this time, Texas and Illinois beat out Alabama.

## US Census Bureau

The U.S. Census Bureau is housed within the Department of Commerce.

Check out the U.S. Census Bureau for what it says about apportionment.
http://www.census.gov/

Summary 7-page brochure:
http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-08.pdf

History of Legislation:
http://www.census.gov/history/www/reference/apportionment/apportion ment legislation 1790 - 1830.html

## More!

For playing around, learning or teaching:
http://www.cut-the-knot.org/ctk/Democracy.shtml

