

Redistricting Roadmap to 2032

A RESOURCE *for* FUNDERS

Year-by-year priorities,
milestones, and funding
needs for nonpartisan,
community-centered
redistricting that advances
equity for communities
of color and other
underrepresented groups



**FAIR
REPRESENTATION IN
REDISTRICTING**

A Funder Collaborative for Fair Districts



A staff member from One Voice and Gulfport, Mississippi Councilwomen Ella Hines following adoption of new ward maps for the city of Gulfport. *Provided by One Voice*

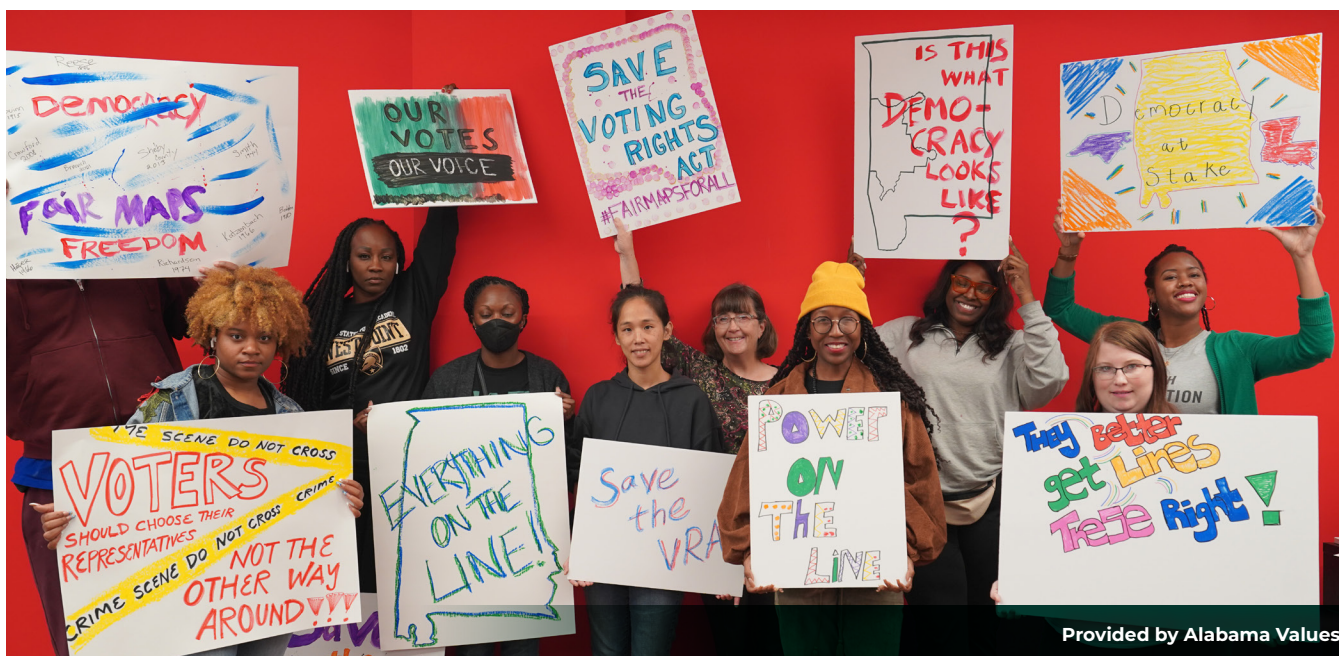
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Fair Representation in Redistricting expects that this roadmap will continue to evolve over the coming years, and we plan to release future iterations of the roadmap, including an interactive website. We welcome your feedback as we continue to build this work together!

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Stakeholders from across the South convene to discuss redistricting reform. Provided by Southern Coalition for Social Justice



About Fair Representation in Redistricting

FAIR REPRESENTATION IN REDISTRICTING (FRR) is a funder collaborative working to transform redistricting into a nonpartisan, non-political, community-based activity. FRR seeks to protect and expand the ability of communities of color and other historically underrepresented groups to secure district maps that fairly represent their communities.

Advised by the Redistricting Advisory Committee, a group of 15 foundations, FRR offers funders strategic guidance on direct grantmaking for redistricting and maintains a pooled fund to support groups in the states. FRR also provides technical support, network-building, and convening opportunities for state groups working on redistricting, and houses the [Redistricting Data Hub](#), a free, publicly available resource that allows state groups, academics, journalists, and more to access the complex, often difficult-to-find data required for creating and analyzing district maps.

Roadmap Methodology

THIS REDISTRICTING ROADMAP TO 2032 was developed by FRR based on input from state-based advocates, national groups, and redistricting leaders. This includes:

- Virtual focus groups with ten state leaders to hear directly about lessons learned, useful tools, and successful strategies from the 2021 - 2022 redistricting cycle.
- An in-person convening with approximately 80 grassroots leaders to discuss redistricting reform, integration of census and redistricting activities, and future strategies (in collaboration with the Southern Coalition for Social Justice).
- A strategy workshop with 20 redistricting leaders from across the country for deeper conversation on key areas including organizing, communications, data, and litigation.

Introduction

Why Redistricting?

REDISTRICTING, THE TEN-YEAR CYCLE of reviewing, revising, implementing, and evaluating political district maps, is a core civic process that shapes communities' political power and ability to have a voice in decisions that impact their lives. When communities are able to exercise that power and choose accountable representatives — in Congress, their state legislatures, and local bodies like city councils and school boards — they are better able to secure policies and resources that reflect community priorities on issues like education, health care, economic development, infrastructure, the environment, reproductive rights, gun control, and more.

Our democracy has long struggled with gerrymandering, where those in power seize control of redistricting to create maps that benefit a specific political party or protect incumbents. Worse, gerrymandering often targets communities of color and other underrepresented groups, seeking to dilute their voting power and deny them the chance to elect representatives who push for the changes these communities want. Further, the current legal and policy environment is increasingly hostile to efforts to put

communities, not politicians, in charge of redistricting, and to ensure that communities of color are able to secure fair maps. With the long and rapidly growing history of resistance to fair and representative government at the federal level, building community power is more important than ever.

FRR's state grantee partners have shown us that redistricting is an ongoing, evergreen effort, not a once-a-decade push following the decennial census. During these mid-cycle years (2025 - 2026), there is critical work to be done — and the funder community has an important role to play. Supporting redistricting as a nonpartisan, community-centered activity is permissible for private foundations and other funders (see [here](#) and [here](#)). Accessible, equitable redistricting is good for our democracy, as it encourages civic participation and creates opportunities to build community power and strengthen multiracial coalitions. And fair district maps can help advance other programmatic goals of many foundations, including place-based and issue-based funders, by supporting policies that more accurately reflect community needs and priorities on such topics as climate, education, health care, and public safety.

Threats

REDISTRICTING ADVOCATES ARE currently facing a sobering threat landscape, including:

- **Increasingly hostile courts and legal landscape.** Ongoing efforts to undermine the Voting Rights Act and to blur the line between partisan and racial gerrymandering continue to arise in a federal court environment that is increasingly unsympathetic to racial gerrymandering claims and to race-conscious remedies generally.
- **Anti-immigrant threats to a fair census.** Escalation of anti-immigrant rhetoric has been an accelerant for attempts to add an immigration or citizenship status question to the census, a tactic designed to intimidate immigrant communities and dramatically reduce their participation in the census. Past Census Bureau research shows that including such a question would reduce response rates to the census and negatively impact the quality of the population data used in redistricting.
- **Exclusion of noncitizens in congressional, state, and local redistricting.** Those aiming to retain power seek to exclude growing communities of color by challenging birthright citizenship and excluding noncitizens when equalizing districts during redistricting. Using citizen-only population counts skews representation and harms communities with large immigrant populations.
- **Cyclical, siloed funding.** The cyclical nature of redistricting — a big push once every ten years, with a smaller volume of critical ongoing work throughout the decade — means that organizations sometimes struggle to secure the consistent funding needed to retain staff and organizational knowledge. And while practitioners often approach redistricting as part of an integrated civic engagement program that includes census, voter education, and election protection, funders sometimes support only one part of the process, creating gaps and reducing groups' efficiency and effectiveness.



Thousands of North Carolinians marched for a strong democracy as part of the North Carolina NAACP's Moral March. Mollie McClure Images

Opportunities: Key Areas of Work

COMMUNITY-CENTERED
redistricting encompasses a variety of work that funders can support:

1. Reform

The second half of the decade marks the opportunity to plan for and enact structural policy reforms that are responsive to community-driven campaigns for fair representation. Opportunities will vary by state and locality, and may include establishing independent redistricting commissions, ending [prison gerrymandering](#), passing state-level voting rights acts, adopting electoral systems change, or codifying better redistricting processes. The opportunity window for planning and achieving significant reforms runs largely from 2025 to 2028, allowing enough time to successfully implement changes before the 2031 - 2032 redistricting cycle. Focusing on these efforts mid-decade allows advocates to strategize and engage with communities without the heightened partisan pressure and visibility that come closer to the next cycle. We also anticipate a need to push back in some states against regressive proposals that would diminish community involvement in the redistricting process and threaten fair representation.

2. Legal

Litigation following the 2021 - 2022 cycle — including pending congressional and state-level redistricting lawsuits, newer county and municipal-level cases, and legal defense of total population count for the apportionment basis — along with related state-based

organizing and communications efforts, is critical for protecting fair representation of underrepresented communities. Advocates have achieved some significant legal victories despite a more challenging environment in the courts. A number of redistricting cases are still ongoing mid-decade, with even more anticipated, particularly at the local levels, in 2025 and 2026. Future work, from now through 2032, will also focus on supporting legal research, training, coordination, and strategy development to respond to the shifting legal landscape and lay the foundation for more robust protections of fair maps in the courts. In addition to support for legal capacity, including research and litigation, there is a need to build a renewed expert witness pipeline and strengthen relationships between community-based organizations and voting rights litigation groups. Court-mandated or lawmaker-initiated redraws of district maps will also require careful legal monitoring and strong community engagement in the years to come.

3. Data & Mapping

Data and mapping tools are among the critical support needed for voting rights litigators to pursue voting rights claims and for community groups to level the playing field when engaging in redistricting. In 2020, FRR launched the [Redistricting Data Hub](#) (RDH) to gather and integrate high-quality redistricting data sets into a central place and make them openly accessible, free of charge, to state groups working on redistricting issues, along with the general public. Since then, RDH has collected, validated, joined, and posted on their website at least 20,000 data sets, and the data have been used by thousands of individuals, community

groups, civil rights litigators, expert witnesses, and several special masters. There is ongoing work to collect and process state precinct lines, election results, census demographic information, and other key datasets. State advocates have identified needs including increased training, interactive mapping tools to understand and access the data, and integration of data analysis into other census and civic engagement work.

4. Materials & Training

Given that the 2021 - 2022 cycle was the first time many state advocates engaged in redistricting, there is a need to further expand knowledge, skills, and other capacities as we approach the next cycle. To that end, the development of materials and trainings will be critical for reform efforts and future redistricting campaigns. FRR previously supported CHARGE, a coalition of national groups that provided training and resources to grassroots leaders across the country. Similarly, a Redistricting Resource Center will be established mid-decade to house materials from the previous cycle, along with updated campaign planning templates, messaging toolkits, training materials, and more. As highlighted by many advocates, translation of messaging and training materials into multiple languages will be necessary for broader community engagement. Similar to the work led by CHARGE, a unified training plan will be developed, including redistricting “bootcamp” to provide the in-depth knowledge needed by advocates leading state campaigns, as well the general knowledge required by those that will engage with redistricting more broadly. Additional direct support must be made available to state-based groups, such as data and mapping training for state-based advocates and

technical assistance on prison gerrymandering from the Prison Policy Initiative.

5. Communications

In efforts to develop the public narrative and encourage participation, it is crucial to frame redistricting as key to everyday issues and broader civic engagement. Building communications capacity will be necessary as messaging efforts need to both educate the broader public on what redistricting is and how it impacts their day-to-day lives and reach core constituencies that will consistently engage during the cycle. Support for communications work also includes messaging research about structural policy reforms that will inform state-based advocacy efforts. For redistricting education campaigns, messaging research that focuses on connecting redistricting to specific issues, census, and voting rights will be important.



The Path to 2032

2025 - 2026

- Ongoing litigation on Voting Rights Act, local challenges
- Monitor federal actions related to census, apportionment, and data collection
- Launch efforts to prevent suppression of noncitizen data during apportionment
- Conduct research, planning, campaign development for reform
- Midterm elections (2026)

2027

- Monitor population projections for state and local planning
- Launch Redistricting Resource Center
- Ramp up funder outreach and education
- State groups create detailed plans to secure fair maps, including integration with other civic engagement activities

2030

- Release updated mapping tools and data analysis
- National redistricting convening of state advocates and national groups
- Implement integrated census and redistricting campaigns
- Peak fundraising ahead of the 2031 - 2032 cycle
- Midterm elections
- Census Day (April 1)
- Apportionment data released (December 28)

2028

- Ongoing reform efforts
- Respond to legal attacks on race-conscious remedies
- Continue expert witness training
- Support integration of census and redistricting efforts (trainings, communications)
- Presidential election

2029

- Implement reforms
- Begin commissioner recruitment in relevant states
- Develop/update redistricting materials
- Provide redistricting bootcamp and mapping training

2031 - 2032

- To effectively implement plans for the cycle, states should receive full funding by early 2031
- Census Bureau releases redistricting data (P.L. 94-171) by April 1, 2031
- Groups attend redistricting hearings, propose maps, and take other actions
- States publish new congressional and state legislative district maps
- Legal monitoring; file redistricting cases

2025 - 2026

Ongoing Litigation, Redraws & Redistricting Reform; Early Funder Education

Milestones

- Reform: Research, planning, campaign development
- Litigation: Ongoing litigation around the Voting Rights Act, local challenges
- Data: Collection and analysis of 2024 election results
- Communications: Launch community network newsletter
- Monitoring for federal actions on census, apportionment, and data collection
- State-by-state evaluations to guide future redistricting work
- Launch of efforts to prevent suppression of noncitizen data during apportionment
- Midterm elections



2025 and 2026 will be focused on supporting state-based groups and national voting rights groups with ongoing litigation, ensuing district redraws, ongoing support of data collection by the Redistricting Data Hub, and reform planning.

Key Actions for Funders

Within your foundation and network:

- Learn about redistricting, including past and planned campaigns in states where your organization is already invested; share with colleagues, leadership, and Board.
- Encourage your organization to plan for increased funding of redistricting as the cycle ramps up starting in 2027 (funding needs for state groups will peak in 2030 and early 2031).
- Identify staff point person for redistricting.
- Identify potential grantees and begin to build relationships.

External activities:

- Share learning with grantees.
- Monitor attempts to undermine fair redistricting by excluding noncitizen data from apportionment counts; respond if needed.

Funding priorities:

- Planning grants to groups doing research and strategic planning for redistricting reform.
- Litigation and related communications and organizing activities.
- Example funding needs for 2025 - 2026:
 - OR: Research on impact of ranked choice voting and proportional representation reforms implemented in 2024 elections.

Success Story: Alabama

Fair maps advocates challenged Alabama's 2021 redistricting map as racially discriminatory, eventually leading to a 2023 U.S. Supreme Court decision that defended Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and resulted in new maps that allow Black voters the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice in two congressional districts within the state. To help secure this victory, Alabama groups ran a large-scale public education and organizing campaign called "Power on the Line" to help shape the narrative around racial gerrymandering as the case came before the high court. The fight continues, though, as Alabama is now back in court in an attempt to reinstate its discriminatory maps for the remainder of the decade.

- MS: Map-drawing, organizing, and public education for redraw of state legislative districts.
- NY: Redistricting reform campaigns, improving upon previous constitutional amendments to ensure the state's redistricting commission is truly independent.
- AZ: Challenge state attempts to collect citizenship information via a state census and use citizen-only totals when equalizing population for congressional and state redistricting.
- *For more details: info@fairredistricting.org*

2027

Redistricting Planning & Activities Ramp Up

Milestones

- Reform: Campaigns peak
- Litigation: Expert witness training, response to attacks on race-conscious remedies
- Data: Population projections, early [communities of interest \(COI\)](#) analysis, 2026 turnout data and analysis
- Redistricting Resource Center launches
- Planning ramps up, including census/redistricting integration, state/local campaigns, and communications
- LUCA (Local Update of Census Addresses) formal submission process begins; key step to build the Census Bureau's master address file for decennial census
- Increased funder outreach and education begins

Key Actions for Funders

Within your foundation and network:

- Advocate for multi-year grants that allow longer-term planning.
- Advocate for grants that integrate census, redistricting, and election protection/voter education activities.
- Monitor and evaluate population projections to better understand future geographic priorities for census/redistricting in your focus states.

In 2027, updated population projections will be available from the Redistricting Data Hub, to be used in strategic planning for the upcoming cycle. FRR will also continue to support reform efforts and begin to ramp up funder education and outreach.

External activities:

- Participate in coordination mechanisms for state, regional, and/or issue-based funders working on redistricting.
- Host redistricting events in your state/region.
- Organize other funders in your network to engage with redistricting.
- Monitor for and respond to regulatory, policy, and operational decisions that threaten an accurate census count and fair redistricting.

Funding priorities:

- State redistricting infrastructure, such as state tables or other groups coordinating redistricting in the states (ensure that communities of color and other underrepresented groups have a seat at the table).
- National/regional redistricting infrastructure, such as organizations developing research, tools, and resources for state-based groups working on redistricting.
- Grantee planning for integrated census, redistricting, election protection, and voter education strategies.
- Reform campaigns.
- **For those new to redistricting funding, consider giving through a pooled fund or state table to maximize learning and impact.**

Success Story: Pennsylvania

Ahead of the 2021 - 2022 redistricting cycle, the need for change was clear: as of 2020, people of color comprised 26.5% of Pennsylvania's population, while the state legislative body was 90% white. Building on the infrastructure established by the diverse coalition that formed to work on the 2020 Census in Pennsylvania, the Maps for the People campaign launched in spring 2021. Organizers worked with community members and mapping experts to produce more than 700 "community of interest" maps that formed the basis for aggregated "unity maps" around state house districts submitted to the redistricting commission — and then kept the pressure on with media coverage, testimony before the commission, and an amicus brief filed with the state supreme court. This approach was successful, and the final maps enacted by the state aligned closely with those proposed by Maps for the People, which formally supported the final maps. During the 2022 general election, fair maps (and the increased community-level power that they created) helped usher in a series of historic firsts for communities of color, including the most diverse state house in Pennsylvania history, with the first-ever woman — and second-ever Black person — serving as Speaker of the House.

Community of interest: A neighborhood, community, or group of people who have common policy concerns and would benefit from being maintained in a single district. Keeping communities of interest together is an important principle in fair redistricting, and can be especially helpful to communities that have historically been left out of the political process.

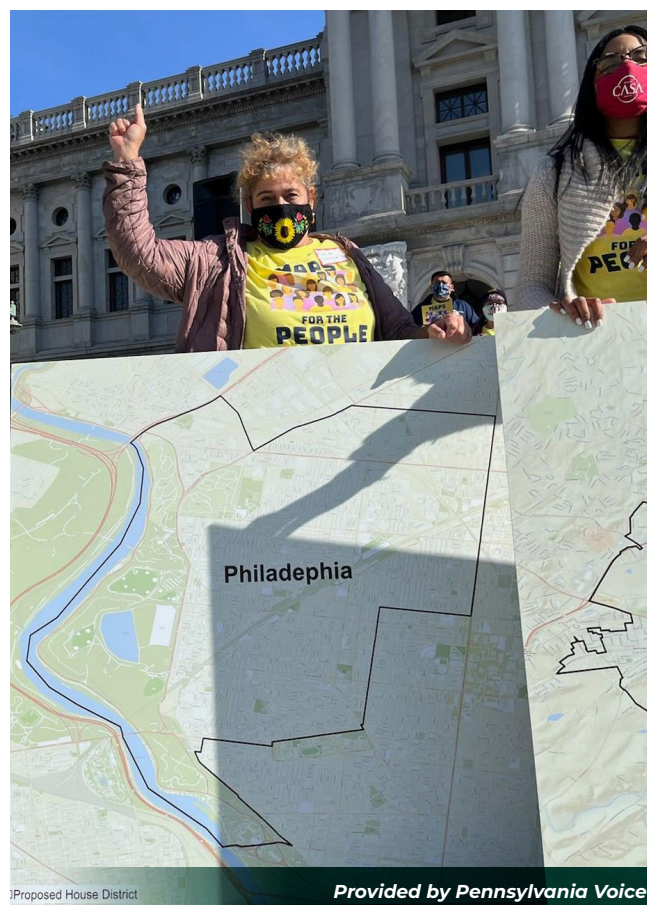
2028

Redistricting Infrastructure & Reform Campaigns

Milestones

- Reform: Ongoing campaigns
- Litigation: Continued expert witness training, response to attacks on race-conscious remedies
- Data: Infrastructure ramps up, including mapping
- Communications: Message development for base engagement
- Planning continues, including census/redistricting integration, state/local campaigns, communications, and trainings
- Regional convenings of redistricting advocates
- Census “dress rehearsal”
- Ongoing funder education
- Build robust state funder tables
- Presidential election

As 2028 will be a presidential election year, much of the redistricting work will focus on maintaining redistricting infrastructure and supporting policy reform campaigns that will impact the upcoming cycle.



Key Actions for Funders

Within your foundation and network:

- Ensure funding is flexible enough to allow grantees to pivot to election protection and voter education activities as needed this year while keeping redistricting strategy integrated into long-term plans.

External activities:

- Participate in regional convenings; encourage others to come.
- Participate in and support state funder tables to ensure that funder and practitioner activities are coordinated, efficient, and effective.

Funding priorities:

- State redistricting infrastructure, such as state tables or other groups coordinating redistricting (ensure that communities of color and other underrepresented groups have a seat at the table).
- National/regional redistricting infrastructure, such as groups developing research, tools, and resources for state-based groups working on redistricting.
- Messaging research and development of communications strategies and tools, including multilingual outreach.
- Tools and resources that collect/share census data, facilitate identification of communities of interest, and enable creation and analysis of district maps.

Success Story: New Mexico

Following years of advocacy by pro-democracy nonprofits in New Mexico, in 2021 the state adopted an advisory commission for federal and state redistricting, the Citizen Redistricting Committee, to make redistricting recommendations to the state legislature during the 2021 - 2022 redistricting cycle. United under the People's Power People's Maps campaign, advocates registered and trained more than 800 people and produced 283 on-the-record community comments and testimonials. Critically, the campaign's success was due to its effort to bring together rural, Native, and other communities of color — including bridging historical divides by uniting Asian American and Native communities in Albuquerque and African American and Latino communities in the southeast — to create shared “unity map” proposals that were ultimately incorporated into New Mexico's final congressional maps by the state legislature. Advocates heralded the state's three newly drawn congressional districts as a better reflection of the communities of interest identified by their testimony and submissions, particularly strengthening Latino and Native American representation in the state.

2029

Redistricting Education Launch & Census Integration

Milestones

- Reform: Implementation of reforms; launch of commissioner recruitment
- Litigation: Redistricting litigation engagement, training for non-lawyers
- Communications: Message testing and development, boot camps
- Data: Mapping trainings, 2028 election results data and analysis, final population projections ahead of census data
- Convenings for state advocates and national groups
- Integrated census and redistricting activities ramp up
- Joint census and redistricting convening (early 2029)
- Ongoing funder education
- State funder tables are well-established and robust

Key Actions for Funders

Within your foundation and network:

- Advocate for robust support of census activities as a prerequisite for successful redistricting.

External activities:

- Continue to participate in funder convenings and learning opportunities.
- Monitor for and respond to threats to an accurate census count.

With census on the horizon, 2029 will see the launch of redistricting education, training grassroots leaders in preparation for the upcoming cycle, and ensuring state and national groups are well-equipped to integrate census and redistricting.

Funding priorities:

- Census activities that ensure an accurate and equitable count and lay groundwork for successful redistricting.
- State funder tables and other coordinating mechanisms (ensure that communities of color and other underrepresented groups have a seat at the table).
- Implementation of newly-secured reforms.
- Recruitment of redistricting commissioners (including educating groups about the commission process). Key redistricting commissions: CA, CO, MI, VA, AZ, and others.
- Communications efforts to increase community awareness of and readiness for redistricting (often coordinated with census education efforts; include multilingual outreach).
- Grantee staff participation in national, regional, and state convenings and trainings.

Success Story: Houston, TX

The Houston in Action coalition brought together a diverse group of organizations representing Asian, Black, and Latino communities based in Harris County, Texas. The county currently contains all or part of seven congressional districts, seven state senate districts, twenty-four state house districts, four county commissioner districts, and eleven single-member City Council districts, as well as other political subdivisions. Together, the groups developed shared “unity maps” around county, municipal, and school board districts that were ultimately influential in the final maps adopted. As a result, communities of color in Houston have a more equitable opportunity to choose officials who represent their interests at these important local levels.



Karuna Ramachandran, Redistricting Director for ProGeorgia (bottom row, right), with other organizers from the Georgia Redistricting Alliance. *Provided by ProGeorgia*

2030

Ongoing Redistricting Education & Launch of Redistricting Campaigns

Milestones

- Litigation: Planning for future litigation
- Communications: Message testing
- Data: Updated mapping tools and data analysis
- Redistricting commissions: Commissioner recruitment complete, commissioner education begins, consultants/contractors identified to support commissions, hearings begin
- Decision-maker education on legal protections, communities of interest
- State advocacy plans completed
- Redistricting trainings, including mapping tools
- National convening of state advocates and national groups (summer 2030)
- Peak fundraising in preparation for 2031 - 2032 cycle and to continue existing infrastructure
- National evaluation framework identified
- Midterm elections

In 2030, Census will be in full swing during the first half of the year, so ongoing redistricting education will be key to the launch of redistricting campaigns in the second half of 2030. For states with independent commissions, commissioner recruitment will be completed by late 2030, with commissioner education underway.

2030 Census

Late January: Census begins in Alaska

April 1: Census Day nationwide

July: Census visits conclude

December 28: Apportionment data released (est.)

Key Actions for Funders

Within your foundation and network:

- Plan to make your largest grants for redistricting in 2030 - 2032.
- Advocate for integration of election protection and voter education activities with redistricting efforts.

External activities:

- Continue to participate in funder convenings and learning opportunities; encourage others to join you.

Funding priorities:

- Legal research and strategy development for likely upcoming redistricting litigation.

- Efforts to identify, train, and provide resources for redistricting commissioners.
- Implementation of newly-secured reforms.
- Integration of election protection and voter education efforts into redistricting activities.
- Scale-up of tools and resources that facilitate use of census data for redistricting (such as the Redistricting Data Hub) so that they are ready to absorb and process census data rapidly during the redistricting cycle.
- **For those new to redistricting funding, consider giving through a pooled fund or state table to maximize learning and impact.**



A #UniteNC Town Hall hosted by Common Cause NC in Hillsborough, NC.
Provided by Common Cause NC

2031-2032

Formal Redistricting Process

Milestones

- Redistricting peak: Bootcamps, education, organizing
- Litigation: Legal monitoring, cases filed
- Technical support to state groups
- States are fully funded to implement their plans
- State assessments and documentation (2032)

In 2031, the formal redistricting process for the decade kicks off with commissioner education, data and mapping consultant hires, and release of census data by April 1. State-based groups will engage communities in the fight for fair maps through 2032.

Key Actions for Funders

Within your foundation and network:

- Share updates on redistricting activities, barriers to fair redistricting, and any emerging learning.

External activities:

- Participate in redistricting funder convenings and learning opportunities; encourage others to join.

Funding priorities:

- Expert consultants to support grantees with redistricting data analysis and map drawing.

- Documentation of barriers to fair redistricting, as a basis for future litigation.
- Redistricting litigation (can often be extremely time-consuming for plaintiff organizations).
- Research and analysis to identify and share successes and lessons learned from 2031 - 2032 redistricting activities.
- **For those new to redistricting funding, consider giving through a pooled fund or state table to maximize learning and impact.**



FAIR REPRESENTATION IN REDISTRICTING

A Funder Collaborative for Fair Districts

Fair Representation in Redistricting is a learning community for all funders interested in this work. For additional resources or further questions, connect with FRR at info@fairredistricting.org



A Washington, DC rally supporting fair districts as the Supreme Court considers *Allen v. Milligan*. Provided by State Voices