

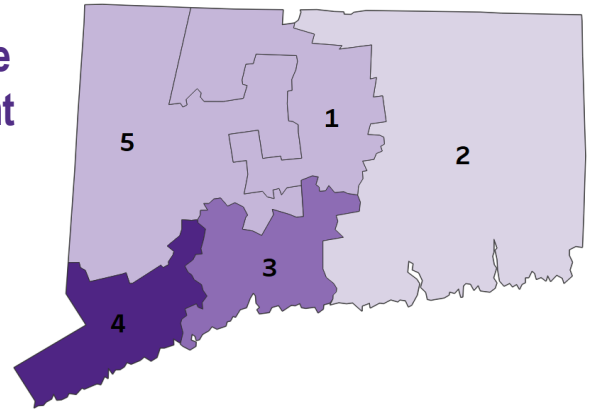
RESEARCH BRIEF

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Issued August 2021

Centro DS2021-02

On April 26, 2021, the U.S. Census Bureau delivered to the president of the United States results from the 2020 decennial census to be used for apportionment in the House of Representatives. Those apportionment results showed that the state of Connecticut's delegation would remain unchanged at five representatives for the next ten years beginning with the 118th Congress (2023-2025).ⁱⁱ



Apportionment is the process by which the 435 seats in the House of Representatives are divided among the 50 states of the union. This is a constitutionally-mandated task based on the decennial enumeration the Census Bureau conducts.ⁱⁱⁱ The constitution guarantees each state one representative in the House of Representatives; the remaining 385 seats are then apportioned based on each state's total population.^{iv}

The primary reason for the decennial census is to provide the information needed to distribute political power throughout the United States. In addition to providing information for apportioning legislative seats at the federal, state, and even local levels (counties, cities, towns, and other political subdivisions of states), the data collected in the decennial census by the Census Bureau are used to distribute federal funds and programs since, oftentimes, these funds and programs are allocated on the basis of how many people a state, county, or town may have. Allocation of federal funds for schools or healthcare and other critical governmental services are also tied to the counts conducted by the Census Bureau.

In terms of distributing political power in the House of Representatives, Connecticut may have lost one congressional seat because of its low population growth.

Between 2010 and 2020, the state's population grew by 0.7%. This rate of growth earned Connecticut fourth place as the state with the lowest population growth, ahead of Illinois, Mississippi, and West Virginia, all three of which lost population between decennial censuses (see Table 1). In contrast, the rate of growth of the national population was 7.1%, more than seven times the rate of growth of Connecticut. Moreover, the population of states such as Utah, Idaho, Texas, and North Dakota grew at 15% or greater. At this low level of growth, it is probable that Connecticut will lose a congressional seat.

While the apportionment process has assigned Connecticut five seats in the House of Representatives, there will be changes in the boundaries of existing congressional seats within the state because of internal population dynamics. In 2010, Connecticut's apportionment population of 3,581,628, divided among five congressional districts, yielded districts with 716,326 persons per district.^v In 2020, the state's population of 3,608,298, apportioned among five congressional districts, would yield districts with a population of approximately 721,659 persons per district.^{vi} However, as of 2019, the last year for which detailed information at the substate level was available from the Census Bureau, Connecticut's population at the district level ranged between 703,100 and 737,700.

Table 1. Population Change by State, 2010 - 2020

State	2020 Apportionment Population	2010 Apportionment Population	Percent Change 2010 - 2020
Utah	3,275,252	2,770,765	18.2%
Idaho	1,841,377	1,573,499	17.0%
Texas	29,183,290	25,268,418	15.5%
North Dakota	779,702	675,905	15.4%
Nevada	3,108,462	2,709,432	14.7%
Colorado	5,782,171	5,044,930	14.6%
District of Columbia	691,533	604,598	14.4%
Washington	7,715,946	6,753,369	14.3%
Florida	21,570,527	18,900,773	14.1%
Arizona	7,158,923	6,412,700	11.6%
South Carolina	5,124,712	4,645,975	10.3%
Georgia	10,725,274	9,727,566	10.3%
Oregon	4,241,500	3,848,606	10.2%
Delaware	990,837	900,877	10.0%
North Carolina	10,453,948	9,565,781	9.3%
Montana	1,085,407	994,416	9.2%
Tennessee	6,916,897	6,375,431	8.5%
South Dakota	887,770	819,761	8.3%
Virginia	8,654,542	8,037,736	7.7%
Minnesota	5,709,752	5,314,879	7.4%
Massachusetts	7,033,469	6,559,644	7.2%
Nebraska	1,963,333	1,831,825	7.2%
Maryland	6,185,278	5,789,929	6.8%
Hawaii	1,460,137	1,366,862	6.8%
California	39,576,757	37,341,989	6.0%
New Jersey	9,294,493	8,807,501	5.5%
Oklahoma	3,963,516	3,764,882	5.3%
Alabama	5,030,053	4,802,982	4.7%
Iowa	3,192,406	3,053,787	4.5%
Indiana	6,790,280	6,501,582	4.4%
New Hampshire	1,379,089	1,321,445	4.4%
New York	20,215,751	19,421,055	4.1%
Rhode Island	1,098,163	1,055,247	4.1%
Kentucky	4,509,342	4,350,606	3.6%
Wisconsin	5,897,473	5,698,230	3.5%
Arkansas	3,013,756	2,926,229	3.0%
Kansas	2,940,865	2,863,813	2.7%
New Mexico	2,120,220	2,067,273	2.6%
Missouri	6,160,281	6,011,478	2.5%
Louisiana	4,661,468	4,553,962	2.4%
Maine	1,363,582	1,333,074	2.3%
Pennsylvania	13,011,844	12,734,905	2.2%
Vermont	643,503	630,337	2.1%
Ohio	11,808,848	11,568,495	2.1%
Alaska	736,081	721,523	2.0%
Michigan	10,084,442	9,911,626	1.7%
Wyoming	577,719	568,300	1.7%
Connecticut	3,608,298	3,581,628	0.7%
Illinois	12,822,739	12,864,380	-0.3%
Mississippi	2,963,914	2,978,240	-0.5%
West Virginia	1,795,045	1,859,815	-3.5%
U.S. Total	331,108,434	309,183,463	7.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 & 2020 Decennial Census Apportionment Results

These data mean that Connecticut will need to redraw its congressional district boundaries for all its five districts to have an equal number of persons in them,^{vii} a process known as redistricting.^{viii}

Connecticut's Population Change

This brief focuses on the demographic changes within the state of Connecticut at the county, congressional district, and place levels that are likely to influence the congressional redistricting process in the state. However, the data for the ensuing analysis are mostly from the one-year estimates of the American Community Survey conducted annually by the Census Bureau as well as yearly (vintage) population estimates. These data are the most detailed population information the Census Bureau has available at the sub-state level before it releases decennial population counts and characteristics. Under normal circumstances, the Census Bureau would have released redistricting data based on the decennial census of the population at this point. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Census Bureau has announced that such redistricting data will not be available until September 2021, a six-month delay.^{ix}

County-Level Changes

The data show that between 2010 and 2019, the popu-

lation of seven of Connecticut's eight counties declined.^x Fairfield County appears to be the only county in the state in which the population grew, on the order of 2.6% (see Table 2). All other counties showed a decline in population ranging between 0.4% in Hartford County and 5% in Litchfield County. The declining trend in population at the county level is driven by the decline in the non-Hispanic white population. This decline in the non-Hispanic white population is generalized across the entire state, driving the trend for all non-Hispanics in the state, despite all non-white groups increasing their numbers and proportions in the state's population.

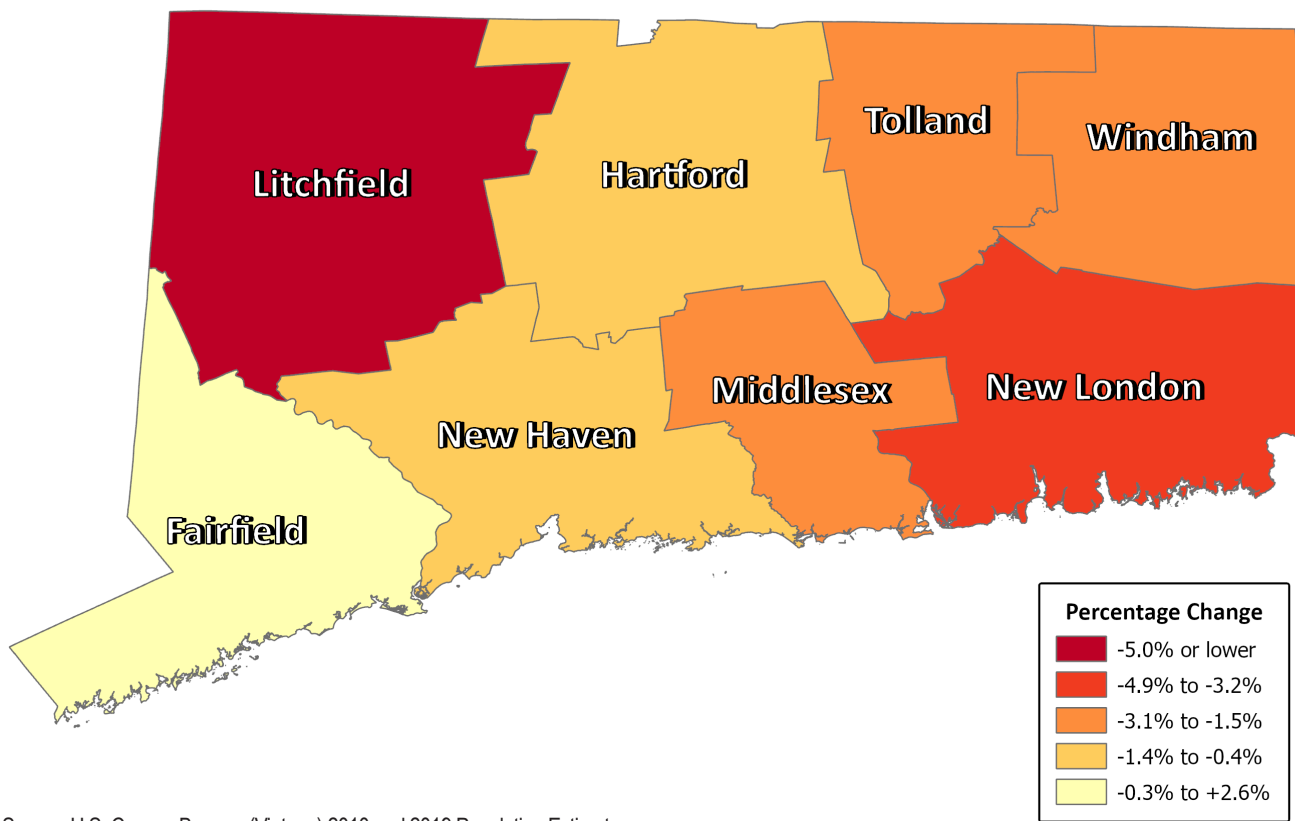
In 2019, the following was the racial and ethnic make-up of the state's population: 65.9% non-Hispanic white, 16.9% Hispanic, 10.3% non-Hispanic black, 4.8% non-Hispanic Asian, 1.8% non-Hispanics of more than one race, 0.2% non-Hispanic Native American or Alaska Native, and less than 0.01% Native Hawai'ian or other Pacific Islander (see Table 3). The data also show that between 2010 and 2019, the non-Hispanic population declined statewide by 4%, but this is because the non-Hispanic white population declined by 8%. The fastest growing group in the state was non-Hispanic Asians, increasing their population by 25%, followed by Hispanics, who grew at nearly the same rate. The population of non-Hispanics identifying with more than one race

Table 2. Population Change by County in Connecticut, 2010-2019

County	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White Alone	Non-Hispanic Black or African American alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Two or More Races	Hispanic
Fairfield	2.6%	-1.8%	-6.2%	10.7%	13.2%	25.8%	-7.1%	25.2%	24.1%
Hartford	-0.4%	-4.4%	-9.8%	6.9%	24.2%	36.1%	17.0%	23.1%	21.5%
Litchfield	-5.0%	-7.5%	-9.1%	41.7%	1.0%	30.0%	57.4%	11.4%	49.0%
Middlesex	-1.9%	-3.8%	-5.5%	8.2%	22.1%	21.9%	8.9%	15.9%	34.6%
New Haven	-1.0%	-5.7%	-9.8%	7.6%	6.7%	17.4%	6.7%	18.5%	25.3%
New London	-3.2%	-5.9%	-7.2%	2.9%	-0.6%	-3.4%	-2.5%	9.4%	25.9%
Tolland	-1.6%	-3.1%	-5.8%	9.2%	5.5%	43.3%	30.3%	19.0%	30.7%
Windham	-1.5%	-4.5%	-5.5%	9.3%	2.1%	20.3%	-5.0%	13.2%	27.2%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2019 Population Estimates

Figure 1. Total Population Change by County, 2010-2019



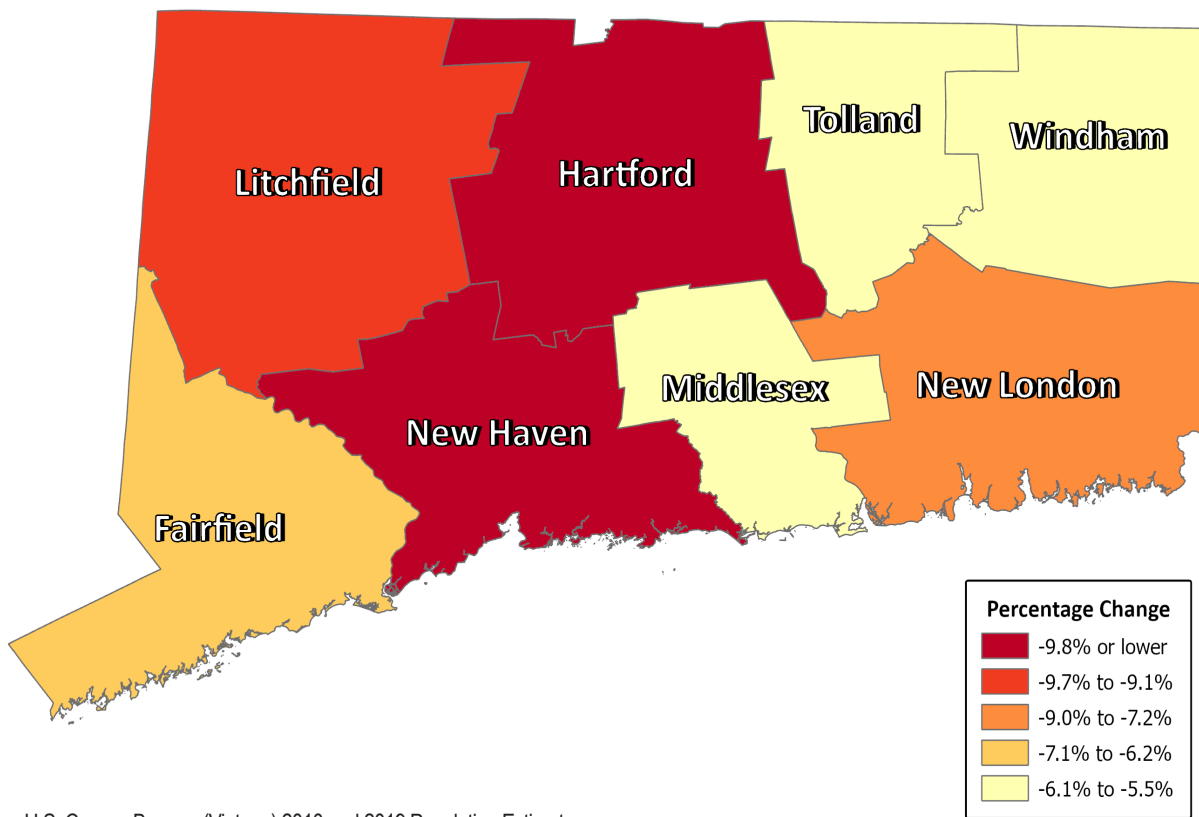
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2019 Population Estimates

Table 3. Population Change by Ethnicity in Connecticut, 2010-2019

CONNECTICUT STATE					
	2010	2019	Percent Change	2010 Percentage of Population	2019 Percentage of Population
TOTAL POPULATION	3,579,114	3,565,287	-0.4%		
NOT HISPANIC	3,096,657	2,964,332	-4.3%	86.5%	83.1%
One Race:					
White	2,556,077	2,350,123	-8.1%	71.4%	65.9%
Black or African American	340,633	368,834	8.3%	9.5%	10.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native	7,182	7,806	8.7%	0.2%	0.2%
Asian	137,937	172,355	25.0%	3.9%	4.8%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	1,197	1,266	5.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Two or More Races	53,631	63,948	19.2%	1.5%	1.8%
HISPANIC	482,457	600,955	24.6%	13.5%	16.9%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 & 2019 Annual Estimates of the Resident Population (SC-EST2019-SR11H-09)

Figure 2. Non-Hispanic White Population Change by County 2010-2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2019 Population Estimates

increased by 19%, while autochthonous, or native populations (American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders), grew by more than 5%. Meanwhile, the non-Hispanic black population grew by 8%. These trends are also evident at the county level with a few exceptions.

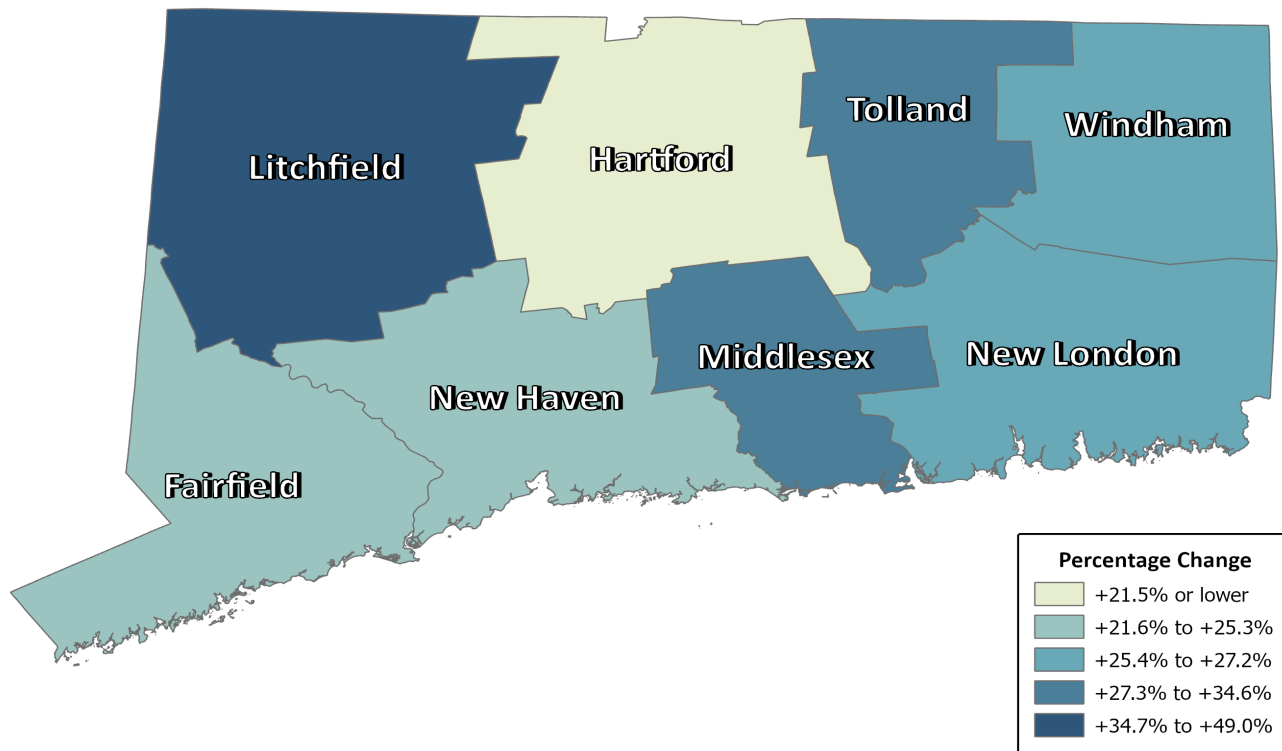
Between 2010 and 2019, non-Hispanics declined in population at the county level at a rate between 1.8% and 7.5% (in Fairfield and Litchfield, respectively). As noted, this declining rate was spurred by the decline among non-Hispanic whites, whose falling population rates ranged between 5.5% in Middlesex and Windham counties and nearly 10% in Hartford and New Haven counties (see Figure 2). In contrast, Hispanics grew in every county at double-digit rates: from 21.5% in Hartford to 49% in Litchfield (see Figure 3). Non-Hispanic Asians also saw rapid growth rates across the state's counties, ranging from 17.4% in New Haven to 43% in Tolland; however, they lost population in New London at a rate of 3.4%. Similarly, New London saw declines in proportions of native peoples. Likewise, between 2010 and 2019, the non-Hispanic black population and those identifying with

more than one race increased in every county.

Congressional District-Level Changes

At the congressional district level, we observe a similar pattern as noted at the state and county levels. First, relative to 2010, the population increased in two congressional districts (3rd and 4th), and decreased in three other districts (1st, 2nd, and 5th) in 2019 (see Table 4).^{xi} Second, the non-Hispanic population declined in all five congressional districts, ranging from 1.1% (in the 4th district) to 6.9% (in the 5th district), with the decline driven by the decreasing numbers of non-Hispanic whites (ranging between 4.9% in the 4th district and 12% in the 5th district). The numbers of Hispanics, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians, and non-Hispanics identifying with more than one race increased in all five districts. The numbers of autochthonous peoples increased in some districts but declined in others. Hispanics grew the most in three congressional districts (2nd, 3rd, and 4th), while non-Hispanic Asians grew the most in two districts (1st and 5th).

Figure 3. Hispanic Population Change by County, 2010-2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2019 Population Estimates

Prospects of Hispanic Descriptive Congressional Representation

If a goal of socially and politically underrepresented groups in the United States is to achieve descriptive political representation, or a measure of proportionality in representation, the chances of Hispanics achieving it in the state of Connecticut at the congressional level are slim based on the present demographic profile. In 2019, Hispanics were 16.9% of the population, the second largest population group in the state after non-Hispanic

whites (65.9%). This proportion is insufficient to elect an in-group candidate based on a Hispanic electorate alone. At the congressional district-level, Hispanics are slightly overrepresented in three districts (1st [17.2%], 4th [20.8%], and 5th [20.3%]), but the proportions are still not high enough to elect a member of Congress based on a Hispanic electorate.

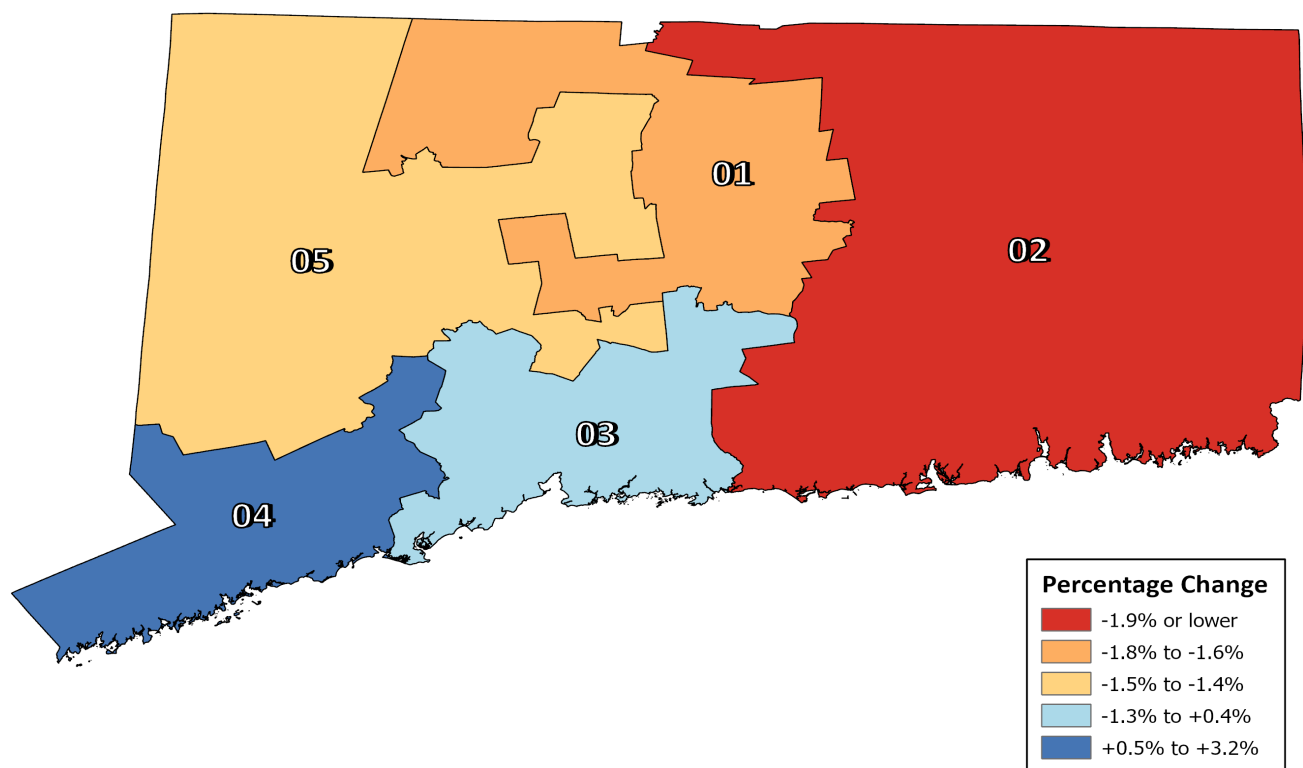
Moreover, the Hispanic population exhibits a number of social characteristics that diminish the likelihood of their

Table 4. Population Change by Congressional District in Connecticut, 2010-2019

Congressional District	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
1	-1.6%	-4.6%	-10.1%	5.8%	93.7%	24.4%	282.7%	76.0%	22.8%	15.8%
2	-1.9%	-4.2%	-5.9%	2.1%	-23.0%	27.6%	-76.3%	34.6%	12.3%	30.5%
3	0.4%	-4.2%	-7.9%	9.2%	-64.5%	9.6%	-78.6%	-34.7%	23.9%	32.6%
4	3.2%	-1.1%	-4.9%	5.0%	-66.9%	22.3%	146.1%	-20.4%	58.0%	23.5%
5	-1.4%	-6.9%	-12.0%	17.1%	-25.3%	37.1%	-73.7%	-22.3%	59.3%	28.6%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

Figure 4. Total Population Change by Congressional District, 2010-2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

involvement in electoral politics. These characteristics, amply noted in the political science literature, include, among others, the Hispanic population's youth, citizenship status, and socioeconomic status. Indeed, the proportion of the Hispanic population that is eligible to vote because they are U.S. citizens (by birth or naturalization) and because they are 18 years of age or older is lower than for the state's overall population. Nearly 55% of Hispanics were eligible to register to vote in 2019, compared to 73.5% of the overall population. This discrepancy stems from the fact that more than 30% of the Hispanic population was underage, compared to 10% of the overall population. Additionally, 45% of Hispanic adults were native-born and 9.5% were naturalized citizens,^{xii} compared to 65.7% and 7.8%, respectively, of the overall population. (The proportion of non-citizen adults among Hispanics was 14.5%, compared to 2.8% among the state's overall population.)^{xiii}

Lower socioeconomic status also dampens political participation, and Hispanics are overrepresented among those with lower household incomes and educational attainment. Furthermore, the representative institutions

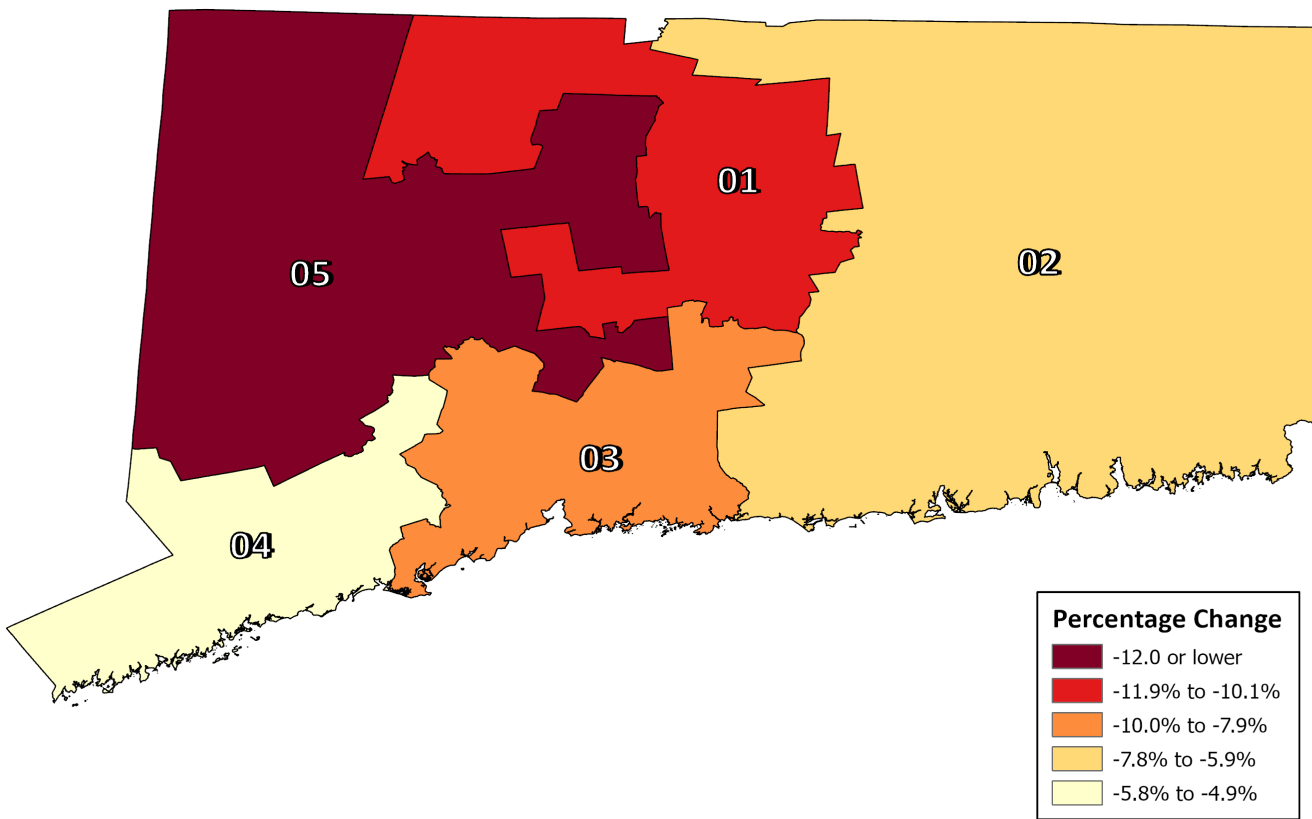
themselves compound the political underrepresentation of Hispanics in the state. In 2021, only 12 out of 151 legislators (8%) in the state's House of Representatives are Hispanics, while only 1 out of 36 senators (2.7%) is so. However, the case of Representative Jahana Hayes (5th district) shows how a member of an underrepresented social and political group may still be able to win elected office at a jurisdiction with a larger electoral universe, even when such a candidate emerges from a group that is a numerical minority of the electorate.

Town-Level Changes

The state of Connecticut is divided into 169 towns. However, the Census Bureau only provides detailed population data for 143 towns or "census-designated places," which are the units for which data are reported in this section. Moreover, the focus of the analysis will be on the two largest population groups: non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics.

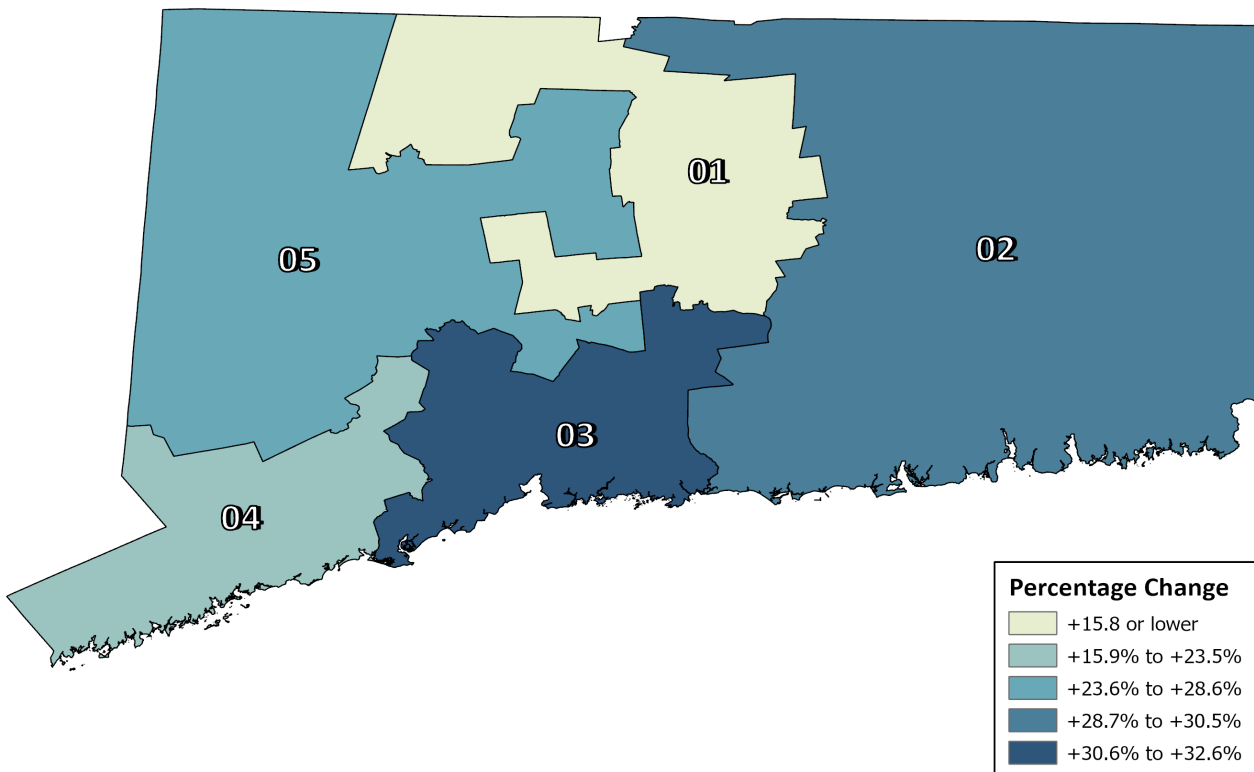
Of the 142 places (i.e., city, town, or census-designated place) for which there is population data for 2010 and

Figure 5. Non-Hispanic White Population Change by Congressional District, 2010-2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

Figure 6. Hispanic Population Change by Congressional District, 2010-2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

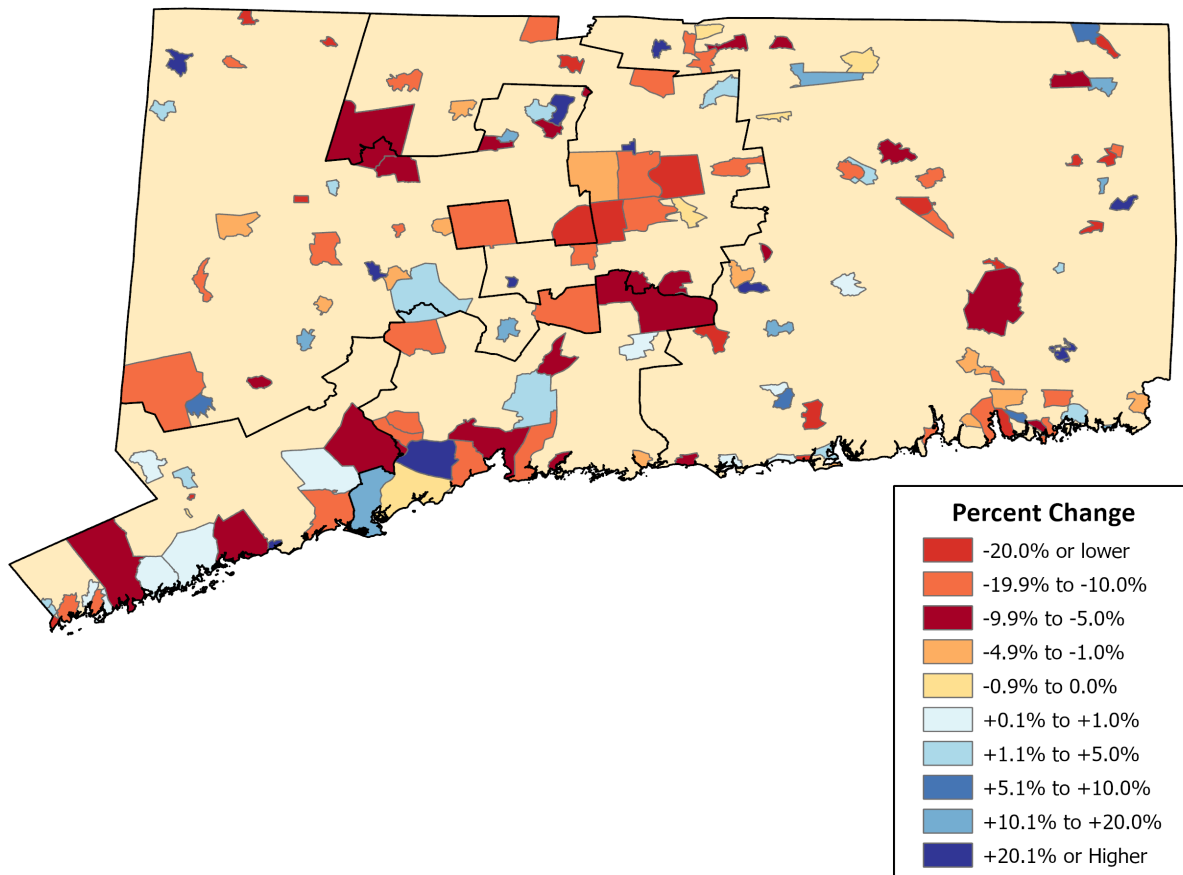
2019, 63 had an increase in population in the intervening years, while 79 had a decline in population (see Appendix A). Population in these 63 places grew at different rates: eight places grew at less than 1%; 20 places increased their population between 1% and 5%; 11 places grew between 5% and 10%; 14 places grew between 10% and 20%; and 10 places increased their populations by more than 20%. Among the 79 places that had a decrease in population, the losses ranged from less than 1% in 8 places, between 1% and 5% in 27 places, between 5% and 10% in 21 places, between 10% and 20% in 14 places, and by more than 20% in 9 places throughout the state.

At the place level, increases or decreases in population were also driven largely by the largest population group in the state—non-Hispanic whites—as was the case at the county and congressional district levels. Of the 63 places that saw overall population increases between 2010 and 2019, 40 (63%) were places in which the non-Hispanic white population also increased, compared

to 21 (33%) in which the non-Hispanic white population decreased. (Two places that increased in population overall did not exhibit any proportional change in its non-Hispanic white population.) In the 79 places that experienced a decrease in its overall population, 73 of them (92%) also saw a decline in the non-Hispanic white population, and six (8%) saw an increase in this population.

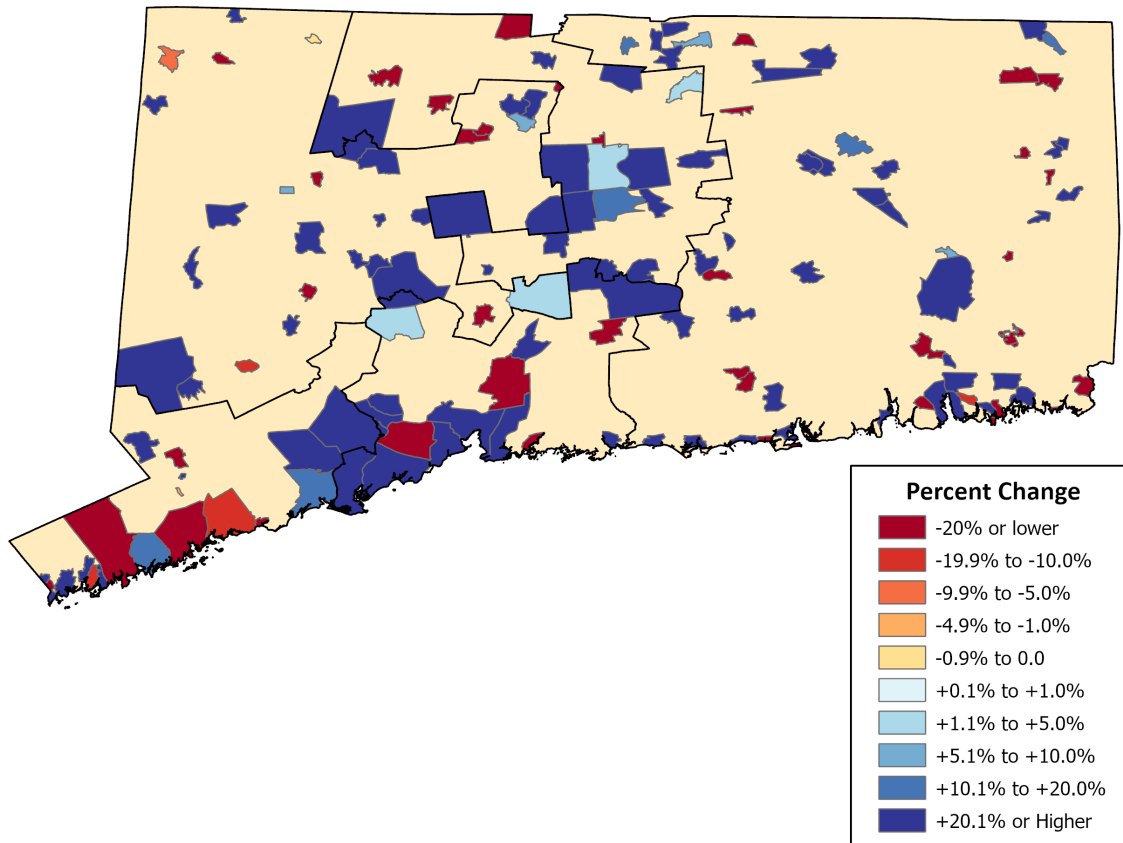
By way of contrast, of the 63 places throughout the state that saw population increases between 2010 and 2019, 45 (73%) were places in which the Hispanic population increased while 16 (25%) were places in which the Hispanic population decreased. (One place with overall population growth did not show any change in its Hispanic population.) Among the 79 places in which the overall population declined, Hispanics decreased in 24 (30%) of them, but grew in 51 (65%) of them. Four places that had population declines did not have any appreciable change in their Hispanic populations.

Figure 7. Non-Hispanic White Population Change at Place Level with Congressional District Divisions



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (Table B03002)

Figure 8. Hispanic population Change by Place level with Congressional District borders



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (Table B03002)

Overall, population changes in Connecticut at the place level tended to reflect the pattern of change in the non-Hispanic white population, particularly as it refers to population lost. Nine-in-ten of the places that saw a decrease in was because of the loss of the number of non-Hispanic whites compared to one-in-three places saw a loss in their Hispanic population. In fact, among the places that saw a decrease in their overall population, Hispanics tended to arrest the impact of non-Hispanic white population loss but could not necessarily make up for the difference.^{xiv} In these places, without Hispanics, the overall population would have declined even more.

A Note on Connecticut’s Hispanic Population

As noted above, Hispanics represent the second largest population group in the state (16.9%), and the second fastest growing group in Connecticut (24.6%). But the more than 600,000 persons who are classified as Hispanic or Latino or Spanish origin do not constitute a homogeneous group despite similarities they may share;

rather, this population is very diverse. One salient issue of difference is national origin. The Hispanic population in Connecticut is mostly Puerto Rican, representing half of the state’s Hispanic population in 2019 (see Table 5). In contrast the second largest national origin group—Mexicans—makes up only 10% Hispanics, followed by Dominicans (7.7%), Ecuadorians (6.5%), Colombians (5.3%), Guatemalans (3.6%), and Peruvians (3%). From a slightly different angle, those of Caribbean origin represent 60% of Hispanics, South Americans represent 17.7%, Central Americans represent 7%, and North Americans (i.e., Mexican) represent 10%.

Hispanics are dispersed throughout the state, but not uniformly. Using the percentage of the state’s population that is Hispanic (16.9%), one observes that Hispanics are overrepresented in the county populations of Fairfield (20%), New Haven (19%), and Hartford (19%) (see Table 6). They are underrepresented in the remaining five counties: Windham, 12%; New London, 11.1%; Litchfield, 7%; Middlesex, 7%; and Tolland, 6%.

Table 5. Hispanic population in Connecticut by Specific Origin, 2019

Total Population	3,565,287	
Not Hispanic or Latino	2,964,333	83.1%
Hispanic or Latino:	600,954	16.9%
		Percent of Hispanic Population
Mexican	62,231	10.4%
Puerto Rican	302,027	50.3%
Cuban	15,280	2.5%
Dominican (Dominican Republic)	46,228	7.7%
Central American:	44,562	7.4%
Costa Rican	3,191	0.5%
Guatemalan	21,707	3.6%
Honduran	8,517	1.4%
Nicaraguan	1,103	0.2%
Panamanian	1,391	0.2%
Salvadoran	6,635	1.1%
Other Central American	2,018	0.3%
South American:	106,269	17.7%
Argentinean	5,409	0.9%
Bolivian	2,125	0.4%
Chilean	1,892	0.3%
Colombian	31,778	5.3%
Ecuadorian	39,229	6.5%
Paraguayan	1,277	0.2%
Peruvian	18,204	3.0%
Uruguayan	2,566	0.4%
Venezuelan	2,633	0.4%
Other South American	1,156	0.2%
Other Hispanic or Latino:	24,357	4.1%
Spaniard	6,255	1.0%
Spanish	1,997	0.3%
Spanish American	0	0.0%
All other Hispanic or Latino	16,105	2.7%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, 1-yr estimates (Table B03001)

The population dynamics of the different Hispanic national origin groups are not uniform either. Puerto Ricans comprise much of the Hispanic population in five counties (Hartford, 69%; Windham, 68%; New Haven, 58%; Tolland, 55%; and Middlesex, 51%), and are the plurality in the remaining three counties (New London, 49%; Litchfield, 32%; and Fairfield, 29%). The second largest groups are Mexicans in Tolland (18%) and Windham (17%) counties, and South Americans in the remaining five counties (Fairfield, 26%; Litchfield, 24%; Middlesex, 18%; New London, 14%; New Haven, 13%; and Hart-

ford, 10%). Fairfield is the most varied county in terms of Hispanic diversity followed by Litchfield; Hartford and Windham are the most homogeneous.

Table 6. Distribution of Connecticut's Hispanic Population by County, 2019

County	Total Hispanic or Latino	Percent Hispanic or Latino	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Dominican (Dominican Republic)	Central American	South American	Other Hispanic or Latino
Fairfield	185,996	20.5%	13.6%	28.7%	2.6%	8.1%	17.1%	26.2%	3.8%
Hartford	161,079	18.8%	6.1%	69.1%	2.0%	5.7%	3.9%	10.0%	3.1%
Litchfield	11,436	7.1%	10.4%	32.4%	3.3%	16.9%	5.3%	24.4%	7.4%
Middlesex	10,095	6.6%	9.4%	50.5%	4.2%	7.5%	3.8%	17.9%	6.7%
New Haven	155,335	19.1%	10.5%	58.4%	2.0%	7.5%	5.1%	12.7%	3.7%
New London	28,213	11.1%	11.4%	48.8%	2.3%	12.0%	6.9%	13.5%	5.0%
Tolland	8,332	5.9%	17.9%	54.6%	5.0%	2.6%	4.9%	10.0%	5.1%
Windham	13,754	12.4%	17.2%	68.0%	0.5%	3.5%	2.8%	5.6%	2.4%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, 5-yr estimates (Table B03001)

Notes

ⁱ With the research assistance of Damayra Figueroa-Lazu and Jorge Soldevila-Irizarry.

ⁱⁱ <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/2020/data/apportionment/apportionment-2020-table01.pdf> (downloaded on May 24, 2021).

ⁱⁱⁱ Article I, section 2 of the United States Constitution states: “Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers,”

^{iv} Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment states: “Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.”

^v There are discrepancies in the apportionment data reported by the U.S. Census Bureau and the decennial census data. Apportionment data is based on the resident population of the state as of April 1 as well as population numbers of military and civilian federal employees (and dependents) stationed abroad who claim that state as state of residence (see <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/2020/data/apportionment/apportionment-2020-tableA.pdf>, downloaded on May 24, 2021). Detailed decennial census data captures characteristics of the state’s resident population. Correspondingly, 2010 decennial census data at the district level does not include data on the 7,500 overseas persons. Therefore, the resident population reported per congressional district provided by the Census Bureau for 2010 shows 714,819 persons.

^{vi} The 2020 resident population of Connecticut was 3,605,944 persons; an additional 2,354 persons were overseas but included in the resident population for apportionment purposes. Statistics released by the Census Bureau at the congressional district level are likely to show a per-district population of approximately 721,189 persons.

^{vii} From a numerical perspective, districts with fewer residents are thought of as having greater political power because it takes fewer voters to elect a representative that has the same voting power in the legislature as residents of districts with more residents. Adherence to the one-person, one-vote principle [Reynold v. Sims (1964); Baker v. Carr (1962)] prevents deviation from numerical equality in population for congressional districts [Wesberry v. Sanders (1964)].

^{viii} Redistricting is a process that takes place in all legislative bodies that divide political representation in geographically defined districts, such as state legislatures as well as municipal councils.

^{ix} See <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/statement-redistricting-data-timeline.html>, downloaded on May 24, 2021.

^x An analysis using American Community Survey data as well as population estimates between 2010 and 2019 gave the impression that Connecticut had lost population on the order of 0.3% or 0.4%. However, as the apportionment data showed, the state’s population actually increased by 1%. Therefore, county-level data for 2020 may likely be somewhat different from 2019 estimates. The expectation is nevertheless that the most notable demographic trends between 2010 and 2020 will be consistent with those observed between 2010 and 2019.

^{xi} The 4th Congressional District contains the cities of Bridgeport and Stamford and is represented by Representative Jim Himes. The 3rd Congressional District is anchored by the city of New Haven and is represented by Representative Rosa L. DeLauro. The 1st Congressional District is centered around the city of Hartford and represented by Representative John B. Larson. The 2nd Congressional District extends throughout the eastern half of the state and is represented by Representative Joe Courtney. The 5th Congressional District covers the north-western area of the state, including the city of Waterbury, and is represented by Representative Jahana Hayes.

^{xii} The vast majority of Hispanics under the voting age (93.5%) are native-born citizens.

^{xiii} The proportion of Hispanics (children and adults) who are U.S. citizens was 83.8% in 2019.

^{xiv} There were 19 places (24%) in which the overall population declined and in which both the non-Hispanic white and Hispanic populations declined. In contrast, there were 51 places (65%) in which the overall population and the non-Hispanic white population declined but the Hispanic population increased.

Appendix A. Population Change by Place, 2010-2019 (Part 1.)

Place	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black or African American alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
Waregan	61%	52%	42%	2600%	5300%	-100%	-100%	-100%	138%	8400%
Moosup	42%	36%	30%	-100%	-100%	23300%	-100%	-100%	-100%	136%
Poquonock Bridge	37%	37%	37%	23%	-100%	9%	-100%	-100%	1373%	37%
Mashantucket	29%	58%	38%	-92%	191%	-89%	-100%	-100%	-38%	-87%
Somers	27%	22%	21%	900%	-100%	700%	-100%	-100%	-100%	209%
Moodus	24%	10%	12%	-100%	-100%	300%	-100%	-100%	-100%	15100%
Lakeville	24%	25%	50%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-80%	-8%
South Woodstock	23%	25%	35%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%
Heritage Village	21%	20%	17%	12300%	1300%	-36%	-100%	-100%	-100%	4800%
Tariffville	20%	22%	25%	-77%	3900%	6800%	-100%	-100%	483%	10%
Pemberwick	20%	24%	3%	41100%	1600%	456%	-100%	-100%	34%	-33%
Old Saybrook Center	17%	4%	4%	-100%	-100%	69%	-100%	-100%	-69%	25200%
Canton Valley	17%	18%	18%	-100%	-100%	2000%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-67%
Storrs	16%	15%	14%	34%	57%	25%	-100%	-100%	-40%	29%
Weatogue	16%	11%	15%	1500%	-100%	-44%	-100%	-100%	-100%	542%
Quinebaug	16%	16%	14%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	1400%	-100%
East Hampton	15%	18%	21%	19%	-100%	-27%	-100%	0%	-100%	-21%
Crystal Lake	15%	14%	12%	1800%	-100%	-43%	-100%	1000%	4300%	117%
Cheshire Village	14%	15%	15%	-90%	-100%	148%	-100%	-100%	-53%	-31%
Cos Cob	14%	5%	1%	-90%	1100%	42%	-100%	67%	94%	220%
Bethel	14%	12%	7%	166%	-100%	54%	-100%	-100%	-78%	41%
Southport	14%	8%	4%	3600%	-100%	14%	-100%	-100%	1400%	165%
Glastonbury Center	12%	5%	0%	-61%	500%	99%	13400%	5100%	1209%	224%
Waterford	11%	8%	3%	19%	-100%	200%	-100%	-100%	-8%	95%
Long Hill	10%	13%	7%	45%	900%	101%	-100%	1700%	-21%	-10%
Lake Pocotopaug	9%	4%	-3%	-100%	-100%	20300%	-100%	-100%	4300%	14000%
Mystic	7%	6%	1%	5800%	-100%	1633%	-100%	-100%	4200%	49%
Westport	7%	6%	2%	16%	-100%	77%	-100%	-73%	80%	51%
Stamford city	7%	2%	0%	0%	70%	18%	1400%	-53%	54%	22%
Ridgefield	7%	5%	5%	75%	-100%	-22%	-100%	-100%	154%	41%
Danbury city	7%	-2%	-13%	58%	12%	9%	54%	80%	21%	36%
Darien	7%	6%	1%	17000%	-100%	120%	-100%	-4%	205%	12%
Conning Towers	6%	-2%	-2%	76%	-19%	-60%	-100%	1900%	-28%	78%
Shelton city	5%	4%	1%	-24%	85%	88%	-100%	0%	233%	22%
Suffield Depot	5%	2%	16%	-23%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	145%
Durham	5%	6%	1%	100%	-100%	11100%	-100%	-100%	110%	-28%
Norwalk city	5%	-5%	-12%	9%	-49%	34%	0%	-25%	87%	42%
Old Greenwich	4%	-4%	0%	-96%	-100%	-35%	-100%	470%	164%	171%
Georgetown	4%	7%	2%	-100%	-100%	91%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-49%
Glenville	4%	1%	3%	1150%	-100%	-69%	-100%	-100%	2000%	90%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (Table B03002)

Appendix A. Population Change by Place, 2010-2019 (Part 2.)

Place	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black or African American alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
Litchfield borough	3%	7%	3%	2900%	-100%	33%	-100%	-100%	800%	-53%
Milford city (balance)	3%	2%	0%	54%	-96%	19%	-100%	-66%	44%	36%
West Simsbury	3%	0%	1%	100%	-100%	1%	-100%	-100%	-100%	167%
Guilford Center	3%	-6%	-5%	-52%	-100%	-72%	-100%	-100%	1900%	337%
Stratford	3%	0%	-6%	33%	-2%	-19%	575%	87%	82%	13%
Simsbury Center	2%	0%	0%	3%	11500%	-35%	-100%	1000%	-60%	241%
Colchester	2%	-1%	1%	-30%	41%	-85%	-100%	-100%	7%	125%
Wallingford Center	2%	1%	-3%	1%	-100%	311%	6200%	1300%	-12%	9%
Riverside	2%	-4%	-11%	1100%	3200%	39%	-100%	-92%	47%	109%
Bridgeport city	2%	-6%	-20%	-1%	232%	11%	111%	-45%	129%	18%
Windsor Locks	2%	2%	-1%	78%	900%	-34%	-100%	-64%	269%	-2%
Thomaston	2%	-2%	-2%	2200%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	5400%
Broad Brook	2%	2%	3%	25%	-100%	-46%	-100%	-100%	120%	1%
Trumbull	1%	0%	-7%	96%	1460%	25%	2300%	128%	437%	34%
New Haven city	1%	-6%	-7%	-7%	373%	-4%	-46%	-69%	26%	23%
Orange	1%	3%	0%	-17%	-100%	35%	-100%	1900%	312%	-60%
Blue Hills	1%	3%	86%	-2%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	137%	-56%
New Milford	0%	-2%	-5%	-21%	100%	92%	-100%	-100%	46%	23%
West Hartford	0%	-2%	-3%	-4%	203%	3%	-100%	135%	-2%	27%
Manchester	0%	-5%	-20%	73%	-14%	25%	-100%	-84%	53%	33%
Greenwich	0%	-11%	-19%	106%	-100%	7%	-100%	-78%	75%	88%
Stafford Springs	0%	3%	5%	300%	-100%	-94%	-100%	-100%	-9%	-39%
Niantic	0%	0%	0%	-94%	-100%	900%	-100%	-100%	476%	-10%
New Britain city	0%	-16%	-24%	6%	-85%	44%	-100%	-45%	68%	32%
Bristol city	0%	-9%	-13%	58%	-41%	-14%	-100%	17%	47%	91%
Newington	0%	-3%	-8%	-13%	-50%	50%	-100%	-32%	110%	42%
Salmon Brook	0%	2%	-1%	500%	-100%	546%	-100%	-27%	600%	-72%
West Haven city	-1%	-11%	-19%	0%	-60%	31%	-100%	-6%	79%	65%
Willimantic	-1%	-11%	-18%	24%	1600%	48%	-100%	-62%	148%	17%
North Haven	-1%	1%	-3%	61%	-100%	19%	-100%	-25%	142%	-22%
Jewett City borough	-1%	2%	1%	-100%	3000%	-39%	-100%	-100%	338%	-39%
East Haven	-1%	-12%	-15%	69%	3700%	17%	2400%	445%	-45%	140%
East Brooklyn	-1%	-10%	-3%	72%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-41%	13200%
Byram	-1%	-23%	-23%	-10%	700%	-55%	1900%	-100%	12800%	54%
Naugatuck borough	-1%	-4%	-12%	137%	107%	-27%	-100%	-67%	118%	22%
Meriden city	-1%	-3%	-5%	39%	531%	-36%	-100%	-57%	-13%	2%
Hartford city	-1%	-5%	-15%	-1%	-98%	1%	-100%	-47%	38%	4%
Wilton Center	-1%	-6%	8%	-100%	-100%	58%	-100%	-100%	1600%	100%
East Hartford	-1%	-15%	-26%	13%	58%	-38%	-100%	-53%	25%	36%
Essex Village	-1%	-2%	-20%	956%	-100%	9500%	-100%	-100%	1743%	1700%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (Table B03002)

Appendix A. Population Change by Place, 2010-2019 (Part 3.)

Place	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black or African American alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
Norwich city	-1%	-6%	-10%	-10%	45%	25%	-100%	-63%	15%	42%
Waterbury city	-2%	-12%	-22%	7%	-87%	32%	-82%	-17%	18%	23%
Thompsonville	-2%	-14%	-20%	-9%	2500%	62%	-100%	600%	118%	84%
Wethersfield	-2%	0%	-6%	61%	82%	158%	-100%	112%	100%	-15%
Middletown city	-2%	-7%	-10%	-1%	-91%	21%	-100%	-96%	44%	69%
Ansonia city	-2%	-11%	-16%	27%	-100%	-30%	-100%	56%	-18%	62%
New London city	-2%	-11%	-15%	-11%	-63%	-38%	2600%	5%	74%	23%
Terryville	-2%	-7%	-10%	570%	1700%	-98%	-100%	25%	130%	267%
Madison Center	-2%	-4%	-5%	500%	-100%	5700%	-100%	-100%	-100%	106%
Clinton	-2%	-7%	0%	-72%	400%	-68%	-100%	-100%	-100%	126%
Sherwood Manor	-3%	-4%	-10%	3%	6500%	491%	-100%	1300%	-49%	24%
Derby city	-3%	-10%	-16%	0%	-100%	174%	-100%	75%	45%	40%
Winsted	-3%	-2%	-4%	-41%	3483%	-100%	-100%	-100%	41%	-13%
Chester Center	-3%	-1%	0%	1000%	-100%	-17%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-64%
Danielson borough	-3%	-12%	-18%	-18%	300%	-9%	-100%	-100%	1388%	291%
Hazardville	-4%	-4%	-10%	131%	900%	-5%	-100%	900%	503%	6%
Westbrook Center	-4%	4%	4%	2000%	-100%	-97%	-100%	11100%	53%	-76%
Branford Center	-4%	-3%	-9%	353%	-100%	559%	-100%	-100%	1600%	-36%
Southwood Acres	-5%	-11%	-17%	20900%	-100%	209%	-100%	1000%	2113%	493%
Collinsville	-5%	-5%	-8%	1583%	1400%	230%	-100%	-100%	-60%	-29%
Torrington city	-5%	-9%	-11%	78%	0%	10%	-100%	35%	-16%	43%
Newtown borough	-6%	-6%	-9%	433%	-100%	186%	-100%	-100%	-58%	-13%
Oakville	-6%	-8%	-4%	30%	-100%	-93%	-100%	-100%	-51%	21%
Northwest Harwinton	-7%	-7%	-8%	6500%	-100%	-67%	-100%	-100%	10%	162%
Portland	-7%	-4%	-4%	42%	-100%	-60%	-100%	-100%	-12%	-45%
Terramuggus	-7%	-7%	-7%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%
Mansfield Center	-7%	-18%	-17%	400%	-100%	-28%	-100%	-100%	-100%	2220%
Rockville	-8%	-7%	-15%	60%	-100%	-6%	-100%	-100%	-41%	-12%
Stonington borough	-8%	-5%	-8%	700%	-100%	138%	-100%	-100%	600%	-100%
Woodmont borough	-8%	-10%	-6%	11%	500%	-84%	-100%	-100%	-65%	79%
New Hartford Center	-8%	-5%	-5%	-100%	1800%	-100%	-100%	-100%	2900%	-49%
Old Mystic	-8%	-13%	-18%	105%	-100%	-11%	-100%	-11%	80%	229%
Pawcatuck	-9%	-10%	-12%	28%	-31%	-35%	-100%	-100%	46%	28%
Fenwick borough	-9%	-9%	-4%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%
Watertown	-9%	-12%	-13%	7800%	-100%	-32%	-100%	-100%	-100%	550%
Kensington	-9%	-13%	-17%	6000%	-100%	89%	-100%	29%	9%	546%
South Windham	-9%	-7%	-13%	2300%	-100%	3300%	-100%	-100%	1600%	-17%
Coventry Lake	-9%	-13%	-16%	3900%	-100%	3600%	-100%	-100%	32%	111%
South Coventry	-10%	-10%	-8%	900%	-100%	-100%	-100%	1500%	-100%	-100%
Sharon	-10%	-9%	-28%	4000%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	8800%	-100%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (Table B03002)

Appendix A. Population Change by Place, 2010-2019 (Part 4.)

Place	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black or African American alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
Bethlehem Village	-10%	-11%	-16%	2000%	-100%	-100%	-100%	3300%	590%	107%
Deep River Center	-10%	-1%	5%	-6%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-64%
Groton city	-12%	-20%	-29%	57%	-86%	-7%	-100%	175%	23%	69%
Putnam	-12%	-14%	-5%	-72%	-100%	9%	-100%	-100%	-81%	59%
Gales Ferry	-13%	-16%	-15%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	2200%	71%
Baltic	-14%	-16%	-23%	7600%	1000%	-72%	1400%	-100%	8000%	9%
Oxoboxo River	-14%	-12%	-3%	-12%	-100%	-73%	-100%	-100%	-75%	-28%
Falls Village	-15%	-13%	-13%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-45%
Groton Long Point	-15%	-12%	-12%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-71%
New Preston	-15%	-19%	-25%	-100%	-100%	2400%	-100%	800%	343%	3600%
Norfolk	-16%	-16%	-21%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	500%	311%	0%
Plainfield Village	-19%	-22%	-26%	5100%	-100%	1600%	-100%	-100%	16%	6700%
Woodbury Center	-19%	-15%	-15%	-100%	-100%	400%	-100%	-100%	84%	-89%
Noank	-21%	-16%	-19%	-88%	3000%	-100%	-100%	1500%	167%	-88%
North Granby	-21%	-20%	-14%	-97%	-100%	1300%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-74%
Canaan	-25%	-32%	-37%	345%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	1500%	588%
Higganum	-26%	-28%	-36%	-100%	-100%	13900%	-100%	-100%	0%	3600%
Bantam borough	-29%	-31%	-30%	100%	-100%	22%	-100%	-100%	-71%	8%
Saybrook Manor	-30%	-37%	-36%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	9900%
North Grosvenor Dale	-36%	-38%	-40%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	4200%	10%
Brooklyn	-37%	-31%	-25%	-61%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	3100%	-52%
Cannondale	-96%	-97%	-97%	0%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	-100%	100%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (Table B03002)

Appendix B. Proportion of Connecticut's Congressional District Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2019

Congressional District	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
1	703,138	82.8%	59.6%	14.7%	0.3%	5.6%	0.1%	0.5%	2.1%	17.2%
2	701,590	91.0%	80.7%	3.8%	0.3%	3.7%	0.0%	0.2%	2.2%	9.0%
3	717,989	83.3%	63.1%	13.6%	0.1%	4.2%	0.0%	0.2%	2.1%	16.7%
4	737,733	79.2%	59.8%	11.3%	0.0%	5.5%	0.1%	0.4%	2.2%	20.8%
5	704,837	79.7%	65.3%	7.0%	0.1%	4.2%	0.0%	0.4%	2.6%	20.3%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey; 1-Year Estimates (TableID:B03002)

Appendix C. Proportion of Connecticut's County Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2019

County	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
Fairfield	943,332	79.5%	60.9%	11.1%	0.1%	5.8%	0.0%	1.5%	20.5%
Hartford	891,720	81.2%	59.9%	13.4%	0.2%	5.9%	0.0%	1.8%	18.8%
Litchfield	180,333	92.9%	87.4%	1.8%	0.2%	2.1%	0.0%	1.4%	7.1%
Middlesex	162,436	93.4%	83.3%	4.9%	0.2%	3.2%	0.0%	1.8%	6.6%
New Haven	854,757	80.9%	61.6%	13.0%	0.2%	4.2%	0.0%	1.8%	19.1%
New London	265,206	88.9%	75.1%	5.7%	0.8%	4.2%	0.1%	3.0%	11.1%
Tolland	150,721	94.1%	83.8%	3.5%	0.2%	5.0%	0.0%	1.7%	5.9%
Windham	116,782	87.6%	82.0%	1.9%	0.4%	1.4%	0.0%	1.9%	12.4%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2019 Population Estimates

The Center for Puerto Rican Studies (Centro) is the nation's leading university-based institution devoted to the interdisciplinary study of the Puerto Rican experience in the United States. Centro is dedicated to understanding, preserving and sharing the Puerto Rican experience in the United States. Centro invites Centro Voices contributors to make use of the extensive archival, bibliographic and research material preserved in its Library and Archives.

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