
Racially Polarized Voting Analyses of San Diego County

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**Does the data
show evidence of
racial
polarization in
San Diego
County?**

Yes

But first... Definitions

Racially polarized voting: A majority of one racial group votes for one candidate and the other group regularly votes for another candidate.

Example: Two-candidate election in 2018, SD countywide results:

Xavier Becerra: Latino voters 88%; non-Hispanic white voters 42%

Steven Bailey: Latino voters 12%; non-Hispanic white voters 58%

Candidates of choice. The candidate preferred by a majority of a group. In example above, the Latino candidate of choice is Becerra and the white candidate of choice is Bailey.

Definitions

Latino candidate of choice. If Latino voters vote cohesively as a bloc for the same candidate, this is the candidate preferred by Latino voters.

Asian candidate of choice. If Asian American voters vote cohesively as a bloc for the same candidate, this is the candidate preferred by Asian American voters.

White candidate of choice. If non-Hispanic white voters vote cohesively as a bloc for the same candidate, this is the candidate preferred by non-Hispanic white voters.

White crossover voters. These are white voters who support the minority candidate of choice.

Latino ability to elect district. A district that is likely to elect a Latino candidate of choice. The % of Latino voters + % non-Latino voters willing to support Latino candidate of choice help determine the Latino VAP and CVAP in a district needed to elect a Latino candidate of choice.

How do you evaluate racial polarization? Three established conditions

- 1. Size.** Minority group must be “sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority of the voting-age population in a single-member district.” *Check the data in the maps.*
- 2. Cohesion.** This minority group must be “politically cohesive,” which means consistently vote together as a bloc for the same candidates. *Check the data in the RPV analyses.*
- 3. White bloc voting.** The majority group (white voters) “must vote sufficiently as a bloc to enable it to frequently defeat the minority group’s candidate of choice.” *Check the data in the RPV analyses.*

Source: DOJ VRA Section 2 guidance, 2021:

<https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1429486/download>

Report findings organized by *Gingles* preconditions: What the data analyses reveal

1. Size.

Latino voters are 31% VAP & 26% CVAP in San Diego County.

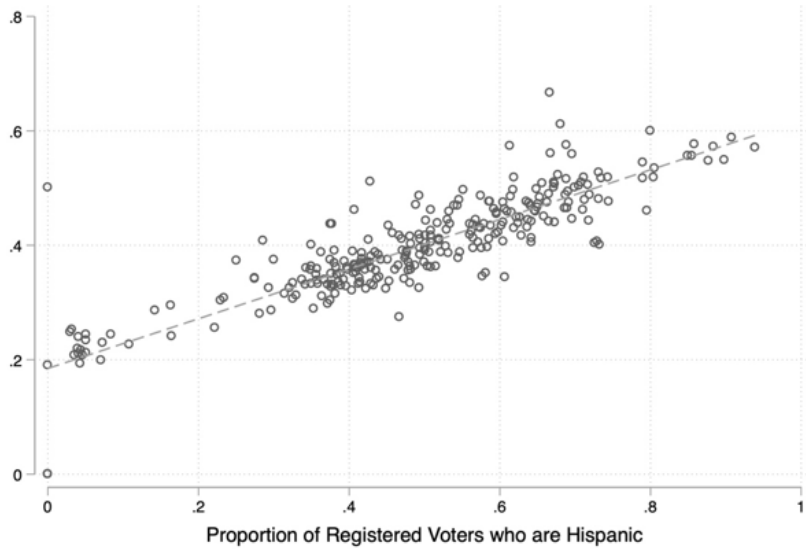
2. Cohesion.

RPV analysis shows Latino voters can be a politically cohesive voter bloc.

3. White bloc voting.

RPV analysis finds the majority of white voters are cohesive voter bloc & vote for candidates of choice not preferred by Latino voters. RPV occurring in SD County.

RPV also shows evidence of some white crossover voting that could provide opportunities to elect Latino candidates of choice in multiple supervisor districts.



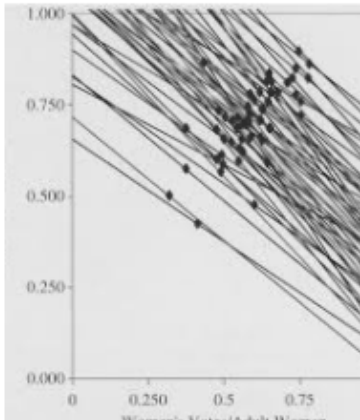
Statistical Methodology

Ecological Regression (ER)

Ecological Inference (EI)

Homogenous Precinct Analysis (HPA)

Visualizations



Data:

Elections Analyzed in the Report

Endogenous elections (most probative):

Supervisor Primary elections 2012-2020

Supervisor General elections 2012-2020

Exogenous elections (highly probative):

Statewide office involving a Latino candidate 2012-2020

Statewide office involving an Asian American candidate 2012-2020

**All data provided to us by FLO Analytics*

Key findings

**RPV: Latino voters &
non-Hispanic white
voters**

Summary: Racial polarization exists between Latinos & whites, Supervisor elections, 2012-2020

San Diego Supervisor District	# (%) supervisor general elections with RPV	# (%) supervisor primary elections with RPV	% supervisor primary & general elections with RPV
District 1	0 of 1 (0%)	1 of 2 (50%)	33%
District 2	0 of 1 (0%)	2 of 3 (67%)	50%
District 3	0 of 3 (0%)	3 of 3 (100%)	50%
District 4	0 of 1 (0%)	1 of 1 (100%)	50%
District 5	1 of 1 (100%)	2 of 2 (100%)	100%

How often do Latino candidates of choice win in Supervisor elections? (2012-2020)

San Diego Supervisor District	# (%) supervisor general elections where Latino candidate of choice wins	# (%) supervisor primary elections where Latino candidate of choice wins
District 1	1 of 1 (100%)	2 of 2 (100%)
District 2	1 of 1 (100%)	1 of 3 (33%)
District 3	3 of 3 (100%)	0 of 3 (0%)
District 4	1 of 1 (100%)	0 of 1 (0%)
District 5	0 of 1 (0%)	1 of 2 (50%)

Key findings

**RPV: Asian
American voters &
non-Hispanic white
voters**

Statewide elections in San Diego County, elections w/ Latino candidate vs. non-Latino candidate, 2012-20

Latino vs. white racial polarization is found	8 out of 9 (89%)
Latino candidate of choice wins in San Diego county	3 out of 9 (33%)
Asian American vs. white racial polarization is found	5 out of 8 (63%)
Asian Amer. cand. of choice wins in San Diego county	6 out of 8 (75%)

Please see Appx. D of the report for RPV results for exogenous statewide elections within each supervisor district.

Summary: Racial polarization exists between Asian Americans & whites in some supervisor elections, 2012-20

San Diego Supervisor District	# (%) supervisor general elections with RPV	# (%) supervisor primary elections with RPV	% supervisor primary & general elections with RPV
District 1	0 of 1 (0%)	0 of 2 (0%)	0%
District 2	1 of 1 (100%)	3 of 3 (100%)	100%
District 3	1 of 3 (33%)	2 of 3 (67%)	50%
District 4	0 of 1 (0%)	0 of 1 (0%)	0%
District 5	0 of 1 (0%)	0 of 2 (0%)	0%

How often do Asian American candidates of choice win in Supervisor elections? (2012-2020)

San Diego Supervisor District	# (%) supervisor general elections where Asian American candidate of choice wins	# (%) supervisor primary elections where Asian American candidate of choice wins
District 1	1 of 1 (100%)	1 of 2 (50%)
District 2	0 of 1 (0%)	0 of 3 (0%)
District 3	2 of 3 (67%)	3 of 3 (100%)
District 4	1 of 1 (100%)	1 of 1 (100%)
District 5	1 of 1 (100%)	2 of 2 (100%)

Statewide elections in San Diego County, elections w/ Asian candidate vs. non-Asian candidate, 2012-20

Asian American vs. white racial polarization is found	7 out of 8 (88%)*
Asian Amer. cand. of choice wins in San Diego county	6 out of 8 (75%)*
Latino vs. white racial polarization is found	7 out of 7 (100%)*
Latino. cand. of choice wins in San Diego county	5 out of 7 (71%)*

*Note: These estimates include the 2016 U.S. Senate race between an Asian American & Latina candidate so this election is also included in the slides re: Latino RPV. As a result, we do not include this election in the count of the last two rows in the above table.

Please see Appx. D of the report for RPV results for exogenous statewide elections within each supervisor district.

Conclusions & Recommendations

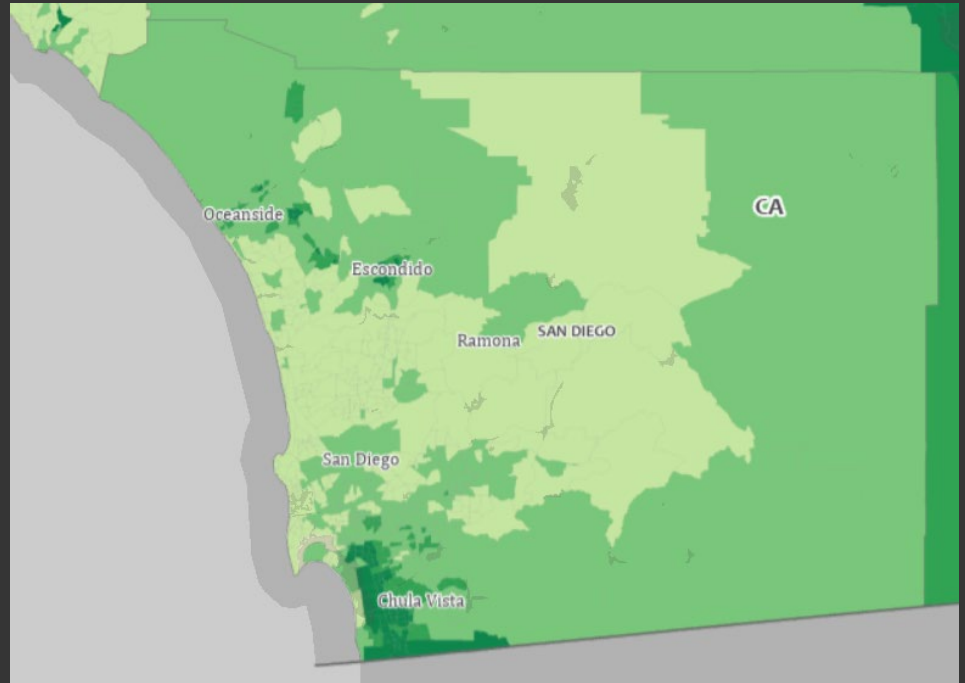
Findings & Recommendations to SDC IRC & to FLO

- RPV exists in San Diego County, per our data analyses.
- Given these RPV data analyses, the IRC is responsible for ensuring voting rights are protected and that minority vote dilution does not occur.
- The data suggest: do not dilute the vote when drawing the districts across the entire county.

Latino population in SD Cty.

Darker green indicates
higher Latino areas

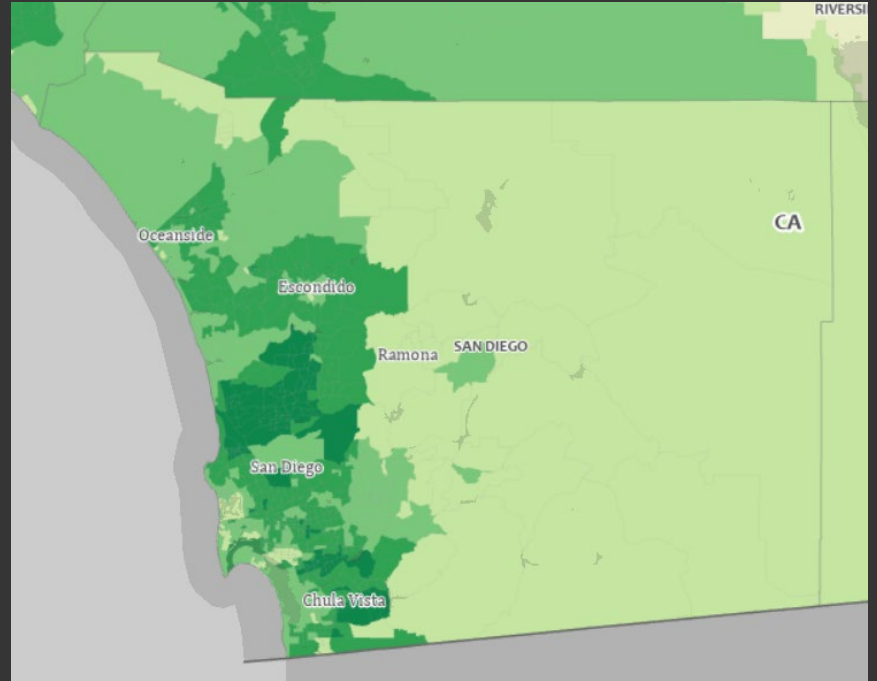
Source: 2020 census



Asian population in SD Cty.

Darker green indicates
higher Asian American areas

Source: 2020 census



Growth in racial diversity in SDC

SD County gained 242k people from 2010 to 2020. Growth in SDC driven by Latinos and Asian Americans

Latino: +128k people, +12.9% increase

Asian: +74k people, +22.2% increase

Black: -2k, -1.5% decrease

White*: 2010 64% popu. of county; 2020: 49.5% popu. of county.

VAP & CVAP key for VRA Section 2 compliance.

*White only, 2020 census.

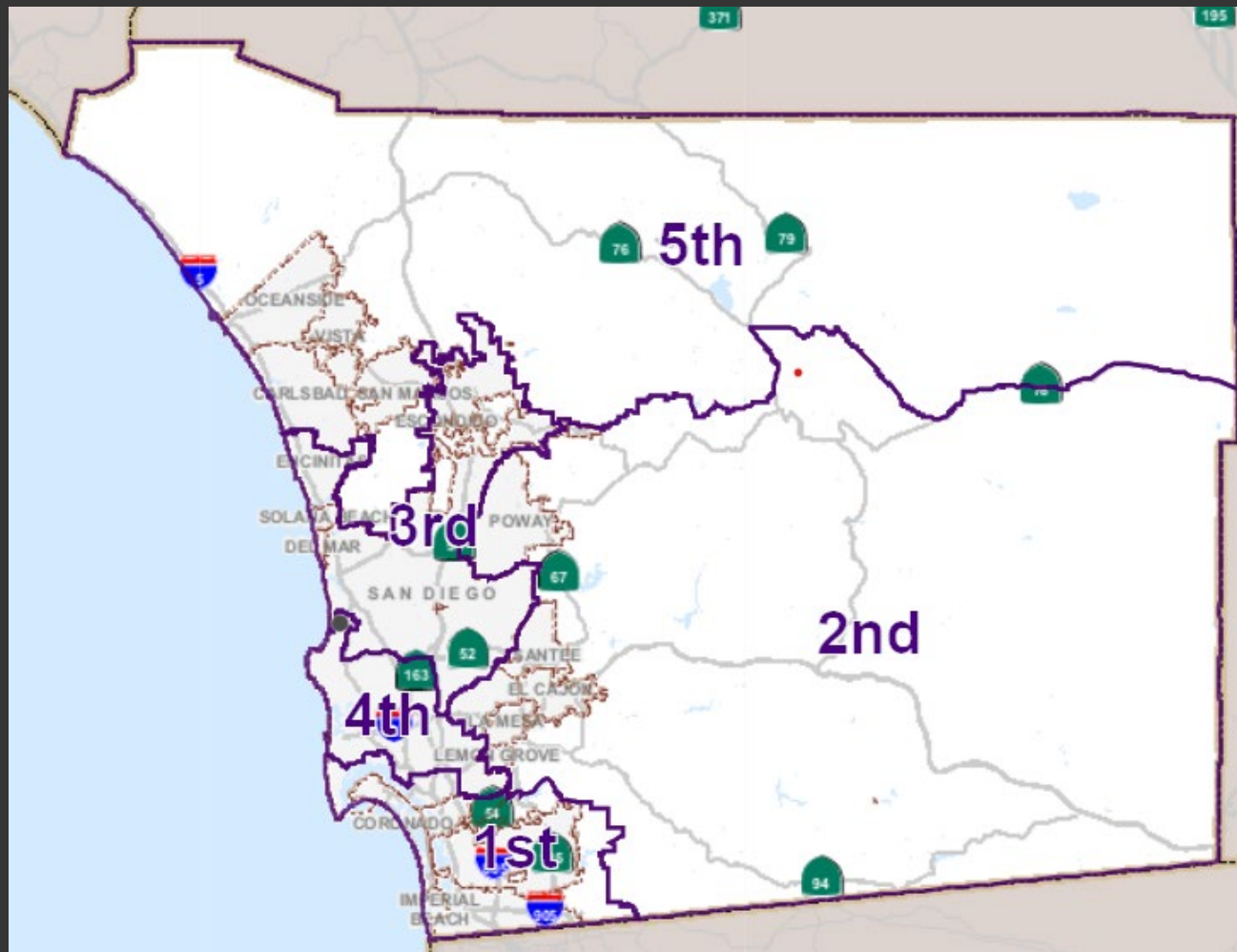
2015-2019 ACS CVAP by Race/Ethnicity

Current Districts

District	Non-Hispanic or Latino						Hispanic or Latino
	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Two or More	
1	98,610	27,171	670	54,857	2,605	7,801	207,851
2	313,712	25,315	2,458	25,045	1,740	14,384	95,417
3	261,561	12,042	1,161	83,071	1,545	14,331	70,757
4	271,811	40,163	1,092	54,152	1,610	13,911	102,608
5	284,477	15,283	3,596	27,548	1,887	11,164	113,483
County	1,230,171	119,974	8,977	244,673	9,387	61,591	590,116

District	Non-Hispanic or Latino						Hispanic or Latino
	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Two or More	
1	24.7%	6.8%	0.2%	13.7%	0.7%	2.0%	52.0%
2	65.6%	5.3%	0.5%	5.2%	0.4%	3.0%	20.0%
3	58.8%	2.7%	0.3%	18.7%	0.3%	3.2%	15.9%
4	56.0%	8.3%	0.2%	11.2%	0.3%	2.9%	21.1%
5	62.2%	3.3%	0.8%	6.0%	0.4%	2.4%	24.8%
County	54.3%	5.3%	0.4%	10.8%	0.4%	2.7%	26.1%

Current
districts,
used
2012-20



Guideposts for commissioners based on the RPV statistical analyses

What do RPV data tell you about how to draw maps?

What do you need to know about the data to draw districts?

Avoid packing.

Avoid cracking.

From our report: “When there is evidence of racial polarization, the Commission must draw district(s) that allow for the election of candidate(s) of choice in ways that do not dilute voting power across the entire districting plan.”

What's next?

-We were asked to analyze whether RPV exists. It does occur across much of SDC. Further, Latino + Asian American growth has occurred in SDC with implications for decisions the IRC must make in order to avoid vote dilution.

-We will conduct ability-to-elect analyses of draft maps after they are drawn. When you draw maps, please incorporate this knowledge from our report. The key takeaway is avoid vote dilution when drawing your map(s).

-We will be a continued resource for the IRC & FLO. We look forward to speaking to the IRC & FLO as needed regarding the IRC regarding RPV, ability to elect, and the data around VRA compliance. We would be happy to return again to discuss the ideal Latino VAP and minority VAP districts given this RPV.

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bios

Christian Grose is Associate Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Southern California. He is the Academic Director of the USC Schwarzenegger Institute for State and Global Policy. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Rochester and his B.A. from Duke University. He is the author of more than 40 articles and chapters about American politics; legislative politics; race and ethnicity; voting rights; and statistical methodology. His award-winning book *Congress in Black and White*, analyzes the role of race and ethnicity in the redistricting process. His research has been funded by the Russell Sage Foundation, the Leonardo DiCaprio Foundation, the MIT Election Data Science Center, and others. Grose directs USC's Fair Maps and Political Reform Lab, which produces nonpartisan research about redistricting, the top-two primary, and independent commissions. He has worked as an expert witness and consultant on numerous voting rights cases, and has extensive experience analyzing racially polarized voting and minority ability-to-elect districts. He has experience working with bipartisan and nonpartisan groups such as commissions.

Natalie Masuoka is Associate Professor of Political Science and Asian American Studies at UCLA. Professor Masuoka's research expertise is on racial minority voting and public opinion with a particular focus on Asian American and Latino voters. Her research uses quantitative statistical techniques to analyze racial voting patterns. She is the author of two books and 12 articles focusing on these areas. She obtained her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine under the supervision of Professor Bernard Grofman, a longstanding expert on racially polarized voting and the Voting Rights Act. She is an expert on racially polarized voting analyses, especially Hispanic and Asian-American RPV in California. She teaches classes that focus on the Voting Rights Act, American immigration policy, the U.S. Census, political behavior as well as introductory statistics. She has previously held positions at Duke University and Tufts University.

Jordan Carr Peterson is Assistant Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs at North Carolina State University. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Southern California in Los Angeles and a J.D. from the University of Florida Levin College of Law. His research and teaching interests include criminal procedure, criminal law, administrative law and regulatory processes, constitutional law, election law, and voting rights law. He has conducted racially polarized voting analyses and has published extensively about redistricting and local governance in California and other states. His research has been published in the *Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, the *Missouri Law Review*, the *Journal of Legal Studies*, the *University of Hawai'i Law Review*, *Law & Policy*, and others. His research on race and local governance was recognized by the Western Political Science Association as the best published in 2020.