

**VOTING RIGHTS AND ABILITY TO ELECT:
HOW TO EVALUATE IF A PROPOSED DISTRICT
HAS THE ABILITY TO ELECT LATINO
CANDIDATES OF CHOICE?**

Dr. Christian Grose & Dr. Natalie Masuoka, RPV consultants

Prepared for the San Diego Independent Redistricting Commission

OVERVIEW

- How do we know if a district will have the ability to elect a Latino candidate of choice?
- Guidance on a specific number? It is important that we conduct a careful ability to elect analysis. Latino VAP/CVAP should be sufficiently large but not an arbitrary number.

OVERVIEW

- Do not over-pack Latino + other minority voters into surrounding districts if doing so is not needed to elect Latino candidates of choice. Doing so will dilute Latino voting power in neighboring districts. From a data standpoint to protect voting rights, please consider neighboring districts where Latino/minority voters could also have the ability to elect candidates of choice.
- Do not crack Latino voters and other voters of color across many districts to provide little voting strength. The data on ability to elect must be examined: Latino ability to elect cannot drop too low so as to provide no opportunity to elect Latino candidates of choice.

CAN WE DETERMINE A PRECISE LATINO CVAP FOR A LATINO ABILITY TO ELECT DISTRICT IN SAN DIEGO COUNTY? DATA SPARSITY PROBLEMS FROM PAST DECADE

- What do previous data from 2012 to 2020 map tell the IRC about the level of Latino CVAP needed for an effective ability-to-elect district?
- In 2012-20 map, there are **no districts** between 24.8% Latino CVAP (current district 5) and 52.0% Latino CVAP (current district 1).
- We cannot make projections about Latino CVAP in a district based on past data in the range of 24.8% to 52.0%, as no data exist in San Diego for supervisor districts between 24.8% Latino CVAP and 52.0% Latino CVAP. Data sparsity from 2012-20 map.
- Further, context matters when drawing districts; and is preferred to choosing any specific threshold number. Potential Latino-ability-to-elect districts differ depending on where in the county they are drawn. We must consider whether a district has the ability to elect Latino candidates of choice.

WHAT CAN WE DO FOR GUIDANCE? EVALUATE PAST PROPENSITY TO ELECT LATINO CANDIDATES OF CHOICE

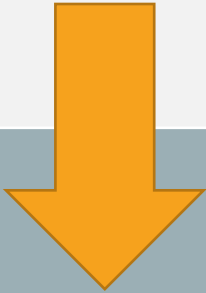
- Draw districts with sufficiently high Latino VAP/CVAP or sufficiently high minority coalition VAP/CVAP, with guidance from your legal counsel; and considering data on ability to elect analyses. Do not set arbitrary data point target without considering data on ability to elect.
- We evaluate proposed districts using data for the ability to elect Latino candidates of choice *within the newly drawn districts*.
- This analysis will assess if Latino candidates of choice in past elections are able to advance and win in elections in a proposed district or districts.
- Four examples are offered, including evaluations of draft map 6 and draft map 7. We also motivate ability to elect on the 2012-20 map and the draft map 1.

ABILITY TO ELECT, EXAMPLE 1: OLD MAP, USED 2012 TO 2020



CVAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

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%



District/ Latino CVAP	Total vote share % in district for Latino candidates of choice in exogenous elections (mean)*	Rate Latino candidates of choice win
1 / 52%	61%	100%
2 / 20%	43%	0%
5 / 25%	45%	40%

*This is the total vote received by the candidates from all voters living in the district.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
OLD MAP, USED 2012-20

- District 1 in the old map 2012-20 is a Latino ability to elect district.
- No other districts in the old 2012-20 map provide high probabilities of electing Latino candidates of choice.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
OLD MAP, USED 2012-20

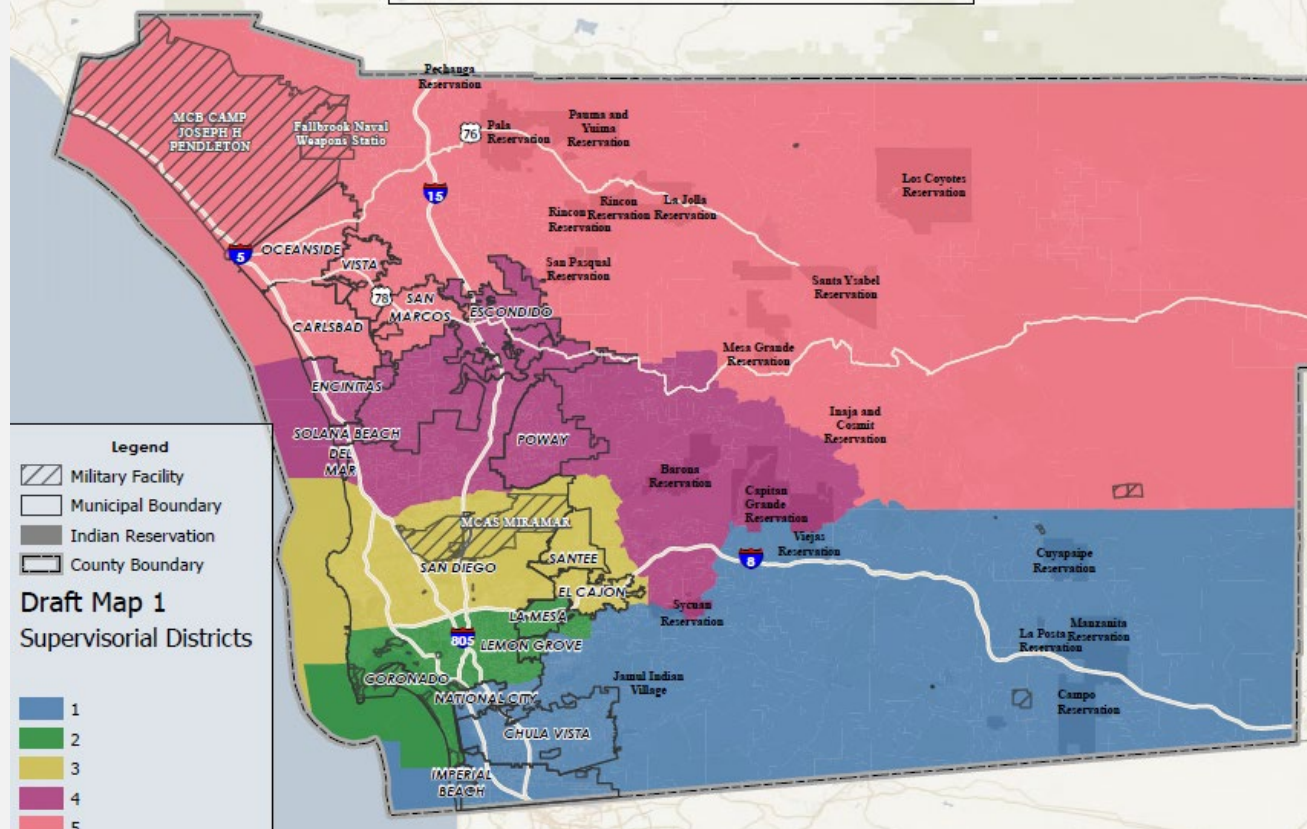
PRIMARY ELECTIONS ALSO INFORMATIVE

- RPV report showed that Vargas and Hueso were the preferred candidates in a 52% Latino CVAP district 1.
- Both Latino preferred candidates advanced to general election (Vargas & Hueso). This is also evidence of ability to elect. In two-round election, does Latino candidate of choice advance to second-round general election?

Table: District 1 estimates of candidate vote share by racial group

Supervisor District 1, 2020 Primary Election			
	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. white Voter Support %
Henry Belisle	2%	5%	2%
Rafa Castellanos	8%	20%	28%
Alex Galicia	3%	17%	26%
Ben Hueso*	42%	20%	12%
Camilo Marquez	3%	2%	4%
Sophia Rodriguez	18%	19%	7%
Nora Vargas*	23%	13%	13%
Tony Villafranca	1%	5%	5%

EXAMPLE 2: DRAFT MAP 1

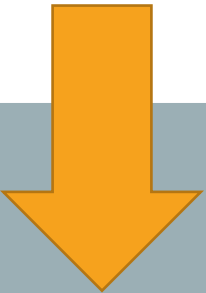


VAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

District	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	Some Other Race	Two or More Races	Hispanic/Latino
1	23.5%	5.2%	0.4%	13.6%	0.5%	0.4%	3.2%	53.4%
2	42.4%	8.8%	0.3%	10.3%	0.4%	0.6%	4.2%	33.0%
3	57.2%	3.9%	0.3%	13.6%	0.4%	0.6%	5.0%	19.0%
4	53.8%	1.8%	0.3%	18.9%	0.2%	0.5%	4.3%	20.2%
5	53.8%	2.8%	0.7%	7.1%	0.6%	0.5%	4.1%	30.4%

CVAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

District ID	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	Two or More Races	Hispanic/Latino
1	29.3%	6.1%	0.2%	13.4%	0.6%	2.3%	47.8%
2	49.7%	10.8%	0.2%	9.5%	0.4%	2.7%	26.5%
3	65.3%	4.1%	0.3%	10.2%	0.4%	3.2%	16.4%
4	63.1%	2.0%	0.4%	15.1%	0.3%	2.9%	16.0%
5	61.8%	3.4%	0.8%	5.9%	0.4%	2.5%	25.0%



DISTRICT	LATINO VAP/ CVAP	BLACK VAP/ CVAP	ASIAN VAP/ CVAP	Total vote share % in district for Latino candidates of choice in exogenous elections (mean)	Rate Latino candidate of choice wins
1	53.4%/ 47.8%	5.2%/ 6.1%	13.6%/ 13.4%	56%	100%
2	33.0%/ 26.5%	8.8%/ 10.8%	10.3%/ 9.5%	62%	80%
5	30.4%/ 25.0%	2.8%/ 3.4%	7.1%/ 5.9%	45%	40%

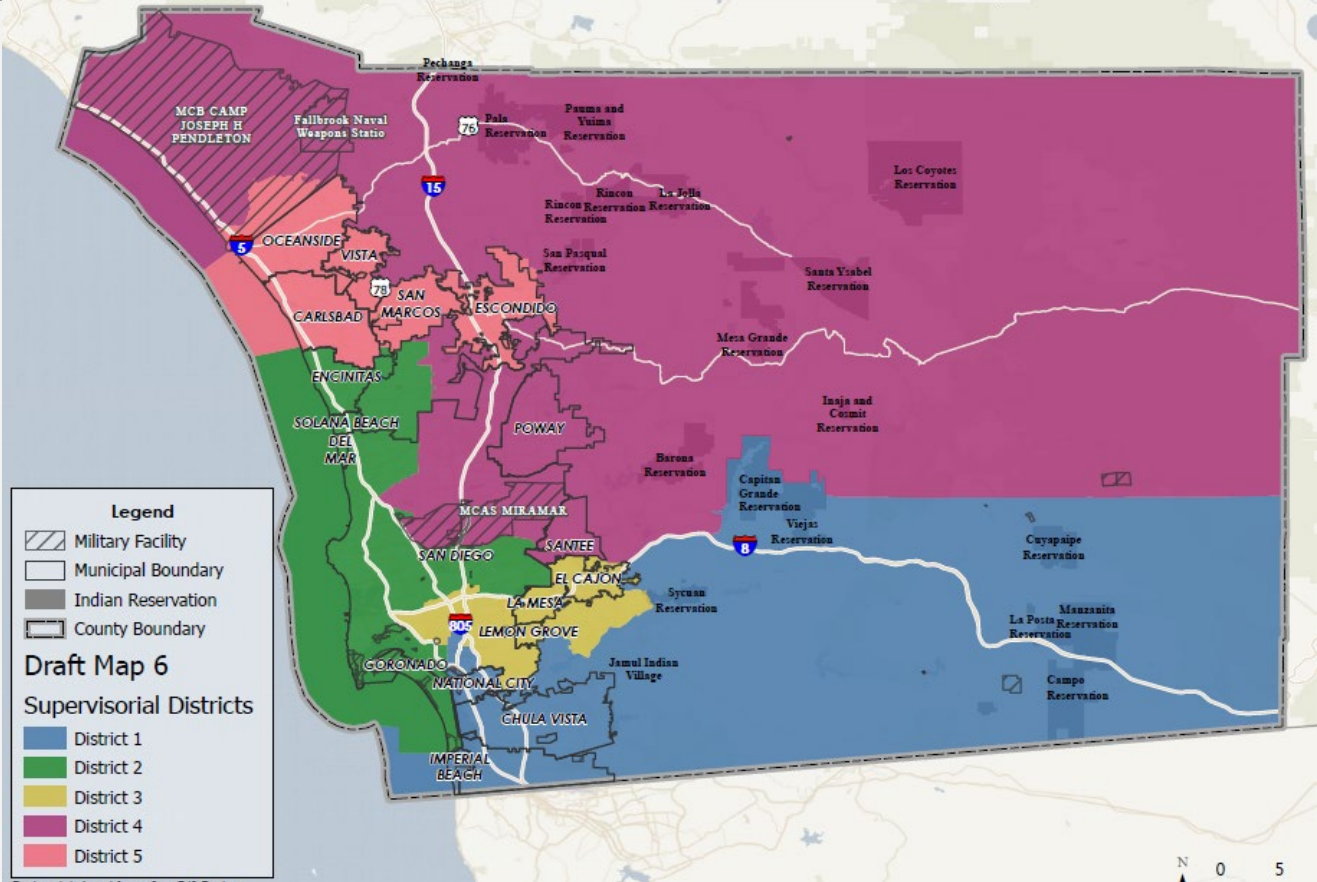
*This is the total vote received by the candidates from all voters living in the district.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
DRAFT MAP 1

- District 1 is a Latino ability to elect district.
- Neighboring district 2 also shows an ability for Latino candidates of choice to be elected with a coalition of Latino voters and other voters of color.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
DRAFT MAP 1

EXAMPLE 3: DRAFT MAP 6

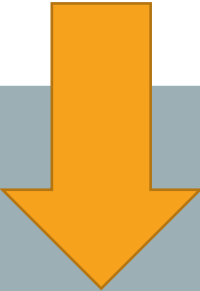


VAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

District	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	Some Other Race	Two or More Races	Hispanic/Latino
1	22.1%	5.0%	0.4%	12.0%	0.4%	0.4%	3.0%	56.7%
2	61.2%	3.1%	0.3%	12.9%	0.3%	0.7%	4.8%	16.8%
3	42.0%	9.1%	0.3%	11.9%	0.5%	0.6%	4.4%	31.2%
4	54.9%	2.4%	0.8%	18.4%	0.4%	0.5%	4.4%	18.3%
5	49.4%	2.7%	0.3%	8.2%	0.5%	0.5%	4.1%	34.2%

CVAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

District ID	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	Two or More Races	Hispanic/Latino
1	28.2%	6.1%	0.3%	12.3%	0.6%	2.0%	50.4%
2	69.0%	3.4%	0.3%	9.7%	0.2%	2.7%	14.6%
3	48.5%	11.0%	0.2%	10.5%	0.5%	3.1%	26.0%
4	63.3%	2.7%	0.8%	14.5%	0.4%	3.1%	15.0%
5	58.2%	3.3%	0.4%	7.0%	0.4%	2.7%	27.7%



DISTRICT	LATINO VAP/ CVAP	BLACK VAP/ CVAP	ASIAN VAP/ CVAP	Total vote share % in district for Latino candidates of choice in exogenous elections (mean)	Rate Latino candidate of choice wins
1	56.7%/ 50.4%	5.0%/ 6.1%	12.0%/ 12.3%	58%	100%
3	31.2%/ 26.0%	9.1%/ 11.0%	11.9%/ 10.5%	59%	80%
5	34.2%/ 27.7%	2.7%/ 3.3%	8.2%/ 7.0%	47%	40%

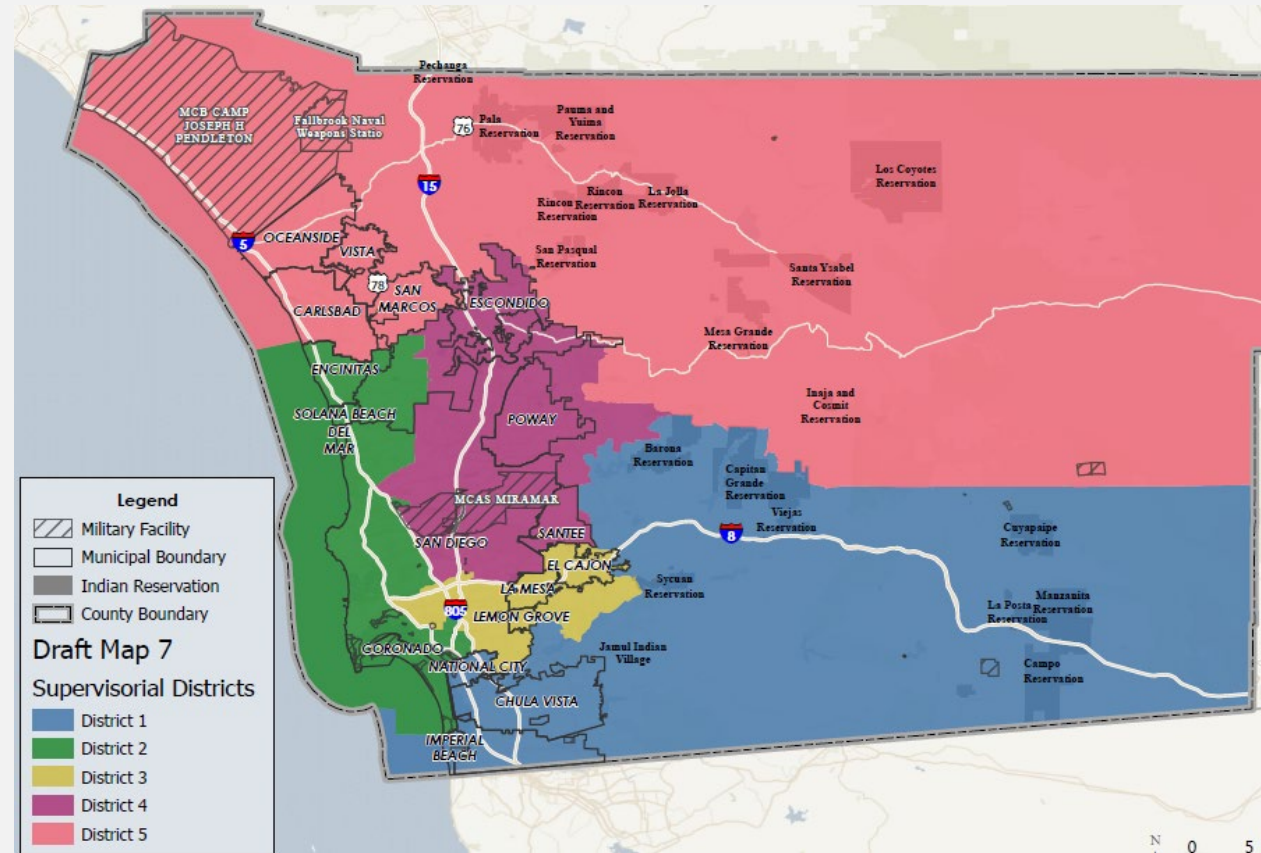
*This is the total vote received by the candidates from all voters living in the district.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
DRAFT MAP 6

- District 1 is a Latino ability to elect district.
- Neighboring district 3 also shows a high propensity of the ability for Latino candidates of choice to be elected with a coalition of Latino voters and other voters of color.
- District 5 is not frequently willing to elect Latino candidate of choice, even though Latino VAP/CVAP is higher than district 3. Latino candidates of choice win elections less than half the time, based on exogenous election analysis.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
DRAFT MAP 6

EXAMPLE 4: DRAFT MAP 7




VAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

District	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	Some Other Race	Two or More Races	Hispanic/Latino
1	26.2%	4.3%	0.5%	11.9%	0.4%	0.4%	3.2%	53.1%
2	57.8%	3.4%	0.3%	12.3%	0.2%	0.6%	4.5%	20.9%
3	42.0%	9.1%	0.3%	11.9%	0.5%	0.6%	4.4%	31.2%
4	49.5%	2.9%	0.3%	20.7%	0.4%	0.5%	4.6%	21.2%
5	54.4%	2.7%	0.7%	6.8%	0.6%	0.5%	4.1%	30.1%

CVAP by Race/Ethnicity per District

District ID	White	Black or African American	American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	Two or More Races	Hispanic/Latino
1	33.2%	5.0%	0.5%	11.9%	0.6%	2.1%	46.6%
2	66.3%	3.9%	0.3%	9.0%	0.2%	2.6%	17.4%
3	48.5%	11.0%	0.2%	10.5%	0.5%	3.1%	26.0%
4	58.7%	3.2%	0.3%	17.0%	0.4%	3.3%	16.9%
5	62.3%	3.3%	0.8%	5.7%	0.4%	2.4%	24.9%



DISTRICT	LATINO VAP/ CVAP	BLACK VAP/ CVAP	ASIAN VAP/ CVAP	Total vote share % in district for Latino candidates of choice in exogenous elections (mean)	Rate Latino candidate of choice wins
1	53.1%/ 46.6%	4.3%/ 5.0%	11.9%/ 11.9%	58%	80%
3	31.2%/ 26.0%	9.1%/ 11.0%	11.9%/ 10.5%	59%	80%
5	30.1%/ 24.9%	2.7%/ 3.3%	6.8%/ 5.7%	47%	20%

*This is the total vote received by the candidates from all voters living in the district.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
DRAFT MAP 7

- District 1 is a Latino ability to elect district, though differs from draft map 6 on win rate (100% Latino candidate of choice win rate in map 6 vs. 80% Latino candidate of choice win rate in map 7).
- Neighboring district 3 also shows a propensity for the ability for Latino candidates of choice to be elected with a coalition of Latino voters and other voters of color.
- District 5 is not frequently willing to elect Latino candidate of choice, even though Latino CVAP is higher than district 3.

ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSIS ON
GENERAL ELECTIONS
DRAFT MAP 7

CONCLUSIONS & FUTURE ABILITY TO ELECT ANALYSES ON ANY DRAFT PLANS

- Similar ability to elect analyses can be done on future draft maps and the final draft map.
- We can also analyze the ability to elect Asian-American candidates of choice.
- Guidance: Don't dilute; and please look at the data. Do not spread Latino voters out evenly across districts. Do not put too few Latino voters in district 1.
- Guidance: Do not forget other districts. Over-packing in one district reduces voting power of Latino voters in other districts, and dilutes Latino voting strength in neighboring district(s). Latino VAP has grown dramatically in county over 10 years so this should be reflected in multiple districts. Focus on both district 1 and district above that (district 3 in draft maps 6 and 7). Perhaps also consider district 5.