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SHAPING CALIFORNIA'S FUTURE:

*An Analysis of Latino Underrepresentation in the 2020
California Citizens Redistricting Commission Applicant Pool*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Every ten years, the California Citizens' Redistricting Commission (CCRC) redraws the jurisdictional boundaries for Congressional, State Senate, State Assembly, and State Board of Equalization districts. The Voters FIRST Act (Act) requires the 14 commission members [1] to be selected based on three key qualifications: their analytical skills, their ability to be impartial, and their appreciation for California's diverse demographics and geography. Application guidance for the CCRC makes clear that appreciation for California's diverse demographics and geography includes "such characteristics as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and economic status," "that the people of California reside in many different localities with distinct geographic characteristics," and that "California benefits by having effective participation in the electoral process by persons of all demographic characteristics and residing in all geographic locations, including participation by those persons who in the past, as a consequence of sharing certain demographic characteristics, such as race and ethnicity, have had less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the electoral process." [2] This report assesses the 2020 CCRC applicant pool to identify the direction and magnitude of Latino [3] underrepresentation, and presents other disparities relating to geographic distribution that threaten the Commission's ability to appreciate the state's diversity in redistricting.

Latinos make up 39% of California's population, yet constitute just 21% of applicants in the CCRC's remaining pool of 60 individuals. Latinos are the only racial or ethnic group to remain underrepresented at every stage of the CCRC application process; Asian applicants were underrepresented in the first half of the application process but experienced a net increase in their share of applicants over time, Black applicants and white applicants never experienced underrepresentation. [4]

Two frames are important to determining the underrepresentation of California's diverse Latino community: the share of applicants from the state's most populous Latino counties and the share of applicants from the state's rural Latino counties, which are concentrated in Central and Southern California.

Among California's most populous Latino counties, [5] underrepresentation in the CCRC applicant pool is most acute as it relates to San Diego, the state's fourth most populous Latino county, and Orange, the fifth most populous Latino county. Both of these Southern California counties are underrepresented in the current applicant pool by more than three percentage points, and have been underrepresented throughout the process.



This is in stark contrast to the consistent overrepresentation experienced by three northern California counties: the state's ninth most populous Latino county (Alameda), eleventh (Sacramento), and twelfth (San Joaquin), throughout the CCRC application process. These three counties are overrepresented in the CCRC pool of 60 applicants: Alameda (+5.8 percentage point surplus), Sacramento (+4.4 percentage point surplus), and San Joaquin (+3.1 percentage point surplus).

Rural counties that have large Latino populations are also underrepresented in the CCRC applicant pool, and have experienced consistent underrepresentation throughout the process. Of the nine counties in California that have large Latino populations, [6] only one county (San Joaquin) has been at least proportionally represented at any point during the CCRC application process. During this stage of the CCRC process, only 3 of these Latino rural counties have applicants in the pool of 60 candidates: Fresno (1), Kern (1), and San Joaquin (3). Imperial, Kings, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus, and Tulare counties, which all have Latino majority populations, have no applicant in the CCRC pool of 60. Imperial, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus, and Tulare had no applicants in the CCRC interview pool of 120, in comparison to Fresno (1), Kern (3), and San Joaquin (3). This is distinct to the level of representation afforded to five rural counties located in Northern California, [7] that have non-Hispanic white supermajorities. Four of these five counties have applicants in the current pool of 60 applicants: Placer (2), Sacramento (5), Shasta (1), and Yolo (3); Nevada County had 1 applicant in the pool of 120 interviewees that was not selected to be presented to the state legislature.

Today, the 9 rural Latino counties make up 11% of California's population, but only 8.3% of the 60 applicants in the CCRC pool, compared to the five rural white counties that represent 18.3% of current applicants but only 6% of the total state population (+12.3 percentage point surplus).

The continued underrepresentation of California's plurality population in the redistricting commission applicant pool warrants the attention of the state legislature as it reviews the candidate pool for fair and accurate representation. Today's global challenges necessitate representative democracy, whereby all voters in California, especially those who have suffered from past discrimination, are able to elect their candidate of choice. California is likely to lose a congressional seat for the first time in history because of slow population growth; how districts are redrawn will impact Latinos, who make up large shares of urban, suburban, and rural communities, especially in Central and Southern regions of the state. California's Latino communities are increasingly diverse in terms of location and character, the appointees to the CCRC will need to consider the demographics of each community and acknowledge that California's diverse communities are entitled to fair political representation under federal and state Voting Rights Acts. There is an opportunity for the final 2020 Commissioners to ensure fairer representation and ensure a stronger voice for Latinos in California through redistricting decisions that embrace California's diversity and reflect population data.



METHODOLOGY

This analysis integrates data from the California Citizens Redistricting Commission’s application website [8] and the U.S. Census. This report analyzes the racial/ethnic share of applicants throughout the CCRC application process [9] with respect to these four demographic groups: non-Hispanic Whites, [10] Latinos, [11] Asian Americans, [12] and Blacks. [13] This report uses data from the American Community Survey’s 2018 5-Year Estimates for population distribution across California’s 58 counties, and the racial/ethnic population estimates for the four racial/ethnic groups described above. [14]

FINDING 1: LATINOS ARE THE ONLY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP TO REMAIN UNDERREPRESENTED THROUGHOUT THE REDISTRICTING APPLICATION PROCESS

Figure 1 illustrates that at every stage of the CCRC application process, Latinos are the only racial or ethnic group to remain consistently underrepresented. Among initial applicants, Latinos made up 15.7% or 3,250 out of 20,724 initial applicants; this represents a 23.6 percentage point deficit compared to their share of the state population at the start of the CCRC process. In comparison, whites made up 60.1% or 12,449 out of 20,724 initial applicants, which resulted in a 23.5 percentage point surplus compared to their share of the state population at the start of the CCRC process. Over the course of the CCRC application process, Latinos’ share of applicants ranged from a low of 13.3% (supplemental applications) to a high of 21.7% (pool of 60 applicants).

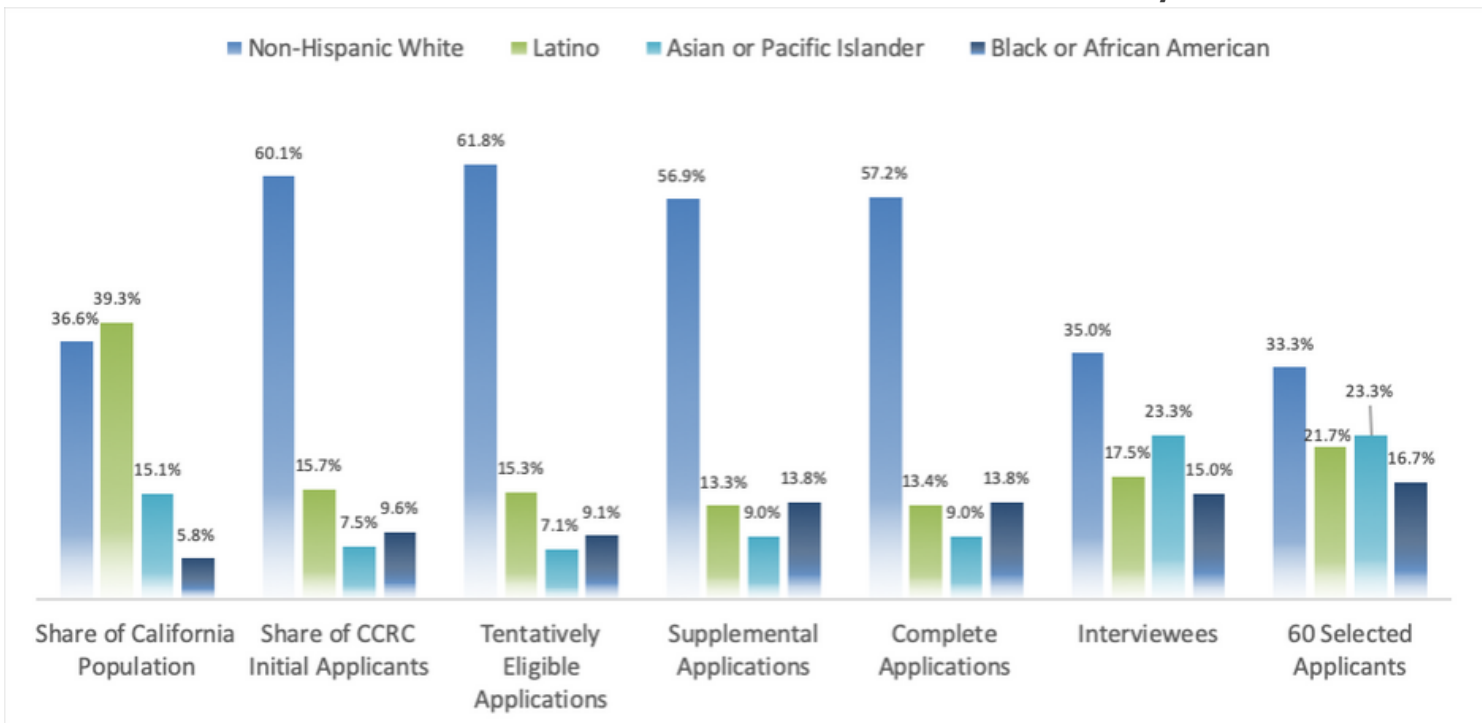
Asian Pacific Islanders represent a 15.1% share of the state’s population, and represent 23.3% of the CCRC’s pool of 60 applicants. Among initial applicants, Asian and Pacific Islanders made up 7.5% or 1,557 out of 20,724 initial applicants; a 7.6 percentage point deficit compared to their share of the state population. Over the course of the CCRC application process, Asian and Pacific Islanders’ share of applicants has increased from 7.1% (tentatively eligible applicants) to a current high of 23.3% (pool of 60 applicants).

Blacks make up 5.8% of California’s population and represent 16.7% or 1 out of 6 of current applicants in the CCRC pool. Black applicants represented 9.6% or 1,950 initial applicants, a 3.8 percentage point surplus compared to their share of the state population. Over the course of the CCRC application process, the share of Black applicants has ranged from a low of 9.1% (tentatively eligible applicants) to a current high of 16.7% (pool of 60).

White applicants have benefitted from substantial overrepresentation throughout the CCRC application process in comparison to their 36.6% share of the state population. This process has seen white applicant’s share of the CCRC applicant pool range from a high of 61.8% (tentatively eligible applicants) to a current low of 33% (pool of 60 applicants); which more closely mirrors their share of the state population.

Latinos, the only racial or ethnic group to remain underrepresented across every stage of the CCRC application process, only represent 13 out of 60 of the remaining applicants despite making up 39.3% of the state’s population.

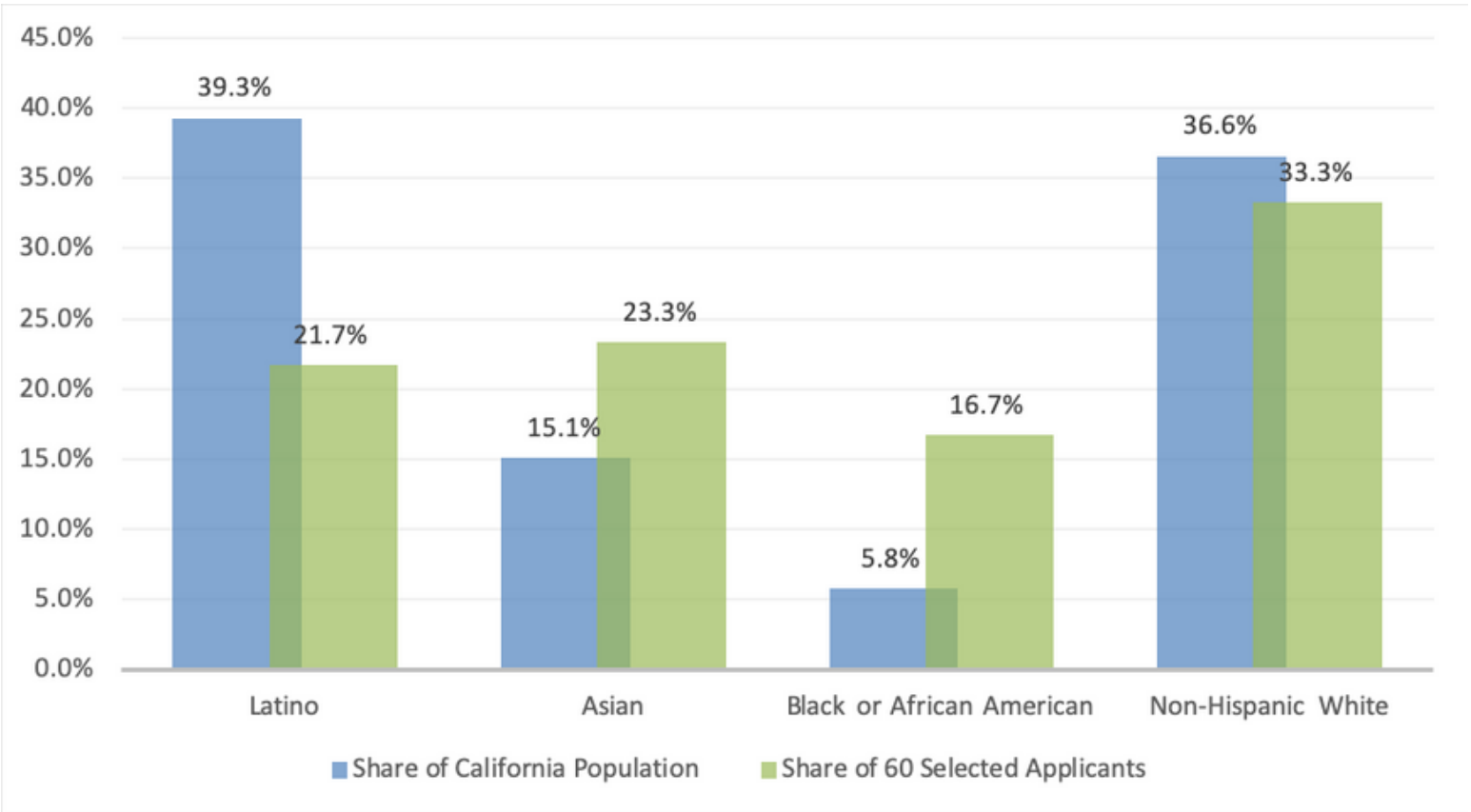
FIGURE 1. SHARE OF APPLICANTS TO THE 2020 CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION BY RACE/ETHNICITY



Source: 2020 Citizens Redistricting Commission Applicant Statistics, UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative.

Figure 2 illustrates the underrepresentation that Latinos face in the current pool of 60 applicants in the CCRC applicant pool; Latinos have a deficit of 17.6 percentage points compared to their share of the state population.

FIGURE 2. SHARE OF 60 APPLICANTS TO THE 2020 CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION COMPARED TO SHARE OF STATE POPULATION BY RACE/ETHNICITY



Source: 2018 ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2020 California Citizens Redistricting Commission, Demographic Summary for 60 Selected Applicants, UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative.



FINDING 2: MAJOR SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTIES WITH LARGE LATINO POPULATIONS ARE UNDERREPRESENTED IN THE REDISTRICTING POOL

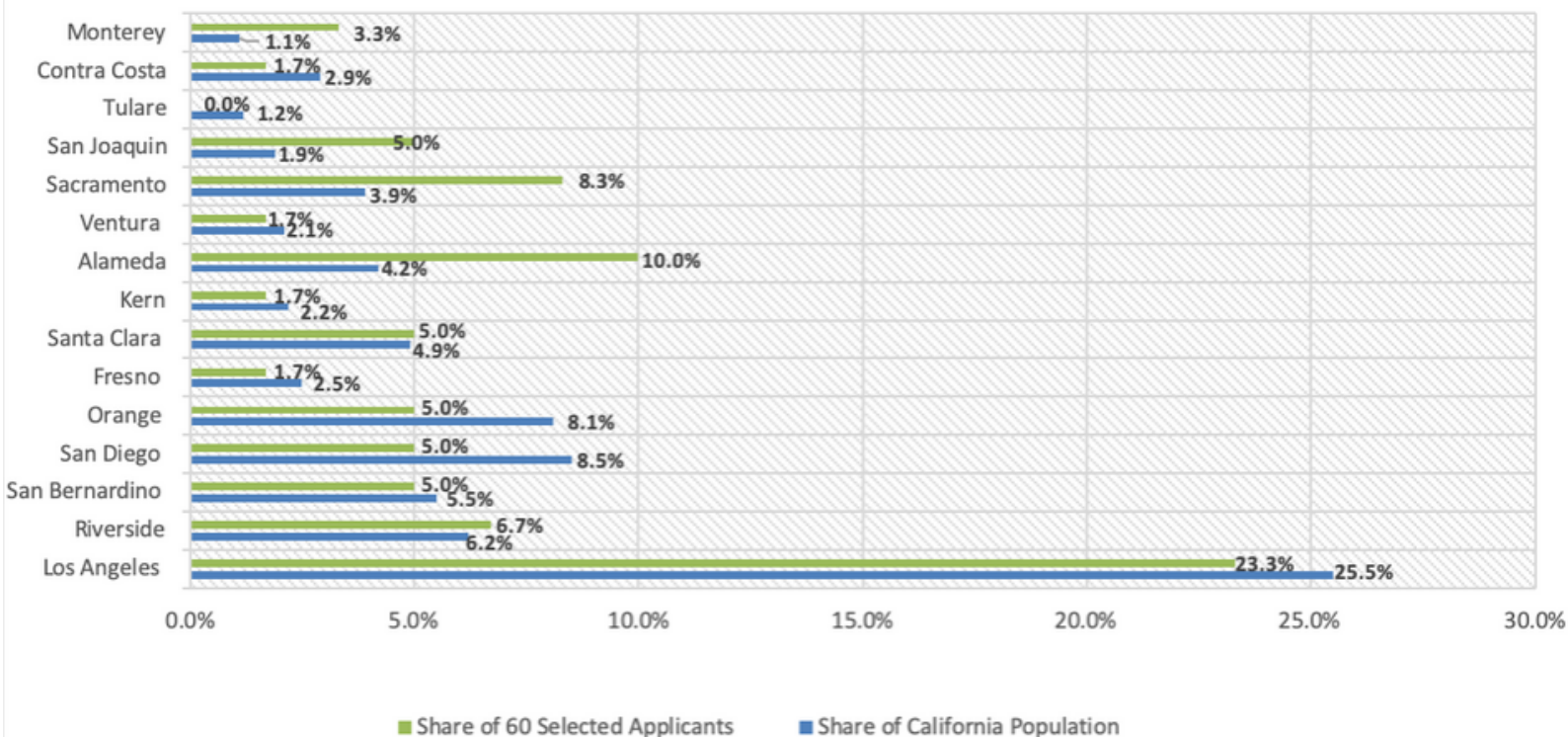
To better ascertain geographic and racial/ethnic imbalances in the CCRC interview pool, we analyzed the share of applicants selected from the 15 most populous Latino counties in California (Figure 3). These 15 counties are home to 85.7% of the state’s Latino population and represent 80.4% of the state’s population. Cumulatively, these counties represent 83.3% of the applicants selected by the CCRC Applicant Review Panel for consideration by the state legislature. There are substantial disparities across these counties, especially as it relates to overrepresentation in the applicant pool for Northern California counties and underrepresentation of key Southern California counties.

Alameda, the ninth most populous Latino county in the state, is overrepresented in their share of the 60 applicants that remain in the CCRC pool by twice its population size. Alameda represents 4.2% of the state population, but has 6 candidates remaining in the pool. In comparison, San Diego, the state’s fourth most populous Latino county and home to 8.5% of all Californians is underrepresented in the current pool. San Diego has two times less applicants than Alameda, despite have twice the population size.

Meanwhile, Sacramento, the eleventh most populous Latino county in the state, has experienced overrepresentation across the CCRC application process. Approximately 8.3% of all candidates in the CCRC applicant pool of 60 is from Sacramento; yet that county is home to less than 4% of all Californians. Conversely, Orange, the fifth most populous Latino county in the state, has never achieved parity in their share of the CCRC application pool at any point in the process. Approximately 5% of all candidates in the CCRC applicant pool of 60 is from Orange; a deficit of 3 percentage points compared to their share of the state population (8.1%).

Overrepresentation in the redistricting applicant pool has favored Northern California counties, which have less Californians, and less Latinos than two Southern California counties with large Latino populations: Orange and San Diego counties.

FIGURE 3. SHARE OF 60 APPLICANTS TO CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION BY TOP 15 MOST POPULOUS LATINO COUNTIES & THEIR SHARE OF STATE POPULATION



FINDING 3: CALIFORNIA'S LATINO RURAL COUNTIES ARE SEVERELY UNDERREPRESENTED IN THE REDISTRICTING POOL

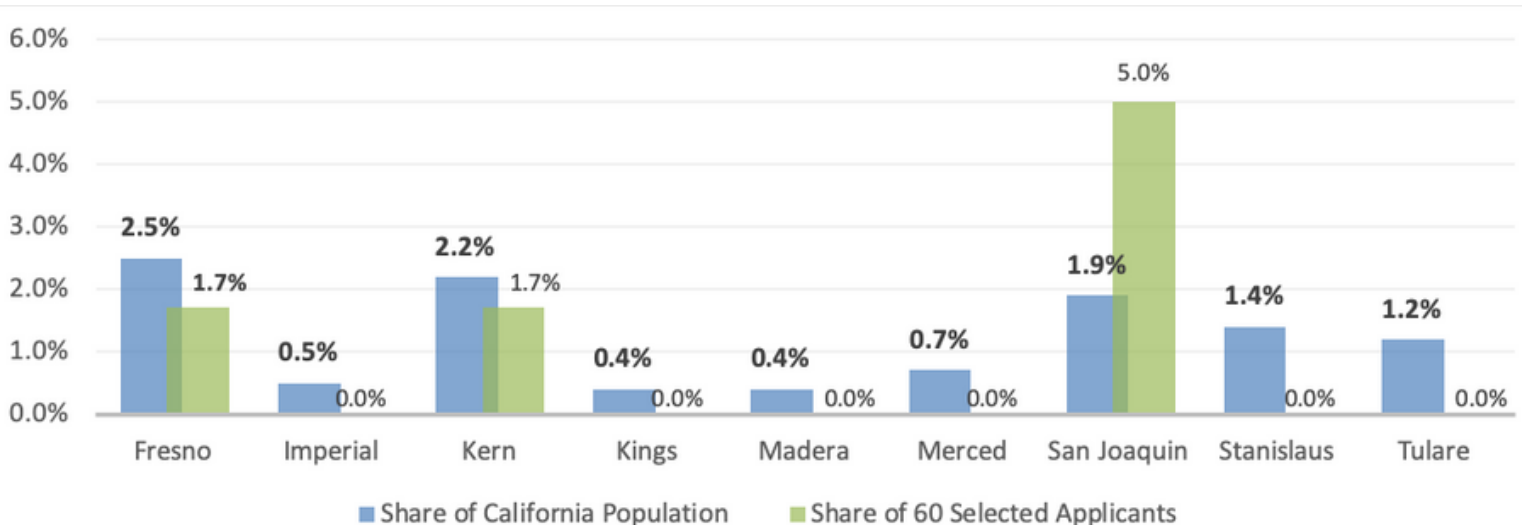
Key Latino rural communities, especially in the Central Valley, have been historically underrepresented in the state's redistricting process and this cycle is no different. To ascertain the direction and magnitude of Latino underrepresentation in the 2020 redistricting applicant pool, we examined nine rural counties that are home to large Latino populations (40% or higher) (See Figure 4).

Of the nine counties in California that have large Latino populations, [15] only one county (San Joaquin) has been at least proportionally represented at any point during the CCRC application process. At no point have the other eight rural Latino counties had a share of applicants in the redistricting pool at or above their share of the state population. In fact, at this stage of the redistricting application process, only three of these counties have applicants in the pool: Fresno (1), Kern (1), and San Joaquin (3) (See Table 1). Latinos in these rural counties have been instrumental during the COVID-19 pandemic; the region's farmworkers, many of whom are Latino, have been keeping food on the shelves of American families and putting their lives at risk. Fair political participation, long a struggle for voters of color, including Latino voters, has a recent history of vote dilution and suppression in the modern era. [16]

TABLE 1. RURAL LATINO COUNTIES & REDISTRICTING APPLICATIONS

Rural Latino County	Total County Population	# of Latino Residents in County	Latino Share of County's Population	# Applicants in Initial Pool (Summer 2019)	# Applicants in Pool of 60 (May 2020)
Fresno	978,130	515,170	52.7%	466	1
Imperial	180,216	151,019	83.8%	32	0
Kern	883,053	465,842	52.8%	343	1
Kings	150,075	81,154	54.1%	50	0
Madera	155,013	88,806	57.3%	64	0
Merced	269,075	158,494	58.9%	84	0
San Joaquin	732,212	301,256	41.1%	326	3
Stanislaus	539,301	245,973	45.6%	203	0
Tulare	460,477	295,149	64.1%	179	0
9 Rural Latino County Total	4,347,552	2,302,863	53.0%	1,747	5
Statewide Total	39,557,045	15,221,557	100%	20,724	60

FIGURE 4. SHARE OF 60 APPLICANTS TO THE 2020 CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION COMPARED TO SHARE OF STATE POPULATION IN 9 RURAL LATINO COUNTIES



Source: 2018 ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2020 California Citizens Redistricting Commission, Demographic Summary for 60 Selected Applicants, UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative.

ENDNOTES

[1] See Appendix I for an overview of the CCRC application process. The final CCRC membership includes: five Republicans, five Democrats, and four individuals not affiliated with either of those two parties.

[2] State of California, We Draw the Lines, Essay Guidance, “What does it mean for an applicant to have an appreciation for California’s diverse demographics and geography?” available at: https://wedrawthelines.ca.gov/essay_guidance/.

[3] The term ‘Latino’ includes all persons of Latin American origin or descent and specifically excludes individuals of Spanish national origin outside the Western Hemisphere. See David Hayes-Bautista and Jorge Chapa, Latino Terminology: Conceptual Bases for Standardized Terminology, *AJPH* January 1987, Vol. 77, No. 1, available at: <https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdfplus/10.2105/AJPH.77.1.61>.

[4] See Appendix II.

[5] See Appendix III.

[6] For purposes of this report, rural Latino counties include: Fresno, Imperial, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and Tulare. The combined Latino population share of these 9 Latino rural counties is 53% compared to a non-Hispanic white population share of 32.2%.

[7] For purposes of this report, rural white counties include: Placer, Shasta, Yolo, Sacramento, and Nevada. The combined non-Hispanic white population share of these 5 rural counties is 79% compared to a Latino population share of 20.7%.

[8] 2020 Citizens Redistricting Commission, Application Statistics, available at: applications.shapecaliforniasfuture.auditor.ca.gov.

[9] See Appendix I for more information about the CCRC application process.

[10] For purposes of this report, non-Hispanic whites refers to applicants who self-identified as White, and did not indicate a Latino identity in their application to the CCRC.

[11] For purposes of this report, Latino refers to applicants who self-identified as: Mexican/Mexican American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Other Hispanic/Latino Groups, in their application to CCRC, except in one instance. Based on the responses in one applicant’s CCRC application, we determined that they do not meet the racial/ethnic definition of Latino.

[12] For purposes of this report, Asian American refers to applicants who self-identified as: Asian Indian, Cambodian, Chinese, Filipino, Guamanian/Chamorro, Hawaiian, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Other Asian Group, Other Pacific Islander Group, Samoan, or Vietnamese in their CCRC application.

[13] For purposes of this report, Black is used interchangeably with African American and refers to applicants who self-identified as Black/African American in their CCRC application.

[14] This analysis is based on the State Auditor applicant review panel’s final list of 60 names; not tentative list. The Applicant Review Panel made two changes to its tentative lists for 20 Republicans to Move Forward to the Legislature and 20 Applicants not Affiliated with Either Major Party to Move Forward to the Legislature during their public meetings on May 6th and 7th. These changes resulted in Michael Dozier (white) replacing Emmanuelle Soichet (white) and Richard Gallegos (Latino) replacing Anthony Coe (Black). This data is reflected in Shape California’s Future Applicant Search, available at: <https://applications.shapecaliforniasfuture.auditor.ca.gov/search.html>.

[15] For purposes of this report, rural Latino counties include: Fresno, Imperial, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and Tulare. The combined Latino population share of these 9 Latino rural counties is 53% compared to a non-Hispanic white population share of 32.2%.

[16] See *Luna et al v. County of Kern (2016)*, marking the first challenge to a California jurisdiction for violating the federal Voting Rights Act since 2001, resulting in the right of Latino voters to elect their candidates of choice. See also, *US Department of Justice, whereby Kings County was a covered jurisdiction under Section 5 of the V.R.A. between September 23, 1975 and June 25, 2013; preclearance only ended because of the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in Shelby County v. Holder (2013)*.



APPENDIX I. 2020 CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING APPLICATION TIMELINE

DATE(S)	ACTION OR EVENT	NUMBER OF CCRC APPLICANTS IN POOL
JUNE 10 - AUGUST 19, 2019	Initial online application period	20,724 submitted initial applications.
	Tentatively qualified and disqualified candidates are notified	17,081 identified as tentatively eligible and offered opportunity to submit supplemental application materials.
AUGUST 21 - OCTOBER 20, 2019	Supplemental application filing period for candidates identified as eligible	2,206 submitted supplemental essays. 2,003 submitted essays with 3 letters of recommendation.
	Applicant Review Panel (ARP) identifies 120 of the most qualified applicants	120 applicants selected to interview.
MARCH 2 - APRIL 22, 2020	ARP schedules and conducts interviews for the 120 most qualified applicants	120 applicants interviewed.
APRIL 23 - MAY 7, 2020	ARP selected 60 of the most qualified applicants	60 most qualified applicants tentatively selected.
MAY 7, 2020	ARP confirmed via vote to send 60 of the most qualified applicants to the State legislature	60 most qualified applicants confirmed by ARP via vote.
MAY 15 - JUNE 30, 2020	ARP transmits list of 60 most qualified applicants to State legislature	60 applicants reviewed by State legislature with ability to exercise 24 strikes.
JULY 5, 2020	State auditor randomly selects the first 8 commissioners	8 commissioners selected by State Auditor.

APPENDIX II. NUMBER OF 2020 CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING APPLICATIONS FROM 4 RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS

Race/Ethnicity	# Initial Applications	# Tentatively Eligible Applicants	# Supplemental Applications	# Complete Applications	# Interviewees	# of Current Pool of 60
Non-Hispanic White	12,449	10,547	1,255	1,145	42	20
Latino	3,250	2,616	293	268	21	13
Asian or Pacific Islander	1,557	1,219	198	181	28	14
Black or African American	1,950	1,546	305	277	18	10
Total	20,724	17,081	2,206	2,003	120	60

APPENDIX III. TOP 15 MOST POPULOUS
LATINO COUNTIES IN CALIFORNIA & SHARE
OF FINAL 60 APPLICANTS IN 2020
CALIFORNIA CITIZENS REDISTRICTING POOL

COUNTY (IN ORDER OF MOST # OF LATINO RESIDENTS)	# LATINOS IN COUNTY	COUNTY'S LATINO POPULATION SHARE	COUNTY'S SHARE OF CALIFORNIA'S LATINO POPULATION	# OF RESIDENTS (ALL RACES)	COUNTY'S SHARE OF STATE POPULATION	NUMBER OF 60 SELECTED APPLICANTS	SHARE OF 60 SELECTED APPLICANTS
LOS ANGELES	4,893,603	48.5%	32.1%	10,098,052	25.5%	14	23.3%
RIVERSIDE	1,154,517	48.4%	7.6%	2,450,758	6.2%	4	6.7%
SAN BERNARDINO	1,127,813	52.8%	7.4%	2,171,603	5.5%	3	5.0%
SAN DIEGO	1,106,925	33.5%	7.3%	3,343,364	8.5%	3	5.0%
ORANGE	1,080,195	34.1%	7.0%	3,185,968	8.1%	3	5.0%
FRESNO	515,907	52.7%	3.4%	978,130	2.5%	1	1.7%
SANTA CLARA	494,455	25.8%	3.2%	1,922,200	4.9%	3	5.0%
KERN	465,842	52.8%	3.0%	883,053	2.2%	1	1.7%
ALAMEDA	369,061	22.5%	2.4%	1,643,700	4.2%	6	10.0%
VENTURA	360,017	42.4%	2.4%	848,112	2.1%	1	1.7%
SACRAMENTO	347,025	23.0%	2.3%	1,510,023	3.9%	5	8.3%
SAN JOAQUIN	301,256	41.1%	2.0%	732,212	1.9%	3	5.0%
TULARE	295,149	64.1%	1.9%	460,477	1.2%	0	0.0%
CONTRA COSTA	288,101	25.4%	1.9%	1,133,247	2.9%	1	1.7%
MONTEREY	252,588	58.3%	1.7%	433,212	1.1%	2	3.3%
15 COUNTY TOTAL	13,052,454	85.7%	85.7%	31,794,111	80.4%	50	83.3%
STATEWIDE TOTAL	15,221,557	100%	100%	39,557,045	100%	60	100%





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