

Attorneys for Plaintiffs

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

DAVID TANGIPA et al.,

Plaintiffs,

VS.

GAVIN NEWSOM, in his official capacity as the Governor of California;
SHIRLEY WEBER, in her official capacity as California Secretary of State,

Defendants.

Case No. 2:25-cv-10616 JLS (KESx)

**DECLARATION OF SEAN TRENDE IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR
A PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Assigned to Hon. Josephine L. Staton

Action Filed: November 5, 2025

EXHIBIT
30

DECLARATION OF SEAN TRENDE

I, Sean Trende, declare and state as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18, and a United States citizen. I know the following facts of my own personal knowledge, and if called upon as a witness, I could and would testify competently thereto.

2. I am a political scientist and elections analyst. I have been asked by counsel in this Proposition 50 matter to offer expert opinions on redistricting, the use of race in line-drawing. My background and experience qualify me to offer these opinions, as set out below.

3. My curriculum vitae, which summarizes my education, experience, and publications, is attached hereto as Exhibit 1.

4. My educational background combines law, political science, and advanced statistics. I received my J.D., cum laude, from Duke University School of Law in 2001, where I served as Research Editor of the Duke Law Journal. In the same year I earned an M.A. in Political Science from Duke University. I later completed an M.A.S. (Master of Applied Statistics) at The Ohio State University in 2019, and a Ph.D. in Political Science at The Ohio State University in 2023, with a dissertation titled “Application of Spatial Analysis to Contemporary Problems in Political Science.” This combination of legal training, quantitative methods, and doctoral-level work in political science informs the empirical and legal orientation of my redistricting work.

5. Since 2010 I have served as the Senior Elections Analyst for RealClearPolitics, a role in which I analyze election results, demographic change, and partisan performance across states and congressional districts. I have also been a Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and have written extensively on American elections in books edited by Larry Sabato and in the Almanac of American Politics. This public-facing work reflects the same core skill set I apply in litigation: connecting demographic and electoral data to real-world political outcomes.

6. I have been qualified and have testified as an expert in a large number of redistricting, racial-gerrymandering, political-gerrymandering, VRA, and election-administration cases in federal and state courts around the country. These matters include, among many others,

1 Dickson v. Rucho (North Carolina racial gerrymandering), Covington v. North Carolina (racial
2 gerrymandering), Common Cause v. Rucho (political gerrymandering), LULAC v. Abbott
3 (racial/political gerrymandering and VRA), Stone v. Allen (VRA), Agee v. Benson (14th
4 Amendment and VRA), and multiple challenges in Louisiana, South Carolina, Maryland, New
5 York, Michigan, and Arizona. The breadth of these engagements has required me to evaluate
6 whether a jurisdiction has identified a genuine VRA need, whether race predominated over
7 traditional districting criteria, and whether enacted maps actually furnish minority voters an equal
8 opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

9 7. In addition to serving as an expert for parties, I have been appointed directly by
10 government bodies and courts in redistricting matters. In 2020 the Arizona Independent
11 Redistricting Commission appointed me as its Voting Rights Act expert. The Supreme Court of
12 Virginia later appointed me as Special Master to redraw the maps for the Virginia House of
13 Delegates, the Virginia Senate, and Virginia's congressional delegation for the 2022 cycle. These
14 appointments required me to apply VRA principles in a neutral, technical fashion and to produce
15 maps that satisfied one-person-one-vote, traditional districting criteria, and federal non-
16 discrimination requirements.

17 8. I have been asked to evaluate whether the revised California Districts were drawn,
18 in whole or in part, with race as a predominate motive.

19 9. As a result of my review, the Proposition 50 Map's boundaries between districts 5,
20 9 and 13 appear to have been crafted to enhance the Hispanic Voting Age Population and
21 Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population in the district. The twisted shapes cannot be explained by
22 traditional redistricting principles, nor can they be explained by politics. Race predominated in
23 these lines. My full report is attached as Exhibit 2 to this declaration.

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25 ///

26 ///

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28

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is
2 true and correct.

3
4 Executed this 7th day of November 2025,
5 at 11/7/2025, Ohio.

6 Sean Trende
7
8 Sean Trende

EXHIBIT 1

SEAN P. TRENDE

1146 Elderberry Loop

Delaware, OH 43015

strende@realclearpolitics.com

EDUCATION

Ph.D., The Ohio State University, Political Science, 2023. Dissertation titled *Application of Spatial Analysis to Contemporary Problems in Political Science*, September 2023.

M.A.S. (Master of Applied Statistics), The Ohio State University, 2019.

J.D., Duke University School of Law, *cum laude*, 2001; Duke Law Journal, Research Editor.

M.A., Duke University, *cum laude*, Political Science, 2001. Thesis titled *The Making of an Ideological Court: Application of Non-parametric Scaling Techniques to Explain Supreme Court Voting Patterns from 1900-1941*, June 2001.

B.A., Yale University, with distinction, History and Political Science, 1995.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Law Clerk, Hon. Deanell R. Tacha, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, 2001-02.

Associate, Kirkland & Ellis, LLP, Washington, DC, 2002-05.

Associate, Hunton & Williams, LLP, Richmond, Virginia, 2005-09.

Associate, David, Kamp & Frank, P.C., Newport News, Virginia, 2009-10.

Senior Elections Analyst, RealClearPolitics, 2010-present.

Columnist, Center for Politics Crystal Ball, 2014-17.

Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute, 2018-present.

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *The Red Ripple*, Ch. 15 (2023).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *A Return to Normalcy?: The 2020 Election that (Almost) Broke America* Ch. 13 (2021).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *The Blue Wave*, Ch. 14 (2019).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke all the Rules* (2017).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *The Surge: 2014's Big GOP Win and What It Means for the Next Presidential Election*, Ch. 12 (2015).

Larry J. Sabato, ed., *Barack Obama and the New America*, Ch. 12 (2013).

Barone, Kraushaar, McCutcheon & Trende, *The Almanac of American Politics* 2014 (2013).

The Lost Majority: Why the Future of Government is up for Grabs – And Who Will Take It (2012).

PREVIOUS EXPERT TESTIMONY AND/OR DEPOSITIONS

Dickson v. Rucho, No. 11-CVS-16896 (N.C. Super. Ct., Wake County) (racial gerrymandering).

Covington v. North Carolina, No. 1:15-CV-00399 (M.D.N.C.) (racial gerrymandering).

NAACP v. McCrory, No. 1:13CV658 (M.D.N.C.) (early voting).

NAACP v. Husted, No. 2:14-cv-404 (S.D. Ohio) (early voting).

Ohio Democratic Party v. Husted, Case 15-cv-01802 (S.D. Ohio) (early voting).

Lee v. Virginia Bd. of Elections, No. 3:15-cv-357 (E.D. Va.) (early voting).

Feldman v. Arizona, No. CV-16-1065-PHX-DLR (D. Ariz.) (absentee voting).

A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Smith, No. 1:18-cv-00357-TSB (S.D. Ohio) (political gerrymandering).

Whitford v. Nichol, No. 15-cv-421-bbc (W.D. Wisc.) (political gerrymandering).

Common Cause v. Rucho, No. 1:16-CV-1026-WO-JEP (M.D.N.C.) (political gerrymandering).

Mecinas v. Hobbs, No. CV-19-05547-PHX-DJH (D. Ariz.) (ballot order effect).

Fair Fight Action v. Raffensperger, No. 1:18-cv-05391-SCJ (N.D. Ga.) (statistical analysis).

Pascua Yaqui Tribe v. Rodriguez, No. 4:20-CV-00432-TUC-JAS (D. Ariz.) (early voting).

Ohio Organizing Collaborative, et al v. Ohio Redistricting Commission, et al, No. 2021-1210 (Ohio) (political gerrymandering).

NCLCV v. Hall, No. 21-CVS-15426 (N.C. Sup. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

Szeliga v. Lamone, Case No. C-02-CV-21-001816 (Md. Cir. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

In the Matter of 2022 Legislative Districting of the State, Misc. No. 25 (Md. Ct. App.) (political gerrymandering)

Montana Democratic Party v. Jacobsen, DV-56-2021-451 (Mont. Dist. Ct.) (early voting; ballot collection).

Carter v. Chapman, No. 464 M.D. 2021 (Pa.) (map drawing; amicus).

NAACP v. McMaster, No. 3:21-cv-03302 (D.S.C.) (racial gerrymandering).

Alexander v. NAACP, Case No. 3:21-cv-03302-MBS-TJH-RMG (D.S.C.) (racial gerrymandering).

Graham v. Adams, No. 22-CI-00047 (Ky. Cir. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

Harkenrider v. Hochul, No. E2022-0116CV (N.Y. Sup. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

LULAC v. Abbott, Case No. 3:21-cv-00259 (W.D. Tex.) (racial/political gerrymandering/VRA).

Moore et al., v. Lee, et al., (Tenn. 20th Dist.) (state constitutional compliance).

Milligan v. Allen, Case No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM (N.D. Ala.) (VRA).

Nairne v. Ardoin, NO. 22-178-SDD-SDJ (M.D. La.) (VRA).

Robinson v. Ardoin, NO. 22-211-SDD-SDJ (M.D. La.) (VRA).

Republican Party v. Oliver, No. D-506-CV-2022-00041 (N.M. Cir. Ct. (Lea County)) (political gerrymandering).

Palmer v. Hobbs, Case No. 3:22-CV-5035-RSL (W.D. Wash) (VRA; remedial phase only).

Clarke v. Evers, No. 2023AP001399-OA (Wisc.) (Political gerrymandering; remedial phase only).

Stone v. Allen, No. 2:21-cv-1531-AMM (N.D. Ala.) (VRA).

Milligan v. Allen, No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM (S.D. Ala.) (VRA).

Pierce v. NC State Board of Elections, Case No. 4:23-cv-193 (E.D.N.C.) VRA.

Harkenrider v. Hochul, No. E2022-0116CV (N.Y. Sup. Ct.) (political gerrymandering).

LULAC v. Abbott, Case No. 3:21-cv-00259 (W.D. Tex.) (racial/political gerrymandering/VRA).

Moore et al., v. Lee, et al., (Tenn. 20th Dist.) (state constitutional compliance).

Agee et al. v. Benson, et al., (W.D. Mich.) (racial gerrymandering/VRA).

Faatz, et al. v. Ashcroft, et al., (Cir. Ct. Mo.) (state constitutional compliance).

Coca, et al. v. City of Dodge City, et al., Case No. 6:22-cv-01274-EFM-RES (D. Kan.) (VRA).

Pierce v. NC State Board of Elections, Case No. 4:23-cv-193 (E.D.N.C.) (VRA).

Williams v. Hall, Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057 (M.D.N.C.) (VRA, Racial Gerrymandering).

Hodges v. Passidomo, Case No. 8:24-cv-879-CEH-TPB-ALB (M.D. Fla.) (Racial Gerrymandering).

Coads v. Nassau County, Index No. 611872/2023 (N.Y. Sup. Ct., Nassau County) (political gerrymandering, racial gerrymandering, NYVRA).

COURT APPOINTMENTS

Appointed as Voting Rights Act expert by Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (2020)

Appointed Special Master by the Supreme Court of Virginia to redraw maps for the Virginia House of Delegates, the Senate of Virginia, and for Virginia’s delegation to the United States Congress for the 2022 election cycle.

Appointed redistricting expert by the Supreme Court of Belize in *Smith v. Perrera*, No. 55 of 2019 (one-person-one-vote).

INTERNATIONAL PRESENTATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

Panel Discussion, European External Action Service, Brussels, Belgium, Likely Outcomes of 2012 American Elections.

Selected by U.S. Embassies in Sweden, Spain, and Italy to discuss 2016 and 2018 elections to think tanks and universities in area (declined Italy due to teaching responsibilities).

Selected by EEAS to discuss 2018 elections in private session with European Ambassadors.

TEACHING

American Democracy and Mass Media, Ohio Wesleyan University, Spring 2018.

Introduction to American Politics, The Ohio State University, Autumns 2018, 2019, 2020, Spring 2018.

Political Participation and Voting Behavior, Springs 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023.

Survey Methodology, Fall 2022, Spring 2024.

PUBLICATIONS

James G. Gimpel, Andrew Reeves, & Sean Trende, “Reconsidering Bellwether Locations in U.S. Presidential Elections,” Pres. Stud. Q. (2022) (forthcoming, available online at <http://doi.org/10.1111/psq.12793>).

REAL CLEAR POLITICS COLUMNS

Full archives available at http://www.realclearpolitics.com/authors/sean_trende/

EXHIBIT 2

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

DAVID TANGIPA, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

GAVIN NEWSOM, in his official capacity as the Governor of California; SHIRLEY WEBER, in her official capacity as California Secretary of State;

Defendants.

Case No. _____

EXPERT REPORT OF SEAN P. TRENDE, Ph.D

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1 Introduction and Executive Summary

My name is Sean P. Trende. I am over 18 years of age and I hold a Ph.D. in Political Science. I have been retained by Dhillon Law Group on behalf of plaintiffs in the above-captioned matter. In this part of my report, I am asked to evaluate whether the revised California Districts were drawn, in whole or in part, with race as a predominant motive. The Enacted Map's boundaries between districts 9 and 13 appear to have been crafted to enhance the Hispanic Voting Age Population and Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population in the district. The twisted shapes cannot be explained by traditional redistricting principles, nor can they be explained by politics. I conclude race predominated in drawing these lines. I am being compensated at a rate of \$500/hr for authoring this report. My compensation is in no way dependent upon the conclusions that I reach.

2 Qualifications

2.1 Career

I serve as Senior Elections Analyst for Real Clear Politics. I joined Real Clear Politics in January of 2009 and assumed a fulltime position in March of 2010. Real Clear Politics is a company of approximately 50 employees, with its main offices in Washington D.C. It produces one of the most heavily trafficked political websites in the world, which serves as a one-stop shop for political analysis from all sides of the political spectrum and is recognized as a pioneer in the field of poll aggregation. Real Clear Politics produces original content, including both data analysis and traditional reporting.

My main responsibilities with Real Clear Politics consist of tracking, analyzing, and writing about elections. I collaborate in rating the competitiveness of Presidential, Senate, House, and gubernatorial races. As a part of carrying out these responsibilities, I have studied and written extensively about demographic trends in the country, exit poll data at the state and federal level, public opinion polling, and voter turnout and voting behavior. In particular, understanding the way that districts are drawn and how

geography and demographics interact is crucial to predicting United States House of Representatives races, so much of my time is dedicated to that task.

I am currently a Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, where my publications focus on the demographic and coalitional aspects of American Politics.

I am also a Lecturer at The Ohio State University. My courseload is detailed below.

2.2 Publications and Speaking Engagements

I am the author of the 2012 book *The Lost Majority: Why the Future of Government is up For Grabs and Who Will Take It*. In this book, I explore realignment theory. It argues that realignments are a poor concept that should be abandoned. As part of this analysis, I conducted a thorough analysis of demographic and political trends beginning in the 1920s and continuing through modern times, noting the fluidity and fragility of the coalitions built by the major political parties and their candidates.

I also co-authored the 2014 *Almanac of American Politics*. The *Almanac* is considered the foundational text for understanding congressional districts and the representatives of those districts, as well as the dynamics in play behind the elections. My focus was researching the history of and writing descriptions for many of the 2012 districts, including tracing the history of how and why they were drawn the way that they were drawn. Because the 2014 *Almanac* covers the 2012 elections, analyzing how redistricting was done was crucial to my work. I have also authored a chapter in Dr. Larry Sabato's post-election compendium after every election dating back to 2012.

I have spoken on these subjects before audiences from across the political spectrum, including at the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, the CATO Institute, the Bipartisan Policy Center, and the Brookings Institution. In 2012, I was invited to Brussels to speak about American elections to the European External Action Service, which is the European Union's diplomatic corps. I was selected by the United States Embassy in Sweden to discuss the 2016 elections to a series of audiences there and

was selected by the United States Embassy in Spain to fulfill a similar mission in 2018. I was invited to present by the United States Embassy in Italy, but was unable to do so because of my teaching schedule.

2.3 Education

I received my Ph.D. in political science at The Ohio State University in 2023. I passed comprehensive examinations in both Methodology and American Politics. The first chapter of my dissertation involves voting patterns on the Supreme Court from 1900 to 1945; the second chapter involves the application of integrated nested LaPlace approximations to enable the incorporation of spatial statistical analysis in the study of United States elections. The third chapter of the dissertation involves the use of communities of interest in redistricting simulations. In pursuit of this degree, I also earned a Master's Degree in Applied Statistics. My coursework for my Ph.D. and M.A.S. included, among other things, classes on G.I.S. systems, spatial statistics, issues in contemporary redistricting, machine learning, non-parametric hypothesis tests and probability theory. I also earned a B.A. from Yale University in history and political science in 1995, a Juris Doctor from Duke University in 2001, and a Master's Degree in political science from Duke University in 2001.

In the winter of 2018, I taught American Politics and the Mass Media at Ohio Wesleyan University. I taught Introduction to American Politics at The Ohio State University for three semesters from Fall of 2018 to Fall of 2019, and again in Fall of 2021. In the Spring semesters of 2020, 2021, 2022 and 2023, I taught Political Participation and Voting Behavior at The Ohio State University. This course spent several weeks covering all facets of redistricting: how maps are drawn, debates over what constitutes a fair map, measures of redistricting quality, and similar topics. It also covers the Voting Rights Act and racial gerrymandering claims. I also taught survey methodology in Fall of 2022 and Spring of 2024. In Spring of 2025 I taught Introduction to the Policy Process.

2.4 Prior Engagements as an Expert

A full copy of all cases in which I have testified or been deposed is included on my C.V., attached as Exhibit 1. In 2021, I served as one of two special masters appointed by the Supreme Court of Virginia to redraw the districts that will elect the Commonwealth's representatives to the House of Delegates, state Senate, and U.S. Congress in the following decade. The Supreme Court of Virginia accepted those maps, which were praised by observers from across the political spectrum. See, e.g., *New Voting Maps, and a New Day, for Virginia*, The Washington Post (Jan. 2, 2022), *available at* <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/01/02/virginia-redistricting-voting-maps-gerrymander>; Henry Olsen, *Maryland Shows How to do Redistricting Wrong. Virginia Shows How to Do it Right*, The Washington Post (Dec. 9, 2021), *available at* <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/12/09/maryland-virginia-redistricting>; Richard Pildes, *Has VA Created a New Model for a Reasonably Non-Partisan Redistricting Process*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 9, 2021), *available at* <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=126216>.

In 2019, I was appointed as the court's expert by the Supreme Court of Belize. In that case I was asked to identify international standards of democracy as they relate to malapportionment claims, to determine whether Belize's electoral divisions (similar to our congressional districts) conformed with those standards, and to draw alternative maps that would remedy any existing malapportionment.

I served as a Voting Rights Act expert to counsel for the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission in 2021 and 2022.

3 California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing.

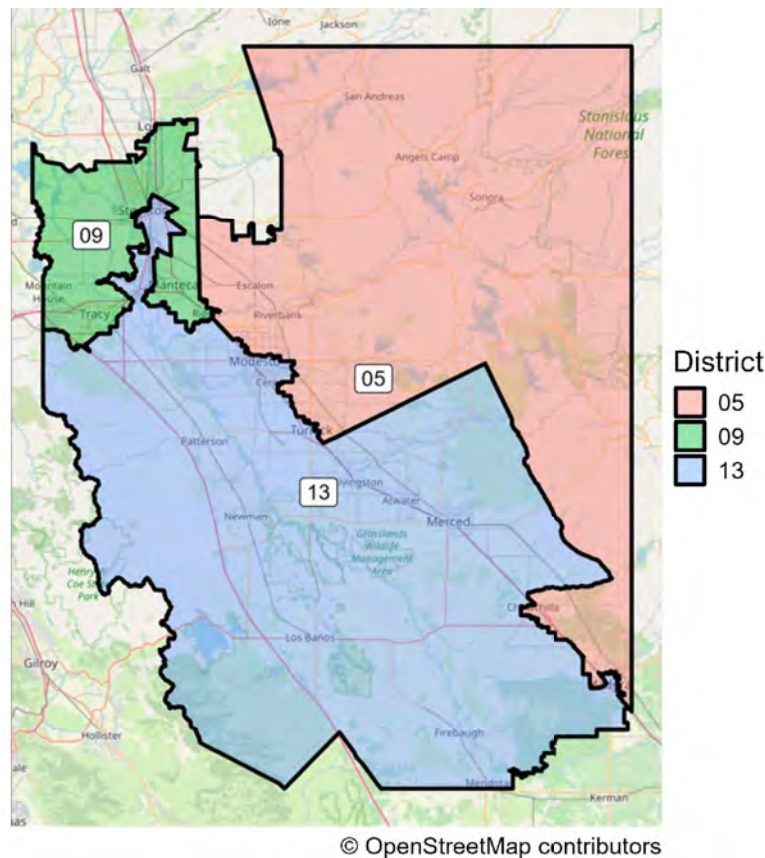
In a presentation, map drawer Paul Mitchell stated "The Prop. 50 maps I think will be great for the Latino community in two critical ways. One is that they ensure that

California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 5

the Latino districts that are the VRA seats are bolstered in order to make them most effective, particularly in the Central Valley.” Hispanas Organized for Political Equality (HOPE) Presentation, 10/7/25, 30:6-11. It is apparent in the lines for District 13 in the Central Valley.

California District 13 as drawn is a competitive district in the Central Valley. It is comprised of western Madera County, a portion of Fresno County, all of Merced County, southwestern Stanislaus County, and a portion of San Joaquin County. The district has relatively unremarkable boundaries, with three exceptions: Madera in the southeast, the area near Ceres and Modest in the northern portion of the district, and the large protrusion near Stockton off the far northern tip.

Figure 1: California District 13



California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 6

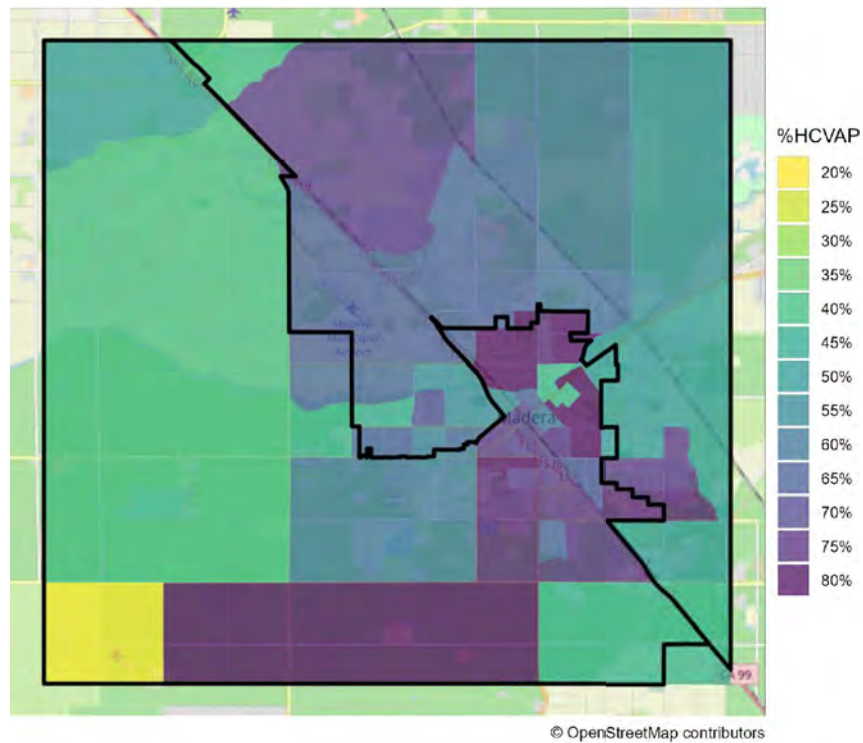
Overall, the district performs better politically for Democratic Representative Adam Gray than did the previous iteration of the district. However, two of the three odd shapes appear to exist not to enhance Gray's fortunes, but rather to improve Hispanic performance in the district.

To better understand this, it is useful to first explore the shape that does not appear to be motivated by race: The one in the south. The following image shows the shape of the district overlaid upon block groups shaded by Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population; the next one uses Hispanic Voting Age Population.¹ As you can see, the entire area is heavily Hispanic, but there is Hispanic population that is left out of the district. To be sure, the most heavily Hispanic areas tend to be in the center of the district, but it is not neatly sliced by race. The same is true whether you use HCVAP or HVAP.

¹I am aware of caselaw from the 9th Circuit suggesting that CVAP is the proper measure. However, CVAP has large error margins, particularly at the block group level. Because of this, I use both measures.

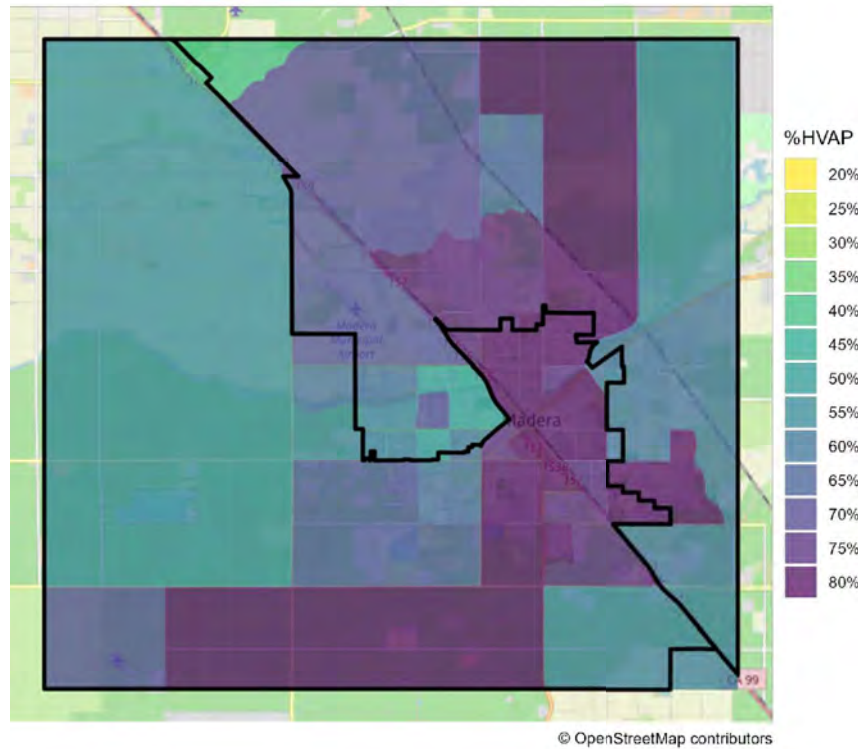
California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 7

Figure 2: Madera Area, By HCVAP and Block Group



California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 8

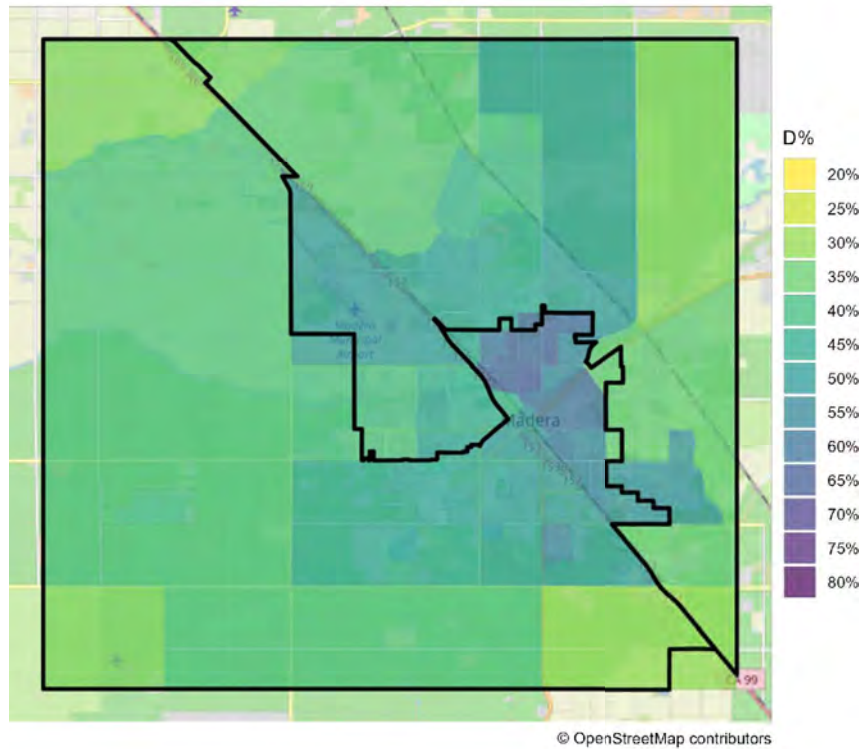
Figure 3: Madera Area, By HVAP and Block Group



Contrast this with the political map of the district. Here, we can see the district boundaries much more neatly capturing the Democratic areas, although the area is overall politically marginal.

California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 9

Figure 4: Madera Area, By Politics and Block Group



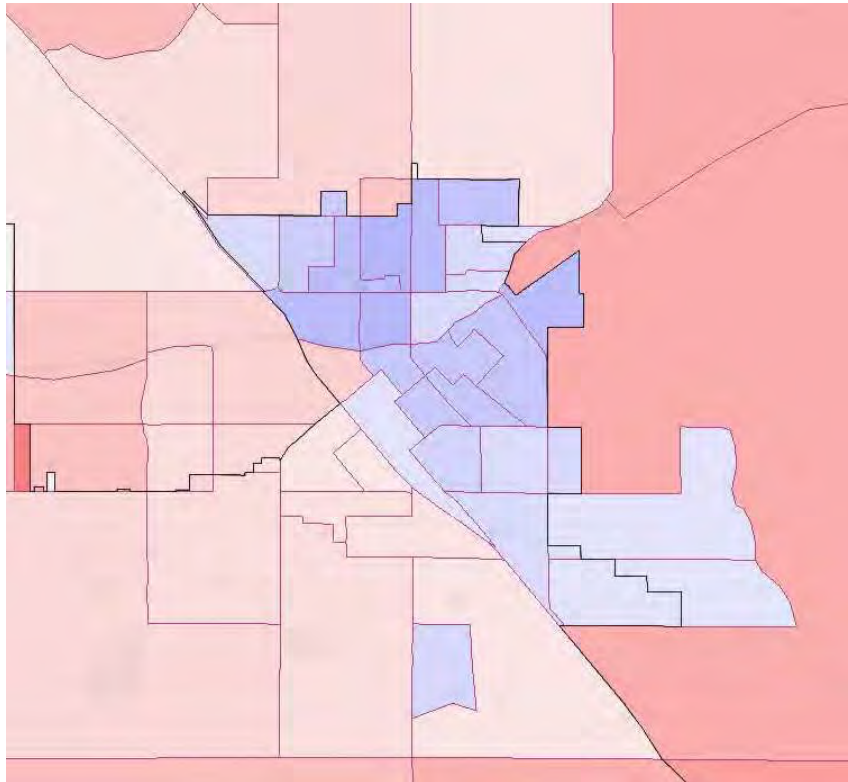
We can see the same thing using precinct boundaries, as calculated by Dave's Redistricting App (a popular online map drawing tool, which was used to draw the boundaries in Virginia).

California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 10

Figure 5: Madera Area, By HVAP and Precinct

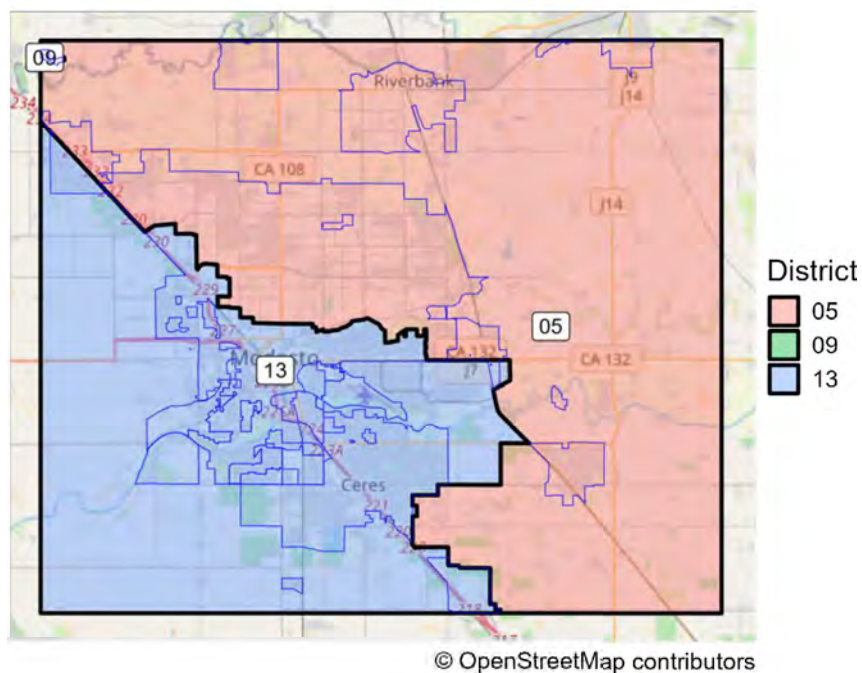


Figure 6: Madera Area, By Politics and Precinct



California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 11

Figure 7: California District 13, Modesto/Ceres Area



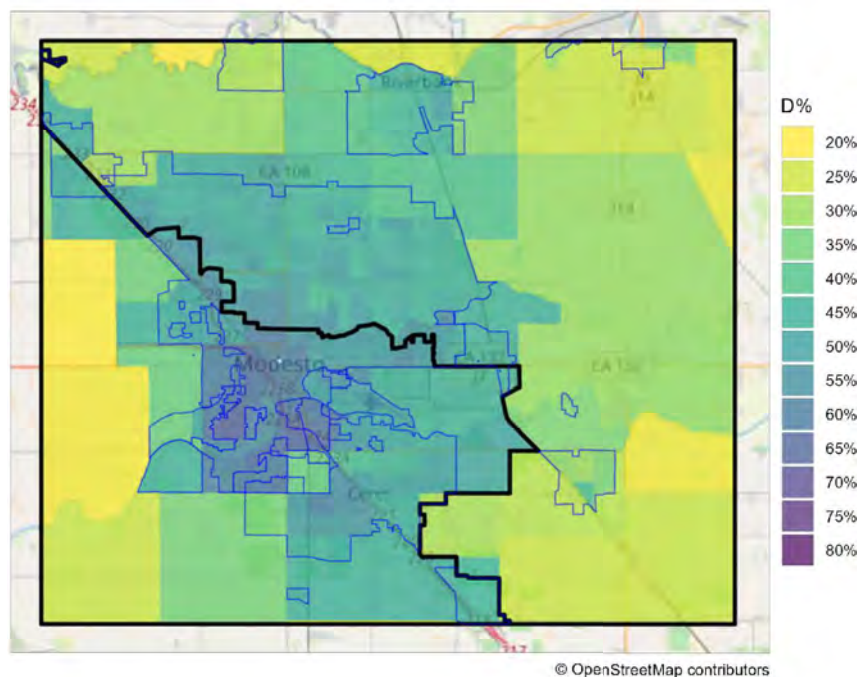
Here, we can see that the district does conform nicely to the political outlines of the district, with Republicans kept outside and Democratic areas inside. This an example of something where race and politics appear to be at least mixed.

Next, consider the area near Ceres and Modesto. The district bulges out here as well. It splits Modesto but keeps Ceres intact. It also captures some areas outside of Ceres.

If we examine the political split, we see that the map in fact leaves a significant Democratic population on the table in Modesto, to the north of the district boundary. In addition, it captures a large Republican population in and around Ceres.

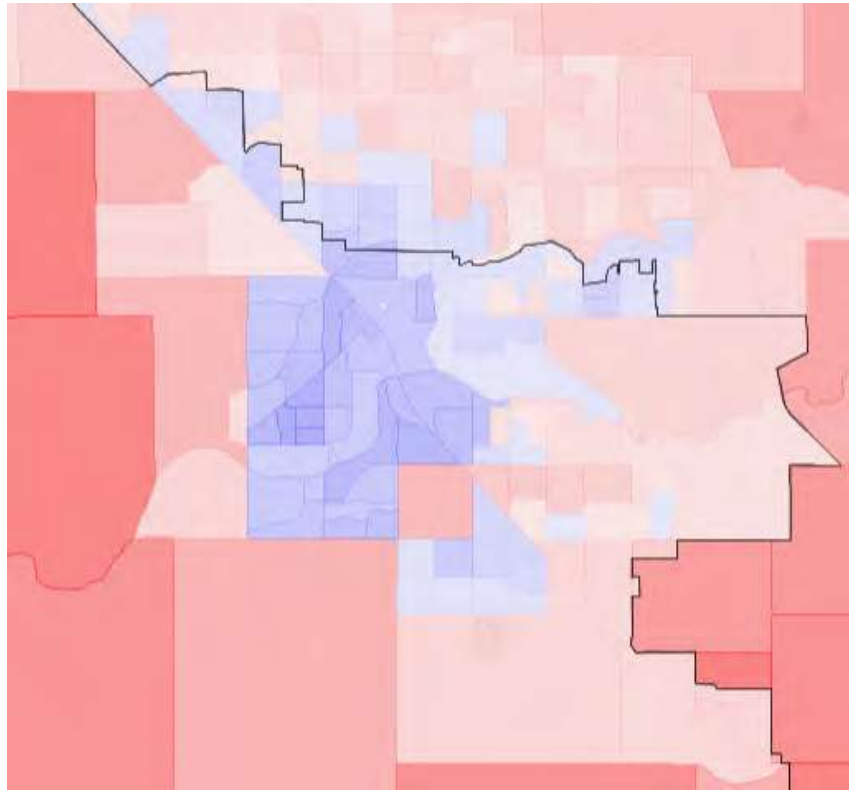
California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 12

Figure 8: Modesto/Ceres Area, By Politics and Block Group



California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 13

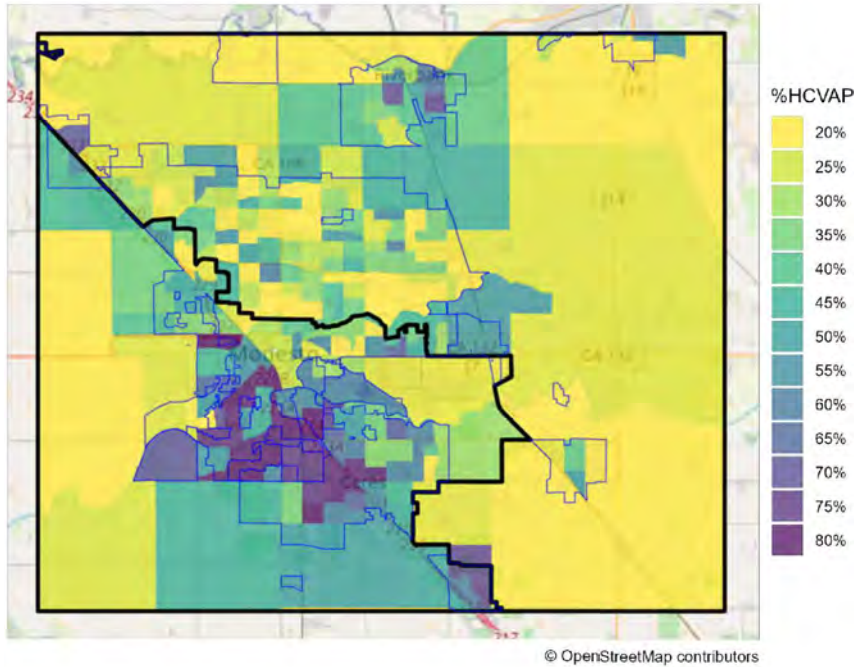
Figure 9: Modesto/Ceres Area, By Politics and Precinct



When we examine this from a racial angle, the motivation for the split appears more obvious. Most of the Democratic territory left in Modesto is White. More importantly, the Republican territory captured around Ceres is heavily Hispanic. If partisanship were really the motivating factor for this division, the district would drop some of the Republican areas in Ceres and pick up Democratic areas in Modesto.

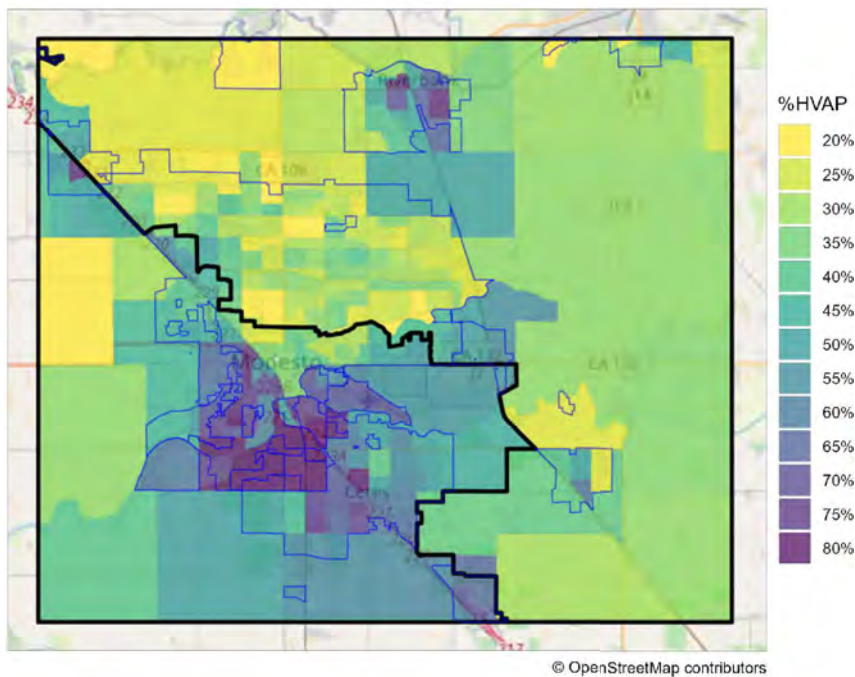
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Figure 10: Modesto/Ceres Area, By HCVAP and Block Group



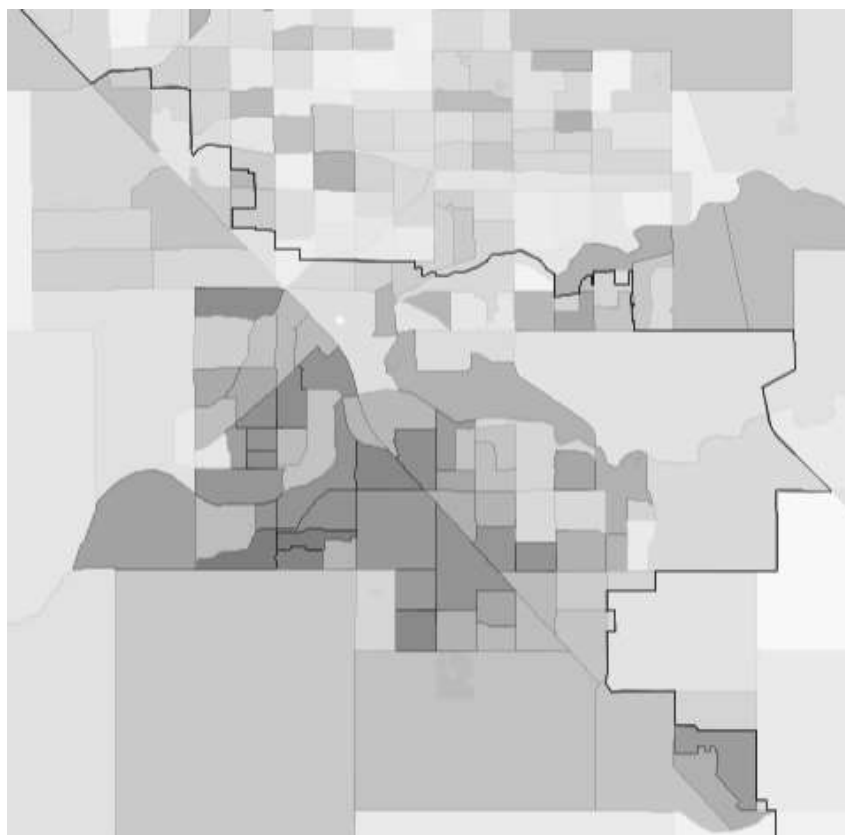
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Figure 11: Modesto/Ceres Area, By HVAP and Block Group



California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 16

Figure 12: Modesto/Ceres Area, By HVAP and Precinct

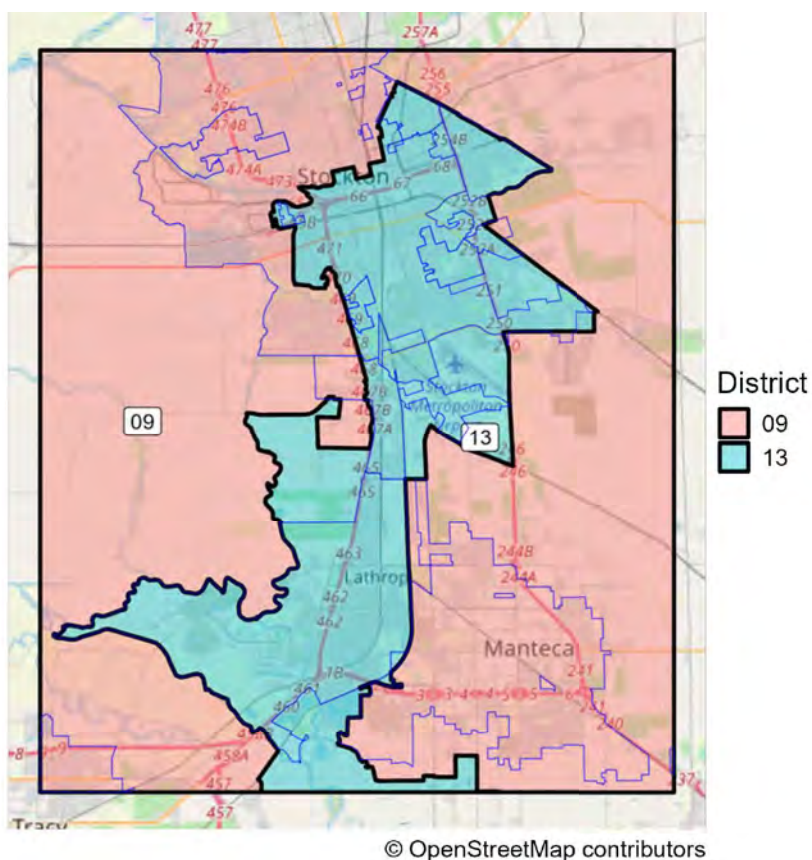


But the northern split, near Stockton, is one of the more egregious examples. The large plume off the top of the district might make sense as a Democratic gerrymander at first blush.

The problem is once again that this leaves a lot of Democrats on the table. In particular, areas to the west of the District are heavily Democratic, more so than some of the precincts at the District's northern boundary.

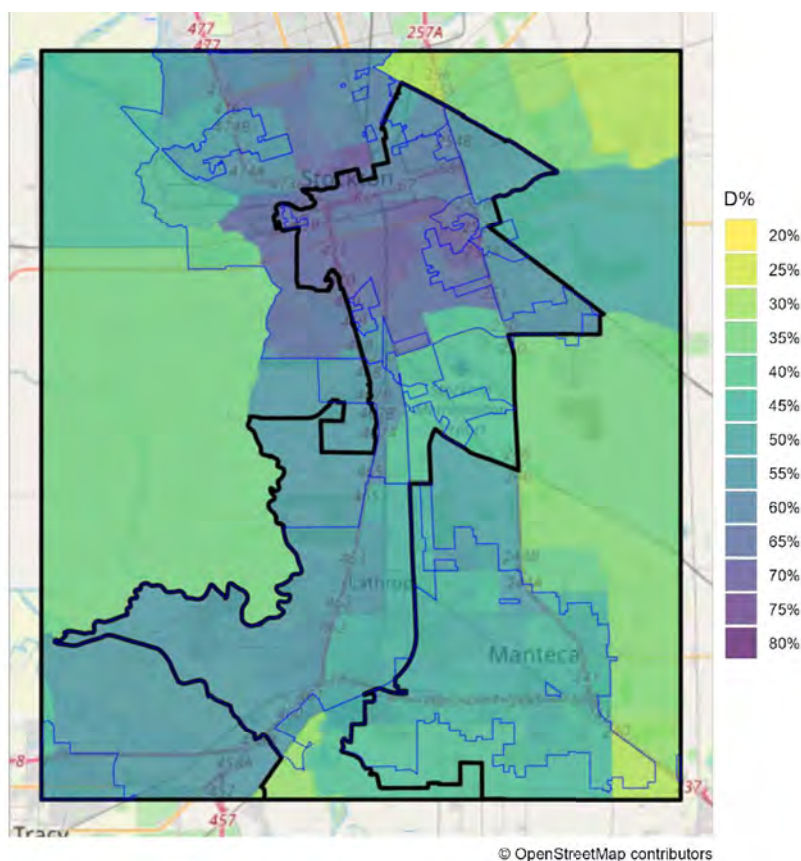
California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 17

Figure 13: District 9/13 Boundary, Stockton Area



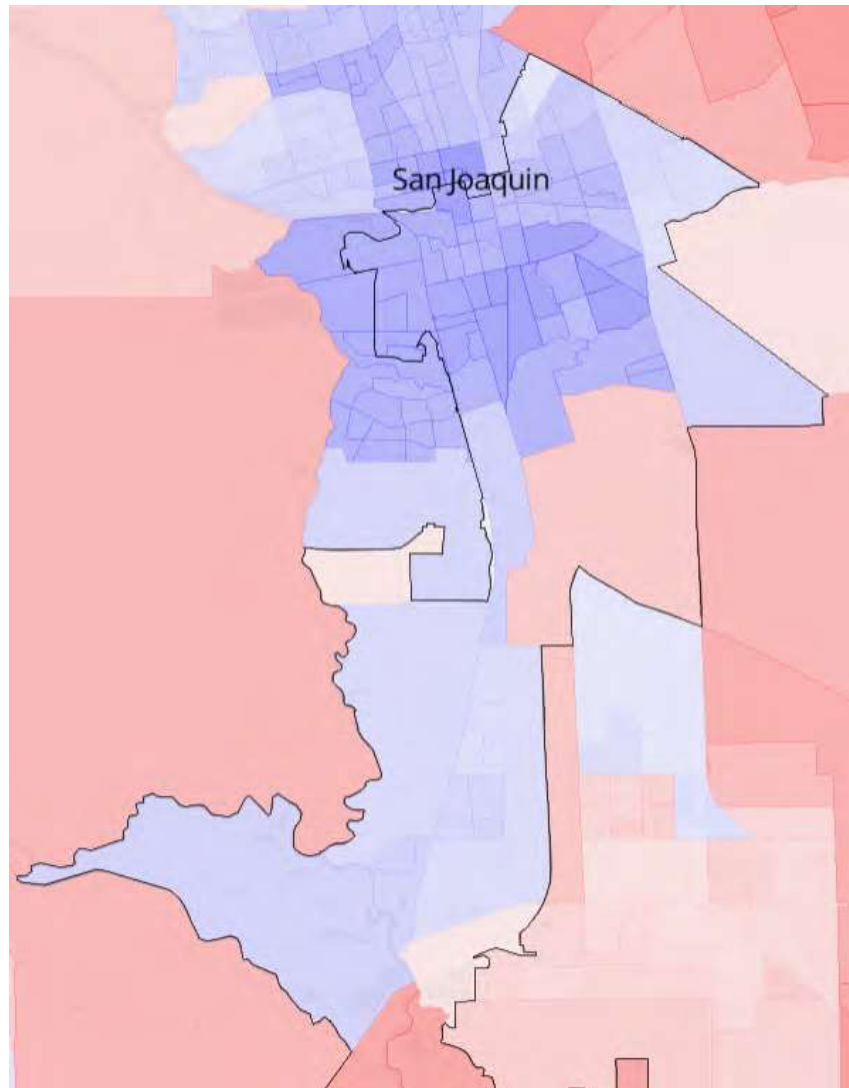
California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 18

Figure 14: District 9/13 Boundary, Stockton Area, By Politics and Block Group



California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 19

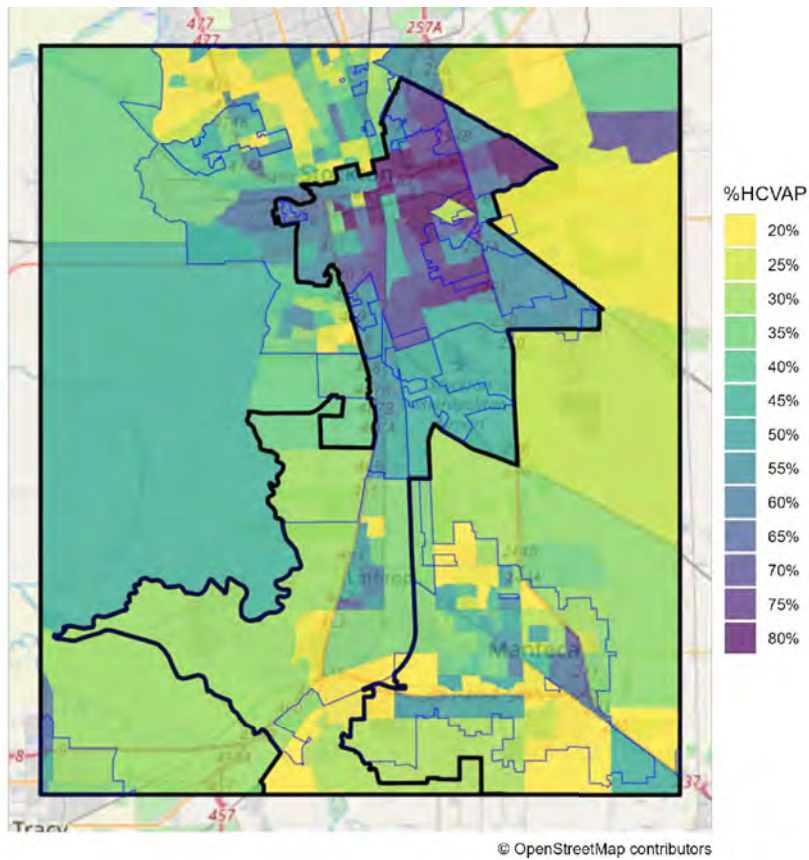
Figure 15: District 9/13 Boundary, Stockton Area, By Politics and Precinct



What differentiates them is that the portion at the northern end of the district are heavily Hispanic, while the areas left out to the west of the district are more heavily White. In other words, this appendage bypasses white Democrats, making the district less compact, to gain Hispanic areas that are less heavily compact. From a gerrymandering perspective, this makes little sense.

California District 13 shows signs of racial predominance in line drawing. — 20

Figure 16: District 9/13 Boundary, Stockton Area, By HCVAP and Block Group



— 21

Figure 17: District 9/13 Boundary, Stockton Area, By HVAP and Block Group

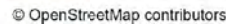
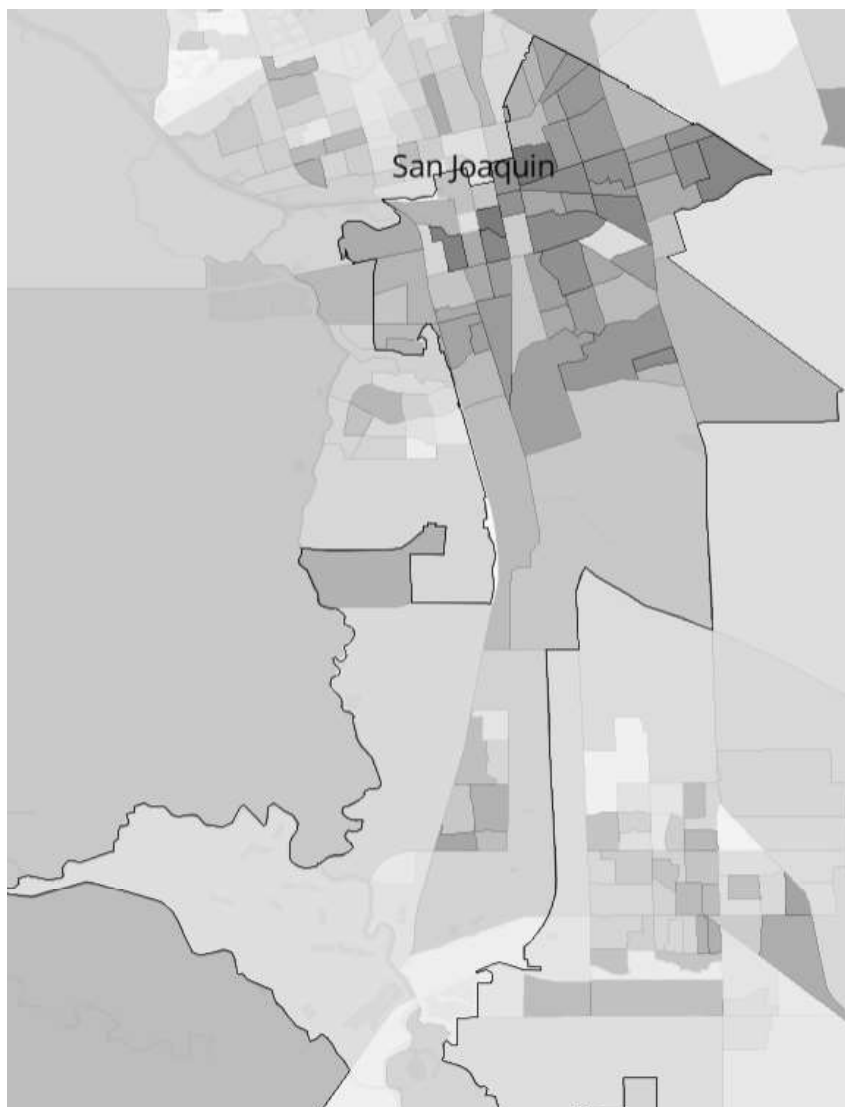


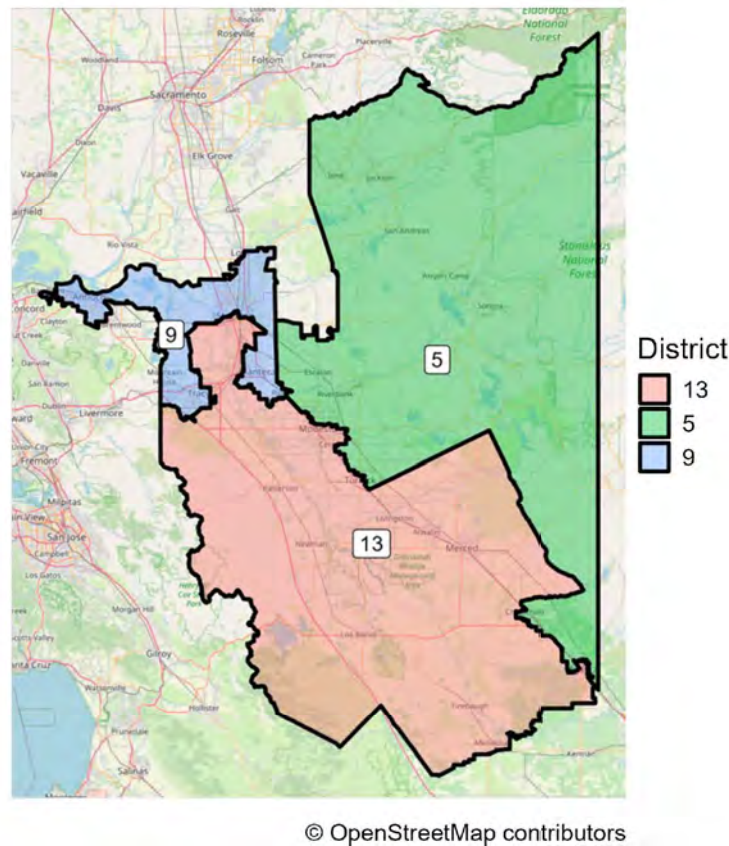
Figure 18: District 9/13 Boundary, Stockton Area, By HVAP and Precinct



4 Demonstration Maps

I have also drawn three maps to demonstrate that it is possible to achieve the political goals of the map with a more regular configuration that does not target race. Geojsons for the districts are available as an attachment to this report. The first map, Map A, simply reconfigures Stockton to capture the more heavily Democratic areas to the west of the city.

Figure 19: Demonstration Map A



District 13 and 9 are equipopulous. The Hispanic Voting Age Population of District 13 in the Enacted Map District 13 is 60.5%; the Hispanic Voting Age Population of District 13 in this version is 58.9%. The estimated Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population (HCVAP) of District 13 in the Enacted Map is 53.2%; the estimated HCVAP of District 13 in Demonstration District A is 51.3%. The Enacted Map's District 13 has a Reock compactness score of 0.417 and a Polsby-Popper compactness score of 0.205. Demonstration District A has scores of 0.412 and 0.223, respectively. From a political perspective, the map improves Democratic performance. The following table shows Democratic and Republican vote shares for District 13 in the Enacted Map, and in Demonstration District A.

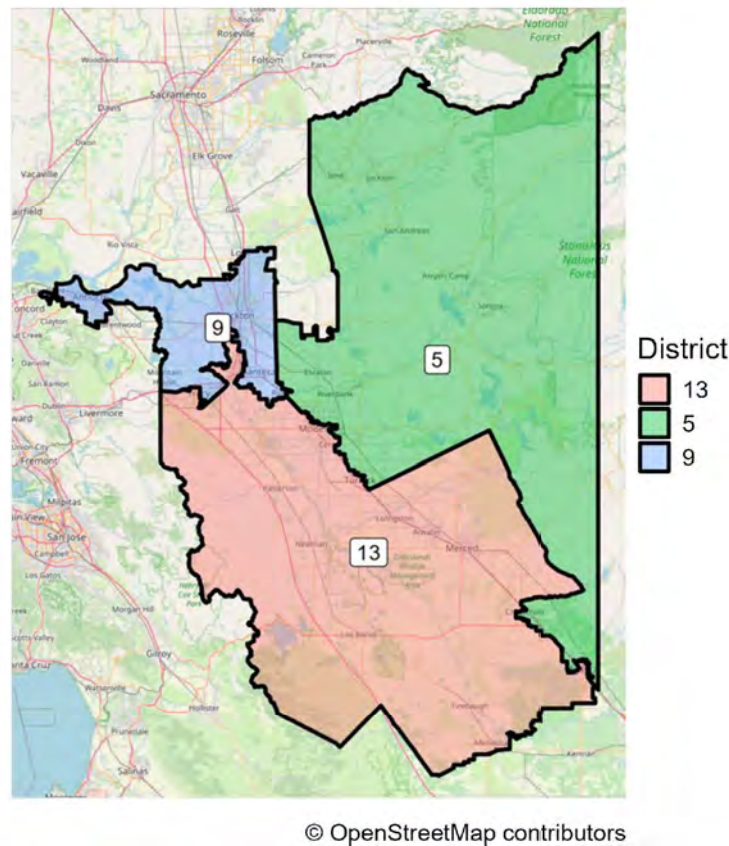
Table 1: Political Performance, Enacted Map vs. Map A

Race	Enacted R%	Enacted D%	D Edge	Map A, R%	Map A, D%	D Edge
Gov '22	50.40%	49.60%	-0.80%	50%	50%	0%
Pres '24	48.20%	48.90%	0.70%	48%	49.20%	1.20%
Sen '24	48.70%	51.30%	2.60%	48.30%	51.70%	3.40%

Map B pulls the district further out of Stockton, and captures Democratic voters in the city of Tracy, closer to the district core. While Tracy is split, the map fixes the split in French Cap.

The map also addresses the split in Modesto/Ceres. It does so by making the boundary conform with the Ceres city limits while picking up some Democratic precincts in Modesto.

Figure 20: Demonstration Map B



District 13 and 9 are equipopulous here. The Hispanic Voting Age Population of District 13 in the Enacted Map District 13 is 60.5%; the Hispanic Voting Age Population of District 13 in this version is 56.0%, The Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population (HCVAP) of District 13 in the Enacted Map is 53.2%; the HCVAP of District 13 in Demonstration District B is 48.9%. The Enacted Map's District 13 has a Reock compactness score of 0.417 and a Polsby-Popper compactness score of 0.205. Demonstration District B has scores of 0.4082 and 0.2297, respectively.

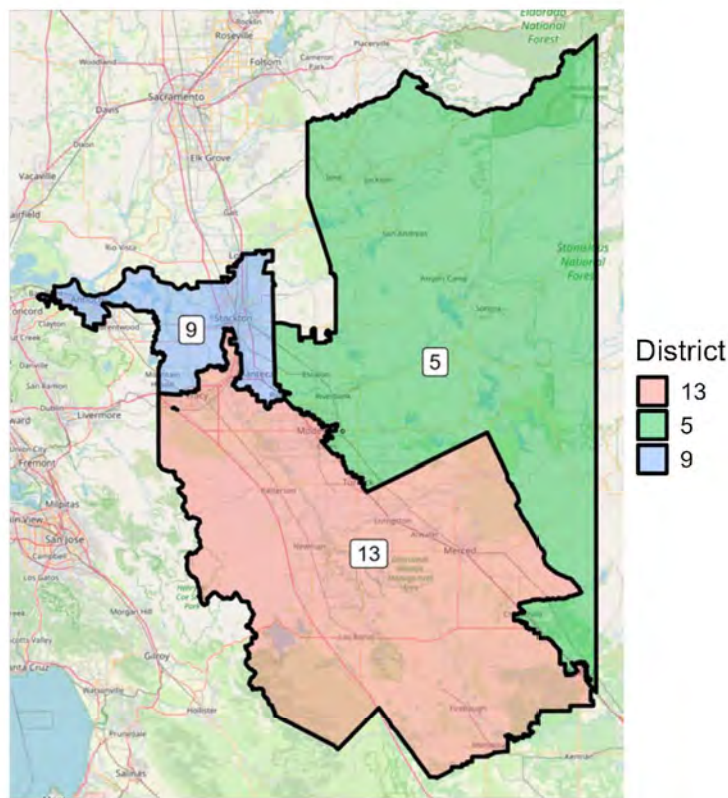
From a political perspective, the map improves Democratic performance. The following table shows Democratic and Republican vote shares for District 13 in the Enacted Map, and in Demonstration District B.

Table 2: Political Performance, Enacted Map vs. Map B

Race	Enacted R%	Enacted D%	D Edge	Map B, R%	Map B, D%	D Edge
Gov '22	50.40%	49.60%	-0.80%	50.2%	49.8%	-0.4%
Pres '24	48.20%	48.90%	0.70%	48.2%	49%	0.8%
Sen '24	48.70%	51.30%	2.60%	48.7%	51.3%	2.6%

Finally, Map C goes further than Map B. In the Modesto area, it splits Ceres to exclude the Republican areas, otherwise following SR-99. It picks up more Democratic areas in Modesto.

Figure 21: Demonstration Map C



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In the north, it pulls further out of Stockton, regularizing the boundary overall.

District 13 and 9 are equipopulous here. The Hispanic Voting Age Population of District 13 in the Enacted Map District 13 is 60.5%; the Hispanic Voting Age Population of District 13 in this version is 55.1%, The Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population (HCVAP) of District 13 in the Enacted Map is 53.2%; the HCVAP of District 13 in Demonstration District C is 48.1%. The Enacted Map’s District 13 has a Reock compactness score of 0.417 and a Polsby-Popper compactness score of 0.205. Demonstration District B has scores of 0.4106 and 0.2421, respectively.

From a political perspective, the map improves Democratic performance. The following table shows Democratic and Republican vote shares for District 13 in the Enacted Map, and in Demonstration District C.

Table 3: Political Performance, Enacted Map vs. Map C

Race	Enacted R%	Enacted D%	D Edge	Map C, R%	Map C, D%	D Edge
Gov '22	50.40%	49.60%	-0.80%	50.3%	49.7%	-0.6%
Pres '24	48.20%	48.90%	0.70%	48%	49.1%	1.1%
Sen '24	48.70%	51.30%	2.60%	48.6%	51.4%	2.8%

5 Conclusion

The Enacted Map’s boundaries between districts 9 and 13 appear to have been crafted to enhance the Hispanic Voting Age Population and Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population in the district. The twisted shapes cannot be explained by traditional redistricting principles, nor can they be explained by politics. Race predominated in these lines. I reserve the right to supplement this report as additional information becomes available, or according to any scheduling order this Court might set.

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E

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E

H

The University of Texas at Dallas, Interim Director for the Texas Schools Project.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Program Head for Political Science and Public Policy
Political Economy, 2019-2025.

The University of Texas at Dallas. Professor, 2009-present.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Senior Associate Dean, 2010-2012.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science
Program 2007-2010.

The University of Texas at Dallas. Associate Professor, 2005-2009.

Northern Arizona University. Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2003-2005.

Binghamton University, SUNY. Assistant Professor of Political Science, Fall 1999 – 2003.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, 1998 – 1999.

G

A

“Nursing in the Field: Vector-borne Illness Prevention and Detection Among Migrant
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Visiting Fellowship, Australian National University, \$10,000, Summer 2014

Visiting Fellowship, University of Sydney, United States Studies Centre and The
Election Integrity Project, \$10,000, Winter 2013.

EPPS Advisory Board Grant, \$5,000 for research on Redistricting. 2014.

Intramural Grants Program, Northern Arizona University. 5,000 for a study on the impact of redistricting on House elections. Summer 2004.

Deans Workshop Grant, "Methods and Politics," 3000, 2002-2003, with David Clark, David Rueda and Wendy Martinek.

Deans Workshop Grant, "Democratic Institutions, Preference Aggregation and World Politics," 4000, 2001-2002, with David Clark and Patrick Regan.

Dean's Research Semester Award. Binghamton University, 2001-2002.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship, 1998-99

Order of Merit. Outstanding Graduate Scholarship. School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, 1996-1997

University of California Regents Dissertation Fellowship, Spring 1997.

Scaife Foundation Fellowship to attend ICSPR summer statistical program, 1993.

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O P C I

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Quoted in DMN "At 85, Rep. Sam Johnson has rivals' respect — but still has rivals" by Elizabeth Koh, Feb 15, 2016.

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<http://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/2016/02/25/last-stand-in-texas-for-cruz-before-super-tuesday.html>

Interview for WRLD on Feb 27, March 1, March 2 and throughout march and april

Interview KRLD on Oct 18 about vote rigging and presidential election

KRLD Oct 25 interview early turnout

Oct 26 Interviewed on Channel 8 news about future of GOP

Appeared on McQuisition television show. May 20, 2012. "Redistricting: Do you Know Who Your Congressman is?"

Newsweek story on special elections

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/09/12/david-weprin-vs-bob-turner-the-race-to-replace-anthony-weiner.html>

Nate Silver story on special elections, NY Times

<http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/13/a-guide-to-cutting-through-special-election-spin/>

Appeared on McQuisition TV Show; local PBS talk show. Two episodes, one on the Tea Party and one on the 2010 Election.

Quoted in an Associate Press article "Vulnerable House Dems declare their independence," by Cristina Silva, September 25, 2010.

Appeared on *in* with Krys Boyd on KERA Channel 13 (Dallas) talking about my book.

I wrote the feature op-ed for the Dallas Morning News on June 3, 2008.

http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-brunell_03edi.ART.State.Edition1.45fe223.html

Quoted extensively in a Huffington Post story by Tom Edsall on political cycles.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/06/24/obama-rides-the-wave_n_108848.html

Appeared on local radio station (KRLD 1080 am) as a guest political commentator for a 3 hour election wrap up program for the Texas presidential primary election, March 4, 2008.

Was one of four invited speakers, including one member of Congress, at North Central Texas College's 2nd Annual Conference on American Leadership, April 12, 2008, where I spoke about redistricting and representation.

My research on cycles in American electoral politics was featured on Discovery's website <http://dsc.discovery.com/news/2008/03/13/political-cycles.html>

quoted in Pittsburgh Tribune Review on Thursday March 27 about jury deliberations. http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/cityregion/s_559258.html

quoted in Philadelphia Inquirer on Wednesday April 2 about jury deliberations. <http://www.philly.com/philly/news/local/17215627.html>

My research with Patrick Brandt involving predicting the 2006 Congressional elections was quoted extensively in an article U.S. News and World Report.

Wrote an op-ed for Newsday (New York) on the impact of timing of events for presidential elections. Published 1/4/04. This was reprinted in the Dodge City Daily Globe (Kansas) on 1/8/04 and in the Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee) on 1/25/04.

Spoke to Pi Sigma Alpha meeting on the Presidential Primary Process, February 2004.

Delivered a speech to the League of Women Voters of Broome and Tioga Counties entitled "Redistricting after Census 2000: Playing Political Hardball." September 25, 2001

Appeared as an hour long guest on NPR's "Talk of the Nation" to discuss the decennial census. March 7, 2001.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2000. "The European Court, National Judges, and Legal Integration: A Researcher's Guide to the Data Set on Preliminary References in EC Law, 1958-98." Working paper. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. European University Institute.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Amihai Glazer. 1999. "Evidence for the Irrationality of Governmental Policy." Working paper, Center for the Study of Democracy, U.C. Irvine.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 1997. "The European Court and the National Courts: A Statistical Analysis of Preliminary References, 1961-95." Working paper 14/97, Jean Monnet Center, Harvard Law School.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) on 11/12/00 discussing the process by which we amend the constitution.

Appeared on Fox 40 on election night 11/7/00 as an analyst discussing the election.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) on 11/2/00 discussing voter fatigue.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) on 11/2/00 discussing the Electoral College.

quoted in Press and Sun-Bulletin on 10/14/00 in an article about the 26th district Congressional election in New York.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) with students in my class discussing the second Clinton/Lazio debate, 10/8/00.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing Presidential debate, 10/4/00

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing Presidential debate, 10/3/00

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing the 2000 NY Senatorial primary, 9/12/00.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) News discussing the 2000 presidential primaries. March 7, 2000.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) News discussing Census 2000 and its likely impact on New York. January 20, 2000.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) and News Channel 34 (FOX) talking about turnout in local elections. October 2, 1999.

Brunell, Thomas L. "Accurate Census Count Vital for New York." The Press & Sun Bulletin. July 25, 1999. Page 6E.

I T

Census 2020

Triple Play: Election 2018, Census 2020, and Redistricting 2021. Conference at University of Houston, Dec. 7 2018

Census 2020 and Redistricting
Common Cause Democracy Works Summit
Philadelphia, May 21, 2018

Keynote on Redistricting
North Carolina State Political Science Associate Meeting. Raleigh, NC Feb 23, 2018

Reforming Redistricting
Political Discourse Conference, University of Iowa, December 4, 2015

"The Impact of Competitiveness on Attitudes Towards Government, a Comparative Perspective." Australian National University, August 21, 2015.

"Asymmetrical Polarization in the U.S. Congress" Australian National University, July 14th, 2015.

“Population Deviations: A Subtle Form of Gerrymandering in the U.S. States” March 2014, The University of Sydney, Electoral Integrity Project.

“The Uses and Abuses of Population Deviations in State Legislative Redistricting.” Case Western Law School, November 4, 2011.

Why Electoral Competition is Bad for America
Political Science Department at Duke University. February 10, 2009.

“Why We Need Fewer Competitive Elections in the U.S. House of Representatives.”
Department of Government, University of Texas, Austin, January 27, 2006.

“Why Fewer Competitive Elections are Better in Single Member District Electoral Systems.” May 27, 2005, Nuffield College, Oxford University.

”Parsing Sincere Versus Strategic Interest Group Behavior: Explaining Patterns of Hard Money Contributions to Candidates for the U.S. Congress.” January 9, 2003, Dept. of Political Science UC Riverside.

“Party Polarization and Divided Government.” American Politics Research Group, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. December 1, 2000.

“The Politics of Census Taking in the United States. Nuffield College, Oxford University, September 28, 1999.

“The Statistical Adjustment of the 2000 U.S. Census. The George Washington University, June, 1999.

C A

“Assessing Proportionality as a Standard for Redistricting” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego, CA, April 2019.

“Assessing Proportionality as a Standard for Redistricting” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, T , January 2019.

“Do Environmental State Policies Impact National Legislators’ Voting Behavior ”
T. Brunell and B. Cease. Presented at American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 3-September 3, 2017

“Democratic Renewal: The Positive Effects of Elections on Voters Attitudes Towards Government.” T. Brunell, S. Bowler, T. Donovan, J. Karp
Presented at Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 7-10, 2016.

“State Election Administration and Voters’ Perceptions of Electoral Integrity.”

T. Brunell, S. Bowler, T. Donovan, P. Gronke
Presented at State Politics and Policy Conference, Sacramento, CA

“Electoral Engineering and the Representation of Underrepresented Groups”
Elin Bjarnegard, Thomas L. Brunell, and Par etterberg
Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2015

“Median and Supermajoritarian Pivots in Congress and Conditional Party Government”
Thomas L. Brunell and Samuel Merrill, III
Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2015

“Election Reforms and Perceptions of Fair Elections.”
Shaun Bowler, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke
State Politics and Policy Conference, Sacramento CA, May 2015.

“Replacement Effects and the Slow Cycle of Ideological Polarization in the U.S. House.”
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association,
Washington D.C., September 2010.

“Putting Critical Elections in Historical Perspective”
Thomas L. Brunell, Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL April 2-5, 2009.

“Do Special Elections Foretell the Results of General Election Outcomes in the U.S. House of Representative.” Thomas L. Brunell and David Smith
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL April 2-5, 2009.

“Who Wants Electoral Competition and Who Wants to Win ” With Harold Clarke.
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association,
Chicago, April, 2008.

“The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters’s Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada.” With Elizabeth Clausen.
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March 2007.

“The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters’s Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada.” With Elizabeth Clausen
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 2007.

“Time to Deliberate: Factors Affecting the Length of Jury Deliberations” With Chetan Dave and Nicolas Morgan. Presented at the Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, New York Law School, November 2007.

“Move to the Center or Mobilize the Base Effects of Political Competition, Voter

Turnout, and Partisan Loyalties on the Ideological Convergence of Vote-Maximizing Candidates in Two-Party Competition.” With Bernard Grofman, Sam Merrill, and Jim Adams. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA August 30 - September 3, 2006.

“Rethinking Redistricting: How Drawing Districts Packed with Partisans Improves Representation and Attitudes Towards Congress.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

“Evaluating the Political Effects of Partisan Gerrymandering.” With Bernard Grofman. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

“The Impact of Primary Type on Competitiveness of U.S. Congressional Primary Elections.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 1-5, 2004.

“The Relationship Between Descriptive Representation of African Americans in Congress and Attitudes Toward Government.” With Rachel Cremona and Chris Anderson, presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14-17, 2004.

“Do National Tides Affect Governors : Midterm Loss in Gubernatorial Elections .” With Robin Best, presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14-17, 2004.

“The Relationship Between Parties and Interest Groups: Explaining Interest Group Donations.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA August 26-September 1, 2002.

“The Entrance of Women into the U.S. Congress: The Widow Effect.” with Lisa Solowiej. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA November 7-10, 2001.

“Before Election Day: The Effect of Timing of Elections in U.S. Presidential and Congressional Elections.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA August 30-September 2, 2001.

“Ideological Swing Districts in the U.S. House of Representatives,” with A.J. uackebush. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA August 30-September 2, 2001.

”The Effect of District Diversity on Party Loyalty Voting in the U.S. Congress.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, March 15-17, 2001.

“Explaining the Proportion of Split House-President Outcomes, 1900-1996,” with Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, March 9-11, 2001.

“Congress and the Courts: The Strange Case of the Census.” Florida International University, Miami, Florida. April 7-9, 2000. Conference on Congress and the Courts.

“The Link Between Primary Type and Representation in the U.S. Senate.” Presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta GA.

“The Power of Ideologically Concentrated Electorates.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, August 28-31.

“Rethinking the Link Between District Diversity and Electoral Competitiveness.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, August 28-31.

“Comparing Electoral Competition, Responsiveness, and Change in the House and Senate: The Senate Really is Different.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, New Orleans, March 26-30.

“Explaining the Ideological Differences Between the Two U.S. Senators Elected from the Same State: An Institutional Effects Model,” with Bernard Grofman. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“The Power of Concentrated Ideological Minorities,” with Bernard Grofman and William Koetzle. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“Why Do Voters Split Their Tickets A Comparative Midpoints Approach,” with Bernard Grofman, Michael McDonald, and William Koetzle. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“Explaining Divided Senate Delegations 1788-1994, A Realignment Approach.” Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 28 - September 1, 1996.

“Toward a Realignment-Based Theory of Divided Senate Delegations” presented at 1995 Western Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, March 1996. And at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas, April 1996.

“Split-ticket Voting and Divided Government” with Bernard Grofman, Michael McDonald, and William Koetzle. Presented at the Conference on Strategy Politics, Center for the Study of Collective Choice, University of Maryland, April 14, 1996.

“Comparing Midterm Elections in the U.S. House and Senate,” with William Koetzle and

Bernard Grofman. Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas, April, 1996.

“Explaining Seat Change in the United States Senate, 1922-1994,” with William Koetzle. Presented at the 1995 Midwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, April 1995.

“Lip-Reading, Draft-Dodging, and Perot-noia: The 1992 Presidential Campaign in Editorial Cartoons,” with William Koetzle. Presented at the 1994 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 1994.

T E

Introduction to U.S. and Texas Government

Political Parties and Interest Groups

American Political Institutions

Race and Redistricting

Congress

Campaigns and Elections

Statistics

Computer Based Research in Social Science

Graduate seminar in American Politics

Graduate seminar in Electoral Systems

Graduate seminar in American Political Institutions

Graduate seminar in Comparative Institutions

Graduate seminar in Election Law and Electoral Systems

S P A

2013-14 Executive Committee, Political Science, UT Dallas

2010-2012 Senior Associate Dean, in charge of graduate studies for the School of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences.

2007-2010 Associate Program Head and Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science, UT Dallas.

2005-2007 Executive Committee, Political Science, UT Dallas.

2006 American Politics search committee, UT Dallas.

2003-2005 Faculty Senate, Northern Arizona University.

2000-2001 Faculty Senate, Binghamton University.

2000-2001 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, Binghamton University.

2000-2001 American Politics Search Committee, Binghamton University.

1999-2000 American Politics Search Committee, Binghamton University.

1999-2000 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, Binghamton University.

Reviewer, National Science Foundation, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Journal of Theoretical Politics, American Politics Review, National Science Foundation, Public Choice, Political Research Quarterly, Electoral Studies, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of European Public Policy, European Journal of Political Research, and Party Politics.

P .D S

Patrick Muenks, faculty at UT System

Misty Parker, faculty at Del Mar College

Paul Collins, faculty at University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Billy Monroe, faculty at Stephen F. Austin State College

Walt Borges, faculty at UNT Dallas

David Smith

Whitney Manzo, faculty at Meredith College

Adrianna Smith

R L E

Texas Congressional, 2001, testified in state court

Pennsylvania Congressional, 2002, testified in state and federal court

Alabama Congressional, 2002, testified in federal court

Alaska State Legislative, 2002 testified in state court

Virginia State Legislative (wrote a report but did not testify), 2001

Nevada State Legislative (Guy v. Miller), 2011 testified in state court

New Mexico State Legislative (Egolf v. Duran), 2011 testified in state court

Colorado Congressional (Moreno v. Gessler), 2011

South Carolina Congressional (Backus v. South Carolina), 2012 testified in federal court

North Carolina Congressional and Legislative (Dickson v. Rucho), 2012

Florida Congressional (Romo v. Detzner)

Alabama Legislative (ALBC v. Alabama), 2013 testified in federal court

South Dakota Voting Rights Act case (Brooks et al. v. Gant et al.), 2014

Galveston County Texas (Petteway et al. v. Galveston County), 2016

Kern County Districting (Luna v. County of Kern), 2017

Ohio Congressional (Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Smith), 2018

Michigan Congressional (League of Women Voters Michigan v. Johnson), 2018

Florida Signature Matching (DNC Servs. Corp., v. Lee), 2019

North Carolina Congressional (Common Cause v. Lews), 2019

Oregon Congressional (Clarno et al v. Fagan), 2021

Maryland Congressional (Parrot v. Lamone), 2022

Arkansas Absentee Ballot (League of Women Voters of Arkansas v. Thurston), 2023
Mississippi State Legislative Redistricting (Mississippi NAACP v. State Board of
Election Commissioners), 2024.

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 SHAWN COWLES (SBN: 163826)
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Attorneys for Plaintiffs

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

DAVID TANGIPA et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

GAVIN NEWSOM, in his official
 capacity as the Governor of California;
SHIRLEY WEBER, in her official capacity as
 California Secretary of State,

Defendants.

Case No. 2:25-cv-10616 JLS (KESx)

**DECLARATION OF TOM BRUNELL IN
 SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR
 A PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Assigned to Hon. Josephine L. Staton

Action Filed: November 5, 2025

DECLARATION OF TOM BRUNELL

I, Tom Brunell, declare and state as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18, and a United States citizen. I know the following facts of my own personal knowledge, and if called upon as a witness, I could and would testify competently thereto.

2. I am a tenured Professor of Political Science at the University of Texas at Dallas. I received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine in 1997. Recently I served as the program head for six years in the Public Policy, Political Economy and Political Science program. I am currently serving as the Interim Director of the Texas Schools Project. Previously I served as Senior Associate Dean of Graduate Education for the School of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences here at the University of Texas at Dallas. In 2020, I was appointed by the Director of the U.S. Census Bureau to serve a three-year term on the Census Scientific Advisory Committee. My teaching and research interests revolve around American elections. I study redistricting, representation, political parties, and the U.S. Congress. I teach classes on Election Law, Redistricting and Racial politics, Campaigns and Elections, Statistics, and Congress. I have published a solo-authored book on redistricting and dozens of peer-reviewed articles in the top journals in our field on redistricting, the Voting Rights Act, elections, and representation. I am lead author on two textbooks on American government the first one is *An Introduction to American Government* (Brunell et al 2021), and the second is *An Introduction to State and Local Government* (Brunell et al 2022). I have testified in state and federal courts around the country over the last 20 years in lawsuits involving voting, redistricting, the Voting Rights Act, ballot integrity, absentee ballots, election administration, and signature matching. My most recent work is a book with two co-authors forthcoming with Oxford University Press entitled *Polarization and the Polarization of the American Political System*.

3. My curriculum vitae, which summarizes my education, experience, and publications, and cases I have testified in as an expert is attached hereto as Exhibit 1.

4. I received my B.A. (1991), M.A. (1993), and Ph.D. (1997) in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine. My graduate training was in American politics, political institutions, and quantitative methods, with a particular focus on elections, representation, and redistricting.

5. For more than 25 years, my academic research and teaching have focused on redistricting, apportionment, electoral systems, legislative representation, and the measurement and effects of partisan and racial gerrymandering. I regularly teach courses titled “Race and Redistricting,” “Campaigns and Elections,” “Congress,” and graduate seminars in election law and electoral systems at UT Dallas. Those courses require me to stay current on the social-science literature and the legal standards that federal and state courts apply in redistricting and vote-dilution cases.

6. I am the author of the book *Redistricting and Representation: Why Competitive Elections are Bad for America* (Routledge 2008). That book set out a positive, data-driven account of how district configurations affect partisan outcomes, the quality of representation, and voter satisfaction, and it has been widely cited in discussions of gerrymandering and the design of congressional and legislative maps. I have also co-authored the chapter “Redistricting” in *for an o o of A eri an le tions an Politi al e a ior* (Oxford University Press), which surveys the main standards and methods political scientists use to evaluate districting plans.

7. I have published extensively, often with leading scholars such as Bernard Grofman, David Lublin, Lisa Handley, and Samuel Merrill III, on topics directly relevant to map drawing and gerrymandering, including (a) the success of minority candidates in districts that are not majority-minority, (b) the use and misuse of population deviations in state legislative redistricting, and (c) the partisan and representational consequences of alternative district configurations. For example, my 2012 article in the *ase estern eser e a e ie* addressed the “one person, one vote” standard and how population deviations can be used as a subtle form of gerrymandering.

8. A recurring theme in my work is that district lines can be manipulated to create, entrench, or dismantle partisan and racial advantages even when the outward population metrics

appear compliant. Because of that, my research has emphasized examining the totality of district features, including population equality, minority voting strength, partisanship, and incumbency, to determine whether a plan reflects neutral districting principles or intentional gerrymandering.

9. In addition to my academic work, I have substantial, hands-on experience evaluating and testifying about redistricting plans in litigation across the country. Since approximately 2001, I have served as an expert in redistricting or election-related matters in Texas (congressional), Pennsylvania (congressional), Alabama (congressional and later legislative), Alaska (state legislative), Nevada (state legislative, *Miller*), New Mexico (state legislative, *Olff* *Iran*), Colorado (congressional, *Oren* *Ossler*), South Carolina (congressional, *As* *ot* *arolina*), North Carolina (congressional and legislative, *ison* *o*), Florida (congressional, *o* *o* *et* *ner*), South Dakota (Voting Rights Act case, *roo* *s* *ant*), Galveston County, Texas (*Pette* *ay* *al* *eston* *o* *nty*), Kern County, California (*na* *o* *nty* *of* *ern*), Ohio (congressional), Michigan (congressional), Oregon (congressional), Maryland (congressional), Arkansas (absentee ballot), and, most recently, Mississippi state legislative redistricting (2024). In many of these matters I submitted an expert report and testified in state or federal court.

10. In those cases I have been asked to do the same kinds of tasks that are implicated here: to describe the applicable redistricting criteria; to evaluate whether a challenged plan adheres to or departs from traditional, non-discriminatory districting principles (such as contiguity, compactness, respect for political subdivisions and communities of interest, and protection of minority voting strength); to analyze election returns and demographic data to determine whether districts provide minority voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice; and to assess whether partisan or racial considerations predominated in the line-drawing process.

11. My work also includes evaluating so-called “influence” or “opportunity” districts, examining whether minority candidates can and do succeed in districts that are not majority-minority, and identifying the “sweet spot” at which minority-preferred candidates can still win without unnecessary packing. I co-authored a 2020 article in the *Journal of Race & Ethnicity and*

Politi s on minority success in non-majority-minority districts, which is directly relevant to questions courts confront when assessing whether a map overpacks or fragments minority voters.

12. Because I have worked repeatedly with decennial census data and with the mechanics of map production, I am familiar with the practical and statistical tools used to draw and evaluate maps, and with the ways those tools can be used either to further legitimate districting criteria or to disguise gerrymandering behind facially neutral metrics.

13. I have also been invited to speak nationally and internationally on redistricting and gerrymandering, including at the University of Sydney’s Electoral Integrity Project, at Australian National University, and at U.S. law schools and political science associations. which reflects recognition in the field that my research and applied work bear directly on how district lines affect representation.

14. Based on my education, scholarship, teaching, published work, and extensive experience serving as an expert in redistricting and Voting Rights Act related litigation in multiple states over more than two decades, I am qualified to offer expert opinions on (a) whether a particular districting plan reflects traditional, neutral redistricting principles, (b) whether racial or partisan considerations predominated in the creation of particular districts, (c) whether a plan unnecessarily dilutes or packs minority voters, and (d) how alternative configurations would affect partisan and minority electoral opportunities.

15. I was asked to look at several geographic and election-related factors in 18 of California’s counties associated with the 16 Voting Rights Act districts contained in Proposition 50’s maps.

16. As a result of my review of this data, I concluded that there is no racial/ethnic majority in California. Hispanics are a plurality of the total population and Non-Hispanic Whites are a plurality in the CVAP population. No group constitutes a majority.

17. Under the third prong in *in les*, the majority group needs to usually defeat the minority preferred candidate. If we assume Non-Hispanic Whites are the majority, and Hispanics are the minority, given Hispanic Democratic candidates recent successes in statewide elections, it is hard to imagine that this prong is satisfied. Moreover, the evidence from four statewide

elections in the state in 2022 and 2024, estimates indicate that majorities of Non-Hispanic Whites, Hispanics, Non-Hispanic Blacks, and Non-Hispanic Asians, all vote Democratic. Votes received by candidates of the same party across offices in the same election year are stable, indicating high levels of partisan straight ticket voting.

18. My full expert opinion is set forth in the report titled “Expert Report of Tom Brunell,” which is attached as Exhibit 2 to this declaration.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 7th day of November 2025,
at Richardson, Texas.



Tom Brunell

EXHIBIT 1

Thomas L. Brunell
Professor of Political Science
School of Economic, Political and Policy Sciences
The University of Texas at Dallas
800 W. Campbell Road
Richardson, TX 75080
972-883-4963
tbrunell@utdallas.edu

E

Ph.D., 1997 Political Science, University of California, Irvine
M.A., 1993 Political Science, University of California, Irvine
B.A., 1991 Political Science, University of California, Irvine

E H

The University of Texas at Dallas, Interim Director for the Texas Schools Project.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Program Head for Political Science and Public Policy
Political Economy, 2019-2025.

The University of Texas at Dallas. Professor, 2009-present.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Senior Associate Dean, 2010-2012.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science
Program 2007-2010.

The University of Texas at Dallas. Associate Professor, 2005-2009.

Northern Arizona University. Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2003-2005.

Binghamton University, SUNY. Assistant Professor of Political Science, Fall 1999 2003.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, 1998 1999.

G A

“Nursing in the Field: Vector-borne Illness Prevention and Detection Among Migrant
and Seasonal Farmworkers.” Co-PIs: Sarah Maxwell and Thomas Brunell. 50,000 from
the Rita Alex Hillman Foundation.

Visiting Fellowship, Australian National University, 10,000, Summer 2014

Visiting Fellowship, University of Sydney, United States Studies Centre and The
Election Integrity Project, 10,000, Winter 2013.

EPPS Advisory Board Grant, 5,000 for research on Redistricting. 2014.

Intramural Grants Program, Northern Arizona University. 5,000 for a study on the impact of redistricting on House elections. Summer 2004.

Deans Workshop Grant, "Methods and Politics," 3000, 2002-2003, with David Clark, David Rueda and Wendy Martinek.

Deans Workshop Grant, "Democratic Institutions, Preference Aggregation and World Politics," 4000, 2001-2002, with David Clark and Patrick Regan.

Dean's Research Semester Award. Binghamton University, 2001-2002.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship, 1998-99

Order of Merit. Outstanding Graduate Scholarship. School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, 1996-1997

University of California Regents Dissertation Fellowship, Spring 1997.

Scaife Foundation Fellowship to attend ICSPR summer statistical program, 1993.

B

Merrill, Samuel III, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L Brunell. 2023. *How Polarization Affects Polarization: A Role for the Internet on Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunell, Thomas, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas Gray. 2021. *Introduction to American Government*. Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas Gray. 2021. *Introduction to American Government*. Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2008. *Representational Democracy: How Elections are a Force for America*. New York: Routledge.

J A

Lublin, David, Lisa Handley, Thomas L. Brunell, and Bernard Grofman. 2020. "Minority Success in Non-Majority Minority Districts: Finding the Sweet Spot". *Journal of American Politics* 5: 275-298.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Brett Cease. 2019. "How Do State-Level Environmental Policies Impact the Voting Behavior of National Legislators?" *Political Science Quarterly* 100(1): 289-306.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2018. "Using US Senate Delegations from the Same State as Paired Comparisons: Evidence for a Reagan Realignment." PS:

Political Science & Politics. 51(3): 512-516.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2016. "Components of Party Polarization in the U.S. House of Representatives." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 28(4): 598-624.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2016. "Replacement in U.S. House: An Outlier-Chasing Model." *Party Politics* 22(4): 427-439.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2016. "The Volatility of Median and Supermajoritarian Pivots in the U.S. Congress and The Effects of Party Polarization", *Public Choice*, 166: 183-204.

Bowler, Shaun, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke. 2015. "Election Administration and perception of Fair Elections." *Electoral Studies* 38(June): 1-9.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Whitney Ross Manzo. 2014. "The Impact of Cox v. Larios on State Legislative Population Deviations." *Election Law Journal* 13(3): 351-361.

Merrill, Samuel, III, Thomas L. Brunell, and Bernard Grofman. 2014. "Modeling the Electoral Dynamics of Party Polarization in Two-Party Legislatures." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 26(4): 548-572.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2013. "Trustee Courts and the Judicialization of International Regimes: The Politics of Majoritarian Activism in the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Union, and the World Trade Organization." *Journal of Law and Courts* 1(1): 61- 88.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2012. "The One Person, One Vote Standard in Redistricting: The Uses and Abuses of Population Deviations in Legislative Redistricting." *American Political Science Review* 106(4): 1057- 1077.

Grofman, Bernard, Thomas L. Brunell, and Scott L. Feld. 2012. "Towards a Theory of Bicameralism: The Neglected Contributions of the Calculus of Consent." *Political Science* 152(1-2): 147-161.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, Samuel Merrill III. 2012. "Magnitude and Durability of Electoral Change: Identifying Critical Elections in the U.S. Congress, 1854-2010." *Electoral Studies* 31(4): 816-828.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2012. "The European Court of Justice, State Non-Compliance, and the Politics of Override." *American Political Science Review* 106(1): 204-213.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Harold Clarke. 2012. "Who Wants Electoral Competition and Who Wants to Win " *Political Research Quarterly* 65(1): 124-137.

Merrill, Samuel, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2011. "Do British Politics Exhibit Electoral Cycles?" *British Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 33-55.

Smith, David and Thomas L. Brunell. 2010. "Are Special Elections to the U.S. House a General Election Barometer?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 283-297.

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The Impact of Party in the Confirmation of Minority and Female Federal Court Nominees.” *Party Politics*, 11: 557-577.

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Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 1998. "The European Court and the National Courts: A Statistical Analysis of Preliminary References, 1961-95." *European Political Policy* 5(March): 66-97.

Grofman, Bernard, Thomas L. Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1998. "Why Gain in the Senate. But Midterm Loss in the House Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(February): 79-89.

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Perspective on the Three Potential Source of Partisan Bias: Malapportionment, Turnout Differences, and the Geographic Distribution of Party Vote Shares.” *Electoral Studies* 16(December, 4):457-470.

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Wuffle, A, Thomas Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1997. “Death Where is Thy Sting: The U.S. Senate as a Ponce (de Leon) Scheme.” *Political Science* 30 (1): 58-59.

Reprinted in the *Journal of American Politics* 1999. 44(5-6): 25-26.

Koetzle, William, and Thomas L. Brunell. 1996. “Lip-Reading, Draft-Dodging, and Perot-noia: The 1992 Presidential Campaign in Editorial Cartoons.” *International Journal of Press Politics* 1(4): 94-115.

B C O A

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. “Congress,” In *An Introduction to American Government*, Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. “Elections,” In *An Introduction to American Government*, Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. “Legislatures,” In *State and Local Government*, Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. “Congressional Reapportionment”. In *Voting and Political Representation in America*, Mark P. Jones, Editor. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, pp 110-112.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. “Gerrymandering”. In *Voting and Political Representation in America*, Mark P. Jones, Editor. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, pp 249-251.

Adams, James, Thomas L. Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill III. 2013. “Do Competitive Districts Necessarily Produce Centrist Politicians.” In *Advances in Political Economy*. Norman Schofield, Gonzalo Caballero, and Daniel Kselman, eds. New York: Springer, pp 331-350.

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Grofman, Bernard and Thomas L. Brunell. 2010. “Redistricting,” in *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, ed. Jan E. Leighly. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2009. "The presidential and congressional election in the USA, November 2008." *Electoral Studies*, 28(4): 322-325.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2008. "The Partisan Consequences of Baker v. Carr and the One Person, One Vote Revolution," in *Electoral Politics in the United States*, Lisa Handley and Bernard Grofman, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2008. "Evaluating the Impact of Redistricting on District Homogeneity, Political Competition, and Political Extremism in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1962-2006." In *Electoral Politics in the United States* Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight, and Susan Stokes, eds. New York: Russell Sage Publications.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas Brunell. 2006. "Extending Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: The Complex Interaction Between Law and Politics." In *Electoral Politics in the United States*, David Epstein, Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Sharyn O'Halloran, and Richard H. Pildes, eds. New York, NY: Russell Sage Publications.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas Brunell. 2005. "The Art of the Dummymander: The Impact of Recent Redistrictings on the Partisan Makeup of Southern House Seats. In Galderisi, Peter (Ed.) Redistricting in the New Millennium. New York: Lexington Books, pp. 183-199.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2004. "Seeking to Institutionalize a Partisan Electoral Advantage: The Battle Over the Census." *Parties and Politics*. Edited by Paul S. Herrnson and Colton C. Campbell. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2001. "Congress and the Courts: The Strange Case of Census 2000." In *Constitutional Frontiers* edited by Colton C. Campbell and John F. Stack, Jr.. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas L. Brunell. 2001. "Explaining the Ideological Differences Between the Two U.S. Senators Elected from the Same State: An Institutional Effects Model." Galderisi, Peter F., Marni Ezra, and Michael Lyons, eds. *Constitutional Frontiers*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

O P C I

Op-ed "Democrats should focus on state races this year and save their chips for 2020." Dallas Morning News, July 7, 2018. Co-authored with Paul Diehl.

Quoted in DMN "At 85, Rep. Sam Johnson has rivals' respect — but still has rivals" by Elizabeth Koh, Feb 15, 2016.

Quoted in:

<http://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/2016/02/25/last-stand-in-texas-for-cruz-before-super-tuesday.html>

Interview for WRLD on Feb 27, March 1, March 2 and throughout march and april

Interview KRLD on Oct 18 about vote rigging and presidential election

KRLD Oct 25 interview early turnout

Oct 26 Interviewed on Channel 8 news about future of GOP

Appeared on McQuisition television show. May 20, 2012. "Redistricting: Do you Know Who Your Congressman is?"

Newsweek story on special elections

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/09/12/david-weprin-vs-bob-turner-the-race-to-replace-anthony-weiner.html>

Nate Silver story on special elections, NY Times

<http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/13/a-guide-to-cutting-through-special-election-spin/>

Appeared on McQuisition TV Show; local PBS talk show. Two episodes, one on the Tea Party and one on the 2010 Election.

Quoted in an Associate Press article "Vulnerable House Dems declare their independence," by Cristina Silva, September 25, 2010.

Appeared on *in* with Krys Boyd on KERA Channel 13 (Dallas) talking about my book.

I wrote the feature op-ed for the Dallas Morning News on June 3, 2008.

http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-brunell_03edi.ART.State.Edition1.45fe223.html

Quoted extensively in a Huffington Post story by Tom Edsall on political cycles.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/06/24/obama-rides-the-wave_n_108848.html

Appeared on local radio station (KRLD 1080 am) as a guest political commentator for a 3 hour election wrap up program for the Texas presidential primary election, March 4, 2008.

Was one of four invited speakers, including one member of Congress, at North Central Texas College's 2nd Annual Conference on American Leadership, April 12, 2008, where I spoke about redistricting and representation.

My research on cycles in American electoral politics was featured on Discovery's website <http://dsc.discovery.com/news/2008/03/13/political-cycles.html>

quoted in Pittsburgh Tribune Review on Thursday March 27 about jury deliberations. http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/cityregion/s_559258.html

quoted in Philadelphia Inquirer on Wednesday April 2 about jury deliberations. <http://www.philly.com/philly/news/local/17215627.html>

My research with Patrick Brandt involving predicting the 2006 Congressional elections was quoted extensively in an article U.S. News and World Report.

Wrote an op-ed for Newsday (New York) on the impact of timing of events for presidential elections. Published 1/4/04. This was reprinted in the Dodge City Daily Globe (Kansas) on 1/8/04 and in the Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee) on 1/25/04.

Spoke to Pi Sigma Alpha meeting on the Presidential Primary Process, February 2004.

Delivered a speech to the League of Women Voters of Broome and Tioga Counties entitled "Redistricting after Census 2000: Playing Political Hardball." September 25, 2001

Appeared as an hour long guest on NPR's "Talk of the Nation" to discuss the decennial census. March 7, 2001.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2000. "The European Court, National Judges, and Legal Integration: A Researcher's Guide to the Data Set on Preliminary References in EC Law, 1958-98." Working paper. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. European University Institute.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Amihai Glazer. 1999. "Evidence for the Irrationality of Governmental Policy." Working paper, Center for the Study of Democracy, U.C. Irvine.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 1997. "The European Court and the National Courts: A Statistical Analysis of Preliminary References, 1961-95." Working paper 14/97, Jean Monnet Center, Harvard Law School.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) on 11/12/00 discussing the process by which we amend the constitution.

Appeared on Fox 40 on election night 11/7/00 as an analyst discussing the election.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) on 11/2/00 discussing voter fatigue.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) on 11/2/00 discussing the Electoral College.

quoted in Press and Sun-Bulletin on 10/14/00 in an article about the 26th district Congressional election in New York.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) with students in my class discussing the second Clinton/Lazio debate, 10/8/00.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing Presidential debate, 10/4/00

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing Presidential debate, 10/3/00

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing the 2000 NY Senatorial primary, 9/12/00.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) News discussing the 2000 presidential primaries. March 7, 2000.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) News discussing Census 2000 and its likely impact on New York. January 20, 2000.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) and News Channel 34 (FOX) talking about turnout in local elections. October 2, 1999.

Brunell, Thomas L. "Accurate Census Count Vital for New York." The Press & Sun Bulletin. July 25, 1999. Page 6E.

I T

Census 2020

Triple Play: Election 2018, Census 2020, and Redistricting 2021. Conference at University of Houston, Dec. 7 2018

Census 2020 and Redistricting
Common Cause Democracy Works Summit
Philadelphia, May 21, 2018

Keynote on Redistricting
North Carolina State Political Science Associate Meeting. Raleigh, NC Feb 23, 2018

Reforming Redistricting
Political Discourse Conference, University of Iowa, December 4, 2015

"The Impact of Competitiveness on Attitudes Towards Government, a Comparative Perspective." Australian National University, August 21, 2015.

"Asymmetrical Polarization in the U.S. Congress" Australian National University, July 14th, 2015.

“Population Deviations: A Subtle Form of Gerrymandering in the U.S. States” March 2014, The University of Sydney, Electoral Integrity Project.

“The Uses and Abuses of Population Deviations in State Legislative Redistricting.” Case Western Law School, November 4, 2011.

Why Electoral Competition is Bad for America
 Political Science Department at Duke University. February 10, 2009.

“Why We Need Fewer Competitive Elections in the U.S. House of Representatives.” Department of Government, University of Texas, Austin, January 27, 2006.

“Why Fewer Competitive Elections are Better in Single Member District Electoral Systems.” May 27, 2005, Nuffield College, Oxford University.

”Parsing Sincere Versus Strategic Interest Group Behavior: Explaining Patterns of Hard Money Contributions to Candidates for the U.S. Congress.” January 9, 2003, Dept. of Political Science UC Riverside.

“Party Polarization and Divided Government.” American Politics Research Group, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. December 1, 2000.

“The Politics of Census Taking in the United States. Nuffield College, Oxford University, September 28, 1999.

“The Statistical Adjustment of the 2000 U.S. Census. The George Washington University, June, 1999.

C A

“Assessing Proportionality as a Standard for Redistricting” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego, CA, April 2019.

“Assessing Proportionality as a Standard for Redistricting” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, T , January 2019.

“Do Environmental State Policies Impact National Legislators’ Voting Behavior ” T. Brunell and B. Cease. Presented at American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 3-September 3, 2017

“Democratic Renewal: The Positive Effects of Elections on Voters Attitudes Towards Government.” T. Brunell, S. Bowler, T. Donovan, J. Karp
 Presented at Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 7-10, 2016.

“State Election Administration and Voters’ Perceptions of Electoral Integrity.”

T. Brunell, S. Bowler, T. Donovan, P. Gronke
 Presented at State Politics and Policy Conference, Sacramento, CA

“Electoral Engineering and the Representation of Underrepresented Groups”
 Elin Bjarnegard, Thomas L. Brunell, and Par etterberg
 Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2015

“Median and Supermajoritarian Pivots in Congress and Conditional Party Government”
 Thomas L. Brunell and Samuel Merrill, III
 Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2015

“Election Reforms and Perceptions of Fair Elections.”
 Shaun Bowler, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke
 State Politics and Policy Conference, Sacramento CA, May 2015.

“Replacement Effects and the Slow Cycle of Ideological Polarization in the U.S. House.”
 Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association,
 Washington D.C., September 2010.

“Putting Critical Elections in Historical Perspective”
 Thomas L. Brunell, Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman
 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL April 2-5, 2009.

“Do Special Elections Foretell the Results of General Election Outcomes in the U.S. House of Representative.” Thomas L. Brunell and David Smith
 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL April 2-5, 2009.

“Who Wants Electoral Competition and Who Wants to Win ” With Harold Clarke.
 Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association,
 Chicago, April, 2008.

“The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters’s Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada.” With Elizabeth Clausen.
 Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March 2007.

“The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters’s Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada.” With Elizabeth Clausen
 Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association,
 Chicago IL, April 2007.

“Time to Deliberate: Factors Affecting the Length of Jury Deliberations” With Chetan Dave and Nicolas Morgan. Presented at the Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, New York Law School, November 2007.

“Move to the Center or Mobilize the Base Effects of Political Competition, Voter

Turnout, and Partisan Loyalties on the Ideological Convergence of Vote-Maximizing Candidates in Two-Party Competition.” With Bernard Grofman, Sam Merrill, and Jim Adams. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA August 30 - September 3, 2006.

“Rethinking Redistricting: How Drawing Districts Packed with Partisans Improves Representation and Attitudes Towards Congress.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

“Evaluating the Political Effects of Partisan Gerrymandering.” With Bernard Grofman. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

“The Impact of Primary Type on Competitiveness of U.S. Congressional Primary Elections.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 1-5, 2004.

“The Relationship Between Descriptive Representation of African Americans in Congress and Attitudes Toward Government.” With Rachel Cremona and Chris Anderson, presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14-17, 2004.

“Do National Tides Affect Governors : Midterm Loss in Gubernatorial Elections .” With Robin Best, presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14-17, 2004.

“The Relationship Between Parties and Interest Groups: Explaining Interest Group Donations.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA August 26-September 1, 2002.

“The Entrance of Women into the U.S. Congress: The Widow Effect.” with Lisa Solowiej. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA November 7-10, 2001.

“Before Election Day: The Effect of Timing of Elections in U.S. Presidential and Congressional Elections.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA August 30-September 2, 2001.

“Ideological Swing Districts in the U.S. House of Representatives,” with A.J. uackebush. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA August 30-September 2, 2001.

”The Effect of District Diversity on Party Loyalty Voting in the U.S. Congress.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, March 15-17, 2001.

“Explaining the Proportion of Split House-President Outcomes, 1900-1996,” with Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, March 9-11, 2001.

“Congress and the Courts: The Strange Case of the Census.” Florida International University, Miami, Florida. April 7-9, 2000. Conference on Congress and the Courts.

“The Link Between Primary Type and Representation in the U.S. Senate.” Presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta GA.

“The Power of Ideologically Concentrated Electorates.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, August 28-31.

“Rethinking the Link Between District Diversity and Electoral Competitiveness.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, August 28-31.

“Comparing Electoral Competition, Responsiveness, and Change in the House and Senate: The Senate Really is Different.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, New Orleans, March 26-30.

“Explaining the Ideological Differences Between the Two U.S. Senators Elected from the Same State: An Institutional Effects Model,” with Bernard Grofman. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“The Power of Concentrated Ideological Minorities,” with Bernard Grofman and William Koetzle. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“Why Do Voters Split Their Tickets A Comparative Midpoints Approach,” with Bernard Grofman, Michael McDonald, and William Koetzle. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“Explaining Divided Senate Delegations 1788-1994, A Realignment Approach.” Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 28 - September 1, 1996.

“Toward a Realignment-Based Theory of Divided Senate Delegations” presented at 1995 Western Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, March 1996. And at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas, April 1996.

“Split-ticket Voting and Divided Government” with Bernard Grofman, Michael McDonald, and William Koetzle. Presented at the Conference on Strategy Politics, Center for the Study of Collective Choice, University of Maryland, April 14, 1996.

“Comparing Midterm Elections in the U.S. House and Senate,” with William Koetzle and

Bernard Grofman. Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas, April, 1996.

“Explaining Seat Change in the United States Senate, 1922-1994,” with William Koetzle. Presented at the 1995 Midwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, April 1995.

“Lip-Reading, Draft-Dodging, and Perot-noia: The 1992 Presidential Campaign in Editorial Cartoons,” with William Koetzle. Presented at the 1994 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 1994.

T E

Introduction to U.S. and Texas Government

Political Parties and Interest Groups

American Political Institutions

Race and Redistricting

Congress

Campaigns and Elections

Statistics

Computer Based Research in Social Science

Graduate seminar in American Politics

Graduate seminar in Electoral Systems

Graduate seminar in American Political Institutions

Graduate seminar in Comparative Institutions

Graduate seminar in Election Law and Electoral Systems

S P A

2013-14 Executive Committee, Political Science, UT Dallas

2010-2012 Senior Associate Dean, in charge of graduate studies for the School of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences.

2007-2010 Associate Program Head and Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science, UT Dallas.

2005-2007 Executive Committee, Political Science, UT Dallas.

2006 American Politics search committee, UT Dallas.

2003-2005 Faculty Senate, Northern Arizona University.

2000-2001 Faculty Senate, Binghamton University.

2000-2001 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, Binghamton University.

2000-2001 American Politics Search Committee, Binghamton University.

1999-2000 American Politics Search Committee, Binghamton University.

1999-2000 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, Binghamton University.

Reviewer, National Science Foundation, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Journal of Theoretical Politics, American Politics Review, National Science Foundation, Public Choice, Political Research Quarterly, Electoral Studies, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of European Public Policy, European Journal of Political Research, and Party Politics.

P . D S

Patrick Muenks, faculty at UT System

Misty Parker, faculty at Del Mar College

Paul Collins, faculty at University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Billy Monroe, faculty at Stephen F. Austin State College

Walt Borges, faculty at UNT Dallas

David Smith

Whitney Manzo, faculty at Meredith College

Adrianna Smith

R L E

Texas Congressional, 2001, testified in state court

Pennsylvania Congressional, 2002, testified in state and federal court

Alabama Congressional, 2002, testified in federal court

Alaska State Legislative, 2002 testified in state court

Virginia State Legislative (wrote a report but did not testify), 2001

Nevada State Legislative (Guy v. Miller), 2011 testified in state court

New Mexico State Legislative (Egolf v. Duran), 2011 testified in state court

Colorado Congressional (Moreno v. Gessler), 2011

South Carolina Congressional (Backus v. South Carolina), 2012 testified in federal court

North Carolina Congressional and Legislative (Dickson v. Rucho), 2012

Florida Congressional (Romo v. Detzner)

Alabama Legislative (ALBC v. Alabama), 2013 testified in federal court

South Dakota Voting Rights Act case (Brooks et al. v. Gant et al.), 2014

Galveston County Texas (Petteway et al. v. Galveston County), 2016

Kern County Districting (Luna v. County of Kern), 2017

Ohio Congressional (Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Smith), 2018

Michigan Congressional (League of Women Voters Michigan v. Johnson), 2018

Florida Signature Matching (DNC Servs. Corp., v. Lee), 2019

North Carolina Congressional (Common Cause v. Lews), 2019

Oregon Congressional (Clarno et al v. Fagan), 2021

Maryland Congressional (Parrot v. Lamone), 2022

Arkansas Absentee Ballot (League of Women Voters of Arkansas v. Thurston), 2023
Mississippi State Legislative Redistricting (Mississippi NAACP v. State Board of
Election Commissioners), 2024.

EXHIBIT 2

Expert Report of Thomas L Brunell, Ph.D.
California Prop. 50 Congressional districts

I. Professional Background and Experience

I am a tenured Professor of Political Science at the University of Texas at Dallas. I received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine in 1997. Recently I served as the program head for six years in the Public Policy, Political Economy and Political Science program. I am currently serving as the Interim Director of the Texas Schools Project. Previously I served as Senior Associate Dean of Graduate Education for the School of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences here at the University of Texas at Dallas. In 2020, I was appointed by the Director of the U.S. Census Bureau to serve a three-year term on the Census Scientific Advisory Committee. My teaching and research interests revolve around American elections. I study redistricting, representation, political parties, and the U.S. Congress. My teaching portfolio includes classes on Election Law, Redistricting and Racial politics, Campaigns and Elections, Statistics, and Congress. I have published a solo-authored book on redistricting and dozens of peer-reviewed articles in the top journals in our field on redistricting, the Voting Rights Act, elections, and representation. I am lead author on two textbooks on American government – the first one is *An Introduction to American Government* (Brunell et al 2021), and the second is *An Introduction to State and Local Government* (Brunell et al 2022). I have testified many times in state and federal courts around the country over the last 25 years in lawsuits involving voting, redistricting, the Voting Rights Act, ballot integrity, absentee ballots, election administration, and signature matching. My most recent work is a book with two co-authors forthcoming with Oxford University Press entitled *How Polarization Begets Polarization: Ideological Extremism in the US Congress*. For a full listing of publications, I have authored or co-authored and for those cases that I have testified in either as an expert at trial or by deposition, please see my cv attached hereto.

I am being paid \$500 per hour for my work on this matter. My fees are not contingent on my opinions or on the outcome of the case.

II. Scope of Work

I was asked by counsel to look at several geographic and election-related factors in 18 of California’s counties. These 18 counties are those that are included in the VRA districts for the newly passed Congressional district map for the state. The counties in my analysis include Fresno, Imperial, Kern, Kings, Los Angeles, Madera, Merced, Monterey, Orange, Riverside, San Benito, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Joaquin, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Stanislaus, and Tulare.

III. State Demographics

California is a very diverse state, and Latinos comprise a plurality of the state. The 2020 decennial census reported that Hispanics were 39.4% of the state, Non-Hispanic White 34.7%, Non-Hispanic Asians about 15.1%, and Non-Hispanic Black 5.4%. In Table 1 I have gathered data from the 2020 Census for the total population of the state and each of the 18 counties in question. For total population I use Hispanic, non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Non-Hispanic Asian. At the county level, there is only one, Santa Cruz, in which Non-Hispanic Whites comprise a majority of the population. Hispanics are an outright majority in ten of the counties and they are a plurality in four others. Whites are a plurality in three counties. There are 14 Hispanic VRA districts in the current map.

Table 1. California Total Population for 18 Counties, 2020 Census

County	Total Population	Hispanic %	White (Non-Hispanic) %	Black (Non-Hispanic) %	Asian (Non-Hispanic) %
Fresno	1,008,526	53.6	26.9	4.4	10.9
Imperial	173,626	86.1	9.4	1.1	1.3
Kern	892,674	54.9	31.1	4.8	4.9
Kings	140,322	57.2	29.6	4.2	3.8
Los Angeles	10,047,926	48.0	25.5	7.7	14.7
Madera	151,113	60.5	30.9	1.8	2.3
Merced	281,099	61.9	24.4	2.8	7.0
Monterey	434,660	60.7	27.4	1.7	5.8
Orange	3,193,010	34.1	37.6	1.6	21.9
Riverside	2,417,438	49.7	32.6	6.1	6.8

San Benito	64,338	61.1	30.8	0.8	3.4
San Bernardino	2,180,152	53.7	25.9	8.0	8.1
San Diego	3,302,262	33.9	43.1	4.4	12.1
San Joaquin	777,313	41.8	27.6	7.2	17.3
Santa Clara	1,940,140	25.2	28.7	2.2	38.8
Santa Cruz	271,352	34.9	53.7	1.1	4.4
Stanislaus	554,730	48.1	37.6	2.6	6.0
Tulare	475,056	65.5	26.4	1.1	3.4
Statewide	39,523,437	39.4	34.7	5.4	15.1

*Source: Adjusted P.L. 94-171 Summary Totals: State and Counties

<https://statewidedatabase.org/redistricting2021/>

In the Proposition 50 map, the person who drew the map says that he increased that number to 16. In a presentation to the Hispanics Organized for Political Equality (HOPE), Mr. Paul Mitchell said the following:

“The Voting Rights Act analysis that we got back said -- and, again, I'll read -- while both the Commission map and the draft map are compliant with Section 2, the empirical evidence shows that the public submission map, which is the Prop. 50 map, improves the opportunity for Latino voters to elect candidates of choice in two more districts than the existing plan” (HOPE 2025, page 26).

Mitchell went on to say: “And I started listing out this concept of drawing a replacement Latino majority/minority district in the middle of Los Angeles.· That was the number one thing that I first started thinking about because it was something that I worked with HOPE on in the last redistricting process” (HOPE 2025, page 23-24.).

Followed by: “We essentially reversed the Redistricting Commission's decision to eliminate a Latino district from LA, the old Ed Roybal district, Lucille Roybal-Allard district, the first Latino majority/minority district in the country, the first Latino member of Congress in the country. . . . We put that district back.· Eliminated the -- basically moving the 41st over there and eliminating the Ken Calvert district in Riverside, and then moving the districts around in order to fill in” (HOPE 2025, page 25).

The sixteen majority Hispanic CVAP districts are list in Table 2 (data from Centeno and Cuellar 2025).

Table 2. Proposition 50 Majority Hispanic Citizen Voting Age Population Districts

District	Member	Hispanic CVAP%
13	Gray	53.8
18	Lofgren	53
21	Costa	54.4
22	Valadao	65.4
25	Ruiz	52.1
29	Rivas	53.6
31	Cisneros	52.2
33	Aguilar	54.5
34	Gomez	54.9
35	Torres	53.1
38	Sanchez	52.6
39	Takano	54.3
41	Calvert	55
44	Barragan	62.3
46	Correa	52.7
52	Vargas	51.8

*Data from Centeno and Cuellar 2025.

Since there are far more non-citizens among Hispanics than other racial or ethnic groups, I have also gathered data for Citizens’ Voting Age Population (CVAP), in addition to total population.¹ Table 3 contains this data. There are some differences in CVAP compared to total population. Non-Hispanic Whites are a plurality statewide with 43.5 percent of the CVAP population compared to 31.9 for Hispanics. At the county level, Hispanics are a majority or a plurality in 11 of the 18 counties in our dataset.

¹ CVAP is estimated by the Census Bureau using the American Community Survey. The ACS is a large on-going survey of the American population. CVAP are estimates, which is why I have also included the raw estimates and the margins of error for each group in Table A1 in the appendix.

Table 3. California Citizen Voting Age Population for 18 Counties, 2023 ACS

County	Total CVAP	White CVAP %	Hispanic CVAP %	Black (Non-Hispanic) CVAP %	Asian (Non-Hispanic) CVAP %
Fresno County	629,685	36.1	45.5	5.1	10.5
Imperial County	103,690	13.6	79.8	3.5	1.3
Kern County	547,510	41.0	45.3	5.8	4.9
Kings County	94,190	38.1	46.2	8.0	4.2
Los Angeles County	6,386,435	32.2	40.1	9.5	15.1
Madera County	95,535	43.5	46.8	3.3	2.3
Merced County	161,465	34.5	51.1	3.8	7.7
Monterey County	240,820	43.3	42.6	3.3	7.0
Orange County	2,121,620	46.8	26.8	1.8	21.4
Riverside County	1,629,915	40.1	42.8	7.2	6.8
San Benito County	42,680	38.7	53.4	1.3	3.2
San Bernardino County	1,414,970	32.7	47.5	9.1	7.5
San Diego County	2,308,265	51.4	28.0	5.0	11.3
San Joaquin County	492,960	37.1	33.5	8.3	16.8
Santa Clara County	1,165,825	37.2	21.5	2.8	35.0
Santa Cruz County	191,970	65.8	25.0	1.0	4.5
Stanislaus County	348,570	48.5	39.0	3.1	5.4
Tulare County	271,830	37.2	55.0	1.6	3.7
Statewide	26,040,825	43.5	31.9	6.4	14.5

*Source: American Community Survey 2019-2023 5-Year Estimates. CVAP represents citizens aged 18 and older.

IV. Statewide Elections

Looking at recent statewide elections in the state, Hispanics are not struggling to win these elections. Below is a list of six recent elections that pitted a Hispanic Democrat against a White Republican and the Hispanic candidate prevailed in each contest. All election data was retrieved from the California Secretary of State's website.

- Alex Padilla 2018 Sec of State 7,909,521 (64.5 percent) beats Mark Meuser 4,362,545 (35.5 percent).
- Xavier Becerra 2018 AG beats Steven Bailey (R) with 7,790,743 (63.6 percent) versus 4,465,587 (36.4).

- Ricardo Lara 2018 Insurance Commissioner beats Steve Poizner (Independent) 6,186,039 (52.9 percent) to 5,515,293 (47.1 percent).
- Alex Padilla 2022 Special Elec US Senator 6,559,308 (60.9 percent) to 4,212,450 (39.1).
- Alex Padilla 2022 US Senator - beats Mark Meuser 61.1 to 38.9 percent. Padilla got 6,621,621 votes and Meuser received 4,222,029 votes
- Ricardo Lara 2022 Insurance Commissioner 6,355,915 (59.9 percent) beat Robert Howell (R) with 4,249,391 (40.1 percent).

There are some recent examples of Hispanics losing in statewide elections, but each of them is something of a special case.

- Loretta Sanchez lost to Kamala Harris in the 2016 U.S. Senate election, but both candidates were Democrats, and the winning candidate was not white.
- In the 2018 U.S. Senate race Kevin de Leon lost to Dianne Feinstein. Again, this contest was between two Democrats, and while Senate Feinstein was White, she was also a long-time incumbent.
- In the 2018 Lieutenant Governor's race Ed Hernandez lost to Eleni Kounalakis 56.5 to 43.5 percent of the vote. This was a contest between two Democrats.

Tables 4, 5, and 6 present election results by our 18 counties for three statewide elections held in 2022. The reason for including these data is to see how stable the vote percentages are within each county across elections. Take Fresno County – In the Senate election they voted 47 percent for the Democrat; in the Senate special election they voted 46.8 percent for the Democrat, and in the Insurance Commissioner election they voted 47 percent for the Democrat. In Los Angeles County the vote percentages for the Democrats are 70, 69.8, and 68.5.

Table 4. 2022 Senate General Election Votes by County

2022 Senate General Election					
County	Padilla	%	Meuser	%	Total
Fresno	100,963	47	113,845	53	214,808
Imperial	17,774	59.9	11,919	40.1	29,693
Kern	73,784	39.4	113,432	60.6	187,216
Kings	10,067	37.8	16,533	62.2	26,600
Los Angeles	1,670,306	70	715,913	30	2,386,219
Madera	14,018	38.4	22,514	61.6	36,532
Merced	26,755	49	27,893	51	54,648
Monterey	67,153	66.4	34,026	33.6	101,179
Orange	479,494	49.5	489,185	50.5	968,679
Riverside	289,599	49.4	296,687	50.6	586,286
San Benito	11,016	56.8	8,368	43.2	19,384
San Bernardino	218,494	49.1	226,470	50.9	444,964
San Diego	586,284	57.6	432,027	42.4	1,018,311
San Joaquin	90,289	51.5	85,078	48.5	175,367
Santa Clara	383,152	71.4	153,249	28.6	536,401
Santa Cruz	80,675	78	22,810	22	103,485
Stanislaus	57,861	45	70,792	55	128,653
Tulare	35,215	38.9	55,359	61.1	90,574
Totals	4,212,899	59.3	2,896,100	40.7	7,108,999

*data from CA Secretary of State website

Table 5. 2022 Senate Special Election Votes by County

2022 Senate Special Election					
County	Padilla	%	Meuser	%	Total
Fresno	100,792	46.8	114,504	53.2	215,296
Imperial	17,761	59.8	11,961	40.2	29,722
Kern	73,524	39.4	113,056	60.6	186,580
Kings	10,010	37.7	16,531	62.3	26,541
Los Angeles	1,647,824	69.8	714,557	30.2	2,362,381
Madera	13,869	38.1	22,499	61.9	36,368
Merced	26,273	48.6	27,788	51.4	54,061
Monterey	67,047	66.3	34,146	33.7	101,193
Orange	476,118	49.4	487,272	50.6	963,390
Riverside	286,799	49.3	295,101	50.7	581,900
San Benito	10,901	56.6	8,373	43.4	19,274
San Bernardino	215,305	48.7	226,951	51.3	442,256

San Diego	582,966	57.5	431,303	42.5	1,014,269
San Joaquin	89,168	51.2	84,844	48.8	174,012
Santa Clara	376,952	71.4	151,279	28.6	528,231
Santa Cruz	80,071	77.8	22,784	22.2	102,855
Stanislaus	57,261	44.8	70,472	55.2	127,733
Tulare	34,930	38.7	55,271	61.3	90,201
Totals	4,167,571	59.1	2,888,692	40.9	7,056,263

*data from CA Secretary of State website

Table 6. 2022 Insurance Commissioner General Election Votes by County

2022 Insurance Commissioner's Election					
County	Lara	%	Howell	%	Total
Fresno	100,562	47.0	113,223	53.0	213,785
Imperial	17,363	59.0	12,062	41.0	29,425
Kern	73,688	39.6	112,316	60.4	186,004
Kings	9,985	37.6	16,542	62.4	26,527
Los Angeles	1,556,724	68.5	716,413	31.5	2,273,137
Madera	13,809	38.0	22,565	62.0	36,374
Merced	26,257	48.3	28,156	51.7	54,413
Monterey	64,656	64.7	35,265	35.3	99,921
Orange	465,959	49.0	485,654	51.0	951,613
Riverside	285,165	48.9	297,663	51.1	582,828
San Benito	10,646	55.4	8,557	44.6	19,203
San Bernardino	217,865	48.8	228,795	51.2	446,660
San Diego	566,150	56.7	432,187	43.3	998,337
San Joaquin	88,871	51.0	85,540	49.0	174,411
Santa Clara	365,198	69.6	159,164	30.4	524,362
Santa Cruz	77,950	77.0	23,323	23.0	101,273
Stanislaus	57,132	44.4	71,588	55.6	128,720
Tulare	34,879	38.7	55,363	61.3	90,242
Totals	4,032,859	58.1	2,904,376	41.9	6,937,235

*data from CA Secretary of State website

V. Scattergrams and Correlations

There appears to be a great deal of stability across statewide elections in terms of the votes that candidates from each party receive at aggregate levels (county or statewide). To further investigate this relationship systematically, I use scattergrams and simple bivariate correlations. This is the standard approach in statistics.

“In correlation analysis, we study the relationship between **bivariate data**, which is data collected on two variables where the data values are paired with one another. Correlation measures the association between two numeric variables. We may be interested in knowing if there is a correlation between bond prices and interest rates or between the age of a car and the value of the car. To investigate the correlation between two numeric quantities, the first step is to collect (x,y) data for the two numeric quantities of interest and then create a scatterplot that will graph the (x,y) ordered pairs” (Ault, Liao, and Musolino 2025, pg 189).

“When inspecting a scatterplot, it may be difficult to assess a correlation based on a visual inspection of the graph alone. A more precise assessment of the correlation between the two quantities can be obtained by calculating the numeric correlation coefficient (referred to using the symbol r).

The **correlation coefficient** is a measure of the strength and direction of the correlation between the independent variable x and the dependent variable y.

The formula for r is shown; however, software is typically used to calculate the correlation coefficient.

$$r = (n\sum xy - (\sum x)(\sum y)) / (\sqrt{n\sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2} \sqrt{n\sum y^2 - (\sum y)^2})$$

where n refers to the number of data pairs and the symbol $\sum x$ indicates to sum the x-values” (Ault, Liao, and Musolino 2025, pg 191).

VI. 2018 Statewide Elections

In Table 7, I report the bivariate correlations of the Democratic candidates for all statewide elections from 2018 in California. Pearson's r correlations range from -1.0 to 1.0. Correlations of -1 indicate a perfect linear inverse relationship, and a correlation of 1.0 indicates a perfect linear positive relationship. The closer the score is to zero, the less strong the relationship is between the two variables. Many of the correlations in the table are very close to 1.0 – indicating a very high linear relationship between the percent of the vote from each county in one election compared to one other election. Looking at the second column of the table labeled “Gov” at the top, each of the numbers below is the simple correlation of the Democratic share of the vote in each county compared to the Democratic vote share in the same counties for each of the other statewide elections. The first numerical entry, 0.4346 is the correlation of the vote share in our 18 counties for the Governor's race and the Lt. Governor's race. This is a positive correlation but it isn't particularly strong. However, this is a good time to note that two of the elections were held between two Democrats - the Lt. Governor's race (Eleni Kounalakis and Ed Hernandez) and the Senate election (Diane Feinstein and Kevin De Leon). There is one other notable election in which there was no Republican running – the Insurance Commissioner pitted Ricardo Lara (D) against Steve Poizner who ran with no preferred party. I treated the victors (Kounalakis for Lt. Governor and Feinstein for Senate) of the two Democrat/Democrat elections as the Democrat vote total (and the loser as the Republican) for the purposes of the data in this table. We expect different outcome in those two elections relative to a Democrat v. Republican contest. Indeed, if you ignore those two races, all the correlations are .91 or higher. All the lower correlations in the table, indicating less of a positive linear relationship, involve either the Lt. Governor or the Senate election. Therefore, in “normal” Republican v. Democrat elections, there are very strong correlations between the percent of the vote that any Democrat receives in any election in these 18 counties. This suggests that party may be the primary driver of vote choice, rather than campaigns or candidates. This is not surprising in the current era of higher polarized politics in America (Merrill, Grofman, and Brunell 2023). Abramowitz and Webstar (2016) write:

“regardless of the direction or strength of their party identification, American voters in the 21st century are much more likely to hold strongly negative views of the opposing party than in the past. A growing proportion of Americans dislike the opposing party more than they like their own party. The rise of negative partisanship in the American electorate has contributed to the highest rates of party loyalty and straight-ticket voting in the past sixty years.”

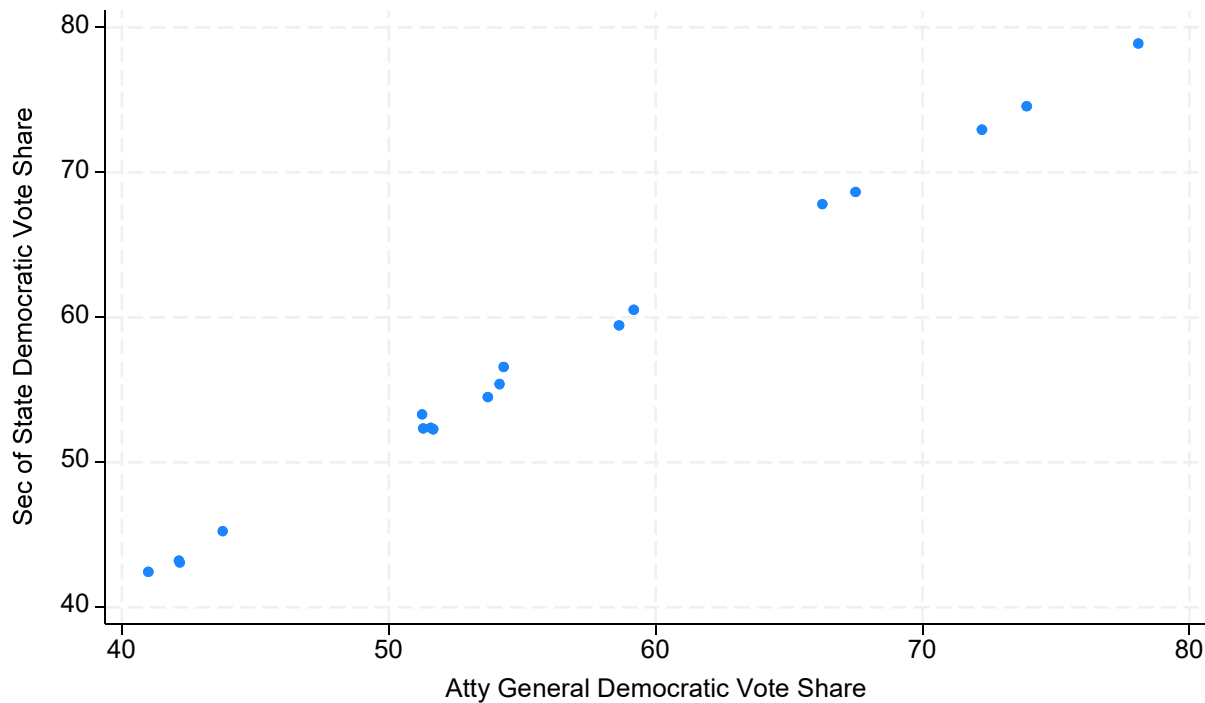
Table 7. Correlation Matrix of 2018 California Statewide Elections

	Gov	Lt. Gov	Sec of State	Controller	Treasurer	Atty Gen	Ins Comm
Gov	1						
Lt. Gov	0.4346	1					
Sec of State	0.9951	0.3850	1				
Controller	0.9926	0.4015	0.9977	1			
Treasurer	0.9975	0.4148	0.9987	0.9972	1		
Atty Gen	0.9972	0.3893	0.9992	0.9960	0.9992	1	
Ins Comm	0.9105	0.1389	0.9408	0.9384	0.9278	0.9341	1
Senate	0.8362	0.5550	0.8037	0.7882	0.8130	0.8148	0.6133

*Correlations are simple bivariate correlations between the Democratic candidates' votes for each office.

Figure 1 is a scatter plot of the Democratic share of the vote for two statewide elections (Attorney General and Secretary of State) from 2018. Each of the dots represents one of the 18 counties in our analysis. A perfect positive linear relationship would be a line moving up at 45 degrees from left to right – this would mean that each county voted *exactly the same* in both elections. It is evident that the line is not perfectly straight, but the dots are very close to forming a 45-degree line. This is not surprising since as we know from Table 6, the correlation of the vote share for these two offices across the counties is 0.9992.

Figure 1. 2018 Attorney General Election Democratic Vote Share Percentages against Secretary of State Democratic Vote Share



*Graph depicts the vote share for the Democrat candidates for each of the 18 counties in the report.

VII. 2022 Statewide Elections

In Table 8, I report on the bivariate correlations of the Democratic candidates for all statewide elections from 2022 in California.² Pearson's r correlations range from -1 to 1. Correlations of -1.0 indicate a perfect linear inverse relationship, and a correlation of 1.0 indicates a perfect linear positive relationship. The closer the score is to zero, the less strong the relationship is between the two variables. All the correlations in the table are very close to 1.0. The lowest correlation is 0.9919 (Treasurer and Controller), which is an extremely high correlation. This shows an incredibly strong positive correlation between all the Democratic vote totals across these elections. Indicating a very strong stability of vote outcomes. This is across all kinds of offices with all kinds of candidates.

² I exclude the Superintendent of Public Instruction election as it is non-partisan.

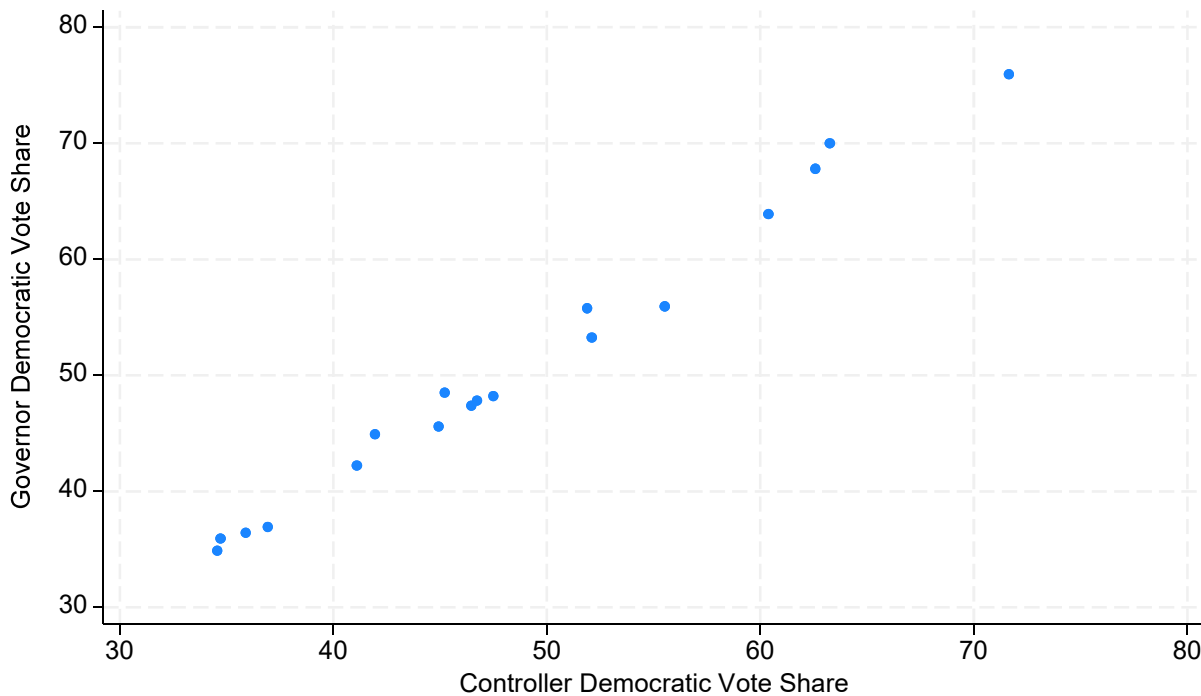
Table 8. Correlation Matrix of 2022 California Statewide Elections

	Gov	Lt. Gov	Sec of State	Controller	Treasurer	Atty Gen	Ins Comm	Sen
Gov	1							
Lt. Gov	0.9985	1						
Sec of State	0.9989	0.9986	1					
Controller	0.9993	0.9930	0.9959	1				
Treasurer	0.9974	0.9993	0.9985	0.9919	1			
Atty Gen	0.9975	0.9985	0.9995	0.9962	0.9988	1		
Ins Comm	0.9980	0.9970	0.9995	0.9972	0.9970	0.9991	1	
Senate	0.9980	0.9971	0.9996	0.9967	0.9972	0.9992	0.9996	1
Senate Spec	0.9981	0.9972	0.9996	0.9966	0.9971	0.9991	0.9996	0.9999

*Correlations are simple bivariate correlations between the Democratic candidates' votes for each office.

The figure below shows the vote percentages for the 2022 Governor's race and the Controller's race. The dots are the 18 counties addressed in this report. The dots nearly make a perfect 45-degree line. This demonstrates the lack of variability between elections in California. Candidates and campaigns seem to be relatively unimportant, and many people in the state appear to be voting straight party tickets, which is true not just in California but also the rest of the country (Pew Research Center 2020).

Figure 2. Scatterplot of the Democratic Share of the Vote Between the 2022 Governor and Controller



*Graph depicts the vote share for the Democrat candidates for each of the 18 counties in the report.

IX. 2022 Cooperative Election Study

The Cooperative Election Study (CES), formerly known as the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), is one of the largest academic surveys of American voters, designed to study “how Americans view and hold their representatives accountable during elections” (Schaffner, Ansolabehere, and Shih 2023). The 2022 CES involved 60 research teams who collectively fielded a survey of 60,000 American adults, with interviews conducted in two waves: pre-election (September 29 - November 8, 2022) and post-election (November 10 - December 15, 2022).

The CES employs a "matched random sample" methodology rather than traditional probability sampling. First, researchers draw a target sample that is a true random

sample from the target population, using the American Community Survey as the sampling frame and enhanced with political data from voter files and other sources. However, rather than contacting these specific individuals directly, YouGov selects respondents from their opt-in panel who closely match the characteristics of each person in the target sample. This matching is performed using proximity matching on a large set of demographic and political variables including age, gender, race, education, voter registration status, and 2020 presidential vote choice.

After data collection, weights are constructed using balancing to ensure the sample represents the target population. Two sets of weights are provided: one for representing all American adults (‘commonweight’) and another for registered voters (‘vwweight’). Additionally, the CES validates voter turnout by matching respondents to the TargetSmart voter file, providing verified records of who voted in 2022. This combination of large sample size, sophisticated weighting, and vote validation makes the CES the premier election related survey for studying American elections at both national and state levels (see Schaffner, Ansolabehere, and Shih 2023).

For the tables below I have run weighted cross-tabulations of race and vote choice for various elections. The post-election survey asked the respondents how they voted in each of these elections, so this is not a technique where a model is trying to predict vote choice, rather these are simply tables indicating the proportion of people of each race and how they report voting. I use the recommended weight that is included with the data to more closely mirror the actual electorate in California, and by using the weights we also get confidence intervals for the point estimates.

Table 9 is a crosstabulation of race and how respondents reported voting in the 2022 Senate General election. For each of the elections, there is a crosstab that includes the 18 counties that are part of the VRA districts as noted in this report earlier. Starting with the estimates for Non-Hispanic Whites, in these counties we have an estimated level of support of 52.6 percent. Just below each point estimate is a 95 percent confidence interval (CI). With all statistical methods there is an element of uncertainty – we are trying to estimate the true level of support for each candidate from each racial group. The confidence interval is centered around the point estimate and there is a

lower bound and an upper bound. For the Padilla support among Non-Hispanic Whites estimate, the interval ranges from a low of 49.4 percent to a high of 56.6 percent. So based on our survey sample, we are 95 percent sure that the *true value* of support for Padilla among Non-Hispanic White voters across the state for this election is somewhere between 49.4 percent and 56.6 percent. This indicates that a majority of Non-Hispanic White voters for this election supported the Hispanic Democrat. The point estimate for Hispanic support of Padilla is 69.9 percent, with a 95 percent confidence interval that ranges from 61.7 percent to 76.9 percent. A majority of Hispanic voters supported Padilla. The point estimate for Non-Hispanic Black support of Padilla is 78.7 percent, and among Non-Hispanic Asians 58.7 percent. The evidence suggests all four of these groups supported Padilla in this election. The actual vote total for Padilla was 59.3 across these 18 counties, which is close to our point estimate and contained in the 95 percent CI.

Table 9. Estimates of Support by Race for 2022 California Senate Election, Statewide and 18 VRA Counties.

Race	18 Counties	
	Padilla (D)	Meuser (R)
NH White	53.0	47.0
95% CI	[49.4 - 56.6]	[43.4 - 50.6]
NH Black	78.7	21.3
95% CI	[58.8 – 90.5]	[9.5 - 41.2]
Hispanic	69.9	30.1
95% CI	[61.7 – 76.9]	[23.1 – 38.3]
NH Asian	58.7	41.3
95% CI	[46.8 – 69.6]][30.4 – 53.2}
Total	59.0	41.0
95% CI	[55.6 – 62.2]	[37.8 – 44.4]

* n=1,664.

Moving on to the 2022 California Attorney General’s election, our estimates (Table 10) are similar to those in the last table. The estimate for Non-Hispanic White support of

Bonta (D) is 52.0 percent and the CI ranges from 48.3 to 55.7 percent. Hispanic support is estimated to be 64.7 percent of Hispanic voters casting a ballot for Bonta, with a CI of 55.2 to 73.1 percent. Non-Hispanic Whites appear to be split roughly down the middle, with a slight edge for the Democrat. Hispanic estimates indicate a higher level of support for the Democrat in this election.

Table 10. Estimates of Support by Race for 2022 California Attorney General Election, Statewide and 18 VRA Counties.

	18 Counties	
Race	Bonta (D)	Hochman (R)
NH White	52.0	48.0
95% CI	[48.3 - 55.7]	[44.3 - 51.7]
NH Black	78.2	21.8
95% CI	[56.1 - 90.9]	[9.1 - 43.9]
Hispanic	64.7	35.3
95% CI	[55.2 - 73.1]	[26.9 - 44.8]
NH Asian	59.2	40.8
95% CI	[46.8 - 70.5]	[29.5 - 53.2]
Total	57.0	43.0
95% CI	[53.5 - 60.4]	[39.6 - 46.5]

* n=1,614

The next election in which the CES asked respondents about their voting behavior is the Secretary of State's race. The estimates are in Table 11 below. The point estimate for Non-Hispanic White support for the Democrat is 52.6 percent. The confidence interval ranges from a low of 48.9 to a high of 56.3 percent. Hispanic support for Webber (D) is estimated at 69.4 percent with a CI of 61.0 to 76.7 percent.

Table 11. Estimates of Support by Race for 2022 California Secretary of State Election, 18 VRA Counties.

Race	Webber (D)	Bernosky (R)
NH White	52.6	47.4
95% CI	[48.9 – 56.3]	[43.7 – 51.1]
NH Black	80.7	19.3
95% CI	[61.2 – 91.8]	[8.2 – 38.8]
Hispanic	69.4	30.6
95% CI	[61.0 – 76.7]	[23.3 – 39.0]
NH Asian	59.1	40.9
95% CI	[46.6 –70.6]	[29.4 – 53.4]
Total	58.8	41.2
95% CI	[55.3 – 62.1]	[37.9 – 44.7]

*n=1,603

X. 2024 Cooperative Election Study

The CES runs major surveys for every American general election. I include the 2024 presidential election since it is the most recent data on the state. Using the same methodology as I did above, I created a simple cross-tabulation of voters’ self-reported race and self-reported vote choice in Table 12. The sampling and weighting approaches are the same in 2024 as they were in 2022 (Schaffner et al 2025).

Table 12. Estimates of Support by Race for 2024 Presidential Election, 18 VRA Counties.

Race	Harris (D)	Trump (R)
NH White	51.2	46.2
95% CI	[46.9 - 55.5]	[41.9 - 50.5]
NH Black	74.4	21.7
95% CI	[55.5 - 87.1]	[9.8 - 41.6]
Hispanic	60.9	37.6

95% CI	[48.6 - 72.0]	[26.5 - 50.1]
NH Asian	63.9	29.2
95% CI	[52.1 - 74.2]	[19.3 - 41.6]
Statewide	56.7	40.1
95% CI	[52.5 - 60.8]	[36.0 - 44.3]

*n=1,696.

The estimates for our 18-county sample have majorities of all four racial groups voting for Kamala Harris. This is not surprising since California is one of the states with the most support for candidates from the Democratic Party (Cook Partisan Voting Index 2022). Looking at the actual vote totals from these counties in the 2024 election, Harris (D) received 58.4 percent of the vote, and Trump (R) received 41.6 percent of the vote. Both of those numbers are close to the point estimates in the table and they lie within the 95 percent confidence intervals for the estimates.

XI. Minority Members of Congress from California

The California delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives is very diverse – which is appropriate given the diversity of the state. Using the three major caucuses in Congress³ (Black, Hispanic, and Asian Pacific American), I counted 27 total members associated with these caucuses – 15 Hispanic,⁴ three Black,⁵ and nine Asian Pacific Islander.⁶ This is more than half of the 52 total members in the U.S. House of Representatives from the state.⁷ California voters are willing and able to vote for Representatives from all the major racial and ethnic groups in the state.

³ <https://capac.house.gov/members>, <https://chc.house.gov/>, <https://cbc.house.gov/>.

⁴ Torres (35), Cisneros (31), Aguilar (33), Sanchez (38), Costa (21), Ruiz (25), Vargas (), Barragan (44), Carbajal (24), Correa (46), Gomez (34), Levin (49), Garcia (42), Liccardo (16), and Rivas (29)

⁵ Waters (43), Kamlager-Dove (37), Simon (12).

⁶ Takano (39), Bera (6), Chu(28), Matsui (7), Khanna (17), Lieu (36), Min (47), Tran (45), Gomez (34), and Kim (40).

⁷ The numbers for the three groups sum to 28, but one member, Jimmy Gomez is in two of the three groups, so there are 27 unique members. One member, Kim (40), is not in the Asian Pacific Caucus, but is Asian and a Republican.

XII. Conclusions

The Gingles test (*Thornburg v. Gingles* 478 U.S. 30 (1986)) to determine when majority minority districts need to be drawn has three prongs:

- 1) The minority group must be sufficiently numerous to comprise a majority of a district, and they must be reasonably compact geographically.
- 2) The minority group needs to be politically cohesive.
- 3) The majority group tends to vote as a bloc and are usually able to defeat the preferred candidate.

Based on the data and analyses from above, there is no racial/ethnic majority in California. Hispanics are a plurality of the total population and Non-Hispanic Whites are a plurality in the CVAP population. No group constitutes a majority. In prong 3, the majority group needs to usually defeat the minority preferred candidate. If we assume Non-Hispanic Whites are the majority, and Hispanics are the minority, given Hispanic Democratic candidates recent successes in statewide elections, it is hard to imagine that this prong is satisfied. Moreover, the evidence from four statewide elections in the state in 2022 and 2024, estimates indicate that majorities of Non-Hispanic Whites, Hispanics, Non-Hispanic Blacks, and Non-Hispanic Asians, all vote Democratic. Votes received by candidates of the same party across offices in the same election year are stable, indicating high levels of partisan straight ticket voting.





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Appendix

Table A1. Raw Citizen Voting Age Population estimates with margins of error (moe) for each estimate.

county	total_est	total_moe	white_est	white_moe	hisp_est	hisp_moe
Fresno County	629,685	2,904	227,375	669	286,290	2,396
Imperial County	103,690	1,828	14,120	119	82,795	1,807
Kern County	547,510	2,709	224,740	604	247,750	2,551
Kings County	94,190	1,154	35,840	183	43,495	1,126
Los Angeles County	6,386,435	13,387	2,059,420	3,132	2,559,575	10,313
Madera County	95,535	1,294	41,595	197	44,685	1,226
Merced County	161,465	1,996	55,775	351	82,490	1,827
Monterey County	240,820	2,288	104,275	398	102,650	2,234
Orange County	2,121,620	5,987	992,255	2,431	567,950	4,173
Riverside County	1,629,915	5,060	653,340	1,719	697,220	4,498
San Benito County	42,680	863	16,520	156	22,795	799
San Bernardino County	1,414,970	4,663	462,525	1,313	672,640	3,906
San Diego County	2,308,265	6,396	1,185,640	2,181	647,150	3,944
San Joaquin County	492,960	2,721	182,855	669	164,980	2,210
Santa Clara County	1,165,825	5,271	434,125	1,766	250,305	2,858
Santa Cruz County	191,970	1,356	126,335	560	48,030	1,232
Stanislaus County	348,570	2,192	169,215	611	135,790	1,926
Tulare County	271,830	2,381	101,160	488	149,385	2,239
Statewide	260,40,825	29,907	11,316,085	6,951	8,318,075	23,635

county	black_est	black_moe	asian_est	asian_moe
Fresno County	31,890	754	65,880	1,338
Imperial County	3,625	204	1,390	154
Kern County	31,895	631	26,605	1,007
Kings County	7,515	294	3,965	249
Los Angeles County	607,610	2,976	964,240	4,858
Madera County	3,170	396	2,190	250
Merced County	6,150	288	12,380	588
Monterey County	7,955	314	16,810	577
Orange County	38,125	1,157	452,975	3,355
Riverside County	117,305	1,291	110,995	1,638
San Benito County	,550	106	1,365	161
San Bernardino County	128,105	1,662	106,070	1,766
San Diego County	115,670	1,691	261,620	3,411
San Joaquin County	40,695	714	82,670	1,557
Santa Clara County	32,325	903	407,505	3,285
Santa Cruz County	1,900	256	8,590	463
Stanislaus County	10,815	492	18,790	864

Tulare County	4,370	201	9,995	562
Statewide	1,658,255	5,890	3,766,450	10,741