

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON
ELECTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

AUGUST 19, 2025

TRANSCRIBED BY: MARY ANN SCANLAN, CSR



Certified Shorthand Reporters

P.O. Box 330366, San Francisco, CA 94133

o / 415.834.1114 f / 415.399.9266

e / info@scanlanstone.com w / scanlanstone.com

1 CHAIR CERVANTES: Good morning, everyone.
2 It's a pleasure to welcome you all here today.

3 I am Senator Sabrina Cervantes, proud to
4 serve as Chair of the Senate Elections Committee
5 on Constitutional Amendments.

6 I want to begin by recognizing that we
7 have many new faces in the room today, and that
8 this hearing be one of the most widely
9 broadcasted hearings in this Committee in
10 decades. The eyes of the nation are on
11 California, and rightfully so.

12 We are in a defining moment, a time of
13 choosing. If California does not push back
14 against President Trump's attack to rig our
15 elections through partisan gerrymandering in
16 states like Texas, we risk losing one of the most
17 fundamental pillars of our system, the right of
18 every community to fair representation.

19 Unlike Governor Abbott, California will
20 not bend the knee to authoritarian demands. We
21 will not allow red states to strip seats in
22 Congress, and we will not stand silent while the
23 communities we represent are robbed of their
24 voices.

25 Let me be clear. California is not acting

1 unilaterally. This legislative package is a
2 response, a safeguard, only if Texas and other
3 states move first to redraw their maps for
4 partisanship gain.

5 Now, I know some will raise the question
6 of whether these maps should be drawn now or
7 later. That debate has been at the center of
8 discussion for the past month. Here's the
9 reality.

10 There is only one responsible way to do
11 redistricting in this moment and that is to be
12 fully transparent with the people of California.
13 Unlike other states, we have put these maps on
14 public display for everyone to see months before
15 the election.

16 Voters will have the chance to review them
17 and ultimately decide at the ballot box whether
18 they should be used as Texas and other states
19 follow the President's demands for more seats.
20 This is the most transparent process in the
21 nation.

22 Drawing maps later, after the election,
23 would mean little to no transparency and no
24 direct voter approval. Let me be clear. Drawing
25 maps later simply does not work with the election

1 calendar. Anyone suggesting otherwise either
2 hasn't looked at the deadlines or isn't being
3 honest.

4 Do we really want to delay the June
5 primaries to September? Do we really want voters
6 not knowing their candidate options?

7 Our responsibility is to ensure that
8 California stands as a firewall against the abuse
9 of power. At the end of the day, our system of
10 government is only as strong as our willingness
11 to defend it, and today that defense depends on
12 us.

13 With that, I want to thank everyone for
14 attending today's hearing. We will now begin
15 with the first file item, ACA 8.

16 Senator Cabaldon, please approach. Begin
17 when you are ready.

18 SENATOR CABALDON: Madam Chair, thank you
19 so much, and to Members of the Committee and
20 members of the public. And I know, Madam Chair,
21 you've reported that more than 13,000
22 Californians have already weighed in on this
23 issue. And very much appreciate the opportunity
24 to present one of the pieces of the legislation
25 that are necessary for the public to have the

1 ability to chart their own course for California
2 and vote on the maps.

3 I'm here today to present on behalf of
4 Speaker Rivas Assembly Constitutional Amendment
5 Number 8, which, if enacted by the Legislature,
6 will go directly to a vote of the people on the
7 November election.

8 ACA 8 is intended to make possible the
9 public vote that the Chair just described, to
10 make it possible for the first time in California
11 history for California voters to draw their own
12 maps at the ballot box. Not just the first in
13 the country, but the first in California as well.

14 Redistricting has a long history in the
15 California Constitution. Since the 1920s there
16 have been ballot measures placed before the
17 people of California to create independent
18 commissions, to have redistricting done by
19 judges. And over and over and over and over and
20 over again from the '20s until the 2000s the
21 voters have overwhelmingly rejected them.

22 It was in 2008, after rejecting
23 independent commissions in 2005, 1989, 1984,
24 1994, repeatedly by two-to-one margins that the
25 voters finally by the slightest margin that you

1 can imagine -- I was one of them who voted yes on
2 the constitutional amendment in 19 -- in 2008
3 that passed with 50.8 percent of the vote, the
4 narrowest of margins in order to amend our
5 Constitution to create the Independent
6 Redistricting Commission.

7 That Commission in the Constitution is
8 charged with remove -- with protecting
9 communities of interest fundamentally, with
10 hearing from the public during the process of
11 redistricting, and incorporating their own views,
12 not just big political views, but their own views
13 about what their districts should be.

14 So when a community like Rancho Cordova,
15 just down the highway, where does Rancho Cordova
16 belong in a district? When we talk about these
17 districts, they are not just about big partisan
18 issues. They are about which communities are
19 able to work together to elect representatives
20 that see them, that represent them. That's what
21 the Commission was set up to do.

22 And so today we're asking through ACA 8
23 for the opportunity for the voters to enact the
24 maps that are in separate legislation, but that
25 are referenced directly in this constitutional

1 amendment and, therefore, the ballot measure that
2 would enact the -- the maps that the people --
3 that the Commission itself would have enacted if
4 it had been given the charge by the People of
5 California to do what the Chair just said.

6 That is, if California voters came to the
7 polls in November, or today, and said, we want
8 maps that will fight back against Texas's efforts
9 to rig the 2006 congressional election, to fight
10 back against the efforts to undo the deep
11 unpopularity that has been caused not just by
12 HR 1 and the elimination of healthcare for
13 millions of Californians, for the tax on our
14 public universities, but also the unbridled
15 enforcement actions and disappearances and
16 kidnappings on our streets from ICE, the voters
17 not just of California but of America are sick
18 and tired of it and they want change.

19 That's what democracy is about. You can
20 either change your policies, you can defend your
21 policies. But one option that is not before us
22 in a democracy is that you can change your
23 voters. That you can change the rules.

24 And so fighting back is absolutely
25 essential, and Californians want to fight. They

1 recognize that, as the largest state in the
2 union, as the largest economy in the country,
3 that we're obligated to stand up and protect our
4 democracy.

5 And that's what this ACA would allow us to
6 do, and it does that by putting the maps directly
7 before the voters, and it does that by giving the
8 voters the transparent option over these next
9 several months to evaluate them and to vote. It
10 also protects the Independent Commission.

11 And that process will return just as it is
12 in the Constitution today. Nothing changes. The
13 Constitution simply provides today that every ten
14 years after the census, the Commission is
15 convened and it draws our district lines for the
16 Congress based on its testimony from thousands
17 and thousands and thousands of Californians.
18 Based on its own research. Based on letters that
19 are received from every big city and small town
20 and hamlet across the state. And they will
21 continue to do that after the next census when we
22 draw the new lines.

23 But I want to emphasize also that the
24 lines that would be enacted by the voters under
25 ACA 8 are the lines that the Commission would

1 have drawn if it could. How can we say that?

2 How do we know that?

3 Well, the map drawing which was done with
4 our partners in the congressional delegation was
5 done by reviewing the testimony, the files, the
6 letters, the deliberations by the Commission just
7 a couple of years ago that were heard from I know
8 voters in my district, even in my own city, who
9 urged the Commission to put West Sacramento in
10 one place or another, or voters in Winters who
11 testified, please don't put us with Davis, or
12 please do put us with Davis.

13 That all of that testimony on the ground
14 from Californians about what it meant to them in
15 redistricting has been incorporated and heard in
16 this process.

17 That this constitutional amendment will
18 allow voters to enact maps that divide fewer
19 communities, that protecting the Voting Rights
20 Act. That's the essential. That's what the
21 Constitution calls for. This is the most
22 constitutional redistricting -- constitutionally
23 oriented redistricting that we've ever done in
24 California and it is absolutely necessary.

25 We will return to the Commission after

1 that. The constitutional amendment here today
2 before you guarantees that.

3 And finally, I want to emphasize that the
4 constitutional amendment assures that this is the
5 right move or the right moment. It is triggered
6 only if, only if another state at the behest of
7 the White House decides to try to cheat and rig
8 the election.

9 Texas is front and center. A couple of
10 other states are looking at it as well. We have
11 to be the last line of defense for our democracy
12 in California. If those states stand down, then
13 so will California.

14 We didn't ask for this fight. They
15 brought this fight to us. And California cannot
16 stand down if other states are attempting to
17 cheat and rig the election in 2006 to maintain
18 Republican control of Congress.

19 So I'm happy to answer any questions at
20 the appropriate time.

21 Madam Chair, we have two witnesses here
22 with us. First is Jodi Hicks from Planned
23 Parenthood, and the second is Sara Sedwhani.

24 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.

25 If the two support witnesses could

1 approach. You each have three minutes. Begin
2 when you are ready.

3 MS. HICKS: Thank you, Madam Chair and
4 Members. I am Jodi Hicks, the CEO and President
5 of Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California,
6 representing seven affiliates and over 100 health
7 centers throughout the state.

8 And I'm here today in support, strong
9 support, of ACA 8 and California's response to
10 President Trump, to Texas Republicans and their
11 plan to game the 2026 midterm elections and hold
12 onto their party's power in Congress.

13 And why is Planned Parenthood in such
14 strong support? I just want to remind this
15 Legislature, all of you here today, all of the
16 strong work that you have done to expand
17 reproductive healthcare and access to that care
18 here in California, to really strengthen any
19 policies that have been done since Roe was
20 overturned, and 67 percent, 67 percent of
21 Californians voted to enshrine reproductive
22 freedom into the California Constitution and
23 ensure that here in California we have access to
24 reproductive healthcare.

25 Despite that, this Congress in that bill

1 they love to call beautiful defunded Planned
2 Parenthood here in California in their attempt to
3 take away access to reproductive healthcare, in
4 their attempt to shut down our footprint over a
5 hundred health centers here in the state of
6 California, despite the fact that one in four
7 women rely on that care here in the state of
8 California.

9 And what they know is that -- Congress
10 Members know is that it is deeply unpopular to
11 attack and undermine reproductive freedom. And
12 when organizations like Planned Parenthood begin
13 talking to Californians, educating them on the
14 impact of what just happened, they know, those
15 members know that they will be held accountable.

16 So to put it simply, the President and
17 Republicans, they recognize that their majority
18 in Congress hangs in the balance. And their best
19 chance to maintain power is to rig this election
20 before the voters even have a chance to voice
21 their reaction.

22 ACA 8 is a proactive and principled
23 response to undermine efforts that are happening
24 across this country. The bill asks California
25 voters to approve a policy that will push back on

1 this unprecedented power grab, and make it clear
2 that we will only move forward with these efforts
3 temporarily in response to another state's action
4 first.

5 Planned Parenthood's mission is to fight
6 and protect and expand access to sexual and
7 reproductive healthcare. And if we don't fight
8 back, federal attacks on reproductive healthcare
9 will only get worse. They'll continue to
10 escalate and a nationwide abortion ban is a
11 possibility.

12 As a country's leading reproductive
13 freedom state, California has no choice --

14 CHAIR CERVANTES: Ten seconds to close.

15 MS. HICKS: -- but to pursue every
16 opportunity to push back on this. It is the
17 right thing to do, and I ask for your aye vote.
18 Thank you.

19 CHAIR CERVANTES: All right. Thank you.

20 MS. SEDWHANI: Thank you, Madam Chair and
21 Members of the Committee.

22 Good morning. My name is Sara Sedhwani.
23 I'm a political science professor and a
24 Commissioner on the California Citizens
25 Redistricting Commission.

1 In addition to these roles, I serve a few
2 other roles. I serve as a Democracy Fellow at
3 the Harvard Kennedy School's Ash Center for
4 Democratic Governance and Innovation.

5 In Los Angeles, I've provided guidance to
6 the LA City Council on the development of an
7 Independent Redistricting Commission for the
8 City, which passed overwhelmingly in 2024 at the
9 ballot box.

10 And I also serve as an appointee of
11 Supervisor Lindsey Horvath for the implementation
12 of Measure G in Los Angeles County, which seeks
13 to overhaul, the first overhaul in a century, of
14 LA County's governance structure.

15 The through line of all of these hats that
16 I wear is good governance and strengthening our
17 democratic institutions.

18 It's an honor for me to be here today.
19 I'm glad it's happening today, because next week
20 I would be back in the classroom starting off the
21 semester, where I will be teaching Introduction
22 to American Politics.

23 Lecture one of Intro to American Politics
24 for incoming undergraduate students is, what is
25 democracy? One of the basic principles of

1 democracy, as I'm sure you all are aware, is that
2 the -- is of popular sovereignty, and that is of
3 free and fair elections. That citizens must be
4 able to choose their representatives in a process
5 that is transparent, impartial and equitable.

6 Yet, this principle, the very foundation
7 of our democracy for our nation, has been
8 repeatedly diminished by the actions of our
9 President.

10 In 2020 he called the Georgia Secretary of
11 State, Brad Raffensperger, asking him to find him
12 12,000 votes. Raffensperger, a member of the
13 Republican party, said no. He acted swiftly and
14 decisively and stood up for free and fair
15 elections for our nation.

16 The President also publicly attacked
17 Philadelphia Elections Commissioner Al Schmidt,
18 leading to threats against Schmidt and his
19 family, who had to go into hiding. Schmidt, also
20 a Republican, refuted the President's claims of
21 election fraud. He, too, stood up for free and
22 fair elections in our nation.

23 Our founding fathers put into place a
24 Federalist system as a check on national power.
25 And in 2020, that Federalist system held up with

1 proud Americans, like Raffensperger and Schmidt,
2 who stood up for democracy and defended free and
3 fair elections.

4 Upholding the basic principles of
5 democracy is a responsibility that Democrats and
6 Republicans alike share. We can disagree on any
7 given policy, and I think that's where I'm -- my
8 perspective here is somewhat different from the
9 prior speakers.

10 We take turns being humbled at the ballot
11 box. That's a part of our democratic system.
12 But the rules of the game, the core
13 constitutional principles should not be in
14 dispute.

15 Fast forwarding to today, President Trump
16 has now called upon Texas Governor Greg Abbott to
17 bend the rules of the game yet again in his favor
18 and to find him five seats in Congress so that
19 his agenda can be rubberstamped by the House of
20 Representatives.

21 But unlike Raffensperger and Schmidt, who
22 stood up to the overreach of power, of executive
23 power, Governor Abbott has gotten on his knees.

24 CHAIR CERVANTES: Ten seconds.

25 MS. SEDWHANI: These are extreme attacks

1 on our core democratic principles and these
2 attacks must be met with decisive action.

3 It brings me no joy to see the maps that
4 we passed fairly by the Commission to be tossed
5 aside for this new set of maps. The Commission
6 is an excellent process. I'm happy to talk more
7 about in Q&A.

8 But I do believe this is a necessary step
9 in a much bigger battle to shore up free and fair
10 elections in our nation.

11 Thank you so much.

12 CHAIR CERVANTES: If we can now bring up
13 the lead opposition witnesses. If you could
14 approach.

15 Good morning. Please begin when you are
16 ready. You each have three minutes.

17 MS. ARCHBOLD ROBINSON: Chair Cervantes
18 and Members, I'm Connie Archbold Robinson,
19 independent from Oceanside, speaking also on
20 behalf of my fellow rotating chairs of the First
21 Citizens Redistricting Commission, Democrats
22 Jeanne Raya of San Gabriel, Democrat Cynthia Dye
23 of San Francisco, Republicans Jody Folkins Weber
24 of Riverside, and Peter Yao of Claremont.

25 Commissioners are chosen to be impartial,

1 to reflect the state's demographics, and to apply
2 constitutional criteria to ensure fair electoral
3 districts. We also cannot run for office in the
4 districts that we draw.

5 As you may remember, Californians voted
6 three times against gerrymandering, placing
7 independent redistricting in our Constitution.
8 Last week's Citrin Center poll confirms that
9 Californians still support the CRC two to one.

10 YouGov's national poll shows, furthermore,
11 that three-quarters of Americans think
12 gerrymandering is unfair. Over two-thirds think
13 it should be outright illegal.

14 The current CRC, which we fully support,
15 considered over 35,000 public comments as they
16 created and finalized their maps, and they made
17 many difficult tradeoffs, as we did, to protect
18 communities.

19 This new map was developed by legislators
20 and their consultants behind closed doors. The
21 CRC was prohibited from considering partisan
22 interests. This map had only that goal, save
23 seats.

24 All the CRC draft maps were posted for 14
25 days to allow for thoughtful public input. These

1 maps, as you know, just came out. And yet, here
2 we are voting.

3 Why are you not hearing from more good
4 governance organizations in this process today?
5 Because it takes time to inform members to engage
6 in debate and dialogue and to form coherent
7 positions.

8 This legislation is being touted as the
9 only way to resist authoritarianism. This is a
10 false choice.

11 Thanks to the CRC, California has some of
12 the country's most competitive districts. Twice
13 as many of our current districts are up for grabs
14 as this new partisan gerrymander would result in.
15 It means developing candidates and platforms that
16 speak to what voters care about and getting them
17 to the polls. That's what we believe democracy
18 looks like, voters choosing their representatives
19 and not the other way around.

20 At a minimum, if this moves forward, we
21 would strongly urge you to release the data and
22 rationale for these lines, as all of the CRCs
23 have modeled. And better yet, you could do
24 midcycle redistricting in the California way.
25 Instead of spending over \$200 million on a

1 special election, you could invest a fraction of
2 that in the CRC and have them engage the public,
3 create updated districts and pass them --

4 CHAIR CERVANTES: Ten seconds.

5 MS. ARCHBOLD ROBINSON: -- with a
6 cross-partisan super majority vote.

7 We urge you to serve your constituents by
8 defending our independent process and rejecting
9 this partisan gerrymandering. Thank you.

10 MS. RAYA: (Inaudible) and Members of the
11 Committee. My name is Jeanne Raya. I am a
12 resident of San Gabriel, which is in Los Angeles
13 county. And I was privileged to serve on the
14 first Independent Commission in 2010. That
15 Commission was independent, was composed of a
16 diverse array of citizens of California, and was
17 an initiative brought to the ballot by good
18 government advocacy groups who put voters first.

19 The approval of that Commission ended the
20 backroom political gerrymandering that had
21 characterized redistricting for decades. We drew
22 new maps with full transparency, giving citizens
23 access to the process through well over a hundred
24 public meetings and the means to submit written
25 comments.

1 Voters had the opportunity to describe
2 their communities, their environment, their
3 infrastructure and their economy so they could be
4 placed in a district that would give them a fair
5 chance of electing an accountable representative.

6 What were some of the results? In
7 particular, the percentage of women in the
8 Legislature doubled. AAPI representation
9 tripled. Black representation nearly doubled.
10 Latinos advantaged by eight percent.

11 The California Commission set a gold
12 standard such that the Harvard Kennedy School of
13 Government awarded us a grant to travel to other
14 states that were severely gerrymandered where
15 citizens were, like the people of California,
16 trying to create independent commissions and
17 repair their democracy.

18 If only Texas could learn from California.
19 Their current attempt to rig the 2026 election in
20 favor of Republicans represents the base
21 self-interest of officials who are so fearful of
22 losing their power, all they can think to do is
23 cheat.

24 Their determination to stack the
25 congressional deck in their favor has prompted

1 our Governor to threaten this retaliatory
2 midcycle redistricting in an effort to elect more
3 Democrats, but by sidelining the Independent
4 Commission and holding a special election just
5 this once.

6 I'm a registered Democrat. I have always
7 been a Democrat. And I would celebrate replacing
8 any congressional member who has forgotten his or
9 her oath to serve their constituents and protect
10 the Constitution.

11 But this can't be at the expense of the
12 California Constitution, nor the California
13 voters who mandated fair, nonpartisan
14 redistricting.

15 Does the threat by Texas Republicans call
16 for a retaliatory strike? We witness daily the
17 chaos and mistrust created by revenge politics in
18 Washington. That is not a model for the
19 responsible government Californians deserve.
20 It's not a model for spending millions of dollars
21 on a gamble the different congressional districts
22 will produce the sought-after change.

23 Does the Legislature want to risk losing
24 incumbents in more competitive districts or --

25 CHAIR CERVANTES: Ten seconds.

1 MS. RAYA: -- or fail to elect the magic
2 number needed to win this electoral war?

3 The maps presented and offered to voters
4 are like a menu that only has steak, but you
5 prefer fish. That's not a choice.

6 Please reconsider and consider the
7 comments of my colleague in ways that this might
8 be done at least to protect the independent,
9 transparent process that voters approved in 2008.
10 Thank you. And I'm happy to remain for questions
11 if --

12 CHAIR CERVANTES: Yes, that would be
13 wonderful if you all could remain for questions.

14 We would now like to move forward with
15 public testimony, public comment. If you are in
16 support, please come into the hearing room.
17 State your name, affiliation and position only.

18 MS. SADHWANI: Go ahead and start bringing
19 in support.

20 MS. FLOCKS: Madam Chair, Members, Sara
21 Flocks, the California Federation of Labor
22 Unions, in strong support of both of the bills.

23 MS. HINES-SHAIKH: Honorable Chair and
24 Members, Amy Hines-Shaikh with UDW/AFSCME
25 Local 3930, and Unite Here Local 11, in strong

1 support of both bills. Thank you.

2 MS. MOK: Tiffany Mok on behalf of CFT in
3 support. Also doing additional support for CTA.
4 Thank you.

5 MS. NIELSEN: Julie Nielsen, National
6 Union of Healthcare Workers, in support of both.
7 Thank you.

8 MS. GONZALEZ: Good morning. Genesis
9 Gonzalez on behalf of Lieutenant Governor Eleni
10 Kounalakis in support. Thank you.

11 MS. HEIDELBACH: Good morning. Kristin
12 Heidelberg here on behalf of UFCW Western States
13 Council in support.

14 MR. HANNA: Good morning. J.P. Hanna
15 with the California Nurses Association in strong
16 support. Thank you.

17 CHAIR CERVANTES: Seeing no additional
18 witnesses in support, we will now move to
19 witnesses in opposition. Name, affiliation,
20 position.

21 MS. AGUILAR: Denise Aguilar, co-founder
22 of Freedom Angels, opposed.

23 MS. THORNTON: Tara Thornton, co-founder
24 of Freedom Angels, opposed.

25 MS. KARSTENS: Sofia Karstens,

1 Decentralize America, and on behalf of the
2 LA County GOP, strongly opposed.

3 MR. GONZALEZ: Oracio Gonzalez on behalf
4 of California's Business Roundtable in
5 opposition.

6 MR. BUSSE: Nick Busse, Roseville,
7 California, and on the behalf of the families and
8 veterans leaving California, fairness of good
9 governance and fiscal responsibility, I oppose
10 this.

11 MS. ARIAS: Amber Arias, Calvary Chapel,
12 Solano County, in strong opposition.

13 MS. LAU: Catherine Lau, Tracy,
14 California, in strong opposition.

15 MS. BARBRO: Hi. Virginia Barbro, a
16 native of California, Solano county resident, in
17 complete opposition of this.

18 MS. NIXON: Twila Nixon, Solano county
19 resident, opposed to it.

20 MR. STRICKLAND: Since we didn't get the
21 opportunity to ask questions in an informational
22 hearing, I'm going to come up here and say, Tony
23 Strickland, State Senator, opposed because we
24 need to keep the Citizens Redistricting
25 Commission, power of the people.

1 SENATOR VALLADARES: Senator Suzette
2 Valladares, representing the 23rd Senate
3 District, over a million voters, and also the
4 40 million voters in California saying do not
5 dilute their power. Do not take their power away
6 for politicians.

7 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.
8 Seeing no additional -- would you like to
9 approach, please?

10 MS. ANGELI: Olivia -- excuse me. Olivia
11 Angeli from Elk Grove, strongly oppose.

12 MS. MINOR: Bella Minor from Stockton,
13 strongly oppose.

14 Ms. ZEPEDA-BLANKENSHIP: Renee Zepeda-
15 Blankenship from Fresno County, oppose.

16 MS. GONZALEZ: Debbie Gonzalez, Fresno
17 County, oppose.

18 MR. CARRILLO: Jose Carrillo, Riverside,
19 California, a constituent of Sabrina Cervantes,
20 and I strongly oppose.

21 MR. ARELLANO: My name is Angel Arellano.
22 I'm from Pomona, and I oppose.

23 SHAN K: Hello. Shan K. from Orange
24 County, California, representing California
25 Parents Rights Act Now, and I oppose.

1 MS. CARRILLO: Maria Carrillo, Riverside
2 County, constituent of Sabrina Cervantes,
3 strongly oppose.

4 MS. JONES: Emily Jones, resident of Shasta
5 county, representing Home Tribe, and oppose.

6 MS. LEE: Good morning. Jennifer Lee
7 representing Los Angeles. I strongly oppose.

8 MS. BAX: Gina Bax, president for the
9 Chico Evening Republican Woman. I completely
10 oppose this. Thank you.

11 MS. DI GENNARO: Florentina Di Gennaro
12 from the Yuba Sutter area, oppose.

13 MR. KAUFMAN: Scott Kaufman, Howard Jarvis
14 Taxpayers Association, in opposition. Thank you.

15 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Lance Christensen, vice
16 president of the California Policy Center. We
17 oppose these redistricting schemes. Thank you.

18 MS. MASTEN: Heather Masten, El Dorado
19 County Republican Party, no.

20 MR. FRIEND: Michael Friend, California
21 native, retired state employee, strongly opposed.

22 MS. LUCERO: Darcy Lucero, California
23 native, strongly oppose.

24 MS. SHIVITZ: Rika Shivitz, Orange County
25 resident, and I strongly oppose.

1 MR. AVILA: Oscar Avila, Fortuna,
2 California, with the California Movement. We
3 strongly oppose.

4 MR. BOLOG: David Bolog, a constituent of
5 the 27th Senate District, representing Serving
6 Family Values Alliance and Moms for Liberty. We
7 are in opposition. Thank you.

8 ASSEMBLY MEMBER LACKEY: Good morning.
9 Assembly Member Tom Lackey, strong opposition.

10 CHAIR CERVANTES: Seeing no additional
11 individuals who'd like to step and offer support
12 or opposition, I will now turn it back to the
13 Committee Members on the dais.

14 We will start with Vice Chair Choi.

15 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Thank you, Chair.

16 Before I start asking questions, this
17 being the public hearing non-voting item, we have
18 a couple Senators in the audience. So can we
19 extend invitation for them to sit on the dais,
20 asking some questions?

21 CHAIR CERVANTES: This is only for Members
22 of the Committee for this bill hearing.

23 You may proceed with your questions or
24 comments.

25 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. This is, as you

1 have heard, a very important historic decision
2 that we are hearing and the three different
3 measures. A couple of them are just for hearing,
4 and the later last item will be voted upon.

5 You can defend either side, but from my
6 point of view, there are so many illegal and also
7 unethical elements in this attempt by changing
8 this ACA 8 in the Constitution.

9 And the reason is that we do have already
10 chosen so-called Independent Citizens
11 Redistricting Commission that had been already
12 appointed and only based upon 2020 election.

13 On 2020, the population census data, the
14 districts have been already drawn and that was
15 from -- to me it was very decisive ballots.
16 Rather than just a bare over 50 percent, was
17 61 percent to my data. Was 61.3 percent voter
18 approved of the Commission. So I have a total
19 trust on the election Redistricting Commission.

20 And a 10-year cycle comes very quickly and
21 the preparation for that. And then also the
22 whole process of hearing the citizens' input into
23 the process before the final map has been drawn,
24 it takes a lot of time.

25 But this one is just for next three

1 election cycles in reaction -- as a retaliatory
2 reaction to other states which you are
3 condemning. And if you follow the same
4 condemnable actions, then Californians should be
5 condemned by other people. Why should we follow
6 that same suit and we destroy our good model that
7 we have chosen?

8 You are talking about defending the
9 democracy. Which side is a better action, to
10 defend the fair election redistricting that has
11 been fairly and approved by citizens, and that
12 cycle is going to be only applied next three
13 election cycles? Who can guarantee that?

14 So with that statement, I have also some
15 statements and then also some questions to ask to
16 the, first of all, opposition witness.

17 Governor Newsom has said that this
18 legislation and the ballot measure have the
19 explicit goal of electing more Democrats to
20 Congress. All right? That was his statement.

21 Do you agree that the main purpose of
22 redrawing the maps is to elect more Democrats to
23 the House of Representatives?

24 CHAIR CERVANTES: Is that a question for
25 the author?

1 VICE CHAIR CHOI: No. To the opposition
2 witness. So yes or no?

3 CHAIR CERVANTES: Yes.

4 MS. RAYA: Yes, that is the stated purpose
5 is to elect more Democrats.

6 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Now that leaves
7 me --

8 MS. ROBINSON: May I add something to
9 this? In all due fairness, none of us were --

10 CHAIR CERVANTES: Through the Chair.

11 MS. ROBINSON: Pardon?

12 CHAIR CERVANTES: Through the Chair.

13 MS. ROBINSON: Oh, I'm sorry. May I just
14 add something briefly?

15 Because none of us were actually, as
16 citizen commissioners, involved in this process,
17 this would be within your power to request for
18 the rationale and the data to be released so that
19 we have a clear understanding.

20 With the commissions, it was very public
21 and transparent what the drivers were. But this
22 is what has been publicly said is that it is to
23 elect more Democrats.

24 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Thank you.

25 And then I'm going to ask the -- Senator

1 Cabaldon because you are right now speaking on
2 behalf of the author.

3 It is my understanding that these new maps
4 only take effect -- you stated the answer to
5 that, but I want to reaffirm.

6 If some of the state's redistricts, in
7 other words, our old effort, even if this passes
8 will be nullified?

9 SENATOR CABALDON: That's correct,
10 Senator. These only become effective at any
11 stage in this process if another state adopts a
12 new congressional district map that isn't
13 required by a court order.

14 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So obviously, I'm the
15 only Republican Member among the five Members of
16 this Election Committee and Constitutional
17 Amendment. A vote will be taking place.

18 But I am kind of worried that my single
19 vote is not going to defend or win, so we'll see
20 how it goes.

21 But if it passes and ACA 8 is placed in
22 the ballot measure, and let's suppose that the
23 citizens approve of that, that even then can you
24 stop it?

25 SENATOR CABALDON: Yes. So the terms of

1 the constitutional amendment itself that the
2 voters will vote on is what includes the trigger.
3 And so the trigger -- if the voters approve it
4 and the trigger isn't pulled, then it doesn't
5 take effect.

6 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So that will be a
7 condition that the other states will redistrict?

8 SENATOR CABALDON: Yes. And that's
9 directly in the measure -- this measure that the
10 people of California would vote upon themselves.

11 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. And then I will
12 move on to, would that mean that these maps will
13 go into effect next year even though no state
14 redistricting this year? So you said that that
15 is not the case, it's not going to trigger,
16 correct?

17 SENATOR CABALDON: That's correct. So the
18 plain language of the bills and what the voters
19 will vote on is that these will become operative
20 only if Texas, Florida or another state adopts a
21 new congressional district map that takes effect
22 after August 1st, 2025 and before January 1,
23 2031, unless that redistricting is required by a
24 court order in another state.

25 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Then how long

1 does this condition last? If Texas decides to do
2 the mid-decade redistricting because of the court
3 order in two years, do these maps automatically
4 take effect?

5 SENATOR CABALDON: I see that the
6 committee chief consultant wanted to provide a
7 clarification.

8 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Member Cabaldon,
9 you already answered this.

10 SENATOR CABALDON: Okay.

11 Yeah, so the period that this applies to
12 is August 1st of this year until January 1st of
13 2031. After that point, then the commission --
14 the commission process that is in the current
15 constitution and is undisturbed by this measure
16 would recommence after the conclusion of the
17 census.

18 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Now, this leads
19 to next question. Is this a condition triggered
20 that if a Democrat run state redistricts? In
21 other words, whichever city among the state that
22 that may be, that will be in the ballot measure
23 that the trigger clause will be embedded in
24 there?

25 SENATOR CABALDON: Yes, that's correct.

1 The language of this measure is without regard to
2 the partisan makeup of any of the other states.

3 It's important to note no democratic state
4 has or has been considering independently rigging
5 the elections or the congressional districts in
6 this way.

7 So the practical effect certainly is only,
8 quote, unquote, red states because it's only
9 Texas, Florida and some of their colleagues that
10 have been contemplating this aggressive action to
11 attack the elections next year.

12 But, yes, the actual language of this
13 measure that would be voted upon by the people
14 would affect blue states and red states equally.

15 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. This question is
16 also related. Is this condition triggered if an
17 independent commission in another state
18 redistricts and it results in a net gain of
19 democratic congressional seats?

20 SENATOR CABALDON: As I understand it --
21 and of the committee staff or others want to
22 interject, that's fine -- but none of the other
23 states that have independent commissions, that
24 those commissions are not authorized to do mid-
25 decade redistricting either, just as ours is not.

1 So that hypothetical cannot happen in the absence
2 of a constitutional amendment in other states.

3 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Under current
4 law, the Legislature cannot draw the lines, draw
5 them for the purpose of partisan gerrymandering,
6 or draw them mid decade.

7 Shouldn't we be asking the people's
8 permission first to do these things, rather than
9 drawing the lines and then asking the voters to
10 approve our unconstitutional actions? In other
11 words, placing cart before the horse.

12 SENATOR CABALDON: Well, Senator, like
13 you, I served as a mayor for quite a long time,
14 and my experience has been that voters want us to
15 get to the point. And sending them two or three
16 different stages, when we all know what it is
17 that we are attempting to accomplish, does not
18 advance democracy.

19 That in this case, the voters will have
20 all their choices at once to vote on, the
21 authorization in the Constitution and the maps
22 themselves. So they're able to vote on the
23 abstract question with the actual maps that they
24 can choose and look at themselves and evaluate
25 them according to those criteria.

1 The Constitution -- let's be clear. The
2 Constitution doesn't say what you said about the
3 Legislature. What it says is that the
4 Legislature can't intervene in the decennial, in
5 the every-10-year process.

6 When the Commission is convened after the
7 census and it draws the maps according to that
8 process, the Legislature may not intervene in
9 that process to do the things that you said, or
10 to impose a party purpose on it.

11 The Constitution is silent with respect to
12 mid-decade redistricting, and this measure allows
13 the people to decide if, when and how that will
14 proceed.

15 CHAIR CERVANTES: We have other Committee
16 Members who'd like to ask questions and comments.

17 SENATOR CHOI: Yeah. Let me --

18 CHAIR CERVANTES: Senator Choi, we can
19 move right back to you. Let me allow --

20 VICE CHAIR CHOI: One more question.

21 CHAIR CERVANTES: Let me come back to you.
22 Let me allow Senator Umberg.

23 SENATOR UMBERG: Well, if he only has one
24 more question --

25 CHAIR CERVANTES: Would you defer?

1 SENATOR UMBERG: Yeah, I'll defer.

2 CHAIR CERVANTES: Okay. Go ahead. Vice
3 Chair Choi, you may ask your question.

4 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. Are the voters
5 being given the opportunity to see each
6 congressional map on the ballot, as well
7 opportunity directly approve each congressional
8 map as promised by the Governor?

9 SENATOR CABALDON: Yes. The voters have
10 already the opportunities to see those maps.
11 This is the first time ever.

12 So there was a decade, I don't remember
13 the year, when the voters voted in a referendum
14 on district maps previously once before. And I
15 remember being a voter in that case, and I
16 thought, how do I get this map? How do I know --
17 how do I make sense of it?

18 This time there is an interactive map that
19 has been up since last week already for those
20 maps to be available. And I want to, you know,
21 emphasize to this point because we also heard it
22 in the opposition testimony.

23 In the Commission's normal process, there
24 is a 14-day period by which those maps, before
25 they are voted on by the Commission, are

1 available for public inspection.

2 In this case, the maps have been
3 published. They have been on this Committee's
4 website since Friday. And they will be available
5 for 78 days for public inspection. And they are
6 available in the most user friendly form, which
7 is an interactive web-based map that we are --
8 that all Californians are used to being able to
9 inspect, as well in every other form possible,
10 including the 300 page-bill that we had last
11 night for those who love to look at census
12 tracts.

13 But these are transparent maps so that
14 voters can zoom in, see exactly where they live,
15 what their communities of interest are, and
16 evaluate them on their own when they cast their
17 votes whether or not to approve these maps in
18 November.

19 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.

20 Senator Umberg.

21 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Thank you.

22 SENATOR UMBERG: Thank you, Madam Chair.

23 And I want to begin by congratulating my
24 colleague from Irvine for your courage. As I
25 understood what you said, you condemn what

1 they're doing in Texas. And I also condemn what
2 they're doing in Texas.

3 And by extension, if you're condemning
4 what they're doing in Texas, I assume that you
5 condemn the President of the United States for,
6 in essence, ordering the folks in Texas to redraw
7 their maps mid decade.

8 And I think it's a bold move for a
9 Republican basically to condemn both the process
10 in Texas as well as the President of the United
11 States, so I congratulate you for your courage.

12 VICE CHAIR CHOI: What I meant was let's
13 don't become the bad one, just follow the bad
14 actors. Well, if you are condemning them, I
15 didn't criticize or evaluate their actions.
16 Because you labeled it -- also in the beginning
17 in the presentation, he labeled it in such a way.
18 I took that word, and it was not my judgment or
19 statement.

20 SENATOR UMBERG: Okay. Well, let me
21 retract. If you didn't think that what they're
22 doing in Texas is inappropriate, then I retract
23 what you said. I thought you had actually
24 condemned what they did in Texas and also
25 condemned, by extension, the President of the

1 United States.

2 Let me direct some questions to
3 Ms. Robinson and Ms. Raya.

4 First of all, thank you. Thank you for
5 your service. Thank you for your service on the
6 Redistricting Commission.

7 I realize it was in 2010 and 2011 and a
8 very, very important process. And I think we can
9 all agree that that process is absolutely
10 essential.

11 And I assume -- Ms. Robinson, I read what
12 you said in 2011 that -- or actually, it wasn't
13 what you said. It was the President of La Sierra
14 College said that you were committed to service,
15 fairness, and bettering the community. And I
16 assume that that's one of the reasons you applied
17 to be on the Commission. Am I correct in that
18 assumption?

19 MS. ROBINSON: Yes. I believe most
20 commissioners share those lofty goals.

21 SENATOR UMBERG: Yes. Well, I thank you.
22 I thank you.

23 And, Ms. Raya, I think you said back in
24 2011, we must do all we can do to ensure that
25 citizens maintain faith in representative

1 democracy.

2 Do you remember saying that in 2011?

3 MS. RAYA: I do. I do. And I've said it
4 many times since.

5 SENATOR UMBERG: And you believe that
6 today?

7 MS. RAYA: I do.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: Yeah. And I assume that
9 both of you applied to be on the Commission
10 because you wanted to improve the quality of life
11 of Californians, that ultimately you thought you
12 were bettering the community.

13 Is that right, Ms. Robinson?

14 MS. ROBINSON: I assume that's also what
15 drove you to your service.

16 SENATOR UMBERG: Right.

17 MS. ROBINSON: And, yes, I think that's
18 unilateral.

19 SENATOR UMBERG: Well, no, I appreciate
20 that. Thank you.

21 Same thing with you, Ms. Raya?

22 MS. RAYA: Of course.

23 SENATOR UMBERG: Yes. I assume you didn't
24 do it so you could sell watches, right? Or you
25 could, for example, sell cryptocurrency, or get a

1 free airplane? You didn't do it for any of those
2 reasons. You came to public service to improve
3 the community; is that right?

4 MS. ROBINSON: Yes.

5 SENATOR UMBERG: Okay. Ms. Raya, you
6 think so?

7 MS. RAYA: Yes. Came to serve, yes.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: Well, thank you. Thank
9 you for that.

10 And I think you, Ms. Robinson, also said,
11 as we can see from the experience of other
12 states, when redistricting is not done well, it
13 can have a really grave impact.

14 Do you agree with that today still?

15 MS. ROBINSON: Yes.

16 SENATOR UMBERG: And do you agree with the
17 statement that not only that grave impact may
18 impact the state in which the redistricting is
19 done improperly, but the entire nation?

20 Do you agree with that?

21 MS. ROBINSON: In my capacity as both a
22 commissioner and as someone who was supported by
23 the Harvard Center to travel across the country
24 and support many other states and advocates in
25 those states to create other models in their

1 states, absolutely.

2 I've seen both the impact at the local
3 level, at the state level and across the nation
4 in other states. I don't know if you'd want to
5 add anything on that.

6 MS. RAYA: No. I would share that,
7 absolutely, The impact can be seen in many ways,
8 I think, including by the statistics that I
9 cited, What I think is improved representation in
10 our Legislature as a result of the districts that
11 have been drawn in the last two decades.

12 SENATOR UMBERG: I completely agree with
13 your statement that what happens in other states
14 can have a grave impact on the entire nation.
15 And I assume both of you are following what's
16 going on in Texas.

17 Are you following that, Ms. Robinson?

18 MS. ROBINSON: Yes, sir.

19 SENATOR UMBERG: Yes. And do you approve
20 of what's going on in Texas?

21 MS. ROBINSON: I do not approve of what's
22 going on in Texas. and I am a commissioner and a
23 resident in California, and so that is my primary
24 focus today.

25 SENATOR UMBERG: And, Ms. Raya, do you

1 approve what's going on in Texas?

2 MS. RAYA: I don't know that anyone other
3 than the Republicans in Texas and the White House
4 approve of what's going on.

5 But I would have to repeat what
6 Ms. Robinson has said, that we're concerned about
7 our state right now.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: All right. And going
9 back to my earlier statement that whatever goes
10 on in Texas actually impacts us here in
11 California, Do you agree with that?

12 MS. ROBINSON: Yes, sir. We are all part
13 of the same country.

14 SENATOR UMBERG: Right. No, I
15 completely -- and one of the founders, James
16 Madison, I'm going to quote him here, said the
17 accumulation of all power, legislative, executive
18 and judiciary, in the same hands may justly be
19 pronounced as the very definition of tyranny.

20 So do you agree with me that basically
21 that the Congress of the United States has, in
22 essence, approved everything that this President
23 has proposed?

24 Do you agree with that, Ms. Robinson?

25 MS. ROBINSON: I'm not here to comment on

1 Texas. I am here to comment on California. And
2 there are ways that California's elected
3 officials can have the national impact that we
4 want and that we need through using the
5 competitive districts that have been established
6 through the citizen-approved independent
7 Commission.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: So let me ask, Ms. Raya.
9 You understand -- let me ask you if you share my
10 understanding that the Republican Members of the
11 California delegation have basically voted with
12 the President on all things that the President
13 has proposed that impact California.

14 Do you agree with me on that supposition?
15 Ms. Raya?

16 MS. RAYA: I would say that that the
17 results we're seeing in Washington come from --
18 they're happening for many reasons. Some of that
19 is perhaps how elected officials are actively
20 responding to what this President wants. It may
21 also be because there are not enough other strong
22 voices to counter it. It may also be because the
23 courts seem to have been sidelined to some extent
24 in upholding the separation of powers, upholding
25 the rule of law.

1 I think it's a complex issue that is
2 really not what this proposed action in
3 California is about. This action is about doing
4 a partisan redistricting absolutely in conflict
5 with California law. That's what I can speak to.

6 I'm not an expert on national politics. I
7 don't know that anybody really cares what my
8 opinion is on national politics. So, again, I --
9 you know, I really would prefer that we're
10 directing the conversation to what is going to
11 happen here in California.

12 SENATOR UMBERG: And I agree with you
13 100 percent that we should focus on what's
14 happening in California and what impacts the
15 Congress' action or inaction, whether they're
16 supine or actually active as a check on the
17 Executive, how it impacts California.

18 But I think you agree with me that the
19 Congress has not been a check on the President
20 whatsoever, including our Members, including our
21 Republican Members in the House of
22 Representatives. I think you agreed with me on
23 that; is that right?

24 MS. RAYA: I would say that Congress has
25 not acted responsibly in general.

1 SENATOR UMBERG: All right.

2 So in terms -- and I read the quote from
3 James Madison that basically we no longer have an
4 effective check on the President of the United
5 States.

6 Do you understand that the President of
7 the United States has, in essence, ordered Texas
8 to reconfigure their congressional seats to add
9 five Republican seats.

10 Do you remember the President saying that,
11 Ms. Raya?

12 MS. RAYA: I do.

13 SENATOR UMBERG: You do.

14 And how about you, Ms. Robinson?

15 MS. ROBINSON: Yes, I do.

16 SENATOR UMBERG: And you understand that
17 the balance of power in the House of
18 Representatives is very narrowly divided; is that
19 right --

20 MS. RAYA: Yes.

21 SENATOR UMBERG: -- Ms. Rya? Okay.

22 Ms. Raya says.

23 And Ms. Robinson, yes.

24 So you also -- I want to get your views on
25 what the President has done here in California.

1 Are you familiar with AmeriCorps? Are you
2 familiar with AmeriCorps, Ms. Raya?

3 MS. RAYA: Yes.

4 SENATOR UMBERG: You are.

5 And Ms. Robinson, you're familiar with
6 AmeriCorps?

7 MS. ROBINSON: Yes.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: You understand the
9 President has basically, by his action,
10 eliminated 5,600 AmeriCorps public service
11 workers and \$60 million.

12 Do you think that's a detriment to
13 California, Ms. Robinson?

14 MS. ROBINSON: Absolutely.

15 SENATOR UMBERG: Absolutely.

16 Ms. Raya?

17 MS. RAYA: Of course.

18 SENATOR UMBERG: And also, I assume you're
19 familiar with ICE raids here in California right
20 now.

21 Are you familiar with that, Ms. Robinson?

22 MS. ROBINSON: Absolutely.

23 SENATOR UMBERG: And Ms. Raya?

24 MS. RAYA: Yes.

25 SENATOR UMBERG: And that, in fact,

1 71 percent of those who have been arrested do not
2 have criminal convictions. There's been 57,861
3 people detained and 71 percent of those had no
4 criminal convictions.

5 Do you think that's appropriate,
6 Ms. Robinson?

7 MS. ROBINSON: Absolutely not.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: No?

9 Ms. Raya --

10 MS. RAYA: No.

11 SENATOR UMBERG: -- how about you?

12 MS. RAYA: No.

13 SENATOR UMBERG: You don't think that's
14 appropriate?

15 You understand that that's basically the
16 initiative of the President of the United States,
17 to basically do that.

18 You understand that, Ms. Robinson.

19 MS. ROBINSON: Yes.

20 SENATOR UMBERG: You understand that
21 Congress has been absolutely supine in terms of
22 acting as a check on the President of the United
23 States?

24 MS. ROBINSON: Absolutely.

25 SENATOR UMBERG: And that the only check

1 that really exists today is the Congress of the
2 United States, at least theoretically?

3 You know what, I don't know how long
4 you've -- Ms. Raya, how long have you lived here
5 in California?

6 MS. RAYA: My entire life.

7 SENATOR UMBERG: All right. Well, I'm not
8 going to guess how old you are.

9 I'll tell you how old I am. I'm 69 years
10 old. I came to California to go to UCLA a bunch
11 of years ago, bunch of years ago. And when I
12 came here, the air quality was horrible, was
13 absolutely horrible.

14 And I don't know about you, Ms. Robinson,
15 if you've lived here long enough to remember how
16 horrible the air quality was.

17 And you understand the President of the
18 United States has said California can no longer
19 enact its own emission standards. That we now
20 have to defer to Alabama and Mississippi in terms
21 of our clean air.

22 Ms. Raya, do you think that's good for
23 California's quality of life?

24 MS. RAYA: I think we have a lot of quality
25 of life issues to address, and I think one way to

1 address them in California is to have
2 representatives elected by the people who
3 understand and represent the communities of
4 interest that voters come from.

5 SENATOR UMBERG: So you agree with me the
6 air quality is actually improved in -- you've
7 been here your whole life -- actually improved in
8 California? Do you agree with me on that?

9 MS. RAYA: Yeah, it's improved.

10 SENATOR UMBERG: All right. And that by
11 reversing our emission standards, that we're
12 going to basically go back to where we were 50
13 years ago, do you agree with me on that?

14 MS. RAYA: I would guess that that's so
15 not -- not a scientist either, so ...

16 SENATOR UMBERG: And you're familiar with
17 the billion dollars that the President has tried
18 to extort from UCLA.

19 Does that improve the quality of life here
20 in California, you think, Ms. Robinson?

21 MS. ROBINSON: No, sir.

22 SENATOR UMBERG: No.

23 Ms. Raya?

24 MS. RAYA: No.

25 SENATOR UMBERG: And the same thing with

1 the \$584 million research grants that the
2 President is trying to basically quash here in
3 California.

4 I think you agree with me that does not
5 add to the quality of life of Californians; is
6 that right? Yeah.

7 MS. RAYA: Right.

8 SENATOR UMBERG: I think both of you are
9 shaking -- Ms. Robinson, you agree with me,
10 right?

11 MS. ROBINSON: I think there's more we're
12 in agreement than disagreement.

13 SENATOR UMBERG: Right.

14 MS. ROBINSON: I think what we're here to
15 speak on is the means to get to the end. And in
16 my humble opinion, not as an elected official,
17 not as a national political expert, but someone
18 who is an engaged citizen, an engaged voter, and
19 has been a volunteer commissioner, who skipped my
20 children's first days of school to actually be
21 here and express my voice to all of you, that we
22 have competitive districts in California, we have
23 excellent electeds and candidates in the pipeline
24 across partisan lines.

25 I am speaking as an independent who

1 absolutely can address these issues without
2 resorting to a partisan gerrymander that has no
3 checks and balances, such as we suggested,
4 including being fully transparent with the data
5 that was used to develop these lines, empowering
6 the very successful current seated Citizens
7 Redistricting Commission to be able to play a
8 role in that process, and to continue building on
9 the trust and faith that has been created, not
10 just with Californians.

11 But as I went and traveled and trained and
12 educated people across the country, our citizens
13 in other parts of the country, who are being held
14 hostage by politicians who do not represent their
15 interests, have been looking to California as the
16 alternative, as the model.

17 If we gut our -- the great work that we
18 have been doing there, then not only do we lose
19 our credibility, those efforts actually get
20 stalled and get reversed. That's what I'm here
21 to express.

22 I understand that you are in a difficult
23 position as our elected officials and as our
24 leaders. There are no easy answers to any of
25 this.

1 UNIDENTIFIABLE SPEAKER

2 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Madam Chair --

3 CHAIR CERVANTES: Senator Umberg, I'd like
4 to just take a moment to see if there's any
5 Members who want to provide --

6 SENATOR UMBERG: Okay.

7 CHAIR CERVANTES: -- comment or --

8 SENATOR UMBERG: Can I just ask one
9 final --

10 CHAIR CERVANTES: Yes, please.

11 SENATOR UMBERG: -- or at least one
12 interim final question, Madam Chair?

13 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. Madam Chair --

14 SENATOR UMBERG: Do you think --

15 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. Point of order.
16 Point of order.

17 CHAIR CERVANTES: What is your point of
18 order?

19 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Listening to cross-
20 examining the witnesses as if they are sitting
21 here in defense of the Donald Trump, we are
22 discussing the bill right now, ACA 8. And we
23 need to address to the bill content, not
24 defending Trump administration policies. This is
25 not quotable rules and cross-examining just like

1 the attorneys are doing.

2 And then I object that I hope that the
3 Chair will stop his cross-examining style of
4 questioning.

5 CHAIR CERVANTES: Point well taken. We
6 will allow one more question at the moment.

7 SENATOR UMBERG: All right.

8 CHAIR CERVANTES: And then I will turn to
9 Senator Limon, if she has any questions. If not,
10 I will jump in. Thank you.

11 SENATOR UMBERG: So let me just ask the
12 two opposite -- do you think we in California
13 should do what we can within the bounds of the
14 law to dissuade Texas from engaging in what I
15 think you both characterize as inappropriate
16 activity?

17 Ms. Raya, we'll start with you. Do you
18 think we should do in California what we can,
19 within the bounds of the law, to dissuade Texas
20 from engaging in their gerrymanders?

21 VICE CHAIR CHOI: That's a point of order
22 again. It is -- right now how can they say that
23 in Texas or is -- they are doing whatever they
24 think they are right. But we are not defending
25 Texas or Trump administration.

1 CHAIR CERVANTES: Vice Chair Choi --

2 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah.

3 CHAIR CERVANTES: -- we will maintain
4 decorum on the item.

5 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So -- and --

6 CHAIR CERVANTES: (Inaudible.)

7 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah, the Chair ruled
8 the point was well taken and he keeps on
9 continuing.

10 CHAIR CERVANTES: We will -- let me allow
11 Senator Umberg to ask the question.

12 SENATOR UMBERG: That's the --

13 CHAIR CERVANTES: And allow --

14 SENATOR UMBERG: And I'll ask the last
15 question.

16 Do you think -- let me -- I'll first ask
17 Ms. Raya, then Ms. Robinson.

18 CHAIR CERVANTES: Answer if you'd like.

19 SENATOR UMBERG: Do you think we in
20 California should do what we can, within the
21 bounds of the law, to dissuade Texas from
22 engaging in the partisan gerrymandering that
23 they -- I think they're about to do? Ms. Raya?

24 MS. RAYA: What is happening in Texas is
25 reprehensible, and I admire the Texas Democrats

1 who have resisted. But I think those people,
2 those elected representatives in Texas, are
3 capable of resolving this issue for Texas.

4 We're concerned about resolving a similar
5 issue in California.

6 SENATOR UMBERG: Ms. Robinson, do you
7 think we should do what we can, within the bounds
8 of the law, to dissuade Texas from engaging in
9 this partisan gerrymandering?

10 MS. ROBINSON: I have spent the last 15
11 years of my life promoting independent
12 redistricting, both in California and nationally.
13 I have spent decades expanding democracy,
14 partnering across the aisle on a number of good
15 government initiatives in my capacity as an
16 advocate, in my capacity as working with
17 philanthropy, working with elected officials,
18 working with registrars of voters.

19 I would continue -- I see this testimony
20 today as part of that trajectory and absolutely
21 continue to promote fair and equal playing field
22 in terms of redistricting around the country.

23 SENATOR UMBERG: So I take that as a yes.

24 CHAIR CERVANTES: (Inaudible.) Yes,
25 please.

1 MS. SADHWANI: Yes. Madam Chair, if I may
2 just weigh in?

3 I just wanted to acknowledge my two
4 colleagues here. We didn't serve on the same
5 Commission, but I'm incredibly proud of you for
6 the responses that you've given to the Senator's
7 very difficult questioning, line of questioning.
8 But I think that those are appropriate questions.

9 This is the kind of moral conflict that,
10 if this goes to the ballot, that every California
11 voter is going to be faced with, and these are
12 not easy decisions.

13 And so I actually really appreciated this
14 exchange and just wanted to acknowledge my
15 colleagues here, because I know that that was
16 difficult to be sitting here having to defend all
17 of the ills that have come before California.

18 But I do think that this is the challenge
19 that every California voter will have, and I
20 think this is probably going to be going through
21 the minds of so many voters over the next several
22 months if this plan moves forward.

23 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.

24 And if I may, I want to just say that how
25 much I respect the work of the CRC. Thank you

1 for the time lost being here today. I understand
2 what that means. Many of us do. So I want to
3 make that clear.

4 There was a comment made that we're
5 putting the cart before the horse. This is the
6 cart with the horse. The voters get to decide
7 who and what at the same time this November 4th.

8 We are proud of our state's Citizens
9 Redistricting Commission. It is a gold standard
10 for our country. In fact, we want to support
11 policy for nationwide nonpartisan citizens
12 redistricting commissions.

13 We are in a moment where we have to
14 respond to an existential threat. Do you expect
15 Californians to unilaterally disarm ourselves
16 when the Trump Republicans are wielding their
17 control of state governments like weapons against
18 democracy?

19 MS. ROBINSON: Thank you, Madam Chair. My
20 understanding is that there are twice as many
21 competitive seats that can be mobilized as there
22 would be seats that are created by the maps that
23 have just been released in the recent days.

24 So, to me, this is not disarmament. This
25 is being able to really organize the platform and

1 leverage what we already have within the
2 parameters of our voter-approved constitutional
3 amendments and the existing districts that our
4 fellow commissioners on the current Commission
5 worked so hard to and diligently to create.

6 If there is an interest and need, we
7 understand that the context evolves. A lot can
8 happen in 10 years, as we can see. There is the
9 opportunity to go back to communities and to
10 update the community of interest testimony and do
11 some adjustments based on those lines, or release
12 the information upon which these maps were
13 drafted. And those types of provisions were not
14 included in this bill and easily could be.

15 CHAIR CERVANTES: And again, I just want
16 to reiterate that Texas is actively reducing
17 their own competitive seat count. So then do you
18 expect our communities to remain silent While
19 their voices are being stripped away from
20 Washington?

21 MS. RAYA: I never expect communities to
22 be silent. In fact, I would encourage people to
23 speak on to this very issue.

24 There isn't a day that goes by that I
25 don't -- everybody in this room talks to people

1 who are terrified, who are living with extreme
2 anxiety. When you talk about the raids, yes,
3 we're in the middle of them in Los Angeles and in
4 my area and people close to me. So, you know,
5 we're living with that, and even despair that
6 people have about the current political climate.

7 But I am not convinced, I can't be
8 convinced that just putting up a map that's
9 already decided is something that people can
10 react to, other than if you're encouraging just a
11 visceral reaction, let's get the national
12 administration by approving this Bill.

13 That is not good government. That is not
14 responsible government. That's not engaged
15 government. That is not giving citizens the
16 information they need.

17 Seventy-eight days to look at a map that's
18 done, not a map that can be modified in the
19 interest of the communities it's supposed to
20 serve.

21 CHAIR CERVANTES: Given that we still have
22 two additional measures on file today, I want to
23 make sure that we can keep our questions concise.

24 But let me turn it over to Senator Limon.

25 SENATOR LIMON: Thank you. Thank you.

1 And I want to first start off by thanking
2 all of you for being here. It's not often that
3 we get to see a panel of all women to take on a
4 very difficult issue.

5 This deliberation has been important for
6 me, and it continues to be a very important
7 conversation.

8 And in this deliberation, I have heard
9 consensus around the importance of expanding
10 democracy. And I'm actually using your words,
11 Ms. Robinson, expanding democracy.

12 And I think about the fact that we are
13 living -- and I'm using your words now,
14 Ms. Raya -- we are living in moments of extreme
15 anxiety and despair. And it is very important to
16 serve the interest of the communities in many
17 ways.

18 And I think that this clearly is part of
19 this process where we are all asking ourselves,
20 what is in the best interest of our communities?
21 And yet, we are also trying to identify how we
22 ensure that we expand democracy and not limit it,
23 not inhibit it, and certainly not get rid of it.

24 What has prompted our state and us as
25 legislators to be here are the real concerns that

1 we are limiting democracy, that we are inhibiting
2 democracy, and that we are seeing a decline of
3 democracy.

4 I have a question to the opposition.
5 Under what conditions would you do something to
6 stop the limit of democracy, to stop the decline
7 of democracy? When would you act? Can you
8 describe what those conditions would look like?

9 MS. RAYA: Well, as Ms. Robinson said, this
10 is something we've been doing all our lives. I
11 certainly have many years on most of you who are
12 sitting up there, including Mr. Umberg. So, you
13 know, the question for me is not what might I do
14 in the future, what might happen.

15 I'm here right now because this is what
16 I've done all my life. I come from generations
17 of people who engaged in public service to assure
18 justice in the electoral process, justice in
19 education, in healthcare, in the legal system.
20 So, for me, this is an ongoing thing.

21 This isn't something we take up because we
22 happen to have somebody in the White House who
23 has lost sight of the Constitution and the rule
24 of law. This is something we do every day in any
25 way that we can.

1 We just happen to have had the privilege
2 of serving on the most innovative revolutionary
3 election incident or vote in California, so we
4 have the privilege of being part of really making
5 democracy happen in the electoral process, of
6 engaging citizens, drawing more people into the
7 process. And maybe those people will continue
8 day to day to continue to fight the good fight
9 wherever they may find it.

10 So, you know, for me, this is not
11 declaring -- you know, declaring an emergency and
12 now what do we do. This is every day we need to
13 be doing something to make the system work. And
14 today what we need to do is to protect the
15 independence, the nonpartisanship of drawing
16 lines so that parties can go out and campaign on
17 their message and elect representatives that will
18 actually serve the people.

19 SENATOR LIMON: So I will say, I agree
20 with you. For me, this is about what we do every
21 single day to protect our communities, to ensure,
22 as you said, justice in education, justice in
23 healthcare space, justice in the legal space.

24 And I will add that I think that we have
25 met the conditions in this country for California

1 to take a stand and say what you are describing,
2 that you have done every day and that we continue
3 to do every day, those conditions have been met.
4 And today is the day that we have to decide how
5 we move forward because we have the shared goal
6 of doing everything we can every day for
7 Californians, for our community.

8 And this is certainly an important piece
9 that I consider into my decision-making, into how
10 I deliberate about the issue. And I think it's
11 also, as I heard the testimony and support,
12 opening up classes -- and thank goodness we still
13 have a class in California on democracy -- and
14 ensuring that we have health centers that
15 continue to open and continue to serve the people
16 of California.

17 I appreciate, again, the robust
18 discussion. And my line of questioning and the
19 process was simply to say that, for me, I will
20 speak for myself, the conditions have been met
21 for us to take action. And we have the same goal
22 in mind, which is doing everything we can.

23 There is no expanding democracy if
24 democracy falls apart and we don't do anything
25 about it.

1 Again, unbelievable gratitude to all of
2 you, all women panelists here. I know we may not
3 all be on the same side of how we land on this
4 particular vote, but I have utmost respect and
5 recognition for the work that all of you do to
6 protect our democracy. Thank you.

7 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.

8 We will go to our next item, but before we
9 do, I will allow Senator Cabaldon to close.

10 SENATOR CABALDON: Thank you so much,
11 Madam Chair, Members of the Committee, and to all
12 of the witnesses on both sides of the issue.

13 Commissioner Sadhwani at the beginning
14 said that the point of in a democracy we -- and I
15 love this quote -- that we take turns being
16 humbled at the ballot box, that that is how
17 democracy works. But what if you have the cheat
18 code, and you could say, well, I'm not taking my
19 turn.

20 That's what's at stake here today. And I
21 think part of what we're trying to accomplish
22 here is that democracy is not slowly eroding.
23 People aren't accidentally absentmindedly doing
24 bad things. It is a crisis.

25 And we're trying to assure that

1 Commissioner Sadhwani's course on American
2 government and democracy doesn't get moved to the
3 history department as something that we used to
4 have, but it is the fundamental course that every
5 undergraduate must have in order to be an
6 American citizen.

7 So I know in my own district, the number
8 one question, the number one question that people
9 ask is, what can I do? Not what -- not what can
10 the Senator do? What can I do about what is
11 happening to our democracy, which is in crisis,
12 which is threatened like it has never been
13 threatened before?

14 That's what ACA 8 is about. It is about
15 giving it to the voters of California. They can
16 say yes, they can say no, but it will be their
17 choice, their action to fight back.

18 We heard, and I absolutely agree, that
19 California is seen as a model here. But looking
20 to other states, for example, the Texas
21 delegation, they have been here twice. They and
22 their constituents have been very clear.

23 We cannot -- when authoritarianism goes so
24 far as this, our most valiant efforts cannot
25 prevail. We need -- America needs California to

1 stand up and to be not just a model of what the
2 policy should be, but to model democracy and in
3 action.

4 My own view is that the best thing we can
5 do for independent redistricting, which is an
6 important innovation that the voters of
7 California has created, and our commissioners
8 have taken and curated so superbly over the last
9 two cycles, the best thing that we can do to
10 preserve independent redistricting is to make
11 sure that redistricting doesn't become -- does
12 not become a tool of holding onto power, of
13 avoiding the humbling at the ballot box. That's
14 the only way forward here.

15 When the ballot petition was up in 2008 to
16 create the Redistricting Commission and it passed
17 with 50.8 percent of the vote, the Sacramento Bee
18 and I think the Bay Area Garden were the two
19 papers that editorialized against it.

20 And they said, this is a great idea, but
21 our worry is that what happens with the other
22 states when they gerrymander like crazy and we
23 have allowed our ethical orientation to lead when
24 they are using their most base partisan
25 instincts? The voters very narrowly said that

1 might be a good point, but we're going to do it
2 anyway.

3 Well, it turns out they were right this
4 year. They were wrong about the overall issue,
5 but they were right this year. And the way to
6 preserve redistricting in the future is to make
7 sure that that doesn't become the case.

8 If California -- if a year from now or a
9 month from now or if a week from now, if your
10 cousin is kidnapped off the street, if UCLA
11 closes down, if we announce that there won't be
12 an election, if the census that we're relying on
13 for the Commission's next stab at redistricting
14 doesn't include 1.5 million Californians in it,
15 if we have no democracy left and we look back and
16 said, if only we could have done something, well,
17 the nice thing about this is that we are in a
18 time machine. We can do something.

19 We know what is coming because it's in
20 Project 2025. It's been implemented in every way
21 and most in the most base way possible. We must
22 take action if we're going to save not just
23 democracy, but the Commission itself in
24 independent redistricting.

25 I know as a former city council member, we

1 would often fall into this what I think is a
2 little bit of a trap. We would think, why would
3 we want to put something on the ballot? The
4 voters elected us to be the democracy. And we've
5 heard that today, that the most democratic thing
6 would be not to ask the voters, but to ask 14
7 people on the Commission to have some hearings
8 and they decide what the map should be based on
9 testimony.

10 Well, far better than the testimony will
11 be the votes of 40 million Californians and
12 through a vigorous debate over the next several
13 weeks and months leading up to that election.
14 That is what democracy is in action.

15 I want just a couple of the smaller
16 points. I want to emphasize the question that
17 has been raised by the Vice Chair of the
18 Committee about midcycle redistricting.

19 Since 1980, the Republican caucuses and
20 the California Republican Party have submitted
21 not one but more than 30 ballot measures to go to
22 the people of California for constitutional
23 amendments midcycle about redistricting. More
24 than 30 times they've submitted ballot measures
25 midcycle to the Secretary of State to amend the

1 Constitution for redistricting.

2 So there's no high ground here that it
3 should only be every 10 years. This is all --
4 redistricting has always been an issue before the
5 public because they know that redistricting is
6 essential to protecting our democracy.

7 Then, last, I want to emphasize what the
8 Chair said, which is that the very first
9 provision of this -- of ACA 8, this
10 constitutional amendment, does what I think all
11 of us agree. It calls upon the Congress to do
12 its job and propose to the states a
13 constitutional amendment, an amendment to the
14 United States Constitution that does exactly what
15 our Commission colleagues have said, which is
16 redistricting nationwide in every state should be
17 fair. It should be based on Committees
18 (unintelligible) data and should not be partisan.
19 That is the only way forward.

20 And this Constitutional amendment will ask
21 Congress to do that. That is the test that we
22 should be asking, not just of ourselves, not just
23 by reputation and by intention, but be insisting
24 that Texas, Florida, Ohio, every state in the
25 nation plays fair, doesn't seek to cheat to win

1 elections, and that we preserve our democracy
2 forever.

3 Madam Chair, Members of the Committee,
4 thank you so much for the opportunity to present
5 today.

6 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you, Senator
7 Cabaldon, and thank you to each of you who
8 participated today and all those in the hearing
9 room as well.

10 We will move to the next item on file,
11 which is SB280, that I will be speaking on.

12 And we will turn it to our Vice Chair.

13 The witnesses can stay. I believe we
14 still -- yes.

15 Vice Chair Choi, I will turn it to you.

16 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Thank you, Chair.
17 Now, Chair is going to present next SB 280, and I
18 will be presiding over.

19 UNIDENTIFIABLE SPEAKER: Right now.

20 CHAIR CERVANTES: Okay.

21 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. This will be,
22 again, hearing only, so -- okay.

23 Senator Cervantes, when you're ready.

24 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you, Mr. Vice
25 Chair and Committee Members.

1 Today I'm proud to present Senate Bill
2 280, which calls for a statewide special election
3 on November 4th of this year.

4 The special election would allow
5 California voters to consider a constitutional
6 amendment, ACA 8, which would allow this
7 Legislature to engage in a one-time, mid-decade
8 redistricting of our state's districts in the
9 U.S. House of Representatives.

10 The Citizens Redistricting Commission
11 would then be able to engage in its regularly
12 scheduled independent redistricting process after
13 the 2030 census.

14 SB 280 also appropriates the funding
15 necessary for the Secretary of State and our
16 county registrars to administer the special
17 election.

18 The bill also makes the necessary
19 statutory changes to allow the June 2026
20 statewide primary election to be held on time.

21 California did not start this
22 redistricting fight. This fight was brought to
23 us.

24 We are here because President Trump and
25 Republicans in Congress know that their agenda is

1 deeply unpopular. They see the writing on the
2 wall. They know that mass deportation that uses
3 secret police to kidnap people off the streets
4 and into unmarked vehicles goes against every
5 American value.

6 They know that voters will hold them
7 accountable for the spending cuts they jammed
8 through Congress, stripping healthcare away from
9 millions of Americans. They know that giving tax
10 cuts to billionaires, while Trump imposes tariff
11 taxes on essential goods like coffee and bananas,
12 are raising the cost of living that will hurt
13 working families.

14 What Trump knows is that the only path for
15 Republicans to hold onto the House in the
16 midterms is to change the rules in the middle of
17 the game.

18 That is why in Texas and in other red
19 states, Republican legislators are preparing to
20 redraw their congressional map so that Republican
21 politicians get to choose their voters instead of
22 letting voters choose their representatives.

23 They want to silence the voices of Latino
24 voters, Black voters, API voters, LGBTQ voters,
25 and essentially, Trump wants to change again the

1 rules of the game in the fifth inning so that
2 Republicans get four strikes and Democrats only
3 get three.

4 Their goal is simple, to rig congressional
5 maps in Republican states across the country to
6 make it impossible for Democrats to retake
7 control of the House of Representatives in 2026.

8 California cannot stand by while Donald
9 Trump dismantles our democracy piece by piece.
10 We will not let him determine the outcome of
11 future elections years in advance before any
12 votes are cast to prop up his authoritarian
13 presidency.

14 And if you doubt that Trump is trying to
15 become a dictator, remember that he sent armed
16 federal agents to harass the peaceful press
17 conference that we held last week with Governor
18 Newsom in Los Angeles.

19 The truth of the matter is, if we let
20 Donald Trump get away with rigging elections
21 through gerrymandering, we will not have free or
22 fair elections in the United States in the
23 future. If Donald Trump pursues this partisan
24 power grab, then California is ready to respond.

25 But let me be clear, only -- our plan will

1 only go into effect if Texas and other red states
2 move forward. If Trump does the right thing and
3 gives up on redrawing congressional maps in
4 Republican states' red held seats, California's
5 current districts will remain in place. Nothing
6 changes.

7 And ultimately, this is our preferred
8 outcome because we value California's Independent
9 Redistricting Commission, as we all know, the
10 gold standard in the country. And this crisis
11 shows that we need to enact national
12 redistricting commissions.

13 If every state followed California's
14 example and adopted independent redistricting
15 commissions, or if Congress required their
16 creation, then we wouldn't even be facing this
17 crisis today. Gerrymandering would be a thing of
18 the past.

19 Finally, I want to address the
20 Republicans, Members of Congress from California,
21 you can all stop this from happening today. The
22 power is in your hands. I appeal to your better
23 angles. But if you refuse to listen to those
24 angles, then I will rely on your ambition, your
25 self-interest, and your desire to keep your House

1 seat and your paycheck.

2 You can ask President Trump to end this.
3 You can tell him to call off these partisan
4 gerrymanderings in Texas and in other states.
5 But if he decides to move forward with his plan
6 to steal Democratic seats, then Californians will
7 be the firewall. We have defended
8 authoritarians before and will do so once again,
9 but with the power of our votes.

10 Today we have two individuals here to
11 testify in support, Jodi Hicks, CEO of Planned
12 Parenthood Affiliates of California, and
13 Professor Sara Sadhwani, a member of the
14 California Citizens Redistricting Commission.

15 MS. HICKS: Thank you. Thank you, Chair
16 and Members.

17 And I am Jodi Hicks with Planned
18 Parenthood Affiliates of California, representing
19 all seven affiliates and over 100 health centers
20 throughout the state, in strong support of this
21 measure.

22 I think this Committee has heard a lot
23 about the importance of the Commission.
24 California is a model.

25 I am here to talk about the impact of

1 what's happening in California on the ground.
2 I'm representing Planned Parenthood. I can talk
3 about healthcare. But we've seen what's happened
4 in our -- with education, with ICE raids that --
5 I was also at that press conference where ICE
6 raids were happening on the street, including
7 arrests.

8 California is a model with our Commission.
9 I'm not here to be an expert. I know there's
10 other witnesses are. But California is also a
11 model when it comes to our values. We are a
12 model with diversity and our values around
13 diversity, around inclusivity. Certainly, as a
14 state that values reproductive freedom, that
15 values access to healthcare.

16 This administration and this Congress
17 continues to put economic sanctions, policies
18 that disproportionately impact California,
19 disproportionately impact our patients, people
20 going to school, people trying to go to work.
21 That is a fact.

22 And when people voted on this independent
23 Commission, they voted on it without the facts of
24 what's happening today, which is knowing that
25 they have an opportunity in the midterm elections

1 to respond to what just happened with almost a
2 million patients in Planned Parenthood alone that
3 just got defunded trying to close down health
4 centers throughout the State of California.

5 I heard a speaker earlier say, if only
6 Texas could learn from California. If only Texas
7 could learn from California. You can see the
8 data on what's happening with their healthcare
9 there in that state. Women have died. Women
10 have died.

11 And those policies are now being imported
12 into a state like California without an ability
13 to fight back because they're rigging the
14 elections right now and trying to change the
15 rules.

16 And so, yes, California is a model, and
17 we're also a model in fighting back and standing
18 up for Californians when we have to. And that's
19 what this measure does.

20 I implore you to vote yes and do what we
21 have to do so that California does not become a
22 state like Texas. So that we all stand up for
23 the values that we all know is important, that we
24 all know, that all of California agrees upon
25 every single time they go to the ballot box.

1 Every single time they've had an opportunity to
2 fight back and to vote on protecting reproductive
3 freedom, they have done that in droves.

4 And this measure will go to the voters.
5 Again, different than what's happening in Texas.
6 And I implore you to vote yes. Thank you.

7 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Thank you.

8 Next witness. You have three minutes.

9 MS. SADHWANI: Thank you so much. There
10 we go.

11 Again, my name is Sara Sadhwani. I'm a
12 professor of political science. And as
13 Commissioner on the California Citizens
14 Redistricting Commission, I'm so overjoyed to
15 hear all of the support for the independent
16 redistricting process. I didn't always hear that
17 level of support while the process was moving
18 forward. So it's really warming my heart to hear
19 broad support. And I hope that that continues as
20 I see that it does continue in this measure being
21 moved forward today.

22 Serving on the Commission was one of the
23 highlights of my career thus far. I worked with
24 some of the finest Californians coming from all
25 different walks of life. Five independent,

1 five -- excuse me, five Democrats, five
2 Republicans and four independents, we came
3 together. We worked collaboratively. We
4 received nearly 40,000 pieces of community
5 testimony. We agreed to disagree in many parts
6 of the state, as you no doubt have seen in the
7 maps that we have here in California.

8 But at the end of the day, we did what
9 many politicians have not often been able to do,
10 we passed our maps unanimously on a very diverse
11 body of individuals. And I couldn't be more
12 proud of that.

13 We have received zero lawsuits against our
14 maps. This is the kind of redistricting that we
15 need to have nationwide.

16 It brings me no joy to see these maps
17 being tossed aside. As I spoke earlier in my
18 testimony, I have very real concerns about the
19 state of our national democracy.

20 I think in my prior comments I talked
21 about our Federalist system. But I think Senator
22 Umberg's comments, of course, around checks and
23 balances within the branches of government is
24 absolutely direct and to the point. And I
25 certainly agree with that as well.

1 That we have seen Republicans in Congress
2 fail to stand up to the executive overreaches of
3 power. We have seen the use of political
4 violence and the encouragement of political
5 violence. We've most certainly seen intimidation
6 tactics and the deployment of the National Guard
7 turning many of our cities across this nation
8 into police states.

9 These are not actions that are consistent
10 with a strong democracy. Quite the opposite.
11 They are actions that reflect a democracy in
12 peril. And so it's for this reason that I do
13 feel like California needs to stand up in these
14 times. We need to take strong, bold and concise
15 action to be the check on Executive power because
16 we're not seeing it anywhere else.

17 I'll leave my comments there. Happy to
18 take questions. Thank you so much for having me
19 here today.

20 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. No other support
21 witnesses.

22 I would like to ask the public in support
23 of the measure, you can come up and state your
24 name and just your position. Support or oppose.

25 MS. FLOCKS: Mr. Vice Chair, Members, Sara

1 Flocks, California Federation of Labor Unions, in
2 strong support. Thank you.

3 MS. HEIDELBACH: Good morning. Kristin
4 Heidelberg, here on behalf of UFCW Western States
5 Council, in strong support.

6 MS. HINES-SHAIKH: Honorable Chair and
7 Members, Amy Hines-Shaikh with UDW AFSCME Local
8 3930 and UNITE HERE! Local 11 in strong support.
9 Thank you.

10 MS. MOK: Honorable Chair and Member,
11 Tiffany Mok in support of the bill on behalf of
12 CFT, a union of educators and classified
13 professionals, and also adding a support for the
14 California Teachers Association. Thank you.

15 MS. GONZALEZ: Hello. Genesis Gonzalez on
16 behalf of Lieutenant Governor, Eleni Kounalakis,
17 in support. Thank you.

18 MR. BRENNAND: Mr. Chair and Members,
19 Terry Brennand on behalf of SEIU California, in
20 strong support of this and the entire
21 redistricting package. Thank you.

22 MR. SCHOORL: Hi, Chair and Members.
23 Daniel Schoorl on behalf of SEIU Local 1000 state
24 workers, in strong support. Thank you.

25 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay.

1 MS. NIELSEN: Hi. Julie Nielsen with the
2 National Union of Healthcare Workers, in support.

3 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Anymore?

4 Okay. Then we'll move on to opposition
5 main witnesses. Each person will have three
6 minutes. No, no.

7 Ms. Robinson, would you like to say in
8 opposition?

9 MS. ROBINSON: I think that our position as
10 former commissioners stands clear. We hope that,
11 if this moves forward, that you, as our
12 representatives, will put more transparency and
13 public participation safeguards in place, even in
14 light of the extraordinary circumstances that we
15 all agree must be addressed.

16 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay.

17 Any other? Any other in the public in
18 opposition? You can come forward and state your
19 name and state your position.

20 Okay. I don't see anyone.

21 Then I will bring back to our Members on
22 the dais. You can ask any questions.

23 No? Okay.

24 Senator Umberg.

25 SENATOR UMBERG: Thank you. Thank you,

1 Mr. Chair.

2 And thank you, Ms. Robinson. I know
3 you're in a difficult position here, in essence
4 asking us to vote no on what we believe, at least
5 I believe, is a response to what the President is
6 doing around the country.

7 I think that Senator Limon asked the
8 critical question here. The critical question
9 is, what conditions exist -- what conditions
10 exist where we stand up and we do something that
11 is extraordinary? And this is extraordinary. I
12 think this is incredibly extraordinary.

13 I 20 years ago had my own when Governor
14 Schwarzenegger proposed a redistricting
15 commission that was comprised of retired judges,
16 who volunteered for a year, which I thought was
17 rather a skewed universe of those who should be
18 the decision-makers. I had my own proposal,
19 which was rejected both by my caucus, as well as
20 by the Governor.

21 And so I am a strong proponent of exactly
22 what we're doing here. I'm a strong proponent of
23 citizens coming forward who have the same
24 commitment to public service that you have to
25 serve in this fairly thankless job.

1 And the conditions that exist, I think,
2 are only those where there are massed federal
3 agents picking up citizens or those who have not
4 committed any crime and incarcerating them. I
5 think those conditions exist when this
6 administration has targeted our children here in
7 California. Targeted them to reduce their
8 healthcare. Targeted them to, in essence, reduce
9 after-school care, even their 9:00-to-5:00
10 education. Targeted our institutions here in
11 California to -- in my view, to diminish if not
12 destroy us as a state.

13 So when those conditions exist that we
14 have to within -- again, within the bounds of the
15 law, we have to respond. And this is an
16 extraordinary response, but this is a response
17 that we hope will dissuade other states from
18 moving forward.

19 We wouldn't be in this position if other
20 states, we wouldn't be in this position if the
21 President of the United States wasn't using his
22 extraordinary power and influence, which seems to
23 be plenary, to change the dynamic.

24 And so I appreciate your testimony. I
25 appreciate the awkward position you're in. But

1 these conditions have been met, at least for me.

2 So thank you, Mr. Chair.

3 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Thank you.

4 Any other?

5 Okay. Seeing none, let me just ask a few
6 questions and make some comments.

7 I'm so disappointed. Why? Presenter and
8 also Committee Members and the witnesses, we are
9 making this Committee meeting as a forum for
10 attacking federal government and the President
11 and other states' action.

12 We should be focusing on our matter, what
13 is good for our state. We should administer and
14 oppose any actions that we don't -- we don't
15 believe that is the right action, then we should
16 oppose.

17 And let me ask anyone, author or
18 witnesses, opposing witnesses, support witnesses,
19 does anyone can answer if political
20 gerrymandering good or bad? Is it good or bad?

21 MS. ROBINSON: I mean, I think it depends
22 whose interests you are advancing as a citizen.
23 I'm not an elected official, so my answer to that
24 might be different than yours.

25 As a voter, as a citizen, I want to pick

1 my representatives. I do not want my
2 representatives to pick me. And the partisan
3 gerrymandering and the perpetuation of it
4 continues to get us into a race to the bottom
5 that we've seen over recent years, and that will
6 only continue with the route that we are going.
7 Which is why the voters have a different model.

8 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Your sense it has a
9 connotation of a negative connotation? Nobody
10 likes to hear the election was a rigged because
11 of the gerrymandering and the political
12 gerrymandering by majority party, or whoever the
13 party in power.

14 They want to draw to their own advantage,
15 and that's the reason nobody wants to have that
16 kind of gerrymandering to take place. That's the
17 reason we elected to have our Independent
18 Redistricting Commission.

19 And whether we support or not, that is our
20 system we have set up, and was so glad to hear
21 that the 2020 redistricting was unanimously voted
22 by bipartisan way. I mean, that is a democracy.

23 So my understanding of this very map
24 drawing was done -- okay. Let me ask that
25 question. Who did that drawing of the map

1 supposedly on the website? Does anybody know?

2 CHAIR CERVANTES: This bill does not
3 pertain to the map. This is the calling of the
4 election.

5 VICE CHAIR CHOI: I know this is -- but
6 just like you are saying, this is germane to the
7 SB 280. But everybody went outside attacking the
8 present administration, President and the current
9 administration. So that is very well related, so
10 that's the reason I'm asking that question.

11 So this bill, SB 280, is administering to
12 allow that ACA to be on the ballot measure and
13 properly that this bill will pass, and then
14 allowing State Secretary to execute the election.
15 So that's the whole process we are doing. But
16 there's a lot of things related.

17 And let me ask a specific other question.
18 How much time do counties normally have to
19 prepare for an election, and how does the
20 timeline proposed for this election compare? I
21 would like to address that to the author.

22 CHAIR CERVANTES: There are many statutory
23 changes that you can find in the Committee
24 analysis that address what we needed to make
25 happen based off of the conversations with the

1 Secretary of State and those are all outlined in
2 pages 3 through 7.

3 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay.

4 Next question. So we are reducing the
5 time the voters have to decide whether they want
6 to amend to do this.

7 Is there concern that you are depriving
8 the voters of adequate time to educate themselves
9 on their major constitutional issues?

10 CHAIR CERVANTES: Again, the bill before
11 us today is making sure we make the statutory
12 changes to call for a special election on
13 November 4th, and to ensure that there is a June
14 primary.

15 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Now, will the
16 maps be on the actually -- will be physically on
17 the ballot?

18 CHAIR CERVANTES: Again, that is a
19 question you can ask the relevant author of the
20 next item on file.

21 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Because if that is not
22 visibly physically available for all those who
23 will be voting on and if you refer to online,
24 there are so many people who would not have any
25 online access, no wi-fi. And that's what I hear,

1 that in remote areas, countryside, rural areas
2 will not have access to internet.

3 So how are we going to compensate that --
4 the lack of knowledge people will be asked to
5 vote on?

6 CHAIR CERVANTES: Again, there has been a
7 public portal for voters to look at for a number
8 of days now. They'll have several months, two-
9 and-a-half months before the election to take a
10 very thorough review on what they will make a
11 decision on on November 4th.

12 VICE CHAIR CHOI: The election portal that
13 I mentioned, that not everybody -- I hear many,
14 many times that the --

15 CHAIR CERVANTES: Vice Chair, there will
16 also be a voter guide that goes out to every
17 single voter in the state.

18 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Will that the voter
19 guide have all the maps and the entire district,
20 congressional district, 52 maps will be on the
21 ballot voter guide?

22 CHAIR CERVANTES: The voter guide will
23 have all the information as it pertains to the
24 election.

25 VICE CHAIR CHOI: No. I'm asking the

1 maps.

2 CHAIR CERVANTES: Again, the voter guide
3 will have all the information as it pertains to
4 the election so a voter can make a very thorough
5 decision November 4th.

6 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay.

7 CHAIR CERVANTES: Educated decision on
8 November 4th.

9 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Now --

10 CHAIR CERVANTES: It will have the
11 detailed information on the maps that we are
12 discussing and what will be up for discussion on
13 the next file item.

14 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Let me ask next
15 question. The special election is estimated to
16 cost the taxpayers upward of quarter billion
17 dollars. With the state facing \$12 billion
18 deficit, there is money -- where is the money
19 going to come from to pay for this?

20 CHAIR CERVANTES: The election is going to
21 cost as much as a new ballroom that Trump is
22 proposing in the White House. That is
23 \$200 million, approximately, that will be given
24 to the Secretary of State and the county
25 registrars to administer the election.

1 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So that is a good idea
2 in the mid-decade special election when we face
3 that kind of \$12 billion in the General Fund,
4 quarter billion dollars will be spent for this,
5 to me, unnecessary election?

6 CHAIR CERVANTES: Again, \$200 million we
7 believe is a drop in the bucket in comparison to
8 the federal funding that we would get back that
9 we are losing today; 5 to \$10 billion in federal
10 funding that we are losing in California.

11 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. And there will be
12 quarter billion dollars -- to my data that I got
13 was \$250 million. That's a quarter billion
14 dollar, B -- with a B, billion dollar deficit,
15 the expenses.

16 But if that quarter billion dollars will
17 come from General Fund, that's what -- General
18 Fund I read the cost will come from. When we
19 unexpectedly use that amount of large sums of
20 money, what programs do you plan to cut down that
21 originally planned for?

22 CHAIR CERVANTES: Again, this bill is
23 addressing the call of the election, the
24 statutory changes that need to be made in order
25 to have the election on November 4th and the

1 funding for that election.

2 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. I think we need
3 to address all that preparations with the
4 unexpected expenditure. What can we impact in
5 General Fund exercising and how that will impact
6 the state operations to me.

7 My last question is that, as you might
8 have seen some polls, this redistricting idea is
9 very unpopular. There's no guarantee just
10 because you place it on the ballot measure it
11 will pass.

12 To my -- some data that I heard was about
13 68 percent of people oppose it. And that this
14 franchise Democratic party, ruling party, are
15 forcing this.

16 Just as in the beginning I asked how you
17 view as political gerrymandering is a good idea,
18 bad idea. General connotation I mentioned that
19 the general people don't like that kind of idea.

20 So when you place that in the general
21 election, there's a special election, there's no
22 guarantee it will pass. There may be a
23 retaliatory reaction that -- are you prepared,
24 the Democrats, to accept that? You may lose more
25 seats instead of gaining. You need to think

1 about it.

2 Okay. I will stop here and you may close
3 your statement.

4 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

5 I do want to make a clarifying statement
6 that there will be visual depictions of the maps
7 created by AB 604 and will be on the voter guide.

8 In my closing, the bill before you today,
9 SB 280, this is a response, a direct response to
10 Trump's election rigging scheme, and this is an
11 emergency for our democracy.

12 This bill today holds an election to give
13 California voters a voice, to give California
14 voters a voice that Texas Republicans are denying
15 Texans.

16 Let's let California voters have a say at
17 the ballot box. And SB 280 will call for the
18 election and the administration of that election.
19 And I respectfully ask for an aye vote.

20 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. As far as I know,
21 that is not the vote today. That is --

22 CHAIR CERVANTES: I will ask for your
23 support as it gets out --

24 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah.

25 CHAIR CERVANTES: -- and onto the floor,

1 respectfully.

2 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. So far two bills
3 we heard was for hearing purposes only. Next
4 bill is going to be what the voted on after
5 hearing, so that is AB 604.

6 Are you going to present that 604 or
7 somebody else?

8 UNIDENTIFIABLE SPEAKER: (Inaudible.)

9 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Chair will take
10 over now.

11 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you. We will now
12 adjourn the informational hearing and we will
13 move on to the next file item, AB 604.

14 Committee Secretary, if we could establish
15 a quorum, please call the roll.

16 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Senator Cervantes?

17 CHAIR CERVANTES: Here.

18 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Cervantes here.

19 Choi?

20 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Here.

21 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Choi here.

22 Allen?

23 SENATOR ALLEN: Here.

24 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Allen here.

25 Limon?

1 SENATOR LIMON: Here.

2 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Limon here.

3 Umberg?

4 SENATOR UMBERG: Here.

5 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Umberg here.

6 CHAIR CERVANTES: The Secretary notes a
7 quorum has been established.

8 We have Assembly Member Aguiar-Curry, our
9 Majority Leader, here with us, as well as Senator
10 Gonzalez, our Majority Leader in the Senate.

11 You may begin.

12 ASSEMBLY MEMBER AGUIAR-CURRY: Good
13 morning. Thank you for having us. Thank you,
14 Madam Chair and Senators.

15 Let's not dance around the issue here. If
16 California Democrats had our way, the midterms
17 would continue as they are, with a map drawn by
18 the state's independent California Citizens
19 Redistricting Commission. But that's not good
20 enough for this President or the Republicans
21 following his commands in Texas and D.C.

22 We weren't planning on redistricting until
23 they made attempts to rig the 2026 election by
24 stacking the deck in other states. We did not
25 start this, but we won't roll over.

1 This bill lays out the new Congressional
2 districts only if voters pass ACA 8. If voters
3 approve the new map, the Independent
4 Redistricting Commission will continue its
5 mission after the 2030 census.

6 If California voters approve the plan, the
7 temporary maps only happen if D.C. Republicans
8 and the Republican-led states push through mid-
9 decade partisan maps first.

10 Unlike Texas, which is forcing maps on
11 their voters, we are asking ours for an approval.
12 There is nothing more Democratic than letting the
13 California voters decide.

14 Unlike the map proposed in Texas, the map
15 in AB 604 respects California's constitutional
16 requirement for maintaining communities of
17 interest. With this bill, there is less breakup
18 of our local jurisdictions.

19 With this bill, we seek the public's
20 input. The voters will decide.

21 So if our Republican colleagues in
22 California want to stop this, they don't need us
23 to do it. They can convince their Republican
24 colleagues in Texas and D.C. to stop trying to
25 rig the 2026 elections and these shenanigans.

1 And they can ask Congressional Republicans
2 to pass the Republican proposal to make midterm
3 redistricting illegal. To finally create a
4 system where every state uses a fair, independent
5 districting system.

6 Again, colleagues, their choice is to
7 stand down or support a fair system in every
8 state. That's how this ends.

9 Until the President and his followers stop
10 trying to rig elections, we won't and can't sit
11 on our hands. What happens next year is up to
12 the President, it's up to the national
13 Republicans and it's up to California voters.

14 So with me today to testify is Senate
15 Majority Leader Lena Gonzalez. And speaking in
16 support with me today will be Terry Brennand from
17 SEIU and Tom Willis with Olson Remco to answer
18 technical questions. Thank you.

19 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Thank you, Madam Chair
20 and Members. As has been mentioned by Assembly
21 Majority Leader, I'm here in partnership with her
22 to AB 604. It represents a reasonable and
23 rational response to the anti-democratic actions
24 of the federal administration.

25 As has been mentioned, Californians and

1 all Americans are facing the endless cycle of
2 worry under this reckless federal administration.
3 Families have been separated. Immigrant
4 communities have been literally traumatized.
5 SNAP benefits for families taken away. Medicare
6 at -- over nearly 4 million Californians will be
7 potentially kicked off of Medicare. K through 12
8 funding has been threatened. One billion dollars
9 away from the UC system. The list goes on and on
10 and on.

11 So if we're asking about urgency, that is
12 the urgency as to why we need to do this and move
13 this today.

14 And unlike in Texas, where Republican
15 legislators are literally on a lockdown and the
16 Governor is moving unilaterally on an
17 undemocratic and partisan effort, here in
18 California, we want to ensure, as has been
19 mentioned by the Assembly Majority Leader, that
20 California voters have the final word at the
21 ballot box.

22 And I'm beyond saddened to see what is
23 happening, as many of you have. And whether
24 you're Republican or Democrat, you should be
25 saddened to see Texas legislators that are being

1 locked -- you know, essentially locked up and
2 being asked for a requirement to be followed by
3 law enforcement to basically dismantle their
4 communities and disrupt the Voting Rights Act.

5 This is how we fight back in California,
6 though. We want to protect our democracy. And
7 again, regardless of where you live, regardless
8 of what party affiliation you pledge allegiance
9 to, we want to restore democracy.

10 Here to testify in support of the bill, we
11 have Tom Willis, an attorney at Olson Remco, and
12 of course Terry Brennand with SEIU.

13 And I'm very proud to stand alongside my
14 colleagues here today.

15 CHAIR CERVANTES: You may proceed. You
16 have three minutes.

17 MR. BRENNAND: Madam Chair and Senators,
18 Terry Brennand on behalf of Service Employees
19 International Union, California.

20 SEIU Locals in California are made up of
21 workers in the frontline, central roles across
22 the state, including nurses, healthcare workers,
23 janitors, social workers, security officers, in-
24 home caregivers, school and university employees,
25 court workers, airport workers, city, county,

1 state employees, all of whom are a target of this
2 administration, the federal government.

3 On behalf of the more than 750,000 workers
4 and 17 local unions, we're in strong support of
5 this bill and the entire redistricting package.
6 It represents a sensible and, in fact,
7 potentially the only path for California to fight
8 back against Trump's attempts to steal the next
9 election.

10 As has been stated already, the bill only
11 goes into effect if Trump and MAGA continue
12 with -- are successful with their efforts in
13 redistricting in other states. It will not
14 happen if those are ended.

15 While SEIU wouldn't have chosen this path
16 had the other states not acted to redistrict in
17 the midterm. We are proud that California is
18 responding. This isn't -- we are not just going
19 to sit here and let Texas and Trump manipulate
20 our democracy.

21 Unlike Texas, which obliterated their
22 current congressional district in drafting their
23 maps, California reinforces their commitment to
24 our democracy and the vote for every California.

25 The maps proposed in Assembly Bill 604

1 build upon the work of the Redistricting
2 Commission and keep the majority of districts
3 established by the Commission intact.

4 The plan you will get to vote on and the
5 voters will get to vote on in November was
6 created using the traditional redistricting
7 criteria consistent with the State Commission
8 criteria and the Fair Maps Act, but with the
9 additional criteria of improving partisan gains
10 in response to the Texas and other states
11 conducting mid-decade redistricting.

12 Using objective metrics, the districts
13 maintain and even in some cases improve district
14 compactness compared to the existing Commission
15 maps. For people who are concerned about
16 splitting up cities, it should be noted that the
17 AB 604 maps split fewer cities than the
18 Commission maps.

19 In contrast, Texan Republicans maximize
20 their gains. They split 142 cities, more than
21 double the number of cities compared to in the
22 California map.

23 Not only does the California redistricting
24 plan better represent the people of California,
25 but the California plan leaves nine districts

1 untouched, 20 districts with fewer than
2 10 percent of the residents impacted. This is in
3 great contrast to Texas, which redrew all but one
4 of their districts.

5 SEIU members and our communities have
6 worked too hard to protect and strengthen
7 democracy to stand by while President Trump
8 attempts to silence our voice. We're ready to
9 move forward, and stand by our authors of the
10 entire redistricting package, legislative
11 leaders, our Governor, and together we want to
12 take this fight to Californians because they
13 deserve to fight back if the Texas trigger is
14 pulled.

15 Californians will get a chance to vote on
16 our future, and every American's voice and their
17 vote will be at stake. For these reasons, we ask
18 you to vote aye on AB 604 and the entire
19 redistricting package.

20 Thank you, Madam Chair.

21 CHAIR CERVANTES: Please proceed.

22 MR. WILLIS: Good morning. Tom Willis
23 with Olson Remcho, and I've been involved in
24 redistricting efforts for several decades now. I
25 just have a couple of points that other speakers

1 have raised.

2 The importance of AB 604 is that the
3 voters get to decide. These maps will be before
4 the voters for 74 days if the election is called
5 on November 4th. And the maps will be widely
6 disseminated publicly.

7 And as some speakers have already
8 mentioned, the SB 280 bill specifically requires
9 the voter pamphlet to contain information about
10 these maps.

11 So whereas in Texas it was a partisan
12 redistricting that was not public, this is going
13 to be a very public process, with the voters
14 deciding ultimately, and the voters having these
15 maps before them for 74 days.

16 Thank you. I'm happy to answer any
17 technical questions you may have.

18 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.

19 We will now bring up -- if we could have
20 folks state their position, step up to the
21 microphone support witnesses. Name, affiliation,
22 position.

23 MS. GONZALEZ: Hello. Genesis Gonzalez on
24 behalf of Lieutenant Governor Eleni Kunalakis in
25 support. Thank you.

1 MS. PONTUS: Angela Pontus on behalf of
2 Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California in
3 support.

4 MS. HEIDELBACH: Kristen Heidelberg on
5 behalf of UFCW Western States Council in strong
6 support.

7 MS. FLOCKS: Sarah Flocks, California
8 Federation of Labor Unions, in strong support.

9 MS. HINES-SHAIKH: Honorable Chair and
10 Members, Amy Hines-Shaikh with UDW AFSCME Local
11 3930 and UNITE HERE! Local 11 in strong support.
12 Thank you.

13 MR. SCHOORL: Chair and Members, Daniel
14 Schoorl on behalf of SEIU Local 1000 State
15 Workers in strong support. Thank you.

16 MS. NIELSEN: Julie Nielsen on behalf of
17 the National Union of Healthcare Workers in
18 support. Thank you.

19 MS. MOK: Honorable chair and Members,
20 Tiffany Mok on behalf of CFT, a union of
21 educators and classified professionals, and also
22 on behalf of CTA in support. Thank you.

23 CHAIR CERVANTES: We will now move on to
24 our lead witnesses in opposition.

25 ASSEMBLY MEMBER AGUIAR-CURRY: Good.

1 CHAIR CERVANTES: Okay. Well, then why
2 don't we ask for any other additional witnesses
3 in opposition in the hearing room or outside the
4 hearing room.

5 SENATOR GONZALEZ: I know. Okay. We
6 scared him. Well, there's 235 pages.

7 CHAIR CERVANTES: Okay, seeing none, let's
8 bring this back to the Committee Members for any
9 questions, comments.

10 Vice Chair Choi.

11 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. That's all
12 connected to previous hearing items. This AB 604
13 is actually to implement how the election will
14 take place.

15 So let me ask following questions to the
16 author. What was the Legislature's process for
17 drawing maps? Can you explain?

18 ASSEMBLY MEMBER AGUIAR-CURRY: We're in
19 the process right now of drawing the map. So we
20 have examples that are out there right now, and
21 we just got the information out to everyone
22 yesterday. And so we have 74 days to follow up.

23 VICE CHAIR CHOI: I understand that these
24 amendments that we voted on on the floor
25 yesterday -- I dare to try to understand this. I

1 took them, but these are all thousands of
2 thousands of precincts and numbers.

3 Which one will be drawn into certain
4 precincts that will be drawn into the map with
5 this kind of information? I cannot understand
6 how this -- who decided all these precincts would
7 be in there? Was there any legislators involved?

8 So if you can specify who exactly was
9 involved making the amendments for this current
10 district maps to the amended bills that we have
11 voted on yesterday.

12 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Yes, we will certainly
13 turn it over to our witnesses. But these maps,
14 just to be clear, as has been reiterated by the
15 former author and the other authors, is that
16 these maps are available online.

17 So even though there's 235 pages of census
18 tracts and precincts, these maps have been
19 available both on the Assembly website, as well
20 as the Senate website will be available. There
21 will be a link in the sample ballot once folks
22 are able in California to vote on this and have
23 more information on what their exact neighborhood
24 looks like.

25 But I will also kick it to our witnesses

1 to talk about how the maps were developed. And
2 obviously respecting what we do here in
3 California is we respect the Voting Rights Act.

4 And we also, I will say, as has been
5 mentioned by one of our witnesses, the maps are
6 really an adjustment of the existing Citizens
7 Redistricting Commission drawn maps. About 10 of
8 them are not touched at all. Another 12 have
9 less than 5 percent change. And over -- about
10 80 percent of them will -- of people in
11 California will actually have their same
12 congressional district.

13 The map changes -- the maps change
14 58 percent of districts by less than 20 percent,
15 and 37 percent by less than 10 percent. So
16 wanted to give that data to you.

17 This is not a dramatic overhaul. These
18 are, you know, a bit of changes, but very much
19 respecting the good work of the Redistricting
20 Committee.

21 With that, I will kick it to our witnesses
22 for additional comments.

23 CHAIR CERVANTES: And before I turn to our
24 witnesses, I do want to state that there is a
25 legal description of the maps on our Committee

1 website.

2 But I will turn to Mr. Willis.

3 MR. WILLIS: Sure. Thank you.

4 Yeah, these obviously are a long set of
5 census blocks, but those do end up being in
6 interactive maps that anyone, anyone in the
7 public can review and look up their address and
8 see where they are.

9 And that will be, again, public
10 information that I'm sure will be discussed
11 widely throughout the state for the next 78, 74
12 days.

13 So while AB 604 is a long list of census
14 blocks, both that raw information is available,
15 but also the maps themselves, which are so
16 important to the public, are available.

17 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Then, with that,
18 do you agree that we have not had as many
19 hearings as were held by the Citizen Districting
20 Commission?

21 MR. WILLIS: Well, I would say that the
22 Citizens Redistricting Commission, as I
23 understand it, their final map is only shown -- I
24 mean, obviously we are supportive of the CRC and
25 the Redistricting Commission and what they did

1 historically. But ultimately, their final map is
2 only publicly available for 14 days, and this map
3 will be publicly available for 74 days.

4 So, again, this is a map that the voters
5 will be asked to review and approve, not the
6 Legislature, not the CRC. It's the voters that
7 will have the right to look at this map and
8 decide for themselves.

9 VICE CHAIR CHOI: But you do agree that we
10 have not followed the same requirements in
11 drawing the lines as the Redistricting Commission
12 was required to under the California
13 Constitution?

14 In other words, we had lots of inputs from
15 the public before the line was proposed, but this
16 one is already drawn with very limited data.

17 MR. WILLIS: Well, again, voters will have
18 70 -- they will have a long period of time to
19 review those very, very carefully and determine
20 how important that is.

21 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Election processes are
22 not adjusting the district. Either you vote or
23 either give the blessing or not. That's about
24 what the voters will have a choice.

25 I'm talking about the process, how this

1 proposed map was presented.

2 MR. WILLIS: Well, I think some of the --
3 I think some of the speakers have already spoken
4 to that issue, which is that the map that you are
5 seeing today is in large part based on the good
6 work from the congressional redistricting. I
7 mean, from the Redistricting Commission itself.

8 And if I -- I don't have the exact figure,
9 but I think it's about 75, 76 percent of the
10 population has not been moved to different
11 districts. So, in other words, the bones and the
12 architecture of what the Commission itself did is
13 really the fundamental basis for this map.

14 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So that really leads to
15 next question. California's population has
16 significantly changed, even though you are
17 stating that not much does here since the 2020
18 census.

19 What is the demographic data on which the
20 Legislature -- this particular map proposal was
21 relying to draw the final maps that you have
22 placed on the web?

23 MR. WILLIS: The same data as the
24 Redistricting Commission.

25 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Redistricting, you know,

1 that was the 2020 data?

2 MR. WILLIS: Right. But that's what Texas
3 is doing, too. Everyone has to rely on the 2020
4 Census.

5 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So you did not use any
6 more modified population shift or (inaudible)?

7 MR. WILLIS: No. It's the exact same data
8 as the Redistricting Commission.

9 VICE CHAIR CHOI: I see. Then who were
10 the main architect of this bill? Who got engaged
11 in this proposed bill?

12 MR. WILLIS: Well, I can't speak for
13 everyone. My understanding is that it was
14 publicly submitted, and then the Legislature
15 reviewed it carefully and made sure it was
16 legally compliant, and that's what we have today.

17 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Was there any outside of
18 the Legislature? Did you consult for input on
19 this lines should be drawn?

20 MR. WILLIS: Well, like I said, I think a
21 version of this pap was publicly submitted to the
22 Legislature first. So to that extent, yes, there
23 was.

24 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Outside?

25 MR. WILLIS: Yes.

1 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Who were they?

2 MR. WILLIS: I can't speak to that.

3 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Why not?

4 MR. WILLIS: I wasn't part of that
5 process.

6 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Does anybody know that?

7 Also, a lot of union Members a while ago
8 testified in support of that.

9 Will the union representatives play any
10 role in this drawing lines?

11 MR. WILLIS: Again, I --

12 MR. BRENNAND: I'm happy to answer that.
13 There was nobody from my union or anybody else
14 who drafted the lines here or presented them to
15 the Legislature.

16 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Okay. Did you hold any
17 public hearings to allow broad public input
18 before the line was drawn?

19 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Again, with respect,
20 Senator Choi, you know, this is 80 -- nearly
21 80 percent of these maps are based on the 2020
22 data from the Redistricting Committee, so that
23 has been absolutely respected. And so, you know,
24 there's no other additional sort of work being
25 done. This is 80 percent here from the Citizens

1 Redistricting Committee.

2 Again, I'm going to reiterate to you, the
3 maps change about 58 percent of districts by less
4 than 20 percent, 37 percent by less than
5 10 percent. Eight districts will be identical to
6 the lines drawn by the Citizens Redistricting
7 Commission. Twenty-one districts are exactly the
8 ideal district size, the same number as the
9 Citizens Redistricting Commission.

10 So I would say a lot of the effort had
11 already been done in 2020. We're aligning with
12 the Texas Legislature doing the same exact thing.
13 This is a reaction to essentially what we've been
14 saying is a big statement of saving our democracy
15 here.

16 So we -- you know, we just want to make
17 sure that you're very clear here that this is,
18 again, going to be aligned with the work of the
19 Commission and going to be in print for 75, 78
20 days. Residents will have the ability to look at
21 the information when they're voting. There will
22 be a link in the sample ballot.

23 There's currently two on the Assembly and
24 the Senate side, two platforms that voters now
25 can take a look at and check out the map. So

1 there's lots of opportunity, and as mentioned by
2 Mr. Willis, even more time, I would say seven
3 times the more time, for the ability for
4 California voters to look at the map.

5 ASSEMBLY MEMBER AGUIAR-CURRY: So as we
6 said before is that these maps were constructed
7 considering all of the work done by the Citizens
8 Commission, all of the public testimony, all of
9 the requirements in the Constitution based on the
10 2020 census.

11 CHAIR CERVANTES: If I may ask other
12 Committee Members --

13 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah, I have --

14 CHAIR CERVANTES: -- give them the
15 opportunity --

16 VICE CHAIR CHOI: a couple of -- let me
17 finish up on my side.

18 SENATOR GONZALEZ: And as you know, the
19 Redistricting Committee is a bipartisan effort.

20 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah.

21 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Not Republican,
22 Democratic, no party preference Members who sit
23 on the Commission as well.

24 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Obviously, the final map
25 was proposed and the architect of the -- is the

1 majority ruling party.

2 Before the legislators were revealed
3 yesterday, what amendments, what the lines were
4 drawn, who else has seen this, agreeable on your
5 side the map has seen? Who has seen those maps
6 before it was presented to the Legislature?

7 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Again, this was put
8 on -- put forward by -- you know, by the -- based
9 on the Redistricting Commission, and again put
10 out to the public. And so the -- each of the
11 chairs of the Election Committee (inaudible).

12 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So are you saying the
13 Redistricting Commission was involved in this?

14 CHAIR CERVANTES: If I may, Dr. Choi. So
15 we are respecting the work of the CRC and so we
16 are building upon the Commission's work, as was
17 stated by Mr. Willis, using the input that has
18 been recorded by them, using their process,
19 including information about communities of
20 interest. Have gone through much of the
21 testimony. Over 76 percent of the maps, the
22 people end up in the same district, as was
23 mentioned by the author.

24 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. My essence of the
25 question was that the finalized agreed-upon map,

1 who has --

2 CHAIR CERVANTES: That will be to the
3 voters approval.

4 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. Who has seen
5 before we did, legislators have seen yesterday.

6 UNIDENTIFIABLE SPEAKER: Yesterday at
7 8:00 a.m.

8 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Yes, we've all seen it
9 the same time. And this was put online, again,
10 on the public platforms, both in the Assembly and
11 the Senate. And, again, I will reiterate, you
12 know California voters will have 75 days or so to
13 be able to review these maps.

14 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Was the --

15 SENATOR GONZALEZ: It's a very transparent
16 process opposed to our Texas, you know,
17 colleagues.

18 VICE CHAIR CHOI: In drawing the lines, so
19 were there any nongovernment employees who got
20 involved?

21 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Absolutely not. I
22 don't know why you would infer that. That's not
23 true. And this is --

24 VICE CHAIR CHOI: I'm just asking the
25 question. So nobody else outside of the

1 government employees --

2 SENATOR GONZALEZ: This is going to be a
3 very public process, transparent process here in
4 California that respects Voting Rights Acts and
5 ensures that people have all the information they
6 need. The California voter makes the final
7 decision at the ballot box.

8 VICE CHAIR CHOI: So yourself, when did
9 you see this map first yourself? Yesterday?

10 SENATOR GONZALEZ: Yes. Correct.

11 So we are putting this forward to the
12 voter once again. And we will --

13 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Yeah. I want to see who
14 were the main architects (inaudible).

15 CHAIR CERVANTES: Dr. Choi, you've asked
16 the same question over and over.

17 If we can move to other Committee Members,
18 give them an opportunity, if they like, to weigh
19 in, provide comment.

20 To any of the -- those who are here,
21 witnesses in support, you may do so at this
22 moment.

23 SENATOR LIMON: Thank you.

24 CHAIR CERVANTES: Senator Limon.

25 SENATOR LIMON: Thank you.

1 And I just want to go for public record.

2 Madam Chair, the -- these bills were open to the

3 public as of Friday --

4 CHAIR CERVANTES: That is correct.

5 SENATOR LIMON: -- on our website?

6 CHAIR CERVANTES: That is correct.

7 SENATOR LIMON: Thank you.

8 And I will move --

9 CHAIR CERVANTES: The map was open Friday.

10 SENATOR LIMON: The map was open on

11 Friday. Thank you.

12 The map was open on Friday. It was on the
13 website for both the Assembly and the Senate.

14 And we have had folks comment on the fact,
15 I believe thousands of individuals in the state
16 of California have commented, recognizing that
17 they've seen the maps, correct?

18 UNIDENTIFIABLE SPEAKER: Correct.

19 SENATOR LIMON: Thank you.

20 And I'm happy to move the bill when it is
21 appropriate.

22 CHAIR CERVANTES: Senator Allen.

23 SENATOR ALLEN: Yeah. And I'll just
24 remind everybody that these maps will be
25 available for everyone to see for months as they

1 make their decision. As you rightly point out,
2 Mr. Vice Chair, will be a controversial and
3 difficult one for the population.

4 And so unlike what's happening in other
5 states where these maps are being drawn, you
6 know, behind closed doors without the benefit of
7 all of the robust input that we used because of
8 all of the information that had been utilized by
9 the Commission in the past in the drawing up of
10 the 20 -- the 2020 maps that we have for this
11 cycle.

12 We will have an open map available to
13 everybody to see. And then they'll ultimately
14 make their decision as to whether they want to go
15 forward with this or not. So it's going to be up
16 to the voters.

17 And in that spirit, I'm certainly very
18 pleased to support today.

19 CHAIR CERVANTES: And I would like to
20 know, again, there is a hyperlink to the text of
21 AB 604, as was mentioned in the opening, one or
22 more visual depictions of the geographic map or
23 maps of the congressional districts that were
24 certified by the Citizens Redistricting
25 Commission in 2021.

1 I also find it very interesting, given
2 just Dr. Choi, your position on where we're at
3 today. Because when we were colleagues in the
4 Assembly, I did author a bill to create an
5 Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission in
6 my own home county of Riverside county, and which
7 you voted against that bill twice and on the
8 floor, not just in Committee.

9 And so, again, we're at a point where this
10 is our response, and we're giving it to the
11 people of California to make an ultimate decision
12 on how we move forward. And there is trigger
13 language in all of this, as you've heard, as the
14 public has heard in all these three measures that
15 were heard today.

16 But I want to turn it back over to the
17 authors and allow them a moment to close.

18 VICE CHAIR CHOI: Before you do that, can
19 I clarify my question? I think I was not clear.

20 My question was that the 2020 California
21 Redistricting -- CRC decided the map, but there
22 was a lot of process, community input, speaker
23 after speaker. And then after listening those
24 inputs, they finalized the map. But this one,
25 okay, we have seen only yesterday.

1 But who were the architects? Before
2 drawing, who decided how to draw that map? That
3 was my question.

4 CHAIR CERVANTES: I would allow both of
5 you to close at this moment. Thank you.

6 ASSEMBLY MEMBER AGUIAR-CURRY: We go back
7 to the Independent Redistricting Commission, and
8 we took their information. The maps were
9 constructed with them, considering the work done
10 by them, all this public. There was tons of
11 public testimony, all the requirements in the
12 Constitution based on the 2020 census.

13 I -- can I just say -- yeah. I just want
14 to make a comment real quick. We didn't pick
15 this fight or the timing, but our process will be
16 the most transparent in the nation, and we will
17 let our voters decide.

18 SENATOR GONZALEZ: That I will say again,
19 this Redistricting Commission, we greatly
20 respect. It has Republicans and Democrats, no
21 party preference, individuals from across the
22 state of California that did the good work back
23 in 2020. Nearly 76, 77 percent of the maps you
24 see today do respect that work that was done back
25 in 2020.

1 And I would say that, you know, again,
2 what the urgency is for us today is the fact that
3 we've got billions of dollars that are hanging
4 over our heads to protect our Californians, the
5 most vulnerable families, immigrant communities,
6 children.

7 I mean, there's so many items that the
8 Trump administration is dangling over our head in
9 California targeting us just for being
10 Californian.

11 And so for that, I respectfully ask for an
12 aye vote on this bill.

13 CHAIR CERVANTES: Thank you.

14 The measure has been moved by Senator
15 Limon. The motion is do pass to the Committee on
16 Appropriation.

17 Secretary, please call the roll.

18 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Senator Cervantes?

19 CHAIR CERVANTES: Aye.

20 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Cervantes, aye.

21 Choi?

22 VICE CHAIR CHOI: No.

23 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Choi, no.

24 Allen?

25 SENATOR ALLEN: Aye.

1 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Allen, aye.

2 Limon?

3 SENATOR LIMON: Aye.

4 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Limon, aye.

5 Umberg?

6 SENATOR UMBERG: Yes.

7 COMMITTEE SECRETARY: Umberg, aye.

8 CHAIR CERVANTES: Four/one, that measure
9 is out.

10 Thank you to all the individuals who
11 participated today.

12 If you were not able to testify today,
13 please submit your comments to the Senate
14 Committee on Elections and Constitutional
15 Amendments.

16 The Senate Elections Committee is now
17 adjourned.

18 (Adjourned.)

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

I, MARY ANN SCANLAN, hereby certify that
I transcribed the California Senate Elections
and Constitutional Amendments Committee meeting
held on August 19, 2025, as completely and
correctly to the best of my ability.

I further state that pages 1 through 127,
inclusive, constitute an accurate and complete
transcription of the video recording for the
proceedings specified.

Dated: November 1, 2025

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mary Ann Scanlan', is written over a horizontal line.

Mary Ann Scanlan, CSR

Index: \$10..74

\$	15 58:10	2025 33:22 70:20	93:5,8 94:25 106:5
\$10 94:9	17 103:4	2026 11:11 21:19 74:19 76:7 98:23 99:25	5
\$12 93:17 94:3	19 6:2	2030 74:13 99:5	5 94:9 110:9
\$200 19:25 93:23 94:6	1920s 5:15	2031 33:23 34:13	5,600 49:10
\$250 94:13	1980 71:19	20s 5:20	50 29:16 52:12
\$584 53:1	1984 5:23	235 108:6 109:17	50.8 6:3 69:17
\$60 49:11	1989 5:23	23rd 26:2	52 92:20
1	1994 5:24	27th 28:5	57,861 50:2
1 7:12 33:22	1st 33:22 34:12	280 73:17 74:2,14 90:7,11 96:9,17 106:8	58 110:14 116:3
1.5 70:14	2	3	6
10 61:8 72:3 105:2 110:7, 15 116:5	20 86:13 105:1 110:14 116:4 122:10	3 91:2	604 96:7 97:5,6,13 99:15 100:22 103:25 104:17 105:18 106:2 108:12 111:13 122:21
10-year 29:20	2000s 5:20	30 71:21,24	61 29:17
100 11:6 47:13 78:19	2005 5:23	300 39:10	61.3 29:17
1000 84:23 107:14	2006 7:9 10:17	35,000 18:15	67 11:20
11 23:25 84:8 107:11	2008 5:22 6:2 23:9 69:15	37 110:15 116:4	68 95:13
12 101:7 110:8	2010 20:14 41:7	3930 23:25 84:8 107:11	69 51:9
12,000 15:12	2011 41:7,12,24 42:2	4	7
13,000 4:21	2020 15:10,25 29:12,13 89:21 113:17 114:1,3 115:21 116:11 117:10 122:10 123:20 124:12, 23,25	4 101:6	7 91:2
14 18:24 71:6 112:2	2021 122:25	40 26:4 71:11	70 112:18
14-day 38:24	2024 14:8	40,000 82:4	71 50:1,3
142 104:20		4th 60:7 74:3 91:13 92:11	74

Index: 75..agenda

106:4,15 108:22 111:11 112:3	absence 36:1	actions 7:15 15:8 30:4 36:10 40:15 83:9,11 88:14 100:23	adjustments 61:11
75 113:9 116:19 119:12	absentmindedly 67:23		administer 74:16 88:13 93:25
750,000 103:3	absolutely 7:24 9:24 41:9 44:1,7 47:4 49:14,15,22 50:7, 21,24 51:13 54:1 58:20 68:18 82:24 115:23 119:21	active 47:16	administering 90:11
76 113:9 118:21 124:23		actively 46:19 61:16	administration 55:24 56:25 62:12 79:16 87:6 90:8,9 96:18 100:24 101:2 103:2 125:8
77 124:23	abstract 36:23	activity 56:16	
78 39:5 111:11 116:19	abuse 4:8	actors 40:14	admire 57:25
<hr/>		Acts 120:4	adopted 77:14
8	ACA 4:15 5:8 6:22 8:5,25 11:9 12:22 29:8 32:21 55:22 68:14 72:9 74:6 90:12 99:2	actual 35:12 36:23	adopts 32:11 33:20
8 4:15 5:5,8 6:22 8:25 11:9 12:22 29:8 32:21 55:22 68:14 72:9 74:6 99:2	accept 95:24	add 31:8,14 44:5 48:8 53:5 65:24	advance 36:18 76:11
80 110:10 115:20,21,25	access 11:17,23 12:3 13:6 20:23 79:15 91:25 92:2	adding 84:13	advancing 88:22
8:00 119:7	accidentally 67:23	addition 14:1	advantage 89:14
<hr/>	accomplish 36:17 67:21	additional 24:3,17 26:8 28:10 62:22 104:9 108:2 110:22 115:24	advantaged 21:10
9:00-to-5:00 87:9	accountable 12:15 21:5 75:7	address 51:25 52:1 54:1 55:23 77:19 90:21,24 95:3 111:7	advocacy 20:18
<hr/>	accumulation 45:17	addressed 85:15	advocate 58:16
A	acknowledge 59:3,14	addressing 94:23	advocates 43:24
a.m. 119:7	act 9:20 26:25 64:7 102:4 104:8 110:3	adequate 91:8	affect 35:14
AAPI 21:8	acted 15:13 47:25 103:16	adjourn 97:12	affiliates 11:5,6 78:12,18,19 107:2
AB 96:7 97:5,13 99:15 100:22 104:17 105:18 106:2 108:12 111:13 122:21	acting 2:25 50:22	adjourned 126:17,18	affiliation 23:17 24:19 102:8 106:21
Abbott 2:19 16:16,23	action 13:3 17:2 30:9 35:10 47:2,3,15 49:9 66:21 68:17 69:3 70:22 71:14 83:15 88:11,15	adjusting 112:22	AFSCME 84:7 107:10
ability 5:1 80:12 116:20 117:3		adjustment 110:6	after-school 87:9
abortion 13:10			agenda 16:19 74:25

Index: agents..Assembly

agents 76:16 87:3	Allen 97:22,23,24 121:22,23 125:24,25 126:1	92:9	Appropriation 125:16
aggressive 35:10	Alliance 28:6	Angel 26:21	approval 3:24 20:19 99:11 119:3
agree 30:21 41:9 43:14,16,20 44:12 45:11,20,24 46:14 47:12,18 52:5,8, 13 53:4,9 65:19 68:18 72:11 82:25 85:15 111:18 112:9	allowed 69:23	Angela 107:1	approve 12:25 32:23 33:3 36:10 38:7 39:17 44:19,21 45:1,4 99:3,6 112:5
agreeable 118:4	allowing 90:14	Angeles 14:5,12 20:12 27:7 62:3 76:18	approved 23:9 29:18 30:11 45:22
agreed 47:22 82:5	alongside 102:13	Angeli 26:10,11	approving 62:12
agreed-upon 118:25	alternative 54:16	Angels 24:22,24	approximately 93:23
agreement 53:12	Amber 25:11	angles 77:23,24	Archbold 17:17,18 20:5
agrees 80:24	ambition 77:24	announce 70:11	architect 114:10 117:25
Aguilar-curry 98:8,12 107:25 108:18 117:5 124:6	amend 6:4 71:25 91:6	answers 54:24	architects 120:14 124:1
Aguilar 24:21	amended 109:10	anti-democratic 100:23	architecture 113:12
ahead 23:18 38:2	amendment 5:4 6:2 7:1 9:17 10:1,4 32:17 33:1 36:2 72:10, 13,20 74:6	anxiety 62:2 63:15	area 27:12 62:4 69:18
air 51:12,16,21 52:6	amendments 2:5 61:3 71:23 108:24 109:9 118:3 126:15	Anymore 85:3	areas 92:1
airplane 43:1	America 7:17 25:1 68:25	API 75:24	Arellano 26:21
airport 102:25	American 14:22,23 68:1,6 75:5	appeal 77:22	Arias 25:11
aisle 58:14	American's 105:16	applied 30:12 41:16 42:9	armed 76:15
Alabama 51:20	Americans 16:1 18:11 75:9 101:1	applies 34:11	array 20:16
aligned 116:18	Americorps 49:1,2,6,10	apply 18:1	arrested 50:1
aligning 116:11	amount 94:19	appointed 29:12	arrests 79:7
alike 16:6	Amy 23:24 84:7 107:10	appointee 14:10	Ash 14:3
allegiance 102:8	analysis 90:24	appreciated 59:13	asks 12:24
	and-a-half	approach 4:16 11:1 17:14 26:9	Assembly 5:4 28:8,9 98:8,12 100:20 101:19 103:25
		appropriates 74:14	

107:25 108:18 109:19 116:23 117:5 119:10 121:13 123:4 124:6	19:9 68:23	ballot 3:17 5:12,16 7:1 14:9 16:10 20:17 30:18 32:22 34:22 38:6 59:10 67:16 69:13,15 71:3,21, 24 80:25 90:12 91:17 92:21 95:10 96:17 101:21 109:21 116:22 120:7	begin 2:6 4:14,16 11:1 12:12 17:15 39:23 98:11
Association 24:15 27:14 84:14	authoritarians 78:8	ballots 29:15	beginning 40:16 67:13 95:16
assume 40:4 41:11,16 42:8,14, 23 44:15 49:18	authorization 36:21	ballroom 93:21	behalf 5:3 17:20 24:2,9,12 25:1,3,7 32:2 84:4,11, 16,19,23 102:18 103:3 106:24 107:1,5,14,16, 20,22
assumption 41:18	authorized 35:24	ban 13:10	behest 10:6
assure 64:17 67:25	authors 105:9 109:15 123:17	bananas 75:11	Bella 26:12
assures 10:4	automatically 34:3	Barbro 25:15	belong 6:16
attack 2:14 12:11 35:11	Avila 28:1	bare 29:16	bend 2:20 16:17
attacked 15:16	avoiding 69:13	base 21:20 69:24 70:21	benefit 122:6
attacking 88:10 90:7	awarded 21:13	based 8:16,18 29:12 61:11 71:8 72:17 90:25 113:5 115:21 117:9 118:8 124:12	benefits 101:5
attacks 13:8 16:25 17:2	aware 15:1		bettering 41:15 42:12
attempt 12:2,4 21:19 29:7	awkward 87:25		big 6:12,17 8:19 116:14
attempting 10:16 36:17	aye 13:17 96:19 105:18 125:12,19,20,25 126:1, 3,4,7	basic 14:25 16:4	bigger 17:9
attempts 98:23 103:8 105:8	<hr/> B <hr/>	basically 40:9 45:20 46:11 48:3 49:9 50:15,17 52:12 53:2 102:3	bill 11:25 12:24 28:22 55:22,23 61:14 62:12 74:1,18 84:11 90:2,11, 13 91:10 94:22 96:8,12 97:4 99:1,17,19 102:10 103:5,10,25 106:8 114:10,11 121:20 123:4,7 125:12
attending 4:14	back 2:13 7:8,10,24 12:25 13:8,16 14:20 28:12 37:19,21 41:23 45:9 52:12 61:9 68:17 70:15 80:13,17 81:2 85:21 94:8 102:5 103:8 105:13 108:8 123:16 124:6,22,24	basis 113:13	billion 52:17 93:16,17 94:3,4, 9,12,13,14,16 101:8
attorney 102:11	backroom 20:20	battle 17:9	billionaires 75:10
attorneys 56:1	bad 40:13 67:24 88:20 95:18	Bax 27:8	billions 125:3
audience 28:18	balance 12:18 48:17	Bay 69:18	bills 23:22 24:1 33:18 97:2
August 33:22 34:12	balances 54:3 82:23	beautiful 12:1	
author 30:25 32:2 88:17 90:21 91:19 108:16 109:15 118:23 123:4		Bee 69:17	
authoritarian 2:20 76:12			
authoritarianism			

Index: bipartisan..centers

109:10 121:2	108:8	66:13,16 68:15,19,25	capacity
bipartisan	bringing	69:7 70:8 71:20,22	43:21 58:15,16
89:22 117:19	23:18	74:5,21 76:8,24 77:20	care
bit	brings	78:12,14,18,24 79:1,8,	11:17 12:7 19:16 87:9
71:2 110:18	17:3 82:16	10,18 80:4,6,7,12,16,	career
Black	broad	21,24 81:13 82:7 83:13	81:23
21:9 75:24	81:19 115:17	84:1,14,19 87:7,11	carefully
Blankenship	broadcasted	94:10 96:13,16 98:16,	112:19 114:15
26:15	2:9	18 99:6,13,22 100:13	caregivers
blissing	brought	101:18,20 102:5,19,20	102:24
112:23	10:15 20:17 74:22	103:7,17,23,24 104:22,	cares
blocks	bucket	23,24,25 107:2,7	47:7
111:5,14	94:7	109:22 110:3,11 112:12	Carrillo
blue	build	117:4 119:12 120:4,6	26:18 27:1
35:14	104:1	121:16 123:11,20	cart
body	building	124:22 125:9	36:11 60:5,6
82:11	54:8 118:16	California's	case
bold	bunch	11:9 25:4 46:2 51:23	33:15 36:19 38:15 39:2
40:8 83:14	51:10,11	77:4,8,13 99:15 113:15	70:7
Bolog	Business	Californian	cases
28:4	25:4	125:10	104:13
bones	Busse	Californians	cast
113:11	25:6	4:22 7:13,25 8:17 9:14	39:16 76:12
bottom		11:21 12:13 18:5,9	Catherine
89:4		22:19 30:4 39:8 42:11	25:13
bounds		53:5 54:10 60:15 66:7	caucus
56:13,19 57:21 58:7		70:14 71:11 78:6 80:18	86:19
87:14		81:24 100:25 101:6	caucuses
box		105:12,15 125:4	71:19
3:17 5:12 14:9 16:11		call	caused
67:16 69:13 80:25		12:1 22:15 78:3 91:12	7:11
96:17 101:21 120:7		94:23 96:17 97:15	celebrate
Brad		125:17	22:7
15:11		called	census
branches		15:10 16:16 106:4	8:14,21 29:13 34:17
82:23		calling	37:7 39:11 70:12 74:13
breakup		90:3	99:5 109:17 111:5,13
99:17		calls	113:18 114:4 117:10
Brennand		9:21 72:11 74:2	124:12
84:18,19 100:16		Calvary	center
102:12,17,18 115:12		25:11	3:7 10:9 14:3 18:8
briefly		campaign	27:16 43:23
31:14		65:16	centers
bring		candidate	11:7 12:5 66:14 78:19
17:12 85:21 106:19		4:6	80:4
		candidates	
		19:15 53:23	
		capable	
		58:3	
	C		
	Cabaldon		
	4:16,18 32:1,9,25 33:8,		
	17 34:5,8,10,25 35:20		
	36:12 38:9 67:9,10 73:7		
	calendar		
	4:1		
	California		
	2:11,13,19,25 3:12 4:8		
	5:1,10,11,13,15,17 7:5,		
	6,17 9:24 10:12,13,15		
	11:5,18,22,23 12:2,6,8,		
	24 13:13,24 19:11,24		
	20:16 21:11,15,18		
	22:12 23:21 24:15 25:7,		
	8,14,16 26:4,19,24		
	27:16,20,22 28:2 33:10		
	44:23 45:11 46:1,11,13		
	47:3,5,11,14,17 48:25		
	49:13,19 51:5,10,18		
	52:1,8,20 53:3,22 54:15		
	56:12,18 57:20 58:5,12		
	59:10,17,19 65:3,25		

Index: central..clean

central 102:21	25 93:2,6,7,9,10,14,20 94:1,6,11,22 95:2 96:4, 20,22,24,25 97:2,9,11, 17,20 98:6,14 100:19 102:15,17 105:20,21 106:18 107:9,13,19,23 108:1,7,10,11,23 110:23 111:17 112:9,21 113:14,25 114:5,9,17, 24 115:1,3,6,16 117:11, 13,14,16,20,24 118:12, 14,24 119:2,4,14,18,24 120:8,13,15,24 121:2,4, 6,9,22 122:2,19 123:18 124:4 125:13,19,22 126:8	check 15:24 47:16,19 48:4 50:22,25 83:15 116:25	cited 44:9
century 14:13		checks 54:3 82:22	cities 83:7 104:16,17,20,21
CEO 11:4 78:11		Chico 27:9	citizen 31:16 53:18 68:6 88:22, 25 111:19
certified 122:24		chief 34:6	citizen-approved 46:6
Cervantes 2:1,3 10:24 13:14,19 16:24 17:12,17 20:4 22:25 23:12 24:17 26:7, 19 27:2 28:10,21 30:24 31:3,10,12 37:15,18,21, 25 38:2 39:19 55:3,7, 10,17 56:5,8 57:1,3,6, 10,13,18 58:24 59:23 61:15 62:21 67:7 73:6, 20,23,24 90:2,22 91:10, 18 92:6,15,22 93:2,7, 10,20 94:6,22 96:4,22, 25 97:11,16,17,18 98:6 102:15 105:21 106:18 107:23 108:1,7 110:23 117:11,14 118:14 119:2 120:15,24 121:4,6,9,22 122:19 124:4 125:13, 18,19,20 126:8	chairs 17:20 118:11	children 87:6 125:6	citizens 13:24 15:3 17:21 20:16, 22 21:15 25:24 29:10 30:11 32:23 41:25 54:6, 12 60:8,11 62:15 65:6 74:10 78:14 81:13 86:23 87:3 98:18 110:6 111:22 115:25 116:6,9 117:7 122:24 123:5
challenge 59:18	challenge 59:18	Choi 28:14,15,25 31:1,6,24 32:14 33:6,11,25 34:18 35:15 36:3 37:17,18,20 38:3,4 39:21 40:12 55:2,13,15,19 56:21 57:1,2,5,7 73:15,16,21 81:7 83:20 84:25 85:3, 16 88:3 89:8 90:5 91:3, 15,21 92:12,18,25 93:6, 9,14 94:1,11 95:2 96:20,24 97:2,9,19,20, 21 108:10,11,23 111:17 112:9,21 113:14,25 114:5,9,17,24 115:1,3, 6,16,20 117:13,16,20, 24 118:12,14,24 119:4, 14,18,24 120:8,13,15 123:2,18 125:21,22,23	citizens' 29:22
chance 3:16 12:19,20 21:5 105:15	change 7:18,20,22,23 22:22 75:16,25 80:14 87:23 110:9,13 116:3	choice 13:13 19:10 23:5 68:17 100:6 112:24	Citrin 18:8
changed 113:16	changing 29:7	choices 36:20	city 8:19 9:8 14:6,8 34:21 70:25 102:25
chaos 22:17	Chapel 25:11	choose 15:4 36:24 75:21,22	claims 15:20
characterize 56:15	characterized 20:21	choosing 2:13 19:18	Claremont 17:24
charge 7:4	charged 6:8	chosen 17:25 29:10 30:7 103:15	clarification 34:7
chart 5:1	cheat 10:7,17 21:23 67:17 72:25	Christensen 27:15	clarify 123:19
		circumstances 85:14	clarifying 96:5
			class 66:13
			classes 66:12
			classified 84:12 107:21
			classroom 14:20
			clause 34:23
			clean

Index: clear..connected

51:21	88:6 108:9 110:22	Committees	concise
clear	126:13	72:17	83:14
2:25 3:24 13:1 31:19	commission	communities	conclusion
37:1 60:3 68:22 76:25	6:6,7,21 7:3 8:10,14,25	2:23 6:9,18 9:19 18:18	34:16
85:10 109:14 116:17	9:6,9,25 13:25 14:7	21:2 39:15 52:3 61:9,	condemn
123:19	17:4,5,21 20:14,15,19	18,21 62:19 63:16,20	39:25 40:1,5,9
climate	21:11 22:4 25:25 29:11,	65:21 99:16 101:4	condemnable
62:6	18,19 34:13,14 35:17	102:4 105:5 118:19	30:4
close	37:6 38:25 41:6,17 42:9	125:5	condemned
13:14 62:4 67:9 80:3	46:7 54:7 59:5 60:9	community	30:5 40:24,25
96:2 123:17 124:5	61:4 69:16 70:23 71:7	2:18 6:14 41:15 42:12	condemning
closed	72:15 74:10 77:9 78:14,	43:3 61:10 66:7 82:4	30:3 40:3,14
18:20 122:6	23 79:8,23 81:14,22	123:22	condition
closes	86:15 89:18 98:19 99:4	compactness	33:7 34:1,19 35:16
70:11	104:2,3,7,14,18 110:7	104:14	conditions
closing	111:20,22,25 112:11	compare	64:5,8 65:25 66:3,20
96:8	113:7,12,24 114:8	90:20	86:9 87:1,5,13 88:1
co-founder	116:7,9,19 117:8,23	compared	conducting
24:21,23	118:9,13 122:9,25	104:14,21	104:11
code	123:5 124:7,19	comparison	conference
67:18	Commission's	94:7	76:17 79:5
coffee	38:23 70:13 118:16	compensate	confirms
75:11	commissioner	92:3	18:8
coherent	13:24 15:17 43:22	competitive	conflict
19:6	44:22 53:19 67:13 68:1	19:12 22:24 46:5 53:22	47:4 59:9
collaboratively	81:13	60:21 61:17	congratulate
82:3	commissioners	complete	40:11
colleague	17:25 31:16 41:20 61:4	25:17	congratulating
23:7 39:24	69:7 85:10	completely	39:23
colleagues	commissions	27:9 44:12 45:15	Congress
35:9 59:4,15 72:15	5:18,23 21:16 31:20	complex	2:22 8:16 10:18 11:12,
99:21,24 100:6 102:14	35:23,24 60:12 77:12,	47:1	25 12:9,18 16:18 30:20
119:17 123:3	15	compliant	45:21 47:19,24 50:21
College	commitment	114:16	51:1 72:11,21 74:25
41:14	86:24 103:23	composed	75:8 77:15,20 79:16
commands	committed	20:15	83:1
98:21	41:14 87:4	comprised	Congress'
comment	committee	86:15	47:15
23:15 45:25 46:1 55:7	2:4,9 4:19 13:21 20:11	concern	congressional
60:4 120:19 121:14	28:13,22 32:16 34:6	91:7	7:9 9:4 21:25 22:8,21
124:14	35:21 37:15 67:11	concerned	32:12 33:21 35:5,19
commented	71:18 73:3,25 78:22	45:6 58:4 104:15	38:6,7 48:8 75:20 76:4
121:16	88:8,9 90:23 97:14,16,	concerns	77:3 92:20 99:1 100:1
comments	18,21,24 98:2,5 108:8	63:25 82:18	103:22 110:12 113:6
18:15 20:25 23:7 28:24	110:20,25 115:22 116:1	concise	122:23
37:16 82:20,22 83:17	117:12,19 118:11	62:23	connected
	120:17 123:8 125:15,		108:12
	18,20,23 126:1,4,7,14,		
	16		
	Committee's		
	39:3		

Index: Connie..dais

Connie 17:18	continues 63:6 79:17 81:19 89:4	country's 13:12 19:12	crisis 67:24 68:11 77:10,17
connotation 89:9 95:18	continuing 57:9	countryside 92:1	criteria 18:2 36:25 104:7,8,9
consensus 63:9	contrast 104:19 105:3	county 14:12 20:13 25:2,12,16, 18 26:15,17,24 27:2,5, 19,24 74:16 93:24 102:25 123:6	critical 86:8
considered 18:15	control 10:18 60:17 76:7	County's 14:14	criticize 40:15
consistent 83:9 104:7	controversial 122:2	couple 9:7 10:9 28:18 29:3 71:15 105:25 117:16	cross- 55:19
constituent 26:19 27:2 28:4	convened 8:15 37:6	courage 39:24 40:11	cross-examining 55:25 56:3
constituents 20:7 22:9 68:22	conversation 47:10 63:7	court 32:13 33:24 34:2 102:25	cross-partisan 20:6
constitution 5:15 6:5,7 8:12,13 9:21 11:22 18:7 22:10,12 29:8 34:15 36:21 37:1, 2,11 64:23 72:1,14 112:13 117:9 124:12	conversations 90:25	courts 46:23	cryptocurrency 42:25
constitutional 2:5 5:4 6:2,25 9:17,22 10:1,4 16:13 18:2 32:16 33:1 36:2 61:2 71:22 72:10,13,20 74:5 91:9 99:15 126:14	convictions 50:2,4	cousin 70:10	CTA 24:3 107:22
constitutionally 9:22	convince 99:23	crazy 69:22	curated 69:8
constructed 117:6 124:9	convinced 62:7,8	CRC 18:9,14,21,24 19:11 20:2 59:25 111:24 112:6 118:15 123:21	current 18:14 19:13 21:19 34:14 36:3 54:6 61:4 62:6 77:5 90:8 103:22 109:9
consult 114:18	Cordova 6:14,15	CRCS 19:22	cut 94:20
consultant 34:6	core 16:12 17:1	create 5:17 6:5 20:3 21:16 43:25 61:5 69:16 100:3 123:4	cuts 75:7,10
consultants 18:20	correct 32:9 33:16,17 34:25 41:17 120:10 121:4,6, 17,18	created 18:16 22:17 54:9 60:22 69:7 96:7 104:6	cycle 29:20 30:12 101:1 122:11
contemplating 35:10	cost 75:12 93:16,21 94:18	creation 77:16	cycles 30:1,13 69:9
content 55:23	council 14:6 24:13 70:25 84:5 107:5	credibility 54:19	Cynthia 17:22
context 61:7	count 61:17	crime 87:4	D
continue 8:21 13:9 54:8 58:19,21 65:7,8 66:2,15 81:20 89:6 98:17 99:4 103:11	counter 46:22	criminal 50:2,4	D.C. 98:21 99:7,24
	counties 90:18		daily 22:16
	country 5:13 8:2 12:24 43:23 45:13 54:12,13 58:22 60:10 65:25 76:5 77:10 86:6		dais 28:13,19 85:22

Index: dance..developed

dance 98:15	106:3 112:8 124:17	deficit 93:18 94:14	Denise 24:21
dangling 125:8	decided 62:9 109:6 123:21 124:2	defining 2:12	denying 96:14
Daniel 84:23 107:13	decides 10:7 34:1 78:5	definition 45:19	department 68:3
Darcy 27:22	deciding 106:14	defunded 12:1 80:3	depends 4:11 88:21
dare 108:25	decision 29:1 92:11 93:5,7 120:7 122:1,14 123:11	delay 4:4	depictions 96:6 122:22
data 19:21 29:13,17 31:18 54:4 72:18 80:8 94:12 95:12 110:16 112:16 113:19,23 114:1,7 115:22	decision-makers 86:18	delegation 9:4 46:11 68:21	deployment 83:6
David 28:4	decision-making 66:9	deliberate 66:10	deportation 75:2
Davis 9:11,12	decisions 59:12	deliberation 63:5,8	depriving 91:7
day 4:9 61:24 64:24 65:8, 12,21 66:2,3,4,6 82:8	decisive 17:2 29:15	deliberations 9:6	describe 21:1 64:8
days 18:25 39:5 53:20 60:23 62:17 92:8 106:4,15 108:22 111:12 112:2,3 116:20 119:12	decisively 15:14	demands 2:20 3:19	describing 66:1
deadlines 4:2	deck 21:25 98:24	democracy 7:19,22 8:4 10:11 14:2, 25 15:1,7 16:2,5 19:17 21:17 30:9 36:18 42:1 58:13 60:18 63:10,11, 22 64:1,2,3,6,7 65:5 66:13,23,24 67:6,14,17, 22 68:2,11 69:2 70:15, 23 71:4,14 72:6 73:1 76:9 82:19 83:10,11 89:22 96:11 102:6,9 103:20,24 105:7 116:14	description 110:25
debate 3:7 19:6 71:12	declaring 65:11		deserve 22:19 105:13
Debbie 26:16	decline 64:2,6		desire 77:25
decade 35:25 36:6 38:12 40:7 99:9	decorum 57:4	Democrat 17:22 22:6,7 34:20 101:24	despair 62:5 63:15
decades 2:10 20:21 44:11 58:13 105:24	deep 7:10	democratic 14:4,17 16:11 17:1 35:3,19 71:5 78:6 95:14 99:12 117:22	destroy 30:6 87:12
decennial 37:4	deeply 12:10 75:1		detailed 93:11
Decentralize 25:1	defend 4:11 7:20 29:5 30:10 32:19 59:16	Democrats 16:5 17:21 22:3 30:19, 22 31:5,23 57:25 76:2,6 82:1 95:24 98:16 124:20	detained 50:3
decide 3:17 37:13 60:6 66:4 71:8 91:5 99:13,20	defended 16:2 78:7	demographic 113:19	determination 21:24
	defending 20:8 30:8 55:24 56:24	demographics 18:1	determine 76:10 112:19
	defense 4:11 10:11 55:21		detriment 49:12
	defer 37:25 38:1 51:20		develop 54:5
			developed 18:19 110:1

Index: developing..elect

developing 19:15	discussion 3:8 66:18 93:12	12,16 101:8 125:3	due 31:9
development 14:6	dismantle 102:3	Donald 55:21 76:8,20,23	Dye 17:22
Di 27:11	dismantles 76:9	doors 18:20 122:6	dynamic 87:23
dialogue 19:6	display 3:14	Dorado 27:18	<hr/> E <hr/>
dictator 76:15	disproportionately 79:18,19	double 104:21	
died 80:9,10	dispute 16:14	doubled 21:8,9	earlier 45:9 80:5 82:17
difficult 18:17 54:22 59:7,16 63:4 86:3 122:3	disrupt 102:4	doubt 76:14 82:6	easily 61:14
diligently 61:5	disseminated 106:6	draft 18:24	easy 54:24 59:12
dilute 26:5	dissuade 56:14,19 57:21 58:8 87:17	drafted 61:13 115:14	economic 79:17
diminish 87:11	district 6:16 8:15 9:8 21:4 26:3 28:5 32:12 33:21 38:14 68:7 92:19,20 103:22 104:13 109:10 110:12 112:22 116:8 118:22	drafting 103:22	economy 8:2 21:3
diminished 15:8	districting 100:5 111:19	dramatic 110:17	editorialized 69:19
direct 3:24 41:2 82:24 96:9	districts 6:13,17 18:3,4 19:12,13 20:3 22:21,24 29:14 35:5 44:10 46:5 53:22 61:3 74:8 77:5 99:2 104:2,12,25 105:1,4 110:14 113:11 116:3,5, 7 122:23	draw 5:11 8:22 18:4 36:4,6 89:14 113:21 124:2	educate 91:8
directing 47:10	diverse 20:16 82:10	drawing 3:22,24 9:3 36:9 65:6, 15 89:24,25 108:17,19 112:11 115:10 119:18 122:9 124:2	educated 54:12 93:7
directly 5:6 6:25 8:6 33:9 38:7	diversity 79:12,13	drawn 3:6 9:1 29:14,23 44:11 98:17 109:3,4 110:7 112:16 114:19 115:18 116:6 118:4 122:5	educating 12:13
disagree 16:6 82:5	divide 9:18	draws 8:15 37:7	education 64:19 65:22 79:4 87:10
disagreement 53:12	divided 48:18	drew 20:21	educators 84:12 107:21
disappearances 7:15	dollar 94:14	drivers 31:21	effect 32:4 33:5,13,21 34:4 35:7 77:1 103:11
disappointed 88:7	dollars 22:20 52:17 93:17 94:4,	drop 94:7	effective 32:10 48:4
disarm 60:15		drove 42:15	effort 22:2 32:7 101:17 116:10 117:19
disarmament 60:24		droves 81:3	efforts 7:8,10 12:23 13:2 54:19 68:24 103:12 105:24
discussed 111:10			EI 27:18
discussing 55:22 93:12			elect 6:19 22:2 23:1 30:22

Index: elected..explain

31:5,23 65:17	emphasize	ensures	116:12
elected	8:23 10:3 38:21 71:16	120:5	examining
46:2,19 52:2 53:16	72:7	ensuring	55:20
54:23 58:2,17 71:4	employee	66:14	examples
88:23 89:17	27:21	entire	108:20
electeds	employees	43:19 44:14 51:6 84:20	excellent
53:23	102:18,24 103:1 119:19	92:19 103:5 105:10,18	17:6 53:23
electing	120:1	environment	exchange
21:5 30:19	empowering	21:2	59:14
election	54:5	equal	excuse
3:15,22,25 5:7 7:9 10:8,	enact	58:21	26:10 82:1
17 12:19 15:21 20:1	6:23 7:2 9:18 51:19	equally	execute
21:19 22:4 29:12,19	77:11	35:14	90:14
30:1,10,13 32:16 65:3	enacted	equitable	executive
70:12 71:13 74:2,4,17,	5:5 7:3 8:24	15:5	16:22 45:17 47:17 83:2,
20 89:10 90:4,14,19,20	encourage	eroding	15
91:12 92:9,12,24 93:4,	61:22	67:22	exercising
15,20,25 94:2,5,23,25	encouragement	escalate	95:5
95:1,21 96:10,12,18	83:4	13:10	exist
98:23 103:9 106:4	encouraging	essence	86:9,10 87:1,5,13
108:13 112:21 118:11	62:10	40:6 45:22 48:7 86:3	existential
elections	end	87:8 118:24	60:14
2:4,15 11:11 15:3,15,	4:9 53:15 78:2 82:8	essential	existing
17,22 16:3 17:10 35:5,	111:5 118:22	7:25 9:20 41:10 72:6	61:3 104:14 110:6
11 73:1 76:11,20,22	ended	75:11	exists
79:25 80:14 99:25	20:19 103:14	essentially	51:1
100:10 126:14,16	endless	75:25 102:1 116:13	expand
electoral	101:1	establish	11:16 13:6 63:22
18:2 23:2 64:18 65:5	ends	97:14	expanding
elements	100:8	established	58:13 63:9,11 66:23
29:7	enforcement	46:5 98:7 104:3	expect
Eleni	7:15 102:3	estimated	60:14 61:18,21
24:9 84:16 106:24	engage	93:15	expenditure
eliminated	19:5 20:2 74:7,11	ethical	95:4
49:10	engaged	69:23	expense
elimination	53:18 62:14 64:17	evaluate	22:11
7:12	114:10	8:9 36:24 39:16 40:15	expenses
Elk	engaging	Evening	94:15
26:11	56:14,20 57:22 58:8	27:9	experience
embedded	65:6	every-10-year	36:14 43:11
34:23	enshrine	37:5	expert
emergency	11:21	evolves	47:6 53:17 79:9
65:11 96:11	ensure	61:7	explain
Emily	4:7 11:23 18:2 41:24	exact	108:17
27:4	63:22 65:21 91:13	109:23 113:8 114:7	
emission	101:18		
51:19 52:11			

Index: explicit..franchise

explicit 30:19	25:8 31:9 41:15	fighting 7:24 80:17	Folkins 17:23
express 53:21 54:21	faith 41:25 54:9	figure 113:8	folks 40:6 106:20 109:21 121:14
extend 28:19	fall 71:1	file 4:15 62:22 73:10 91:20 93:13 97:13	follow 3:19 30:3,5 40:13 108:22
extension 40:3,25	falls 66:24	files 9:5	followers 100:9
extent 46:23 114:22	false 19:10	final 29:23 55:9,12 101:20 111:23 112:1 113:21 117:24 120:6	footprint 12:4
extort 52:18	familiar 49:1,2,5,19,21 52:16	finalized 18:16 118:25 123:24	forcing 95:15 99:10
extraordinary 85:14 86:11,12 87:16, 22	families 25:7 75:13 101:3,5 125:5	finally 5:25 10:3 77:19 100:3	forever 73:2
extreme 16:25 62:1 63:14	family 15:19 28:6	find 15:11 16:18 65:9 90:23 123:1	forgotten 22:8
eyes 2:10	Fast 16:15	fine 35:22	form 19:6 39:6,9
<hr/> F <hr/>		finest 81:24	Fortuna 28:1
face 94:2	fathers 15:23	finish 117:17	forum 88:9
faced 59:11	favor 16:17 21:20,25	firewall 4:8 78:7	forward 13:2 19:20 23:14 59:22 66:5 69:14 72:19 77:2 78:5 81:18,21 85:11,18 86:23 87:18 105:9 118:8 120:11 122:15 123:12
faces 2:7	fearful 21:21	fiscal 25:9	forwarding 16:15
facing 77:16 93:17 101:1	federal 13:8 76:16 87:2 88:10 94:8,9 100:24 101:2 103:2	fish 23:5	foundation 15:6
fact 12:6 49:25 60:10 61:22 63:12 79:21 103:6 121:14 125:2	Federalist 15:24,25 82:21	Flocks 23:20,21 83:25 84:1 107:7	founders 45:15
facts 79:23	Federation 23:21 84:1 107:8	floor 96:25 108:24 123:8	founding 15:23
fail 23:1 83:2	feel 83:13	Florentina 27:11	Four/one 126:8
fair 2:18 15:3,14,22 16:3 17:9 18:2 21:4 22:13 30:10 58:21 72:17,25 76:22 100:4,7 104:8	fellow 14:2 17:20 61:4	Florida 33:20 35:9 72:24	fraction 20:1
fairly 17:4 30:11 86:25	fewer 9:18 104:17 105:1	focus 44:24 47:13	franchise 95:14
fairness	field 58:21	focusing 88:12	
	fight 7:8,9,25 10:14,15 13:5, 7 65:8 68:17 74:22 80:13 81:2 102:5 103:7 105:12,13 124:15		

Index: Francisco..hanging

Francisco 17:23	gaining 95:25	75:9 123:10	19:13
fraud 15:21	gains 104:9,20	glad 14:19 89:20	grant 21:13
free 15:3,14,21 16:2 17:9 43:1 76:21	gamble 22:21	goal 18:22 30:19 66:5,21 76:4	grants 53:1
freedom 11:22 12:11 13:13 24:22,24 79:14 81:3	game 11:11 16:12,17 75:17 76:1	goals 41:20	gratitude 67:1
Fresno 26:15,16	Garden 69:18	gold 21:11 60:9 77:10	grave 43:13,17 44:14
Friday 39:4 121:3,9,11,12	general 47:25 94:3,17 95:5,18, 19,20	Gonzalez 24:8,9 25:3 26:16 84:15 98:10 100:15,19 106:23 108:5 109:12 115:19 117:18,21 118:7 119:8, 15,21 120:2,10 124:18	great 54:17 69:20 105:3
Friend 27:20	generations 64:16	good 2:1 13:22 14:16 17:15 19:3 20:17 24:8,11,14 25:8 27:6 28:8 30:6 51:22 58:14 62:13 65:8 70:1 84:3 88:13,20 94:1 95:17 98:12,19 105:22 107:25 110:19 113:5 124:22	greatly 124:19
friendly 39:6	Genesis 24:8 84:15 106:23	goodness 66:12	Greg 16:16
front 10:9	Gennaro 27:11	goods 75:11	ground 9:13 72:2 79:1
frontline 102:21	geographic 122:22	GOP 25:2	groups 20:18
full 20:22	Georgia 15:10	governance 14:4,14,16 19:4 25:9	Grove 26:11
fully 3:12 18:14 54:4	germane 90:6	government 4:10 20:18 21:13 22:19 58:15 62:13,14,15 68:2 82:23 88:10 103:2 120:1	guarantee 30:13 95:9,22
Fund 94:3,17,18 95:5	gerrymander 19:14 54:2 69:22	governments 60:17	guarantees 10:2
fundamental 2:17 68:4 113:13	gerrymandered 21:14	Governor 2:19 16:16,23 22:1 24:9 30:17 38:8 76:17 84:16 86:13,20 101:16 105:11 106:24	Guard 83:6
fundamentally 6:9	gerrymandering 2:15 18:6,12 20:9,20 36:5 57:22 58:9 76:21 77:17 88:20 89:3,11,12, 16 95:17	grab 13:1 76:24	guess 51:8 52:14
funding 74:14 94:8,10 95:1 101:8	gerrymanderings 78:4	grabs	guidance 14:5
future 64:14 70:6 76:11,23 105:16	gerrymanders 56:20		guide 92:16,19,21,22 93:2 96:7
<hr/> G <hr/>			gut 54:17
Gabriel 17:22 20:12	Gina 27:8		<hr/> H <hr/>
gain 3:4 35:18	give 21:4 96:12,13 110:16 112:23 117:14 120:18		hamlet 8:20
	giving 8:7 20:22 62:15 68:15		hands 45:18 77:22 100:11
			hanging 125:3

Index: hangs..improperly

hangs 12:18	2:8 4:14 6:10 19:3 23:16 25:22 28:17,22 29:2,3,22 73:8,22 97:3, 5,12 108:3,4,12	honor 14:18	identical 116:5
Hanna 24:14		Honorable 23:23 84:6,10 107:9,19	identify 63:21
happen 36:1 47:11 61:8 64:14, 22 65:1,5 90:25 99:7 103:14	hearings 2:9 71:7 111:19 115:17	hope 56:2 81:19 85:10 87:17	illegal 18:13 29:6 100:3
happened 12:14 79:3 80:1	heart 81:18	horrible 51:12,13,16	ills 59:17
happening 12:23 14:19 46:18 47:14 57:24 68:11 77:21 79:1,6,24 80:8 81:5 101:23 122:4	Heather 27:18	horse 36:11 60:5,6	imagine 6:1
happy 10:19 17:6 23:10 83:17 106:16 115:12 121:20	Heidelberg 24:11,12 84:3,4 107:4	Horvath 14:11	immigrant 101:3 125:5
harass 76:16	held 12:15 15:25 54:13 74:20 76:17 77:4 111:19	hostage 54:14	impact 12:14 43:13,17,18 44:2, 7,14 46:3,13 78:25 79:18,19 95:4,5
hard 61:5 105:6	Hicks 10:22 11:3,4 13:15 78:11,15,17	House 10:7 16:19 30:23 45:3 47:21 48:17 64:22 74:9 75:15 76:7 77:25 93:22	impacted 105:2
Harvard 14:3 21:12 43:23	hiding 15:19	Howard 27:13	impacts 45:10 47:14,17
hats 14:15	high 72:2	HR 7:12	impartial 15:5 17:25
head 125:8	highlights 81:23	humble 53:16	implement 108:13
heads 125:4	highway 6:15	humbled 16:10 67:16	implementation 14:11
health 11:6 12:5 66:14 78:19 80:3	Hines-shaikh 23:23,24 84:6,7 107:9, 10	humbling 69:13	implemented 70:20
healthcare 7:12 11:17,24 12:3 13:7,8 24:6 64:19 65:23 75:8 79:3,15 80:8 85:2 87:8 102:22 107:17	historic 29:1	hundred 12:5 20:23	implore 80:20 81:6
hear 81:15,16,18 89:10,20 91:25 92:13	historically 112:1	hurt 75:12	importance 63:9 78:23 106:2
heard 9:7,15 29:1 38:21 63:8 66:11 68:18 71:5 78:22 80:5 95:12 97:3 123:13, 14,15	history 5:11,14 68:3	hyperlink 122:20	important 29:1 35:3 41:8 63:5,6, 15 66:8 69:6 80:23 111:16 112:20
hearing	hold 11:11 75:6,15 115:16	hypothetical 36:1	imported 80:11
	holding 22:4 69:12	I	impose 37:10
	holds 96:12	ICE 7:16 49:19 79:4,5	imposes 75:10
	home 27:5 102:24 123:6	idea 69:20 94:1 95:8,17,18, 19	impossible 76:6
	honest 4:3	ideal 116:8	improperly

Index: improve..job

43:19	independent	input	14:23
improve	5:17,23 6:5 8:10 14:7	18:25 29:22 99:20	Introduction
42:10 43:2 52:19	17:19 18:7 20:8,14,15	114:18 115:17 118:17	14:21
104:13	21:16 22:3 23:8 29:10	122:7 123:22	invest
improved	35:17,23 46:6 53:25	inputs	20:1
44:9 52:6,7,9	58:11 69:5,10 70:24	112:14 123:24	invitation
improving	74:12 77:8,14 79:22	insisting	28:19
104:9	81:15,25 89:17 98:18	72:23	involved
in-	99:3 100:4 123:5 124:7	inspect	31:16 105:23 109:7,9
102:23	independently	39:9	118:13 119:20
inaction	35:4	inspection	Irvine
47:15	independents	39:1,5	39:24
inappropriate	82:2	instincts	issue
40:22 56:15	individuals	69:25	4:23 47:1 58:3,5 61:23
inaudible	28:11 78:10 82:11	institutions	63:4 66:10 67:12 70:4
20:10 57:6 58:24 97:8	121:15 124:21 126:10	14:17 87:10	72:4 98:15 113:4
114:6 118:11 120:14	infer	intact	issues
incarcerating	119:22	104:3	6:18 51:25 54:1 91:9
87:4	influence	intended	item
incident	87:22	5:8	4:15 28:17 29:4 57:4
65:3	inform	intention	67:8 73:10 91:20 93:13
include	19:5	72:23	97:13
70:14	information	interactive	items
included	61:12 62:16 92:23 93:3,	38:18 39:7 111:6	108:12 125:7
61:14	11 106:9 108:21 109:5,	interest	
includes	23 111:10,14 116:21	6:9 39:15 52:4 61:6,10	J
33:2	118:19 120:5 122:8	62:19 63:16,20 99:17	J.P.
including	124:8	118:20	24:14
39:10 44:8 47:20 54:4	informational	interesting	James
64:12 79:6 102:22	25:21 97:12	123:1	45:15 48:3
118:19	infrastructure	interests	jammed
inclusivity	21:3	18:22 54:15 88:22	75:7
79:13	inhibit	interim	janitors
incoming	63:23	55:12	102:23
14:24	inhibiting	interject	January
incorporated	64:1	35:22	33:22 34:12
9:15	initiative	International	Jarvis
incorporating	20:17 50:16	102:19	27:13
6:11	initiatives	internet	Jeanne
incredibly	58:15	92:2	17:22 20:11
59:5 86:12	inning	intervene	Jennifer
incumbents	76:1	37:4,8	27:6
22:24	innovation	intimidation	job
independence	14:4 69:6	83:5	72:12 86:25
65:15	innovative	Intro	
	65:2		

Index: Jodi..Limon

Jodi 10:22 11:4 78:11,17	kidnappings 7:16	75:23	legislative 3:1 45:17 105:10
Jody 17:23	kind 32:18 59:9 82:14 89:16 94:3 95:19 109:5	Latinos 21:10	legislators 18:19 63:25 75:19 101:15,25 109:7 118:2 119:5
Jones 27:4	knee 2:20	Lau 25:13	Legislature 5:5 11:15 21:8 22:23 36:4 37:3,4,8 44:10 74:7 112:6 113:20 114:14,18,22 115:15 116:12 118:6
Jose 26:18	knees 16:23	law 36:4 46:25 47:5 56:14, 19 57:21 58:8 64:24 87:15 102:3	Legislature's 108:16
joy 17:3 82:16	knowing 4:6 79:24	lawsuits 82:13	Lena 100:15
judges 5:19 86:15	knowledge 92:4	lays 99:1	letters 8:18 9:6
judgment 40:18	Kounalakis 24:10 84:16	lead 17:13 69:23 107:24	letting 75:22 99:12
judiciary 45:18	Kristen 107:4	Leader 98:9,10 100:15,21 101:19	level 44:3 81:17
Julie 24:5 85:1 107:16	Kristin 24:11 84:3	leaders 54:24 105:11	leverage 61:1
jump 56:10	Kunalakis 106:24	leading 13:12 15:18 71:13	LGBTQ 75:24
June 4:4 74:19 91:13	<hr/> L <hr/>		Liberty 28:6
jurisdictions 99:18	La 14:6,14 25:2 41:13	leads 34:18 113:14	Lieutenant 24:9 84:16 106:24
justice 64:18 65:22,23	labeled 40:16,17	learn 21:18 80:6,7	life 42:10 51:6,23,25 52:7, 19 53:5 58:11 64:16 81:25
justly 45:18	Labor 23:21 84:1 107:8	leave 83:17	light 85:14
<hr/> K <hr/>		leaves 31:6 104:25	likes 89:10
Karstens 24:25	lack 92:4	leaving 25:8	limit 63:22 64:6
Kaufman 27:13	Lackey 28:8,9	Lecture 14:23	limited 112:16
Kennedy 14:3 21:12	Lance 27:15	Lee 27:6	limiting 64:1
kick 109:25 110:21	land 67:3	left 70:15	Limon 56:9 62:24,25 65:19
kicked 101:7	language 33:18 35:1,12 123:13	legal 64:19 65:23 110:25	
kidnap 75:3	large 94:19 113:5	legally 114:16	
kidnapped 70:10	largest 8:1,2	legislation 4:24 6:24 19:8 30:18	
	Latino		

Index: Lindsey..member

86:7 97:25 98:1,2 120:23,24,25 121:5,7, 10,19 125:15 126:2,3,4	looked 4:2	104:13	10 103:23,25 104:8,15, 17,18 106:3,5,10,15
Lindsey 14:11	Los 14:5,12 20:12 27:7 62:3 76:18	maintaining 99:16	108:17 109:10,13,16,18 110:1,5,7,13,25 111:6, 15 113:21 115:21 116:3 117:6 118:5,21 119:13 121:17,24 122:5,10,23 124:8,23
lines 8:15,22,24,25 19:22 36:4,9 53:24 54:5 61:11 65:16 112:11 114:19 115:10,14 116:6 118:3 119:18	lose 54:18 95:24	major 91:9	margin 5:25
link 109:21 116:22	losing 2:16 21:22 22:23 94:9, 10	majority 12:17 20:6 89:12 98:9, 10 100:15,21 101:19 104:2 118:1	margins 5:24 6:4
list 101:9 111:13	lost 60:1 64:23	make 5:8,10 13:1 38:17 60:3 62:23 65:13 69:10 70:6 76:6 88:6 90:24 91:11 92:10 93:4 96:5 100:2 116:16 122:1,14 123:11 124:14	Maria 27:1
listen 77:23	lot 29:24 51:24 61:7 78:22 90:16 115:7 116:10 123:22	makes 74:18 120:6	mass 75:2
listening 55:19 123:23	lots 112:14 117:1	makeup 35:2	massed 87:2
literally 101:4,15	love 12:1 39:11 67:15	making 65:4 88:9 91:11 109:9	Masten 27:18
live 39:14 102:7	Lucero 27:22	mandated 22:13	matter 76:19 88:12
lived 51:4,15	<hr/> M <hr/>	manipulate 103:19	maximize 104:19
lives 64:10	machine 70:18	map 9:3 18:19,22 29:23 32:12 33:21 38:6,8,16, 18 39:7 62:8,17,18 71:8 75:20 89:23,25 90:3 98:17 99:3,14 104:22 108:19 109:4 110:13 111:23 112:1,2,4,7 113:1,4,13,20 116:25 117:4,24 118:5,25 120:9 121:9,10,12 122:12,22 123:21,24 124:2	mayor 36:13
living 62:1,5 63:13,14 75:12	Madam 4:18,20 10:21 11:3 13:20 23:20 39:22 55:2, 12,13 59:1 60:19 67:11 73:3 98:14 100:19 102:17 105:20 121:2	maps 3:3,6,13,22,25 5:2,12 6:24 7:2,8 8:6 9:18 17:3,5 18:16,24 19:1 20:22 23:3 30:22 32:3 33:12 34:3 36:21,23 37:7 38:10,14,20,24 39:2,13,17 40:7 60:22 61:12 76:5 77:3 82:7, 10,14,16 91:16 92:19, 20 93:1,11 96:6 99:7,9,	means 19:15 20:24 53:15 60:2
local 23:25 44:2 84:7,8,23 99:18 103:4 107:10,11, 14	made 18:16 60:4 94:24 98:23 102:20 114:15		meant 9:14 40:12
Locals 102:20	Madison 45:16 48:3		measure 7:1 14:12 30:18 32:22 33:9 34:15,22 35:1,13 37:12 78:21 80:19 81:4, 20 83:23 90:12 95:10 125:14 126:8
lockdown 101:15	MAGA 103:11		measures 5:16 29:3 62:22 71:21, 24 123:14
locked 102:1	magic 23:1		Medicare 101:5,7
lofty 41:20	main 30:21 85:5 114:10 120:14		meeting 88:9
long 5:14 33:25 36:13 51:3, 4,15 111:4,13 112:18	maintain 10:17 12:19 41:25 57:3		meetings 20:24
longer 48:3 51:18			member 15:12 22:8 28:8,9 32:15

Index: members..November

34:8 70:25 78:13 84:10 98:8,12 107:25 108:18 117:5 124:6	19:25 26:3,4 49:11 53:1 70:14 71:11 80:2 93:23 94:6,13 101:6	money 93:18 94:20	nationally 58:12
members 4:19,20 11:4 12:10,15 13:21 17:18 19:5 20:10 23:20,24 28:13,21 32:15 37:16 46:10 47:20,21 55:5 67:11 73:3,25 77:20 78:16 83:25 84:7,18,22 85:21 88:8 100:20 105:5 107:10,13,19 108:8 115:7 117:12,22 120:17	millions 7:13 22:20 75:9	month 3:8 70:9	nationwide 13:10 60:11 72:16 82:15
mentioned 92:13 95:18 100:20,25 101:19 106:8 110:5 117:1 118:23 122:21	mind 66:22	months 3:14 8:9 59:22 71:13 92:8,9 121:25	native 25:16 27:21,23
menu 23:4	minds 59:21	moral 59:9	needed 23:2 90:24
message 65:17	minimum 19:20	morning 2:1 13:22 17:15 24:8, 11,14 27:6 28:8 84:3 98:13 105:22	negative 89:9
met 17:2 65:25 66:3,20 88:1	Minor 26:12	motion 125:15	neighborhood 109:23
metrics 104:12	minutes 11:1 17:16 81:8 85:6 102:16	move 3:3 10:5 13:2 23:14 24:18 33:12 37:19 40:8 66:5 73:10 77:2 78:5 85:4 97:13 101:12 105:9 107:23 120:17 121:8,20 123:12	net 35:18
Michael 27:20	mission 13:5 99:5	moved 68:2 81:21 113:10 125:14	Newsom 30:17 76:18
microphone 106:21	Mississippi 51:20	Movement 28:2	nice 70:17
mid 36:6 40:7	mistrust 22:17	moves 19:20 59:22 85:11	Nick 25:6
mid- 35:24 99:8	mobilized 60:21	moving 81:17 87:18 101:16	Nielsen 24:5 85:1 107:16
mid-decade 34:2 37:12 74:7 94:2 104:11	model 22:18,20 30:6 54:16 68:19 69:1,2 78:24 79:8,11,12 80:16,17 89:7	N	night 39:11
midcycle 19:24 22:2 71:18,23,25	modeled 19:23		Nixon 25:18
middle 62:3 75:16	models 43:25	narrowest 6:4	non-voting 28:17
midterm 11:11 79:25 100:2 103:17	modified 62:18 114:6	narrowly 48:18 69:25	nongovernment 119:19
midterms 75:16 98:16	Mok 24:2 84:10,11 107:19, 20	nation 2:10 3:21 15:7,15,22 17:10 43:19 44:3,14 72:25 83:7 124:16	nonpartisan 22:13 60:11
million	moment 2:12 3:11 10:5 55:4 56:6 60:13 120:22 123:17 124:5	national 15:24 18:10 24:5 46:3 47:6,8 53:17 62:11 77:11 82:19 83:6 85:2 100:12 107:17	nonpartisanship 65:15
	moments 63:14		normal 38:23
	Moms 28:6		note 35:3
			noted 104:16
			notes 98:6
			November 5:7 7:7 39:18 60:7 74:3

Index: nullified..partnering

91:13 92:11 93:5,8 94:25 104:5 106:5	one-time 74:7	Orange 26:23 27:24	page-bill 39:10
nullified 32:8	ongoing 64:20	order 6:4 32:13 33:24 34:3 55:15,16,18 56:21 68:5 94:24	pages 91:2 108:6 109:17
number 5:5 23:2 58:14 68:7,8 92:7 104:21 116:8	online 91:23,25 109:16 119:9	ordered 48:7	pamphlet 106:9
numbers 109:2	open 66:15 121:2,9,10,12 122:12	ordering 40:6	panel 63:3
nurses 24:15 102:22	opening 66:12 122:21	organizations 12:12 19:4	panelists 67:2
<hr/>			
O			
<hr/>			
oath 22:9	operative 33:19	orientation 69:23	pap 114:21
object 56:2	opinion 47:8 53:16	oriented 9:23	papers 69:19
objective 104:12	opportunities 38:10	originally 94:21	parameters 61:2
obligated 8:3	opportunity 4:23 6:23 13:16 21:1 25:21 38:5,7 61:9 73:4 79:25 81:1 117:1,15 120:18	Oscar 28:1	Pardon 31:11
obliterated 103:21	oppose 25:9 26:11,13,15,17,20, 22,25 27:3,5,7,10,12, 17,23,25 28:3 83:24 88:14,16 95:13	outcome 76:10 77:8	Parenthood 10:23 11:5,13 12:2,12 78:12,18 79:2 80:2 107:2
Oceanside 17:19	opposed 24:22,24 25:2,19,23 27:21 119:16	outlined 91:1	Parenthood's 13:5
offer 28:11	opposing 88:18	outright 18:13	Parents 26:25
offered 23:3	opposite 56:12 83:10	overhaul 14:13 110:17	part 16:11 45:12 58:20 63:18 65:4 67:21 113:5 115:4
office 18:3	opposition 17:13 24:19 25:5,12,14, 17 27:14 28:7,9,12 30:16 31:1 38:22 64:4 85:4,8,18 107:24 108:3	overjoyed 81:14	participated 73:8 126:11
officers 102:23	option 7:21 8:8	overreach 16:22	participation 85:13
official 53:16 88:23	options 4:6	overreaches 83:2	parties 65:16
officials 21:21 46:3,19 54:23 58:17	Oracio 25:3	overturned 11:20	partisan 2:15 6:17 18:21 19:14 20:9 35:2 36:5 47:4 53:24 54:2 57:22 58:9 69:24 72:18 76:23 78:3 89:2 99:9 101:17 104:9 106:11
Ohio 72:24		overwhelmingly 5:21 14:8	partisanship 3:4
Olivia 26:10		<hr/>	
Olson 100:17 102:11 105:23		P	
		<hr/>	
		package 3:1 84:21 103:5 105:10, 19	partnering

Index: partners..power

58:14	percent	pipeline	policies
partners	6:3 11:20 21:10 29:16,	53:23	7:20,21 11:19 55:24
9:4	17 47:13 50:1,3 69:17	place	79:17 80:11
partnership	95:13 105:2 110:9,10,	9:10 15:23 32:17 77:5	policy
100:21	14,15 113:9 115:21,25	85:13 89:16 95:10,20	12:25 16:7 27:16 60:11
parts	116:3,4,5 118:21	108:14	69:2
54:13 82:5	124:23	placing	political
party	percentage	18:6 36:11	6:12 13:23 20:20 53:17
15:13 27:19 37:10	21:7	plain	62:6 81:12 83:3,4 88:19
71:20 89:12,13 95:14	peril	33:18	89:11 95:17
102:8 117:22 118:1	83:12	plan	politicians
124:21	period	11:11 59:22 76:25 78:5	26:6 54:14 75:21 82:9
party's	34:11 38:24 112:18	94:20 99:6 104:4,24,25	politics
11:12	permission	planned	14:22,23 22:17 47:6,8
pass	36:8	10:22 11:5,13 12:1,12	poll
20:3 90:13 95:11,22	perpetuation	13:5 78:11,17 79:2 80:2	18:8,10
99:2 100:2 125:15	89:3	94:21 107:2	polls
passed	person	planning	7:7 19:17 95:8
6:3 14:8 17:4 69:16	85:5	98:22	Pomona
82:10	perspective	platform	26:22
passes	16:8	60:25	Pontus
32:7,21	pertain	platforms	107:1
past	90:3	19:15 116:24 119:10	popular
3:8 77:18 122:9	pertains	play	15:2
path	92:23 93:3	54:7 115:9	population
75:14 103:7,15	Peter	playing	29:13 113:10,15 114:6
patients	17:24	58:21	122:3
79:19 80:2	petition	plays	portal
pay	69:15	72:25	92:7,12
93:19	Philadelphia	pleased	position
paycheck	15:17	122:18	23:17 24:20 54:23
78:1	philanthropy	pleasure	83:24 85:9,19 86:3
peaceful	58:17	2:2	87:19,20,25 106:20,22
76:16	physically	pledge	123:2
people	91:16,22	102:8	positions
3:12 5:6,17 7:2,4 21:15	pick	plenary	19:7
25:25 30:5 33:10 35:13	88:25 89:2 124:14	87:23	possibility
37:13 50:3 52:2 54:12	picking	point	13:11
58:1 61:22,25 62:4,6,9	87:3	29:6 34:13 36:15 38:21	posted
64:17 65:6,7,18 66:15	piece	55:15,16,17 56:5,21	18:24
67:23 68:8 71:7,22 75:3	66:8 76:9	57:8 67:14 70:1 82:24	potentially
79:19,20,22 91:24 92:4	pieces	122:1 123:9	101:7 103:7
95:13,19 104:15,24	4:24 82:4	points	power
110:10 118:22 120:5	pillars	71:16 105:25	4:9 11:12 12:19 13:1
123:11	2:17	police	15:24 16:22,23 21:22
people's		75:3 83:8	25:25 26:5 31:17 45:17
36:7			48:17 69:12 76:24

Index: powers..pursue

77:22 78:9 83:3,15 87:22 89:13	90:8 98:20 100:9,12 105:7	112:25 115:5 118:18 119:16 120:3 123:22 124:15	8:3 13:6 18:17 22:9 23:8 65:14,21 67:6 102:6 105:6 125:4
powers 46:24	President's 3:19 15:20	processes 112:21	protecting 6:8 9:19 72:6 81:2
practical 35:7	presiding 73:18	produce 22:22	protects 8:10
precincts 109:2,4,6,18	press 76:16 79:5	professionals 84:13 107:21	proud 2:3 16:1 59:5 60:8 74:1 82:12 102:13 103:17
prefer 23:5 47:9	prevail 68:25	professor 13:23 78:13 81:12	provide 34:6 55:5 120:19
preference 117:22 124:21	previous 108:12	programs 94:20	provided 14:5
preferred 77:7	previously 38:14	prohibited 18:21	provision 72:9
preparation 29:21	primaries 4:5	Project 70:20	provisions 61:13
preparations 95:3	primary 44:23 74:20 91:14	promised 38:8	pubic 4:20
prepare 90:19	principle 15:6	promote 58:21	public 3:14 4:25 5:9 6:10 7:14 18:15,25 20:2,24 23:15 28:17 31:20 39:1,5 43:2 49:10 64:17 72:5 83:22 85:13,17 86:24 92:7 106:12,13 111:7,9,16 112:15 115:17 117:8 118:10 119:10 120:3 121:1,3 123:14 124:10, 11
prepared 95:23	principled 12:22	promoting 58:11	
preparing 75:19	principles 14:25 16:4,13 17:1	prompted 21:25 63:24	
present 4:24 5:3 73:4,17 74:1 90:8 97:6	print 116:19	pronounced 45:19	
presentation 40:17	prior 16:9 82:20	prop 76:12	
presented 23:3 113:1 115:14 118:6	privilege 65:1,4	properly 90:13	public's 99:19
Presenter 88:7	privileged 20:13	proponent 86:21,22	publicly 15:16 31:22 106:6 112:2,3 114:14,21
preserve 69:10 70:6 73:1	proactive 12:22	proposal 86:18 100:2 113:20	published 39:3
presidency 76:13	proceed 28:23 37:14 102:15 105:21	propose 72:12	pulled 33:4 105:14
president 2:14 11:4,10 12:16 15:9,16 16:15 27:8,16 40:5,10,25 41:13 45:22 46:12,20 47:19 48:4,6, 10,25 49:9 50:16,22 51:17 52:17 53:2 74:24 78:2 86:5 87:21 88:10	process 3:20 6:10 8:11 9:16 15:4 17:6 19:4 20:8,23 23:9 29:22,23 31:16 32:11 34:14 37:5,8,9 38:23 40:9 41:8,9 54:8 63:19 64:18 65:5,7 66:19 74:12 81:16,17 90:15 106:13 108:16,19	proposed 45:23 46:13 47:2 86:14 90:20 99:14 103:25 112:15 113:1 114:11 117:25	purpose 30:21 31:4 36:5 37:10
		proposing 93:22	purposes 97:3
		protect	pursue 13:15

Index: pursues..registrars

pursues 76:23	quote 35:8 45:16 48:2 67:15	real 63:25 82:18 124:14	29:11,19 30:10 33:14, 23 34:2 35:25 37:12 41:6 43:12,18 47:4 54:7 58:12,22 60:9,12 69:5, 10,11,16 70:6,13,24 71:18,23 72:1,4,5,16 74:8,10,12,22 77:9,12, 14 78:14 81:14,16 82:14 84:21 86:14 89:18,21 95:8 98:19,22 99:4 100:3 103:5,13 104:1,6,11,23 105:10, 19,24 106:12 110:7,19 111:22,25 112:11 113:6,7,24,25 114:8 115:22 116:1,6,9 117:19 118:9,13 122:24 123:5,21 124:7,19
push 2:13 12:25 13:16 99:8	<hr/> R <hr/>	reality 3:9	
put 3:13 9:9,11,12 12:16 15:23 20:18 71:3 79:17 85:12 118:7,8,9 119:9	race 89:4	realize 41:7	
putting 8:6 60:5 62:8 120:11	Raffensperger 15:11,12 16:1,21	reason 29:9 83:12 89:15,17 90:10	
<hr/> Q <hr/>	raids 49:19 62:2 79:4,6	reasonable 100:22	
Q&a 17:7	raise 3:5	reasons 41:16 43:2 46:18 105:17	
quality 42:10 51:12,16,23,24 52:6,19 53:5	raised 71:17 106:1	received 8:19 82:4,13	redistricts 32:6 34:20 35:18
quarter 93:16 94:4,12,13,16	raising 75:12	recent 60:23 89:5	redraw 3:3 40:6 75:20
quash 53:2	Rancho 6:14,15	reckless 101:2	redrawing 30:22 77:3
question 3:5 30:24 34:19 35:15 36:23 37:20,24 38:3 55:12 56:6 57:11,15 64:4,13 68:8 71:16 86:8 89:25 90:10,17 91:4,19 93:15 95:7 113:15 118:25 119:25 120:16 123:19,20 124:3	rational 100:23	recognition 67:5	redrew 105:3
questioning 56:4 59:7 66:18	rationale 19:22 31:18	recognize 8:1 12:17	reduce 87:7,8
questions 10:19 23:10,13 25:21 28:16,20,23 30:15 37:16 41:2 56:9 59:8 62:23 83:18 85:22 88:6 100:18 106:17 108:9,15	raw 111:14	recognizing 2:6 121:16	reducing 61:16 91:4
quick 124:14	Raya 17:22 20:10,11 23:1 31:4 41:3,23 42:3,7,21, 22 43:5,7 44:6,25 45:2 46:8,15,16 47:24 48:11, 12,20,22 49:2,3,16,17, 23,24 50:9,10,12 51:4, 6,22,24 52:9,14,23,24 53:7 56:17 57:17,23,24 61:21 63:14 64:9	recommence 34:16	refer 91:23
quickly 29:20	react 62:10	reconfigure 48:8	referenced 6:25
quorum 97:15 98:7	reaction 12:21 30:1,2 62:11 95:23 116:13	reconsider 23:6	referendum 38:13
quotable 55:25	read 41:11 48:2 94:18	record 121:1	reflect 18:1 83:11
	ready 4:17 11:2 17:16 73:23 76:24 105:8	recorded 118:18	refuse 77:23
	reaffirm 32:5	red 2:21 35:8,14 75:18 77:1,4	refuted 15:20
		redistrict 33:7 103:16	regard 35:1
		redistricting 3:11 5:14,18 6:6,11 9:15,22,23 13:25 14:7 17:21 18:7 19:24 20:21 22:2,14 25:24 27:17	registered 22:6
			registrars 58:18 74:16 93:25

Index: regularly..rig

regularly 74:11	repeatedly 5:24 15:8	required 32:13 33:23 77:15 112:12	responsibility 4:7 16:5 25:9
reinforces 103:23	replacing 22:7	requirement 99:16 102:2	responsible 3:10 22:19 62:14
reiterate 61:16 116:2 119:11	reported 4:21	requirements 112:10 117:9 124:11	responsibly 47:25
reiterated 109:14	reprehensible 57:25	requires 106:8	restore 102:9
rejected 5:21 86:19	represent 2:23 6:20 52:3 54:14 104:24	research 8:18 53:1	result 19:14 44:10
rejecting 5:22 20:8	representation 2:18 21:8,9 44:9	resident 20:12 25:16,19 27:4,25 44:23	results 21:6 35:18 46:17
related 35:16 90:9,16	representative 21:5 41:25	residents 105:2 116:20	retake 76:6
release 19:21 61:11	representatives 6:19 15:4 16:20 19:18 30:23 47:22 48:18 52:2 58:2 65:17 74:9 75:22 76:7 85:12 89:1,2 115:9	resist 19:9	retaliatory 22:1,16 30:1 95:23
released 31:18 60:23	representing 11:6 26:2,24 27:5,7 28:5 78:18 79:2	resisted 58:1	retired 27:21 86:15
relevant 91:19	represents 21:20 100:22 103:6	resolving 58:3,4	retract 40:21,22
rely 12:7 77:24 114:3	reproductive 11:17,21,24 12:3,11 13:7,8,12 79:14 81:2	resorting 54:2	return 8:11 9:25
relying 70:12 113:21	Republican 10:18 15:13,20 27:9,19 32:15 40:9 46:10 47:21 48:9 71:19,20 75:19,20 76:5 77:4 99:21,23 100:2 101:14,24 117:21	respect 37:11 59:25 67:4 110:3 115:19 124:20,24	revealed 118:2
remain 23:10,13 61:18 77:5	Republican-led 99:8	respected 115:23	revenge 22:17
Remcho 105:23	Republicans 11:10 12:17 16:6 17:23 21:20 22:15 45:3 60:16 74:25 75:15 76:2 77:20 82:2 83:1 96:14 98:20 99:7 100:1,13 104:19 124:20	respectfully 96:19 97:1 125:11	reversed 54:20
Remco 100:17 102:11	reputation 72:23	respecting 110:2,19 118:15	reversing 52:11
remember 18:5 38:12,15 42:2 48:10 51:15 76:15	request 31:17	respects 99:15 120:4	review 3:16 92:10 111:7 112:5, 19 119:13
remind 11:14 121:24		respond 60:14 76:24 80:1 87:15	reviewed 114:15
remote 92:1		responding 46:20 103:18	reviewing 9:5
remove 6:8		response 3:2 11:9 12:23 13:3 86:5 87:16 96:9 100:23 104:10 123:10	revolutionary 65:2
Renee 26:14		responses 59:6	rid 63:23
repair 21:17			rig 2:14 7:9 10:7,17 12:19 21:19 76:4 98:23 99:25 100:10
repeat 45:5			

Index: rigged..Senator

rigged 89:10	rotating 17:20	sanctions 79:17	seats 2:21 3:19 16:18 18:23 35:19 48:8,9 60:21,22 77:4 78:6 95:25
rigging 35:4 76:20 80:13 96:10	Roundtable 25:4	Sara 10:23 13:22 23:20 78:13 81:11 83:25	seconds 13:14 16:24 20:4 22:25
rightfully 2:11	route 89:6	Sarah 107:7	secret 75:3
rightly 122:1	rubberstamped 16:19	save 18:22 70:22	Secretary 15:10 71:25 74:15 90:14 91:1 93:24 97:14, 16,18,21,24 98:2,5,6 125:17,18,20,23 126:1, 4,7
Rights 9:19 26:25 102:4 110:3 120:4	rule 46:25 64:23	saving 116:14	security 102:23
Rika 27:24	ruled 57:7	SB 73:17 74:14 90:7,11 96:9,17 106:8	Sedhwani 13:22
risk 2:16 22:23	rules 7:23 16:12,17 55:25 75:16 76:1 80:15	SB280 73:11	Sedwhani 10:23 13:20 16:25
Rivas 5:4	ruling 95:14 118:1	scared 108:6	seek 72:25 99:19
Riverside 17:24 26:18 27:1 123:6	run 18:3 34:20	scheduled 74:12	seeks 14:12
robbed 2:23	rural 92:1	scheme 96:10	SEIU 84:19,23 100:17 102:12,20 103:15 105:5 107:14
Robinson 17:17,18 20:5 31:8,11, 13 41:3,11,19 42:13,14, 17 43:4,10,15,21 44:17, 18,21 45:6,12,24,25 48:14,15,23 49:5,7,13, 14,21,22 50:6,7,18,19, 24 51:14 52:20,21 53:9, 11,14 57:17 58:6,10 60:19 63:11 64:9 85:7,9 86:2 88:21	Rya 48:21	schemes 27:17	self-interest 21:21 77:25
	S	Schmidt 15:17,18,19 16:1,21	sell 42:24,25
robust 66:17 122:7	Sabrina 2:3 26:19 27:2	school 21:12 53:20 79:20 102:24	semester 14:21
Roe 11:19	Sacramento 9:9 69:17	School's 14:3	Senate 2:4 26:2 28:5 74:1 98:10 100:14 109:20 116:24 119:11 121:13 126:13,16
role 54:8 115:10	saddened 101:22,25	Schoorl 84:22,23 107:13,14	Senator 2:3 4:16,18 25:23 26:1 31:25 32:9,10,25 33:8, 17 34:5,10,25 35:20 36:12 37:17,18,22,23 38:1,9 39:20,22 40:20 41:21 42:5,8,16,19,23 43:5,8,16 44:12,19,25 45:8,14 46:8 47:12 48:1,13,16,21 49:4,8,
roles 14:1,2 102:21	Sadhwani 23:18 59:1 67:13 78:13 81:9,11	Schwarzenegger 86:14	
roll 97:15 98:25 125:17	Sadhwani's 68:1	science 13:23 81:12	
room 2:7 23:16 61:25 73:9 108:3,4	safeguard 3:2	scientist 52:15	
Roseville 25:6	safeguards 85:13	Scott 27:13	
	sample 109:21 116:22	seat 61:17 78:1	
	San 17:22,23 20:12	seated 54:6	

Index: Senator's..stack

15,18,23,25 50:8,11,13, 20,25 51:7 52:5,10,16, 22,25 53:8,13 55:3,6,8, 11,14 56:7,9,11 57:11, 12,14,19 58:6,23 62:24, 25 65:19 67:9,10 68:10 73:6,23 82:21 85:24,25 86:7 97:16,23 98:1,4,9 100:19 108:5 109:12 115:19,20 117:18,21 118:7 119:8,15,21 120:2,10,23,24,25 121:5,7,10,19,22,23 124:18 125:14,18,25 126:3,6	severely 21:14	silence 75:23 105:8	sort 115:24
Senator's 59:6	sexual 13:6	silent 2:22 37:11 61:18,22	sought-after 22:22
Senators 28:18 98:14 102:17	shaking 53:9	similar 58:4	sovereignty 15:2
sending 36:15	Shan 26:23	simple 76:4	space 65:23
sense 38:17 89:8	share 16:6 41:20 44:6 46:9	simply 3:25 8:13 12:16 66:19	speak 19:16 47:5 53:15 61:23 66:20 114:12 115:2
separate 6:24	shared 66:5	single 32:18 65:21 80:25 81:1 92:17	speaker 5:4 34:8 55:1 73:19 80:5 97:8 119:6 121:18 123:22,23
separated 101:3	Shasta 27:4	sir 44:18 45:12 52:21	speakers 16:9 105:25 106:7 113:3
separation 46:24	shenanigans 99:25	sit 28:19 100:10 103:19 117:22	speaking 17:19 32:1 53:25 73:11 100:15
September 4:5	shift 114:6	sitting 55:20 59:16 64:12	special 20:1 22:4 74:2,4,16 91:12 93:15 94:2 95:21
serve 2:4 14:1,2,10 20:7,13 22:9 43:7 59:4 62:20 63:16 65:18 66:15 86:25	Shivitz 27:24	size 116:8	specific 90:17
served 36:13	shore 17:9	skewed 86:17	specifically 106:8
service 41:5,14 42:15 43:2 49:10 64:17 86:24 102:18	shown 111:23	skipped 53:19	spending 19:25 22:20 75:7
serving 28:5 65:2 81:22	shows 18:10 77:11	slightest 5:25	spent 58:10,13 94:4
set 6:21 17:5 21:11 89:20 111:4	shut 12:4	slowly 67:22	spirit 122:17
Seventy-eight 62:17	sick 7:17	small 8:19	split 104:17,20
	side 29:5 30:9 67:3 116:24 117:17 118:5	smaller 71:15	splitting 104:16
	sidelined 46:23	SNAP 101:5	spoke 82:17
	sidelining 22:3	so-called 29:10	spoken 113:3
	sides 67:12	social 102:23	stab 70:13
	Sierra 41:13	Sofia 24:25	stack 21:24
	sight 64:23	Solano 25:12,16,18	
	significantly 113:16		

Index: stacking..system

stacking 98:24	stated 31:4 32:4 103:10 118:17	street 70:10 79:6	suit 30:6
staff 35:21	statement 30:14,20 40:19 43:17 44:13 45:9 96:3,5 116:14	streets 7:16 75:3	sums 94:19
stage 32:11		strengthen 11:18 105:6	super 20:6
stages 36:16	statements 30:15	strengthening 14:16	superbly 69:8
stake 67:20 105:17	states 2:16,21 3:3,13,18 10:10,12,16 21:14 24:12 30:2 33:7 35:2,8, 14,23 36:2 40:5,11 41:1 43:12,24,25 44:1,4,13 45:21 48:5,7 50:16,23 51:2,18 68:20 69:22 72:12,14 75:19 76:5,22 77:1 78:4 83:8 84:4 87:17,20,21 98:24 99:8 103:13,16 104:10 107:5 122:5	Strickland 25:20,23	Supervisor 14:11
stalled 54:20		strike 22:16	supine 47:16 50:21
stand 2:22 8:3 10:12,16 66:1 69:1 76:8 80:22 83:2,13 86:10 100:7 102:13 105:7,9		strikes 76:2	support 10:25 11:8,9,14 18:9,14 23:16,19,22 24:1,3,6, 10,13,16,18 28:11 43:24 60:10 66:11 78:11,20 81:15,17,19 83:20,22,24 84:2,5,8, 11,13,17,20,24 85:2 88:18 89:19 96:23 100:7,16 102:10 103:4 106:21,25 107:3,6,8,11, 15,18,22 115:8 120:21 122:18
standard 21:12 60:9 77:10		stripped 61:19	supported 43:22
standards 51:19 52:11	states' 77:4 88:11	stripping 75:8	supportive 111:24
standing 80:17	statewide 74:2,20	strong 4:10 11:8,14,16 23:22, 25 24:15 25:12,14 28:9 46:21 78:20 83:10,14 84:2,5,8,20,24 86:21,22 103:4 107:5,8,11,15	suppose 32:22
stands 4:8 85:10	stating 113:17		supposed 62:19
start 23:18 28:14,16 56:17 63:1 74:21 98:25	statistics 44:8	strongly 19:21 25:2 26:11,13,20 27:3,7,21,23,25 28:3	supposedly 90:1
starting 14:20	statutory 74:19 90:22 91:11 94:24	structure 14:14	supposition 46:14
state 8:1,20 10:6 11:7 12:5,7 13:13 15:11 23:17 25:23 27:21 32:11 33:13,20,24 34:20,21 35:3,17 43:18 44:3 45:7 60:17 63:24 71:25 72:16,24 74:15 77:13 78:20 79:14 80:4,9,12, 22 82:6,19 83:23 84:23 85:18,19 87:12 88:13 90:14 91:1 92:17 93:17, 24 95:6 100:4,8 102:22 103:1 104:7 106:20 107:14 110:24 111:11 121:15 124:22	stay 73:13	students 14:24	Sutter 27:12
	steak 23:4	style 56:3	Suzette 26:1
	steal 78:6 103:8	submit 20:24 126:13	swiftly 15:13
	step 17:8 28:11 106:20	submitted 71:20,24 114:14,21	system 2:17 4:9 15:24,25 16:11 64:19 65:13 82:21 89:20 100:4,5,7 101:9
	Stockton 26:12	successful 54:6 103:12	
	stood 15:14,21 16:2,22	suggested 54:3	
state's 13:3 18:1 32:6 60:8 74:8 98:18	stop 32:24 56:3 64:6 77:21 96:2 99:22,24 100:9	suggesting 4:1	

Index: tactics..transparency

T	8:13 13:14 16:24 20:4 22:25	51:2	8:12,13 10:1 11:8,15 14:18,19 16:15 19:4 42:6 43:14 44:24 51:1 58:20 60:1 62:22 65:14 66:4 67:20 71:5 73:5,8 74:1 77:17,21 78:10 79:24 81:21 83:19 91:11 94:9 96:8,12,21 100:14,16 101:13 102:14 113:5 114:16 122:18 123:3,15 124:24 125:2 126:11,12
tactics 83:6	terms 32:25 48:2 50:21 51:20 58:22	thing 13:17 42:21 52:25 64:20 69:4,9 70:17 71:5 77:2,17 116:12	today's 4:14
takes 19:5 29:24 33:21	terrified 62:1	things 36:8 37:9 46:12 67:24 90:16	Tom 28:9 100:17 102:11 105:22
taking 32:17 67:18	Terry 84:19 100:16 102:12,18	Thornton 24:23	tons 124:10
talk 6:16 17:6 62:2 78:25 79:2 110:1	test 72:21	thought 38:16 40:23 42:11 86:16	Tony 25:22
talked 82:20	testified 9:11 115:8	thoughtful 18:25	tool 69:12
talking 12:13 30:8 112:25	testify 78:11 100:14 102:10 126:12	thousands 8:16,17 109:1,2 121:15	tossed 17:4 82:17
talks 61:25	testimony 8:16 9:5,13 23:15 38:22 58:19 61:10 66:11 71:9, 10 82:5,18 87:24 117:8 118:21 124:11	threat 22:15 60:14	total 29:18
Tara 24:23	Texan 104:19	threaten 22:1	touched 110:8
target 103:1	Texans 96:15	threatened 68:12,13 101:8	touted 19:8
targeted 87:6,7,8,10	Texas 2:16 3:2,18 10:9 11:10 16:16 21:18 22:15 33:20 34:1 35:9 40:1,2, 4,6,10,22,24 44:16,20, 22 45:1,3,10 46:1 48:7 56:14,19,23,25 57:21, 24,25 58:2,3,8 61:16 68:20 72:24 75:18 77:1 78:4 80:6,22 81:5 96:14 98:21 99:10,14,24 101:14,25 103:19,21 104:10 105:3,13 106:11 114:2 116:12 119:16	threats 15:18	town 8:19
targeting 125:9		three-quarters 18:11	tracts 39:12 109:18
tariff 75:10		Tiffany 24:2 84:11 107:20	Tracy 25:13
tax 7:13 75:9		time 2:12 5:10 10:20 19:5 29:24 36:13 38:11,18 60:1,7 70:18 74:20 80:25 81:1 90:18 91:5,8 112:18 117:2,3 119:9	tradeoffs 18:17
taxes 75:11		timeline 90:20	traditional 104:6
taxpayers 27:14 93:16		times 18:6 42:4 71:24 83:14 92:14 117:3	trained 54:11
Teachers 84:14	Texas's 7:8	timing 124:15	trajectory 58:20
teaching 14:21	text 122:20	tired 7:18	transparency 3:23 20:22 85:12
technical 100:18 106:17	thanking 63:1	today 2:2,7 4:11 5:3 6:22 7:7	
temporarily 13:3	thankless 86:25		
temporary 99:7	theoretically		
ten			

Index: transparent..urge

transparent 3:12,20 8:8 15:5 23:9 31:21 39:13 54:4 119:15 120:3 124:16	25:18	82:10 89:21	72:18
trap 71:2	two- 92:8	unbelievable 67:1	union 8:2 24:6 84:12 85:2 102:19 107:17,20 115:7,9,13
traumatized 101:4	two-thirds 18:12	unbridled 7:14	unions 23:22 84:1 103:4 107:8
travel 21:13 43:23	two-to-one 5:24	unconstitutional 36:10	Unite 23:25 84:8 107:11
traveled 54:11	types 61:13	undemocratic 101:17	United 40:5,10 41:1 45:21 48:4,7 50:16,22 51:2,18 72:14 76:22 87:21
Tribe 27:5	tyranny 45:19	undergraduate 14:24 68:5	universe 86:17
trigger 33:2,3,4,15 34:23 105:13 123:12	<hr/> U <hr/>	undermine 12:11,23	universities 7:14
triggered 10:5 34:19 35:16	U.S. 74:9	understand 35:20 46:9 48:6,16 49:8 50:15,18,20 51:17 52:3 54:22 60:1 61:7 108:23, 25 109:5 111:23	university 102:24
tripled 21:9	UC 101:9	understanding 31:19 32:3 46:10 60:20 89:23 114:13	unlike 2:19 3:13 16:21 99:10, 14 101:14 103:21 122:4
true 119:23	UCLA 51:10 52:18 70:10	understood 39:25	unmarked 75:4
Trump 11:10 16:15 55:21,24 56:25 60:16 74:24 75:10,14,25 76:9,14,20, 23 77:2 78:2 93:21 103:11,19 105:7 125:8	UDW 84:7 107:10	undisturbed 34:15	unnecessary 94:5
Trump's 2:14 96:10 103:8	UDW/AFSCME 23:24	undo 7:10	unpopular 12:10 75:1 95:9
trust 29:19 54:9	UFCW 24:12 84:4 107:5	unethical 29:7	unpopularity 7:11
truth 76:19	ultimate 123:11	unexpected 95:4	unprecedented 13:1
turn 28:12 56:8 62:24 67:19 73:12,15 109:13 110:23 111:2 123:16	ultimately 3:17 42:11 77:7 106:14 112:1 122:13	unexpectedly 94:19	unquote 35:8
turning 83:7	Umberg 37:22,23 38:1 39:20,22 40:20 41:21 42:5,8,16, 19,23 43:5,8,16 44:12, 19,25 45:8,14 46:8 47:12 48:1,13,16,21 49:4,8,15,18,23,25 50:8,11,13,20,25 51:7 52:5,10,16,22,25 53:8, 13 55:3,6,8,11,14 56:7, 11 57:11,12,14,19 58:6, 23 64:12 85:24,25 98:3, 4,5 126:5,6,7	unfair 18:12	untouched 105:1
turns 16:10 67:15 70:3	UNIDENTIFIABLE 55:1 73:19 97:8 119:6 121:18	UNIDENTIFIED 34:8	update 61:10
Twenty-one 116:7	UNIDENTIFIED 34:8	unilateral 42:18	updated 20:3
Twila	unilaterally 3:1 60:15 101:16	unintelligible	upholding 16:4 46:24
	unanimously		upward 93:16
			urge

Index: urged..Winters

19:21 20:7	views	22:13 23:3,9 26:3,4	Weber
urged	6:11,12 48:24	33:2,3,18 36:9,14,19	17:23
9:9	vigorous	38:4,9,13 39:14 52:4	website
urgency	71:12	58:18 59:21 60:6 68:15	39:4 90:1 109:19,20
101:11,12 125:2	violence	69:6,25 71:4,6 74:5	111:1 121:5,13
user	83:4,5	75:6,21,22,24 81:4 89:7	week
39:6	Virginia	91:5,8 92:7 96:13,14,16	14:19 38:19 70:9 76:17
utilized	25:15	99:2,6,11,13,20 100:13	week's
122:8	visceral	101:20 104:5 106:3,4,	18:8
utmost	62:11	13,14 112:4,6,17,24	weeks
67:4	visibly	116:24 117:4 119:3,12	71:13
	91:22	122:16 124:17	weigh
V	visual	votes	59:2 120:18
	96:6 122:22	15:12 39:17 71:11	
valiant	voice	76:12 78:9	weighed
68:24	12:20 53:21 96:13,14	voting	4:22
Valladares	105:8,16	9:19 19:2 91:23 102:4	West
26:1,2	voices	110:3 116:21 120:4	9:9
values	2:24 46:22 61:19 75:23	vulnerable	Western
28:6 79:11,12,14,15	volunteer	125:5	24:12 84:4 107:5
80:23	53:19	W	whatsoever
vehicles	volunteered		47:20
75:4	86:16	walks	whichever
version	vote	81:25	34:21
114:21	5:2,6,9 6:3 8:9 13:17	wall	White
veterans	20:6 32:17,19 33:2,10,	75:2	10:7 45:3 64:22 93:22
25:8	19 36:20,22 65:3 67:4	wanted	who'd
vice	69:17 80:20 81:2,6 86:4	34:6 42:10 59:3,14	28:11 37:16
27:15 28:14,15,25 31:1,	92:5 96:19,21 103:24	110:16	wi-fi
6,24 32:14 33:6,11,25	104:4,5 105:15,17,18	war	91:25
34:18 35:15 36:3 37:20	109:22 112:22 125:12	23:2	widely
38:2,4 39:21 40:12	voted	warming	2:8 106:5 111:11
55:2,13,15,19 56:21	6:1 11:21 18:5 29:4	81:18	wielding
57:1,2,5,7 71:17 73:12,	35:13 38:13,25 46:11	Washington	60:16
15,16,21,24 81:7 83:20,	79:22,23 89:21 97:4	22:18 46:17 61:20	willingness
25 84:25 85:3,16 88:3	108:24 109:11 123:7	watches	4:10
89:8 90:5 91:3,15,21	voter	42:24	Willis
92:12,15,18,25 93:6,9,	3:24 29:17 38:15 53:18	ways	100:17 102:11 105:22
14 94:1,11 95:2 96:20,	59:11,19 88:25 92:16,	23:7 44:7 46:2 63:17	111:2,3,21 112:17
24 97:2,9,20 108:10,11,	17,18,21,22 93:2,4 96:7	weapons	113:2,23 114:2,7,12,20,
23 111:17 112:9,21	106:9 120:6,12	60:17	25 115:2,4,11 117:2
113:14,25 114:5,9,17,	voter-approved	wear	118:17
24 115:1,3,6,16 117:13,	61:2	14:16	win
16,20,24 118:12,24	voters	web	23:2 32:19 72:25
119:4,14,18,24 120:8,	3:16 4:5 5:11,21,25	113:22	Winters
13 122:2 123:18 125:22	6:23 7:6,16,23 8:7,8,24	web-based	9:10
view	9:8,10,18 12:20,25	39:7	
29:6 69:4 87:11 95:17	19:16,18 20:18 21:1		

Index: witnesses..zoom

witnesses

10:21,25 17:13 24:18,
19 55:20 67:12 73:13
79:10 83:21 85:5 88:8,
18 106:21 107:24 108:2
109:13,25 110:5,21,24
120:21

Woman

27:9

women

12:7 21:7 63:3 67:2
80:9

wonderful

23:13

word

40:18 101:20

words

32:7 34:21 36:11 63:10,
13 112:14 113:11

work

3:25 6:19 11:16 54:17
59:25 65:13 67:5 79:20
104:1 110:19 113:6
115:24 116:18 117:7
118:15,16 124:9,22,24

worked

61:5 81:23 82:3 105:6

workers

24:6 49:11 84:24 85:2
102:21,22,23,25 103:3
107:15,17

working

58:16,17,18 75:13

works

67:17

worried

32:18

worry

69:21 101:2

worse

13:9

writing

75:1

written

20:24

wrong

70:4

Y

Yao

17:24

year

33:13,14 34:12 35:11
38:13 70:4,5,8 74:3
86:16 100:11

years

8:14 9:7 34:3 51:9,11
52:13 58:11 61:8 64:11
72:3 76:11 86:13 89:5

yesterday

108:22,25 109:11 118:3
119:5,6 120:9 123:25

Yougov's

18:10

Yuba

27:12

Z

Zepeda-

26:14

**ZEPEDA-
BLANKENSHIP**

26:14

zoom

39:14