Racially Polarized Voting Analyses of San Diego County

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Executive Summary

We conducted statistical analyses of racially polarized voting in San Diego County. We examined Supervisor elections from 2012 to 2020 and statewide elections over the past decade within only San Diego County. There is evidence of racially polarized voting in San Diego County between Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters; and between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters.

The frequency and magnitude of this racial polarization varies somewhat by geography, election, and year. For instance, primary elections for the Board of Supervisors are more likely to be racially polarized than general elections. Statewide elections within San Diego County are more frequently polarized than are Board of Supervisor elections.

We examined all contested primary and general elections to the San Diego County Board of Supervisors from 2012 to 2020. During this period, we find that racially polarized voting between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters has occurred in at least one Supervisor election held in each of the five districts; and that racially polarized voting between Asian American and non-Hispanic white voters has occurred in at least one Supervisor election held in two of the five districts. Statistical analysis of elections in the districts being redrawn are considered highly probative for assessing racially polarized voting.

- District 5 showed the greatest frequency of racial polarization between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters with 100% of contested elections showing evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters. District 1, had the least frequent occurrences of racially polarized elections. In District 1, 33% of contested elections exhibited racially polarized voting. In Districts 2, 3 and 4, 50% of contested elections had racially polarized voting between Latinos and whites.

- For Supervisor elections, in 7 of the 11 primary elections analyzed across all five districts, the Latino candidate of choice does not advance to the general election or win the seat. In 1 out of 7 general election races analyzed, the Latino candidate of choice does not win.

- We also looked at whether there was racially polarized voting between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters in Board of Supervisor elections from 2012 to 2020. District 2 showed the most frequent racial polarization: 100% of contested Supervisor elections showed evidence of racial polarization between Asian Americans and non-Hispanic white voters. In District 3, there were also some contested Supervisor elections with Asian American-white racial polarization in voting. In Districts 1, 4 and 5 there were no contested Supervisor elections that revealed racial polarization between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters.

We also produced statistical estimates measuring if racial polarization occurred in San Diego County using statewide elections. We examined all statewide general elections – though focused exclusively on voting patterns in San Diego County – that featured a Latino candidate who ran against a non-Latino candidate; or that featured an Asian American candidate who opposed a non-Asian American candidate. We also examined a primary election between a Latino candidate and non-Hispanic white candidates. These elections between candidates of different racial and ethnic groups are highly probative for assessing racially polarized voting. Key findings include:

- 88% of statewide elections examined between a Latino candidate and a non-Latino candidate showed evidence of racially polarized voting. Again examining just voting patterns in San Diego County, 100% of statewide elections examined where an Asian American candidate

ran against a non-Asian American candidate revealed racially polarized voting between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters.

- Latino and Asian American voters sometimes voted for similar candidates, but not always. In 62% of general elections between 2012 and 2020 with a Latino candidate running against a non-Hispanic white candidate, a majority of Latino voters and a majority of Asian American voters in San Diego County voted for the same candidate (thus not showing polarized voting between these two groups). In 38% of these general elections, Asian American voters did not support the Latino candidate of choice. In 88% of the elections with an Asian American candidate against a non-Asian American candidate, Latino voters preferred the Asian American candidate of choice.

- The Latino candidate of choice in a statewide contest more often is the less preferred candidate in San Diego County. In a majority of statewide elections (56% or 5 out of 9 elections analyzed with a Latino running against a non-Latino candidate), the Latino candidate of choice loses in the county. Yet, this means that there are some cases (44% of elections analyzed) where the Latino candidate of choice wins in the county. Asian American candidates of choice in Asian American-versus-white-candidate elections win the majority of the county's votes in 75% of these elections in San Diego County.

- While there is evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino and white voters, there also are some elections that exhibit higher levels of white crossover voting in statewide contests. White crossover voting occurs when a numerical minority of white voters support the Latino candidate of choice. We find white crossover voting to be as high as 43.2% but as low as 19.6% in statewide general elections in San Diego County when there is racial polarization.

The San Diego County Redistricting Commission is charged with redrawing the lines of the five Board of Supervisor districts. One part of redrawing these lines is the consideration of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, which exists in order to protect the voting rights of people of color. We offer this report to inform the Commission as to whether there is racially polarized voting in San Diego County. We conduct statistical analyses to estimate the presence and extent of racially polarized voting.

What is racially polarized voting?

Racially polarized voting (RPV) is defined as when one racial group regularly votes for one candidate, and the other group regularly votes for another candidate. Multiple elections across years are analyzed to assess if this pattern is persistent in San Diego County. In a two-candidate election contest, racially polarized voting is typically observed when a majority of voters who belong to one racial/ethnic group vote for one candidate, and a majority of voters who belong to another racial/ethnic group vote for a different candidate. In a two-candidate contest, some have identified particularly extreme racial polarization as instances in which >60% of one group favors one candidate and another racial group registers only <40% support for the same candidate.[1] However, evidence of racially polarized voting is also when one candidate is preferred by a majority of one racial group and a different candidate is preferred by a majority of another racial group.

For example, imagine a two-candidate election where the two candidates are "candidate 1" and "candidate 2." In this hypothetical election, 71% of Latino voters supported candidate 1, while non-Hispanic white voters did not support candidate 1. Instead, 68% of non-Hispanic white voters supported candidate 2. This would be evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters.

In contrast, if both racial/ethnic groups support the same candidate with >50%, this is typically considered to be evidence that there is not racially polarized voting. As another example, consider a hypothetical election where 77% of Latino voters supported candidate 1 and 60% of non-Hispanic white voters also supported the same candidate. In this election, there would not be evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters as both groups supported the same candidate.

In the presence of three or more candidates, such as in a primary election, racial polarization is typically considered to exist when one candidate is the plurality or majority preference of one racial group; and a different candidate is the plurality or majority preference of another racial group.

It is important to note that racial polarization may occur even if there is no intent to discriminate by voter groups. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act protects numerical racial minority groups by using the redistricting process to remedy instances where majority racial groups often or always vote for a different candidate and, in doing so, thereby regularly defeat the minority voter group's preferred candidate.

What are candidates of choice?

Candidates of choice are those candidates that a majority of a racial/ethnic group supported in an election. In the earlier example, candidate 1 received 71% of Latino voter support and candidate 2 received 68% of non-Hispanic white voter support. In this instance, the *candidate of choice of Latino*

[1] Elmendorf, Christopher S., Kevin M. Guinn and Marisa J. Abrajano. 2016. "Racially Polarized Voting." *University of Chicago Law Review* 83:2.

voters would be candidate 1; and the *candidate of choice of non-Hispanic white voters* would be candidate 2.

Latino candidates of choice are defined as candidates who are preferred by a majority of Latino voters, and white candidates of choice are defined as candidates who are preferred by a majority of non-Hispanic white voters. Asian American candidates of choice are defined as candidates who are preferred by a majority of Asian American voters. The most probative election contests for assessing racial polarization between Latino and white voters are those that feature a candidate who is Latino running against a candidate who is not Latino. The most probative election contests for assessing racial polarization between Asian American and white voters are those that feature a candidate who is Asian American running against a candidate who is not Asian American. The most probative election contests for assessing racial polarization between Black and white voters are those between a candidate who is Black and a candidate who is not Black.[2] The other most probative elections in redistricting are analyses of the districts being redrawn using elections from the previous decade. In this instance, those probative elections are to the San Diego County Board of Supervisors from 2012 to 2020.

Finally, the presence of racially polarized voting does not always imply the Latino candidate of choice cannot win. When racially polarized voting is found, it is important for the Redistricting Commission to consider whether Latino voters have the ability to elect candidates of choice. For instance, a district with 80% Latino voter support for the Latino candidate of choice and 38% non-Hispanic white support for the Latino candidate of choice would be evidence of racial polarization. However, if groups turned out at similar rates with these levels of voting support, then the Latino candidate of choice would win with very high levels of support from Latino voters and some numerical minority crossover from non-Latino voters in many districts with varying levels of Latino and non-Hispanic white voter percentages. As we show below, there is racially polarized voting in San Diego County in many contexts. When there is evidence of racial polarization, the Commission must draw district(s) that allow for the election of candidate(s) of choice in ways that do not dilute voting power across the entire districting plan.

Thus, we offer this analysis of the presence of racially polarized voting as evidence the Commission must consider in redrawing lines. The Commission also must consider whether Latino voters have the ability to elect candidates of choice in the districting plan(s) that the Commission produces.

Racially polarized voting and the Voting Rights Act

In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act with the intention of enforcing the right to vote guaranteed by the 15th amendment.[3] In the original version of the Act, Congress focused on ensuring the right to cast a ballot during an election by barring the use of devices (such as poll taxes or grandfather clauses) which were being used in many localities at the time with the intent to deny racial minorities the right to vote. Even in California, literacy tests were used early in its state history.[4] Then over time, Congress further expanded the power of the Voting Rights Act protecting not only the right to cast a

[2] As we discuss more below, one of the *Gingles* preconditions is that a group must be "sufficiently large" to constitute a voting-age-population majority in at least one district. In San Diego County, Black voters are not sufficiently large enough to meet this condition given there are only five Supervisor districts.

[3] Christian R. Grose. 2011. *Congress in Black and White: Race and Representation in Washington and at Home*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Natalie Masuoka. 2017. *Multiracial Identity and Racial Politics in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press.

[4] Maia Ferdman. 2020. "California has removed most obstacles to voting. Why are so many still not going to the polls?" UCLA report.

ballot but also the right to elect one's candidate of choice. By protecting the right to elect one's candidate of choice, redistricting commissioners must ensure that redistricting choices do not result in minority vote dilution or deny minority groups reasonable opportunity to affect the outcome of an election. Since district lines can affect election outcomes, redistricting decisions need to consider compliance with the Voting Rights Act.

In the 1986 *Thornburg v. Gingles* case, the Supreme Court ruled that race must be considered a factor for determining district lines when there is evidence of racially polarized voting (though contemporary cases have also cautioned that race cannot be the predominant factor in redistricting). In this case, the Supreme Court outlined conditions when racial minority voting has been diluted, often referred to as the "Gingles test." There are three preconditions: a) the minority group must be sufficiently large and geographically compact enough to constitute a majority-minority district; b) the minority group's vote is politically cohesive; and c) the majority group votes as a block that enables it to defeat the minority group's candidate of choice. If these three conditions exist in a district, then remedies will need to be implemented to protect the racial minority group's vote and ensure that the group has a reasonable chance of electing their preferred candidate. We offer the statistical analyses presented below to assess the presence and extent of racially polarized voting in San Diego County and within each of San Diego County's current Board of Supervisor districts.

Racial and ethnic groups in San Diego County

In San Diego County, the largest racial/ethnic group in the county is non-Hispanic whites. The second largest racial/ethnic group is Latinos. According to the 2020 census, 33.9% of San Diego County's population is Latino. The third largest racial/ethnic group in San Diego County is Asian. According to the 2020 census, 15.7% of San Diego County's population is Asian.[5]

Looking at only the voting-age population (VAP) of San Diego County, the 2020 census shows that the Latino VAP is 30.9% in San Diego County (807,212 Latinos of voting age out of 2,608,768 San Diego County residents of voting age). The Asian American voting-age population in the county is 12.7% (331,434 Asian residents age 18 and up out of 2,608,768 total VAP in the county).[6]

The largest VAP racial/ethnic group is non-Hispanic whites, who are 46.4% of the county's VAP (1,210,351 non-Hispanic white residents above age 18 out of 2,608,768 total VAP in the county). Black voters also make up just over 5% of San Diego County's voting-age population and the Native American/American Indian/indigenous voting-age population in San Diego County is about 1%.[7] The Black total population in San Diego County is 6.4% and the Native American/indigenous total population is 3.1% (2020 census). Because the San Diego Board of Supervisors has only five districts, Black voters and Native American/indigenous voters in San Diego County are not "sufficiently large [enough] …to

[5] This figure is from the 2020 census and includes those who said their racial group was "Asian alone" or "Asian in combination with other racial groups."

[6] This figure includes those who identified as Asian only and identified as non-Hispanic, and are above the age of 18. The data source is the 2020 census. These and other VAP data come from this source: https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=san%20diego%20county&d=DEC%20Redistricting%20Data%20%28PL%2094-171%29&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P4&hidePreview=true

[7] This VAP data point for Black San Diegans includes those identifying as "Black alone" and Black in combination with other racial groups on the 2020 census. The Native American/American Indian population is less than 1% VAP when considering only those who on the 2020 census chose "American Indian or Alaskan Native," and is higher than 1% for those who chose "American Indian/Alaskan Native" in combination with other racial groups.

constitute a majority of the voting-age population [VAP] in a single-member district" (see U.S. Department of Justice, "Guidance under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. 10301, for redistricting and methods of electing government bodies," Sept. 1, 2021, p. 6). One of the *Gingles* preconditions to consider – in addition to the presence of racially polarized voting and whether minority voters' preferred candidates regularly lose because the largest racial group votes as a block to defeat the minority group – is whether a minority group is sufficiently large enough to be majority VAP in a district. Since the VAP numbers suggest these groups are not "sufficiently large" enough to constitute a majority of VAP in a Supervisor district in San Diego County, we focus our report on racially polarized voting analyses for the three largest groups in the county (non-Hispanic whites, Latinos, and Asian Americans). Nevertheless, while not extensively included in the text of this report, we did also conduct racially polarized voting analyses for Black voters in the Supervisor district elections that we discuss later.

Methodology and data

To demonstrate racially polarized voting, experts have relied on three different statistical methods: ecological regression, ecological inference, and homogenous precinct analysis. Ecological regression (ER) is the original statistical method used since *Thornburg v. Gingles* required the analysis of racially polarized voting.[8] Ecological inference (EI) is a statistical method that is also frequently used to evaluate racially polarized voting.[9] Finally, we bolster these ER and EI analyses of racially polarized voting by conducting homogenous precinct analysis (HPA). ER and EI take aggregate data, usually at the precinct level, and estimate support for candidates by racial and ethnic groups from these aggregate data across all available voting precincts within a district or a county.[10] HPA, in contrast, looks only those districts with very high percentages of a racial/ethnic group to see if voting patterns in those high-density minority or high-density white precincts show support for one candidate. All three of these methods are standard in the field for measuring racially polarized voting. We utilize all three methods in the analysis of San Diego County. ER is primarily presented in the text, and EI and HPA are included in the appendix. The findings in San Diego County regarding racially polarized voting are generally very consistent regardless of the method utilized.

Finally in the appendix, as additional evidence regarding the presence of racially polarized voting we have also produced visual plots of racially polarized voting in the elections analyzed in the text. These plots have, on the y-axis, vote support for the candidate of choice of a minority group; and have, on the x-axis, the percentage of the minority group in the precinct. We wanted to be thorough and present all methods of analysis to determine whether there is racially polarized voting in the county so the Commission has all information necessary to make informed decisions.

These analyses provide critical background information for the Commission to consider as they determine the new district boundaries so that the Commission's maps are in compliance with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. We offer the analyses of racially polarized voting for consideration by the Commission. Ultimately, any decision about drawing the districts in order to comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Acts is the decision of the San Diego Independent Redistricting Commission, following

[8] Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, and Richard G. Niemi. 1992. *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality.* New York: Cambridge University Press; Christopher H. Achen and W. Phillips Shively. 1995. *Cross-level Inference.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[9] Gary King. 1997. *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[10] For an example of ecological inference and ecological regression in California, see Sara Sadhwani. 2021. "The Influence of Candidate Race and Ethnicity: The Case of Asian Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities.*

guidance and advice of counsel. Our role as RPV/VRA statistical analysts is simply to provide these data analyses to the Commission so the Commission can use our empirical results to guide their decisions. Our report makes no statements regarding what districts should be drawn or how.

Given the size of the three groups, we consider voting patterns by non-Hispanic white voters (the largest group in the county), Latino voters (the second largest group), and Asian voters (the third largest group). The most probative elections for redistricting for Board of Supervisor districts are all of the primary and general election contests for the Board of Supervisors from 2012 to 2020 that were held under the previous redistricting map. We analyze voting patterns by race and ethnicity for every regularly scheduled contested election – primary and general – for the Board of Supervisors from 2012 to 2020. These are "endogenous elections" in the jargon of racially polarized voting analyses. By looking at every district, the Commission can learn whether there is a cohesive vote by a racial/ethnic group in certain locations/current districts in the county.

We also conducted racial polarization analyses on other levels of elections to add additional robustness regarding our assessment of the presence and level of racially polarized voting in the County ("exogenous elections" in the jargon of racially polarized voting analyses). These exogenous election analyses look at statewide elections between Latino candidates and non-Latino candidates for statewide office; and between Asian American candidates and non-Asian American candidates for statewide office. While these are statewide elections, we only look at voting patterns by race and ethnicity among voters within San Diego County; and also among voters within each of the five Supervisor districts. The most probative elections, beyond the endogenous Board of Supervisor elections, are these statewide exogenous elections featuring Latino candidates running against non-Latino candidates; and Asian candidates running against non-Asian candidates. We examine every general election from 2014 to 2020 that featured candidates for statewide office who were Latino running against non-Latino candidate(s); or that featured candidates for statewide office who were Asian running against non-Asian candidate(s). We also examine San Diego County voting patterns for the 2018 primary for governor with a Latino candidate running against non-Hispanic white candidates. By examining these exogenous elections in San Diego County, the Commission can make determinations about the extent of racially polarized voting in the County overall and within each of the Supervisor districts as they were drawn for 2012 to 2020.

The data used for the analyses of the Supervisor elections were provided directly to us by FLO Analytics. For the Supervisor election analyses, FLO also accessed the election return data at the voting precinct level directly from the San Diego County election administrator's web site. FLO merged the data from the election returns with the relevant citizen-voting-age population data by race and ethnicity (Latino CVAP, non-Hispanic white CVAP, Asian CVAP) into one dataset where each voting precinct was the unit of analysis.[11] These data calculated citizen-voting-age population counts and proportions for each voting precinct using the relevant proximate 5-year estimates of the American Community Survey. We then estimated the ecological regression, EI analyses, HPA estimates, and other analyses using these data.[12]

The data used for the analyses of the exogenous statewide elections come from two sources. The source for election data is the California Statewide Database, and the unit of analysis is the precinct boundaries created by the Statewide Database. The data on racial/ethnic groups used for the independent

[11] Any voting precincts showing 0 voters or 0 CVAP of all groups were not included when conducting analyses.

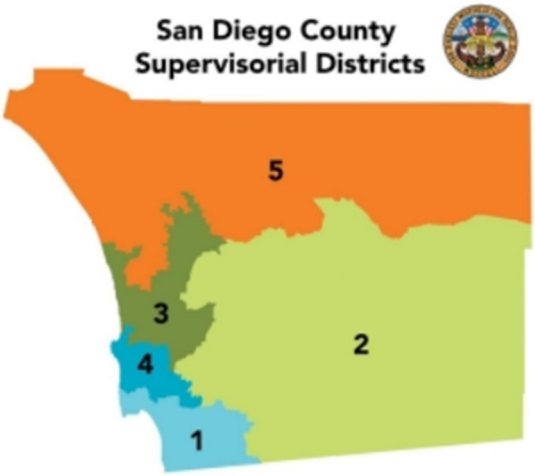
[12] Here we estimated the % of the vote for a candidate as the dependent variable and the % of the racial/ethnic group CVAP as the independent variable in the ecological regression analyses. Each estimate was determined from a separate bivariate regression analysis of % vote return and % of one racial/ethnic group in each precinct.

variable for share of Latinos in a precinct and the share of Asian Americans in a precinct are obtained from the voter registration records collected by the California Statewide Database. The California statewide database does not include estimates for non-Hispanic whites. Thus, the second source for the share of non-Hispanic whites in each precinct was data provided to us by FLO Analytics. Using a similar methodology employed for merging census data to the San Diego County Supervisor election data, FLO merged the ACS non-Hispanic white citizen-voting-age population counts to the voting precinct level used by the California Statewide Database. We then estimated the ecological regression, EI analyses, and other analyses using these data.[13]

[13] Here we estimated the % of the vote for a candidate as the dependent variable and the % of the racial/ethnic group CVAP as the independent variable in the ecological regression analyses. Each estimate was determined from a separate bivariate regression analysis of % vote return and % of one racial/ethnic group in each precinct.

Racially polarized voting analyses of Board of Supervisor elections (endogenous elections)

To begin our presentation of the racially polarized voting analyses, we focus on the elections to the Board of Supervisors from 2012 to 2020. The Supervisor elections held during these years all occurred after the previous redistricting that was conducted following the 2010 census. In the jargon of racially polarized voting analysis, these Supervisor district elections are the endogenous elections. Endogenous elections are the elections to which the San Diego County Redistricting Commission will be redrawing lines. These are highly probative elections because they offer an assessment on the degree to which racially polarized voting exists in the current Supervisor districts. Thus, it is useful to analyze the previous decade of Supervisor district elections for the presence and extent of racially polarized voting. Understanding patterns of racially polarized voting within each current district will help inform the Commission's work.



The map used from 2012 to 2020 for the San Diego County Board of Supervisors is displayed to the right. The elections to the Board are every four years and they are staggered. Staggered elections means that some districts are up for election in 2012 and then were up again in 2016 and 2020, while other districts were instead up for election in 2014 and then again in 2018. Districts 1, 2 and 3 held elections in 2012, 2016 and 2020; and districts 4 and 5 held elections in 2014 and 2018. In the racially polarized voting analyses presented below, we first use ecological regression to estimate the candidate of choice for the three largest racial groups in the county: Latino voters, Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters. Given the size of the Latino population in San Diego county, we further analyzed the relationship between Latino population and candidate choice by presenting visualization plots and homogenous precinct analyses. We then further substantiate these findings by confirming the same patterns using the King method of ecological inference (EI). By presenting the results using all of these methods, we are able to confidently estimate whether there is racially polarized voting in San Diego County's Supervisor districts.

Summary of racially polarized voting analyses of Board of Supervisor elections, 2012 to 2020

- The analysis of elections between 2012 and 2020 finds that racially polarized voting has occurred in at least one Supervisor election held in each of the five districts in San Diego County. We analyzed both primary and general elections. There is no general election if a candidate receives more than 50% in the primary. There is no primary and no general analyzed if a candidate ran unopposed.

- In District 1, there were three contested elections since 2012 (two primaries and one general). In one of these three elections, there was evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters; and between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters. In two of these elections, there was not evidence of racially polarized voting across any groups.

- In District 2, there were four contested elections since 2012. In two of these four elections, there was evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters. In two of these four elections, there was not evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino and

non-Hispanic white voters. In all four elections, there was evidence of racial polarization between Asian American and non-Hispanic white voters.

- In District 3, there were six contested elections since 2012; and some showed evidence of racial polarization and some did not. In four of these six elections, there was evidence that a majority of Latino voters preferred a candidate that was different from a majority of non-Hispanic white voters. Two elections had Latino and non-Hispanic white voters preferring the same candidate. Three elections in District 3 showed racial polarization between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters, and three did not. Of those elections with polarization, in some the differences across racial groups was very small, and in others the differences were larger.

- In District 4, there were two contested elections since 2012. In one of these two elections, there was evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters. In one of these two elections, there was not evidence of racial polarization between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters. In both elections, there was not evidence of racially polarized voting between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters.

- In District 5, there were three contested elections since 2012. In all three elections, there was evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino and non-Hispanic white voters. In all three elections, there was no evidence of racially polarized voting between Asian American and non-Hispanic white voters.

- In 7 out of the 11 primary races analyzed, the Latino candidate of choice does not advance to the general election or win the seat. In 1 out of the 7 general election races analyzed, the Latino candidate of choice does not win.

- While not presented here because Black voters in San Diego County do not meet the *Gingles* precondition of a racial group needing to be "sufficiently large" in a geography, we did examine racial voting patterns between Black and non-Hispanic white voters. In 14 out of 18 Supervisor elections from 2012 to 2020, Black voters had a different candidate of choice than non-Hispanic white voters; and the Black candidate of choice did not win in 12 of 18 of these Supervisor elections.

Analysis of racially polarized voting in Supervisor elections in District 1

In this section, we report the ecological regression (hereafter, ER) results of the racially polarized voting analyses. Since 2012, there were three regular primary elections and three regular general elections to determine the Supervisor for District 1: in 2012, 2016 and 2020. In the 2012 primary, incumbent Greg Cox successfully ran for reelection against challenger Brant Will. Then in 2016, Cox had no opponents and was re-elected without opposition. For this reason, we do not include the 2016 election in this analysis. In 2020, Cox did not run for reelection and the primary election was an open race among eight candidates with a runoff election held during the 2020 general election. In 2020, the slate of candidates was racially diverse with several candidates (i.e., Castellanos, Galicia, Hueso and Vargas) openly campaigning about their Latino identity and one (Villafranca) self-identifying as African American. The general election was a race between two Latino candidates.

The racially polarized voting analysis (ER) in the 2012 primary election is shown in Table 1. As can be seen in this table, incumbent Cox was the candidate of choice for Latino, Asian American and non-Hispanic white voters. Thus, in this election, there is not evidence to suggest that racially polarized voting

occurred in 2012 in district 1. Because Cox received more than 50% of the total vote, there was no general election and he won the Supervisor seat following the 2012 primary.

In the 2020 primary, district 1 was an open seat with no incumbent running. Table 1 shows evidence of racial polarization. Hueso was the Latino candidate of choice, and Castellanos was the candidate of choice of non-Hispanic white voters. Hueso and Castellanos were the two top candidates among Asian American voters, and they were estimated to split Asian American voter support at 20% each. Thus, in the 2020 primary for district 1, there is evidence of racially polarized voting between Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters.

In the 2020 general election, Ben Hueso faced off against Nora Vargas. Both of these candidates received the most votes in the primary to move forward to the November election. In this 2020 district 1 general election, we do not find evidence of racially polarized voting since a majority of voters from all racial/ethnic groups supported Vargas: 53% of Latino voters, 66% of Asian American voters, and 68% of non-Hispanic white voters were estimated to support Vargas, who won the election in district 1.

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

Supervisor District 1			
	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. white Voter Support %
2012 Primary Election			
*Greg Cox**	**65%**	**78%**	**71%**
Brant Will	35%	22%	29%
2020 Primary Election			
Henry Belisle	2%	5%	2%
Rafa Castellanos	8%	**20%**	**28%**
Alex Galicia	3%	17%	26%
Ben Hueso*	**42%**	**20%**	12%
Camilo Marquez	3%	2%	4%
Sophia Rodriguez	18%	19%	7%
Nora Vargas*	23%	13%	13%
Tony Villafranca	1%	5%	5%
2020 General Election			
Ben Hueso	47%	34%	32%
Nora Vargas*	**53%**	**66%**	**68%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner(s). There is no 2016 election as the candidate who won was unopposed. In 2012, Cox won the primary with >50% so there was no general election.

In addition to these racially polarized voting results, we have visualized these results by plotting the vote for the candidate of choice in the elections by the % of the racial and ethnic group in the district. These plots are included in the appendix. Later, we report the ecological inference (EI) and homogenous precinct analysis (HPA) analyses for this district as well.

Analysis of Supervisor elections in District 2

Since the last redistricting, there were three elections to determine the supervisor for District 2: in 2012, 2016 and 2020. In the 2012 primary, incumbent Dianne Jacob successfully ran for reelection against challenger Rudy Reyes who is a member of the Barona Band of Mission Indians. Reyes again challenged Jacob in the 2016 primary election but Jacob retained her seat. In 2020, Jacob did not run for reelection. Thus, the primary election in 2020 featured no incumbent and had four candidates. Of these four candidates running in the 2020 primary, Kenya Taylor self-identifies as African American. The general election in 2020 was between Joel Anderson and Steve Vaus.

The racial polarization analyses for 2012, 2016, and 2020 are displayed in Table 2 below. In 2012, incumbent Jacob was the overwhelming candidate of choice among non-Hispanic white voters. Jacob was also the candidate of choice among Latino voters, but at a much lower rate (59%) compared to non-Hispanic whites (82%). Reyes was the candidate of choice for Asian American voters, although their vote was more evenly split across the two candidates. In the 2016 contest between Jacob and Reyes, the analysis finds that Reyes was the candidate of choice for both Latino and Asian American voters, while non-Hispanic white voters continued to overwhelmingly support Jacob. Even though both Latino and Asian American voters supported Reyes, Jacob was able to retain her seat in 2016 with 73% of the district vote due to support from non-Hispanic white voters.

Table 2: District 2 estimates of candidate vote share by racial group

Supervisor District 2			
	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. white Voter Support %
2012 Primary Election			
*Dianne Jacob**	**59%**	48%	**82%**
Rudy Reyes	41%	**52%**	18%
2016 Primary Election			
*Dianne Jacob**	43%	31%	**81%**
Rudy Reyes	**57%**	**69%**	19%
2020 Primary Election			
Brian Sesko	7%	<1%	7%
Joel Anderson*	31%	<1%	**40%**
Kenya Taylor	**52%**	**81%**	16%
Steve Vaus*	10%	48%	37%
2020 General Election			
Joel Anderson*	**53%**	12%	**51%**
Steve Vaus	47%	**88%**	50%

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner(s). In 2012 and 2016, Jacob won the primary with >50% so there was no general election.

For the open seat in the 2020 primary election, majorities of Latino and Asian American voters supported the same candidate (Taylor) while the largest group of non-Hispanic white voters supported Anderson. In the 2020 general election, slight majorities of Latino and non-Hispanic white voters supported the same candidate (Anderson) but these groups were polarized from Asian American voters who preferred candidate Vaus.

Analysis of Supervisor elections in District 3

District 3 had elections in 2012, 2016, and 2020. In the 2012 primary, there was no incumbent and the race for the open seat featured five candidates. In the general election, Dave Roberts was elected to the seat. Then in the 2016 primary, incumbent Roberts ran for reelection against two challengers, and Roberts and Kristin Gaspar advanced to the general election. Roberts lost by a slim margin to Gaspar (49.7% for Roberts; 50.2% for Gaspar) in the 2016 general election. In 2020, incumbent Gaspar ran for reelection in a primary against two challengers, one of which was Olga Diaz who self-identifies as Latina. Gaspar and Terra Lawson Remer were the top two candidates in the primary and thus both advanced to the general. Gaspar lost her seat to Remer in the 2020 general election.

The ecological regression analysis, shown in Table 3 below, finds there is racially polarized voting in the primary elections but not in the general elections in District 3. For instance, in 2012, each of the three racial groups preferred a different candidate. For non-Hispanic white voters, the candidate of choice was Roberts. For Latino voters, the candidate of choice was Pate. For Asian American voters, the candidate of choice was Danon. Although Pate was the Latino candidate of choice, note that the Latino vote was relatively distributed across a number of candidates. Roberts and Danon advanced to the general election.

In 2016, Table 3 shows that Abed was the clear candidate of choice for Latinos (51% support from Latinos in the primary is estimated). Gaspar was the candidate of choice for non-Hispanic whites, but non-Hispanic white voters were more evenly split across a number of candidates. Asian Americans supported incumbent Roberts. Roberts and Gaspar advanced to the general election. Thus, the primary elections demonstrate evidence of racial polarization between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites and between Asian Americans and non-Hispanic whites.

The general elections in District 3 show less evidence of racial polarization, in contrast to the polarization observed in the primaries. In the 2012 general, the candidates effectively split the vote across all three racial/ethnic groups with slight majorities of all three groups supporting Roberts. In the 2016 general election, these racially polarized voting analyses show that 51% of Latino voters and 51% of non-Hispanic white voters supported the same candidate (Gaspar) with Asian American voters giving Gaspar just under 50% support. In the 2020 general election, the estimates suggest that a majority of Latino and Asian American voters supported candidate Remer; and that non-Hispanic white voters supported Remer as well.

Table 3: District 3 estimates of candidate vote share by racial group

Supervisor District 3			
	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. white Voter Support %
2012 Primary Election			
Steve Danon*	18%	**40%**	34%
Carl Hilliard	18%	17%	21%
Stephen Pate	**25%**	6%	4%
Dave Roberts*	23%	23%	**36%**
Bryan Ziegler	17%	13%	6%

2012 General Election			
Dave Roberts*	**51%**	**52%**	**51%**
Steve Danon	49%	48%	49%
2016 Primary Election			
*Dave Roberts**	21%	**55%**	37%
Sam Abed	**51%**	23%	23%
Kristin Gaspar*	28%	22%	**40%**
2016 General Election			
Dave Roberts	49%	**51%**	49%
Kristin Gaspar*	**51%**	49%	**51%**
2020 Primary Election			
*Kristin Gaspar**	25%	**48%**	**45%**
Olga Diaz	**70%**	11%	20%
Terra Lawson Remer*	5%	42%	35%
2020 General Election			
Kristin Gaspar	42%	33%	50%
Terra Lawson Remer*	**58%**	**67%**	50%

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner(s).

Analysis of Supervisor elections in District 4

Since 2012, District 4 has been up for election twice to choose its supervisor: in 2014 and 2018. In 2014, incumbent Ron Roberts ran unopposed in the primary election, and thus there was also no general election. Therefore, we do not estimate for 2014 as there was only one candidate. In 2018, Roberts did not run for reelection. The 2018 primary election included five candidates to fill the open seat followed by a general election between the top two candidates.

We find that there was racially polarized voting in the 2018 primary election (see Table 4). The top two candidates in the primary contest overall were Bonnie Dumanis and Nathan Fletcher. These two candidates (Dumanis and Fletcher) were also the top two candidates of choice among non-Hispanic white voters. Dumanis received 31% of non-Hispanic white voter support and Fletcher received 29% of non-Hispanic white voter support (see Table 4). The analysis suggests that Bonnie Dumanis and Nathan Fletcher both received 30% of the Asian American vote. In contrast, the Latino candidate of choice was Lori Saldaña who was estimated to receive the plurality (41%) of Latino voter support. Thus, in this primary election, there was racially polarized voting as Latino candidates preferred Saldaña, non-Hispanic white voters preferred Dumanis, and Asian American voters split between Dumanis and Fletcher.

We also estimated racially polarized voting based on ecological regression for the 2018 general election in Table 4. The analysis further finds that there was not racially polarized voting in the 2018 general election. Fletcher received the overwhelming share of the vote in the district and was the candidate of choice for Latino, Asian American and non-Hispanic white voters. It can be noted however, that Fletcher received a much higher share of the Latino vote (82%) compared to non-Hispanic white voters (65%), which demonstrates that while the majority of the two groups did not differ in their candidate of choice, there were still differences in magnitude.

Table 4: District 4 estimates of candidate vote share by racial group

Supervisor District 4			
	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. white Voter Support %
2018 Primary Election			
Bonnie Dumanis*	2%	**30%**	**31%**
Nathan Fletcher*	27%	**30%**	29%
Ken Malbrough	6%	10%	3%
Omar Passons	23%	4%	18%
Lori Saldaña	**41%**	25%	19%
2018 General Election			
Bonnie Dumanis	18%	37%	35%
Nathan Fletcher*	**82%**	**63%**	**65%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner(s). There is no 2016 election as the candidate who won was unopposed.

Analysis of Supervisor elections in District 5

Since the last redistricting, there were two elections to determine the Supervisor for District 5: in 2014 and 2018. In 2014, incumbent Bill Horn ran for reelection against challenger Jim Wood. Horn did not run for reelection in 2018. The 2018 primary election was a contest involving four candidates to fill the open seat followed by a general election between the top two candidates.

Table 5 shows that this racially polarized voting analysis has Latino voters in District 5 supporting a different candidate of choice from non-Hispanic white voters and Asian American voters. In 2014 incumbent Horn is estimated to receive 61% of non-Hispanic white voter support and 66% of Asian American voter support whereas challenger Wood was estimated to receive 76% of Latino voter support.

Then in the 2018 primary, the analysis finds that Jim Desmond was the clear candidate of choice of non-Hispanic white voters and Asian American voters, as Desmond earned an estimated 52% of non-Hispanic white voter support and 75% of Asian American voter support (see Table 5). In contrast, Michelle Gomez is the Latino candidate of choice as she earned an estimated 37% of the vote in the 2018 primary (although the Latino vote was relatively distributed across three of the four candidates). In the 2018 general election, the candidates of choice mirrored those in the primary with Desmond being the candidate of choice for non-Hispanic white and Asian American voters while Gomez was the candidate of choice for Latino voters. Desmond won the seat in 2018.

Table 5: District 5 estimates of candidate vote share by racial group

Supervisor District 5			
Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. white Voter Support %
2014 Primary Election			
*Bill Horn**	24%	**66%**	**61%**
Jim Wood	**76%**	34%	39%
2018 Primary Election			
Jacqueline Arsivaud	3%	14%	17%
Jim Desmond*	29%	**75%**	**52%**
Michelle Gomez*	**37%**	16%	18%
Jerome Jerry Kern	31%	<1%	12%
2018 General Election			
Jim Desmond*	33%	**60%**	**65%**
Michelle Gomez	**67%**	40%	35%

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner(s). In 2014, Horn won the primary with >50% so there was no general election.

Additional analyses of Supervisor elections with ecological inference and homogenous precinct analysis

The above results are conducted using ecological regression, which is a dominant method used since *Thornburg v. Gingles* to measure racially polarized voting. However, we also estimated results using ecological inference (EI), another frequently used method. The results that we estimated via EI are substantively similar to the results presented here using ecological regression (ER), so we do not display them in the text. EI can yield slightly different estimates from ER (for instance, Greg Cox in 2012 was estimated above to have 65% of the Latino vote using ER, but the EI estimate says Cox received 66% of the Latino vote). The substantive results are not significantly changed whether using ER or EI.

We also used the method of homogenous precinct analysis (HPA). This method examines voting patterns in precincts that have very high levels of voters of one racial/ethnic groups. These results are only able to be conducted in some precincts in which there are high-enough populations one of one racial/ethnic group. Thus, they are only included for District 1. These results, like the EI estimates, generally confirm the ER estimates of racially polarized voting presented here.

Racially polarized voting analyses of probative statewide elections in San Diego County (exogenous elections)

Having examined whether there is racial polarization in voting patterns in San Diego County Supervisor elections, we now will examine statewide elections in San Diego County. Additional evidence of the presence of racial polarization can be gleaned from examining voting patterns by race/ethnicity for elections held statewide in California, but only looking at voters in San Diego County. Some of the most probative elections for assessing racially polarized voting are those elections that have a candidate of one racial/ethnic group opposing a candidate of another racial/ethnic group, so we focus on those elections in this analysis of exogenous elections.

Summary of racially polarized voting analyses in San Diego County, 2012 to 2020

● As we detail below, we analyze 9 elections held in California since 2012 that feature a Latino candidate running against a non-Latino candidate (8 of these are general elections and 1 is a primary). In San Diego County, 88% of these election had racially polarized voting between Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters. Only 1 of these nine elections showed Latinos and non-Hispanic whites supporting the same candidate.

● In 38% of general elections examined (3 of 8), a majority of Latino voters and a majority of Asian American voters preferred different candidates and therefore exhibited racial polarization. In 62% of these general elections (5 of 8), there was not racial polarization in San Diego County between Latino and Asian American voters. More often than not, Latino and Asian American voters in San Diego County vote in coalition with one another for the same candidates of choice.

● In 100% of the exogenous elections analyzed where an Asian American candidate ran against a non-Asian American candidate, there is racial polarization between Asian American voters and non-Hispanic white voters. In San Diego County, a majority of non-Hispanic white voters do not support the same candidate as a majority of Asian American voters in every statewide election analyzed.

● When Asian American candidates run statewide, Asian American and Latino voters in San Diego County often vote together for the Asian candidate of choice. In 88% of elections we analyze with Asian American candidates on the ballot, a majority of Latino voters and a majority of Asian voters support the same candidate.

● The Latino candidate of choice received the most votes in 44% of elections in San Diego County (4 of the 9 probative exogenous elections). Thus, in 56% of these elections, the Latino candidate of choice received fewer votes in the county. In 67% of elections in San Diego County, the non-Hispanic white candidate of choice prevailed with the most votes in the county.

● Asian American candidates of choice received the most votes in San Diego County in 6 of 8 elections (75%) with an Asian candidate running against a non-Asian candidate.

● While there is evidence of racially polarized voting with a majority of non-Hispanic white voters frequently favoring a different candidate than the candidate preferred by a majority of Latino voters, there also are some elections that exhibit higher levels of white crossover voting in the presence of racial polarization. Some recent elections showed >40% of non-Hispanic white voters supporting the Latino candidate of choice. Across the eight elections featuring a Latino candidate versus a non-Latino candidate, an average of 31% of non-Hispanic white voters choose the Latino candidate of choice even in the presence of racially polarized voting.

Exogenous statewide elections in San Diego County

In San Diego County, over the last decade, voters had the opportunity to consider a number of statewide elections where a Latino candidate ran against a non-Latino candidate or an Asian American candidate ran against a non-Asian American candidate. These probative elections for examining racial polarization are at the state level, but we estimate racial polarization only among voters in San Diego County. Further, in the appendix, we also examine the presence of racial polarization in these statewide races, but only among voters within an individual supervisor district. This latter analysis provides additional evidence regarding the presence of racial polarization within specific districts in use from 2012 to 2020 beyond the earlier analyses of elections to the Board of Supervisors.

In San Diego County, in the last decade, we examine racial polarization in the following set of elections where voters had a choice between a Latino candidate and a non-Latino candidate (the Latino candidate is listed first):

2018 general election, Lt. Governor: Ed Hernandez vs. Eleni Kounalakis.
2018 general election, Secretary of State: Alex Padilla vs. Mark Meuser.
2018 general election, Attorney General: Xavier Becerra vs. Steven Bailey.
2018 general election, Insurance Commissioner: Ricardo Lara vs. Steve Poizner.
2018 general election, Supt. of Public Instruction: Tony Thurmond vs. Marshall Tuck.[14]
2018 general election, U.S. Senate: Kevin de León vs. Dianne Feinstein.
2016 general election, U.S. Senate: Loretta Sanchez vs. Kamala Harris.
2014 general election, Secretary of State: Alex Padilla vs. Pete Peterson.
2018 primary election, Governor: Antonio Villaraigosa vs. Gavin Newsom vs. John Cox.

In addition, over the past decade, San Diego County voters also participated in a number of statewide elections where an Asian American candidate ran against a non-Asian American candidate. We will examine these elections for San Diego voters only and they are listed below, with the Asian American candidate listed first:

2020 general election, President: Biden-Harris vs. Trump-Pence.[15]
2018 general election, Controller: Betty Yee vs. Konstantinos Roditis.
2018 general election, Treasurer: Fiona Ma vs. Greg Conlon.
2016 general election, U.S. Senate: Kamala Harris vs. Loretta Sanchez.[16]
2014 general election, Governor: Neel Kashkari vs. Jerry Brown.[17]
2014 general election, Controller: Betty Yee vs. Ashley Swearingen.
2014 general election, Treasurer: John Chiang vs. Greg Conlon.
2014 general election, Attorney General: Kamala Harris vs. Ronald Gold.

[14] Tony Thurmond identifies as both Latino and Black.

[15] Kamala Harris identifies as both Asian American and Black.

[16] While listed here, this U.S. Senate election is also included in the previous list of elections where a Latino candidate ran. We will present the results only once for this 2016 U.S. Senate election below.

[17] As we show later, a non-Hispanic white candidate, Jerry Brown, was the Asian American candidate of choice in San Diego County and not Neel Kashkari, who is Asian American.

Analysis of racially polarized voting in San Diego County: statewide elections with Latino candidates on the ballot

We first look at elections where Latino candidates ran against non-Latino candidates, and we assess voting patterns by race and ethnicity across the entire county. These results are presented below in reverse chronological order.

San Diego County, Lieutenant Governor, 2018 general election

In the 2018 election for Lieutenant Governor, Ed Hernandez, a Latino candidate, faced Eleni Kounalakis, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 6, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2018 election for Lieutenant Governor. The estimates suggest that 57.9% of Latino voters preferred Hernandez, while 54.2% of Asian American voters and 80.4% of non-Hispanic white voters favored Kounalakis. Kounalakis was the top vote-getter among all San Diego County voters, and she also won statewide. Thus, in this instance the non-Hispanic white candidate of choice defeated the candidate of choice of Latino voters.

Table 6: Racially polarized voting analysis, Lt. Gov., 2018 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Lieutenant Governor, 2018			
Ed Hernandez (L)	**57.9%**	45.8%	19.6%
Eleni Kounalakis (W)	42.1%	**54.2%**	**80.4%**

* Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate

San Diego County, Secretary of State, 2018 general election

In the 2018 election for Secretary of State, Alex Padilla, a Latino candidate, faced Mark Meuser, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 7, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2018 Secretary of State election. The estimates suggest that 88.4% of Latino voters preferred Padilla, and that 99% of Asian American voters favored Padilla, while 56.8% of non-Hispanic white voters favored Meuser. While there is polarization in this election, there is a large proportion (>40%) of crossover votes from non-Hispanic white voters for the Latino candidate of choice (especially in contrast to results seen in Table 6 for lt. governor).

Table 7: Racially polarized voting analysis, Sec. of State, 2018 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Secretary of State, 2018			
*Alex Padilla (L)**	**88.4%**	**99.0%**	43.2%
Mark Meuser (W)	11.6%	1.0%	**56.8%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate

San Diego County, Attorney General, 2018 general election

In the 2018 election for Attorney General, Xavier Becerra, a Latino candidate, faced Steven Bailey, a non-Hispanic White candidate. Becerra was the incumbent, having been appointed to the position by Gov. Jerry Brown when a vacancy occurred due to the previous Attorney General, Kamala Harris, being elected to the U.S. Senate. As shown in Table 8 below, Becerra was the candidate of choice of Latino voters and of Asian American voters, while Becerra was not the choice of a majority of non-Hispanic white voters. Table 8 reveals that 87.4% of Latino voters and 99% of Asian American voters favored Becerra, while 58.1% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Bailey. While there is polarization in this election, there is a large proportion (>40%) of crossover votes from non-Hispanic white voters for the Latino candidate of choice. Becerra won the most votes in San Diego County, and also won the statewide election.

Table 8: Racially polarized voting analysis, Atty. General, 2018 general election, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Attorney General, 2018			
Xavier Becerra (L)*	**87.4%**	**> 99.0%**	41.9%
Steven Bailey (W)	12.6%	< 1.0%	**58.1%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Insurance Commissioner, 2018 general election

In the 2018 election for Insurance Commissioner, Ricardo Lara, who is Latino, faced Steve Poizner, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 9, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2018 Insurance Commissioner election. The estimates suggest that 85.4% of Latino voters and 93.5% of Asian American voters favored Lara, while 70.6% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Poizner. Lara received more votes in the county than Poizner, and thus the Latino candidate of choice won in San Diego County.

Table 9: Racially polarized voting analysis, Insurance Comm. 2018 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Insurance Commissioner, 2018			
Ricardo Lara (L)*	**85.4%**	**93.5%**	29.4%
Steve Poizner (W)	14.6%	6.5%	**70.6%**

*Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018 general election

In the 2018 election for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tony Thurmond faced Marshall Tuck. Thurmond identifies as Latino and Black; while Tuck was a non-Hispanic white candidate. Our estimates suggest that Latino voters were split almost evenly in their preferences between Thurmond and Tuck. The analysis suggests that 50.0% of Latino voters and 66.9% of Asian American voters favored Thurmond,

while 71.1% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Tuck. Unlike other statewide elections with a Latino candidate, Latino voters in this election were pretty evenly split across both of these candidates. There is racial polarization between Asian American and non-Hispanic white voters as these groups' majorities favored different candidates. Tuck won the most votes in San Diego County, though Thurmond won the statewide election.

Table 10: Racially polarized voting analysis, Supt. of Pub. Inst, 2018 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018			
Tony Thurmond (L)	**50.0%**	**66.9%**	28.9%
Marshall Tuck (W)*	**50.0%**	33.1%	**71.1%**

*Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, U.S. Senate, 2018 general election

In the 2018 election for U.S. Senate, Kevin de León, a Latino candidate, faced incumbent Senator Dianne Feinstein, a non-Hispanic white candidate. In 2018, Feinstein was running for her sixth term in the U.S. Senate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 11, suggests some level of racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2018 election for U.S. Senate. The estimates suggest that 53.6% of Latino voters in San Diego County preferred de León, while 61.5% of Asian-American voters and 64.7% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Feinstein. While there is polarization in this election, there is a large proportion (>35%) of crossover votes from non-Hispanic white voters for the Latino candidate of choice. Feinstein, the white and Asian candidate of choice, won more votes in San Diego County.

Table 11: Racially polarized voting analysis, U.S. Senate, 2018 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
United States Senate, 2018			
Kevin de León (L)	**53.6%**	38.5%	35.3%
Dianne Feinstein (W)*	46.4%	**61.5%**	**64.7%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, U.S. Senate, 2016 general election

In the 2016 election for the U.S. Senate, Loretta Sanchez, a Latina candidate, faced Kamala Harris, who identifies as African American and Asian American. Table 12 shows evidence of racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2016 election for U.S. Senate. The estimates suggest that 67% of Latino voters in San Diego County preferred Sanchez, while 59.0% of Asian American voters and 76.8% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Harris. Harris won San Diego County, and won the state.

Table 12: Racially polarized voting analysis, U.S. Senate, 2016 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
United States Senate, 2016			
Loretta Sanchez (L)	**67.0%**	41.0%	23.2%
Kamala Harris (A/B)*	33.0%	**59.0%**	**76.8%**

* Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Secretary of State, 2014 general election

In the 2014 election for Secretary of State, Alex Padilla, a Latino candidate, faced Pete Peterson, a non-Hispanic white candidate. This election was an open seat with no incumbent in the general election. Table 13 shows that there was racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2014 election for Secretary of State. The analysis suggests that 86.8% of Latino voters and 85.5% of Asian American voters in San Diego County favored Padilla, while 70.9% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Peterson. Peterson received the most votes in San Diego County, though Padilla prevailed in the statewide election.

Table 13: Racially polarized voting analysis, Secretary of State, 2014 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Secretary of State, 2014			
Alex Padilla (L)	**86.8%**	**85.5%**	29.1%
Pete Peterson (W)*	13.2%	14.5%	**70.9%**

* Designates the winner in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Governor, 2018, primary election

In the 2018 open top-two primary for Governor, Antonio Villaraigosa, a Latino candidate and former mayor of Los Angeles, faced Gavin Newsom and John Cox, both non-Hispanic white candidates, among other candidates. These candidates were the top three finishers in the primary election, and thus we present support by race/ethnicity for just these three candidates. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 14 for the countywide results, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2018 primary election for Governor. Villaraigosa was favored by 43% of Latino voters. Newsom received 19.3% of Latino voter support. John Cox was the candidate of choice of non-Hispanic white voters with 42.5% of support from that racial group. Cox won the most votes in San Diego County overall. Newsom received the second-most voters overall in San Diego County in the primary. In the state, Newson and Cox advanced to the general election.

Table 14: Racially polarized voting, Governor, primary election 2018, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
San Diego County		
Gavin Newsom (W)	19.3%	31.5%
John Cox (W)*	1.9%	**42.5%**
Antonio Villaraigosa (L)	**43.0%**	1.8%

* Designates the winner of the primary in San Diego County. L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

Analysis of racially polarized voting in San Diego County: statewide elections with Asian American candidates on the ballot

As shown in the previous section, when Latino candidates run for office, San Diego County's Latino and non-Hispanic white voters polarize in most elections (8 of the 9, or 88%, exhibit racial polarization). Asian American candidates, in a majority of the above elections, voted with Latino voters for Latino candidates – though not always.

Next, we examine elections where Asian American candidates ran against non-Asian American candidates, and assess voting patterns by race/ethnicity across all of San Diego County. We summarized the elections featuring Asian American candidates that we analyze. These elections are discussed below in reversed chronological order:

San Diego County, President, 2020 general

In the 2020 presidential election, incumbent President Donald Trump, along with running mate Vice President Mike Pence, faced former Vice President Joe Biden and California U.S. Senator Kamala Harris. Harris identifies as both Asian American and Black American. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 15, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2020 presidential election. The results demonstrate that the Biden-Harris ticket was the preference of 76.4% of Latino voters and 89.4% of Asian-American voters, but that the Trump-Pence ticket was the preference of 57.4% of non-Hispanic white voters in San Diego County. Asian and Latino candidates voted in coalition for the Asian candidate of choice, and 42.6% of non-Hispanic white voters did also.

Table 15: Racially polarized voting analysis, President, general election 2020, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
President, 2020			
Biden-Harris (W/A&B)*	**76.4%**	**89.4%**	42.6%
Trump-Pence (W/W)	23.6%	10.6%	**57.4%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. A&B=Biracial Asian American and Black candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Controller, 2018 general

In the 2018 election for Controller, Betty Yee, an Asian American candidate, faced Konstantinos Roditis, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 16, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2018 Controller election. The analysis suggests that 87.1% of Latino voters and about 99% of Asian American voters preferred Yee, while 56.7% of non-Hispanic white voters favored Roditis. Yee won San Diego County overall in 2018.

Table 16: Racially polarized voting analysis, Controller, 2018 general election, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Controller, 2018			
Betty Yee (A)*	**87.1%**	**> 99.0%**	43.3%
Steven Bailey (W)	12.9%	< 1.0%	**56.7%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. A=Asian American candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Treasurer, 2018 general

In the 2018 election for Treasurer, Fiona Ma, an Asian American candidate, faced Greg Conlon, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 17, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2018 Treasurer election. The estimates suggest that, in San Diego County, 87.1% of Latino voters and greater than 99% of Asian American voters favored Ma, while 58.4% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Conlon. Even though there was racial polarization in voting, Ma won the most votes in San Diego County overall through a coalition of cohesive Latino voters, cohesive Asian American voters, and slightly more than 40% of white crossover voters.

Table 17: Racially polarized voting analysis, Treasurer 2018 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Treasurer, 2018			
Fiona Ma (A)*	**87.1%**	**> 99.0%**	41.6%
Greg Conlon (W)	12.9%	< 1.0%	**58.4%**

* Designates the winner in San Diego County. A=Asian American candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Governor, 2014 general

In the 2014 election for Governor, Neel Kashkari, an Asian American candidate, faced incumbent Governor Jerry Brown, a non-Hispanic white candidate. Table 18 shows that there was racially polarized voting in San Diego County during the 2014 election for Governor. The estimates suggest that 89.1% of Latino voters and a large percentage of Asian American voters in San Diego County favored Brown, while 61.3% of White voters preferred Kashkari. These results suggest that Neel Kashkari was not the Asian

American candidate of choice, even though Kashkari is Asian American. Jerry Brown won the most votes overall in San Diego County.

Table 18: Racially polarized voting analysis, Governor, 2014 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Governor, 2014			
Neel Kashkari (A)	10.9%	< 1.0%	**61.3%**
Edmund "Jerry" Brown (W)*	**89.1%**	**> 99.0%**	38.7%

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. A=Asian American candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Controller, 2014 general

In the 2014 election for Controller, Betty Yee, an Asian American candidate, faced Ashley Swearingen, a non-Hispanic white candidate who was mayor of Fresno. Racially polarized voting analyses are presented in Table 19. These results suggest racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2014 election for Controller. Our analysis suggests in the 2014 general election in San Diego County that 84.5% of Latino voters and 86.8% of Asian American voters in San Diego County favored Yee, while 70.0% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Swearingen. Swearingen won the most voters overall in San Diego County, though Betty Yee won the statewide election.

Table 19: Racially polarized voting analysis, Controller, 2014 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Controller, 2018			
Betty Yee (A)	**84.5%**	**86.8%**	30.0%
Ashley Swearingen (W)*	15.5%	13.2%	**70.0%**

* Designates the winner in San Diego County. A=Asian American candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Treasurer, 2014 general election

In the 2014 election for Treasurer, John Chiang, an Asian-American candidate, faced Greg Conlon, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 20, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2014 election for Treasurer. The data reveal that 83.0% of Latino voters and 94.6% of Asian American voters in San Diego County favored Chiang, while 63.8% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Conlon. Chiang won more votes in San Diego County overall than did Conlon.

Table 20: Racially polarized voting analysis, Treasurer, 2014 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Controller, 2018			
John Chiang (A)*	**83.0%**	**94.6%**	36.2%
Greg Conlon (W)	17.0%	5.4%	**63.8%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. A=Asian American candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

San Diego County, Attorney General, 2014 general election

In the 2014 election for Attorney General, Kamala Harris, a biracial Black and Asian American candidate, faced Ronald Gold, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table 21, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County in the 2014 election for Attorney General. These results in Table 19 show voting cohesion by Latino and Asian American voters: 80.4% of Latino voters and 89.7% of Asian American voters in San Diego County favored Harris, while 67.8% of non-Hispanic white voters preferred Gold. Ronald Gold won the most votes in total in San Diego County.

Table 21: Racially polarized voting analysis, Atty. General, 2014 general, San Diego County

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Asian American Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Voter Support %
Attorney General, 2018			
Kamala Harris (A&B)	**80.4%**	**89.7%**	32.2%
Ronald Gold (W)*	19.6%	10.3%	**67.8%**

Italicized candidate is the incumbent. * Designates the winner in San Diego County. A&B=Asian American and Black candidate; W=Non-Hispanic white candidate.

Additional analyses of exogenous statewide elections with the method of ecological inference

The above results are conducted using ecological regression, which is one of the dominant methods used since *Thornburg v. Gingles* to measure racially polarized voting. However, we also estimated these results above using ecological inference (EI). These results are substantively similar to the results presented here using ecological regression (ER). Since there are not major differences in interpretation between the ER results presented in the text and the additional EI estimates, we do not display the EI results in the text.

In addition to these county-wide racially polarized voting analyses, we also estimated Latino voters' and non-Hispanic voters' preferences for these statewide candidates, but within each Supervisor district. These results are displayed in the appendix for greater information. This appendix simply lists the voting patterns among Latino voters, Asian American voters, and non-Hispanic white voters for these statewide candidates but focused only on the voters within each Supervisor district.

Appendices

Appendix A: Ecological Inference (EI) estimates of racially polarized voting, exogenous elections, San Diego County (L=Latino candidate; W=non-Hispanic white candidate; B=Black candidate):

Table A1: Vote for Lt. Governor, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Ed Hernandez (L)	59%	41%	21%
Eleni Kounalakis (W)	41%	59%	79%

Table A2: Vote for Secretary of State, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Alex Padilla (L)	89%	73%	44%
Mark Meuser (W)	11%	27%	56%

Table A3: Vote for Attorney General, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Xavier Becerra (L)	88%	69%	42%
Steven Bailey (W)	12%	31%	58%

Table A4: Vote for Insurance Commissioner, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Ricardo Lara (L)	86%	71%	30%
Steve Poizner (W)	14%	29%	70%

Table A5: Vote for U.S. Senate, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Kevin de León (L)	53%	13%	39%
Dianne Feinstein (W)	46%	87%	61%

Table A6: Vote for Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Tony Thurmond (L/B)	50%	54%	44%
Marshall Tuck (W)	50%	46%	56%

Table A7: Vote for U.S. Senate, 2016 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Loretta Sanchez (L)	66%	40%	23%
Kamala Harris (A/B)	34%	60%	77%

Table A8: Vote for US President, 2020 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Biden (W) / Harris (B)	78%	68%	45%
Trump (W) / Pence (W)	22%	32%	55%

Table A9: Vote for Controller, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Betty Yee (A)	88%	75%	44%
Konstantinos Roditis (W)	12%	25%	56%

Table A10: Vote for Treasurer, 2018 general election, San Diego County, ecological inference (EI)

Candidate	Latino voter %	Asian-American voter %	Non-Hisp. white voter %
Fiona Ma (A)	88%	75%	43%
Greg Conlon (W)	12%	25%	57%

Appendix B: Homogenous Precinct Analysis (HPA)

Another method other than ecological regression and ecological inference for determining racially polarized voting is homogenous precinct analysis. In practice, homogenous precincts are defined as those where one racial group makes up a very large percentage of the precinct. For example, a homogenous Latino precinct would be one in which 90% or greater of the precinct is Latino. A homogenous precinct analysis offers one method of making inferences about Latino voter preferences given that nearly all voters in a precinct are Latino. We then compare vote preferences in homogenous Latino precincts against vote outcomes in homogenous non-Hispanic white precincts. Below, we show voting patterns for Supervisor candidates in precincts that are >90% Latino, >80% Latino, and >70% Latino in one Supervisor district with a large Latino population and thus a larger number of homogenous precincts to analyze.

There are not sufficient homogenous precincts in Supervisor districts 2 through 5 for reliable estimates using HPA. Thus, we only present HPA results for District 1. Further, in district 1, there are not enough homogenous Asian precincts to analyze.

In Supervisor District 1, we analyzed precincts that were at least 90% Latino, 80% Latino, and 70% Latino. There were varying levels of homogenous precincts at these different cutoff levels (70, 80, 90) so we present all three. We present data on the 2012 general and 2020 primary, which is generally consistent with the results presented from ecological regression in the text and from ecological inference in the appendix.

Table B1. Homogenous Latino Precincts, Supervisor District 1

	90% Latino	80% Latino	70% Latino
2012 Primary Election			
*Greg Cox**	67%	68%	66%
Brant Will	33%	32%	34%
2020 Primary Election			
Henry Belisle	2%	2%	3%
Rafa Castellanos	11%	11%	12%
Alex Galicia	6%	6%	7%
Ben Hueso*	41%	39%	37%
Camilo Marquez	2%	2%	2%
Sophia Rodriguez	16%	16%	16%
Nora Vargas*	23%	22%	21%
Tony Villafranca	1%	1%	2%
2020 General Election			
Ben Hueso	45%	48%	48%
Nora Vargas*	55%	52%	52%

Table B2. Homogenous non-Hispanic white Precincts, Supervisor District 1

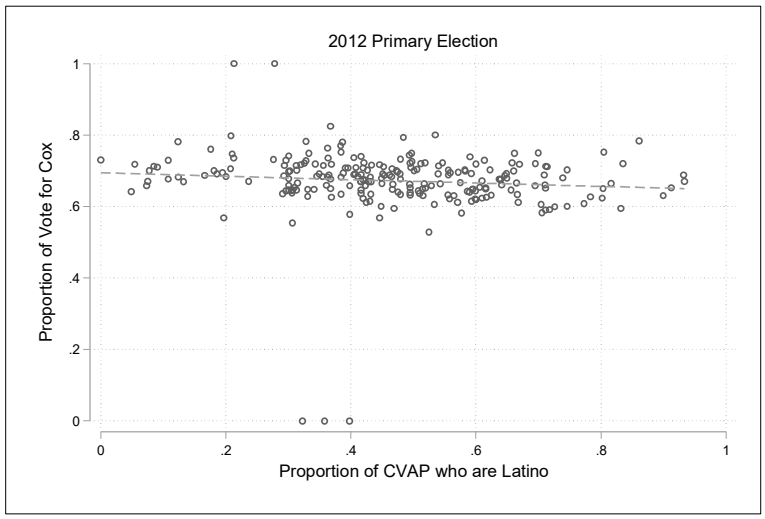
	90% white	80% white	70% white
2012 Primary Election			
Greg Cox*	73%	70%	70%
Brant Will	28%	30%	30%
2020 Primary Election			
Henry Belisle	3%	4%	3%
Rafa Castellanos	21%	24%	23%
Alex Galicia	26%	22%	20%
Ben Hueso*	16%	20%	20%
Camilo Marquez	3%	4%	3%
Sophia Rodriguez	7%	9%	11%
Nora Vargas*	24%	15%	14%
Tony Villafranca	2%	3%	5%

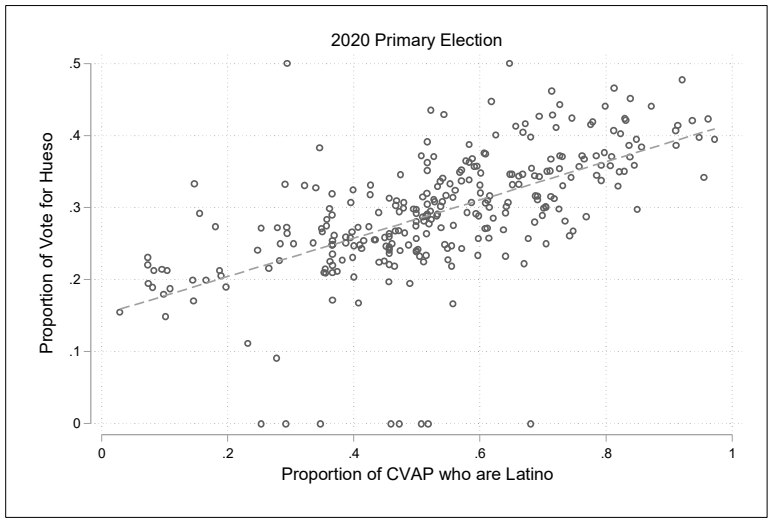
Appendix C: Visualizations of voting patterns, Board of Supervisor Districts, 2012-20

In addition to the results presented in the text of the report and in the other appendices, we also wanted to present visual plots of the relationship between the percentage of a racial/ethnic group in a precinct and vote percentage in each precinct for the candidate of choice. Below are these visualizations where we plot the % of the vote received for each candidate preferred by the most Latino voters in each election contest on the y-axis; and the x-axis is the % Latino in the precinct. Steep slopes may indicate high levels of racial polarization. These visualizations provide supplemental information to the estimates provided in the tables in the text of the report.

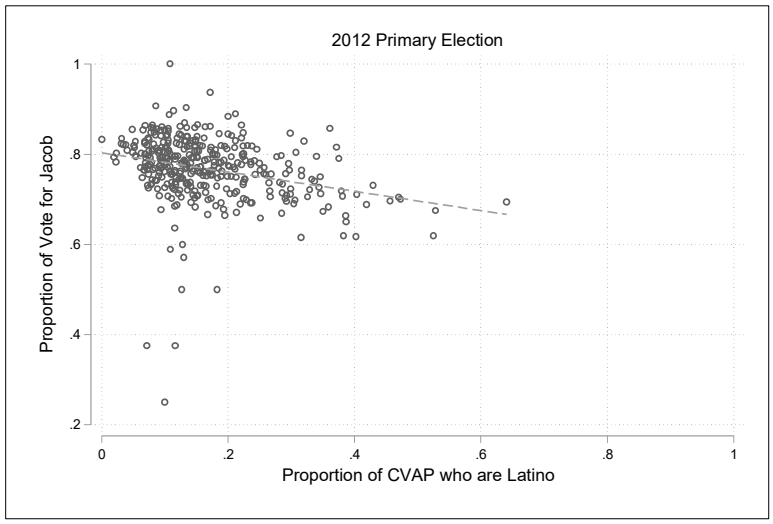
Further, while not displayed in the text, we also examined whether the percentage Latino, percentage Asian, and percentage non-Hispanic white was correlated with the percentage vote share at a statistically significant level for the ecological regression analyses presented in the text.

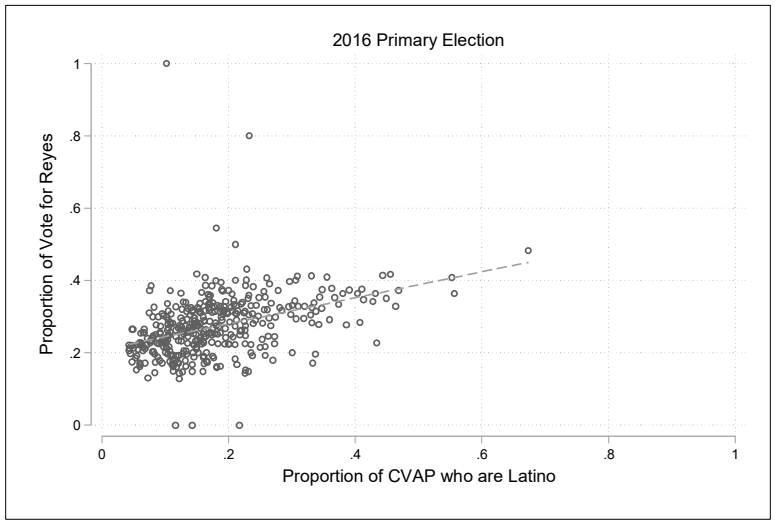
District 1, San Diego County Board of Supervisors, Plots of % Latino on % Vote for Latino Candidates of Choice

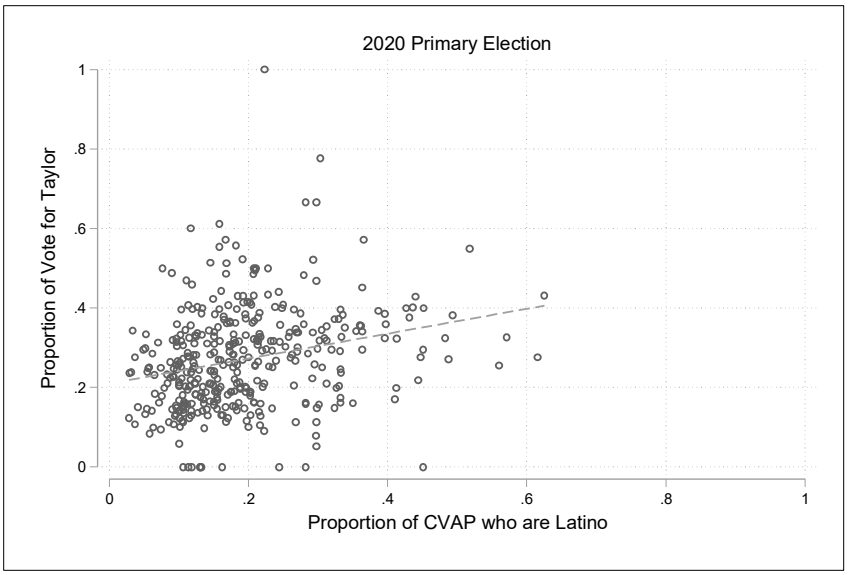


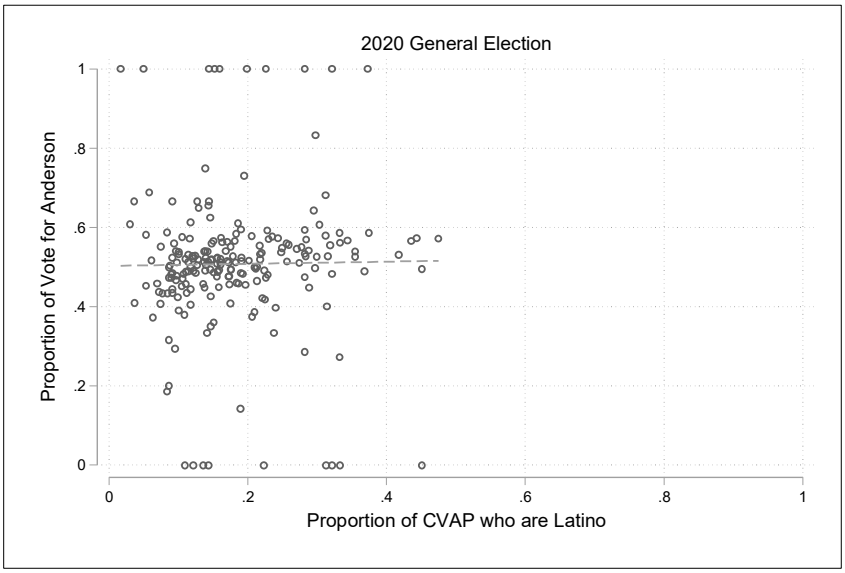


District 2, San Diego County Board of Supervisors, Plots of % Latino on % Vote for Latino Candidates of Choice

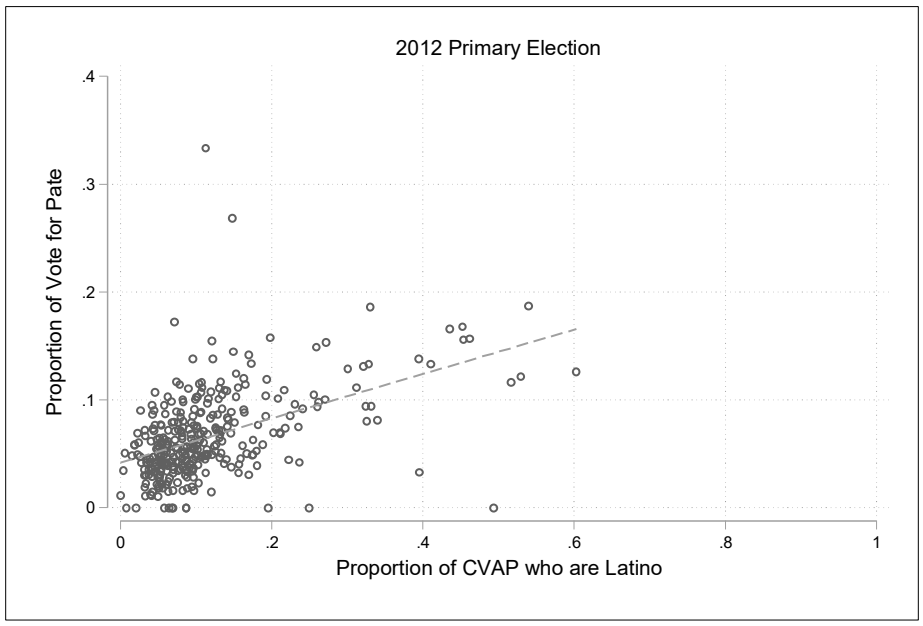


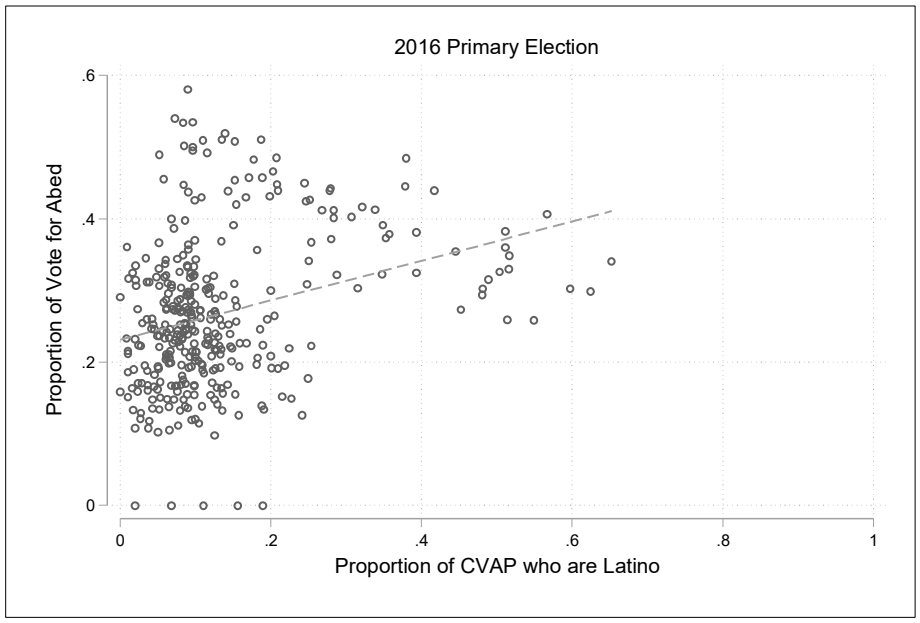


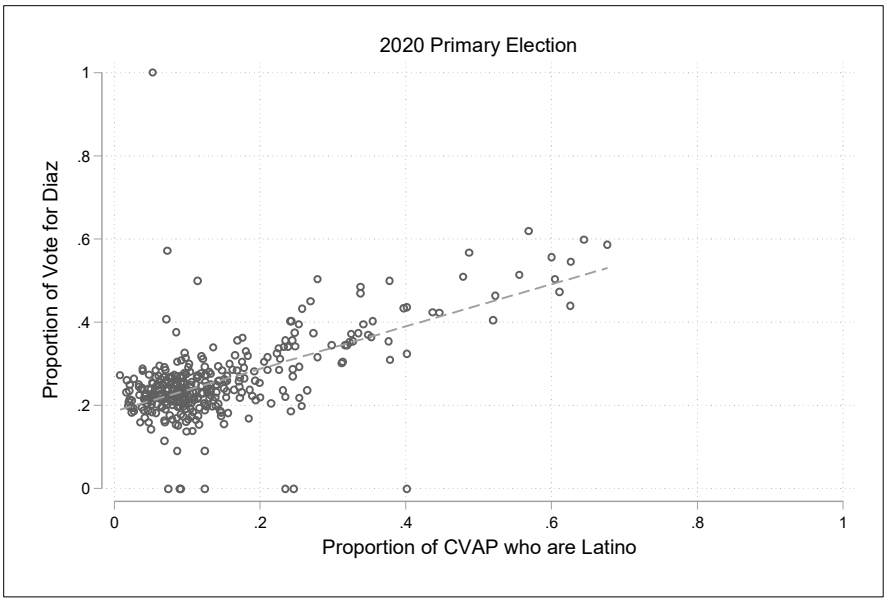

2020 Primary Election
Proportion of Vote for Taylor
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
Proportion of CVAP who are Latino

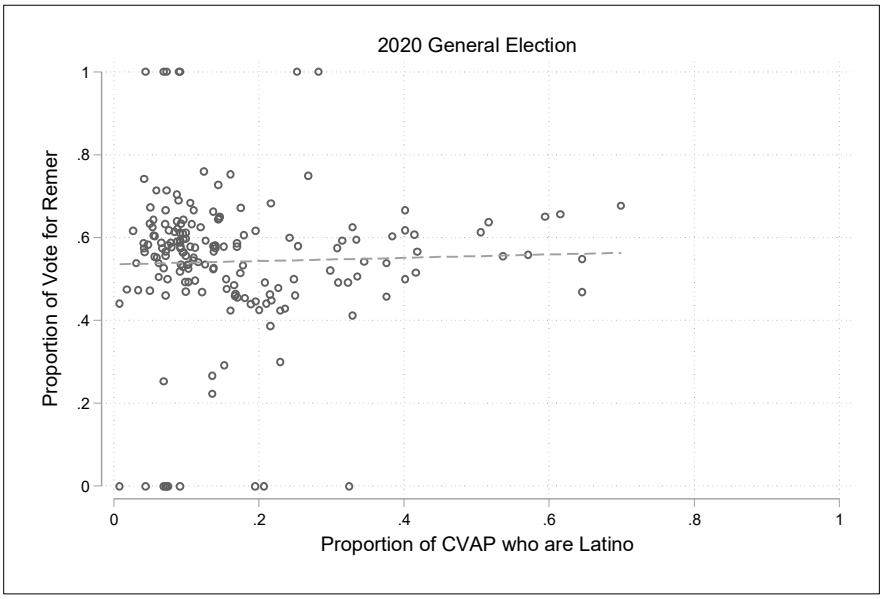

2020 General Election
Proportion of Vote for Anderson
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
Proportion of CVAP who are Latino

District 3, San Diego County Board of Supervisors, Plots of % Latino on % Vote for Latino Candidates of Choice

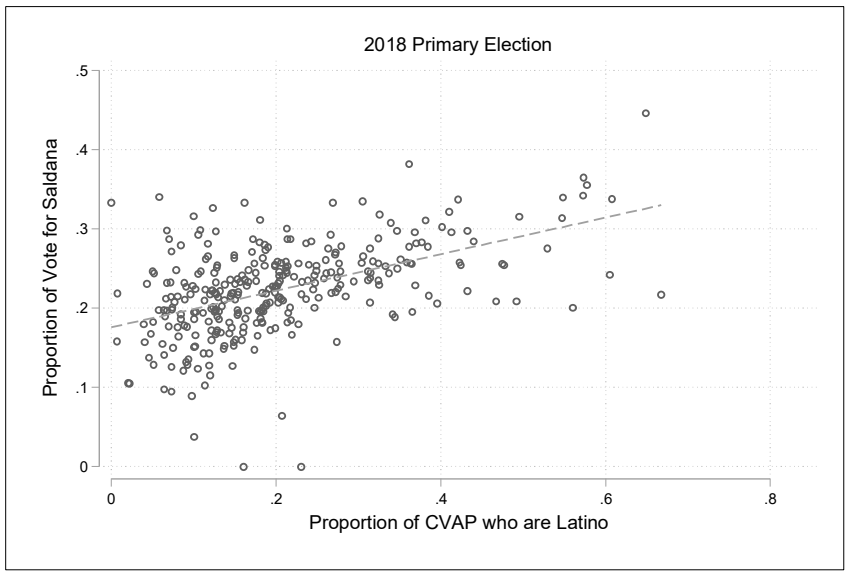


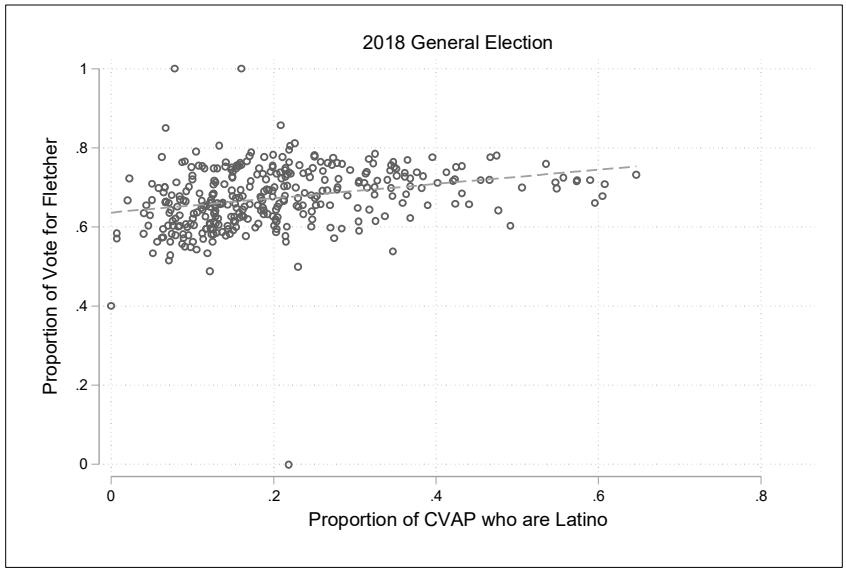



2020 Primary Election
Proportion of Vote for Diaz
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
Proportion of CVAP who are Latino

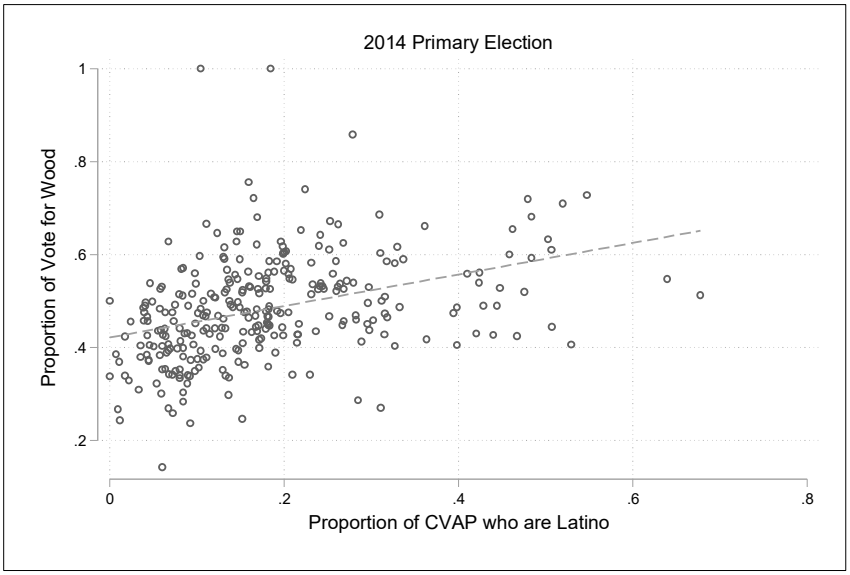

2020 General Election
Proportion of Vote for Remer
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
Proportion of CVAP who are Latino

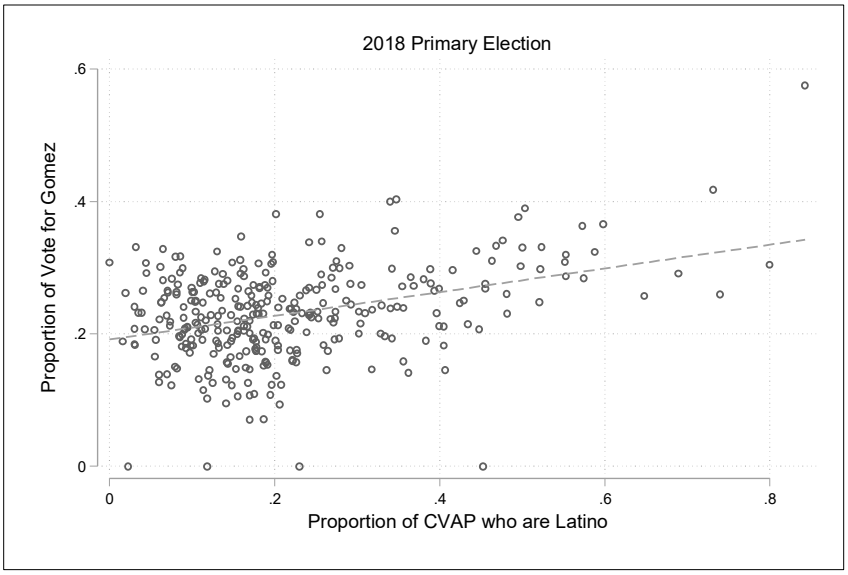
District 4, San Diego County Board of Supervisors, Plots of % Latino on % Vote for Latino Candidates of Choice

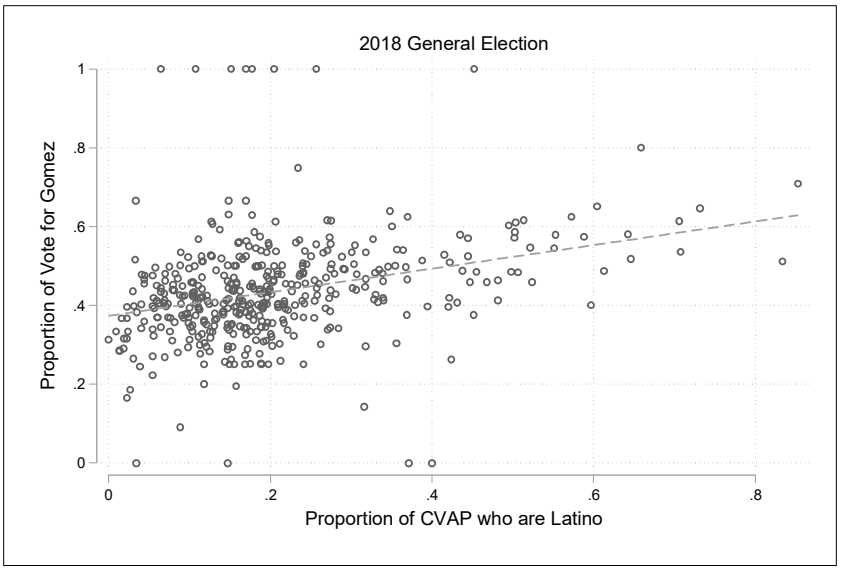




District 5, San Diego County Board of Supervisors, Plots of % Latino on % Vote for Latino Candidates of Choice

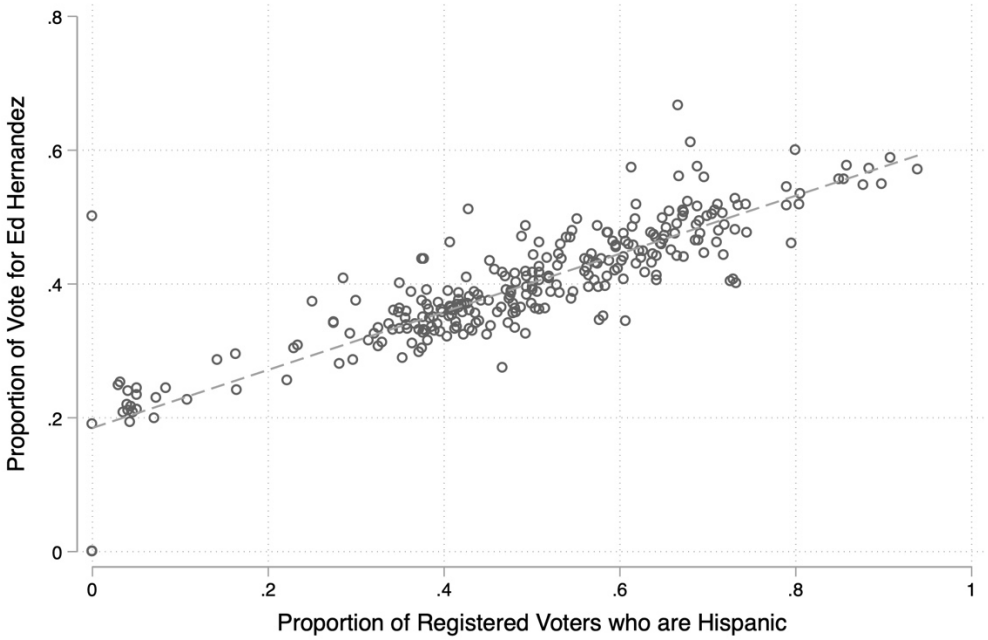




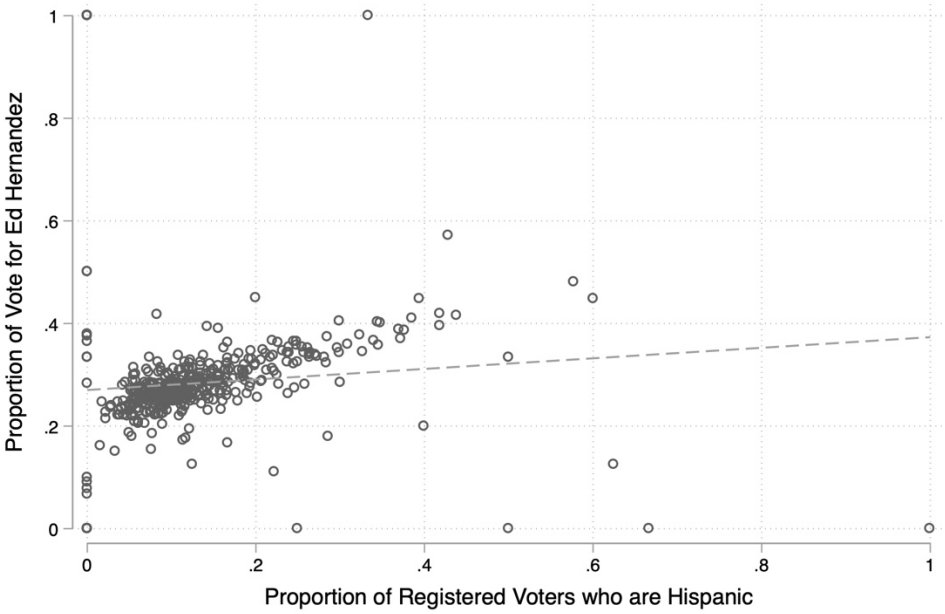

2018 General Election
Proportion of Vote for Gomez
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
Proportion of CVAP who are Latino

Appendix: Visualizations of voting patterns, exogenous statewide elections featuring Latino vs. Non-Latino candidates, estimated in Board of Supervisor Districts, 2012-20

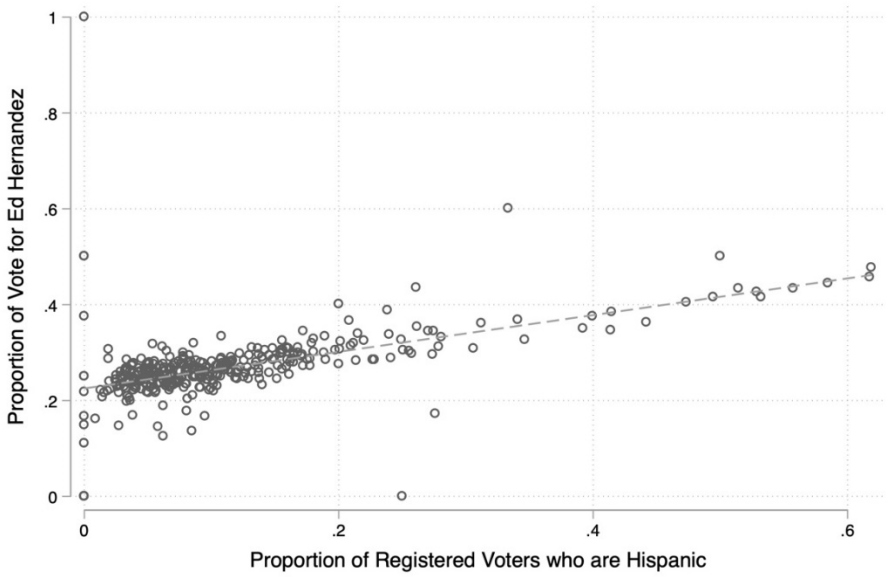
Lieutenant Governor, 2018, Supervisor District 1



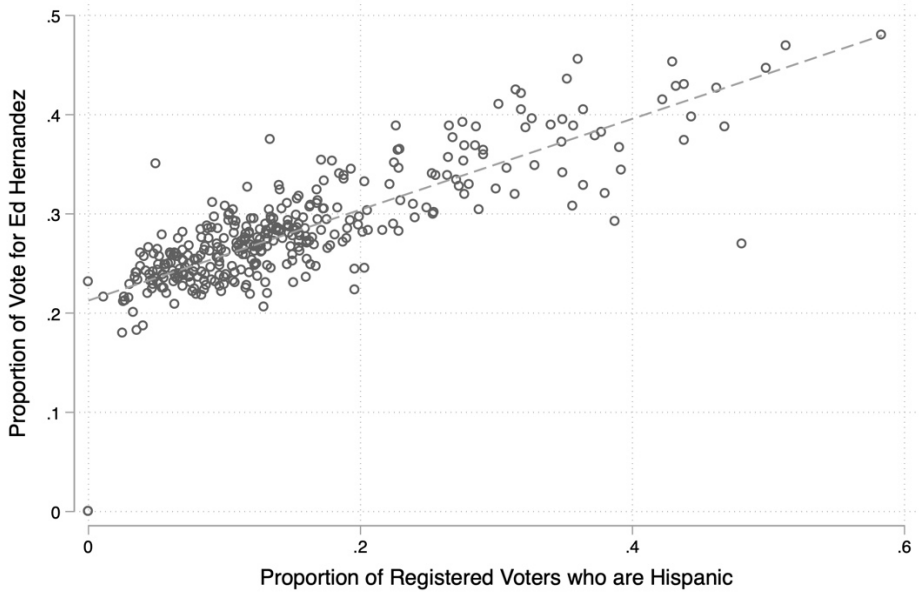
Lieutenant Governor, 2018, Supervisor District 2



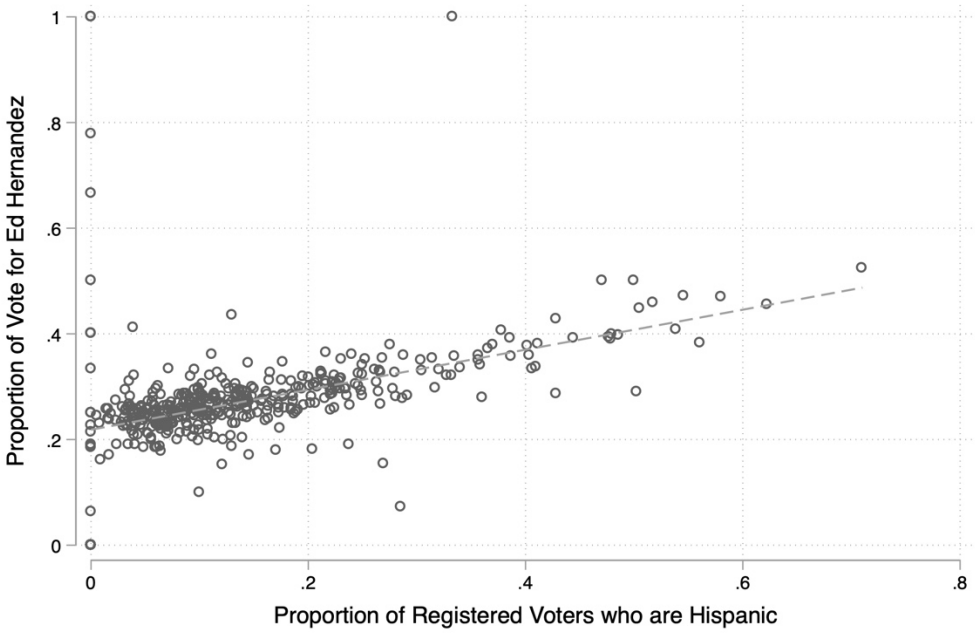
Lieutenant Governor, 2018, Supervisor District 3



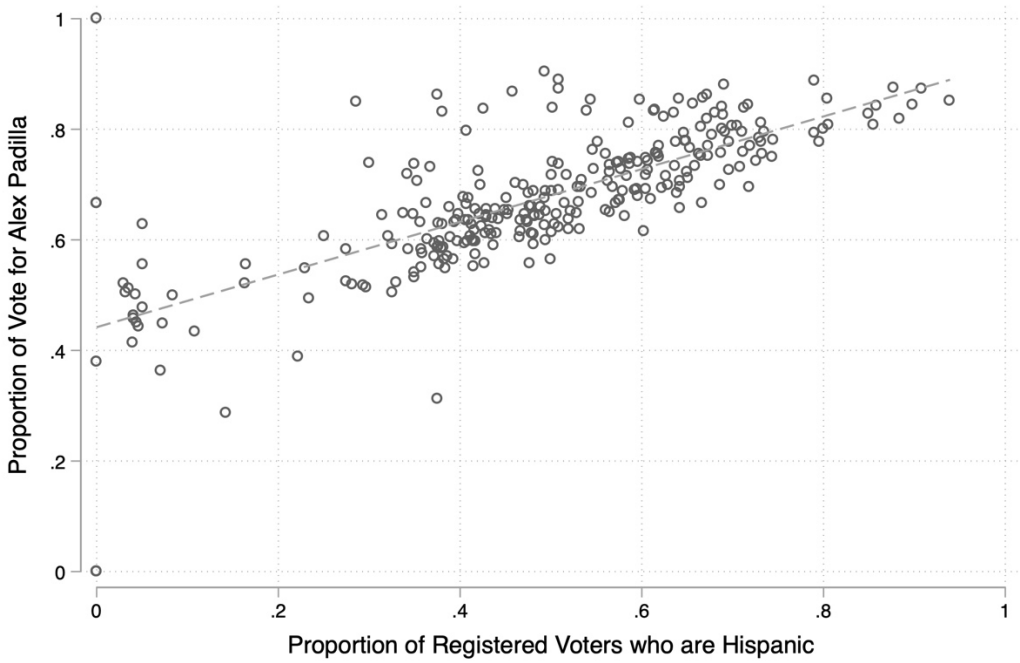
Lieutenant Governor, 2018, Supervisor District 4



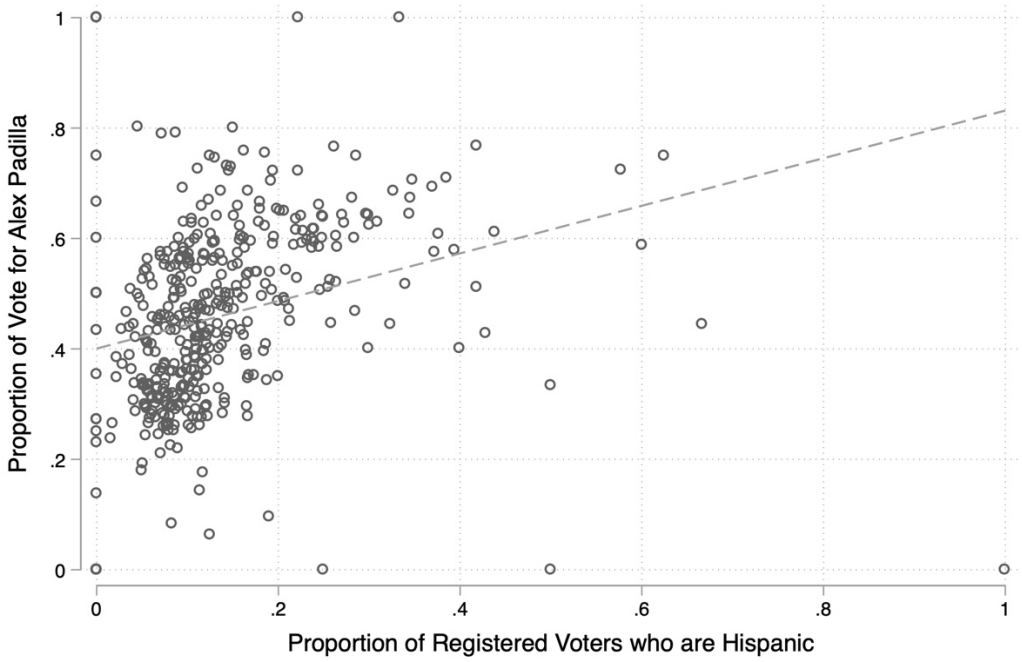
Lieutenant Governor, 2018, Supervisor District 5



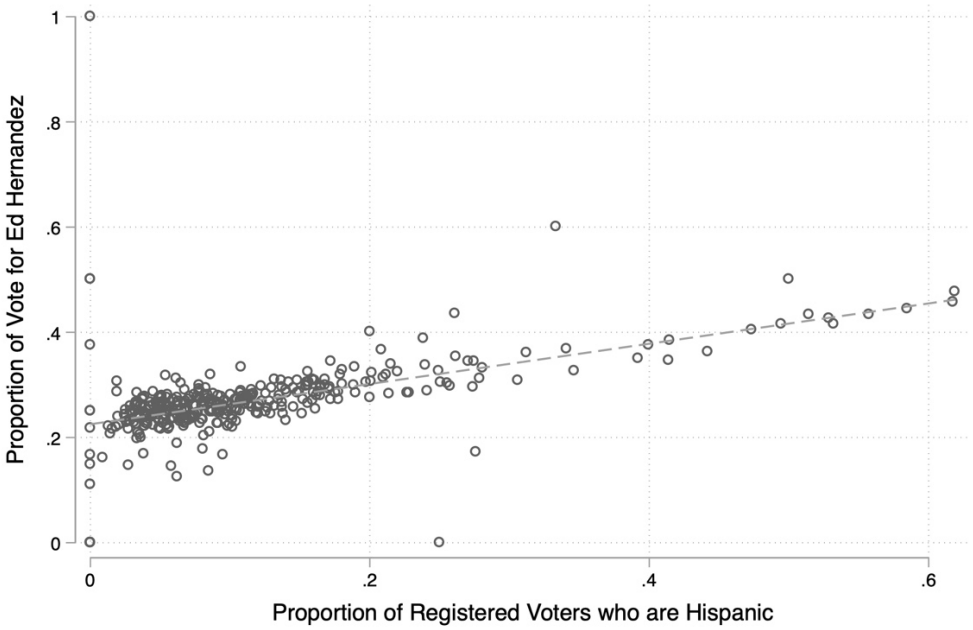
Secretary of State, 2018, Supervisor District 1



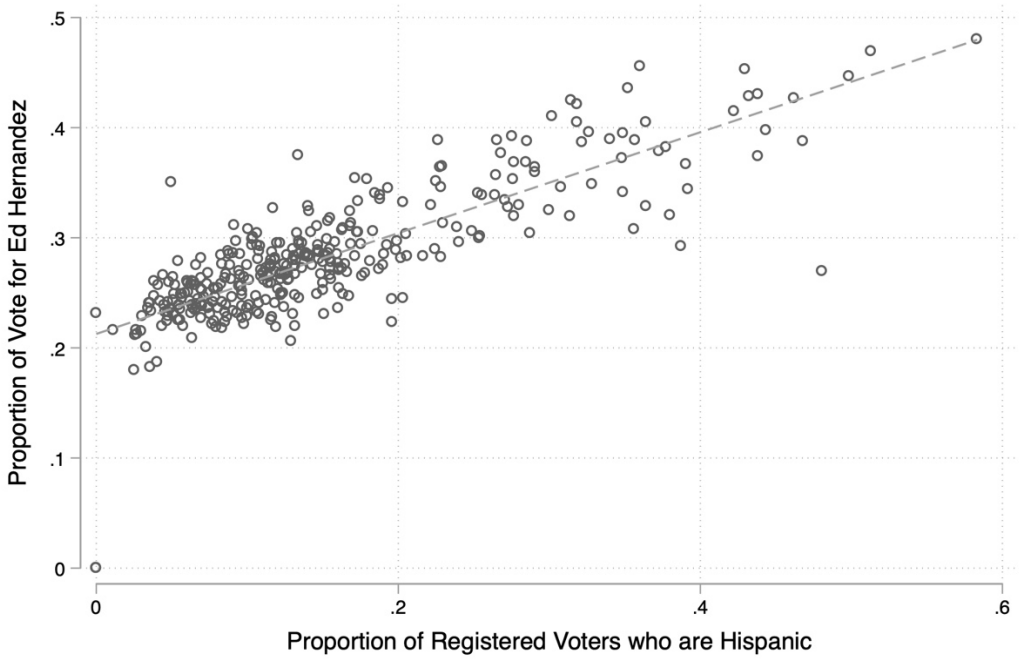
Secretary of State, 2018, Supervisor District 2



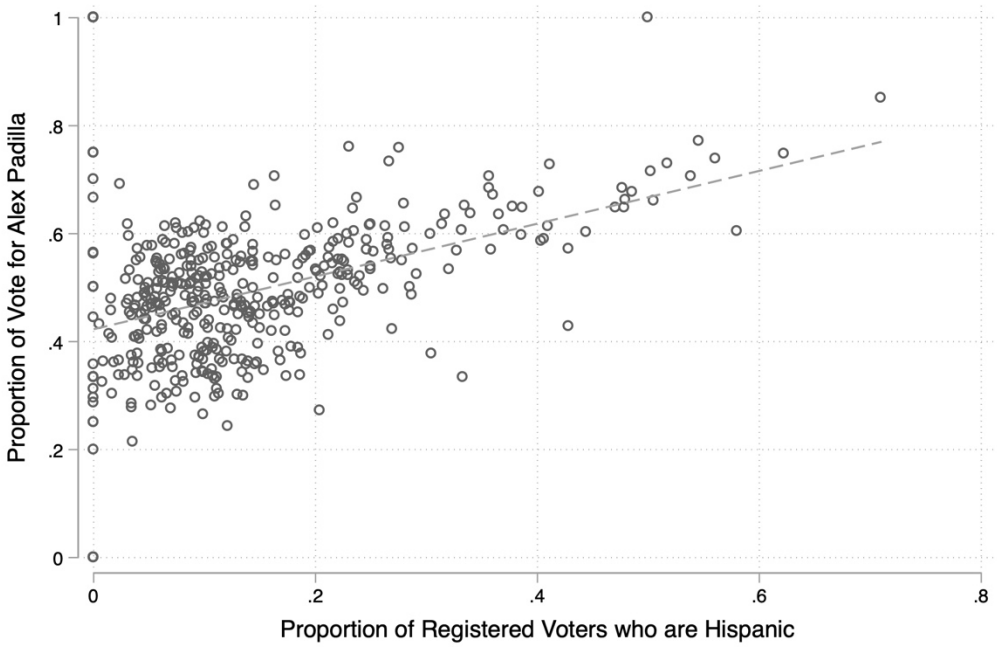
Secretary of State, 2018, Supervisor District 3



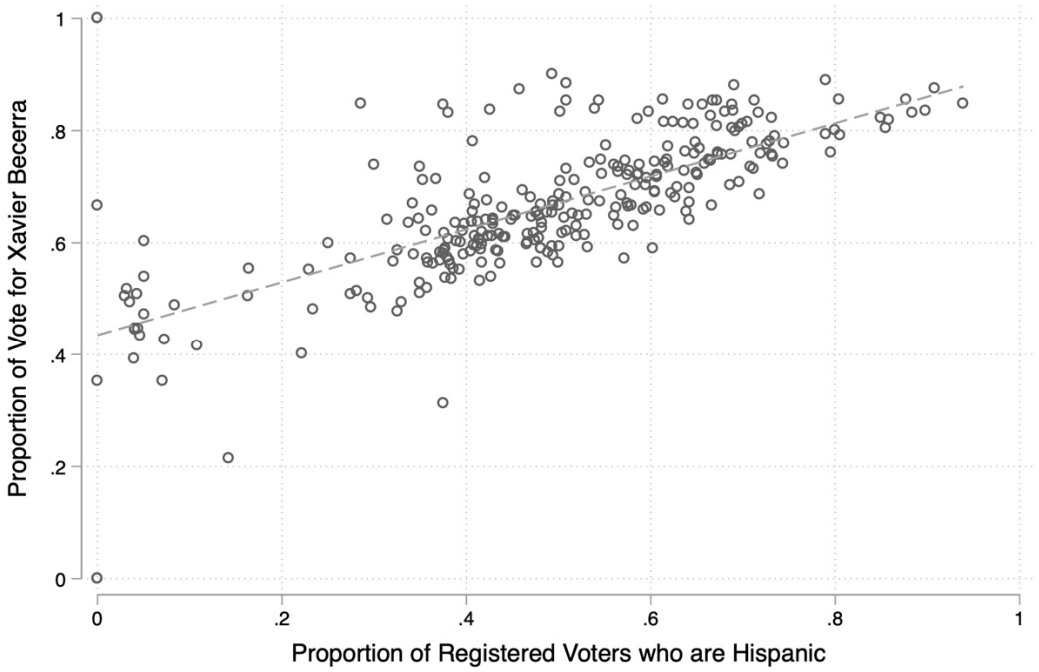
Secretary of State, 2018, Supervisor District 4



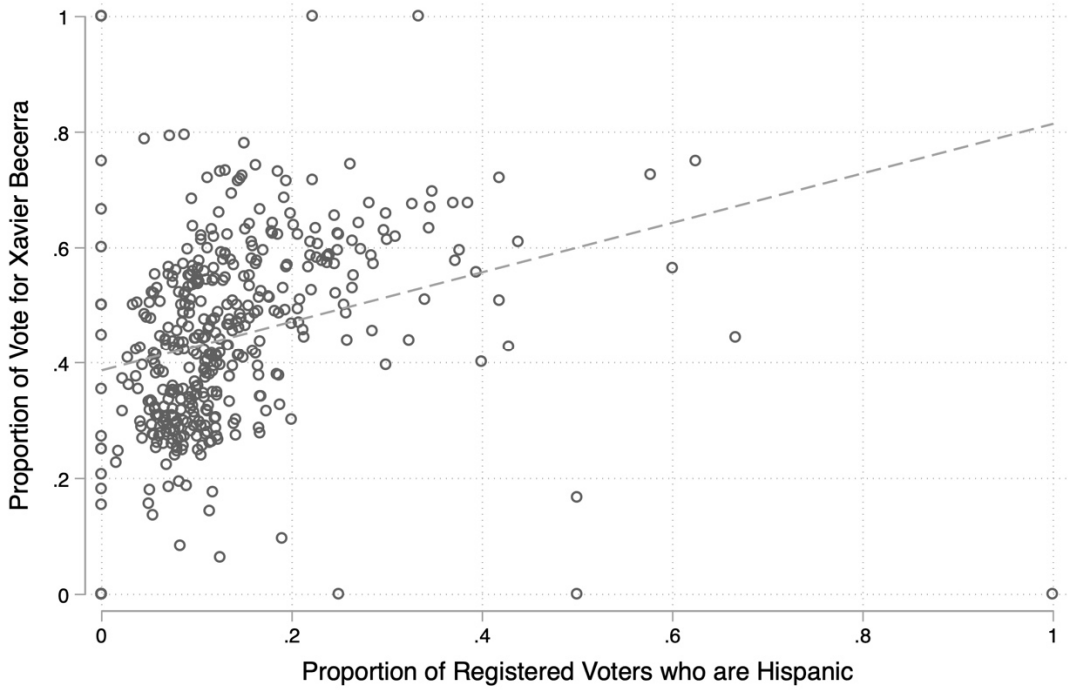
Secretary of State, 2018, Supervisor District 5



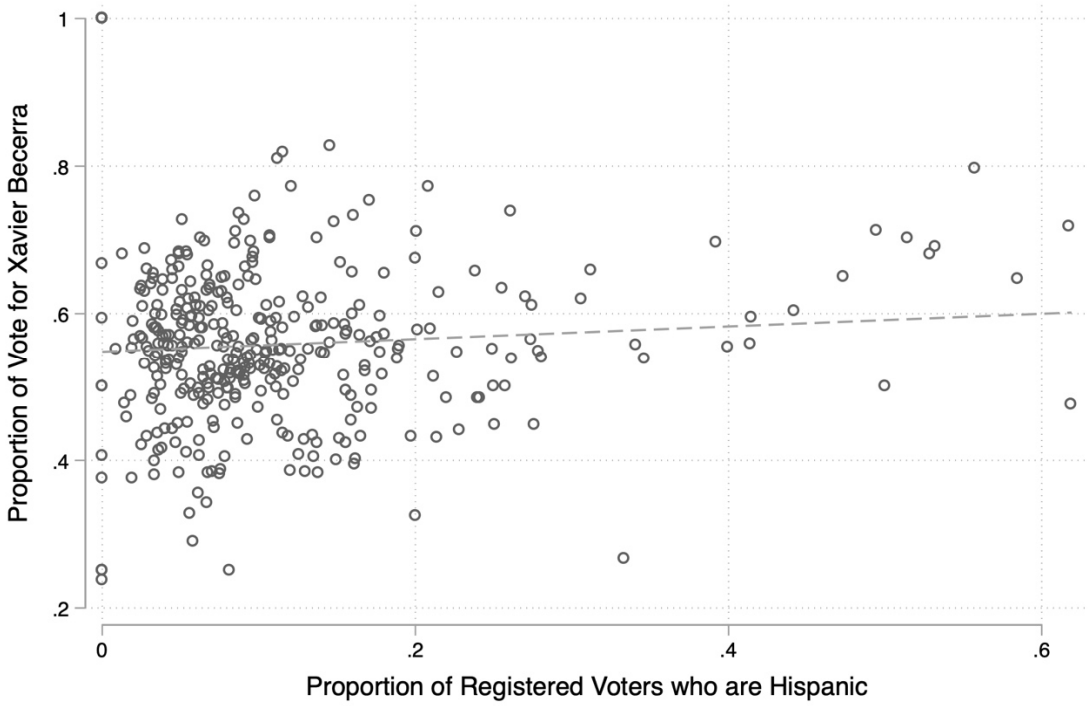
Attorney General, 2018, Supervisor District 1



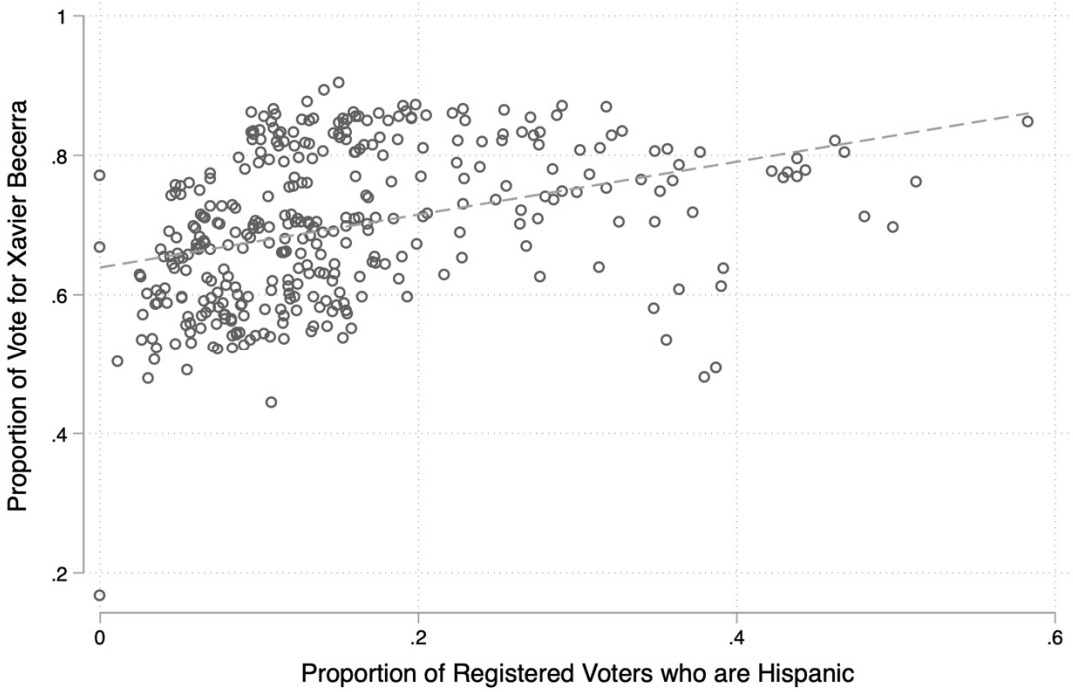
Attorney General, 2018, Supervisor District 2



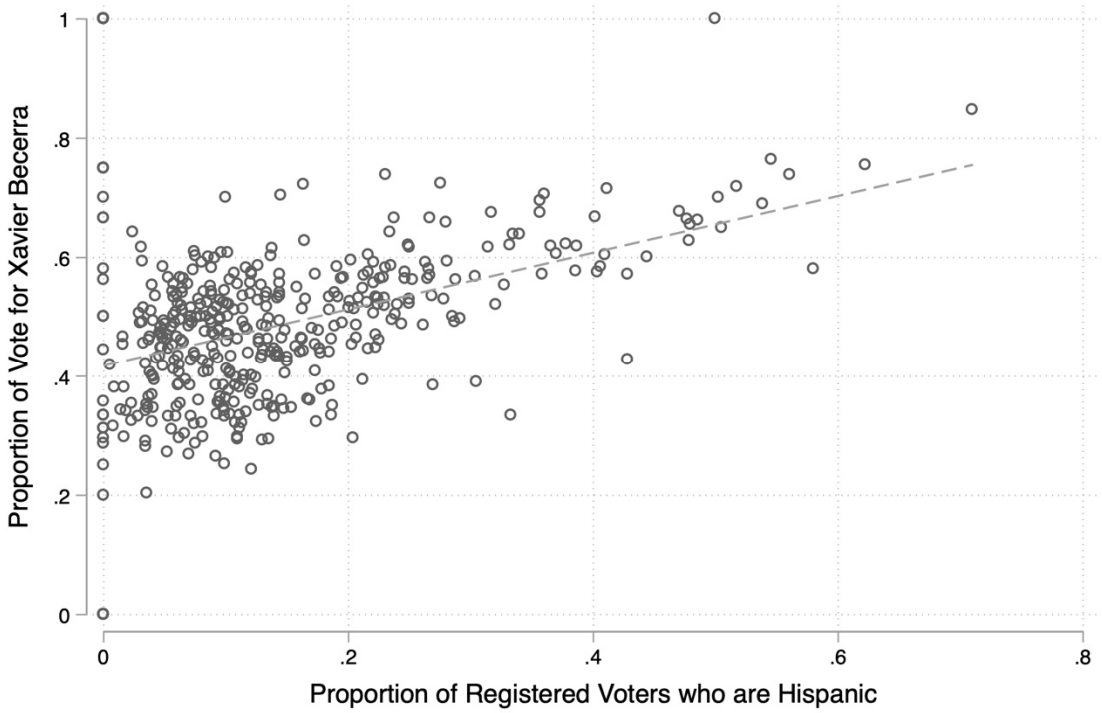
Attorney General, 2018, Supervisor District 3



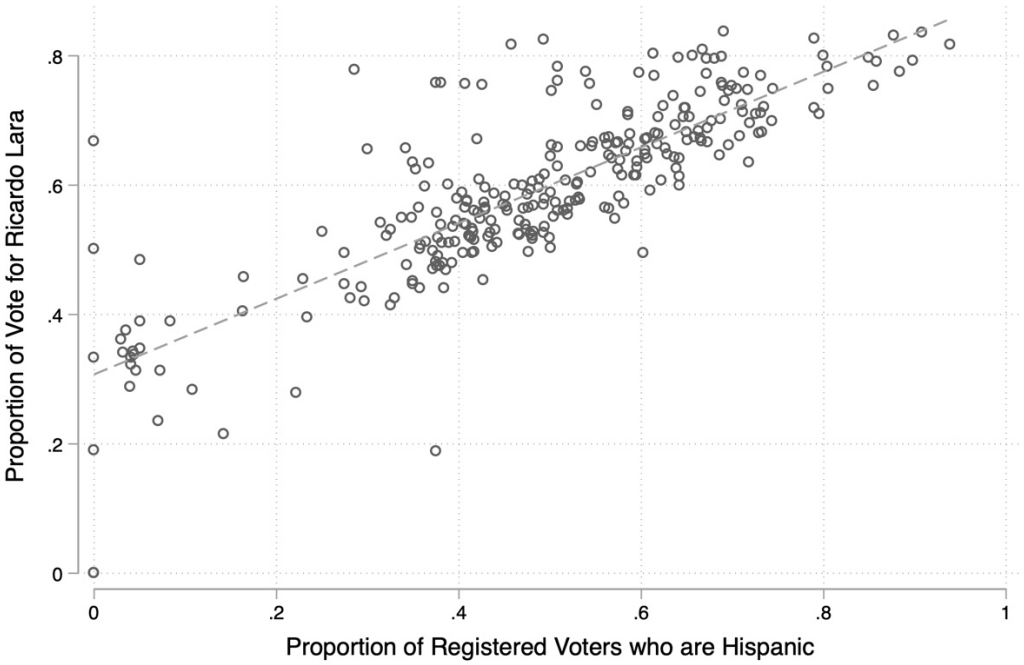
Attorney General, 2018, Supervisor District 4



Attorney General, 2018, Supervisor District 5



Insurance Commissioner, 2018, Supervisor District 1



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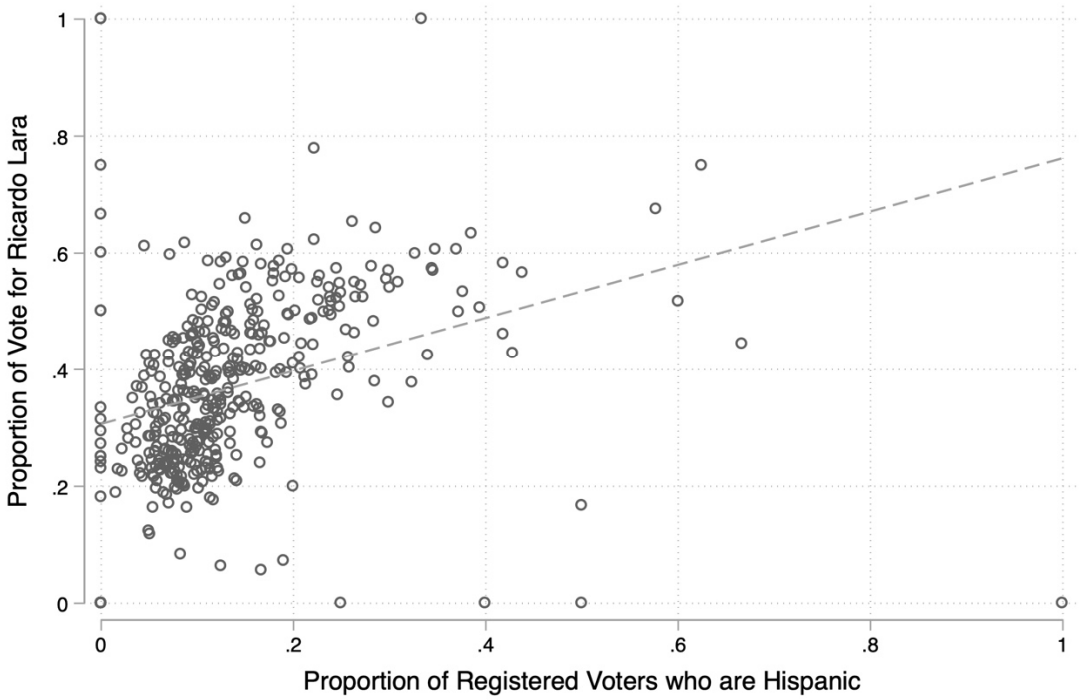

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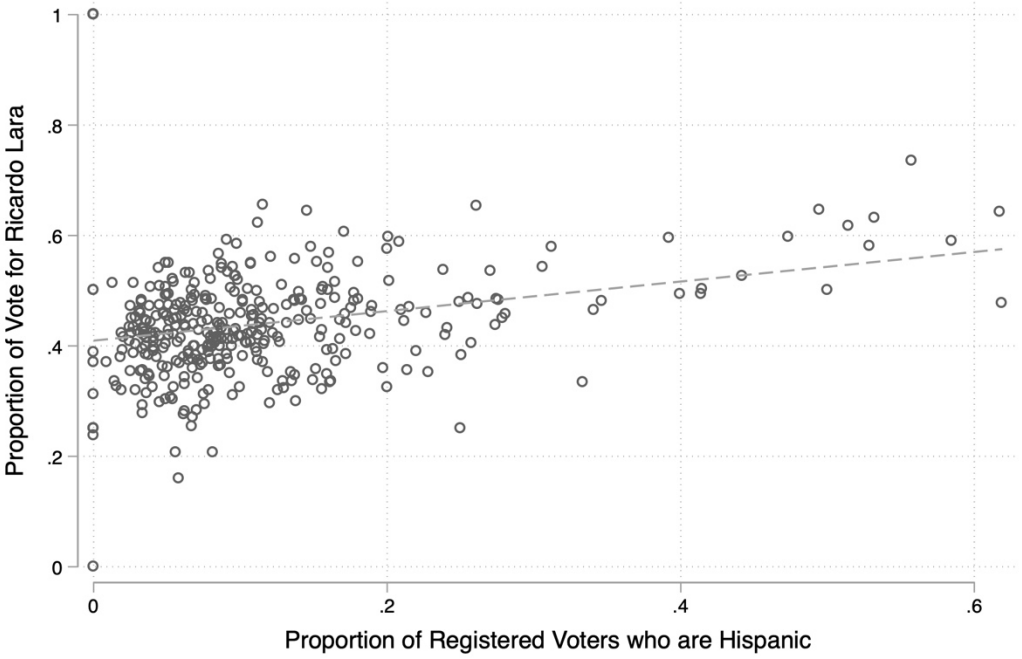

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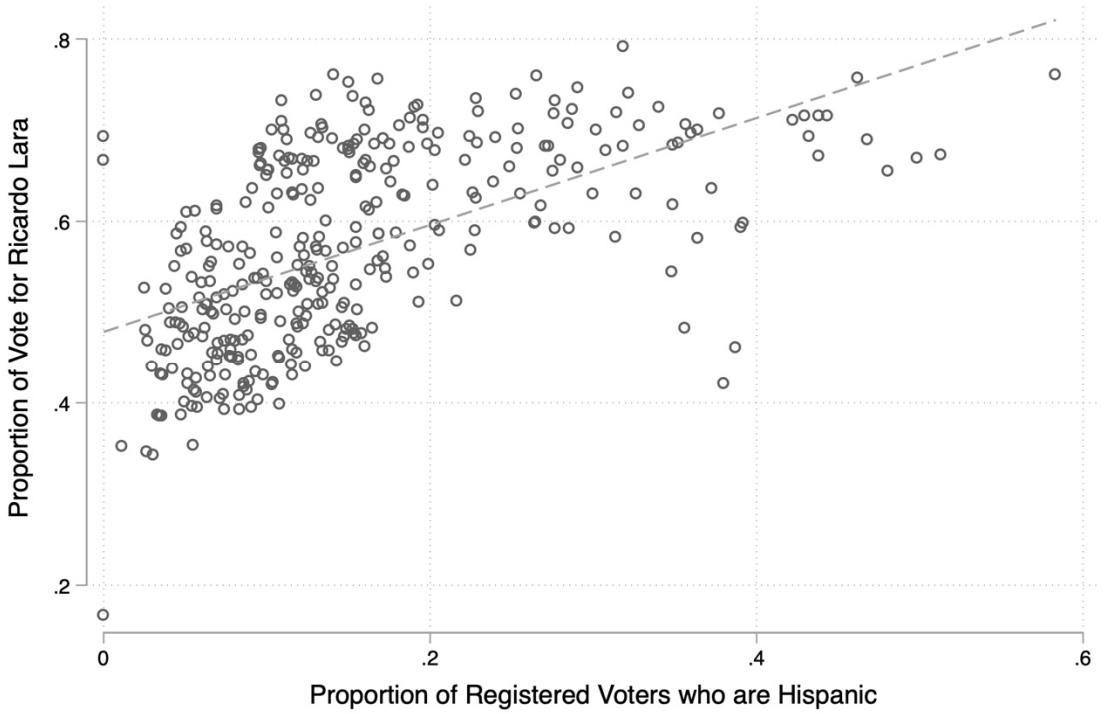

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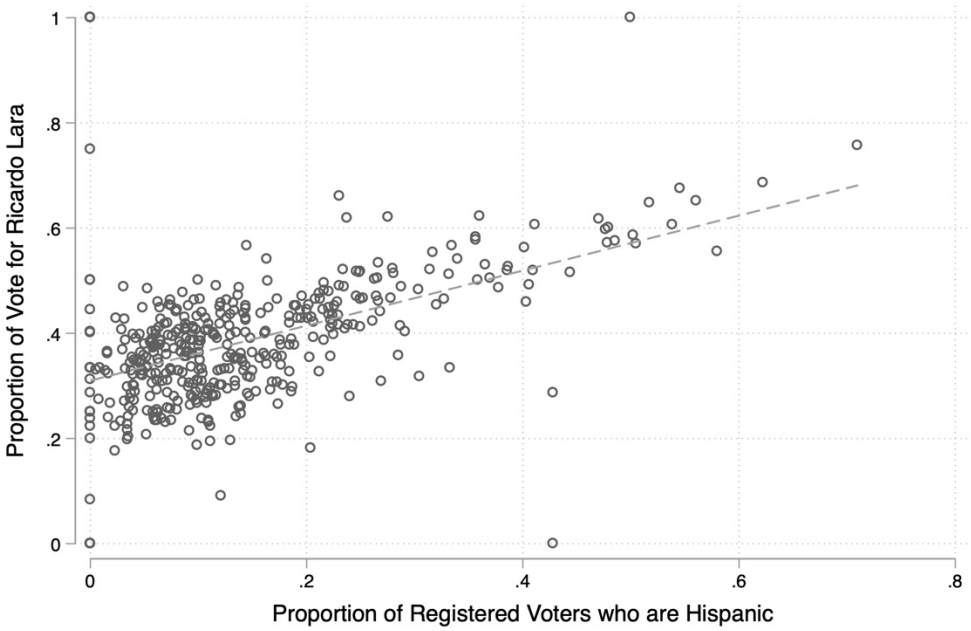
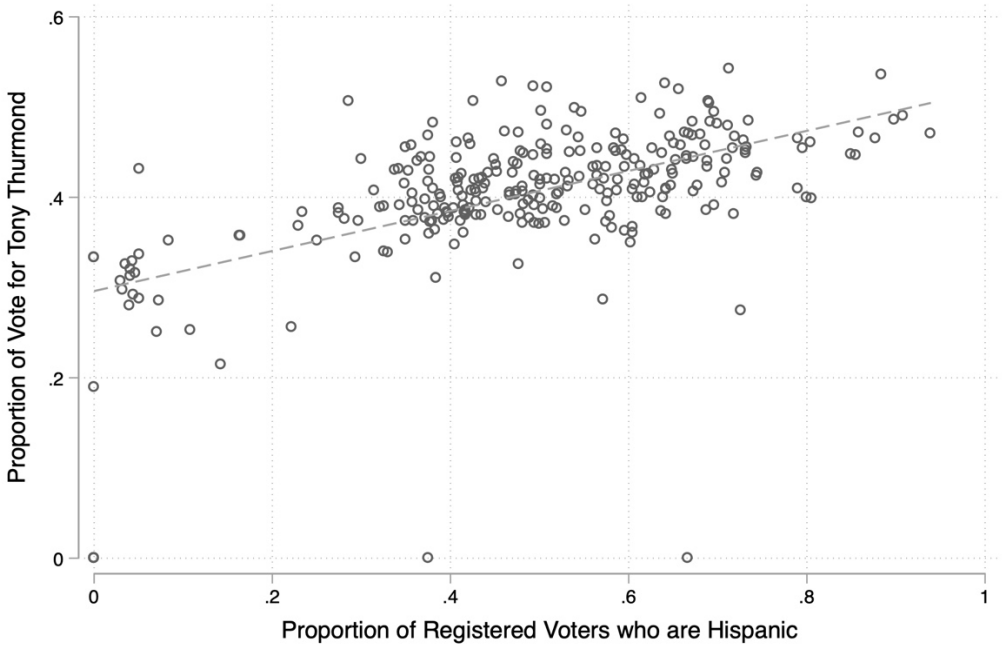


Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018, Supervisor District 1



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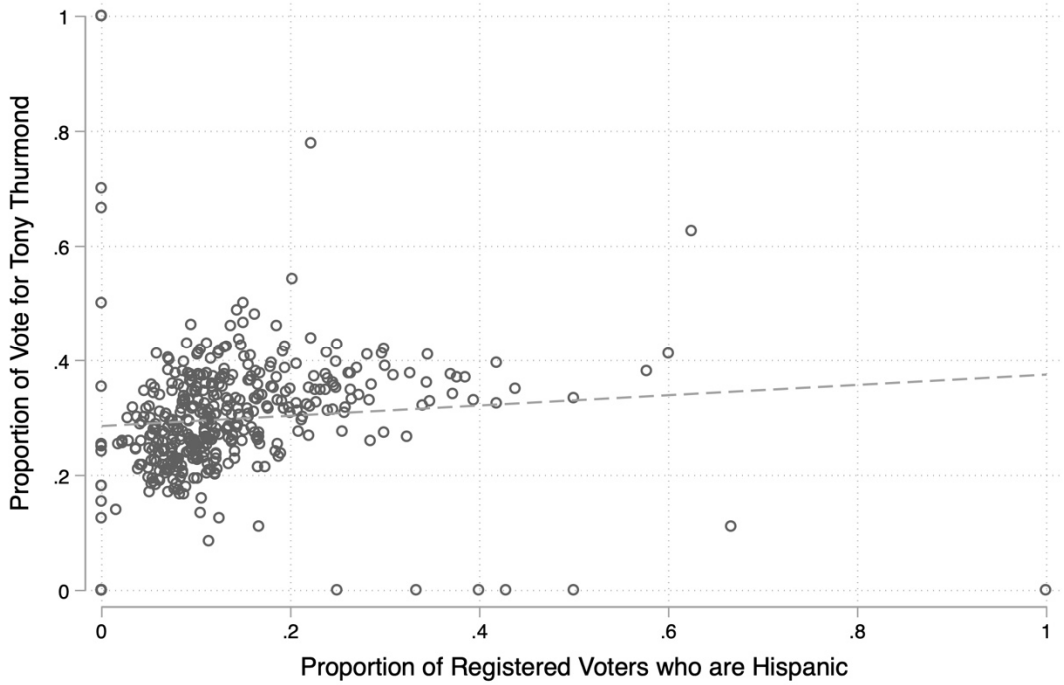

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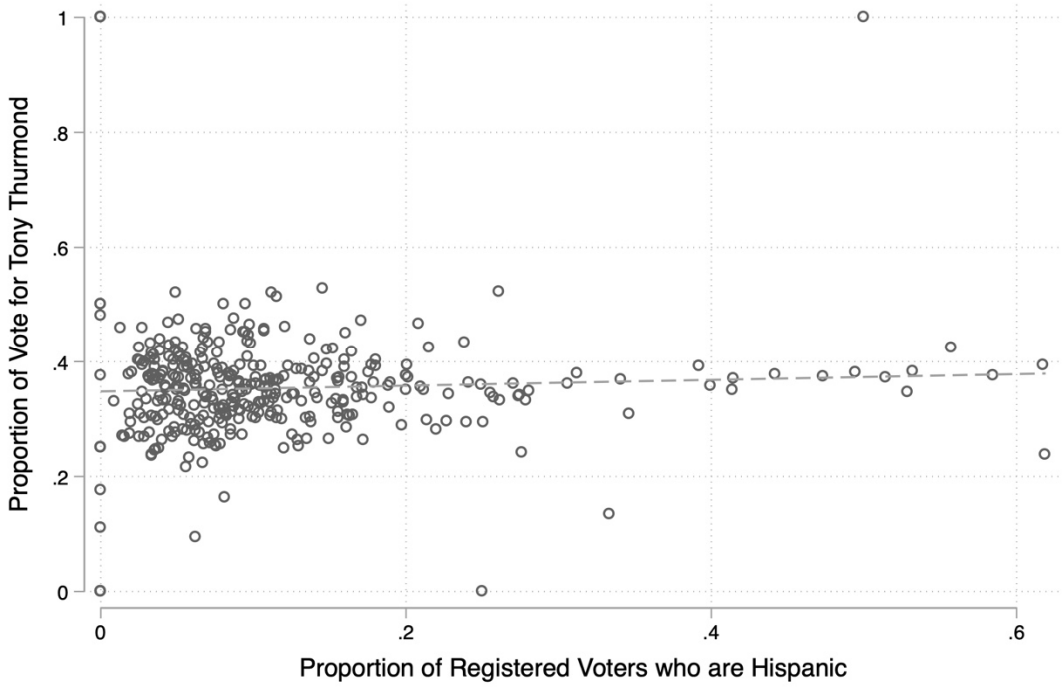

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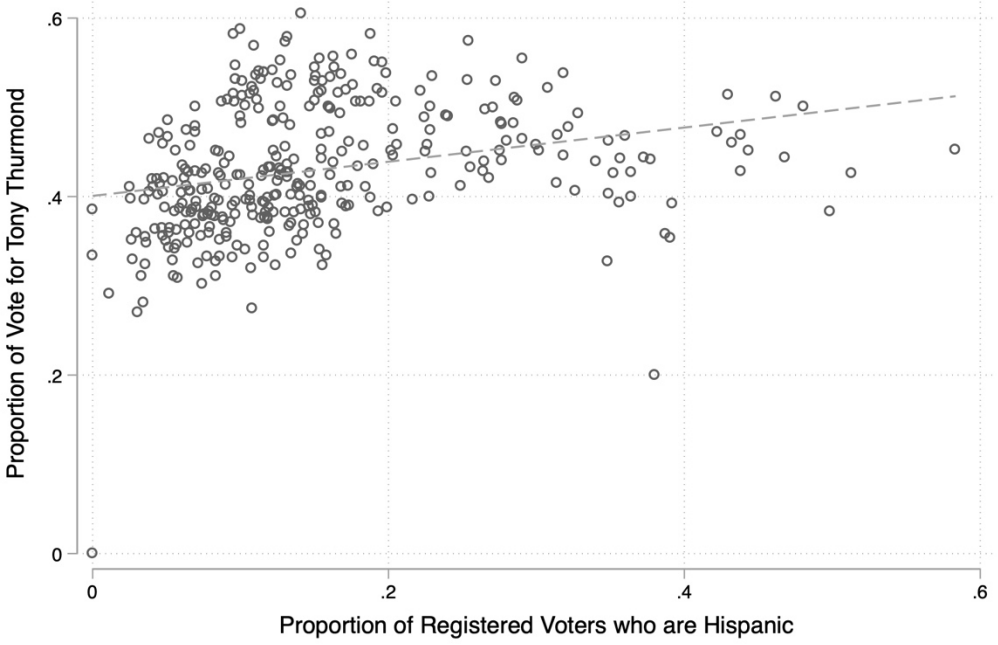
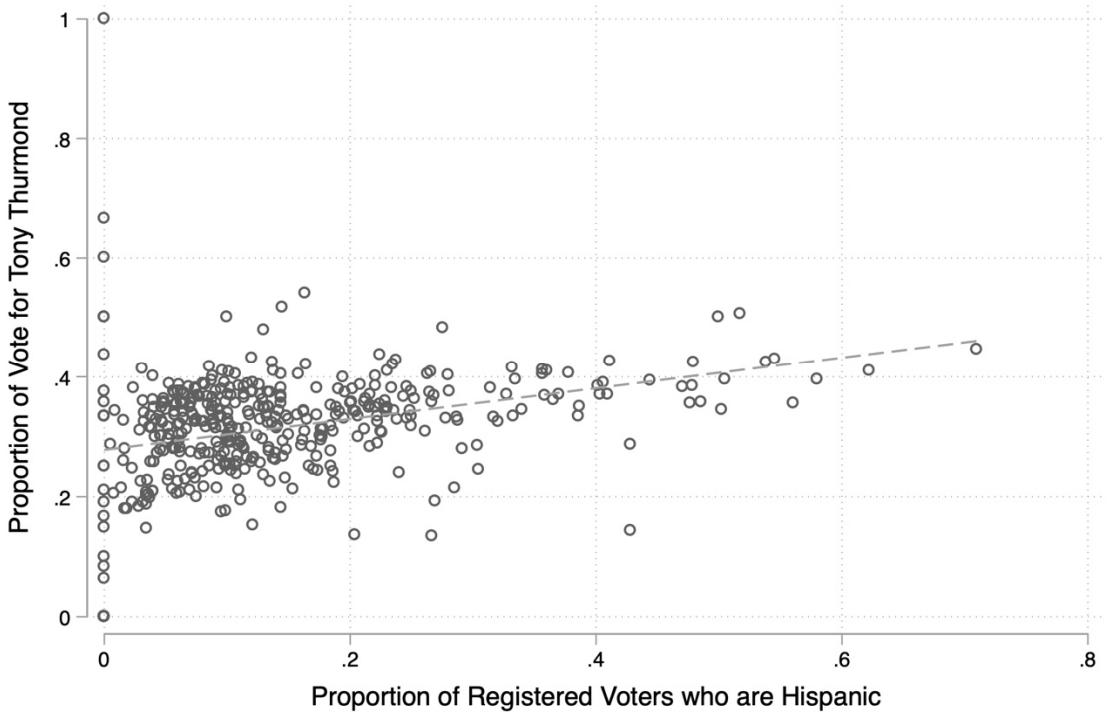
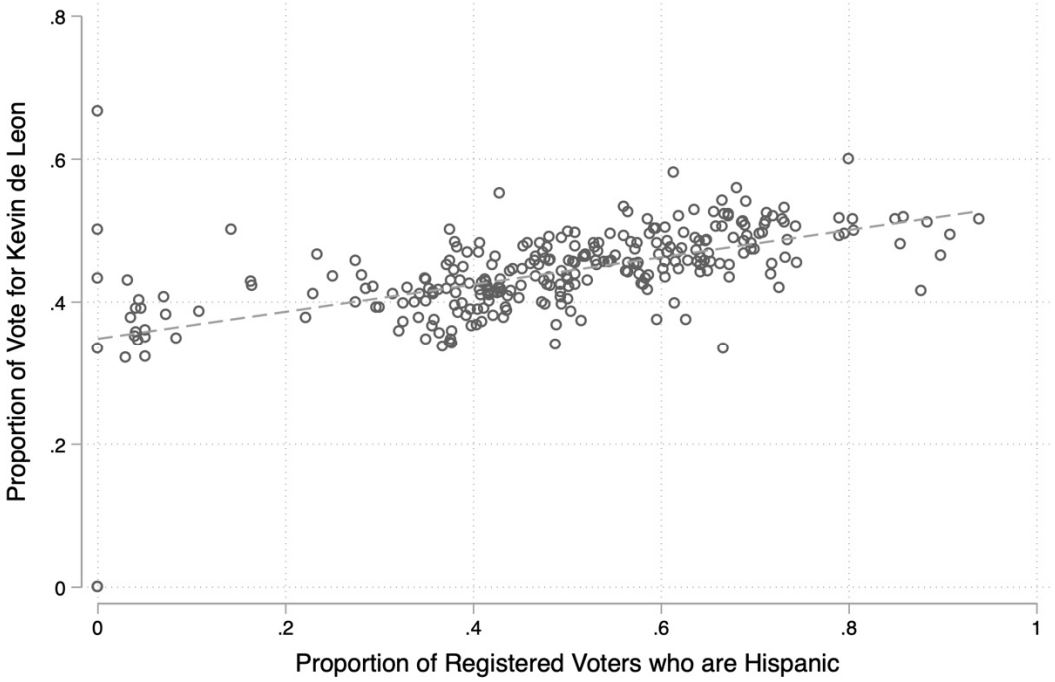


Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018, Supervisor District 5



United States Senator, 2018, Supervisor District 1



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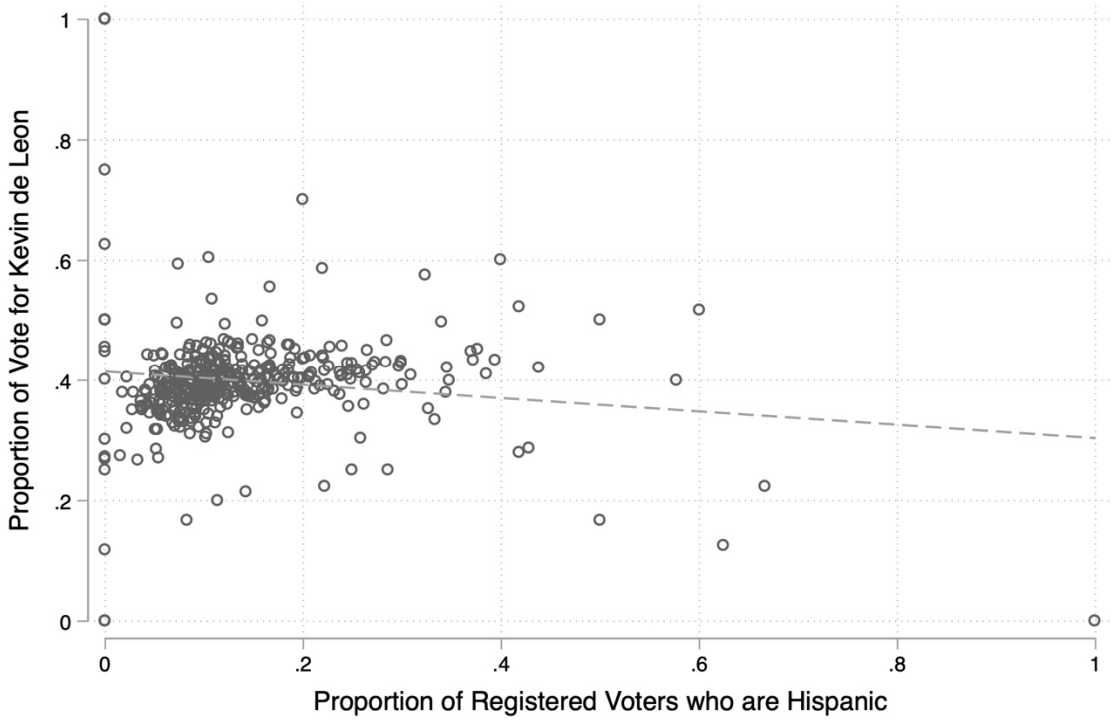

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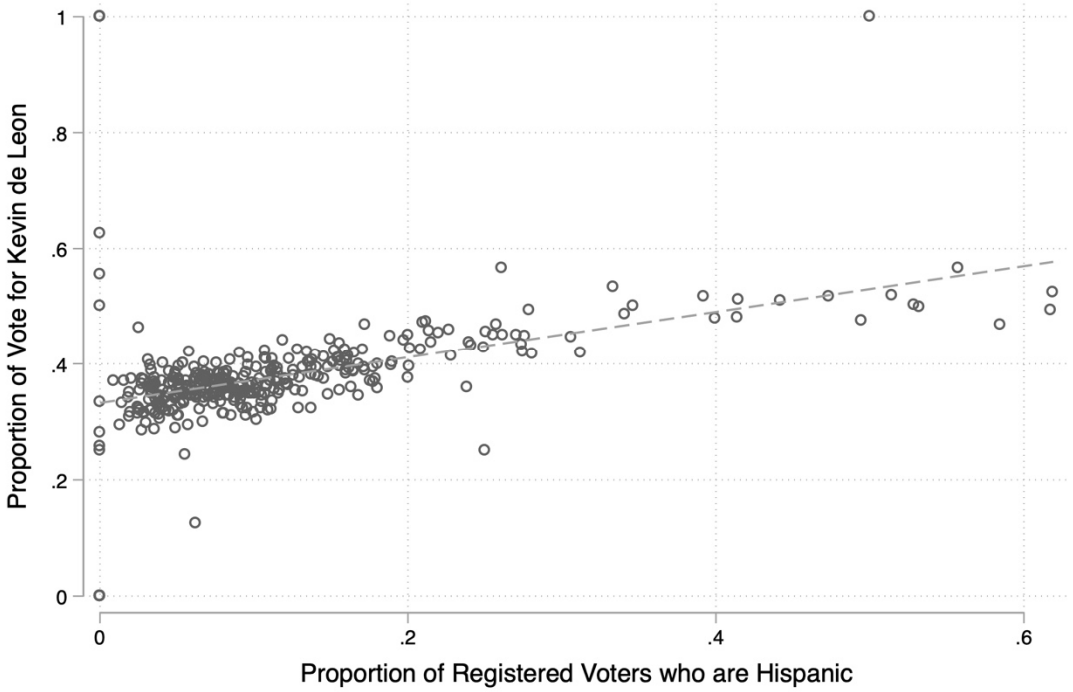

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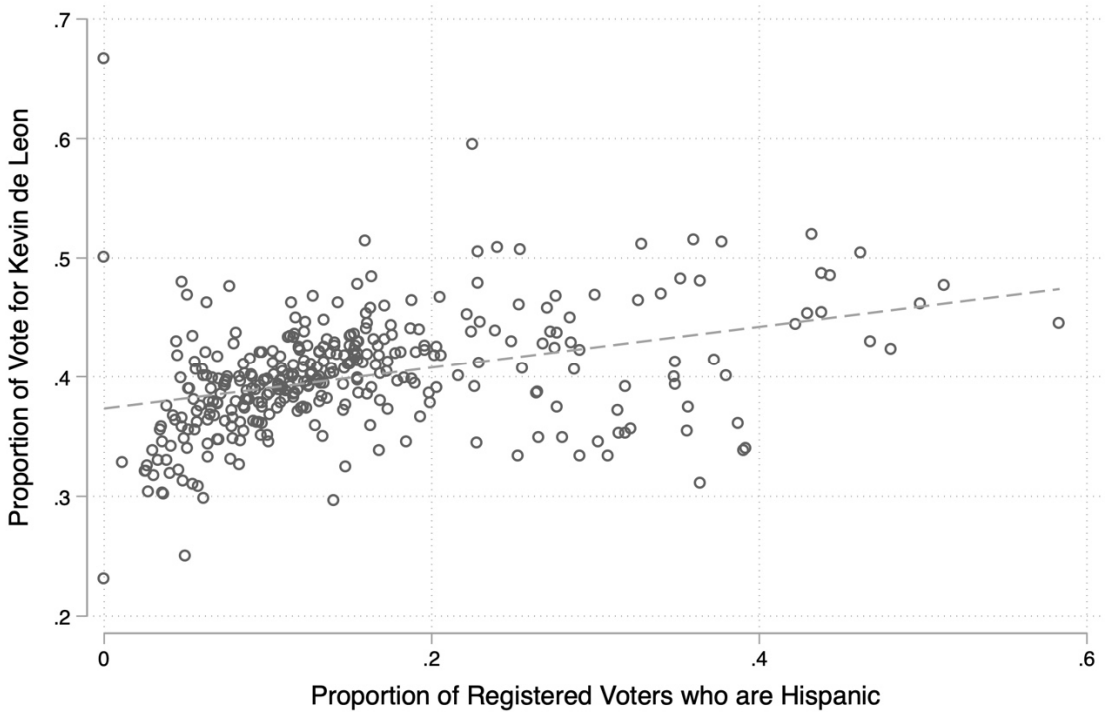

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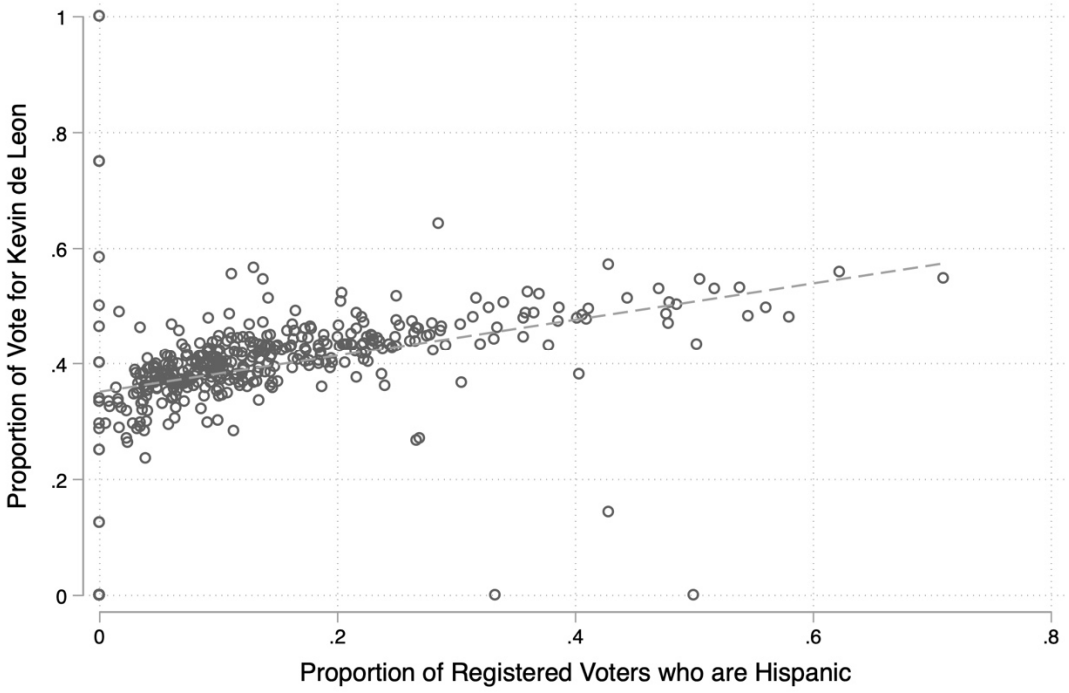
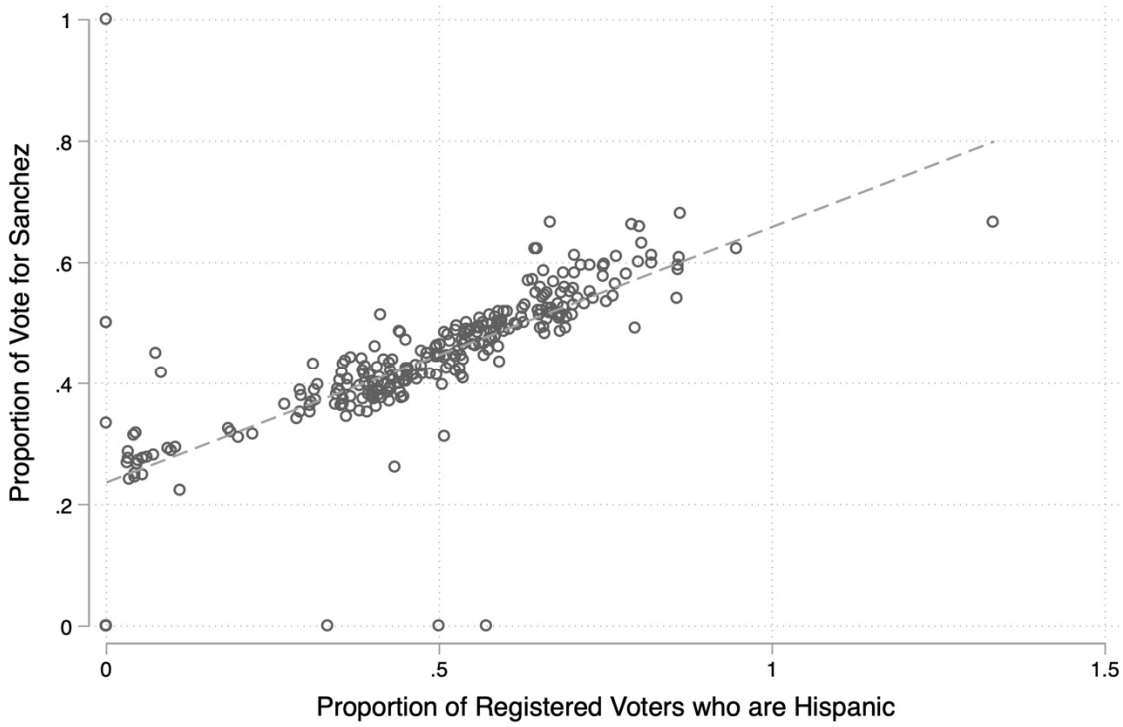


United States Senator, 2016, Supervisor District 1



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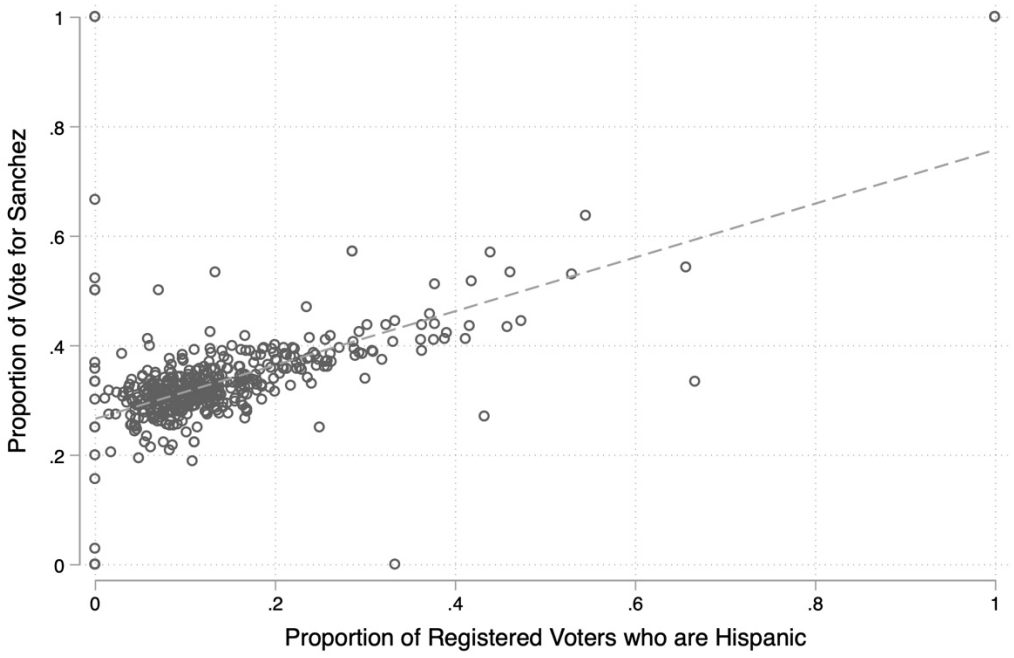
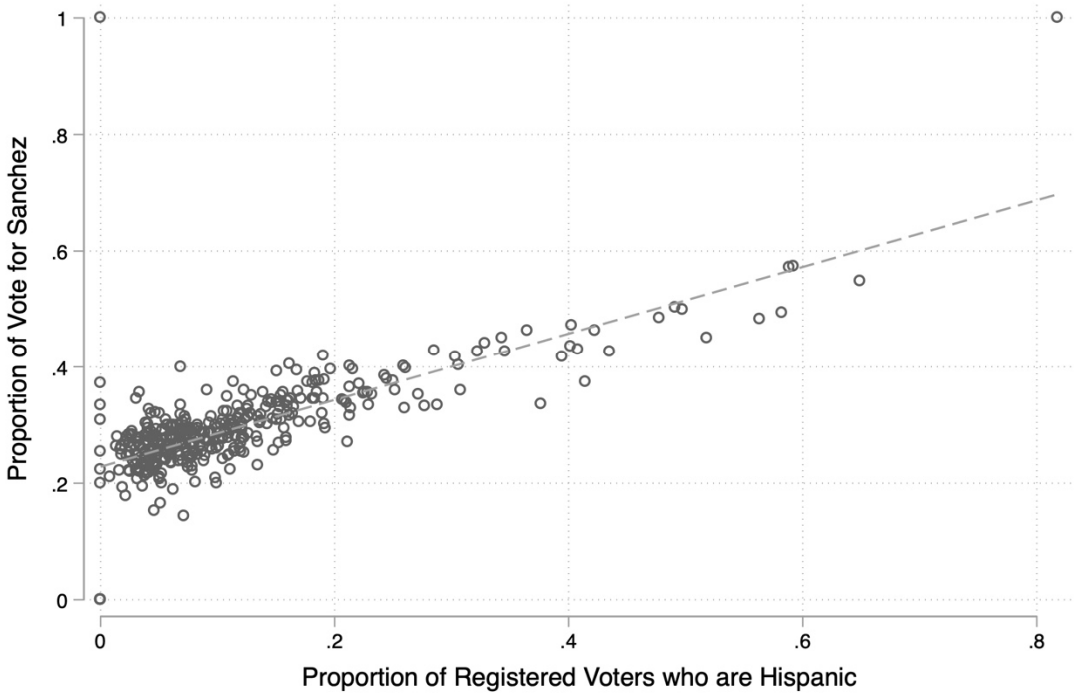
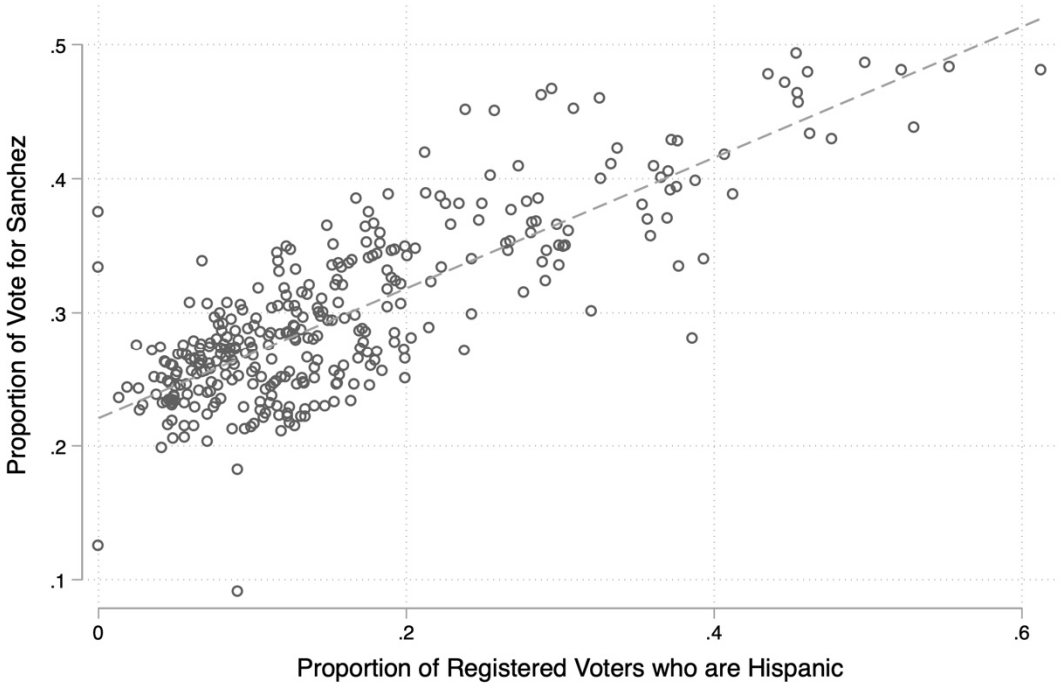


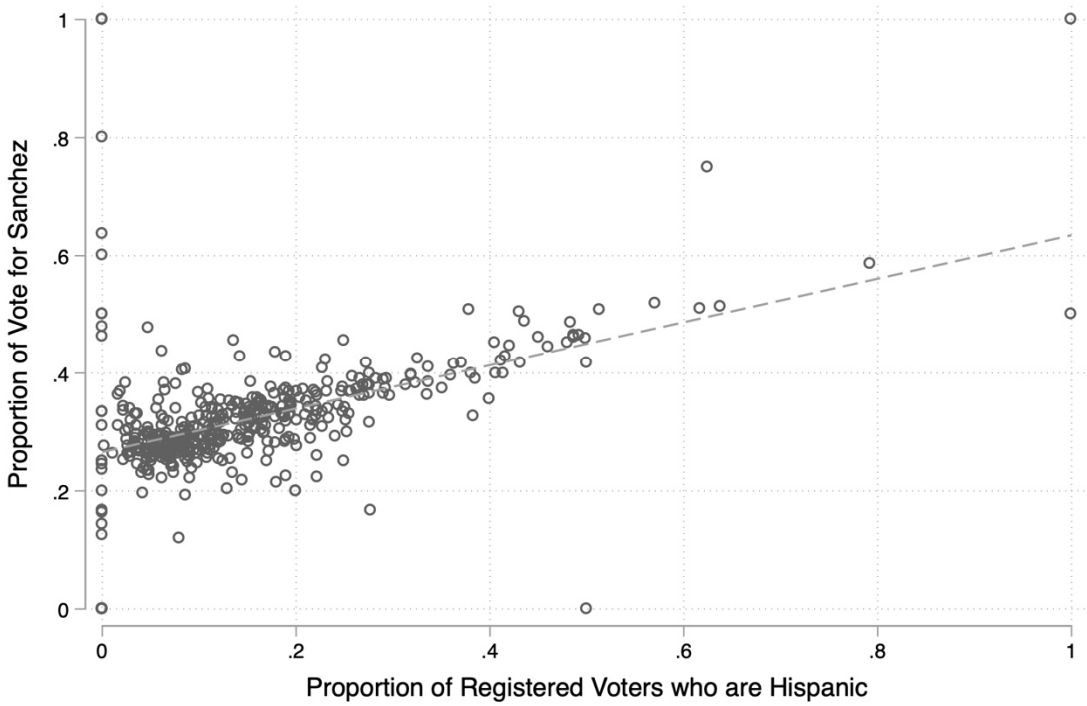
United States Senator, 2016, Supervisor District 3



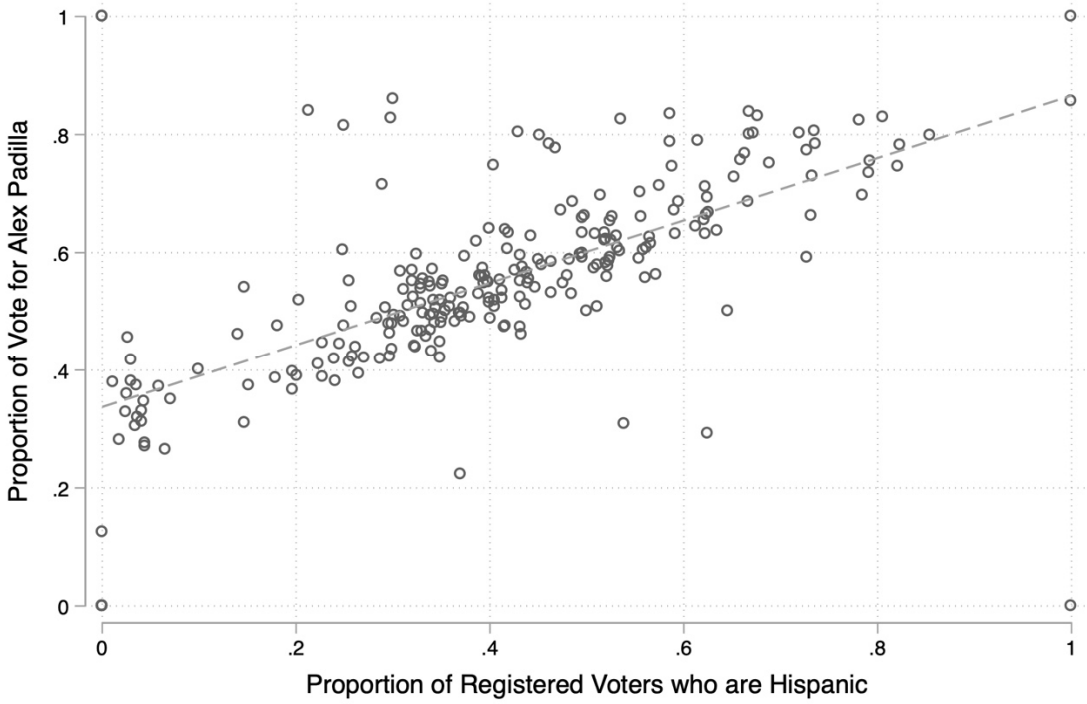
United States Senator, 2016, Supervisor District 4



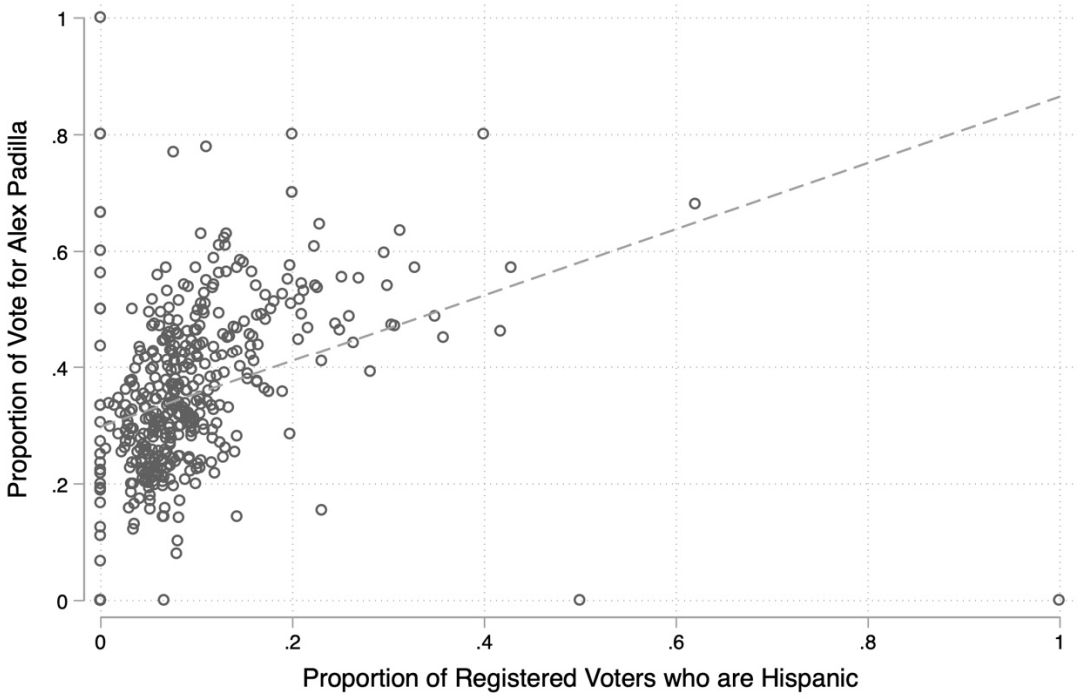
United States Senator, 2016, Supervisor District 5



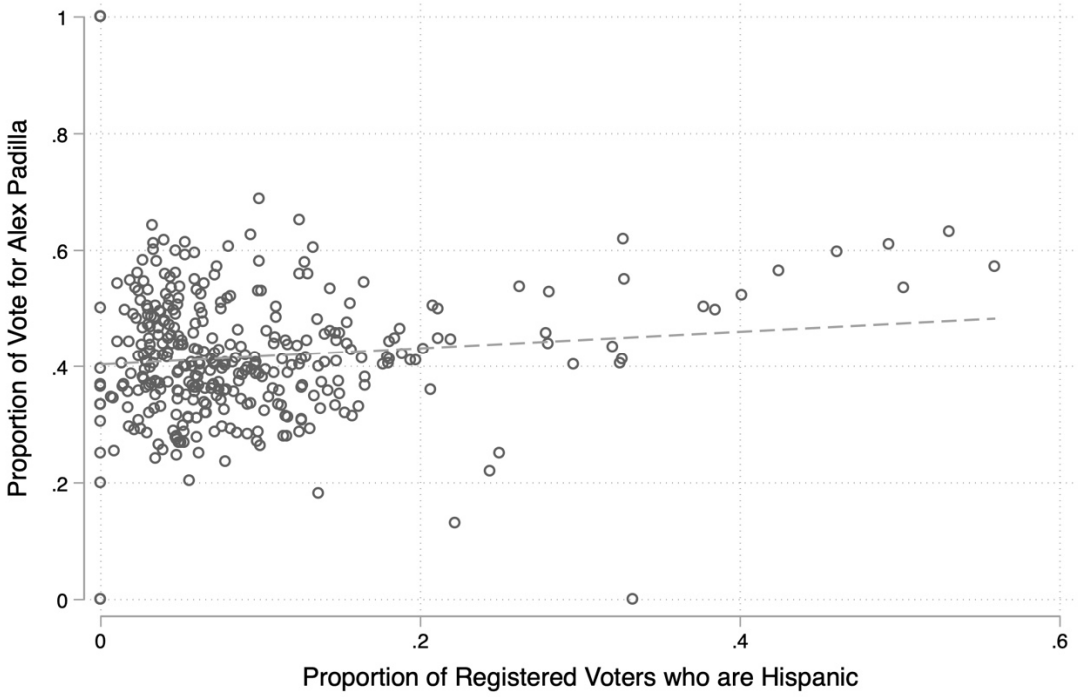
Secretary of State, 2014, Supervisor District 1



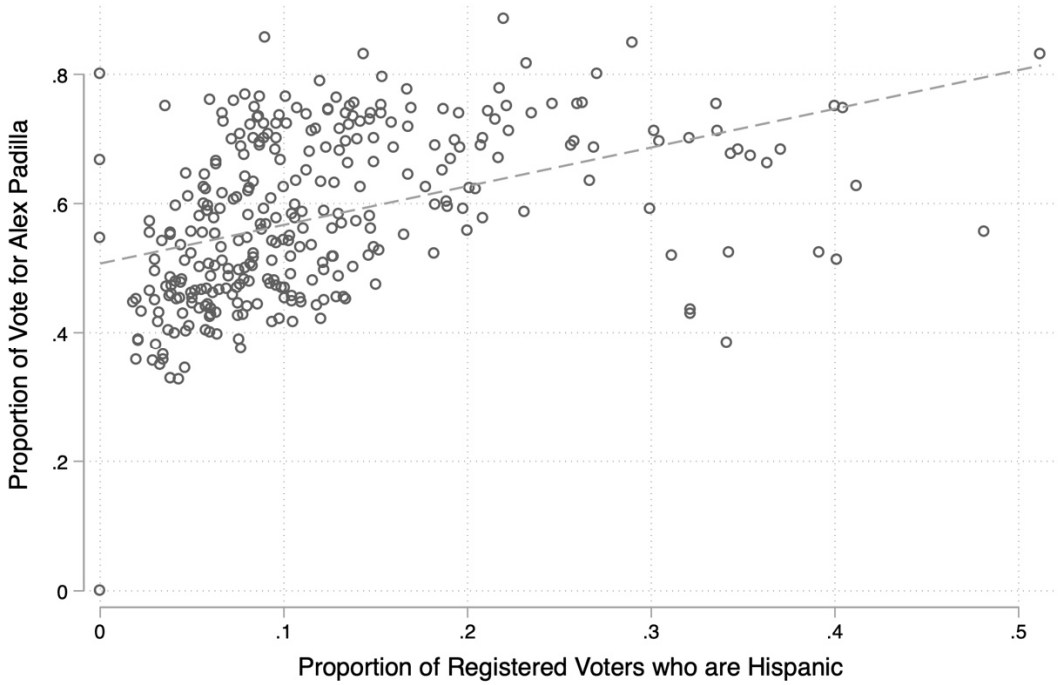
Secretary of State, 2014, Supervisor District 2



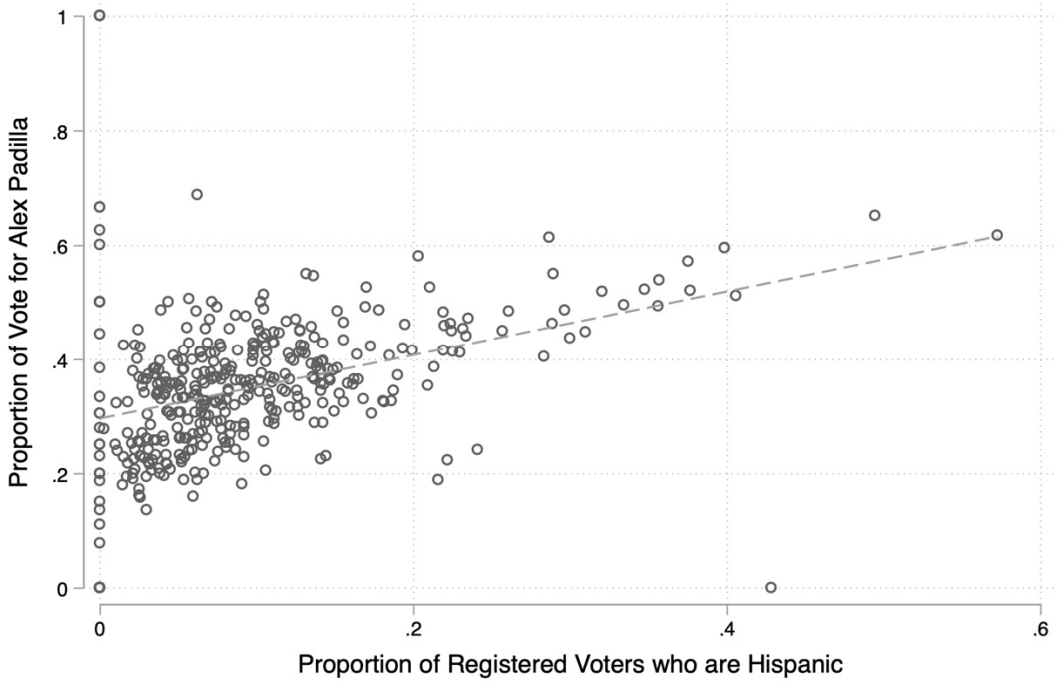
Secretary of State, 2014, Supervisor District 3



Secretary of State, 2014, Supervisor District 4



Secretary of State, 2014, Supervisor District 5



Appendix D: Racially polarized voting analyses Latino & non-Hispanic white voters in statewide general elections in each Board of Supervisor District in San Diego County (exogenous elections)

In addition to conducting racially polarized voting analyses in the Board of Supervisor elections and in statewide exogenous elections in San Diego County, as is done in the text, we also wanted to present additional evidence. Given that Latino voters are the largest minority group in San Diego County, we also estimated the extent of racial polarization within each Supervisor district on the exogenous statewide elections for Latino voters and non-Hispanic white voters. For instance, we are able to estimate racially polarized voting analyses of the 2018 lieutenant gubernatorial general election within Supervisor District 1, District 2, District 3, District 4, and District 5. This appendix may further inform whether there may be racial polarization within specific districts, and may assist Commissioners with understanding the extent of racial polarization within specific districts and geographies in San Diego County.

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Lieutenant Governor, 2018

In the 2018 election for Lieutenant Governor, Ed Hernandez, a Latino candidate, faced Eleni Kounalakis, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table D1, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 3, 4, and 5 in the 2018 election for Lieutenant Governor.

Table D1: Racially polarized voting analysis, Lt. Governor, general election 2018

	Support for Ed Hernandez in 2018	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**61.9%**	13.5%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	37.3%	23.2%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**60.8%**	20.8%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**67.1%**	20.3%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**59.8%**	21.1%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Secretary of State, 2018

In the 2018 election for Secretary of State, Alex Padilla, a Latino candidate, faced Mark Meuser, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The results in Table D2 show that racially polarized voting exists in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 2, and 5 in the 2018 Secretary of State general election contests.

Table D2: Racially polarized voting analysis, Secretary of State, general election 2018

	Support for Alex Padilla in 2018	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**91.9%**	36.6%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	**83.2%**	30.8%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**67.0%**	54.0%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**> 99.0%**	64.1%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**91.2%**	39.7%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Attorney General, 2018

In the 2018 election for Attorney General, Xavier Becerra, a Latino candidate, faced Steven Bailey, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table D3, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 2, and 5 during the 2018 Attorney General election.

Table D3: Racially polarized voting analysis, Attorney General, general election 2018

	Support for Xavier Becerra in 2018	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**90.7%**	35.2%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	**81.5%**	29.3%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**63.4%**	**52.3%**
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**> 99.0%**	**63.4%**
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**89.3%**	39.0%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Insurance Commissioner, 2018

In the 2018 election for Insurance Commissioner, Ricardo Lara, a Latino candidate, faced Steve Poizner, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The results from the racially polarized voting analysis in Table D4 suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 during the 2018 Insurance Commissioner election.

Table D4: Racially polarized voting analysis, Insurance Commissioner, general election 2018

	Support for Ricardo Lara in 2018	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**89.2%**	20.0%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	**76.3%**	21.4%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**67.8%**	38.1%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**99.0%**	46.3%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**83.3%**	28.0%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018

In the 2018 election for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tony Thurmond, a biracial Latino and Black candidate, faced Marshall Tuck, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table D5, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 4, and 5 during the 2018 election for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Table D5: Racially polarized voting analysis, Superintendent of Public Inst., general election 2018

	Support for Tony Thurmond in 2018	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**51.8%**	26.7%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	37.5%	22.1%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	39.8%	34.6%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**59.2%**	40.0%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**53.6%**	27.7%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, U.S. Senate, 2018

In the 2018 election for United States Senate, Kevin de León, a Latino candidate, faced incumbent Senator Dianne Feinstein, a non-Hispanic white candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table D6, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 3, 4, and 5 during the 2018 election for U.S. Senate.

Table D6: Racially polarized voting analysis, U.S. Senate, general election 2018

	Support for Kevin de León in 2018	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**53.9%**	34.2%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	30.4%	38.0%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**72.7%**	32.4%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**54.6%**	38.3%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**66.5%**	32.2%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, U.S. Senate, 2016

In the 2018 election for U.S. Senate, Loretta Sanchez, a Latina candidate, faced Kamala Harris, who is not Latina. Table D7 presents the racially polarized voting results, and suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 during the 2016 election for U.S. Senate.

Table D7: Racially polarized voting Analysis, U.S. Senate, general election 2016

	Support for Loretta Sanchez in 2016	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**65.9%**	19.7%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	**75.8%**	26.4%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**80.2%**	21.7%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**70.9%**	21.6%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**63.5%**	25.1%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Secretary of State, 2014 general election

In the 2014 election for Secretary of State, Alex Padilla, a Latino candidate, faced Pete Peterson, a non-Hispanic White candidate. The ecological regression analysis, presented in Table D8, suggests racially polarized voting in San Diego County Supervisor Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 in the 2014 election for Secretary of State.

Table D8: Racially polarized voting analysis, Secretary of State, general election 2014

	Support for Alex Padilla in 2014	
	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Voter Support in Supervisor District 1	**86.6%**	17.6%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 2	**86.5%**	21.1%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 3	**54.6%**	39.8%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 4	**> 99.0%**	48.1%
Voter Support in Supervisor District 5	**85.5%**	26.7%

San Diego County Board of Supervisor Districts, Governor, 2018 primary election

Table D9 below displays the district-by-district results for the 2018 primary election. We examine voting patterns by race and ethnicity for governor in the 2018 primary in the five Supervisor districts. There were more than three candidates, but only the top three candidates are displayed in the figures below or simplicity. The figures do not sum to 100 because of this. As can be seen, in every single Supervisor district, Antonio Villaraigosa is the Latino candidate of choice.

Table D9: Racially polarized voting analysis, Governor, primary election 2018, San Diego County, by Supervisor District

Candidates	Latino Voter Support %	Non-Hisp. White Support %
Supervisor District 1		
Gavin Newsom (W)	21.4%	28.3%
John Cox (W)	3.4%	**48.3%**
Antonio Villaraigosa (L)	**46.0%**	< 1.0%
Supervisor District 2		
Gavin Newsom (W)	15.3%	19.5%
John Cox (W)	< 1.0%	**55.0%**
Antonio Villaraigosa (L)	**43.3%**	2.4%
Supervisor District 3		
Gavin Newsom (W)	2.3%	**38.9%**
John Cox (W)	22.9%	32.3%
Antonio Villaraigosa (L)	**31.6%**	6.2%
Supervisor District 4		
Gavin Newsom (W)	18.7%	**43.9%**
John Cox (W)	< 1.0%	25.9%
Antonio Villaraigosa (L)	**39.5%**	7.1%
Supervisor District 5		
Gavin Newsom (W)	15.8%	29.5%
John Cox (W)	< 1.0%	**45.9%**
Antonio Villaraigosa (L)	**45.6%**	2.4%

L=Latino candidate; W=Non-Hispanic White candidate. All other candidates not displayed as they received few votes.

About the Authors

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

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

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