



# LOS ANGELES COUNTY **REDISTRICTING 2021**

## COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES CITIZENS REDISTRICTING COMMISSION (LA County CRC)

**CRC MINUTES FOR REGULAR MEETING AND PUBLIC HEARING – July 28, 2021**

**VIA ZOOM VIRTUAL CONFERENCE**

VIDEO FILE FOR ENTIRE MEETING POSTED AT: [CLICK HERE](#)

### Agenda

#### AGENDA ITEM 1: CALL TO ORDER

Thai V. Le, Los Angeles County Citizens Redistricting Commission (LA County CRC) Clerk, called the meeting to order at 2:03 p.m.

#### AGENDA ITEM 2: ROLL CALL

Thai V. Le took roll call. A quorum was present.

Yes	Commissioner Jean Franklin	Excused	Commissioner Priscilla Orpinela-Segura
Yes	Commissioner David Holtzman	Yes	Commissioner Hailes Soto
Yes	Commissioner Mary Kenney	Yes	Commissioner Saira Soto
Yes	Co-Chair Daniel Mayeda	Yes	Commissioner Brian Stecher
Yes	Commissioner Mark Mendoza	Excused	Commissioner John Vento
Yes	Commissioner Apolonio Morales	Yes	Co-Chair Carolyn Williams
Yes	Commissioner Nelson Obregon	Yes	Commissioner Doreena Wong

#### AGENDA ITEM 3: APPROVAL OF AGENDA

The agenda was accepted with Co-Chair Williams's suggestion that Agenda Item 5 and Item 6 be moved to follow Agenda Item 7 (redistricting presentation) and Item 8 (public testimony).

#### AGENDA ITEM 4: PUBLIC COMMENT—GENERAL— MATTERS NOT ON THE AGENDA – CO-CHAIR CAROLYN WILLIAMS

This is the time for public comment on matters not on the agenda. Pursuant to state law, the Commission may not discuss or act on issues not on the meeting agenda, except Commissioners or staff members may briefly respond to statements made or questions posed. Staff may be asked to follow up on such items.





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**Public comments made:** None

**Public written comments:** Public written comments submitted are posted on the LA County CRC website: [redistricting.lacounty.gov](https://redistricting.lacounty.gov).

## **AGENDA ITEM 7: ACTION/DISCUSSION ITEMS – PUBLIC HEARING – PRESENTATION**

Co-Chair Daniel Mayeda and Commissioner Jean Franklin provided an overview presentation on what redistricting is and how the LA County CRC differs from prior approaches.

## **AGENDA ITEM 8: PUBLIC HEARING FOR COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST (COI) INPUT**

A community of interest is a contiguous population that shares common social and economic interests that should be included within a single district for purposes of its effective and fair representation. Communities of interest shall not include relationships with political parties, incumbents, or political candidates.

The Zone F zip codes include:

90022; 90040; 90601; 90602; 90603; 90604; 90605; 90606; 90631; 90640; 90660

Although the focus was on Zone F, members of the public from other zip codes were welcomed and made public comment. Attendees were asked to complete the Community of Interest (COI) Google Forms, in lieu of speaker cards. The written and orally presented testimonies the public provided are summarized as COI input during the public hearing and posted on the LA County CRC for ease of access of the public. Individuals interested in learning about the public comments made can either:

- Refer to the COI Google Form summary (posted on the LA County CRC website for this public hearing)
- Listen to the YOUTUBE recording of the public hearing for the oral comments; these comments will be incorporated into the overall summary across public hearings

Speakers providing public testimony were:

- Josselyn Perez (90022) – Lived in unincorporated area of East LA for last 22 years; also a community organizer. Area bordered by Whittier and Caesar Chavez Blvds. Residents are renters and small businesses that share similar language and culture and challenges (e.g., COVID-19). Many attended Garfield H.S. East LA and Commerce should be together but not with Monterey Park.





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- Matsya Malvaez – CHIRLA and People’s Bloc. Lives in S. Whittier, populated by Spanish-speaking immigrants who are working class and renters. Many go to Rio Honda Community College because it is more affordable. They share libraries and enjoy the Christmas parade.
- Juan Hernandez (90023) – East LA College student. Working class residents who want to improve their community and families and seek renter protection. Similar to City Terrace but not Monterey Park or Montebello.
- Jessica Panduro (90033) – Keep City Terrace, Garfield, Commerce, and East LA together, not Monterey Park. LA City resident involved with Inner City Struggle. Working class community concerned about housing (cost of renting). Many work as essential workers and impacted by COVID-1. Face immigration issues and technology gaps.
- Masis Hagobian – City of Santa Clarita, Inter-Governmental Relations, speaking on behalf of the Santa Clarita City Council. Keep Santa Clarity with North LA County, Antelope Valley, and northwest San Fernando Valley (SFV). Share issues around water, transportation, wildfires. Also submitted a letter.
- Dulce Martinez – East LA, high school student involved in Inner City Struggle. East LA consist of working-class renters facing eviction notices and COVID-19 challenges. East LA, City Terrace and Commerce are similar but are dissimilar from Monterey Park.

## AGENDA ITEM 5: CONSENT ITEMS (RE-ORDERED FROM THE AGENDA – DISCUSSED AFTER THE PUBLIC HEARING PORTION OF THE MEETING)

Items listed under the consent calendar are considered by the LA County CRC Executive Director to be routine in nature and will be enacted by one motion unless a Commissioner requests otherwise, in which case the item will be removed for separate consideration.

The Commissioners discussed the July 14, 2021, Draft LA County CRC Minutes of the of the regular meeting and public hearing. The Commissioners made a motion and approved the minutes.

Motion Made:	Commissioner Brian Stecher		
Motion Seconded:	Commissioner Hailes Soto		
Outcome:	Approved		
Yes	Commissioner Jean Franklin	Excused	Commissioner Priscilla Orpinela-Segura
Yes	Commissioner David Holtzman	Yes	Commissioner Hailes Soto
Yes	Commissioner Mary Kenney	Yes	Commissioner Saira Soto
Yes	Co-Chair Daniel Mayeda	Yes	Commissioner Brian Stecher
Yes	Commissioner Mark Mendoza	Excused	Commissioner John Vento
Yes	Commissioner Apolonio Morales	Yes	Co-Chair Carolyn Williams





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Yes	Commissioner Nelson Obregon	Yes	Commissioner Doreena Wong
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The Commissioners discussed the minutes for the July 20, 2021, LA County CRC public hearing. The Commissioners made a motion and approved the minutes.

Motion Made:	Commissioner David Holtzman		
Motion Seconded:	Commissioner Doreena Wong		
Outcome:	Approved		
Yes	Commissioner Jean Franklin	Excused	Commissioner Priscilla Orpinela-Segura
Yes	Commissioner David Holtzman	Yes	Commissioner Hailes Soto
Yes	Commissioner Mary Kenney	Yes	Commissioner Saira Soto
Abstain	Co-Chair Daniel Mayeda	Yes	Commissioner Brian Stecher
Abstain	Commissioner Mark Mendoza	Excused	Commissioner John Vento
Yes	Commissioner Apolonio Morales	Yes	Co-Chair Carolyn Williams
Yes	Commissioner Nelson Obregon	Yes	Commissioner Doreena Wong

## AGENDA ITEM 6: ACTION/DISCUSSION ITEMS – CO-CHAIR CAROLYN WILLIAMS (RE-ORDERED FROM THE AGENDA – DISCUSSED AFTER THE PUBLIC HEARING PORTION OF THE MEETING)

Commissioner Brian Stecher gave an overview of the process the Ad Hoc Working Group – Demography to identify Subject Matter Experts in Racially Polarized Voting (RPV):

- The Ad Hoc Working Group – Demography developed a task order, describing the questions we wanted the racially polarized voting consultant to answer.
- Gayla Kraetsch Hartsough, the Executive Director, reached out to 23 subject matter experts in universities and to consultants who had done this kind of analysis, including expert testimony on redistricting cases; she contacted people directly and asked for referrals.
- The Ad Hoc Working Group – Demography sent the task order to 6 Subject Matter Experts, and five submitted descriptions of their approach, qualifications, and referrals.
- The Ad Hoc Working Group – Demography read all five proposals, agreed that all five were qualified to do the work, and three seemed particularly strong.
- Commissioners John Vento and Brian Stecher (the Co-Leaders of the Ad Hoc Working Group – Demography) interviewed each of these three experts/expert teams.
- Commissioners Vento and Stecher agreed that all three were well qualified, and decided that the team of Bruce Adelson and Jonathan Katz would be the best experts for the LA County CRC’s needs because:
  - They bring both legal and analytic expertise related to RPV





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- They have extensive, directly relevant experience with the Department of Justice, the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission, and other clients.
- One of the team lives in LA County so he is easily accessible to the CRC.
- They are enthusiastic about doing the work.
- Their price was reasonable considering the range of bids we received.

Commissioner Saira Soto requested the opportunity to see the Letter Proposal submitted by Bruce Adelson and Dr. Jonathan Katz, which is attached to these minutes. Other Commissioners identified the need to begin this analysis sooner rather than later because of the LA County CRC timeline.

A motion was made and seconded to authorize ARCBridge to subcontract with Bruce Adelson and Dr. Jonathan Katz to conduct Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) in Los Angeles County. The motion passed.

Motion Made:	Commissioner David Holtzman		
Motion Seconded:	Commissioner Jean Franklin		
Outcome:	Approved		
Yes	Commissioner Jean Franklin	Excused	Commissioner Priscilla Orpinela-Segura
Yes	Commissioner David Holtzman	Yes	Commissioner Hailes Soto
Yes	Commissioner Mary Kenney	Abstain	Commissioner Saira Soto
Yes	Co-Chair Daniel Mayeda	Yes	Commissioner Brian Stecher
Yes	Commissioner Mark Mendoza	Excused	Commissioner John Vento
Yes	Commissioner Apolonio Morales	Yes	Co-Chair Carolyn Williams
Yes	Commissioner Nelson Obregon	Abstain	Commissioner Doreena Wong

A motion was made and seconded to rescind the LA County CRC's prior direction to issue revised RFP for Voter Polarization Analysis (VPA). The motion was approved.

Motion Made:	Commissioner David Holtzman		
Motion Seconded:	Commissioner Brian Stecher		
Outcome:	Approved		
Yes	Commissioner Jean Franklin	Excused	Commissioner Priscilla Orpinela-Segura
Yes	Commissioner David Holtzman	Yes	Commissioner Hailes Soto
Yes	Commissioner Mary Kenney	Yes	Commissioner Saira Soto
Yes	Co-Chair Daniel Mayeda	Yes	Commissioner Brian Stecher
Yes	Commissioner Mark Mendoza	Excused	Commissioner John Vento
Yes	Commissioner Apolonio Morales	Yes	Co-Chair Carolyn Williams
Yes	Commissioner Nelson Obregon	Yes	Commissioner Doreena Wong





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## AGENDA ITEM 9: FUTURE AGENDA ITEMS – CO-CHAIR CAROLYN WILLIAMS (RE-ORDERED FROM THE AGENDA – WAS AGENDA ITEM 9.)

There were no items to be placed on future agendas.

## AGENDA ITEM 10: EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT – GAYLA KRAETSCH HARTSOUGH, PH.D. (RE-ORDERED FROM THE AGENDA – WAS AGENDA ITEM 10.)

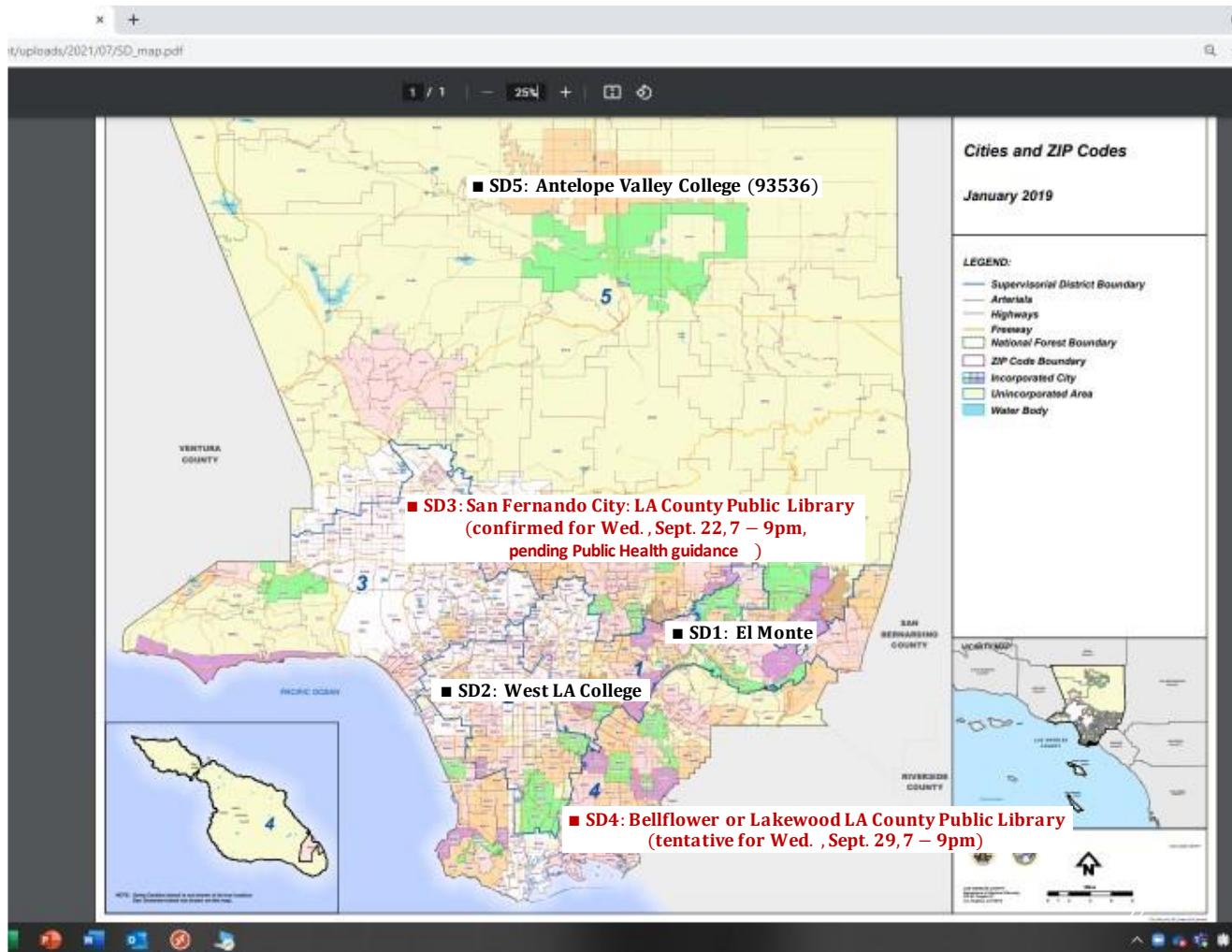
Gayla Kraetsch Hartsough provided the following updates:

- She outlined the structure, including the use of interpreters for English-to-Spanish and Spanish-to-English, for the next public hearing on Saturday, August 7, 10:00 am, which will be in Spanish. Holly Whatley, LA County CRC Independent Legal Counsel, explained that additional time is allotted to allow for interpretation.
- The roll of the training plan and redistricting software is still scheduled for August.
- She proposed cancelling the September 8, 2021, regular meeting date because of Rosh Hashanah and is checking on the availability of Patriotic Hall to meet on either September 9, 2021, or September 14, 2021.
- In addition to the hybrid public hearings scheduled in August for SD 1, SD 2, and SD 5, she is working with the Los Angeles County Public Libraries to find sites for SD 3 and SD 5, focusing on areas where there will be greater challenges to access public hearings virtually (see map of **proposed sites in red** on the next page).
- She addressed questions about the database being built to catalog public input from the COI Forms, written comments/letters, and public testimony – from December 14, 2020 (the start of the LA County CRC) on – to make it easier for Commissioners and the public to review and identify patterns.





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## AGENDA ITEM 11: ADJOURNMENT

Co-Chair Mayeda adjourned the meeting at 3:52 p.m.

To sign up for receiving future LA County CRC notices, go to: [redistricting.lacounty.gov](https://redistricting.lacounty.gov)

To submit input to the public hearings, including signing up for speaking before the Commission, go to:  
<https://forms.gle/2SDZSxEuKNZ3ZU1KA>





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## ATTACHMENT FOR AGENDA ITEM 6: Action/Discussion Item – Letter Proposal





**Federal Compliance Consulting LLC**  
**11808 Becket Street**  
**Potomac, Maryland 20854**  
**301-762-5272**  
**240-536-9192 fax**

Bruce L. Adelson  
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July 16, 2021

Dr. Gayla Kraetsch Hartsough  
Los Angeles County CRC Executive Director  
[ghartsough@crc.lacounty.gov](mailto:ghartsough@crc.lacounty.gov)

Dear Dr. Hartsough:

We are submitting our proposal in response to the County of Los Angeles Citizens Redistricting Commission (LA County CRC) Task Order for Racially Polarized Voting Analysis and Consulting Services for Redistricting (Task Order).

Federal Compliance Consulting LLC (Bruce Adelson, President/CEO) is the responder and will be the prime contractor if awarded the contract. Katz Statistical Consulting and Dr. Jonathan Katz will be the subcontractor.

Our responses to the Task Order follow below.

**Objectives and Tasks to be Performed**

We have significant experience with redistricting and the unique knowledge, experience, and expertise to provide requested redistricting consultation, analyses, and legal compliance assistance to the LA County CRC for the current redistricting cycle. Bruce Adelson and Dr. Katz have extensive racial bloc voting and election analysis expertise from their decades of redistricting work.

Our objectives are to provide the expected and required analysis to the LA County CRC within contractual deadlines. We can begin work immediately upon contract award. We will work with the LA County CRC, County staff, and your vendors to ensure the availability of appropriate and legally compliant data to perform the necessary work and analyses.

As requested, we will meet LA County CRC's timeline for Task 1 analysis completion by late September/early October, Task 2 public presentation by late October, and preparation of any requested memoranda analyzing the Commission adopted map by early December.

For Task 1, our rpv analysis will be performed using the statistical methods accepted and approved for the required election analyses. All rpv analyses described in the proposal were performed using the methods and techniques described below.

Our Task 2 critiques and analyses will be informed by the results of our rpv and related legal analysis. We will evaluate and analyze LA County CRC draft maps based upon our redistricting experience and the latest court decisions concerning legally acceptable redistricting.

The key statistical analysis needed to comply with the Federal Voting Rights is to estimate the voting behavior of various racial and/or ethnic groups from aggregate election results to see if there is racially polarized voting. In the statistical literature this is referred to as ecological inference.

A common starting point in the process of estimating the share of each racial group voting for a specific candidate is to consider only homogeneous precincts. That is, one could examine the election results from precincts that are closest to racially homogeneous in character. For example, if a precinct were completely racially homogeneous, say with a population that was 100% Black, then one would know what fraction of Black people voted for a given candidate in the precincts: it is just the share the given candidate got in the district. While this might be a useful starting point, as a statistical procedure, it is problematic since it throws out most of the data unless most of the precincts are homogeneous.

However, Dr. Katz can use the intuition from the homogeneous precincts to place bounds on the level of support each group gives a candidate. Consider the following equation, which is true by definition, that relates the vote share of given candidate to the voting behavior of members of two groups B and W (this can be extended to arbitrary numbers of groups):

$$V_i = \lambda^B_i X_i + \lambda^W_i (1 - X_i)$$

where  $V_i$  is the share of the vote a given candidate received in district  $i$ ,  $X_i$  is the fraction of Blacks in the district and therefore  $(1 - X_i)$  is the fraction of White (or more correctly non-Blacks) voters, assuming for the moment that there are only two groups in the electorate.  $\lambda^B_i$  is the fraction of African-Americans voting for the given candidate and similarly  $\lambda^W_i$  is the fraction of Whites voting for the given candidate.

In other words, the equation states the fact that the total vote share for a candidate must equal the proportion of Black voters who support them multiplied by the proportion of the electorate that is Black plus the proportion of the White voters who support the candidate multiplied by the proportion of the electorate which is White. In the case of only two groups e.g., Blacks and Whites and only two candidates, then racially polarized voting occurs when  $\lambda^B_i \neq \lambda^W_i$ . The larger the difference between support levels, the greater the level of polarized voting. Duncan and Davis (1953) fully developed the method of bounds outlined above to analyze ecological data.

As noted, the problem with the method of bounds is that it ignores almost all of the election data. An alternative approach that uses all of the precincts was developed by Goodman (1959). It is referred to in the literature as ecological regression or Goodman's regression.

Like the method of bounds, it is based on the identity that the total vote for the candidate must equal the sum of the fraction of each group's support of the candidate times their fraction of precinct's population.

It identifies the estimate by making the strong assumption that voting behavior does not vary across individuals or precincts. That is, the fraction of support for a given candidate for both Whites and Blacks (and other groups in our analysis) was the same across all precincts and individuals within the precinct. Then Goodman (1959) noted that we could estimate these fractions by choosing the best fitting line to the precinct-level data. This is just a standard linear regression that is used thorough out statistics and the qualitative social sciences.

However, there is no free lunch, and ecological regression allows one to identify the estimate across all districts and in any data set by making the heroic assumption of no variability of voting behavior across precincts and individuals, which is usually referred to as the *constancy assumption*. In fact, Goodman himself was extremely cautious in recommending use of ecological regression to infer individual relationships given this required assumption. He stressed that only "under very special circumstances" should ecological regression be relied upon to produce reasonable estimates (Goodman 1953: 664).

King (1997) has developed an alternative approach called Ecological Inference or EI that we will use to estimate the voting behavior of different racial or ethnic groups in elections in Los Angeles County to determine whether voting is racially polarized. While the technical details are complex, its advantage is that it uses all available information to generate more accurate estimates of voting behavior from aggregate data. EI is basically a way to combine the regression approach of Goodman (1959) with the bounds from Duncan and Davis (1953). Further, it allows the estimates to vary (systematically) across precincts.

### **Our Unique Capabilities**

Bruce Adelson, Esq., is Federal Compliance Consulting's CEO and President. Bruce has extensive redistricting and Voting Rights Act experience spanning three redistricting cycles, 2001, 2011, and 2021 as U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) Voting Section Senior Trial Attorney (2000-2006), Voting Rights Act expert for the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (AIRC), redistricting expert and consultant for myriad counties, cities, school districts, and community college districts (2010-2016), and currently as redistricting legal counsel and expert during the 2021 cycle for cities and counties outside of California, the Michigan Independent

Citizens Redistricting Commission's Voting Rights Act Legal Counsel, and the Alaska Redistricting Board's Voting Rights Consultant, together with Dr. Katz.

In his DOJ career and post-DOJ redistricting work, Bruce has extensively advised and consulted with state and local governments, local redistricting commissions, and the AIRC about all aspects of redistricting, including but not limited to complying with the U.S. Constitution and Voting Rights Act Sections 2, 4, 5, and 203, preparing redistricting plans, *Thornburg v. Gingles* analyses, preparing redistricting reports and presentations, preparing Section 5 submissions to DOJ, meeting with DOJ to discuss redistricting, analyzing data, analyzing election results, analyzing maps and redistricting plans, conducting racial bloc/racially polarized voting analyses, litigation, and conducting community involvement and outreach in redistricting.

At DOJ during the 2001 redistricting cycle, Bruce was the Team Leader for DOJ's Voting Rights Act (including Section 5) analysis of Arizona's 2002 and 2003 legislative redistricting plans, the Attorney General's Section 5 objection to Arizona's 2002 legislative redistricting plan and requests for additional information, Arizona's 2002 Congressional redistricting plan, New York City's 2003 City Council redistricting plan, Phoenix's 2002 City Council redistricting plan, redistricting plans for counties, parishes, special districts, and municipalities in Texas, Alabama, Arizona, Mississippi, New York, Louisiana, South Carolina, and many other statewide and local voting changes across the United States.

Unlike other consultants, we have the unmatched expertise and experience to understand the importance of community outreach and engagement in redistricting. For example, Bruce advised the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission on locations for community redistricting meetings around the State of Arizona, including but not limited to on Native American Reservations, about outreach to different groups and communities, and about how to provide language access to limited English proficient communities.

Bruce's outreach advice has included providing in-person and video interpreters and translations for redistricting in such languages as, Spanish, Bengali, Arabic, Tagalog, American Sign Language, Vietnamese, Mandarin, Cantonese, Navajo, Hopi, Apache, O'odham, and many more in compliance with the Voting Rights Act, Americans with Disabilities Act, and 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Post DOJ, Bruce has given keynote voting & redistricting training and education presentations to many organizations such as the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission, Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission, National Association of State Election Directors, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Association of Counties, International Municipal Lawyers Association, The Arizona League of Cities and Towns, Arizona State Bar, Arizona Attorney General, Arizona Secretary of State, Maricopa County, Texas District and County Attorneys Association, New Mexico County Clerks Association, Washington State Association of County Auditors, Tri-State (AZ, NM, UT) and Tri-County

(Apache, Navajo, Coconino) Native American Language Election Information Conferences, Gila County's American Indian Voter Outreach Summit, the Navajo Nation, Hopi Tribe, and the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada.

In private practice, Bruce has a 100% perfect record of obtaining Voting Rights Act Section 5 preclearance on first submission for his redistricting clients without any DOJ requests for additional information or other DOJ imposed delays. Bruce's U.S. Supreme Court success in *Harris v. AIRC* reinforces and exemplifies his nationally recognized redistricting expertise.

**Bruce's Post-DOJ Redistricting Consultations include:**

- Nevada Secretary of State –Comprehensive federal voting and election law consultation, including NVRA, Voting Rights Act, HAVA, and UOCAVA, redistricting, observation of federal primary election polling place practices in several Nevada counties, and best practices recommendations.
- Washington Secretary of State – Voting Rights Act Section 203 minority language requirements, application to redistricting, and coverage for State of Washington and local jurisdictions.
- Arizona Secretary of State – various provisions of the Voting Rights Act, including Section 11(b) voter intimidation, and Sections 5, 2, and 203 for redistricting.
- Arizona Governor and Arizona Department of Economic Security – NVRA Section 7 settlement with DOJ. Bruce conducted an in-house assessment and investigation and assisted Arizona in settlement negotiations with DOJ. The settlement is here: <https://www.justice.gov/crt/agreement-between-united-states-department-justice-and-arizona-department-economic-security>
- State of Arizona
- Gila County, Arizona
- Gila Community College, Arizona
- City of Globe, Arizona
- City of Phoenix, Arizona
- New York City, New York
- Allegan County, Michigan
- Navajo County, Arizona
- Yavapai County, Arizona
- Pinal County, Arizona
- Mohave County, Arizona
- Greenlee County, Arizona

- Graham County, Arizona
- La Paz County, Arizona
- Western Arizona Vocational Education District
- Ford County, Kansas
- Multiple confidential jurisdictions – states, counties, and municipalities

During the 2011 redistricting cycle, Bruce was the AIRC’s consulting expert in federal litigation challenging the Commission’s legislative redistricting plan before a three-judge federal court and on direct appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. The three-judge court upheld the Commission’s redistricting plan and endorsed Bruce’s advice to the Commission *Harris v. AIRC*, 993 F.Supp.2d 1042 (D. Ariz., 2014). In April 2016, a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court (136 S. Ct. 1301, 194 L. Ed. 2d 497 (2016)) agreed and upheld the plan’s legality 9-0.

Bruce helped the AIRC obtain Voting Rights Act Section 5 preclearance on first DOJ submission for the first time in Arizona history.

We have extensive experience working with redistricting commissions, state and local governments, redistricting commissions, and elected officials at all levels of government across the United States.

Dr. Jonathan Katz is the Kay Sugahara Professor of Social Sciences and Statistics at the California Institute of Technology. He received his Bachelor of Science degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in applied mathematics and his Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degrees, both in political science from the University of California, San Diego. He has done post-doctoral work at Harvard University and the Harvard- MIT Data Center. Dr. Katz is an elected fellow of both the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Society for Political Methodology.

Dr. Katz has written books and numerous articles published in the leading journals, including:

Elbridge Gerry’s Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution. (with G. Cox). New York: *Cambridge University Press*. 2002; The Mathematics and Statistics of Voting Power (with A. Gelman and F. Tuerlinckx) *Statistical Science* 17(4): 420–435. 2002; and Constitutions of Exception: The Constitutional Foundations of the Interruption of Executive and Legislative Function (with M. McCubbins) *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*. 174(1):77–98. 2018.

He is currently the Deputy Editor for Social Sciences of *Science Advances*, the open access journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He previously served as co-editor of *Political Analysis*, the journal of the Society for Political Methodology and he

served on the editorial boards of *Electoral Studies*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and the *American Journal of Political Science*.

Dr. Katz has done extensive research on American elections and on statistical methods for analyzing social science data. Over the past two decades, Dr. Katz testified or consulted in more than 40 elections cases in both state and federal courts for both Democratic and Republican clients involving the Federal Voting Rights Act, the evaluation of voting systems, or the statistical evaluation of electoral data.

Dr. Katz has received multiple honors and awards including as the Elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2011 and Elected Inaugural Fellow of the Society for Political Methodology, 2008. He is a prolific author with myriad scholarly works about redistricting, such as “How to Evaluate Measures of Partisan Fairness for Legislative Redistricting” (with G. King and E. Rosenblatt). *American Political Science Review*. 114(1): 164–178. 2020. The forthcoming publication of Dr. Katz’s newest work, “The Essential Role of Statistical Inference in Evaluating Electoral Systems” (with G. King and E. Rosenblatt). *Political Analysis*, is especially pertinent for the current redistricting cycle.

### **Expert witness experience**

Expert witness experience for Bruce Adelson includes and but is not limited to:

- *Harris v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission*, Case No 14-232, (136 S. Ct. 1301, 194 L. Ed. 2d 497 (2016)). Bruce Adelson was the Voting Rights Act expert for the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission. He was the consulting expert in litigation challenging the Commission’s legislative redistricting plan. A three-judge federal court dismissed plaintiffs’ challenge to the plan. (*Harris v. Ariz. Indep. Redistricting Comm’n*, 993 F.Supp.2d 1042 (D. Ariz., 2014)). Mr. Adelson testified by deposition in that case. In April 2016, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the plan’s legality. In part, the Court held that when a state or local government draws a redistricting plan that keeps population deviations below 10%, the map is presumptively legal when “the population deviations were primarily a result of good-faith efforts to comply with the Voting Rights Act . . . even though partisanship played some role.”
- *State v. Linda Jane Minyard and State v. Michael Edwin Minyard*, Maricopa County Superior Court CR 2016-002415-001 and CR 2016-002416-001. State of Arizona prosecuted the Minyards for felony voter fraud and voting in elections in two states. Bruce Adelson was the testifying voting and elections law and Department of Justice expert for the Minyards. The case settled before trial. Defendants pleaded no contest to the lowest possible misdemeanors.

- Bruce was the undisclosed consulting expert for a State in a Voting Rights Act Section 2 vote dilution case where state law provided that a metropolitan charter cannot be adopted unless approved by both a majority of the qualified voters residing in the principal city in the county and a majority of the qualified voters residing outside the principal city in the county. This is referred to as the dual-majority voting requirement. In this case, the principal city has a majority Black population. The U.S. District Court granted summary judgment for the State.
- Gray et al v. St. Louis City Board of Election Commissioners, (E.D. Mo., 2016). Bruce Adelson was the consulting expert for two blind voters who sued the St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners. The Court granted a Temporary Restraining Order that directed local election officials “make touch-screen voting machines with audio and all other accessible voting technology available for persons with disabilities during the absentee voting period for the November 8, 2016 election.” Recognizing the primacy of federal disability access law and blind voters' preference for touch-screen voting, the Court held that “... if disabled Missourians are denied the use of talking voting machines during the current absentee period, they will suffer irreparable harm in the form of a restriction on their fundamental voting rights.”
- Nick, et al., v. City of Bethel, et al., Case No., 3:07-CV-00098-TMB, (D. Alaska). In 2008, Defendant State of Alaska designated Bruce Adelson as its testifying and consulting expert in this case where plaintiffs alleged violations of the Voting Rights Act's Section 203 minority language requirements for Alaska Native languages. Bruce assisted the State with enhancing its Section 203 program. The case settled before trial.
- Hall v. State of Louisiana et al., 973 F.Supp.2d. 675 (M.D. La., 2013). Defendant State of Louisiana retained Bruce Adelson as an expert in redistricting and the Voting Rights Act. Mr. Adelson prepared an expert report. This case alleged Voting Rights Act Section 2 discrimination in how judges are elected to the Baton Rouge City Court. Trial in this case occurred in November 2014. Mr. Adelson testified at trial. In 2015, the Court found for the State of Louisiana, ruling in a case of first impression that election results from one election cycle are insufficient to prove Voting Rights Act Section 2 vote dilution. Bruce Adelson was the consulting expert for the State on appeal. In 2018, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit affirmed the trial court's decision.
- Alissa Juech v. Children's Hospital of Wisconsin, 353 F.Supp.3d 773 (E.D. Wis. 2018), Children's Hospital's counsel retained Bruce Adelson as the testifying ADA expert. A deaf patient and her husband sued Children's Hospital alleging ADA disability discrimination by the hospital and staff. Bruce prepared an expert report. In 2018, the Court granted Children's Hospital's motion for summary judgment and dismissed the case.
- Rose et al. v. Wayne County Airport Authority, 210 F.Supp.3d 870 (E.D. Mich. 2016) Bruce Adelson was the testifying Americans with Disabilities Act expert for the Wayne County Airport Authority and Detroit Metropolitan Airport. The case involved



allegations of ADA and ADA Standards of Accessible Design (ADAAG) disability discrimination in the airport's main terminal, transit stops, and parking areas. In 2016, the court dismissed the lawsuit and the discrimination allegations against the airport, confirming the accuracy of Mr. Adelson's ADA expert opinions and ADAAG assessments. In 2017, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit affirmed and upheld the trial court's dismissal of this case.

Expert witness experience for Dr. Katz includes and but is not limited to:

- *Rep. Antonio Maestas et al. v. Diana Duran* (2012, New Mexico State District Court)
- *Rene Romo, et al. v. Ken Detzner, and Pam Bondi* (2013, Florida Circuit Court)
- *Diego v. City of Whittier* (2014, Superior Court of the State of California, County of Los Angeles)
- *Jim Soliz, et al. v. Santa Clarita Community College District* (2014, Superior Court of the State of California, County of Los Angeles)
- *Bethune-Hill, et al. v. Virginia State Board of Elections, et al.* (2015 and 2017, U.S. District Court for Eastern District of Virginia)
- *Luna, et al. v. County of Kern, et al.* (2017, U.S. District Court for Eastern District of California)
- *Bruni v. Hugues* (2020, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas)
- *Miller v. Hugues* (2020, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas)
- *Casey v. Garner* (2020, U.S. District Court for the District of New Hampshire)

### **Current or past clients similar to the LA County CRC**

Federal Compliance Consulting and Bruce Adelson:

During his DOJ career, Bruce led dozens of rpv analyses, reviewed and analyzed rpv evaluations, and applied them to dozens of redistricting plans. The Attorney General of the United States twice recognized Bruce's Voting Rights Act work, including redistricting, with "Special Achievement" Awards.

As the AIRC's Voting Rights Act expert, Bruce worked with the AIRC, general counsel, mapping consultant, rpv expert, commissioners, and staff on all aspects of AIRC legislative and congressional redistricting including map creation and analysis, Voting Rights Act and Constitutional compliance, election analysis, retrogression and racial bloc/racially polarized voting analyses, *Thornburg v. Gingles* analyses, public outreach and participation, communications with DOJ, and preparation of AIRC's Section 5 submission to DOJ.

#### 2011 Redistricting Contacts and References

Colleen Mathis, AIRC Chairwoman, 2011-2021  
520-444-9497  
[Mathis\\_colleen@hotmail.com](mailto:Mathis_colleen@hotmail.com)

Ray Bladine, AIRC Executive Director, 2011-2021  
602-740-8894  
[rbladine@gmail.com](mailto:rbladine@gmail.com)

During the 2011 redistricting cycle, Bruce was the redistricting consultant and legal expert for many counties, special districts, and municipalities. Most did not employ redistricting bodies similar to the LA County CRC.

Most of Bruce's 2011 redistricting contacts with his 2011 clients are either deceased or no longer employed by their jurisdictions.

Two jurisdictions that Bruce consulted with in 2011, Gila and Navajo Counties, Arizona, used commissions to formulate district maps. For both counties, Bruce provided comprehensive redistricting consulting for Board of Supervisors, Community College, and Justice of the Peace redistricting including Voting Rights Act compliance, map review and analysis, equal population, retrogression, racial bloc/racially polarized voting analysis, and *Thornburg v. Gingles* analyses, community participation and outreach, working with elected officials, conducting public redistricting presentations, and mapping analysis.

Gila and Navajo Counties both achieved DOJ Section 5 preclearance on first submission without any DOJ requests for additional information or related DOJ inquiries. Gila and Navajo Counties' 2011 redistricting plans were not challenged in state or federal courts.

Gila County  
1400 E. Ash Street  
Globe, Arizona 85501  
(928) 402-8516 --- 2011 Contacts: No longer with the County or deceased

Navajo County is a current redistricting client.

Navajo County  
Jason S. Moore  
Deputy County Attorney  
Navajo County Government Center  
100 East Code Talkers Drive  
P.O. Box 668  
Holbrook, Arizona 86025  
(928) 524-4000  
**Jason.Moore@navajocountyaz.gov**

Additional redistricting references:

Deborah Herbert  
Mohave County Deputy County Attorney  
700 West Beale Street, Kingman, AZ 86401  
928-753-0770, ext. 4274  
**Deborah.Herbert@MohaveCounty.AZ**

Bruce Adelson consulted with Mohave County during the 2011 redistricting cycle and prepared the County's redistricting plans for the Board of Supervisors, justice of the peace districts, and community college districts, and Section 5 submission. The U.S. Department of Justice precleared all of the County's redistricting plans on first submission.

Gilda R. Daniels  
Associate Professor of Law, University of Baltimore School of Law,  
John and Frances Angelos Law Center, Room 1012  
1420 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21201  
410.837.4607  
**gdaniels@ubalt.edu**

Professor Daniels was the Deputy Chief, Voting Section, U.S. Department of Justice, during Bruce's Voting Section career. They worked together on myriad Justice Department investigations and cases. Professor Daniels and Bruce consulted on numerous redistricting consultations during the 2011 cycle, including but not limited to Arizona's Congressional and legislative redistricting.

**Redistricting clients similar to the LA County CRC for Katz Statistical Consulting and Dr. Katz:**

E. Mark Braden

[mbraden@bakerlaw.com](mailto:mbraden@bakerlaw.com)

(202) 861-1504

Katherine L. McKnight

[kmcknight@bakerlaw.com](mailto:kmcknight@bakerlaw.com)

(202) 861-1618

Baker & Hostetler LLP

Dr. Katz worked on numerous election law cases with Mr. Braden and Ms. McKnight over the last twenty years involving redistricting and election law more generally. Dr. Katz conducted statistical analysis of racially polarized voting as well as partisan bias in proposed redistricting plans.

Marguerite Mary Leoni

[mleoni@nmgovlaw.com](mailto:mleoni@nmgovlaw.com)

(415) 389-6800

Chris Skinnell

[cskinnell@nmgovlaw.com](mailto:cskinnell@nmgovlaw.com)

(415) 389-6800

Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Gross & Leoni LLP

Dr. Katz worked on numerous election law cases with Ms. Leoni and Mr. Skinnell over the last twenty years involving both the California and Federal Voting Rights Acts and election law more generally. Dr. Katz conducted statistical analysis of racially polarized voting as well as other aspects of election data.

Kimberly Hall Barlow

[khb@jones-mayer.com](mailto:khb@jones-mayer.com)

(714) 446-1400

Jones & Mayer

Dr. Katz has done statistical analysis of racially polarized voting of several California cities over the last seven years to help Ms. Barlow advise them on how to respond to possible lawsuits under the California Voting Rights Act.

**Costs and Expenses**

Our hourly rates are as follows:

Bruce Adelson, Esq., prime contractor - \$425.00

Dr. Jonathan Katz - \$425.00

Plus approved travel expenses

Task 1: Our time estimate is based upon there being no data issues that delay or hamper election and rpv analysis.

Estimate: 25-40 hours, between \$10,625.00 and \$17,000.00. We recommend analyzing the ten contested County supervisor elections, with rpv and legal analysis of each election. Our time estimate will increase if the LA County CRC wants analysis of additional elections, such as county wide elections for sheriff and statewide ballot propositions.

Task 2: According to the Task Order, we will analyze between two to five draft maps plus the LA County CRCs adopted draft map and give a presentation to the LA County CRC.

Estimate: 30-50 hours, between \$12,750.00 and \$21,250.00

Task 3: Estimating time involved for the requested analysis is based upon the type and quality of data provided by the County of Los Angeles for 2019, as described in the Task Order, and the number of national origin groups we are asked to analyze. In addition, surname analysis will be needed using standard election analysis statistical methods. At the present time, given the information we do not possess, an accurate time estimate for completion of Task 3 is difficult. For purposes of our proposal, we estimate the time involved for Task 3 could be up to approximately 25 hours.

Our not to exceed fee for all services described in the Task Order and in this proposal is \$52,000.00. We determined our fee from our experience, current conditions, and potential additional contingencies.

Of course, if additional contingencies do not arise, the cost of redistricting will be less than the \$52,000.00 not to exceed fee. We believe that by thinking ahead and anticipating myriad possible contingencies and developments, we can most effectively and expertly advise and work with LA County CRC.

We intend to provide maximum flexibility for LA County CRC by anticipating and factoring into our fee various possible contingencies including racially polarized voting analyses of additional elections and unanticipated court challenges, legal developments, Congressional and federal action, and any further Census data release delays.

## **References**

For your convenience, we provide below the references listed above in this proposal.

### **Bruce Adelson:**

Colleen Mathis, AIRC Chairwoman, 2011-2021  
520-444-9497  
[Mathis\\_colleen@hotmail.com](mailto:Mathis_colleen@hotmail.com)

Ray Bladine, AIRC Executive Director, 2011-2021  
602-740-8894  
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Navajo County  
Jason S. Moore  
Deputy County Attorney  
Navajo County Government Center  
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Deborah Herbert  
Mohave County Deputy County Attorney  
700 West Beale Street, Kingman, AZ 86401  
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John and Frances Angelos Law Center, Room 1012  
1420 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21201  
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### **Dr. Jonathan Katz:**

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(714) 446-1400  
Jones & Mayer

We certify that we are in full compliance with the California Ethics requirements as described in the Task Order.

Thank you for your consideration and your interest in our expertise. Please let us know if you require any additional information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bruce Adelson", with a long, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

Bruce Adelson