

THE STATE OF ARIZONA
INDEPENDENT REDISTRICTING COMMISSION

REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF VIDEOCONFERENCE PUBLIC MEETING

Via GoogleMeets

October 12, 2021

9:00 a.m.

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1 PUBLIC MEETING, BEFORE THE INDEPENDENT
2 REDISTRICTING COMMISSION, convened at 9:00 a.m. on
3 October 12, 2021, via GoogleMeets, Arizona, in the presence
4 of the following Commissioners:

5 Ms. Erika Neuberg, Chairperson
6 Mr. Derrick Watchman, Vice Chairman
7 Mr. David Mehle
8 Ms. Shereen Lerner
9 Mr. Douglas York

10 OTHERS PRESENT:

11 Mr. Brian Schmitt, Executive Director
12 Ms. Loriandra Van Haren, Deputy Director
13 Ms. Valerie Neumann, Executive Assistant
14 Ms. Michele Crank, Public Information Officer
15 Ms. Marie Chapple Camacho, Outreach Coordinator
16 Mr. Alex Pena, Outreach Coordinator
17 Mr. Roy Herrera, Ballard Spahr
18 Mr. Daniel Arellano, Ballard Spahr
19 Mr. Eric Spencer, Snell & Wilmer
20 Mr. Brett Johnson, Snell & Wilmer
21 Mr. Mark Flahan, Timmons Group
22 Mr. Brian Kingery, Timmons Group
23 Mr. Douglas Johnson, National Demographics Corp.
24 Ms. Ivy Beller Sakansky, National Demographics,
25 Corp.
Dr. Lisa Handley, Polarization Expert
Dr. Lisa Sanchez, Assistant Professor of Political
Science, University of Arizona

P R O C E E D I N G

1
2
3 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: All right. Well, why don't
4 we get started. I know that Commissioner York is juggling
5 some work responsibilities and let us know in advance that
6 he may be a little bit late. He's going to join as soon as
7 he can and any material that he doesn't personally hear is
8 going to be easily available to him so he'll be able to
9 catch up.

10 So with that, we'll dive right in. Agenda Item I,
11 call to order and roll call.

12 I(A), call for quorum. It is 9:02 a.m. on Tuesday,
13 October 12th, 2021. I call this meeting of the Independent
14 Redistricting Commission to order.

15 For the record, the executive assistant, Valerie
16 Neumann, will be taking roll.

17 When your name is called, please indicate you are
18 present. If you are unable to respond verbally, we ask that
19 you please type your name.

20 Val.

21 MS. NEUMANN: Thank you, Madam Chair.

22 Vice Chair Watchman.

23 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: Present.

24 MS. NEUMANN: Commissioner Lerner.

25 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Present.

1 MS. NEUMANN: Commissioner Mehl.

2 COMMISSIONER MEHL: Present.

3 MS. NEUMANN: Chairperson Neuberg.

4 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Present.

5 MS. NEUMANN: Okay. For the record we also have in
6 attendance the Executive Director Brian Schmitt, Deputy
7 Director Lori Van Haren, Public Information Officer Michele
8 Crank, Community Outreach Coordinators Marie Chappel and
9 Alex Pena; from our legal team, we've got Brett Johnson and
10 Eric Spencer from Snell and Wilmer, Roy Herrera and Daniel
11 Arellano from Ballard Spahr; our mapping consultants, we
12 have Mark Flahan and Brian Kingery from Timmons, Doug
13 Johnson and Ivy Bellar Sakansky from NDC Research; we have a
14 special guest with us, Lisa Sanchez, the assistant professor
15 of political science at the University of Arizona; and our
16 transcriptionist, Angela Miller.

17 That's everyone.

18 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. Thank you very much,
19 Val.

20 Please note for the minutes that a quorum is
21 present.

22 Agenda Item I(B), call for notice. Val, was the
23 notice and agenda for the Commission meeting properly posted
24 48 hours in advance of today's meeting?

25 MS. NEUMANN: Yes, it was Madam Chair.

1 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. Thank you very much.
2 Agenda Item No. II, approval of minutes from our
3 October 5th, 2021, deliberation meeting. II(A), general
4 session; we did not have an executive session.

5 Do I have any discussion on the minutes?

6 If no discussion, I'll entertain a motion to
7 approve the general session minutes from October 5th.

8 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: Vice Chair Watchman moves to
9 approve the minutes from October 5th.

10 COMMISSIONER MEHL: Commissioner Mehl seconds.

11 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Any further discussion?

12 We will take a vote.

13 Vice Chair Watchman.

14 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: Aye.

15 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Commissioner Mehl.

16 COMMISSIONER MEHL: Aye.

17 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Commissioner Lerner.

18 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Aye.

19 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Commissioner Neuberg is an
20 aye.

21 And with that, with a 4-0 vote, the minutes are
22 approved.

23 Agenda Item No. III, opportunity for public
24 comments.

25 Public comment will now open for a minimum of

1 30 minutes and remain open until the adjournment of the
2 meeting. Comments will only be accepted electronically in
3 writing on the link provided in the notice and agenda for
4 this public meeting and will be limited to 3,000 characters.

5 Please note, members of the Commission may not
6 discuss items that are not specifically identified on the
7 agenda. Therefore, pursuant to A.R.S. 38-431.01-H, action
8 taken as a result of public comment will be limited to
9 directing staff to study the matter, responding to any
10 criticism, or scheduling the matter for further
11 consideration and decision at a later date.

12 Agenda Item No. IV, discussion on public comments
13 received prior to today's meeting.

14 As usual I will defer to my colleagues to -- to
15 make any remarks first.

16 COMMISSIONER LERNER: This is Commissioner Lerner.
17 I just want to say thank you. There were a lot of comments
18 and feedback on the maps, ideas and suggestions from people
19 expressing their opinions about communities of interest; and
20 I just want to say thank you and keep the comments coming
21 with regard to that. We appreciate hearing your -- and
22 getting as much input as possible.

23 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yeah, I -- I -- I echo that.
24 I know at one point I remember reading in a comment people
25 wondering how it is that we receive these types of comments.

1 And just to share, you know, I generally review the public
2 comments over the weekends when we have a little more
3 discretionary time; and I open up the maps and so that when
4 people verbally describe, you know, a district or a
5 boundary, I can go directly to that map and understand.

6 Of course, I don't want to minimize or discourage
7 those who are using our remarkable mapping tools because,
8 you know, at the end of the day that leaves no room for us
9 to interpret your data; it's the most, you know, empirically
10 accurate.

11 But we are hearing and receiving so many different
12 forms of feedback, you know, through texts, through --
13 through empirical, you know, mapping ways that it's all
14 really helpful. So thank you.

15 The only other thing I wanted to add was there was
16 a comment expressing frustration about how prison
17 populations are counted in our state and -- and in
18 redistricting in general. This is not up to the discretion
19 of the Commission, it's a matter of law that in the
20 overwhelming majority of states, unless a state explicitly
21 passes a law to change it, prisoners are counted in the
22 location that they are incarcerated. So regardless of
23 frustration or what people think about it philosophically,
24 there's no room for the Commission to do anything other
25 than -- than follow the law here.

1 And before I turn it over, I would like -- if I --
2 I hope I didn't butcher anything -- please, legal counsel,
3 add any context or -- or boundaries.

4 MR. HERRERA: Thank you, Madam Chair.

5 Just to add, one of the sort of things to remember
6 here is that the census itself counts individual where they
7 are incarcerated. So as you indicated, a state would have
8 to on its own decide to count individuals differently.
9 There are a number of states across the country, most
10 recently Pennsylvania, that have changed state law to do
11 that, but that is not the case in Arizona; so in Arizona we
12 have to rely on the census data, and the way the census
13 counts is the individuals are counted where they are
14 incarc- -- incarcerated.

15 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Thank you.

16 If there are no other comments on comments, we are
17 going to jump to Agenda Item No. VII because we have a guest
18 speaker here today, Dr. Lisa Sanchez, to give us a Latino
19 historical demographic and voting academic presentation to
20 inform us in compliance with the Voting Rights Act.

21 I would like to remind the Commissioners, we intend
22 to do this in public session; we'd love to have any, you
23 know, robust discussion in public session. If fellow
24 Commissioners, you have specific questions wanting legal
25 advice as it relates to implementing anything we've learned,

1 that's something that we have the -- the ability to go into
2 e-session, but -- but not necessarily.

3 So for now, I will turn it over to either
4 Dr. Sanchez or I don't know if the legal team wanted to do
5 any introductions.

6 MR. ARELLANO: Thank you, Madam Chair and
7 Commissioners.

8 It's my pleasure this morning to introduce
9 Professor Lisa Sanchez, a Ph.D. in political science from
10 the University of Mexico and assistant professor in the
11 Department of Government at the University of Arizona.

12 Professor Sanchez is an expert specifically in
13 Latino political behavior and has looked at that issue also
14 with an Arizona lens, and so we're very excited and thankful
15 that she was gracious enough to visit with us this morning
16 and deliver what I trust will be a very helpful and
17 important presentation.

18 With that, I'll turn it over to the professor.

19 DR. SANCHEZ: Thank you much.

20 I'm really excited to be here today. I know what
21 you guys have before you is such an important but such a
22 difficult process, you know, for our system and -- and just
23 sort of trying to mitigate all of the interests that are
24 available here. So I -- today I just offer some information
25 on -- on one aspect of Arizona politics but it's by no means

1 the only one, obviously.

2 Let me see if I can pop up my presentation here. I
3 haven't used GoogleMeets before so just bear with me for one
4 second.

5 All right. Let's see here. Are you -- is everyone
6 hopefully seeing a PowerPoint presentation at this point?

7 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yes, we are.

8 MS. NEUMANN: Yes.

9 DR. SANCHEZ: Excellent. Good. I figured it out.

10 All right. So today I'm going to talk to you about
11 Latino politics in Arizona and my sort of -- I was tasked
12 with looking at really kind of trends and contemporary
13 issues that surround this important population in the state
14 of Arizona. So I'm just going to dive right in.

15 First off I'll show you my cards. I'm -- I'm by no
16 means a historian, but I do think it's important to kind of
17 get a background and a little bit of flavor about the
18 history of Latinos in -- in the state of Arizona, which
19 probably most of you are very familiar with but just as a
20 refresher.

21 So the state of Arizona has a great deal of ties to
22 the Latino community through its ownership by Mexico, Spain,
23 and then finally as part of the U.S.

24 So with that we see an actually -- a very
25 interesting mix of culture surrounding the Latino population

1 that has sort of European ties with the Spanish piece, and
2 Mexican ties through Mexico, and then sort of our the -- our
3 own flavor of U.S. politics and -- and definitely Native
4 American politics.

5 The territory was actually carved out of western --
6 the western half of New Mexico in 1863 and then that was
7 added to the Gadsden Purchase in 1854, and from the
8 beginning it differs a little bit from New Mexico or Texas
9 or California in that there was really more of a strong
10 Anglo influence from the beginning in the state of Arizona.
11 You didn't see kind of as much of a Califortinos (phonetic)
12 or not Nuevo Americanos kind of influence or -- or political
13 power in the state of Arizona to the extent that you saw in
14 these other locations or the Texanos (phonetic) for
15 instance.

16 One thing I will point out is that what that means
17 is that we've had few sort of Latino leaders within the
18 state as -- as sort of a -- a good representation; and that
19 continues even today. We've only had one Hispanic Governor
20 and that was in the 1970s, and so this is -- this is
21 something that I think is actually an important piece of the
22 redistricting process and I'll get to that in a minute. But
23 suffice it to say that the way that -- as political
24 scientists, the way that we draw lines actually has a really
25 big impact on -- on the race ethnicity of who is elected.

1 And -- and -- so that can be done explicitly or
2 inexplicitly and we'll get into that in a minute.

3 And then finally I'll just say immigration has
4 always been an issue in Arizona. I'm going to touch a
5 little bit on immigration with regard to Arizona and Latinos
6 but since that's an outward issue of this population, I'm
7 going to leave that a little bit more in the background and
8 focus on some other things that maybe are not so obvious.

9 But thinking about the Arizona demographics, I'm
10 sure you all have this data, this comes from the census in
11 2020 and it's showing you that basically we have what we
12 would call a bi-mobile distribution of population based on
13 race and ethnicity. So we have 53.4 percent who are white
14 non-Hispanic or Latino and we have 30.7 percent Hispanic or
15 Latino. What that all simply means is that we have two very
16 frequently occurring categories and then the rest are sort
17 of at a low level.

18 So I would say that this is really a great way to
19 illustrate that -- that you have -- that Arizona politics is
20 divided between kind of these two populations if we're
21 thinking about it through this lens of race and ethnicity.

22 I would also mention that the Arizona population
23 has increased by 11.9 percent since the 2010 census, and
24 what I think is fascinating about that is that 60.9 of that
25 increase, that 11.9 percent increase, changed specifically

1 from growth in the Latino population. So this population is
2 growing, obviously.

3 So here you see some data that suggests from 1980
4 to 2020 we've seen a very linear kind of dramatic increase
5 among Latinos in the Arizona population. And by the way,
6 when we look at this and predict it outward using
7 statistical methods, this is not really expected to -- to
8 abate anytime soon. Out to 2050, we -- we still expect
9 these -- these trends to continue.

10 So let's look a little bit about what is the
11 population. So the first question I usually get asked about
12 the Latino population in Arizona is this idea that it's --
13 it's primarily a immigrant population and that it is
14 incapable of voting, right?

15 So I show you this data from the ACS 2019 and it
16 shows you the Arizona foreign born by region of birth, and
17 you can see that very drastically we are over and above
18 getting foreign born from Latin America; 61.1 percent are
19 coming from Latin America and then another 4 percent from
20 North America, likely Mexico.

21 So I will note, though, that 45 percent of this
22 Arizona foreign-born population are naturalized, so even
23 though maybe they're foreign born, they don't have immediate
24 status of a native-born citizen engaging in politics,
25 45 percent of them are naturalized and are already able to

1 do so.

2 To kind of give you a comparison -- to kind of give
3 you a standpoint, 13.4 percent of Arizona residents overall
4 are foreign born and so -- so very much dominated by Latin
5 America; and then we're also seeing increases in Asian
6 foreign-born population in the state of Arizona, which has
7 actually increased dramatically over the last 10-year
8 period, however the numbers are still small.

9 Another question I get asked very frequently is
10 about language use. That has a lot of emphasis here when
11 we're talking about the Voting Rights Act and when we're
12 talking about balloting and, you know, all of these things
13 that are involved in voting.

14 So if we're thinking about the language spoken at
15 home -- and by the way, this is also from the ACS 2019 which
16 is through the Census Bureau -- 78.8 percent of the total
17 Arizona population, so all races and ethnicities are
18 speaking English only, so very English dominant in the
19 Arizona population at large. But when we look at the
20 Arizona Latino population, that number shrinks to 37.42 --
21 42 percent. Sorry, I left the percent sign off there.

22 And so what are they speaking? Obviously, it's
23 Spanish.

24 So you can see also in that next line, along with
25 total Arizona population, 20.3 are speaking Spanish but that

1 number, you know, really increases to 60. -- 62.2 percent.
2 Kind of getting down to it, though, those who speak
3 Spanish --

4 (Whereupon Commissioner York joins at 9:18 a.m.)

5 -- say they speak Spanish very well,
6 overwhelmingly. So 69.04 percent say we're speaking Spanish
7 very well and 31 percent say they're speaking -- I'm sorry,
8 speaking English very well; 31 percent say they're speaking
9 English less than very well.

10 So what this suggests to me -- what the discipline
11 suggests -- is that this is an instance of language loyalty.
12 So there's actually a lot of affinity for using English and
13 being able to converse in the English language, but when
14 spoken at home there's a loyalty to sort of the cultural
15 aspect of keeping the language alive at 62.2 percent versus
16 being able to speak English very well at 69.04.

17 So this is a population that can converse pretty
18 well in both languages, but chooses to speak in Spanish a
19 fair amount.

20 Now that also -- this also shows us that 31 percent
21 are maybe not speaking English very well and maybe need some
22 help, and so that actually has impacts on sort of the
23 election process as well.

24 If you can believe that the census actually
25 includes under the Hispanic origin question 22 different

1 subgroups that are classified as Hispanic or Latino; and in
2 the state of Arizona, however, there really are only
3 three -- three that we can even really pay attention to or
4 classify based on statistical analysis.

5 So in the state of Arizona right now, 31.7 percent
6 are Hispanic origin or Latino -- I use these
7 interchangeably. There was a time when these were -- had
8 very different political connotations but today they've
9 become sort of merged in their usage, so you'll hear me kind
10 of refer to both. They mean similar things.

11 Now when we take that 31.7 percent of Hispanics in
12 the state of Arizona and break it down by sub group, it is
13 dominated by Mexicans; so 27.8 percent of the Arizona Latino
14 population is Mexican descent. And that doesn't mean that
15 they are recent immigrants, that means that's what they put
16 down as their ancestry.

17 A small portion are Cuban, Puerto Rican, and then
18 "other" is sort of our bigger population.

19 So that actually harkens back to this idea that
20 there are Spanish roots. So they're those who -- maybe land
21 grant families who've been here for generations.

22 So kind of getting to what I think is most
23 important is: Where do Arizona Latinos live? What -- where
24 are they congregating?

25 So I know that across the country Latinos tend to

1 live in what we call "enclave societies." So they -- they
2 tend to move and live in places with other Latinos, and
3 Arizona is one of those enclave destinations across the
4 country.

5 And this is showing you from the 2020 census the
6 percent Latino by county.

7 What you're -- what you see here is that there are
8 very definite areas where Latinos are -- are a huge
9 population. So Yuma, the home of Cesar Chavez, 63.8; and
10 then Greenlee County has 45.8 percent Latinos; Pima County,
11 where I am right now, 35.7 percent Latino; Maricopa County,
12 30.6, this has actually been increasing as well; and Cochise
13 at 34 percent; and places we see sort of the least are in
14 obviously Mohave, Yavapai, and Coconino and the Gila.

15 But that doesn't account for change.

16 So what is -- what is the trend associated with the
17 Latino population? It's growth. Growth. Growth. Growth.

18 So between 2010 and 2020 I think the best way to
19 illustrate this point is by looking at it in comparison to
20 the white non-Hispanic population in Arizona. So we see
21 that those that are purple have higher percentages of -- of
22 whites -- or Latinos in this case -- and we see that overall
23 in Arizona the white non-Hispanic population decreased by
24 7.4 percent, and that was actually a decrease in all but
25 three Arizona counties, so it's sort of a trend of

1 contraction.

2 But when we look at the Hispanic Latino population
3 in Arizona between 2010 and 2020, increased by 15.7 percent
4 and that increase was felt pretty much diffusely throughout
5 the -- throughout the Arizona population. In all but four
6 Arizona counties, Latinos increased.

7 So we're seeing them pretty diffused across the
8 state. Not -- not a lot of sort of -- there are hot spots,
9 but we're not seeing very dramatic differences across
10 counties.

11 Now I'm looking at the percent Latino by existing
12 congressional districts, so this is from 2013 data and it's
13 showing you that we had a very high percentage of Latinos in
14 CD-7 at 64 percent; a very high percent in CD-3 at
15 61 percent; and the rest are sort of around 20 -- 20-plus.
16 That's 2013.

17 2019 experienced some growth, so definitely we saw
18 actually CD-7 staying kind of stagnant, which is
19 interesting. And so to make it easier, I showed you the
20 percent change in Latino population in existing
21 congressional districts been 2013 and 2019.

22 So you see that the places with growth are really
23 CD-3, which already had a sizable Latino population; CD-2 at
24 3.4 percent, so very much located around our border; CD-8
25 had a dramatic increase at 4.5 percent; CD-7 didn't change,

1 nor did 5; and then the upper part of the state also didn't
2 have a very dramatic change, 2 percent.

3 Going on, now that we know where we are, what is
4 the political behavior of Latinos?

5 In Arizona this is showing you from the Secretary
6 of State's office voter registration by party, it's giving
7 you since July 2021. So 34.72 percent of the state,
8 regardless of race ethnicity, are registered as Republicans,
9 31.82 Democrats, and Other at 32.6, so we really see a very
10 even kind of third-third-third split among the Arizona
11 population.

12 So how about Arizona Latinos? So one thing to make
13 note of is I don't show you data based on registration
14 status by race ethnicity, by Latino population, because it
15 doesn't -- we don't actually have hard data on that. And
16 when I say "hard data," it means we don't collect it as a
17 matter of registering to vote. There are only four states
18 in the United States that actually register to vote and
19 give -- and ask for race ethnicity and in those states we
20 can get sort of hard numbers, the rest have to be estimates.

21 And so when I say Arizona Latino partisan
22 affiliation question mark, that's kind of reflecting that
23 this is from a single survey, a single time -- time
24 snapshot.

25 And the source here is the Latino Decisions

1 election eve poll in November of 2020 and we see that
2 overwhelming -- overwhelmingly Latinos in Arizona seem to
3 affiliate with the Democratic party or suggest that they're
4 registered with the Democratic party at 57.32 percent, but
5 that's not to say that there aren't Republicans and
6 Independents among Latinos. So definitely there's a lean
7 towards the Democrat party, but there's a very stable
8 Republican and Independent affiliation among Latinos across
9 the country.

10 And when I say "stable," I mean this has been
11 occurring for decades. So these are very stable party
12 affiliations, not likely to change, right.

13 In terms of turnout and voting. Here I show you
14 that the U.S. turnout rates across presidential elections
15 are generally trending somewhat upward.

16 So if we look at sort of the latter half -- so
17 2000, right, to 2020 -- in the last 20 years, we're
18 definitely seeing an uptick in voter turnout rates in
19 presidential elections; and this is across the country
20 again. However, over time, we see somewhat of a more
21 stagnant picture, more status quo. Kind of hovering around
22 the 66 -- the 50s and 60s.

23 Now, some people would suggest that turnout rates
24 are important and therefore they should be 100 percent. I
25 definitely have this debate with my students in class just

1 about every semester.

2 But in terms of looking at sort of Arizona, we see
3 a very similar trend. So this is the VAP, the voting age
4 population that's indicated here, and this data comes from
5 the US Elections Project which is a great resource run by
6 Michael McDonald, who is a professor as well.

7 And so it shows you the Arizona VEP turnout for
8 presidential elections between 2000 and 2020, so the last
9 20 years, and generally I think a more obvious upward trend.

10 So in 2020 we saw a high at 65.9 percent turnout
11 rate in Arizona. Certainly I would love to show you this
12 data for race and ethnicity, but very difficult to calculate
13 at this point with the new 2020 numbers.

14 So what accounts for all of this variation? And I
15 think that's an important piece. It's one thing to say a
16 turnout is -- you know, turnout is not increasing or a
17 turnout should be higher; but if we don't understand what's
18 underlying these -- the variation in turnout, then it's
19 really difficult to try and effect or know why it happens.

20 So essentially it's an easy -- easy addition
21 situation here, so individual traits plus political contacts
22 and state rules give you -- gives you the variation on
23 turnout. And variation on turnout can be across states,
24 statewide turnout, across elections, and it can also be
25 across individuals -- individuals, also across groups. So

1 if we have variation in all three, then we get very
2 different kind of voter turnout based on each state context.

3 So when thinking about who votes. Us academics
4 have come up with a couple of theories and each of these
5 theories have a body of literature that's behind it, and so
6 there's actually good evidence that what's -- what I'm
7 showing you here has been manifest over the last probably
8 50, 60, 70 years.

9 So the first kind of theory we have suggests that
10 socioeconomic status -- what you'll see in the rest of these
11 slides as "SES" -- past year likelihood of turning out to
12 vote. So age, income, occupation, and education in other
13 words are very closely correlated with your likelihood of
14 turning out to vote.

15 Now, the second one on this list, resource model,
16 was kind of the correlate -- corollary to this. So it would
17 suggest, okay, well, age, income, occupation, education in
18 and of itself why -- why -- doesn't have any reason why it
19 would affect turnout.

20 And so kind of what was -- was developed after this
21 was that it matters what your resources are. So whether you
22 have time, money, civic skills and a high political
23 interest, all affect whether you turn out to vote, and a lot
24 of those are very closely related with your age, income,
25 occupation and education.

1 Two other models which we'll talk a little bit more
2 about in a second, are the rational choice model, which
3 really suggests that it's, you know, basic cost-benefit
4 analysis, it's very costly or it's not costly -- it's not
5 very costly to turn out to vote; and then mobilization. So
6 there's a strong effect of being asked to vote on your
7 willingness or likelihood of turning out to vote.

8 And so here I'm showing you the citizen age --
9 citizen voting age population, CVAP, turnout rate by
10 education across the United States. So this is some fodder
11 for the SES model that suggests that there are very wide
12 gaps between your different levels of education. So here in
13 blue is less than high school education and you note that it
14 starts over here on the Y axis around 40 --

15 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Excuse me. I don't think you
16 clicked the slide. Could you...

17 DR. SANCHEZ: Maybe it's...

18 COMMISSIONER LERNER: It might be stuck.

19 DR. SANCHEZ: Is it stuck?

20 COMMISSIONER LERNER: It's still on the
21 presidential election turnout.

22 DR. SANCHEZ: Oh, shoot. So let's see. It's
23 flipping for me. So let me stop sharing and then reshare
24 again.

25 Apologies. Let's see here.

1 Yeah, it's -- it's having trouble. Let's see here.
2 How about now? Anything?

3 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yes. Now -- now it's moving
4 and we see it.

5 But we were also able to follow verbally at
6 least --

7 DR. SANCHEZ: Okay.

8 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yeah, we more mostly able to
9 track it.

10 DR. SANCHEZ: Perfect. I'm so happy to hear that.
11 Okay. Thank you for letting me know.

12 So starting over here a little bit. You're seeing
13 the citizen voting age population turnout by rates of
14 education, and really what you should take away from this is
15 that education is a very strong predictor of your turnout.
16 You see on the bottom is less than high school diploma
17 starting around kind of 38 percent, all the way up to some
18 college or college grad in the green here at the top; and
19 you see that the intercept there is starting above 50
20 percent; and then in the middle, high school grad.

21 So education is a great predictor. And these are
22 just sort of evidence that -- that the SES model and the
23 research model maybe has some credence.

24 Here you see voter turnout by family income. We
25 have a very nice linear relationship here. It -- I'm sorry,

1 it looks very fuzzy and I'm not sure why -- but income in
2 thousands of U.S. dollars and the percent that voted along
3 the Y axis in 2018; and just overwhelmingly, those who have
4 more income are more likely to vote.

5 So what are kind of the costs and benefits of
6 voting? Well, registration is a huge cost, and particularly
7 among Latinos it seems to be a bigger barrier than for other
8 groups. Opportunity costs, you could be doing something
9 else. Time off of work, so time off work is a particular
10 problem for Latinos because usually they are in hourly wage
11 work; so if they get time off work which, you know, they're
12 legally required to do, they may miss out on those wages
13 which could have a huge impact on their family.

14 Getting -- getting put into the jury duty pool is
15 one. The kind of the cost of gathering info among Latinos.
16 In particular, gathering info is hard because there's very
17 low Internet access at home for Latinos, so a lot of the
18 information is kind of absent from them, right? They only
19 get maybe what they hear in passing or on the news, and so
20 it's very hard for them to look up quality information.

21 The monetary costs associated with things like
22 having a car to get there, gas money to get there; again,
23 not insignificant costs for a Latino population who has low
24 socioeconomic status, which we will talk about in a second.

25 The time cost and then in some states the

1 identification requirements.

2 Benefits are things like, you know, filling your --
3 fulfilling your civic duty; there's a social desirability
4 impact, meaning that other people see that you voted and
5 they feel like you're a good citizen so they have positive
6 affect toward you. Satisfaction itself of registering a
7 political opinion; the benefits that your candidate wins and
8 maybe the possible policy effects that flow from your
9 candidate winning.

10 And then for racial and ethnic groups, we also some
11 benefits that are relating to group-based politics. So
12 something called "group consciousness," meaning you feeling
13 like you're empowering your group in some way and working on
14 their behalf. Linked fate is specifically seen as Latinos
15 with high linked faith levels suggest that they're voting --
16 not -- voting is not just an activity for themselves but for
17 their entire group; and then kind of an empowerment effect
18 of: I registered to vote and I have higher levels of
19 efficacy in the political process because my vote was
20 registered effectively.

21 So I suggest -- I told you I would definitely show
22 you some SES, socioeconomic status data.

23 In terms of income the Arizona median household --
24 "HH" is household income -- \$62,055 and that was in -- from
25 the ACS 2019. For Hispanics, that same number drops to

1 48,648, so that's a difference of 13.4 -- \$13,400.

2 Across the U.S., for just a comparison point, very
3 similar kind of drop though a little bit higher. The U.S.
4 median household income is 65,712 in 2019, the U.S. Hispanic
5 median income is 51,811. So we see the U.S. -- the Hispanic
6 median income starts a bit lower in Arizona than it does
7 across the nation, but still a very similar difference of
8 \$13,901 less for the Hispanic household median income.

9 Now, when we're thinking about income for family
10 member, that's where we see the most dramatic difference,
11 for a couple reasons.

12 First of all, Latinos have -- tend to have larger
13 families and tend to have higher fertility rates. In the
14 United States, actually they have -- a huge percentage of
15 live births today are among Latinos. So among white
16 families \$43,424 income per family member, so that's kind of
17 dividing the household income by family members; and then
18 Hispanic family numbers -- or for Hispanic families, the
19 income per family member drops by almost half, to 21,808, so
20 a difference of \$21,000.

21 So we're seeing a population already here in
22 Arizona and the U.S. wide that has much fewer resources, and
23 so that means that's going to translate to difficulties with
24 voting already.

25 In terms of educational attainment, which is also a

1 great predictor, Arizona does pretty well. So high school
2 graduate or higher, 87.6 percent; bachelor's degree or
3 higher, 30 percent; the Arizona population in total -- and
4 you can see the breakdown by specific categories, but by
5 race and ethnicity we also see that there's some pretty big
6 gaps.

7 So in particular look at white non-Latino high
8 school graduation rate is 88.8 percent with a bachelor's
9 degree plus of 31.1 percent; but for Latinos, those numbers
10 fall. So high school graduation rate is 71.1 percent in --
11 in Arizona and bachelor's degree plus is 13.9 percent, so
12 very dramatic differences between white non-Latino
13 population and the Latino population by educational
14 attainment in Arizona.

15 Turnout rates among Latino eligible voters are
16 shown here for 2010 percentages.

17 And what this is really showing you is that SES and
18 resources matter for Latino turnout.

19 So you can't see the top one for some reason, but
20 the top one says that those who have a college education or
21 higher vote at 51 percent.

22 Age also matters, also part of the SES, so 65-plus,
23 47.8 percent are turning out to vote. You see that some
24 college has an impact; being a naturalized citizen also
25 makes you more likely, and here's the total Latino

1 population across the U.S. likelihood. Puerto Rican, a
2 little bit lower and then you see it goes down by education
3 and age.

4 So why aren't Latinos registering to vote? They're
5 registered at lower rates, which I'll show you in a minute
6 here.

7 But why aren't they registered to vote? Well, in
8 2014 there was some -- this is probably the best graph I
9 could find for you that shows reasons not registered to vote
10 by Hispanic origin with other race categories included. And
11 so 29.8 percent of Latinos said: Too busy, conflicting work
12 or school schedule; 14.9 said: Not interested, felt my vote
13 wouldn't make a difference, so an efficacy problem is what
14 we would refer to that as; illness or disability, 8.4
15 percent; out of town or away from home, 5.8 percent.

16 12.1 percent forgot to vote. And that seems
17 really, really strange to I think to a lot of people, that's
18 actually the biggest number across all the racial categories
19 there for forgot to vote for Hispanics; and that really
20 accounts for kind of the differences in mobilization between
21 different groups of voters. So Latinos have some of the
22 lowest mobilization rates by political parties and
23 candidates, and that's just mobilization meaning being asked
24 to vote in person, personally asked to vote. And so
25 that's -- for a lot of reasons, that's why many kind of

1 forget to vote.

2 And then finally, 6.8 percent say they don't like
3 the candidates or the campaign issues are kind of not in
4 their wheelhouse.

5 So in terms of turnout variation on kind of the
6 political environment, after all those individual kind of
7 traits and context. Now we think about how context of --
8 the -- political context can attract voters to the polls or
9 not, and I think this is actually very important with regard
10 to redistricting.

11 So, first of all, we know from literature and
12 research that candidates impress -- good candidates, quote,
13 unquote, "good," those who are desirable in a given campaign
14 context to each of the partisans and having very pressing
15 issues increase voter turnout; and we saw that absolutely in
16 2020. The issues seemed much more pressing of COVID-19 and
17 therefore we saw turnout kind of shoot through the roof.

18 Electoral competition matters. So this is where we
19 get into kind of ideas of drawing these district lines. So
20 the more electoral competition they get in context for
21 instance in a given district strategy, the more individuals
22 are engaged in the process by turning out to vote.

23 So to kind of give you the flip side of that,
24 the -- the more likely one party is to win over another
25 party in a given context, the less likely turnout -- you are

1 to have high levels of turnout in that context.

2 And mobilization strategies, as I said just a
3 second ago, not all are mobilized equally and that's for a
4 lot of reasons across a lot of groups. So race and
5 ethnicity, we see that Latinos and Asians are mobilized at
6 much lower rates than other forms of the population. We
7 know that based on socioeconomic status, those who have
8 lower income, lower education and poor occupational -- poor
9 occupations are less likely to be mobilized. You're less
10 likely -- so we're less likely to see people kind of walking
11 around neighborhoods asking people to vote when SES is
12 lower.

13 And then I think with regard to -- to this process,
14 swing states actually are likely to have much higher
15 mobilization strategies from political parties and campaigns
16 nationwide. And what that means is that when there's more
17 electoral competition, when a state is seen as a swing
18 state, they're more likely to see interest nationally from
19 political parties and candidates and so they actually become
20 a player, a power player within the presidential elections
21 and with -- and sort of statewide as well.

22 In terms of state policies impacting turnout
23 variation I won't say very much, but all states implement
24 election laws differently and so all of those variation
25 cause changes to turnout levels; registration and the

1 difficulty in deadlines associated with that have a strong
2 impact on turnout, the length of residency, identification
3 requirements, the ballot method and variable vote locations,
4 access to early and absentee voting rules all affect turnout
5 variation, so I won't say a lot on that simply because I
6 don't think it's quite as germane.

7 So how about Latino voter turnout per se? So
8 here's the citizen voting age population turnout rates by
9 race and ethnicity and this is across -- yeah, so turnout
10 rates.

11 So this is from 1986 to 2020 and it's showing you
12 that there are gaps between different populations, different
13 groups within our social structure. So non-Hispanic whites
14 are in blue and they're at the top there, right, they have
15 some of the highest voting population turnout rates.

16 Now we see Hispanics in the green and they are at
17 the bottom of this structure. So Hispanics overall tend to
18 have the lowest level of turnout rates across all groups
19 with one exception, Asians tend to be a little bit lower.

20 And so in thinking about turnout, though, even
21 though they're low, what is the trend? So this is showing
22 you Latino participation in presidential elections from 1988
23 to 2012. This is from Pew Research.

24 And it's actually a very large -- somewhat of an
25 upward trend, right, for voter turnout among Latinos but

1 there's also an increase in the eligible voters. So what
2 this is showing is that Latinos are rising in terms of their
3 presidential election turnouts, but that there's also a very
4 deep bowl of Latinos that remain untapped to increase in the
5 electorate.

6 So I always tell students, the best way to think
7 about Latino voting is to picture a funnel and it kind of
8 gives you a little drip out of the bottom of Latino turnout,
9 and that's because there are so many things that kind of
10 decrease it. So you have your large population at the top
11 and then you decrease it by eligibility of course, then you
12 decrease it by those individual demographic traits like
13 socioeconomic status, and then you decrease it by the
14 inability to register or the ability to register, and then
15 election-day obstacles which sadly even today are still a
16 problem for Latinos, and then the (technical/audio
17 disruption). So that's why Latino turnout has become so
18 low, because there's so many reducers.

19 That being said, though, we still know that youth
20 and naturalizations are a main source of Hispanic eligible
21 voter growth since 2012, and this is showing you between
22 2012 and November 2016.

23 Hispanic eligible voters increased by 23.3 million,
24 and in 2016 the projected Hispanic eligible voters was
25 27.3 million, so 2012 to 2016; and you can see from here

1 that it's largely because of immigrant Hispanics who will
2 become naturalized and U.S. Hispanics turning 18.

3 I'm not -- I used to have the statistic kind of at
4 my ready, I haven't updated it in a long time, but about
5 five years ago every 30 seconds a Latino voter would become
6 eligible to vote, which that's -- that's a dramatic number.
7 I have to recalculate that for 2020, but it hasn't slowed
8 down much.

9 And this is kind of just showing you more about
10 voter registration rates by social group, and sadly I
11 couldn't find a great (technical/audio disruption) more
12 current, more in 2020, but it shows the same trend when we
13 look at -- look at them all together as they are in 2008.

14 So income, linear effect; education, linear effect;
15 employment, those who are employed are more likely to vote
16 versus those unemployed.

17 Now, Latinos have been hit particularly hard by the
18 recession in 2009, they were hit hardest among all groups
19 and they were also hit hardest from the COVID-19 recession
20 among all racial and ethnic groups. And so for -- so
21 employment and unemployment status is probably one of the
22 more important reasons for issues with turnout today.

23 You see Hispanics have a very low voter turnout,
24 Asian slightly lower; and then age, that's kind of what we
25 refer to as a curvilinear effect with age increasing your

1 likelihood of voting until you get to 65 or older and it
2 becomes more difficult for you to -- to get out to the polls
3 and to engage in that process, so it dips slightly.

4 In Arizona the citizen voting age population by
5 race and ethnicity, 63 percent of the citizen voting age
6 population is white non-Latino, 24 percent is Latino, and
7 then we see black 4.7, Asian 2.5, American Indian and
8 Alaskan Native, 4.6 percent.

9 So, again, this paints a picture of Arizona
10 politics as being really divided by -- or dominated by white
11 non-Latinos and Latinos.

12 Here's your registra- -- Arizona registration and
13 turnout rates by race and ethnicity in Arizona. And I
14 apologize because they are -- these are a little bit close
15 in color, even for me. So this darker line, the darker red
16 on the bottom of both graphs is actually the voter turnout
17 and then the number above is the registered population.

18 So you see, when we look at these apples to apples,
19 we see that non-Latino whites start higher in Arizona in
20 terms of their registration, they're around the -- between
21 the 60, 70, 80 percent range in turnout and that dovetails
22 nicely with the percent who actually turn out to vote.
23 Again, sort of in the high -- mid to high 50s to high -- mid
24 70s.

25 But for Arizona Latinos, that drops down to the

1 30s, you know, mid -- mid to high 20s in terms of voter
2 turnout and then up to probably about 35 percent here in
3 terms of Arizona Latinos registered to vote in 2002.

4 The good thing about these graphs, though, is in
5 particular for Arizona Latinos, they're tending upwards. So
6 registration and turnout for Latinos is increasing, so
7 they're becoming much more of a power player within Arizona
8 politics because they're registered and because they have --
9 because they are turning out to vote.

10 And we saw that actually in Arizona politics in
11 2016 for sure. I don't show you kind of the impact on 2020
12 simply because 2020 is one of those years that we're always
13 going to put an asterisk by, it was such a different --
14 different context. The 2016 was more business as usual.

15 So at that time we had 30.7 percent Latino, 47.2
16 percent of those Latinos met basic eligibility requirements
17 in Arizona. 40.5 percent of Latinos in Arizona at that time
18 were registered to vote but they make up only 20.8 percent
19 of registered voters in terms of all Arizona, so they're a
20 smaller segment than maybe that 40.5 percent might suggest,
21 right?

22 83 percent of Latinos, though, who registered to
23 vote reported actually voting in 2016. So we know that --
24 that registration is a big barrier but once registration is
25 kind of overcome by Latinos, they are very likely to vote.

1 In terms of kind of the politics of it, 19.6
2 percent of all voters in Arizona in 2016 were Latino;
3 12 percent of Latinos actually voted for Trump -- which was
4 surprising to many, actually many thought it was going to be
5 lower given some -- some of the rhetorics among Latinos at
6 the time, but as I said there's a very stable population of
7 Latinos in Arizona who are Republican, which is I think many
8 people undercount that.

9 16- -- 16.5 percent of Arizona (technical/audio
10 disruption) were Latino voters for Democratic candidate;
11 2.4 percent of the Arizona electorate were Latino voters for
12 represent- -- Republican candidate, and I think what really
13 kind of drives this home is that the difference in vote
14 shares between the two candidates in 2016 for Arizona was
15 only 3.4 percent or 91,234 votes.

16 So any changes in the Latino -- Latino voter
17 turnout actually may have had significant impacts
18 politically on how -- which way Arizona went.

19 And this is not to say that I -- I have any horse
20 in the game about which way Arizona should be politically,
21 it's to suggest that Latino voters, even small increases,
22 actually over time have -- could have significant effect on
23 Arizona politics.

24 So in terms of representation, our discipline has a
25 significant debate kind of around the idea of descriptive

1 representation versus substantive representation, however
2 there is a trade-off.

3 So descriptive representation is just the idea that
4 a group elects an individual to represent them that kind of
5 mirrors them in some ways. So for Latino they would elect a
6 Latino; for African American Blacks, they would elect an
7 African American Black member of Congress for instance.

8 And substantive representation is just -- it
9 doesn't matter who or what the person who is your
10 representative looks like, if they are in -- in line with
11 you on issue positions and in political ideology and some
12 say that the best way to get -- to achieve substantive
13 representation is by having -- for -- for ethnic populations
14 and racial populations is to have a descriptive or mirror
15 representative; and some say maybe it doesn't matter that
16 much, but this is very much an ongoing discussion.

17 We do know that there are some real benefits in
18 terms of turnout to having a descriptive representative. So
19 we know that when you have a coethnic or coracial candidate
20 in the election, turnout rates increase; we know that when
21 you have a Latino mayor at the -- at the city level, you're
22 more likely to have empowerment of Latinos to go out and
23 vote and to engage in other political -- in political
24 activities. So there are maybe some downstream effects
25 maybe not related to substantive representation itself.

1 So let's look at how Arizona kind of stands in
2 terms of descriptive representation or electing kind of one
3 of their own.

4 So this is by the -- an organization that collects
5 these every year since 1984, the number of Hispanic elected
6 officials or "HEOs."

7 So in Arizona from 2001 to 2019 we're seeing a
8 marked increase in the number of Hispanic elected officials
9 from a low of 256 in 2001 to a high in looks like 2018 of
10 387, slight difference to 381 in 2019, but that is to say
11 there's an increase in Hispanic elected officials in terms
12 of mirroring their population.

13 In terms of looking at Arizona state and federal
14 Hispanic elected officials we see a little bit of the same
15 trend continuing, so a low of 15 in 2002, to a high of 26 in
16 2019, but you don't see a very -- as big an impact, right,
17 so there's fewer; and then it goes only from about up 10,
18 11 points or 11 elected officials by 2019.

19 And that -- that reflects this idea that Latinos
20 have very significant barriers to engaging in state and
21 federal candidacies and also in getting elected to state and
22 federal positions versus those that are more local. So
23 school boards in particular have high numbers of Latino
24 elected officials versus -- and -- and actually match very
25 well the population, versus when we're looking at, you know,

1 the number of members of Congress who are Latino.

2 And kind of showing you how racial and ethnic
3 diversity in Congress has grown over the years. So this
4 from 107th Congress to the 117th Congress, a very sharp
5 increase in kind of descriptive representatives.

6 So 11 point -- 11 percent of Congress was Black in
7 the 2021 or 117th Congress, 9 percent of Congress was
8 Hispanic, but that still's falling short of the U.S.
9 population.

10 So if the goal here is to have kind of a mirror
11 image of members of Congress to the U.S. population -- and
12 that's up for debate whether that's -- whether that should
13 be or whether that's a good idea -- but if that's the case,
14 we're still falling short at 18.7 percent of the U.S.
15 population being Hispanic versus only 9 percent of Congress.

16 And we -- how do you get a coethnic or coracial
17 candidate? We -- showing here that as you increase the
18 percentage -- and this was uncovered, by the way, in the
19 African American population but it still holds true for the
20 Latino population.

21 As you increase to roughly 30 percent Latino -- or
22 African American population in a district, you dramatically
23 increase your likelihood of having a African American or
24 descriptive member of Congress; the tipping point is around
25 40 percent in a district to get a coethnic or coracial

1 candidate -- I'm sorry, elected official.

2 So I think the next logical place to go is thinking
3 about if there is a Latino agenda. And I put a question
4 mark again because this is, I think, one of the most
5 difficult questions to answer in -- in all of Latino
6 politics. It certainly feels like there are a Latino agenda
7 but it's actually very difficult to -- to articulate
8 sometimes or see empirically what that agenda might be; and
9 certainly I get asked this a lot.

10 But I think if there is a Latino agenda, then we
11 should see evidence of it in the policy concerns of Latinos.

12 So this is showing you the top issues for Hispanic
13 voters were the economy, healthcare, terrorism, immigration,
14 and education.

15 And again this is from 2016 because 2020 was, you
16 know, dominated by COVID-19 politics.

17 So, the economy -- and this whole very -- these are
18 pretty stable, the economy is almost always at the top for
19 Latinos as it is for the rest of the population.

20 Immigration is 79 percent say it was a very
21 important issue among Hispanic registered voters in 2016,
22 almost tied with education; terrorism ranked higher and so
23 did health care. So it's a kind of misnomer that the only
24 thing that Latinos care about is immigration politics. It
25 matters, but there are other things that are of high concern

1 as well.

2 Here we see that across time economy and the
3 education are -- economy and education and healthcare are
4 more important than immigration policy in terms of saying
5 that an issue is extremely important to them personally as a
6 Hispanic registered voter.

7 So you see down here we have the percentage that's
8 saying immigration is the most important personally, and up
9 here you see that -- in kind of the sage color -- we have
10 education kind of at the top; and job and economy increasing
11 and decreasing, but still very much in the top three spot.

12 And these are actually -- well, I get to this in a
13 second, but these are actually -- they make very good
14 logical sense why Latinos would have these as their top
15 priorities simply because they're an underresourced low SES
16 group across the U.S. and then also in Arizona.

17 And most of -- most Latinos are native born in the
18 U.S. So immigration touches them and it is personal but
19 maybe not in the way that most people assume.

20 Now, I do know that for, like, the 2012 election,
21 the issue of immigration was more important in different
22 contexts; and in particular in Arizona, 48 percent said
23 immigration -- among Latinos, said 48 was the most -- most
24 important issue at that time period, whereas among the U.S.
25 population of Hispanics 35 percent said so.

1 So I want to look a little -- you know, even though
2 I think immigration is an important issue, I said that it's
3 kind of the obvious one. So let's think about why is the
4 economy important.

5 Well, there has been a significant and persistent
6 Latino wealth gap that -- that is really hard to I think
7 erase. So here you see median net worth of households in
8 2013, for whites on the left-hand side, you see white net
9 worth is 12.9 times greater than that of the net worth of
10 African American or Black at 11,000. So wealth -- we're not
11 talking income, we're talking about wealth -- is much
12 greater among (technical/audio disruption). In regard to
13 Hispanics, the same kind of trend (technical/audio
14 disruption) a little bit less. So across the U.S. is 10.3
15 times greater than it was for Hispanics.

16 Other kind of things that I'm going to throw in
17 here, work concerns. So the economy is important in terms
18 of workforce because Latinos are the fastest growing segment
19 in the U.S. workforce and this is according to the Bureau of
20 Labor Statistics. They are actually projected to make up
21 one-third of the total U.S. workforce by 2015 -- 2050 and
22 are overrepresented in low wage occupations, so building
23 services, food establishments, agriculture, home healthcare.

24 And sadly, they also experience a lot of injuries
25 -- fatal work injuries and injuries, period, from their

1 participation in the workforce. It's not equal to the
2 amount of their participation in the workforce. So they're
3 more likely to be injured on the job and to be injured
4 fatality on the job; and then they aren't likely to have
5 access to any form of paid leave, workplace flexibility in
6 terms of being able to work from home; and we saw this in
7 sharp focus when the COVID-19 pandemic hit, many Latinos
8 were still needing to go out to work because they were not
9 able to work from home, they were not able to take off.

10 In terms of earnings there's a huge and persistent
11 Latino wage gap, but in particular the Latina wage gap. So
12 female Hispanics make 55 cents for every dollar paid to an
13 average white man, and this is controlling for -- for other
14 socioeconomic factors like education and occupation.

15 So apples to apples, Latinas are being paid less
16 for the same job, \$0.55 to every dollar; 67 percent of
17 Latinos report they are not earning enough to meet basic
18 expenses, so what that means is they're having significant
19 (technical/audio disruption) above and beyond other
20 popula- -- segments of the population.

21 15.7 of Latinos lived in poverty in 2020. Luckily
22 that's actually down and it's at a low since the 1980s for
23 Latinos; same is happening for African American Blacks. 42
24 percent of all Latinos earn poverty level wages their
25 high -- they have the highest rate of labor force

1 participation among all racial and ethnic groups; and then
2 poverty rates for elderly Latinos are more than twice the
3 total U.S. elder population.

4 And that -- that really reflects this idea that
5 there's not an accumulation of wealth, despite a lot of
6 workforce participation (technical/audio disruption).

7 Another reason why the economy is so important is
8 kind of this banking idea. So 25.6 of all U.S. households
9 are either unbanked or underbanked. When we look at that
10 number for -- for Latino households, that's 43 percent. So
11 this means that they don't have a Wells Fargo to go to,
12 so -- and this is according to FDIC data. And so what it
13 means is they're outside of the mainstream markets which
14 leaves them vulnerable to kind of predatory products like
15 payday loans with ballooning interest rates.

16 Other things, 2013 Latinos were twice as likely to
17 be refused a loan as white loan seekers and they were more
18 likely to receive loans at much higher rates when they did
19 receive loans.

20 And then for Latinos, home equity is the greatest
21 and often only financial asset that they will ever accrue.
22 So if they're locked out of the housing market, which we're
23 seeing is happening more frequently today, they -- they're
24 unable to generate any sort of wealth.

25 So why is education so important? Education for

1 many decades among Latinos has been seen as the silver
2 bullet. But even though we're starting to see increases in
3 education among Latinos, it's -- it's not really making --
4 keeping pace with kind of the attitudes that Latinos hold
5 around education.

6 So Latinos make up 25 percent of the public school
7 student population today. And, interestingly, the U.S.
8 school system is now majority-minority; so Latino, Asian,
9 Black, Native American make up the majority of the U.S.
10 public school student population. There's a large
11 attainment gap between Latinos and non-Latino whites that
12 has been documented for decades, and the gap between --
13 there's also a very large gap between the importance the
14 Latinos are placing on education and their ability to engage
15 in higher levels of education among Latinos.

16 75 percent of 25-to-29-year-old Hispanics in 2016
17 had at least a high school diploma, but that number was
18 96 percent for non-Hispanic whites. It's a very large gap
19 there.

20 15 percent of Hispanics between the ages of 25 and
21 29 had a bachelor's degree; but for non-Hispanic whites in
22 2015, that's 41 percent. So again really big, drastic
23 difference.

24 Latino enrollment in preschool and kindergarten
25 falls behind all other groups, and we know that these are

1 really important indicators for future success among Latino
2 attainment and Latino success within the education process.

3 Latinos ages three to four trail behind other
4 groups at 37 percent enrollment for preschool and
5 kindergarten, 48 percent for African American children, and
6 49 percent of non-Hispanic white children enroll in
7 preschool and kindergarten.

8 This is the one that just makes me so sad. More
9 than 80 percent of Latino children fail to read at a
10 proficient level in fourth grade. So it's at fourth grade
11 that we really see this abilities start to -- to -- to
12 gap -- to increase. And this is from a great data source
13 from the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

14 At eighth grade is when we start to see the math
15 gap increase. So about 80 percent of Latino children fail
16 to score proficiency in math by -- at the 8th grade.

17 So very, very sad here.

18 And Latino children, by the way, only represent
19 8 percent of all (technical/audio disruption) so there's no
20 really sort of descriptive coactivity for Latinos in a
21 classroom, which we know actually has greater -- they have
22 greater levels of engagement and greater levels of success
23 when Latino teachers are engaged in the classroom.

24 Now, I told you that attitudinally we feel like
25 it's the silver bullet, so this is from the 2009 National

1 Survey of Latinos. It says, Latino parents' views on what
2 children should do after high school. Overwhelmingly they
3 say: Go to college. 77 percent say go to college. So the
4 expectations are there, but the ability to -- for
5 educational attainment is not.

6 And here you see the highest degree obtained among
7 persons 25 and older by race and ethnicity. And so here
8 there is high school -- high school degree or less and
9 you're looking for the red, Latinos are overrepresented in
10 this low educational attainment category at 65 percent. If
11 we go all the way to the other end, graduate degrees among
12 Latinos or Hispanics, 4 percent.

13 So I always ask students if you have a Latino a
14 lawyer or you have a Latino doctor or you have a Latino
15 professor, there's a unicorn standing in front of you,
16 something very sort of unique.

17 Another one I want -- another kind of issue I want
18 to hit on is Latinos care a lot about the environment and
19 the prevailing wisdom is that they shouldn't because they're
20 still trying to meet the basic needs of -- of income, of an
21 education, and all of these -- all of these processes; but
22 when we ask Latinos, 68 percent of them say it's an
23 important issue and that has to do with their working and
24 living conditions. So half of all U.S. Latinos live in the
25 country's most polluted cities and so that leaves them open

1 to higher rates of asthma, COPD, et cetera.

2 And then even though Latinos only account for about
3 16 percent of the labor force, they account for 43 percent
4 of ground and maintenance and construction workers and
5 75 percent of agricultural occupations. And what that means
6 is they're exposed at much higher levels to health hazards
7 like poor air quality and also the economic impacts of
8 extreme weather; and then finally there's high exposure to
9 pesticides and industrial-strength chemicals, and this is
10 particularly for Latino woman because they're often engaged
11 in sort of house cleaning processes.

12 And then finally here you see that the treatment of
13 minority issues as being part of their vote in 2016 is
14 higher for Latinos or Hispanics than it was for whites but
15 not quite as high as it was, say, for Blacks or African
16 Americans; and then definitely this breaks down among
17 whites, obviously by partisan affiliation.

18 So I promised to keep it as kind of short as I
19 could. So what are the takeaways, what do I want you to
20 takeaway from all of this?

21 I think the first thing is that Latinos are a
22 significant portion and important portion of the Arizona
23 population and also the electorate.

24 This is a population of interest and it's a
25 population of interest that's going to be continuing to

1 increase for decades to come because it is growing, and
2 they're -- and they're growing not only in the populace but
3 also in the electorate.

4 Also I think Latinos are important in Arizona
5 because they're increasing their voter registration and
6 turnouts despite these low levels of resources, and so we're
7 going to see them become more and more engaged not just
8 because they're growing but also because they're starting to
9 have political efficacy, and that's nationwide and also in
10 Arizona.

11 And then finally -- well, actually, sort of my
12 last -- second-to-last point here. That Latino
13 representation while it's really kind of difficult to gauge
14 what Latino representation is, I think the baseline of
15 seeing kind of mirror or descriptive representatives know
16 that it's increasing. So that's actually a great sign.
17 Anything that we can do maybe to have a little bit more
18 Latino representation is probably a -- a good idea.

19 And then finally I think it's important to note
20 that Latinos have -- though they have very similar concerns
21 when we asked about the important issues like the economy,
22 healthcare and education -- by the way those are always kind
23 of the top three among all populations -- but their -- their
24 relationship to those policy concerns is unique. They have
25 -- they have very significant socioeconomic differences that

1 ask different things from those policy areas.

2 So I think it's -- I think they're a unique enough
3 population that representationwise they -- they're actually
4 ignored.

5 So I'll leave you with kind of this last graph. I
6 think this kind of sums it up about what's going on in
7 Arizona. I mean, Hispanic Latino is growing and it's
8 growing across the state, so it's absolutely a population to
9 watch.

10 Thank you.

11 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Thank you, Dr. Sanchez.

12 But before we open it up to questions I just want
13 to do a little bit of housekeeping. We had slated the
14 meeting to go two hours because Commissioners had pressing
15 conflicts. I want to be mindful of the time. We have some
16 very important updates from mapping as well as staff, so can
17 I just get a sense from -- from the fellow -- my fellow
18 Commissioners when your hard stop is?

19 COMMISSIONER YORK: Erika, I'm -- I'm available for
20 the rest of the day.

21 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: I'm still -- I'm still at --
22 what is it, 11 o'clock? Two hours, so.

23 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: So you have a hard stop at
24 11:00? Okay.

25 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: I do, yes.

1 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Anybody else have a hard stop
2 at 11:00?

3 COMMISSIONER MEHL: I scheduled something where I
4 needed to leave at 11:00, because I thought that's what
5 we're doing, but --

6 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yes, so --

7 COMMISSIONER MEHL: I can -- I can be late I guess,
8 you know.

9 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Well, with that, that's why I
10 wanted to bring this up. I don't know how much time we're
11 going to need for mapping but -- but I'm going to suggest
12 that, you know, if there's real top-of-your-mind questions
13 for Dr. Sanchez, let's go for it now; otherwise perhaps we
14 could maybe compile a few and -- and, you know, send it in
15 written form.

16 But -- but anything anybody needs to know or wants
17 to follow up that would be helpful in our application of the
18 material to the redistricting process?

19 COMMISSIONER MEHL: It was a really strong
20 presentation. Thank you.

21 COMMISSIONER YORK: No, it was excellent. I really
22 appreciate the information.

23 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Fabulous. Excellent and --
24 and, you know, a lot of, you know, just fabulous things for
25 us to keep in mind. So thank you very much.

1 COMMISSIONER LERNER: I agree with that. I just
2 wanted to know if we can follow up with questions on e-mail.
3 I mean, I'm fine with that.

4 DR. SANCHEZ: Absolutely.

5 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Okay.

6 DR. SANCHEZ: I'm happy to answer any questions.

7 COMMISSIONER YORK: Are you going to share those
8 slides with Brian? Yeah?

9 DR. SANCHEZ: I can. I'll go ahead and send them.

10 COMMISSIONER YORK: Okay. Perfect, because some of
11 them didn't show.

12 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: And that again with your
13 permission we oftentimes post these types of PowerPoint
14 presentations that the community finds really instructional
15 on -- on our -- on our Web link, so I -- you know, I think
16 it's just invaluable information for our youth, the state,
17 teachers, beyond even -- even redistricting. So that would
18 be fabulous if you're open to that.

19 DR. SANCHEZ: Sure. I'll go ahead and send those
20 all through Daniel if that's -- if that's all right.

21 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. Great.

22 DR. SANCHEZ: Excellent.

23 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Thank you very much.

24 DR. SANCHEZ: You're welcome.

25 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: So with that, we are going to

1 go back to Agenda Item No. V, which is update from
2 discussion of potential action related to the mapping
3 consultants, Timmons/NDC.

4 So I am going to take it away -- defer to Doug and
5 Mark.

6 MR. FLAHAN: Good morning, Commissioners.

7 So today we'd like to start, I'm going to pass it
8 over to Doug from NDC to give us a status report of sort of
9 the report deliverables that we have and I believe we have
10 Lisa attending also.

11 So Doug, let me kick it over to you.

12 MR. D. JOHNSON: Sure. So -- thank you, Mark.

13 Good to be with all of you again. So good news.
14 After a very long weekend weekend, Dr. Handley has put
15 together the numbers for the remaining counties that we were
16 working on as far as voting analysis so she has a PowerPoint
17 and I believe we have her on.

18 Dr. Handley, are you there.

19 DR. HANDLEY: Let's see if I can figure this out.
20 Am I there?

21 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yeah, thankfully. And then I
22 will -- here are the slides and...

23 Enable to there...

24 Okay. There we go. We should be able to see your
25 slides.

1 DR. HANDLEY: So the last time I spoke to you I had
2 completed my analysis of Maricopa County and Apache Navajo
3 Counties combined, and now I have finished the racial bloc
4 voting analysis of the other three counties: Pinal County,
5 Pima County, and Yuma County. So what I want to do today,
6 hopefully very quickly, is discuss my findings for those
7 three counties.

8 Did I count that right? Three counties.

9 Okay. So you'll remember that -- that -- and you
10 heard this from the lawyers as well, the Court case
11 *Thornberg v. Gingles* that laid out the three prongs that
12 minorities had to satisfy under the Voting Rights Act to --
13 to get a remedy of a district that would allow minority
14 voters to elect their candidates of choice.

15 And the three prongs are: The minority community
16 had to be large enough and geographically concentrated
17 enough to actually draw a district which would serve as a
18 remedy; two, the minority community had to be politically
19 cohesive; and three, whites had to bloc vote to usually
20 defeat the minority-preferred candidate.

21 The way that we figure out whether minorities are
22 cohesive and whether white bloc vote against
23 minority-preferred candidates is to conduct a racial bloc
24 voting analysis, and that is what I've done in the five
25 counties in which it is possible to actually draw a minority

1 opportunity district.

2 The -- if voting is polarized, then it -- a
3 minority -- a district or more than one district that gives
4 minority voters an opportunity to elect their candidates of
5 choice has to be drawn, but this is not just a matter of
6 saying: Okay, I'm going to go in here and I'm going to draw
7 a 55 percent district and set some geographic target without
8 doing a district-specific analysis.

9 So what in addition to doing a racial bloc voting
10 analysis I've done is a -- a portion of a district specific
11 analysis to give you some guidelines about how to go about
12 drawing some minority opportunity districts in areas of
13 state that are polarized.

14 So, again, first I looked to see of voting was
15 polarized and then I attempted to assist in identifying
16 whether they were elections that you could look at and in
17 calculating the percent minority likely to be needed in a
18 specific area.

19 Okay. Next slide.

20 So here are the results of the racial bloc voting
21 analysis that I conducted in Yuma County. I focused on
22 state legislative and congressional elections that occurred
23 within Yuma County, but if a legislative district or a
24 congressional district wasn't located wholly within
25 Yuma County also tried to analyze that with just the

1 Yuma County component. But in some instances it may be the
2 case that Yuma County didn't make up enough of the voters or
3 enough of the precincts for an analysis.

4 So here are the congressional and state legislative
5 districts that I was able to analyze for Yuma County.

6 In addition I looked at two statewide elections.
7 These are two -- two very recent 2018 elections that
8 included minority candidates, and so this was going to be
9 relevant both to whether voting is polarized and these were
10 also going to be possible elections that you could use in
11 terms of your district-specific functional analysis, sort of
12 the gubernatorial contest in 2018 as well as the attorney
13 general.

14 So in all of the counties that I examined, these
15 two contests were analyzed and then any congressional and
16 state legislative district elections were also analyzed. If
17 there were -- if there was a sufficient number of voters --
18 sufficient number of precincts and a sufficient number of
19 Hispanics to actually produce estimates.

20 So you can see here -- let's look at the first
21 contest. In the gubernatorial contest you can see that a
22 very high number of Hispanics supported the Hispanic
23 candidate. This is the Democratic named Garcia. You can
24 barely see this chart.

25 But on the other hand, very few non-Hispanic voters

1 supported that candidate. So this contest is racially or
2 ethnically polarized.

3 And this is the pattern, in fact, across all of the
4 contested elections that I looked at in Yuma County. Every
5 one of them was polarized, and this means that you would
6 need to create minority opportunity districts; or if they
7 already existed, you would want to maintain them.

8 Okay. Next slide.

9 I've already mentioned this but I should mention it
10 again. I will tell you that two approaches to a district
11 specific functional analysis, we're talking about
12 statistical approaches, there may be other sorts of
13 approaches, but this is some -- this is an approach a
14 political scientist would take to determining what a
15 minority opportunity district in a specific area would look
16 like.

17 The first is that I would take the estimates from
18 the racial bloc voting analysis that you just saw and I
19 would use the participation rates, the level of minority
20 cohesion, and the amount of crossover vote and I would do
21 some algebra and actually estimate the percentage of voting
22 age population -- or, here in Arizona, citizen voting age
23 population -- that you would need to create a district in
24 which the Hispanic preferred candidate would get at least
25 50 percent of the vote.

1 The second technique is to identify elections that
2 have a clear minority candidate who is preferred by minority
3 voters and -- and the contest is polarized, and use
4 recompiled election results from those contests to determine
5 if they would carry proposed districts.

6 So the first approach can be used before any
7 proposed districts are even drawn; and the second approach,
8 which is in fact a much quicker approach, can be used but
9 only after proposed districts are drawn.

10 Now, the two elections that included minority
11 candidates, I mentioned the 2018 gubernatorial contest and
12 attorney general's contest did include a -- did include
13 Hispanic candidates that were clearly Hispanic-preferred
14 candidates, the contests were polarized, and they will act
15 as your bellwether contests for you to look and see if
16 recompiled election results indicate that those candidates
17 would have carried any proposed minority opportunity
18 districts.

19 Let's go back to the first approach.

20 Yes, this slide.

21 You might remember this from the last time I
22 talked.

23 This is -- this is the algebra. This is taking the
24 participation rates of -- this is an example from Georgia,
25 so these are Black voters and white voters and not Hispanic

1 voters.

2 But these are participation rates in the first
3 column. You can see that Black voters are -- about
4 50 percent of the voting age population are turning out,
5 while whites, about 60 percent are turning out; you can see
6 that the vote -- Black voters preferred the -- their
7 candidate of choice to the tune of 96 percent of Black
8 voters supported that candidate, and you had about
9 30 percent crossover from white voters voting for that
10 candidate, that meant the other 70 percent, of course, voted
11 for the Black-preferred candidate's opponent.

12 And we used those numbers to actually do a little
13 bit of math to come up with the percentage of votes the
14 Black-preferred candidate would receive in this example.
15 But in the example that I'm doing and the -- on the next
16 slide is we know the -- from the racial bloc voting
17 analysis, we know the degree of cohesion, we know the degree
18 of crossover voting, we know the participation rate. We're
19 going to set the votes that we want at 50 percent and we're
20 going to solve for the citizen voting age population, so
21 it's working slightly the opposite but it's same thing, it's
22 math.

23 And here's what we get when we take the earlier
24 chart I showed you the estimates and put them into this
25 table, and this produces the following percentage of --

1 minority percentage that you would need for that candidate
2 to win that contest. So given the -- the voting patterns,
3 in looking at the first row, the 2018 gubernatorial contest,
4 a district that was 61.3 percent Hispanic in Yuma County
5 would produce a win for the Hispanic-preferred candidate in
6 that particular contest.

7 And you can see all the way down what percentage
8 Hispanic CVAP was needed to produce a win for those contests
9 that I analyzed.

10 And if you work your way back from that last --
11 second-to-last column, you can see what those candidates
12 would have gotten in a 40 percent Hispanic CVAP district, 50
13 percent, and up to 60 percent; and it isn't until you get to
14 the 60 percent that the Hispanic-preferred candidate
15 actually wins almost all of the contests, and even that's
16 not enough for them to win the governor's contest or State
17 Senate District 13.

18 As I said, I did this for Yuma County, I also did
19 it for Pinal County and Pima County.

20 So here's the results for Pinal County. You can
21 see that almost every contest was polarized. So, once
22 again, you're going to have to draw minority opportunity
23 districts and you can see that the percentages are in most
24 instances actually lower than they are in Yuma County.

25 So it looks like you're getting more white

1 crossover votes for the Hispanic-preferred candidates in
2 Pinal County, which means that -- that you may be able to
3 draw districts but not -- that are not as heavily as
4 Hispanic; but, it varies depending on the contest that
5 you're looking at.

6 And you can look at the column that says
7 non-Hispanic voters, votes for Hispanic-preferred candidate,
8 it's -- one, two, three, four, five, six -- seven columns
9 over, it starts with 24.7. So 24.7 percent of white voters
10 voted for the Hispanic-preferred candidate in that contest;
11 but as you go down, you see the numbers are -- are higher
12 and that's why you need a lower percentage of Hispanic
13 citizen voting age population for the Hispanic-preferred
14 candidate to get over 50 percent of the vote.

15 So that's how it works in that county.

16 This is essentially a summary. I don't look at any
17 report that -- that first sheet, the racial bloc voting
18 analysis, but this tells you that almost all of the contests
19 that I analyzed were polarized and that the percentage is
20 probably less than in Yuma.

21 I shaded a couple of things because the estimates
22 were a little problematic, mostly it was the turnout
23 estimates for a couple of the congressional district
24 elections. But they both seemed to be problematic, both the
25 percentage of Hispanic and percentage of non-Hispanics who

1 turned out, but we can't seem to solve that problem.

2 Okay. And then the last one is Pima County. Now,
3 Pima County looks a little bit different than the other
4 counties that I looked at. There were a number of contests
5 that weren't polarized. And there are two blanks there
6 because you can see that the estimate is 49.9 percent of
7 white voters supporting the Hispanic-preferred candidate;
8 when you look at the EI estimate, the other estimate, it
9 shows an even higher percentage of non-Hispanics.

10 So it's hard to say that those contests are
11 polarized or not polarized, but the others you can see
12 several are not polarized. On the other hand, more than
13 half are polarized.

14 And you can see that with a couple of exceptions --
15 and the exceptions are not due to the amount of white
16 crossover vote, they're due to the degree of Hispanic
17 cohesion around Hispanic-preferred candidate; but the
18 numbers are quite low in terms of what the Hispanic
19 percentage you would need in Pima County for a minority
20 candidate to carry a district.

21 In both -- well, in all three counties that we've
22 looked at -- in fact, in all five counties, we're not going
23 to look at just these percentages, especially since they
24 vary, you're going to also look at the recompiled election
25 results when you draw these proposed districts to determine

1 if it looks like the minority candidates can carry those
2 districts.

3 But you get an overall sense that it -- it matters
4 very much where you are as to what the composition should
5 be. So it's heavier -- it's higher in Yuma, for example,
6 and it's much lower in Pima, and it's about in between on
7 Pinal County.

8 And that is it. I'm happy to answer any questions.

9 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: I mean, my -- my biggest
10 question is I think to Doug, what do we do with this
11 information right now?

12 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yeah. I think what comes out of
13 all this is what Dr. Handley is talking about are the
14 recompiled elections. I mean, in areas -- and Dr. Handley,
15 correct me if I'm saying this wrong -- but my understanding
16 of it is in areas where we have a significant Latino
17 population we want to be tracking that Attorney General's
18 race and the Governor's race to make sure that the
19 Latino-preferred candidate is -- is winning those elections
20 to show that they have the ability to elect in those areas.

21 Am I saying that correctly, Dr. Handley?

22 DR. HANDLEY: Absolutely.

23 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yeah.

24 Yeah. I think on the -- on the Native American
25 side, just to bring us to put put it all in one picture, I

1 think we have a more consistent pattern where the citizen
2 voting age number came out more clearly, so it's not so much
3 about tracking as specific election as just trying to keep
4 as close to that number as we can given that that district
5 is severely underpopulated right now as it stands today.

6 So on that front it's -- it was a more consistent
7 pattern of percentages, so we can look just at that
8 percentage as opposed to needing to recompile a specific
9 election. For the Latinos who can reidentify the area where
10 there's notable numbers of or concentration of Latinos and
11 then look at those to recompile election results.

12 COMMISSIONER MEHL: This is Commissioner Mehl, I do
13 have one question.

14 We threw out the Governor's race in our competitive
15 analysis 'cause that was a particularly one-sided election
16 statewide, does it make any sense to throw that out in this
17 or how does that work in regards to the polarization?

18 MR. D. JOHNSON: So I'll take a first shot at it
19 which is, it's a different situation here. Where it
20 actually works out well that we had the Attorney General's
21 race that was, you know, kind of a toss-up race and the
22 Governor's race of the state to give us a picture of that --
23 that Latino voting strength in those districts.

24 So I think while the toss-up -- while the kind of
25 blow-out status of the election made it a bad measure for

1 competitiveness, I don't think that impacts its value as a
2 measure of polarization and -- and opportunitywise.

3 And one of the nice things is -- actually Mark and
4 I were talking about this yesterday when we got the
5 PowerPoint -- is that thanks to the work that the Timmons
6 data team has done, the Governor's race is in the giant
7 database even -- they built all the elections in, so we can
8 just jump from there, we don't have to overhaul the database
9 again.

10 COMMISSIONER LERNER: So that had also been my
11 Commissioner, thanks -- my question. Thanks, Commissioner
12 Mehl.

13 Are there any -- actually when we go deeper into
14 this, are there any -- I know we're looking at two
15 statewide, but when we look at specific areas that we dig
16 into Pinal country -- County and precincts and districts,
17 should we at that point start looking at some of the local
18 races?

19 Or, are you basically saying we don't look at any
20 of the local races at this point just those two races.

21 DR. HANDLEY: The problem with the local races is
22 you're going to draw districts that will go beyond the --
23 the edges of where those local races occurred, so they
24 wouldn't be useful for the recompiled election results.

25 I mean, so if you have -- you know a -- say a

1 commission district, and you draw a state legislative
2 district that only takes in a portion of it, we can't do the
3 recompiled election results.

4 And we've already determined I think that voting is
5 polarized, so there's not really any sense in going and
6 looking at local elections. So I don't see any reason to
7 look at local elections.

8 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yeah, I agree with that. And will
9 add, as Dr. Handley started out the meeting, this -- all of
10 this is the statistical side of the puzzle, there's also the
11 totality of circumstances and the local political dynamic
12 side of the puzzle where really community input and -- and
13 feedback can come in where to some degree what you heard
14 earlier today is very handy in terms of we can look at the
15 numbers, but the numbers don't reflect that, oh, this is an
16 area where Latinos have been politically organized for
17 50 years and this is a, you know, over here is an area where
18 they're newly arrived, newly getting engaged.

19 Those kinds of factors you can also take into
20 account beyond just the statistics, which gets a little bit
21 into local dynamics and, you know, well, Latinos have had
22 success in the school board races as we just heard about but
23 are not yet succeeding at the legislative level, so that's
24 not going to show up statistically but it's certainly a
25 consideration you can take into account.

1 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: At what population density do
2 we need to begin to think about a responsibility to carve
3 out a new majority-minority district based on polarization?

4 So, for example, we have a burgeoning Asian
5 community in Maricopa and as they're growing they're tending
6 to really congregate in a very specific area. So at what
7 point do we have to stop and say: Oh, boy, we have to start
8 looking at this unique group and study their voting
9 patterns?

10 I'm just curious. I have no idea.

11 DR. HANDLEY: That might actually be a question
12 for -- for your lawyers.

13 From a statistical standpoint the chances of being
14 able to do a racial bloc voting analysis is probably pretty
15 slim; and if you couldn't draw a majority-minority district
16 I'm -- I don't think the three prongs of the *Gingles* comes
17 into play.

18 But this is something I think I would talk -- well,
19 Doug knows the data whether you can draw an Asian district,
20 I can tell you you can't do an analysis of voting patterns,
21 and the lawyers will tell you what all of this means
22 legally.

23 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yeah, and I -- and I think as was
24 mentioned earlier this morning, the numbers are
25 significantly up from ten years ago but they're still

1 relatively very low. I think the most Asian American
2 legislative district is maybe 13 percent, so.

3 What tends to happen with kind of emerging groups
4 is you'll start to see a couple of candidates win elections,
5 you know, school board elections, city council elections,
6 kind of in seats that there are only 10 percent, 15 percent;
7 and then, you know, as we heard about, where there's a mayor
8 that's Latino, that tends to raise turnout in that area even
9 though mayors have no say over running an election; but it's
10 a symbolic leadership and that tends to encourage people to
11 engage and it starts that ball rolling.

12 So we're not really there yet from a kind of
13 empower to win a district perspective, but we're still --
14 we're already there if we keep that neighborhood together.

15 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Right. No, thank you. You
16 answered exactly my question. I'm trying to understand how
17 it shifts and what you look for and how -- how it plays out
18 over time.

19 So thank you. Excellent.

20 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Just as a quick question.
21 Will we be able to receive these two PowerPoints, 'cause
22 sometimes the data was hard to see and we don't have the
23 first one yet. If we can get both of those it would be
24 helpful. The numbers are very small.

25 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yeah, actually, Valerie from the

1 staff is on it and just as this meeting was starting she
2 reminded me to send those over. So she has -- she probably
3 hasn't even seen her e-mail yet because of this meeting
4 going on, but they're both in her e-mail and should be
5 available as soon as this meeting is over, likely.

6 DIRECTOR SCHMITT: She actually has sent it out
7 already so you-all should have it.

8 MR. D. JOHNSON: Everyone is top of it. So thank
9 you.

10 Thank you, Brian; thank you, Valerie.

11 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Thank -- thank you.

12 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Thank you.

13 You want to move on to another item, Doug?

14 MR. D. JOHNSON: Sure. I'll actually hand it back
15 to Mark; and thank you, Dr. Handley.

16 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Thank you, Dr. Handley.

17 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Thank you very much, very
18 helpful.

19 You're on mute.

20 MR. D. JOHNSON: You're muted.

21 MR. FLAHAN: I'll learn that in 2022.

22 Thanks, Dr. Handley. Appreciate it.

23 A quick update where we're at right now. As of
24 this morning when I last checked: We are up to 70 submitted
25 plans into the system and that is 29 congressional statewide

1 maps, 5 congressional focused maps which are those single
2 district maps, 25 legislative statewide maps, and 11
3 legislative focused maps and that's where Arizona sits
4 today.

5 I did some research into like data, compared it to
6 some of the other states and what they're doing; I grabbed
7 three states because it was easy to find. Right now Florida
8 had 9 submitted plans, so we're well above that; Utah has a
9 total of 54 total submitted plans, and 36 of those are
10 congressional plans, 9 of those are House -- or, sorry, is
11 State House Senate plans, so for the state only, and then 9
12 of those are for the State House House, so; and Oregon has
13 77 total submitted plans, 8 are for the State Senate, 10 are
14 for the State House and 59 congressional plans.

15 So Arizona is at 70 right now, so you can see where
16 we fit within those three states; we're above two, below
17 one.

18 The only difference is -- at least for Utah and
19 Oregon, is that they have separate map lines for both their
20 House -- their Sate House and their State Senate reps, where
21 Arizona uses the same boundaries for the House and the State
22 Senate.

23 So that's where we sit today. Those are all
24 published out on the hub.

25 The other piece that I wanted to share with you

1 guys is on the redistricting system and let me share this
2 tab with you.

3 So I also wanted to show you about, you know,
4 public access into the redistricting system.

5 So this is right after I log into the redistricting
6 system, and I want to show you how you can go view all the
7 submitted plans in the redistricting system and how you can
8 interact with the plans.

9 So once you log in you're going to be prompted with
10 this template plan. Go ahead and select any template you
11 want, we're really just going to use it to load into the
12 system.

13 So now that you're here and we have that template
14 plan loaded, if you want to just go view a submitted plan in
15 the system because we have opened that up to all the public
16 and all the -- and everybody. You want to go up here to
17 this open file, click on it, and in the shared folder plan,
18 if you expand that and you click the RXO submitted plans,
19 these are all of the plans that everybody has submitted into
20 the system.

21 So if they hit the submit button and finalized it,
22 it's not only on the hub but it's also here in the
23 redistricting system for you to pick.

24 I'm just going to pick the first one for -- for
25 this demo's sake. So I'm not giving any credence to it, it

1 was just the first one listed for the example that we're
2 going to use.

3 So now you can see, here is this submitted plan,
4 you can see the population, the target deviation. And I
5 will say this is my test account that has the exact same
6 access as the public.

7 If you want to start interacting with the
8 demographics and the competitive data on these submitted
9 plans, all you need to do is go to "create." So this create
10 tab, hit the demographics here button, and now you have all
11 the demographics that you are able to turn on or turn off.

12 So the first ones are the key elections data. So
13 you can see, here's all of your nine competitive races that
14 you're voting in to track for competitiveness, so I can
15 easily turn them on and you can see as I turn them on, here
16 they are right here in the table.

17 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Mark. Mark, just excuse me
18 for one second. I'm cognizant of the time, we have
19 15 minutes.

20 MR. FLAHAN: Sure.

21 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: I believe you have new maps
22 to show us. I know we're not going to vote on it, but I
23 want to make sure we have time to -- to look at that. I
24 want to make sure that we have time to discuss Agenda Item
25 V(B), which is just an update on report deliverables that we

1 expect, so.

2 And then we have maybe some potential important
3 updates from our Executive Director.

4 MR. FLAHAN: Okay.

5 So let me just end with this: All the demographics
6 are here in this widget, you can check on sum or percent for
7 anything, the table will show it even on submitted plans.
8 So that's how you can interact with the demographics and the
9 competitive data for submitted plans.

10 I think that's -- that's probably the gist of it in
11 a couple of minutes.

12 So I know you guys are -- are, you know,
13 anticipating seeing the next version of the maps that you
14 guys had the changes on from Tuesday, so I'm going to turn
15 it over to Brian Kingery who you guys all met in person who
16 will show you the -- the final product from your changes.

17 MR. KINGERY: Thanks, Mark.

18 MR. FLAHAN: Yep.

19 MR. D. JOHNSON: So you -- and, Brian, just to kind
20 of keep in mind, we've got maybe five (technical/audio
21 disruption).

22 MR. KINGERY: Yep.

23 All right. So very quickly, we have ready for you
24 for your review three congressional versions of plans and
25 one legislative version.

1 These are paired with shapefiles that we have sent
2 to the legal team to review and I believe we're turning the
3 auto log into a PDF to also send to Legal, and all of these
4 documents will be on the hub once they're reviewed and --
5 and given the green light.

6 When each of you sign into the redistricting system
7 and go to that draft map development group where all the
8 Commissioners have been added, you'll see the CD-1.0 and 1.1
9 which were presented last time, you will also see the
10 legislative 1.0.

11 The legislative 1.0 and the CD-1.1 were the
12 approved ones on October 5th.

13 From that we took all your feedback, all the notes
14 that we consolidated from the last round of meetings, and we
15 came up with these three congressional versions, 2.0, 2.1
16 and 2.2 and paired with the auto log that we've sent out;
17 and then we also have LD-2.0.

18 So jumping right into congressional 2.0. This is a
19 balanced plan, it does pass integrity checks, but there are
20 still quite a bit of communities of interest feedback that
21 are not included in here. So although I do want to show it
22 because it is part of our workflow and it's -- it's
23 congressional test map version 2.0, I did think it's
24 important to show but the -- the real one that I think you
25 guys should really focus on is 2.1.

1 So just for interest's sake, here is 2.0. You can
2 see that we did split Tucson, we included the northern
3 tribes; and everything is balanced, it does pass integrity
4 checks.

5 So based on my previous comments I'm going to go
6 ahead and jump into 2.1 which you all have access to, and I
7 think this one is the -- the one that you guys will most
8 likely be interested in seeing.

9 The only difference between 2.1 and 2.2 is the way
10 Yuma County was handled.

11 In 2.1, it is split. In 2.2, Yuma County is
12 handled as the entire county is in District 7. So the only
13 change that you'll see between this one and 2.1 is all of
14 Yuma County is red in District 7 -- or, symbolized as red in
15 District 7.

16 So zooming in we see District 1 moved. See where
17 the township median is.

18 It moved a little west to this -- this main road
19 but still encompasses the -- the township median as its
20 origin at the bottom left, and you can see it moves up; you
21 can see that District 3 and 4 kind of shifted places in
22 regards to the township median; and you have, you know, Mesa
23 split up, Scottsdale included in one.

24 We really were focused on the community of interest
25 feedback that we received and there is still some balancing

1 that could be done. Once you guys get into the plans and
2 really start to -- to zone in -- zoom in on those
3 communities of interest, this plan as it is right now is
4 balanced and will pass integrity checks.

5 But over here, this is the plan viewer, a layer has
6 been added and these are the census populated places. So
7 we're really looking at the community of interest feedback
8 and these populated places, and just one area that I think
9 is really easy to symbolize if you're using I-19 as a
10 natural geographic border, you have Green Valley and you
11 have Sar- -- excuse me, Sahuarita that are divided by I-19,
12 and you can see that in the plan as you zoom down that in
13 this version they're included in District 7 but could easily
14 just be -- be switched to District 6 depending on how you
15 guys wanted to handle those -- these specific communities
16 for this example.

17 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. So -- so I think it --
18 it sounds like between now and Friday morning when we
19 convene, it's best for the Commissioners to spend some time
20 really reviewing these maps so that we can be prepared to
21 immediately vote on Friday for our new starting points from
22 both the congressional and legislative side.

23 COMMISSIONER MEHL: And Brian, can the public see
24 these maps now?

25 MR. KINGERY: I can share them publicly if we're

1 all ready to do so.

2 COMMISSIONER LERNER: So these are currently in
3 our -- we can look at them?

4 MR. KINGERY: Correct.

5 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Okay. Yeah, I mean
6 personally I think we should share them with the public if
7 that's okay.

8 COMMISSIONER MEHL: I'm good with that.

9 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yeah, just make sure that
10 it's -- it's been cleared by legal that, you know, they have
11 final sign off.

12 MR. FLAHAN: Yeah, we'll make sure we clear it with
13 the legal team.

14 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: And if --

15 MR. KINGERY: Let me know --

16 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Any other specific marching
17 orders for the Commissioners to prepare for Friday morning
18 to be ready to dive into these maps?

19 Anything in particular that we should focus on?

20 MR. D. JOHNSON: I -- this is Doug. I would flag
21 the one area -- Brian, let me know if I misstate this -- but
22 the one area on the legislative map that we all really
23 struggled with was the issue of the -- the northeastern
24 district with the -- with th tribal reservations in it.

25 As we got those reservations in, it came up just

1 short populationwise. So we really wrestled with, you know,
2 do we take, you know -- between D6 and D7, do we then have
3 to go into Prescott, you know, crossing that line? Do we go
4 down to Graham and Greenlee, which the Commission had talked
5 about trying not to do that. And so you will see we ended
6 up going down into Mammoth and to Eastern Pinal area to get
7 that final population.

8 But that -- that's probably the big issue. And
9 then there's lots of little questions, as Brian was showing
10 you, where clearly the map is an in-progress map. We look
11 forward to your direction and community feedback for how to
12 make it better.

13 But for that, how do you get the last bit of
14 population that District 6 and 7 need was a big issue on the
15 outside.

16 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: You know, you just asked
17 something that may be very helpful.

18 If you -- are there like the next ten questions you
19 have from the Commissioners; and, if so, could you e-mail
20 that to us, you know, today, tomorrow, so we can come on
21 Friday with those specific questions in mind and we can do a
22 little preparation?

23 MR. D. JOHNSON: Sure.

24 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay.

25 Thank you.

1 Oh, last question. So the polarization, is that
2 report actually finished? Will -- will it be, you know,
3 officially finished in time for our deliberation on Friday
4 or what's the status on that, please?

5 MR. D. JOHNSON: Yes. So we have all the
6 conclusions, you know, that was kind of what Dr. Handley was
7 presenting today and kind of how we implement it from
8 mapping. The slides you've seen will be turned into a
9 written report with a little background, a little more
10 information about kind of where the data was clear and where
11 it isn't.

12 I -- to be honest, we just finished getting all
13 those tables together yesterday and I've not had a chance to
14 talk about when -- when it will be put into a written report
15 form. But yes, there will be a formal report submitted. It
16 won't contain anymore kind of practical guidance from
17 mapping than you already have.

18 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. Excellent. So what's
19 clear is that we have all the data so it doesn't interfere
20 in any kind of way with, you know, the authenticity of the
21 data we're working with to do the mapping, and that's really
22 what's critically important. So thank you.

23 Any last really important words before we try to
24 wrap this meeting up?

25 MR. D. JOHNSON: No. I think -- just view this as

1 the next step in the -- in an evolving map, so we look
2 forward to the public's input and then ultimately to your
3 direction on this.

4 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: A very important reminder
5 again to the public, even with this -- these iterations,
6 these are, you know, it's a brainstorming process and so,
7 you know, give us time and don't jump to conclusions.

8 Okay. Thank you.

9 MR. FLAHAN: We'll see you on Friday.

10 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Yes. Well, we look forward
11 to seeing you on Friday. Thank you so much for working
12 overtime and then some in order to get with this, you know,
13 expedited schedule of ours, but it's looking good. We're --
14 we're on pace. So we're -- we're very optimistic.

15 All right. Thanks.

16 Staff, Agenda Item No. VI, do -- is there anything
17 that you want to quickly address?

18 DIRECTOR SCHMITT: Sure. If members of the public
19 still have locations that they're interested in us visiting
20 during our 30-day tour, if they could make sure to send it
21 in within the next 48 hours or by the end of the week, as we
22 continue to plan that out.

23 And then Lori, did you have an update on public
24 records?

25 MS. VAN HAREN: We are just currently working to

1 fulfill all of the public records request. If you have more
2 specific questions, then we can move into e-session at that
3 time.

4 And I -- I think that's all I had on public
5 records.

6 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. But the -- but the
7 migration has happened and the processing is ongoing and
8 things -- it sounds like the process has -- has really
9 become more expedited; is that correct?

10 MS. VAN HAREN: That's correct. So we're at the
11 last part of it now, we expect to be fully moved over to
12 Microsoft soon, and we'll let the Commissioners know as soon
13 as that happens so that we can get everybody set up on their
14 computers.

15 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. Excellent.

16 And -- and sorry that we're having to cut some of
17 this conversation short, we'll -- you know, with future
18 agenda items.

19 Let's move -- if there's nothing else, we're going
20 to jump to Agenda Item No. VIII, which is discussion of
21 future agenda item requests.

22 I know, you know, this is a short business meeting,
23 it's telling me that we need a little more time next time.
24 I know we'll be deliberating, but we'll make sure that we
25 save time, you know, in the meetings to do whatever business

1 that needs to come up.

2 So please let staff know if there are specific
3 future agenda items that you would like to be considered;
4 and, you know, I think particularly that the third round,
5 the discussion of our locations and methods of -- of gaining
6 feedback from the public after the draft maps are out, I
7 think that's going to be a really important discussion.

8 Anything anybody want to, you know, share just
9 immediately with future agenda items?

10 COMMISSIONER YORK: Do we have a sense of calendar
11 on the third round of meetings with the public?

12 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: I do not believe that staff
13 is ready to present tentative dates or anything, but
14 let's -- let's calendar that for a future agenda item to
15 really get into that some of that specifics and -- and focus
16 on dates and methods.

17 Okay. So with that, Agenda Item No. IX,
18 announcements.

19 I look forward to seeing as many in the public who
20 would like to attend, but all of our team and colleagues on
21 October 15th, Friday.

22 We're going to start at 8:30. I have a speaking
23 engagement at 8:00, I hope it will wrap up very promptly, so
24 let's plan for deliberation between 8:30 and 4:00 p.m. We
25 have a -- a hard stop.

1 And is it at the same location, at the Phoenix City
2 Council?

3 DIRECTOR SCHMITT: No. We will have a different
4 location and we're hoping to finalize that today.

5 We'll let you all know.

6 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay. So stay tuned for
7 locations.

8 Any other announcements, Agenda Item No. IX?

9 Okay. Agenda Item No. X, next meeting date, which
10 is Friday the 15th.

11 We will now close public comments.

12 Please note, members of the Commission may not
13 discuss items that are not specifically identified on the
14 agenda. Therefore pursuant to A.R.S. 38-43101-H, action
15 taken as a result of public comment will be limited to
16 directing staff to study the matter, responding to any
17 criticism or scheduling the matter for further consideration
18 and decision at a later date.

19 With that we'll move to Agenda Item XII,
20 Adjournment.

21 I will entertain a motion to adjourn.

22 COMMISSIONER YORK: So moved. Commissioner York.

23 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: Vice Chair Watchman seconds.

24 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Okay.

25 Vice Chair Watchman.

1 VICE CHAIR WATCHMAN: Aye.

2 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Commissioner Mehl.

3 COMMISSIONER MEHL: Aye.

4 CHAIRPERSON NEUBERG: Commissioner Lerner.

5 COMMISSIONER LERNER: Aye.

6 COMMISSIONER NEUBERG: Where -- Commissioner York.

7 COMMISSIONER YORK: Aye.

8 COMMISSIONER NEUBERG: And by the way, for the
9 minutes, please note that Commissioner York joined the
10 meeting at 9:18.

11 Commissioner Neuberg is an aye to adjourn.

12 With that, we look forward to Friday at 8:30.

13 Thank you, everybody, for your participation.

14 Bye-bye.

15 (Whereupon the proceeding concludes at 11:01 a.m.)

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20 **"This transcript represents an unofficial record. Please**
21 **consult the accompanying video for the official record of**
22 **IRC proceedings."**

23

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25

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