

THE 2010 CENSUS

Congressional Reapportionment

Abstract: The 2010 Census will determine the lines of 2011's Congressional Districts. Using new population estimates, this study projects the major demographic shifts in California between 2000 and 2010 by county and congressional d. This study examines these transitions in terms of Congressional districts along partisan, ethnic and regional lines, as California's population center continues to shift from traditional coastal power centers towards inland regions.

Claremont McKenna College

October 15, 2009

Douglas Johnson

Ian Johnson

Patrick Atwater

DEDICATION

This report continues the Rose Institute's long tradition of redistricting research and public outreach by presenting in-depth, original analysis of the state's current demographic trends and their consequences for redistricting. It draws significantly from the many publications that preceded it, while informing the debate with reams of new information. All of us at the Rose Institute hope you find it straightforward and informative. If you are interested in reading more about this topic, be sure to view our website at <http://rosereport.org>, or contact us to learn more about our additional research and publications.

This report would not have been possible without our dedicated student research team and the generous donors who have supported them. Hundreds of donors have contributed to the Rose Institute redistricting research program over the years. Our thanks also go to the members of the Rose Institute Board for their advice and encouragement.

The Rose Institute exists to provide hands-on policy research experience for the students of Claremont McKenna College, and their work is central to everything the institute does. The authors of this project owe a particular debt to Research Assistants Paul Jeffrey, Elizabeth Johnson, David Meyer, Abhi Nemani, Heather Siegel and Ilan Wurman.

An additional thanks to Caliper Corporation. Caliper's generous support makes possible all of the Rose Institute's demographic, redistricting and geographic information systems (GIS) research. The company's powerful and easy-to-use Maptitude software enables us to train our students up from GIS novices to expert users in only a few hours, and the software's extensive analytic capabilities provide the service and power needed for our work.

Our current redistricting research builds on the work of the Rose Institute's founder, Dr. Alan Heslop, and Dr. Leroy Hardy, former co-director (with Dr. Heslop) of our redistricting research program. Their work established the Rose Institute as a leader in the redistricting field. A generation of redistricting researchers and technicians, the authors included, owe our knowledge and experience to their research and their willingness to share their knowledge.

Finally, we owe a special thanks to Rose Institute Director Dr. Ralph Rossum, Associate Director Dr. Ken Miller, and Administrative Assistant Marionette Moore. Their encouragement, support, and assistance are crucial to all the work at the Institute.

The Authors

FOREWORD

Congressional reapportionment may well be the oldest continual political act of any legislative body in the world. Reapportionment is the process of apportioning congressional districts among the various states, a process that has occurred every ten year since the nation's first census in 1790. (Redistricting is the process of redrawing the districts within a state.)

Fighting over congressional reapportionment has been with us since the start. A major fight at the constitutional convention in 1787 was over apportioning congressional districts. America was about to create a population-based House of Representatives, then virtually unknown in the world. Southern states wanted their slaves counted as whole persons for the purpose of congressional apportionment; northern states insisted the slaves not be counted at all. Thus emerged the famous "three fifths" rule: a slave would be three fifths a freed person. From 1790 through 1860 every decennial census had three columns, whites, "freed Negroes" and slaves, so the complicated three fifths formula could be applied.

Conflict over the redrawing of congressional district lines within California dates from the middle of the last century. According to political lore, Republicans began the battle over congressional gerrymandering by passing a very pro-GOP congressional plan in 1951, and the Democrats responded with an equally harsh pro-Democratic plan in 1961.

Some years, such as 1981, Democrats have used their power to pass highly partisan congressional plans. Twice the California Supreme Court drew the plans, 1973 (after the vetoed 1971 plan) and 1991, and enacted plans that did not favor either party. And several times, 2001 being the most recent, the legislature passed a "sweetheart gerrymander" that protected incumbents of both parties. The 2001 plan has worked very well – after 212 elections under that plan, exactly one seat has changed parties.

In 2011, unless a pending ballot measure to bring congressional redistricting under Proposition 11 is enacted, the congressional plan will be drawn by the Democratic-controlled legislature, subject to approval or veto by the new Governor who will be elected in 2010.

As this report predicts, population shifts suggest Republicans should do well in the upcoming congressional redistricting, because most of the population gains are in GOP-held districts. But more likely is the loss of Republican House seats despite their population advantages. A clever gerrymander will concentrate the remaining heavily Republican neighborhoods into fewer than the 19 seats the GOP currently controls. Safely Democratic districts – almost all the Democratic districts in California – will then absorb more marginal territory from existing GOP seats.

The preview for 2012 congressional redistricting is the 2010 election. President Obama carried eight of the GOP-held congressional districts, all but one located in Southern California. The success the Democrats have in those districts in 2010 is where the Democratic line drawers will start in 2011.

Some effects can be predicted now. If California gains a seat in congressional reapportionment, that new seat will surely be Democratic; if the state loses a seat, two GOP districts are likely to be combined into one. And if the existing number of 53 remains unchanged, the question will be how much the Democratic majority in Congress wants to expand its numbers in California by undoing the 2001 bipartisan gerrymander in favor of a partisan one.

Tony Quinn
Editor of the California Target Book
and Rose Institute Board Member

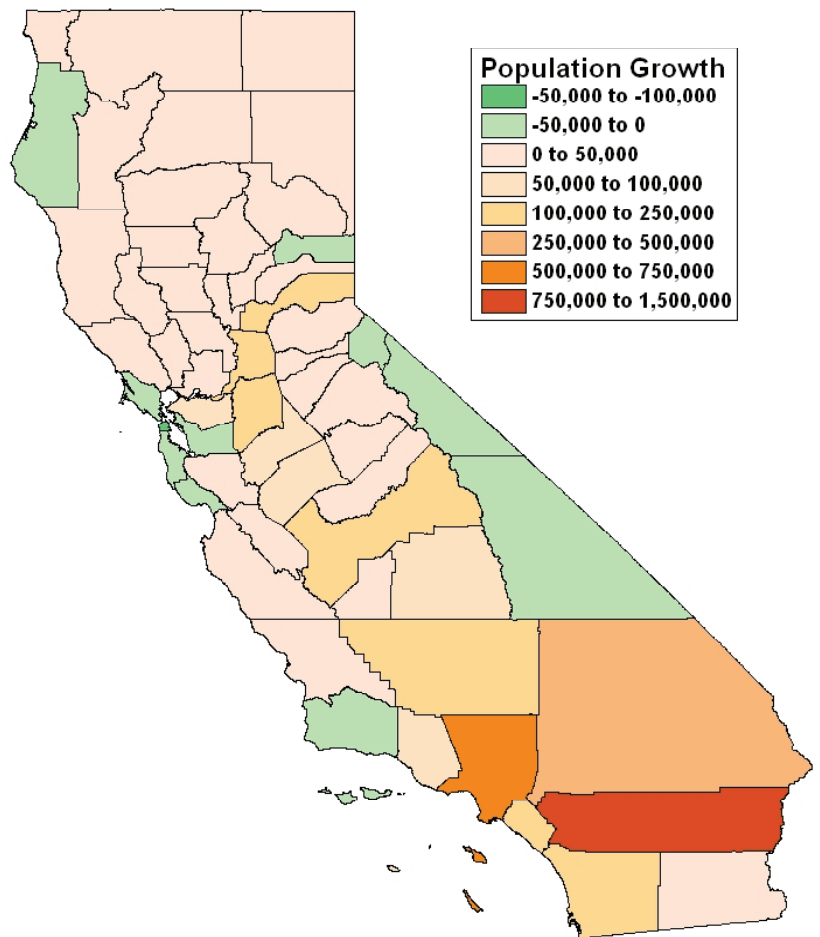
CALIFORNIA'S UNEVEN GROWTH

California's state population is estimated to have grown by over 3.5 million people between 2000 and 2010, a growth rate of over 10%. This growth, however, is unevenly distributed across the state.

During the past decade, the major metropolitan areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco both increased in population at a slow rate, and their urban cores lost population. San Francisco lost almost 70,000 residents since 2000 for a growth rate of -12.28%, while the city of Los Angeles grew only 3.65%. Regionally, the San Francisco Bay Area added 65,987 people to its ten counties, a growth rate of less than 1%, while Los Angeles County has added only 507,506 people, a growth rate of 5.3%. Both rates are significantly lower than the statewide growth rate.

In contrast, the inland regions of the state witnessed an explosive population boom. The five counties south and east of Los Angeles added more than 1.5 million residents since 2000, posting more than 17.2% growth. The Central Valley increased by over a million residents, up 21.2% since 2000. Cities like Riverside, Chino Hills, Bakersfield and Victorville all grew at close to 50% since 2000. This shift in relative population will alter the political landscape of California.

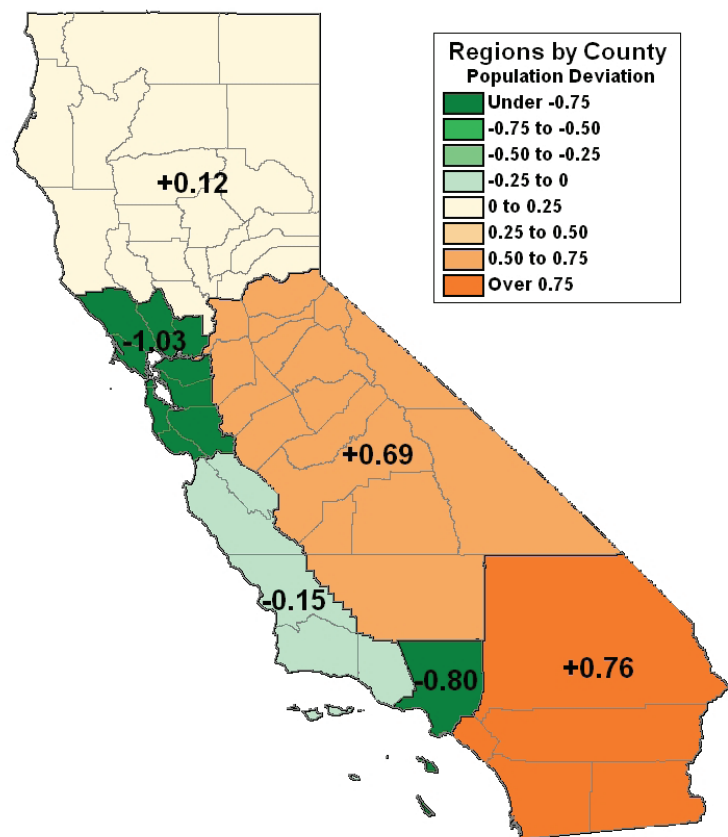
According to the 2010 estimate numbers, Los Angeles will lose



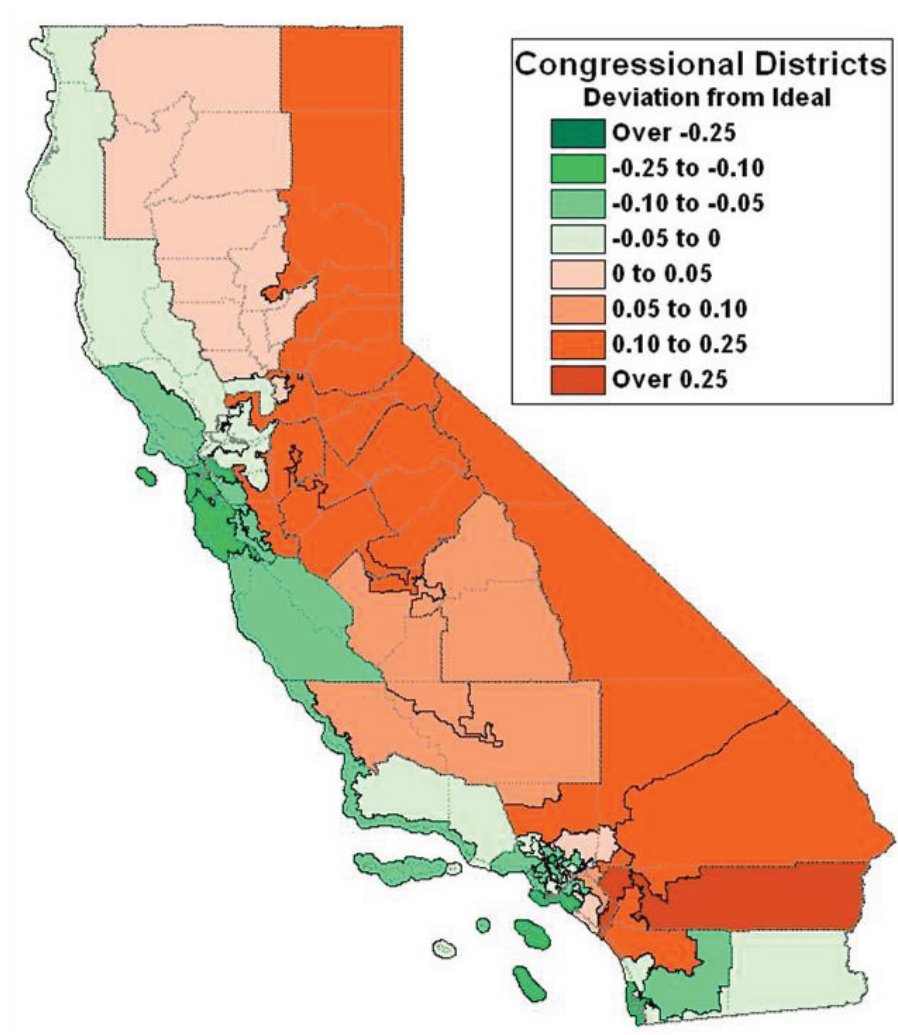
more than three quarters of a congressional seat, the Bay Area more than a full seat. The Inland Empire and Central Valley stand to be the big winners if congressional seats are redrawn purely based on demographics. This report examines some of the specifics of this transition of population away from the traditional centers of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

For the last two decades, California has been divided into an urban, more liberal coastal zone and a rural, more conservative interior. California's congressional delegation includes 19 Republicans and 34 Democrats. Thirteen Republicans come from the Central Valley, San Diego, Orange County or the Inland Empire, while Los Angeles and San Francisco account for 13 Democrats and 11 Democrats apiece. This poses a problem for the next potential round of Congressional apportionment for Democratic lawmakers in Sacramento: in the areas where districts are underpopulated (Los Angeles and San Francisco) there are few Republican seats that can be divided and distributed.

Democratic districts statewide are underpopulated by an average of 30,200 people, while Republican districts are overpopulated by an average of 54,115. Sixty five percent of the state's growth, estimated to total 3,525,373 by 2010, occurred in Republican Congressional seats, despite the fact that the 19 Republican seats represented less than 36% of the state's population in 2000. However, President Obama's success in eight Republican seats means there are voters who could be drawn into Democratic districts without endangering the Democratic incumbents.



CONGRESSIONAL CASE STUDIES



In brief detail here, a sampling of congressional districts will be examined.

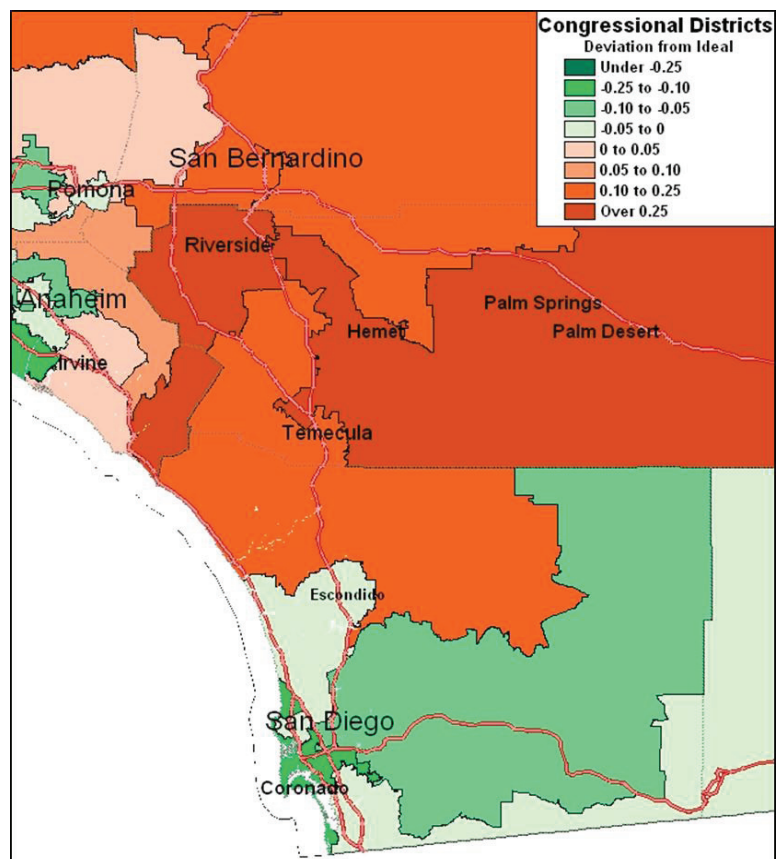
Mary Bono Mack

The largest congressional seat in California in 2010 is Mary Bono Mack's seat. Bono Mack, a Republican, is based in Palm Springs. She has held the seat continuously since her husband Sonny Bono's death in 1998, when she won a special election to replace him. Her seat currently has 962,000 residents, more

than 36% over the 2010 population ideal. Most of the district's cities have an average age over 40, and have been growing in part as a result of migration by older retirees to the Palm Springs area. Large new housing developments also drove an explosion of young families in Riverside County, where cities like Moreno Valley and Hemet grew by more than 45% since 2000. Party registration in the District also shifted, from a ten-point Republican advantage in 2000 to a four-point advantage in 2008. It is worth noting that Bono Mack's district, the fastest-growing in the state, splits Riverside County with the second-fastest-growing district, that of Representative Ken Calvert.

Howard "Buck" McKeon

Howard "Buck" McKeon's district also saw major growth in the past decade, increasing by more than 16% since 2000. McKeon is a senior Republican, having served since 1993; he is the current ranking member of the Armed Services Committee. The three major urban centers in his district, Santa Clarita, Palmdale and Victorville have grown by 31%, 37% and 35% respectively. The district has been drawn to include all of Inyo and Mono Counties, as well as a large swath of San Bernardino County, and is thus the second largest district by area in California, at 21,618 square miles, containing vastly different communities of interest.



Jerry McNerney

The fastest growing district in the Central Valley was Jerry McNerney's district. Centered just east of the Bay Area, it includes large swaths of the Central Valley, as well as Bay Area suburbs, like Pleasanton. The Central Valley sections of the district have grown extremely fast, while the areas belonging to the Bay Area have had minimal growth, with an overall District growth rate of 13%. This seat was originally drawn as a Republican seat, and it remains a majority white

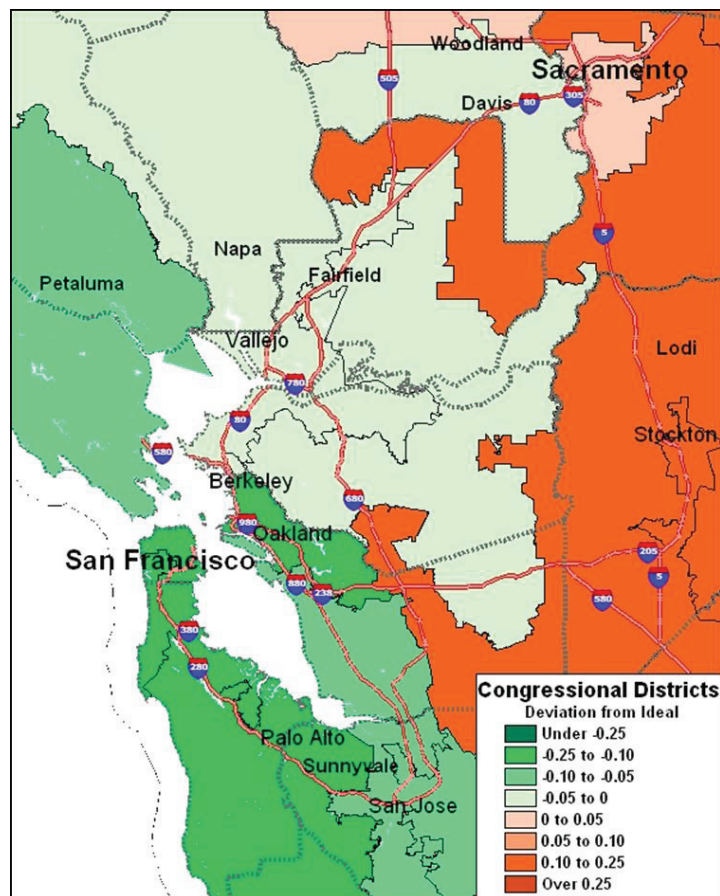
middle class area in 2008. In 2006, however, Republican Congressman Richard Pombo lost the seat to Democrat Jerry McNerney after Pombo was connected to the Jack Abramoff scandal and environmental controversies. Given its proximity to the population-starved San Francisco Bay Area, this District is likely to be significantly redrawn in 2011.

Nancy Pelosi

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi represents the District with the smallest population in California. Anti-development policy in San Francisco and an exceptionally low birthrate have caused the seat to shrink considerably in population. Since 2000, the seat has lost almost 60,000 residents, making it almost 20% under the population ideal for the next redistricting cycle. The new plan will need to bring population into the 8th district either from across the Bay or from Jackie Speier's district immediately to the south, a scenario complicated by the facts that every neighboring District is also short on population and represented by a Democratic Representative.

Diane Watson

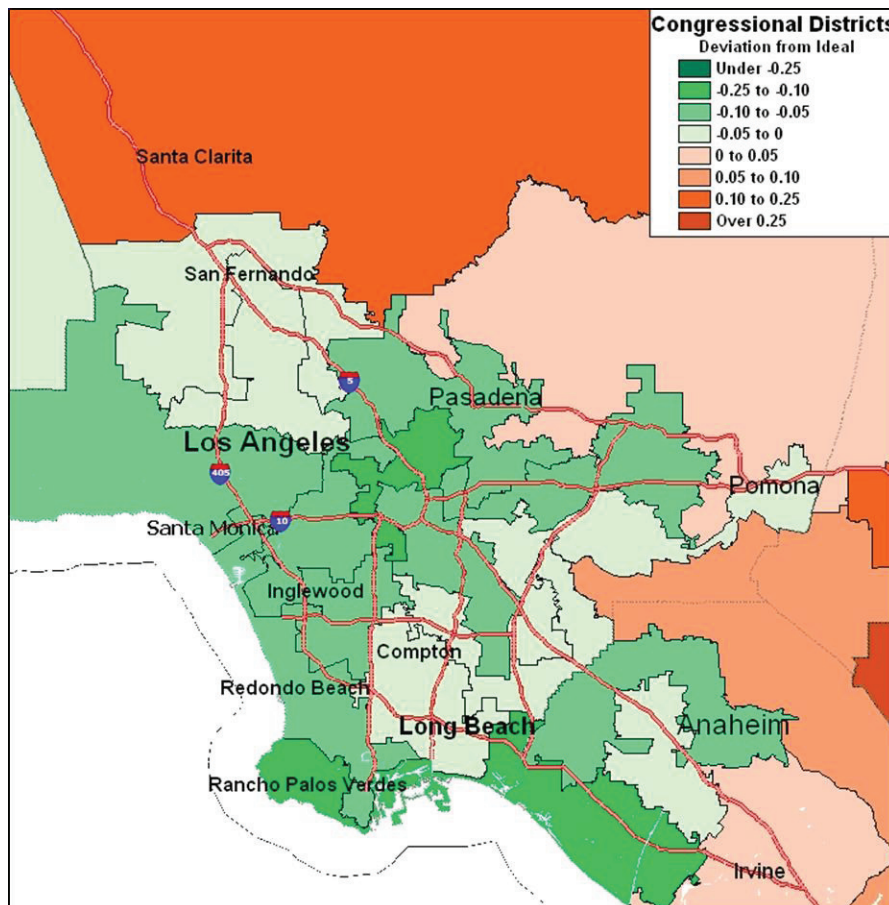
Like the Bay Area, redistricters face challenges in the Los Angeles area. One example is the district of Democratic Representative Diane Watson, who represents an African-American plurality district. Watson's district is short of the necessary population level by nine percent. Some of this is a product of the smaller African-American population relative to other ethnic groups in Southern California, evident in the loss of 12.8% of the population in View Park-Windsor Hills, an upper middle class African-American majority city, but white-majority



towns within her district have also lost population; for example, Culver City lost nearly 3% of its population since 2000. Preserving all three African-American incumbent districts in Los Angeles will be a difficult challenge in 2011, particularly since all three districts now have more Hispanics than African-Americans.

Dana Rohrabacher

The District of Republican Dana Rohrabacher is short 11.77% of the necessary 2010 population level. Major cities within the oddly shaped district, such as Seal Beach, actually lost population, while others, such as Huntington Beach, grew only slightly. Unlike past decades, when Orange County was growing exponentially, in this decade growth slowed almost to a standstill. Rohrabacher's seat contains strong conservative areas, such as Ranchos Palos Verdes and coastal areas of Orange County, which Democrats will be hesitant to pick up. Orange County's representatives will likely seek to gain population from the booming areas to their east.



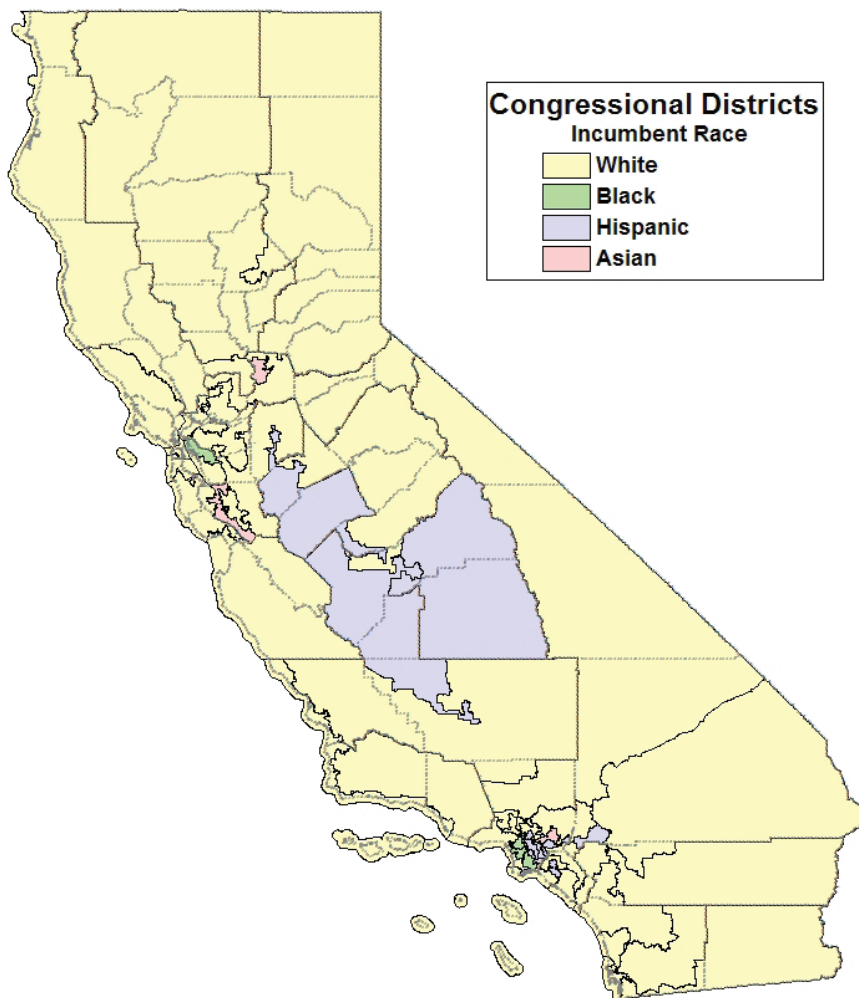
TEN LARGEST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

CD	Incumbent Name	Incumbent Party	Incumbent Ethnicity	2010 Population	Difference from Ideal	Population Deviation	Region
45	Mary Bono Mack	R	White	962,184	256,580	36.36%	SD/Orange/IE
44	Ken Calvert	R	White	892,423	186,819	26.48%	SD/Orange/IE
49	Darrel Issa	R	White	833,010	127,406	18.06%	SD/Orange/IE
25	Howard McKeon	R	White	819,234	113,630	16.10%	Los Angeles
43	Joe Baca	D	Hispanic	807,179	101,575	14.40%	SD/Orange/IE
4	Tom McClintock	R	White	805,785	100,181	14.20%	Northern California
41	Jerry Lewis	R	White	797,630	92,026	13.04%	SD/Orange/IE
11	Jerry McNerney	D	White	795,356	89,752	12.72%	Central Valley
3	Dan Lungren	R	White	793,778	88,174	12.50%	Bay Area/Sacramento
18	Dennis Cardoza	D	Hispanic	792,896	87,292	12.37%	Central Valley

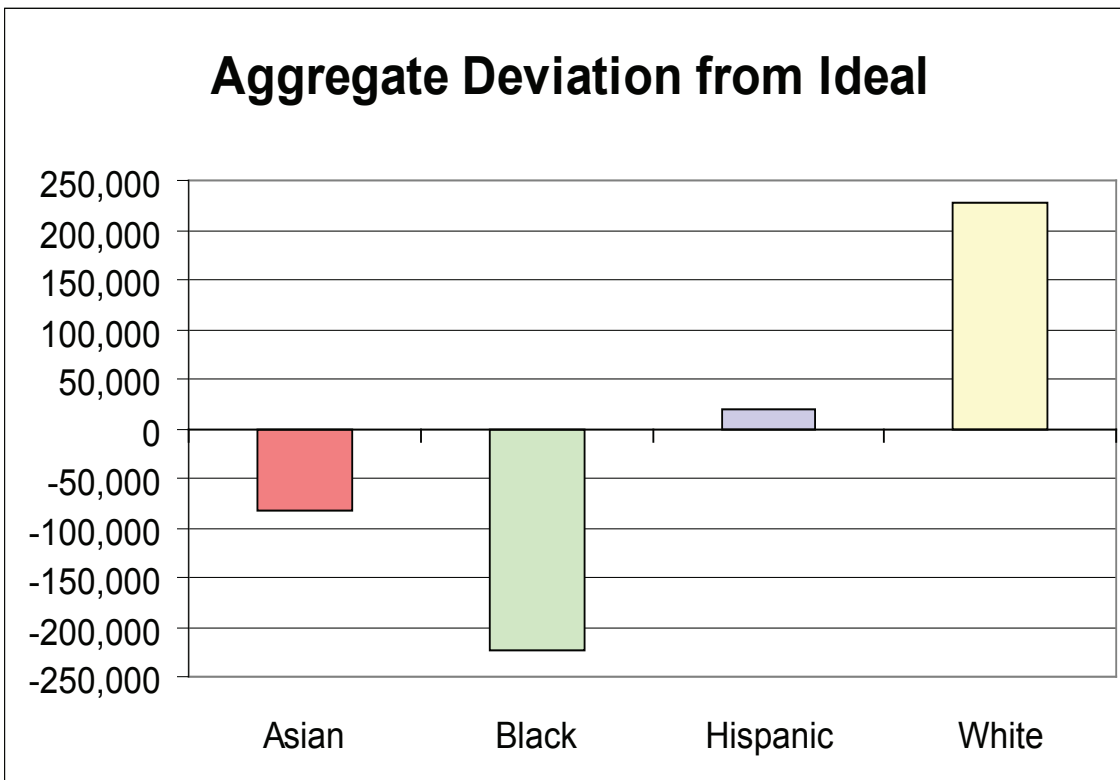
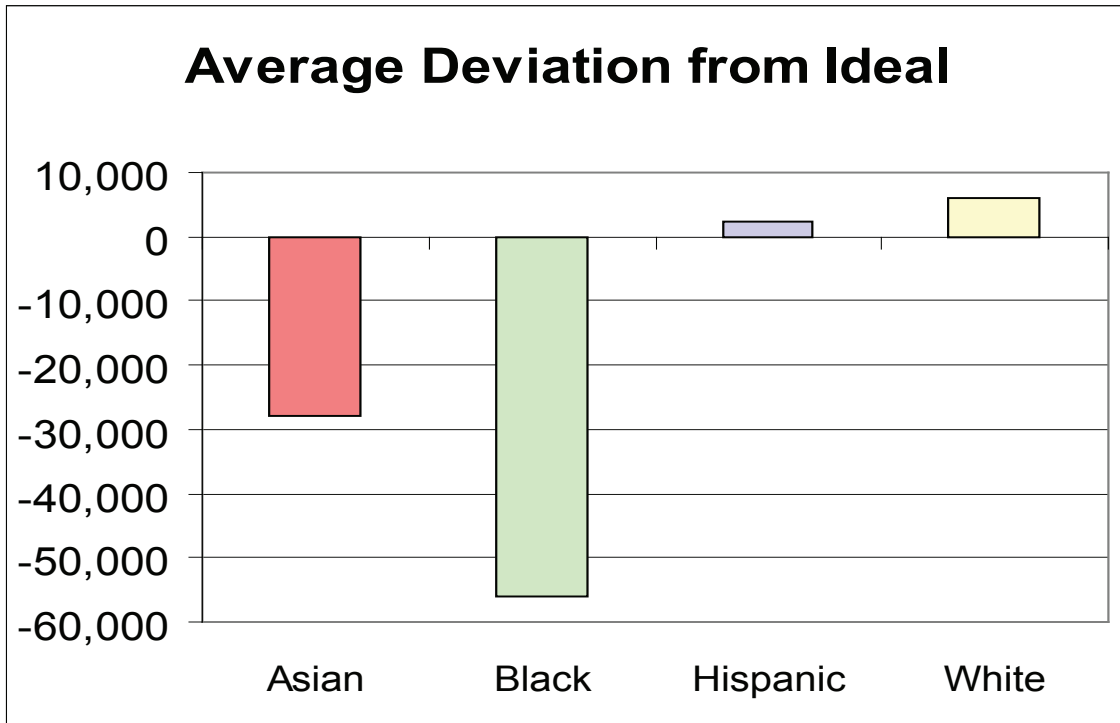
TEN SMALLEST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

CD	Incumbent Name	Incumbent Party	Incumbent Ethnicity	2010 Population	Difference from Ideal	Population Deviation	Region
8	Nancy Pelosi	D	White	583,958	-121,646	-17.24%	Bay Area/Sacramento
12	Jackie Speier	D	White	606,561	-99,043	-14.04%	Bay Area/Sacramento
9	Barbara Lee	D	Black	606,672	-98,932	-14.02%	Bay Area/Sacramento
14	Anna G. Eshoo	D	White	622,329	-83,275	-11.80%	Bay Area/Sacramento
46	Dana Rohrabacher	R	White	622,578	-83,026	-11.77%	SD/Orange/IE
31	Xavier Becerra	D	Hispanic	632,910	-72,694	-10.30%	Los Angeles
53	Susan Davis	D	White	634,516	-71,088	-10.07%	SD/Orange/IE
6	Lynn Woolsey	D	White	635,925	-69,679	-9.88%	Bay Area/Sacramento
33	Diane Watson	D	Black	641,726	-63,878	-9.05%	Los Angeles
40	Edward Royce	R	White	651,570	-54,034	-7.66%	SD/Orange/IE

RACE AND THE 2010 CENSUS



There are three Asian-American, four African-American and eight Hispanic Congressional Representatives from California. Of the fifteen districts they represent, eleven are underpopulated. The eight districts of particular Voting Rights Act concern in Los Angeles County collectively are short about 360,000 people, or 51% of a Congressional district. This poses a challenge to the goal of maintaining the three traditional African-American Congressional Districts in this area.



African-Americans

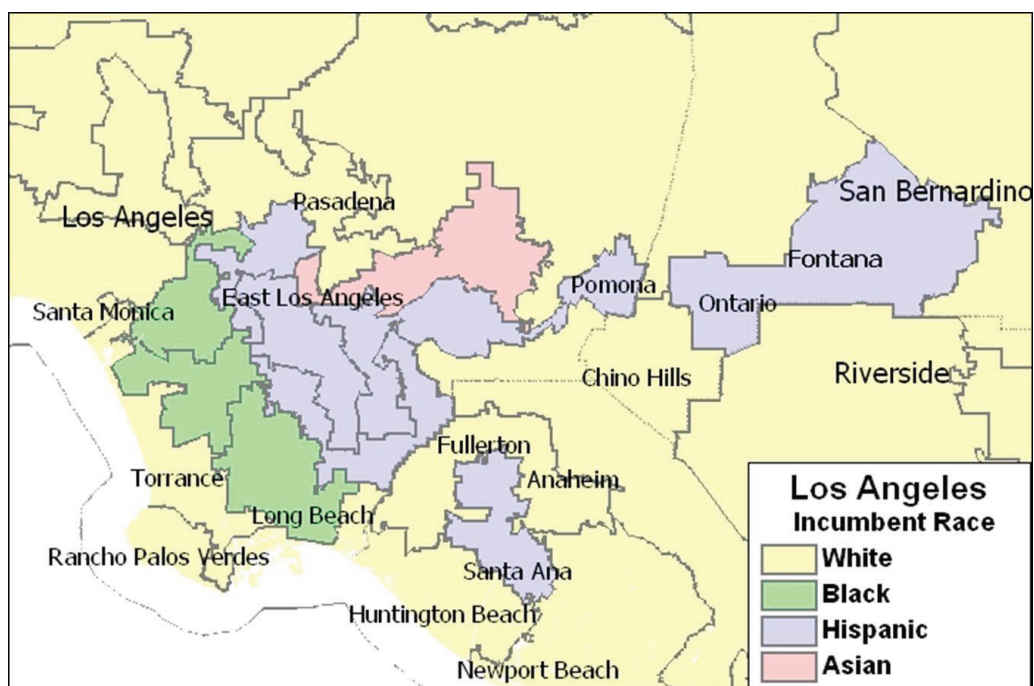
The African-American community lost more than 250,000 members across California since the beginning of the decade. Their percentage of the state's total population has dropped from 6.7% to 6.1%. Barbara Lee's district in the Bay Area is 100,000 people under the ideal, while the three African-American Districts in Los Angeles are collectively underpopulated by 17.8% of a district.

Asian-Americans

The Asian-American population across the state increased. The Asian-American community overall grew by 851,228 people since 2000, from 10.9% to 12.4% of the state's total population, which translates into more than a full congressional seat worth of population. However two of the three Districts represented by Asian-Americans are under-populated.

Hispanics

Hispanics also significantly increased their percentage of the state's population. In 2000, the Census Bureau reported 32.4% of the state's population was Hispanic. In 2008, the Census Bureau estimated that percentage had increased to 36.6%. Of 2.9 million new residents of California between 2000 and 2008, 2.5 million were Hispanic. That means 86.3% of California's growth over the past 8 years was Hispanic.



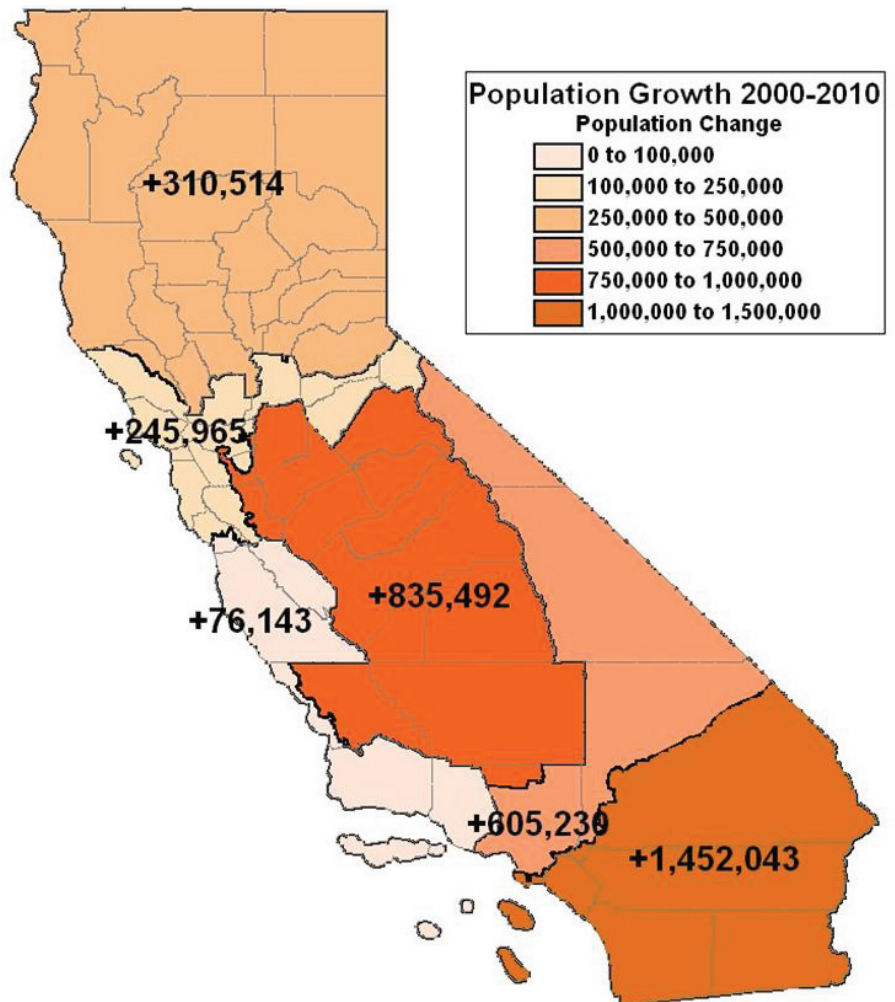
INCUMBENT RACE AND POPULATION CHANGE

CD	Incumbent Name	Incumbent Party	Incumbent Ethnicity	2010 Population	Difference from Ideal	Population Deviation	Region
5	Doris Matsui	D	Asian	718,426	12,822	1.82%	Bay Area/ Sacramento
32	Judy Chu	D	Asian	663,371	-42,233	-5.99%	Los Angeles
15	Mike Honda	D	Asian	651,629	-53,975	-7.65%	Bay Area/ Sacramento
37	Laura Richardson	D	Black	682,303	-23,301	-3.30%	Los Angeles
35	Maxine Waters	D	Black	667,438	-38,166	-5.41%	Los Angeles
33	Diane Watson	D	Black	641,726	-63,878	-9.05%	Los Angeles
9	Barbara Lee	D	Black	606,672	-98,932	-14.02%	Bay Area/ Sacramento
43	Joe Baca	D	Hispanic	807,179	101,575	14.40%	SD/Orange/IE
18	Dennis Cardoza	D	Hispanic	792,896	87,292	12.37%	Central Valley
21	Devin Nunes	R	Hispanic	756,939	51,335	7.28%	Central Valley
39	Linda Sanchez	D	Hispanic	678,868	-26,736	-3.79%	Los Angeles
47	Loretta Sanchez	D	Hispanic	677,098	-28,506	-4.04%	SD/Orange/IE
38	Grace Napolitano	D	Hispanic	676,559	-29,045	-4.12%	Los Angeles
34	Lucille Roybal-Allard	D	Hispanic	641,727	-63,877	-9.05%	Los Angeles
31	Xavier Becerra	D	Hispanic	632,910	-72,694	-10.30%	Los Angeles

CONCLUSION

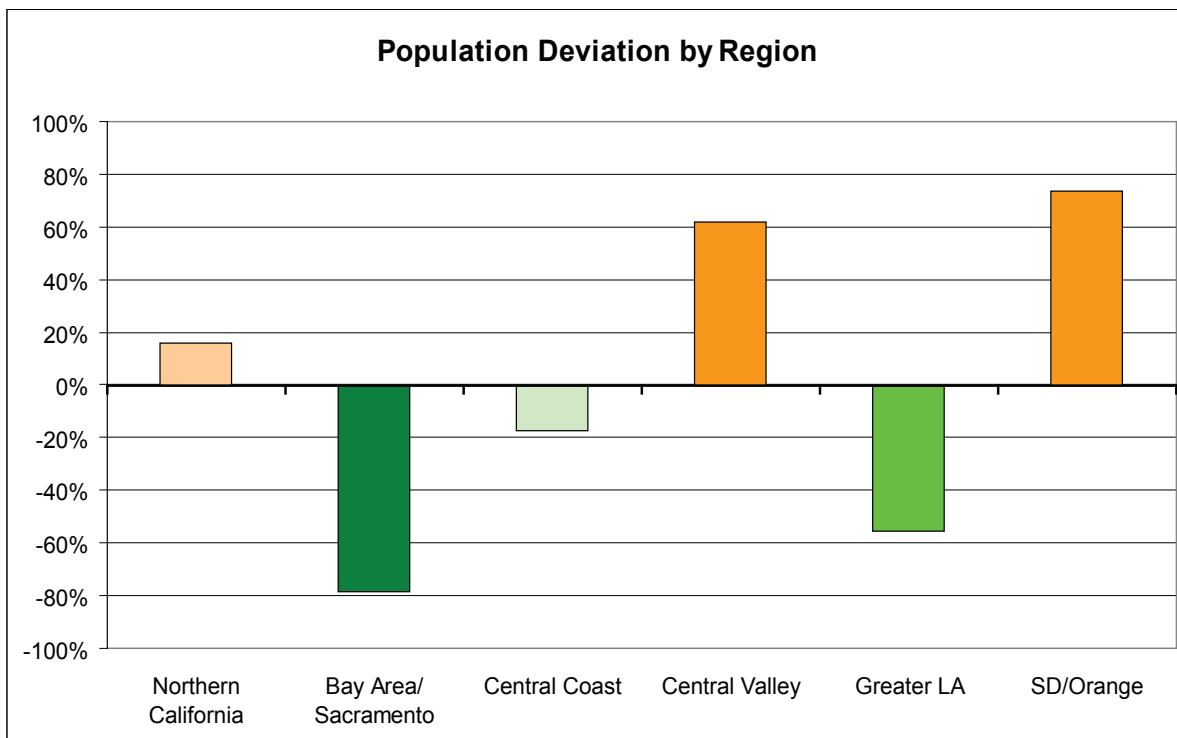
Every region in our analysis increased in population since 2000, but the rates of population growth vary significantly. The Central Valley and the Inland Empire gained the most in the past decade. Currently, there are only two Congressional seats based in Riverside County, and only two based in San Bernardino County. Demographics suggest that this will change as districts are redrawn to reflect the population shifts since 2000. However, political history warns that demographic realities are seldom fully translated into actual district lines.

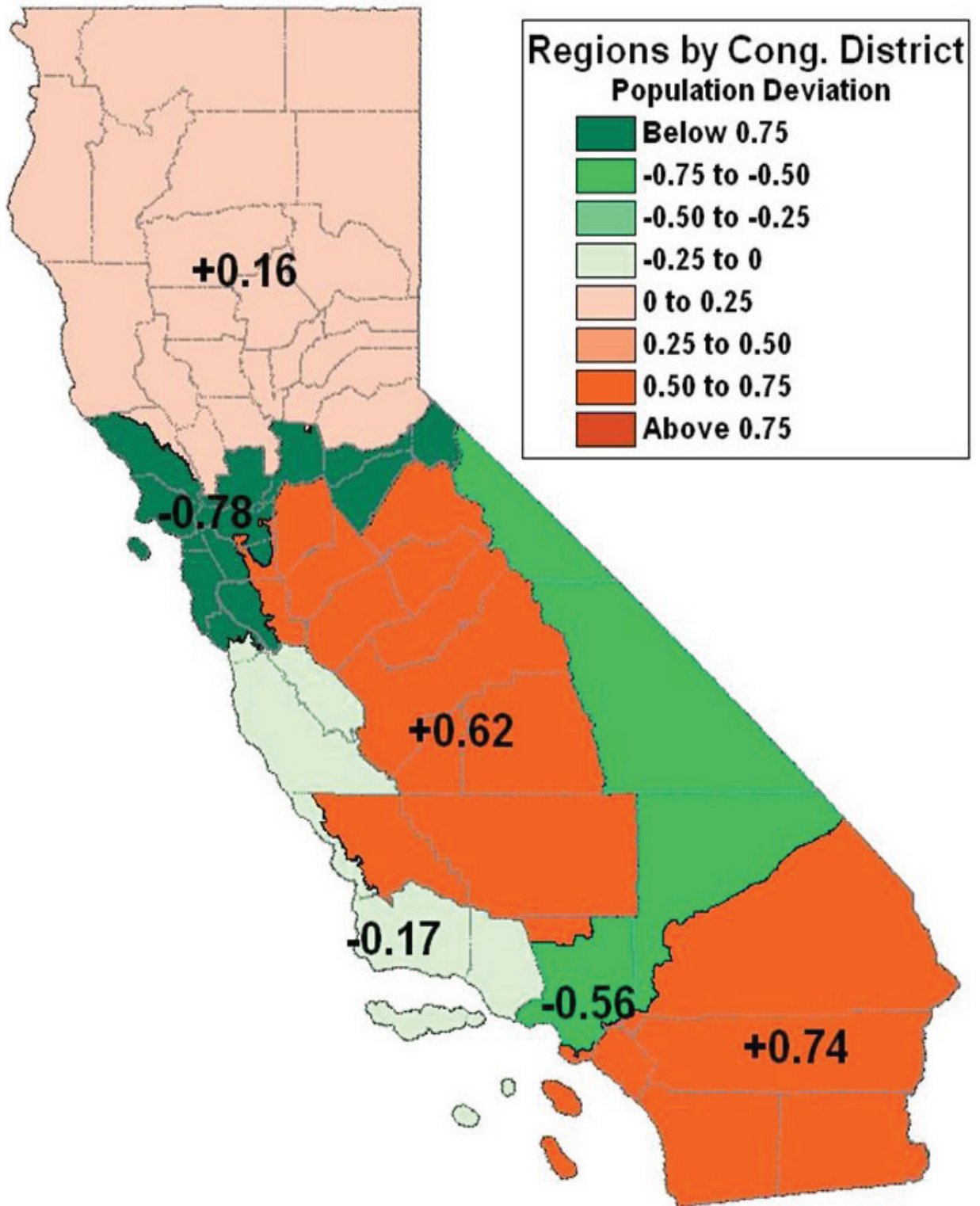
San Francisco and the Bay Area, in the deepest population debt of all of California's regions, inevitably will have to draw from the Northern Central Valley. Sacramento is already tied to San Francisco through the current plan, as the 1st and 3rd districts connect Sacramento with the Bay Area. To maintain the Bay Area's current Congressional Representatives, additional "arms" will need to draw in the population of Modesto and Stockton, along with more Sacramento suburbs such as Roseville and Citrus Heights. On the whole, the Bay Area is short 0.78 Congressional Seats, while the Central Valley is over by 0.62 Congressional seats.



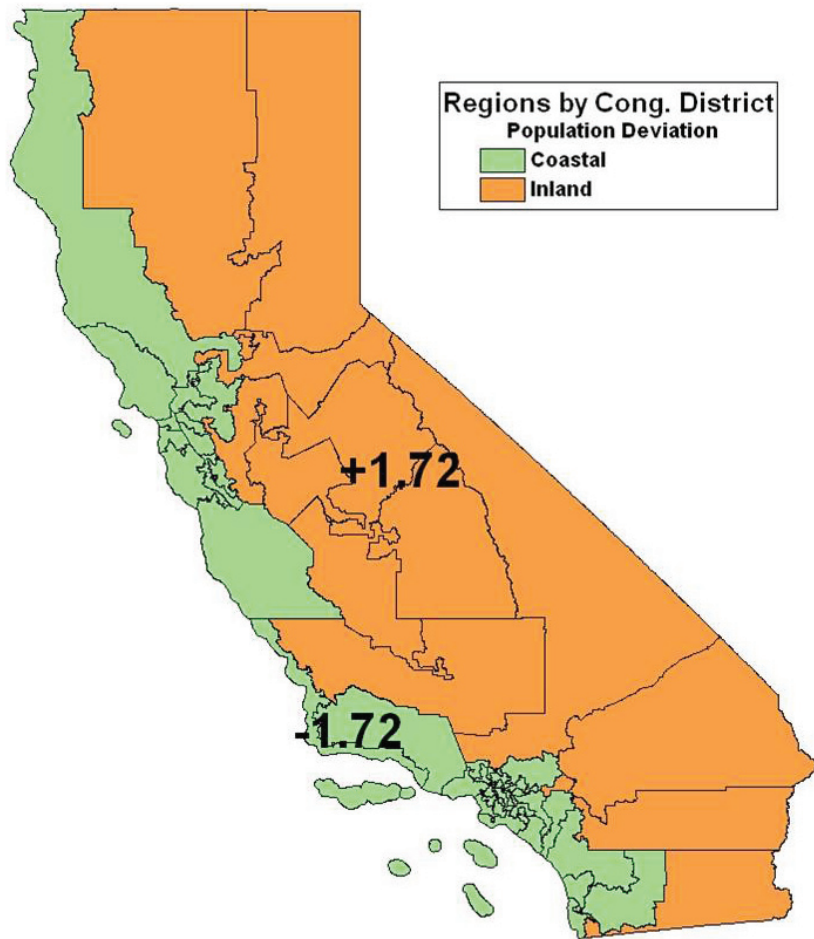
POPULATION GROWTH BY REGION

Name	2000 Population	2010 Population	Population Change	Number of Districts (2001)	Number of Districts (2010)	Change in Number of Districts	Dem.	Rep.
Northern California	1,917,262	2,227,776	310,514	3	3.16	0.16	1	2
Bay Area/Sacramento	7,669,055	7,915,020	245,965	12	11.22	-0.78	11	1
Central Coast	1,917,264	1,993,407	76,143	3	2.83	-0.17	2	1
Central Valley	3,834,528	4,670,020	835,492	6	6.62	0.62	3	3
Los Angeles	9,586,316	10,191,546	605,230	15	14.44	-0.56	13	2
SD/Orange/Inland Empire	8,947,223	10,399,266	1,452,043	14	14.74	0.74	4	10





The coastal regions of California, the traditional power centers of the state, are naturally reluctant to cede any power to the increasingly populous inland regions. Incumbents of both parties naturally prefer to preserve their own power bases over recognizing demographic shifts. The demographic trends of the coast and inland regions seem to drive the two regions apart, but the strongest demographic trends actually reinforce the state's unity; substantial Hispanic immigration and movements by coastal city dwellers eastwards in search of affordable housing are homogenizing demographics throughout the state.



The 2010 Census will heavily influence the lines of 2011's districts. Based on new population estimates, this study has argued that the inland regions stand to gain the most from the trends of the past 10 years. However, as Tony Quinn noted in the foreword, demographics do not necessarily translate into political realities. While partisan, ethnic and regional changes suggest a certain pattern of apportionment, the demands of political power may ignore the last decade's changes in favor of immediate party interests. The 2011 congressional redistricting will be an interesting and difficult process.

APPENDIX: About the Data

This Rose Institute study relied on demographic data compiled by Caliper Corporation and 2008 Census Bureau population estimates. The Caliper data provided projections of 2010 total population data by Census Block Group. Institute staff disaggregated the data down to the Census Block level for analysis in those places where Congressional Districts divide Census Block Groups. Caliper's data is based on county-level population estimates from the US Census Bureau combined with local housing and population data collected and compiled by Caliper.

Caliper's population estimates closely mirror those of the Census Bureau and the California Department of Finance, with the Bureau's 2010 projection for California at 36,756,666, Caliper at 37,397,037, and Finance at 38,049,462. Caliper's data is used in this study because of it provides a higher level of geographic detail than the Bureau or Finance.