

WINNERS AND LOSERS: THE 2020 CENSUS AND CALIFORNIA'S 2021 REDISTRICTING



ROSE INSTITUTE
OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

ABSTRACT

The 2020 Census will determine the lines of the 2021's Congressional, Senate, and Assembly Districts. Using new county and assembly district level data population estimates, this study projects the major demographic shifts in California between 2010 and 2020. This study examines these transitions along regional lines, as California's population center continues to shift and representation follows.

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This report continues the Rose Institute's long tradition of analyzing California's population trends and their consequences for redistricting.

The report would not have been possible without our dedicated student research team. The Rose Institute provides hands-on policy research experience for the students of Claremont McKenna College, and students made essential contributions at all stages of this project.

We wish to thank the generous donors who have financially supported the Rose Institute's redistricting research program. In particular, we are grateful to the members of the Rose Institute Board of Governors, who have provided consistent support and encouragement.

Our current redistricting research builds on the accomplishments of the Rose Institute's founder, Dr. Alan Heslop, and the late 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 to these pioneers of redistricting research and analysis. Finally, we owe a special thanks to Rose Institute Director Dr. Andrew Busch, Associate Director Dr. Ken Miller, Assistant Director for Research and Publications Bipasa Nadon, and Administrative

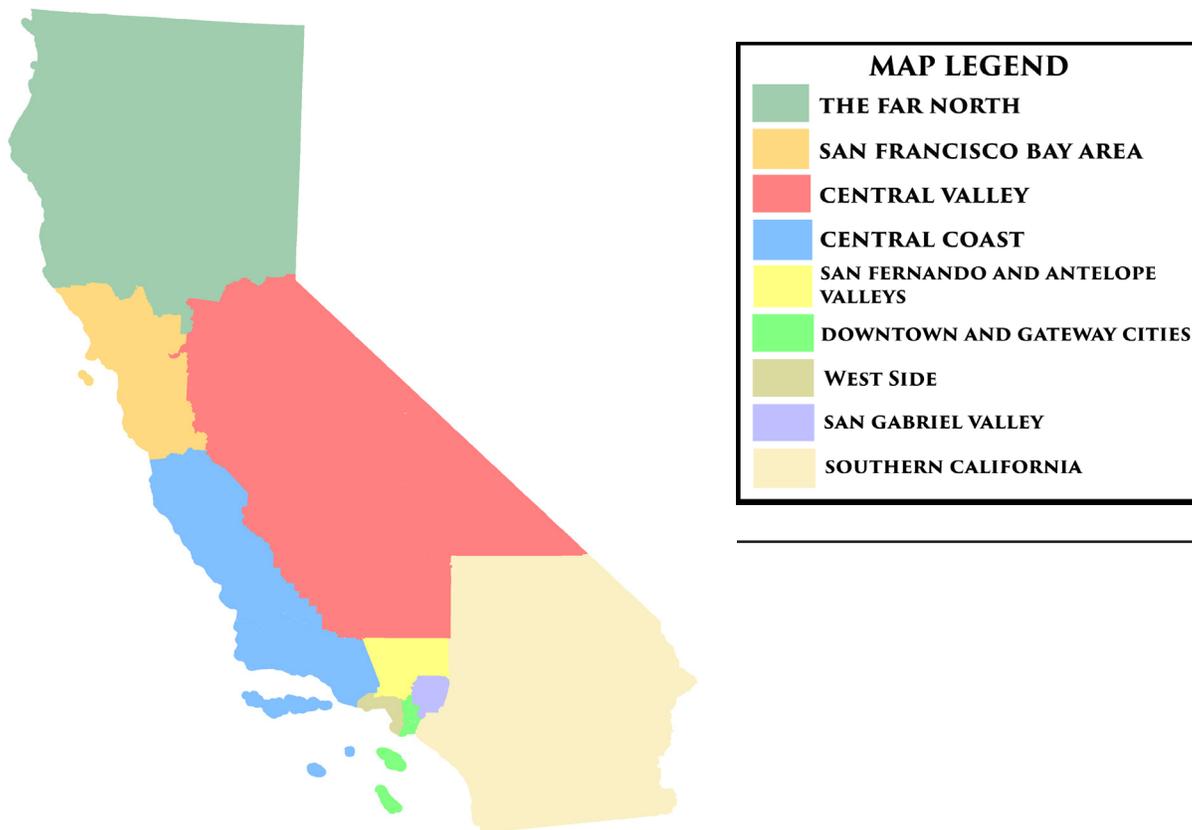
Assistant Marionette Moore for their encouragement and support.

Caveat on population figures in this report: The population figures in this report are not the official census count that will be taken in 2020, and on which final redistricting plans will be based. While the Rose Institute believes the figures in this report are reliable indicators of actual populations in 2020, they are based on preliminary counts and projections, and are subject to change in the official census. For more information, see the Data and Methodology section at the end of this report.

This Rose Institute study forecasts the relative 2010 to 2020 shifts in population between different areas of California, and the likely effects of those shifts on legislative and congressional representation.

In 2021, California will draw new state legislative and congressional districts based on official data from the 2020 census. The census will be taken on April 1, 2020, and final results are expected by March 31, 2021. Using those official figures, the California Citizens Redistricting Commission will propose district lines for the state legislature, congressional delegation, and the Board of Equalization. The plans are required to contain an equal number of persons in each district. The new maps will reflect the relative shifts in populations between various areas in the state, and the state’s projected loss of one congressional seat. The 2022 elections will be the first to use the new district lines.

For this analysis, we divided California into nine regions:



- 1. Far North
- 2. San Francisco Bay Area
- 3. Central Coast
- 4. Central Valley
- 5. Southern
- 6. LA Westside
- 7. LA Downtown/Gateway
- 8. LA San Gabriel Valley
- 9. LA San Fernando/Antelope Valley

Statewide, we project California's 2020 population will be 8.7 percent larger than the 2010 population, crossing the 40 million mark to 40,506,274. But different regions have grown at significantly different rates: San Francisco Bay Area (11.9 percent growth) and the Southern region (10.7 percent growth) grew the fastest. Los Angeles County's San Gabriel Valley (4.6 percent growth) and Los Angeles County's Downtown/Gateway region (3.9 percent growth) grew the slowest. Slower-growing regions are likely to lose representation, as representation follows population into the faster growing regions.

In five of the nine regions, population growth was close enough to the statewide average that those regions are unlikely to gain or lose representation, though each may lose a small portion of a congressional district as their contribution to the state's overall loss of a district. These five 'average growth' regions are the Far North, Central Coast, Central Valley, LA Westside, and LA San Fernando/Antelope Valley.

The Southern region's population growth is expected to shield it from a loss of congressional representation, despite the state's overall loss of a district. And the region's growth should lead to a gain of nearly half (0.4) of an additional Assembly district and one-fifth (0.2) of a State Senate district.

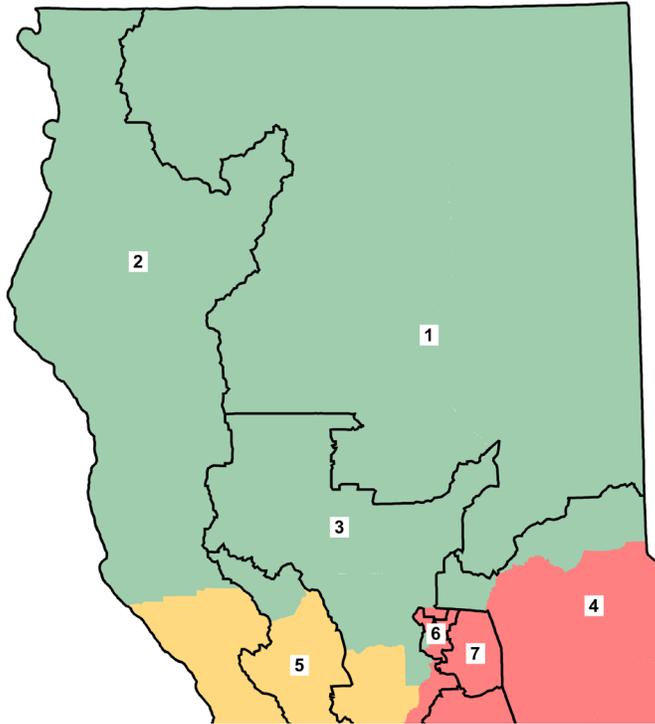
The fast-growing San Francisco Bay Area is the only region expected to gain congressional representation, even with the expected statewide loss of a congressional district. The Bay Area can also expect to gain half an Assembly district and one-fifth of a State Senate district.

The gains in the Bay Area and Southern regions come almost entirely at the expense of LA's San Gabriel Valley and Downtown/Gateway regions. Combined, the two neighboring regions should expect to lose one-third of an Assembly district, half a State Senate district, and half a congressional district.

In the San Gabriel and Downtown/Gateway regions, current congressional districts 27, 32, 38 and 40 appear to be most at risk of becoming the district California loses in 2021. All four of those districts are represented by Latino or Asian-American Members of Congress. Traditionally in California, seats held by Latino, African-American, or Asian-American representatives were relatively protected by the Federal Voting Rights Act, with their districts pushing east or west to pick up the population needed -- at the expense, in the past, of the Republican-held seats on the edges of Los Angeles County. But the 2018 Democratic wave essentially swept Republicans out of the County and Orange County is entirely represented by Democrats. Unless Republicans pick up a seat in the area in the 2020 election, California's lost seat is likely to be a Democratic one.

California's history has shown that politics and partisan gerrymandering can significantly affect the ultimate distribution of representation. The role of California's new Independent Redistricting Commission is designed to limit partisan gerrymandering. The 2011 IRC showed some success and some failures at achieving that goal. Clever demographers, armed with detailed voting history and social patterns and computers, have at times achieved unexpected outcomes. Slices of districts can divide up a region to absorb its population. Or a city can be tied into a distant district to bolster the distant district's population to manipulate redistricting to avoid the representation changes seemingly dictated by population shifts. Those regions expecting gains will need to work to ensure full and accurate census counts and fair treatment by the Independent Redistricting Commission, while those areas expecting to lose representation may improve their situations through higher census participation levels and/or effective lobbying of the Commission.

THE FAR NORTH

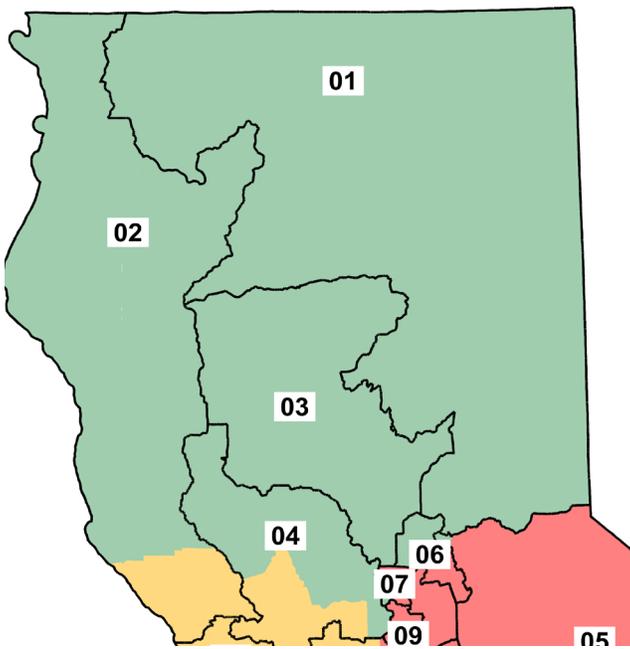


Map 1. Congressional Districts

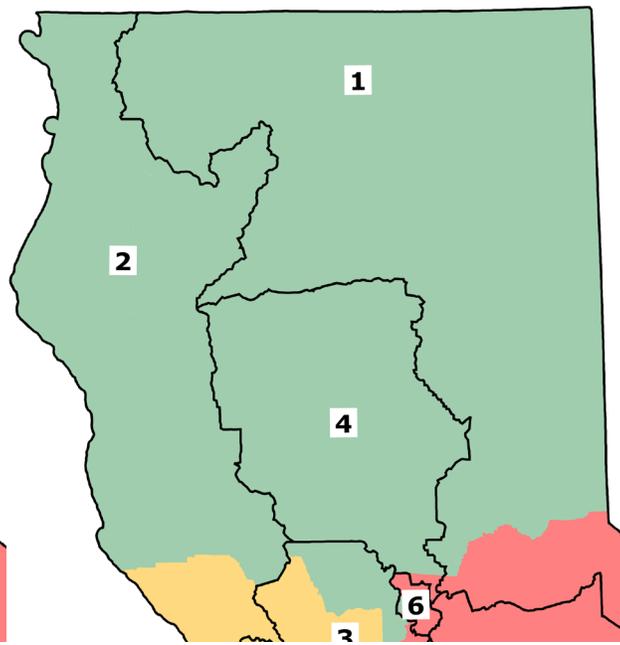
The Far North has experienced low growth relative to the other regions. The total population in 2021 is projected to be 1,862,884, an increase of 95,467 people over the past 10 years. The Far North's population change is uneven, with 50% of its counties losing residents. Within the region, Placer County is growing the most, while Sierra County is losing residents. Tables 2 and 3 highlight the expected seats in the Far North based on population and the population breakdown by county. Due to the region's relatively low growth, the Far North is in danger of losing Assembly, State Senate, and congressional seats in 2021.

Table 2. Expected Seats in the Far North

Far North Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	3.8	2	2.6	2	3.7
State Senate	1.9	0	3	2	1.8
Congress	2.5	1	2	3	2.4



Map 2. Assembly Districts

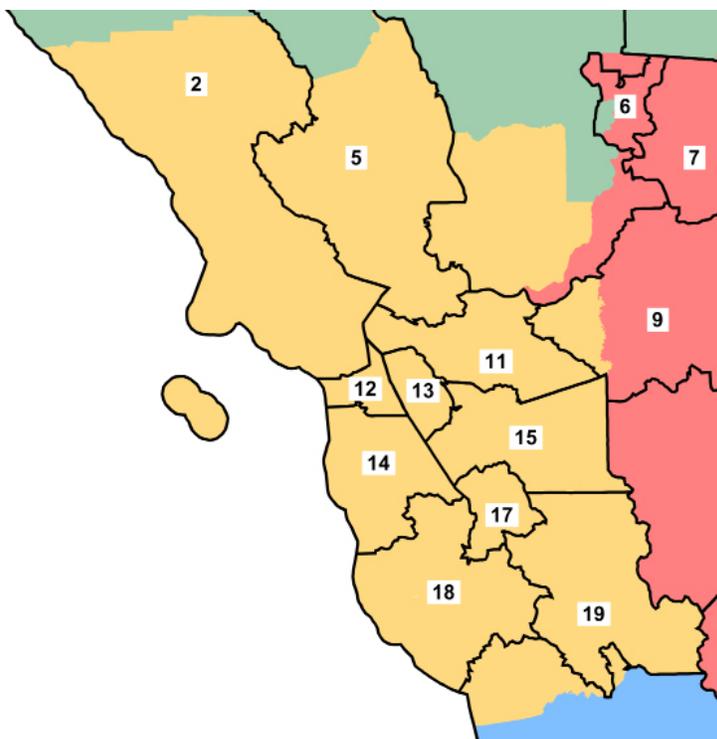


Map 3. State Senate Districts

Table 3. Far North Population by County

Far North County	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
Sierra	3,240	2,733	-507	-15.7%
Humboldt	134,623	137,667	3,044	2.3%
Siskiyou	44,900	42,943	-1,957	-4.4%
Plumas	20,007	18,174	-1,833	-9.2%
Mendocino	87,841	88,094	253	0.3%
Lassen	34,895	30,002	-4,893	-14%
Del Norte	28,610	26,941	-1,669	-5.8%
Glenn	28,122	27,855	-267	-0.9%
Butte	220,000	233,277	13,277	6.0%
Nevada	98,764	100,264	1,500	1.5%
Modoc	9,686	8,730	-956	-9.9%
Trinity	13,786	12,716	-1,070	-7.8%
Tehama	63,463	63,154	-309	-0.5%
Shasta	177,223	181,077	3,854	2.2%
Yolo	200,849	226,945	26,096	13%
Lake	64,665	64,066	-599	-0.9%
Colusa	21,149	21,505	86	0.4%
Sutter	94,737	97,467	2,730	2.9%
Yuba	72,155	79,121	6,966	9.7%
Placer	348,432	402,338	53,906	15.5%

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

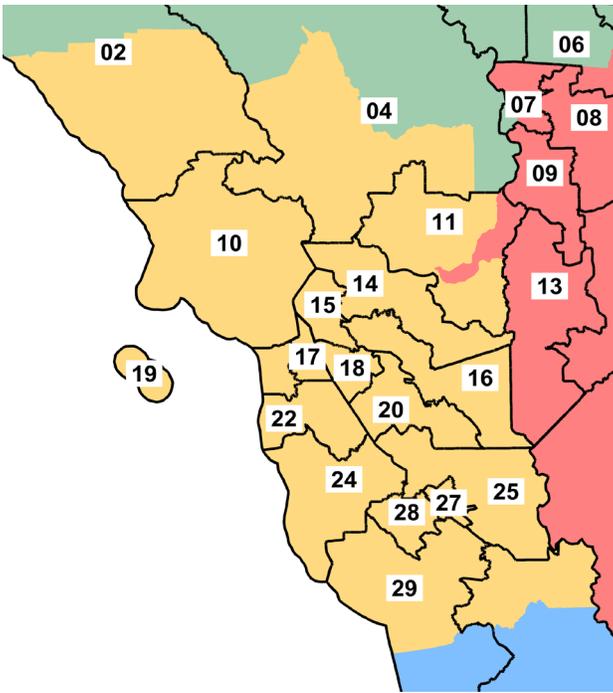


Map 4. Congressional Districts

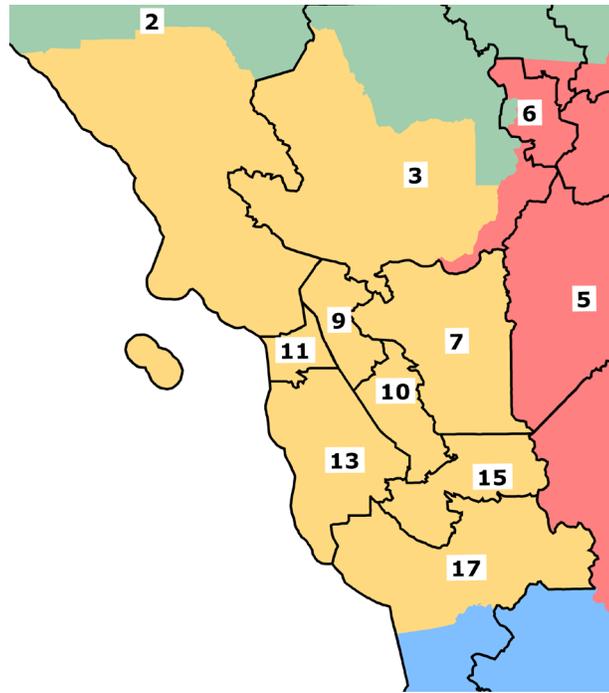
The San Francisco Bay Area is experiencing the most growth relative to other regions, suggesting that the region may gain an additional Assembly district. In the State Senate, population projections indicate the region’s expected Senate seats will increase from 8.0 to 8.2, but this growth will likely not be enough for an entire additional seat. The number of congressional seats for the San Francisco Bay Area is expected to increase to 10.7, which should protect its current congressional delegation.

Table 4. Expected Seats in the San Francisco Bay Area

SF Bay Area Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	15.9	13		3	16.4
State Senate	8.0	6	1	2	8.2
Congress	10.5	8	1	4	10.7



Map 5. Assembly Districts

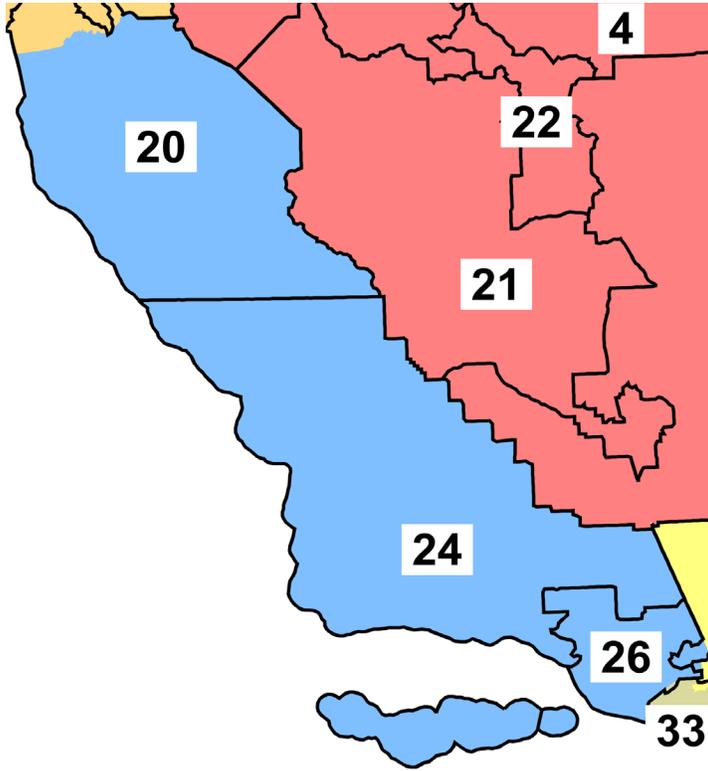


Map 6. State Senate Districts

Table 5. San Francisco Bay Area Population by County

SF Bay Area Counties	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Change
San Francisco	805,235	918,275	113,040	14%
Santa Cruz	262,382	281,689	19,307	7.4%
San Mateo	718,451	794,107	75,656	10.5%
Marin	252,409	264,618	12,209	4.8%
Alameda	1,510,271	1,728,727	218,456	14.5%
Sonoma	483,878	512,934	29,056	6%
Santa Clara	1,781,642	2,005,229	223,587	12.5%
Solano	413,344	459,221	45,877	11.1%
Napa	136,484	142,897	6,413	4.7%
Contra Costa	1,049,025	1,189,616	140,591	13.4%

CENTRAL COAST

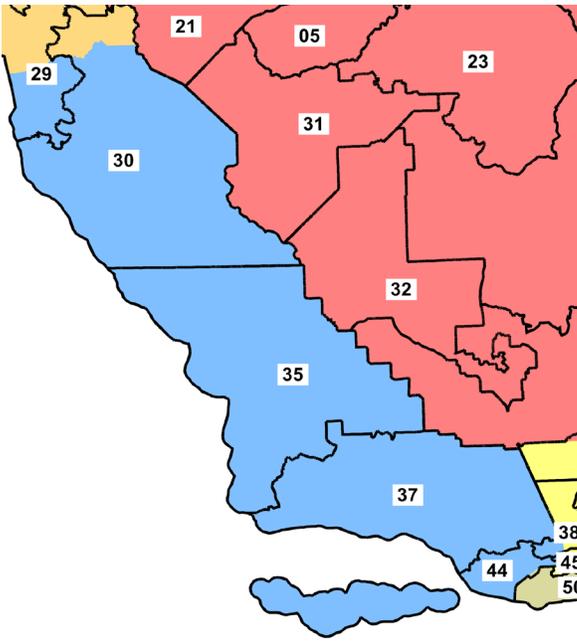


The Central Coast is growing slightly slower than the state as a whole, putting the region at risk of losing seats. In 2021, the region is expected to slip from 4.3 to 4.2 Assembly districts. The State Senate should stay at 2.1 seats, while the congressional delegation is expected to contract from 2.8 to 2.7 districts.

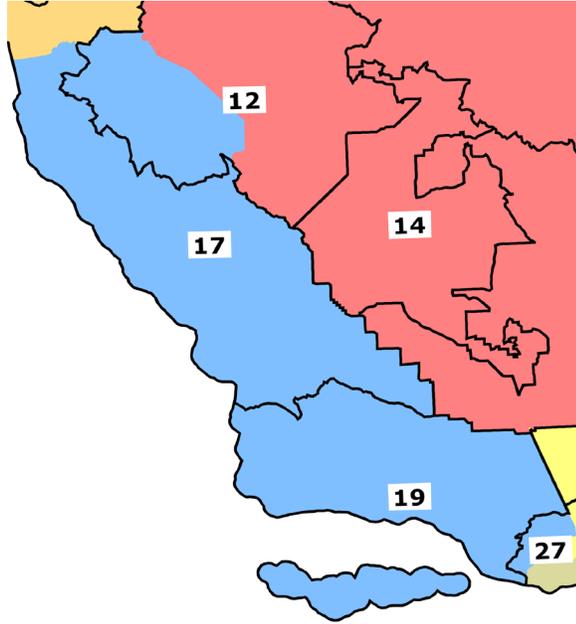
Map 7. Congressional Districts

Table 6. Expected Seats in the Central Coast

Central Coast Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	4.3	2	2	3	4.2
State Senate	2.1	1	1	2	2.1
Congress	2.8	1	2	2	2.7



Map 8. Assembly Districts

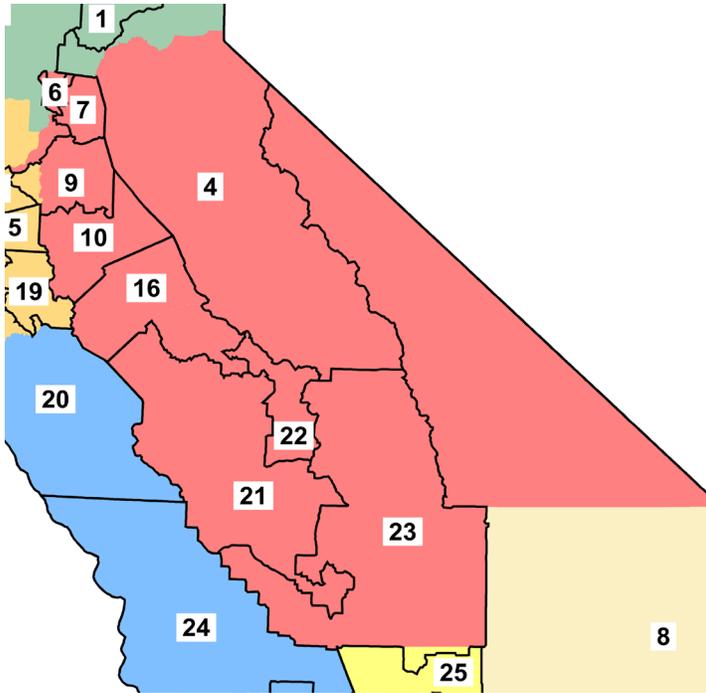


Map 9. State Senate Districts

Table 7. Central Coast Population by County

Central Coast Counties	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
Santa Barbara	423,895	458,545	34,650	8.2%
San Benito	55,269	60,129	4,860	8.8%
Monterey	415,057	447,700	32,643	7.9%
San Luis Obispo	269,637	289,306	19,669	7.3%
Ventura	823,318	867,468	44,150	5.4%

CENTRAL VALLEY

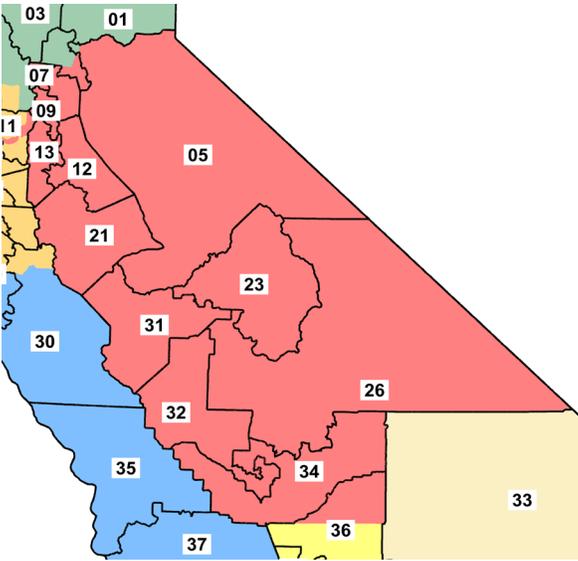


Map 10. Congressional Districts

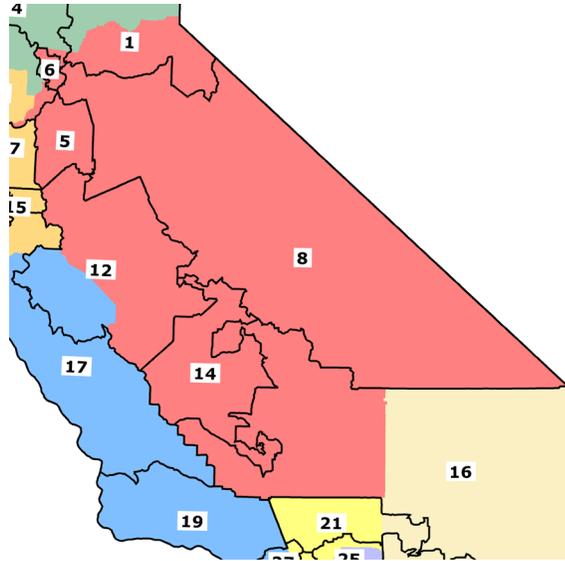
Seats in the Central Valley are projected to remain constant. The region is unlikely to gain or lose Assembly, State Senate, or congressional seats. But with large immigrant and other “Hard to Reach” populations, the region will need to work to ensure an accurate census count and full representation in redistricting.

Table 8. Expected Seats in the Central Valley

Central Valley Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	12.4	10	2	3	12.4
State Senate	6.2	3	2	4	6.2
Congress	8.2	5	5	1	8.1



Map 11. Assembly Districts

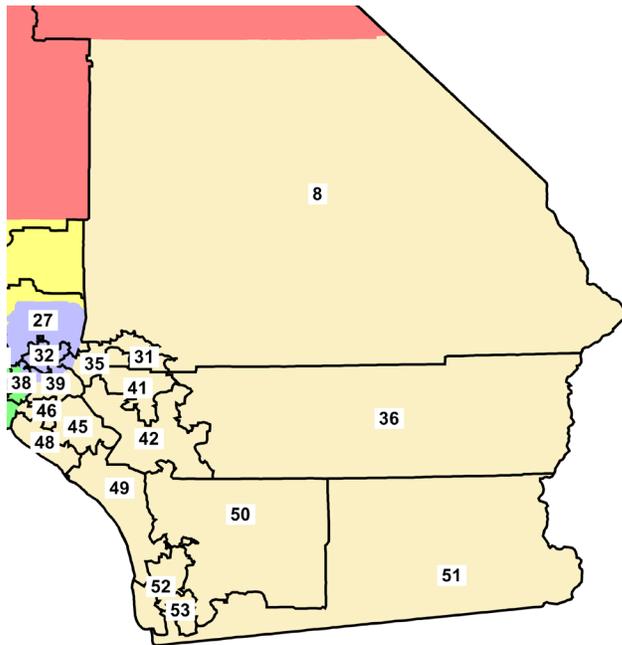


Map 12. State Senate Districts

Table 9. Central Valley Population by County

Central Valley Counties	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
Alpine	1,175	1,215	40	3.4%
Mono	14,202	13,996	-206	-1.4%
Inyo	18,546	18,045	-501	-2.7%
Tuolumne	55,365	53,271	-2,094	-3.8%
Mariposa	18,251	17,404	-847	-4.6%
Amador	38,091	36,907	-1,121	-2.9%
Fresno	930,450	1,014,457	84,007	9%
Sacramento	1,418,788	1,578,541	159,753	11.3%
Tulare	442,179	474,056	31,877	7.2%
El Dorado	181,058	192,385	11,327	6.3%
Stanislaus	514,451	562,234	47,783	9.3%
Kings	152,982	148,866	-4,116	-2.7%
Kern	839,631	916,042	76,411	9.1%
Merced	255,793	279,907	24,114	9.4%
Calaveras	45,578	44,834	-744	-1.6%
Madera	150,865	159,472	8,607	5.7%
San Joaquin	685,308	771,188	85,880	12.5%

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

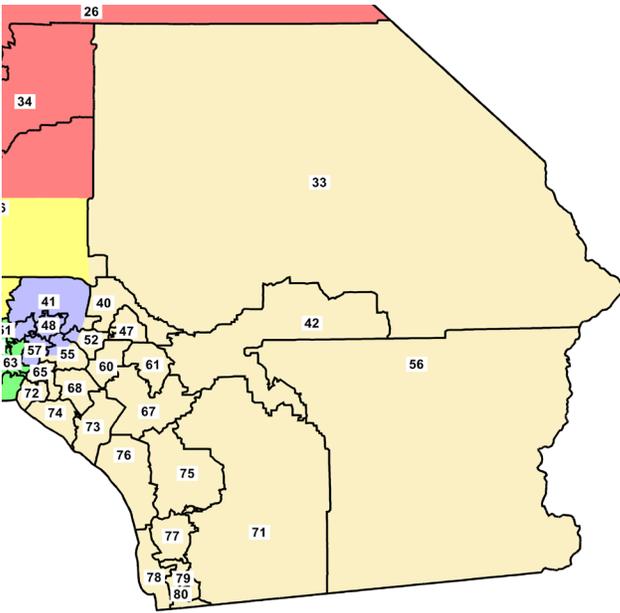


Map 13. Congressional Districts

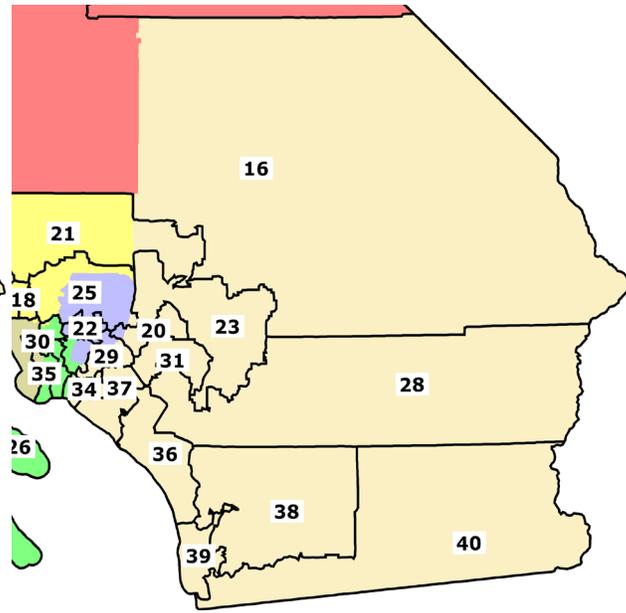
Southern California is experiencing high rates of growth, primarily in Riverside County, relative to other regions. Because this region’s districts are largely contained within the fast-growing region, it is likely that the region is not vulnerable to losing a seat based on population, but the region may have to work to prevent Los Angeles County poaching population to bolster its own districts.

Table 10. Expected Seats in the Southern California

Southeastern California Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	22.6	22	2	2	23
State Senate	11.3	8	4	2	11.5
Congress	14.9	12	2	3	14.9



Map 14. Assembly Districts

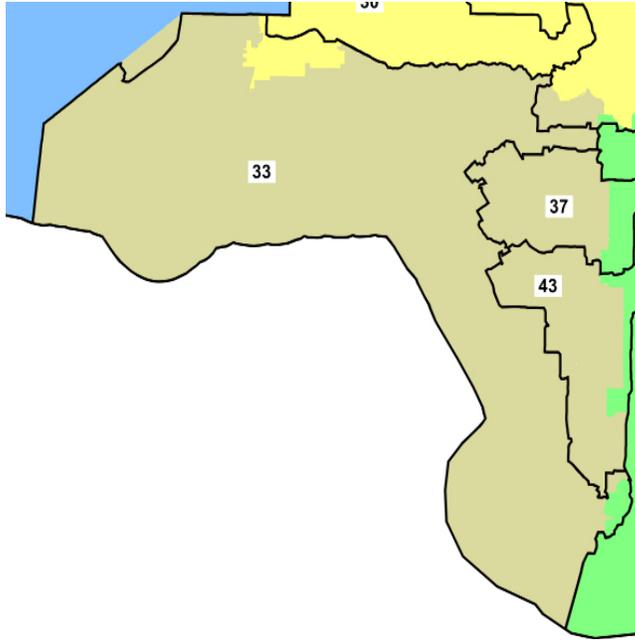


Map 15. State Senate Districts

Table 11. Southern California Population by County

Southern California Counties	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
San Diego	3,095,313	3,441,559	346,246	11.2%
Orange	3,010,229	3,267,616	257,387	8.6%
Imperial	174,528	186,388	11,860	6.8%
San Bernardino	2,035,210	2,209,773	174,563	8.6%
Riverside	2,189,641	2,523,391	333,750	15.2%

LOS ANGELES - WESTSIDE

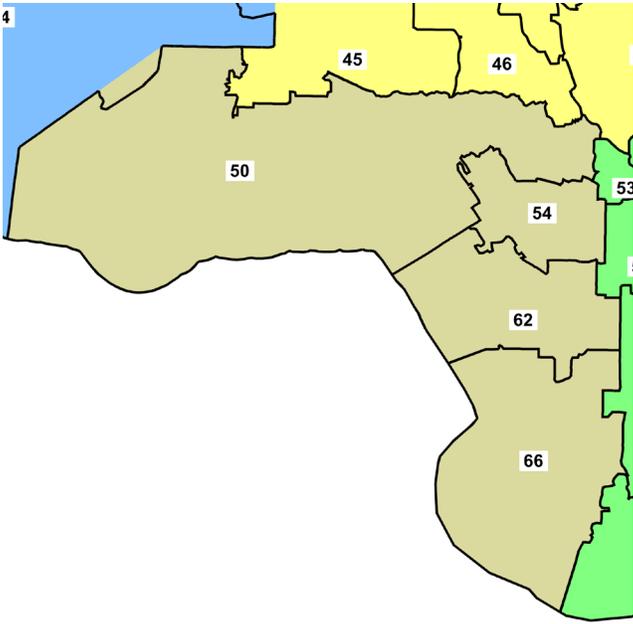


Map 16. Congressional Districts

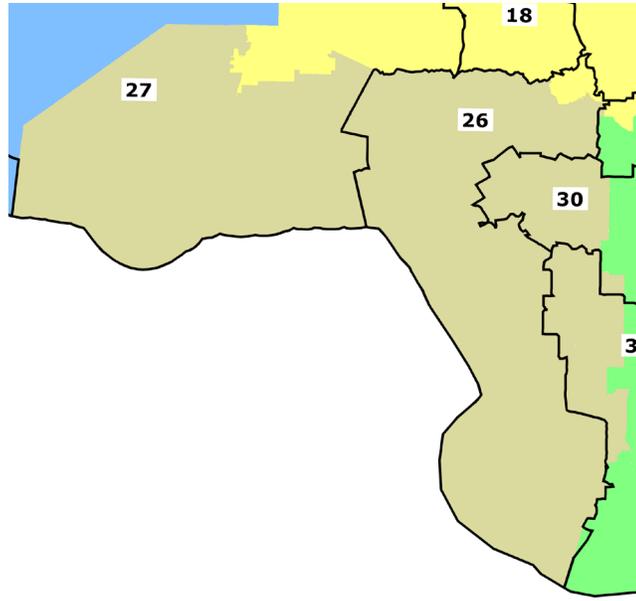
The Westside is experiencing relatively average growth and is not expected to gain or lose any seats. However, the region did not receive as many seats as expected in 2011, as the Downtown/Gateway cities area used Westside population to fill out the Downtown/Gateway districts. The region faces similar challenges from Ventura and the Downtown/Gateway area in the 2021 redistricting.

Table 12. Expected Seats in Los Angeles - Westside

Los Angeles - Westside Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	4.0	4	0	1	3.9
State Senate	2.0	0	2	2	1.9
Congress	2.7	0	3	2	2.5



Map 17. Assembly Districts

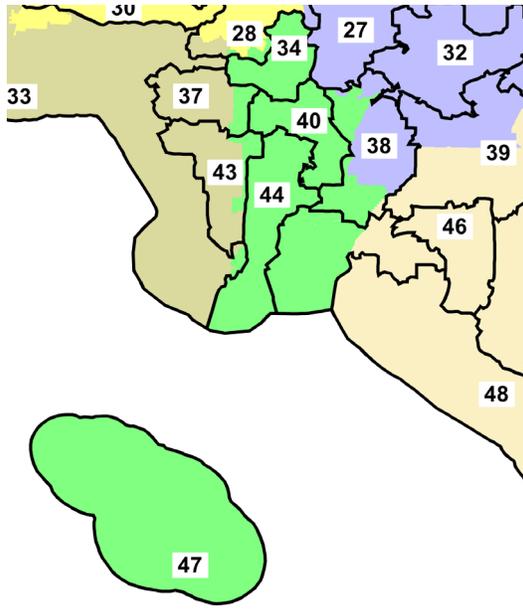


Map 18. State Senate Districts

Table 13. Los Angeles - Westside Population by Assembly District

Los Angeles - Westside Assembly Districts	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
44	8,270	8,635	365	4.4%
50	470,048	497,836	27,788	5.9%
54	466,314	492,570	26,256	5.6%
62	466,844	487,471	20,627	4.4%
66	467,745	483,448	15,703	3.4%

LOS ANGELES - DOWNTOWN/GATEWAY

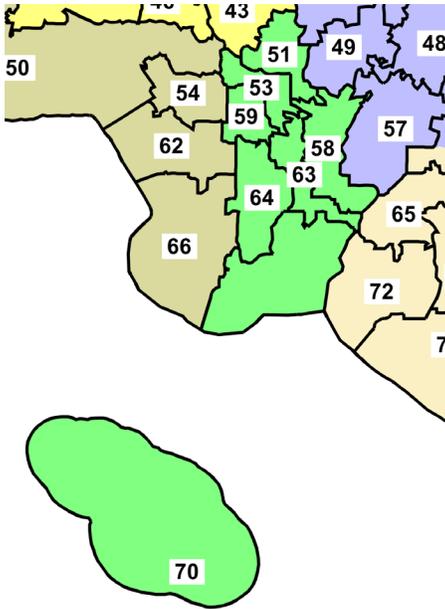


Map 19. Congressional Districts

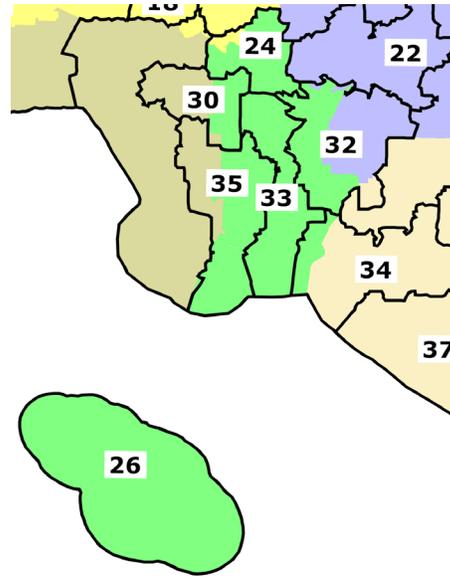
The Downtown/Gateway region is doubly at risk of losing seats with relatively low population growth rates and a large “Hard to Reach” population. The result is a significant risk of losing seats. With a full count, the region should go from 7.0 to 6.7 Assembly districts and see similar drops in Senate and congressional districts - with larger losses if Census participation is low.

Table 14. Expected Seats in Los Angeles - Downtown/Gateway

LA Downtown/ Gateway Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expect- ed by Popula- tion
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	7.0	7	0	0	6.7
State Senate	3.5	1	2	3	3.3
Congress	4.6	2	2	5	4.3



Map 20. Assembly Districts

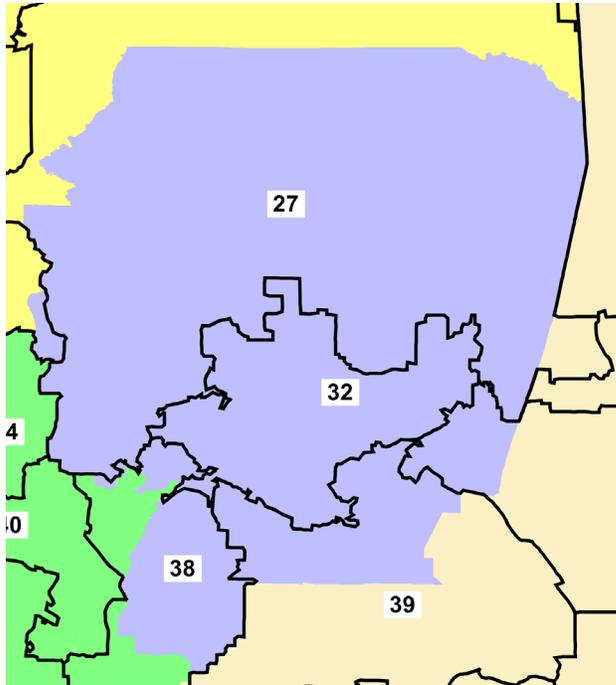


Map 21. State Senate Districts

Table 15. Los Angeles-Downtown/Gateway Population by Assembly District

Los Angeles - Downtown/ Gateway Assembly Districts	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
51	465,643	474,537	8,894	1.9%
53	463,916	492,547	28,631	6.2%
58	468,258	483,399	15,141	3.2%
59	465,168	475,990	10,822	2.3%
63	461,153	476,093	14,940	3.2%
64	466,400	499,242	32,842	7%
70	468,514	484,975	16,461	3.7%

LOS ANGELES - SAN GABRIEL



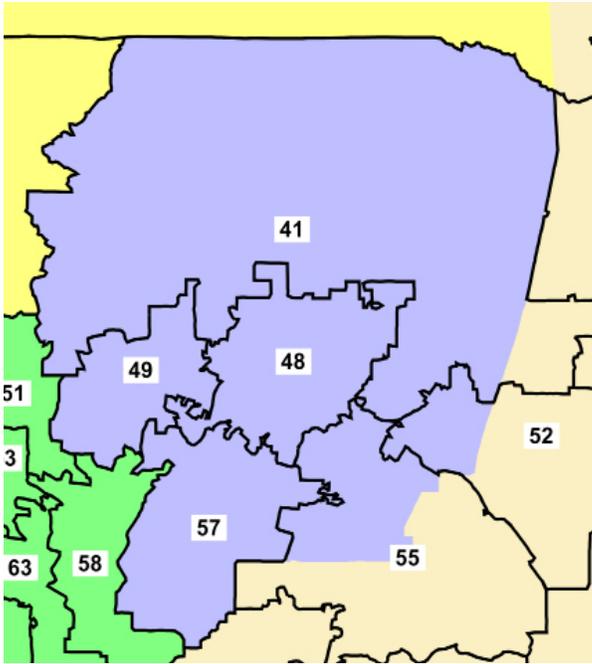
Map 22. Congressional Districts

San Gabriel is experiencing the slowest growth relative to other regions, foreshadowing decreases in expected seats across the board. Of its expected 4.4 Assembly seats in 2011, San Gabriel received 3 whole districts, 1 majority district, and 2 sliver districts. Looking forward to 2021, the region’s expected Assembly seat count is expected to fall to 4.3. For the State Senate, the region expects a drop from 2.2 to 2.1 seats in 2021. Finally, San Gabriel was expected to receive 2.9 congressional districts in 2011, but received only 1 whole district, 2 majority districts, and 3 sliver districts. In 2021, San Gabriel is expected to have 2.8

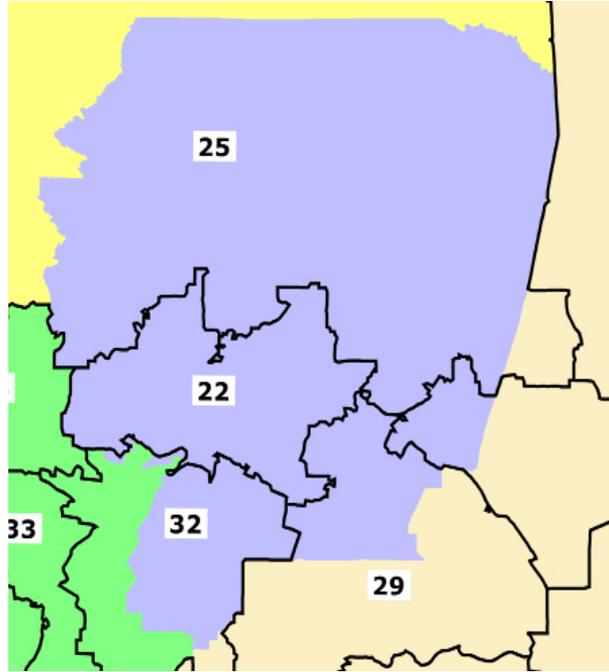
congressional seats. In each category, San Gabriel is at risk of losing seats because of its relatively slow growth and the pressure from surrounding regions.

Table 16. Expected Seats in Los Angeles - San Gabriel

Los Angeles - San Gabriel Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	4.4	3	1	2	4.3
State Senate	2.2	1	2	2	2.1
Congress	2.9	1	2	3	2.8



Map 23. Assembly Districts

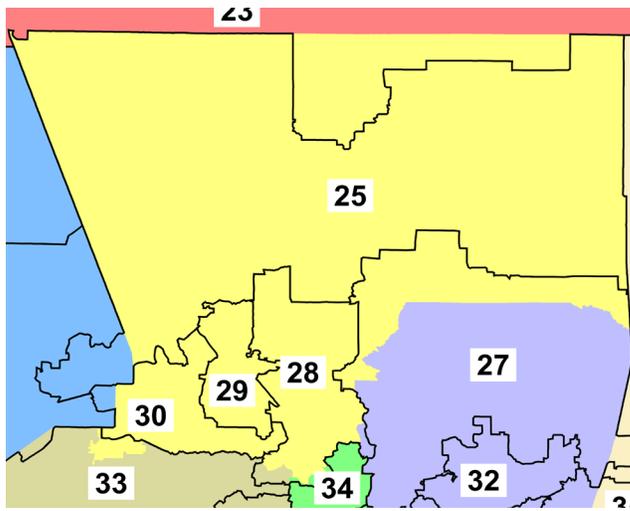


Map 24. State Senate Districts

Table 17. Los Angeles - San Gabriel Population by Assembly District

Los Angeles - San Gabriel Assembly Districts	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
41	364,993	382,890	17,897	4.9%
48	461,346	483,745	22,399	4.9%
49	462,545	482,626	20,081	4.3%
52	149,602	156,316	6,714	4.5%
55	167,827	173,075	5,248	3.1%
57	465,845	488,081	22,236	4.8%

LOS ANGELES-SAN FERNANDO/ANTELOPE

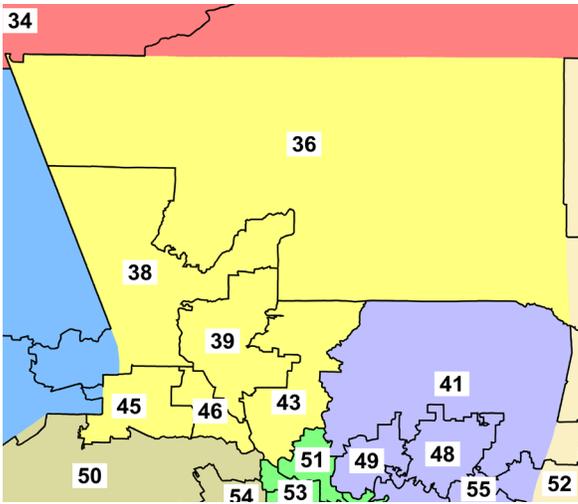


Map 23. Congressional Districts

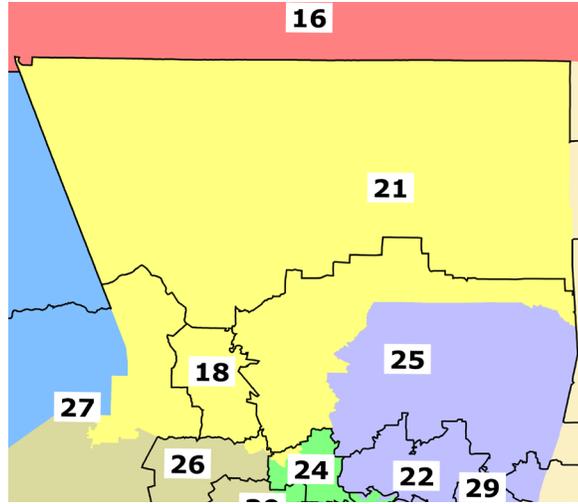
Within Los Angeles, the San Fernando and Antelope Valleys are growing at essentially the same rate as the state as a whole. The total population in 2021 is projected to be 2,786,844, which represents an increase of 178,670 people over the past 10 years. The region is likely not in danger of losing any seats, as the expected seat counts in 2011 and 2021 differ marginally, but there may be pressure on the districts from efforts to pressure the San Gabriel Valley and/or Downtown districts.

Table 18. Expected Seats in Los Angeles - San Fernando/Antelope Volleys

Los Angeles - San Fernando/Antelope Seats	2011 Expected by Population	Actual 2011			2021 Expected by Population
		Whole Districts	Majority Districts	Sliver Districts	
Assembly	5.6	3	3	0	5.5
State Senate	2.8	1	1	3	2.8
Congress	3.7	1	3	3	3.6



Map 23. Assembly Districts



Map 24. State Senate Districts

Table 17. Los Angeles-San Fernando/Antelope Valleys Population by Assembly District

Los Angeles - San Fernando/ Antelope Assembly Districts	Population 2010	Projected Population 2020	Total Change	Percent Change
36	400,571	415,614	15,043	3.8%
38	342,617	367,896	72,997	21.3%
39	466,422	472,903	6,481	1.4%
43	468,406	491,731	23,325	5%
45	465,717	525,088	59,371	12.7%
46	464,441	513,612	49,171	10.6%

The 2021 redistricting will reorder California's legislative and congressional districts to reflect population shifts from 2010 to 2020. Southern California and San Francisco Bay Area will likely gain representation, while the San Gabriel and Downtown/ Gateway regions of LA County will likely lose representation.

These population projections are based on current population estimates from the Census Bureau's 2017 American Community Survey. The predicted results could change based on last-minute population shifts or from regional variations in Census participation rates. Regions that fail to generate a complete 2020 Census count face both the loss of federal dollars and a loss of representation.

This Rose Institute report relies on demographic data compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau in its annual ACS. The Rose Institute used the following process to project population and seat counts in 2020.

Population Projection Methodology:

1. Researchers divided California by county and (in LA County) by Assembly district into 9 regions: the Far North, Central Coast, SF Bay Area, Southern, Central Valley, LA - Westside, LA - San Gabriel, LA - San Fernando/Antelope, and LA - Downtown/Gateway.
2. For the first five regions, researchers gathered county population totals for each year 2010 - 2017. The 2010 county population count came from the decennial Census. 2011 - 2017 came from the American Community Survey 1-year estimates.
3. Researchers calculated the growth per year for each county from 2010 to 2017 by taking the difference in population per year.
4. Researchers averaged the annual growth by taking the growth per year and dividing by the total number of years.
5. Researchers multiplied the average annual growth by 3 to calculate the projected growth for the 3-year period between the most recent 2017 ACS data and the 2020 Census.
6. Researchers added the projected 3-year growth to the 2017 American Community Survey estimate for each county to calculate the expected population in 2020.
7. For the LA regions, researchers repeated the same process using American Community Survey 5-year estimate data from 2011 - 2015 and the 2010 decennial Census data.

Seat Count Methodology:

1. Using the projected statewide population total, researchers divided that number by 40 to get the population per State Senate seat, by 80 to get the population per Assembly seat, and by 52 to get the population per congressional seat.¹
2. Researchers then divided each region's projected population count by the expected population per Senate, Assembly, and congressional seats to get the expected seats per region.

¹Election Data Services, "2018 Reapportionment Analysis." December 19, 2018. https://www.electiondataservices.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/NR_Appor18.pdf; Polidata, "Apportionment For 2020, Based Upon 2018 Estimates with Projections." December 19, 2018. <http://www.polidata.org/news.htm#20181219a>

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