
**A Review of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latino Candidates in
Los Angeles County: An Addendum**

Report 2 of 2

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....2

2001 LA Mayoral primary election4

2001 LA Mayoral general election5

2001 LA City Attorney general election.....6

2004 Judicial elections.....7

2005 LA Mayoral general election11

1998 LA County Sheriff general election.....12

Compared Electability A2 and S1 in 2006-1013

Electability 2010 Primary14

Electability 2008 Primary19

Electability 2006 Primary22

Introduction

In a previous report, we found a consistent pattern of racially polarized voting for/against Latino candidates in Los Angeles County from 1994 – 2010. Here, we take up some additional elections, not examined in the first report, and explain why or why not they are relevant, or appropriate for this analysis.

As a starting point, finding an instance of a successful Latino candidate in a large jurisdiction does not prove that the same Latino candidate would have been successfully elected in a sub-jurisdiction. For example, those who think racially polarized voting doesn't exist may point to the successful election of Antonio Villaraigosa as mayor of Los Angeles, or Rocky Delgadillo as City Attorney; or Lee Baca as LA County Sheriff. However, just as we can not take the results of a single school board election in Long Beach and infer to the entirety of Los Angeles County, we can not say that the county- or city-wide election of a Latino candidates proves that a Latino candidate would be elected in a specific supervisorial district – the level of jurisdiction in question in this case.

For example, a Latino candidate could win a countywide contest by a vote of 51% to 49%, but still lose in 4 of the 5 districts, or parts of the county.

	----- County District -----					
	A	B	C	D	E	TOTAL
Latino Candidate X	35%	40%	45%	45%	90%	51%
Opposing Candidate Y	65%	60%	55%	55%	10%	49%
Share of total county	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	100%

Thus pointing to the successful election in a larger jurisdiction does nothing to mitigate dozens of unsuccessful elections in both the same larger jurisdiction as well as smaller ones, as well as the statistical analysis which all points to racial bloc voting. A real world example of such an election can be in the 2004 superior court judicial elections office 18 and 29 in Los Angeles County. In the November 2004 general election two Latino judicial candidates were successfully elected, Escobedo for office 18 and Gomez for office 29 – both defeating their opponents 51% to 49%. However, in both cases, non-Latinos demonstrated majority vote against these Latino candidates, while Latino voters demonstrated very strong majority vote in favor of the co-ethnic candidates. It was only because of strong Latino support that these judges were elected countywide. However this countywide result does not prove racial bloc voting did not exist, because the statistical analysis shows quite clearly that racially polarized voting did exist.

In the case of the more well known examples, Villaraigosa, Delgadillo and Baca, the exact same pattern emerges whereby each of these three candidates was initially elected in their first successful election by only winning a majority of the Latino vote; and in all three cases, a majority of non-Latinos voted against these Latino candidates.

Further, as interpreted by the courts, we should only consider elections in which a candidate of choice of the minority community can be identified. If a Spanish-surname candidate runs for office and wins, but that candidate does not garner clear majority support among Latinos, then by definition, this candidate is not a candidate of choice of the minority community, and in fact their successful election is just another example of an unsuccessful outcome for the minority group in question.

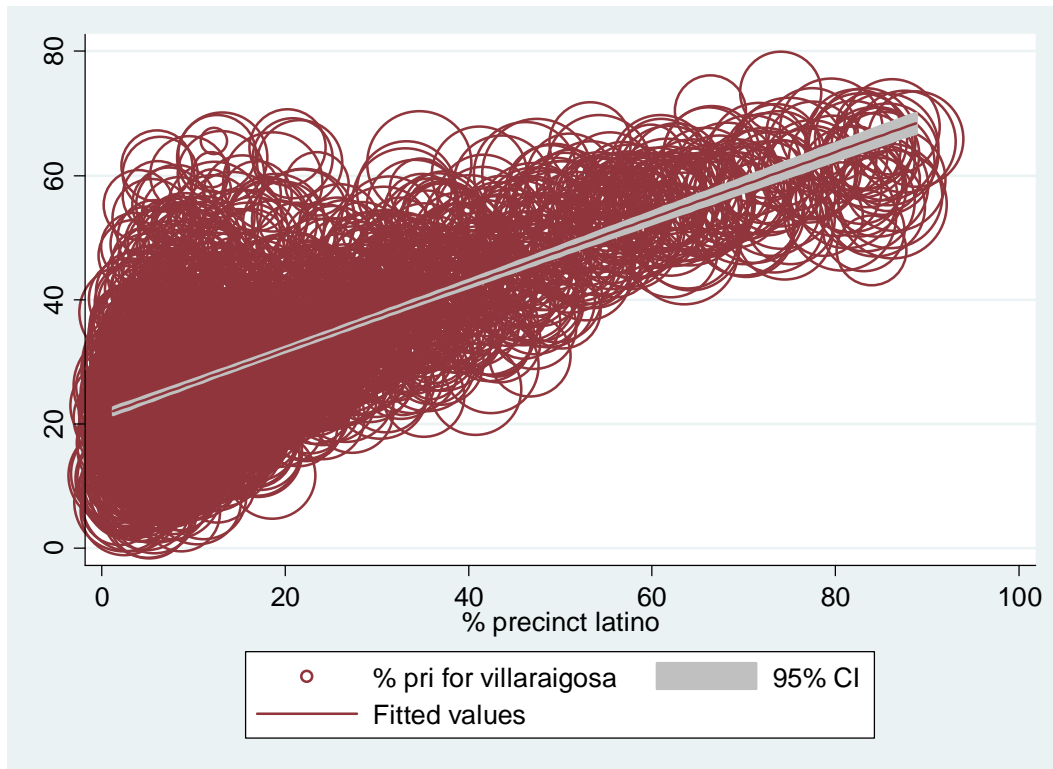
Finally, the case of Sheriff Lee Baca is perhaps the worst example ever of Latino “success.” Baca finished in second of 4th place in the 1998 primary election for Sheriff, winning an estimated 30% of the non-Latino vote. After the primary election, but just before the general, his opponent, Sherman Block, died and Baca stood essentially unopposed. He won the election, but still only managed to win 61% of the vote, while running against a dead opponent, leaving 39% of voters in Los Angeles County to prefer a dead candidate over a live Latino one. After winning office in 1998 Baca became a well known and well-liked incumbent, and running against him became very difficult for two reasons. First, any challenger would have to come from existing law enforcement officials who may work with, or directly for Sheriff Baca, making a challenge unlikely. Second, any challenger would need to win the support of the very powerful law enforcement unions, which were loyal to the incumbent Sheriff. Thus in 2002, Baca was easily re-elected with 72% of the vote, with an additional 12% going to a second Latino candidate Patrick Gomez; while just 15% voted for the non-Latino candidate John Stites. The same scenario replayed in 2006 when Baca’s nearest challenger won only 10% of the vote in the primary election. Baca became such a powerful incumbent that in 2010 he ran unopposed. None of the Lee Baca elections fit the boundaries of appropriate elections to analyze when considering racial bloc voting.

Los Angeles 2001 Mayoral Primary:

Estimated primary vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 82% Villaraigosa

Non-Latino: 25% Villaraigosa

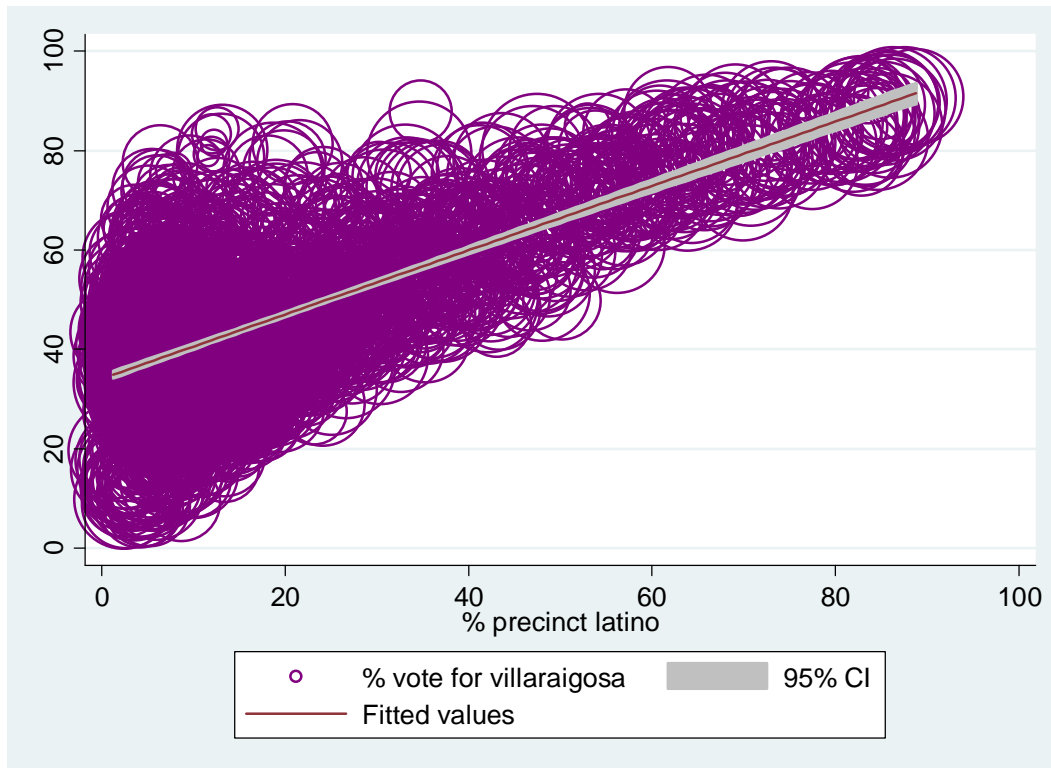


Los Angeles 2001 Mayoral General:

Estimated primary vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 89% Villaraigosa

Non-Latino: 33% Villaraigosa

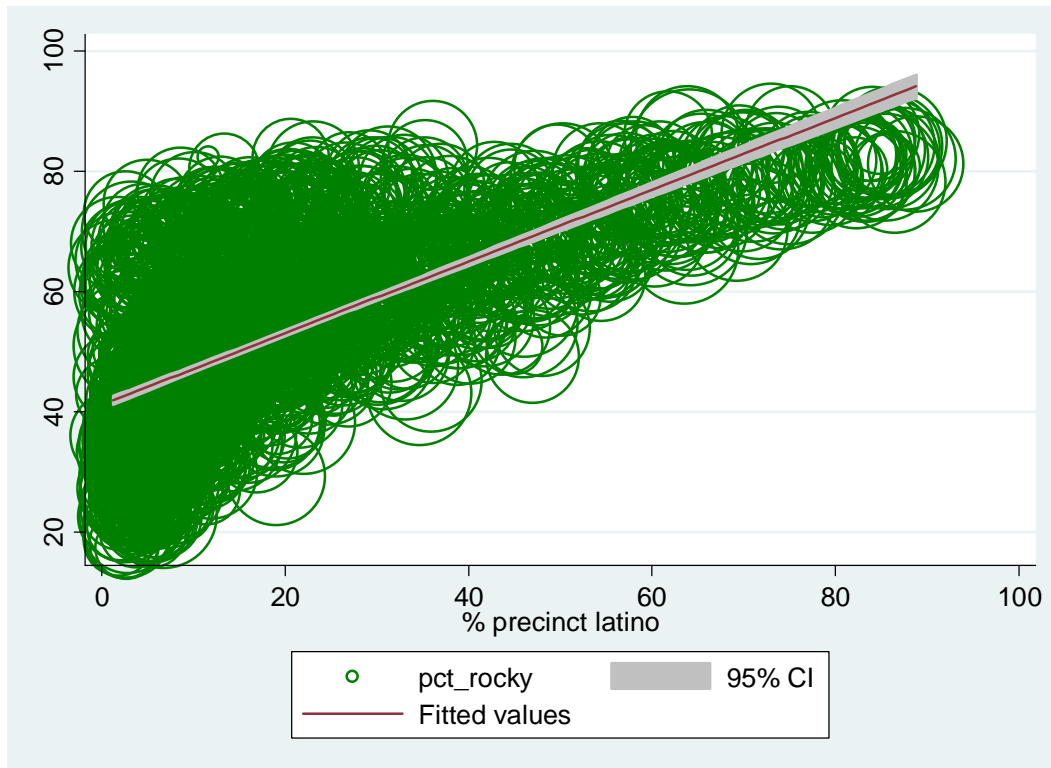


Los Angeles 2001 City Attorney General:

Estimated primary vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 91% Delgadillo

Non-Latino: 43% Delgadillo

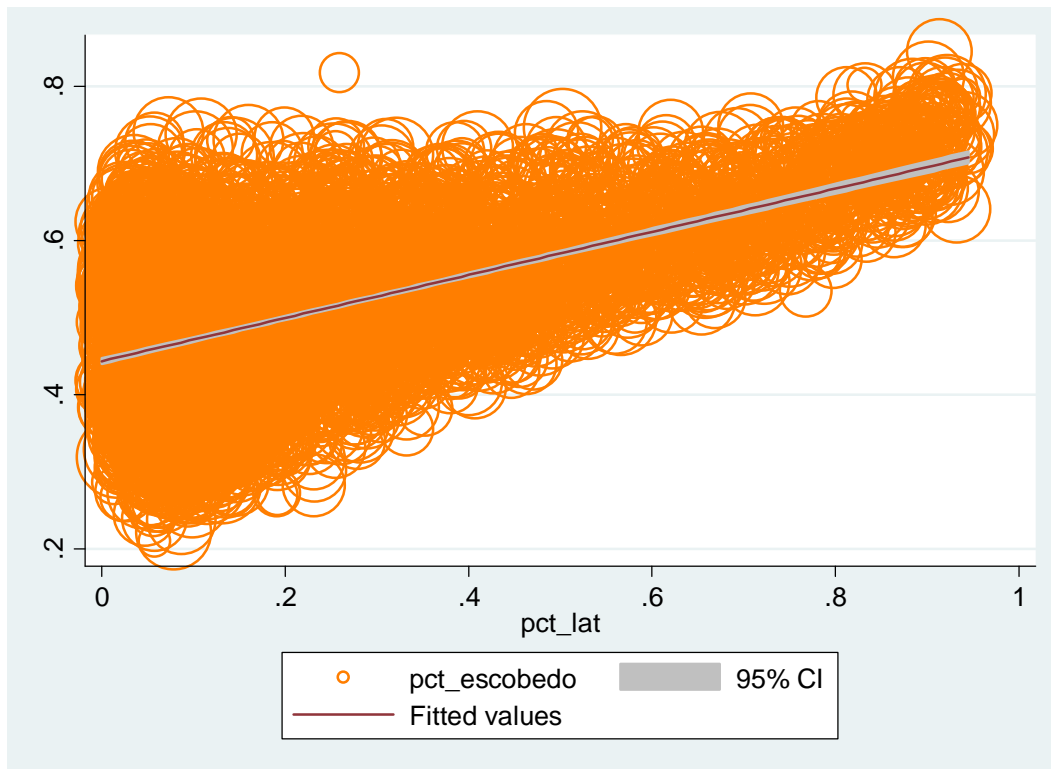


Los Angeles County Superior Court Office 18, 2004 general

Estimated vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 72% Escobedo

Non-Latino: 43% Escobedo

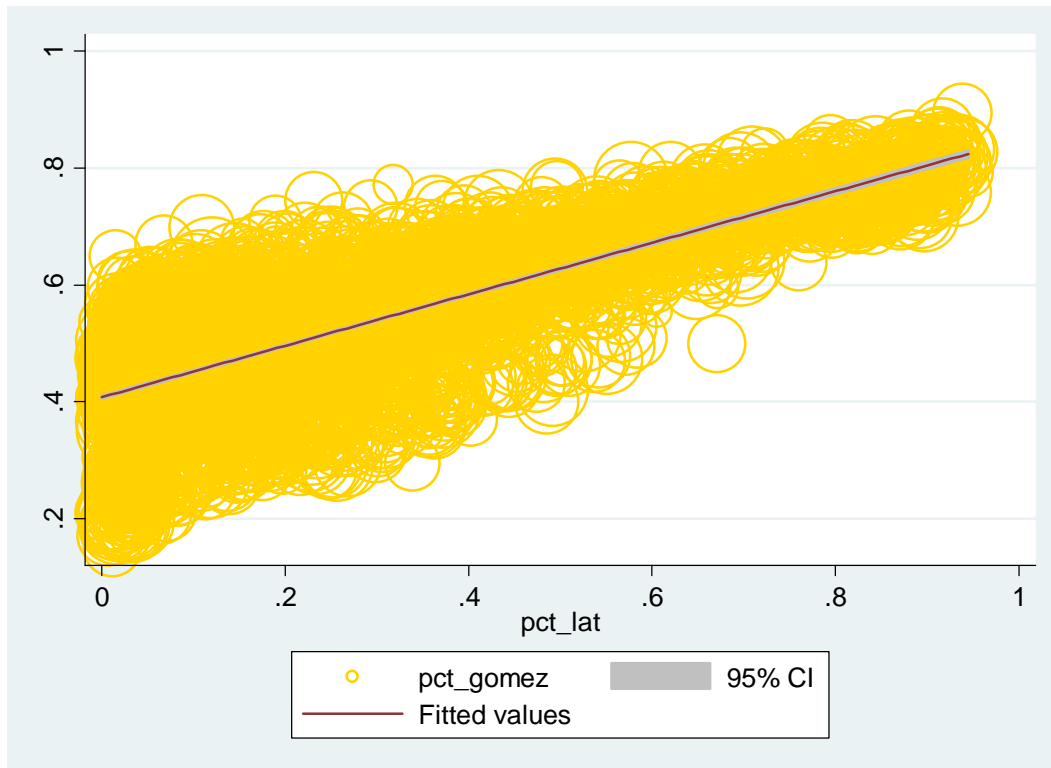


Los Angeles County Superior Court Office 29, 2004 general

Estimated vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 84% Gomez

Non-Latino: 40% Gomez

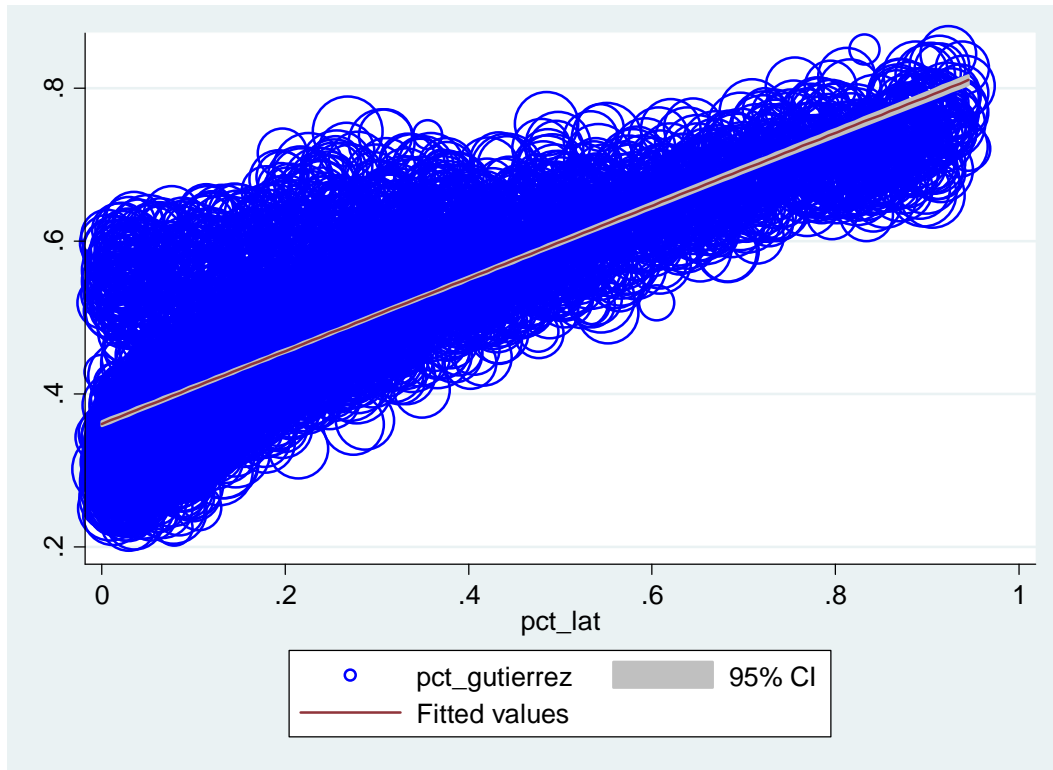


Los Angeles County Superior Court Office 52, 2004 general

Estimated vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 83% Gutierrez

Non-Latino: 36% Gutierrez

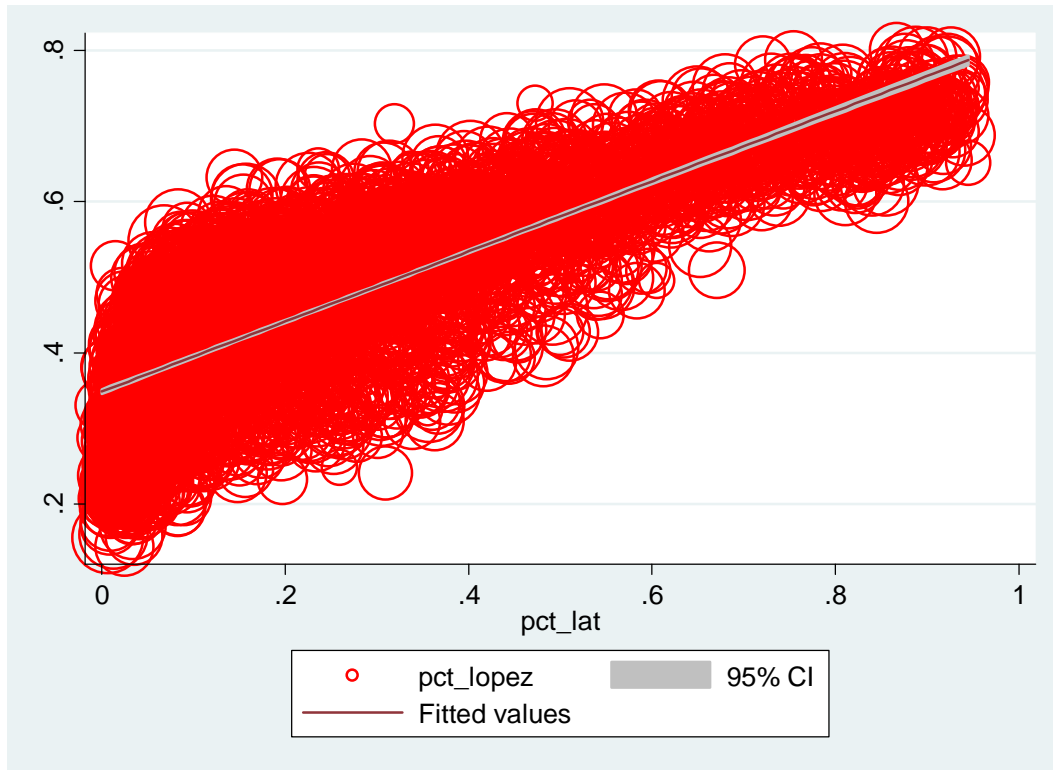


Los Angeles County Superior Court Office 53, 2004 general

Estimated vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 79% Lopez

Non-Latino: 33% Lopez

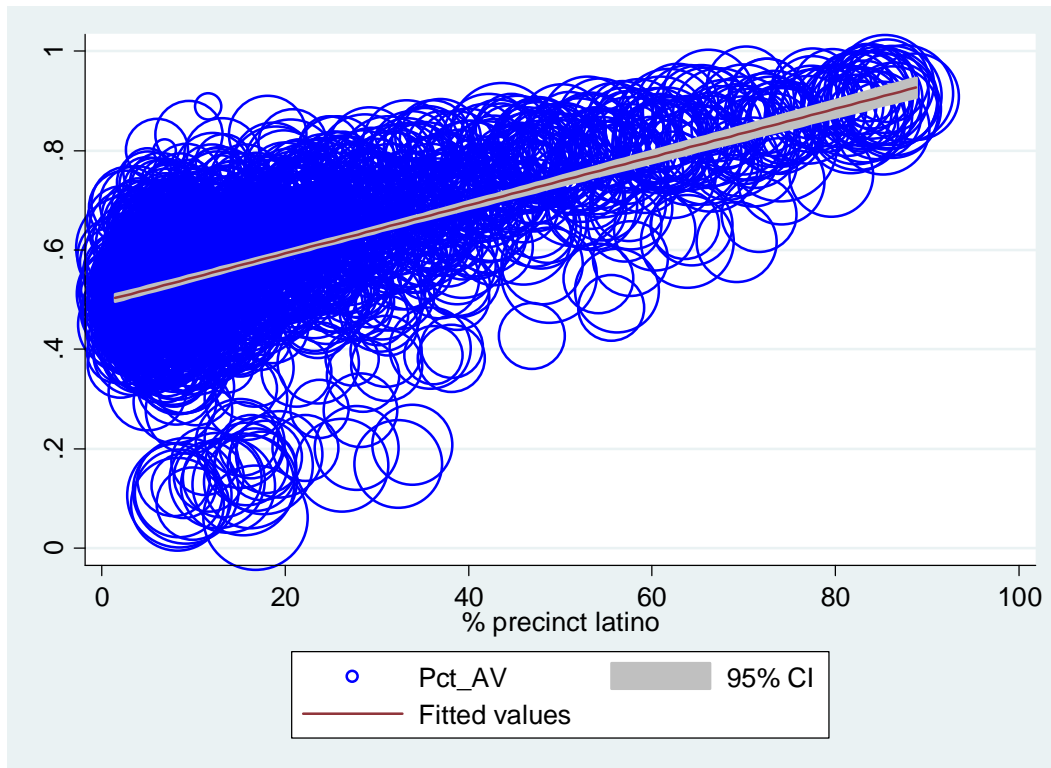


Los Angeles 2005 Mayoral General:

Estimated primary vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 96% Villariagosa

Non-Latino: 48% Villaraigosa

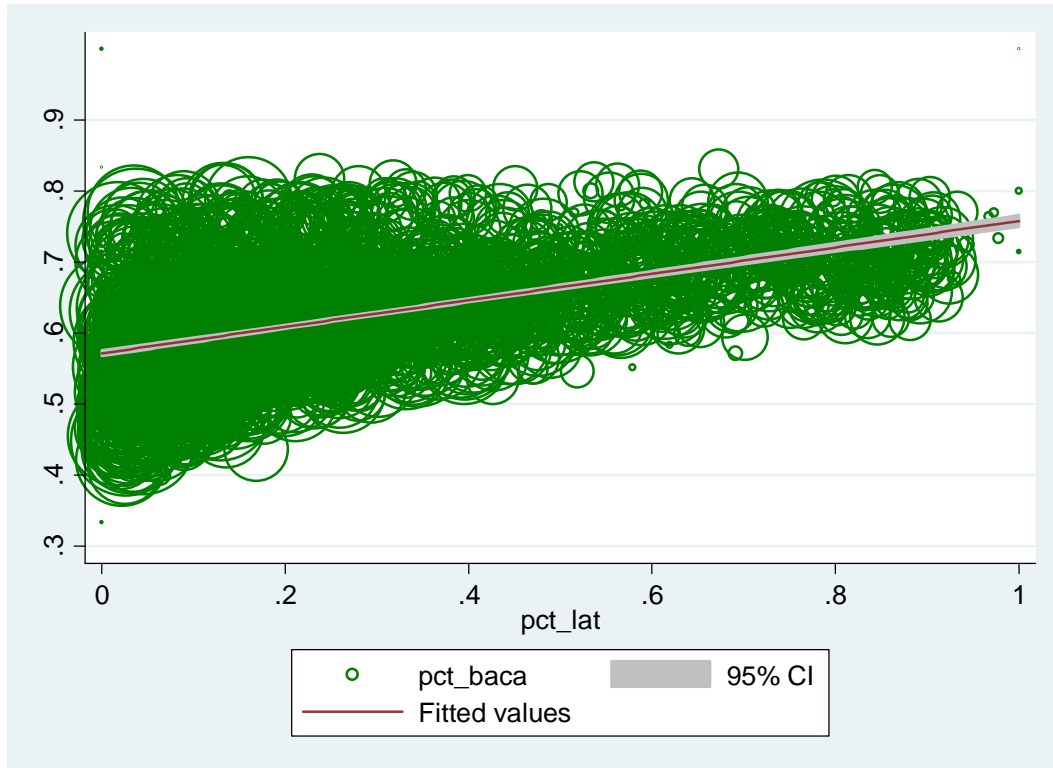


Los Angeles County Sheriff General Election 1998

Estimated general vote (Goodman's Ecological Regression)

Latino: 76% Baca

Non-Latino: 58% Baca



Compared Electability of Latino Candidates under A2 and S1 Plans**June 2010 Primary Election**

District	A2 Plan			S1 Plan		
	Harris	Lat comb'd	Others	Harris	Lat comb'd	Others
1	15.7%	61.9%	22.5%	19.6%	56.0%	24.4%
2	45.2%	34.2%	20.6%	45.4%	34.4%	20.2%
3	33.6%	38.2%	28.2%	32.4%	33.4%	34.2%
4	22.9%	38.6%	38.6%	18.7%	52.2%	29.1%
5	28.3%	39.5%	32.2%	28.3%	39.3%	32.3%

** Latino combined is total votes for Torrico, Delgadillo and Nava for Attorney General

District	A2 Plan		S1 Plan	
	Jones	de la Torre	Jones	de la Torre
1	35.7%	64.3%	42.8%	57.2%
2	54.4%	45.6%	54.3%	45.7%
3	57.6%	42.4%	58.1%	41.9%
4	50.3%	49.7%	41.6%	58.4%
5	57.3%	42.7%	56.9%	43.1%

June 2006 Primary Election

District	A2 Plan		S1 Plan	
	Bowen	Ortiz	Bowen	Ortiz
1	36.0%	64.0%	43.2%	56.8%
2	69.0%	31.0%	68.8%	31.2%
3	64.6%	35.4%	72.3%	27.7%
4	60.9%	39.1%	43.0%	57.0%
5	60.0%	40.0%	59.5%	40.5%

District	A2 Plan		S1 Plan	
	Brown	Delgadillo	Brown	Delgadillo
1	30.9%	69.1%	35.5%	64.5%
2	47.5%	52.5%	47.0%	53.0%
3	59.2%	40.8%	65.4%	34.6%
4	51.5%	48.5%	37.5%	62.5%
5	56.7%	43.3%	56.6%	43.4%

District	A2 Plan			S1 Plan		
	Garamendi	Figueroa	Speier	Garamendi	Figueroa	Speier
1	44.8%	39.0%	16.2%	43.6%	35.8%	20.7%
2	54.3%	24.6%	21.1%	54.2%	24.9%	20.9%
3	52.7%	18.0%	29.3%	57.3%	12.9%	29.8%
4	56.2%	21.2%	22.5%	51.6%	31.4%	17.1%
5	56.0%	17.3%	26.7%	56.1%	17.6%	26.3%

Electability Analysis of Latino Candidates in Current Supervisor Districts

1. 2010 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 1

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Nava	AG	15.0%
Torricono	AG	15.3%
Delgadillo	AG	32.3%
Latino comb'd	AG	62.6%
Harris	AG	15.4%
Kelly	AG	10.7%
Lieu	AG	7.9%
Schmier	AG	3.4%
De la Torre	INS	61.2%
Jones	INS	38.8%
Garcia	J-28	22.2%
Moreno	J-28	21.1%
Latino comb'd	J-28	43.3%
Hammock	J-28	15.9%
De los Reyes	J-107	40.6%
Salkin	J-107	42.9%
Bolinger	J-107	16.5%
Griego	J-117	34.8%
Schneider	J-117	33.8%
Aceves	SPI	12.8%
Romero	SPI	36.5%
Gutierrez	SPI	12.9%
Latino comb'd	SPI	62.2%
Torlakson	SPI	12.3%
Noguez	ASR	23.7%
Salazar	ASR	16.1%
Chavez	ASR	12.2%
Gomez	ASR	6.2%
Cornejo	ASR	6.2%
Latino Comb'd	ASR	64.3%
Wong	ASR	11.2%

AG – 7 total candidates

INS – 2 total candidates

J-28 – 8 total candidates

J-107 – 3 total candidates

J-117 – 4 total candidates

SPI – 12 total candidates

ASR – 13 total candidates

1. 2010 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 2

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Nava	AG	7.6%
Torricono	AG	8.4%
Delgadillo	AG	18.2%
Latino comb'd	AG	34.2%
Harris	AG	45.2%
Kelly	AG	9.9%
Lieu	AG	7.6%
Schmier	AG	3.2%
De la Torre	INS	45.6%
Jones	INS	54.4%
Garcia	J-28	11.0%
Moreno	J-28	11.7%
Latino comb'd	J-28	22.7%
Hammock	J-28	16.3%
De los Reyes	J-107	37.7%
Salkin	J-107	44.1%
Bolinger	J-107	18.2%
Griego	J-117	31.0%
Schneider	J-117	41.4%
Aceves	SPI	12.0%
Romero	SPI	37.9%
Gutierrez	SPI	7.4%
Latino comb'd	SPI	57.3%
Torlakson	SPI	13.0%
Noguez	ASR	35.1%
Salazar	ASR	10.4%
Chavez	ASR	4.7%
Gomez	ASR	4.2%
Cornejo	ASR	3.5%
Latino Comb'd	ASR	58.0%
Wong	ASR	12.2%

AG – 7 total candidates

INS – 2 total candidates

J-28 – 8 total candidates

J-107 – 3 total candidates

J-117 – 4 total candidates

SPI – 12 total candidates

ASR – 13 total candidates

1. 2010 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 3

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Nava	AG	9.4%
Torricono	AG	10.6%
Delgadillo	AG	18.1%
Latino comb'd	AG	38.2%
Harris	AG	33.7%
Kelly	AG	13.9%
Lieu	AG	10.4%
Schmier	AG	3.8%
De la Torre	INS	42.4%
Jones	INS	57.6%
Garcia	J-28	11.1%
Moreno	J-28	13.1%
Latino comb'd	J-28	24.2%
Hammock	J-28	26.2%
De los Reyes	J-107	29.2%
Salkin	J-107	53.6%
Bolinger	J-107	17.2%
Griego	J-117	27.1%
Schneider	J-117	47.2%
Aceves	SPI	20.9%
Romero	SPI	20.2%
Gutierrez	SPI	6.9%
Latino comb'd	SPI	47.9%
Torlakson	SPI	18.2%
Noguez	ASR	25.8%
Salazar	ASR	10.0%
Chavez	ASR	4.2%
Gomez	ASR	4.7%
Cornejo	ASR	2.8%
Latino Comb'd	ASR	47.5%
Wong	ASR	16.0%

AG – 7 total candidates

INS – 2 total candidates

J-28 – 8 total candidates

J-107 – 3 total candidates

J-117 – 4 total candidates

SPI – 12 total candidates

ASR – 13 total candidates

1. 2010 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 4

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Nava	AG	8.8%
Torricono	AG	11.3%
Delgadillo	AG	18.1%
Latino comb'd	AG	38.2%
Harris	AG	23.0%
Kelly	AG	14.8%
Lieu	AG	20.0%
Schmier	AG	4.0%
De la Torre	INS	49.4%
Jones	INS	50.6%
Garcia	J-28	13.4%
Moreno	J-28	11.5%
Latino comb'd	J-28	24.9%
Hammock	J-28	23.2%
De los Reyes	J-107	30.0%
Salkin	J-107	51.6%
Bolinger	J-107	18.4%
Griego	J-117	29.7%
Schneider	J-117	44.5%
Aceves	SPI	23.2%
Romero	SPI	17.1%
Gutierrez	SPI	10.3%
Latino comb'd	SPI	50.5%
Torlakson	SPI	13.2%
Noguez	ASR	26.5%
Salazar	ASR	9.8%
Chavez	ASR	4.1%
Gomez	ASR	4.8%
Cornejo	ASR	2.7%
Latino Comb'd	ASR	47.9%
Wong	ASR	11.3%

AG – 7 total candidates

INS – 2 total candidates

J-28 – 8 total candidates

J-107 – 3 total candidates

J-117 – 4 total candidates

SPI – 12 total candidates

ASR – 13 total candidates

1. 2010 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 5

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Nava	AG	8.8%
Torrice	AG	12.9%
Delgadillo	AG	18.3%
Latino comb'd	AG	40.0%
Harris	AG	27.9%
Kelly	AG	16.4%
Lieu	AG	10.9%
Schmier	AG	4.9%
De la Torre	INS	43.2%
Jones	INS	56.8%
Garcia	J-28	11.7%
Moreno	J-28	10.4%
Latino comb'd	J-28	22.1%
Hammock	J-28	23.7%
De los Reyes	J-107	27.4%
Salkin	J-107	55.4%
Bolinger	J-107	17.2%
Griego	J-117	29.1%
Schneider	J-117	46.9%
Aceves	SPI	22.1%
Romero	SPI	16.9%
Gutierrez	SPI	8.3%
Latino comb'd	SPI	42.7%
Torlakson	SPI	15.1%
Noguez	ASR	28.1%
Salazar	ASR	9.3%
Chavez	ASR	4.0%
Gomez	ASR	3.0%
Cornejo	ASR	2.2%
Latino Comb'd	ASR	46.6%
Wong	ASR	12.7%

AG – 7 total candidates
INS – 2 total candidates
J-28 – 8 total candidates
J-107 – 3 total candidates
J-117 – 4 total candidates
SPI – 12 total candidates
ASR – 13 total candidate

2. 2008 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 1		
<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Gutierrez	84	31.7%
Connolly	84	32.1%
Jones	84	23.6%
Henry	84	12.4%
Murillo	69	61.1%
Silberman	69	38.8%
Nieto	95	66.4%
Winters	95	33.5%
Bruguera	154	39.8%
Jesic	154	35.2%
Crabb	154	25.0%
Robles	DA	37.2%
Cooley	DA	48.4%
Ipsen	DA	14.3%
Status Quo Supervisor District # 2		
<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Gutierrez	84	16.8%
Connolly	84	27.9%
Jones	84	27.8%
Henry	84	27.4%
Murillo	69	40.7%
Silberman	69	59.2%
Nieto	95	67.2%
Winters	95	32.7%
Bruguera	154	21.2%
Jesic	154	30.5%
Crabb	154	48.2%
Robles	DA	19.2%
Cooley	DA	70.2%
Ipsen	DA	10.5%

2. 2008 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 3		
<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Gutierrez	84	12.8%
Connolly	84	41.2%
Jones	84	31.8%
Henry	84	14.1%
Murillo	69	44.2%
Silberman	69	55.7%
Nieto	95	58.8%
Winters	95	41.2%
Bruguera	154	20.7%
Jesic	154	44.9%
Crabb	154	34.4%
Robles	DA	20.2%
Cooley	DA	62.8%
Ipsen	DA	16.8%

Status Quo Supervisor District # 4		
<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Gutierrez	84	14.1%
Connolly	84	43.8%
Jones	84	25.2%
Henry	84	16.9%
Murillo	69	51.2%
Silberman	69	48.8%
Nieto	95	50.9%
Winters	95	49.1%
Bruguera	154	20.4%
Jesic	154	49.8%
Crabb	154	29.9%
Robles	DA	19.1%
Cooley	DA	64.2%
Ipsen	DA	16.5%

2. 2008 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 5		
<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Gutierrez	84	12.3%
Connolly	84	44.9%
Jones	84	25.9%
Henry	84	16.8%
Murillo	69	49.4%
Silberman	69	50.5%
Nieto	95	47.7%
Winters	95	52.2%
Bruguera	154	19.6%
Jesic	154	49.3%
Crabb	154	31.1%
Robles	DA	16.8%
Cooley	DA	64.9%
Ipsen	DA	18.2%

3. 2006 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 1		
<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Lt. Gov	Figueroa	39%
	Garamendi	46%
	Speier	16%
Sec. State	Ortiz	64%
	Bowen	36%
Att. Gen	Delgadillo	69%
	Brown	31%
Ins. Com.	Bustamante	83%
	Kraft	17%
Justice Pos. 8	Sanchez	62%
	Friedenthal	19%
	Henry	18%
Justice Pos. 18	Gutierrez	51%
	Crawford	7%
	Feldman	4%
	Loomis	7%
	Mitchell	9%
	Nixon	21%
Justice Pos. 144	Rivas Hamar	33%
	Barquist	13%
	Beecher	8%
	Hammock	10%
	Layton	4%
	Nison	13%
	Stuart	19%

3. 2006 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 2		
<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Lt. Gov	Figueroa	25%
	Garamendi	54%
	Speier	21%
Sec. State	Ortiz	32%
	Bowen	68%
Att. Gen	Delgadillo	53%
	Brown	47%
Ins. Com.	Bustamante	78%
	Kraft	22%
Justice Pos. 8	Sanchez	36%
	Friedenthal	40%
	Henry	24%
Justice Pos. 18	Gutierrez	26%
	Crawford	8%
	Feldman	6%
	Loomis	6%
	Mitchell	9%
	Nixon	45%
Justice Pos. 144	Rivas Hamar	17%
	Barquist	11%
	Beecher	8%
	Hammock	7%
	Layton	5%
	Nison	16%
	Stuart	36%

3. 2006 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 3		
<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Lt. Gov	Figueroa	17%
	Garamendi	53%
	Speier	30%
Sec. State	Ortiz	34%
	Bowen	66%
Att. Gen	Delgadillo	39%
	Brown	61%
Ins. Com.	Bustamante	73%
	Kraft	27%
Justice Pos. 8	Sanchez	34%
	Friedenthal	23%
	Henry	42%
Justice Pos. 18	Gutierrez	27%
	Crawford	12%
	Feldman	4%
	Loomis	6%
	Mitchell	17%
	Nixon	34%
Justice Pos. 144	Rivas Hamar	15%
	Barquist	11%
	Beecher	9%
	Hammock	9%
	Layton	5%
	Nison	25%
	Stuart	26%

3. 2006 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 4		
<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Lt. Gov	Figueroa	20%
	Garamendi	57%
	Speier	23%
Sec. State	Ortiz	38%
	Bowen	62%
Att. Gen	Delgadillo	48%
	Brown	52%
Ins. Com.	Bustamante	70%
	Kraft	30%
Justice Pos. 8	Sanchez	42%
	Friedenthal	30%
	Henry	28%
Justice Pos. 18	Gutierrez	27%
	Crawford	15%
	Feldman	5%
	Loomis	8%
	Mitchell	9%
	Nixon	35%
Justice Pos. 144	Rivas Hamar	16%
	Barquist	11%
	Beecher	10%
	Hammock	12%
	Layton	5%
	Nison	19%
	Stuart	27%

3. 2006 Primary Election

Status Quo Supervisor District # 5		
<u>Election</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>% Won</u>
Lt. Gov	Figueroa	18%
	Garamendi	57%
	Speier	25%
Sec. State	Ortiz	41%
	Bowen	59%
Att. Gen	Delgadillo	45%
	Brown	55%
Ins. Com.	Bustamante	68%
	Kraft	32%
Justice Pos. 8	Sanchez	39%
	Friedenthal	31%
	Henry	30%
Justice Pos. 18	Gutierrez	26%
	Crawford	14%
	Feldman	5%
	Loomis	8%
	Mitchell	9%
	Nixon	38%
Justice Pos. 144	Rivas Hamar	13%
	Barquist	13%
	Beecher	9%
	Hammock	11%
	Layton	4%
	Nison	21%
	Stuart	29%