1 2 3 4 5 6	Thomas F. Ahearne, WSBA No. 14844 Christopher G. Emch, WSBA No. 26457 Foster Pepper PLLC 1111 Third Avenue, Suite 3400 Seattle, WA 98101 Telephone: (206) 447-8934 Email: ahearne@foster.com Email: emchc@foster.com	HONORABLE THOMAS O. RICE
7	Andrew Spencer, SBAZ No. 029751 FairVote	
8	6930 Carroll Avenue, Suite 610	
9	Takoma Park, MD 20912	
10	Telephone: (301) 270-4616	
11	Email: <u>dspencer@fairvote.org</u>	
12	Attorneys for FairVote	
13	UNITED STATES DIS EASTERN DISTRICT O	
14	LASTERIV DISTRICT C	N WASHINGTON
15	ROGELIO MONTES and MATEO	
16	ARTEAGA,	N 12 2100 TOD
17	Plaintiffs,	No. 12-cv-3108-TOR
18	Titalians,	FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE
	v.	BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED
19	CITY OF YAKIMA; MICAH CAWLEY,	REMEDIAL PLANS
20	in his official capacity as Mayor of	
21	Yakima; and MAUREEN ADKISON,	
22	SARA BRISTOL, KATHY COFFEY,	
23	RICK ENSEY, DAVE ETTL, and BILL LOVER, in their official capacity as	
24	members of the Yakima City Council,	
25	Defendants.	
26		

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

51402989.8

TABLE OF CONTENTS

			<u>Page</u>
TA	BLE O	F AUTHORITIES	ii
I.	INT	RODUCTION	1
II.	SUN	MMARY OF BRIEF	3
III.	DIS	CUSSION	5
	A.	A Single Vote/Multi-Winner/At-Large District Offers An Effective Remedy For City-Wide Minority Voter Dilution	5
	B.	The Single Vote Method Can Serve As An Effective Remedy In Yakima	7
	C.	The Single Vote Method Serves Latino Voting Rights Better than Single Member Districts Alone	13
	D.	Fair Representation Voting Has Served As An Effective Section 2 Remedy In Other Jurisdictions	16
IV.	CO	NCLUSION	20

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans -iCase No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

1 TABLE OF AUTHORITIES 2 Cases 3 Banks v. Peoria, 4 5 Cane v. Worcester Cnty., 6 7 Chapman v. Meier, 8 Cleveland Cnty. Ass'n for Gov't by the People v. Cleveland Cnty. Bd. Of 9 Comm'rs, 10 142 F.3d 468 (D.C. Cir. 1998)......20 11 Cottier v. Martin, 12 13 Dillard v. Chilton County Bd. of Educ., 14 15 Harper v. City of Chicago Heights, 16 McCoy v. Chicago Heights, 17 18 Miller v. Johnson, 19 20 Montes et al. v. City of Yakima et al., 21 22 Sanchez v. City of Modesto, 23 24 United States v. Vill. of Port Chester, 25 26 FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING FOSTER PEPPER PLLC 1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400 PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS - ii SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299 PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

51402989.8

1 2	United States v. Euclid City School Bd., 632 F.Supp.2d 740 (N.D. Ohio 2009)		
3	Voinovich v. Quilter, 507 U.S. 146 (1999)20		
4	Statutes		
5 6	California Voting Rights Act of 2001, CAL. ELEC. CODE §§ 14025-32 (2012)		
7	Voting Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. §§ 1973-1973bb-1 (2013)2		
8	Other Authorities		
9 10	Briffault, Lani Guinier and the Dilemmas of Democracy, 95 COLUM. L. REV. 418 (1995)		
11 12	Engstrom, Cumulative and Limited Voting: Minority Electoral Opportunities and More, 30 St. Louis U. Pub. L. Rev. 97 (2010)		
13	FairVote, http://www.fairvote.org		
141516	Jerome Gray, Winning Fair Representation in At Large Elections (1999), available at http://www.fairvote.org/the-voting-rights-act-jerome-gray-and-fair-voting-in-alabama		
17	Lani Guinier, (E)Racing Democracy, 108 HARV. L. REV. 109 (1994)		
18 19	Plaintiffs' Motion for Entry of Proposed Remedial Plan and Final Injunction, No. 12-CV-3108 (Oct. 3, 2014)		
20	Richard H. Pildes & Kristen A. Donoghue, <i>Cumulative Voting in the United States</i> , 1995 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 241 (1995)17		
212223	Robert R. Brischetto & Richard L. Engstrom, Cumulative Voting and Latino Representation: Exit Surveys in Fifteen Texas Communities, 78 Soc. Sci. Q. 973 (1997)		
242526	Rob Richie & Andrew Spencer, <i>The Right Choice for Elections: How Choice Voting Will End Gerrymandering and Expand Minority Voting Rights, from City Councils to Congress</i> , 47 U. RICH. L. REV. 959 (2013)		
	FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – iii Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR FOSTER PEPPER PLLC 1111 Third Avenue, Suite 3400 Seattle, Washington 98101-3299 Phone (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700		

51402989.8

1	Steven Hill & Rob Richie, New Means for Political Empowerment in the Asian Pacific American Community, 11 HARV. J. ASIAN AM. POL'Y	
2	REV. 335 (2000–2001)15	
3	Steven J. Mulroy, The Way Out: A Legal Standard for Imposing	
4	Alternative Electoral Systems as Voting Rights Remedies, 33 HARV. C.RC.L. L. REV. 333 (1998)6	
5		
6 7	Steven J. Mulroy, Alternative Ways Out: A Remedial Map for the Use of Alternative Electoral Systems as Voting Rights Act Remedies, 77 N.C. L. Rev. 1867 (1999)	
8		
9	YAKIMA COUNTY CANVASSING BOARD, PRIMARY 2007 AMENDED CANVASS REPORT (2007), available at	
10	http://www.yakimacounty.us/vote/English/Returns/	
11	2007Primaryresults.pdf9	
12	YAKIMA COUNTY CANVASSING BOARD, CUMULATIVE REPORT (2011), available at http://www.yakimacounty.us/vote/English/Returns/	
13	2011PrimaryResults.pdf9	
14	YAKIMA COUNTY CANVASSING BOARD, CUMULATIVE REPORT (2013),	
15	available at http://www.yakimacounty.us/vote/	
16	English/Returns/Primary2013.pdf10	
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
~		

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – iv Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

Winner-take-all district: Winner-take-all elections allow only one winning group to successfully elect its preferred representative, while all other groups go unrepresented. Any election with one single winner is always winner-take-all. Plaintiffs' proposed remedial plan would establish 7 such winner-take-all districts, with the top vote getter in each district elected as councilmember for the voters in that district.

<u>Single vote/multi-winner district</u>: Defendants' proposed remedial plan elects 5 councilmembers by district with the above winner-take-all method. But it also elects 2 councilmembers at-large, with <u>both</u> of the top <u>two</u> vote getters in that city-wide election being elected councilmember. This system where each voter has one single vote for a position with two seats, and the top <u>two</u> vote getters are elected to those two seats, is sometimes called the "single vote" method for a multi-winner election. (This single vote method can similarly be used to elect the top three vote getters in a three-seat district, and so on.)

<u>FairVote</u>: FairVote respectfully submits this amicus brief to help inform the Court of the benefits of employing a single vote/multi-winner district in this case. FairVote is familiar with the use of the single vote method in at-large

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 1 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

elections under the Voting Rights Act,¹ has filed amicus briefs in other cases involving the appropriateness of various voting methods as a remedy under federal and State voting rights acts,² and has published scholarship on such voting methods and voting rights.³ As Sections II and III below explain, FairVote respectfully

² Federal Voting Rights Act (42 U.S.C. §§ 1973-1973bb-1 (2013)); California Voting Rights Act (CAL. ELEC. CODE §§ 14025-32 (2012)). See, e.g., <u>Sanchez v. City of Modesto</u>, 145 Cal. App. 4th 660 (2006); <u>United States v. Vill. of Port Chester</u>, 704 F.Supp.2d 411 (S.D.N.Y. 2010).

³ See, e.g., Rob Richie & Andrew Spencer, The Right Choice for Elections: How Choice Voting Will End Gerrymandering and Expand Minority Voting Rights, from City Councils to Congress, 47 U. RICH. L. REV. 959, 988–1002 (2013); Jerome Gray, Winning Fair Representation in At Large Elections (1999), available at http://www.fairvote.org/the-voting-rights-act-jerome-gray-and-fair-voting-in-alabama (describing the effect of the single vote method and cumulative voting in 32 local jurisdictions in Alabama).

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans – 2 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

I FairVote is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization founded in 1992, whose mission is to inform and advocate for fairer political representation through reforms that include election methods other than winner-take-all systems. FairVote's experience is that voting methods like the single vote method in multi-winner districts, ranked choice voting, cumulative voting, and other American forms of non-winner-take-all elections lead to representation in government more reflective of the voters' diversity. FairVote therefore encourages public officials, the courts, and the public to employ such election methods as an appropriate remedy for election systems which violate federal or State voting rights legislation. FairVote has thus continually presented decision-makers with information explaining the use of such voting methods as a legal and effective remedy for voting rights violations, including in jurisdictions where race is a divisive and controlling factor. See generally, FAIRVOTE, http://www.FairVote.org.

submits that a more effective remedy in this case would be to modify defendants' proposal to elect <u>three</u> councilmembers in a single vote/at-large election (instead of only two councilmembers), and elect four councilmembers in winner-take-all, single-winner districts (instead of the 5 proposed by defendants or the 7 proposed by plaintiffs).

II. SUMMARY OF BRIEF

Drawing on the experiences of other local jurisdictions in our country, this brief highlights some of the benefits of employing the single vote method to elect two or more Yakima City Council members at-large, instead of resorting to the use of single-member districts to elect all seven city council members.

Employing the single vote method to elect two or more councilmembers provides Latino voters the power to elect a Latino-preferred candidate whenever they surpass the "threshold of exclusion". While reaching this threshold guarantees the Latino-preferred candidate's victory in any given election, Latino-preferred candidates are also nearly certain to be elected with a share of votes below that threshold since votes from the majority community are seldom (if ever) evenly divided among the same number of candidates as seats.

This election of a Latino-preferred candidate to an at-large seat would also provide every Latino voter in Yakima a Latino-preferred representative on the City

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 3 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

Case 2:12-cv-03108-TOR Document 126 Filed 10/20/14

Council, rather than providing a Latino-preferred representative to <u>only</u> those Latino voters who happen to live within the boundary lines drawn for a "majority-minority" or "opportunity" district.

As plaintiffs noted in their remedial redistricting plan, the "threshold of exclusion" decreases as the number of candidates increases. Administratively, the simplest approach to reduce that threshold of exclusion for all Latino voters in Yakima (as opposed to just those living in a "majority-minority" or "opportunity" district) would therefore be to slightly modify defendants' proposed plan to provide three at-large seats (in a non-staggered election with the single vote method defendants propose), and provide four winner-take-all districts (with one majority Latino district). Mathematically, doing so guarantees the election of any at-large candidate who receives more than one-fourth of the votes cast, and as a practical matter elects candidates with even lower vote shares since votes are seldom (if ever) divided evenly.

And regardless of the voting method ultimately employed in this case, FairVote also encourages the remedial plan to include voter outreach efforts to ensure that all Yakima voters are aware of the new rules and thus able to knowingly exercise the opportunities which that new remedial plan provides.

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 4 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

3 4

6 7

5

8

1011

12

1314

15

1617

18

19

2021

22

2324

25

26

III. <u>DISCUSSION</u>

A. <u>A Single Vote/Multi-Winner/At-Large District Offers An Effective</u> <u>Remedy For City-Wide Minority Voter Dilution</u>

Although single-member districts are often used to remedy voting rights violations, employing the single vote method to elect more than one city councilmember for the same at-large district better promotes meaningful participation by all voters, fair representation in a diverse community, and self-correcting flexibility as the composition of electorates change.⁴

For example, employing the single vote method to elect three councilmembers in an at-large district means the first, second, and third place finishers are <u>all</u> elected to that district's three city council seats. This method allows politically cohesive minority groups to elect at least the second or third place finisher without requiring the first-place finish needed to win in a one-seat/winner-take-all district.

⁴ More fully, FairVote has advocated three types of election methods as remedies for vote dilution claims under the Voting Rights Act: ranked choice voting, cumulative voting, and the above single vote method. FairVote most strongly recommends ranked choice voting as a general reform and remedy for vote dilution claims under the Voting Rights Act because it provides for fairer representation while simultaneously fostering meaningful competition among diverse candidates and improving the tenor of campaigns. See generally, Andrew Spencer and Rob Richie, supra. Since one of the parties in this case has recommended the single vote method, however, FairVote focuses on that method in this case.

Political scientists refer to the proportion of the vote needed to guarantee a seat in such a multi-winner district as the "threshold of exclusion", which is represented by the following mathematical formula: one divided by the sum of one plus the number of seats to be filled, plus one vote. Or simply:

Threshold of Exclusion =
$$\frac{1}{(Seats + 1)} + 1 Vote$$

Steven J. Mulroy, *The Way Out: A Legal Standard for Imposing Alternative Electoral Systems as Voting Rights Remedies*, 33 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 333, 340–41 (1998).

This threshold of exclusion formula shows that a candidate in a single-seat district needs one vote more than <u>half</u> the votes cast to be guaranteed a win; a candidate in a two-seat race needs one vote more than a <u>third</u> of the votes cast to be guaranteed a win; a candidate in a three-seat race needs one vote more than a fourth of the votes cast to be guaranteed a win; and so on.

Note too that the threshold of exclusion is the proportion that <u>guarantees</u> a win. It is <u>not</u> the minimum number of votes <u>required</u> to win, because candidates can (and do) win with less than that threshold since the electorate seldom (if ever) splits its votes evenly among all candidates. Applying the single vote method to a 3-seat at-large district accordingly offers a practical and effective city-wide remedy for minority vote dilution by allowing politically cohesive minority groups to elect

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans – 6 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

at least the second or third place finisher to the city-wide at-large district without requiring the first-place finish needed to win in a one-seat/winner-take-all district.

B. The Single Vote Method Can Serve As An Effective Remedy In Yakima

The Voting Rights Act does not require the use of single-member districts alone as the remedy for it violation. E.g., *United States v. Euclid City School Bd.*, 632 F.Supp.2d 740, 751–52 (N.D. Ohio 2009) (adopting the defendants' proposed at-large single vote plan over the plaintiffs' proposed single-member district plan). Rather, the inquiry must look to the facts specific to each individual case. See *Harper v. City of Chicago Heights*, 223 F.3d 593 (7th Cir. 2000), 600 ("at-large procedures that are discriminatory in the context of one election scheme are not necessarily discriminatory under another election scheme."). And whether the single vote method for at-large seats is sufficiently remedial in this case turns on whether the threshold of exclusion is low enough to provide Latino-preferred candidates the opportunity to be elected. *Euclid City School Bd.*, 632 F.Supp.2d at 761–62.

Under the defendants' proposed at-large district with <u>two</u> seats, the threshold of exclusion is not too high for a Latino-preferred candidate to win one of the seats in that city-wide at-large district.

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 7 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

Although plaintiffs note the operation of the threshold of exclusion, 5 their characterization would benefit from some additional detail: It is true that Latino voters would need to exceed the threshold of exclusion to guarantee they could elect a candidate. But candidates are elected with less than the threshold of exclusion under fairly ordinary circumstances. The Latino-preferred candidate does not need to reach the threshold of exclusion to be elected if a majority-favored candidate receives more than the threshold number of votes, or if majority-favored candidates outnumber the seats available (and each of them attract at least some votes). Needing to surpass that threshold to win is only necessary if 100% of the majority group coordinates to perfectly split their support evenly among the necessary number of majority-group candidates.

For example, suppose four candidates run for two at-large seats: two competitive majority-preferred candidates, one less competitive majority-preferred candidate, and one Latino-preferred candidate. If 75% of voters vote for one of the three majority-preferred candidates and split their votes 50% for one, 20% for the second, and 5% for the third, the Latino-preferred candidate would come in second (and thus be elected to one of the at-large district's two seats) with just 21% of the

⁵ Plaintiffs' Motion for Entry of Proposed Remedial Plan and Final Injunction at 9, No. 12-CV-3108 (Oct. 3, 2014) ("Plaintiffs' Brief").

vote. That election would also result in more than 70% of the voters being represented by a candidate for whom they voted. (50% + 21%) is more than 70%.)

In the above example, the Latino-preferred candidate wins the second at-large seat even when Latino voters are <u>less</u> than 21% of the at-large electorate if just <u>some</u> non-Latino voters "cross over" to vote for the Latino-preferred candidate. And in Yakima, the amount of such "crossover" voting from white voters in prior elections confirm that Latino-preferred candidates can readily come in second place in a city-wide election – and thus be elected to one of two at-large seats under the single vote system.

Yakima's past primary elections illustrate how the single vote method works – for those primary elections were effectively a single vote system that determined the first and second place finisher for placement on the November general election ballot. And the second-place finisher in Yakima's single vote primary elections has had vote shares as low as 28.62%, 6 25.71%, 7 and 21.44%.

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 9 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

⁶ Yakima County Canvassing Board, Primary 2007 Amended Canvass Report (2007), available at http://www.yakimacounty.us/vote/English/Returns/2007Primaryresults.pdf (Susan Whitman, 2007 District 4 primary)

⁷ YAKIMA COUNTY CANVASSING BOARD, CUMULATIVE REPORT (2011), available at http://www.yakimacounty.us/vote/English/Returns/2011PrimaryResults.pdf (Rich Marcley, 2011 District 2 primary)

Indeed, in both of the Yakima elections that this Court cited as examples of polarized voting, the Latino candidate of choice who lost the winner-take-all general election had in fact "won" one of two positions determined by the primary election. Sonia Rodriguez and Benjamin A. Soria both finished second place in their respective 2009 primaries – and thus "won" one of the two spots on the general election ballot with 38.15% of the primary election vote (Rodriguez) and 31.82% (Soria). It is therefore inaccurate to portray the use of the single vote method to determine the first and second place finishers to take the two seats in a 2-seat at-large district as "an experiment in minority vote dilution." Plaintiffs' Brief at 11.

FairVote notes that the single vote method for a city-wide at-large district would provide an even more consistently effective vote dilution remedy in Yakima if defendants' proposal was modified to provide for three at-large seats in a non-staggered election employing the single vote method, and four seats in separate winner-take-all districts (with one majority Latino district).

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 10 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

⁸ YAKIMA COUNTY CANVASSING BOARD, CUMULATIVE REPORT (2013), available at http://www.yakimacounty.us/vote/English/Returns/Primary2013.pdf (Charles Noel, 2013 atlarge position 5 primary)

⁹ <u>Montes et al. v. City of Yakima et al.</u>, No. 12-CV-3108 at 36-37 (E.D. Wash. Aug. 22, 2014).

As plaintiffs note, the threshold of exclusion lowers as more seats are elected at-large on the same ballot. Under defendant's proposed remedial plan, only two of the seven seats are elected at-large, which produces the following threshold of exclusion: one vote more than a third of the votes cast. If three seats were elected at-large instead, then the threshold of exclusion would be only one vote more than a quarter of the votes cast. ¹⁰

The Hispanic/Latino share of registered voters in 2013 was 19.9%, and it has steadily risen by about 1% every year. See the following table, generated using data from L2 VoterMapping technology (http://www.votermapping.com/):

	Hispanic/Latino		
Election	Absolute	Share of	
	Total	Electorate	
2013 General	7172	19.9%	
2013 Primary	6955	19.6%	
2011 General	5565	17.5%	
2011 Primary	5448	17.3%	
2009 General	4566	15.9%	
2009 Primary	4514	15.8%	

This established trend, coupled with the previously-discussed rate of "crossover" voting in past Yakima elections and the mathematical fact that the Latino vote

¹⁰ If <u>four</u> seats were elected at-large, the threshold would only be one vote more than one-fifth of the votes cast – though as the number of winner-take-all district seats goes down, it may become more difficult to draw a cohesive winner-take-all district that is majority Latino.

13

15

19

20

22

24 25

26

share does not actually need to exceed the threshold of exclusion for a Latinopreferred candidate to be elected, indicate that with three seats elected at-large by the single vote method, a Latino-preferred candidate could be reliably elected to at least one of those three at-large seats in upcoming elections.

As noted earlier, FairVote also recommends that, as part of any effective remedy, Yakima should conduct a voter education campaign to educate voters about the new voting plan - for remedies can best achieve their full potential if voters and candidates are aware of the change and the potential it creates for fairer representation. See Vill. of Port Chester, 704 F.Supp.2d at 451. Latino turnout has been disproportionately low in Yakima city elections, making public awareness of the election date important. This is especially true where vote dilution is due in part to historical discrimination in education and socio-economic factors (id.) – a point plaintiffs themselves raise. Combined with voter education in both English and Spanish, FairVote respectfully submits that employing the single vote method for a three-seat at-large district would best address and remedy vote dilution in Yakima.

¹¹ One alterative that would likely enhance equitable turnout would be to hold the municipal election on even-numbered years to consolidate it with state and federal general elections. Although this would be a novel practice in Washington, it is common elsewhere (California).

C. The Single Vote Method Serves Latino Voting Rights Better than Single Member Districts Alone

In addition to effectively remedying racial minority vote dilution, fairer representation voting methods like the previously discussed single vote method carry a number of other benefits. Because single member districts are winner-takeall, large numbers of voters remain unrepresented when those voters do not compose the majority in that district.

For example, if Yakima were to adopt a seven-district plan and Latino voters elected their preferred candidates in two districts, all Latino voters in the <u>other</u> five districts would still be unable to elect a candidate of choice in the event of ongoing racially polarized voting. On the other hand, if two or three at-large seats are elected in a single vote system, the <u>entire</u> Latino population in Yakima would be empowered to elect a preferred candidate. <u>All</u> Latinos in Yakima – not just those living in a "majority-minority" or "opportunity" district – would thus have a direct connection to a representative that they voted for and that they could approach regarding their own constituency services.

Fair representation voting methods such as employing the above single vote system to elect more than one seat in an at-large district also avoid the shortcoming of mere "virtual representation". Instead of grouping voters by district and then having each of the seven councilmembers represent the majority group in his or her

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 13 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

Case 2:12-cv-03108-TOR Document 126 Filed 10/20/14

particular district, methods like the single vote method suggested by FairVote here 1 2 would establish three at-large council members who represent the groups of voters 3 city-wide that provided them their first, second, or third place finish. This allows 4 5 voters city-wide to "self-district" into politically cohesive groups to elect a 6 representative for themselves by delivering to their preferred candidate either a 7 first, second, or third place finish in the election. Establishing four winner-take-all 8 9 districts would continue to ensure that geographically local concerns are addressed 10 (and at least one such district should be majority-Latino) – but there are also 11 city-wide public issues and concerns that go beyond an individual winner-take-all 12 13 district's boundaries. 14 district who are not in that particular district's majority are provided a better voice 15 for representation if they are allowed to join with like minded voters in other parts 16 17 of the city to provide a first, second, or third place finish to the candidate of their 18 19 20 21

choice in a 3-seat at-large district. Plaintiffs note that the use of the single vote method does "not address the barriers Latinos face running for at-large positions in terms of money and Plaintiffs' Brief at 10. Although at-large campaigns would be resources." citywide under the single vote method, candidates in an at-large district with more than one seat compete for a smaller share of votes than the majority share required

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 14 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

Moreover, voters within any particular winner-take-all

FOSTER PEPPER PLLC 1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400 SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299 PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

51402989.8

22

23

24

25

in a one-seat/winner-take-all district. That is because the threshold of exclusion is only one more vote than a third in a two-seat race, and only one vote more than a quarter in a three-seat race. That enables candidates to win election by focusing on smaller communities within the larger city. Fair representation systems like the single vote method have therefore consistently elected the preferred candidates of racial minorities when their participation rates approach the threshold of exclusion – including elections in which those racial minority candidates were heavily outspent.¹²

Further, the inclusion of single vote at-large seats will incentivize Latinopreferred candidates to activate Latino voters, who currently vote at lower rates
than white voters – thus increasing representation and empowering voters
throughout Yakima. See *Vill. of Port Chester*, 704 F. Supp. 2d at 453; see also
Briffault, *Lani Guinier and the Dilemmas of Democracy*, 95 Colum. L. Rev. 418,
424 (1995) ("The [Voting Rights] Act was intended to initiate a process of political
mobilization [and] grass roots organization."). This will be especially true if this
Court requires Yakima to engage in a voter education campaign as part of the

¹² See, e.g., Steven Hill & Rob Richie, New Means for Political Empowerment in the Asian Pacific American Community, 11 HARV. J. ASIAN AM. POL'Y REV. 335, 340 (2000–2001) (citing the election of Bobby Agee in Chilton County, Alabama despite being outspent 20-1 by the highest-spending candidate).

remedial plan in this case. The more Latino voters participate, the more reliably they will elect their preferred candidates, as their share of registered and active voters approaches their share of eligible voters.

Finally, fair voting methods such as single vote/multi-winner districts are wholly race neutral. As such, they completely avoid concerns of "racial gerrymandering" and "balkanization" noted in the *Shaw* line of cases. ¹³ In fact, there is compelling evidence that such fair representation voting fosters the construction of cross-racial coalitions among both voters and legislators. See, Steven J. Mulroy, *Alternative Ways Out: A Remedial Map for the Use of Alternative Electoral Systems as Voting Rights Act Remedies*, 77 N.C. L. Rev. 1867, 1903 (1999); Richard H. Pildes & Kristen A. Donoghue, *Cumulative Voting in the United States*, 1995 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 241, 297 (1995).

D. Fair Representation Voting Has Served As An Effective Section 2 Remedy In Other Jurisdictions

About 100 jurisdictions in the United States elect officers using either ranked choice voting, cumulative voting, or the above single vote method.

¹³ See <u>Miller v. Johnson</u>, 515 U.S. 900, 920 (1995); <u>Vill. Of Port Chester</u>, 704 F. Supp. 2d at 453 (finding that cumulative voting avoids the constitutional concerns with racial gerrymandering).

Case 2:12-cv-03108-TOR Document 126 Filed 10/20/14

18

21 22 23

19

20

24 25

26

The term "limited voting" generally refers to the election of officers at-large or in multi-seat districts in which voters are "limited" by having fewer votes than the number of seats to be elected. And some variant of limited voting is used in dozens of U.S. cities, including most municipal offices in Connecticut (including the Hartford city council) and many local offices in Pennsylvania (including the atlarge positions on the Philadelphia city council). These fair representation voting methods, including the single vote method, accordingly have a strong backing in academic literature surrounding the Voting Rights Act. See generally Lani Guinier, *supra*; Pildes & Donoghue, *supra*.

Almost all adoptions of such fair representation systems have followed actual or threatened litigation under the Voting Rights Act. See Engstrom, Cumulative and Limited Voting: Minority Electoral Opportunities and More, 30 St. Louis U. Pub. L. Rev. 97, 98 (2010). And they have been approved by courts even in situations where the method employed is not provided for in state law. *Vill. of Port Chester*, 704 F. Supp. 2d at 449.

These fair representation voting methods, moreover, have proven highly effective as remedies for Voting Rights Act cases. Many jurisdictions with minority populations that had gone unrepresented under winner-take-all/at-large systems elected representatives preferred by those minority populations for the first

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 17 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

time once such fair representation voting methods were instituted instead. See, e.g., Engstrom, *supra*, at 125 (first Latino representative); Robert R. Brischetto & Richard L. Engstrom, *Cumulative Voting and Latino Representation: Exit Surveys in Fifteen Texas Communities*, 78 Soc. Sci. Q. 973, 975 (1997) (first Latino and Native American representatives); Pildes & Donoghue, *supra*, at 272–73 (first black representative). ¹⁴ In short, fair representation methods like the single vote method discussed in this brief are giving minority groups across our country a voice and stake in their local government that they have never before enjoyed.

Plaintiffs' characterization of defendants' proposed plan as replacing "the City's current hybrid at-large system with a new hybrid at-large system" (Plaintiffs' Brief at 4) ignores the critical distinction between (a) electing a single at-large seat under a winner-take-all system, and (b) electing more than one at-large seat simultaneously under a single vote system – for a single vote /multi-winner district provides minorities the power to achieve adequate representation. See *Chapman v. Meier*, 420 U.S. 1, 16 n.10 (1975) ("criticism of multi-member districts is rooted in their winner-take-all aspects") (quoting *Whitcomb v. Chavis*,

¹⁴ In another instance, for example, African Americans in a jurisdiction where they were 11.3% of the population elected their representative of choice in the very first use of the system in 1988, and that candidate has continued to win ever since, consistently earning strong support among African American voters. See Pildes & Donoghue, supra, at 262.

403 U.S. 124, 158–59 (1971)). Fittingly, the cases plaintiffs cite concerned at-large seats elected on a winner-take-all basis. Plaintiffs' Brief at 6.

Indeed, courts routinely uphold systems that include at-large elections with fair representation voting (rather than winner-take-all voting) as a remedy for vote dilution claims. Such fair representation voting at-large also satisfies the "one person, one vote" requirement more precisely than voting strictly by winner-take-all district boundary lines – especially as demographics shift over time. *Id.* at 939 (cumulative voting "achieves precise population equality" because it uses only one district in which all voters have the exact same number of votes); *McCoy v. Chicago Heights*, 6 F.Supp.2d 973, 984 (N.D. Ill. 1998) *rev'd sub nom. on other grounds by Harper v. City of Chicago Heights*, 223 F.3d 593 (7th Cir. 2000); *Cane v. Worcester Cnty.*, 847 F.Supp. 369, 374 n.8 (D. Md. 1994), *rev'd on other grounds*, 35 F.3d 921 (4th Cir. 1994); see also Lani Guinier, *(E)Racing Democracy*, 108 HARV. L. REV. 109, 135–36 (describing how cumulative voting

FAIRVOTE'S AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF REGARDING PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLANS – 19 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

See, e.g., <u>Vill. of Port Chester</u>, 704 F.Supp.2d 448-49 (adopting cumulative voting in atlarge districts); <u>Dillard v. Chilton County Bd. of Educ.</u>, 699 F. Supp. 870, 876 (M.D. Ala. 1988) (upholding cumulative voting in at-large districts); <u>Banks v. Peoria</u>, No. 87-2371 (C.D. Ill. 1987) (approving cumulative voting in at-large districts). At least one court even imposed the use of cumulative voting (similar to the single vote method) for at-large elections after a finding of Section 2 liability when the defendant jurisdiction did not propose any remedy itself. <u>Cottier v.</u> Martin, 475 F. Supp. 2d 932, 932 (D.S.D. 2007).

satisfies one person, one vote). ¹⁶ It has also been approved by courts even when in tension with state law. *Vill. of Port Chester*, 704 F.Supp.2d at 449; *Voinovich v. Quilter*, 507 U.S. 146, 157 (1999) (state redistricting law superseded after finding Voting Rights Act violation); *Cleveland Cnty. Ass'n for Gov't by the People v. Cleveland Cnty. Bd. Of Comm'rs*, 142 F.3d 468, 476 (D.C. Cir. 1998) (federal Supremacy Clause allows Voting Rights Act remedies to supersede state law).

IV. <u>CONCLUSION</u>

For the foregoing reasons, this Court should give deference to Yakima's preference for a <u>non</u>-winner-take-all, fair representation system with more than one seat elected at-large. A remedial map with at least <u>three</u> at-large seats elected by the single vote method, however, would be a more effective remedy to the city-wide vote dilution in this case. Moreover, any remedy should be accompanied by a city-backed plan of voter outreach. FairVote respectfully submits that its proposed modification of the defendants' remedial plan would be the most appropriate remedy in this case.

¹⁶ Both <u>Chicago Heights</u> and <u>Worcester Cnty</u> were reversed because the defendant jurisdiction proposed the use of districts, and courts defer to a defendant jurisdictions choice of legally acceptable remedy. <u>Worcester Cnty</u>, 35 F.3d at 928–29; <u>Chicago Heights</u>, 223 F.3d at 602. In this case, defendants have proposed the use of the single vote method, and so that deference militates in favor of upholding its use.

1	RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED this 20 th day of October, 2014
2	s/Christopher G. Emch
3	Thomas F. Ahearne, WSBA No. 14844
4	Christopher G. Emch, WSBA No. 26457
4	Foster Pepper PLLC
5	1111 Third Avenue, Suite 3400
6	Seattle, WA 98101
	Telephone: (206) 447-8934
7	Email: ahearne@foster.com
8	Email: emchc@foster.com
9	s/Andrew Spencer
10	Andrew Spencer,
	(pro hac vice will be filed promptly)
11	FairVote
12	6930 Carroll Avenue, Suite 610
13	Takoma Park, MD 20912
	Telephone: (301) 270-4616
14	Email: <u>dspencer@fairvote.org</u>
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans – 21 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

2	The undersigned hereby certifies under penalty of perjury under the laws of		
3	the State of Washington, that on the date noted below, a true and correct copy of		
4			
5	the foregoing was delivered and/or transmitted in the manner(s) noted below:		
6	Sarah Dunne	Counsel for	☐ VIA EMAIL
7	La Rond Baker	Plaintiffs	☐ VIA FACSIMILE
8	ACLU OF WASHINGTON FOUNDATION		☐ VIA MESSENGER ☐ VIA U.S. MAIL
9	901 Fifth Avenue, Suite 630		☑ VIA C.S. WARE ☑ VIA CM/ECF
10	Seattle, WA 98164 (206) 624-2184		SYSTEM
11	dunne@aclu-wa.org		
12	lbaker@aclu-wa.org		
13	Joaquin Avila	Counsel for	☐ VIA EMAIL
14	THE LAW FIRM OF JOAQUIN AVILA	Plaintiff Rogelio	□ VIA FACSIMILE□ VIA MESSENGER
15	P.O. Box 33687	Montes	☐ VIA WIESSENGER
16	Seattle, WA 98133		∇IA CM/ECF
	(206) 724-3731	Pro Hac Vice	SYSTEM
17	jgavotingrights@gmail.com		
18	Laughlin McDonald	Counsel for	☐ VIA EMAIL
19	ACLU FOUNDATION, INC.	Plaintiff	☐ VIA FACSIMILE
20	VOTING RIGHTS PROJECT 230 Peachtree Street, Suite 1440	Mateo Arteaga	□ VIA MESSENGER□ VIA U.S. MAIL
21	Atlanta, GA 30303-1227	Arteugu	☑ VIA C.S. WARE ☑ VIA CM/ECF
22	(404) 523-2721	Pro Hac Vice	SYSTEM
	lmcdonald@aclu.org		
23			
24			

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans – 22 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

FOSTER PEPPER PLLC
1111 THIRD AVENUE, SUITE 3400
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101-3299
PHONE (206) 447-4400 FAX (206) 447-9700

25

1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Kevin J. Hamilton William B. (Ben) Stafford Abha Khanna PERKINS COIE LLP 1201 Third Avenue, Suite 4900 Seattle, WA 98101-3099 (206) 359-8000 khamilton@perkinscoie.com wstafford@perkinscoie.com akhanna@perkinscoie.com	Counsel for Plaintiffs	☐ VIA EMAIL ☐ VIA FACSIMILE ☐ VIA MESSENGER ☐ VIA U.S. MAIL ☑ VIA CM/ECF SYSTEM
8 9 10 11 12 13 14	Francis S. Floyd John Safarli FLOYD PFLUEGER & RINGER, P.S. 200 W. Thomas Street, Suite 500 Seattle, WA 98119 (206) 441-4455 ffloyd@floyd-ringer.com jsafarli@floyd-ringer.com	Counsel for Defendants	☐ VIA EMAIL ☐ VIA FACSIMILE ☐ VIA MESSENGER ☐ VIA U.S. MAIL ☐ VIA CM/ECF SYSTEM
15 16 17 18 19	Pamela Jean DeRusha U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE 920 W. Riverside, Ste. 300 P.O. Box 1494 Spokane, WA 99210-1494 (509) 353-2767 USAWAE.PDeRushaECF@usdoj.gov	Interested Party	 □ VIA EMAIL □ VIA FACSIMILE □ VIA MESSENGER □ VIA U.S. MAIL ☑ VIA CM/ECF SYSTEM
20	DATED: October 20, 2014	s/Christopher C	G. Emch
21			arne, WSBA No. 14844 Emch, WSBA No. 26457
22 23		Foster Pepper P	PLLC
23 24		Seattle, WA 98	enue, Suite 3400 101
25		Telephone: (20) Email: <u>ahearne</u>	
26		Email: emchc@	
Į.	1		

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans – 23 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR

1	
2	s/Andrew Spencer
3	Andrew Spencer, (pro hac vice will be filed promptly
	FairVote
4	6930 Carroll Avenue, Suite 610
5	Takoma Park, MD 20912
6	Telephone: (301) 270-4616 Email: <u>dspencer@fairvote.org</u>
7	Zinani <u>aspender e fair i ottororg</u>
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	

Fairvote's Amicus Curiae Brief Regarding Proposed Remedial Plans – 24 Case No. 12-cv-3108-TOR