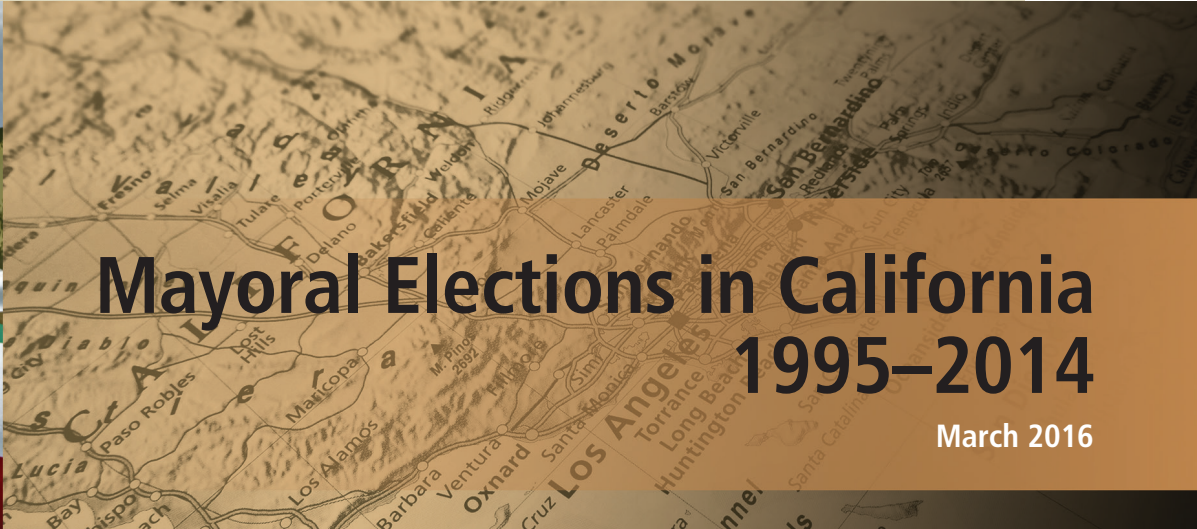




LEAP

Center for Local Elections in American Politics



Mayoral Elections in California 1995–2014

March 2016

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 Knight Foundation



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About the Center for Local Elections in American Politics

The Center for Local Elections in American Politics (LEAP) is developing pathbreaking solutions to the problem of collecting, digitizing, and disseminating data on local elections. More information is available at <http://www.leap-elections.org/>.

The United States is viewed as an archetype of democracy, yet fundamental questions about the nature of our government and its electoral processes and outcomes are often difficult to answer because of a simple problem: a lack of data.

Because elections are decentralized in this country, basic information about local contests is difficult to access. To date, there has been no comprehensive source of data on U.S. local elections. The situation has vexed political scientists, journalists and other researchers for decades. As a result, much of what we think we know about local government, particularly trends over time, is based on anecdotes and generalizations — not empirical evidence.

We're helping to change that. With a grant from the National Science Foundation in 2010, principal investigators Melissa Marshall and Paru Shah launched the Local Elections in America Project (LEAP). Since then, LEAP has developed the most comprehensive database of local election results in existence. In 2015, the Knight Foundation provided funding to turn LEAP into the Center for Local Elections in American Politics within Rice University's Kinder Institute for Urban Research.

LEAP developed a suite of software application tools to systematically collect, digitize and disseminate data on elections across the United States. LEAP's innovation was in creating a digital archive of past election results, as well as automating data collection for current and future elections. At present, the database contains results from 22 states that, in some cases, date as far back as the 1980s. The database contains the names of local candidates, their party affiliations, the number of votes they received, how those votes were cast (e.g., in person, by absentee ballot, or by early voting), and whether they ran at-large or by district (and the district name or number). Other fields include government level (county, municipal, school district or special district), office type (executive, legislative, judicial/law enforcement, other), and election type (primary, general, runoff, special or initiative/referendum). In addition, each candidate record is geocoded, making connectivity to other data seamless. We have records of hundreds of thousands of candidates who've run for office in the U.S.

The database is dynamic and continues to be updated as new elections come online, which is a truly pathbreaking feature. And, while we continue to add new election results, we are also expanding data collection to other states and developing new technology that will not only make it possible to expedite the collection of data that's ordinarily difficult to access, but will allow us to enhance our data by adding new fields that measure other candidate, election and campaign features.

Finally, we are working with the Kinder Institute and a large network of stakeholders to make the database and LEAP

sustainable so that it can continue to provide data, research and information to scholars, practitioners and policymakers long into the future.

By creating a database that updates automatically — and constantly — we are able to ensure we have the most current information available to help researchers, journalists and others effectively study government. While the presidential campaign continues to generate headlines, the heart of democracy is at the local level. We believe LEAP's database will allow us to better understand the process and outcomes of these elections.



Rice University's Kinder Institute for Urban Research is a "think and do" tank that advances understanding of the challenges facing Houston and other urban centers through research, policy analysis and public outreach. By collaborating with civic and political leaders, the Kinder Institute aims to help Houston and other cities. For more, visit www.kinder.rice.edu.

Knight Foundation

The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation advances journalism in the digital age and invests in the vitality of communities where the Knight brothers owned newspapers. Knight Foundation focuses on projects that promote informed and engaged communities and lead to transformational change. The Knight Foundation Community Initiative focuses on 26 communities. Resident program directors oversee grant-making in eight communities: Akron, Ohio; Charlotte, N.C.; Detroit; Macon, Ga.; Miami; Philadelphia; San Jose, Calif.; and St. Paul, Minn. In the remaining 18 communities, the Knight Foundation partners with other community foundations. The foundation has invested more than \$841 million in community initiatives since its creation in 1950. The Knight Foundation wants its national network of learning to inspire the actions of residents in each of its communities and help build a better democracy and a successful future. For more, visit www.knightfoundation.org.

Future Reports

The California study is the first of several reports on municipal elections to be released in 2016 by the Kinder Institute for Urban Research's Center for Local Elections in American Politics. Forthcoming reports will examine trends in municipal contests in Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Louisiana, Minnesota, South Carolina, North Carolina and Washington.

Marshall, Melissa and John Lappie. 2016. Mayoral Elections in California, 1995–2014. Center for Local Elections in American Politics. Kinder Institute for Urban Research, Rice University, Houston, TX.

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1. Executive Summary

Political observers' assumptions about local election trends are often based on anecdotes, incomplete observation or simply conventional wisdom. However, the Kinder Institute for Urban Research and its Center for Local Elections in American Politics offer a first-of-its-kind way to analyze elections.

In California cities where mayoral elections coincide with the presidential elections, voter turnout is more than double that of cities where mayoral elections are conducted off cycle, LEAP found. This study confirms existing work on the relationship between the timing of elections and turnout but also sheds important new empirical light on the nature and magnitude of this relationship. Policymakers will find this analysis helpful when seeking ways to improve political participation and strengthen local democracy in America.

Background

The study focuses on direct elections of California mayors, which occur in 168 of the state's 482 cities. Mayoral election dates may coincide with presidential elections, Congressional midterm elections or neither (known as off-cycle elections). This research comes on the heels of a 2015 state law requiring cities with low voter turnout to move their election dates so they coincide with state elections in an effort to improve turnout.

Methodology

LEAP software automates the collection of election results, resulting in a database containing records on municipal elections in 22 states dating as far back as the 1980s. The California dataset includes 1,062 mayoral elections from February 1995 to November 2014.

Findings

- Mayoral elections held concurrently with presidential elections have the highest turnout (39.6 percent), while those held off cycle have the lowest turnout (17.5 percent). Those that coincide with midterm elections fall in the middle (28.5 percent).
- Off-cycle elections are disproportionately held in California's largest cities (populations greater than 100,000), where they make up 45 percent of the mayoral contests. In the state's smallest cities (populations below 20,000), off-cycle elections make up fewer than 14 percent of contests.
- 69 percent of all California municipalities holding off-cycle elections are located in Los Angeles County.
- The larger number of off-cycle elections among the state's largest cities, combined with low average turnout in these elections (17 percent), means turnout is disproportionately suppressed in those cities.
- Over the last two decades, turnout for off-cycle mayoral elections in medium and large cities has declined from about 20 percent to about 10 percent.
- Cities that voluntarily switched to election dates that coincided with midterm or presidential elections saw turnout improve by an average of nearly 15 percentage points.

Figure 5.3: Turnout in Mayoral Elections by Election Timing

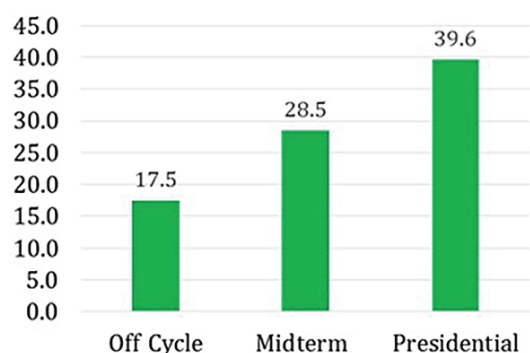
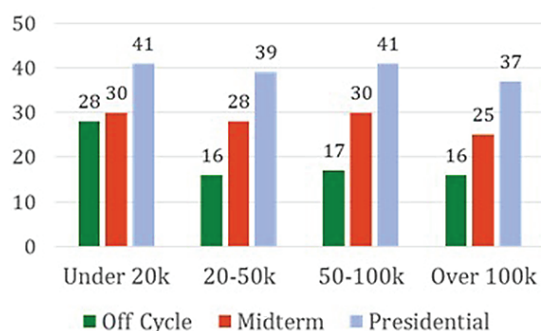


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3. California Municipal Elections Overview¹

The original source of the California local election data compiled by LEAP comes from the California Elections Data Archive (CEDA). This archive is prepared for the California Secretary of State as a joint project with the Center for California Studies and the Institute for Social Research (ISR) at the California State University. While the CEDA archive is mostly complete, we observed missing elections for some cities, particularly in the 1990s and for cities that held elections in odd years or noncurrently with statewide elections.² At present, we have not completed data collection for these missing elections, so they are also excluded from this report.

Election Coverage:

Feb. 28, 1995–Nov. 4, 2014

Total Number of Elections:

- 187 election dates over this time period, including 85 unique election dates for mayor and 181 for council.
- 79.7 percent of all mayoral elections (including runoffs) took place in even years.
- 70 percent of all mayoral elections (including runoffs) were held simultaneously with the presidential or midterm elections.
- Most municipalities have held at least one council election simultaneously with the presidential or midterm elections over this time period (363 out of 493).

Total Number of Races:

- 1,062 mayoral races (including runoffs) with a total of 2,793 candidates. The average number of candidates per race is 2.6 (min=1, max=15).
- 231 mayoral races included single candidates who ran unopposed (22 percent).
- 5,442 city council races with a total of 24,985 candidates. The average number of candidates per race is 4.6 (min =1, max=22).

- For at-large council races, the average number of candidates is 5.5 (min=1, max=22).
- For single-member races, the average number of candidates is 2.73 (min=1, max=17).
- 1,413 elections for “other” offices, most commonly city treasurer (668), city clerk (618), and city attorney (54). Elections were also held for rent board (21 elections), city auditor (19), city controller (4), police chief (2) and city prosecutor). 217 cities held elections for at least one of these offices between 1995 and 2014.

4. Basic Information About Mayors and Mayoral Elections in California

In this report, we will analyze election patterns in California with a focus on election timing. The report’s release comes just six months after the state assembly passed SB 415, a law that requires cities with low voter participation (at least 25 percent below its own average during the last four statewide general elections) to consolidate their elections with the state elections. The law, designed to improve local election turnout, will take effect Jan. 1, 2018.

Previous research has demonstrated that election timing plays a significant role in the level of voter participation in municipal elections (Anzia 2014). For example, based on a survey of city clerks in all California cities, Hajnal and Lewis (2003) found that half the difference in reported turnout (based on elections in 1998, 1999 or 2000) was explained by election timing alone.³ Specifically, their results show that cities with local elections (mayoral and/or council) held concurrently with presidential elections were associated with 36 percent higher turnout than cities that held off-cycle elections. Cities holding elections during midterm congressional elections or presidential primaries were associated with municipal turnouts of 26 and 25 percent more registered voters, respectively, than cities with off-cycle elections. Wood (2002) found similar effects in his analysis of turnout in 57 cities with populations between 25,000 and 1 million. Timing was again the single largest predictor of voter turnout. Their findings indicate that concurrent elections increased voter turnout by about 29 percent.⁴

While these studies have shed important empirical light on the relationship between election timing and turnout, they are limited in terms of their scope and method, and

¹ Municipalities are subcounty general-purpose local governments. We use this term rather than “city” because municipalities include all “incorporated places” (those with municipal corporations that establish general local governments for specific population concentrations in defined areas) regardless of size or urbanicity.

² In most cases, these gaps result from the absence of these elections on county registrar websites.

³ Response rate was 79 percent (350 of 474 cities completed the questionnaire).

⁴ Voter turnout was measured as the average percentage of registered voters voting in the past two city elections (between 1993 and 2000). Voter turnout in the mayoral contest was used if the mayor was directly elected, while the voter turnout for the council election was used if the council selected the mayor. Wood did not distinguish between presidential, midterm or primary elections, but compared elections held concurrently with any state or national election to elections held during odd years.

additional research is still needed. For example, no prior study has examined this relationship over time or looked specifically at mayoral elections. Our analysis not only does this, but it also looks in more detail at the conditions under which election timing matters most. We find that California cities holding elections during odd years and/or on dates other than Election Day have lower turnout than those with elections during presidential and midterm election cycles.

We also examined how participation in mayoral elections has changed in cities that took steps to alter the timing of their elections before SB 415 took effect. Those that switched to election dates that coincided with midterm or presidential elections saw turnout improve by an average of nearly 15 percentage points.

Roughly three-quarters of California cities use the council-manager form of government, which means that the appointed city manager (sometimes referred to as city administrator or chief administrative officer) rather than the mayor directs city departments in carrying out policy. In these municipalities, mayors are actually members of the city council and serve as the ceremonial head and presiding officer of the council. Except for very large cities, it is usually the case that the office of mayor (as well as city council position) is a part-time position. Finally, in most California cities, these “weak mayors” are not elected directly by voters but instead are selected by their peers on the city council. In fact, the majority of California’s municipalities (65 percent) do not directly elect their mayors.

There are several other important features of mayoral elections in California to point out before we move on to our analysis. First is the fact that all mayoral (and municipal) elections are strictly nonpartisan. This means that party affiliations do not appear on the ballot, and mayoral candidates cannot campaign with party labels of any kind. Second, voters in all California cities have the right to exercise the initiative, referendum and recall, as these institutions of direct democracy are included in the state constitution. This means that we sometimes see elections to recall elected officials, including mayors.⁵ Finally, the timing of mayoral elections in California is extremely varied. As is the case in most states, election timing in California is determined by the state legislature. According to Section 100 of the California Election Code, there are four established election dates:⁶

1. The second Tuesday of April in each even-numbered year
2. The first Tuesday after the first Monday in March of each odd-numbered year
3. The first Tuesday after the first Monday in June in each year
4. The first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each year (known as Election Day)

For the most part, California municipalities hold their elections on Election Day or concurrent with other statewide elections. A study by Swanbeck et al. (2015) found that more than three-quarters of California cities (369 of the 482) held their elections concurrently with statewide elections in June and November of even years. Indeed, only 113 cities (23 percent) held municipal elections on dates other than June and November of even years.

Interestingly, off-cycle municipal elections (which may or may not include mayors) are concentrated in a small number of counties (11). What is more, one county (Los Angeles) contains the lion’s share of these (78 cities). Indeed, as Table 4.1 indicates, 69 percent of all California municipalities holding off-cycle elections are located in Los Angeles County.

Table 4.1: California Counties With Local Off-Cycle Elections

	On-Cycle Cities	Off-Cycle Cities	Percent Off Cycle
Alameda	13	1	7%
Fresno	14	1	7%
Imperial	4	3	43%
Los Angeles	10	78	89%
Marin	4	7	64%
Merced	5	1	17%
Monterey	11	1	8%
Riverside	22	6	21%
San Francisco	0	1	100%
San Mateo	8	12	60%
Stanislaus	7	2	22%
Total	98	113	

Source: Swanbeck et al. 2014

⁵ When a recall is on the ballot, voters are first asked whether or not the sitting official should be recalled (yes or no) and then choose their preferred candidate to replace him or her should the recall succeed. If the recall measure passes with a majority of the vote, the candidate on the “replace” side of the ballot with the plurality of votes wins. If the recall measure does not pass, the sitting officer retains his/her position.

⁶ However, as specified in Section 1003, exceptions to these dates are permissible.

5. Mayoral Elections

In our database, only 35 percent of cities (168 of 482) have directly elected their mayors at some point between 1995 and 2014. This means that residents in the majority of California cities do not vote for their mayors. However, both general and charter law cities are able to change their method of selection for the mayor, and over time, a number of cities have done just this.⁷ While it is difficult to identify precisely when cities switch selection methods, when we compare our data to the roster of directly elected mayor cities compiled by the League of Women Voters, we find 11 cities that switched to directly elected mayors in the past decade.⁸ Given this trend, the data we present in this report not only provide insights about the main features and patterns with regard to turnout, candidate supply and the competitiveness of mayoral races in California, but can also be used by cities contemplating the switch to directly elected mayors to make more informed decisions.

Turnout and Demographics

Our analysis of mayoral elections in California begins with some general descriptive features, starting with turnout. Studies of voter turnout consistently find that one of the strongest predictors of whether individuals vote is their socioeconomic status. Specifically, individuals who are more educated and who earn more money are significantly more likely to vote than those with less education and income. Does this relationship hold when we consider

Figure 5.1: Turnout in Mayoral Elections by Educational Attainment

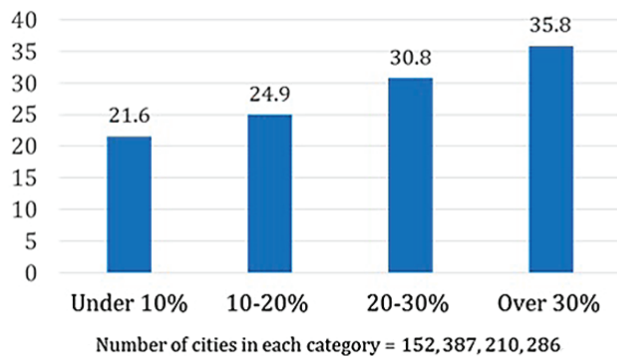
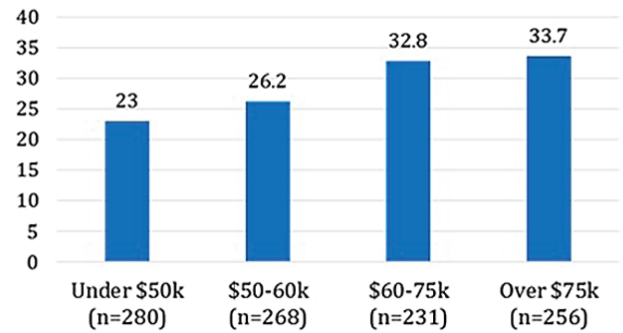


Figure 5.2: Turnout in Mayoral Elections by Median Household Income



aggregates? In other words, do municipalities with higher shares of educated and higher income residents also have higher turnout?

Based on the data reported in Figures 5.1 and 5.2, the answer is yes. Figure 5.1 shows a positive relationship between educational attainment, measured as the percentage of municipal residents 25 years and older with at least a bachelor's degree, and turnout, measured as the total votes cast in the mayoral race⁹ divided by the voting age population.¹⁰ There is a roughly 14 percentage-point gap in turnout between cities in the highest and lowest category of educational attainment. Another way of looking at this is that residents in cities where 30 percent or more of the population has a bachelor's degree are 14 percent more likely to vote in mayoral elections, compared to cities where less than 10 percent of residents have a bachelor's.

When we look at turnout by income categories (all years adjusted to 2013 dollars), we find a similar pattern. As Figure 5.2 shows, cities with lower median household income have lower voter participation rates, while cities with higher median incomes have higher participation rates.

The turnout difference between the two highest-income groups is insignificant, while the difference between the lowest income category and the highest two categories is about 10 percentage points. The current national median household income is about \$51,000, while it is about \$61,000 in California. The biggest jump in participation rates therefore appears to occur between cities with above- and below-average median household incomes.

⁷Charter law (or "home rule") cities are those whose governing systems are defined by the cities' own charters rather than by state law (general law). In Charter law cities, voters can exercise a greater degree of local control than that provided by the California Legislature.

⁸These include: Atascadero (San Louis Obispo), Elk Grove (Sacramento), Encinitas (San Diego), Gonzales (Monterey), Grand Terrace (San Bernardino), Gustine (Merced), Hollister (San Benito), Menifee (Riverside), Ridgecrest (Kern), Sanger (Fresno) and Solvang (Santa Barbara).

⁹Note, due to the structure of the CEDA data, total votes cast does not include write-in votes. A small percentage of elections included write-ins and in the majority of cases, these votes were negligible.

¹⁰We use voting age population because voter registration data at the municipal level is not available for all cities and years. Census of Population and Housing (SF3) data are used for 1990 and 2000. To calculate figures for 2010 and 2011, we use the five-year American Community Survey (ACS); 2008–12 and 2009–13, respectively. We interpolate the values of demographic variables for intercensal years. For 2012–2014, we use the values reported in the 2009–13 ACS. We use the five-year ACS because the one-year and three-year ACSs do not survey all municipalities.

Electoral Participation and Election Timing

In addition to the socioeconomic characteristics of the population, another critical factor influencing turnout is election timing (Anzia 2014). In fact, studies of municipal turnout in California find that election timing is perhaps the most important predictor of turnout differences across cities (Hajnal, Lewis and Louch 2002). Since mayoral elections in California take place at all times of the year, and during even and odd years, it is critical to factor this in when making comparisons in mayoral turnout across cities. We consider three main categories for election timing: (1) elections that are held on Election Day during presidential election years, (2) elections that are held on Election Day during midterm elections and (3) elections that are held off cycle, which includes all elections held during odd years as well as even-year elections that are not held on Election Day. Looking across all California mayoral elections between 1995–2014, the largest number of elections were held during midterm elections (412), while roughly the same number were held during presidential elections (318) or off cycle (305).

The relationship between election timing and voter turnout is well established, though not until recently did scholars and journalists begin to pay much attention to it. Since voting is costly and the benefits are relatively small, particularly when conceptualized as the likelihood that one's vote is decisive (i.e., determines the outcome), electoral rules and procedures that increase these costs will adversely affect voter participation. Elections held off cycle typically receive less publicity, making it more difficult for voters to get information about candidates and the elections themselves. In addition, elections with fewer races on the ballot further reduce the saliency of elections. Finally, since most municipal elections are nonpartisan, off-cycle elections may have little or no involvement on the part of political parties, which means that some of the mobilization forces that typically help get people out to vote are simply not there.

The Public Policy Institute of California study of municipal elections (Hajnal, Lewis and Louch 2002) did much to shine the spotlight on just how much off-cycle elections contribute to the lower levels of voter participation in municipalities whose elections are not held concurrently with midterm or presidential elections. More recent work (Anzia 2013, 2012a, 2012b; Trounstein 2008) provides both further support for this link and a broader historic look at when and why off-cycle elections came about.

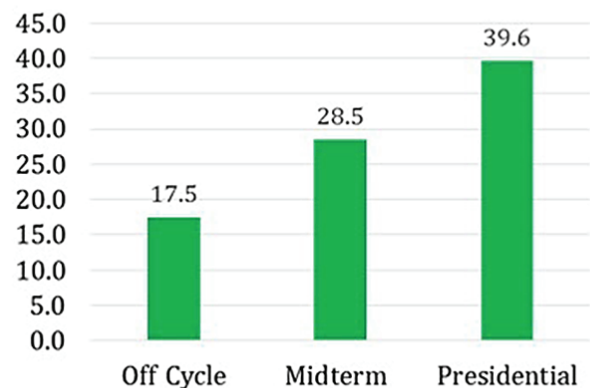
The scheduling of municipal elections off cycle is typically thought to have originated in the Progressive Era (1890–1920s). Municipal reformers, including the National Municipal League, favored off-cycle elections for three reasons. First reformers believed that separating local politics from state and national elections would benefit local democracy. Second, it was thought that off-cycle elections would undermine party machines, which controlled local politics and government in many of the largest U.S. cities at the turn of the last century. And third, progressive reformers believed that switching to off-cycle elections would help

them win office (Anzia 2013).

Since there is no centralized data on the timing of municipal elections now or during this period, it is difficult to identify when cities might have adopted off-cycle elections. In addition, the causal connection between off-cycle elections and the Progressive Era is based primarily on case study research. Thus we cannot say for sure whether off-cycle elections in California are definitively rooted in the Progressive Era.

However, San Francisco surely fits the pattern. In particular, the Irish who moved west from the East Coast during the Gold Rush brought the Tammany Hall-style political organization with them. Machine politics and corruption dominated San Francisco in the mid-1850s (Lochton 1997). However, corruption was the impetus for the People's Party, a local San Francisco party that drew its support from both the financial elite and anti-Irish nativists. According to Zucker (2015), during their decade of control of over San Francisco politics, the People's Party led a successful push to switch San Francisco to off-cycle elections by allying with Republicans in the state legislature to change the city's charter.

Figure 5.3: Turnout in Mayoral Elections by Election Timing



While we cannot go all the way back in time to evaluate how election timing has impacted electoral participation in mayoral races, our data do allow us to look at this relationship in the contemporary period. For now, we focus on overall differences; later we will examine trends over time as well.

How does turnout in mayoral election vary by election timing? As Figure 5.3 reports, mayoral elections held on cycle (during presidential and midterm elections) have significantly higher voter turnout than mayoral elections held off cycle. In fact, average participation is more than twice as high when mayoral elections are held during presidential elections compared to off cycle (39.6 percent vs. 17.5 percent). For municipalities considering shifting from council-appointed or council-elected mayors to directly elected mayors, the decision of when to hold these elections is critical. Municipalities that want to include as

many residents as possible in this important decision would clearly do best to hold their mayoral elections concurrently, during presidential elections.

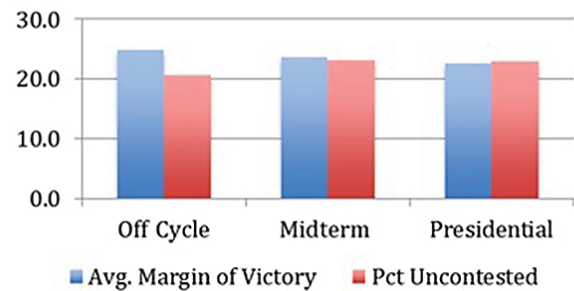
In addition to turnout, the timing of mayoral elections may affect the number of candidates who decide to run and the competitiveness of the elections. In terms of candidates, we find only slight differences when we look across all mayoral elections held between 1995 and 2014. In fact, there is no difference at all when it comes to the average number of mayoral candidates in elections during presidential and midterm years. In both cases, the average is 2.4 candidates per election. On the other hand, the average number of mayoral candidates is significantly higher in elections held off cycle: 3.3.

As we will see later, election timing is not randomly distributed across municipalities, but it is instead highly correlated with population size. Larger cities are significantly more likely to hold off-cycle mayoral elections. Indeed, shifting elections off cycle was promoted by Progressive Era reformers to decrease the influence of immigrant voters and machine politicians, which were distinguishing features of many large U.S. cities during the turn of the last century. As Figure 5.3 shows, off-cycle elections continue to be effective at reducing voter turnout in California cities, mostly because the costs of voting are real, and many residents face nontrivial barriers to registering and participating in elections. For example, the absence of media attention and the reduced party involvement in off-cycle elections reduces the saliency of elections and makes it harder for prospective voters to get information about candidates, as well as polling locations and hours. In addition, the absence of national- or state-level offices, and more generally, the reduced number of races on the ballot during off-cycle elections may not provide sufficient interest or incentive for voters to turnout, particularly if it means taking time off work.

Timing and Electoral Competition

To assess competitiveness of the contests, we compare the average margin of victory in mayoral elections and the percentage of uncontested elections across the three categories of election timing. Looking across all mayoral elections from 1995–2014, winners in municipalities with off-cycle elections have only slightly larger margins of victory (25 percent) than municipalities with midterm (24 percent) or presidential elections (23 percent). In addition, as Figure 5.4 shows, municipalities with off-cycle elections actually have on average somewhat lower rates of uncontested mayoral races than municipalities with midterm or presidential elections (21 percent compared to roughly 23 percent). Again, this may be partly explained by the fact that many municipalities in this category are large cities, where the mayor's office tends to be more prestigious and better compensated, compared to smaller cities. Thus, while voter participation may be lower in off-cycle elections, there is effectively no difference when it comes to the competitiveness of mayoral elections across election timing.

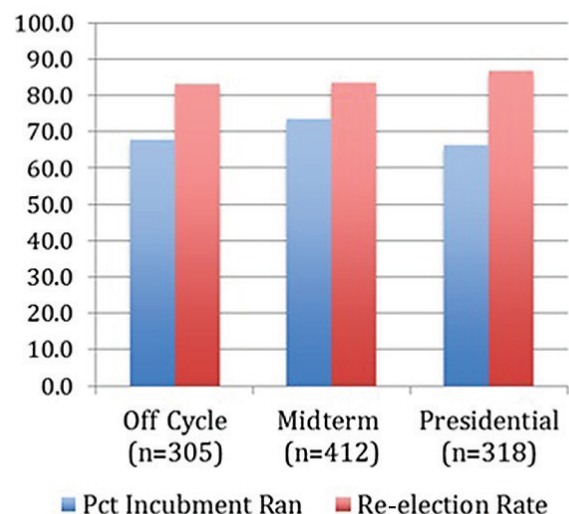
Figure 5.4: Competitiveness of Mayoral Elections by Election Timing



Incumbency and Election Timing

Another feature of elections that is closely connected to competitiveness is the presence of an incumbent. Incumbents tend to discourage challengers from running, which in turn tends to further reduce the competitiveness of the electoral contest. In Figure 5.5, we examine the percentage of mayoral races with incumbents on the ballot and the re-election rate of incumbents, by election timing. What we see here is a slightly higher percentage of incumbents running in midterm mayoral elections (74 percent) compared to either off cycle (68 percent) or presidential elections (66 percent). On the other hand, incumbents are most likely to get re-elected if they compete in mayoral elections that take place during presidential years (87 percent), and they're least likely to win re-election when they run in cities with off-cycle elections (83 percent). These small differences should not mask the most striking pattern in Figure 5.5, which is the high rate of

Figure 5.5: Incumbents in Mayoral Elections



both incumbents running and winning in California mayoral elections.

To conclude the analysis of the general features of California's mayoral elections, we report data on how each of the indicators we have examined thus far varies according to the financial compensation cities award to their mayors. As Table 5.1 demonstrates, while there is a relatively strong, linear relationship between the level of compensation and the supply of mayoral candidates, this relationship does not exist for voter turnout or margin of victory. In other words, as the financial compensation for the mayor increases, the average number of candidates increases (from 1.6 to 5.1) and the percentage of unopposed mayoral contests decreases (from 50 to 8.7 percent). But there appears to be no relationship at all between compensation and turnout or margin of victory.

Table 5.1: Electoral Features by Level of Municipal Mayoral Compensation

Mayoral Compensation	Avg. Turnout	Avg. # of candidates	Avg. Margin of Victory	% Unopposed	Frequency
Less than \$5,000	24.8%	1.62	25.6%	50%	24
\$5,000 to 15,000	24.6	2.26	22.8%	16.7%	30
\$15,000 to \$35,000	23.8	2.12	24%	32.1%	56
\$35,000 to \$75,000	24.6	2.73	22.6%	23.3%	30
More than \$75,000	22.4	5.13	24.7%	8.7%	23

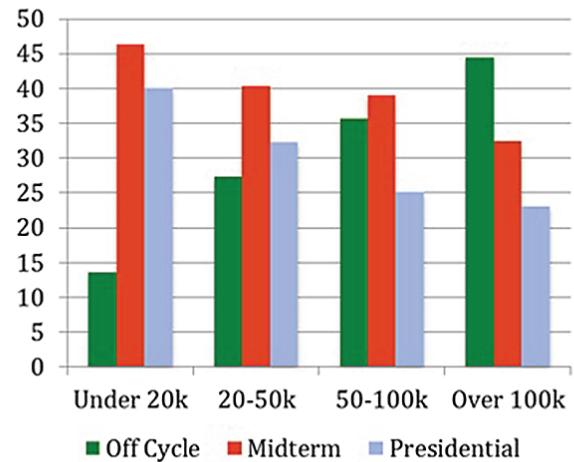
Mayoral Elections and City Size

As noted above, there is a correlation between city size and the timing of municipal elections. Thus in states like California, where municipal elections occur on and off cycle, it is important to take into account both the size of the city and election timing when examining turnout and other features of mayoral contests. Figure 5.6 illustrates the strength of this correlation for California cities.

It's striking that for cities in the largest population category (over 100,000 residents), off-cycle elections are most prevalent (44.5 percent of all elections held in cities over 100,000), while only 13.6 percent of elections in the smallest population category (under 20,000) were off cycle. When it comes to medium-sized cities, 27.3 percent of elections in cities with populations between 20–50,000 and 35.7 percent of elections in cities with populations between 50–100,000 were off cycle. On the other hand, midterm elections are the most prevalent among cities of all population categories except those over 100,000 (46.3 percent of those under 20,000, 40.4 percent with populations 20–50,000 and 39 percent of those 50–100,000). Smaller cities are also more likely to hold elections during presidential cycles. Clearly, if off-cycle elections have a negative effect on turnout, these effects will be disproportionately felt in California's largest cities.

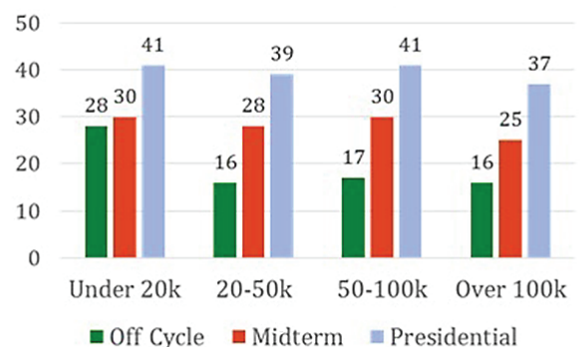
In contrast, the positive effects of concurrent elections

Figure 5.6: Percentage of Elections Held in Each Election Cycle, by City Size



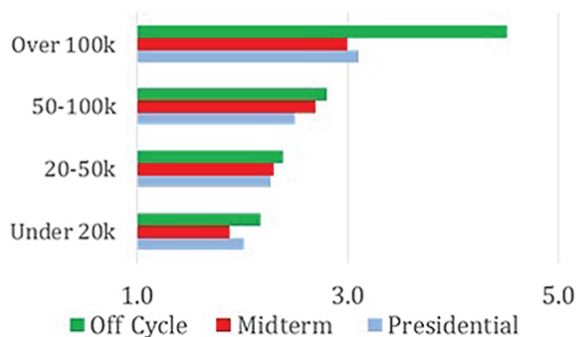
will boost turnout in mayor elections in the largest municipalities more than in small municipalities. In fact, when we break down turnout by both city size and election timing, this is exactly what we see. The larger number of off-cycle elections among cities with populations over 100,000, combined with low average turnout in these elections (16 percent), disproportionately suppresses average turnout for the largest cities, while the opposite is true for the smallest cities. However, there is another striking pattern in the data reported in Figure 5.7. While turnout in mayoral elections held during presidential and midterm elections does not appear to vary much by city size, the same is not true for turnout in off-cycle elections. In cities with less than 20,000 inhabitants, there is almost no difference in average turnout rates across off cycle and midterm mayoral elections. However, for all other city sizes, off-cycle elections have far lower average turnout

Figure 5.7: Average Turnout by City Size and Election Timing



rates than on-cycle elections. Finally, municipal races that occur during presidential elections have higher participation rates no matter what. Who are the 20–25 percent of residents in large cities who do not turn out in off-cycle elections, and what difference would these residents make if they were exercising their franchise in these cities? It appears that shifting to presidential years would lead to a significant boost in turnout for all but the smallest cities in California. The question is, why hasn't this happened?

Figure 5.8: Average Number of Mayoral Candidates by City Size and Election Timing



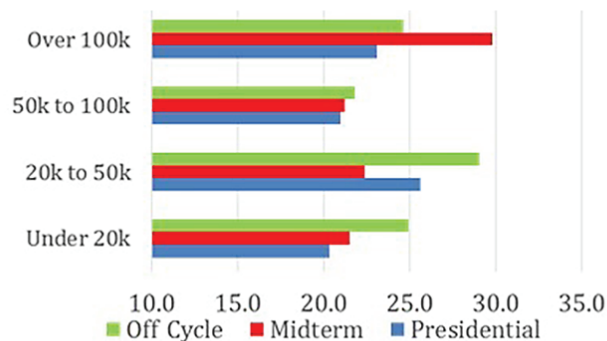
City Size and Candidate Supply

How does candidate supply vary by city size? In Figure 5.8, we report the average number of mayoral candidates by city size and timing of election. As this graph shows, for the most part there is more variation in the average number of mayoral candidates across city size than by election timing. The mean number of candidates declines as the category of city size decreases. For example, cities under 20,000 have roughly two candidates on average, regardless of election timing, whereas cities with populations between 50–100,000 have roughly 2.5 mayoral candidates, and cities over 100,000 have at least three candidates. However, it is the case that the mean number of candidates across each city size category is highest for off-cycle elections. For all but the largest cities (those over 100,000) these differences are relatively small. For the largest cities though, on average, off-cycle elections feature 4.5 mayoral candidates, compared to three for midterm or presidential year mayoral races.

City Size and Electoral Competition

The pattern for margin of victory is somewhat more varied.¹¹ For the most part, off-cycle elections tend to be less competitive (higher margins of victory), particularly in smaller cities. Indeed, except for cities with populations

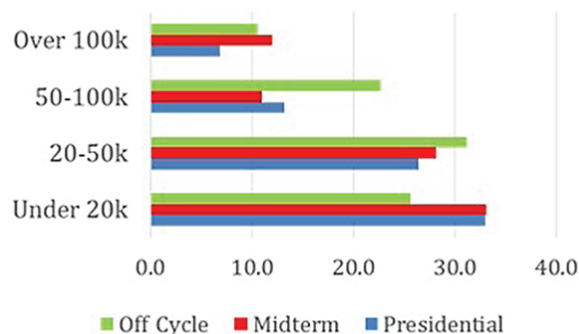
Figure 5.9: Average Margin of Victory by City Size and Election Timing



between 50–100,000, the average margin of victory for off-cycle elections ranges from nearly 25 to 30 percent. The data in Figure 5.9 also indicate that mayoral elections in California's largest cities are less competitive than elections in medium and small cities. In fact, the least competitive elections reported in Figure 5.9 are midterm mayoral contests in cities over 100,000, with an average margin of victory of 30 percentage points. In medium and small municipalities, midterm and presidential mayoral elections have margins of victory closer to 20 percentage points. Overall, the picture portrayed here is one of relatively uncompetitive elections.

Another way to look at competitiveness is from a candidate supply perspective. In Figure 5.10, we compare the percentage of uncontested mayoral races by election timing and city size. Here we find a very strong, negative correlation between city size and uncontested elections: the smaller the city, the larger the percentage of uncontested elections. In cities with populations less than 50,000, on average around 30 percent of mayoral elections are uncontested, whereas in cities over 100,000, around 10 percent are uncontested. This finding suggests that

Figure 5.10: Percentage of Uncontested Races by City Size and Election Timing



¹¹Note: Runoffs are not included in these analyses.

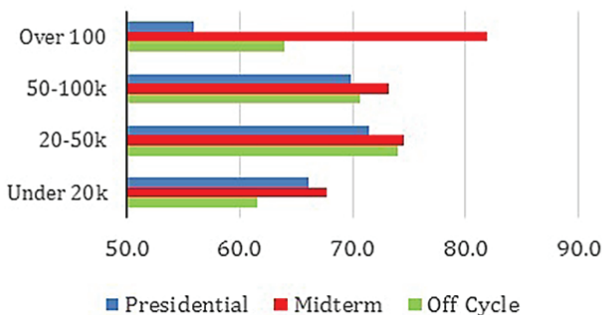
candidates are more attracted to the office of mayor in big cities.

The relationship between election timing and uncontested races varies somewhat by city size. Perhaps most striking is the fact that in the smallest California cities, mayoral races are least likely to be uncontested if they are held off cycle. This relationship does not hold for medium and large cities, where mayoral elections are most likely to be uncontested when held off cycle (in cities over 100,000 off cycle and midterm elections yield nearly identical percentages of uncontested races).

City Size and Incumbency

Finally, we return to the question of incumbency. What we find is that first, there is no clear pattern with regard to the percentage of incumbents who run and the size of the city. As Figure 5.11 reveals, on average, there is a slightly higher rate of incumbents running in medium-sized cities than large and small cities, but the more striking pattern is the considerably higher rates of incumbency for mayoral races held during midterm elections. Across all city size categories, these elections had the highest rates of incumbency, ranging from 68 percent for cities under 20,000, to 75 percent and 73 percent for the two medium sized city categories, to 82 percent for cities over 100,000. The lowest rates of incumbency are found in mayoral races held during presidential years in California's largest cities (56 percent). In no other category does the average incumbency rate fall below 60 percent.

Figure 5.11: Percent Races With Incumbents by City Size and Election Timing



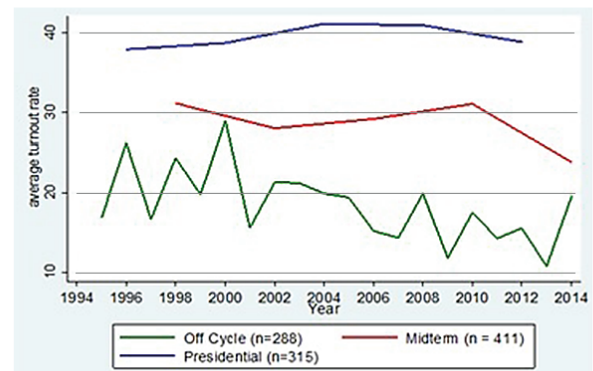
When it comes to re-election rates of incumbents, there is some variation across city size and election timing, but as indicated previously, these rates are high across the board. The highest rate, 92 percent, is found in medium-sized municipalities (50–100,000) for mayoral races that occur during presidential years, while the lowest, 75 percent, occurs in off-cycle elections in California's smallest cities. In general, small cities have the lowest rates of incumbent re-election (between 75–80 percent), while larger cities on

average have the highest rates (between 83–92 percent for cities 50–100,000 and 82–90 percent for cities over 100,000).

Trends Over Time

One of the most pressing questions with regard to elections and political participation in the United States is whether and how much turnout has declined over time. Though no report or study has ever documented this systematically for local elections, it is assumed that declining turnout is not simply a feature of federal and state elections but local elections as well. When we look at the data for California, the picture is not as bleak as one might assume.

Figure 5.12: Average Turnout in Mayoral Elections, by Election Timing, 1995–2014



As Figure 5.12 shows, since 1995, turnout in California mayoral elections held during presidential election years has remained relatively stable, increasing slightly from 2000 to 2004 to just over 40 percent and then returning to slightly less than 40 percent by 2012. Turnout in mayoral elections held during midterm years is also not strictly declining. Here we also see an uptick after 2002, with turnout reaching 30 percent in 2008. Given historic low rates of overall turnout in the 2014 midterm election, it is not surprising that we see a decline in turnout for mayoral races in California as well. Indeed, mayoral turnout is at its lowest point in the time series in 2014 (23.8 percent). Turnout in off-cycle mayoral elections is not only the lowest, but also fluctuates more over time than on-cycle mayoral elections. It tends to increase in even-numbered years, though overall, the trend is declining. Indeed the gap in turnout over time in mayoral elections held a different time is quite striking.

Trends in Turnout by City Size and Election Timing

In Figures 5.13a and 5.13b, we take a closer look at these trends over time by again considering potential differences by city size. In the first panel, we plot average turnout for mayoral races concurrent with presidential elections, while in the second panel we include data over time for off-cycle

Figure 5.13a: Average Turnout by City Size: Presidential Elections

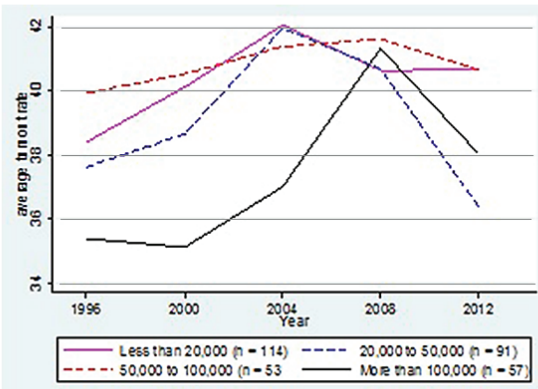


Figure 5.14: Mean Candidates in Mayoral Races, 1995–2014

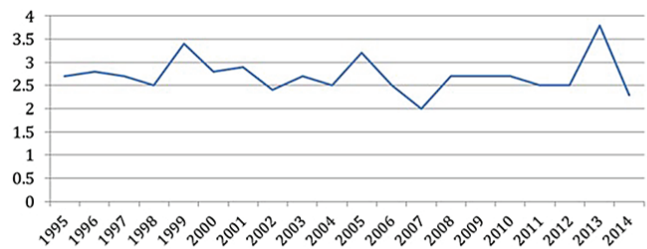


Figure 5.13b: Average Turnout by City Size: Off-Cycle Elections

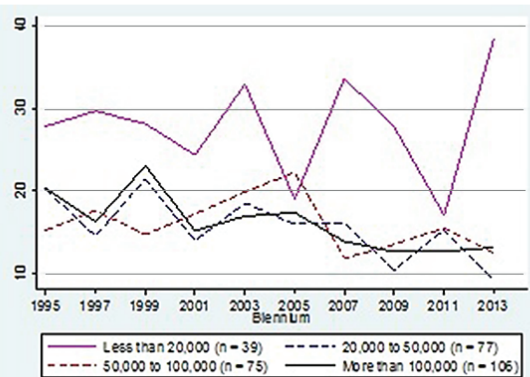
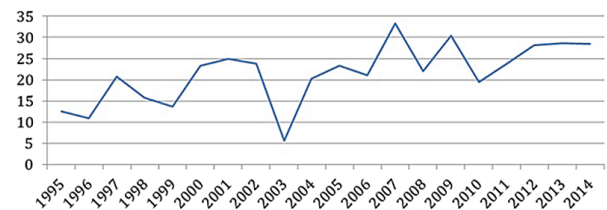


Figure 5.15: Percent Unopposed Races, 1995–2014

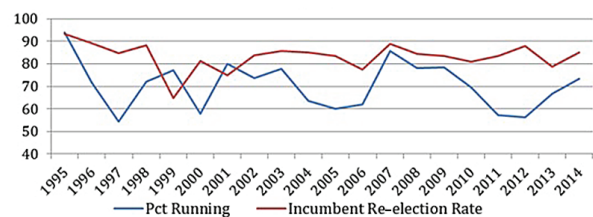


mayoral races.

In the presidential cycle, we can see the overall positive trend in turnout quite clearly, though for the largest cities and those between 20–50,000 there was also a decline from 2008 to 2012. We can also see that turnout has changed very little in cities between 50–100,000, holding constant between 40–42 percent. This is also true for the smallest municipalities, where turnout has fluctuated between 38–42 percent.

The picture looks quite different when it comes to mayoral elections held off cycle. We average turnout across each biennium for off-cycle elections, to make the results less erratic. Even so, turnout is erratic in the smallest cities, probably a result of the relatively small number of observations held in each biennium. While there is no evidence of a downward trend for small cities, the same is not true for mayoral elections in medium and large cities. In these series, turnout fluctuates much less and has witnessed a relatively steady decline over time, shifting from around 20 percent to figures closer to 10 percent by 2013.

Figure 5.16: Percent Incumbents Running and Winning, 1995–2014



Trends in Candidate Supply

When we look over time at the average number of mayoral candidates running for office, we see relatively little change. The peaks in this time series occur during off-cycle election

years, when a relatively small number of cities — typically the largest by population — holds elections. As shown in Figure 5.14, the average number of candidates never reaches three for on-cycle elections, which occur in even years.

With regard to the incidence of uncontested races (Figure 5.15), we do see a gradual increase over time. In the 1990s, unopposed races averaged 14 percent per year. Between 2000–2009, the average increased to 23 percent and over the past five years, on average, 26 percent of mayoral races in California were uncontested.

Trends in Incumbency

Finally, we consider the question of incumbency. Has the presence of incumbents in mayoral elections changed over time? Are incumbents more likely to win elections today than they were in previous years? In Figure 5.16, we compare the percentage of races with incumbents on the ballot and the incumbent re-election rate (the percent of incumbents winning a given race) from 1995 to 2014.

The data show that on average, there has actually been a slight decline in the percentage of incumbents seeking re-election. Between 1995–1999, on average 74 percent of mayoral races featured incumbents, whereas between 2000–2009, 72 percent of races included incumbents, and between 2010–2014 only 65 percent of mayoral races did. At the same time, the data show fluctuations in the incumbent re-election rate, but no overall trend. The average incumbent re-election rate across all three decades has remained constant, between 83 and 84 percent.

6. A Closer Look at How Election Timing Affects Participation

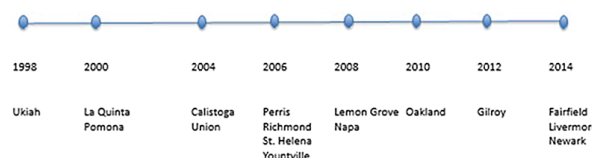
Analyzing the effects of changing from off- to on-cycle elections

One of the most striking findings from the data in this and other studies of turnout in California municipal elections is the significant effect of election timing. Cities with elections during odd years and/or on dates other than Election Day have lower turnout than those with elections during presidential and midterm election cycles. The record-setting low turnout in the November 2014 midterm election — 42 percent of registered voters and 31 percent of eligible voters in California (McGreevy 2015), caused lawmakers in the Golden State to pay more attention to the issue. Consequently, in 2015 the state assembly passed SB 415, a law that requires cities with low voter participation (at least 25 percent below its own average during the last four statewide general elections) to consolidate their elections with the state elections. The law will take effect Jan. 1, 2018.

In this final section of our report, we examine the possible impact that this law will have on turnout in mayoral elections. We do this by analyzing a set of cities that has already (voluntarily) changed their election dates from off to on cycle. Did turnout increase when these cities made this switch, and if so, by how much?

We identified 16 cities that changed from off to on cycle between 1995 and 2014. In Lemon Grove, Oakland and Ukiah, elections were originally concurrent with statewide primaries held in March or June. All other cities that made the switch previously held their elections in odd years. Figure 6.1 provides a list of these cities along with the year in which their election timing change went into effect.

Figure 6.1: Cities Switching From Off- to On-Cycle Elections



To assess the impact of the change in election timing, we first computed the average turnout in mayoral elections pre- and postchange.¹² As the results in Table 6.1 indicate, average turnout in the 16 cities was 21.4 percent when mayoral elections were held off cycle and 36.3 percent after elections were changed to be concurrent with presidential and/or midterm elections. This difference of nearly 15 percentage points is statistically significant. While not as large as the nearly twofold increase that Hajnal et al. (2002) report, it nevertheless represents a sizable boost in electoral participation.

Table 6.1: Turnout Pre- and Postswitch to On-Cycle Elections

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Prechange (off-cycle elections)	21.4	8.97	6.1	48.4	58
Postchange (on-cycle elections)	36.3	9.99	14.3	58.1	49

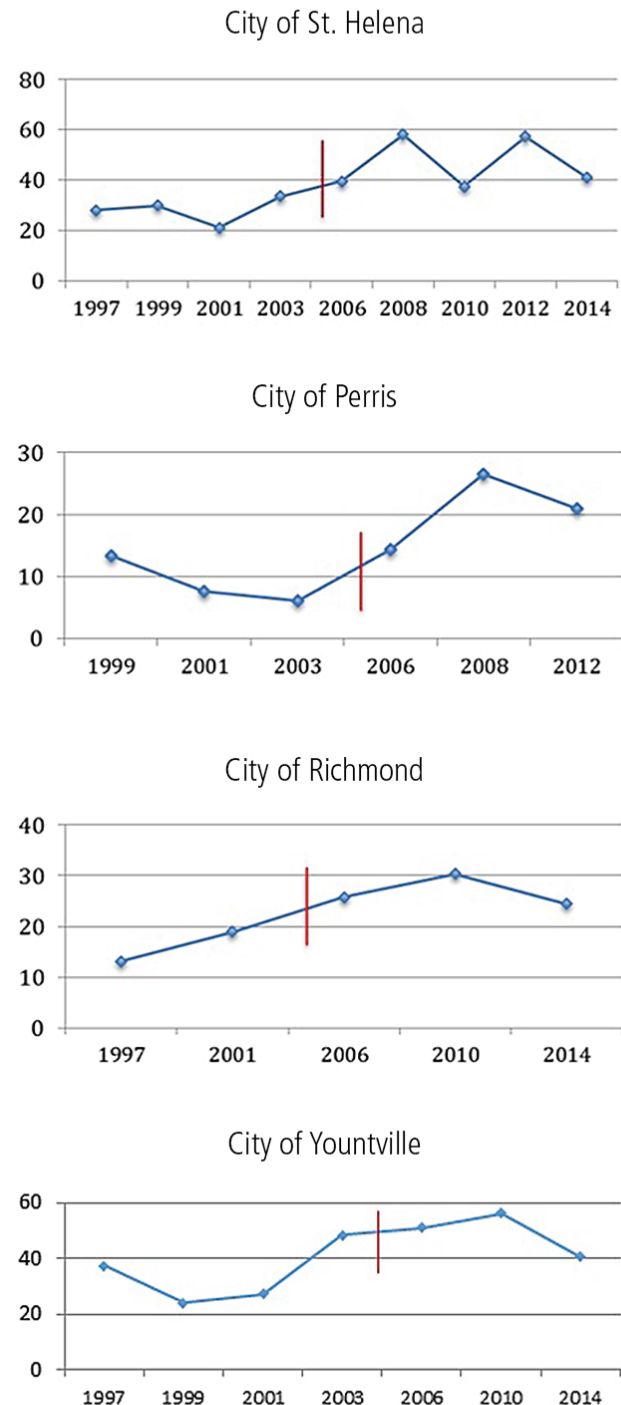
Difference of means tests ($t = -8.13$) is significant at $p < 0.001$.

As with any policy intervention, there are many potential threats that make it difficult to say for sure whether and how much the change in behavior can be attributed to the shift in policy as opposed to some other factor(s). For example, heightened attention to the problem of low voter turnout could lead to a temporary increase in participation. Over time, however, the effects of this attention could wear off, leading voters to resume to more normal levels of political participation.

To investigate this possibility and to look more closely at how the effects of changes in election timing manifest themselves over time, we look at time series data for individual cities. Figure 6.2 displays interrupted time series data for the four cities adopting the election timing reform for the 2006 November election (St. Helena, Perris, Richmond and Yountville). For each city, we plot turnout to the time series to denote the change in election timing so that trends pre- and postelection change can be compared.

In each city, the trend is positive for the two mayoral races after the change to concurrent elections was adopted. However, in each city we also see subsequent declines in turnout. That said, turnout levels remain higher postchange for each city, and since in three out of four cases, the drop in turnout occurred in 2014, where turnout hit a record low statewide, there is certainly reason to believe that the shift to on-cycle elections will have an overall positive and lasting effect on voter participation in mayoral elections.

Figure 6.2: Interrupted Time Series Data for Four Cities



¹²To hold election date constant in each group, we excluded special elections and runoffs.

In comparing these cities across other indicators, we find virtually no differences pre- and postswitch. For example, the mean number of candidates is 2.6 before and after the change in election timing, and incumbents run on average in 70 percent of contests. In addition, the mean margin of victory is 43 percentage points before the change and 45 percentage points after. Only with regard to the percentage of uncontested elections do we see much difference. Uncontested contests totaled 22 percent of mayoral elections before the switch and 34 percent after.

It appears that the shift to concurrent elections has had a negative effect on candidate supply. Perhaps the prospects of running and campaigning in an environment where higher level offices are on the ballot and most in the spotlight discourage potential candidates for the mayor's office to enter the race. And the lack of candidates surely has effects on voters' interest in and attention to the race. If this pattern persists or worsens, it could very well wipe out the positive boost to turnout that results from shifting on-cycle elections.

7. Appendices

Knight Community Cities: Long Beach and San Jose

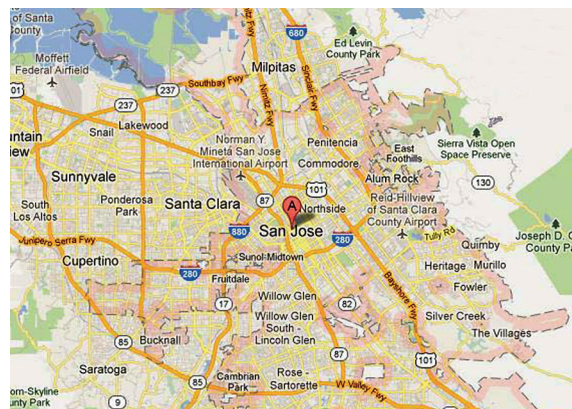
In this section of the report, we shine the spotlight on the two Knight community cities in California — Long Beach and San Jose. In these cities, and 24 others where brothers John S. and James L. Knight owned newspapers, the Knight Foundation has invested more than \$841 million in community initiatives since its creation in 1950. Based on the premise that cities will only succeed when people feel responsible for actively shaping the future of their communities, Knight invests in ideas that create a culture of civic engagement. Together with its national network, the Knight Foundation seeks to inspire the actions of residents in each of its communities toward the goal of building a better democracy.

San Jose, located in Santa Clara County, boasts a population of nearly 1 million (986,320 based on the 2014 ACS). It is the third-largest city in California and the 10th-largest in the United States. It is the center of high tech industry and is known by many as the Capital of Silicon Valley.

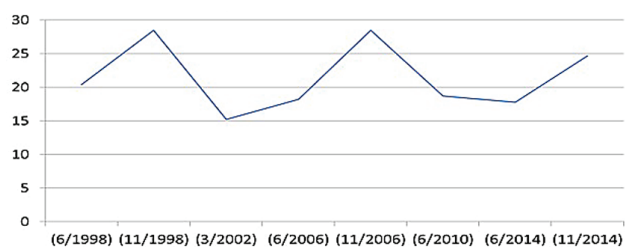
San Jose is a multiracial city, with Asians and Hispanics making up roughly one-third of the population, non-Hispanic whites about 29 percent and African-Americans about 3 percent. In 2010, median household income for San Jose residents was \$82,531, putting them considerably above the national median. Not surprisingly, residents of San Jose are also very well educated, with 37 percent having at least a bachelor's degree. At the same time, a considerable share of the population is foreign born (38 percent), and many of these residents are not naturalized citizens (18 percent). This means that many residents are legally unable to vote in municipal (or other) elections.

Looking at the summary statistics of all mayoral elections in San Jose, average turnout is 21.5 percent, about 8 percentage points below the average turnout for all mayoral elections in California. On the other hand, San Jose is significantly above average when it comes to the mean number of candidates per mayoral contest: 6.4 (compared

San Jose



**Figure 7.1: Mayoral Turnout in San Jose
1998–2014**



to 2.6 statewide). San Jose's mayoral elections are also quite competitive compared to statewide averages: 100 percent were contested, and the average margin of victory was 19 percent. Finally, incumbents ran in only 38 percent of contests and had a re-election rate of 75 percent.

San Jose's mayors serve four-year terms, and mayoral elections are held concurrently with statewide primary elections in the spring. Run-off elections are held on Election Day in November and are concurrent with midterm elections. In Figure 7.1, we report turnout for all San Jose mayoral elections in our database.

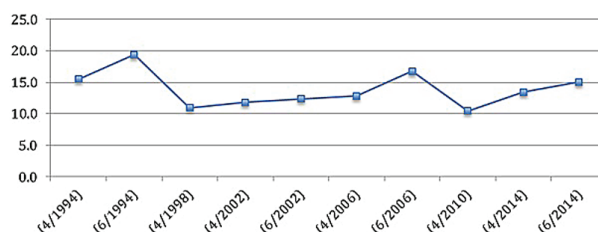
Long Beach is the other Knight community in California. It is located in Los Angeles County and had a little less than half a million residents (468,594) in 2014. Long Beach is the seventh-largest city in California and the 36th largest city in the United States. While Long Beach is also a multiracial city, its Hispanic population is 41 percent, making it the largest racial/ethnic group in the city. Compared to San Jose, the percentage of non-Hispanic whites in Long Beach is nearly identical (29 percent); however its Asian population represents only about 13 percent of the total population. Finally, African-Americans make up a considerably larger share of Long Beach's population at 13 percent. Residents of Long Beach are also not as educated or as economically advantaged as San Jose

residents. The percentage of Long Beach residents with at least a bachelor's degree was 29 percent in 2012, whereas median household income was \$52,721 — below the national median and significantly below that of San Jose. Finally, roughly 26 percent of Long Beach residents are foreign born, and in 2012 about 15 percent of these were not naturalized citizens.

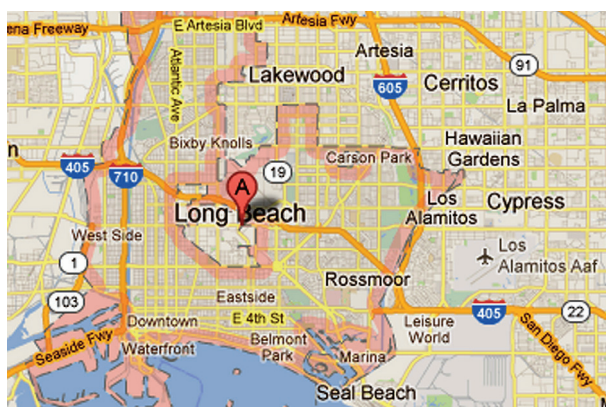
Like San Jose, elections in Long Beach occur in the spring of even years. However the general election takes place in April and is not concurrent with the statewide primary. If a runoff is necessary, these elections are held concurrently with the primary in June. Long Beach mayors served and were appointed by the city council until 1994, when the city switched to directly electing their mayors. The first directly elected mayor was Beverly O'Neill, who served three terms and is to date the only mayor of Long Beach to have won three consecutive elections. Interestingly, in 1994 Long Beach also adopted term limits. However, after being termed out in 2002, O'Neill ran for a third term as a write-in and won.

Looking across all of the Long Beach mayoral elections in our database, average turnout is 13.8 percent, considerably lower than turnout in San Jose and average turnout in mayoral elections statewide. However, these elections are highly contested, averaging seven candidates per race in first-round elections, and there were no races where candidates ran unopposed. Runoffs have also been relatively frequent in Long Beach, with four of the last six mayoral races requiring a second round to produce a majority winner. The average margin of victory is 22 percent, putting Long Beach on par with San Jose. In addition, incumbents ran in 40 percent of Long Beach mayoral elections — about as frequently as they ran in San Jose. In Figure 7.2, we report turnout for all Long Beach mayoral elections in the LEAP database.

**Figure 7.2: Mayoral Turnout in Long Beach
1994–2014**



Long Beach



7. Appendix

List of Cities and Number of Mayoral Elections in the LEAP Database

City name	Elections		
		Escondido, Calif.	6
		Eureka, Calif.	5
Adelanto, Calif.	5	Fairfield, Calif.	5
Alameda, Calif.	5	Ferndale, Calif.	7
American Canyon, Calif.	4	Fontana, Calif.	5
Anaheim, Calif.	5	Fremont, Calif.	5
Antioch, Calif.	5	Fresno, Calif.	7
Arroyo Grande, Calif.	9	Garden Grove, Calif.	10
Arvin, Calif.	6	Gardena, Calif.	2
Atascadero, Calif.	1	Gilroy, Calif.	6
Atwater, Calif.	5	Gonzales, Calif.	2
Avalon, Calif.	6	Grand Terrace, Calif.	3
Azusa, Calif.	5	Greenfield, Calif.	5
Bakersfield, Calif.	5	Grover Beach, Calif.	3
Baldwin Park, Calif.	5	Guadalupe, Calif.	10
Barstow, Calif.	5	Gustine, Calif.	4
Benicia, Calif.	5	Hawthorne, Calif.	10
Berkeley, Calif.	5	Hayward, Calif.	5
Brentwood, Calif.	8	Hollister, Calif.	2
California City, Calif.	10	Hughson, Calif.	10
Calistoga, Calif.	9	Huron, Calif.	4
Carlsbad, Calif.	5	Imperial Beach, Calif.	5
Carmel-by-the-Sea, Calif.	5	Inglewood, Calif.	10
Carson, Calif.	4	Irvine, Calif.	10
Cathedral City, Calif.	10	Kerman, Calif.	8
Ceres, Calif.	8	La Mesa, Calif.	5
Chino, Calif.	4	La Quinta, Calif.	10
Chula Vista, Calif.	8	La Verne, Calif.	2
Coachella, Calif.	5	Lancaster, Calif.	5
Colfax, Calif.	3	Lathrop, Calif.	8
Colton, Calif.	8	Lawndale, Calif.	5
Compton, Calif.	7	Lemon Grove city, Calif.	6
Corning, Calif.	10	Livermore, Calif.	9
Coronado, Calif.	5	Livingston, Calif.	8
Del Rey Oaks, Calif.	7	Lompoc, Calif.	10
Desert Hot Springs, Calif.	9	Long Beach, Calif.	6
Dixon, Calif.	6	Los Angeles, Calif.	5
Dos Palos, Calif.	6	Los Banos, Calif.	9
Dublin, Calif.	10	Manteca, Calif.	5
El Cajon, Calif.	5	Marina, Calif.	10
El Monte, Calif.	5	Martinez, Calif.	5
Elk Grove, Calif.	2	Marysville, Calif.	5
Encinitas, Calif.	1	McFarland, Calif.	2

Menifee, Calif.	2	Riverside, Calif.	6
Merced Calif.	10	Sacramento, Calif.	7
Milpitas, Calif.	10	Salinas, Calif.	9
Modesto, Calif.	7	San Bernardino, Calif.	7
Monrovia, Calif.	5	San Bruno, Calif.	8
Montclair Calif.	5	San Diego, Calif.	12
Monterey, Calif.	9	San Dimas, Calif.	5
Moorpark, Calif.	10	San Jose, Calif.	8
Morgan Hill, Calif.	10	San Leandro, Calif.	6
Morro Bay, Calif.	12	San Luis Obispo, Calif.	10
Napa, Calif.	4	San Marcos, Calif.	4
National City, Calif.	5	San Rafael, Calif.	5
Needles, Calif.	4	San Ramon, Calif.	5
Newark, Calif.	9	Sand City, Calif.	9
Newman, Calif.	9	Sanger, Calif.	2
Oakdale, Calif.	4	Santa Ana, Calif.	10
Oakland, Calif.	5	Santa Barbara, Calif.	4
Oceanside, Calif.	5	Santa Clara, Calif.	5
Ontario, Calif.	6	Santa Maria, Calif.	6
Orange, Calif.	9	Santee, Calif.	4
Orange Cove, Calif.	4	Seaside, Calif.	10
Oroville, Calif.	6	Simi Valley, Calif.	10
Oxnard, Calif.	10	Soledad, Calif.	6
Pacific Grove, Calif.	10	Solvang, Calif.	4
Palm Springs, Calif.	5	South El Monte, Calif.	3
Palmdale, Calif.	10	St. Helena, Calif.	9
Parlier, Calif.	4	Stockton, Calif.	7
Pasadena, Calif.	5	Suisun City, Calif.	5
Paso de Robles (Paso Robles), Calif.	8	Torrance, Calif.	4
Patterson, Calif.	10	Tracy, Calif.	10
Perris, Calif.	7	Turlock, Calif.	5
Petaluma, Calif.	5	Ukiah, Calif.	5
Pismo Beach, Calif.	6	Union City, Calif.	5
Pleasanton, Calif.	10	Upland, Calif.	5
Pomona, Calif.	7	Vacaville, Calif.	4
Poway, Calif.	5	Vallejo, Calif.	5
Rancho Cucamonga, Calif.	5	Vista, Calif.	5
Redondo Beach, Calif.	8	Waterford, Calif.	8
Rialto, Calif.	5	W. Sacramento, Calif.	6
Richmond, Calif.	5	Westminster, Calif.	10
Ridgecrest, Calif.	2	Yountville, Calif.	7
Rio Vista, Calif.	7		
Riverbank, Calif.	8		

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