



RESEARCH BRIEF: Odd-Year vs. Even-Year Consolidated Elections in California

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The Greenlining Institute

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Originally from Pomona, California, Jose graduated from the University of California, Berkeley with a B.A. in Political Science. Jose began his career in advocacy as an intern at the International Institute of the Bay Area and East Bay Community Law Center. He later worked as a community organizer for the Latino Roundtable of the San Gabriel and Pomona Valleys to engage youth and parents around local issues and garner support for pro-immigrant legislation. After completing The Greenlining Institute's Summer Associate program in 2013, he accepted a position with the Office of Congresswoman Barbara Lee and hopes to one-day return to his hometown to run for local office.

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INTRODUCTION

Off-year municipal elections are known to have low voter turnout. A study conducted by the Public Policy Institute of California confirmed this phenomenon in 2002.ⁱ Another study published in *The Journal of Politics* found that this lowered turnout may affect the composition of the electorate, noting that “[f]or Latinos and Asian Americans, lower turnout results in less equitable racial and ethnic representation on city councils and less success in the mayor’s office.”ⁱⁱ The same study suggests that at-large and off-cycle elections reform appears to be the best tool for expanding representation of African Americans in city government. This issue is particularly important in California, where people of color make up a majority of the population. A skewed electorate due to low voter turnout undermines the integrity of our democracy and the chance for all communities to be fairly represented.

So why do some cities still hold elections in the off-year and what do elections officials think about this?

This study aims to:

- 1) Better understand the top reasons for and against consolidating city elections with state and federal elections held in even years, from the perspective of election administrators.
- 2) Test those assumptions by conducting three comparative case studies of six California cities.
- 3) Assess the cost per voter for elections held in odd years compared to even years.

METHODOLOGY

To better understand election officials’ perspectives about the benefits and harms of off-year elections, we distributed an online survey to 58 county election officials, of whom 20 returned a completed survey (see Appendix A – Survey Questions).ⁱⁱⁱ For most cities in California, the county election official administers the city’s election and maintains election records, although for some cities, the city clerk is more involved. Future research should consider surveying city clerks and municipal officials as well, as these stakeholders are also influential in local decisions about when to hold elections.

We then conducted three case studies in which recent elections in three off-year cities were compared to three elections in even-year cities, focusing on voter turnout rates, election costs, and down-ballot voter drop-off. The case studies compared Los Angeles and San Diego, San Francisco and San Jose, and Livermore and Lake Forest.

We retrieved voter registration and ballots cast information from official elections reports available at the respective city clerk, county election official, or California Secretary of State website. Currently, no state entity keeps track of municipal election information, so when official summary reports were not available online, the city clerk was asked to provide the information in writing. All information provided in this report related to the cost of an election was provided by the city clerk; no cost information was publicly available online.

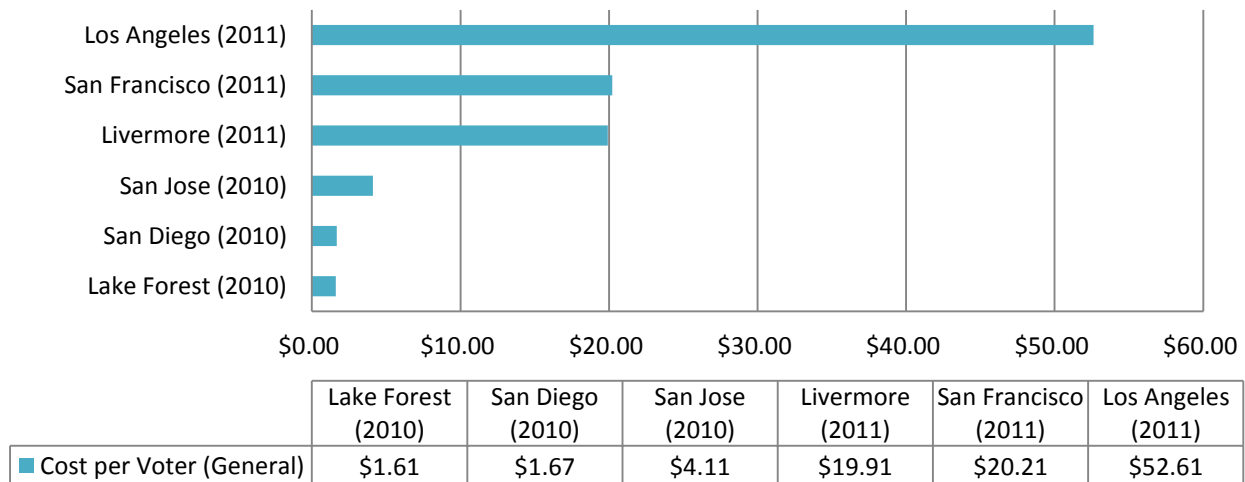
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

County election officials surveyed provided several reasons for supporting or opposing odd and even-year elections.

Reasons Given for Supporting Odd-Year Elections	Reasons Given for Opposing Odd-Year Elections
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Election administrators can test new procedures out before a larger, more complex even-year election. ▪ Keeps staff trained and in practice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Substantially higher cost per voter. ▪ Substantially lower voter turnout. ▪ Too many elections can cause voter fatigue.
Reasons Given for Opposing Even-Year Elections	Reasons Given for Supporting Even-Year Elections
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ City choices appear at the end of a long even-year ballot and voters may pay less attention to lower ballot items. ▪ Too many choices on one ballot can cause voter fatigue. ▪ Currently counties can handle the ballot capacity of a long ballot, but there could be a point at which there are too many races to print on one ballot. That could require moving some things off (unless voting technology changes). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Makes city elections seem as important as state and federal elections if they are on the same ballot. ▪ Saves time and labor of having to conduct multiple elections. ▪ Saves taxpayer dollars. ▪ Results in higher voter turnout.

A comparison of San Diego and Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Jose, and Lake Forest and Livermore found that in each case, the even-year consolidated election cost considerably less per voter than the off-year elections.^{iv}

Election Costs per Voter (General)



In addition, voter turnout in each even-year election was considerably higher than turnout in off-year elections, even after controlling for down-ballot voter drop-off.

CASE STUDY A: SAN DIEGO & LOS ANGELES

For the first case study, we selected two of the largest cities in California – Los Angeles and San Diego. Both cities happen to be located in Southern California. The city of Los Angeles conducts city elections in the off-years, while San Diego conducts them in the even years, consolidated with state and federal elections. For context, the population size and demographics of each city are provided.

Demographics

City of San Diego	City of Los Angeles
Population size: ^v 1,307,402 people	Population size: 3,792,621 people
Racial/ethnic breakdown: ^{vi} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 15.6 percent Asian ▪ 6.3 percent Black ▪ 28.8 percent Latino ▪ 45.1 percent White 	Racial/ethnic breakdown: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 11.1 percent Asian ▪ 9.2 percent Black ▪ 48.5 percent Latino ▪ 28.7 percent White
Partisan breakdown of registered voters: ^{vii} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 682,278 registered voters ▪ 40.2 percent Democrat ▪ 27.0 percent Republican ▪ 27.7 percent No Party Preference 	Partisan breakdown of registered voters: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1,817,111 registered voters ▪ 56.1 percent Democrat ▪ 15.9 percent Republican ▪ 18.0 percent No Party Preference
City government context: The elected city government consists of a 9-member city council and a mayor elected in even-year consolidated elections. The city council is elected by district, while the mayor is elected at-large.	City government context: The elected city government consists of a 15-member city council and a mayor, all of whom are elected for four-year terms during odd years. City council seats are elected by district while the mayor is elected at-large.

Findings

The city of Los Angeles conducted its 2011 primary election on March 8, 2011 with the following items on the ballot: seven City Council seats, four Board of Education seats, four Community College District Board of Trustees seats, and 11 local ballot propositions. On Election Day, there was a 14.1 percent voter turnout and the city spent \$9,142,457.69 in election expenditures, or \$39.42 per voter who cast a ballot (see Table 1.2).

In contrast, San Diego held its primary election on June 8, 2010 with the following items on the ballot: eight state legislative seats, one congressional seat, four City Council seats, and two local ballot propositions. Voter turnout for the San Diego primary was 32.5 percent and elections costs were \$806,845, or \$4.05 per voter (see Table 1.1).

As for the general election, Los Angeles held its on May 17, 2011 with a dismal 8.3 percent voter turnout and total election-related expenditures of \$7,185,636.19. This equals roughly \$52.61 per



voter (see Table 1.2). The 2011 ballot included one board seat for the Los Angeles Unified School District and one seat for the Community College District Board of Trustees. All City Council seats and local ballot propositions were decided in the primary and did not appear on the general ballot.

San Diego held its general election on November 2, 2010, had a voter turnout of 62.7 percent, and only spent \$649,624 or \$1.67 per voter (see Table 1.1). During the general election, San Diego had seven state legislative seats, two City Council seats, and three local ballot propositions on the ballot.

Although there are about 2.5 times as many registered voters in Los Angeles than San Diego, **Los Angeles managed to spend ten times more per voter in the 2011 primary than San Diego did in the 2010 primary.** The total election expenditures for the Los Angeles primary were 11 times higher than San Diego.

Los Angeles spent 31 times more per vote more in the 2011 general election than San Diego did in the 2010 general election. Total election expenditures for the Los Angeles general election were again 11 times more than that of San Diego.

Table 1.1 City of San Diego (Even-year Consolidated)

	2010		2012	
	Primary	General	Primary	General
Election Date	6/08/2010	11/02/2010	6/05/2012	11/06/2012
Registered Voters ^{viii}	612,689	620,568	632,937	677,310
Voter Turnout ^{ix}	32.5%	62.7%	39.3%	69.4%
Election Costs ^x	\$ 806,845	\$ 649,624	\$ 2,012,344	\$ 197,949
Cost Per Voter	\$ 4.05	\$ 1.67	\$ 8.10	\$ 0.42

Table 1.2 City of Los Angeles (Off-year)

	2011		2013	
	Primary	General	Primary	General
Election Date	3/08/2011	5/17/2011	3/5/2013	5/21/2013
Registered Voters ^{xi}	1,645,451	1,645,451	1,817,111	1,817,111
Voter Turnout ^{xii}	14.1%	8.3%	20.8%	23.1%
Election Costs ^{xiii}	\$ 9,142,457.69	\$ 7,185,636.19	not yet available	not yet available
Cost Per Voter ^{xiv}	\$ 39.35	\$ 52.61	not yet available	not yet available

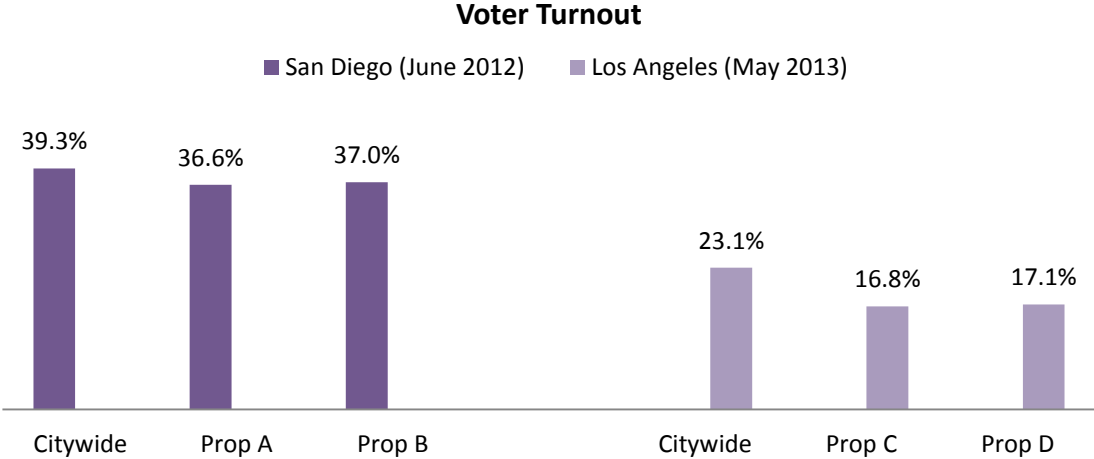
So why does city of Los Angeles hold odd-year elections if it is costing so much and voter turnout is so low? The results of our survey of county elections officials suggest one reason could be the perception that items appearing lower down the ballot in even years attract less voter interest.

In order to test this rationale, we compared the voter turnout rates for San Diego local ballot measures appearing on an even-year primary ballot (2012), to the voter turnout for the local issues in Los Angeles' off-year general election (2013). Typically, voter turnout is greater in the general election, and presidential election years tend to have the most crowded ballots. By comparing San Diego's June 2012 primary election to Los Angeles' May 2013 general election, we aimed to give the off-cycle election the greatest chance of demonstrating that down-ballot drop-off in a crowded election year results in lower voter turnout. However, the data told a different story.



We looked at San Diego’s Proposition A (project labor agreements) and Proposition B (amending retirement benefits), which both appeared at the end of the June 2012 ballot. Citywide voter turnout in the election was 39.3 percent, and for Propositions A and B voter turnout was 36.6 percent and 37.0 percent respectively.^{xv} While there was some drop off down the ballot, it appears that voters are indeed paying attention to local issues and voting down the ballot in the even years.

In comparison, Los Angeles voter turnout in the May 2013 general election was just 23.1 percent at the top of the ballot. Despite long ballots and down-ballot drop-off, voter turnout appears to still be higher for local issues at the end of an even-year ballot than any issue in off-year elections. If Los Angeles’ Proposition C (campaign spending limits) and Proposition D (medical marijuana dispensaries) were any indication, it also appears that some drop-off happens regardless of how many items are on the ballot (see graph below).^{xvi}



CASE STUDY B: SAN JOSE & SAN FRANCISCO

For case study B, we focused on two large cities in the San Francisco Bay Area. Both cities, San Jose and San Francisco, are relatively large and similar in population size, with diverse populations that include particularly large Asian communities.

Demographics

City of San Jose	City of San Francisco
<p>Population size:^{xvii} 945,942 people</p> <p>Racial/ethnic breakdown:^{xviii}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 31.7 percent Asian 2.9 percent Black 33.2 percent Latino 28.7 percent White <p>Partisan breakdown of registered voters:^{xix}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 418,924 registered voters 46.8 percent Democrat 20.6 percent Republican 28.8 percent No Party Preference <p>City government context: City council is comprised of 10 councilmembers elected by district and one mayor elected at-large.</p>	<p>Population size: 805,235 people</p> <p>Racial/ethnic breakdown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 33.0 percent Asian 5.8 percent Black 15.1 percent Latino 41.9 percent White <p>Partisan breakdown of registered voters:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 497,663 registered voters 55.6 percent Democrat 8.6 percent Republican 31.1 percent No Party Preference <p>City government context: San Francisco is unique, being both a city and a county. San Francisco's mayor and other citywide offices are up for election in off-year elections, while Board of Supervisors and school board seats are up for election in even-year elections.</p>

Political Context and Analysis

For the second case study, we analyzed the city of San Jose's 2010 general election and San Francisco's 2011 general election. Seven statewide offices, three City Council seats and three local ballot measures appeared on San Jose's November 2, 2010 election ballot. Meanwhile, San Francisco's November 8, 2011 election ballot included the mayor, district attorney, sheriff, and seven local measures.

Findings

San Jose spent \$1,028,580 to administer the election in 2010, and experienced a 63.8 percent voter turnout. It spent \$4.11 per voter (see Table 1.3). San Francisco, by contrast, spent approximately \$4 million to hold its off-year election and attracted a 42.5 percent voter turnout. San Francisco spent \$20.21 per voter (see Table 1.4). Despite the small difference in the number of registered voters between both cities, **San Francisco paid nearly five times what San Jose paid for each vote obtained.**



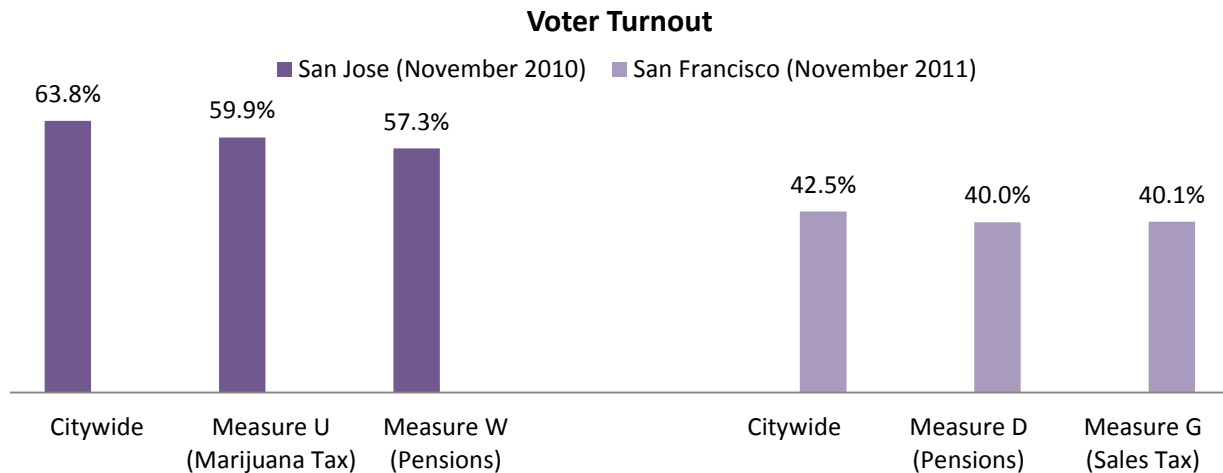
Table 1.3 City of San Jose (Even-year Consolidated)

	2010		2012	
	Primary	General	Primary	General
Election Date	6/08/2010	11/2/2010	6/5/2012	11/6/2012
Registered Voters^{xx}	385,290	392,573	386,804	418,430
Voter Turnout^{xxi}	39.6%	63.8%	37.3%	77.8%
Election Costs^{xxii}	\$ 902,755	\$ 1,028,580	\$ 1,035,144	\$ 1,009,434
Cost Per Voter^{xxiii}	\$ 5.92	\$ 4.11	\$ 7.17	\$ 3.10

Table 1.4 City of San Francisco (Off-year)

	2011		2012	
	Primary	General	Primary	General
Election Date	n/a	11/08/2011	6/5/2012	11/06/2012
Registered Voters^{xxiv}	n/a	465,587	--	500,107
Voter Turnout^{xxv}	n/a	42.5%	30.8%	72.6%
Election Costs^{xxvi}	n/a	\$ 4,000,000	--	\$ 5,000,000
Cost Per Voter	n/a	\$ 20.21	--	\$ 13.77

An analysis of the voter turnout for down-ballot local measures in the 2010 general election offers additional evidence that voters continue to pay attention to local issues and vote down the ballot during popular statewide races. While the San Jose citywide turnout in the election was 63.8 percent, Measure W (pension reform) and Measure U (marijuana business tax) which appeared at the end of the ballot, each had a voter turnout above 57 percent. In comparison, San Francisco’s 42.5 percent voter turnout in the 2011 off-cycle election was still lower (see graph below).



CASE STUDY C: LAKE FOREST & LIVERMORE

For our final case study, we compared two small cities, Livermore and Lake Forest, which both have less than 100,000 people each, to assess whether the voter turnout and cost issues were unique to larger cities or whether they were father-reaching issues. Livermore and Lake Forest have very similar population sizes, are majority white, and have similar numbers of registered voters. The elections analyzed were Livermore’s 2011 off-cycle election year and Lake Forest’s 2012 presidential election year.

Including a presidential election year in the study can complicate findings. For one, voter turnout in a presidential election tends to be much higher than in a non-presidential election. On the other hand, presidential election ballots are often the most crowded. Considering that other case studies outlined in this brief were between a 2010 and 2011 election, we do not expect this particular inclusion of a presidential election to unfairly skew the overall findings of our study.

Demographics

City of Livermore	City of Lake Forest
<p>Population size:^{xxvii} 80,968 people</p>	<p>Population size: 77,264 people</p>
<p>Racial/ethnic breakdown:^{xxviii}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8.2 percent Asian 1.9 percent Black 20.9 percent Latino 64.7 percent White 	<p>Racial/ethnic breakdown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12.9 percent Asian 1.5 percent Black 24.6 percent Latino 57.2 percent White
<p>Partisan breakdown of registered voters:^{xxix}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 49,020 registered voters 39.4 percent Democrat 33.1 percent Republican 18.2 percent No Party Preference 	<p>Partisan breakdown of registered voters:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 39,313 registered voters 27.2 percent Democrat 46.4 percent Republican 21.6 percent No Party Preference
<p>City government context: City council is comprised of four councilmembers and a mayor, all of whom are elected at-large during off-year elections.</p>	<p>City government context: City council is comprised of five city councilmembers elected at-large in even-year elections. The councilmembers select a mayor and mayor pro tempore from among themselves.</p>

Findings

Lake Forest’s November 2012 general election attracted 70.7 percent of its 46,604 registered voters, and cost \$39,498.85. In sum, the city spent \$1.20 per voter (see Table 1.5). In comparison, Livermore’s November 2011 election only attracted 32.3 percent of registered voters and cost \$297,916. Livermore spent \$19.91 per vote. This means **Livermore’s odd-year general cost nearly 17 times more money than Lake Forest’s even-year general election.** This evidence demonstrates that



election timing can have similar effects on voter turnout and costs, in both small and large-sized cities.

While conducting this study, the City Clerk for Livermore informed us that the city recently voted to change its elections to consolidate with even-year state elections.^{xxx} According to the City Clerk, a major factor influencing the decision was the City Attorney’s estimate that Livermore would save between \$250,000- \$280,000 per general election by consolidating. Livermore was the last city in Alameda County to make the switch, and is part of what seems to be a broader trend of cities converting to even-year consolidated elections.^{xxxi} Even so, some cities are actually switching from even-year elections to odd-year elections.^{xxxii}

Table 1.5 City of Lake Forest (Consolidated)

	2010		2012	
	Primary ^{xxxiii}	General	Primary	General
Election Date	n/a	11/02/2010	n/a	11/06/2012
Registered Voters ^{xxxiv}	n/a	45,375	n/a	46,604
Voter Turnout ^{xxxv}	n/a	57.2%	n/a	70.7%
Election Costs ^{xxxvi}	n/a	\$ 41,715.32	n/a	\$ 39,498.85
Cost Per Voter ^{xxxvii}	n/a	\$ 1.61	n/a	\$ 1.20

Table 1.6 City of Livermore (Off-year)

	2011		2012	
	Primary	General	Primary	General
Election Date	n/a	11/8/2011	n/a	11/6/12
Registered Voters ^{xxxviii}	n/a	46,335	n/a	48,709
Voter Turnout ^{xxxix}	n/a	32.3%	n/a	76.0%
Election Costs ^{xl}	n/a	\$297,916	n/a	\$51,145
Cost Per Voter ^{xli}	n/a	\$19.91	n/a	\$1.38

We did not conduct down-ballot voter turnout analysis for Lake Forest and Livermore.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Cities currently conducting off-cycle elections in odd years could save taxpayer dollars and increase voter turnout by consolidating elections with state elections. We encourage cities to conduct their own cost-benefit analysis and factor in other local considerations when assessing whether consolidation makes sense in their city.

Part of that analysis should include an evaluation of the racial/ethnic representation among voters who turn out and whether those demographics fairly represent the general population. Jurisdictions whose off-year elections effectively skew the electorate and minimize the vote of people of color should consolidate their elections immediately to avoid voting rights violations.



APPENDIX A – SURVEY QUESTIONS

The following questions were included in an online survey of county elections officials, administered between June 20-August 6, 2013.

- 1) County name
- 2) Number of cities in your county
- 3) Number of cities in your county that hold odd-year elections
- 4) Do you support holding odd-year elections? Yes/No. Please explain.
- 5) Do you support holding even-year elections that are consolidated with state and federal elections? Yes/No. Please explain.
- 6) Please provide any additional comments you may have related to election timing.

ⁱ Public Policy Institute of California (March 2002). “Increasing turnout in city elections: Is timing everything?”

ⁱⁱ Hajnal, Zoltan and Trounstein, Jessica (May 2005). “Where turnout matters: The consequences of uneven turnout in city politics.” *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 67, No. 2, pgs 515-535.

ⁱⁱⁱ Counties that completed the survey include: Alameda, Alpine, Amador, Inyo, Kern, Mono, Napa, Plumas, Riverside, Sacramento, San Francisco, San Joaquin, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Shasta, Sierra, Solano, Stanislaus, Tehama, Tuolumne

^{iv} Cost per voter figures are estimates calculated by dividing the total reported city election cost by the number of voters in the city that turned out in the election, according to the California Secretary of State’s reports of registration.

^v California Department of Finance. California State Data Center. Census 2010. Redistricting Data. Data Tables for California Counties and All Places (Cities and CDPs). “Table 3A – Total Population by Race (Hispanic exclusive) and Hispanic or Latino: 2010.” Available for download at

http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/state_census_data_center/census_2010/

^{vi} See California Department of Finance.

^{vii} For comparison, voter registration data for cities was obtained from the California Secretary of State Report of Registration as of February 10, 2013. Available at <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/ror-odd-year-2013/political-sub.pdf>

^{viii} California Secretary of State. Official Reports of Registration, 15-day close of registration. 2010 Primary:

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/15day-prim-10/political-sub.pdf>, 2010 General:

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/15day-gen-10/political-sub.pdf>, 2012 Primary:

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/15day-presprim-12/politicalsub1.pdf>, 2012 General:

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/15day-general-12/politicalsub1.pdf>

^{ix} Data provided in writing by the San Diego Elections Analyst.

^x Data provided in writing by the San Diego Elections Analyst.

^{xi} California Secretary of State. Official Report of Registration, Odd-numbered year reports. 2011:

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/ror-odd-year-11/politicalsub.pdf>, 2013:

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/ror-odd-year-2013/political-sub.pdf>

^{xii} Voter turnout rates for the City of Los Angeles were calculated based on total ballots cast, according to official election results posted online, divided by the total registered voters reported in the Secretary of State’s reports of registration. See total ballots cast for March 2011 (232,328): http://ens.lacity.org/clk/elections/clkelections316771183_04262011.pdf and May 2011 (135,855): http://ens.lacity.org/clk/elections/clkelections317771906_06022011.pdf. Total ballots cast for March 2013 (377,881): http://ens.lacity.org/clk/elections/clkelections329182041_04252013.pdf and May 2013 (419,592): http://ens.lacity.org/clk/elections/clkelections329082786_06102013.pdf

^{xiii} Data provided in writing by the Los Angeles City Clerk’s Office.

^{xiv} See note iv.

^{xv} Total votes cast on Proposition A (231,933) and Proposition B (234,342) on the June 5, 2012 City of San Diego ballot accessed online at http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/San_Diego_Ban_on_Project-

[Labor Agreements, Proposition A \(June 2012\)](#) and

[http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/San_Diego_Pension_Reform_Initiative, Proposition B \(June 2012\)](http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/San_Diego_Pension_Reform_Initiative, Proposition B (June 2012)) respectively.

^{xvi} Total votes cast on Propositions C (307,587) and D (309,993) were available at and

[http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/City_of_Los_Angeles_Limits_to_Campaign_Spending_and_Rights_of_Corporations,_Measure_C \(May 2013\)](http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/City_of_Los_Angeles_Limits_to_Campaign_Spending_and_Rights_of_Corporations,_Measure_C (May 2013)) and

[http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/City_of_Los_Angeles_Medical_Marijuana_Dispensaries, Measures D, E and F \(May 2013\)](http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/City_of_Los_Angeles_Medical_Marijuana_Dispensaries, Measures D, E and F (May 2013))

^{xvii} See California Department of Finance.

^{xviii} See California Department of Finance.

^{xix} See note vii.

^{xx} See note viii.

^{xxi} San Jose City Clerk's Office. Memoranda to the city council regarding certification of the results of an election. 2012 Primary Election: http://www3.sanjoseca.gov/clerk/Agenda/20100803/20100803_0206.pdf; 2010 General Election: http://www3.sanjoseca.gov/clerk/Agenda/20101207/20101207_0206.pdf; 2012 Primary Election: http://www3.sanjoseca.gov/clerk/Agenda/20120807/20120807_0207.pdf; 2012 General Election: <https://ca-sanjose.civicplus.com/DocumentCenter/View/10205>.

^{xxii} See note iv.

^{xxiii} See note iv.

^{xxiv} California Secretary of State. Official Report of Registration, Odd-numbered year report as of February 2011: <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/ror-odd-year-11/politicalsub.pdf> and 15-day close of registration report as of October 2012: <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/15day-general-12/politicalsub1.pdf>

^{xxv} City and County of San Francisco Department of Elections. "Historical Voter Turnout." Accessed 09/30/2013. Available online at <http://www.sfgov2.org/index.aspx?page=1670>

^{xxvi} Estimates provided by in writing by the San Francisco Department of Elections.

^{xxvii} See California Department of Finance.

^{xxviii} See California Department of Finance.

^{xxix} See note vii.

^{xxx} There were two ballot measures on the November 2012 general election ballot to change the City of Livermore's election dates from odd-year to even years. Both passed. Measure W passed with a greater support (77.9 percent) than to Measure X which would have also moved the city's elections to even years, but would have taken longer to do so (53.2 percent). See

[http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Livermore_City_Council_Election_Dates, Measures W and X \(November 2012\)](http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Livermore_City_Council_Election_Dates, Measures W and X (November 2012))

^{xxxi} Cities that have recently moved their elections to even years or are currently considering moving include the City of Benecia (http://www.timesheraldonline.com/copyright/ci_22932136/benecia-votes-change-even-year-elections), City of Cupertino (http://www.mercurynews.com/ci_22630476/cupertino-council-votes-shift-elections-even-numbered-years), City of Emeryville (http://www.contracostatimes.com/ci_23362908/emeryville-wants-change-election-date-even-years), City of Newark (<http://www.newark.org/images/uploads/ctymgr/pdfs/NovElection/election%20ordinance-070113.pdf>), City of San Francisco (<http://www.smartvoter.org/2012/11/06/ca/sf/prop/D/>), City of Sunnyvale (<http://sunnyvale.ca.gov/Portals/0/Sunnyvale/CouncilReports/2012/12-051.pdf>), and a number of other cities.

^{xxxii} See news coverage about the City of Perris here: <http://www.pe.com/opinion/editorials-headlines/20130714-editorial-enough-political-tinkering-with-election-schedules.ece>

^{xxxiii} The City of Lake Forest does not conduct primary elections.

^{xxxiv} See note viii.

^{xxxv} Voter turnout provided in writing by the City of Lake Forest's City Clerk.

^{xxxvi} Election cost information provided in writing by the City of Lake Forest's City Clerk.

^{xxxvii} See note iv.

^{xxxviii} See note viii and xi.

^{xxxix} Data provided in writing by the City of Livermore City Clerk's Office.

^{xl} Data provided in writing by the City of Livermore City Clerk's Office.

^{xli} See note iv.