

# Open Primaries and Top Two Elections:

*Proposition 14 on California's June 2010 Ballot*



| by Molly Milligan



CENTER *for* GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES

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# Foreword

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The Center for Governmental Studies (CGS) has studied California governance issues for more than 25 years. This study, “Open Primaries and Top Two Elections: Proposition 14 on California’s June 2010 Ballot,” began shortly after its provisions were passed by the Legislature as part of the budget deal on February 20, 2009. In a compromise that broke a stalemate that had persisted for six months, the Legislature gained the vote of Republican Senator Abel Maldonado to pass the budget (needed to achieve a two-thirds majority) in exchange for placing his proposal to change the election system in California on the June 2010 ballot.

Maldonado’s proposal is now known as Proposition 14. It would require the use of open primaries in elections for state and most federal officials. Under such a system, a voter can vote for any candidate running for a particular office regardless of his or her party affiliation or that of the candidates; the top two vote getters in the primary, and no other candidates, contest a general election run off to determine the winner of each seat.

CGS examined the possible electoral outcomes under such a system, using voter registration and participation data, and campaign finance information. We believe our study provides a fascinating snapshot of California voters in 2010 and presents valuable information to help voters determine how to vote on this important issue.

This report would not be possible without the outstanding work and expertise of Bethany Tillman, UCLA, MPA, 2010. Editorial insight and invaluable support were provided by Bob Stern, Tracy Westen, and Jessica Levinson.

CGS thanks the James Irvine Foundation and California Forward for the generous support that made this study possible. The conclusions and recommendations expressed in this report are solely the responsibility of its authors and not of the directors or financial supporters of CGS.

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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In June 2010, Californians will vote on a ballot measure that, if adopted, will fundamentally change the way California elects state and congressional officials.

Today, candidates compete against each other in party primary elections limited to that party's candidates. Voters registered with a specific party vote only to determine their own party's nominees, and the winner of each party primary competes in the general election against winners from other parties' primaries.

Proposition 14, placed on the June 2010 ballot reluctantly by the state legislature,<sup>1</sup> would change this election system for California statewide, legislative, Board of Equalization and congressional candidates.

- (1) In the primary election, state and congressional (but not Presidential) candidates from all political parties would compete together in a single, open primary, with candidates for each office from all the parties appearing on the same ballot. Candidates could voluntarily identify themselves with a political party, or not.
- (2) In the general election, only the candidates who finished first and second in the open primary would compete against each other in a run off, even if those two candidates are members of the same political party, and even if one primary candidate received more than 50% of the vote.

In California's November 2004 general election, Proposition 62 proposed virtually the same changes as those in Proposition 14, although Proposition 62 would have permitted general election write in votes. Californians rejected Proposition 62 by a vote of 46% to 54%. As of March 2010, however, public opinion polls show Proposition 14 winning by a modest margin.

**Proponents' Argument:** Proponents of Proposition 14 argue that this new system will elect state officials who are "less extreme" on the right or left. In districts with heavy Democratic voter registration, for example, the two candidates who move on to contest the general election may both be Democrats. Republicans would be able to vote for the more "moderate" Democratic candidate in the run off, rather than having only a choice, for example, between a very liberal Democrat and a very conservative Republican. Thus, the more moderate Democratic candidate may gain enough support to win. Minority party voters (in this case Republicans), re-energized and encouraged to participate, could affect the outcome of such races, and the legislature would be less polarized politically.

**Opponents' Argument:** Opponents of Proposition 14 counter that its changes will trigger more expensive, never-ending campaigns and prevent many voters from being able to vote for their own party candidates in the general election.

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<sup>1</sup> Republican State Senator Abel Maldonado (Santa Maria) insisted that the legislature place the measure on the ballot in exchange for his tie-breaking vote in support of the 2009 California state budget.

**CGS Analysis:** CGS analyzed voter registration data and the most recent primary elections for state legislative, congressional and Board of Equalization candidates. We first identified “supermajority districts,” in which one political party led voter registration by 25 percentage points or more over any other. We show why these districts are most likely to select two candidates from the same party to contest the general election run off. We also examined primary elections that would have resulted in “top two, same party” run off general elections, if Proposition 14 was already in place, to determine how many times the more liberal or conservative candidates won and by what margins. Our analysis indicates that when the primary election vote margins are sufficiently small, independent voters or voters from other parties might be able to swing the election to the more moderate or centrist of the two candidates.

**Part I: Pros And Cons Of Proposition 14.** Part I of the report outlines a number of the arguments for and against changing the election system as proposed in Proposition 14.

**Part II: “Top Two, Same Party” Potential Based On Voter Registration Data And Recent Election Results.** Part II of the report analyzes California voter registration data, which indicate that in up to one-third of California’s legislative and congressional districts, general election run off races under Proposition 14 might feature contests between two members of the same political party. CGS believes that these districts could easily produce “top two, same party” general election contests in future elections if disparities in voter registration remain approximately the same. All of these districts favor Democrats, and they frequently have large percentages of Decline to State (DTS) voters who previously have appeared to support Democratic candidates. Part II also includes an analysis of recent California elections which shows that 19 State Senate and Assembly races and 4 Congressional races (including one special election race) would have resulted in general election run off contests between members of the same party if Proposition 14 was already in place.

**Part III: Possible Moderate Trend Toward Centrist Candidates.** Part III of the report assesses whether a top two election system would tend to elect more moderate legislators, a rationale advanced by Proposition 14’s proponents. We analyze the 19 California legislative primary races identified in Part II, and assess whether the more liberal, conservative or moderate candidate prevailed. Our analysis shows that the Proposition 14 election changes might have a moderating influence in races where the primary vote is close. In the recent primary elections, for example, in slightly over 21% of the 19 top two results we found, the vote was close enough that general election run off support by voters of the other party or by DTS voters could have made a difference in the general election result. CGS additionally found, however, that the more moderate candidate prevailed anyway under the current election system in nearly half of these races (42%).

Of note, 11 of these 19 races involved State Senate seats, which CGS believes suggests that the greatest impact of Proposition 14 will be on senate races, in which races for open seats frequently involve established politicians who have been termed out of other offices.

**Conclusions:** Our analysis supports three conclusions:

*First:* More than one-third of all state legislative and congressional races could produce general election run offs between two members of the same party.

*Second:* Nearly all of these top two general election run offs today would involve two Democrats. This situation might not change significantly when new legislative district lines are drawn prior to the 2012 election, because registration trends strongly in favor of the Democratic Party in the population centers of the state.

*Third:* If the election system is changed as proposed in Proposition 14, there might be some races in which a “top two, same party” general election run off could be close enough that voters from another party or DTS voters could swing the election to a more moderate candidate.

CGS further believes it is likely that campaigns will be significantly more expensive than before, since candidates will seek to influence a broader spectrum of voters instead of just voters from their own political parties.

The argument that a top two election system will have a significant impact in making the legislature more moderate must be tempered by a number of political and individual factors. It may take several election cycles for voter behavior to react to changes in the electoral process. Party registration imbalances may shift in future elections. The new independent Citizens Redistricting Commission may create fewer lopsided districts when it redraws district lines before the 2012 elections.

The influence of DTS voters may grow in future elections, whether or not the voters approve Proposition 14, especially if their numbers increase and fewer voters register with the political parties. DTS voters, who now make up slightly more than 20% of all registration in California, have not participated in great numbers in past partisan primaries; their voting behavior—whether toward one party or the other—will increasingly influence outcomes.

This report is based largely on data from past elections after the state’s 2001 legislative redistricting. It is therefore a guide to, and not a predictor of, future voter behavior.

In sum, California voters in June 2010 will be faced with compelling arguments on both sides by supporters and opponents of Proposition 14. This report is intended to help voters decide whether to vote yes or no on this important issue.



# SYNOPSIS OF DATA AND FINDINGS

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## 1: Supermajority Districts Are Those Most Affected By Proposition 14

Districts where one party has more registered voters than the other by 25 percentage points or more are most likely to be affected by the top two election system. CGS calls these "supermajority districts." Based on registration only, about one-third of all legislative districts are supermajority districts and could produce "top two, same party" general election contests.

### Current State Registration

- California in 2008 had far more registered Democrats (45%) than Republicans (31%).
- Major party registration is declining as a percentage of all registered voters. (Democratic registration in 1998 was 47%; Republican registration in 1998 was 35%).
- Decline to State (DTS) registered voters now make up 20% of all registered voters, an increase of 54% since 1998 (when this group made up just 13% of the electorate).
- Third party registration (4%) has remained constant in this ten year period.

### Growing Number Of Supermajority Districts

- If two members of the same party face each other in a general election run off, in the vast majority of cases, two Democrats will compete rather than two Republicans.
- In 15 of 40 (37.5%) of State Senate districts, 28 of 80 (35%) of State Assembly districts, and 19 of 53 (36%) of Congressional districts, Democrats hold a registration advantage of 25 percentage points or more over Republicans. Every supermajority district favors the Democratic Party.
- Over the past decade the total number of supermajority Senate districts has increased by 50% (five additional districts over the 10 that existed in 1998); the total number of supermajority Assembly districts has increased by 12% (three additional districts over the 25 that existed in 1998); and the total number of supermajority Congressional districts has increased by 12% (2 additional districts over the 17 that existed in 1998).
- In 1998, there was one supermajority Republican Senate district, one supermajority Republican Assembly district and two supermajority Republican Congressional districts. Today there are no supermajority Republican legislative districts in California.
- With a few exceptions, the supermajority districts and thus the "top two, same party" elections will occur in the Bay Area and in Los Angeles County.

*Decline To State Registration Is Increasing In Supermajority Districts*

Based only on the number of voters registered as DTS in supermajority districts, DTS voters will likely play a significant role in election outcomes in any top two election system.

- In 1998, DTS voters made up less than 20% of all registered voters in every Senate district, all but two Assembly districts and all but one Congressional district.
- In 2008, DTS voters represented 20% or more of registered voters in 19 Senate districts, 33 Assembly districts and 27 Congressional districts.
- In supermajority districts, DTS voters are an even larger percentage of registered voters (22% in the 14 supermajority Democratic Senate districts, 21% in the 27 supermajority Democratic Assembly districts, and 21.3% in the 19 supermajority Democratic Congressional districts).

## **2: In Recent California Legislative Elections, 19 “Top Two, Same Party” Run Offs Would Have Resulted If Proposition 14 Was Already In Effect**

CGS reviewed the most recent primary election results for each seat in the California Legislature to determine if two candidates from the same party would have advanced beyond the primary because they were the two top vote getters. We looked at the June 2006 primary for even numbered Senate seats and the June 2008 primary for odd numbered Senate seats and all Assembly seats.

- In 19 Senate and Assembly districts since 2006, voters in the general election would have chosen between two candidates from the same political party.
- In 7 of 20 Senate primary races in 2006, the top two vote getters were Democrats; in no Senate race were the top two vote getters both Republicans.
- In 4 of 20 Senate primary races in 2008, the top two vote getters were Democrats; in no Senate race were the top two vote getters both Republicans.
- Senate races will be disproportionately affected by Proposition 14 changes because they frequently involve contests between established politicians who have termed out of their Assembly seats.
- In 8 of 80 Assembly primary races in 2008 (when Assembly districts were most recently contested), the top two vote getters were members of the same political party. In 6 of these races two Democrats received the most votes.
- In the only 2 races where two Republicans received the most votes, Assembly District 64 (Riverside County) and Assembly District 71 (parts of Riverside and Orange Counties), no Democrat appeared on the primary election ballot. In AD 64, however, a write in candidate won the Democratic nomination.

### **3: In Recent Congressional Primary Elections, There Were 4 Races In Which The Top Two Vote Getters Were Members Of The Same Party**

- In 3 of 53 Congressional primary races in 2008, the top two vote getters were Democrats; in no Congressional race were the top two vote getters both Republicans.
- One additional “top two, same party” race would have occurred in the special election in CD 12 in 2009. Two Democrats were the top two vote getters in the primary (Judy Chu and Gilbert Cedillo).

### **4: A Top Two Election System Might Ameliorate Polarization**

CGS studied campaign finance statements, articles, editorials, endorsements, and, in some cases, ratings of votes (released by various organizations) to determine both how candidates in the 19 California legislative primary races that had top two results were perceived along a liberal to conservative spectrum and which groups funded their campaigns. Because some candidates were not legislators and thus did not have votes to rate, CGS relied most heavily on campaign finance data, articles, and editorials to determine the ideology of candidates.

Some proponents of a top two election system assume that it would have a significant moderating effect on the legislature because moderate candidates may have cross-party appeal and may be better able to fundraise and compete in a general election, even in predictably liberal or conservative districts. On the other hand, more liberal or conservative candidates may be better fundraisers, more articulate, better problem solvers or generally more appealing candidates. In addition, unique events within a district may affect electoral outcomes.

CGS found a potential moderating affect in a top two election system in situations involving very close contests between two members of the same party.

- Under the current partisan nominating system, a moderate candidate was the top vote getter in 8 of the 19 races studied (42%).
- In 17 of the 19 races (89%), the two candidates would have been Democrats.
- In 4 of the 19 races (21%), the vote was close (the winner won by less than 5 percentage points). In each case, the primary winner was distinct ideologically from his or her opponent, but shared the same party label. Thus, in each case, the votes of Republicans and DTS voters in a general election run off would have caused both candidates to move toward the political center to attract those votes in the general election run off.
- In 15 of the 19 races (79%), however, the top vote getter prevailed in the primary by a median 20 percentage points, indicating that factors other than ideology alone worked in favor of the top vote getter. The election system would not seem to affect such factors.

## **5: Decline To State Voters Do Not Currently Have A Significant Impact On Primary Elections**

CGS studied the impact of DTS voters in the 2008 primary elections, in which the major parties permitted DTS voters to participate in their party nominations. We focused on the 14 counties with 300,000 or more registered voters. Most DTS voters who participate in primary elections only do so to vote for nonpartisan races or ballot measures. In order to participate in partisan primary elections they must affirmatively request a partisan ballot, and many DTS voters may not be aware that they have been permitted to participate by the political parties.

- Turnout in the June 2008 primary was very low – just 4.5 million California voters went to the polls (28.2% of all registered voters, including 30% of registered Democrats, 33% of registered Republicans and 20.3% of DTS voters).
- DTS voters were 13.9% of the statewide turnout in the June 2008 primary (634,245 voters), 42.4% of whom participated in the partisan primaries in that election (268,729 voters). Partisan DTS turnout thus represented just 6% of the low turnout in June 2008.
- DTS voters, in 13 of the 14 largest California counties in terms of voter registration, voted in 2008 partisan primaries at a median rate of just 5.8 %. The Secretary of State did not report a separate figure for Democratic-DTS or American Independent-DTS votes in Fresno County. Therefore, Fresno County was not included in CGS calculations.
- DTS voters who voted in the 2008 partisan primaries overwhelmingly requested Democratic ballots, as opposed to Republican or American Independent ballots.
- DTS voters who participated in the 2008 partisan primaries in 13 of the largest counties requested Democratic ballots 74.6% of the time.

## **6: Third Party Voters Do Not Currently Have A Significant Impact On Primary Elections**

CGS looked at the behavior of third party voters and compared their participation in the June 2006 and June 2008 primary elections with their participation in the subsequent November general elections. There were occasional races in which a third party candidate received a much higher percentage of the vote than his or her party's registration, although in all such instances the percentage was still very small as compared to the percentage of votes for major party candidates

- Third party voters are an insignificant presence in primary elections because they vote consistently at rates below 1% of overall turnout in primary elections.
- Third party voters also participate in general elections below their registration numbers, because no third party candidate may be on the ballot during a particular election.

# ANALYSIS OF THE TOP TWO ELECTION PROPOSAL

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## INTRODUCTION

CGS has examined in detail the potential effect of a top two election system on California elections. Part I of this report lists the arguments for and against such a system.

Part II analyzes registration data and recent election results to determine what affect this system might have on California elections. An analysis of data for Congressional districts is also included, although in less depth because those seats are not subject to term limits and will not be included in the redistricting by the Citizens Redistricting Commission in 2011.<sup>2</sup>

Part III examines specific recent state legislative races in districts dominated by a single political party (in which there would have been "top two, same party" general election contests if the proposed system was already in place) to determine whether a top two election system would result in the election of more moderate candidates.

The Appendix lists the current State Senate, Assembly, and Congressional districts, including their registration demographics, current officeholder and term limit, where applicable.

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<sup>2</sup> Two other initiatives may qualify for the November 2010 ballot. Proponent Charles Munger has submitted signatures to the Secretary of State to qualify an initiative constitutional amendment which, if approved by voters, would add congressional redistricting to the duties of the Citizens Redistricting Commission. But proponent Daniel Lowenstein is circulating a second initiative constitutional amendment for signatures which, if it should qualify for the ballot and be approved by voters, would eliminate the Citizens Redistricting Commission altogether.



# PART I

## A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE PROS AND CONS OF PROPOSITION 14

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### **A. Background**

#### **Proposition 14 (June 2010)**

Proposition 14 would change the election system in California. Currently, candidates for partisan offices are nominated by their parties in partisan primary elections and all the nominees of qualified parties appear on the general election ballot.

If Proposition 14 is passed by the voters, however, the election system will change. Political parties will no longer nominate candidates for the general election. Proposition 14 would create a “voter nominated primary election” system for most of the partisan offices covered by state elections (United States Senator, United States Representative, State Senator, State Assembly Member, Board of Equalization Member, and all of the statewide offices, but not including President of the United States). In other words, a nonpartisan primary will be held allowing individual voters to cast a ballot for any individual running for a particular office regardless of the party affiliation of the voter or of the candidate. Only two candidates, those garnering the two highest vote totals in the nonpartisan primary, would move on to contest the general election.

#### **Proposition 62 (November 2004)**

Californians have considered changing the election system in this manner before. In the 2004 Presidential general election, voters rejected Proposition 62 (46% to 54 %), *which proposed virtually the same changes to the election system as 2010’s Proposition 14.*<sup>3</sup> At the same time they passed Proposition 60 (68% to 32%), which placed in the California Constitution a requirement that all parties that participate in a primary election be able to advance their top vote-getting candidate to the general election. Proposition 14 would repeal that constitutional provision.

Voters in 2004 were barraged with campaign messages that presented a stark dichotomy. Proponents said that Proposition 62 “puts power – and choice – back in *your* hands and takes it away from the party bosses and political insiders . . .”<sup>4</sup> Opponents maintained that a vote against Proposition 62 would stop “a small group of millionaires who have LOST at the ballot box and now want to change the rules to manipulate primary elections and limit YOUR choice in General Elections.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Contrary to Proposition 14, however, write in votes would have been permitted in general election contests if Proposition 62 had passed., according to the Legislative Analyst in the Voter Information Guide.

<http://vote2004.sos.ca.gov/voterguide/propositions/prop62-analysis.htm>

<sup>4</sup> Secretary of State, Official Voter Information Guide, Proposition 62, <http://vote2004.sos.ca.gov/voterguide/propositions/prop62-arguments.htm> (emphasis in original)

<sup>5</sup> Id. (emphasis in original)

## **B. Current Arguments For And Against Proposition 14**

The arguments advanced today for and against tinkering with our election laws are more rooted in practical considerations than those presented to voters six years ago. Both sides argue that challenging economic conditions and polarization of the Legislature support their position.

- **Pro:** “Proposition 14 would create choice for voters and result in a more moderate legislature”

- *Non-partisan primaries give voters more choice*

Every primary voter would be given the same ballot which would list *every candidate* in each race. Thus, voters would have more candidates to consider in primary elections because they would be able to choose *any* candidate regardless of the voter’s registered party, or of the party affiliation of any candidate.

- *Candidates will be forced to appeal to a broader base of the electorate resulting in more moderate candidates and less partisan strife; there will be more election-related information available to voters*

Proponents maintain that those candidates ultimately elected will be more responsive to voters because their campaigns by necessity will need to have broad appeal. Voters will care more about the issues because successful campaigns will have to be about more than a single issue.

Proposition 14 supporters also suggest that the power of special interests and party bosses will be reduced because candidates will have to be more accountable for their statements and actions to all of the voters in a district, rather than just to the single-issue voters or loyalists in a party.

In addition, the greater number of candidates in primary elections will increase the amount of information that voters receive. The political parties will still be able to endorse candidates and communicate directly with their members.

In many races under the current election system, particularly those in lopsided districts, candidates do not bother to campaign during the period before the general election because the outcome is preordained. That situation will likely change in districts where the top two vote getters are both Democrats or are both Republicans, and the candidates must actively campaign to distinguish themselves from their opponent.

As candidates adjust their political messages to attract a broader range of and more voters, they will moderate their positions. Over time, this individual moderation will result in a more moderate legislature. This growing influence should result in less partisan wrangling, less factionalism, and more cooperation by our political leaders.

- Healthy competition will be restored to elections because all voters, including independents, could participate

Turnout is predicted to increase. Those in favor of Proposition 14 point to increased interest in primary elections as a result of the restoration of competition. Many districts now have general election contests in which the outcome is predictable, which decrease voter interest in that stage of the election. It seems likely that if the general election outcome is at all in doubt (as might be the case if the two general election candidates represent the same party) voter interest – and with it, voter turnout – will increase.

Furthermore, independent voters would be able to exercise their clout in the mainstream of the political discussion and, as a result, more voters will be invested in the outcome of the primary and therefore in the general election.

- All votes cast will be meaningful, including those cast by independent voters

Every vote will count in both the primary and the general election run off, unlike the current situation where the general election winner is decided in the primary election. Independent voters will cast meaningful ballots; competition and turnout should increase as more voters are invested in the outcome of all elections.

- Voters are familiar with this system already, since it is somewhat similar to that used in most municipal elections

This is a reform that would be an easy transition for voters, who have already encountered a related form of it in local elections. Thus, a reasonable adjustment in the way state elections are conducted could go a long way toward curbing the stubborn partisanship which has threatened to make California ungovernable.

- If Proposition 14 is passed by voters, the Secretary of State will provide information to the public to alleviate voter confusion

The legislation that was signed by the Governor to implement the provisions of Proposition 14 (SB 6; signed on February 20, 2009, as part of the budget agreement that place Proposition 14 on the June 2010 ballot), would require the Secretary of State to “post, in a conspicuous place on his or her Internet Web site, the party preference history of each candidate for voter-nominated office in the preceding 10 years.”

- **Con:** “Proposition 14 will lead to more expensive campaigns; reduce voter choice, perhaps resulting in many general election contests in which two candidates from the same party are the only choices on the ballot; confuse voters; and be unnecessary after redistricting takes place”
  - Primary candidates will have to wage expensive campaigns in order to appeal to a very broad spectrum of voters

Candidates will have to spend at least twice what they now spend in the June election to reach all the voters because the primary election will be waged as if it were a general election. Primary candidates will have to appeal to a broad spectrum of registered voters in their district and finance messages that don't only target the party base. More money will be spent on campaigns because more candidates will be viable second-place finishers, even in lopsided districts, so competition will require additional primary funding.

In competitive run off elections, more money may be needed where the two remaining candidates are difficult to distinguish, either in terms of their professed party affiliation or their positions on the issues.

Opponents of Proposition 14 fear that this will favor wealthy candidates, able to control the airwaves and other information sources in the first round and “buy victory” to get to the runoff general election, which as noted may also be more expensive than many current general election races. They point out that voters already are disgusted with the expense and length of campaigns and that Proposition 14 will simply exacerbate a bad situation.

- Voters will have greatly restricted choices at the point in the election process when it matters most, in the general election

Opponents primarily argue that since only two candidates would advance to the general election runoff, voters would not be able to support third party candidates who are much less likely to garner the most or the second most votes in a primary. Third parties will only rarely have the opportunity to appeal to voters in the run off.

Moreover, although voter turnout might increase if Proposition 14 is approved, it will not equal that of the general election and choice is most relevant at that most decisive point when participation is greatest. Our democracy is stronger when the voices of all parties that have support beyond a minimal threshold are represented on the general election ballot; their policies might not be represented at all in the two candidates in the run off.

Second, there would be no opportunity for voters to lodge a protest vote, particularly since the two remaining candidates would likely represent similar views. Some voters may not be interested in casting a vote for either remaining choice.<sup>6</sup> As Justice Scalia noted in

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<sup>6</sup> Election returns in Washington State, which instituted the top two election system for the first time in the 2008 legislative primary, show that in 3 legislative districts in which primaries were held in both 2008 and 2009, turnout decreased by a median 20% from the 2008 primary to the 2009 primary (turnout in the counties involved

*California Democratic Party v. Jones*, the United States Supreme Court case that threw out California's short-lived blanket primary, voters could be left with fewer choices because this type of election system "assur[es] a range of candidates who are all more centrist."<sup>7</sup> Or, at the opposite extreme, the moderate vote might be fractured in a large field of primary candidates thus allowing two extreme candidates, with strong core support, to advance, as was the famous case in an election in Louisiana (which has an election system very much like that proposed in Proposition 14) where the top two candidates were a former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan and a corrupt governor who later went to prison.<sup>8</sup>

Third, opponents argue that Proposition 14 would not allow write in candidates during general election contests unless the write in candidate was running for President or had been one of the top two vote getters in the voter nominated primary election.

Finally, opponents point to registration statistics which make it very likely that in many districts general election run offs will involve two candidates of the same party. This, they maintain, could depress voter interest in the general election contests because many voters will resent not being able to vote for a member of their party in the general election.

- *Political parties should be able to choose their nominees*
- *Candidates may attempt to confuse voters about their party affiliations in order to get enough votes to qualify for the run off*

If Proposition 14 is approved by voters, elections may be affected in unanticipated ways. There would be no requirement that candidates list their party affiliation on the primary ballot. Candidates could represent themselves as "independent" while maintaining their political party ties. Opponents ask, "[H]ow is allowing politicians to hide their party affiliation going to fix partisanship?"<sup>9</sup>

- *Voters may be confused because the changes made by Proposition 14 are not as similar to the municipal election model as proponents maintain.*

In municipal elections there are no labels of party identification, as there would be in a Proposition 14 primary, and there are no run offs.

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in the 3 races was 31.5% in August 2009 compared to an estimated 44.5% in those same districts in the August 2008 primary). Turnout also decreased in the general election by a median of 41%, but the general election in 2008 had record-breaking turnout because of the presidential election. The median margin of victory in the 2009 general election run off in these 3 districts was 26 percentage points.

<http://wei.secstate.wa.gov/osos/en/PreviousElections/Pages/default.aspx>

<sup>7</sup> *California Democratic Party v. Jones*, 530 U.S. 567, 584 (2000)(internal quotation marks omitted).

<sup>8</sup> <http://archive.fairvote.org/?page=235>; Ronald Smothers, New York Times, *Louisiana Governor's Race Becomes Debate on the Past*, November 4, 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Secretary of State, *Official Voter Information Guide, California Statwide Direct Primary Election, Tuesday, June 8, 2010*, <http://voterguide.sos.ca.gov/propositions/14/arguments-rebuttals.htm>.

- Many of the problems that have contributed to the polarization of the legislature will be solved through the redistricting that will take place before the 2012 elections

Proposition 14 opponents will argue that the devil is in the details. Making a radical change in the conduct of state elections is unwarranted, and may ultimately backfire in spite of the good intentions of reformers. It is unknown whether the implementation of a nonpartisan primary will have a moderating effect on officeholders or whether the current logjam in our legislature would be at all ameliorated by a top two election system. There simply isn't available evidence in that regard. Further, many of the current problems result from the gerrymandering that took place nearly ten years ago when the legislature drew the district lines for its members. Those lines will surely be changed before 2012 by the Citizens Redistricting Commission, which was mandated by voters in 2008.

## PART II

### VOTER REGISTRATION AND RECENT ELECTION RESULTS

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Part II of this report details research on the two most important factors that will determine the effect of this proposal: voter registration statistics and voter behavior in elections. We focus in particular on California legislative districts, but include snapshots of both Congress (not subject to term limits) and the Board of Equalization. The figures, graphs and accompanying narrative are divided into two sections, the first detailing voter *registration* over the past decade and the second analyzing voter *behavior* in the most recent legislative elections.

California has far more registered Democrats than Republicans or Decline to State (DTS) voters. In addition, more than one-third of California legislative districts heavily favor Democrats in registration. Thus, if voters approve Proposition 14, and assuming that registration disparities remain about the same, there could be a significant number of general election run off contests between members of the same political party in future elections.

#### REGISTRATION

Democratic and DTS registration has steadily increased throughout the past decade in terms of actual numbers of voters; registration of Republicans and third party voters has remained constant. DTS voters are the only group of voters to increase as a percentage of the electorate. Currently they are slightly more than 20% of all registered voters.<sup>10</sup> Their voting decisions will have a growing impact on elections in California, particularly if voters approve the nonpartisan, top two election system proposed in Proposition 14.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> DTS registration is 20.14% (representing more than 3.4 million voters), according to the most recent report of voter registration released by on April 9, 2010, by the California Secretary of State. [www.sos.ca.gov](http://www.sos.ca.gov).

<sup>11</sup> If a top two election system had been in place for the December 8, 2009, Massachusetts special state primary, Massachusetts State Senator Scott Brown would not have advanced to the general election run off. He would have finished in third place with 145,465 votes on that day (in the Republican primary). Massachusetts Attorney General Martha Coakley and Member of Congress Mike Capuano received 310,227 votes 184,791 votes, respectively, on that day (in the Democratic primary). <http://www.sec.state.ma.us/ELE/elsespeif/senatorincongressmaprires.htm>. In that special election to replace the late Edward Kennedy in the United States Senate, ballots cast by “unenrolled” voters clearly determined the outcome; independent voters were the most motivated voters on general Election Day, and they voted for Brown. Chris Cillizza, The Importance of Independents, *The Washington Post*, January 26, 2010. <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/thefix/white-house/the-importance-of-independents.html>. See also, Jessie McKinley, California Ex-Governor Announces Encore Run, *New York Times*, March 3, 2010. In contrast with Massachusetts, where election laws are quite flexible and voters register as “unenrolled” in large numbers (independent voters are 51% of the electorate, Democrats are 37%, and Republicans are 12%), [http://www.sec.state.ma.us/ELE/elepdf/st\\_county\\_town\\_enroll\\_breakdown\\_08.pdf](http://www.sec.state.ma.us/ELE/elepdf/st_county_town_enroll_breakdown_08.pdf), DTS voters in California, while a growing bloc of voters, number about one voter out of every five, making the influence of independent voters here a factor in elections, but one that is still well short of the influence of the major parties.

As the legislative districts are currently drawn in California, of the 120 total districts<sup>12</sup> there are just 38 with majority Republican registration (12 of 40 Senate districts and 26 of 80 Assembly districts). Only 13 Senators<sup>13</sup> and 29 Assembly Members are Republicans. No Republican members of the California Legislature represent districts in which Republican registration represents a supermajority (where it exceeds Democratic registration by 25 percentage points or more). Just 3 Republican Senators and 3 Republican Assembly Members represent districts in which their party represents a substantial majority (by between 15 and 25 percentage points), while 3 Republican Senators and 3 Republican Assembly Members represent districts that, based on registration only, favor Democrats.<sup>14</sup>

Conversely, only 8 of the 76 Democratic members in the *entire* State Legislature *do not* represent districts in which their party is in the majority by 15 percentage points or more (1 Senator and 7 Assembly Members), while no Democrat represents a district in which there is a Republican majority in registration. In 68 Senate and Assembly districts held by Democrats there are either super- (by 25 percentage points or more) or substantial (between 15 and 25 percentage points) Democratic majorities. Currently DTS voters in those 68 districts are registered in numbers greater than their statewide registration (at a median rate of 21% in 24 Senate districts and 20.5% in 44 Assembly districts).

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<sup>12</sup> A list of Senate, Assembly, and Congressional districts is contained in the Appendix. Information included there describes the registration characteristics of each district, where it is located, the name of the incumbent and the term limit, where applicable, on each seat.

<sup>13</sup> Senate District 37 is vacant following the resignation of Republican John Benoit in December 2009 (to become a Supervisor of Riverside County). The district has simple majority Republican registration (by less than 4%), and DTS registration of 17%.

Senate District 15 became vacant when Republican Abel Maldonado resigned to become Lieutenant Governor on April 27, 2010. Senate District 15 is a simple majority Democratic district (by just over 6%), and has DTS registration of 19.6%.

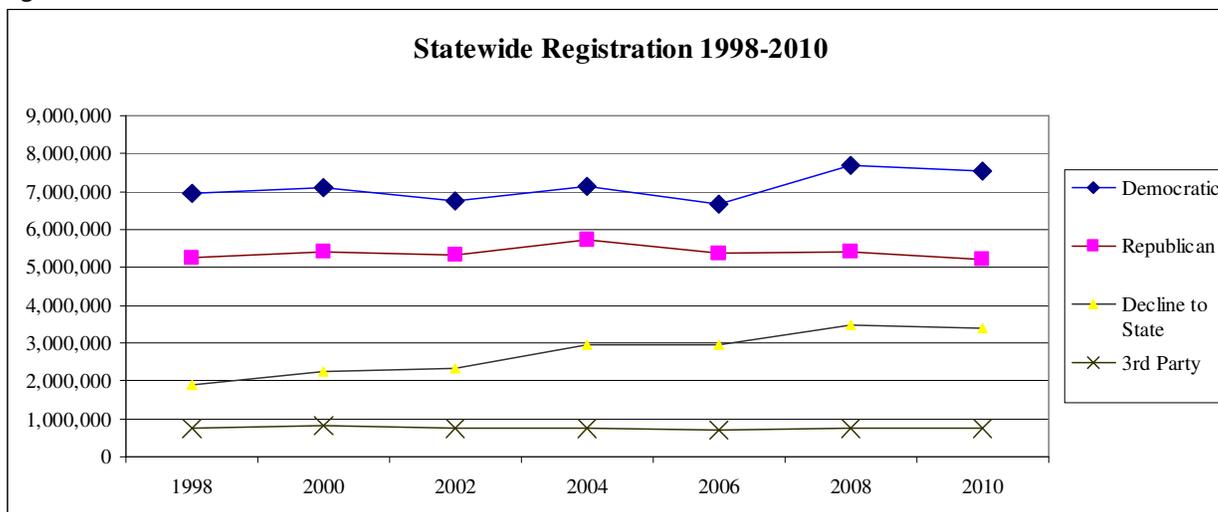
<sup>14</sup> In fact, in SD 12, two-term Republican Senator Jeff Denham represents a district in which Democrats now outnumber Republicans by between 15 and 25 percentage points, what CGS calls a substantial majority district. In each of the other 5 districts, Democrats have only a simple majority over Republicans.

## A. Statewide Registration

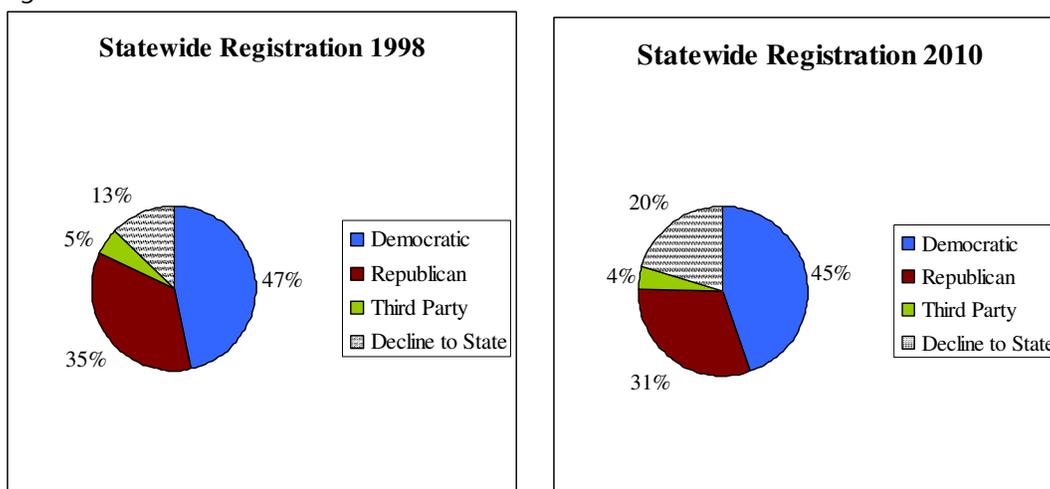
### Figures 1a, 1b, And 1c

These figures show statewide voter registration trends from 1998 to 2010<sup>15</sup> for Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS voters.

Figure 1a



Figures 1b and 1c



<sup>15</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all registration data used in this document is taken from the first report issued by the Secretary of State following each legislative general election for the years indicated. Thus, data cited for 2008 was contained in the first report issued by the Secretary of State following the general election in November 2008. That report was issued in February 2009 (a so-called “odd-year registration report”). The data cited for 2006 was similarly retrieved from the first registration report issued by the Secretary of State following the general election in November 2006, and so forth. Registration data for 2010 is based on the report released by the California Secretary of State on January 5, 2010.

Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c show that third party registration has remained relatively constant from 1998 to 2010; DTS registration increased steadily (by 54%) from 13% in 1998 to 20% in 2010; registered Republican voters decreased from 35% to 31% between 1998 to 2010; and Democratic registration decreased slightly, as a percentage of all registered voters, from 47% in 1998 to 45% in 2010, although the number of registered Democratic voters increased significantly, by over one million voters, from 2006 to 2008. Currently, there are

- about three-quarters of a million registered third party voters (4.4%),
- approximately 3.4 million registered DTS voters (20.14%),
- 5.2 million registered Republican voters (30.8%), and,
- over 7.5 million registered Democratic voters (44.6%).

Voters continue to register in near-record percentages, but major party registration is declining (as a percentage of the electorate) since many voters choose not to declare affiliation with any political party. DTS registration has seen steady increases over the last decade. It continues to grow as a percentage of registered voters, and now more than 1 in 5 voters is registered DTS. The decisions of DTS voters will increasingly have a significant impact on elections, whether or not voters decide to change the manner in which elections are conducted as proposed in Proposition 14. CGS speculates, however, that if the election system is changed to permit all voters to participate in primary elections, DTS registration will continue to increase, probably at a larger rate, and DTS voters will be outcome determinative in many districts.

The decade-long increase in DTS registration indicates a frustration with the major parties by a growing percentage of the electorate. CGS believes this trend would accelerate if the top two election system proposed in Proposition 14 is adopted because, in addition to the decisions of individual voters, the parties as entities would have less influence. Partisan primaries would be eliminated entirely and primary elections would no longer nominate party candidates. Every voter would receive a primary ballot that lists all the candidates running for every seat, regardless of the party affiliation of the candidates or that of the voter.

## **B. Senate District Registration**

### ***Figure 2a: "Supermajority" Senate Districts***

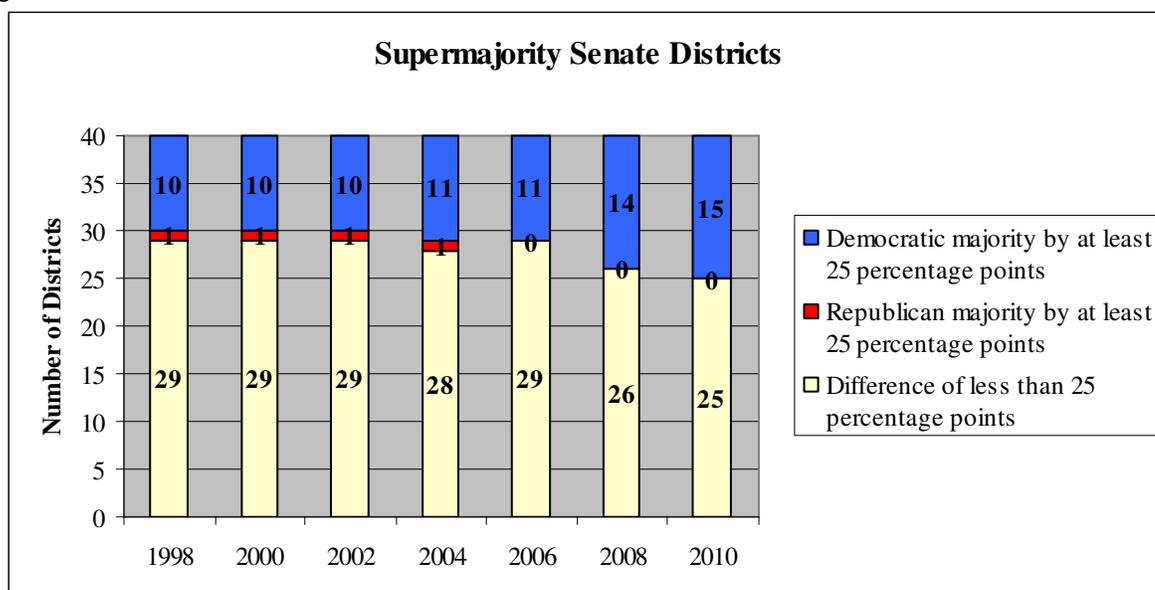
There are 40 Senate districts in California. CGS used registration data from 1998 to 2010, to show the number of Senate districts where:

- (1) the percent of voters registered as Democrats outnumber the percent of voters registered as Republican by 25 percentage points or more;
- (2) the percent of voters registered as Republican outnumber the percent of voters registered as Democrats by 25 percentage points or more; and,

(3) there is a difference of less than 25 percentage points between the percent of voters registered as Democrats and the percent of voters registered as Republican.<sup>16</sup>

In this report, districts where the registration of one party is greater than the registration of another party by 25 percentage points or more are referred to as “supermajority districts.” CGS considers such districts to be those most likely affected by a top two election system. In supermajority districts, the top two voter getters in a primary are more likely to be members of the same party than in non-supermajority districts. Although legislative districts will be redrawn prior to the elections in 2012, the dominance of the Democratic Party in registration along with the growing numbers of DTS voters will result in many districts in which the top two primary vote getters are likely to be Democrats rather than Republicans.

Figure 2a



If Proposition 14 is approved by voters, the implementation of a top two election system would likely mean that in many Senate districts two Democrats would contest the general election run off, but there may be no such contests involving two Republicans. Supermajority Republican districts have completely disappeared. From 1998 to 2004, there was only one such supermajority district—Senate District 33 (which includes the Orange County communities of Laguna, Rancho Santa Margarita, Mission Viejo, and parts of Orange). District 33 is currently a substantial majority Republican district, in which Democrats trail in registration by between 15 to 25 percentage points.<sup>17</sup>

From 1998 to 2010, supermajority Democratic districts have ranged from 10 to 15 districts. In the last ten years in California, between 25% and 35% of Senate districts were supermajority Democratic

<sup>16</sup>California legislative districts will be redrawn prior to the 2012 elections by the independent Citizens Redistricting Commission, and district lines may change dramatically. Congressional district lines will not be drawn by the commission.

<sup>17</sup> Senate District 33 currently has 28.9% Democratic registration, 47% Republican registration, and 20.2% DTS registration.

districts. The number of supermajority Senate districts increased by 3 between 2006 and 2008, reflecting the registration trend away from the Republican Party both in California and across the country, because of the Presidential election in 2008. The January 10, 2010, report of registration by the Secretary of State shows that the Democrats picked up one more supermajority district (Senate District 27 in Los Angeles), bringing the total number of supermajority Democratic districts to 15 (37.5% of the total of 40).<sup>18</sup>

**Figure 2b: List Of Supermajority Senate Districts**

Figure 2b lists all Senate districts that had supermajorities at any time from 1998 to 2010. During that period between 11 and 15 districts (out of a total of 40) have been supermajority districts at some time. New legislative district boundaries were drawn by the Legislature following the census in 2000; those new boundaries were in place for the 2002 elections.

Figure 2b

<b>Supermajority Senate Districts</b>					
<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>
3	3	3	3	2	2
8	8	8	8	3	3
9	9	9	9	8	8
20	13	10	10	9	9
22	20	13	13	10	10
23	22	20	20	11	11
24	24	22	22	13	13
25	25	24	24	20	20
26	26	25	25	22	22
30	30	26	26	23	23
33	33	30	30	24	24
		33		25	25
				26	26
				30	27
					30
Total supermajority districts:					
<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>

**Maps Of Supermajority Senate Districts**

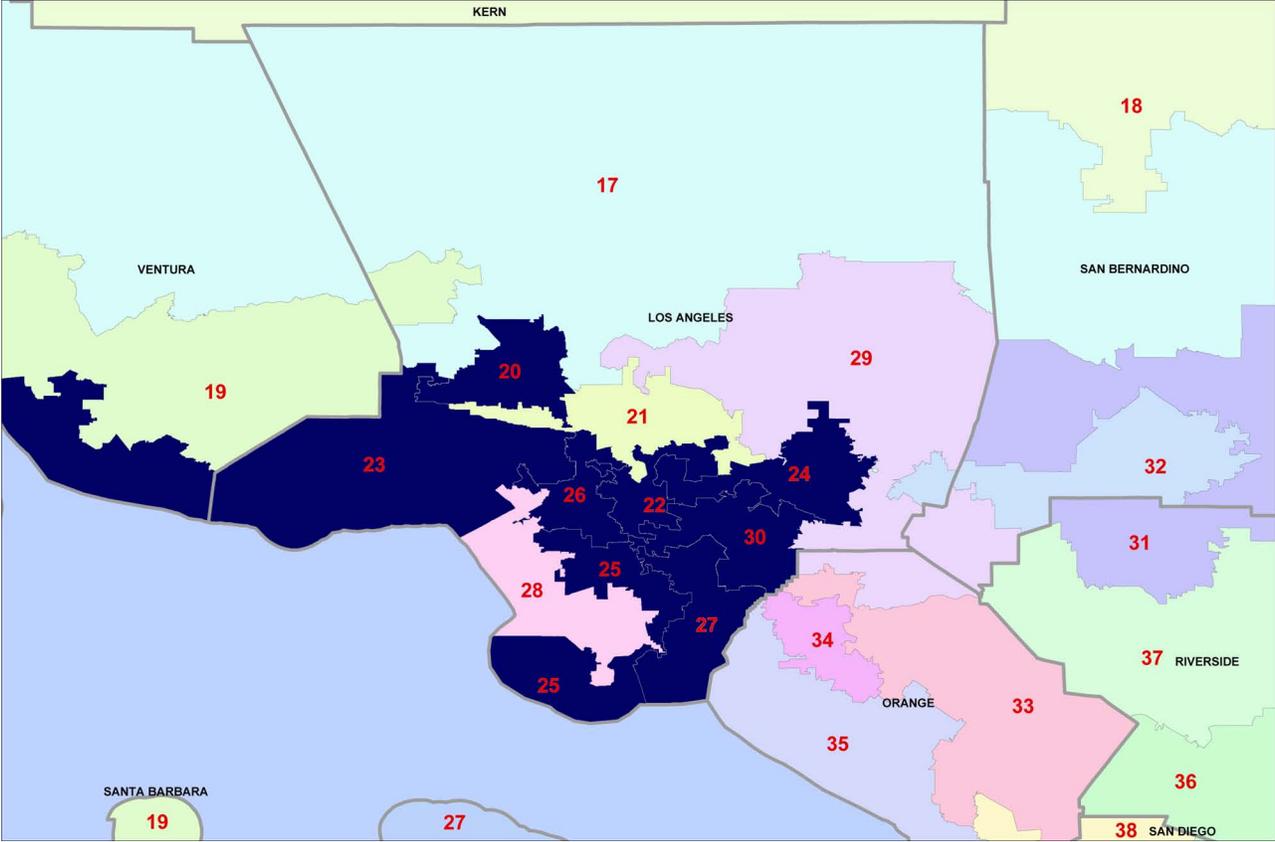
The following two maps of California Senate districts highlight those districts that are supermajority districts. The districts are bunched together in either the northern or southern coastal parts of the state, and are in fact contiguous in most cases, including SD 27, the most recent district to have supermajority registration.

<sup>18</sup> Additionally, CGS has identified 8 Democratic and 3 Republican substantial majority Senate districts (registration majorities of between 15 and 25 percentage points), as well as 5 Democratic and 9 Republican simple majority Senate districts (registration majorities of less than 15 percentage points). The appendix includes a complete listing of current Senate districts, including the registration characteristics, the location, and current incumbent of each district.

Map A: Supermajority Senate Districts, North

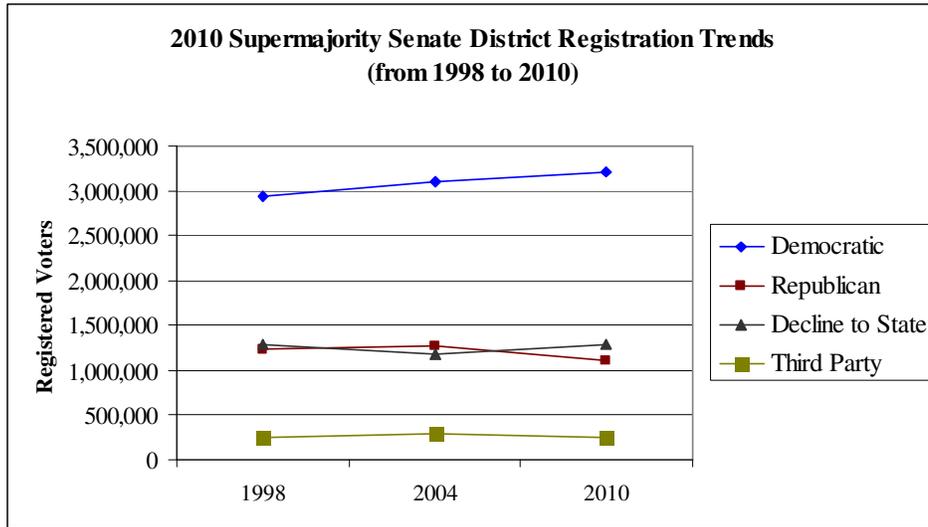


Map B: Supermajority Senate Districts, South



**Figure 2c: Ten-Year Registration Trends In Current Supermajority Senate Districts**

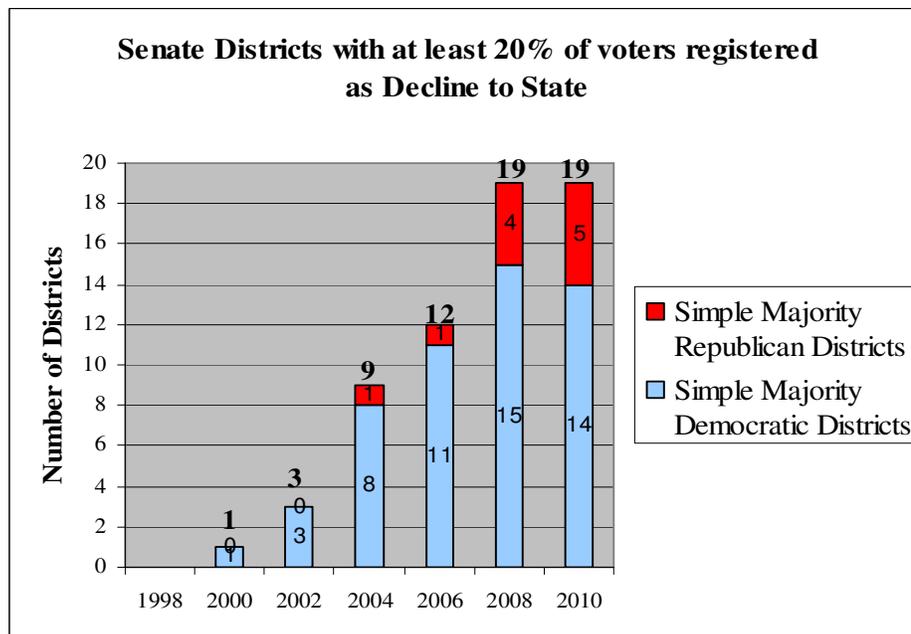
Figure 2c



The registration trends for current supermajority districts are striking. During the past decade, the number of registered voters has increased and more voters are registered Democratic or DTS. In these current supermajority districts Democratic registration increased from about 2.8 million to over 3 million from 1998 to 2010. Similarly, DTS registration increased from 1998 to 2010 (from 500,000 to nearly 1.3 million voters). Third party and Republican registration in these districts remained relatively constant from 1998 to 2008. Clearly, supermajority districts have become increasingly Democratic.

**Figure 2d: Senate Districts With 20% Or More DTS Voters**

Figure 2d



CGS picked 20% as the percentage at which DTS voters could likely play an outcome determinative role in primary races. CGS found that, regardless of the majority party in a district, in districts where 20% or more of the registered voters are DTS, fewer voters are registered with the non-majority party. In some cases, the 20% or more DTS voters nearly equal the number of non-majority party registered voters. For example, in Democratic districts the median registration for Democrats is 50%. Where DTS voters are 20% or more of the electorate, a median of just 21% of registered voters are Republicans; but where DTS voters are less than 20% of the electorate the median rate of Republican registration increases to 28%. In Republican districts, the median rate of registration for Republicans is just 44% and the median rate for Democrats varies between 30% and 34%, the lower number in districts with DTS registration at 20% or more. DTS registration of 20% or more thus represents a bright line because at this level of registration a block of voters can potentially influence election outcomes.

Figure 2d shows the number of Senate districts, from 1998 to 2010, where 20% or more of the registered voters registered as DTS. In 1998 there were no such districts; currently there are 19 such districts (48% of the total of 40). This dramatic increase in the number of voters registered as DTS has occurred in Senate districts with both Democratic and Republic majorities. Nonetheless, DTS voters in general are more numerous in districts with more voters registered as Democrats than Republicans. The chart is another depiction of the increasing importance of DTS voters.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Because of their rate of registration, therefore, in 5 of the 12 Senate districts with majority Republican registration (42%), DTS voters could have an outcome determinative effect, as they might in 14 of 28 Senate districts with Democratic registration (50%).

**Figure 2e: List Of Senate Districts (by district) With 20% Or More DTS Voters**

Figure 2e shows the dramatic relative growth over the ten-year period of the block of DTS voters both in terms of geographic range and its concentration in Democratic districts. This factor makes it more likely that a district might have “top two, same party” primary election results under a Proposition 14 election system, assuming that district lines do not change. Even where Republicans have at least a simple majority DTS voters will play a significant role in determining whether the top two vote getters in these district are members of the same party.

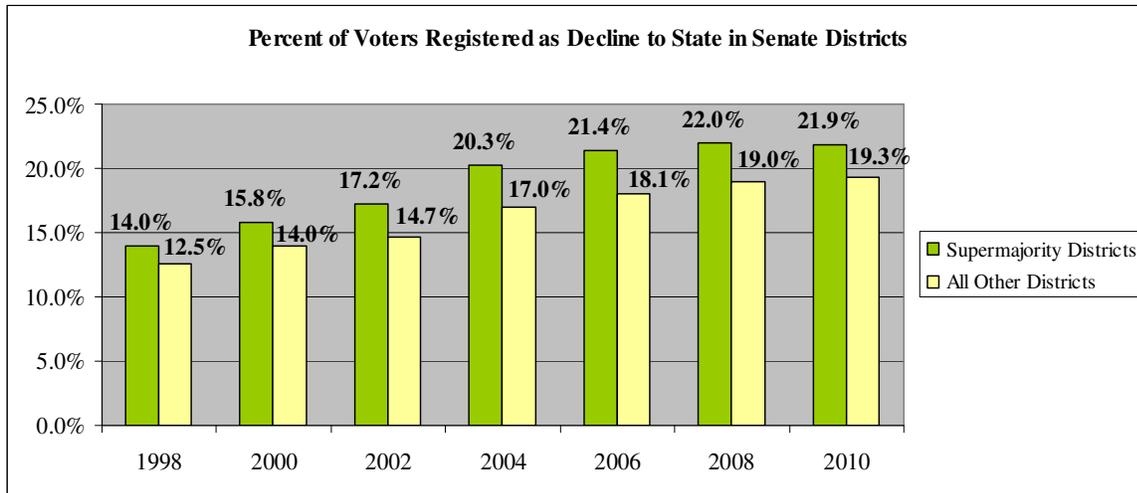
Figure 2e

<b>Senate Districts with at least 20% of voters registered as Decline to State</b>						
<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>
(0)	8	3	3	3	3	3
	(1)	8	8	8	6	8
		13	9	9	8	9
		(3)	10	10	9	10
			11	11	10	11
			13	13	11	13
			22	21	13	20
			38	22	20	21
			39	23	21	22
			(9)	28	22	23
				38	23	24
				39	24	28
				(12)	28	29
					29	33
					35	35
					36	36
					38	38
					39	39
					40	40
					(19)	(19)

### Figure 2f: Percent Of DTS Voters In Senate Districts

Figure 2f compares, from 1998 to 2010, the percent of voters registered as DTS in supermajority districts to such voters in the other (non-supermajority) Senate districts. The graph shows that DTS voters have increased in all Senate districts, but that the percent of DTS voters is consistently greater in supermajority districts than in Senate districts that do not have supermajority registration.

Figure 2f



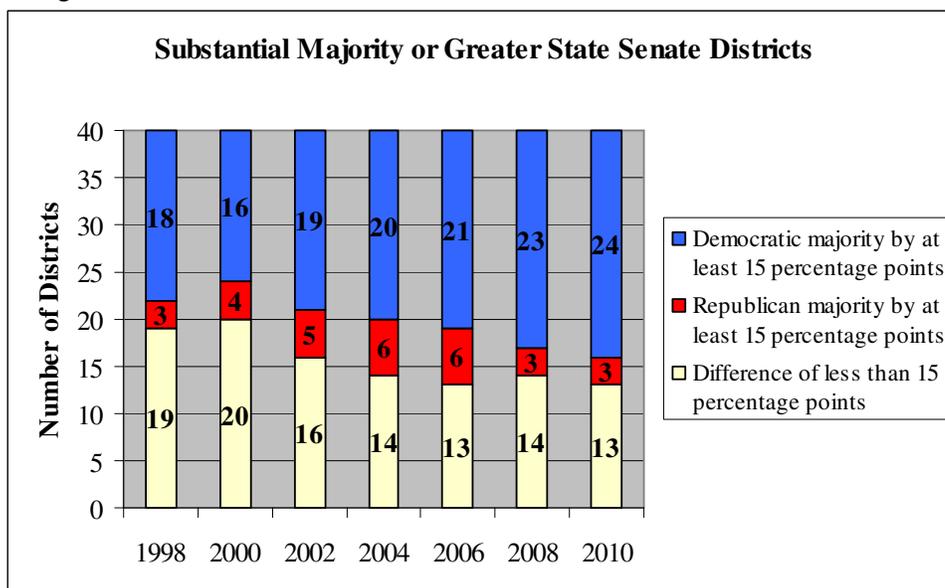
### Figure 2g: Ten-Year Trends In "Substantial Majority Or Greater" Senate Districts

Figure 2g illustrates the ten-year trend for party majorities in Senate districts. Specifically, it shows the number of Senate districts where:

- (1) the percent of voters registered as Democrats outnumber the percent of voters registered as Republican by more than 15 percentage points;
- (2) the percent of voters registered as Republican outnumber the percent of voters registered as Democrats by more than 15 percentage points; and
- (3) there is a difference of less than 15 percentage points between the percent of voters registered as Democrats and the percent of voters registered as Republican.

CGS refers to those districts where the registration of one party is greater than the registration of another party by between 15 and 25 percentage points as "substantial majority districts." While substantial majority districts may not be quite as likely as supermajority districts to produce general election contests where the two candidates are members of the same party, they are still more likely to be districts in which "top two, same party" general election contests could result. We add them to the number of supermajority districts (15) that we identified in figure 2a to show that a significant number of Senate districts might produce a "top two, same party" primary election result under a Proposition 14 election system (27 districts: 24 Democratic and 3 Republican).

Figure 2g



Over the past ten years there was

- (1) a range of between 16 and 24 districts where the percent of voters registered as Democrats has been at least 15 percentage points or more than the percent of voters registered as Republicans;
- (2) a range of between 3 and 6 districts where the percent of voters registered as Republicans has been at least 15 percentage points or more than the percent of voters registered as Democrats; and,
- (3) a range of between 13 and 20 districts where there has been a less than 15 percentage point difference between the registration of the two majority parties.

The Democratic Party is clearly dominant in overall Senate district registration over the past decade. If the election system is changed as proposed by Proposition 14, "top two, same party" general election contests could occur in Senate races in the 14 supermajority and 9 substantial majority Democratic districts and the 3 substantial majority Republican districts (as Senate districts are currently drawn), while two party general election contests might occur in only 14 Senate districts. Thus, under a top two election system, it is far more likely that two Democrats will compete for seats in the State Senate in general elections than two Republicans.

### C. Assembly District Registration

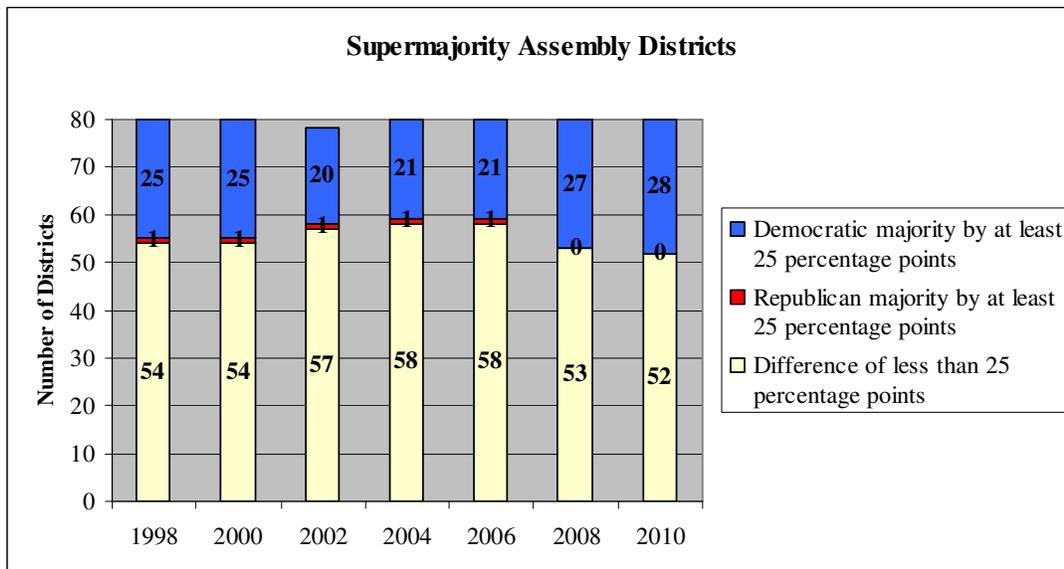
#### Figure 3a: "Supermajority" Assembly Districts

There are 80 Assembly districts in California.<sup>20</sup> Figure 3a shows Assembly districts where, from 1998 to 2010:

- (1) the percent of voters registered as Democrats outnumber the percent of voters registered as Republicans by 25 percentage points or more;
- (2) the percent of voters registered as Republican outnumber the percent of voters registered as Democrats by 25 percentage points or more; and
- (3) there is a difference of less than 25 percentage points between the percent of voters registered as Democrats and the percent of voters registered as Republicans.<sup>21</sup>

CGS refers to those Assembly districts where the registration of one party is greater than the registration of another party by 25 percentage points or more as "supermajority districts." Such districts are those most likely to be affected by Proposition 14's top two election system. In other words, in supermajority districts, the top two voter getters in the primary are more likely to be members of the same party than in non-supermajority districts.

Figure 3a



<sup>20</sup> The current California Assembly districts were drawn separately from current California Senate districts. Both types of districts vary in their geographic boundaries and shapes. Thus, areas of supermajority registration do not overlap exactly. In the 1990's, however, the California Supreme Court drew the districts so that each Senate district consisted of two Assembly districts.

<sup>21</sup> Note that because California legislative districts will be redrawn by the independent Citizens Redistricting Commission, district lines may change dramatically. The new boundaries will be in effect for the 2012 elections.

There are currently 28 Democratic supermajority Assembly districts and not one Republican supermajority Assembly district. Therefore a Proposition 14 top two election system would be much more likely to produce two Democratic candidates for Assembly in general election run offs, than two Republican candidates, under the districts as currently drawn. From 1998 to 2006, there was only one Republican supermajority district—district 71 in Orange County, which includes the communities of Corona, Norco, Mission Viejo and Rancho Santa Margarita. District 71 now is a substantial majority Republican district, in which Democrats trail in registration 29% to 47.7%.

The graph shows that from 1998 to 2010, there has been a range of between 20 and 28 supermajority Democratic districts. In the last ten years in California, an average of about 30% of Assembly districts had supermajority Democratic registration. Of the total of 80 Assembly districts, 35% now are supermajority Democratic districts.

During that same time an average of about 70% of Assembly districts had neither a Democratic nor Republican supermajority (a range of between 53 to 58 districts). As of January 2010, however, the number of supermajority districts reached a peak of 28 (35%), more than any other time in the 10 previous years (similarly, in 2008 there were more supermajority Senate districts (14) than at any time since 1998; see above figure 2a). Just as was the case in Senate districts, the January 2010 report of registration shows that the Democrats have picked up one more supermajority Assembly district (Assembly District 40 in the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County), bringing the total number of supermajority Democratic districts to 28.<sup>22</sup>

### ***Figure 3b: List Of Supermajority Assembly Districts***

Figure 3b lists the Assembly districts that had supermajorities at any time from 1998 to 2010. There were 26 such districts in 1998, 21 in 2002, 22 in 2004, and 28 in 2010. There was only one Republican supermajority district from 1998 to 2006, and there are none now. New legislative district boundaries were drawn by the Legislature following the census in 2000; those new boundaries were in place for the 2002 elections. Proposition 14 election changes would clearly lead to many situations where the two top vote getters would be two Democrats, rather than two Republicans.

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<sup>22</sup> Additionally, CGS has identified 16 Democratic and 3 Republican substantial majority Assembly districts (registration majorities of between 15 and 25 percentage points), as well as 8 Democratic and 25 Republican simple majority Assembly districts (registration majorities of less than 15 percentage points). The appendix includes a complete listing of current Assembly districts, including the registration characteristics, the location, and current incumbent of each district.

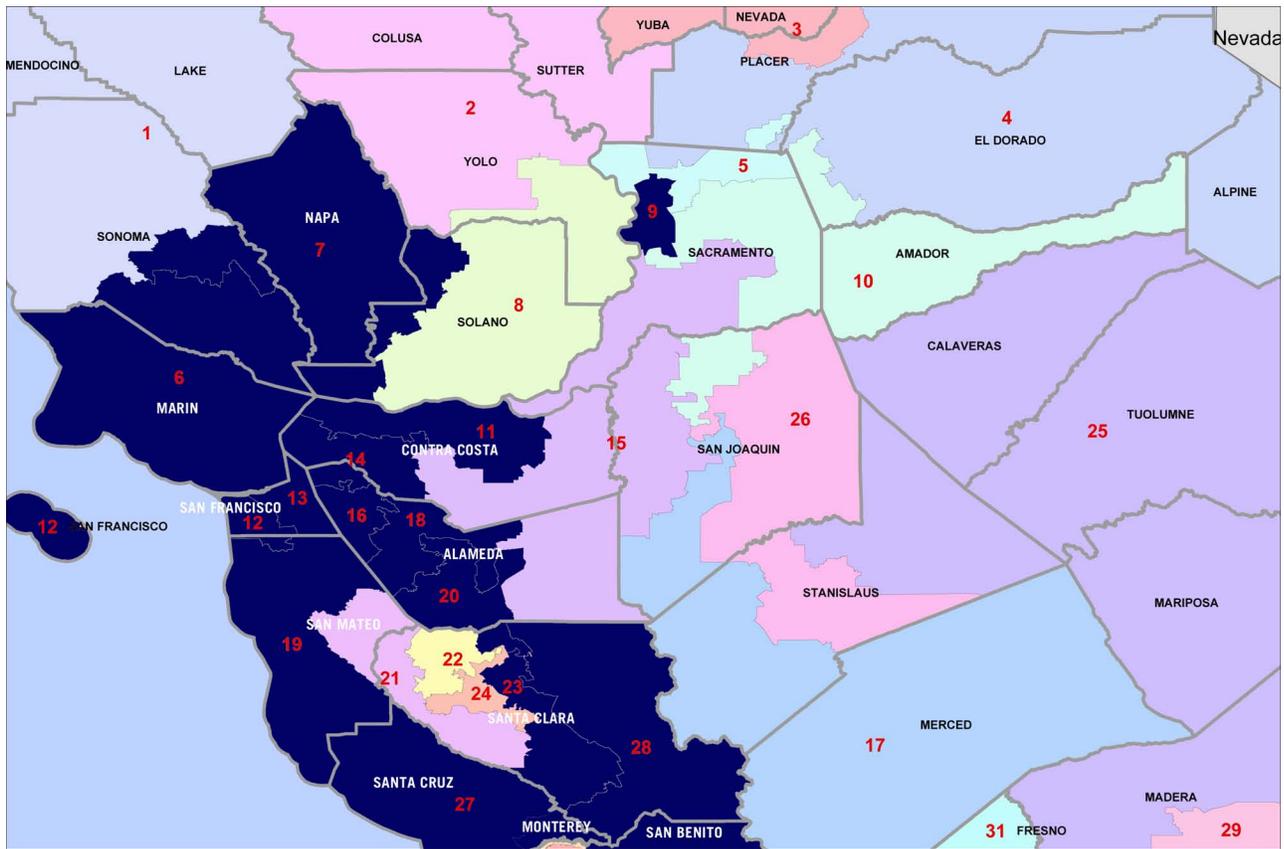
Figure 3b

Supermajority Assembly Districts						
1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
9	9	9	6	6	6	6
12	11	11	9	9	7	7
13	12	12	11	11	9	9
14	13	13	12	12	11	11
16	14	14	13	13	12	12
18	16	16	14	14	13	13
19	18	18	16	16	14	14
23	19	23	18	18	16	16
31	23	39	19	19	18	18
39	39	42	23	23	19	19
40	40	45	39	39	20	20
42	42	46	42	42	23	23
45	45	47	45	45	27	27
46	46	48	46	46	28	28
47	47	50	47	47	39	39
48	48	51	48	48	42	40
49	49	52	50	50	45	42
50	50	55	51	51	46	45
51	51	58	52	52	47	46
52	52	62	55	55	48	47
55	55	71	58	58	50	48
57	57		71	71	51	50
58	58				52	51
62	62				55	52
71	71				57	55
79	79				58	57
					62	58
						62
Total supermajority districts:						
26	26	21	22	22	27	28

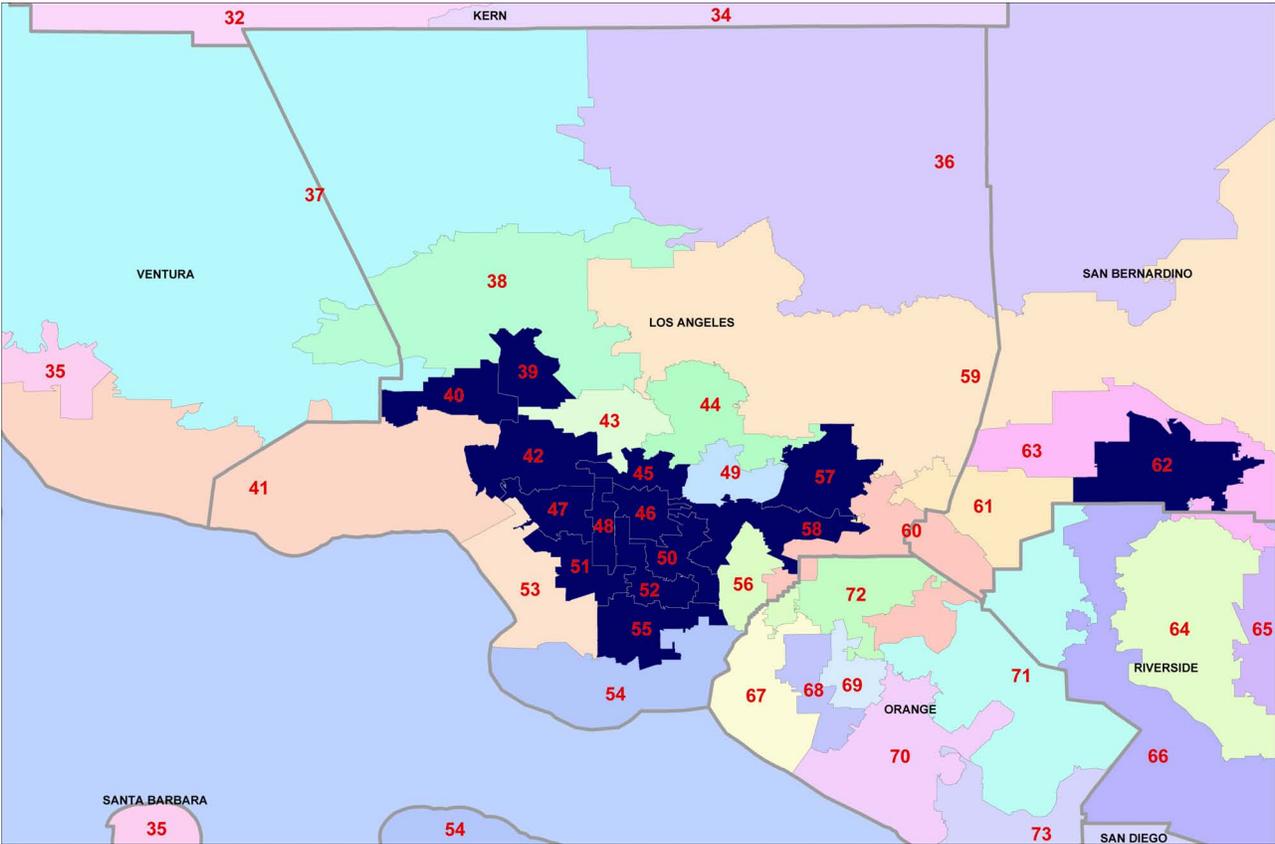
### ***Maps Of Supermajority Assembly Districts***

The following two maps of California Assembly Districts highlight those districts that are supermajority districts. The supermajority districts are grouped together in the northern and southern coastal parts of the state, and are in fact contiguous in all but three cases: AD 9, AD 39, and AD 62. The most recent district to have supermajority registration, AD 40, is contiguous with the southern grouping.

Map C: Supermajority Assembly Districts, North

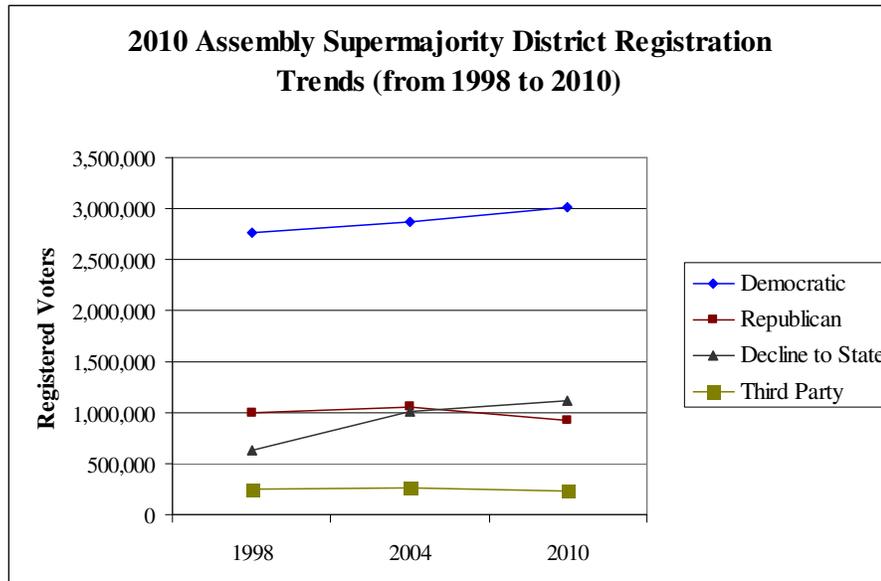


Map D: Supermajority Assembly Districts, South



**Figure 3c: Ten-Year Registration Trends In Current Supermajority Assembly Districts**

Figure 3c



The number of registered voters has increased in supermajority Assembly districts and the registration is more Democratic and DTS. Figure 3c shows that the number of third party and Republican registered voters has remained relatively constant in these districts while DTS registration has increased from approximately 600,000 to over 1.1 million voters, and now exceeds overall Republican registration in supermajority Assembly districts. Democratic registration has increased from approximately 2.6 million to 3 million voters.

**Figure 3d: Assembly Districts With 20% Or More DTS Voters**

Figure 3d

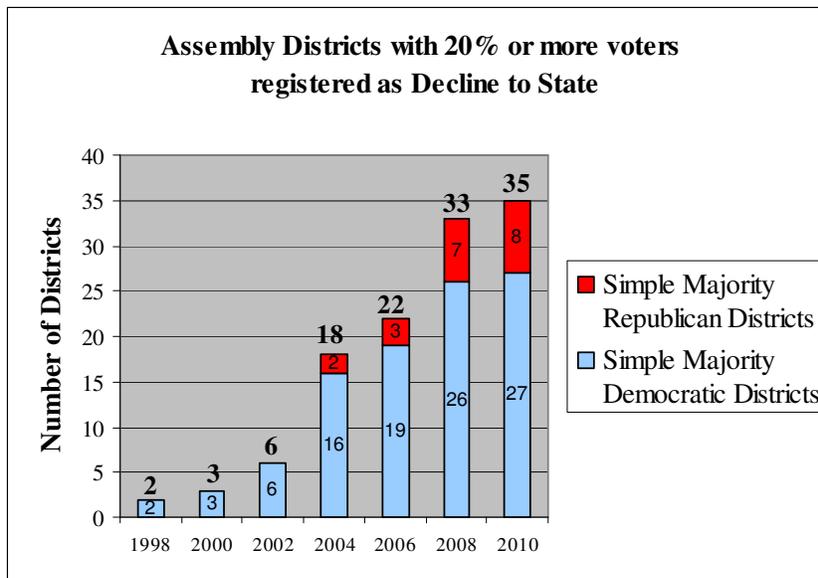


Figure 3d shows those Assembly districts, from 1998 to 2010, where 20% or more voters were registered as DTS. CGS picked 20% as the percentage at which DTS voters could likely play an outcome determinative role in primary races.<sup>23</sup> These districts with large numbers of voters registered DTS have steadily increased in number. In 1998, there were just 2 such Assembly districts, both Democratic. By 2008, however, there were 33 such districts (just over 41% of the total of 80): 26 majority Democratic Assembly districts where 20% or more of the voters registered as DTS and 7 such majority Republican Assembly districts. The latest registration figures show that there are now 27 Democratic districts and 8 Republican districts where DTS exceeds 20% of total registration (44% of the total).<sup>24</sup> DTS voters play a significant role in many more Democratic districts than Republican districts.

**Figure 3e: List of Assembly Districts (by district) With 20% Or More DTS Voters**

While there were only 2 Assembly districts in 1998 with DTS registration of 20% or more, there were 35 such districts in 2010. By a lopsided margin (now 27 seats to 8 seats), these districts are dominated by Democratic voters. Further, no district that has reached 20% or more in DTS registration has, during this ten-year period, lost enough DTS registration to go under 20%. This dramatic relative growth in

<sup>23</sup> In Democratic Assembly districts, the median registration for Democrats is 50%. In districts where DTS voters are 20% or more of the electorate, a median of just 22% of voters are Republican. Where DTS registration dips below 20%, the Republican median is 26%. In Republican Assembly districts, the median registration for Republicans is 44%. In those Republican districts where DTS voters are 20% or more of the electorate, a median of 31% of voters are Democrats. Where DTS registration dips below 20%, the Democratic median is 35%. As was the case in Senate districts, DTS registration of 20% or more thus is a bright line above which the influence of this group of voters is potentially significant to electoral outcomes.

<sup>24</sup> January 5, 2010, report of the Secretary of State. <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/154day-prim-10/index.htm>

the block of DTS voters includes a wide geographic range and significant concentration in Democratic districts.

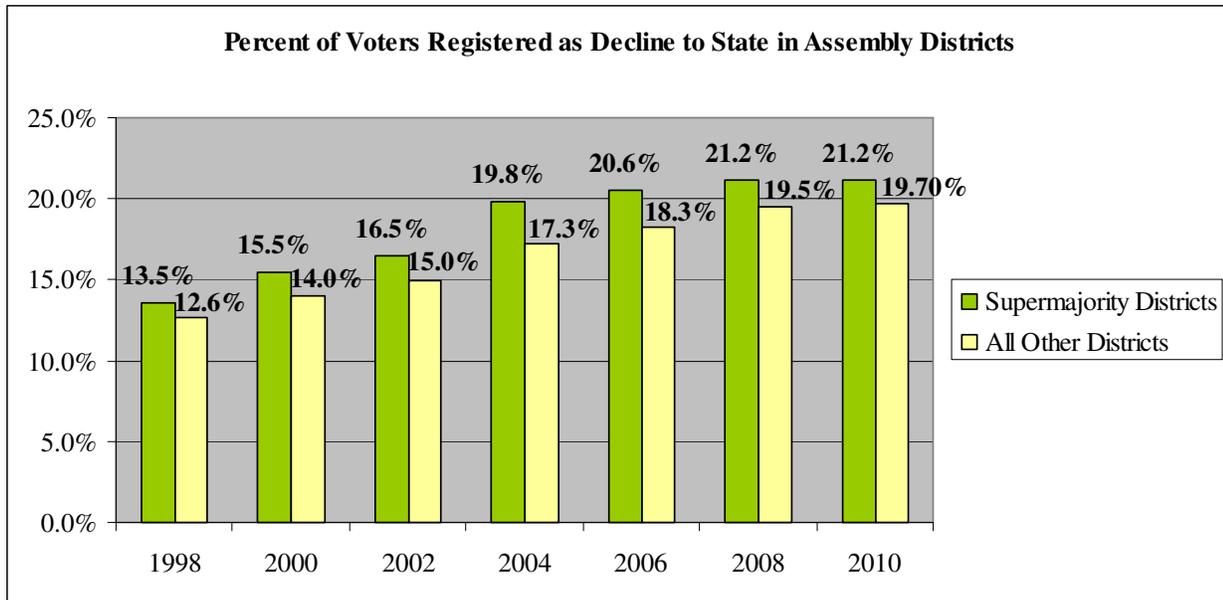
Figure 3e

<b>Assembly Districts with 20% or more voters registered as Decline to State</b>						
<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>
12	12	12	12	12	1	1
13	13	13	13	13	6	6
(2)	20	20	14	14	8	8
(3)		22	16	16	12	12
		23	19	19	13	13
		49	20	20	14	14
(6)			21	21	16	16
			22	22	18	18
			23	23	19	19
			24	24	20	20
			42	42	21	21
			43	43	22	22
			45	44	23	23
			49	45	24	24
			53	49	39	39
			74	53	40	40
			75	70	41	41
			76	74	42	42
(18)			75	43	43	43
			76	44	44	44
			78	45	45	45
			79	49	49	49
(22)				53	53	53
				60	56	56
				68	60	60
				70	67	67
				73	68	68
				74	70	70
				75	73	73
				76	74	74
				77	75	75
				78	76	76
				79	77	77
(33)					78	78
					79	79
(35)						

### Figure 3f: Percent Of DTS Voters In Assembly Districts

Figure 3f shows the ten-year trend of the percent of DTS voters in supermajority Assembly districts as compared to such voters in Assembly districts where neither party has a supermajority. The graph shows that the number of DTS voters has increased in all Assembly districts, but the percent of DTS voters is consistently greater in supermajority districts than in those Assembly districts that do not have supermajority registration

Figure 3f



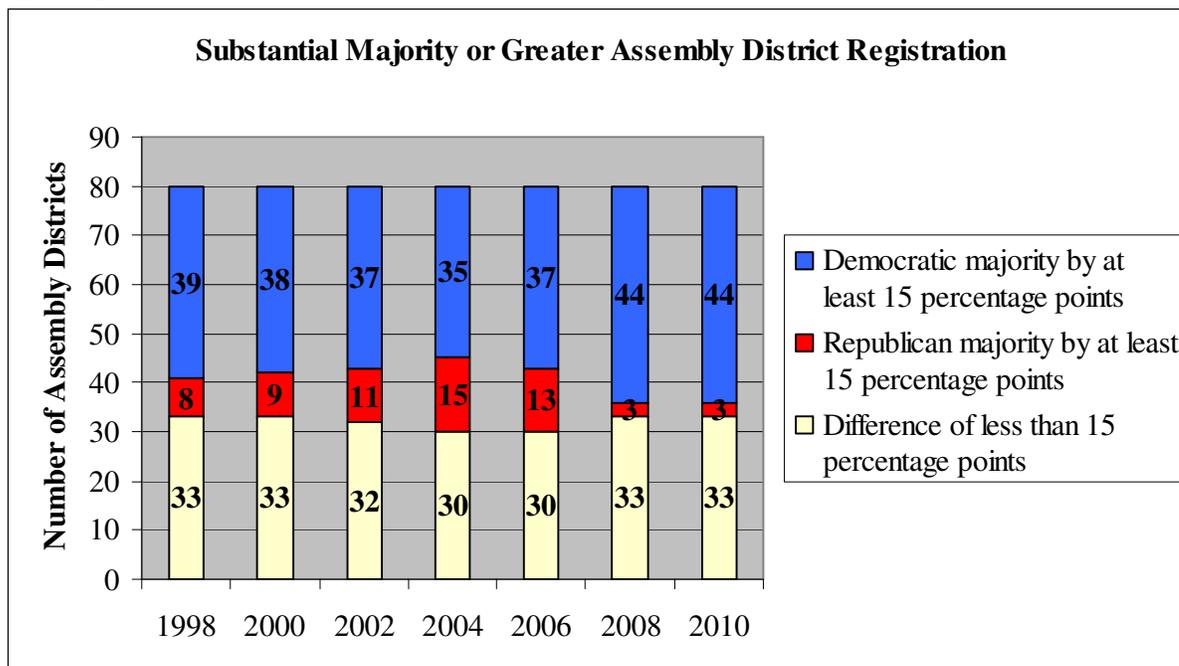
### Figure 3g: Ten-Year Trends In "Substantial Majority Or Greater" Assembly Districts

Figure 3g shows registration trends between 1998 and 2010 in Assembly districts where:

- (1) the percent of voters registered as Democrats outnumber the percent of voters registered as Republican by 15 percentage points or more;
- (2) the percent of voters registered as Republican outnumber the percent of voters registered as Democrats by 15 percentage points or more; and,
- (3) there is a less than 15 percentage point difference between the percent of voters registered as Democrats and the percent of voters registered as Republican.

CGS refers to those districts where the registration of one party is greater than the registration of another party by between 15 and 25 percentage points as "substantial majority districts." Substantial majority districts are somewhat likely to produce a "top two, same party" general election contest. In 2010, the Assembly had 17 substantial majority Democratic districts and 3 substantial majority Republican districts. We added them to the 27 supermajority Assembly districts (listed in figure 3a) to show that 47 Assembly districts have some potential to produce "top two, same party" primary election results under a Proposition 14 election system.

Figure 3g



From 1998 to 2010 there was a range of between 30 and 33 Assembly districts were *not* substantial majority districts, meaning that in about 41% of Assembly districts during the last decade fewer than 15 percentage points separated major party registration. During that same period, 45-50 Assembly districts were at minimum substantial majority districts, with as many as 44 of those districts dominated by Democrats. Similar districts dominated by Republicans, on the other hand, have not exceeded 15 in the past ten years and currently are only 3.

#### **D. Congressional District Registration**

There are 53 Congressional Districts in California. Currently, Democrats have a registration advantage in 33 districts (62%); Republicans have a registration advantage in 20 districts (38%). Members of Congress are not subject to term limits. Elections are predictable based on incumbency. Incumbents raise the lion's share of money during campaigns and are rarely seriously challenged.<sup>25</sup> "Top two, same party" general election contests, consequently, are not likely to be competitive unless there is an open seat.

There are 19 Democratic supermajority Congressional districts, 11 of which also have DTS registration of 20% or more. There are 13 Democratic substantial majority districts, 9 of which have DTS registration of 20% or more. Thus, Democrats dominate registration in 32 of the 53 Congressional districts by at least 15 percentage points (about 60% of all Congressional districts), and DTS voters

<sup>25</sup> In 2008, 51 incumbents ran for re-election; only 13 of them were challenged in their party primaries. Incumbents who were challenged in a party primary received a median 86.7% of the vote. Additionally, there were 2 open seats. [http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary\\_june/us\\_reps08primary.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary_june/us_reps08primary.pdf)

make up at least 20% of the electorate in 20 of those 32 districts (about 38% of all Congressional districts).

In the 11 supermajority Democratic Congressional districts that also have large numbers of DTS voters, DTS voters are 21.3% of total registration, slightly more than state-wide DTS registration of 20.14%. Taken together with the 9 substantial majority Democratic Congressional districts that also have large numbers of DTS voters, in 20 districts where Democrats out register Republicans by 15 percentage points or more *and* DTS is 20% or more, DTS registration increases to 23% of all registered voters. Clearly, many "top two, same party" general election contests might be possible in these Congressional districts if Proposition 14 is passed.

Conversely, there are no Republican supermajority Congressional districts. There are just 3 Republican substantial majority districts, 1 of which has DTS registration of 20% or more. Thus, Republicans register in numbers 15 percentage points or more than Democrats in just 6% of Congressional districts; their registration combined with that of DTS voters might produce a general election contest between two Republicans in just one Congressional district: CD 48 (Orange County), which has DTS registration of 22.3%.<sup>26</sup>

The following are Congressional districts with a Democratic supermajority in registration<sup>27</sup>:

- CD 5\* (Sacramento)
- CD 6\* (Marin and Sonoma)
- CD 7 (Contra Costa and Solano)
- CD 8\* (San Francisco)
- CD 9\* (Alameda)
- CD 12\* (San Francisco and San Mateo)
- CD 13\* (Alameda)
- CD 16\* (Santa Clara)
- CD 17 (Monterey, San Benito, and Santa Cruz)
- CD 28\* (Los Angeles)
- CD 30\* (Los Angeles)
- CD 31\* (Los Angeles)
- CD 32\* (Los Angeles)
- CD 33 (Los Angeles)
- CD 34 (Los Angeles)
- CD 35 (Los Angeles)
- CD 37 (Los Angeles)
- CD 38 (Los Angeles)
- CD 39 (Los Angeles)

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<sup>26</sup> Additionally, 1 Democratic district and 17 Republican Congressional districts have simple majority registration. The appendix includes a complete listing of current Congressional districts, including the registration characteristics, the location, and current incumbent of each district

<sup>27</sup> An asterisk indicates those Congressional districts where there is a supermajority *and* 20% or more voters are registered DTS. The substantial majority Democratic Congressional districts where 20% or more voters are DTS are: CD 1, CD 10, CD 14, CD 15, CD 27, CD 29, CD 36, CD 51, and CD 53.

As is the case with the districts in the California legislature, these Congressional districts are geographically grouped together in the Bay Area and Los Angeles and in most cases are contiguous. The exceptions are CD 5, CD 16, and CD 17; in each case, however, the supermajority Democratic district is contiguous with Congressional districts that have substantial Democratic majorities (in fact, in each of the contiguous districts the Democratic advantage is over 20 percentage points).

#### **E. Registration in Board Of Equalization (BOE) Districts**

##### ***Figure 4a (1) Through 4a (4): Registration In Board of Equalization Districts From 1998 To 2008***

The following figures show registration trends in Board of Equalization (BOE) districts over the past ten years. BOE elections last were held in 2006. In districts 1 and 4, Democratic and DTS registration has increased and there is now a Democratic supermajority in both districts. Republican registration has decreased and in 2008 there were nearly as many DTS as Republicans in both of these districts (third party registration has remained constant).

In district 2, in 2006, there were slightly more registered Republicans as there were registered Democrats, and DTS registration has increased (third party registration has remained constant). In district 3, Republicans have consistently held a simple majority in registration over Democrats, although Democratic and DTS registration is increasing (third party registration has remained constant).

Figure 4a (1)

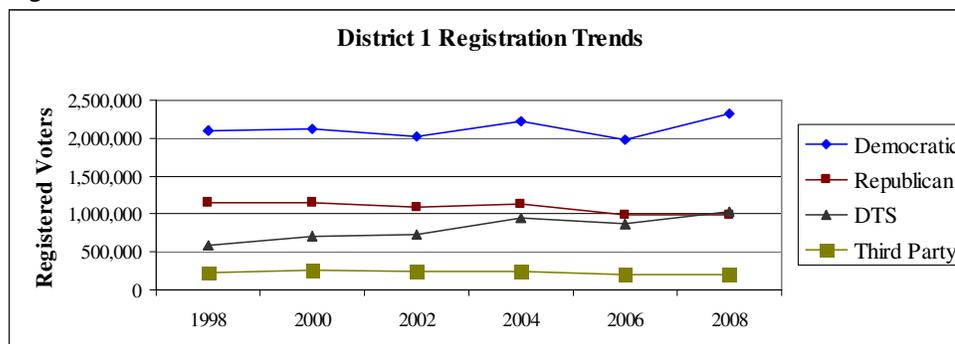


Figure 4a (2)

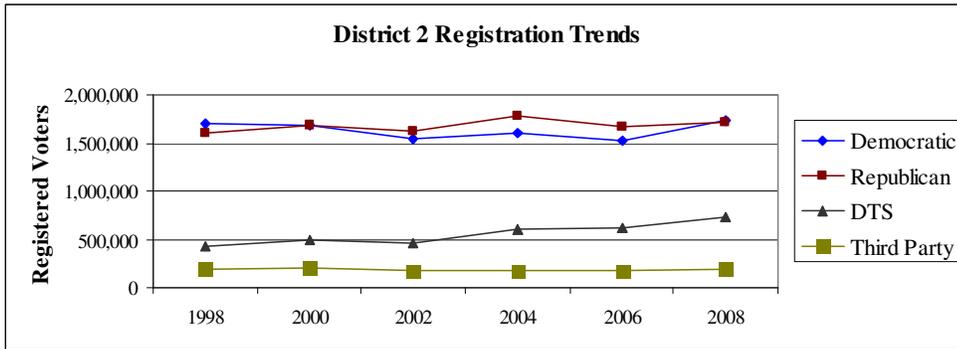


Figure 4a (3)

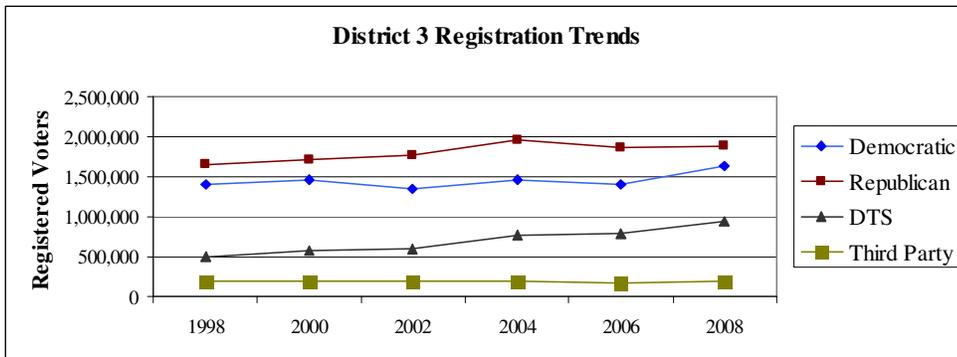
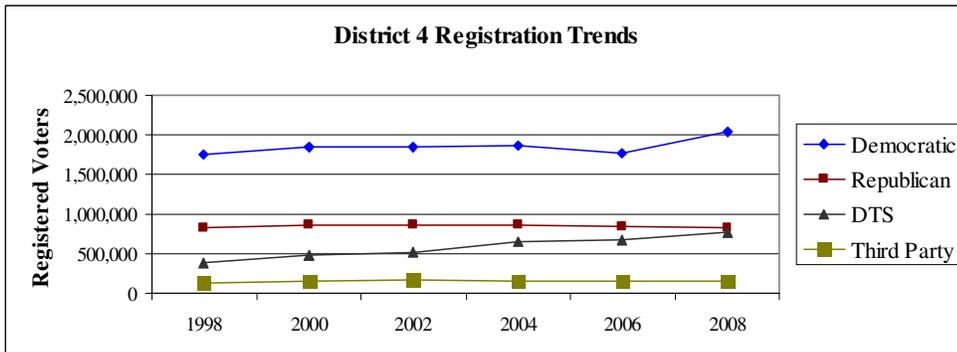


Figure 4a (4)



**Figure 4b: Supermajority BOE Districts**

Figure 4b lists the number of Board of Equalization districts that were supermajority districts from 1998 to 2008. There was one such district from 1998 to 2006, district 4, and two such districts in 2008, districts 1 and 4.

Figure 4b

<b>Board of Equalization Supermajority Districts</b>						
	<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>
District	4	4	4	4	4	1
District						4

**Figure 4c: Ten-Year Trends In "Substantial Majority Or Greater" BOE Districts**

Figure 4c lists districts where one party has at least a 15 percentage point registration advantage. From 1998 to 2008, both district 1 and district 4 (half the total number of districts) were at least substantial majority districts; in both cases, Democrats outnumber Republicans.

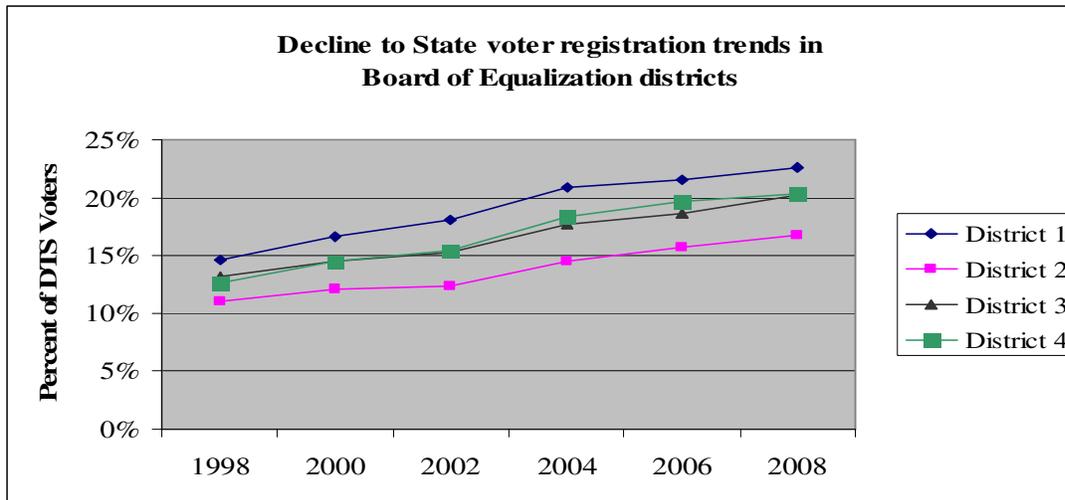
Figure 4c

<b>Board of Equalization Substantial Majority Districts</b>						
	<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>
District	1	1	1	1	1	1
District	4	4	4	4	4	4

**Figure 4d: Ten-Year Trends Of DTS Voter Registration In BOE Districts**

This graph illustrates trends in the percentage of voters registered as DTS in Board of Equalization districts from 1998 to 2008. The percentage of DTS voters in BOE districts has increased steadily over the past ten years in all four BOE districts. DTS registration is highest in district 1, where Democratic registration is highest. DTS registration is lowest in district 2, where Democratic registration is nearly equal to Republican registration.

Figure 4d

**RECENT ELECTION RESULTS**

If a top two election system had been in place for the most recent elections in state legislative races:

- 7 of 20 Senate races in June 2006 (even numbered districts) would have resulted in "top two, same party" general election contests;
- 4 of 20 Senate races in June 2008 (odd numbered districts) would have had two members of the same party facing each other; and,
- 6 of 80 Assembly races in June 2008 would have produced "top two, same party" results.

CGS analyzed voter behavior in the most recent legislative, Board of Equalization and Congressional races. We expect voter behavior to adjust if the Proposition 14 top two election system is adopted. Party labels would likely continue to be important to decisions made by voters, but fewer voters might bother to register as party members if they saw no benefit in doing so. And if Proposition 14 is not adopted by voters, the new legislative district lines determined by the Citizens Redistricting Commission will have a significant impact on voter interest in and turnout for future elections.

Turnout in primary elections would almost certainly increase in a nonpartisan primary system, such as that proposed in Proposition 14, because all voters, including DTS voters, could cast ballots without

making any additional declaration.<sup>28</sup> Thus, as voters become acclimated to a nonpartisan election system - which may take several election cycles - more DTS voters would likely participate in primary elections. This could result in an increase in the number of "top two, same party" general election contests, depending on the candidates who contest the races and whether the current trend in voter registration in California continues.<sup>29</sup>

Predictions about voter behavior and turnout in general elections under a different election system, however, are difficult to make. On the one hand, voters might participate in greater numbers because the race between the top two primary vote getters is more compelling than previous races in which party nominees contested the general election. Voters affiliated with any party or no party might feel their votes were more meaningful. On the other hand, general election turnout might actually decrease with respect to races in which the general election is contested between candidates of the same party, because voters might not be interested in casting votes for either remaining choice. In addition, in districts with both lopsided registration and incumbent candidates, challengers may have trouble raising money in order to attract voter attention, which could also depress turnout in the general election.

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<sup>28</sup> In fact, during California's short-lived experience with the blanket primary (under which voters, including DTS voters, could vote for any candidate in any party running on election day to determine party nominees), participation in the (non-Presidential) 1998 primary reached a rate 42.5% of registered voters, a participation rate not previously achieved in a non-Presidential primary since 1982. The California blanket primary system was ruled unconstitutional in *California Democratic Party v. Jones*, 530 U.S. 567 (2000).

Subsequently, in 2002 and 2006, non-Presidential primary elections that were conducted under the current semi-closed rules, participation of all voters dipped to 34.6% and 33.6%, respectively.

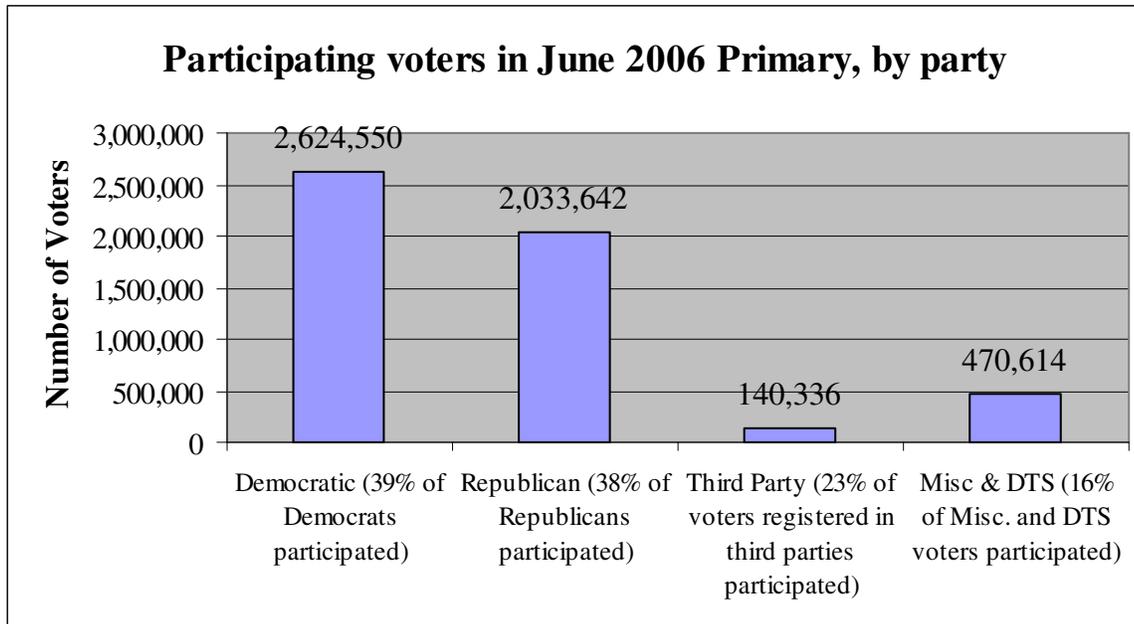
[http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/hist\\_stats\\_gen\\_prim/historical-voter-reg-primary-jun08.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/hist_stats_gen_prim/historical-voter-reg-primary-jun08.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> It may be, as some studies have suggested and some political scientists have recently argued, that most self-identified independent voters are actually closet partisans and their political behavior is therefore predictable. See John Sides, George Washington University, *Three Myths About Political Independents*, The Monkey Cage blog, December 2009; Mark Blumenthal, How 'Independent' are Independents?, *National Journal*, February 22, 2010; Keith, et al., *The Myth of the Independent Voter* (University of California Press, 1992). According to this theory, only a very small part of the electorate, about 10%, is truly independent (and it is additionally argued that true independents are disengaged and do not vote), and that the rest of those who call themselves independent and thus do not affiliate with a party actually identify at least as strongly as weak partisans. These voters have been labeled "leaners" by political scientists. Such voters may enjoy the label of "independent" (because it connotes independence), they may detest pre-election "harassment" (in the form of voter information and encouragement), or they may consider their position "strategic." But they vote and, most of the time, vote consistently in one direction or the other. A competing theory opines that these voters do in fact lean, but only in elections where they perceive a "lesser of two evils" choice. Otherwise they leap at the chance to support third party alternatives. Bowler, et al., *Independent's Day: "Critical Citizens" Among the U.S. Voting Public*, presented at the Southern Political Science Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA., January 2004.

## A. Statewide Voter Turnout

### Figures 5a and 5b: Turnout In June 2006, By Party

Figure 5a



In June 2006 statewide primary, the Democratic, Republican, and American Independent political parties all permitted DTS voters to cast ballots in their partisan nominating elections. CGS could not, however, determine the partisan participation of DTS voters because that data has not been provided by the Secretary of State for the June 2006 election. As is also currently the case, DTS voters were required to affirmatively request a partisan ballot in order to vote in partisan primary elections and many, if not most, of these voters were likely unaware that they were permitted to participate. Democrats and Republicans turned out in significant numbers, although turnout was greater in the previous two statewide primaries that were held in non-Presidential years in 1998 and 2002.<sup>30</sup> Note that there were two ballot measures decided in June 2006, neither of which was adopted.<sup>31</sup>

Figure 5b shows that, of the votes cast in the election:

- Nearly half were from registered Democrats
- Nearly 40% were from registered Republicans
- 3% were from voters registered in third parties
- Nearly 10% of votes cast in that election were from Misc. and DTS voters, but the Secretary of State did not provide data on partisan participation by DTS voters.

<sup>30</sup> Total primary turnout in June 2006 was 33.6%. In 1998, under the blanket primary system, it was 42.5% and in 2002, the first election following the return to the semi-closed primary system, it was 34.6%.

<sup>31</sup> In addition to Proposition 81 (library bond measure) and Proposition 82 (tax on the wealthy for preschool), there was a lively contest in the Democratic primary between Phil Angelides and Steve Westly.

Figure 5b

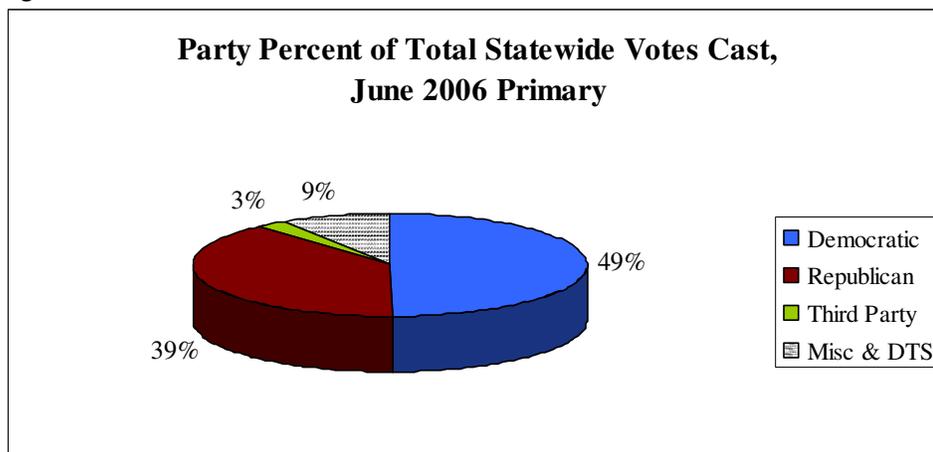
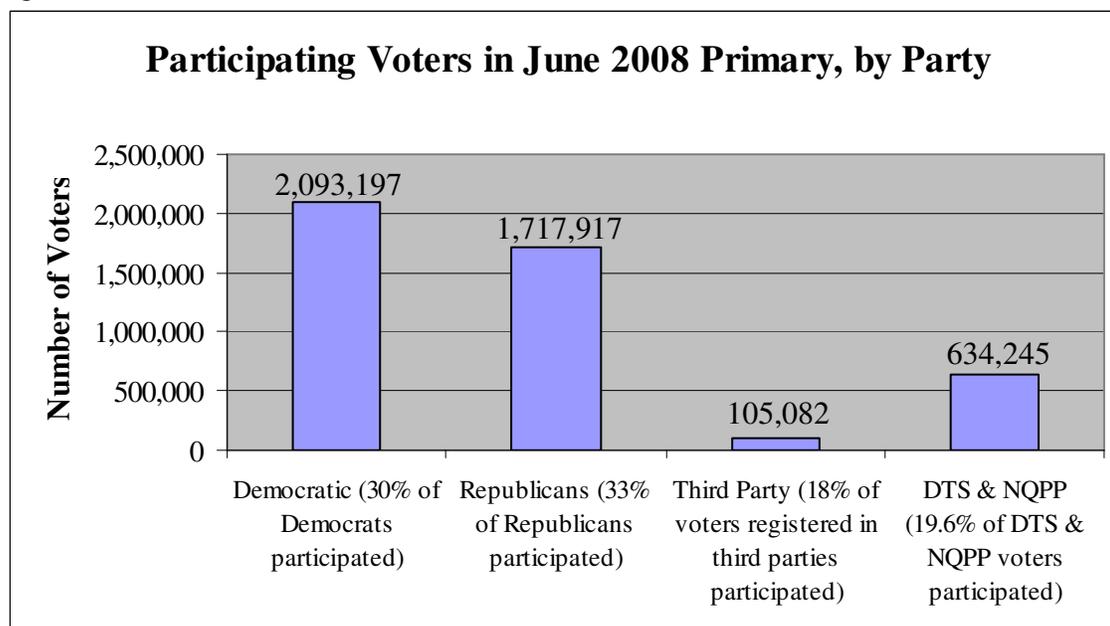
**Figures 5c And 5d: Turnout In June 2008, By Party**

Figure 5c



Turnout in the June 2008 statewide primary was only 28.2%.<sup>32</sup> On the ballot were Congressional, half of the State Senate, and Assembly races. Voters also were asked to approve two ballot measures, both dealing with eminent domain, and approved one of them.<sup>33</sup> As in the June 2006 primary, Democrats, Republicans, and the American Independents permitted DTS voters to cast ballots in their partisan primaries. Relative to overall registration, just 30% of Democrats and 33% of Republicans made it to

<sup>32</sup> [http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/hist\\_stats\\_gen\\_prim/historical-voter-reg-primary-jun08.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/hist_stats_gen_prim/historical-voter-reg-primary-jun08.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> Voters approved Proposition 99, which proposed to limit government acquisition of owner-occupied residences (62% - 38%).

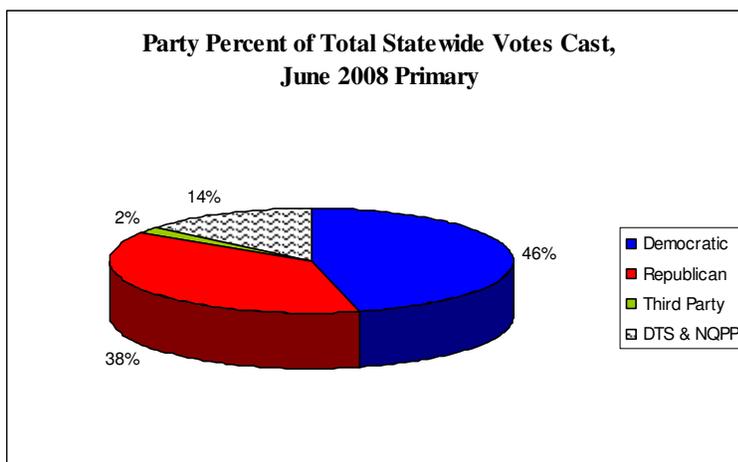
the polls. Third party (18%) and DTS (19.6%) turnout was also low (although DTS participation increased by more than 22% over 2006). About 42% of the DTS voters in the June 2008 statewide primary voted in partisan races (268,729 of the 634,245 DTS voters). These partisan DTS votes represented 6.4% of the total partisan turnout in the election (268,729 of 4,184,700; the non-partisan votes cast by DTS were not included in this total).

The June 2008 statewide primary presents an interesting snapshot of DTS participation. It indicates a significant lean toward the Democratic Party. Partisan DTS voters statewide requested Democratic ballots in this non-Presidential primary 74.3% of the time (199,523 voters), and, of those, 74.6% (150,719) were cast in 13 of the 14 counties with registration of greater than 300,000 voters.<sup>34</sup> A more detailed discussion of DTS participation in the June 2008 statewide election begins on page 66 of this report.

Figure 5d shows that, of the votes cast in the election:

- 46% were from registered Democrats
- 38% were from registered Republicans
- 2% were from registered third party voters
- 14% were from registered DTS or NQPP (Non-Qualified Political Party) voters

Figure 5d



<sup>34</sup> The counties included in this study, ranked in order of numbers of registered voters, are: Los Angeles (4.324 million), Orange (1.595 million), San Diego (1.466 million), Riverside (803,000), San Bernardino (789,000), Santa Clara (761,000), Alameda (744,000), Sacramento (655,000), Contra Costa (521,000), San Francisco (444,000), Ventura (419,000), Fresno (385,000), San Mateo (338,000), and Kern (306,000). The 14 counties studied are 80% of the total registered voters as of January 2010. No other counties have registration totals of 300,000 voters or more. The Secretary of State did not report a separate figure for Democratic-DTS or American Independent-DTS votes in Fresno County. Therefore, Fresno County was not included in CGS calculations.

## B. Senate Primary Results

### Figure 6a: 2006 Senate Primary Results (even numbered districts)

Figure 6a lists 2006 Senate primary election results. Only even numbered districts were contested that year.

If a top two electoral system had been in place in the 2006 primary election, 7 of 20 Senate races would have resulted in two members of the same party contesting the general election. The chart indicates in bold the 7 Senate races where two members of the same party (in all cases Democrats) received more votes than any candidate of any other party: SD 8, SD 10, SD 20, SD 26, SD 28, SD 30, and SD 32. In 3 of those 7 races the Republican Party did not offer a candidate in the primary: SD 20, SD 26, and SD 32.

Figure 6a: 2006 Senate Primary Results

District	Total Votes	Dem	Dem	Other Dem Candidates	Total Dem % of Votes	Repub	Other Repub Candidates	Total Repub % of Votes	Total Third Party % of Votes
2	151,895	66.9%			66.9%	33.1%		33.1%	0.0%
4	158,345	37.8%			37.8%	<b>60.9%</b>		60.9%	1.3%
6	93,888	54.6%	12.4%		67.0%	32.4%		32.4%	0.6%
8	121,391	<b>41.3%</b>	<b>30.1%</b>	11.1%	82.5%	7.4%	10.1%	17.5%	0.0%
10	93,284	<b>29.5%</b>	<b>23.4%</b>	22.7%	75.6%	10.2%	14.1%	24.4%	0.0%
12	74,027	51.5%			51.5%	<b>48.5%</b>		48.5%	0.0%
14	121,450	37.1%			37.1%	62.9%		62.9%	0.0%
16	30,801	<b>100.0%</b>			100.0%	*		0.0%	0.0%
18	116,241	32.1%			32.1%	<b>67.6%</b>		67.6%	0.3%
20	43,774	<b>55.5%</b>	<b>44.1%</b>		99.6%	*		0.0%	0.4%
22	38,101	<b>81.5%</b>			81.5%	18.2%		18.2%	0.3%
24	52,030	<b>76.3%</b>			76.3%	23.7%		23.7%	0.0%
26	60,331	<b>86.8%</b>	<b>13.0%</b>		99.8%	*		0.0%	0.2%
28	93,171	<b>36.5%</b>	<b>32.6%</b>		69.0%	6.6%	24.0%	30.6%	0.4%
30	57,924	<b>37.8%</b>	<b>38.3%</b>		76.2%	23.8%		23.8%	0.0%
32	33,332	<b>38.6%</b>	<b>61.4%</b>		100.0%	*		0.0%	0.0%
34	54,645	31.9%	21.5%		53.3%	35.2%	11.5%	46.7%	0.0%
36	120,079	22.4%	12.0%		34.4%	<b>65.1%</b>		65.1%	0.5%
38	76,019	0.7%**			0.7%	98.4%		98.4%	0.9%
40	70,207	<b>62.0%</b>			62.0%	37.7%		37.7%	0.3%

Numbers in **BOLD** indicate incumbents

Numbers **highlighted** and in *italics* indicate race which would have resulted in "top two, same party" run offs

\*No candidate from this party participated in the primary race.

\*\* Write in candidate

**Figure 6b: Senate Registration Compared To Primary Election Results In 2006 (even numbered districts)**

Figure 6b (1) shows the percentage of voters registered as Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS in all even numbered Senate districts in 2006. Figure 6b (2) shows actual primary results in terms of the vote cast for Democrats, Republicans and members of third parties in all even numbered Senate districts in 2006.

These figures show that in these districts in 2006 approximately 4% of voters were registered as members of third parties, 18% as DTS, 33% Republican, and 45% as Democrats. In the primary, the actual ballots cast favored the Democratic Party: members of third parties received about 0.3% of the vote, Republicans received about 41% of the votes, and Democrats received about 59% of the vote. In 3 of 20 districts being contested there was no Republican candidate.<sup>35</sup>

Figure 6b (1)

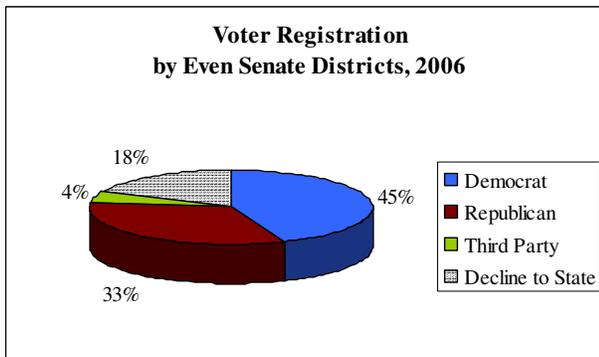
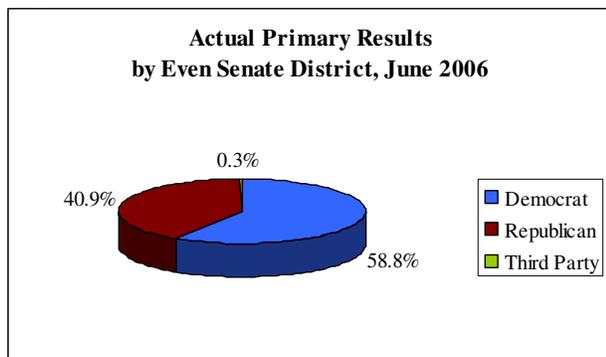


Figure 6b (2)



<sup>35</sup> In the general election in November of 2006 voters cast ballots in Senate races in the following percentages: 53% for Democrats, 42.5% for Republicans, and 4.5 % for third party candidates.

**Figure 6c: Senate Registration Compared To Primary Election Results In Supermajority Districts In 2006 (even numbered districts)**

Figure 6c (1) shows the percentage of voters registered as Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS in supermajority even numbered Senate districts in 2006. Figure 6c (2) shows actual primary results in terms of votes cast for Democrats, Republicans and members of third parties in supermajority even numbered Senate districts in 2006.

These charts show that approximately 4% of voters were registered as members of third parties, 20% as Republicans, 21% as DTS, and 55% as Democrats. In the primary, this advantage was magnified as just 0.1% of the vote was received by third party candidates, 17% of the vote was received by Republicans, and an overwhelming 83% of the vote was received by Democrats.<sup>36</sup>

Figure 6c (1)

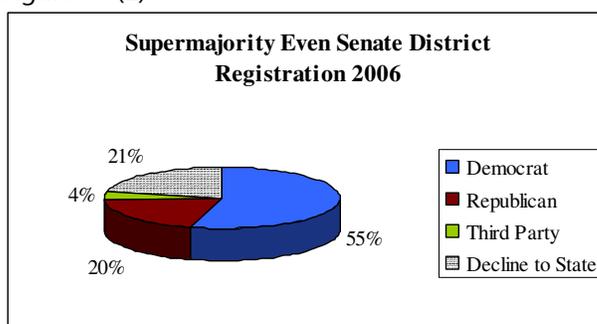
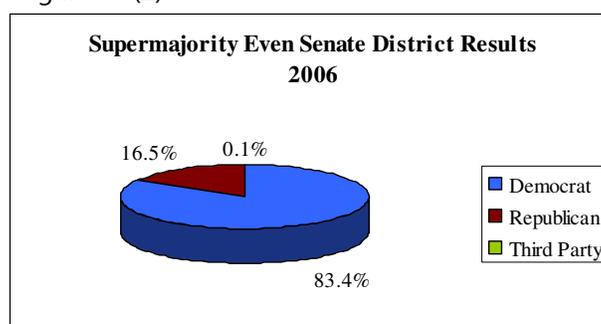


Figure 6c (2)



<sup>36</sup> In November 2006 voters cast ballots in supermajority Senate races in the following percentages: 76.8% for Democrats, 18.5% for Republicans, and 4.7% for third parties.

**Figure 6d: 2008 Senate Primary Results (odd numbered districts)**

Figure 6d lists State Senate primary election results in 2008. Only the odd numbered districts were contested in 2008. This chart highlights the 4 races where two Democrats received more votes than the Republicans in the primary: SD 3, SD 9, SD 23, and SD 25. In one of those races, there were at least two Republicans in the primary (SD 23). There were no Senate races where Republicans would have produced "top two, same party" general election contests.

Figure 6d: 2008 Senate Primary Results

District	Total Votes	Dem	Dem	Other Dem Candidates	Total Dem % of Votes	Repub	Other Repub Candidates	Total Repub % of Votes	Total Third Party % of Votes
1	137,618	35.6%			35.6%	<b>64.4%</b>		64.4%	0.0%
3	157,888	<b>37.2%</b>	<b>24.2%</b>	23.5%	84.9%	15.1%		15.1%	0.0%
5	92,912	51.0%	13.0%		64.1%	35.9%		35.9%	0.0%
7	109,807	63.8%			63.8%	36.2%		36.2%	0.0%
9	119,856	<b>49.4%</b>	<b>37.8%</b>		87.2%	12.5%		12.5%	0.3%
11	104,846	<b>73.0%</b>			73.0%	27.0%		27.0%	0.0%
13	72,222	<b>73.1%</b>			73.1%	26.4%		26.4%	0.5%
15	64,883	3.2%**	0.8%**		0.0%	<b>95.9%</b>		95.9%	0.0%
17	66,877	38.3%			38.3%	<b>61.7%</b>		61.7%	0.0%
19	119,650	48.2%			48.2%	51.8%		51.8%	0.0%
21	59,601	62.6%			62.6%	36.9%		36.9%	0.4%
23	88,110	<b>48.6%</b>	<b>25.4%</b>		73.9%	16.1%	9.7%	25.8%	0.3%
25	66,643	<b>35.2%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	5.8%, 11.4%	80.4%	19.6%		19.6%	0.0%
27	46,935	<b>61.9%</b>			61.9%	38.1%		38.1%	0.0%
29	76,652	34.1%			34.1%	44.6%	20.9%	65.6%	0.3%
31	67,521	<b>38.5%</b>			38.5%	61.5%		61.5%	0.0%
33	94,313	27.7%			27.7%	53.5%	18.8%	72.3%	0.0%
35	92,359	33.6%			33.6%	<b>66.4%</b>		66.4%	0.0%
37	90,164	35.4%			35.4%	36.5%	20.7%, 7.4%	64.6%	0.0%
39	116,374	<b>60.9%</b>			60.9%	38.6%		38.6%	0.5%

Numbers in **BOLD** indicate incumbents

Numbers **highlighted** and in *italics* indicate race which would have resulted in "top two, same party" run offs

\*No candidate from this party participated in the primary race.

\*\* Write in candidate

**Figure 6e: Senate Registration Compared To Primary Election Results In 2008 (odd numbered districts)**

Figure 6e (1) shows the percentage of voters registered as Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS in odd numbered Senate districts in 2008. Figure 6e (2) shows actual primary results in terms of the vote cast for Democrats, Republicans and members of third parties in odd numbered Senate districts in 2008.

These charts show that in these districts in 2008 approximately 4% of voters were registered as members of third parties, 20% as DTS, 32% Republican, and 44% as Democratic. In the primary, third party candidates received 0.1% of the vote, Republicans received about 44% of the vote, and Democrats received about 56% of the vote. As was the case in 2006 in the even numbered Senate races, Democrats were favored by voters.<sup>37</sup>

Figure 6e (1)

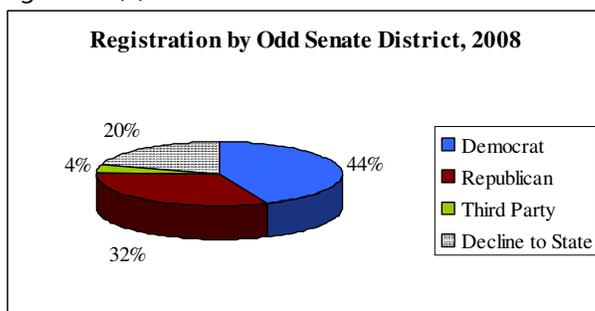
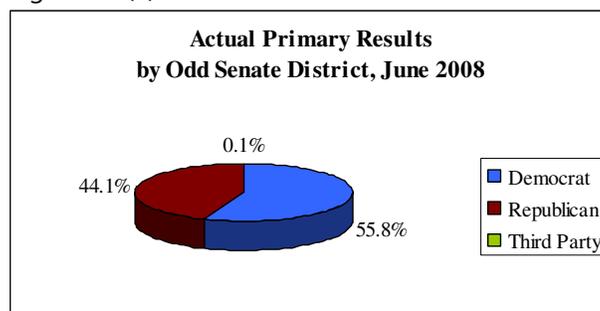


Figure 6e (2)



<sup>37</sup> In the general election in November 2008 voters cast ballots in Senate district races in the following percentages: 58.3% for Democrats, 40% for Republicans, and 1.7% for third parties.

**Figure 6f: Senate Registration Compared To Primary Election Results In Supermajority Districts In 2008 (odd numbered districts)**

Figure 6f (1) shows the percentage of voters registered as Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS in supermajority odd numbered Senate districts in 2008. Figure 6f (2) shows actual primary results in terms of the votes cast for Democrats, Republicans and members of third parties who garnered votes in supermajority Senate districts in 2008.

These figures show that in these supermajority districts in 2008 approximately 4% of voters were registered as members of third parties, 18% as Republicans, 22% as DTS, and 56% as Democrats. In the primary, third party candidates received 0.2% of the vote, Republicans received 20% of the vote, and Democrats received an overwhelming 80% of the vote. In two of the Senate races the Republicans offered no candidate.<sup>38</sup>

Figure 6f (1)

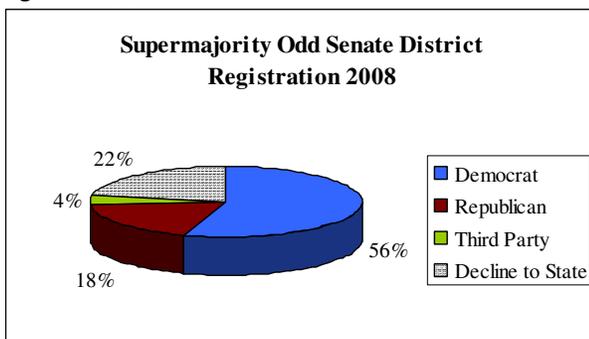
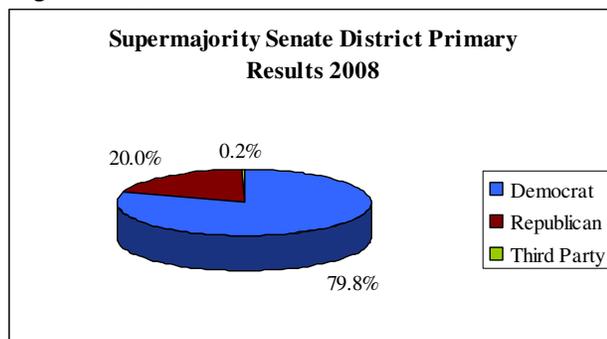


Figure 6f (2)



### C. Assembly Primary Results

**Figure 7a: 2008 Assembly Primary Results**

Figure 7a lists Assembly district primary election results in 2008. This figure shows that there were 6 races where two Democrats got more votes than any Republican in the primary: AD 8, AD 14, AD 19, AD 46, AD 52, and AD 62. In 1 of the 6 races the Republican Party did not offer a candidate (AD 14) and in another the write in Republican candidate received only 0.2% of the vote (AD 62).

In only 2 races were Republicans the top two vote getters. In 1 of 2 races, the Democrats did not offer a candidate (AD 71), and in the other, the write in Democratic candidate received only 1.3% of the primary vote (AD 64).

<sup>38</sup> In the general election in November 2008 voters cast ballots in supermajority Senate races in the following percentages: 74% for Democrats, 23% for Republicans, and 3% for third parties.

Figure 7a: 2008 Assembly Primary Results

District	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Total Dem % of Votes	Repub	Repub	Repub	Repub	Total Repub % of Votes	Total 3rd Party % of Votes
1	68.4%				68.4%	31.6%				31.6%	0.0%
2	33.9%				33.9%	30.2%	15.1%	12.3%	8.5%	66.1%	0.0%
3	37.2%				37.2%	33.6%	29.3%			62.9%	0.0%
4	1%**				0.0%	<b>99.0%</b>				99.0%	0.0%
5	39.2%				39.2%	<b>50.8%</b>	2.7%	7.2%		60.7%	0.1%
6	<b>74.5%</b>				74.5%	25.0%				25.0%	0.4%
7	<b>68.9%</b>				68.9%	31.1%				31.1%	0.0%
8	36.6%	34.0%			70.6%	29.4%				29.4%	0.0%
9	<b>76.6%</b>				76.6%	23.1%				23.1%	0.0%
10	27.9%	15.2%			43.1%	23.7%	16.1%	16.7%		56.6%	0.3%
11	72.2%				72.2%	27.8%				27.8%	0.0%
12	<b>86.8%</b>				86.8%	13.2%				13.2%	0.0%
13	92.1%				92.1%	7.9%				7.9%	0.0%
14	46.4%	24.9%	11.8%	16.8%	100.0%	*				0.0%	0.0%
15	31.5%	15.7%			47.2%	15.9%	12.3%	15.5%	9.0%	52.8%	0.0%
16	<b>88.6%</b>				88.6%	11.4%				11.4%	0.0%
17	<b>62.5%</b>				62.5%	37.5%				37.5%	0.0%
18	<b>65.5%</b>	12.7%			78.3%	21.7%				21.7%	0.0%
19	28.4%	26.3%	21.9%		76.6%	5.0%	18.1%			23.1%	0.3%
20	<b>70.7%</b>				70.7%	29.3%				29.3%	0.0%
21	<b>69.7%</b>				69.7%	30.3%				30.3%	0.0%
22	28.3%	22.3%	12.2%	11.5%	74.4%	25.6%				25.6%	0.0%
23	<b>72.1%</b>				72.1%	27.9%				27.9%	0.0%
24	<b>66.8%</b>				66.8%	33.2%				33.2%	0.0%
25	37.3%				37.3%	<b>62.7%</b>				62.7%	0.0%
26	45.5%				45.5%	54.5%				54.5%	0.0%
27	36.5%	15.3%	2.7%	16.8%	71.2%	28.2%				28.2%	0.6%
28	<b>100.0%</b>				100.0%	*				0.0%	0.0%
29	32.9%				32.9%	<b>67.1%</b>				67.1%	0.0%
30	50.0%				50.0%	50.0%				50.0%	0.0%
31	<b>63.9%</b>				63.9%	36.1%				36.1%	0.0%
32	30.9%				30.9%	<b>69.1%</b>				69.1%	0.0%
33	34.9%				34.9%	<b>65.1%</b>				65.1%	0.0%
34	32.3%				32.3%	29.4%	2.5%	22.9%	12.8%	67.7%	0.0%
35	<b>63.0%</b>				63.0%	37.0%				37.0%	0.0%
36	28.0%	7.2%			35.3%	34.2%	21.6%	8.9%		64.7%	0.0%
37	29.5%	15.4%			44.9%	<b>55.1%</b>				55.1%	0.0%
38	40.5%				40.5%	<b>59.5%</b>				59.5%	0.0%
39	<b>57.0%</b>	19.8%			76.8%	22.7%				22.7%	0.4%
40	35.8%	14.0%	3.5%	14.2%	67.5%	17.5%	14.6%			32.1%	0.4%
41	<b>71.3%</b>				71.3%	28.7%				28.7%	0.0%
42	<b>80.0%</b>				80.0%	20.0%				20.0%	0.0%

PART II

District	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Total Dem % of Votes	Repub	Repub	Repub	Repub	Total Repub % of Votes	Total 3rd Party % of Votes
43	<b>62.6%</b>				62.6%	37.4%				37.4%	0.0%
44	<b>57.8%</b>				57.8%	41.8%				41.8%	0.4%
45	<b>84.0%</b>				84.0%	16.0%				16.0%	0.0%
46	<b>48.4%</b>	<b>14.9%</b>	12.9%	13.1%	89.3%	10.7%				10.7%	0.0%
47	<b>90.1%</b>				90.1%	9.9%				9.9%	0.0%
48	<b>99.7%</b>				99.7%	*				0.0%	0.3%
49	<b>63.8%</b>				63.8%	36.2%				36.2%	0.0%
50	<b>99.8%</b>				99.8%	0.2%**				0.0%	0.0%
51	<b>82.3%</b>				82.3%	17.5%				17.5%	0.2%
52	<b>54.3%</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	3.0%	14.6%	95.7%	4.3%				4.3%	0.0%
53	<b>57.9%</b>				57.9%	42.1%				42.1%	0.0%
54	37.7%	17.0%			54.7%	25.0%	20.0%			45.0%	0.3%
55	<b>72.0%</b>				72.0%	28.0%				28.0%	0.0%
56	<b>57.8%</b>				57.8%	42.2%				42.2%	0.0%
57	<b>62.8%</b>				62.8%	37.2%				37.2%	0.0%
58	<b>63.4%</b>				63.4%	36.6%				36.6%	0.0%
59	39.6%				39.6%	<b>60.0%</b>				60.0%	0.5%
60	29.6%				29.6%	42.1%	28.3%			70.4%	0.0%
61	27.9%	15.1%	10.6%	5.7%	59.3%	23.4%	17.0%			40.4%	0.3%
62	<b>60.2%</b>	<b>39.6%</b>			99.8%	0.2%**				0.0%	0.0%
63	22.9%	18.9%			41.8%	<b>58.2%</b>				58.2%	0.0%
64	1.3%**				0.0%	<b>67.1%</b>	<b>31.6%</b>			98.7%	0.0%
65	38.0%				38.0%	<b>62.0%</b>				62.0%	0.0%
66	33.9%				33.9%	<b>65.9%</b>	0.3%*			65.9%	0.0%
67	35.9%				35.9%	<b>64.1%</b>	*			64.1%	0.0%
68	37.4%				37.4%	<b>62.6%</b>				62.6%	0.0%
69	<b>60.9%</b>				60.9%	39.1%				39.1%	0.0%
70	32.6%				32.6%	<b>67.4%</b>				67.4%	0.0%
71	*				0.0%	<b>43.3%</b>	<b>56.7%</b>			100.0%	0.0%
72	34.3%				34.3%	<b>65.7%</b>				65.7%	0.0%
73	33.2%				33.2%	49.7%	16.6%			66.3%	0.5%
74	38.0%				38.0%	<b>61.5%</b>				61.5%	0.5%
75	39.9%				39.9%	59.6%				59.6%	0.5%
76	<b>59.7%</b>				59.7%	23.6%	16.2%			39.7%	0.6%
77	35.7%				35.7%	<b>63.8%</b>				63.8%	0.5%
78	21.7%	8.9%	8.1%	20.8%	59.5%	40.5%				40.5%	0.0%
79	<b>56.9%</b>	8.7%			65.6%	34.4%				34.4%	0.0%
80	21.5%	15.0%	7.6%	15.7%	59.9%	40.1%				40.1%	0.0%

Numbers in **BOLD** indicate incumbents

Numbers **highlighted** and in *italics* indicate races which would have resulted in "top two, same party" run offs

\*No candidate from this party took part in the primary race

\*\* Write in candidate

**Figure 7b: Assembly Registration Compared To Primary Election Results In 2008**

Figure 7b (1) shows the percentage of voters registered as Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS in Assembly districts in 2008. Figure 7b (2) shows actual primary results in terms of the votes cast for Democrats, Republicans and members of third parties in 2008.

These figures show that at the time of the June 2008 primary in these districts approximately 4% of voters were registered as members of third parties, 20% as DTS, 31% as Republicans, and 45% as Democratic. In the primary, however, third party candidates received 0.1% of the vote, Republicans received 43% of the vote, and Democrats received 57% of the vote.<sup>39</sup>

Figure 7b (1)

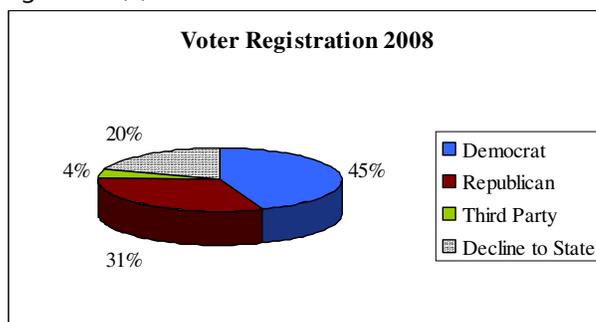
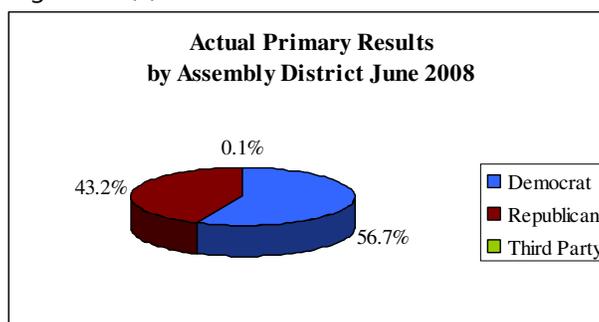


Figure 7b (2)



**Figure 7c: Assembly Registration Compared To Primary Election Results In Supermajority Assembly Districts In 2008**

Figure 7c (1) shows the percentage of voters registered as Democrats, Republicans, members of third parties, and DTS in just supermajority Assembly districts in 2008. Figure 7c (2) shows actual primary results in terms of the votes cast for Democrats, Republicans and members of third parties in supermajority Assembly districts in 2008.

Approximately 4% of voters were registered as members of third parties, 21% as DTS, 17% as Republicans, and 58% as Democratic. In the primary, however, third party candidates received 0.1% of the vote, Republicans received about 18% of the vote, and Democrats received almost 82% of the vote, dwarfing the combined vote for other parties.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> In the general election in November 2008 voters cast ballots in Assembly races in the following percentages: 58% for Democrats, 40% for Republicans, and 2% for third parties.

<sup>40</sup> In the general election in November 2008 voters cast ballots in supermajority Assembly races in the following percentages: 79% for Democrats, 19% for Republicans, 2% for third parties.

Figure 7c (1)

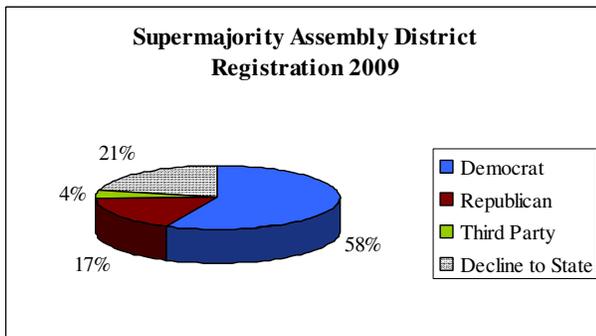
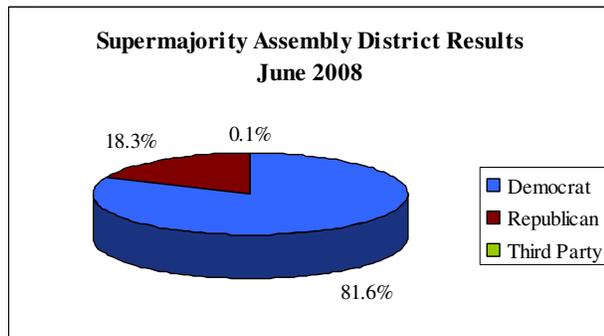


Figure 7c (2)



#### D. Congressional Primary Results

##### Figure 8a: 2008 Congressional Primary Results

The chart below shows 2008 Congressional primary results. Incumbents, who won all 51 races in which they ran, are shown in bold.

- 38 of 51 (74.5%) were unopposed in the primary
- 30 of those 38 members (58.8%) were unopposed in their party primary
- 8 of those 38 members (15.7%) were the only candidate of any party in the race
- 13 of 51 (25.5%) were challenged in their party primary (by a candidate other than a write in candidate)

Three Congressional races (5% of all Congressional primary races), had "top two, same party" results in 2008: CD 8, CD 37, and CD 43. These races are highlighted and italicized on the chart. In none of these races was the incumbent threatened in either the primary or the subsequent general election.<sup>41</sup> There were two open seats contested: CD 4 and CD 52, neither of which had "top two, same party" results in the primary.

In the CD 8 primary, Nancy Pelosi received 89.3% of the vote in Democratic primary (83,510 votes); her Democratic challenger, Shirley Golub, who was perceived to be more liberal than Pelosi, received 10,105 votes, more than the lone Republican in the Republican primary. In the general election, Pelosi received 71.9% of the vote; her greatest challenge came from Cindy Sheehan, who ran as an independent and received 16.2% of the vote. CD 8 is a supermajority Democratic district with DTS registration of more than 20%: 57.2% Democratic, 8.8% Republican, 29.2% DTS.

In the CD 37 primary, Laura Richardson received 74.5% of the vote in the Democratic primary (25,714 votes); her Democratic challenger, Peter Mathews, who was perceived to be much more liberal than the moderate Richardson, received 5,860 votes, and there were no Republican or third party candidates. In the general election, Richardson received 75% of the vote; as was the case in CD 8, Richardson's greatest challenge came from an independent candidate, Nicholas Dibs, who received 24.4% of the vote. CD 37 is a supermajority Democratic district: 60.4% Democratic, 17% Republican, 18.3% DTS.

<sup>41</sup> [http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary\\_june/us\\_reps08primary.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary_june/us_reps08primary.pdf)  
[http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_general/23\\_34\\_us\\_reps.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_general/23_34_us_reps.pdf)

In the CD 43 primary, Joe Baca received 66.3% of the vote in the Democratic primary (13,177 votes); his Democratic challenger, Joanne Gilbert, perceived as a moderate just like Baca, received 6,701 votes, more than either of the two Republicans who sought their party's nomination. In the general election, Baca received 69.2% of the vote; he received more than two votes for every one vote received by Republican John Roberts. CD 43 is a substantial majority Democratic district: 50.7% Democratic, 28.8% Republican, 16.7% DTS.

Two special elections for Congressional seats have been held since the 2008 primary, to replace members who received appointments in the Obama Administration. One of those elections, in CD 32, had "top two, same party" results. In the CD 32 Democratic primary to replace Hilda Solis, liberal Judy Chu received 32.6% of the vote (17,661 votes); moderate Gilbert Cedillo received 12,570 votes, more than any other candidate in a very large field, which included 5 other Democrats, 3 Republicans, and one Libertarian. In the general election, Chu received 61.9% of the vote; her closest rival was Republican Betty Chu, who received 33% of the vote. CD 32 is a supermajority Democratic district with DTS registration of more than 20%: 52.3% Democratic, 22.5% Republican, 21.2% DTS.

Figure 8a: 2008 Congressional Primary Results

District	Total Votes	Dem	Dem	Other Dem	Total Dem % of Votes	Rep	Rep	Other Rep	Total Rep % of Votes	Total 3rd Party % of Votes
1	115,449	<b>60.3%</b>	8.4%		68.8%	15.9%	13.5%		29.4%	1.8%
2	104,954	14.1%	13.7%	12.8%	40.6%	<b>59.4%</b>			59.4%	0.0%
3	88,280	42.3%			42.3%	<b>57.2%</b>			57.2%	0.5%
4	154,616	33.0%	4.5%		37.5%	33.4%	24.4%	.6%	62.5%	0.0%
5	69,410	<b>73.5%</b>			73.5%	26.3%			26.3%	0.2%
6	119,037	<b>74.7%</b>	0.0%**		74.7%	24.8%			24.8%	0.4%
7	66,895	<b>73.6%</b>			73.6%	14.4%	11.5%		25.9%	0.5%
8	101,794	<b>82.0%</b>	<b>9.9%</b>		92.0%	7.8%			7.8%	0.3%
9	88,663	<b>90.8%</b>	0.1%**		90.8%	8.9%			8.9%	0.3%
10	85,859	<b>64.6%</b>			64.6%	35.3%			35.3%	0.1%
11	82,282	<b>49.1%</b>			49.1%	50.9%			50.9%	0.0%
12	86,977	<b>69.4%</b>	4.4%	3.3%	77.6%	13.9%	7.5%		21.3%	1.1%
13	55,603	<b>77.1%</b>			77.1%	22.9%			22.8%	0.0%
14	84,976	<b>71.6%</b>			71.6%	26.8%			26.8%	1.5%
15	66,728	<b>69.9%</b>			69.9%	29.6%			29.6%	0.5%
16	56,707	<b>69.9%</b>			69.9%	29.7%			29.7%	0.4%
17	76,245	<b>69.6%</b>			69.6%	30.45			30.4%	0.0%
18	26,392	<b>100%</b>			100%	*			0.0%	0.0%
19	51,645	*			0.0%	<b>100%</b>			100%	0.0%
20	33,299	<b>66.2%</b>			66.2%	33.8%			33.8%	0.0%
21	63,376	34.3%			34.3%	<b>65.7%</b>			65.7%	0.0%
22	61,915	*			0.0%	<b>100%</b>			100%	0.0%
23	80,643	<b>62.5%</b>	0.2%**		62.7%	37.3%			37.3%	0.0%
24	97,267	18.1%	12.7%	9.0%	39.8%	<b>46.4%</b>	13.8%		59.0%	0.0%
25	48,991	36.9%			36.9%	<b>63.1%</b>			63.1%	0.0%
26	65,515	26.2%	12.7%		38.9%	<b>45.2%</b>	15.5%		60.7%	0.0%
27	39,141	<b>65.4%</b>			65.4%	34.1%			34.1%	0.5%

District	Total Votes	Dem	Dem	Other Dem	Total Dem % of Votes	Rep	Rep	Other Rep	Total Rep % of Votes	Total 3rd Party % of Votes
28	23,265	<b>100%</b>			100%	*			0.0%	0.0%
29	40,873	<b>59.9%</b>			59.9%	39.7%			39.7%	0.4%
30	53,101	<b>99.8%</b>	0.2%**		100%	*			0.0%	0.0%
31	18,127	<b>100%</b>			100%	*			0.0%	0.0%
32	17,345	<b>100%</b>			100%	*			0.0%	0.0%
33	55,667	<b>80.7%</b>	6.7%	4.2%	91.6%	8.4%			8.4%	0.0%
34	17,599	<b>71.7%</b>	0.01**		71.7%	16.8%	11.5%		28.3%	0.0%
35	42,439	<b>86.4%</b>			86.4%	13.4%			13.4%	0.2%
36	52,118	<b>61.4%</b>			61.4%	38.6%			38.6%	0.0%
37	34,556	<b>74.4%</b>	<i>17.0%</i>	8.6%	100%	*			0.0%	0.0%
38	16,190	<b>99.7%</b>			99.7%	*			0.0%	0.3%
39	29,434	<b>64.4%</b>			64.4%	35.6%			35.6%	0.0%
40	59,954	19.1%	14.9%		34.0%	66.0%			66.0%	0.0%
41	70,611	11.8%	10.5%	14.7% (2)	37.0%	<b>51.9%</b>	6.1%	4.9%	63.0%	0.0%
42	57,888	15.4%	9.0%	7.9%	32.3%	<b>67.7%</b>			67.7%	0.0%
43	28,954	<b>45.5%</b>	<i>23.1%</i>		68.7%	18.7%	12.7%		31.3%	0.0%
44	52,776	38.0%			38.0%	<b>62.0%</b>			62.0%	0.0%
45	73,647	25.1%	11.8%	4.2%	41.1%	<b>52.6%</b>	6.3%		58.9%	0.0%
46	80,959	29.9%	7.1%		37.1%	<b>54.0%</b>	8.3%		62.3%	0.6%
47	29,070	<b>56.5%</b>			56.5%	42.1%			42.1%	1.4% (AI)
48	73,391	31.3%			31.3%	<b>68.3%</b>			68.3%	0.5%
49	63,232	34.1%			34.1%	<b>65.4%</b>			65.4%	0.5%
50	100,344	23.8%	17.5%		41.3%	<b>58.3%</b>			58.3%	0.4%
51	62,679	<b>50.6%</b>	16.2%		66.8%	21.4%	11.5%		32.9%	0.2%
52	105,558	21.3%	15.4%		36.7%	45.4%	10.3%	7.2%	62.9%	0.4%
53	76,158	<b>56.7%</b>	8.0%		64.7%	26.0%	8.7%		34.7%	0.5%

Numbers in **BOLD** indicate incumbents

Numbers **highlighted** and in *italics* indicate races which would have resulted in "top two, same party" run offs

\*No candidate from this party participated in the primary race

\*\*Write in candidate

### **E. Board of Equalization (BOE) 2006 Primary Races**

These figures compare voter registration, participation, and election results in June 2006, the most recent election held for Board of Equalization offices. Note that voter participation information available from the Secretary of State's Statement of the Vote for the June 2006 Primary does not specify the number of DTS voters who participated in the partisan primaries for any BOE race, and so, in creating the figures that follow, CGS assumed that rates of participation for DTS voters in these races were comparable to the participation of those voters in the county-by-county participation and registration figures in that Statement of the Vote. In the four BOE districts, DTS voters in Democratic districts consistently vote for Democratic candidates; while DTS voters in Republican districts are somewhat more difficult to predict.

### Figure 9a: BOE District 1 Primary

In this heavily Democratic district, it is probable that DTS voters requested the Democratic ballot more than the Republican ballot.<sup>42</sup>

Figure 9a (1)

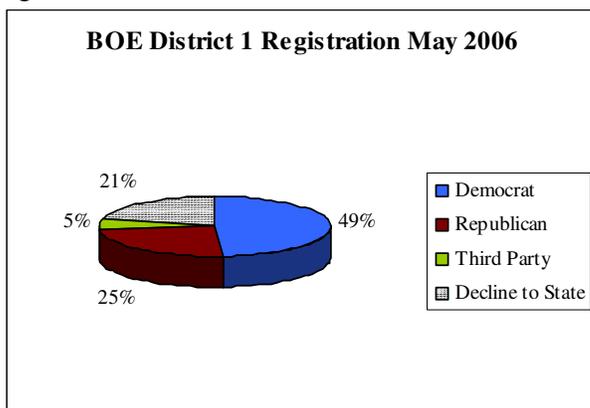
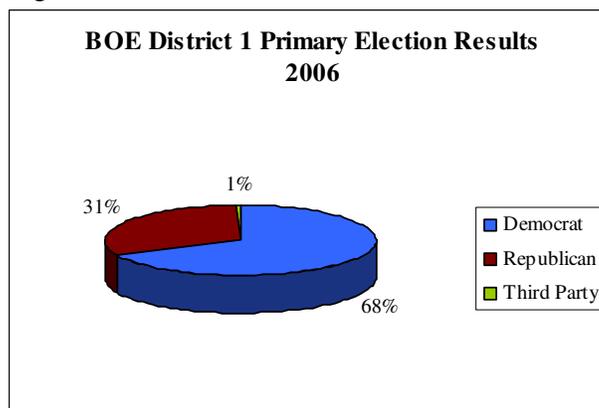


Figure 9a (2)



### Figure 9b: BOE District 2 Primary

In this simple majority Republican registered district, it is not clear whether DTS voters requested the ballot of one party more than another party's ballot.<sup>43</sup>

Figure 9b (1)

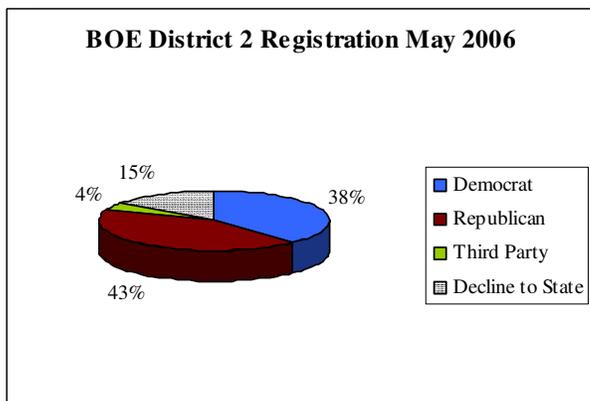
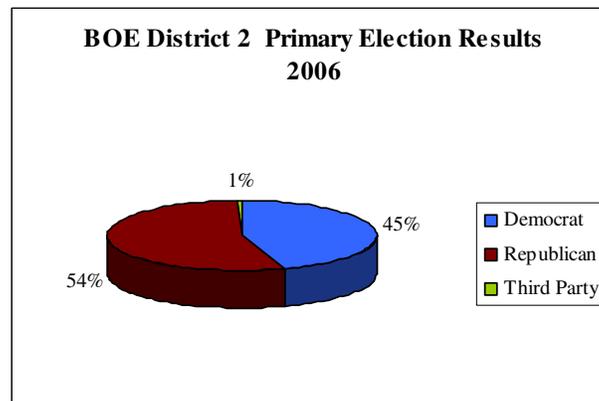


Figure 9b (2)



<sup>42</sup> In the general election in November 2006 voters cast ballots in the Board of Equalization District 1 race in the following percentages: 65% for Democrats, 29% for Republicans, 6% for third parties.

<sup>43</sup> In the general election in November 2006 voters cast ballots in the Board of Equalization District 2 race in the following percentages: 38% for Democrats, 56% for Republicans, 6% for third parties.

**Figure 9c: BOE District 3 Primary**

In this simple majority Republican district, it is probable that DTS voters requested Republican ballots more than Democratic ballots.<sup>44</sup>

Figure 9c (1)

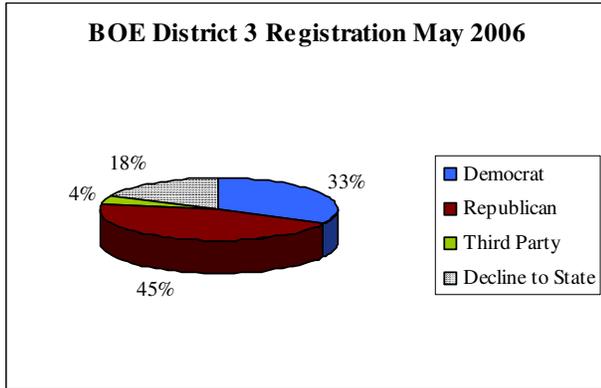
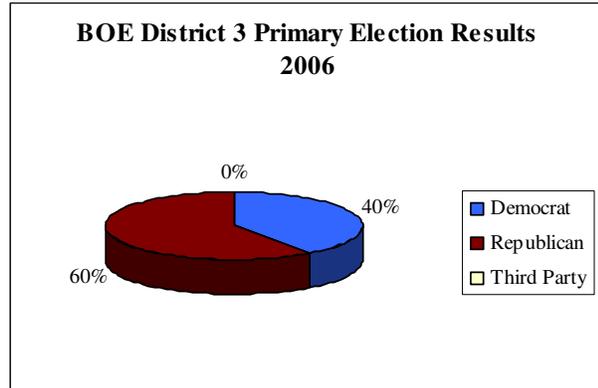


Figure 9c (2)



**Figure 9d: BOE District 4 Primary**

In this substantial majority Democratic district, it is probable that DTS voters requested Democratic ballots more than Republican ballots.<sup>45</sup>

Figure 9d (1)

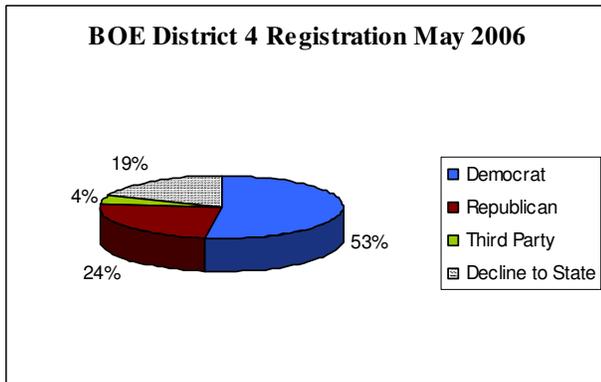
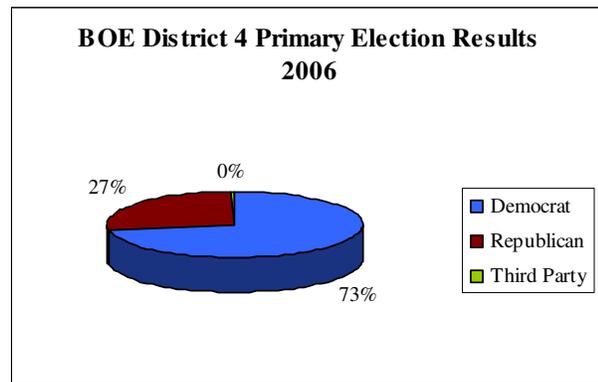


Figure 9d (2)



<sup>44</sup> In the general election in November 2006 voters cast ballots in the Board of Equalization District 3 race in the following percentages: 38.5% for Democrats, 57% for Republicans, 4.5% for third parties.

<sup>45</sup> In the general election in November 2006 voters cast ballots in the Board of Equalization District 4 race in the following percentages: 65% for Democrats, 27% for Republicans, 7% for third parties.

## **F. Decline To State (DTS) Partisan Votes In June 2008 Primary Races**

Under current law, a DTS voter must affirmatively request a partisan ballot in order to cast a vote in a partisan primary. He or she may do so in any partisan primary election in which a political party has notified the Secretary of State that voting by nonpartisan voters is permitted by the party. DTS-registered voters were permitted to cast ballots in the June 2008 primary by both major parties and the American Independent Party.

Implementation of a top two election system such as that proposed in Proposition 14 would completely eliminate any voting booth distinction between voters who have registered a party preference and those who have not. A different approach was advanced in the last two sessions in the Legislature to encourage the increased partisan participation of DTS voters. The most recent, AB 909 (Feuer), would have required DTS voters to be informed in writing and in signage in precincts that they may request partisan ballots in primary elections. The bill passed the Assembly and was reported to the full Senate, but was placed in the inactive file on a motion by Senator Maldonado in September 2009. AB 909 was similar to a bill passed in 2008, AB 2953, which was vetoed by the Governor as one of 136 measures that were not signed because of the delay in passing the State Budget in the fall of 2008.

### **Figure 10a: Actual DTS Partisan Votes In Selected Counties**

CGS collected data on partisan voting by DTS voters in the June 2008 primary election in most of the counties with the largest number of registered voters<sup>46</sup>: Los Angeles (4.324 million), Orange (1.595 million), San Diego (1.466 million), Riverside (803,000), San Bernardino (789,000), Santa Clara (761,000), Alameda (744,000), Sacramento (655,000), Contra Costa (521,000), San Francisco (444,000), Ventura (419,000), San Mateo (338,000), and Kern (306,000),<sup>47</sup> and listed the number of times DTS voters requested Democratic, Republican and American Independent ballots in those counties.

Overall, DTS partisan voters cast 6.4% of the partisan votes cast in the June 2008 statewide primary (268,729 of 4,184,711 statewide partisan votes)<sup>48</sup>; DTS partisan voters in these 13 counties cast 4.8% of the statewide partisan vote (201,712 of 4,184,711 votes) and 6.8% of the partisan votes in those counties (201,712 of 2,980,618 votes). Figure 10a lists the *DTS partisan ballot requests* reported by the Secretary of State in those 13 counties. Democratic ballots were requested 75% of the time; Republican ballots were requested 23% of the time; and American Independent ballots were requested by 2% of the DTS partisan voters.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ror/ror-pages/154day-prim-10/county.pdf>.

<sup>47</sup> There are no other counties with more than 300,000 registered voters except Fresno County (385,000), but there is only incomplete data available about DTS partisan participation for the June 2008 statewide primary, and thus Fresno County was not included in CGS calculations.

[http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary\\_june/04\\_voter\\_stats\\_by\\_county\\_party\\_jun08\\_082508.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary_june/04_voter_stats_by_county_party_jun08_082508.pdf).

<sup>48</sup> [http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008\\_primary\\_june/04\\_voter\\_stats\\_by\\_county\\_party\\_jun08\\_082508.pdf](http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2008_primary_june/04_voter_stats_by_county_party_jun08_082508.pdf).

Figure 10a

<b>June 2008 DTS Partisan Ballots Requested by County</b>			
	Democratic	Republican	Amer. Ind.
Alameda	13,248	1,662	964
Contra Costa	6,246	1,681	0
Kern	1,591	1,053	411
Los Angeles	36,033	8,922	0
Orange	10,396	6,832	1,154
Riverside	5,365	3,480	0
Sacramento	6,276	2,378	0
San Bernardino	1,013	441	0
San Diego	24,493	12,835	0
San Francisco	23,904	1,527	0
San Mateo	6,570	1,048	417
Santa Clara	13,606	2,547	1,126
Ventura	1,971	2,026	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>150,712</b>	<b>46,432</b>	<b>4,072</b>

San Francisco County had the *highest rate* of DTS voter partisan ballot requests at 16.2% of all partisan ballots cast in the June 2008 primary (25,431 of 156,499 ballots). San Bernardino County had the *lowest rate* at 1% (1,454 of 141,079 ballots). The median rate for these 13 counties of DTS partisan ballot requests was 5.5%.

Orange County, a Republican stronghold, reported that 57% of the ballots requested by DTS voters were Democratic ballots, 37% were Republican, and 6% were American Independent ballots. Compared to overall voter registration in Orange County (31% Democratic, 46% Republican, and 2% American Independent), DTS partisan voters favored Democratic candidates.

DTS partisan voters in San Diego County requested Democratic ballots 65.6% of the time in June 2008. Registration in San Diego County then was closely balanced, but favored Republicans (35.6% Democratic, 37.6% Republican, and 2.4% American Independent). In January 2010, registration slightly favors Democrats (36.2% Democratic, 35.6% Republican, and 2.7% American Independent). The 2008 statewide primary vote perhaps foreshadowed the subsequent slight shift to the Democrats.

In San Francisco County, 94% of DTS partisan voters requested Democratic ballots. Only 6% of the ballots requested were Republican (there was no American Independent candidate running). Compared to overall voter registration in San Francisco County (56% Democratic and 10% Republican), it is clear that in that liberal county, DTS voters heavily favored Democratic candidates.

### **G. Third Party Voters**

While Decline to State voters have the potential to heavily influence an election, third party voters generally do not play a significant part in primary elections. In 2010, they are only about 4% of

California voters, and in Senate and Assembly elections, third party candidates consistently receive less than 1% of the vote.

The very small impact of third party candidates in primary elections could lead to their disappearance from most general elections in a Proposition 14 election system. This may cause frustration among third party voters who want to vote for their candidate in the general election, especially as third party candidates often receive a much higher percentage of the vote in general elections than they do in primary elections. For example, in the June 2008 AD 9 primary race, the Peace & Freedom candidate (the lone third party candidate) received 0.3% of the vote, and in the general election that candidate received 6% of the vote. In the AD 10 June 2008 primary race, the candidate from the Libertarian party (also the only third party candidate) received 0.3% of the vote, and in the general election that candidate received 7% of the vote. While there were no third party winners in any of the general election races, those voters who prefer to vote for third party candidates in general elections, or who do not like candidates from the major parties, will have their options limited.

If there are no third party candidates in the general election, third party voters may choose to vote for a major-party candidate. However in the June 2008 primary, where there were only slightly over 100,000 third party voters (about 2% of the total vote), one can see they are not likely to have a significant impact in general elections in a top two election system.



## PART III

### RECENT “TOP TWO, SAME PARTY” RESULTS IN LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS

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Part Three of this report analyzes 19 legislative districts in which the primary election would have resulted in “top two, same party” general election contests.<sup>48</sup> Every “top two, same party” race, except for two, in these recent elections would have involved two Democrats.

Eleven of these 19 races involved State Senate seats. CGS believes this suggests that the election changes in Proposition 14 will have a disproportionate impact on Senate races, because when Senate seats are open, they frequently involve contests between established politicians who have termed out of their Assembly seats. We found that more than 25% (11 of 40 races) of the races in the most recent Senate elections would have involved general election run offs between two candidates of the same party. Conversely, a top two election system is not as likely to impact statewide races, in which the minority party will nearly always qualify for the run off; Congressional races, in which the incumbent is not subject to term limits; or Assembly races, in which politicians use party identification to gain a foothold on the lowest rung of the state legislative ladder.

Of note, in nearly half of these races a more moderate candidate won (8 of 19 races). Two races were close enough that the partisan participation of DTS voters might have changed the outcome to the more moderate candidate: SD 28 (Oropeza/Nakano) and AD 8 Yamada/Cabaldon). Two other races were close enough that greater participation by DTS voters might have changed the outcome, although not necessarily to a more moderate candidate: SD 39 (Calderon/Bermudez) and AD 19 (Hill/Papan).<sup>49</sup>

#### **A. 2006 Even Numbered Senate Districts**

##### **1. Yee And Nevin: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 8**

Part of San Francisco and most of San Mateo counties, including west and south San Francisco, San Mateo, San Bruno, Daly City, Half Moon Bay, and Woodside. Three Democrats were in the race and received 50,090 votes, 36,578 votes, and 13,531 votes, respectively. No Republican received more than 12,201 votes on primary election day.

Senate District 8 is a *supermajority Democratic district*:  
53 % Democratic  
16 % Republican  
27 % Decline to State

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<sup>48</sup> A listing of all Senate and Assembly districts, including the current incumbent and his or her term limit, is attached in the Appendix of Legislative Districts.

<sup>49</sup> Under current law, a DTS voter is not informed that he or she is free to participate in partisan primaries if permitted by the parties, and must affirmatively request a partisan ballot either by checking a box on a “vote by mail” application or asking for a partisan ballot at a polling place. Most DTS voters, therefore, do not participate in partisan primaries simply because they are not aware that they are permitted to do so.

**Leland Yee** Moderate Democrat; 50% of the primary vote (50,090 votes):

Yee served 2 terms in the State Assembly (2002-2006) where he was Speaker Pro Tempore. Before his election to the Assembly, Yee served 8 years on the San Francisco Unified School District Board of Education (he has a Ph.D. in child psychology) and was then elected in 1996 to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. In the 2006 primary race Yee received significant contributions from business (25 %) as well as contributions from labor (11 %), teachers (2 %), health (13 %), and Asian-Americans.

*Independent expenditures supporting Yee of \$88,000 were made by:*<sup>50</sup>

<u>California Alliance for Progress and Education</u>	
(realtors, dentists, and insurance agents)	\$ 77,700
<u>Professional Engineers in California Government</u>	\$ 10,300

Yee raised nearly \$1.1 million for the primary race (through 2 committees).

**Money supporting Yee, combined total: \$1,288,000**

**Mike Nevin** Liberal Democrat; 36.5% of the primary vote (36,578 votes):

Nevin was a 27-year veteran of the San Francisco Police Department, retiring in 1992. In 1982 he was elected to the Daly City Council and served five years as mayor of Daly City (1984-1989). From 1992-2004 he served on the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors. Nevin received contributions from labor (17%) as well as contributions from business (11%).

*Independent expenditures supporting Nevin of \$157,200 were made by:*

<u>California Medical Association</u>	\$ 56,800
<u>California Voice</u> (trial attorneys/racetrack investors)	\$ 52,200
<u>Emergency Medical PAC</u> (emergency physicians)	\$ 43,200
<u>CDF Firefighters</u> (California Dept of Forestry & Fire Protection)	\$ 5,000

Nevin raised \$1.2 million for the primary race (through 2 committees).

**Money supporting Nevin, combined total: \$1,357,200**

The other significant candidate:

**Lou Papan** Moderate Democrat; 13.5% of the primary vote (13,581 votes):

Papan -- known as the Dean of the Assembly -- served 20 years in the State Assembly (1972-1986 & 1996-2002); prior to that he had been elected to the Daly City Council (1970). His 2006 Senate bid was significantly self-financed (32%). He received significant contributions from business (28%), including real estate (16%). Papan died in 2007.

*Independent expenditures supporting Papan of \$15,000 were made by:*

<u>Citizens for Quality Representation</u> (Latino leadership fund, SEIU, and Indian tribes)	\$ 15,000
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<sup>50</sup> All campaign finance information used in this document is taken from the Secretary of State's campaign finance data base: <http://cal-access.sos.ca.gov/campaign/>.

Papan raised nearly \$376,000 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Papan, combined total: \$391,000**

Conclusion: Democrats dominate the district but it is politically moderate by Bay Area standards. The three Democrats in this race actually varied only slightly on the issues and consequently the outcome appears to have determined not by ideology but by the negative ads run by Nevin for which he was criticized in the press. Additionally, Nevin and Papan may have been negatively perceived as a result of their widely reported "bad blood" caused by the Legislature's 2001 redistricting plan (Nevin contended Papan had drawn the district to favor his daughter, Gina). When Yee won the general election in November 2006, he became the first Chinese-American to be elected to the State Senate.

## **2. Corbett And Klehs: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 10**

Part of Alameda and Santa Clara Counties, including Fremont, Hayward, Newark, Pleasanton, San Leandro, Union City, Castro Valley, San Lorenzo, Milpitas, and San Jose. Three Democrats were in the race and received 27,548 votes, 21,839 votes, and 21,157 votes, respectively. No Republican candidate received more than 13,190 votes on primary election day.

Senate District 10 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 52% Democratic  
19% Republican  
25% Decline to State

**Ellen Corbett** Liberal Democrat; 39.1% of the primary vote (27,548 votes):

Prior to her Senate race in 2006, Corbett served 6 years in the Assembly (1998-2004). Corbett previously had been elected to the San Leandro City Council (1990-1998) and was the first woman elected mayor there (1994-1998). Before her career in politics, she worked as an attorney, a staff member to Assemblyman Elihu Harris, and as a community college professor. Corbett's campaign received contributions from labor (19%) and health professionals (11%). Corbett supported universal healthcare, gay rights, and environmental protection. She was endorsed by the California Nurses Association, California Teachers Association, the California League of Conservation Voters, and Senator Barbara Boxer.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Corbett of \$70,900 were made by:*

<u>California League of Conservation Voters</u>	\$ 49,400
<u>California Alliance</u> (consumer trial attorneys, conservationists, and nurses)	\$ 20,500
<u>Peace Officers Research Association</u>	\$ 1,000

*Large amounts of independent expenditures **opposing** Corbett of \$795,000 were contributed by business groups, including California Alliance for Progress and Education (realtors, dentists, and insurance agents), which expended almost \$540,000, and Californians for Civil Justice Reform (oil, tobacco, development, pharmaceuticals, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits), which made over \$255,000 in independent expenditures.*

Corbett's campaign raised almost \$428,000.

**Money supporting Corbett, combined total: \$498,900**

**Money opposing Corbett, total: \$795,000**

**Johan Klehs** Liberal (but more moderate than Corbett) Democrat; 31.0% of the primary vote (21,839 votes):

Klehs was the youngest person (26) ever elected as a member of the San Leandro City Council in 1978. He was a member of the Assembly for 14 years (1982-1992, 1992-1994, and 2004-2006), where he served as Chair of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee, and was member of Board of Equalization (1994-2002), serving as the Chair in 1995, 1996 and 1999. Klehs, a tax and budget expert, lost the Democratic primary in the State Controller race in 2002. He received contributions from business (20%) and labor (14%). Klehs took a moderate stance to try to distinguish himself from Corbett. He was endorsed by Sen. Barbara Boxer and the California Labor Federation (AFL-CIO).

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Klehs of \$58,000 were made by:*

<u>Leaders for an Effective Government</u> (real estate)	\$ 55,000
<u>California League of Conservation Voters</u>	\$ 3,000

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Klehs of \$58,400 were made by Californians for Civil Justice Reform (oil, tobacco, development, pharmaceuticals, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits), which expended \$58,400 and which also spent money opposing Corbett.*

He raised over \$930,000 for the primary race.

<b>Money supporting Klehs, combined total:</b>	<b>\$988,000</b>
<b>Money opposing Klehs, total:</b>	<b>\$ 58,400</b>

The other significant candidate:

**John A. Dutra** Moderate Democrat; 29.9% of the primary vote (21,157 votes):

Dutra, a multimillionaire real estate developer and investor, served on the Fremont City Planning Commission (1981-1984), was elected to the Fremont City Council (1986-1996), and was elected to the Assembly (1998-2004), where he has been credited with creating the "mod squad" of moderate Democratic legislators. Dutra raised more money than the others in the race, coming mainly from the candidate's own funds (over 50% of his total contributions), business (12.4%), and health professionals and pharmaceutical companies (4.5%).

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Dutra of \$870,200 were made by:*

<u>Californians for Civil Justice Reform</u> (oil, tobacco, development, pharmaceuticals, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits)	\$266,800
<u>California Real Estate, IE Comm.</u>	\$196,800
<u>California Alliance for Progress and Education</u> (realtors, dentists, and insurance agents)	\$170,900
<u>Californians Allied for a Prosperous Economy</u> (car dealers, oil, tobacco, development, insurance, and pharmaceuticals)	\$ 96,300
<u>California Medical Association</u>	\$ 38,200
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$ 35,000
<u>California Correctional Peace Officers Association</u>	\$ 22,700
<u>California Senior Advocates League</u> (real estate,	

casinos, and insurance)	\$ 21,700
<u>Californians Advancing Education</u> (physicians, insurance, real estate, casinos, car dealers, builders, oil, tobacco, development, and pharmaceuticals)	\$ 15,300
<u>Professional Engineers in California Government</u>	\$ 6,500

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Dutra of \$310,400 were made by The California Alliance (consumer attorneys, nurses, and conservationists), which made independent expenditures of \$307,300, and the California League of Conservation Voters, which expended \$3,100.*

He raised over \$980,000 for the primary.

<b>Money supporting Dutra, combined total:</b>	<b>\$1,850,200</b>
<b>Money opposing Dutra, total:</b>	<b>\$ 310,400</b>

Conclusion: The race between Corbett, Klehs, and Dutra was very contentious because all 3 candidates were viewed as experienced and competent. Many news outlets focused on the large amount of money in this race both in campaign contributions and independent expenditures, funding that resulted in nasty ads and mailers. Some thought that Corbett and Klehs would split the San Leandro area and the liberal vote, helping to elect the moderate Dutra, whose base was in Fremont (in the southern end of the district). Ultimately the business-funded independent expenditures supporting Dutra did not result in a victory for him; in fact he ran behind Corbett and Klehs. Corbett has a strong environmental record, which was significant in this district.

### **3. Padilla And Montanez: The Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 20**

Part of Los Angeles County, including all San Fernando Valley communities from Lake View Terrace to Canoga Park and from Sylmar to Toluca Lake. There was no Republican candidate in the race.

Senate District 20 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 55% Democratic  
20% Republican  
21% Decline to State

**Alex Padilla** Moderate Democrat; 55.8% of the primary vote (24,303 votes):

Padilla served for 7 years (1999-2006) on the Los Angeles City Council and was elected its President in 2001 (he was 28 years old). He was the first Latino President of the California League of Cities (2005-2006). Padilla received contributions from a broad spectrum of groups: labor (10%), business (19%), lawyers and lobbyists (6%), health (5%), construction (5%), and communications (5%).

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Padilla of \$518,400 were made by:*

<u>Education Leaders Support City Council President Alex Padilla, sponsored by EdVoice</u> (wealthy, influential business people, investors, and local Indian tribes)	\$163,600
<u>Californians Allied for a Prosperous Economy</u> (insurers, physicians, dentists, car dealers, pharmaceuticals, business, and energy)	\$122,800
<u>California Credit Union League</u>	\$ 99,900
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$ 96,800

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<u>California Chamber of Commerce</u>	\$ 18,500
<u>Coalition for Responsible Leadership (homebuilders and Ron Burkle)</u>	\$ 6,200
<u>Californians for Jobs and a Strong Economy</u> (insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, developers, casinos, business, physicians, car dealers, finance, pharmaceuticals, real estate, and restaurant owners)	\$ 5,600
<u>NORCAL Mutual Insurance Company</u>	\$ 5,000

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Padilla of \$19,500 were made by VOTA 100%, a sponsored Committee of Unite Here! International Union (labor, Intuit software, energy and business), which made independent expenditures of \$19,500.*

He raised nearly \$1.6 million (through 2 committees) for the primary race.

**Money supporting Padilla, combined total: \$2,118,400**  
**Money opposing Padilla, total: \$ 19,500**

**Cindy Montanez** Liberal Democrat; 44.2% of the primary vote (19,299 votes):  
Montanez served 2 terms in the State Assembly (2002-2006). She was elected when she was 28 years old, becoming the youngest woman ever to be elected to the Assembly. In 2004 she became the youngest person ever to chair the powerful Assembly Rules Committee. Montanez received contributions from labor (20%), business (19%), and communication (6%).

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Montanez of \$434,300 were made by: VOTA 100%, a Sponsored Committee of Unite Here!*

(labor, Intuit software, energy, and business)	\$240,000
<u>California Alliance</u> (consumer trial attorneys, conservationists, and nurses)	\$ 94,000
<u>California Tribal Business Alliance</u>	\$ 67,000
<u>Firefighters Organized</u>	\$ 10,000
<u>Peace Officers Research Assoc.</u>	\$ 10,000
<u>Service Employees International Union,</u>	
<u>United Health Care Workers</u>	\$ 5,800
<u>California Professional Firefighters</u>	\$ 5,000
<u>United Firefighters of LA City, local 112</u>	\$ 2,500

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Montanez of \$56,600 were made by the Coalition for Responsible Leadership (homebuilders and Ron Burkle).*

Montanez raised nearly \$1.3 million (through 3 committees), at least 90% of which was raised outside the district.

**Money supporting Montanez, combined total: \$1,734,300**  
**Money opposing Montanez, total: \$ 56,600**

Conclusion: Padilla and Montanez are viewed as two of Los Angeles' brightest and most ambitious young politicians. The constituents in the district, and even the candidates themselves, admit they share many similarities. Padilla effectively cast himself as the more moderate of the two, however, and business interests solidly lined up behind him while labor

unions – particularly public sector unions -- sided with Montanez. Public safety organizations and teachers were split. Padilla took advantage of his greater name recognition, the result of his prominent role in city politics, and slightly more moderate profile in the Los Angeles media market.

#### **4. Ridley-Thomas And McCoy: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 26**

Part of Los Angeles County, including Baldwin Hills, Baldwin Vista, Beverlywood, Carthay Circle, Century City, the Crenshaw District, Culver City, Hancock Park, Hollywood, Hyde Park, Jefferson Park, Ladera Heights, Lafayette Square, Larchmont, Leimert Park, Los Feliz, Miracle Mile, South Central Los Angeles, View Park, West Los Angeles and Windsor Hills, among other communities. There was no Republican candidate in the race.

Senate District 26 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 66% Democratic  
11% Republican  
19% Decline to State

**Mark Ridley-Thomas** Liberal Democrat; 87% of the primary vote (52,357 votes):  
Ridley-Thomas served 2 terms in the State Assembly (2002-2006) where he was the chairman of the Assembly Democratic Caucus. He had served on the Los Angeles City Council (1991-2002) prior to serving in the Assembly. Ridley-Thomas ran virtually unopposed in the Democratic primary and received 87% of the primary vote; his only opponent, Marvin McCoy, raised no money (but received 13% of the vote). McCoy, a business consultant and moderate Democrat, campaigned saying Ridley-Thomas was out of touch with the African-American community. Ridley-Thomas raised \$538,300 for the primary, more than 25% of which was contributed by labor.

**Money supporting Ridley-Thomas, total: \$538,300**

Conclusion: The lack of opposition to Ridley-Thomas was surprising since the seat was open (Kevin Murray, who had held the seat since 1998, was termed out). Just one other Democrat entered the race, Marvin Columbus McCoy, but he did not file any campaign finance reports and received 7,832 votes. The Republicans did not run a candidate in the general election and Ridley-Thomas was elected with over 89% of the vote against Libertarian Bud Raymond. Ridley-Thomas left the Senate after being elected as a Los Angeles County Supervisor and, in a March 2009 special primary election to fill the seat, Democrat Curren Price bested his closest competitor (in a six-candidate Democratic race) 35.6% to 21.8%. He was supported by organized labor and received independent expenditure contributions in support from labor and business groups. In the special general election, Price won with nearly 71% of the vote. The Republican candidate and a Peace and Freedom candidate received 21% and 8.5% of the primary vote, respectively.

#### **5. Oropeza And Nakano: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 28**

Part of Los Angeles County, including Carson, Hermosa Beach, Manhattan Beach, Lomita, Redondo Beach, El Segundo, part of Long Beach, and part of Los Angeles, including the communities of Cheviot Hills, Del Aire, Del Rey, Harbor City, Harbor Gateway, Lennox, Mar Vista, Marina del Rey, Palms, Playa del Rey, Rancho Park, San Pedro, West Los Angeles, Westchester, Wilmington and Venice. Democrats Oropeza and Nakano received 33,964 and 30,364 votes, respectively. No Republican candidate received more than 22,313 votes on primary election day.

Senate District 28 is a *substantial majority Democratic district*: 48% Democratic  
25.5% Republican  
22% Decline to State

**Jenny Oropeza** Liberal Democrat; 52.8% of the primary vote (33,964 votes):  
Oropeza was termed out after serving in the Assembly (2000-2006), where she chaired the Assembly Budget Committee (2002-2004). She was elected to the Long Beach City Council (1994-2000) and also served on the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transit Agency Board (1996-2000). She was endorsed by the California Democratic Party, the League of Conservation Voters, and the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. She received contributions from labor (19.8%), business (7.6%) and lawyers (7%), and she raised about 4% of her campaign money from other candidate committees (including Darryl Steinberg, Fabian Nunez, and Gloria Romero, among others). She and her opponent were each charged with missing votes in the Assembly (she fought liver cancer and was undergoing chemotherapy).

*Independent expenditures supporting Oropeza of \$45,700 were made by:*

<u>Citizens for Quality Representation</u> (Latino leadership fund, SEIU, and Indian tribes)	\$ 25,000
<u>Service Employees International Union</u>	\$ 16,800
<u>Professional Engineers in California Government</u>	\$ 3,900

*Independent expenditures opposing Oropeza of \$56,800 were made by California Alliance for Progress and Education (realtors, dentists, and insurance agents).*

She raised \$580,000 for the primary race.

<b>Money supporting Oropeza, combined total:</b>	<b>\$625,700</b>
<b>Money opposing Oropeza, total:</b>	<b>\$ 56,800</b>

**George Nakano** Moderate Democrat; 47.2% of the primary vote (30,364 votes):  
Nakano was elected to the Assembly in 1998 and served 3 terms. He was the Democratic Caucus Chair (2002), the first Asian to hold that leadership position, and he was the inaugural Chair of the Asian Pacific Islander Legislative Caucus. Prior to his service in the Assembly, he was a Torrance City Council member for 15 years, serving as Mayor for part of that time. He and his family spent four years in internment camps during WWII. In his race for the Senate he relied on his longevity, name identification, and support from local business groups. Pre-primary criticism focused on a report that he had the 7<sup>th</sup> worst attendance record on votes in the Assembly in the year before the primary. He was supported by Mayor Villaraigosa and Member of Congress Jane Harmon. He received contributions from business (19.7%), health business entities (9.9%), labor (5%), and lawyers (3%). He self financed 11.8% of his contributions.

*Independent expenditures supporting Nakano of \$512,000 were made by:*

<u>California Real Estate IE Committee</u>	\$144,300
<u>Californians for Civil Justice Reform</u> (oil, tobacco, development, pharmaceuticals, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits)	\$100,000
<u>California Alliance for Progress and Education</u>	

realtors, dentists, and insurance agents)	\$ 74,100
<u>California Correctional Peace Officers</u>	\$ 60,000
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$ 49,900
<u>California Medical Association</u>	\$ 30,300
<u>Californians Allied for a Prosperous Economy</u> (insurers, physicians, dentists, car dealers, pharmaceuticals, business, and energy)	\$ 25,000
<u>Peace Officers Research Association</u>	\$ 10,000
<u>Californians for Jobs and a Strong Economy</u> (insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, developers, casinos, business, physicians, car dealers, finance, pharmaceuticals, real estate, and restaurant owners)	\$ 9,000
pharmaceuticals, and restaurant owners)	\$ 5,000
<u>NORCAL Mutual Insurance</u>	\$ 5,000
<u>Asian American Small Business Association</u>	\$ 4,400

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Nakano of \$69,700 were made by California Alliance (consumer trial attorneys, conservationists, and nurses).*

He raised \$597,000 for the primary race.

<b>Money supporting Nakano, combined total:</b>	<b>\$1,109,000</b>
<b>Money opposing Nakano, total:</b>	<b>\$ 69,700</b>

Conclusion: The outcome of this primary race surprised most election watchers. Oropeza was victorious in spite of the strong business support received by the more moderate Nakano (nearly \$500,000 in independent expenditures). She was a long-time fixture in Long Beach and won a very close race with the backing of labor.

## **6. Calderon And Bermudez: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 30**

Part of Los Angeles County, including parts of East Los Angeles, Los Angeles and South Gate, and the communities of Florence-Graham, Hacienda Heights, Bell, Bell Gardens, Commerce, Cudahay, East La Mirada, Huntington Park, LA Mirada, Montebello, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, Santa Fe Springs, Whittier, and South El Monte. Democrats Calderon and Bermudez received 22,209 and 21,904 votes, respectively. The Republican candidate received 13,811 on primary election day.

Senate District 30 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 56% Democratic  
23% Republican  
17% Decline to State

**Ron Calderon** Moderate Democrat; 50.4% of the primary vote (22,209 votes):  
Calderon served 2 terms in the State Assembly (2002-2006), immediately succeeding his brother Thomas and immediately preceding his brother Charles in the same seat. Calderon, a long-time staffer to legislators, had also worked as a mortgage broker and real estate agent. Calderon received very significant contributions from business (38%) (including real estate (7%) and insurance (11%)) and labor (10%).

*Independent expenditures supporting Calderon of \$828,700 were made by:*

<u>California Alliance for Progress and Education</u> (realtors, dentists, and insurance agents)	\$454,300
<u>Californians for Civil Justice Reform</u> (oil, tobacco, pharmaceuticals, development, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits)	\$340,400
<u>JOBSPAC</u> (pharmaceuticals, Chevron, Philip Morris, dentists, realtors, insurers, developers, and business)	\$ 34,000

Calderon raised \$920,000 (through 3 committees) for the primary race.

**Money supporting Calderon, combined total: \$1,748,700**

**Rudy Bermudez** Liberal Democrat; 49.6% of the primary vote (21,904 votes):

Bermudez was a two-term Assemblyman (2002-2006) and a two-term member of the Norwalk City Council (elected in 1991, reelected in 1995). Bermudez had previously been a state parole officer. He received contributions from labor (15%) as well as substantial support from business (13%) and lawyers (21%).

*Independent expenditures supporting Bermudez of \$733,100 were made by:*

<u>California Correctional Peace Officers Association</u>	\$ 352,600
<u>Minorities in Law Enforcement</u>	\$ 253,400
<u>California Alliance</u> (consumer trial attorneys, conservationists, and nurses)	\$ 80,100
<u>Professional Engineers in California Government</u>	\$ 22,000
<u>California Chiropractic Association</u>	\$ 15,000
<u>Peace Officers Research Assoc.</u>	\$ 10,000

*Independent expenditures opposing Bermudez of \$64,000 were made by Californians for Civil Justice Reform (oil, tobacco, pharmaceuticals, development, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits).*

Bermudez raised \$808,000 (through 3 committees) for the primary race.

**Money supporting Bermudez, combined total: \$1,541,100**

**Money opposing Bermudez, total: \$ 64,000**

Conclusion: This race was decided by only 305 votes, with the moderate Calderon prevailing. He had much greater name recognition in the district; Assembly District 56 which Bermudez represented has little overlap with Senate District 30.

## **7. Negrete McCloud And Baca, Jr.: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 32**

Parts of Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties, including Pomona, Colton, Fontana, Montclair, Ontario, Rialto, San Bernardino and parts of Chino and including the unincorporated communities of Bloomington and Muscoy. Democrats Negrete McCloud and Baca, Jr. received 20,461 and 12,871 votes, respectively. There was no Republican candidate in the race.

Senate District 32 is a *substantial majority Democratic district*: 51% Democratic  
27% Republican  
17% Decline to State

**Gloria Negrete McLeod** Moderate Democrat; 61.4% of the primary vote (20,461 votes):  
Negrete McLeod was a three-term Assemblyperson representing AD 63 including Chino and Ontario (portions of which lie entirely within SD 32). She succeeded terming out Nell Soto in the Assembly (and also in the Senate). She has been a community activist and was the President of the Chaffey Community College Board. She was supported by Democratic officeholders (Mark Leno, Carole Migden, and Nicole Parra, among others) and received significant contributions from business (30.1%), labor (18.8%), and health professionals (15%).

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Negrete McLeod of \$944,800 were made by:*

<u>Teachers United with Firefighters and Correctional Officers</u> (correctional peace officers, California Teachers Association, and firefighters)	\$448,500
<u>California Alliance for Progress and Education</u> (dentists, real estate, and insurance agents)	\$142,500
<u>Californians Advancing Education</u> (physicians, insurance, real estate, casinos, builders, car dealers, pharmaceuticals, oil, tobacco, and development)	\$130,000
<u>California Professional Firefighters Alliance for California's Tomorrow</u> (Intuit software, energy, business, communications, insurance, and banks)	\$ 79,700
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$ 68,000
<u>Peace Officers Research Assoc.</u>	\$ 61,100
<u>NORCAL Mutual Insurance</u>	\$ 10,000
	\$ 5,000

Negrete McLeod raised \$933,000 (through 2 committees) for the primary race.

**Money supporting Negrete McLeod, combined total: \$1,877,800**

**Joe Baca, Jr.** Moderate Democrat; 38.6% of the primary vote (12,871 votes):  
Baca, Jr. served one term in the Assembly (2004-2006) representing AD 62. Prior to serving in the Assembly he had been a correctional peace officer and a probation officer. He is the son of Member of Congress Joe Baca, Sr. Baca, Jr. received contributions from business (16.6%), lawyers (14.4%), labor (10.5%), and energy (5.1%).

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Baca, Jr., of \$71,200 were made by Californians Advancing Education (physicians, insurance, real estate, casinos, builders, car dealers, pharmaceuticals, oil, tobacco, and development).*

Baca, Jr., raised \$468,000 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Baca, Jr., total: \$468,000**  
**Money opposing Baca, Jr., total: \$ 71,200**



opposed Leno's successful bid for her old Assembly seat. Migden received contributions from business (7%), labor (12%), law (14%), as well as contributions from other Democratic politicians including past President Pro Tempore of the California State Senate Don Perata and current Senate President Darrell Steinberg, Speaker Pro Tempore Leland Yee, and Chairwoman of the State Board of Equalization Betty Yee.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Migden of \$288,700 were made by:*

<u>Fair Public Policy Coalition</u> (California horse racing)	\$209,000
<u>Vote Strong California</u> (law enforcement, Indian tribes, and business)	\$79,700

Other factors, however, figured significantly in this race. In 2007, Migden was charged with reckless driving in a highly publicized incident, after which she revealed a 10-year battle with leukemia. In 2008, Migden agreed to pay a \$350,000 fine levied by the FPPC for 89 instances of campaign finance and disclosure violations.

Migden raised over \$2 million for her reelection bid (through 2 committees).

**Money supporting Migden, combined total: \$2,488,700**

The other significant candidate:

**Joe Nation** Moderate Democrat; 27.6% of the primary vote (37,136 votes):

Nation served 3 terms in the State Assembly before terming out in 2008. Nation received support from business (8%) and health entities (5%).

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Nation of \$503,700 were made by:*

<u>Californians for Balance and Fairness in the Civil Justice System</u> (realtors, dentists, insurance, pharmaceuticals, oil, tobacco, and finance opposed to consumer lawsuits)	\$348,500
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$100,000
<u>Californians Allied for Patient Protection</u> (California Dental Association, California Medical Association, physicians, California Hospital Association, insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, business, restaurant owners, pharmaceuticals, real estate, car dealers, casinos, and developers)	\$ 51,900
<u>Californians for Jobs and a Strong Economy</u> (insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, developers, casinos, business, physicians, car dealers, finance, pharmaceuticals, real estate, and restaurant owners)	\$ 3,300

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Nation of \$466,600 were made by Opportunity PAC (SEIU, California Teachers Association, California Federation of Teachers, school classified employees, California State Council of Service Employees, Faculty for Our University's Future, and consumer trial attorneys), which expended \$362,800, California Nurses Association, which made independent expenditures of \$64,000, Committee for a Better California (Philip Morris, PG & E, race track owners,*



*Independent expenditures **opposing** Hancock of over \$153,000 were contributed by Education Leaders for High Standards (California Tribal Business Alliance).*

Hancock raised more than \$1 million before the primary, including \$145,000 from the State Democratic Party.

**Money supporting Hancock, combined total: \$1,109,700**  
**Money opposing Hancock, total: \$ 145,000**

**Wilma Chan** Liberal Democrat; 43.2% of the primary vote (45,250 votes):

Three-term assemblywoman Chan was Hancock's primary opponent. Before she termed out in 2006, Chan held the leadership positions of Assembly Majority Leader (2002-2004), the first Asian American to hold that leadership post, and Assembly Majority Whip (2001-2002). She established a record in the Assembly as a champion of children, affordable health care, and consumer protection. She was a Supervisor in Alameda County from 1994 to 2000. She is somewhat distinguishable from her opponent, but the bulk of independent expenditures supporting her were contributed by business oriented groups. Chan received contributions from labor (13%), business (5%), and health entities (5%). She received 57% of her contributions from individuals, including very strong support from Asian Americans.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Chan of \$343,400 were made by:*

<u>Partners for Wilma Chan IE Committee</u> (funded by California Medical Assoc. and EdVoice, funded by wealthy, influential businesspeople)	\$136,300
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$120,500
<u>Service Employees International Union</u>	
<u>United Health Care Workers</u>	\$ 37,800
<u>Golden State Leadership Fund</u>	\$ 21,000
<u>California State Council of Service Employees</u>	\$ 17,800
<u>Partnership for California Trade</u> (pacific merchant shipping association)	\$ 10,000

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Chan of \$33,800 were made by the California Nurses Association.*

Chan raised \$615,000 prior to the primary (through 2 committees), only about \$16,000 of which came from the State Democratic Party.

**Money supporting Chan, combined total: \$958,400**  
**Money opposing Chan, total: \$ 33,800**

Conclusion: Many believed that either Hancock or Chan was well-qualified and would be an effective senator. Either way a progressive was going to win the seat but Hancock's fundraising advantage, particularly within the Democratic Party, was decisive.

### **3. Pavley And Levine: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 23**

Parts of Ventura and Los Angeles Counties, including the cities of Agoura Hills, Beverly Hills, Calabasas, Hidden Hills, Malibu, Oxnard, Port Hueneme, Santa Monica, West Hollywood and Westlake Village, as well as several communities in the City of Los Angeles, including Bel Air, Beverly-Fairfax, Beverly Glen Canyon, Brentwood, Canoga Park, Century City, Chatsworth, Encino, Hollywood, Mt. Olympus, Pacific Palisades, Sherman Oaks, Studio City, Tarzana, Topanga, West Los Angeles, West Hills, Westwood and Woodland Hills. Democrats Pavley and Levine received 42,795 and 22,337 votes, respectively. No Republican candidate received more than 14,144 votes on primary election day.

Senate District 23 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 51% Democratic  
24% Republican  
21% Decline to State

**Fran Pavley** Liberal Democrat; 65.8% of the primary vote (42,795 votes):

Pavley, a great-granddaughter of William Jennings Bryan, served 3 terms in the State Assembly, part of that time as an Assistant Majority Whip, before terming out in 2006. Early in her career she had been elected mayor in 1982 of the newly-incorporated city of Agoura Hills and ultimately served four terms in that office. She taught in public middle and high schools for 25 years. Pavley focused her campaign on the economy, environment, and education. Pavley also received support from the entertainment industry (7%) and from labor (11%), including contributions from the California Teachers Association, Faculty for our University's Future, the Service Employees International Union, the United Healthcare Workers, International Union of Operating Engineers, and others.

*Independent expenditures supporting Pavley of \$200,500 were made by:*

<u>Carbon Free Votes for Fran Pavley, a Project of EdVoice</u> (health and wealthy, influential business people)	\$133,500
<u>California Professional Firefighters</u>	\$ 67,000

Pavley raised over \$1.1 million (through 2 committees), including \$32,700 from the Democratic Party, for the primary.

**Money supporting Pavley, combined total: \$1,300,500**

**Lloyd Levine** Liberal Democrat; 34.2% of the primary vote (22,337 votes):

Levine was elected to the Assembly in 2002 and termed out in 2008 after serving for a time as the Majority Whip. He was an experienced Assembly staff member prior to his election. He received support from labor (about 23%), including the California Teachers Association, the California Federation of Teachers, the Faculty for Our University's Future, the United Healthcare Workers, the California State Council of Service Employees, the California State Employees Association, the International Union of Operating Engineers, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Water & Power Defense League, among many others. Pavley and Levine often voted the same way when they were both in the Assembly and not surprisingly their primary battle centered around education and the environment—strong issues for both. Levine additionally focused his campaign on transportation (1% of his campaign contributions came from this sector).

Levine raised \$773,000, including \$65,000 from the Democratic Party, for the primary.

**Money supporting Levine, total: \$733,000**

Conclusion: Pavley had a distinct fundraising advantage over Levine as well as a great advantage in name recognition within the boundaries of the Senate district; Levine's Assembly district constitutes only a small portion of Senate district 23.

#### **4. Wright And Dymally: Top Two Vote Getters In Senate District 25**

Part of Los Angeles County, including communities in Alondra Park, Athens, Compton, Gardena, Florence-Graham, Hawthorne, Inglewood, Ladera Heights, Lawndale, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Palos Verdes Peninsula, San Pedro, Watts, Westchester, Westmont, and Willowbrook. Democrats Wright and Dymally received 23,448 and 18,665 votes, respectively. The Republican candidate received 13,053 votes on primary election day.

Senate District 25 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 62% Democratic  
18% Republican  
16% Decline to State

**Rod Wright** Moderate Democrat; 43.8% of the primary vote (23,448 votes):

Wright served 3 terms in the State Assembly before terming out in 2002. Wright received contributions from business (6%), real estate, finance and insurance (13%), health (8%), and tobacco (1%). Wright was a business-backed candidate who also received primary election contributions from labor (over 16%), including the California Teachers Association, the California State Council of Service Employees, and the Southwest Regional Council of Carpenters.

The independent expenditure contributions in this race were the most for any legislative race in the June 2008 primary and the amount contributed in support of Wright was nearly three times the amount raised by Wright's campaign (he raised just over \$400,000 for the primary).

*Independent expenditures supporting Wright of \$1,178,000 were made by:*

<u>Alliance for California's Tomorrow</u> (pharmaceuticals, Chevron, Philip Morris, Eli Lilly, Sempra Energy, PG&E, realtors, merchant shippers, insurers, dentists, builders, engineers, and business)	\$990,000
<u>California Real Estate</u> (southern California realtors)	\$100,000
<u>California Apartment Association</u> (property management, development, and realtors)	\$ 47,400
<u>Morongo Indians</u>	\$ 30,000
<u>Californians for Jobs &amp; a Strong Economy</u> (insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, developers, casinos, business, physicians, car dealers, finance, pharmaceuticals, real estate, and restaurant owners)	\$ 10,600

Wright raised \$406,000 for the primary.

**Money supporting Wright, combined total: \$1,584,000**

**Mervyn Dymally** Liberal Democrat; 34.8% of the primary votes (18,665 votes):

Assemblyman Dymally, termed out in 2008, is a veteran legislator who had served 3 years in the Assembly (1963-1966) and 8 years in the Senate (1967-1975) before being elected Lieutenant Governor of California (1975-1979) and a Member of Congress (1981-1993). He called Wright a Democrat in Republican clothing. Dymally received support from labor (9%) and health entities (13%). Dymally also received many contributions from other Democratic politicians including Assembly Majority Leader Alberto Torrico, former Speaker of the Assembly Fabian Nunez, and Warren Furutani.

*Independent expenditures supporting Dymally of \$330,500 were made by:*

Los Angeles County Council on

Political Education (labor: trades, service

employees, teachers, and municipal workers) \$218,300

California Council of Service Employees \$ 63,400

California Tribal Business Alliance \$ 35,700

Professional Engineers in CA Government \$ 13,100

*Independent expenditures opposing Dymally of \$444,100 were contributed by Alliance for California's Tomorrow (pharmaceuticals, Chevron, Philip Morris, Eli Lilly, Sempra Energy, PG&E, realtors, merchant shippers, insurers, dentists, builders, engineers, and business, which made independent expenditures of \$341,100, Californians United (PG&E, classified school employees, race track operators, AFSCME, and Philip Morris), which expended \$55,000, Coalition for a Safer California (AT&T and Californians United), which expended \$28,000, and the Morongo Indian tribe, which spent \$20,000 in independent expenditures.*

Dymally raised just over \$1.1 million for the primary race.

**Money supporting Dymally, combined total \$1,430,500**

**Money opposing Dymally, total: \$ 444,100**

Conclusion: Wright and Dymally sought to replace termed out liberal Ed Vincent. Massive pro-business Independent Expenditures and Dymally's age (82) decided the race in favor of the more moderate Wright.

### **C. 2008 Assembly Districts**

**1. Yamada And Cabaldon: Top Two Getters In Assembly District 8** Parts of Solano and Yolo Counties and the cities of Benicia, Davis, Dixon, Fairfield, Rio Vista, Suisun City, Vacaville, West Sacramento, Winters and Woodland. Democrats Yamada and Cabaldon received 19,931 and 18,502 votes, respectively. The Republican candidate received 16,043 votes on primary election day.

Assembly District 8 is a *substantial majority Democratic district*: 48% Democratic  
27% Republican  
21% Decline to State

**Mariko Yamada** Liberal Democrat; 51.9% of the primary votes (19,931 votes):

Yamada was elected to the Yolo County Board of Supervisors (2003-2008; Chair of the Board in 2007). She is a social worker by profession whose family was interned during World War II. Before being elected a Supervisor, she was an aide to Los Angeles County Supervisor Ed Edelman, she held various federal government jobs in Washington, D.C., including working at the Census Bureau (1980 Census) and the Department of Commerce (in the Office for Civil Rights). She received significant contributions from labor (32%) and lawyers (5.8%). Nearly 40% of the contributions she received were from individuals.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Yamada of \$331,100 were made by:*

Working Families for Progressive Leadership

(California Teachers Association and 2 other public employee unions)

\$309,000

California Professional Firefighters

\$ 12,600

California State Council of Service Employees

\$ 9,500

*Independent Expenditures **opposing** Yamada of \$190,000 were made by Democrats Against Government Waste, Sponsored by EdVoice (funded with \$150,000 from EdVoice), which made independent expenditures of \$147,600, and Public School Champions for Christopher Cabaldon, A Project of EdVoice (funded by wealthy, influential individuals), which expended \$42,400.*

Yamada raised \$348,400 for the primary.

**Money supporting Yamada, combined total:**

**\$679,500**

**Money opposing Yamada, total:**

**\$190,000**

**Christopher Cabaldon** Moderate Democrat; 48.1% of the primary vote (18,502 votes):

Cabaldon was elected to the West Sacramento City Council in 1996 and has served five terms as Mayor (and is the first Mayor to be elected directly by voters there in 2004). He is an openly gay Filipino American. He was a Vice Chancellor of the California Community Colleges and was a legislative staffer in the Assembly. He was President and Chief Executive Officer of EdVoice from 2003 until he announced his candidacy for this Assembly seat in 2008. Cabaldon serves on numerous public boards and commissions in the Sacramento area. He received contributions from business (20%), health professionals and providers (4%), other candidate committees (4.2%), and labor (3.6%). Cabaldon was endorsed by Lois Wolk, termed out of this seat after 2008, and the Sacramento Bee.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Cabaldon of \$544,500 were made by:*

Public School Champions for Christopher

Cabaldon, a Project of EdVoice (funded by wealthy, influential individuals)

\$369,500

Cooperative of American Physicians (physicians and their liability insurance provider)

\$100,000

California Real Estate (Southern California realtors)

\$ 50,000

California Apartment Association (property management, development, and realtors)

\$ 25,000

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Cabaldon of \$115,400 were made by Working Families for Progressive Leadership (California Teachers Association and 2 other public employee unions).*

Cabaldon raised \$619,000 for the primary.

<b>Money supporting Cabaldon, combined total:</b>	<b>\$1,163,500</b>
<b>Money opposing Cabaldon, total:</b>	<b>\$ 115,400</b>

Conclusion: The independent expenditure battle between the traditional education community (teacher’s unions) and the reform community (EdVoice) set the tone for this race between two very well known and widely admired Sacramento area politicians. Other public sector labor groups joined with teachers to support Yamada with “boots on the ground” campaigning while Cabaldon’s message became increasingly negative and, reportedly, misleading. Analysts said that “[EdVoice]’s mail barrage turned people off.” Still, the contest was quite close with roughly 1,300 votes (of over 38,000 votes cast) separating the candidates and many commentators were calling this an upset.

## **2. Skinner And Thurmond: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 14**

Parts of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, including portions of Oakland and the communities of Albany, Berkeley, Emeryville, East Richmond Heights, El Cerrito, Kensington, Lafayette, Moraga, Orinda, Pleasant Hill, Richmond, and San Pablo. No Republican candidate was in the race.

Assembly District 14 is a <i>supermajority Democratic district</i> :	61% Democratic
	13% Republican
	21% Decline to State

**Nancy Skinner** Liberal Democrat; 46.4% of the primary vote (27,234 votes):  
Skinner was a former member of the Berkeley Council (1984-1992) and was elected to the East Bay Regional Park Board (2006-2008). She has worked extensively on environmental issues, launching a national organization—Cities for Climate Protection—that worked with mayors and cities across the country. She received contributions from labor (28%), attorneys (9%), health entities (5%), and energy-related entities (2%). She was endorsed by many Assembly members as well as the mayors of Berkeley, Albany, El Cerrito, Lafayette, and Pleasant Hill. Organizational endorsements included many labor unions, the Sierra Club, NOW, and the California League of Conservation Voters.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Skinner of \$25,000 were made by Professional Engineers in California Government.*

Skinner raised \$335,000 for the primary race.

<b>Money supporting Skinner, combined total:</b>	<b>\$360,000</b>
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**Tony Thurmond** Liberal Democrat; 25.0% of the primary vote (14,643 votes):  
Thurmond, the only non-white, non-Berkeley resident in this race, had been appointed in 2005 to the Richmond City Council and was elected for a two year term in 2006. He is a long-time advocate on youth and environmental issues, and focused his campaign on education, job training and job opportunities, reducing crime and promoting sustainable growth. He received

contributions from labor (17%), other candidate committees (10%), lawyers (4%), and energy entities (3%). Over 41% of his contributors were individuals. Key endorsements include the Oakland Tribune, the San Francisco Chronicle, Contra Costa Times, East Bay Express and Richmond Globe.

*Independent expenditures supporting Thurmond of \$55,200 were made by:*

<u>Peace Officers Research Association</u>	\$ 20,000
<u>Partnership for California Trade</u> (pacific merchant shipping association)	\$ 16,900
<u>Legislative Black Coalition</u>	\$ 14,700
<u>International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers</u>	\$ 3,600

He raised \$324,000 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Thurmond, combined total: \$379,200**

Conclusion: This was a race with four relatively well-connected progressives dividing the vote in this very Democratic and progressive district. Skinner won largely because she was endorsed by voter-favorite Loni Hancock, who was termed out of this Assembly seat and thus ran for (and won) the seat in Senate District 9. Thurmond did not benefit from the fact that 3 of his opponents were from Berkeley.

### **3. Hill And Papan: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 19**

Most of San Mateo County, including Belmont, Brisbane, Burlingame, Foster City, Half Moon Bay, Highlands-Baywood Park, Hillsborough, Millbrae, Pacifica, San Bruno, San Mateo, South San Francisco, and part of Daly City. Three Democrats received 15,763 votes, 14,555 votes, and 12,158 votes. No Republican received more than 10,015 votes on primary election day.

Assembly District 19 is a <i>supermajority Democratic district:</i>	55% Democratic
	20% Republican
	24% Decline to State

**Jerry Hill** Moderate Liberal Democrat; 37.2% of the primary vote (15,763 votes):

Hill served as San Mateo County supervisor (1998-2008) and San Mateo City Council member (1991-1998), serving as Mayor in 1994. He was also a member of the state Air Resources Board and the Blue Ribbon Task Force on Healthcare Coverage Expansion. He is a small business owner of a pool cleaning company. In 2003, he switched his party affiliation from Republican to Democratic (he had registered as a Republican in 1972 to support Pete McCloskey's anti-war challenge to Richard Nixon). The race for this open seat in the 19<sup>th</sup> Assembly District was his first run at a partisan office. He ran what was characterized as the "establishment campaign" based on "a reputation as a hard-nosed champion of the common man with a proclivity toward fiscal responsibility." He is a moderate Democrat in a heavily Democratic district that is quite moderate by Bay Area standards; analysts of this race, however, labeled him a progressive candidate. He received contributions from labor (13%, and 84% of that amount came from unions representing plumbers and steamfitters who donated \$72,000), business (more than 10%), health entities (5%), and lawyers (5%). He was endorsed by Democratic Party officeholders, including Congresswomen Jackie Speier and Anna Eshoo, a number of state assembly members, San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom, a San Mateo County Supervisor and its Treasurer-Tax Collector.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Hill of \$52,800 were made by:*

<u>California Voice</u> (trial attorneys and racetrack investors)	\$ 35,200
<u>California League of Conservation Voters</u>	\$ 17,600

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Hill of over \$75,000 were made by the California Nurses Association.*

Hill raised nearly \$655,000 for the primary.

<b>Money supporting Hill, combined total:</b>	<b>\$707,800</b>
<b>Money opposing Hill, total:</b>	<b>\$ 75,000</b>

**Gina Papan** Moderate Democrat; 34.2% of the primary vote (14,555 votes):

Millbrae Mayor and former Deputy Attorney General, Papan made her second attempt to win this Assembly seat that her father had held for 20 years (the first attempt was in 2002). Papan was "blasted" by her opponents Hill and Hobler as being heavily influenced by special interests as she attempted to stake out the middle ground in the campaign. Her campaign Contributions were from business (15%), health entities (5%), and lawyers (4%). She self-financed her campaign by providing 24% of the contributions to her campaign committee. Papan received key endorsements from Democratic officeholders, including Senator Dianne Feinstein, Senator Barbara Boxer, Lieutenant Governor Garamendi, State Treasurer Lockyer, Insurance Commissioner Poizner, Members of Congress Nancy Pelosi and Joe Baca (among others) and many State Senators and Assembly members as well as several local mayors.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Papan of \$456,400 were made by:*

<u>Californians Allied for Patient Protection</u> (insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, developers, casinos, business, physicians, car dealers, finance, pharmaceuticals, real estate, restaurant owners, California Dental Association, California Medical Association, NORCAL Mutual Insurance, Eli Lilly, California Hospital Association)	\$242,200
<u>Cooperative of American Physicians</u> (physicians and their liability insurance provider)	\$150,000
<u>California Statewide Law Enforcement Association</u>	\$ 41,500
<u>California Medical Association</u>	\$ 15,700
<u>Committee for Community Values</u> (pacific merchant shipping assoc., independent grocers, optometrists, and Anheuser-Busch)	\$ 7,000

*Independent expenditures **opposing** Papan of \$79,900 were made by the California Alliance (consumer trial attorneys, conservationists and nurses), which made independent expenditures of \$72,300) and Progressive Leadership for the East Bay (nurses and consumer attorneys), which expended \$7,600.*

Papan raised \$417,000 for the primary (just 1,208 fewer votes than Hill of the 42,476 votes cast).

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<b>Money supporting Papan, combined total:</b>	<b>\$873,400</b>
<b>Money opposing Papan, total:</b>	<b>\$ 79,900</b>

The other significant candidate:

**Richard Holober** Liberal Democrat; 28.6% of the primary vote (12,158 votes); Educator, consumer advocate, and former president of the San Mateo County Community College District, Holober -- executive director of Consumer Federation of California -- was the most progressive candidate in the three-way race. Fully 29% of contributions to his campaign came from labor and he self-financed another 28% of his total campaign contributions. He raised contributions from attorneys (14%) and individuals (19%).

*Independent expenditures supporting Holober of \$60,900 were made by:*

<u>Progressive Leadership for the East Bay</u> (consumer trial attorneys and nurses)	\$ 29,000
<u>SEIU Health-care Workers</u>	\$ 19,000
<u>California Nurses Association</u>	\$ 12,900

*Independent expenditures opposing Holober of \$73,800 were made by* JOBSPAC (pharmaceuticals, Chevron, Philip Morris, dentists, realtors, insurers, developers, and business).

Holober raised over \$390,000 for the primary.

<b>Money supporting Holober, combined total:</b>	<b>\$450,900</b>
<b>Money opposing Holober, total:</b>	<b>\$ 73,800</b>

Conclusion: This was a closely contested three-way race. Hill, a long-time member of the San Mateo Board of Supervisors, was able to benefit from a broad coalition of county-based support in just barely getting by the business-supported Papan, whose family name and Democratic Party connections were not enough to secure a win for her.

#### **4. Perez And Chavez: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 46**

Part of Los Angeles County, including the cities of Huntington Park, Maywood, and Vernon, and portions of East Los Angeles, Florence-Graham, and Los Angeles. Four Democrats were in the race; the candidate who finished fourth received 1,304 votes. The Republican candidate received 1,084 votes on primary election day.

Assembly District 46 is a <i>supermajority Democratic district</i> :	66% Democratic
	11% Republican
	19% Decline to State

**John Perez** Liberal Democrat; 54.3% of the primary vote (4,905 votes):

Perez is a labor organizer who was the political director for the United Food and Commercial Workers and an elected member of the Democratic National Committee. The openly gay Perez was appointed in 2005 to the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency by Mayor Villaraigosa, his cousin, and is a board member for the California League of Conservation Voters, AIDS Project Los Angeles, and the Latino Coalition against AIDS. Nearly 37% of his contributions were from labor; other contributions were made by business (9%), lawyers (8%), and health entities (6%). Approximately a quarter of

contributions came from individuals. Perez received many key political endorsements, including Mayor Villaraigosa, several California government officials, many state senators, 21 assembly members, termed-out Assembly Speaker Fabian Nunez (whose seat Perez was seeking), and 9 Los Angeles City Council members. He was endorsed by several labor organizations including the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations), California Nurses Association, SEIU (Service Employees International Union), California Teachers Association, and the California Statewide Law Enforcement Association; as well as traditionally liberal organizations like the California League of Conservation Voters, Planned Parenthood, and the Sierra Club.

Perez raised \$412,000 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Perez, total: \$412,000**

**Arturo Chavez** Liberal Democrat; 16.7% of the primary vote (1,507 votes):

Chavez decided not to stay in the primary race after a series of meetings with top Los Angeles power brokers, including Nunez, Mayor Villaraigosa and Maria Elena Durazo (head of the the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor). Chavez worked as district director for Sen. Gilbert Cedillo, insists there was no deal that led to his decision not to run, but said it was clear that if he ran, the race would be nasty and divisive.

Chavez raised \$7,400.

**Money supporting Chavez, total: \$7,400**

The other significant candidate:

**Ricardo Lara** Liberal Democrat; 14.6% of the primary vote (1,326 votes)

Lara, who is also openly gay, worked in the Assembly as a staffer for more than a decade. Prior to the June 2008 race, Lara served as District Director for Assembly Speaker Fabian Núñez, and he was endorsed by Nunez before dropping out. Newspapers accused Lara of not living in the 46<sup>th</sup> district. He was appointed to the Los Angeles City Planning Commission by Mayor Villaraigosa after exiting the race.

Lara raised \$9,700.

**Money supporting Lara, total: \$9,700**

Conclusion: Perez received support from all sectors. He became the anointed candidate after Latino leaders in Los Angeles negotiated the exit of two other similarly experienced liberal Latino candidates prior to Election Day, very likely promising benefits for them down the line if they put their ambitions temporarily on hold. The other candidates, however, remained on the ballot and collectively Lara, Chavez and Aldapa garnered 46% of the votes cast in the primary.

## **5. Hall And Harris-Forster: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 52**

Part of Los Angeles County, including all of Compton, East Compton, and Paramount, as well as portions of Florence-Graham, Long Beach, Los Angeles, and Willowbrook. Four Democrats were in the race; the candidate who finished third received 2,882 votes. The Republican candidate received 841 votes on primary election day, more than just one of the Democrats.

Assembly District 52 is a *supermajority Democratic district*: 71% Democratic  
10% Republican  
15% Decline to State

**Isadore Hall** Moderate Democrat; 56.8% of the primary vote (10,703 votes):

A member of the Compton City Council since 2003, real estate executive Hall represented the fourth district on the Metropolitan Water Board and was an elected member of the Compton Unified School District Board of Trustees, serving two terms as its President. He received campaign contributions from labor (22%), business (17%), and health entities (8%). Just slightly more than 17% of his contributions came from individuals. Hall has a “pro-business” political philosophy. He was endorsed by outgoing District 52 Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally, California State Controller John Chiang, six members of the Los Angeles City Council, and several District 52 city officials. He made the FPPC list of top IE recipients for the June 2008 primaries, receiving 99% of the independent expenditures in this primary race.

*Independent expenditures supporting Hall of \$695,200 were made by:*

<u>California Alliance</u> (realtors, dentists, and insurance agents)	\$412,700
<u>Partners for Isadore Hall IE Comm.</u> (California Medical Assoc. and EdVoice (funded by wealthy, influential people))	\$116,400
<u>California Apartment Association</u>	\$ 47,300
<u>JOBSPAC</u> (pharmaceuticals, Chevron, Philip Morris, dentists, realtors, insurers, developers, and business)	\$ 33,200
<u>Viacom Outdoor/Infinity Radio</u>	\$ 27,700
<u>Legislative Black Coalition</u>	\$ 20,700
<u>California Statewide Law Enforcement Association</u>	\$ 12,500
<u>California State Council of Service Employees</u>	\$ 10,300
<u>Californians for Jobs and a Strong Economy</u> (insurers, San Manuel Indians, PG&E, developers, casinos, business, physicians, car dealers, finance, pharmaceuticals, real estate, and restaurant owners)	\$ 10,000
<u>Service Employees International Union</u>	\$ 4,400

Hall raised \$563,600 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Hall, combined total: \$1,258,800**

**Linda Harris-Forster** Liberal Democrat; 24.9% of the primary vote (4,694 votes):

Harris-Forster, the daughter of well-known South Central activist “Sweet” Alice Harris and a clinical social worker, served as a Commissioner on the Los Angeles Commission for Public Social Services and was an elected delegate to the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee. She is the Founding Partner and President of the Forster Company, a community relations and construction management firm, and was a former director for the Dianne Feinstein Home for Young Mothers in Watts. About a quarter of her campaign contributions were self-funded, while approximately half came from individuals and small businesses. Harris-Forster had the official backing of the California

State Democratic Party, Senator Dianne Feinstein, state senators from the 24<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> districts, and several Assembly members.

Harris-Forster raised \$269,400 in contributions.

**Money supporting Harris-Forster, total: \$269,400**

Conclusion: In spite of vocal backing of Harris-Forster by Democratic office holders, it appears that Hall's base in Compton and his pro-business approach to that city's government was determinative.

#### **6. Carter And Navarro: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 62**

Part of San Bernardino County, including Rialto and Colton, and portions of the cities of Fontana and San Bernardino. Democrats Carter and Navarro received 8,288 and 5,441 votes, respectively. A Republican write in candidate received 28 votes on primary election day.

Assembly District 62 is a *supermajority Democratic district*:

	52.5% Democratic
	27% Republican
	16.8% Decline to State

**Wilmer Amina Carter** Moderate Democrat; 60.4% of the primary vote (8,288 votes):  
Incumbent Carter was first elected to the Assembly in 2006. She was elected to the Rialto Unified School District Board in 1983 and served for 16 years. She was a staffer to and District Director for Member of Congress George Brown (1973-1999). Carter received contributions from labor (19%), business (20.2%), and from other officeholders (25.6%). She emphasizes education issues and job creation.

*Independent expenditures supporting Carter of \$78,600 were made by:*

<u>California Real Estate IE Committee</u>	\$ 75,800
<u>Voter Education and Research Action</u> (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees)	\$ 2,800

Carter raised \$492,100 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Carter, combined total: \$570,700**

**Gil Navarro** Moderate Democrat; 39.6% of the primary vote (5,441 votes):  
Navarro was elected to the San Bernardino County Board of Education (2006 to present) and is an education activist and Navy veteran. His contributors were individuals (37%) and local Democratic Party clubs (5%).

Navarro raised \$8,200 for the primary.

**Money supporting Navarro, total: \$8,200**

Conclusion: One-term incumbent Carter had no trouble turning back the challenge of Navarro, a newcomer to partisan politics.

## 7. Nestande And McCarty: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 64

Part of Riverside County, including the cities of Riverside, Moreno Valley, Palm Desert, and Rancho Mirage, and the community of Indian Wells. Republicans Nestande and McCarty received 18,448 and 8,680 votes, respectively. Two Democratic write in candidates received a combined 365 votes on primary election day.

Assembly District 64 is a *simple majority Republican district*:

	38% Democratic
	42% Republican
	18% Decline to State

**Brian Nestande** Conservative Republican; 68.1% of the primary vote (18,448 votes): Nestande (son of former AD70 Assemblyman Bruce Nestande) worked on the Congressional campaigns of Michael Huffington, Sonny Bono, and Mary Bono, also serving as Chief of Staff for both Sonny Bono and Mary Bono Mack. He later established a public/government relations firm based in Palm Desert. Nestande self-financed a large portion of his campaign funds (14%), and received contributions from the finance, insurance, and real-estate sector (13%) and health (6%). Nestande emphasized his knowledge of healthcare and alternative energy issues. He was endorsed by three Members of Congress, outgoing 64<sup>th</sup> District Assemblyman John J. Benoit, and the mayors of Palm Desert, Rancho Mirage, and Indian Wells.

*Independent expenditures **supporting** Nestande of \$64,100 were made by:*

California Taxpayer Protection Committee

(California Republican Party, Howard Ahmanson, Jr., insurers, and the California Alliance for Progress and Education—which also made independent expenditure contributions supporting moderate and opposing liberal Democrats)

\$ 39,100

California Credit Union League

\$ 25,000

Nestande raised \$375,400 for the primary race.

**Money supporting Nestande, combined total: \$439,500**

**Kelly McCarty** Conservative Republican; 31.9% of the primary vote (8,680 votes):

McCarty is a local business owner and member of the Riverside Chamber of Commerce. Her major priorities were to stop illegal immigration, reduce regulations on business, and prevent tax increases. She received contributions from the auto-body industry, labor and other candidate committees.

*Independent expenditures **opposing** McCarty of nearly \$99,500 were made by the California Taxpayer Protection Committee (California Republican Party, Howard Ahmanson, Jr., insurers, and the California Alliance for Progress and Education—which also made independent expenditure contributions supporting moderate and opposing liberal Democrats).*

She raised \$322,350 for the primary.

**Money supporting McCarty, total \$322,400**

**Money opposing McCarty, total \$ 99,500**

Conclusion: Nestande and McCarty agreed on many issues, particularly illegal immigration and government spending. Their campaigns thus focused on experience and utilized attack ads. Ultimately, Nestande's experience and support from officeholders were likely deciding factors in his decisive victory.

### **8. Miller And Blais: Top Two Vote Getters In Assembly District 71**

Parts of Orange and Riverside Counties, including the cities of Corona, Mission Viejo, Norco, and Rancho Santa Margarita; the communities of Coto de Caza, Home Gardens, Las Flores and Tustin Foothills; and parts of Anaheim, Glen Avon, Orange, and Tustin. There was no Democrat in the race.

Assembly District 71 is a *substantial majority Republican district*:  
 29% Democratic  
 48% Republican  
 19% Decline to State

**Jeff Miller** Conservative Republican; 56.8% of the primary vote (16,587 votes):  
 Miller is the owner of an insurance company, served as Parks Commissioner of Corona, was elected to the Corona City Council (2000-2008), and served as Mayor of Corona. In 2006 he was elected Chairman of the Riverside County Republican Party. Endorsements for Miller included four members of Congress, three State Senators, 12 members of the Assembly, and several local mayors and city council members. Miller received contributions from the finance, insurance, and real estate sector (13%), health (4%), and labor (3%, primarily law enforcement).

*Independent expenditures supporting Miller of nearly \$188,600 were made by:*

Californians for Jobs and Education

(California Chamber of Commerce, pharmaceuticals, Chevron, Philip Morris, California Republican Party, dentists, realtors, insurers, developers, property managers, business, )

\$ 137,800

California Professional Firefighters

\$ 50,800

Miller raised \$557,900 in contributions for the primary.

**Money supporting Miller, combined total: \$746,500**

**Neil C. Blais** Conservative Republican; 43.2% of the primary vote (12,657 votes):  
 Blais, a professional engineer, is an emergency management specialist. He was elected to Rancho Santa Margarita's first city council in 2000, and elected Mayor in 2004. Blais was endorsed by the incumbent Assemblyman Todd Spitzer.

*Independent expenditures supporting Blais of \$12,900 were made by the Orange County Professional Firefighters Association.*

*Independent expenditures opposing Blais of \$14,400 were made by the California Republican Taxpayers Association.*

Blais raised \$657,100 for the primary.

<b>Money supporting Blais, combined total:</b>	<b>\$670,000</b>
<b>Money opposing Blais, total:</b>	<b>\$ 14,400</b>

Conclusion: This was a closely contested race between two local mayors, both running as conservatives trying to “out-Republican one another and seize the conservative mantle that appeal[ed] to the hard-core base.” Blais lost the Orange County portion of the district (his stronghold) by fewer than 100 votes. Independent expenditures played a role in Miller’s win, effectively branding him as the more Republican candidate while labeling Blais as soft on illegal immigration.



# APPENDIX

## LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS

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### SENATE DISTRICTS

**District 1:** *simple majority*<sup>51</sup> (*Republican*): all or portions of Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Lassen, Placer, Plumas, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Sacramento and Sierra Counties. Incumbent: Dave Cox (R) (2012).<sup>52</sup>

**District 2:** *supermajority district*<sup>53</sup> (*Democratic*): all or portions of six counties: Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, Solano and Sonoma. Incumbent: Patricia Wiggins (D) (2014).

**District 3:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: Marin County, and portions of San Francisco and Sonoma Counties from the North Bay to the North Coast. Incumbent: Mark Leno (D) (2016).

**District 4:** *simple majority (Republican)*: Butte, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Nevada, Placer, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity and Yuba Counties. Incumbent: Sam Aanestad (R) (2010).

**District 5:** *substantial majority*<sup>54</sup> (*Democratic*): parts of San Joaquin, Solano, Yolo, and Sacramento Counties, including Lathrop, Manteca, Stockton, Tracy, Dixon, Fairfield, Suisun City, Vacaville, Davis, West Sacramento, Winters, Woodland, Walnut Grove and a portion of Elk Grove. Incumbent: Lois Wolk (D) (2016).

**District 6:** *substantial majority (Democratic)*: the greater Sacramento region, including the cities of Sacramento, North Highlands, Citrus Heights and portions of Elk Grove, Rio Linda, Carmichael and Rancho Cordova. Incumbent: Darrell Steinberg (D) (2014).

**District 7:** *substantial majority (Democratic)*: most of Contra Costa County, including Antioch, Concord, Lafayette, Moraga, Mountain View, Orinda, Walnut Creek and a portion of Richmond. Incumbent: Mark DeSaulnier (D) (2016).

**District 8:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: most of San Mateo County, including Belmont, Brisbane, Burlingame, Colma, Daly City, Foster City, Half Moon Bay, Hillsborough, Millbrae, Pacifica, Portola Valley, San Bruno, San Mateo, South San Francisco, Woodside, and the western half of the city of San Francisco. Incumbent: Leland Yee (D) (2014).

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<sup>51</sup> CGS refers to those districts where the registration of one party is greater than the registration of another party by 25 percentage points or more as “supermajority districts.”

<sup>52</sup> The year shown represents that in which the legislator will reach his or her term limit in that legislative body.

<sup>53</sup> CGS refers to those districts where more voters of one party than the other are registered as “simple majority districts.”

<sup>54</sup> CGS refers to those districts where the registration of one party is greater than the registration of another party by between 15 and 25 percentage points as “substantial majority districts.”

**District 9:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* the East Bay region of the greater San Francisco area, including Alameda, Albany, Berkeley, Castro Valley, Dublin, Emeryville, Livermore, Oakland, Piedmont, Richmond, and San Pablo. Incumbent: Loni Hancock (D) (2016).

**District 10:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* the southern half of Alameda County and portions of Santa Clara County, including Fremont, Hayward and Union City, and parts of San Jose. Incumbent: Ellen M. Corbett (D) (2014).

**District 11:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* parts of Santa Clara, San Mateo and Santa Cruz Counties, including San Carlos, Redwood City, Menlo Park, Atherton, East Palo Alto, Palo Alto, Stanford, Los Altos, Los Altos Hills, Cupertino, Campbell, Santa Cruz, Capitola, and a third of San Jose. Incumbent: Joe Simitian (D) (2012).

**District 12:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* the entirety of Merced and San Benito Counties and portions of Madera, Monterey and Stanislaus Counties, including Madera, Salinas, Soledad, and portions of Modesto. Incumbent: Jeff Denham (R) (2010).

**District 13:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Santa Clara County, including San Jose, Santa Clara, Sunnyvale, Mountain View and Gilroy. Incumbent: Elaine Alquist (D) (2012).

**District 14:** *simple majority (Republican):* all of Mariposa and Tuolumne Counties and parts of Fresno, Madera, San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties, including more than half of Fresno, and less than a quarter of Modesto. Incumbent: Dave Cogdill (R) (2014).

**District 15:** *simple majority (Democratic):* all of San Luis Obispo County and portions of Santa Barbara, Monterey, Santa Cruz and Santa Clara Counties, including Carmel-by-the-Sea, Monterey, Los Gatos, Saratoga, Santa Marina, Morgan Hill, Watsonville and less than 10% of San Jose. Incumbent: Vacant (2012).

**District 16:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* parts of Fresno, Kern, Kings, and Tulare Counties, including Coalinga, Firebaugh, Fresno (Partial), Mendota, San Joaquin, Sanger, Selma, Bakersfield (Partial), Delano, McFarland, Shafter, Wasco, Corcoran, Hanford, and Lemoore. Incumbent: Dean Florez (D) (2010).

**District 17:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Kern, Ventura, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino Counties, including Lancaster, Palmdale, Santa Clarita, Acton, Mountain View, Victorville, Hesperia, Santa Clarita, and the northern San Fernando Valley. Incumbent: George Runner (R) (2012).

**District 18:** *substantial majority (Republican):* all of Inyo County and portions of Kern, San Bernardino and Tulare Counties, including Bakersfield, Edwards Air Force Base, Morongo Valley, Big Bear City, Barstow, Needles, Joshua Tree, Twentynine Palms Base, and Visalia. Incumbent: Roy Ashburn (R) (2010).

**District 19:** *simple majority (Democratic):* includes most of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties and part of Los Angeles County, including Thousand Oaks, Camarillo, Santa Barbara, Lompoc, Montecito, Ojai, Vandenberg Air Force Base, Ventura and the parts of Santa Clarita not in the 17<sup>th</sup> district. Incumbent: Tony Strickland (R) (2016).

**District 20:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, from Lake View Terrace to Canoga Park, from Sylmar to Toluca Lake, including most of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles. Incumbent: Alex Padilla (D) (2014).

**District 21:** *substantial majority (Democratic) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including Burbank, Glendale, Pasadena, La Cañada Flintridge, San Gabriel, Temple City, and the Los Angeles communities of Tarzana, Encino, Reseda, Van Nuys, Sherman Oaks, Studio City, North Hollywood, Silverlake, Los Feliz, Eagle Rock, Echo Park, Atwater Village, and Chinatown. Incumbent: Carol Liu (D) (2016).

**District 22:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including Alhambra, Maywood, San Marino, South Pasadena, Vernon and Walnut Park and parts of East Los Angeles, Florence-Graham and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Gilbert Cedillo (D) (2010).

**District 23:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including Agoura Hills, Beverly Hills, Calabasas, Hidden Hills, Malibu, Oxnard, Port Hueneme, Santa Monica, West Hollywood and Westlake Village, as well as the Los Angeles communities of Bel Air, Beverly-Fairfax, Beverly Glen Canyon, Brentwood, Canoga Park, Century City, Chatsworth, Encino, Hollywood, Mt. Olympus, Pacific Palisades, Sherman Oaks, Studio City, Tarzana, Topanga, West Los Angeles, West Hills, Westwood and Woodland Hills. Incumbent: Fran Pavley (D) (2016).

**District 24:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including Citrus, Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights, Valinda, Vincent, and the Los Angeles communities of East Los Angeles, El Sereno, Lincoln Heights, City Terrace, Montecito Heights, and the Cities of Azusa, Baldwin Park, Covina, Duarte, El Monte, Industry, Irwindale, La Puente, Monterey Park, Rosemead, South San Gabriel, and West Covina. Incumbent: Gloria Romero (D) (2010).

**District 25:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Alondra Park, Athens, Compton, Gardena, Florence-Graham, Hawthorne, Inglewood, Ladera Heights, Lawndale, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Palos Verdes Peninsula, San Pedro, Watts, Westchester, Westmont, and Willowbrook. Incumbent: Rod Wright (D) (2016).

**District 26:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Baldwin Hills, Baldwin Vista, Beverlywood, Carthay Circle, Century City, the Crenshaw District, Culver City, Hancock Park, Hollywood, Hyde Park, Jefferson Park, Ladera Heights, Lafayette Square, Larchmont, Leimert Park, Los Feliz, Miracle Mile, South Central Los Angeles, View Park, West Los Angeles and Windsor Hills. Incumbent: Curren Price (D) (2014).

**District 27:** *supermajority (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Artesia, Avalon, Bellflower, Cerritos, Downey, Florence-Graham, Hawaiian Gardens, Lakewood, Long Beach, Lynwood, Paramount, Signal Hill, South Gate, and Willowbrook. Incumbent: Alan Lowenthal (D) (2012).

**District 28:** *substantial majority (Democratic) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County including Carson, Cheviot Hills, El Segundo, Del Aire, Hermosa Beach, Lennox, Lomita, Manhattan Beach, Marina del Rey, Redondo Beach, Torrance, West Carson, and parts of Long Beach and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Jenny Oropeza (D) (2014).

**District 29:** *simple majority (Republican) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Orange Counties, including La Crescenta-Montrose, Diamond Bar, Arcadia, Monrovia, Glendora, San Dimas, La Verne, Claremont, Walnut, La Habra Heights, Rowland Heights, Hacienda Heights, Chino, Chino Hills, Brea, Yorba Linda, La Habra, Placentia and part of Anaheim. Incumbent: Bob Huff (R) (2016).

**District 30:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Bell, Bell Gardens, Commerce, Cudahy, East La Mirada, Huntington Park, LA Mirada, Montebello, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, Santa Fe Springs, Whittier, South El Monte, and parts of East Los Angeles, Los Angeles and South Gate. Incumbent: Ronald S. Calderon (D) (2014).

**District 31:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, including Upland, Rancho Cucamonga, Redlands, Yucaipa, Loma Linda, Lake Arrowhead, Big Bear, Yucca Valley, Riverside, Sunnyslope, Rubidoux and Woodcrest. Incumbent: Robert Dutton (R) (2012).

**District 32:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of San Bernardino and Los Angeles Counties, including Colton, Fontana, Montclair, Ontario, Rialto and San Bernardino, portions of Chino and the entire City of Pomona. Incumbent: Gloria Negrete McLeod (D) (2014).

**District 33:** *substantial majority (Republican):* Orange County, including Orange, Tustin, Lake Forest, Laguna Hills, Laguna Niguel, Mission Viejo, Rancho Santa Margarita, and most of Fullerton, portions of Buena Park, Anaheim, Santa Ana and Irvine. Incumbent: Mimi Walters (R) (2016).

**District 34:** *simple majority (Democratic):* part of Orange County, including the cities of Anaheim, Buena Park, Fullerton, Garden Grove, Santa Ana, Stanton and Westminster. Incumbent: Lou Correa (D) (2014).

**District 35:** *simple majority (Republican) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Orange County, including Huntington Beach, Fountain Valley, Cypress, Newport Beach, Laguna Hills, Laguna Beach, Dana Point and portions of Santa Ana, Irvine, Westminster and Garden Grove. Incumbent: Tom Harman (R) (2012).

**District 36:** *substantial majority (Republican) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Riverside and San Diego Counties, including Lakeland Village, Murrieta, Temecula, El Cajon, Lakeside, Fallbrook, Ramona, and most of San Diego. Incumbent: Dennis Hollingsworth (R) (2010).

**District 37:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Riverside County, including Corona, Moreno Valley, Lake Elsinore, San Jacinto, Hemet, Banning, Palm Springs, Rancho Mirage, Palm Desert and La Quinta. Incumbent: vacant (2016); a special general election run off to fill the seat of John Benoit, who resigned to become a Riverside County supervisor, will be held on June 8, 2010. The candidates who will contest the special general election are Republican Assemblyman Bill Emmerson and Democratic School Board Member Justin Blake.

**District 38:** *simple majority (Republican) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Orange and San Diego Counties, including San Clemente, San Juan Capistrano, Carlsbad, Oceanside, Encinitas, Escondido and less than 10% of San Diego. Incumbent: Mark Wyland (R) (2014).

**District 39:** *simple majority (Democratic) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Diego County, including Del Mar, Lemon Grove, Clairemont, Pacific Beach, Mission Beach, Ocean Beach, Balboa Park, El Cerito, and Kensington. Incumbent: Christine Kehoe (D) (2012).

**District 40:** *substantial majority (Democratic) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Diego and Riverside Counties and all of Imperial County, including the cities of Blythe, Cathedral City, Coachella, Indio, Chula Vista, Coronado, and less than a quarter of San Diego. Incumbent: Denise Moreno Ducheny (D) (2010).

## ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS

**District 1:** *substantial majority (Democratic) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* all of Del Norte, Humboldt, Trinity, Mendocino, and Lake Counties and some of Sonoma County, including Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Sebastopol, Windsor, Forestville, Graton, Guerneville, Monte Rio, Occidental, Crescent City, Eureka, Santa Rosa, and Ukiah. Incumbent: Wesley Chesbro (D) (2014).

**District 2:** *simple majority (Republican):* all of Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Modoc, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, and Yolo Counties, including Biggs, Anderson, Dunsmuir, Redding, Shasta and Yuba City. Incumbent: Jim Nielsen (R) (2014).

**District 3:** *simple majority (Republican):* Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, and Yuba Counties and most of Butte County, including Chico, Concow, Durham, Gridley, Magalia, Oroville, Oroville East, Palermo, Paradise, South Oroville, Thermalito, Colfax and Meadow Vista, Grass Valley, Loyalton, Marysville, Nevada City, Portola, Quincy, Susanville, Truckee, and Wheatland. Incumbent: Dan Logue (R) (2014).

**District 4:** *simple majority (Republican):* Alpine County and parts of El Dorado and Sacramento Counties, including Cameron Park, Diamond Springs, Georgetown, Placerville, Pollock Pines, Shingle Springs, South Lake Tahoe, North Highlands and Rio Linda. Incumbent: Ted Gaines (R) (2012).

**District 5:** *simple majority (Republican):* parts of Placer and Sacramento Counties, including Granite Bay, Citrus Heights, Folsom, Fair Oaks, Orangevale and small sections of Roseville and Sacramento. Incumbent: Roger Niello (R) (2010).

**District 6:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* all of Marin County and part of Sonoma County, including Boyes Hot Springs, Cotati, El Verano, Eldridge, Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente, Glen Ellen, Petaluma, Rohnert Park, Sonoma, and Temelec. Incumbent: Jared Huffman (D) (2012).

**District 7:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* all of Napa County, including Green Valley, Vallejo, Santa Rosa, American Canyon, Angwin, Benicia, Calistoga, Deer Park, Fairfield, Lake Berryessa, Napa, Pope Valley, St. Helena, Suisun, Vacaville, and Yountville. Incumbent: Noreen Evans (D) (2010).

**District 8:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Solano County and most of Yolo County, including Benicia, Dixon, Elmira, Fairfield, Rio Vista, Suisun City, Vacaville, Davis, West Sacramento, Winters, and Woodland. Incumbent: Mariko Yamada (D) (2014).

**District 9:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Sacramento County, including most of the cities of Sacramento and Florin, and all of Parkway-South Sacramento. Incumbent: Dave Jones (D) (2010).

**District 10:** *simple majority (Republican):* Amador County and portions of Sacramento, El Dorado and San Joaquin Counties, including Elk Grove, Rosemont, Rancho Cordova, Laguna, Lodi, Stockton, El Dorado Hills and a small portion of Sacramento. Incumbent: Alyson Huber (D) (2014).

**District 11:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Contra Costa County, including Antioch, Clayton, Concord, Hercules, Martinez, Pinole, Pittsburg, Mountain View, Pacheco, Port Costa, Rodeo, Tara Hills, and Vine Hill. Incumbent: Tom Torlakson (D) (2010).

**District 12:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* parts of San Francisco and San Mateo Counties, including Broadmoor, Colma, and a portion of Daly City. Incumbent: Fiona Ma (D) (2012).

**District 13:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Francisco County (and enclosed in San Francisco), the Castro District, the Presidio, North Beach, Chinatown and Hunters Point sections of the city. Incumbent: Tom Ammiano (D) (2014).

**District 14:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* parts of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, including the cities of Albany, Berkeley, Emeryville, Oakland, El Cerrito, Kensington, Lafayette, Moraga, Orinda, Pleasant Hill and Richmond. Incumbent: Nancy Skinner (D) (2014).

**District 15:** *simple majority (Democratic):* parts of Contra Costa, Alameda and Sacramento Counties, including Alamo, Brentwood, Danville, Diablo, Oakley, San Ramon, Walnut Creek, Livermore, and small portions of Pleasanton, Elk Grove and Stockton. Incumbent: Joan Buchanan (D) (2014).

**District 16:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Alameda County, including most of Oakland and all of Alameda and Piedmont. Incumbent: Sandre Swanson (D) (2012).

**District 17:** *simple majority (Democratic):* Merced County and parts of San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties, including August, Lathrop, almost half of Stockton, Tracy, Grayson and Westley. Incumbent: Cathleen Galgiani (D) (2012).

**District 18:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Alameda County, including Ashland, and most of Hayward, Castro Valley, Dublin, Pleasanton, and Sunol. Incumbent: Mary Hayashi (D) (2012).

**District 19:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Mateo County, including Belmont, Brisbane, Burlingame, Foster City, Half Moon Bay, Millbrae, Pacifica, San Bruno, San Mateo, South San Francisco and less than half of Daly City. Incumbent: Jerry Hill (D) (2014).

**District 20:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Alameda and Santa Clara Counties, including Fairview, Fremont, Union City, Milpitas, Newark and portions of Castro Valley, Hayward, Pleasanton, Sunol and San Jose. Incumbent: Alberto Torrico (D)(2010).

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**District 21:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties, including Atherton, East Palo Alto, Menlo Park, Redwood City, Portola Valley, San Carlos, Lexington Hills, Los Gatos, Los Altos, Loyola, Palo Alto, Stanford and a small part of San Jose. Incumbent: Ira Ruskin (D) (2010).

**District 22:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Part of Santa Clara County, including Cupertino, Mountain View and Sunnyvale, and portions of Santa Clara and San Jose. Incumbent: Paul Fong (D) (2014).

**District 23:** *supermajority district (Democratic) 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Santa Clara County, including Alum Rock, East Foothills, Seven Trees, Sunol-Midtown and almost half of San Jose. Incumbent: Joe Coto (D) (2010).

**District 24:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Santa Clara County, including Buena Vista, Burbank, Cambrian Park, Campbell, Saratoga and a portion of San Jose and Santa Clara. Incumbent: James Beall Jr. (D) (2012).

**District 25:** *simple majority (Republican):* all of Calaveras, Mariposa, Mono and Tuolumne Counties and portions of Madera and Stanislaus Counties, including Chowchilla, Madera Acres, Oakhurst, Del Rio, Hickman, Salida and most of Modesto. Incumbent: Tom Berryhill (R) (2012).

**District 26:** *simple majority (Democratic):* part of San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties, including Farmington, Lodi, Manteca, Morada, Turlock and portions of Stockton and Modesto. Incumbent: Bill Berryhill (R) (2014).

**District 27:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Monterey, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz County, including Carmel Valley Village, Carmel-by-the-Sea, Castroville, Las Lomas, Monterey, Prunedale, Seaside, Morgan Hill, San Martin, Capitola, Santa Cruz and a portion of San Jose. Incumbent: Bill Monning (D) (2014).

**District 28:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Monterey, San Benito, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz Counties, including Aromas, Salinas, King City, Gonzales, Soledad, Gilroy, and a small portion of San Jose. Incumbent: Anna M. Caballero (D) (2012).

**District 29:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Fresno, Tulare and Madera Counties, including Auberry, Clovis, Squaw Valley, Orange Grove, and Parksdale, and portions of Fresno and Madera. Incumbent: Michael Villines (R) (2010).

**District 30:** *simple majority (Democratic):* part of Fresno, Kings, Kern, and Tulare Counties, including Avenal, Coalinga, Huron, Kingsburg, Arvin, Delano, McFarland, Lamont, London, Goshen, Woodville, Wasco, Shafter, Riverdale, and portions of Bakersfield. Incumbent: Danny Gilmore (R) (2014).

**District 31:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of Fresno and Tulare Counties, including Biola, Bowles, Calwa, Del Rey, Easton, Fowler, Reedly, San Joaquin, Tranquility, Dinuba, and over half of Fresno. Incumbent: Juan Arambula (D) (2010).

**District 32:** *substantial majority (Republican):* part of Kern and San Bernardino Counties, including Buttonwillow, Frazier Park, Golden Hills, Johannesburg, Lake Isabella, Kernville, Maricopa, Lebec, and most of Bakersfield. Incumbent: Jean Fuller (R) (2012).

**District 33:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo Counties, including Guadalupe, Lompoc, Los Alamos, Mission Hills, Santa Maria, Vandenberg Air Force Base and Vandenberg Village. Incumbent: Sam Blakeslee (R) (2010).

**District 34:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Inyo County and portions of Kern, San Bernardino and Tulare counties, including Boron, California City, Mojave, Woodlake, Barstow, Lenwood, Needles, Twentynine Palms Base, Ducor, Exeter, Tulare and Visalia. Incumbent: Connie Conway (R) (2014).

**District 35:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties, including Buellton, Carpinteria, Goleta, Mission Canyon, Montecito, Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, Summerland, El Rio, Ventura and over half of Oxnard. Incumbent: Pedro Nava (D) (2010).

**District 36:** *simple majority (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Desert View Highlands, Lake Los Angeles, Lancaster, Littlerock, Palmdale, and Quartz Hill, and San Bernardino County, including Adelanto, Mountain View Acres, Victorville, and Wrightwood. Incumbent: Steve Knight (R) (2014).

**District 37:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Los Angeles and Ventura Counties, including Acton, Agua Dulce, Camarillo, Canoga Park, Castaic, Chatsworth, Fillmore, Los Angeles, Moorpark, Newbury Park, Oak View, Ojai, Piru, Santa Paula, Simi Valley, Somis, Thousand Oaks, and West Hills. Incumbent: Audra Strickland (R) (2010).

**District 38:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Los Angeles County, including Glendale, Santa Clarita, Simi Valley and Newhall. Incumbent: Cameron Smyth (R) (2012).

**District 39:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including all of San Fernando and the Panorama portion of Los Angeles. Incumbent: Felipe Fuentes (D) (2012).

**District 40:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including Van Nuys, North Hills, Northridge, Reseda, Winnetka, Canoga Park, West Hills and Woodland Hills. Incumbent: Bob Blumenfield (D) (2014).

**District 41:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Ventura County, including Channel Islands Beach, Oak Park, a portion of Oxnard, and Port Hueneme and the Los Angeles County cities of Agoura Hills, Calabasas, Hidden Hills, Malibu, Santa Monica, Westlake Village. Incumbent: Julia Brownley (D) (2012).

**District 42:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including all or part of the Los Angeles neighborhoods of Sherman Oaks, Studio City, North Hollywood, Valley Glen, Valley Village, Toluca Lake, Universal City, Griffith Park, West Los Angeles, Brentwood, Bel Air, Holmby Hills, Beverly Glen, Westwood, Century City, Hollywood, Fairfax, Hancock Park, Los Feliz, and the Cities of Beverly Hills and West Hollywood. Incumbent: Mike Feuer (D) (2012).

**District 43:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Burbank, most of Glendale, the Los Feliz/Silverlake area and much of the San Fernando Valley. Incumbent: vacant; a special general election run off to fill the remaining months of the term of Paul Kerkorian, who resigned to become a Los Angeles city councilman, will be held on June 8, 2010. The candidates in the run off are Democratic attorney Mike Gatto and Republican small businessman Sunder Ramani. Also on June 8, 2010, however, the regular primary election for this seat will be held for the term commencing in 2011. The same four candidates who contested the special primary election on April 13, 2010, are on the ballot for the regular primary election.

**District 44:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including the entirety of the cities of Altadena, Duarte, East Pasadena, La Cañada Flintridge, Mayflower Village, Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Temple City, and portions of Arcadia, Monrovia, and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Anthony J. Portantino (D) (2012).

**District 45:** *supermajority district (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including Hollywood, Highland Park, Angelino Heights, Atwater Village, Chinatown, Cypress Park, City Terrace, Echo Park, El Sereno, Elysian Valley, Glassell Park, Historic Filipinotown, Ramona Gardens, Silverlake, Temple-Beverly and Thai Town. Incumbent: Kevin de León (D) (2012).

**District 46:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including the entirety of the cities of Huntington Park, Maywood, and Vernon, and portions of East Los Angeles, Florence-Graham, and Los Angeles. Incumbent: John A. Perez. (D) (2014).

**District 47:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Culver City, portions of Ladera Heights, View Park-Windsor Hills, and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Speaker Karen Bass (D) (2010).

**District 48:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including South Central Los Angeles west of the Harbor Freeway and a portion of Central Los Angeles between Hoover and Arlington Streets north of the Santa Monica Freeway (Arlington Park, Athens, Chesterfield Square, King Estates, Koreatown, Lafayette Park, Magnolia Square, North University Park, University Park, Vermont Knolls, West Adams, West Park Terrace and Wilshire Center). Incumbent: Mike Davis (D) (2012).

**District 49:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Alhambra, East San Gabriel, El Monte, Monterey Park, North El Monte, Rosemead, San Gabriel, San Marino, and South El Monte, and portions of South San Gabriel, and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Mike Eng (D) (2012).

**District 50:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Bell, Bell Gardens, Bellflower, Commerce, Cudahy, Lynwood, South Gate, and Walnut Park, and portions of Downey, and Florence-Graham. Incumbent: Hector De La Torre (D) (2010).

**District 51:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Alondra Park, Del Aire, Gardena, Hawthorne, Inglewood, Lawndale, Lennox, West Athens, and West Compton, and portions of Ladera Heights, Los Angeles, View Park-Windsor Hills, and Willowbrook. Incumbent: Steve Bradford (D).

**District 52:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Compton, East Compton, and Paramount, and portions of Florence-Graham, Long Beach, Los Angeles, and Willowbrook. Incumbent: Isadore Hall III (D) (2014).

**District 53:** *simple majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles County, including all of El Segundo, Hermosa Beach, Lomita, Manhattan Beach, Marina del Rey, Redondo Beach, and Torrance, and a small part of Los Angeles. Incumbent: Ted Lieu (D) (2010).

**District 54:** *simple majority (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including San Clemente and Santa Catalina Islands, the Palos Verdes Peninsula (Palos Verdes Estates, Rancho Palos Verdes, Rolling Hills, and Rolling Hills Estates), Signal Hill, and portions of Long Beach, and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Bonnie Lowenthal (D) (2014).

**District 55:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Carson and West Carson, and portions of Lakewood, Long Beach, and Los Angeles. Incumbent: Warren T. Furutani (D) (2014).

**District 56:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including Artesia, Cerritos, Hawaiian Gardens, Norwalk, Santa Fe Springs, South Whittier, West Whittier-Los Nietos, and portions of Lakewood, and Whittier and the Orange County city of Buena Park. Incumbent: Tony Mendoza (D) (2012).

**District 57:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles County, including all of Avocado Heights, Azusa, Baldwin Park, Charter Oak, Citrus, Covina, Irwindale, La Puente, Valinda, Vincent, West Covina, West Puente Valley, and portions of Industry. Incumbent: Edward P. Hernandez (D) (2012).

**District 58:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of the Los Angeles County, including East La Mirada, Hacienda Heights, Montebello, Pico Rivera, South San Jose Hills, and portions of Downey, East Los Angeles, Industry, Rowland Heights, South San Gabriel, and Whittier. Incumbent: Charles M. Calderon (D) (2012).

**District 59:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of the Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties, including Bradbury, Claremont, Glendora, La Verne, Sierra Madre, Apple Valley, Crestline, Hesperia, Lake Arrowhead, Mentone and portions of Arcadia, Monrovia, San Dimas, Highland, Redlands and San Bernardino. Incumbent: Anthony Adams (R) (2012).

**District 60:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Los Angeles, Orange and San Bernardino Counties, including Diamond Bar, La Mirada, Walnut, La Habra, Villa Park, Chino Hills and portions of Industry, Rowland Heights, San Dimas, Anaheim, La Habra, Orange and Yorba Linda. Incumbent: Curt Hagman (R) (2014).

**District 61:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties, including Pomona, Chino, Montclair, and Ontario. Incumbent: Norma Torres (D) (2014).

**District 62:** *supermajority district (Democratic):* part of San Bernardino County, including cities of Bloomington, Colton, Muscoy, Rialto, and portions of Fontana, and San Bernardino. Incumbent: Wilmer Amina Carter (D) (2012).

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**District 63:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Riverside and San Bernardino County, including Loma Linda, Rancho Cucamonga, Upland and portions of Fontana, Riverside, Moreno Valley, Redlands, San Bernardino and Yucaipa. Incumbent: Bill Emmerson (R) (2010).

**District 64:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Riverside County, including Bermuda Dunes, Canyon Lake, Idyllwild-Pine Cove, Indian Wells, March Air Force Base, Palm Desert, Quail Valley, Rancho Mirage, Woodcrest and portions of Highgrove, Lake Elsinore, Moreno Valley, Murrieta, Riverside, Sedco Hills, Temecula and Wildomar. Incumbent: Brian Nestande (R) (2014).

**District 65:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of the Riverside and San Bernardino Counties, including Banning, Beaumont, Hemet, Lakeview, San Jacinto, Sun City, Winchester, Big Bear City, Big Bear Lake, Joshua Tree, Morongo Valley, Running Springs, Twentynine Palms and portions of Moreno Valley and Yucaipa. Incumbent: Paul Cook (R) (2012).

**District 66:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of the Riverside and San Diego Counties, including El Cerrito, Mira Loma, Murrieta Hot Springs, Rubidoux, Sunnyslope, Fallbrook, Pine Valley, Julian, Hidden Meadows, Rainbow and portions of Glen Avon, Riverside, Temecula and Valley Center. Incumbent: Kevin Jeffries (R) (2012).

**District 67:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Orange County, including Cypress, Huntington Beach, La Palma, Los Alamitos, Rossmoor, Seal Beach, and portions of Anaheim, Garden Grove, Stanton and Westminster. Incumbent: Jim Silva (R) (2012).

**District 68:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Orange County, including all of Costa Mesa and Fountain Valley, and portions of Anaheim, Garden Grove, Newport Beach, Stanton and Westminster. Incumbent: Van Tran (R) (2010).

**District 69:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of Orange County, including Santa Ana and portions of both Anaheim and Garden Grove. Incumbent: Jose Solorio (D) (2012).

**District 70:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Orange County, including Foothill Ranch, Irvine, Laguna Beach, Laguna Woods, Lake Forest and portions of Aliso Viejo, Newport Beach, Tustin and Tustin Foothills. Incumbent: Chuck DeVore (R) (2010).

**District 71:** *substantial majority (Republican):* part of Riverside and Orange Counties, including Corona, Norco, Las Flores, Mission Viejo, Rancho Santa Margarita and portions of Glen Avon, Orange, Anaheim, Tustin and Tustin Foothills. Incumbent: Jeff Miller (R) (2014).

**District 72:** *simple majority (Republican):* part of Orange County, including Brea, Fullerton, and Placentia, and portions of Anaheim, La Habra, Orange, and Yorba Linda. Incumbent: Chris Norby (R) (2016).

**District 73:** *substantial majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of Orange and San Diego Counties, including Dana Point, Laguna Hills, Laguna Nigel, San Clemente, San Juan Capistrano, Camp Pendelton and portions of Aliso Viejo and Oceanside. Incumbent: Diane Harkey (R) (2014).

**District 74:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Diego County, including all of Carlsbad, Del Mar, Encinitas, Lake San Marcos, Rancho Santa Fe, San Marcos, Solana Beach, and Vista, and portions of Escondido, Oceanside, San Diego, and Valley Center. Incumbent: Martin Garrick (R) (2012).

**District 75:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Diego County, including all of Fairbanks Ranch and Poway, almost half of Escondido and less than a quarter of San Diego. Incumbent: Nathan Fletcher (R) (2014).

**District 76:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of San Diego County, including more than a third of San Diego city. Incumbent: Lori Saldaña (D) (2010).

**District 77:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of the San Diego County, including Alpine, Borrego Springs, Bostonia, Crest, El Cajon, Granite Hills, Harbison Canyon, La Mesa, Lakeside, Ramona, Rancho San Diego, San Diego Country Estates, Santee, Winter Gardens, most of Casa de Oro-Mount Helix and Jamul, and a small portion of San Diego. Incumbent: Joel Anderson (R) (2012).

**District 78:** *simple majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of the San Diego County, including La Presa, Lemon Grove, Spring Valley, most of Bonita, and portions of Chula Vista and San Diego. Incumbent: Marty Block (D) (2014).

**District 79:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* part of the San Diego County, including Coronado, Imperial Beach, National City, most of Chula Vista and portions of Bonita and San Diego. Incumbent: Mary Salas (D) (2012).

**District 80:** *simple majority (Democratic):* part of Imperial and Riverside Counties, including Blythe, Cabazon, Cathedral City, Coachella, Desert Hot Springs, East Blythe, Indio, La Quinta, Mecca, Palm Springs, and Thousand Palms. Incumbent: Manuel Perez (D) (2014).

## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

**District 1:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* stretching from the San Francisco Bay Area up the North Coast to the Oregon Border, including the communities of Napa, Ukiah, Eureka, and Crescent City. Incumbent: Mike Thompson (D). Member of Congress since 1999.

**District 2:** *simple majority (Republican):* all or parts of ten counties--Siskiyou, Trinity, Shasta, Tehama, Butte, Glenn, Colusa, Yuba, Sutter, and Yolo, including the cities of Redding and Chico, and the Yuba City/Marysville area. Incumbent: Wally Herger (R). Member of Congress since 1987.

**District 3:** *simple majority (Republican):* much of suburban Sacramento (including the Sacramento suburbs of Carmichael and Citrus Heights), Folsom and part of Arden-Arcade; also some of Amador and Calaveras Counties to the east to the Nevada line. Incumbent: Dan Lungren (R). Representing this district since 2005; also a Member of Congress between 1979 and 1988.

**District 4:** *simple majority (Republican):* bordering on Oregon and Nevada, and including all or part of nine counties in the northeastern corner of California and the communities of South Lake Tahoe,

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Truckee, Auburn, Oroville and Susanville. Incumbent: Tom McClintock (R). Member of Congress since 2009.

**District 5:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* centered in metropolitan Sacramento. Incumbent: Doris Matsui (D). Member of Congress since 2005.

**District 6:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Marin and Sonoma Counties, including the communities of Corte Madera, Novato, San Rafael, and Sausalito. Incumbent: Lynn Woolsey (D). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 7:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Northeastern quadrant of the Bay Area, along the shore of San Pablo Bay, including the communities of Vallejo, Richmond, Martinez, Concord, Pittsburgh, and stretching to the northeast to Vacaville. Incumbent: George Miller (D). Member of Congress since 1975.

**District 8:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* San Francisco, from the bay to the ocean, and south to the Bayview District and Daley City. Incumbent: Nancy Pelosi (D). Member of Congress since 1987.

**District 9:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* East Bay, including Berkeley, Piedmont, and Oakland, and south to the Castro Valley. Incumbent: Barbara Lee (D). Member of Congress since 1997.

**District 10:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* part of Alameda, Contra Costa, Solano, and Sacramento Counties, including the communities of Antioch, Livermore, Walnut Creek, and Fairfield. Incumbent: John Garamendi (D). Member of Congress since 2009.

**District 11:** *simple majority (Republican):* most of San Joaquin County in the Central Valley as well as areas of Contra Costa, Alameda and Santa Clara Counties in the Bay Area, including the communities of Stockton and Pleasanton. Incumbent: Jerry McNerney (D). Member of Congress since 2007.

**District 12:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* parts of the City and County of San Francisco and San Mateo County, including the communities of Daly City, Foster City, Hillsborough, Millbrae, Redwood City, San Bruno, San Mateo, and South San Francisco. Incumbent: Jackie Speier (D). Member of Congress since 2008.

**District 13:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* parts of Alameda County, including the communities of Alameda, Fremont, Hayward, San Leandro, San Lorenzo, Union City, and parts of Oakland and Pleasanton. Incumbent: Fortney (Pete) Stark (D). Member of Congress since 1973.

**District 14:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* parts of San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz Counties, including the communities of Atherton, Half Moon Bay, Redwood City, Palo Alto, Stanford, and Sunnyvale. Incumbent: Anna Eshoo (D). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 15:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* much of the central northeastern and southwestern area of Santa Clara County, including the cities of Cupertino, Milpitas,

Santa Clara, Campbell, Los Gatos, Gilroy, and one third of the city of San Jose. Incumbent: Mike Honda (D). Member of Congress since 2001.

**District 16:** *supermajority (Democratic)*, 20% or more DTS registered voters: part of Santa Clara County, including most of the city of San Jose. Incumbent: Zoe Lofgren (D). Member of Congress since 1995.

**District 17:** *supermajority (Democratic)*: Monterey, San Benito, and part of Santa Cruz Counties, including the communities of Santa Cruz, Monterey, Hollister, Salinas, and Watsonville. Incumbent: Sam Farr (D). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 18:** *substantial majority (Democratic)*: all of Merced County and parts of San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Madera and Fresno Counties, including the communities of Stockton, Merced, Modesto, and Tracy. Incumbent: Dennis Cardoza (D). Member of Congress since 2003.

**District 19:** *simple majority (Republican)*: part of Stanislaus, Madera and Fresno counties and all of Tuolumne and Mariposa counties, including northern portions of the cities of Modesto and Fresno. Incumbent: George Radanovich (R). Member of Congress since 1995.

**District 20:** *substantial majority (Democratic)*: all of Kings County, and part of Fresno and Kern Counties, including the communities of Coalinga, Mendota, Fresno, Delano, Wasco, Bakersfield, Corcoran, Hanford, and Lemoore. Incumbent: Jim Costa (D). Member of Congress since 2005.

**District 21:** *simple majority (Republican)*: most of Fresno County and all of Tulare County, including part of the cities of Fresno and Tulare and the communities of Visalia, Clovis, and Porterville. Incumbent: Devin Nunes (R). Member of Congress since 2003.

**District 22:** *substantial majority (Republican)*: most of Kern and San Luis Obispo Counties, and northeastern Los Angeles County, including Bakersfield and the communities of Arroyo Grande, Atascadero, California City, Frazier Park, Kernville, Lancaster, Mojave, Paso Robles, Ridgecrest, and Tehachapi. Incumbent: Kevin McCarthy (R). Member of Congress since 2007.

**District 23:** *substantial majority (Democratic)*: parts of Ventura, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo counties, including the cities of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Santa Maria, Pismo Beach, Oxnard, and Ventura. Incumbent: Lois Capps (D). Member of Congress since 1998.

**District 24:** *simple majority (Republican)*: parts of Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties, including the communities of Thousand Oaks, Lompoc, Solvang, and Santa Ynez. Incumbent: Elton Gallegly (R). Member of Congress since 1987.

**District 25:** *simple majority (Republican)*: parts of Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Inyo Counties and all of Mono County, including the communities of Santa Clarita, Palmdale, Bishop, and Mammoth Lakes. Incumbent: Howard McKeon (R). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 26:** *simple majority (Republican)*: part of Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties, including the communities of La Crescenta, La Cañada Flintridge, a portion of Altadena and Pasadena, San Marino, Sierra Madre, Arcadia, Monrovia, Glendora, La Verne, San Dimas, Claremont, Walnut, Montclair and Rancho Cucamonga. Incumbent: David Dreier (R). Member of Congress since 1981.

**District 27:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County, including much of the San Fernando Valley and the communities of Burbank, Calabasas, Glendale, Hidden Hills, and San Fernando, as well as the Valley portion of the City of Los Angeles. Incumbent: Brad Sherman (D). Member of Congress since 1997.

**District 28:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County, including the communities of Encino, Sherman Oaks, Van Nuys, Studio City, and the Hollywood Hills and the northern San Fernando Valley communities of San Fernando, Pacoima, Arleta, Panorama City, Sylmar, and North Hollywood. Incumbent: Howard Berman (D). Member of Congress since 1983.

**District 29:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County, including Alhambra, Altadena, Burbank, Glendale, Pasadena, San Gabriel, Temple City, Monterey Park, and South Pasadena. Incumbent: Adam Schiff (D). Member of Congress since 2001.

**District 30:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County, including the cities of Agoura Hills, Beverly Hills, Calabasas, Hidden Hills, Malibu, Santa Monica, West Hollywood and Westlake Village, and the communities of Pacific Palisades, West Hills, Canoga Park, Bel-Air, Century City, Westwood, Brentwood, Topanga, Chatsworth, Woodland Hills, Beverlywood and West Los Angeles. Incumbent: Henry Waxman (D). Member of Congress since 1975.

**District 31:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County and the city of Los Angeles, including the neighborhoods of Echo Park, Eagle Rock, Glassell Park, Atwater Village, Westlake, Hollywood, Silver Lake, Highland Park, Garvanza, Mt. Washington, Pico Union, Byzantine-Latino Quarter, Lincoln Heights, Montecito Heights, El Sereno, Koreatown, and Historic Filipinotown. Incumbent: Xavier Becerra (D). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 32:** *supermajority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County, including the communities of Covina, Azusa, Baldwin Park, West Covina, and El Monte. Incumbent: Judy Chu (D). Member of Congress since 2009.

**District 33:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Los Angeles County, including a portion of central Los Angeles and all of Culver City and the communities of Koreatown, Hancock Park, Little Armenia, Hollywood, Los Feliz, Silver Lake, Baldwin Hills, Ladera Heights, Mid-Wilshire, View Park, and Windsor Hills. Incumbent: Diane Watson (D). Member of Congress since 2001.

**District 34:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Los Angeles County, including metropolitan downtown Los Angeles, Boyle Heights, Little Tokyo, Pico Union, portions of Chinatown, Filipinotown, Westlake, the unincorporated areas of East Los Angeles, Walnut Park, Florence, and the cities of Bell, Bell Gardens, Commerce, Cudahy, Huntington Park, Maywood, Downey, Bellflower, and Vernon. Incumbent: Lucille Roybal-Allard (D). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 35:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Los Angeles County, including a large area of South Central Los Angeles, the communities of Westchester and Playa del Rey, and the cities of Gardena, Hawthorne, Inglewood and Lawndale. Incumbent: Maxine Waters (D). Member of Congress since 1991.

**District 36:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters:* Los Angeles County, including part of West Los Angeles, Venice, Marina del Rey, Playa del Rey, El Segundo, Manhattan Beach, Redondo Beach, Hermosa Beach, Torrance, West Carson, and the Port of Los Angeles in San

Pedro. Incumbent: Jane Harman (D). Representing this district since 2001; also a Member of Congress between 1993 and 1998.

**District 37:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Los Angeles County, including part of the cities of Los Angeles and Long Beach, and Carson, Compton, and Signal Hill. Incumbent: Laura Richardson (D). Member of Congress since 2007.

**District 38:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Los Angeles County, including Norwalk, Pomona, Santa Fe Springs, the City of Industry, Montebello, Pico Rivera, Avocado Heights, La Puente, Hacienda Heights, West Puente Valley and parts of East Los Angeles, Whittier, Rowland Heights, South San Gabriel, and Valinda. Incumbent: Grace Napolitano (D). Member of Congress since 1999.

**District 39:** *supermajority (Democratic):* Los Angeles County, including Artesia, Cerritos, Hawaiian Gardens, Lakewood, La Mirada, Lynwood, Paramount, and South Gate (in their entirety), a large portion of Whittier, small portions of Long Beach and Los Angeles, and parts of unincorporated Los Angeles County (East La Mirada, Florence-Graham, South Whittier, West Whittier, and Willowbrook). Incumbent: Linda Sanchez (D). Member of Congress since 2003.

**District 40:** *simple majority (Republican):* Orange County, including Fullerton, Cypress, Stanton, and Buena Park. Incumbent: Ed Royce (R). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 41:** *simple majority (Republican):* parts of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, including the cities of San Bernardino, Loma Linda, Highland, Redlands and Yucaipa, the communities of Crestline, Lake Arrowhead, Big Bear Lake, Hesperia, and Apple Valley. Incumbent: Jerry Lewis (R). Member of Congress since 1979.

**District 42:** *substantial majority (Republican):* parts of Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and Orange Counties, including Diamond Bar, La Habra Heights, Rowland Heights, Whittier, Anaheim, Brea, La Habra, Mission Viejo, Placentia, Rancho Santa Margarita, Yorba Linda, Chino, and Chino Hills. Incumbent: Gary Miller (R). Member of Congress since 1999.

**District 43:** *substantial majority (Democratic):* San Bernardino County, including the city of San Bernardino and the communities of Colton, Rialto, Fontana, Bloomington, and Ontario. Incumbent: Joe Baca (D). Member of Congress since 1999.

**District 44:** *simple majority (Republican):* parts of Riverside and Orange Counties, including Riverside, Corona, Norco, San Juan Capistrano, and San Clemente. Incumbent: Ken Calvert (R). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 45:** *simple majority (Republican):* Riverside County, including Palm Springs, La Quinta, Hemet, Indio, and Blythe. Incumbent: Mary Bono Mack (R). Member of Congress since 1998.

**District 46:** *simple majority (Republican):* parts of Los Angeles and Orange Counties, including Huntington Beach, Costa Mesa, Fountain Valley, Seal Beach, Avalon, Rancho Palos Verdes, Rolling Hills, Palos Verdes Estates and Rolling Hills Estates, and portions of Long Beach, Westminster, Santa Ana and San Pedro. Incumbent: Dana Rohrabacher (R). Member of Congress since 1989.

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**District 47:** *simple majority (Democratic)*: Orange County, including Santa Ana, Garden Grove, and part of Buena Park. Incumbent: Loretta Sanchez (D). Member of Congress since 1997.

**District 48:** *substantial majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: Orange County, including Tustin, Irvine, El Toro, Laguna Beach, Laguna Hills, Laguna Niguel, and Dana Point. Incumbent: John Campbell (R). Member of Congress since 2005.

**District 49:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: parts of Riverside and San Diego Counties, including the cities of Lake Elsinore, Menifee, Oceanside, Perris, Temecula, Vista, Wildomar, and the communities of Fallbrook, Julian, and Valley Center. Incumbent: Darrell Issa (R). Member of Congress since 2001.

**District 50:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: San Diego County, including Escondido, San Marcos, Encinitas, Carlsbad, Rancho Santa Fe, Solana Beach, Del Mar, and part of the city of San Diego. Incumbent: Brian Bilbray (R). Representing this district since 2006; also a Member of Congress between 1995 and 2000.

**District 51:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: part of San Diego County and all of Imperial County, including the southern half of the city of San Diego, the cities of Chula Vista and National City, the southern border of San Diego County, and the entire California/Mexico border. Incumbent: Bob Filner (D). Member of Congress since 1993.

**District 52:** *simple majority (Republican), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: San Diego County, including El Cajon, La Mesa, Poway, Ramona, Alpine, Santee, Lakeside, Borrego Springs, Tierra Santa, and part of the city of San Diego. Incumbent: Duncan D. Hunter (R). Member of Congress since 2009.

**District 53:** *substantial majority (Democratic), 20% or more DTS registered voters*: San Diego County, including most of the city of San Diego, Torrey Pines, La Jolla, Pacific Beach, Ocean Beach, Mission Beach, Mission Valley, Lemon Grove, Barrio Logan, Point Loma, Imperial Beach, and Coronado. Incumbent: Susan Davis (D). Member of Congress since 2001.

# Open Primaries and Top Two Elections:

*Proposition 14 on California's June 2010 Ballot*

Proposition 14 on the June 2010 California ballot would fundamentally change the way voters elect state and congressional candidates.

This CGS report examines a proposed open primary and top two election system, under which candidates for each office, regardless of party, would compete on a single ballot in the primary election, and only the top two would advance to the general election, even if those two candidates come from the same political party.

Proponents believe that Proposition 14 will encourage the election of more moderate legislators, help relieve political gridlock and encourage greater participation in primary and general elections. Opponents believe that primary and general elections will become more costly, that voters will be confused by multiple primary candidates, and that general election choices will be overly restricted.

## ***The report reaches three conclusions if Proposition 14 is adopted:***

***First:*** More than one-third of all California legislative and congressional general election races could be between two members of the same party.

***Second:*** Nearly all of these top two general election run offs would involve two Democrats.

***Third:*** Some “top two, same party” general election run offs that might occur could be close enough that voters from another party or Decline to State voters could swing the election to a more moderate candidate.

CGS helps civic organizations, decision-makers and the media to strengthen democracy and improve government processes by providing rigorous research, nonpartisan analysis, strategic consulting and innovative media models of public information and civic engagement.

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