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Trends in Local Growth Control Ballot Measures in California

*Madelyn Glickfeld*¹,
*LeRoy Graymer*²,
and *Kerry Morrison*³

I. INTRODUCTION

This article began as a background resource paper to provide information and analysis for a discussion of local growth control by initiative and referendum. It was used in conjunction with the first annual LAND USE LAW AND PLANNING CONFERENCE presented by the Public Policy Program, UCLA Extension, on February 20, 1987.

The research for this article was designed to assess several prevalent perceptions about the use of land use ballot measures. First, there has been a growing and widespread perception that attempts at planning by initiative have dramatically increased in cities and counties throughout California in the last two years. It is also perceived that more and more voters favor these ballot measures as a means of controlling growth. There is a belief that the use of initiatives and referenda to achieve local growth controls is not only increasing in frequency, but that the range of land use issues addressed by these measures is changing in significant ways. Last, there has been considerable discussion about the likely future of land use ballot measures.

In order to determine the accuracy of these perceptions, we collected and analyzed information about all identified local land use ballot measures in California since 1971. The "Methodology" section of this article describes how the data was collected and compiled in the Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures.

Using the data in this Matrix, we analyzed the frequency of ballot

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measures that qualified for election by geographic region and by type of jurisdiction (city or county). We documented the frequency of the different types of ballot measures (initiatives, board or council sponsored initiatives, referenda and advisory measures). We examined the relative success of different kinds of measures and compared the success of ballot measures at the polls to campaign expenditures. We looked at the major focus of different ballot measures (e.g., preserving open space, phasing growth, and matching growth to available infrastructure) to determine whether trends can be detected in the frequency of certain kinds of ballot measures. The trends that emerge from this analysis of ballot measures in California to date are summarized and described in the "Findings" section.

The last two sections of this article focus on factors that may influence the future employment of land use ballot measures. First, we make some predictions about the future use of ballot measures in California based upon the data included in the Matrix of Land Use Measures and our analysis of trends. Finally, we identify and discuss some of the less measurable and predictable economic, legal and political forces which may influence the use of such measures.

We hope that this article and the information it contains will promote a better understanding of verifiable trends in local growth control ballot measures in California. We also hope that this understanding will provide a more informed context for discussion, debate and analysis of local land use policy, land use case law and legislation on the subject. Perhaps a better understanding of these processes and the concerns that give rise to land use ballot measures will enable us to design improved processes for addressing these underlying issues.

II. METHODOLOGY

There is no single repository of information on local land use measures that qualify for and appear on local ballots. No single governmental or non-governmental organization systematically collects information on all local ballot measures of any type. The Secretary of State and the State Archives maintain records on statewide initiatives. Only by conducting in-depth interviews and collecting data from each city clerk and county registrar in the state can one be sure of noting every measure placed on the ballot during the time studied. This is a major undertaking, beyond the scope of our present resources.

Given our limited access to primary data, we relied on several secondary sources. First, the California Association of Realtors (C.A.R.) has compiled a "Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures: 1971-1988." (See APPENDIX.)⁴ C.A.R. systematically collected information about land use ballot measures from its local members and Boards of Realtors, newspaper clippings, and other organizations that analyze local growth control efforts on a regional basis (e.g., the Coro Foundation,⁵ People for Open Space,⁶ the *California Planning and Development Report*,⁷ and the California Coastal Commission⁸). After identifying a ballot measure, C.A.R. research staff checked with local officials to verify its date, name, and nature, expenditures for and against it, and the outcome of the election. Though the Matrix is, by far, the most comprehensive that exists, C.A.R. continues to refine it as additional information becomes available. Based on extensive efforts to verify sources, we have concluded that there is no systematic exclusion of measures from the Matrix that would bias our analysis.

Second, we obtained and reviewed a study by People for Open Space on local growth control ballot measures.⁹ This study analyzed seventeen Northern California land use initiatives and referenda and was used in conjunction with the C.A.R. data.

These sources identify 152 local land use ballot measures in the period 1971-1986. Unless specifically noted, all of the findings below are based on analysis of this data. As of September 1987, twenty-four additional ballot measures have been scheduled for elections in 1987 and 1988. 1987 and 1988 are not included in the

4. The "Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures," which serves as the primary foundation for this analysis, is a comprehensive document that has been a year in the making. The authors gratefully acknowledge the research efforts of the following individuals who spent hours collecting, verifying, inputting and analyzing the 176 measures that comprise the Matrix: Mark Thompson, Local Government Analyst, California Association of Realtors (C.A.R.); Mary Witko, Political Action Coordinator, C.A.R.; and Dana Riccard, formerly associated with C.A.R. and now a planner with the City of Agoura Hills. We also extend special appreciation to Joel Singer, Vice President of Planning, Research and Economics for C.A.R. who supported the staff time for this research effort and provided encouragement during the course of this project.

5. Knox, Landry, & Payne, *Local Initiative: A Study of the Use of Municipal Initiatives in the San Francisco Bay Area* (Coro Foundation, April 1984).

6. People for Open Space, *Using Initiatives and Referenda to Protect Open Space: A Survey and Analysis of Northern California's Experience* (July 1983 & updated Mar. 1986).

7. 1 CALIFORNIA PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT REPORT No.2 (W. Fulton, ed. Dec. 1986).

8. Coastal Commission Staff Counsel Memorandum, *Recently Adopted Initiatives* (Dec. 5, 1986).

9. See *supra* note 6.

data base used for statistical analysis because there is not a complete year's sample at the time of this writing. We do highlight interesting issues that are already showing up in these later ballot measures.¹⁰

III. FINDINGS

A. *Frequency of Land Use Planning Ballot Measures*

Our data strongly corroborates the perception that the use of ballot measures is increasing. Figure 1 is a frequency graph showing that 53 measures qualified for the ballot in 1986—nearly triple the number identified in any single year since 1971, and 35% of all ballot measures identified since 1971.

Only ten measures qualified for the ballot between 1971 and 1974; none were identified in 1975. 1976 through 1982 saw a rapid and regular increase in the number of ballot measures; 64 measures, or 42% of all ballot measures since 1971 were placed before the voters between 1976 through 1982. The number of measures decreased to five in 1983, then rose to 12 in 1985. In 1986, 53 measures were placed before the voters. This dramatic increase is by far the greatest shift in the frequency pattern.

As of September 1987, we have identified 22 measures placed on the ballot in 1987, and two qualified for the 1988 ballot. While it does not appear that the number of measures will reach the 1986 peak, the number in 1987 will exceed that of any other single year since 1971.

B. *Trends in Types of Land Use Measures Qualified for the Ballot*

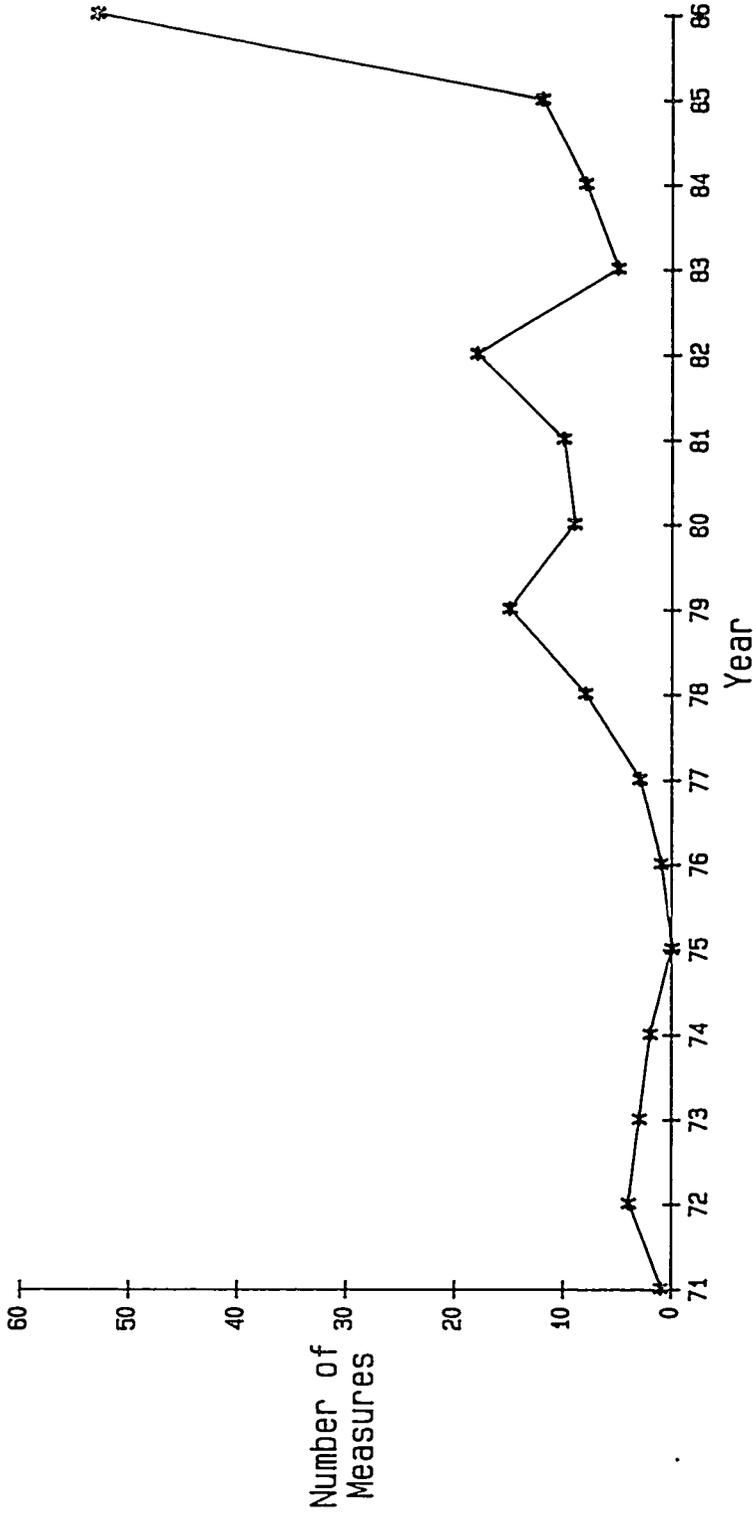
Four different types of ballot measures have been put before the voters in local jurisdictions:

* **INITIATIVE PETITIONS:** Ordinances and/or general plan amendments drafted by citizen petitioners and placed on the ballot.

* **BOARD OR COUNCIL-SPONSORED MEASURES:** Ordinances and/or general plan amendments drafted and placed on the ballot by the local agency for voter ratification; some are placed on

10. The data and analysis included in this article were current up to September 1987. As this article went into final print production, we learned that 40 land use ballot measures were voted on in the November 1987 election. Most of these measures are neither included in the Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures nor analyzed in the body of the text.

Figure 1
Ballot Box Planning Measures
by Year



the ballot as alternatives to citizen drafted initiatives (referred to in this article as "tandem measures").

* **REFERENDA:** Citizen petitions to reverse a council or board action that are placed on the ballot.

* **ADVISORY INITIATIVES:** Policy guidelines drafted either by citizens or the local agency and voted upon to give local elected officials clear notice as to voter sentiment on an issue.

Figure 2 shows the relative frequency of these different kinds of ballot measures in the period 1971 to 1986. The overwhelming majority of ballot measures have been initiatives (106 measures or 70% of all measures). Council or board-sponsored measures are second, but far behind (25 measures, or 16% of all measures). There have been twelve referenda (8% of all measures) and nine advisory measures (6% of all measures).

There is a noticeable upswing in the use of the referendum in 1987. Of the twenty-two measures that have qualified for the ballot so far this year, there are five referenda, nearly 23% of the total, far in excess of the normal proportion for referenda over the prior sixteen years, and nearly 30% of all referenda in our Matrix.

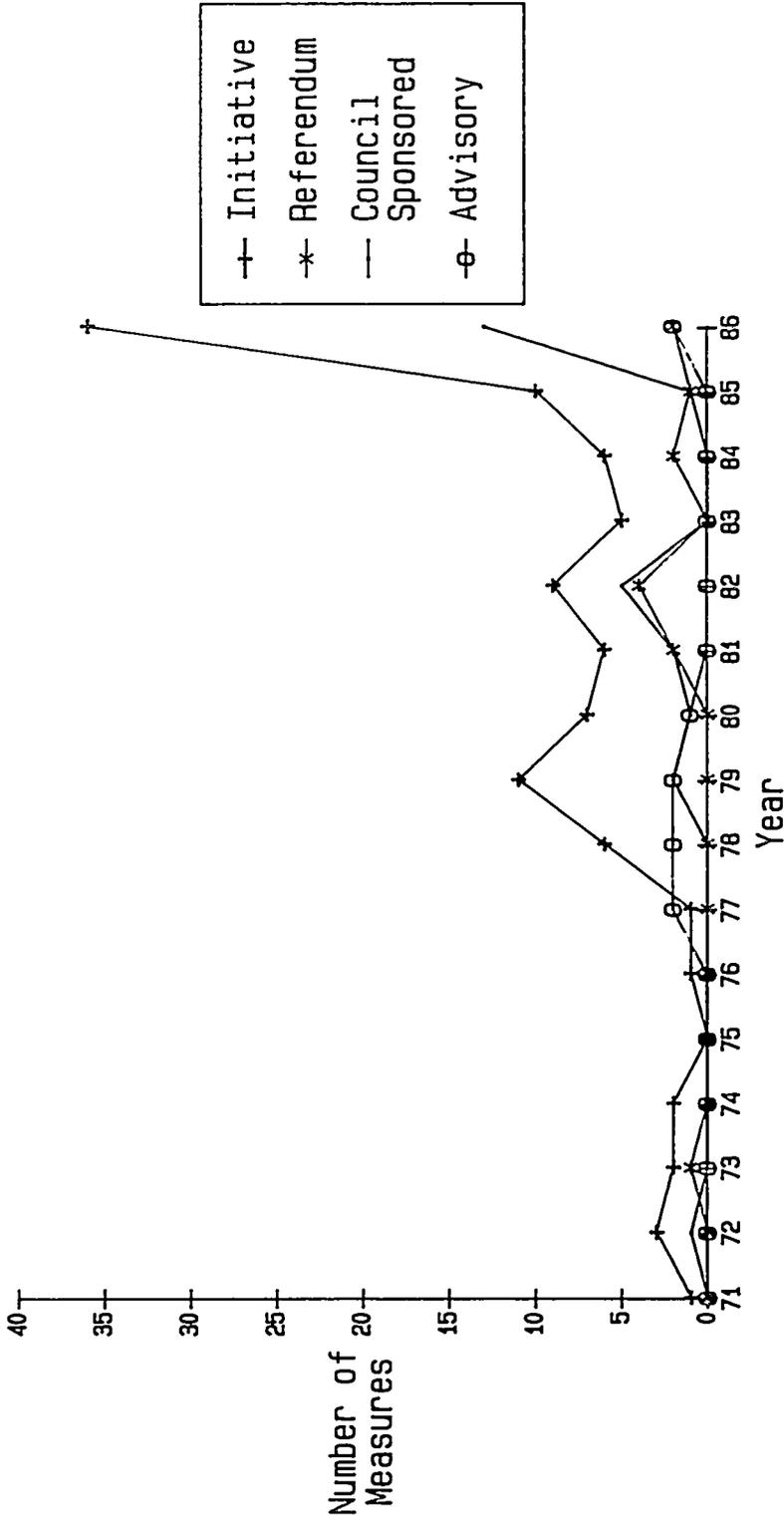
One type of ballot measure that we have not included in our statistical analysis, but should mention here is the initiative petition accepted by the local agency. When a petition for initiative qualifies for the ballot, the local council or board has the option to accept and adopt it without election. Although initiatives so adopted are not different than other citizen petitions, we do not analyze them here for two reasons. First, although the proposals originate with private citizens, they are adopted through normal administrative processes. Second, only four such measures have been identified,¹¹ and it is difficult to determine whether these are the *only* measures of this type or if they are part of a larger unidentified set. Because initiative petitions accepted by the local agency are never on the ballot, the "universe" of such measures is harder to ascertain.

C. *Trends in Types of Jurisdictions Where Land Use Ballot Measures Have Qualified*

Employment of land use ballot measures has varied considerably from jurisdiction to jurisdiction in California. In the period 1971 to 1986, there were land use ballot measures in seventeen counties, or 29% of the fifty-eight counties in California. During the same pe-

11. See *supra* note 6.

Figure 2
Type of Measures by Year



riod there were land use ballot measures in seventy-three cities, or 16% of the 444 California cities.

In many local jurisdictions, more than one measure has been placed in the ballot over the 1971 to 1986 period. There have been seven in the City and County of San Francisco, more than in any other local jurisdiction. Six measures relate to the same issue — the amount and scale of commercial office development in the city. The first five measures, in 1971, 1972, 1979, 1983 and 1985, were defeated. The sixth measure, Proposition M on the November 1986 ballot, succeeded. The seventh measure, Proposition N, also on the November 1986 ballot, imposed a moratorium on the development of onshore facilities to serve offshore oil drilling efforts.

During the last sixteen years, five measures have appeared on the ballot in the cities of Walnut Creek and Simi Valley. At least four land use measures have been on the ballot in the cities of Livermore and Belmont and the County of Santa Barbara. In a total of twenty-six cities or counties, at least two measures have been on the ballot during this time period.

While land use measures have qualified for the ballot at least once in many jurisdictions, they have become a continuing part of the land use planning decision making process in a small but significant percentage of jurisdictions. A large proportion of all ballot measures has come before the voters in a relatively small number of cities and counties. About 50% of all land use ballot measures occurred in thirty-two jurisdictions, comprising 6% of the local jurisdictions in California.

An interesting question for further research and analysis is whether ballot measure activity is concentrated in certain types of localities. Characteristics that could be explored include the size and location of affected localities, their physical characteristics, density, demographic composition and economic base.

D. *Trends in the Geographical Distribution of Land Use Ballot Measures*

We have divided California into four geographically distinct regions to analyze whether there are significant differences in the use of the ballot measure for land use planning among these regions, and whether the differences have changed over time. Northern California includes the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area region, and all counties north of and including Sacramento, Almadore and Alpine. Central Coast California includes coastal counties from Santa Cruz to Ventura. Central California includes inland counties from

the Northern California border south to and including Kern County. Southern California encompasses Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Imperial and San Diego Counties.

Figure 3 shows the frequency of ballot measures over time in each of these regions. Earlier land use ballot measures occurred almost exclusively in Northern California. From 1971 to the end of 1980 there were forty-six land use ballot measures statewide. Twenty-seven measures or 59% of all ballot measures occurred in Northern California, with 21 in the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area region. During this period, Southern California accounted for only 6% of total local land use ballot measures.

Starting in 1981, the use of initiatives and referenda in planning matters spread throughout the state. Of 106 measures placed on the ballot since the beginning of 1981, 50 or 47% occurred in Northern California, while Southern California accounted for 30 measures or 28%. Twenty-two measures or 20% of the total since the beginning of 1981 occurred on the Central Coast, while only 4 measures or 4% occurred in inland Central counties. This change represents a huge shift in the geography of land use ballot measures.

This shift is further highlighted by examining the geographical distribution of ballot measures in 1986 shown in Figure 3. During that year a total of 53 measures were placed on the ballot. The Northern California region accounted for 22 measures or 41%, while Southern California and the Central Coast region roughly split the remaining 59% of land use ballot measures.

E. *Trends in Election Outcomes: Pro-Growth and Growth Control Ballot Measures*

How successful have growth-related ballot measures been at the polls? The Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures provides a summary description of each ballot measure. From the summaries we can ascertain whether a measure is pro-growth or is designed to achieve some measure of growth control, and whether the proposed measure passed or failed in election.

1. All Types of Ballot Measures

Figure 4 provides several indicators of the success of all pro-growth and growth control measures, including referenda. The overwhelming majority of growth related measures, 112 or 74%, were worded to provide greater growth control. Examined on a year-by-year basis since 1971, the rate of success for these measures varies greatly. 1986 represents the year in which ballot measures

Figure 3
Number of Measures
by Region

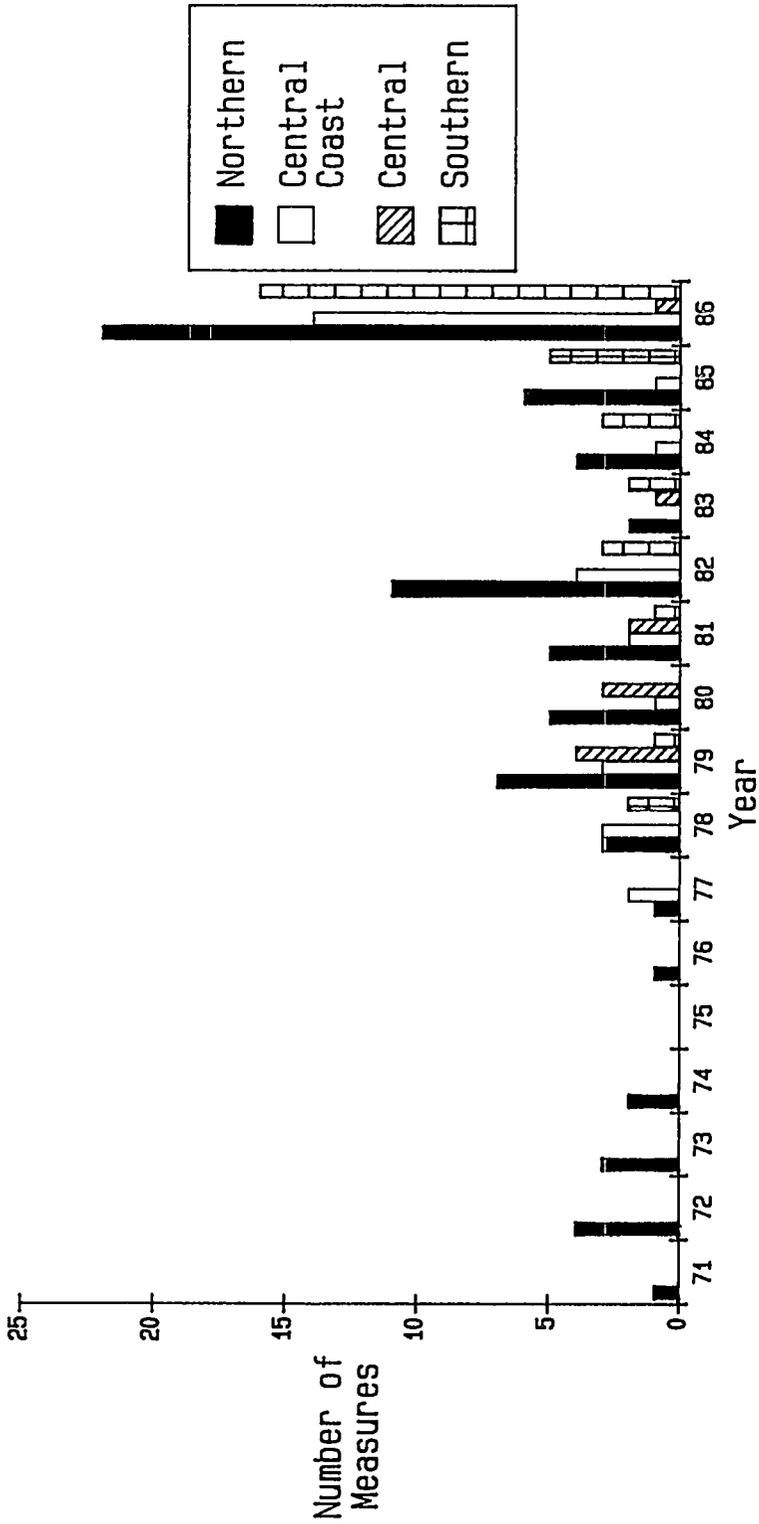
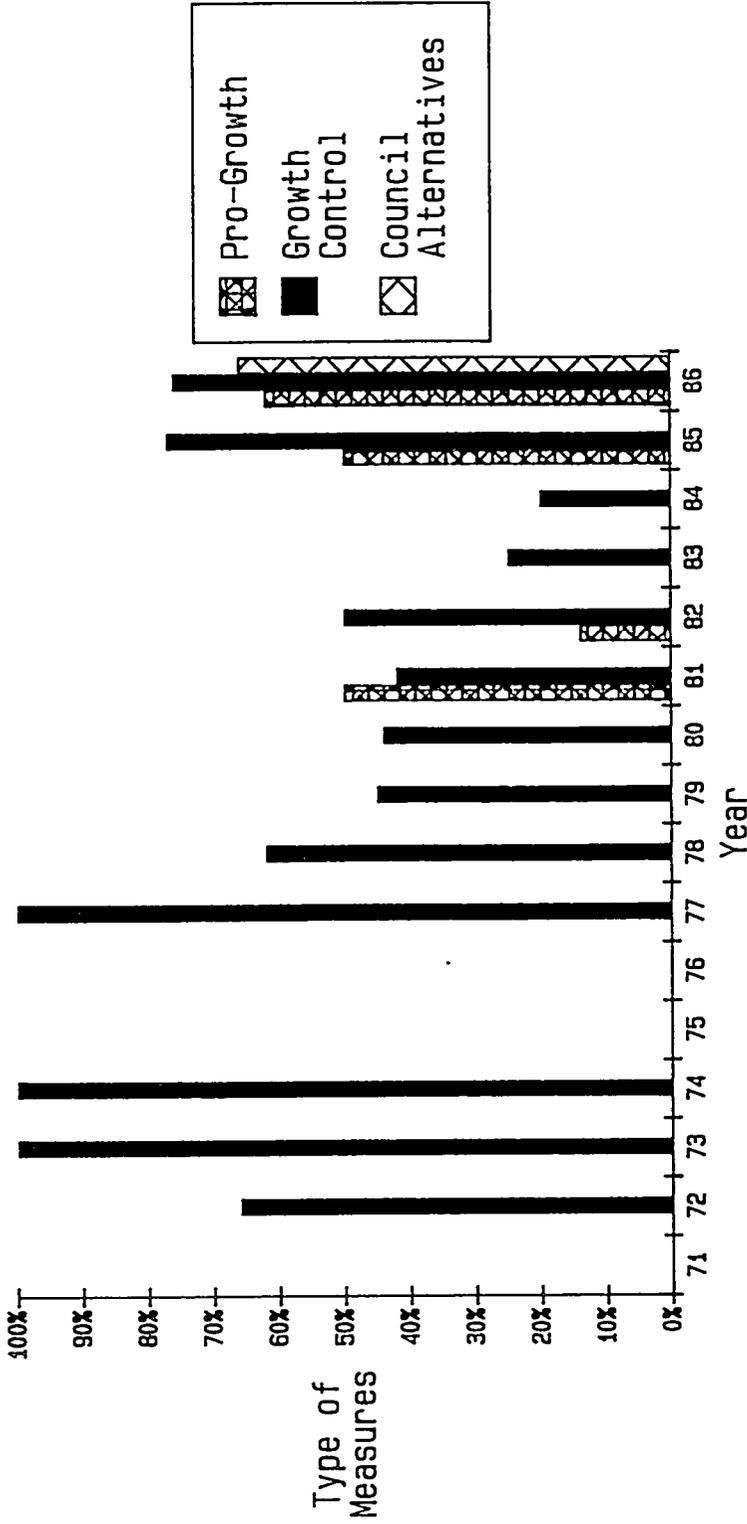


Figure 4
Success Rates of
Different Measures



passed at the highest rate. In the period 1971 to 1985, there were seventy-five growth control ballot measures, and the voters approved forty-one of them for an overall success rate of 54%; in 1986, there were thirty-seven growth control ballot measures, and twenty-eight, or 76%, passed.

Pro-growth ballot measures have not fared as well at the polls. Pro-growth measures constitute a small minority of ballot measures; 30 measures, or 20% of all ballot measures in our sample could be considered pro-growth. Only nine, or 30% of these pro-growth measures succeeded at the polls. The success rate was somewhat higher in 1986; 30% of *all* pro-growth measures between 1971 and 1986 were on the ballot in 1986, and five of the eight, or 62%, were approved by the voters.

The category of pro-growth measures includes those intended to promote growth, for example, measures to approve specific development projects, eliminate growth restrictions or exempt specific projects from existing restrictions. It also includes referenda worded to look like pro-growth measures that are actually growth control measures. The importance of this distinction is discussed in more detail below.

2. Referenda

It is important to categorize the outcome of referenda separately from other types of land use ballot measures. Persons initiate a referendum to *rescind* a local agency decision. However, cities and counties generally require that the language on referenda be affirmative, *confirming* the local agency action.¹² For example, Measure J was a referendum in Livermore, placed on the ballot on June 1, 1982.¹³ Citizen proponents wanted to rescind the city council's approval of a general plan amendment permitting a specific subdivision. In accordance with law, the measure was worded to confirm the city council action. It failed. We have categorized it, by its wording, as a pro-growth measure that failed. However, citizen organizers counted this failure as a growth-control success.

This example demonstrates that because of the "reverse" wording of referenda, aggregating the outcomes with other types of ballot measures exaggerates the number of pro-growth measures proposed and defeated, and understates the number of measures, which, in effect, produce greater growth control.

12. Telephone interviews with city clerks and county registrars.

13. See Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures, *supra* note 4, at 33.

Of the twelve referenda in our 1971-1986 matrix, eight or 66% are worded to support growth. Of these eight, only one passed. Thus, referenda to affirm a prior pro-growth decision of a local agency were only successful 12.5% of the time. Four of the referenda were worded to control or limit growth. All four passed.

The success rate of pro-growth referenda is thus very low-12.5%; while the success rate of growth control referenda is, for this very small sample of four, 100%.

F. *Initiatives Requiring Subsequent Voter Approval*

Some initiatives include provisions requiring that certain subsequent land use decisions be referred back to local voters for approval or disapproval. For instance, a measure may require that all future plan amendments be approved by the voters, as in the case of Measure A, the successful San Mateo County initiative in 1986.¹⁴

This type of provision perpetuates the land use ballot measure trend. In our sample from 1971-1986, we identified twenty-five initiatives with these provisions. Thirteen or 52% were placed on the ballot in 1986. 84% were successful, as compared to 76% of all growth control ballot measures in 1986. This very high success rate indicates that voters in these jurisdictions are currently prepared to sustain a direct and ongoing role in certain land use planning decisions.

G. *The "Tandem Initiative" Phenomenon*

"Tandem initiatives," where the local agency sponsors a ballot measure as an alternative to one qualified by a citizen's group, occurred most frequently in the 1986 election year. Prior to that, our data base finds only three jurisdictions that responded to a citizen initiative campaign by placing an alternative initiative on the ballot. In 1986 alone, however, six jurisdictions opted for this approach: San Clemente, Tiburon, Carlsbad, Berkeley, Simi Valley and San Mateo County. Simi Valley actually had two separate sets of tandem initiatives on the November 1986 ballot.

Between 1971 and 1986, the success of local agency alternative ballot measures has been limited; of the ten known cases, the local agency alternative has prevailed in only four (40% of the time). However, all four of these measures were on the ballot in 1986, yielding a 57% success rate for local agency sponsored measures in that year.

14. *Id.* at 40.

From January to September 1987, voters confronted two sets of tandem initiatives. In Oceanside, the city's alternative growth control initiative failed, while in Vista the city's alternative growth control initiative prevailed.

Both local agency and citizen-sponsored measures are designed to manage growth, but through distinctly different methods and to a different extent. Growth control proponents generally design measures that control the rate of new growth to minimize its impact on existing infrastructure and the need for new facilities. In contrast, the local agency usually responds with a "performance standard" approach that does not directly control the rate of growth. For example, the agency alternative may require the improvement of infrastructure to meet specific service levels before any new development is approved. (See Carlsbad, Proposition E, November 1986.) The contrast between these approaches reflects a debate that is occurring throughout the state over the best way to address future growth.

H. *The Relationship Between Campaign Expenditures and Success at the Ballot Box*

The correlation between campaign expenditures and election outcomes is imperfect. Relying on aggregate data on campaign spending has serious methodological limitations. This section will report on some apparent relationships that are based largely on aggregate information derived from the data base. To illustrate the need for more specific data and thorough analysis, we separately analyzed one subset of cases in the data base.

We attempted to gather campaign expenditure data for all of the 152 ballot measures contained in the data base. California law requires that campaign committees organized to support or oppose a ballot measure file with the state Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) reports disclosing all receipts and disbursements made in connection with the campaign. Copies of FPPC reports must also be filed with the clerk in the city or county where the election takes place.¹⁵ We contacted city and county clerks who provided us with expenditure information from these reports. No campaign expenditure data was available for 39 ballot measures. In these instances, according to the city or county clerks, either no reports were filed (indicating no campaign activity) or the records are no longer available.

15. CAL. GOV'T CODE §§ 84100-84217 (West 1987).

While the campaign expenditure data, analyzed in the aggregate, yields little useful information about the relationship between campaign expenditures and election outcomes, it does indicate the following:

For all growth control measures that passed (69), a total of \$1 million was spent in support, and \$3.1 million was spent in opposition. (Average: \$15,100 per support campaign and \$45,600 per oppose.)

For all growth control measures that failed (44), \$423,000 was spent in support, and \$2.8 million was spent in opposition. (Average: \$9,600 per support campaign and \$64,000 per oppose.)

For all pro-growth measures that passed (10), \$128,000 was spent in support, and \$27,000 was spent in opposition. (Average: \$12,800 per support campaign and \$2,700 per oppose.)

For all pro-growth measures that failed (20), \$1.7 million was spent in support and \$165,000 was spent in opposition. (Average: \$86,900 per support campaign and \$8,300 per oppose.)

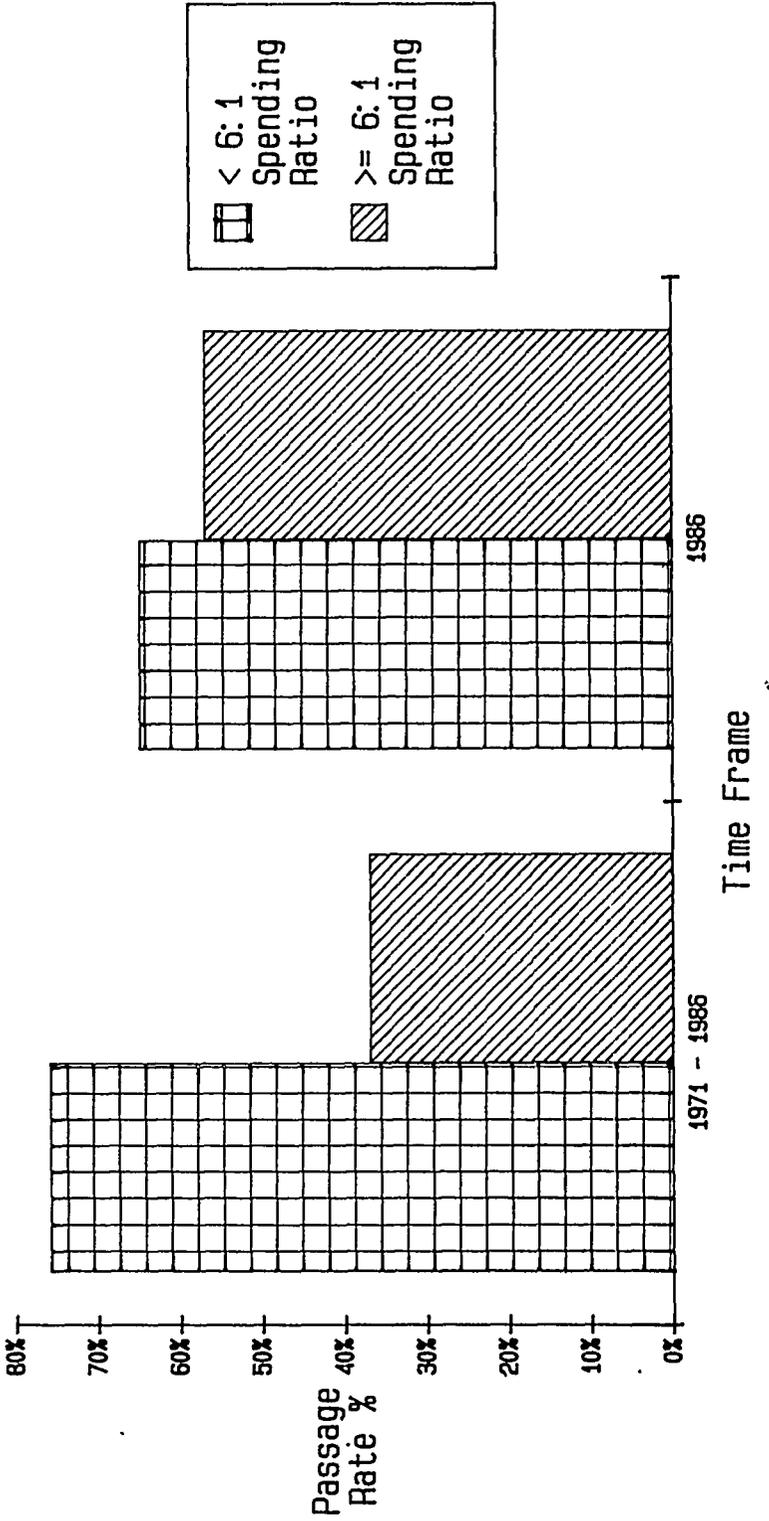
It is difficult to generalize about spending associated with all ballot measure campaigns because so many variables are involved. The issues are diverse and the localities differ in terms of size, voter sophistication and related demographics. Some campaigns are managed by professional firms utilizing expensive, state of the art tactics, while others are organized to capitalize on grass-roots resources. Some communities are large in size and require media access and expensive targeted mail campaigns, while in others simple, less expensive tactics such as precinct walking and doorknob hangers suffice.

To ascertain whether any meaningful information could be culled from this data base, we scrutinized one subset more thoroughly. We have selected 65 growth control measures where expenditures were reported both in support of and in opposition to the measure and where the expenditures in opposition to the measure exceeded those in support of it. At issue is whether there is a threshold of expenditure that influences the outcome of an election on a ballot measure.

As Figure 5 indicates, there was a significant divergence in the spending ratios of these 65 campaigns, ranging from 1:1 (expenditures opposing to expenditures supporting) to 174:1. The median ratio was 8:1.

The results shown in Figure 5 suggest that, in most instances, a significant infusion of campaign dollars may play some role in defeating a growth control measure. In the subset analyzed, where the opponents of growth control outspent the proponents by less

Figure 5
Relationship Between Campaign Spending and Outcome in
Growth Control Campaigns



than 6:1, the passage rate for growth control measures is 76%. The passage rate drops to 37% in campaigns where the spending ratio is greater than 6:1.

However, when we look closely at data for 1986, the year in which growth control measures passed at the highest rate, it appears that campaign spending was less effective in curbing the passage of growth control measures. Of the 65 measures in the specified subset, 20 appeared on 1986 ballots. Where the opponents of the growth control measure outspent proponents by less than 6:1, the passage rate was 69%. Where the spending ratio exceeded 6:1, the passage rate only declined to 57%.

Thus, in 1986, voters approved growth control measures at a substantial rate, even when pro-growth groups outspent proponents of growth control by a ratio greater than a 6:1.

I. Issues Addressed by Local Land Use Ballot Measures: A Year by Year Trend Analysis

The 152 ballot measures that we identified from 1971-1986 address a great variety of issues. We have attempted to categorize the measures by subject matter and identify predominant themes on a year by year basis.

In the period of 1971-1978, twenty-two land use measures were placed on local ballots in California. Their subject matter ranged from the control of large scale commercial development in San Francisco to advisory measures to limit population growth in Santa Barbara County. The first tandem measures were placed on the ballot during this period, and addressed two issues: the rate of growth and its relation to the adequacy of public facilities. In fact, this was the most prevalent theme and the subject of eight measures, with solutions ranging from a moratorium to annual limits on building permits to regulations linking the approval of development to public facility availability.

In 1979, annual residential and population growth limitations still appeared on several ballots. However, the stabilization of urban/rural boundaries and the preservation of open space emerged as more frequent topics. 1979 is also noteworthy as the first year that a ballot measure included a provision requiring subsequent voter approval of land use decisions.

In 1980, the predominant issue was again annual residential permit limits and population growth limits. However, in 1981, urban boundary issues, density of development and open space preserva-

tion appear as predominant themes, along with a number of site specific issues.

All of these issues were addressed in various local ballot measures in 1982, with no single issue predominating. This was the first year that growth control initiatives were targeted at annual controls on commercial and industrial development. It was also the first year that pro-growth forces placed a significant number of measures on the ballot. Several pro-growth measures were designed to exempt specific developments from the requirements of prior measures or to revise or repeal prior measures controlling growth. 1982 was also the first year that a countywide pro-growth measure was placed on the ballot and passed. (Tehama County Measure A.)

In 1983 and 1984, there were only 13 land use ballot measures and they varied greatly in theme, including all of the subjects identified in earlier years.

The current peak of interest in land use ballot measures began in 1985. Measures of all types requiring subsequent voter approval were prevalent. In addition, 1985 was the first year that measures were passed to control onshore and offshore oil development along the California coast. Walnut Creek's Measure H invoking a moratorium on many kinds of major development was the precursor to other similar or even identical measures in other local jurisdictions (e.g., Alameda on the 1986 ballot, Newport Beach—proposed for 1988, Orange County—proposed, but not yet qualified for 1988). Unlike the majority of earlier measures, Measure H focused on commercial and industrial as well as residential development. Perhaps most important, it was one of the first measures to address directly traffic service levels.

Because there were so many measures in 1986, they covered almost all of the issues identified earlier. There were seven sets of tandem initiatives in 1986, more than twice the total number of tandem initiatives on the ballot for the entire period between 1971 and 1985. Subsequent voter approval of future land use decisions was one predominant theme; it was proposed for future density increases, sewer projects, hotel projects, general plan amendments, onshore facilities to support offshore oil development, and future amendments to plans adopted by initiative.

Restricting onshore facilities to support offshore oil was a new and significant theme. Annual residential unit caps and limits on the rate and scale of commercial building were also major themes of ballot measures in 1986.

IV.

SOME TENTATIVE PREDICTIONS

What will be the future of land use ballot measures in California? In the process of cumulating sixteen years of data, talking with diverse parties involved with these issues, and reflecting on these discussions and data, we are prepared to venture gingerly into the realm of prediction! One purpose for transmitting these tentative judgments is to stimulate further research upon which more precise analyses could be based. Also, those who practice in related fields may find it helpful to reflect on these predictions in terms of the issues they address in their professional and community work.

It is reasonable to predict that the ballot measure phenomenon will be sustained over the next five years. It is also reasonable to predict that there will be considerable fluctuation in the frequency of ballot measures. Some of the factors we will discuss in this section will contribute to sustaining the trend, while other factors will tend to reduce or cause fluctuations in the incidence of local ballot measures.

First, will identifiable residential building cycles correlate at least partially with the incidence of growth related ballot measures?

Second, do ballot measures already passed require that future measures be placed on the ballot?

Third, is more expertise and knowledge available on how to place measures on the ballot and pass them?

Fourth, can community groups afford to finance efforts to put these measures on the ballot and promote their passage?

Fifth, are community groups successful in achieving their objectives when they utilize the initiative option?

Sixth, can we expect to see continued use of the "tandem measure"?

Finally, are there major legal barriers to putting measures on the ballot and having them implemented and upheld by the courts?

A. *Building Activity — Likelihood and Frequency of Growth Control Ballot Measures*

We have hypothesized that local pressures to control growth are positively correlated to increases in local residential construction activity. Therefore, as building rates increase, so will ballot measure frequency. Conversely, as building rates decrease, ballot measure frequency will drop. Anecdotally, the campaign literature distributed in fast growing communities like San Diego County, the

San Francisco Bay Area, and Contra Costa County suggests that opponents of growth are focusing on the rate and impact of recent growth. Pamphlets often include photographs of new subdivisions and traffic congestion designed to induce voters to support limits on new residential growth.

Figure 6 depicts the rate of residential building permit activity between 1966 and 1986 in California.¹⁶ Plotted on that same graph is the aggregate number of growth control measures that appeared on local ballots during the period roughly coinciding with this time frame. Although the data base does not identify land use measures prior to 1971, permit activity in the mid-sixties is included to track possible factors precipitating the growth control movement in the early 70's. While there is not a strong statistical correlation between residential development permits and growth control measures in the same year, there is typically an increase in ballot activity within one to three years of a peak in building permit issuance. Intuitively, this lag makes sense given that actual construction generally follows permit issuance by this same time period.

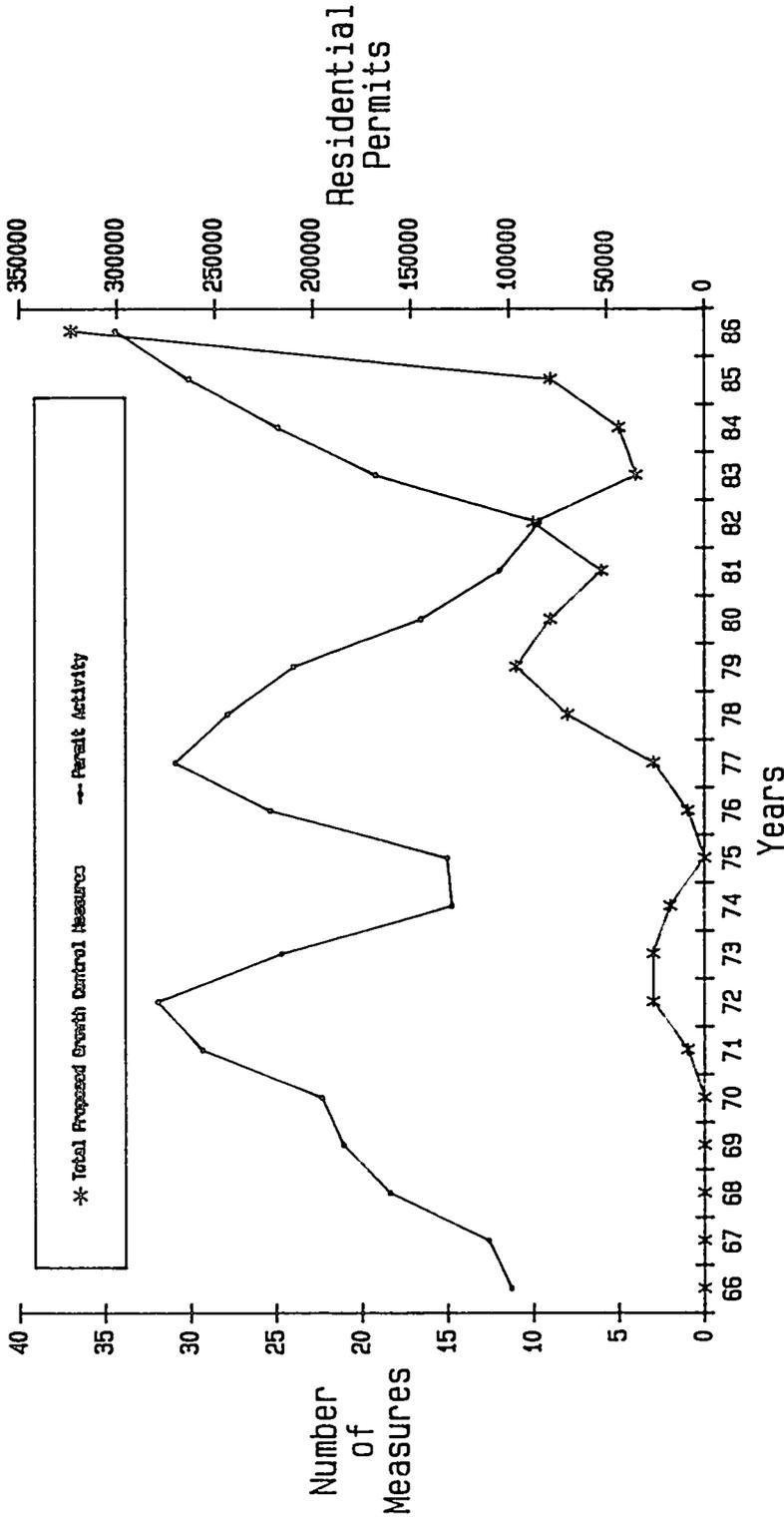
The graph depicts the two recessionary periods when building permits dipped below 150,000 in 1974 and 1975 and below 100,000 in 1982. Growth control measures subsided shortly after these two economic downturns. In 1975 there were no measures and in 1976 there was only one and it did not pass. Within one year after the 1982 recession, the number of growth control measures again subsided (5 were noted in 1983), and the success rate was minimal for the next two years (one passed each year).

This same delayed response appears with peaks in building activity. Three construction peaks are evident in Figure 6: 1972 (279,670 permits), 1977 (270,640 permits), and 1986 (301,286 permits). The first peak seems to suggest that the period of sustained increases in residential construction activity in the late 60's and early 70's may have been one factor that precipitated the growth control movement. Within two years after the second peak (1977), the incidence of growth control measures peaked for that decade at 15 measures. Most recently (following a period of increased permitting since the recession of 1982) the incidence of growth control measures has climbed, reaching an all-time high of 39 in 1986.

The aberration evident in 1982 deserves mention. Despite the

16. Sources for residential housing permit data: 1966-1969: *California Statistical Abstract*, California State Department of Finance; 1970-1985: *California Construction Trends*, Security Pacific Bank; 1986: *California Building Permit Activity*, Security Pacific Bank.

Figure 6
Permit Activity vs. Number of Growth Control Measures



sustained, yet precipitous decline in building activity from 1977 to 1982, the number of growth control measures in 1982 nearly matched the first surge of 1979. However, a closer look at the actual content of the measures, as described in our year by year trends analysis above, reveals that 1982 represents the first year in which a significant number of ballot measures addressed commercial and industrial development. Since Figure 6 is limited to residential building activity, commercial and industrial building trends may vary considerably.

To more fully test this hypothesis, it would be necessary to include a wider range of data, including commercial building activity, changes in interest rates, changes in employment rates and other economic variables.

Analysis of other types of ballot measures supports this hypothesized relationship. For example, the literature that grew out of the studies of tax revolt measures indicates that citizens were most likely to employ the initiative process when there were large or sudden tax increases. We can speculate that the growth in ballot measures may be a reaction to significant increases in density, congestion, or other indications of change in the immediate environment or community.

B. Self-Perpetuating Features of Earlier Actions

Many measures already adopted by local jurisdictions require that future actions or changes be referred to the local electorate for action. Seventeen of the measures approved require subsequent voter approval for certain types of land use decisions. In addition to the almost automatic requirement of future measures, this activity in and of itself may reinforce the awareness of land use issues within these communities.

C. Coordination and Networking

There appears to be improved information sharing among the proponents of growth control ballot measures. One indication of this is the number of ballot measures with similar concepts and sometimes, very similar language. Although each ballot measure has its own local proponents, many different groups receive professional advice from the same legal and planning experts and otherwise share campaign strategies and information. A successful initiative in one location provides other groups with the incentive, concepts, tools, and access to expertise to apply in their communities.

D. *Low Cost for Growth Control Proponents*

The funding required to pass most local initiatives or referenda is relatively modest, particularly in comparison to the costs of efforts to defeat them or to elect a candidate to public office. The Matrix shows that proponents of measures have been able to get them adopted with only minimal expenditures—in 1986, for example, 10 growth control measures show no expenditures for either side, and the passage rate was 90%. These low costs, combined with the other benefits of ballot measures discussed in this section, compare favorably to the protracted and time consuming features of the local government land use review process discussed in Section V, and will encourage continued use of the ballot for land use planning.

E. *Success of Ballot Measures*

As our analysis of the Matrix indicates, growth control advocates have been very successful in gaining voter approval at the polls. Recent data on 1986 measures indicates that overall success rates are higher for that year than for the average of previous years. This suggests that because efforts have yielded positive results, more groups will employ this approach. The first land use ballot measure in a local jurisdiction creates a political “infrastructure” that makes it easier to mount a successive effort. It also appears that word of success spreads from one community to another throughout the state.

F. *Tandem Measures*

Tandem measures, proposed since 1972, represent actions by local elected officials to offer alternatives to citizen initiatives. Since we predict continued efforts to place growth control measures on the ballot, we can probably expect to see tandem measures appear in response, increasing the overall occurrence of ballot measures.

G. *Current and Pending Legislation and Case Law*

While there are some new actions that could restrict the use of the ballot for land use issues, the courts and the legislature have, for the most part, protected the use of the local ballot initiative and referendum on the theory that all government power ultimately resides in the people.¹⁷ This is yet another reason why the use of

17. See, e.g., *Building Indus. Ass'n of S. Cal. v. City of Camarillo*, 41 Cal. 3d 810, 821, 718 P.2d 68, 74, 226 Cal. Rptr. 81, 87 (1986); *Associated Home Builders v. City of Livermore*, 18 Cal. 3d 582, 596, 557 P.2d 473, 480, 135 Cal. Rptr. 41, 48 (1976).

ballot measures for land use planning has continued to expand. While the courts have said that citizens may enjoy no greater power than the city council to promulgate laws,¹⁸ courts have not yet placed any of the procedural and substantial justification requirements on citizen-initiated legislation that are stipulated for city-sponsored legislation.¹⁹

However, the courts have been asked to rule on the legality of specific zoning and land use ballot measures, and the legislature has been asked to address the standards and rules for their continued use. These challenges and requests are likely to continue.

A recent opinion issued by the Attorney General will have marked effects on currently enacted and future local ballot measures concerning land use or resources in the coastal zone.²⁰ This opinion concludes that "a county or city, by ordinance, including those adopted by referendum or initiative, may not lawfully authorize a use of land in the coastal zone which is not permitted by [a local coastal program or land use plan] certified by the [California Coastal] Commission."²¹ This same restriction is applied to ordinances adopted by referendum or initiative that prohibit a use of land in the coastal zone that is permitted by a local coastal program or land use plan — these ordinances also require Coastal Commission approval prior to effective implementation. This opinion seems to be based on the premise that the local voters can replace the local government, but cannot supersede prevailing state law — that would require a statewide initiative. Thus, any local ballot measures in the coastal zone, including those in charter cities, must be designed to meet the requirements of the California Coastal Act.²²

Legislation has been passed recently that will refine the local initiative and referenda process by requiring that the city attorney or county counsel provide a title and summary of the measure before the petition is circulated (similar to what the Attorney General does at the state level). This legislation also provides the locality with the option to submit the measure to its various departments for review. This creates an opportunity for a local government to report on the potential impacts of the measure (e.g., whether it would be inconsistent with the general plan, or affect the locality's fiscal base

18. *Arnel Dev. Co. v. City of Costa Mesa*, 28 Cal. 3d 511, 620, 169 Cal. Rptr. 904 (1980).

19. *Building Indus. Ass'n of S. Cal. v. City of Camarillo*, 41 Cal. 3d 810, 823-24, 718 P.2d 68, 75-76, 226 Cal. Rptr. 81, 88-89 (1986).

20. 70 Op. Cal. Att'y Gen. 220 (1987).

21. *Id.* at 224-25.

22. CAL. PUB. RES. CODE §§ 30000-30900 (West 1986).

or housing stock). The California Building Industry Association sponsored this legislation.²³

The opportunity to challenge a citizen's initiative before it appears on the ballot is minimal. Courts generally prefer to let the voters accept or reject the measure since if they reject it, there is no longer a controversy for the court to rule on. One instance in which the court did uphold a pre-election challenge is *deBottari v. City Council of Norco*.²⁴ In that case, the court ruled that if a proposed ballot initiative would create an inconsistency with the community's general plan, the court may exclude it from the ballot.

V.

SOME FACTORS AND ACTIONS THAT MAY INFLUENCE THE FUTURE USE OF LAND USE BALLOT MEASURES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Prior sections of this article describe trends in land use ballot measures derived from analysis of the Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures and some rather straightforward predictions extrapolated from that analysis. However, future land use ballot measures will not occur in a vacuum, but within a complex political, legal and economic framework. It is not possible to know exactly how these factors will affect the future use of ballot measures, but it is fairly certain that each of these factors will have some effect.

A. *The Level of Future Building Activity*

Earlier analysis indicates a relationship between residential building activity and the frequency of land use ballot measures. The level of future residential building activity is expected to decline from the 1986 peak over the next few years.²⁵ So despite high ballot measure success rates, increased networking, and increases in tandem initiatives and initiatives requiring subsequent voter approval, the slowdown in residential building activity may be followed by a decrease in the frequency of ballot measures on residential growth. This may or may not affect measures that focus on commercial and industrial development.

23. 1987 Cal. Legis. Serv. 767 (West).

24. *deBottari v. City Council of Norco*, 171 Cal. App. 3d 1204, 217 Cal. Rptr. 790 (1985).

25. According to the UCLA BUSINESS FORECAST FOR CALIFORNIA (June 1987) residential building permits are expected to decline from approximately 307,000 units in 1986 to 204,000 units in 1987; 168,000 units in 1988; and then increase somewhat to 188,000 units in 1989.

B. *Future Reactions of Growth Control Proponents*

Citizens concerned with controlling growth may be less inclined to turn to the ballot if overall growth pressures recede. Unless there is a significant decrease in the rate of growth, there are several reasons why citizens will continue to favor ballot measures to control growth. First, the recent issues addressed by ballot measures, such as the scope and rate of development and its effects on air, water quality and mobility on public roads, are issues that appear to be relevant to a very significant proportion of the voting population. Recent public opinion polls suggest that citizens, particularly in large urban regions, are voicing strong dissatisfaction with the tangible manifestations of growth in their communities. There are some indications that voters supporting recent ballot measures have tended to represent broad-based societal groups, transcending political and economic categories. The continued popularity of land use ballot measures as a means of growth control will depend in part on whether the current breadth and intensity of voter sentiment is sustained.

Second, while we said earlier that a reason for more ballot measures in the future is the high success rate of prior measures, growth control advocates may perceive substantial benefits even when measures fail. San Francisco, for example, has been host to a string of failed initiatives. Yet proponents of those initiatives saw these measures as "pushing" the local government to enact its own growth controls.²⁶ Each subsequent initiative was geared to tightening the controls that had been enacted previously by local government. The last initiative, Proposition M in 1986, was designed to modify an annual cap on commercial development already adopted by the City, and to remove some exemptions from the cap. Perhaps because the step from the current city plan to the proposed initiative was not large, the voters finally approved this initiative.

The increasing use of tandem initiatives is further evidence that growth control proponents benefit even when the initiative that they support fails. Although local governments may have moved through the traditional land use review process to enact some type of limitations on growth, their willingness to place additional growth control measures on the ballot could be a response to the prospect that voters will approve the more restrictive citizen-sponsored initiatives.

26. Interview with Susan Hestor, legal counsel and organizer of some of the San Francisco ballot measures (January 1987).

A third and more intangible factor associated with the future popularity of growth control ballot measures relates to the way that citizen proponents view the local government land use decisionmaking process. To the extent that growth control advocates and their representatives view the local government review process as an arena in which they are disadvantaged, they may continue to use the ballot as an alternative means of setting local policy. A ballot initiative may be perceived as a shortcut around an extended local development review process, and a way to obtain final resolution of a land use issue. Unlike large developers, most growth control proponents (as well as smaller developers) have neither the resources nor the patience to engage in a review process that drags on for years and resurfaces on a regular basis.

Community activist groups that use the initiative and referendum process feel that they can mobilize the resources necessary to put a growth control measure on the ballot and promote its passage. This may be more manageable than sustaining community involvement in protracted planning and adoption processes that may include a series of projects under review by the locality.

Growth control proponents are also finding court challenges to local government decisions increasingly expensive and difficult to initiate. Local governments have become more adept at complying with procedural planning and environmental review requirements, and courts generally defer to local governments on the substantive disputes in planning matters.²⁷ Furthermore, recent changes to California law shorten the timetables for legal challenge, and necessitate that, prior to litigation, potential litigants create a record in every applicable administrative arena for each issue to be raised in court. These changes substantially increase the amount of time, money and technical expertise required to challenge a governmental approval of development in court.²⁸

27. *Young v. American Mini Theatres*, 427 U.S. 50, 71 (1976); *Associated Home Builders v. City of Livermore*, 18 Cal. 3d 582, 557 P.2d 473, 135 Cal. Rptr. 41 (1976).

28. *See, e.g.*, CAL. GOV'T CODE §§ 65009-65010 (West Supp. 1987) (requiring all issues on a planning proposal or zoning decision contested by the plaintiff in a legal action against a local government to be raised first in the appropriate administrative arenas, setting time limits for initiating litigation and eliminating the presumption that errors of irregularity, informality, neglect or omission are prejudicial). *See also* CAL. GOV'T CODE § 66499.37 (West 1983) (setting a time limit on initiating litigation to attack a local agency decision under the Subdivision Map Act); CAL. GOV'T CODE § 65754.5 (West Supp. 1987) (prohibiting courts from enjoining a housing development during court proceedings if the legislative body approved the development, prepared an EIR or Negative Declaration and the owner has irrevocably committed \$1 million or more to the provision of infrastructure); CAL. GOV'T CODE § 65914 (West 1983) (re-

Thus, the initiative couples high success rates with relatively modest financial investment, dispenses with lengthy local review, and, as a direct manifestation of voter legislation is more immune than other types of decisions from reversal by local government entities. With these advantages and with generally favorable judicial protection, land use ballot measures are likely to remain attractive to future advocates of growth control.

C. *Reactions of Local Officials*

Local elected officials are paying close attention to the dramatic increase in ballot measures on growth issues. These officials can be expected to react to the ballot measure phenomenon in a variety of ways. First, many local growth control proponents have been pivotal in electing new public officials as well as passing ballot measures. The 1986 and 1987 elections in the City of Los Angeles provide the most visible case of this new voter orientation.²⁹ Second, recall elections based on growth issues have occurred in smaller cities up and down the state. One example is a recent recall of three council members in the newly formed City of Moreno Valley in 1986 that appears to have been based on the perception that these officials supported growth.

Although their reactions will vary greatly from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, many newly elected officials may be predisposed to support public arguments for greater growth control. Current officeholders who perceive growth as a major election issue will be more inclined to support some degree of growth control, at least as long as voter sentiment on the issue remains strong.

How all of this will translate into specific local actions is difficult to predict. If local elected officials choose to implement greater controls on growth through the normal local government review process, then the propensity of citizens to use the ballot process may decrease. If, on the other hand, elected officials choose to implement growth controls by helping to *lead and fund* land use ballot measures, the use of initiatives and referenda may become even more embedded as a key part of the land use decisionmaking process. Local officials who are more "moderate" on growth issues

quiring plaintiffs to pay local agency attorney fees under certain conditions in a lawsuit where plaintiffs unsuccessfully sought to enjoin or secure a writ of mandate against a housing development approved by the local agency).

29. In the City of Los Angeles, after voter approval of Proposition U in June 1986, voters in the sixth councilmanic district voted for a growth control candidate over the long term incumbent. The 1987 campaign focused heavily on growth issues.

may work with developers for less stringent controls. This may increase the number of tandem land use ballot measures. Alternatively, "moderates" may want to bring divergent community interests together to seek alternative solutions that may result in a reduced number of growth control initiatives.

D. *Reactions of the Development Community*

Up to the present time, the development community has relied mainly on a strategy of opposition to specific ballot measures; it has financed campaigns or mounted legal challenges. Over the past sixteen years, the strategy of funding campaigns against growth control measures has had spotty results, while requiring considerable financial investments. Legal challenges, to date, have not created a significant barrier to the continued use of the ballot to effect growth control. While there are some instances of nullification,³⁰ no major legal barrier has been instituted in this area.

Given that members of the development community must make a significant financial investment in a campaign to defeat a growth control measure (with a successful outcome still not guaranteed), one might expect that at least some members of this community will look for other strategies to address the land use ballot measure phenomenon.

Alternatively, developers will continue to make legal challenges to individual land use ballot measures and pursue additional legislation applicable to all land use ballot measures. The legislation might subject these measures to equivalent judicial scrutiny and the same standard of review as are required for local government planning and zoning proposals (e.g., public hearings and environmental assessment).

The focus of legal challenges to individual measures will probably continue to be the consistency of these measures with either the lo-

30. *McFadden v. Jordan*, 32 Cal. 2d 330, 196 P.2d 787 (1948), *cert. denied sub nom. Allen v. McFadden*, 336 U.S. 918 (1949) (invalidating an initiative referred to as the "ham and eggs" initiative due to lack of adherence to the single subject rule in Article 2, Section 8d of the California Constitution); *deBottari v. City Council of Norco*, 171 Cal. App. 3d 1204, 217 Cal. Rptr. 790 (1985) (invalidated due to inconsistency of the initiative with the local agency general plan); *Leshar Communications, Inc. v. City of Walnut Creek*, No. A037865 (Super. Ct. for the County of Contra Costa, Jan. 16, 1987, now pending before the Court of Appeals) (raising the same issue). *See also Simpson v. Hite*, 36 Cal. 2d 125, 222 P.2d 225 (1950); *Ferrine v. City of San Luis Obispo*, 150 Cal. App. 3d 239, 197 Cal. Rptr. 694 (1983); and *Mervynne v. Acker*, 189 Cal. App. 2d 558, 11 Cal. Rptr. 340 (1961) (all deal with initiatives invalidated due to state preemption of legal authority).

cal general plan and zoning ordinances, or overriding state law. The recent Attorney General opinion requiring Coastal Commission approval of ballot measures affecting land use in the coastal zone³¹ could have profound implications for the future use of ballot measures.

Similarly, the development community may turn to the state's housing element law as a tool to challenge restrictive growth measures on the basis that such measures result in a loss of affordable housing opportunities in a community. California's housing element requires all localities to identify the housing needs in their community over a five year period; take into consideration their fair share of the regional housing allocation for low, moderate and high cost housing; and establish goals and specific programs that will meet those housing needs.³² The development community may challenge the ability of a local government to implement a land use ballot measure, contending that it precludes the development of affordable housing required by its housing element. Already this argument has surfaced in a lawsuit against the town of Moraga in the wake of Measure A, approved by the voters in April 1986.³³ More of these lawsuits may follow in 1988 and 1989 as cities and counties undertake the required five year review and revision of their housing elements.

Some of the issues discussed above may be approached through new legislation. For example, the development community may attempt to sponsor legislation creating additional requirements to qualify land use measures for the ballot. Additionally, it may consider legislation to preempt local government authority in the area of planning for and development of affordable housing. If such efforts ever came to fruition, land use planning ballot measures might become less viable.

A third strategy that some in the development community may attempt, either individually or through various coalitions, is that of opening up a dialogue with local government officials and growth control proponents to try to resolve some of the issues underlying growth control ballot measures. Such a movement toward consensus building on growth related issues would probably have positive results by reducing tensions and possibly culminating in mutually

31. *See supra* note 20.

32. CAL. GOV'T CODE §§ 65580-65589.8 (West 1983 & Supp. 1987).

33. *Northwood Homes, Inc. v. Town of Moraga*, No. 288409 (Super. Ct. for County of Contra Costa).

agreeable solutions. Whether or not such a dialogue would substantially reduce the number of ballot measures remains unclear.

VI.

CONCLUSION

Whether the use of ballot measures to control growth at the local level will increase or decrease is really a subset of the larger question of how people will address public policy issues associated with growth. To assess future directions requires an examination of how different groups view growth and what strategies are available or developing to address growth and its diverse impacts.

People vary greatly in how they view issues of economic and demographic growth and how they would have different levels of government address growth and the problems it may generate. For example, some see an answer in accommodating growth by building new infrastructure. For others, new facilities merely induce future growth and lead to a further deterioration of the quality of life.

The purpose of this article is not to address all of the different concerns and policy preferences involved in this debate. We will be satisfied if this information and analysis help to document the increasing public concerns over very important issues confronting this state and make clearer the kinds of questions that citizens and policymakers must address.

APPENDIX
Matrix of Land Use Planning Measures
1971-1988

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
San Francisco	Proposition I	11/01/71	Initiative	Failed	To ban buildings higher than 6 stories unless approved by voters.	0	0	0
Livermore	Measure B	04/01/72	Initiative	Passed	To impose a moratorium on building permits pending resolution of deficiencies in public facilities.	0	0	0
Livermore	Measure A	04/01/72	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To regulate the number of annual building permits at a level not to overtax existing services such as sewage effluent, water treatment, and school facilities.	0	0	0
Pleasanton	N/A	04/01/72	Initiative	Passed	To impose a moratorium on building permits pending resolution of deficiencies in public facilities.	0	0	0
San Francisco	Proposition P	06/01/72	Initiative	Failed	To ban buildings greater than 10 stories in commercial zones and greater than 40 feet in residential zones.	0	0	0
Alameda	Measure A	03/13/73	Initiative	Passed	To amend city charter to prevent construction of multifamily units except replacement of low income and senior housing.	0	0	0
San Jose	Measure B	04/01/73	Initiative	Passed	To limit zoning or rezoning of land to residential in areas where schools are impacted.	1500	0	1500
Petaluma	Measure A	06/01/73	Referendum	Passed	To confirm a council adopted residential development system limiting growth.	0	0	0

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Antioch	Proposition 1	01/01/74	Initiative	Passed	To prevent the city from acquiring the empire mine dump site.	6322	0	6322
Belmont	Measure A	03/01/74	Initiative	Passed	To prohibit the widening of Ralston Avenue from three lanes to four lanes.	0	0	0
Saratoga	Measure D	11/01/76	Initiative	Failed	To modify the general plan by incorporating land use criteria for hillsides; to establish standards for the use of cluster zoning; to establish low density buffer zone adjacent to hillsides.	0	0	0
Santa Barbara	Measure A1	03/01/77	Advisory	Passed	To amend the general plan to limit population to 85,000.	0	1475	1475
Santa Barbara	Measure A2	03/01/77	Advisory	Passed	To require voter approval of any changes to the general plan which would cause population to exceed 85,000.	0	1475	1475
Morgan Hill	Measure E	11/01/77	Initiative	Passed	To establish an allocation system limiting growth for 5 years.	0	0	0
Costa Mesa	N/A	03/01/78	Initiative	Passed	To downzone 50 acres so as to allow only single family units.	0	0	0
Santa Barbara County	Measure D	06/01/78	Advisory	Passed	To enact an ordinance to manage the rate of growth in the county.	0	0	0
Santa Cruz County	Measure J	06/01/78	Initiative	Passed	To establish a growth management system to limit population growth to 2.2% annually.	0	0	0
Santa Barbara County	Measure P	06/01/78	Advisory	Passed	To limit housing construction in south coast area to prevent population growth from exceeding 0.9% each year.	0	0	0
El Dorado County	Measure B	11/01/78	Initiative	Failed	To limit residential building permits to 600 per year.	2700	76465	79165
Nevada County	Measure B	11/01/78	Initiative	Failed	To halt subdivisions pending a general plan update.	2753	52038	54791

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Nevada County Redlands	Measure A	11/01/78	Initiative	Failed	To establish a population limit for county.	2753	52038	54791
	Proposition R	11/01/78	Initiative	Passed	To allow issuance of 450 building permits per year and to create a point system for permit allocation.	3444	23907	27351
Modesto	Measure A	03/01/79	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval for future attempts to extend sewer lines into urban reserve areas.	10000	45000	55000
Santa Barbara County	Measure A	03/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To authorize issuance of bonds to finance facilities to import water.	69226	56944	126170
Santa Cruz	Measure D	03/01/79	Initiative	Passed	To restrict use of land on urban fringe and to limit population growth.	1767	4700	6467
Belmont	Measure A	07/01/79	Initiative	Passed	To limit the # of units built each year to 56.	2221	6300	8521
Belmont	Measure B	07/01/79	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To allow council to establish limits on building permits.	6300	2221	8521
Sacramento	Measure A	09/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To rezone 430 acres of 991 acres of open space land to allow for sports complex.	81685	9279	90964
Stockton	Measure A	10/01/79	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To allow city council to amend urban boundary without vote of electorate.	28698	2344	31042
Novato	Measure K	11/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To establish building permit quota and point system for allocation of permits.	1700	43000	44700
Riverside	Proposition R	11/01/79	Initiative	Passed	To limit hillside growth to minimum 2-acre residential lots and in the 5,200-acre citrus greenbelt to minimum 5-acre lots.	9600	48600	58200
San Francisco	Proposition D	11/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To reduce building heights; limit floor area ratios; change density bonus system to provide bonuses for historic preservation, transit, and housing.	35933	280533	316466
Santa Barbara County	Measure A	11/01/79	Advisory	Passed	To limit population and housing construction in Santa Ynez Valley.	7886	43290	51176

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Sonoma County	Measure A	11/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To stop construction of a dam.	61134	61431	122565
Sutter County	Measure A	11/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To establish an open space/AG preserve.	5552	7086	12638
Tuolumne County	Measure A	11/01/79	Initiative	Failed	To limit annual growth to a specified percentage.	3058	41289	44347
Visalia	Measure B	11/01/79	Advisory	Failed	To control population growth.	0	70177	70177
Napa	Measure A	04/01/80	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To limit building permits to 450 per year.	0	14981	14981
Thousand Oaks	Measure A	04/01/80	Initiative	Passed	To limit building permits to 1200 in 1981; 750 in 1982 and 500 thereafter.	3023	166338	169361
Union City	Measure A	04/01/80	Advisory	Passed	To control growth by limiting building permits.	0	1984	1984
Saratoga	Measure A	04/01/80	Initiative	Passed	To decrease densities on hillsides.	1290	25520	26810
Bishop	Measure B	06/01/80	Initiative	Failed	To limit housing construction and population growth.	357	2396	2753
Inyo County	Measure A	06/01/80	Initiative	Failed	To limit increases in housing construction and population.	357	2396	2753
Madera County	Measure A	06/01/80	Initiative	Failed	To limit population growth to level of average growth in the state.	333	15785	16128
Butte County	Measure A	11/01/80	Initiative	Failed	To restrict development to areas adjacent to urban land for 10 years.	13004	160000	173004
Napa County	Measure A	11/01/80	Initiative	Passed	To limit annual growth in county to 1%.	8407	10643	19050
Modesto	Measure B	03/01/81	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To approve a sewer trunk extension. (Voter approval required under measure A adopted in 1979.)	9097	3186	12283
Alameda	Measure B	04/01/81	Initiative	Failed	To prevent new or widening of existing streets to increase traffic capacity in residential areas.	0	0	0
Camarillo	Measure A	06/01/81	Initiative	Passed	To limit the number of dwelling units built each year to 400.	2754	109113	110867

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Lodi	Measure A	08/01/81	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval to annex land in sphere of influence; to prohibit development in this area if service expansion is necessary. ("Greenbelt Initiative.")	2902	70087	72939
Simi Valley	Measure A	08/01/81	Referendum	Failed	To confirm a rezoning to increase the density of a residential development.	70087	36450	106537
El Segundo	Measure A	09/01/81	Referendum	Failed	To confirm council approval of a condominium development on vacant Imperial Street school site.	30000	0	30000
South San Francisco	None	10/01/81	Initiative	Failed	To prevent the provision of services if a certain parcel of land was annexed and not designated open space.	1896	72368	74264
Fremont	Measure A	11/01/81	Initiative	Passed	To protect hillsides and ridgetops from development.	8000	19000	27000
Gilroy	Measure A	11/01/81	Initiative	Failed	To prevent industrial development in a portion of the city.	55000	0	55000
Pleasanton	N/A	11/01/81	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To permit development of a business park in an urban reserve area.	1000	15000	16000
Monterey	Measure M	02/01/82	Initiative	Failed	To repeal part of general plan and place moratorium on a new development until voters approved new plan.	2415	43365	45780
Rohnert Park	Proposition A	04/01/82	Referendum	Passed	To confirm city council approval of land use plan amendments for an industrial development.	4698	2017	6715
Fairfield	Measure A	04/01/82	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To authorize minimum development of recreational facilities in Rockville Hills Park.	0	0	0
Fairfield	Measure B	04/01/82	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To impose a five-year moratorium on all development in Rockville Hills Park.	0	0	0

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Los Altos	Measure A	04/01/82	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To annex a residential subdivision (Creston).	0	0	0
Belmont	Measure A	06/01/82	Initiative	Failed	To exempt a commercial/residential project from Measure A (July 1979) growth limit.	37625	1179	38804
El Segundo	Proposition E	06/01/82	Initiative	Failed	To limit growth and expansion of residential/commercial development.	250	28000	28250
Livermore	Measure J	06/01/82	Referendum	Failed	To confirm city council approval of general plan amendment permitting a subdivision.	25578	1441	27019
Monterey Park	Proposition L	06/01/82	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval on certain future zoning changes.	2345	19902	26937
Monterey Park	Proposition K	06/01/82	Initiative	Passed	To limit new residential construction to 100 units per year.	2345	19902	26937
Morgan Hill	N/A	06/01/82	Initiative	Failed	To make Measure E (growth limit) less restrictive.	0	0	0
Petaluma	Measure A	06/01/82	Referendum	Passed	To repeal council annexation to allow mixed office/commercial space.	0	0	0
Scotts Valley	Measure G	06/01/82	Initiative	Failed	To limit annual residential growth to 3 percent and annual commercial growth to 5 percent.	0	0	0
Scotts Valley	Measure H	06/01/82	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To prohibit any commercial, industrial, or residential development that does not have adequate water or sewage disposal facilities or causes traffic conditions that violate the circulation element of the general plan	0	0	0
Monterey County	Measure A	11/01/82	Initiative	Failed	To divide county into 9 planning areas and allow electorate to make planning decisions. ("Local Planning Control Initiative.")	5433	153208	160641

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Redwood City	Measure D	11/01/82	Referendum	Passed	To rescind city council approval of general plan amendment to allow 4700 unit development.	16421	95898	102319
Tehama County	Measure A	11/01/82	Initiative	Passed	To limit the county's planning powers over the use of private property.	5737	0	5737
Brisbane	Proposition H	11/01/82	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To rezone 28 acres near the Bayshore Freeway from M-1 to M-2 to construct a resource recovery facility.	68510	2896	71406
San Clemente	Proposition A	03/01/83	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval for zone changes to city land; to require adequate facilities for growth; and to preserve hillsides.	6972	0	6972
Half Moon Bay	Measure C	11/01/83	Initiative	Failed	To limit growth to 2% per year.	3267	37124	40391
Lodi	Measure D	11/01/83	Initiative	Failed	To annex 52 acres to expand a subdivision.	5630	0	5630
Rancho Mirage	N/A	11/01/83	Initiative	Failed	To downzone 600 acres to a density of 1 unit per acre.	52000	7000	59000
San Francisco	Proposition M	11/01/83	Initiative	Failed	To reduce floor-area ratios and abolish all density bonuses. Also proposed broad policies for development priorities.	86714	608358	695072
Victorville	N/A	04/01/84	Initiative	Failed	To downzone 660 acres of land.	542	5440	5982
Escondido	Measure H	06/01/84	Initiative	Failed	To require voter approval prior to annexations of land in order to protect the greenbelt. ("Local Resources Protection Initiative.")	2000	25000	27000
Solano County	Proposition A	06/01/84	Initiative	Passed	To direct growth to urban areas; protect farmlands/open space. ("Orderly Growth Initiative.")	20000	200000	220000
Alameda County	Measure A	11/01/84	Referendum	Failed	To confirm supervisor's approval of a 4500 acre new town (Las Positas).	700000	13000	713000
Hayward	Measure M	11/01/84	Initiative	Failed	To limit hillside development.	13456	307831	321287

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Sonoma County	Measure C	11/01/84	Initiative	Failed	To establish AG preservation zones; and to make subsequent zone changes which alter AG land inconsistent with the general plan. ("Farmlands Initiative.")	30000	200000	230000
Morro Bay	Measure G	11/01/84	Initiative	Failed	To amend the land use plan to rezone 150 acres of agricultural land to 30 acres mixed use and 120 acres open space.	0	0	0
Hermosa Beach	N/A	12/01/84	Referendum	Failed	To confirm a city council approved development agreement for hotel construction.	31878	3418	35296
Walnut Creek	Measure A	03/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To limit building heights to 6 stories and requires voter approval for increases in existing building heights.	4000	53500	57500
Walnut Creek	Measure B	03/01/85	Initiative	Failed	To prohibit rezoning of residential land without voter approval; to limit second units and residential building heights.	4000	53500	57500
Solano County	Measure M	05/01/85	Initiative	Failed	To allow development of the Manzanita new town.	42365	9173	51538
Corte Madera	Measure G	11/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To invoke a 2 year moratorium on many new major developments: single family dwelling and small projects are exempted.	0	23965	23965
San Diego	Proposition A	11/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval of any development proposed in areas of the city designated as "Future Urbanizing." ("Managed Growth Initiative.")	49000	60600	655000
San Francisco	Proposition F	11/01/85	Initiative	Failed	To ban all highrise office/hotel development for 3 years.	7557	242988	250545
Victorville	Measure R	11/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To zone a 300 acre parcel from R-3 to R-1.	926	5180	6106

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Victorville	Measure Q	11/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To downzone 1500 acres of commercial and R-3 properties to R-1.	926	5180	6106
Walnut Creek	Measure H	11/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To invoke a 2 year moratorium on many new major developments until traffic levels are reduced to specific levels.	11645	220000	231645
Vista	Proposition J	11/01/85	Referendum	Failed	To confirm the adoption of a development agreement for a retirement home.	7792	0	7792
Vista	Proposition K	11/01/85	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To create and fund a redevelopment agency.	24360	2047	26407
Santa Cruz	Measure A	11/01/85	Initiative	Passed	To prohibit zone changes for onshore support facilities for offshore oil or gas drilling unless approved by the voters.	0	0	0
San Clemente	Measure A	02/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To require provision of public facilities/ services prior to development.	46500	5500	52000
San Clemente	Measure B	02/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To limit residential development, with a few exceptions, to 500 homes per year.	5500	46500	52000
Concord	Measure A	03/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To restrict height of residential/ commercial development.	6844	91169	98013
Dixon	Measure B	04/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To restrict the development of new homes and apartments to 100 units per year for 10 years.	0	0	0
La Canada-Flintridge	Proposition A	04/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To require voter approval of any request to increase a parcel's density. ("Residential Preservation Initiative.")	4657	13548	18205
Moraga	Measure A	04/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To limit development on hillsides/ ridgelines resulting in denial of a 110-unit development.	1953	7512	9365
Tiburon	Measure C	04/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To impose a building moratorium.	1479	2680	4158
Tiburon	Measure D	04/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To permit building of 38 units annually & exempt single family units.	2680	1479	4158

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Del Mar	Measure B	04/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval for all future development over 25,000 sq. ft. in the central commercial zone.	3627	7716	11343
Hayward	Measure I	04/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To adopt an ordinance to confirm the designation of open space for Hayward golf course.	3816	13179	16995
Davis	Measure L	06/01/86	Advisory	Passed	To stipulate that growth in Davis shall be as slow as legally possible.	4565	5687	10252
Livermore	Measure G	06/01/86	Referendum	Passed	To confirm the reinstatement of a law requiring voter approval of major sewer project.	49629	3244	52873
Pleasant Hill	Measure B	06/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To impose height and bulk restrictions on commercial development; to limit residential development.	4573	25813	30386
Stockton	Measure F	06/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To open 1300 acres, previously subject to city's growth limit, to development.	39808	0	39808
Santa Cruz County	Measure A	06/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval of any offshore oil development.	0	0	0
Claremont	Proposition A	08/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To allow rezoning disapproved by city.	182012	4281	186293
Baldwin Park	Proposition F	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To approve the Sierra Vista 600 acre redevelopment area along Interstate 10.	7813	5095	12914
Berkeley	Measure P	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To restrict development on Berkeley Waterfront.	0	0	0
Berkeley	Measure Q	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To reaffirm master plan for 170 acres of railroad property to be developed, including a cap of 565,000 sq. ft. of development.	0	0	0

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Brentwood	Measure D	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To prevent any one developer from building more than 20 percent of the housing units and commit the city to a jobs/housing balance.	1184	9748	10932
Campbell	Measure N	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To impose a 75-foot height limitation on a new construction.	4612	84988	88600
Carlsbad	Proposition G	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To limit the number of housing units to 1000 in 1987, 750 in 1988, and 500 thereafter.	5597	40607	46204
Carlsbad	Proposition E	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To prevent development unless public facility needs are met and to require voter approval of density increases.	3322	42882	46204
Fairfax	Measure B	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To prevent construction until citizens voted on general plan and approved lifting of building moratorium.	500	2087	2587
Hermosa Beach	Proposition Q	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To establish minimum lot sizes for residential zones, including a minimum of 4,000 sq. ft. for a single-family residence.	0	0	0
Hermosa Beach	Proposition D	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To confirm an ordinance which would require voter approval of any changes to open space designations as specified in the general plan.	0	0	0
Los Angeles	Proposition U	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To cut in half allowable density on 75% of city's commercial/industrial land.	327759	38920	366679
Monterey	Measure E	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To create "Visitor Accommodation Zones" where hotel/motel construction and/or expansion must receive voter approval.	4200	0	4200
Monterey	Measure G	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval of zoning changes to accommodate on shore support facilities for offshore oil development.	4200	0	4200

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Monterey County	Measure A	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval for any proposed amendment to the local coastal plan that will allow for major energy facilities and public works projects; also, to require majority vote in the county to approve development of onshore support facilities.	0	0	0
Moorpark	Measure F	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To limit new housing units to 250 a year with certain exceptions.	3526	11656	15182
Moorpark	Measure G	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To rescind a development agreement allowing the construction of 2500 homes.	11656	5470	17126
Morro Bay	Measure C	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To prohibit the construction, operation, or maintenance of any facility for the transmission of offshore oil or natural gas.	0	0	0
Newport Beach	Measure A	11/01/86	Referendum	Failed	To confirm city council approval of general plan amendment to expand Newport Center (a residential, commercial, & cultural complex).	105810	16852	122662
Oceanside	Proposition S	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To prohibit any construction or operation of pipeline or facility for off-shore oil pumping within 100 nautical miles of oceanside coastline.	0	0	0
Pacific Grove	Measure D	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To place all unclassified land in an open space category.	197	585	782
San Diego	Proposition B	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To prohibit any construction or operation of a pipeline or facility for off-shore oil pumping within 100 nautical miles of San Diego County coastline.	0	0	0
San Francisco	Measure N	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To impose a two-year moratorium on use, development, or construction of crude oil and gas processing and support facilities.	0	0	0

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
San Francisco	Proposition M	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To tighten existing development controls; Halve the current cap of 950,000 sq. ft. of office construction. ("Accountable Planning Initiative.")	79990	360645	440635
San Luis Obispo County	Measure A	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To require majority vote in the county to approve development of onshore support facilities.	2394	416225	418619
San Mateo County	Measure A	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To amend local coastal plan to prohibit onshore support facilities from locating in the coastal zone, to restrict new development in rural areas to protect coastal resources and to prevent future plan amendments without voter approval.	349292	264764	614056
Simi Valley	Proposition D	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To implement a residential growth management system to limit residential building permits.	927	4741	5668
Simi Valley	Proposition A	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To limit the number of residential building permits for the next ten years.	4741	927	5668
Simi Valley	Proposition B	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To limit development of slope areas with specified grades.	4741	927	5668
Simi Valley	Proposition E	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To substantially amend the general plan thereby downzoning many areas and adding slope density restrictions.	927	4741	5668
Sonoma County	Measure A	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To require voter approval for any proposed amendment to the local coastal plan that will allow for major energy facilities and public works projects.	1025	0	1025
Walnut Creek	Measure F	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To exempt 4 properties from a previously enacted growth control ordinance.	0	0	0

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Walnut Creek	Measure E	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To exempt a downtown project from moratorium resulting from 11/85 Measure H.	251777	8326	260103
Morro Bay	Measure B	11/01/86	Initiative	Passed	To amend land use plan to rezone 30 acres of agricultural land to 30 acres of mixed use.	35382	0	35382
Vista	Proposition V	11/01/86	Initiative	Failed	To repeal Proposition K and stop redevelopment.	2196	16995	19191
San Mateo County	Measure B	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To confirm changes in coastal development policies and require voter approval of future changes.	0	0	0
Marin	Measure D	11/01/86	Advisory	Passed	To support the development of a hotel/office complex on a vacant parcel.	0	0	0
San Marcos	Measure T	11/01/86	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To approve general plan amendments to increase density or intensity of development within the city limits.	0	0	0
Sonoma	Measure A	01/01/87	Referendum	Passed	To confirm a resolution to amend the general plan to rezone a multi-family residential area to general commercial.	73098	12853	85951
Del Mar	N/A	02/01/87	Initiative	Passed	To gain voter approval for a downtown commercial center.	57726	837	58563
El Segundo	Measure A	02/01/87	Referendum	Failed	To confirm the rezoning of an industrial site to office and retail uses.	57470	13273	70743
Tiburon	Measure A	03/01/87	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To exclude single family homes from the 4/86 building moratorium.	0	0	0
Alameda	Measure C	04/01/87	Initiative	Failed	To deny building permits to large projects which would produce traffic that would impede the service levels of certain intersections. Permits could be issued if traffic improvements were implemented.	5568	70968	76536

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Oceanside	Proposition A	04/01/87	Initiative	Passed	To limit total number of homes built each year.	4230	82930	87160
Oceanside	Proposition B	04/01/87	Cncil Spnsrd	Failed	To prohibit new development unless adequate public services are available and to require voter approval of general plan amendments which increase density.	82930	4230	87160
Vista	Proposition A	04/01/87	Cncil Spnsrd	Passed	To place a cap on the city's ultimate build-out and require the city to adopt public facilities standards implemented through the specific plan process and development agreements. It also establishes funding mechanisms for the infrastructure improvements.	1330	573	1903
Vista	Proposition B	04/01/87	Initiative	Failed	To limit residential development to 569 units per year.	573	1330	1903
Milpitas	Measure A	04/01/87	Referendum	Passed	To confirm a general plan amendment to rezone 28 residential acres to include 14 acres of commercial land in order to construct the Knob Hill Shopping Center.	0	0	0
Los Altos	Measure B	06/01/87	Initiative	Failed	To impose a temporary freeze on construction of multistory buildings, multifamily houses, and new subdivisions within the city. The freeze would have been lifted after completion of the general plan review in October 1987.	0	0	0

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Sebastopol		06/01/87	Initiative	Failed	To require immediate elimination of a one-way street system, encourage a traffic bypass on county roads and the redesignation of highway 116. A building moratorium would also be in effect until full implementation of the requirements.	0	0	0
San Francisco	Proposition A	06/01/87	Referendum	Passed	To confirm city council-approved rezoning of the Polytechnic High School site in order to build a 114-unit low income housing project.	0	0	0
San Francisco	Proposition B	06/01/87	Referendum	Failed	To confirm city council approved rezoning of the vacant Balboa Reservoir site for a 203-unit low income housing project.	0	0	0
San Francisco	Proposition C	06/01/87	Initiative	Passed	To exempt a proposed executive park near Candlestick Park from Prop M (November 1986).	0	0	0
San Bruno	Measure A	06/01/87	Initiative	Passed	To exempt a proposed 10-story Aetna Insurance Co. project from the city's 3-story height limitation.	0	0	0
Vista	Proposition E	06/01/87	Referendum	Passed	To confirm the boundaries of the city's approved redevelopment project to include the downtown business district, the South Vista Industrial Park, and major city thoroughfares.	0	0	0
Morgan Hill	Measure B	09/22/87	Initiative	Pending	To approve an amendment to the general plan and a rezoning to allow retail in a business park.	0	0	0
Half Moon Bay	Measure P	11/01/87	Cncil Spnsrd	Pending	To prohibit onshore oil or gas processing facilities within city limits.	0	0	0

Locality	Title of Measure	Date of Election	Type of Measure	Outcome	Nature of Measure	Campaign Dollars: Support	Campaign Dollars: Oppose	Campaign Dollars: Total
Half Moon Bay	Measure Q	11/01/87	Initiative	Pending	To revise the general plan to provide protection of ocean views, rezoning of land which might be annexed in the future, and legalize nonconforming land uses.	0	0	0
Modesto	Measure Q	11/01/87	Advisory	Pending	To approve the Lakewood and Sonoma Sanitary Sewer Trunk Extensions.	0	0	0
Hermosa Beach	None	11/01/87	Initiative	Pending	To limit heights for new office and commercial developments to current levels unless approved by the voters.	0	0	0
Newport Beach	None	11/01/88	Initiative	Pending	To implement a traffic management program.	0	0	0
Redlands	None	11/01/88	Initiative	Pending	To limit annual building permits to 400, establish a minimum lot size of 14,000 square feet, require minimum lot sizes for various slope densities, and restrict development in urban reserve areas.	0	0	0
Total						3682362	6395834	10086590