

Soda Tax Debates:

News coverage of ballot measures in Richmond and El Monte, California, 2012

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Soda Tax Debates: News coverage of ballot measures in Richmond and El Monte, California, 2012

In 2012, the working-class California cities of Richmond and El Monte asked voters to consider a penny-per-ounce tax^a on sugar-sweetened beverages (SSBs). The measures appeared on the ballot alongside companion advisory policies that proposed earmarking revenue from the tax for youth obesity prevention programs and, in El Monte, for other city services as well. The soda industry launched a \$4 million campaign to defeat the two proposals, making the soda taxes the focus of the most expensive election campaigns in either city's history. The SSB ballot measures were rejected in the November 6 election (by 67% in Richmond and 77% in El Monte), although the advisory policies that accompanied them passed by wide margins.

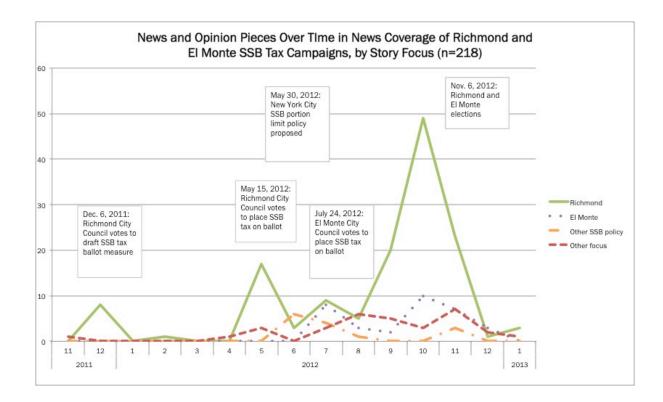
This preliminary report highlights key aspects of how the news covered the proposals, including the type and volume of coverage they received, who was quoted, and the arguments made by advocates and opponents of the policies. We will publish a full analysis of how both debates were framed in news coverage later this year.

What was the news about?

Articles about the Richmond tax dominated newspaper coverage and appeared most frequently at key milestones leading up to the election.

We found a total of 547 newspaper articles (see Appendix 1 for methods), including English-language news, Spanish-language news, and industry publications. After randomly selecting half of the English-language articles, our final sample included 218 articles that substantively discussed the tax policies. The remaining articles mentioned the policy debates only in passing or were not relevant.

^aThe measures proposed a business license fee under which local business owners would pay the city one cent per ounce of certain sugar-sweetened beverages sold.



The majority of the news focused on the Richmond tax proposal: 64% of articles were about Richmond, compared to only 15% about El Monte; 6% were primarily about some other SSB policy (such as the proposed soda size limit in New York City), while 15% of news stories had another focus, such as, for example, a profile of Jeff Ritterman, the outgoing city council member who developed, sponsored, and promoted the Richmond measure.

Opinion pieces were more or less evenly divided for and against the tax.

The majority of the coverage was news (57%), while 43% was opinion pieces including letters-to-the-editor, op-eds and blogs. Opinion coverage was more or less evenly divided: 44% of opinion pieces favored soda taxes, 39% opposed the policies, and 17% took a mixed or unclear position. However, of the nine editorials that appeared, all took an anti-tax position.

Most of the opinion coverage appeared directly before and after the elections: 70% appeared between September and November 2012, with 40% appearing in October alone. News articles were more evenly distributed across the year.

Who was quoted in the coverage?

The most frequent speakers in the news were city officials such as Richmond City Council member Jeff Ritterman, as well as residents of the two cities and surrounding areas, opinion writers (including columnists and editorial boards), public health advocates, and doctors and medical researchers. City officials, public health advocates, and the medical community spoke overwhelmingly in favor of the tax, while community residents and opinion authors were more or less evenly split for and against the tax.

| Speaker | Pro tax | Anti tax | Total |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------|
| City official | 23% | 4% | 27% |
| Resident (youth and adult) | 10% | 8% | 17% |
| Opinion author (Editorial board, columnist, op-ed) | 5% | 5% | 10% |
| Medical personnel, researchers, or study cited | 7% | 1% | 9% |
| Public health advocate | 9% | 0% | 9% |
| Industry-funded community groups (Community Coalition Against Beverage Taxes, etc.) | 0% | 6% | 6% |
| Local business representative | 1% | 5% | 6% |
| SSB Industry | 0% | 5% | 5% |
| "Opponents say" | 0% | 5% | 5% |
| "Supporters say" | 3% | 0% | 3% |
| African-American organizations | 1% | 2% | 2% |
| Religious leaders | 0% | 2% | 2% |
| Total | 58% | 42% | 100% |

Table 1. Arguments by Speaker as a Percentage of Total Frames in News Coverage of Richmond and El Monte SSB Tax Campaigns (n=1903)*

*Table 1 does not include information that was part of the articles but was not attributed to a specific person (n=222), such as reports on the SSB industry's spending in Richmond and El Monte, descriptions of the ballot language, and statements about the prevalence of obesity.

Speakers who were explicitly identified as representatives of soda companies or sodaaffiliated organizations (like the American Beverage Association) comprised only 5% of total arguments (all anti-tax). Spokespeople for the industry-funded Richmond anti-tax group Community Coalition Against Beverage Taxes (CCABT) and its El Monte counterpart, El Monte Citizens Against Beverage Taxes, expressed an additional 6% of anti-tax arguments. CCABT included a broad swath of the Richmond community,



particularly its African-American community.¹ Among others, the Coalition included city officials (such as Councilman Corky Booze); local business owners; medical professionals; African-American leaders (such as the head of the Black American Political Action Committee [BAPAC]); community residents; and religious leaders (see Appendix 2). El Monte Citizens Against Beverage Taxes primarily included local businesses (see Appendix 3).

At times, these speakers were quoted in the news, but their industry affiliations were not acknowledged. Therefore, Table 2 (below) may somewhat underrepresent the presence of the Community Coalition Against Beverage Taxes, El Monte Citizens Against Beverage Taxes, and, by extension, the SSB industry, in the news.

What arguments appeared in the news?

Each article could contain a variety of arguments. On average, each story contained 9 arguments, for a total of 2,125. Table 2 lists the prevalence of these arguments in each community. Overall, pro-tax arguments appeared more frequently than arguments urging the taxes' defeat (63% vs. 37%).

The arguments fell into three categories. Some described the need for the taxes, centering on whether obesity is a high-priority health crisis and whether soda is a prime suspect worthy of regulation (25% of total arguments). A second category (50% of total arguments) discussed the impact of the taxes on the health and economy of the two communities, as when Richmond Better Business Bureau CEO Judy Morgan said, "small businesses, family owned businesses … are going to be hit hard."² The remainder of the arguments debated the role and actions of two key institutions: the government and the SSB industry (24% of total arguments).^b

How did the news describe the need for the policy?

In both cities, tax supporters and even some tax opponents acknowledged that high obesity rates and related health issues were a problem in their communities.

Most commonly, proponents of the tax pointed to obesity statistics as a rationale for the taxes. Some tax opponents conceded that obesity was a problem but argued that the SSB taxes were not the right solution. While opponents did not claim that obesity was not a problem, a few argued that other issues, such as violence or high unemployment, were more deserving of city leaders' attention.

^bArguments may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Table 2. Arguments In News Coverage Of Richmond And El Monte SSB Tax Campaigns(N=2125)

| | | Argument | Richmond | El Monte | Total |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Pro tax | What is the need for | Obesity is a problem. | 10% | 8% | 10% |
| | the policy? | SSBs are harmful to health. | 13% | 9% | 13% |
| | What is the impact of the policy? | The tax promotes health. | 16% | 11% | 15% |
| | | The tax benefits the economy. | 2% | 14% | 4% |
| | | Low-income communities and people of color will benefit from the tax. | 2% | 1% | 1% |
| | What is the role of the government and the | The soda industry's actions are inappropriate. | 13% | 15% | 13% |
| | SSB industry? | The tax is an appropriate role for government. | 7% | 4% | 6% |
| All pro-tax arguments | | | 63% | 61% | 62% |
| Anti tax | What is the need for | Obesity is not a high-priority problem. | 1% | 0% | 0% |
| | the policy? | SSBs are not harmful to health. | 3% | 2% | 2% |
| | What is the impact of the policy? | The tax does not promote health. | 13% | 11% | 13% |
| | | The tax harms the economy. | 11% | 17% | 12% |
| | | The tax penalizes low-income communities and people of color. | 5% | 1% | 5% |
| | What is the role of the government and the | The soda industry's actions are appropriate. | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| | SSB industry? | The tax is not an appropriate role for government. | 3% | 8% | 4% |
| All anti-tax arguments | | | 37% | 39% | 38% |
| Total | | | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Supporters of the taxes in both communities consistently argued that SSBs were harmful to health and that they contributed to high obesity rates.

Columnist Edward Barrera argued, for example, that "sugary drinks are a health hazard, fueling diabetes and obesity."³ Opponents rarely contested SSBs' negative health impact (2% of total arguments). When they did, they usually described SSBs as a "treat" that could be safely consumed in moderation.

How did the news discuss the potential impact of the taxes?

In Richmond, proponents frequently framed the tax in terms of its benefit to community health, while in El Monte, the health benefits of the tax were discussed secondarily to its economic impact. Opponents in both cities questioned the true health benefits that the soda tax would produce.

Tax supporters in both communities argued that the proposed taxes would improve community health by either increasing the price of SSBs and reducing consumption or by raising money for health programs. Compared to their El Monte counterparts, SSB tax proponents on the Richmond City Council were more vocal about the health benefits of the tax and the programs it would support. Richmond council member Jeff Ritterman focused squarely on the health benefits of an SSB tax, arguing that it would create "a healthier future for our children."⁴ El Monte city officials emphasized that the tax was *first* about raising revenue for the general fund and *second* about improving health, as when Mayor Andre Quintero, the architect of that city's proposal, said: "[T]here are significant financial hurdles that we need to start dealing with now, so having this type of tax as an option brings in revenue and hopefully encourages individuals to make healthier choices."⁵

Opponents argued that the tax would not make people physically healthier. Critics maintained that the tax would not reduce SSB consumption, that tax revenues would not actually go toward health programs, and that individuals were responsible for improving their own health. Frames that contested the health benefits appeared about as often in Richmond's coverage as in El Monte's.

Tax opponents and proponents in El Monte focused on the potential influence of the tax on the local economy. Richmond tax opponents argued that the tax would have negative economic consequences for the community, but supporters there did not emphasize economic arguments.

Tax supporters in El Monte argued that an SSB tax would balance the city budget and "[address] long-term structural budget deficits. … Without the additional revenue, El Monte officials have painted a bleak financial future."⁶ In Richmond, tax proponents seldom made economic arguments; when they did, they claimed that the SSB tax would not economically harm the community and could even help. As Richmond Mayor Gayle McLaughlin told reporters: "Instead of hurting businesses, we think [the tax] will help businesses. People will see us as an innovative city. We'll be a national model."⁷

Economic arguments opposing the tax appeared more often in El Monte coverage (17% of total arguments) than in Richmond coverage (11%). The most common economic argument against the tax in both cities was that it would harm local businesses, as when Richmond council member Nat Bates said, "It is not fair to Richmond business people. If there's an extra tax here, people are just going to go to El Cerrito, San Pablo,



or Pinole to do their shopping."⁸ Other variants argued that the tax would harm consumers, residents or the general community. Opponents claimed that the tax would cause economic harm by forcing store owners to raise the price of all food or increase the price of necessary and popular healthy products, such as infant formula or senior medical beverages.^c

In Richmond, the soda tax debate was imbued with racial and socioeconomic overtones that were not present in El Monte.

Richmond coverage included a number of arguments that framed the soda tax as a regressive policy that would harm low-income communities. Chuck Finnie, representing the Community Coalition Against Beverage Taxes, characterized the proposal as a strategy for "balancing the budget on the backs of those who can least afford it."¹¹ Some described the tax as a "racist ploy"¹² that would "marginalize people of color."¹³ Proponents occasionally pushed back against these arguments. For example, Jeff Ritterman countered, "[T]hese diseases are regressive. The beverage industry particularly targets our poor communities where they are advertising."¹⁴ These counterstatements appeared infrequently (1% of total arguments), however, and were dwarfed by the criticisms of the tax's opponents. In El Monte, arguments about the tax's racial or socioeconomic impact rarely appeared (<1% of total arguments).

How did the news portray the role of government and the soda industry?

In both communities, soda tax coverage included substantial discussion of the soda industry's aggressive and costly campaigns against the measures, characterizing the industry's actions as duplicitous, financially motivated, or otherwise detrimental.

The most common critique of industry behavior held that the soda industry was overwhelming the community with anti-tax advertising. El Monte's mayor likened the industry's flood of anti-tax advertising to a "siege"¹⁵ and hypothesized that the industry intended to "obliterate [the measure], so that no elected official considers putting something like this on the ballot."^{16,17} Some arguments were neutral statements from journalists describing the volume of industry campaign spending. Others argued that the soda industry was lying to voters with dishonest campaign materials and advertisements. Finally, public health advocates, community residents, and others argued that the industry did not truly care about the communities in which it was fighting the tax. For example, Richmond public health organizer and tax proponent Jenny Wang told a local paper, "I am so angry [Richmond residents] are getting all these mailers funded by people from out of town who care nothing about Richmond."¹⁸

^oFrom its inception, the El Monte measure included ballot language that exempted such products from being taxed.⁹ The Richmond city council soon modified the language in its policy to include a similar exemption.¹⁰

El Monte speakers argued that the tax was government overreach; Richmond speakers were more supportive of their local government action.

In El Monte, the coverage included many frames that characterized the proposed tax as government overreach. As one local mother said, "… kids shouldn't drink so much soda, but that's the parents' responsibility, not the city's and not the mayor's."¹⁶ Few arguments that appeared in El Monte coverage supported government action.

The majority of frames relating to the role of the city government that appeared in Richmond coverage were more supportive, arguing that the city government "had to start somewhere" in the fight against obesity rates.^{19, 20} Many framed the tax as an important first step that would inspire other governments to take action. For example, public health advocate Harold Goldstein said that Richmond had an opportunity to "make history. Cities and states will be watching this across the country."²¹ Very few Richmond frames disputed the appropriateness of the city government's action. Those that did framed the tax as the beginning of a "slippery slope"²² that would end with government regulation of any number of foods^{23, 24, 25} and the loss of personal freedoms.²⁶

Preliminary Conclusions and Lessons Learned

News coverage of the Richmond and El Monte proposals differed in several key respects. El Monte's policy was explicitly and, at least in news coverage, almost exclusively framed as an economic issue. In Richmond, tax proponents focused on the potential health benefits of the policy. Moreover, the debate in Richmond was explicitly racialized, in contrast to the conversation around El Monte's tax. This finding may reflect the industry's efforts to take advantage of existing racial tension in Richmond. There, the industry-funded Community Coalition Against Beverage Taxes brought together and funded many leaders from the African-American community, who decried the tax as racist and regressive.

In both communities, the news regularly discussed the soda industry and its actions during the campaign. The industry's primary "face" during the debates was not soda company or trade association executives, but rather community residents, public relations executives, and other speakers at a distance from the industry. The industry and its affiliated speakers did not dispute the obesity epidemic and, at least in these campaigns, rarely questioned the health harms of their product. Instead, the bulk of the arguments from all industry-funded speakers focused on the ineffectiveness of the policy and the economic damage the taxes would cause the communities.

Missed opportunities and future directions

Tax proponents and opponents made extensive use of opinion space (including editorials and letters to the editor) in Richmond. However, by focusing their advocacy efforts primarily on the election period, public health advocates may have missed an opportunity to build on the groundswell of news coverage growing around sugar-sweetened beverage taxes that began earlier in the summer of 2012.

Although pro-tax frames dominated the coverage and many were expressed by community residents, the news ultimately did not reflect voters' feeling toward the tax: In both cities, the proposals were defeated by a wide margin. This discrepancy may in part reflect journalists' efforts to bring balanced viewpoints to their stories.

The news coverage of the proposed taxes in Richmond and El Monte also offer a window into the progression of advocates' efforts to "denormalize" SSBs and the industry that produces them. Denormalization is the process the tobacco control movement used to reposition tobacco products, and the tobacco industry's marketing of those products, as hazardous and harmful.²⁷ Obesity prevention advocates are increasingly interested in denormalizing SSBs and SSB marketing.²⁸ Our analysis indicates that the news contained many messages about the health harms of soda and the duplicitous and aggressive campaign activities of the SSB industry. The prevalence of these messages suggests that arguments that denormalize SSBs, and the industry practices that promote them, have begun to appear in news coverage. Advocates have an opportunity to build momentum around denormalizing SSBs and the SSB industry during future policy debates.



Appendix 1: Methodology

We searched the LexisNexis news database for newspaper articles published between November 2011 and January 2013 that mentioned the Richmond and/or El Monte tax proposals. We supplemented this search with reviews of the online archives of Englishand Spanish-language newspapers not included in the Nexis database that we knew covered these campaigns from our daily media monitoring. We also searched the online and print archives of industry trade press publications.

Due to the large number of English-language news articles, we selected for our sample every other article from each database and news outlet. Since we identified only a small number of Spanish-language (11% of final sample) and industry press news pieces (2% of final sample), we included all of these in our analysis.



Appendix 2: Members of the Community Coalition Against Beverage Taxes²⁹

As published on the Spanish-language "No on N" website (Richmond), accessed June 14, 2013:

23rd Street Merchants Association 3 Hermanas 4th Street Market 7/11 on MacDonald A&M Liquor Aline Marcadier Insurance Agency Amini's by the Bay Andy's Donut Shop Angel's Restaurant Angelo's Gourmet Delicatessen Apostle Frederick Hamilton, Church of Deliverance Arco AM PM Arlington Market Autozone Autozone #5937 Aztec Sport & Mini Mart **Black American Political** Action Committee (BAPAC) Barrett Ave Market Bart Mart & Deli Bay Area Smoke Shop **Bayview Market** Bellisima Creations Billy Alexander, Richmond **Community Activist** Bishop Andre Jackson

Bob Dabney, Former Dean, Contra Costa Community College Bob's Cleaners Botanica St. Antonio Boulevard Fish

Brazilian Coffee House

Brown Market

Bubbles Car Wash

BVera

Black Women Organized for Political Action (BWOPA)

C & C Market

Caf [sic]

Café McBryde

Cafe Pascal

Carlson Food Market

Casper's Hot Dogs

Cassandra's Wedding Cakes & Beyond

Cazadores Market

Charles Arnold, Richmond Community Activist

Charles Smith, Richmond Community Activist

Chef Ming Chinese Food

Chevron San Pablo

Cisco Liquor

Coca-Cola Bottling Company of CA - Benicia Coca-Cola Bottling Company of CA - San Leandro

Coca-Cola Refreshments

Connie Portero, Richmond Recreation and Parks Commissioner

Contra Costa County Labor Council

Contra Costa Times

Cornelio

Courtland "Corky" Booze

C-store Outlet

Cutting Arco Food Mart

Cutting Food & Gas

Discolandia

Divas Beauty Salon

Don Gosney, Richmond Labor Leader

Dr Pepper Snapple Group

Dr. A. William Bodle

Dr. Brazell Carter M.D.

East Bay Pizza

Eddy's General Computer

Edward Durbin, Representative, Brickyard Cove HOA Neighborhood Council

El Campesino Market

El Chaparro

El cttalotea [sic]

- El Limon Taqueria
- El Sol



El Tapatio Restaurant

Elana Bolds, President, Crescent Park Apartments Neighborhood Council

Elder Thomas Harris, Glory Land Apostolic Church

Ella "Bea" Roberson, President, Richmond Neighborhood Coordinating Council

Energy and Gas Mart

Family Market

Father Filiberto Barrera, St Cornelius Catholic Church

Felix Hunziker, Richmond Police Commissioner

Fiesta Latina

Frosty King

Gabby's Ice Cream

Gary Bell, Former City Councilmember

Gasco Gas

Golden 7 Quick Stop Food & Gas

Golden Palace Chinese Restaurant

Gonzalo Rucobo, President, Bay Area Peace Keepers

Great Khan's Mongolian BBQ

Great Steak & Potato Co.

Grullguso #1 [sic]

GSO Tires

GST

H Salt Fish & Chips

Hacienda Grill

Hands Liquor

Harbour Way Mart

Heng Fath SuperMarket

Hip Hop Smoke Shop

Hometown Donut #7

Hotel Mac Restaurant

Huong Tra Vietnamese

Irma Anderson, Former Mayor

Jan Mignone, President, North and East Neighborhood Council

Janie Holland, President, Santa Fe Neighborhood Council

Jerrold Hatchet, President, National Brotherhood Alliance

Jerry's Cocktail Lounge

Jim McMillan, Former City Councilmember

Joe Fisher, President, Coronado Neighborhood Council

Joe's Market

John Ziesenhenne, Former City Councilmember

Judith Morgan, President/CEO, Richmond Chamber of Commerce

La Estrella Taqueria

La Perla

La Raza Market # 2 Inc.

La Revolucion

La Selva Taqueria

Lee's Donuts

Lesa McIntosh, Board of Directors, East Bay MUD

Lily's Beauty Salon

Linda's Bakery

Lloyd Madden, President, BAPAC

Lory Reese-Brown, Richmond City Planner

Los Mexicanos Taqueria

Los Dos Plebes

M & A Market

Mams's Kitchen [sic]

Marshall Walker, Richmond Labor Leader

Mi Barrio #2

Mi Pueblo Market

Mi Tierra Super Mercado

Mike's Market

Minister Evelyn Redmon

Mira Vista Donut Shop

Mira Vista Liquor

Mississippi Catfish

Mr. Pizza Man

NAACP - Richmond Chapter

Naomi Williams, President, Pullman Neighborhood Council

Nathaniel "Nat" Bates, Councilmember

Nelson's Liquor

Nordsons Enterprises

Ohio Market

On The Move Cruises & Tours

One Step Mini Mart

Pamela Bilbo, President, Men and Women of Valor



Pastor Albert Cobbs, Providence Baptist Church

Pastor Bettye Cash

Pastor Carolyn Hamilton, Church of Deliverance

Pastor Charles Stewart, Saint Luke's Baptist Church

Pastor Dana Mitchell, North Richmond Missionary Baptist Church

Pastor Donnell Jones, New Direction Ministry

Pastor J.R. Spearman, Pilgrim Rest Baptist Church

Pastor Keith Williams, Ennis Chapel South 15th

Pastor Nathaniel Foster, Greater El Bethel Missionary Baptist Church

Pastor Ulis Redic, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church

Pastor Wynford Williams, All Nations Church of God and Christ

Philadelphia Hoagie Station

Pho Saigon Restaurant II

Phu Thai Hung Restaurant

Pikanha's

Pitre Market

Point Richmond Market

Portumex Restaurant, Inc

Rabbi Dean Kertesz

Rafael Madrigal, President, 23rd Street Merchants

Rancho Market

Rancho Market & Deli

Reverend Andre Shumake

Reverend Kenneth Davis

Reverend Tony Foster, Greater El Bethel Missionary Baptist Church

Reverend Wesley Ellis Jr.

Richmond Chamber of Commerce

Richmond Discount

Richmond Food Center

Richmond Gas & Food Mart

Richmond Halal Market

Richmond Smoke Shop Inc.

Rigo's Auto Sales

Rigo's Auto Sales and Repair

Rincon Latino Inc

Romero's Jewelry & Repair

Rose & Mike's Liquor

S & S Market

Sa Wad Dee Thai Restaurant

Salsa Taqueria

Salute E Vita Ristorante

Sam's Market

San Francisco Pizza

Servano's Bakery

Shop N Save

Sims Thompson, Richmond Community Activist

Snapper's Seafood

Spot Liquor

Stop & Save Gasoline

Stop N Shop

Sunset Market

Super Save Mart

SuperMercado La Raza

Tobacco World

Taqueria La Bamba

Taqueria Las Charolas (Food Truck)

Taqueria Y Pupuseria

Tarabini's Deli

Teamsters Local 315

Teamsters Local 896

The Pup Hut

Tobacco Royal

Tobacco World

Tocos Rodriguez

Tokyo Restaurant

Trujillos

Uncle Sam's Liquor

United Gas

Val Mar Market

VH Noodle House



Appendix 3: Members of El Monte Citizens Against Beverage Taxes³⁰

As published on the Spanish-language "No On Measure H" website (El Monte), accessed June 14, 2013:

99c & Up A-1 Batting Cage A&M Tobacco & Market Action Glass Action Lanes Alberta's Almand's Liquor Alta Dena Dairy MKT American Beauty Salon Angel Bakery Apple Jacks Art Nails Art's Burgers Auto Bike Accessories Baby Bros Pizza & Wings Babyface Restaurant & Bar **Baguette City** Bakers Dozen Donuts Belleza Extrema Bionicos Y Jugos Zapopan Inc. **Blooming Flowers Brothers Burgers** C.C. Premium Water & Market Cabanas Xpress LLC Carlos & Jose Tire Shop Cate Japan CCNTV Cha Café Chillin Thai Cuisine Chin Smart Chinese Deli Chinese Taste Fast Food Christy's Donuts & Sandwiches Coach Connection Plus Constantin's Auto Center

Cosmos Arcade Coutas Bakery [sic] Crawford's Barber Shop Crispy Donuts Crystal Water Cyber Yogurt D & H Super Service **Diesel Repair Tire** Discount Market **Dollar City** Donut Capital Donuts Galore Dragon Restaurant E@ Cup Easy Auto El Huarache De Dona Chela El Monte Auto Spa & Resort (Route 66 Gas) El Monte Liquor El Monte Salon FI Rancho Meat Market El Sombrero EZ Auto Repair & Sales Inc. Familia Market Family Discount Snacks Famous ED's Liquor Fanta Chinese Food **Fiesta Bargains** Fiesta Party Rental Supplies Foto Studio Sofy Gate of Japan GIROMEX El Monte Golden Ox Burgers Golden Star Goody's Restaurant Grill House Sandwich

Happy Bakery Havana Club Bar & Grill HD Discount Store HLC Trade Co. Inc. Ho Ho Kitchen Home Mart Ice Cream El Mall JCW Auto Jelco Liquor Jim's Burgers Jolly Jug Restaurant Joy's Market Place Kids Stop L. Wendy's Store La Casa Barata La Fruta Feliz La Mas Meat Market La Michoacana La Morenita Bakery La Penita Meat Market La Pradera La Tiendita Lammy Hair Salon Lig Chiness Fast Food [sic] Lithotech Little Malaysia LOL Cafe Lollicup Los Chilitos Los Compas Auto Parts Lucy Grovery Luong Hao Drinking Water Magic-Care Acupuncture Mai Restaurant Mariscos Puerto

h B S

Merit Veggie Plaza Mi Anitas Beauty Salon Minh/s Auto Services Inc. Mitchell's Donut Mom & Baby Mr. Chopsticks Restaurant New Look Salon Nick's Burgers Noah's Ark Pet NY Nutritional & Ice Cream One Stop Corner Market Pajarito's Market Paleteria La Reyna de Michoacan **Payless Discount** Pho Hien Pinata World Plaza Market Point Dume Chinese Food Polar Dental Care

Pollo Rico Princess Bridal QQ Dollar Mart Quickly Ramirez Circle K **Rice Wok** Sandra's Beauty Salon Sandra's Dance Studio Santa Mari Pharmacy Season Produce Market Seasons Produce Shakey's Pizza Shaw Dental Office Shoe Star Sir Pizza 'n' Chicken Subway Sunn Lee T&M Market Tacos Don Chente Taqueria Azteca

Thanh's Noodle City The Glamourama Thirst N Station Top Donut Toro Mix, Inc. **TSJ Studios** Tyler Barber Shop Universal Doughnuts US Donuts **US Food Mart** Valley Cosmetics Vic's Liquor Video 94 Viet Huong Restaurant Waikikie Pollos World of Pinatas Yummi Chinese Fast Food Zapateria Nueva Era



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