



**Election 2024: Focus on California – *The Great Exception*  
That is The Golden State**

**OLLI Fall 2024  
Class #4**

**Wednesday, 18 September 2024**



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1

**Slides, for each week, are sent to [Grace Burroughs](#) for You All**

**Additional questions, comments, & concerns to:**

**[david.mccuan@sonoma.edu](mailto:david.mccuan@sonoma.edu)**

2

2

## Here's Our Plan for Each Week of the Course: We Take a Break, Halfway, Each Weekly Session

### Class #1, 18 SEPT 2024:

- What matters to watch over the next eight weeks?;
- What to make of this close race?;
- Where to get information?

### Class #2, 25 SEPT 2024:

- Deep dive into polling and public opinion formation;
- Focus on the "Culture Wars" in American politics
- Guest Speaker, 10:05-10:45 over Zoom;

### Class #3, 02 OCT 2024:

- Briefly more on Public Opinion;
- VP Debate Wrap-up;
- Down-ballot races & sub-national elections;
- How having kids in school matters for the vote;

### Class #4, 09 OCT 2024:

- Direct Legislation & voting in CA;
- CA politics-focus;
- Guest Speaker (Over Zoom, Assemblyman Jim Wood);

### Class #5, 16 OCT 2024:

- Guest Speaker: Congressman Mike Thompson, in-class
- Consequences of the Three Presidencies Hypothesis;
- State of the Race & Issues vs. Ideology
- *It Matters!* Event at Noon; KPIX-5 possible?

### Class #6, 23 OCT 2024:

- Guest Speaker: Ben Shultz, American Sunlight Project
- Artificial Intelligence (AI) discussion;
- Mal-, mis-, and disinformation in elections;
- What to watch Election NIGHT & Week?
- What happens after the race?

3

3

## For Next Week, We Will Look at Two Questions...

1. We look at PATHWAYS forward for victory for Both Major Candidates;
2. What to make of the MONIES (\$\$\$) spent so far in the campaigns? MCD (Money, Cash, Dollars!!)

\*We start the focus on what comes next...after 05 November...and start the conversation on: A). What if Trump loses?; and B). What if Kamala loses?

We also have a Guest in class, [Congressman Mike Thompson](#), ([CD-4](#));

Event after on the ballot measures from 12-1 pm in this room!

4

4

## Keep an Eye on the Methodological Polling Debate!

- “In one universe, Kamala Harris leads only narrowly in the national popular vote against Donald J. Trump, even as she holds a discernible edge in the Northern battlegrounds...In the other, Ms. Harris has a clear lead in the national vote, but the battlegrounds are very tight. It’s essentially a repeat of the 2020 election.”
- This divide is almost entirely explained by whether a pollster uses “weighting on recalled vote,” which means trying to account for how voters say they voted in the last election.

**The Tilt**

### *How One Polling Decision Is Leading to Two Distinct Stories of the Election*

A methodological choice has created divergent paths of polling results. Is this election more like 2020 or 2022?

 By Nate Cohn  
Oct. 6, 2024

5

## Upcoming Events to Note for You Political Junkies!!

- [https://campaignlegal.org/events/campaign-legal-conversations-your-election-questions-answered?utm\\_source=mailchimp&utm\\_medium=event&utm\\_campaign=election\\_questions\\_answered\\_2024\\_1&mc\\_cid=1fda8e8a25&mc\\_eid=7208832b8a](https://campaignlegal.org/events/campaign-legal-conversations-your-election-questions-answered?utm_source=mailchimp&utm_medium=event&utm_campaign=election_questions_answered_2024_1&mc_cid=1fda8e8a25&mc_eid=7208832b8a)
- Also for this Election Season – checkout:
- <https://campaignlegal.org/toolkits/campaign-finance>



6

## Another Upcoming Event for You Political Junkies!!

- 2024 Election Polling Discussion, Roper Center:

FREE! Via Zoom:

Thursday, 24 OCT, 2024, 10 am to 11 am, PST



Fall 2024  
Election Polling Discussion:  
Mitsky Award Winner Michael Traugott  
Q&A hosted by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research  
When: Thursday, October 24, 2024 at 100PM ET  
Where: Free and online - click this image to register

When it comes to tapping the public's opinion on candidates and issues at the ballot box, the stakes are high. Join acclaimed scholar and Mitsky Award winner Michael W. Traugott, whose book *The Voter's Guide to Election Polls, Sixth Edition* (with Paul Lounsbury, 2023) covered the latest technologies used for data collection and data analysis, including internet polls, as well as how polls are used in campaigns and media organizations.

Discussion will center around issues such as: How do political candidates and organizations use poll data? How do news organizations collect and report polls? Can internet polls really reflect a representative swath of the population? Can polls impact how citizens vote? Bring your questions!

Please forward to any interested parties!

- Also for this Election Season – checkout on “All Things Polling” here:
- <https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/election-polling-overview>



7

## Where to Compare Each Major Party Candidate's Budget Plans - Just for You Political Junkies!!



PENN WHARTON  
UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

Budget Model

- <https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/2024-presidential-election>
- <https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/>

8

8

**Today's Guest, via Zoom, is Assemblyman & Speaker  
pro Tempore of the CA Assembly, [Jim Wood](#)**

- Who is Assemblyman Wood? [AD—2, CA Assembly](#)
- What is the “Assembly Speaker pro Tempore?”
- Background and experience?
- What have You learned in your career in politics and in California politics specifically that is useful for Us to know?

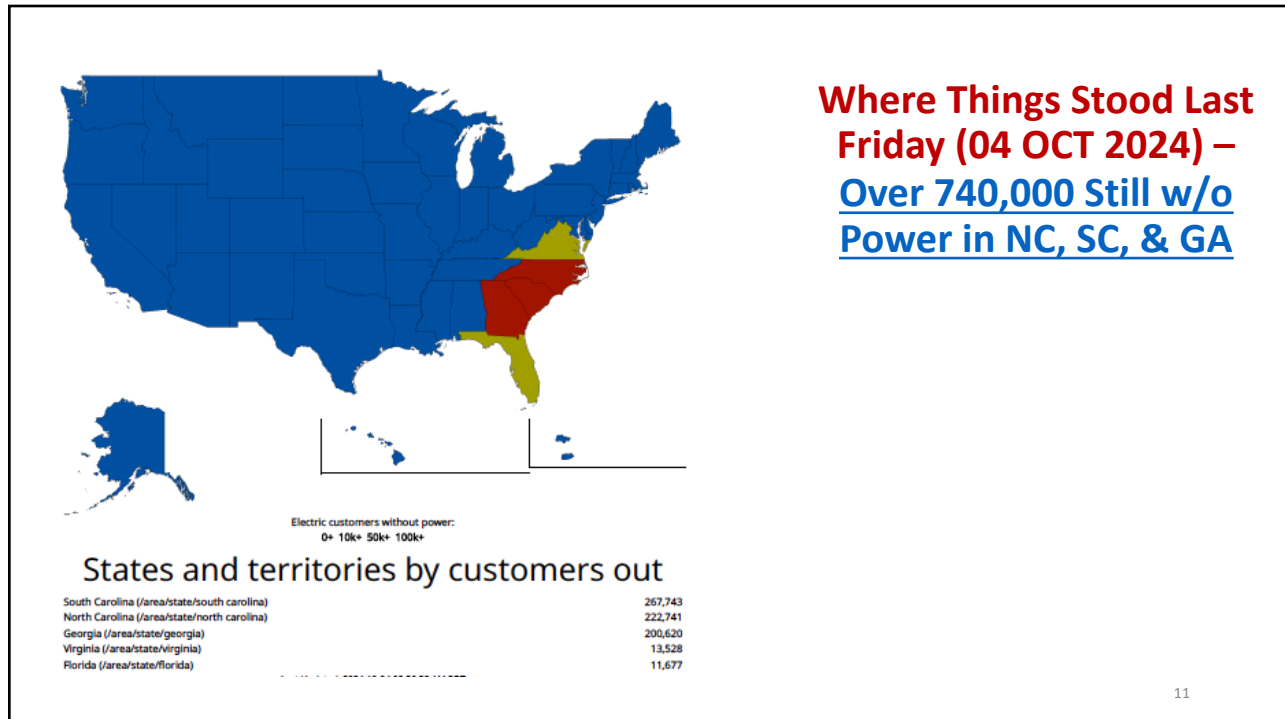
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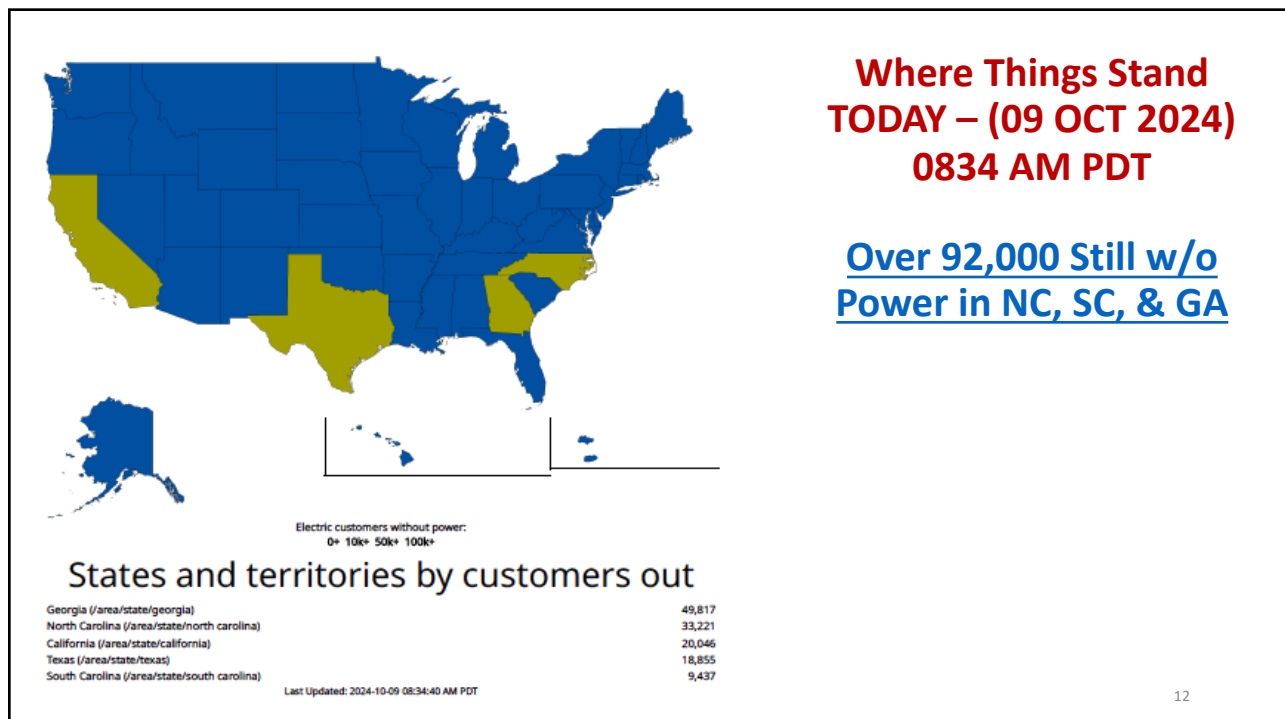
**Part II: A Short Break – What to Make of California in  
this November 2024 Election Cycle?**

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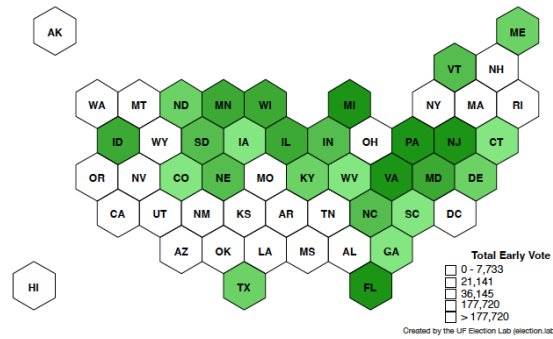
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## With [Early Voting](#) Upon Us....Q.: Who Votes Really EARLY?

- For Early Voting numbers here for the 2024 General Election, go [here](#).

### National Statistics

Total Early Votes: **2,419,755** · In-Person Early Votes: **440,953** · Mail Ballots Returned: **1,978,802** ·  
 Mail Ballots Requested: **47,159,392**  
 Last updated: Oct 8, 2024 @ 7:34pm Eastern Time



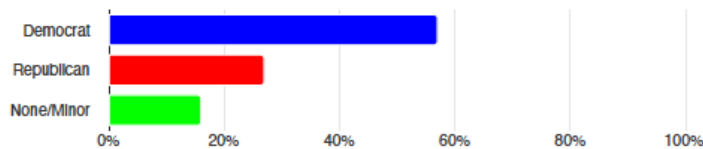
13

## With Early Voting, cont'd – ALSO – Be Sure to Scroll Down the Page [Here!](#)

### Total Voted by Party Registration

Reporting states with party registration data: CA, CO, CT, DE, DC, FL, IA, ID, KY, ME, MD, NE, NV, NJ, NC, OR, PA, RI, SD, WV

Party	Total Voted	Percent
<b>Democrat</b>	611,320	56.6 %
<b>Republican</b>	296,767	27.5 %
<b>None/Minor</b>	171,967	15.9 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	1,080,054	100 %



14

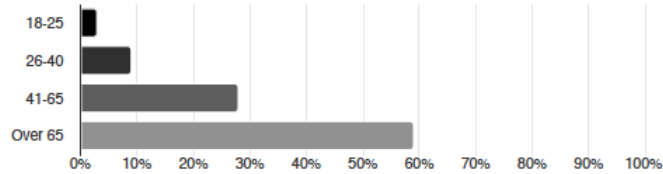
14

## With Early Voting, cont'd, by Age

### Total Voted by Age

Reporting states with age data: CO, DE, GA, IA, ID, MI, NC, PA

Age	Total Voted	Percent
18-25	18,963	3.1 %
26-40	57,052	9.3 %
41-65	173,786	28.2 %
Over 65	365,600	59.4 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>615,401</b>	<b>100 %</b>



15

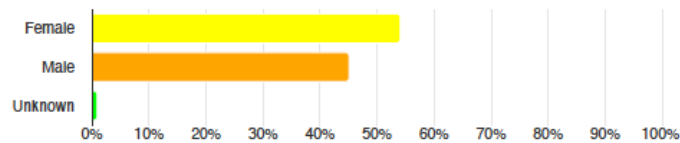
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## With Early Voting, cont'd, by Gender

### Total Voted by Gender

Reporting states with gender data: CO, GA, ID, MI, NC

Gender	Total Voted	Percent
Female	208,347	54.0 %
Male	172,978	44.8 %
Unknown	4,517	1.2 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>385,842</b>	<b>100 %</b>



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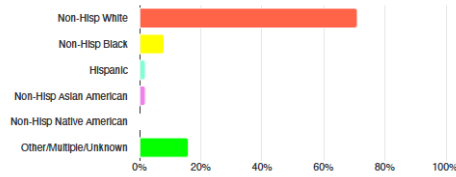


## With Early Voting, cont'd, by Ethnicity

### Total Voted by Race and Hispanic Ethnicity

Reporting states with race and Hispanic ethnicity data: GA, NC, SC

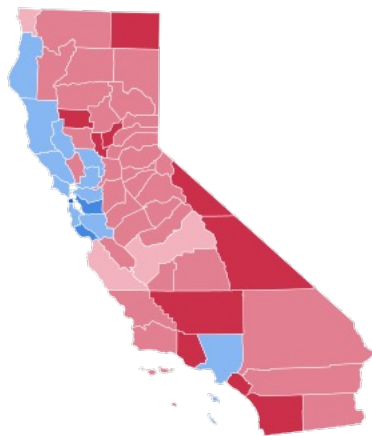
Race	Total Voted	Percent
Non-Hisp White	22,266	71.3 %
Non-Hisp Black	2,466	7.9 %
Hispanic	717	2.3 %
Non-Hisp Asian American	778	2.5 %
Non-Hisp Native American	82	0.3 %
Other/Multiple/Unknown	4,908	15.7 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>31,217</b>	<b>100 %</b>



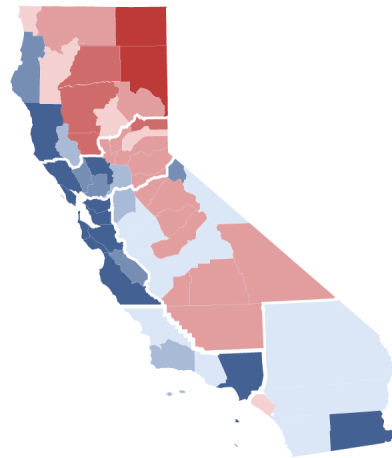
17

17

## Note CA: Not That Long Ago (1988) to Recently (2012)



1988 Presidential Election Results



2012 Presidential Election Results



18

## Note CA: Not That Long Ago (1988) to Recently (2012)

### The Shifting Political Tides of California's Counties

- CA, as a state, became *much more* Democratic from 2003 to 2012, from 2012 to 2024.
- Although Bush was able to win California in 1988, he did it with just 51 percent of the vote to Dukakis' 48 percent. Dukakis' strength foreshadowed a changing state that was more diverse and socially accepting than the direction the national Republican Party was heading.
- Dukakis' won just 14 of the 52 counties, but it was still enough to garner him nearly half the vote. The 14 counties included most Bay Area and North Coast counties and Los Angeles County, a coalition of heavily Democratic counties that can sometimes put a Democrat over the top in a close election.

19

19

## Note CA: Not That Long Ago (1988) to Recently (2012)

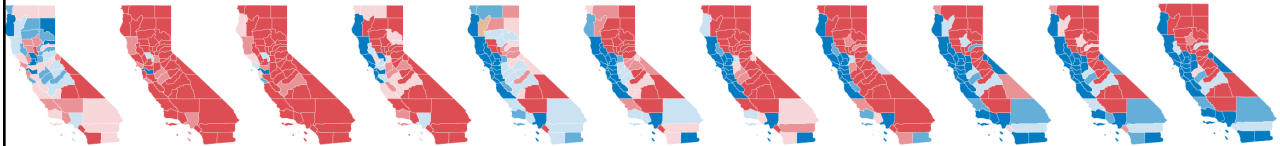
### The Shifting Political Tides of California's Counties

- The changing political forces show an increasing division between the large urban and the small rural counties
- Bush was the last Republican to win Imperial, Monterey, Napa, Sacramento, San Benito and Santa Barbara counties in a Presidential election.
- As California became more Democratic those Dukakis counties voted more and more Democratic by the time Obama was on the ballot in 2012. From the 1988 to 2012, San Francisco went from 73% to 83%, Alameda shifted from 65% to 79%, Santa Clara 52% to 70%, Contra Costa 51% to 66% and vote rich Los Angeles, 52% to 70%.

20

20

## CA Has Gone From Solidly Blue to the Personification of Republican Red to Recent Democratic Dominance



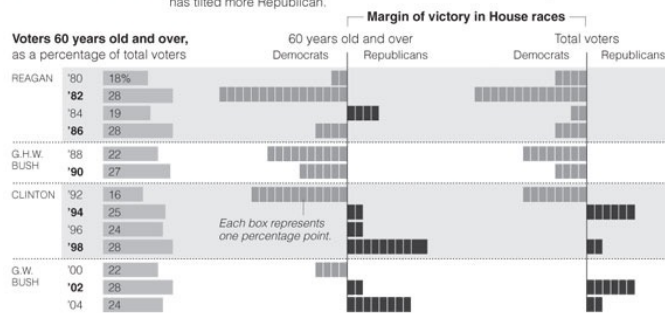
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21

## Yet Nationally, Older, Whiter Voters Dominate at the Polls

### Older Voters At The Polls

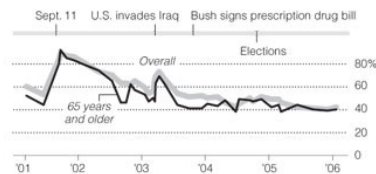
For years, older voters have accounted for a greater share of votes in midterm elections, and they will play a crucial role in this year's race as well. The last decade has seen a shift in the way older Americans vote, as the historically Democratic bloc has tilted more Republican.



### Approval of President Bush

Older voters backed President Bush in his 2004 re-election. Now analysts say that discontent with the Medicare prescription drug benefit and the failed Social Security push have put their votes back in play.

Voter data is based on surveys of voters leaving polling places nationwide on Election Day. Presidential approval is based on nationwide telephone surveys conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.



22

22

### House Outlook, 2024

Republicans		
TOSS-UP (9)	LEANS REPUBLICAN (9)	LIKELY REPUBLICAN (11)
Juan Ciscomani (AZ-6)	Ken Calvert (CA-41)	Kevin Kiley (CA-3)
David Schweikert (AZ-1)	Michelle Steel (CA-45)	Young Kim (CA-40)
John Duarte (CA-13)	M. Miller-Meeks (IA-1)	CO-3 Open (Boebert)
Mike Garcia (CA-27)	Zach Nunn (IA-3)	Anna Paulina Luna (FL-13)
David Valadao (CA-22)	John James (MI-10)	Maria Elvira Salazar (FL-27)
Don Bacon (NE-2)	Ryan Zinke (MT-1)	Nick Lalota (NY-1)
Mike Lawler (NY-17)	Tom Kean Jr. (NJ-7)	Brian Fitzpatrick (PA-1)
Marc Molinaro (NY-19)	Scott Perry (PA-10)	Andy Ogles (TN-5)
L. Chavez-DeRemer (OR-5)	Jen Kiggans (VA-2)	Monica De La Cruz (TX-15)
		Bryan Steil (WI-1)
		Derrick Van Orden (WI-3)

SAFE REPUBLICAN FLIPS (3)
NC-14 Open (Jackson)
NC-6 Open (Manning)
NC-13 Open (Nickel)

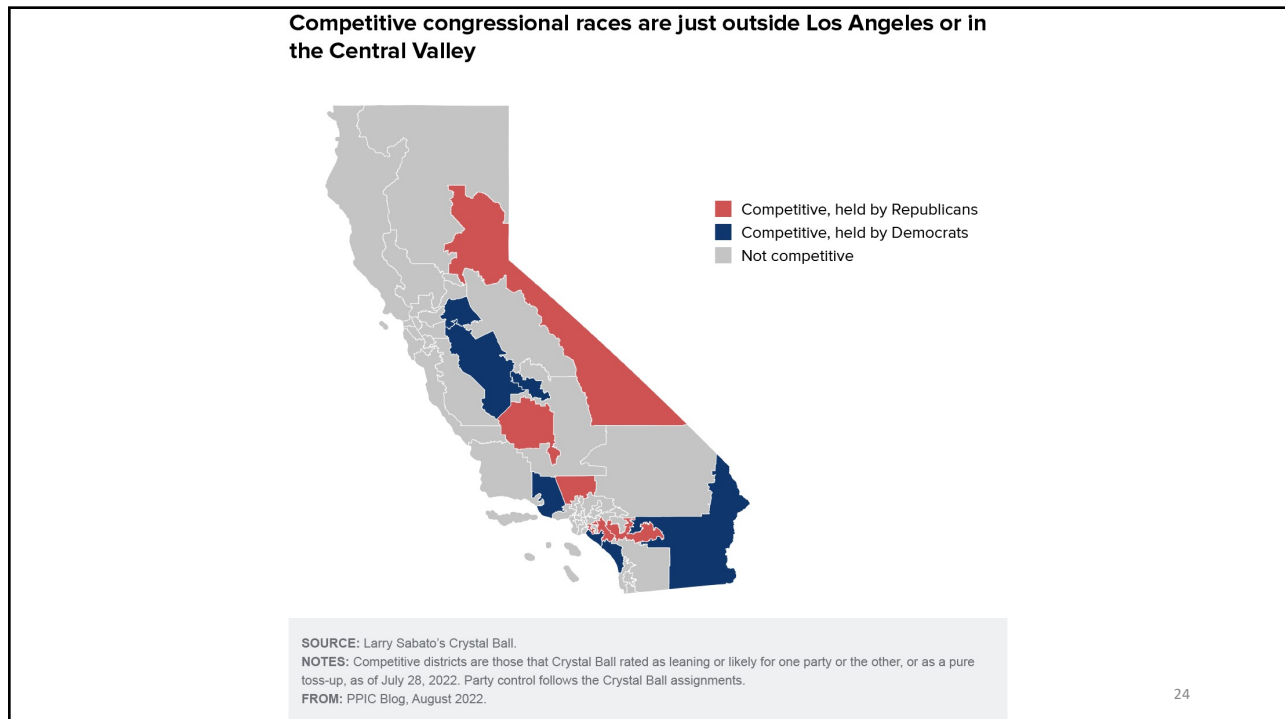
Total seats rated Safe Republican: 191  
 Total seats rated Safe, Likely, or Leans R: 211

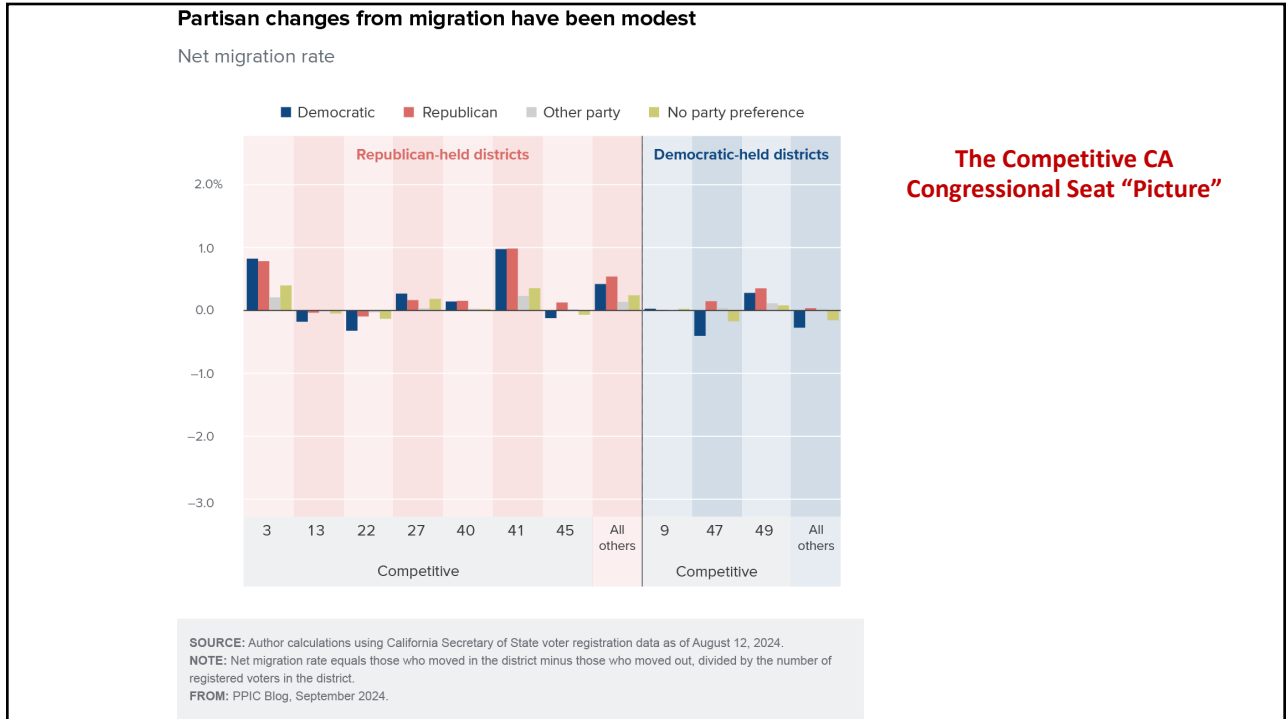
Democrats		
TOSS-UP (10)	LEANS DEMOCRATIC (14)	LIKELY DEMOCRATIC (16)
CA-47 Open (Porter)	Mary Peltola (AK-AL)	AL-2 Open (Moore)
Yadira Caraveo (CO-8)	Jahana Hayes (CT-5)	Josh Harder (CA-9)
Jared Golden (ME-2)	Frank Mrvan (IN-1)	Mike Levin (CA-49)
MI-7 Open (Slotkin)	Eric Sorensen (IL-17)	Sharice Davids (KS-3)
MI-8 Open (Kildee)	Angie Craig (MN-2)	MD-6 Open (Trone)
Don Davis (NC-1)	Gabe Vasquez (NM-2)	Hillary Scholten (MI-3)
Emilia Sykes (OH-13)	Anthony D'Esposito (NY-4)	NH-2 Open (Kuster)
Matt Cartwright (PA-8)	Pat Ryan (NY-18)	Chris Pappas (NH-1)
Susan Wild (PA-7)	Brandon Williams (NY-22)	Susie Lee (NV-3)
M. Glouesenkamp Perez (WA-3)	Marcy Kaptur (OH-9)	Steven Horsford (NV-4)
	Chris Deluzio (PA-17)	Dina Titus (NV-1)
	Henry Cuellar (TX-28)	Tom Suozzi (NY-3)
	Vicente Gonzalez (TX-34)	Greg Landsman (OH-1)
	VA-7 Open (Spanberger)	Val Hoyle (OR-4)
		Andrea Salinas (OR-6)
		Kim Schrier (WA-8)

SAFE DEMOCRATIC FLIP (1)
Garret Graves (LA-6)

Total seats rated Safe Democratic: 175  
 Total seats rated Safe, Likely, or Leans D: 205







25

## House Race Spotlight: CA-13

#### CANDIDATES




**Adam Gray (D)**  
 Assembly Member, California State Assembly, District 21, 2012-2022



**John Duarte (R)**  
 Incumbent

#### ALL-PARTY PRIMARY RESULTS

John Duarte (R)	54.9%
Adam Gary (D)	45.1%



TOSS UP\*

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE

CAMPAIGN FINANCE DATA AS OF JUN. 30, 2024

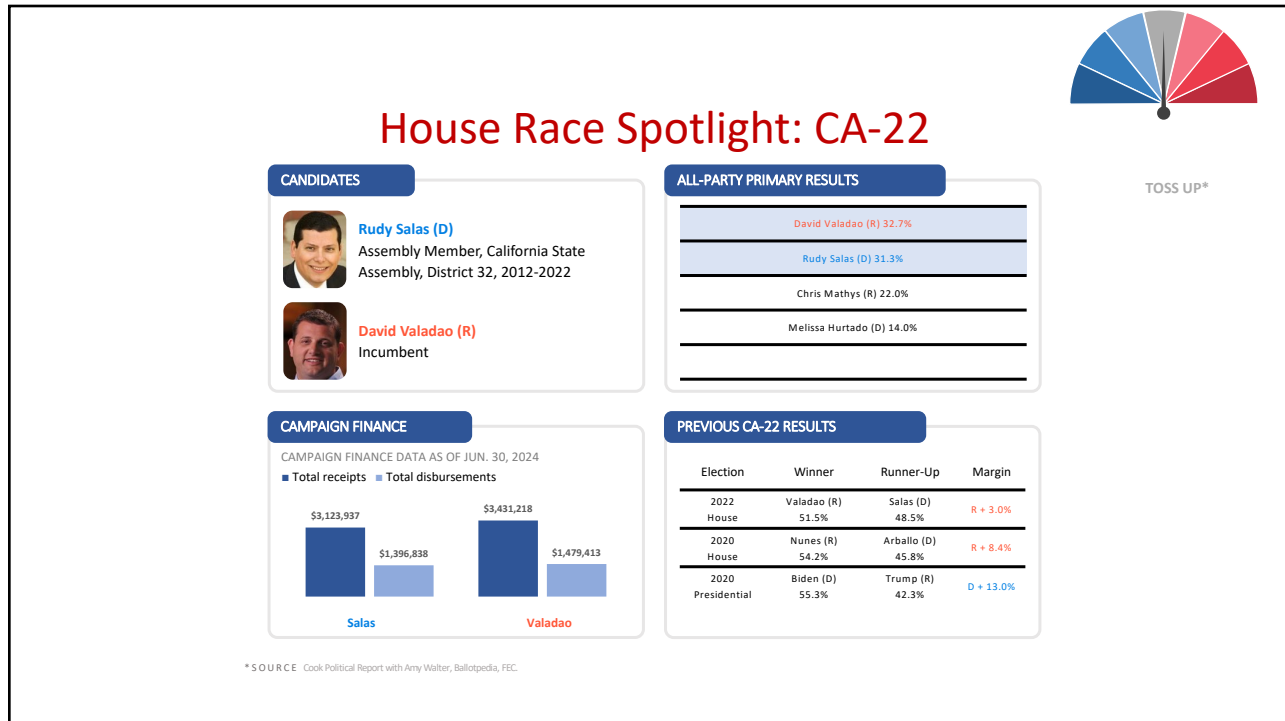
Candidate	Total receipts	Total disbursements
Gray	\$2,605,657	\$843,468
Duarte	\$3,079,801	\$1,027,133

#### PREVIOUS CA-13 RESULTS

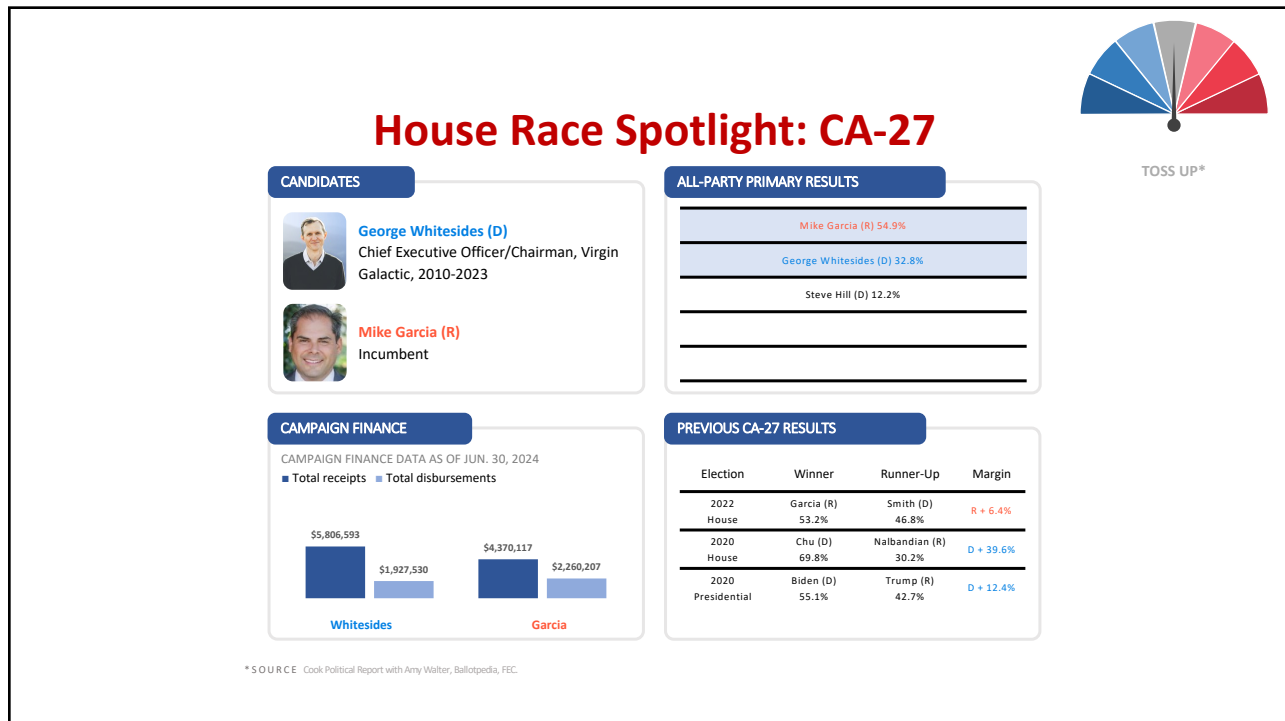
Election	Winner	Runner-Up	Margin
2022 House	Duarte (R) 50.2%	Gray (D) 49.8%	R + 0.4%
2020 House	Lee (D) 90.4%	Piterman (R) 9.6%	D + 80.8%
2020 Presidential	Biden (D) 54.3%	Trump (R) 43.4%	D + 10.9%

\* SOURCE: Cook Political Report with Amy Walter, Ballotpedia, FEC.

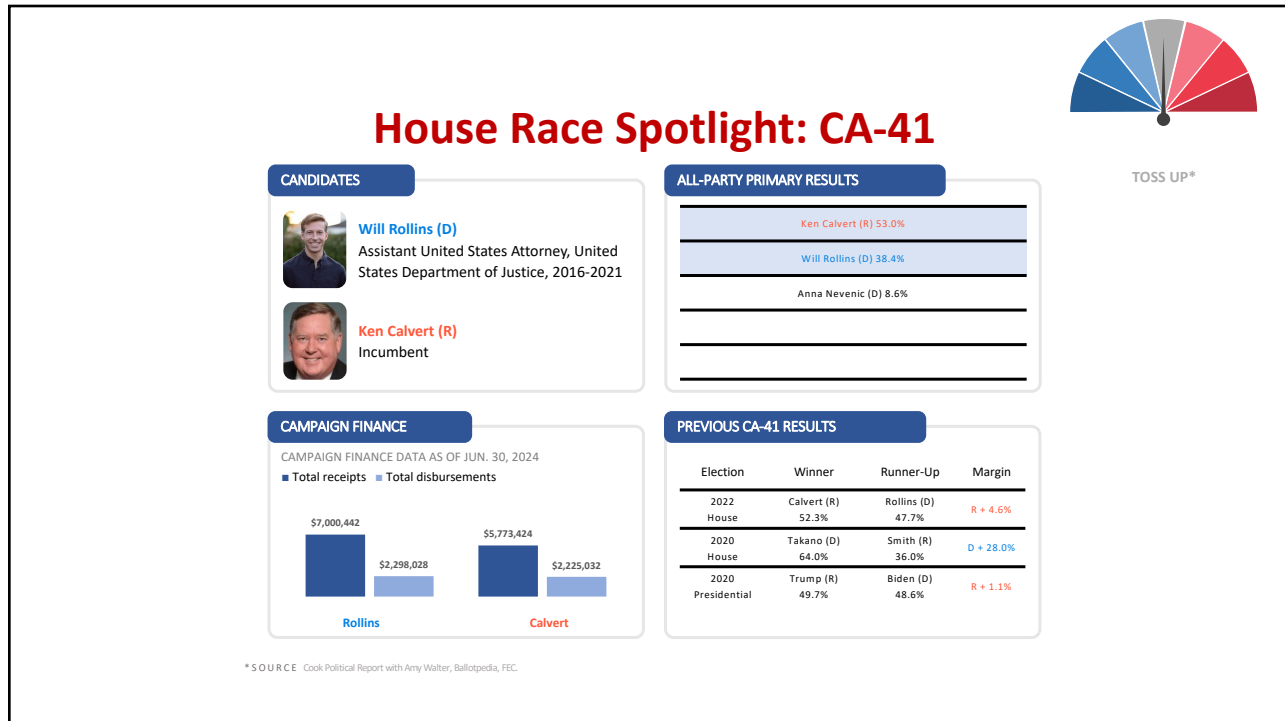
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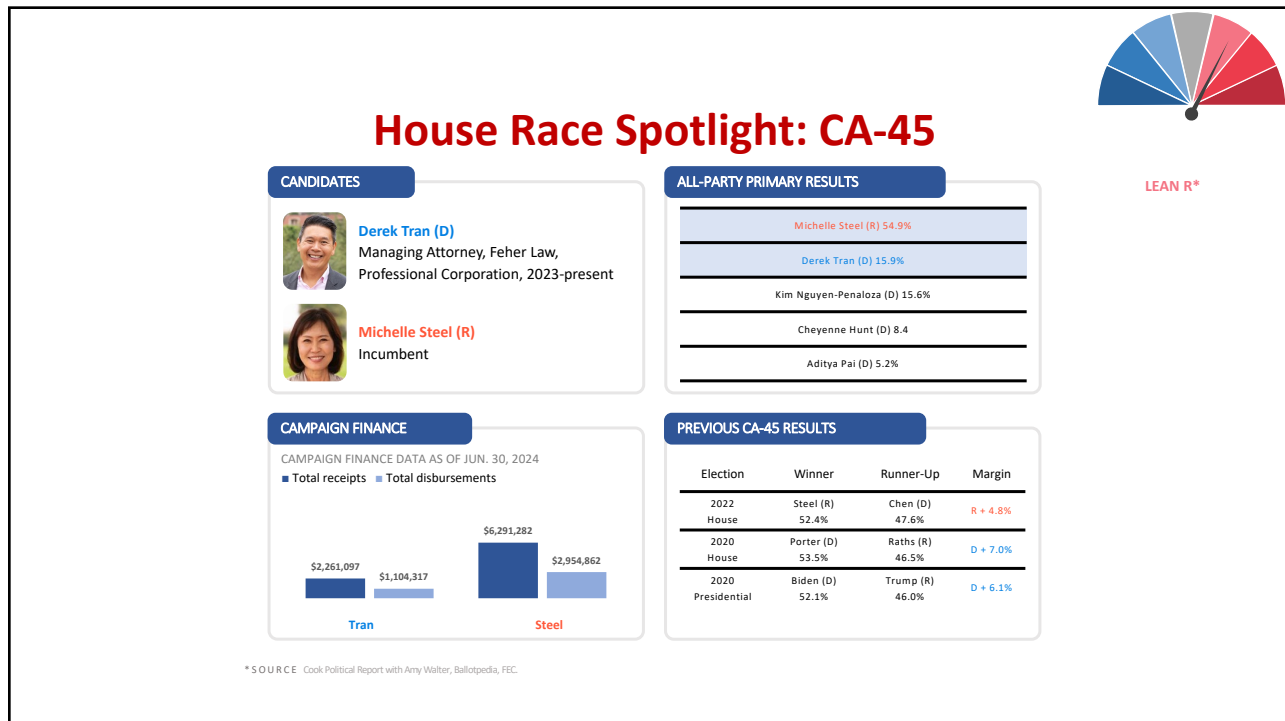
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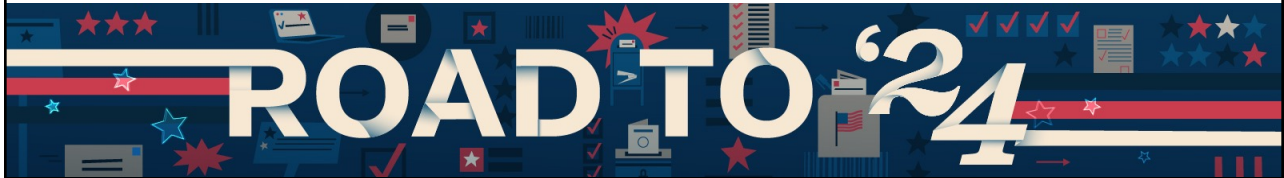
## Part III

### The Most Important Election of Our Lifetime: Update on the CA DD Ballot, NOV 2024

OLLI

Fall 2024

[David McCuan](#), POLS Dept., Sonoma State U.



31

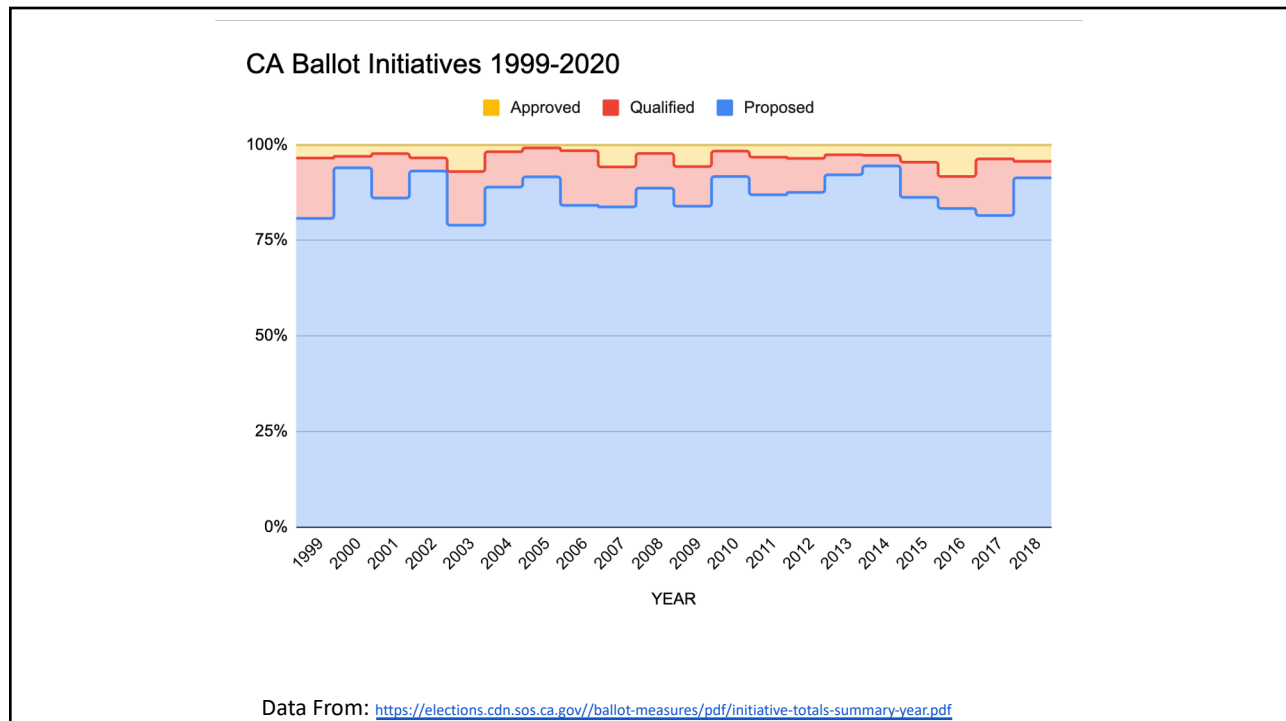
## Historical Changes to the Initiative Process

- **1911:** On October 10, Proposition 7 (the "I&R Amendment"), is enacted.
- **1943:** The cost of submitting proposed language to election officials for a ballot title and summary was set at \$200.
- **1960:** Ballot propositions, once confined to the November ballot, are now also placed on California's June primary ballot.
- **1974:** Proposition 9 was approved, which gave the Attorney General of California the sole authority to prepare ballot titles and summaries for proposed initiatives. The AG is required by this law to provide an "impartial statement of the purpose of the measure" in language unlikely "to create prejudice for or against" a proposal.
- **2011:** Gov. Jerry Brown signs SB 202, which ends the practice begun in 1960 of voting on ballot propositions in June primary elections.
- **2015:** Gov. Jerry Brown signs Assembly Bill 1100, increasing the initiative filing fee from \$200 to \$2,000.

Information from Ballotpedia: [https://ballotpedia.org/History\\_of\\_Initiative\\_and\\_Referendum\\_in\\_California](https://ballotpedia.org/History_of_Initiative_and_Referendum_in_California)

32





33

## The Freedom of Initiatives?

- Sodomite Suppression Act
  - 2015 Initiative which would have required the death of anyone who touched a person of the same gender for sexual gratification
- Intolerant Jackass Act
  - 2016 Initiative which would label the author of any ballot measure calling for killing of LGBT+ people an “intolerant jackass” and require them to do sensitivity training as well as donate to pro-LGBT+ groups

For more information go to:

<https://blog.sfgate.com/politics/2015/03/25/shoot-the-gays-initiative-counteracted-by-intolerant-jackass-act/>

34

## Impacts of Turnout

**2018 GUBERNATORIAL TURNOUT**

- 64% of registered voters

↓

**2022 SIGNATURES REQUIRED**

- Referendum: 623,212
- Initiative Statute: 623,212
- Constitutional Amendment: 997,139

**2022 GUBERNATORIAL TURNOUT**

- 50% of registered voters

↓

**2024 SIGNATURES REQUIRED**

- Referendum: 546,651
- Initiative Statute: 546,651
- Constitutional Amendment: 874,641

Low turnout in 2022 resulted in reduced signature gathering requirements for measures vying for 2024

35

## The March 2024 Primary & Turnout

**TURNOUT**

- 2024 Presidential Primary
  - 22,111,549 registered voters
  - 7,718,074 ballots returned
  - ~35% turnout

**PROPOSITION 1**

- \$6.4 billion general obligation bond
  - YES: 3,630,990 - 50.2%
  - NO: 3,603,665 - 49.8%


<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2020 Presidential Primary                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ~48% turnout</li> </ul> </li> <li>• 2016 Presidential Primary                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ~47% turnout</li> </ul> </li> <li>• 2012 Presidential Primary                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ~31% turnout</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2020 Presidential General                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ~80% turnout</li> </ul> </li> <li>• 2016 Presidential General                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ~75% turnout</li> </ul> </li> <li>• 2012 Presidential General                     <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ~72% turnout</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
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Response	Count	Percentage
Yes	3,630,990	50.2%
No	3,603,665	49.8%


36

## Every Step of a Ballot Initiative is Difficult – and Often Very, Very Expensive\*


\$350k to \$500k  
For drafting and research



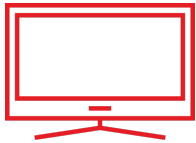
Can't amend  
an initiative after 30 days



\$7 to \$12 Million  
to hire paid signature gatherers



\$15 to \$100 Million +  
to fund the campaign




The bottom line... since 1912, only 7% of initiatives that were filed eventually passed.


\*KEY QUESTION: Does the battle really end even IF / WHEN a measure passes??


37


## Key Dates for Ballot Initiatives


TAKING THE ISSUE DIRECTLY TO VOTERS:














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Early to Mid 2023: Begin researching and drafting language of proposed initiative.

August 30, 2023: Last day for proponent(s) to submit proposed initiative to the A.G. in order to receive the full 180 days for circulation.

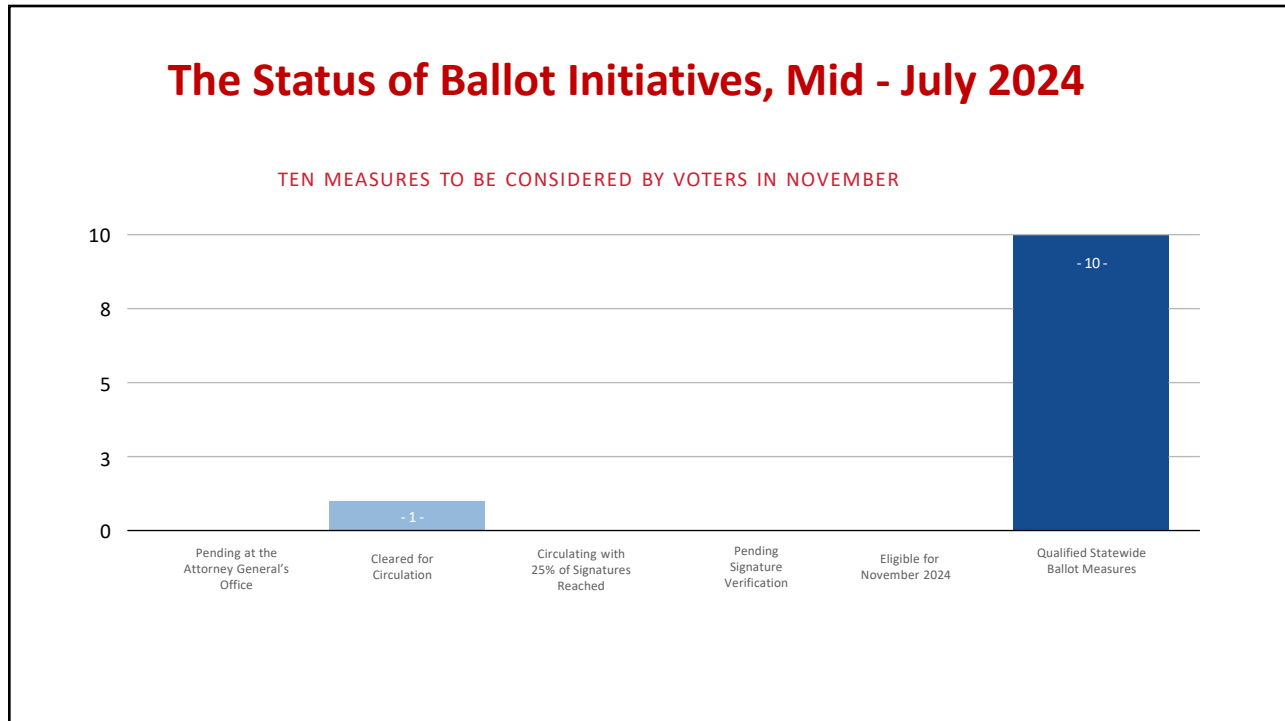
May 1, 2024: Last day for initiative proponents to submit signatures to counties.

June 27, 2024: Last day for initiative proponents to withdraw the initiative.

Early to Mid July, 2024: Arguments and rebuttals due for the Voter Information Guide.

August to November 2024: Campaign advertising starts early and culminates during the month of voting.

38



39

## KEY DEVELOPMENT - The 2024 Ballot Initiative Graveyard



**THE MOST ACTIVE BALLOT INITIATIVE NEGOTIATION SESSION IN HISTORY**

- Taxpayer Protection and Government Accountability Act — Removed by CA Supreme Court
- Assembly Constitutional Amendment 13 — Pushed to 2026
- Senate Constitutional Amendment 2 — Removed by Author
- Pandemic Response Income Tax Increase — Legislative Compromise Reached
- PAGA Reform — Legislative Compromise Reached
- Personal Finance Education — Legislative Compromise Reached
- Expanded Healthcare for Children — Legislative Compromise Reached
- Oil & Gas Well Ban Referendum — Withdrawn by Proponent


40

• LEGISLATIVE MEASURES	• CITIZEN-LED MEASURES
 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 2</li> <li>• (AB 247 - School Bond)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 32</li> <li>• (Statewide Minimum Wage Increase)</li> </ul> 
 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 3</li> <li>• (ACA 5 - Marriage Equality)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 33</li> <li>• (Statewide Rent Control Expansion)</li> </ul> 
 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 4</li> <li>• (SB 867 - Climate Bond)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 34</li> <li>• (Health Care Provider Spending Mandate) <sup>41</sup></li> </ul> 
 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 5</li> <li>• (ACA 1 - Bond Voter Thresholds)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 35</li> <li>• (Medi-Cal Funding Lockbox)</li> </ul> 
 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 6</li> <li>• (ACA 8 - Prison Labor Ban)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposition 36</li> <li>• (Criminal Justice Reform)</li> </ul> 

41

## Where to Find Information About What is on the Fall 2024 November Ballot?

- The LWV– So Co:  
[https://www.lwvsonoma.org/content.aspx?page\\_id=2507&club\\_id=720180&item\\_id=5091&pst=25707](https://www.lwvsonoma.org/content.aspx?page_id=2507&club_id=720180&item_id=5091&pst=25707)
- In English and in Spanish – all measures found here:  
<https://www.youtube.com/@leagueofwomenvoterssonomac9305/videos>
- The *It Matters! Series at SSU*:  
 Join Us IN THIS ROOM! From noon to 1 pm, for discussion of “what is happening behind the ballot measures appearing on the ballot.”



42

## Proposition 2 (AB 247 - School Bond)



- Author: Assembly Member Al Muratsuchi
- Authorizes the state to issue \$10 billion in general obligation bonds for K-12 school facility repair, modernization, and construction.
  - Asm. Floor: 72-1-6
  - Sen. Floor: 34-3-3

### SUPPORT

California Building Industry Association  
 California Teachers Association  
 California School Nurses Organization

### OPPOSITION

Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association  
 Californians for Justice  
 California Partnership for the Future of Learning

43

## Proposition 3 (ACA 5 - Marriage Equality)



- Author: Assembly Member Evan Low
- Repeals a provision in the California Constitution that limits marriage to a "man and a woman," and replaces it with provisions that makes the right to marry a fundamental right.
  - Asm. Floor: 67-0-13
  - Sen. Floor: 31-0-9

### SUPPORT

ACLU  
 CA Action  
 Equality California  
 Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California

### OPPOSITION

California Family Council  
 Real Impact  
 The American Council for Evangelicals

44

## Proposition 4 (SB 867 - Climate Bond)



- Author: Senator Ben Allen
- Authorizes the state to issue \$10 billion in general obligation bonds to finance projects for drinking water upgrades, wildfire and forest programs, flood control, and other climate programs.
  - Asm. Floor: 66-6-7
  - Sen. Floor: 33-6-1

### SUPPORT

Clean Water Action  
 CALFIRE Firefighters  
 National Wildlife Federation

### OPPOSITION

Senate Minority Leader Brian Jones  
 Assemblymember Joe Patterson  
 Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association

45

## Proposition 5 (ACA 1 - Voter Threshold Reduction to Pass Bonds)



- Author: Assembly Member Cecilia Aguiar-Curry
- Recently amended by ACA 10
- Allows a city, county, or special district, with 55% voter approval, to incur bonded indebtedness to fund projects for affordable housing, permanent supportive housing, or public infrastructure.
  - Asm. Floor: 55-12-13
  - Sen. Floor: 29-10-1

### SUPPORT

California Professional Firefighters  
 Habitat for Humanity California  
 League of Women Voters of California

### OPPOSITION

California Taxpayers Association California  
 Hispanic Chambers of Commerce  
 Women Veterans Alliance

46

## Proposition 6 (ACA 8 - Prison Labor Ban)



- Author: Assembly Member Lori Wilson
- Prohibits the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation from disciplining any incarcerated person for refusing a work assignment. The measure would also clarify that its provisions do not prohibit the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation from awarding credits to an incarcerated person who voluntarily accepts a work assignment.
  - Asm. Floor: 68-0-11
  - Sen. Floor: 33-3-4

### SUPPORT

Dolores Huerta Foundation  
Law Enforcement Action Partnership

### OPPOSITION

None on File

47

## Proposition 32 - Statewide Minimum Wage Increase



- Existing law requires annual increases to California's minimum wage until it has reached \$15.00 per hour for all businesses on January 1, 2023.
- This measure extends these annual increases (\$1.00 per year) until minimum wage—currently, \$16.00 per hour for businesses with 26 or more employees, and \$14.00 per hour for smaller businesses—reaches \$18.00 per hour.

### SUPPORT

Joe Sanberg

### OPPOSITION

California Chamber of Commerce  
California Grocers Association  
California Restaurant Association

48



## Proposition 33 - Statewide Rent Control Expansion



- Repeals the Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act (1995) – allowing cities and counties to limit rent on any housing and prohibiting the state from limiting "the right of any city, county, or city and county to maintain, enact or expand residential rent control.
- Proposition 10 (2018) – Rejected by 59% of Voters
- Proposition 21 (2020) – Rejected by 60% of Voters

### SUPPORT

AIDS Healthcare Foundation  
 Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment  
 Housing is a Human Right

### OPPOSITION

California Senior Alliance California  
 Small Business Association  
 California Council for Affordable Housing

49

## Proposition 34 - Health Care Provider Spending Mandate



- Requires certain health care providers to spend 98% of revenues from federal discount prescription drug program on direct patient care. Applies only to health care providers that: spent over \$100,000,000 in any ten-year period on anything other than direct patient care; and operated multifamily housing with over 500 high-severity health and safety violations.
- Penalizes noncompliance by revoking health care licenses and tax-exempt status.
- Permanently authorizes state to negotiate Medi-Cal drug prices on statewide basis.

### SUPPORT

California Apartment Association  
 The ALS Association  
 Latino Heritage Los Angeles

### OPPOSITION

AIDS Healthcare Foundation  
 Housing is a Human Right  
 National Organization for Women

50

## Proposition 35 - Medi-Cal Funding Lockbox



- Makes permanent the existing assessment on managed health care insurance plans, currently set to expire in 2026, which the state uses to pay for health care services for low-income families with children, seniors, people with disabilities, and other groups covered by the Medi-Cal program.
- Requires revenues to be used only for specified Medi-Cal services, including primary and specialty care, emergency care, family planning, mental health, and prescription drugs. Prohibits revenues from being used to replace other existing Medi-Cal funding.

### SUPPORT

American Academy of Pediatrics  
 California International Association of EMTs and Paramedics  
 Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California

### OPPOSITION

None on File

51

## Proposition 36 - Criminal Justice Reform

- Allows felony charges for possessing certain drugs, including fentanyl, and for thefts under \$950—both currently chargeable only as misdemeanors—with two prior drug or two prior theft convictions, as applicable.
- Defendants who plead guilty to felony drug possession and complete treatment can have charges dismissed.
- Increased prison sentences may reduce savings that currently fund mental health and drug treatment programs, K-12 schools, and crime victims; any remaining savings may be used for new felony treatment program.



### SUPPORT

California District Attorneys Association California  
 Small Business Association  
 Crime Victims United



### OPPOSITION

Crime Survivors for Safety & Justice  
 Prosecutors Alliance Action  
 Reentry Providers Association of California

52

## CADEM vs. CAGOP Positions on the Measures

2024 Ballot Measure Positions

MEASURE	 <small>CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY</small>	 <small>CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY</small>
Prop 2 School Bond	Not Considered	Not Considered
Prop 3 Marriage Equality	Support	Neutral
Prop 4 Climate Bond	Not Considered	Not Considered
Prop 5 Voter Threshold Reduction to Pass Bonds	Support	Oppose
Prop 6 Prison Labor Ban	Not Considered	Not Considered
Prop 32 Statewide Minimum Wage Increase	Support	Oppose
Prop 33 Statewide Rent Control Expansion	Support	Oppose
Prop 34 Health Care Provider Spending Mandate	Neutral	Support
Prop 35 Medi-Cal Funding Lockbox	Support	Support
Prop 36 Criminal Justice Reform	Oppose	Support

53

## Local Measure Emergence – Down Ballot Matters

### WHAT TO WATCH FOR IN NOVEMBER

- Transfer Taxes
- Hotel & Occupancy Taxes
- Minimum Wage

### ROUGHLY 130 MEASURES IN 2024 PRIMARY, LOCAL GOV'T

- 86 tax and bond measures
- 65% passage rate

54

**Part IV:**  
**Unprecedented, Unparalleled, & Unrivaled:**  
**The Politics of California as the “Great Exception”**

**Prepared for OLLI**  
**Sonoma State University**  
**Fall 2024**

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55

## **Overview of Research**

- How has the growth of direct democracy as a “parallel legislature” in California affected the role of “political professionals” in campaigns?
- How have both politicians and political professionals responded to this growth of direct democracy?
- Why is the system of Campaign Finance (CF) important to the interaction between those engaging in political marketing and their employers (politicians and political interest groups) and their benefactors (the media and the public)?
- This system of CF reporting “signals” to scholars the intentions and desires of direct democracy actors and their campaign strategies.

56

## Direct Democracy in the USA

- Approximately 70% of Americans live in states with the initiative process.
- But around 60% of initiatives fail nationwide
- In CA, about 2 out of 3 measures that appear on the ballot fail
- Why?
  - Most literature has focused on campaign effects & the role of campaign spending / CF.
  - There are many inter-disciplinary research reasons for this rate of failure.

57

Table 1. History & Passage Rates of CA Ballot Measures, 1912 - 2009

Era of Initiatives:	# Submitted:	# Qualified:	# Passed:	% Submit/Qualified:	% Qual/Passed:	% Passed Overall:
Early Consulting Era: (1912 - 1929)	97	65	18	67.0%	27.7%	18.6%
Childhood of Consulting: (1930 - 1959)	126	69	18	54.8%	26.1%	14.3%
Wild, Wild Adolescence: (1960 - 1979)	227	34	10	15.0%	29.4%	4.4%
Coming of Age: (1980 - 2002)	737	122	52	16.6%	42.6%	7.1%
Recent Past: (2003-2009)	87	52	20	59.8%	38.5%	23.0%
Totals/Average: (1912 - 2009)	1274	332	118	26.1%	35.5%	9.3%

58

## YES & NO Arguments

- Ballot initiatives are easier to defeat than to pass
  - Over 60% of ballot initiatives fail
  - Why?
- It is possible that it is easier to argue against a proposal rather than in support of one
- Thus, the “easy money” is on opposing ballot measures, not supporting them;
- Or, by moving “second” and not “first”

59

## How Costly is Direct Democracy in California? Recent Campaigns – 2006; 2008; & 2009 Initiatives

Gov. Schwarzenegger Spending for Ballot Measures, 2009	\$15.7 million
Budget Reform Now (Yes on 1A & 1B 2009)	\$22.4 million
Totals, Schwarzenegger & Friends	\$38.1 million
Opponents, Propositions 1A & 1B	\$5.9 million
Totals, Yes / No, Props 1A & 1B	\$44 million
Totals 1C, 1D, 1E, & 1F (Yes / No)	\$114.8 million / \$1.9 million
Totals, 2009 Special Election	\$160.7 million
Proposition 8 (Yes / No), 2008	\$39.9 million / \$43.3 million
ALL Propositions (Yes & No), 2006	\$369.8 million (Primary & Gen'l)

Sources: CA-SoS PRD Campaign Finance Reports; Sacramento Bee; San Francisco Chronicle; Los Angeles Times

60

### Another Recent Example: 2005 Special Election

Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger (YES)	\$45.8 million
Alliance for Better California, ABC (NO)	\$33.3 million
Committee to Protect CA's Future (NO)	\$1.9 million
Proposition 73 (Yes/No)	\$1.2 million / \$1.6 million
Proposition 74 (Yes/No)	- / \$9.8 million
Proposition 75 (Yes/No)	\$2.3 million / \$42.6 million
Proposition 76 (Yes/No)	- / \$25.4 million
Proposition 77 (Yes/No)	\$8.0 million / \$13.0 million
Proposition 78/79 (Yes-No/No-Yes)	\$80.3 million / \$0.4 million
Proposition 80 (Yes/No)	\$0.2 million / \$2.3 million
Sub-Totals (Yes Spend/No Spend)	\$138 million / \$132.6 million
Total Spending, 2005 Special Election	\$270.6 million
Total \$\$\$ Raised, 2005 Special Election	\$417.1 million

Sources: CA-SoS PRD Campaign Finance Reports; Sacramento Bee; San Francisco Chronicle; Los Angeles Times

61

### Is This A Lot of Money?

Total Amount of Money Raised & Spent, CA Ballot Measures 2000 - 2009	\$3.6Billion (constant dollars)
Total Money Raised & Spent in 2006 California Ballot Measure Campaigns	\$370 million
Total Money Raised in 2005 California Special Election	\$417 million
PAC Money Raised by ALL U.S House Candidates in 2004 Election Cycle	\$225 million
PAC Money Raised by ALL U.S Senate Candidates in 2004 Election Cycle	\$64 million
UCLA Annual Funding by State of CA	\$220 million*
Daily Cost of War in Iraq	\$200 million*
Terminator 3: Domestic Box Office Gross	\$150 million

\* Approximate

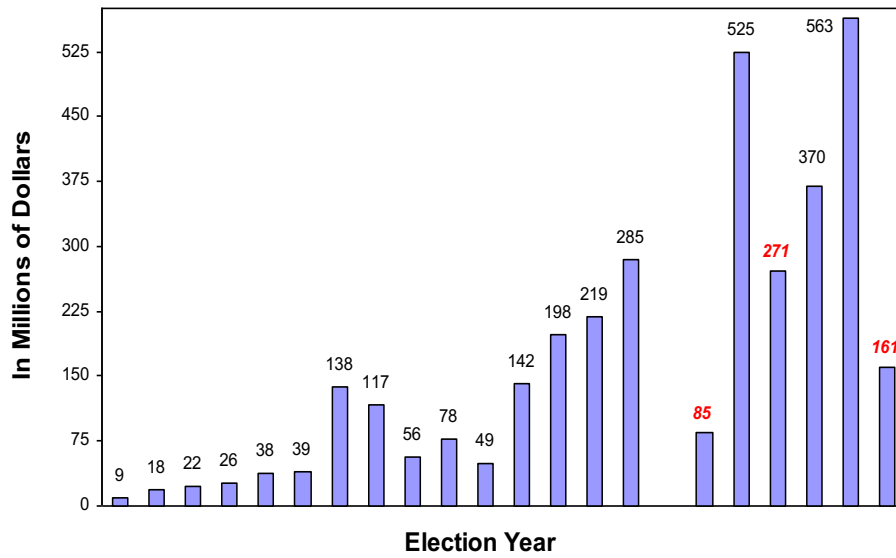
62

### Avg. Spending Differentials: 2000 – 2005 Legislative Proposals vs. Pop. Voter Measures

	Legislative	Popular Voter
‘Yes’ Spending	\$817,000	\$5,818,000
‘No’ Spending	\$103,461	\$5,442,995

63

### Overall Spending for Ballot Measures in California, Non-Adjusted, 1976 -2009



64



## Why Might We Care?

- Money creates opportunity for “political professionals” to participate in the process of direct legislation
- Money may corrupt the process
- Money may create the perception of lack of legitimacy
- Money may result in special interests gaining rather than individuals
- Money may inform voters
- Public Policy Standpoint: Should we regulate money in initiative campaigns?
  - To answer this question, we must know if money makes a difference;
  - And we might want to consider how to “handle” campaign finance and campaign spending regulation balancing the demands for the services of political professionals and the protection of First Amendment freedoms among actors in the initiative process.

65

## Initiatives - For the People? Or, a Game for Elites?

- There is virtually no systematic evidence regarding the nature of the professional initiative industry that drives this process- its size, dimensions, involvement, or impact.
- As a result of this oversight, professionalization of the initiative process remains an important void in the literature on political marketing and in the sub-field of direct democracy studies.
- This is so despite the compelling theoretical and commonsensical reasons for believing that the initiative process has some very important effects on public policy and economic life throughout the country.
- And the spillover effects of political marketing carry to and fro ballot measure and candidate campaigns.

66

## Role of Political Professionals in The “Parallel Legislature”

- Initiative process today is characterized by two related but distinct issues:
  - Organized, professional groups across a broad spectrum of ideologies & issues now advance their agendas through the initiative process.
  - These groups include politicians such as Arnold Schwarzenegger.
  - Much of this process from formulating, qualifying, and campaigning, is now thoroughly "professionalized" by the existence of a professional political marketing & campaign industry.

67

### Cont'd

- Consequently, initiative campaigns involve large resources & create a market for even more initiatives.
- Some scholars hold that only deep-pocketed ‘special’ interests can afford the professional advice critical to victory & this condition thwarts the grassroots intent of direct democracy.
- But the evidence suggests otherwise.
- What we do see are “spillover effects” of both the growth of ballot measures & the growth of political marketing professionals which translates to constant patterns of electioneering.
- Are “spillovers” an example of the exchange process among the actors involved?
- This “spillover” has led to the rise of a series of networked relationships as well furthering the constancy of elections.

68