The Policy Implications of the Fall Elections

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California Public Opinion

- California is a Democratic state
- California is a (relatively) liberal state

Data sources: Cooperative Election Study, Civiqs.com, publicly available election returns.
California is a Democratic state: Party identification

- In **California** people who identify as “Democrats” outnumber those who identify as “Republicans” by 27 percentage points.
- In the **United States** people who identify as “Democrats” outnumber those who identify as “Republicans” by 7 percentage points.
California is a Democratic state: Presidential voting

• In California, over the 2012, 2016, and 2020 presidential elections, Democratic voters have outnumbered Republican voters by an average of 27 percentage points.

• In the United States, over the 2012, 2016, and 2020 presidential elections, Democratic voters have outnumbered Republican voters by an average of 3.5 percentage points.
Presidential Voting by State (2012-2020)
California is an increasingly Democratic state: Presidential voting (1968-2020)
California is a (relatively) liberal state: Ideological identification

• In California people who identify as “liberal” outnumber those who identify as “conservative” by 12 percentage points.

• In the United States people who identify as “liberal” are outnumbered those who identify as “conservative” by 11 percentage points.
Ideological Identification by State
California is a liberal state: Policy Preferences
Do you think that the use of cannabis should be legal, or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
<th>Unsure (%)</th>
<th>Liberal Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you favor or oppose stricter gun control laws?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favor (%)</th>
<th>Oppose (%)</th>
<th>Unsure (%)</th>
<th>Liberal Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think abortion should be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Legal in all/most cases (%)</th>
<th>Illegal in all/most cases (%)</th>
<th>Unsure (%)</th>
<th>Liberal Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Implication – Direct Democracy (Ballot Propositions)

• When given the chance, we expect the electorate to adopt liberal policies.
• Should the electorate be given the chance?
Implication – Direct Democracy (Ballot Propositions)
Implication – Representative Democracy (legislators & governor)

• We expect the Democratic party to do well in state elections & state policies to be liberal.
Upcoming 2022 General Elections

• New Assembly and Senate district maps due to redistricting.

• Assembly – 80 total seats
  • Current party breakdown: 60 Democrats, 19 Republicans, and 1 Independent
  • New map prediction: 54 strong Democratic, 8 lean Democratic, 8 lean Republican and 10 strong Republican.

  • *Democrats forecasted to win 62-63 seats* (54 needed for a 2/3 supermajority)

• Data source: Planscore.campaignlegal.org
Upcoming 2022 General Elections

• New Assembly and Senate district maps due to redistricting.

• Senate – 40 total seats in chamber; 20 up for election this year
  • Current party breakdown: 31 Democrats, 9 Republicans
  • In the 20 districts NOT up for election this cycle, Dems hold a 17-3 advantage.
  • New map prediction: In the 20 newly drawn Senate districts, Democrats favored in 14.

  • Democrats forecasted to control 30-31 seats in Senate (26 needed for a 2/3 majority).

• Data source: Planscore.campaignlegal.org
Upcoming 2022 General Elections

• Governor: Newsom (D) leads Dahle (R) 58% to 31% (PPIC poll, September 2022).

• Hence, expect Democratic governor + Democratic supermajorities in the legislature.
Why is a 2/3 supermajority relevant?

• Proposition 26 in 2010 reduced # of legislative votes needed to pass a budget from 2/3 in each chamber to simple majority in each.
• BUT any tax increase requires 2/3 in each chamber.
• Also constitutional amendments and general obligation bonds can be put onto ballot with 2/3 votes.
California Assembly among most (relatively) liberal in the US
California Assembly has become (relatively) more liberal over time.
Parties, however, remain coalitions of diverse interests

• Tensions among Democrats between moderates and progressives (examples)
  • Single-payer healthcare
  • Wealth tax
  • Affirmative action in university admissions
  • Criminal justice – e.g., Boudin recall in San Francisco
  • Housing – YIMBY vs Home-voters

• Tensions on the Republican side
  • Establishment versus far-right activists: Example of Shasta County
Extra slide: Inter-party differences and Intra-party heterogeneity
Extra slide: California’s regional divide (2020 presidential election by county)
Extra Slides – Ballot Propositions
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM.
LEGISLATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

SUMMARY

Amends California Constitution to expressly include an individual’s fundamental right to reproductive freedom, which includes the fundamental right to choose to have an abortion and the fundamental right to choose or refuse contraceptives. This amendment does not narrow or limit the existing rights to privacy and equal protection under the California Constitution. Fiscal Impact: No direct fiscal effect because reproductive rights already are protected by state law.

For
$8.9M spent

Against
$370k spent

Key players
Gov. Gavin Newsom, Senate Pro Tempore Toni Atkins, Assembly Speaker Anthony Rendon

Key players
Republican Party of California

Polling Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely voters</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUPPORT</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPPOSE</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates polled: September 2-9
Margin of error: +/- 3.4 percentage points

Sample size: 10,000 voters
Source: PPIC Statewide Survey
ALL Crypto currency and blockchain technology. Initiative constitutional amendment and statute.

SUMMARY

Also allows: sports wagering at certain horseracing tracks; private lawsuits to enforce certain gambling laws.

Directs revenues to General Fund, problem-gambling programs, enforcement. Fiscal impact: Increased state revenues, possibly reaching tens of millions of dollars annually. Some of these revenues would support increased state regulatory and enforcement costs that could reach the low tens of millions of dollars annually.

For

$61M spent

Key players

Rincon Band of Luiseno
Indians, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, Pechanga
Band of Luiseno Indians

Against

$43M spent

Key players

California Commerce Club,
Hawaiian Gardens Casino, The Bicycle Hotel and Casino
PROP 27

ALLOWS ONLINE AND MOBILE SPORTS WAGERING OUTSIDE TRIBAL LANDS. INITIATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND STATUTE.

SUMMARY

Allows Indian tribes and affiliated businesses to operate online/mobile sports wagering outside tribal lands. Directs revenues to regulatory costs, homelessness programs, nonparticipating tribes. Fiscal Impact: Increased state revenues, possibly in the hundreds of millions of dollars but not likely to exceed $500 million annually. Some revenues would support state regulatory costs, possibly reaching the mid-tens of millions of dollars annually.

For

- $160M spent
- Key players: BetMGM, FanDuel, DraftKings

Against

- $150M spent
- Key players: San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, Rincon Band of Luiseno Indians, Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation

Polling Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Polling Group</th>
<th>Likely Voters</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUPPORT</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPPOSE</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates Polled: September 21
Margin of Error: +/- 5.4 Percentage Points
Sample Size: 1000 Voters
Source: PPIC Statewide Survey
PROVIDES ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR ARTS AND MUSIC EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. INITIATIVE STATUTE.

SUMMARY

Provides additional funding from state General Fund for arts and music education in all K–12 public schools (including charter schools). Fiscal Impact: Increased state costs of about $1 billion annually, beginning next year, for arts education in public schools.

Put on the Ballot by Petition Signatures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$9.9M spent</td>
<td>$0.0 spent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key players

Californians for Arts and Music Education in Public Schools, former Superintendent of Los Angeles Unified School District
Austin Beutner, former U.S. Secretary of Education
Arne Duncan, LAUSD
S.B. 70: Mandatory kindergarten

On Sunday, Newsom vetoed this bill, which would have required children to attend kindergarten before entering first grade at a public school. Dozens of school districts and education groups supported the bill.

In his veto message, Newsom said there wasn’t room in the state budget for the mandate, which could cost up to $268 million per year.

Governors have often used cost as a reason to reject new laws, even in good budget years. But California this year stands a good chance of missing its revenue estimate this fiscal year, the state’s legislative analyst recently estimated.

“With our state facing lower-than-expected revenues over the first few months of this fiscal year, it is important to remain disciplined when it comes to spending, particularly spending that is ongoing,” Newsom said. “We must prioritize existing obligations and priorities, including education, health care, public safety and safety-net programs.”

A.B. 1919: Free transit for students

This bill would have created a five-year program to let California students ride public transit at no cost. It would have applied to K-12 students as well as those enrolled in public colleges and universities.

In vetoing the bill, Newsom said the state’s budget could not handle the $115 million annual price tag for the program.
REQUIRES ON-SITE LICENSED MEDICAL PROFESSIONAL AT KIDNEY DIALYSIS CLINICS AND ESTABLISHES OTHER STATE REQUIREMENTS. INITIATIVE STATUTE.

SUMMARY

Requires physician, nurse practitioner, or physician assistant on site during treatment. Requires clinics to: disclose physicians’ ownership interests; report infection data. Fiscal impact: Increased state and local government costs likely in the tens of millions of dollars annually.

For
$7.8M spent

Key players
SEIU-UHW West

Against
$86M spent

Key players
DaVita, Fresenius Medical Care, California Chamber of Commerce, California Medical Association
PROHIBITS THE USE OF REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES FOR THOSE NOT MARRIED TO A PARTNER OF THE OPPOSITE SEX.

SUMMARY
Allocates tax revenue for reproductive rights, including funding for reproductive health care services and support for individuals seeking reproductive health services. Fiscal Impact: Increased state tax revenue ranging from $3.5 billion to $5 billion annually, with the new funding used to support reproductive health care services and support for individuals seeking reproductive health services.
**PROP 31**

REFERENDUM ON 2020 LAW THAT WOULD PROHIBIT THE RETAIL SALE OF CERTAIN FLAVORED TOBACCO PRODUCTS.

**SUMMARY**

A "Yes" vote approves, and a "No" vote rejects, a 2020 law prohibiting retail sale of certain flavored tobacco products. **Fiscal Impact:** Decreased state tobacco tax revenues ranging from tens of millions of dollars annually to around $100 million annually.

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**For**

- $6.2M spent
- Key players: Michael Bloomberg, Kaiser

**Against**

- $23M spent
- Key players: R. J. Reynolds, Philip Morris USA, National Association of Tobacco Outlets

*Put on the Ballot by Petition Signatures*