

AT ISSUE

PUBLIC POLICY INSTITUTE OF CALIFORNIA

REFORMING CALIFORNIA'S INITIATIVE PROCESS

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The last 10 years—since the 2003 recall of California's governor—have seen a level of political reform unprecedented in recent state history, with voters weighing in on a number of significant governance and fiscal changes. Political reformers and legislators are now taking aim at the 102-year-old initiative process. In this report, we analyze the public's current views on California's ballot initiatives, identify the major forces behind the public's calls for political reform, and examine areas of consensus on changing the process. We then offer several policy recommendations aligned with the changes favored by voters, including connecting the legislative and initiative processes, increasing disclosures of initiative funders, and reengaging citizens in the initiative process. These recommendations hold considerable promise for increasing citizen engagement, election participation, and trust in government—essential elements in creating a bright future for California's democracy. Citizens' initiative reform will not be easy, but pursued thoughtfully it can improve the long-term outlook for our state.

INTRODUCTION

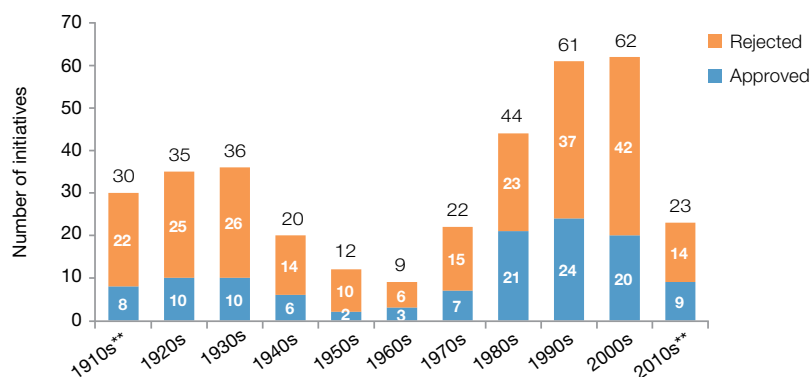
The initiative came to California 102 years ago, led by then-governor Hiram Johnson and a group of Republican reformers known as “Progressives.” The purpose of giving voters this power was to curb the influence of corrupt politicians and big business. Proposition 7 passed (76% yes) in a special election on October 10, 1911. Since then, California voters have been able to go to the ballot to create new legislation.¹

After an initial flurry of ballot activity in early decades, the initiative process was used relatively rarely in the 1950s and 1960s. In all, there were fewer than 2.5 qualified initiatives per year from 1912 to 1969, and voters approved only about one in four initiatives that were on the ballot. The use of the initiative increased after the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, leading to its current role as a parallel legislative process or fourth government branch. Between 1978 and the 2003 gubernatorial recall, 128 initiatives qualified for the ballot. Voters passed 55 of them, constituting an overall approval rate of 43 percent. Spending on initiatives intensified as paid signature gathering and professionally run campaigns became the norm.²

In an era defined by voter distrust in government, including negative perceptions of both powerful interest groups and legislative gridlock, voters passed initiatives that limited state lawmakers’ time in office and their discretion over state spending.³ Voter dissatisfaction culminated in the historic recall of Governor Gray Davis in October 2003, when voters selected film star Arnold Schwarzenegger to replace Davis.

The past 10 years have been a busy and momentous time in initiative history. There have been 100 state propositions on the ballot: 68 citizens’ initiatives (22 passed), 25 legislative measures (17 passed), six referenda measures, and the gubernatorial recall. Many of the ballot measures in recent years sought to improve the state’s fiscal and governance systems, which voters have perceived as inadequate in economically challenging times. Some observers have argued that the citizens’ initiative is part of the state’s governmental dysfunction, which has led to heightened interest in changing the initiative process.⁴

FIGURE 1. CITIZENS’ INITIATIVES* ON STATE BALLOTS FROM 1912–2012



SOURCE: California Secretary of State, “Initiatives by Title and Summary Year.”

NOTES: *Only includes citizens’ initiatives and not referenda or those placed on ballot by legislature.

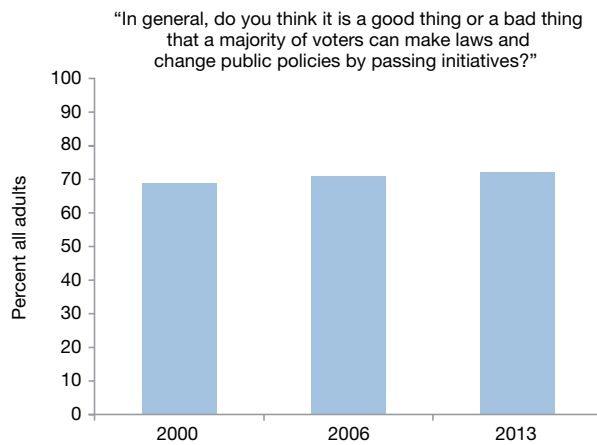
**The 1910s (election years 1912–1918) and 2010s (election years 2010 and 2012) are not full decades.

IS THE INITIATIVE BROKEN? CALIFORNIANS' VIEWS

For those who argue that the initiative process is broken, it is important to note that most Californians view it favorably overall—even while most also find the system to be less than ideal.

Positive views. Seven in 10 California adults (72%) say it is a good thing that a majority of voters can make laws and change public policies by passing initiatives. Public support for the initiative process has been steady: more than two in three Californians have called it a good thing in PPIC surveys in 2000, 2006, and 2013. Today, solid majorities of likely voters, voters across parties and ideological groups, and residents across regions and demographic groups have positive perceptions of the citizens' initiative process.⁵

FIGURE 2. POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF THE INITIATIVE PROCESS



SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, October 2000 (2,007 adults), August 2006 (2,001 adults), and March 2013 (1,703 adults).

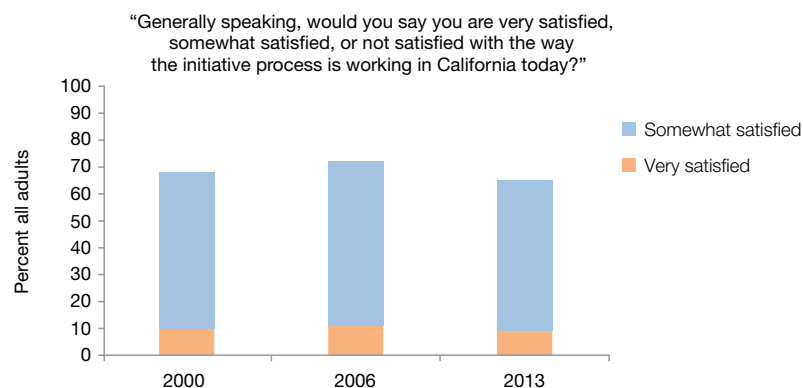
NOTE: This chart shows the percent saying "good thing."

The consistent trend of public support for the initiative process has many elements. For example, most Californians (76%) and likely voters (72%) prefer that voters make the decisions about long-term fiscal reforms, such as the way the state raises taxes and spends money.⁶ Solid majorities across parties, regions, and demographic groups agree. More than six in 10 Californians have stated this preference since we first asked this question in 2004.

Another indication of support can be found in Californians' perceptions of their own public policy decisions. About six in 10 adults (57%) and likely voters (60%) say that the decisions made by California voters are probably better than those made by the governor and state legislature.⁷ Pluralities across political, regional, and demographic groups agree. Californians have had similarly positive perceptions since we began asking this question in 2000.

However, while the public is generally pleased with the way the initiative process is working, only a small minority say they are very satisfied with it. In all, two in three Californians are satisfied (9% very, 56% somewhat), but three in 10 say they are not satisfied.⁸ Likely voters have similar positive views (7% very, 55% somewhat). Strong majorities of Democrats (68%) and independents (73%) express satisfaction, while Republicans are divided (47% satisfied, 45% not satisfied). Majorities across regions and demographic groups are satisfied. Since we began asking this question in 2000, majorities of Californians have said that they are satisfied and small minorities have said they are very satisfied. The lack of "very satisfied" Californians points to potential interest in reforming the process.

FIGURE 3. SATISFACTION WITH THE PROCESS

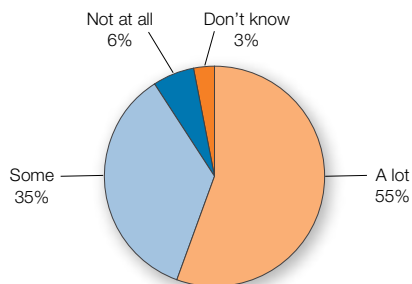


SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, October 2000 (2,007 adults), August 2006 (2,001 adults), and March 2013 (1,703 adults).

Negative views. Why are voters less than fully satisfied with the initiative process? The influence of moneyed interests is a major issue. Most Californians say that the initiative process is controlled a lot (55%) or some (35%) by special interests; few say that special interests are not at all in control of the process.⁹ Likely voters (63%) are somewhat more likely than all adults to say that special interests have a lot of control. Partisans hold negative opinions, with majorities of Democrats (57%), Republicans (65%), and independents (54%) saying a lot. Over time, the perception that special interests control the initiative process has been held by large majorities of California likely voters (63% today).

FIGURE 4. SPECIAL INTERESTS AND THE INITIATIVE PROCESS

"Overall, how much would you say that the initiative process in California today is controlled by special interests?"



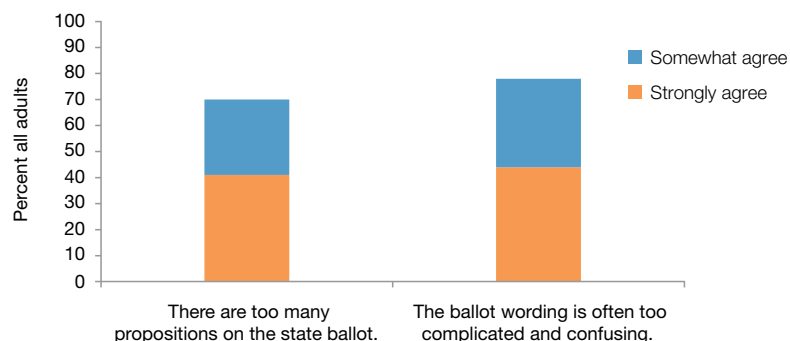
SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, May 2013 (1,704 adults).

Another problem: Californians find voting on initiatives challenging. Today, 70 percent of adults and 67 percent of likely voters say that there are too many propositions on the statewide ballot.¹⁰ An even more widely held complaint involves the wording of ballot initiatives. Currently, 78 percent of adults and 83 percent of likely voters say that initiative wording is often too complicated, making it confusing to understand what would happen if an initiative passed.

We have seen similar results in our polling around recent elections.¹¹ When we asked about the 12 propositions on the state ballot in November 2008, 59 percent of all adults and likely voters agreed that there were too many, and 78 percent of all adults and 84 percent of likely voters agreed that the wording was often too complicated and confusing. When there were 13 propositions on the ballot in November 2006, similar proportions of adults (59%) and likely voters (58%) agreed that there were too many propositions, and even more agreed that initiative wording was often too complicated and confusing (77% adults, 79% likely voters).

The criticisms of the initiative process in our polling are lasting and widespread, with majorities across political, regional, and demographic groups in agreement.

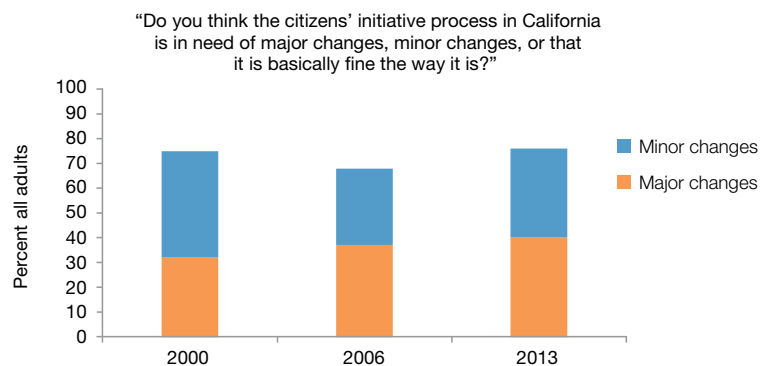
FIGURE 5. BALLOT SIZE AND WORDING



SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, May 2013 (half sample of 1,704 total adults).

Views of change. Most Californians believe there is room for improvement. Three in four adults say that the initiative process is in need of either major (40%) or minor changes (36%), while only 17 percent say it is fine the way it is.¹² Likely voters hold similar views (36% major, 38% minor). Overwhelming majorities of Democrats (81%), Republicans (72%), and independents (70%) say that changes are needed. This belief is widely held across regions and demographic groups. More than six in 10 adults have said that either major or minor changes are needed since we began asking this question in 2000. And large majorities have held this perception over time.

FIGURE 6. SUPPORT FOR CHANGING THE PROCESS



SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, October 2000 (2,007 adults), September 2006 (2,003 adults), and March 2013 (1,703 adults).

California's recent elections have provided concrete examples of the issues that so frequently surface in our surveys. Are there too many initiatives on the ballot? In the past 10 years voters have been asked to decide on a total of 68 citizens' initiatives—typically, there have been 10 or more initiatives on ballots in statewide election years. Have initiatives become too complicated and confusing as voters are asked to resolve complex legal questions and controversial policy issues? Thirteen of the 22 initiatives that the voters passed, including the Proposition 8 same-sex marriage ban, faced court challenges—suggesting a high level of contention and complexity. Do special interests have a lot of influence? If we look at all of the initiatives that ended up on the ballot since the 2003 recall, the total spending of both the yes and no campaigns was about \$1.8 billion, including a record \$514 million in the 2012 election cycle.

TABLE 1. CITIZENS' INITIATIVES, 2003–2012

	On ballots	Voters passed	Challenged in court	Campaign spending (\$ millions)
2003*	1	0	0	0.30
2004	12	5	3	216
2005*	8	0	0	153
2006	9	2	1	328
2008	15	6	4	279
2010	11	4	3	308
2012	12	5	2	514
TOTAL	68	22	13	\$1,798

* Special statewide elections

SOURCES: For information on the number of initiatives and how many passed: California Secretary of State, Statements of Vote, October 7, 2003; March 2, 2004; November 2, 2004; November 8, 2005; June 6, 2006; November 7, 2006; February 5, 2008; June 3, 2008; November 4, 2008; June 8, 2010; November 2, 2010; June 5, 2012; and November 6, 2012. For information on campaign spending: California Secretary of State, Cal-Access, Campaign Finance Activity, Propositions & Ballot Measures.

NOTE: Information on initiatives challenged in court (among those that passed) was collected from diverse Web resources including Lexis-Nexis Academic, the Judicial Branch of California, the Office of the Attorney General, the United States District Court Northern District of California, the United States Courts for the Ninth Circuit, Google, FindLaw, ACLU of Northern California, and Ballotpedia.

REASONS FOR REFORMING

In addition to the strength of public opinion, there are large forces underlying the popularity of the initiative process today. Fiscal populism, distrust of the legislature, the influence of moneyed interests, and partisan gridlock are key factors in the increased use of initiatives to effect sweeping policy reform.¹³ Here we provide a brief overview of these factors:

Fiscal populism. The century-old theme of populism is expressed today in the widespread perception that the government is run inefficiently.¹⁴ More than eight in 10 Californians believe that the people in state government waste a lot (54%) or some (32%) tax money.¹⁵ Californians also think that voters make sound fiscal choices; for example, 58 percent of adults say that Proposition 13 has been mostly a good thing for the state. In this context, Californians insist on having a role in fiscal policy: 76 percent of adults say they prefer that voters decide on the long-term issues regarding state taxes and spending.

Distrust of the legislature. Californians' distrust in state government has been evident for years, and they are especially critical of the performance of the legislative branch. Our May 2013 survey is consistent with this longstanding trend; the legislature's overall approval rating was 35 percent for adults and 29 percent for likely voters.¹⁶ It is no surprise, then, that voters want to limit their representatives' time in office and curb the legislature's power over major policy decisions.

Influence of moneyed interests. One of the historical claims of the initiative process is its effectiveness in overcoming the grip of big interests on the legislative process. The belief that government is manipulated by powerful moneyed interests is widespread; for example, 61 percent of adults and 70 percent of likely voters say that state government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves.¹⁷ Even though most Californians think that special interests have an impact on the initiative process, and while examples abound of moneyed interests that are successful both in defeating initiatives and placing them on the ballot, voters still rely on it to have some say in a government that few see as run for the benefit of all.

Partisan gridlock. California's legislative and executive branches have been politically polarized for decades. Some say that gerrymandering and partisan primaries have accentuated the extreme views of the major parties, contributing to an inability to reach consensus on several major policy issues in the 2000s. One way voters have responded is by registering as independents in record numbers; today, 51 percent of Californians say that the major parties do such a poor job that a third major party is needed.¹⁸ Voters have also turned to the initiative process. Notably, 68 percent of independents say that a third party is needed, while more than two in three Republicans, Democrats, and independents say that the initiative process is a good thing.

Driven by these four forces, Californians have taken bold actions to reform their state government in the past five years. They passed an initiative that took the power to draw the state's legislative districts away from legislators and placed it in the hands of an independent citizens' commission. They eliminated the state's partisan primaries in favor of allowing the top two vote-getters—regardless of party—to face off in the general election. They shortened legislative term limits from 14 to 12 years while at the same time removing chamber-specific rules to allow legislators to stay in their senate or assembly seats for up to 12 years. They made it possible for legislators to pass a budget (but not taxes) with a simple majority vote rather than a two-thirds vote. When the legislature passed a budget without sufficient taxes, the governor asked the voters to raise taxes through a citizens' initiative that passed in November 2012. This flurry of recent changes, along with the continuing pressure of the driving forces of reform, raises expectations that the time is approaching for voters to reform the initiative process.

TABLE 2. RECENT FISCAL AND GOVERNANCE CHANGES PASSED BY INITIATIVE

Year	Ballot measure	Voted yes
November 2008	Proposition 11, Independent Legislative Redistricting	51%
June 2010*	Proposition 14, Top Two Primary	54
November 2010	Proposition 20, Independent Congressional Redistricting	61
November 2010	Proposition 25, Majority Vote State Budget	55
June 2012	Proposition 28, Legislative Term Limits Reform	61
November 2012**	Proposition 30, Taxes, Education, and Public Safety Funding	55

* Legislature placed on ballot ** Governor placed citizens' initiative on ballot.

SOURCE: California Secretary of State, Statements of Vote, November 4, 2008; November 2, 2010; June 5, 2012; and November 6, 2012.

HOW TO MAKE CHANGES

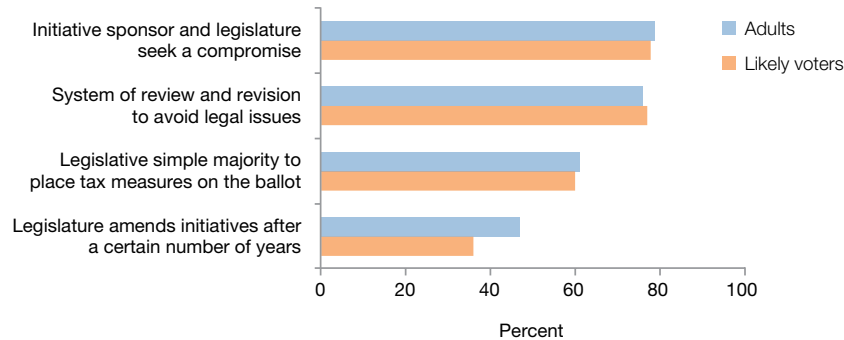
What changes are Californians willing to support today, given the driving forces behind the public's desire for governance reform? There is broad public consensus around a number of proposals.¹⁹

Improving legislative involvement. Eight in 10 (79% adults, 78% likely voters) favor having a period of time during which the initiative sponsor and the legislature could meet to look for a compromise solution before an initiative goes to the ballot. More than seven in 10 Democrats, Republicans, and independents support this idea. Overwhelming majorities across regions and demographic groups currently favor it, and we have found overwhelming support for it since we began asking this question in 2005.

Overwhelming majorities of adults (76%) and likely voters (77%) support a system of review and revision for proposed initiatives to try to avoid legal issues and drafting errors. There has been strong majority support for this idea since we began asking about it in 2005. There is strong support across party lines (82% Democrats, 81% independents, 69% Republicans) and in every region and demographic group. The level of support for this reform among adults is at a record high today. Obviously, legislative involvement is just one of several ways that a system of review and revision could be implemented. For example, the "indirect initiative," in which sponsors bring their initiatives to the legislature after the required number of signatures has been gathered, was in place in California for the initiative's first 50 years, though it was rarely used and eventually eliminated as part of a package of constitutional changes passed by the legislature and the voters.

Voters also want to be part of the fiscal decisionmaking process, as they were with the Proposition 30 tax initiative that passed in November 2012. Lowering the vote threshold for the legislature to place tax measures on the ballot has solid majority support among adults (61%) and likely voters (60%). A strong majority of Democrats (73%) and about half of independents (53%) and Republicans (49%) favor this idea, as do adults across regions and demographic groups. By contrast, allowing a simple majority in the legislature to pass state taxes is viewed as a good idea by 43 percent of adults and 40 percent of likely voters. A majority of Democrats (54%) support this idea, but fewer independents (35%) and Republicans (28%) do.

Another indication that many are reluctant to increase the legislature's decisionmaking powers too much is that fewer than half of adults (47%) and likely voters (36%) are in favor of allowing the legislature, with the governor's approval, to amend initiatives after a certain number of years. Once again, more Democrats (50%) than Republicans (31%) or independents (44%) are in favor of this reform. Fewer than half of adults were in favor of this idea in 2005 (37%) and in 1998 (44%).²⁰

FIGURE 7. SUPPORT FOR LEGISLATIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROCESS

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, March 2013 (1,703 adults, 1,138 likely voters) for first three items and May 2013 (half sample of 1,704 total adults, 1,129 total likely voters) for fourth item.

NOTE: This chart shows the percent saying “good idea” for legislative simple majority and the percent saying “favor” for all other findings.

Improving the initiative process. The public’s support for increased transparency around initiative campaign funders is evident in a number of reform ideas. This is noteworthy in the context of the rise of independent expenditure groups after the *Citizens United* ruling and recent concerns about out-of-state spending in the November 2012 state election. Eight in 10 adults (78%) and likely voters (84%) favor increasing public disclosure of funding sources for signature gathering and initiative campaigns. Partisans show similar levels of support for this reform (81% Democrats, 80% Republicans, and 85% independents). Support for increased disclosure of initiative funders is more than 65 percent across regional and demographic groups. Support for increasing public disclosure has been more than 70 percent since we first asked this question in 2005.

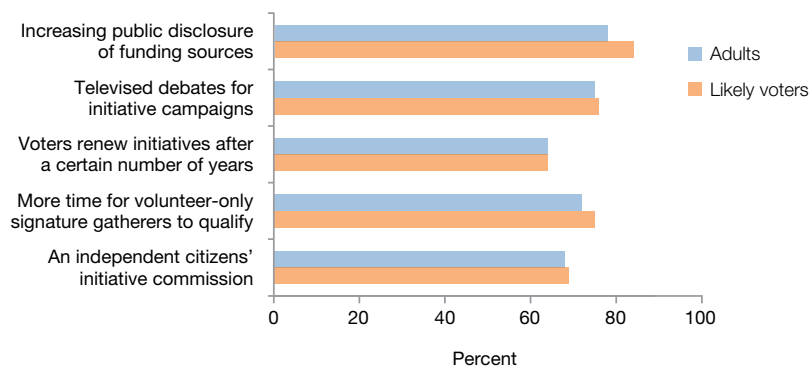
The idea of having the yes and no sides of initiative campaigns participate in a series of televised debates also has high levels of support. It is favored by 75 percent of adults, 76 percent of likely voters, and overwhelming majorities of Democrats (73%), Republicans (71%), and independents (84%). Televised debates had the strong endorsement of election voters in surveys after the November 2008 election (72%) and the November 2005 special election (77%).²¹

Californians may complain about too many initiatives, but many like the idea of weighing in again on initiatives that have already passed. Strong majorities of adults (64%) and likely voters (64%) favor requiring voters to renew initiatives after a certain number of years by voting on them again. There is majority support among Democrats (68%), Republicans (61%), and independents (72%), and majority support across regional and demographic groups.

Consistent with the belief that moneyed interest groups have too much control over the initiative process, 72 percent of adults and 75 percent of likely voters are in favor of giving initiative sponsors more time if they are using volunteers rather than paid workers to gather signatures. Favor for this proposal is overwhelming among Democrats (74%), Republicans (76%), and independents (79%), and solid majorities express support across regional and demographic groups.

Finally, an innovative way to increase citizen involvement has recently become part of Oregon's state elections. Oregon has established an independent citizens' initiative commission that holds public hearings on state initiatives and makes recommendations in the official voter information guide. Californians show strong support for these innovations, with 68 percent of adults and 69 percent of likely voters favoring them. Support crosses party lines (68% Democrats, 65% Republicans, 73% independents), with solid majorities across regional and demographic groups in favor.²²

FIGURE 8. SUPPORT FOR PROPOSALS TO IMPROVE THE PROCESS



SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, March 2013 (1,703 adults, 1,138 likely voters) for first item and May 2013 (half sample of 1,704 total adults, 1,129 total likely voters for second through fourth items and 1,704 adults, 1,129 likely voters for fifth item).

NOTE: This chart shows the percent saying "favor" for all findings.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

PPIC's public opinion polls find broad support for the initiative process as well as strong consensus that changes are needed both to improve the system and to connect the legislative and initiative processes. The calls for change do not arise from a desire to reduce the initiative's power but rather are symptomatic of the problems that have surfaced with initiative ballot measures in recent years. Over the past decade, our polling has found that the initiative reform ideas that are aligned with the same factors driving other fiscal and governance reforms have a broad base of support. Specifically, Californians would like to see changes that promote fiscal populism, allay their concerns about moneyed interests, reduce their distrust in the legislature, and break through the partisan gridlock that has stifled government action on important policy decisions.

We recommend three steps as Californians seek to mend, not end, their direct democracy system:

Connect the legislative and initiative process. Californians like the idea of expanding the legislature's involvement in the initiative process in ways they see as blending the best of both worlds. There could be many benefits to reviving California's indirect initiative process even in light of its lack of use in California's past and in other states today. Initiative sponsors could work toward a possible compromise before they go to the ballot for a vote. Sponsors could also bring their initiatives to the legislature for review, perhaps revealing drafting errors and avoiding later court challenges—or at the very least adding a layer of transparency and dialogue to the review process. Moreover, Californians like the idea of making it easier for the legislature to bring fiscal measures to the ballot so that they can have a say on the major tax and spending issues of the day. By contrast, they do not support allowing the legislature to tinker with initiatives after they have passed or making it easier for the legislature to raise taxes if there is no public vote on the idea.

Increase disclosure of initiative funders. Voters are eager to learn more about the moneyed interests behind initiative campaigns. Too often, voters feel that moneyed interests have too much involvement in the process and that the intentions of these interests are not well known. Californians want greater transparency around the individuals and groups who spend large sums of money to influence voting on initiatives. This could include naming the top financial backers in signature-gathering materials, paid advertising, and the voter information guide. Voters would also like to meet the people behind the yes and no sides of a campaign. This could include hearing their arguments in televised debates and town halls. Without full financial disclosure, voters tend to approach ballot initiatives with suspicion and cynicism, which clouds discussion of the initiatives themselves.

Reengage citizens in the initiative process. Californians have lost their connection to their own citizens' initiative process. Today, it takes well-funded campaigns to qualify measures for the ballot, and citizen-led initiatives are likely to fall short of both time and money. Voters like the idea of extended time for volunteer-only signature gathering—a way of encouraging citizen involvement. Voters also like the idea of renewing important ballot decisions by voting on them again after a few years—a process that could both reengage citizens and lead to less rigid lawmaking at the ballot box. Finally, Californians look favorably on the idea of establishing an independent citizens' commission that would hold public hearings and make ballot recommendations. California could benefit from a close look at the Oregon experience and from some experimentation in the 2014 statewide election.

These recommendations would have effects that go beyond improving the initiative process. They would increase citizen engagement, encourage voter participation, and build trust in state government. Voters in the past five years have made a series of dramatic governance changes, and given the driving forces of reform and Californians' desire for change, voters could be poised to make more changes in the 2014 election and beyond.

Still, history suggests that initiative reform will not be an easy task. Of all the changes made through initiatives, significant changes to the initiative system itself rarely occur.²³ Voters will be distrustful of legislators who want to make changes to the process, and moneyed interests and partisan groups who benefit from the current system will want to keep the status quo. Voters will likely reject reform proposals that they view as efforts by one group to gain advantage over another or as attempts to reduce the public voice in fiscal and governance decisions.

Yet widespread consensus exists for making changes to the initiative system, and reforms are likely to pay large dividends. If the legislative and initiative processes can work together successfully, there could be far-reaching consequences—such as a more timely resolution of California's many public policy challenges—that result in a brighter future for the state.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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NOTES

1. See, for example, the discussions of initiative history in Mark Baldassare and Cheryl Katz, *The Coming Age of Direct Democracy: California's Recall and Beyond* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2007); Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, "California's Initiative Process: 100 Years Old," Just the Facts (PPIC, 2011); Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds., *Citizens as Legislators: Direct Democracy in the United States* (Ohio State University Press, 1998); California Commission on Campaign Financing, "Democracy by Initiative: Shaping California's Fourth Branch of Government" (Center for Responsive Government, 1992); Thomas E. Cronin, *Direct Democracy: The Politics of Initiative, Referendum, and Recall* (Harvard University Press, 1999); Brian P. Janiskee and Ken Masugi, *Democracy in California: Politics and Government in the Golden State* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004); David McCuan and Steve Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics: The New Politics of Direct Democracy* (Carolina Academic Press, 2005); and League of Women Voters, "Initiative and Referendum in California: A Legacy Lost?" (February 2013).
2. League of Women Voters, "Initiative and Referendum in California: A Legacy Lost?" (February 2013) and California Secretary of State, "Initiatives by Title and Summary Year."
3. See for example Mark Baldassare, *California in the New Millennium: The Changing Social and Political Landscape* (University of California Press, 2000); Mark Baldassare, *A California State of Mind: The Conflicted Voter in a Changing World* (University of California Press, 2002); Bruce Cain and Thad Kousser, *Adapting to Term Limits: Recent Experiences and New Directions* (PPIC, 2004); Jack Citrin, "Do People Want Something for Nothing?: Public Opinion on Taxes and Spending," *National Tax Journal* 32: 113-129 (1979); Eric McGhee, *At Issue: Legislative Reform* (PPIC, 2007); and J. Fred Silva, "The California Initiative Process: Background and Perspective," Occasional Papers (PPIC, 2007).
4. See for example David S. Broder, *Democracy Derailed: Initiative Campaigns and the Power of Money* (Harcourt, 2000); Joe Mathews and Mark Paul, *California Crackup: How Reform Broke the Golden State and How We Can Fix It* (University of California Press, 2010); Peter Shrag, *Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future* (New Press, 1998); Peter Schrag, *California: America's High Stakes Experiment* (University of California Press, 2006); and *San Francisco Chronicle* editorial, "It's Time for Initiative Reform" (February 18, 2013).
5. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, March 2013 (1,703 adults); Mark Baldassare, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, October 2000 (2,007 adults); and Mark Baldassare, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, August 2006 (2,001 adults).
6. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, January 2013 (1,704 adults).
7. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults).
8. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, March 2013 (1,703 adults).
9. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults).
10. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults).
11. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, September 2006 (2,003 adults) and Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Jennifer Paluch, and Sonja Petek, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, September 2008 (2,002 adults).
12. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, March 2013 (1,703 adults). Fifty-seven percent of those who are very satisfied with the initiative process want major or minor changes, compared with 76 percent of those who are somewhat satisfied and 92 percent of those who are not satisfied.
13. See a more detailed discussion of these four factors in Mark Baldassare and Cheryl Katz, *The Coming Age of Direct Democracy: California's Recall and Beyond* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).
14. See, for example, Mark Baldassare, *A California State of Mind: The Conflicted Voter in a Changing World* (University of California Press, 2002) and Terry Nichols Clark and Vincent Hoffman-Martinot, eds., *The New Political Culture* (Westview Press, 1998).

15. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults) and Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, January 2013 (1,704 adults). As evidence of the link between populism and the initiative process in this survey, six in 10 of the 48 percent of adults who say the state is going in the wrong direction also believe that public policy decisions made by California voters through the initiative process are probably better than those made by the governor and legislature.
16. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults). As for the link between legislative distrust and the initiative process in this survey, six in 10 of the 50 percent of adults who disapprove of the job performance of the legislature believe that public policy decisions made by California voters through the initiative process are probably better than those made by the governor and legislature.
17. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults). As for the link between moneyed interests and the initiative process in this survey, six in 10 of the 61 percent of adults who say state government is run by a few big interests believe that public policy decisions made by California voters through the initiative process are probably better than those made by the governor and legislature.
18. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, March 2013 (1,703 adults). See Mark Baldassare, *At Issue: Improving California's Democracy* (PPIC, 2012); Mark Baldassare, *At Issue: California's Post-Partisan Future* (PPIC, 2008); and Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, "California's Independent Voters," *Just the Facts* (PPIC, 2012). See Eric McGhee, *Redistricting and Legislative Partisanship* (PPIC, 2008) for an empirical analysis on the causal factors in the California Legislature.
19. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, March 2013 (1,703 adults).
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21. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, November 2005 (2,002 election voters) and Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Jennifer Paluch, and Sonja Petek, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, December 2008 (2,003 election voters).
22. The source for data reported in the accompanying text is Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Sonja Petek, and Jui Shrestha, *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government*, May 2013 (1,704 adults). For further information on the Citizens Initiative Review Commission in Oregon see <http://www.oregon.gov/circ> and <http://healthydemocracy.org/citizens-initiative-review>, and for further California polling on the citizens' initiative commission see Greenlining Institute, "California Ballot Reform Panel Survey 2011-2012" (January 2012).
23. California voters rejected three initiatives that would have resulted in significant initiative reforms: Proposition 4, Increase in Signatures Required for Initiative Petitions, on November 2, 1920; Proposition 27, Increase in Number of Signatures Required on Petitions, on November 7, 1922; and Proposition 137, Rules Governing Initiatives, on November 6, 1990. Voters passed significant initiative reforms through Proposition 1a, the Constitutional Revision Amendment, on November 8, 1966, which lowered the number of signatures required for initiative statutes and eliminated the indirect initiative and also passed Proposition 9, the Political Reform Act, on June 4, 1974, which changed the initiative information required in the ballot pamphlet. There have been other attempts and minor changes in the initiative process over time. See League of Women Voters, "Initiative and Referendum in California: A Legacy Lost?" (February 2013) and California Commission on Campaign Financing, "Democracy by Initiative: Shaping California's Fourth Branch of Government" (Center for Responsive Government, 1992).

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