

**PPIC Statewide Survey:  
Californians and Their Government**

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**Public  
Policy  
Institute  
*of*  
California**

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## Preface

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The PPIC Statewide Survey consists of an ongoing series of surveys designed to provide policymakers, the media, and the general public with objective, advocacy-free information on the perceptions, opinions, and public policy preferences of residents throughout the state of California. Begun in April 1998, the surveys have generated a database that includes the responses of over 48,000 Californians. This report presents the results of the twenty-fourth PPIC Statewide Survey. The surveys have included a number of special editions focusing on particular regions and themes:

- The Central Valley (Nov. 1999, March 2001)
- San Diego County (July 2000)
- Orange County (Sept. 2001)
- The Environment (June 2000)
- Population Growth (May 2001)
- Land Use (Nov. 2001)
- U.S.-Japan Relations (Sept. 2001)

The current survey is the ninth in a new series that will be conducted on a periodic basis throughout the 2002 election cycle. The series will focus on the social, economic, and political trends and public policy preferences underlying ballot choices in statewide races and citizens' initiatives. This report presents the responses of 2,056 adult residents throughout the state on a wide range of issues:

- The California election in 2002, including trends in likely voter preferences in the Republican gubernatorial primary in March, voters' attention to news and political advertising, GOP candidate images, approval ratings for the governor relative to those for federal elected officials, potential match-ups of major party candidates in the gubernatorial election in November, support for Proposition 45 on the March ballot, and perceptions of the state's current legislative term limits law.
- Political profiles of California adults, registered voters, and likely voters in different political groups on policy issues such as abortion, gun control, environmental protection, homosexual rights, the provision of public services to illegal immigrants, and preferences for a smaller or larger government.
- California policy issues, such as the most important issue in the governor's race, satisfaction with efforts to improve the state's public school system, perceptions of the seriousness of the state's electricity problems, and preferences for new energy sources.
- Social and economic trends, including overall outlook on the economy and direction of the state, perceptions of regional economies, and attitudes toward the Enron Corporation and the war on terrorism.
- How growing regions and groups such as the Central Valley, Latinos, and independent voters affect overall statewide trends in ballot choices and policy preferences.

Copies of earlier survey reports or additional copies of this report may be ordered by e-mail ([order@ppic.org](mailto:order@ppic.org)) or phone (415-291-4400). The reports are also posted on the publications page of the PPIC web site ([www.ppic.org](http://www.ppic.org)).



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## Press Release

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### **DYNAMICS IN GOVERNOR'S RACE HAVE CHANGED DRAMATICALLY**

#### **Riordan Still Ahead but Simon Gaining Ground in GOP Primary and November Election**

SAN FRANCISCO, California, February 21, 2002 — California's airwaves have been saturated with ads for Governor Gray Davis and gubernatorial contender Richard Riordan but, ironically, the biggest gains in the race have been for political newcomer Bill Simon. A new survey by the Public Policy Institute of California shows that Simon has gained 20 points in the GOP primary since January and represents a serious challenge to Davis in November.

Riordan is still leading Simon among likely voters in the GOP primary (41% to 24%), but his 37-point lead over Simon in January (41% to 4%) has now shrunk to 17 points. Simon has now taken second place over Jones, whose support has dropped since January from 13 percent to 9 percent.

Looking ahead to potential match-ups in November, Riordan's lead over Davis (46% to 40%) has stretched slightly from January (41% to 37%). But the bigger news is Davis' declining margins over the other two GOP candidates. Davis now runs nearly even with Simon (44% to 40%), compared with a 13-point lead for the governor in January (42% to 29%). Jones has similarly closed the gap with Davis; Jones now trails the governor by only five points (44% to 39%), down from 11 points in January (42% to 31%).

#### **Other Election-Related Findings**

- Independent voters are divided between voting in the GOP primary (23%) and the Democratic primary (27%), while half will vote in neither (32%) or haven't made up their minds (18%).
- In Southern California, nearly half of GOP primary likely voters support Riordan over Simon and Jones.
- Most likely voters in the GOP primary describe themselves as somewhat (40%) or very (21%) conservative. Simon and Riordan are virtually tied among voters who describe themselves as very conservative.
- GOP primary likely voters are most likely to describe Riordan as middle-of-the-road (26%) or somewhat conservative (25%), while many remain unclear about the political orientations of Jones (59%) and Simon (48%).
- People who recall having seen more TV advertisements by Davis support Riordan over Davis by a larger margin (51% to 36%) than among people who recall mostly Riordan ads (46% to 43%).
- Governor Davis' approval ratings among likely voters (44%) are unchanged from January (46%) and are well below those of President Bush (71%), Senator Dianne Feinstein (58%), and Senator Barbara Boxer (53%).
- 59 percent of likely voters oppose Proposition 45 – the initiative that would let local voters petition to seek an extension of term limits for their incumbent legislators – with two in three saying that current term limits give state legislators the right amount of time in office.

“Californians’ concerns about a host of problems – including schools, electricity, the economy, the budget deficit, and terrorism – have sparked a great deal of interest in the gubernatorial election, and a fairly open-minded attitude toward the candidates,” says survey director Mark Baldassare. “A year ago, no one would have expected that Governor Davis would be in a close race for reelection, but much has changed in the public’s priorities and this has created a new political landscape.”

### **What California Voters Think About Hot-Button Issues**

**Abortion:** 69 percent of adults, and 72 percent of likely voters, believe the government should not interfere with a woman’s access to abortion. Although that percentage rises to 82 percent for Democrats and 85 percent among independent likely voters, even a majority (54%) of Republican likely voters holds that view.

**The environment:** 59 percent of adults, and 62 percent of likely voters, think it is worth passing more rigorous environmental laws and regulations, even if there is a downside for jobs and the economy. Democrats (76%) and independent voters (70%) are much more likely than Republicans (42%) to place the environment above economic issues.

**Gay rights:** 54 percent of adults, and 56 percent of likely voters, think that society has not gone far enough in ending discrimination against homosexuals. There are strong partisan differences: Democrats (73%) and independent voters (58%) are much more likely than Republicans (34%) to want to do more for gay rights.

**Public services for illegal immigrants:** Despite strong support eight years ago for Proposition 187 – the initiative that denied public services to illegal immigrants – a majority of all California adults (53%), and 48 percent of likely voters, say they favor providing government services such as health care and education to illegal immigrants and their children. Latinos (73%) are much more likely than non-Hispanic whites (44%) to want to provide services for illegal immigrants.

**Gun control:** 53 percent of all adults, and 56 percent of likely voters, want stricter enforcement of current laws but do not want passage of new gun laws.

**Smaller or bigger government:** Californians are split on whether they want a smaller government with fewer services (48%) or a bigger government with more services (47%). Fifty-four percent of likely voters prefer to have a smaller government with fewer services. Democrats (35%) are much less likely than independent voters (58%) and Republicans (75%) to favor a smaller government.

### **The Three E's: Education, Energy, and Economy Still Dominate Voters' Minds**

Californians are most interested in hearing the candidates for governor talk about schools (19%), followed by electricity, and the economy (each 12%). Residents do not appear to count the state’s looming \$12 billion budget deficit among their top priorities (3%). Likewise, terrorism (2%) barely registers with voters as the “most important issue.”

Fewer than half of Californians express satisfaction with the state’s major efforts to improve public education in the past few years, including school safety (48%), class size reduction (47%), school accountability for test scores (38%), teacher quality (37%), school facilities (37%), and school spending (28%). However, those with children in the public schools express considerably more satisfaction than those without children at home. When asked what is most in need of improvement in California schools, residents name teachers (33%), followed by classroom overcrowding (13%), and curriculum (10%).

Most Californians (79%) believe that the cost, supply, and demand for electricity is either a big problem or somewhat of a problem. That pessimism reaches into the future: Only 36 percent of

residents are confident that the state's electricity supply will be adequate over the next five years, while a majority (57%) says it will be at least somewhat inadequate.

There is little question about how Californians feel about de-regulation – they don't like it. Seventy-three percent of adults favor re-regulating the power industry, while only 23 percent would like to see further de-regulation. A majority of Californians (53%) opposes new offshore drilling along the California coast, and a sizable majority (69%) favors developing more renewable sources of energy, such as wind and solar power.

State residents are split, however, on whether the energy crunch is best handled by building more power plants (46%) or by encouraging energy conservation (48%).

### **Californians Not Brimming Over With Optimism, But Still Looking Ahead**

There is an almost even split between residents who expect good economic times for the state in the next 12 months (46%) and those who see gray skies on California's horizon (47%). Despite that divergence, a majority of Californians (56%) believes the state is generally headed in the right direction. As for views of their region, half think they are in a recession (55%), though few describe this as a serious downturn (12%). Residents in the San Francisco Bay area are the most optimistic about their region's economic future – 77 percent say they expect economic conditions to be better five years from now, compared to 59% of the residents in Los Angeles and 62% of the residents in the Central Valley.

### **About the Survey**

The purpose of the PPIC Statewide Survey is to develop an in-depth profile of the social, economic, and political forces affecting California elections and public policy preferences. PPIC will conduct large-scale public opinion surveys on a regular basis leading up to the November 2002 election. Findings of the current survey are based on a telephone survey of 2,056 California adult residents interviewed from February 4 to February 14, 2002. Interviews were conducted in English or Spanish. The sampling error for the total sample is +/- 2%. The sampling error for the 1,461 registered voters is +/- 2.5%, for the 937 likely voters +/- 3.5%, and for the 382 GOP primary likely voters +/- 5%. For more information on survey methodology, see page 23.

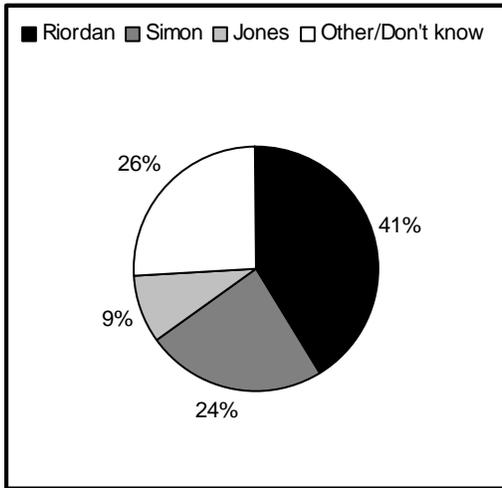
Dr. Mark Baldassare is a senior fellow at PPIC, where he holds the Arjay and Frances Fearing Miller Chair in Public Policy. He is founder and director of the PPIC Statewide Survey, which he has conducted since 1998.

PPIC is a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to objective, nonpartisan research on economic, social, and political issues that affect Californians. The Institute was established in 1994 with an endowment from William R. Hewlett. David W. Lyon is President and CEO of PPIC.

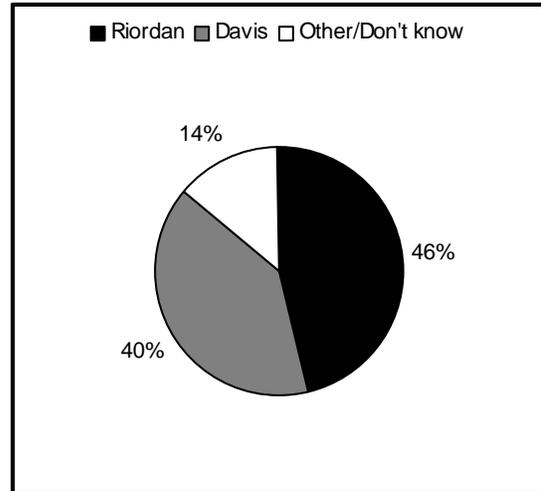
This report will appear on PPIC's website ([www.ppic.org](http://www.ppic.org)) on February 21.

### (see graphics next page) ###

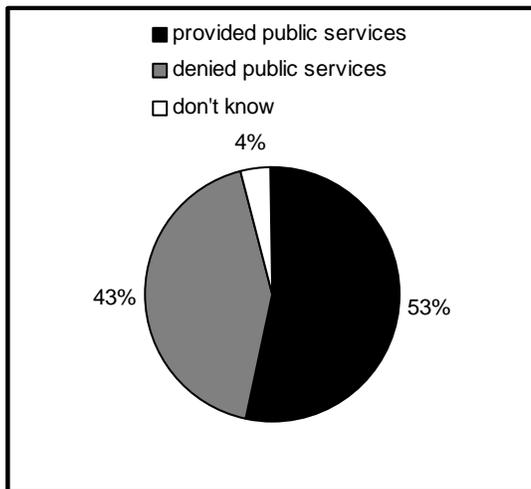
**If the Republican primary election for governor were held today and these were the candidates, who would you vote for?**



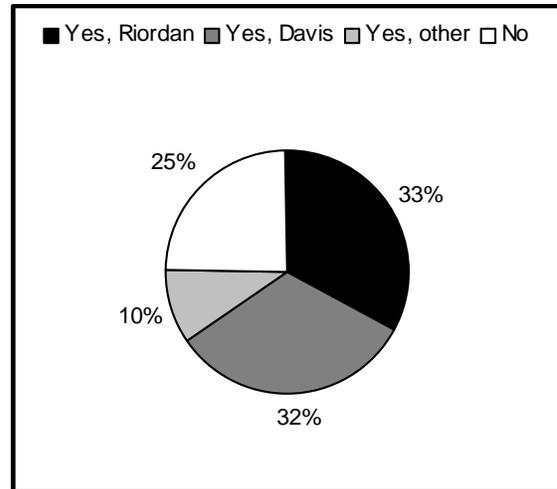
**If these were the candidates in the November 2002 governor's election, would you vote for ...**



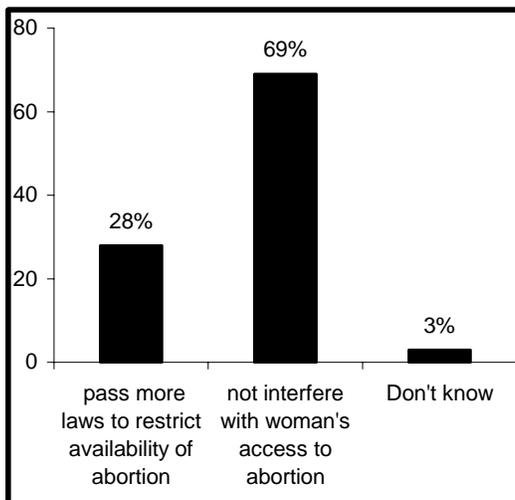
**Illegal immigrants and their children should be ...**



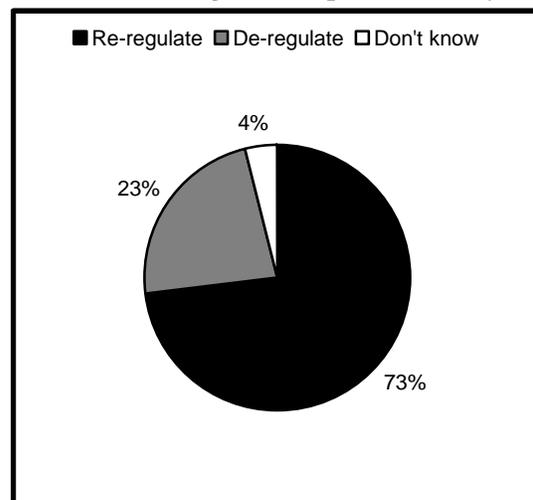
**In the past month, have you seen any television advertisements by the candidates for governor?**



**Government should ...**



**Should California policymakers re-regulate or further de-regulate the power industry?**



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## California 2002 Elections

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### GOP gubernatorial Primary

With the March 5<sup>th</sup> primary race in the homestretch, Richard Riordan remains far ahead, but Bill Simon is gaining ground, and Bill Jones has currently slipped to third position. Among likely GOP primary voters, four in 10 support Richard Riordan, one in four favors Bill Simon, and one in 10 supports Bill Jones. Simon is the candidate with the most momentum: In one month, his support has increased from 4 percent to 24 percent. This increase has come as the pool of undecided GOP primary voters has shrunk from 42 percent to 26 percent.

Among likely voters in the GOP primary, Riordan leads Simon and Jones among men and women and across all age, education, and income categories. Riordan's support is stronger in Southern California, where nearly half support him, than in Northern California, where he gets the support of one in three. Among moderate and somewhat conservative GOP primary likely voters, Riordan is ahead of the other candidates, but he is virtually tied with Simon among voters who describe themselves as very conservative.

Since December, independent voters have apparently become more interested in taking advantage of updated "open primary" rules that allow them to vote in the Democratic or Republican primary if they choose, rather than on an independent ballot. Although the percentage opting for the Republican primary is the same as in December, the percentage choosing the Democratic primary has grown, so that the percentages voting for the two parties are now about even. Half of all independents say they are either undecided or plan to vote in neither the Democratic nor Republican primary.

**"If the March 2002 primary election for governor were held today, who would you vote for?"**

<b>GOP Primary (likely voters)</b>			
	<b>Dec 01</b>	<b>Jan 02</b>	<b>Feb 02</b>
<b>Richard Riordan</b>	37%	41%	<b>41%</b>
<b>Bill Simon</b>	5	4	<b>24</b>
<b>Bill Jones</b>	13	13	<b>9</b>
<b>Other/ Don't know</b>	45	42	<b>26</b>

**"Do you plan to vote in the Republican primary, the Democratic primary, or neither?"**

<b>Independents (likely voters)</b>			
	<b>Dec 01</b>	<b>Jan 02</b>	<b>Feb 02</b>
<b>Republican</b>	23%	18%	<b>23%</b>
<b>Democrat</b>	11	20	<b>27</b>
<b>Neither</b>	40	42	<b>32</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	26	20	<b>18</b>

## GOP Candidates' Images

Republican primary likely voters appear to be clearer on Riordan's politics than they are about the political orientations of Simon or Jones. When asked to place the GOP candidates for governor on a spectrum from very liberal to very conservative, 59 percent of Republican likely voters didn't know enough to place Jones, 48 percent didn't know enough to place Simon, but only 23 percent couldn't place Riordan. About half of GOP primary likely voters describe Riordan as middle-of-the-road or somewhat conservative. Among those who could categorize the other candidates, 24 percent describe Jones and 36 percent describe Simon as somewhat or very conservative.

Among Riordan supporters, 75 percent describe him as either middle-of-the-road (35%) or somewhat conservative (40%). In contrast, 52 percent of Simon supporters describe Riordan as either liberal (33%) or middle-of-the-road (22%). Among Simon supporters, 61 percent describe their candidate as somewhat (39%) or very conservative (22%). Among the still-uncommitted GOP likely voters, two in three have yet to form an opinion about Riordan's ideology and eight in 10 can't place Simon or Jones.

In this context, it is informative to consider the political orientation of those GOP primary likely voters themselves. They are much more likely than other likely voters or all California adults to describe themselves as conservative. Sixty-one percent of GOP primary likely voters describe themselves as either very conservative (21%) or somewhat conservative (40%). In contrast, only 13 percent of other likely voters and 33 percent of all adults see themselves as either very conservative or somewhat conservative.

"Do you consider each of these candidates in the Republican primary for governor to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, middle-of-the-road, somewhat conservative, or very conservative, or don't you know enough to say?"

	GOP Primary Likely Voters					
	Very liberal	Somewhat liberal	Middle-of-the-road	Somewhat conservative	Very conservative	Don't know
Richard Riordan	5%	12%	26%	25%	9%	23%
Bill Jones	1	4	12	19	5	59
Bill Simon	1	3	12	23	13	48

"Do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, middle-of-the-road, somewhat conservative, or very conservative?"

	Very liberal	Somewhat liberal	Middle-of-the-road	Somewhat conservative	Very conservative	Don't know
	GOP primary likely voters	3%	5%	29%	40%	21%
Other likely voters	18	36	32	10	3	1
All adults	10	22	33	24	9	2

**Campaign Awareness: News and Advertising**

The gubernatorial election is generating considerable public interest at this stage: 56 percent of likely voters are very closely or fairly closely following the news about the governor’s election. The numbers in those categories are about equally high for Democrats (57%) and Republicans (58%), and only slightly lower for independent voters (50%).

Even higher is the percentage of likely voters – 75 percent – who have noticed television ads by gubernatorial candidates in the past month. When asked whose advertisements they have seen the most, 32 percent say they have seen more Davis ads and 33 percent have seen more by Riordan. Democrats and Republicans are equally likely to recall both the Davis and Riordan advertisements, while independent voters are more likely to say they have seen mostly Davis (36%) rather than mostly Riordan (27%) commercials.

Among those who have mostly seen Riordan commercials, Riordan leads Simon and Jones in the GOP primary (41% to 31% to 6%). Among those who recall seeing mostly the Davis commercials, Riordan has an even wider margin over Simon and Jones (47% to 25% to 8%). Among voters who cannot recall seeing any commercials, 8 percent favor Simon, 15 percent favor Jones, 35 percent favor Riordan, and 42 percent are still undecided.

"How closely have you been following news about candidates for the 2002 governor’s election – very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?"

	<u>Likely Voters</u>			
	All Likely Voters	Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
Very closely	13%	14%	12%	11%
Fairly closely	43	43	46	39
Not too closely	35	36	31	39
Not at all closely	9	7	11	11

"In the past month have you seen any television advertisements by the candidates for governor (if yes: In the past month, whose ads have you seen the most)?"

	<u>Likely Voters</u>			
	All Likely Voters	Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
Yes, Davis	32%	29%	33%	36%
Yes, Riordan	33	34	34	27
Yes, Simon	3	2	5	3
Yes, other	7	8	4	8
No	25	27	24	26

### Potential November Match-ups

In the December and January statewide surveys, Riordan and Davis were in a close race, while Davis was well ahead of Simon and Jones. Riordan and Davis are still close, with Riordan ahead by 46 percent to 40 percent. However, the distance has narrowed between Davis and Simon (44% to 40%) and Davis and Jones (44% to 39%).

Davis' paid advertising does not seem to be increasing voter support for him at this early stage. Among voters who recall seeing mostly Davis advertisements, Riordan actually leads Davis by a wider margin (51% to 36%) than he does among those who recall mostly Riordan advertisements (46% to 43%). Moreover, among voters who saw mostly Davis ads, it is a virtual tie between Simon and Davis (43% to 41%) and Jones and Davis (42% to 39%).

Riordan has stronger support among GOP likely voters than Davis does among Democratic likely voters, and Riordan is split with Davis among independent likely voters. Riordan is ahead of Davis in every major region except the San Francisco Bay area. Latinos favor Davis over Riordan (50% to 35%), but non-Hispanic whites support Riordan over Davis (49% to 37%). Men favor Riordan over Davis (53% to 34%), but it's a draw among women.

In Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area, Davis is ahead of Simon and Jones, but they are both ahead of him in the rest of the state. Women support Davis, but men are split between Davis and either Jones or Simon. Latinos favor Davis by a big margin, while non-Hispanic whites split their support between Davis and either Simon or Jones. Independent voters prefer Davis to Simon or Jones, but in both potential match-ups, one in four remains undecided.

"If these were the candidates in the November 2002 governor's election, would you vote for ..."

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Likely Voters	Likely Voters	Likely Voters
Gray Davis	40%	44%	44%
Richard Riordan	46	39	40
Other/Don't know	14	17	16

	Likely Voters							
	Party			Region				Latino
	Dem	Rep	Other Voters	Central Valley	SF Bay Area	Los Angeles	Other Southern California	
(1) Gray Davis	67%	8%	42%	35%	53%	40%	31%	50%
(1) Richard Riordan	17	81	41	50	30	47	56	35
(1) Other/Don't know	16	11	17	15	17	13	13	15
(2) Gray Davis	74	10	43	39	54	49	34	61
(2) Bill Jones	10	76	31	45	28	32	50	27
(2) Other/Don't know	16	14	26	16	18	19	16	12
(3) Gray Davis	73	11	44	38	54	50	33	61
(3) Bill Simon	12	76	31	47	30	33	53	30
(3) Other/Don't know	15	13	25	15	16	17	14	9

## Governor's Ratings in Perspective

The difficulties Governor Davis faces in his reelection bid are a reflection of his low approval ratings, especially among likely voters. His job approval rating is 51 percent among all California adults, 48 percent among registered voters, and 44 percent among likely voters. His ratings are particularly low relative to the ratings of federal elected officials, even those of fellow Democrats. Seven in ten likely voters approve of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president; six in 10 approve of U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein's job performance; and more than half say they approve of the job U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer is doing.

Bush enjoys high approval ratings – now in evidence in all four PPIC statewide surveys following September 11<sup>th</sup> – because he has strong support from likely voters inside and outside of the GOP. Feinstein and Boxer have very strong approval ratings among Democrats and majority support from independent voters, which counters their low approval ratings among GOP voters. In contrast, Davis has weaker support than Feinstein and Boxer among Democrats and among independent voters.

Solid majorities of voters in all regions of the state and across demographic groups approve of the job that Bush is doing in office. In fact, only those voters who described themselves as very liberal disapprove of Bush more than they approve of him. In contrast, among likely voters, Davis has less than majority approval in all regions of the state, and among both men and women. Riordan seems to receive a boost from Bush's high standing: He leads Davis by a two-to-one margin among those voters who approve of President Bush's performance in office.

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way that ..."

	<u>Likely Voters</u>		
	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
Gray Davis is handling his job as governor?	44%	53%	3%
George W. Bush is handling his job as president?	71	27	2
Dianne Feinstein is handling her job as a U.S. senator?	58	31	11
Barbara Boxer is handling her job as a U.S. senator?	53	35	12

<u>Percent Approve (%)</u>	<u>Likely Voters</u>		
	Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
Gray Davis is handling his job as governor?	63%	22%	44%
George W. Bush is handling his job as president?	54	95	63
Dianne Feinstein is handling her job as a U.S. senator?	77	37	58
Barbara Boxer is handling her job as a U.S. senator?	79	21	56

### Proposition 45

Proposition 45 is the citizens' initiative that would allow local voters to petition to extend their incumbent legislators' time in office beyond the current term limits. It is opposed by 59 percent of likely voters. There has been no change in support since the last survey, which was the first time we included the fiscal impacts language (then recently approved) that will appear on the March 5<sup>th</sup> ballot. A majority of voters is opposed to Proposition 45 in every region of the state and in all age, education, income, gender, and racial and ethnic groups. A majority in all partisan groups would also vote no on Proposition 45, though Democrats are the least opposed. The weak support that Proposition 45 currently receives is consistent with the responses to a follow-up question on term limits: Only one in four voters feels that current term limits give state legislators too little time in office. Two in three voters think that current term limits provide the right amount of time in legislative office, and this group opposes Proposition 45 by a three-to-one margin.

"Proposition 45 on the March 2002 ballot—the 'Legislative Term Limits, Local Voter Petitions' initiative—allows voters to submit petition signatures to permit their incumbent legislator to run for re-election and serve a maximum of four years beyond the terms provided for in the constitution if a majority of voters approves. The fiscal impact includes unknown county costs, potentially up to several hundreds of thousands of dollars biennially statewide, and little or no cost to track the eligibility of re-election candidates. If an election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 45?"

	<u>Likely Voters</u>		
	Dec 01*	Jan 02	Feb 02
Yes	46%	31%	28%
No	45	61	59
Don't know	9	8	13

\*At the time of the December survey, fiscal impacts were officially described as "unknown, probably minor."

	<u>Likely Voters</u>							
	<u>Party</u>			<u>Region</u>				<u>Latino</u>
	Dem	Rep	Other Voters	Central Valley	SF Bay Area	Los Angeles	Other Southern California	
Yes	33%	22%	28%	23%	35%	28%	26%	26%
No	52	65	63	64	54	60	58	59
Don't know	15	13	9	13	11	12	16	15

"Legislative term limits now allow members of the state assembly to serve up to three two-year terms and members of the state senate to serve up to two four-year terms. Do you think the current term limits give state legislators too little, too much, or the right amount of time in office?"

<u>Likely Voters</u>	
Too little	24%
Too much	7
Right amount	66
Don't know	3

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## Political Profiles

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### Abortion

Californians remain strongly pro-choice on abortion. Seven in ten adults, registered adults, and likely voters believe the government should not interfere with a woman's access to abortion. In the January 2000 statewide survey, a similar 71 percent said the government should not interfere with a woman's access to abortion. When this question was asked in a 1999 national survey by NBC News and the *Wall Street Journal*, 65 percent of those surveyed expressed pro-choice opinions.

Democratic likely voters (82%) and likely voters who are not affiliated with a major party (85%) are strongly pro-choice, but even a majority of California Republican voters (54%) agrees that the government should not interfere with a woman's access to abortion. Although Latino likely voters are often considered conservative on moral issues, our survey indicates no difference between their views and those of non-Hispanic white likely voters, with 27 percent in each group favoring more government restrictions. Only among *all* California adults are Latinos more likely than non-Hispanic whites to favor increasing government restrictions (37% to 25%).

Likely voters from the San Francisco Bay area (81%) are more pro-choice than elsewhere in the state, but there are no other demographic differences among likely voters on the abortion issue, including between men and women. Among *all* adults, there is a greater tendency for wealthier and more highly educated Californians to be pro-choice.

"Does the first statement or the second come closer to your views ..."

	<u>All Adults</u>	<u>Registered Voters</u>
Government should pass more laws that restrict the availability of abortion	28%	26%
Government should not interfere with a woman's access to abortion	69	71
Don't know	3	3

	All Likely Voters	Likely Voters				
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters	Latino	Non-Hispanic White
Government should pass more laws that restrict abortions	26%	16%	44%	14%	27%	27%
Government should not interfere with a woman's access to abortion	72	82	54	85	72	71
Don't know	2	2	2	1	1	2

## Environmental Protection

Despite an economic downturn – which is supposed to dampen support for “quality of life” issues – Californians continue to be highly committed to environmental protection: 59 percent believe that stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost, which falls between the 57 percent recorded in June 2000 and the 64 percent in January 2000. We found no differences in the environmental stance of likely voters, registered adults, and all adults. Nationally, the Pew Center for the People and the Press asked the same question in August 2000 and found that a similar 61 percent believe stricter environmental laws are worth the cost.

There are, however, significant partisan differences among likely voters: Three in four Democrats and seven in 10 independent voters favor environmental laws, while fewer than half of the Republicans we surveyed favor stricter laws at the expense of the economy. Latinos are similar to Democrats and independents on this issue, with 71 percent supporting regulation. Support among non-Hispanic whites is lower, but still strong (61%). A majority of voters in all demographic groups supports stricter environmental laws, but the majority is largest among the young (73%), the college educated (68%), and those living in Los Angeles (65%) or the San Francisco Bay area (75%). Interestingly, those who expect bad economic times in the next twelve months are no more likely to feel environmental laws cost too many jobs than are those who expect good economic times.

"Does the first statement or the second come closer to your views ..."

	<u>All Adults</u>	<u>Registered Voters</u>
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	36%	36%
Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	59	60
Don't know	5	4

	All Likely Voters	Likely Voters				
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters	Latino	Non-Hispanic White
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	35%	21%	55%	27%	24%	36%
Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	62	76	42	70	71	61
Don't know	3	3	3	3	5	3

## Gay Rights

A majority of Californians (54%) believes that we have not gone far enough in ending discrimination against homosexuals, while 40 percent believe that we have gone too far. There are no significant differences between registered voters, likely voters, and all adults on this issue.

However, we found large partisan differences among likely voters: Most Democrats (73%) believe there is still too much discrimination, compared to nearly six in 10 independent voters, and one in three Republicans.

Latino and non-Hispanic white voters are equally likely (56%) to believe that more can be done to end discrimination. Voter support for increasing the social acceptance of homosexuals is higher among 18 to 34 year-olds than others (69% to 52%) and rises with education. Women (61%) are more likely than men (50%) to believe that we have not gone far enough to end discrimination.

There are also significant regional differences among likely voters: The belief that more needs to be done to end discrimination is much more common in the San Francisco Bay area (68%) and Los Angeles (63%) than in the Central Valley (46%) or the rest of Southern California (45%).

"Does the first statement or the second come closer to your views ..."

	<u>All Adults</u>	<u>Registered Voters</u>
We have gone too far in accepting homosexuality in our society	40%	40%
We have not gone far enough in ending discrimination against homosexuals in our society	54	54
Don't know	6	6

	All Likely Voters	<u>Likely Voters</u>				
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters	Latino	Non-Hispanic White
We have gone too far in accepting homosexuality in our society	39%	23%	61%	33%	41%	38%
We have not gone far enough in ending discrimination against homosexuals in our society	56	73	34	58	56	56
Don't know	5	4	5	9	3	6

## Public Services for Illegal Immigrants

California adults favor providing (53%) rather than denying (43%) government services such as education and health care to illegal immigrants. While there are no time trends or national responses available for comparison, it is worth noting that California voters passed an initiative in 1994 – Proposition 187 – that denied public services to illegal immigrants by a wide margin (59% to 41%).

Among all registered voters and among likely voters, opinion about providing or denying public services to illegal immigrants is divided. However, Democratic likely voters (59%) and independent likely voters (50%) are much more likely than Republican likely voters (33%) to think that public services should be provided to illegal immigrants.

Another major difference in public opinion is that 73 percent of Latino likely voters want to *provide* services and 53 percent of non-Hispanic white likely voters want to *deny* them. This difference in policy preferences is about the same for all adults and registered voters.

Among likely voters, those in the areas of Southern California outside of Los Angeles (58%) and the Central Valley (53%) are the most opposed to providing services, while those in the San Francisco Bay area (58%) and Los Angeles (50%) are the most in favor. There are few other demographic differences for likely voters, but among all adults, opposition to services increases with age and income. Non-citizens (85%) are also much more likely to favor providing services to illegal immigrants than are naturalized (66%) or native (48%) citizens.

"Does the first statement or the second come closer to your views ..."

	<u>All Adults</u>	<u>Registered Voters</u>
Illegal immigrants and their children should be <i>provided</i> public services such as education and health care	53%	49%
Illegal immigrants and their children should be <i>denied</i> public services, such as education and health care	43	47
Don't know	4	4

	All Likely Voters	Likely Voters			Latino	Non-Hispanic White
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters		
Illegal immigrants and their children should be <i>provided</i> public services such as education and health care	48%	59%	33%	50%	73%	44%
Illegal immigrants and their children should be <i>denied</i> public services, such as education and health care	49	38	64	45	26	53
Don't know	3	3	3	5	1	3

## Gun Control

Californians' opinions on gun control have not changed much over time. Today, 53 percent of Californians favor stricter enforcement of existing gun laws, rather than imposing new restrictions. In September 2000, a similar 56 percent expressed this policy preference. Whether we consider all adults (53%), registered voters (55%), or likely voters (56%), a majority favors simply doing more with the laws already in place.

Among likely voters, Republicans (70%) are the most strongly opposed to new gun control laws, while fewer independent voters (58%) and Democrats (42%) are opposed to new restrictions. Latinos are about as likely as non-Hispanic whites to favor stronger enforcement of current laws rather than creating new ones (53% to 57%). Voters in the Central Valley (74%) and in the areas of Southern California outside of Los Angeles (62%) are more opposed to new gun regulations than those in the San Francisco Bay area or Los Angeles County (45% each). We did find that voter support for new gun laws rises with education.

"In terms of gun laws in the United States, which of the following would you prefer ..."

	<u>All Adults</u>	<u>Registered Voters</u>
Enforce current gun laws more strictly and <i>not</i> pass new gun laws	53%	55%
Pass new gun laws in addition to enforcing current laws more strictly	44	42
Don't know	3	3

	All Likely Voters	Likely Voters			Latino	Non-Hispanic White
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters		
Enforce current gun laws more strictly and <i>not</i> pass new gun laws	56%	42%	70%	58%	53%	57%
Pass new gun laws in addition to enforcing current laws more strictly	43	56	30	39	46	42
Don't know	1	2	0	3	1	1

## Smaller Versus Larger Government

California adults are split on whether they prefer a smaller government with fewer services (48%) or a larger government with more services (47%). Support for a smaller government is down from October 2000 (54%), but remains slightly stronger among registered voters (52%) and likely voters (55%). At the national level, 54 percent of all adults support a smaller government with fewer services, according to a recent ABC News/*Washington Post* poll.

The proper size and role of government is a traditional point of distinction between the two major parties, so it is perhaps not surprising to find that a majority of Democratic likely voters (58%) favors larger government and an overwhelming majority of Republican likely voters (75%) favors smaller government. However, even 35 percent of Democratic likely voters would prefer less government. Independent likely voters fall between Democrats and Republicans on this issue.

Six in ten Latino likely voters want a larger government with more services. This contrasts with the six in ten non-Hispanic white likely voters who say they want less government.

Regardless of whether the opinions of all adults, registered voters, or likely voters are considered, support for smaller government increases strongly with age and income, and a larger percentage of men than women want smaller government. Residents in Los Angeles are more likely than those living in other areas of the state to prefer a larger government and more public services.

"If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government with fewer services or a bigger government providing more services?"

	<u>All Adults</u>	<u>Registered Voters</u>
Smaller government, fewer services	48%	52%
Bigger government, more services	47	42
Don't know	5	6

	All Likely Voters	<u>Likely Voters</u>				
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters	Latino	Non-Hispanic White
Smaller government, fewer services	55%	35%	75%	58%	32%	61%
Bigger government, more services	40	58	21	37	61	34
Don't know	5	7	4	5	7	5

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## California Policy Issues

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### Most Important Issue

Californians want the candidates for governor to talk about the three issues that have held the attention of state residents since last fall. Residents place public schools (19%) at the top of the list, followed by electricity prices and deregulation (12%) and jobs and the economy (12%). No other issue is mentioned by more than one in 10 residents. So far, Californians are not considering the looming \$12 billion state budget deficit as a top priority for gubernatorial debate. Terrorism and security issues also barely make it onto the radar screen (2%). Republicans are more likely than others to focus on the electricity issue, while Democrats are more inclined to name schools. Women are more likely than men to say that schools are the most important issue (24% to 14%).

"Californians will go to the polls to elect a governor in 2002. Which one issue would you like to hear the candidates talk about during the governor's election this year?"

	All Adults	Party Registration				Likely Voters
		Democrat	Republican	Other Voters	Not Registered to Vote	
Schools, education	19%	24%	18%	17%	15%	21%
Electricity cost, supply, demand	12	11	18	10	7	15
Jobs, the economy, unemployment	12	14	11	11	10	12
Immigration, illegal immigration	5	1	7	5	8	4
Taxes, cutting taxes	5	5	7	4	4	6
Environment, pollution	4	5	2	6	3	5
Crime, gangs	3	3	3	4	4	2
Health care, HMO reform	3	5	1	4	3	3
State budget, state deficit	3	3	5	4	1	5
Growth, sprawl, overpopulation	2	2	2	3	2	1
Terrorism, security, bio-terrorism, anthrax	2	1	1	2	5	2
Poverty, the poor, the homeless, welfare	2	2	1	4	2	2
Traffic and transportation	2	1	1	3	2	1
Housing costs, housing availability	1	2	1	1	2	1
Guns, gun control	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drugs	1	0	0	1	2	0
Race relations, racial and ethnic issues	1	1	0	1	1	1
State government, governor, legislature	1	1	2	1	1	2
Other	7	6	8	8	6	8
Don't know	14	12	11	10	21	8

## Perceptions of California's Public Schools

To probe the public's concerns about schools further, we asked residents to evaluate six of the major efforts under way to improve the state's public education system. People are far from content with progress to date. Only 28 percent are satisfied with school spending, 37 percent with the repair and construction of school facilities, 37 percent with teacher quality, and 38 percent with school accountability for student test scores. State opinion is more divided on efforts to improve school safety (48% satisfied to 45% dissatisfied) and class size reduction (47% to 45%). Still, fewer than half of the state's residents are satisfied with any of these major efforts under way to improve the public schools.

Californians in households with public school children – in most cases, the caretakers are parents – are more satisfied with each of the educational improvement measures listed than are residents who do not have children at home: school spending (38% to 25%), teacher quality (47% to 33%), testing accountability (49% to 34%), facilities (50% to 32%), safety (56% to 47%), and class size reduction (56% to 43%). However, the primary users of the public school system express majority support for the efforts being made in only three of these six educational improvement measures – safety, facility maintenance, and class-size reduction.

Dissatisfaction with efforts to improve California's schools spans political affiliations, socioeconomic groups, and regions of the state. However, there are some important differences. For example, Latinos are more satisfied than non-Hispanic whites with all of the measures but one: 52 percent of Latinos are dissatisfied with efforts aimed at improving school safety, compared to 40 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

Californians with a college degree also differ from those with a high school diploma or less on these issues: More-educated Californians tend to be more dissatisfied with spending (63% to 51%), facility maintenance (61% to 47%), teacher quality (62% to 45%), and school accountability for test scores (55% to 42%). Older residents tend to be more critical than those who are younger. Across regions of the state, Central Valley residents are the most likely to be satisfied with school safety, while San Francisco Bay area residents are the most likely to be dissatisfied with facilities and teacher quality. One partisan difference also emerges: Democrats are less satisfied with the repair and construction of school facilities than Republicans. Finally, compared to those less likely to vote, likely voters are more dissatisfied with efforts in school spending, facility maintenance, teacher quality, and testing accountability.

When asked to specify the one thing that *most* needs improvement in California's public schools, state residents focus primarily on teachers (33%), classroom overcrowding (13%), and curriculum (10%). School safety (5%), testing (4%), state funding (4%), facilities (4%), and parental involvement (4%) are mentioned less. The most striking demographic difference mirrors the responses provided in the satisfaction data discussed above: Among Latinos, the second most important issue in public schools is safety, crime, violence, and gangs (16%). This issue registers a distant fourth on the list of issues most often highlighted by non-Hispanic whites (5%).

While school reform is important to California residents, from where do they expect this reform to come? When asked who has primary responsibility for improving education in the California public schools, a large plurality of Californians says that primary responsibility lies with local school districts (40%), followed by the state superintendent of schools (20%), the state legislature (12%), the federal government (11%), and the governor's office (11%).

"Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the way each of these efforts to improve education in California's public schools is being handled ..."

	All Adults	Parents of Public School Children	Likely voters
<i>How about school safety?</i>			
Satisfied	48%	56%	51%
Not satisfied	45	42	42
Don't know	7	2	7
<i>How about reducing class sizes?</i>			
Satisfied	47%	56%	47%
Not satisfied	45	41	46
Don't know	8	3	7
<i>How about school accountability for student test scores?</i>			
Satisfied	38%	49%	32%
Not satisfied	52	46	60
Don't know	10	5	8
<i>How about teacher quality, including recruitment and training?</i>			
Satisfied	37%	47%	32%
Not satisfied	56	51	61
Don't know	7	2	7
<i>How about repair and construction of school facilities?</i>			
Satisfied	37%	50%	30%
Not satisfied	56	48	64
Don't know	7	2	6
<i>How about school spending?</i>			
Satisfied	28%	38%	23%
Not satisfied	60	53	67
Don't know	12	9	10

## Electricity Cost, Supply, and Demand

As we saw in the open-ended question at the beginning of this section, Californians rank electricity as one of the top three problems facing the state. When we asked residents more specifically how much of a problem they think it is, 45 percent said it is a big problem, and 34 percent said it is somewhat of a problem. Although nearly half of the state’s residents still think that electricity is a serious problem, this is a significantly lower percentage than during the first half of last year, when the electricity crisis was at its peak: In January 2001, 74 percent of the state’s residents said that electricity was a big problem in California, and the percentages who thought it was a serious problem remained high in our spring and summer surveys – 82 percent in May and 78 percent in July.

A majority of residents believes that the electricity supply will be inadequate to meet the needs of California over the next five years: One in three residents feels the supply will be somewhat inadequate, and one in four believes that it will be very inadequate.

Assessments of current and future electricity problems differ by political affiliation. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to characterize the current cost, supply, and demand for electricity as a big problem (51% to 42%). Similarly, Republicans are more likely than Democrats to believe that the supply of electricity over the next five years will be very inadequate. Independent voters are similar to Democrats in their assessment of the current situation and similar to Republicans in thinking about future supplies. Latinos are similar to non-Hispanic whites in assessing today’s electricity problems but are more optimistic about the future: 43 percent of Latinos think that the supply of electricity over the next five years will be adequate, compared to 33 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

"How much of a problem is the cost, supply, and demand for electricity in California today?"

	Jan 01	May 01	July 01	Dec 01	Feb 02
<b>Big problem</b>	74%	82%	78%	48%	<b>45%</b>
<b>Somewhat of a problem</b>	18	13	16	33	<b>34</b>
<b>Not much of a problem</b>	7	5	5	18	<b>20</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	1	0	1	1	<b>1</b>

"Do you think that the electricity supply that is available in California today will be adequate or inadequate for the state’s needs through the next five years?"

	All Adults	<u>Party Registration</u>				Latino
		Democrat	Republican	Other Voters	Not Registered to Vote	
<b>Adequate</b>	36%	39%	32%	32%	39%	43%
<b>Somewhat inadequate</b>	33	33	35	32	32	28
<b>Very inadequate</b>	24	20	28	30	22	21
<b>Don't know</b>	7	8	5	6	7	8

Although Californians continue to think that the cost and supply of electricity is a problem and that the supply over the next five years will be inadequate, they are split over whether policymakers should focus on building more power plants (46%) or encouraging energy conservation (48%). Although overall opinion is divided, there are significant partisan and regional differences in policy preferences. A higher percentage of Democrats than Republicans supports energy conservation (57% to 38%), and San Francisco Bay area residents are more likely than those in the rest of the state to prefer conservation programs to additional power plants.

As a whole, Californians feel strongly about how one aspect of the energy problem in their state should be handled: Three out of four want the power industry re-regulated. Although there is strong support for re-regulation across all political affiliations, we do see a partisan gap, with Republicans (32%) more likely than Democrats (17%) to support further de-regulation.

"Should California policymakers focus on building more power plants or encouraging energy conservation?"

	All Adults	Party Registration				Likely Voters
		Democrat	Republican	Other Voters	Not Registered to Vote	
Build more power plants	46%	38%	58%	44%	45%	46%
Encourage conservation	48	57	38	48	49	49
Don't know/other	6	5	4	8	6	5

"Should California policymakers re-regulate the power industry to control prices or further de-regulate the power industry and leave prices up to market conditions?"

	All Adults	Party Registration				Likely Voters
		Democrat	Republican	Other Voters	Not Registered to Vote	
Re-regulate the power industry	73%	78%	64%	75%	74%	73%
Further de-regulate	23	17	32	22	22	24
Don't know/other	4	5	4	3	4	3

## Energy Sources

Another major front in California's effort to provide adequate energy supplies for the state's residents is the search for and development of new sources of energy. In this survey, we asked Californians about offshore oil drilling, renewable energy, and whether recent international events justify new oil exploration in federally protected lands such as the Alaskan wilderness.

Californians are opposed to expanded drilling off their coast and in federally protected lands. Fifty-three percent oppose new offshore drilling and, responding to another question, 67 percent say they believe that protected areas should remain off limits to new exploration, even considering America's war on terrorism and the country's dependence on oil from Middle East nations. In contrast, nearly seven in 10 favor the development of more renewable energy sources such as geothermal, wind, and solar, even if it means higher electricity prices. Support is high across all demographic groups.

There are, however, some differences across political groups. Democrats are much more likely than Republicans to oppose offshore oil drilling (66% to 36%) and oil exploration in federally protected lands (81% to 44%), and somewhat more likely to support the development of renewable energy sources (75% to 67%). Independents and other voters are closer to Democrats than Republicans in their preferences on these issues. Likely voters are more inclined than Californians as a whole to open public lands such as the Alaskan wilderness to oil exploration (35% to 23%).

Additionally, there is a significant difference between inland and coastal residents: Central Valley residents (51%) are more likely than those in San Francisco Bay area (30%) and Los Angeles (41%) to support new offshore oil drilling.

**"To address California's energy needs, would you favor or oppose allowing new drilling for oil and natural gas off the California coast?"**

	All Adults	Party Registration				Likely Voters
		Democrat	Republican	Other Voters	Not Registered to Vote	
<b>Favor</b>	42%	30%	60%	36%	44%	41%
<b>Oppose</b>	53	66	36	58	48	56
<b>Don't know</b>	5	4	4	6	8	3

**"To address California's energy needs, would you favor or oppose developing more renewable energy sources, such as geothermal, wind, and solar, even if it meant higher electricity prices?"**

	All Adults	Party Registration				Likely Voters
		Democrat	Republican	Other Voters	Not Registered to Vote	
<b>Favor</b>	69%	75%	67%	79%	61%	78%
<b>Oppose</b>	27	22	30	19	33	20
<b>Don't know</b>	4	3	3	2	6	2

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## Social and Economic Trends

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### Overall Outlook

Residents are evenly divided today on whether they expect good times or bad times for the state's economy over the next 12 months. Forty-six percent of Californians say they expect good economic times, which is nine percentage points higher than last December (37%).

Men (52%) continue to be more optimistic than women (40%) about the state's economy. Republicans (50%) and other voters (48%) are more likely than Democrats (42%) to say that they expect good financial times during the next 12 months. Otherwise, there are no significant differences in perceptions of the economic outlook across age, income, education, or regions of the state.

Fifty-six percent of Californians believe the state is headed in the right direction, while 36 percent think it is headed in the wrong direction. There has also been a slight but steady increase in the percentage of people that says the state is headed in the wrong direction in recent months: a seven point increase since November 2001, which was our first survey after September 11<sup>th</sup> and which showed a dramatic increase in optimism. Latinos (66%) continue to be more optimistic than non-Hispanic whites (53%) about the state's direction, as are younger residents. Democrats (60%) and other voters (55%) are more likely than Republicans (47%) to say the state is headed in the right direction. There are no significant regional, gender, or income differences in opinion.

**"Do you think that during the next 12 months we will have good times financially or bad times?"**

<u>All Adults</u>											
	Sep 99	Dec 99	Feb 00	Aug 00	Jan 01	May 01	Jul 01	Nov 01	Dec 01	Jan 02	Feb 02
<b>Good times</b>	72%	76%	78%	72%	51%	38%	41%	32%	37%	48%	<b>46%</b>
<b>Bad times</b>	23	19	15	21	38	56	50	59	56	46	<b>47</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	5	5	7	7	11	6	9	9	7	6	<b>7</b>

**"Do you think things in California are generally going in the right direction or the wrong direction?"**

<u>All Adults</u>												
	Dec 98	Sep 99	Dec 99	Feb 00	Aug 00	Jan 01	May 01	Jul 01	Nov 01	Dec 01	Jan 02	Feb 02
<b>Right direction</b>	63%	61%	62%	65%	62%	62%	44%	44%	60%	58%	59%	<b>56%</b>
<b>Wrong direction</b>	28	34	31	27	30	29	48	47	29	33	32	<b>36</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	9	5	7	8	8	9	8	9	11	9	9	<b>8</b>

## Regional Economies

More than half (55%) of Californians believe that their region is in an economic recession, though only 12 percent believe that their region is in a serious recession. As another sign that the current economic downturn is perceived to be shallow and short in duration, Californians are more likely to expect their region to experience good economic times (54%) than bad economic times (41%) during the next 12 months.

A higher percentage of San Francisco Bay area residents, compared to those who live elsewhere in the state, perceives their region to be in a recession. One out of five San Francisco Bay area residents says that their region is in a serious recession, and more than half describe their regional recession as moderate or mild.

Statewide, Latinos and non-Hispanic whites have similar opinions about the state of their regional economies. Residents between the ages of 35 to 54 and those with higher educational levels are more likely than others to say that their region is experiencing an economic slowdown. No differences in perceptions are evident across party, gender, or income groups.

When residents were then asked about their expectations for economic conditions in their region five years from now, two in three throughout the state say they expect conditions to improve. Interestingly, the hard-hit San Francisco Bay area residents are the most likely to expect their region to be in better shape five years from now than it is today. Statewide, residents' optimism about their region's economic future increases with income and education. There are no significant differences across gender, age, racial and ethnic groups, or political groups.

	All Adults	Region				Latino
		Central Valley	SF Bay Area	Los Angeles	Other Southern California	
<i>Would you say that your region is in an economic recession, or not?</i>						
Yes, serious recession	12%	9%	19%	11%	8%	12%
Yes, moderate recession	27	22	36	29	23	24
Yes, mild recession	16	16	16	14	18	16
No	42	47	28	42	47	44
Don't know	3	6	1	4	4	4
	All Adults	Region				Latino
		Central Valley	SF Bay Area	Los Angeles	Other Southern California	
<i>What about five years from now? Compared to today, do you expect economic conditions in your region to get better, get worse, or stay the same?</i>						
Get better	64%	62%	77%	59%	65%	60%
Get worse	10	14	8	11	8	12
Stay the same	20	18	12	23	22	25
Don't know	6	6	3	7	5	3

**Enron**

Six in 10 Californians have very closely (20%) or fairly closely (40%) followed news about the bankruptcy of the Enron Corporation. Six in 10 residents also believe public officials made or changed policy decisions as a direct result of campaign contributions they received from Enron. Interestingly, Californians (59%) are less likely than Americans in a CBS News poll in January to believe that Enron contributions affected public policy decisions (72%).

In California, nearly seven in 10 Democrats (68%), six in 10 independent voters (58%), and half of Republicans (49%) see a link between Enron’s campaign contributions and policymaking. Moreover, California residents who have been following news about Enron very closely (71%) or fairly closely (63%) are more likely than others to perceive a link between campaign contributions from Enron and public policy decisions.

Many Californians (55%) support the idea of allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security contributions in the stock market. However, support is almost 10 percentage points lower than it was in the August 2000 statewide survey (64%), which was conducted well before the financial losses of Enron employees in their 401K retirement plans and the stock market’s increased volatility. There has been a decrease across the board in support for investing Social Security funds in the stock market, although support has declined more among Democrats (57% to 44%) than among Republicans (71% to 64%) and independent voters (64% to 56%).

Of those who have followed the news about the Enron collapse very closely, support for allowing people to invest some of their Social Security money into the stock market declines to 45 percent. Support for this proposal also declines with age, but increases with income. There are no differences between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites or across education groups. Residents of the Bay area are evenly split on this issue, while there is majority support for privatizing a portion of Social Security in every other region.

**"Do you think public officials made or changed policy decisions as a direct result of campaign contributions they received from the Enron energy corporation?"**

	All Adults	Party Registration		
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
Yes	59%	68%	49%	58%
No	22	15	34	22
Don't know	19	17	17	20

**"Would you support or oppose a plan in which people who chose to do so could invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?"**

	All Adults	Party Registration		
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
Support	55%	44%	64%	56%
Oppose	41	54	33	40
Don't know	4	2	3	4

## War on Terrorism

Californians continue to be fixated on news about terrorism and security issues, with almost nine in 10 residents following these news stories either very closely or fairly closely. On one high-profile story regarding the war on terrorism, there is considerable agreement: Most Californians (67%) believe that John Walker Lindh, the American citizen captured in Afghanistan, consciously aligned himself with a terrorist group and took up arms against the United States. This perception increases with how closely people have been following news about terrorism and security issues and is shared across all demographic groups.

However, race and ethnicity, income, and political party do influence the public's perceptions of this war-related news story. Republicans (82%) are much more likely to believe that Lindh consciously aligned himself with a terrorist group than either Democrats (60%) or other voters (66%). Latinos are less likely than non-Hispanic whites to believe that Lindh is a conscious terrorist (58% to 72%). San Francisco Bay area residents are not any more sympathetic to Lindh, even though he is from Marin County: 65 percent of Bay area residents think that Lindh knowingly took up arms against the United States.

Californians are split on the issue of whether the United States should determine its policies regarding the war on terrorism unilaterally (48%) or take into account the wishes of its allies (46%). In contrast, a national study by the Pew Research Center and the Council on Foreign Relations found in October 2001 that 59 percent of all adults thought the United States should strongly take into account the interests of its allies. In California, Republicans (59%) favor unilateral policies, while a majority of Democrats (54%) prefers policies that reflect the interests of U.S. allies. San Francisco Bay area and Los Angeles residents, along with the more educated, are the most likely to want to take into account the interests of U.S. allies. There are no differences across race, income, or gender on this issue.

"Which comes closest to your views on John Walker Lindh, the American citizen captured in Afghanistan fighting for the Taliban?"

	All Adults	Party Registration		
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
John Walker Lindh is a misguided young man who got caught up in events beyond his control	25%	30%	14%	25%
John Walker Lindh consciously aligned himself with a terrorist group and took up arms against the U.S.	67	60	82	66
Don't know	8	10	4	9

"How should the U.S. determine its policy with regard to the war on terrorism?"

	All Adults	Party Registration		
		Democrats	Republicans	Other Voters
It should be based mostly on the national interests of the U.S.	48%	41%	59%	46%
It should strongly take into account the interests of its allies	46	54	37	48
Don't know	6	5	4	6

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## Survey Methodology

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The PPIC Statewide Survey is directed by Mark Baldassare, a senior fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California, with the assistance of Jon Cohen, survey research manager, and Lisa Cole and Eric McGhee, research associates. The findings of this survey are based on a telephone survey of 2,056 California adult residents interviewed from February 4 to February 14, 2002. Interviewing took place on weekend days and weekday nights, using a computer-generated random sample of telephone numbers, ensuring that both listed and unlisted telephone numbers were called. All telephone exchanges in California were eligible for calling. Telephone numbers in the survey sample were called up to five times to increase the likelihood of reaching eligible households. Once a household was reached, an adult respondent (18 or older) was randomly chosen for interviewing by using the “last birthday method” to avoid biases in age and gender. Each interview took an average of 20 minutes to complete. Interviewing was conducted in English or Spanish. Casa Hispana translated the survey into Spanish.

We used recent U.S. Census and state figures to compare the demographic characteristics of the survey sample with characteristics of California’s adult population. The survey sample was closely comparable to the census and state figures. The survey data in this report were statistically weighted to account for any demographic differences.

The sampling error for the total sample of 2,056 adults is +/- 2 percent at the 95 percent confidence level. This means that 95 times out of 100, the results will be within 2 percentage points of what they would be if all adults in California were interviewed. The sampling error for subgroups is larger. The sampling error for the 1,461 registered voters is +/- 2.5 percent, for the 937 likely voters +/- 3.5 percent, and for the 382 GOP primary likely voters +/- 5 percent. Sampling error is just one type of error to which surveys are subject. Results may also be affected by factors such as question wording, question order, and survey timing.

Throughout the report, we refer to four geographic regions. “Central Valley” includes Butte, Colusa, Fresno, Glenn, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, Placer, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Shasta, Stanislaus, Sutter, Tehama, Tulare, Yolo, and Yuba Counties. “SF Bay Area” includes Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma Counties. “Los Angeles” refers to Los Angeles County, and “Other Southern California” includes the mostly suburban regions of Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and San Diego Counties. These four regions were chosen for analysis because they are the major population centers of the state, accounting for approximately 90 percent of the state population; moreover, the growth of the Central Valley and “Other Southern California” regions have given them increasing political significance. We present specific results for Latinos because they account for about 28 percent of the state’s adult population and constitute one of the fastest growing voter groups. The sample sizes for the African American and Asian subgroups are not large enough for separate statistical analysis. We contrast the opinions of Democrats and Republicans with “other” or “independent” registered voters. This third category includes those who are registered to vote as “decline to state” as well as a fewer number who say they are members of other political parties.

In some cases, we compare PPIC Statewide Survey responses to responses recorded in national surveys conducted by the NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* (June 1999), the Pew Center for the People and the Press (August 2000), ABC News/*Washington Post* (January 2002), CBS News (January 2002), and the Pew Center and Council on Foreign Relations (October 2001). We used PPIC Statewide Surveys 1998-2002 to analyze trends over time in California.



**PPIC STATEWIDE SURVEY: CALIFORNIANS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT**  
**FEBRUARY 4 – FEBRUARY 14, 2002**  
**2,056 CALIFORNIA ADULT RESIDENTS; ENGLISH AND SPANISH**  
**MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 2% AT 95% CONFIDENCE LEVEL FOR TOTAL SAMPLE**

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1. Do you think things in California are generally going in the right direction or the wrong direction?

56% right direction  
 36 wrong direction  
 8 don't know

2. Californians will go to the polls to elect a governor in 2002. Which one issue would you like to hear the candidates talk about during the governor's election this year? (*code, don't read*)

19% schools, education  
 12 electricity cost, supply, demand  
 12 jobs, the economy, unemployment  
 5 immigration, illegal immigration  
 5 taxes, cutting taxes  
 4 environment, pollution  
 3 crime, gangs  
 3 health care, HMO reform  
 3 state budget, state deficit  
 2 growth, sprawl, overpopulation  
 2 terrorism, security issues  
 2 poverty, the poor, the homeless, welfare  
 2 traffic and transportation  
 1 housing costs, housing availability  
 1 guns, gun control  
 1 drugs  
 1 race relations, racial and ethnic issues  
 1 state government, governor, legislature  
 7 other (*specify*)  
 14 don't know

I would like to ask you a few questions about California's upcoming primary election on March 5<sup>th</sup>.

3. First, some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote? (*if yes: Are you registered as a Democrat, a Republican, with another party, or as an independent?*)

32% yes, Democrat (*skip to q.6*)  
 26 yes, Republican (*skip to q.5*)  
 3 yes, other party (*skip to q.6*)  
 13 yes, independent (*ask q.4*)  
 26 no, not registered (*skip to q.6*)

**[Responses recorded for questions 4-15 are from likely voters only. All other responses are from all adults.]**

4. (*Independent likely voters only*) California voters like yourself will be able to choose between voting in the Republican primary and the Democratic primary in March 2002. Do you plan to vote in the Republican primary, the Democratic primary, or neither?

23% Republican primary  
 27 Democratic primary (*skip to q.6*)  
 32 neither (*skip to q.6*)  
 18 don't know (*skip to q.6*)

5. (*GOP primary likely voters only*) If the Republican primary election for governor were held today, and these were the candidates, who would you vote for? (*rotate names, then ask "or someone else?"*)

41% Richard Riordan  
 24 Bill Simon  
 9 Bill Jones  
 26 other/don't know

If these were the candidates in the November 2002 governor's election ... (*rotate questions 6 to 8*)

6. Would you vote for ...

44% Gray Davis, a Democrat  
 39 Bill Jones, a Republican  
 17 other/don't know

7. Would you vote for ...

40% Gray Davis, a Democrat  
 46 Richard Riordan, a Republican  
 14 other/don't know

8. Would you vote for ...

44% Gray Davis, a Democrat  
 40 Bill Simon, a Republican  
 16 other/don't know

9. How closely have you been following news about candidates for the 2002 governor's election – very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

13% very closely  
 43 fairly closely  
 35 not too closely  
 9 not at all closely

10. In the past month, have you seen any television advertisements by the candidates for governor? (if yes: Whose ads have you seen the most)?

- 33% yes, Richard Riordan
- 32 yes, Gray Davis
- 3 yes, Bill Simon
- 1 yes, Bill Jones
- 6 yes, other answer / yes, don't know
- 25 no

Do you consider each of these candidates in the Republican primary for governor to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, middle-of-the-road, somewhat conservative, or very conservative, or don't you know enough to say? (rotate questions 11 to 13)

11. How about Bill Jones?

- 1% very liberal
- 3 somewhat liberal
- 9 middle-of-the-road
- 17 somewhat conservative
- 8 very conservative
- 62 don't know

12. How about Richard Riordan?

- 4% very liberal
- 11 somewhat liberal
- 21 middle-of-the-road
- 26 somewhat conservative
- 12 very conservative
- 26 don't know

13. How about Bill Simon?

- 1% very liberal
- 3 somewhat liberal
- 11 middle-of-the-road
- 18 somewhat conservative
- 14 very conservative
- 53 don't know

14. On another topic, Proposition 45 on the March 2002 ballot – the “Legislative Term Limits, Local Voter Petitions” initiative –allows voters to submit petition signatures to permit their incumbent legislator to run for re-election and serve a maximum of four years beyond the terms provided for in the constitution if a majority of voters approves. The fiscal impact includes unknown county costs and potentially up to several hundreds of thousands of dollars biennially statewide to verify voter petition signatures, and little or no state cost to track the eligibility of re-election candidates. If an election were held today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 45?

- 28% yes
- 59 no
- 13 don't know

15. Legislative term limits now allow members of the state assembly to serve up to three two-year terms and members of the state senate to serve up to two four-year terms. Do you think the current term limits give state legislators too little, too much, or the right amount of time in office?

- 24% too little
- 7 too much
- 66 right amount
- 3 don't know

16. Turning to economic conditions in California, do you think that during the next 12 months we will have good times financially or bad times?

- 46% good times
- 47 bad times
- 7 don't know

17. How about the economic conditions in your part of California? Do you think that during the next 12 months your region will have good times financially or bad times?

- 54% good times
- 41 bad times
- 5 don't know

18. Would you say that your region is in an economic recession or not? (if yes: Do you think it is in a serious, a moderate, or a mild recession?)

- 12% yes, serious recession
- 27 yes, moderate recession
- 16 yes, mild recession
- 42 no
- 3 don't know

19. What about five years from now? Compared to today, do you expect economic conditions in your region to get better, get worse, or stay the same?

- 64% get better
- 10 get worse
- 20 stay the same
- 6 don't know

20. Overall, do you think that your region is in better economic shape, worse economic shape, or about the same economic shape as the rest of California?

- 37% better shape
- 17 worse shape
- 43 about the same
- 3 don't know

21. On another topic, how much of a problem is the cost, supply, and demand for electricity in California today? Is it a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not much of a problem?

- 45% big problem
- 34 somewhat of a problem
- 20 not much of a problem
- 1 don't know

22. Do you think that the electricity supply that is available in California today will be adequate or inadequate for the state's needs through the next five years? (if inadequate: Is that somewhat or very inadequate?)

36% adequate  
 33 somewhat inadequate  
 24 very inadequate  
 7 don't know

I am now going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me if the first statement or the second is closer to your views – even if neither statement is exactly right. (rotate questions and pairs 23 and 24)

23. California policymakers should focus on (a) building more power plants or (b) encouraging energy conservation.

46% build more power plants  
 48 encourage energy conservation  
 6 other/don't know

24. California policymakers should (a) re-regulate the power industry to control prices or (b) further de-regulate the power industry to leave prices up to market conditions.

73% re-regulate  
 23 de-regulate  
 4 don't know

25. To address California's energy needs, would you favor or oppose allowing new drilling for oil and natural gas off the California coast?

42% favor  
 53 oppose  
 5 don't know

26. To address California's energy needs, would you favor or oppose developing more renewable energy sources, such as geothermal, wind, and solar, even if it meant higher electricity prices?

69% favor  
 27 oppose  
 4 don't know

27. Do you think that America's war on terrorism and dependence on oil from Mideast nations offer good reasons to allow new oil exploration in federally protected lands such as the Alaskan wilderness, or should the federal government continue to keep these areas off limits and consider other solutions?

29% good reason for new exploration  
 67 consider other solutions  
 4 don't know

28. On another topic, people have different ideas about California's public schools. What do you think most needs improvement in California's kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade public schools? (code, don't read)

33% teachers: salaries, shortage, quality  
 13 class size, overcrowded classrooms  
 10 curriculum  
 5 school safety, crime, violence, gangs  
 4 state funding, local funding  
 4 student testing and accountability  
 4 parents, parental involvement  
 4 building and repair of school facilities  
 2 English language instruction for immigrants  
 2 books, supplies  
 8 other (specify)  
 11 don't know

Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the way each of these efforts to improve education in California's public schools is being handled ... (rotate questions 29 to 34)

29. How about school spending?

28% satisfied  
 60 not satisfied  
 12 don't know

30. How about school safety?

48% satisfied  
 45 not satisfied  
 7 don't know

31. How about repair and construction of school facilities?

37% satisfied  
 56 not satisfied  
 7 don't know

32. How about teacher quality, including recruitment and training?

37% satisfied  
 56 not satisfied  
 7 don't know

33. How about school accountability for student test scores?

38% satisfied  
 52 not satisfied  
 10 don't know

34. How about reducing class sizes?

47% satisfied  
 45 not satisfied  
 8 don't know

35. Who do you think has primary responsibility for improving education in California's public schools: (a) the federal government, (b) the governor's office, (c) the state superintendent of schools, (d) the state legislature, or (e) local school districts?  
(rotate answer categories)

40% local school districts  
20 state superintendent of schools  
12 state legislature  
11 federal government  
11 governor's office  
6 other/don't know

On another topic ... (rotate questions 36 to 39)

36. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that George W. Bush is handling his job as president of the United States?

76% approve  
22 disapprove  
2 don't know

37. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Gray Davis is handling his job as governor of California?

51% approve  
42 disapprove  
7 don't know

38. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Dianne Feinstein is handling her job as a U.S. senator?

57% approve  
25 disapprove  
18 don't know

39. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Barbara Boxer is handling her job as a U.S. senator?

52% approve  
27 disapprove  
21 don't know

40. On another topic, how closely have you been following news about the Enron energy corporation – very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

20% very closely  
40 fairly closely  
27 not too closely  
13 not at all closely

41. Do you think public officials made or changed policy decisions as a direct result of campaign contributions they received from the Enron energy corporation?

59% yes  
22 no  
19 don't know

42. On another topic, would you support or oppose a plan in which people who chose to do so could invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?

55% support  
41 oppose  
4 don't know

43. On another topic, how closely have you been following news about terrorism and security issues – very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

46% very closely  
43 fairly closely  
9 not too closely  
2 not at all closely

44. Which comes closest to your views on John Walker Lindh, the American citizen captured in Afghanistan fighting for the Taliban: (rotate)  
(a) John Walker Lindh is a misguided young man who got caught up in events beyond his control, (b) John Walker Lindh consciously aligned himself with a terrorist group and took up arms against the United States.

25% misguided young man  
67 conscious member of a terrorist group  
8 don't know

45. How should the United States determine its policy with regard to the war on terrorism? Should it be based mostly on the national interests of the United States, or should it strongly take into account the interests of its allies?

48% based on national interests  
46 take into account interests of allies  
6 don't know

I am going to read some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me if the first statement or the second is closer to your views – even if neither is exactly right. (rotate questions and pairs 46 to 49)

46. (a) The government should pass more laws that restrict the availability of abortion, or (b) The government should not interfere with a woman's access to abortion.

28% government should pass more laws  
69 government should not interfere  
3 don't know

47. (a) Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy, or (b) Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.

36% cost too many jobs and hurt the economy  
59 stricter environmental laws worth the cost  
5 don't know

48. (a) Illegal immigrants and their children should be provided public services such as education and health care, or (b) Illegal immigrants and their children should be denied public services such as education and health care.
- 53% illegal immigrants provided public services
  - 43 illegal immigrants denied public services
  - 4 don't know
49. (a) We have gone too far in accepting homosexuality in our society, or (b) We have not gone far enough in ending discrimination against homosexuals in our society.
- 40% have gone too far
  - 54 have not gone far enough
  - 6 don't know
50. In terms of gun laws in the United States, which of the following would you prefer to see happen: (*rotate*) (a) enforce current gun laws more strictly and not pass new gun laws (b) pass new gun laws in addition to enforcing current laws more strictly.
- 53% enforce current laws; not pass new laws
  - 44 pass new laws; enforce laws more strictly
  - 3 don't know
51. If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government with fewer services or a bigger government providing more services?
- 48% smaller government, fewer services
  - 47 bigger government, more services
  - 5 don't know
52. How do you get most of your news – from television, newspapers, radio, the Internet, magazines, or talking to other people? (*if television: Would that be major network TV, local TV, or cable news stations such as CNN or MSNBC?*)
- 23% newspapers
  - 23 cable television
  - 16 local television
  - 12 network television
  - 11 radio
  - 8 Internet
  - 4 talking to other people
  - 1 magazines
  - 2 other/don't know
53. On another topic, would you consider yourself to be politically very liberal, somewhat liberal, middle-of-the-road, somewhat conservative, or very conservative?
- 10% very liberal
  - 22 somewhat liberal
  - 33 middle-of-the-road
  - 24 somewhat conservative
  - 9 very conservative
  - 2 don't know
54. Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics – a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or none?
- 17% great deal
  - 44 fair amount
  - 31 only a little
  - 8 none/don't know
55. How often would you say you vote – always, nearly always, part of the time, seldom, or never?
- 49% always
  - 21 nearly always
  - 11 part of the time
  - 5 seldom
  - 14 never
56. Some people who plan to vote can't always get around to it on election day. With your own personal daily schedule in mind, are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances about 50-50, less than 50-50, or don't you think you will vote in the California primary election on March 5th?
- 55% absolutely certain
  - 15 probably
  - 12 about 50-50
  - 4 less than 50-50
  - 13 will not vote
  - 1 other/don't know

[57-65: demographic questions]

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