



PPIC

30 YEARS



---

STATEWIDE SURVEY · SEPTEMBER 2023

# PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government

Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, Lauren Mora, and Deja Thomas

---

*Supported with funding from the Arjay and Frances F. Miller Foundation and the James Irvine Foundation*

# Table of Contents

Key Findings	3
Overall Mood	4
Economic Conditions and Personal Finances	7
Mental Health Policy	10
Immigration Policy	12
2024 Elections	15
State and Federal Approval Ratings	18
Regional Map	24
Methodology	24
Questions and Responses	28
Authors and Acknowledgments	43
PPIC Statewide Advisory Committee	45
PPIC Board of Directors	46

## Key Findings

The national economy continues to send mixed signals, with both employment growth and rising prices. In California, the legislature passed a \$311 billion state budget—and Governor Newsom has signed it—with a record \$37.8 billion in budget reserves amid slowing revenues in June. Then the legislature turned its attention to bills and bond measures to submit to the governor before the 2023 session ended on September 14. On the national level, the president and Congress avoided a federal crisis over the debt ceiling and are now seeking a compromise to avoid a partial shutdown of the federal government on October 1. These events happened as candidate debates started for the 2024 presidential primary, and as current Republican candidate and former President Donald Trump was indicted in August on federal and state charges of interfering with the 2020 election. Public concerns about climate change have resurfaced in the face of record heat waves, a rare tropical storm in California, and a devastating wildfire in Maui.

This is the 25th year of the PPIC Statewide Survey. These are key findings of the *Californians and Their Government* survey on state and national issues, conducted from August 25 to September 5, 2023:

➤ **Californians name jobs, the economy, and inflation as the most important issue facing the state today.**

Majorities say that California and the US are generally going in the wrong direction, and two in three residents expect bad economic times in California and the US during the next 12 months. Partisans agree that jobs, the economy, and inflation are the top issue facing the state today, but their views differ on the general direction and economic outlook for the state and the nation.

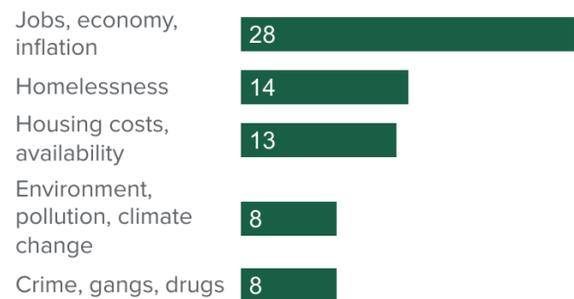
➤ **About half of Californians think the local economy in their area will be about the same six months from now.**

Inland empire residents are the most pessimistic about the direction of the state, while San Francisco Bay Area residents are the least pessimistic. Majorities across most demographic groups expect their personal finances to be about the same six months from now. About one in three lower-income residents expect their personal finances to be somewhat or much weaker. Compared to six months ago, overwhelming majorities of Californians across all demographic groups are less comfortable making a major purchase like a home or a car.

➤ **Overwhelming majorities of Californians say there is a mental health crisis in the US.** This perception is widely held across political parties, demographic groups, and regions of the state. Nearly four in ten say the pandemic has had a negative impact on their mental health. Majorities across demographic groups and regions say they have heard nothing at all about the 988 mental health hotline that will help connect people with mental health services. A majority report that they would be somewhat or very likely to call 988 if they or a loved one were experiencing a mental health crisis.

### Californians name jobs, the economy, and inflation as the most important issue facing the state today

Top five issues mentioned

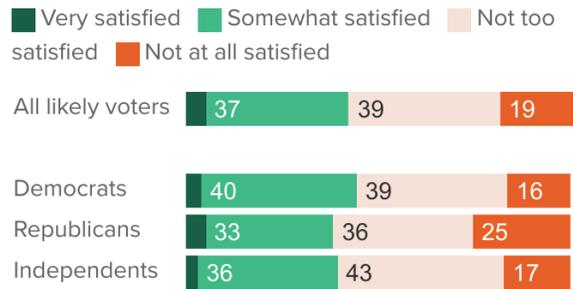


➤ **Nearly seven in ten say that immigration is a good thing for the country.** Majorities hold this positive view across racial/ethnic groups and regions, while Democrats are far more likely than Republicans to have this perception. Twenty-seven percent say that the situation at the US border with Mexico is a “crisis” (37% major problem, 32% minor problem, 8% not a problem). Majorities across partisan, regional, and demographic groups know about and disapprove of other state governments sending migrants to California cities.

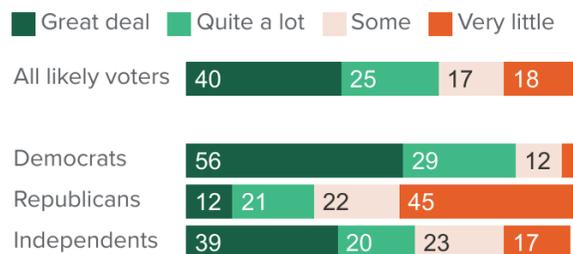
➤ **Four in ten likely voters are satisfied with the way that US democracy is working.** A majority express a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in California’s election system, with partisans deeply divided. Former President Donald Trump continues to be well ahead of other candidates in the Republican presidential primary. Adam Schiff now leads in a race including fellow Democratic congressmembers Barbara Lee and Katie Porter in the top-two US Senate primary. If the 2024 election is a rematch of 2020, Californians favor Biden over Trump by 31 percentage points.

➤ **A majority approves of Governor Newsom’s performance in office and half approve of President Biden.** Fewer than half approve of the state legislature, while fewer than one in four approve of the US Congress. The approval ratings of the president, the governor, and the state legislature are much higher among Democrats than other voters. Partisans agree in their overwhelming disapproval of Congress. Three in ten approve of the US Supreme Court, with partisans divided on their approval of the US Supreme court as well as on its decisions involving abortion, same-sex couples, and affirmative action.

### A majority of likely voters are not too or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is working in the US



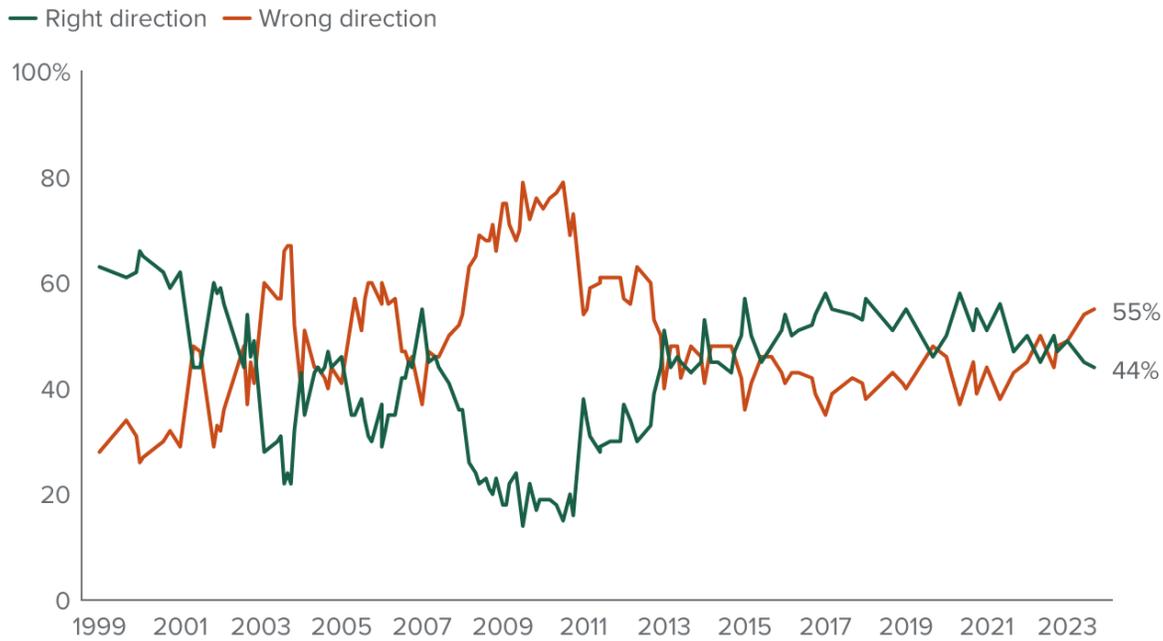
### A strong majority of likely voters have a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the state's voting system



## Overall Mood

Californians most often name jobs, the economy, and inflation (28%) when asked to name the most important issue facing the people of California today. Fewer mention homelessness (14%), housing costs and affordability (13%), crime (8%), and environmental issues (8%). A majority of Californians say things in the state are going in the wrong direction (55% adults, 54% likely voters), while fewer than half say things are going in the right direction (44% adults, 45% likely voters). The share saying things are going in the wrong direction has been steadily increasing since a year ago (44%). Partisans today are divided on this issue, with two in three Democrats saying things are going in the right direction, while about two in three independents and nine in ten Republicans say things are going in the wrong direction. Half or more across demographic and regional groups say things are going in the wrong direction, with the exception of African Americans (48%), Asian Americans (45%), and residents in the San Francisco Bay Area (44%).

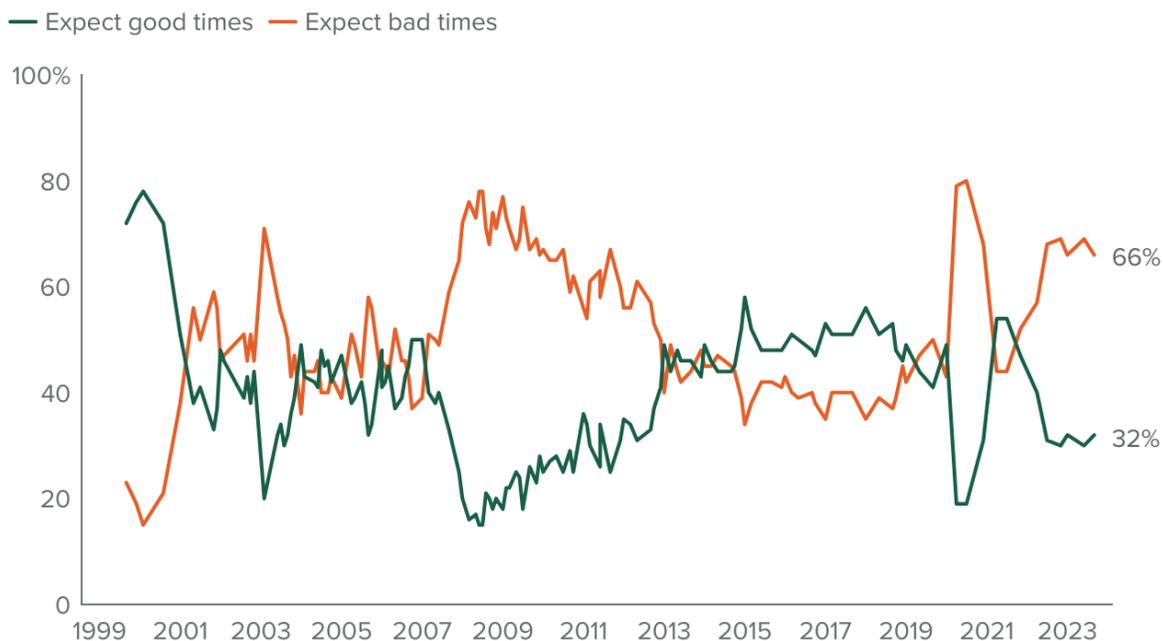
## A majority of Californians think things in the state are going in the wrong direction



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Surveys, 1999–2023.

A solid majority (66% adults, 62% likely voters) say they expect the state to have bad economic times in the next 12 months (good times: 32% adults, 37% likely voters). The share saying they expect bad times ahead has been similar since [July 2022](#) (68%), but has risen since [April 2021](#), when 44 percent said this. Today, overwhelming majorities of Republicans (84%) and independents (74%) say this, compared to half of Democrats (50%). About six in ten or more across demographic and regional groups expect bad economic times in the next year.

## More than six in ten Californians expect bad economic times in the next 12 months



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Surveys, 1999–2023.

Californians are much more pessimistic about the country. About seven in ten adults (70%) and likely voters (72%) say things are going in the wrong direction, while fewer than three in ten say things are going in the right direction (29% adults, 28% likely voters). A majority has said the US is going in the wrong direction since February 2022 (56%); this share has been rising since summer 2021 (43%). Today, majorities across partisan groups and solid majorities across demographic and regional groups say things are going in the wrong direction. In a similar question asked in a recent Reuters/Ipsos survey, 69 percent of adults nationwide said things are on the wrong track (13% headed in the right direction).

## Seven in ten think things in the US are going in the wrong direction

	US is going in the wrong direction	Expect bad economic times in the US
<b>All adults</b>	70%	66%
<b>Likely voters</b>	72	63
<b>Democrats</b>	59	52
<b>Republicans</b>	88	82
<b>Independents</b>	80	74
<b>Central Valley</b>	72	71
<b>Inland Empire</b>	77	77
<b>Los Angeles</b>	69	65
<b>Orange/San Diego</b>	71	62
<b>SF Bay Area</b>	63	59
<b>Men</b>	70	66
<b>Women</b>	71	67
<b>African Americans</b>	65	61
<b>Asian Americans</b>	64	63
<b>Latinos</b>	68	67
<b>Whites</b>	75	67
<b>Less than \$40,000</b>	68	70
<b>\$40,000 to \$79,999</b>	72	70
<b>\$80,000 or more</b>	70	63

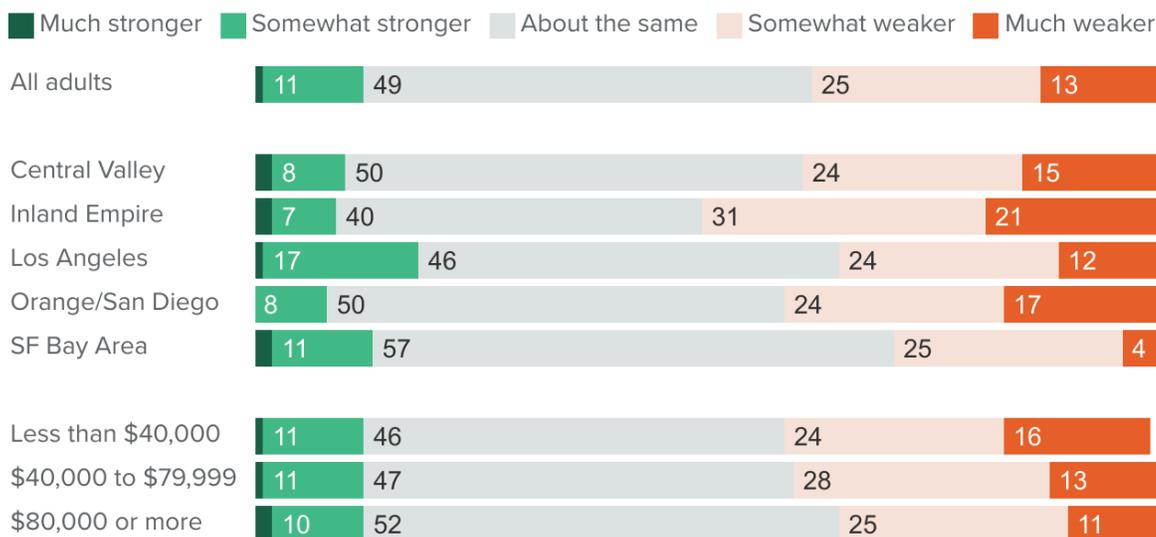
**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

## Economic Conditions and Personal Finances

About half of Californians think the economy in their local area will be about the same six months from now, while nearly four in ten expect it to be weaker and about one in ten say it will be stronger. Across the state's regions, those in the Inland Empire are the most pessimistic, while those in the San Francisco Bay Area are the least pessimistic. There are minimal differences across age, education, income, and racial/ethnic groups. Notably, some of the largest differences emerge across parties, with Republicans (55%) twice as likely as Democrats (26%) to say their local economy will be weaker in the next six months; 45 percent of independents hold this view.

Californians are somewhat more optimistic about their personal finances. A majority (55%) say they expect their personal finances to be about the same in six months, while one in five expect them to be stronger (3% much stronger, 16% somewhat stronger) and one in four expect them to be weaker (19% somewhat weaker, 6% much weaker). More than one in three lower-income residents expect their personal finances to be weaker (25% somewhat weaker, 10% much weaker), while fewer than two in ten higher-income residents say the same.

### Half of adults think the economy in their local area will be about the same six months from now



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

When asked how they feel about making purchases today compared to six months ago, most Californians say they are less comfortable: 75 percent say they are less comfortable making major purchases like a home or a car, and 65 percent say they are less comfortable making other household purchases.

When it comes to major purchases, solid majorities across parties, regions, and demographic groups say they are less comfortable than they were six months ago. Across regions, residents in the Inland Empire (85%) are the most likely to say they feel less comfortable, while those in the San Francisco Bay Area (66%) are the least likely to feel this way. Those without a college degree (82%) are far more likely than college

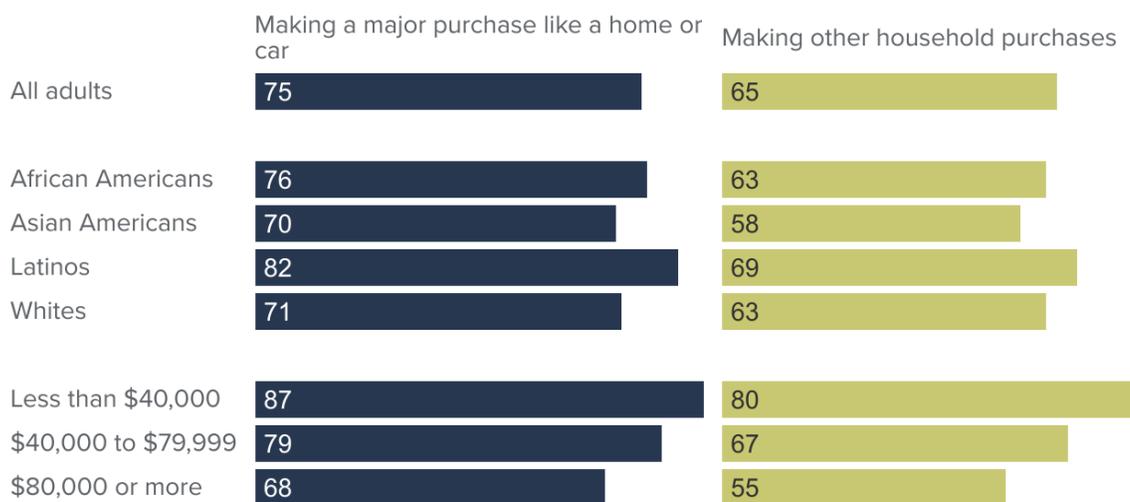
graduates (62%) to say they are less comfortable now. Seven in ten or more across racial/ethnic groups say they are less comfortable making a major purchase now than they were six months ago.

When it comes to making other household purchases, a similar regional trend emerges, with Inland Empire residents (73%) the most likely to be less comfortable and the San Francisco Bay Area residents (54%) the least likely to feel this way. Those without a college degree (72%) are far more likely than college graduates (52%) to say they are less comfortable. Majorities across racial/ethnic groups say they are less comfortable making other household purchases now than they were six months ago.

Notably, majorities across parties are less comfortable making both kinds of purchases, although there is a wide partisan divide. On making major purchases, Republicans (82%) and independents (80%) are much more likely than Democrats (69%) to feel less comfortable; the gap is even wider for making other household purchases (81% Republicans, 64% independents, 53% Democrats). Majorities across income groups are less comfortable making both kinds of purchases, with lower-income residents feeling this way much more often than higher-income residents.

### Solid majorities feel less comfortable making major or other household purchases now compared to six months ago

% less comfortable



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

One in five Californians say they, someone in their family, or someone else they know personally lost their job in the last six months as a result of economic conditions. Across racial/ethnic groups, Latinos (26%) are the most likely to say this, while whites (15%) are the least likely. The share with someone in their life experiencing job loss is higher among renters (26%) than homeowners (15%). However, it is similar across income and education levels. Residents in Orange/San Diego are the least likely to say they, someone in their family, or someone they know personally has lost their job (16%), while residents in the San Francisco Bay area are the most likely (23%).

Looking ahead to the next six months, only 6 percent say it is extremely or very likely that they, someone in their family, or someone they know will lose their job in the next six months as a result of economic conditions, while 30 percent say it is somewhat likely, 43 percent say not very likely, and 20 percent say not at all likely. One in ten or fewer across parties, regions, and demographic groups—with the exception of the Inland Empire (16%)—think it is extremely or very likely they or someone they know will lose their job in the next six months.

## Two in ten say they or someone in their household has lost a job in the last six months

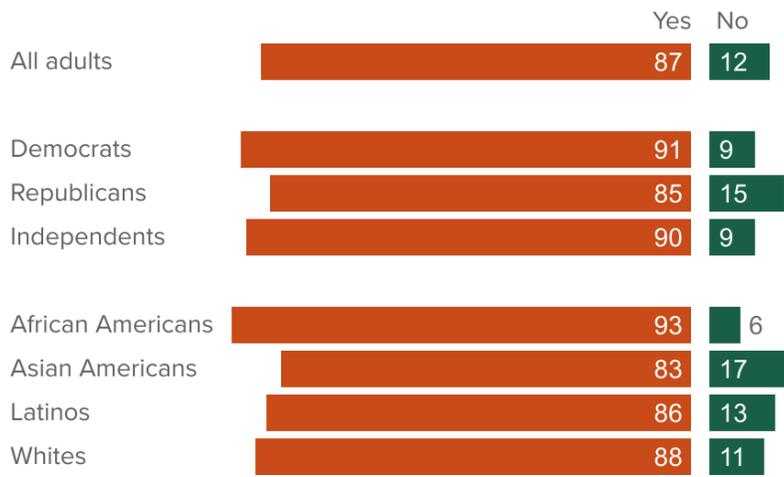
	You, someone in your family, or someone you know has lost their job in the last 6 months	Extremely/very likely that you, someone in your family, or someone you know will lose their job in the next 6 months
<b>All adults</b>	20%	6%
<b>Likely voters</b>	17	7
<b>Democrats</b>	16	6
<b>Republicans</b>	20	10
<b>Independents</b>	22	6
<b>Central Valley</b>	20	7
<b>Inland Empire</b>	22	16
<b>Los Angeles</b>	20	6
<b>Orange/San Diego</b>	16	6
<b>SF Bay Area</b>	23	4
<b>Men</b>	21	7
<b>Women</b>	19	6
<b>African Americans</b>	20	6
<b>Asian Americans</b>	17	6
<b>Latinos</b>	26	9
<b>Whites</b>	15	5
<b>Less than \$40,000</b>	23	9
<b>\$40,000 to \$79,999</b>	20	7
<b>\$80,000 or more</b>	18	5

**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

# Mental Health Policy

Eighty-seven percent of Californians think there is a mental health crisis in the US today, while few (12%) say there is not. Californians' views are similar to views held nationally—in an October 2022 [CNN/Kaiser Family Foundation \(KFF\) poll](#), 90 percent of adults nationwide said mental health is a crisis in the US. Today there is partisan agreement on this issue, with 85 percent or more of Democrats, Republicans, and independents saying there is a mental health crisis. Overwhelming majorities across demographic and regional groups say this.

## Most Californians say there is a mental health crisis in the US today



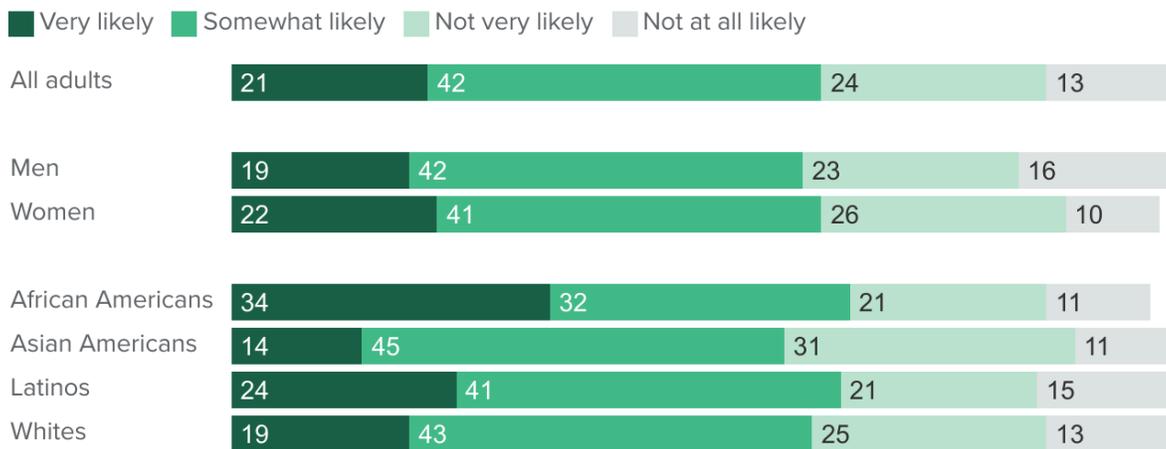
**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

A majority of Californians (56%) say they have heard nothing at all about the new 988 hotline that helps connect people with mental health services; about a quarter say they have heard a little (24%), and a quarter say they have heard at least some (4% a lot, 17% some). Half or more across partisan, demographic, and regional groups say they have heard nothing at all.

While most have not heard much about this hotline, after reading a summary of what 988 is, about six in ten adults say they would be very or somewhat likely to call the 988 hotline if they or a loved one were experiencing a mental health crisis. About two in ten or more across partisan groups say they are very likely to call the hotline. One in three African Americans say this, followed by about a quarter of Latinos, about two in ten whites, and 14 percent of Asian Americans. The shares saying they are very likely to call increases with age (14% of those age 18 to 34 compared to 27% of those 55 and older). Lower-income adults are somewhat more likely than adults with higher incomes to say this. Adults with only a high school education are slightly more likely than college graduates to say they would call.

Californians are just as likely as adults nationwide to say they have heard nothing at all about the hotline (56%) and less likely than adults nationwide to say they are very or somewhat likely to call it (85%), according to the CNN/KFF poll.

## A solid majority say they are at least somewhat likely to call the 988 mental health hotline



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

When asked to describe their own mental health or emotional well-being, about half of adults report an excellent (18%) or very good rating (31%), about a third rate themselves as good (32%), and fewer describe their mental health as only fair (14%) or poor (4%). Californians are more likely than adults nationwide (46%) to say their mental health is excellent or very good, according to the October CNN/KFF poll. Today, Republicans are roughly twice as likely as Democrats and independents to say their mental health is excellent. Roughly one in ten or fewer across demographic and regional groups say this.

An overwhelming majority of adults say they are able to cope very (38%) or somewhat well (48%) with things that are currently affecting their mental health or emotional well-being. Overwhelming majorities of adults nationwide (78%) say they are able to cope very or somewhat well, according to the CNN/KFF poll. However, Californians are more likely than adults nationwide to say they can cope very well (38% vs. 13%). A strong majority say they are very (28%) or somewhat (40%) comfortable talking to relatives and friends about their mental health—and shares are similar nationwide (26% very comfortable, 38% somewhat comfortable).

Asked about the coronavirus pandemic, nearly four in ten (37%) adults say the pandemic has had a negative impact on their own mental health. Four in ten parents in the state say the COVID-19 pandemic has negatively affected their children’s mental health. Californians are somewhat less likely than adults across the nation (47% CNN/KFF poll) to say this.

## Half of adults would describe their mental health or emotional well-being as excellent or very good; shares vary among demographic groups

	Excellent	Very good	Good	Only fair	Poor
<b>All adults</b>	18%	31%	32%	14%	4%
<b>Likely voters</b>	21	35	29	12	3
<b>Democrats</b>	15	31	35	17	3
<b>Republicans</b>	31	32	24	9	4
<b>Independents</b>	17	30	33	13	7
<b>Central Valley</b>	19	33	26	15	5
<b>Inland Empire</b>	17	30	37	11	5
<b>Los Angeles</b>	17	29	31	17	5
<b>Orange/San Diego</b>	17	27	38	14	3
<b>SF Bay Area</b>	14	34	33	15	3
<b>Men</b>	21	32	28	15	3
<b>Women</b>	15	30	36	14	5
<b>African Americans</b>	19	31	20	17	12
<b>Asian Americans</b>	15	29	39	12	3
<b>Latinos</b>	15	31	35	16	3
<b>Whites</b>	23	33	29	11	4
<b>Less than \$40,000</b>	13	24	35	14	13
<b>\$40,000 to \$79,999</b>	14	28	34	20	3
<b>\$80,000 or more</b>	22	36	29	12	0

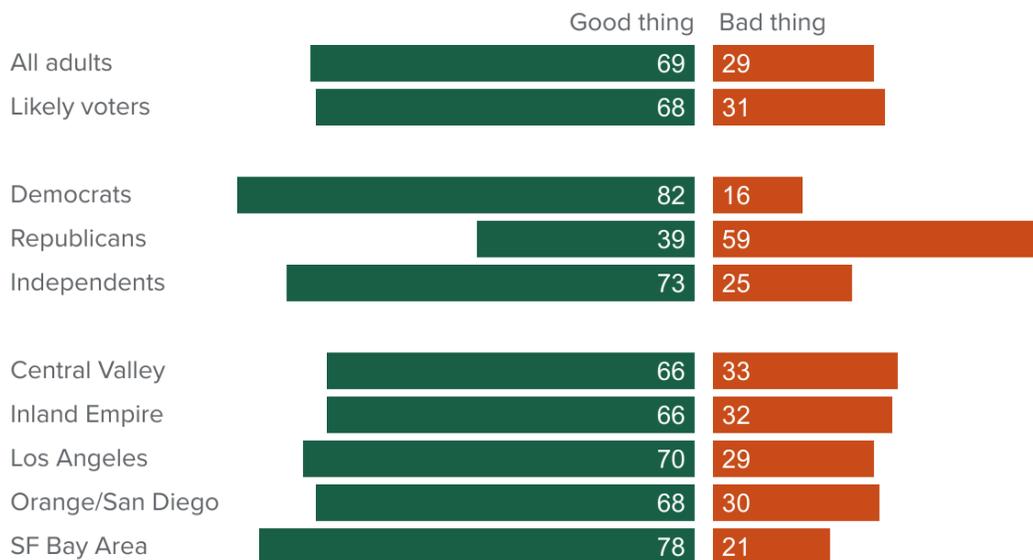
**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

## Immigration Policy

California is home to 10.5 million immigrants, who make up 23 percent of the foreign-born population nationwide. When Californians are asked whether immigration is a good thing or a bad thing for the US, about seven in ten adults (69%) say it is a good thing. Partisans are widely divided, with Democrats (82%) about twice as likely as Republicans (39%) to view immigration favorably (73% of independents say it is a good thing). Two in three or more across regions say immigration is a good thing. Solid majorities across

demographic groups hold a positive view of immigration. A recent [Gallup poll](#) found a similar 68 percent nationwide saying it is a good thing.

## About seven in ten say immigration is a good thing for the US



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

When asked if immigration should be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased, four in ten Californians say immigration should be kept at its present level. Slightly fewer (36%) say it should be decreased and about one in four (24%) say it should be increased. Across parties, a plurality of Democrats (44%) and independents (43%) say it should be kept at its current level, while nearly seven in ten Republicans (69%) say immigration should be decreased. Americans in the recent Gallup poll were more likely to say that immigration should be decreased (41%, 31% kept at present level, 26% increased).

Twenty-seven percent of Californians view the situation at the US border as a “crisis,” 37 percent see it as a major problem, 27 percent call it a minor problem, and 8 percent say it is not a problem. And when asked how sympathetic they are to people from other countries who travel to the border in an attempt to enter the US, about seven in ten are very (27%) or somewhat sympathetic (44%), while about three in ten are somewhat (16%) or very unsympathetic (12%).

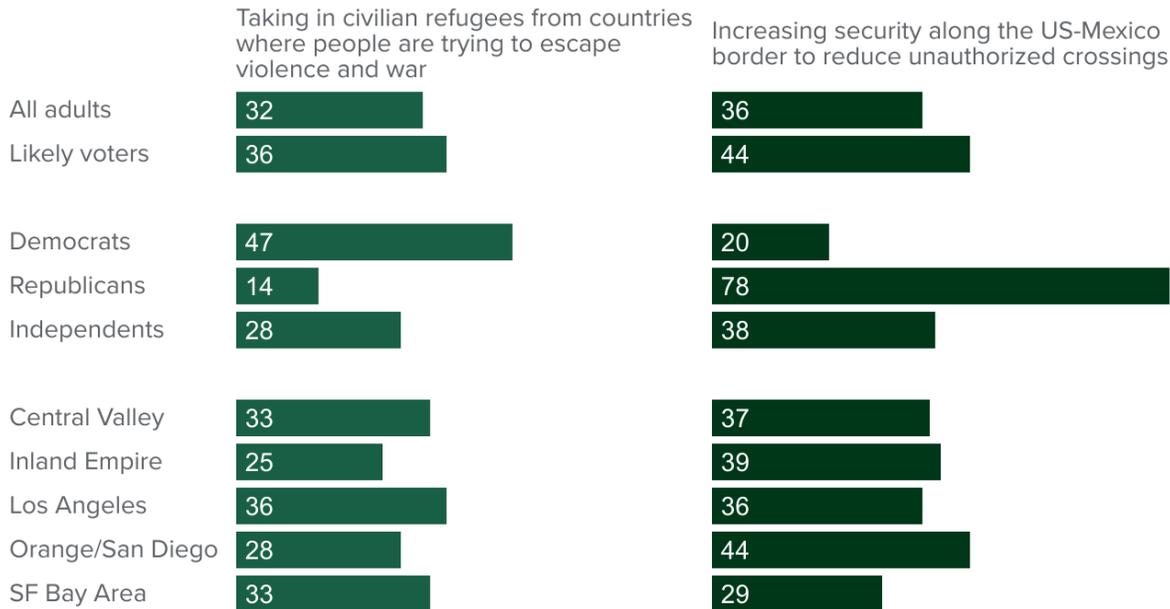
When asked how important of a goal taking in civilian refugees or increasing security along the US-Mexico border is, similar shares say each of these is a very important goal. Thirty-two percent say taking in civilian refugees from countries where people are trying to escape violence and war should be a very important goal, while 44 percent say it is somewhat important and one in four say it is not too (15%) or not at all important (8%). Nearly half of Democrats say this is a very important goal, while fewer Republicans and independents hold this view.

Thirty-six percent of Californians say that increasing security along the US-Mexico border to reduce unauthorized crossings should be a very important goal; 37 percent say it should be somewhat important

and about one in four say it should be not too (19%) or not at all important (6%). Republicans are about twice as likely as independents and nearly four times as likely as Democrats to call this a very important goal.

### About three in ten say taking in civilian refugees is a very important goal and a third say this about increasing border security

% very important goal



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

In recent months, Texas and Florida state governments have sent migrants to California, with most arriving in Los Angeles via bus and others arriving in Sacramento via airplane. Most Californians report hearing a lot (31%) or some (36%) about this, while one in three report hearing not much (19%) or nothing at all (14%) about this. When asked if they approve or disapprove of state governments sending migrants to California cities, an overwhelming majority (73%) say they disapprove (25% approve). Solid majorities across parties disapprove, and Democrats are the most likely to hold this view. Strong majorities across regions and demographic groups disapprove, with disapproval increasing with rising age, education, and income levels.

## Overwhelming majorities disapprove of other state governments sending migrants to cities in California

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
All adults	25%	73%	2%
Likely voters	21	78	1
Democrats	17	81	2
Republicans	34	64	2
Independents	27	72	2
Central Valley	29	71	1
Inland Empire	31	68	1
Los Angeles	23	75	2
Orange/San Diego	20	77	2
SF Bay Area	23	75	2
Men	26	73	1
Women	25	73	2
African Americans	33	65	1
Asian Americans	22	77	1
Latinos	30	69	2
Whites	21	77	2
Less than \$40,000	33	65	2
\$40,000 to \$79,999	26	71	3
\$80,000 or more	20	79	1

**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

## 2024 Elections

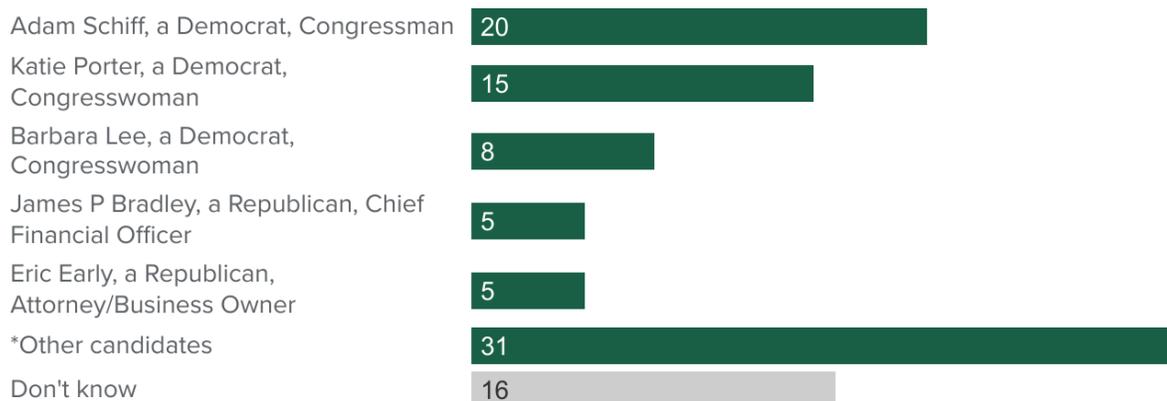
This summer has seen a flurry of political and legal activity with implications for the 2024 elections. The Republican presidential primary candidates had a televised debate, and former President Donald Trump was indicted on federal and state charges of interfering in the 2020 election. In this context, about four in ten likely voters are satisfied (5% very, 37% somewhat) with the way that democracy is working in the US (39% not too, 19% not at all). In February, nearly half were satisfied (10% very, 38% somewhat). Today, fewer than half across political parties are satisfied. A strong majority of likely voters have a great deal (40%) or quite a lot (25%) of confidence in the system in which votes are cast and counted in California elections (17% some, 18% very little). Last September, 50 percent had a “great deal” and 13 percent had quite a lot of

confidence. Today, Democrats are much more likely than other voters to have a great deal of confidence in California’s election system.

The race to replace Senator Dianne Feinstein begins with the March top-two primary. More than four in ten voters are supporting one of three Democratic congressmembers: Adam Schiff (20%), Katie Porter (15%), and Barbara Lee (8%). In July, the same three candidates were each polling in the teens—Katie Porter (19%), Adam Schiff (16%), and Barbara Lee (13%). Today, other candidates, including Republicans, are each receiving 5 percent or less of the vote, while 16 percent are undecided. Among Democrats, Schiff (28%) leads Porter (22%) and Lee (14%). Among independents, Schiff (21%) also leads Porter (16%) and Lee (6%). Republican likely voters favor Republican candidates James Bradley and Eric Early (14% each), while one in five (20%) are undecided, and only 5 percent would vote for Lee, Porter, or Schiff. Still, it is currently far from certain who the top two will be.

## Congressman Adam Schiff is leading among three Democratic candidates in the US Senate primary race

Top 5 candidates



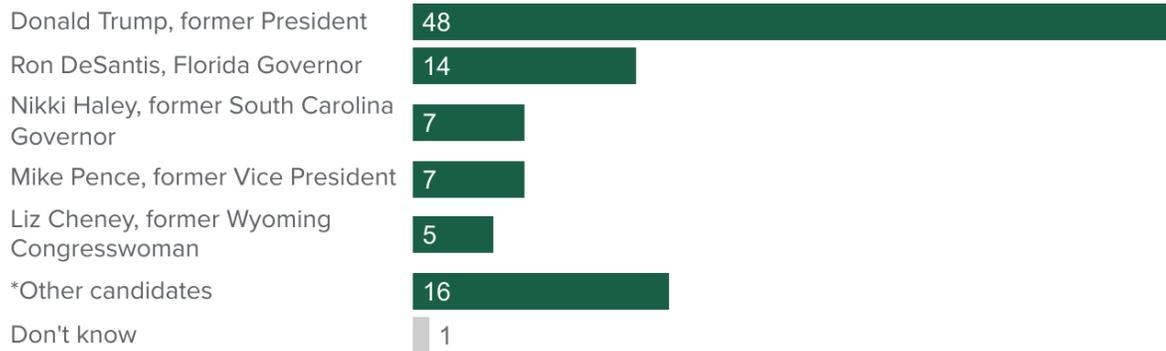
**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25-September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

**NOTES:** \*Other candidates includes the “someone else (specify)” response option and any candidates below the top five. Among likely voters only.

In the wake of the August indictments, nearly half (48%) of California Republican likely voters say they would vote for former President Donald Trump in the March Republican presidential primary. Trump was supported by 50 percent of Republican likely voters in the June and July PPIC surveys. Today, support among Republican likely voters for Florida Governor Ron DeSantis is at 14 percent, while fewer than 10 percent support each of the other candidates. Sixteen percent say they will vote for someone aside from the top five leading candidates, while only 1 percent say they don’t know who they will vote for. Trump leads DeSantis by 46 points among those with no college degree (57% to 11%) and by a smaller margin among college graduates (27% to 21%). Trump leads DeSantis by a wide margin among conservatives (53% to 16%).

## Close to half of Republican likely voters would vote for Donald Trump if the Republican presidential primary were held today

Top 5 candidates

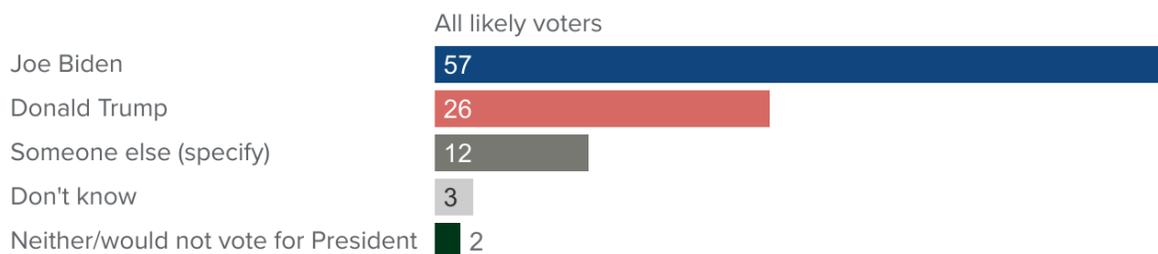


**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25-September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

**NOTES:** \*Other candidates includes the “someone else (specify)” response option and any candidates below the top five. Among Republican likely voters only.

If the 2024 presidential election is a rematch of the 2020 election, likely voters in California would choose Joe Biden over Donald Trump by a 31-point margin (57% to 26%). Results were similar in July (57% Biden, 31% Trump) and June (58% Biden, 25% Trump). The 2023 PPIC survey results are consistent with the landslide victory for the Democratic candidate in the [2020 California election](#) (63.5% Biden, 34.3% Trump). Today, among likely voters, 87 percent of Democrats support Biden, while 73 percent of Republicans support Trump, half of independents support the Democratic candidate (50% Biden, 20% Trump). Biden leads Trump by a 46-point margin among college graduates (65% to 19%). Interestingly, 6 percent of Democrats, 11 percent of Republicans, and 23 percent of independents say they would vote for “someone else” (12% among all likely voters), while 2 percent of likely voters say they would vote for neither candidate or would not vote for president.

## Joe Biden is leading Donald Trump by a wide margin in the presidential race



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25-September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

**NOTE:** Among likely voters only.

Lastly, a new piece of legislation ([AB 421](#)) permits a qualified referendum to be withdrawn from the ballot to take referendums off the November ballot. In our September survey, 56 percent say they would vote “yes” to approve the 2022 law that authorized the creation of a council to set minimum wage and working

standards for fast-food workers; we found the same result in June (56%). However, new legislation ([AB 1228](#)) has led its proponents to agree to withdraw it from the November ballot by the deadline of January 1, 2024.

Sixty percent of likely voters would vote yes to approve the 2022 law that prohibits new oil and gas wells near homes, schools, and hospitals—similar to what we saw in July (64%)—but this referendum could also be withdrawn if there is a compromise between the proponents and legislature that results in new legislation by the June 27 deadline.

Notably, the new legislation regarding referendums (AB 421) also changes the referendum ballot labels to say “keep the law” (from yes) and “overturn the law” (from no), and PPIC surveys will have this wording in future polls. The new legislation also requires disclosure of the referendum funders. In the context of this new legislation, 77 percent of likely voters in the September PPIC survey say that changes (28% major, 49% minor) are needed in the referendum process, while 77 percent of likely voters in the June survey agreed (27% strongly, 50% somewhat) that “referendums are often too complicated and confusing for voters to understand what happens if the referendums pass.” Ninety-six percent said that the referendum process is “controlled by special interests” (56% a lot, 40% some).

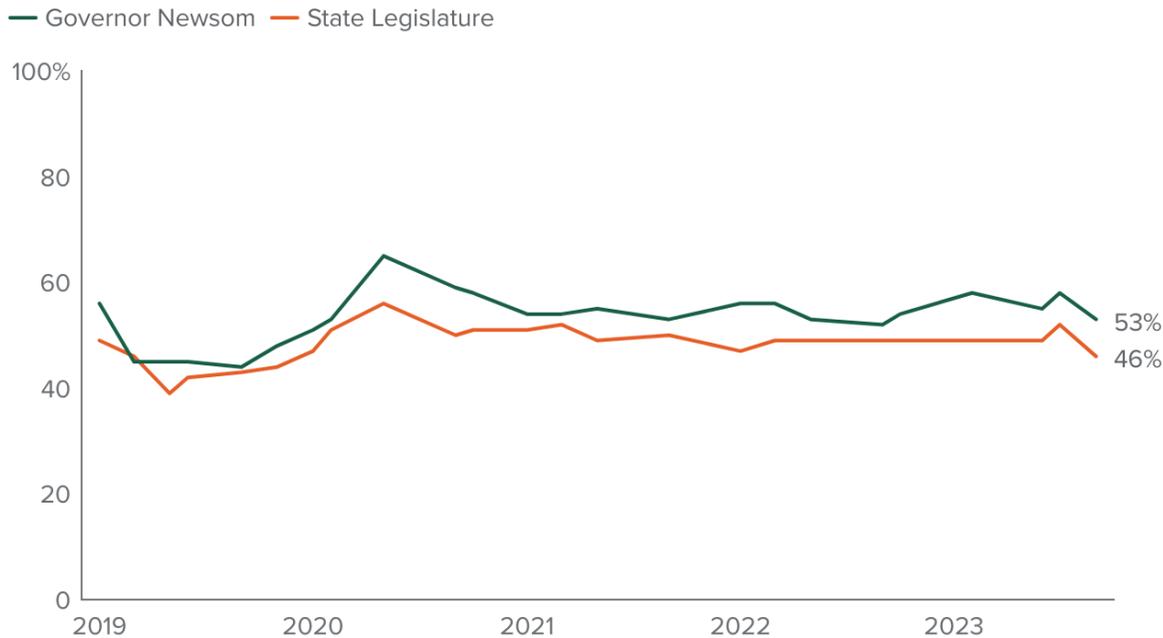
## State and Federal Approval Ratings

Amid news that Governor Newsom completed a \$311 billion state budget deal and agreed to a debate with Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, majorities of adults (53%) and likely voters (56%) approve of the way that the governor is handling his job. Shares were similar [last September](#) (52% adults, 55% likely voters), prior to [59 percent](#) voting for his reelection in November 2022. Today, partisans remain deeply divided with nearly eight in ten Democrats (78%) approving of Governor Newsom, compared to 48 percent of independents and 15 percent of Republicans. Majorities approve across gender, homeownership, income, and racial/ethnic groups—with the exception of nearly half of whites. Approval varies across education groups (48% high school or less, 51% some college, 60% college graduate). Majorities in Los Angeles (58%), the San Francisco Bay Area (63%), and Orange/San Diego (51%) approve of Governor Newsom, compared to fewer than half in the Central Valley (45%) and Inland Empire (42%).

Forty-six percent of adults and 48 percent of likely voters approve of the way the state legislature is handling its job. Approval ratings for the legislature were similar last September (49% adults, 47% likely voters). Today, partisans remain deeply divided, with 69 percent of Democrats approving of the state legislature, compared to 36 percent of independents and 13% of Republicans. Fewer than half approve across age, gender, homeownership, and income groups. About half approve among African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos, about four in ten among whites (42%) do so. College graduates (51%) are more likely than groups with less formal education to approve. Approval of the legislature is higher among those in the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles than elsewhere.

## A majority approves of the governor, while fewer than half approve of the state legislature

% approve



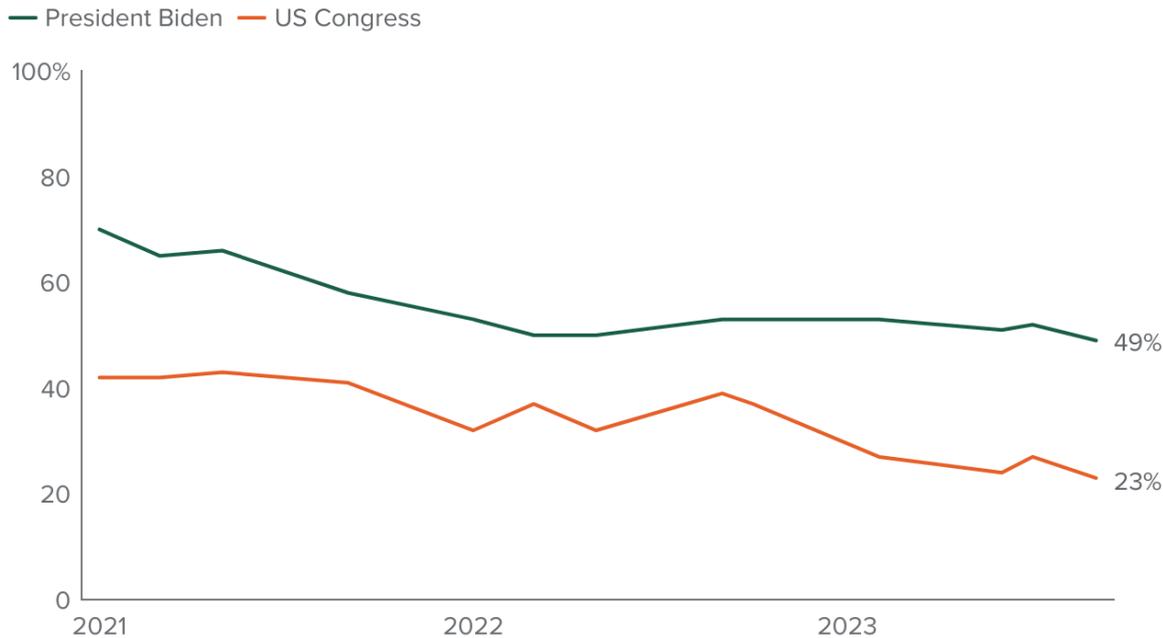
**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Surveys, 2019–2023.

California adults are divided on approval of Joe Biden’s handling of his job as president of the United States (49% each approve and disapprove). However, among likely voters, a majority (53%) approves of President Biden (47% disapprove). Approval among all adults was similar last September (53% adults, 53% likely voters). This is the first time that fewer than half have approved of President Biden since he began his term in office. Today, partisans remain deeply divided, with 76 percent of Democrats, 43 percent of independents, and 14 percent of Republicans approving of President Biden. A majority of African Americans (65%) and Asian Americans (55%) approve, followed by fewer than half of Latinos (48%) and whites (47%). Approval varies across education groups (45% high school or less, 43% some college, 60% college graduate) and age groups (46% 18 to 24, 50% 35 to 54, 53% 55 and over). Across regions, half or more in the three coastal regions approve compared to less than half in other regions. [In a recent Gallup poll](#) of US adults, 42 percent approved and 53 percent disapproved of President Biden.

Approval of the US Congress is far lower than other approval ratings, with 23 percent of adults and 18 percent of likely voters approving of the way it is handling its job (disapprove: 74% adults, 81% likely voters). Approval of Congress was higher last September (39% adults, 34% likely voters) before party control changed from Democratic to Republican leadership after the November midterm election. Approval of Congress has never been above 50 percent since PPIC started asking this question in October 2005. Today, partisans agree in their overwhelming disapproval of Congress (71% Democrats, 81% independents, 83% Republicans). Strong majorities across age, gender, homeownership, income, racial/ethnic, and regional groups disapprove. Views among Californians are similar to the opinions of the nation as a whole, according to a [recent Gallup poll](#) in which 19 percent of US adults approved and 78 percent disapproved of the way that Congress is handling its job.

## A majority approves of President Biden, while approval of US Congress continues to decline

% approve



**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Surveys, 2021–2023.

After an eventful year of judicial decisions, 30 percent of both adults and likely voters approve of the way that the US Supreme Court is handling its job, while a strong majority disapproves (68% adults, 69% likely voters). In [February](#), 37 percent of adults and 36 percent of likely voters approved of the Supreme Court. Approval was much higher the first time that PPIC asked this question in [January 2017](#) (57% adults, 53% likely voters), which was prior to recent changes in Supreme Court justices. Today, partisans remain divided, with 58 percent of Republicans approving, compared to 28 percent of independents and 18 percent of Democrats. Fewer than four in ten across major demographic groups and regions approve of the way that the Supreme Court is handling its job.

## A majority of Californians approve of Governor Newsom and half approve of President Biden; fewer than half approve of the state legislature, US Congress, and the Supreme Court

% approval

	Governor Newsom	State Legislature	President Biden	US Congress	US Supreme Court
All adults	53%	46%	49%	23%	30%
Likely voters	56	48	53	18	30
Democrats	78	69	76	26	18
Republicans	15	13	14	16	58
Independents	48	36	43	17	28
Central Valley	45	42	45	19	34
Inland Empire	42	37	39	22	31
Los Angeles	58	50	50	29	31
Orange/San Diego	51	42	50	17	29
SF Bay Area	63	54	62	25	24
Men	54	46	50	22	35
Women	52	45	49	24	25
African Americans	66	50	65	29	25
Asian Americans	60	50	55	26	26
Latinos	54	48	48	29	34
Whites	48	42	47	16	28
Less than \$40,000	54	48	43	29	31
\$40,000 to \$79,999	51	44	50	25	30
\$80,000 or more	55	46	53	20	29

**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

We also asked about approval of three decisions by the Supreme Court in the past year. About one in four approve of its decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade* (27% each of adults and likely voters), about four in ten approve of denying services to same-sex customers seeking a wedding website (39% adults, 43% likely voters), and about half approve of restricting the use of race as a factor in college admissions (48% adults,

52% likely voters). Partisans are deeply divided about all three of these Supreme Court decisions. There is a 52-percentage-point difference in the approval of Republicans (61%) and Democrats (9%) in the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*; a 53-point difference in the approval of denying services to same-sex customers seeking a wedding website (76% Republicans, 23% Democrats); and a 48-point margin in the approval of restricting the use of race as a factor in college admissions (81% Republicans, 33% Democrats).

Majorities across demographic groups and regions disapprove of the decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, with liberals (93%), Asian Americans (79%), and college graduates (79%) most likely to disapprove. Majorities across demographic groups and regions also disapprove of the decision to deny services to same-sex couples seeking a wedding website.

Some demographic groups are more divided on the US Supreme Court decision restricting the use of race as a factor in college admissions. A solid majority of African Americans (63%) disapprove, compared to about half of Latinos (52%) and Asian Americans (51%); 44 percent of whites disapprove of this decision. A majority of adults ages 18 to 34 (53%) and 35 to 54 (52%) disapprove, compared to less than half of adults 55 and older (42%). More than half in the San Francisco Bay Area (59%) and Los Angeles (52%) disapprove, while fewer in other regions disapprove of the decision (46% in the Central Valley, 44% in Orange/San Diego, and 41% in the Inland Empire).

Related to the public opinion trends on two of these decisions, state voters defeated a measure to allow diversity as a factor in public employment, education, and contracting decisions in November 2020 (Proposition 16: 43% yes, 57% no), and state voters approved a state ballot measure on the constitutional right to reproductive freedom in November 2022 (Proposition 1: 67% yes, 33% no). California voters will be asked to approve a ballot measure on marriage equality in March 2024.

## Fewer than half approve of Supreme Court decisions on abortion, declining services to same-sex couples, and affirmative action, with shares varying across partisan groups

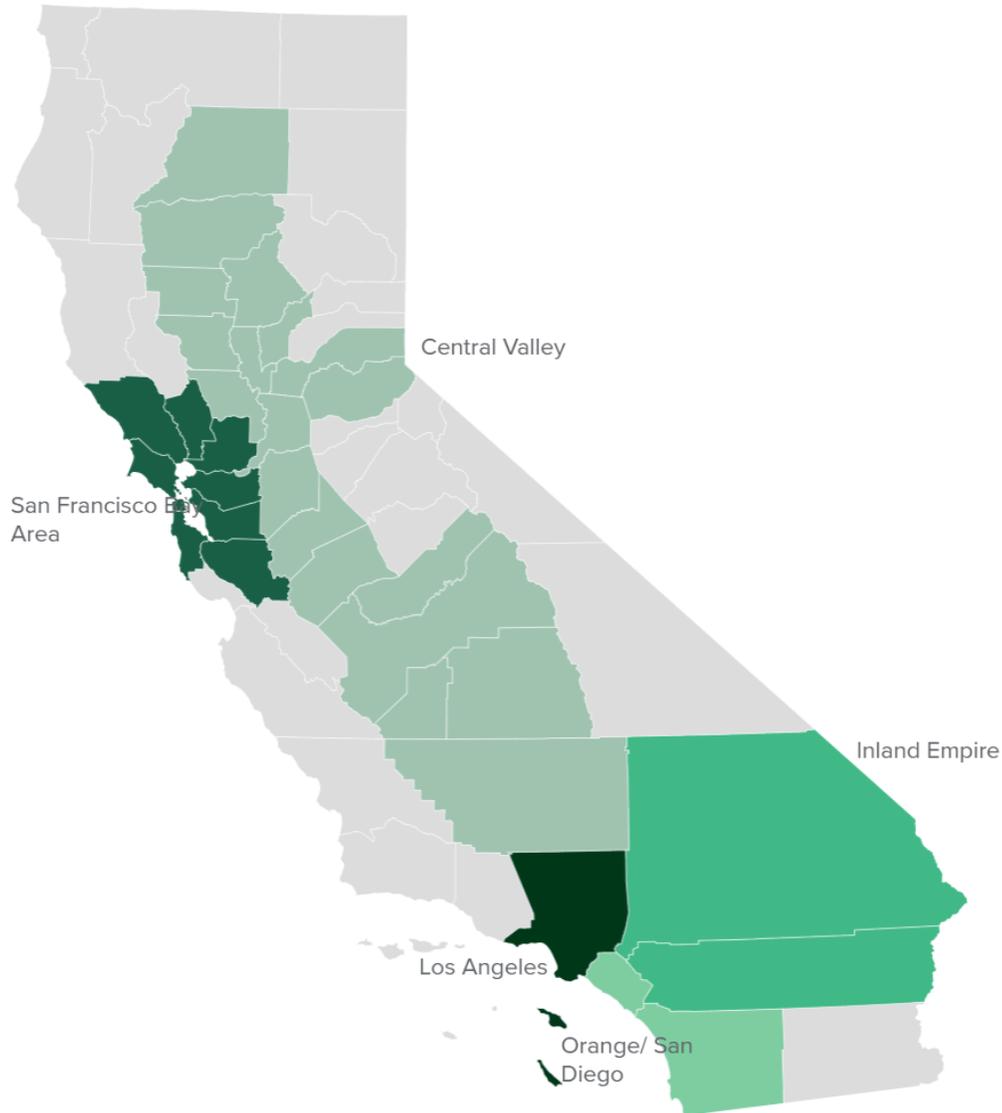
% in approval

	Overturing Roe v. Wade	Decision that a website designer can deny services to same-sex customers seeking a wedding website	Restricting the use of race as a factor in college admissions
<b>All adults</b>	27%	39%	48%
<b>Likely voters</b>	27	43	52
<b>Democrats</b>	9	23	33
<b>Republicans</b>	61	76	81
<b>Independents</b>	28	47	59
<b>Central Valley</b>	33	43	49
<b>Inland Empire</b>	32	47	55
<b>Los Angeles</b>	24	35	47
<b>Orange/San Diego</b>	31	42	55
<b>SF Bay Area</b>	17	27	39
<b>Men</b>	32	46	55
<b>Women</b>	22	31	42
<b>African Americans</b>	23	34	35
<b>Asian Americans</b>	18	38	45
<b>Latinos</b>	36	40	44
<b>Whites</b>	23	40	55
<b>Less than \$40,000</b>	30	33	45
<b>\$40,000 to \$79,999</b>	28	40	44
<b>\$80,000 or more</b>	24	41	52

**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

## Regional Map

This map highlights the five geographic regions for which we present results; these regions account for approximately 90 percent of the state population. Residents of other geographic areas (in gray) are included in the results reported for all adults, registered voters, and likely voters, but sample sizes for these less-populous areas are not large enough to report separately.



## Methodology

This is the 25th year of the PPIC Statewide Survey. Coauthors of this report include survey director Mark Baldassare, who holds the Miller Chair in Public Policy; associate survey director and research fellow Dean Bonner; survey analyst Deja Thomas, who were co-project managers for this survey; and survey analyst Lauren Mora. The Californians and Their Government survey is supported with funding from the Arjay and Frances F. Miller Foundation and the James Irvine Foundation. The PPIC Statewide Survey invites input, comments, and

suggestions from policy and public opinion experts and from its own advisory committee, but survey methods, questions, and content are determined solely by PPIC's survey team.

Findings in this report are based on a survey of 1,671 California adult residents. The median time to complete the survey was 20 minutes. Interviews were conducted from August 25–September 5, 2023.

The survey was conducted by Ipsos, using its online KnowledgePanel, in English and Spanish according to respondents' preferences. KnowledgePanel members are recruited through probability-based sampling and include both those with internet access and those without. KnowledgePanel provides internet access for those who do not have it and, if needed, a device to access the internet when they join the panel. KnowledgePanel members are primarily recruited using address-based sampling (ABS) methodology, which improves population coverage, particularly for hard-to-reach populations such as young adults and minority groups. ABS-recruited Latinos are supplemented with a dual-frame random digit dialing (RDD) sampling methodology that targets telephone exchanges associated with areas with a higher concentration of Latinos to provide the capability to conduct representative online surveys with Latinos, including those who speak only Spanish. KnowledgePanel's recruitment was originally based on a national RDD frame and switched to the primarily ABS-based methodology in 2009. KnowledgePanel includes households with landlines and cell phones, including those with cellphones only and those without phones. ABS allows probability-based sampling of addresses from the US Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File (DSF). The DSF-based sampling frame used for address selection is enhanced with a series of refinements—such as the appendage of various ancillary data to each address from commercial and government data sources—to facilitate complex stratification plans. Taking advantage of such refinements, quarterly samples are selected using a stratified sampling methodology that aims to retain the representativeness of the panel. KnowledgePanel recruits new panel members throughout the year to offset panel attrition.

To qualify for the survey, a panel member must be age 18 or older and reside in California. A general population sample of Californians was selected using Ipsos's PPS (probability proportional to size) sampling procedure to select study-specific samples. Briefly, to select such samples, the panel is first weighted to population benchmarks and those panel weights are used as the measure of size for a PPS sample selection that yields a fully representative sample. A total of 1,708 qualified respondents completed the survey out of 3,066 panelists who were sampled, for a response rate of 56 percent. To ensure the highest data quality, we flagged respondents who sped through the survey, which we defined as completing the survey in one-fourth of the overall median time (less than 4.9 minutes). We also flagged respondents if their self-reported age or gender did not match the data stored in their profile. A total of 37 cases were removed after this review process, resulting in 1,671 total qualified and valid cases.

Accent on Languages, Inc., translated new survey questions into Spanish, with assistance from Renatta DeFever.

Ipsos uses the US Census Bureau's 2017–2021 American Community Survey's (ACS) Public Use Microdata Series for California (with regional coding information from the University of Minnesota's Integrated Public Use Microdata Series for California) to compare certain demographic characteristics of the survey sample—region, age, gender, race/ethnicity, and education—with the characteristics of California's adult population. The survey sample was closely comparable to the ACS figures. We also used voter registration data from the California Secretary of State to compare the party registration of registered voters in our sample to party registration statewide. The sample of Californians is first weighted using an initial sampling or base weight that corrects for any differences in the probability of selecting various segments of the KnowledgePanel sample. This base weight

is further adjusted using an iterative proportional fitting (raking) procedure that aligns sample demographics to population benchmarks from the 2017–2021 ACS data as well as party registration benchmarks from the California Secretary of State’s voter registration file.

The sampling error, taking design effects from weighting into consideration, is  $\pm 3.1$  percent at the 95 percent confidence level for the total unweighted sample of 1,671 adults. This means that 95 times out of 100, the results will be within 3.1 percentage points of what they would be if all adults in California were interviewed. The sampling error for unweighted subgroups is larger: for the 1,414 registered voters, the sampling error is  $\pm 3.4$  percent; for the 1,146 likely voters, it is  $\pm 3.7$  percent. Sampling error is only 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.

We present results for five geographic regions, accounting for approximately 90 percent of the state population. “Central Valley” includes Butte, Colusa, El Dorado, Fresno, Glenn, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, Placer, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Shasta, Stanislaus, Sutter, Tehama, Tulare, Yolo, and Yuba Counties. “San Francisco 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, “Inland Empire” refers to Riverside and San Bernardino Counties, and “Orange/San Diego” refers to Orange and San Diego Counties. Residents of other geographic areas are included in the results reported for all adults, registered voters, and likely voters, but sample sizes for these less-populous areas are not large enough to report separately.

We present results for non-Hispanic whites, who account for 40 percent of the state’s adult population, and also for Latinos, who account for 36 percent of the state’s adult population and constitute one of the fastest-growing voter groups. We also present results for non-Hispanic Asian Americans, who make up about 16 percent of the state’s adult population, and non-Hispanic African Americans, who comprise about 5 percent. Results for other racial/ethnic groups—such as Native Americans—are included in the results reported for all adults, registered voters, and likely voters, but sample sizes are not large enough for separate analysis. Results for African American and Asian American likely voters are combined with those of other racial/ethnic groups because sample sizes for African American and Asian American likely voters are too small for separate analysis. We compare the opinions of those who report they are registered Democrats, registered Republicans, and decline-to-state or independent voters; the results for those who say they are registered to vote in other parties are not large enough for separate analysis. We also analyze the responses of likely voters—so designated per their responses to survey questions about voter registration, previous election participation, intentions to vote this year, attention to election news, and current interest in politics.

Sample sizes and margins of error for each subgroup are presented in the table below.

The percentages presented in the report tables and in the questionnaire may not add to 100 due to rounding.

We compare current PPIC Statewide Survey results to those in our earlier surveys and national surveys conducted by CNN/Kaiser Family Foundation, Gallup, and NBC News. Numerous questions were adapted from national surveys by the Pew Research Center. Additional details about our methodology can be found at [www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/SurveyMethodology.pdf](http://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/SurveyMethodology.pdf) and are available upon request through [surveys@ppic.org](mailto:surveys@ppic.org).

## Unweighted N-size and margin of error

Group	Unweighted N-size	Margin of Error
<b>All adults</b>	<b>1,671</b>	<b>3.1%</b>
Registered voters	1,414	3.4%
Democrats	675	5%
Republicans	347	6.6%
No Party Preference/ Independents	362	6.7%
Central Valley	316	6.9%
Inland Empire	188	9.8%
Los Angeles	414	6.1%
Orange/San Diego	267	7.7%
SF Bay Area	324	7.4%
Men	804	4.6%
Women	867	4.2%
African Americans	155	11.1%
Asian Americans	170	9.1%
Latinos	437	5.7%
Whites	843	4.3%
Less than \$40,000	338	6.7%
\$40,000 to \$79,999	372	6.5%
\$80,000 or more	893	4.3%
<b>All likely voters</b>	<b>1,146</b>	<b>3.7%</b>
Democrats	561	5.4%
Republicans	294	7.2%
No Party Preference/ Independents	264	7.3%
Central Valley	217	8.4%
Inland Empire	127	11.2%
Los Angeles	265	7.5%
Orange/San Diego	193	8.9%
SF Bay Area	241	8.2%
Men	576	5.4%
Women	570	5%
Latinos	221	8.1%
Whites	687	4.6%
Other*	247	8.3%
Less than \$40,000	164	9.9%
\$40,000 to \$79,999	231	8%
\$80,000 or more	712	4.7%

SOURCE: PPIIC Statewide Survey, September 2023. Survey was fielded from August 25–September 5, 2023 (n=1,671 adults, n=1,146 likely voters).

# Questions and Responses

August 25–September 5, 2023

1,671 California adult residents

English, Spanish

Margin of error  $\pm 3.1\%$  at 95% confidence level for total sample

Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

## **1. First, thinking about the state as a whole, what do you think is the most important issue facing people in California today?**

28% jobs, economy, inflation

14% homelessness

13% housing costs, availability

8% environment, pollution, climate change

8% crime, gangs, drugs

3% government in general, problems with elected officials, political parties

3% state budget, deficit, taxes

2% immigration, illegal immigration

16% other (*specify*)

5% don't know

## **2. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Governor Newsom is handling his job as governor of California?**

53% approve

45% disapprove

2% don't know

## **3. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that the California Legislature is handling its job?**

46% approve

52% disapprove

2% don't know

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

44% right direction

55% wrong direction

1% don't know

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

32% good times  
66% bad times  
2% don't know

**6. Looking ahead six months from now, do you expect the economy in your local area to be [rotate top 1 to 5 and 5 to 1] [1] much stronger, [2] somewhat stronger, [3] about the same, [4] somewhat weaker, or [5] much weaker than it is now?**

*[rotate top to bottom and bottom to top; 1-5/5-1]*

1% much stronger  
11% somewhat stronger  
49% about the same  
25% somewhat weaker  
13% much weaker  
– don't know

**7. Looking ahead six months from now, do you expect your personal financial situation to be [rotate top 1 to 5 and 5 to 1] [1] much stronger, [2] somewhat stronger, [3] about the same, [4] somewhat weaker, or [5] much weaker than it is now?**

*[rotate top to bottom and bottom to top; 1-5/5-1]*

3% much stronger  
16% somewhat stronger  
55% about the same  
19% somewhat weaker  
6% much weaker  
– don't know

**8. Compared to 6 months ago, are you NOW [rotate] [1] more or [2] less comfortable making a major purchase, like a home or car?**

24% more comfortable  
75% less comfortable  
1% don't know

**9. Compared to 6 months ago, are you NOW [rotate] [1] more or [2] less comfortable making other household purchases?**

34% more comfortable  
65% less comfortable  
1% don't know

**10. Thinking of the last 6 months, have you, someone in your family, or someone else you know personally lost their job as a result of economic conditions?**

20% yes  
80% no  
– don't know

**11. Now look ahead at the next 6 months. How likely is it that you, someone in your family or someone else you know personally will lose their job in the next 6 months as a result of economic conditions?**

**[rotate top to bottom and bottom to top; 1-5/5-1]**

2% extremely likely  
4% very likely  
30% somewhat likely  
43% not very likely  
20% not at all likely  
1% don't know

**12. In general, would you describe your health as excellent, very good, good, only fair, or poor?**

9% excellent  
28% very good  
44% good  
16% only fair  
3% poor  
– don't know

**13. Taken all together, how would you say things are these days? Would you say you are:**

16% very happy  
58% pretty happy  
26% not too happy  
– don't know

**Please indicate, on the whole, how satisfied you are with the following aspects of your life.**

**[Rotate questions 14 to 17]**

14. The house or apartment you live in:

44% very satisfied  
41% somewhat satisfied  
15% not satisfied  
– don't know

**15. [employed adults only] Your job:**

33% very satisfied  
54% somewhat satisfied  
13% not satisfied  
– don't know

**16. Your leisure activities:**

31% very satisfied  
53% somewhat satisfied  
16% not satisfied  
– don't know

**17. The quality of health care you receive:**

40% very satisfied  
47% somewhat satisfied  
13% not satisfied  
– don't know

**Now, please indicate how you would rate some of the public services you receive in your local area. For each one, please indicate if you think they are excellent, good, fair, or poor.**

**[rotate questions 18 to 22]**

**18. Police protection:**

9% excellent  
41% good  
35% fair  
15% poor  
– don't know

**19. Local public schools:**

11% excellent  
44% good  
32% fair  
12% poor  
1% don't know

**20. Parks, beaches, or other public recreational facilities:**

14% excellent  
47% good  
31% fair  
8% poor  
– don't know

**21. Local freeways, streets, and roads:**

5% excellent  
37% good  
41% fair

18% poor  
– don't know

**22. Medical and health care services:**

19% excellent  
45% good  
30% fair  
7% poor  
– don't know

**On another topic,**

**23. Do you think California's health care system is in need of major changes or minor changes or that it is basically fine the way it is?**

44% major changes  
42% minor changes  
13% fine the way it is  
1% don't know

**24. What do you think about being able to afford the cost of your health care, including the cost of insurance and your out-of-pocket expenses, over the next few years? Is this something that you are very worried about, somewhat worried, not so worried, or not worried at all?**

21% very worried  
41% somewhat worried  
24% not so worried  
14% not worried at all  
– don't know

**25. Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan, sometimes called Medicare-for-all, in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan?**

65% favor  
32% oppose  
2% don't know

**26. Do you favor or oppose having a government-administered health plan, sometimes called a public option, that would compete with private health insurance plans and be available to all Americans?**

70% favor  
28% oppose  
3% don't know

**Changing topics,**

**27. Do you think there is or is not a mental health crisis in the US today?**

87% yes, there is a mental health crisis  
12% no, there is not a mental health crisis  
– don't know

**28. In general, would you describe your own mental health or emotional well-being as excellent, very good, good, only fair, or poor?**

18% excellent  
31% very good  
32% good  
14% only fair  
4% poor  
– don't know

**29. How well, if at all, do you feel you are able to cope with things that are currently affecting your mental health or emotional well-being right now?**

*[rotate top to bottom/bottom to top; 1-4/4-1]*

38% very well  
48% somewhat well  
12% not too well  
2% not at all well  
– don't know

**30. How comfortable, if at all, do you feel talking to relatives and friends about your mental health?**

*[rotate top to bottom/bottom to top; 1-4/4-1]*

28% very comfortable  
40% somewhat comfortable  
23% not too comfortable  
8% not at all comfortable  
– don't know

**31. Overall, has the coronavirus pandemic had a negative impact, no impact, or a positive impact on your own mental health?**

37% negative impact  
58% no impact  
5% positive impact  
– don't know

**32. [among parents] Overall, has the coronavirus pandemic had a negative impact, no impact, or a positive impact on your children's mental health?**

40% negative impact  
55% no impact

3% positive impact  
1% don't know

**33. How much, if anything, have you heard about the new 9-8-8 mental health hotline that will help connect people with mental health services?**

4% a lot  
17% some  
24% a little  
56% nothing at all  
– don't know

**33a. [If respondent has not heard a lot: As you may have heard,] 9-8-8 is the new three-digit number that helps callers reach services like the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline and other mental health services. How likely, if at all, would you be to call a 9-8-8 number if you or a loved one were experiencing a mental health crisis?**

*[rotate top to bottom and bottom to top; 1-4/4-1]*

21% very likely  
42% somewhat likely  
24% not very likely  
13% not at all likely  
– don't know

**34. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?**

28% strongly favor  
34% somewhat favor  
22% somewhat oppose  
15% strongly oppose  
1% don't know

**35. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?**

*[rotate]*

43% the penalty for first-degree murder should be the death penalty  
55% the penalty for first-degree murder should be life imprisonment with absolutely no possibility of parole  
2% don't know

**36. The following is a statement about the death penalty in the US. Please choose the statement that comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right.**

*[rotate]*

77% there is some risk that an innocent person will be put to death  
23% there are adequate safeguards to ensure that no innocent person will be put to death  
1% don't know

**37. Thinking now about immigrants—that is, people who come from other countries to live here in the United States, in your view, should immigration be kept at its present level, [rotate] [1] increased [or] [2] decreased?**

40% kept at its present level  
24% increased  
36% decreased  
1% don't know

**38. On the whole, do you think immigration is [rotate] [1] a good thing [or] [2] a bad thing for the country today?**

69% good thing  
29% bad thing  
2% don't know

**39. Do you, personally, consider the situation at the US border with Mexico to be—a crisis, a major problem, a minor problem or not a problem for the US.?**

27% a crisis  
37% a major problem  
27% a minor problem  
8% not a problem  
1% don't know

**40. How sympathetic would you say you are toward people from other countries who travel to the US border in an attempt to enter the US. Are you [rotate] [1] very sympathetic, [2] somewhat sympathetic, [3] somewhat unsympathetic, [or] [4] very unsympathetic?**

27% very sympathetic  
44% somewhat sympathetic  
16% somewhat unsympathetic  
12% very unsympathetic  
1% don't know

**41. How much have you heard about some state governments transporting migrants to cities in California:**

31% a lot  
36% some  
19% not much  
14% nothing at all  
– don't know

**42. As you may know, some state governments have been sending hundreds of migrants to cities in California. Do you approve or disapprove of these actions?**

25% approve  
73% disapprove  
2% don't know

**Thinking about the issue of immigration, how important of a goal should each of the following be for immigration policy in the United States?**

**[rotate question 43 and 44]**

**43. Taking in civilian refugees from countries where people are trying to escape violence and war:**

32% very important goal  
44% somewhat important goal  
15% not too important goal  
8% not at all important goal  
1% don't know

**44. Increasing security along the United States–Mexico border to reduce unauthorized crossings:**

36% very important goal  
37% somewhat important goal  
19% not too important goal  
6% not at all important goal  
1% don't know

**Changing topics,**

**[rotate questions 45 to 49]**

**45. In general, do you think abortion should be [rotate order top to bottom] legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?**

32% legal in all cases  
38% legal in most cases  
22% illegal in most cases  
7% illegal in all cases  
– don't know

**46. Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?**

71% favor  
28% oppose  
1% don't know

**47. Do you favor or oppose laws and policies that protect transgender individuals from discrimination in jobs, housing, and public spaces such as restaurants and stores?**

71% favor  
27% oppose  
2% don't know

**48. Do you think it is necessary to take steps to counter the effects of climate change right away, or do you think it is not necessary to take steps yet?**

76% take action right away  
23% not necessary to take steps yet  
1% don't know

**49. What do you think is more important—[rotate] (1) to protect the right of Americans to own guns, [or] (2) to control gun ownership?**

31% protect the right of Americans to own guns  
68% to control gun ownership  
– don't know

**On another topic,**

**50. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Joe Biden is handling his job as president of the United States?**

49% approve  
49% disapprove  
2% don't know

**51. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way the US Congress is handling its job?**

23% approve  
74% disapprove  
3% don't know

**52. Do you think things in the United States are generally going in the right direction or the wrong direction?**

29% right direction  
70% wrong direction  
1% don't know

**53. Turning to economic conditions, do you think that during the next 12 months the United States will have good times financially or bad times?**

31% good times  
66% bad times  
3% don't know

**Next,**

**54. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way the US Supreme Court is handling its job?**

30% approve  
68% disapprove  
3% don't know

**55. As you may know, the Supreme Court ended the constitutional right to abortion by overturning Roe v. Wade. Do you approve or disapprove of the court overturning Roe v Wade?**

27% approve  
70% disapprove  
3% don't know

**56. Do you approve or disapprove of the recent decision by the US Supreme Court that a website designer can deny services to same-sex customers seeking a wedding website?**

39% approve  
60% disapprove  
2% don't know

**57. Do you approve or disapprove of the recent decision by the US Supreme Court restricting the use of race as a factor in college admissions?**

48% approve  
49% disapprove  
3% don't know

**On another topic,**

**58. [likely voters only] How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in the United States? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied?**

5% very satisfied  
37% somewhat satisfied  
39% not too satisfied  
19% not at all satisfied  
– don't know

**59. [likely voters only] How much confidence do you have in the system in which votes are cast and counted in California elections—a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little?**

40% a great deal  
25% quite a lot  
17% some  
18% very little  
– don't know

**60. Some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote in California?**

85% yes [ask q60a]  
15% no [skip to q61b]

**60a. Are you registered as a Democrat, a Republican, another party, or are you registered as a decline-to-state or independent voter?**

48% Democrat [ask q61]  
25% Republican [skip to q61a]

2% another party *(please specify)* [skip to q62]  
26% decline-to-state/independent [skip to q61b]

***[likely voters only]***

49% Democrat [ask q61]  
26% Republican [skip to q61a]  
2% another party *(please specify)* [skip to q62]  
23% decline-to-state/independent [skip to q61b]

**61. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a very strong Democrat?**

57% strong  
42% not very strong  
– don't know

***[skip to q62]***

**61a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican?**

55% strong  
45% not very strong  
– don't know

***[skip to q62]***

**61b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?**

17% Republican Party  
34% Democratic Party  
40% neither  
10% don't know

**62. *[likely voters only]* As you may know, the governor and legislature are considering several state bond measures to pay for multi-billion dollar, multi-year state infrastructure projects and state programs to bring to California voters as propositions on the 2024 election ballot. Is this a good time or a bad time for the state to issue bonds to pay for state projects and programs?**

42% good time  
55% bad time  
3% don't know

**63. *[likely voters only]* Generally speaking, how important is it to you to vote on state bond measures?**

68% very important  
24% somewhat important  
6% not too important

1% not at all important  
– don't know

**Next, we are interested in your opinions about the referendums that appear on the state ballot as propositions.**

**64. [likely voters only] California has the referendum process, which enables voters to approve or reject a new law that was passed by the legislature. Once a referendum is on the ballot, the law is repealed only if voters cast more NO votes than YES votes on the law in question. In general, how important is it to you personally to vote on referendums that will approve or reject new laws that were passed by the legislature in California?**

67% very important  
28% somewhat important  
4% not too important  
1% not at all important  
1% don't know

**65. [likely voters only] Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
Referendums bring up important public policy issues that the governor and legislature have not adequately addressed.**

31% strongly agree  
52% somewhat agree  
11% somewhat disagree  
4% strongly disagree  
2% don't know

**66. [likely voters only] Generally speaking, would you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way that the referendum process is working in California today?**

8% very satisfied  
51% somewhat satisfied  
28% somewhat dissatisfied  
10% very dissatisfied  
3% don't know

**67. [likely voters only] Do you think that the referendum process in California is in need of major changes, minor changes, or that it is basically fine the way it is?**

28% major changes  
49% minor changes  
20% fine the way it is  
4% don't know

**68. [likely voters only] There will be a referendum on the November 2024 ballot challenging the 2022 law**

**that prohibits new oil and gas wells near homes, schools, and hospitals. If the election were held today, would you vote yes to approve the law or no to reject the law?**

60% yes  
38% no  
2% don't know

**69. [likely voters only] There will be a referendum on the November 2024 ballot challenging the 2022 law that authorized the creation of a council to set minimum wage and working standards for fast-food workers. If the election were held today, would you vote yes to approve the law or no to reject the law?**

56% yes  
42% no  
3% don't know

**Changing topics,**

**[rotate questions 70 and 71]**

**70. Do you have a [rotate] (1) favorable [or] an (2) unfavorable impression of the Democratic Party?**

**[rotate options in the same order as text]**

46% favorable  
51% unfavorable  
2% don't know

**71. Do you have a [rotate] (1) favorable [or] an (2) unfavorable impression of the Republican Party?**

**[rotate options in the same order as text]**

22% favorable  
76% unfavorable  
2% don't know

**72. In your view, do the Republican and Democratic parties do an adequate job representing the American people, or do they do such a poor job that a third major party is needed?**

26% adequate job  
71% third party is needed  
3% don't know

**73. [likely voters only] As you may know, California now has a top-two primary system for statewide races in which voters can cast ballots for any candidate, regardless of party, and the two candidates receiving the most votes—regardless of party—will advance to the general election. If the June primary for US Senator were being held today, and these were the candidates, who would you vote for? [randomize list]**

20% Adam Schiff, a Democrat, Congressman  
15% Katie Porter, a Democrat, Congresswoman

8% Barbara Lee, a Democrat, Congresswoman  
 5% James P. Bradley, a Republican, Chief Financial Officer  
 5% Eric Early, a Republican, Attorney/Business  
 3% Barack Obama Mandela, a Republican  
 3% Jessica Resendez, a Democrat  
 3% Jonathan Reiss, a Republican, Business Owner  
 2% Roxanne Lawler, a Republican  
 2% Sarah Liew, a Republican, Chief Executive Officer  
 2% Katie O’Neal Roedersheimer, an independent  
 2% John Joseph Pappenheim, a Republican  
 1% Akinyemi Agbede , a Democrat, Mathematician  
 1% Paul Kevin Anderson, green party  
 1% Dana Bobbit, an independent  
 1% Joshua Bocanegra, a Democrat  
 1% Danny Fabricant, a Republican  
 1% Jacob Farnos, a Democrat  
 1% Frank Ferreira, an independent  
 1% Denice Gary-Pandol, a Republican  
 1% Zakaira Mohamed Kortam, a Republican  
 1% Lexi Reese, a Democrat  
 1% John David Rose, a Democrat  
 – Jeremy Fennell, a Democrat  
 – Carson Franklin Jr. , a Democrat  
 – Dian Foxington, a Democrat  
 – Denard Ingram, a Democrat  
 – Fepbrina Keivaulqe Autiameineire, other  
 – Raji Rab , a Democrat, Aviator/Educator/Entrepreneur  
 – Jehu Thomas De Gerold Hand, a Republican  
 3% Someone else (*please specify*)  
 1% would not vote for U.S. Senator (*volunteered*)  
 16% don’t know

**74. [Republican likely voters only] If the 2024 Republican primary for president were being held today, and these were the candidates, who would you vote for? [randomize list]**

48% Donald Trump, former President  
 14% Ron DeSantis, Florida Governor  
 7% Nikki Haley, former South Carolina Governor  
 7% Mike Pence, former Vice President  
 5% Liz Cheney, former Wyoming Congresswoman  
 4% Chris Christie, former Governor of New Jersey  
 4% Vivek Ramaswamy, entrepreneur and author  
 3% Larry Elder, talk show host  
 1% Tim Scott, US Senator  
 – Doug Burgum, North Dakota Governor

- Will Hurd, former Texas Congressman
- Asa Hutchinson, businessman and former Arkansas Governor
- Perry Johnson, entrepreneur
- Kristi Noem, South Dakota Governor
- Glen Youngkin, Virginia Governor
- 4% someone else (*please specify*)
- neither/would not vote for GOP Primary (*volunteered*)
- 1% don't know

**75. [likely voters only] If the 2024 presidential election were being held today, and these were the candidates, who would you vote for?**

- 57% Joe Biden
- 26% Donald Trump
- 12% someone else (*please specify*)
- 2% neither/would not vote for President (*volunteered*)
- 3% don't know

**76. Would you consider yourself to be politically: [rotate order top to bottom]**

- 12% very liberal
- 22% somewhat liberal
- 38% middle-of-the-road
- 19% somewhat conservative
- 8% very conservative
- 1% don't know

**77. Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics?**

- 21% a great deal
- 40% a fair amount
- 28% only a little
- 11% none
- don't know

**[d1–d18 demographic questions]**

## Authors

**Mark Baldassare** is survey director at the Public Policy Institute of California, where he holds the Arjay and Frances Fearing Miller Chair in Public Policy. For the previous 15 years, he also served as president and CEO of PPIC. Prior to that, he served as PPIC's director of research. He is a leading expert on public opinion and survey methodology, and has directed the [PPIC Statewide Survey](#) since 1998. He is an authority on elections, voter behavior, and political and fiscal reform, authoring ten books and numerous reports on these topics. He often provides testimony before legislative committees and state commissions. Before joining PPIC, he was a professor of urban and regional planning at the University of California, Irvine, where he held the Johnson Chair in Civic

Governance. He has conducted surveys for the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the California Business Roundtable. He holds a PhD in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley.

**Dean Bonner** is associate survey director and research fellow at PPIC, where he coauthors the PPIC Statewide Survey—a large-scale public opinion project designed to develop an in-depth profile of the social, economic, and political attitudes at work in California elections and policymaking. He has expertise in public opinion and survey research, political attitudes and participation, and voting behavior. Before joining PPIC, he taught political science at Tulane University and was a research associate at the University of New Orleans Survey Research Center. He holds a PhD and MA in political science from the University of New Orleans.

**Lauren Mora** is a survey analyst at the Public Policy Institute of California, where she works with the statewide survey team. Prior to joining PPIC, she was a research assistant with the race and ethnicity team at the Pew Research Center, where she played a key role in quantitative and qualitative studies on Latino and Asian Americans. She holds a BA in geography/environmental studies from the University of California, Los Angeles.

**Deja Thomas** is a survey analyst at the Public Policy Institute of California, where she works with the statewide survey team. Prior to joining PPIC, she was a research assistant with the social and demographic trends team at the Pew Research Center. In that role, she contributed to a variety of national quantitative and qualitative survey studies. She holds a BA in psychology from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

## Acknowledgments

This survey was supported with funding from the Arjay and Frances F. Miller Foundation and the James Irvine Foundation.

# PPIC Statewide Advisory Committee

**Ruben Barrales**

*Senior Vice President, External Relations*  
Wells Fargo

**Angela Glover Blackwell**

*Founder in Residence*  
PolicyLink

**Mollyann Brodie**

*Executive Vice President and  
Chief Operating Officer*  
Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation

**Bruce E. Cain**

*Director*  
Bill Lane Center for the American West  
Stanford University

**Jon Cohen****Joshua J. Dyck**

*Co-Director*  
Center for Public Opinion  
University of Massachusetts, Lowell

**Lisa García Bedolla**

*Vice Provost for Graduate Studies and  
Dean of the Graduate Division*  
University of California, Berkeley

**Russell Hancock**

*President and CEO*  
Joint Venture Silicon Valley

**Don J. Howard**

*President and CEO*  
The James Irvine Foundation

**Sherry Bebitch Jeffe**

*Professor*  
Sol Price School of Public Policy  
University of Southern California

**Robert Lapsley**

*President*  
California Business Roundtable

**Carol S. Larson**

*President Emeritus*  
The David and Lucile Packard Foundation

**Rachel Lawler**

*Research Director*  
Competitive Edge Research and Communication

**Donna Lucas**

*Chief Executive Officer & Founder*  
Lucas Public Affairs

**Sonja Petek**

*Principal Fiscal and Policy Analyst*  
California Legislative Analyst's Office

**Lisa Pitney**

*Vice President of Government Relations*  
The Walt Disney Company

**Robert K. Ross, MD**

*President and CEO*  
The California Endowment

**Jui Shrestha**

*Survey Specialist Consultant*  
World Bank

**Most Reverend Jaime Soto**

*Bishop of Sacramento*  
Roman Catholic Diocese of Sacramento

**Helen Iris Torres**

*CEO*  
Hispanas Organized for Political Equality

**David C. Wilson, PhD**

*Dean and Professor*  
Richard and Rhoda Goldman School  
of Public Policy  
University of California, Berkeley

# PPIC Board of Directors

**Chet Hewitt, Chair**

*President and CEO*  
Sierra Health Foundation

**Ophelia Basgal**

*Affiliate*  
Turner Center for Housing Innovation  
University of California, Berkeley

**Louise Henry Bryson**

*Chair Emerita, Board of Trustees*  
J. Paul Getty Trust

**Tani Cantil-Sakauye**

*President and CEO*  
*(Chief Justice of California, retired)*  
Public Policy Institute of California

**Sandra Celedon**

*President and CEO*  
Fresno Building Healthy Communities

**John Chiang**

*Board Member*  
*(Former California State Controller and Treasurer)*  
Apollo Medical Holdings

**A. Marisa Chun**

*Judge*  
Superior Court of California,  
County of San Francisco

**Steven A. Merksamer**

*Of Counsel*  
Nielsen Merksamer Parrinello  
Gross & Leoni LLP

**Steven J. Olson**

*Partner*  
O'Melveny & Myers LLP

**Leon E. Panetta**

*Chairman*  
The Panetta Institute for Public Policy

**Gerald L. Parsky**

*Chairman*  
Aurora Capital Group

**Kim Polese**

*Chairman*  
CrowdSmart

**Dave Puglia**

*President and CEO*  
Western Growers

**Cassandra Walker Pye**

*President*  
Lucas Public Affairs

**Helen Iris Torres**

*CEO*  
Hispanas Organized for Political Equality

**Gaddi H. Vasquez**

*Retired Senior Vice President, Government Affairs*  
Edison International  
Southern California Edison

# Copyright

© 2023 Public Policy Institute of California

The Public Policy Institute of California is dedicated to informing and improving public policy in California through independent, objective, nonpartisan research.

PPIC is a public charity. It does not take or support positions on any ballot measures or on any local, state, or federal legislation, nor does it endorse, support, or oppose any political parties or candidates for public office.

Short sections of text, not to exceed three paragraphs, may be quoted without written permission provided that full attribution is given to the source.

Research publications reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of our funders or of the staff, officers, advisory councils, or board of directors of the Public Policy Institute of California.