

9E

# CALIFORNIA

THE POLITICS OF DIVERSITY



DAVID G. LAWRENCE ■ JEFF CUMMINS



# California

## The Politics of Diversity

NINTH EDITION

**DAVID G. LAWRENCE**

Professor Emeritus of Political Science  
Westmont College

**JEFF CUMMINS**

Associate Professor of Political Science  
California State University, Fresno



---

Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

This is an electronic version of the print textbook. Due to electronic rights restrictions, some third party content may be suppressed. Editorial review has deemed that any suppressed content does not materially affect the overall learning experience. The publisher reserves the right to remove content from this title at any time if subsequent rights restrictions require it. For valuable information on pricing, previous editions, changes to current editions, and alternate formats, please visit [www.cengage.com/highered](http://www.cengage.com/highered) to search by ISBN#, author, title, or keyword for materials in your areas of interest.

**Important Notice:** Media content referenced within the product description or the product text may not be available in the eBook version.

**California: The Politics of Diversity,  
Ninth Edition**

David G. Lawrence and Jeff Cummins

Product Director: Paul Banks

Product Team Manager: Carolyn Merrill

Content Developer: Amy Bither

Associate Content Developer: Rachael Bailey

Product Assistant: Michelle Forbes

Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartman

IP Analyst: Alexandra Ricciardi

IP Project Manager: Farah J Fard

Manufacturing Planner: Fola Orekoya

Art and Design Direction, Production  
Management, and Composition:

Lumina Datamatics, Inc.

Cover Image(s):

Young boy swinging at a piñata:

Getty Images/Stewart Cohen

San Francisco Hyde Street Cable Car:

Shutterstock/holbox

Couple Hiking: Getty Images/Radius Images

© 2017, 2015, 2013, Cengage Learning

WCN: 02-200-203

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, Web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at  
**Cengage Learning Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706**

For permission to use material from this text or product,  
submit all requests online at **www.cengage.com/permissions**.

Further permissions questions can be e-mailed to  
**permissionrequest@cengage.com**.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015953063

Student Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-62991-2

**Cengage Learning**

20 Channel Center Street

Boston, MA 02210

USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with employees residing in nearly 40 different countries and sales in more than 125 countries around the world. Find your local representative at:  
**www.cengage.com**.

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by  
Nelson Education, Ltd.

To learn more about Cengage Learning Solutions,  
visit **www.cengage.com**.

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our  
preferred online store at: **www.cengagebrain.com**.



# Brief Contents

PREFACE	xii
1 Explaining California Politics	1
2 California's Political Development	20
3 Constitutionalism and Federalism: The Perimeters of California Politics	38
4 Direct Democracy in a Hyperpluralistic Age	56
5 How Californians Participate	76
6 Linking People and Policymakers: Media, Parties, and Interest Groups	96
7 Legislative Politics	120
8 Executive Politics	147
9 California's Judiciary	169
10 Community Politics	189
11 Budget Policy: The Cost of Diversity	215
12 Policies Stemming from Growth	239
13 Policies Stemming from Diversity	263
GLOSSARY	283
INDEX	291



# Contents

PREFACE	xii
<b>1 Explaining California Politics</b>	<b>1</b>
In Brief	1
Introduction	2
How Diversity Explains California Politics	3
<i>Land</i>	4
<i>Regions</i>	4
<i>Resources</i>	5
<i>People</i>	7
<i>Economy</i>	10
How Political Theory Explains California Politics	11
<i>Democratic Theory</i>	11
<i>Elite Theory</i>	13
<i>Pluralist Theory</i>	14
<i>Hyperpluralism</i>	14
How Hyperpluralism Explains California Politics	15
<i>The Constancy of Individualism</i>	15
<i>A Diversity of Interests and Cultures</i>	15
<i>Fading Majoritarianism</i>	16
<i>Structural Conflict</i>	16
California: The Ironies of Diversity	17
<i>Key Terms</i>	18
<i>Review Questions</i>	18
<i>Web Activities</i>	18
<i>Notes</i>	18
<b>2 California's Political Development</b>	<b>20</b>
In Brief	20

Introduction	21
<i>The Idea of Political Culture</i>	21
<i>The Idea of Political Development</i>	22
The Politics of Unification	22
Spanish “Rule”	23
Mexican “Control”	23
Statehood	24
<i>The 1849 Constitution</i>	25
The Politics of Modernization	26
<i>The Gold Rush</i>	26
<i>The Big Four</i>	26
<i>Water</i>	28
<i>Other Modernizing Factors</i>	30
The Politics of Welfare	30
<i>The Progressive Movement</i>	31
<i>The Great Depression</i>	31
<i>Earl Warren</i>	31
<i>Edmund G. (Pat) Brown</i>	33
The Politics of Abundance and Beyond	33
<i>Key Terms</i>	36
<i>Review Questions</i>	36
<i>Web Activities</i>	36
<i>Notes</i>	37

<b>3 Constitutionalism and Federalism: The Perimeters of California Politics</b>	<b>38</b>
In Brief	38
Introduction: Rules and Boundaries	39
California’s Constitution	40
<i>What It Contains</i>	41
<i>What Makes It Distinctive</i>	43
California and the Nation: The Boundaries of Federalism	44
<i>Dual Federalism</i>	44
<i>Cooperative Federalism</i>	45
<i>Centralized Federalism</i>	45
<i>The New Federalism</i>	45
<i>Pragmatic Federalism</i>	45
Federalism and California’s Native Americans	47
California in Washington	49
California and the World: The Politics of Fences	50
<i>Immigration</i>	50
<i>World Trade</i>	52
Conclusion	53
<i>Key Terms</i>	54
<i>Review Questions</i>	54
<i>Web Activities</i>	54
<i>Notes</i>	55

<b>4</b>	<b>Direct Democracy in a Hyperpluralistic Age</b>	<b>56</b>
	In Brief	56
	Introduction: The Impact of Progressivism	57
	Progressivism: California Style	58
	Selected Initiative Battles in California	59
	<i>Proposition 13: Give the Money Back</i>	59
	<i>Propositions 22 and 8: Limits on Same-Sex Marriage</i>	62
	<i>Propositions 215 and 19: Legalizing Marijuana</i>	63
	The Initiative Mess	65
	Prospects for Initiative Reform	69
	Progressive Cousins: Referendum and Recall	69
	<i>State Level Recalls</i>	70
	<i>Local Level Recalls</i>	72
	Conclusion: The Legacy and the Paradox	72
	<i>Key Terms</i>	73
	<i>Review Questions</i>	73
	<i>Web Activities</i>	74
	<i>Notes</i>	74
<b>5</b>	<b>How Californians Participate</b>	<b>76</b>
	In Brief	76
	Introduction Forms of Participation in a Democracy	77
	<i>Civic Engagement and Conventional Participation</i>	77
	<i>The Exit Option</i>	78
	<i>The Protest Option</i>	78
	The Role of Public Opinion	80
	<i>What Is Public Opinion?</i>	80
	<i>California's Major Pollsters</i>	80
	<i>How They Measure Public Opinion</i>	80
	Voters and Nonvoters in California	81
	<i>Who Votes in California?</i>	81
	<i>Those Who Cannot Vote</i>	82
	<i>Those Who Will Not Vote</i>	83
	<i>Personal Factors</i>	83
	<i>Structural Factors</i>	84
	<i>Partisan Factors</i>	85
	<i>Regional Factors</i>	85
	Elections and Campaigns in California	86
	<i>California's Elections</i>	86
	<i>California's Campaign Professionals</i>	87
	<i>The Role of Money</i>	88
	<i>The Role of National Politics</i>	89
	California's Electoral Gaps	91
	<i>Voter/Nonvoter Gap</i>	91
	<i>Race/Ethnicity Gap</i>	91
	<i>The Age Gap</i>	92



<i>The Partisan Gap</i>	92
<i>The Gender Gap</i>	92
Conclusion: Divided by Diversity	92
<i>Key Terms</i>	93
<i>Review Questions</i>	93
<i>Web Activities</i>	93
<i>Notes</i>	94
<b>6 Linking People and Policymakers: Media, Parties, and Interest Groups</b>	<b>96</b>
In Brief	96
Introduction	97
Mass Media	98
<i>Newspapers</i>	98
<i>Television</i>	99
<i>Radio</i>	101
The Internet and Social Media	101
Political Parties	103
<i>Partisanship in California</i>	103
<i>The Partisan Geography of California</i>	104
<i>Political Parties: California Style</i>	106
<i>How the Parties Are Organized</i>	107
<i>“Independent” Groups</i>	108
<i>Endorsement Politics</i>	108
Interest Groups	110
<i>California Groups: Who Are They?</i>	111
<i>How Interest Groups Organize</i>	113
<i>What Interest Groups Do</i>	113
Conclusion: Competing for Influence	116
<i>Key Terms</i>	117
<i>Review Questions</i>	117
<i>Web Activities</i>	117
<i>Notes</i>	118
<b>7 Legislative Politics</b>	<b>120</b>
In Brief	120
Introduction: The Road to Professionalism and Dysfunctionality	121
<i>California’s Legislative History</i>	122
What the Legislature Does	124
<i>Policymaking</i>	124
<i>Representation</i>	124
<i>Executive Oversight</i>	128
<i>Civic Education</i>	130
Getting There and Staying There	130
<i>Recruitment</i>	131
<i>Why They Stay: Rewards of Office</i>	132
<i>How They Stay: Reapportionment Politics</i>	133

<i>The 2011 Reapportionment</i>	134
Organizing to Legislate	135
<i>The Role of Leadership</i>	135
<i>The Committee System</i>	138
<i>The Staff</i>	138
The Legislative Process	139
<i>Bill Introduction</i>	139
<i>Committee Consideration</i>	139
<i>Floor Action and Conference Committee</i>	141
<i>The Governor and the Final Stages</i>	141
The Third House	141
Conclusion	144
<i>Key Terms</i>	144
<i>Review Questions</i>	145
<i>Web Activities</i>	145
<i>Notes</i>	145
<b>8 Executive Politics</b>	<b>147</b>
In Brief	147
Introduction	148
How Governors Lead	149
The Governor's Duties and Powers	153
<i>Executive Powers</i>	153
<i>Budget Leadership</i>	156
<i>Legislative Powers</i>	157
<i>Judicial Powers</i>	159
<i>Other Powers</i>	160
The Plural Executive: Competing for Power	160
<i>Lieutenant Governor</i>	160
<i>Attorney General</i>	161
<i>Secretary of State</i>	162
<i>Superintendent of Public Instruction</i>	162
<i>Insurance Commissioner</i>	162
<i>Fiscal Officers</i>	163
California's Bureaucracy and the Politics of Diversity	164
<i>Functions of Bureaucracy</i>	164
<i>Power Sharing and Clout</i>	165
<i>Executive Branch Reform</i>	166
Conclusion	167
<i>Key Terms</i>	167
<i>Review Questions</i>	167
<i>Web Activities</i>	168
<i>Notes</i>	168
<b>9 California's Judiciary</b>	<b>169</b>
In Brief	169
Introduction	170

State Courts in Our Legal “System”	170
How California’s Courts Are Organized	171
<i>Trial Courts</i>	171
<i>Appellate Courts</i>	172
<i>Supreme Court</i>	173
So You Want to Be a Judge	173
<i>Entering the Profession</i>	174
<i>The Right Experience</i>	174
<i>Selection Mechanics</i>	174
<i>Judicial Discipline</i>	176
How Courts Make Decisions	177
<i>The Criminal Process</i>	177
<i>The Civil Process</i>	179
<i>Juries and Popular Justice</i>	180
How Courts Make Policy	180
<i>Trial Court Policymaking</i>	180
<i>Appellate Court Policymaking</i>	180
Criminal Justice and Punishment	181
<i>Social Trends</i>	182
<i>Sentencing Mandates</i>	183
<i>Capital Punishment</i>	183
<i>Corrections Reform</i>	184
Conclusion	186
<i>Key Terms</i>	186
<i>Review Questions</i>	187
<i>Web Activities</i>	187
<i>Notes</i>	187

<b>10 Community Politics</b>	<b>189</b>
In Brief	189
Introduction	190
<i>The Role of Community</i>	192
<i>The Limits of Community Government</i>	192
Counties	194
<i>The Shape of California Counties</i>	194
<i>The Shape of County Government</i>	196
<i>California’s Troubled Counties</i>	198
Cities	199
<i>How Communities Become Municipalities</i>	200
<i>“Cities” without “Government”</i>	200
<i>How California Cities Are Run</i>	201
<i>Cities and Counties: An Uneasy Relationship</i>	205
Special Districts	206
<i>What Makes Them Special?</i>	206
<i>The Stealth Governments of California</i>	207
<i>Special District Politics and Problems</i>	207

School Districts	207
Regional Governments	209
<i>Regional Coordination</i>	210
<i>Regional Regulation</i>	210
Conclusion: Diverse Communities, Diverse Governments	211
<i>Key Terms</i>	212
<i>Review Questions</i>	212
<i>Web Activities</i>	213
<i>Notes</i>	213
<b>11 Budget Policy: The Cost of Diversity</b>	<b>215</b>
In Brief	215
Introduction: Budgeting as Public Policy	216
Where Budgeting Begins: The Economy	217
<i>Economic Diversity</i>	217
<i>How California's Economy Affects Budgeting</i>	217
<i>California's Local Economies</i>	218
The Budget Process	218
<i>How California Budgeting Works</i>	219
<i>Constraints on the Process</i>	221
<i>Ballot-Box Budgeting</i>	222
<i>Local Budget Processes</i>	223
Types of Revenue	223
<i>Major State Revenues</i>	225
<i>Local Revenue</i>	229
Where the Money Goes	231
<i>State Expenditures</i>	231
<i>Local Expenditures</i>	233
The Changing Budget Environment	234
<i>Budget Problems and Reforms Underway</i>	234
<i>Further Reform?</i>	235
Conclusion: The Cost of Diversity	236
<i>Key Terms</i>	236
<i>Review Questions</i>	237
<i>Web Activities</i>	237
<i>Notes</i>	237
<b>12 Policies Stemming from Growth</b>	<b>239</b>
In Brief	239
Introduction: Growth in California	240
<i>Why California Grew</i>	241
<i>The Drumbeat of Growth</i>	241
<i>Structuring Local Growth</i>	243
<i>Slowing Growth in California</i>	244
Water: Making Growth Possible	245
<i>Storing Water</i>	246

<i>Moving Water</i>	246
<i>California's Water Crisis</i>	249
Housing: For Many, the Impossible Dream	250
<i>The California Dream</i>	250
<i>Housing Policy as "Filter Down"</i>	250
<i>The Housing Crisis and Beyond</i>	251
Transportation: Stuck in Traffic	252
<i>The Problem</i>	252
<i>California's Transportation Policies</i>	253
Energy, Environment, and Climate Change	255
<i>Energy</i>	255
<i>Environment and Climate Change</i>	256
<i>Policy Options</i>	257
Conclusion: A New Growth Policy for California?	258
<i>Key Terms</i>	260
<i>Review Questions</i>	260
<i>Web Activities</i>	260
<i>Notes</i>	261
<b>13 Policies Stemming from Diversity</b>	<b>263</b>
In Brief	263
Introduction: The Challenge of Diversity	264
Social Issues: Abortion and LGBT Rights	265
<i>Abortion</i>	265
<i>LGBT Rights</i>	267
Education: Coping with Growth and Diversity	268
<i>Pressures on Education</i>	268
<i>Education Reform</i>	271
Higher Education: An Uncertain Future	273
<i>The Majoritarian Ideal</i>	273
<i>Rethinking the Plan</i>	274
<i>Higher Education for Undocumented Students</i>	275
Social Programs	275
<i>Welfare Policy</i>	276
<i>Health Policy</i>	277
Conclusion	280
<i>Key Terms</i>	281
<i>Review Questions</i>	281
<i>Web Activities</i>	281
<i>Notes</i>	282
<b>GLOSSARY</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>INDEX</b>	<b>291</b>



# Preface

The political environment can change quickly and, with it, the fortunes of top political leaders. Over the past decade, California's governors have seen their share of ups and downs. In 2002, Gray Davis was reelected for a second term, only to be ousted from office a year later in California's first statewide recall election. His successor, Arnold Schwarzenegger, rode a roller coaster of popularity, sustaining high popularity early in his administration and historically low ratings upon his departure.

Like his predecessors, Jerry Brown's two stints in the governor's office epitomize these cyclical patterns. Most of the time these patterns are tied to the state's financial condition. Whereas Brown entered office in 1975 with the state on an upswing, he left his successor, George Deukmejian, with a significant budget deficit in 1983. At the beginning of his second stint in office (2011), Brown demonstrated that turnabout is fair play, as he faced a \$25 billion deficit. Only this time, he eventually benefited from a recovering economy, and the voters' willingness to increase taxes with the passage of Proposition 30. In 2015, his main challenge is restraining legislators from spending too much of the state's largesse, which could place California on yet another perilous fiscal path. This new political environment permeated the revisions behind the ninth edition. From an improving economy to a brighter budget outlook to an increasingly popular governor, all of these and more are elements in the state's political environment that have changed to varying degrees since the previous edition.

## TEXT FEATURES

What has not changed in this edition is the fact that California politics remains affected by the diverse and hyperpluralistic nature of the state itself, particularly its people and the groups to which they belong. Political leadership is central to governing but leadership is affected by two other broad phenomena: the state's well-documented diversity and a variant of pluralism we call *hyperpluralism*. In all

nine editions, we have tried to show two things: (1) how demographic, cultural, economic, geographic, and political diversity affect how politics actually works in California and (2) how the exceedingly pluralistic nature of the state results in a highly competitive tug-of-war between ideologies, institutions, policymakers, political parties, interest groups, and voters. Both themes have been readily apparent in the last two years. A diverse legislature sought to rectify the suffering of many different constituent groups with the state's financial help, while hyperpluralism reared its head again as opponents raised questions about the governor's policies to address the state's water crisis and the restoration of the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta.

As with many California political scientists, our teaching assignments have included both California politics and American government. The ninth edition continues to apply important political science and American government concepts to the California experience. In this edition, we add a new feature, *How California Compares*, which helps put California's political environment in further perspective, showing how it is both similar and different than other states. Devoting three chapters to public policy, it remains the most policy-focused general California government text on the market.

## PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

*California: The Politics of Diversity* continues to offer numerous pedagogical features that help students learn. Each chapter includes the following:

- A consistent perspective that makes sense to today's students
- An attractive and functional two-column design that aids in reading
- Student Learning Outcomes that inform students what they should take away from each chapter
- Chapter conclusions that revisit key points and tie them to book themes
- Boldfaced key terms that are referenced by page number
- Study questions that help students review and apply chapter content
- Extensive endnotes that provide opportunities for further reading and research
- Updated charts, tables, photos, quotes, boxes, and cartoons designed to amplify key points
- New "How California Compares" feature that compares California to other states
- A complete glossary at the end of the book for easy reference

## REVISION HIGHLIGHTS

The ninth edition of *California: The Politics of Diversity* retains an organizational format familiar to many political scientists who teach American government courses. Its student-friendly writing style reflects our view that important ideas

should be intelligible ones, especially in an undergraduate textbook. In terms of substance, the ninth edition involves cover-to-cover revisions that reflect the latest developments in California politics. They include the following:

- Analysis of state results for the 2014 election and ballot measures plus selected 2016 initiative previews
- Updated coverage of Brown’s “fourth” term as governor
- Coverage of state implementation of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare)
- Continued coverage of same-sex marriage, including the U.S. Supreme Court’s 2015 decision
- Revised coverage of California’s Native Americans
- New evidence of continued electoral gaps among the state’s residents
- Discussion of the Internet’s impact on voter registration and civic engagement
- Changes in corrections policy including prisons and jails
- New evidence of income inequality among California cities
- Summary of the state’s response to the water crisis
- Updates on transportation policy, energy policy, and demographic changes
- A new glossary of key terms

## SUPPLEMENTS

**Instructor’s Manual/Test Bank Online for Lawrence/Cummins’ *California: The Politics of Diversity, 9th Edition* ISBN-13: 9781305641204.**

A revised Instructor’s Manual and Test Bank offers suggestions for class discussions, writing assignments, Internet and research projects, and exam questions. With the addition of the glossary, flashcards and crossword puzzles with key terms are also available to download for students.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Textbook writing is a team effort. It involves many more people than a title page would suggest. We are indebted to several teams. The first is uniquely ours. From our own years in and around state and local politics, we must credit the many practitioners who have shared their political insights with us—former city council and Legislative Analyst Office colleagues, internship supervisors, classroom speakers, journalists, and countless Sacramento Legislative Seminar panelists. Alex Andrade-Lozano provided invaluable research assistance. Our wives and best friends, Carolyn (David) and Natasha (Jeff), provided encouragement and acted as sounding boards along the way.



A second team provided helpful direction, assistance, and encouragement. They are Cengage Learning Product Manager, Carolyn Merrill, and Content Developer, Amy Bither. Jeff Cummins authored the instructor's manual and test bank.

A third team consists of the political scientists who reviewed all or some of *California* for this and previous editions. They include the following:

Theodore J. Anagnoson (California State University, Los Angeles), Jodi Balma (Fullerton College), Antoine Clerc (College of the Desert), Michele Colborn Harris (College of the Canyons), John H. Culver (California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo), Robert L. Delorme (California State University, Long Beach), Scott A. Frisch (California State University, Channel Islands), Lawrence L. Giventer (California State University, Stanislaus), Herbert E. Gooch (California Lutheran University), Jack Hames (Butte College), Drake C. Hawkins (Glendale Community College), Peter H. Howse (American River College), William W. Lammers (University of Southern California), Dianne Long (California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo), Marilyn J. Loufek (Long Beach City College), Edward S. Malecki (California State University, Los Angeles), Donald J. Matthewson (California State University, Fullerton), Charles H. McCall (California State University, Bakersfield), John Mercurio (San Diego State University), Steve Monsma (Pepperdine University), Stanley W. Moore (Pepperdine University), Gerhard Peters (Citrus College), Eugene Price (California State University, Northridge), Donald Ranish (Antelope Valley College), John F. Roche III (Palomar College), Maria Sampanis (California State University, Sacramento), Mark Smith (University of California, Davis), Alvin D. Sokolow (University of California, Davis), Charles C. Turner (California State University, Chico), Richard S. Unruh (Fresno Pacific University), Linda O. Valenty (San Jose State University), JoAnn Victor (California State University, Long Beach), and Alan J. Wyner (University of California, Santa Barbara).

As helpful as these veteran colleagues were, we take full responsibility for the end product.

**David Lawrence**

Professor Emeritus of Political Science  
Westmont College

and

**Jeff Cummins**

Associate Professor of Political Science  
California State University, Fresno





# Explaining California Politics

**The five Learning Outcomes below are designed to help improve your understanding of this chapter. After reading this chapter, you should be able to:**

- **LEARNING OUTCOME 1:** Describe how California's diversity is reflected in its land, regions, resources, people, and economy.
- **LEARNING OUTCOME 2:** Identify which events and historical developments brought different demographic groups to California.
- **LEARNING OUTCOME 3:** Explain the five factors that characterize the state's economy and how the economy relates to diversity.
- **LEARNING OUTCOME 4:** Assess the extent to which democratic theory, elite theory, and pluralist theory explain California politics.
- **LEARNING OUTCOME 5:** Summarize the central components of hyperpluralism and how they apply to California politics.

## IN BRIEF

---

In this introductory chapter, we survey the big picture of California politics. Many observers claim the Golden State is no longer the land of milk and honey, yet it continues to draw newcomers from the four corners of the earth. Why the differences in perception? The answer is in the diversity of California and how it is governed. This chapter covers these two subjects.

The state's diversity has been its strength. The land varies from temperate coastal plains to rugged mountain ranges; from lush agricultural valleys to barren deserts. People divide California into several regions, but these divisions seem to be a matter of perception. Some divide the state into North and South; others

see multiple and diverse regions. California is rich in resources, especially water and desirable climate. Moving the state's water supply around has increased the usability of the land. Throughout its history, California has seen waves of people moving to and around the state seeking a better life. These factors have resulted in a diverse economy—one of the world's largest.

How political scientists explain U.S. politics in general helps us understand California politics in particular. To answer the question “Who governs?” four theories have emerged. Democratic theory says the people do, usually through elected representatives. Elite theory claims that the upper classes exercise power and influence beyond their numbers. Pluralist theory contends that groups compete for power and policy advantage. Hyperpluralism, an emerging theory, contends that so many groups now compete and the political system is so complex that governing can become most difficult.

Although these theories seem incompatible, each helps to explain aspects of California politics. Evidence of hyperpluralism in California is growing. The outcome is a state of many paradoxes.

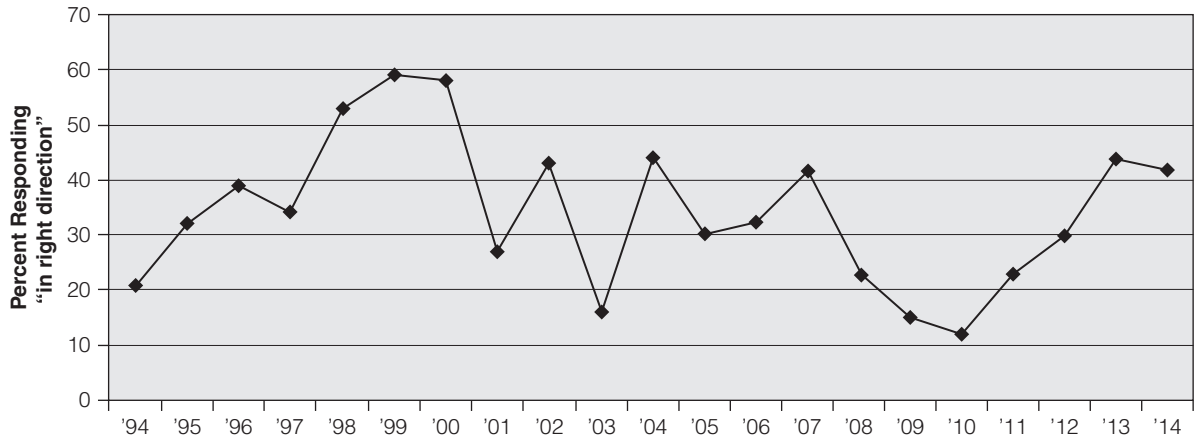
---

## INTRODUCTION

Shortly before taking office in 2011, Governor-elect Jerry Brown commented on the grim California economy and its toll on the state budget. “Because we are a divided state—North–South, Republican–Democrat, urban–rural—it becomes difficult to come to a consensus and a solution when they are as painful and difficult as they will be in the coming year.”<sup>1</sup> His long years in politics and a prior stint as governor made him wise to the perennial challenge of matching the state's lofty policy goals with the economic and political realities that have described California throughout its history. In some ways, California could be likened to theme park roller coasters. People flock to both—enduring congestion in the process and experiencing the exhilaration of both ups and downs. In the Golden State, the highs include better jobs, economic opportunities, and living conditions than people could only have imagined back home, whether they are from Missouri or Mexico. People envision California as a place where these dreams can come true. The lows include periodic recessions, occasional droughts, smog, crime, crowded freeways, and unaffordable housing.

Some Californians endure the lows to appreciate the highs, but others find California, like the roller coaster, a bit too much. They flee the state for Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Colorado, and beyond. Or, they move within the state, seeking a calmer ride. As a whole, Californians' confidence in the future of the state can vary remarkably from year to year (see Figure 1.1). This confidence also varies considerably depending on one's party affiliation and region of residence.

Polling data confirm this roller coaster analogy. Pollster and analyst Mark Baldassare observed what he calls “the yin and yang” of California political life—“we might call it the New Economy meets the New Demography.” That is, the economic optimism shared by many Californians at the turn of the new century was tempered by signs of trouble such as congestion, pollution, and increasing economic inequality; compounding the problem was a widely shared distrust of government. “Californians, by and large, did not believe that government had the ability to handle problems or that it even had their best interests at heart.”<sup>2</sup> Within a few years, economic pessimism replaced optimism although many policy problems festered and political distrust grew. The confluence of these trends and attitudes in part led



**FIGURE 1.1** How Californians View California

When pollsters ask if California is going in the right or wrong direction, Californians' responses have varied significantly over the years.

**Question:** In your opinion, to what extent do these data affect perceptions of governmental institutions and policymakers?

**NOTES:** Results are based on representative statewide samples of about 1,000 California adults. The sampling error ranges from  $\pm 3.2$  to 4.5 percentage points.

**SOURCE:** Successive surveys of The Field Poll ([www.field.com/fieldpollonline/](http://www.field.com/fieldpollonline/)).

to the 2003 recall of Governor Gray Davis and the election of optimistic political neophyte and action-movie hero Arnold Schwarzenegger. It also led to popular dissatisfaction with *his* performance by the time he left office. As Californians search for the good life, however they define it, they will need to adjust to the state's growing demographic diversity, regardless of election outcomes. A state senator summed it up succinctly: "We Californians have an opportunity, the necessity, the responsibility, to realize our great challenge ... the promise of a multicultural democracy in the global economy."<sup>3</sup>

As far as California is concerned, this search began centuries ago. In the 1500s, Spaniards desired to find and explore a mythical island of *California*. Writer Garcí Ordoñez de Montalvo described this place as rich in "gold and precious stones"; its people were "robust of body, with strong and passionate hearts and great virtues." As for government, the queen "had ambitions to execute nobler actions than had been performed by any other ruler."<sup>4</sup> Wealth and good intentions—what a combination! No wonder California has been called not only a state but also a state of mind.

Centuries later, California's official state motto captures that mythic search: "Eureka" (I Have Found It). The motto itself refers to the real gold many sought and some actually found. Symbolically, it refers to a host of images emanating from California: perpetually sunny days (advertised every year by Pasadena's Rose Parade); hope and opportunity; a chance to start over; plus gorgeous scenery and people to match (says Hollywood). However, for an increasing number of Californians, that myth does not match reality.

Chapter 1 introduces two approaches to understanding California politics. The first is the state's remarkable diversity. The second is a set of theories that political scientists use to explain aspects of American politics generally. These two broad approaches (diversity and theory) are revisited throughout the book.

## HOW DIVERSITY EXPLAINS CALIFORNIA POLITICS

California always has been a compelling place. Few observers write about it without describing its physical diversity, and fewer still ignore its

politics. To understand this huge state, one must understand how its public sector works. Political scientist David Easton defined **politics** as “the authoritative allocation of values for a society as a whole.”<sup>5</sup> Politics occurs within the context of a **political system**. In our federal arrangement, there are 50 state systems and one national political system. These systems reflect ongoing patterns of human behavior involving control, influence, power, and authority. The process of making public policy, deciding “who gets what, when and how,”<sup>6</sup> exists within the context of a larger environment. The **political environment** is a set of social, cultural, economic, and physical attributes that inform and limit how politics is done. To begin this study of California politics, we must examine California’s diverse environment—the land and regions of the state, and its resources, people, and economy.

## Land

*Diverse* is truly the only word to describe the physical geography of California. The state’s diversity is made possible in part by its sheer size. California’s length covers the distance between New York City and Jacksonville, Florida. The nation’s third largest state in square miles (behind Alaska and Texas), California supports a rich variety of terrain.

Coastal communities enjoy moderate, semiarid Mediterranean weather in the South and wetter, cooler weather in the far North. Thick forests, including giant redwoods, are found in the North. In fact, 40 percent of the state is forested. The naturally barren South has been made less so over the years by farmers and gardeners alike. Numerous mountain ranges crisscross the state. The defining North/South range is the Sierra Nevada. Admired by naturalist John Muir, this magnificent mountain range is home to world-famous Yosemite National Park and giant sequoia trees. Farmers and urban residents to the west and south of the mountains depend on the Sierra’s snowpack for year-round water supplies, the lifeblood of any arid state. Less-imposing coastal ranges help define the attractive but expensive environments around such places as Santa Barbara, Carmel, and Santa Cruz.

The transverse ranges, those mountains that lie in an east/west direction, were once defined by the limits of urbanization and, to some people’s minds, serve as the boundary between Northern and Southern California. The Los Angeles Basin (surrounded by the Sierra Madre, Tehachapi, Santa Ana, San Gabriel, and San Jacinto ranges) once kept its poor air quality to itself. But urban growth and automobile proliferation have spread smog over the mountains to communities on the other side (e.g., Palm Springs and Lancaster) and locales as far away as the Grand Canyon in Arizona. The increasingly smoggy Central Valley supports some of the most productive agriculture in the world.

Below observable land lie two massive tectonic plates, the North American and the Pacific. The grinding of these plates results in long-term geologic features such as mountains and the short-term terror of potentially destructive earthquakes.

## Regions

The configuration of the land influences how people settle on and use it, leading to regional differences. These differences are partly a matter of perception. Consider the idea of Northern and Southern California, the most familiar division of the state. People know Northern California for San Francisco (called simply “The City”), wineries, redwoods, heavy water-consuming crops such as rice, and mountain resorts such as Lake Tahoe. They identify Southern California with its warm days, wide beaches, automobile culture, show business, Latino roots, and, of course, smog. Some suggest that these two regions are actually two states divided by water. The North has it, the South wants it, and the North knows it. These North/South differences are deeply rooted. In 1859, less than a decade after statehood, the legislature voted to split the state in two, but the U.S. Congress disallowed it. Occasional efforts to divide California have surfaced ever since. The latest effort by Silicon Valley venture capitalist Tim Draper would have divided California into six states, but his initiative failed to qualify for the 2016 ballot. These efforts seem motivated not only by classic

regional differences but also by the mounting problems faced by a unified California—economic uncertainty, budget woes, population growth, and demographic diversity. Although these efforts are doomed to failure, they do exemplify intense regional divisions in the state. Pundits have long since divided California from North to South into Logland, Fogland, and Smogland.

Perceptions aside, California is a state of many regions. Different observers have divided the state into anywhere from 4 to 14 distinct regions. Each is markedly different from the others based on geography, economy, populations, political behavior, and public attitudes.<sup>7</sup> Public opinion surveys and election analyses of the four most populous regions—Los Angeles County, the San Francisco Bay area, the Central Valley, and the Orange County/Inland Empire region—document a number of differences (see Figure 1.2). In general, coastal Californians are more liberal and Democratic and those who live inland are more conservative and Republican. This plays out in legislative elections, initiative results, and views on public policy.<sup>8</sup> As a consequence, according to analyst and pollster Mark Baldassare, these regional differences make it difficult for Californians to unify and see themselves as members of one state. Indeed, “the major regions are drifting further apart at a time when there is a need to reach a statewide consensus on social, environmental, land use, and infrastructure issues.”<sup>9</sup>

## Resources

In addition to regional perceptions, a state’s natural resources affect its politics. Ironically, California’s most important resource is its most precious—water. One simply cannot underestimate what the availability and redistribution of water has meant for the Golden State. As writer Carey McWilliams once noted, “the history of Southern California is the record of its eternal quest for water, and more water, and still more water.”<sup>10</sup> The entire state has been called a “hydraulic society,” and it is easy to see why. Water has transformed parched land into the nation’s salad bowl and fruit basket. Water has enabled imaginative people in a semiarid climate to

control vast amounts of land or merely turn their yards into tropical and subtropical gardens. And most important, dams, canals, and aqueducts have channeled water from the North to the South, allowing millions of people to live where nature alone could support very few. However, as indicated by the state’s recent drought, from time to time, rain patterns remind residents of what a precious resource water is to California.

California’s overall climate is itself a resource and has directly and indirectly caused the state’s phenomenal growth. Americans have always been lured to California because of its weather. Years ago, winter exports of citrus fruit and newspaper ads in the Midwest created a “Garden of Eden” image, which served as a magnet. Asked why he charged \$200 an acre for seemingly worthless land, flamboyant speculator Lucky Baldwin retorted: “Hell! We’re giving away the land. We’re selling the climate.”<sup>11</sup> Doctors would recommend California’s milder climate to patients suffering from respiratory and arthritic ailments.

California’s climate also has fostered elements of California’s economy. Early movie producers found weather predictability helpful in shooting outdoor scenes. The films themselves became subtle advertisements for the Golden State. Farmers discovered that, given enough water, several harvests per year were possible. Developers and contractors found they could get away with cheaper, less-weather-resistant construction. Employers concerned with working conditions and living conditions for themselves found California an inviting destination. California’s climate also fostered recreation-oriented “live for the weekend” lifestyles. Much leisure time can be spent outdoors—beach activities, snow skiing, fishing, water sports, camping, biking, hiking—the list is endless. Even at home, many Californians create their own micro-lifestyles, replete with expansive patios, pools, spas, barbecues, and gardens.

All this has resulted in a subtle attitude found in the Golden State. Just as people thought they could change their destiny by moving to California in the first place, many believe they can engineer their destiny once they arrive. As the featured cartoon implies, Californians seek what they call the “good life” despite hindrances of all sorts. They expect their

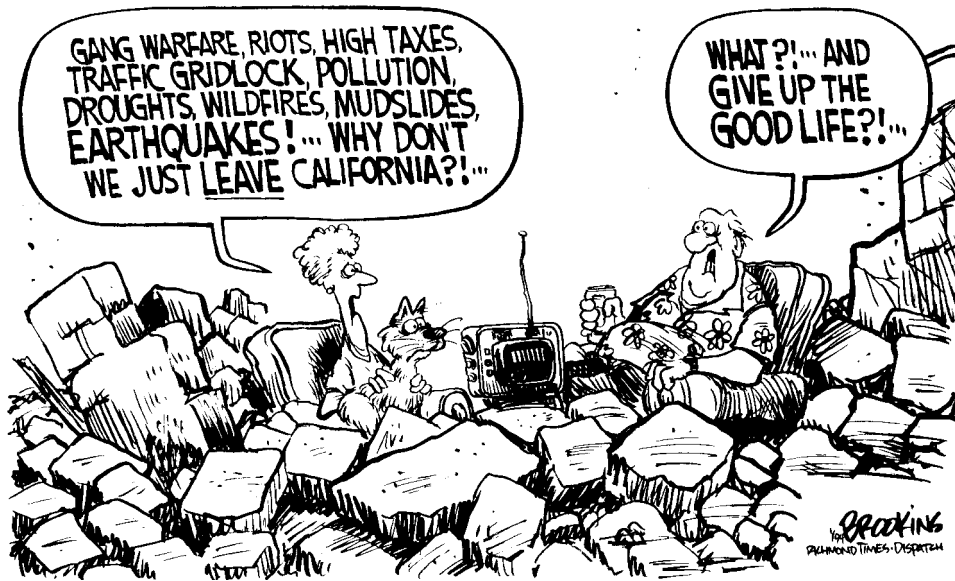


**FIGURE 1.2** California's Regions

NOTE: The highlighted areas of California are the regions most used by the Public Policy Institute of California pollsters to document differing views of Californians based on geography.

© Cengage Learning





### The Good Life

**Question:** How do you define “the good life” in California in light of these periodic misfortunes?

SOURCE: Gary Brookins/Times-Dispatch.

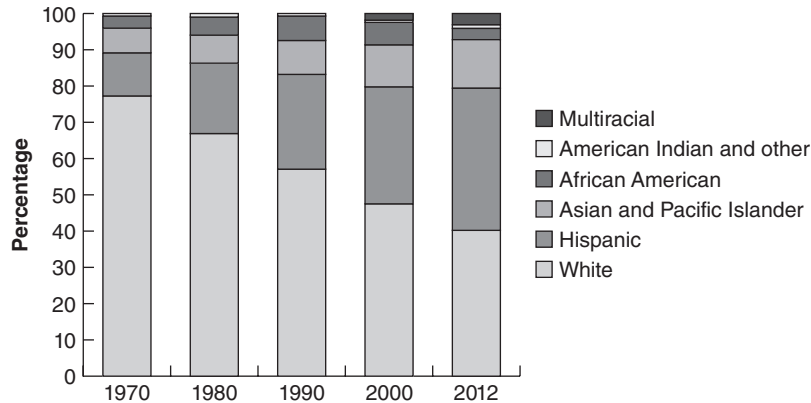
state and local governments to deliver policies fostering and protecting a certain quality of life. They become disillusioned and angry when policymakers fail to meet such expectations. They give policymakers low marks in public opinion surveys, oust them from office if possible, or pass initiatives designed to sidestep policy processes.

### People

California’s resources have encouraged waves of human settlement. In short, diversity and growth characterize the demographics of California. As in the past, the state attracts immigrants from all over the world. Furthermore, they are settling throughout the state. Mexicans were never limited solely to Los Angeles barrios, or the Chinese to their Chinatowns. But the ethnic and geographic diversity of today’s Californians is astounding. Iranians, Indians, Sri Lankans, Haitians, Koreans, Salvadoreans, Vietnamese, and others are moving to and throughout California in large numbers. By 2000, no racial group or ethnic group constituted a majority of Californians. In fact, a decade later,

over 20 percent of the nation’s nonwhite population lived in California. California’s population currently is growing at a rate of nearly 1,000 per day. In 2014, the state’s population stood at 38 million. The change in ethnic diversity can be seen in Figure 1.3.

**Native Americans.** California’s first dwellers were widely dispersed Native Americans living off the land in small communities. By 1823, there were about 400,000 tribal members living in California. As peaceful peoples, they were no match for the succession of more aggressive Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American settlers. Due primarily to disease imported from these settlers, they and their cultures were driven to near extinction. Today, Native Americans constitute less than one percent (162,000 in the 2010 census) of its population and are discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3. As a rule, they defy broad-brush generalizations. Some tribes remain poor whereas others have discovered newfound wealth and political influence by way of lucrative casino development and large-scale gaming.



**FIGURE 1.3** Californians at a Glance

**Question:** California is now a “minority-majority” state. To what extent is this phenomenon evident where you live and work?

SOURCE: Hans Johnson, *Just the Facts: California's Population* (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, July 2014).

**Latinos.** By the time of Mexican independence from Spain in 1822, the remaining Native Americans plus a relative handful of Spaniards, Mexicans, and the offspring of mixed marriages between various groups populated the province of del norte. Like their predecessors, contemporary Mexicans and others from Latin America come to California seeking prosperity. Be they citizens, resident aliens, or undocumented workers, many Latinos work in the agricultural, manufacturing, and service sectors of the state’s economy. Due to continuing immigration and relatively high birth rates, they have become a sizable cultural and socioeconomic force in the state. They became the state’s largest ethnic or racial group in 2014, surpassing whites for the first time. Geographically, they are well-represented in most of California’s regions and their political influence is on the rise. In one respect, Latinos have been known for low voter turnout, in part, because many of them are not yet citizens or are too young to vote. Yet many of them have been elected to public office throughout the state. In 2014, Kevin de León became the first Latino Senate President Pro Tempore, the chamber’s top leadership post, since 1883. Population data and electoral returns suggest that Latino political influence will grow in the future and that the rather diverse Latino community might not behave as a monolithic political force.<sup>12</sup>

**Non-Hispanic Whites.** The Gold Rush of 1849 began what is known as the “American era.” This provincial-sounding term refers to the successive waves of Euro-American citizens who moved to California from other parts of the United States. Within a year after gold was discovered at Sutter’s Mill in 1848, roughly a third of the state’s population was digging for gold in “them thar hills.” Many with gold fever never intended to stay, but did. Others not only stayed but sent for their families to join them. Population figures tell the story. In 1840, Californians numbered about 116,000, including 110,000 to 112,000 Native Americans. Two decades later, they numbered 380,000, including only 30,000 Native Americans.

A second population rush followed completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869. That last spike, joining the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads in Utah, linked California both physically and symbolically with the rest of the nation. For urban Americans, the lure of open space “out West” actually made possible a newly emerging dream in the late 1800s—a single-family house on a single-family lot. But why California? For one thing, the Southern Pacific Railroad had received more than 10 million acres of Southern California land as a construction incentive. Through shameless hucksterism and discounted train tickets, developers

and the railroads lured many Midwesterners to the Golden State. Later, the mass production of automobiles allowed others to bypass trains altogether on their way to sunny California.

In the 1900s, additional waves of Americans moved westward to seek various employment opportunities. Beginning with Summerland near Santa Barbara in 1920, the discovery and drilling of oil led to new jobs and still more land speculation. The Depression-era jobless and Dust Bowl refugees (many were called Okies and Arkies for their home states of Oklahoma and Arkansas) came to California in search of any opportunity they could find.

John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* fictionalized the real misery of these migrants and what they hoped for in California (see Box 1.1: California Voices). World War II brought numerous Americans to California for training and war production efforts. Soldiers and sailors who had never been west of the Mississippi River were stationed briefly in California on their way to the Pacific theater. Many of them vowed to return to California—for keeps—and they did. In 2014, white non-Hispanic Californians were less than 39 percent of the overall population. This percentage has been declining and will continue to do so in the future.

**African Americans.** The war effort in California provided unprecedented employment opportunities for African Americans, many of who migrated from the South. Their population in California grew 272 percent in the 1940s alone. In 2010, most of California's 2.3 million African Americans

lived in the state's large metropolitan areas. As elsewhere, they have suffered racial discrimination and many lag behind other groups in education and income. They have held prominent positions in state politics, including three Assembly speakerships (Willie Brown, Herb Wesson, and Karen Bass), as well as seats in Congress and the state legislature. According to the latest census, African Americans constitute only 6 percent of California's overall population. Because of modest birth rates and some migration out of California, black political clout appears to be lessening; the number of black office holders has steadily declined since the mid-1980s.

**Asian Americans.** A succession of other minorities entered California over the years. Notable have been California's nearly 5 million Asian Americans (as of 2010), including those of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean descent. Many Chinese were brought to the state during the Gold Rush or to work on rail road construction gangs. By 1870, nearly 150,000 of them were treated as virtual slaves by their employers. During economic downturns, they were considered as excess labor and had to retreat to their Chinatowns for protection and security.

Historically, Japanese Californians have also suffered oppression. Between 1900 and 1920 they increased in number from 10,000 to 72,000 and, to the dismay of whites, gained control of 11 percent of the state's farmland. Four years later, the U.S. Congress reacted by halting further Japanese immigration. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, Californians of Japanese descent, including American

### Box 1.1 CALIFORNIA VOICES: Steinbeck on California

"I like to think how nice it's gonna be, maybe, in California. Never cold. An' fruit ever'place, an' people just bein in the nicest places, little white houses in among the orange trees. I wonder—that is, if we all get jobs an' all work—maybe we can get one of them little white houses. An' the little fellas go out an' pick oranges right off the tree."

**Question:** To what extent are today's visions of California like or unlike those of Steinbeck's Depression-ravaged characters?

SOURCE: John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), p. 124.