

**Does Less Income Mean Less Representation?
(Brunner, Ross and Washington)
Data Appendix
Table of Contents**

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Identification of Legislative Votes that Match Referenda | 1 |
| 1.1 Sources of Legislative Bill/Referenda Matches | 1 |
| 1.2 Proposition and Bill Attributes | 4 |
| 1.3 Coding of Bills by Topic or Subject | 6 |
| 2. Legislators and Legislative Floor Votes | 7 |
| 2.1 List of Legislators by Session | 7 |
| 2.2 Data on Legislative Floor Votes | 8 |
| 3. Collapsing within District Voting and Demographics to the District Level | 11 |
| 3.1 Geographic Data | 11 |
| 3.2 District Voting Data Based on Tercile | 13 |
| Table 1. Matches between Propositions and Legislative Bills | 15 |
| Table 2. Summaries of Mandatory and Petition Referenda | 18 |
| Table 3. Summaries of Initiatives and Senate and Assembly Versions of Legislative Bills | 22 |
| Table 4. Coding of Legislative Bills by Subject and Topic | 26 |

Data Appendix

1. Identification of Legislative Votes that Match Referenda

For propositions on statewide California election ballots between 1992 and 2008, we identify those that have the same or very similar content to specific bills voted on in the California State Legislature. Propositions can appear on general, primary, or in a few cases on special election ballots. We focus on propositions that appear on general and primary election ballots for all elections during the period except for the primary ballots in 2002 and 2004 where voting data is not yet available in electronic form. The list of statewide propositions and the descriptions of each proposition from this period can be found at

<http://lalaw.lib.ca.us/research/ballots/>

An itemized list of our matches along with information on each legislative bill and proposition is shown in Table 1.

1.1 Sources of Legislative Bill/Referenda Matches

In our analysis, we identified three specific circumstances in which the legislature voted on such bills.

First, the legislature regularly considers bills, (either legislative constitutional amendments, bond acts, or amendments to initiative statutes approved in a statewide election) that if passed by both houses of the state legislature and signed into law, are required to be approved by voters through a statewide ballot. These are often referred to as mandatory referenda. These propositions can be further subdivided into Legislative Constitutional Amendments, Legislative Statutes and Legislative Initiative Amendments. Each such referendum represents an exact match between the legislation and the proposition because the legislation is directly referenced in the referendum and the vote is to approve this legislation or not. This set of propositions contributes 48 of our 77 total matches between proposition and legislative bills. Note that in two cases, a law passed by the legislature required multiple referenda. Specifically, Assembly Bill 16 passed in the 2001-02 session, authorized two separate bond acts for building school facilities, one in 2002 and a second in 2004, which were on the ballots as referenda in the 2002 general (prop 47) and 2004 primary elections (prop 55). The 2002 general election is closer to the legislative vote so we match AB 16 to prop 47. In addition, Senate Constitutional Amendment 16 in the 2003-04 session addressed two topics: voting in primaries regardless of party registration, and the use of proceeds from the sale of surplus property, which were considered by the electorate in the 2004 general election as propositions 60 and 60A, respectively. We match SCA 16 with proposition 60 on primary voting because it appeared to us to be the salient issue. A summary of the purpose of each statute, constitutional amendment, or initiative amendment is provided in Table 2. See Section 8.5 of Article 4 of the California Constitution, as well as section 10 of Article 2 for details on legislative voting on these types of statutes and requirements for citizen referenda.

http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article_4

http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article_2

Second, voters can use the referenda process to “veto” a bill that has been passed by the legislature and signed into law by the Governor by creating a referendum petition and having this petition signed by registered voters totaling to at least 5% of the number of voters in the previous gubernatorial election. This is known as an optional or petition referendum. As with mandatory referenda, both a senate and assembly vote must exist for these propositions, and these referenda directly reference the legislation and so represent an exact match between the legislation and the proposition. Unlike legislative bills that may address multiple topics or require multiple mandatory referenda, petition referenda are required by the constitution to address one particular statute. The referenda may in principle be designed to only repeal part of the legislation, but in practice all of the petition referenda in our sample address the repeal of an entire statute. Our sample contains 8 matches arising from petition referenda. Finally, note that while a petition referendum is intended to repeal a legislatively passed statute, the referendum language is always such that a no vote overturns the statute. The second panel of Table 2 provides a summary describing each statute in our sample that was subject to a petition referendum. This process is described in section 9 of Article 2 of the California Constitution.

http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article_2

The final set of propositions from which our sample is drawn are initiatives that propose a new statute or constitutional amendment, which are referred to as either Initiative Statutes or Initiative Constitutional Amendments. Initiatives are placed on the ballot by means of a petition signed by registered voters amounting to 8% (for a constitutional amendment) or 5% (for a statute) of the number of people who voted in the most recent election for governor. In many cases, the proponents of an issue simultaneously work to both place a proposition on the ballot and to move a bill through the legislature or will turn to one of these approaches when the second has failed. Therefore, we have been able to identify 21 propositions or initiatives in which a similar bill proceeded to a floor vote in either the Assembly and/or the Senate. These propositions were identified by first identifying the set of initiatives placed on statewide ballots during our sample period and then conducting extensive web and electronic archival searches on the topics addressed by these propositions. After identifying specific legislative bills, we accessed the analyses of these bills for particular floor votes at the following web site

<http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/bilinfo.html>

for all legislative sessions in our sample period except for 1991-92. Note that we use the Senate and Assembly floor analysis documents to summarize the bills post 1991-92 session. The assembly floor documents typically provided quite detailed summaries. Often the Senate floor analysis documents were less detailed and we were required to supplement the summary using the actual Bill Text, available on the same website.

Data on the 1991-92 session is not available on-line, and we visited the state archives in Sacramento, CA in order to obtain the analyses and floor votes for that session. In addition, we conducted on-line searches to identify the exact content of legislation that was matched to initiatives for the 1991-92 session. We identified an on-line description for each bill

AB 702 <http://oig.hhs.gov/oas/reports/region9/99200116.pdf>

AB 2181 <http://leda.law.harvard.edu/leda/data/789/Sheu06.pdf>

AB 2001 <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/07/07-013.pdf>

SB 308 <http://content.healthaffairs.org/cgi/reprint/13/2/123.pdf>

The referenda process is described in section 8 of Article 2 of the California Constitution

http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article_2

Unlike mandatory and petition referenda, the text of the initiative may not exactly match the text of a legislative bill. Furthermore, since the legislature may not have passed the bill both houses may not have voted on the bill or the content of the bill may differ between the floor votes of the two houses. Our sample contains all initiatives where we observed an assembly and/or senate floor vote on a bill covering a substantively similar issue as the initiative. While our matching for initiatives is subjective, we tried to be quite conservative in matching bills. For example, Prop 210 and the senate version of AB 1184 in the 1997-98 session both increase the minimum wage, although by different amounts, while the final version of the assembly bill that reached a floor vote was about disability retirement and so we dropped the assembly vote. Similarly, Prop 215 decriminalized marijuana possession for patients and caregivers and SB 1364 in the 1993-94 session legalized marijuana for medical purposes, which media reports suggest imply the same de facto treatment of patients and caregivers under the law. On the other hand, AB 1529 in the 1995-96 session, which we did not match to Prop 215, differs substantially imposing requirements such as prescription must be in writing and only covering four specific medical conditions. Also, AB 172 in the 2005-06 session has an initial vote in the assembly that establishes a voluntary preschool-for-all system that would only become operative if funding is subsequently provided under statewide initiative thereby matching Prop 82 closely, while the final assembly and senate floor votes, which were not used, mandated specific child development and family literacy services as conditions for receiving funding for prekindergarten programs. Some further examples of bills that we did not match to initiatives are AB 26 in the 1999-00 session or AB 2005 in the 2003-04 session providing for domestic partnership and domestic partnership benefits with Prop 22 that defines marriage as between a man and a woman, and AB 702 in the 1991-92 session eliminating certain benefits from the public pension system with Prop 162 that places the public pension system in the hands of pension boards. In both cases, the constituencies that opposed or favored the legislation were uniformly in favor or opposed to the proposition, respectively, but the specific intent of the proposition and legislation did not agree

and so these potential matches were excluded from our sample. For all initiatives, Table 3 contains a summary of the intent of the legislative bill when considered by each house, as well as a summary of the associated initiative.

Note that all statewide ballot measures can be approved by a simple majority of voters, see section 9 or Article 2. Also, see the California Secretary of State web page of ballot measures.

http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/elections_j.htm

1.2 Proposition and Bill Attributes

Finally, our proposition data contains the proposition number, whether the vote occurred during a primary or general election, the date of the vote, whether the proposition passed, the type of proposition, the legislative bill number such as SB 1364 or AB 1529, the legislative session that the bill was considered, whether the bill required the concurrence of a simple majority or a 2/3rds majority of sitting members, and for initiatives (which are not automatic matches) whether the implications of a vote for the proposition are the same or opposite of a legislative yes vote, as well as somewhat more subjective indicators for whether the proposition was about taxation or bonds, whether on a moral issue, and up to two categorizations of the proposition topic, such as health care, taxation or education.

The proposition website

<http://lalaw.lib.ca.us/research/ballots/>

identifies proposition by election based on year and whether primary or general election. To obtain the exact date of the vote on the proposition, we used the California Secretary of State's Statewide Election Results, available online at

http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/elections_elections.htm

The website covers our entire sample period. In all cases except one, the date of the proposition vote is simply the date of the primary or general election for that year. The exception occurs in 2008 when California held two primaries. For that year we were able to match the propositions to the correct primary by using information contained in the "Official Declaration of the Vote Results on Statewide Ballot Measures," provided by the California Secretary of State. The document provides the proposition numbers in a given election and identifies that the votes on propositions 94, 95, 96, and 97 occurred on 2/5/2008, and the vote on proposition 99 occurred on 6/3/2008.

We determine whether a bill was operating under simple versus 2/3rds majority voting rules by the following methods. First, Legislation must be approved by an absolute majority vote, except for a select set of bills that require a two-thirds majority of total membership in each legislative body for passage. These super majority bills are appropriation bills, which include bond acts,

urgency statutes, which require expedited implementation, and proposed constitutional amendments. See

<http://www.city-data.com/states/California-State-government.html>

Propositions associated with Bond Acts, Legislative Constitutional Amendments, and Initiatives that are matched to Legislative Constitutional Amendments are automatically recorded as requiring a 2/3rds majority. For all sessions other than the 1991-92 session, we looked up the bill information at

<http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/bilinfo.html>

The link describing bill status identifies these bills as either majority or 2/3rds vote required, as well as identifying whether this bill is an urgency statute, except in the 1993-94 session where only the urgency status is recorded. With only one exception, statutes that are listed as requiring a 2/3rds vote are urgency statutes, which is consistent with the state constitution (section 8 article 4), and we record such bills as requiring a 2/3rds vote. The one exception is SB 6 in the 1997-98 session. The status document states that the bill requires a 2/3rds vote, but the bill does not have any of the standard attributes for a 2/3rds vote requirement. We confirmed that this bill did not have a 2/3rds vote requirement until after it was vetoed, and our voting data is always based floor votes prior to any veto. Therefore, we record SB 6 as requiring a majority vote.

For non-bond statutes in the 1991-92 session, we begin with a search of the Lexis-Nexis State Capital database, which provided information on AB 2001, AB 2181, and SB 308. The decision rule is contained in the legislative digest, which appears in the legislation text immediately preceding the legislation itself, and can be found in the database for these bills using the following information

AB 2001: California State Legislature. 1992. "1991 Bill Text CA A.B. 2001." 1991-92 Regular Session (document #1).

AB 2181: California State Legislature. 1991. "1991 Bill Text CA A.B. 2181." 1991-92 Regular Session (document #3).

SB 308: California State Legislature. 1992. "1991 Bill Text CA S.B. 308." 1991-92 Regular Session (document #1).

SB 34 could not be identified in the Lexis-Nexis State Capital Database, but we were able to confirm using Senate Final History from 1991-1992 that an urgency clause was adopted and accordingly coded this proposal as requiring a 2/3rds vote.

1.3 Coding of Bills by Topic or Subject

We used several strategies in order to categorize propositions. First, we used a fairly objective rule in order to categorize a proposition on whether it involves taxes or bond. Specifically, we examined the proposition summary and the text of the final bill in order to determine if they contained the word tax or bond. If the word tax or bond was found, we conducted a further review to assure that the bill truly concerned taxation or bonding. For example, the only mention of bond or tax in SCA 18 in the 1995-96 session occurs when the assembly floor analysis refers to “bond acts and other ballot measures” so this bill was coded as no for the bond/tax variable. Similarly, in AB 1184 in the 1997-98 session, the assembly floor analysis discusses the Earned Income Tax Credit and its implications for low-wage employees, but otherwise makes no mention of taxation. For initiatives, where the content of the legislative bill and the initiative might differ slightly, the word tax or bond had to appear in both. For example, SB 308 in the 1991-92 session and proposition 186 both attempt to establish a single payer health care system. The proposition mentions taxation, but the legislative bill does not and this bill is coded no for the bond/tax variable.

We also code a moral issue variable using a “CNN” decision rule in coding moral issues i.e., those types of issues that the media or average citizen would consider moral in nature. These include gay rights, stem cell, physician assisted death, medical marijuana, lottery, tobacco, death penalty, gambling (generally speaking) and had there been such a ballot measure, abortion.

We create two additional variables that provide a more disaggregate categorization of the propositions and associated legislative bills. In order to minimize the subjective nature of this categorization, we developed a set of categories in advance covering: Courts Law and Justice, Education, Elections, Employment and Labor, Energy, Environmental Quality, Gaming and Lottery, Governance and Government Processes, Health, Infrastructure and Public Goods, Taxation, and Veterans. After classifying propositions, it became apparent that some categories were quite imbalanced in terms of size, and we disaggregated some of the larger categories and combined others. Specifically, Courts Law and Justice was divided into Civil Law and Criminal Law except for propositions related to court consolidation and restructuring. Court consolidation and restructuring was combined with institutional focused propositions from Governance and Government to create a new category called Government Organization. The remainder of the more process oriented propositions under Governance and Government remain under the same name. Environmental Quality and Energy propositions related to renewable sources and alternative energies were combined into Environmental Issues. Electric utility policies from Energy were combined with Infrastructure and Public Goods. Finally we created a new category called Transportation that contains transportation related propositions that were originally in Infrastructure and Public Goods. These Categorizations along with the coding for tax/bond and moral issue propositions are provided in Table 4.

2. Legislators and Legislative Floor Votes

2.1 List of Legislators by Session

For each legislative session, we identify an initial set of legislators from the California Rosters between 1992 and 2008 published by the California Secretary of State. The roster provides the full name, district and party affiliation for each California state senator and assembly member during the current legislative session. The California state roster is available for recent years (currently back to 2003) at

<http://www.sos.ca.gov/admin/ca-roster/2009/>

We visited the state archives in Sacramento CA and manually recorded the information for earlier state rosters. This information provides a list of sitting legislators including information on their legislative body, district and political party, but does not provide a complete list of legislators because of resignations and special elections. This data was verified and supplemented using the California Political Almanac, which provides the name of all legislators who served during a particular session. The almanacs are biennial, and are available for all years except for 2001-06. For those years, we identify changes in legislative membership by examining the names of legislators listed in the floor votes in our sample. The key limitation of the almanacs is that they do not identify the period during which a legislator served. Only a total 41 seats changed hands through special elections during our time period between 1991 and 2010. In order to identify the exact dates of service for these legislators, we used information from the organization JoinCalifornia.com which is available at:

<http://www.joincalifornia.com>

JoinCalifornia.com provides an archive of election history for the state of California dating back to the mid-1800s. This database contains a detailed history of service for all past and currently elected officials in California allowing us to identify the actual dates of every member who came into office via special election. For legislators who entered through general elections, the date of service begins on the traditional day for California legislative sessions to begin, which is December 1, while for special elections we use the data on which the election was held. If the member who was being replaced had died in office, the date that they died is used as their end of service and is available in their joincalifornia.com biography. Similarly, if an individual left the assembly or senate in order to take a new elected office or was recalled via a California special election, the date of the special election was also used as the end date of service for their previous elected office. Other types of resignations, such as resignation to accept a political appointment or in response to a corruption scandal, are typically noted in the biography and additional web searches are used for each case to identify the date of resignation. The vast majority of these special elections arose because the current incumbent was elected to alternative office, typically either the state senate (from the Assembly) or the U.S. House of

Representatives. However, two legislators died in office, three accepted appointments, and two resigned in response to legal difficulties.

For the 2001-02, 2003-04, and 2005-06 legislative sessions, we first examine which members were serving in the immediately preceding and following sessions. The legislative member's beginning or ending term of service during the session is known automatically if the member serves in the preceding and/or following session, respectively. For members who cannot be located in preceding or following sessions, we again rely on

<http://www.joincalifornia.com>

to identify special elections where members were replaced.

2.2 Legislative Floor Votes

Next, for every legislative bill matched to a proposition, we record the floor vote of every senator and/or assembly member as either yes (Y), no (N), or abstain, absent or not voting (A). If a seat is vacant at the time, the legislative name is listed as "Vacant" and the vote is listed as "A". The voting data is available by session and bill at

<http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/bilinfo.html>

This website contains the date of every floor vote relating to a particular bill, individual legislators votes on each bill, and analysis of the motion or bill contents for each vote back to the 1994 legislative session. The votes for the 1992 legislative session were obtained in person at the state archives. Note that in 1992, the paper records only identify the legislators who vote "Y" or "N", and "A" must be identified as a residual category based on the legislators currently serving.

In the case of both mandatory and optional/petition referenda, we use the final legislative floor vote for both the Senate and the Assembly because a bill must have passed both houses on a final floor vote in order to be the subject of a referenda. For the third set of propositions or initiatives where we have manually identified a match between propositions and legislation, we review the analysis for each vote. If the broad content of the bill is fairly stable over time, we use the final floor vote as we did for the referenda's. However, in a very small number of instances, the content and focus of the bill changed dramatically during the legislative process and we either reverted to an earlier floor vote where the analysis better matched the initiative content or dropped the vote of a particular legislative body when they never conducted a floor vote on the initial content of the bill. Specifically, there were three instances where we did not use the final floor votes from both legislative bodies: 1. the only assembly floor vote for AB 1184 in the 1997-98 session differed from proposition 210 and so the assembly vote was dropped from our sample; 2. the final version of AB 172 for assembly and senate floor votes in the 2005-06 session did not match Prop 82, but the version of AB 172 for an earlier assembly vote on 6/02/2005 did

match the proposition and so only that assembly vote is retained in our sample; and 3. the final version of AB 10 for assembly and senate floor votes in the 2007-08 session did not match Prop 3, but the version of AB 10 for an earlier assembly vote on 8/27/2007 did match the proposition and so only that assembly vote is retained in our sample.

We recorded the date of the floor vote in our database of legislators and legislative bills. We then manually verified the presence of each legislator recorded in the record of the floor vote against our data on the exact dates of service for each legislator. The match between voting records and dates of service are near perfect. We found only three instance where the seat was listed as vacant on the voting records, even though the legislator was still serving. All three of these were for Frank Hill for the 1993-94 session of the state senate. However, in that case, we were able to find documentation of an early departure from the legislature prior to the actual resignation date. See

http://articles.latimes.com/1994-07-19/local/me-17363_1_frank-hill

Therefore, we listed the seat as vacant during those particular votes because the legislator was officially not participating in the legislative process and would soon resign. The extraordinarily high rate of agreement between voting records and dates of service provide confidence in our data on the 1991-92 session where we had to rely solely on the dates of service to determine abstains and absences because the paper voting records only provided the names of legislators voting yes or no.

The resulting voting data is comprised of a record for every currently serving legislator for each proposition that matches a bill for which a floor vote on one of our 77 matches took place. The resulting data contains the legislative session, the name of the legislator, their legislative body, their district, their party affiliation, the date of the floor vote, whether they were a sponsor of the legislation, the year elected for current term, their vote share in the last election, whether facing a term limit, whether up for election next cycle, tenure in office prior to the beginning of the current legislative session, and final tenure in assembly if served their previously and currently serving in the senate.

In order to identify the sponsors of legislative bills, we used the Official California Legislative Information website

<http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/bilinfo.html>

The list of sponsors is available under the status tab for any particular legislative bill. For some bills, however, it was clear that all the authors did not show under “Status” because the author section did not end with a period or a name was cut off. In those cases, the complete set of authors is available at the same website under the link “Chaptered.” For 1991-92, the Assembly and Senate Final Histories provided sponsorship info right next to the bill number. One unusual situation arises with AB 10 in 2008, which was sponsored by the Committee on Budget rather

than by individual committee members. We treat this bill as having no individual sponsors since no individual legislators are identified as a sponsor.

Turning to a legislator's term in office, when the legislative seat does not change hands during the term, the year elected for current term and vote share in that election is relatively mechanical. Assembly members stand for election every two years and so participated in the preceding general election. Senate members stand for election every four years with senators from odd numbered districts running during presidential elections and senators from even numbered districts running during the national mid-terms, when California elects its Governor. The vote total for general elections is available at

http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/elections_elections.htm

and is used to calculate the vote share for the winning candidate in each legislative race. However, for seats in which a member resigned and another took his or her place (via special election), the year elected may differ for the replacement candidate and the vote share will be incorrect because it is for their predecessor who was elected in the general election. We used

<http://JoinCalifornia.com>

to identify the year and the vote share for each special election. For the 1991-1992 session, which is not covered by this website, we used the California Secretary of State's website, which also provides official election dates and results. Whether the individual is up for election in the next cycle is also relatively mechanical with assembly members standing for election every two years, and senate members every four years in either the presidential or mid-term elections based on their district number.

In November of 1990, Proposition 140 passed imposing term limits on California state legislators with individuals only being able to serve up to 3 two year terms in the state assembly and up to 2 four year terms in the state senate. Again, for most state legislators, whether they will be unable to run for re-election for their current seat due to term limits can be calculated in a fairly mechanical manner. However, for legislators that were serving prior to or elected at the time of Proposition 140 term limits, term limits are somewhat more complicated. Based on the California Political Almanac 1991-92, every assembly member serving in the 1991-92 session regardless of previous service could serve through the 1995-96 election if re-elected, but could not run for re-election after that and so are recorded as facing terms limits in 1996. In the senate, members elected in 1990 for the 1991-92 session (even-numbered seats) are limited to two terms of four years each and so faced terms limits in 1998. State senators who were not up for election in 1990 (odd numbered seats) are only allowed to run for one additional term following the 1991-92 session and so faced terms limits in 1996. The only exception to this was David Roberti in the state senate who changed districts midterm and through some unusual provisions of Proposition 140 was unable to run in 1994 due to term limits.

Tenure is calculated from the time that a member first begins serving until the date of the vote. As discussed earlier, our database of legislators identifies when the session in which legislators first began serving. In general, the California State Legislature convenes on or about December 1 each year, and sessions officially close on November 30 of each year, though the active part of a session (e.g., voting) usually ends as early as August (see California State Assembly—Office of the Chief Clerk Archives at <http://192.234.213.35/clerkarchive/>)

Sessions have opened on any of the first few days of December (e.g., in 2010, the Legislature will convene on 12/6), but reliable information on the start of every session is unavailable. Therefore, in order to calculate tenure based on this session, we use 12/1 and 11/30 as the opening and closings dates for every session. This process works for all legislators except for those who were elected via a special election. For those cases, we again use “JoinCalifornia.com” too look up the actual dates of service for this small subset of legislators.

3. Collapsing within District Voting and Demographics to the District Level

In order to conduct our statistical analysis of legislator voting behavior, we develop a third panel that describes the political, demographic, and socio-economic characteristics of the jurisdictions that individual state senators or assembly members represent during each session. This data comes from three sources: 1) Geolytics data from the 1990 and 2000 Decennial Censuses and the five-year (05-09) moving averages from the American Community Survey (ACS) using 2000 Census geography, 2) the California Secretary of State Statewide Elections Results, and 3) the Statewide Database maintained by the Institute of Governmental Studies (IGS) at the University of California at Berkeley.

3.1 Geographic Data

The Geolytics census data and the ACS provide detailed demographic and socio-economic information including the number of eligible voters (approximated as number of citizens aged 18 and up) at the census tract level for 1990, 2000 and approximately 2007 using 2000 census tract definitions. Precinct level data on registration and voting patterns are available at the Statewide Database for California Elections

<http://swdb.berkeley.edu/d00/index.html>

Between 1990 and 2000, the voting data is available at the census block or census tract level only. For all years except 1990, the voting data is based on 2000 census geography, and in 1990 we use census provided conversion files to estimate voting totals for 2000 census geography based on the totals for 1990 geography. Starting in 2002, the data is provided at the precinct level along with conversion files for mapping these precinct totals into 2000 census tract or block definitions. The voting data contains the total number of registered voters, total number voting in the election, the number voting for each candidate for national or state office, and as discussed earlier the number voting yes and no for each proposition on the ballot. A separate file at the

same website contains registration totals by political party. These data allow us to create variables for share of eligible voters registered to vote, share of voters registered as Democrat or Republican, share of votes cast in two party vote for Democratic state senate candidate, democratic state assembly candidate, democratic gubernatorial candidate or democratic presidential candidate, gubernatorial and presidential turnout based on two party votes relative to voting eligible population, turnout for each proposition relative to both number of eligible voters, number of votes yes and no for each proposition at both the census tract and district level. Finally, in order to minimize any measurement error in district level voting results for individual state legislatures, we use the California Secretary of State website on election results for statewide elections.

http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/elections_elections.htm

We use the census tract as a basic definition for describing variation within districts. Commercially provided data from Geolytics contains detailed information on census tract from both the 1990 and 2000 Decennial Census long form. When census tracts cross either senate or assembly district boundaries, we created new tract definitions associated with a portion of the tract on either side. In terms of voting and registration counts, we apportion these totals to districts based on the share of total population from the tract in each district, which is available from the Statewide Database. Our alternative was to determine which block groups from a tract are located in each district, which we have done for previous work, and assign the block group voting and registration totals to each district. However, voting and registration data at the block group level is imputed from precinct level totals, and our experience is that the block group level imputations are significantly noisier than the census tract imputations. Therefore, we decided to base our analysis entirely on the census tract registration and voting totals. Given this decision, we used census demographic data at the tract level as well for consistency.

For each legislative session between 91-92 and 99-00, we impute census tract composition based on a linear projection between the 1990 and 2000 compositions available from the decennial censuses with the timing of the imputation based on the year of the elections for each legislative session, e.g. 1990 for 91-92 session, 1992 for 93-94 session, ect. For legislative sessions between 2001 and 2008, we use linear interpolations between the 2000 for the 2000 census and 2007 for the ACS again assigning values based on the year of the election. The decennial census and the ACS provides information on tract mean income and a variety of demographic and socio-economic tract attributes including racial and ethnic composition, education levels of residence, and owner-occupancy rates.

Each census tract or census tract-district combination is assigned to a specific senate and assembly district for three different district definitions based on redistricting using the 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses. Elections held during the 2003-04 through 2007-08 legislative sessions (November of the preceding year) are based on redistricting from the 2000 census. Elections held during the 1993-94 through 2001-02 legislative sessions are based on the

1990 census, and finally elections held during the 1989-90 and 1991-92 legislative sessions are based on 1980. Senators voted into office for their four year terms in 1988 (odd districts) or 1998 (even districts) stand for re-election in new post-census districts in November of 1992 or 2002. However, senators voted into office in 1990 or 2000 will continue to serve through the next legislative session in principle representing the citizens from their old district who voted them into office until their term expires and they must stand for re-election in November 1994 or 2004. For the purposes of constructing our sample, we always assume that a politician represents the district in which he or she was elected. The alternative would have been to attempt to assign politicians to the post-redistricting districts. While a moderately straightforward exercise for legislators who continue to serve following redistricting, assigning legislators who faced term limits or chose not to run for office following redistricting is very difficult. Some districts are changed substantially during the redistricting process, and we observe many instances in the data of politicians running for office and serving in different numbered districts than they served prior to redistricting. The reader should note that special elections in California are conducted using the district boundaries that were in place when the original representative was elected (most recent relevant general election).

3.2 District Voting Data based on Terciles

In order to sign propositions as either liberal or conservative, we estimate a model across all census tracts (2000 tract definitions) for each of our propositions regressing the share voting “yes” on two variables: share of registered voters registered democrat and share registered republican. Our liberal index is simply the coefficient on share democrat minus the coefficient on share republican. This index is similar to and highly correlated (0.92) with an index based on the methodology that we used in Brunner, Ross and Washington (In Press). The index is also highly correlated with similar indices based on legislator voting on the corresponding bills.

Within each district, we divide census tracts into terciles based on tract mean income. Specifically, the tracts are ordered based on income and then divided into equally sized terciles where tercile size is based on the population of eligible voters. Note that tracts on the boundary between terciles are divided in order to assure that the terciles are equal in size with the tract weight being based on the fraction of eligible voters from the tract assigned to each tercile. We also develop terciles for share eligible voters registered republican, share eligible voters registered democrat, share voters voting democratic for governor and president, and own representative in most recent election. Finally, we divide tracts into statewide income terciles and thereby characterize whether tracts are low or high mean income in terms of overall state income rather than within district. For the statewide terciles, we also create variables that contain the fraction of district population residing in the district census tracts that fall within each tercile, and those variables are used as additional controls in models that include the statewide terciles.

For each income tercile, we calculate the fraction voting liberally for each of our 77 propositions. In order to capture differences in the intensity of views, we calculate the fractions of eligible voters who voted on this issue for each tercile. We also capture heterogeneity of views within a tercile by calculating the standard deviation of share voting yes of all who voted on the issue across tracts within each tercile, and capture differences in participation by share voting for highest office (Governor or President) in most recent general election or share registered among eligible voters within each tercile. Similar variables have been created for the terciles based on party registration.

Table 1: Matches between Propositions and Legislative Bills

| Election | Prop | Proposition Name or Description | Type | Session | Leg. Bill |
|----------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| 1992 G | 155 | 1992 School Facilities Bond Act. | Bond Act | 1991-92 | SB 34* |
| 1992 G | 157 | Toll Roads and Highways. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1991-92 | SCA 27* |
| 1992 G | 158 | Office of California Analyst. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1991-92 | SCA 33* |
| 1992 G | 159 | Office of the Auditor General. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1991-92 | SCA 34* |
| 1992 G | 160 | Property Tax Exemption. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1991-92 | ACA 40* |
| 1992 G | 163 | Ends Taxation of Certain Food Products. | Initiative Constitutional Amendment# | 1991-92 | AB 2181* |
| 1992 G | 166 | Basic Health Care Coverage. | Initiative statute# | 1991-92 | AB 2001 |
| 1994 G | 183 | Recall Elections. State Officers. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1993-94 | SCA 38* |
| 1994 G | 184 | Increased Sentences. Repeat Offenders (Three Strikes) | Initiative statute# | 1993-94 | AB 971* |
| 1994 G | 186 | Health Services. Taxes. | Initiative Constitutional Amendment | 1991-92 | SB 308 |
| 1994 G | 188 | Smoking and Tobacco. Local Preemption. Statewide Reg. | Initiative statute# | 1993-94 | AB 996 |
| 1994 G | 189 | Bail Exception. Felony Sexual Assault. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1993-94 | ACA 37* |
| 1994 G | 190 | Commission on Judicial Performance. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1993-94 | ACA 46* |
| 1994 G | 191 | Abolish Justice Courts | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1993-94 | SCA 7* |
| 1996 G | 204 | Safe, clean, reliable water supply act | Bond Act | 1995-96 | SB 900* |
| 1996 G | 205 | Youthful & adult offender local facilities bond act of 1996 | Bond Act | 1995-96 | AB 3116* |
| 1996 G | 206 | Veterans' bond act of 1996 | Bond Act | 1995-96 | SB 852* |
| 1996 G | 210 | Living wage act of 1996. Minimum wage increase | Initiative statute# | 1997-98 | AB 1184 |
| 1996 G | 213 | Limitation recovery: felons, uninsured motorists, drunk drivers | Initiative statute# | 1995-96 | AB 432 |
| 1996 G | 215 | Compassionate Use Act of 1996. Medical use of marijuana | Initiative statute# | 1993-94 | SB 1364 |
| 1996 G | 217 | Local control & fiscal responsibility Act. | Initiative statute# | 1997-98 | AB 83 |
| 1998 G | 1 | Property taxes: Contaminated property | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1997-98 | ACA 22* |
| 1998 G | 2 | Transportation Funding | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1997-98 | ACA 30* |
| 1998 G | 3 | Partisan presidential primary elections | Legislative Initiative Amendment | 1997-98 | SB 1505 |
| 1998 G | 9 | Electric utilities. Assessments. Bonds | Initiative statute# | 1995-96 | AB 1890* |
| 1998 G | 11 | Local sales and use taxes - revenue sharing | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1997-98 | ACA 10* |
| 1998 G | 1A | Class size Reduction Kindergarten-University | Bond Act | 1997-98 | SB 50* |
| 1998 P | 219 | Ballot measures Application. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1995-96 | SCA 18* |
| 1998 P | 220 | Courts. Superior & municipal court consolidation | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1995-96 | SCA 4* |
| 1998 P | 221 | Subordinate judicial officers. Discipline | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1995-96 | SCA 19* |

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|----------|
| 1998 P | 222 | Murder. Peace officer victim. Sentence credits | Legislative Initiative Amendment | 1997-98 | AB 446 |
| 1998 P | 227 | English language in public schools | Initiative statute# | 1997-98 | SB 6* |
| 2000 G | 32 | Veterans' Bond Act of 2000 | Bond Act | 1999-00 | AB 2305* |
| 2000 G | 33 | Legislature. Participation in Public Employees' Retirement. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1999-00 | ACA 12* |
| 2000 G | 34 | Campaign Contributions and Spending. Limits. Disclosure. | Legislative Initiative Amendment | 1999-00 | SB 1223 |
| 2000 P | 12 | Parks, Clean Water, Clean Air and Coastal Protection 2000 | Bond Act | 1999-00 | AB 18* |
| 2000 P | 13 | Drinking Water, Water, Watershed and Flood Protection | Bond Act | 1999-00 | AB 1584* |
| 2000 P | 14 | California Reading, Literacy Improvement and Library | Bond Act | 1999-00 | SB 3* |
| 2000 P | 15 | The Hertzberg-Polanco Crime Laboratories | Bond Act | 1999-00 | AB 1391* |
| 2000 P | 16 | Veterans Homes Bond Act of 2000. | Bond Act | 1999-00 | SB 630* |
| 2000 P | 17 | Lotteries. Charitable Raffles. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1999-00 | SCA 4* |
| 2000 P | 18 | Murder: Special Circumstances. | Legislative Initiative Amendment | 1997-98 | SB 1878 |
| 2000 P | 19 | Murder. BART and CSU Peace Officers | Legislative Initiative Amendment | 1997-98 | SB 1690 |
| 2000 P | 20 | California State Lottery. Allocation Instructional Materials | Legislative Initiative Amendment | 1997-98 | AB 1453 |
| 2000 P | 26 | School Facilities. Local Majority Vote. Bonds, Taxes | Initiative Constitutional Amendment | 1997-98 | ACA 5* |
| 2000 P | 29 | 1998 Indian Gaming Compacts.* | Petition Referendum | 1997-98 | SB 287 |
| 2000 P | 30 | Insurance Claims Practices. Civil Remedies.* | Petition Referendum | 1999-00 | SB 1237 |
| 2000 P | 31 | Insurance Claims Practices. Civil Remedy Amendments.* | Petition Referendum | 1999-00 | AB 1309 |
| 2000 P | 1A | Gambling on Tribal Lands. | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 1999-00 | SCA 11* |
| 2002 G | 46 | Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund Act of 2002 | Bond Act | 2001-02 | SB 1227* |
| 2002 G | 47 | Kindergarten-University Public Education Facilities f 2002 | Bond Act | 2001-02 | AB 16* |
| 2002 G | 48 | Court Consolidation | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 2001-02 | ACA 15* |
| 2004 G | 59 | Public Records, Open Meetings | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 2003-04 | SCA 1 |
| 2004 G | 60 | Election Rights of Political Parties | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 2003-04 | SCA 18 |
| 2004 G | 71 | Stem Cell Research. Funding. Bonds | Initiative Const. Amend. and Statute# | 2001-02 | SB 253 |
| 2004 G | 72 | Health Care Coverage Requirements* | Petition Referendum | 2003-04 | SB 2 |
| 2004 G | 1A | Protection of Local Government Revenues | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 2003-04 | SCA 4 |
| 2006 G | 83 | The Sexual Predator, Jessica's Law. | Initiative Statute# | 2005-06 | SB 1128 |
| 2006 G | 87 | The Clean Alternative Energy Act. | Initiative Statute# | 2007-08 | AB 118 |
| 2006 G | 1A | Transportation Funding Protection | Legislative Constitutional Amendment | 2005-06 | SCA 7 |
| 2006 G | 1B | Highway Safety, Traffic, Air Quality, Port Security 2006 | Bond Act | 2005-06 | SB 1266 |
| 2006 G | 1C | Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund Act of 2006 | Bond Act | 2005-06 | SB 1689 |

| | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| 2006 G | 1D | Kindergarten-University Public Education Facilities 2006 | Bond Act | 2005-06 | AB 127 |
| 2006 G | 1E | Disaster Preparedness and Flood Prevention 2006 | Bond Act | 2005-06 | AB 140 |
| 2006 P | 81 | Reading, Literacy, and Library Construction and 2006. | Bond Act | 2003-04 | SB 1161 |
| 2006 P | 82 | Preschool Education Income Tax Over \$400,000. | Initiative Const. Amend. and Statute# | 2005-06 | AB 172 |
| 2008 G | 3 | Children's Hospital Bond Act. Grant Program | Initiative Statute# | 2007-08 | AB 10 |
| 2008 G | 7 | Renewable Energy Generation | Initiative Statute# | 2007-08 | SB 411 |
| 2008 G | 8 | Eliminates Right of Same-Sex Couples to Marry | Initiative Constitutional Amendment | 2007-08 | AB 43 |
| 2008 G | 11 | Redistricting. | Initiative Constitutional Amendment | 2005-06 | SCA 3 |
| 2008 G | 12 | Veterans' Bond Act of 2008 | Bond Act | 2007-08 | SB 1572 |
| 2008 G | 1A | Safe, Reliable High-Speed Passenger Train Bond Act | Bond Act | 2007-08 | AB 3034 |
| 2008 P | 94 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Pechanga* | Petition Referendum | 2007-08 | SB 903 |
| 2008 P | 95 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Morongo* | Petition Referendum | 2007-08 | SB 174 |
| 2008 P | 96 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Sycuan* | Petition Referendum | 2007-08 | SB 175 |
| 2008 P | 97 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Agua Caliente* | Petition Referendum | 2007-08 | SB 957 |
| 2008 P | 99 | Eminent Domain. Limits for Owner-Occupied Residence | Initiative Constitutional Amendment | 2007-08 | ACA 8 |

Notes. A ‘#’ next to the proposition type designates that proposition type as citizen sponsored so that the text of the initiative may not exactly match the text of the legislative bill. All other propositions refer to specific bills and so the implications of the referenda and the legislation are identical. An ‘*’ next to the legislative bill identifies bills that require a two-thirds vote of the legislative membership, typically because the bill was an urgency status requiring immediate implementation or a bond act. Individual links are not available for 1992 and 1994 propositions, but the summary of all propositions in those years can be found at <http://lalaw.lib.ca.us/research/ballots/1990/1992.aspx> and <http://lalaw.lib.ca.us/research/ballots/1990/1994.aspx>, respectively.

Table 2: Summaries of Mandatory and Petition Referenda

| Mandatory Referenda | | |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Prop | Leg. Bill | Legislation Summary |
| 155 | SB 34 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of nine hundred million dollars (\$900,000,000) for the construction and renovation of public education facilities. |
| 157 | SCA 27 | Amends the State Constitution to ban toll collection on state toll roads and highways leased to private entities after tolls have been collected for thirty-five years or on expiration of the lease. |
| 158 | SCA 33 | Amends the State Constitution to establish the Office of California Analyst, replacing the Legislative Analyst's Office. |
| 159 | SCA 34 | Establishes the Office of the Auditor General in the State Constitution. |
| 160 | ACA 40 | Amends the State Constitution to expand the property tax exemption to include the homes of unmarried surviving spouses of persons who died while on active military duty from a service-related injury or disease. |
| 183 | SCA 38 | Amends the State Constitution to allow a recall election to be conducted within 180 days (rather than 60 to 80 days) of the date of certification of sufficient signatures. |
| 189 | ACA 37 | Amends the State Constitution to permit the denial of bail to persons accused of committing felony sexual assault, adding this crime to others excepted from right to bail. |
| 190 | ACA 46 | Amends the State Constitution to transfer the authority to remove or discipline judges from the California Supreme Court to the Commission on Judicial Performance. |
| 191 | SCA 7 | Amends the State Constitution to eliminate justice courts by elevating them to municipal courts; all justice court judges would become full-time municipal court judges. |
| 204 | SB 900 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of nine hundred ninety-five million dollars (\$995,000,000) for water supply / conservation, local flood control / prevention, and fish / wildlife protection. |
| 205 | AB 3116 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of seven hundred million (\$700,000,000) for the construction and renovation of juvenile and adult correctional facilities. |
| 206 | SB 852 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of four hundred million dollars (\$400,000,000) for the Cal-Vet program, which provides farm and home aid for California veterans. |
| 1 | ACA 22 | Permits property owners to transfer their current assessed value to a replacement property within their county if the original property was environmentally contaminated. |
| 2 | ACA 30 | Permits loans from transportation funds to the state General Fund only if the loan is repaid in the same budget year. |

| | | |
|-----|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3 | SB 1505 | Limits candidate selection in primary elections to registered party members (i.e., closed partisan primaries). |
| 11 | ACA 10 | Authorizes local governments to voluntarily enter into sales tax revenue-sharing agreements with a two-thirds vote of each affected jurisdiction's governing body. |
| 1A | SB 50 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of nine billion two hundred million dollars (\$9,200,000,000) for the construction of K-12 schools and higher education facilities in order to relieve overcrowding and reduce class size. |
| 219 | SCA 18 | Requires that ballot measures apply in the same way in all parts of the jurisdiction affected by the measures, regardless of how any individual part of that jurisdiction voted. |
| 220 | SCA 4 | Permits superior and municipal courts to consolidate their operations into one unified superior court upon a majority vote of each municipal and superior court judges. |
| 221 | SCA 19 | Grants the Commission on Judicial Performance discretionary authority regarding the oversight and discipline of subordinate judicial officers. |
| 222 | AB 446 | Sets a prison sentence of 25 years to life for the second degree murder of a peace officer and life without parole if the murder is committed intentionally. |
| 32 | AB 2305 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of five hundred million dollars (\$500,000,000) for farm and home aid for California veterans. |
| 33 | ACA 12 | Amends the State Constitution to permit legislators to obtain retirement benefits via participation in the state Public Employees' Retirement System (PERS). |
| 34 | SB 1223 | Establishes new contribution and voluntary spending limits for state elective offices; individual campaign contributions per election: state legislature (\$3,000), statewide elective office (\$5,000), and governor (\$20,000). |
| 12 | AB 18 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of two billion one hundred million dollars (\$2,100,000,000) for environmental protection, wildlife conservation, and improvements to state and local parks. |
| 13 | AB 1584 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of one billion nine hundred seventy million dollars (\$1,970,000,000) to finance a safe drinking water, water quality, flood protection, and water reliability program. |
| 14 | SB 3 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of three hundred fifty million dollars (\$350,000,000) for the construction and renovation of public library facilities. |
| 15 | AB 1391 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of two hundred twenty million dollars (\$220,000,000) to construct new local forensic laboratories and remodel existing ones. |
| 16 | SB 630 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of fifty million dollars (\$50,000,000) to fund the design and construction of veterans' homes and complete a comprehensive renovation of the Veterans' Home at Yountville. |
| 17 | SCA 4 | Amends the State Constitution to allow private nonprofit organizations to conduct raffles if at least 90% of the gross receipts go directly to charitable purposes. |

| | | |
|----|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 18 | SB 1878 | Sets a prison sentence of death or life without parole (rather than 25 years to life) for first degree murderers who killed a victim "by means of lying in wait" or if arson / kidnapping was involved. |
| 19 | SB 1690 | Expands the scope of peace officer categories to include Bay Area Rapid Transit, California State University, and University of California peace officers such that certain provisions regarding peace officers becomes applicable to these individuals. |
| 20 | AB 1453 | Provides that 50% of any increase in California State Lottery revenues above the amount allocated in fiscal year 1997-1998 must be spend on instructional materials for K-14 public schools. |
| 1A | SCA 11 | Amends the State Constitution to permit certain Class III games (e.g., lotteries, slot machines, and banked card games) on Indian tribal lands; authorizes the governor to enter into gambling compacts with Indian tribes. |
| 46 | SB 1227 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of two billion one hundred million dollars (\$2,100,000,000) for twenty-one housing programs such as emergency shelters and low-income housing for seniors, amongst others. |
| 47 | AB 16 | Authorizes two statewide general obligation (GO) bond elections, one in 2002 and one in 2004, in the amounts of \$13,050,000,000 and \$12,300,000,000, respectively, for the construction and renovation of public education facilities (K-12 and higher education). |
| 48 | ACA 15 | Amends the State Constitution to eliminate language pertaining to municipal courts, which are obsolete due to the consolidation of superior and municipal courts into unified superior courts. |
| 59 | SCA 1 | Amends the State Constitution to provide public access to government information. |
| 60 | SCA 18 | Permits voters to vote for partisan candidates in primary elections regardless of how they are registered and provides that candidates who received the highest vote among its party's candidates would be placed on the ballot; requires that proceeds from the sale of surplus state property be used to repay bonds issued under the Economic Recovery Bond Act. |
| 1A | SCA 4 | Amends the State Constitution protect the property tax revenues of local governments i.e., restricts state authority over local government revenue. |
| 1A | SCA 7 | Amends the State Constitution to limit the use of gasoline sales tax revenues for non-transportation purposes when the state experiences fiscal difficulties. |
| 1B | SB 1266 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of nineteen billion nine hundred twenty-five million dollars (\$19,925,000,000) for transportation improvement projects. |
| 1C | SB 1689 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of two billion eight hundred fifty million dollars (\$2,850,000,000) for a variety of housing and development programs. |
| 1D | AB 127 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of ten billion four hundred sixteen million dollars (\$10,416,000,000) for the renovation and upgrade of public education facilities (K-12 and higher education). |
| 1E | AB 140 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of four billion ninety million dollars (\$4,090,000,000) for disaster preparedness and flood prevention projects. |
| 81 | SB 1161 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of six hundred million dollars (\$600,000,000) for the construction and renovation of public library facilities. |

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 12 | SB 1572 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of nine hundred million dollars (\$900,000,000) for the Cal-Vet program, which provides farm and home aid for California veterans. |
| 1A | AB 3034 | Authorizes a statewide general obligation (GO) bond election in the amount of nine billion nine hundred fifty million dollars (\$9,950,000,000) for the construction of a high-speed intercity passenger train system in California. |
| Petition Referenda | | |
| 29 | SB 287 | Ratifies eleven tribal-state gaming compacts which permit certain types of gambling on Indian tribal lands; Class III games such as lotteries, slot machines, and horse race wagering are prohibited. |
| 30 | SB 1237 | Permits third-party claimants the right to sue an insurance company for unfair claim practices in certain liability cases; creates a binding arbitration system for settling the cases. |
| 31 | AB 1309 | Limits the rights of third-party claimants to sue an insurance company for unfair claim practices. |
| 72 | SB 2 | Requires that certain employers provide health insurance to their employees, either through a fee to a state-based system or by arranging directly with insurance providers. |
| 94 | SB 903 | Amends the gaming compact between the Luiseño Indians and the state government to allow the tribe to operate more slot machines in return for paying the state a higher percentage of proceeds. |
| 95 | SB 174 | Amends the gaming compact between the Mission Indians and the state government to allow the tribe to operate more slot machines in return for paying the state a higher percentage of proceeds. |
| 96 | SB 175 | Amends the gaming compact between the Kumeyaay Indians and the state government to allow the tribe to operate more slot machines in return for paying the state a higher percentage of proceeds. |
| 97 | SB 957 | Amends the gaming compact between the Cahuila Indians and the state government to allow the tribe to operate more slot machines in return for paying the state a higher percentage of proceeds. |

Table 3: Summaries of Initiatives and Senate and Assembly Versions of Legislative Bills

| Prop | Leg. Bill | Initiative Summary | Assembly Summary | Senate Summary |
|------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 163* | AB 2181 | Amends the State Constitution to prohibit the imposition of sales and use taxes on certain food products (e.g., candy, snack food, and bottled water). | Imposes an 8.25% sales and use tax on certain food products that had previously been exempt from such taxes (e.g., candy, snack food, and bottled water). | Imposes an 8.25% sales and use tax on certain food products that had previously been exempt from such taxes (e.g., candy, snack food, and bottled water). |
| 166 | AB 2001 | Requires employers to provide health care coverage for most employees and their dependents. | Requires employers to provide health care coverage for most employees and their dependents. | N/A |
| 184 | AB 971 | Increases prison sentences for convicted felons who have prior convictions for violent or serious offenses: one prior conviction results in twice the normal sentence; two priors result in an indeterminate life sentence. | Increases prison sentences for convicted felons who have prior convictions for violent or serious offenses: one prior conviction results in twice the normal sentence; two priors result in an indeterminate life sentence. | Increases prison sentences for convicted felons who have prior convictions for violent or serious offenses: one prior conviction results in twice the normal sentence; two priors result in an indeterminate life sentence. |
| 186 | SB 308 | Establishes a "single payer" health care system in which the State of California would administer and finance health care coverage; replaces most private and public health care programs. | Institutes comprehensive government health insurance; benefits would include—but not be limited to—hospitalization coverage, prescription drugs, and elderly care, amongst others. | Institutes comprehensive government health insurance; benefits would include—but not be limited to—hospitalization coverage, prescription drugs, and elderly care, amongst others. |
| 188 | AB 996 | Establishes statewide regulations governing the sale, use, and possession of tobacco products, replacing existing local and state tobacco laws; precludes local regulation in this area in the future. | Establishes statewide regulations governing the sale, use, and possession of tobacco products but does not replace more restrictive local prohibitions already in place as of April, 1993; precludes local regulation in this area in the future. | N/A |
| 210 | AB 1184 | Increases the state hourly minimum wage \$5.00 per hour on March 1, 1997, and then to \$5.75 per hour on March 1, | N/A | Increases the state hourly minimum wage to \$6.50 per hour on March 1, 1999. |

| | | | | |
|------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | 1998. | | |
| 213 | AB 432 | Prohibits a person convicted of a felony from suing to recover any losses suffered in commission of the crime. | Prohibits a person convicted of a felony from suing to recover any losses suffered in commission of the crime. | N/A |
| 215 | SB 1364 | Exempts patients and caregivers from criminal laws which prohibit marijuana possession / cultivation if the marijuana use is recommended by a physician to treat a medical condition. | Classifies marijuana as a Schedule II drug (i.e., a highly regulated drug with a medical purpose). | Classifies marijuana as a Schedule II drug (i.e., a highly regulated drug with a medical purpose). |
| 217 | AB 83 | Retroactively reinstates and raises top marginal tax rates from 9.3% to 10% and 11%; allocates the money from this tax increase to schools and local governments. | Raises top marginal tax rates from 9.3% to 10 and 11%. The law also creates a refundable California Earned Income Tax Credit and creates a non-refundable income tax credit for annual community college fees for qualifying students. | N/A |
| 9* | AB 1890 | Prohibits private utility companies from charging customers (1) for the cost of nuclear power plants, and (2) the extra fees for repaying bonds sold to finance an existing 10% rate reduction. Also requires an additional rate reduction of 10%. | Requires private utility companies to make a 10% reduction in electricity rates for customers over a 4-year period but permits these companies to charge customers (1) for the cost of nuclear power plants, and (2) the extra fees for repaying bonds sold to finance the 10% rate reduction. | Requires private utility companies to make a 10% reduction in electricity rates for customers over a 4-year period but permits these companies to charge customers (1) for the cost of nuclear power plants, and (2) the extra fees for repaying bonds sold to finance the 10% rate reduction. |
| 227* | SB 6 | Requires all public school instruction be conducted in English and removes most bilingual classes. | Establishes a program in the school system to aid in developing English language skills; designates students either "English proficient pupils" or "English learners." | Establishes a program in the school system to aid in developing English language skills; designates students either "English proficient pupils" or "English learners." |
| 26 | ACA 5 | Permits school facilities bond measures to be approved by a simple majority vote; allows property taxes to exceed the current 1% limit in order to repay the bonds. | Permits school facilities bond measures to be approved by a simple majority vote; allows property taxes to exceed the current 1% limit in order to repay the bonds. | N/A |

| | | | | |
|----|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | |
| 71 | SB 253 | Establishes a constitutional right to conduct stem cell research and authorizes the issuance of \$3 billion in state general obligation bonds to fund this research. | Permits the use of human embryonic stem cells for research purposes. | Permits the use of human embryonic stem cells for research purposes. |
| 83 | SB 1128 | Increases penalties for violent sex offenders and provides a system for the electronic monitoring of sex offenders released from prison. | Increases penalties for violent sex offenders and sets record-keeping requirements with respect to the registration of sex offenders. | Increases penalties for violent sex offenders and sets record-keeping requirements with respect to the registration of sex offenders. |
| 87 | AB 118 | Imposes a tax on oil production for a \$4 billion program to develop and promote alternative energy technologies. | Establishes the Enhanced Fleet Modernization Program and the Air Quality Improvement Program; provides funding for alternative and renewable fuels programs. | Establishes the Enhanced Fleet Modernization Program and the Air Quality Improvement Program; provides funding for alternative and renewable fuels programs. |
| 82 | AB 172 | Establishes a voluntary preschool program for all four-year old children to be funded by a 1.7% tax on individual incomes above \$400,000 (\$800,000 for couples). | Establishes a voluntary preschool-for-all system that would only become operative if funding is subsequently provided under statewide initiative.# | N/A |
| 3 | AB 10 | Provides a bond issue of nine hundred eighty million dollars (\$980,000,000) for the construction and renovation of children's hospitals. | Provides a bond issue of nine hundred eighty million dollars (\$980,000,000) for the construction and renovation of children's hospitals.# | N/A |
| 7 | SB 411 | Requires private and public utilities to generate 20% of their power from renewable energy by 2010, 40% by 2020, and 50% by 2025. | N/A | Requires retail sellers of electricity to generate 20% of their power from renewable energy by 2010 and 33% by 2020. |
| 8* | AB 43 | Amends the State Constitution to eliminate the right of same-sex couples to marry; only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in | Provides that marriage is a personal relation arising out of a civil contract between two persons; eliminates the "different-gender" requirement in the | Provides that marriage is a personal relation arising out of a civil contract between two persons; eliminates the "different-gender" requirement in the |

| | | | | |
|----|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | California. | state's definition of marriage. | state's definition of marriage. |
| 11 | SCA 3 | Amends the State Constitution to shift authority for establishing state legislature and Board of Equalization district boundaries from elected state representatives to a 14-member citizens' commission. | N/A | Amends the State Constitution to shift authority for establishing U.S. Congress, state legislature, and Board of Equalization district boundaries from elected state representatives to an 11-member citizens' commission. |
| 99 | ACA 8 | Prohibits government takings of single-family homes for the purpose of transferring them to private parties. | Prohibits government takings of single-family homes for the purpose of transferring them to private parties. | NA |

Notes. An ‘*’ next to the proposition identifies bills where the effect of the legislation is the opposite of the effect of the proposition. A ‘#’ identified legislative bills where an initial floor vote was used instead of the final floor vote.

Table 4: Topic and Subject Coding of Legislative Bills

| Prop | Proposition Name or Description | Tax/ Bond | Moral | Category 1 | Category 2 |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 155 | 1992 School Facilities Bond Act. | Y | N | Education | Education |
| 157 | Toll Roads and Highways. | N | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Transportation |
| 158 | Office of California Analyst. | N | N | Governance/Gov't Processes | Government Organization |
| 159 | Office of the Auditor General. | N | N | Governance/Gov't Processes | Government Organization |
| 160 | Property Tax Exemption. | Y | N | Taxation | Taxation |
| 163 | Ends Taxation of Certain Food Products. | Y | N | Taxation | Taxation |
| 166 | Basic Health Care Coverage. | Y | N | Health | Health |
| 183 | Recall Elections. State Officers. | N | N | Elections | Elections |
| 184 | Increased Sentences. Repeat Offenders (Three Strikes) | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 186 | Health Services. Taxes. | N | N | Health | Health |
| 188 | Smoking and Tobacco. Local Preemption. Statewide Reg. | Y | Y | Health | Health |
| 189 | Bail Exception. Felony Sexual Assault. | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 190 | Commission on Judicial Performance. | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Government Organization |
| 191 | Abolish Justice Courts | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Government Organization |
| 204 | Safe, clean, reliable water supply act | Y | N | Environmental Quality | Environmental Issues |
| 205 | Youthful & adult offender local facilities bond act of 1996 | Y | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 206 | Veterans' bond act of 1996 | Y | N | Veterans | Veterans |
| 210 | Living wage act of 1996. Minimum wage increase | N | N | Employment and Labor | Employment and Labor |
| 213 | Limitation recovery: felons, uninsured motorists, drunk drivers | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Civil Law |
| 215 | Compassionate Use Act of 1996. Medical use of marijuana | N | Y | Health | Health |
| 217 | Local control & fiscal responsibility Act. | Y | N | Taxation | Taxation |
| 1 | Property taxes: Contaminated property | Y | N | Taxation | Taxation |
| 2 | Transportation Funding | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Transportation |
| 3 | Partisan presidential primary elections | N | N | Elections | Elections |

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 9 | Electric utilities. Assessments. Bonds | Y | N | Energy | Infrastructure/Public Goods |
| 11 | Local sales and use taxes - revenue sharing | Y | N | Taxation | Taxation |
| 1A | Class size Reduction Kindergarten-University | Y | N | Education | Education |
| 219 | Ballot measures Application. | N | N | Elections | Elections |
| 220 | Courts. Superior & municipal court consolidation | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Government Organization |
| 221 | Subordinate judicial officers. Discipline | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Governance /Gov't Processes |
| 222 | Murder. Peace officer victim. Sentence credits | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 227 | English language in public schools | N | N | Education | Education |
| 32 | Veterans' Bond Act of 2000 | Y | N | Veterans | Veterans |
| 33 | Legislature. Participation in Public Employees' Retirement. | N | N | Employment and Labor | Employment and Labor |
| 34 | Campaign Contributions and Spending. Limits. Disclosure. | N | N | Elections | Elections |
| 12 | Parks, Clean Water, Clean Air and Coastal Protection 2000 | Y | N | Environmental Quality | Environmental Issues |
| 13 | Drinking Water, Water, Watershed and Flood Protection | Y | N | Environmental Quality | Environmental Issues |
| 14 | California Reading, Literacy Improvement and Library | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Infrastructure/Public Goods |
| 15 | The Hertzberg-Polanco Crime Laboratories | Y | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 16 | Veterans Homes Bond Act of 2000. | Y | N | Veterans | Veterans |
| 17 | Lotteries. Charitable Raffles. | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 18 | Murder: Special Circumstances. | N | Y | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 19 | Murder. BART and CSU Peace Officers | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 20 | California State Lottery. Allocation Instructional Materials | N | Y | Education | Education |
| 26 | School Facilities. Local Majority Vote. Bonds, Taxes | Y | N | Education | Education |
| 29 | 1998 Indian Gaming Compacts.* | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 30 | Insurance Claims Practices. Civil Remedies.* | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Civil Law |
| 31 | Insurance Claims Practices. Civil Remedy Amendments.* | N | N | Employment and Labor | Employment and Labor |
| 1A | Gambling on Tribal Lands. | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 46 | Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund Act of 2002 | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Infrastructure/Public Goods |
| 47 | Kindergarten-University Public Education Facilities f 2002 | Y | N | Education | Education |
| 48 | Court Consolidation | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Government Organization |
| 59 | Public Records, Open Meetings | N | N | Governance/Gov't | Governance/Gov't |

| | | | | Processes | Processes |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 60 | Election Rights of Political Parties | Y | N | Elections | Elections |
| 71 | Stem Cell Research. Funding. Bonds | N | Y | Health | Health |
| 72 | Health Care Coverage Requirements* | Y | N | Health | Health |
| 1A | Protection of Local Government Revenues | Y | N | Taxation | Taxation |
| 83 | The Sexual Predator, Jessica's Law. | N | N | Courts, Law, and Justice | Criminal Law |
| 87 | The Clean Alternative Energy Act. | N | N | Energy | Environmental Issues |
| 1A | Transportation Funding Protection | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Transportation |
| 1B | Highway Safety, Traffic, Air Quality, Port Security 2006 | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Transportation |
| 1C | Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund Act of 2006 | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Infrastructure/Public Goods |
| 1D | Kindergarten-University Public Education Facilities 2006 | Y | N | Education | Education |
| 1E | Disaster Preparedness and Flood Prevention 2006 | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Infrastructure/Public Goods |
| 81 | Reading, Literacy, and Library Construction and 2006. | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Infrastructure/Public Goods |
| 82 | Preschool Education Income Tax Over \$400,000. | Y | N | Education | Education |
| 3 | Children's Hospital Bond Act. Grant Program | Y | N | Health | Health |
| 7 | Renewable Energy Generation | N | N | Energy | Environmental Issues |
| 8 | Eliminates Right of Same-Sex Couples to Marry | Y | Y | Courts, Law, and Justice | Civil Law |
| 11 | Redistricting. | N | N | Elections | Elections |
| 12 | Veterans' Bond Act of 2008 | Y | N | Veterans | Veterans |
| 1A | Safe, Reliable High-Speed Passenger Train Bond Act | Y | N | Infrastructure/Public Goods | Transportation |
| 94 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Pechanga* | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 95 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Morongo* | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 96 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Sycuan* | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 97 | Amendment to Indian Gaming Compact: Agua Caliente* | N | Y | Gaming and Lottery | Gaming and Lottery |
| 99 | Eminent Domain. Limits for Owner-Occupied Residence | Y | N | Governance/Gov't Processes | Governance/Gov't Processes |

