

California

Direct Democracy

Monopolies and the Progressive Era

- The Progressive Movement attacked political control by corporations and political party “bosses”

IT CERTAINLY HAS A STRANGLE HOLD



◀ **ARTHUR BUEL | 1913**

In the early part of the 20th century, The Bee and its cartoonists railed against the state's monopolies, including Pacific Gas & Electric's control of all gas, electric and streetcar service in Sacramento.

Progressive Era

- Progressive Movement
 - In California, associated with Hiram Johnson
 - California Governor 1911-1917
 - U.S. senator 1917-1945
 - Ran as Teddy Roosevelt's VP candidate in 1912
 - Instituted:
 - Direct democracy
 - Initiative
 - Referendum
 - Recall
 - Primary elections
 - Nonpartisan local elections



Hiram Johnson
Photo from Wikipedia

Initiatives

Citizens' ability to pass laws

The initiative process

- Two major types: a law and a constitutional amendment
 - “registered voters... place a proposed law, or statute, on the ballot through petition signatures equal to 5 percent of the votes cast in the last election for governor”
 - “voters ... propose amendments to the state constitution” (signatures equal to 8% of votes cast)
 - Mona Field, *California Government and Politics Today*, page 57

Referendum

Citizens vote on whether a law already passed by the legislature should be approved or not

Referendums

1. Voters repeal a law that has been passed by the legislature, again with signatures on petition
 - Proposition 25 on the November 3, 2020 ballot was a referendum
 - Senate Bill 10 passed in 2018 would have eliminated cash bail. It was put on hold when enough signatures were obtained to have a referendum
 - Ballot stated: A “Yes” vote approves, and a “No” vote rejects, law replacing money bail with system based on public safety and flight risk...
 - A majority voted “No,” so the law was rejected.
2. Voters approve (or not) a proposal put on the ballot by the legislature (for example, with bonds)

Recall

Recall

- Special election called for by petition by voters to remove sitting official from office
 - Possible at state level, not at **national level**: a U.S. Senator or member of the House of Representatives or U.S. President cannot be subject to a recall election
- Procedure:
 - Someone files to petition
 - Petition gets enough signatures to have a recall election
 - Voters decide whether or not to recall the official

Recall attempts can be used for local government all the way up to governor

- More commonly successful for local government than statewide office
- Unusual for governor to be recalled
- Governor Gray Davis recalled in 2003
- Attempts to recall Governor Newsom



Recent Recall Attempts (for state offices)

- 2020
 - Recall petitions taken out for Attorney General Xavier Becerra (failed to qualify); and Governor Newsom (3: two failed to qualify, one received an extension because of COVID)
- 2019
 - Recall petitions taken out for Governor Newsom (3); Lieutenant Governor Eleni Kounalakis; Attorney General Xavier Becerra; Secretary of State Alex Padilla; State Treasurer Fiona Ma; Insurance Commissioner Ricardo Lara; State Controller Betty Yee; state Senator Richard Pan (3) – all failed to qualify
- 2018
 - No recall petitions for state offices
- 2017
 - Two that failed to qualify: Assembly member Anthony Rendon and Governor Jerry Brown
 - One that qualified to recall state Senator Josh Newman, petition qualified, election held in June 2018, 58% voted in favor of recalling Senator Newman and he was removed and replaced.

County of Sacramento
Statewide Special Election
October 7, 2003

STATE / ESTADO

VOTE YES OR NO ON THE RECALL MEASURE BELOW
VOTE SI O NO POR LA PROPUESTA DE DESTITUCIÓN MAS ABAJO

4	Yes/Sí	Shall GRAY DAVIS be recalled (removed) from the office of Governor?
5	No	¿Debería ser GRAY DAVIS destituido (removido) del cargo de Gobernador?

The Candidates to succeed (replace) GRAY DAVIS if he is recalled (removed) are listed on this page and the following 5 pages:
Los candidatos a suceder a GRAY DAVIS como Gobernador en caso de que sea destituido (reemplazado) se indican en una lista en esta página y en las 5 páginas siguientes.

Vote for One
Vote por Uno

Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa

10	JEFF RAINFORTH, Independent Marketing Coordinator/Coordinador de mercadotecnia
11	KURT E. "TACHIKAZE" RIGHTMYER, Independent Middleweight Sumo Wrestler/Luchador sumo peso mediano
12	DANIEL W. RICHARDS, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
13	KEVIN RICHTER, Republican Information Technology Manager/Gerente de tecnología informática
14	REVA RENEE RENZ, Republican Small Business Owner/Propietario de pequeña empresa
15	SHARON RUSHFORD, Independent Businesswoman/Mujer de negocios

Ballot page 1

County of Sacramento
Statewide Special Election
October 7, 2003

STATE / ESTADO

VOTE YES OR NO ON THE RECALL MEASURE BELOW
VOTE SI O NO POR LA PROPUESTA DE DESTITUCIÓN MAS ABAJO

4	Yes/Sí	Shall GRAY DAVIS be recalled (removed) from the office of Governor?
5	No	¿Debería ser GRAY DAVIS destituido (removido) del cargo de Gobernador?

The Candidates to succeed (replace) GRAY DAVIS if he is recalled (removed) are listed on this page and the following 5 pages:
Los candidatos a suceder a GRAY DAVIS como Gobernador en caso de que sea destituido (reemplazado) se indican en una lista en esta página y en las 5 páginas siguientes.

Vote for One
Vote por Uno

Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa

10	JEFF RAINFORTH, Independent Marketing Coordinator/Coordinador de mercadotecnia
11	KURT E. "TACHIKAZE" RIGHTMYER, Independent Middleweight Sumo Wrestler/Luchador sumo peso mediano
12	DANIEL W. RICHARDS, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
13	KEVIN RICHTER, Republican Information Technology Manager/Gerente de tecnología informática
14	REVA RENEE RENZ, Republican Small Business Owner/Propietario de pequeña empresa
15	SHARON RUSHFORD, Independent Businesswoman/Mujer de negocios
16	GEORGY RUSSELL, Democratic Software Engineer/Ingeniera de software
17	MICHAEL J. WOZNIAK, Democratic Retired Police Officer/Oficial de policía jubilado
18	DANIEL WATTS, Green College Student/Estudiante universitario
19	NATHAN WHITECLOUD WALTON, Independent Student/Estudiante
20	MAURICE WALKER, Green Real Estate Appraiser/Tasador inmobiliario
21	CHUCK WALKER, Republican Business Intelligence Analyst/Analista de inteligencia empresarial
22	LINGEL H. WINTERS, Democratic Consumer Business Attorney/Abogado de consumidores y empresas
23	C.T. WEBER, Peace and Freedom Labor Official/Analyst/Funcionario laboral/analista
24	JIM WEIR, Democratic Community College Teacher/Profesor de universidad comunitaria
25	BRYAN QUINN, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
26	MICHAEL JACKSON, Republican Satellite Project Manager/Gerente de proyecto de satélite

Candidate listing continues on next page /

Ballot page 2

County of Sacramento Statewide Special Election October 7, 2003	
Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa	
28	JOHN "JACK" MORTENSEN, Democratic Contractor/Businessman/Contratista/hombre de negocios
29	DARRYL L. MOBLEY, Independent Businessman/Entrepreneur/Hombre de negocios/empresario
30	JEFFREY L. MOCK, Republican Business Owner/Propietario de empresa
31	BRUCE MARGOLIN, Democratic Marijuana Legalization Attorney/Abogado de legalización de marihuana
32	GINO MARTORANA, Republican Restaurant Owner/Propietario de restaurante
33	PAUL MARIANO, Democratic Attorney/Abogado
34	ROBERT C. MANNHEIM, Democratic Retired Businessperson/Hombre de negocios jubilado
35	FRANK A. MACALUSO, JR., Democratic Physician/Medical Doctor/Médico
36	PAUL "CHIP" MAILANDER, Democratic Golf Professional/Profesional de golf
37	DENNIS DUGGAN MCMAHON, Republican Banker/Banquero
38	MIKE MCNEILLY, Republican Artist/Artista
39	MIKE P. MCCARTHY, Independent Used Car Dealer/Vendedor de automóviles usados
40	BOB MCCLAIN, Independent Civil Engineer/Ingeniero civil
41	TOM MCCLINTOCK, Republican State Senator/Senador estatal
42	JONATHAN MILLER, Democratic Small Business Owner/Propietario de pequeña empresa
43	CARL A. MEHR, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
44	SCOTT A. MEDNICK, Democratic Business Executive/Ejecutivo de empresa
45	DORENE MUSILLI, Republican Parent/Educator/Businesswoman/Madre/educadora/mujer de negocios
46	VAN VO, Republican Radio Producer/Businessman/Productor de radio/hombre de negocios
47	PAUL W. VANN, Republican Financial Planner/Planificador financiero
48	JAMES M. VANDEVENTER, JR., Republican Salesman/Businessman/Vendedor/hombre de negocios
49	BILL VAUGHN, Democratic Structural Engineer/Ingeniero estructural
50	MARC VALDEZ, Democratic Air Pollution Scientist/Científico de contaminación del aire
51	MOHAMMAD ARIF, Independent Businessman/Hombre de negocios
52	ANGELYNE, Independent Entertainer/Artista
Candidate listing continues on next page / La lista de candidatos continúa en la página siguiente →	
Ballot Type - 001 Pg. 9	

Ballot page 3

County of Sacramento Statewide Special Election October 7, 2003	
Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa	
54	DOUGLAS ANDERSON, Republican Mortgage Broker/Agente hipotecario
55	IRIS ADAM, Natural Law Business Analyst/Analista empresarial
56	BROOKE ADAMS, Independent Business Executive/Ejecutiva de empresa
57	ALEX-ST. JAMES, Republican Public Policy Strategist/Estratega de política pública
58	JIM HOFFMANN, Republican Teacher/Maestro
59	KEN HAMIDI, Libertarian State Tax Officer/Funcionario impositivo estatal
60	SARA ANN HANLON, Independent Businesswoman/Mujer de negocios
61	IVAN A. HALL, Green Custom Denture Manufacturer/Fabricante de dentaduras postizas a medida
62	JOHN J. "JACK" HICKEY, Libertarian Healthcare District Director/Director de distrito de atención de la salud
63	RALPH A. HERNANDEZ, Democratic District Attorney Inspector/Inspector de fiscalía
64	C. STEPHEN HENDERSON, Independent Teacher/Maestro
65	ARIANNA HUFFINGTON, Independent Author/Columnist/Mother/Escritora/columnista/madre
66	ART BROWN, Democratic Film Writer/Director/Guionista y director de cine
67	JOEL BRITTON, Independent Retired Meat Packer/Empacador de carne jubilado
68	AUDIE BOCK, Democratic Educator/Small Businesswoman/Educadora/propietaria de pequeña empresa
69	VIK S. BAJWA, Democratic Businessman/Father/Entrepreneur/Hombre de negocios/padre/empresario
70	BADI BADIOZAMANI, Independent Entrepreneur/Author/Executive/Empresario/escritor/ejecutivo
71	VIP BHOLA, Republican Attorney/Businessowner/Abogado/propietario de empresa
72	JOHN W. BEARD, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
73	ED BEYER, Republican Chief Operations Officer/Funcionario principal de operaciones
74	JOHN CHRISTOPHER BURTON, Independent Civil Rights Lawyer/Abogado de derechos civiles
75	CRUZ M. BUSTAMANTE, Democratic Lieutenant Governor/Vicegobernador
76	CHERYL BLY-CHESTER, Republican Businesswoman/Environmental Engineer/Mujer de negocios/ingeniera ambiental
77	B.E. SMITH, Independent Lecturer/Conferencista
78	DAVID RONALD SAMS, Republican Businessman/Producer/Writer/Hombre de negocios/productor/escritor
Candidate listing continues on next page / La lista de candidatos continúa en la página siguiente →	
Ballot Type - 001 Pg. 10	

Ballot page 4



County of Sacramento Statewide Special Election October 7, 2003	
Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa	
80	JAMIE ROSEMARY SAFFORD, Republican Business Owner/Propietaria de empresa
81	LAWRENCE STEVEN STRAUSS, Democratic Lawyer/Businessperson/Student/Abogado/hombre de negocios/estudiante
82	ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, Republican Actor/Businessman/Actor/hombre de negocios
83	GEORGE B. SCHWARTZMAN, Independent Businessman/Hombre de negocios
84	MIKE SCHMIER, Democratic Attorney/Abogado
85	DARRIN H. SCHEIDLE, Democratic Businessman/Entrepreneur/Hombre de negocios/empresario
86	BILL SIMON, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
87	RICHARD J. SIMMONS, Independent Attorney/Businessperson/Abogado/hombre de negocios
88	CHRISTOPHER SPROUL, Democratic Environmental Attorney/Abogado ambiental
89	RANDALL D. SPRAGUE, Republican Discrimination Complaint Investigator/Investigador de quejas de discriminación
90	TIM SYLVESTER, Democratic Entrepreneur/Empresario
91	JACK LOYD GRISHAM, Independent Musician/Laborer/Músico/obrero
92	JAMES H. GREEN, Democratic Firefighter Paramedic/Nurse/Bombero paramédico/enfermero
93	GARRETT GRUENER, Democratic High-Tech Entrepreneur/Empresario de alta tecnología
94	GEROLD LEE GORMAN, Democratic Engineer/Ingeniero
95	RICH GOSSE, Republican Educator/Educador
96	LEO GALLAGHER, Independent Comedian/Comediante
97	JOE GUZZARDI, Democratic Teacher/Journalist/Maestro/periodista
98	JON W. ZELHOFER, Republican Energy Consultants/Entrepreneur/Consultor de energía/empresario
99	PAUL NAVE, Democratic Businessman/Prizefighter/Father/Hombre de negocios/boxeador/padre
100	ROBERT C. NEWMAN II, Republican Psychologist/Farmer/Psicólogo/agricultor
101	BRIAN TRACY, Independent Businessman/Consultant/Hombre de negocios/consultor
102	A. LAVAR TAYLOR, Democratic Tax Attorney/Abogado impositivo
103	WILLIAM TSANGARES, Republican Businessperson/Hombre de negocios
104	PATRICIA G. TILLEY, Independent Attorney/Abogada

Ballot page 5

County of Sacramento Statewide Special Election October 7, 2003	
Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa	
106	DIANE BEALL TEMPLIN, American Independent Attorney/Realtor/Businesswoman/Abogada/agente inmobiliaria/mujer de negocios
107	MARY "MARY CAREY" COOK, Independent Adult Film Actress/Actriz de películas para adultos
108	GARY COLEMAN, Independent Actor/Actor
109	TODD CARSON, Republican Real Estate Developer/Promotor inmobiliario
110	PETER MIGUEL CAMEJO, Green Financial Investment Advisor/Asesor de inversiones financieras
111	WILLIAM "BILL" S. CHAMBERS, Republican Railroad Switchman/Brakeman/Guardafrenos y guardafrenos ferroviario
112	MICHAEL CHELI, Independent Businessman/Hombre de negocios
113	ROBERT CULLENBINE, Democratic Retired Businessman/Hombre de negocios jubilado
114	D. (LOGAN DARROW) CLEMENTS, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
115	S. ISSA, Republican Engineer/Ingeniero
116	BOB LYNN EDWARDS, Democratic Attorney/Abogado
117	ERIC KOREVAAR, Democratic Scientist/Businessman/Científico/hombre de negocios
118	STEPHEN L. KNAPP, Republican Engineer/Ingeniero
119	KELLY P. KIMBALL, Democratic Business Executive/Ejecutivo de empresa
120	D.E. KESSINGER, Democratic Paralegal/Property Manager/Asistente jurídico/administrador de propiedades
121	EDWARD "ED" KENNEDY, Democratic Businessman/Educator/Hombre de negocios/educador
122	TREK THUNDER KELLY, Independent Business Executive/Artist/Ejecutivo de empresa/artista
123	JERRY KUNZMAN, Independent Chief Executive Officer/Funcionario ejecutivo principal
124	PETER V. UEBERROTH, Republican Businessman/Olympics Advisor/Hombre de negocios/consultor para los juegos olímpicos
125	BILL PRADY, Democratic Television Writer/Producer/Escritor y productor de televisión
126	DARIN PRICE, Natural Law University Chemistry Instructor/Instructor universitario de química
127	GREGORY J. PAWLAK, Republican Realtor/Businessman/Agente inmobiliario/hombre de negocios
128	LEONARD PADILLA, Independent Law School President/Presidente de facultad de derecho
129	RONALD JASON PALMIERI, Democratic Gay Rights Attorney/Abogado de derechos de homosexuales
130	CHARLES "CHUCK" PINEDA JR., Democratic State Hearing Officer/Funcionario de audiencias estatales

Candidate listing continues on next page /

Ballot page 6

County of Sacramento Statewide Special Election October 7, 2003	
Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa	
132	HEATHER PETERS, Republican Mediator/Mediadora
133	ROBERT "BUTCH" DOLE, Republican Small Business Owner/Propietario de pequeña empresa
134	SCOTT DAVIS, Independent Business Owner/Propietario de empresa
135	RONALD J. FRIEDMAN, Independent Physician/Médico
136	GENE FORTE, Republican Executive Recruiter/Entrepreneur/Reclutador de ejecutivos/empresario
137	DIANA FOSS, Democratic
138	LORRAINE (ABNER ZURD) FONTANES, Democratic Film Maker/Cinematógrafa
139	WARREN FARRELL, Democratic Fathers' Issues Author/Escritor de temas relacionados con padres
140	DAN FEINSTEIN, Democratic
141	LARRY FLYNT, Democratic Publisher/Editor
142	CALVIN Y. LOUIE, Democratic CPA/Contador público certificado
143	DICK LANE, Democratic Educator/Educador
144	TODD RICHARD LEWIS, Independent Businessman/Hombre de negocios
145	GARY LEONARD, Democratic Photographer/Author/Periodista fotográfico/escritor
146	DAVID LAUGHING HORSE ROBINSON, Democratic Tribal Chairman/Presidente tribal
147	NED ROSCOE, Libertarian Cigarette Retailer/Vendedor de cigarrillos al detalle
148	DANIEL C. "DANNY" RAMIREZ, Democratic Businessman/Entrepreneur/Father/Hombre de negocios/empresario/padre
149	CHRISTOPHER RANKEN, Democratic Planning Commissioner/Comisionado de planificación

Criticisms of Direct Democracy

- Influence of interest groups, companies, and money
 - Instead of the “grassroots” check on government envisioned by the Progressives, process dominated by interest groups and politicians
 - Cost of initiatives and influence of money
 - Example: Proposition 22 in 2020
 - A total of \$205.7 million contributed to the Yes on 22 campaign, \$20.3 million to No on 22
 - Together, Uber, DoorDash, Lyft, and InstaCart contributed over \$192 million to Yes on 22 campaign
- Propositions can be self-serving and flawed
- Propositions limit what elected representatives can do
 - This was the intent, though a proposition can prevent what constituents could think are “good” actions as well as “bad”

Nonpartisan Elections

Mostly partisan elections at the national level

- At the national (federal) level, elections are partisan
 - Candidates for Congress get party nomination through primaries
 - Candidates for President get party nomination through primaries and caucuses
 - States have different primary systems (federal system)

Partisan and nonpartisan elections at the state level

- At the state level in California, elections are mostly partisan, but primaries are “voter-nominated”
- At the local level in California, elections are nonpartisan
 - Supervisors
 - City Councils
 - Mayors

Proposition 13

