STATEWIDE SURVEY · DECEMBER 2023

PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Their Government

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

Table of Contents

Key Findings

The US economy has been showing signs of a "soft landing" in recent months, with inflation slowing amid employment growth. A closely divided House elected a new Speaker and passed a budget for federal government spending through early 2024. The Israel–Hamas war is weighing heavily on many Californians' hearts and minds. California's role in global affairs was front and center when Governor Newsom participated in high-level meetings on climate policy in China and world leaders gathered in San Francisco for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. The March 5 primary gained further clarity when Senator Dianne Feinstein's replacement—Laphonza Butler—decided not to enter the primary, and four legislative measures were moved to the November ballot, making Proposition 1 the only measure on the March ballot.

This is the 25th year of the PPIC Statewide Survey. These are the key findings of the *Californians and Their Government* survey on state and national issues conducted from November 9 to 16, 2023:

➤ **Two in three likely voters would vote yes on Proposition 1, which includes the Behavioral Health Bond and Services Act.** Democratic congressmembers Adam Schiff and Katie Porter continue to lead in the top-two US Senate primary race. More than half of Republican likely voters say they will vote for former President Donald Trump in the presidential primary. President Joe Biden leads Donald Trump by 24 points in a potential November rematch; overall Democratic House candidates are favored over Republicans by a similarly large margin. About half of likely voters say they are "less enthusiastic" than usual about voting in the November election.

Two in three California likely voters say they would vote yes on Prop 1

	Yes	No
All likely voters	68	30
Democrats	85	14
Republicans	40	58
Independents	66	31
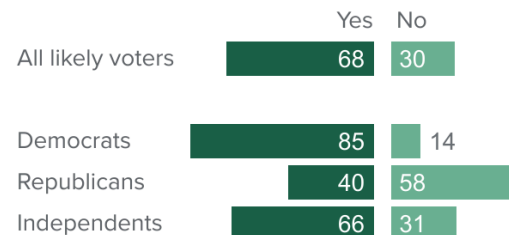
➤ **Six in ten Californians name economic conditions, homelessness, and housing as the three most important issues facing the people of California today.** Partisans agree that economic conditions are the most important state issue. Majorities of adults and likely voters continue to approve of Governor Gavin Newsom, while fewer than half approve of the state legislature. A majority think the state is going in the wrong direction. Partisans are divided on the state's direction and approval of state elected leaders.

➤ **Nearly two in three Californians believe the state will have bad times financially during the next 12 months, including majorities across the state's major regions.** However, 46 percent expect the economy in their local area—and 54 percent expect their personal finances—will be about the same six months from now. Strong majorities say they are less comfortable making a major purchase and making other household purchases compared to six months ago.

➤ **A solid majority continues to view homelessness as a big problem in their part of California.** Most are concerned about the presence of homeless people in their local community and see someone who is experiencing homelessness on a frequent basis. About two in ten say they have frequently interacted with homeless people or that they or someone in their close family has experienced homelessness or housing insecurity. Overwhelming majorities say that substance abuse (78%) and lack of affordable housing (70%) are major factors in homelessness in their local community. Majorities across parties favor policies to help people experiencing homelessness.

- ➤ **Overwhelming majorities across the state's major regions view housing affordability as a big problem in their part of California.** About half say the cost of housing is a financial strain, and about half of lower-income adults and renters report that the cost of housing causes "a lot" of financial strain. Majorities of Californians across partisan and demographic groups and regions say the state needs more policies geared toward making both homebuying and rental housing more accessible.

Californians name jobs, economy, and inflation, homelessness, and housing as the top state issues

All adults

Jobs, economy, inflation	31
Housing costs, availability	15
Homelessness	14
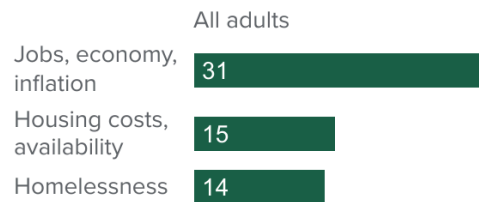
- ➤ **Ninety-one percent of Californians have heard news about Israeli-Palestinian violence.** Thirty-seven percent of adults and 48 percent of likely voters think that the US has a responsibility to "do something" about the fighting between Israel and Hamas. Twenty-eight percent of adults say the US should take Israel's side and 9 percent say the US should take the Palestinians' side, while 61 percent say that the US should not take either side. Twenty-nine percent think the US is providing "too much" support to Ukraine—up from 13 percent in May 2022. Forty-six percent of adults and 58 percent of likely voters think that Congress should authorize additional funding to support Ukraine in its war with Russia.

- ➤ **About half of adults and a majority of likely voters approve of President Joe Biden.** About two in ten approve of Congress, with partisans in agreement. About half of adults and a majority of likely voters approve of Senator Alex Padilla. Forty-four percent of adults and half of likely voters have a favorable view of Senator Laphonza Butler. About three in ten adults and likely voters have a favorable opinion of Mike Johnson, the new Speaker of the House, including 15 percent of Democrats, 66 percent of independents, and 28 percent of Republicans.
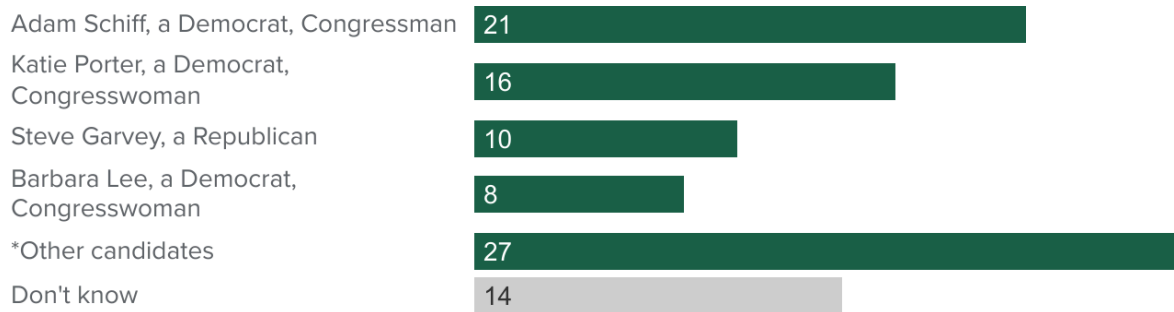
2024 Election

California's March 5 primary sets the stage for the November 5 general election, which includes the presidential race, a US Senate race, and House district races that will help determine which party controls the 119th Congress. Proposition 1, a legislative measure that includes the Behavioral Health Bond and Services Act, is also on the March ballot. Many experts are describing the 2024 elections as the most consequential in our lifetime. However, when asked about next November's presidential election, 52 percent of likely voters say they are "less enthusiastic" about voting than usual. An identical share are "less enthusiastic" about voting in the November congressional elections. Today, only 20 percent are "very closely" following the news about the 2024 presidential candidates.

Here are the latest readings on the key races and Proposition 1 on the March 2024 ballot:

March Senate primary. Newly appointed US Senator Laphonza Butler recently announced that she would not be a candidate in the March Senate primary, and Republican Steve Garvey recently announced his late entry in the Senate race. Democratic congressmembers Adam Schiff (21%) and Katie Porter (16%) continue to lead in the top-two primary race, which will determine who will be on the November ballot. Steve Garvey (10%) and Congressmember Barbara Lee (8%) are in third and fourth place, while less than 5 percent support any other candidate and 14 percent are undecided (1% would vote for someone else not listed, 2% would not vote in the US senator race). Schiff and Porter were also frontrunners in the July, September, and November PPIC Statewide Surveys. Today, Schiff leads all other candidates in most demographic groups

and in every region except for Orange/San Diego (17% Schiff, 22% Porter). Notably, Porter leads Schiff among those under the age of 45 (23% to 11%), while Schiff leads Porter for those 45 and older (26% to 12%). Fifty-nine percent of likely voters and majorities across regions and demographic groups are satisfied with the choice of candidates, though there is a partisan divide (76% Democrats, 37% Republicans, 48% independents).

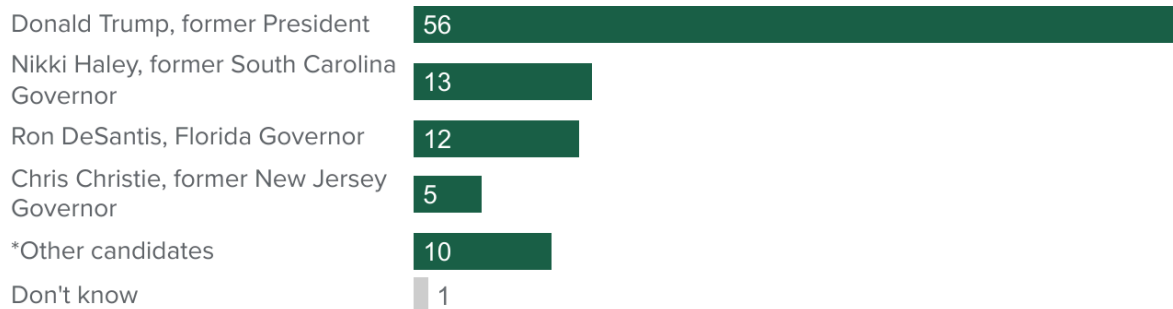## Democratic candidates Adam Schiff and Katie Porter lead in the top-two US Senate primary race

Candidate	Percent
Adam Schiff, a Democrat, Congressman	21
Katie Porter, a Democrat, Congresswoman	16
Steve Garvey, a Republican	10
Barbara Lee, a Democrat, Congresswoman	8
*Other candidates	27
Don't know	14

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).
NOTES: *Other candidates includes the "someone else (specify)" response option and any candidates below the top four. Among likely voters only.

Republican presidential primary. The majority of Republican primary likely voters say they would vote for former president Donald Trump (56%) in the presidential primary. Trump's support had been at around 50 percent earlier this year (50% June, 50% July, 48% September, 53% November). Today, the closest competitors are former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley, at 13 percent, and Florida governor Ron DeSantis, at 12 percent. Support for other candidates—including Chris Christie (5%)—is under 10 percent, and just 1 percent say they don't know who they will vote for (3% someone else, 1% would not vote in Republican primary). Trump's support is at 61 percent among conservatives. While fewer than half of college graduates support Trump (43%), he also leads DeSantis (19%), Haley (28%), and Christie (6%) among this group.

A majority of Republican likely voters would vote for Donald Trump if the Republican presidential primary were held today
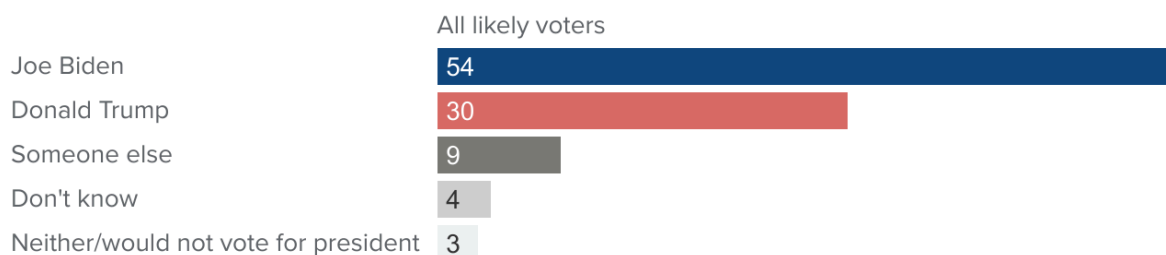
Top 4 candidates

Candidate	Value
Donald Trump, former President	56
Nikki Haley, former South Carolina Governor	13
Ron DeSantis, Florida Governor	12
Chris Christie, former New Jersey Governor	5
*Other candidates	10
Don't know	1

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).
NOTES: *Other candidates includes the "someone else (specify)" response option and any candidates below the top four. Among Republican likely voters only.

Presidential election. Given a November 2024 presidential election between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, California likely voters would choose Biden by a wide margin (54% to 30%). The large margin of support is similar to the PPIC Surveys in June (58% Biden, 25% Trump), July (57% Biden, 31% Trump), September (57% Biden, 26% Trump), and November (60% Biden, 29% Trump). These findings are consistent with Biden's margin of victory in the 2020 California election (63.5% Biden, 34.3% Trump). Today, there is a wide partisan divide: 85 percent of Democrats would vote for Biden, 80 percent of Republicans support Trump, and independents would vote for Biden by almost a two-to-one margin (42% Biden, 23% Trump). Majorities of likely voters across age, gender, and income groups say they would vote for Biden, while support for Biden varies across regions (63% San Francisco Bay Area, 60% Los Angeles, 50% Central Valley, 46% Orange/San Diego, 40% Inland Empire). Biden has strong support among college graduates (63% Biden, 22% Trump) and those with some college education (51% Biden, 31% Trump), while those with high school or less education are divided (41% Biden, 43% Trump). As there was in surveys earlier this year, there is some interest in a third choice. Today, 9 percent say they would vote for "someone else" for president; shares with this view vary widely among partisans (4% Democrats, 6% Republicans, 22% independents), while shares are similar across demographic groups and across regions.

Joe Biden continues to lead over Donald Trump by a wide margin

All likely voters

	Value
Joe Biden	54
Donald Trump	30
Someone else	9
Don't know	4
Neither/would not vote for president	3

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).
NOTES: Among likely voters only.

House district races. Will the lopsided top-of-the-ticket presidential race and the likelihood of two Democrats appearing on the Senate ballot in November help Democratic candidates win House seats? And will the intra-party conflict and dysfunction in the House this year have a negative impact on support for Republican candidates? If the 2024 election for the US House of Representatives were held today, 62 percent of likely voters say they would vote for or lean toward the Democratic candidate, while 37 percent would vote for or lean toward the Republican candidate. Majorities across most of the state's major regions and across demographic groups would vote for the Democratic candidate. Residents in the Inland Empire are move divided, about half (51%) would vote for the Republican candidate. Importantly, 91 percent of Republicans and 95 percent of Democrats would vote for their party's House candidate, while independents lean toward the Democrat by a 16-point margin (56% to 40%).

Proposition 1. Sixty-eight percent of likely voters say they would vote yes and 30 percent would vote no after reading a brief description of Proposition 1, which includes the legislature's Behavioral Health Bond and Services Act (the ballot label and title were not made public in time for this survey). Majorities across demographic groups and across regions say they would vote yes, while partisans are divided (85% Democrats, 40% Republicans, 66% independents). We asked two follow-up questions on the Behavioral Health Bond and Services Act. Fifty-one percent of likely voters say it is a "good time" (46% "bad time") to issue $6.38 billion in bonds to fund housing for homeless individuals and veterans with mental health or substance abuse disorders. Shares viewing this as a "good time" vary across political groups (68% Democrats, 24% Republicans, 47% independents) and across income levels (64% less than $40,000; 54% $40,000 to $79,999; 46% $80,000 or more). When asked about the Mental Health Services Act—enacted by voters in 2004 to fund county mental health services with revenue from a 1 percent tax of income above $1 million—64 percent say that changes are needed (30% major, 34% minor). Majorities across partisan and demographic groups and across regions think that changes are needed. Thirty-three percent believe that the Mental Health Services Act is "fine the way it is."

A solid majority of California likely voters would vote for the Democratic candidate if the 2024 election for the House of Representatives were held today

Among likely voters

	Republican candidate/Lean Republican	Democratic candidate/Lean Democratic	Don't know
All likely voters	37%	62%	2%
Democrats	5	95	0
Republicans	91	8	1
Independents	40	56	4
Central Valley	47	53	0
Inland Empire	51	47	2
Los Angeles	30	67	3
Orange/San Diego	44	55	1
SF Bay Area	25	73	2
Men	39	60	1
Women	34	64	2
Less than $40,000	35	64	1
$40,000 to $79,999	31	68	1
$80,000 or more	40	59	1
High school only	48	51	1
Some college education	38	60	1
College graduate	30	68	2

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).
**NOTES:** Among likely voters only.

State of the State and Approval Ratings

When asked to name the most important issue facing the people of California today, Californians most often say jobs, the economy, and inflation (31%). Fewer mention housing costs and affordability (15%), homelessness (14%), crime (8%), and environmental issues (6%). Notably, the economy has been the top issue mentioned by Californians dating back to May 2022.

About four in ten Californians think things in the state are going in the right direction, while nearly six in ten say things are headed in the wrong direction. A majority have said things are going in the wrong direction since June. Today, nine in ten Republicans (90%) and about two in three independents (68%) say things are

going in the wrong direction, compared to just one in three Democrats (32%). Half or more across regions are pessimistic; negative views are most prevalent in the Inland Empire (68%), followed by the Central Valley (62%), Orange/San Diego (58%), Los Angeles (54%), and the San Francisco Bay Area (50%). Across racial/ethnic groups, six in ten Latinos and whites (60% each) say things are going in the wrong direction, while fewer than half of African Americans and Asian Americans (46% each) hold this view. Majorities across age and income groups think things are going in the wrong direction.

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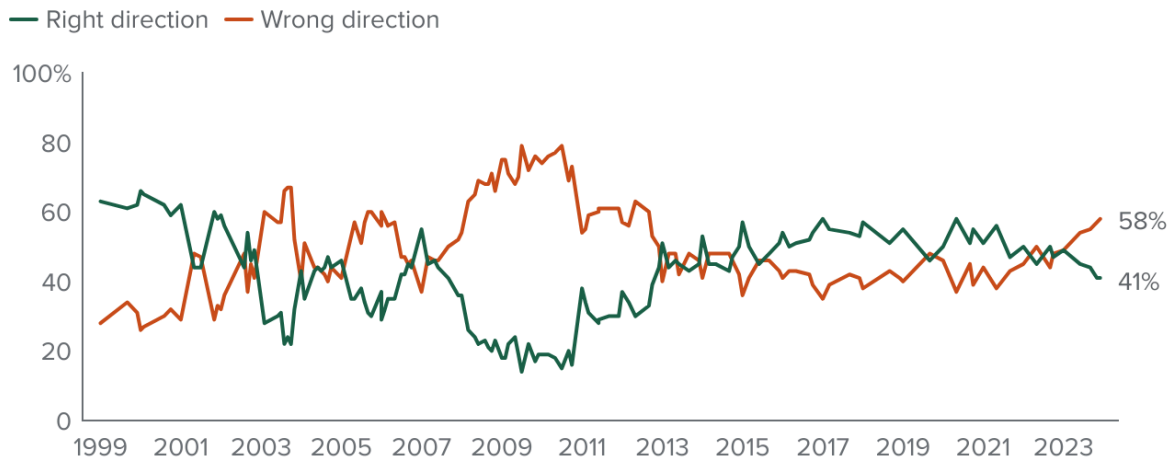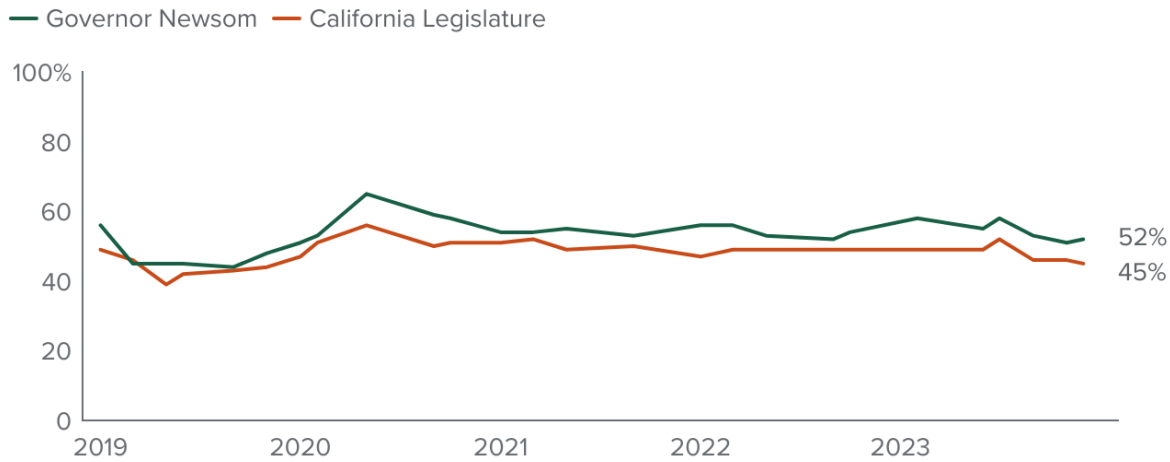

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, 1999–2023.

A majority of Californians (52%) continue to approve of the job that Gavin Newsom is doing as governor. Approval was similar last October (54%), and a majority has approved of Governor Newsom since January 2020. Fewer than half of Californians (45%) approve of the job that the California Legislature is doing. Approval was similar last October (49%); it has ranged from 45 percent to 56 percent since January 2020.

A majority approve of Governor Newsom, while less than half approve of the state legislature

% approve

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, 1999–2023.

While a majority across most demographic groups approve of the job Governor Newsom is doing, there are partisan and regional divides. More than three in four Democrats approve, while nearly nine in ten Republicans disapprove. Independents are more likely to disapprove than approve. Across regions, majorities approve in the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles, compared to fewer than half elsewhere. African Americans are much more likely than other racial/ethnic groups to approve of the governor's job performance, and approval is stronger among those with a college degree compared to those with less education.

Fewer than half of Californians approve of the way that the California Legislature is handling its job. Democrats, San Francisco Bay Area residents, African Americans, and college graduates are the only groups in which there is majority approval.

Approval of state elected leaders varies demographically and regionally
% approval

	Governor Newsom	California Legislature
All adults	52%	45%
Likely voters	52	47
Democrats	77	69
Republicans	12	11
Independents	46	36
Central Valley	45	39
Inland Empire	41	36
Los Angeles	55	49
Orange/San Diego	48	40
SF Bay Area	62	54
Men	52	45
Women	52	45
African Americans	67	52
Asian Americans	54	48
Latinos	54	46
Whites	47	42
Less than $40,000	54	45
$40,000 to $79,999	51	45
$80,000 or more	52	45

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

Economic Conditions

About two in three Californians say they expect bad economic times in the next year, while just one in three expects good times. About two in three or more have expected bad times since July 2022. The share expecting bad times is lower among Democrats (47%) compared to independents (71%) and Republicans (87%). Pessimistic views are widespread across regions; they are most prevalent in the Inland Empire (78%) and least prevalent in Los Angeles (59%). The share expecting bad times is slightly lower among those 55 and older (61%), college graduates (60%), and those with incomes over $80,000 (61%).
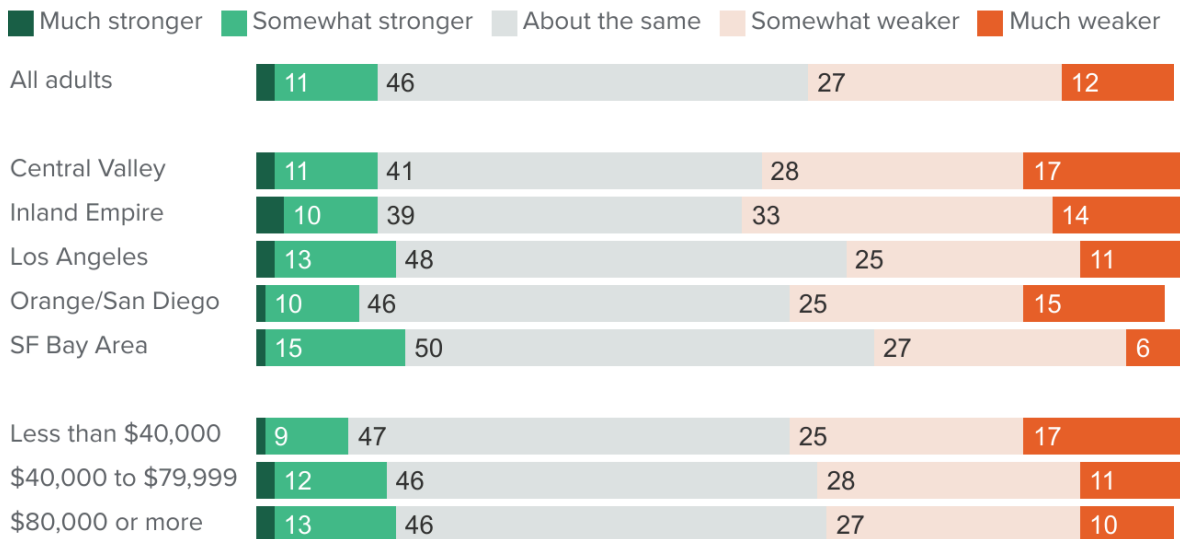
Most Californians expect bad economic times in the next year

— Expect good times — Expect bad times

65%
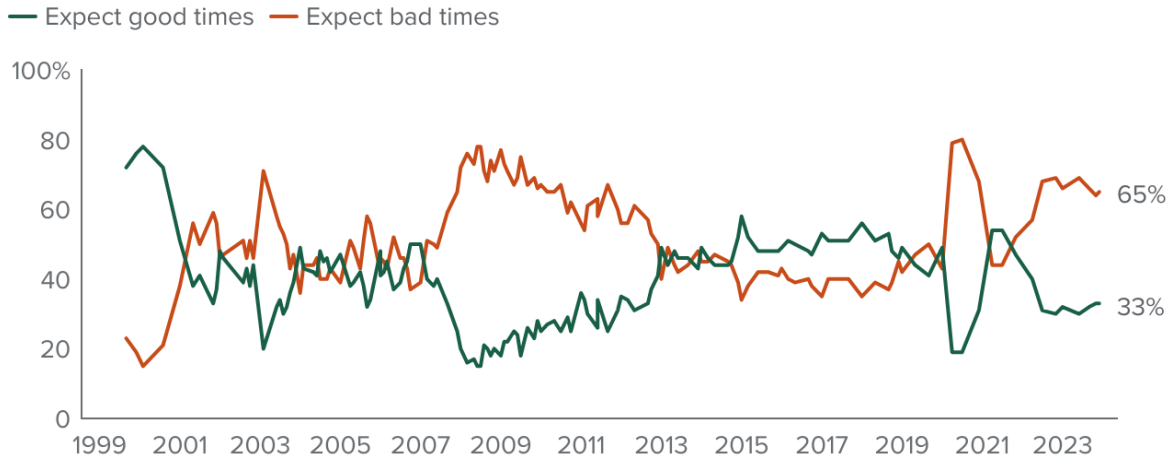
33%

A plurality of Californians expect the economy in their local area to be about the same six months from now, while four in ten expect it to be weaker and about one in ten say it will be stronger. Views were nearly identical in September—the first time we asked this question. Pessimism about the local economy is slightly higher in the Inland Empire and Central Valley than elsewhere in the state. While differences across demographic groups are minimal, there is a wide partisan divide: six in ten Republicans (60%) are pessimistic, compared to nearly half of independents (47%) and one in four Democrats (24%).

Close to half of Californians think their local economy will be about the same six months from now

■ Much stronger ■ Somewhat stronger ■ About the same ■ Somewhat weaker ■ Much weaker

	Much stronger	Somewhat stronger	About the same	Somewhat weaker	Much weaker
All adults		11	46	27	12
Central Valley		11	41	28	17
Inland Empire		10	39	33	14
Los Angeles		13	48	25	11
Orange/San Diego		10	46	25	15
SF Bay Area		15	50	27	6
Less than $40,000		9	47	25	17
$40,000 to $79,999		12	46	28	11
$80,000 or more		13	46	27	10

Californians have rosier views of their personal financial situations. A majority say they think their financial state will be about the same (54%) in six months, while one in four say it will be weaker (18% somewhat

weaker, 7% much weaker), and one in five say their finances will be stronger (4% much stronger, 16% somewhat stronger). Perceptions were nearly identical in September. The share expecting their personal financial situation to be weaker is nearly twice as high among Republicans (35%) than Democrats (18%), while three in ten independents (31%) hold this view. San Francisco Bay Area residents (11% somewhat weaker, 6% much weaker) are less likely to be pessimistic than those in Los Angeles (18% somewhat weaker, 7% much weaker), the Inland Empire (16% somewhat weaker, 11% much weaker), the Central Valley (20% somewhat weaker, 8% much weaker), and Orange/San Diego (22% somewhat weaker, 7% much weaker). Financial pessimism declines with rising income and educational attainment.

When asked how they feel about making purchases today compared to six months ago, most Californians say they are less comfortable. About three in four Californians (74%) say they are less comfortable making a major purchase, like a home or car, while roughly two in three (66%) say they are less comfortable about making other household purchases. In September, views were nearly identical: 75 percent were less comfortable making major purchases while 65 percent were less comfortable about other household purchases.

While solid majorities across parties are less comfortable about making a major purchase, Republicans and independents are much more likely than Democrats to hold this view. Across regions, residents in the Inland Empire (82%) are the most likely to say they feel less comfortable, while those in Orange/San Diego (65%) are the least likely to feel this way. The share saying they are less comfortable is mostly similar across racial/ethnic, age, and gender groups, although college graduates and those making $80,000 or more are slightly less likely than others to hold this view.

Similar patterns emerge when it comes to making other household purchases. Democrats are less likely than independents and Republicans to say they are less comfortable. Residents in the Inland Empire are most likely—and those in Orange/San Diego are least likely—to hold this view. Latinos and African Americans are somewhat more likely than Asian Americans and whites to say they are less comfortable making other household purchases. The share expressing this view declines sharply with rising educational attainment and is more common among those with incomes of less than $40,000 compared to others.

A majority expect their personal financial situation to be the same in six months; most are less comfortable making purchases compared to six months ago

	Expects personal financial situation to be about the same	Less comfortable making major purchases	Less comfortable making other household purchases
All adults	54%	74%	66%
Likely voters	54	71	63
Democrats	58	64	54
Republicans	48	83	79
Independents	50	77	64
Central Valley	44	76	66
Inland Empire	54	82	72
Los Angeles	53	76	67
Orange/San Diego	50	65	58
SF Bay Area	64	70	65
Men	54	73	63
Women	54	74	68
African Americans	51	74	68
Asian Americans	54	70	59
Latinos	53	78	71
Whites	57	70	62
Less than $40,000	47	83	77
$40,000 to $79,999	57	74	63
$80,000 or more	58	68	60

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).
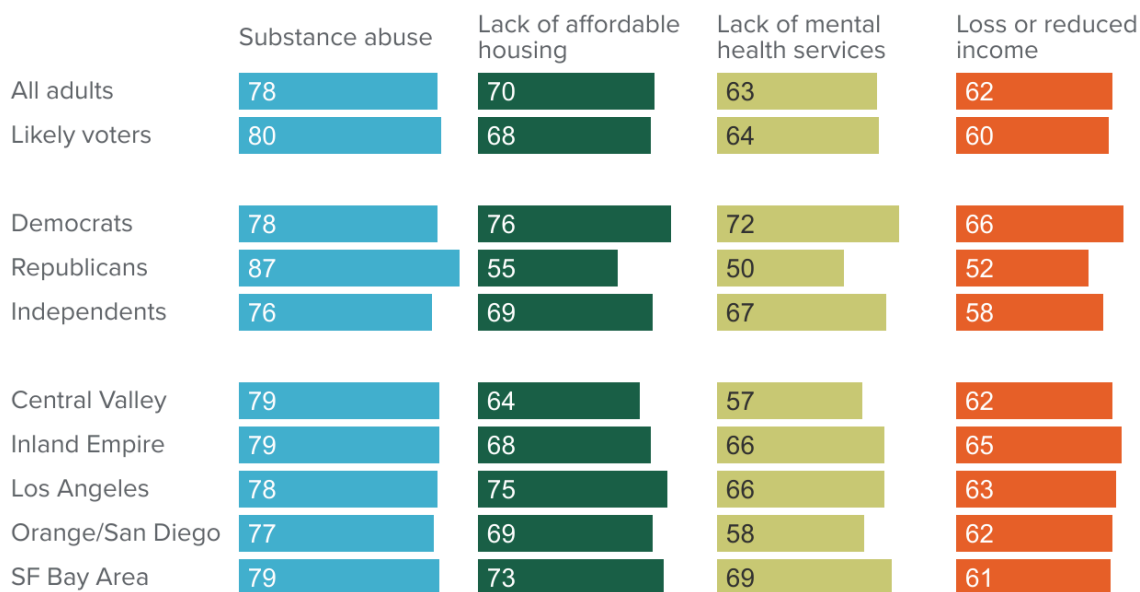
Homelessness

Nearly all Californians say homelessness is at least somewhat of a problem in their part of the state; 64 percent say it is a big problem (32% somewhat of a problem, 4% not a problem). The share saying this is a big problem is somewhat similar to February (70%), and at least six in ten have said this since May 2019, the first time PPIC asked this question. Today, majorities across partisan, demographic, and regional groups hold this view.

Eighty-six percent of California adults say that they are very (45%) or somewhat (41%) concerned about the presence of homeless people in their local communities. A similar share said they were very concerned last March (46%), though this share has been declining since November 2019 (58%). Today, four in ten or more among partisan, racial/ethnic, gender, age, income, and educational groups say they are very concerned. Across regions, Los Angeles residents (50%) are most likely to say they are very concerned, while Orange/ San Diego residents (37%) are least likely to say this.

When asked about potential factors contributing to homelessness in their communities, about eight in ten adults and likely voters say that substance abuse is a major factor, about seven in ten say the lack of affordable housing is a major factor, and six in ten or more say the lack of mental health services or loss or reduced income is a major factor. Majorities of Republicans, Democrats, and independents agree that substance abuse and the lack of affordable housing are major factors. However, when it comes to a lack of mental health services and loss of income, about half of Republicans say this compared to majorities of Democrats and independents. Majorities across demographic groups and regions say these are all major factors.

Most Californians say that a number of major factors are contributing to homelessness in their local communities

% saying major factor

	Substance abuse	Lack of affordable housing	Lack of mental health services	Loss or reduced income
All adults	78	70	63	62
Likely voters	80	68	64	60
Democrats	78	76	72	66
Republicans	87	55	50	52
Independents	76	69	67	58
Central Valley	79	64	57	62
Inland Empire	79	68	66	65
Los Angeles	78	75	66	63
Orange/San Diego	77	69	58	62
SF Bay Area	79	73	69	61

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

Asked about policy ideas to help homeless people in California, 78 percent of adults and likely voters each support providing short-term financial support for homeless families (oppose: 21% adults and likely voters each), with the support of solid majorities am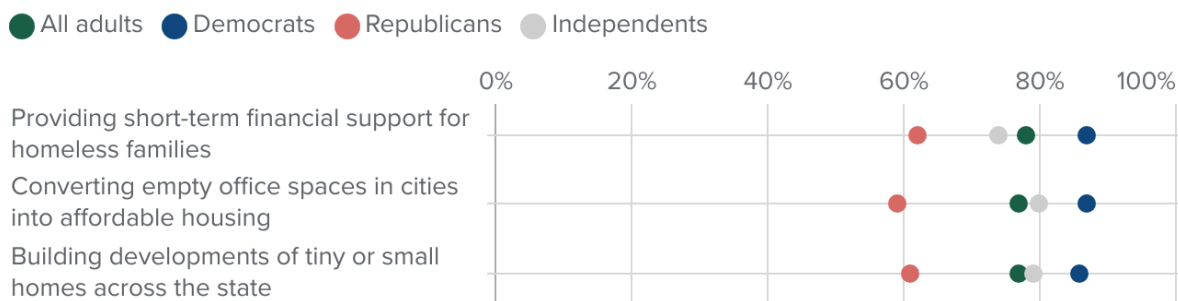ong Democrats, Republicans, and independents. Overwhelming majorities across race/ethnicity, gender, age, education, income, and regions say they support this.

Overwhelming majorities of adults and likely voters (77% each) also support converting empty office spaces in cities into affordable housing (oppose: 22% each adults and likely voters). Majorities of Republicans, Democrats, and independents support this policy as well, and more than seven in ten across demographic and regional groups say this.

More than three in four adults (77%) and likely voters (76%) say they support building developments of tiny or small homes across the state (oppose: 22% adults, 24% likely voters); majorities across parties and overwhelming majorities across demographic groups and regions express support.

Majorities across parties favor policies to help people experiencing homelessness in California
% support

Legend: ● All adults ● Democrats ● Republicans ● Independents

Categories (top to bottom):
- Providing short-term financial support for homeless families
- Converting empty office spaces in cities into affordable housing
- Building developments of tiny or small homes across the state

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

About two in ten Californians (21%) say they or someone in their close family has experienced housing insecurity or homelessness, including 10 percent who say they themselves experienced this (11% say another person in their family had this experience). About eight in ten (79%) say this has not happened to them or a family member. African Americans are about twice as likely or more than any other racial/ethnic group to say they or a family member have had this experience—also, African Americans (26%) are far more likely than any other racial/ethnic group to say they personally have had this experience (11% Latinos, 9% whites, 2% Asian Americans). Across regions, Central Valley residents are the most likely to say they or a family member have experienced homelessness, and residents in the San Francisco Bay Area are the least likely to say this. The shares saying this decline as income and education rises. Women are somewhat more likely than men, and renters are about twice as likely as homeowners to say this.

More than seven in ten Californians say they see someone experiencing homelessness daily (53%) or every few days (19%), while one in seven (or fewer) say they see a homeless person weekly (14%) or rarely (11%), and 3 percent say they have never had this experience. About half or more across parties say they see a person experiencing homelessness daily. Across racial/ethnic groups, majorities of African Americans, Latinos, and whites say this, compared to 32 percent of Asian Americans. The shares who say they see a homeless person daily decline as education and income increase. Majorities of residents in Los Angeles, the Central Valley, and the Inland Empire say this, compared to fewer in other regions.

Far fewer say they have interacted with someone experiencing homelessness. Two in ten residents say they have interacted with someone who is homeless on a daily basis (9%) or every few days (10%); one in ten say

they have interactions weekly, while 45 percent say they seldom have interactions, and 26 percent say they never do. African Americans, those without a college degree, and those with incomes under $40,000 are the most likely demographic groups to say they interact with a homeless person daily. Across regions, about one in ten residents in Los Angeles, the Central Valley, and Orange/San Diego say this, compared to somewhat fewer elsewhere.

Californians report varying levels of experience with homelessness

	They or someone in their close family have experienced housing insecurity or homelessness	They see someone experiencing homelessness daily or every few days	They interact with someone experiencing homelessness daily or every few days
All adults	21%	72%	19%
Likely voters	17	77	17
Democrats	17	76	19
Republicans	23	74	22
Independents	21	69	12
Central Valley	26	78	26
Inland Empire	22	66	18
Los Angeles	23	77	20
Orange/San Diego	20	67	16
SF Bay Area	13	72	14
Men	19	71	18
Women	24	73	19
African Americans	49	70	33
Asian Americans	6	61	10
Latinos	26	75	24
Whites	19	73	16
Less than $40,000	38	72	26
$40,000 to $79,999	20	74	18
$80,000 or more	12	72	15

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

Housing Affordability and Accessibility

Nearly all Californians say that housing affordability is at least somewhat of a problem in their part of the state, and more than three in four say it is a big problem (77%; 20% somewhat of a problem). The share saying it is a big problem was somewhat similar in February (70%) and has been increasing since March 2021 (61%). Today, three in four or more among partisan groups say housing affordability is a big problem. Overwhelming majorities across regions and across most demographic groups say this. Renters (83%) are more likely than homeowners (72%) to see affordability as a big problem.

Nearly all adults say housing affordability is a problem in California
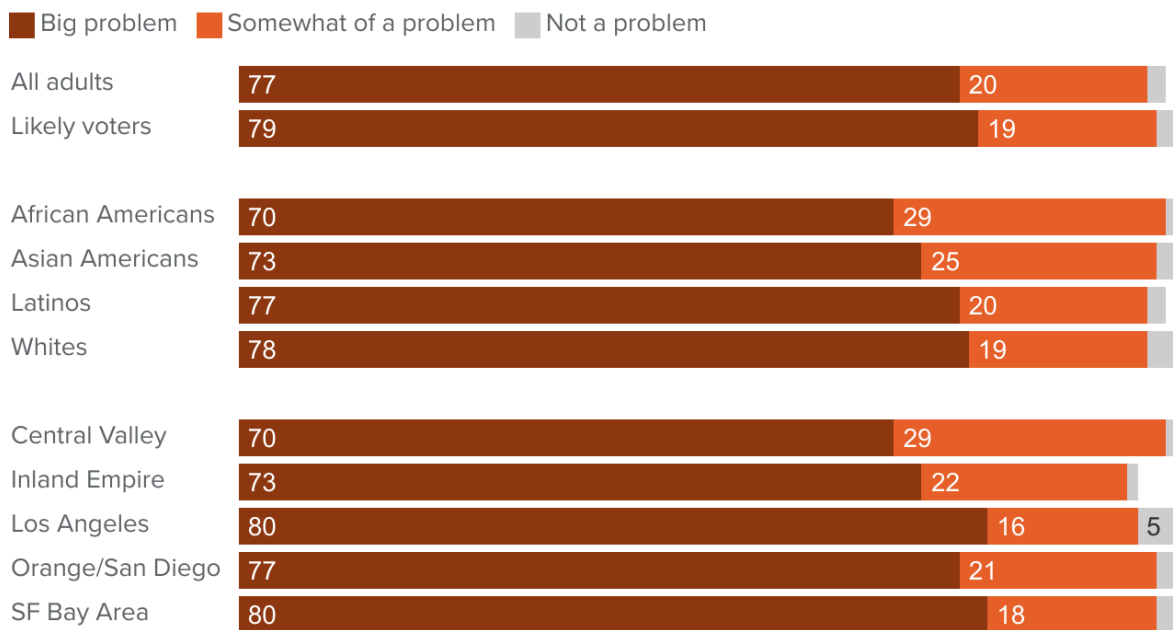
■ Big problem ■ Somewhat of a problem ■ Not a problem

Group	Big problem	Somewhat of a problem	Not a problem
All adults	77	20	
Likely voters	79	19	
African Americans	70	29	
Asian Americans	73	25	
Latinos	77	20	
Whites	78	19	
Central Valley	70	29	
Inland Empire	73	22	
Los Angeles	80	16	5
Orange/San Diego	77	21	
SF Bay Area	80	18	

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

About half of Californians say that the cost of housing is a financial strain for them and their families, including one in three who say it places a lot of strain on them (34%; 17% yes, a little). The share saying the cost of housing places a lot of financial strain on them has increased somewhat since the last time PPIC asked this question via telephone survey in May 2017, (27% yes, a lot; 18% yes, a little, 2% not sure how much). Today, independents (36%) and Republicans (33%) are more likely than Democrats (23%) to say housing places a lot of financial strain on them. Across racial/ethnic groups, Latinos and African Americans are most likely to hold this view, compared to fewer Asian Americans and whites. Residents in the Inland Empire are more likely than residents elsewhere to say that the cost of housing places a lot of financial strain on them. Adults with a high school education or less are far more likely than those with more education, and those earning less than $40,000 are far more likely than those earning more to say this. Fifty-one percent of renters in the state say housing costs place a lot of financial strain on them, compared to far fewer homeowners (19%).

Half of Californians say the cost of housing places financial strain on them and their families
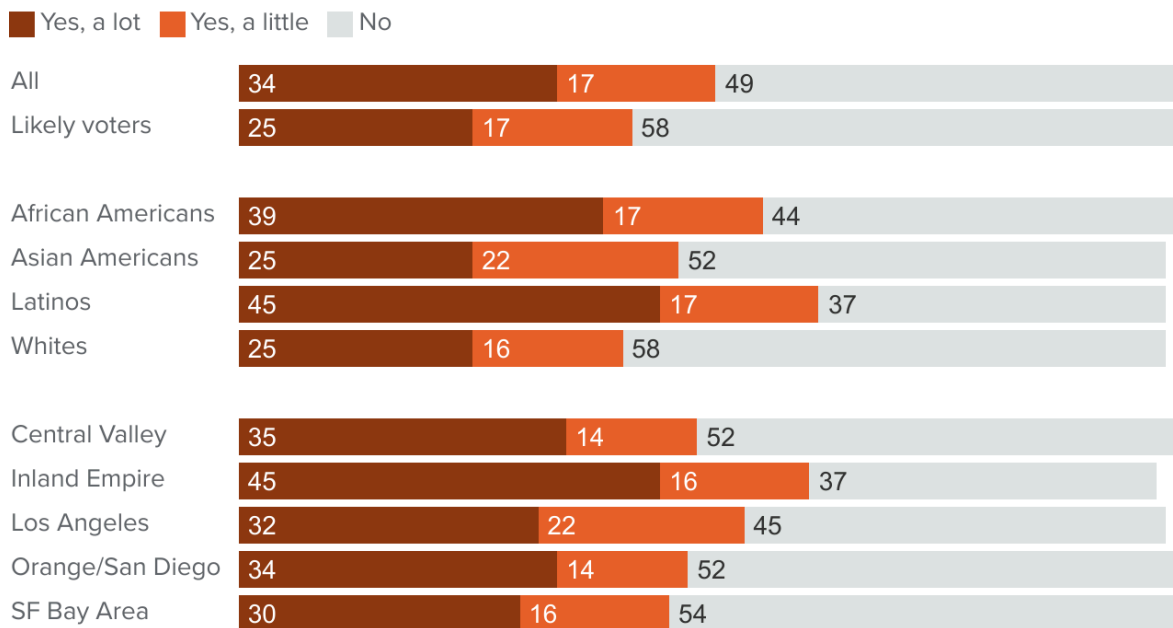
Legend: ■ Yes, a lot ■ Yes, a little ▫ No

Group	Yes, a lot	Yes, a little	No
All	34	17	49
Likely voters	25	17	58
African Americans	39	17	44
Asian Americans	25	22	52
Latinos	45	17	37
Whites	25	16	58
Central Valley	35	14	52
Inland Empire	45	16	37
Los Angeles	32	22	45
Orange/San Diego	34	14	52
SF Bay Area	30	16	54

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).
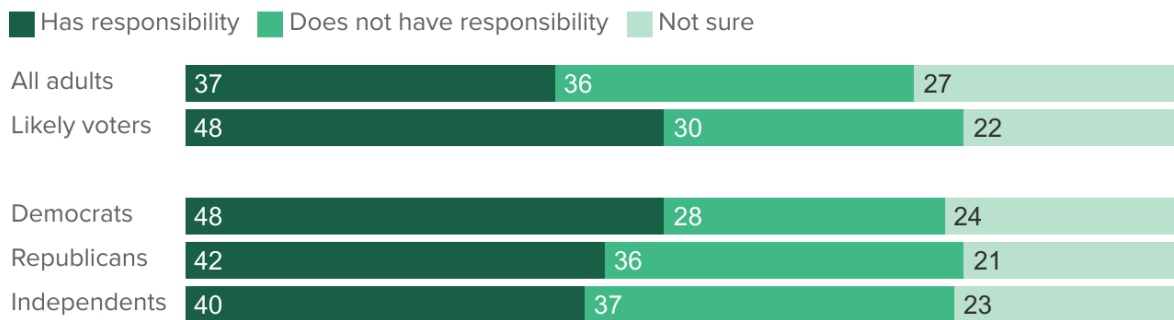
Roughly three in four adults (54% a lot more, 22% some) and likely voters (45% a lot more, 24% some) say that California needs more policies geared toward making homebuying more accessible. While majorities across parties say more policies are needed, there is a partisan divide: a solid majority of Democrats and a slim majority of independents say a lot more are needed, compared to about three in ten Republicans. Majorities across demographic groups and regions say more needs to be done. Across racial/ethnic groups, strong majorities of Latinos (69%) and African Americans (67%) say a lot more needs to be done, compared to roughly four in ten Asian Americans (43%) and whites (42%). The share expressing this view declines with rising age, education, and income. Renters (68%) are far more likely than homeowners (42%) to say that a lot more policies geared toward making homeownership more accessible are needed.

About three in four adults (54% a lot more, 20% some) and likely voters (49% a lot more, 23% some) say that California needs more policies geared toward making rental housing more accessible. Majorities across partisan, demographic, and regional groups say this. Majorities of Democrats (61%) and independents (53%) say a lot more policies are needed, compared to 33 percent of Republicans. Across racial/ethnic groups, strong majorities of African Americans (73%) and Latinos (65%) say this, compared to fewer than half of whites (46%) and Asian Americans (44%). The share expressing this view declines with rising education, income, and age. Renters (68%) are far more likely than homeowners (42%) to say that a lot more policies geared toward making rental housing more accessible are needed.

About three in four Californians say the state needs more policies geared toward making homebuying and rental housing more accessible

% saying yes, a lot more/yes, some

	California needs more policies geared towards making homebuying more accessible	California needs more policies geared towards making rental housing more accessible
All adults	76%	74%
Likely voters	73	72
Democrats	85	83
Republicans	57	51
Independents	72	73
Central Valley	74	75
Inland Empire	79	74
Los Angeles	82	78
Orange/San Diego	65	72
SF Bay Area	76	70
Men	71	69
Women	79	79
African Americans	81	86
Asian Americans	66	66
Latinos	84	81
Whites	69	70
Less than $40,000	83	86
$40,000 to $79,999	78	79
$80,000 or more	70	66

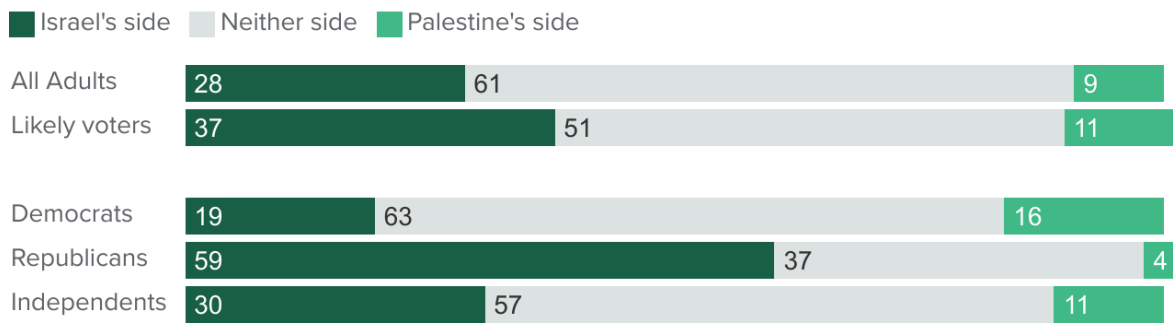**SOURCE:** PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

The Nation's Role in International Conflicts

In late October, President Biden unveiled a $106 billion proposal that primarily consisted of funding for Ukraine and Israel. The Russian invasion of Ukraine has been in the news for almost two years, while the Israel–Hamas war began in October. Ninety-one percent of Californians have heard news about the escalating violence in Israel and Palestine (59% a lot, 32% a little). Californians are divided on the role the US should play in the conflict between Hamas and Israel and how much support the US should give Ukraine.

When asked about the role of the US in the fighting between Israeli forces and Hamas, nearly equal shares of Californians say the US does (37%) and does not (36%) have a responsibility; just over a quarter say they are not sure (27%). However, nearly half of likely voters (48%) say the US has a responsibility. Nearly half (48%) of Democrats say the US has responsibility, compared to slightly fewer Republicans (42%) and independents (40%). Views are similar across most regions, apart from the Inland Empire, where only a quarter (24%) say the US has a responsibility in the Israel-Hamas fighting. Across age groups, only 35 percent of those under age 55 say the US has this responsibility, compared to 44 percent of adults 55 and older. The shares who hold this view increase with educational attainment and income, and are somewhat higher among men (41%) than women (34%).

In a nationwide Economist/YouGov survey conducted in November this year, a similar share of Americans overall (38%) say the US has a responsibility in the fighting between Israel and Hamas (37% does not have a responsibility).

Californians are split on whether the US has a responsibility in the fighting between Israeli forces and Hamas

■ Has responsibility ■ Does not have responsibility ■ Not sure

	Has responsibility	Does not have responsibility	Not sure
All adults	37	36	27
Likely voters	48	30	22
Democrats	48	28	24
Republicans	42	36	21
Independents	40	37	23

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

When asked about which side the US should take in the Israel–Palestine conflict, 61 percent of adults and 51 percent of likely voters say the US should not take a side. Twenty-eight percent of adults and 37 percent of likely voters say the US should take Israel's side, while 9 percent of adults and 11 percent of likely voters say the US should take Palestine's side. According to a national survey conducted in October by the Wall Street Journal/Ipsos, about half (52%) of Americans say the US should not take a side in this conflict. About six in ten California Republicans say the US should take Israel's side, compared to three in ten independents and one in five Democrats. Solid majorities of both Democrats and independents say the US should not take a side in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, compared to 37 percent of Republicans.

Majorities across demographic groups and regions say the US should not take a side in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Among Californians ages 18 to 34, 21 percent say the US should take Palestine's side and 17 percent say the US should take Israel's side. Among adults 55 and older, 40 percent say the US should take Israel's side and 4 percent say the US should take Palestine's side. Across racial/ethnic groups, Latinos (17%), Asian Americans (23%), and African Americans (29%) are less likely than whites (38%) to say the US should take Israel's side.

A majority of Californians say the US should not take a side in the Israel-Palestine conflict

■ Israel's side   ■ Neither side   ■ Palestine's side

	Israel's side	Neither side	Palestine's side
All Adults	28	61	9
Likely voters	37	51	11
Democrats	19	63	16
Republicans	59	37	4
Independents	30	57	11

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

With the Russian invasion of Ukraine nearing the two-year mark, Californians are divided on whether Congress should authorize additional funding for Ukraine (50% should not, 46% should). A majority of likely voters lean toward authorizing additional funding (59% should, 39% should not). Partisans are divided: a solid majority of Democrats (64%) say Congress should authorize additional funding, compared to nearly half of independents (48%) and only a third of Republicans (32%).

Residents in the San Francisco Bay Area (53%) are much more likely to say Congress should authorize additional funding than residents in the Inland Empire (32%). Men (50%) are somewhat more likely than women (43%) to hold this view. Whites (54%) and Asian Americans (53%) are more likely than African Americans (37%) and Latinos (35%) to favor additional funding for Ukraine. The shares holding this view increase with increasing age, educational attainment, and income.

Half of Californians say the US should not authorize additional funding to Ukraine

	Should authorize additional funding	Should not authorize additional funding
All adults	46%	50%
Likely voters	58	39
Democrats	64	34
Republicans	32	66
Independents	48	46
Central Valley	43	54
Inland Empire	32	62
Los Angeles	46	50
Orange/San Diego	49	44
SF Bay Area	53	45
Men	50	47
Women	43	52
African Americans	37	61
Asian Americans	53	43
Latinos	35	60
Whites	54	43
Less than $40,000	42	54
$40,000 to $79,999	40	55
$80,000 or more	54	45

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

When respondents were asked to assess the amount of support the US has provided to Ukraine during the invasion by Russia, over a third of adults say it has been the right amount, about three in ten say it has been too much (29%), and 16 percent say there has not been enough support; one in five say they are not sure. Shares are similar among likely voters (41% about the right amount, 25% too much, 16% too little). The shares of Californians who say there has been too much support is up significantly from May 2022, when only 13 percent expressed that view.

Today, nearly half of Republicans say the US has given Ukraine too much support, while about two in ten Democrats and 32 percent of independents say the same. About a quarter of Democrats say the US has not given enough support to Ukraine. Residents in the Central Valley and the Inland Empire are more likely than

residents elsewhere to say the US has provided too much support. Still, between 30 and 40 percent across all regions say the US has given Ukraine about the right amount of support.

Among racial/ethnic groups, white Californians are most likely to say the US has not given enough support to Ukraine, while Latinos and African Americans are most likely to say the country has given too much support. Across education levels, college graduates (22%) are more likely than less-educated adults to say the US has not given enough support (14% some college, 12% high school only). Adults under 55 (34%) are more likely than those over 55 (21%) to say there has been too much support.

Californians are divided about the amount of support the US has given Ukraine
% who say the US has provided ____ to Ukraine since it was invaded by Russia

	Too much support	About the right amount of support	Not enough support	Not sure
All adults	29%	36%	16%	20%
Likely voters	25	41	21	13
Democrats	18	43	24	15
Republicans	48	24	13	15
Independents	32	40	14	13
Central Valley	36	36	14	14
Inland Empire	37	30	15	19
Los Angeles	27	38	14	21
Orange/San Diego	26	34	16	24
SF Bay Area	26	39	16	19
Men	32	35	19	14
Women	26	36	12	25
African Americans	37	27	8	28
Asian Americans	24	45	14	17
Latinos	33	33	11	23
Whites	26	36	22	16
Less than $40,000	32	27	13	28
$40,000 to $79,999	30	36	15	20
$80,000 or more	28	42	19	11

Federal Approval Ratings

October was a tumultuous month for the federal government, with the outbreak of war between Israel and Hamas and a three-week standstill in the House as Republicans struggled to elect a new Speaker. In the wake of this turmoil, Californians' approval of the branches of the federal government has declined.

Less than half (47%) of Californians approve of Joe Biden's handling of his job as president; a majority of likely voters approve (59%). Among all adults, this is his lowest approval rating since he took office in January 2021, when 70 percent of Californians expressed approval.

About one in five or fewer Californians (21% adults, 16% likely voters) approve of the job Congress is doing today. Approval of Congress was close to double last October (37% adults, 29% likely voters) just before the 2022 midterm elections, which shifted control of the House from the Democrats to the Republicans. Approval has declined from 27 percent in February, shortly after Republicans took control.

Less than half of Californians approve of Biden, and only about a fifth approve of Congress

% approve
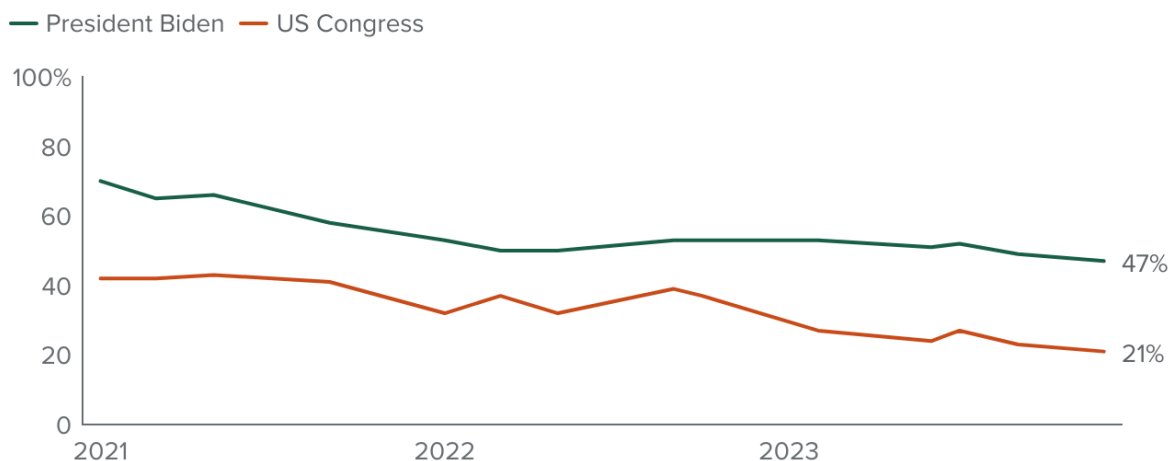
SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Surveys, 2021–2023.

Partisans remain deeply divided on President Biden's job performance: 74 percent of Democrats, 41 percent of independents, and 12 percent of Republicans approve. Approval is highest among African Americans (62%), compared to half of Asian Americans and less than half of whites (45%) and Latinos (44%). Majorities approve of Biden in the San Francisco Bay Area (53%) and Los Angeles (51%), while residents in the Inland Empire are the least likely to approve (35%). On the national level, 37 percent approve, and 59 percent disapprove of President Biden, according to a recent Gallup poll.

Californians are also divided on Alex Padilla's handling of his job as a US senator (47% approve, 45% disapprove); a majority of likely voters approve (53%). Padilla's approval has held steady since he became a US senator in 2021. Today, approval of Alex Padilla across parties and demographic groups is similar to that of President Biden's. Democrats are far more likely than independents (44%) and Republicans (18%) to

approve. A majority of African Americans (58%) approve of Padilla, compared to less than half of Asian Americans (48%), whites (47%), and Latinos (46%).

Approval of the US Congress is very low: 21 percent of adults and 16 percent of likely voters approve of the way Congress is handling its job (disapprove: 75% adults, 83% likely voters). Overwhelming majorities across partisan groups disapprove of Congress (75% Democrats, 82% independents, 84% Republicans). Strong majorities across demographic groups disapprove of Congress. Residents in Los Angeles (29%) are more likely than residents in other regions to approve, while Latinos (30%) are more likely than other racial/ethnic groups to approve. Approval of the US Congress is slighter higher in California than in the nation overall (15% approve, 82% disapprove), according to a recent Gallup poll.

Close to half approve of President Joe Biden and US Senator Alex Padilla, while about two in ten approve of the US Congress
% approval

	President Biden	Senator Padilla	US Congress
All adults	47%	47%	21%
Likely voters	53	53	16
Democrats	74	72	23
Republicans	12	18	14
Independents	41	44	15
Central Valley	45	44	18
Inland Empire	35	36	20
Los Angeles	51	52	29
Orange/San Diego	46	41	19
SF Bay Area	53	54	16
Men	49	49	20
Women	45	45	23
African Americans	62	58	24
Asian Americans	50	49	21
Latinos	44	46	30
Whites	45	47	14
Less than $40,000	46	47	29
$40,000 to $79,999	46	47	22
$80,000 or more	48	49	17

SOURCE: PPIC Statewide Survey, December 2023. Survey was fielded from November 9–16, 2023 (n=1,660 adults, n=1,113 likely voters).

After the death of Diane Feinstein, Governor Newsom appointed Laphonza Butler to serve for the remainder of Feinstein's Senate term. More than four in ten Californians (44% adults, 50% likely voters) have a favorable opinion of Butler. A strong majority of Democrats have a favorable opinion of Senator Butler, compared to about four in ten independents and only 16 percent of Republicans.

Across regions, about half in the San Francisco Bay Area (52%) and Los Angeles (48%) have a favorable opinion of Senator Butler, compared to four in ten or less in other regions. Asian Americans are more likely than any other racial/ethnic group to hold a favorable view. College graduates (56%) are much more likely than those with some college education (42%) or those with a high school education or less (36%) to have a favorable opinion of Senator Butler.

On October 25, Mike Johnson, a Republican from Louisiana, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives after the chamber had gone the greater part of a month without a leader. About three in ten Californians hold a favorable view of Johnson (31% adults and likely voters). Two in three Republicans have a favorable opinion of Speaker Johnson, compared to about three in ten independents and one in six Democrats. One in three Latinos and whites view him favorably, while fewer African Americans (26%) and Asian Americans (25%) hold this view. Residents in the San Francisco Bay Area (24%) and college graduates (23%) are the least likely to have a positive view of Johnson.

Less than half hold a favorable opinion of Senator Laphonza Butler; about a third have a positive view of House Speaker Mike Johnson

% favorable opinion

	Senator Butler	Speaker Johnson
All adults	44%	31%
Likely voters	50	31
Democrats	68	15
Republicans	16	66
Independents	42	28
Central Valley	39	32
Inland Empire	37	32
Los Angeles	48	30
Orange/San Diego	40	32
SF Bay Area	52	24
Men	46	33
Women	42	29
African Americans	44	26
Asian Americans	52	25
Latinos	44	33
Whites	42	33
Less than $40,000	39	36
$40,000 to $79,999	48	31
$80,000 or more	48	29

Regional Map

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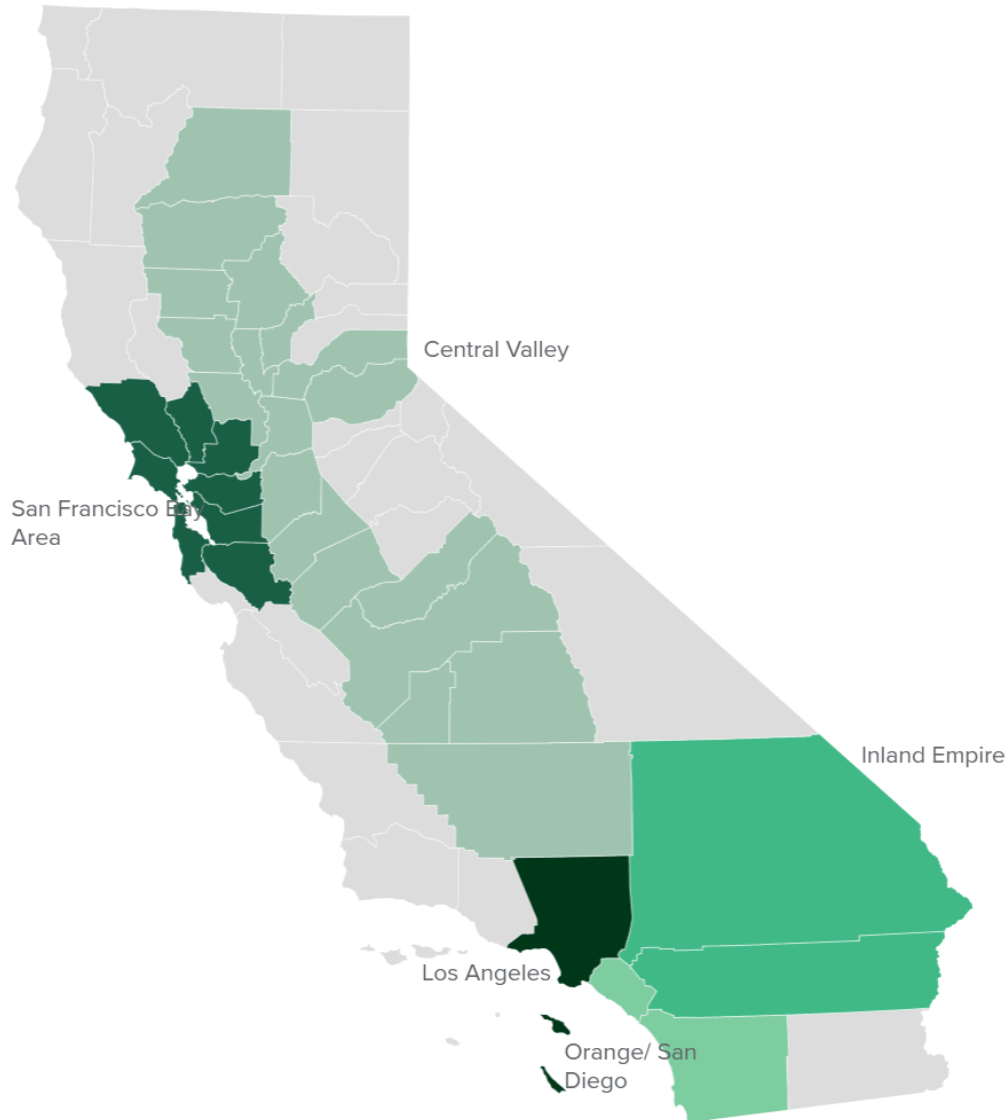
Methodology

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

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

Findings in this report are based on a survey of 1,660 California adult residents. The median time to complete the survey was 22 minutes. Interviews were conducted from November 9–16, 2023.

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

To qualify for the survey, a panel member must be age 18 or older and reside in California. A general population sample of Californians was selected using Ipsos's PPS (probability proportional to size) sampling procedure to select study-specific samples. Briefly, to select such samples, the panel is first weighted to population benchmarks and those panel weights are used as the measure of size for a PPS sample selection that yields a fully representative sample. A total of 1,703 respondents completed the survey out of 2,971 panelists who were sampled, for a response rate of 57 percent. To ensure the highest data quality, we flagged respondents who sped through the survey, which we defined as completing the survey in one-fourth of the overall median time (less than 5.5 minutes). We also flagged respondents if their self-reported age or gender did not match the data stored in their profile. A total of 43 cases were removed after this review process, resulting in 1,660 total qualified and valid cases.

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

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

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

The sampling error, taking design effects from weighting into consideration, is ±3.2 percent at the 95 percent confidence level for the total unweighted sample of 1,660 adults. This means that 95 times out of 100, the results will be within 3.2 percentage points of what they would be if all adults in California were interviewed. The sampling error for unweighted subgroups is larger: for the 1,410 registered voters, the sampling error is ±3.4 percent; for the 1,113 likely voters, it is ±3.8 percent. Sampling error is only one type of error to which surveys are subject. Results may also be affected by factors such as question wording, question order, and survey timing.

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

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

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

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

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

Unweighted N-size and margin of error

Group	Unweighted N-size	Margin of error
All adults	**1,660**	**3.2%**
Likely voters	1,113	3.8%
Democrats	712	4.9%
Republicans	339	6.9%
No party preference/ Independents	330	7%
Central Valley	300	7.2%
Inland Empire	207	9%
Los Angeles	387	6.6%
Orange/San Diego	276	7.7%
SF Bay Area	337	7.5%
Men	803	4.7%
Women	857	4.3%
African Americans	146	11.6%
Asian Americans	176	8.9%
Latinos	437	5.8%
Whites	838	4.5%
Less than $40,000	343	6.7%
$40,000 to $79,999	405	6.3%
$80,000 or more	846	4.5%
All likely voters	**1,113**	**3.8%**
Democrats	580	5.3%
Republicans	276	7.5%
No party preference/ Independents	232	8.2%
Central Valley	187	9.3%
Inland Empire	124	11.3%
Los Angeles	243	8.3%
Orange/San Diego	195	8.5%
SF Bay Area	258	8.2%
Men	576	5.5%
Women	537	5.2%
Latinos	210	8.3%
Whites	653	4.8%
Other	250	8.2%
Less than $40,000	166	10%
$40,000 to $79,999	251	7.8%
$80,000 or more	661	4.9%

Questions and Responses

November 9–16, 2023
1,660 California adult residents
English, Spanish

Margin of error ±3.2% at 95% confidence level for total sample
Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

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

31% jobs, economy, inflation
15% housing costs, availability
14% homelessness
8% crime, gangs, drugs
6% environment, pollution, climate change
4% immigration, illegal immigration
3% state budget, deficit, taxes
3% government in general, problems with elected officials, political parties
1% water, drought
12% other (*specify*)
3% don't know

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

52% approve
46% disapprove
2% don't know

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

45% approve
52% disapprove
3% don't know

4. Do you think things in California are <u>generally</u> going in the right direction or the wrong direction?

41% right direction
58% wrong direction
1% don't know

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

33% good times
65% bad times
2% don't know

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

75% yes *[ask q6a]*
25% no *[skip to q7b]*

6a. Are you registered as a Democrat, a Republican, another party, or are you registered as a decline-to-state or independent voter?

47% Democrat *[ask q7]*
24% Republican *[skip to q7a]*
2% another party *(please specify)* *[skip to q8]*
27% decline-to-state/independent *[skip to q7b]*

[likely voters only]

49% Democrat *[ask q7]*
27% Republican *[skip to q7a]*
2% another party *(please specify)* *[skip to q8]*
23% decline-to-state/independent *[skip to q7b]*

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

53% strong
46% not very strong
1% don't know

[skip to q8]

7a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican?

58% strong
42% not very strong
– don't know

[skip to q8]

7b. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?

16% Republican Party
31% Democratic Party
45% neither
8% don't know

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

21% Adam Schiff, a Democrat, Congressman
16% Katie Porter, a Democrat, Congresswoman
10% Steve Garvey, a Republican
8% Barbara Lee, a Democrat, Congresswoman
4% James P. Bradley, a Republican, Chief Financial Officer
3% Eric Early, a Republican, Attorney/Business
2% Roxanne Lawler, a Republican
2% Sarah Liew, a Republican, Chief Executive Officer
2% Barack Obama Mandela, a Republican
2% Jonathan Reiss, a Republican, Business Owner
2% Jessica Resendez, a Democrat
1% Akinyemi Agbede, a Democrat, Mathematician
1% Paul Kevin Anderson, Green Party
1% Dana Bobbit, an independent
1% Joshua Bocanegra, a Democrat
1% Frank Ferreira, an independent
1% Diane Foxington, a Democrat
1% John Joseph Pappenheim, a Republican
1% Christina Pascucci, a Democrat
1% John David Rose, a Democrat
– Danny Fabricant, a Republican
– Jacob Farmos, a Democrat
– Jeremy Fennell, a Democrat
– Carson Franklin Jr., a Democrat
– Denice Gary-Pandol, a Republican
– Zephar Inam, a Democrat
– Denard Ingram, a Democrat
– Fepbrina Keivaulqe Autiameineire, other
– Zakaira Mohamed Kortam, a Republican
– Alexander Norbash, a Democrat
– Katie O'Neal Roedersheimer, an independent
– Perry Pound, a Democrat
– Aejaz Raji Rab, a Democrat, Aviator/Educator/Entrepreneur
– Lexi Reese, a Democrat
– Mark Ruzon, other
– Major Singh, no party preference
– Jehu Thomas De Gerold Hand, a Republican
1% Someone else *(please specify)*

2% would not vote for US Senator *(volunteered)*
14% don't know

8a. *[likely voters only]* **In general, would you say you are satisfied or not satisfied with your choices of candidates in the US Senate Primary?**

59% satisfied
38% not satisfied
3% don't know

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

56% Donald Trump, former President
13% Nikki Haley, former South Carolina Governor
12% Ron DeSantis, Florida Governor
5% Chris Christie, former Governor of New Jersey
2% Doug Burgum, North Dakota Governor
2% Vivek Ramaswamy, entrepreneur and author
2% Tim Scott, US Senator
1% Kristi Noem, South Dakota Governor
– Asa Hutchinson, businessman and former Arkansas Governor
– Perry Johnson, entrepreneur
– Glen Youngkin, Virginia Governor
3% someone else *(please specify)*
1% would not vote in Republican primary *(volunteered)*
1% don't know

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

54% Joe Biden
30% Donald Trump
9% someone else *(please specify)*
3% neither/would not vote for President *(volunteered)*
4% don't know

10a. *[likely voters only]* **Thinking about the presidential election that will be held next November, are you more enthusiastic about voting than usual, or less enthusiastic?**

47% more enthusiastic
52% less enthusiastic
1% don't know

11. *[likely voters only]* **If the 2024 election for US House of Representatives were being held today, would you vote for [rotate] [1] the Republican candidate [or] [2] the Democratic candidate in your district?**

37% Republican/lean Republican
62% Democrat/lean Democrat
2% don't know

11a. *[likely voters only]* **Thinking about the Congressional elections that will be held next November, are you more enthusiastic about voting than usual, or less enthusiastic?**

47% more enthusiastic
52% less enthusiastic
1% don't know

12. *[likely voters only]* **How closely are you following news about candidates for the 2024 presidential election?**

20% very closely
43% fairly closely
29% not too closely
8% not at all closely
– don't know

Next, we have a few questions about Proposition 1 on the March ballot.

13. *[likely voters only]* **Proposition 1 is the behavioral health services program and bond measure. It renames the Mental Health Services Act of 2004 to the Behavioral Health Services Act, and expands its purpose and funding to include substance abuse disorders and housing intervention programs. It authorizes $6.38 billion in state general obligation bonds to fund housing for homeless individuals and veterans with mental health or substance abuse disorders. If the election were today, would you vote yes or no on Proposition 1?**

68% yes
30% no
2% don't know

14. *[likely voters only]* **Is this a good time or a bad time for the state to issue $6.38 billion in bonds to fund housing for homeless individuals and veterans with mental health or substance disorders?**

51% good time
46% bad time
3% don't know

15. *[likely voters only]* **The Mental Health Services Act enacted by voters as Proposition 63 in 2004 funds county mental health services with revenue from a 1 percent tax on income above $1 million. Do you think that this act is in need of major changes, minor changes, or that it is basically fine the way that it is?**

30% major changes
34% minor changes
33% fine the way it is
3% don't know

Next, changes were made to the referendum process, which enables voters to approve or reject a new law, when the state legislature passed Assembly Bill 421 and the governor approved it in September. Please indicate if you favor or oppose these changes to the referendum process.

[rotate questions 16 to 18]

16. *[likely voters only]* **Do you favor or oppose having a period of time in which the referendum sponsor and the legislature can meet to see if there is a compromise solution before referendums go to the ballot?**

78% favor
18% oppose
3% don't know

17. *[likely voters only]* **Do you favor or oppose replacing "yes" and "no" with "Keep the law" and "Overturn the law" for statewide referendum measures?**

73% favor
24% oppose
3% don't know

18. *[likely voters only]* **Do you favor or oppose requiring the top funders for state referendum measures be listed after the official ballot title and summary in the state voter information guide?**

88% favor
10% oppose
3% don't know

On another topic,

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

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

2% much stronger
11% somewhat stronger
46% about the same
27% somewhat weaker
12% much weaker
1% don't know

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

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

4% much stronger
16% somewhat stronger

54% about the same
18% somewhat weaker
7% much weaker
1% don't know

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

25% more comfortable
74% less comfortable
1% don't know

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

33% more comfortable
66% less comfortable
1% don't know

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

20% yes
79% no
1% don't know

24. Now look ahead at the <u>next</u> six months. How likely is it that you, someone in your family or someone else you know personally will lose their job in the next six months as a result of economic conditions?

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

4% extremely likely
6% very likely
26% somewhat likely
41% not very likely
22% not at all likely
2% don't know

On another topic,

25. How much of a problem do you think the overuse of opioids, amphetamines, and other drugs are a problem in your part of California?

59% big problem
35% somewhat of a problem
5% not a problem
1% don't know

Though not all state funding, the Newsom administration has spent $1 billion on the opioid crisis since the 2019–2020 budget year. Do you support each or oppose each of the following in combatting against drug overdoses?

[rotate questions 26 to 29]

26. Establishing addiction treatment centers in your local area

39% strongly support
40% somewhat support
13% somewhat oppose
7% strongly oppose
1% don't know

27. Making Narcan/Naloxone, a medicine that can reverse an opioid overdose, freely available in places like bars, health clinics, and fire stations

41% strongly support
35% somewhat support
14% somewhat oppose
9% strongly oppose
1% don't know

28. Safe consumption sites where people can use illegal drugs but there are trained personnel in case of emergency

12% strongly support
24% somewhat support
23% somewhat oppose
40% strongly oppose
1% don't know

29. Experimental programs that reward recovering addicts with gift cards for negative drug tests

16% strongly support
38% somewhat support
25% somewhat oppose
20% strongly oppose
1% don't know

Changing topics,

30. How much of a problem is housing affordability in your part of California? Is it a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem?

77% big problem
20% somewhat of a problem
2% not a problem
– don't know

31. Does the cost of your housing place a financial strain on you and your family today? (*If yes, ask*: "Is that a lot of financial strain or only a little?")

34% yes, a lot
17% yes, a little
49% no
– don't know

32. As you may know, the California Housing Finance Agency (CalHFA), has a program offering significant down payment assistance to first-time home buyers with low to moderate incomes. Do you think California needs more policies geared towards making homebuying more accessible? (*If yes, ask*: "If so, how much more?")

54% yes, a lot more
22% yes, some
24% no
1% don't know

33. Recently there has been a bill signed into law that limits the amount a landlord can collect as a security deposit to just one month's rent. Do you think California needs more policies geared towards making rental housing more accessible? (*If yes, ask*: "If so, how much more?")

54% yes, a lot more
20% yes, some
25% no
1% don't know

34. How much of a problem is homelessness in your part of California? Is it a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not much of a problem?

64% big problem
32% somewhat of a problem
4% not a problem
– don't know

35. How concerned are you about the presence of homeless people in your local community today? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned?

45% very concerned
41% somewhat concerned
12% not too concerned
2% not at all concerned
– don't know

36. Have you or anyone in your close family had experience with housing insecurity or homelessness? (*If yes, ask*: Is that person you or another person in your family?)

10% yes, me
11% yes, another person in my family
79% no
— don't know

37. How often do you see someone experiencing homelessness?

53% daily
19% very few days
14% weekly
11% seldom
3% never
— don't know

38. How often do you interact with someone experiencing homelessness?

9% daily
10% very few days
10% weekly
45% seldom
26% never
— don't know

Do you think each of the following is a major factor, minor factor, or not at all a factor in contributing to homelessness in your local community?

[rotate questions 39 to 42]

39. Lack of affordable housing

70% major factor
23% minor factor
6% not at all a factor
1% don't know

40. Loss or reduced income

62% major factor
32% minor factor
6% not at all a factor
1% don't know

41. Substance abuse

78% major factor
18% minor factor
3% not at all a factor
1% don't know

42. Lack of mental health services

63% major factor
31% minor factor
6% not at all a factor
1% don't know

Do you support or oppose the following policies to help homeless people in California?

[rotate questions 43 to 45]

43. Converting empty office spaces in cities into affordable housing

77% support
22% oppose
1% don't know

44. Providing short-term financial support for homeless families

78% support
21% oppose
1% don't know

45. Building developments of tiny or small homes across the state

77% support
22% oppose
1% don't know

On a different topic,

46. Thinking about what it means to be a good citizen, how important is it to serve on jury duty if called?

45% very important
37% somewhat important
10% not too important
7% not at all important
– don't know

46a. Have you been called for jury duty service in the last ten years? (*If yes, ask: "Did* you serve in a trial or not?")

13% yes, served in a trial
54% yes, did not serve in a trial
33% no
– don't know

How much trust, if any, do you have of people working in the following areas?

47. Citizens serving on juries

14% a great deal
50% a fair amount
26% only a little
9% none or almost none
1% don't know

48. State court judges

15% a great deal
49% a fair amount
26% only a little
11% none or almost none
1% don't know

49. Federal court judges

15% a great deal
49% a fair amount
25% only a little
10% none or almost none
1% don't know

50. Supreme Court justices

15% a great deal
40% a fair amount
28% only a little
17% none or almost none
1% don't know

On another topic,

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

47% approve
52% disapprove
1% don't know

52. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Alex Padilla is handling his job as US Senator?

47% approve
45% disapprove
7% don't know

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

21% approve
75% disapprove
3% don't know

53a. Do you have a *[rotate]* (1) favorable or (2) an unfavorable impression of Mike Johnson, the new Speaker of the House?

31% favorable
59% unfavorable
6% have not heard enough about him to have an opinion *(volunteered)*
4% don't know

54. Do you have a *[rotate]* (1) favorable or (2) an unfavorable impression of Laphonza Butler, the newly appointed US Senator from California?

44% favorable
42% unfavorable
9% have not heard enough about her to have an opinion *(volunteered)*
5% don't know

On another topic,

55. Do you think Congress should or should not authorize additional funding to support Ukraine in the war with Russia?

46% should authorize additional funding
50% should not authorize additional funding
4% don't know

56. When it comes to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you think that the US is providing [randomize 1 and 2 and always ask 3 and 4 last]: [1] too much support to Ukraine, [2] not enough support to Ukraine, or [3] about the right amount of support to Ukraine or [4] are you not sure?

29% too much support
16% not enough support
36% about the right amount of support
20% not sure

57. How much, if anything, have you heard about the news about escalating violence in Israel and Palestine?

59% a lot
32% a little
8% nothing at all
1% don't know

58. Do you think the United States has a responsibility to do something about the fighting in Israel and the Palestinian territory between Israeli forces and Hamas, or doesn't the United States have this responsibility?

37% has a responsibility
36% does not have a responsibility
27% not sure

59. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, do you think the United States should take Israel's side, the Palestinians' side, or not take either side?

28% Israel's side
9% Palestinian side
61% neither side
2% don't know

Changing topics,

60. Over the last several years, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has...

6% become more fact-based
67% become less fact-based
25% not changed much
2% don't know

61. These days, do you feel [rotate] [1] (optimistic) or [2] (pessimistic) that Americans of different political views can still come together and work out their differences?

26% optimistic
72% pessimistic
2% don't know

62. In your experience, when you talk about politics with people who you disagree with, do you generally find it to be...

29% interesting and informative
68% stressful and frustrating
3% don't know

Regardless of how you usually vote, overall, which political party—the Democrats or the Republicans—do you trust to do a better job in handling the following issues that the nation will face over the next few years?

[rotate questions 63 to 66]

63. Jobs and the economy

54% the Democrats
40% the Republicans
– both *(volunteered)*
3% neither *(volunteered)*
3% don't know

64. Federal budget and taxes

51% the Democrats
43% the Republicans
– both *(volunteered)*
3% neither *(volunteered)*
3% don't know

65. Immigration and dealing with the US-Mexico border

51% the Democrats
44% the Republicans
– both *(volunteered)*
3% neither *(volunteered)*
2% don't know

66. Climate change and energy

68% the Democrats
26% the Republicans
– both *(volunteered)*
3% neither *(volunteered)*
3% don't know

67. How much attention is paid to the disagreements between Republicans and Democrats?

44% too much
31% right amount
21% too little
3% don't know

68. How well does the Republican Party represent the interests of people like you?

8% very well
25% somewhat well
28% not too well
36% not at all well
3% don't know

69. How well does the Democratic Party represent the interests of people like you?

12% very well
41% somewhat well
22% not too well
23% not at all well
3% don't know

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

13% very liberal
18% somewhat liberal
44% middle-of-the-road
17% somewhat conservative
8% very conservative
1% don't know

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

16% a great deal
32% a fair amount
36% only a little
16% none
– don't know

[d1–d18 demographic questions]

Authors

Mark Baldassare is the Statewide Survey Director at the Public Policy Institute of California, where he holds the Arjay and Frances Fearing Miller Chair in Public Policy. He is a leading expert on public opinion and survey methodology and has directed the PPIC Statewide Survey since 1998. He is an authority on elections, voter behavior, and political and fiscal reform, and the author of ten books and numerous publications. Previously, he served as PPIC's president and CEO, director of research, and senior fellow. Before joining PPIC, he was a professor of urban and regional planning in the School of Social Ecology at the University of California, Irvine, where he held the Johnson Chair in Civic Governance. He has conducted surveys for the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the California Business Roundtable. He holds a PhD in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley.

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

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

Deja Thomas is a survey analyst at the Public Policy Institute of California, where she works with the statewide survey team. Prior to joining PPIC, she was a research assistant with the social and demographic trends team at

the Pew Research Center. In that role, she contributed to a variety of national quantitative and qualitative survey studies. She holds a BA in psychology from the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa.

Acknowledgments

PPIC Statewide Advisory Committee

Copyright