

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 OCT 24 P6:00

19 October 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/25/95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes (HI)

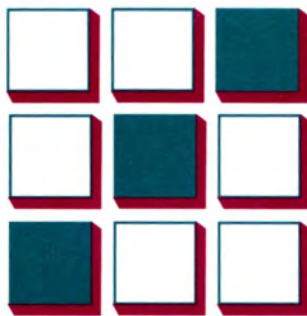
SUBJECT: California affirmative action survey

Attached is a copy of the initial of the "Results" of the California affirmative action survey taken by The Feldman Group, Inc, dated October 1995. This survey was conducted for the Service Employees International Union and the California Teachers Association.

Let's discuss.

to Sund
to Penn
cc DM

PHOTOCOPY
PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



THE FELDMAN GROUP, INC.

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THE FELDMAN GROUP, INC.

Results

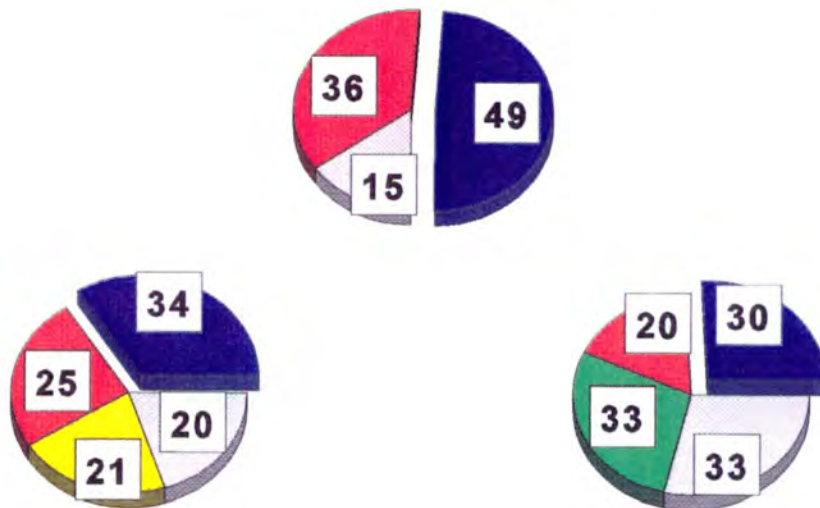
California Affirmative Action Survey

October 19, 1995

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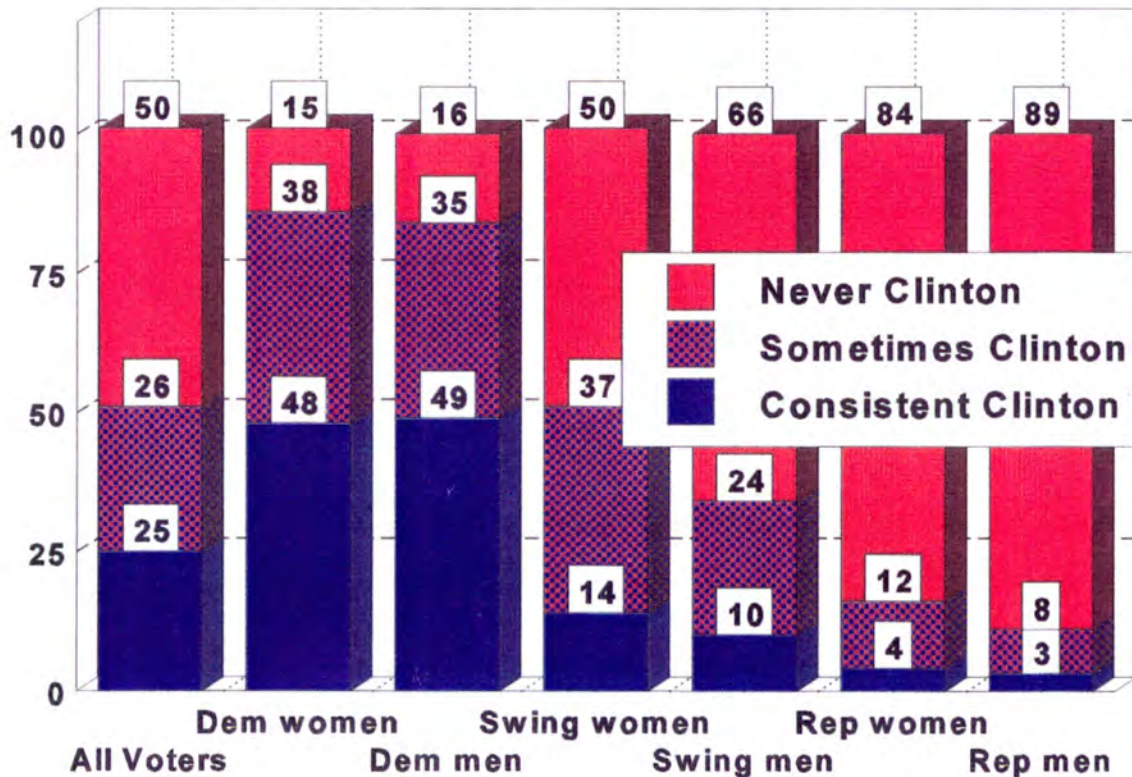
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Presidential Vote

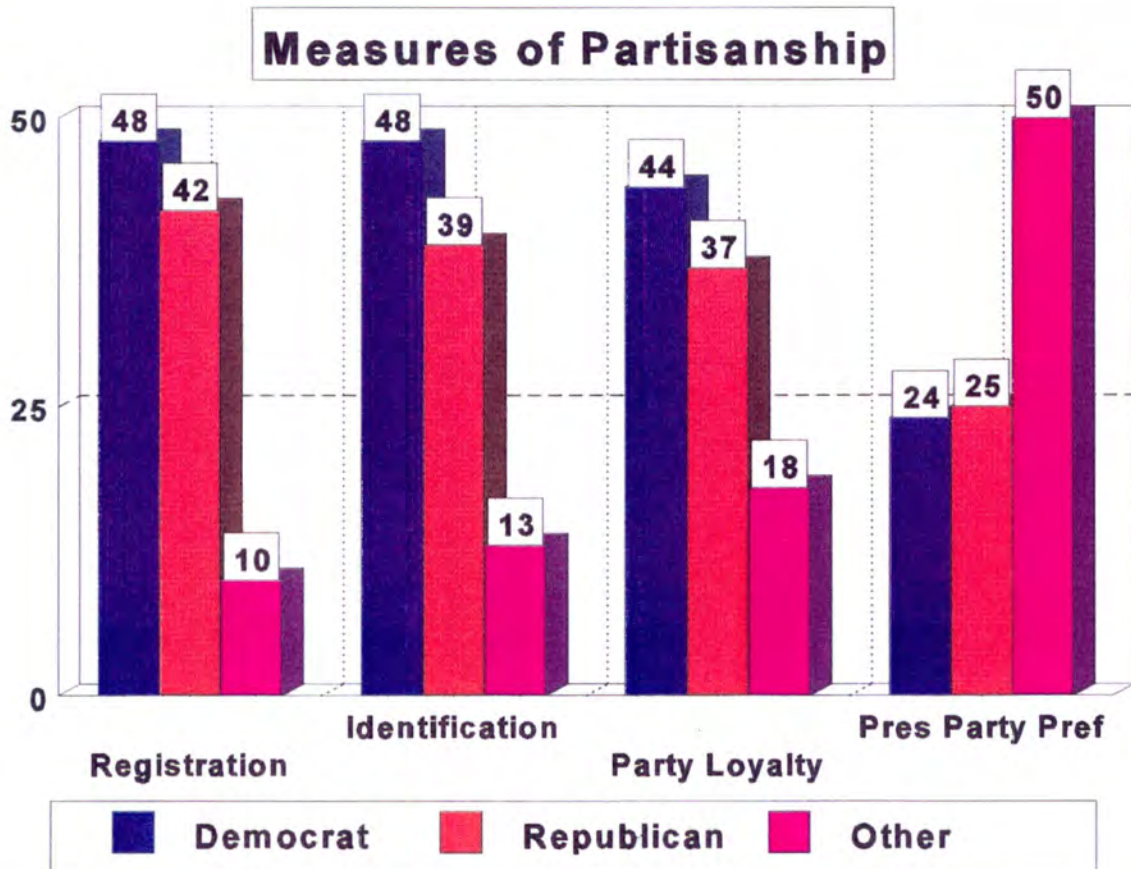


Clinton leads Dole 49 to 36 percent and continues to lead Dole when we include a generic independent candidate but with a less commanding 34 percent. In a three-way race including Colin Powell, Clinton trails Powell with 30 percent to 33 percent for Powell and 20 percent for Dole.

Consistency of Clinton Support



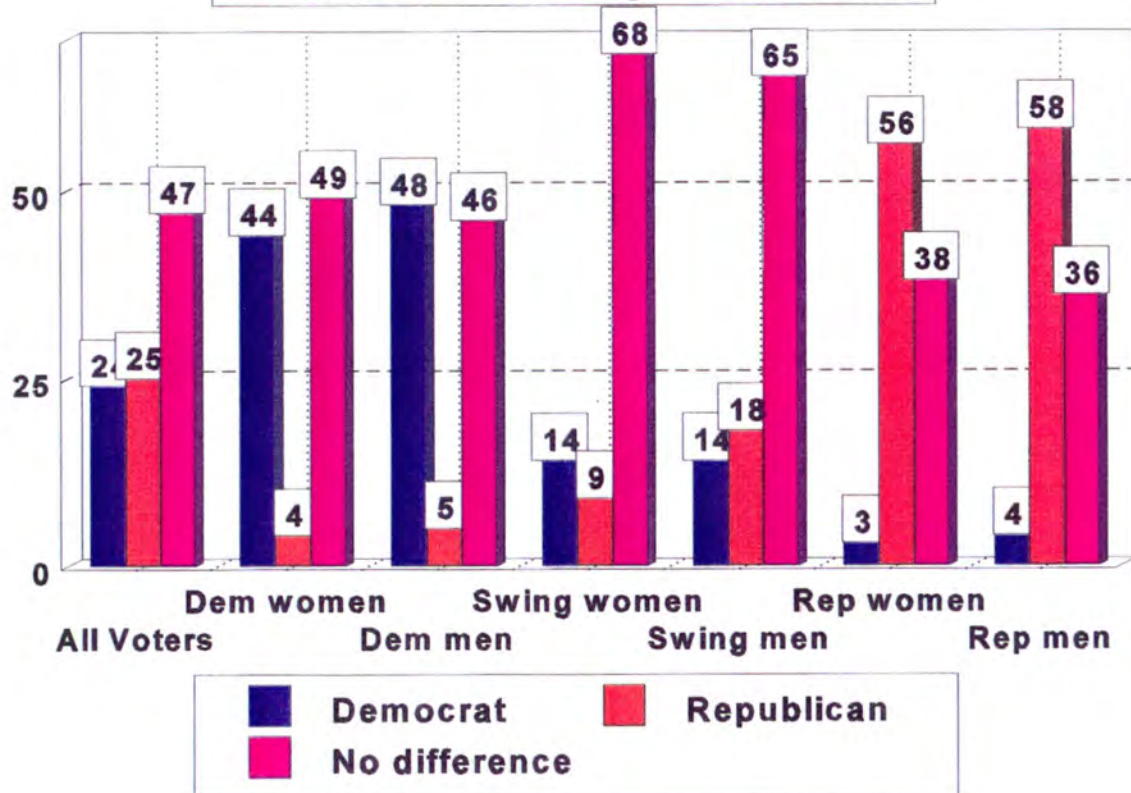
Although Clinton wins 49 percent against Dole, only 25 percent of voters are consistently for Clinton whether he is matched against Dole, Powell or a generic independent. The 26 percent of voters who are sometimes but inconsistently for Clinton include 38 percent of Democratic women and 37 percent of swing women. Forty-six (46) percent of Democratic women under age 45 are sometimes Clinton voters.



California remains marginally Democratic in several traditional measures of partisanship. However, the result is different when we ask, "Do you think you and your family would be better off if the President were a Republican or if the President were a Democrat, or doesn't it make any difference to you and your family which party has the presidency?" In that case, only 25 percent of voters say having a Democratic President matters. We find similar results on the state legislative level. These results mean less loyalty in our base than in the Republican base.

Party Loyalty

Presidential Party Preference



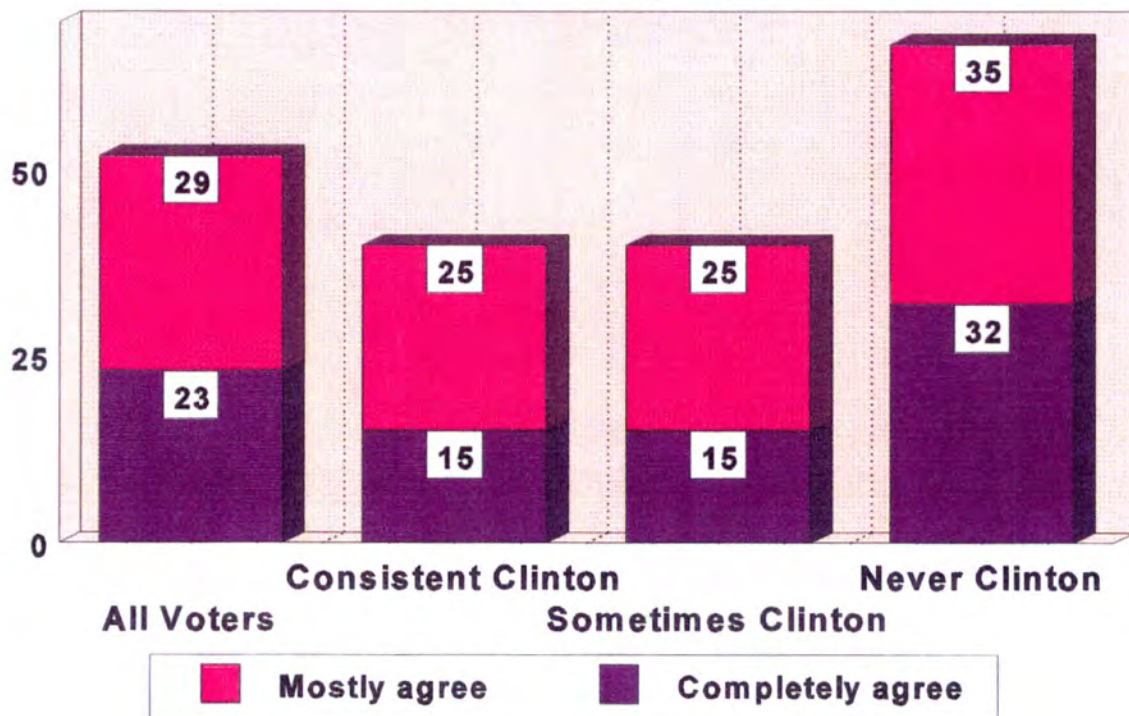
Republicans care more about the party of their president than Democrats do. Fifty-six (56) percent of Republican women and 58 percent of Republican men say they would prefer a president of their own party. In contrast, a plurality of even the most loyal Democratic voters say the party of the president makes no difference to them.

NAME	DESCRIPTION	DEMOGRAPHICS
"The Embittered" 22 percent in May 26 percent in September	Too many people look for handouts, government does too much for minorities, diversity is not desirable, we will not have a color-blind society	Los Angeles suburbs, Republican men, white voters without college 19 percent sometimes Clinton
"Quiet Plurality" 23 percent in May 21 percent in September	People who work hard will get ahead, <u>diversity is positive</u> and we can have a color-blind society, minorities are not denied opportunities now, government does more than it should for minorities	Strong Republicans, White voters w/o college, voters outside metro areas 15 percent sometimes Clinton
"Strivers" 20 percent in May 15 percent in September	People who work hard will get ahead, women should be in the workforce, diversity is positive, women but less so minorities are denied opportunities now	College educated swing voters, Los Angeles swing voters, White Catholics <u>25 percent sometimes Clinton</u>
"Pro-Diversity" 18 percent in May 19 percent in September	Women and minorities are denied opportunity now, we do not have a color-blind society and government should do more	College educated Democratic women, black women, college educated Latinos, younger Latino men 38 percent sometimes Clinton
"Minority Empowerment" 16 percent in May 20 percent in September	Minorities are denied opportunities, we do not have a color-blind society and government should do more	Black men, Latino women over age 45, black women over age 45, college-educated whites 33 percent sometimes Clinton

Not a swing group

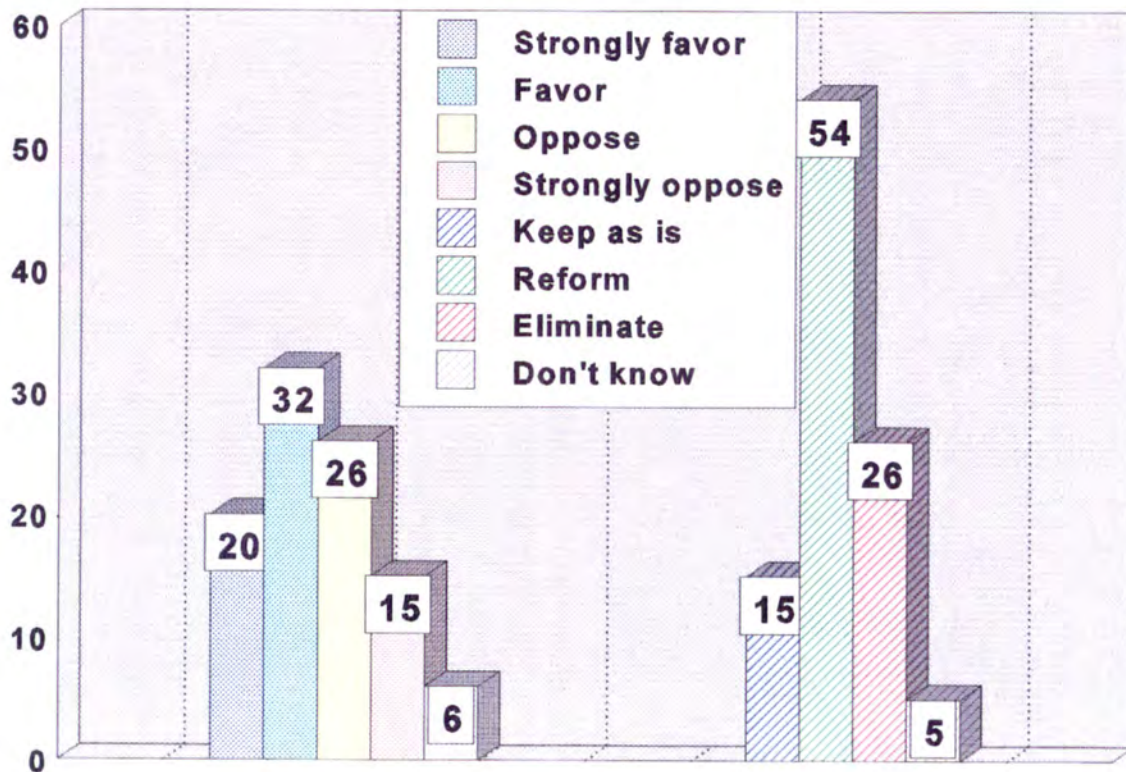
non-urban

Government Gives Too Much Help to Minorities at Expense of Other People



The electorate is polarized around issues of affirmative action and government 'help for minorities'. Democrats can argue for the value of equal opportunity, but arguments that sound like they are about more government programs will increase polarization in the electorate.

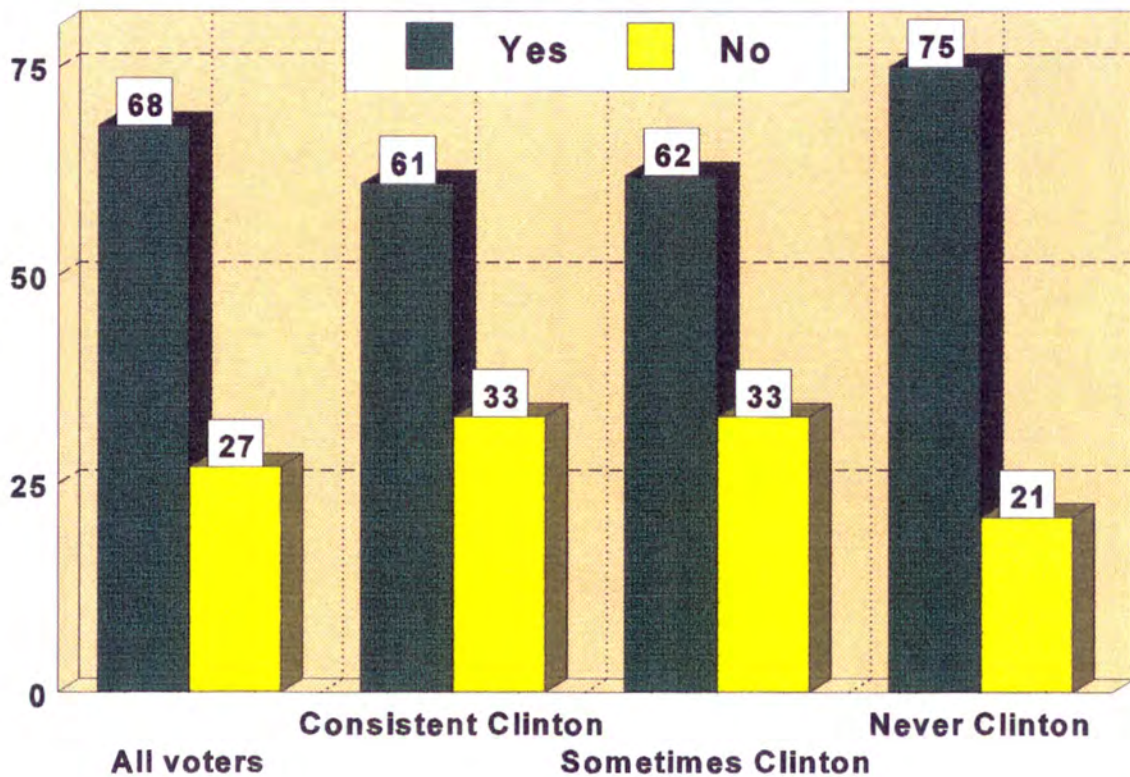
Affirmative Action



Fifty-two (52) percent of voters still say they favor affirmative action programs to help women and minorities achieve equal opportunity. A 54 percent majority of voters, however, favor reforming affirmative action while only 15 percent want to keep affirmative action the way it is. Arguing against CCRI is tantamount to arguing for the status quo, a position that has little support.

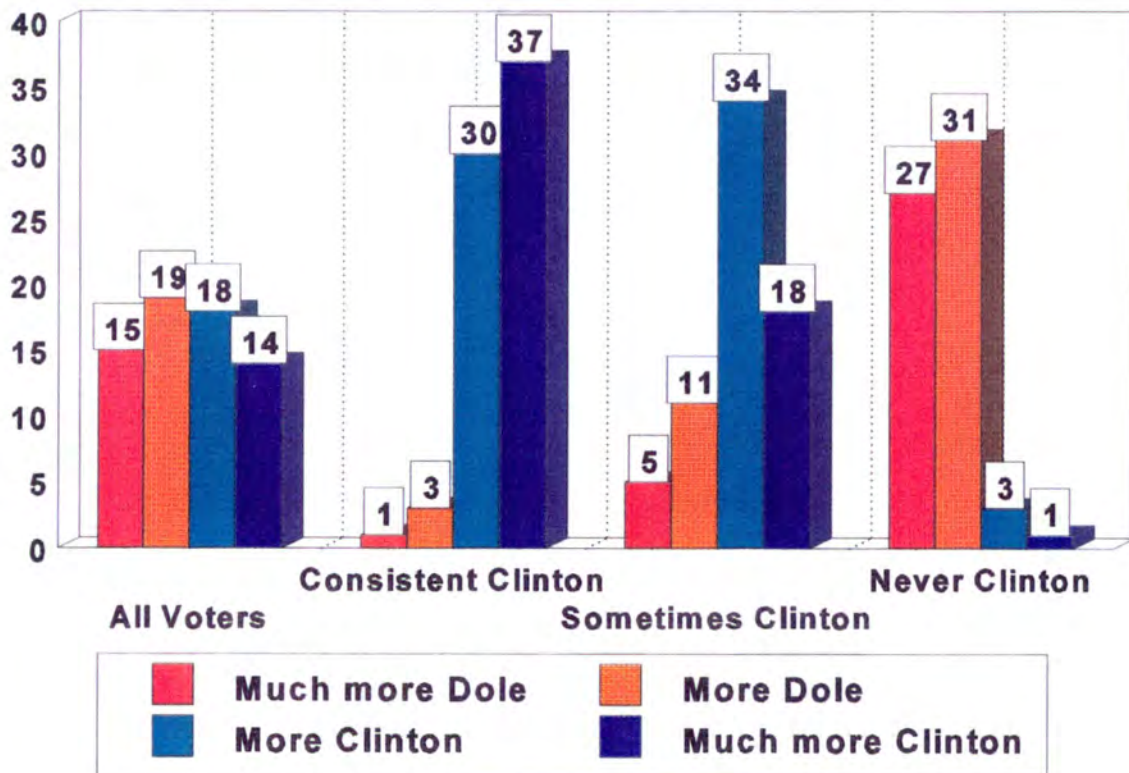
- consistent w/ Gov'n

Clinton Support and CCRI Vote



Consistent Clinton and sometimes Clinton voters support CCRI by almost two-to-one. As the electorate becomes more polarized on this issue, Clinton is likely to lose some of his soft support.

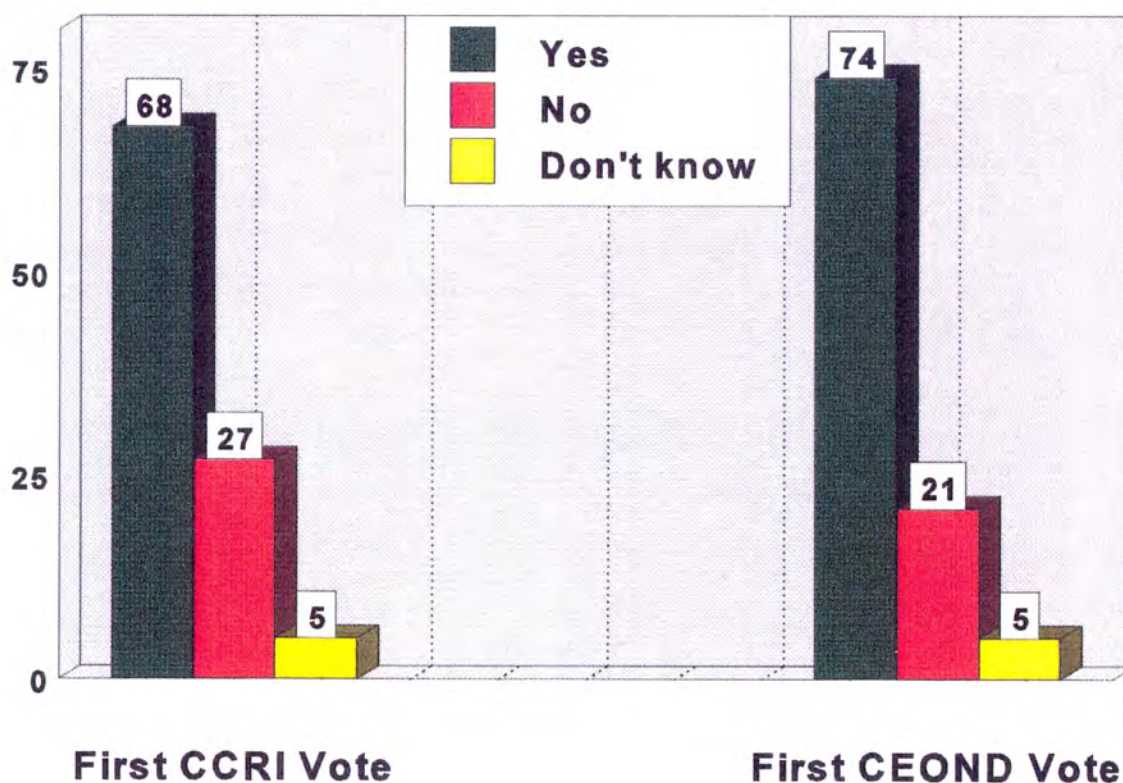
Effect of CCRI on Presidential Vote



Dole's support for CCRI helps him. It is a small net positive overall and helps him consolidate the half of the electorate that does not now choose Clinton in any contest.

- make marginal candidate stronger

Current Support for Each Initiative



The alternative initiative, the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, draws more support right at the start because it does an even better job expressing voters' values. The vote among sometime Clinton voters is similar to that for all voters. Sixty-two (62) percent of sometime Clinton voters initially support CCRI; 75 percent initially support CEOND.

OCT-18-95 WED 2:43 PM BAGATELOS&FADEM FAX NO. 415-562-1000 1. 2

CALIFORNIA EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION ACT

October 17, 1995

SECTION 1.

This Act shall be known as the "California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Act."

SECTION 2.

Purpose and Intent.

The people of the State of California find and declare that

[To be inserted later]

SECTION 3.

Section 7.5 is hereby added to Article 1 of the California Constitution to read as follows:

- (a) The state is prohibited from using quotas that require hiring or selecting persons in public employment, education and contracting on the basis of race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin.
- (b) The state is prohibited from hiring or selecting unqualified persons in public employment, education and contracting based on race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin.
- (c) The state shall, without the use of quotas, prevent discrimination and ensure equal opportunity in public employment, education and contracting.
- (d) The state shall not operate any affirmative action programs that use quotas or which hire or select unqualified persons.
- (e) For the purposes of this section, "state" shall include, but not necessarily be limited to, the state itself, any city, county, city and county, public university systems, including the University of California, community college district, school district, special district, or any other political subdivision or governmental instrumentality of or within the state.
- (f) Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as prohibiting action which must be taken to establish or maintain eligibility for any federal program, where ineligibility would result in a loss of federal funds to the state.

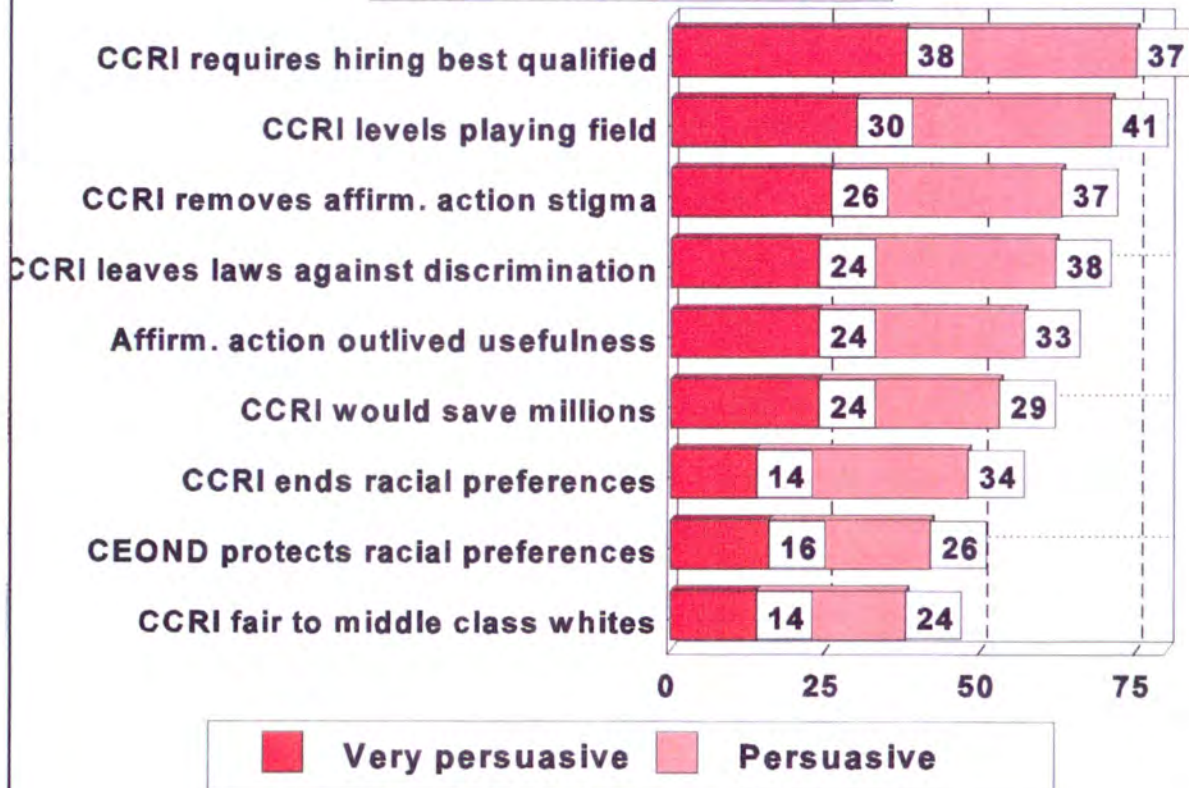
(g) Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as limiting the ability of courts to correct the effects of discrimination.

SECTION 4.

To avoid needless litigation, this measure shall supersede any and all other measures on the same ballot related to discrimination in public employment, education and contracting, provided this measure receives more votes than the other measures.

aa\initiative.doc

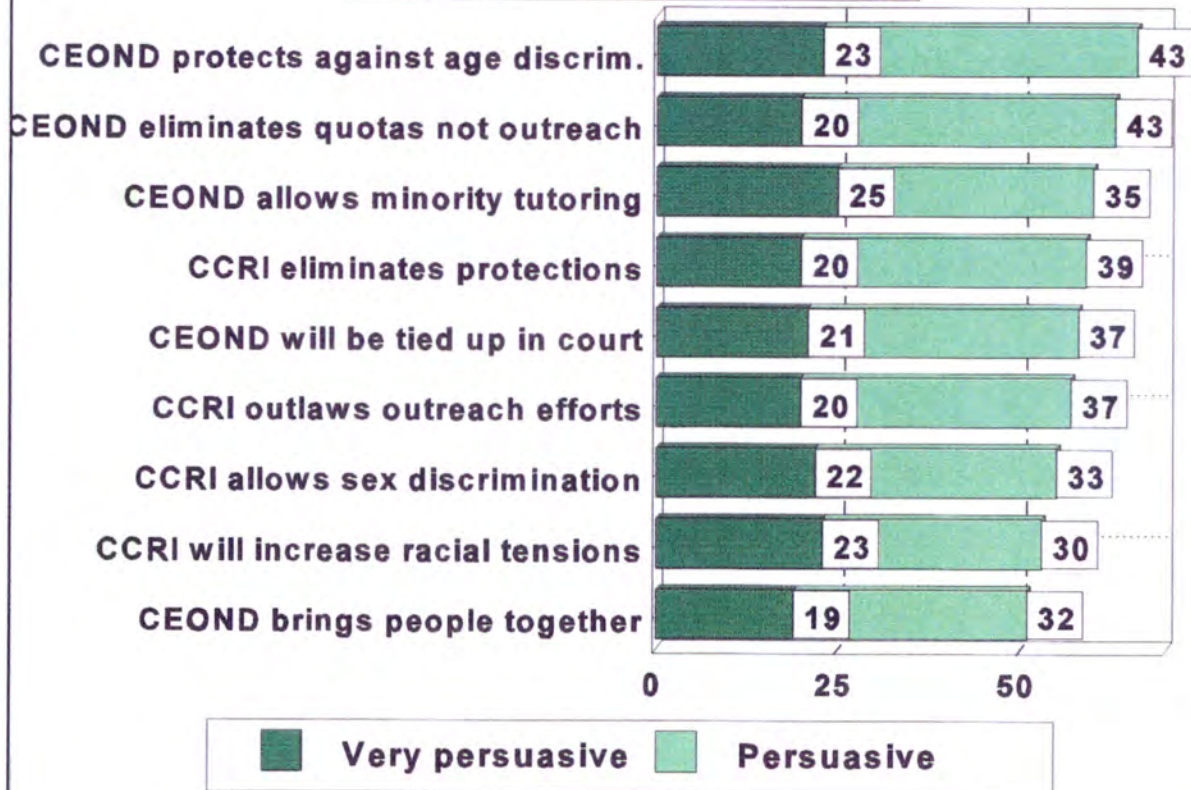
Arguments for CCRI



The strongest arguments for CCRI remain those that are rooted in voters' values of fairness and opportunity. Voters respond especially strongly to CCRI's requirement that the best qualified applicant get the job. In the end, however, a majority of voters are willing to sustain some racial preferences as long as people are qualified.

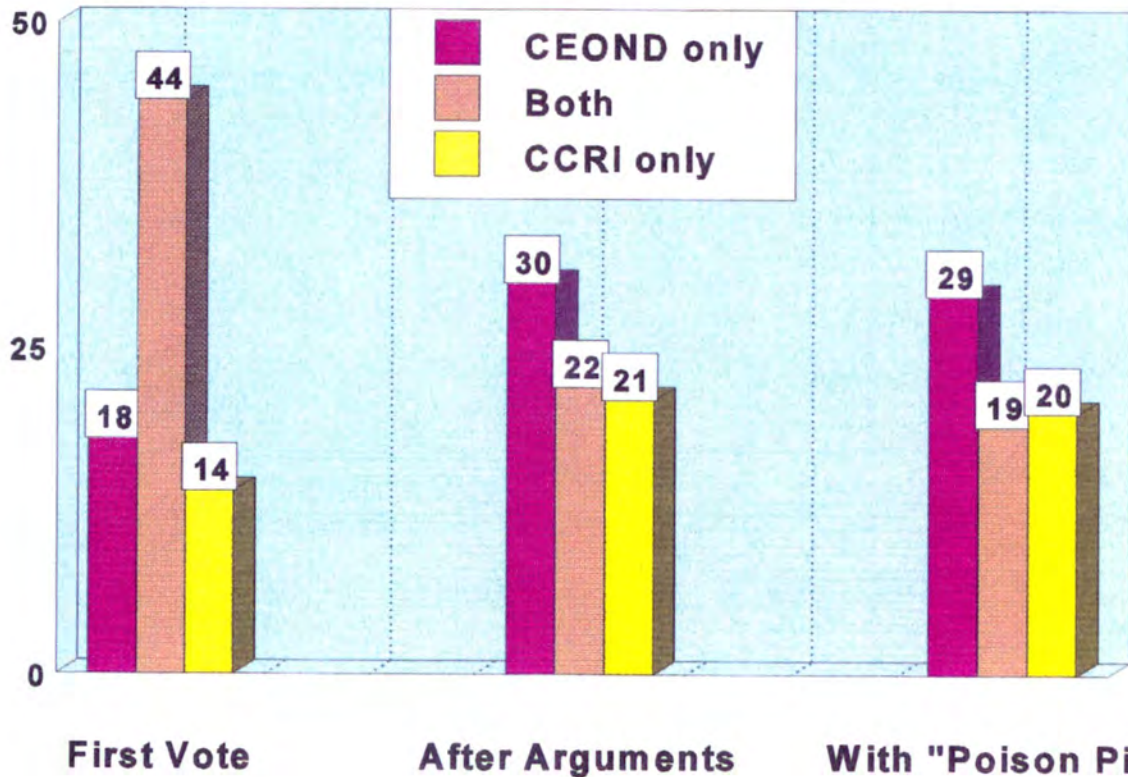
- statement of values argument

Arguments for CEOND



Voters respond to several arguments why the CEOND is better than the CCRI. CEOND better expresses their values and concerns about discrimination. CCRI goes too far in rolling back equal opportunity. *il, values*

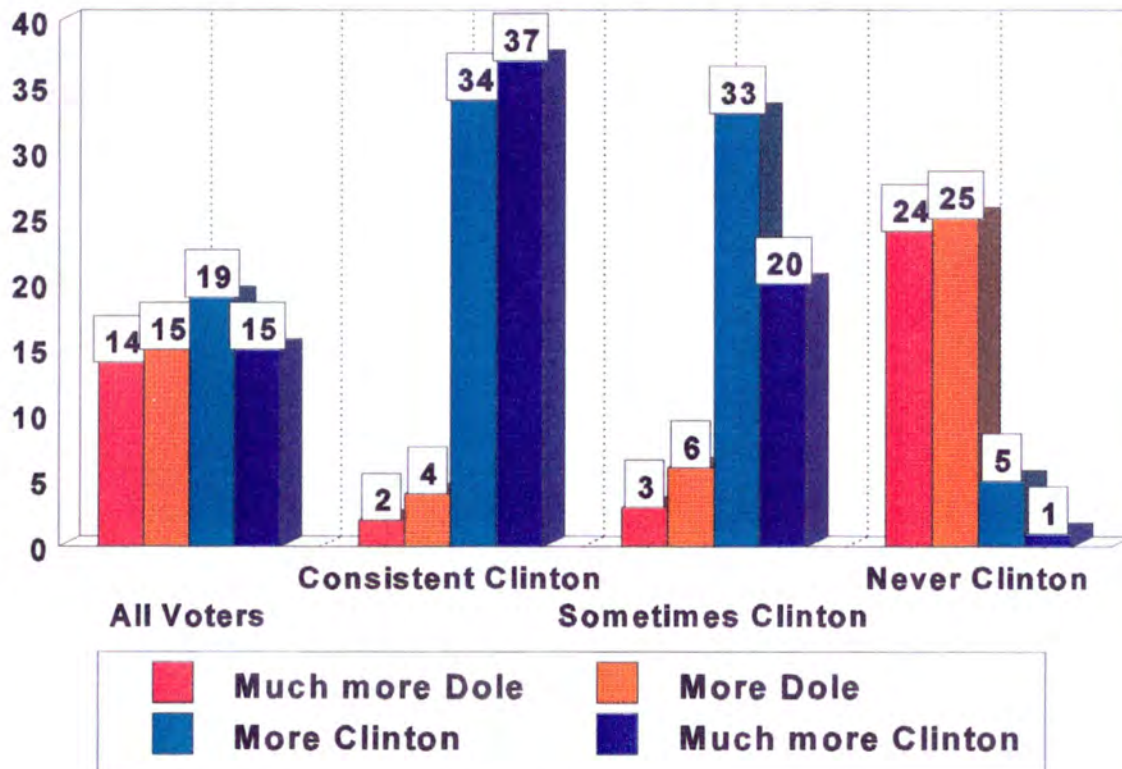
Movement on the Initiatives



After the arguments, 52 percent of voters support CEOND and 43 percent support CCRI. When voters are also told about CEOND's "poison pill" provision, 48 percent support CEOND and 39 percent support CCRI. These results mean CCRI could actually lose if there is an alternative initiative.

*Whichever
gets Most
Votes*

Combined Effect of Initiatives



If Dole supports CCRI and Clinton supports CEOND, the net effect helps Clinton. Clinton is strongly advantaged both in his base and among swing voters. Dole derives less benefit in his base than when CCRI stands alone.

October 14, 1995

[INTRODUCTION:] Hello. Is _____ there (**ASK FOR NAME ON LIST**)? This is (caller name) and I'm calling for California Opinion Surveys. I would like to ask you a few questions concerning the problems facing our state and nation.

SAMPLE SIZE: 1200 respondents
weighted to 925

Men: 47
Women: 53

1. First, generally speaking, do you think things in California are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

right direction	20
wrong track	68
don't know/ refused	12

2. Here are some issues other people have mentioned. Please tell me which one of these is most important to you. **[READ AND ROTATE - CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE ONLY]**

the need for good jobs at good wages	20
the quality of the public schools	26
rising crime and violence	20
concerns about health and Medicare	8
changing affirmative action laws	3
government spending and taxes	9
the number of illegal immigrants	11
[DON'T READ] don't know/ refused	3

3. Do you think you and your family would be better off if the President were a Republican or if the President were a Democrat, or doesn't it make any difference to you and your family which party has the presidency?

Better if Republicans	26
Better if Democrats	24
Makes no difference	47
Don't know	3

I am going to read a series of statements to help understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **[READ AND ROTATE - PROBE AFTER EACH: Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree]**

Completely
agree

Mostly
agree

Mostly
disagree

Completely
disagree

Don't
know

[ROTATE QS 4 TO 12]

4.	People who are willing to work hard eventually will get ahead.	35	48	12	4	1
5.	Women still have fewer opportunities to succeed than men.	25	41	24	9	2
6.	Too many people these days just look for handouts and do not really try to get ahead on their own.	31	35	26	6	3
7.	Minorities still have less opportunity to get ahead than other people.	21	35	26	15	3
8.	In our lifetime, America can become a color-blind society in which race no longer matters.	13	24	32	27	4
9.	It would be better if more women stayed home and took care of their families.	21	32	25	19	4
10.	Society is increasingly diverse and that is good for everyone.	31	41	14	6	7
11.	Government has given minorities too much help at the expense of other people.	23	29	26	17	4
12.	Everyone should have an equal opportunity to get ahead regardless of their race or gender.	80	17	2	1	*

13. Now let me ask you about the economy in your area -- would you say the economy in your area is better, worse, or about the same as three years ago?
- | | |
|----------------|----|
| better | 19 |
| worse | 39 |
| about the same | 39 |
| don't know | 3 |
14. And what about your own family's financial situation -- would you say your family's financial situation is better, worse, or about the same as three years ago?
- | | |
|----------------|----|
| better | 24 |
| worse | 26 |
| about the same | 49 |
| don't know | 1 |
15. On another subject, in general, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose affirmative action programs to ensure equal opportunities for women and minorities?
- | | |
|-----------------|----|
| strongly favor | 20 |
| favor | 32 |
| oppose | 26 |
| strongly oppose | 15 |
| don't know | 7 |
16. Do you believe that you have benefitted, or have been held back by affirmative action programs, or have they had no effect on you?
- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| benefitted | 9 |
| been held back | 15 |
| no affected/no difference | 73 |
| don't know | 3 |
17. In your view, who is discriminated against most often these days -- [ROTATE] women, black people, Latinos, Asians, white men, or someone else?
- | | |
|--------------|----|
| women | 13 |
| black people | 33 |
| Latinos | 9 |
| Asians | 3 |
| white men | 16 |
| Other | 11 |
| don't know | 14 |
18. Given the choice, would you support eliminating affirmative action, reforming affirmative action, or keeping affirmative action the way it is?
- | | |
|-----------------------|----|
| eliminating | 26 |
| reforming | 54 |
| keeping the way it is | 15 |
| don't know | 5 |

Now I would like to ask you some questions about elected officials.

19. First, how would you rate the job Bill Clinton is doing as President -- excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

excellent	7
good	31
only fair	39
poor	23
don't know	1

20. Do you believe Bill Clinton deserves reelection as president, or is it time to give someone else a chance?

deserves reelection	36
someone else	52
don't know	12

As you know, there will be an election next year in California.

21. If the election for President was held today and the candidates were [ROTATE] Democrat Bill Clinton and Republican Bob Dole, for whom would you vote -- Clinton or Dole?

Bill Clinton	49
Bob Dole	36
Don't know	15

22. If the election for President was held today and the candidates were [ROTATE] Democrat Bill Clinton, Republican Bob Dole, and an independent candidate, would you most likely vote for [ROTATE] Clinton, Dole or the independent candidate?

Bill Clinton	34
Bob Dole	25
Independent	21
Don't know	20

23. And if the election for President was held today and the candidates were [ROTATE] Democrat Bill Clinton, Republican Bob Dole, and independent candidate Colin Powell, would you most likely vote for [ROTATE] Clinton, Dole or Powell?

Bill Clinton	30
Bob Dole	20
Colin Powell	33
Don't know	17

24. One of the likely measures on the ballot next year is a constitutional amendment called the California Civil

Rights Initiative. It prohibits the state, local governments and public schools and universities from discriminating against or giving preferential treatment to individuals or groups on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in the operation of the state's system of public employment, public education or public contracting. If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on this measure?

[GO TO Q26] yes 65

[GO TO Q26] no 26

don't know/ refused 9

[ASK ONLY IF UNDECIDED IN Q24]

25. Well if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, would you lean toward voting yes or no on this measure?

[WITH LEANERS]

yes 68

no 27

don't know/ refused 5

26. Another possible initiative is a constitutional amendment called the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative. It prohibits the state, local governments and public schools and universities from hiring or selecting unqualified persons or from using quotas based on race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin. It also requires the state to ensure equal opportunity and to prevent discrimination. If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on this measure?

[GO TO Q28] yes 73

[GO TO Q28] no 19

don't know/ refused 8

[ASK ONLY IF UNDECIDED IN Q26]

27. Well if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, would you lean toward voting yes or no on this measure?

[WITH LEANERS]

yes 74

no 21

don't know/ refused 5

28. Suppose the election were held today and both of these initiatives were on the ballot:

the California Civil Rights Initiative, prohibiting discrimination and preferential treatment
and

the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination initiative, prohibiting hiring unqualified persons or using quotas while ensuring equal opportunity and preventing discrimination

Would you vote for both these initiatives, just for the first one, just for the second one, or would you vote against both of them?

For Both 44

CCRI 14

Equal Opportunity 18

Against Both 14

Don't know 10

29. Suppose you learned that Pete Wilson and Bob Dole supported the California Civil Rights Initiative but that Bill Clinton opposed it. In a presidential race between Clinton and Dole, would you be *much more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Clinton, *much more* likely

to vote for Clinton, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?

Much more likely Dole	15
More likely Dole	19
More likely Clinton	18
Much more likely Clinton	14
No difference	28
Don't know	6

[ROTATE Qs 30 and 31]

30. Overall, would you say that the Democratic party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about minorities, or cares more about white people?

everyone equally	45
minorities	27
white people	7
don't know	22

31. Overall, would you say that the Republican party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about minorities, or cares more about white people?

everyone equally	31
minorities	3
white people	45
don't know	21

[ROTATE Qs 32 and 33]

32. Overall, would you say that the Democratic party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about women, or cares more about men?

everyone equally	54
women	15
men	13
don't know	18

33. Overall, would you say that the Republican party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about women, or cares more about men?

everyone equally	33
women	2
men	47
don't know	18

34. **[NOTE: IN ONE HALF THE CASES, READ THE QUESTIONS ON BEGINNING ON PAGE 7 FIRST; IN ONE HALF, READ THE CASES BEGINNING ON PAGE 9 FIRST. CODE THE ORDER USED FOR THIS SURVEY BELOW]** **[GENERAL INTRODUCTION:** The two initiatives we discussed earlier, the California Civil Rights initiative and the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative have some things in common and some differences. Here are some arguments made by the supporters of each initiative

Page 7 -- arguments for Civil Rights Initiative first 50
 Page 9-- arguments for Equal Opportunity Initiative first 50

[IF READ SECOND, SAY: Now, let's go to the other initiative.] [IF READ FIRST, START HERE:] Here are a series of arguments why the California Civil Rights Initiative, which prohibits discrimination and preferential treatment, takes a better approach than the other initiative we have been discussing. Please tell me whether you find each argument a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the California Civil Rights Initiative.

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Civil Rights initiative?]

Very Smewhat Not very Not at all Don't
cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng know

[READ FIRST]

35. The Civil Rights initiative is about people getting government jobs, education and contracts based on their qualifications. It levels the playing field and so it provides equal opportunity for everyone.

30 41 16 9 4

[ROTATE Q36 TO Q43]

36. There may have been a role for affirmative action programs years ago but they have outlived their usefulness and have become a cause of discrimination not a solution to it. The Civil Rights initiative ends all unfair preferences.

24 33 23 15 5

37. The Civil Rights Initiative wipes out all preferences but it leaves in place laws against discrimination on the basis of race, gender, or ethnic origins. People who are discriminated against can still go to court and sue anyone who breaks the law.

24 37 21 12 5

38. Only the Civil Rights Initiative ends all racial preferences. The other measure only goes half way and would still allow reverse discrimination.

14 34 27 15 10

39. The Civil Rights initiative is a grassroots effort to eliminate preferential treatment. The other initiative is supported by Democratic party liberals, civil rights groups and radical feminists who want to protect racial preferences and preserve affirmative action.

16 26 27 21 10

40. The Civil Rights Initiative is fair to everyone and gives middle class white people an equal chance at government jobs, contracts and education. The other initiative would give the children of minority doctors and lawyers preference over the children of the white middle class.

14 24 28 23 11

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Civil Rights initiative?]

Very Smwhat Not very Not at all Don't
cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng know

41.	Some people assume minorities and women only got their job because of affirmative action. That is insulting. The Civil Rights initiative would remove the stigma of affirmative action attached to women and minorities who are well-qualified for their positions.	26	36	18	13	6
42.	The other initiative says it prohibits government hiring and selection of unqualified people. The Civil Rights initiative requires hiring the <i>best</i> qualified applicant regardless of race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin.	38	37	12	8	6
43.	The Civil Rights Initiative would save tens of millions of dollars in public employment and contracting, and 50 million dollars savings in state education programs. The other initiative will have no savings and could even cost the taxpayers money.	24	29	20	17	10

[IF READ SECOND, SAY: Now, let's go to the other initiative.] [IF READ FIRST, START HERE:] Here are a series of arguments why the Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, which prohibits hiring unqualified persons or using quotas, while ensuring equal opportunity and preventing discrimination, takes a better approach than the other initiative we have been discussing. Please tell me whether you find each argument a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative.

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Equal Opportunity initiative?]

Very Smwht Not very Not at all Don't
cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng know

[READ FIRST]

44. The Equal Opportunity initiative specifically states that government cannot operate affirmative action programs that use quotas or hire or select unqualified people. But it continues to allow outreach, training and educational programs to help ensure that women and minorities have an equal opportunity to compete for government jobs and contracts. The other initiative goes too far by making all these efforts to ensure equal opportunity illegal.

20 43 21 10 6

[ROTATE Qs 45 to 52]

45. The Equal Opportunity initiative is an effort to bring people together by reforming affirmative action laws to make them fair for everyone. The other initiative divides people by taking back opportunities for women and minorities and has the support of politicians like Pete Wilson who want to use racial divisions for their own political gain.

18 32 24 20 6

46. The Equal Opportunity Initiative protects people from age discrimination which is a big cause of job loss among older workers. The other initiative does nothing to prohibit age discrimination.

23 43 17 9 8

47. The Equal Opportunity initiative requires that government hire and select persons based on their qualifications. The other initiative contains a loophole that puts a provision into our state Constitution allowing government to specify that only members of one sex are qualified for certain jobs.

22 33 22 16 7

48. The other initiative goes too far by eliminating protections against discrimination. It will take us back to a time when women and minorities were denied opportunity. The Equal Opportunity Initiative prohibits quotas and hiring unqualified people but it still requires government to ensure equal opportunity and to prevent discrimination.

20 39 20 13 8

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Equal Opportunity initiative?]

Very Smwhat Not very Not at all Don't
cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng know

49.	The Equal Opportunity Initiative prohibits quotas and hiring unqualified people but it continues government outreach and recruitment of qualified women and minorities. Under the other initiative, outreach efforts to find qualified women and minorities would be illegal.	20	37	23	13	7
50.	The Equal Opportunity initiative allows tutoring programs that help minority students prepare for high school or college. The other initiative denies these children opportunities by ending the help they need.	25	35	18	15	7
51.	The other initiative uses vague terms that are not defined by law. It could be tied up in court for years. The Equal Opportunity Initiative addresses quotas and qualifications, terms which people understand and which are clearly defined in the law.	21	37	20	12	10
52.	The Equal Opportunity initiative reforms affirmative action law. The other initiative is too extreme. Instead of reforming affirmative action to make it fair to everyone, it wipes out all efforts to ensure equal opportunity. In a diverse state like California, the result will be to increase racial tensions and conflict.	23	30	23	15	9

53. Now that we have talked about both these initiatives, suppose the election were held today and both of these initiatives were on the ballot:

the California *Civil Rights* Initiative, prohibiting discrimination and preferential treatment
and

the California *Equal Opportunity* and Non-Discrimination initiative, prohibiting hiring unqualified persons or using quotas while ensuring equal opportunity and preventing discrimination

Would you vote for both these initiatives, just for the California Civil Rights Initiative, just for the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, or would you vote against both of them?

For Both	22
CCRI	21
Equal Opportunity	30
Against Both	15
Don't know	12

54. And why is that -- why do you take that position?

Ensure equality	16
Jobs not given to unqualified people	13
It's more fair	7
Both are good laws	7
Don't agree with quotas	4

55. Suppose you learned that Bob Dole supported the California Civil Rights Initiative and Bill Clinton opposed it but supported the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative. In a presidential race between Clinton and Dole, would you be *much more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Clinton, *much more* likely to vote for Clinton, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?

Much more likely Dole	14
More likely Dole	15
More likely Clinton	19
Much more likely Clinton	15
No difference	31
Don't know	6

56. The California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative includes a provision which says that to avoid tying up these initiatives in court, only the initiative that receives the most votes wins. Under these circumstances, would you vote for both these initiatives, just for the California Civil Rights Initiative, just for the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, or would you vote against both of them?

For Both	19
CCRI	20
Equal Opportunity	29
Against Both	16
Don't know	16

57. Some people are critical of both of these initiatives. They say it does no good to have all these laws against discrimination unless people who violate the law know they will be punished. They say both initiatives need to increase punishment for violating laws against discrimination. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with that?

strongly agree	29
agree	39
disagree	16
strongly disagree	8
don't know	8

Here are some measures that could be included as part of either of these initiatives. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of including that provision.

PROBE: Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of including that provision?

Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know
---------------------	---------	------------	------------------------	---------------

[ROTATE Qs 58 to 61]

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|---|---|
| 58. Increasing the fines paid by 50 percent when someone is found guilty of discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, color, ethnicity or national origin. | 29 | 39 | 16 | 7 | 8 |
| 59. Making any person or business found guilty of discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin ineligible to bid on government contracts for up to 5 years. | 28 | 38 | 21 | 7 | 6 |
| 60. Requiring that state employees who discriminate are subject to discipline. | 38 | 47 | 8 | 2 | 4 |
| 61. Prohibiting any person who fraudulently attempts to benefit from affirmative action programs from applying for state programs for 5 years. | 36 | 45 | 9 | 4 | 6 |
| 62. Here are some other possible changes in affirmative action laws. Please tell me which one of these you support the most. [READ AND ROTATE] | | | | | |

Prohibiting quotas	20
Prohibiting hiring unqualified persons	38
Prohibiting all racial or gender preferences	11
Prohibiting any consideration of race or gender	19
[DO NOT READ] None -- no reform needed	3
[DO NOT READ] Don't know	8

63. Here are some other possible changes in affirmative action laws. Please tell me which one of these really goes too far and bothers you the most. **[READ AND ROTATE]**

Eliminating tutoring programs for minority children to prepare them for high school or college	20
Allowing government to specify that some jobs should be held only by people of one sex	25
Making it illegal to specifically recruit minorities or women for job openings	14
Eliminating training programs to give women and minorities the skills to compete	10
Making it more difficult for people to sue for discrimination	8
Prohibiting any consideration of race or gender	12
[DO NOT READ] None	3
[DO NOT READ] Don't know	9

64. If you had to choose, would you prefer state government have no affirmative action programs at all, or have affirmative action programs with definite quotas for hiring women and minorities?

no affirmative action at all	55
definite quotas	31
don't know	14

65. If you had to choose, would you prefer state government have no affirmative action programs at all, or have affirmative action programs that sometimes give preference to qualified women and minorities but without definite quotas?

no affirmative action at all	34
some preferences	57
don't know	9

Finally, I would like to ask you a few more questions for statistical purposes.

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

[DEMOCRAT] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat member	Strong Dem	23
	Not strong Dem	24

[REPUBLICAN] Would you call yourself a strong Republican member or a not very strong Republican?	Strong Rep	21
	Not strong Rep	18

[IF NOT DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN:] Do you think of yourself as a little closer to the Democratic or to the Republican party?	Closer to Dem	4
	Closer to Rep	3
	Other	3
	Don't know/refused	3

67. Do you think of yourself as very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, or very conservative?
- | | |
|-----------------------|----|
| very liberal | 9 |
| somewhat liberal | 22 |
| moderate | 28 |
| somewhat conservative | 28 |
| very conservative | 11 |
| don't know/ refused | 2 |
68. In the last election for President, did you vote for George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?
- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| George Bush | 31 |
| Bill Clinton | 45 |
| Ross Perot | 17 |
| [VOL] Other | 1 |
| Did not vote | 3 |
| Don't know/ refused | 3 |
69. In the 1994 election for Governor, did you vote for [ROTATE] Pete Wilson or Kathleen Brown or did you not vote in that race?
- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| Pete Wilson | 47 |
| Kathleen Brown | 38 |
| Other [volunteered] | 2 |
| Did not vote | 9 |
| Don't know/ refused | 3 |
70. In the 1994 election for United States Senate, did you vote for [ROTATE] Diane Feinstein or Michael Huffington or did you not vote in that race?
- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| Diane Feinstein | 48 |
| Michael Huffington | 33 |
| Other [volunteered] | 2 |
| Did not vote | 12 |
| Don't know/ refused | 4 |
71. And did you vote yes or no on Proposition 187, to restrict most benefits for illegal aliens or did you not vote on that issue?
- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| Favored | 51 |
| Opposed | 31 |
| Did not vote | 13 |
| Don't know/ refused | 5 |

72. Do you have a full-time paid job, a part-time paid job, are you unemployed but looking for a job, self-employed, a homemaker, a student, or retired?

employed - full time	35
employed - part time	10
unemployed	4
self-employed	10
homemaker	8
student	4
retired	28
don't know/refused	*

73. Are you married, single, separated, widowed or divorced?

married	62
single	18
separated/widowed/divorced	20
refused	*

74. [IF MARRIED] Does your [HUSBAND/WIFE] have a full-time paid job at this time?

yes	59
no	39
don't know/refused	1

75. Are you or is anyone in your household a member of a labor union?

yes - respondent	15
yes - member of household	8
no	76
refused	1

76. And, what is your age?

(READ)	
25 or younger	8
26-30	6
31-35	7
36-40	12
41-45	10
46-50	12
51-55	9
56-60	6
61-65	7
66-70	8
over 70	14
Refuse (DON'T READ)	1

77. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

[DO NOT READ CHOICES]

1st-11th grade	6
high school graduate	21
technical/vocational school	3
some college	33
college graduate	22
post-graduate/professional school	15
don't know	*

78. Would you please tell me in to which of the following categories the total yearly income of your household falls -- including every one in the household?

(READ)

Under \$15,000	9
\$15,000 to \$20,000	8
\$20,000 to \$25,000	7
\$25,000 to \$30,000	8
\$30,000 to \$35,000	7
\$35,000 to \$50,000	18
\$50,000 to \$75,000	19
\$75,000 to \$100,000	9
over \$100,000	6
refused/don't know (DON'T READ)	9

79. And what is your religion -- are you Catholic, Jewish, mainstream Protestant, fundamentalist or evangelical Protestant?

Catholic	28
Jewish	3
mainstream Protestant	36
fundamentalist	2
evangelical	3
Other	12
None [VOL]	13
Don't know	3

80. Do you consider yourself Hispanic, Latino, or of Mexican or South American origin?

Yes	12
No	86
Don't know/refused	2

81. And what is your race?

[DO NOT READ]

White/Caucasian	77
Black/African-American	6
Hispanic/Latino	7
Asian/Filipino	4
Other	5
Refused	1

[READ] Thank you very much for your time. (TERMINATE AND COMPLETE CODES)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SE
10/25/95

95 OCT 24 P6:07

19 October 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes (HL)

SUBJECT: Minimum wage in California

*Don't put better
if not why don't
US discuss*

Attached is a report entitled "A Livable Wage Coalition Presentation of Findings" from a survey of 802 California voters, taken during October 1995 by the Mellman Group.

At a presentation given by Geoff Garin and Mark Mellman at the White House on 19 October, Garin and Mellman said it would be very beneficial to have a ballot proposition on the November 1996 ballot supporting the increase in minimum wage.

According to John Emerson, The Livable Wage Coalition, which commissioned the Mellman poll, intends to put a proposition on the November 1996 ballot that would have the minimum wage go to \$5.75 at 3 years compared to your proposal of \$5.15 after 2 years.

We need to discuss over the weekend whether this makes sense or whether it will put you in a "box" in terms of the level of minimum wage. The Livable Wage Coalition needs to know by next Tuesday whether or not the White House is favorably disposed toward a minimum wage proposition that moves the minimum wage to \$5.75 in 3 years.

Let's discuss.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



THE LIVEABLE WAGE COALITION
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS
FROM A SURVEY OF 892 CALIFORNIA VOTERS

October, 1995

SUMMARY

2:1 - Increase m.w.
will help economy
rather than hurt.
MS broader platform
than m.w. for working
poor.

Californians Feel Economically Hard Pressed

Though they have declined since 1993, negative assessments of the state's direction have been consistent for several years

While voters' views of the state's economy are not as bad as they were in 1992, a plurality continue to believe it has gotten worse

A majority feel their incomes are falling behind the cost of living

Californians Strongly Support an Increase in the Minimum Wage

Six in ten support an initiative increasing the minimum wage; more than four in ten support it strongly

The amount of the increase and its concomitant cost make little difference on the surface

Base support comes from Democrats and down-scale voters

Interestingly, San Diegoans support the increase by a wide margin

Infrequent voters are also among the strongest supporters, suggesting the possibility of a positive turnout effect

A higher minimum wage increases support among African-Americans, older women, and Republican men

Union households mirror the electorate on the smaller increase, but are relatively more supportive of the larger one

Swing voters are as supportive of a larger increase as a smaller one

SUMMARY

Support for the Minimum Wage Is Based More on its Larger Economic Implications Than on Its Personal Benefits

✍ By more than 2 to 1, Californians believe an increase in the minimum wage will help rather than hurt the state's economy

However, an overwhelming majority believe a higher minimum wage will make no difference to their family

Only a quarter believe it is very likely that increasing the minimum wage will increase the wages of more highly paid workers

Regression analysis shows that the belief that increasing the minimum wage will lead to increased consumer spending is the most important determinant of vote

Our Message Should Focus on the Macroeconomic Benefits As Well As on the Importance of Providing a Living Wage

The most compelling arguments focus on the real decline in the minimum wage and the need to reward work

In our split sample simulation a message focused around economic fairness, a living wage, and real decline added few additional points, though there was no shift to "no" as a result of an attack

Combining these messages with a focus on macroeconomic benefits provides a slightly greater increase in yes"

Our strategic map also points to the centrality of the living wage and increased consumer spending

SUMMARY

The map also reiterates a weakness -- negative outcomes are somewhat more likely to ensue than positive ones, though the positive ones are no less important

However, the opponents' arguments are not as compelling as our most effective arguments

There Is Real Political Benefit in Fighting for an Increased Minimum Wage

The President leads Dole, but that lead doubles after voters learn of their respective positions on minimum wage

Although party identification is nearly even a plurality believe they will be better off with a Republican majority in the legislature

However support for Democrats is up since June, though mostly in our base

The Democratic base is still not as committed as the Republican base

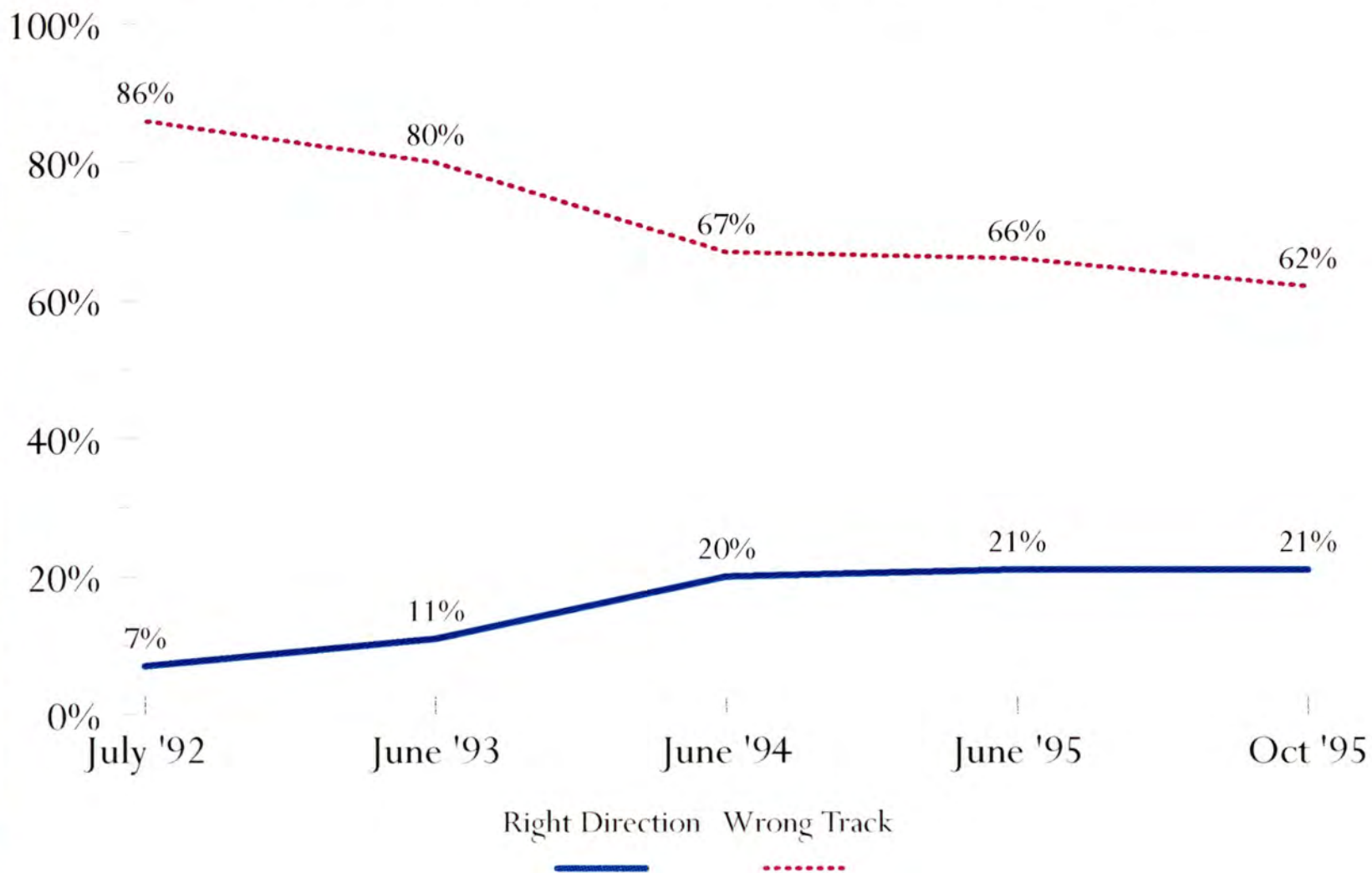
The Minimum Wage Initiative mobilizes our base, as well as bring support from swing voters

Their best arguments. -

- raise prices - 31%
- forcing bus. to re-locate. - 25%

Our best arguments ~~50~~ 40-52%

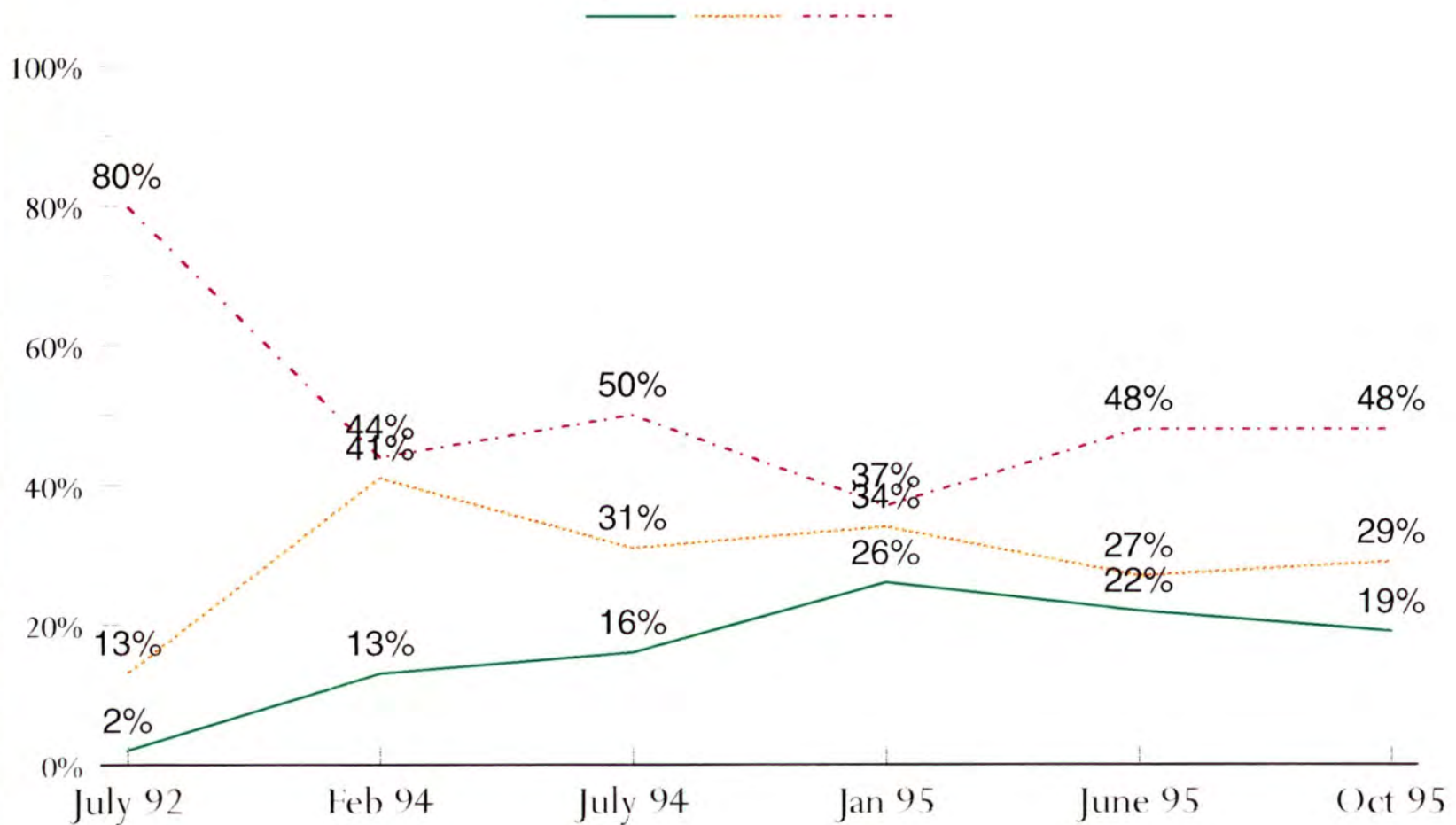
Negative Assessments of the State's Direction Have Been Consistent For Several Years



While Voters' Views of the Economy Are Not as Bad as They Were in 1992, A Plurality Continue to Believe It Has Gotten Worse

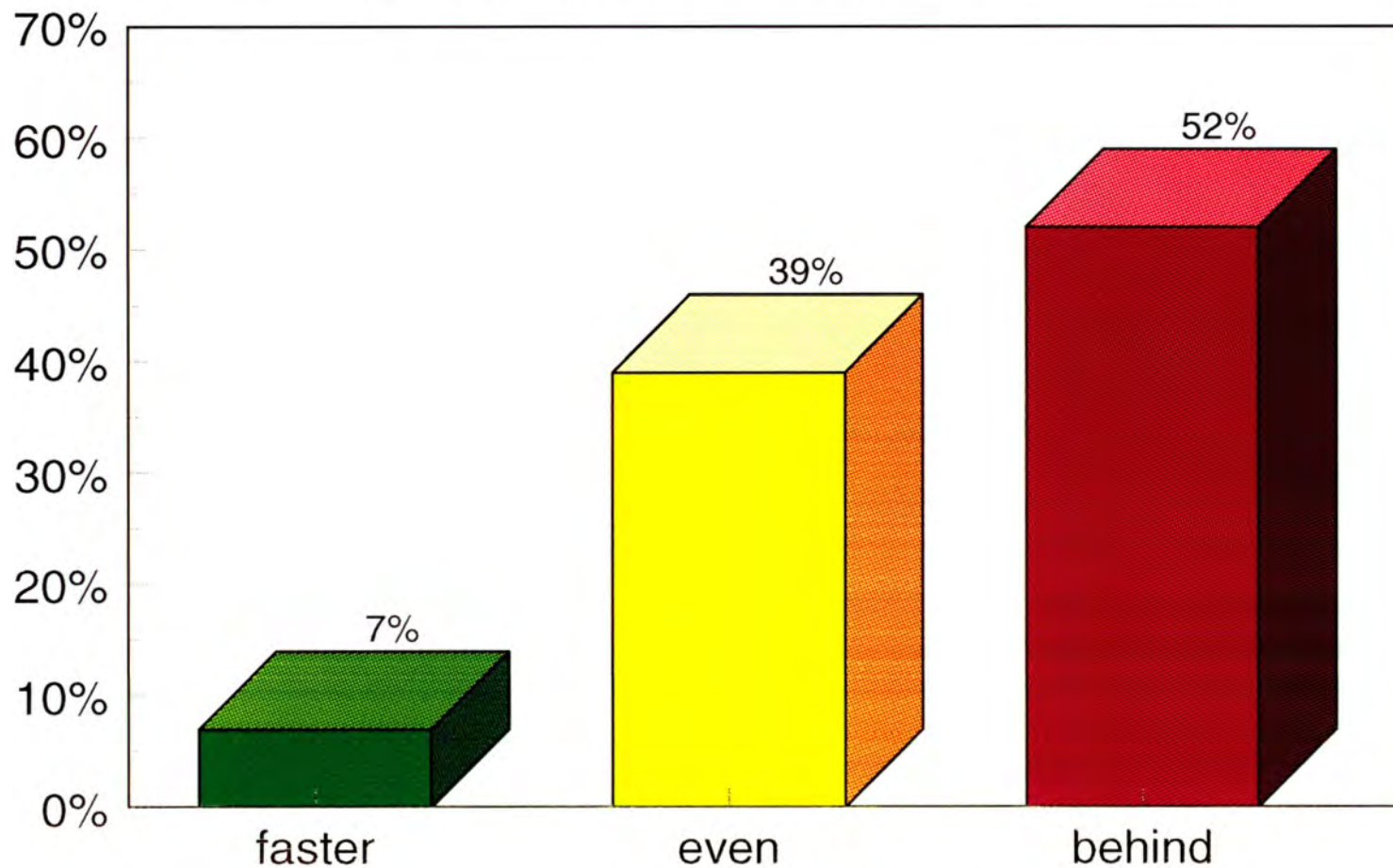
Has California's Economy Gotten:

better same worse



A Majority Of Californians Feel Their Incomes Are Falling Behind The Cost Of Living

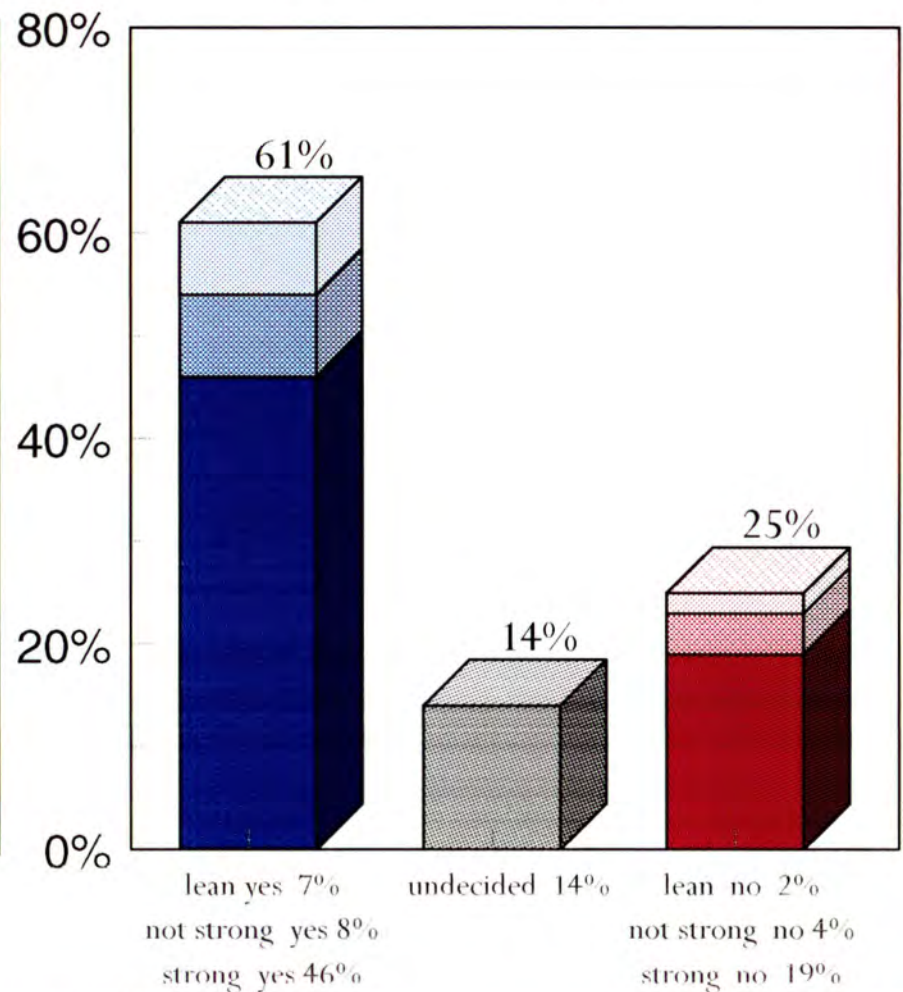
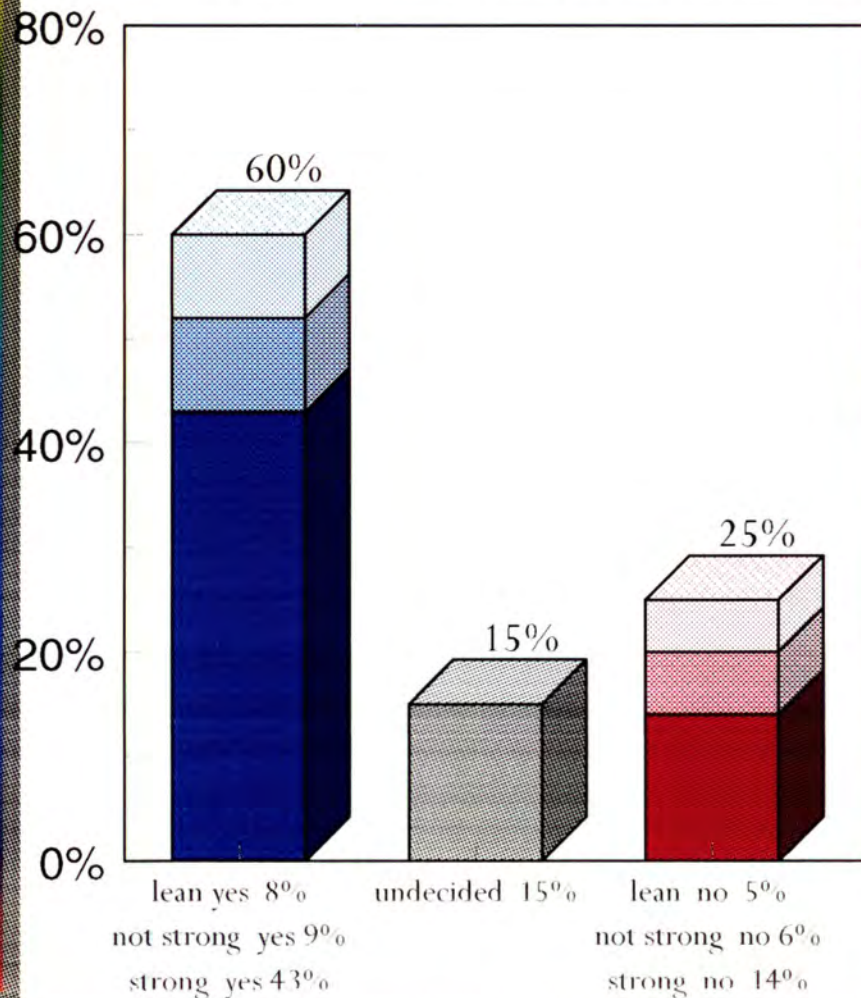
family income compared to cost of living



Voters Overwhelmingly Want the Minimum Wage Raised; The Amount of Increase and Its Cost Make Little Difference on the Surface

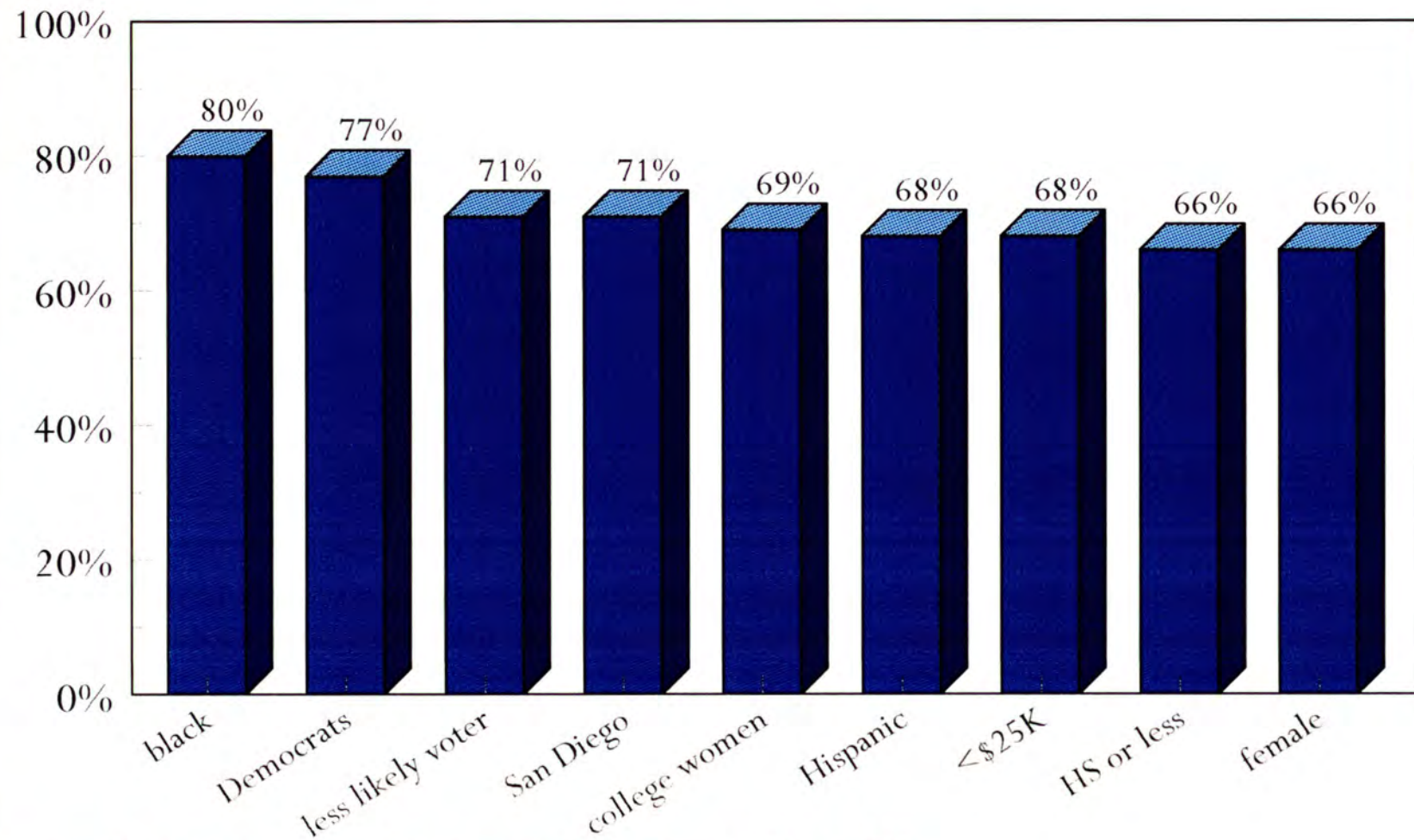
1997= \$4.70 per hour, 1998 \$5.15 per hour
\$54 million to implement

1997= \$5 per hour, 1998 \$5.75 per hour, \$6.25 per hour
\$120 million to implement



Support for the Initiative Comes from Democrats and Down-Scale Voters

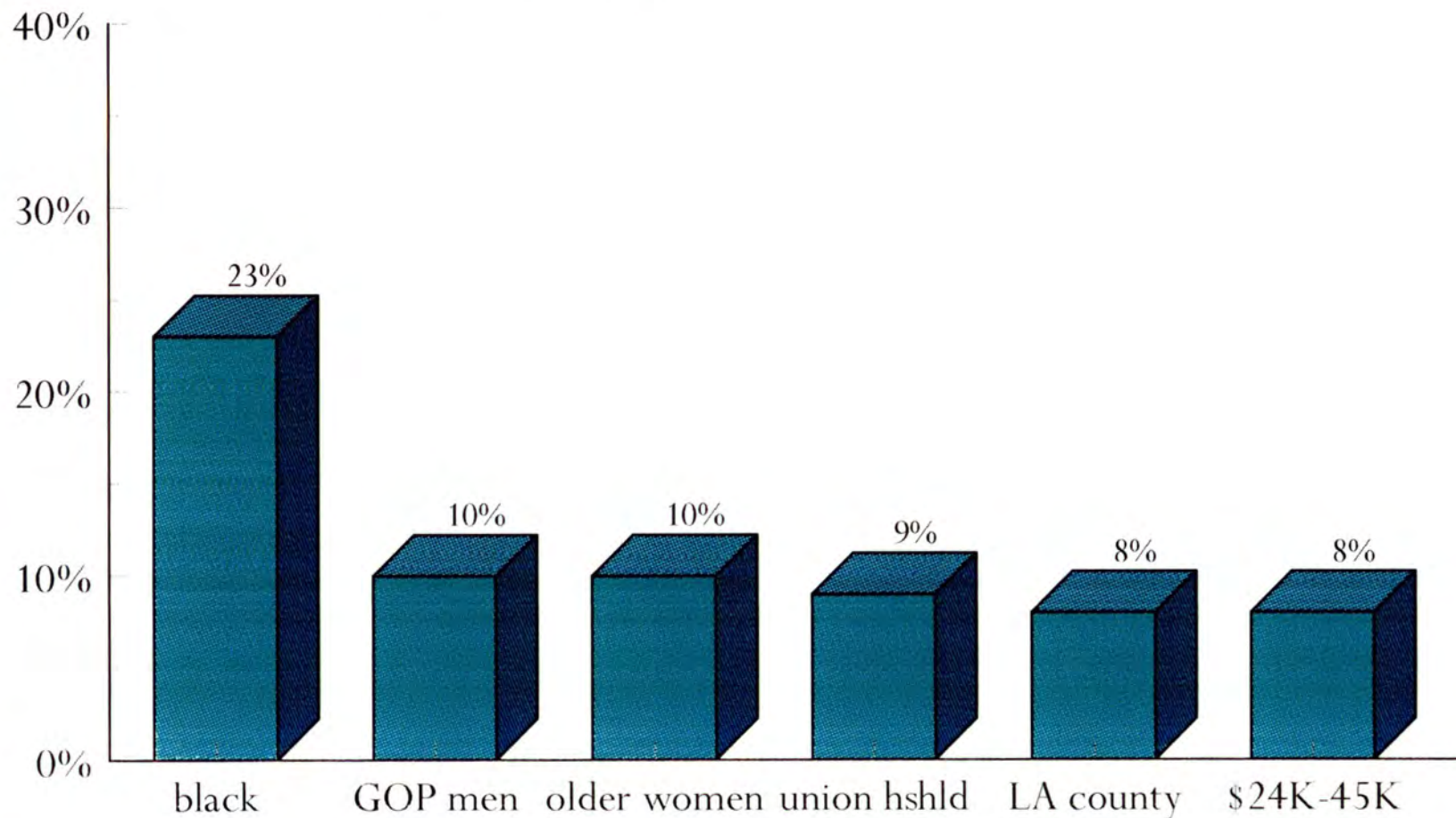
Yes Vote for Minimum Wage



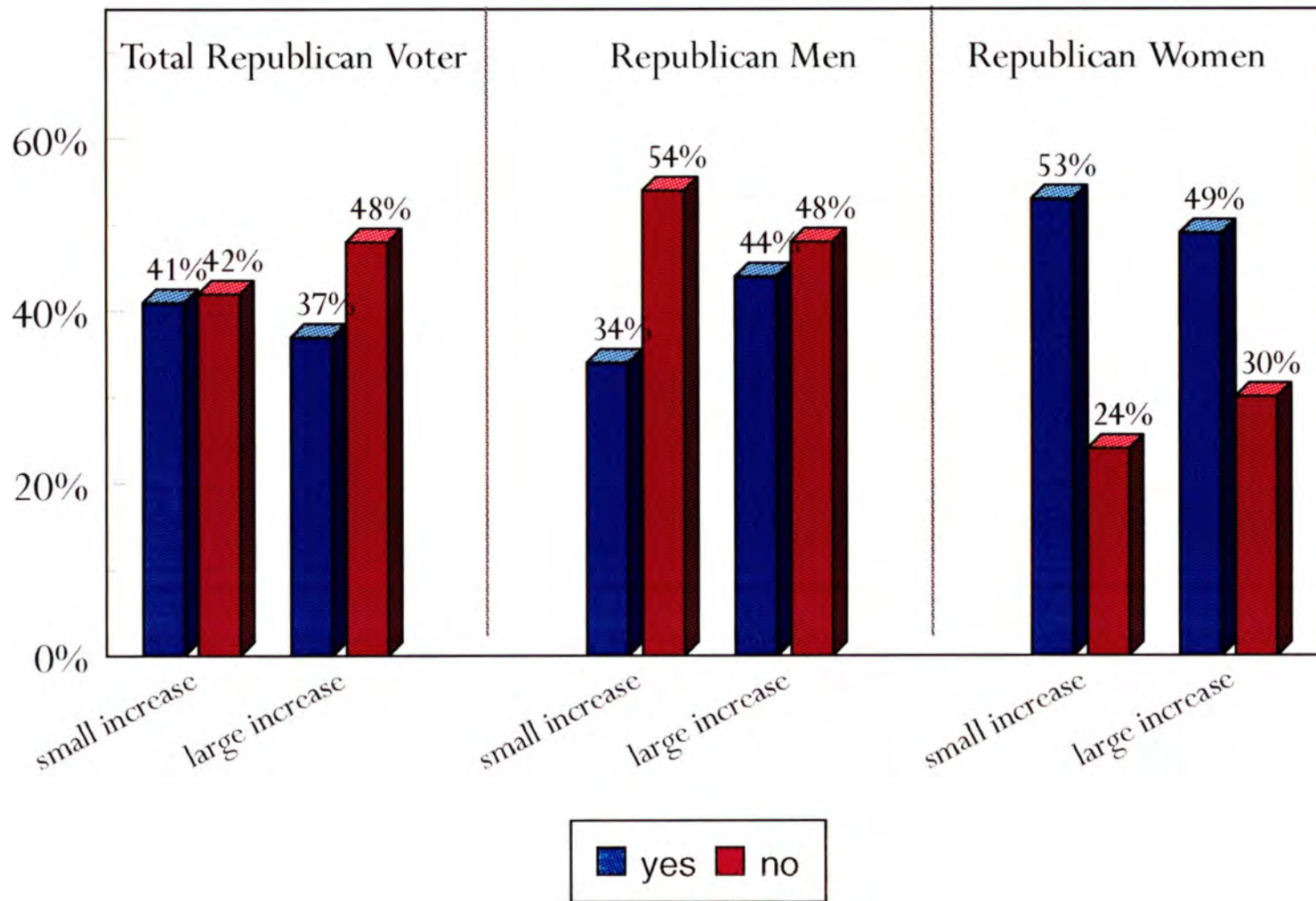
* even Republicans favor an increased minimum 45% to 40%

A Higher Minimum Wage Yields Greater Support Among Older Voters, Lower SES Voters And Republican Men

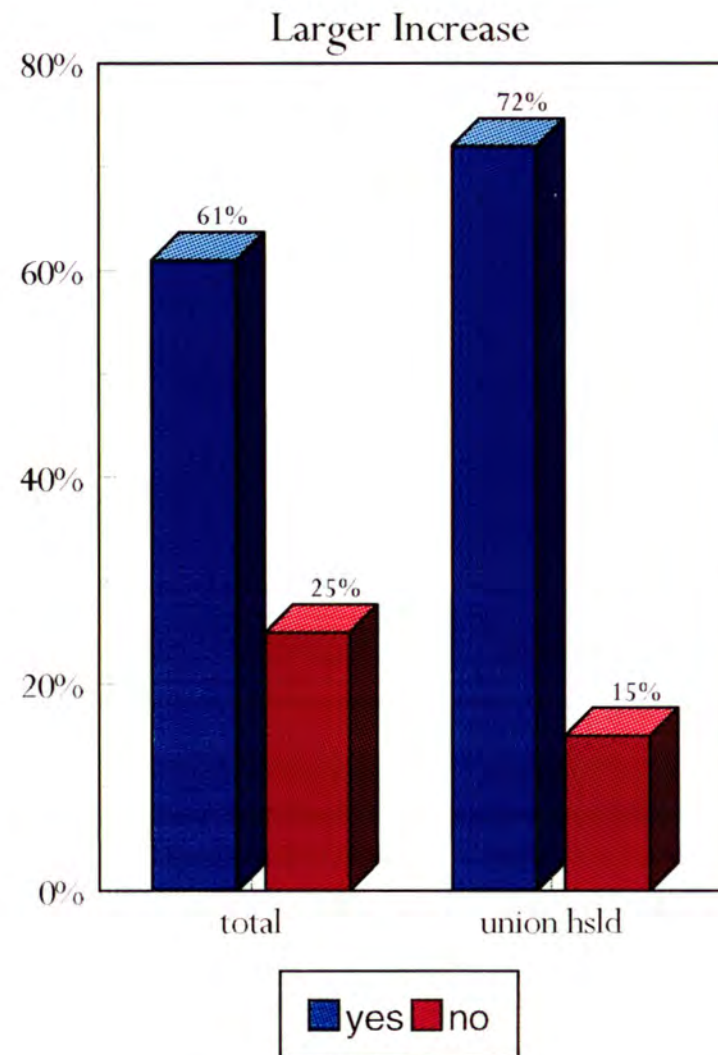
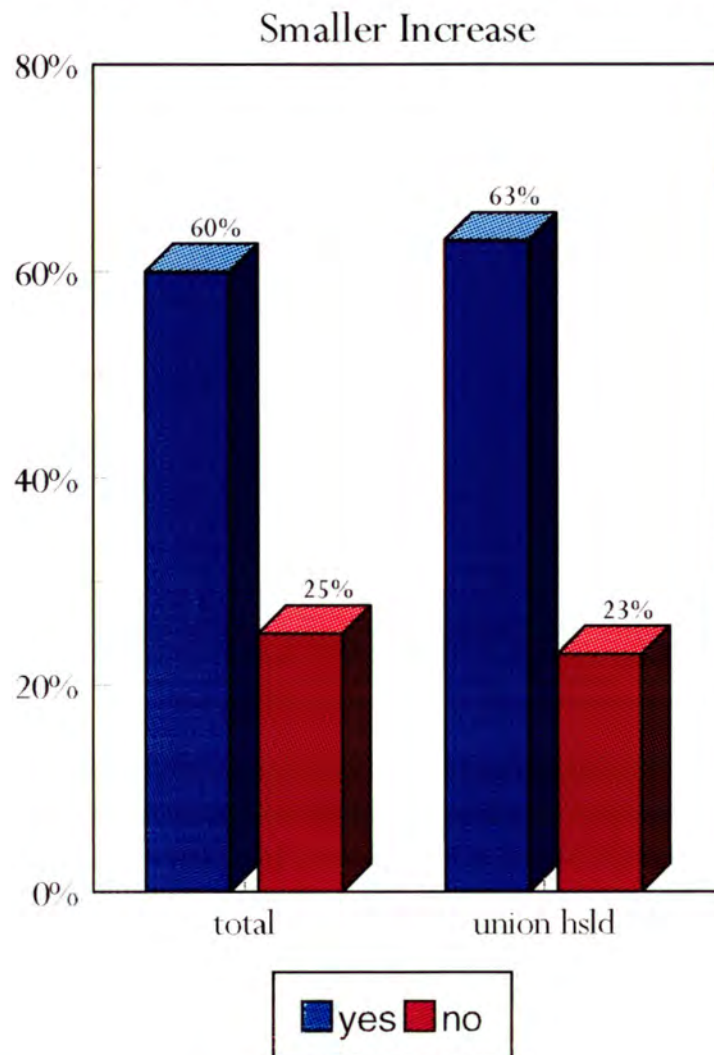
larger increases minus smaller



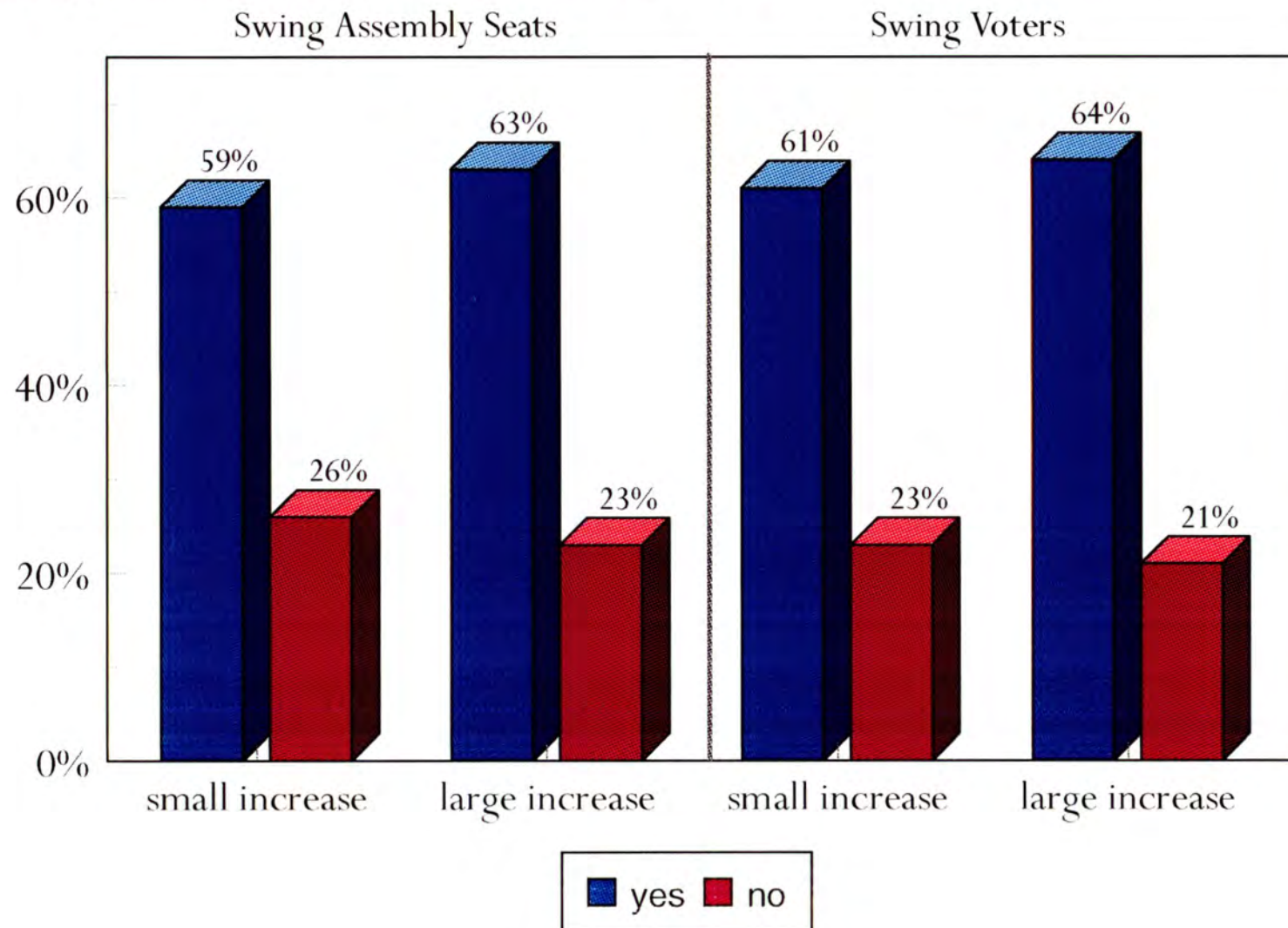
The Larger Initiative Diminishes Support Among Republican Voters; There Are Also Significant Gender Differences



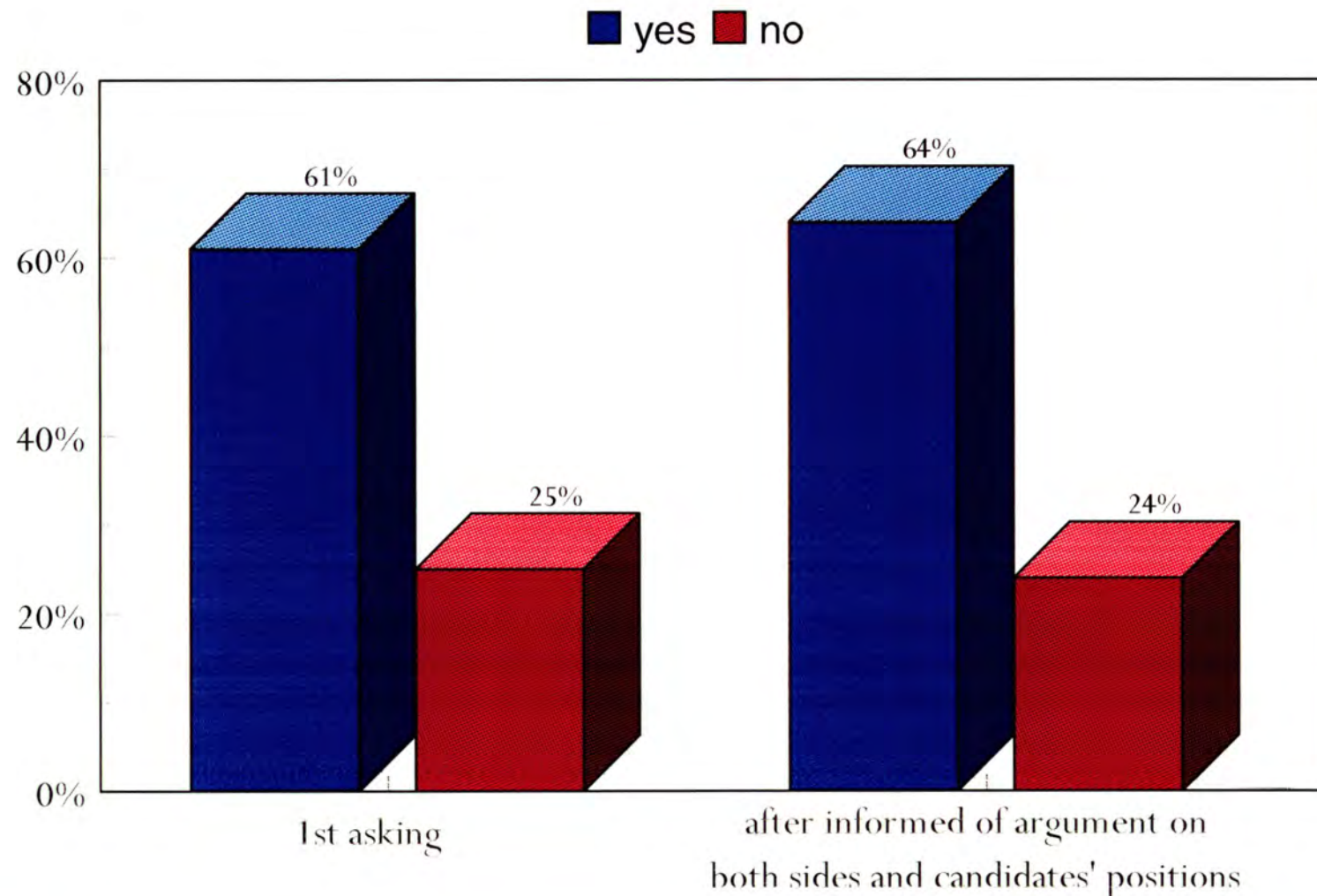
Union Households Mirror the Electorate on the Smaller Wage Increase, But are More Supportive of the Larger One



Swing Voters Are Equally Supportive of Larger and Smaller Increases

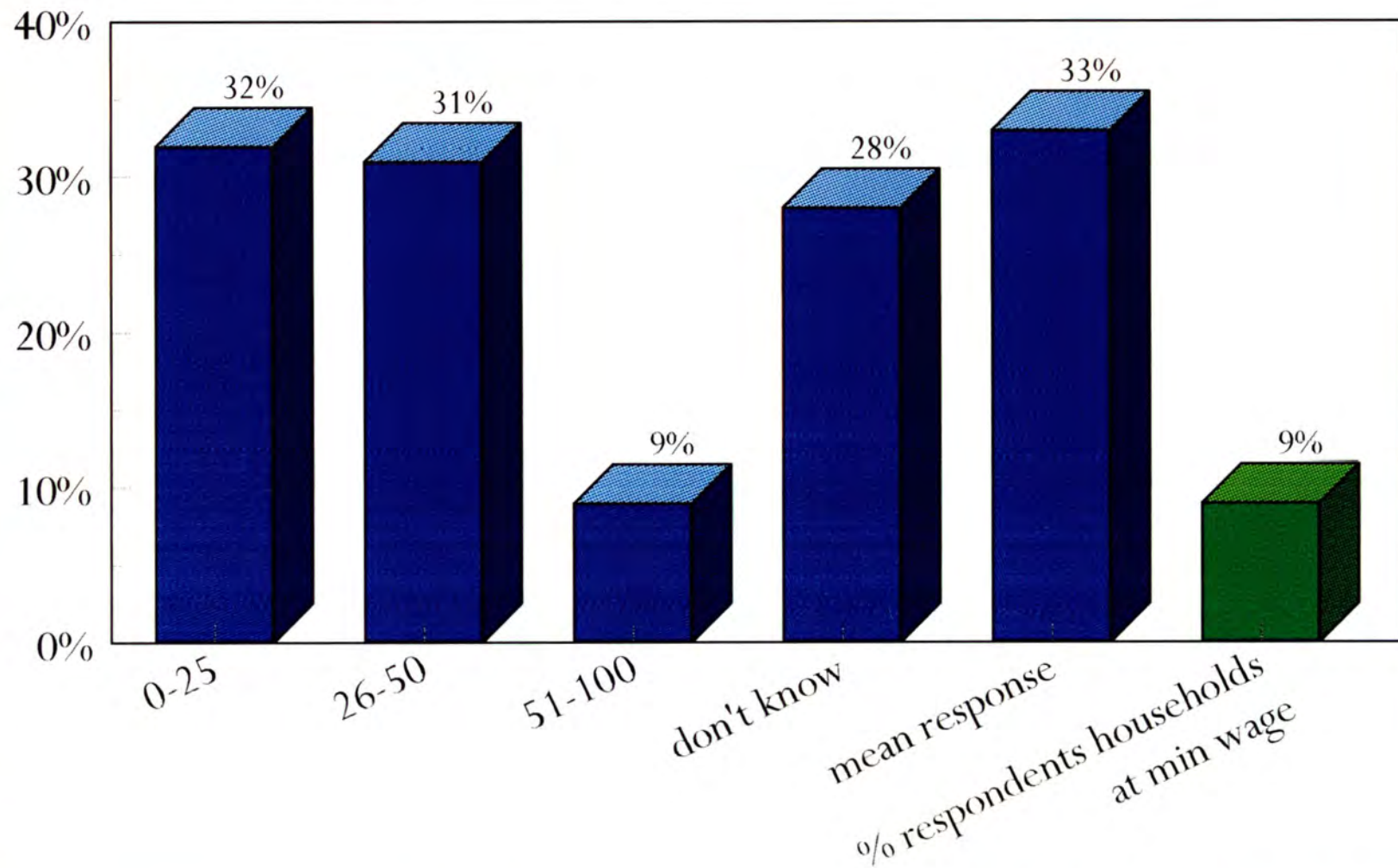


After Hearing All the Messages Pro and Con, Voters Are Slightly More Supportive



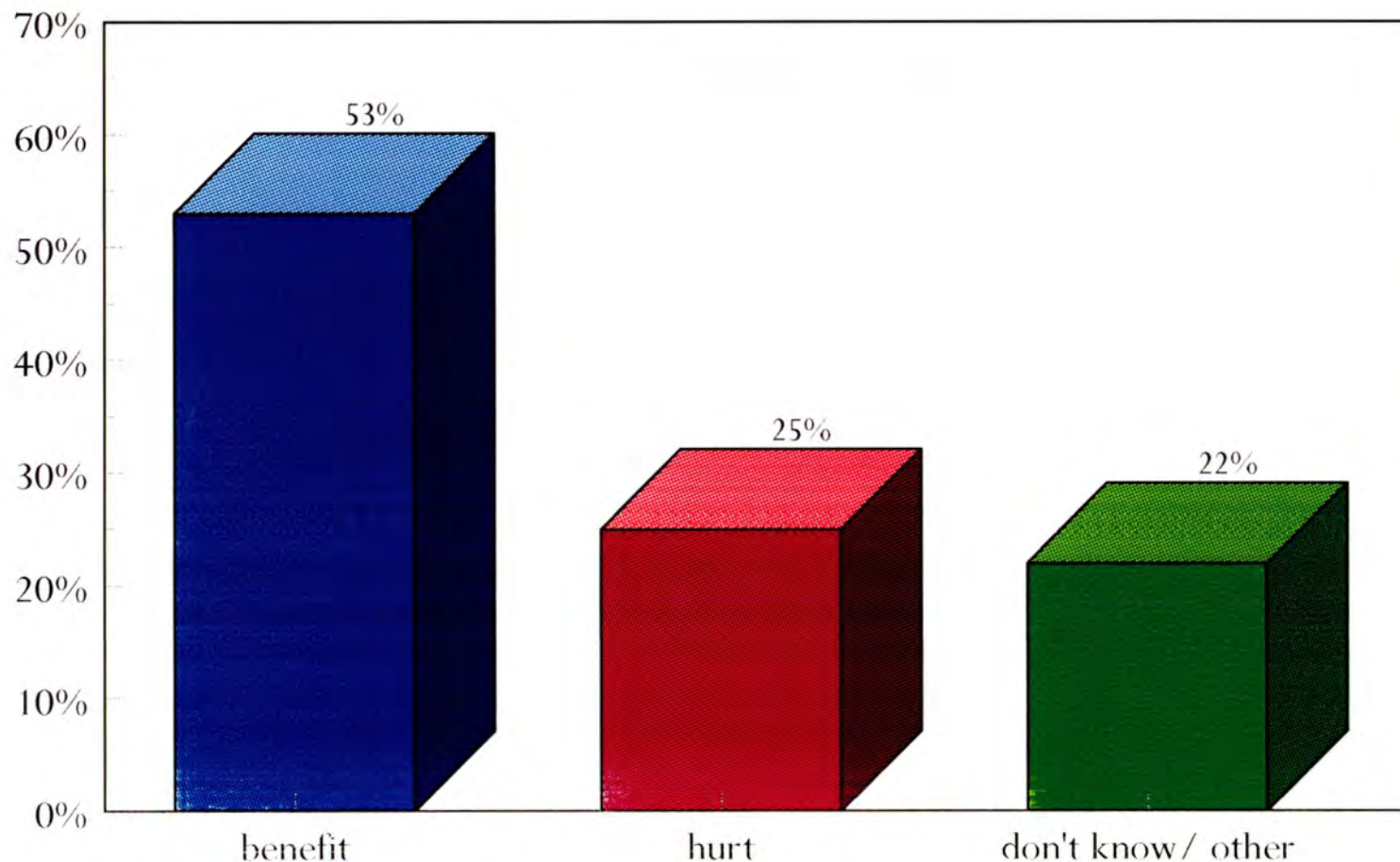
Most Have No Idea How Many Californians Work for Minimum Wage

What percentage of CA workers now receive minimum wage?



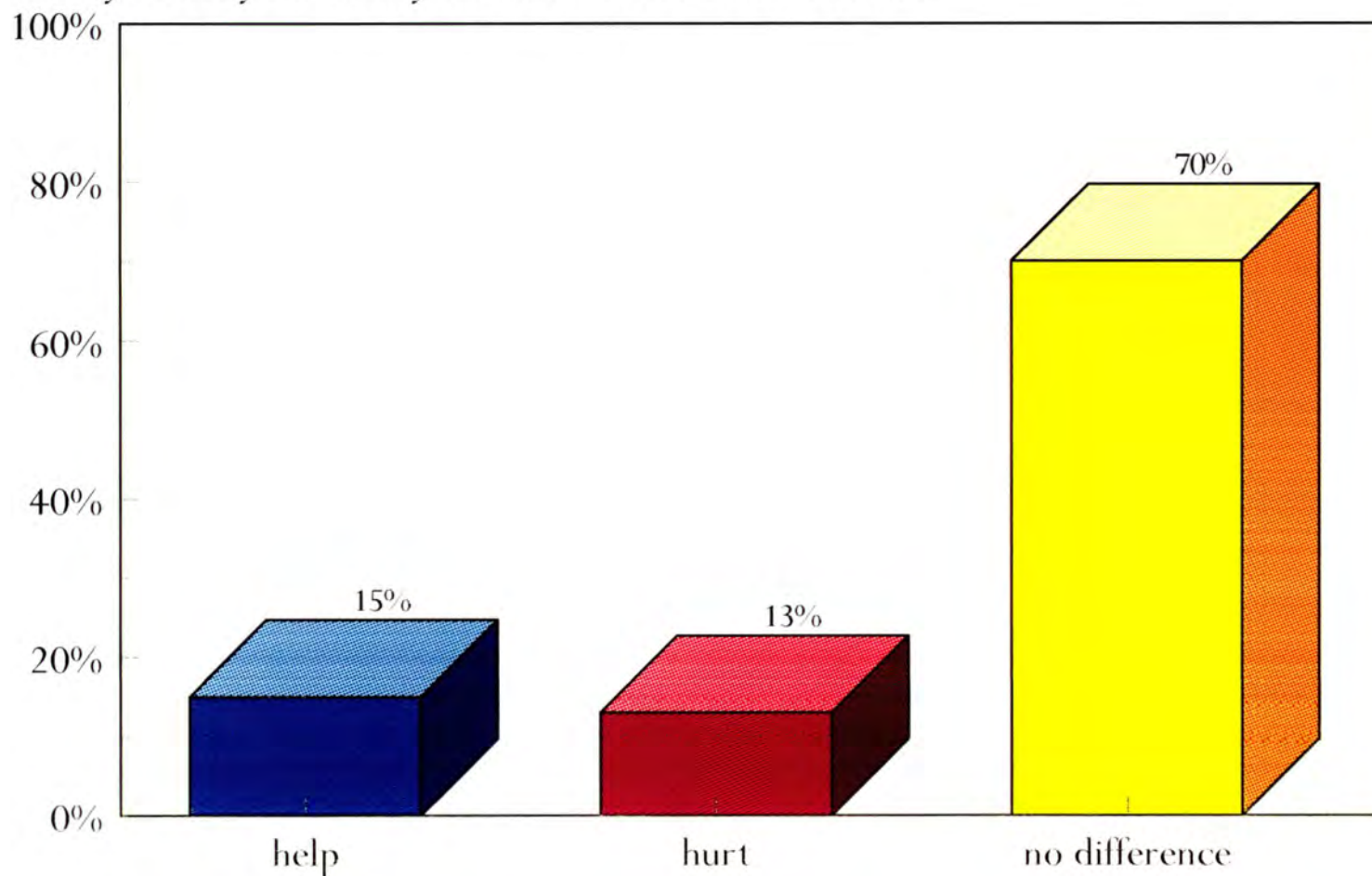
By More Than Two to One, Californians Believe an Increase in the Minimum Wage Will Help the State's Economy

If the California minimum wage is increased, which do you think is more likely to happen -- California's economy will benefit because more workers will have more money to spend or California's economy will be hurt because of increased labor costs -- or don't you have an opinion on this?



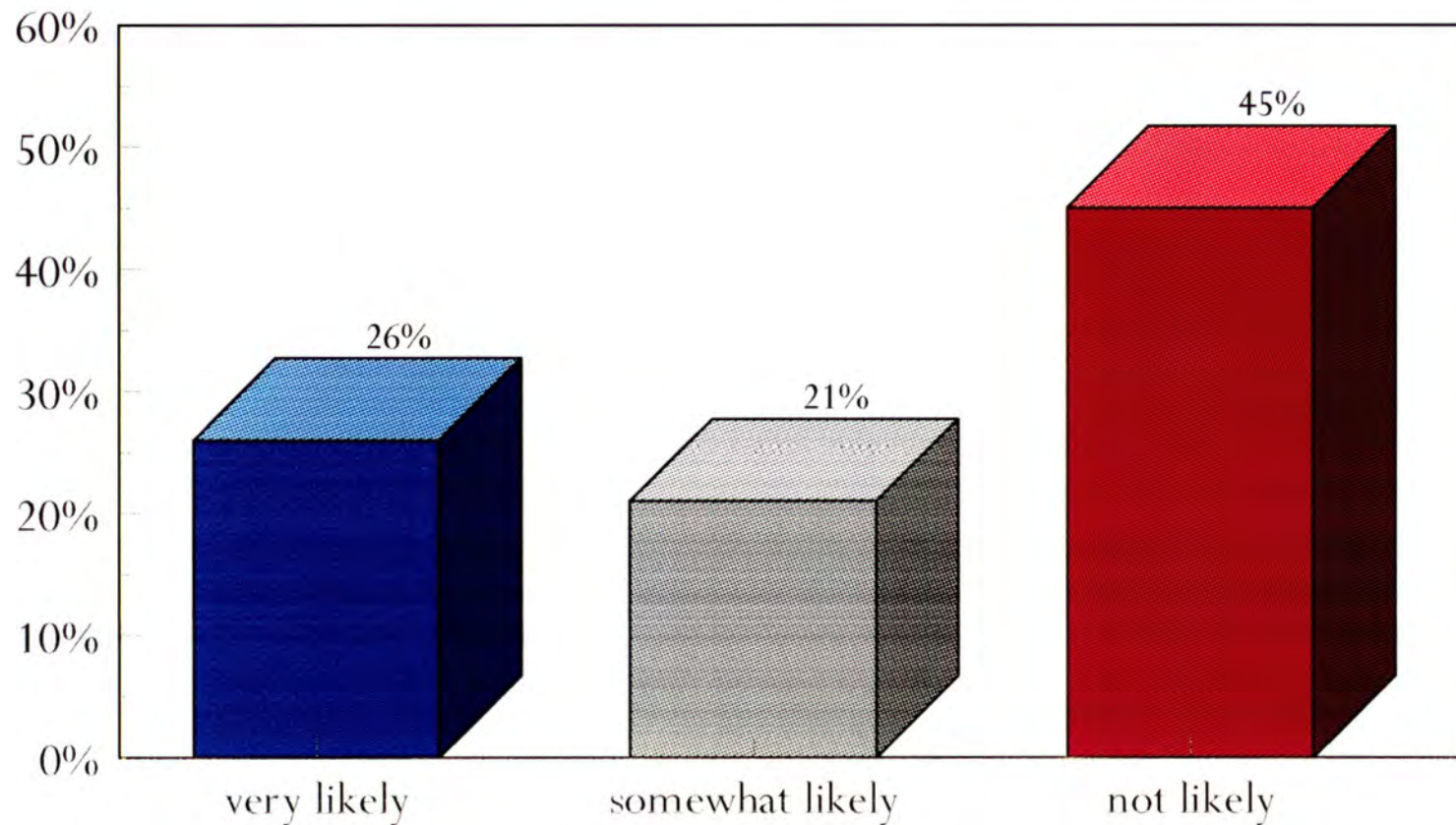
An Overwhelming Majority Believe a Higher Minimum Wage Will Make No Difference To Their Family

If the California minimum wage is increased, do you think it will help you and your family, hurt you and your family or will it make no difference?

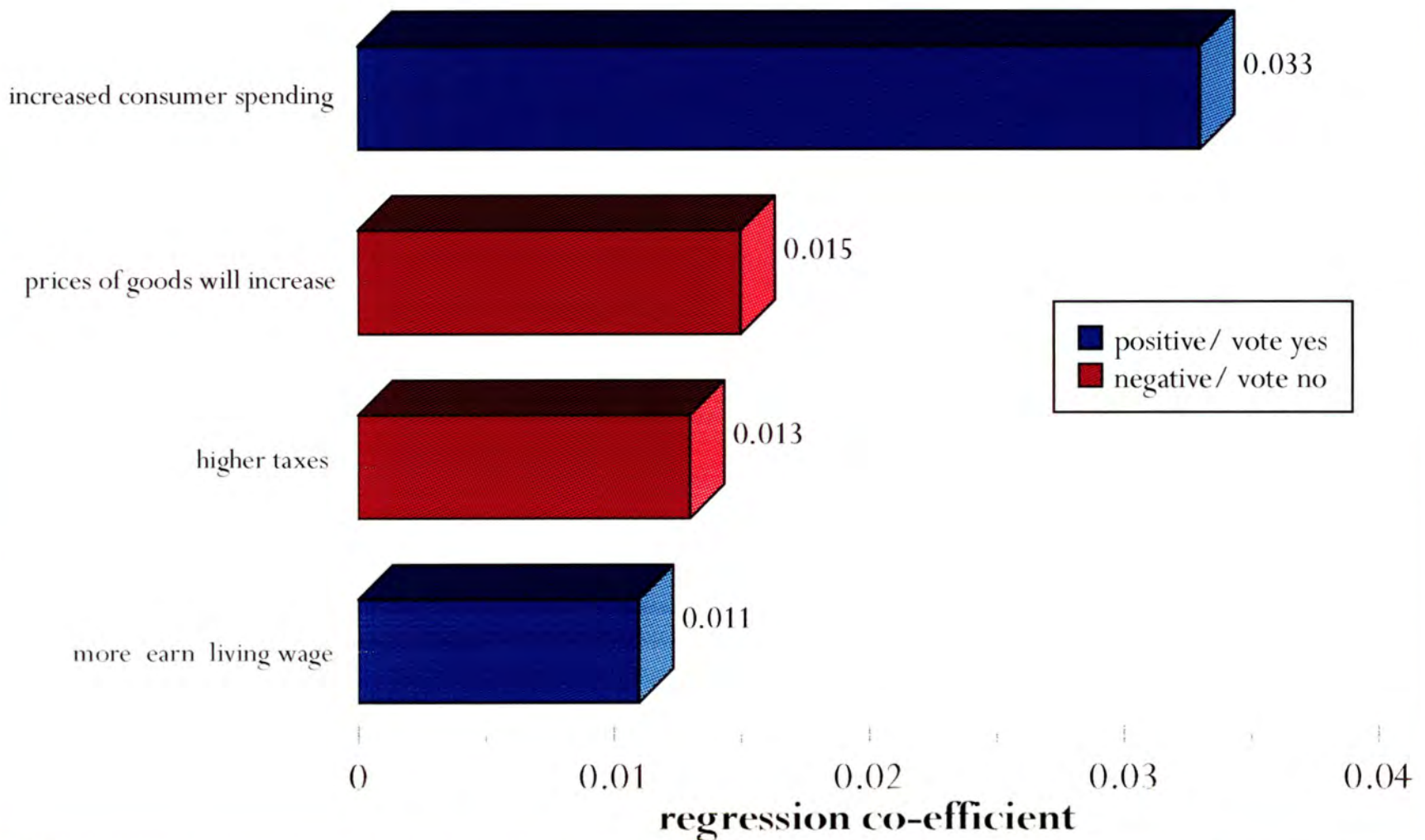


Only One-Quarter Believe It Is Very Likely That Increasing the Minimum Wage Will Increase the Wages of More Highly Paid Workers

Statement: wages of Californians who make more than the minimum wage will increase



Regression Analysis Shows That Believing That the Minimum Wage Will Lead to Increased Consumer Spending is the Most Important Determinant of Vote



The Real Decline in the Minimum Wage and the Need to Reward Work Are Our Most Compelling Arguments

Because of inflation, you can buy less with the minimum wage today than you could at any time in the past 40 years

The current minimum wage punishes hard work. At \$4.25, it is so low that minimum wage workers often earn less income than people on welfare. Increasing the minimum wage will reward work

Family of 3 earning 4.25 r is living below the poverty line. We need to make sure full-time workers are not living in poverty

While the Gov, Leg and Execs have all gotten big pay raise, the min wage has not been increased

Because good paying jobs are becoming so hard to find, it is more important than ever to make sure California has a fair min wage

Taxpayers end up footing the bill when some employers are allowed to pay wages which are so low that their workers qualify for welfare. Raising the minimum wage will end this unfair subsidy

Despite predictions to the contrary, in other states that raised the min wage, the number of jobs in min wage industries like retailing actually increased

Increase in min wage will have a large effect on the economy -- lead to pay increases for other low-wage workers whose salary is just above min wage

very convincing	mean
52%	3.19
52	3.19
48	3.14
48	3.08
41	3.02
31	2.80
28	2.88
22	2.68

These Same Arguments Are Effective Among Target Audiences

Because of inflation, you can buy less with the minimum wage today than you could at any time in the past 40 years
The current minimum wage punishes hard work. At \$4.25, it is so low that minimum wage workers often earn less income than people on welfare. Increasing the minimum wage will reward work

Family of 3 earning 4.25 r is living below the poverty line.
 We need to make sure full-time workers are not living in poverty
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Despite predictions to the contrary, in other states that raised the min wage, the number of jobs in min wage industries like retailing actually increased

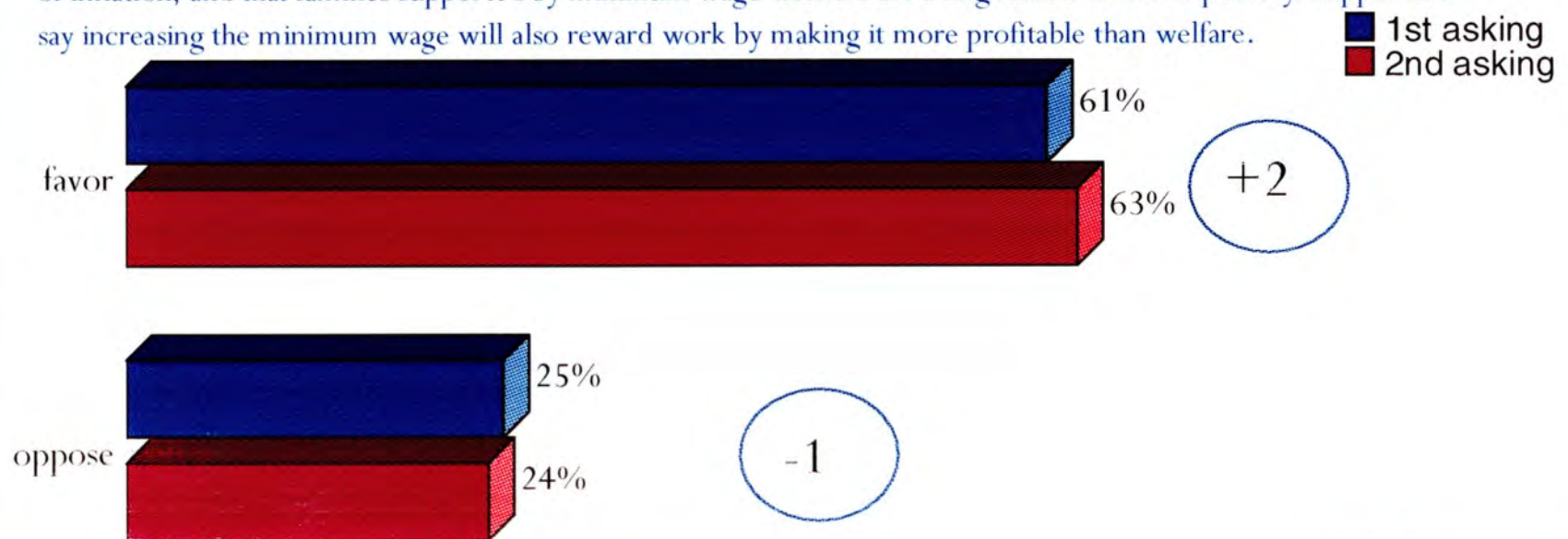
Increase in min wage will have a large effect on the economy -- lead to pay increases for other low-wage workers whose salary is just above min wage

independents	swing seat	swing voter	undecided
52	50	55	43
43	46	49	42
42	49	50	39
39	49	48	40
35	37	39	30
29	31	31	20
25	26	29	22
19	19	21	11

The Economic Fairness Argument Causes Few Voters to Shift to Yes, But Few Shift to the "No" Despite the Attack

Opponents say increasing the minimum wage will hurt the very people it is designed to help, because most minimum wage workers are teenagers or other low-skill workers who use these entry level jobs to acquire skills and prepare for better ones. They say an increase in the minimum wage will increase labor costs, force businesses to lay off these low-skilled workers and cost taxpayers millions of dollars. Opponents say an increase in California's minimum wage will also hurt the state's business climate and force businesses to pass the higher costs onto consumers.

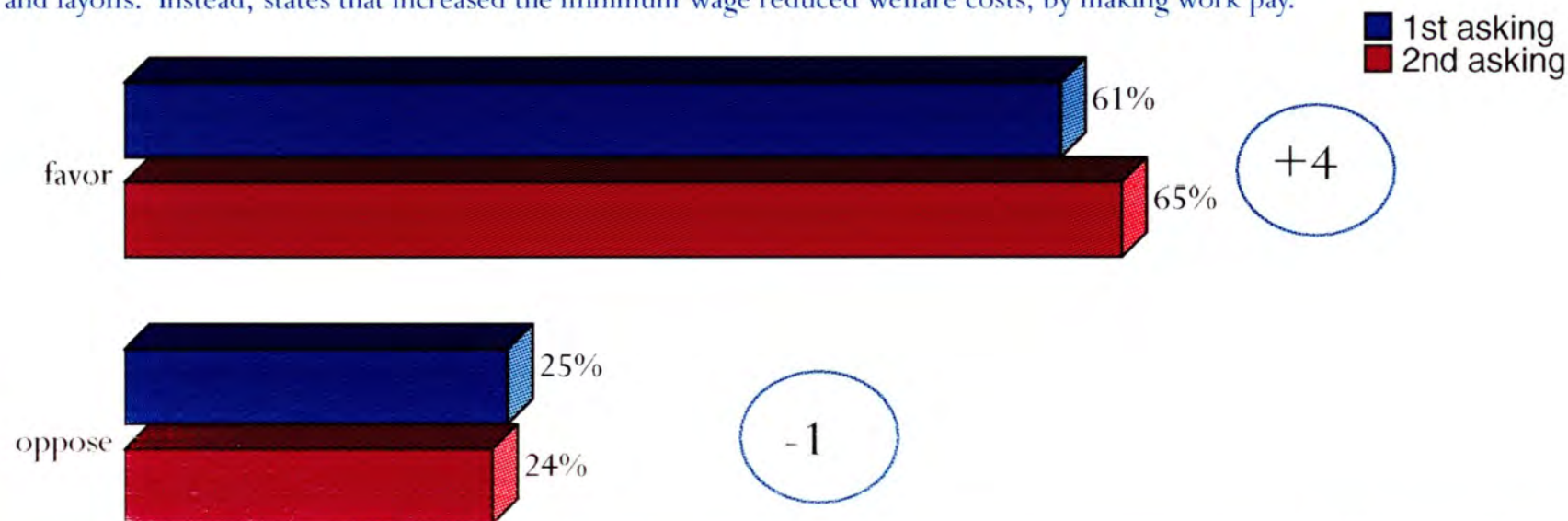
Supporters of increasing the minimum wage say raising the minimum wage is a simple issue of economic fairness. They say we must raise the minimum wage so it gives people a living wage. Supporters say that today's minimum wage of four dollars and twenty-five cents per hour buys less than at any time in the past 40 years because of inflation, and that families supported by minimum wage workers are being forced to live in poverty. Supporters say increasing the minimum wage will also reward work by making it more profitable than welfare.



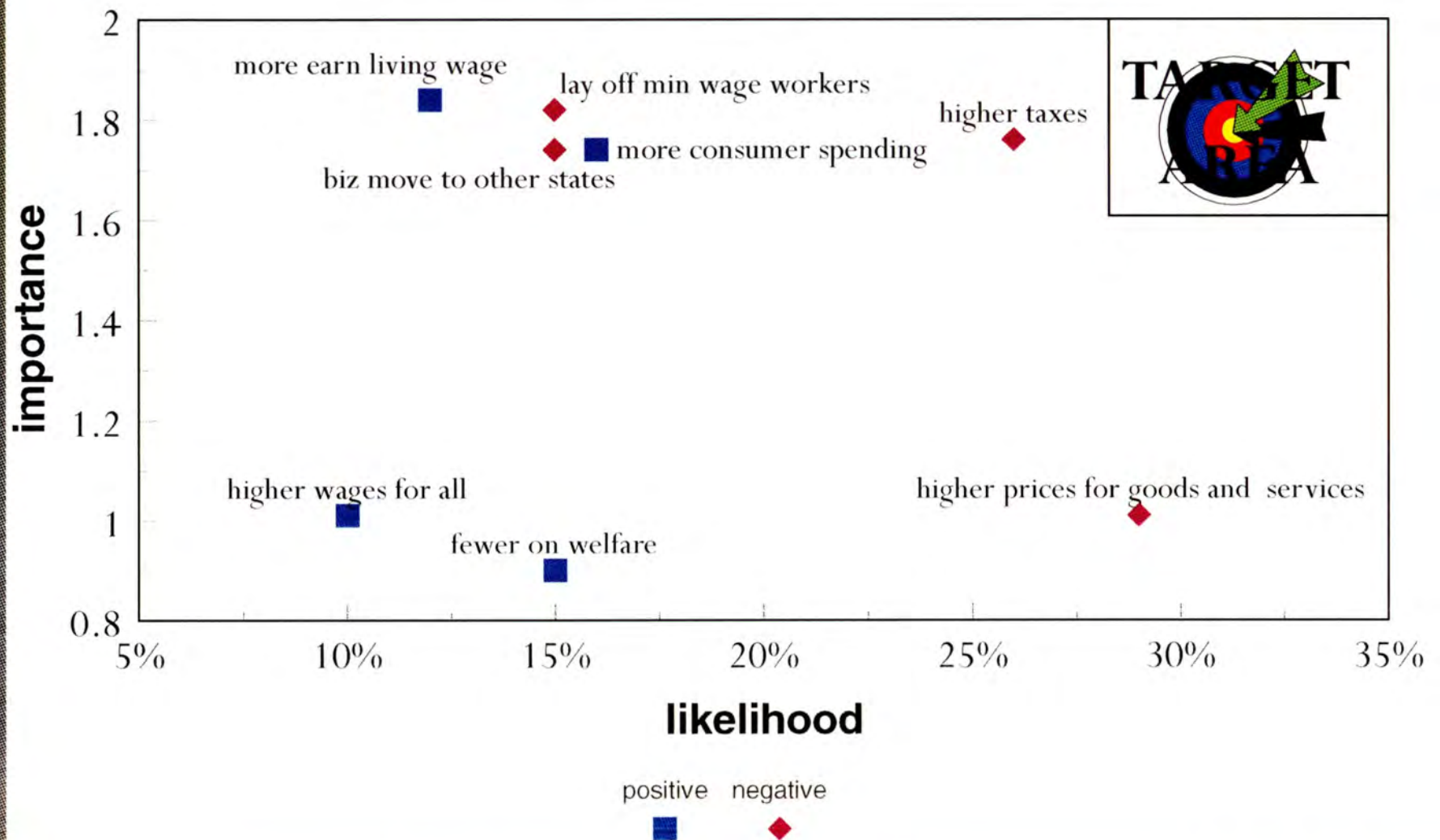
Focusing on Real Wages Along With Macroeconomic Benefits Fares Slightly Better

Opponents say increasing the minimum wage will hurt the very people it is designed to help, because most minimum wage workers are teenagers or other low-skill workers who use these entry level jobs to acquire skills and prepare for better ones. They say an increase in the minimum wage will increase labor costs, force businesses to lay off these low-skilled workers and cost taxpayers millions of dollars. Opponents say an increase in California's minimum wage will also hurt the state's business climate and force businesses to pass the higher costs onto consumers.

Supporters of increasing the minimum wage say raising the minimum wage is not only fair, but good for our economy. Supporters say that today's minimum wage of four dollars and twenty-five cents per hour buys less than at any time in the past 40 years because of inflation. Supporters say increasing the minimum wage will reward work by making it more profitable than welfare and help our economy by giving working people more money to spend. Supporters say recent experience shows that states that increased their minimum wage did not experience job loss and layoffs. Instead, states that increased the minimum wage reduced welfare costs, by making work pay.



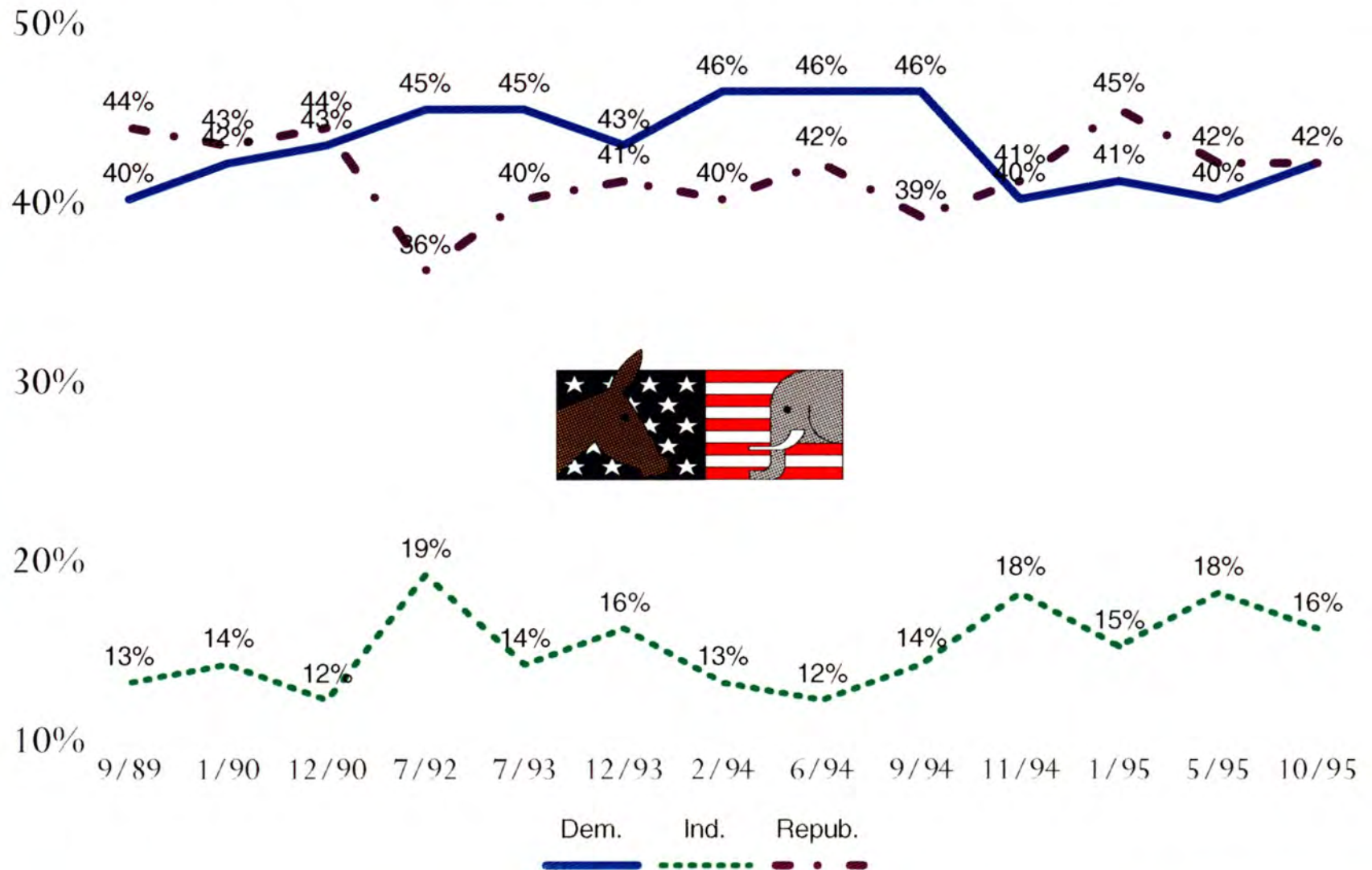
Our Strategic Map Points to the Centrality of the "Living Wage" and Increased Consumer Spending



Our Opponents' Messages Do Not Appear to Be As Salient

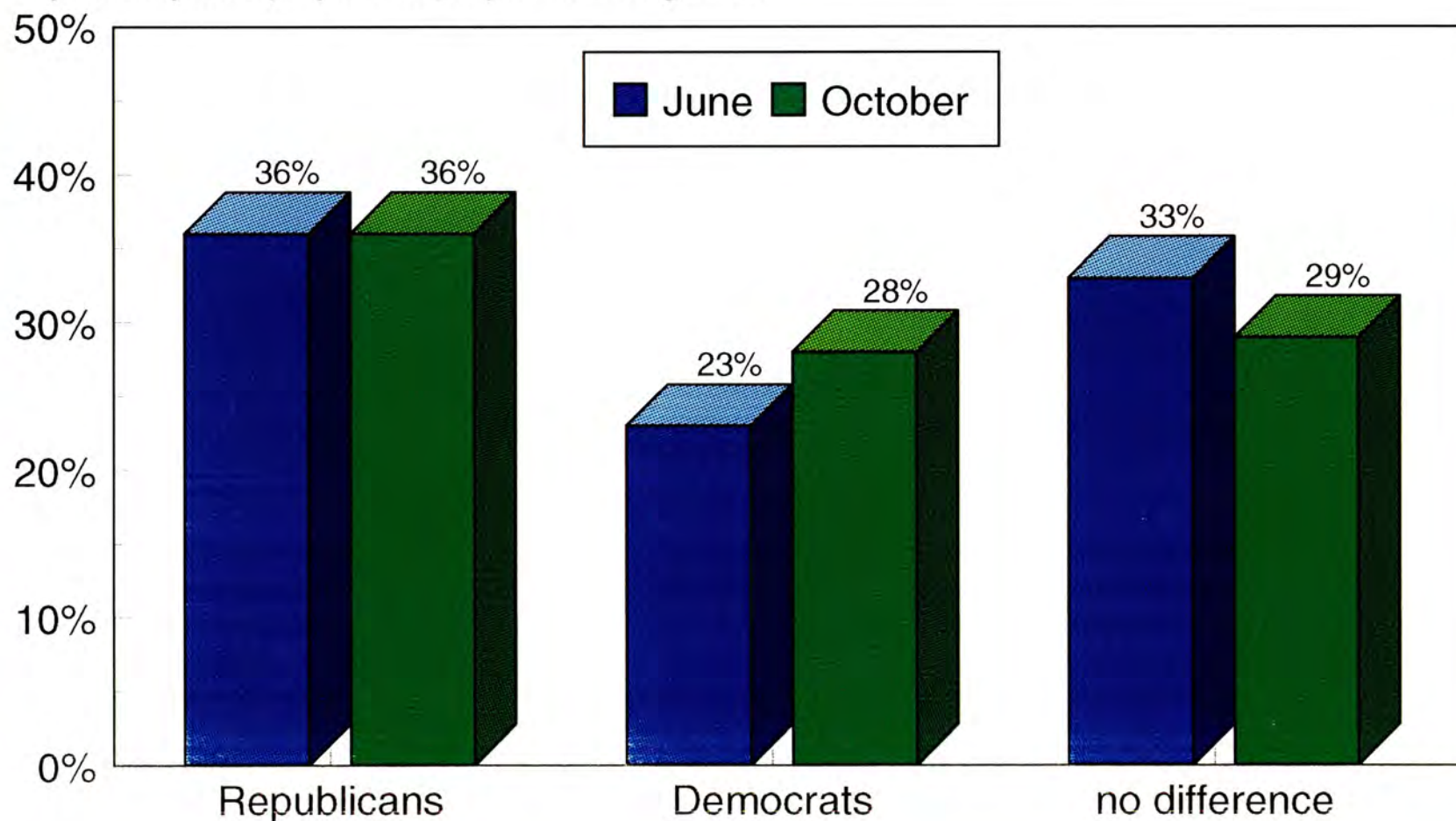
	very convincing	mean
will lead to higher prices b/c biz will pass along the costs	32	2.86
force biz to relocate where labor is cheaper	25	2.54
min wage higher but this is too much -- cause layoffs, hurt economy	21	2.35
will hurt low wage workers b/c biz will lay them off	19	2.41
should be made at federal level, not state	19	2.23
every 75 cents increase will cost 45 mil in increased state payrolls	16	2.33
many min wage workers in hotel & restaurants make extra in tips	16	2.26
free market should set the price	15	1.96
many min wage workers are teenagers are no supporting families	13	2.07

The Parties Are Balanced Fairly Evenly



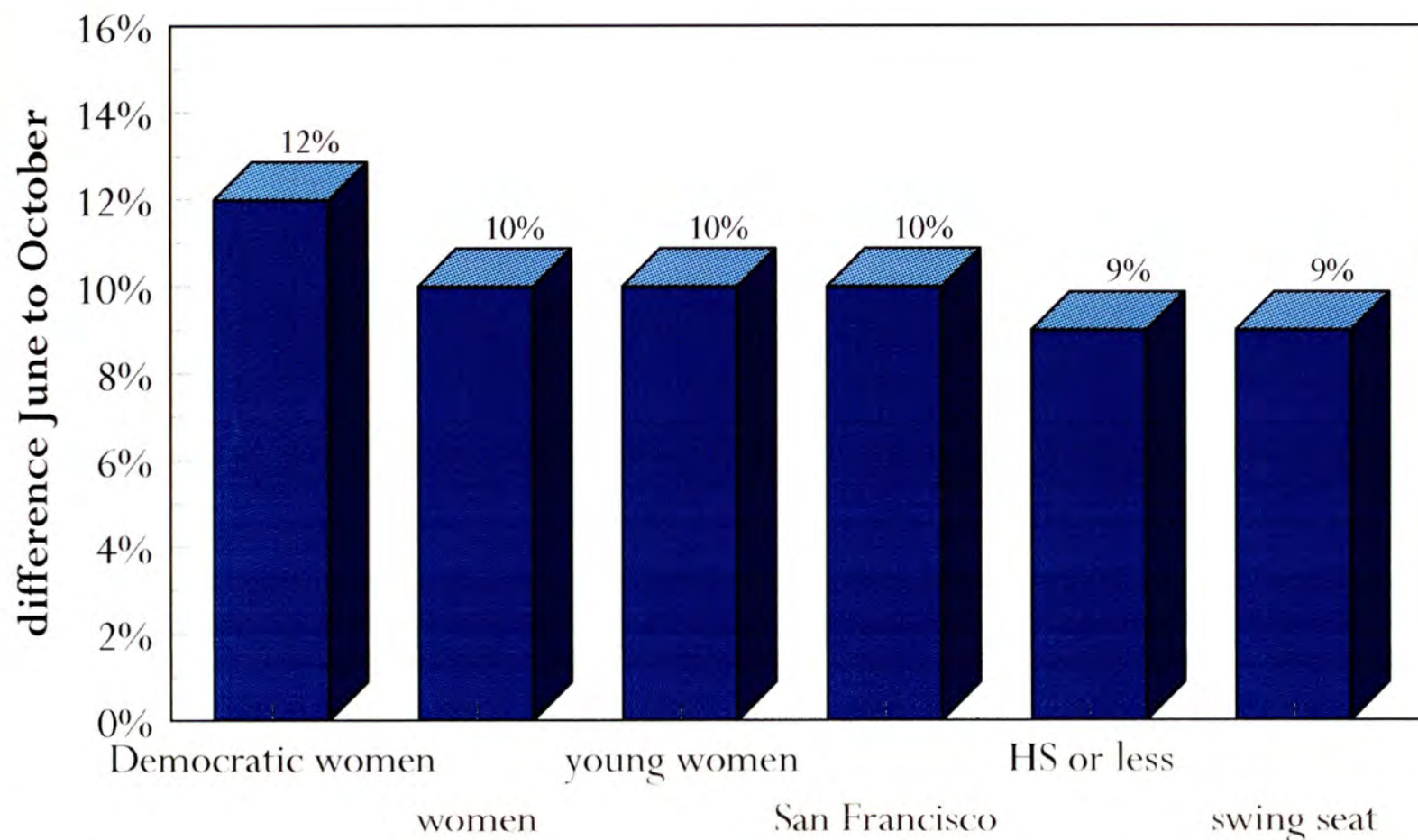
A Plurality Believe They Will Be Better Off If Republicans Have a Majority in the Legislature, Although Democratic Support is Up Since June

Do you think you and your family would be better off if the Republicans had a majority in the California state legislature or if the Democrats had a majority in the state legislature or doesn't it make any difference to you and your family which party has a majority in the state legislature?

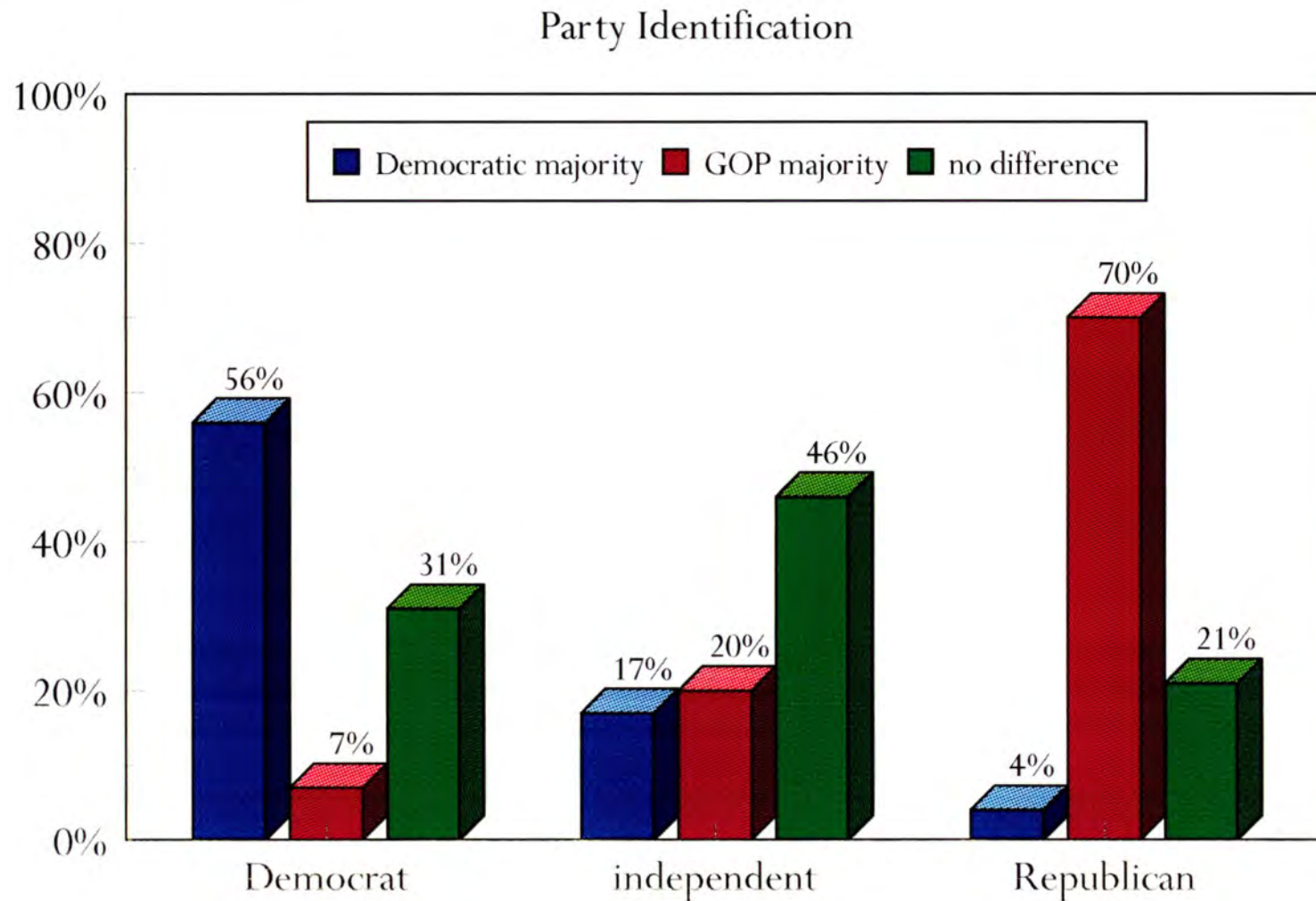


While Our Pick-ups Have Been Mostly in Our Base

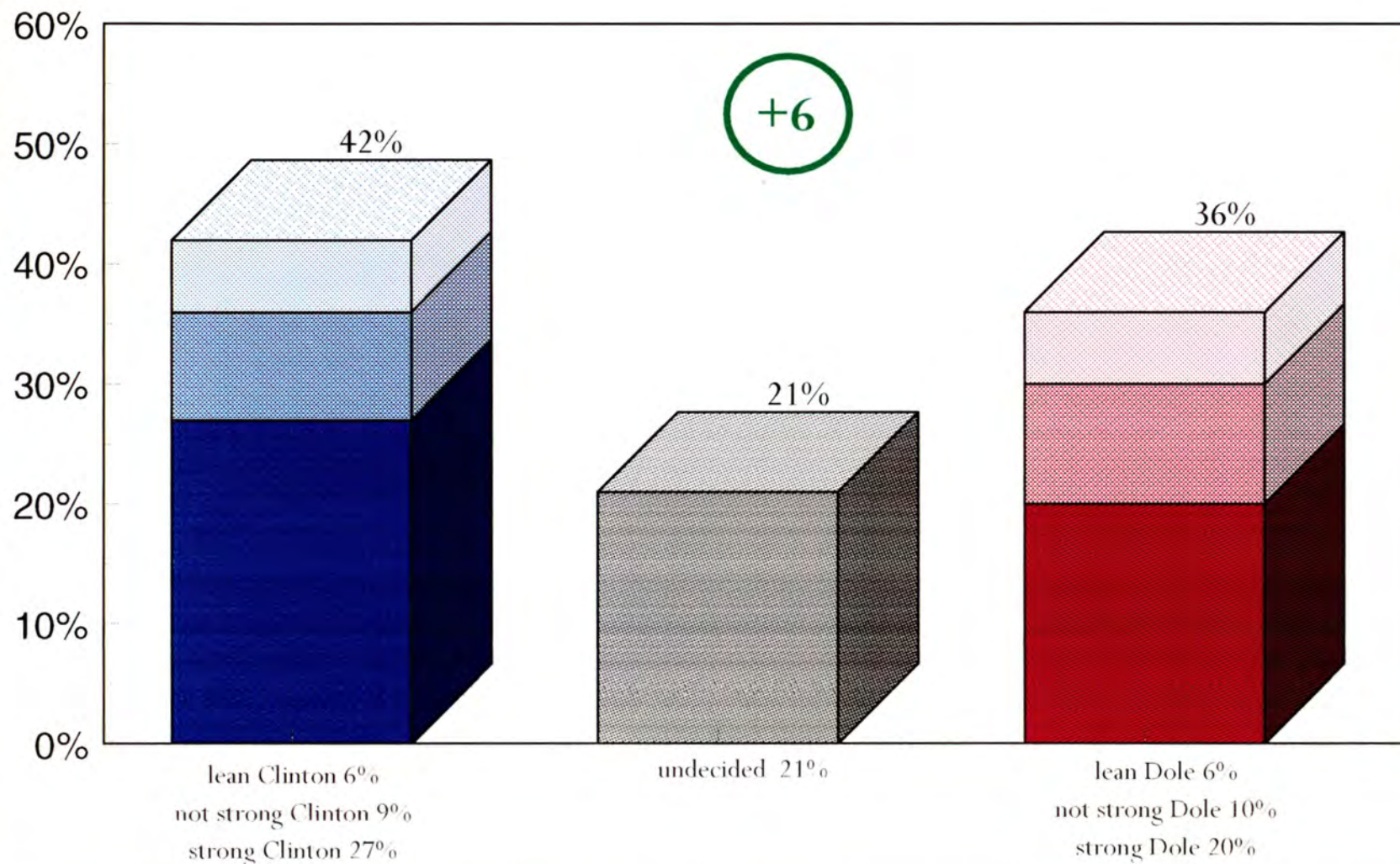
Democratic Majority in the California State Legislature



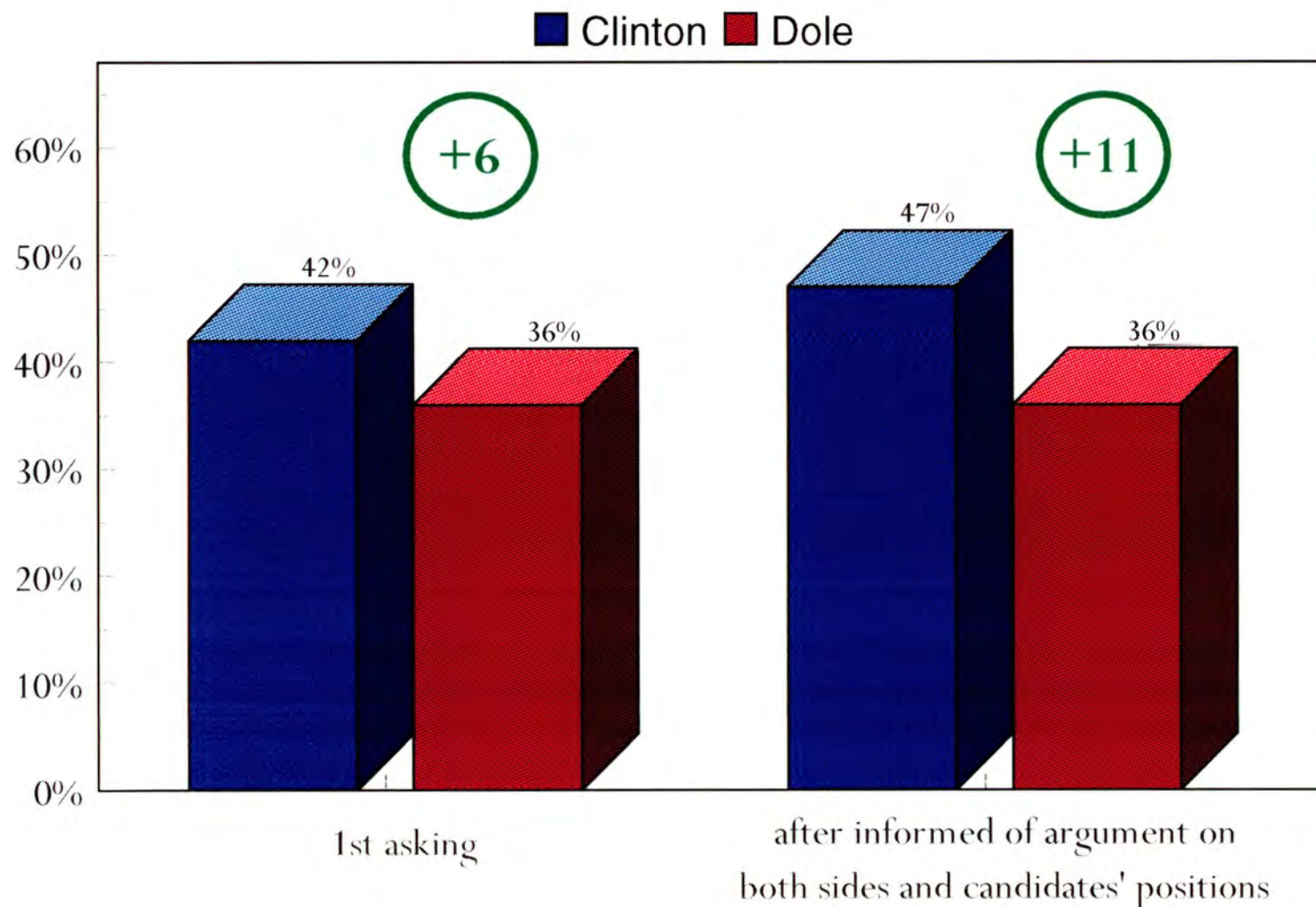
The Democratic Base Still is Not as Committed as the Republican Base



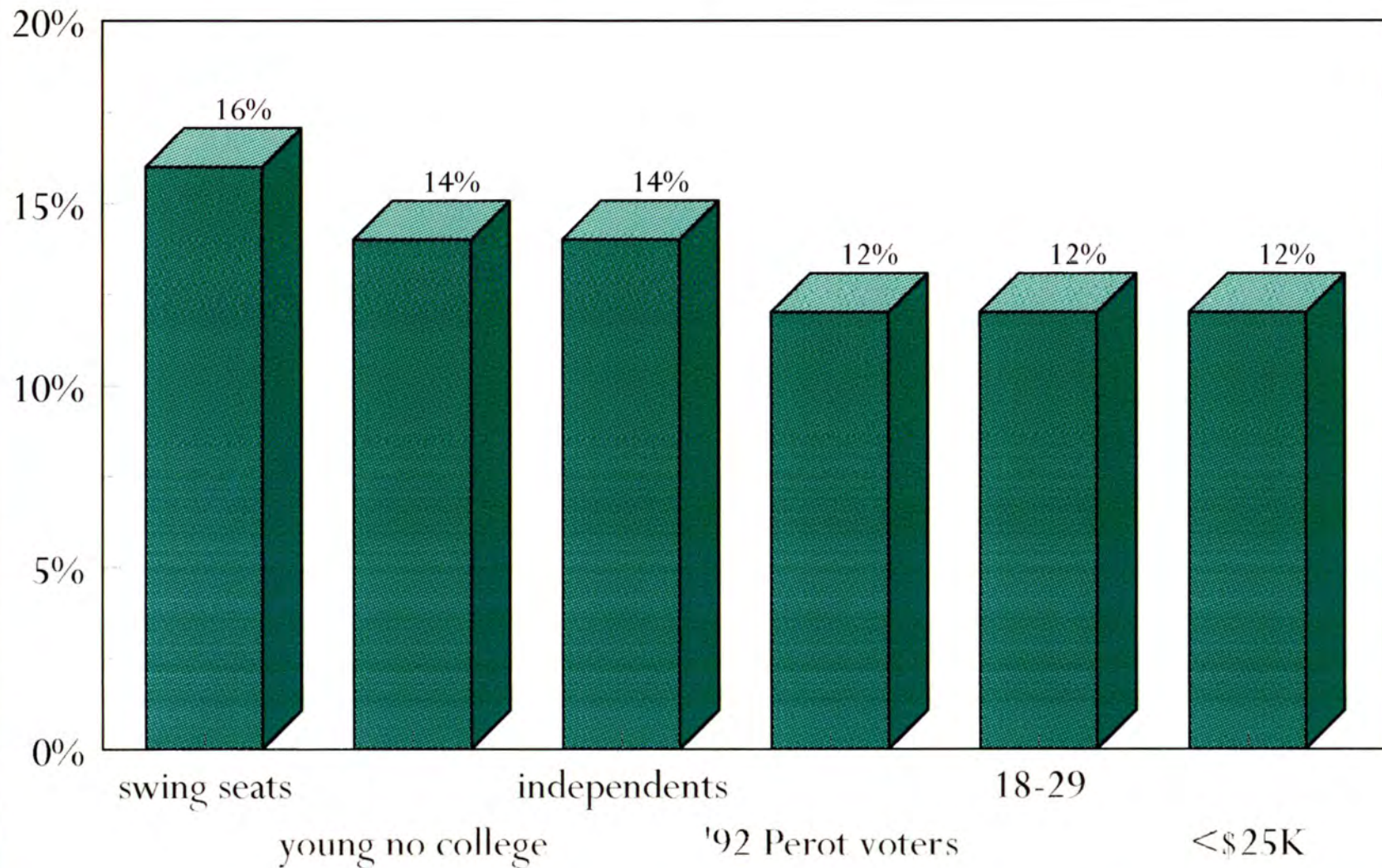
A Plurality Prefer Clinton Over Dole



Clinton Picks Up Support When Voters Learn of His Support For An Increased Minimum Wage and Dole's Opposition



Those Most Likely to Shift to Clinton Include Swing and Downscale Voters



(1) Midway - want to go to \$5.75 - not \$5.15 (Peters level)
Q: will we be ok at that?

Also → ~~some~~ effort to credentia this as good for economy.

→ validity of MW/Act. Inst. →
- will check into validity of this.

(2) to grant plurine →

signal → 2-300,000 that is out of the
down world that is not
translator or Act business.

- Maybe one call; but certainly says this is ok up us.
- They want 2-3 people from the west side
Inst. coming who can be associated
w/ this (+ are viewed as ok. w/ the Inst.).

Thurs
NB meeting on Tues.

VP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 OCT 24 P 6:00

19 October 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes (HI)

SUBJECT: California affirmative action survey

Attached is a copy of the initial of the "Results" of the California affirmative action survey taken by The Feldman Group, Inc, dated October 1995. This survey was conducted for the Service Employees International Union and the California Teachers Association.

Let's discuss.



THE FELDMAN GROUP, INC.

Results

California Affirmative Action Survey

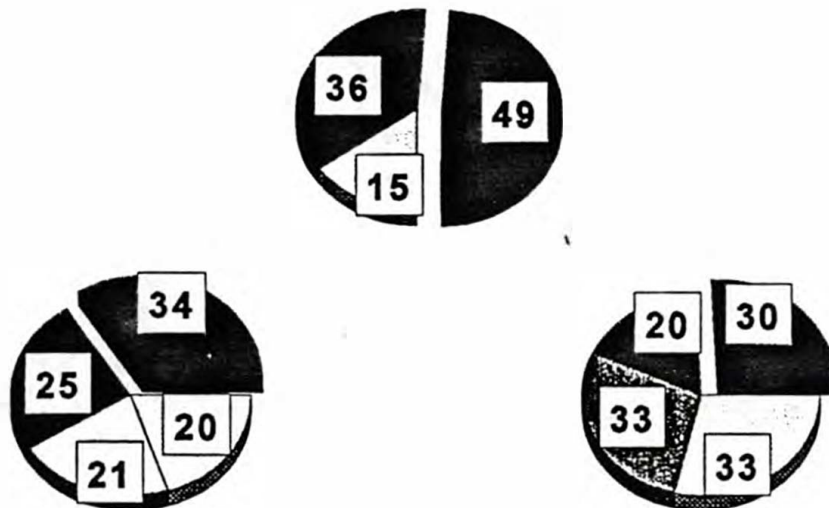
October 19, 1995

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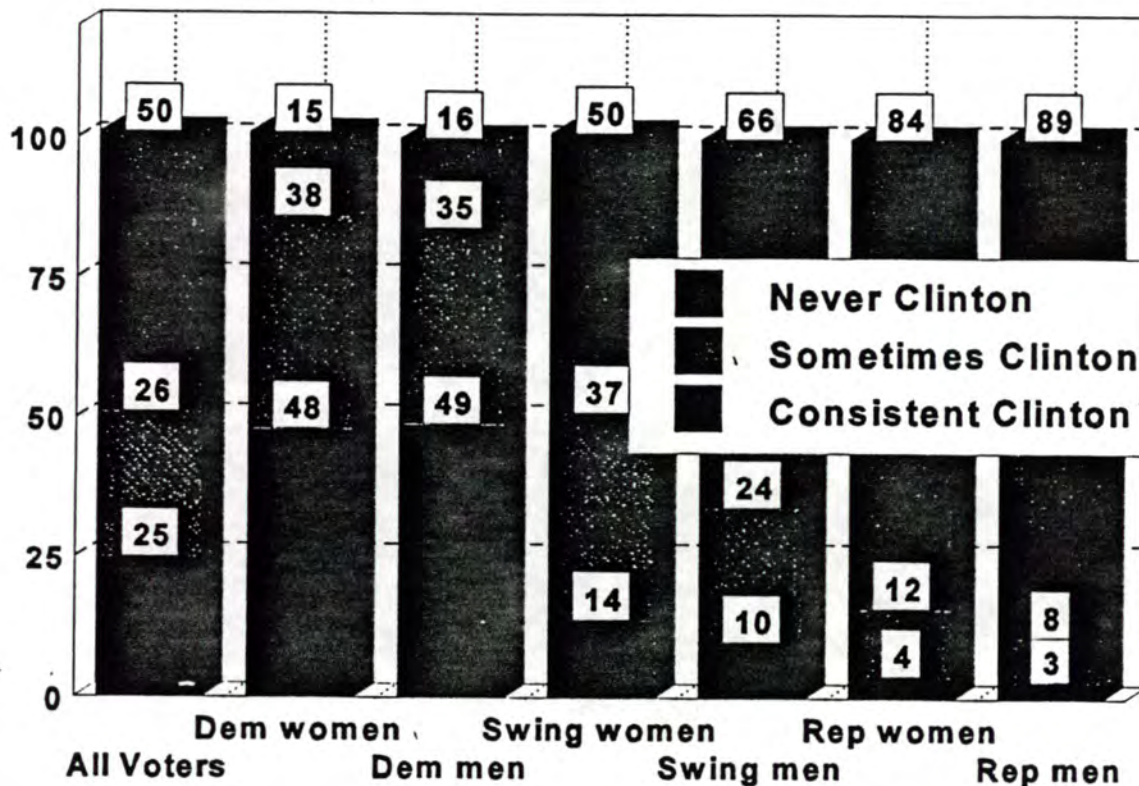
Master Questionnaire

Presidential Vote

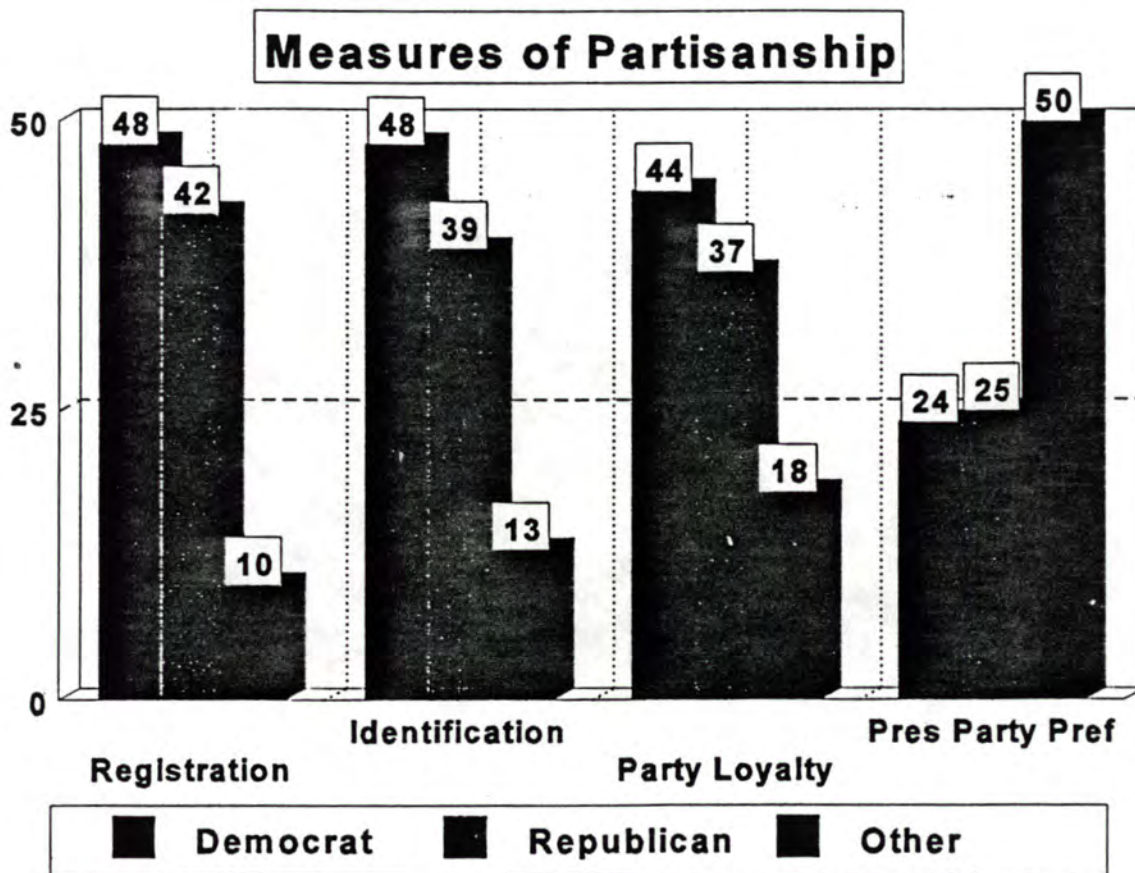


Clinton leads Dole 49 to 36 percent and continues to lead Dole when we include a generic independent candidate but with a less commanding 34 percent. In a three-way race including Colin Powell, Clinton trails Powell with 30 percent to 33 percent for Powell and 20 percent for Dole.

Consistency of Clinton Support



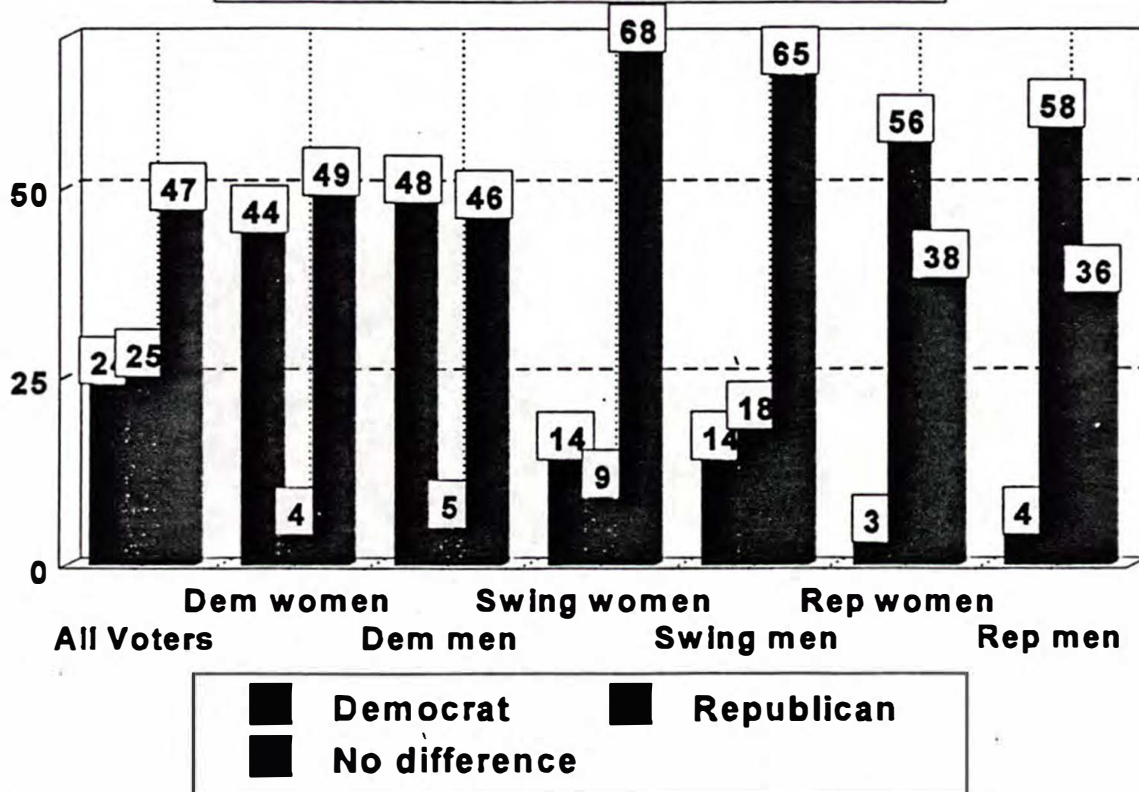
Although Clinton wins 49 percent against Dole, only 25 percent of voters are consistently for Clinton whether he is matched against Dole, Powell or a generic independent. The 26 percent of voters who are sometimes but inconsistently for Clinton include 38 percent of Democratic women and 37 percent of swing women. Forty-six (46) percent of Democratic women under age 45 are sometimes Clinton voters.



California remains marginally Democratic in several traditional measures of partisanship. However, the result is different when we ask, "Do you think you and your family would be better off if the President were a Republican or if the President were a Democrat, or doesn't it make any difference to you and your family which party has the presidency?" In that case, only 25 percent of voters say having a Democratic President matters. We find similar results on the state legislative level. These results mean less loyalty in our base than in the Republican base.

Party Loyalty

Presidential Party Preference



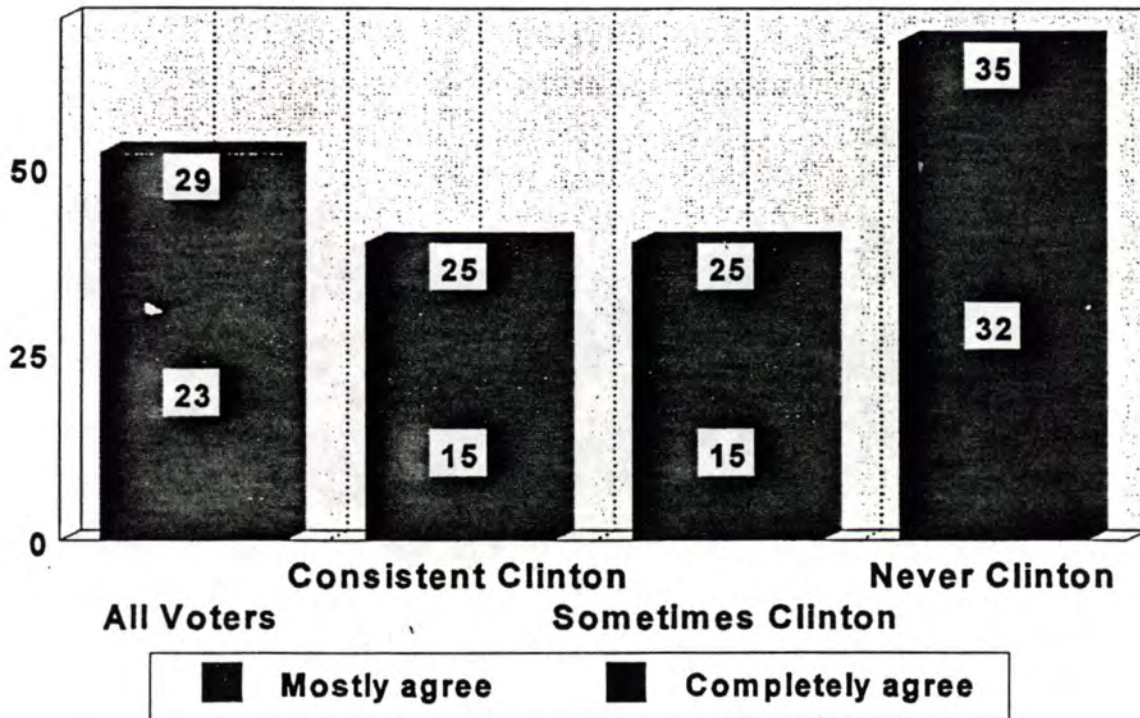
Republicans care more about the party of their president than Democrats do. Fifty-six (56) percent of Republican women and 58 percent of Republican men say they would prefer a president of their own party. In contrast, a plurality of even the most loyal Democratic voters say the party of the president makes no difference to them.

NAME	DESCRIPTION	DEMOGRAPHICS
"The Embittered" 22 percent in May 26 percent in September	Too many people look for handouts, government does too much for minorities, diversity is not desirable, we will not have a color-blind society	Los Angeles suburbs, Republican men, white voters without college 19 percent sometimes Clinton
"Quiet Plurality" 23 percent in May 21 percent in September	People who work hard will get ahead, <u>diversity is positive</u> and we can have a color-blind society, minorities are not denied opportunities now, government does more than it should for minorities	Strong Republicans, White voters w/o college, voters outside metro areas 15 percent sometimes Clinton
"Strivers" 20 percent in May 15 percent in September	People who work hard will get ahead, women should be in the workforce, diversity is positive, women but less so minorities are denied opportunities now	College educated swing voters, Los Angeles swing voters, White Catholics 25 percent sometimes Clinton
"Pro-Diversity" 18 percent in May 19 percent in September	Women and minorities are denied opportunity now, we do not have a color-blind society and government should do more	College educated Democratic women, black women, college educated Latinos, younger Latino men 38 percent sometimes Clinton
"Minority Empowerment" 16 percent in May 20 percent in September	Minorities are denied opportunities, we do not have a color-blind society and government should do more	Black men, Latino women over age 45, black women over age 45, college-educated whites 33 percent sometimes Clinton

Not a swing group

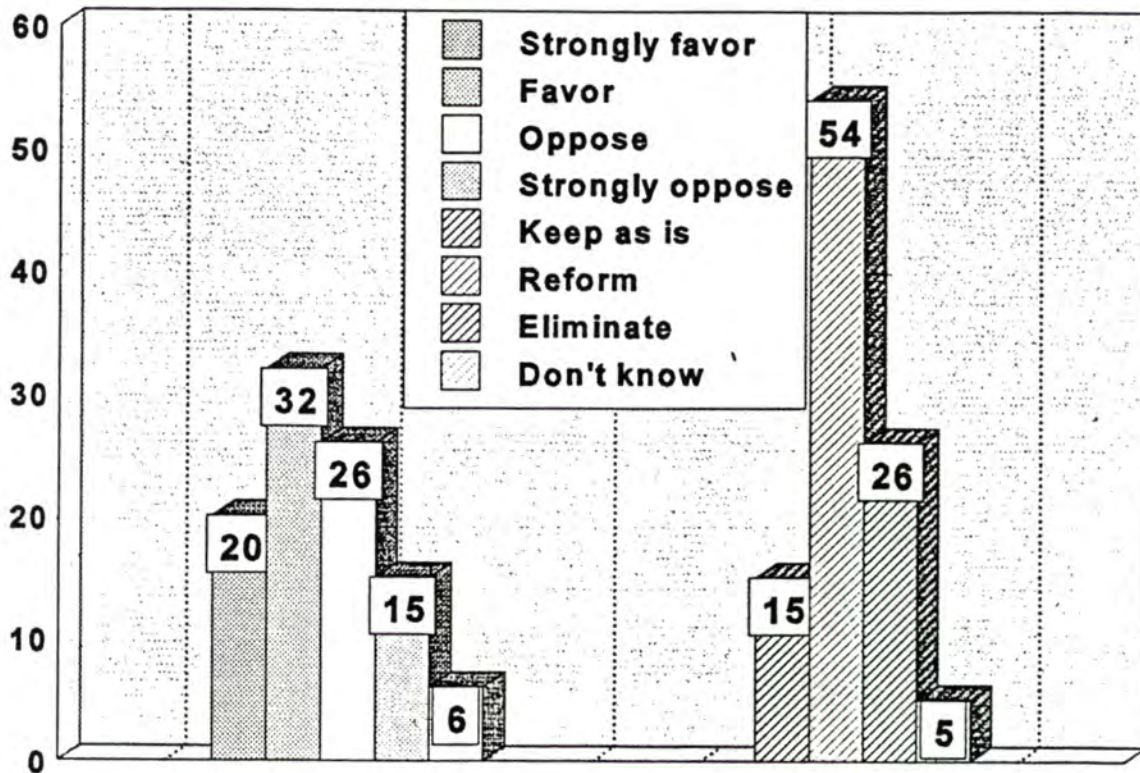
non-urban

Government Gives Too Much Help to Minorities at Expense of Other People



The electorate is polarized around issues of affirmative action and government 'help for minorities'. Democrats can argue for the value of equal opportunity, but arguments that sound like they are about more government programs will increase polarization in the electorate.

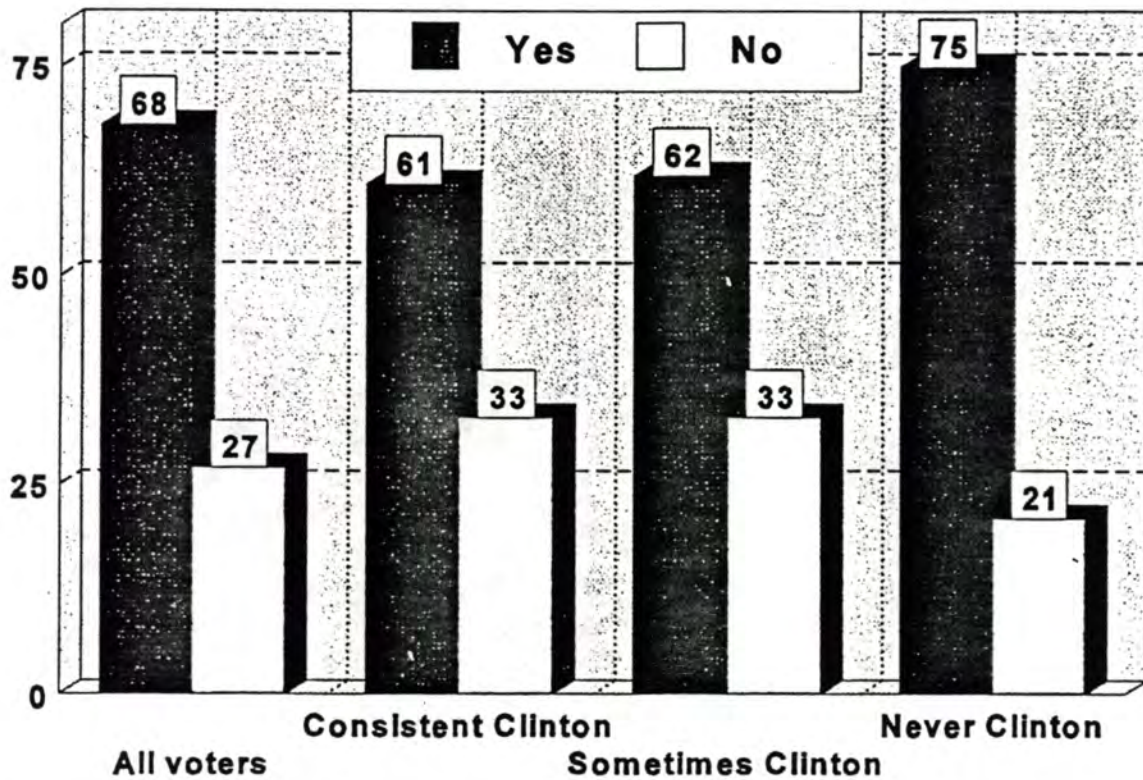
Affirmative Action



Fifty-two (52) percent of voters still say they favor affirmative action programs to help women and minorities achieve equal opportunity. A 54 percent majority of voters, however, favor reforming affirmative action while only 15 percent want to keep affirmative action the way it is. Arguing against CCRI is tantamount to arguing for the status quo, a position that has little support.

- consistent w/ Geniv

Clinton Support and CCRI Vote



Consistent Clinton and sometimes Clinton voters support CCRI by almost two-to-one. As the electorate becomes more polarized on this issue, Clinton is likely to lose some of his soft support.

CALIFORNIA EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION ACT

October 17, 1995

SECTION 1.

This Act shall be known as the "California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Act."

SECTION 2.

Purpose and Intent.

The people of the State of California find and declare that

[To be inserted later]

SECTION 3.

Section 7.5 is hereby added to Article 1 of the California Constitution to read as follows:

- (a) The state is prohibited from using quotas that require hiring or selecting persons in public employment, education and contracting on the basis of race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin.
- (b) The state is prohibited from hiring or selecting unqualified persons in public employment, education and contracting based on race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin.
- (c) The state shall, without the use of quotas, prevent discrimination and ensure equal opportunity in public employment, education and contracting.
- (d) The state shall not operate any affirmative action programs that use quotas or which hire or select unqualified persons.
- (e) For the purposes of this section, "state" shall include, but not necessarily be limited to, the state itself, any city, county, city and county, public university systems, including the University of California, community college district, school district, special district, or any other political subdivision or governmental instrumentality of or within the state.
- (f) Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as prohibiting action which must be taken to establish or maintain eligibility for any federal program, where ineligibility would result in a loss of federal funds to the state.

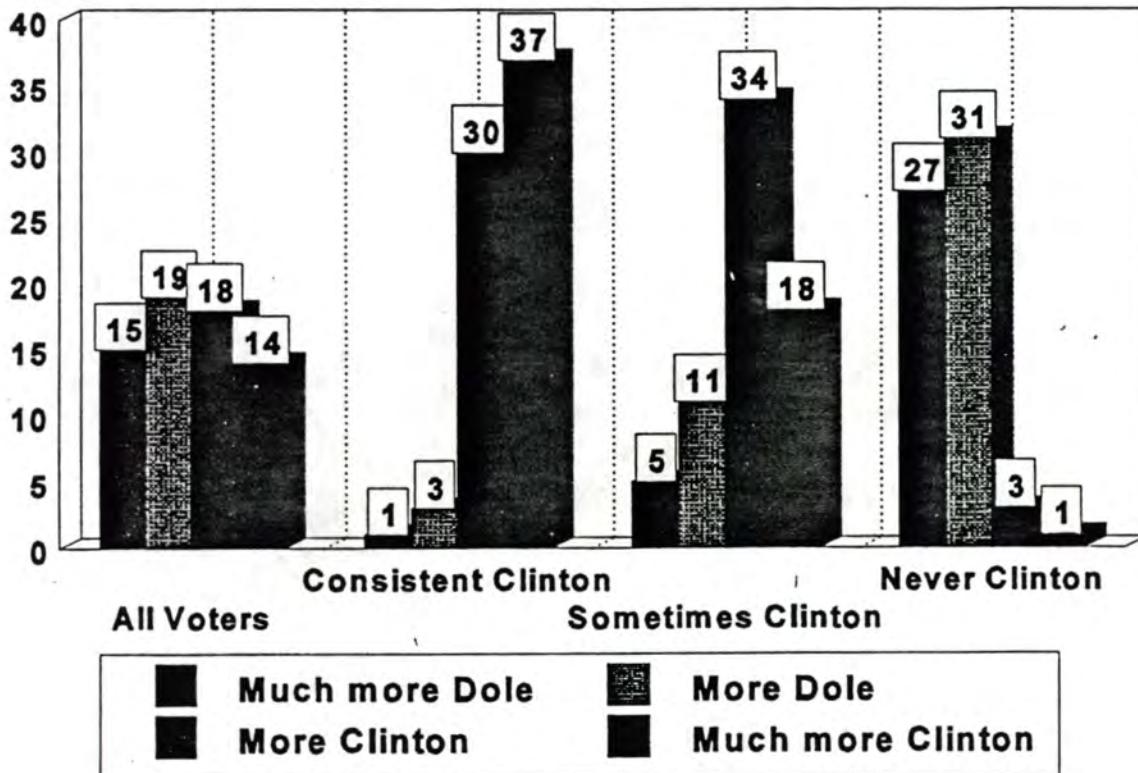
(g) Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as limiting the ability of courts to correct the effects of discrimination.

SECTION 4.

To avoid needless litigation, this measure shall supersede any and all other measures on the same ballot related to discrimination in public employment, education and contracting, provided this measure receives more votes than the other measures.

aa\initiative.doc

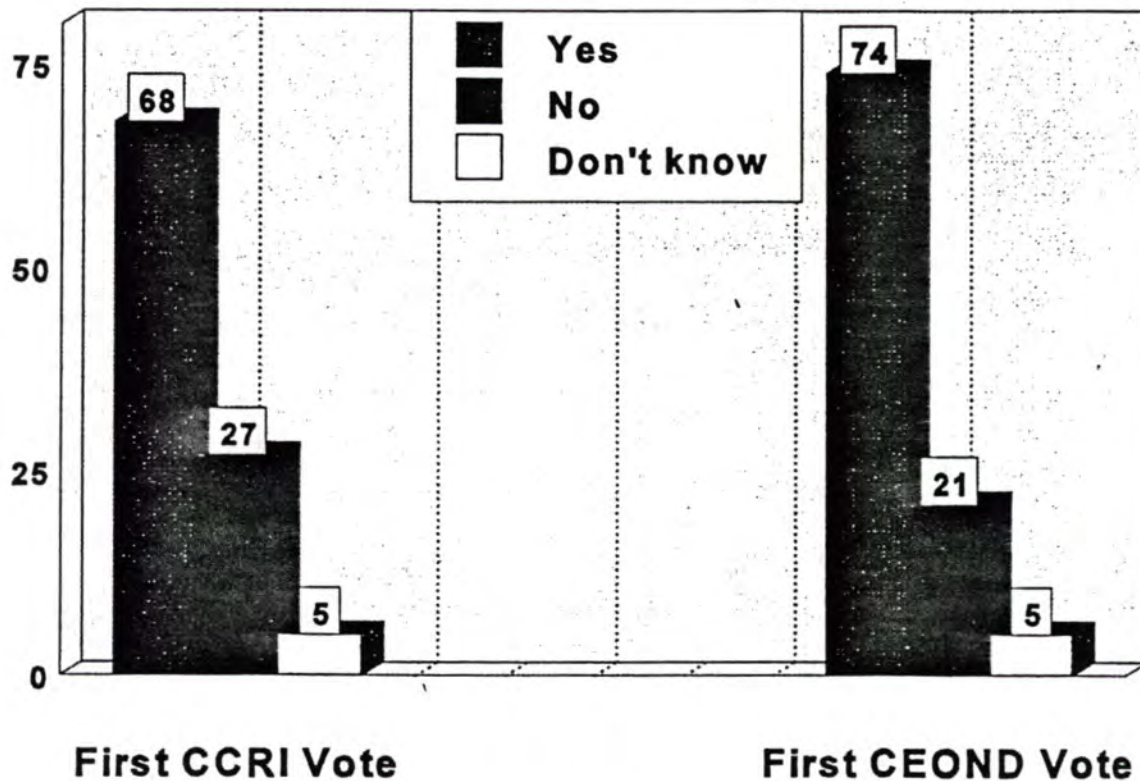
Effect of CCRI on Presidential Vote



Dole's support for CCRI helps him. It is a small net positive overall and helps him consolidate the half of the electorate that does not now choose Clinton in any contest.

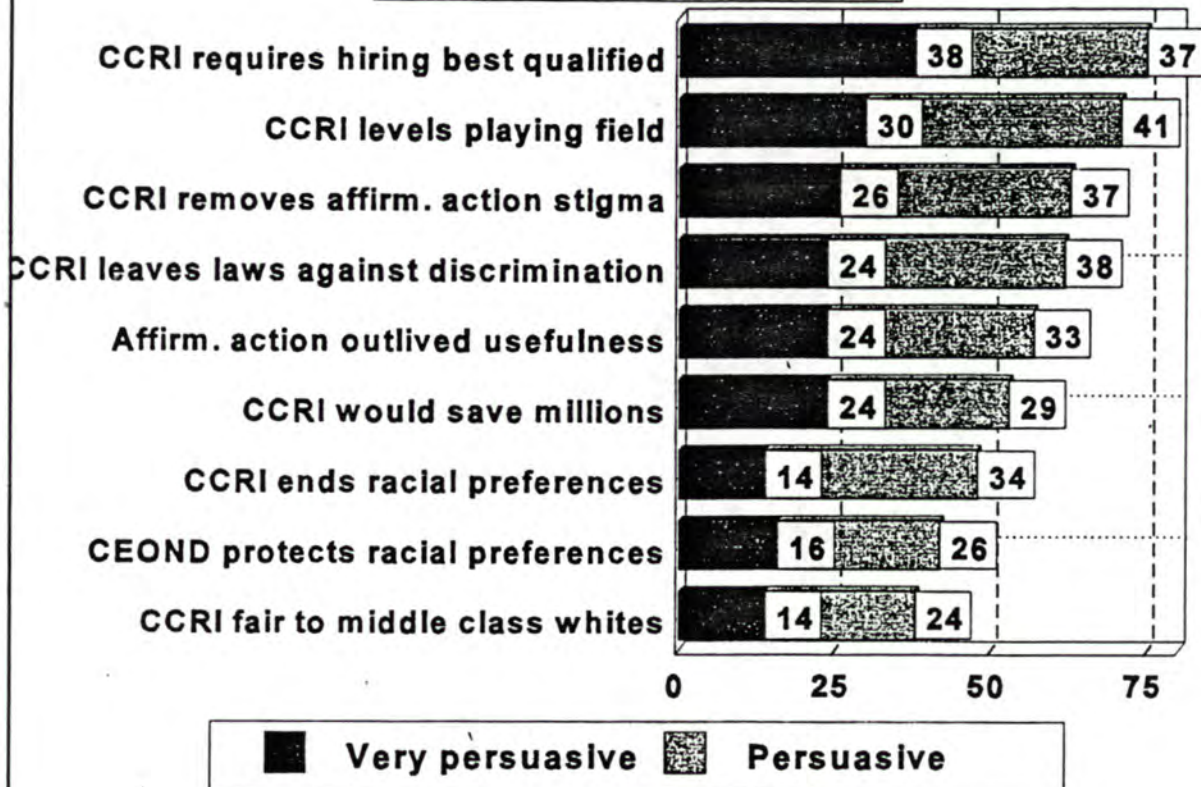
- make marginal candidate stronger

Current Support for Each Initiative



The alternative initiative, the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, draws more support right at the start because it does an even better job expressing voters' values. The vote among sometime Clinton voters is similar to that for all voters. Sixty-two (62) percent of sometime Clinton voters initially support CCRI; 75 percent initially support CEOND.

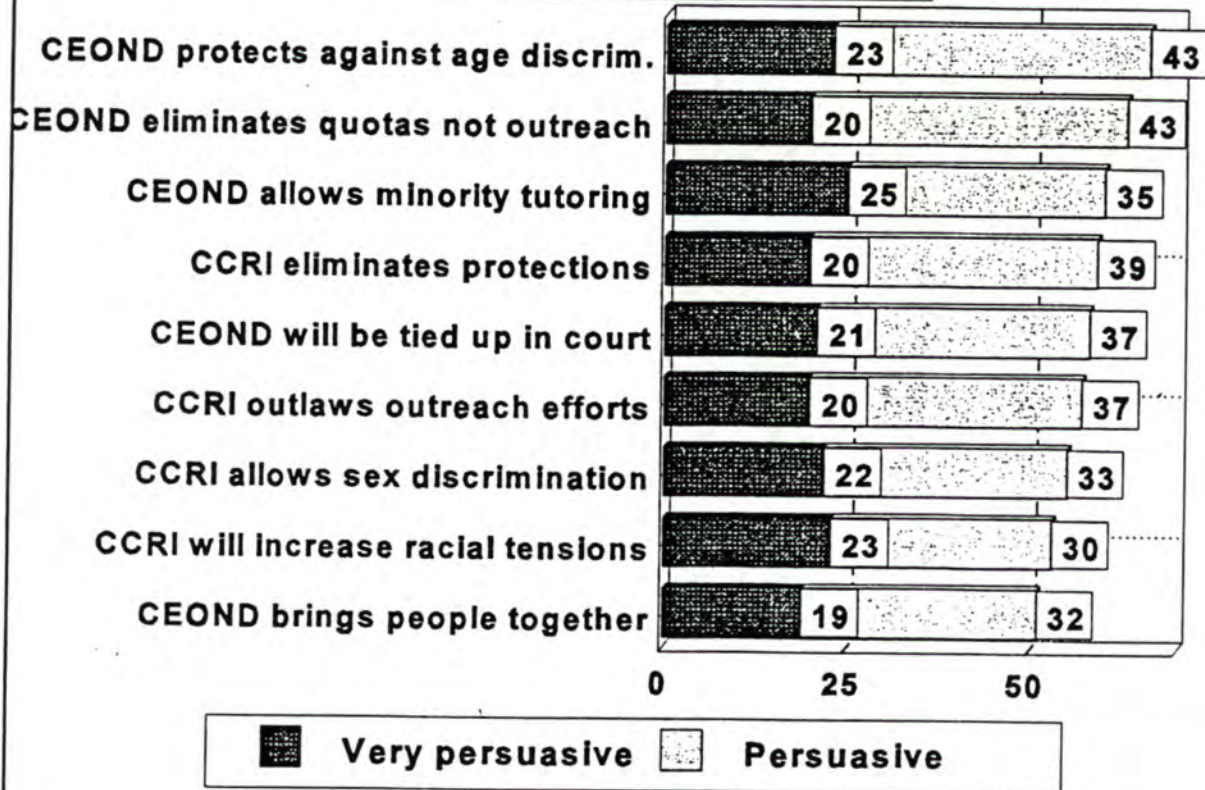
Arguments for CCRI



The strongest arguments for CCRI remain those that are rooted in voters' values of fairness and opportunity. Voters respond especially strongly to CCRI's requirement that the best qualified applicant get the job. In the end, however, a majority of voters are willing to sustain some racial preferences as long as people are qualified.

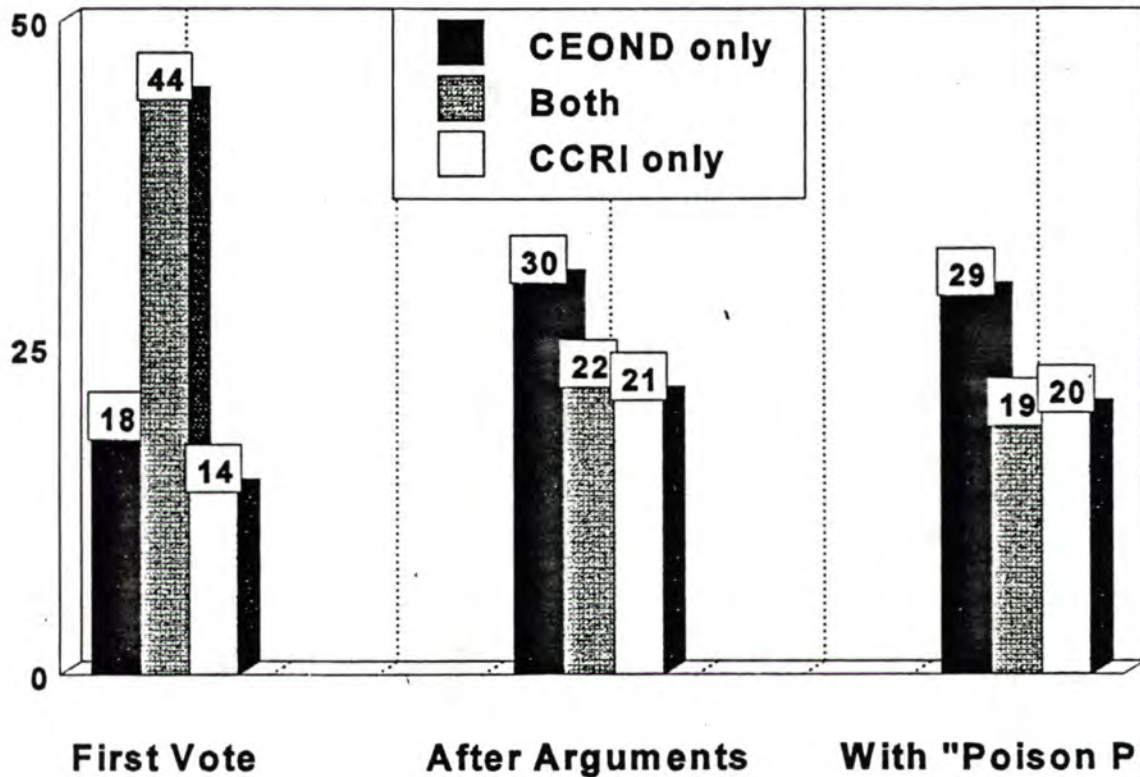
- statement of values argument

Arguments for CEOND



Voters respond to several arguments why the CEOND is better than the CCRI. CEOND better expresses their values and concerns about discrimination. CCRI goes too far in rolling back equal opportunity. *il, Values*

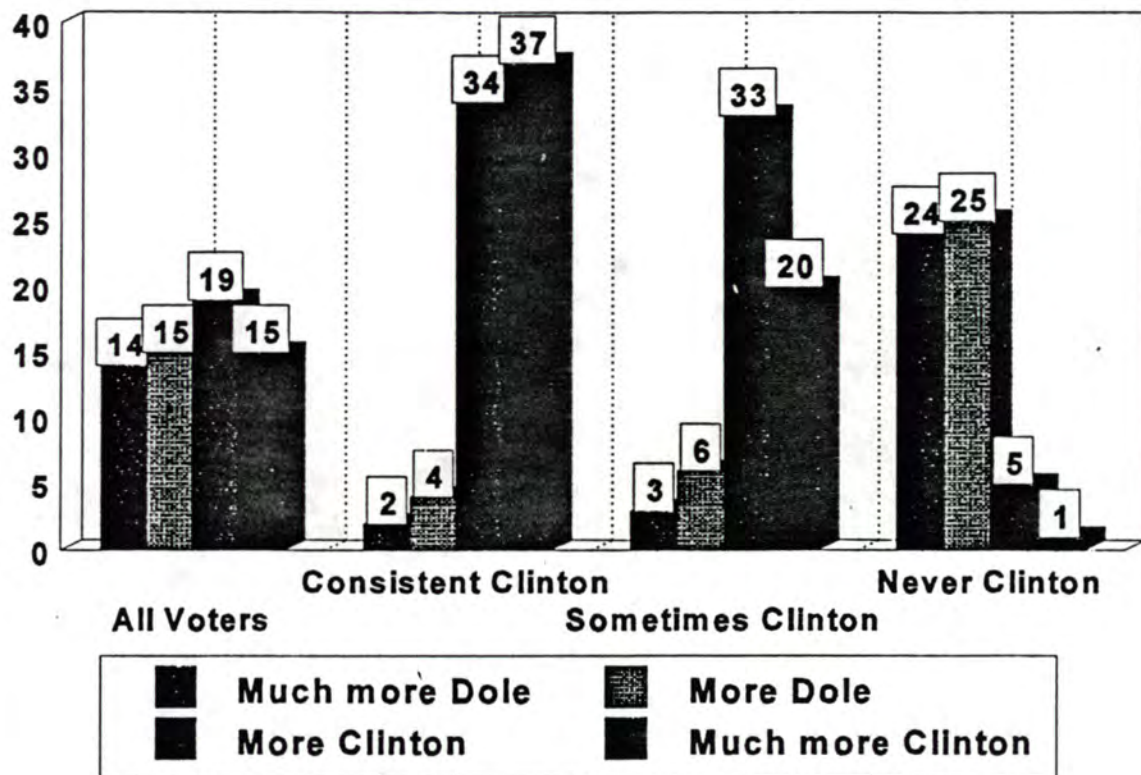
Movement on the Initiatives



After the arguments, 52 percent of voters support CEOND and 43 percent support CCRI. When voters are also told about CEOND's "poison pill" provision, 48 percent support CEOND and 39 percent support CCRI. These results mean CCRI could actually lose if there is an alternative initiative.

*Whatever
gets most
votes*

Combined Effect of Initiatives



If Dole supports CCRI and Clinton supports CEOND, the net effect helps Clinton. Clinton is strongly advantaged both in his base and among swing voters. Dole derives less benefit in his base than when CCRI stands alone.

MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE
California Affirmative Action Survey
October 14, 1995

[INTRODUCTION:] Hello. Is _____ there (ASK FOR NAME ON LIST)? This is (caller name) and I'm calling for California Opinion Surveys. I would like to ask you a few questions concerning the problems facing our state and nation.

SAMPLE SIZE: 1200 respondents
weighted to 925

Men: 47
Women: 53

1. First, generally speaking, do you think things in California are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

right direction 20
wrong track 68
don't know/ refused 12

2. Here are some issues other people have mentioned. Please tell me which one of these is most important to you. [READ AND ROTATE - CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE ONLY]

the need for good jobs at good wages 20
the quality of the public schools 26
rising crime and violence 20
concerns about health and Medicare 8
changing affirmative action laws 3
government spending and taxes 9
the number of illegal immigrants 11
[DON'T READ] don't know/ refused 3

3. Do you think you and your family would be better off if the President were a Republican or if the President were a Democrat, or doesn't it make any difference to you and your family which party has the presidency?

Better if Republicans 26
Better if Democrats 24
Makes no difference 47
Don't know 3

I am going to read a series of statements to help understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **[READ AND ROTATE - PROBE AFTER EACH: Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree]**

	Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	Don't know
[ROTATE QS 4 TO 12]					
4. People who are willing to work hard eventually will get ahead.	35	48	12	4	1
5. Women still have fewer opportunities to succeed than men.	25	41	24	9	2
6. Too many people these days just look for handouts and do not really try to get ahead on their own.	31	35	26	6	3
7. Minorities still have less opportunity to get ahead than other people.	21	35	26	15	3
8. In our lifetime, America can become a color-blind society in which race no longer matters.	13	24	32	27	4
9. It would be better if more women stayed home and took care of their families.	21	32	25	19	4
10. Society is increasingly diverse and that is good for everyone.	31	41	14	6	7
11. Government has given minorities too much help at the expense of other people.	23	29	26	17	4
12. Everyone should have an equal opportunity to get ahead regardless of their race or gender.	80	17	2	1	*

13. Now let me ask you about the economy in your area -- would you say the economy in your area is better, worse, or about the same as three years ago?
- | | |
|----------------|----|
| better | 19 |
| worse | 39 |
| about the same | 39 |
| don't know | 3 |
14. And what about your own family's financial situation -- would you say your family's financial situation is better, worse, or about the same as three years ago?
- | | |
|----------------|----|
| better | 24 |
| worse | 26 |
| about the same | 49 |
| don't know | 1 |
15. On another subject, in general, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose affirmative action programs to ensure equal opportunities for women and minorities?
- | | |
|-----------------|----|
| strongly favor | 20 |
| favor | 32 |
| oppose | 26 |
| strongly oppose | 15 |
| don't know | 7 |
16. Do you believe that you have benefitted, or have been held back by affirmative action programs, or have they had no effect on you?
- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| benefitted | 9 |
| been held back | 15 |
| no affected/no difference | 73 |
| don't know | 3 |
17. In your view, who is discriminated against most often these days -- [ROTATE] women, black people, Latinos, Asians, white men, or someone else?
- | | |
|--------------|----|
| women | 13 |
| black people | 33 |
| Latinos | 9 |
| Asians | 3 |
| white men | 16 |
| Other | 11 |
| don't know | 14 |
18. Given the choice, would you support eliminating affirmative action, reforming affirmative action, or keeping affirmative action the way it is?
- | | |
|-----------------------|----|
| eliminating | 26 |
| reforming | 54 |
| keeping the way it is | 15 |
| don't know | 5 |

Now I would like to ask you some questions about elected officials.

19. First, how would you rate the job Bill Clinton is doing as President -- excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

excellent	7
good	31
only fair	39
poor	23
don't know	1

20. Do you believe Bill Clinton deserves reelection as president, or is it time to give someone else a chance?

deserves reelection	36
someone else	52
don't know	12

As you know, there will be an election next year in California.

21. If the election for President was held today and the candidates were [ROTATE] Democrat Bill Clinton and Republican Bob Dole, for whom would you vote -- Clinton or Dole?

Bill Clinton	49
Bob Dole	36
Don't know	15

22. If the election for President was held today and the candidates were [ROTATE] Democrat Bill Clinton, Republican Bob Dole, and an independent candidate, would you most likely vote for [ROTATE] Clinton, Dole or the independent candidate?

Bill Clinton	34
Bob Dole	25
Independent	21
Don't know	20

23. And if the election for President was held today and the candidates were [ROTATE] Democrat Bill Clinton, Republican Bob Dole, and independent candidate Colin Powell, would you most likely vote for [ROTATE] Clinton, Dole or Powell?

Bill Clinton	30
Bob Dole	20
Colin Powell	33
Don't know	17

24. One of the likely measures on the ballot next year is a constitutional amendment called the California Civil

Rights Initiative. It prohibits the state, local governments and public schools and universities from discriminating against or giving preferential treatment to individuals or groups on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in the operation of the state's system of public employment, public education or public contracting. If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on this measure?

[GO TO Q26] yes 65

[GO TO Q26] no 26

don't know/ refused 9

[ASK ONLY IF UNDECIDED IN Q24]

25. Well if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, would you lean toward voting yes or no on this measure?

[WITH LEANERS]

yes 68

no 27

don't know/ refused 5

26. Another possible initiative is a constitutional amendment called the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative. It prohibits the state, local governments and public schools and universities from hiring or selecting unqualified persons or from using quotas based on race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin. It also requires the state to ensure equal opportunity and to prevent discrimination. If the election were held today, would you vote yes or no on this measure?

[GO TO Q28] yes 73

[GO TO Q28] no 19

don't know/ refused 8

[ASK ONLY IF UNDECIDED IN Q26]

27. Well if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, would you lean toward voting yes or no on this measure?

[WITH LEANERS]

yes 74

no 21

don't know/ refused 5

28. Suppose the election were held today and both of these initiatives were on the ballot:

the California Civil Rights Initiative, prohibiting discrimination and preferential treatment
and

the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination initiative, prohibiting
hiring unqualified persons or using quotas while ensuring equal opportunity and
preventing discrimination

Would you vote for both these initiatives, just for the first one, just for the second one, or would you vote against both of them?

For Both 44

CCRI 14

Equal Opportunity 18

Against Both 14

Don't know 10

29. Suppose you learned that Pete Wilson and Bob Dole supported the California Civil Rights Initiative but that Bill Clinton opposed it. In a presidential race between Clinton and Dole, would you be *much more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Clinton, *much more* likely

to vote for Clinton, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?

Much more likely Dole	15
More likely Dole	19
More likely Clinton	18
Much more likely Clinton	14
No difference	28
Don't know	6

[ROTATE Qs 30 and 31]

30. Overall, would you say that the Democratic party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about minorities, or cares more about white people?

everyone equally	45
minorities	27
white people	7
don't know	22

31. Overall, would you say that the Republican party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about minorities, or cares more about white people?

everyone equally	31
minorities	3
white people	45
don't know	21

[ROTATE Qs 32 and 33]

32. Overall, would you say that the Democratic party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about women, or cares more about men?

everyone equally	54
women	15
men	13
don't know	18

33. Overall, would you say that the Republican party cares about everyone equally, [ROTATE] cares more about women, or cares more about men?

everyone equally	33
women	2
men	47
don't know	18

34. [NOTE: IN ONE HALF THE CASES, READ THE QUESTIONS ON BEGINNING ON PAGE 7 FIRST; IN ONE HALF, READ THE CASES BEGINNING ON PAGE 9 FIRST. CODE THE ORDER USED FOR THIS SURVEY BELOW] [GENERAL INTRODUCTION: The two initiatives we discussed earlier, the California Civil Rights initiative and the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative have some things in common and some differences. Here are some arguments made by the supporters of each initiative

Page 7 -- arguments for Civil Rights Initiative first	50
Page 9-- arguments for Equal Opportunity Initiative first	50

[IF READ SECOND, SAY: Now, let's go to the other initiative.] [IF READ FIRST, START HERE:] Here are a series of arguments why the California Civil Rights Initiative, which prohibits discrimination and preferential treatment, takes a better approach than the other initiative we have been discussing. Please tell me whether you find each argument a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the California Civil Rights Initiative.

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Civil Rights initiative?]

Very Somewhat Not very Not at all Don't
cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng know

[READ FIRST]

35. The Civil Rights initiative is about people getting government jobs, education and contracts based on their qualifications. It levels the playing field and so it provides equal opportunity for everyone.

30 41 16 9 4

[ROTATE Q36 TO Q43]

36. There may have been a role for affirmative action programs years ago but they have outlived their usefulness and have become a cause of discrimination not a solution to it. The Civil Rights initiative ends all unfair preferences.

24 33 23 15 5

37. The Civil Rights Initiative wipes out all preferences but it leaves in place laws against discrimination on the basis of race, gender, or ethnic origins. People who are discriminated against can still go to court and sue anyone who breaks the law.

24 37 21 12 5

38. Only the Civil Rights Initiative ends all racial preferences. The other measure only goes half way and would still allow reverse discrimination.

14 34 27 15 10

39. The Civil Rights initiative is a grassroots effort to eliminate preferential treatment. The other initiative is supported by Democratic party liberals, civil rights groups and radical feminists who want to protect racial preferences and preserve affirmative action.

16 26 27 21 10

40. The Civil Rights Initiative is fair to everyone and gives middle class white people an equal chance at government jobs, contracts and education. The other initiative would give the children of minority doctors and lawyers preference over the children of the white middle class.

14 24 28 23 11

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Civil Rights initiative?]

	Very cnvncng	Smewhat cnvncng	Not very cnvncng	Not at all cnvncng	Don't know
41. Some people assume minorities and women only got their job because of affirmative action. That is insulting. The Civil Rights initiative would remove the stigma of affirmative action attached to women and minorities who are well-qualified for their positions.	26	36	18	13	6
42. The other initiative says it prohibits government hiring and selection of unqualified people. The Civil Rights initiative requires hiring the <i>best</i> qualified applicant regardless of race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin.	38	37	12	8	6
43. The Civil Rights Initiative would save tens of millions of dollars in public employment and contracting, and 50 million dollars savings in state education programs. The other initiative will have no savings and could even cost the taxpayers money.	24	29	20	17	10

[IF READ SECOND, SAY: Now, let's go to the other initiative.] [IF READ FIRST, START HERE:] Here are a series of arguments why the Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, which prohibits hiring unqualified persons or using quotas, while ensuring equal opportunity and preventing discrimination, takes a better approach than the other initiative we have been discussing. Please tell me whether you find each argument a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative.

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Equal Opportunity initiative?]

Very Smwht Not very Not at all Don't
cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng cnvncng know

[READ FIRST]

44. The Equal Opportunity initiative specifically states that government cannot operate affirmative action programs that use quotas or hire or select unqualified people. But it continues to allow outreach, training and educational programs to help ensure that women and minorities have an equal opportunity to compete for government jobs and contracts. The other initiative goes too far by making all these efforts to ensure equal opportunity illegal.

20 43 21 10 6

[ROTATE Qs 45 to 52]

45. The Equal Opportunity initiative is an effort to bring people together by reforming affirmative action laws to make them fair for everyone. The other initiative divides people by taking back opportunities for women and minorities and has the support of politicians like Pete Wilson who want to use racial divisions for their own political gain.

18 32 24 20 6

46. The Equal Opportunity Initiative protects people from age discrimination which is a big cause of job loss among older workers. The other initiative does nothing to prohibit age discrimination.

23 43 17 9 8

47. The Equal Opportunity initiative requires that government hire and select persons based on their qualifications. The other initiative contains a loophole that puts a provision into our state Constitution allowing government to specify that only members of one sex are qualified for certain jobs.

22 33 22 16 7

48. The other initiative goes too far by eliminating protections against discrimination. It will take us back to a time when women and minorities were denied opportunity. The Equal Opportunity Initiative prohibits quotas and hiring unqualified people but it still requires government to ensure equal opportunity and to prevent discrimination.

20 39 20 13 8

[PROBE: Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing or not at all convincing reason to support the Equal Opportunity initiative?]

		Very cnvncng	Smewhat cnvncng	Not very cnvncng	Not at all cnvncng	Don't know
49.	The Equal Opportunity Initiative prohibits quotas and hiring unqualified people but it continues government outreach and recruitment of qualified women and minorities. Under the other initiative, outreach efforts to find qualified women and minorities would be illegal.	20	37	23	13	7
50.	The Equal Opportunity initiative allows tutoring programs that help minority students prepare for high school or college. The other initiative denies these children opportunities by ending the help they need.	25	35	18	15	7
51.	The other initiative uses vague terms that are not defined by law. It could be tied up in court for years. The Equal Opportunity Initiative addresses quotas and qualifications, terms which people understand and which are clearly defined in the law.	21	37	20	12	10
52.	The Equal Opportunity initiative reforms affirmative action law. The other initiative is too extreme. Instead of reforming affirmative action to make it fair to everyone, it wipes out all efforts to ensure equal opportunity. In a diverse state like California, the result will be to increase racial tensions and conflict.	23	30	23	15	9

53. Now that we have talked about both these initiatives, suppose the election were held today and both of these initiatives were on the ballot:

the California *Civil Rights* Initiative, prohibiting discrimination and preferential treatment
and
the California *Equal Opportunity* and Non-Discrimination initiative, prohibiting hiring
unqualified persons or using quotas while ensuring equal opportunity and preventing
discrimination

Would you vote for both these initiatives, just for the California Civil Rights Initiative, just for the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, or would you vote against both of them?

For Both	22
CCRI	21
Equal Opportunity	30
Against Both	15
Don't know	12

54. And why is that -- why do you take that position?

Ensure equality	16
Jobs not given to unqualified people	13
It's more fair	7
Both are good laws	7
Don't agree with quotas	4

55. Suppose you learned that Bob Dole supported the California Civil Rights Initiative and Bill Clinton opposed it but supported the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative. In a presidential race between Clinton and Dole, would you be *much more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Dole, *more* likely to vote for Clinton, *much more* likely to vote for Clinton, or wouldn't it make any difference to you?

Much more likely Dole	14
More likely Dole	15
More likely Clinton	19
Much more likely Clinton	15
No difference	31
Don't know	6

56. The California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative includes a provision which says that to avoid tying up these initiatives in court, only the initiative that receives the most votes wins. Under these circumstances, would you vote for both these initiatives, just for the California Civil Rights Initiative, just for the California Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination Initiative, or would you vote against both of them?

For Both	19
CCRI	20
Equal Opportunity	29
Against Both	16
Don't know	16

57. Some people are critical of both of these initiatives. They say it does no good to have all these laws against discrimination unless people who violate the law know they will be punished. They say both initiatives need to increase punishment for violating laws against discrimination. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with that?

strongly agree	29
agree	39
disagree	16
strongly disagree	8
don't know	8

Here are some measures that could be included as part of either of these initiatives. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of including that provision.

PROBE: Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of including that provision?

Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know
---------------------	---------	------------	------------------------	---------------

[ROTATE Qs 58 to 61]

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|---|---|
| 58. Increasing the fines paid by 50 percent when someone is found guilty of discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, color, ethnicity or national origin. | 29 | 39 | 16 | 7 | 8 |
| 59. Making any person or business found guilty of discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, color, ethnicity, or national origin ineligible to bid on government contracts for up to 5 years. | 28 | 38 | 21 | 7 | 6 |
| 60. Requiring that state employees who discriminate are subject to discipline. | 38 | 47 | 8 | 2 | 4 |
| 61. Prohibiting any person who fraudulently attempts to benefit from affirmative action programs from applying for state programs for 5 years. | 36 | 45 | 9 | 4 | 6 |
| 62. Here are some other possible changes in affirmative action laws. Please tell me which one of these you support the most. [READ AND ROTATE] | | | | | |

Prohibiting quotas	20
Prohibiting hiring unqualified persons	38
Prohibiting all racial or gender preferences	11
Prohibiting any consideration of race or gender	19
[DO NOT READ] None -- no reform needed	3
[DO NOT READ] Don't know	8

63. Here are some other possible changes in affirmative action laws. Please tell me which one of these really goes too far and bothers you the most. **[READ AND ROTATE]**

Eliminating tutoring programs for minority children to prepare them for high school or college	20
Allowing government to specify that some jobs should be held only by people of one sex	25
Making it illegal to specifically recruit minorities or women for job openings	14
Eliminating training programs to give women and minorities the skills to compete	10
Making it more difficult for people to sue for discrimination	8
Prohibiting any consideration of race or gender	12
[DO NOT READ] None	3
[DO NOT READ] Don't know	9

64. If you had to choose, would you prefer state government have no affirmative action programs at all, or have affirmative action programs with definite quotas for hiring women and minorities?

no affirmative action at all	55
definite quotas	31
don't know	14

65. If you had to choose, would you prefer state government have no affirmative action programs at all, or have affirmative action programs that sometimes give preference to qualified women and minorities but without definite quotas?

no affirmative action at all	34
some preferences	57
don't know	9

Finally, I would like to ask you a few more questions for statistical purposes.

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

[DEMOCRAT] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat member	Strong Dem	23
	Not strong Dem	24

[REPUBLICAN] Would you call yourself a strong Republican member or a not very strong Republican?	Strong Rep	21
	Not strong Rep	18

[IF NOT DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN:] Do you think of yourself as a little closer to the Democratic or to the Republican party?	Closer to Dem	4
	Closer to Rep	3
	Other	3
	Don't know/refused	3

67. Do you think of yourself as very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, or very conservative?

very liberal	9
somewhat liberal	22
moderate	28
somewhat conservative	28
very conservative	11
don't know/ refused	2

68. In the last election for President, did you vote for George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?

George Bush	31
Bill Clinton	45
Ross Perot	17
[VOL] Other	1
Did not vote	3
Don't know/ refused	3

69. In the 1994 election for Governor, did you vote for [ROTATE] Pete Wilson or Kathleen Brown or did you not vote in that race?

Pete Wilson	47
Kathleen Brown	38
Other [volunteered]	2
Did not vote	9
Don't know/ refused	3

70. In the 1994 election for United States Senate, did you vote for [ROTATE] Diane Feinstein or Michael Huffington or did you not vote in that race?

Diane Feinstein	48
Michael Huffington	33
Other [volunteered]	2
Did not vote	12
Don't know/ refused	4

71. And did you vote yes or no on Proposition 187, to restrict most benefits for illegal aliens or did you not vote on that issue?

Favored	51
Opposed	31
Did not vote	13
Don't know/ refused	5

72. Do you have a full-time paid job, a part-time paid job, are you unemployed but looking for a job, self-employed, a homemaker, a student, or retired?
- | | |
|----------------------|----|
| employed - full time | 35 |
| employed - part time | 10 |
| unemployed | 4 |
| self-employed | 10 |
| homemaker | 8 |
| student | 4 |
| retired | 28 |
| don't know/refused | * |
73. Are you married, single, separated, widowed or divorced?
- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| married | 62 |
| single | 18 |
| separated/widowed/divorced | 20 |
| refused | * |
74. [IF MARRIED] Does your [HUSBAND/WIFE] have a full-time paid job at this time?
- | | |
|--------------------|----|
| yes | 59 |
| no | 39 |
| don't know/refused | 1 |
75. Are you or is anyone in your household a member of a labor union?
- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| yes - respondent | 15 |
| yes - member of household | 8 |
| no | 76 |
| refused | 1 |
76. And, what is your age?
- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| (READ) | |
| 25 or younger | 8 |
| 26-30 | 6 |
| 31-35 | 7 |
| 36-40 | 12 |
| 41-45 | 10 |
| 46-50 | 12 |
| 51-55 | 9 |
| 56-60 | 6 |
| 61-65 | 7 |
| 66-70 | 8 |
| over 70 | 14 |
| Refuse (DON'T READ) | 1 |

77. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

[DO NOT READ CHOICES]

1st-11th grade	6
high school graduate	21
technical/vocational school	3
some college	33
college graduate	22
post-graduate/professional school	15
don't know	*

78. Would you please tell me in to which of the following categories the total yearly income of your household falls -- including every one in the household?

(READ)

Under \$15,000	9
\$15,000 to \$20,000	8
\$20,000 to \$25,000	7
\$25,000 to \$30,000	8
\$30,000 to \$35,000	7
\$35,000 to \$50,000	18
\$50,000 to \$75,000	19
\$75,000 to \$100,000	9
over \$100,000	6
refused/don't know (DON'T READ)	9

79. And what is your religion -- are you Catholic, Jewish, mainstream Protestant, fundamentalist or evangelical Protestant?

Catholic	28
Jewish	3
mainstream Protestant	36
fundamentalist	2
evangelical	3
Other	12
None [VOL]	13
Don't know	3

80. Do you consider yourself Hispanic, Latino, or of Mexican or South American origin?

Yes	12
No	86
Don't know/refused	2

81. And what is your race?

[DO NOT READ]

White/Caucasian	77
Black/African-American	6
Hispanic/Latino	7
Asian/Filipino	4
Other	5
Refused	1

[READ] Thank you very much for your time. **(TERMINATE AND COMPLETE CODES)**

VP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 OCT 24 P6:07

19 October 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes (HI)

SUBJECT: Minimum wage in California

Attached is a report entitled "A Livable Wage Coalition Presentation of Findings" from a survey of 802 California voters, taken during October 1995 by the Mellman Group.

At a presentation given by Geoff Garin and Mark Mellman at the White House on 19 October, Garin and Mellman said it would be very beneficial to have a ballot proposition on the November 1996 ballot supporting the increase in minimum wage.

According to John Emerson, The Livable Wage Coalition, which commissioned the Mellman poll, intends to put a proposition on the November 1996 ballot that would have the minimum wage go to \$5.75 at 3 years compared to your proposal of \$5.15 after 2 years.

We need to discuss over the weekend whether this makes sense or whether it will put you in a "box" in terms of the level of minimum wage. The Livable Wage Coalition needs to know by next Tuesday whether or not the White House is favorably disposed toward a minimum wage proposition that moves the minimum wage to \$5.75 in 3 years.

Let's discuss.



THE LIVEABLE WAGE COALITION
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS
FROM A SURVEY OF 802 CALIFORNIA VOTERS

October, 1995

SUMMARY

2:1 - Increase m.w.
will help economy
rather than hurt.
MS broader platform
than m.w. for working
poor.

Californians Feel Economically Hard Pressed

Though they have declined since 1993, negative assessments of the state's direction have been consistent for several years

While voters' views of the state's economy are not as bad as they were in 1992, a plurality continue to believe it has gotten worse

A majority feel their incomes are falling behind the cost of living

Californians Strongly Support an Increase in the Minimum Wage

Six in ten support an initiative increasing the minimum wage; more than four in ten support it strongly

The amount of the increase and its concomitant cost make little difference on the surface

Base support comes from Democrats and down-scale voters

Interestingly, San Diegoans support the increase by a wide margin

Infrequent voters are also among the strongest supporters, suggesting the possibility of a positive turnout effect

A higher minimum wage increases support among African-Americans, older women, and Republican men

Union households mirror the electorate on the smaller increase, but are relatively more supportive of the larger one

Swing voters are as supportive of a larger increase as a smaller one

SUMMARY

Support for the Minimum Wage Is Based More on its Larger Economic Implications Than on Its Personal Benefits

By more than 2 to 1, Californians believe an increase in the minimum wage will help rather than hurt the state's economy

However, an overwhelming majority believe a higher minimum wage will make no difference to their family

Only a quarter believe it is very likely that increasing the minimum wage will increase the wages of more highly paid workers

Regression analysis shows that the belief that increasing the minimum wage will lead to increased consumer spending is the most important determinant of vote

Our Message Should Focus on the Macroeconomic Benefits As Well As on the Importance of Providing a Living Wage

The most compelling arguments focus on the real decline in the minimum wage and the need to reward work

In our split sample simulation a message focused around economic fairness, a living wage, and real decline added few additional points, though there was no shift to "no" as a result of an attack

Combining these messages with a focus on macroeconomic benefits provides a slightly greater increase in yes"

Our strategic map also points to the centrality of the living wage and increased consumer spending

SUMMARY

The map also reiterates a weakness -- negative outcomes are somewhat more likely to ensue than positive ones, though the positive ones are no less important

However, the opponents' arguments are not as compelling as our most effective arguments

There Is Real Political Benefit in Fighting for an Increased Minimum Wage

The President leads Dole, but that lead doubles after voters learn of their respective positions on minimum wage

Although party identification is nearly even a plurality believe they will be better off with a Republican majority in the legislature

However support for Democrats is up since June, though mostly in our base

The Democratic base is still not as committed as the Republican base

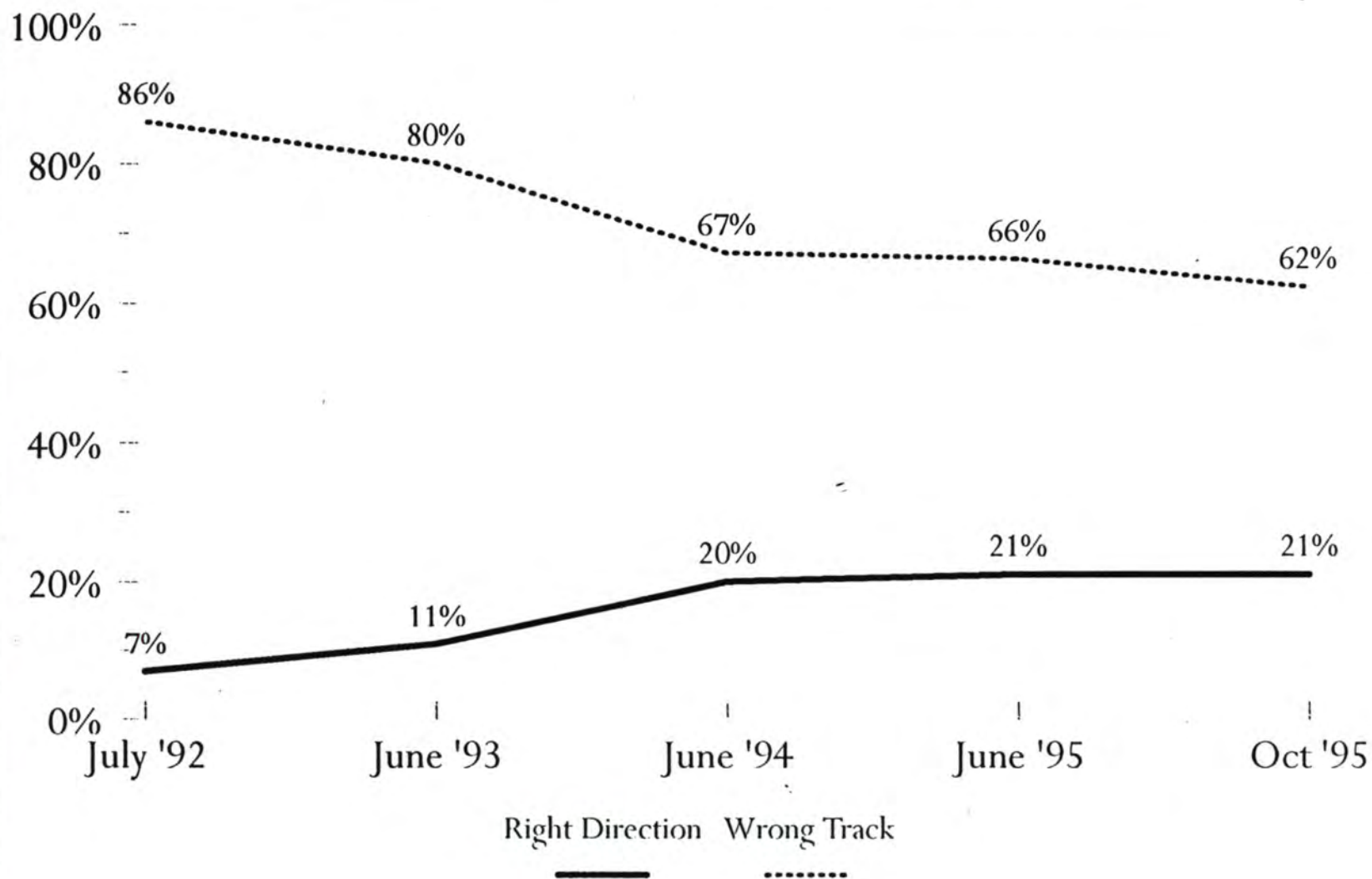
The Minimum Wage Initiative mobilizes our base, as well as bring support from swing voters

Their best arguments. -

- raising prices - 31%
- forcing bus. to relocate. - 25%

Our best arguments - 40-52%

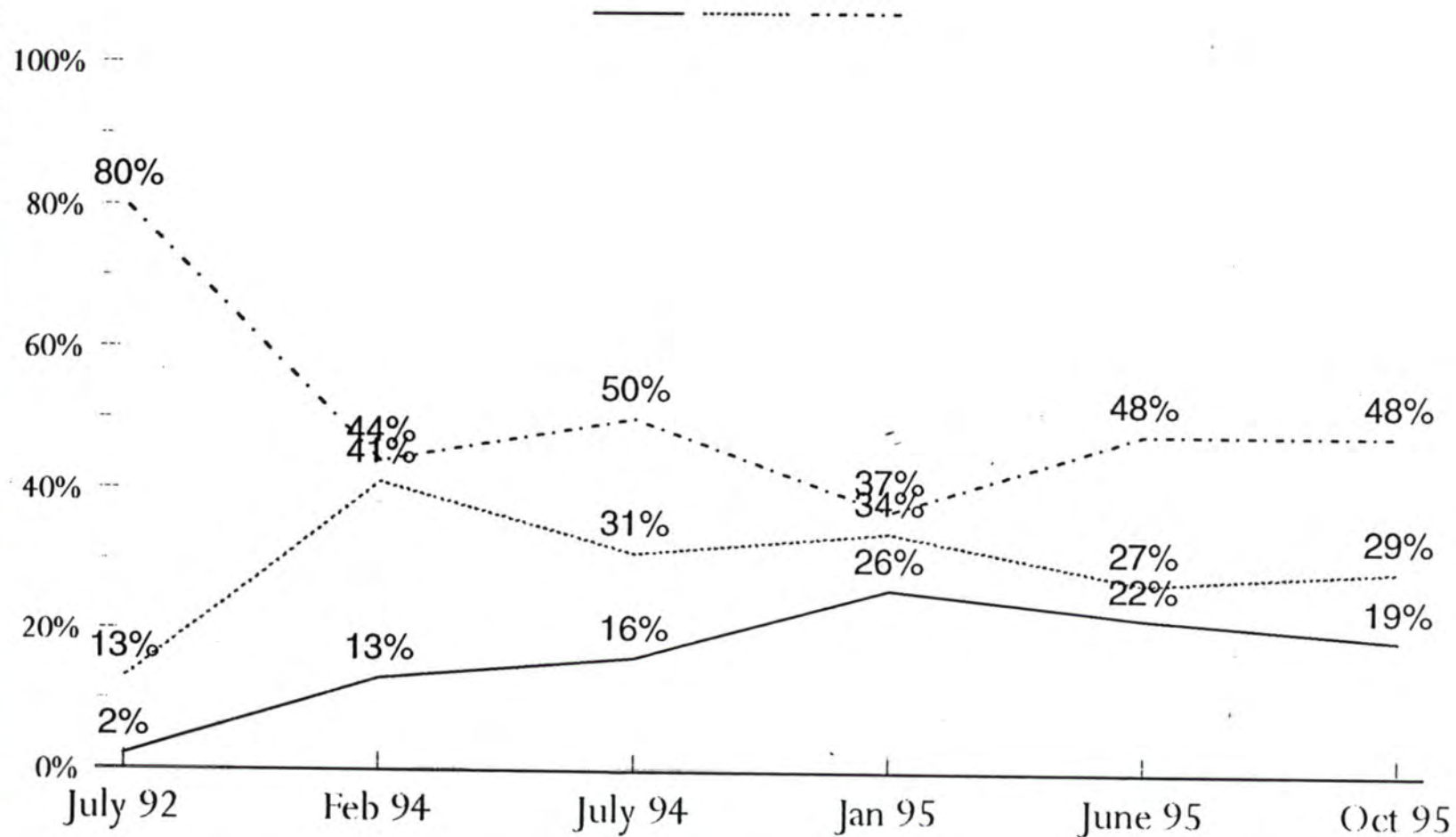
Negative Assessments of the State's Direction Have Been Consistent For Several Years



While Voters' Views of the Economy Are Not as Bad as They Were in 1992, A Plurality Continue to Believe It Has Gotten Worse

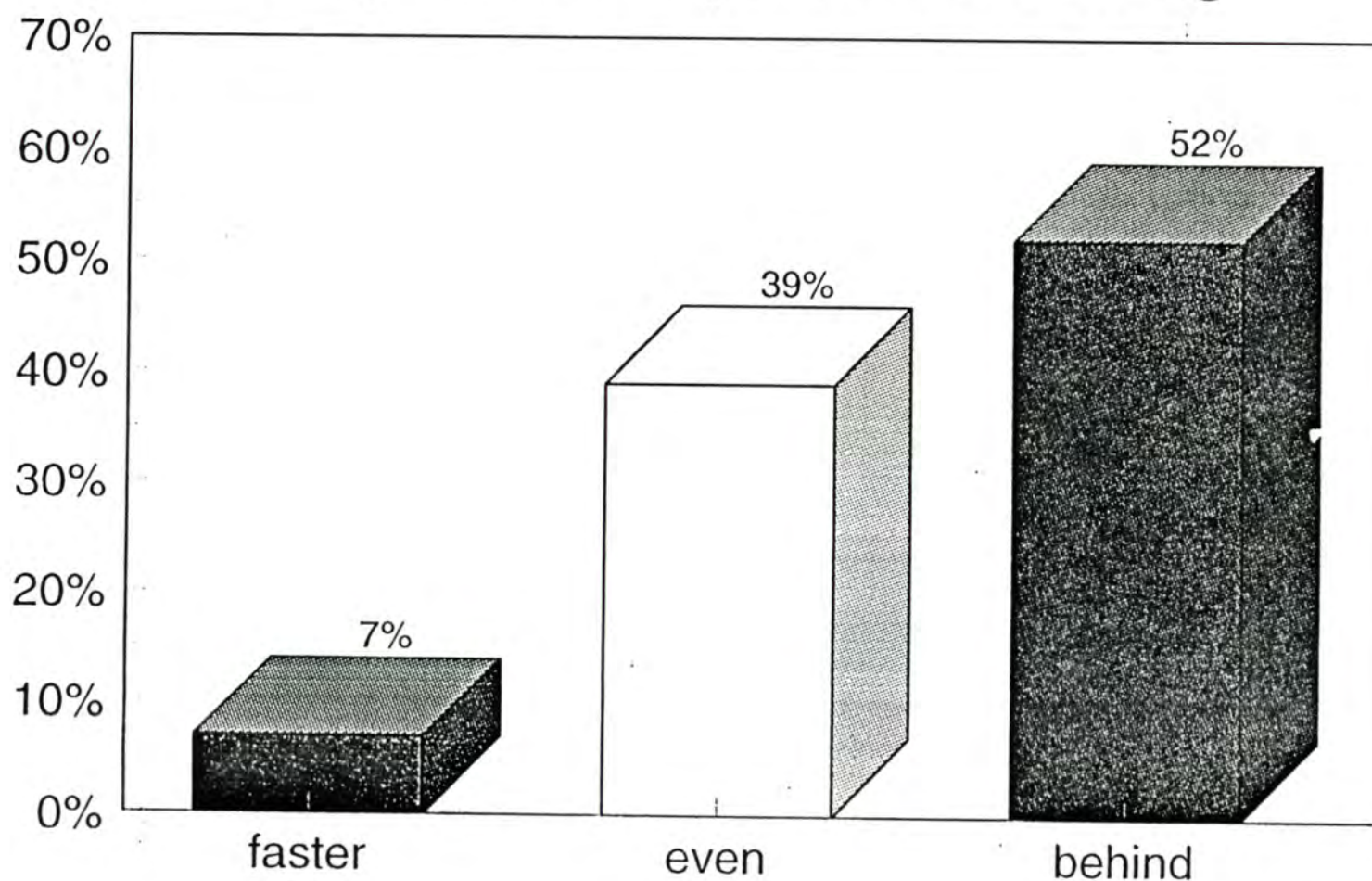
Has California's Economy Gotten:

better same worse



A Majority Of Californians Feel Their Incomes Are Falling Behind The Cost of Living

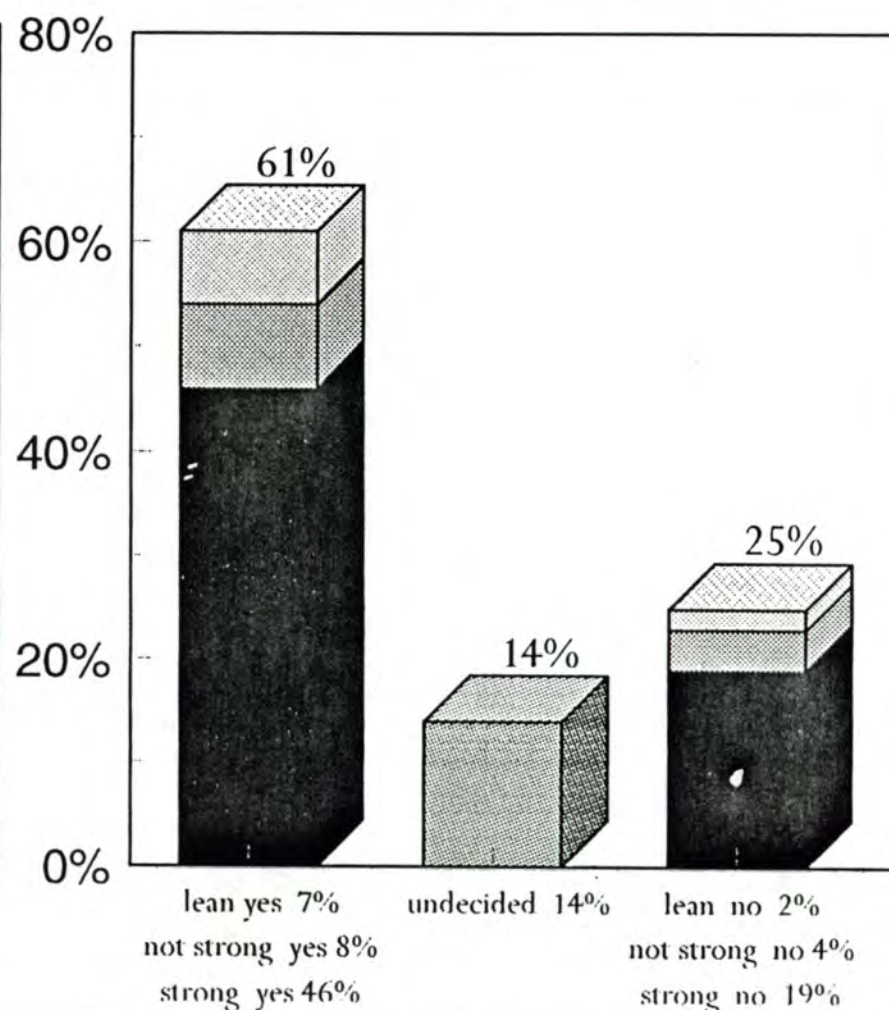
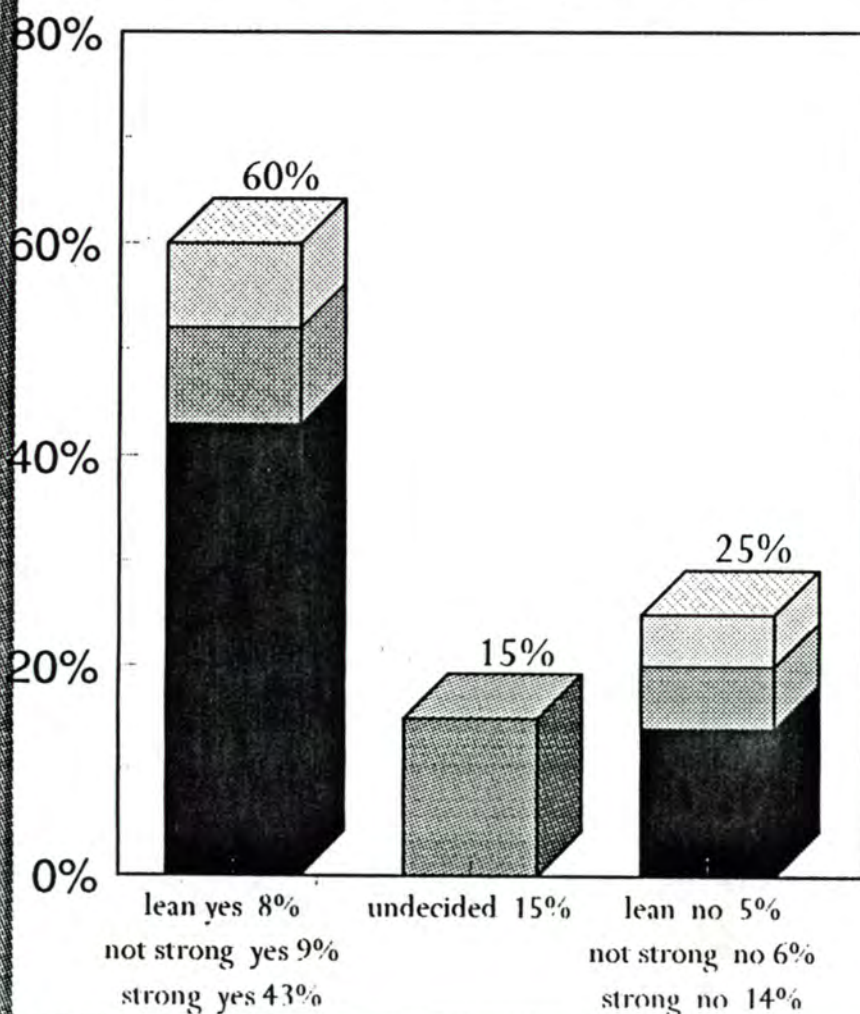
family income compared to cost of living



Voters Overwhelmingly Want the Minimum Wage Raised; The Amount of Increase and Its Cost Make Little Difference on the Surface

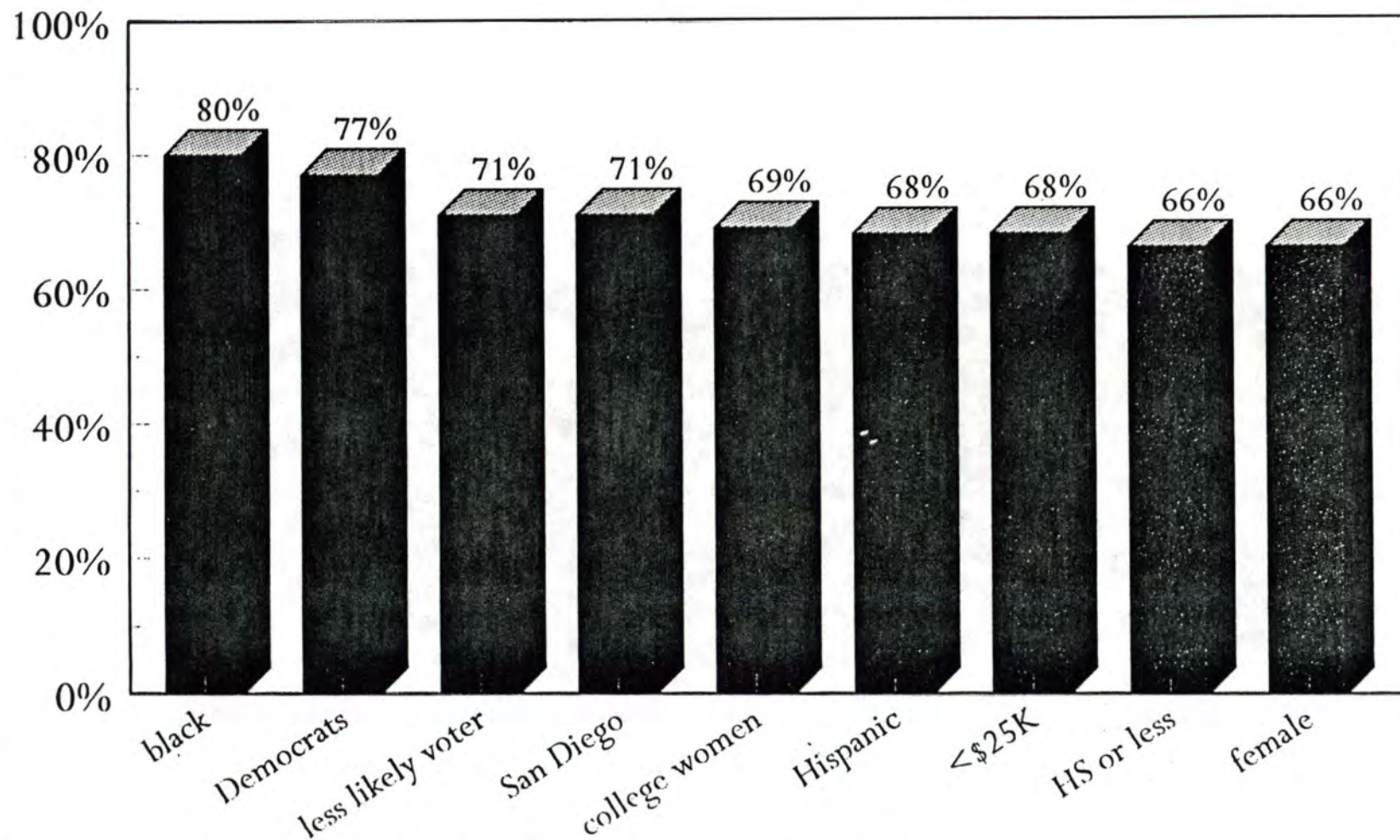
1997= \$4.70 per hour, 1998 \$5.15 per hour
\$54 million to implement

1997= \$5 per hour, 1998 \$5.75 per hour, \$6.25 per hour
\$120 million to implement



Support for the Initiative Comes from Democrats and Down-Scale Voters

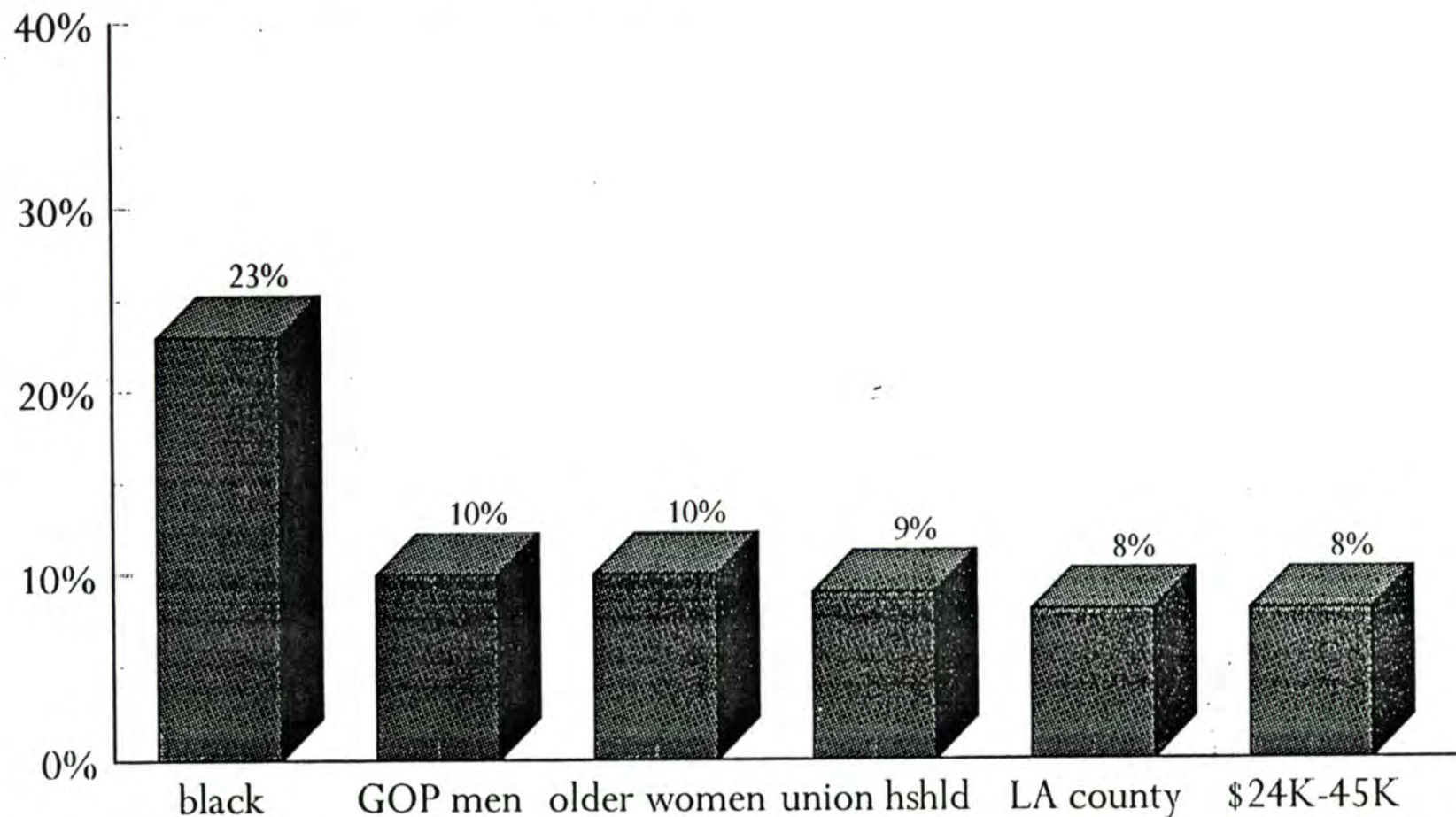
Yes Vote for Minimum Wage



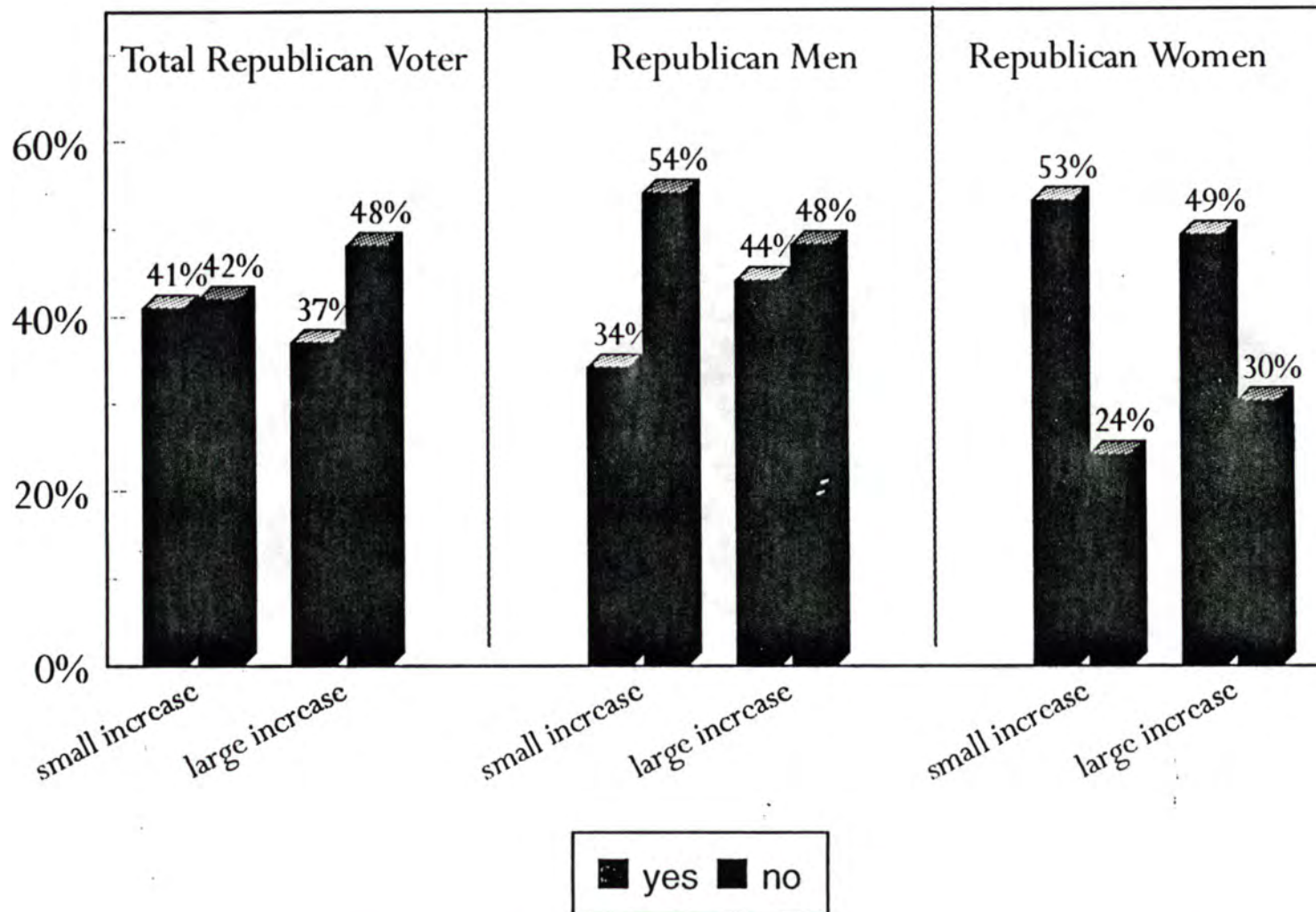
* even Republicans favor an increased minimum 45% to 40%

A Higher Minimum Wage Yields Greater Support Among Older Voters, Lower SES Voters And Republican Men

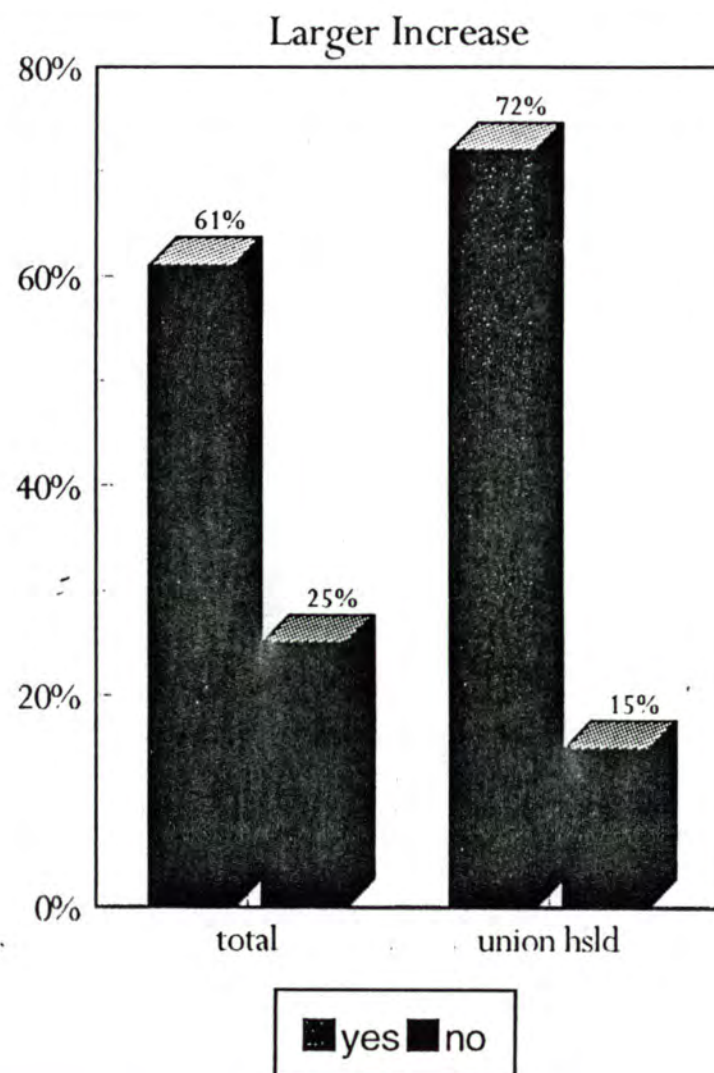
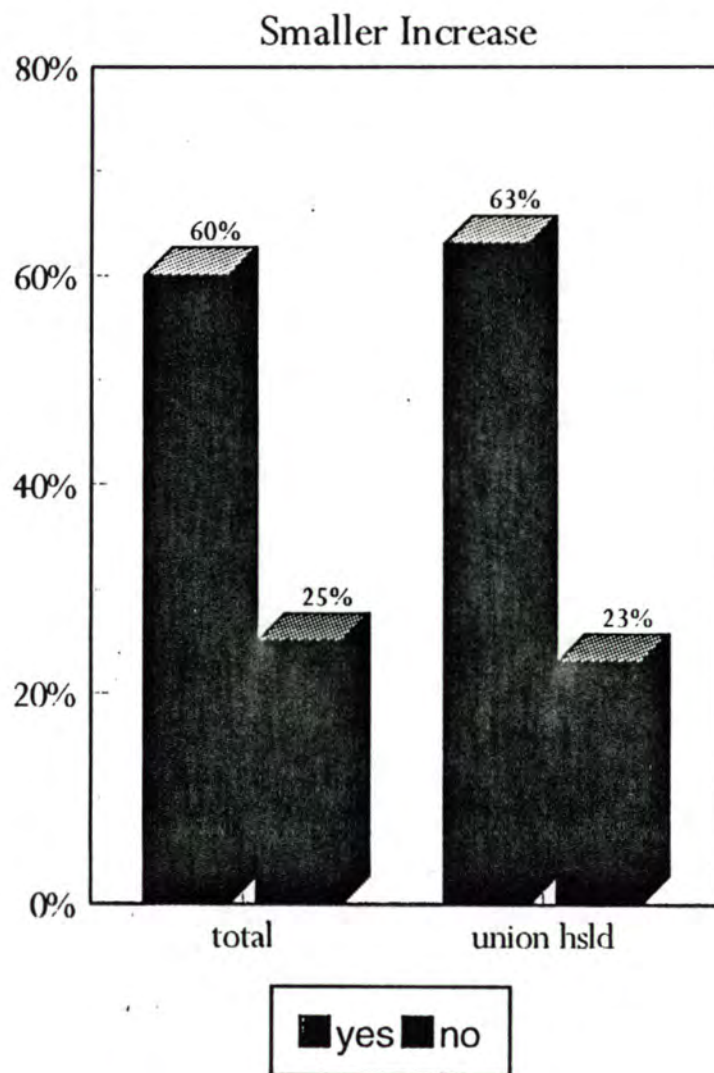
larger increases minus smaller



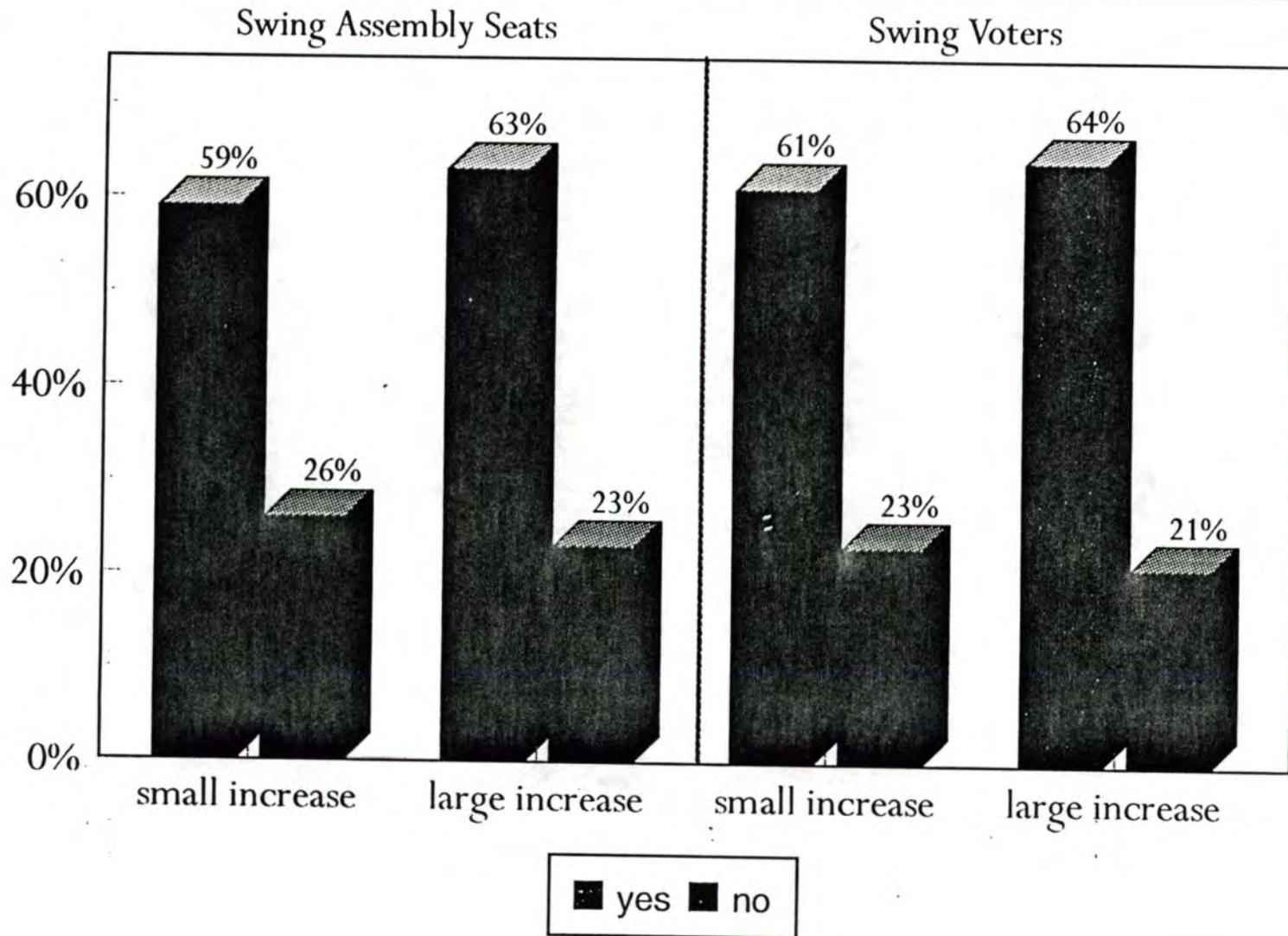
The Larger Initiative Diminishes Support Among Republican Voters; There Are Also Significant Gender Differences



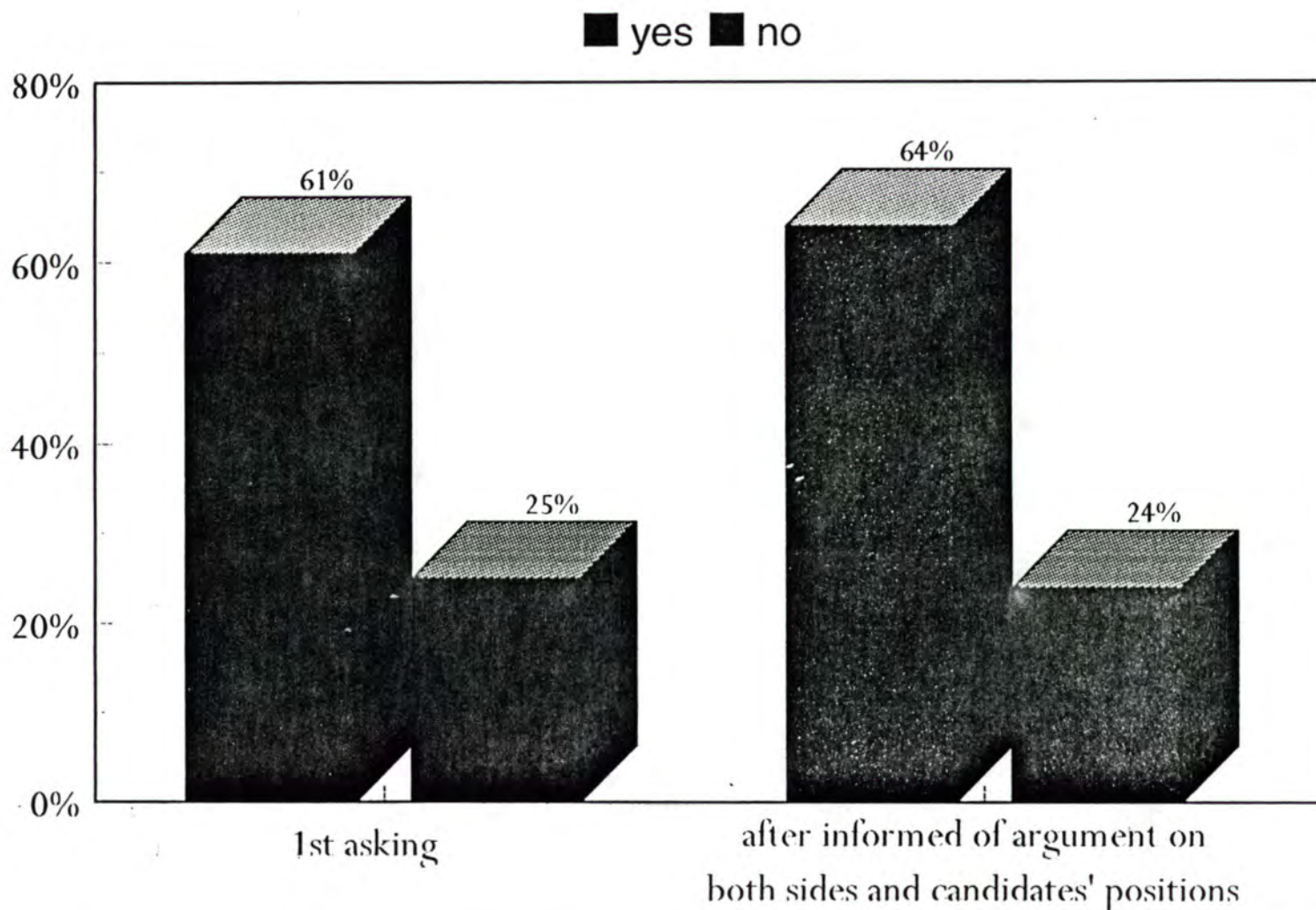
Union Households Mirror the Electorate on the Smaller Wage Increase, But are More Supportive of the Larger One



Swing Voters Are Equally Supportive of Larger and Smaller Increases

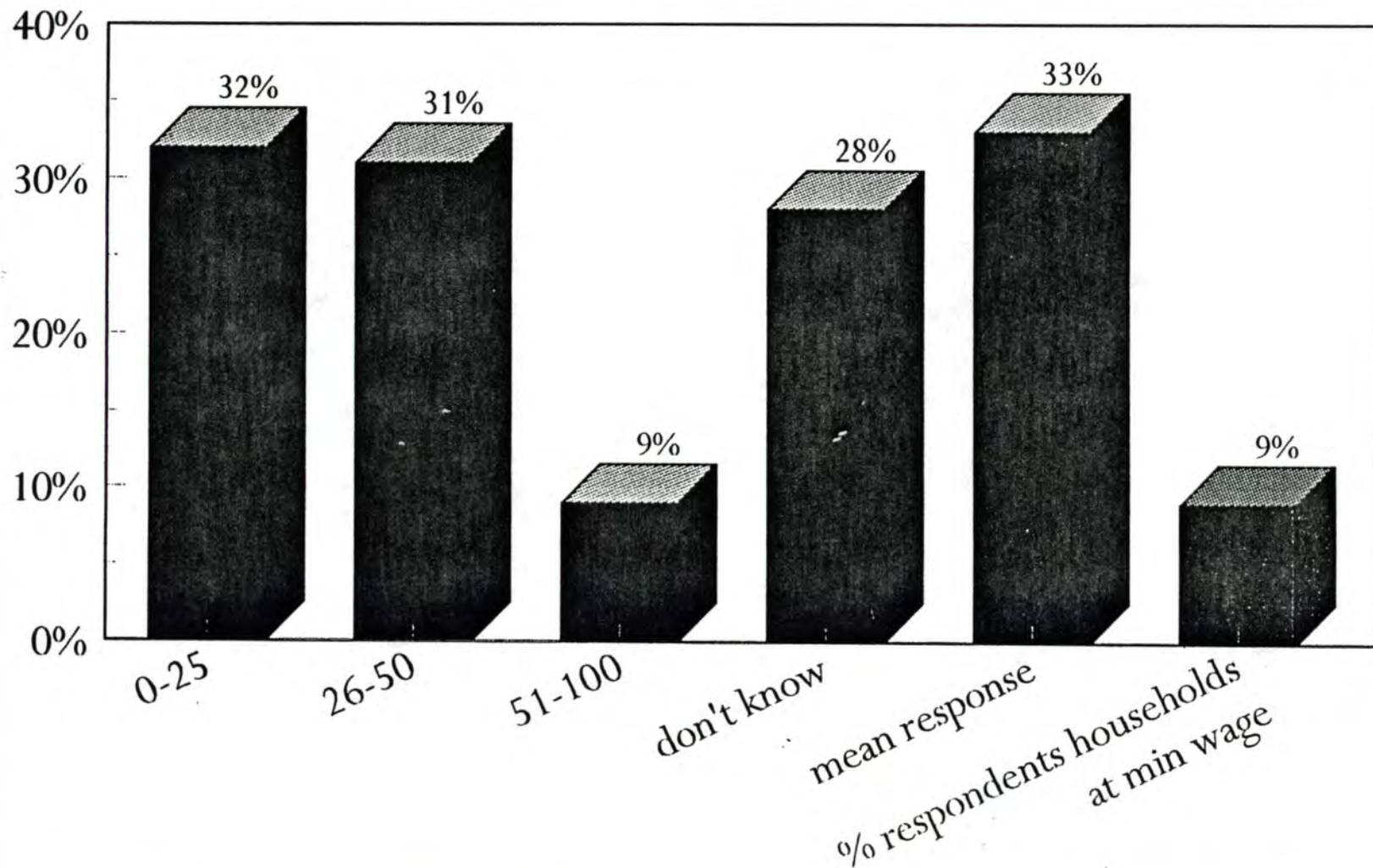


After Hearing All the Messages Pro and Con, Voters Are Slightly More Supportive



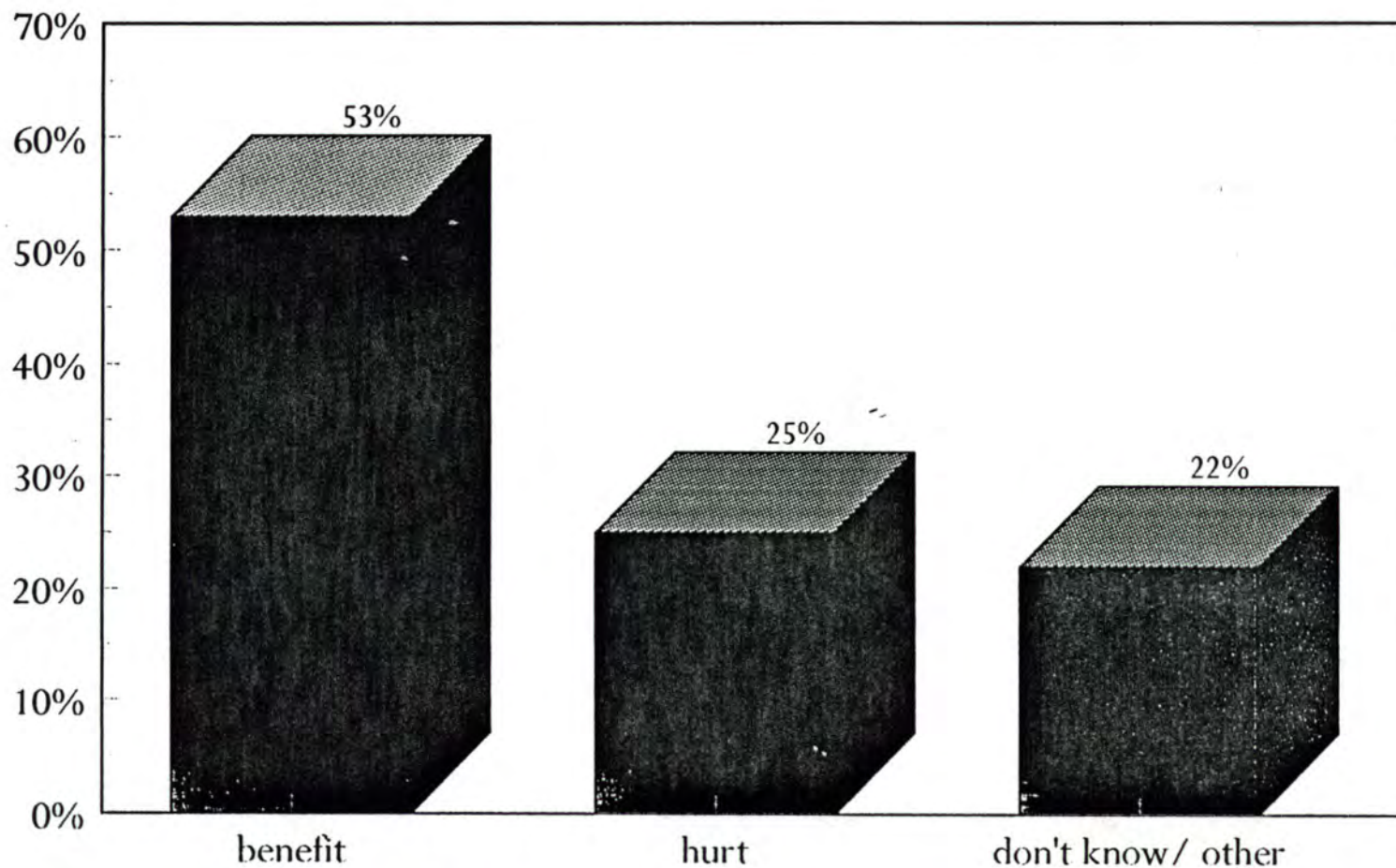
Most Have No Idea How Many Californians Work for Minimum Wage

What percentage of CA workers now receive minimum wage?



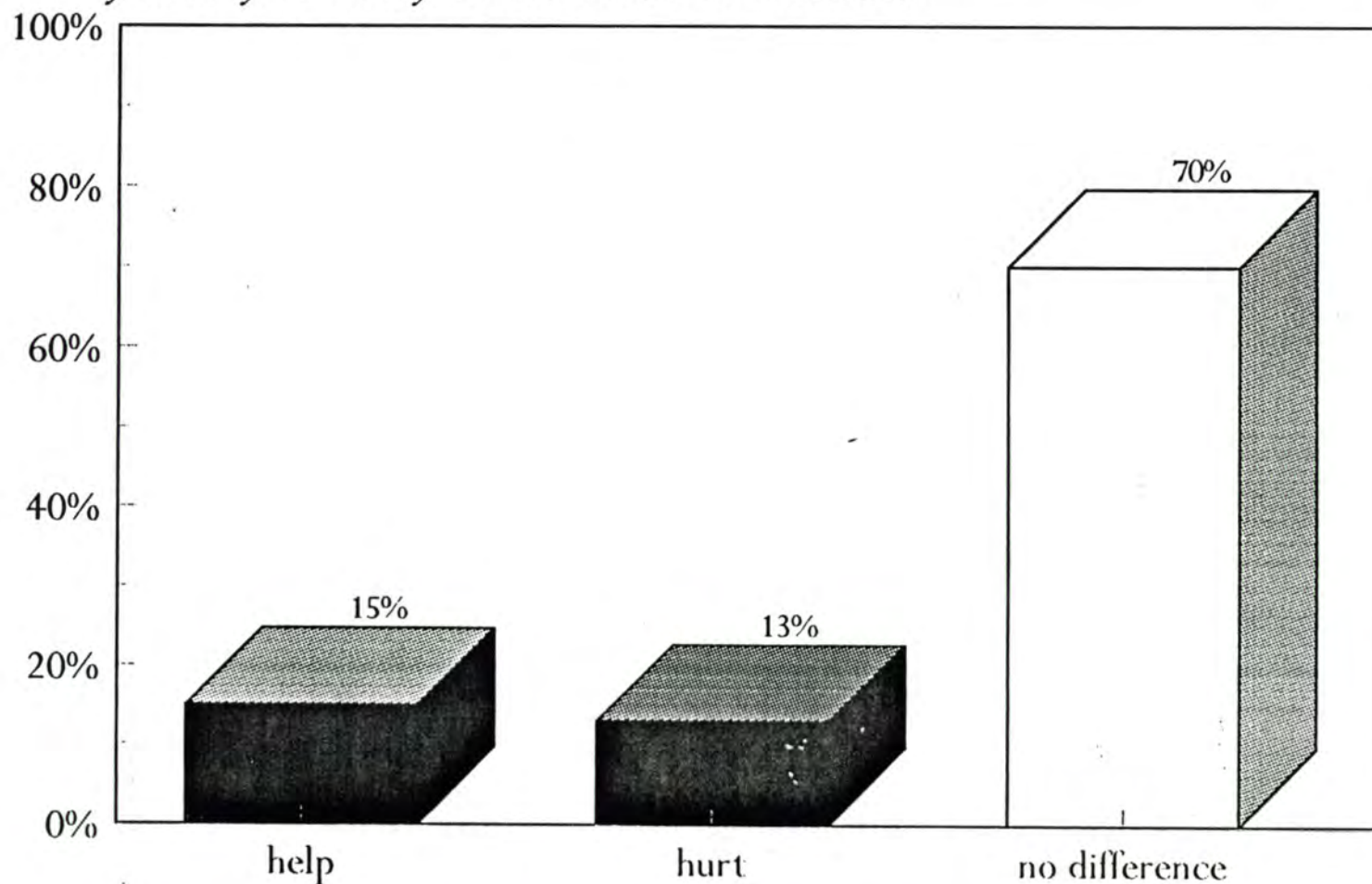
By More Than Two to One, Californians Believe an Increase in the Minimum Wage Will Help the State's Economy

If the California minimum wage is increased, which do you think is more likely to happen -- California's economy will benefit because more workers will have more money to spend or California's economy will be hurt because of increased labor costs -- or don't you have an opinion on this?



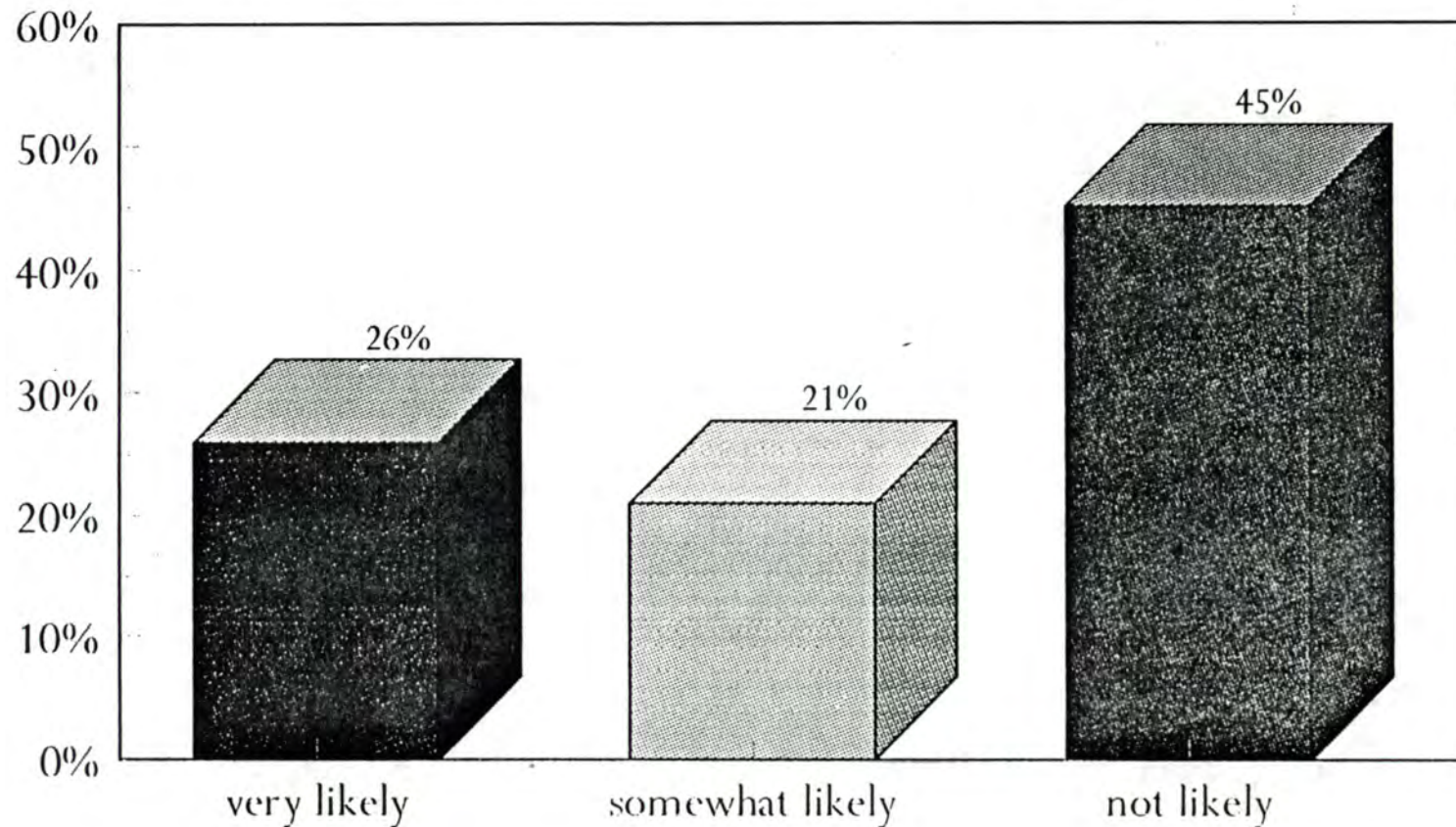
An Overwhelming Majority Believe a Higher Minimum Wage Will Make No Difference To Their Family

If the California minimum wage is increased, do you think it will help you and your family, hurt you and your family or will it make no difference?

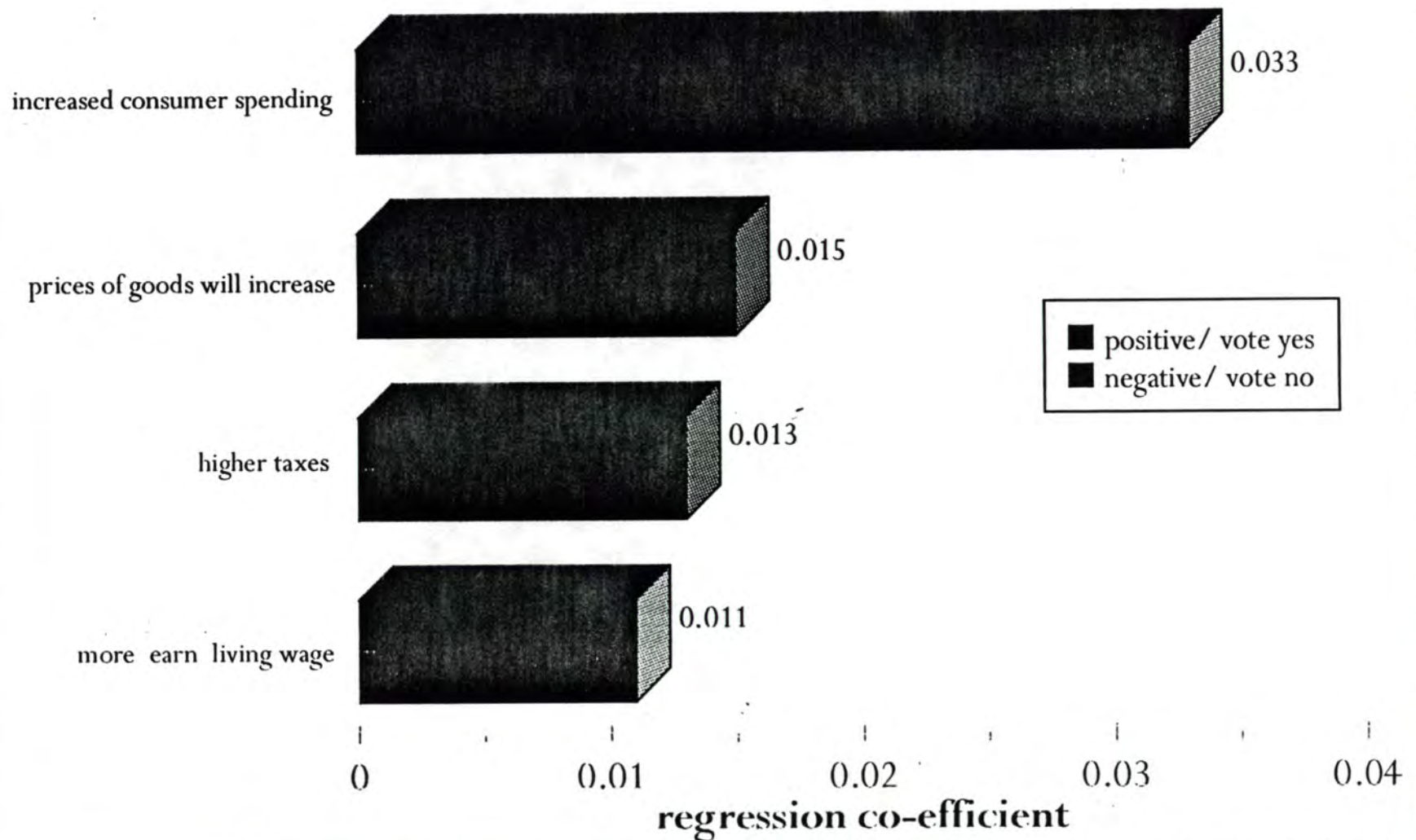


Only One-Quarter Believe It Is Very Likely That Increasing the Minimum Wage Will Increase the Wages of More Highly Paid Workers

Statement: wages of Californians who make more than the minimum wage will increase



Regression Analysis Shows That Believing That the Minimum Wage Will Lead to Increased Consumer Spending is the Most Important Determinant of Vote



The Real Decline in the Minimum Wage and the Need to Reward Work Are Our Most Compelling Arguments

	very convincing	mean
Because of inflation, you can buy less with the minimum wage today than you could at any time in the past 40 years	52%	3.19
<i>The current minimum wage punishes hard work. At \$4.25, it is so low that minimum wage workers often earn less income than people on welfare. Increasing the minimum wage will reward work</i>	52	3.19
Family of 3 earning 4.25 r is living below the poverty line. We need to make sure full-time workers are not living in poverty	48	3.14
<i>While the Gov, Leg and Execs have all gotten big pay raise, the min wage has not been increased</i>	48	3.08
Because good paying jobs are becoming so hard to find, it is more important than ever to make sure California has a fair min wage	41	3.02
<i>Taxpayers end up footing the bill when some employers are allowed to pay wages which are so low that their workers qualify for welfare. Raising the minimum wage will end this unfair subsidy</i>	31	2.80
Despite predictions to the contrary, in other states that raised the min wage, the number of jobs in min wage industries like retailing actually increased	28	2.88
<i>Increase in min wage will have a large effect on the economy -- lead to pay increases for other low-wage workers whose salary is just above min wage</i>	22	2.68

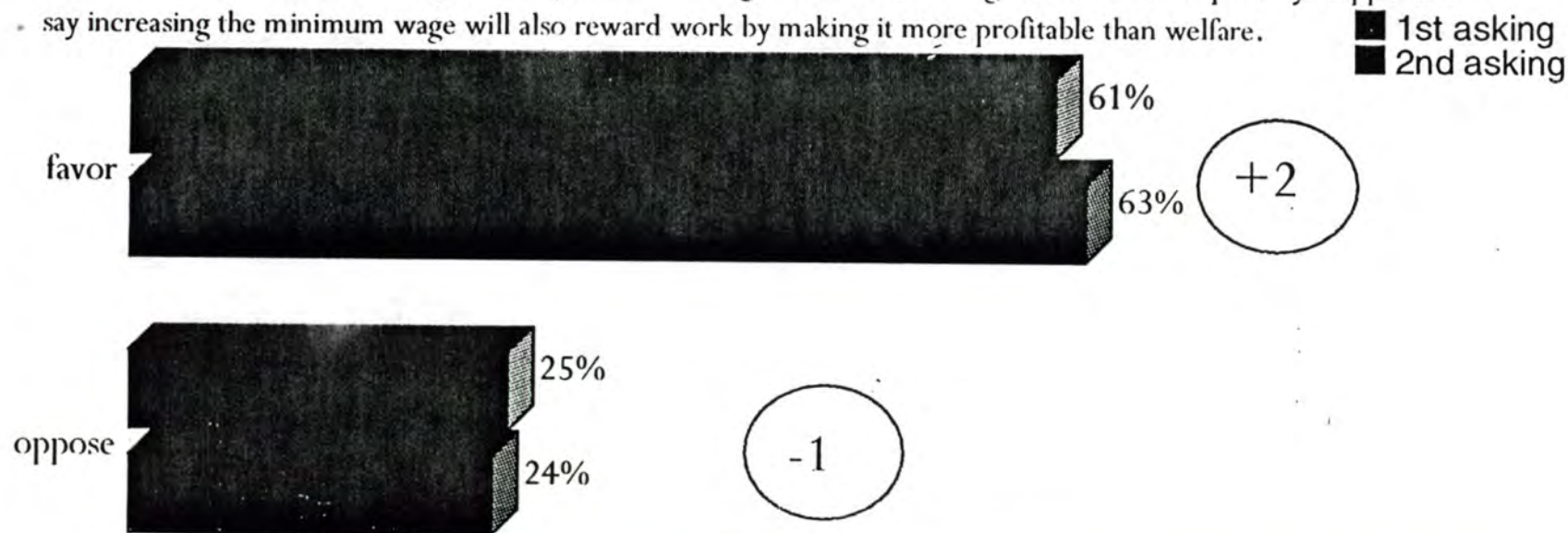
These Same Arguments Are Effective Among Target Audiences

	independents	swing seat	swing voter	undecided
Because of inflation, you can buy less with the minimum wage today than you could at any time in the past 40 years	52	50	55	43
<i>The current minimum wage punishes hard work. At \$4.25, it is so low that minimum wage workers often earn less income than people on welfare. Increasing the minimum wage will reward work</i>	43	46	49	42
Family of 3 earning 4.25 r is living below the poverty line.	42	49	50	39
We need to make sure full-time workers are not living in poverty	39	49	48	40
<i>While the Gov, Leg and Execs have all gotten big pay raise, the min wage has not been increased</i>	35	37	39	30
Because good paying jobs are becoming so hard to find, it is more important than ever to make sure California has a fair min wage	29	31	31	20
<i>Taxpayers end up footing the bill when some employers are allowed to pay wages which are so low that their workers qualify for welfare. Raising the minimum wage will end this unfair subsidy</i>	25	26	29	22
Despite predictions to the contrary, in other states that raised the min wage, the number of jobs in min wage industries like retailing actually increased	19	19	21	11
<i>Increase in min wage will have a large effect on the economy -- lead to pay increases for other low-wage workers whose salary is just above min wage</i>				

The Economic Fairness Argument Causes Few Voters to Shift to Yes, But Few Shift to the "No" Despite the Attack

Opponents say increasing the minimum wage will hurt the very people it is designed to help, because most minimum wage workers are teenagers or other low-skill workers who use these entry level jobs to acquire skills and prepare for better ones. They say an increase in the minimum wage will increase labor costs, force businesses to lay off these low-skilled workers and cost taxpayers millions of dollars. Opponents say an increase in California's minimum wage will also hurt the state's business climate and force businesses to pass the higher costs onto consumers.

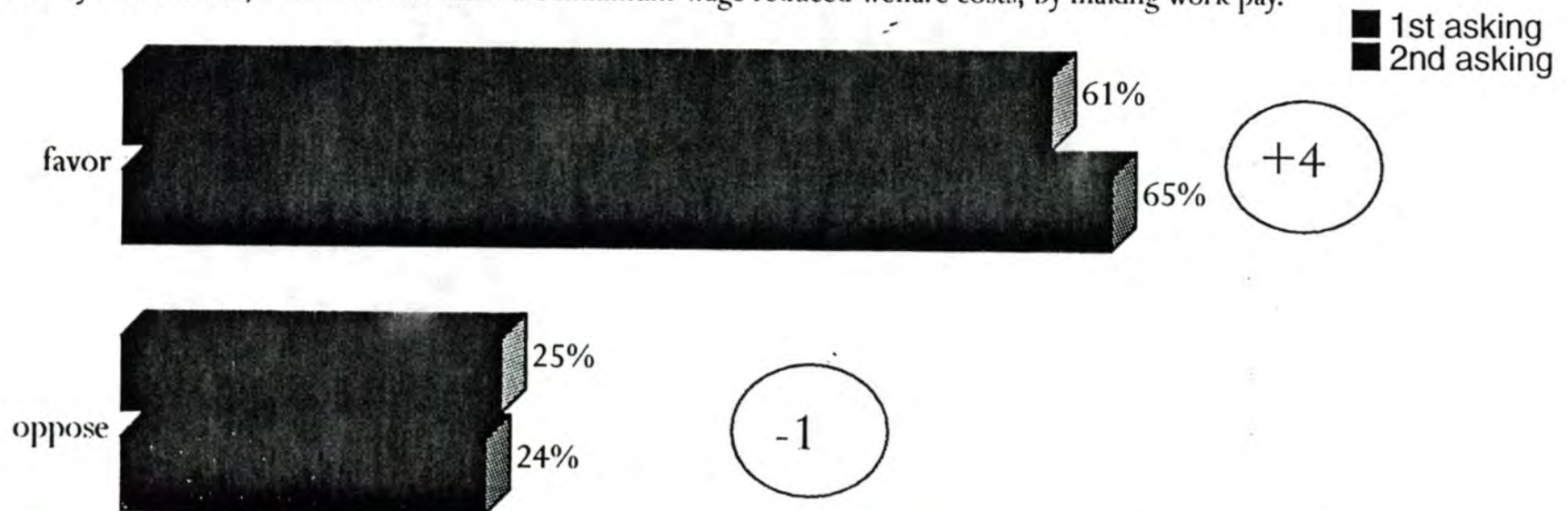
Supporters of increasing the minimum wage say raising the minimum wage is a simple issue of economic fairness. They say we must raise the minimum wage so it gives people a living wage. Supporters say that today's minimum wage of four dollars and twenty-five cents per hour buys less than at any time in the past 40 years because of inflation, and that families supported by minimum wage workers are being forced to live in poverty. Supporters say increasing the minimum wage will also reward work by making it more profitable than welfare.



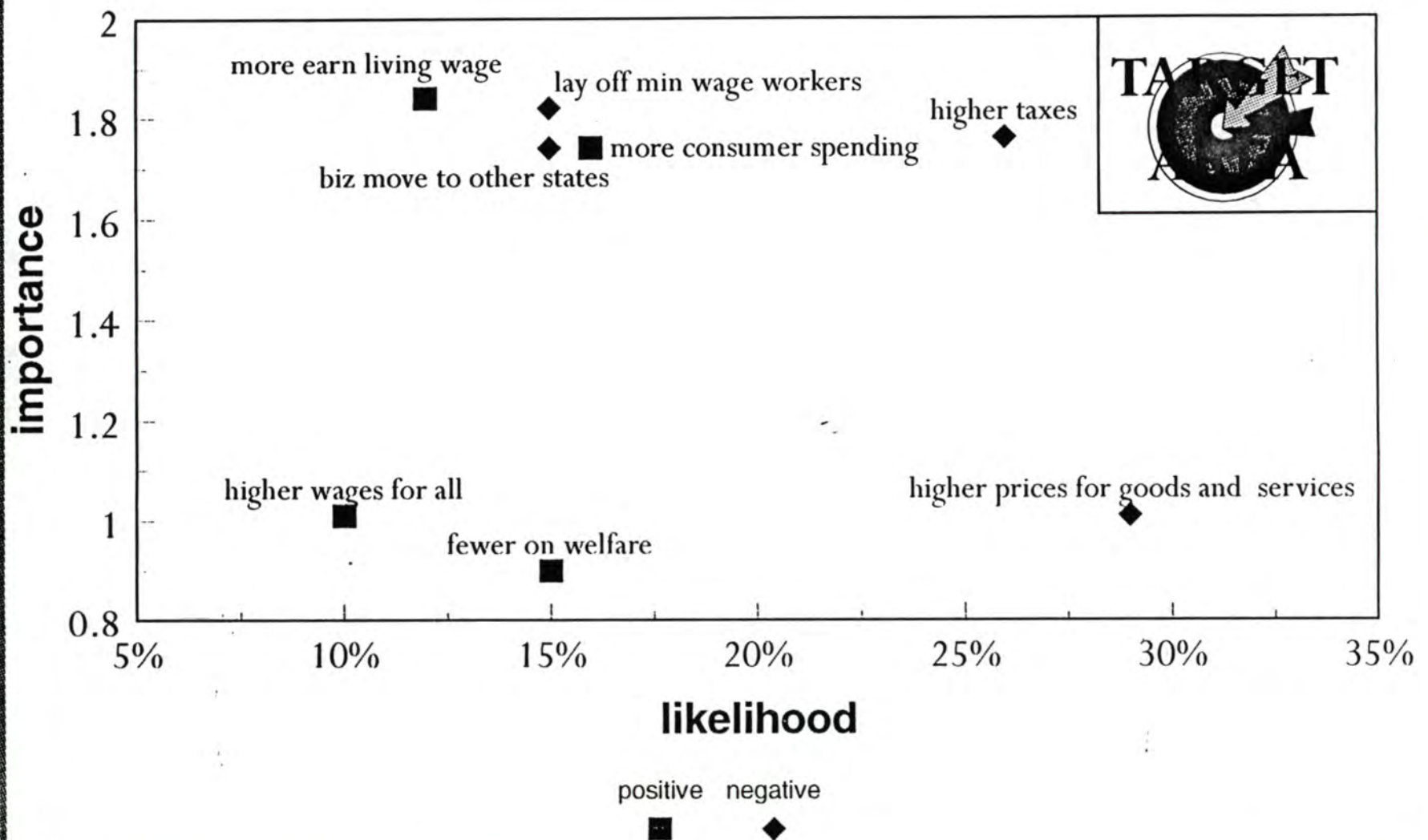
Focusing on Real Wages Along With Macroeconomic Benefits Fares Slightly Better

Opponents say increasing the minimum wage will hurt the very people it is designed to help, because most minimum wage workers are teenagers or other low-skill workers who use these entry level jobs to acquire skills and prepare for better ones. They say an increase in the minimum wage will increase labor costs, force businesses to lay off these low-skilled workers and cost taxpayers millions of dollars. Opponents say an increase in California's minimum wage will also hurt the state's business climate and force businesses to pass the higher costs onto consumers.

Supporters of increasing the minimum wage say raising the minimum wage is not only fair, but good for our economy. Supporters say that today's minimum wage of four dollars and twenty-five cents per hour buys less than at any time in the past 40 years because of inflation. Supporters say increasing the minimum wage will reward work by making it more profitable than welfare and help our economy by giving working people more money to spend. Supporters say recent experience shows that states that increased their minimum wage did not experience job loss and layoffs. Instead, states that increased the minimum wage reduced welfare costs, by making work pay.



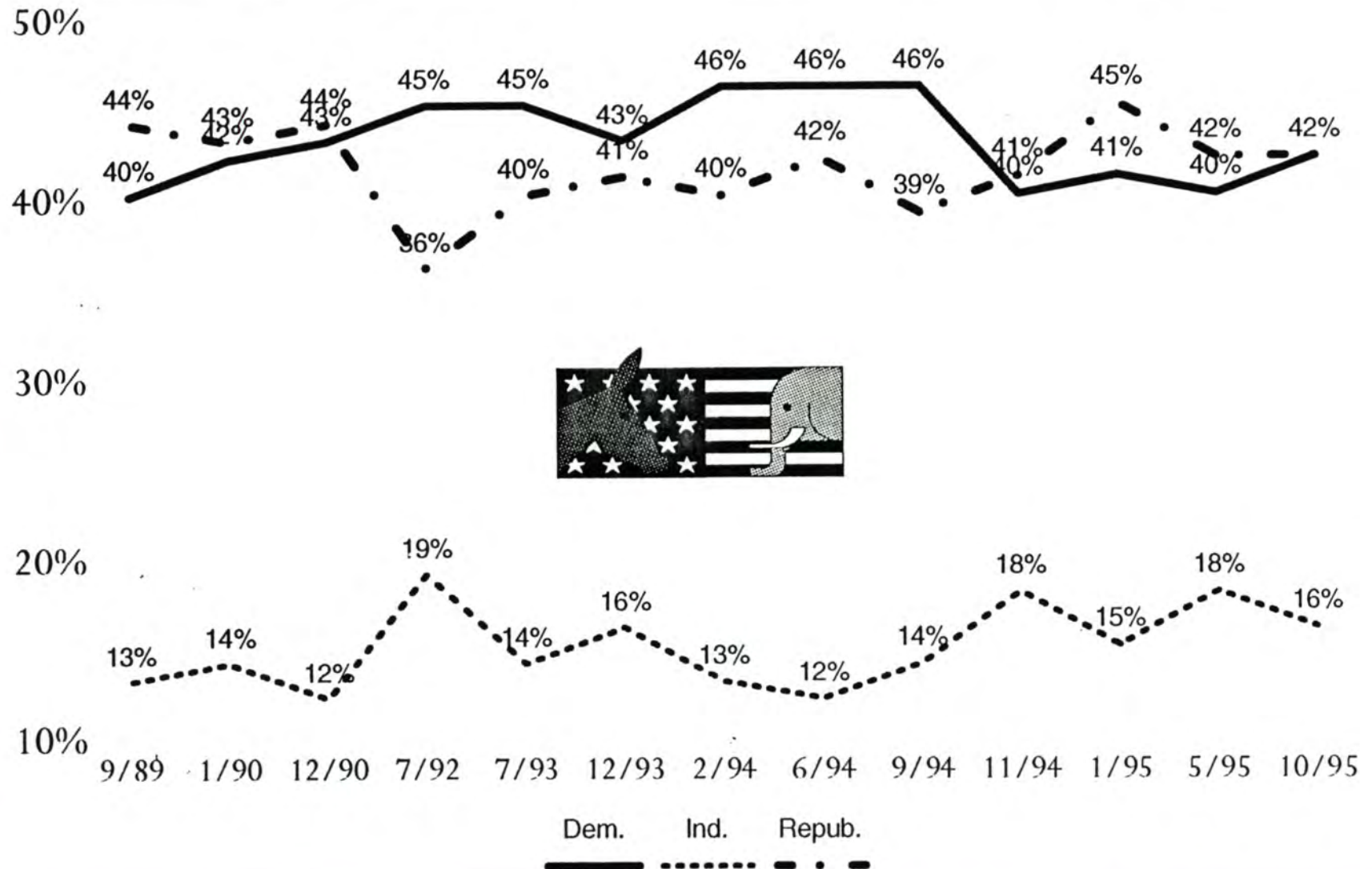
Our Strategic Map Points to the Centrality of the "Living Wage" and Increased Consumer Spending



Our Opponents' Messages Do Not Appear to Be As Salient

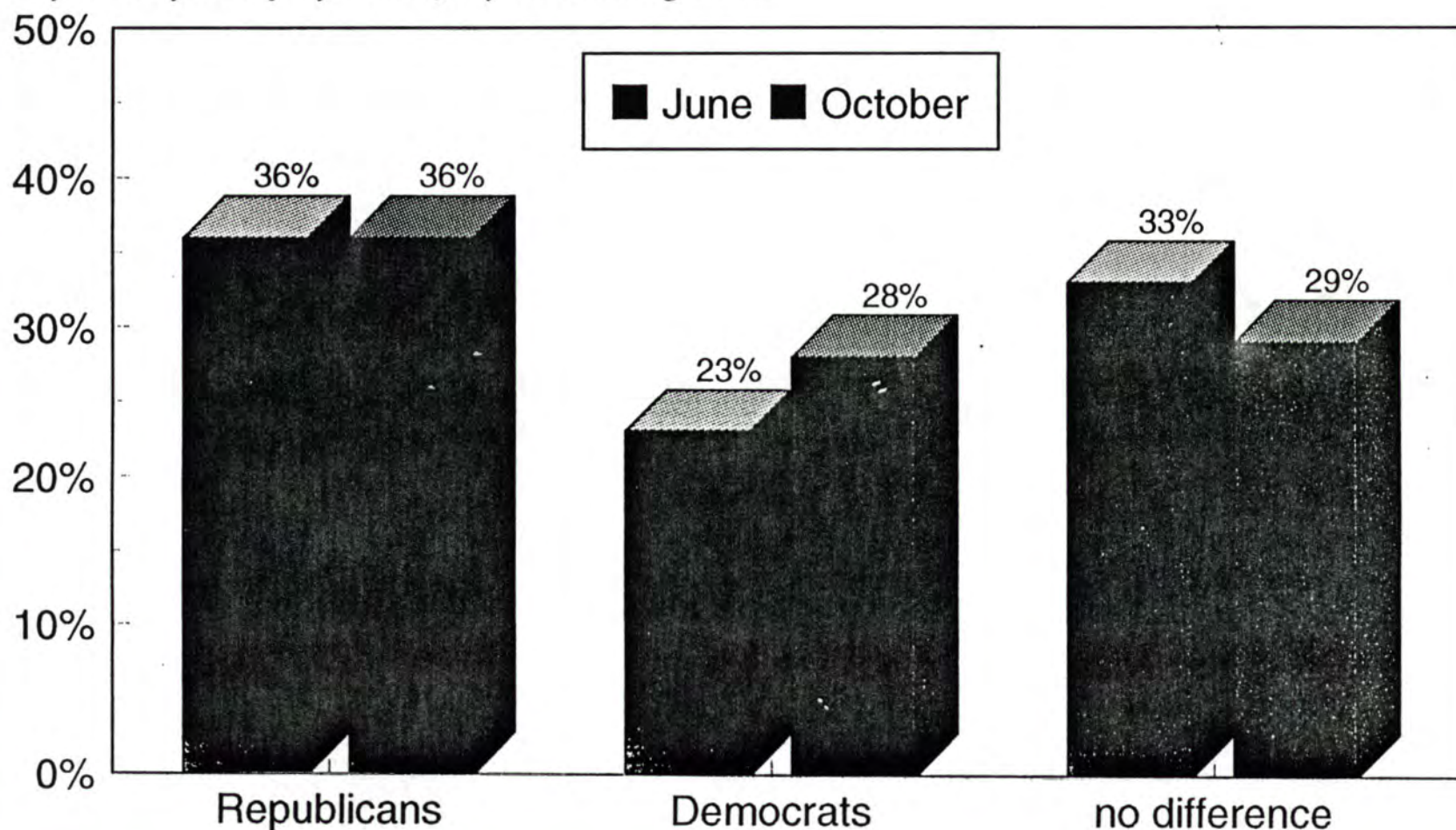
	very convincing	mean
will lead to higher prices b/c biz will pass along the costs	32	2.86
force biz to relocate where labor is cheaper	25	2.54
min wage higher but this is too much -- cause layoffs, hurt economy	21	2.35
will hurt low wage workers b/c biz will lay them off	19	2.41
should be made at federal level, not state	19	2.23
every 75 cents increase will cost 45 mil in increased state payrolls	16	2.33
many min wage workers in hotel & restaurants make extra in tips	16	2.26
free market should set the price	15	1.96
many min wage workers are teenagers are no supporting families	13	2.07

The Parties Are Balanced Fairly Evenly



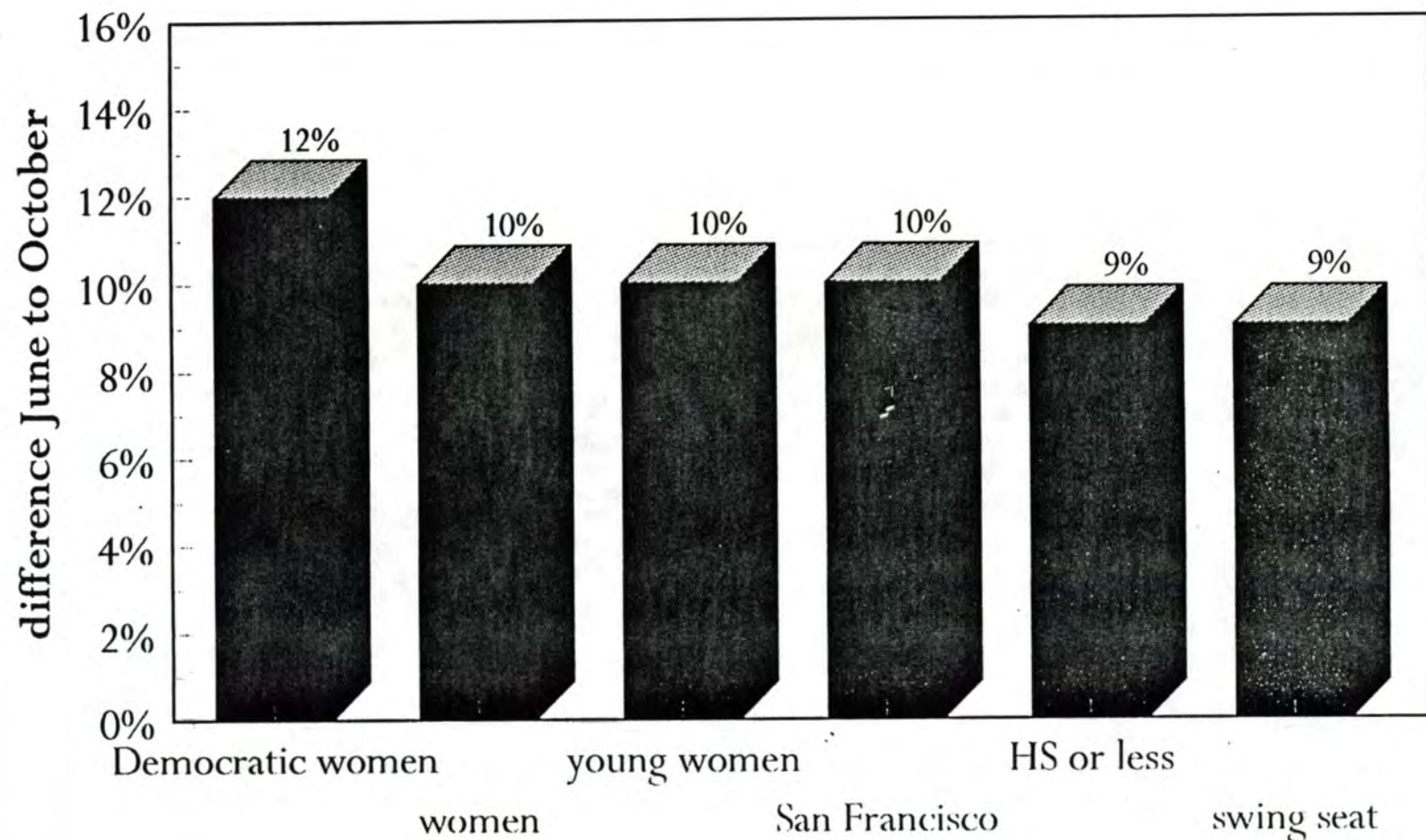
A Plurality Believe They Will Be Better Off If Republicans Have a Majority in the Legislature, Although Democratic Support is Up Since June

Do you think you and your family would be better off if the Republicans had a majority in the California state legislature or if the Democrats had a majority in the state legislature or doesn't it make any difference to you and your family which party has a majority in the state legislature?

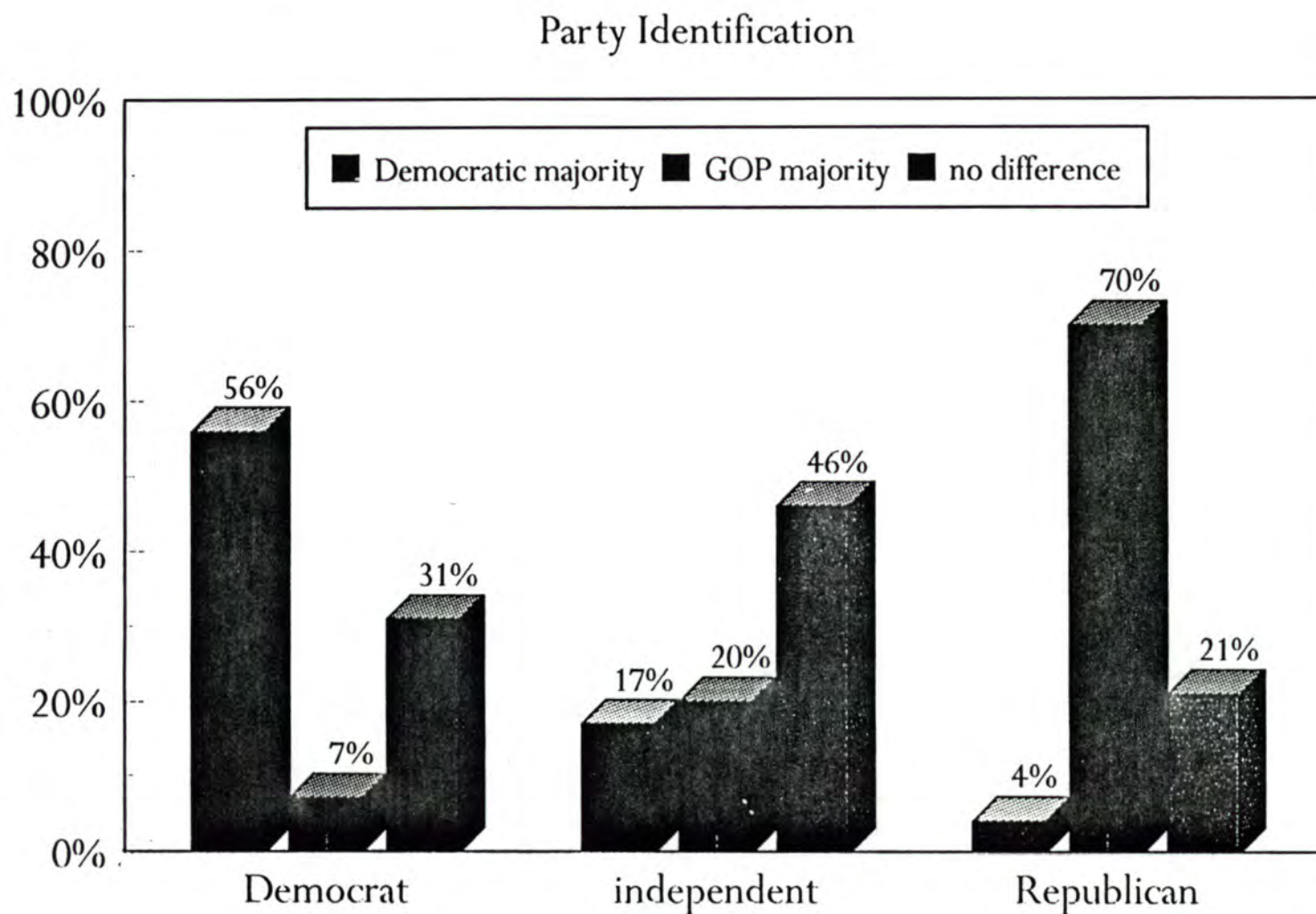


While Our Pick-ups Have Been Mostly in Our Base

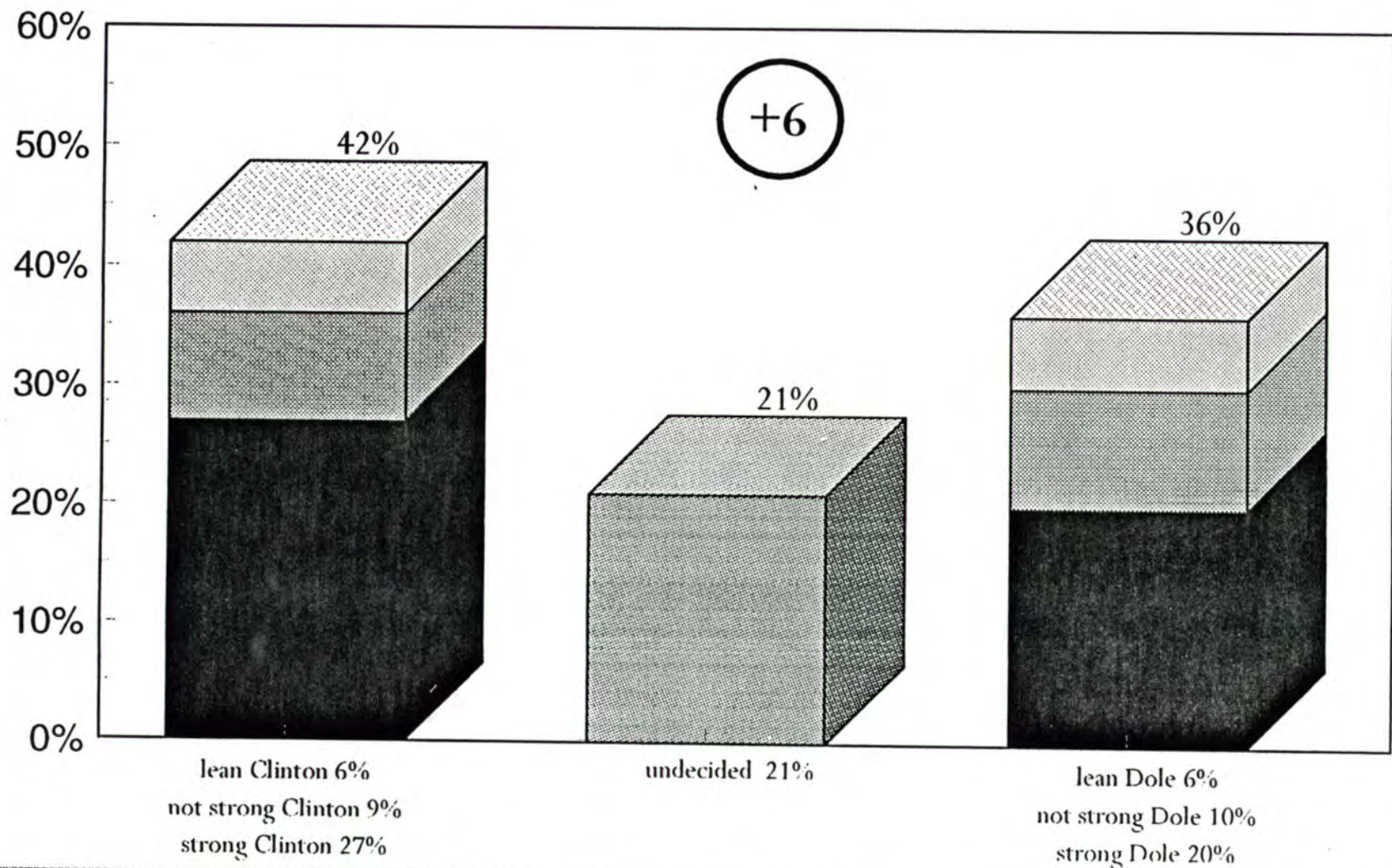
Democratic Majority in the California State Legislature



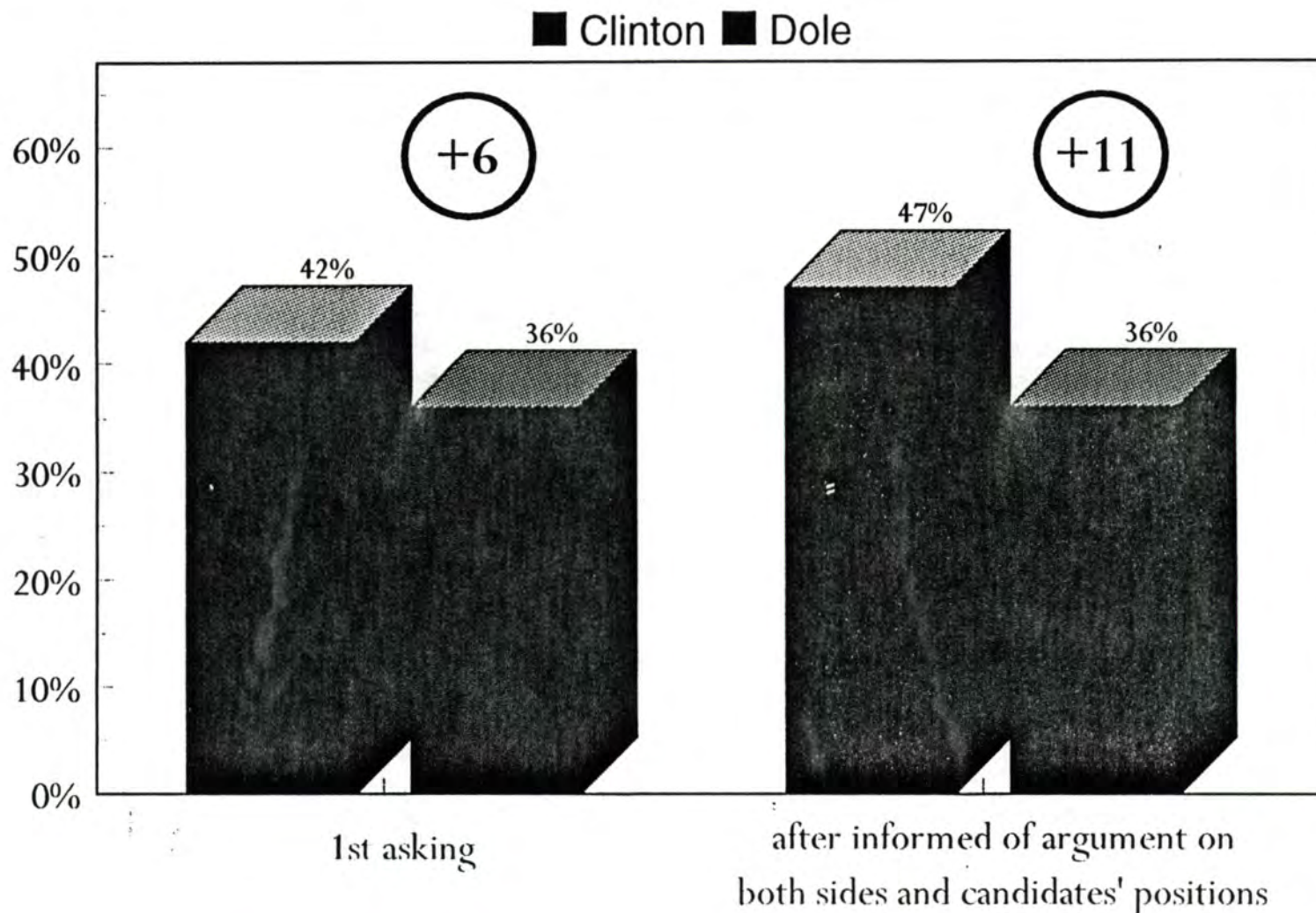
The Democratic Base Still is Not as Committed as the Republican Base



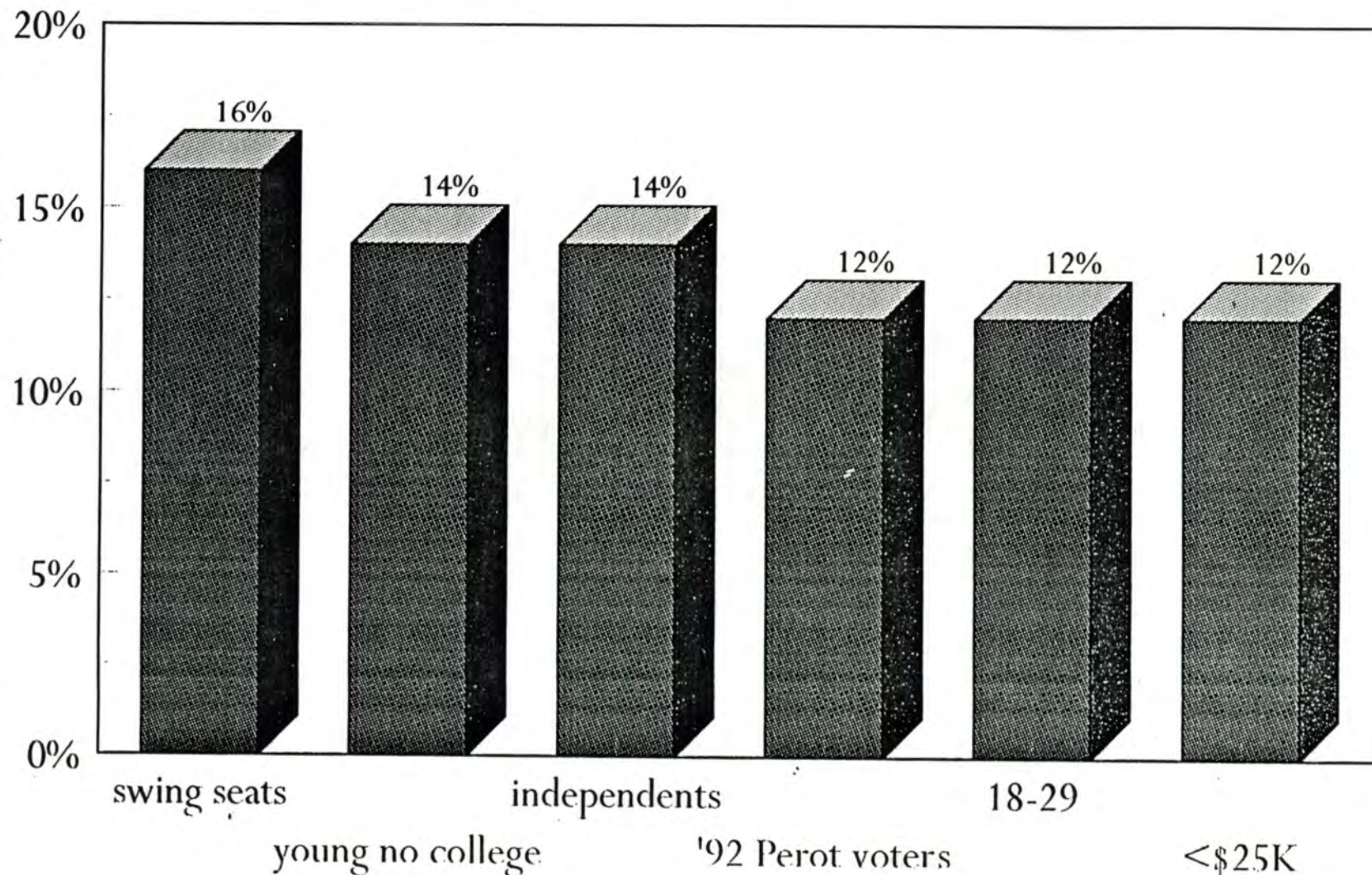
A Plurality Prefer Clinton Over Dole



Clinton Picks Up Support When Voters Learn of His Support For An Increased Minimum Wage and Dole's Opposition



Those Most Likely to Shift to Clinton Include Swing and Downscale Voters



(1) Midway - want to go to 8.75 - not 5.15 (P&G level)
Q: will we be ok at that?

Also $\rightarrow$ ~~some~~ effort to credentialed this as good for economy.

Value of MW/Act. Int. $\rightarrow$
- will check into validity of this.

(2) to quantify the signal $\rightarrow$ 2-300,000 that is out of the
down world that is not
translating or Act. business.

- Maybe one call; but certainly says this is ok w/ us.
- They want 2-3 "people from the west side
Inst. coming who can be associated
w/ this (+ are viewed as ok. w/ the Wt.).

Thurs
NB meeting
S