

Is California Ungovernable?

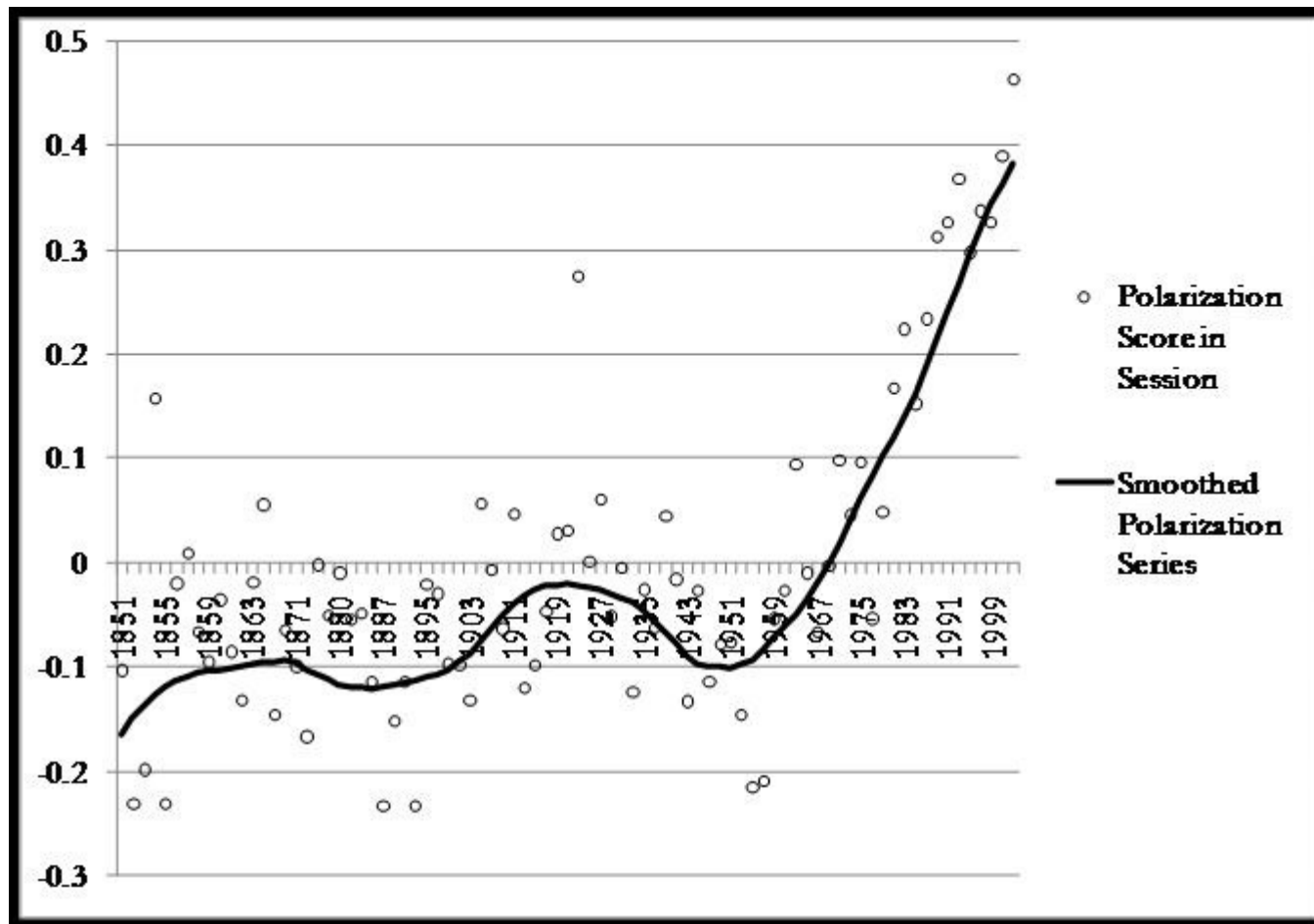
- Conventional Wisdom vs. May 19 Puzzle
- Are Parties More Polarized?
- Are Voters More Polarized?
- Does Polarization Lead to Gridlock?
- Does Policy Deliver what Voters Want?

Conventional Wisdom

- Gridlock is rising, Sacramento is to blame:
 - “...the institutional gridlock that has led to a collapse of confidence in government at every level of the state” –*SF Chronicle's* Jerry Roberts
 - “Leaders of a Legislature known for decades of bitter partisan gridlock” *Union Tribune's* Ed Mendel
 - “The Legislature has been very dysfunctional and in partisan gridlock. There is a long list of problems the Legislature has not addressed.” – former Assemblyman Keith Richman

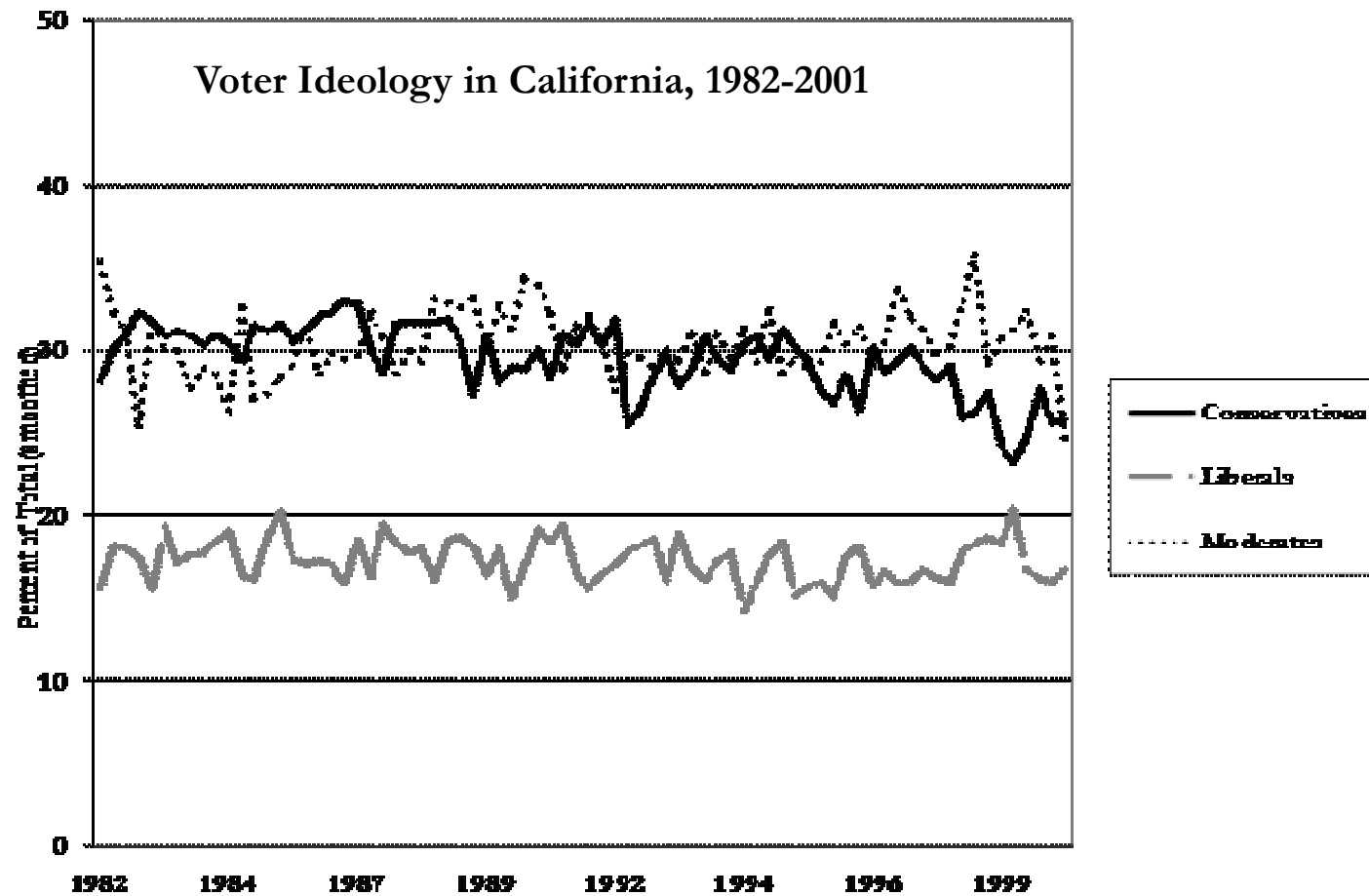
Have the Parties Become Polarized?

Partisan Polarization in the California Assembly, 1851-2003



Note: All polarization scores compiled and generously lent by Seth Masket, and described in Masket (2007). A higher score on the polarization measure indicates that the legislative caucuses of the Democratic and Republican Parties were further apart on the ideological spectrum.

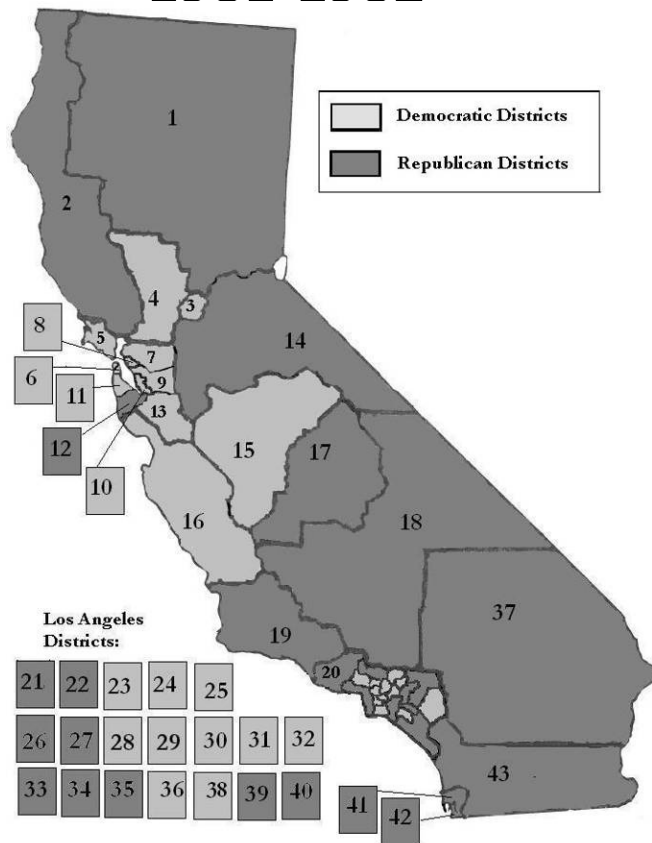
Have Voters Become More Polarized?



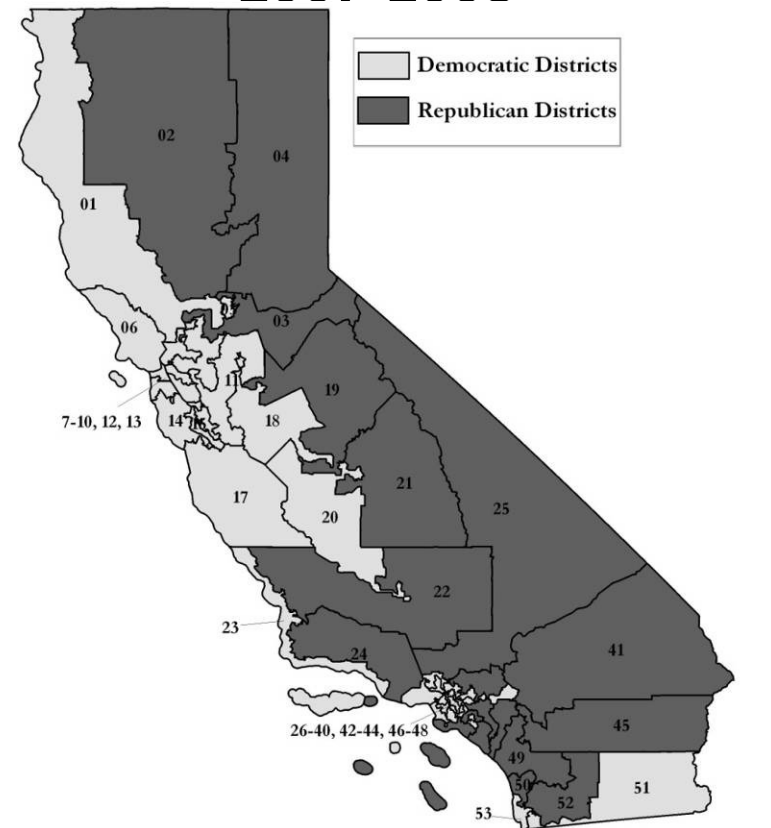
Notes: All of the data in this figure were collected from the California Poll/Field Poll, and generously lent to the author, by Korey and Lascher (2006).

California's Transformation: North/South to East/West

1981-1982

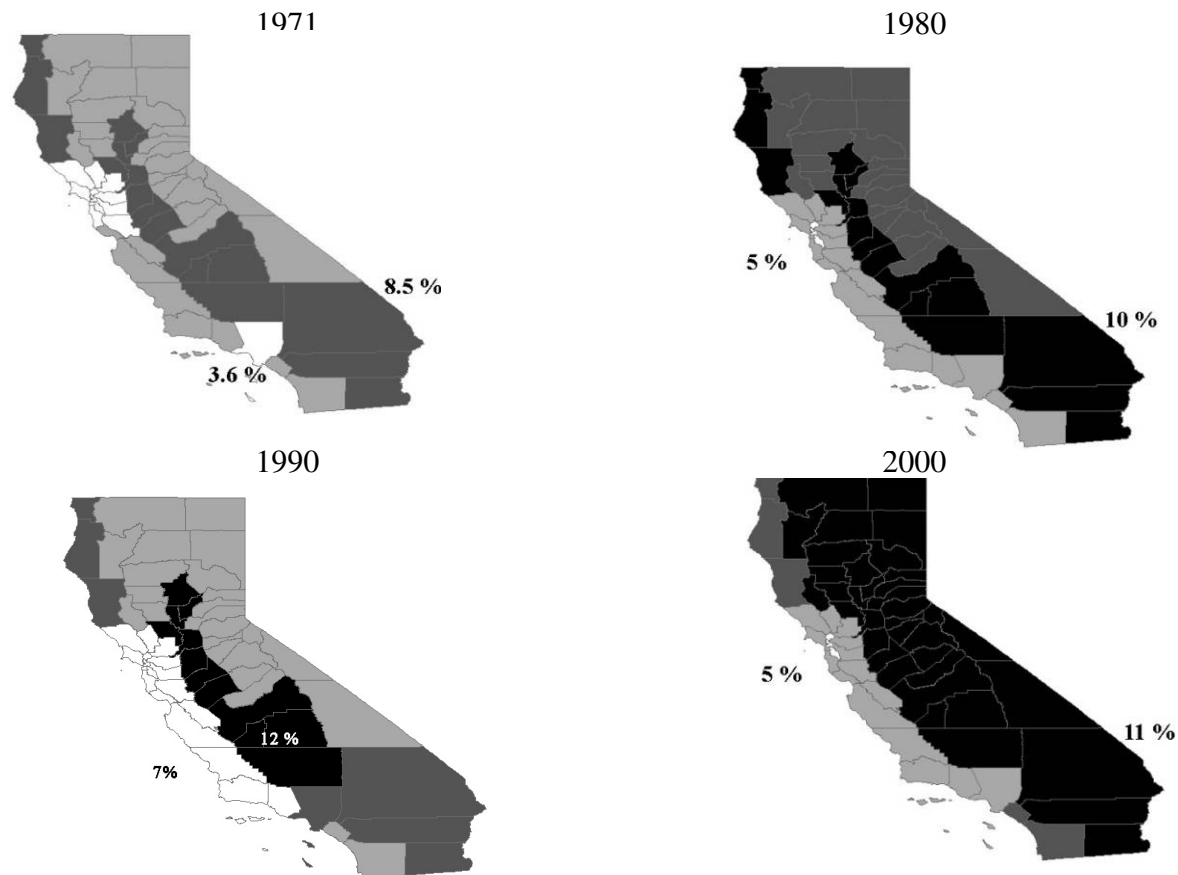


2007-2008

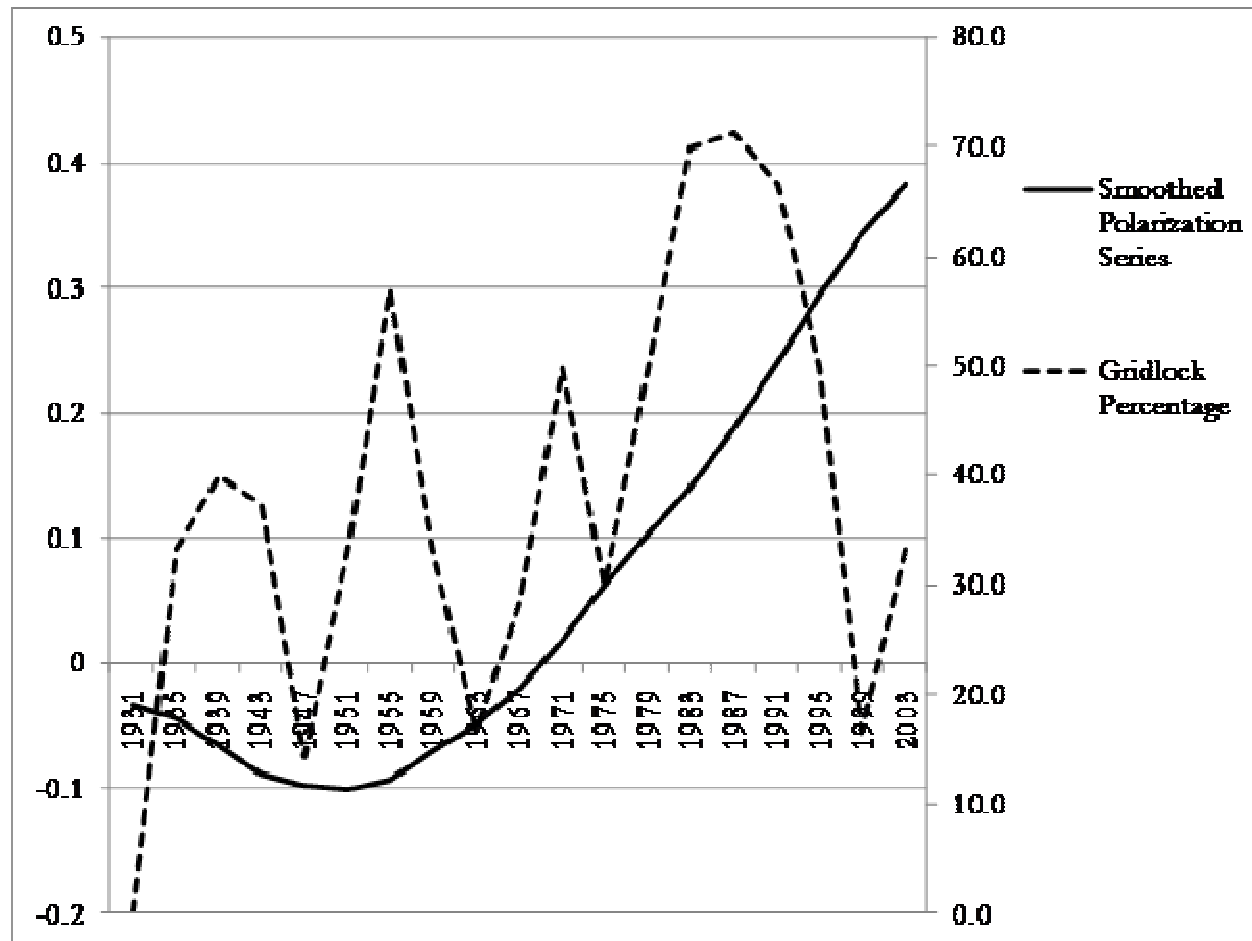


California's Transformation: North/South to East/West

Evangelical Share of California's Population 1971-2000, by Region



Does Polarization Predict Gridlock?



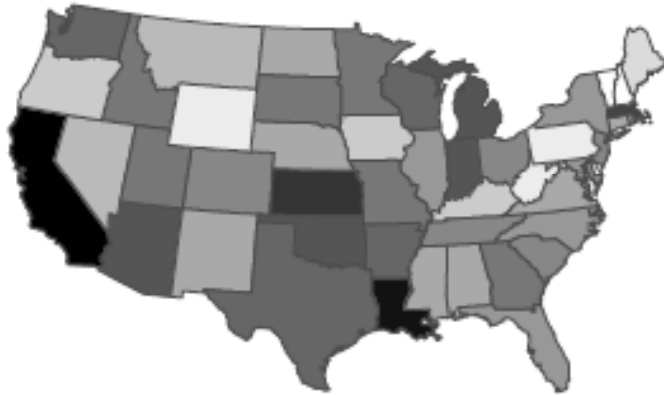
If Not, What Does Predict It?

<i>Year</i>	<i>Governor</i>	<i>Major Issues on the Agenda</i>	<i>Issues Successfully Resolved</i>	<i>Gridlock Percentage</i>
1931	James Rolph, Jr. (R)	4	4	0.0%
1935	Frank Merriam (R)	6	4	33.3
1939	Culbert Olson (D)	5	3	40.0
1943	Earl Warren (R)	8	5	37.5
1947	Earl Warren (R)	7	6	14.3
1951	Earl Warren (R)	6	4	33.3
1955	Goodwin Knight (R)	7	3	57.1
1959	Pat Brown (D)	6	4	33.3
1963	Pat Brown (D)	6	5	16.7
1967	Ronald Reagan (R)	7	5	28.6
1971	Ronald Reagan (R)	6	3	50.0
1975	Jerry Brown (D)	10	7	30.0
1979	Jerry Brown (D)	10	5	50.0
1983	George Deukmejian (R)	10	3	70.0
1987	George Deukmejian (R)	7	2	71.4
1991	Pete Wilson (R)	3	1	66.7
1995	Pete Wilson (R)	6	3	50.0
1999	Gray Davis (D)	6	5	16.7
2003	Gray Davis (D)	6	4	33.3
2004	Arnold Schwarzenegger (R)	6	3	50.0

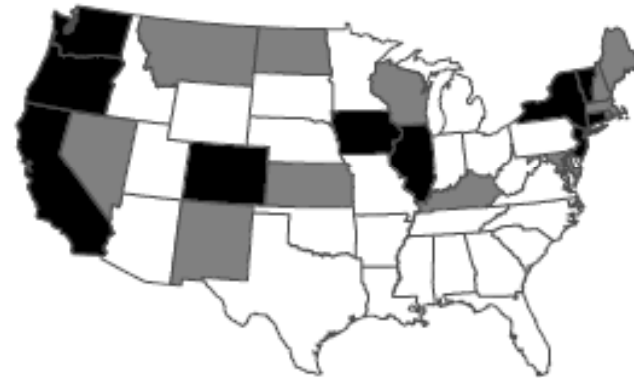
Notes: Shaded years indicated that control of the legislative and executive branches of government was divided between the two parties; all other years are cases of unified government.

California Gives Voters What they Want (but errs on the blue side)

Congruence Percentage



Ideological Direction of Incongruence



From analysis of 39 policy areas by Justin Phillips and Jeff Lax (Columbia University)