



# SEA CHANGE IN SACRAMENTO

HOW ELECTRONIC BALLOT SIGNATURES EMPOWER VOTERS



*“And while I do not by any means believe the initiative, the referendum, and the recall are the panacea for all our political ills, yet they do give to the electorate the power of action when desired, and they do place in the hands of the people the means by which they may protect themselves.”*

– GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1912

The Promethean goal of direct democracy as a populist foil to special interest power is barely recognizable in the California ballot initiative process today.

Governor Hiram Johnson wanted to give average people the initiative, referendum and recall process as a counterweight to the Southern Pacific Railroad’s stranglehold on government, the media and political discourse. The modern equivalents of the Southern Pacific Railroad are the PG&Es, Chevrons, and Pfizers, which have come to dominate the very ballot initiative process created to curtail their power due to the prohibitive cost of qualifying a ballot initiative.

The initiative process has grown beyond the capacity of average citizens to wield by almost every measure.

No initiative has qualified on an all-volunteer basis since 1982.

Nearly every initiative that has qualified in modern times has done so overwhelmingly through pay to play efforts.

It now takes \$2-3 million minimum to qualify a ballot measure before the fight over it can even begin.

In 2020, COVID-19 threw the biggest wrench yet into the system, with stay-at-home orders effectively shutting down in-person signature gathering. For some campaigns, it was impossible to qualify for the ballot at any price.

Consumer Watchdog reviewed a decade and a half of ballot measure activity since 2005 and found:

1. All but the wealthiest are now locked out of the California ballot initiative process due to the high cost of participating.
2. The same special interest groups that dominate Sacramento are dominating the initiative process due to the prohibitive price of signature gathering activity.

3. Establishing an electronic signature gathering system is now feasible and could restore the ballot initiative process to the people as it was intended.



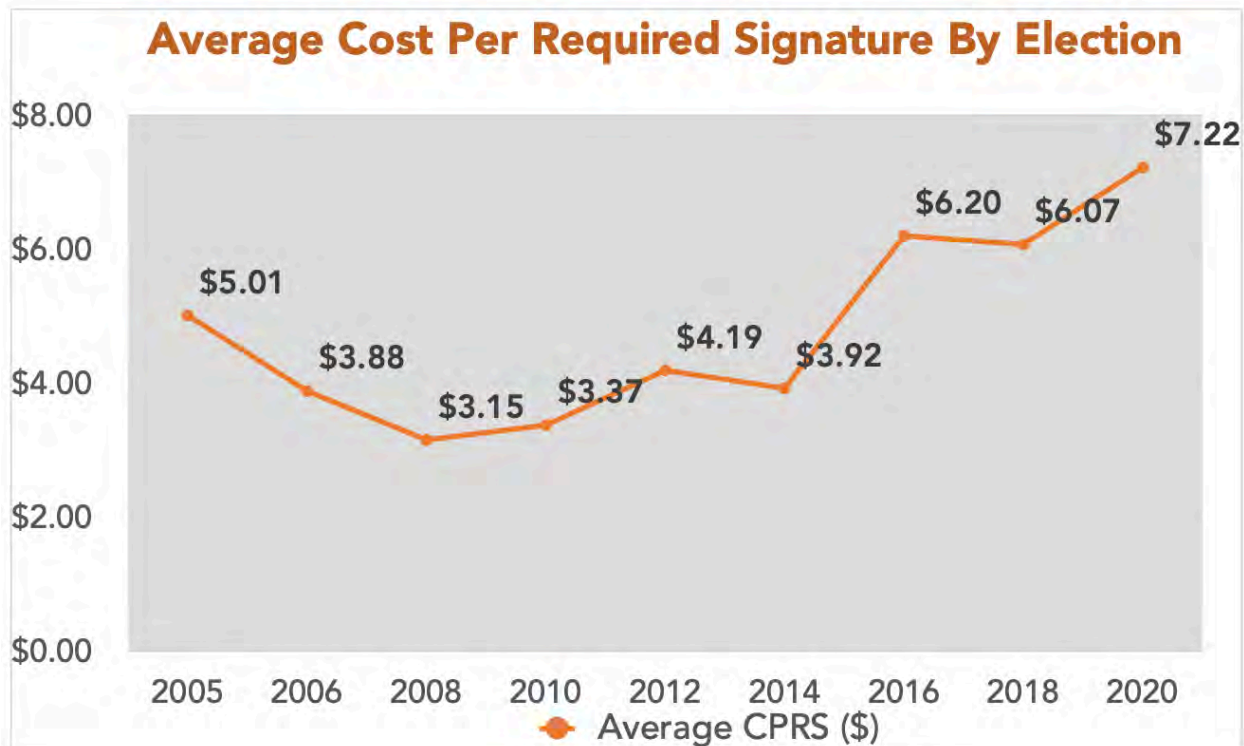
**“Shoppers treat signature-gatherers with skepticism”**

**PART I**  
**The Problem: Our Outdated Initiative Qualification System**

**\$7 plus per valid signature is the new normal.**

Over the past sixteen years, from 2005-2020, the average cost of qualifying a measure for the ballot in California was \$2,435,600, or \$4.61 per valid signature. Since 2005, \$224 million has been spent to qualify 92 initiatives for the California ballot.<sup>1</sup>

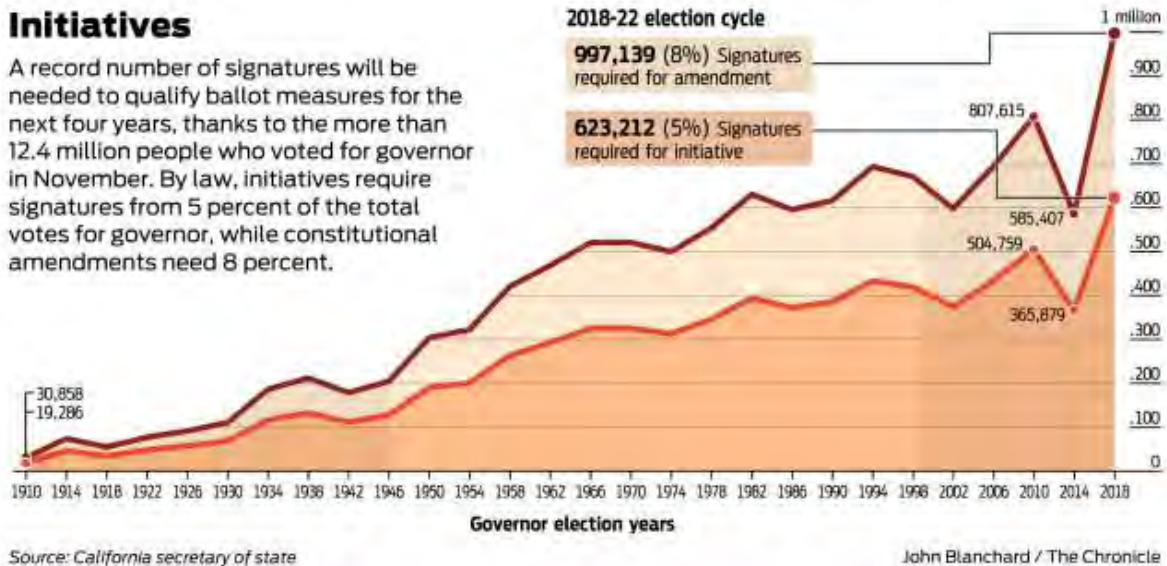
In the 2016 and 2018 election cycles the average signature cost rose above \$6. In 2020 it topped \$7.20 per signature, the most expensive year in recent memory. Qualification cost at least \$2 more per signature than in the previous five election cycles, when signatures' average cost ranged between \$2 and \$4.



(Source: Ballotpedia.org and California Secretary of State)

<sup>1</sup> Initiative proponents typically turn in 30-40% more signatures than required because some signatures are rejected as invalid. The numbers in this report reflect the *cost per required signature*, not the cost per signature gathered. 80 general election ballot measures from 2005-2020, including the special election called by Governor Schwarzenegger in 2005, cost approx. \$204.8 million to qualify. 12 Primary measures from 2006-2012 cost \$19.3 million to qualify. The cost to qualify Prop 89 in 2006 was unavailable and is excluded.

The mandatory number of signatures to qualify a measure for the 2020 ballot nearly doubled from the 2016-18 threshold, increasing from 365,880 to 623,212 for a statutory initiative and 585,407 to 997,139 for a constitutional amendment. In 2020, campaigns for the five measures subject to the higher signature thresholds spent an average \$4.8 million to qualify for the November ballot.



Source: San Francisco Chronicle<sup>2</sup>

## Gathering signatures is getting harder.

The sheer quantity of signatures necessary to qualify a proposed initiative for the ballot gave rise to professional signature gatherers who charge a per-signature rate.

Average citizens have the final say on ballot measures, of course, and their wisdom has been proven time and again. They are, however, almost never the engines of the proposals if they cannot find someone with big money to support their cause.

The popularity of a ballot measure also plays little role in the cost of qualification, which rises or falls based on the number of competing petitions circulating, the number of signatures necessary to qualify, and how quickly they need to be collected. Popularity also plays no role in determining whether a measure qualifies.

<sup>2</sup> “Qualifying a California ballot measure to become ‘a playground of billionaires,’” John Wildermuth, San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 2, 2019. <https://www.sfchronicle.com/politics/article/Qualifying-a-California-ballot-measure-to-become-13501800.php>

High costs mean that deep-pocketed interests decide what ideas are presented to voters long before a dime is spent on advertising or a campaign.

Part of the reason for rising costs is that gathering signatures is getting harder, even for the professionals. Few constituents write letters or sign paper petitions any more. Political activism has moved online, and the tools for reaching out to the public and elected officials have moved with it.

Shoppers treat signature-gatherers with skepticism, and growing numbers of traditional signature-gathering locations have shut down to petition gatherers. The landmark free speech case that affirmed the right to petition at grocery stores, *Pruneyard v Robins*, was narrowed significantly by the California Supreme Court in 2012. Many stores responded by banning petitioners altogether.

This has pushed petitioners to sporting events, concerts and sidewalks. It takes longer to gather signatures at such locations, where people are less likely to give a petitioner their time and are more likely to be out-of-towners.

While signature gatherers used to collect as many as 40 to 45 signatures per hour, the new legal restrictions on collecting signatures in public places and other cultural shifts have limited collection to about 12 to 15 signatures per hour.

In March 2020, signature gathering in public spaces halted completely in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Campaigns that were bringing in 30,000 - 70,000 signatures a week plummeted to zero. Two measures that were hundreds of thousands of signatures short when the shelter-at-home orders took effect had to go to court to win extra time to gather signatures and are now aiming for the 2022 ballot.

One campaign tried a novel approach that exposed just how difficult volunteer signature gathering is in California.

Proponents of the California Stem Cell Research, Treatments and Cures Initiative—now Proposition 14—had nearly reached their signature goal when stay-at-home orders halted in-person petitioning. The campaign launched an emergency effort to gather 35,000 signatures by mail, engaging more than 60 patient advocacy organizations in the effort. Yet in one month, the campaign collected just 10,000 additional signatures. The measure qualified for the 2020 ballot. But the effort illustrates the difficulty of collecting physical signatures, even from highly-motivated pre-existing supporters of a campaign.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> “Digital, mail-in push for stem cell initiative,” David Jensen, *Capitol Weekly*, April 6, 2020. <https://capitolweekly.net/digital-mail-in-push-for-stem-cell-initiative/>

The spectacle of the signature gathering process has also led to perennial legislation in Sacramento proposing to bar payment to signature gatherers for each signature collected. Governor Brown vetoed the legislation 3 times, as did Governor Newsom in 2019.

These trends will only continue to drive up signature costs, moving initiatives even further out of citizens' reach.

**The same special interests dominate Sacramento and the initiative process.**

Not surprisingly, the very interest groups whose power Johnson sought to diminish by creating the citizen initiative process have used it for their own gamesmanship.

Recent legislative changes encourage moneyed interest groups to file initiatives as a way of leveraging legislative change. Initiatives can now be withdrawn after they are filed if a legislative compromise is reached. Legislative hearings, negotiations and amendments are encouraged. The corporate corruption of the ballot initiative process, already an established fact, is likely to grow in this new regime, even as average citizens lose their ability to participate in it meaningfully.<sup>4</sup>

Consumer Watchdog's analysis of a decade and half of initiative campaign spending reports and lobbying expenditure reports found that the same special interests who top Sacramento lobbying lists year after year are also the largest players in the initiative process.

Initiative campaigns have collected \$3,186,787,277 in campaign contributions since 2005.<sup>5</sup> In every election cycle since 2005, two of the top five spenders on initiatives also ranked among the top 25 lobbyist employers in Sacramento that cycle.

Year	Top 5 Initiative Spenders	Rank (1-5)	Top 25 Lobbyist Employers	Rank (1-25)
2018	SEIU	4	SEIU	4
	Realtors	5	Realtors	16
2016	Hospitals	3	Hospitals	2
	CTA	5	CTA	9
2014	Kaiser	1	Kaiser	6

<sup>4</sup> Prop 19 on the 2020 ballot is an example. The California Association of Realtors qualified a measure for the ballot to change property tax collection in the state. In June, lawmakers agreed to place a compromise measure on the ballot in return for the Realtors' withdrawal of their proposal. The California Association of Realtors has been one of the top 25 lobbyist employers in Sacramento for the last four election cycles. It spent \$1.8 million lobbying in Sacramento in 2019 alone.

<sup>5</sup> Not including 2020 measures.

Year	Top 5 Initiative Spenders	Rank (1-5)	Top 25 Lobbyist Employers	Rank (1-25)
	Wellpoint	2	Health Plans	24
2012	CTA	3	CTA	3
	SEIU	5	SEIU	1
2010	CTA	1	CTA	2
	Valero	5	WSPA	1
2008	Agua Caliente	3	Agua Caliente	25
	PG&E	5	PG&E	23
2006	Chevron	2	Chevron	15
	Aera	4	WSPA	4
2005	CTA	1 & 2	CTA	3
	SEIU	4	SEIU	7

Anyone with money can gain influence in Sacramento. Rising costs have made initiatives just another tool of those same special interests. The initiative process has been stolen by the very interests it was created to circumvent.

According to an analysis by the Fair Political Practices Commission, in both the 2014 and 2016 election cycles more than 85% of the money spent on ballot measures came from just ten contributors.

### 2014 Top 10 Contributors

Ballot Measure	Contributor	\$ Amount
No on 45	Kaiser	\$18,866,574
No on 45	Wellpoint, Inc. and affiliated entities	\$18,866,574
No on 45	Blue Shield of California	\$12,476,424
No on 48	Table Mountain Rancheria	\$12,263,327
No on 46	Norcal Mutual Insurance Company	\$11,000,000
No on 46	The Doctors Company	\$10,501,200
No on 46	Cooperative of American Physicians IE Committee	\$10,203,970
No on 45	Health Net, Inc.	\$5,518,324
No on 46	California Medical Association Physicians' Issues Committee	\$5,301,252
No on 46	Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Inc., and The Hospitals	\$5,000,000



## 2016 Top 10 Contributors

Ballot Measure	Contributor	\$ Amount
No on 56	Philip Morris USA Inc.	\$38,642,580
Yes on 55	CA Association of Hospitals and Health Systems (CAHHS) sponsored the CA Hospitals Committee on Issues	\$25,121,370
No on 56	R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company	\$24,897,480
Yes on 55	CA Teachers Association	\$21,053,224
Yes on 61	AIDS Healthcare Foundation	\$18,717,068
Yes on 56	Thomas F. Steyer	\$11,550,000
No on 52	California Health Foundation and Trust	\$11,501,975
Yes on 54	Charles T. Munger Jr.	\$10,705,640
Yes on 56	CA Hospitals Committee on Issues	\$10,096,250
No on 61	Merck & Co., Inc.	\$9,420,395

### **Costs to Counties**

Current California law requires petition signatures be written by a person on paper. In order to verify physical signatures are valid, counties must go through the costly and time-consuming process of checking those signatures against voter registration records.

When an initiative proponent turns in signatures, the counties first verify a random sample of 3% of those signatures. If the random sample shows a measure has more than 110% of the signatures required to qualify it goes automatically to the ballot. If the sample shows a measure has less than 95% it does not qualify. If the measure falls between 95 and 110%, county registrars must do a full count. That full count requires every signature be verified.

Many campaigns turn in their signatures around the same time. This means that counties are inundated with signatures all at once and in many years must verify millions of signatures in a few short months. The cost in dollars and time is tremendous.

### **Public support of the initiative process continues to be strong, but ways to use it are restricted.**

The public strongly supports the ballot measure process as a way to give citizens a route around the special interests that dominate Sacramento.

The Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) has polled public sentiment on the initiative process since the early 2000s and finds: “In 2000, 68% of Californians were somewhat or very satisfied with the initiative process. By 2016, that figure had changed little (64%).”

The public also believes that citizens make better decisions than politicians do.

A super-majority of likely voters surveyed by the PPIC (72%) “said it is a good thing that voters can make laws and change public policies by passing initiatives. Sixty percent of likely voters—including pluralities across parties—say that public policy decisions made through the initiative process are probably better than those made by the governor and state legislature.”

However, Californians are also convinced that the process needs reforming and that it has been taken over by those same special interests. PPIC polling finds that most Californians say “the initiative process is controlled a lot (55%) or some (35%) by special interests.” That perception has remained constant over time with large majorities of likely voters (63%).

Some initiative reforms embraced by the public in the PPIC survey have since been enacted. These include greater flexibility to review and amend filed initiatives and correct drafting errors, and the new grace period after signatures are collected but before ballot certification in which initiative proponents and the legislature can come to a compromise.

Then there are the citizen reform ideas that take on special interests in the initiative process directly. For example, 84% of likely voters surveyed by the PPIC support increasing disclosure of initiative funding sources. Disclosure of initiative funding has been improved over the years, including legislation signed into law in 2019 that requires the names of the top donors to a measure be printed on initiative petitions. Otherwise, this information is only available in reports at the Secretary of State’s Cal-Access website, an obscure source of information for any regular Californian, until they start seeing television advertising just before an election.

75% of likely voters surveyed would give a leg up to citizen initiatives by allowing proponents more time to qualify if they gather signatures with volunteers instead of paid collectors. This support is consistent across political affiliations and demographic groups and reflects the desire to favor grassroots citizen initiatives with a clearer path to qualification. However, because the barriers to gathering signatures on physical petitions have become so high, the reality is that an all-volunteer effort is next to impossible, even with extra time.

## **PART II**

### **The Solution: Electronic Signatures**

The last two decades have seen a steady shift of public discourse from the in-person interactions of the town square to a broader digital community online. Yet California’s rules for demonstrating public support for an initiative proposal remain tied to a wet ink signature gathered by a paid circulator outside a grocery store.

When the gravity of the COVID-19 pandemic became clear in March 2020, that gradual move became an abrupt end to in-person campaigning. Californians’ willingness to physically interact with strangers to support an initiative proposal, already trending down, has likely been permanently reduced. The pandemic showcases the urgent need to give Californians remote access to direct democracy.

In a recent poll of likely voters by Hart Research, 61% said they rely on “searches you might conduct on Google” to find out more about propositions on the ballot. Allowing petition signatures to be gathered electronically would shift the discussion and debate about petitions to the digital space where voters are already getting their information. It would both improve grassroots access to signature gathering and ease the verification burden on counties.

*“Allowing petition signatures to be gathered electronically would shift the discussion and debate about petitions to the digital space where voters are already getting their information.”*

Electronic signatures have been part of the initiative discussion in California as far back as 2000, after federal and state legislation legally recognized the use of electronic signatures for commercial and governmental purposes.

The Speaker’s Commission on the California Initiative Process, convened in 2001 by then-Speaker of the Assembly Robert Hertzberg, sought recommendations on electronic signature-gathering from the Public Policy Institute of California. That report identified opportunities and challenges raised by electronic signatures. While the benefits of e-signatures that were evident in 2001 have not changed today, most of the obstacles have fallen away over two decades of technological advances.

The PPIC found that electronic signature-gathering would help:

- Restore citizen access to initiatives by reducing the cost to qualify grassroots measures
- Increase the ease and accuracy of signature verification by the counties
- Expand voter knowledge and education about a proposed measure before they sign

Most of the challenges identified in the report have since fallen away:

- Security fears
- The digital divide
- Too easy to qualify
- Cost of implementing a statewide database of voters

The advent of two-factor authentication security and the already assembled statewide voter database that connects to the DMV have finally removed the two major obstacles—security and cost—to implementing electronic signature gathering in California. The digital divide has also narrowed. 90% of California households now use the internet, many on smartphones which e-signatures can accommodate.<sup>6</sup> For those who do not, voters may still sign initiative petitions on paper.

Concerns about initiatives qualifying too easily online are questionable. The number of signatures necessary to qualify a measure for the ballot in 2020 was higher than it has ever been over the 16 years we reviewed. This nearly-doubled threshold made qualification harder in the Spring of 2020. In addition, the legislature raised the ante to file an initiative to \$2,000 recently. These new impediments to even proposing a measure minimize these concerns and make it less likely that an initiative without a significant following can succeed in getting to the ballot. A well-crafted proposal could also put other fail-safes in place to prevent an excess of measures.

### **More informed voters**

The benefits of electronic signature gathering are unmistakable. Voters currently encounter signature gatherers while they're on the go. They have little time to read and understand the title and summary of a measure before deciding whether to sign, let alone the full text of the measure. They are lucky if they learn more about what they just signed before it reaches the ballot.

Complaints have arisen that some paid signature gatherers with a financial incentive to collect as many signatures as possible misrepresent the purpose of a petition in order to gain support. While reports of that kind of behavior are overblown, examples have surfaced.

Voters would be better informed about a measure before they sign a petition if signing occurs at a time and place of their choosing.

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<sup>6</sup> Public Policy Institute of California, “California’s Digital Divide,” March 2019. <https://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-digital-divide/>

An initiative petition website could be designed to convey information to voters and provide them a place to sign. A model law would require the website to contain the more in-depth information that voters currently receive only in the ballot pamphlet: the summary and text of the measure, its fiscal impact, information about the proponents and opponents, and even campaign finance information that is not currently in the printed voter guide. Voters could go to the site and learn about the measure at their leisure before deciding to sign.

Initiative proponents report a common refrain from supporters: Why can't I sign your petition online? That raises comparisons to common online petitions, and the reflexive "clicktivism" that one-click signatures make easy. Some fear that the ease of signing petitions online could encourage voters to sign many more petitions than they do now, increasing the number of measures that qualify and flooding the ballot. Michigan's experience this year shows how wrong it is to assume electronic signatures are easy to collect, or that their adoption would mean more measures will qualify for the ballot.



## A case study

In April 2020, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer issued an executive order encouraging the use of electronic signatures for all transactions during the crisis. The Fair and Equal Michigan campaign to place an LGBTQ non-discrimination law on the ballot launched an online petition tool in response. The campaign collected signatures in April and May using the common DocuSign software including 2-factor authentication, and required users to enter a valid Michigan driver's license or state identification card number.

“It's not as easy as getting someone to sign a Change.org petition,” said Fair and Equal Michigan spokesperson Josh Hovey. The public is trained to be wary of sharing their private information and “hesitant to give out their name and address, everything a paper petition requires, in an online format.”

Fair and Equal Michigan collected as many as 30,000 signatures online over a six-week period, enlisting coalition partners to email supporters and paying for online ads. The cost-per-signature ranged from \$10 to \$20, an amount as much as seven times higher than what the campaign had been paying on the street. The high costs were due in part to the unique circumstances of the effort - including the learning curve for implementing a first-time digital signature campaign and a spike in the cost of all online ads as retail stores all shifted to virtual advertising at the same time. It's equally clear that the pace of signature-gathering didn't speed up dramatically.<sup>7 8</sup>

The design of the e-signature process can also address this concern. A two-step verification process would make voters confirm their interest in signing a petition and protect the initiative process from thoughtless signing. Two-step verification could even include a delay between the initial signature and its confirmation to give voters more time to read up on the potential measure. This will address many of the security questions that have been the most serious concern to direct democracy advocates.

The report to the 2001 Speaker's Commission concluded with recommendations, including that the state: “Conduct one or more field trials of petition signing from government supervised computers – for example, at DMV or other state agency offices – to explore the feasibility of and problems with Internet petition signing.” Eighteen years later, those trials are long overdue.

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with Josh Hovey, Fair & Equal Michigan campaign, July 15, 2020.

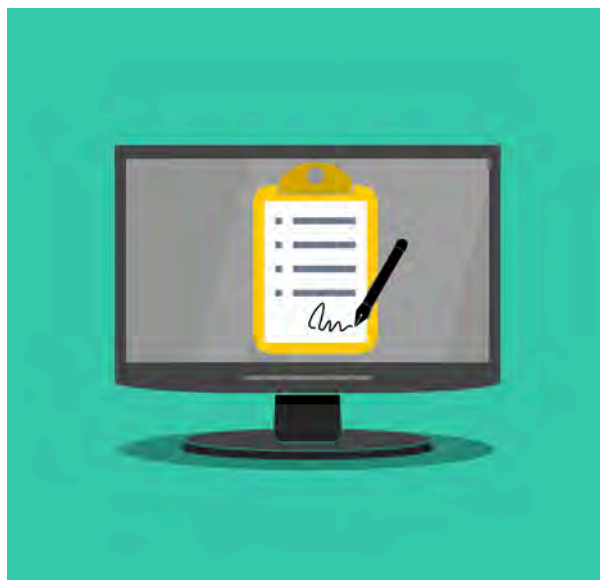
<sup>8</sup> To avoid a legal challenge to the signatures collected electronically, the campaign is attempting to replace them with physical signatures now that in-person signature gathering efforts have restarted. “Michigan business group gives \$100K to help restart LGBT rights ballot campaign,” Taylor DesOrmeau, MLive.com, July 21, 2020. <https://www.mlive.com/public-interest/2020/07/michigan-business-group-gives-100k-to-help-restart-lgbt-rights-ballot-campaign.html>

**Electronic signature gathering is ripe for implementation and already being modeled in other states.**

The executive order allowing electronic petition signatures in Michigan was rescinded as stay at home orders were relaxed. However other states provide models as well. Since 2012 the state of Arizona has allowed candidates to collect signatures electronically to run for election. The state legislature is considering extending the same system to ballot measures.

In 2018, voters in the City of Boulder approved a measure to allow electronic signature gathering for initiative petitions by a margin of 2 to 1. The city is currently implementing an online petitioning system that will be fully functional in 2021.

An Oakland-based democracy organization, Maplight.org, is now offering state and local governments free use of its prototype e-signature software, which is able to connect directly with the statewide voter database maintained by California's Secretary of State. The software could be up and running in just 90 days. It shows how secure the process of electronic signature verification is when a developed voter database can connect voters to other authentication factors such as home address and motor vehicle identification number.



Implementing statewide electronic signature gathering in California will require a change in law, either through an act of the voters or a reluctant legislature that has seen the ballot measure process as a troublesome, meddling rival.

California's Court of Appeal has determined that electronic signatures affixed to a petition, even when signatures are actually signed on an electronic device and printed in wet ink remotely, are not valid signatures under current law to qualify a ballot measure. In *Padilla v County of Santa Clara* the Court ruled that signatures submitted for a candidate qualification using such "remote pen" technology "do not comply with Elections Code section 100 because they were not personally affixed to the nomination papers."

The Court also rejected signatures collected electronically, "Because there is no evidence that the Legislature has ever considered the use of such technology, let alone affirmatively endorsed it, this Court will not mandate its acceptance by judicial fiat."

The Court finally objected to electronic signature collection's removal of the petition circulator from the signature-gathering process.

A new law is needed to affirm the equivalence of an electronic signature to an ink signature.

**The model e-signature law is a simple fix to the long-standing problem of the inability of average citizens to use direct democracy as a tool to hold special interests and government accountable.**

A model law for electronic signature-gathering in California can now address concerns about voter security that have been the biggest obstacle to creating a ballot initiative process that will give the public more power, choices and control.

Legislation or a ballot measure could establish that an electronic signature is the equivalent of a handwritten signature.

The proposal could also:

- 1) Specify that the Secretary of State's Office be directed to implement an online system where voters are able to review petitions and sign them electronically;
- 2) Require software be utilized that incorporates two factor authentication technology so that voters can be sure they control their signature and no fraud is permitted;
- 3) Potentially increase the signature threshold for electronic signatures over wet ink signatures if it is determined that electronic signature qualification would result in a large number of petitions;
- 4) Potentially limit the number of electronically qualified initiatives in order to ascertain whether too many initiatives would qualify under the system during a trial period.

The public is very hesitant to enact ballot measures. Initiatives pass less than 60% of the time. The California public is the best check on ill-advised or knee-jerk proposals. It has proved its mettle time and again.

Yet volunteer qualified initiatives have gone the way of the dinosaurs. It's time to bring them back and put the power over lawmaking in the public's hands when the legislature is not doing its job.



An electronic signature gathering system can restore Hiram Johnson's original vision of direct democracy. Voters are very likely to adopt that initiative proposal, based on their affection for the system and the recent example from Boulder.

The only hurdle is qualifying such a measure in an environment where \$7 per signature is the ante for public origination of policymaking proposals.

## Appendix I. California Ballot Initiative Petition Signature Cost 2005-2020

### 2005

Ballot measure	Subject	Signature collection company	Cost	CPRS
Proposition 73	Abortion	Bader & Associates, Inc.	\$2,527,611	\$4.23
Proposition 74	Labor	NPM, Arno and Forde	\$1,969,118	\$1.01
Proposition 75	Labor	NPM, Arno and Forde	\$1,969,118	\$1.01
Proposition 76	Spending	NPM, Arno and Forde	\$1,969,118	\$1.01
Proposition 77	Redistricting	NPM, Arno and Forde	\$1,969,118	\$1.01
Proposition 78	Healthcare	Progressive and Bader	\$2,415,397	\$6.46
Proposition 79	Healthcare	Kimball Petition Management	\$4,635,466	\$12.40
Proposition 80	Energy	Kimball Petition Management	\$4,839,466	\$12.95
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$22,294,412</b>	

### 2006

Ballot measure	Subject	Signature collection company	Cost	CPRS
Proposition 82	Education	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,616,569	\$2.70
Proposition 83	Law enforcement	Bader & Associates	\$700,000	\$1.87
Proposition 84	Bond issues	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,043,484	\$2.79
Proposition 85	Abortion	Bader & Associates	\$2,527,615	\$4.22
Proposition 86	Taxes	Master'son & Wright	\$2,558,147	\$4.28
Proposition 87	Taxes	Kimball Petition Management	\$2,382,280	\$3.98
Proposition 88	Taxes	National Petition Management	\$4,226,621	\$7.06
Proposition 89	Elections and campaigns			
Proposition 90	Eminent domain	Arno Political Consultants	\$1,788,706	\$2.99
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$16,843,422</b>	

## 2008

<u>Ballot measure</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Signature collection company</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>CPRS</u>
Proposition 93	Term limits	Kimball Petition Management	\$2,238,538	\$3.22
Proposition 94	Gambling	Arno Political Consultants	\$926,133	\$2.13
Proposition 95	Gambling	Arno Political Consultants	\$926,133	\$2.13
Proposition 96	Gambling	Arno Political Consultants	\$926,133	\$2.13
Proposition 97	Gambling	Arno Political Consultants	\$926,133	\$2.13
Proposition 98	Eminent domain	Arno Political Consultants	\$1,583,000	\$2.28
Proposition 99	Eminent domain	Progressive Campaigns, Inc.	\$3,559,970	\$5.13
Proposition 2	Animal rights	Progressive Campaigns, Inc.	\$416,756	\$0.96
Proposition 3	Bonds	Arno Political Consultants	\$1,028,000	\$2.37
Proposition 4	Abortion	Bader & Associates, Inc.	\$2,555,000	\$3.68
Proposition 5	Marijuana	Progressive Campaigns, Inc.	\$1,762,000	\$4.06
Proposition 6	Criminal justice	National Petition Management	\$1,022,000	\$2.35
Proposition 7	Energy	Progressive Campaigns, Inc.	\$1,367,000	\$3.15
Proposition 8	Marriage	Bader & Associates, Inc.	\$882,900	\$1.27
Proposition 9	Criminal justice	Bader & Associates, Inc.	\$2,258,000	\$3.25
Proposition 10	Energy	Progressive Campaigns, Inc.	\$3,078,263	\$7.09
Proposition 11	Redistricting	Kimball Petition Management	\$2,332,988	\$3.36
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$27,826,947</b>	

## 2010

<u>Ballot measure</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Signature collection company</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>CPRS</u>
Proposition 19	Marijuana	Master'son & Wright	\$987,833	\$2.27
Proposition 20	Elections	National Petition Management	\$1,937,380	\$2.79
Proposition 21	Taxes	Master'son & Wright	\$1,144,515	\$2.64
Proposition 22	State spending	Progressive Campaigns	\$1,646,596	\$2.37
Proposition 23	Environment	National Petition Management	\$2,222,312	\$5.12
Proposition 24	Taxes	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,587,363	\$3.65
Proposition 25	State spending	Kimball Petition Management	\$2,626,808	\$3.78
Proposition 26	Taxes	National Petition Management	\$2,341,023	\$3.37
Proposition 27	Elections	Kimball Petition Management	\$3,031,085	\$4.37
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$21,998,454</b>	

## 2012

<u>Ballot measure</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Signature collection company</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>CPRS</u>
Proposition 40	Redistricting	Bader & Associates	\$584,126	\$1.18
Proposition 39	Taxes	Masterson & Wright	\$1,796,003	\$3.56
Proposition 38	Taxes	Arno Political Consultants, 12 other	\$4,952,513	\$9.81
Proposition 37	Regulation	Masterson & Wright	\$1,463,968	\$2.90
Proposition 36	Law enforcement	Progressive Campaigns (PCI)	\$1,475,775	\$2.92
Proposition 35	Law enforcement	Progressive Campaigns (PCI)	\$1,437,523	\$2.85
Proposition 34	Death penalty	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,418,122	\$2.81
Proposition 33	Insurance	Arno Political Consultants	\$1,700,916	\$3.37
Proposition 32	Labor	Bader & Associates	\$1,170,886	\$2.32
Proposition 31	Budgets	Progressive Campaigns (PCI)	\$2,806,880	\$3.48
Proposition 30	Taxes	Kimball Petition Management	\$8,773,490	\$10.86
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$28,244,069</b>	

## 2014

<u>Ballot measure</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Signature collection company</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>CPRS</u>
Proposition 45	Insurance	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,728,998	\$3.43
Proposition 46	Healthcare	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,692,673	\$3.35
Proposition 47	Trials	PCI Consultants, Inc	\$1,847,882	\$3.66
Proposition 48	Gambling	Arno Political Consultants and The Monaco Group	\$2,636,173	\$5.22
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$6,136,162</b>	

## 2016

Ballot measure	Subject	Signature collection company	Cost	CPRS
Proposition 51	Education	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$1,252,534.01	\$3.42
Proposition 52	Healthcare	Arno Political Consultants and The Monaco Group	\$2,192,811.85	\$2.72
Proposition 53	Gov't Finance	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$2,669,093.95	\$4.56
Proposition 54	Gov't Acc	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$6,622,935.93	\$11.31
Proposition 55	Taxes	Kimball Petition Management, Inc. and Million Voter Project Action Fund	\$4,236,577.66	\$7.24
Proposition 56	Tobacco	Boven Consulting, Kimball Petition Management, Inc., Bridge Street, Inc. and Million Voter Project Action Fund	\$4,524,176.13	\$7.73
Proposition 57	Trials	Kimball Petition Management, Inc. and Groundwork Campaigns, Inc.	\$4,818,267.20	\$8.23
Proposition 60	Movies	PCI Consultants, Inc. and The Monaco Group	\$1,409,273.68	\$3.85
Proposition 61	Healthcare	PCI Consultants, Inc.	\$1,355,765.65	\$3.36
Proposition 62	Death Penalty	PCI Consultants, Inc.	\$3,192,775.30	\$8.73
Proposition 63	Firearms	PCI Consultants, Inc.	\$2,228,384.05	\$6.09
Proposition 64	Marijuana	Kimball Petition Management, Inc.	\$2,093,616.10	\$5.72
Proposition 65	Environment	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$2,137,992.45	\$5.84
Proposition 66	Death Penalty	National Petition Management, Inc. and The Monaco Group	\$3,065,943.08	\$8.38
Proposition 67	Business	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$2,911,945.89	\$5.77
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$44,712,092.93</b>	

## 2018

Ballot Measure:	Topic:	Petition company	Cost	CPRS
Proposition 3	Bond issues	Masterton & Wright	\$1,883,203.00	\$5.15
Proposition 4	Bond issues	National Petition Management, INC.	\$2,645,311.84	\$7.23
Proposition 5	Taxes	AAP Holding Company, Inc. and The Monaco Group	\$5,140,990.49	\$8.78
Proposition 6	Direct democracy measures	GOCO Consulting and The Monaco Group	\$2,094,520.02	\$3.58
Proposition 8	Healthcare	Kimball Petition Management	\$1,648,357.38	\$4.51
Proposition 10	Housing	AAP Holding Company, Inc. and The Monaco Group	\$1,982,004.92	\$5.42
Proposition 11	Labor and unions	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$2,892,967.03	\$7.91
Proposition 12	Treatment of animals	AAP Holding Company, Inc. and The Monaco Group	\$2,199,613.72	\$6.01
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$20,486,968.40</b>	

## 2020

Ballot Measure:	Topic:	Petition company	Cost	CPRS
Proposition 14	Healthcare	Robert N. Klein II (In-Kind)	\$4,145,719.73	\$6.65
Proposition 15	Taxes	Kimball Petition Management, Inc.	\$3,490,600.39	\$5.96
Proposition 20	Law Enforcement	Arno Petition Consultants	\$2,046,104.99	\$5.59
Proposition 21	Housing	BH-AP Petitioning Partners LLC	\$3,565,077.00	\$5.72
Proposition 22	Employment Regulation	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$6,461,617.23	\$10.37
Proposition 23	Healthcare	Kimball Petition Management, Inc.	\$5,524,184.44	\$8.86
Proposition 24	Privacy	Alastair Mactaggart (In-Kind)	\$4,365,296.75	\$7.00
Proposition 25	Law Enforcement	National Petition Management, Inc.	\$2,778,434.11	\$7.59
		<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$32,377,034.64</b>	

SOURCE: Ballotpedia.com [https://ballotpedia.org/California\\_ballot\\_initiative\\_petition\\_signature\\_costs](https://ballotpedia.org/California_ballot_initiative_petition_signature_costs)

## Appendix II. California Ballot Initiative Contributions 2005-2018

### 2005

Ballot measure	Subject	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 73	Abortion	\$2,594,531	\$5,637,252	\$8,231,783	N
Proposition 74	Labor	\$76,142,963	\$14,474,449	\$90,617,412	N
Proposition 75	Labor	\$5,843,989	\$54,117,749	\$59,961,738	N
Proposition 76	Spending	\$76,142,963	\$28,000,582	\$104,143,545	N
Proposition 77	Redistricting	\$12,269,608	\$18,468,522	\$30,738,130	N
Proposition 78	Healthcare	\$187,664,721	\$859,316	\$188,524,037	N
Proposition 79	Healthcare	\$39,614,041	\$124,272,684	\$163,886,725	N
Proposition 80	Energy	\$4,096,530	\$1,200,200	\$5,296,730	N
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$404,369,346</b>	<b>\$247,030,754</b>	<b>\$651,400,100</b>	

### 2006

Ballot measure	Subject	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 82	Education	\$16,007,809	\$10,820,024	\$26,827,833	N
Proposition 83	Law enforcement	\$2,196,152	\$30,000	\$2,226,152	Y
Proposition 84	Bond issues	\$11,436,826	\$30,000	\$11,466,826	Y
Proposition 85	Abortion	\$3,808,873	\$7,255,137	\$11,064,010	N
Proposition 86	Taxes	\$16,607,128	\$66,682,899	\$83,290,027	N
Proposition 87	Taxes	\$61,886,129	\$94,430,014	\$156,316,143	N
Proposition 88	Taxes	\$11,957,645	\$1,176,434	\$13,134,079	N
Proposition 89	Elections and campaign	\$5,799,497	\$5,693,511	\$11,493,008	N
Proposition 90	Eminent domain	\$4,046,550	\$14,338,764	\$18,385,314	N
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$133,746,609</b>	<b>\$200,456,783</b>	<b>\$334,203,392</b>	

## 2008

Ballot measure	Subject	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 92	Education	\$3,543,032	\$2,954,524	\$6,497,556	N
Proposition 93	Term limits	\$16,840,223	\$8,958,926	\$25,799,149	N
Proposition 94, 95	Gambling	\$108,366,370	\$64,331,873	\$172,698,243	Y
Proposition 98	Eminent domain	\$6,992,782	\$15,608,527	\$22,601,309	N
Proposition 99	Eminent domain	\$15,600,929	\$6,992,782	\$22,593,711	Y
Proposition 2	Animal rights	\$10,499,162	\$8,973,429	\$19,472,591	Y
Proposition 3	Bonds	\$7,908,647	\$0	\$7,908,647	Y
Proposition 4	Abortion	\$3,202,911	\$10,504,042	\$13,706,953	N
Proposition 5	Marijuana	\$7,601,079	\$2,886,965	\$10,488,044	N
Proposition 6	Criminal justice	\$1,983,008	\$2,356,567	\$4,339,575	N
Proposition 7	Energy	\$9,360,232	\$29,787,119	\$39,147,351	N
Proposition 8	Marriage	\$28,200,000	\$32,300,000	\$60,500,000	Y
Proposition 9	Criminal justice	\$5,149,931	\$2,356,567	\$7,506,498	Y
Proposition 10	Energy	\$22,720,573	\$173,218	\$22,893,791	N
Proposition 11	Redistricting	\$16,279,892	\$1,525,816	\$17,805,708	Y
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$264,248,771</b>	<b>\$189,710,355</b>	<b>\$453,959,126</b>	

## 2010

Ballot measure	Subject	Contributions (spent/raised)	Contributions (Spent/raised)	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 16	Elections	\$46,500,000	\$130,000	\$46,655,827	N
Proposition 17	Regulation	\$15,800,000	\$1,500,000	\$17,354,090	N
Proposition 19	Marijuana	\$4,050,581	\$319,999	\$4,370,580	N
Proposition 20	Elections	\$13,400,000	\$553,000	\$15,336,360	Y
Proposition 21	Taxes	\$10,300,000	\$74,000	\$10,374,000	N
Proposition 22	State spending	\$5,800,000	\$1,800,000	\$7,600,000	Y
Proposition 23	Environment	\$10,600,000	\$25,200,000	\$49,805,741	N
Proposition 24	Taxes	\$14,200,000	\$15,400,000	\$30,598,177	N
Proposition 25	State spending	\$15,200,000	\$17,753,067	\$32,679,003	Y
Proposition 26	Taxes	\$17,753,067	\$6,593,639	\$26,487,706	Y
Proposition 27	Elections	\$8,126,201	\$14,803,845	\$22,930,046	N
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$161,729,849</b>	<b>\$84,127,550</b>	<b>\$264,191,530</b>	



## 2012

Ballot measure	Subject	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 29	Taxes	\$12,300,000	\$46,800,000	\$59,100,000	N
Proposition 30	Taxes	\$67,100,000	\$53,400,000	\$120,500,000	Y
Proposition 31	Budgets	\$4,400,000	\$573,700	\$4,973,700	N
Proposition 32	Labor	\$60,500,000	\$73,300,000	\$133,800,000	N
Proposition 33	Insurance	\$17,100,000	\$275,700	\$17,375,700	N
Proposition 34	Death penalty	\$7,400,000	\$391,900	\$7,791,900	N
Proposition 35	Law enforcement	\$3,700,000	\$0	\$3,700,000	Y
Proposition 36	Law enforcement	\$2,700,000	\$119,900	\$2,819,900	Y
Proposition 37	Regulation	\$8,700,000	\$45,600,000	\$54,300,000	N
Proposition 38	Taxes	\$47,800,000	\$42,300	\$47,842,300	N
Proposition 39	Taxes	\$31,400,000	\$45,000	\$31,445,000	Y
Proposition 40	Redistricting	\$601,100	\$2,300,000	\$2,901,100	Y
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$263,701,100</b>	<b>\$222,848,500</b>	<b>\$486,549,600</b>	

## 2014

Ballot measure	Subject	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 45	Insurance	\$6,274,002	\$56,954,326	\$63,228,328	N
Proposition 46	Healthcare	\$12,392,768	\$57,835,713	\$70,228,481	N
Proposition 47	Trials	\$10,791,022	\$501,925	\$11,292,947	Y
Proposition 48	Gambling	\$448,730	\$22,081,047	\$22,529,777	N
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$29,906,522</b>	<b>\$137,373,011</b>	<b>\$167,279,533</b>	

## 2016

Ballot measure	Subject	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 51	Education	\$12,094,121	\$0	\$12,094,121	Y
Proposition 52	Healthcare	\$60,282,907	\$11,562,866	\$71,845,773	Y
Proposition 53	Gov't Finance	\$6,034,361	\$21,992,199	\$28,026,559	N
Proposition 54	Gov't Acc	\$10,883,569	\$27,330	\$10,910,899	Y
Proposition 55	Taxes	\$58,728,058	\$3,000	\$58,731,058	Y
Proposition 56	Tobacco	\$35,527,765	\$70,978,345	\$106,506,110	Y
Proposition 57	Trials	\$15,044,822	\$1,506,030	\$16,550,852	Y
Proposition 60	Condoms	\$5,047,809	\$556,169	\$5,603,978	N
Proposition 61	Healthcare	\$19,170,610	\$109,106,161	\$128,276,770	N
Proposition 62	Death Penalty	\$10,141,301	\$12,698,420	\$22,839,721	N
Proposition 63	Firearms	\$4,559,534	\$1,060,034	\$5,619,568	Y
Proposition 64	Marijuana	\$25,066,821	\$2,077,439	\$27,144,260	Y
Proposition 65	Environment	\$6,146,383	\$0	\$6,146,383	N
Proposition 66	Death Penalty	\$13,354,271	\$13,916,025	\$27,270,296	Y
Proposition 67	Business	\$3,690,669	\$6,146,383	\$9,837,052	Y
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$285,773,000</b>	<b>\$251,630,402</b>	<b>\$537,403,402</b>	

## 2018

Ballot Measure:	Topic:	Yes Contributions	No Contributions	Total Contributions	Result
Proposition 3	Bond issues	\$4,936,583	\$0	\$4,936,583	N
Proposition 4	Bond issues	\$11,465,759	\$0	\$11,465,759	Y
Proposition 5	Taxes	\$13,224,875	\$3,324,419	\$16,549,294	N
Proposition 6	Direct democracy	\$5,161,189	\$46,719,588	\$51,880,776	N
Proposition 8	Healthcare	\$18,943,228	\$111,482,980	\$130,426,208	N
Proposition 10	Housing	\$25,295,591	\$71,366,691	\$96,662,282	N
Proposition 11	Labor and unions	\$29,887,770	\$0	\$29,887,770	Y
Proposition 12	Treatment of animals	\$13,312,539	\$689,279	\$14,001,818	Y
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>\$122,227,534</b>	<b>\$233,582,957</b>	<b>\$355,810,491</b>	

## 2005-2006 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES (E00663)	\$23,682,808	MISCELLANEOUS
TV 4 US (1287999)	\$15,893,472	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (E00322)	\$11,669,746	EDUCATION
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION (E24747)	\$6,652,641	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (E00169)	\$5,563,667	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
COMCAST CORPORATION (1274966)	\$3,629,408	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES (E00789)	\$3,333,162	LABOR UNIONS
VERIZON COMMUNICATIONS, INC. (E00476)	\$3,234,252	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION (E00981)	\$3,129,225	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$2,984,209	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
PACIFIC TELESIS GROUP AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES, AFFILIATES OF AT&T INC. (E00663)	\$2,942,496	MISCELLANEOUS
CONSUMER ATTORNEYS OF CALIFORNIA (E00021)	\$2,906,092	LEGAL
BHP BILLITON LNG INTERNATIONAL, INC. (1264554)	\$2,814,590	OIL AND GAS
EDISON INTERNATIONAL & SUBSIDIARIES (E00768)	\$2,789,483	UTILITIES
CHEVRON CORPORATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES (E00352)	\$2,536,570	OIL AND GAS
LOS ANGELES, COUNTY OF (E00582)	\$2,531,800	GOVERNMENT
SEMPRA ENERGY AND ITS AFFILIATES: SAN DIEGO GAS & ELECTRIC, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS COMPANY AND SEMPra ENERGY GLOBAL ENTERPRISES (E22327)	\$2,398,932	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$2,368,373	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES (E00559)	\$2,282,624	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS AND TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION (E00243)	\$2,255,089	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL

CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS (E00218)	\$2,130,202	HEALTH
ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA INSURANCE COMPANIES (E00048)	\$2,083,802	FINANCE/INSURANCE
CALIFORNIA NURSES ASSOCIATION (E00259)	\$2,060,856	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES (E00397)	\$2,033,833	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS (E00138)	\$1,997,231	REAL ESTATE

## 2007-2008 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION (E24747)	\$10,587,795	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES (E00789)	\$10,292,428	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (E00322)	\$7,976,041	EDUCATION
BURSON-MARSTELLER, ON BEHALF OF THE BROMINE SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL FORUM, ALSO DBA CALIFORNIANS FOR FIRE SAFETY (1254267)	\$6,500,666	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS (E00218)	\$5,961,373	HEALTH
AMERICAN CHEMISTRY COUNCIL (C00382)	\$5,717,319	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (E00169)	\$5,635,119	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES (E00559)	\$4,415,331	GOVERNMENT
MORONGO BAND OF MISSION INDIANS (C25254)	\$4,389,198	MISCELLANEOUS
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES (E00663)	\$4,219,199	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$4,161,285	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
ANTHEM BLUE CROSS (A SUBSIDIARY OF WELLPOINT, INC.) (E24538)	\$4,057,687	FINANCE/INSURANCE
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION (1298909)	\$4,010,773	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS & TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION (E00243)	\$3,851,983	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION, AFL-CIO (E00234)	\$3,382,835	LABOR UNIONS

CALIFORNIA SCHOOL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION (E00981)	\$3,314,954	LABOR UNIONS
AARP (C28030)	\$3,297,554	MISCELLANEOUS
CHEVRON CORPORATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES (E00352)	\$3,160,626	OIL AND GAS
SEMPRA ENERGY AND ITS AFFILIATES: SAN DIEGO GAS & ELECTRIC, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS COMPANY AND SEMPRA ENERGY GLOBAL ENTERPRISES (E22327)	\$3,103,720	UTILITIES
LOS ANGELES; CITY OF (E00581)	\$2,701,659	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$2,656,275	HEALTH
CITIZENS FOR FIRE SAFETY INSTITUTE (1303817)	\$2,624,361	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY AND ITS AFFILIATES OF ENTITIES (E01982)	\$2,535,501	UTILITIES
GOLDEN STATE WATER COMPANY (C27014)	\$2,533,179	UTILITIES
AGUA CALIENTE BAND OF CAHUILLA INDIANS (C27918)	\$2,464,163	GOVERNMENT

## 2009-2010 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION (E24747)	\$9,345,305	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (E00322)	\$9,164,422	EDUCATION
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES (E00789)	\$8,665,882	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (E00169)	\$6,715,019	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION, AFL-CIO (E00234)	\$5,967,559	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS (E00218)	\$4,483,216	HEALTH
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION (E00981)	\$4,475,375	LABOR UNIONS
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES (E00663)	\$4,043,806	MISCELLANEOUS
CHEVRON CORPORATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES (E00352)	\$3,848,147	OIL AND GAS
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION (1298909)	\$3,823,311	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS' AND TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION (E00243)	\$3,564,085	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL

LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES (E00559)	\$3,364,647	GOVERNMENT
LOS ANGELES; CITY OF (E00581)	\$3,167,271	GOVERNMENT
PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY AND ITS AFFILIATES OF ENTITIES (E01982)	\$3,167,200	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$3,080,220	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
CALIFORNIA WATER SERVICE COMPANY (E24636)	\$2,993,142	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$2,983,564	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
CALIFORNIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES (E00397)	\$2,798,287	GOVERNMENT
LOS ANGELES; COUNTY OF (E00582)	\$2,706,317	GOVERNMENT
METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (E00601)	\$2,465,675	GOVERNMENT
ORANGE; COUNTY OF (C00650)	\$2,376,784	GOVERNMENT
SEMPRA ENERGY AND ITS AFFILIATES, SAN DIEGO GAS & ELECTRIC COMPANY, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS COMPANY & SEMPRA GLOBAL (E22327)	\$2,357,809	UTILITIES
ALAMEDA; COUNTY OF (C00235)	\$2,313,597	GOVERNMENT
ANTHEM BLUE CROSS (A SUBSIDIARY OF WELLPOINT, INC.) (E24538)	\$2,288,062	FINANCE/INSURANCE
EDISON INTERNATIONAL & SUBSIDIARIES (E00768)	\$2,272,734	UTILITIES

## 2011-2012 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES (E00789)	\$8,673,835	LABOR UNIONS
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION (E24747)	\$8,481,004	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (E00322)	\$8,392,913	EDUCATION
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (E00169)	\$6,656,838	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, INC. (E00550)	\$5,969,645	HEALTH
CHEVRON CORPORATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES (E00352)	\$5,664,625	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS (E00218)	\$5,042,077	HEALTH
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS AND TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION (E00243)	\$4,572,312	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES (E00663)	\$4,367,381	MISCELLANEOUS
VERNON; CITY OF (C01345)	\$4,319,069	GOVERNMENT
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION (1298909)	\$3,980,961	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION (E00981)	\$3,654,399	LABOR UNIONS
LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES (E00559)	\$3,563,819	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$3,402,596	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
LOS ANGELES; CITY OF (E00581)	\$3,330,198	GOVERNMENT
SEMPRA ENERGY AND ITS AFFILIATES, SAN DIEGO GAS & ELECTRIC COMPANY, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS COMPANY & SEMPRA GLOBAL (E22327)	\$3,305,741	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION, AFL-CIO (E00234)	\$3,197,924	LABOR UNIONS
EDISON INTERNATIONAL & AFFILIATES SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON, KERN RIVER COGENERATION COMPANY, MIDWAY SUNSET COGENERATION COMPANY, SYCAMORE COGENERATION COMPANY, AND WATSON COGENERATION COMPANY (E00768)	\$3,015,605	UTILITIES

PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY AND ITS AFFILIATED ENTITIES (E01982)	\$2,968,384	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES (E00397)	\$2,937,766	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$2,898,355	HEALTH
LOS ANGELES; COUNTY OF (E00582)	\$2,788,739	GOVERNMENT
ALAMEDA; COUNTY OF (C00235)	\$2,471,336	GOVERNMENT
SAN BERNARDINO; COUNTY OF (C22870)	\$2,360,227	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA RETAILERS ASSOCIATION (E00286)	\$2,266,529	MERCHANDISE/RETAIL

## 2013-2014 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION (E24747)	\$13,553,943	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES (E00789)	\$9,993,316	LABOR UNIONS
CHEVRON CORPORATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES (E00352)	\$8,275,361	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (E00169)	\$7,639,130	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS (E00218)	\$6,118,525	HEALTH
KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, INC. (E00550)	\$5,237,233	HEALTH
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$4,125,207	HEALTH
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES (E00663)	\$3,929,936	MISCELLANEOUS
PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY AND ITS AFFILIATED ENTITIES (E01982)	\$3,701,041	UTILITIES
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON (E00768)	\$3,506,398	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION (E00981)	\$3,486,958	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS AND TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION (E00243)	\$3,451,786	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION (1298909)	\$3,199,131	MISCELLANEOUS
CONSUMER ATTORNEYS OF CALIFORNIA (E00021)	\$3,146,909	LEGAL
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (E00322)	\$3,116,740	EDUCATION
CALIFORNIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES (E00397)	\$3,112,116	GOVERNMENT



LOS ANGELES; COUNTY OF (E00582)	\$2,937,429	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$2,735,227	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES (E00559)	\$2,586,512	GOVERNMENT
METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (E00601)	\$2,478,095	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS (E00138)	\$2,407,856	REAL ESTATE
PHILLIPS 66 (1348342)	\$2,397,484	OIL AND GAS
LOS ANGELES; CITY OF (E00581)	\$2,315,029	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HEALTH PLANS (E22652)	\$2,297,552	HEALTH
ALAMEDA; COUNTY OF (C00235)	\$2,260,822	GOVERNMENT

## 2015-2016 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION	\$18,718,663	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS	\$11,980,669	HEALTH
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES	\$11,799,828	LABOR UNIONS
NEXTGEN CLIMATE ACTION	\$9,385,933	MISCELLANEOUS
CHEVRON CORPORATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES	\$7,179,341	OIL AND GAS
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	\$7,033,032	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, INC.	\$4,525,441	HEALTH
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES	\$4,307,774	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION	\$4,069,123	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION	\$3,981,703	EDUCATION
SOLARCITY CORPORATION	\$3,763,555	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION	\$3,456,039	LABOR UNIONS
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS AND TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION	\$3,430,589	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$3,383,372	HEALTH

PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY AND ITS AFFILIATED ENTITIES	\$3,337,245	UTILITIES
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION (1298909)	\$3,300,903	MISCELLANEOUS
LOS ANGELES; COUNTY OF (E00582)	\$3,230,362	GOVERNMENT
SEMPRA ENERGY AND ITS AFFILIATES: SAN DIEGO GAS & ELECTRIC COMPANY AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS COMPANY (E22327)	\$3,218,926	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$3,056,552	MISCELLANEOUS
CONSUMER ATTORNEYS OF CALIFORNIA (E00021)	\$2,704,500	LEGAL
SAN DIEGO; COUNTY OF (C00727)	\$2,703,501	GOVERNMENT
METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (E00601)	\$2,643,207	GOVERNMENT
ORANGE; COUNTY OF (C00650)	\$2,540,234	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS (E00138)	\$2,399,897	REAL ESTATE
CALIFORNIA APARTMENT ASSOCIATION (E21062)	\$2,263,163	REAL ESTATE

## 2017-2018 Lobby Spending

Employer Name	Total Payments	Interests
WESTERN STATES PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION (E24747)	\$15,768,069	OIL AND GAS
CHEVRON U.S.A., INC. AND AFFILIATES (E00352)	\$14,211,936	OIL AND GAS
PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY AND ITS AFFILIATED ENTITIES (E01982)	\$11,837,662	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA STATE COUNCIL OF SERVICE EMPLOYEES (E00789)	\$8,049,014	LABOR UNIONS
EDISON INTERNATIONAL AND AFFILIATES, INCLUDING SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON (E00768)	\$6,020,581	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (E00169)	\$5,882,829	PROFESSIONAL/TRADE
CALIFORNIA HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION/CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH SYSTEMS (E00218)	\$5,516,561	HEALTH
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION/NORTHERN CALIFORNIA/SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA/SAN DIEGO AND IMPERIAL COUNTIES (E01634)	\$4,973,239	LEGAL
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION (E01343)	\$4,652,228	EDUCATION

CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (E00322)	\$4,329,682	EDUCATION
AT&T INC. AND ITS AFFILIATES (E00663)	\$4,305,854	MISCELLANEOUS
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION (1298909)	\$3,959,932	MISCELLANEOUS
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (E00246)	\$3,839,675	HEALTH
CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURERS AND TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION (E00243)	\$3,733,691	MANUFACTURING/INDUSTRIAL
METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (E00601)	\$3,643,886	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS (E00138)	\$3,361,194	REAL ESTATE
TESORO REFINING & MARKETING CO. LLC, INCLUDING ALL TESORO OPERATIONS IN THE STATE (LOGISTICS, RETAIL) (1244770)	\$3,232,152	OIL AND GAS
SEMPRA ENERGY AND ITS AFFILIATES: SAN DIEGO GAS & ELECTRIC COMPANY AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS COMPANY (E22327)	\$3,131,643	UTILITIES
CALIFORNIA NURSES ASSOCIATION (E00259)	\$2,984,258	LABOR UNIONS
KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, INC. (E00550)	\$2,906,895	HEALTH
CONSUMER ATTORNEYS OF CALIFORNIA (E00021)	\$2,862,451	LEGAL
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF HEALTH PLANS (E22652)	\$2,817,401	HEALTH
LOS ANGELES; CITY OF (E00581)	\$2,730,573	UTILITIES
LOS ANGELES; COUNTY OF (E00582)	\$2,723,451	GOVERNMENT
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION (E22985)	\$2,651,017	MISCELLANEOUS

SOURCE: California Secretary of State, Cal-Access <http://dbsearch.sos.ca.gov/LobbyIntSearch.aspx>

## Appendix IV. Top 5 Initiative Contributors by Election, 2005-2018

2005 Prop 76 - N	California Teachers Association	\$13,676,047
2005 Prop 75 - N	California Teachers Association	\$12,102,416
2005 Prop 75 - N	Alliance for a Better California (teachers unions, service employ	\$10,130,517
2005 Prop 75 - N	California State Council of Service Employees	\$10,013,957
2005 Prop 76 - N	Alliance for a Better California (teachers unions, service employ	\$9,977,101

2006 Prop 87 - Y	Stephen L. Bing	\$49,581,810
2006 Prop 87 - N	Chevron	\$38,000,000
2006 Prop 86 - N	Philip Morris	\$35,091,862
2006 Prop 87 - N	AERA Energy	\$32,824,243
2006 Prop 86 - N	R.J. Reynolds	\$25,355,574

2008 Prop 94,95,96,97 - Y	Pechanga Band of Luiseno Mission Indians	\$41,896,993
2008 Prop 94,95,96,97 - Y	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	\$37,875,177
2008 Prop 94,95,96,97 - Y	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians	\$20,865,025
2008 Prop 10 - Yes	Clean Energy Fuels Corp. (originally called "Pickens Fuel")	\$18,647,250
2008 Prop 7 - No	Pacific Gas & Electric	\$13,895,250

2010 Props 22-26	California Teachers Association	\$13,703,624
2010 Props 20 and 27	Charles Munger, Jr. & Charlotte A. Lowell	\$12,633,523
2010 Props 23 and 26	Thomas Steyer & Kathryn Taylor	\$6,099,000
2010 Props 23-27	California & American Federations of Teachers	\$5,387,240
2010 Prop 23 - Y	Valero Services, Inc	\$4,065,636

2012 Prop 38 - Y	Molly Munger	\$44,128,399
2012 Prop 30 - N/Prop 32 - Y	Charles Munger, Jr.	\$35,075,000
2012 Prop 32 - N/Prop 30 - Y	California Teachers Association	\$32,589,260
2012 Prop 39 - Y	Thomas Steyer	\$29,580,000
2012 Prop 32 - N/Prop 30 - Y	SEIU/California State Council of Service Employees	\$24,243,639

## Appendix III. Top 25 Lobbyist Employers, 2005-2018

2014 Prop 45 - N	Kaiser	\$18,866,574
2014 Prop 45 - N	Wellpoint, Inc. and affiliated entities	\$18,866,574
2014 Prop 45 - N	Blue Shield of California	\$12,476,424
2014 Prop 48 - N	Table Mountain Rancheria	\$12,263,327
2014 Prop 46 - N	Norcal Mutual Insurance Company	\$11,000,000

2016 Prop 56 - N	Philip Morris USA Inc.	\$38,642,580
2016 Prop 55 - Y	CA Association of Hospitals and Health Systems (CAHHS) spo	\$25,121,370
2016 Prop 56 - N	R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company	\$24,897,480
2016 Prop 55 - Y	CA Teachers Association	\$21,053,224
2016 Prop 61 - Y	AIDS Healthcare Foundation	\$18,717,068

2018 Prop 8 - N	Davita	\$67,027,872
2018 Prop 8 - N	Fresenius Medical Care North America	\$33,986,507
2018 Prop 10 - Y	AIDS Healthcare Foundation	\$22,838,974
2018 Prop 8 - Y	California State Council of Service Employees Issues Committe	\$18,943,228
2018 Prop 5 - N	CA Assoc of Realtors	\$10,204,825

SOURCE: Ballotpedia.com

## Appendix V. Highest Cost Propositions, 2005 - 2018

Year	Prop	Title	Yes Contribution \$	No Contribution \$	Total	Result
2012	32	"Paycheck Protection" Initiative	\$60,500,000	\$73,300,000	\$133,800,000	N
2018	8	Limits on Dialysis Clinics' Revenue and Required Refunds Initiative	\$18,943,227.65	\$111,482,980	\$130,426,208	N
2016	61	Drug Price Standards	\$19,170,609.60	\$109,106,160	\$128,276,770	N
2012	30	Sales and Income Tax Increase	\$67,100,000	\$53,400,000	\$120,500,000	Y
2005	78	Prescription Drug Discounts	\$118,766,471	\$859,316	\$119,625,787	N
2016	56	Tobacco Tax increase	\$35,527,764.76	\$70,978,345	\$106,506,110	Y
2018	10	Local Rent Control Initiative	\$25,295,590.67	\$71,366,691	\$96,662,282	N
2008	8	Eliminates Right of Same-Sex Couples to Marry	\$39,046,062	\$44,123,811	\$83,169,873	Y
2014	46	Medical Malpractice Lawsuits Cap and Drug Testing of Doctors	\$13,306,775	\$59,602,909	\$72,909,684	N
2016	52	Continued Hospital Fee Revenue Dedicated to Medi-Cal Unless Voters Approve Changes	\$60,282,906.94	\$11,562,866	\$71,845,773	Y
2014	45	Public Notice Required for Insurance Company Rates Initiative	\$6,935,612	\$56,954,326	\$63,889,938	N
2012	37	Mandatory Labeling of Genetically Engineered Food	\$8,700,000	\$45,600,000	\$54,300,000	N
2018	6	Voter Approval for Future Gas and Vehicle Taxes and 2017 Tax Repeal Initiative	\$5,161,188.80	\$46,719,588	\$51,880,776	N
2008	7	Standards for Renewable Resource Portfolios	\$9,360,232	\$29,787,119	\$39,147,351	N

SOURCE: Ballotpedia.com