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Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0qs508hc

Author

DiCamillo, Mark

Publication Date

2018-04-26

Release #2018-04   For Publication: Thursday, April 26, 2018

Newsom and Feinstein continue to hold large leads in gubernatorial and U.S. Senate primaries, but the nature of their competition is in flux.
Two GOP challengers vie for second place in Governor's race, as support for Villaraigosa declines; Little-known Republican challenging de Leon for second in the U.S. Senate primary.

By Mark DiCamillo, Director, *Berkeley IGS Poll*
   (o) 510-642-6835 (c) 415-602-5594

Lieutenant Governor Gavin Newsom and incumbent U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein continue to hold comfortable leads in the state's upcoming top two primary elections for governor and U.S. Senate. However, the nature of their competition is in flux.

According to the latest *Berkeley IGS Poll*, Newsom has lengthened his lead in the gubernatorial primary, with 30% of likely voters now backing him, up from 26% in December. The poll finds that the contest now appears to be a race to determine who will finish second and advance along with Newsom to the November general election. The latest poll suggests that this is evolving into a battle between Newsom's two main Republican rivals, as support for Democrat Antonio Villaraigosa fades.

Republican businessman John Cox and GOP Assemblyman Travis Allen have each vaulted ahead of Villaraigosa in the latest poll, garnering the support of 18% and 16% of likely voters, respectively. Preferences for Villaraigosa meanwhile have declined to 9%. This places him only slightly ahead of Democratic state Treasurer John Chiang (7%), while former state schools superintendent and Democrat Delaine Eastin continues to trail at 4%.   The proportion of likely voters not offering a preference for governor has declined to 13%.

In the U.S. Senate race, four-term incumbent Feinstein continues to hold a big lead. However, her main Democratic opponent, state Senator Kevin de Leon, appears to be facing a surprisingly strong challenge for second place from a little known Republican opponent. When likely voters in the poll are presented with the complete list of all thirty-two candidates whose names will appear in the U.S. Senate primary, 28% back Feinstein, 11% favor de Leon, while another 10%, mostly Republicans, choose chief financial officer and fellow Republican James P. Bradley. Ten other GOP candidates divides up another 8% of the vote, while nineteen other candidates

collectively account for an additional 6% (none of whom individually receives more than 2% support). A very large proportion of voters (37%) remain undecided.

These findings come from a statewide survey of likely voters completed last week by the non-partisan *Berkeley IGS Poll*.

Yearlong trend of voter preferences in the governor's race

Over the past twelve months, the *Berkeley IGS Poll* has conducted three prior measures assessing voter preferences in the primary election for governor. In each measure Newsom has held comfortable leads. In the current poll, Newsom receives the backing of 30% of voters, up from percentages ranging from 22% to 26% in previous polls.

There has been a significant shift in voter support for Newsom's challengers in recent months. Whereas Democrat Villaraigosa had previously placed second in a number of earlier polls, in the latest poll he has now fallen to fourth place, trailing Newsom and Republicans Cox and Allen. The poll finds 18% of likely voters backing Cox, up from 9% in December. Support has also grown for his main Republican rival, Allen, who is now the choice of 16%, up from 9% four months ago. Just 9% now choose Villaraigosa. Two other Democrats, state Treasurer John Chiang and former state schools superintendent Delaine Eastin, receive 7% and 4%, respectively. A long list of twenty-one other gubernatorial candidates collectively receive just 3% of the preferences, with no single candidate garnering more than 1% support. Another 13% of likely voters are undecided.

Table 1
Trend of voter preferences for governor
in the June 2018 top two primary election

	Late-April 2018 %	December 2017 %	September 2017 %	May 2017 %
Gavin Newsom (D)	**30**	26	23	22
John Cox (R)	**18**	9	10	9
Travis Allen (R)	**16**	9	9	NA
Antonio Villaraigosa (D)	**9**	17	12	17
John Chiang (D)	**7**	5	7	5
Delaine Eastin (D)	**4**	5	4	3
Others	**3****	1	*	7
Undecided	**13**	28	35	37

* *Less than ½ of 1%*
** *Represents the combined percentages of likely voters choosing any of 21 other candidates whose names will also*
appear on the June 2018 primary election ballot for governor, none of whom received more than 1% support.
NA: Not measured (D) denotes Democrat, (R) denotes Republican.

Preferences for U.S. Senate when voters are shown all 32 candidates on the ballot

When voters cast their ballots in the primary election for U.S. Senate, they will be asked to choose from a long list of thirty-two candidates vying for the post. The latest *Berkeley IGS Poll* sought to assess the impact that the long ballot will would have on voter preferences by

presenting likely voters with the name, job description and party affiliation of each candidate, as it will appear on the ballot.

In this setting, Feinstein remains comfortably ahead, albeit with a somewhat lower level of support (28%) than found in earlier polls. However, the poll finds de Leon, long considered to be Feinstein's main rival in the race, facing a serious challenge for second place by a relatively unknown Republican, James P. Bradley. Just 11% of likely voters choose de Leon in this setting, while nearly as many (10%) support Bradley. Ten other Republican candidates collectively receive 8%, while nineteen other candidates affiliated with other parties or running as nonpartisans, receive another 6%. None of these other candidates, however, individually receives more than 2% vote support. A huge 37% of likely voters remain undecided.

Table 2
Likely voter preferences for U.S. Senator in the June top two primary when voters are shown the names, ballot titles and parties of all thirty-two Senate candidates

	Late-April 2018 %
Dianne Feinstein, U.S. Senator (D)*	28
Kevin de Leon, California Senator (D)	11
James P. Bradley, Chief Financial Officer (R)	10
Other Republican candidates (net)	8**
All other candidates (net)	6***
Undecided	37

* denotes incumbent. (D) denotes Democrat, (R) denotes Republican
** includes the combined percentages of likely voters choosing any of 10 other Republican candidates whose names will appear on the June 2018 primary election ballot for U.S. Senate, none of whom received more than 2% support.
*** includes the combined percentages of likely voters choosing any of 19 other (non-GOP) candidates whose names will appear on the June 2018 primary election ballot for U.S. Senate, none of whom received more than 2% support.

Preferences for governor across major segments of the likely voter population
Voter preferences for governor have a decided partisan cast to them. Newsom is the choice of 51% of likely Democratic voters, while his three main Democratic rivals collectively receive another 28% of their votes. By contrast, 85% of likely Republican voters are backing one of the two major GOP candidates.

Geographically, Newsom's base of support comes largely from voters in the state's coastal counties, especially among voters in the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area. The Lieutenant Governor also draws strong support from voters age 50 or older.

Cox's narrow lead over his GOP rival Allen is derived mainly from his receiving greater support than Allen among likely Republican voters. Allen's base of support comes mainly from voters in the state's inland counties, especially the Central Valley and areas of Northern California outside the San Francisco Bay Area. Villaraigosa polls best among Latinos and among likely voters who are naturalized citizens.

Table 3
Likely voter preferences for governor in the June 2018 top two primary
across major subgroups of the likely voter population

% of likely voters		Newsom (D) %	Cox (R) %	Allen (R) %	Villar-aigosa (D) %	Chiang (D) %	Eastin (D) %	Other/ undecided %
	Total likely voters	**30**	**18**	**16**	**9**	**7**	**4**	**16**
	Party registration							
(46)	Democrats	51	2	3	14	9	5	16
(31)	Republicans	2	47	38	1	1	**	11
(23)	No party preference/other	28	11	14	9	11	4	23
	Area							
(70)	Coastal counties	35	18	13	9	6	4	15
(30)	Inland counties	21	18	25	9	9	3	15
	Region							
(20)	Los Angeles County	27	13	10	14	14	5	17
(32)	Other Southern California	27	23	19	10	3	3	15
(18)	Central Valley	20	16	25	6	12	4	17
(24)	San Francisco Bay Area	49	14	7	6	2	4	18
(6)	Other Northern California*	14	31	32	7	10	1	5
	ender							
(45)	Male	29	20	18	10	4	2	17
(55)	Female	32	16	15	8	9	5	15
	Race/ethnicity							
(66)	White non-Hispanic	35	22	17	4	6	3	13
(20)	Latino	16	4	15	26	9	4	26
(14)	Other races	33	22	15	6	9	5	10
	itizenship							
(83)	Native born	34	20	16	6	5	4	15
(17)	Naturalized	13	8	18	22	15	1	23
	ge							
(20)	18-39	27	9	8	16	6	11	23
(14)	40-49	27	13	26	7	5	2	20
(28)	50-64	34	21	16	7	7	2	13
(38)	65 or older	31	23	17	7	8	1	13
	oting method							
(71)	Vote early or by mail	32	19	14	10	6	3	16
(29)	Precinct voters	27	17	22	7	9	5	13

*small sample base   ** less than ½ of 1%   (D) denotes Democrat, (R) denotes Republican*

U.S. Senate preferences across likely voter subgroups

Similar to the race for governor, voter preferences in the U.S. Senate are mainly driven by the party affiliation of the candidates. Feinstein is heavily favored among likely Democratic voters (45%), while another 15% back de Leon, and most of the rest are undecided (28%). On the other hand, Bradley's support is derived mostly from likely Republican voters.

Geographically, Feinstein's strongest base of support comes from likely voters in Los Angeles County and the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area. She also does well among voters 65 or older. De Leon's support is greatest from Latinos and voters who are naturalized citizens.

Table 4
Likely voter preferences for U.S. Senate in the June 2018 top two primary
across major subgroups of the likely voter population

	Feinstein(D) %	de Leon(D) %	Bradley(R) %	Other Reps %	Others %	Und. %
Total likely voters	**28**	**11**	**10**	**8**	**6**	**37**
Party registration						
Democrats	45	15	1	3	8	28
Republicans	9	2	28	17	1	43
No party preference/other	19	15	7	5	8	46
Area						
Coastal counties	31	10	9	7	5	38
Inland counties	22	14	13	9	9	33
Region						
Los Angeles County	36	12	9	8	6	29
Other Southern California	25	10	11	9	6	39
Central Valley	21	16	12	7	9	35
San Francisco Bay Area	34	10	9	4	4	39
Other Northern California	19	3	17	15	5	41
Gender						
Male	29	13	11	8	5	34
Female	28	10	10	7	7	38
Race/ethnicity						
White non-Hispanic	29	8	12	8	5	38
Latino	28	23	5	6	7	31
Other races	25	10	11	9	12	33
Citizenship						
Native born	28	9	11	8	6	38
Naturalized	32	20	8	7	5	28
Age						
18-39	22	19	4	6	12	37
40-49	30	11	11	5	6	37
50-64	24	10	13	10	5	38
65 or older	35	9	12	7	4	33
Voting method						
Vote early or by mail	28	12	9	6	5	40
Precinct voters	29	7	14	11	8	31

(D) denotes Democrat, (R) denotes Republican

Image ratings of the gubernatorial and U.S. Senate candidates

Feinstein is the best known of the candidates for governor and U.S. Senate, with over nine in ten likely voters offering an opinion of her. Views of the Senator are highly partisan, with 71% of Democrats viewing her favorably and just 22% holding an unfavorable opinion. Among Republicans her image profile is highly negative, 14% favorable and 79% unfavorable.

Majorities are also able to offer an opinion of Newsom and Villaraigosa. However, the two hold somewhat different image profiles, with Newsom viewed more positively than negatively, while more rate Villaraigosa negatively than positively.

About half of voters have an opinion of Democrats Chiang in the governor's race and de Leon in the U.S. Senate race. Chiang's image is highly positive, while de Leon's image is more mixed.

Only about three in ten likely voters can rate the two leading GOP candidates for governor. Most who do are Republicans, and their opinions are highly positive toward each of them. Less than one in five Democrats has an opinion of either Cox or Allen.

Table 6
Voter identification and image ratings of selected candidates for Governor and U.S. Senate
(among likely voters)

	Total %	Democrats %	Republicans %	No party pref/other %
Dianne Feinstein, U.S. Senator				
Favorable	**48**	71	14	48
Unfavorable	**44**	22	79	42
No opinion	**8**	7	7	10
Gavin Newsom, Lt. Governor/ Businessman				
Favorable	**41**	64	8	40
Unfavorable	**36**	12	72	37
No opinion	**23**	24	20	23
Antonio Villaraigosa, Public Policy Advisor				
Favorable	**27**	43	6	20
Unfavorable	**36**	18	58	43
No opinion	**37**	39	36	37
John Chiang, California State Treasurer				
Favorable	**37**	48	24	32
Unfavorable	**13**	4	29	11
No opinion	**50**	48	47	57
Kevin de Leon, California Senator				
Favorable	**26**	38	5	28
Unfavorable	**22**	7	45	23
No opinion	**52**	55	50	49
John Cox, Businessman/Taxpayer Advocate				
Favorable	**23**	7	53	13
Unfavorable	**9**	11	5	9
No opinion	**68**	82	42	78
Travis Allen, CA Assemblyman/Businessman				
Favorable	**20**	4	46	19
Unfavorable	**8**	9	7	9
No opinion	**72**	87	47	72
Delaine Eastin, Educator/Youth Advocate				
Favorable	**17**	26	4	15
Unfavorable	**9**	3	18	13
No opinion	**74**	71	78	72

Note: Voter identification and image ratings of James P. Bradley not measured.

Commentary about differences between polling methods and polling results in this year's statewide primary election

In its latest round of preference measures for governor and U.S. Senate, the *Berkeley IGS Poll* benefits from a new partnership with Political Data, Inc. (PDI), which is providing the poll with samples of registered voters included in its surveys. Use of the voter file as a sampling source offers many advantages over pre-election polls drawn from other sources, especially in an election like the upcoming June primary in which fewer than half of all registered voters are expected to participate.

For one, since the voter file is derived from official state and county records, the poll can be certain that all respondents included in its survey are indeed registered to vote. In addition, the file provides accurate information about each voter's participation in past statewide primary elections, which is critical to the determination of which registered voters are most likely to vote in a low turnout election. By contrast, most other pre-election polls rely only on respondent testimony about their current registration status and their likelihood of voting in the upcoming election, which is often overstated by many voters.

When defining "likely voters" in its latest survey, the *Berkeley IGS Poll* administered surveys to a very large sample of 4,038 registered voters drawn from the statewide PDI voter file. The poll then examined the actual voting history of these voters as listed on their official voting record. From this information, as well as information provided by voters about their interest and likelihood of voting in the upcoming June statewide primary election, just 1,738 of voters, or 43%, were classified as "likely voters" in the upcoming primary. In our opinion, these voters represent a good approximation of the likely voter electorate, not only in terms of their voting preferences for governor and U.S. Senate, but also with regard to the demographic characteristics of the probable June electorate.

In addition, because the *Berkeley IGS Poll* was administered online, voters could also be presented with a complete list of all the candidates running in both the governor and U.S. Senate races, along with the job titles and party affiliations that will appear next to their names on the June primary election ballot. And, because of the state's new top two primary election system, the number of candidates running for each office will be quite large, with 32 candidates running for U.S. Senate and 27 in the governor's race.

By contrast, other pre-election polls typically shorten the list of candidates they present to voters in their primary election preference measures. However, the decision about which candidates to include and exclude in a pre-election poll can have a big impact on the distribution of voter preferences in each race. Because of this, we feel the *Berkeley IGS Poll* is on safer ground by attempting to replicate what voters will see on their actual election ballots, by presenting voters with a complete listing of all candidates running in each race and then asking which of these candidates they are most likely to support in the election.

About the Survey

The findings in this report are based on a survey completed by the Institute of Governmental Studies (IGS) at the University of California, Berkeley. The poll was completed online by distributing emails to stratified random samples of registered voters throughout California April 16-22, 2018 in English and Spanish. Each email invitation asked voters to participate in a short non-partisan survey, and were provided with a link to the IGS website where the survey was housed. The sample listings of voters and their email addresses were derived from information contained on the state's official voter rolls. The voter lists were provided by Political Data Inc., which is collaborating with IGS in its 2018 pre-election polling.

A total of 4,038 registered voters responded to the poll, of whom 1,738 were considered likely to vote in the upcoming June primary election, although some of the questions in this release were asked of a random subsample of 874 likely voters.

During the data processing phase, post-stratification weights were applied to align the overall sample of registered voters responding to the survey to the political and demographic characteristics of the state's overall registered voter population. Likely voters were then identified from this sample, based on their stated intentions about voting in the June primary and on their history of voting in other recent statewide primary elections from their voting record.

The IGS study director was responsible for overseeing all phases of the research, including the development of the survey questionnaire and email scripts, their translation into Spanish, sample selection, development of the post-stratification weights, oversight of data processing and data analysis.

Sampling error estimates applicable to the results of any probability-based survey depend on sample size, the percentage distributions being examined and to the design effects relating to how the sample was drawn. While estimates of the overall sampling error applicable to the results in this survey are not exact, it is likely that the maximum sampling error applicable to the results from the overall likely voter sample is about +/- 3.5 percentage points, while the maximum sample error applicable to the results from the random subsample of likely voters is about +/- 4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level.

Questions Asked

The June primary election for governor will be an open primary, in which all candidates from all parties are listed together on one ballot. Below is a list of the 27 candidates in alphabetic order. If the election for governor were held today, for whom would you vote? **(NAMES, JOB DESCRIPTIONS, AND PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF THE 27 GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES DISPLAYED TO VOTERS AS REPORTED BY THE CALIFORNIA SECRETARY OF STATE)***

There will also be an open primary election for U.S. Senate and 32 candidates will be listed on the ballot. Below is a listing of the candidates in alphabetic order. If the election for U.S. Senate were being held today, for whom would you vote? **(NAMES, JOB DESCRIPTIONS, AND PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF THE 32 UNITED STATES SENATE CANDIDATES DISPLAYED TO VOTERS, AS REPORTED BY THE CALIFORNIA SECRETARY OF STATE)**

Below are the names of some people who are candidates for statewide office this year. For each, please tell me whether your opinion of that person is favorable, unfavorable or whether you don't know enough about them to say? **(NAMES AND JOB DESCRIPTIONS OF SELECTED GUBERNATORIAL AND US SENATE CANDIDATES DISPLAYED TO VOTERS IN RANDOM ORDER)**

(IF UNDECIDED FOR GOVERNOR, PROBE) One final question about the upcoming June open primary election for governor. Earlier you indicated that you were undecided and didn't yet have a preference in the governor's race. As of today, if you had to choose, which of the following candidates would you be most likely to support for governor? **(NAMES, OFFICIAL JOB DESCRIPTOPMS, AND PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF SELECTED GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE DISPLAYED TO VOTERS IN RANDOM ORDER)***

* *asked of a random subsample of 874 likely voters*

About the Institute of Governmental Studies

The Institute of Governmental Studies (IGS) is an interdisciplinary organized research unit that pursues a vigorous program of research, education, publication and public service. A component of the University of California (UC) system's flagship Berkeley campus, it is the oldest organized research unit in the UC system and the oldest public policy research center in the state. IGS conducts periodic surveys of California public opinion on matters of politics, public policy and public issues through its *Berkeley IGS Poll,* housed within its newly established Citrin Center for Public Opinion Research. For a complete listing of stories issued by the poll go to https://igs.berkeley.edu/research/berkeley-igs-poll.