

## TALE OF EIGHT REGIONS

# The new, low-contrast political map of California

By ED SALZMAN

An age has ended in California, according to San Diego's Neil Morgan, the leading contemporary chronicler of trends and tangents in the Golden State. "The westward tilt is over," says Morgan. "California is growing no faster than Maine. We are starting a period of ordinariness."

California ordinary? That's an insult to our narcissus complex. We like to be viewed as the land of fruits and nuts. We enjoy our status as the breeding ground for weirdo politicians, the current crop including Jerry Brown and S. I. Hayakawa.

Political California has hardly lapsed into ordinariness by comparison to the rest of the nation. But during the past decade or so, another phenomenon has dramatically changed the political map of California — homogeneity. Just 10 years ago, it was relatively easy to identify sections of California as either solidly Democratic, rock-hard Republican and, in some relatively few cases, swing areas. Now almost no part of California can be taken for granted. There is a new political map of California with few white and few black areas, but with plenty of gray tones.

Elections in California used to be analyzed this way: The Democrats would do exceptionally well in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Republicans would match that with tremendous showings in the GOP heartland of Orange and San Diego Counties. Elections would be won or lost by swings in Los Angeles County.

### Out-of-date thinking

That reasoning is now obsolete. The Bay Area is not — and never has been — as Democratic as has been assumed. The Orange-San Diego area is now strictly two-party territory. Los Angeles has become fairly predictable; neither party wins overwhelmingly in the state's population center, but the Democrats usually get an edge, especially in district voting.

California's tradition of weak parties and non-partisan local elections has made it possible for candidates of either party to win the bulk of the Congressional, Senate and Assembly seats in the state if conditions are right. This last election, Republican Senator Milton Marks of San Francisco and Assemblyman Paul Bannai of Gardena won reelection in districts with overwhelmingly Democratic registration. Should they leave office, the odds would be strong that they would be succeeded by Democrats. The election produced precisely the opposite situation in Orange County, where Democrats Dennis Mangers and Ron Cordova won traditional GOP Assembly seats. In Cordova's case, a special situation caused the defeat of the GOP candidate in the most Republican district in California.

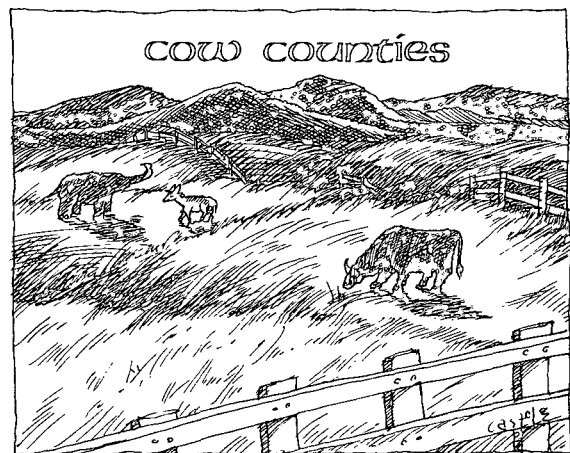
Most political analysis of the state focuses on the two main population centers, the Los Angeles-to-San Diego

megalopolis and the San Francisco Bay Area. But some of the most significant changes in the political map have been taking place in two other sections of the state — the central-coast region running from below the Bay Area to the Los Angeles County border and the so-called "inland empire" consisting of the Riverside-San Bernardino-Imperial desert area. These subdivisions used to lean heavily toward the Republicans. Now, the central coast is toss-up country, and the inland empire is heavily Democratic in terms of elected officials.

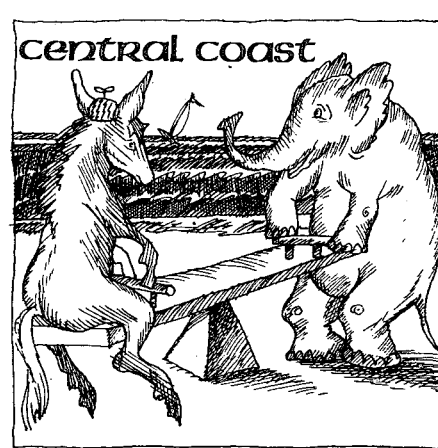
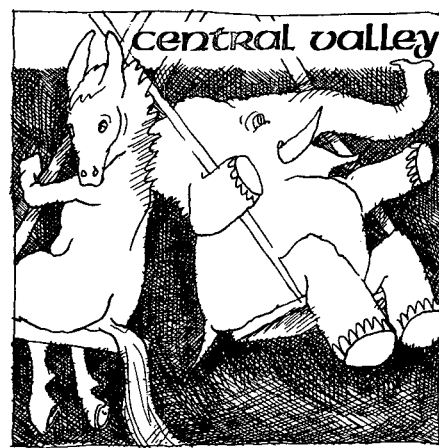
Political California cannot be analyzed as a single entity. It is far too large and diverse for that. But it does break down into eight separate areas with distinct voting patterns. Of these eight regions, only one — the central valley — is not currently represented in Congress and in both houses of the state Legislature by both major political parties. The valley lost its two-party representation in the state Senate this year with the retirement of Republicans Clare Berryhill of Modesto and Howard Way of Tulare and their replacement by Democrats John Garamendi of Mokelumne Hill and Rose Ann Vuich of Dinuba.

### District rundown

Here is a rundown on the eight districts (In cases where districts overlap regions, the statistical analysis is based on the population centers of the districts):



◦ **Cow counties** (Alpine, Amador, Butte, Calaveras, Colusa, Del Norte, El Dorado, Glenn, Humboldt, Inyo, Lake, Lassen, Mariposa, Mendocino, Modoc, Mono, Napa, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sonoma, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Tuolumne, Yuba) — Rural California has a long tradition of ignoring partisan labels. Candidates are expected to sell themselves as indi-



viduals, and heavy Democratic majorities in some districts are often overcome by superior Republican campaigning. This area once wielded tremendous power in the state Senate, but that evaporated with the one-man, one-vote ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court. Some of the roughest elections in the state take place in these wide-open spaces, especially when an incumbent leaves office. In the aftermath of the reapportionment ruling, the area was balanced fairly evenly between the parties. Democrats made gains gradually until the last election, when the Republicans rebounded by taking a Senate and an Assembly seat that were previously Democratic. Nevertheless, the Democrats still have 60 percent of the Congressional and Legislative seats from these counties. There isn't a seat throughout the area that cannot be won by either party when there is no incumbent in the race.

• **Central valley** (Yolo, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, San Benito, Merced, Madera, Fresno, Kings, Tulare, Kern) — The tradition in the Sacramento-San Joaquin valley region has been for many voters to register Democratic and vote Republican. It is an area loaded with farmers who come from southern states, Democratic but conservative. This is what makes it possible for Republican Ken Maddy to win reelection time after time from a Fresno-based district with a heavy Democratic registration. Farm issues are vital in this area, and most candidates of both parties cast moderate images. In both the valley and the cow counties, campaigning through the mass media is surprisingly pronounced. That is because it is possible to buy newspaper space and broadcasting time that will be both reasonably priced and targeted to the voting population of a district. By comparison, advertising in urban areas is extremely expensive and much is wasted on out-of-district consumers.

Ten years ago, the Republicans had five out of nine of the valley Assembly seats, and the Democrats held most of the Senate and Congressional seats. But the Democrats have made major gains in recent years and now hold everything except one Congressional seat and three Assembly districts. This is the first time in many years that the Republicans do not hold a valley Senate seat, and that is more because of the chemistry of the individual district races than because of any overall Democratic trend.

• **San Francisco Bay Area** (Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara, San Mateo, San Francisco, Marin, Solano) — It is a myth that the Bay Area is a Democratic stronghold. Republicans have always done well capturing legislative seats from these seven counties, although the Democrats usually hold the majority. Twenty years ago, even the Berkeley-Oakland area was heavily represented by Republicans. The near-victory of conservative John Barbagelata, a Republican, in the San Francisco mayoralty race was heralded as an indication that San Francisco is no longer a solid Democratic camp. The fact is that it never was. Liberal and progressive Republicans have long represented San

Francisco, including William Mailliard, Milton Marks, John Busterud and Caspar Weinberger.

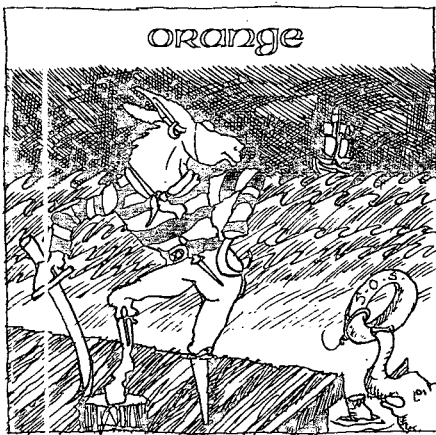
Several counties are definitely two-party territory, including San Mateo, Marin, Santa Clara and Contra Costa. San Francisco, Solano and most of Alameda are basically Democratic strongholds, but the overall complexion of the region is not as Democratic as its reputation. There are currently six Republicans representing the Bay Area in Congress and in the Legislature, compared to 30 Democrats. But there are several seats that went Democratic in the recent elections that could well return to Republican ranks in the future, including Assembly districts now represented by Michael Wornum of Marin and Dan Boatwright of Contra Costa.

• **Central coast** (Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura) — Perhaps the most dramatic change has taken place in this central coast strip spanning the state's two population centers. Just 10 years ago, both congressmen and both senators from this area were Republican, as were three of the five Assembly members. Now, the seats are precisely even, one for each party in Congress and in the Senate, and two for each in the Assembly. The Democrats broke even by taking away previously Republican Congressional and Assembly seats last November behind Leon Panetta and Henry Mello. The area has changed in part as a result of the 18-year-old vote and the development of liberal communities around the Santa Barbara and Santa Cruz campuses of the University of California.

• **Los Angeles County** — Los Angeles County is just about what all of California was supposed to have been — divided among solid Republican, solid Democratic and swing areas. Democrats hold two-thirds of the seats from the county, but the division in the Senate is close (8-6). Within the county, the Democratic regions include the areas heavily populated by Blacks, Chicanos and Jews. The Republican areas are the high-income neighborhoods, with the exception of the Hollywood-Beverly Hills area. The swing areas traditionally have been the San Fernando Valley and Long Beach. Recently, the valley has become almost a Democratic stronghold, and Long Beach has become increasingly so (although Republican Senator George Deukmejian survived the last election). What this means is that most of Los Angeles County is taken for granted in district elections, hardly the situation a few years ago.

• **Orange County** — There was a time when successful politicians like Dick Hanna and Ken Cory were considered dodo birds because they appeared to be the only living remains of an extinct species — Democrats elected from Orange County. Ten years ago, in fact, then-Congressman Hanna and then-Assemblyman Cory were the only Democrats elected from Orange County. But the politics of Orange County changed for quite a few reasons. As the area developed, more and more Democrats moved into the cracks between the Republicans. The Santa Ana area went down





hill physicaly, and low-income families who vote Democratic replaced Republicans. The recession in the aerospace industry caused some Republicans to move away and others to change their political views. Cory and other Democratic leaders saw that the Republican fortress was vulnerable, and they started attacking the weak spots.

In this last election, two Assembly seats that used to be considered safe for the GOP fell to Democrats. Now, the two parties divide the county's district representation evenly with six seats each. On a statewide basis last November, Orange voters went heavily for Republicans at the top of the ticket, but then switched to Democrats in some Congressional and legislative races. Democratic Congressman Jerry Patterson of Santa Ana rolled up 64 percent of the vote in what once was considered an invulnerable conservative GOP area. Politically, Orange has joined the rest of California.

◦ **San Diego County** — The Republicans have never had quite the lock on San Diego as they had at one time on Orange and the central coast. The relatively low-income urban section of the county has sent men like Senator James Mills and Assemblyman Peter Chacon to Sacramento, and Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin to Washington for many years. Nevertheless, for a long time the overall orientation of the county was definitely toward the GOP. A decade ago, for example, 60 percent of San Diego's districts were represented by Republicans. But the Democrats have been picking off Republican seats in districts with long GOP traditions, and now six out of the area's 11 representatives are Democrats. The latest victim was veteran Senator Jack Schrade, who lost in an avalanche to former Assemblyman Bob Wilson. Prior to that, Wilson and Assemblyman Larry Kapiloff took Republican seats in the Lower House through superior campaigning. (The old Wilson district returned to a Republican, Jim Ellis, last November.) The prime factor in the San Diego turnabout has been exceptionally effective campaigning by such Democrats as Wilson, Kapiloff and Assemblyman Wadie Deddeh, who have managed to capture a great many GOP votes.

◦ **The inland empire** (*Riverside, San Bernardino, Imperial*) — The state's desert area is another of the regions that was once dominated by one party, but has become two-party territory in recent years. As the Riverside-San Bernardino urban areas have grown, so have the numbers of Democratic voters. But in addition, there has been a change in voting patterns of those in the smaller Riverside and Imperial communities, as evidenced by the victory in 1974 and again last November by Democratic Assemblyman Tom Suitt.

Just 10 years ago, the inland empire (so named by the area's newspapers) was represented by five Republicans and two Democrats. Now, the area has seven Democrats and two Republicans in Sacramento and Washington. In fact, the region would be represented only by Democrats in the state Senate except for the fact that the district of Re-

publican Senator John Stull of San Diego County covers Imperial County. (For statistical purposes, Stull was also included in San Diego totals.) This is one area that will probably be a partisan battleground because some of the districts held by Democrats could well switch parties when the incumbents leave office.

### Republicans deteriorate

In the post-reapportionment election of 1966, the Democrats came away with 53 percent of the Congressional and Legislative seats. (The Republicans won all but one of the statewide offices behind the Reagan slate.) In only three of the eight regions — Los Angeles, San Francisco Bay and the Central Valley — did the Democrats win a majority of seats. In the election of 1976, the Republicans didn't win a majority in a single region, although they broke even in Orange County and the Central Coast. This means that the Democrats have done a much better job than the Republicans in district-by-district campaigning and candidate development.

What happened to the Republicans? It is ironic that the Republican political base in California fell apart during the eight years that Reagan was governor. With a Republican Administration in Sacramento, the Grand Old Party somehow lost sight of the fact that it needed to work a great deal harder than Avis to catch up with the party that was number one in voter registration. The Republican Party power was centralized in the governor's office, and some of the field work done in the 1960s to bring about GOP parity in the Legislature was abandoned.

Elections in California are not won or lost by party discipline or by party label (except in perhaps 20 percent of the districts). They are won by individual candidates selling themselves independent of any ticket. There is no such thing as coattail voting in California. But in most districts, the Republican candidate must do better than run as good a campaign as the Democrat. Because of registration statistics, the draw goes to the Democrat.

This is still a two-party state. The election of S. I. Hayakawa and President Ford's victory over Jimmy Carter prove that. There was a time when the Republicans could sit smugly on a large number of safe districts and then plot raids on vulnerable Democratic districts. Now it is the Democrats that are doing the raiding. But there are danger signals also for the Democrats, especially in the north. The most important factor in California district elections is still incumbency, but there are probably more districts now than ever that can be won by either party when there is no incumbent in the race.

How will the political map of California change in the next decade? Barring some miraculous change in voting patterns in the next four years, it will be the Democrats who will be drawing the state's district lines following the census of 1980. At least at the district level, the tilt is definitely toward the Democrats.

## LEGAL AND ECONOMIC AFTERSHOCKS

# The zealous Legislature's anti-Arab surprise package

By LEAH CARTABRUNO

It is doubtful that the California Legislature knew what it was getting into last year when Assemblyman Howard Berman's anti-Arab boycott bill sailed through the Assembly 70-0 and the Senate 37-0. Most thought it was a gesture in support of Israel, more a resolution than a bill, and it attracted little opposition or discussion. But the aftershocks are becoming stronger and more frequent, and the true scope of the bill is now becoming apparent.

The bill responded to charges that in order to do business with an Arab country, a company must sign an agreement not to do business with Israel (primary boycott), any company on the Arab blacklist (secondary boycott), or any company that does business with any entity on the blacklist (tertiary boycott). Others complained of Arab conditions that companies not use parts manufactured in Israel or hire Jewish employees.

### Little opposition

Berman's AB 3080 made compliance with the boycott or discriminatory hiring a violation of the state's antitrust law (the Cartwright Act), punishable by treble damages and possible forfeiture of the right to do business in California. Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy sponsored AB 2553 which made a corporation an individual in matters of discrimination, exposing a participating company to a possible felony, punishable by a \$1 million fine, and a participating individual to three-years imprisonment and a \$100,000 fine. These laws, which took effect January 1st, are more stringent than similar legislation passed by New York, Maryland, Illinois and Massachusetts.

Berman's bill folder contains only one letter of opposition, from the California Chamber of Commerce. It is difficult to oppose such a bill without looking as if you favor discriminatory practices or are an anti-Semite. Said Don Russell, the Chamber representative at the hearings: "I was the third witness. The first two were the president of B'nai B'rith and a Los Angeles representative of Hadassah. When it was my turn, I just said we were opposed and our letter was before the committee."

When asked why the Bank of America didn't oppose the bill, executive vice president and general counsel George Coombe said the bank was "expecting a federal solution and rightly felt it was an explosive issue with lots of political and emotional implications," especially right before the election. John Hay, executive vice president of the state Chamber, maintains that, even now, companies aren't talking about the issue because they do business with all types of people. All parties agree that the law didn't help California's anti-business image.

Complaints are starting to reach state officials. The California Manufacturers Association (CMA), among others, feels the anti-boycott bill is another burden put on California importers and exporters that is not felt by any of the other 49 states. The CMA points to the other Pacific and Gulf coast ports where goods could easily be diverted without major consequences to anyone except Californians.

A state Chamber spokesman emphasized that, regardless of what the Governor may say, there is an anti-business, no-growth attitude in California, and this law is another element leading to an economic disaster. He said some companies have contracts with the Arabs for work or equipment, and, if possible, are moving out of the state. The relocation of two Fresno irrigation-pump manufacturers to Nevada is cited as an example.

### How much involved?

More startling is the possible impact on financial institutions. No estimates are available as to how much business could be affected by this law (except that the range is in the billions), because of the general language used in writing the bill. AB 3080 covers more than the Arab-Israeli confrontation. A Bank of America statement lists other economic sanctions (primary boycotts) in existence: the United States against Cuba, North Korea and VietNam; Bangladesh against Rhodesia; many Black African nations against Rhodesia and South Africa; Honduras against El Salvador; and Pakistan against India. The law does not distinguish between types of boycotts and leaves questions unanswered as to how the law applies to everyday foreign commerce transactions.

It was in response to this void that Business and Trans-

