

THE INDEPENDENT AND NON-PARTISAN SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION ESTABLISHED IN 1947 AS **THE CALIFORNIA POLL** BY **MERVIN FIELD** 

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DAVIS'S RECALL SUPPORTED BY BIG MARGIN. SCHWARZENEGGER WELL AHEAD OF BUSTAMANTE IN REPLACEMENT ELECTION.

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by Mark DiCamillo and Mervin Field

With a week to go before California voters decide whether Governor Gray Davis should be removed from office, and if so, who should replace him, *The Field Poll* in its final interviewing period (Sept. 29 - Oct. 1) finds that ...

- Likely voters are now disposed to vote Yes on the Davis recall by a 57% to 39% margin. This compares to a 53% Yes and 43% No margin of support found in the poll's Sept. 25 28 interviewing period, and 55% Yes and 40% No result in early September.
- Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger has opened up a ten-point lead over Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante in the election to replace Davis, should the Governor be recalled. Schwarzenegger is now preferred by 36% of likely voters and Bustamante by 26%. In the poll's Sept. 25 – 28 interviewing period, the race was a dead heat, with 31% favoring Bustamante and 30% favoring Schwarzenegger. In early September, Bustamante held a slight lead over the actor, 32% to 27%.
- Support for Republican State Senator Tom McClintock appears to have crested shortly after last week's debate. In the poll's Sept. 25 28 interviewing period, 19% supported his candidacy, up from a 14% preference vote in early September and 9% in August. In the poll's final interviewing period, however, McClintock's support appears to have declined slightly to the 16% level.

#### Trend in the recall vote

*The Field Poll* has conducted six separate measures of voter sentiment on whether Davis should be recalled from office. In the first survey taken last April among all registered voters, opinions were divided, with the Yes side appearing to hold a slim three-point advantage (46% Yes to 43% No). In a July survey of likely voters, support for the recall grew to 51%, while 43% were opposed. In August, right after the recall petition was certified and an election date was set, sentiment to recall Davis increased to 58% in favor. In early September the spread between Yes and No voters appeared to decline slightly to a 55% to 40% margin. In the poll's Sept. 25-28 interviewing period, 53% favored Davis's ouster while 43% were opposed. However, in the poll's final interviewing period, Sept. 29-Oct. 1, the margin in favor stands at 57%, while 39% are opposed.

Table 1Trend of California voter preferencesregarding the recall of Governor Gray Davis(among likely voters)						
	Yes, recall <u>Davis</u>	No, retain <u>Davis</u>	<b>Undecided</b>			
Sept. 29 – Oct. 1	57%	39	4			
Sept. 25 – 28	53%	43	4			
Sept. 3 – 7	55%	40	5			
August 10 – 13	58%	37	5			
July 1 – 13	51%	43	6			
April 1 – 6*	46%	43	11			

\* April survey conducted among all registered voters

#### **Trend of replacement candidate preferences**

Voter support for Schwarzenegger has been growing steadily in each of the four *Field Poll* measures conducted since the actor announced his candidacy. Last August *The Field Poll* found Schwarzenegger to be preferred by 22% of likely voters. In early September 27% supported the actor. In the poll's September 25 – 28 interviewing period 30% intended to vote for him, while in the final interviewing period September 29 – October 1, Schwarzenegger's support increased to 36% among likely voters.

Meanwhile, support for Bustamante has been stagnant over the past month and has declined this week. In early September 32% favored the Lt. Governor. In the Poll's Sept. 25-28 interviewing period, 31% favored Bustamante, while now just 26% do so.

In August voter support for McClintock stood at 9%. This grew to 14% in early September and to 19% in the poll's September 25-28 interviewing period. However, since then his support appears to have slipped some to the 16% level.

Green Party candidate Peter Miguel Camejo receives 6% of voter support in the current poll and appears to be chief beneficiary of the withdrawal of columnist Arianna Huffington from the race.

Trend of voter	- sl	for cand nould he	ole 2 lidates to r be recalled kely voters	Î	vis as Gov	ernor,
	Schwarz -enegger	Busta- mante	Mc Clintock <u>(R)</u>	Camejo (G)	Others*	None/ unde- cided
Sept. 29 – Oct. 1	<u>(R)</u> 36%	<u>(D)</u> 26	<u>(R)</u> 16	<u>(G)</u> 6	3	<u>13</u>
Sept. 25 – 28	30%	31	19	3	4	13
Sept. 3 – 7	27%	32	14	2	7	18
August 10 – 13	22%	25	9	2	23	19

 In August 8% of voters preferred Republican Bill Simon, 5% favored Republican Peter Ueberroth, 4% supported Independent Arianna Huffington, and 1% favored Democrat Larry Flynt. In the Sept. 3-7 poll, 3% favored Independent Arianna Huffington. No other eligible candidates in either survey received more than ½ of 1% of voter preferences.
 (D) Democrat
 (R) Republican
 (G) Green Party

The poll finds that many of Camejo's supporters say they would prefer Bustamante as their second choice. Thus if he were to drop out of the race, preferences in the replacement election would be Schwarzenegger 36%, Bustamante 28%, McClintock 16%, others 5%, none/undecided 15%.

On the other hand, if McClintock were to drop out most of his supporters would favor Schwarzenegger, resulting in a larger lead for the actor – Schwarzenegger 43%, Bustamante 26%, Camejo 7%, others 7%, none/undecided 17%.

#### Subgroup preferences in the replacement election

Schwarzenegger is now the choice of 63% of the state's Republican voters, up from 43% earlier in the month. McClintock still attracts 24% support among the GOP rank-and-file, slightly less than his 28% level in early September. Just 2% of Republicans are supporting Bustamante.

Among Democrats, 49% are supporting Bustamante, down from 61% in early September. On the other hand, Schwarzenegger and McClintock are the choice of 16% and 12% of the Democrats respectively, an improvement for both from early September.

Non-partisan voters are currently splitting their preferences fairly evenly between Schwarzenegger (26%) and Bustamante (22%).

Schwarzenegger is leading in voter preferences in all regions of the state except the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area, where Bustamante is favored over the actor 37% to 23%. This is the first time *The Field Poll* has found Schwarzenegger ahead of Bustamante in Los Angeles County (37% vs. 28%). In early September he trailed the Lt. Governor 37% to 31%.

A slightly larger proportion of conservatives (46%) now favor Schwarzenegger than did so in early September (40%). Middle-of-the-road voters have also moved decidedly toward Schwarzenegger in the current poll, favoring him 41% to 23% over Bustamanate. In early September these voters were evenly dividing their preferences between the two leading candidates. A majority of liberals continues to support Bustamante (53%), although this is down from 68% in early September.

White non-Hispanic voters are now clearly favoring Schwarzenegger (39%) over Bustamante (23%) in the latest poll. In early September, these voters appeared to be narrowly favoring Bustamante. While Latino voters continue to prefer Bustamante over the actor, the level of support for the Lt. Governor is not that large (40% to 34%). Black/African-Americans are decidedly behind Bustamante, while Asians/others favor Schwarzenegger.

There continues to be a gender gap in voter preferences in the replacement election. Currently, women are dividing 31% to 26% in favor of Schwarzenegger, while men favor the actor by a larger 15-point margin (41% to 26%).

There are also some differences in preferences by age, with Bustamante supported by larger proportions of older voters than younger voters.

While Bustamante holds a lead over Schwarzenegger among voters with a post-graduation education, voters in all other education groupings favor Schwarzenegger.

Yes voters on the recall are strongly favoring Schwarzenegger over Bustamante (60% vs. 4%). Conversely, those intending to vote No are supporting Bustamante over the actor 60% to 4%.

#### Table 3

## Voter preferences for candidates to replace Davis as Governor should he be recalled – by subgroup (among likely voters)

			<u>likely vote</u> 9–Oct. 1	18)		Son	t. 3–7	
		Sept. 2	9-001.1	Others/		Sep	l. J-7	Others/
	Schwarz-	Rusta.	Mc-	unde-	Schwarz	Rusta.	Mc-	unde-
	enegger	mante	<u>Clintock</u>	<u>cided</u>	- <u>enegger</u>	mante	<u>Clintock</u>	<u>cided</u>
Likely voters – total	<u>36%</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22</u>	27%	32	<u>14</u>	27
Party registration	5070	20	10		2170	52	17	21
(.43) Democrats	16%	49	12	23	11%	61	4	24
(.38) Republicans	63%	2	24	11	43%	4	28	25
(.19) Non-partisans/others*	26%	22	10	42	30%	19	8	43
Region	2070		10	12	5070	17	0	15
(.25) Los Angeles County	37%	28	14	21	31%	37	9	23
(.34) Other Southern California	41%	24	18	17	33%	18	18	31
(.23) San Francisco Bay Area	23%	37	14	26	14%	45	17	24
(.18) Other Northern California*		14	18	28	28%	29	11	32
Political ideology			10	-0	20,0	_>		02
(.32) Conservative	46%	11	30	13	40%	8	29	23
(.45) Middle-of-the-road	41%	23	11	25	27%	27	10	36
(.23) Liberal	13%	53	5	29	9%	68	2	21
Race/ethnicity			-					
(.70) White non-Hispanic	39%	23	18	20	26%	30	17	27
(.15) Latino*	34%	40	6	20	26%	36	10	28
(.07) Black/African American*	3%	52	9	36	17%	56	1	26
(.08) Asian/other*	46%	14	11	29	35%	21	12	32
Gender								
(.49) Male	41%	26	14	19	30%	28	16	26
(.51) Female	31%	26	17	26	23%	36	12	29
Age								
(.15) 18-29*	36%	17	9	38	25%	29	11	35
(.22) 30-39	39%	22	21	18	29%	35	16	20
(.18) 40-49*	42%	25	15	18	27%	25	17	31
(.27) 50-64	33%	32	16	19	27%	36	11	26
(.18) 65 or older*	31%	33	16	20	25%	31	16	28
Education								
(.21) High school graduate/less	38%	27	18	17	32%	32	13	23
(.34) Some college/trade school	37%	22	18	23	27%	27	16	30
(.26) College graduate	33%	21	19	27	30%	27	19	24
(.19) Post graduate work*	36%	42	4	18	20%	41	8	31
Current vote on Davis recall								
(.57) Yes voters	60%	4	22	14	44%	6	23	27
(.39) No voters	4%	60	6	30	6%	68	3	23

\* Small sample base

#### **Candidate images**

Voter impressions of Bustamante have declined significantly from what they were four weeks ago. At present, 56% of all likely voters have a negative opinion of him and just 34% view him positively.

However, opinions of Schwarzenegger have become somewhat more positive, with 52% of likely voters viewing him favorably. Still, 41% have an unfavorable perception of him.

McClintock is also viewed more favorably than unfavorably (53% to 34%). This compares to a more mixed assessment in August and early September.

Table	e 4			
Voter images of some of the candidates i (among like)	0	place Da	vis as Gove	rnor
(uniong inc.	Sept. 29- <u>Oct. 1</u>	Sept. 25-28	Early <u>Septembe</u>	Early er <u>August</u>
Arnold Schwarzenegger, actor and businessman				
Favorable	52%	46%	43%	44%
Unfavorable	41	48	43	40
No opinion	7	6	14	16
Cruz Bustamante, Lt. Governor				
Favorable	34%	40%	40%	40%
Unfavorable	56	53	49	40
No opinion	10	7	11	20
Tom McClintock, State Senator				
Favorable	53%	53%	38%	28%
Unfavorable	34	34	37	32
No opinion	13	13	25	40
Peter Miguel Camejo, financial investment advisor				
Favorable	24%	18%	12%	6%
Unfavorable	38	41	31	23
No opinion	38	41	57	71

Camejo continues to have a more unfavorable than favorable image profile.

### Voters consistent in belief that Davis would be recalled

After the recall election was set in early August, each *Field Poll* found that a large plurality of voters ranging from ten to twenty-one points said they were ready to recall Davis.

In each survey voters were also asked a separate question as to whether they expected that Davis would be recalled from office regardless of their own preference. Consistently, the results from this question have shown much larger pluralities than those in the preference question believing that the Governor would be recalled. In the latest wave of interviewing 68% believe that Davis will be recalled, while just 18% think he will remain in office.

<b>Regardless of your ow</b> Governor Davis from o	Table 5 n preference, do you tl ffice or do you expect l (among likely voters)		
	Davis will be recalled	Davis will remain in office	Not sure
Sept. 29 – Oct. 1	68%	18	14
Sept. 25 – 28	57%	29	14
Sept. 3 – 7	61%	24	15
August 10 – 13	68%	22	10

Those voting Yes on the recall question overwhelmingly expect Davis to be recalled (92% to 3%). Nearly one in three No voters (32%) also believe the recall effort will be successful.

#### **Expectations of job performance**

When asked how they felt each of the leading candidates would perform as Governor over the next three years, a somewhat larger proportion believes Schwarzenegger would do an excellent or good job (41%) as feel he would do a poor or very poor job (31%). By contrast, more voters think Bustamante, if he were elected, would do a poor or very poor job (40%) than an excellent or good job (31%).

The expectations for a possible McClintock governorship is rated more favorably than any of the other candidates. Almost one-half (47%) think the State Senator would do an excellent or good job, with just 19% expecting a poor or very poor performance.

If Davis was able to survive the recall effort and remain in office, about one-half (48%) of likely voters think he would do a poor or very poor job during the next three years, while just 28% believe his performance would be excellent or good.

Table 6           What kind of job would each do as Governor over the next three years								
(among likely voters)								
	Schwarzenegger Bustamante McClintock				Da	ivis		
	Late	Early	Late	Early	Late	Early	Late	Early
	<u>Sept.</u>	Sept.	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	Sept.	Sept.	Sept.	<u>Sept.</u>
Excellent/good	41%	40%	31%	36%	47%	35%	28%	29%
Fair	21	16	23	26	25	23	21	22
Poor/very poor	31	35	40	31	19	19	48	46
No opinion	7	9	6	7	9	23	2	3

#### What if Davis were on the replacement ballot

The laws governing recall elections specify that the name of the officeholder who is the object of the recall cannot appear on the election ballot as a possible replacement candidate. Nevertheless, there has been some speculation that if Davis had been allowed to be on the ballot and Bustamante had not entered the race, the Governor might emerge the winner, particularly in a crowded field of candidates.

To test this hypothesis, this question was included in the current survey: "Suppose Governor Davis had been allowed to run as a candidate in the replacement election and that Lt. Governor Bustamante had not run. If all other candidates were the same, who would you have voted for?"

In the final polling period Schwarzenegger led Davis 36% to 30% in this situation. In the early September 25-28 polling period Davis appeared to have a slim lead over the actor (33% to 30%) in this hypothetical scenario.

Table 7Suppose Governor Davis had been allowed to run as a candidate in the replacement election and that Lt. Governor Bustamante had not run.If all other candidates were the same, who would you vote for? (among likely voters)					
	Sept. 29-Oct. 1	Sept. 25-28			
Schwarzenegger	36%	30%			
Davis	30	33			
McClintock	17	21			
Others	10	9			
Don't know	7	7			

#### Impact on the recall vote if Bustamante were not on the replacement ballot

One of the arguments offered by some of Davis's supporters during the recall effort is that the Governor would have a better chance of surviving the recall if Bustamante had not run as a replacement candidate.

To test that argument *The Field Poll* posed this question in the current survey: "If Lt. Governor Bustamante had not run as a replacement candidate, and no other prominent Democrats were on the replacement ballot would you have voted Yes to remove Davis or No to keep him as Governor?"

The results indicate that voters would favor a Davis recall by 14 points in this situation -56% Yes, 42% No, with 2% undecided.

#### Table 8

#### If Lt. Governor Bustamante had not run as a replacement candidate, and no other prominent Democrats were on the replacement ballot, would you vote Yes to remove Davis or No to keep Davis as Governor? (among likely voters)

	(uniong mer)	( UCCLD)		
				Non- partisans/
	<u>Total</u>	<b>Democrats</b>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>other</u>
Would vote Yes to recall Davis	56%	28%	89%	55%
Would vote No to retain Davis	42	71	10	42
Don't know	2	1	1	3

#### Subgroup differences in the recall election

In the latest survey 28% of Democrats favor Davis's recall, up marginally from 23% in early September. Greater than nine in ten (92%) Republicans remain committed to the recall. Among non-partisans/others 54% intend to vote Yes, while 40% intend to vote No. In early September the split was 59% Yes to 30% No among this group.

While a majority of voters in the San Francisco Bay Area continue to oppose the recall (60% to 37%), about six in ten voters in all other regions of the state, including Los Angeles County, favor the Governor's ouster.

White non-Hispanics favor the recall 58% to 39%, very similar to what was found in early September. While Black/African Americans are still heavily opposed to the recall 74% to 24%, majorities of Latinos and Asians continue to favor the recall.

There appears to be greater opposition to the recall among voters who have a post-graduate education than others. Voters with a post graduate education oppose it 54% to 42%, while about six in ten voters in all other education groupings favor it.

There are no significant differences between men and women in how they intend to vote on the recall, with 57%-58% of each group in support.

There are significant differences about the recall relating to a voter's age. The recall is supported to a much greater extent by younger voters under age 40 than older voters, particularly those age 65 or older, who oppose the recall.

Very large majorities of those intending to vote for Schwarzenegger (95%) or McClintock (79%) in the replacement election are intending to vote Yes on the Davis recall. By contrast, 89% of voters supporting Bustamante are voting No, while 51% of those supporting other candidates or who are undecided in the replacement election are opposed to Davis's recall.

#### The Field Poll Friday, October 3, 2003

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# Table 9

\* Small sample base.
\*\* Less than 1/2 of 1%.

#### Voters still split on merits of recall

Throughout the campaign the *Field Poll* has found that voters have been closely divided on whether having a recall election of Davis was a good or bad thing for California.

In the two prior surveys where this question was posed a small plurality of voters expressed the belief that the recall was a bad thing. However, in the current survey a small plurality of voters believe the recall election is a good thing (51%) rather than a bad thing (45%) for California.

By a 93% to 3% ratio those intending to vote No feel the recall is a bad thing, while Yes voters think it is a good thing (84% to 12%).

Table 10 Is holding a recall election of Governor Davis a good thing or a bad thing for California (among likely voters)				
	Good thing	<b>Bad thing</b>	Depends/ <u>No opinion</u>	
Total likely voters				
Sept. 29 – Oct. 1	51%	45	4	
Aug. 10 – 13	44%	47	9	
July 1 – 3	44%	50	6	
Current vote on recall (Sept. 29Oct. 1)				
Yes voters	84%	12	4	
No voters	3%	93	4	
Party registration (Sept. 29-Oct. 1)				
Democrats	25%	70	5	
Republicans	84%	13	3	
Non-partisan/others	46%	49	5	

#### **Change recall election laws?**

Four in ten voters (39%) think state law should be changed to make it more difficult for a group to qualify a gubernatorial recall for a statewide election. This compares to just 3% who think the law should be changed to make it less difficult for a recall to qualify for the ballot. On the other hand, a majority of voters (51%) believe there should be no change in state laws relating to gubernatorial recall elections.

#### Table 11

(among likely voters)							
	<u>Total</u>	Democrats	<u>Republicans</u>	Non- partisans/ <u>other</u>			
More difficult	39%	53%	21%	43%			
Less difficult	3	3	3	5			
No change	51	38	71	42			
No opinion	7	6	5	10			

#### Should state laws be changed to make gubernatorial recalls more difficult to qualify, less difficult to qualify, or should no changes be made (among likely voters)

-30-

#### **Information About the Survey**

#### **Sample Details**

The findings in this report are based on a telephone survey conducted September 25-October 1, 2003 in English and Spanish among random samples of likely voters in California's October 7 recall election. A representative sample of 1,535 adults age 18 or older were initially screened, yielding interviews with 1,026 registered voters, of whom 894 reported having already voted or said they were absolutely certain to vote in the recall election. Interviewing in the survey was divided into two periods. Interviewing period #1 spanned September 25 – 28 and included a representative sample of 429 likely voters, while interviewing period #2 spanned September 29- October 1 and included a representative sample of 465 likely voters.

During each interviewing period, sampling was conducted by means of random digit dialing, which selects telephone exchanges within all area codes serving California in proportion to population. From each exchange a random sample of telephone numbers was created by adding random digits to the telephone exchange selected, permitting access to both listed and unlisted telephones. Up to five interview attempts were made to reach voters during each interviewing period. After the completion of data collection, the sample from each interviewing period was weighted slightly to *Field Poll* estimates of the state's total registered voter population.

According to statistical theory, results from the overall sample of 894 likely voters have a sampling error of +/-3.4 percentage points, while findings from each of the two interviewing periods have a sampling error of +/-4.8 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. Results from subgroups have somewhat larger sampling error ranges.

There are other possible sources of error in any survey in addition to sampling variability. Different results could occur because of differences in question wording, sequencing, or through omissions or errors in sampling, interviewing or data processing. Extensive efforts were made to minimize such potential errors.

#### **Questions Asked**

Voters will be asked two questions in the recall election – first, whether Governor Gray Davis should be removed from office, and second, who should replace him if he is recalled. If you were voting today on the recall of Governor Davis, would you vote yes to remove Davis from office or no to keep Davis as Governor?

The second part of the ballot asks voters who they would choose to replace Davis as Governor in the event that he is recalled. There are 135 different candidates on this part of the ballot and I would like to ask you about a few of them. As I read each, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion or whether you don't know enough about that person to have an opinion. (NAME AND TITLE OF EACH CANDIDATE READ IN RANDOM ORDER) – Is your opinion of (NAME) favorable or unfavorable?

If the election to replace Governor Davis were being held today, for whom would you vote – Arnold Schwarzenegger, Republican; Peter Miguel Camejo, Green Party; Tom McClintock, Republican; Cruz Bustamante, Democrat; Arianna Huffington, Independent; or someone else? (NAMES AND PARTIES OF CANDIDATES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) (IF SOMEONE ELSE, ASK:) Who? (IF PREFERENCE GIVEN, ASK:) Who would be your second choice? (*Note: in this report, Huffington supporters were allocated to their second choice preferences.*)

Regardless of how you (voted) (intend to vote), do you think voters will remove Governor Davis from office or do you expect Davis to defeat the recall and remain in office?

Regardless of who you prefer, who do you think will win the replacement election... (NAMES READ IN RANDOM ORDER)?

Generally speaking, do you think holding the recall election of Governor Davis is a good thing or a bad thing for California?<sup>\*\*</sup>

Do you think state law should be changed to make it more difficult or less difficult for a group to qualify a gubernatorial recall for the statewide election ballot or do you think there should be no change to state laws relating to recalling a governor?\*\*

Suppose that Governor Gray Davis had been allowed to run as a candidate in the replacement election, and that Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante were not on the ballot. If all of the other candidates were the same, who would you have voted for – (NAMES AND PARTIES OF CANDIDATES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) or someone else?

Suppose that Lieutenant Governor Democrat Cruz Bustamante had decided not to run as a replacement candidate for Governor, and that no other prominent Democrats were on the replacement election ballot. If you were voting on the recall of Governor Davis, and there were no prominent Democrats running in the replacement election, how would you vote on the Davis recall? Would you vote Yes to remove Davis from office or would you vote No to keep Davis as Governor?\*\*

I am going to read the names of some of the people who could become Governor after the recall election. Please tell me how well you think each would do as Governor. What kind of job do you think (INSERT NAME) would do as Governor over the next three years – excellent, good, fair, poor or very poor? (NAMES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) (SEE RELEASE FOR NAMES READ)\*

<sup>\*</sup> Question asked in interviewing period #1 only

<sup>\*\*</sup> Question asked in interviewing period #2 only