

THE FIELD POLL

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

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**55% MAJORITY FAVORS RECALL OF DAVIS.
BUSTAMANTE NARROWLY LEADS
SCHWARZENEGGER IN REPLACEMENT
ELECTION. MCCLINTOCK SOLIDIFIES HIS
THIRD PLACE POSITION.**

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by Mark DiCamillo and Mervin Field

A 55% majority of this state's likely voters continue to favor the recall of Governor Gray Davis. Democratic Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante, at 30%, has a five-point lead over Republican movie actor Arnold Schwarzenegger (25%) among the candidates running to replace Davis should he be recalled. Republican State Senator Tom McClintock (13%) has solidified his third place position in the replacement election. No other gubernatorial candidate receives more than 5% support.

These are the main findings from the latest *Field Poll* completed by Field Research Corporation September 3-7 among a random sample of Californians considered likely to vote in the October 7 recall election.

Trend in voter preferences about the Davis recall

Since April *The Field Poll* has conducted four separate measures assessing voter sentiments about the recall of Governor Davis. In the first measure a narrow three-point plurality of registered voters (46% to 43%) favored Davis's recall. That grew to eight points among likely voters in July (51% to 43%) and increased to twenty-one points in August (58% to 37%). The current survey shows that the margin favoring Davis's ouster has declined slightly over the past month to fifteen points (55% to 40%).

Table 1
Trend of California voter preferences
regarding the recall of Governor Gray Davis
(among likely voters)

	Yes, recall	No, retain	
	<u>Davis</u>	<u>Davis</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
September	55%	40	5
August	58%	37	5
July	51%	43	6
April*	46%	43	11

* April survey conducted among all registered voters

Bustamante leads replacement election

During the past four weeks the state and national press have been preoccupied with California's recall election, giving it more space and air time than that of a bitterly contested presidential election. Schwarzenegger, because of his huge celebrity status, has received the lion's share of the media coverage. However, Davis and other replacement candidates have come in for their share of press attention, as well.

Despite the intense focus on the candidates vying to replace Davis, *The Field Poll* finds that likely voter preferences have changed only a little over the past four weeks. Last month, Bustamante held a statistically insignificant three-point lead over Schwarzenegger (25% to 22%). Now, as the field has narrowed with the withdrawal of Republican Bill Simon from the race, Bustamante has opened up a small lead over Schwarzenegger (30% to 25%). McClintock has strengthened his third place position, moving from 9% to 13%. The level of voter preferences for Republican businessman Peter Ueberroth (5%), independent columnist Arianna Huffington (3%) and Green Party financial consultant Peter Miguel Camejo (2%) have not changed much over the past month. Fewer voters now favor other candidates (4%), while 2% say they are not going to vote for any replacement candidate. Another 16% are undecided.

According to press reports, McClintock has been under pressure from Republican leaders to withdraw from the race, a move which they see as benefiting Schwarzenegger, and increasing the chances of a Republican takeover of the governor's office. The poll finds that if McClintock were to drop out of the race, most of the State Senator's supporters would prefer Schwarzenegger, moving the actor slightly ahead of Bustamante in voter preferences, 33% to 31%.

Table 2
Voter preferences to replace Davis as Governor,
should Davis be recalled
(among likely voters)

	September		<u>August</u>
	<u>Including</u> <u>McClintock</u>	<u>Without</u> <u>McClintock</u>	
Bustamante (D)	30%	31%	25%
Schwarzenegger (R)	25	33	22
McClintock (R)	13	—	9
Ueberroth (R)	5	7	5
Huffington (I)	3	3	4
Camejo (G)	2	2	2
Others*	4	4	14
None	2	2	5
Undecided	16	18	14

* In August 8% of voters preferred Republican Bill Simon and 1% favored Democrat Larry Flynt. No other eligible candidates in either survey received more than 1/2 of 1% of voter preferences.
 (D) denotes Democrat (I) denotes Independent
 (R) denotes Republican (G) denotes Green Party

Replacement candidate preferences by subgroup

Bustamante’s current five-point advantage over Schwarzenegger is derived primarily from the Lt. Governor’s strong support of Democratic voters. Among Democrats, who account for 43% of likely voters in this sample, 59% are intending to vote for Bustamante, while just 10% favor Schwarzenegger and 3% are backing McClintock.

By contrast, the preferences of GOP voters are more divided, with 41% favoring Schwarzenegger and 27% supporting McClintock, with just 4% for Bustamante. Non-partisan voters are a key constituency for Schwarzenegger, with 29% backing his candidacy, compared to 19% for Bustamante and 8% for McClintock.

Bustamante is preferred over Schwarzenegger by a nearly three to one margin among voters in the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area (44% to 13%). The Lt. Governor also leads among Los Angeles County voters 37% to 30%. Schwarzenegger holds a significant lead among voters residing in the nine Southern California counties outside Los Angeles.

There is a significant gender gap in voter preferences in the replacement election. Bustamante holds a thirteen-point advantage over Schwarzenegger among women voters, 35% to 22%, while men are slightly favoring Schwarzenegger (29% to 26%).

Voters intending to vote No on the Davis recall favor Bustamante overwhelmingly as his successor, should the Governor be recalled. Currently, 66% of No voters back Bustamante, while only 5% support Schwarzenegger and 3% favor McClintock. On the other hand, very few (5%) of those intending to vote Yes on the Davis recall support Bustamante, while 43% back Schwarzenegger and 21% favor McClintock.

Table 3
First choice preferences to replace Davis as Governor – by subgroup
(among likely voters)

	<u>Busta-</u> <u>mante</u>	<u>Schwarze-</u> <u>negger</u>	<u>Mc-</u> <u>Clintock</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>None/</u> <u>Undecided</u>
Likely voters – statewide	30%	25	13	14	18
<u>Party registration</u>					
(.43) Democrats	59%	10	3	16	12
(.39) Republicans	4%	41	27	6	22
(.18) Non-partisans/others*	19%	29	8	21	23
<u>Region</u>					
(.25) Los Angeles County	37%	30	7	11	15
(.32) Other Southern California	16%	31	16	15	22
(.25) San Francisco Bay Area	44%	13	16	15	12
(.18) Other Northern California*	29%	28	11	8	24
<u>Political ideology</u>					
(.32) Conservative	7%	40	28	5	20
(.43) Middle-of-the-road	27%	25	8	16	24
(.25) Liberal	67%	7	1	19	6
<u>Race/ethnicity</u>					
(.73) White non-Hispanic	29%	25	15	14	17
(.14) Latino*	36%	26	10	8	20
(.06) Black/African American*	56%	14	1	13	16
(.07) Asian/other*	21%	30	12	19	18
<u>Gender</u>					
(.52) Male	26%	29	16	15	14
(.48) Female	35%	22	10	11	22
<u>Age</u>					
(.12) 18-29*	29%	25	11	17	18
(.21) 30-39	34%	28	16	9	13
(.22) 40-49	23%	26	14	16	21
(.27) 50-64	35%	25	11	16	13
(.18) 65 or older*	30%	25	14	9	22
<u>Education</u>					
(.17) High school graduate or less*	31%	32	13	6	18
(.32) Some college/trade school	27%	25	15	12	21
(.25) College graduate	25%	28	18	14	15
(.26) Post graduate work	40%	20	6	17	17
<u>Current vote on Davis recall</u>					
(.55) Yes voters	5%	43	21	11	20
(.40) No voters	66%	5	3	16	10

* Small sample base.

No big change in candidate image ratings

Overall, voters have a slightly more unfavorable than favorable impression of Bustamante. Voters are divided in their overall opinions of Schwarzenegger, McClintock and Ueberroth, with about as many holding a positive as a negative impression of each. On the other hand, somewhat larger proportions have more unfavorable than favorable opinions of Huffington and Camejo.

Perceptions of Bustamante, Schwarzenegger and McClintock are highly partisan. Democrats have a very positive impression of Bustamante, while Republicans view him in a very negative light. The reverse is true in the case of Schwarzenegger and McClintock, with Republicans holding very positive views and Democrats generally having an negative impression. Ueberroth has the least partisan image profile.

Table 4
Voter images of some of the candidates running to replace Davis as Governor
(among likely voters)

	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Party registration (September)</u>		
			<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-partisan/ other</u>
<u>Cruz Bustamante, Lt. Governor</u>					
Favorable	40%	40%	70%	10%	32%
Unfavorable	49	40	19	82	53
No opinion	11	20	11	8	15
<u>Arnold Schwarzenegger, actor</u>					
Favorable	43%	44%	22%	69%	38%
Unfavorable	43	40	68	17	38
No opinion	14	16	10	14	24
<u>Tom McClintock, State Senator</u>					
Favorable	38%	28%	15%	63%	38%
Unfavorable	37	32	59	16	28
No opinion	25	40	26	21	34
<u>Peter Ueberroth, businessman</u>					
Favorable	37%	32%	31%	41%	43%
Unfavorable	34	26	39	30	33
No opinion	29	42	30	29	24
<u>Arianna Huffington, columnist</u>					
Favorable	22%	18%	31%	10%	25%
Unfavorable	54	53	44	69	47
No opinion	24	29	25	21	28
<u>Peter Miguel Camejo, financial advisor</u>					
Favorable	12%	6%	16%	7%	15%
Unfavorable	31	23	27	37	28
No opinion	57	71	57	56	57

Expected job performance of Davis vs. the alternative candidates

Voters believe that each of the three leading replacement candidates would do a better job than Davis would as Governor. Nearly half of voters (46%) think Davis would do a poor or very poor job over the next three years, while just 29% think he would do an excellent or good job. Another 22% take the middle position and say he would do a fair job.

By contrast, voters give more positive than negative assessments to the expected job performance of each of the three leading candidates running in the replacement election. Nearly four in ten voters (36%) think Bustamante would do an excellent or good job, while 31% feel he would do a poor or very poor job. Schwarzenegger’s ratings are similar, with 40% expecting him to do an excellent or good job, while 35% feel he would do a poor or very poor job. McClintock also receives a positive expected job performance profile, with nearly twice as many saying he would perform positively (35%) as give him a negative appraisal (19%).

Table 5
What kind of job would each do as Governor over the next three years
(among likely voters)

	<u>Davis</u>	<u>Bustamante</u>	<u>Schwarzenegger</u>	<u>McClintock</u>
	%	%	%	%
Excellent/good	29	36	40	35
Fair	22	26	16	23
Poor/very poor	46	31	35	19
No opinion	3	7	9	23

Reasons for voting Yes and No on the Davis recall

Five arguments in favor of the Davis recall were posed in the current survey. All five receive substantial backing as reasons why those intending to vote Yes want to remove the Governor. Greater than nine in ten Yes voters agree that, “Davis should be recalled because he has done a poor job as Governor” (91%) and “Davis should be recalled because he grossly mismanaged the state’s energy crisis” (91%). Another 85% agree that “Davis should be recalled because when he ran for re-election last year he misled voters about the magnitude of the state’s budget problems.” Two other statements in favor of the recall are backed by about three in four Yes voters. These include “Davis should be recalled because a new governor will move California in a new direction” (78%) and “Davis should be recalled because we need to get rid of the corruption and special interest politics that has overtaken state government in Sacramento” (71%).

Five other arguments were presented to those intending to vote No on the recall. Receiving the broadest support (82%) was the statement that “Davis was elected fairly in the last election and no matter how a person feels about Davis, he should be able to serve his term in office.” Receiving the next highest level of agreement (71%) is “Davis should not be recalled because the many

problems now facing California are not his fault.” About six in ten No voters also concur with three other arguments against the recall -- “while Davis has many faults, after looking more closely at the alternative candidates, it would be better if Davis were to remain in office” (62%), “Republicans are engaged in a systematic effort to steal elections from Democratic officeholders” (56%), and “with so many candidates running to replace Davis, I’m fearful that if Davis is recalled, a new governor will be elected after winning only a small share of the total vote” (55%).

Increase in sentiment for Davis to fight the recall

Compared to last month, there has been an increase in voter sentiment for Davis to fight the recall and not resign. About six in ten voters (59%) now think Davis should do all he can to defeat the recall and complete his term as Governor, while 33% would rather he resign. This represents a big change from August when opinions were more divided, with 49% preferring that he fight the recall and 42% supporting his resignation.

Among Democrats, 82% prefer that Davis fight the recall, while just 15% say he should resign. Last month 71% of Democrats supported Davis fighting the recall, while 23% wanted him to resign. An even bigger shift in opinions is seen among Republicans. Last month, GOP voters favored Davis’s resignation 65% to 25%. Now, Republican voters are more evenly divided, with 41% saying Davis should fight the recall and 49% favoring his resignation.

Table 6
Should Governor Davis resign or fight the recall?
(among likely voters)

	<u>Fight the recall</u>	<u>Resign</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
All voters			
September	59%	33	8
August	49%	42	9
<u>Democrats</u>			
September	82%	15	3
August	71%	23	6
<u>Republicans</u>			
September	41%	49	10
August	26%	65	9
<u>Non-partisans/others*</u>			
September	46%	41	13
August	46%	38	16

* Small sample base.

Voter preferences in the recall election, by subgroup

Voter support for recalling the governor is greatest among Republicans (90%), conservatives (87%), and voters living in the nine Southern California counties other than Los Angeles (69%).

Voters most opposed to the recall are liberals (78%) and Democrats (73%), those residing in the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area (63%), blacks (66%), voters with a post-graduate education (53%) and union-affiliated households (50%).

Table 7
Voter intentions to recall Governor Gray Davis – by subgroup
(among likely voters)

	<u>Yes, recall</u> <u>Davis</u>	<u>No, retain</u> <u>Davis</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Likely voters – statewide	55%	40	5
<u>Party registration</u>			
(.43) Democrats	23%	73	4
(.39) Republicans	90%	7	3
(.18) Non-partisans/others*	59%	30	11
<u>Political ideology</u>			
(.32) Conservative	87%	9	4
(.43) Middle-of-the-road	54%	40	6
(.25) Liberal	17%	78	5
<u>Region</u>			
(.25) Los Angeles County	57%	38	5
(.32) Other Southern California	69%	25	6
(.25) San Francisco Bay Area	34%	63	3
(.18) Other Northern California*	57%	34	9
<u>Gender</u>			
(.52) Male	58%	38	4
(.48) Female	52%	41	7
<u>Race/ethnicity</u>			
(.73) White non-Hispanic	57%	38	5
(.14) Latino*	54%	42	4
(.06) Black/African American*	26%	66	8
(.07) Asians/others*	57%	37	6
<u>Age</u>			
(.12) 18-29*	46%	42	12
(.21) 30-39	60%	36	4
(.22) 40-49	66%	28	6
(.27) 50-64	48%	49	3
(.18) 65 or older*	52%	42	6
<u>Education</u>			
(.17) High school or less*	60%	32	8
(.32) Some college/trade school	56%	40	4
(.25) College graduate	62%	31	7
(.26) Post graduate work	45%	53	2
<u>Vote in 2002 election</u>			
(.43) Davis voter	19%	76	5
(.34) Simon voter	97%	1	2
(.23) Other/didn't vote	61%	28	11
<u>Union affiliation</u>			
(.22) Union household	43%	50	7
(.78) Non-union	59%	37	4

* Small sample base

About the Survey

Sample Details

The findings in this report are based on a telephone survey conducted September 3–7, 2003 in English and Spanish among a random sample of likely voters in California. A representative sample of 1,014 California adults were initially screened yielding interviews with 649 registered voters, 505 of whom were deemed likely to vote in the October 7 election.

Sampling was conducted by means of random digit dialing, which selects telephone exchanges within all area codes serving California in proportion to the 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. After the completion of interviewing, the survey results were weighted slightly to *Field Poll* estimates of the state's total registered voter population.

According to statistical theory, results from the overall likely voter sample have sampling error of +/- 4.5 percentage points at the 95 percent 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, sampling, sequencing or through omissions or errors in 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. (NAMES AND TITLES OF CANDIDATES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) – Is your opinion of _____ favorable or unfavorable?

If the election to replace Governor Davis were being held today, for whom would you vote – Peter Ueberroth, Republican, 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?

Some people think Governor Davis should resign from office rather than fight the recall election. What do you think? Would you rather see Davis do all he can to defeat the recall and complete his term as Governor or would you rather he resign?

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 _____ would do as Governor over the next three years – excellent, good, fair, poor or very poor? (NAMES READ IN RANDOM ORDER)