1. First, thinking about the state as a whole, what do you think is the most important issue facing people in California today?
   [CODE RESPONSE; DO NOT READ LIST; SINGLE RECORD]
   
   34% Economy; jobs; unemployment  
   14 State budget; deficit; taxes  
   11 Education; schools  
   10 Recall of governor  
   3 Health care; health costs; HMO reform  
   3 Crime; gangs  
   2 Government regulations  
   2 Housing costs; housing availability  
   2 Immigration; illegal immigration  
   1 Drugs  
   1 Electricity costs/Energy crisis  
   1 Environment; pollution  
   1 Poverty; the poor  
   1 Race relations; racial and ethnic issues  
   1 Traffic; transportation  
   7 other [SPECIFY]  
   6 [VOL] don’t know

2. Do you think things in California are generally going in the right direction or the wrong direction?
   
   22% right direction  
   67 wrong direction  
   11 [VOL] don’t know

3. Turning to economic conditions in California, do you think that during the next 12 months we will have good times financially or bad times?
   
   36% Good times  
   43 Bad times  
   21 [VOL] don’t know
4. On another topic, how closely are you following news about the election to recall Governor Gray Davis from office—very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

41 [56] Very closely
39 [39] Fairly closely
14 [ 4] Not too closely
 6 [ 1] Not at all closely

5. Where do you get most of your news about the recall election—from television, newspapers, radio, the Internet, magazines, talking to other people, or from another source?

56% television  [ASK Q5a]
19 newspapers  [ASK Q5b]
13 radio  [SKIP TO Q6]
 6 Internet  [SKIP TO Q6]
 0 magazines  [SKIP TO Q6]
 4 talking to other people  [SKIP TO Q6]
 1 another source [SPECIFY]  [SKIP TO Q6]
 1 [VOL] don’t know  [SKIP TO Q6]

5a. Would that be from major network TV, local TV, or cable news stations such as CNN or MSNBC?

24% major network TV
46 local TV
27 cable TV
 2 [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
 1 [VOL] not sure

5b. Would that be from a local paper or a national paper such as the New York Times, USA Today, or the Wall Street Journal?

84% local paper
11 national paper
 5 [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
6. On October 7th, there will be a special election on whether to recall Governor Davis from office. On this ballot, voters will be asked two questions: first, whether Davis should be removed as Governor, and second, who from a list of 135 candidates should replace him if he is recalled.

If the election were held today, would you vote yes to remove Davis as Governor or no to keep Davis as Governor?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, remove Davis</td>
<td>49 [52]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, keep Davis</td>
<td>45 [44]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6 [4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Regardless of how you would vote on the first part of the recall, how would you vote on the second part of the recall ballot. If the election were held today, would you vote for [READ ROTATED LIST THEN ASK “or someone else?”] [ACCEPT ANSWER WHEN GIVEN]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor/Businessman Arnold Schwarzenegger</td>
<td>31 [37]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante</td>
<td>30 [28]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Senator Tom McClintock</td>
<td>12 [13]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Investment Advisor Peter Camejo</td>
<td>5 [5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Columnist/Mother Arianna Huffington</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else [SPECIFY]</td>
<td>2 [2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray Davis [SKIP TO Q9]</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one/wouldn’t vote</td>
<td>5 [4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>13 [9]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. What if Gray Davis had been allowed on the second part of the recall ballot, would you have voted for him?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, would have voted</td>
<td>36 [34]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, would not have</td>
<td>58 [61]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6 [5]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[QUESTIONS 9 AND 10 DELETED]

11. In general, would you say you are satisfied or not satisfied with the choices of replacement candidates in the recall election on October 7th?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>51 [50]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not satisfied</td>
<td>43 [46]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6 [4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. Thinking about the upcoming special election, are you more enthusiastic about voting than usual, or less enthusiastic?

44 [46]  more enthusiastic
31 [27]  less enthusiastic
21 [24]  [VOL] same
4 [ 3]  [VOL] don’t know

13. Overall, do you think having 135 candidates on the ballot has been a good thing or a bad thing in this election?

23 [20]  good thing
64 [67]  bad thing
6 [ 8]  [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
7 [ 5]  [VOL] don’t know

14. If Governor Davis is recalled from office, do you think that things in California would get better, would get worse, or would it make no difference?

41% would get better
17 would get worse
30 would make no difference
12 [VOL] don’t know

15. And, in the past month, have you seen any television advertisements about the recall election?

84 [91]  yes [ASK TO Q16a]
15 [ 9]  no [ASK TO Q16b]
1 [ 0]  [VOL] don’t know [ASK TO Q16b]

16a. So far, have the television advertisements you have seen been very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful to you in deciding how to vote on October 7th?

11 [ 8]  very helpful
24 [19]  somewhat helpful
23 [23]  not too helpful
41 [47]  not at all helpful
1 [ 3]  [VOL] don’t know
16b. In general, do you find political advertisements to be very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful to you in deciding how to vote?

14 [3] very helpful
25 [21] somewhat helpful
19 [19] not too helpful
33 [52] not at all helpful
9 [5] [VOL] don’t know

17. Have you seen, heard, or read about any of the public debates about the recall election?

77 [91] yes [ASK TO Q18a]
23 [9] no [ASK TO Q18b]

18a. So far, have the public debates been very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful to you in deciding how to vote on October 7th?

20% very helpful [ASK Q19a]
45 somewhat helpful [ASK Q19a]
15 not too helpful [ASK Q19a]
19 not at all helpful [ASK Q19a]
1 [VOL] don’t know [ASK Q19a]

18b. In general do you find public debates to be very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful to you in deciding how to vote?

23% very helpful [ASK Q19b]
40 somewhat helpful [ASK Q19b]
14 not too helpful [ASK Q19b]
16 not at all helpful [ASK Q19b]
7 [VOL] don’t know [ASK Q19b]

19a. For the October 7th recall election, the debates included more candidates than in typical gubernatorial debates. Do you think that this made the debates better, worse, or did it not make a difference either way?

29% better
23 worse
44 did not make a difference
4 [VOL] don’t know
19b. For the October 7th recall election, the debates included more candidates than in typical gubernatorial debates. Do you think that this was a good thing, a bad thing, or that it did not make a difference either way?

- 23% good thing
- 26 bad thing
- 45 did not make a difference
- 6 [VOL] don’t know

20. In general, people have different ideas about what they want to learn from the candidate debates. Which of these is most important to you … [READ ROTATED LIST, THEN ASK “or something else”]

- 45% candidates’ stands on the issues
- 14 candidates’ character
- 18 candidates’ experience
- 14 candidates’ intelligence
- 7 something else [SPECIFY]
- 2 [VOL] don’t know

21. And would you favor or oppose an initiative that required candidates for governor to participate in a minimum of five primetime publicly broadcasted debates?

- 52% favor
- 40 oppose
- 8 [VOL] don’t know

22. And, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the amount of attention that the candidates for governor are spending on the issues most important to you?

- 42 [38] satisfied
- 51 [57] dissatisfied
- 7 [ 5] don’t know

23. Do you think that the current effort to recall the governor is an appropriate use of the recall process, or not?

- 48 [50] yes
- 45 [47] no
- 7 [ 3] [VOL] don’t know
24. Generally speaking, and regardless of how you feel about the upcoming election, do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing that the California constitution provides a way to recall the state's elected officials, such as the Governor?

73 [76] good thing
23 [22] bad thing
4 [ 2] [VOL] don’t know

25. At this time, how much would you say that you know about how the recall process works in California—a lot, some, very little, or nothing?

22 [33] a lot
44 [49] some
27 [16] very little
7 [ 2] nothing

26. After this election, are you more likely or less likely to support a recall of a state elected official than you were before, or has it made no difference?

18 [17] more likely
18 [21] less likely
57 [55] no difference
2 [ 2] [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
5 [ 5] [VOL] don’t know

27. And generally speaking, and regardless of how you feel about the upcoming election, do you think the recall election process in California needs major changes, minor changes, or is it basically O.k. the way it is?

34 [32] needs major changes
25 [25] needs minor changes
34 [37] O.k. the way it is
7 [ 6] [VOL] don’t know
And please tell me if you would support or oppose the following ideas to change the way the recall process works in California.

[ROTATE QUESTIONS 28 TO 31]

28. Currently, to qualify a recall for a statewide ballot, recall supporters need to gather enough signatures from registered voters to equal 12 percent of the total votes cast in the previous election for that office. For the October 7th recall, this number was about 900 thousand signatures. Would you support or oppose raising this requirement to 25 percent of the total votes cast in the previous election?

57 [56] support
37 [39] oppose
6 [ 5] [VOL] don’t know

29. Currently, a statewide official can be recalled for any or no reason. Would you support or oppose changing this so that an elected official could only be recalled because of illegal or unethical activity?

60 [59] support
35 [37] oppose
5 [ 4] [VOL] don’t know

30a. [HALF SAMPLE] Currently, anyone who gets 10,000 signatures from registered voters can run for office on the recall replacement ballot. Would you support or oppose raising the signature requirement to 25 thousand registered voters?

68 [68] support
27 [27] oppose
5 [ 5] [VOL] don’t know

30b. [HALF SAMPLE] Currently, anyone who pays 35 hundred dollars and gets 65 signatures can run for office on the recall replacement ballot. Would you support or oppose increasing the filing fee to 10 thousand dollars?

43 [44] support
51 [52] oppose
6 [ 4] [VOL] don’t know

31. Would you support or oppose changing the recall process so that it was two separate elections instead of a single election—so there would be one election on whether to recall the official and another to replace the official if recalled?

45 [36] support
49 [59] oppose
6 [ 5] [VOL] don’t know
32. Do you think that recalls should be decided in regularly scheduled elections, or should there be special elections for recalls?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regularly scheduled elections</td>
<td>24 [26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special elections</td>
<td>68 [67]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other [specify]</td>
<td>2 [ 3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6 [ 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6 [ 4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. It may turn out that the winner of the second part of the recall ballot gets under 50 percent of the vote. Would you support or oppose changing the law so that if no candidate got more than 50 percent of the vote, that there would be a runoff election between the top two candidates so that someone would get majority support?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>67 [64]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>28 [32]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>5 [ 4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. In general, do you think that election campaigns in California have gotten better in the last 10 years, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gotten better</td>
<td>10 [ 7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotten worse</td>
<td>37 [46]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed the same</td>
<td>44 [42]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>9 [ 5]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. Has the recall election made you more interested in California politics, or not?

- IF MORE INTERESTED: is that much more interested or only somewhat more interested?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Much more interested</td>
<td>26 [26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat more interested</td>
<td>29 [26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No more interested</td>
<td>40 [45]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less interested</td>
<td>3 [ 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>2 [ 1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. And has the recall election made you feel better, worse, or no different about California politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
<td>23 [22]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse</td>
<td>40 [48]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No different</td>
<td>35 [29]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>2 [ 1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
37. On another topic, people have different opinions on how candidates should pay for their political campaigns. Which of the following do you view most positively—ROTATE (1) candidates using their own personal money; (2) candidates using money collected from their supporters; (3) candidates using public money set-aside for elections?

- 28% own personal money
- 38 money from supporters
- 25 public funds
- 5 [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
- 4 [VOL] don’t know

[QUESTIONS 38 AND 39 DELETED]

40a. [HALF SAMPLE] On another topic, to what extent do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think—a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all?

- 37% great deal
- 37 fair amount
- 19 not too much
- 5 none at all
- 2 [VOL] don’t know

40b. [HALF SAMPLE] On another topic, over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think when it decides what to do—a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all?

- 9% great deal
- 29 fair amount
- 48 not too much
- 11 none at all
- 3 [VOL] don’t know

41. Thinking about the role of the public in politics, how much trust and confidence do you have in California’s voters when it comes to making choices on election day—a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or none at all?

- 13% a great deal
- 42 a fair amount
- 35 not too much
- 8 none at all
- 2 [VOL] don’t know
PPIC Statewide Survey: Special Survey on California Elections

42. On another topic, would you favor or oppose having a system of public funding for state and legislative campaigns in California if it cost taxpayers a few dollars a year to fund?

41% favor
53 oppose
6 [VOL] don’t know

43. In general, how much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Sacramento to do what is right – just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

4% Just about always
23 most of the time
66 only some of the time
4 [VOL] none of the time
3 [VOL] don’t know

44. On another topic, some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote?

79% yes [ASK Q44a]
21 no [SKIP TO Q45]

44a. Are you registered as a Democrat, a Republican, another party, or as an independent?

43% Democrat
36 Republican
3 Other
18 Independent

45. [IF REGISTERED: Regardless of how you are registered to vote, and] generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?

32% Democrat [ASK 45b]
23 Republican [ASK 45c]
31 independent [ASK 45a]
5 other [SPECIFY] [ASK 46]
7 [VOL] no preference [ASK 45a]
2 [VOL] don’t know [ASK 45a]
PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on California Elections*

45a. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

- 30% Republican party
- 39 Democratic party
- 22 [VOL] neither
- 9 [VOL] don’t know

45b. And do you think of yourself as a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- 54% strong
- 45 not very strong
- 1 [VOL] don’t know

45c. And do you think of yourself as a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- 60% strong
- 39 not very strong
- 1 [VOL] don’t know

46. On another topic, would you consider yourself to be politically very liberal, somewhat liberal, middle-of-the-road, somewhat conservative, or very conservative?

- 10% very liberal
- 22 somewhat liberal
- 29 middle-of-the-road
- 26 somewhat conservative
- 11 very conservative
- 2 [VOL] don’t know

47. Generally speaking, how much interest would you say you have in politics—a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or none?

- 23% great deal
- 45 fair amount
- 27 only a little
- 5 none
48. How often would you say you vote—always, nearly always, part of the time, seldom, or never?

51% always
22 nearly always
9 part of the time
5 seldom
12 never
1 [VOL] don’t know

49. And do you plan to vote in the election on October 7th?

IF YES: will you vote at your local polling place or by absentee ballot?

IF ABSENTEE: have you already mailed in your absentee ballot?

62% yes, local polling place
13 yes, absentee ballot—already mailed in
5 yes, absentee ballot—not yet mailed in
17 no, not planning to vote
3 [VOL] don’t know

50. Thinking ahead, do you think that Governor Davis will win or lose the recall election?

22% Davis will win
64 Davis will lose
14 [VOL] don’t know

51. And whom from the list of 135 replacement candidates do you think will win the second part of the recall ballot? [CODE ANSWER; READ LIST ONLY IF NECESSARY]

59% Arnold Schwarzenegger
20 Cruz Bustamante
2 Tom McClintock
0 Peter Camejo
0 [VOL] Arianna Huffington
1 someone else [SPECIFY]
18 [VOL] don’t know

[Questions 52 to 62 are demographic questions]