

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

PPIC STATEWIDE SURVEY: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*
OCTOBER 28—NOVEMBER 4, 2002
MARK BALDASSARE, SURVEY DIRECTOR
2,000 CALIFORNIA ADULT RESIDENTS; ENGLISH AND SPANISH

[LIKELY VOTERS IN BRACKETS; 1,025 likely voters in sample]
Margine of Sampling Error +/-2 for Full Sample and +/-3 for Likely Voter Sample.

1. First, if the election for Governor were being held today, would you vote for ...
[READ LIST—ROTATE NAMES 1-5]

38 [39] Gray Davis, the Democrat
28 [35] Bill Simon, the Republican
2 [2] Gary Copeland, the Libertarian
1 [1] Reinhold Gulke, the American Independent
5 [7] Peter Miguel Camejo, the Green

OR

3 [3] someone else [SPECIFY]
23 [13] [VOL] don't know

2. Would you say you are satisfied or not satisfied with the choices of candidates in the election for Governor on November 5th?

41% satisfied
48 not satisfied
11 [VOL] don't know

3. How closely do you follow news about candidates for the 2002 governor's election—very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

18% very closely
41 fairly closely
29 not too closely
12 not at all closely

4. And, in the past month, have you seen any television advertisements by the candidates for governor? (IF YES: Whose ads have you seen the most)?

47% yes, Gray Davis [ASK Q5A]
19 yes, Bill Simon [ASK Q5A]
10 yes, both equally/other answer [ASK Q5A]
14 no [ASK Q5B]
10 [VOL] don't know [ASK Q5B]

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

5A. 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 which candidate to vote for?

| | |
|-----|---------------------------------|
| 10% | very helpful [SKIP TO Q6] |
| 23 | somewhat helpful [SKIP TO Q6] |
| 25 | not too helpful [SKIP TO Q6] |
| 40 | not at all helpful [SKIP TO Q6] |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know [SKIP TO Q6] |

5B. 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 which candidate to vote for?

| | |
|----|--------------------|
| 9% | very helpful |
| 23 | somewhat helpful |
| 24 | not too helpful |
| 40 | not at all helpful |
| 4 | [VOL] don't know |

And regardless of how you plan to vote for governor...
[ROTATE QUESTIONS 6 and 7]

6. Overall, how do you feel about Gray Davis—very favorably, somewhat favorably, somewhat unfavorably, or very unfavorably?

| | |
|-----|--|
| 11% | very favorably |
| 35 | somewhat favorably |
| 20 | somewhat unfavorably |
| 27 | very unfavorably |
| 2 | [VOL] neither favorably or unfavorably |
| 5 | [VOL] don't know |

7. Overall, how do you feel about Bill Simon—very favorably, somewhat favorably, somewhat unfavorably, or very unfavorably?

| | |
|----|--|
| 7% | very favorably |
| 32 | somewhat favorably |
| 23 | somewhat unfavorably |
| 23 | very unfavorably |
| 5 | [VOL] neither favorably or unfavorably |
| 10 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

[SUBGROUP 1: RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 8A TO 8C]

[SUBGROUP 2: RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 8D TO 8F]

- 8A. In this campaign, a Gray Davis advertisement claimed that Bill Simon had engaged in fraudulent business dealings, and in response Simon said that Davis was engaging in mudslinging and negative campaigning.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 14% | more positive |
| 48 | more negative |
| 31 | [VOL] no difference |
| 7 | [VOL] don't know |

- 8B. In this campaign, a Gray Davis advertisement claimed that Bill Simon had engaged in fraudulent business dealings, and in response Simon said that Davis is a “toll-booth” governor who makes policy only in exchange for campaign contributions.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 16% | more positive |
| 45 | more negative |
| 28 | [VOL] no difference |
| 11 | [VOL] don't know |

- 8C. In this campaign, a Gray Davis advertisement claimed that Bill Simon had engaged in fraudulent business dealings, and in response Simon denied that he was guilty of any wrongdoing.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 16% | more positive |
| 43 | more negative |
| 29 | [VOL] no difference |
| 12 | [VOL] don't know |

- 8D. In this campaign, a Gray Davis advertisement claimed that Bill Simon had engaged in fraudulent business dealings, and in response Simon said that Davis was engaging in mudslinging and negative campaigning.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 12% | more positive |
| 49 | more negative |
| 30 | [VOL] no difference |
| 9 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

8E. In this campaign, a Gray Davis advertisement claimed that Bill Simon had engaged in fraudulent business dealings, and in response Simon said that Davis is a “toll-booth” governor who makes policy only in exchange for campaign contributions.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 10% | more positive |
| 46 | more negative |
| 35 | [VOL] no difference |
| 9 | [VOL] don't know |

8F. In this campaign, a Gray Davis advertisement claimed that Bill Simon had engaged in fraudulent business dealings, and in response Simon denied that he was guilty of any wrongdoing.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 15% | more positive |
| 46 | more negative |
| 29 | [VOL] no difference |
| 10 | [VOL] don't know |

[SUBGROUP 1: 9A]

[SUBGROUP 2: 9B]

9A. If Bill Simon had ignored Davis' commercial instead of responding would this have made you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 37% | more positive |
| 24 | more negative |
| 28 | [VOL] no difference |
| 11 | [VOL] don't know |

9B. If Davis had not made this claim about Simon, would this have made you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 39% | more positive |
| 14 | more negative |
| 40 | [VOL] no difference |
| 7 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

[SUBGROUP 1: RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 10A TO 10C]

[SUBGROUP 2: RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 10D TO 10F]

10A. In this campaign, a Bill Simon advertisement claimed that Governor Davis makes state policy based on the interests of his campaign contributors, and in response Davis said that Simon was engaging in mudslinging and negative campaigning.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 12% | more positive |
| 58 | more negative |
| 24 | [VOL] no difference |
| 6 | [VOL] don't know |

10B. In this campaign, a Bill Simon advertisement claimed that Governor Davis makes state policy based on the interests of his campaign contributors, and in response Davis said that Simon himself is under investigation by federal regulators and the courts for illegal business and political activities.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 20% | more positive |
| 49 | more negative |
| 24 | [VOL] no difference |
| 7 | [VOL] don't know |

10C. In this campaign, a Bill Simon advertisement claimed that Governor Davis makes state policy based on the interests of his campaign contributors, and in response Davis denied that he ever made policy in exchange for campaign contributions.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 18% | more positive |
| 48 | more negative |
| 25 | [VOL] no difference |
| 9 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

10D. In this campaign, a Bill Simon advertisement claimed that Governor Davis makes state policy based on the interests of his campaign contributors, and in response Davis said that Simon was engaging in mudslinging and negative campaigning.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 18% | more positive |
| 44 | more negative |
| 32 | [VOL] no difference |
| 6 | [VOL] don't know |

10E. In this campaign, a Bill Simon advertisement claimed that Governor Davis makes state policy based on the interests of his campaign contributors, and in response Davis said that Simon himself is under investigation by federal regulators and the courts for illegal business and political activities.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 13% | more positive |
| 49 | more negative |
| 30 | [VOL] no difference |
| 8 | [VOL] don't know |

10F. In this campaign, a Bill Simon advertisement claimed that Governor Davis makes state policy based on the interests of his campaign contributors, and in response Davis denied that he ever made policy in exchange for campaign contributions.

Did this exchange make you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 22% | more positive |
| 42 | more negative |
| 29 | [VOL] no difference |
| 7 | [VOL] don't know |

[SUBGROUP 1: 11A]

[SUBGROUP 2: 11B]

11A. If Davis had ignored Simon's commercial instead of responding would this have made you feel more positively or more negatively about Gray Davis?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 39% | more positive |
| 26 | more negative |
| 27 | [VOL] no difference |
| 8 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

11B.If Simon had not made this claim about Davis, would this have made you feel more positive or more negative about Bill Simon?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 38% | more positive |
| 16 | more negative |
| 38 | [VOL] no difference |
| 8 | [VOL] don't know |

[SUBGROUP 1: RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 12A and 12 B]

[SUBGROUP 2: RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 12C and 12 D]

12A.In general, does your perception of how candidates run their campaigns affect your opinion of them?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 73% | yes |
| 24 | no |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

12B.In general, does your perception of how candidates run their campaigns affect how you choose to vote?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 57% | yes |
| 41 | no |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

12C.Does your perception of how Gray Davis and Bill Simon have run their campaigns affect your opinion of them?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 59% | yes |
| 38 | no |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

12D.Does your perception of how Gray Davis and Bill Simon have run their campaigns affect how you choose to vote for governor?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 47% | yes |
| 49 | no |
| 4 | [VOL] don't know |

[SUBGROUP 1: 13A]

[SUBGROUP 2: 13B]

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

13A. Some people say that, in general, political candidates should never be critical of their opponents because campaigns have gotten too negative, while others say that candidates need to criticize their opponents because it is important to know the strengths and weaknesses of all candidates. Which of these comes closest to your views?

- 48% candidates should never be critical
- 46 candidates need to criticize
- 6 [VOL] don't know

13B. Some people say that Gray Davis and Bill Simon should not be critical of one another because campaigns have gotten too negative, while others say that they need to criticize one another because it is important to know the strengths and weaknesses of both candidates. Which of these comes closest to your views?

- 58% candidates should not be critical
- 36 candidates need to criticize
- 6 [VOL] don't know

[SUBGROUP 1: 14A]

[SUBGROUP 2: 14B]

14A. If a candidate publicly released his tax returns when he filed to become a candidate for political office, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

- 23% much more favorably
- 21 somewhat more favorably
- 53 no difference
- 1 [VOL] less favorably
- 1 [VOL] tax returns shouldn't be publicly released
- 1 [VOL] don't know

14B. If Bill Simon had publicly released his tax returns when he filed to become a candidate for governor, would this have made you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it have made no difference to you?

- 13% much more favorably
- 21 somewhat more favorably
- 63 no difference
- 3 [VOL] don't know

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

15. If a candidate publicly released his **medical records** when he filed to become a candidate for political office, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

7% much more favorably
12 somewhat more favorably
77 no difference
1 [VOL] less favorably
2 [VOL] medical records shouldn't be publicly released
1 [VOL] don't know

[SUBGROUP 1: 16A]

[SUBGROUP 2: 16B]

- 16A. If a candidate publicly released a list of his campaign contributors and amounts received **as soon as** they got them, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

40% much more favorably
26 somewhat more favorably
31 no difference
1 [VOL] less favorably
2 [VOL] don't know

- 16B. If Gray Davis had publicly released a list of his campaign contributors and amounts received **as soon as** he got them, would this have made you view him made much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it have made no difference to you?

18% much more favorably
30 somewhat more favorably
50 no difference
1 [VOL] less favorably
1 [VOL] don't know

17. On another topic, in this year's election, the major candidates for governor held one public debate. Do you think having more debates would have made this campaign better, worse, or would have made no difference?

66% better
2 worse
30 no difference
2 [VOL] don't know

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

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

60% favor
33 oppose
7 [VOL] don't know

[SUBGROUP 1; 19A]

[SUBGROUP 2; 19B]

19A. In general, what is the most important thing that you learn from political campaigns?
[PROBE FOR ONE MOST IMPORTANT THING, PROBE FOR CLARITY] [IF
RESPONDENT IS UNSURE REPEAT QUESTION ONCE BEFORE ACCEPTING
NOTHING OR DK]

[OPEN END]

19B. What is the most important thing that you have learned from the current gubernatorial campaign?
[PROBE FOR ONE MOST IMPORTANT THING, PROBE FOR CLARITY]] [IF
RESPONDENT IS UNSURE REPEAT QUESTION ONCE BEFORE ACCEPTING
NOTHING OR DK]

[OPEN END]

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 20A AND 20B]

20A. More generally, overall do you think that election campaigns in California have gotten better in the last 10 years, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

13% gotten better
37 gotten worse
38 stayed the same
12 [VOL] don't know

20B. More generally, overall in terms of **ethics and values**, do you think that election campaigns in California have gotten better in the last 10 years, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

12% gotten better
42 gotten worse
37 stayed the same
9 [VOL] don't know

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

And for each of the following, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

[ROTATE QUESTIONS 21 TO 23]

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 21A AND 21B]

21A. Candidates should use public opinion surveys to help determine what positions to take on issues? [READ AS NECESSARY: Do you...]

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 35% | strongly agree |
| 32 | somewhat agree |
| 12 | somewhat disagree |
| 18 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] it depends |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

21B. Candidates should learn about what the public thinks to help determine what positions to take on issues? [READ AS NECESSARY: Do you...]

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 53% | strongly agree |
| 27 | somewhat agree |
| 9 | somewhat disagree |
| 9 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] it depends |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

22. Candidates should use public opinion surveys to help determine what the public is thinking about issues? [READ AS NECESSARY: Do you...]

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 53% | strongly agree |
| 33 | somewhat agree |
| 7 | somewhat disagree |
| 5 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] it depends |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 23A and 23B]

23A. Candidates should use public opinion surveys to help determine which issues to focus on in their campaigns? [READ AS NECESSARY: Do you...]

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 45% | strongly agree |
| 38 | somewhat agree |
| 9 | somewhat disagree |
| 6 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] it depends |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

23B. Candidates should learn about what the public thinks to help determine which issues to focus on in their campaigns? [READ AS NECESSARY: Do you...]

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 59% | strongly agree |
| 31 | somewhat agree |
| 5 | somewhat disagree |
| 3 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] it depends |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 24A OR 24B]

24A. Some people say that it **is** acceptable for candidates to use their resources to contact only registered voters because it enables them to use their resources efficiently, and others say that it **is not** acceptable for candidates to do this because it means people who aren't registered will receive less information and won't be encouraged to vote.

Which of these comes closest to your own view—that it **is** acceptable for candidates to contact only registered voters or that it **is not** acceptable for candidates to contact only registered voters.

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 43% | acceptable |
| 51 | not acceptable |
| 2 | [VOL] it depends |
| 4 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

24B. Some people say that it **is** ethical for candidates to use their resources to contact only registered voters because it enables them to use their resources efficiently, and others say that it **is not** ethical for candidates to do this because it means people who aren't registered will receive less information and won't be encouraged to vote.

Which of these comes closest to your own view—that it **is** ethical for candidates to contact only registered voters or that it **is not** ethical for candidates to contact only registered voters.

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 45% | ethical |
| 49 | not ethical |
| 2 | [VOL] it depends |
| 4 | [VOL] don't know |

25. Please list the top two ways that you prefer to hear candidates communicate their messages to you—through speeches, debates, mailers, radio or TV call-in-shows, door-to-door, town hall meetings, or some other way?

[RECORD RESPONSES IN ORDER OF MENTION; IF ONE MENTION ASK "And what would be the second way?"]

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| 16% | speeches |
| 34 | debates |
| 9 | mailers |
| 16 | call-in-shows |
| 3 | door-to-door |
| 15 | town hall meetings |
| 5 | some other way [SPECIFY] |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 26A AND 26B, UNLESS 26 = <8> DK OR <9> REFUSED THEN ALWAYS ASK 26B]

26A. If a candidate mostly communicated his message through [RESPONDENT'S MOST PREFERRED MEANS OF COMMUNICATION FROM Q25 - FIRST MENTION IN Q25] would this make you view him more favorably or less favorably?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 80% | more favorably |
| 6 | less favorably |
| 10 | [VOL] no difference |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

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26B. If a candidate mostly communicated his message through [IF RESPONDENT FIRST MENTIONS 1,2, or 3 IN Q25, USE AN UNMENTIONED 4,5, or 6 AT RANDOM; IF RESPONDENT FIRST MENTIONS 4,5, or 6 IN Q25, USE AN UNMENTIONED 1,2, or 3 AT RANDOM; ELSE AT RANDOM- 1,2,3,4,5 or 6 in Q25] would this make you view him more favorably or less favorably?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 51% | more favorably |
| 25 | less favorably |
| 21 | [VOL] no difference |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 27A AND 27B]

27A. If a candidate said that his campaign would rely mostly on television and radio ads to get his message out to voters would this make you view him more favorably or less favorably?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 38% | more favorably |
| 42 | less favorably |
| 18 | [VOL] no difference |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

27B. If a candidate said that his campaign would rely mostly upon volunteers, who would walk door-to-door in district neighborhoods and make phone calls, to get his message out to voters would this make you view him more favorably or less favorably?

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 57% | more favorably |
| 27 | less favorably |
| 14 | [VOL] no difference |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

28. Overall, what are the top two things that you are most interested in learning about the candidates' [ROTATE] (1) stands on the issues; (2) experience; (3) character; (4) intelligence; (5) party platform; (6) campaign practices; or (7) something else? [RECORD RESPONSES IN ORDER OF MENTION; IF ONE MENTION ASK: What would you name second?]

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| 40% | stands on the issues |
| 17 | experience |
| 24 | character |
| 10 | intelligence |
| 4 | party platform |
| 3 | campaign practices |
| 1 | something else [SPECIFY] |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 29A TO 29C]

29A. If a candidate promised that he would improve education, would that make you feel much more favorable toward the candidate, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 49% | much more favorable |
| 34 | somewhat more favorable |
| 3 | somewhat less favorable |
| 2 | much less favorable |
| 10 | [VOL] no difference |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

29B. If a candidate promised that he would hire more teachers for public schools, would that make you feel much more favorable toward the candidate, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 47% | much more favorable |
| 35 | somewhat more favorable |
| 6 | somewhat less favorable |
| 3 | much less favorable |
| 8 | [VOL] no difference |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

29C. If a candidate promised to hire 10,000 new teachers for the state's public schools over the next three years, would that make you feel much more favorable toward the candidate, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 39% | much more favorable |
| 38 | somewhat more favorable |
| 8 | somewhat less favorable |
| 4 | much less favorable |
| 8 | [VOL] no difference |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

30. 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 to pay for political campaigning; (2) candidates using money collected from their supporters to pay for political campaigning; (3) candidates using public money set-aside for elections to pay for political campaigning?

28% own personal money
37 money from supporters
30 public funds
2 [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
3 [VOL] don't know

31. What should candidates do for people or groups that contribute money to their campaigns—should they spend more time listening to contributors' views, give more support to contributors' issue positions, or something else?

29% should spend more time listening
18 should give more support
16 something else [SPECIFY]
3 [VOL] both more time listening and more support
5 [VOL] treat everyone equally/contributors and non-contributors alike
18 [VOL] nothing
11 [VOL] refuse

- 32[1]. And what are the top two purposes of political campaigns—to [ROTATE] win election, inform voters about candidates, inform representatives about the opinions of voters, get people to talk about politics with each other, (READ LAST) or something else?

[RECORD UP TO TWO ANSWERS IN ORDER OF MENTION; IF ONE MENTION ASK: What would you name second?]

FIRST MENTION:

33% win election
39 inform voters about candidates
11 inform representatives about the opinions of voters
11 get people to talk about politics with each other
2 something else [SPECIFY]
4 [VOL] don't know

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

32[2]. And what are the top two purposes of political campaigns—to [ROTATE] win election, inform voters about candidates, inform representatives about the opinions of voters, get people to talk about politics with each other, (READ LAST) or something else?

[RECORD UP TO TWO ANSWERS IN ORDER OF MENTION; IF ONE MENTION

ASK: What would you name second?]

SECOND MENTION:

| | |
|-----|---|
| 17% | win election |
| 34 | inform voters about candidates |
| 25 | inform representatives about the opinions of voters |
| 20 | get people to talk about politics with each other |
| 4 | something else [SPECIFY] |

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 33A AND 33B]

33A. 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?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 31% | great deal |
| 40 | fair amount |
| 20 | not too much |
| 7 | none at all |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

33B. 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?

| | |
|----|------------------|
| 8% | great deal |
| 37 | fair amount |
| 42 | not too much |
| 11 | none at all |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

34. 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?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 15% | a great deal |
| 45 | a fair amount |
| 32 | not too much |
| 6 | none at all |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

35[1]. And, what are the top two ways that people should communicate their views to political representatives —through [ROTATE] opinion surveys, interest groups and associations, voting, personal communications such as letters, giving money, (READ LAST) or something else?

[RECORD UP TO TWO ANSWERS IN ORDER OF MENTION; IF ONE MENTION

ASK: And what would be the second way?]

FIRST MENTION:

| | |
|-----|----------------------------------|
| 16% | opinion surveys |
| 8 | interest groups and associations |
| 42 | voting |
| 28 | personal communications |
| 3 | giving money |
| 1 | something else [SPECIFY] |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

35[2]. And, what are the top two ways that people should communicate their views to political representatives —through [ROTATE] opinion surveys, interest groups and associations, voting, personal communications such as letters, giving money, (READ LAST) or something else?

[RECORD UP TO TWO ANSWERS IN ORDER OF MENTION; IF ONE MENTION

ASK: And what would be the second way?]

SECOND MENTION:

| | |
|-----|----------------------------------|
| 19% | opinion surveys |
| 14 | interest groups and associations |
| 25 | voting |
| 35 | personal communications |
| 5 | giving money |
| 2 | something else [SPECIFY] |

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 36A TO 36D]

36A. If a candidate signed a campaign **code of conduct** pledging to run a truthful, fair, and clean campaign, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 48% | much more favorably |
| 27 | somewhat more favorably |
| 23 | no difference |
| 1 | [VOL] less favorably |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

36B. If a candidate signed a campaign **code of conduct** pledging to not use race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, or age as a basis for attacks, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 36% | much more favorably |
| 22 | somewhat more favorably |
| 40 | no difference |
| 1 | [VOL] less favorably |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

36C. If a candidate pledged to run a truthful, fair, and clean campaign, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 60% | much more favorably |
| 17 | somewhat more favorably |
| 22 | no difference |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

36D. If a candidate pledged to not use race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, or age as a basis for attacks, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 47% | much more favorably |
| 21 | somewhat more favorably |
| 30 | no difference |
| 1 | [VOL] less favorably |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TO 37A TO 37D]

37A. If a candidate signed a campaign **code of conduct** pledging to run an issue-oriented campaign, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 39% | much more favorably |
| 32 | somewhat more favorably |
| 26 | no difference |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

37B. If a candidate signed a campaign **code of conduct** pledging to participate in one or more public debates, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

38% much more favorably
32 somewhat more favorably
29 no difference
1 [VOL] don't know

37C. If a candidate pledged to run an issue-oriented campaign, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

39% much more favorably
33 somewhat more favorably
25 no difference
1 [VOL] less favorably
2 [VOL] don't know

37D. If a candidate pledged to participate in one or more public debates, would this make you view him much more favorably, somewhat more favorably, or would it make no difference to you?

43% much more favorably
30 somewhat more favorably
26 no difference
1 [VOL] don't know

38. In general, would you rather that your preferred candidate in an election ran an **unethical** campaign and won or ran an **ethical** campaign and lost?

10% unethical and win
83 ethical and lose
2 [VOL] other [SPECIFY]
5 [VOL] don't know

39. 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?

50% favor
46 oppose
4 [VOL] don't know

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

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

7% just about always
30 most of the time
57 only some of the time
5 [VOL] none of the time
1 [VOL] don't know

41. And turning to the state, overall 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?

7% just about always
29 most of the time
59 only some of the time
4 [VOL] none of the time
1 [VOL] don't know

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

IF YES: Are you registered as a Democrat, a Republican, another party, or as an independent?

77% yes [ASK Q42A]
23 no [SKIP TO Q44]

42A. Are you **registered** as a Democrat, a Republican, another party, or as an independent?

44% Democrat [ASK Q43B]
38 Republican [ASK Q43C]
3 other [SKIP TO Q44]
15 independent [ASK Q43A]

43A. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?

31% Republican party
42 Democratic party
19 [VOL] neither
8 [VOL] don't know
[SKIP TO Q.44]

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

43B. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a very strong Democrat?

48% strong
50 not very strong
2 [VOL] don't know
[SKIP TO Q.44]

43C. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican?

53% strong
45 not very strong
2 [VOL] don't know

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

9% very liberal
21 somewhat liberal
29 middle-of-the-road
27 somewhat conservative
11 very conservative
3 [VOL] don't know

45. 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
46 fair amount
26 only a little
5 none

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46[1]. And how do you get **most** of your information about politics—from television, newspapers, radio, the Internet, magazines, or talking to other people?

IF TELEVISION: Would that be major network TV, local TV, or cable news stations such as CNN or MSNBC?

[CODE UP TO TWO RESPONSES; RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION]

FIRST MENTION:

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| 10% | network television |
| 12 | local television |
| 15 | cable television |
| 30 | newspapers |
| 11 | radio |
| 7 | Internet |
| 3 | magazines |
| 10 | talking to other people |
| 2 | other |

46[2]. And how do you get **most** of your information about politics—from television, newspapers, radio, the Internet, magazines, or talking to other people?

IF TELEVISION: Would that be major network TV, local TV, or cable news stations such as CNN or MSNBC?

[CODE UP TO TWO RESPONSES; RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION]

SECOND MENTION:

| | |
|----|-------------------------|
| 9% | network television |
| 11 | local television |
| 11 | cable television |
| 25 | newspapers |
| 12 | radio |
| 8 | Internet |
| 7 | magazines |
| 15 | talking to other people |
| 2 | other |

47. How often would you say you vote—always, nearly always, part of the time, seldom, or never?

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| 49% | always |
| 22 | nearly always |
| 9 | part of the time |
| 6 | seldom |
| 14 | never |

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48. And do you plan to vote in the election on November 5th?

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

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

| | |
|-----|--|
| 60% | yes, local polling place |
| 9 | yes, absentee ballot—already mailed in |
| 7 | yes, absentee ballot—not yet mailed in |
| 21 | no, not planning to vote |
| 3 | [VOL] don't know |

The next set of questions is about activities in the last year. For each one, please tell me if you have or have not done any of the following in the past twelve months.

[ROTATE QUESTIONS 49 to 55].

49. Have you written or e-mailed a local, state, or federal elected official?

[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 27% | yes |
| 73 | no |

50. Have you attended a political rally or speech?

[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 15% | yes |
| 85 | no |

51. Have you attended a meeting on local or school affairs?

[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 37% | yes |
| 63 | no |

52. Have you signed a petition, such as the signatures gathered for local or state initiatives?

[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 37% | yes |
| 63 | no |

53. Have you worked for a political party, candidate, or initiative campaign?

[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

| | |
|----|-----|
| 6% | yes |
| 94 | no |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

54. Have you given money to a political party, candidate, or initiative campaign?
[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

18% yes
82 no

55. Have you been a member of any group that is working toward better government or political reform?
[READ AS NECESSARY: In the past 12 months...]

13% yes
87 no

Next, we have a few questions to see how much information about public officials actually gets out to the public. First,
[ROTATE 56 TO 58]

56. Dianne Feinstein. What job or political office does she now hold?

56% U.S. Senator
8 other [SPECIFY]
36 [VOL] don't know

57. Tony Blair. What job or political office does he now hold?

50% Prime Minister/president of England/Britain/United Kingdom
2 other [SPECIFY]
48 [VOL] don't know

58. Colin Powell. What job or political office does he now hold?

48% Secretary of State
9 other [SPECIFY]
6 [VOL] don't know
37 [VOL] refuse

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

On another topic, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.

[ROTATE 59 TO 64]

59. All citizens should have an equal opportunity to participate in the political process.

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 84% | strongly agree |
| 12 | somewhat agree |
| 2 | somewhat disagree |
| 2 | strongly disagree |

60. The wealthy and the poor should have equal influence on government policymaking.

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 79% | strongly agree |
| 15 | somewhat agree |
| 3 | somewhat disagree |
| 2 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

61. Sometimes I wish that my vote counted more than other people's votes.

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 19% | strongly agree |
| 16 | somewhat agree |
| 14 | somewhat disagree |
| 49 | strongly disagree |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

62. People should always try to understand political opinions different from their own.

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 67% | strongly agree |
| 27 | somewhat agree |
| 3 | somewhat disagree |
| 2 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

63. In a democracy, people should spend a lot of time talking about political issues.

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 41% | strongly agree |
| 40 | somewhat agree |
| 13 | somewhat disagree |
| 4 | strongly disagree |
| 2 | [VOL] don't know |

PPIC Statewide Survey: *Special Survey on Campaign Ethics*

64. A democracy should provide many opportunities for people and politicians to talk to one another.

| | |
|-----|-------------------|
| 74% | strongly agree |
| 22 | somewhat agree |
| 2 | somewhat disagree |
| 1 | strongly disagree |
| 1 | [VOL] don't know |

[Questions 65 to 76 are demographic questions]