

THE FIELD POLL

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

222 Sutter Street
San Francisco, CA 94108-4411
(415) 392-5763 FAX: (415) 434-2541
EMAIL: fieldpoll@field.com

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**LIKELY VOTERS FAVOR DAVIS'S
RECALL BY A 51% TO 43%
MARGIN, BUT VOTE INTENTIONS
APPEAR UNSETTLED.**

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by Mark DiCamillo and Mervin Field

By a margin of 51% to 43%, Californians considered most likely to participate in a recall election say they would now vote to remove Gray Davis as Governor if the recall should qualify for the ballot. However, the latest *Field Poll* finds that a number of factors could affect the outcome, making voter intentions unsettled.

For example, 22% of likely voters and 23% of those intending to vote Yes to remove the Governor say their decision on how they will vote will be affected "a lot" by which candidates run in the replacement election on the same ballot. In addition, one in five voters (19%) and 14% of Yes voters would be less likely to support Davis's recall if there was a satisfactory resolution of the state budget in the next few weeks.

Voters hold somewhat conflicting views about whether or not the recall effort is justified. Half of the electorate (50%) maintains that having a recall election is a bad thing for California, 62% fear that the eventual replacement Governor could be chosen by only a small percentage of voters in a crowded candidate field, and 59% believe that holding a special election for the recall would be a waste of taxpayer money.

These views are counter-balanced by the views held by 67% that having a recall election is a legitimate way for voters to express their displeasure with the poor performance of the Governor. In addition, majorities believe that Davis mislead voters about the magnitude of the state's budget problems during last year's re-election campaign (53%), and feel that holding a recall election is a good thing because the state needs new political leadership (51%).

Although no prominent Democrats have come forward as possible replacement candidates in the gubernatorial recall election, a number of Republicans and one Green Party candidate have either announced their candidacies or are reportedly giving serious consideration to a run.

The current poll finds three of these candidate possibilities rank at the top of voter preferences at this time. They are former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan (favored by 21%), movie actor Arnold Schwarzenegger (15%) and last year's GOP gubernatorial candidate Bill Simon (12%). An unusually large proportion of likely voters (24%), including 42% of Democrats, states that they would prefer someone else or not vote for any of these candidate possibilities listed.

These are the highlights of a just completed *Field Poll* which included interviews with 1,500 adults, 1,040 of whom were registered to vote and 719 were considered likely to vote in a recall election.

Recall vote intentions

When likely voters are asked if they would vote yes or no in a recall election of the Governor, 51% currently support removing Davis from office, while 43% would retain the Governor. Among the larger pool of all registered voters, sentiments for recalling the Governor have grown over the past three months. At present, 54% of the overall voter population favor Davis's recall, while 39% are opposed. This represents a significant increase in support for a gubernatorial recall from last April, when the overall electorate favored Davis's recall by a narrow 46% to 43% margin.

<u>Would vote...</u>	<u>Likely voters</u>	<u>Total registered voters</u>	
	<u>(July 2003)</u>	<u>July 2003</u>	<u>April 2003</u>
Yes, to remove Davis	51%	54%	46%
No, to retain Davis	43	39	43
Undecided	6	5	11

Likely voter subgroup analysis

An analysis of the vote intentions of subgroups of likely voters reveals that they are most influenced by their partisanship, how they voted in the last gubernatorial election and their current appraisals of the job Davis is doing as Governor.

Eighty-one percent of Republicans favor Davis's recall, as do 87% of those who voted for Simon last year, and 73% of those who disapprove of Davis's performance as Governor. On the other hand, somewhat smaller proportions of Democrats (69%), those who voted for Davis in the last election (75%) intend to vote No on the Davis recall. Of the approximately one in four likely voters who approves of Davis's job performance in office, an overwhelming 97% would vote no on his recall.

Other subgroups inclined to favor Davis's recall include: voters living in Southern California outside of Los Angeles County, Central Valley voters, conservatives, non-college graduates, voters age 40-49, men, white non-Hispanics, and those closely following news about the recall.

The subgroups most likely to oppose recalling the governor are: liberals, voters in the San Francisco Bay Area, blacks/Asian and other racial minorities, those with a post-graduate level education, and those who have not been following news about the recall closely.

Table 2
Voter intentions regarding a possible recall election of Governor Davis
(among likely voters)

	Yes, to remove <u>Davis</u>	No, to keep <u>Davis</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Likely voters – statewide	51%	43	6
<u>Party</u>			
(.43) Democrats	26%	69	5
(.39) Republicans	81%	14	5
(.18) Non-partisans/others	47%	44	9
<u>Political ideology</u>			
(.34) Conservative	80%	16	4
(.43) Middle-of-the-road	47%	47	6
(.23) Liberal	18%	75	7
<u>Region</u>			
(.22) Los Angeles County	48%	47	5
(.32) Other Southern California	57%	36	7
(.16) Central Valley	62%	31	7
(.24) San Francisco Bay Area	39%	57	4
(.06) Other Northern California**	56%	38	6
<u>Gender</u>			
(.46) Male	54%	43	3
(.54) Female	49%	43	8
<u>Race/ethnicity</u>			
(.77) White non-Hispanic	54%	41	5
(.12) Latino**	49%	48	3
(.11) All other**	33%	59	8
<u>Age</u>			
(.24) 18-39	50%	44	6
(.23) 40-49	56%	39	5
(.30) 50-64	52%	45	3
(.23) 65 or older	46%	45	9
<u>Education</u>			
(.19) High school graduate or less	60%	34	6
(.35) Some college/trade school	58%	38	4
(.23) College graduate	52%	43	5
(.22) Post graduate work	34%	59	7
<u>Following recall news</u>			
(.46) Very closely	56%	41	3
(.39) Somewhat closely	53%	41	6
(.15) Not closely**	35%	53	12
<u>Vote in 2002 election</u>			
(.46) Davis voter	19%	75	6
(.39) Simon voter	87%	10	3
(.15) Other**	57%	28	15
<u>Job Davis is doing as Governor</u>			
(.27) Approve	3%	97	*
(.65) Disapprove	73%	19	8

* Less than 1/2 of 1%.

** Small sample base.

Recall idea a good or bad thing?

When asked whether they felt the basic idea of holding a recall election was a good thing or bad thing for California, half of likely voters (50%) feel it is a bad thing, while 44% think it is a good thing.

Among all registered voters, 45% think the recall election would be bad for California, while 48% feel it would be a good thing. This represents an increase of 15 percentage points from April in the proportion of registered voters who believe the recall would be a good thing.

Almost three in four (74%) Democrats think it would be a bad thing for the state to hold a recall election of the Governor. Almost a similar proportion (73%) of Republicans takes the opposite view and believes the recall would be a good thing. By a 54% to 41% margin, non-partisans/others tend to think holding a recall election would be a bad thing for California.

Those who voted for Bill Simon for governor last year are overwhelming in their views that the recall election would be a good thing. Greater than three out of four (78%) of Simon's supporters feel this way. Conversely 79% of those who voted for Davis in the last election think the recall is a bad thing for California.

Not all those who say they intend to vote Yes on the recall feel it is a good thing to be holding an election at this time. About one in seven (14%) likely Yes voters say the recall would be a bad thing for the state. Those intending to vote No on the recall are more of a whole mind on the merits of holding a recall election, with 94% describing the recall election as a bad thing and just 3% thinking it is a good thing.

Table 3
Is holding a recall election of Governor Davis a good thing or a bad thing for California?
(among likely voters)

	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Likely voters – July 2003	50%	44	6
Total registered voters (July 2003)	45%	48	7
Total registered voters (April 2003)	59%	33	8
<u>Party</u>			
Democrats	74%	20	6
Republicans	22%	73	5
Non-partisans/others	54%	41	5
<u>Voted in 2002 election</u>			
Davis voter	79%	16	5
Simon voter	19%	78	3
Other	42%	42	16
<u>Current vote on Davis recall</u>			
Yes voters	14%	81	5
No voters	94%	3	3

Candidate field could affect recall vote

The current poll finds that voter intentions to vote Yes or No on Davis’s recall are far from settled, especially among Yes voters, with significant proportions saying their decisions could be affected by events and situations occurring in the coming weeks and months.

For example, 22% of all likely voters (and 23% of Yes voters) say their decision on how they will vote on the recall of Davis will be affected “a lot” by which candidates run in the replacement election. Another 21% say they would be affected some or a little.

Table 4				
How much will your decision to vote YES or NO on the Davis recall be affected by which candidates run in the replacement election? (among likely voters)				
	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some/ a little</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Statewide	22%	21	54	3
<u>Party</u>				
Democrats	24%	16	57	3
Republicans	24%	22	51	3
Non-partisans/others	13%	30	54	3
<u>Current vote on Davis recall</u>				
Yes voters	23%	21	52	3
No voters	17%	19	63	1

Passage of a satisfactory budget could affect recall vote

Another factor that could reduce voter inclinations to recall Davis is whether the legislature and the Governor approve a satisfactory state budget in the next few weeks. Among all likely voters 19% say that a satisfactory budget resolution in the coming weeks would make them less inclined to recall Davis. Just 7% say it would make them more inclined and 72% say this would make no difference to their recall vote decision.

Another possibility that would weaken the desire of likely voters to recall Davis is if no prominent Democrat runs in the replacement election. One in seven (15%) say that the absence of a prominent Democrat on the replacement candidate list would make them less inclined to recall Davis with half that number (8%) saying it would increase their inclination to remove Davis from office. However, just 4% of current Yes voters say the lack of a Democratic candidate would make them less inclined to recall the Governor.

Table 5
Factors that could change voters minds on how they
would vote in the Davis recall election
(among likely voters)

	<u>Less inclined to recall Davis</u>	<u>No Difference</u>	<u>More inclined to recall Davis</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
If Governor Davis and the state legislature approve a satisfactory state budget in the next few weeks				
<u>Total</u>	<u>19%</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
Yes voters	14%	75	9	2
No voters	22%	72	6	*
If no prominent Democrat runs in the gubernatorial replacement election (Total)				
<u>Total</u>	<u>15%</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>
Yes voters	4%	84	12	*
No voters	25%	68	4	3

* Less than 1/2 of 1%.

Reaction to arguments in favor of the recall

The Field Poll also attempted to measure the relative potency of four arguments in support of the drive to remove Davis from office.

The argument that is endorsed by the largest proportion (67%) of likely voters is that “having a recall election is a legitimate way for voters to express their displeasure with Davis’s poor performance as Governor.” Just 31% disagree with this statement. While almost all Yes voters (94%) agree with this statement, a relatively large segment (38%) of No voters also endorses this argument.

A smaller majority (53%) also agrees with the statement 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.” However, there is a big difference in the way Yes and No voters respond to this argument. Nine out of ten (90%) Yes voters endorse this argument, but 82% of No voters reject it.

One pro-recall statement which almost evenly divides likely voters is that “holding a recall election is a good thing because Gray Davis has failed as Governor and the state needs new leadership.” This argument is endorsed by a narrow 51% to 45% majority. However, it sharply divides the Yes and No voters. Almost all (93%) Yes voters are in agreement, while a corresponding 91% of No voters oppose this statement.

A large majority (65%) of likely voters disagrees with the argument that recalling Governor Davis will make it easier to solve the state’s budget problems, while just 29% agree. Only a little more than one-half (53%) of Yes voters agree with this statement, while almost all (95%) of No voters do not buy this argument.

Table 6
Voter opinions of arguments IN FAVOR of the Davis recall election
(among likely voters)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Having a recall election is a legitimate way for voters to express their displeasure with Davis' poor performance as Governor			
<u>Total</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>2</u>
Yes voters	94%	5	1
No voters	38%	62	*
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			
<u>Total</u>	<u>53%</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>6</u>
Yes voters	90%	7	3
No voters	11%	82	7
Holding a recall election is a good thing because Gray Davis has failed as Governor and the state needs new leadership			
<u>Total</u>	<u>51%</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>4</u>
Yes voters	93%	5	2
No voters	7%	91	2
Recalling Governor Davis will make it easier to solve the state's budget problems			
<u>Total</u>	<u>29%</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>6</u>
Yes voters	53%	40	7
No voters	4%	95	1

* Less than 1/2 of 1%.

Reactions to arguments against the recall

The argument against the recall which draws the greatest levels of voter agreement is the statement: "Because there could be a large number of candidate choices on the recall ballot, the eventual winner will likely get only a small share of the total vote, and this is no way to elect a Governor." Greater than six in ten (62%) of all voters agree with his argument, including 40% of Yes voters and almost nine in ten (86%) of the No voters.

Another anti-recall argument endorsed by a 59% majority is "holding a recall election of the Governor this fall would be a waste of taxpayer money." One-fourth (24%) of Yes voters and 96% of No voters agree with this statement.

By a 52% to 44% margin, likely voters also agree that "as unpopular as Davis may be, attempting to recall him would set a bad precedent and make recall elections more common in the future." Yes and No votes hold diametrically opposite views on this argument, with 83% of the No voters agreeing and 71% of the Yes voters disagreeing.

The argument that “holding a recall election so soon after Davis won the re-election is just sour grapes by those who want to undo last year’s election results” is rejected by a 57% to 40% margin. Nearly nine in ten (87%) Yes voters disagree with this view, while 73% of No voters agree.

Table 7
Voter opinions of arguments AGAINST the Davis recall election
(among likely voters)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Because there could be a large number of candidate choices on the recall ballot, the eventual winner will likely get only a small share of the total vote, and this is no way to elect a Governor	<u>Total</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>5</u>
	Yes voters	40%	54	6
	No voters	86%	13	1
Holding a recall election of the Governor this fall would be a waste of taxpayer money	<u>Total</u>	<u>59%</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>2</u>
	Yes voters	24%	73	3
	No voters	96%	3	1
As unpopular as Davis may be, attempting to recall him would set a bad precedent and make recall elections more common in the future	<u>Total</u>	<u>52%</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>4</u>
	Yes voters	26%	71	3
	No voters	83%	13	4
Holding a recall election so soon after Davis won re-election is just sour grapes by those who want to undo last year’s election results	<u>Total</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>3</u>
	Yes voters	13%	87	*
	No voters	73%	23	4

* Less than 1/2 of 1%.

Candidates in replacement election

If a majority of voters chooses to remove Davis from the governor's office, voters will be asked on the same ballot to select a replacement from a list of candidates who have filed for the office. There would only be just one ballot listing of candidates from any party who have filed for candidacy no later than 59 days prior to the election. The candidate with the most votes, no matter how small the proportion, would become governor.

Republican Congressman Darrel Issa, the chief financial contributor to the recall effort, has officially announced that he will be a candidate. Peter Miguel Camejo, who ran for Governor last year on the Green Party ticket, has also announced his candidacy. Four other individuals, all Republicans, have been reportedly been giving serious consideration to a run. They are: former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, movie actor Arnold Schwarzenegger, 2002 GOP gubernatorial candidate Bill Simon, and State Senator Tom McClintock.

While there was a flurry of speculation about possible Democrats who might run as replacement candidates, each has since announced that they do not intend to run.

An attempt was made in this survey to measure the relative voter strength of the six candidates who have announced or are still weighing a gubernatorial run.

Inclination to support

A two-step question process was used. In the first, likely voters were asked how inclined they would be to support each possible candidate. Replies were then ranked according to the proportion of voters inclined to support each candidate. In this setting, Riordan leads with 37% of voters inclined to support his candidacy, followed by Schwarzenegger (31%), Simon (30%), McClintock (27%), Issa (22%) and Camejo (11%).

Table 8

Inclination to support each of six possible candidates in a replacement election for governor should Davis be recalled (among likely voters)

	<u>Inclined</u>	<u>Not inclined</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Richard Riordan, Republican	37%	53	10
Arnold Schwarzenegger, Republican	31%	62	7
Bill Simon, Republican	30%	62	8
Tom McClintock, Republican	27%	57	16
Darrell Issa, Republican	22%	61	7
Peter Miguel Camejo, Green Party	11%	73	16

First choice preferences

When likely voters are then asked for their first choice preferences among these candidates, Riordan, at 21% is ahead of Schwarzenegger at 15%. Simon is in third place with 12%. Next in order of preference are Camejo, who has 8%, McClintock (7%) and Issa (4%). A relatively large 24% of likely voters report preferring someone else or would not vote for any of these candidates, and 9% are undecided.

If Riordan were not running, Schwarzenegger would be the leader over Simon 20% to 15%. If Schwarzenegger were not a candidate, Riordan's lead would open up to nine points over Simon – 25% to 16%.

Table 9
First choice preferences for a replacement governor from
among these candidates should Davis be recalled
(among likely voters)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Without</u> <u>Riordan</u>	<u>Without</u> <u>Schwarzenegger</u>
Riordan	21%	---	25%
Schwarzenegger	15	20%	---
Simon	12	15	16
Camejo	8	9	9
McClintock	7	9	8
Issa	4	6	5
Someone else/none	24	29	26
Undecided	9	12	11

* Less than 1/2 of 1%

Preferences by sub-group

An examination of the replacement candidate preferences of different likely voter subgroups reveals these trends: Among Republicans likely to vote, the top three candidates are Riordan (27%), Simon (21%) and Schwarzenegger (16%). Among Democrats, Riordan leads with 21% followed by Schwarzenegger and Camejo, both at 11%. However, a huge 42% of Democrats say they would not choose any of these candidates or would vote for someone else.

Among voters who intended to vote to recall the Governor, three Republicans are bunched close together at the top – Riordan 22%, Schwarzenegger (21%) and Simon (21%). Among those intending to vote No on Davis's recall, half (48%) of voters say they would not vote for any of the candidates listed or they would choose someone else. Riordan leads among those in this group who express a preference at 20%, followed by Camejo at 11%.

Riordan draws much of his current strength from voters in his home county of Los Angeles, where 33% favor his candidacy. Riordan also does well among middle-of-the-road voters, of which 26% support him. Schwarzenegger runs better among younger voters than older voters. Simon runs best among conservatives and those who supported his candidacy last year.

Table 10
First choice preferences for replacement governor – by subgroup
(among likely voters)

	<u>Riordan</u>	<u>Schwarz- enegger</u>	<u>Simon</u>	<u>Camejo</u>	<u>McClintock</u>	<u>Issa</u>	<u>Someone else/none</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Likely voters – statewide	21%	15	12	8	7	4	24	9
<u>Party</u>								
(.43) Democrats	21%	11	3	11	3	1	42	8
(.39) Republicans	27%	16	21	*	10	9	7	10
(.18) Non-partisans/others	13%	15	12	18	10	2	16	4
<u>Vote on Davis recall</u>								
(.51) Yes voter	22%	21	21	3	10	8	5	10
(.43) No voter	20%	7	7	11	2	*	48	5
<u>Political ideology</u>								
(.34) Conservative	18%	20	22	2	13	8	7	10
(.43) Middle-of-the-road	26%	16	10	4	3	3	27	11
(.22) Liberal	16%	4	1	22	4	1	44	8
<u>Region</u>								
(.22) Los Angeles County	33%	18	11	6	5	1	19	7
(.32) Other Southern California	23%	12	10	6	8	8	22	11
(.16) Central Valley	13%	14	18	5	11	7	22	10
(.24) San Francisco Bay Area	13%	12	13	13	5	*	34	10
(.06) Other Northern California**	20%	26	11	6	5	6	22	4
<u>Gender</u>								
(.46) Male	21%	16	12	9	7	7	22	6
(.54) Female	21%	13	12	6	6	3	26	13
<u>Race/ethnicity</u>								
(.77) White non-Hispanic	22%	13	13	6	8	5	23	10
(.12) Latino**	17%	21	11	13	3	3	21	11
(.11) All other**	17%	17	9	13	4	1	31	8
<u>Age</u>								
(.24) 18-39	13%	21	16	14	7	3	17	9
(.23) 40-49	24%	16	12	7	11	3	21	6
(.30) 50-64	23%	11	11	6	6	7	26	10
(.23) 65 or older	26%	12	8	4	5	4	32	9
<u>Following recall news</u>								
(.46) Very closely	23%	14	9	4	11	7	26	6
(.39) Somewhat closely	22%	15	15	9	4	3	23	9
(.15) Not closely	15%	15	12	15	3	*	23	17
<u>Vote in 2002 election</u>								
(.46) Davis voter	19%	10	4	10	3	*	45	9
(.39) Simon voter	23%	18	24	*	11	11	4	9
(.15) Other	23%	19	5	19	7	1	15	11

* Less than ½ of 1%

** Relatively small sample sizes.

Information About the Survey

Sample Details

The results in this report are based on a telephone survey conducted in English and Spanish among a random sample of California registered voters. Interviews were completed during the period July 1 – 13, 2003 among a representative sample of 1,500 adults, of whom 1,040 reported being registered to vote and 719 were deemed most likely to vote in a recall election. In order to cover a large number of issues and still minimize possible respondent fatigue, the overall likely sample was divided into two approximately equal sized random subsamples of 346 and 373 voters each on some questions.

Households were sampled using random digit dialing, which telephone exchanges within all area codes serving California in proportion to population. Within each exchange a random sample of telephone numbers are created by adding random digits to the telephone exchange selected, permitting access to all telephone numbers both listed and unlisted.

According to statistical theory, 95% of the time results from the overall likely voter sample would have a sampling error of +/- 4 percentage points, while findings from the two random subsamples would have a sampling error of +/- 5.2 points.

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

Questions Asked

There is currently an effort under way to gather signatures to hold a recall election to ask voters to remove Governor Gray Davis from office. How closely have you been following the news about a possible recall election to remove Governor Gray Davis from office – very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely or not at all closely?

(THE ORDERING OF THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS WAS ROTATED)

Suppose the Davis recall effort does qualify for the ballot and there is a statewide recall election. If you were voting today, would you vote YES to remove Davis from office or NO to keep Davis as Governor?

If an election were held to recall Governor Davis, on the same ballot voters would be asked who they'd support to replace Davis as Governor. I am going to read the names of some people who have been mentioned as possibilities. As I read each person, please tell me whether you would be inclined or not inclined to vote for that person to replace Davis as Governor. You may name as many or as few persons as you are inclined to vote for. (NAMES AND TITLES OF PERSON READ IN RANDOM ORDER) Would you be inclined or not inclined to vote for (NAME) to replace Davis as Governor? (SEE RELEASE FOR CANDIDATES READ)

Suppose these were the candidates in the recall election to replace Gray Davis as Governor. (NAMES AND PARTIES OF CANDIDATES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) If the election were being held today, for whom would you vote – (NAMES OF ALL CANDIDATES REPEATED IN RANDOM ORDER) or someone else? (IF PREFERENCE GIVEN:) Who would be your second choice?

Generally speaking, do you think holding a recall election of Governor Davis would be a good thing or bad thing for California?

(ASKED OF SUBSAMPLE A)

As things stand now, there are no prominent Democrats running on the recall ballot to replace Gray Davis. Does this make you more inclined or less inclined to vote to recall Davis, or would it make no difference on whether you would vote to recall Davis as Governor?

Suppose that in the next few weeks, Governor Davis and the state legislature approve a satisfactory state budget. Would this make you more inclined or less inclined to recall Davis, or would it make no difference on whether you would vote to recall Davis as Governor?

(ASKED OF SUBSAMPLE B)

How much will your decision about whether to vote YES or NO on the recall of Davis be affected by which candidates decide to run to replace Davis as Governor – a lot, some, a little, or not at all?

I am going to read some statements people have made about holding a recall election of Governor Davis. For each, please tell me whether you agree or disagree. (ITEMS READ IN RANDOM ORDER, ASKING:) Do you agree or disagree? (SEE RELEASE FOR STATEMENTS)