

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH**

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March 24, 2006

# Democracy Corps

Carville and Greenberg

National Survey Results



***Democracy Corps***

## The Change Election

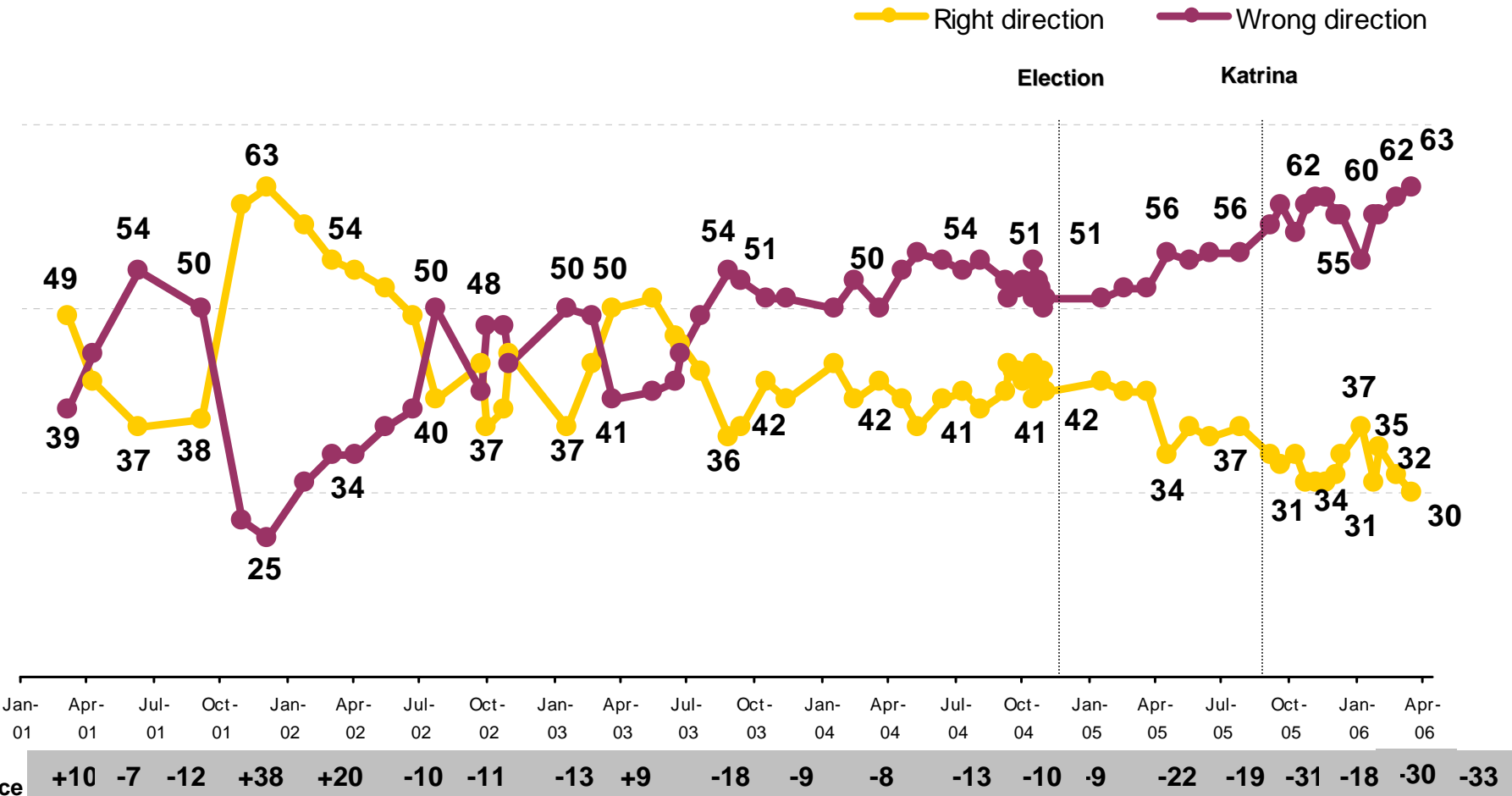
- About Bush
- New Strategic world
  - Democratic base – mobilization
  - The independent swing – alienated
  - Taking new ground
  - Don't forget seniors
- Defining the election
  - Themes
  - What's wrong with Washington
  - The Choice
- National security
- The Agenda

# Direction of the country

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# Desire for change reaches new high

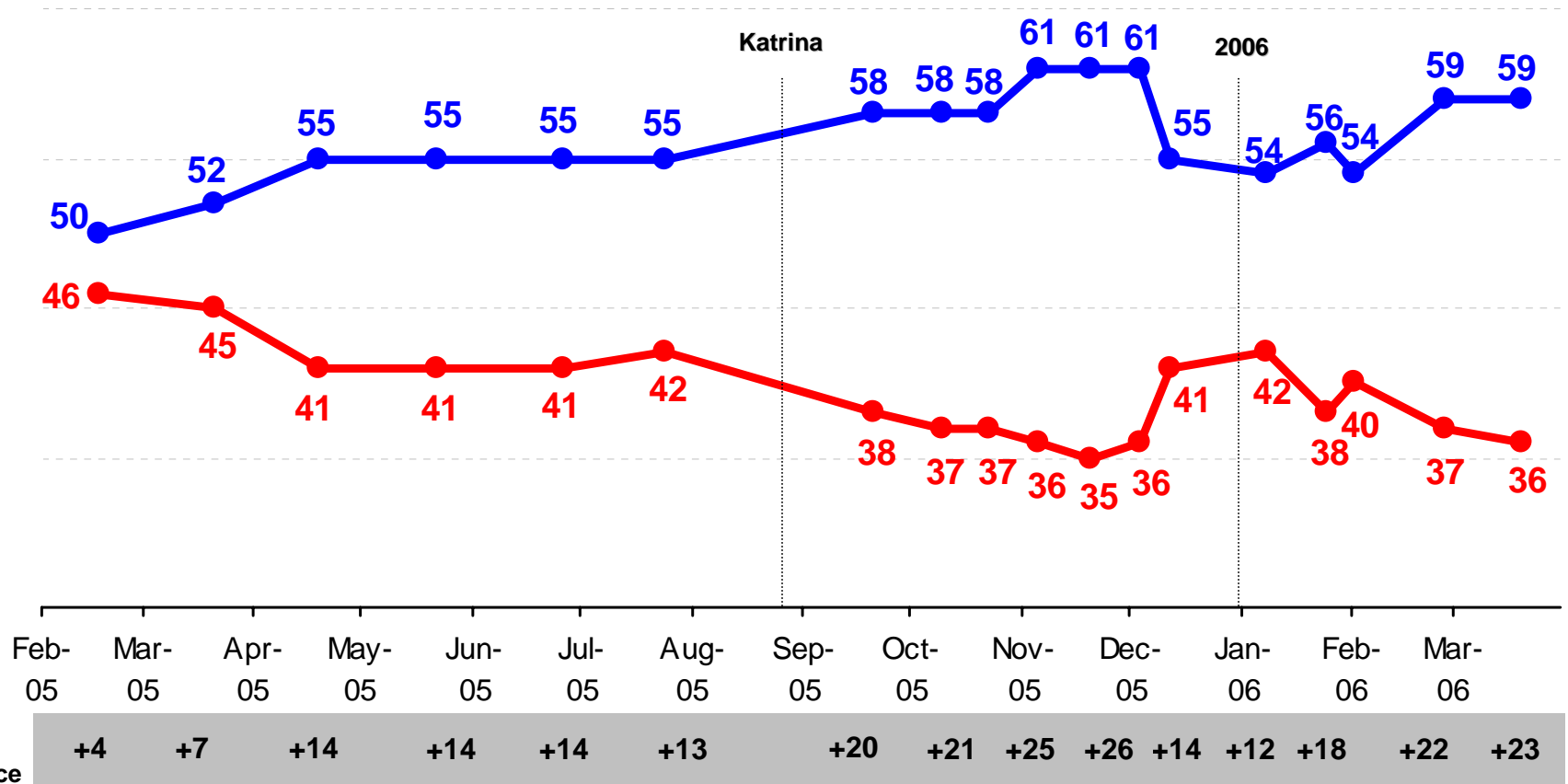
Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



# Just over a third want to continue in Bush's direction

Now let me ask overall, do you think the country should continue in the direction Bush is headed or go in a significantly different direction?

● Significantly Different Direction  
● Bush Direction

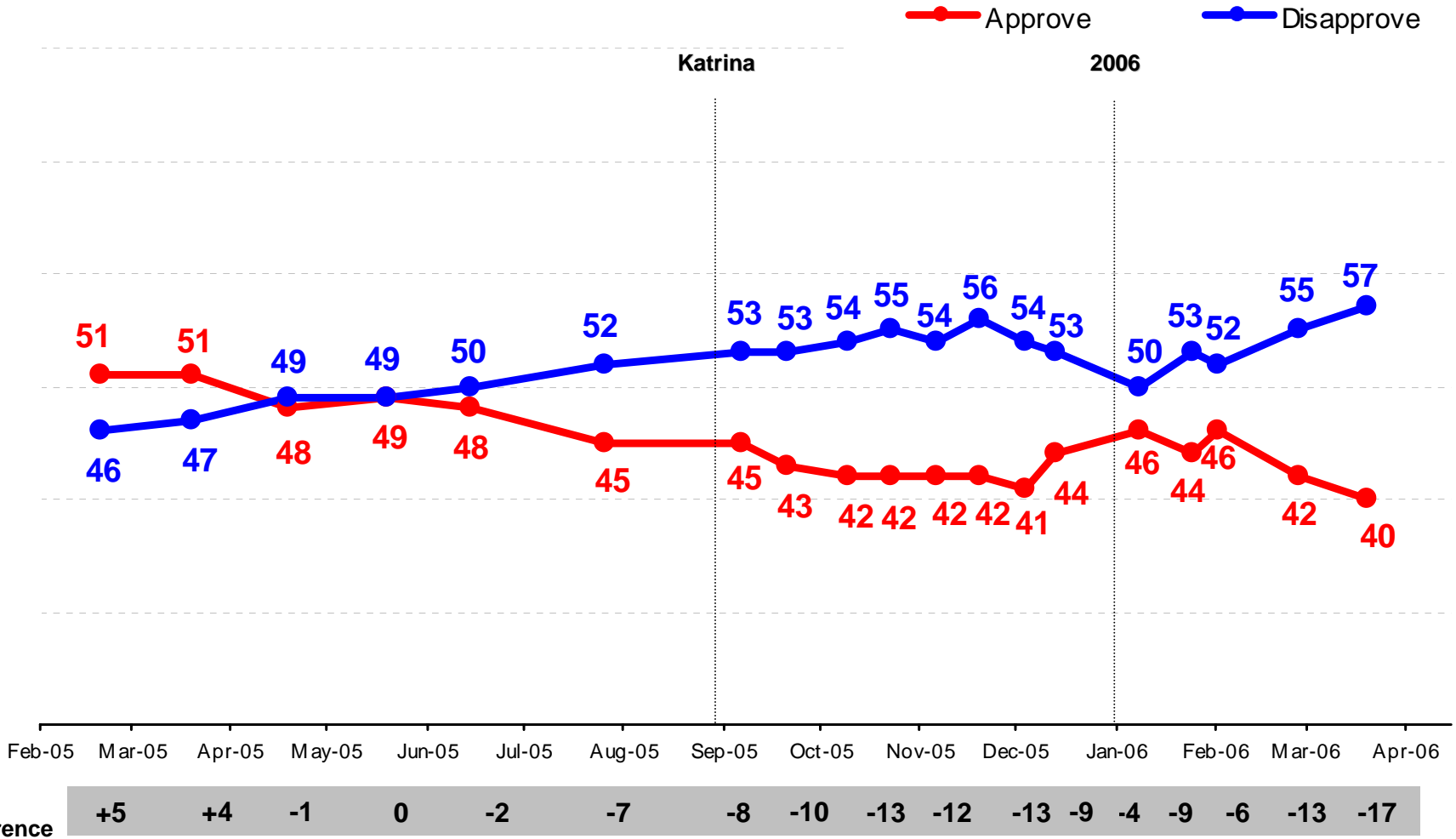


# President Bush

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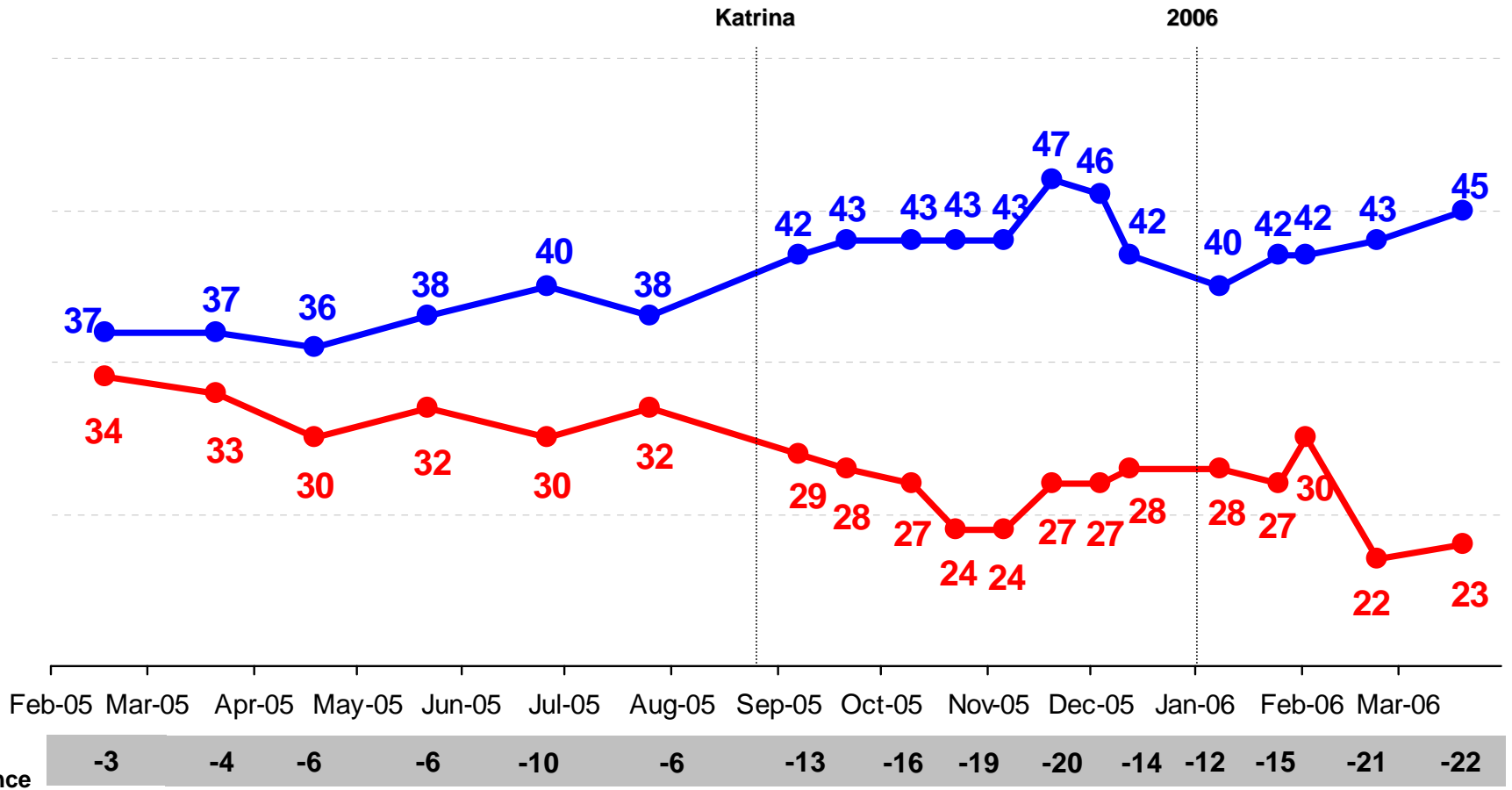
# Bush job approval reaches new low

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

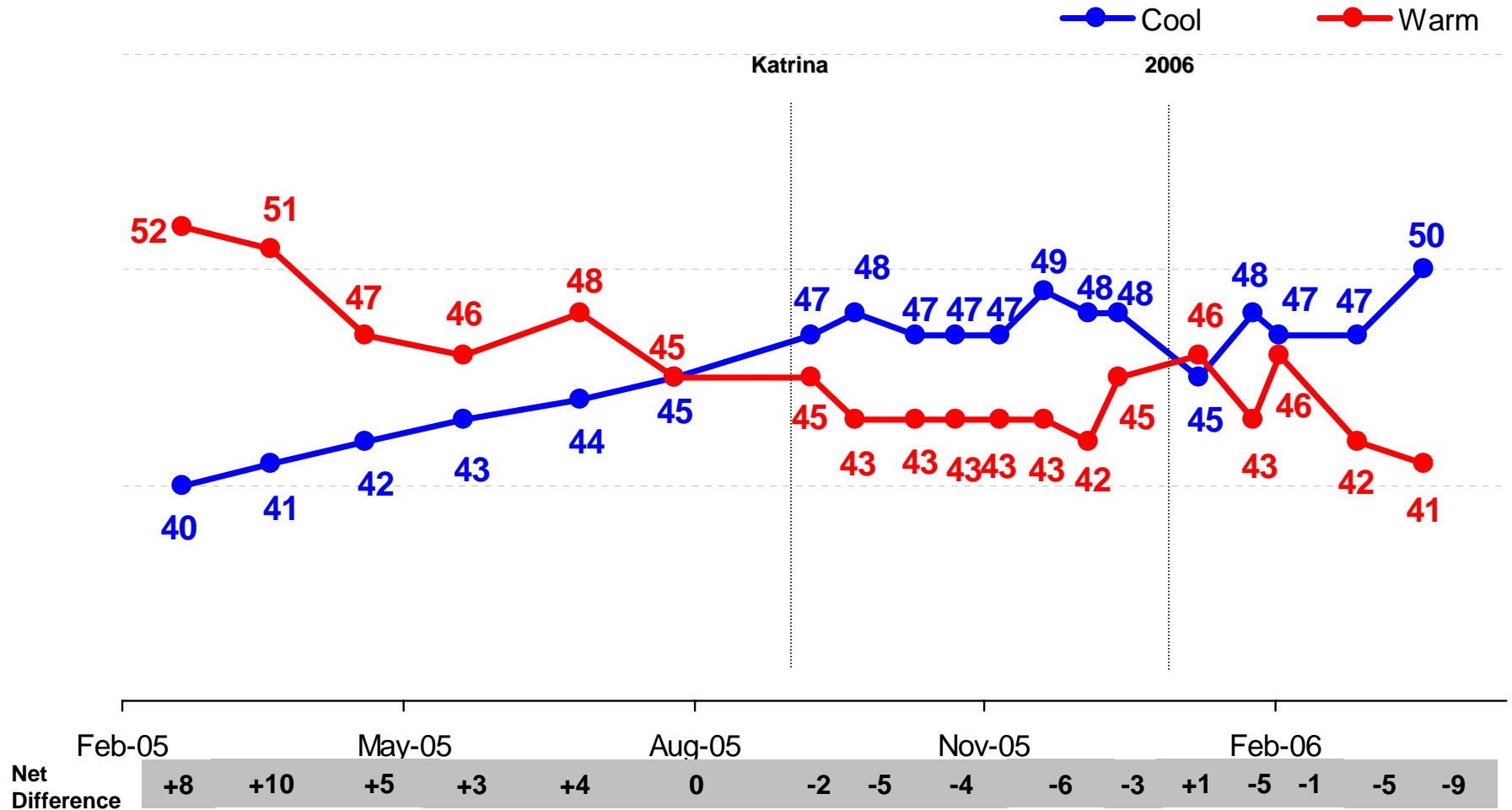


# Less than a quarter remain avid Bush supporters

● Approve strongly    ● Disapprove strongly

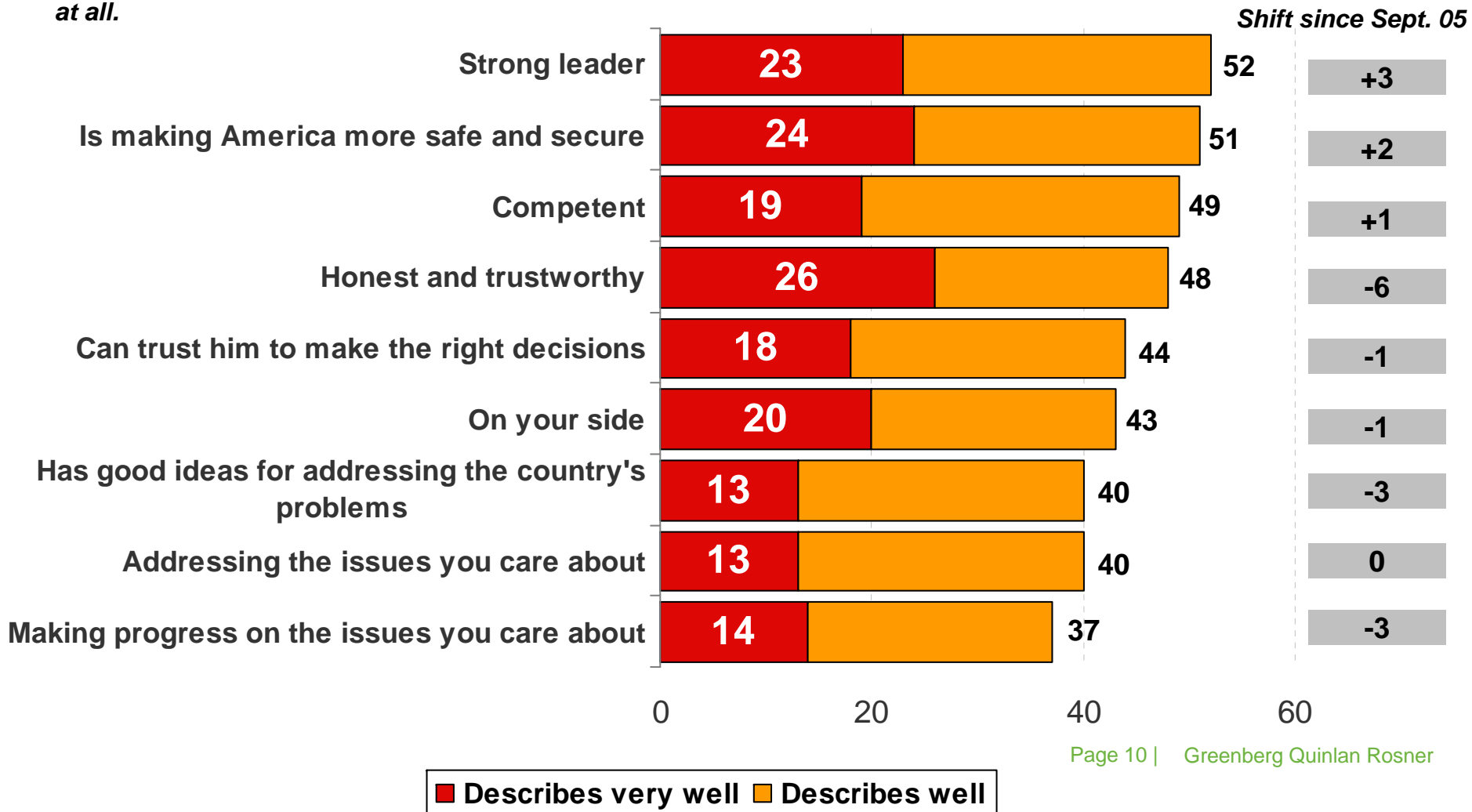


# Bush personal favorability at lowest level as well



## Bush positive attributes

Now I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes George Bush very well, well, not too well or not well at all.



## Bush negative attributes

Now I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes George Bush very well, well, not too well or not well at all.

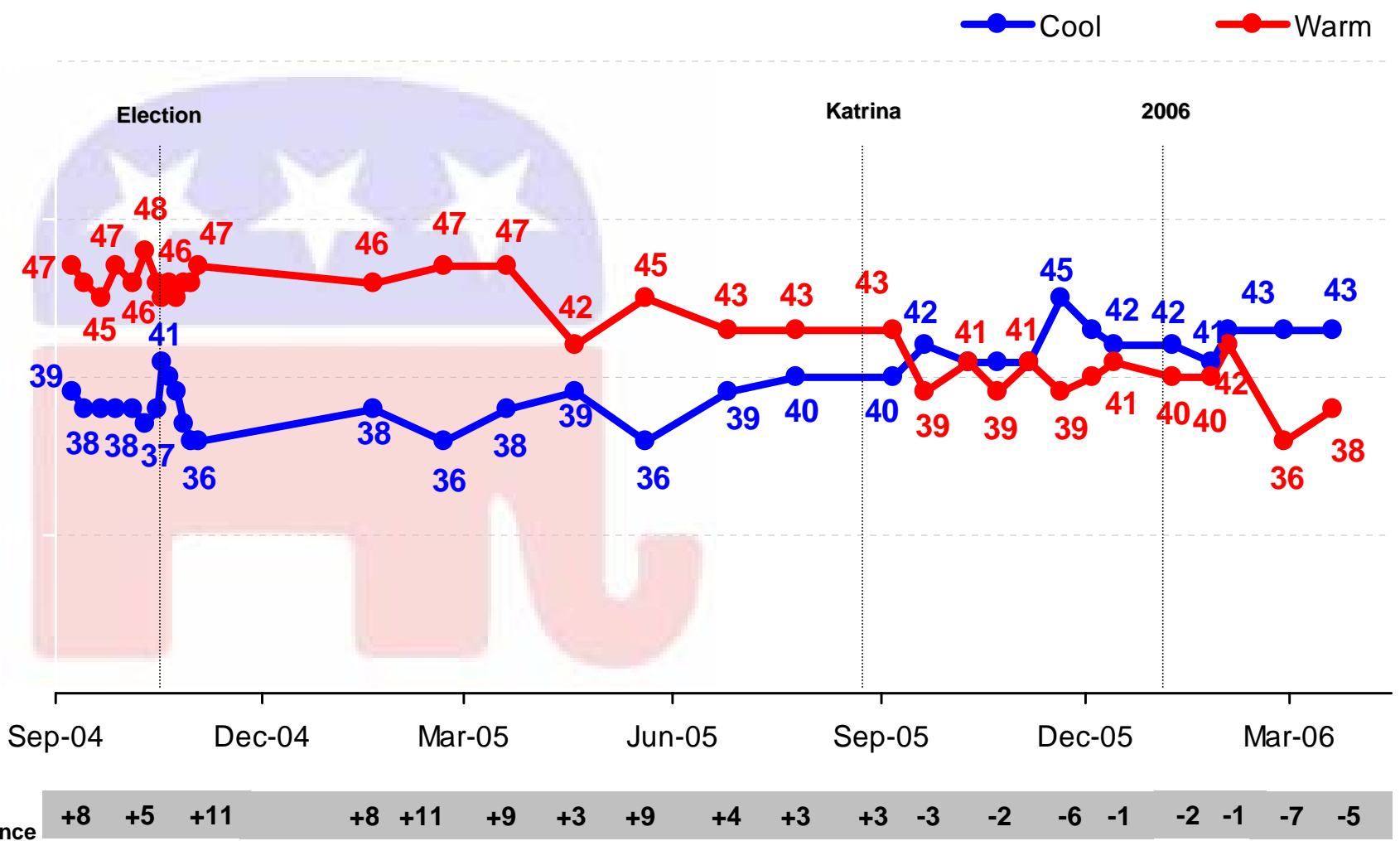
Shift since Sept. 05



# The parties and the election

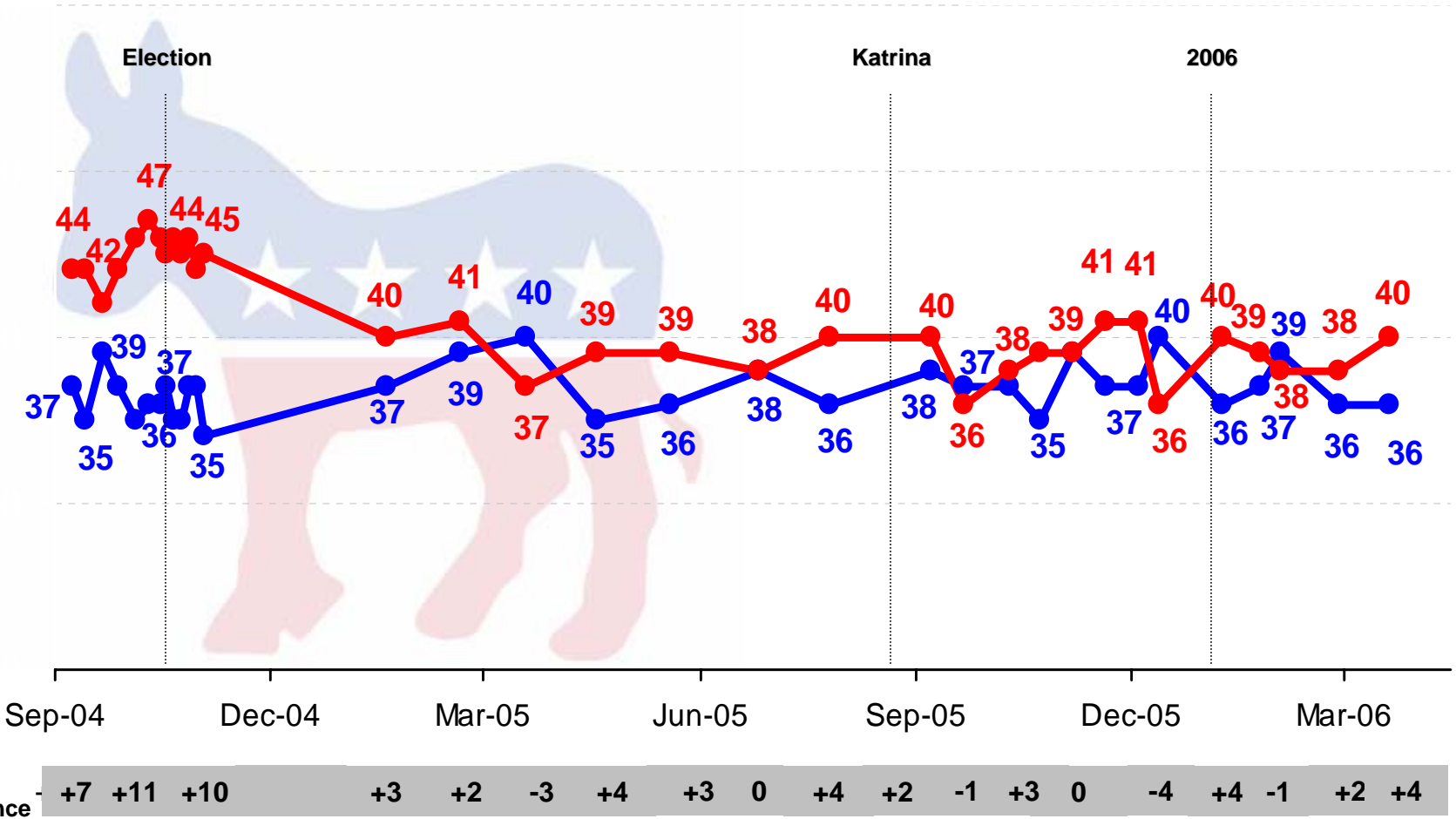
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# View of Republicans dropped to new lower level



# Democrats show marginal improvement

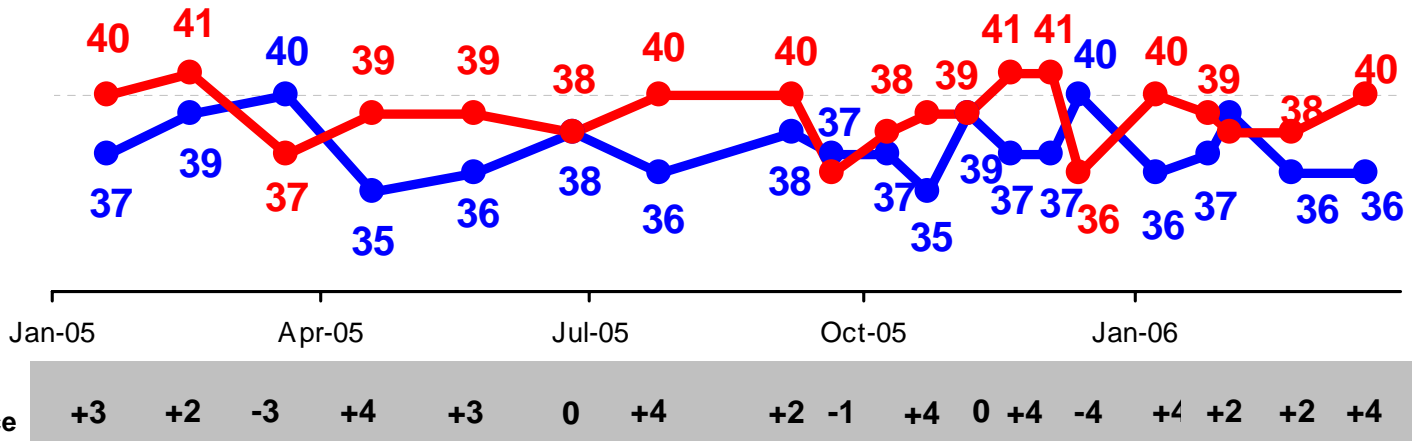
● Cool ● Warm



# Comparing now and 1994: Party favorability

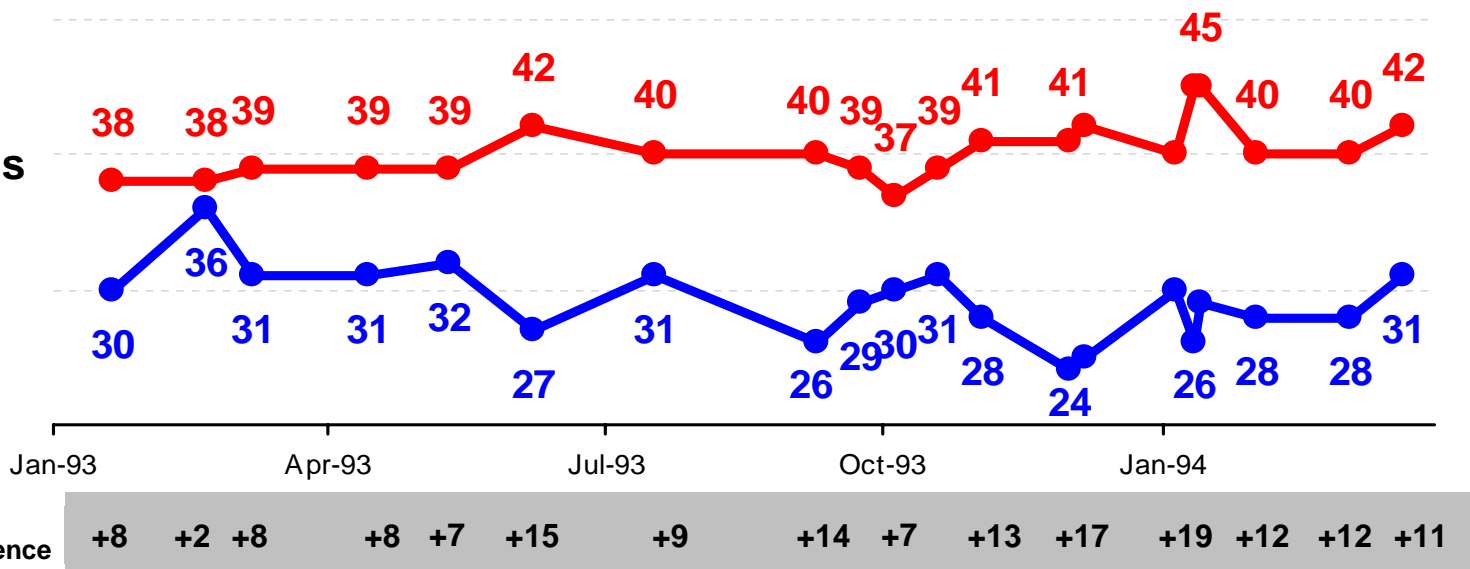
## The Democrats

Jan. 2005 –  
March 2006

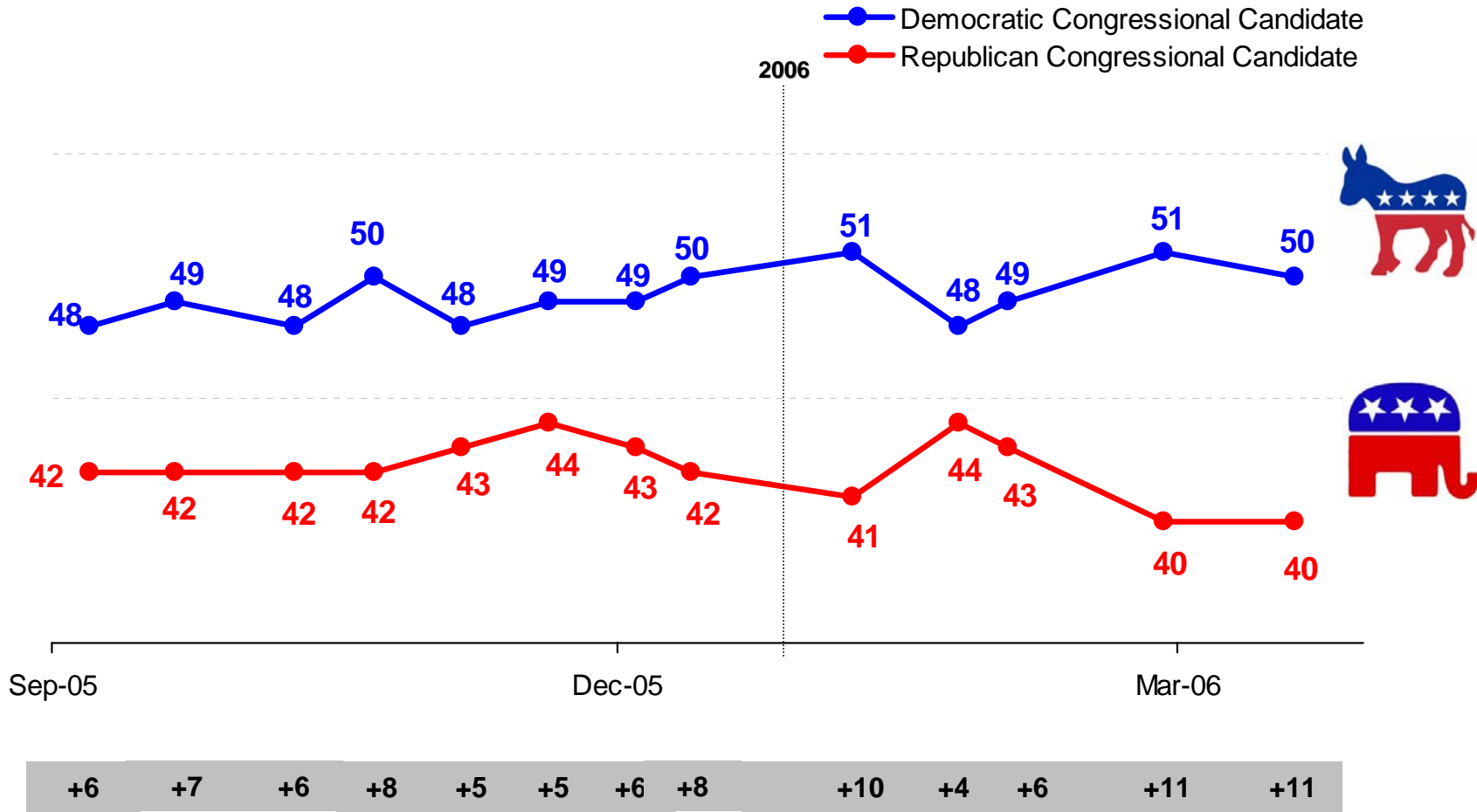


## The Republicans

Jan. 1993 –  
March 1994

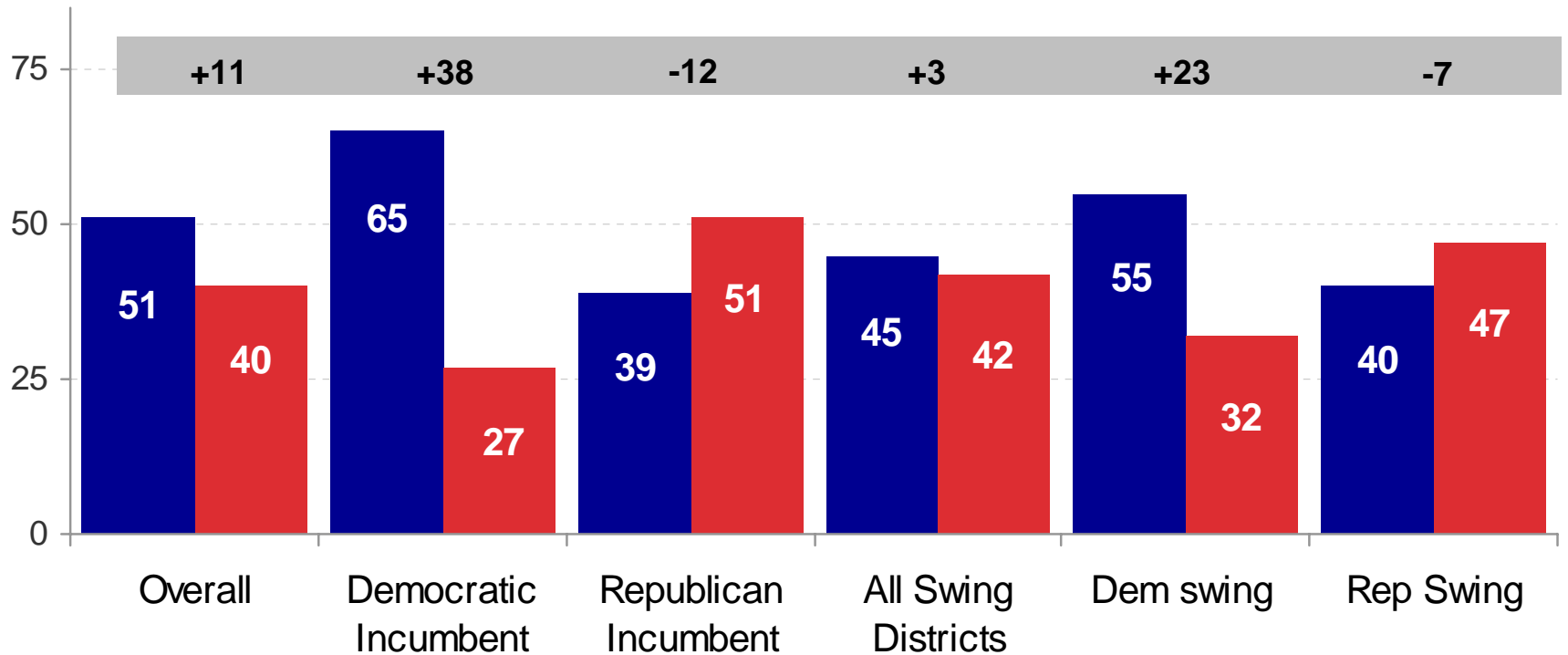


# Real Congressional Vote



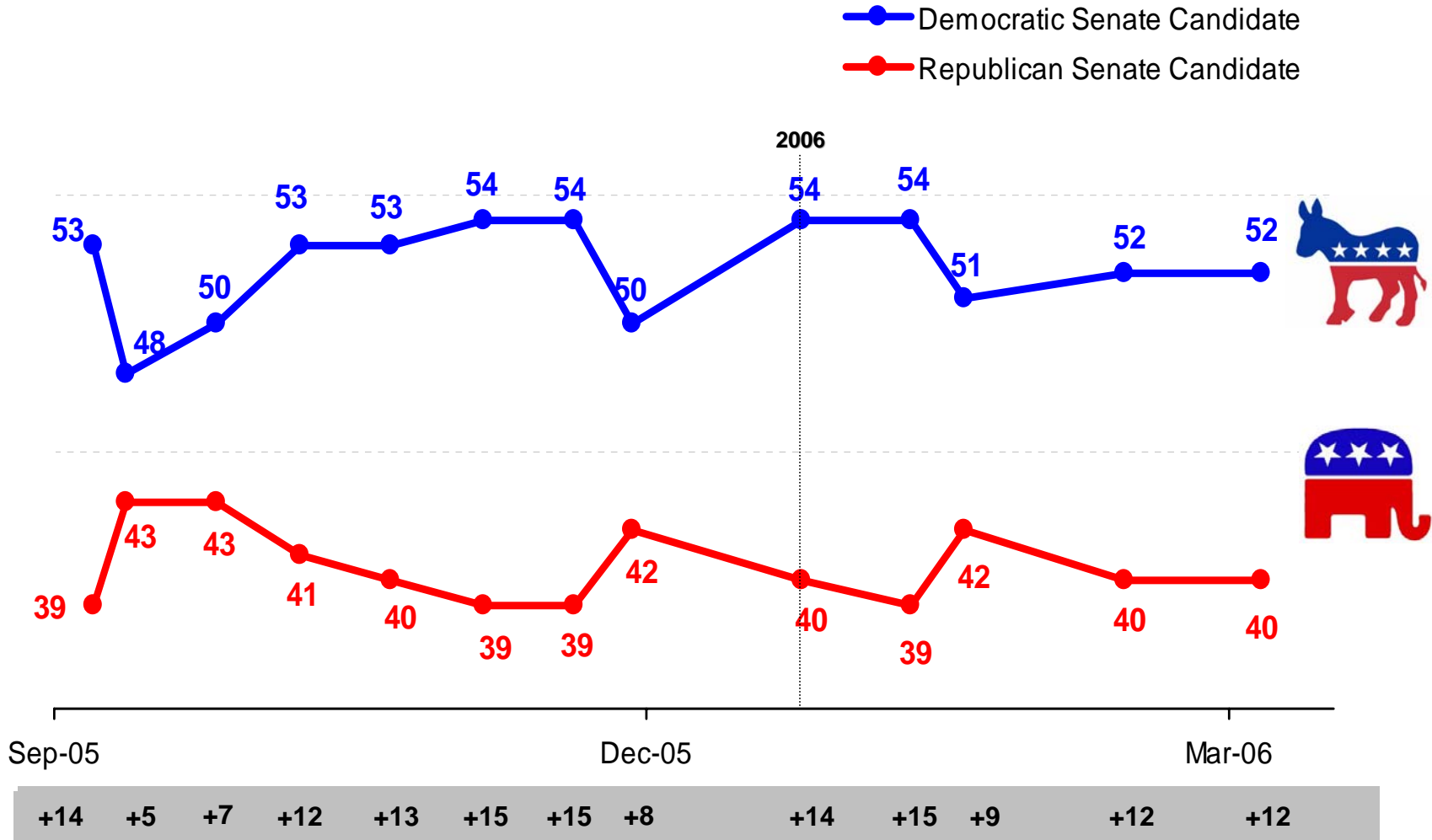
# Real Congressional vote by district - Republican incumbents only at 51%

■ Combined database - Based on 3,085 likely voters\*



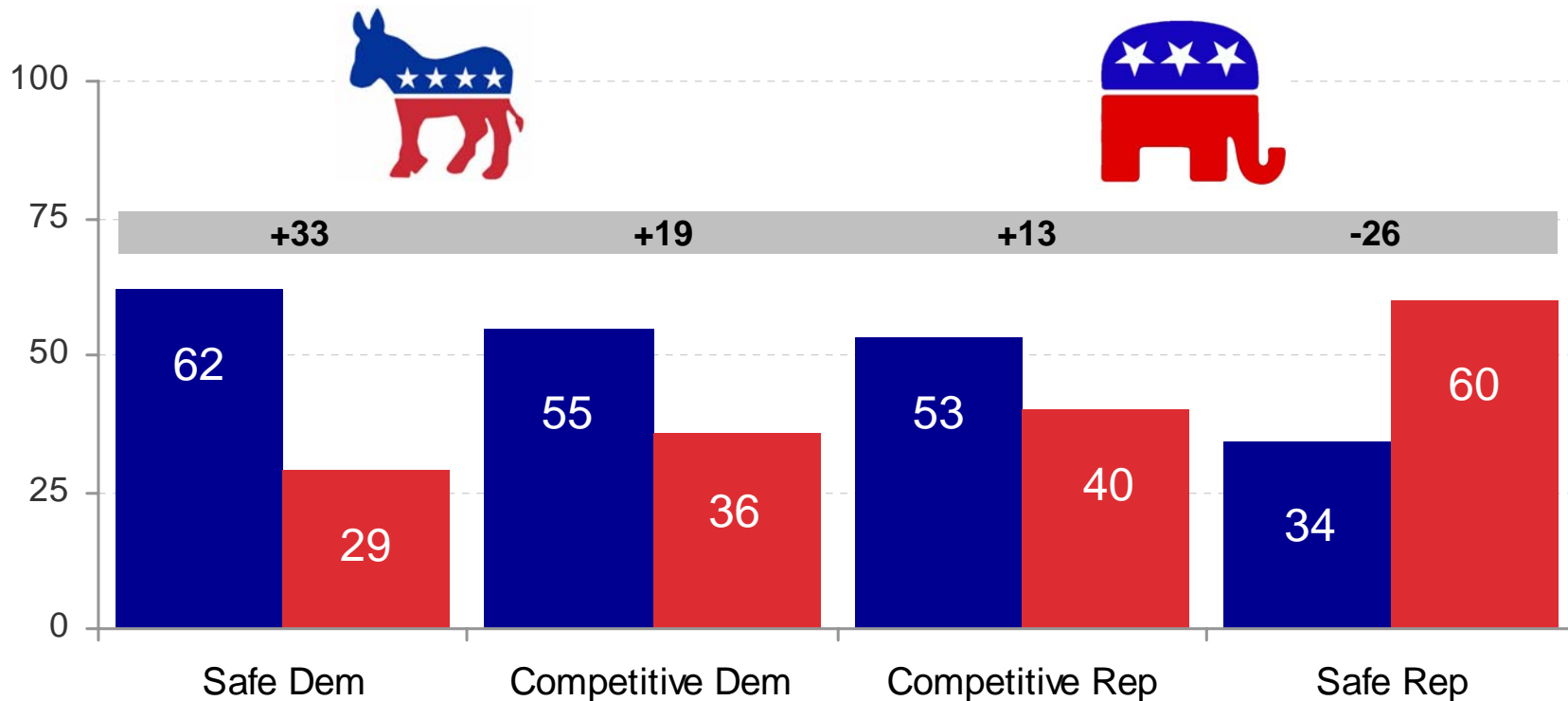
\*Results from surveys conducted February 23, 2006 – March 20, 2006

# Democrats hold commanding lead in Real Senate Vote



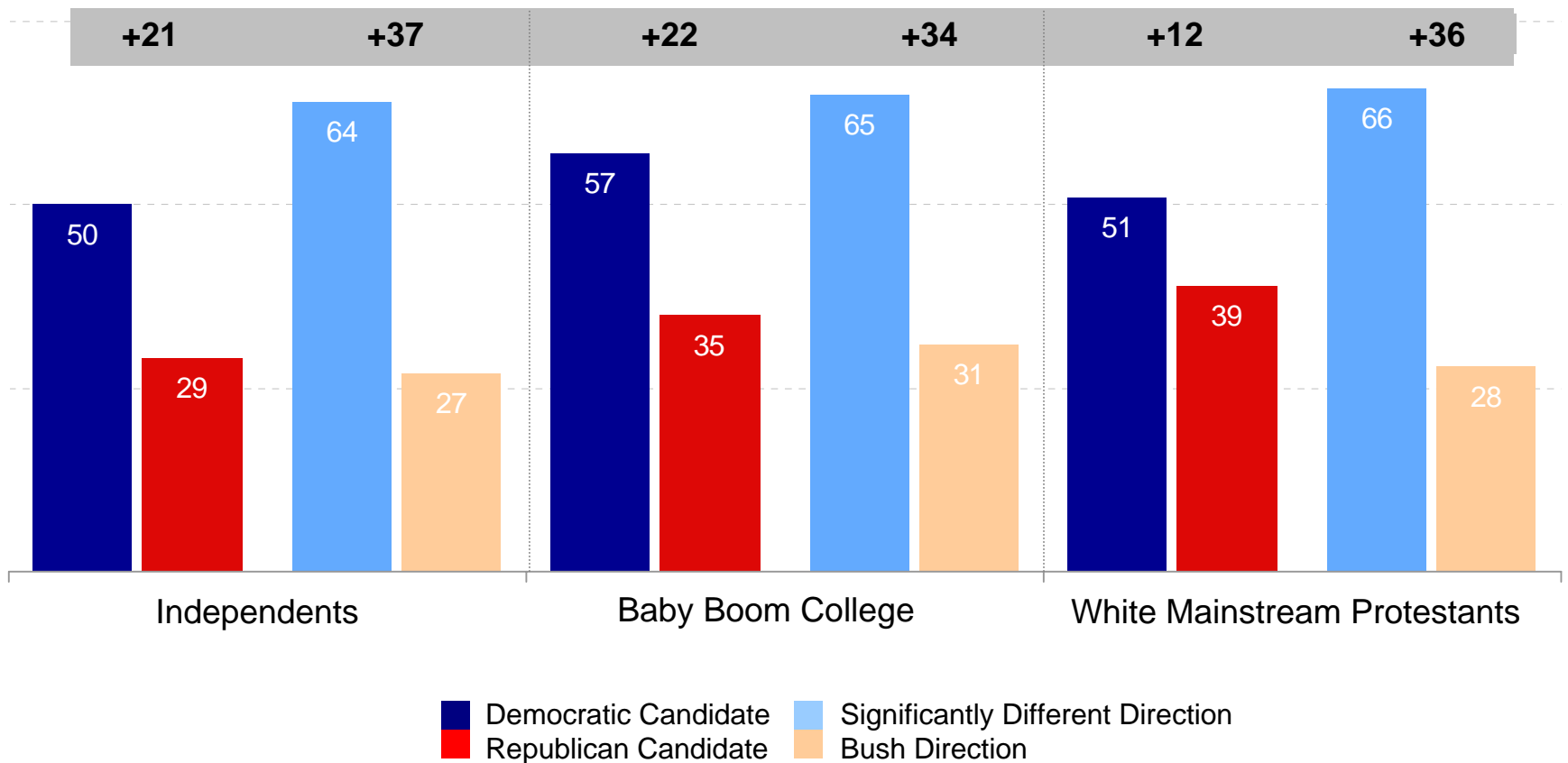
## Democrats very strong in Competitive Senate seats

■ Combined database - Based on 2,205 likely voters\*



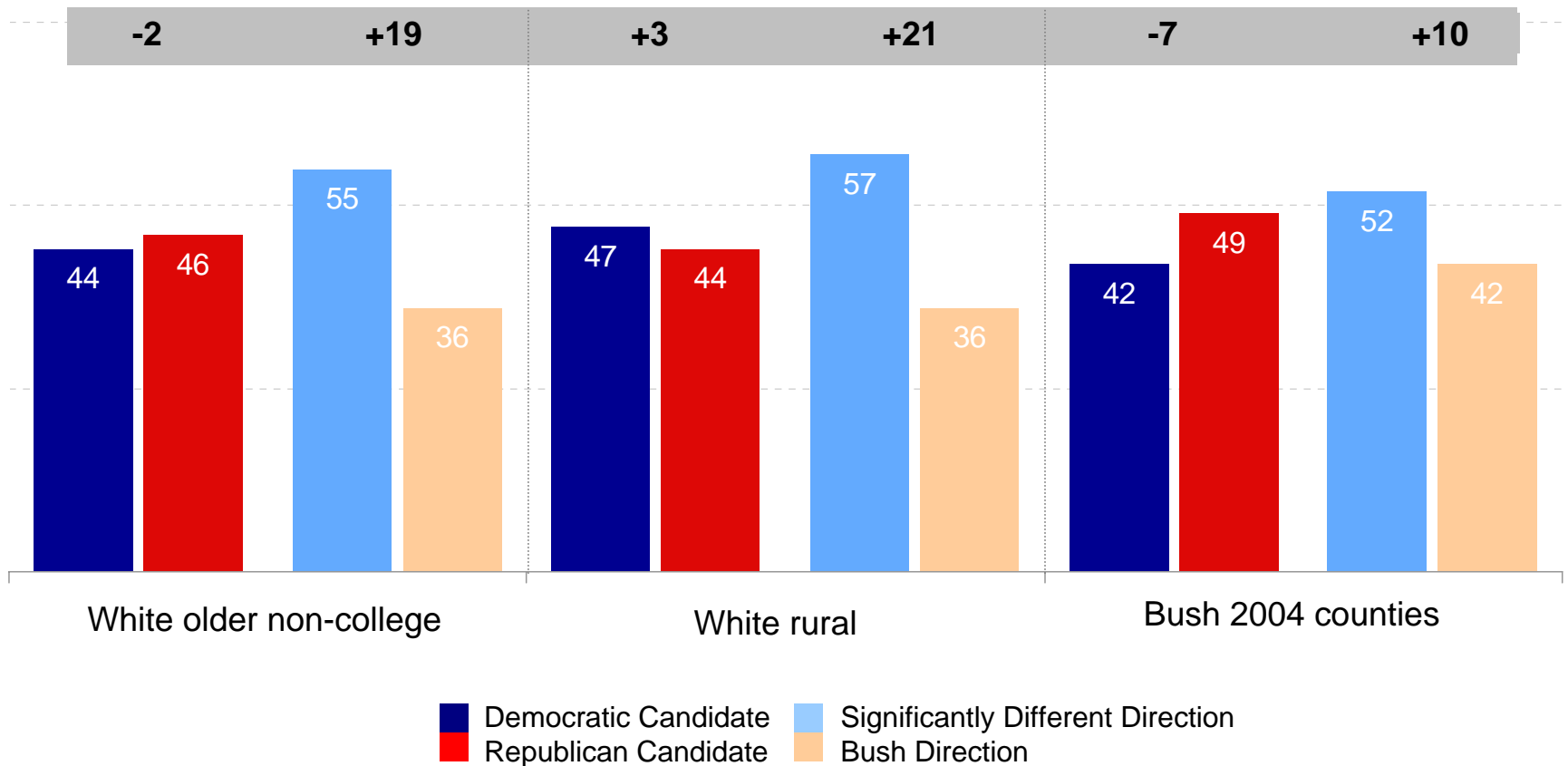
# Vote is strong but desire for new direction even stronger

■ Among independent swing groups



# Vote is strong but desire for new direction even stronger

**In new territory**

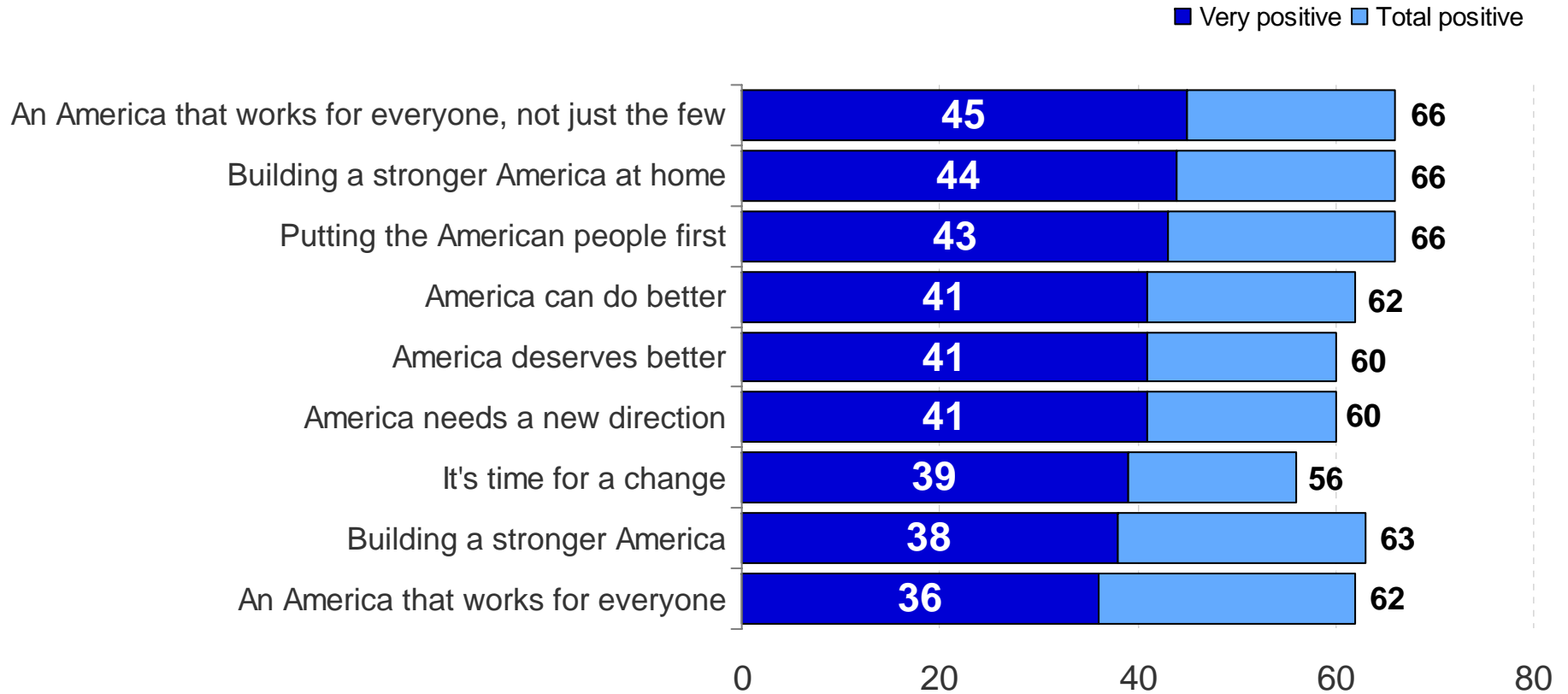


# Party Themes

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## Democratic themes and slogans

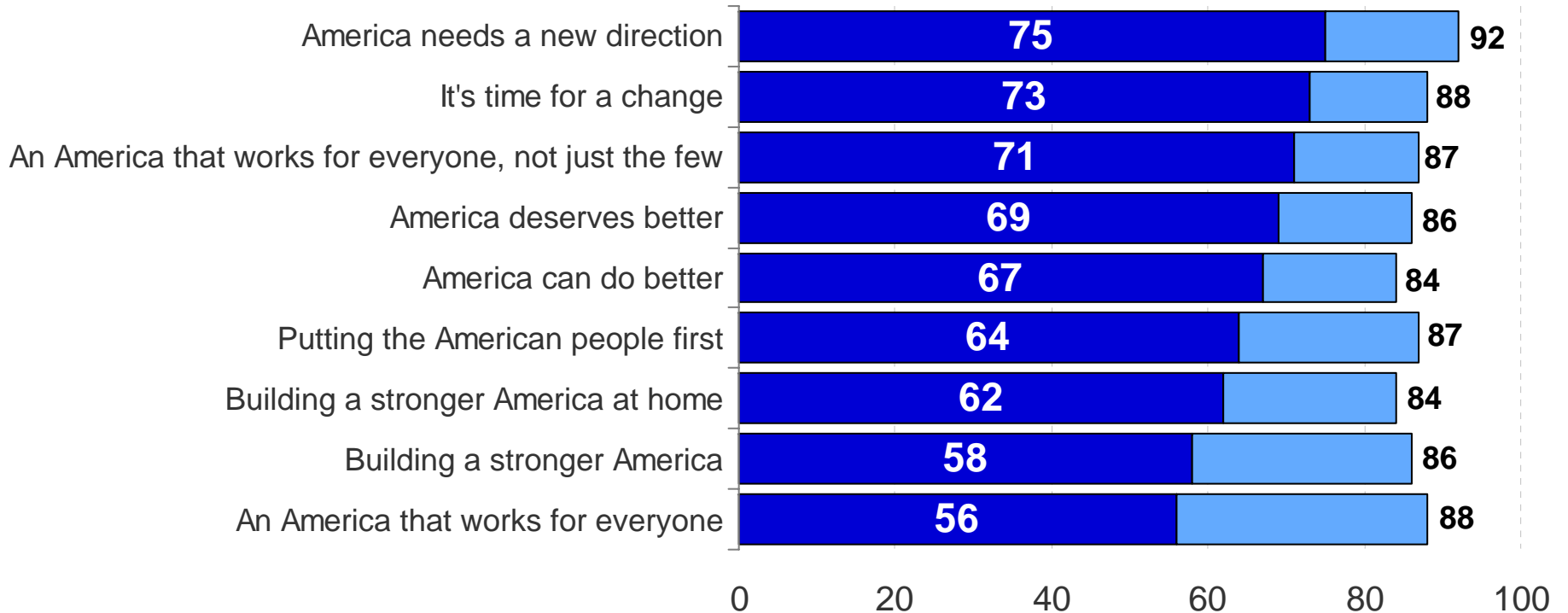
*Now I'd like to read you some phrases that Democrats feel describe what their party wants to achieve for the country. After each phrase, please tell me whether it makes you feel very positive, somewhat positive, a little positive, makes you feel negative, or makes no difference in how you feel.*



## Democratic themes and slogans – mobilizing support

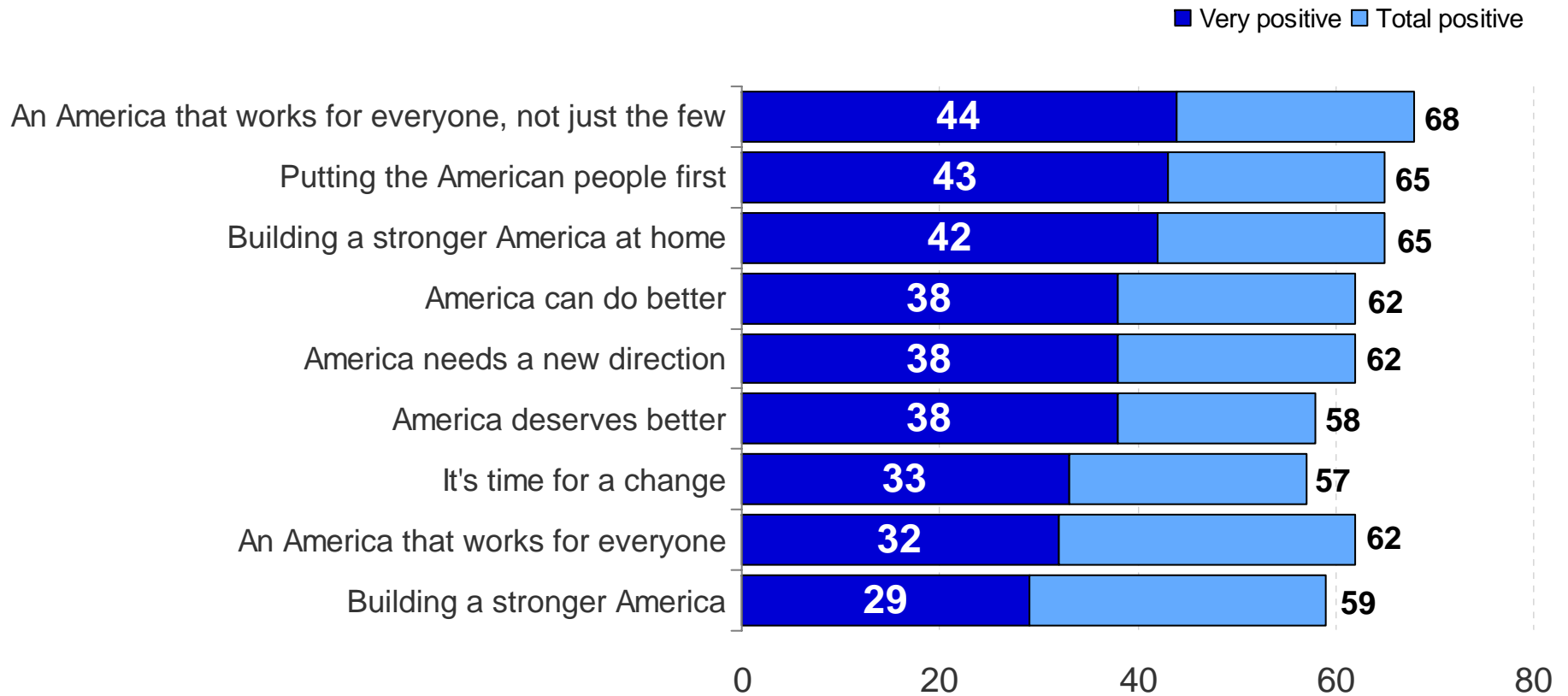
■ **Key audiences: Democrats**

■ Very positive ■ Total positive



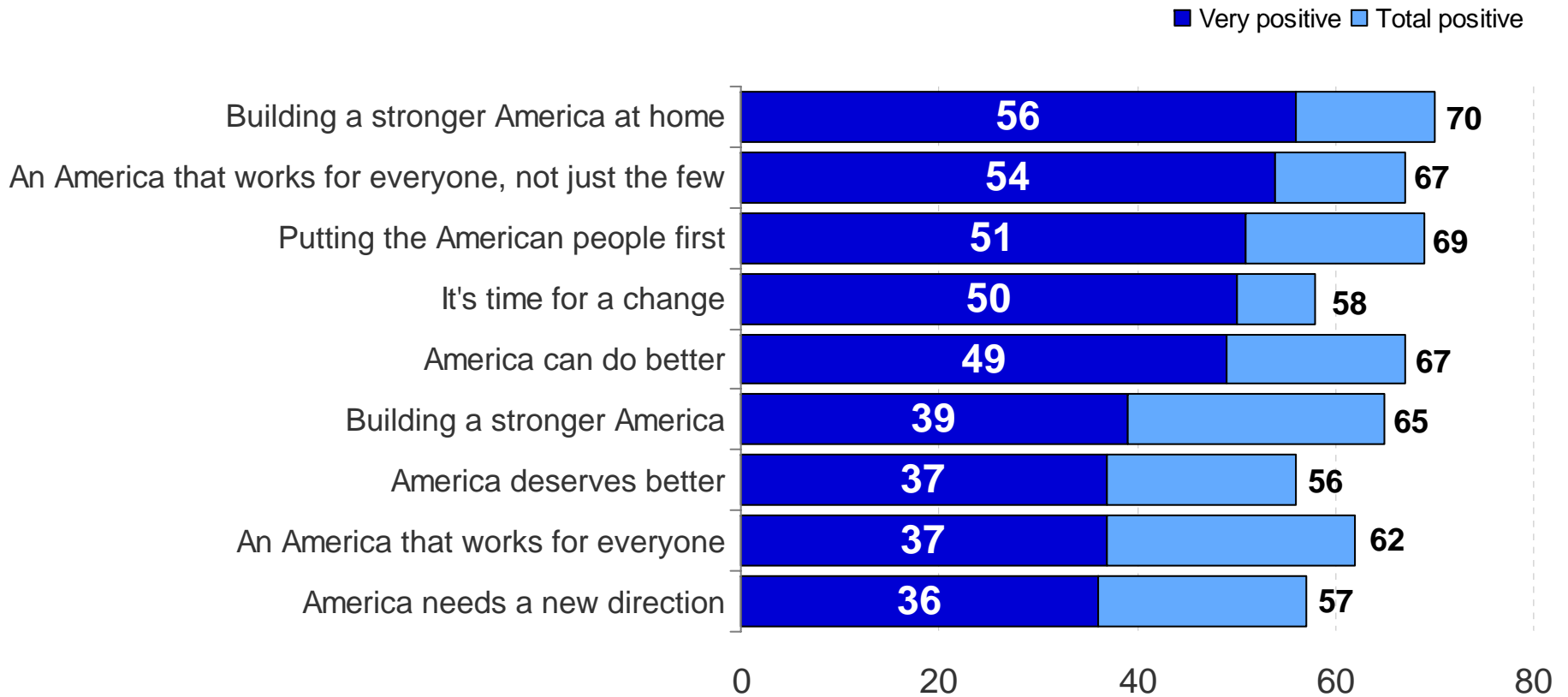
## Democratic themes and slogans – swinging independents

■ **Key audiences: Independents**



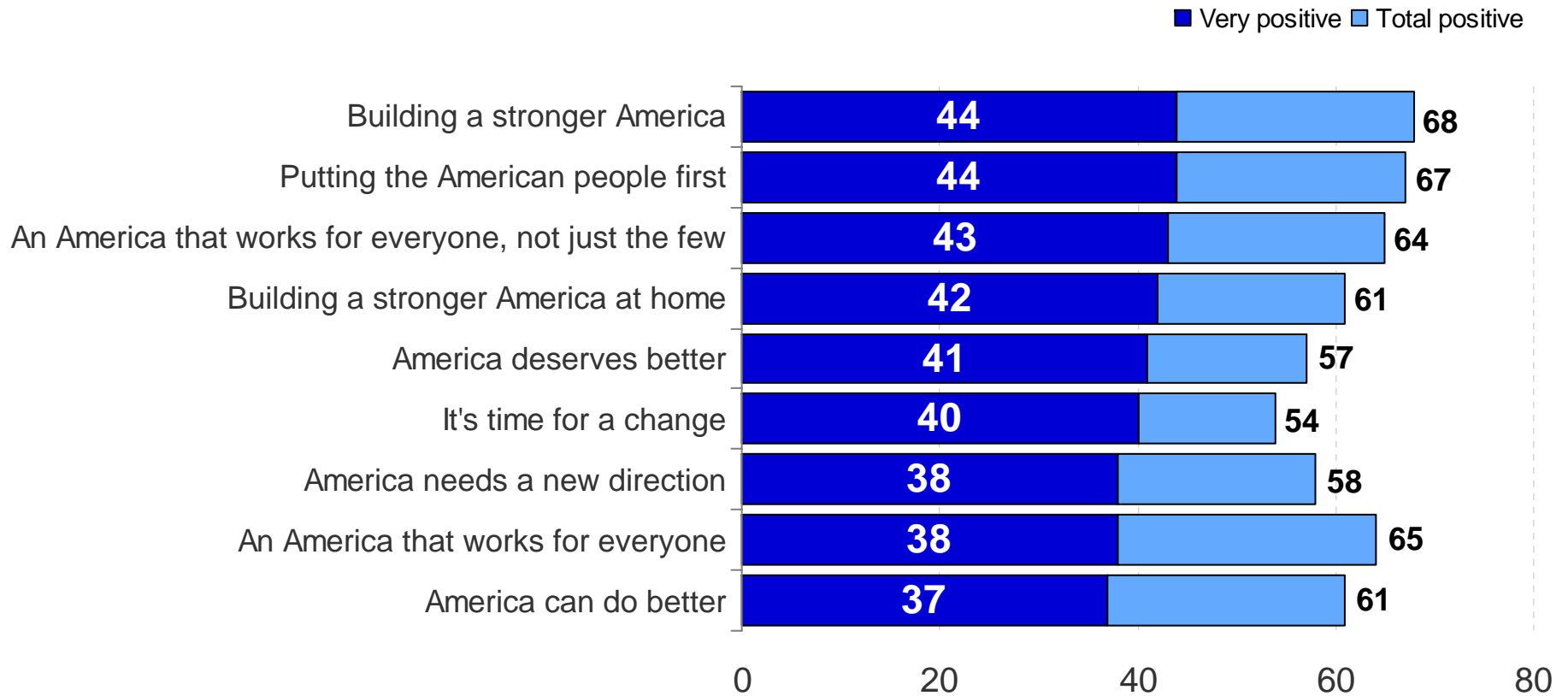
## Democratic themes and slogans – reaching new territory

■ **Key audiences: White older non-college voters**



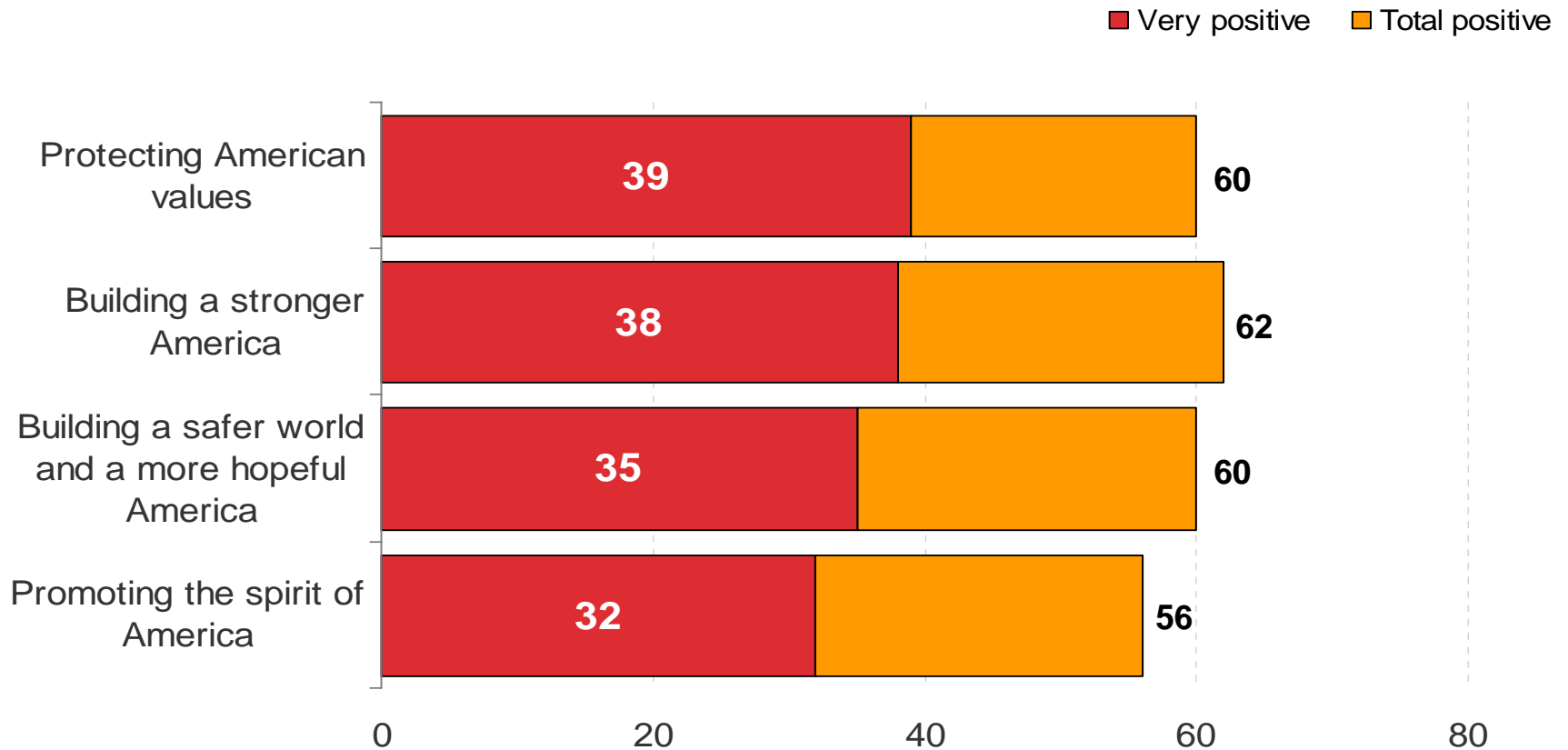
## Democratic themes and slogans – reaching new territory

■ Key audiences: White rural voters



## Republican themes and slogans

*Now I'd like to read you some phrases that Republicans feel describe what their party wants to achieve for the country. After each phrase, please tell me whether it makes you feel very positive, somewhat positive, a little positive, makes you feel negative, or makes no difference in how you feel.*



# Defining the election

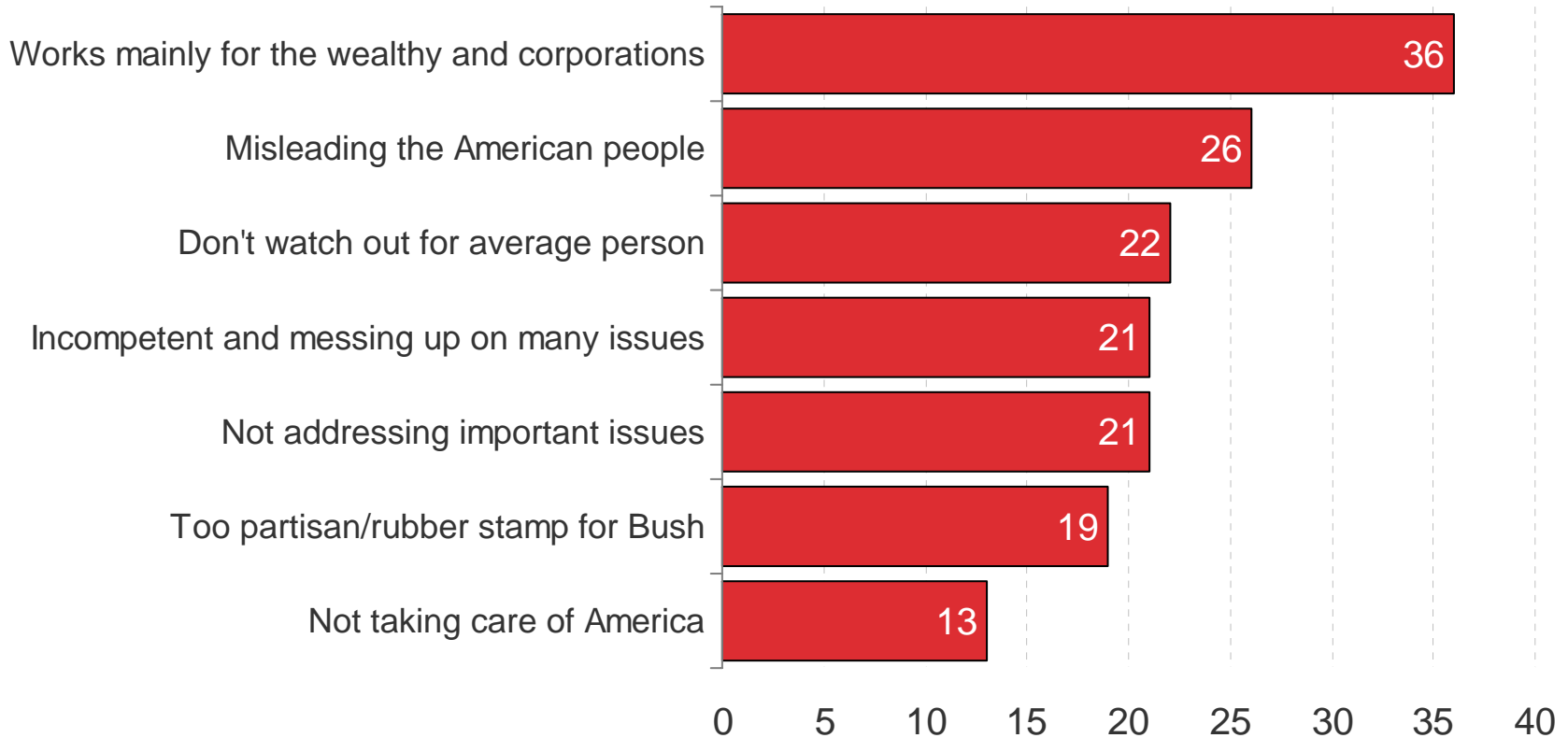
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## Defining the Election

- Continue Bush's direction
  - Rubber stamp
- New direction
- Government for the few
  - Put Big corporations and CEOs first
  - Washington for the corporate lobbyists
- An America that works for everyone
  - That puts the American people first
  - Prioritizes American jobs

## What's wrong with Republicans in Washington – top 2

*Now I'd like to ask you something different. When you are thinking negatively about what is going on with the Republicans in Washington, which of these words best describes what's wrong there?*



## Defining the election: the Democrats

### ■ Top Tier

*Now, I am going to read you what some people say are some differences between Democrats and Republicans. For each, please tell me if it is a difference that makes you MUCH MORE LIKELY to vote for a Democratic candidate, a difference that makes you SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, a difference that DOESN'T MAKE YOU ANY MORE LIKELY, or is it NOT A REAL DIFFERENCE between Democrats and Republicans?*

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans put the <u>big corporations and CEOs</u> first. Democrats will put the <u>American people</u> first	41	57
The Republicans want to <u>continue Bush's direction</u> . The Democrats say, we need a <u>new direction</u>	39	57
The Republicans are <u>working for the few</u> . The Democrats say, <u>America should work for everyone</u>	38	55
The Republicans do not prioritize <u>creating American jobs</u> . The Democrats' <u>priority is American jobs</u>	35	55
The Republicans have turned Washington over to the <u>corporate lobbyists</u> . The Democrats say, Washington should <u>work for the people</u>	37	54

## Defining the election: the Democrats

### ■ 2<sup>nd</sup> Tier

*Now, I am going to read you what some people say are some differences between Democrats and Republicans. For each, please tell me if it is a difference that makes you MUCH MORE LIKELY to vote for a Democratic candidate, a difference that makes you SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, a difference that DOESN'T MAKE YOU ANY MORE LIKELY, or is it NOT A REAL DIFFERENCE between Democrats and Republicans?*

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans are <u>neglecting America</u> . The Democrats say we need to put the <u>American people first</u>	37	53
The Republicans are a <u>rubber stamp for Bush</u> . The Democrats say, we need a <u>Congress that puts the public first</u>	36	53
The Republicans are for <u>more of the same</u> in Washington. The Democrats say, we need a <u>new direction</u>	33	53
The Republicans are trapped in the <u>partisan political battle</u> in Washington. The Democrats say we need <u>bi-partisan solutions</u> to move America forward	31	53
The Republicans have done <u>nothing about health care</u> . The Democrats' <u>priority is health care</u>	32	52

## Defining the election: the Democrats

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Tier

*Now, I am going to read you what some people say are some differences between Democrats and Republicans. For each, please tell me if it is a difference that makes you MUCH MORE LIKELY to vote for a Democratic candidate, a difference that makes you SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, a difference that DOESN'T MAKE YOU ANY MORE LIKELY, or is it NOT A REAL DIFFERENCE between Democrats and Republicans?*

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans are not addressing the <u>problems that matter to people</u> . The Democrats say we'll tackle the <u>issues that impact families</u>	29	51
The Republicans are failing and making <u>no progress on problems</u> . The Democrats say, it is <u>time for a change</u>	32	50
The Republicans have been <u>dangerously incompetent</u> . The Democrats say it is <u>time for a change</u>	32	48
The Republicans are <u>neglecting America</u> . The Democrats say we will build an America that is <u>strong at home too</u>	30	48
The Republicans have been <u>dangerously incompetent</u> . The Democrats will <u>work for a strong America</u>	29	46

## Defining the election: few versus the many

### ■ Few versus the many

	<b>Much more likely Democratic</b>	<b>Total more likely Democratic</b>
The Republicans put the <u>big corporations and CEOs</u> first. Democrats will put the <u>American people first</u>	<b>41</b>	<b>57</b>
The Republicans are <u>working for the few</u> . The Democrats say, America should <u>work for everyone</u>	<b>38</b>	<b>55</b>
The Republicans have turned Washington over to the <u>corporate lobbyists</u> . The Democrats say, Washington should <u>work for the people</u>	<b>37</b>	<b>54</b>
The Republicans are a <u>rubber stamp for Bush</u> . The Democrats say, we need a Congress that <u>puts the public first</u> .	<b>36</b>	<b>53</b>

## Defining the election: continue versus new direction

### ■ Continue versus new direction

	<b>Much more likely Democratic</b>	<b>Total more likely Democratic</b>
The Republicans want to <u>continue Bush's direction</u> . The Democrats say, we need a <u>new direction</u> .	<b>39</b>	<b>57</b>
The Republicans are for <u>more of the same in Washington</u> . The Democrats say, we need a <u>new direction</u> .	<b>33</b>	<b>53</b>
The Republicans are <u>failing and making no progress on problems</u> . The Democrats say, it is <u>time for a change</u> .	<b>32</b>	<b>50</b>
The Republicans are trapped in the <u>partisan political battle</u> in Washington. The Democrats say we need <u>bi-partisan solutions</u> to move America forward.	<b>31</b>	<b>53</b>

## Defining the election: putting America first

### ■ Putting America first

	<b>Much more likely Democratic</b>	<b>Total more likely Democratic</b>
The Republicans are <u>neglecting America</u> . The Democrats say we need to put the <u>American people first</u> .	<b>37</b>	<b>53</b>
The Republicans do not prioritize <u>creating American jobs</u> . The Democrats' priority is <u>American jobs</u> .	<b>35</b>	<b>55</b>
The Republicans are <u>neglecting America</u> . The Democrats say we will build an America that is <u>strong at home too</u> .	<b>30</b>	<b>48</b>
The Republicans have been <u>dangerously incompetent</u> . The Democrats will <u>work for a strong America</u> .	<b>29</b>	<b>46</b>

## Defining the election: putting America first

### ■ Priorities

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans do not prioritize <u>creating American jobs</u> . The Democrats' <u>priority is American jobs</u> .	35	55
The Republicans have done <u>nothing about health care</u> . The Democrats' <u>priority is health care</u> .	32	52
The Republicans are not addressing the <u>problems that matter to people</u> . The Democrats say we'll tackle the <u>issues that impact families</u> .	29	51

# Impacting the new strategic world

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## Defining the election: Democrats want new direction

### ■ Key audiences: Democrats

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans put the <u>big corporations and CEOs first</u> . Democrats will put the <u>American people first</u> .	70	86
The Republicans want to <u>continue Bush's direction</u> . The Democrats say, we need <u>a new direction</u> .	67	87
The Republicans have turned Washington over to the <u>corporate lobbyists</u> . The Democrats say, Washington should <u>work for the people</u> .	67	87
The Republicans are failing and making <u>no progress on problems</u> . The Democrats say, it is <u>time for a change</u> .	63	88
The Republicans are for <u>more of the same</u> in Washington. The Democrats say, we need <u>a new direction</u> .	65	87

# Independents want new direction and American people first

## ■ Key audiences: Independents

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans want to <u>continue Bush's direction</u> . The Democrats say, we need <u>a new direction</u> .	36	60
The Republicans put the <u>big corporations and CEOs first</u> . Democrats will put the <u>American people first</u> .	36	58
The Republicans are a <u>rubber stamp for Bush</u> . The Democrats say, we need a Congress that <u>puts the public first</u> .	33	58
The Republicans are trapped in the <u>partisan political battle</u> in Washington. The Democrats say we <u>need bi-partisan solutions</u> to move America forward.	28	56
The Republicans are <u>working for the few</u> . The Democrats say, America should <u>work for everyone</u> .	34	54

## Aging blues want new direction and America for all

### ■ New territory: White older (over 50 years) non-college voters

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans want to <u>continue Bush's direction</u> . The Democrats say, we need <u>a new direction</u> .	40	58
The Republicans are trapped in the <u>partisan political battle</u> in Washington. The Democrats say we need <u>bi-partisan solutions</u> to move America forward.	38	58
The Republicans are <u>working for the few</u> . The Democrats say, America should <u>work for everyone</u> .	38	57
The Republicans put the <u>big corporations and CEOs first</u> . Democrats will put the <u>American people first</u> .	43	55
The Republicans are a <u>rubber stamp for Bush</u> . The Democrats say, we need a Congress that <u>puts the public first</u> .	34	54

## Red America wants new direction and America for all

### ■ New territory: White rural voters

	Much more likely Democratic	Total more likely Democratic
The Republicans want to <u>continue Bush's direction</u> . The Democrats say, we need <u>a new direction</u> .	37	57
The Republicans are <u>working for the few</u> . The Democrats say, America should <u>work for everyone</u> .	38	57
The Republicans put the <u>big corporations and CEOs first</u> . Democrats will put the <u>American people first</u> .	36	55
The Republicans are trapped in the <u>partisan political battle</u> in Washington. The Democrats say we need <u>bi-partisan solutions</u> to move America forward.	29	50
The Republicans have done <u>nothing about health care</u> . The Democrats' <u>priority is health care</u> .	32	50

## Defining the election: the Republicans

*Now, I am going to read you what some people say are some differences between Republicans and Democrats. For each, please tell me if it is a difference that makes you MUCH MORE LIKELY to vote for a Republican candidate, a difference that makes you SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, a difference that DOESN'T MAKE YOU ANY MORE LIKELY, or is it NOT A REAL DIFFERENCE between Republicans and Democrats?*

	Much more likely Republican	Total more likely Republican
The Democrats want to <u>take God out of the Pledge of Allegiance</u> and ban the <u>Ten Commandments</u> from public buildings. The Republicans will fight to <u>protect our religious freedoms</u>	42	56
The Democrats support policies such as gay marriage and abortion on demand that <u>threaten American families</u> . The Republicans will <u>protect traditional American values</u>	36	49
The Democrats continue to hold a September 10th view of national security. The Republicans will do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe	33	48
The Democrats support <u>higher taxes and bigger government</u> . The Republicans support less bureaucracy and <u>more economic freedom</u>	31	47
The Democrats are obstructionists who put their <u>party ahead of their country</u> . The Republicans have a <u>positive agenda for America</u>	26	42

# National Security

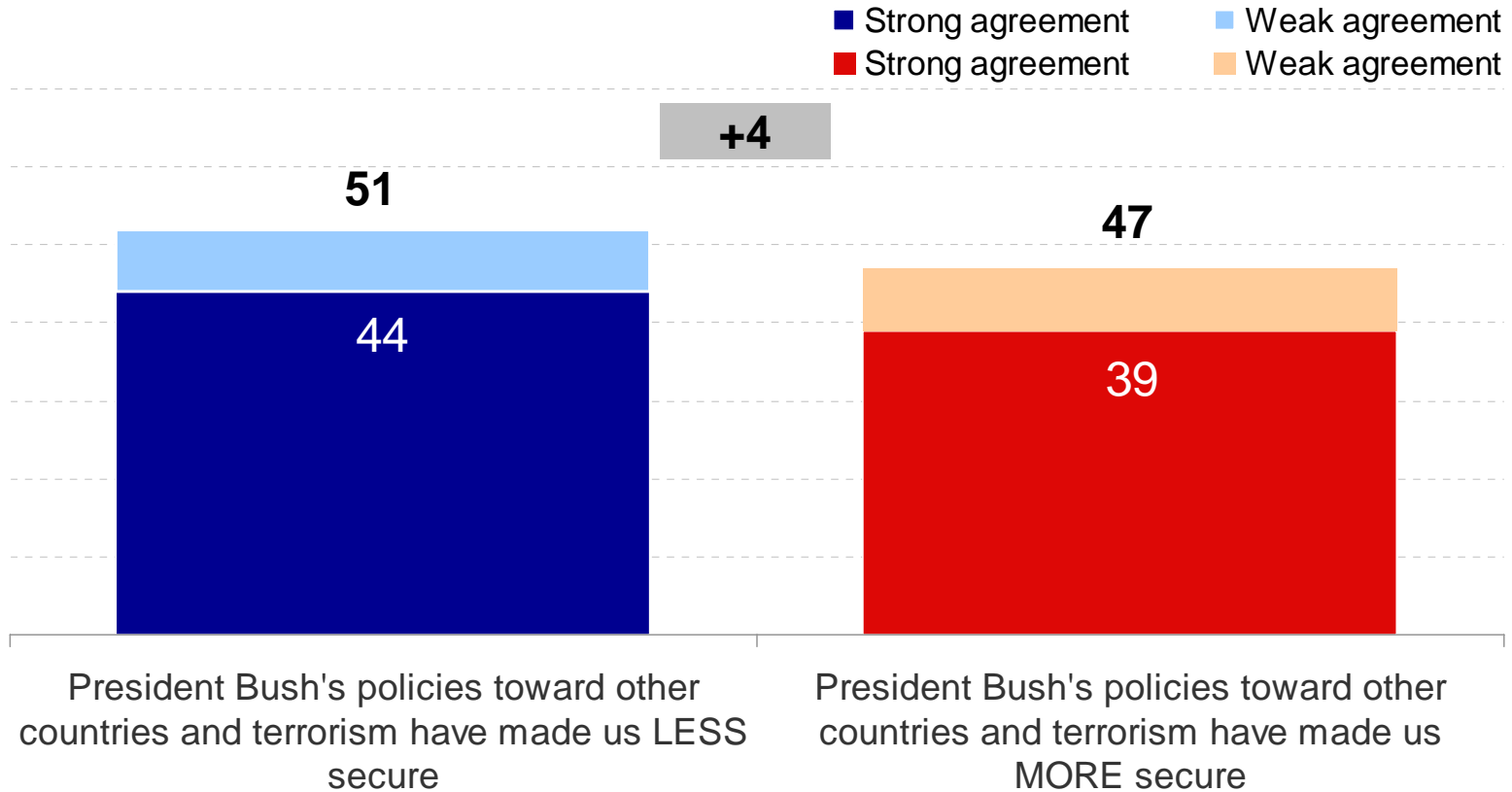
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## The National Security Debate We Want

- Democrats now can engage Bush on security and win – supporting conclusions of bi-partisan NPR survey
- Bush is weaker than Republicans on security issues
- Majority thinks Bush's policies have made us less secure
- Global issues impacting Americans
- Don't underestimate the importance of globalization and outsourcing
  - Put the American people first and prioritize American jobs
- Less secure: ports and containers; troops and veterans; Iran and N. Korea
- Democratic agenda on security

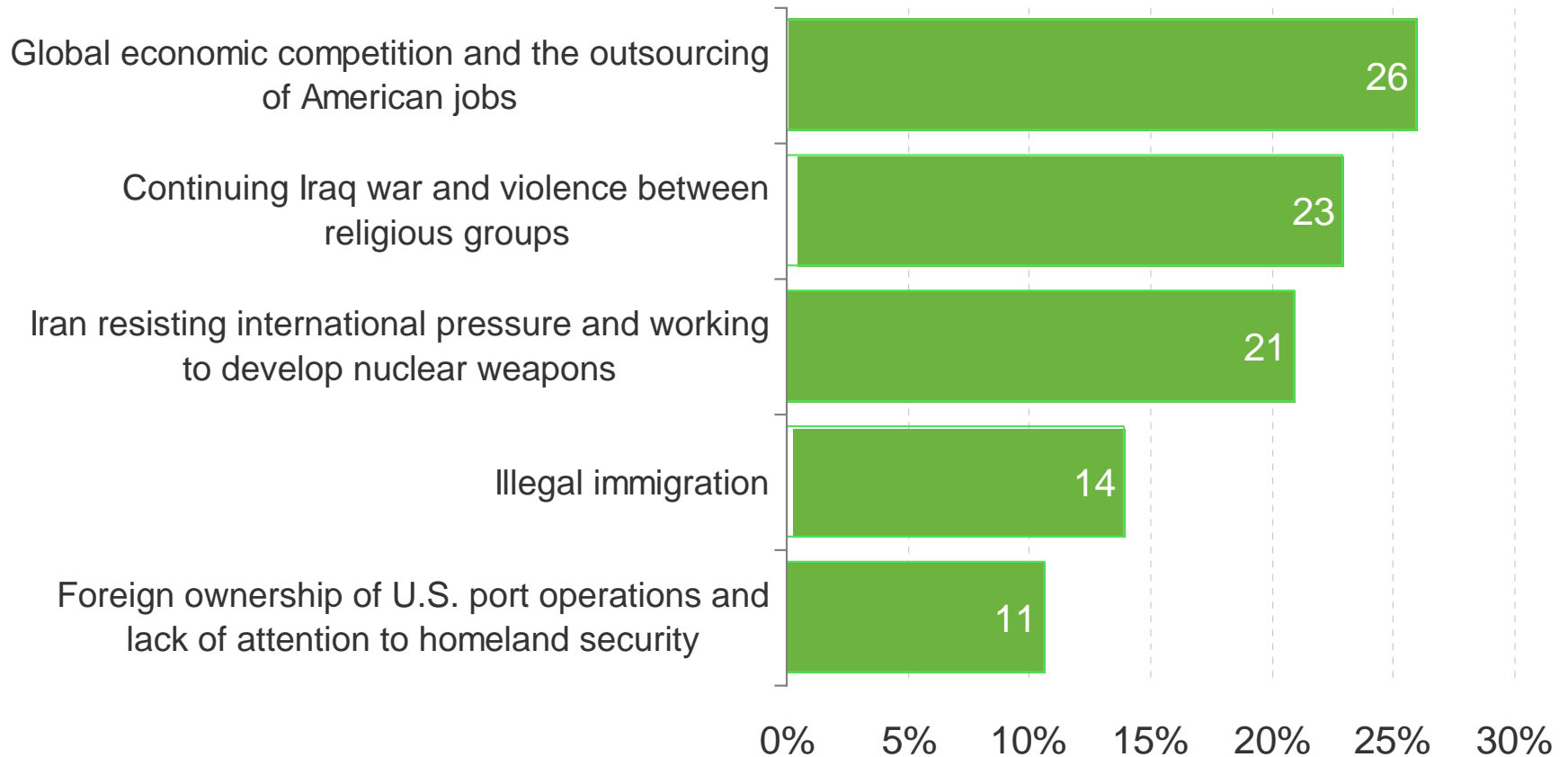
## Majority believe Bush has made country less secure

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.



## Global issues impacting America – Top concern\*

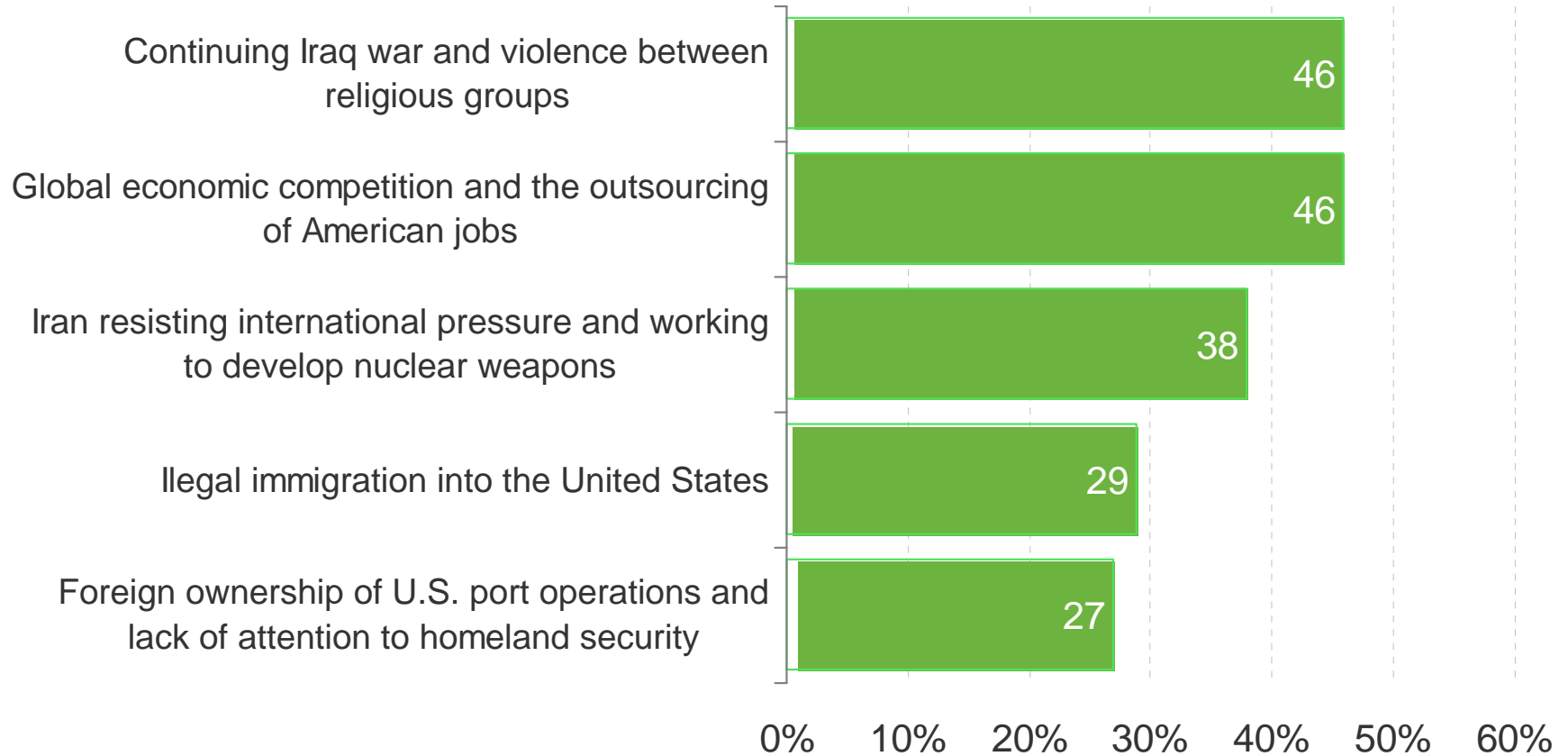
*I want you to think about some things that happening in the world that could impact things here in America. Please tell me which concerns you the most.*



\*From National Public Radio survey of 800 likely voters, conducted 3/12/06 - 3/14/06.

## Top global concerns impacting America – top 2 \*

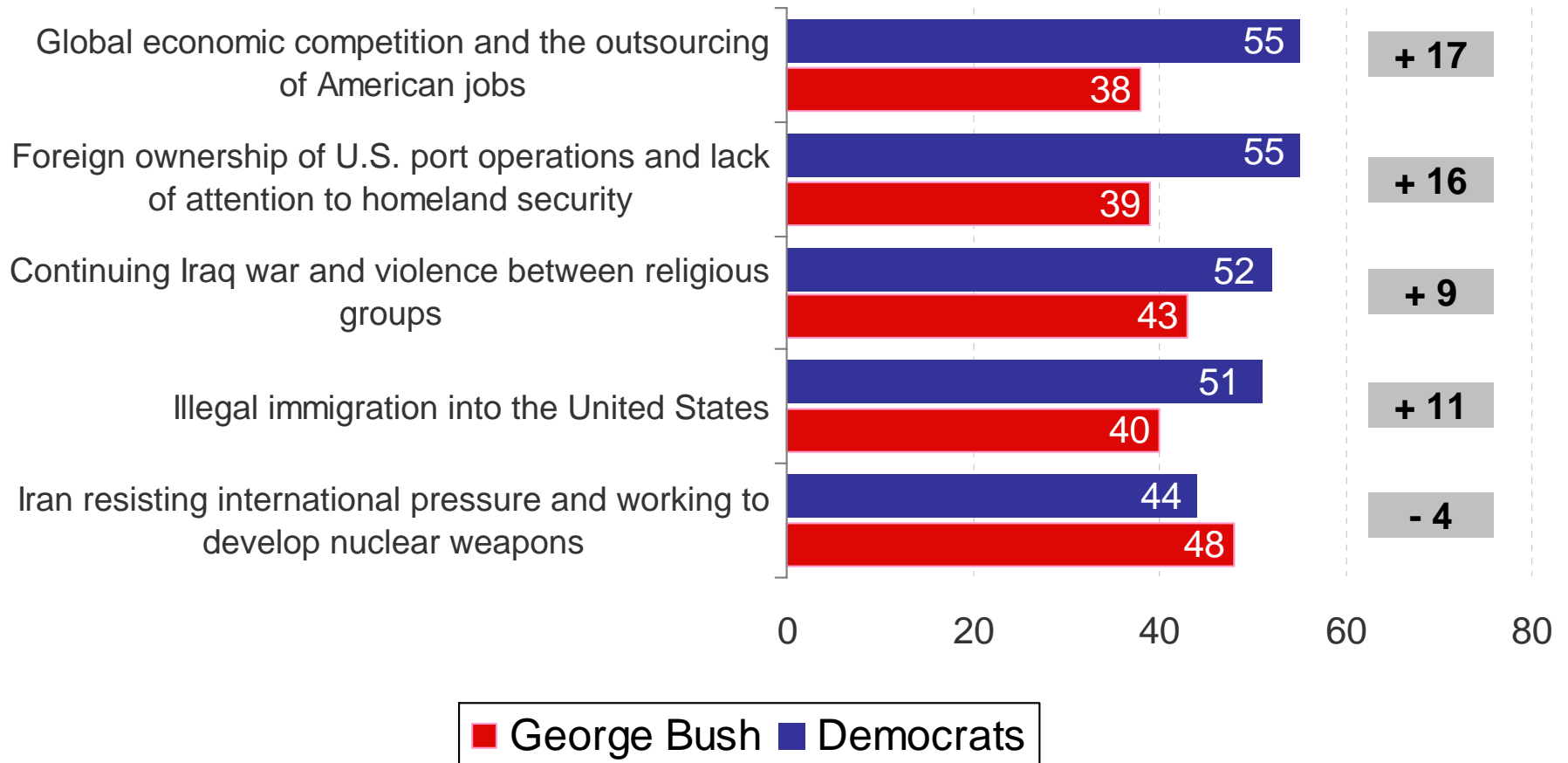
*I want you to think about some things that happening in the world that could impact things here in America. Please tell me which concerns you the most. And which one is your second biggest concern?*



\*From National Public Radio survey of 800 likely voters, conducted 3/12/06 - 3/14/06.

## Global issues impacting America – Democrats over Bush\*

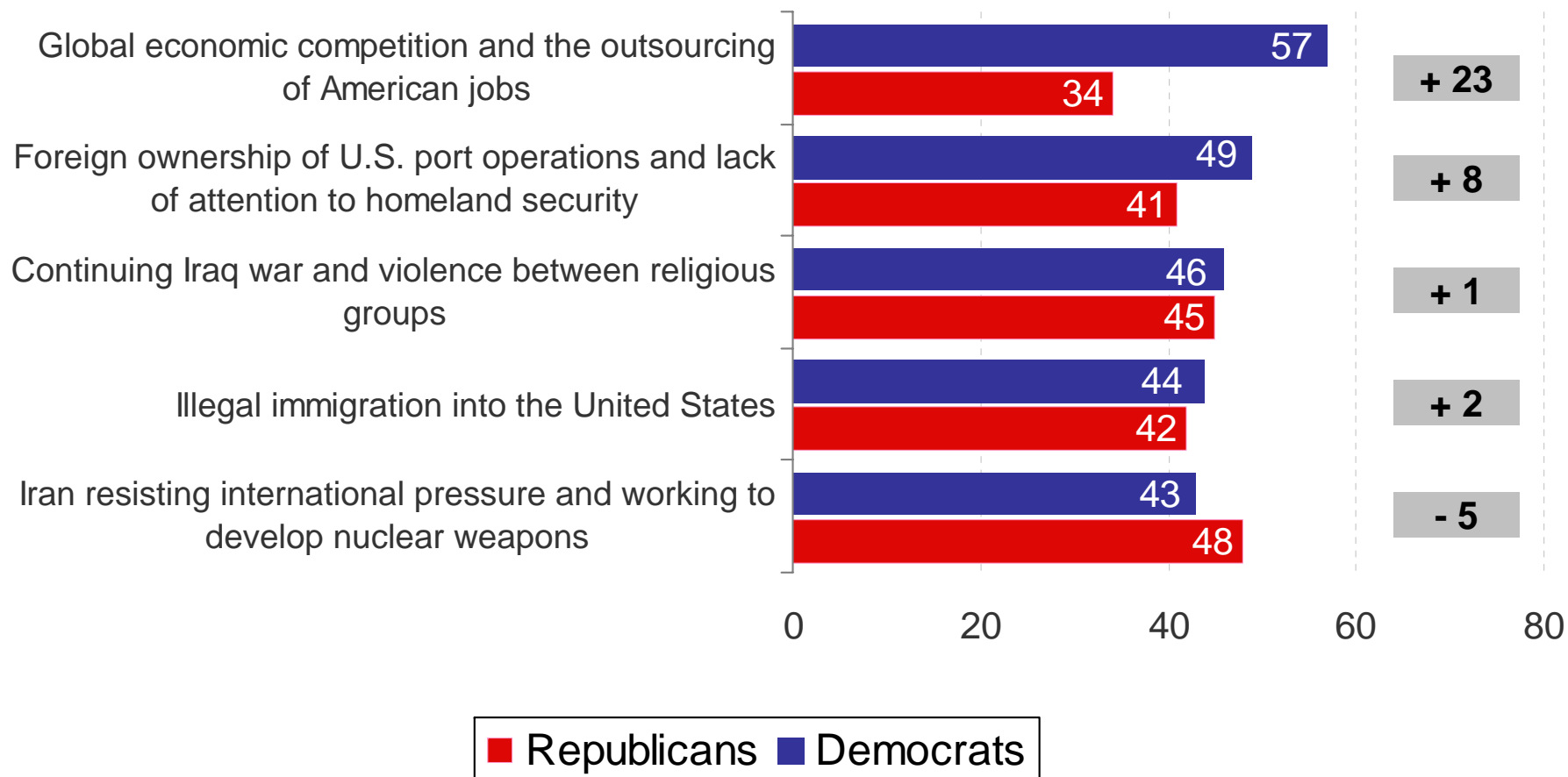
*Now I would like to read you a list of issues and for each one please tell me who you trust more to handle that issue: George Bush or the Democrats?*



\*From National Public Radio survey of 800 likely voters, conducted 3/12/06 - 3/14/06.

## Global issues impacting America – Democrats over Republicans\*

*Now I would like to read you a list of issues and for each one please tell me who you trust more to handle that issue: the Republicans or the Democrats?*



\*From National Public Radio survey of 800 likely voters, conducted 3/12/06 - 3/14/06.

## Doubts about Bush and Republicans on national security

### ■ Top Tier

*Let me read you some statements that Democrats are making about national security. They say the current policies of President and the Republicans in Washington are making America less secure. For each one please tell me whether this description, if accurate, raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind.*

	Very serious doubts	Total serious doubts
They have allowed virtually all our ports to come under foreign management, and over 90 percent of containers coming into America are still not inspected	27	62
They have not given our troops the body armor they need, and they have proposed cutting health care funding for veterans	29	59
They have bogged down our military in Iraq, and they've been unable to do anything about the growing nuclear threat in Iran and North Korea	24	57
They have put over one hundred thousand U.S. troops in the middle of Muslim country for 3 years, in the middle of a religious war, which is increasing the threat of terrorism	24	55
They have failed to make our borders more secure. Illegal immigration is increasing and they are cutting back the number of border agents	26	54

## Doubts about Bush and Republicans on national security

### ■ 2<sup>nd</sup> tier

*Let me read you some statements that Democrats are making about national security. They say the current policies of President and the Republicans in Washington are making America less secure. For each one please tell me whether this description, if accurate, raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind.*

	Very serious doubts	Total serious doubts
The have failed to finish the job in Afghanistan. They moved our troops to Iraq, which allowed al Qaeda to get entrenched and the Taliban to come back, with growing violence	24	54
The invasion of Iraq and three-year occupation has undermined America's reputation in the world, undermined our alliances and brought increased anti-American violence	24	52
The stories of torture at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo and the waiving of the Geneva Conventions undermines America's position in the world and puts our own troops in danger	23	52
The politicians in the White House have overruled the generals and started the Iraq war with too few troops to stabilize the country and without a plan to deal with the insurgency and to succeed	26	50
The Bush administration and the Congress got a grade of F from the 9-11 Commission for failing to implement any of its recommendations to make the country more secure	21	50

## Republicans statement on national security

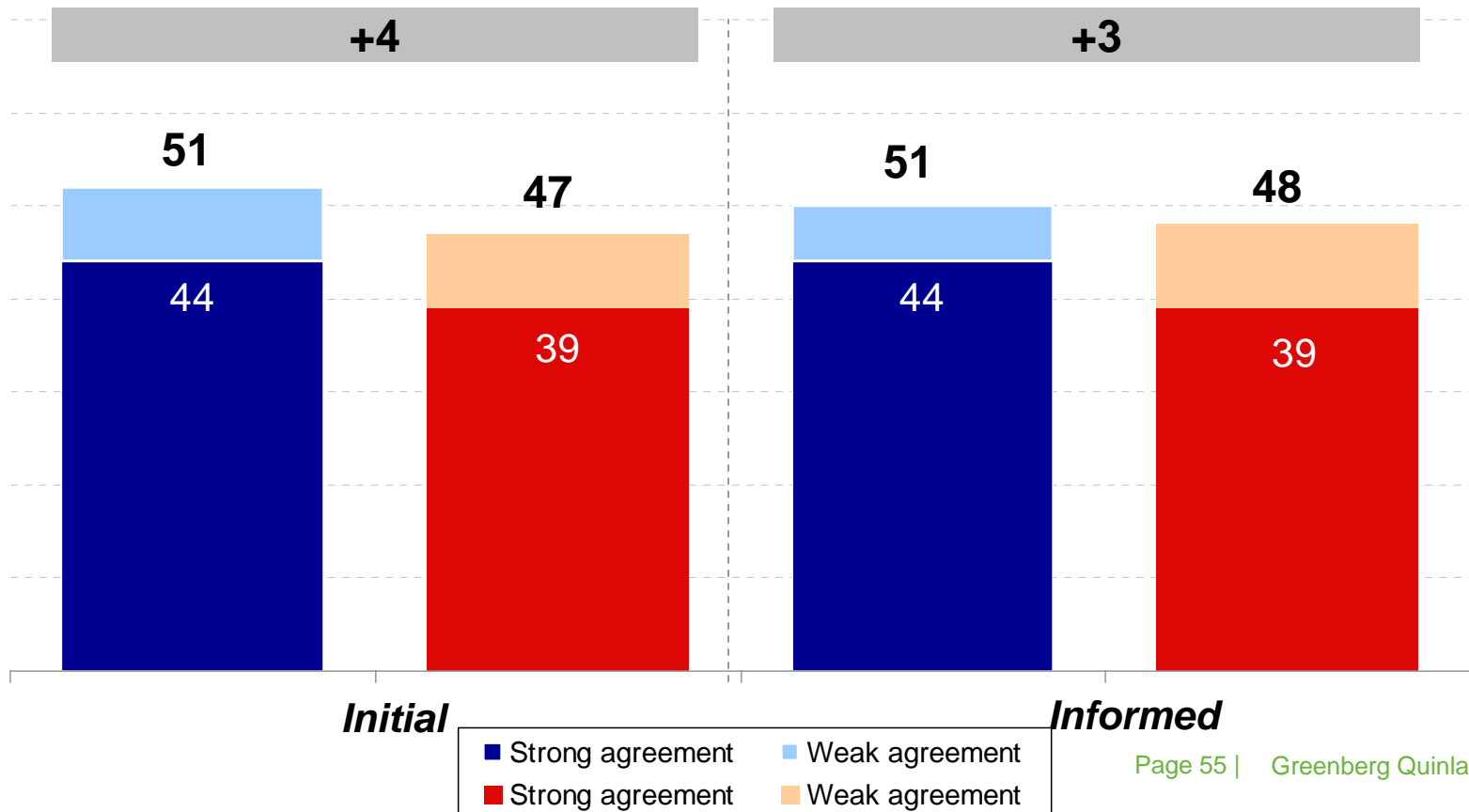
*Now, let me read you a statement by a Republican candidate for Congress. After the statement please tell me whether this would make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely, or less likely to support this Republican candidate in this year's election?*

	Much more likely	Total more likely
<p>The Republican says, Democrats continue to hold a pre-9/11 view of the world and they can not be trusted to keep America secure. They have attempted to overturn the Patriot Act, opposed the creation of the Department of Homeland Security to appease union leaders and their only plan for Iraq is to cut and run. After September 11th, unlike Democrats, Republicans recognized that we needed to change our approach to national security and had to take the fight to the terrorists. We passed the Patriot Act and created the Department of Homeland Security to make us safer here at home and launched the war on terrorism to hunt down terrorists abroad. Thanks to these efforts we have not been attacked in more than four years and America is now safer and more secure.</p>	21	46

## Majority doubt Bush on security – no change after debated

Now I'd like to read you a pair of statements again. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

*President Bush's policies toward other countries have made us less secure*  
**OR**  
*President Bush's policies toward other countries have made us more secure*



# 2006 Agenda

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## Democratic pledges for 2006

*Feb.  
survey  
only*

***Raise the minimum wage to \$7 an hour***

***Repeal the new tax loophole that encourages companies to move operations overseas***

***Replace Bush's prescription drug plan with a simple one that controls costs***

***Create tax incentives to expand the development of wind, solar, and biofuel technologies***

***Implement all the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission on homeland security and inspect 100 percent of containers coming into America\****

*March  
survey  
only*

***Repeal the cuts in all funding to student loan programs and increase tax breaks for college costs***

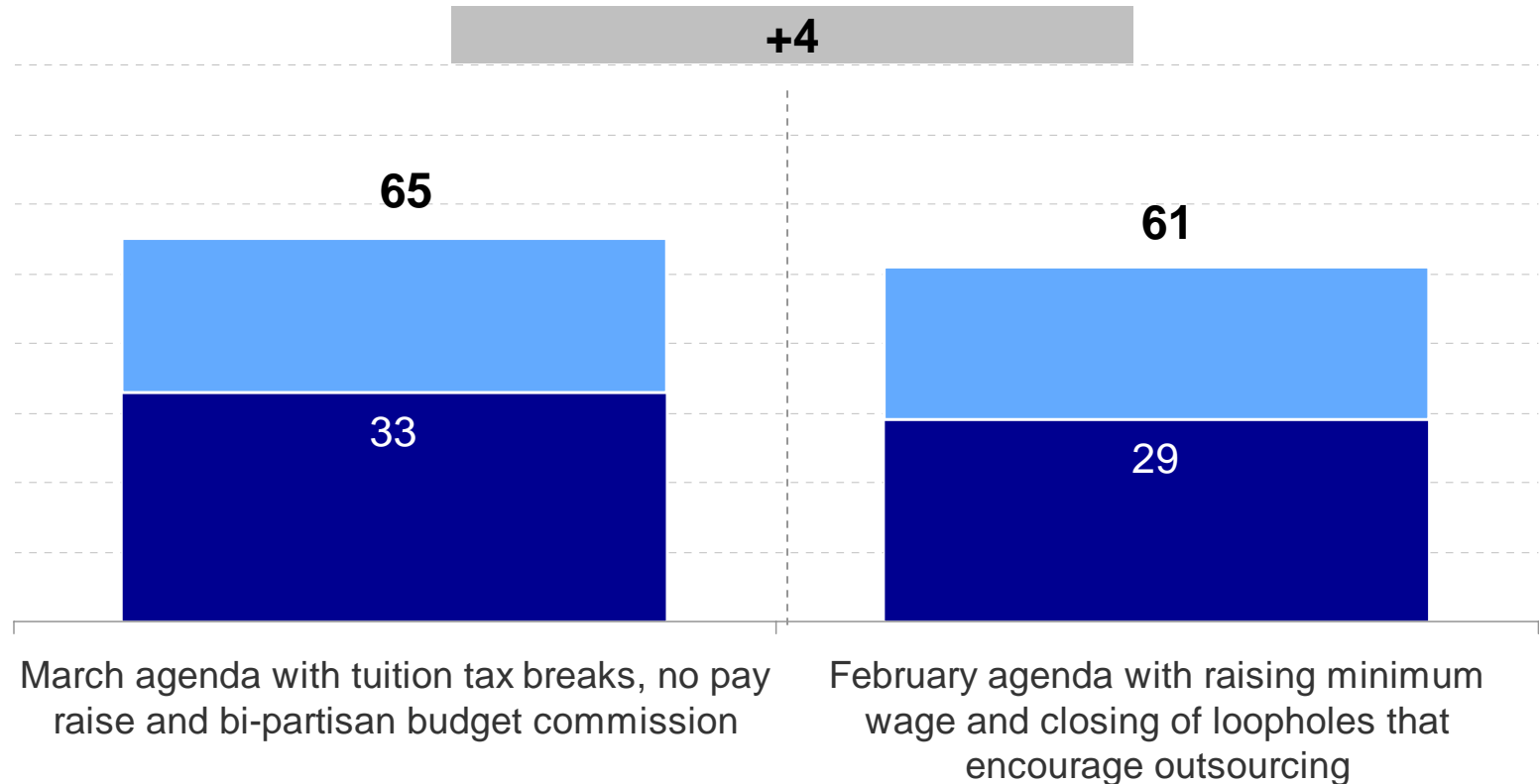
***Block any pay raise for Congress until the incomes of average workers begin to rise***

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***\*underlined portion appeared only in March survey***

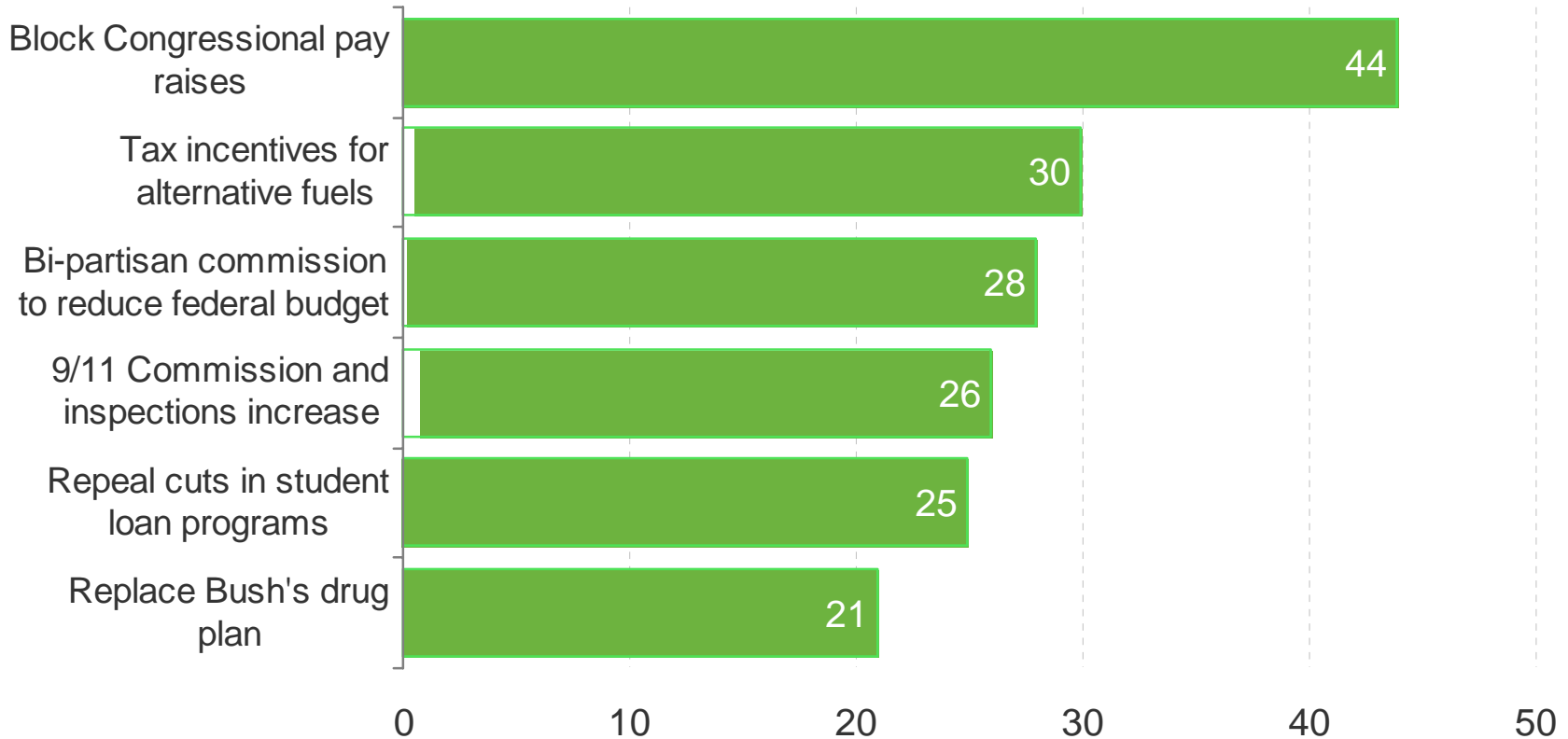
## Voters remain supportive of Democratic pledges

*Now I'd like to read you a list of actions Democrats pledge to take if they are given control of Congress in 2006. If Democrats take control of Congress, they pledge to:*



## Most important agenda items of March survey – top two

*Thinking about that list, which two stood out as the most important to you?*



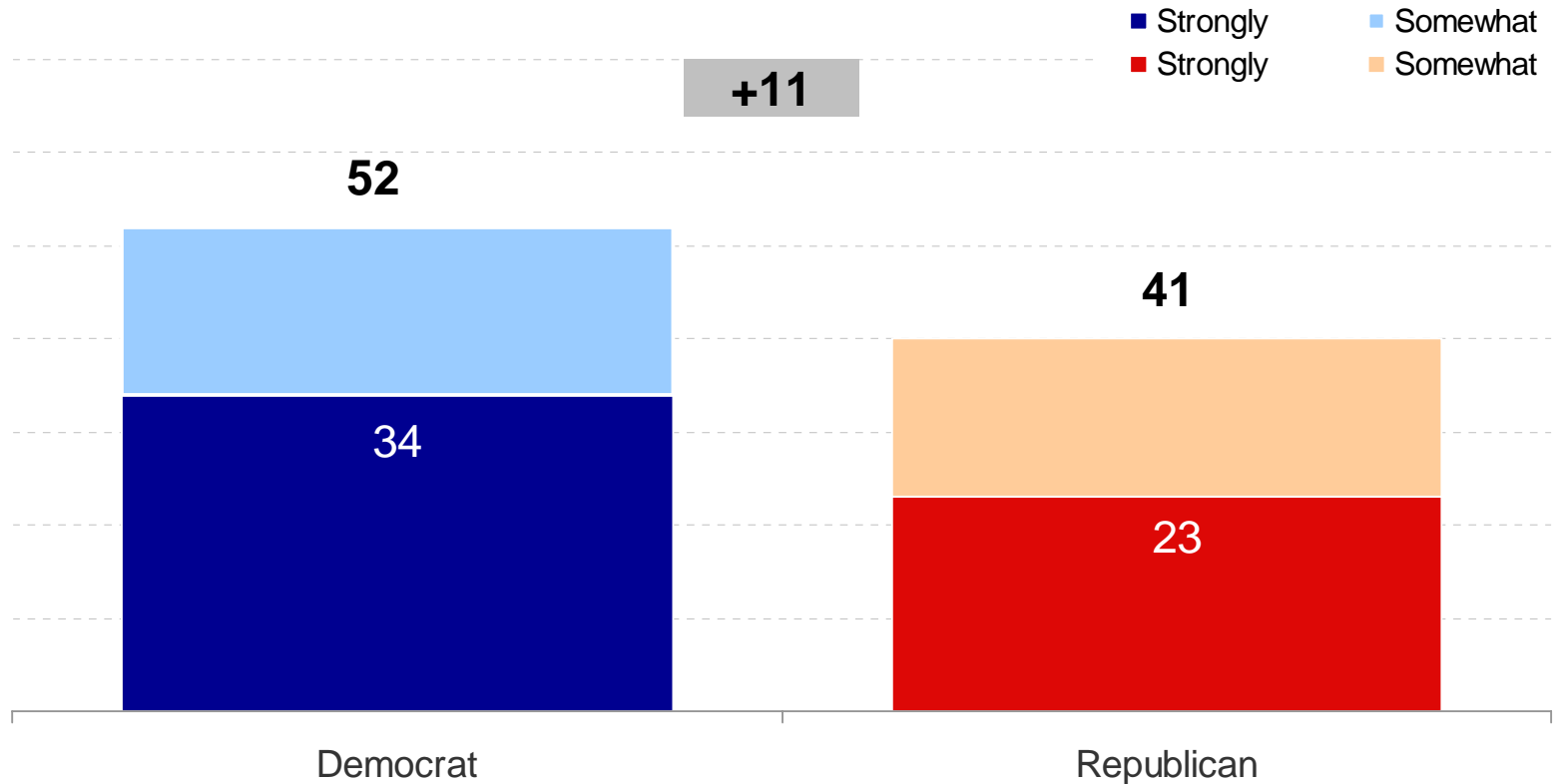
## Republican narrative

*Now, let me read you a statement by a Republican candidate for Congress. After the statement please tell me whether this would make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely, or less likely to support this Republican candidate in this year's election?*

	Much more likely	Total more likely
<p>The Republican says, we have made progress on the economy and national security due to our tax relief and commitment to take the fight to the terrorists. In Iraq, we are now reducing American troops as Iraqis take up security roles. But there is more to do. We are passing a new energy plan to make us independent of foreign oil, and we must increase border security and crack down on illegal immigrants. We are committed to moving America forward, while Democrats are pulling us backward. Their opposed the Patriot Act, our main tool to keep America safe. Their support for gay adoption and abortion threatens American families, and their answer to every problem is higher taxes and bigger government. American can't afford to go back to those liberal policies.</p>	23	44

## Democrats lead in agreement with party priorities

*After hearing these statements, regardless of how you plan to vote, do you find yourself agreeing more with the Republican issue priorities or more with the Democratic issue priorities?*



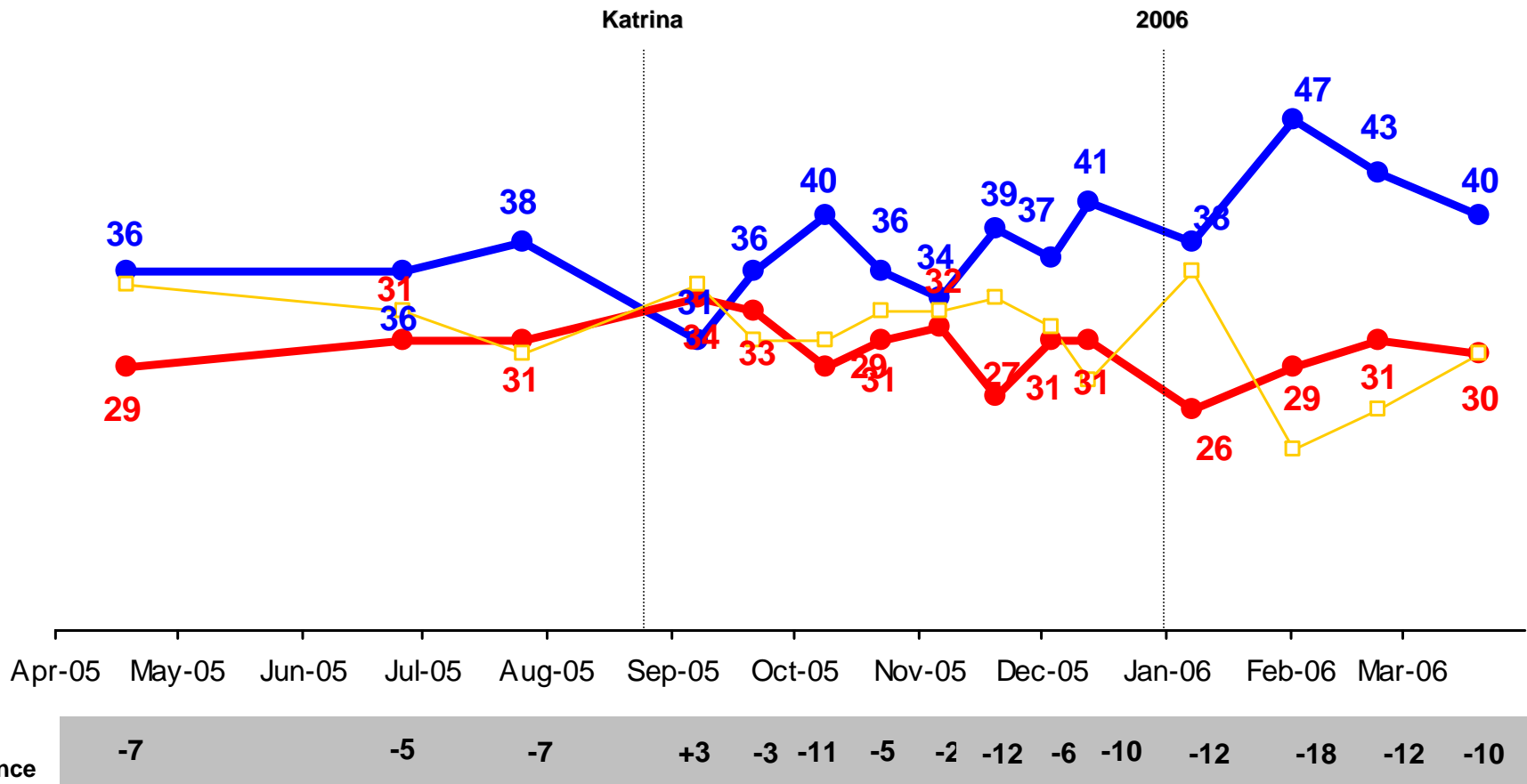
# Prescription drug benefit

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# Opposition dropping with all voters but still opposed

As you know, there is now a new prescription drug benefit under Medicare for seniors. How do you rate this program – mostly positively or mostly negatively?

- Rate plan negatively
- Rate plan positively
- Don't know

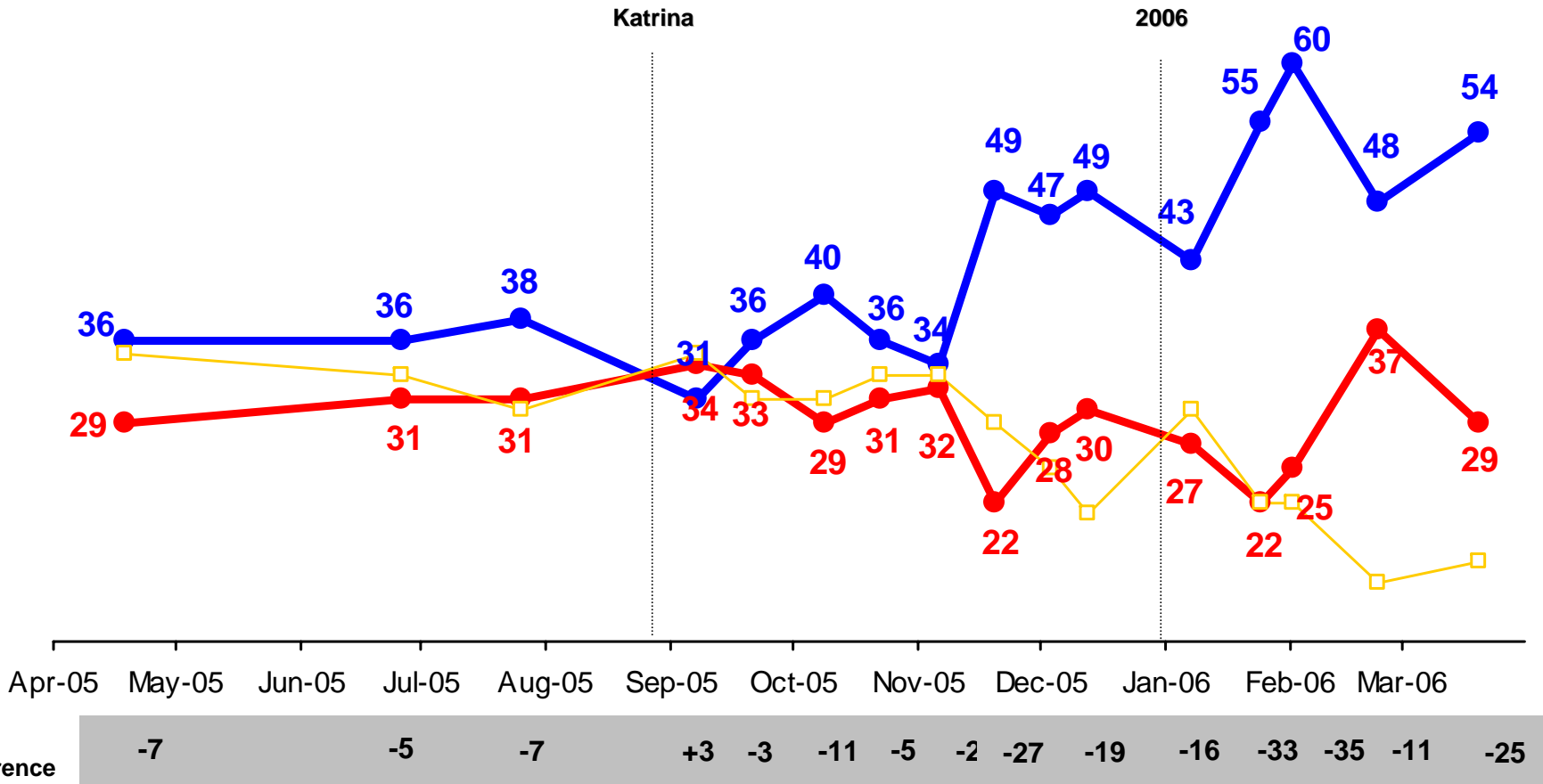


\*Asked only of those over 60 before 11/20/05

# But opposition among seniors moving back up

As you know, there is now a new prescription drug benefit under Medicare for seniors. How do you rate this program – mostly positively or mostly negatively?

- Rate plan negatively
- Rate plan positively
- Don't know

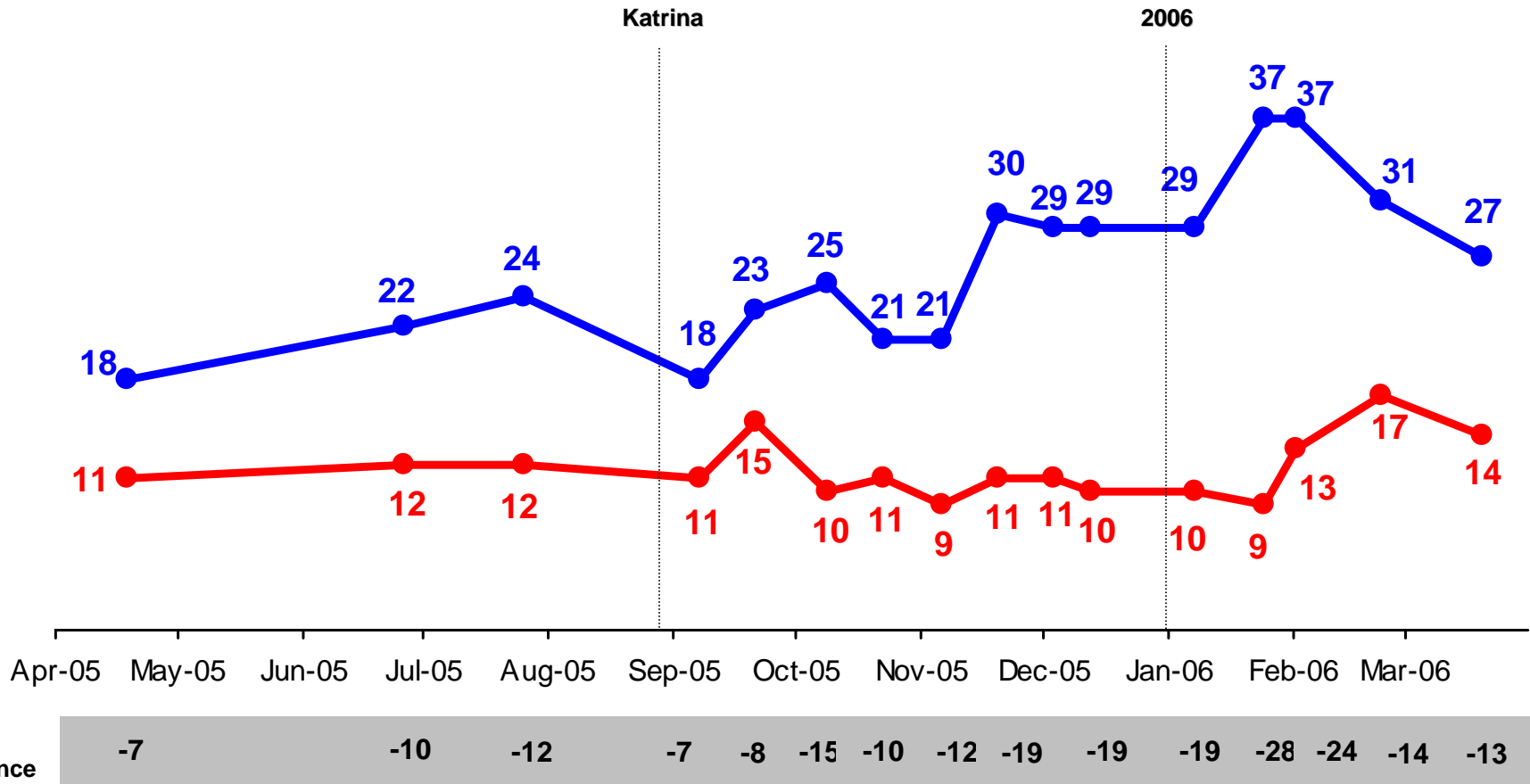


\*Asked only of those over 60 before 11/20/05

# Intensity eases but still 2:1 strongly negative

As you know, there is now a new prescription drug benefit under Medicare for seniors. How do you rate this program – mostly positively or mostly negatively?

- Rate plan VERY negatively
- Rate plan VERY positively



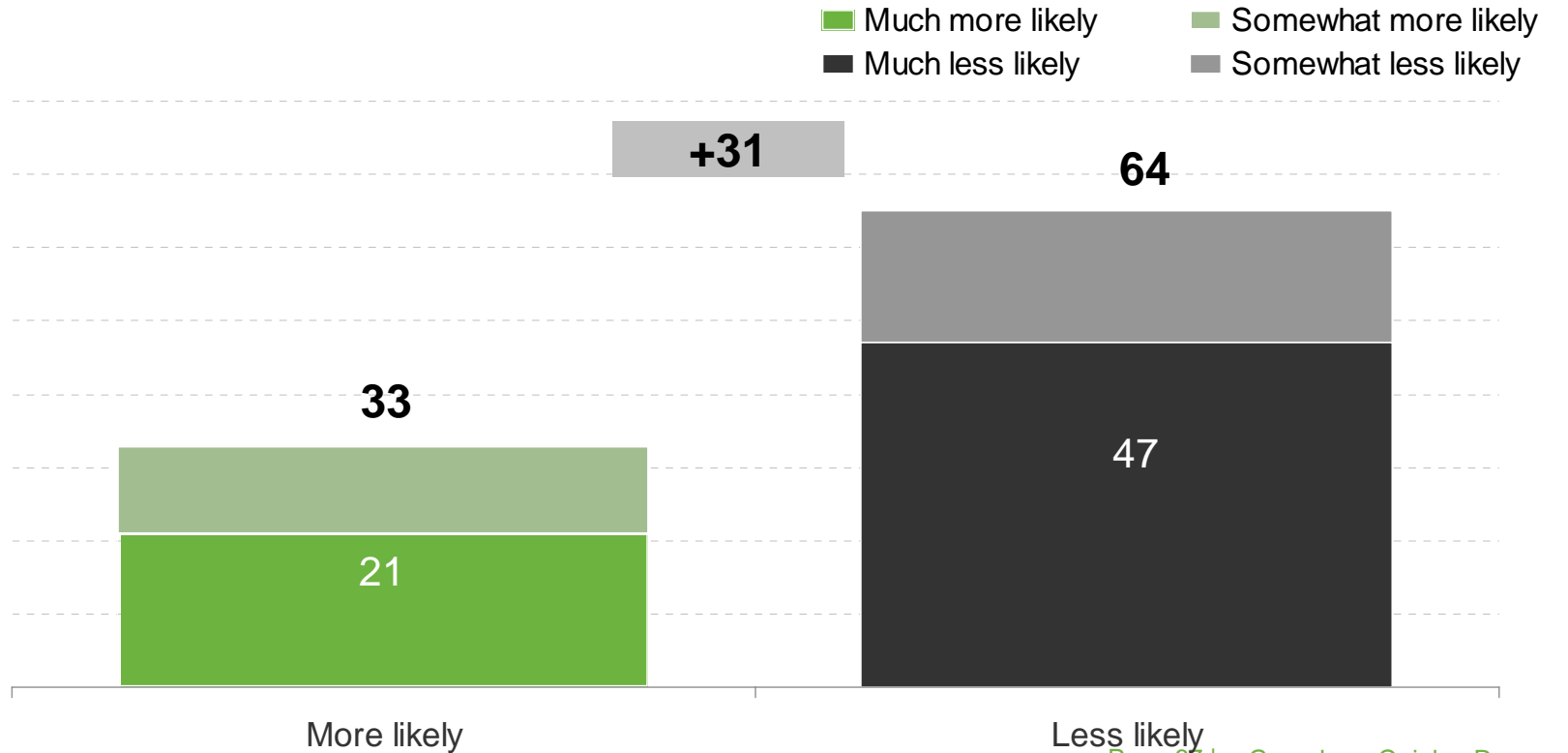
\*Asked only of those over 60 before 11/20/05

# South Dakota abortion ban

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## South Dakota Abortion Law

*Recently the South Dakota legislature passed a law that bans all abortions, even in cases of rape or incest, except when an abortion is necessary to save the life of the mother. Imagine that a candidate for Congress in your area endorsed the new South Dakota abortion law. Does that make you more or less likely to support that candidate?*

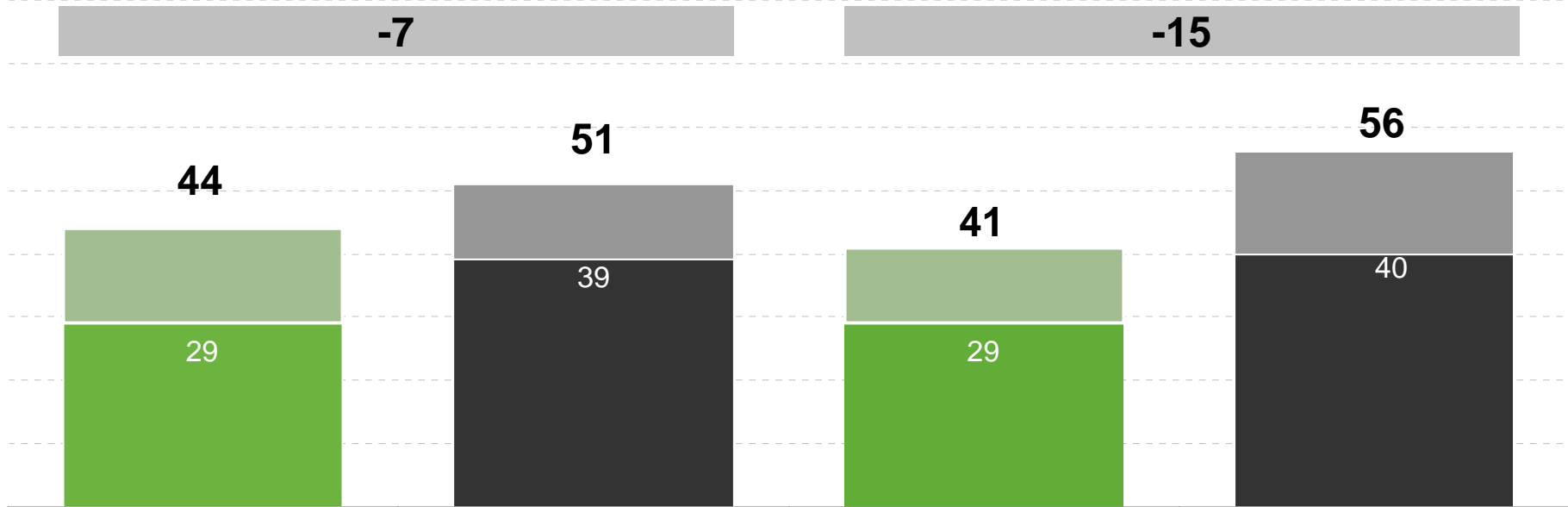


# Censure resolution

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## Censure Resolution – wiretapping vs. war in Iraq

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Strongly oppose
- Somewhat oppose



### Wiretapping

*As you may have heard, a United States senator recently introduced a resolution to censure the President for illegally spying on American citizens and then misleading the American public about the legality and existence of the program. Do you support or oppose this resolution to censure the President?*

### War in Iraq

*Now I'd like you to imagine that a United States senator introduced a resolution to censure the President for misleading the country on going to war in Iraq. Do you support or oppose this resolution to censure the President?*