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To: Friends of Democracy Corps

From: Stan Greenberg

RE: UPDATING *THE TWO AMERICAS* – *Take Two*

Pre-convention problems in the Republican base and stable support in the Democratic

America in 2004 is still divided and polarized, indeed, even more so than in 2000 and yet the loyalist supporters of the two parties look very different now. There is instability on the Republican side, while the Democratic loyalists seem comfortable voting in large numbers for John Kerry.

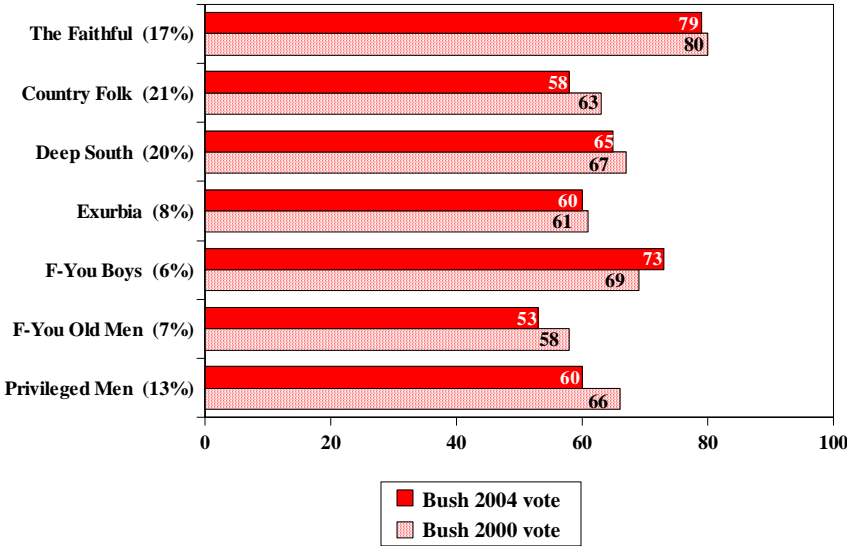
The stakes are very high right now, as America is not quite evenly divided. In the last three months, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research conducted five national surveys for Democracy Corps and other clients, over 5000 interviews between May and July. The Democrats enjoy a 5-point advantage (49 to 44 percent), which is now the backdrop for the presidential race in the convention periods.

The Republican Loyalist World – uncertain ardor and unity

The dead-locked 2000 election was accompanied by intense cultural polarization and great unity in the Republican loyalist world, on display even more in 2002. Republican efforts to maintain that have fallen short in recent months, though the Bush White House has managed to get back to 2000 support levels among the Faithful (white evangelicals), in exurbia and nearly so in the Deep South; it is running ahead of 2000 among F-You Boys (younger non-college married men). The last are the voters who most like Bush's style of not messing with people's guns and not messing with America. That is an improvement over earlier in the year.

The Republican Loyalist World

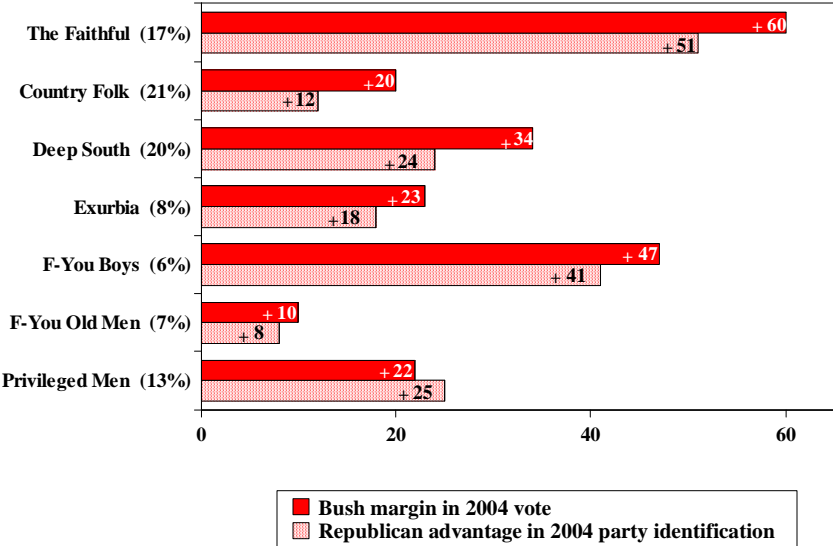
Support for Bush: 2004 and 2000



But Bush has serious problems with Country Folk (white rural voters) – one in five in the electorate – where his support currently falls 5 points short; he is falling 5 points short among white blue-collar seniors, who may be reacting against his retirement policies; and he is falling 6 points short with Privileged men – the college-educated married men who may be having problems with his war, fiscal and religious policies.

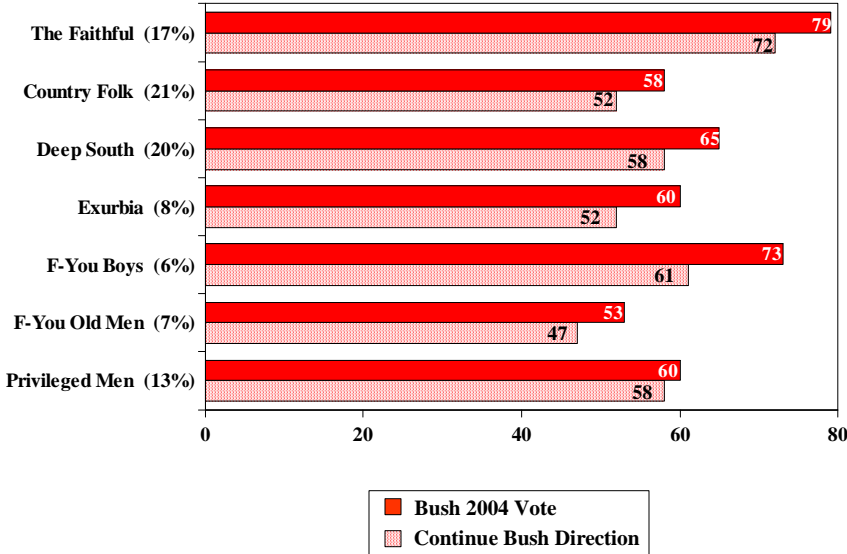
Bush will have difficulty increasing his support, as his vote margin in nearly all these groups is already greater than the Republican advantage in party identification. The gap is particularly noteworthy for rural whites, where Bush is winning now by 20 points but Republicans only enjoy a 12-point party advantage.

The Republican Loyalist World Support for Bush 2004 and Party Identification



While all these groups want to continue in Bush’s direction for the country, he is not getting the kind of affirmation consistent with building further support. That is true for nearly all the loyalist groups, making it difficult to stabilize support.

The Republican Loyalist World Bush Vote and Continue Bush Direction



Frankly, many of these voters, despite their place in the Republican world, are uncomfortable with Bush’s direction and leadership, mostly because of his adventurism abroad, economic and trade policies, and favoritism to corporations. A remarkable 45 percent of these white rural voters want to go in a “significantly different direction than Bush (versus just 52 percent who want to continue on the same path); a like number, 49 percent, of these white male seniors feel the same (with 47 percent wanting to continue to follow Bush). These are not base numbers. Even the current level of support is exposed, given these attitudes and partisan dynamics.

The Kerry campaign has plenty of opportunities to erode Bush’s performance with these voters and jeopardize Rove’s base strategy. The Country Folk are the most anti-corporate in the Republican base (33 percent warm and 35 percent cool thermometer readings). By 57 to 41 percent, they reject the assertion that Bush’s economic policies are proving successful, affirming instead that the middle class is not sharing in the income and employment gains. They are particularly upset with rising health care costs and the fact that people are financially squeezed. Over half agree (60 percent) that Bush is neglecting domestic problems.

The F-You Old Men sound a lot like Perot voters. They are very upset about our ballooning deficits, they are angry about job losses and US outsourcing and very hostile toward NAFTA and international trade. Similar to the rural voters, over half (51 percent) of F-You Old Men say Bush is neglecting our problems at home. Like all older voters,

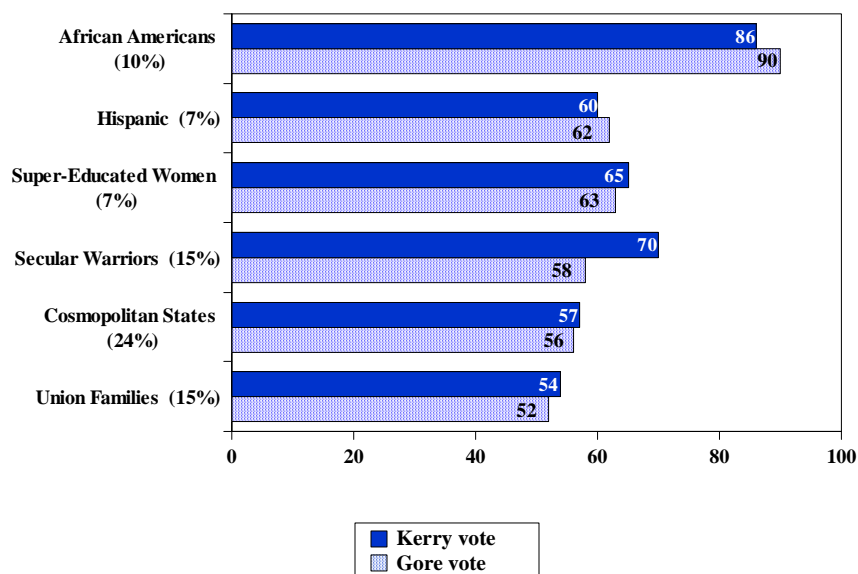
especially women, they are upset with the Iraq war: by 50 to 46 percent, they say the war was not worth it.

Bush needs to perform better with these groups just to replicate the country-wide parity of 2000, but he is short of that number and already well above what one would expect based on current partisan sentiment. Bush must make his voice heard on economic progress and, failing that, keep these voters from wandering away from cultural issues. Bush has a strong incentive to keep these voters focused on values issues, but that too has risks for independent voters.

The Democratic Loyalist World – unity and stability

There is much more stability and consistency in the Democratic loyalist world. Virtually all of the social groups in the Democratic Loyalist World – African Americans, Hispanics, Super-Educated Women (holding post-graduate degrees), Cosmopolitan states, Secular Warriors (voters who eschew church and guns) and Union Families (white union members and household members) – are supporting Kerry at the 2000 level or more. While Republican loyalists groups are underperforming, the Democratic ones are on the verge of overperforming.

The Democratic Loyalist World
Support for Kerry and Gore

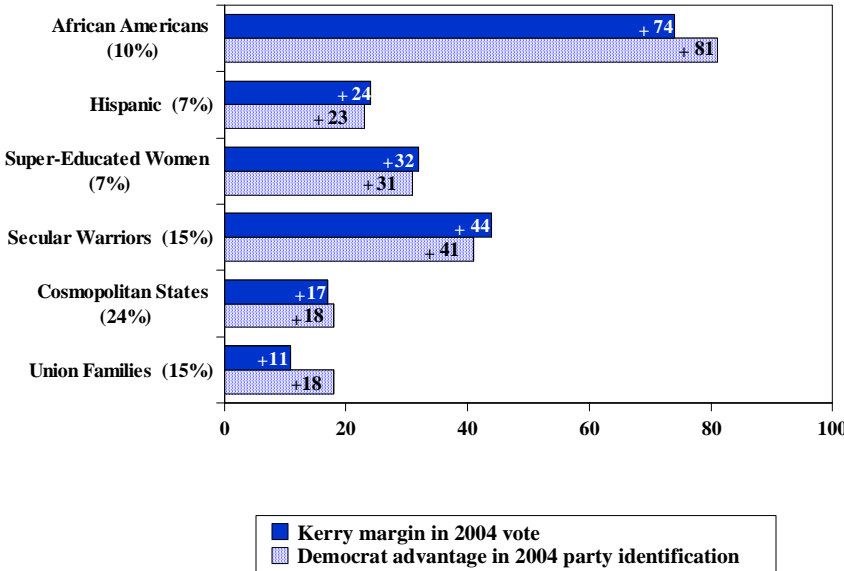


The Democrats are doing well with minority voters who are on the verge of matching the 2000 vote, which is actually a noteworthy result among minority voters who conventionally consolidate at the end: African American support is already at 86 percent and Hispanic at 60 percent. But Kerry is running ahead of 2000 performance with the Super-Educated Women (post-graduate degrees) and particularly with Secular Warriors (no church attendance and no guns). The last are 15 percent of the electorate and Kerry now runs 12 points ahead of Gore, now getting 70 percent of the vote. This is part of a general trend of growing Democratic support among the better educated and more secular, in reaction to Republican developments.

But we now show union household support slightly surpassing 2000 levels for the first time. That is important progress, though Gore did not run impressively with union voters in 2000. Kerry could be on the verge of doing better.

Unlike the Republican loyalist world, groups here are not cross-pressured. The Kerry margin matches the Democratic advantage in party identification in every group. In some, like Union Households, the party margin is significantly higher. Thus, the party dynamic is fully consistent with current support levels for Kerry, maybe more.

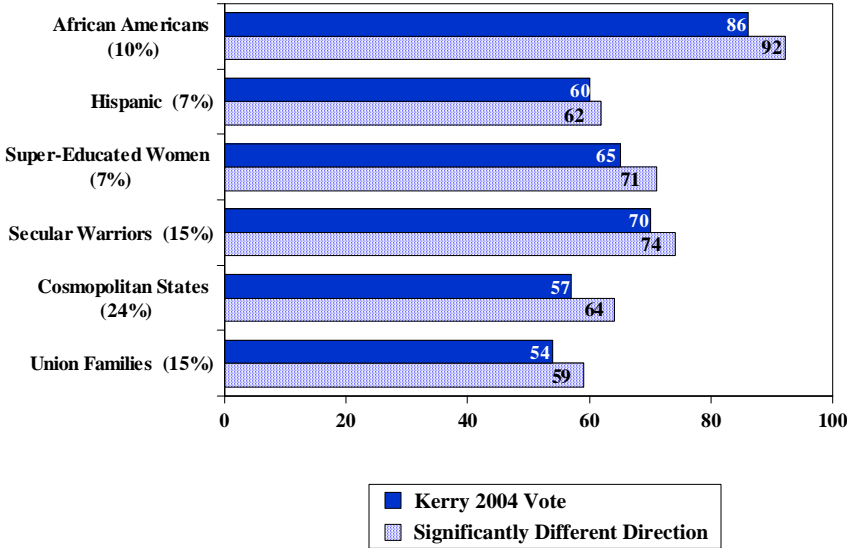
The Democratic Loyalist World
Support for Kerry and Party Identification
Net Advantage



The Democratic loyalist world wants change and every single group wants to go in a significantly different direction than Bush. Unlike the Republican world, there are no contradictions here. The percentage wanting change is greater than the current vote

for Kerry in every group. In the Cosmopolitan States, for example, 57 percent are voting for Kerry, but 64 percent want a big change in direction. Among Union Households, 54 percent are voting for Kerry, but 59 percent want not to go in Bush's direction. If there are any pressures here, they are for a larger Kerry vote.

The Democratic Loyalist World
Kerry Vote and Support for a Significantly Different Direction



On the eve of the conventions, the Democratic loyalist world is comfortably prepared to produce a strong Kerry vote, re-enforced by partisanship and the desire for a big change in direction. That contrasts with the instability and cross-pressures on the Republican side where Bush will have trouble matching 2000. That will obviously greatly impact the strategies of the two campaigns.