

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

March 12, 2008

The Decline of Conservatism

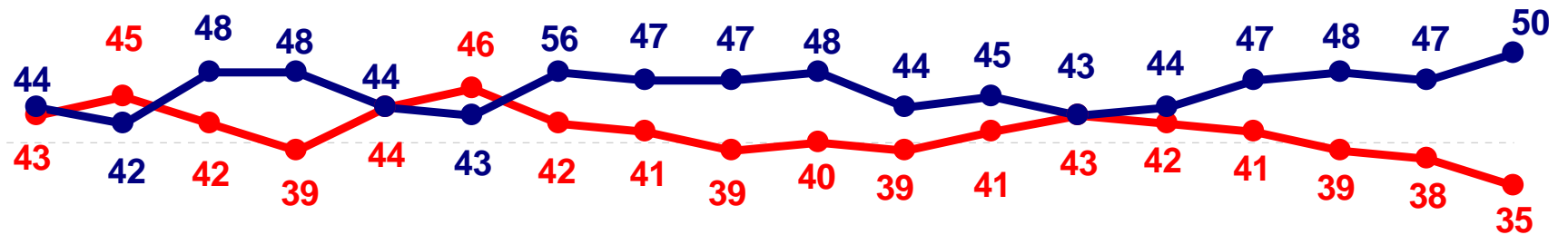
Stan Greenberg

The plates have shifted

Pew Party ID

Do you consider yourself a Democrat or Republican?

● Republican/lean Republican
● Democrat/lean Democrat



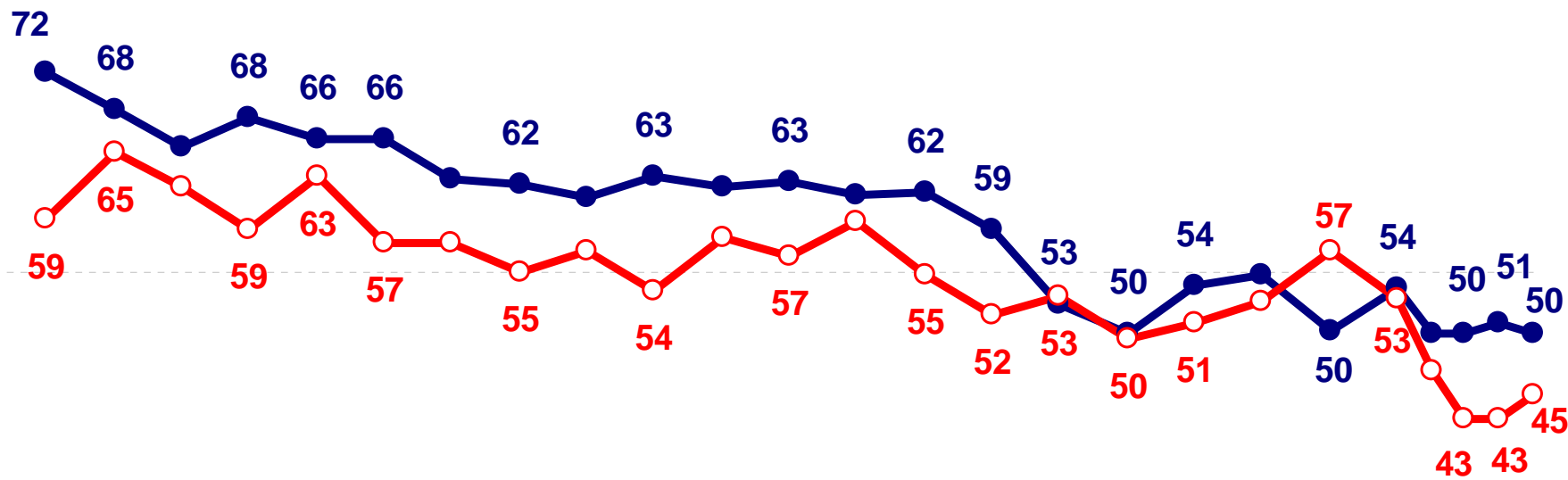
Year	Jan-89	Jan-90	Jan-91	Jan-92	Jan-93	Jan-94	Jan-95	Jan-96	Jan-97	Jan-98	Jan-99	Jan-00	Jan-01	Jan-02	Jan-03	Jan-04	Jan-05	Jan-06	Jan-07
Net Difference	+1	-3	+6	+9	0	-3	+14	+6	+8	+8	+5	-4	0	+2	+6	+9	+9	+15	

*Note: From Pew "Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007"

Historical party thermometer

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

● Democrat
○ Republican

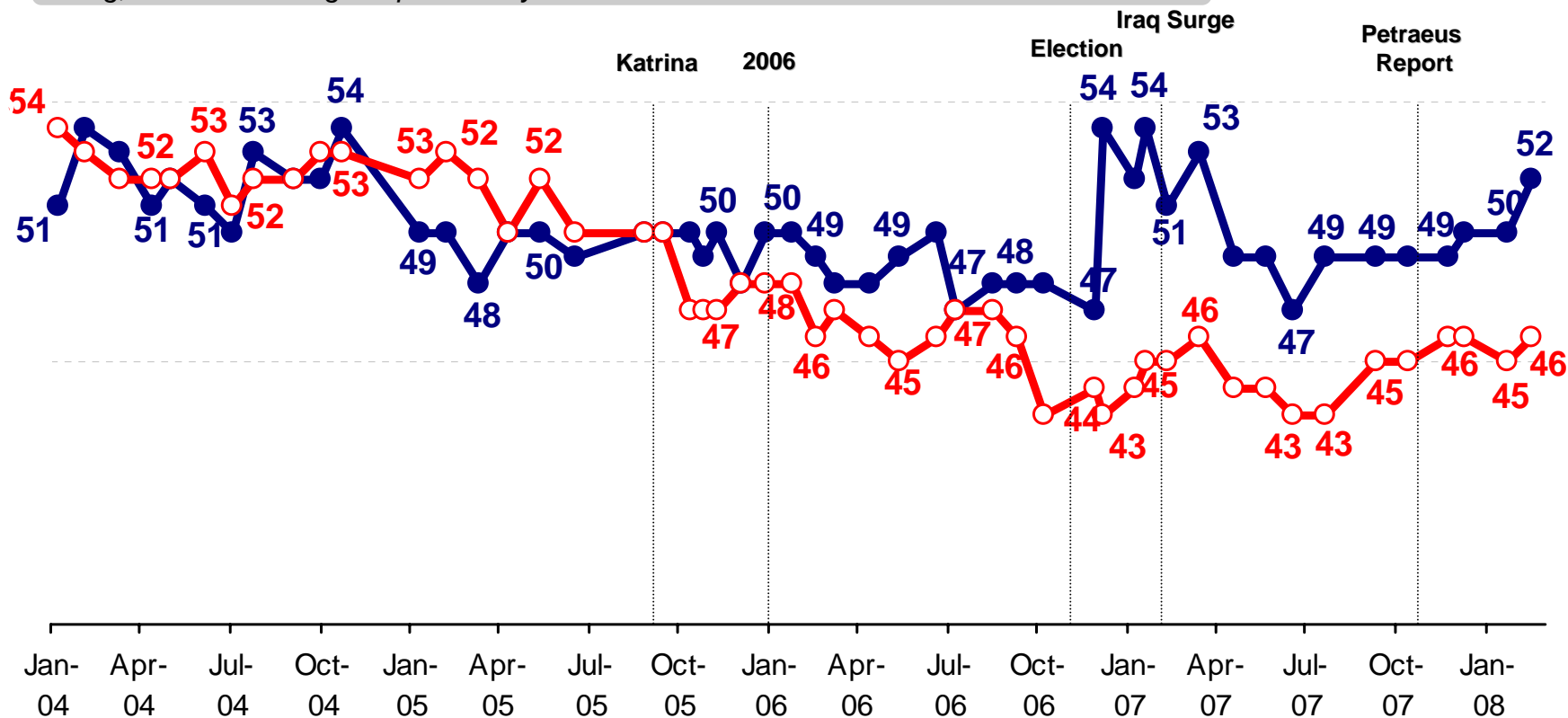


Year	Net Difference
Jan-62	+13
Jan-67	+3
Jan-72	+9
Jan-73	+3
Jan-74	+9
Jan-77	+7
Jan-82	+9
Jan-87	+6
Jan-92	+7
Jan-93	+7
Jan-94	0
Jan-97	0
Jan-98	+4
Jan-02	+7
Jan-03	+1
Jan-04	+7
Jan-05	+8
Jan-06	+5
Jan-07	+5

Historic Democratic thermometer advantage

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

● Democratic Party
○ Republican Party



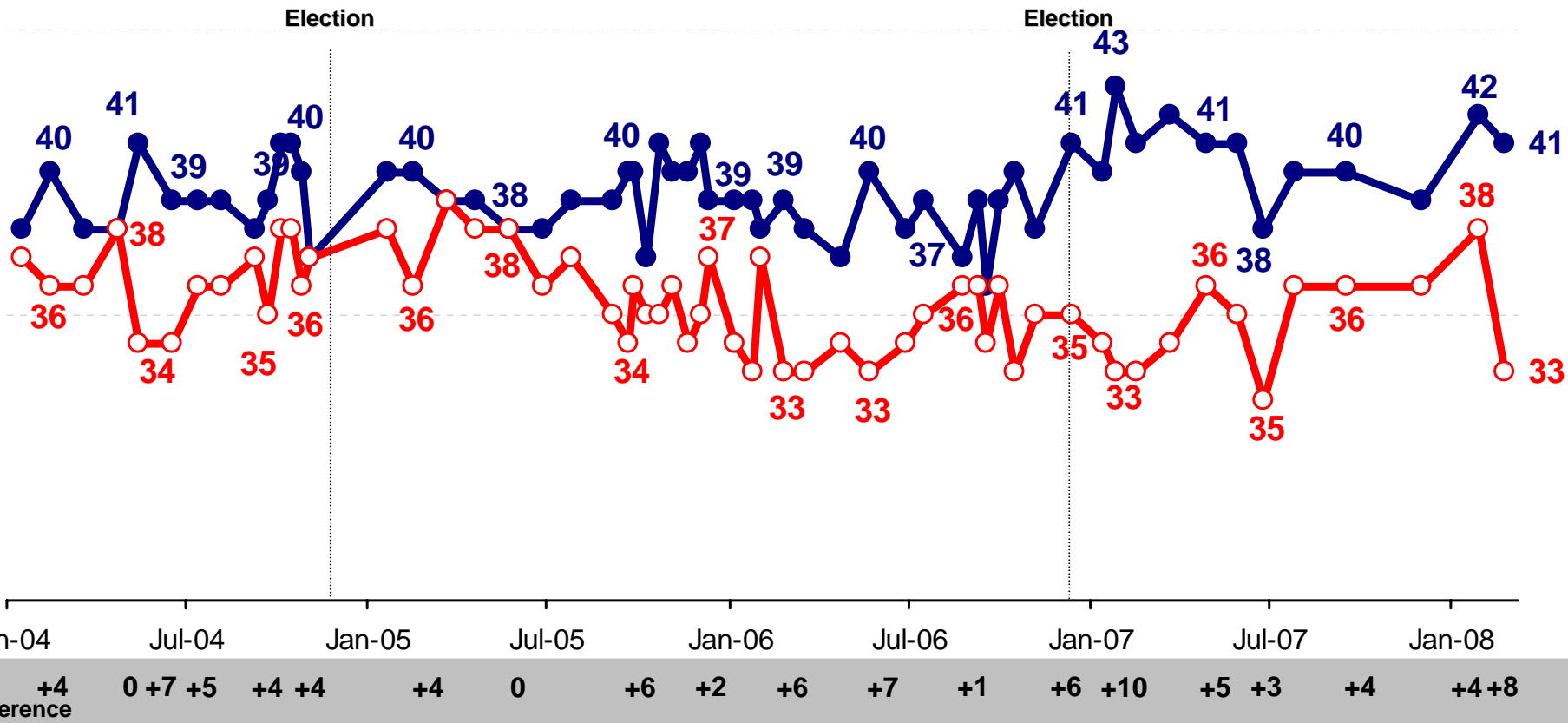
Net Difference	Jan-04	Apr-04	Jul-04	Oct-04	Jan-05	Apr-05	Jul-05	Oct-05	Jan-06	Apr-06	Jul-06	Oct-06	Jan-07	Apr-07	Jul-07	Oct-07	Jan-08							
	-3	-1	-2	+1	+1	-4	-4	-2	+3	+2	+3	+4	0	+2	+3	+11	+9	+7	+4	+6	+4	+3	+5	+6

*Note: Data the MEAN ratings from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past four years.

Democrats hold advantage in party identification

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?

Democrat
Republican

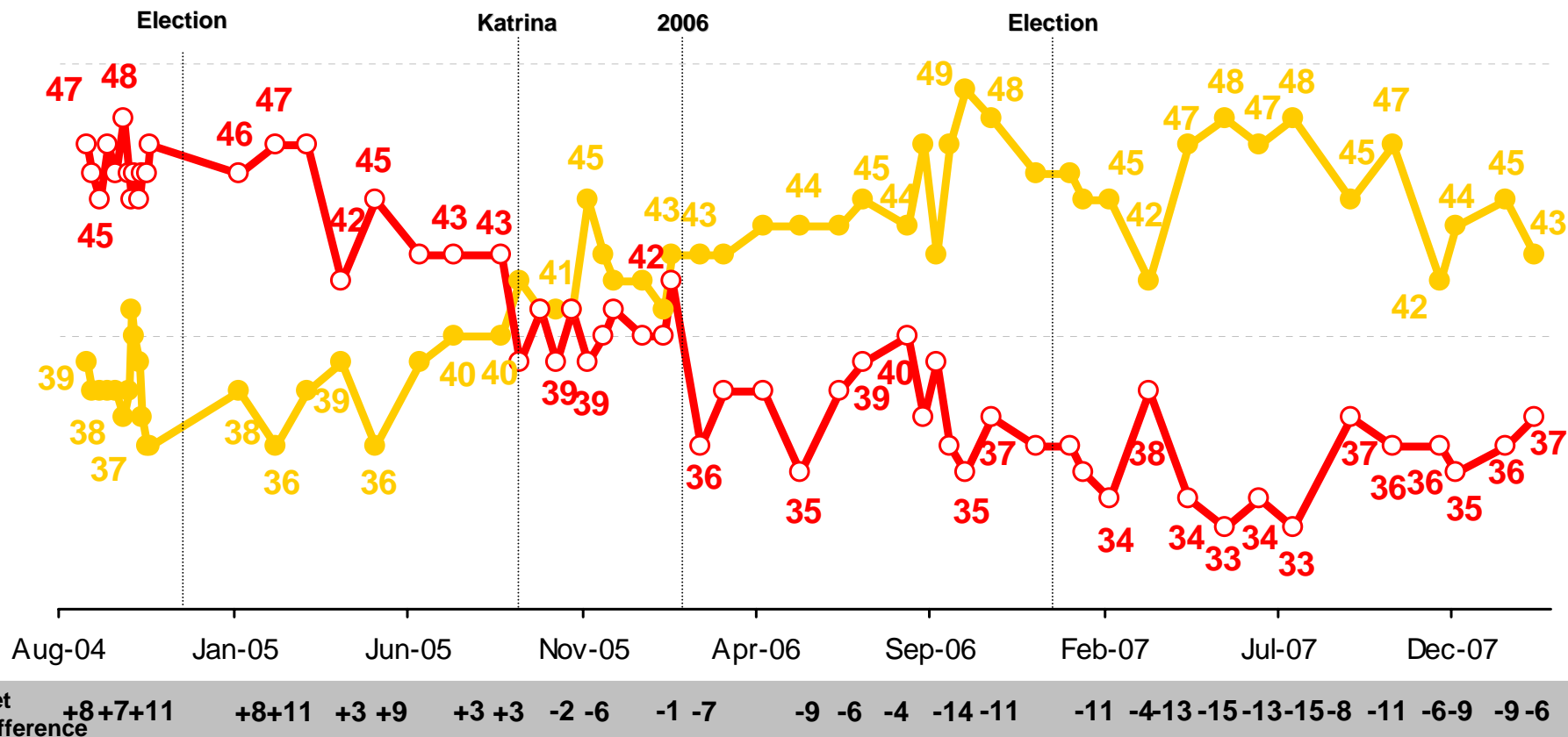


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past four years.

Unfavorable feelings toward Republican Party continue

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

● Cool ● Warm

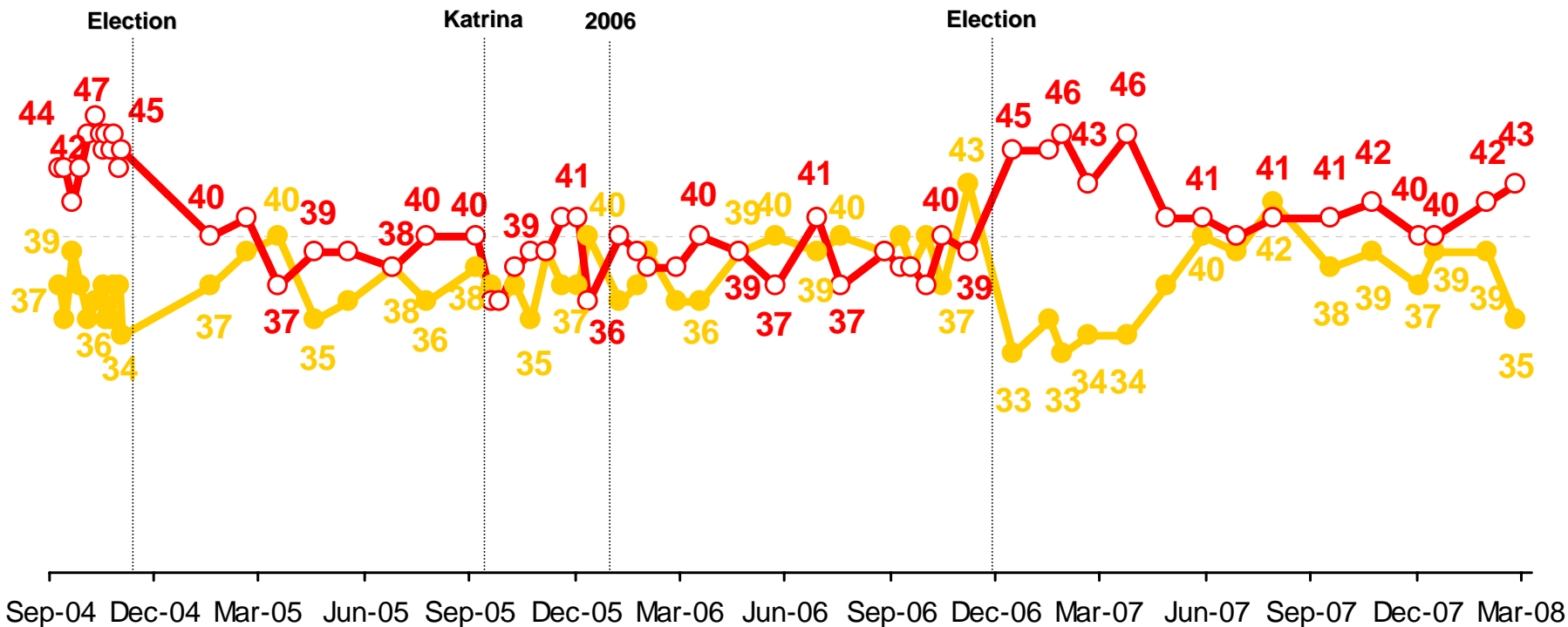


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past three years.

The Democrats' 2008 advantage

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

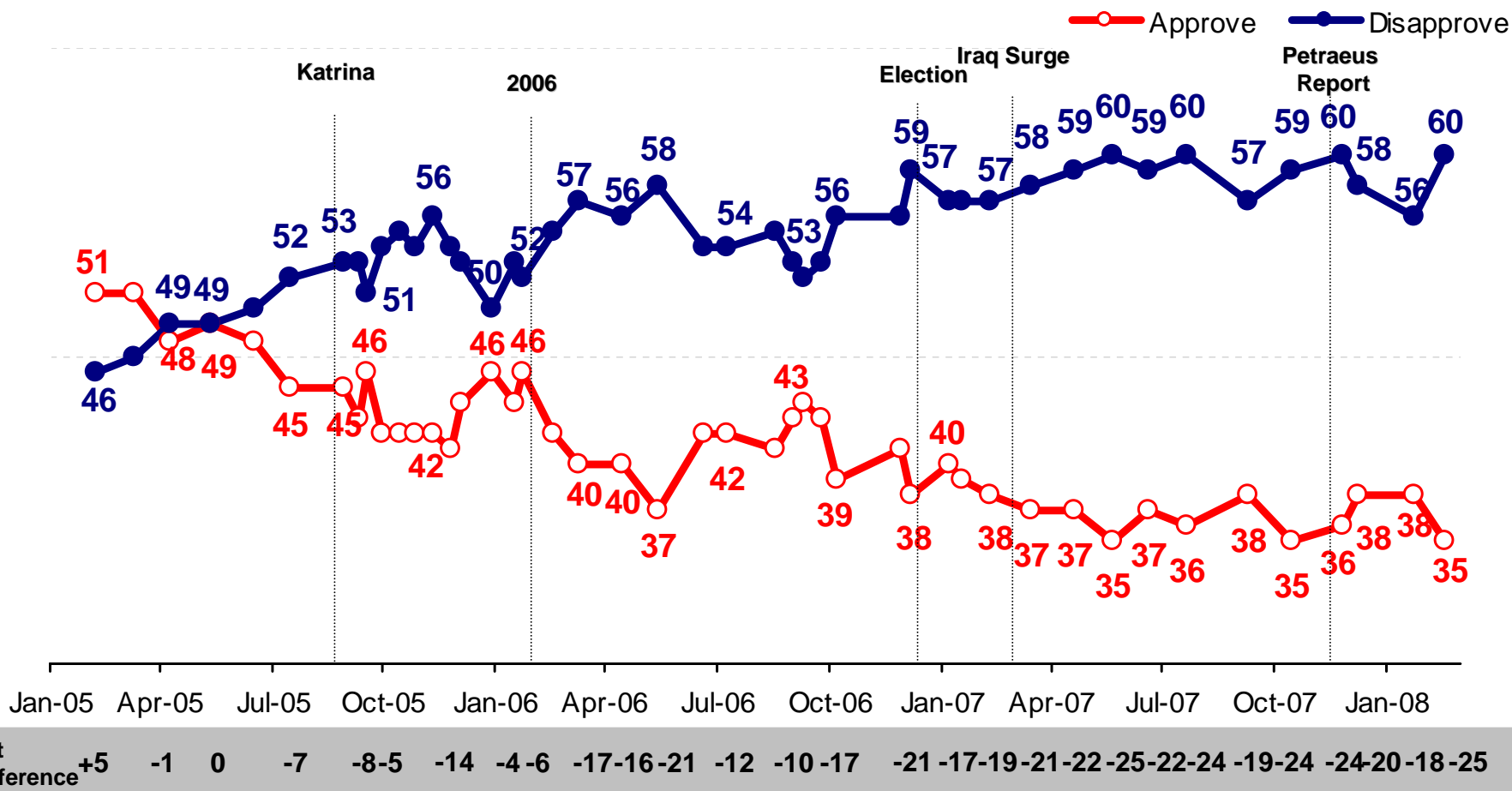
● Cool ● Warm



Net Difference	+7	+3	+11	+9	+3	-3	+4	0	+4	+2	+4	+4	-4	+4	0	-3	+2	-3	+3	-4	+12	+13	+9	+12	+1	-1	+3	+3	+3	+1	+3	+8
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Bush job approval – disapproval worsens

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

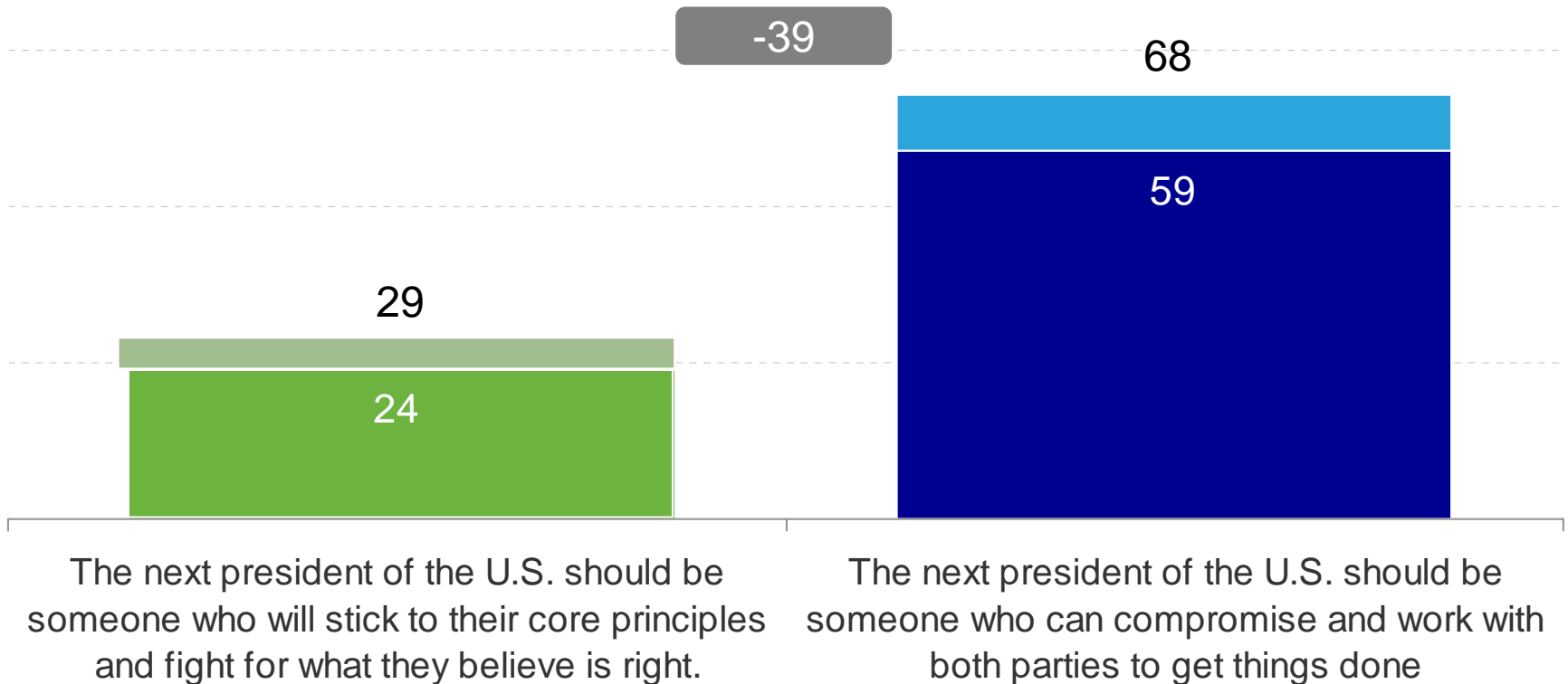


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past three years.

Voters crave a president that will work with both parties

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

- First statement much more
- First statement somewhat more
- Second statement more
- Second statement somewhat more



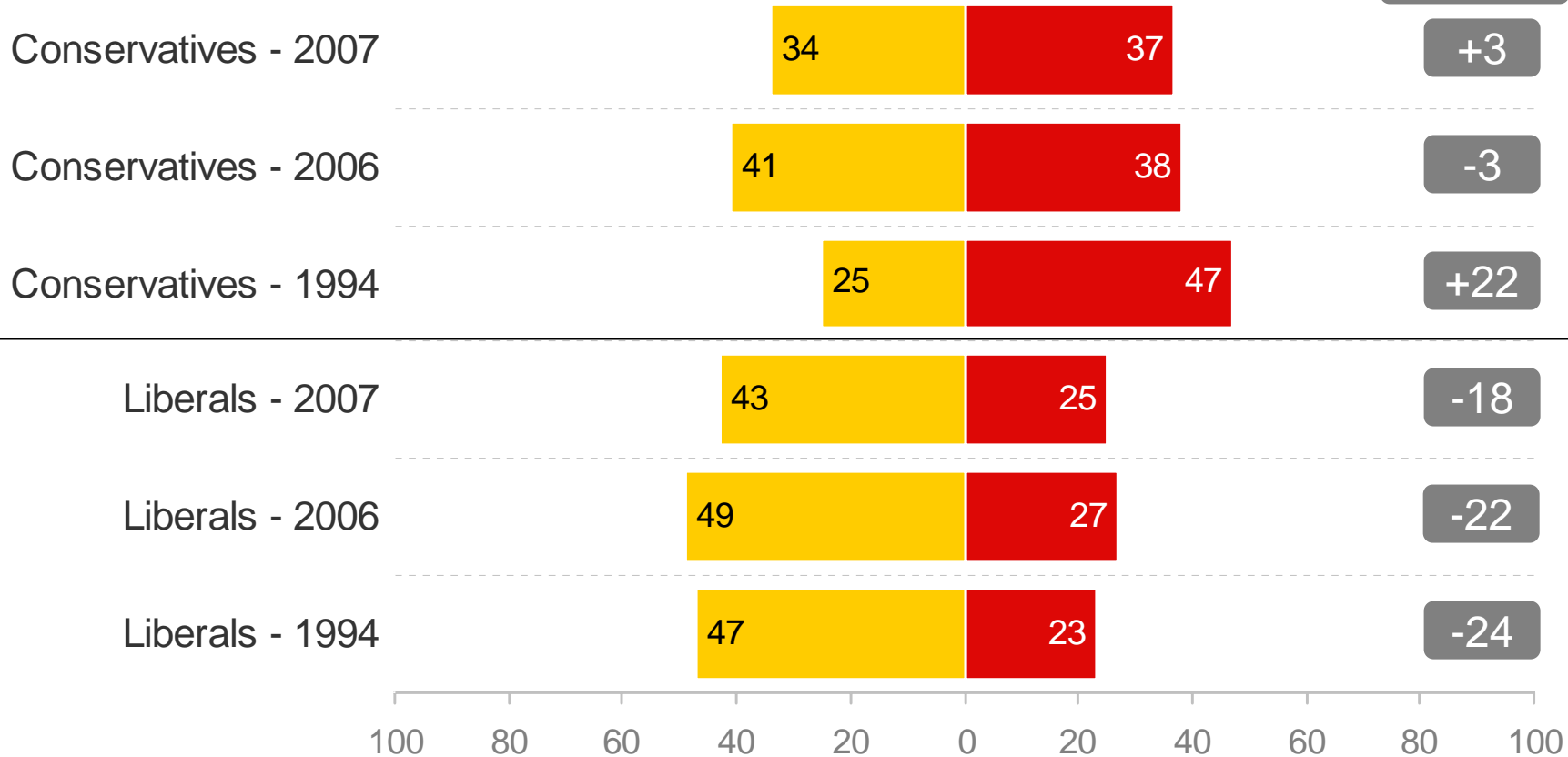
*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted April 26-29, 2007 of 1,000 likely voters

Ideology

Conservatism: 1994 to 2007

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

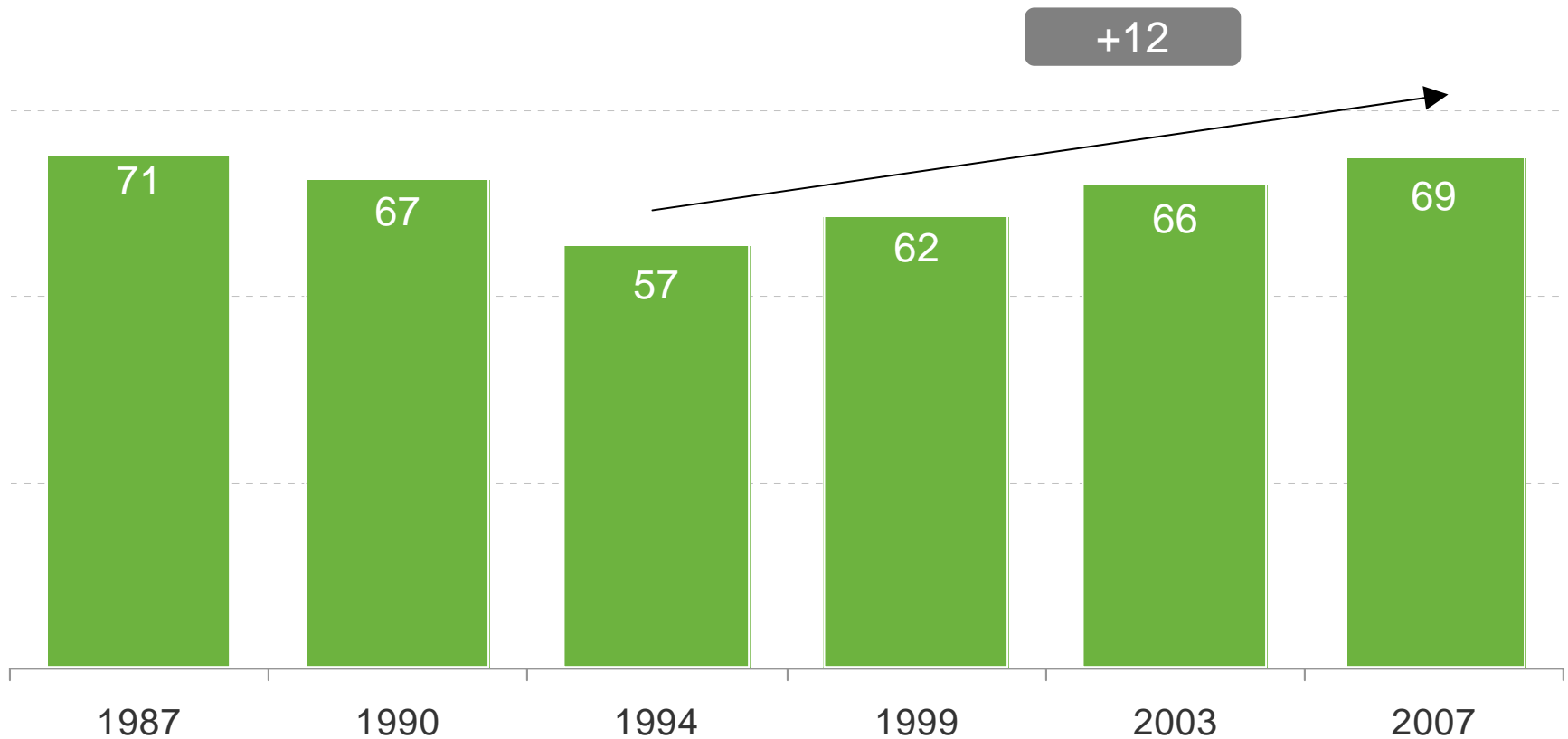
■ Cool ■ Warm



Ideological change

Upswing in support for government programs

“Government should care for those who can’t care for themselves.”



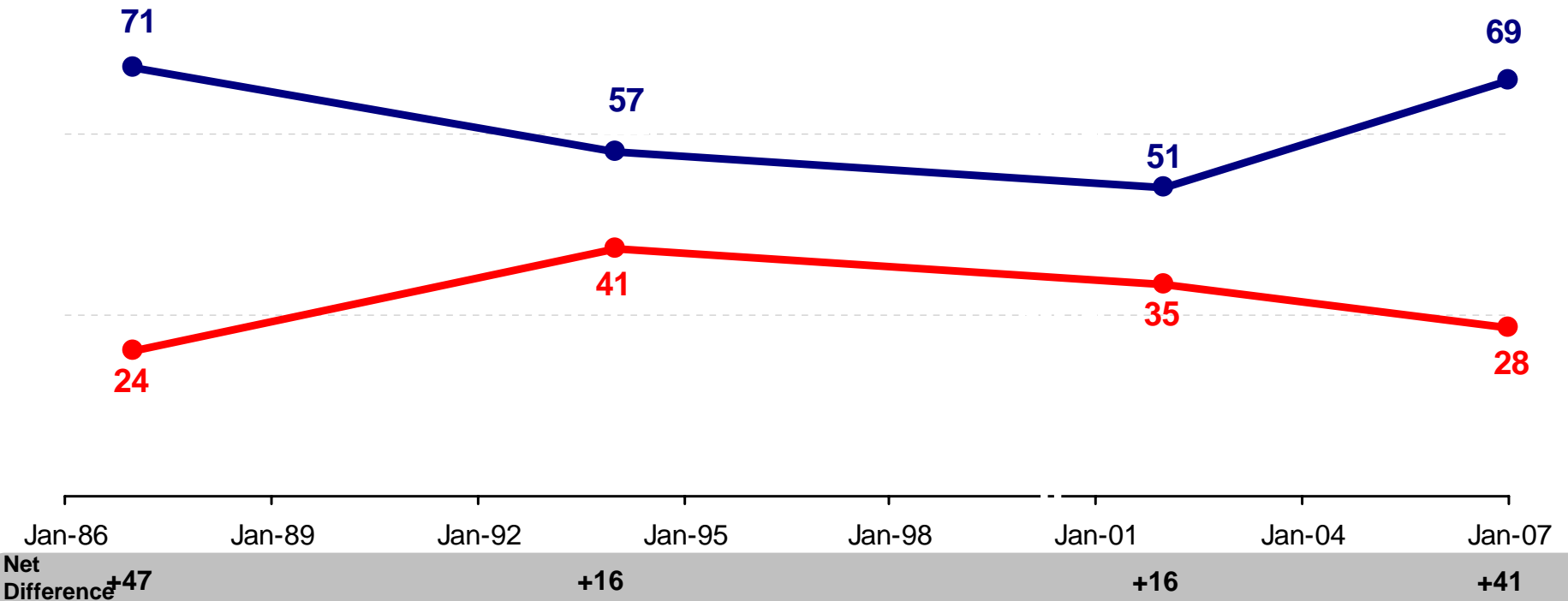
*Note: From Pew "Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007"

Government should take care of people

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

"It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves."

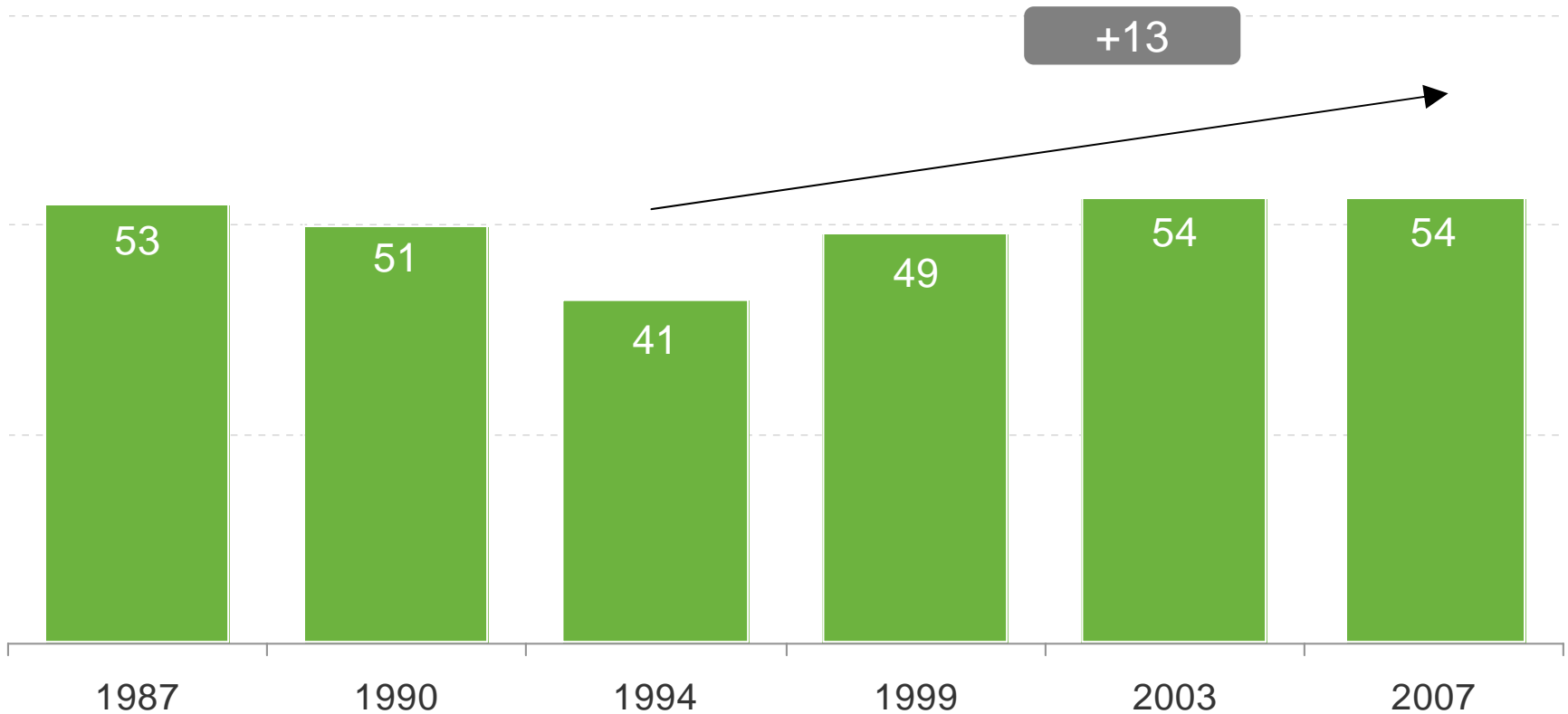
—●— Agree —●— Disagree



*Note: From Pew "Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007"

The public favors helping the needy even if it means more debt

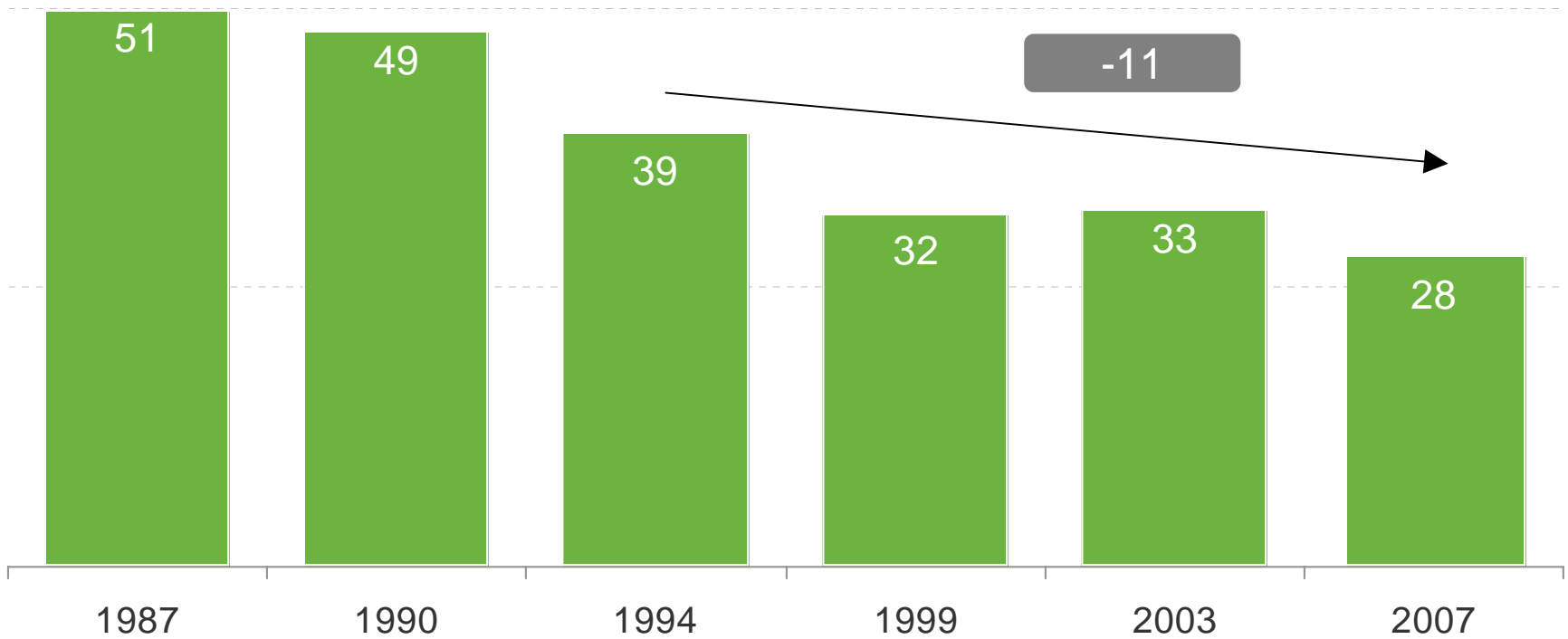
“Government should help the needy even if it means greater debt.”



**Note: From Pew "Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007"*

Less social conservatism

“School boards should have the right to fire homosexual teachers.”

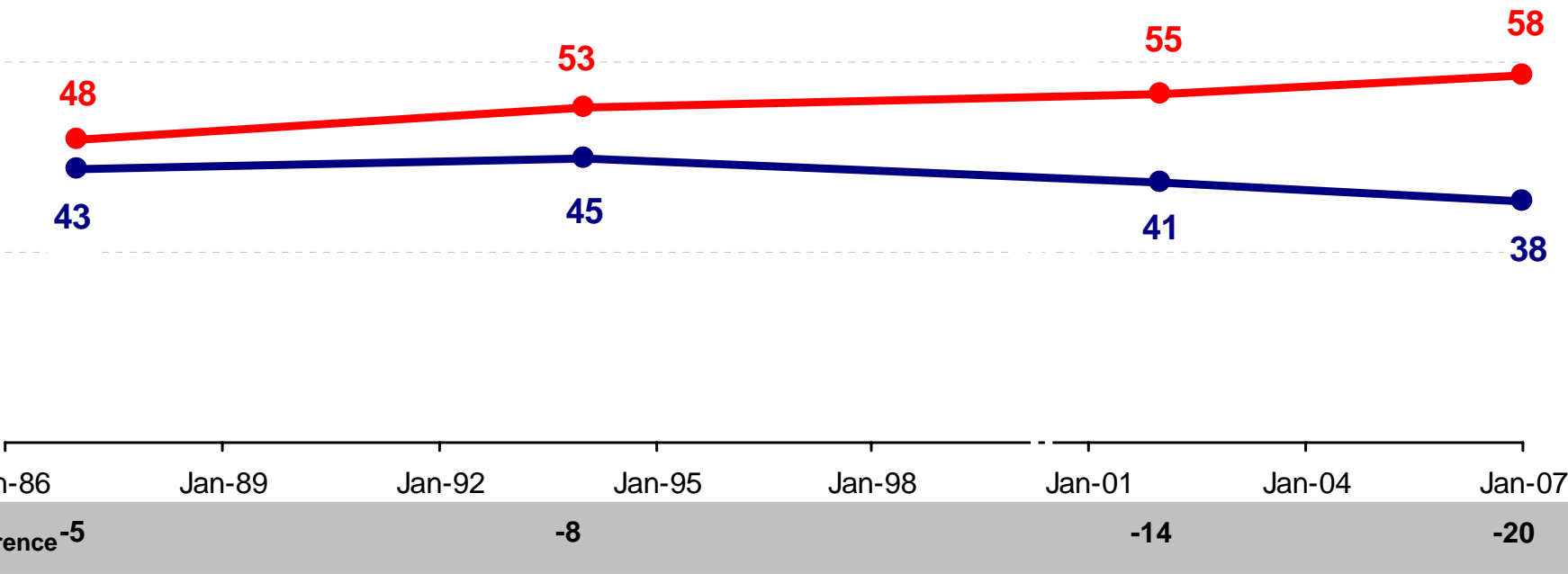


*Note: From Pew *“Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007”*

Corporations not striking balance

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
“Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between profits and the public interest.”

—●— Agree —●— Disagree

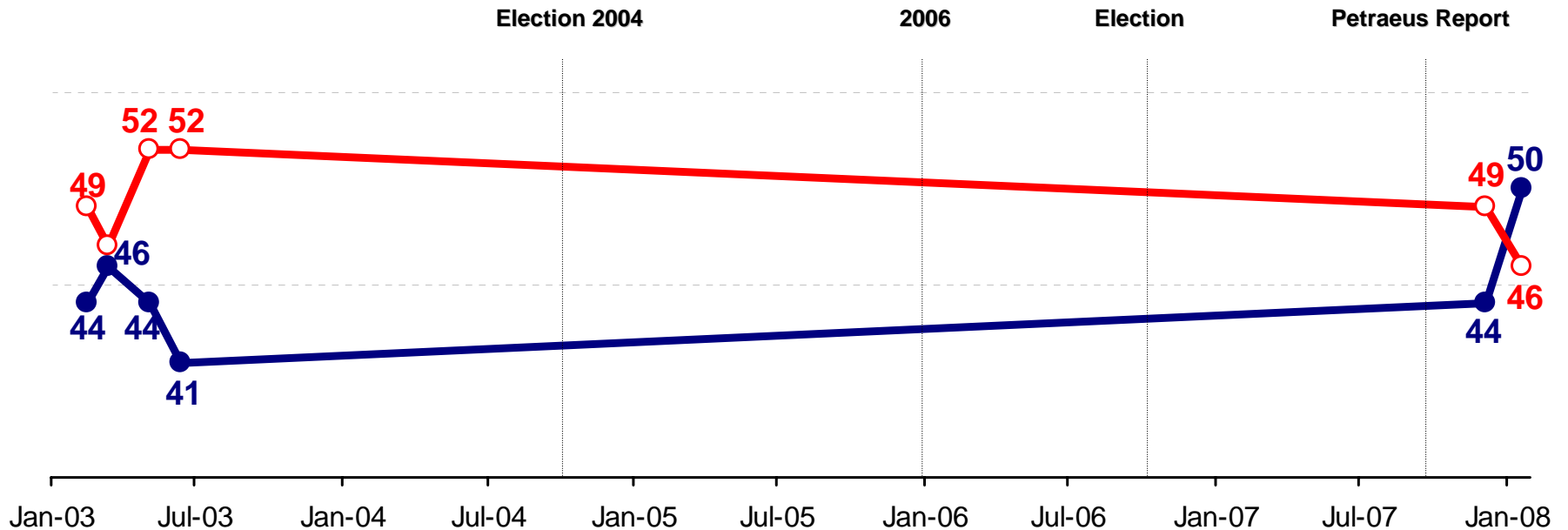


*Note: From Pew “Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007”

Regulation for public safety gets new support

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

- Government regulation often improves safety and protects consumers and the environment.
- The government should stop trying to tell people what to do-- whether they can own a gun, use an off-road vehicle, or drive an SUV.

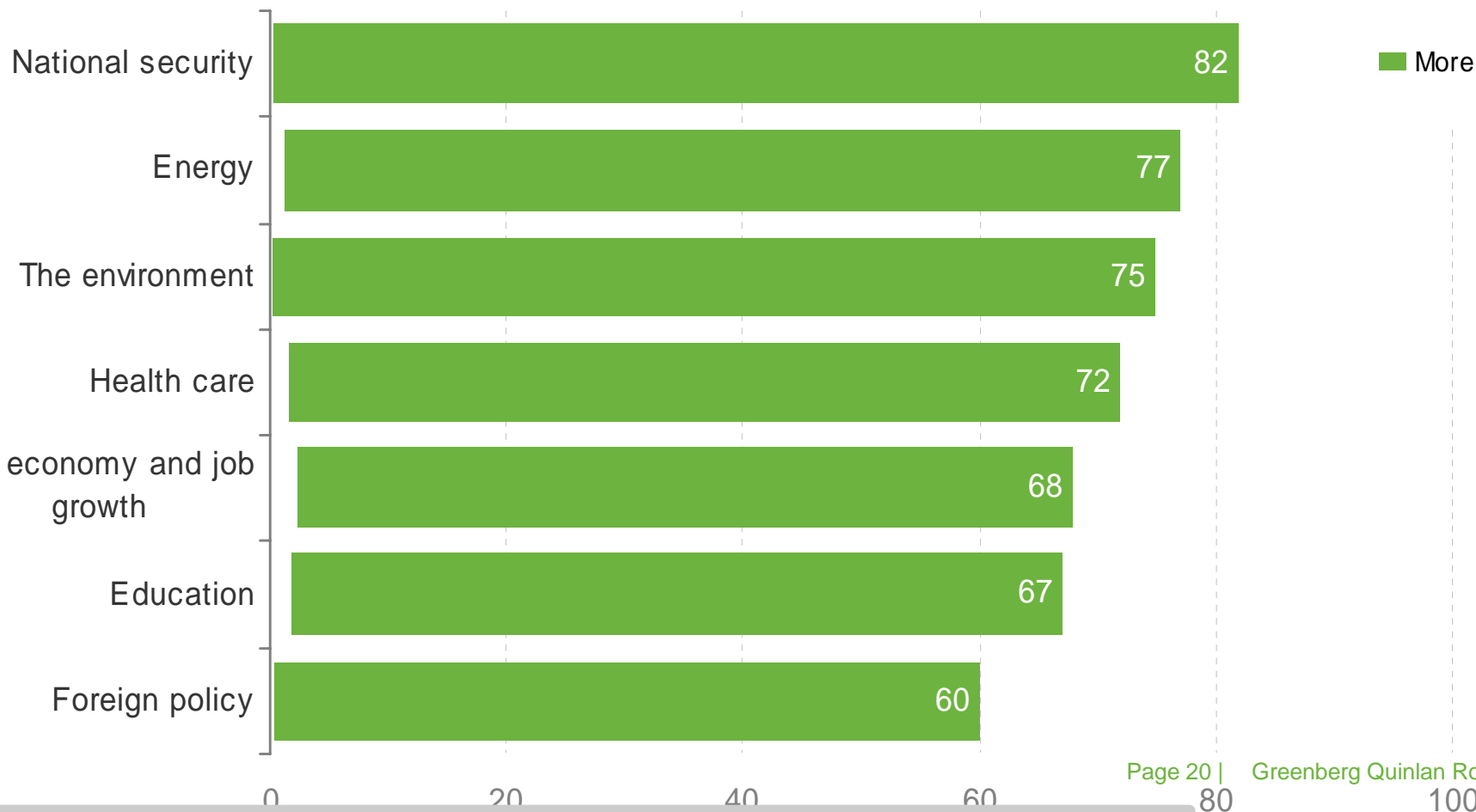


Net Difference	-5	-1	-8	-11	-5	+4
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*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past five years.

Despite disapproval levels, solid majorities want more involvement

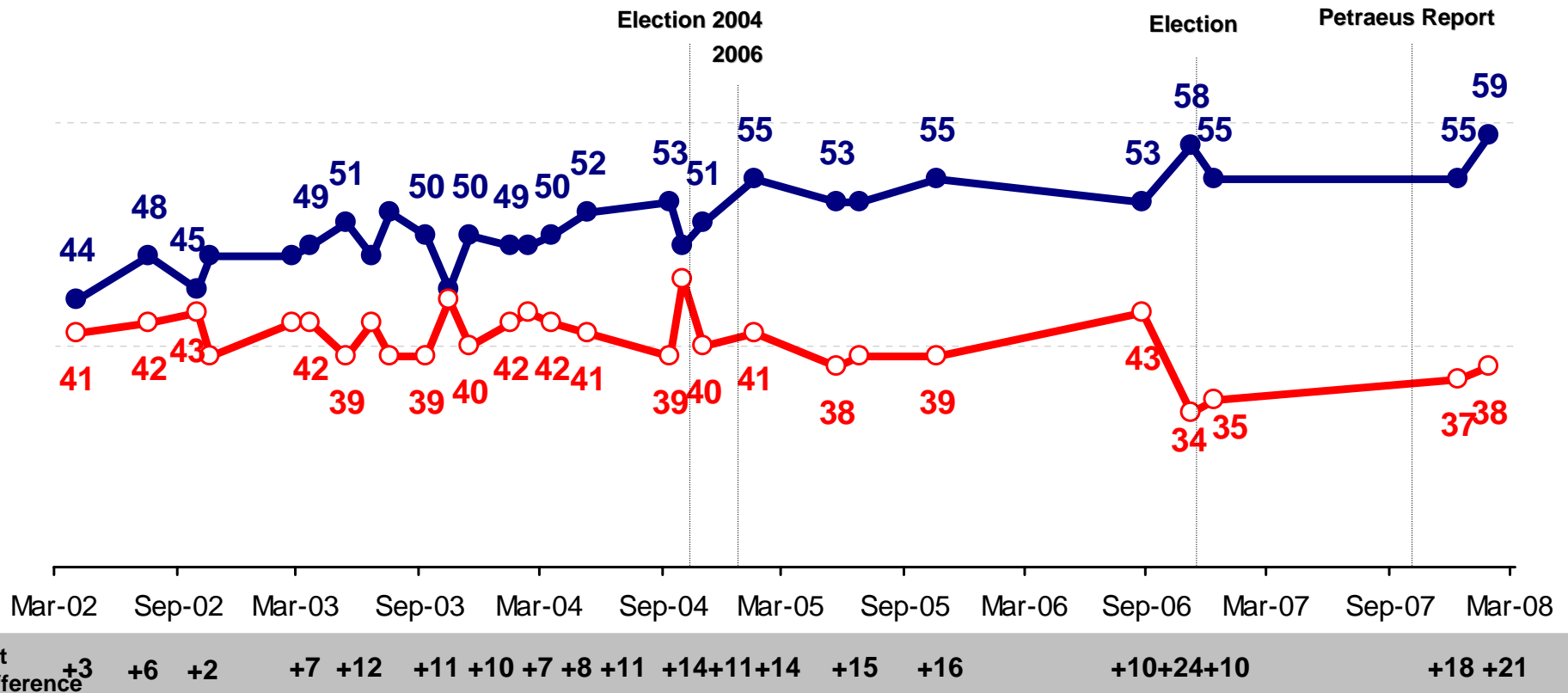
Now let me ask you about a number of issues and the government's role in dealing with this issue. For each one, please tell me whether it's an area where there should be more governmental involvement or an area the government should be less involved in.



Importance of allies increasing since 2002

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

- America's security depends on building strong ties with other nations.
- Bottom line, America's security depends on its own military strength.

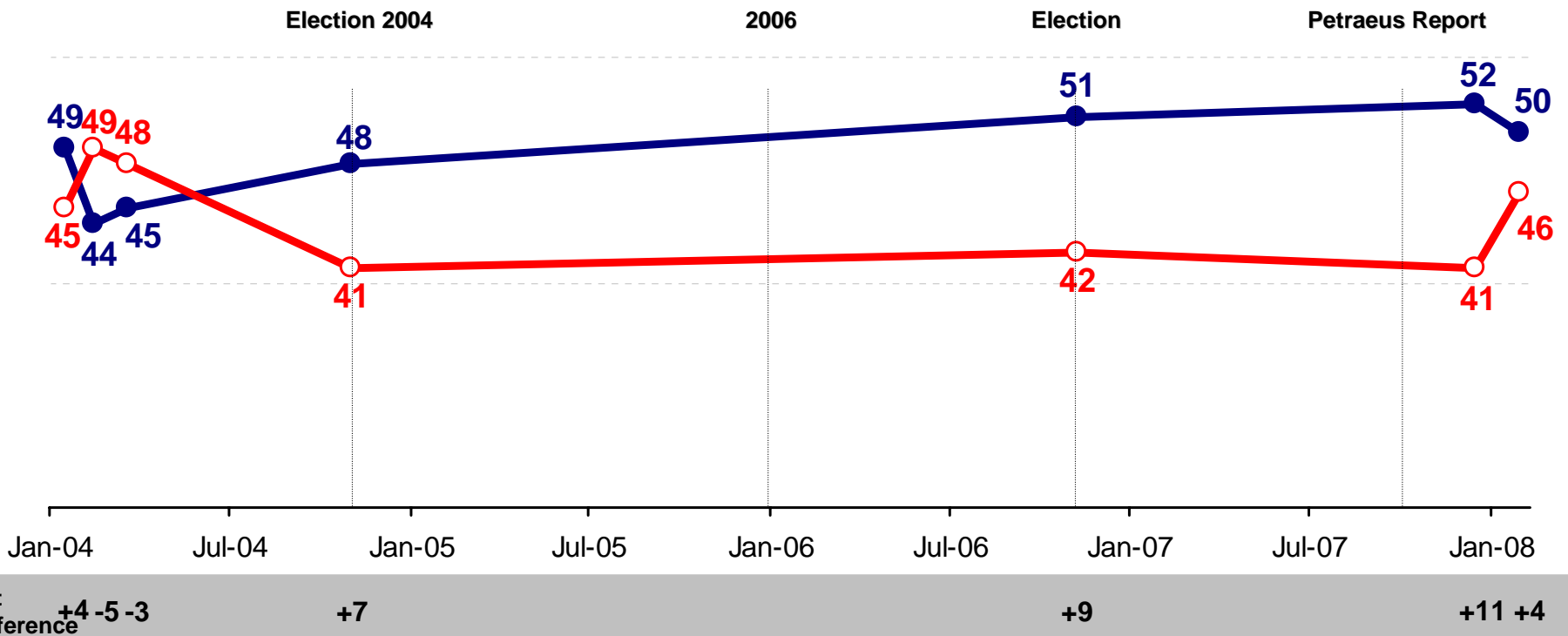


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past six years.

Majority feel homosexuality should be accepted

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society

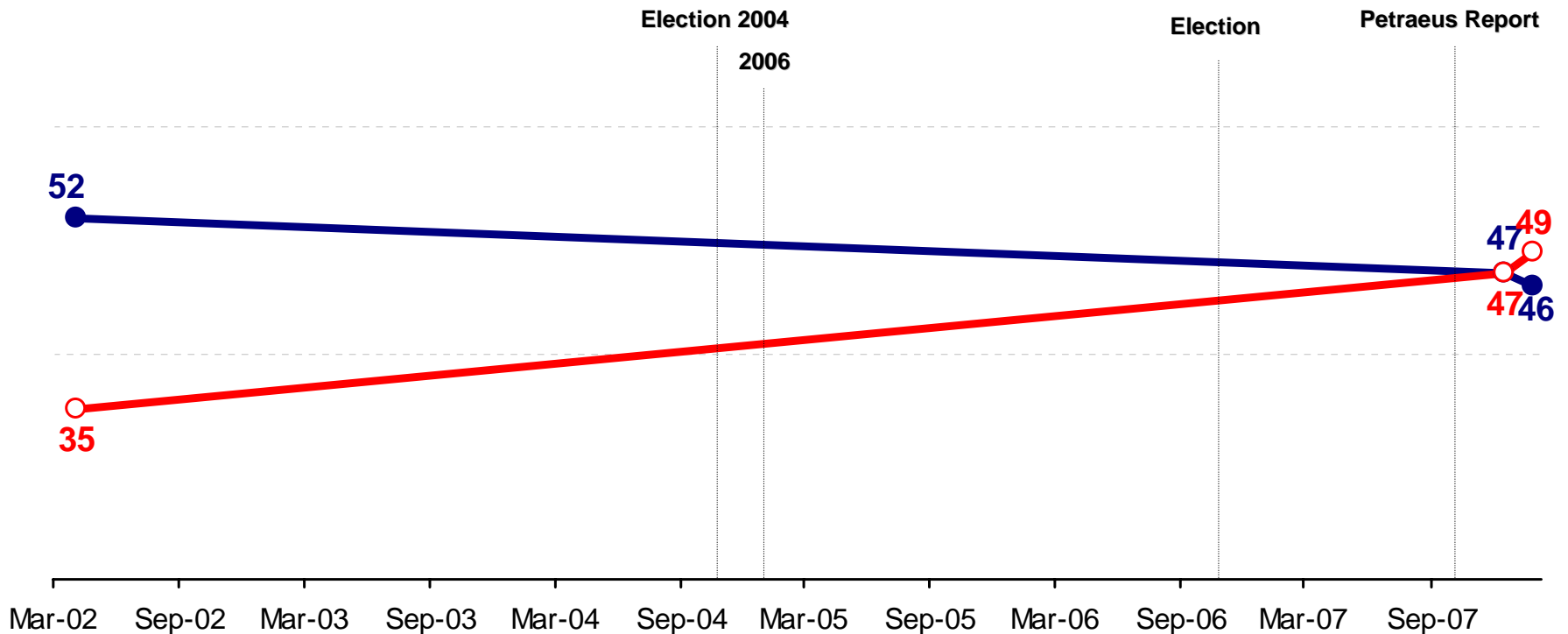


*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past four years.

Community and personal responsibility both valued

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

- America needs more community and helping one another.
- American needs more self-reliance and personal responsibility.



Net Difference **+17**

0 -3

*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past six years.

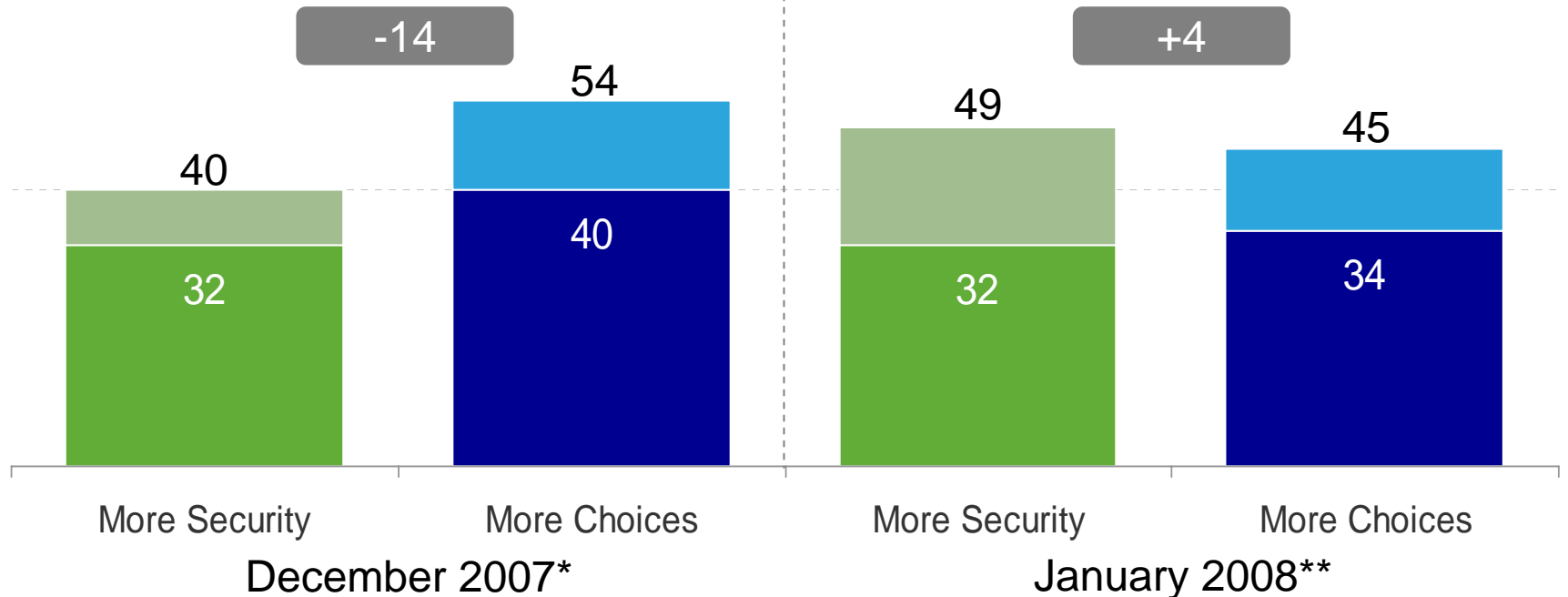
Security and choice equally valued

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As 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:

Statement 1: Individuals will have more freedom today if they have security in important things such as healthcare and retirement.

Statement 2: Individuals will have more freedom today if they have more choice on important things such as healthcare and retirement.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly
- First statement not so strongly
- Second statement not so strongly



*Note: Democracy Corps survey of 1,024 likely voters from December 14-17, 2007.

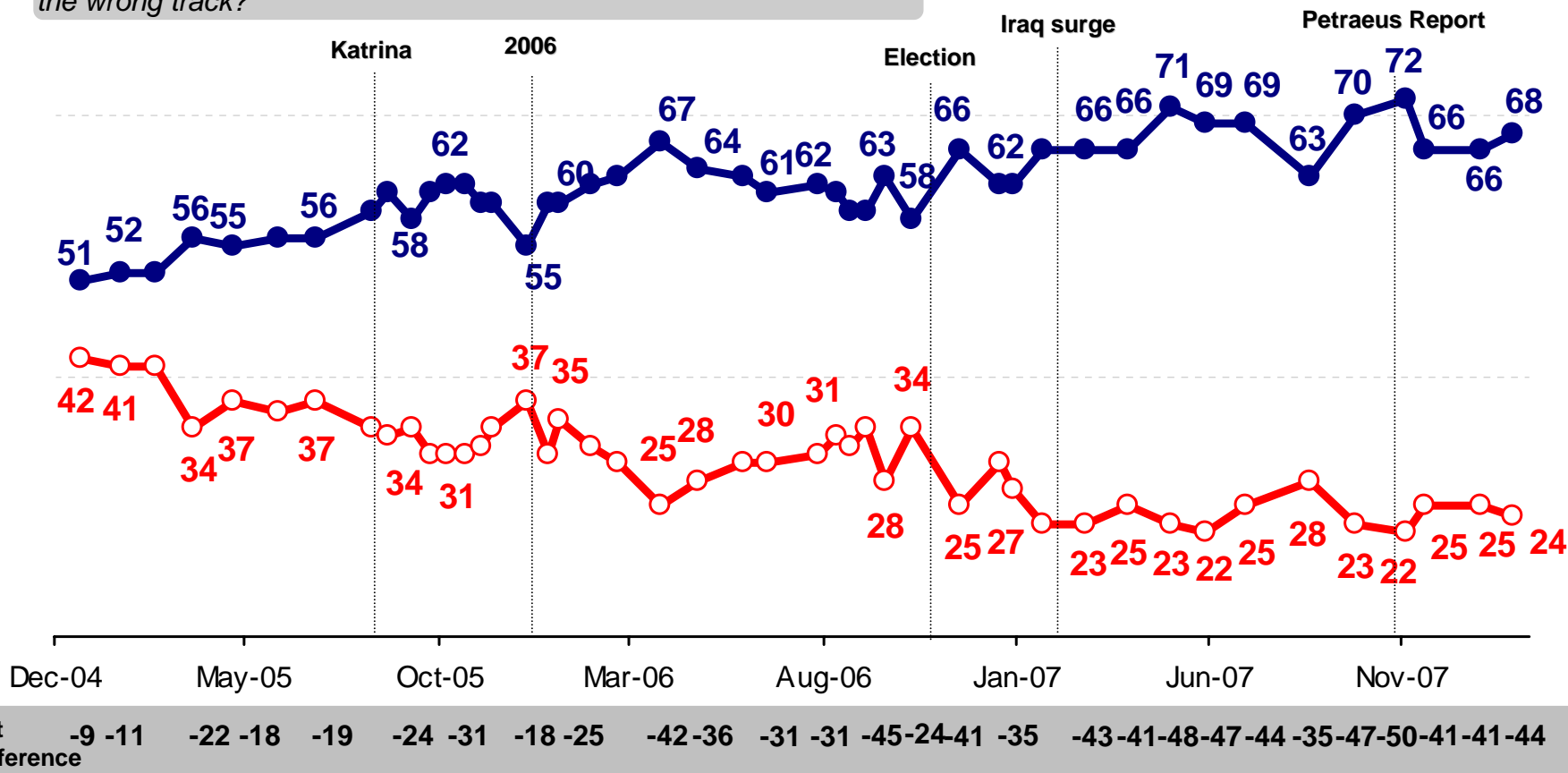
**Note: Democracy Corps survey of 1,000 likely voters from January 29-31, 2008

Bold changes

Two-thirds feel country seriously off track

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?

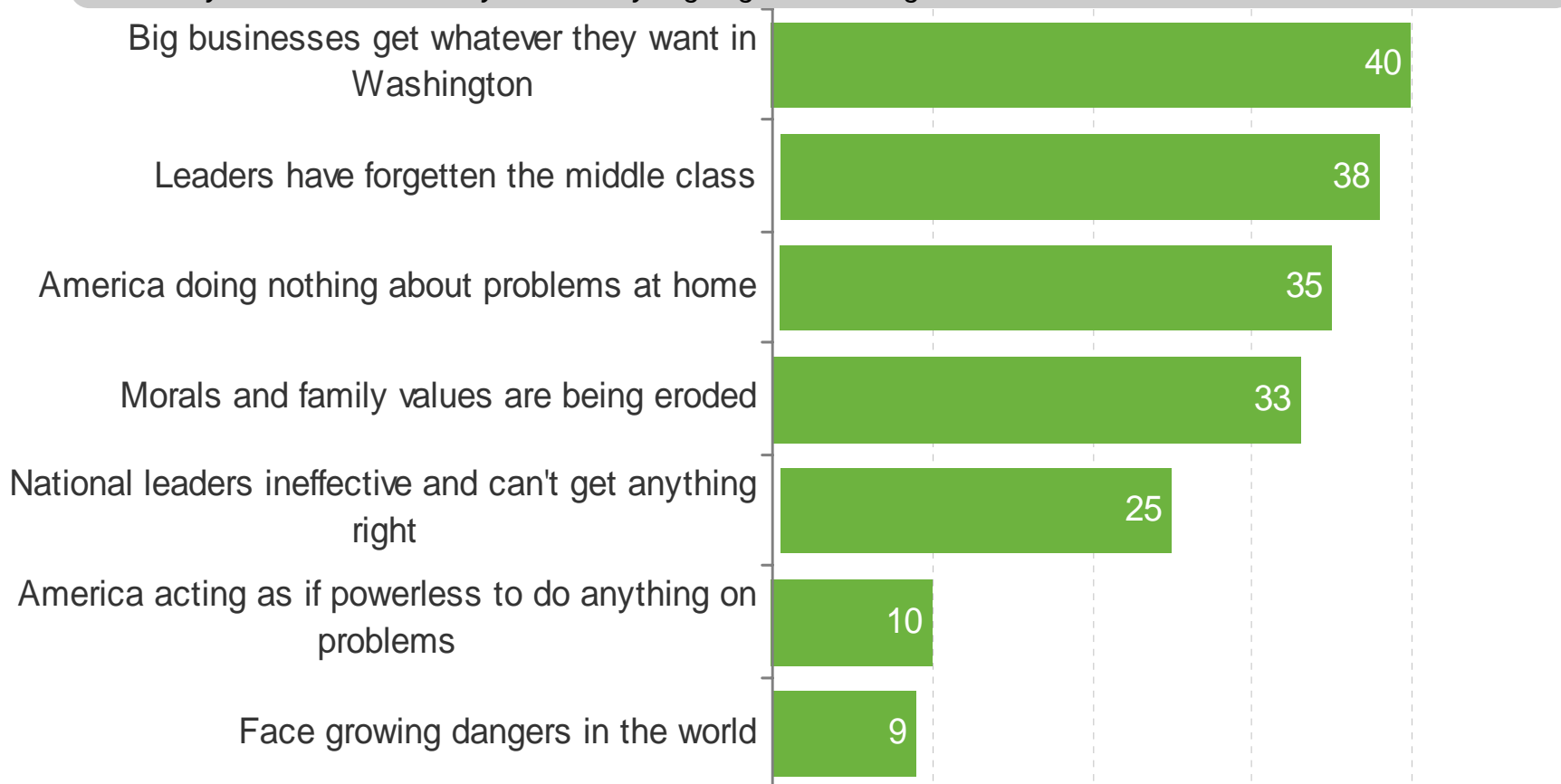
○ Right direction ● Wrong direction



*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted of likely voters nationally over the past four years.

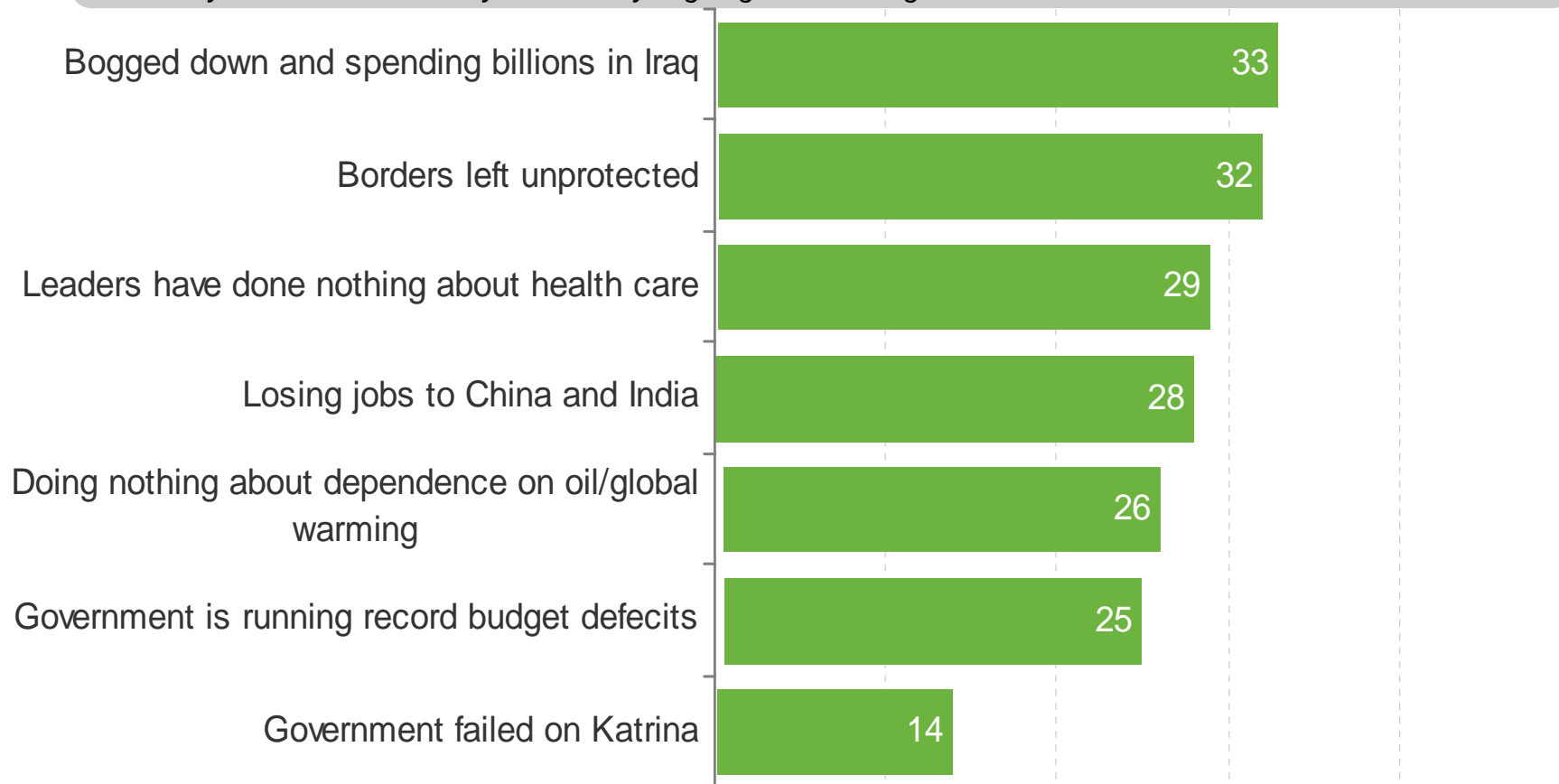
What is wrong: underlying themes among those who say country is off on the wrong track

Some people say our country is heading off on the wrong track. I am going to read you a list of phrases that people use to describe why our country is going in the wrong direction. After I read the list, please tell me which TWO come closest to your own views of why the country is going in the wrong direction.



What's wrong: underlying issues among those who believe the country is off on the wrong track

Some people say our country is heading off on the wrong track. I am going to read you a list of phrases that people use to describe why our country is going in the wrong direction. After I read the list, please tell me which TWO come closest to your own views of why the country is going in the wrong direction.



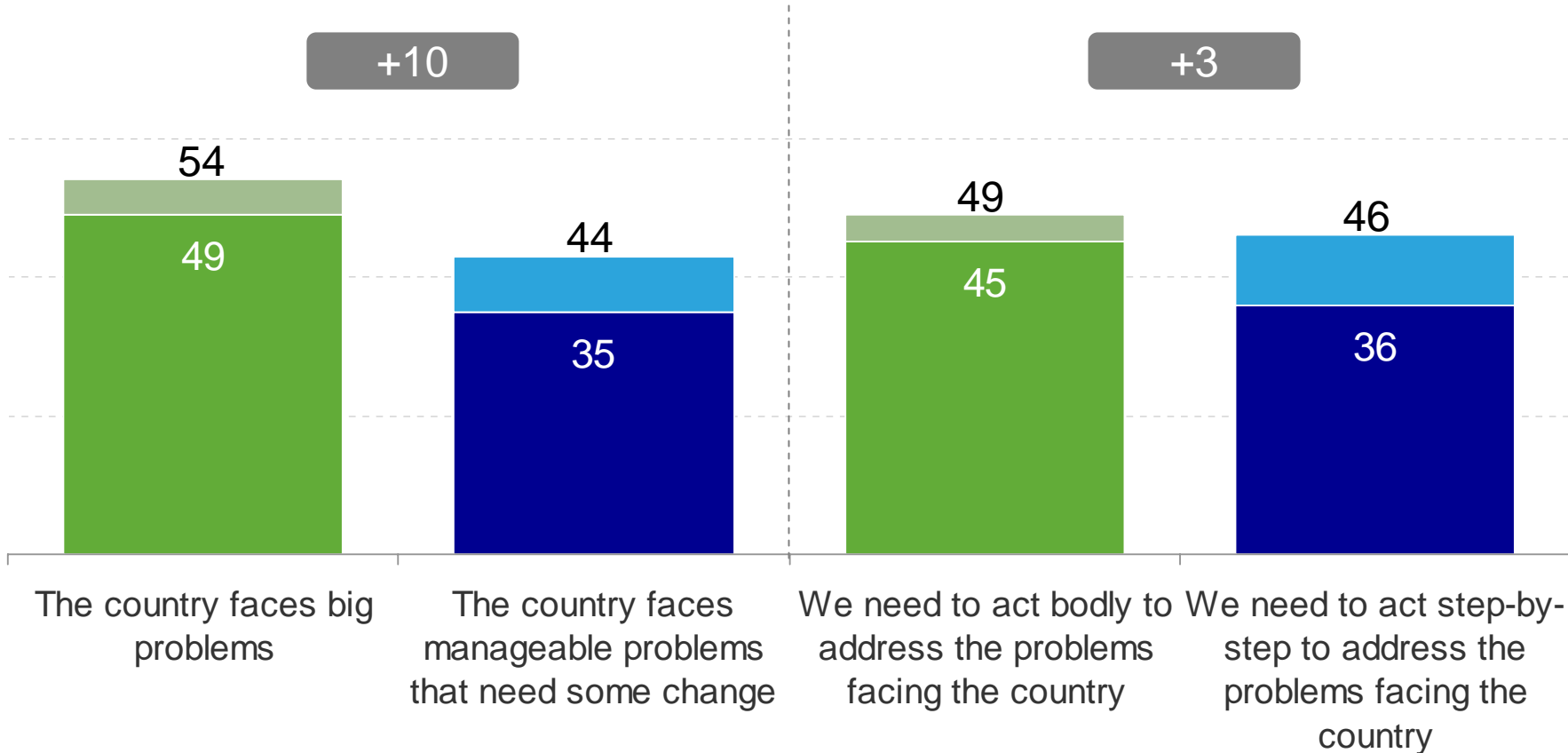
Voters feel the country faces big problems

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:

- Strongly
- Not so strongly
- Strongly
- Not so strongly

+10

+3



*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted March 20-25, 2007 of 1,017 likely voters

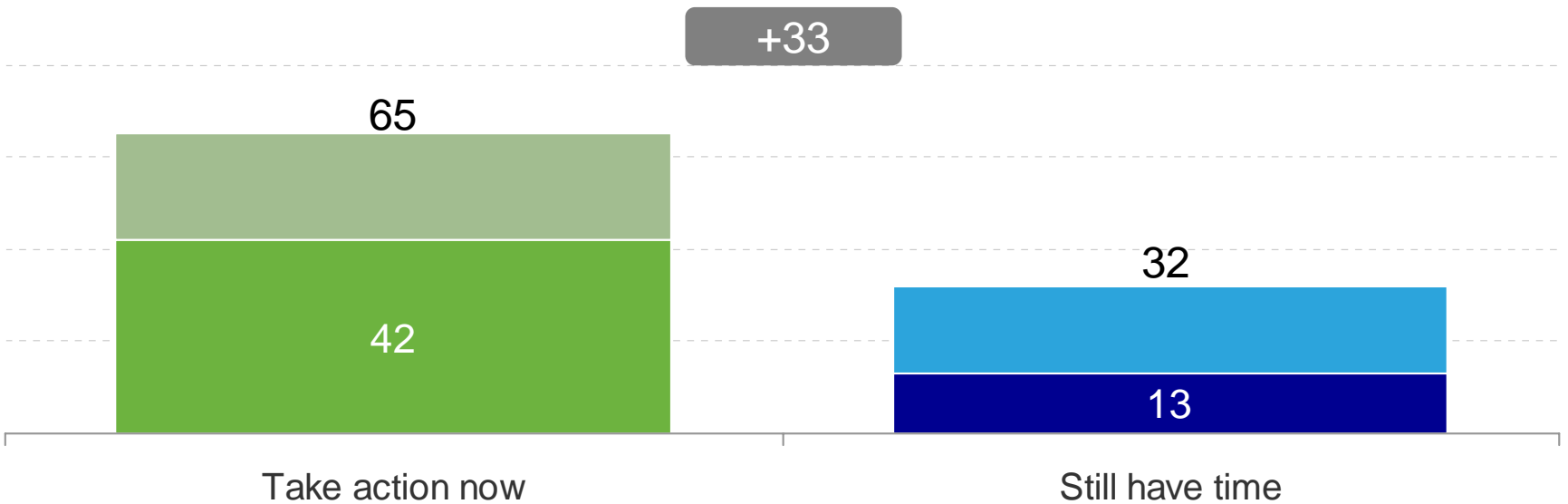
Potential costs do not discourage action on global warming

Now let me read you some short pairs of statements about global warming. Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither matches your view exactly. [500 respondents]

Global warming is a serious problem that this country needs to tackle, even if it will cost businesses more to meet stronger regulations on pollution

Global warming may be a problem in the future, but we should not put more regulations on businesses that will cost us jobs and increase prices for consumers

- 1st statement much more
- 2nd statement much more
- 1st statement somewhat more
- 2nd statement somewhat more



*Note: From CAP national survey conducted March 19-22, 2007 of 1,000 likely voters

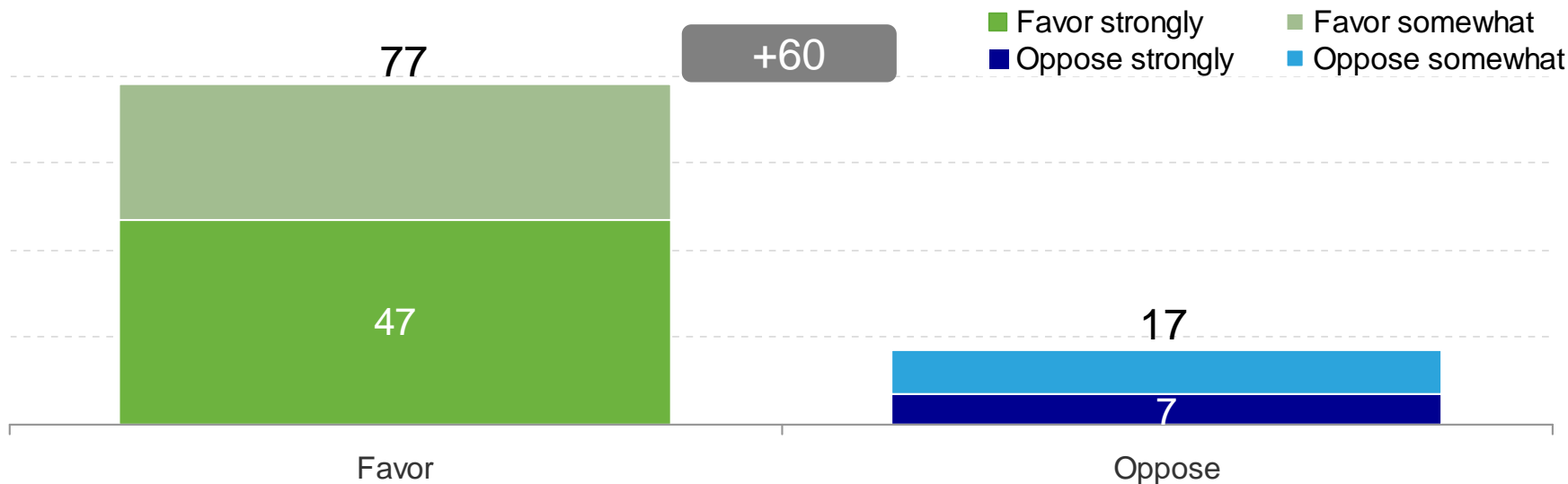
Adding global warming to the energy proposal results in increased intensity in our favor

Some people are proposing changing our energy policy. Under their proposal, we would expand production of clean, alternative energy like wind, solar and ethanol, raise mileage standards for cars, trucks and SUV's, and increase production of hybrid cars. Now let me read you two statements about this proposal for a new energy policy, and tell me whether you favor or oppose the proposal.

*Some people say this proposal will reduce our dependence on oil and create jobs for the future, **and reduce global warming**. This will allow us to gain our energy independence.*

Other people say this proposal will cost billions of dollars and take a long time to make a difference and will force Americans to drive smaller, more expensive cars.

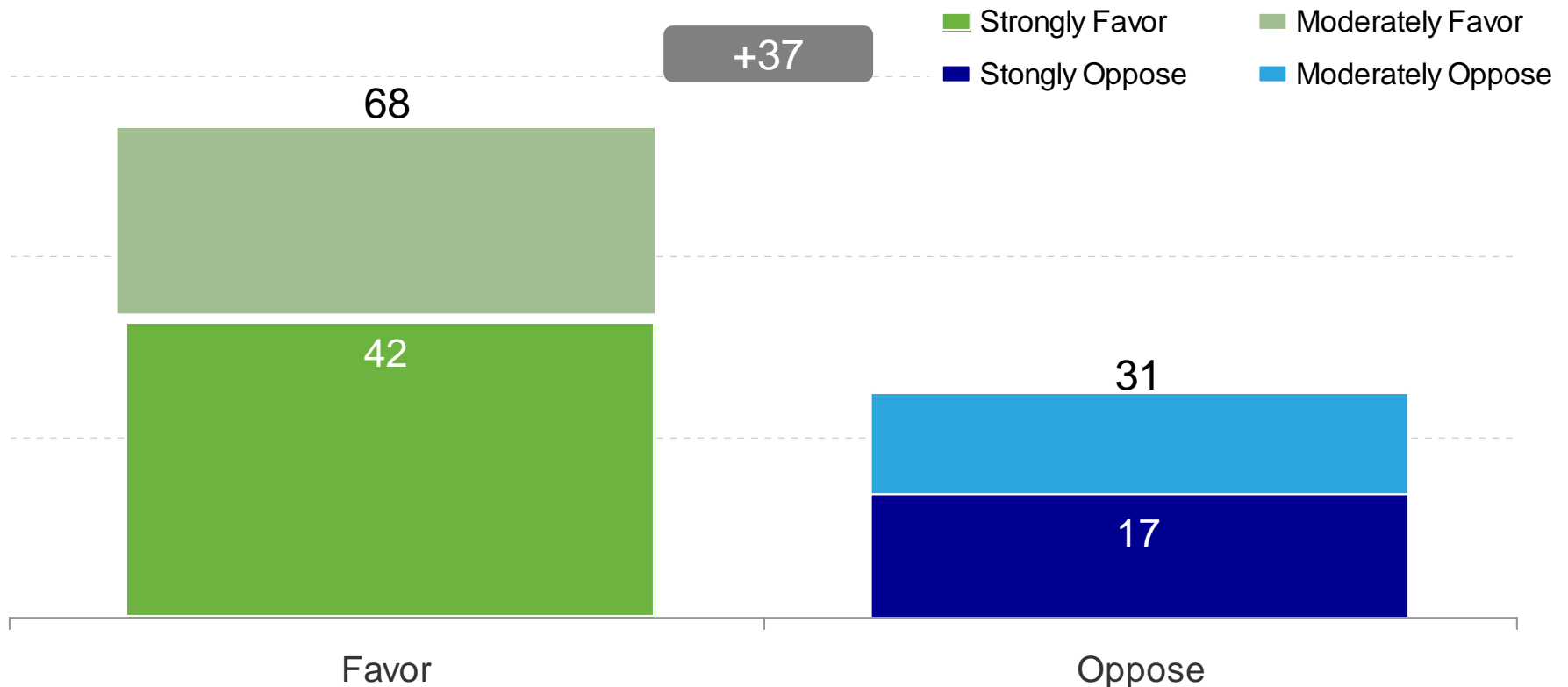
Do you favor or oppose this proposal to change our energy policy?



*Note: From CAP national survey conducted March 19-22, 2007 of 1,000 likely voters

Majority favors US participation in international environmental treaty

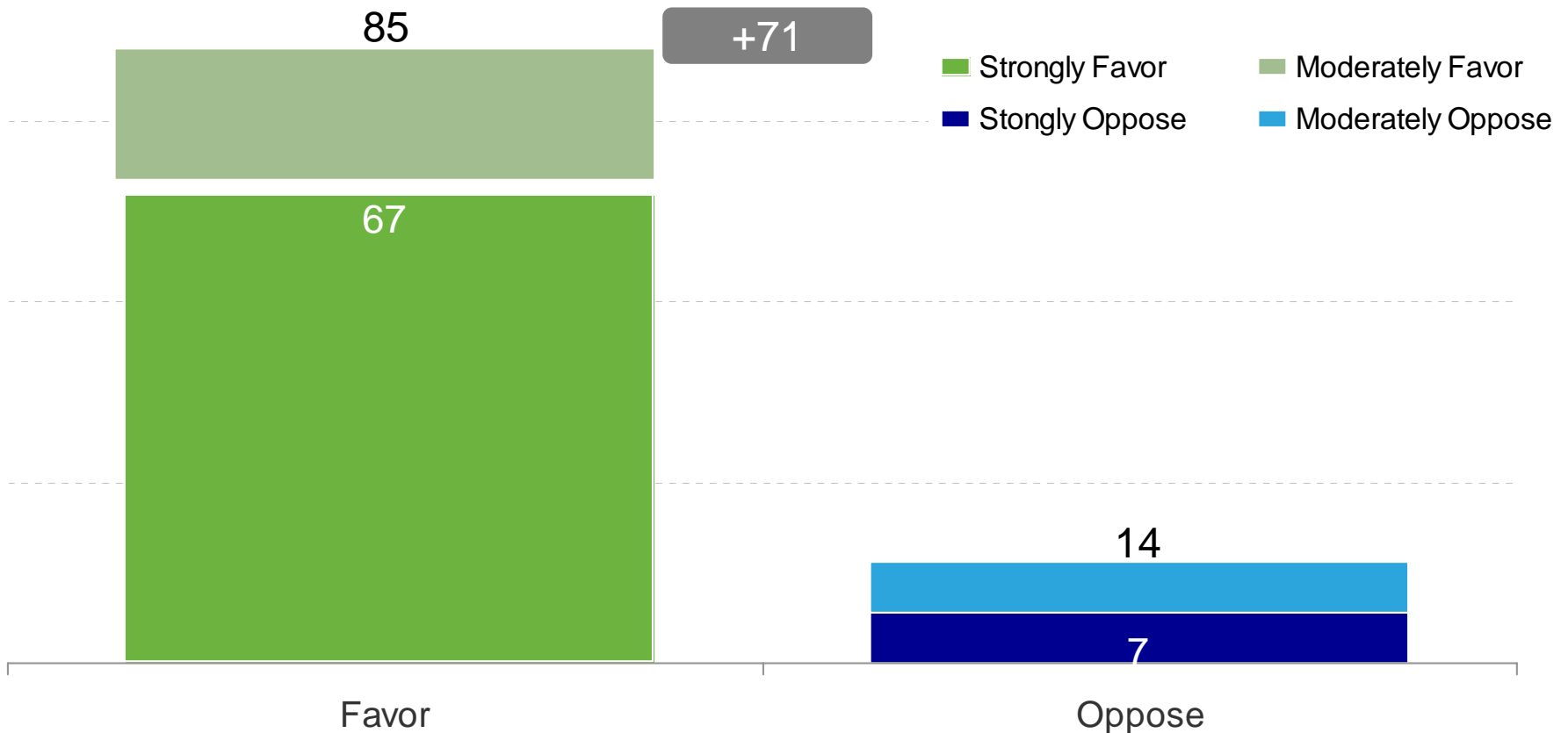
As you may know, global warming is said to be partly caused by the emission of carbon dioxide from the burning of gasoline, oil, coal, and natural gas in cars, homes, and electric power plants. Do you favor or oppose each of the following as a way for the federal or state governments to reduce both carbon dioxide emissions and global warming? How about -- agreeing to an international treaty that requires the United States to cut it's emissions of carbon dioxide 90% by the year 2050.



*Note: From Gallup national survey conducted July 23-26, 2007 of 1,011 likely voters

Fuel efficiency overwhelmingly favored despite potential costs

As you may know, global warming is said to be partly caused by the emission of carbon dioxide from the burning of gasoline, oil, coal, and natural gas in cars, homes, and electric power plants. Do you favor or oppose each of the following as a way for the federal or state governments to reduce both carbon dioxide emissions and global warming? How about -- Requiring automakers to increase the fuel efficiency of cars, trucks, and SUVs to 35 miles per gallon, even if it meant a new car would cost up to \$500 more to buy.

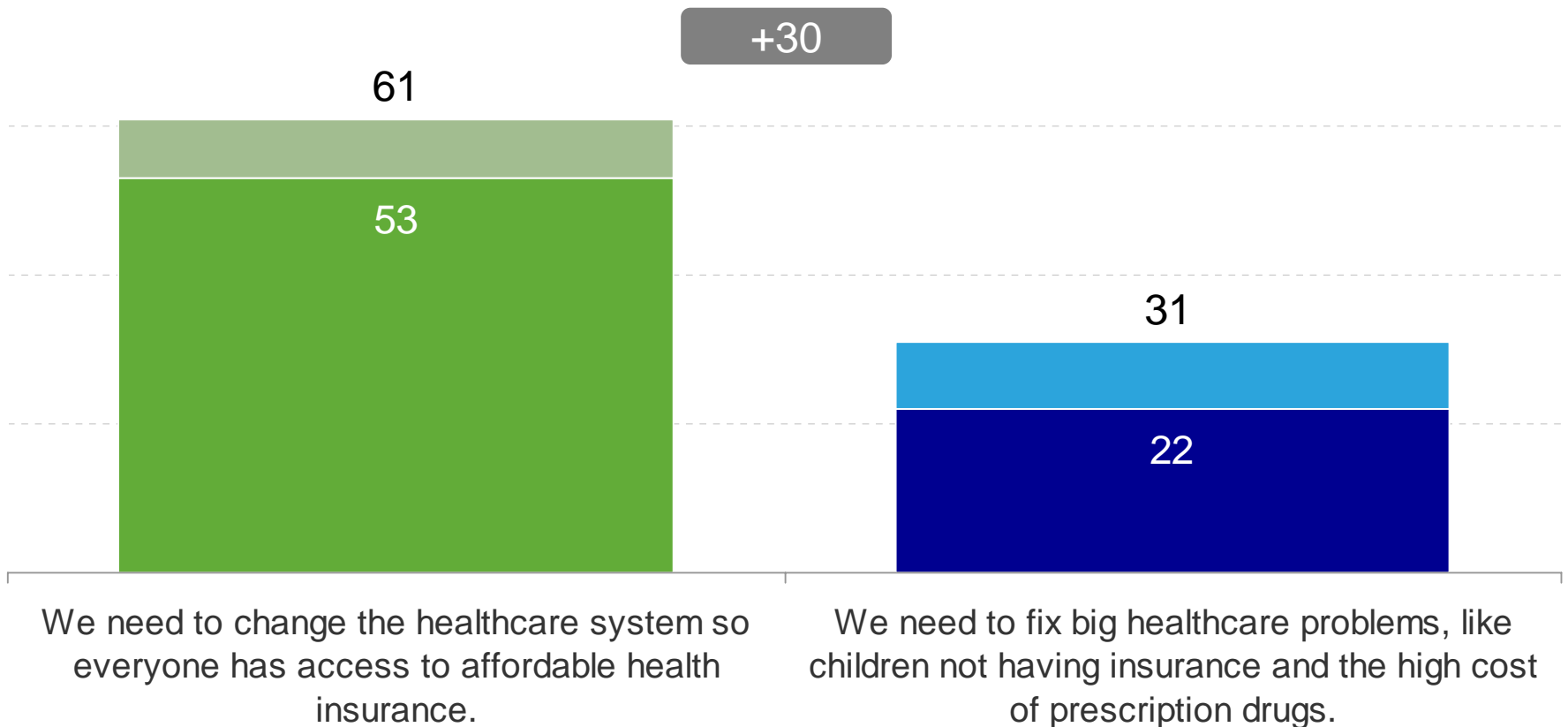


**Note: From Gallup national survey conducted July 23-26, 2007 of 1,011 likely voters*

Universal healthcare over healthcare reform

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:

- Strongly
- Not so strongly
- Strongly
- Not so strongly



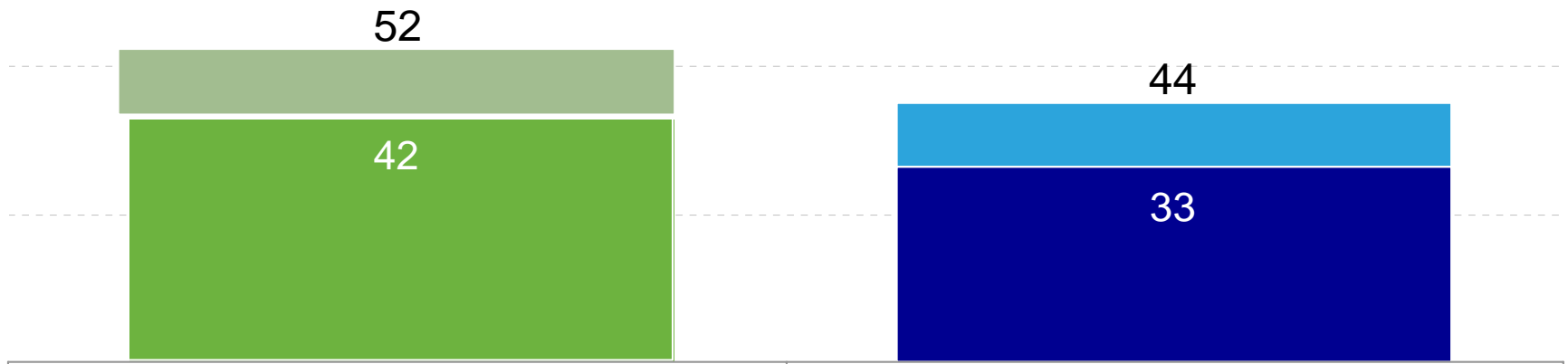
*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted March 20-25, 2007 of 1,017 likely voters

On healthcare: half ready to do Canadian-style healthcare

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

- First statement much more
- First statement somewhat more
- Second statement more
- Second statement somewhat more

+8



Now is the time to establish a Canadian-style national healthcare system that provides affordable healthcare for all Americans.

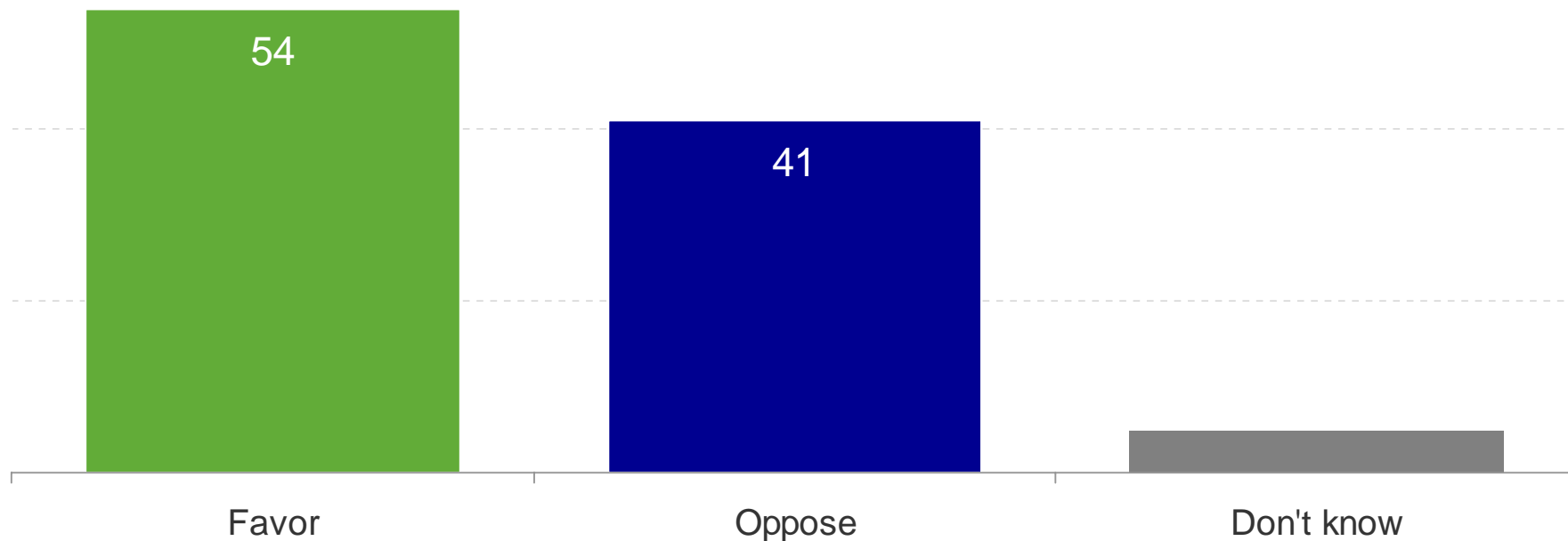
We can improve our healthcare system through incremental steps without taking radical measures that will result in a government takeover.

*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted April 26-29, 2007 of 1,000 likely voters

Country open to repeal of Bush tax cuts for healthcare initiatives

Please tell me whether you would favor or oppose each of the following as a way of reforming the U.S. healthcare system. How about -- Repeal the federal income tax cuts passed in 2001 and 2002 and use that money to pay for new health care programs?

+13



Caution about government accountability

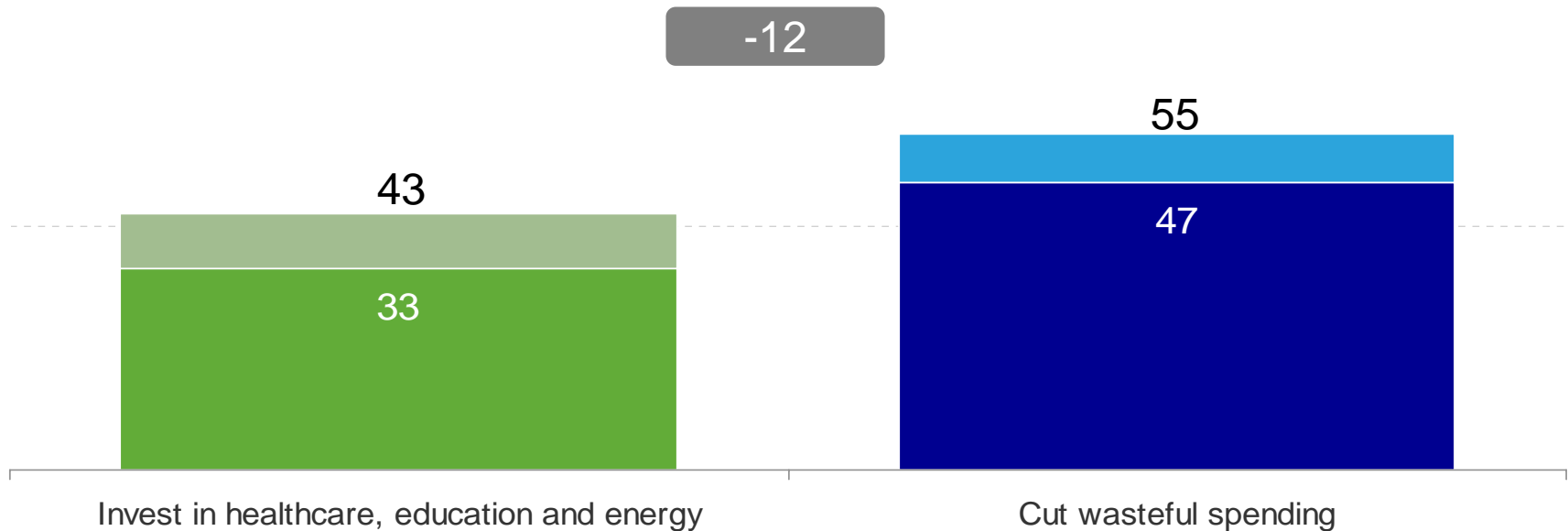
Wasteful Spending, Government that Listens

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As 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:

Statement 1: I want Congress to first invest in areas like healthcare, education and energy, even if it means spending additional money.

Statement 2: I want Congress to first focus on cutting wasteful spending and ensure that government listens to the people

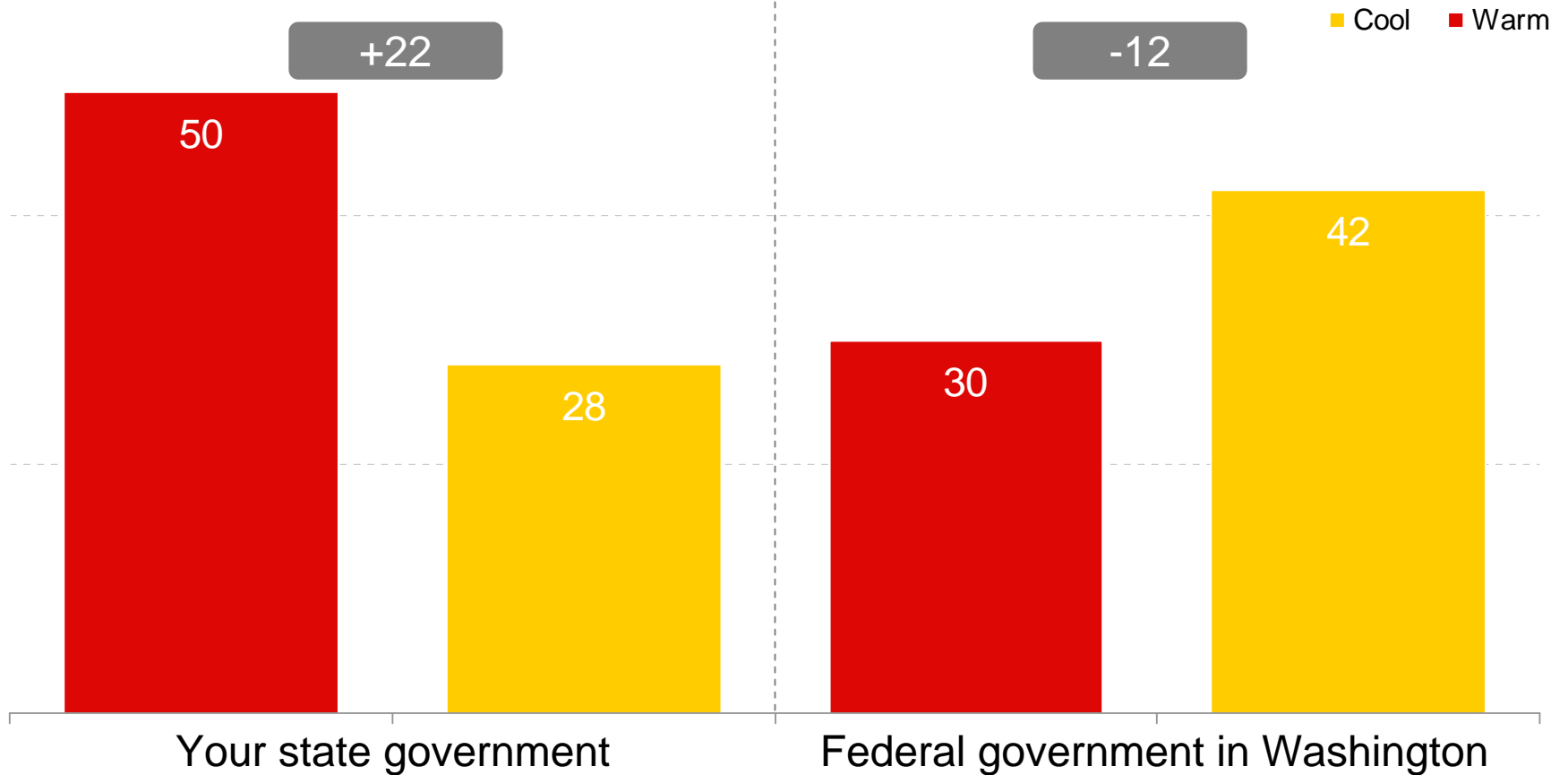
- First statement strongly
- First statement not so strongly
- Second statement strongly
- Second statement not so strongly



*Note: Democracy Corps election survey of 1,000 voters conducted February 21-26, 2008.

Negative views of the federal government

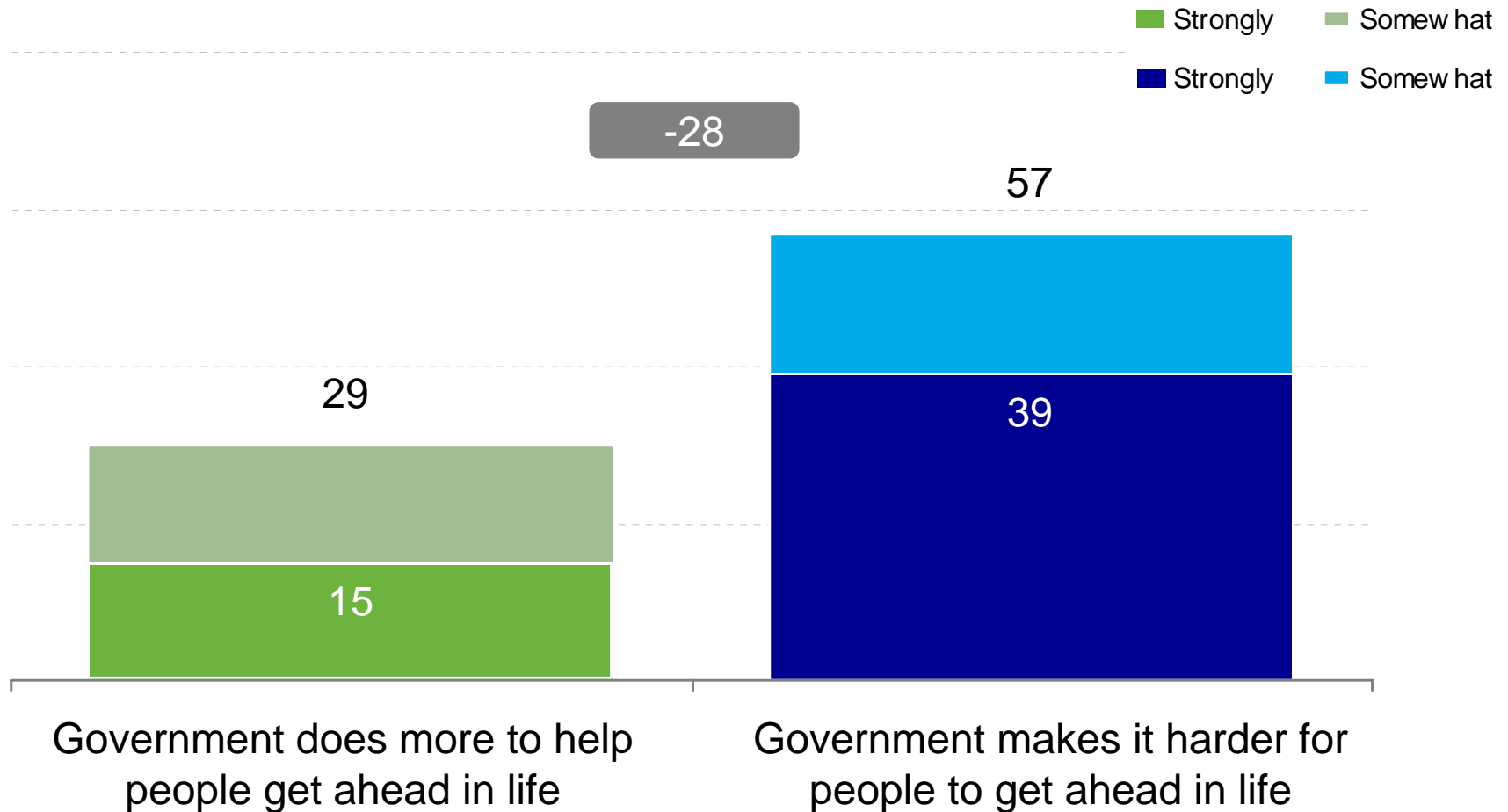
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted February 14-19, 2007 of 1,104 likely voters.

Government seen as impediment to progress for people

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

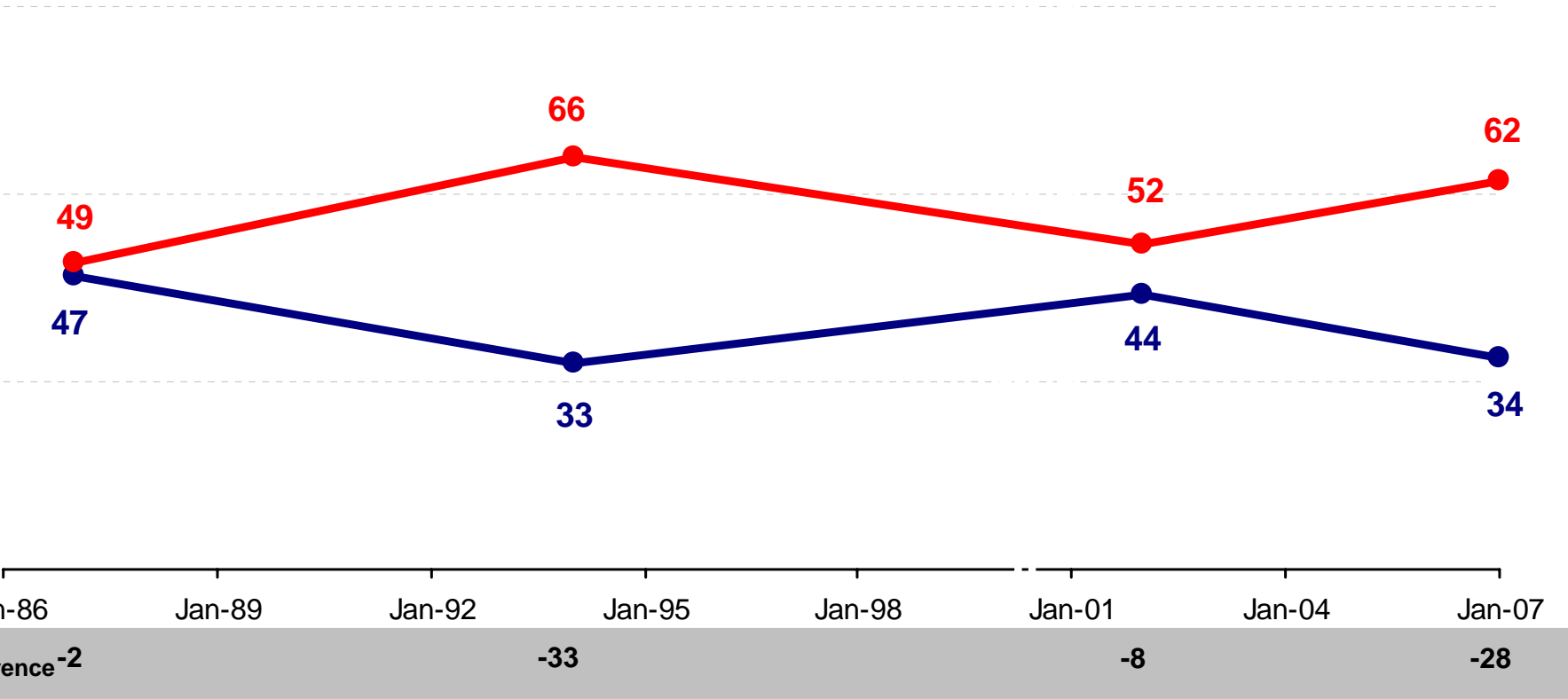


*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted February 14-19, 2007 of 1,104 likely voters.

People don't feel as though elected officials care what they think

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
 "Most elected officials care what people like me think."

—●— Agree —●— Disagree

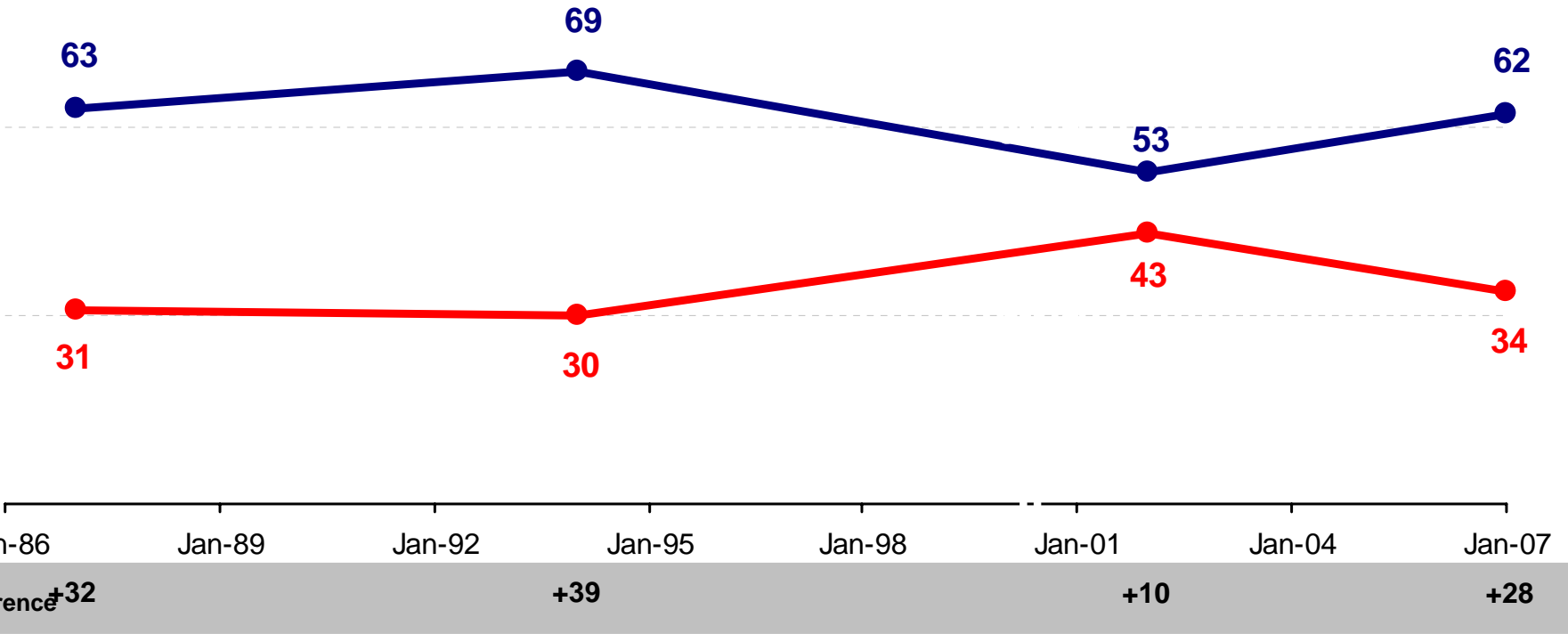


*Note: From Pew "Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007"

Government seen as inefficient and wasteful

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
 “When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful.”

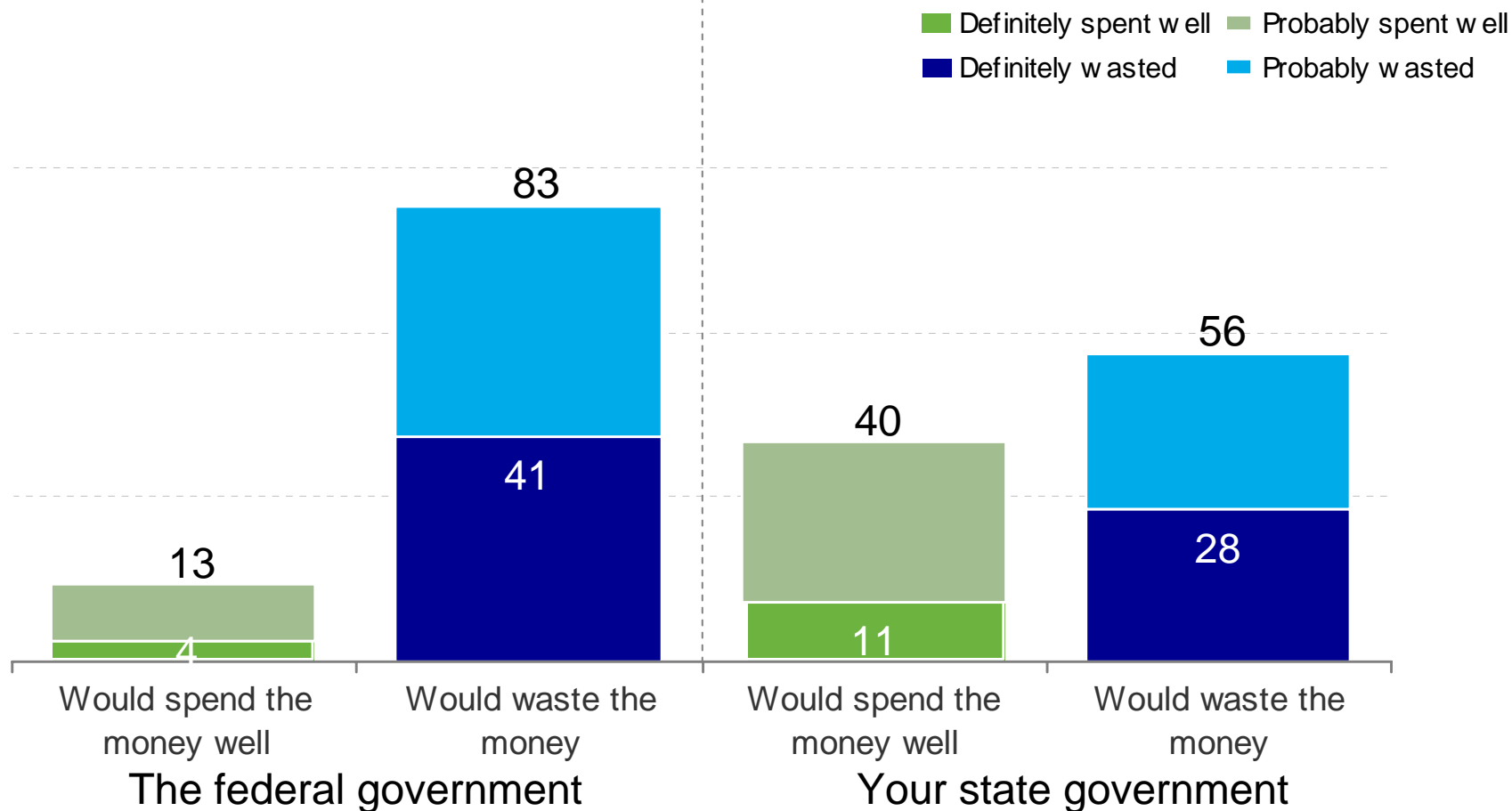
—●— Agree —●— Disagree



*Note: From Pew “Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007”

Public lacks trust in government's management of tax dollars

If the following were to receive additional money, do you think the additional money is more likely to be spent well or is it more likely to be wasted?

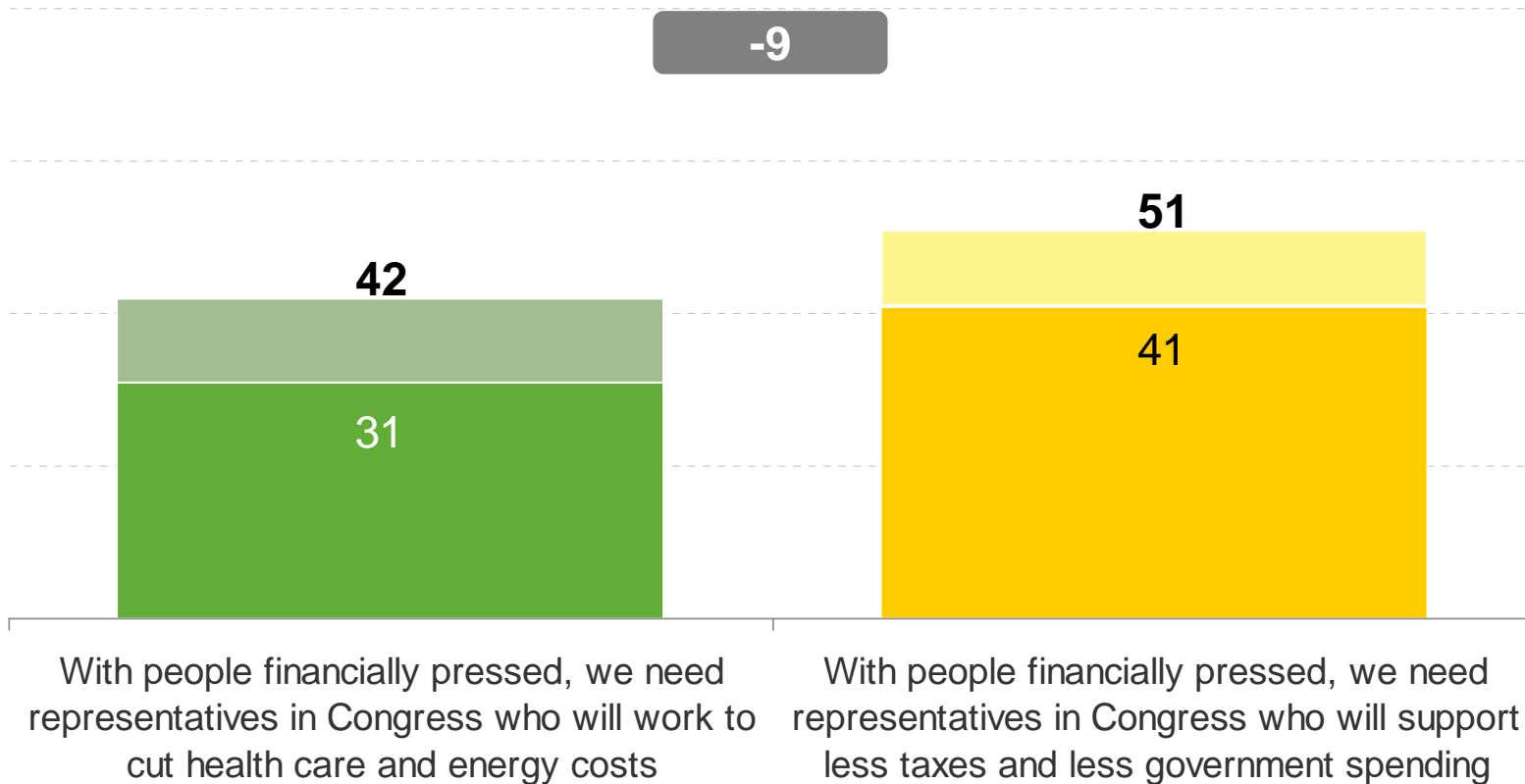


*Note: From Democracy Corps national survey conducted February 14-19, 2007 of 1,104 likely voters.

Majority prefers less taxes, less spending over cutting costs

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:

- Strongly
- Somewhat
- Strongly
- Somewhat



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