



*New Leaders
FOR A New Time*

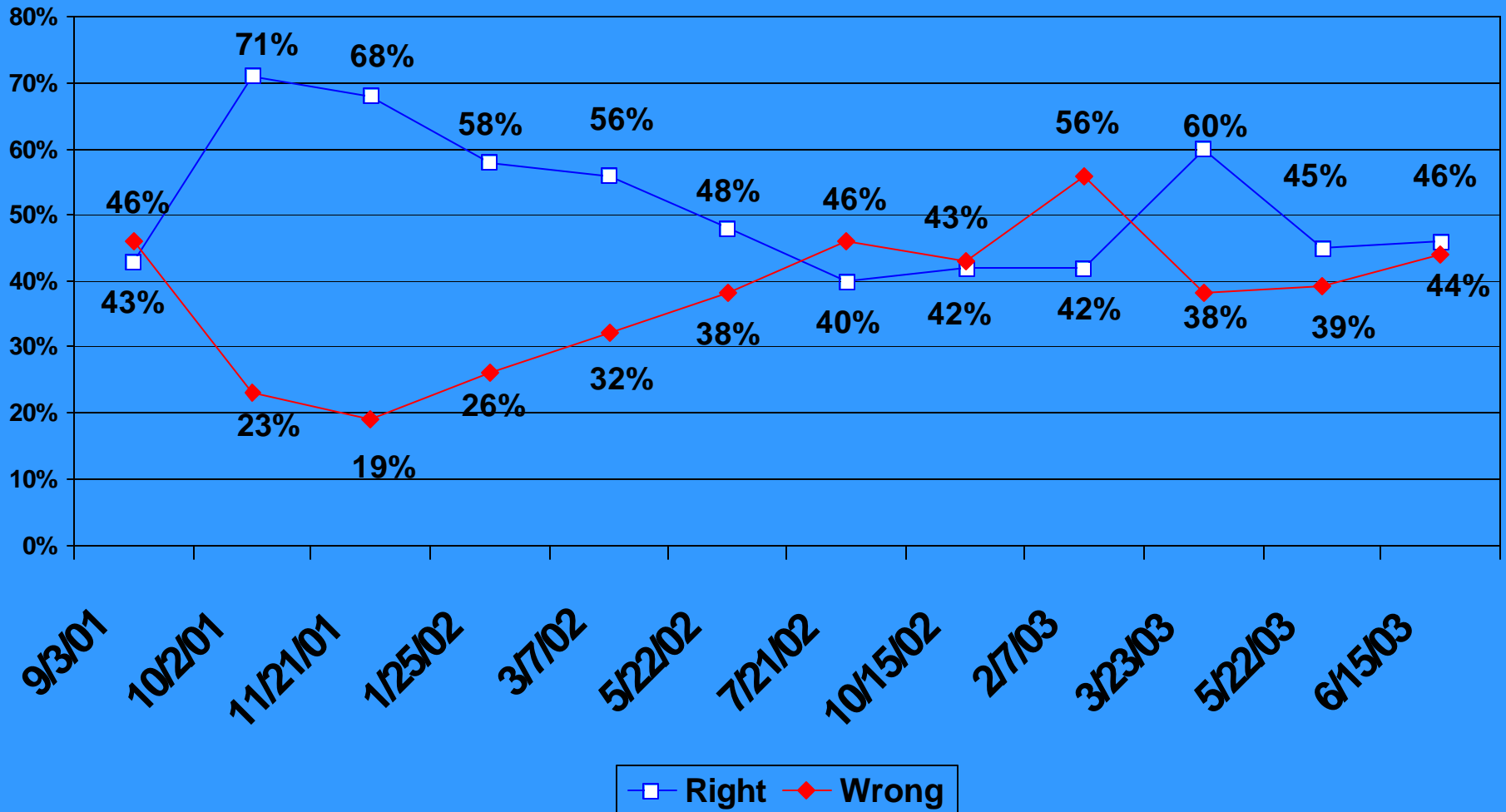
**Mark Penn/Pete Brodnitz
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates
June 17, 2003**

Methodology

- Penn Schoen & Berland Associates conducted 1001 interviews on June 8-15, 2003 among likely 2004 presidential election voters. Margin of error for the entire sample is +/-3.1% at the 95th confidence interval and higher for subgroups.

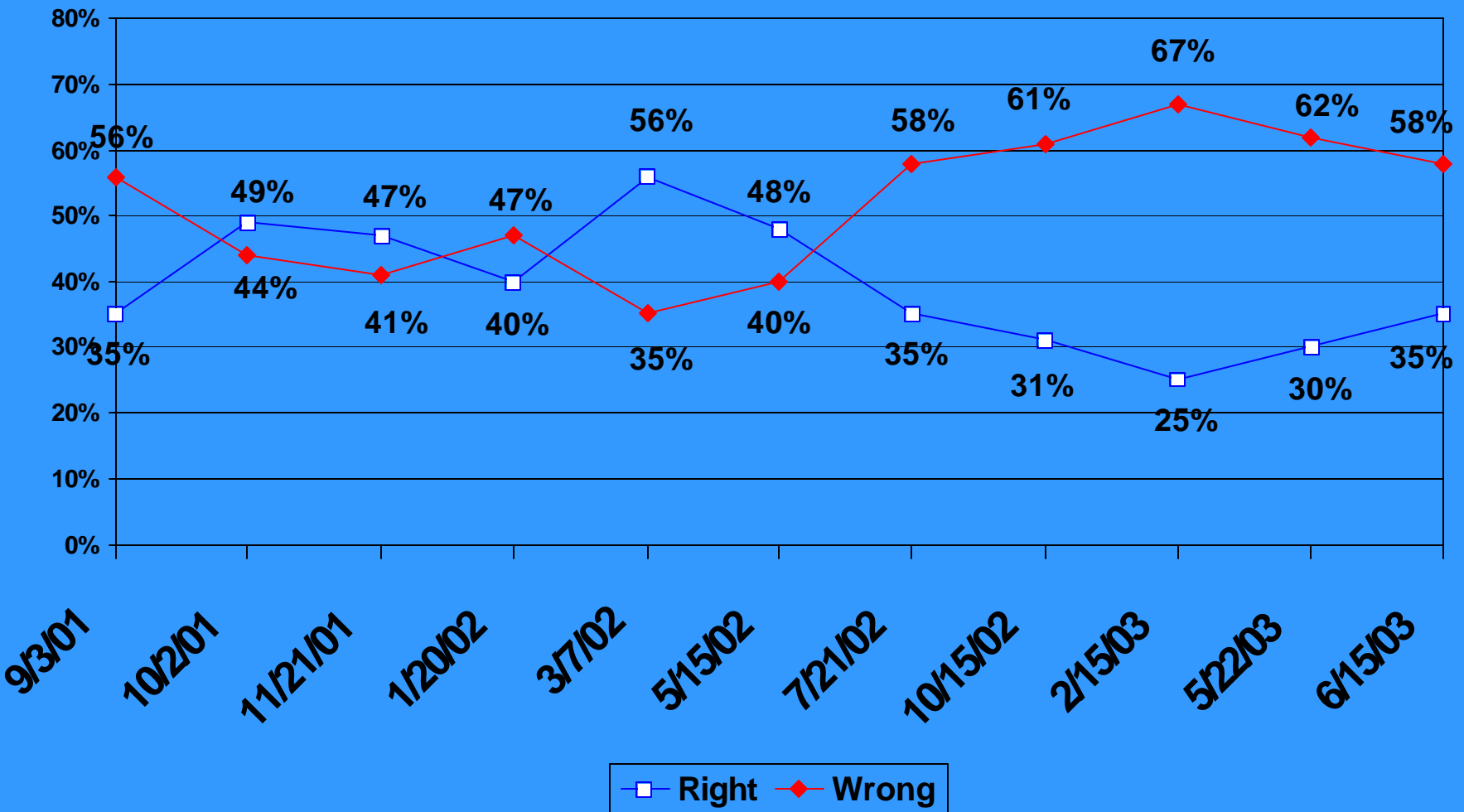
Direction of the Country

In general, do you think our country is on the right track or off on the wrong track?



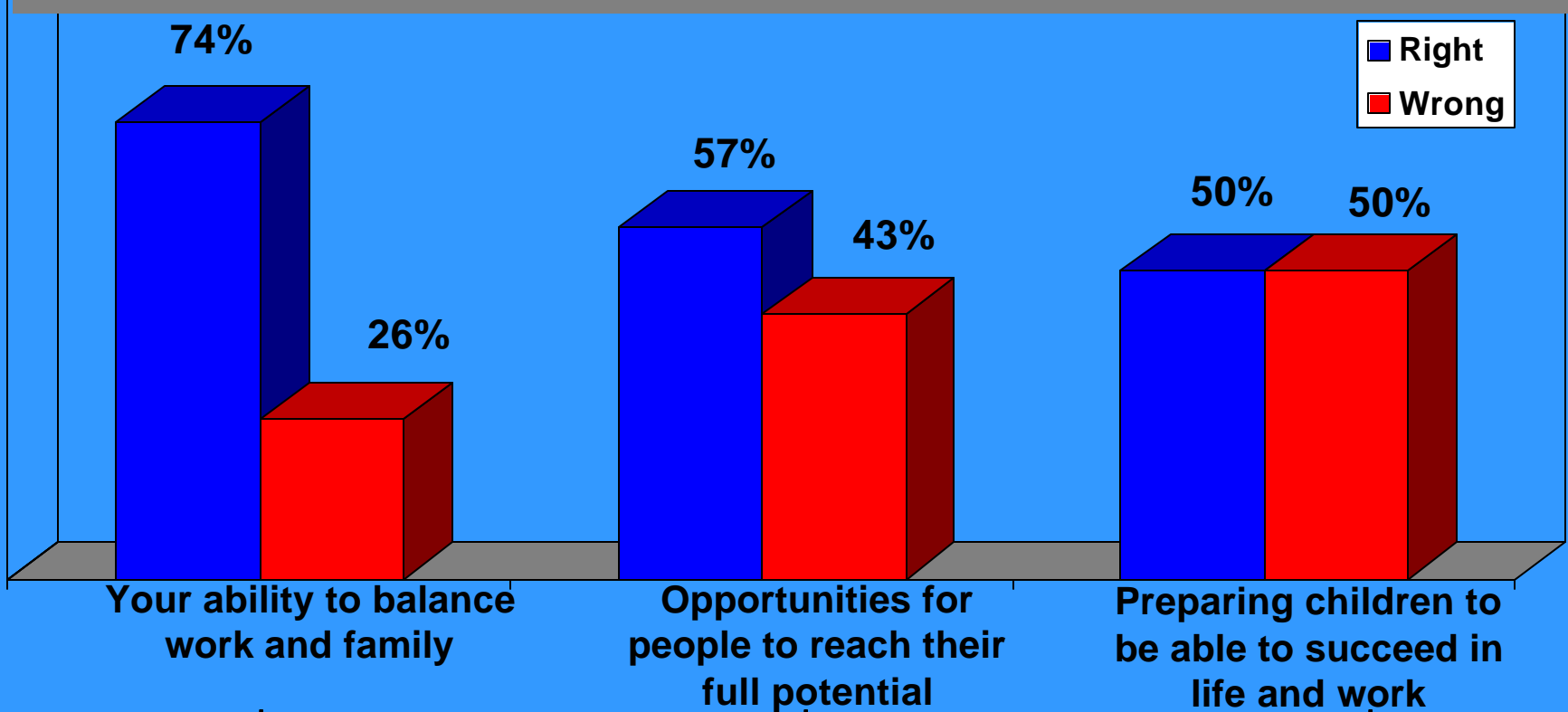
Direction of the Economy

In general, do you think the country's economy is on the right track or off on the wrong track?



Right Track or Wrong Direction

Please tell me if each of the following is generally headed on the right track or in the wrong direction.



	Dem	Rep	Indy
Right	68	73	82
Wrong	32	27	18

	Dem	Rep	Indy
Right	50	73	51
Wrong	50	27	49

	Dem	Rep	Indy
Right	56	50	43
Wrong	44	50	57

Most Important Issue (open-ended)

What is the most important issue facing the country?	All
Economy/jobs	37
Other domestic issues	18
Iraq/Saddam Hussein/ war	8
Fighting terrorism	8
Other foreign policy issues	5
Healthcare	5
Education	5
Morality/Family Values	3
Balance the budget	2
Taxes	2
Preserving Social Security	2
Don't know	3

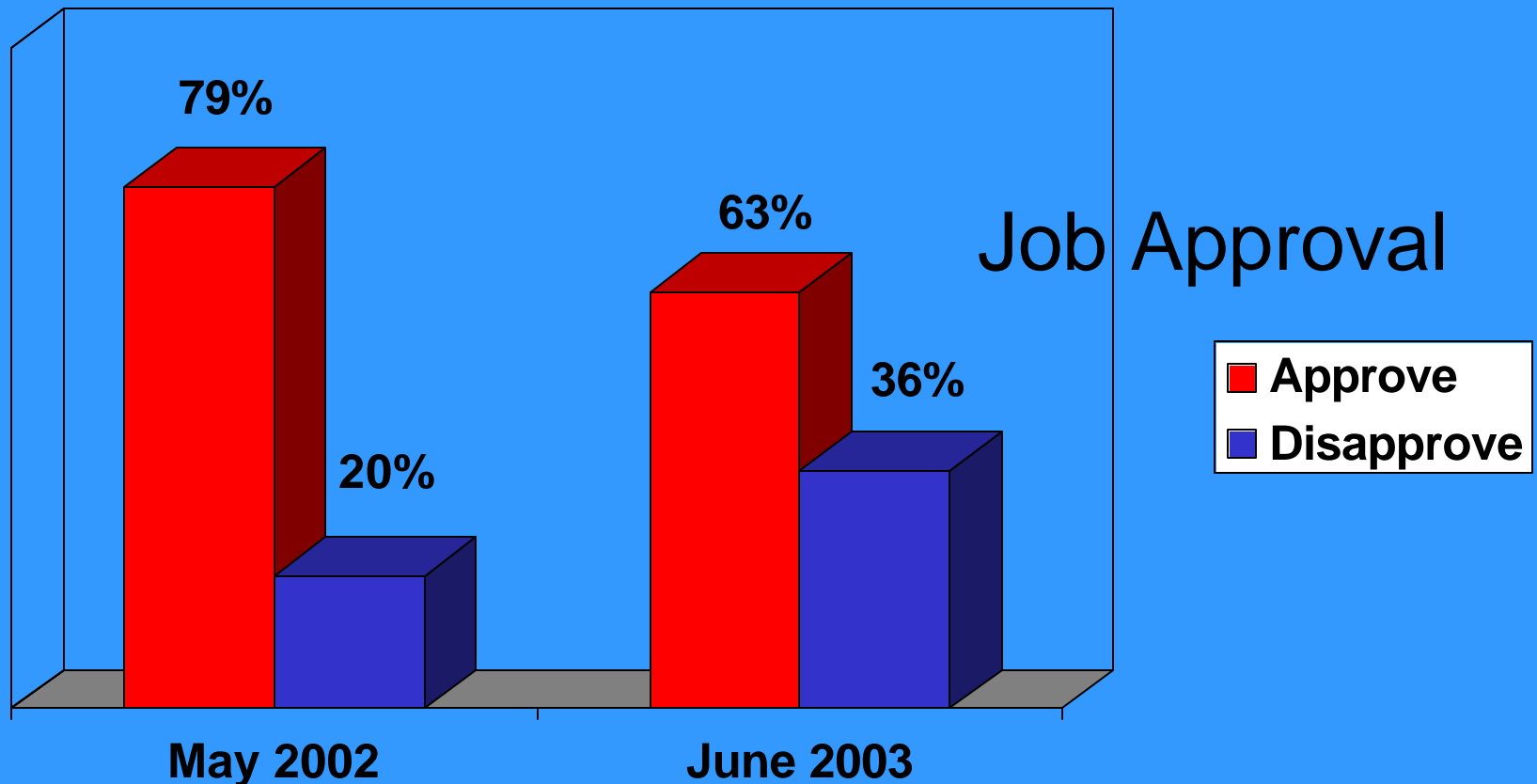
(May 2002 – top problem was economy – 21%)

Most Important Issue Facing Your Community

What is the most important issue facing your community?	All	Generic Dem/Bush Ballot
Education	24	39/42
Economy	23	38/44
Healthcare	13	42/37
Taxes	13	18/63
Medicare	12	48/35
Moral Decline	8	25/58

Bush Job Favorability & Approval

Favorability	Favorable/ Unfavorable	Very Favorable	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Bush	63/36	39	14	75	33	44	8

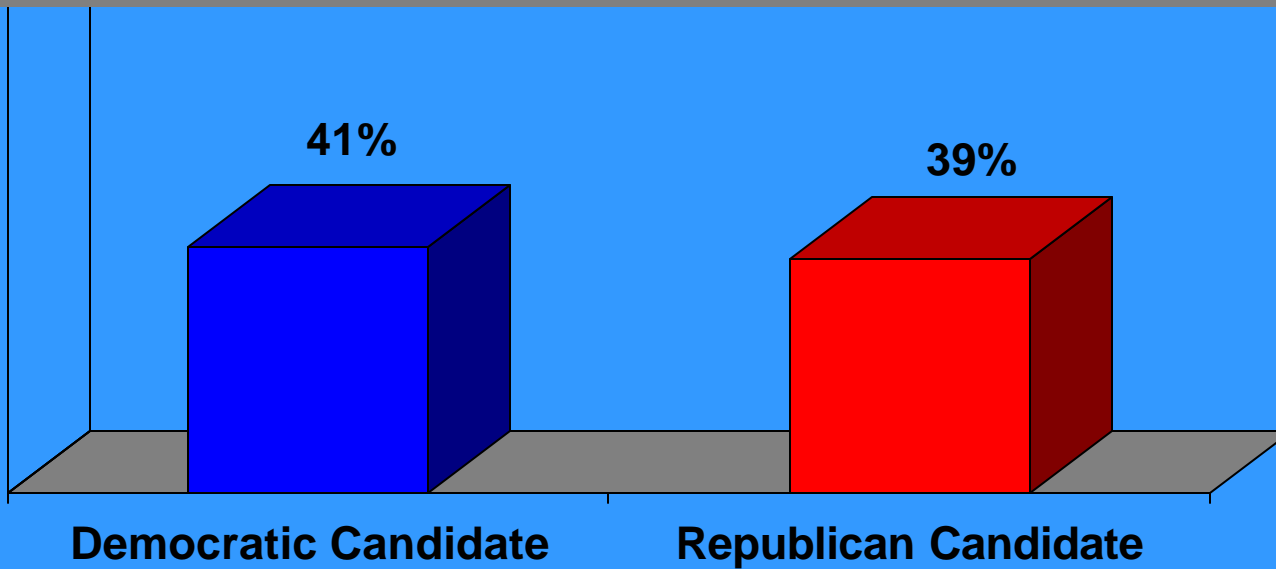


Demographic Analysis

- Some Demographic characteristics are of Democrats' electoral position:
 - There is a large gender gap with women competitive and men strongly preferring Republicans.
 - Democratic leaners and Democratic base supporters are downscale in terms of education when compared with voters who lean toward Bush and the GOP.
 - Age is not closely tied to vote preference, but middle-aged voters tend to be the least Democratic.
 - In Congressional preference, Seniors support Democrats by a narrow 40 to 35% margin.
 - Democrats win single voters by 13%, but lose married voters by a 9% margin.
 - This gap widens among married with children.

Congress: Democrat or Republican

If the election for Congress were held today and the candidates were a Democratic or Republican candidate for whom would you vote?



	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
A Democratic candidate	41	84	5	39	27	59
A Republican candidate	39	6	84	28	50	17

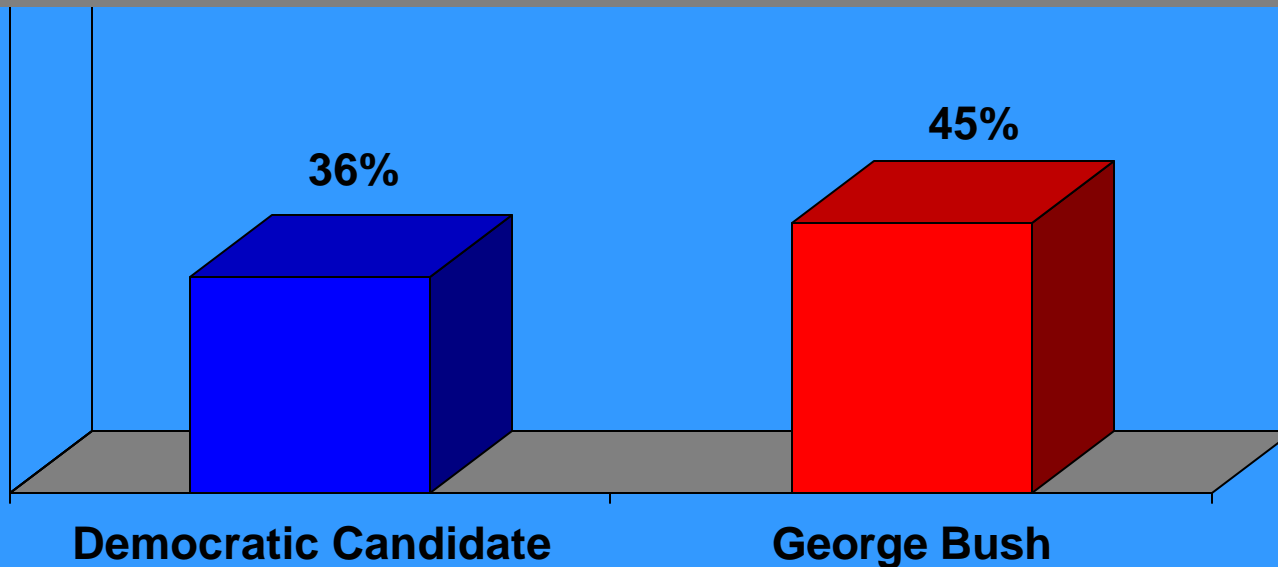
Independents

INDEPENDENTS ONLY: You described yourself as an Independent. Is there anything that would make you more likely to become an active supporter of the Democratic Party?

	All
Nothing – I don't like political parties	25
I vote for the candidate/platform	10
Get stronger on defense/military issues	7
Need to show more support for the middle class	5
Need to stand up more to Bush and Republicans	4
Need to be less partisan/fighting about politics	4
Need to put stress on pro-choice views/need to stop being pro-abortion	4
They don't stand for anything	3
More support for tax cuts	2
Need to put less stress on anti-gun views/less support for gun control/more support for gun owners	2
Less support for tax cuts	1
Need to have less focus on the problems of the poor	1
Need to be more pro-business/less anti-business	1
Need to show more support for lower class/poor	1
Others	14
Don't know	16

President: Democrat or Republican

If the election for President were held today and the candidates were a Democratic candidate or Republican George W. Bush for whom would you vote?



	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
A Democratic candidate	36	75	4	28	9	44
Republican George W. Bush	45	13	87	42	64	13

Generic Pres Ballot: Key Voter Groups

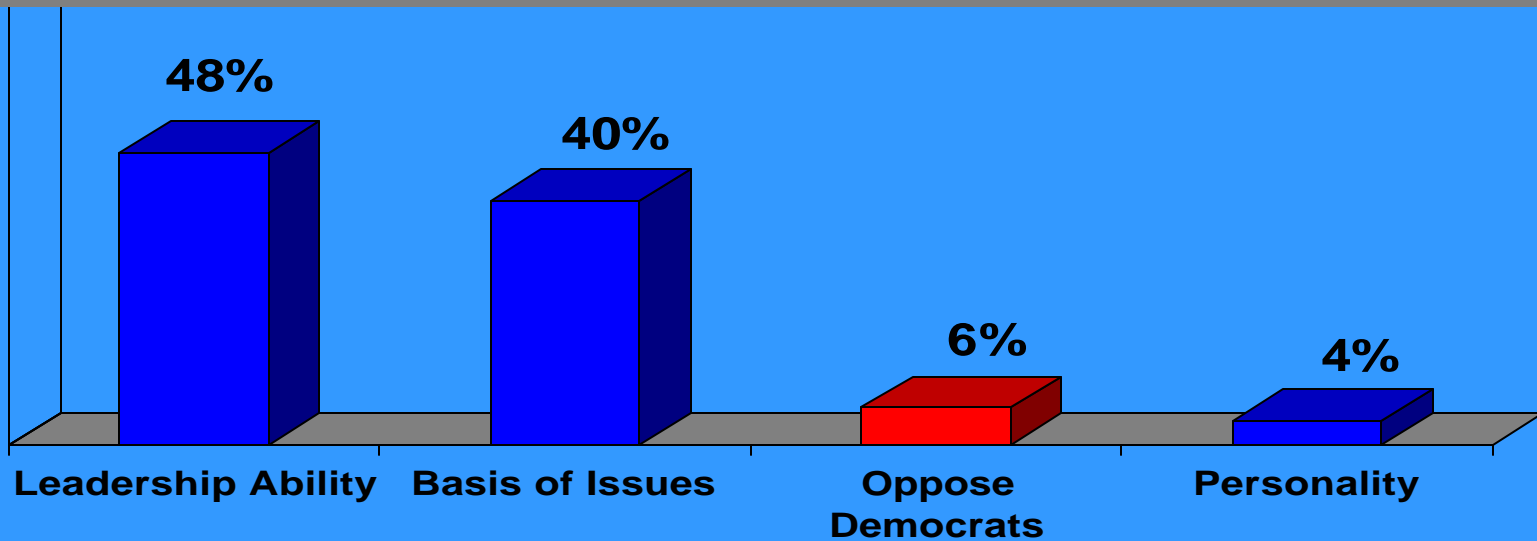
If the election for President were held today and the candidates were a Democratic candidate and President George W. Bush, for whom would you vote...	All	Dem	Bush	Bush Margin
All	100	36	45	9
Dem	32	75	13	-62
Rep	30	4	87	83
Indy	34	28	42	14
<35k	35	42	40	-2
\$35-59k	26	33	44	11
\$60k+	21	31	54	23
<Coll	59	37	43	6
Coll. Grad	38	34	48	14
Male	48	30	49	19
Female	52	41	42	1
White female	40	34	47	13
White male	39	24	53	29
Married	53	29	50	21
Single	37	43	38	-5
Catholic	21	34	51	17
Union	19	43	37	-6

Generic Pres Ballot: Key Voter Groups

If the election for President were held today and the candidates were a Democratic candidate and President George W. Bush, for whom would you vote...	All	Dem	Bush	Bush Margin
All	100	36	45	9
Suburban men	12	28	50	22
Suburban women	12	42	44	2
Rural men	12	22	57	35
Rural women	14	33	48	15
Suburban married	14	31	49	18
Suburban not married	11	41	45	4
Gun owner	33	23	60	37
No gun	55	43	37	-6

Why Bush?

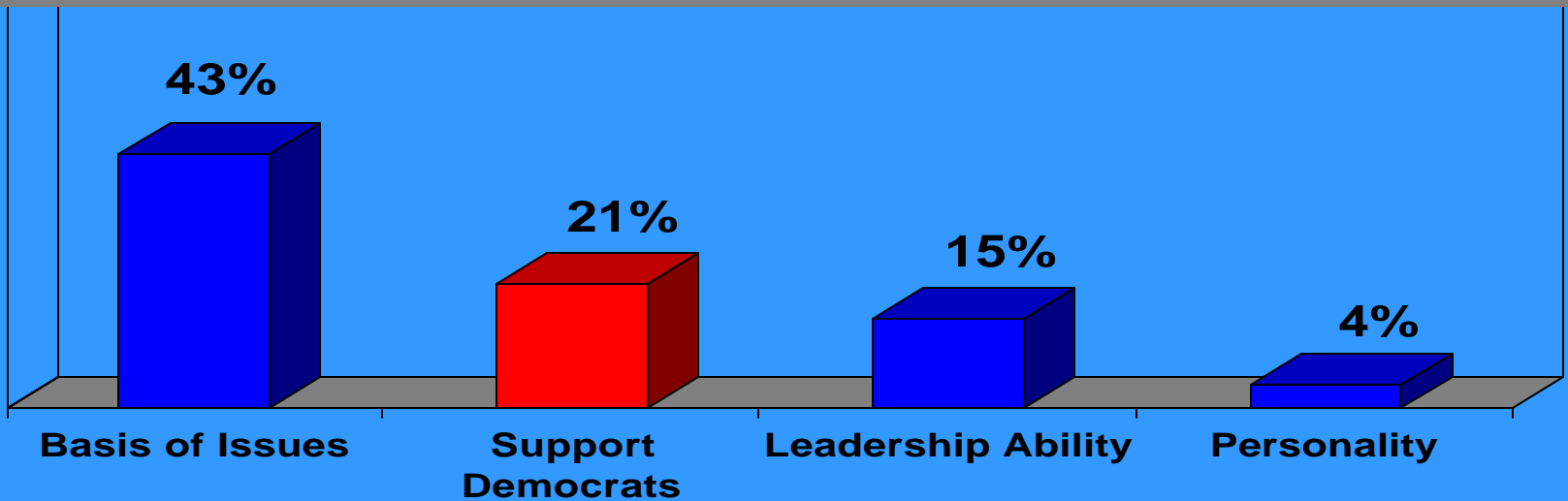
IF BUSH: Are you voting for George W. Bush at this time primarily on the basis of issues, personality, and leadership ability or because you oppose the Democratic candidates?



	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Bush Leaners
Leadership ability	48	29	51	51	43
Basis of issues	40	54	40	35	39
Oppose Democrats	6	10	5	7	9
Personality	4	2	4	3	5

Why Not Bush?

IF NOT BUSH: Are you voting for the Democratic candidate at this time primarily on the basis of issues, on personality and leadership ability or because you support one or more Democratic candidates?



	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem Leaners
Basis of issues	53	53	68	54	55
Support Democrats	21	25	11	15	14
Leadership ability	15	17	12	14	19
Personality	4	1	0	8	4







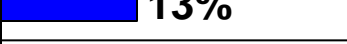
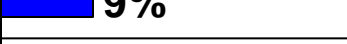
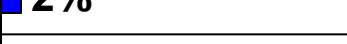
Evaluating Bush: Priorities

Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each one. <i>RANKED BY "STRONG" AGREE</i>	Agree/ Disag.	% Strongly Agree					
		All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
This President has been the worst for America's environment in generations. His forest plan increases logging; his energy plan is about increasing mining for coal, increasing nuclear power and increasing drilling for oil in wilderness areas and off-shore; and his water and air plans loosen standards.	61/36	44	79	10	41	24	62
This Administration fails to recognize that protecting our constitution and our individual rights is just as important as protecting our national security.	69/29	43	60	24	40	33	42
This Administration fails to recognize that doing right for America is often best accomplished by working more closely with our allies, not by acting alone.	69/27	42	67	17	43	32	51











Evaluating Bush: Economy

Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each one. <i>RANKED BY "STRONG" AGREE</i>	Agree/ Disag.	% Strongly Agree					
		All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Bush's economic policies have failed but instead of coming up with new ideas he uses the same approach and gets the same results – jobs lost, Federal, state and local budgets imploding, health care costs rising, and trillions of dollars lost in the stock market that represent the savings of millions of Americans.	57/40	39	64	14	40	30	46
Rather than focusing on ways to make our economy grow, Bush's has been on giving big tax cuts to those who need it least, as if the problem is that that the wealthy are not wealthy enough. We've lost almost three million jobs, trillions in the stock market, health care costs are spiraling, budgets are imploding and we've gone from surpluses to deficits.	64/31	38	57	20	39	20	47
Bush's economic policies are weakening our country. They are creating huge budget deficits that put us in debt to foreign countries and even though crime is on the rise, his budget cuts are forcing state and local governments to cut back on police and firemen who are front lines of our defense against both criminals and terrorists.	60/36	38	58	13	44	25	44

Democratic Traits

Who would you expect to stand for this? Democrats or Republicans		Democratic Advantage		
	Democratic Advantage All	Dem	Rep	Indy
Fighting for the regular guy	 33%	84	-38	45
Compassion	 32%	66	-22	40
Better public schools	 18%	67	-38	7
Helping people reach their potential	 18%	73	-31	9
More jobs	 17%	72	-55	23
Opportunity	 14%	69	-46	13
Fairness	 13%	74	-60	17
Stronger Communities	 9%	73	-62	0
Vision	 2%	58	-55	-7
Liberty	0%	67	-48	-2

Republican Traits

Who would you expect to stand for this? Democrats or Republicans		Democratic Disadvantage		
	Democratic Disadvantage All	Dem	Rep	Indy
Unifying America	 3%	-44	61	1
A stronger economy	 5%	-53	61	-5
Preparing America for the future	 6%	-56	57	5
Stronger Families	 11%	-32	71	11
Strength	 14%	-38	78	18
Integrity	 14%	-39	79	7
Responsibility	 15%	-59	89	31
Leadership	 19%	-46	79	19
Religious Faith	 22%	-16	70	24
Patriotism	 25%	-29	68	32

Priorities—Top Tier

Do you think we need more, less, or the same amount of...?

Net “More” (more - less)	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Efforts to make health care more widely available and affordable	83	96	67	84	85	87
Efforts to strengthen Medicare and Social Security	83	95	78	77	67	84
Efforts to help the middle class	63	74	56	60	55	76
Expanding prosperity	62	72	58	60	57	57
Environmental protection	49	74	17	55	57	53
Protecting people’s civil liberties	40	60	17	45	41	42
Anti-terrorism efforts abroad and at home	38	34	45	34	54	33
Cutting corporate tax loopholes	38	29	43	41	33	47
Federal financial support for state governments	32	47	22	28	31	25

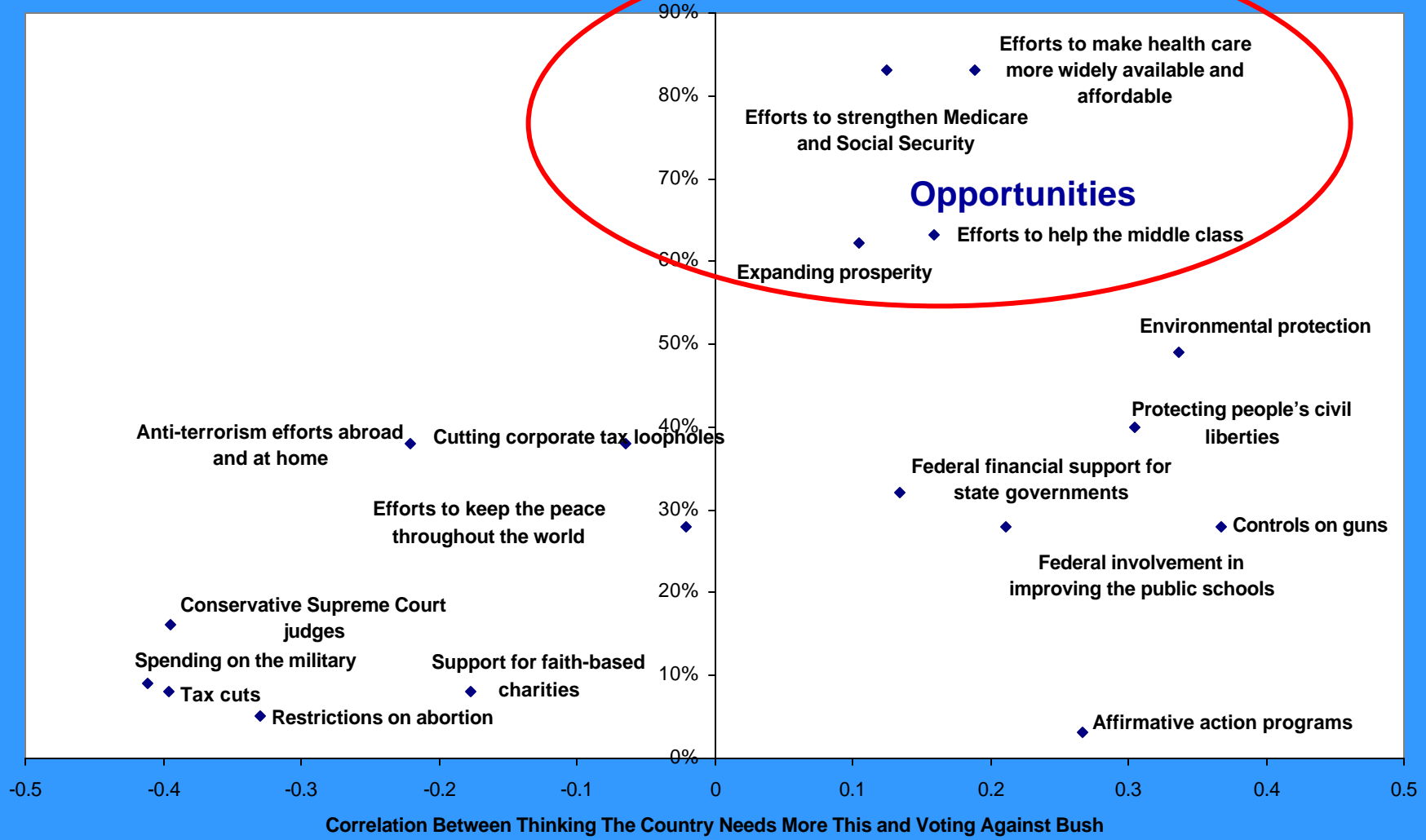
Priorities—Bottom Tier

Do you think we need more, less, or the same amount of...?

Net “More” (more - less)	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Federal involvement in improving the public schools	28	58	5	18	28	36
Efforts to keep the peace throughout the world	28	38	21	32	24	21
Controls on guns	28	50	4	30	19	50
Conservative Supreme Court judges	16	-1	53	4	21	9
Spending on the military	9	-12	34	12	21	2
Tax cuts	8	-9	35	0	26	-22
Support for faith-based charities	8	1	25	-4	13	-1
Restrictions on abortion	5	-11	32	-4	6	1
Affirmative action programs	3	33	-36	1	-1	16

Priorities Vs. Bush Vote

% Difference Between Those Who Think The Country Needs More Than Less of This



Themes

Does this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for this candidate?

	Much More					
	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Party of Progress – The Democratic Party is the party of progress...	51	80	19	50	54	63
Party of the middle class – Democrats stand for a stronger middle class	48	74	28	48	45	54
Security. Opportunity. Values. – Democrats believe we need to keep America safe...	47	60	37	44	43	49
Opportunity. Responsibility. Community – Democrats are committed to three core...	46	54	30	50	45	53
Understands the future – The Democratic Party is the party of the future...	44	59	26	46	39	48

Best Theme

Does this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for this candidate?

Party of Progress: The Democratic Party is the party of progress. Progress means strengthening our defenses and strengthening our alliances. Tax polices that help working people and the middle class, closing loopholes for corporations and making sure that wealthy Americans do not get all of the benefits. Investing in people so all those who make the grade can afford a college education or the training they need to get ahead. Moving people from welfare into the workforce through training and job placement. Making American energy independent while cleaning our environment. And progress means ensuring that all Americans have access to healthcare and are able to save for a secure retirement.

	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Much more likely	51	80	19	50	54	63
Somewhat more likely	27	14	39	30	30	25
Somewhat less likely	7	3	13	6	6	5
Much less likely	10	3	23	7	6	7

Second Best Theme

Does this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for this candidate?

Party of the middle class: Democrats stand for a stronger middle class and for raising more Americans into the middle class by creating opportunity and rewarding responsibility. That means improving schools. Making higher education and job training affordable for anyone who makes the grade so people can live up to their abilities and earn a decent wage. Making it possible for people to afford health care to save toward retirement. Tax cuts that benefit the middle class, not the wealthiest Americans who don't need tax relief.

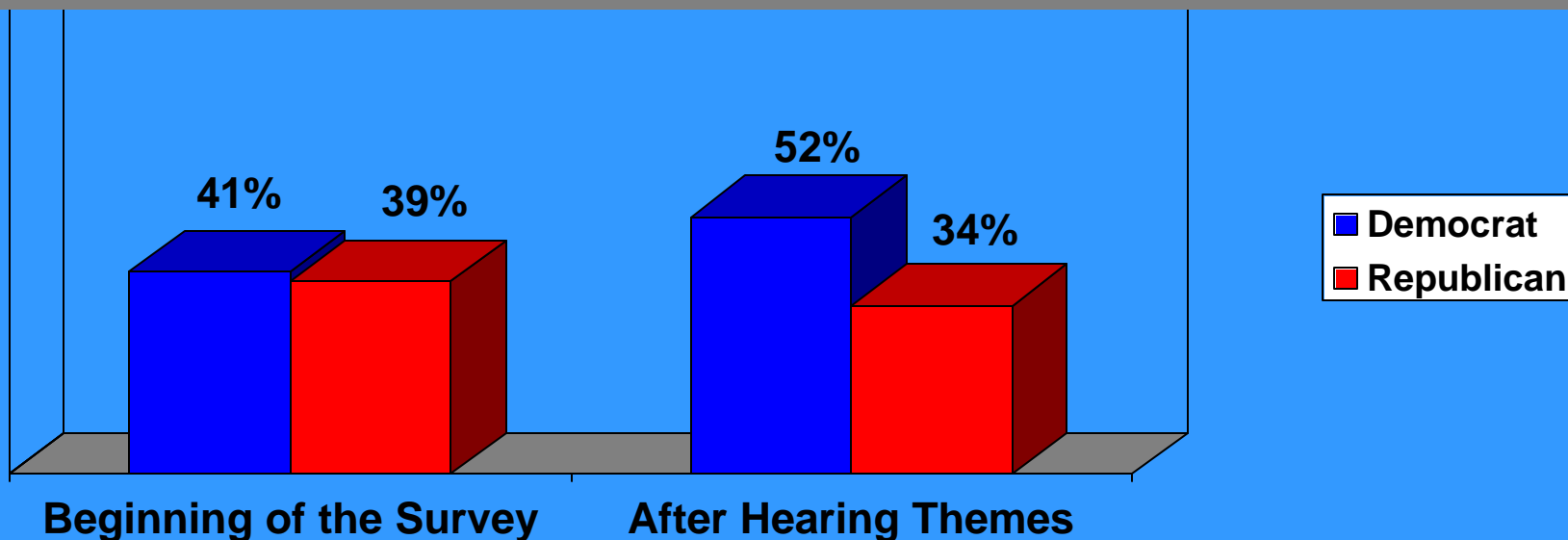
	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
Much more likely	48	74	28	48	45	54
Somewhat more likely	30	17	30	37	44	34
Somewhat less likely	8	5	14	6	8	2
Much less likely	8	2	17	5	2	6

Other Theme Texts

- **Security. Opportunity. Values.:** Democrats believe we need to keep America safe and secure, fight for equal opportunity for all, and protect the values of American families. We need a foreign policy that stands firm for America's interests and values -- and a strong military to back it up. We need to make the American dream a reality for all our people with a fiscally responsible economic plan featuring tax cuts that boost growth and create jobs and investments in science, research, and our schools. And we need to stand up for the values of America's families – taking on those who peddle violence to our children, pollute our environment, and prevent us from giving our parents and grandparents the secure retirement and health care they need.
- **Opportunity. Responsibility. Community:** Democrats are committed to three core principles as we enter the 21st century. First, providing equal opportunity for all by making sure that all Americans have the tools they need – from better schools to good health care -- to seize the opportunities before them. Second, demanding responsibility from all by saying that if you are on welfare you must work, if you are a parent you must take responsibility for your children, and if you are a company you must take responsibility for your product. And third, making America secure by ensuring that we have the world's most effective and modern military backed by strong international alliances.
- **Understands the future:** The Democratic Party is the party of the future because in a rapidly changing world we need new approaches to keep America peaceful and prosperous. This means a strong defense, a modern military and homeland security. It means an economic strategy that creates jobs and opportunity, keeps interest rates low, giving tax cuts to middle class families and small businesses that need them while postponing tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans who don't need them. It means making college affordable for those who make the grade and helping workers get the training they need to stay competitive; and it means encouraging innovation throughout the economy to create the jobs of tomorrow.

Congressional Ballot Movement After Hearing Themes

If the election for Congress were held today and the candidates were a Democratic or Republican candidate for whom would you vote?



	All	Dem	Rep	Indy	Bush Leaners	Dem Leaners
A Democratic candidate	52	87	17	56	42	70
A Republican candidate	34	5	74	24	40	13