

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

March 29, 2007

Opening up the West

Survey and focus group results in interior west

February - March, 2007

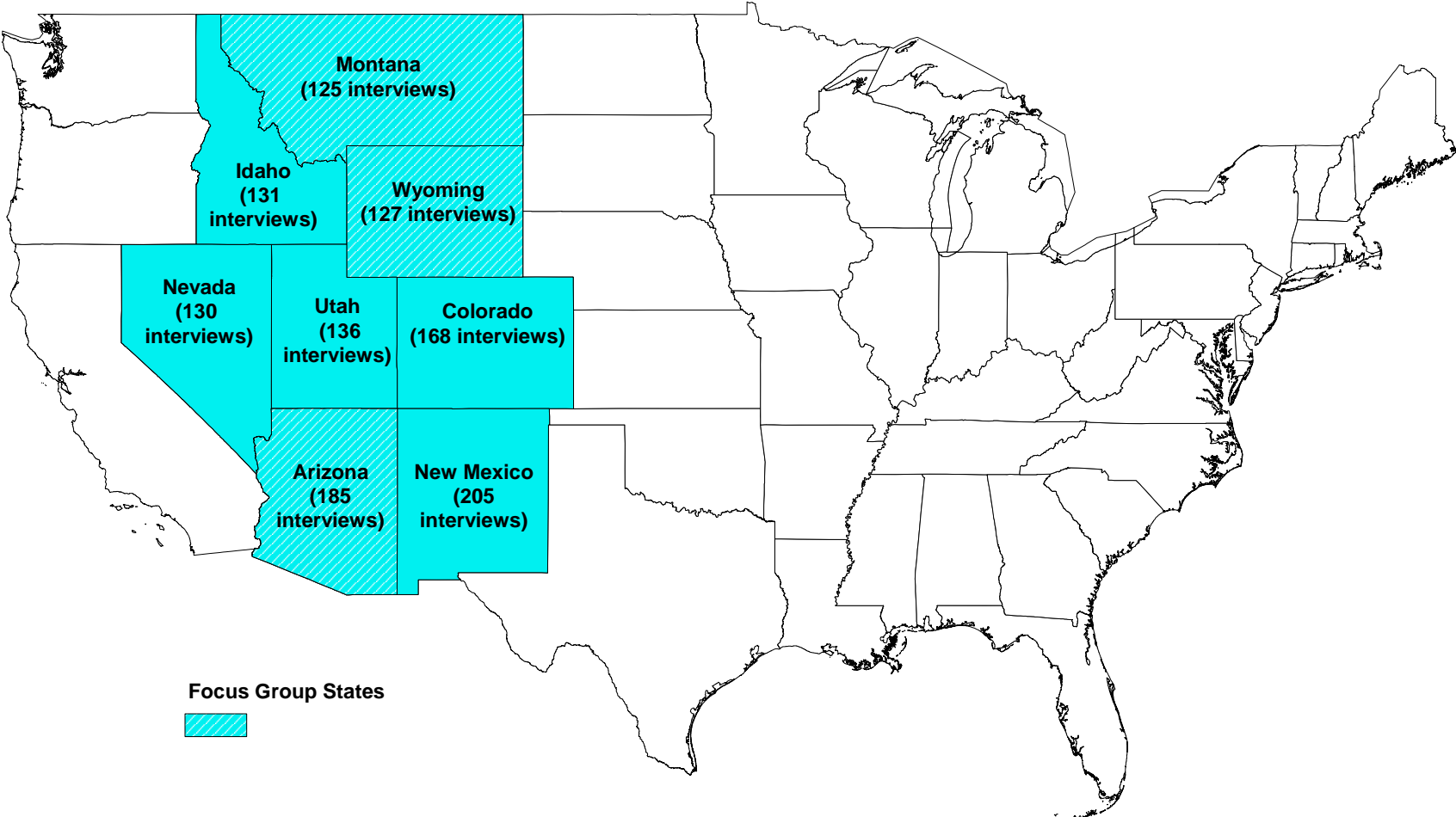


Democracy Corps

Research program, 2007

- **Three sets of focus groups in Montana, Wyoming and Arizona among swing voters and weak partisans.**
- **National survey of 1207 likely voters in Montana, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, including a Hispanic oversample to reach total Hispanic sample of 290 voters. Survey was conducted from March 7-14, 2007 and weighted to reflect the regional and demographic make-up of this part of the country.**
- **Survey carries a margin of error of 2.83 percent at a 95 percent confidence level.**

United States- Interior West States



Key findings

- **Voters in this part of the country work hard. Most married families are two-income. Hard work is part of the ethos in this part of the country.**
- **Life in the West, for many at least, reflects a choice between lower wages in their part of the country and a high quality of life they see around them. Most would not live anywhere else.**
- **There are certainly parts of this region that are booming, but Western voters reveal some economic stress from the middle class squeeze; nearly a quarter have gone without health insurance in the last five years and household debt is rising for another 23 percent.**
- **Western voters strike a balance between agreeable isolation—they like the “space” around them—and interconnectedness. In focus groups, they describe close relationships with “distant” neighbors. Most are not only connected to the Internet, but have high speed connections.**
- **Perhaps most notably from a purely tactical perspective, more than a third (36 percent) invest in satellite television, up to 50 percent in some parts of this region, and may be unreachable with traditional political television advertising.**

Key findings

- **Western life is defined by an attachment to the land. The land provides both recreation, escape and, for some, a livelihood. It is what voters believe is most unique about living in the West.**
- **Western voters want pragmatism and plain talk. Voters respect politicians who tell it like is, tell them exactly what they will do in office and is willing to work with Democrats and Republicans to get things done. The heroic numbers we see for some of the Democratic governors here reflect, in part, their willingness to cross the aisle.**
- **The libertarianism of the western voter is often overstated. Most voters prefer government promotion of moral values, for example. But there are opportunities to crack the conservative base among libertarians.**
- **The Western agenda broadly reflects the national agenda, dominated by Iraq. But immigration and the environment have more traction here for obvious reasons. Importantly, these voters maintain their pragmatism on this emotional issue and oppose “solutions” that fail the “common sense” test.**

Key findings (continued)

- **After a period of Republican dominance, including winning 15 of 16 states in the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections, the interior West now hosts intense party competition.**
- **Bush does better here than in the rest of the country, reflecting a more Republican electorate, but his collapse is nonetheless staggering and other Republicans tested struggle to pick up the party standards.**
- **Congressional Democrats also struggle and early reviews of Democrats are mixed. That said, congressional Democrats are very competitive electorally, even in the more conservative northern states.**
- **This disconnect is less between Democrats and Republicans and more Washington politicians and parties and local politicians and parties. This is true in other parts of the country as well, but the degree of difference sets this region apart.**

Life and Values in the West

Key statistics: Life in the West

- **Four in ten (41 percent) own at least one gun, 6 points higher than the national average; 23 percent own more than 3 guns; in the northern tier, a slim majority (51 percent) own guns.**
- **A 54 percent majority attend religious services at least once a month and 21 percent attend churches with 1,000 or more members. Mega-church goers comprise one of the most conservative groups in the region.**
- **Sixty percent of married couples are two-income families, 67 percent among Hispanic married couples.**
- **Over one-third (36 percent) receive satellite television; in some rural parts of the region, half the electorate are unreachable through local television broadcast.**
- **Eight in ten (78 percent) have an internet connection and 56 percent have an high speed internet connection. Not including e-mail, western voters log 8.6 hours a week on the net.**
- **One quarter (23 percent) have not had health insurance in the last five years; 10 percent are currently without insurance.**
- **Two-thirds (66 percent) know someone who is serving in Iraq or Afghanistan; 27 percent have a family member serving.**

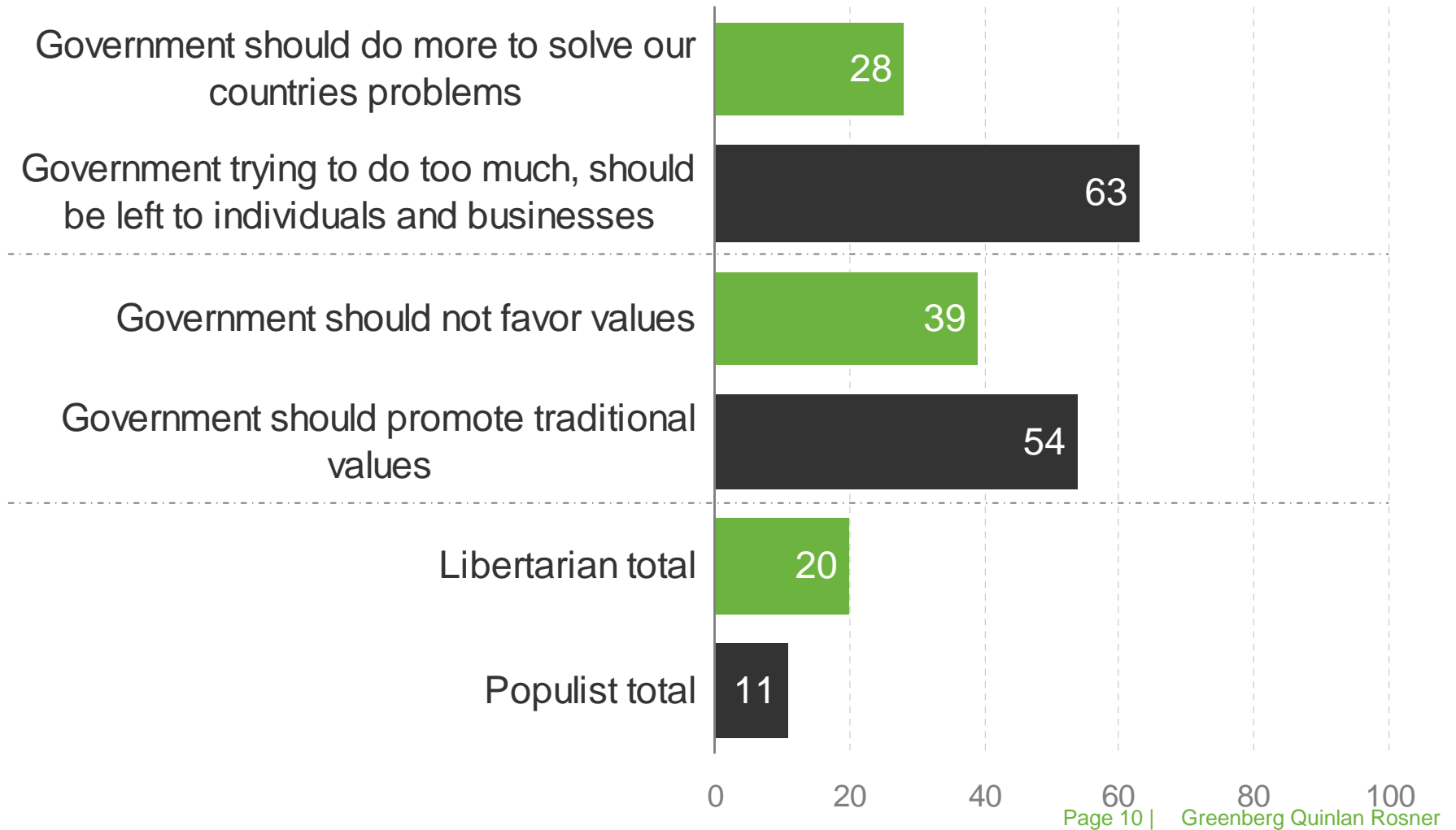
Life and values in the West

- **Western voters do not recognize the term “western values.” But they can articulate a distinct and definitive set of political values and expectations including libertarianism and social conservatism. Yet, western voters are less divided ideologically than assumed and Democrats can contest Republicans on core values.**

- **“Non-ideological” values matter a great deal too.**
 - Relationship with the land defines western point of view.
 - Problem solving/getting things done.
 - Honest, doing what you said you would do.
 - Plain talk/telling it like it is.
 -

- **There is a huge disconnect in the opinion of local parties and politicians and national parties and politicians; this reflects findings from a recent accountability survey, but to a degree that seems well beyond national averages.**

Libertarianism in the west more about economics than social issues



Contesting economics

Now I am going to read you some things two candidates said in their campaign for Congress. After I read these descriptions, please tell me which one you would support.

	Strongly support	Total
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who believes that right now the economy works only for those at the very top. He will fight to represent the interests of working and middle class families, instead of the interests of big corporations.</i>	37	48
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who believes in freedom. He says the economy grows and more people can succeed when the government stands out of the way and individuals are allowed to the freedom to make their own way.</i>	37	45
Candidate A - Candidate B	--	+2
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who believes that everyone in the country should have an equal opportunity to succeed. He says we should work to make sure that more middle and working families who work hard and play by the rules can achieve economic security.</i>	40	49
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who believes in freedom. He says the economy grows and more people can succeed when the government stands out of the way and individuals are allowed the freedom to make their own way.</i>	33	44
Candidate A - Candidate B	+7	+5

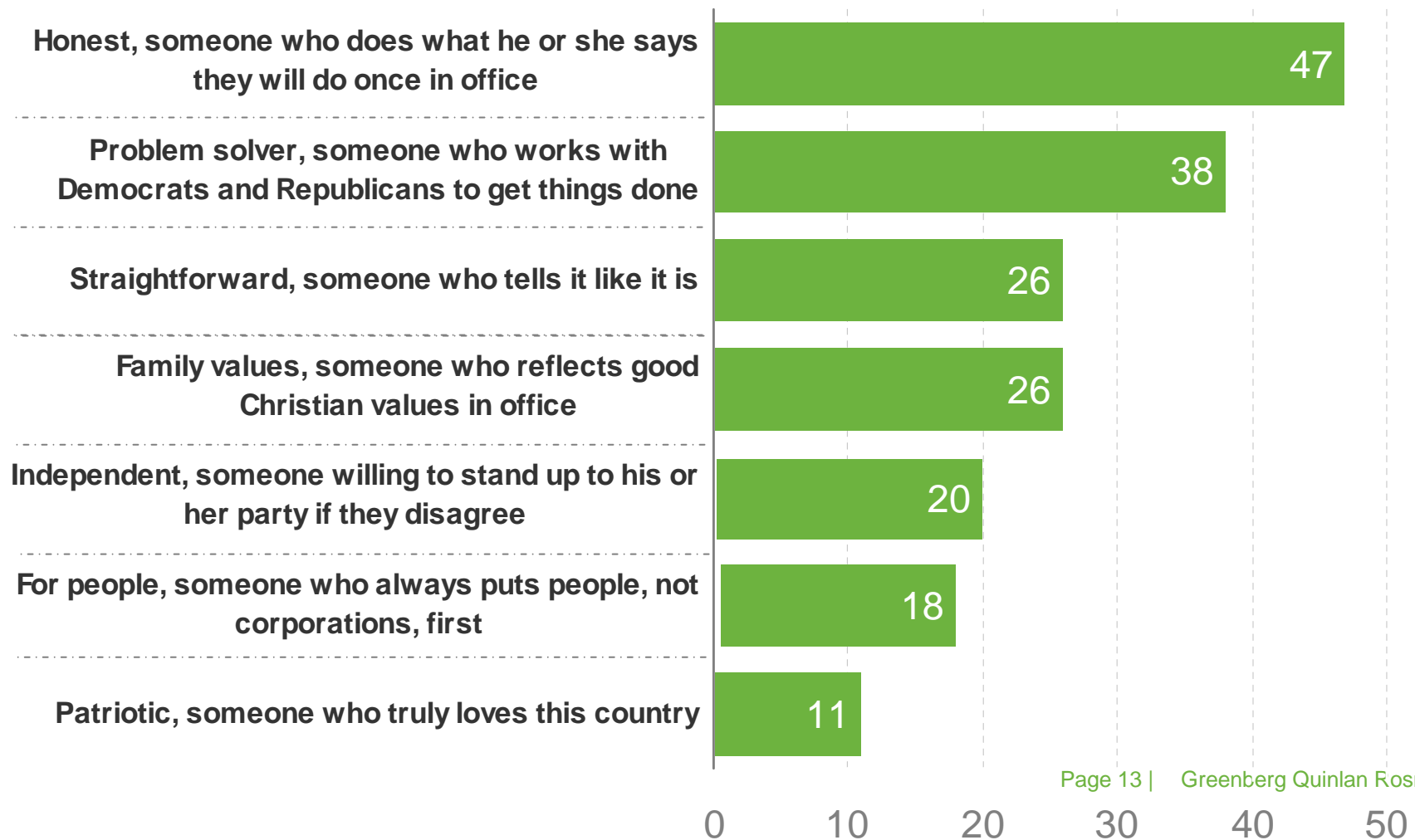
Contesting values

Now I am going to read you some things two candidates said in their campaign for Congress. After I read these descriptions, please tell me which one you would support.

	Support strongly	Total
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who says parents are working harder to keep up with the cost of living, taking them away from home and family. The government must ensure the economy works for all, giving parents the time to raise kids with the right values.</i>	41	50
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who believes in good, old fashioned values. He says that belief in God and the protection of the family are the foundations of this country.</i>	31	39
Candidate A - Candidate B	+10	+11
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who says that churches and families, not government, should address issues of morality. People should have the freedom, within the law, to make their own decisions about their personal lives.</i>	38	47
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who believes in good, old fashioned values. He says that belief in God and the protection of the family are the foundations of this country.</i>	36	45
Candidate A - Candidate B	+2	+2

Honesty and problem solving most important political values

Please tell me which of the following are the most important qualities or values you look for when choosing a candidate for public office.



Focus group comments

“My dad used to say that he was a man who made a deal on a handshake. There wasn’t a contract. The word was good enough. You were judged by how you kept your word.”
Wyoming

“I think sometimes we let people alone. Yeah, he’s kind of weird, but that’s okay. That’s just him. We kind of let him be. As long as they’re within the law, that kind of thing. We don’t want somebody who’s doing illegal things or dangerous things. But for the most part, we just let them be and keep our nose out of it.”
Wyoming

What they do is a whole different matter and it doesn’t matter if you’re a Democrat or Republican. If you are going to say it, do it. If you are not then just get out of the game.
Montana

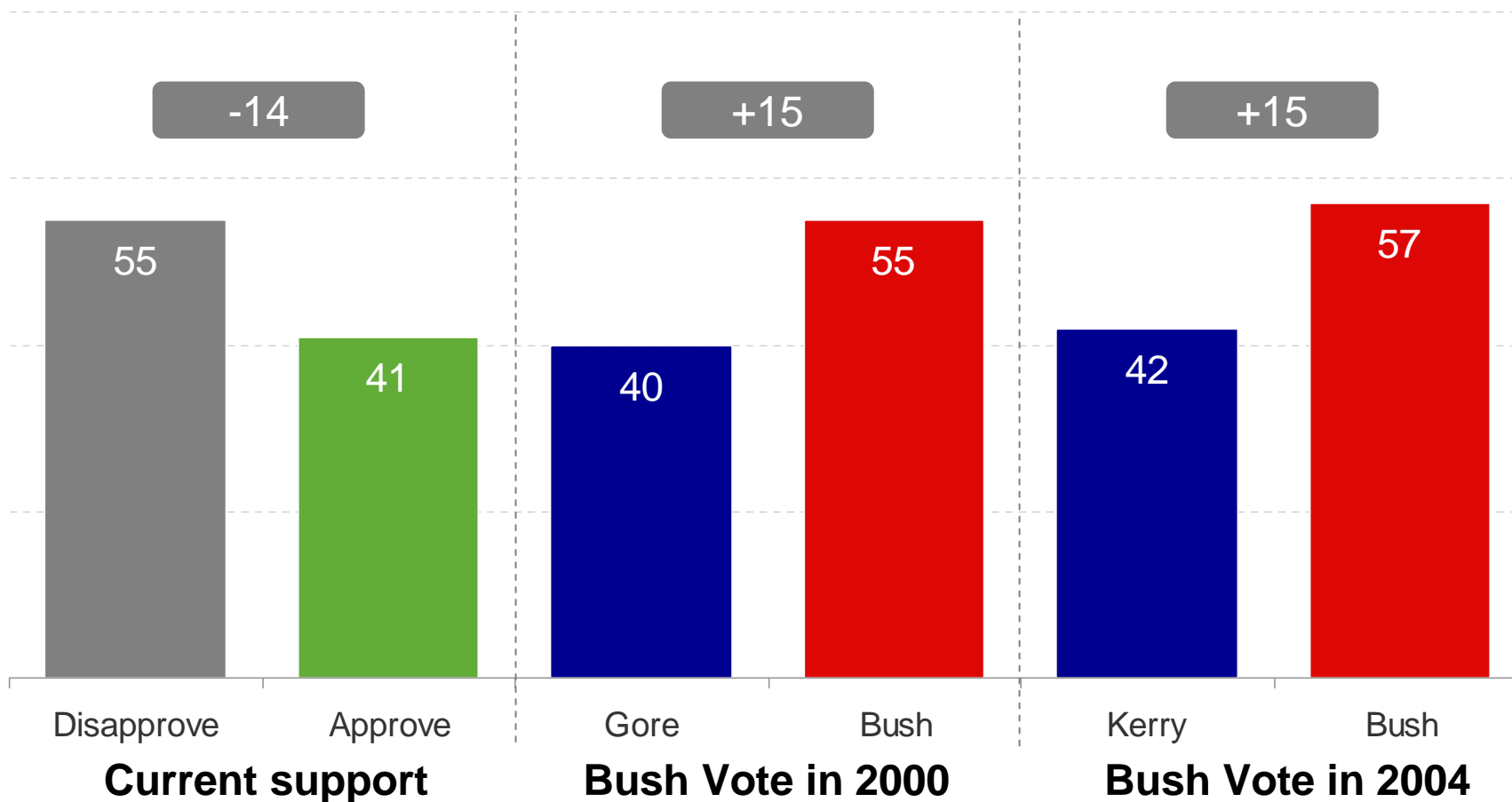
I have been discouraged by Congress’s inability to work together. We all want the same thing; peace among ourselves and the rest of the world, a strong economy, well paying jobs and most important the security that we can live in this country and continue to think that we can all achieve the American dream. As president it is your responsibility to see that Congress works together and that the positive change will occur.
Montana

Please keep in mind that the decisions you make are going to effect everyone in the U.S. and it doesn’t matter if a person is a Democrat or Republican. We need to remember the values this country was founded on. We need to all work together to accomplish our goals.
Montana

Contesting the West

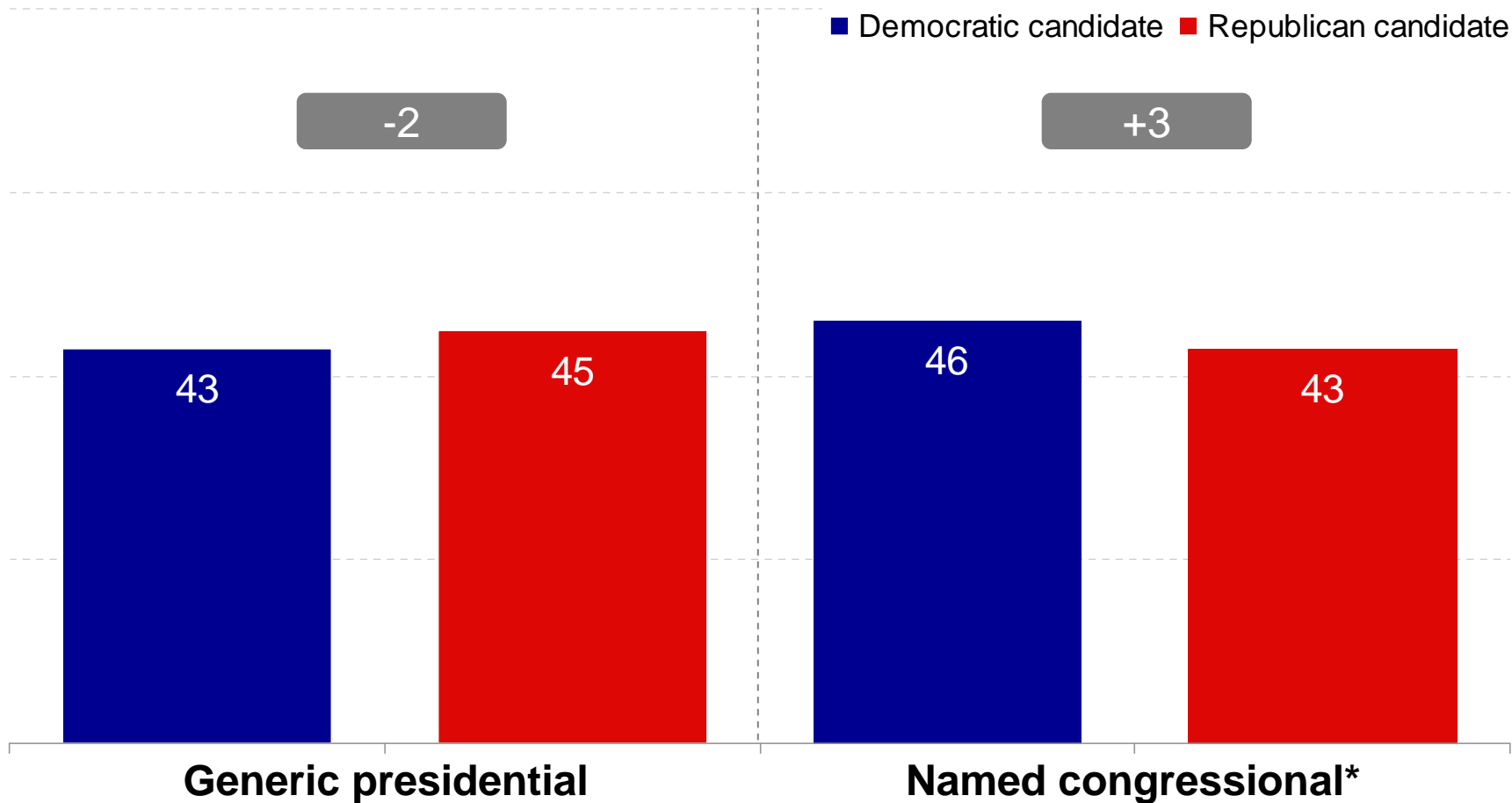
Bush collapse in the west

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



Party competition intense

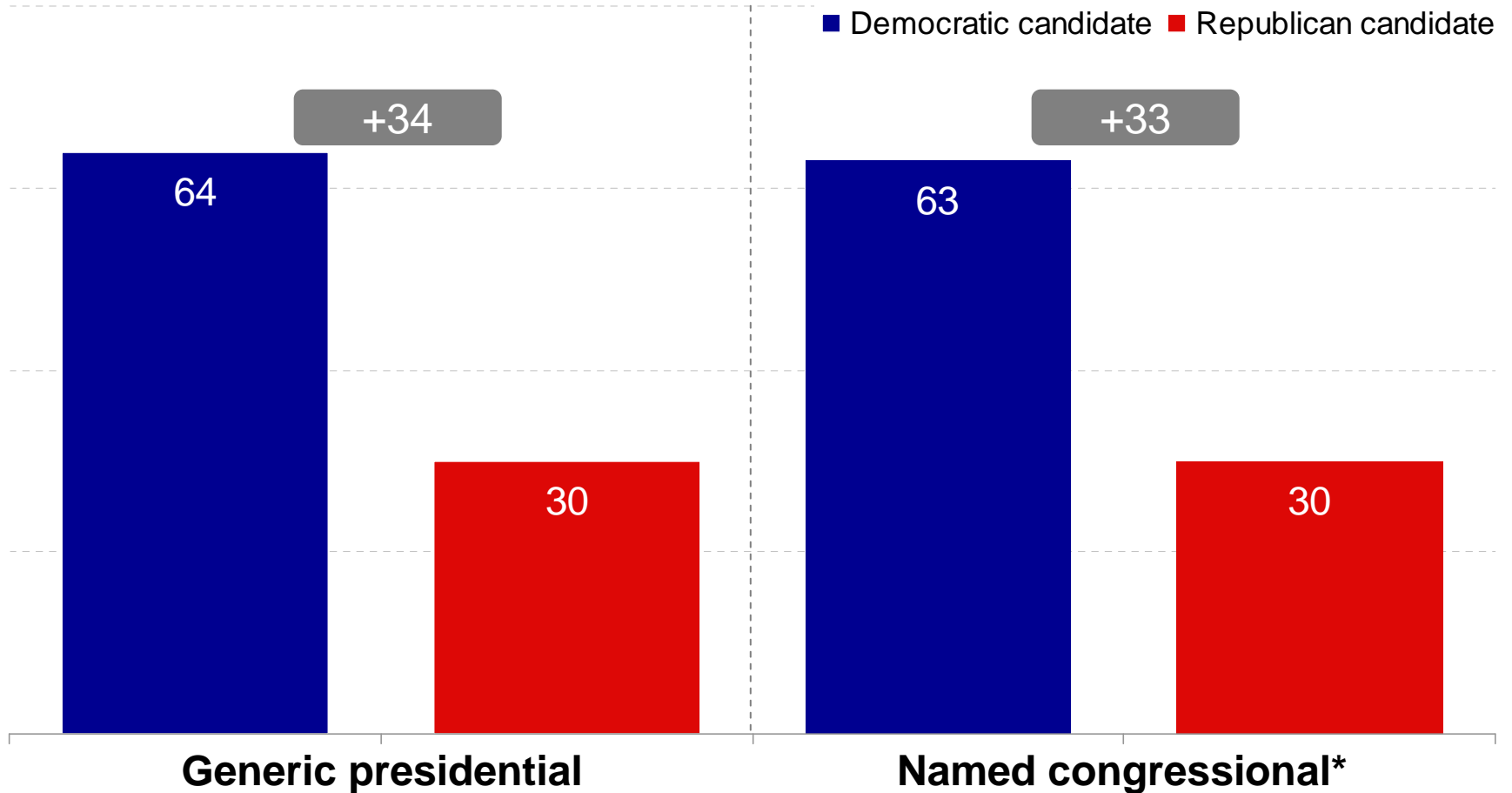
I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the election in 2008, if the election for president/Congress were held today, for whom would you vote, the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



Note: Actual candidate names inserted into named congressional and paired with generic candidate for opposing party*

Strong Democratic support, Hispanics

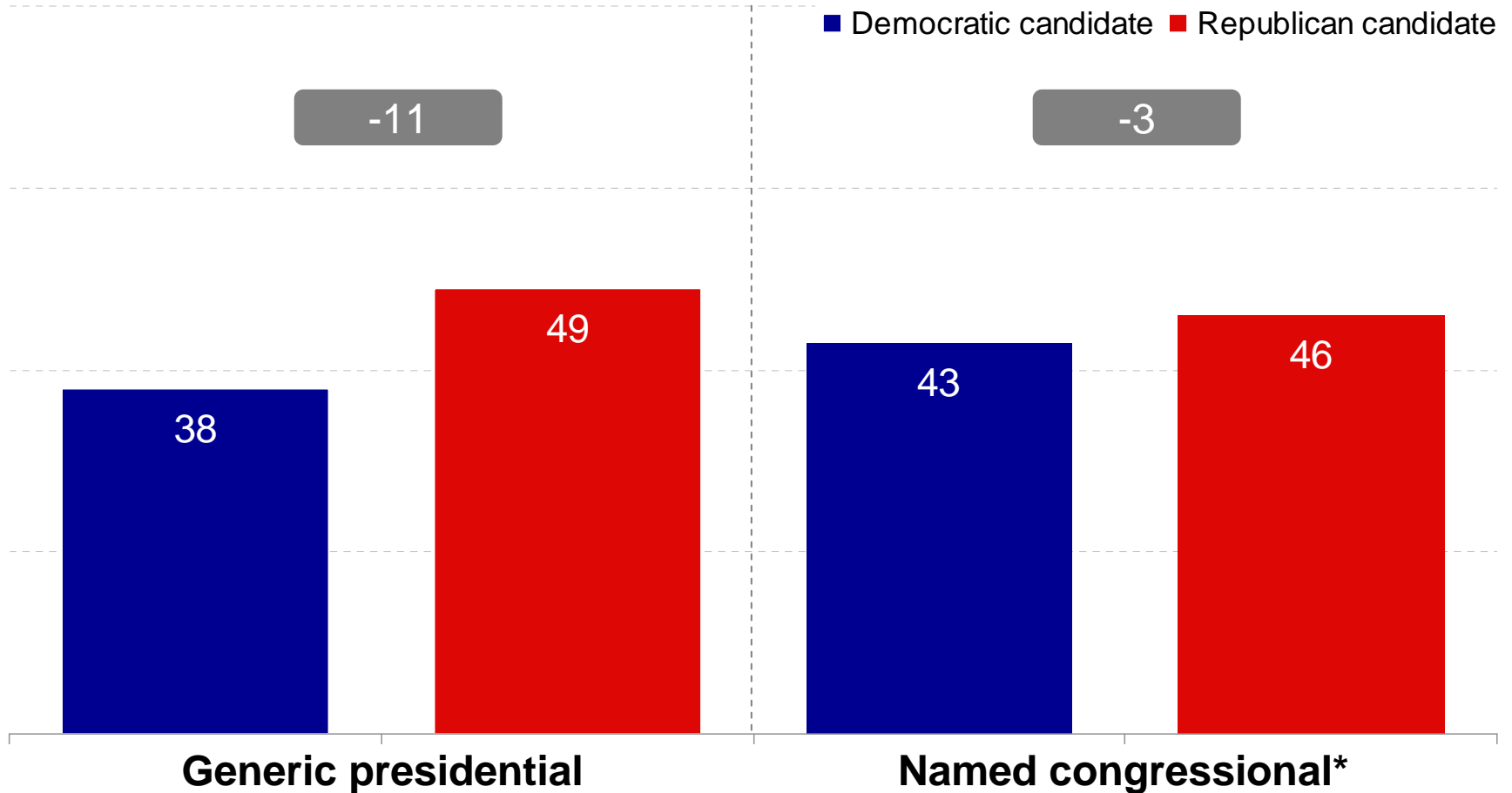
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Congressional competitive among Anglos

I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the election in 2008, if the election for president/Congress were held today, for whom would you vote, the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



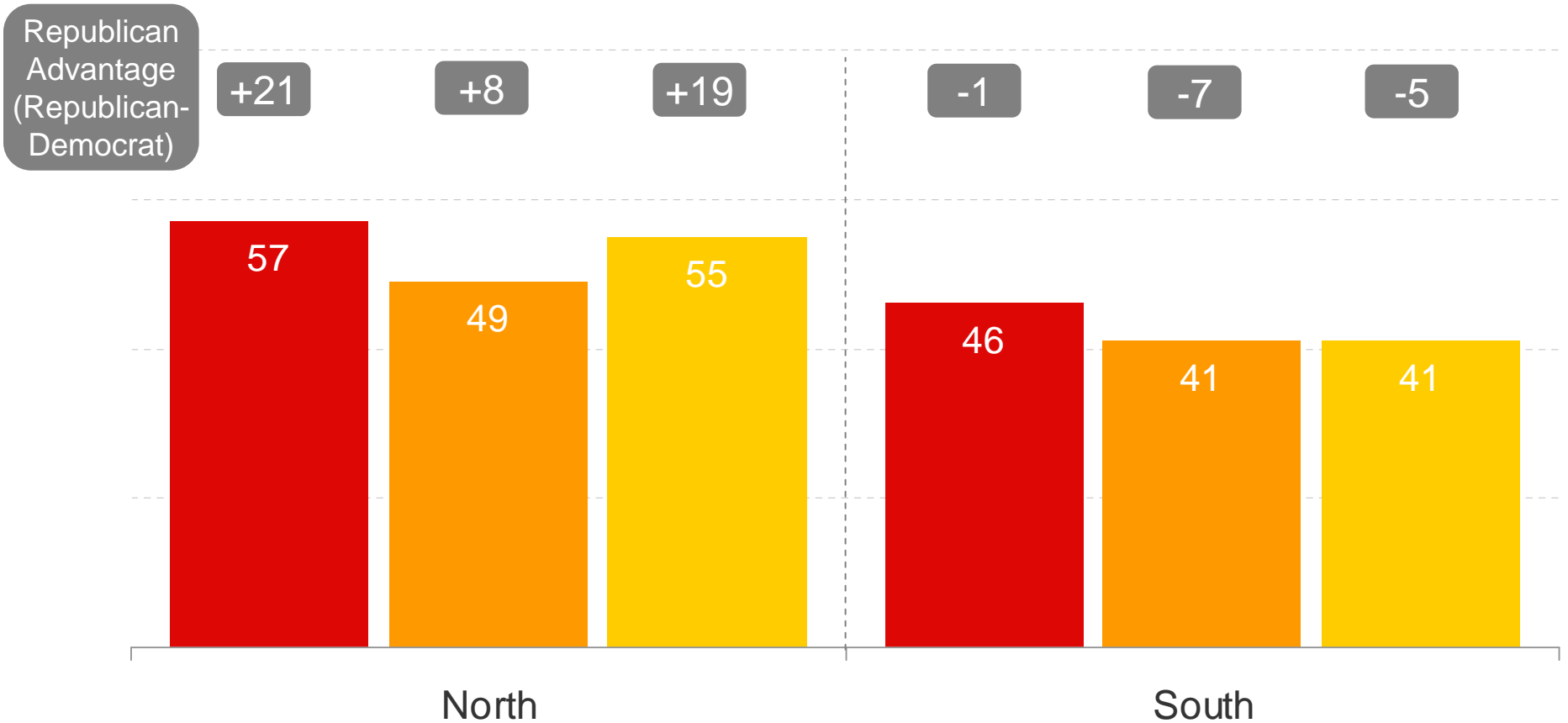
Note: Actual candidate names inserted into named congressional and paired with generic candidate for opposing party*

North-South divide: Congress still competitive in North

■ Self-ascribed Republican or lean Republican

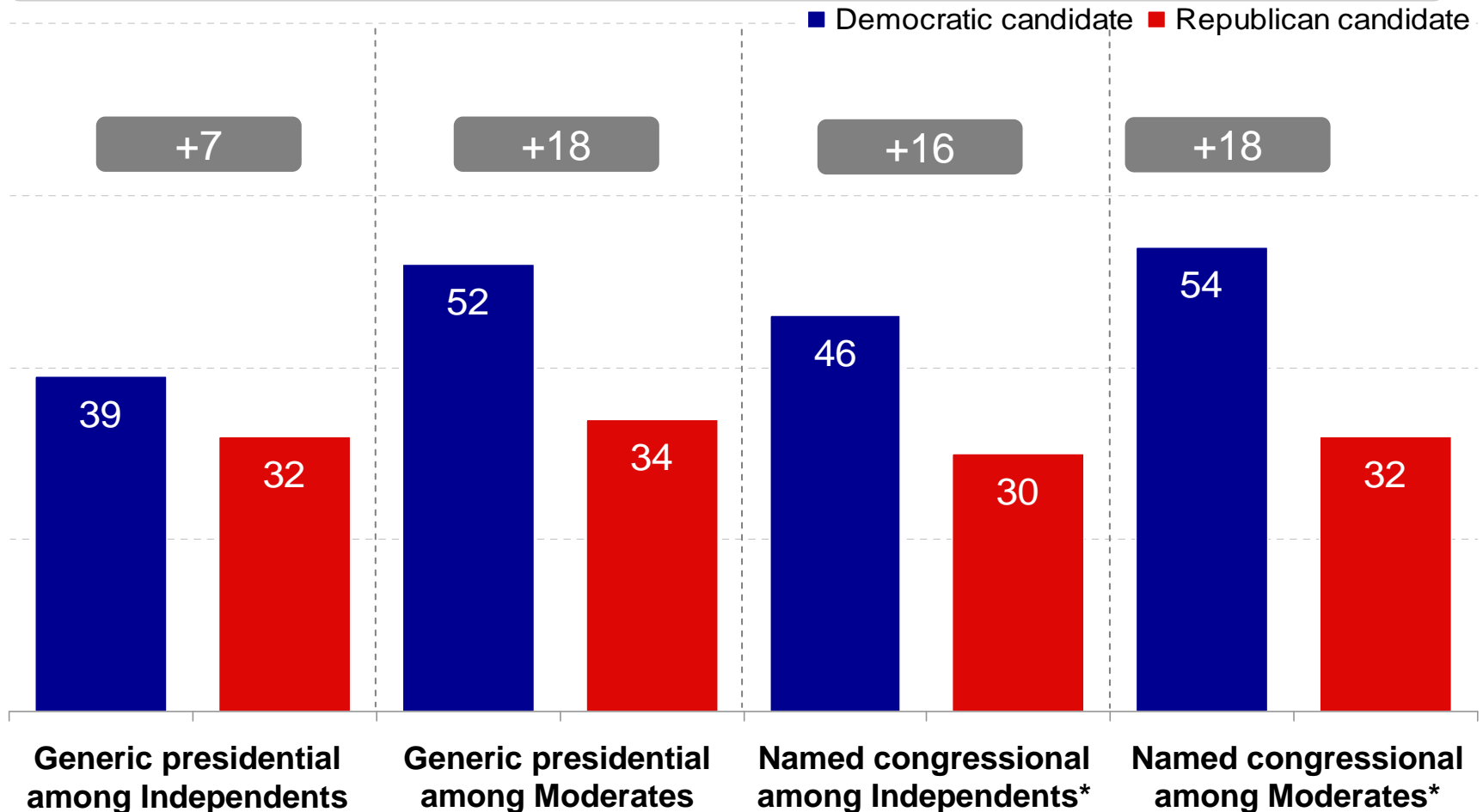
■ Current Republican congressional vote (named)

■ Current Republican Presidential vote



Republicans still lose the center

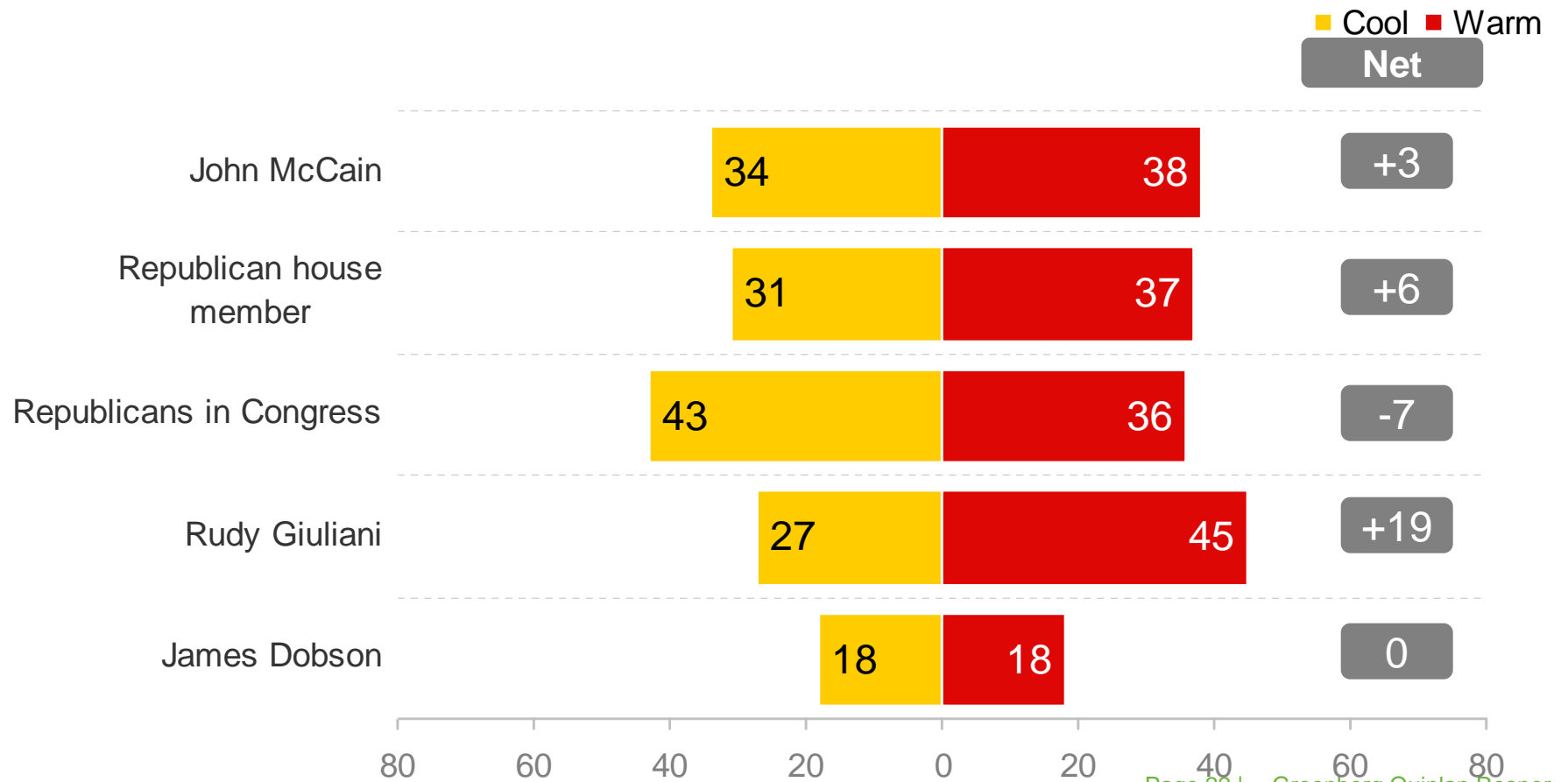
I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the election in 2008, if the election for president/Congress were held today, for whom would you vote, the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into named congressional and paired with generic candidate for opposing party

Giuliani strong, other Republicans struggle

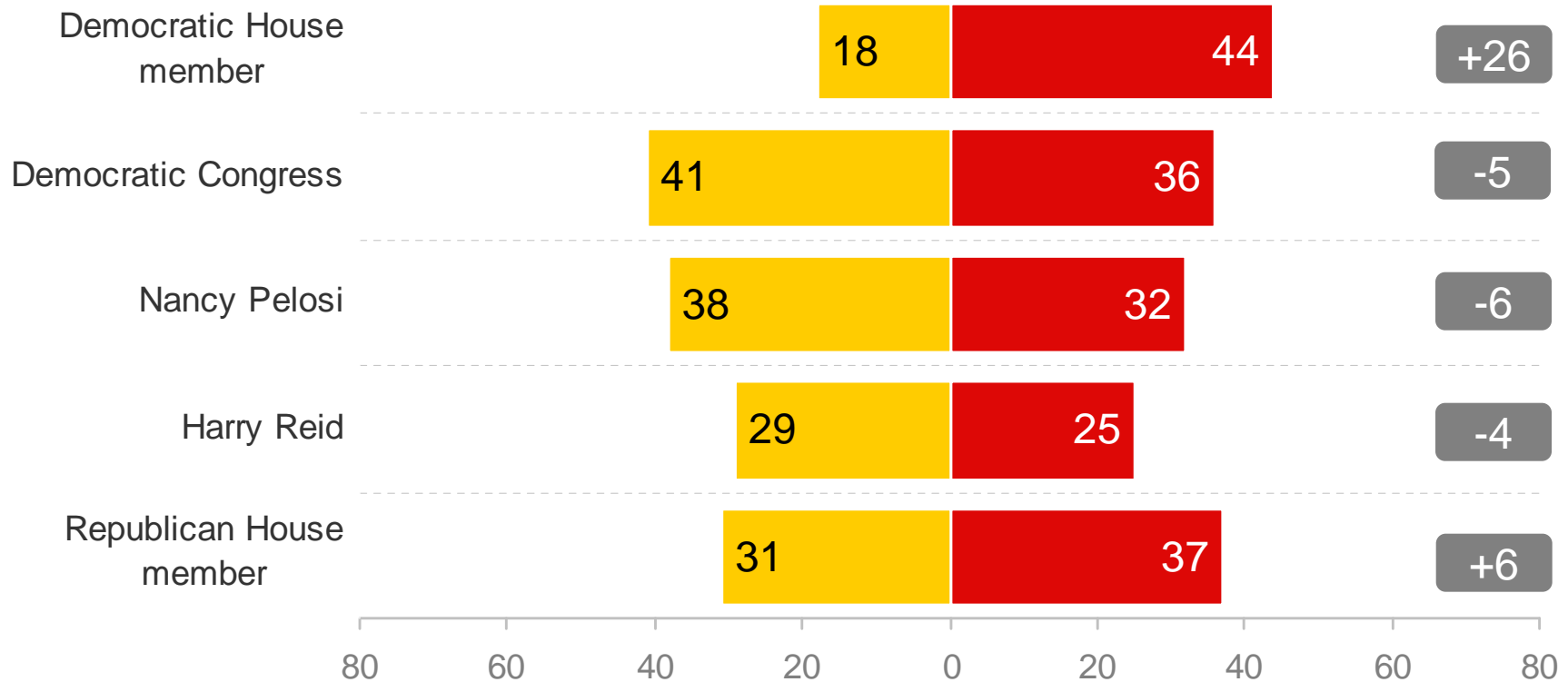
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Early Democratic reviews mixed, though individual Democratic incumbents strong

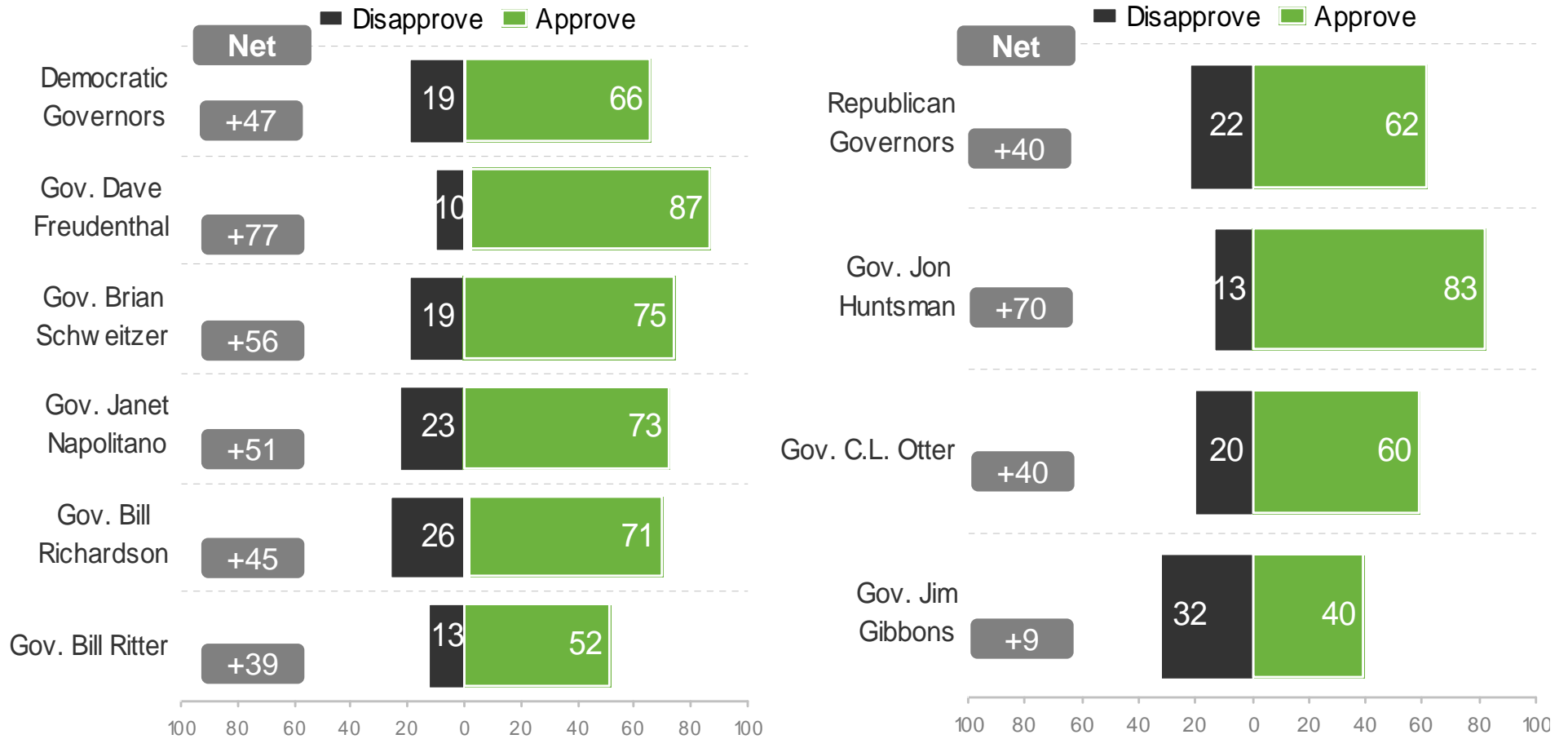
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

■ Cool ■ Warm
Net



Democratic governors are popular

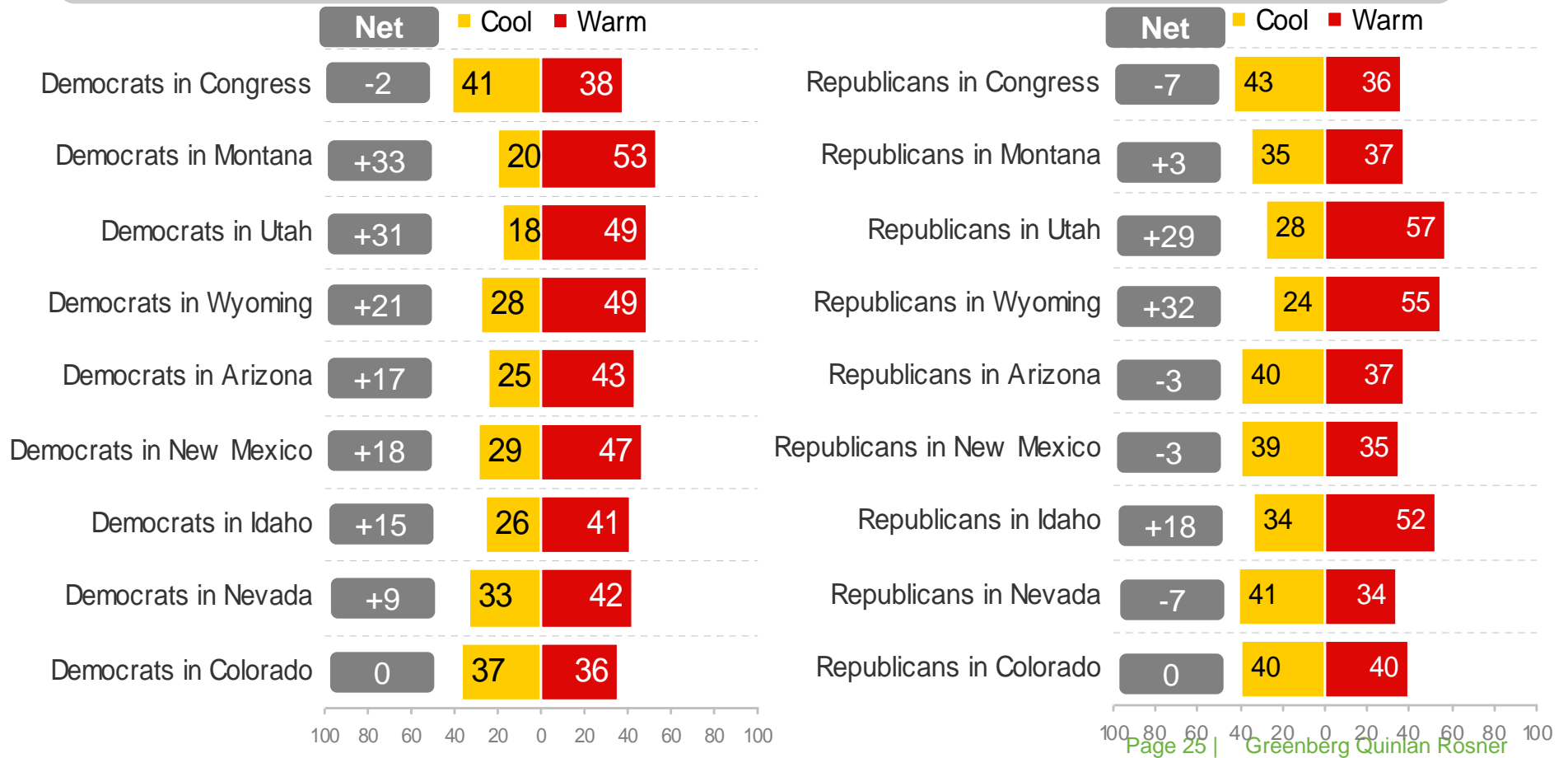
Do you approve or disapprove of the way (Governor)* is handling his/her job as Governor?



*The sample size in each state is 200 or less

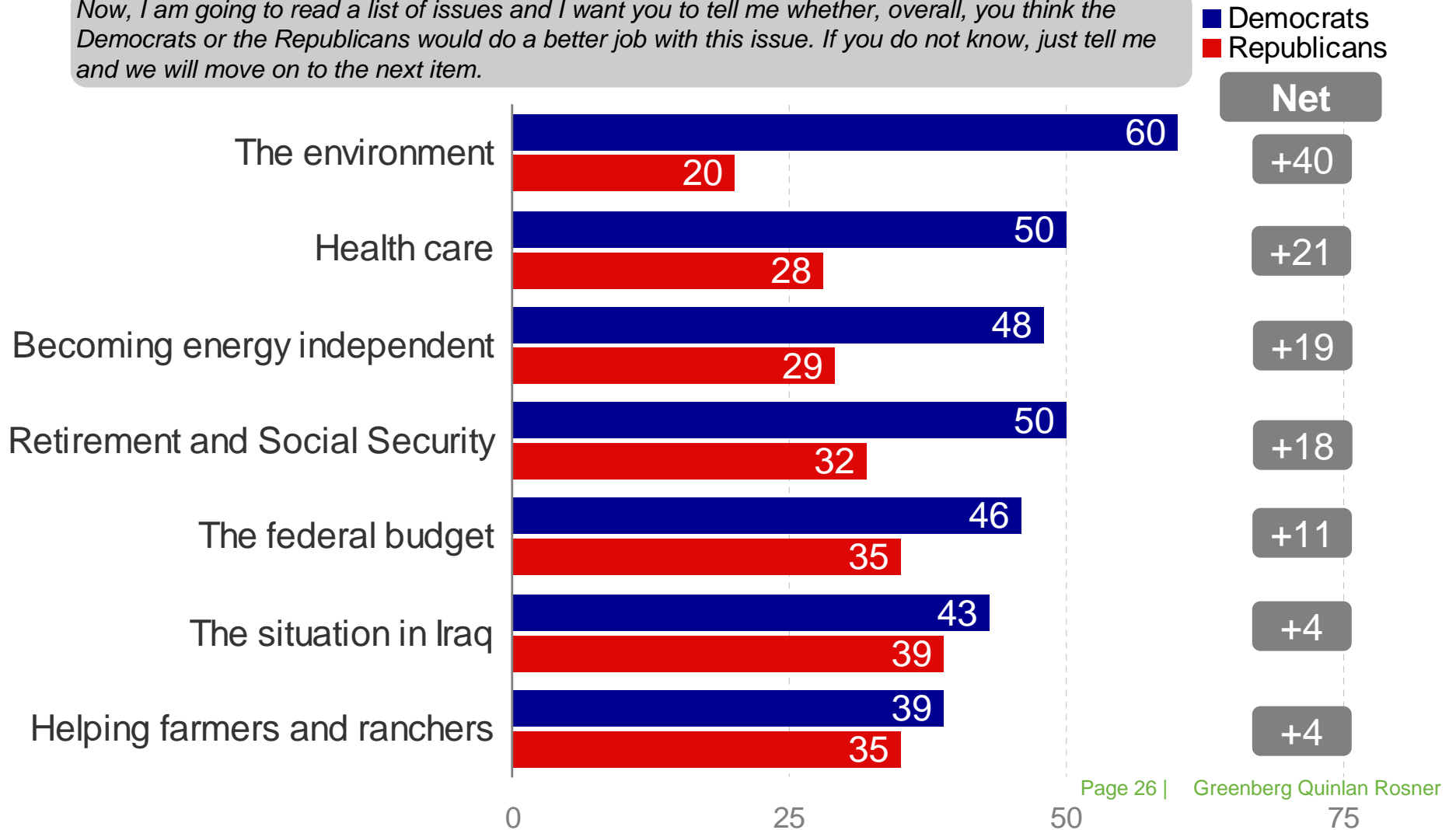
Local parties are relatively popular

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.



Democrats strong on environment, health care and budget

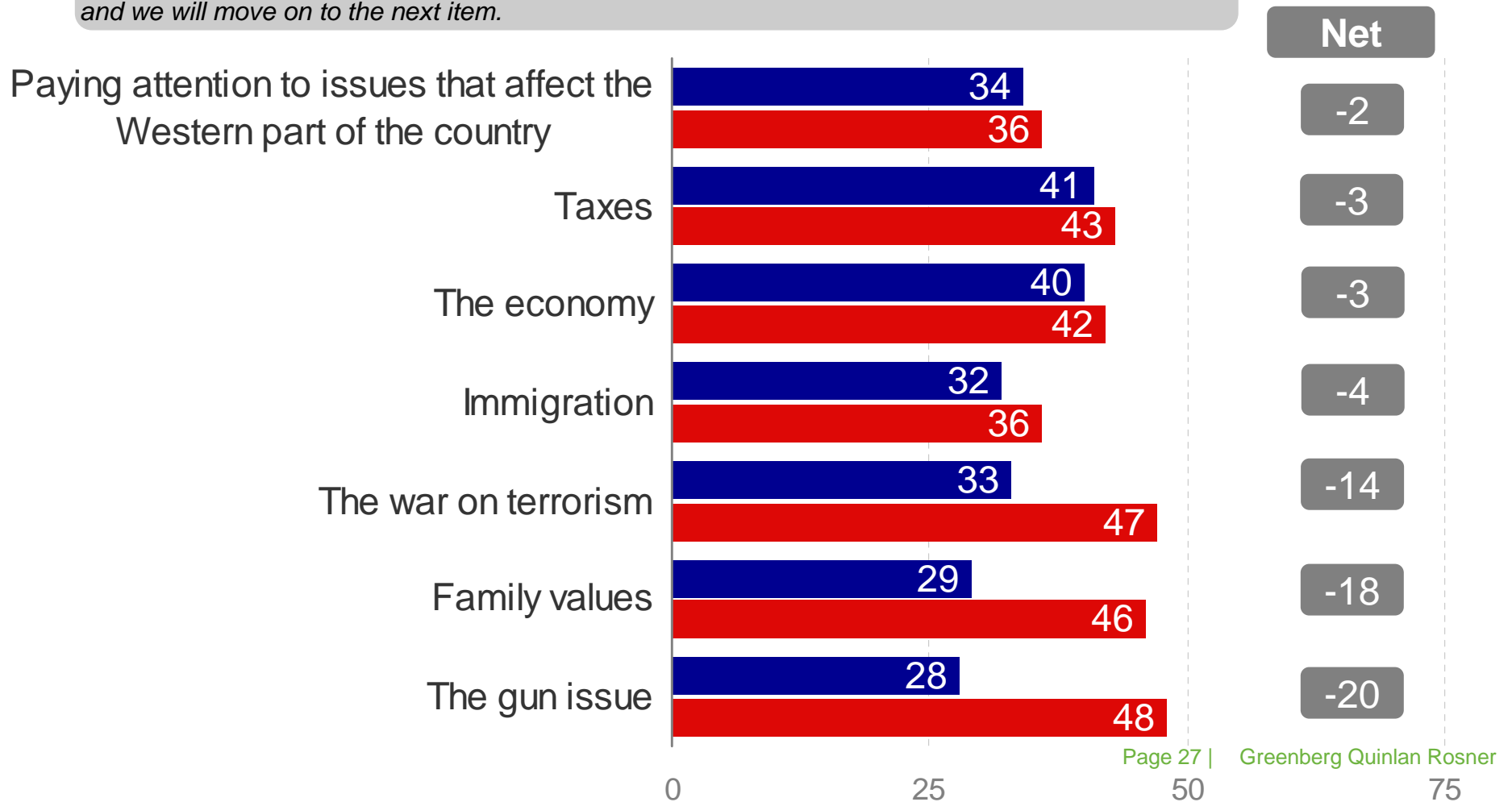
Now, I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.



Parties competitive on immigration and “western” issues

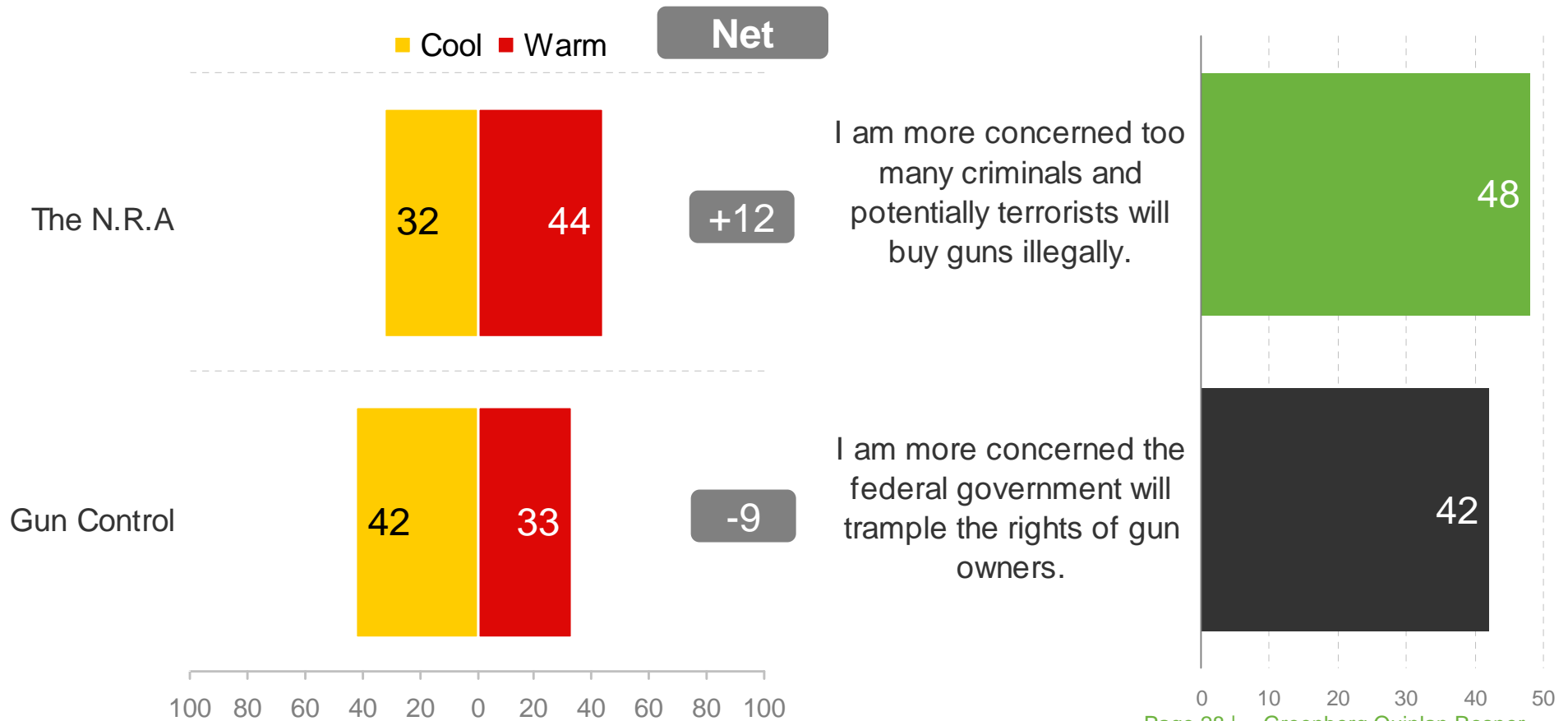
Now, I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.

■ Democrats
■ Republicans



Gun issue probably better left quiet

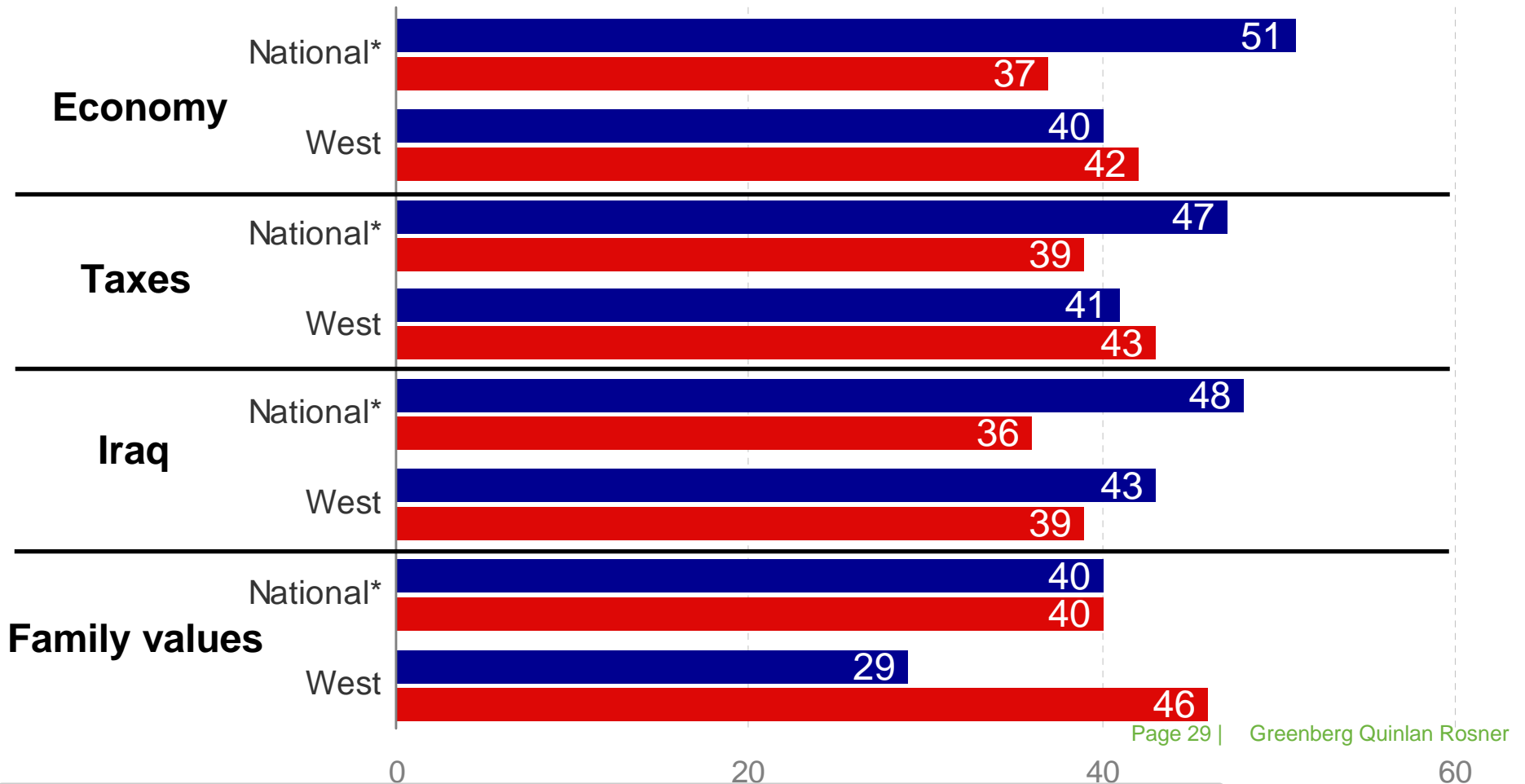
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Compared to national numbers, Democrats do less well on the economy, values and Iraq

Now, I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.

■ Democrats
■ Republicans



Note*: National data from Democracy Corps Survey conducted October 15-17, 2006 of 1,000 likely voters

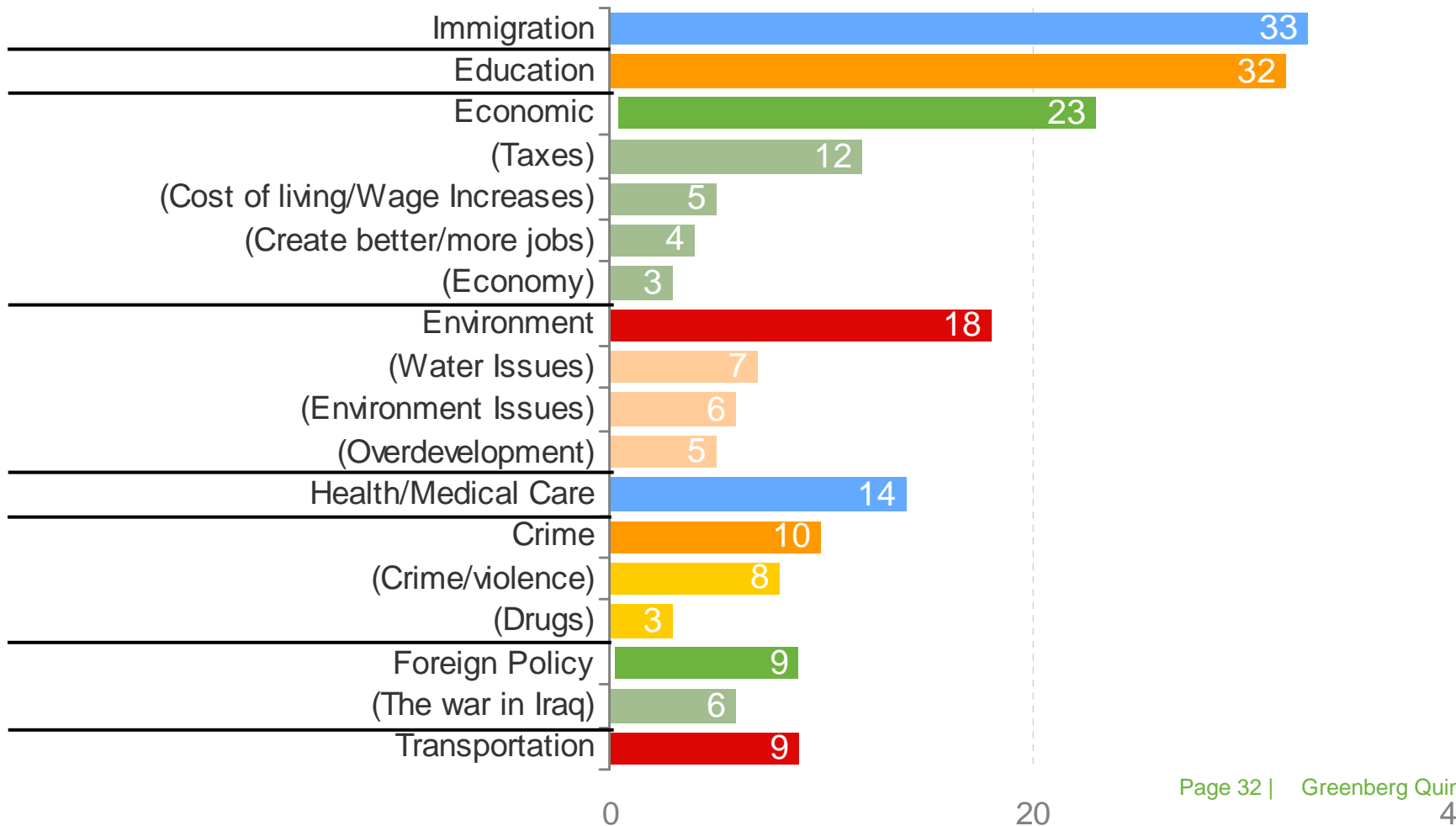
Western agenda and political engagement

Key findings

- **Immigration is a much bigger issue here, but reaction to this problem reflects western voters' pragmatism**
- **The environment also looms large and represents great opportunity for Democrats.**
- **Western voters are frustrated with the war, but among Anglos are willing to give the President's plan a chance.**

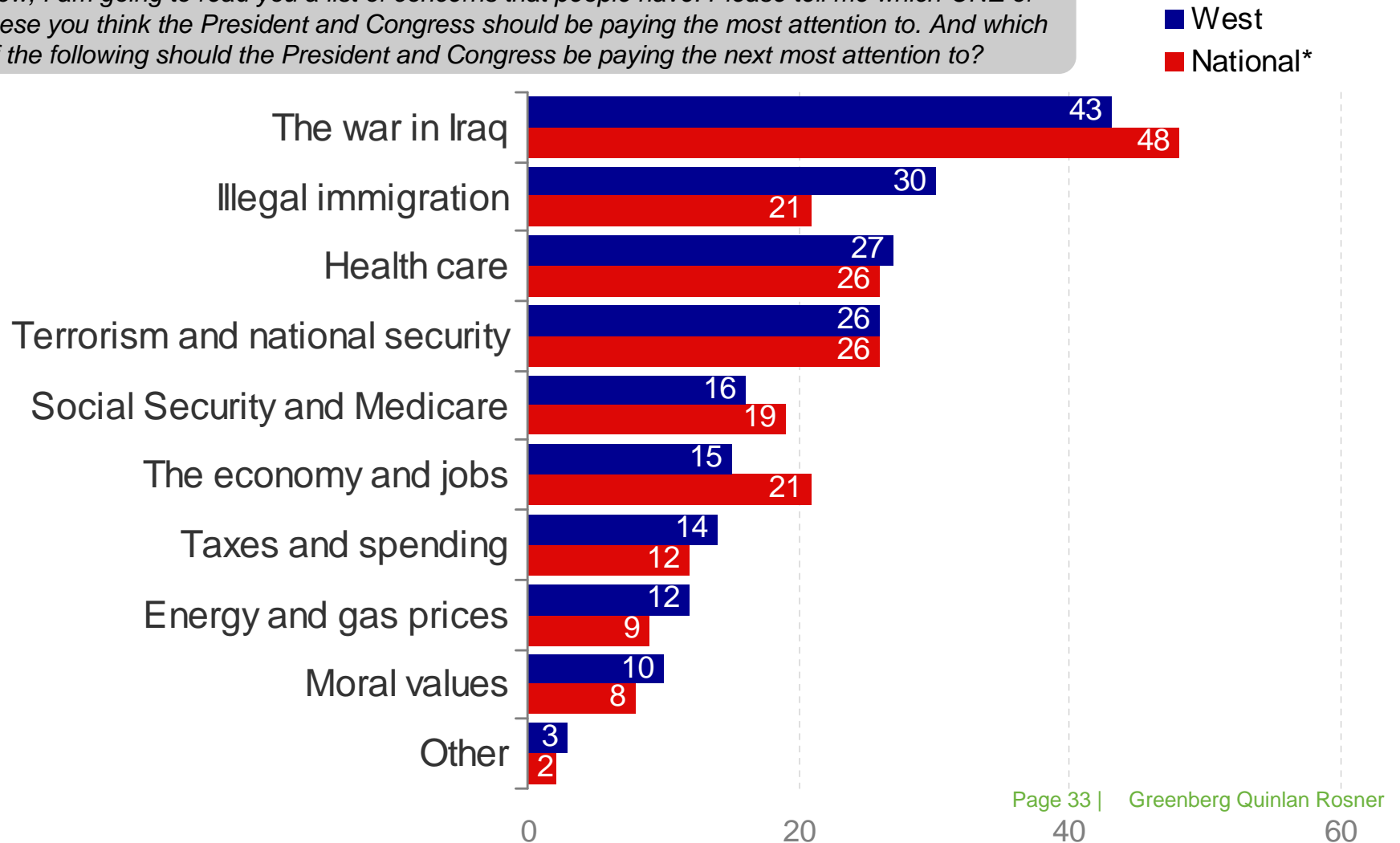
Immigration is the leading volunteered local issue

Thinking specifically about (state) and this part of the country in general, what two or three issues would you most like to see your elected leaders do something about? (OPEN-ENDED)



Western agenda: Iraq and immigration lead list of national priorities

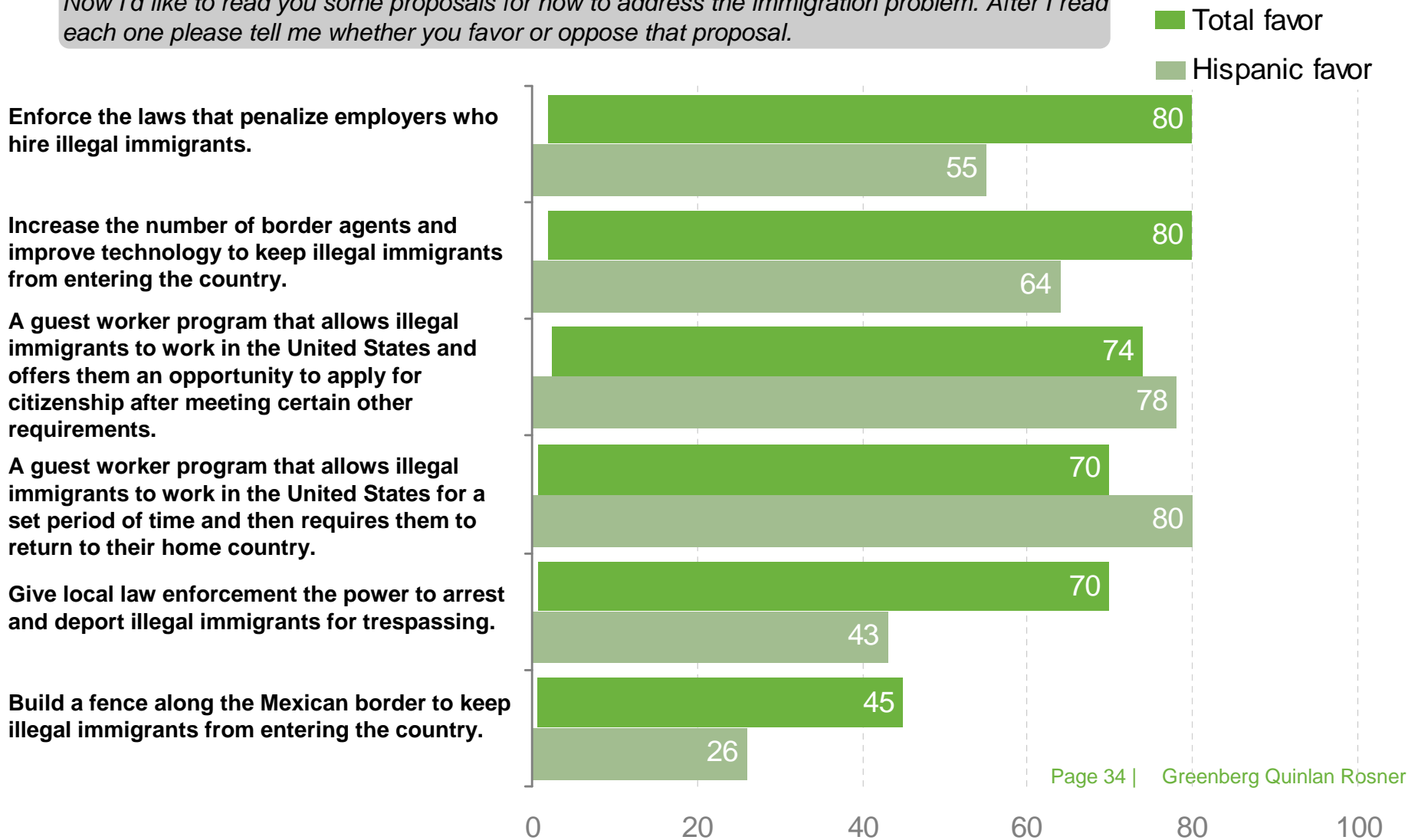
Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that people have. Please tell me which ONE of these you think the President and Congress should be paying the most attention to. And which of the following should the President and Congress be paying the next most attention to?



Note*: National data from Democracy Corps Survey conducted January 14-16, 2007 of 1,000 likely voters

Immigration: voters reject a fence, support path to citizenship

Now I'd like to read you some proposals for how to address the immigration problem. After I read each one please tell me whether you favor or oppose that proposal.



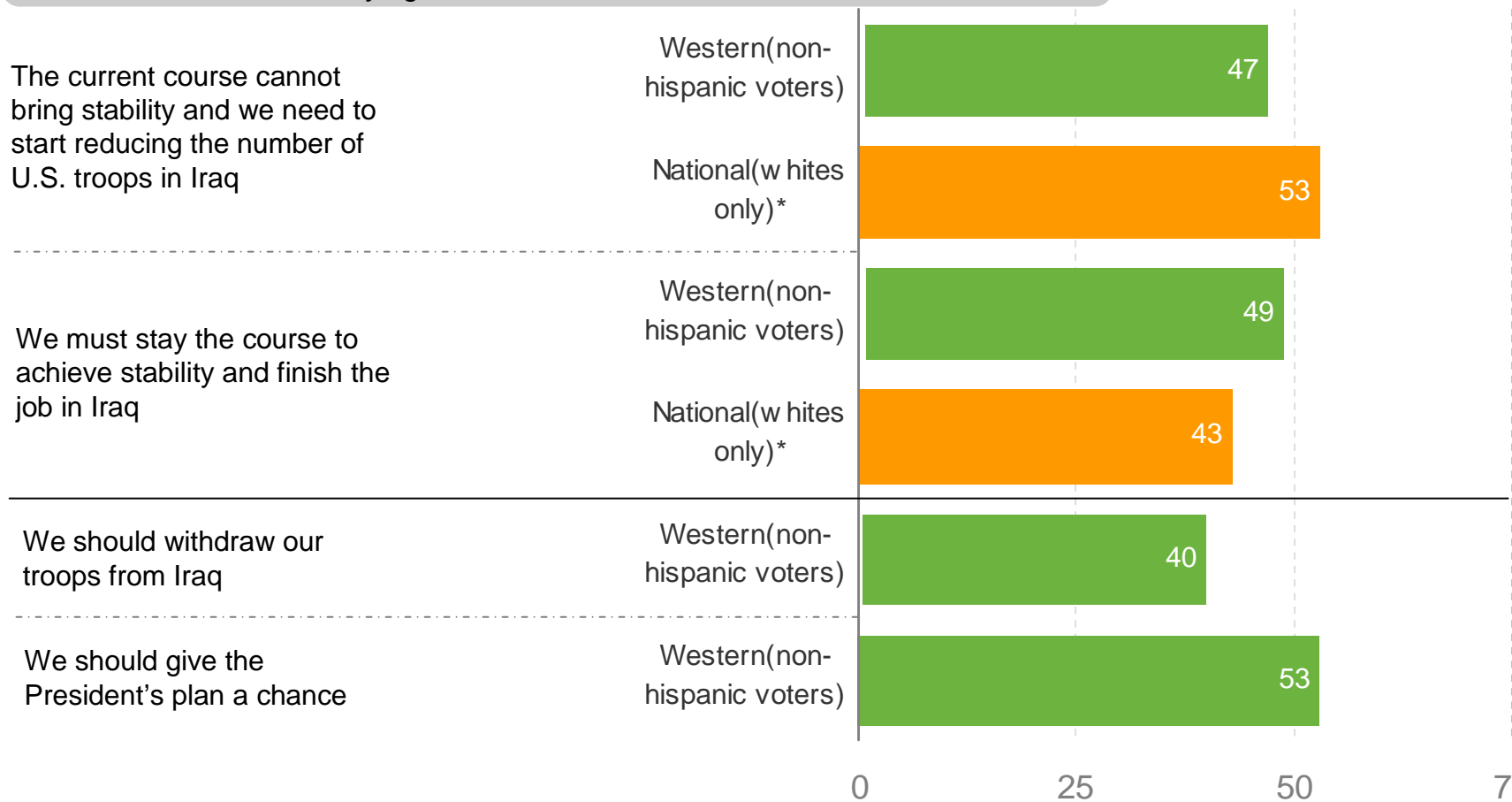
Western voters support comprehensive approach

Now I am going to read you some things two candidates said in their campaign for Congress. After I read these descriptions, please tell me which one you would support.

	Hispanic support	Anglo support
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who wants to get something done on immigration now, including cracking down on businesses that hire illegal immigrants, improving border security with technology and paying back our communities for the cost of the failed federal immigration policy. He also supports a guest working program and a path to citizenship for immigrants who follow the rules and pay a fine.</i>	66	48
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who supports a zero tolerance policy on illegal immigration including tougher border security, building a fence along the border with Mexico, denying citizenship to children born of illegal immigrants and preventing illegal immigrants from abusing our critical services like health care and Social Security.</i>	24	39
Candidate A - Candidate B	+42	+9
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who wants to get something done on immigration now, including cracking down on businesses that hire illegal immigrants, improving border security with technology and paying back local communities and governments for the cost of the failed federal immigration policy.</i>	63	45
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who supports a zero tolerance policy on illegal immigration including tougher border security, building a fence along the border with Mexico, denying citizenship to children born of illegal immigrants and preventing illegal immigrants from abusing our critical services like health care and Social Security.</i>	28	41
Candidate A - Candidate B	+35	+4

Anglos frustrated with war, but divided on best course.

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



Note*: National data from Democracy Corps survey conducted March 20-25 2007 of 1017 likely voters

For now, Democratic message more effective without funding cutoff

Now I am going to read you some things two candidates said in their campaign for Congress. After I read these descriptions, please tell me which one you would support.

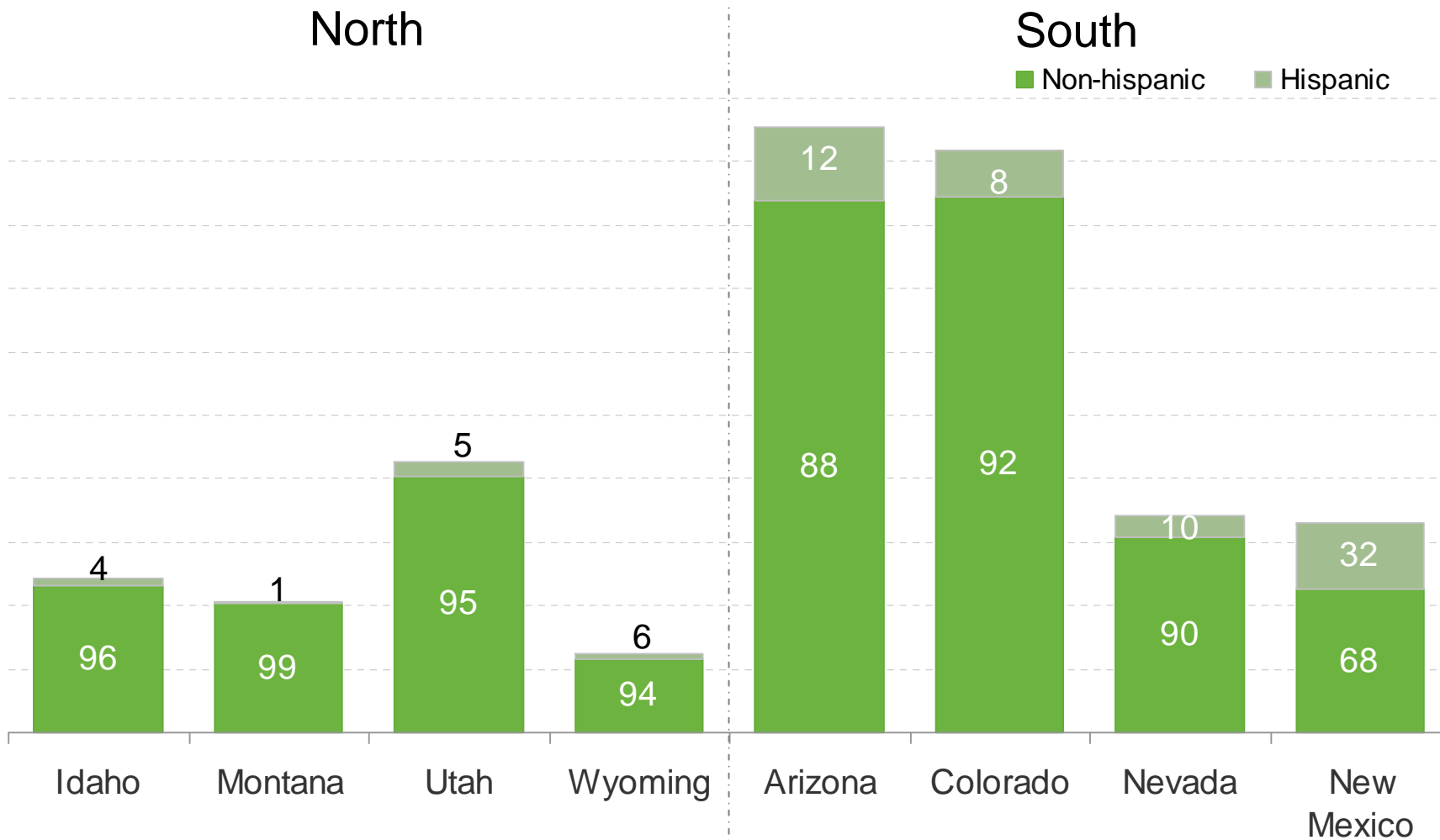
	Support strongly	Total
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat who says that we can no longer wait while more and more Americans die in a religious civil war in Iraq. He will support changes that bring our troops home as soon as they can responsibly withdraw.</i>	42	51
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who supports changes to make victory in Iraq possible. He believes Iraq is the front line in the war on terrorism and opposes measures that leave our troops vulnerable by taking away their funding.</i>	34	41
Candidate A - Candidate B	+8	+9
<i>Candidate A is a Democrat says that we can no longer wait while more and more Americans die in a religious civil war in Iraq. He will support changes that bring our soldiers home as soon as possible, including cutting off funding for the President's escalation of troops in Iraq.</i>	35	45
<i>Candidate B is a Republican who supports changes to make victory in Iraq possible. He believes Iraq is the front line in the war on terrorism and opposes measures that leave our troops vulnerable by taking away their funding.</i>	38	48
Candidate A - Candidate B	-3	-3

Life and Politics among Hispanic Voters

Key statistics: Life in the Hispanic West

- **Most Hispanics, of course, live in the southern tier and nearly half live in either Arizona or Colorado.**
- **Most identify their Hispanic origin as Mexican with only a handful from Central America and Hispanic island community.**
- **Most speak mostly English (24 percent) or only English (41 percent) at home. Similarly, most watch English-speaking television (75 percent only English or more English than Spanish), something to keep in mind as we think about outreach in the Hispanic community. It is notable that while Hispanic respondents were given the option of conducting the survey in Spanish, only 34 choose Spanish out of 290.**
- **An 85 percent majority were born in this country and most of these are at least third generation Americans.**
- **Compared to the Anglo population, Hispanic voters earn less, struggle more with debt, attend church more regularly, are less likely to own a gun and slightly more likely to have a family member serving in Iraq or Afghanistan.**

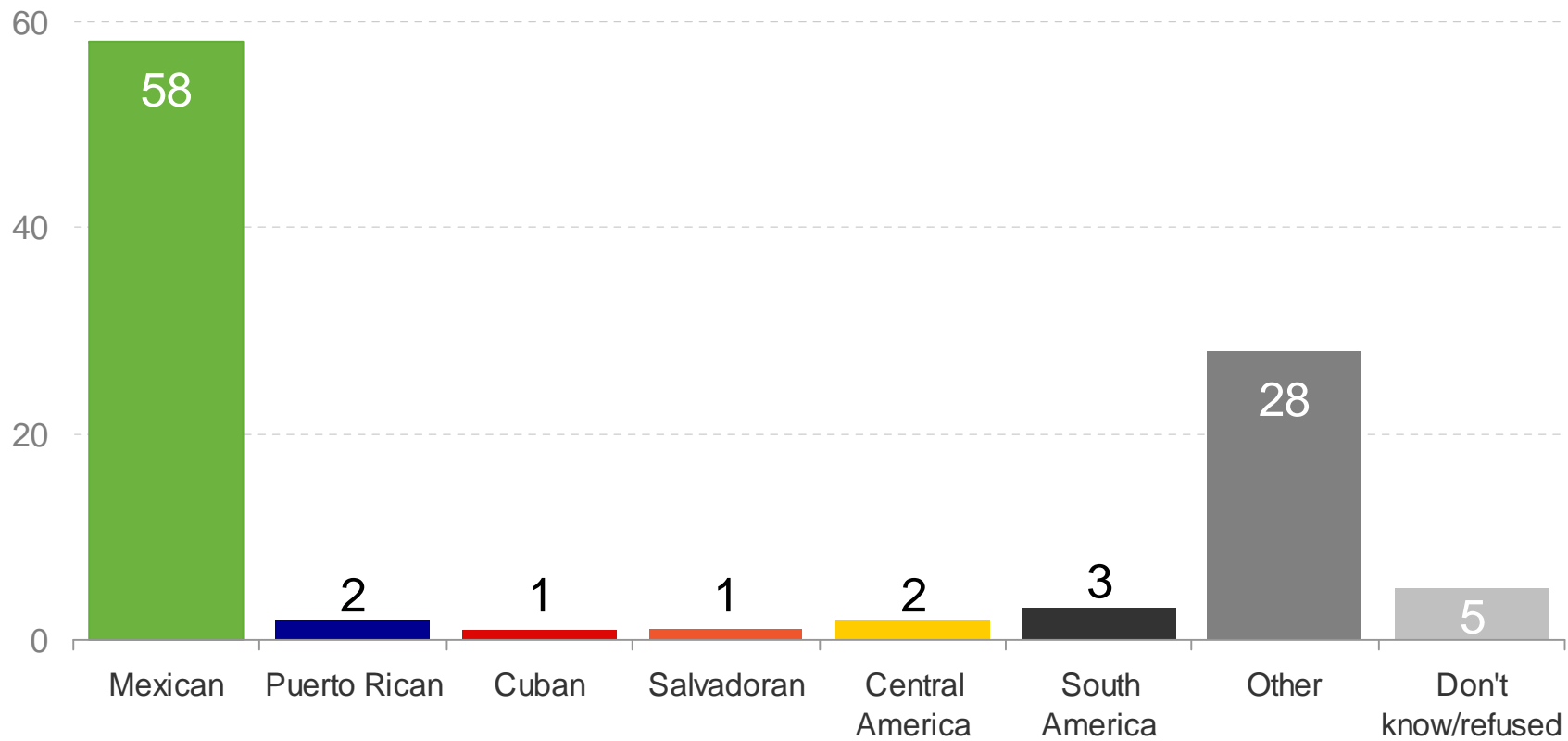
Where Hispanics live



Note: All values of likely voters

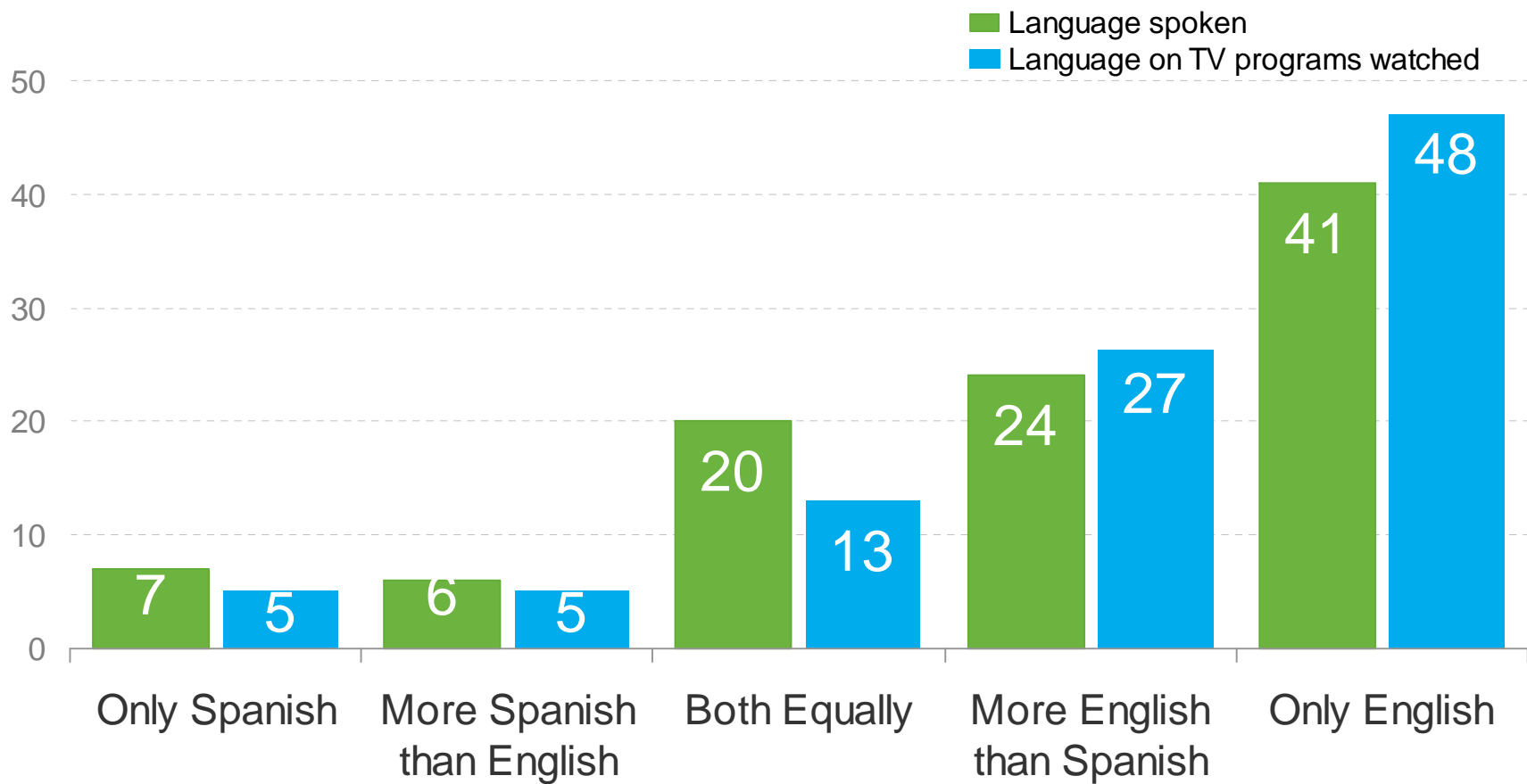
Hispanic Population by Country of Origin

Would you describe your Hispanic origin as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Salvadoran or are you and your ancestors from another country? Are you and your ancestors from Central America, South American or somewhere else?



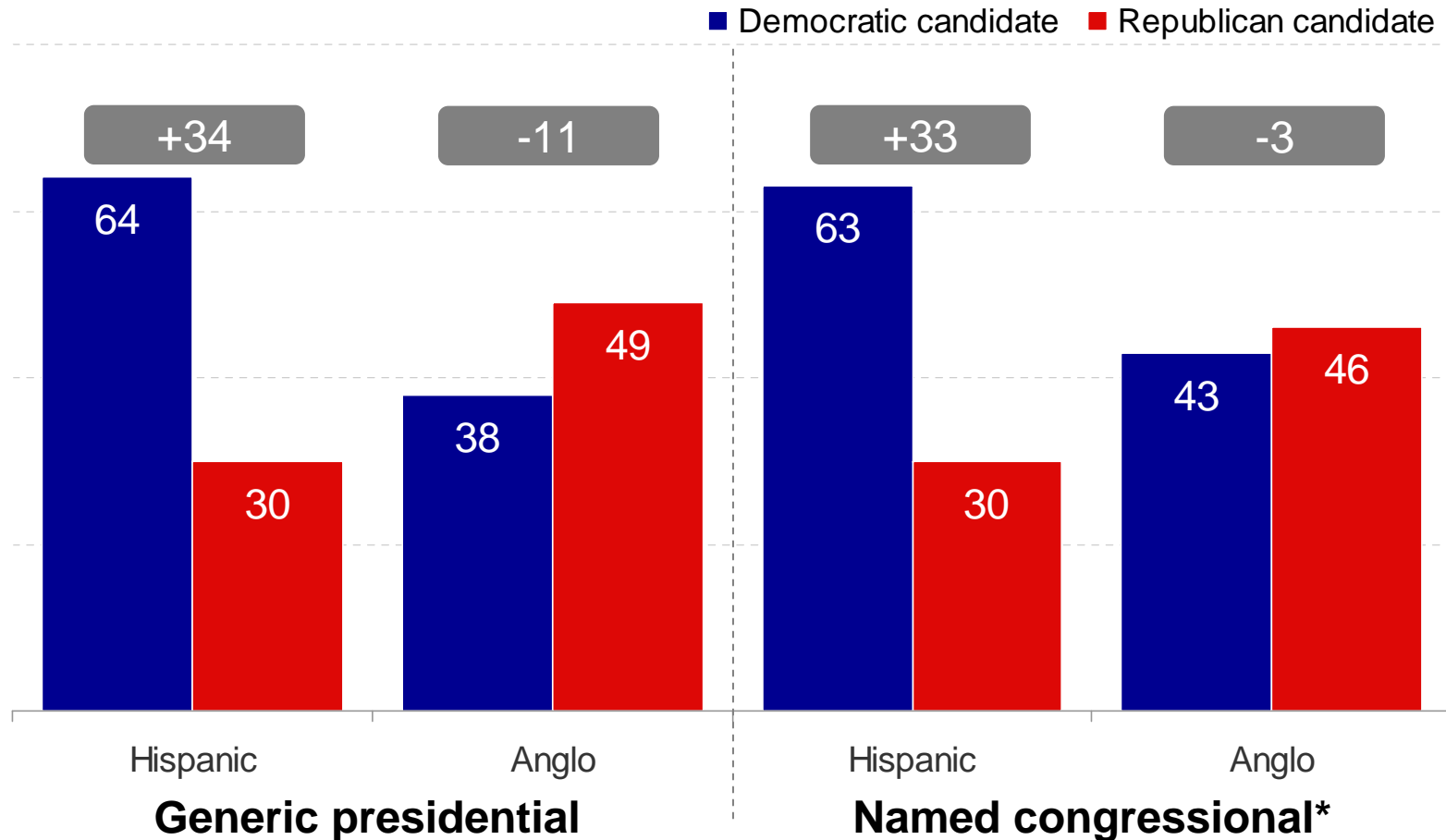
Language Spoken in Hispanic Community

What language do you usually speak at home? In what language are the TV programs you usually watch? Only Spanish, more Spanish than English, both equally, more English than Spanish, or only English?



Hispanics Make Up Strong Democratic Vote

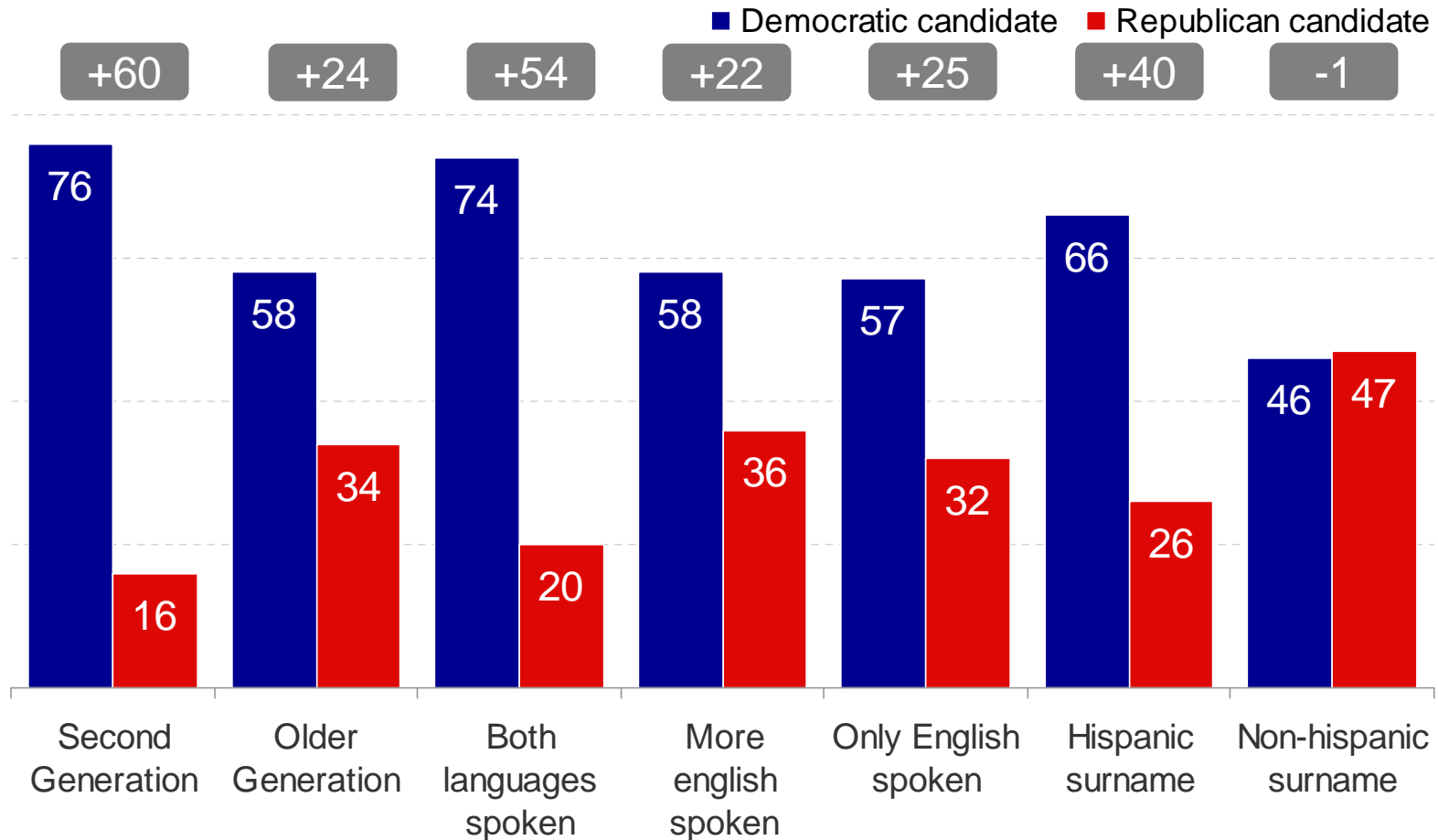
I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the election in 2008, if the election for president/Congress were held today, for whom would you vote, the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



Note: Actual candidate names inserted into named congressional and paired with generic candidate for opposing party*

Political Impact of Culturalization

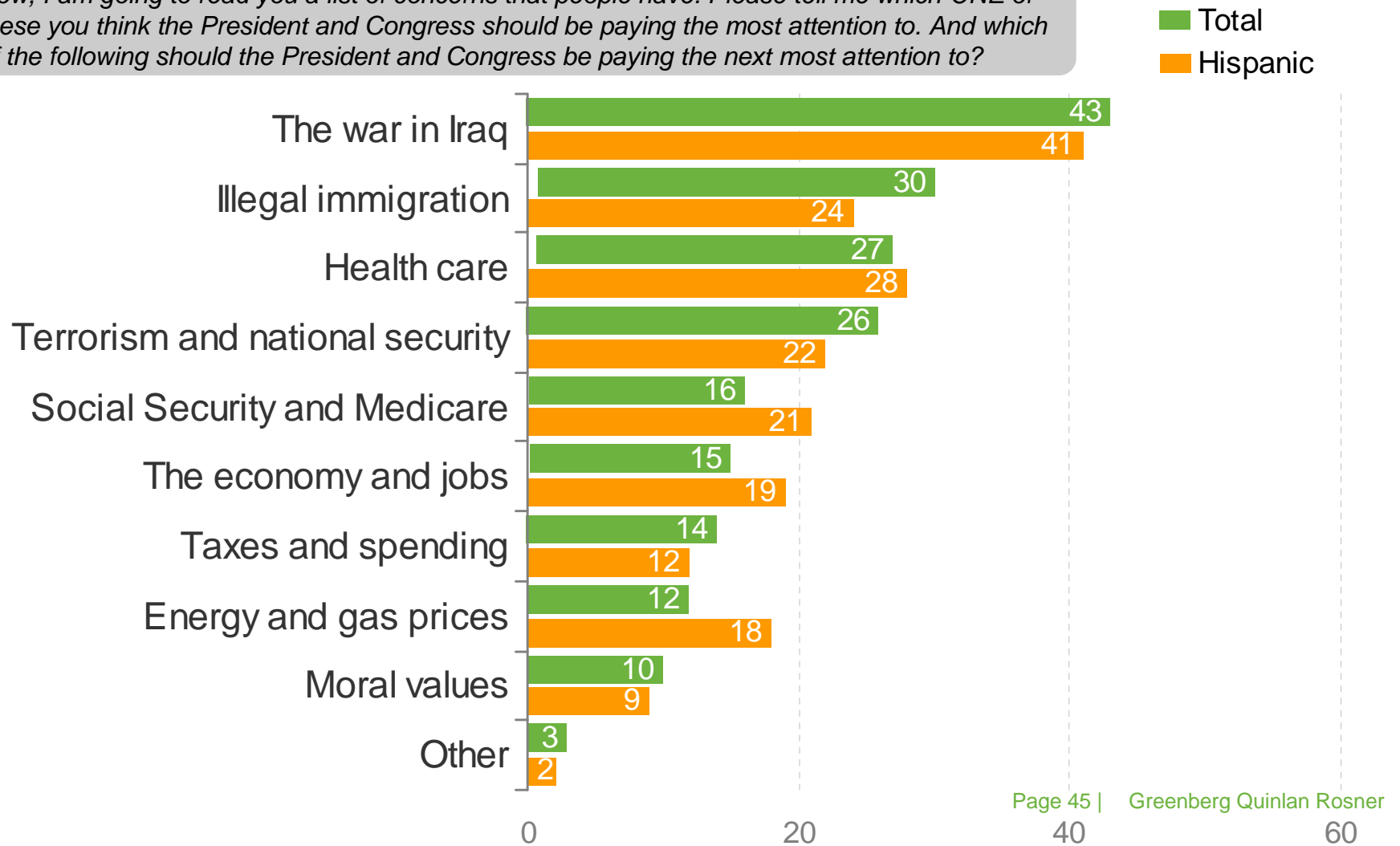
I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the election in 2008, if the election for Congress were held today, for whom would you vote, the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



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Issue Agenda Similar

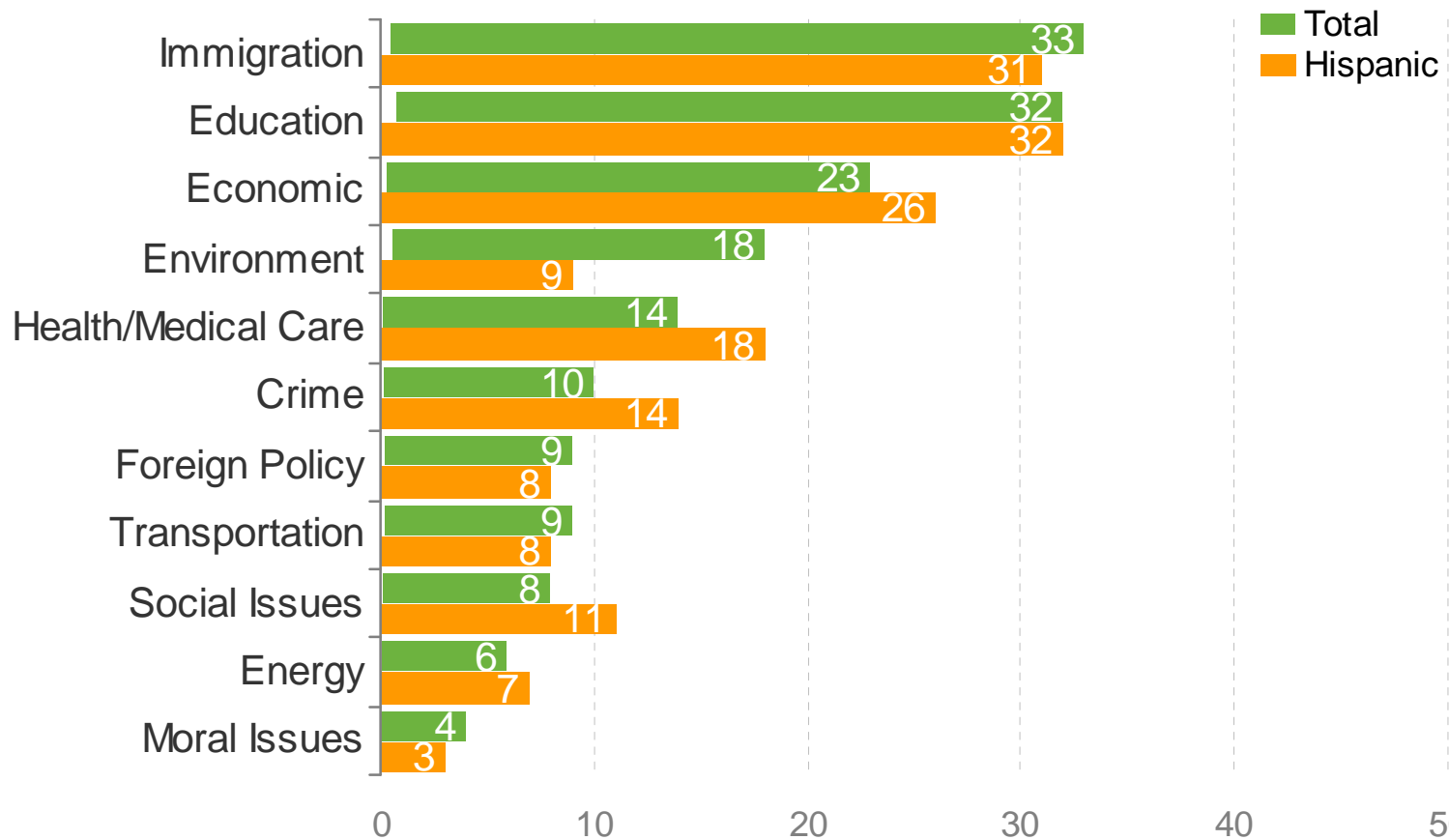
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Note*: National data from Democracy Corps Survey conducted January 14-16, 2007 of 1,000 likely voters

Immigration and education leading volunteered issues

Thinking specifically about (state) and this part of the country in general, what two or three issues would you most like to see your elected leaders do something about? (OPEN-ENDED)



Hispanics Oppose Fence and Being Targeted by Local Police

Now I'd like to read you some proposals for how to address the immigration problem. After I read each one please tell me whether you favor or oppose that proposal.

A guest worker program that allows illegal immigrants to work in the United States for a set period of time and then requires them to return to their home country.

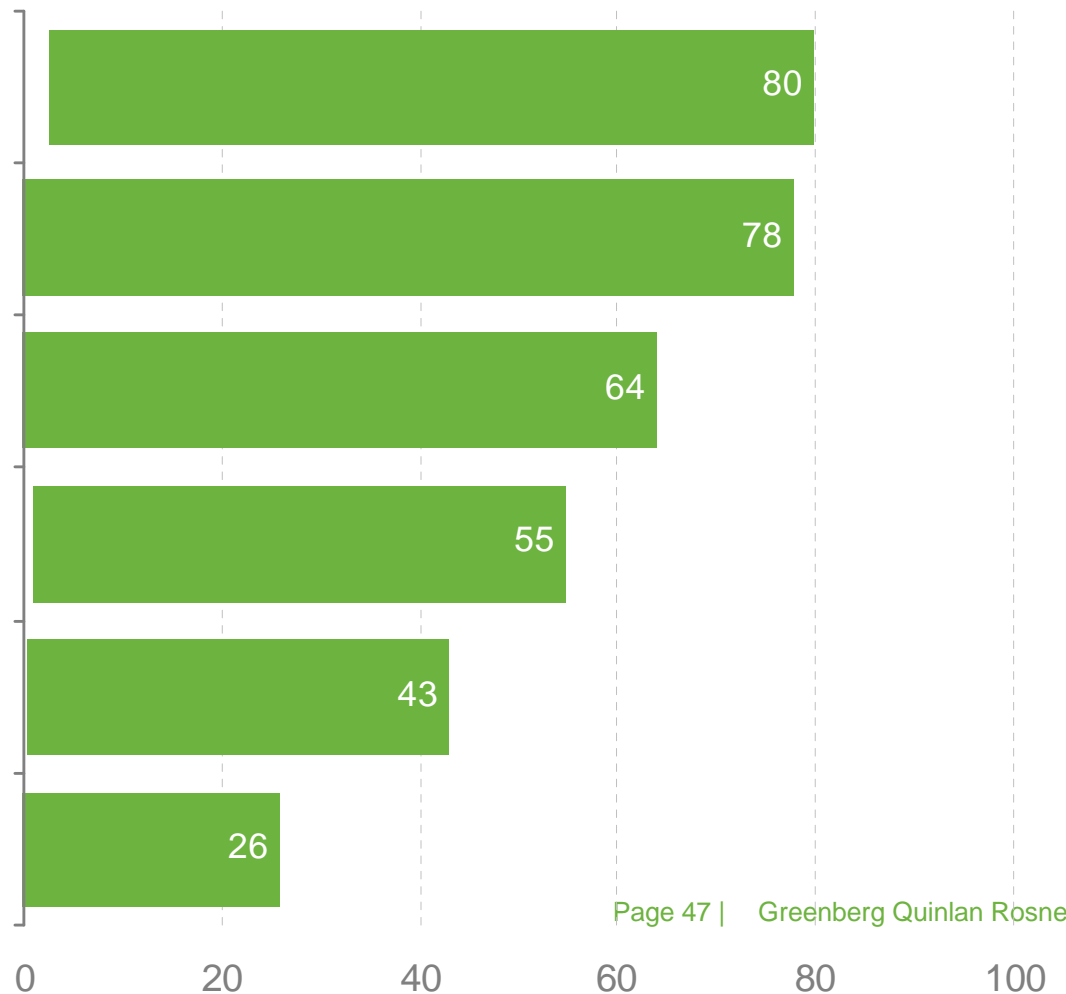
A guest worker program that allows illegal immigrants to work in the United States and offers them an opportunity to apply for citizenship after meeting certain other requirements.

Increase the number of border agents and improve technology to keep illegal immigrants from entering the country.

Enforce the laws that penalize employers who hire illegal immigrants.

Give local law enforcement the power to arrest and deport illegal immigrants for trespassing.

Build a fence along the Mexican border to keep illegal immigrants from entering the country.



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