

# The Democratic Party and the 2004 Election

► *by* **Mark J. Penn**

**F**ifteen months from the 2004 election, President Bush appears vulnerable, presenting Democrats with a real opportunity. But in order to take back the White House, Democrats must make inroads among suburban and middle-class families with children. This growing segment of the population holds the bulk of swing voters—and favors Republicans by increasingly wide margins. In fact, in terms of the percentage of voters who identify themselves as Democrats, the Democratic Party is currently in its weakest position since the dawn of the New Deal. Exciting the Democratic base alone will not bring enough voters into the Democratic fold. The heart of the middle class—suburban parents—will decide whether a Democrat can defeat George W. Bush in 2004.

Apart from the expanding Latino population, the natural trends of growth in the electorate—the decline of manufacturing jobs and the shift from cities to suburbs and exurbs, and the dramatic increases in college education and white-collar and professional

jobs—do not favor the Democrats. Quite the contrary; those trends have generally helped the Republicans, and will continue to do so unless the Democratic Party broadens its appeal. While the Democratic Party is seen as having the best platform for blue-collar workers and members of labor unions, they are not seen as a party with a program for suburbanites, white-collar workers, and professionals.

The good news is Democrats already have a set of principles that appeal to all of these groups: the New Democrat agenda.

Moderate and liberal Democrats alike support the centrist solutions proposed in the New Democrat agenda. So do married, suburban swing voters. If the party rallies behind New Democratic principles, Democrats have a real chance to take back the White House in 2004.

This information was gathered from a poll conducted by Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates between June 29 and July 1, 2003 with 1,225 likely 2004 voters. The margin of error is 2.8 percent.

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### The highlights of the survey include:

- ▶ **Democrats will have to neutralize the “security gap”—the wide chasm between the parties on the threshold issue for the presidency.** Many of society’s most vulnerable voters, including seniors, place high importance on security. Swing voters are unlikely to vote for a Democrat unless he can offer a vision to compete with Republicans when it comes to national defense and homeland security. In the past, Democrats like President Clinton had to neutralize the Republicans on crime and welfare reform to be heard on other issues. Today, Democrats must be strong on security to be heard on the economy.
- ▶ **Voters on the whole have mixed impressions of the Democratic Party.** The ability of the Democratic Party to reach the growing segments of the electorate, and particularly married voters with kids at home, is hurt by current perceptions that Democrats stand for big government, want to raise taxes too high, are too liberal, and are beholden to special interest groups. These perceptions, which rel-
- egated Democrats to the sidelines in the 1980s, once again put the party at a disadvantage as it attempts to woo swing men and married men who currently lean heavily toward the Republican column.
- ▶ **Key general election voters and even Democratic primary voters show a higher level of confidence in moderate Democrats than in liberal Democrats.** This is true on a favorability scale and on trust in handling domestic issues like the economy, health care, and education; fiscal issues like taxes and government spending; and national security and homeland defense.
- ▶ **The underlying values of the New Democrat agenda draw even stronger support in post-9/11 America.** The New Democrat agenda remains central to expanding the party’s appeal to moderates, especially among male swing voters. The agenda is also received positively by liberals.

## ▷ The Poll

### Bush is Vulnerable

In the polling conducted in early July, President Bush carries a strong favorability rating of 66 percent and a job approval of 64 percent. However, this does not necessarily translate to strong support at the ballot box. When voters are asked whether Bush deserves to be reelected or if it is time to give someone else a chance, Bush is below the magic 50 percent threshold, and 42 percent of voters think it is time to give somebody else a chance to be president.

**Q. Do you think President Bush deserves to be reelected or is it time to give somebody else a chance?**

ALL	MEN	WOMEN	DEM	REP	IND
48/42	52/38	43/46	14/74	86/7	45/43

In another sign of concern for President Bush, less than a majority of voters overall think the country and the national economy are headed in the right direction. Women, Democrats, and Independents are particularly negative.

**Q. Do you think things in the country are headed in the right direction or off on the wrong track?**

ALL	MEN	WOMEN	DEM	REP	IND
45/45	51/42	40/47	19/69	77/15	42/48

**Q. Do you think the national economy is headed in the right direction or off on the wrong track?**

ALL	MEN	WOMEN	DEM	REP	IND
39/53	45/47	33/59	17/76	65/26	36/56

Voters’ biggest concern about President Bush is the lack of progress on the economy, health care, the deficit, and education (37 percent much less favorable). Specific main concerns included: Bush’s budget has left students behind (37 percent much less favorable) and tax cuts were stripped from eight million working families (36 percent much less favorable). Another key negative—particularly powerful with swing women—is that Bush claims to be a compassionate conservative, but has sided with his ultra-conservative base time after time (35 percent much less favorable).

**Q. Does this make you more or less favorable to President Bush?**

(More/Less Favorable)

	ALL MUCH LESS FAV. TO GWB	ALL MORE/ LESS FAV TO GWB	SWING MEN	SWING WOMEN
During the Bush presidency, we have lost almost three million jobs, Americans have lost trillions of dollars in the stock market, health care costs are spiraling out of control, and budget deficits are exploding.	37	32/56	31/57	32/59
President Bush promised under his education plan “no child gets left behind,” but his budget is leaving many children behind. He proposed the smallest increase for education in seven years at a time when states, cities, and towns are struggling to find money for schools.	37	31/60	30/57	30/59
President Bush has said he wants to put money in the pockets of all Americans, but his recent tax cut left out eight million working-class people.	36	33/59	31/58	22/65
Since President Bush took office, we have lost over two million jobs, consumer confidence is the lowest it has been in a decade, and the stock market has yet to recover. All President Bush can propose is irresponsible tax cuts, which will have no impact on improving the economy or creating jobs, but will lead to chronic budget deficits.	35	32/57	32/64	30/56
President Bush told us he is a moderate and a new, compassionate kind of conservative. But Bush has sided with his ultra-conservative base against the interests of mainstream America, pursuing an economic policy that has put millions of Americans back into poverty.	35	31/58	29/62	22/63

## The Democratic Party Needs to Expand its Reach

Among middle-class voters, the Democratic Party is a shadow of its former self. Half a century ago, a near majority of voters identified themselves as part of the Democratic Party. Today, that number has declined to roughly one-third of all voters.

DEMOCRATIC ID % OF THE ELECTORATE**	1952	1958	1968	1974	1984	1994	2001
	47	49	45	38	37	34	33

\*\*These numbers are part of the National Election Studies series conducted by the University of Michigan.

The main decline has been due to a massive defection among white voters, particularly men. Today, only 22 percent of white men identify themselves as Democratic voters and only 32 percent of white women do the same. Blacks continue to remain stalwarts of the party, while Hispanics are now split between Democrats and Independents.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION BY RACE	ALL	WHITE	WHITE MEN	WHITE WOMEN	BLACK	HISPANIC
Democrat	32	27	22	32	68	48
Republican	30	35	37	32	5	10
Independent	38	39	41	37	27	42

While Democrats have a strong foothold with younger white voters and seniors, the problem among middle-aged whites is particularly acute. For example, 35-49 year old white men have a 41/57 percent favorable view of the Democratic Party (-16 percent favorability) and a 70/28 percent view of the Republican Party (+42 percent favorability).

	WHITE VOTERS	CONGRESSIONAL GENERIC HORSERACE	DEMOCRATIC PARTY FAV/UNFAV	REPUBLICAN PARTY FAV/UNFAV
White Men	All	27/46	46/50	68/28
	18-24	40/42	63/36	78/22
	25-34	20/59	42/54	73/19
	35-49	23/48	41/57	70/28
	50-64	28/45	48/47	64/30
	65+	31/37	51/38	55/36
White Women	All	38/39	54/39	59/34
	18-24	33/41	66/30	68/24
	25-34	35/44	48/43	67/26
	35-49	34/46	50/41	63/30
	50-64	42/31	55/38	56/39
	65+	45/35	59/38	50/41

The situation is also troublesome among white voters by income. Democrats only lead among the lowest income category, voters who earn less than \$20,000 per year. Democrats trail among \$50-\$75K white voters by 27/43 percent (-16 percent) and among \$75-\$100K white voters by 33/47 percent (-14 percent).

CONGRESSIONAL HORSE RACE AMONG WHITES BY INCOME	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN
All White	33	42
<\$20K White	44	35
\$20-\$35K White	38	44
\$35-\$50K White	<b>34</b>	<b>40</b>
\$50-\$75K White	<b>27</b>	<b>43</b>
\$75K-\$100K White	<b>33</b>	<b>47</b>
\$100-\$150K White	27	44
\$150K+ White	9	75

## The Electoral Targets of Today

In the polling, voters were read a series of groups in America and asked whether they were part of this group and which party had the best programs for each group. The chart below shows the Democratic Party retains major advantages with the base of its party. Democrats lead Republicans with labor union members, gays, the working poor, and African Americans by well over 40 points.

The party does have an advantage with Hispanics (+22 percent), the fastest-growing minority group, but it is not ideally situated with other key growing segments of the electorate. Voters think Republicans have the best programs for suburbanites (-15 percent), professionals (-21 percent), and white-collar workers (-29 percent).

The increased trend in America toward suburbanization and employment in service industries has been well documented over the years. The polling shows more voters identify themselves as suburban dwellers over city dwellers (47 percent to 37 percent), white collar workers over blue collar workers (43 percent vs. 40 percent), and professionals over working poor (59 percent to 29 percent). Surprisingly, 25 percent of voters said they were small business owners, one point higher than the incidence of labor union members in the electorate.

**Clearly, becoming a growth party will involve limiting the Democratic Party's weakness among suburbanites, professionals, and white-collar workers, while keeping the strong base of labor, African Americans, single women, and blue-collar workers.**

### The Swing Voter

Throughout this article, swing voters are used as a key audience. This group was created by asking voters their voting habits. Voters who said they, "vote for Democratic and Republican candidates with the same frequency" were considered to be swing voters. This represented approximately 33 percent of the total sample. These voters were predominately Independent (swing men 60 percent, swing females 53 percent), moderate (swing men 45 percent, swing female 43 percent), white (swing men 87 percent, swing females 81 percent), slightly upper-middle class earning \$50-\$100k (swing men 26 percent, swing females 23 percent), and Catholic (swing men 26 percent, swing females 20 percent). Interestingly, swing voters are more likely than all voters to have voted for Clinton in 1996 and then Bush in 2000.

Additionally, on the generic congressional ballot, the swing group was completely split. Twenty-eight percent said they would vote for the Democrat, 31 percent said they favored the Republican, and 40 percent said they were unsure.

**Q. Are you a part of this group? Which party has the best programs for this group?**

	<b>% OF AMERICANS WHO SAY THEY ARE PART OF THIS GROUP</b>	<b>ALL VOTERS (% SAYING DEMOCRAT MINUS % SAYING REPUBLICAN) RANKED BY DEM PERFORMANCE</b>
Labor union member	24	+43
Gays	4	+43
The working poor	29	+41
African-Americans	16	+41
Unemployed	14	+29
Single women	23	+26
Blue-collar workers	40	+23
Hispanics	10	+22
Working women	38	+20
Senior citizens	31	+15
City dwellers	37	+12
College students	24	+12
Farmers	16	+12
Parents with children	65	+10
Middle-class Americans	89	+8
Married women	36	+7
Small business owners	25	-5
Lawyers	5	-7
Veterans	24	-10
Married men	35	-10
Suburbanites	47	-15
Professionals	59	-21
White-collar workers	43	-29
Military personnel/Soldiers	22	-37
Gun owners	38	-39

## Venus and Mars on the Democrats

Overall, Democrats have a four-point advantage with women on favorability versus Republicans, but have a 10-point deficit with men. Examining the two parties' favorability by key gender demographics shows that the Democratic Party has its largest edge with senior women (+14 percent) and lags furthest behind with married men (-21 percent) versus the Republican Party. Married women are another trouble spot, with Democrats lagging behind Republicans in favorability by eight points, at 54 percent favorability.

KEY MALE DEMOGRAPHICS & VIEWS OF PARTY	ALL MEN		MARRIED MEN		INDEPENDENT MEN		SENIOR MEN	
	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV
Republican Party	21	62/33	24	<b>68/28</b>	8	57/33	21	55/35
Democratic Party	16	52/44	15	47/49	7	52/39	17	55/38
Democratic Deficit	-5	-10	-9	-21	-1	-5	-4	-

  

KEY FEMALE DEMOGRAPHICS & VIEWS OF PARTY	ALL WOMEN		MARRIED WOMEN		INDEPENDENT WOMEN		SENIOR WOMEN	
	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV
Republican Party	19	56/38	20	62/34	8	52/38	24	47/44
Democratic Party	22	60/35	18	54/41	8	57/33	32	<b>61/36</b>
Democratic Deficit	+3	+4	-2	-8	-	+5	+8	<b>+14</b>

On the generic horserace, there is a similar story, with married men and women remaining a key problem area for Democrats.

DEMOGRAPHICS	GENERIC HORSERACE QUESTION DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN	DEM MARGIN
All	40/37	+3
Married Men	29/45	-16
Married Women	40/41	-1
Independent Men	30/30	—
Senior Men	37/35	+2
Independent Women	37/24	+13
Senior Women	46/33	+13

## The Life Cycle Impact

The polling shows marriage and child-rearing are key life cycle events in dictating attitudes toward political parties. While single voters are key pillars in the Democratic Party, married voters with kids at home have become the base of the Republican Party. Single voters with kids at home have a 40 percent more positive view of the Democratic Party than the Republican Party. Married voters with kids are a 19 percent deficit for Democrats. These numbers are even worse when voters are asked their views of liberal Democrats.

It is no coincidence that the only Democratic president to win re-election in the past 60 years, Bill Clinton in 1996, was also the only Democrat in memory to win among married parents. Clinton carried married parents by 7 percent in 1996; Bush carried them by 15 percent in 2000. No Democrat will win the White House in 2004 without an agenda that speaks directly to middle-class parents with children.

While the margins are smaller among retired voters, there are differences between men and women. Retired women are much more skeptical of conservative Republicans (+2 percent net favorable), while retired men are much more strongly positive (+35 percent).

VIEWS OF THE PARTIES (FAV/UNFAV)	SINGLE WITH KIDS AT HOME	SINGLE	FEMALE RETIRED	MARRIED WITHOUT KIDS AT HOME	MALE RETIRED	EMPTY NESTER	MARRIED WITH KIDS AT HOME
Democratic Party Favorability Advantage	+40	+16	+6	+4	-1	-10	-19
Democratic Party	79/12	67/28	54/39	57/38	55/36	52/44	50/46
Republican Party	39/56	51/44	48/44	53/41	56/37	62/36	69/28
Conservative Republican	<b>41/49</b>	<b>42/50</b>	<b>44/42</b>	52/39	<b>64/29</b>	51/39	60/33
Moderate Republican	44/45	57/35	52/36	56/34	65/29	64/27	69/23
Moderate Democrat	87/9	69/21	54/29	60/28	65/28	69/21	61/29
Liberal Democrat	68/23	54/38	40/45	40/50	<b>38/58</b>	<b>42/49</b>	<b>31/61</b>

Republicans have advantages among married voters and their appeal grows as one moves from cities to rural areas. Democrats trail Republicans by 15 points and 19 points among suburban and rural married voters. Additionally, opinions toward liberal Democrats become more negative when moving from city to rural areas.

VIEWS OF THE PARTIES (FAV/UNFAV)	CITY MARRIED	SUBURBAN MARRIED	RURAL MARRIED
Democratic Party Favorability Advantage	<b>-9</b>	<b>-15</b>	<b>-19</b>
Democratic Party	53/42	49/46	48/48
Republican Party	62/34	64/32	67/29
Conservative Republican	56/35	60/35	57/34
Moderate Republican	65/23	64/29	64/28
Moderate Democrat	64/23	65/27	57/33
Liberal Democrat	<b>46/44</b>	<b>27/67</b>	<b>32/61</b>

On the issues, married voters with kids at home remain a problem. Despite the Bush economic record, these voters trust Republicans on the economy (-15 percent Democratic advantage) and the security gap is strong (-45 percent Democratic advantage).

ON THE ISSUES (DEMOCRATIC MARGIN)	SINGLE WITH KIDS	SINGLE	FEMALE RETIRED	MARRIED WITHOUT KIDS	MALE RETIRED	EMPTY NESTERS	MARRIED WITH WITH KIDS AT HOME
Economy & jobs	+48	+38	+44	+17	+17	+34	-15
Health care & Health insurance	+46	+40	+9	+11	+44	+20	+17
Education	+59	+27	+18	+5	+34	+21	+17
War on terrorism	+52	+2	-14	-39	-18	-24	-45
Homeland security/ Keeping America safe	+18	-23	-14	-43	-16	-11	-43

## A Particular Concern: The “Security Gap”

Voters were read a series of issues and asked to rate them on the question of importance. The chart below shows the percentage of voters saying each issue was extremely important. The top three issues today are education, economy, and the war on terrorism. Men are most focused on the war on terrorism (42 percent extremely important) and family values/ethics (43 percent extremely important), while women are still strongly focused on the key issues of education (55 percent extremely important), the economy (49 percent extremely important), and the war on terrorism (47 percent extremely important). While security issues on the whole have typically been male and Republican issues, for the first time in recent memory terrorism has reached the same level of importance with women as education, the economy, and the environment. Additionally, seniors rank the war on terrorism as the most important issue today (54 percent extremely important).

### Q. How important is this issue?

(% Extremely Important)

	ALL	FEMALE	MALE	SWING WOMEN	SWING MEN	MARRIED WITH KIDS AT HOME	SENIORS
Education	49	<b>55</b>	41	59	36	51	53
The economy and jobs	44	<b>49</b>	38	41	39	38	50
War on terrorism	44	<b>47</b>	42	<b>51</b>	40	38	<b>54</b>
Health care and health insurance	43	<b>46</b>	39	54	34	38	48
Family values/Ethics	44	45	43	50	49	48	42
Social Security/Medicare	39	45	33	45	31	32	50
National security	37	<b>43</b>	31	51	28	<b>44</b>	45
Poverty and homelessness	33	39	28	33	27	33	33
Homeland security/Keep America safe	37	38	35	30	30	29	42
Cost of prescription drugs	36	38	35	35	39	31	42
Balancing the budget/Budget deficits	32	38	25	31	29	26	39
Balancing work and family life	32	38	26	48	20	36	31
Fighting crime	34	37	31	36	31	29	41
Taxes	31	36	26	34	22	34	35

Democrats have huge leads on poverty (+29 percent), the environment (+28 percent), health care (+22 percent), and other so-called “mommy” issues, but Democrats falter on terrorism (-28 percent), homeland security (-33 percent), and national security (-35 percent), or so-called “daddy” issues. This problem is exacerbated among men. Democrats have even higher deficits with men on the daddy issues, particularly national security (-47 percent), homeland security (-47 percent), and the war on terrorism (-41 percent).

Interestingly, Republicans have closed the deficit they had with seniors on the cost of prescription drugs within -10 percent, while married parents with kids at home give Republicans a 17 percent advantage on family values.

Clearly, to become the majority party, Democrats will have to close the gap on issues of strong leadership in order to give salience to their advantages.

**Q. Who does a better job on this issue?**

(% Democrat minus % Republican)

	ALL	FEMALE	MALE	MARRIED WITH KIDS AT HOME	SENIORS
Poverty and homelessness	+29	+24	+36	+35	+25
The environment	+28	+28	+29	+24	+22
Health care and health insurance	+22	+26	+19	+17	+27
Education	+20	+15	+24	+17	+18
Social Security/Medicare	+20	+19	+23	+13	+23
Cost of prescription drugs	+17	+14	+19	+6	+10
The economy and jobs	+15	+27	+2	-15	+27
Family values/Ethics	-7	-7	-7	-17	-3
Taxes	-10	-3	-18	-28	-2
Foreign policy	-13	+3	-31	-28	-6
Fighting crime	-17	+2	-36	-36	-5
War on terrorism	-28	-17	-41	-45	-12
Iraq	-28	-14	-43	-48	-21
Homeland security/America safe	-33	-18	-47	-43	+2
National security	-35	-23	-47	-41	-12

**Perceptions of the Democratic Party**

The Democratic Party has some work to do to reach out to the growing segments in the electorate. Voters most strongly believe the party stands for big government (35 percent strongly agree, 55 percent agree), is too liberal (34 percent strongly agree, 55 percent agree), and is too beholden to special interest groups (33 percent strongly agree, 67 percent agree). A majority of voters say the Democratic Party does not reflect “my” values (30 percent strongly agree, 54 percent agree) and is out of touch with mainstream America (27 percent strongly agree, 54 percent agree).

While voters do agree with some positive statements about the Democratic Party, there is less intensity behind their answers. Voters most readily believe the party stands for ordinary people (32 percent strongly agree, 59 percent agree), however the strongly agree scores decline from there: just 22 percent of voters strongly agree the party understands the future (57 percent agree) and 22 percent strongly agree the party is fiscally responsible (56 percent agree).

Perhaps the most disconcerting finding—which makes the New Democrat agenda more essential than ever—is that a near majority of Americans think the party has no clear vision for the future. Democrats won’t get far if most voters believe they have no new ideas and the wrong values.

The situation is even more difficult with male swing voters and married voters with kids. Both groups are most likely to have negative views of the Democratic Party at percentages higher than the electorate overall. Seventy-seven percent of male swing voters and 74 percent of married voters with kids believe the Democratic Party is too beholden to special interest groups. Sixty-nine percent of swing men and 60 percent of married voters with kids think the Democratic Party is “out of touch” with mainstream America. Only 37 percent of these male voters and 45 percent of married voters with kids believe the Democratic Party has a clear vision for the future.

**Q. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement.**  
(Agree/Disagree)

	ALL (STRONGLY AGREE)	ALL	SWING MEN	SWING WOMEN	MARRIED WITH KIDS AT HOME
The Democratic Party stands for big government	35	55/39	<b>62/36</b>	50/39	<b>63/33</b>
The Democratic Party is too liberal	34	55/40	<b>62/39</b>	47/42	<b>62/34</b>
The Democratic Party is too beholden to special interest groups	33	67/24	<b>77/17</b>	63/20	<b>74/21</b>
The Democratic Party is the party of ordinary people	32	59/38	54/42	60/34	49/48
The Democratic Party does not reflect my values	30	54/43	<b>58/35</b>	47/52	<b>54/41</b>
The Democratic Party is not tough enough to take on the problem of national security and keep America safe	29	48/48	46/47	42/50	48/49
The Democratic Party wants to raise taxes higher than I think they should be	29	46/46	51/45	51/38	50/43
The Democratic Party is “out of touch” with mainstream America	27	54/43	<b>69/31</b>	48/43	<b>60/39</b>
The Democratic Party is the party of economic growth and opportunity	24	57/37	53/43	52/33	49/47
The Democratic Party understands the future.	22	57/38	55/42	63/30	57/40
The Democratic Party is fiscally responsible	22	56/37	50/44	61/28	58/37
The Democratic Party does not respect the role of private business in the economy	18	44/48	47/47	40/48	45/50
The Democratic Party has a clear vision of where to lead this country	17	45/49	37/ <b>58</b>	42/47	45/ <b>53</b>

**The Moderate Course**

This survey confirms a longstanding DLC finding that moderates are more important in the Democratic Party than in the Republican Party—potentially an advantage for Democrats in a general election. Nearly two-thirds of Republicans (63 percent) describe themselves as conservative, while only slightly over one-third of Democrats (35 percent) nationally say they are liberal. Nearly a majority of Independents (45 percent) say they are moderate, only six points higher than Democrats (39 percent).

IDEOLOGY OF PARTY MEMBERS	LIBERAL	MODERATE	CONSERVATIVE
Democrat	35	39	17
Republican	6	25	63
Independent	19	45	26

The trend carries over to voter preferences for a presidential candidate as well. Since some Democrats are arguing this year that moving the party conspicuously to the left is the way to build a majority coalition, it is important to note that both Democrats and Independents prefer moderate to liberal presidential candidates.

**Q. Would you be most likely to vote for a candidate for president who was liberal, moderate, or conservative?**

LIBERAL	MODERATE	CONSERVATIVE	
All	19	36	34
Democrat	30	48	14
Republican	8	15	62
Independent	18	42	30

As stated earlier, men remain a key electoral problem for the Democratic Party. The data below shows moderate Democrats outperform liberal Democrats with all of the key male targets of married men, Independent men, and senior men. Moderate Democrats perform particularly better with married men (+33 percent favorability) and senior men (+27 percent favorability).

KEY MALE DEMOGRAPHICS & VIEWS OF PARTY	ALL MEN		MARRIED MEN		INDEPENDENT MEN		SENIOR MEN	
	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV
Moderate Democrats	13	61/28	13	62/30	7	58/27	17	62/27
Liberal Democrats	10	36/56	9	29/65	5	33/53	13	35/56
Moderate Democrat Advantage	+3	+25	+4	+33	+2	+25	+4	+27

While women are a much stronger group of supporters of the Democratic Party, the data below still shows moderate Democrats have a 29 percent advantage with Independent women and a 22 percent advantage with married women.

KEY FEMALE DEMOGRAPHICS & VIEWS OF PARTY	ALL WOMEN		MARRIED WOMEN		INDEPENDENT WOMEN		SENIOR WOMEN	
	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV	VERY FAV	FAV/UNFAV
Moderate Democrats	17	66/22	13	63/25	10	70/16	21	58/25
Liberal Democrats	11	44/44	9	41/49	5	41/45	18	43/40
Moderate Democrat Advantage	+6	+22	+4	+22	+5	+29	+3	+15

**The New Democrat Agenda**

The New Democrat agenda draws significant support. Male swing voters, who hold generally negative views of the Democratic Party, support many parts of the agenda even more so than the general electorate. These voters most strongly support the defense, crime, and responsibility-related principles of the agenda.

Results among seniors show how they have come full circle from Roosevelt voters to Reagan voters. They most strongly support statements about defense (81 percent strongly support), crime (79 percent strongly support), and fiscal discipline (72 percent strongly support), while other issues like health care (65 percent strongly support) are further behind.

Liberal Democrats support slightly different aspects of the New Democrat agenda. They strongly support the responsibility theme (81 percent strongly support), new social compact (78 percent strongly support), and access to health care (75 percent strongly support).

**After each statement, please tell me whether you strongly support it, somewhat support it, somewhat oppose it, or strongly oppose it.** (Strongly Support)

	ALL	SWING MALE	SWING FEMALE	LIBERAL DEMOCRATS	SENIORS
American citizenship entails responsibilities as well as rights; citizens should give something back to their communities and their country	76	83	81	81	77
The United States must maintain a strong, technologically superior defense to protect our interests and values	73	81	69	65	81
Preventing crime and punishing criminals means America's justice system should be rooted in and responsive to its communities	70	73	69	66	79
Americans must have access to health insurance in a system that balances governmental and individual responsibility	67	69	67	75	65
We ought to expand opportunity, not government	65	72	60	71	63
The amount of taxes Americans pay should be based on the amount of money they earn; this is the only fair way to pay for government	65	70	60	68	68
Fiscal discipline is fundamental to sustained economic growth as well as responsible government	60	67	50	70	72
The government's role is to stimulate economic innovation and growth to ensure everyone can share in America's prosperity and that America has a strong and growing middle class	58	63	60	72	64
Public policies should reinforce marriage, promote family, demand parental responsibility, and discourage out-of-wedlock births	55	51	56	35	61
The private sector creates prosperity and jobs and the government should help ensure that everyone has the opportunity to share in that prosperity	53	67	44	59	55
America needs a new social compact that requires and rewards work for public assistance and ensures that no family with a full-time worker will be in poverty	52	48	49	<b>78</b>	51
Government's proper role in the New Economy is to equip working Americans with new tools for economic success and security	49	50	48	61	50
America needs a foreign policy that is committed to the bold exercise of U.S. leadership to foster peace, prosperity, and democracy throughout the world	49	42	41	50	56

Clearly, the New Democrat agenda, particularly on security and responsibility, goes a long way toward turning key weaknesses of the party into strengths.

With an eye on the 2004 election, it is critical to note that voters' strong support of the New Democrat agenda translates at the ballot box: 81 percent of voters say they would be more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate if he supported the New Democrat agenda, and 89 percent of male swing voters said they would be more likely to do the same. Liberal Democrats respond very strongly, with 91 percent more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate who supports the agenda. And even Republicans are 2:1 more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate who supports the agenda (63/30 percent more/less likely to vote for a Democratic candidate).

**Q. If a Democratic candidate stood for these statements, would you be more/less likely to vote for that candidate?**

	ALL	SWING MEN	SWING WOMEN	REPUBLICANS	LIBERAL DEMOCRATS
	81/14	89/7	80/13	63/30	91/6

## Conclusion

The Democratic Party has an opportunity to win back the White House in 2004. But as this poll and analysis demonstrate, to do so Democrats must reach deeper into the fastest growing segments of the electorate and recapture the heart of the American middle class: parents with kids at home.

The route is clear: For voters to fire the incumbent and hire the Democrat, they must first believe that the Democrat shares their values, will keep them safe, and can be trusted with their money. If a Democrat can cross that threshold, voters will listen to the case for change. ♦