



The Pace Poll/New York Magazine/WCBS 2 News/WNYC
New York State Gubernatorial Election Study:
General Election Survey
Analysis Report:
Who Killed the New York State Republican Party?

October 30, 2006

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The Pace Poll is an independent survey research institute at Pace University studying social, political, and economic issues. By routinely measuring regional and national public opinion on both long-standing and timely topics of civic life, The Pace Poll helps public opinion play a more central role in the discussion of current affairs. This is an important part of the democratic process, and The Pace Poll contributes to the public discourse by publishing accurate and meaningful opinion studies on matters of common concern.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE 2006 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION STUDY

Like Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, the protagonists in this year's electoral drama appear incapable of escaping their fates, but that scarcely deprives their adventures of either significance or drama. In cooperation with *New York Magazine*, WNYC Public Radio, and WCBS 2 News, the Pace Poll is conducting its 2006 Gubernatorial Election Study to assess the larger trends behind and the deeper significance of this year's statewide elections.

II. DEFINITIONS

For convenience, the following terms are used to describe key concepts, demographic, and psychographic groups referenced in our analysis.

Likely New York Voters Our target population, Likely New York Voters are registered voters who sly voted in elections similar to this year's election and who describe themselves as at least "somewhat likely" to vote in this November's election.

Likely Upstate Voters Likely Upstate Voters would be our target population after one has excluded anyone living in New York City, Long Island, or Westchester, Rockland, or Orange counties.

<i>Familiarity rating</i>	A familiarity rating is the percentage of respondents who express an opinion regarding the person; it is the sum of favorables and unfavorables.
<i>Strong favorables</i>	Strong favorables refers to the percentage of respondents who hold strongly favorable opinions of a candidate.
<i>Strong unfavorables</i>	Strong unfavorables refers to the percentage of respondents who hold strongly unfavorable opinions of a candidate.
<i>Net Favorables</i>	Net favorables are the difference between a candidate's favorables and his or her unfavorables.
<i>Pessimists</i>	Pessimists think New York State is off on the wrong track.
<i>Optimists</i>	Optimists think New York State is headed in the right direction.
<i>The Young</i>	The Young are between the ages of 18 and 33.
<i>The Young Middles</i>	The Young Middles are between the ages of 33 and 44.
<i>The Working Class</i>	The Working Class live in families earning less than \$20,000 per year.
<i>The Middle Class</i>	The Middle Class live in families earning between \$30,000 and \$49,000 per year.
<i>The Prosperous</i>	The Prosperous live in families earning between \$75,000 and \$100,000 per year.
<i>The Wealthy</i>	The Wealthy live in families earning more than \$100,000 per year.
<i>Upstate Ruralists</i>	Upstate Ruralists live upstate, but outside of the large cities.
<i>Upstate Urbanists</i>	Upstate Urbanists live in one of the large upstate cities, such as Buffalo or Syracuse.
<i>New York Suburbanites</i>	New York Suburbanites live in Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, Rockland, or Orange counties.
<i>New York City Residents</i>	New York City Residents live in New York City.
<i>Gun Owners</i>	Gun Owners live in families where someone owns a gun.
<i>Renters</i>	Renters rent their homes.

<i>Regulated Renters</i>	Regulated renters live in apartments regulated by rent control or rent stabilization laws.
<i>Spitzer Voters/Faso Voters</i>	These terms refer to respondents who are voting for either Spitzer or Faso, respectively.
<i>Spitzer Ticket Splitters</i>	Spitzer Ticket Splitters plan to vote for Spitzer and at least one Republican candidate for statewide office.
<i>Faso Ticket Splitters</i>	Faso Ticket Splitters plan to vote for Faso and at least one Democratic candidate for statewide office.
<i>Sua sponte issue agendas</i>	<i>Sua sponte</i> issue agendas is a ranking of the respondents' issue priorities from most frequently mentioned to least frequently mentioned in response to our open-ended question seeking respondents' assessment of the most important issue facing New York State.

III. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Democrats appear poised for a sweep. Among likely voters:

- In the race for Governor, Democrats Eliot Spitzer and David Paterson lead Republicans John Faso and Scott Vanderhoef by 50 points (69% to 19%);
- In the race for Attorney General, Democrat Andrew Cuomo leads Republican Jeanine Pirro by 22 points (56% to 34%);
- In the race for Comptroller, Democrat Alan Hevesi leads Republican J. Christopher Callaghan by 42 points (61% to 19%);
- In the race for the U.S. Senate, Democrat Hillary Clinton leads Republican John Spencer by 37 points (64% to 27%); and
- In a hypothetical race for the White House among all four of New York's potential candidates, Democrat Hillary Clinton leads Republican Rudolph Giuliani 44% to 30%. Mayor Michael Bloomberg (12%) and Governor George Pataki (7%) lag behind.

The Democratic lead is so large and so universal that we were only able to identify one demographic group in which a Republican candidate leads their Democratic rival: Jeanine Pirro leads Andrew Cuomo among New York Suburbanites (47% to 40%). In other words, one Republican candidate might be able to carry her home town!

Having virtually no chance to win, this year's Republican candidates for statewide office have struggled to avoid obscurity while their Democratic foes enjoy strong, positive reputations throughout the state:

- Attorney General Eliot Spitzer’s familiarity rating is 88%, and his net favorables are 58 points. His strong favorables are 44%, and his strong unfavorables are 9%. By comparison, Republican John Faso’s familiarity rating is 50%; his strong favorables are 8%, and his strong unfavorables are 12%. His net favorables are negative 2 points;
- Democrat David Paterson has a familiarity rating of 29% and net favorables of 25 points. Meanwhile his Republican foe, Scott Vanderhoef, has a familiarity rating of just 11% and net favorables of 3 points;
- Democrat Andrew Cuomo has a familiarity rating of 83% and net favorables of 21 points. Republican Jeanine Pirro has a familiarity rating of 74% and net favorables of negative 8 points; and
- Democrat Hillary Clinton has a familiarity rating of 97% and net favorables of 43 points. Republican John Spencer has a familiarity rating of 31% and net favorables of 7 points.

Strikingly, taxes dominate Likely New York Voters *sua sponte* issue agendas; 27% name taxes their top priority. Likewise, Likely Upstate Voters believe tax cuts and regulatory reform are the best way to fix the Upstate economy; 44% say either tax cuts (22%) or cutting governmental waste, fraud, and abuse (22%) will do the most to help Upstate. The fact that Eliot Spitzer is thriving in a Republican-friendly issues landscape suggests that his aggressive championing of tax cuts and government reform has deprived the Republican Party of its traditional advantages on these issues; if Governor Spitzer can transfer his credibility on these issues to his Party, the future promises many more Republican defeats.

More than one-fifth (22%) of New Yorkers say they are either “very” (7%) or “somewhat” (15%) to leave New York in the next four years. New York’s high cost of living (30%) and taxes (19%) are the most common reason these potential émigrés cite for moving.

Gay marriage has the support of 49% of Likely New York Voters, but 41% oppose it. Among opponents, only 8% support civil unions instead, so civil unions will not mollify critics, even if it can muster majority support.

A majority (51%) of New Yorkers support reforming New York’s divorce laws to permit no-fault divorce; only 28% oppose this reform.

Even when presented with a Massachusetts-style plan for universal health insurance through private insurance companies, New Yorkers prefer a government plan by 48% to 35%.

Although 30% of Likely New York Voters want to stay the course in Iraq, 61% want to get out now (27%) or set a firm deadline for leaving (34%).

Almost 4 in 10 (39%) of Likely New York Voters think another terrorist attack in New York is either “very” (9%) or “somewhat” (30%) likely.

IV. ANALYSIS

Quite simply, this year’s election is shaping up to be the most lopsided contest since the Christians battled the Lions in Rome’s Coliseum: New York’s Republican candidates for statewide office are going to be mauled. Since Governor George Pataki has spent the past twelve (12) years in the Executive Mansion, why can’t his Party mount a single credible candidate for statewide office? Has he been such a dreadful failure that he single-handedly destroyed his Party, or are others to blame? Indeed, are larger historical forces at work?

To put it another way, we know that New York State’s Republican Party is dead, but who killed it and why? In answering those questions, we will learn whether the Empire State’s GOP will share Lazarus’s fate or Franco’s.

I. Turnout: It’s Bad, and It’s Only Getting Worse!

Taking a conservative approach based on turnout patterns in previous elections, we estimate that 56% of voters on Election Day will be Democrats while 28% will be either Republicans (26%) or Conservatives (2%). Obviously, the apparent pro-Democratic national tide combined with the apparent pro-Democratic statewide tide may result in unusual turnout patterns that vary significantly from our projections. For instance, energized Democrats may head to the polls in unusually large numbers and/or dejected Republicans may be unusually likely to stay home.¹ If anything, therefore, our poll numbers *understate* the actual strength of New York State’s Democratic candidates, and we think it is far more likely that they will outperform their current poll standings than that New York State’s Republican candidates will surge on Election Day.

At first blush, the enormous registration gap between Republicans and Democrats seems to be the answer to our central questions; that is, it seems fair to infer that New York State’s Republican Party is moribund because New York is in an overwhelming Democratic state. Yet, blaming the Party’s woes on the registration gap alone could not account for Governor Pataki’s three terms; clearly, Republicans can win in New York, and – as John Faso proved in his 2002 race against Alan Hevesi – Republicans can mount credible campaigns despite their Party’s registration gap.

II. Right Track/Wrong Track & Sua Sponte Issues Agenda: A Republican Year?

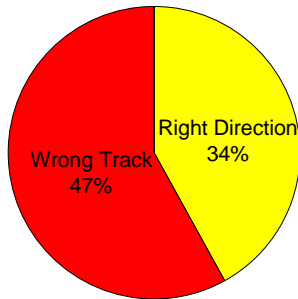
Despite voters’ plans to reject Republican candidates, voters are not particularly irate about New York’s direction under Governor Pataki’s leadership. Although a large plurality (47%) of Likely New York Voters think New York State is off on the wrong

¹ Of course, it’s also possible that overconfident Democrats will stay home while resilient Republicans will rush to the polls, but that possibility appears exceedingly improbable.

track, slightly more than a third (34%) thinks it is headed in the right direction. Compared to the national mood, this 34/47 split is almost rosy! (For example, a similar question in a recent national poll² found 63% of Americans were dissatisfied with the country's current direction.)

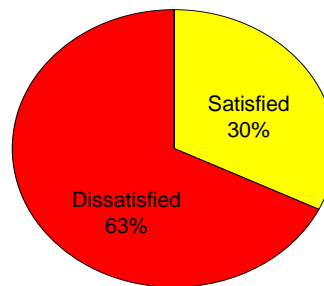
New York's Unhappy, but the Nation's Depressed

Question 3: In general, would you say that things in New York State are headed in the right direction, or are things off on the wrong track?



Source: Pace Poll 10/30

Question 2F2: All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?



Source: Pew Poll 10/5

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Optimists are most likely to be found among The Middle Class (44%) and New York City Residents (42%). In contrast, Optimists are least common among Gun Owners (24%) and Upstate Ruralists (13%).

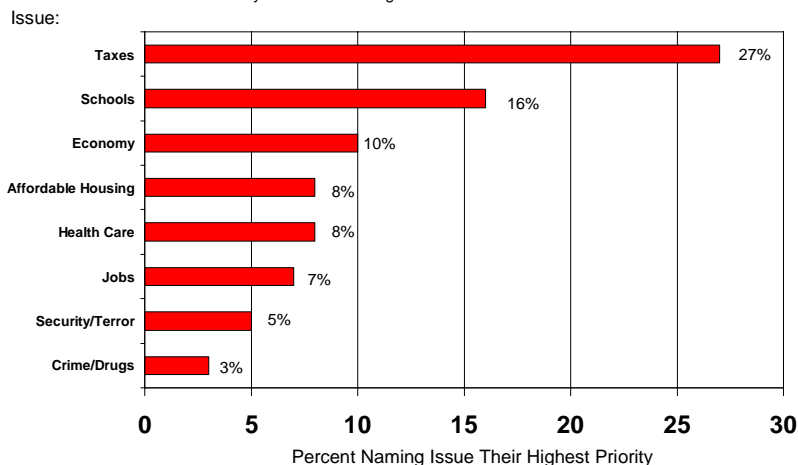
On the opposite side of the optimism spectrum, Upstate Ruralists (69%), Gun Owners (62%), Upstate Urbanists (58%), and Protestants (56%) are disproportionately likely to be Pessimists. Curiously, voters who favor Senator Clinton's re-election, but oppose her potential run for the White House (38%) are much less likely than Likely New York Voters generally (47%) to be Pessimists.

Likely New York Voters' *sua sponte* issues agendas appear tailor made for Republican candidates: their top priority is taxes (27%), followed by schools (16%), the economy (10%), affordable housing (8%), health care (8%), jobs (7%), and security issues (5%). All other issues languish in the single digits.

² Pew Research Center for People & the Press & The Associated Press, "Early October 2006 Turnout Survey," Final Topline, Q2F2, available at www.people-press.org.

Issue Terrain Favors GOP

Question 4: And what do you think is the most important issue or problem facing New York State today that you'd like the next governor to work on?



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Taxes loom largest among Upstate Urbanists (43%), Upstate Ruralists (42%), Faso Voters (42%), Spitzer Ticket Splitters (40%), Faso Ticket Splitters (39%), New York Suburbanites (38%), Gun Owners (37%), and White Men (37%). Taxes are least worrisome to the Middle Class (17%), African-Americans (12%), New York City Residents (11%), Jewish Voters (11%), and Renters (7%). Some of this demographic variation is consistent with general economic theory; for example, renters don't pay property taxes, so renters are less likely to care about taxes in general because they are exempt from one of the largest and most visible forms of taxation. Likewise, some of this variation can be readily explained; for example, people who worry about taxes do not live in New York City for long. And some of this variation aligns with traditional ideological divisions; for example, Gun Owners tend to be conservative, and conservatives hate taxes.

Of course, one would expect Republican candidates to do well in an issues landscape dominated by taxes, so the Party's current travails are particularly remarkable. Indeed, it may well be time to begin wondering whether Eliot Spitzer's aggressive championing of tax cuts has deprived the Republican Party of its traditional advantage on taxes. Moreover, the dearth of tax phobia among the Middle Class is striking, and one suspects that Republicans will not be able to exploit the tax issue effectively until taxes move much closer to the top of the Middle Class's *sua sponte* issue agendas.

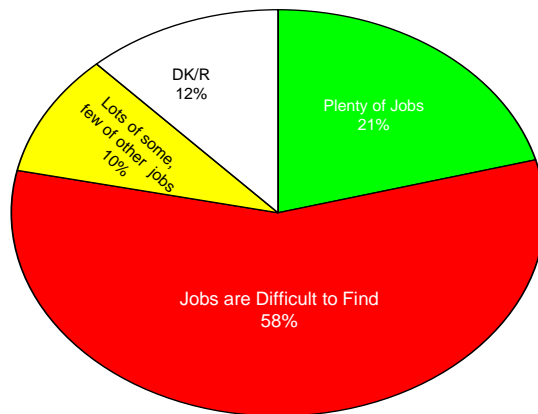
Unregulated Renters (20%) are far more likely than other LVs (10%) to prioritize jobs. The Middle Class (17%) are the LVs most likely to prioritize health care (8%), but that is to be expected because they are too wealthy for Medicaid, too poor to pay for uncovered expenses, and most likely to be in jobs with uncertain health care benefits. If Republicans wonder why the economy and tax cuts have not boosted their political

fortunes, then they should look no further than rising health care costs and declining health insurance coverage.

Even if Republicans recapture the tax issue, another issue appears likely to dash their electoral hopes – jobs. Currently, 58% of Likely New York Voters believe that “jobs are hard to find” while just 21% think there are “plenty of jobs.” The groups most pessimistic about jobs are Women under 45 (76%), Unregulated Renters (72%), and Faso Ticket Splitters (71%); those most optimistic are New York Suburbanites (34%) and Faso Voters (32%)

The Empire State Has Everything, but Jobs

Question 26: Thinking now about job opportunities in your community, would you say there are plenty of jobs available in your community or that jobs are difficult to find?



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III. Favorables: New Yorkers Ask, “Who’s That Next to Spitzer?”

Almost nine in ten New Yorkers (88%) have an opinion of Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, and their opinions are glowing: almost three in four (73%) hold a favorable opinion of him while just 15% hold an unfavorable opinion. In fact, New Yorkers are almost five times more likely to hold a strongly favorable opinion of Spitzer than a strongly unfavorable opinion (44% to 9%, respectively).

In contrast, Republican John Faso is known to only 50% of New Yorkers; 24% of whom are either “strongly” (8%) or “somewhat” (16%) favorable to him while 26% are either “strongly” (12%) or “somewhat” (14%) unfavorable to him. Indeed, nearly as many people hold strongly favorable opinions of Spitzer (44%) as hold any opinion at all of John Faso (50%).

Spitzer’s running mate David Paterson fares well among those who know him, but he remains largely unknown. A quarter (25%) holds either “strongly” (9%) or “somewhat”

(16%) favorable opinions while only 4% hold either “strongly” (2%) or “somewhat” (2%) unfavorable opinions.

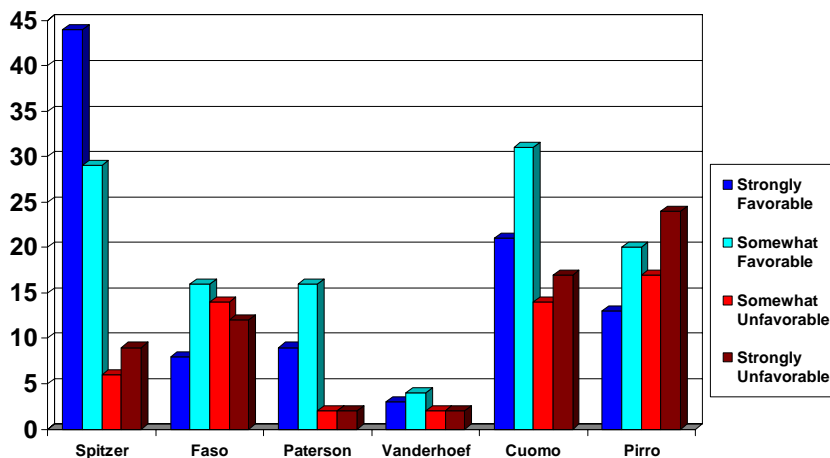
Faso’s running mate Scott Vanderhoef is, for all practical purposes, completely unknown: 11% claim to hold either a favorable (7%) or unfavorable (4%) opinion of him. Unfortunately, a fictitious name will generate roughly similar results because so many people are loath to admit that they do not know someone who was “important” enough to have been included in a poll. To combat this problem, we did not tell respondents anything at all about the people they were rating, but it would have been obvious to anyone that we were asking them to rate political candidates. Moreover, we expressly encouraged people to admit that they did not know who someone we tested was. Nevertheless, many people are reluctant to admit ignorance of basic political facts, even when they are speaking anonymously to a stranger; consequently, the fact remains that Mr. Vanderhoef’s miniscule familiarity rating may overstate his actual name recognition.

Andrew Cuomo enjoys a favorable opinion from more than half (52%) of Likely Voters while 31% hold either a “strongly” (17%) or “somewhat” (14%) unfavorable opinion of him. Altogether, 83% of Likely New York Voters are familiar with him, which is striking given that only slightly more (88%) are familiar with Attorney General Eliot Spitzer.

In contrast, Jeanine Pirro’s reputation lies in tatters: 41% hold either “strongly” (24%) or “somewhat” (17%) unfavorable opinions of her while a third (33%) hold either “strongly” (13%) or “somewhat” (20%) favorable opinions. Since her familiarity rating is 74%, she cannot hide behind obscurity, and her loss will remain a cloud over her political future.

Everybody Loves Spitzer; Nobody Knows Vanderhoef

Questions 5-14: Now, I'm going to read you the names of some public figures. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or strongly unfavorable opinion of them. If you haven't heard of them, just tell me and we'll move on.



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Alan Hevesi has emerged from his recent difficulties with his good name: 44% hold either “strongly” (13%) or “somewhat” (31%) opinions of him while just 17% hold either “strongly” (7%) or “somewhat” (10%) favorable opinions of him. [We should note, however, that our Poll was completed before the State Ethics Commission’s recent report.]

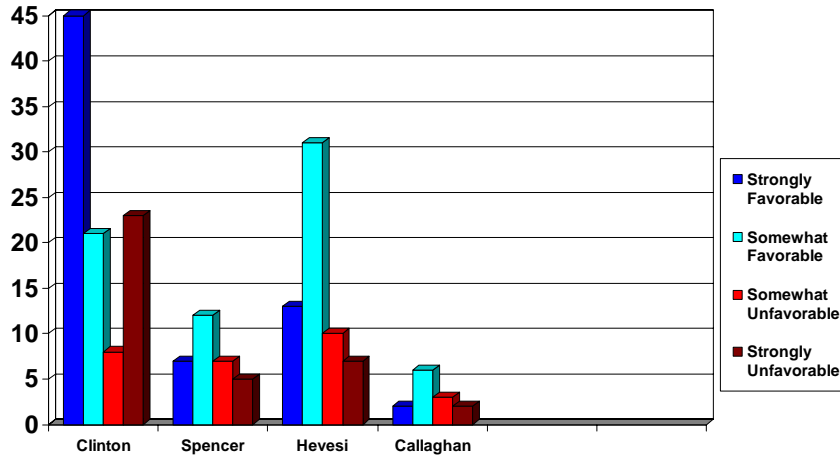
Perhaps Hevesi’s resilience is a testament to his opponent’s obscurity: just 13% of Likely Voters claim to know who J. Christopher Callaghan is, while 8% claim to like him and 5% claim to dislike him. As noted above, familiarity ratings this low may overstate Mr. Callaghan’s actual name recognition; regardless, it’s clear that he simply wasn’t sufficiently well known to exploit Comptroller Hevesi’s potential weaknesses. [In retrospect, however, it now seems clear that the GOP’s decision to back Pirro as their best chance to avoid a shutout was a mistake.]

In addition, Alan Hevesi’s resilience and Jeanine Pirro’s downfall reflect a basic fact of political scandals: sex scandals trump money scandals. Without meaning to imply anything about the merits of either scandal, we believe that Pirro’s and Hevesi’s fates differed largely because voters are more likely to hear about, understand, recall, and act upon sex scandals than money scandals. Perhaps voters dismiss the significance of money scandals because they assume that all politicians are financially corrupt. Maybe voters find financial scandals inherently less blame worthy. [After all, swiping something that belongs to your employer is much more common than bugging your spouse’s boat, so voters may have been more inclined to forgive Hevesi because his alleged misdeeds were more similar to their own experiences.] Alternatively, the fact that Alan Hevesi was helping his wife while Jeanine Pirro was spying on her husband may account for their different fates; in other words, voters may have been more inclined to forgive a sin committed for love than an attempted sin against lovers.

Hillary Clinton enjoys almost universal familiarity: 97% know her, 66% think favorably of her while 23% do not. Her strong favorables (45%) are virtually identical to Eliot Spitzer’s (44%), but her strong unfavorables (23%) are considerably higher (9%).

New York: Where Everybody Knows Hillary Clinton's Name

Questions 5-14: Now, I'm going to read you the names of some public figures. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or strongly unfavorable opinion of them. If you haven't heard of them, just tell me and we'll move on.



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Although it might be tempting to argue that the Republicans lost because they recruited a team of non-entities, that would not be fair to these candidates. Nearly three-fourths (74%) of Likely Voters know Jeanine Pirro, but she's still going to lose badly. A respectable 31% know Clinton-foe John Spencer (19% favorably, 12% unfavorably), but he's going to get walloped anyway. Besides, George Pataki wasn't exactly a household name twelve years ago. No, these candidates aren't losing because they are obscure; they're obscure because they are losing.

IV. Ballots: When They Beamed Down, These Republican Candidates Must Have Been Wearing Red Shirts³

A. *The Ballot Box is a Slaughterhouse and Republican Candidates are the Cows*

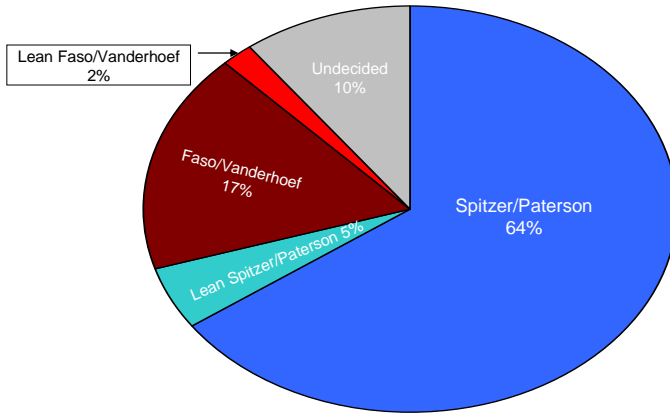
For Republicans, our ballot questions provide only two kinds of news: bad news and worse news. Eliot Spitzer and David Paterson enjoy a 50 point lead (69% to 19%) over Messrs. Faso and Vanderhoef. If Faso and Vanderhoef were to pick-up every undecided voter and every voter who refused to reveal their preference,⁴ they would lose by 37 points.

³ In the original Star Trek episodes, the alien bad guys invariably killed the anonymous crewmen who beamed down with Captain Kirk.

⁴ Of course, these are absurdly generous assumptions.

If You Took Faso +49 Points, You Lost

Question 15: In November 2006, there will be an election to select the next Governor and Lieutenant Governor of New York State. Candidates for these two offices run together on the same ticket. If the election for Governor and Lieutenant Governor were held today and the candidates were (ROTATE) Democrats Eliot Spitzer and David Paterson and Republicans John Faso and Scott Vanderhoef, for whom would you vote?



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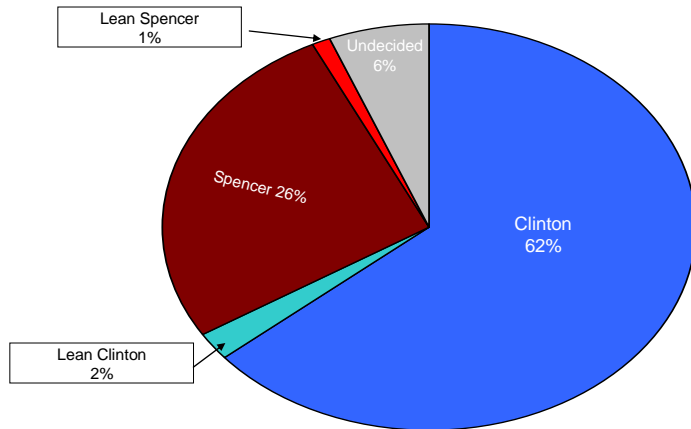
Spitzer fares best with African-Americans (85%) and Jewish Voters (80%); he underperforms among White Men (60%), the Young (59%), College Men (59%), and Men under 45 (56%). Not surprisingly, Faso fares best among groups in which Spitzer underperforms; for example, Faso scores well with Men under 45 (32%) and White Men (30%). [Of course, “best” is a relative term.] Nevertheless, Spitzer’s troubles – using the term loosely - with the Young have not resulted in any youth groundswell for Faso, who garners support from 19% of Likely Young Voters compared to 20% of Likely New York Voters generally.

Comptroller Alan Hevesi leads Callaghan by 42 points (61% to 19%). Again, give every undecided voter and every voter who refused to state a preference to Callaghan, and he still loses by 21. Hevesi draws his best support from African-Americans (73%), Jewish Voters (72%), New York City Residents (72%), and the Wealthy (70%); he draws the least support from Gun Owners (43%), Upstate Ruralists (51%), and New York City Suburbanites (52%). Meanwhile, Callaghan is struggling (more than usual) among College Educated Women (9%)

Hillary Clinton leads former Yonkers Mayor John Spencer by 37 points (64% to 27%). If we assume Spencer takes every voter whose loyalties remain up for grabs, he still loses by 29. Senator Clinton’s strongest backers are African-Americans (89%), Regulated Renters (83%), Jewish Voters (77%), Renters (76%), the Prosperous (76%), College Educated Women (74%), and New York City Residents (74%); she has the greatest difficulties among Men under 45 (54%), College Men (54%), and Gun Owners (52%). Not surprisingly, Spencer is strongest where she is weakest and vice versa; for example, he does well among White Men (38%) while Clinton struggles (51%) among the same group.

Does Clinton '06 Pave the Way for Clinton '08?

Question 18: Finally, if the election for the U.S. Senate were held today and the candidates were (ROTATE) Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican John Spencer, for whom would you vote?

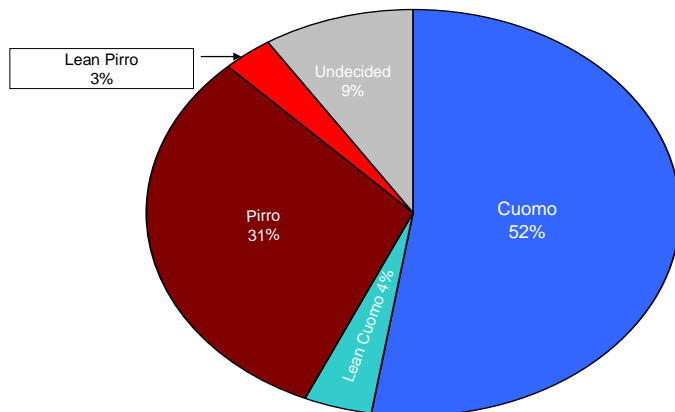


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And, in this year's version of squeaker, Cuomo leads Pirro by 22 (56% to 34%). Give Pirro every voter who remains up for grabs, and she still loses by 11.

Cuomo Takes Command

Question 16: If the election for New York State Attorney General were held today and the candidates were (ROTATE) Democrat Andrew Cuomo and Republican Jeanine Pirro, for whom would you vote?



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Cuomo's most ardent supporters are African-Americans (76%), Regulated Renters (72%), Jewish Voters (67%), and Renters (66%); his least ardent are Women under 45 (46%). Not surprisingly, Pirro's strength lies with New York Suburbanites (47%) and Women under 45 (46%); likewise, she struggles to find traction among African-

Americans (17%) and renters (22%). Most strikingly, however, former DA Pirro is struggling among College Educated Women (26%). It may be that College Educated Women cannot sympathize with her decision to remain in her troubled marriage.

Nevertheless, Pirro fares very well among Spitzer Ticket Splitters (voters backing Spitzer and at least one Republican), garnering the support of 68% of Spitzer Ticket Splitters. Thus, it does seem safe to infer that she succeeded in persuading voters to cross party lines.

To understand just how badly the Republicans are losing this election, consider that we were only able to identify *one* demographic group in which *any* Republican statewide candidate was leading their Democratic rival: Jeanine Pirro leads Andrew Cuomo among New York Suburbanites by 47% to 40%. [She is tied with him among Women under 45 (46% to 46%).] In every other category, every Democratic candidate leads their Republican foe; this strongly suggests that even a bizarre turnout pattern could not alter the outcome of this election. [Of course, it is possible that only New York Suburbanites will go to the polls, but that doesn't seem likely.] One struggles to find words to describe the enormity of this defeat, so we must borrow a phrase from a humorist, "If this doesn't teach the Republicans to stop messing in politics, nothing will."

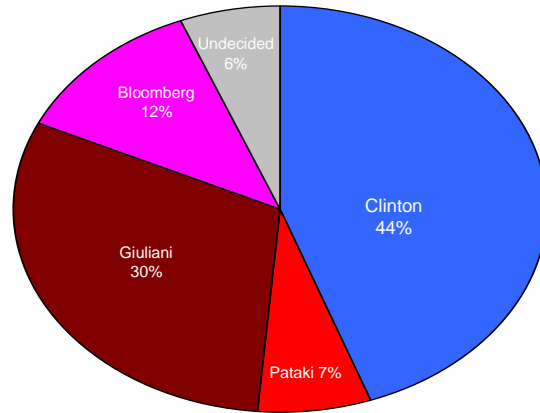
At this point, the Republican Party's only chance is that the State Ethics Commission's report will destroy Hevesi, which is a little like hoping the other team's bus will get a flat tire on its way to the game. [In fairness, however, the tire on Hevesi's bus does seem suspect.]

B. The National Ballot Isn't Looking Much Better

On a hypothetical presidential ballot pitting the New York candidates against each other, Hillary Clinton has opened up a 14 point lead over former Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (44% to 30%). Mayor Michael Bloomberg comes in third at 12% while Pataki lags behind in fourth at 7%. Senator Clinton fares best among African-Americans (78%); Mayor Giuliani struggles the most among the same voters (5%). Clinton's potential candidacy divides College Men (31% of whom support her) and College Women (53%) from each other and the general LV population (44%). Meanwhile, Regulated Renters (58%), Renters (57%), New York City Residents (54%) love Clinton while Gun Owners (44%), Upstate Ruralists (44%), New York Suburbanites (42%), and the Wealthy long for Giuliani (39%). Young Middles are less inclined towards Clinton than other LVs (36% compared to 44% generally), but they are more favorable inclined towards Giuliani (44% compared to 30%). Catholics adhere to a similar pattern; offering less than normal support for Clinton (34% compared to 44%) and additional support for Giuliani (39% compared to 30%). (In general, Clinton foes flock to Giuliani.)

Will Hillary Clinton Follow in Grover Cleveland's Footsteps?

Question 19: If the Presidential election were held today, and the candidates were (SCRAMBLE) George Pataki, Rudolph Giuliani, Hillary Clinton, and Michael Bloomberg, for whom would you vote?



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Of course, these New Yorkers won't be the only candidates in the race, and New York voters won't get to pick the president on their own, so what do these numbers really mean? The promise – and peril – of a Hillary Clinton candidacy is, to borrow a phrase from Shakespeare that she can summon the spirits of liberalism, and they will answer. Her problem is that her magnetic power among liberals tends to draw conservatives together as well. Given that a Clinton candidacy will polarize the electorate, which pole will attract more adherents?

We asked Likely New York Voters to tell us which New Yorker has the best chance to win the White House; 41% pick Senator Clinton while 34% would bet on Mayor Giuliani. Just 7% think Pataki can go the distance while fewer still (6%) think Bloomberg can.

V. Transportation: New York's Drivers Favor Trains

Despite New York City's famed mass transit system, two thirds (66%) of Likely New York Voters rely on their cars as their primary means of transportation while just 31% rely on public transportation. The Working Class (56%), Renters (31%), and Regulated Renters (21%) are the least likely to rely upon a personal car, and they are the most likely to rely upon public transportation: almost four in ten (39%) of the Working Class, 63% of Renters, and 72% of Regulated Renters rely on mass transit.

A whopping 70% say that their commute was either "very important" (45%) or "somewhat important" (25%) when they were deciding where they would live. African-Americans (86%) and Women under 45 (83%) are the LVs most likely to rate their commute as a "very important" factor in their choice of a home. Likewise, Unregulated

Renters (80%) are disproportionately likely to have considered their prospective commute when deciding where to live; since they pay a premium to live in their apartments, it makes sense that a short commute is one of the benefits for which they pay. Upstate Urbanists (51%) and Gun Owners (57%) did not consider their commute, but they are not likely to live in areas with major traffic problems.

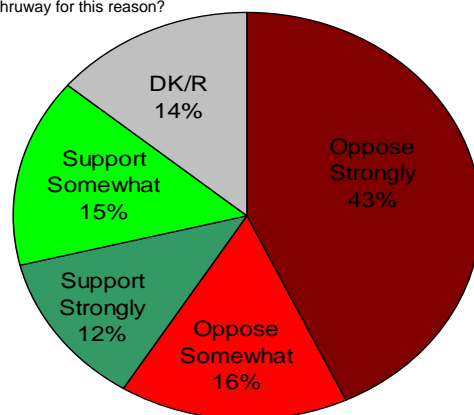
In addition, we asked Likely Voters who reside in New York City and its suburbs to rate the importance of various local transportation projects currently under discussion. Interestingly, the proposed direct rail link between Lower Manhattan, JFK, Eastern Queens and Long Island is the most common top choice (24% of Likely Voters in New York City and its suburbs say it is their highest priority).

A new subway line on the East Side of Manhattan is the top choice of 19% of Likely Voters who reside in New York City and its suburbs. Otherwise, the ratings of the projects we tested tended to vary in a statistically-insignificant fashion.

In addition to the regional transportation questions described above, we also tested an unusual approach for financing transportation improvements – privatization - among all Likely New York Voters. Specifically, we asked respondents to assess calls for selling the New York State Thruway to a private company, but New Yorkers didn't cotton to the idea: 59% oppose the idea either “strongly” (43%) or “somewhat” (16%) while only 27% support it either “strongly” (15%) or “somewhat” (12%). Although privatizing highways has become increasingly popular in Europe, New Yorkers only want to import European fashions and wines, not their government financing mechanisms.

New Yorkers' Love European Fashions, But Hate Their Private Highways

Question 25: One way to raise money for our schools and other important spending priorities without raising taxes would be to sell the New York State Thruway to private companies. These private companies would collect tolls to pay for maintenance and other operating costs, and they would be allowed to earn a reasonable profit. Would you support or oppose selling the New York State Thruway for this reason?



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VI. Fixing Upstate New York: Faso's Platform without Faso

Because the Upstate economy has figured so prominently in both gubernatorial candidates' campaigns, we asked Likely Upstate New York Voters to assess various proposals for fixing the Upstate economy. Curiously, John Faso's ideas appear to be more popular than Spitzer's, but that isn't helping Faso, who trails 28% to 63% among Upstate Ruralists and 20% to 71% among Upstate Urbanists.

Like many in his Party, Faso lays most of the blame for Upstate's economic woes on taxes and regulations, and a plurality (44%) of Likely Upstate Voters agree, citing either cutting taxes (22%) or cutting governmental waste, fraud, and abuse (22%) as the best way to fix the Upstate economy.

Unfortunately for Faso, Eliot Spitzer appears to have stolen the Republican Party's traditional advantage on these issues because Upstate voters' Republican-esque priorities are not translating into support for Faso. [Granted, Faso is doing better among Likely Upstate Rural Voters than he is among other voters, but that's a little like the French fared better at Agincourt than they did at Crécy.] In general, a strong pro-Republican issue terrain should translate into much stronger support for Republican candidates; consequently, the fact that these Republican-friendly issue priorities are not translating into votes should be especially alarming for Republicans. In short, voters apparently believe Eliot Spitzer's promises on tax relief and regulatory reform, and if Spitzer can transfer that credibility to his fellow Democrats, Republicans can look forward to many more defeats.

Interestingly, only 10% of Likely Upstate Voters think Spitzer's call for investing in key high-tech industries is the best way to fix the Upstate's economy. Likewise, only 12% think improving New York's public schools will reverse the Upstate decline.

Meanwhile, one of Governor Pataki's signature achievements, the expansion of gambling in Upstate New York, has not emerged as a popular economic development tool among Likely Upstate Voters: 37% of whom think that casino gambling is the *least* effective means of boosting the Upstate economy.

VII. Education

A robust plurality (46%) thinks New York State's Constitution should guarantee every child a high school education, and an additional 34% would guarantee every young New Yorker a college education. Only 16% believe either that such educational guarantees are either inappropriate (13%) or should only go as far as elementary school (1%) or junior high (2%).

Ironically, Likely Voters are much more satisfied with their children's schools [61% think the public school they know best is either "excellent" (22%) or "good" (39%)] than public schools generally [42% think public schools are either "excellent" (8%) or "good" (34%)]. African-Americans (31%) and Renters (26%) are the LVs most likely to rate the

public schools “poor.” When it comes to rating the public school they know best, Upstate Ruralists (40%), the Middle Aged (33%), Men under 45 (32%), are the most likely to consider their children’s public school “excellent.” In contrast, African-Americans (21%) and Unregulated Renters (20%) are the most likely to consider their children’s school, “poor.”

VIII. New York’s Self-Image: I Love New York, but Do New Yorkers Love It Too?

A majority of Likely New Voters (53%) would advise a close friend or family member just starting out in life to settle in New York. African-Americans (46%) are particularly likely to advise against settling in New York; nevertheless, half (50%) would recommend it. In short, African-American LVs deliver a decidedly mixed-verdict on New York. Interestingly, half (50%) of Faso Ticket Splitters (50%) wouldn’t recommend New York to a friend or family member; Gun Owners (57%), Upstate Urbanists (53%) and Upstate Ruralists (47%) are similarly disinclined to endorse New York.

A large part of that recommendation seems to rest upon our scenic beauty: 63% believe that New York is the most beautiful state in the country.

But it could be that Likely New York Voters admire our system of government: a majority (51%) says that other Americans look to New York for innovation in government. Faith in New York’s leading role in government innovation is most common among African Americans (68%) and Regulated Renters (61%) and least common among Upstate Ruralists (29%).

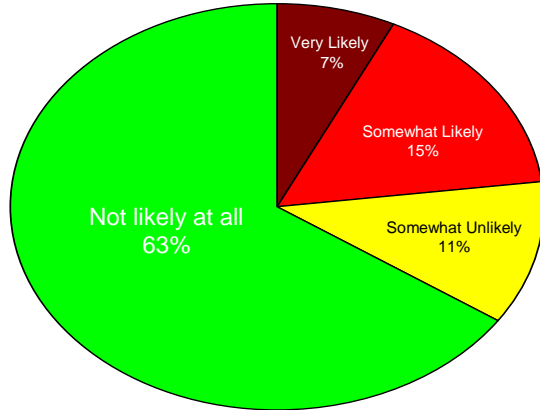
And New Yorkers are optimistic about our future: 51% think New York will be a better place to live in four years.

Nevertheless, an equally large majority (52%) doubts that New York has the best job opportunities in the country. Skepticism regarding New York’s job offerings is most common among Upstate Ruralists (79%), Upstate Urbanists (76%), Gun Owners (74%), White Men (66%), Men under 45 (63%), Faso Ticket Splitters (62%), College Educated Men (61%), and the Middle Aged (61%).

Furthermore, more than one-fifth (22%) of New Yorkers say it is either “very” (7%) or “somewhat” (15%) likely that they will move out of New York in the next four years.

Leaving the Empire?

Question 46: How likely are you to move out of New York State in the next four years – are you very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, not likely at all to move out of New York?

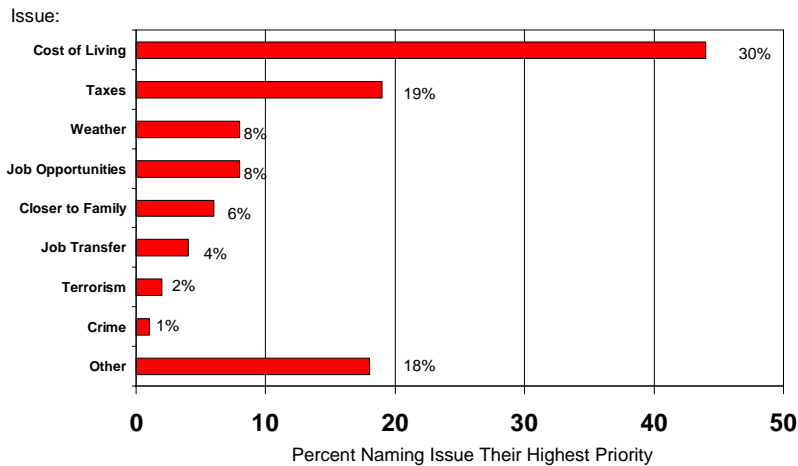


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Overwhelmingly, they cite the high cost of living (30%) and taxes (19%) as their primary motivations for leaving. The LVs most likely to leave include African-Americans (41%), Women under 45 (37%), Unregulated Renters (34%), Men under 45 (32%), and Gun Owners (30%); in contrast, 92% of Jewish Voters plan on staying in New York.

Why They Leave New York

Question 47: And why would you move out of New York State?



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IX. Casinos

Likely New York Voters narrowly support gambling Upstate; 50% support it while 44% oppose it. Compared to Likely Democratic Voters, Likely Voters are just as likely to support casino gambling (50% to 54%) and slightly more likely to oppose it (44% to 34%).⁵ Support for Vegas East is strongest among Jewish Voters (60%), Men under 45 (58%), Faso Ticket Splitters (58%),

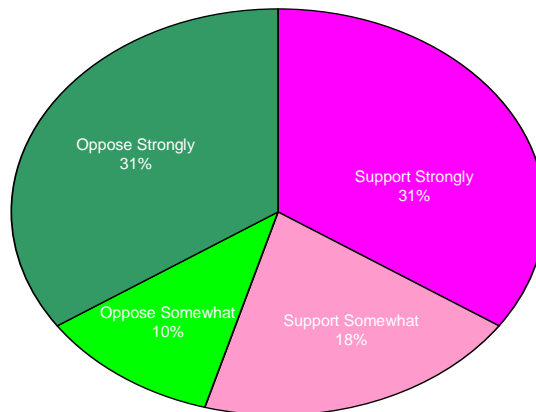
Yet, Likely New York Voters stoutly reject gambling for New York City by 62% opposed to 33% in favor, and that rejection is uniform in every region of the State.

X. Gay Marriage & Liberal Divorce

New Yorkers support gay marriage. Almost half (49%) support gay marriage either “strongly” (31%) or “somewhat” (18%) while 41% oppose it either “somewhat” (10%) or “strongly” (31%). Compared to Likely Democratic Primary Voters, Likely New York Voters are no more likely to support gay marriage (49% to 48%), but they are more likely to oppose it (41% to 32%).

Gay Marriage Approaches Majority

Question 39: Do you support or oppose gay marriage?



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Among those voters who oppose gay marriage, the most common reason for opposing gay marriage is a religious objection (40%). [An addition 9% just feel gay marriage is morally wrong without reference to their religious beliefs.] Religious objections are particularly important to African-Americans (51%). The Prosperous (54%) and Gun Owners (50%) are also unusually likely to cite religious objections. The next most

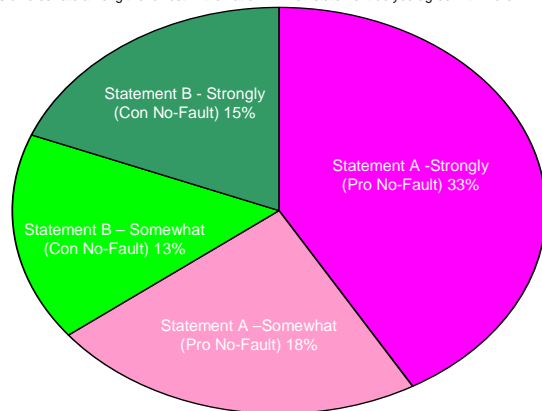
⁵ Numbers for Likely Democratic Primary Voters are taken from The Pace Poll/New York Magazine/WCBS-2 News/WNYC Democratic Primary Poll of 8/21/2006.

common reason is the sense that gay marriage is unnatural because it cannot lead to children (17%). The third most common reason is the belief that marriage is defined as a marriage between a man and a woman (16%). Only 8% of gay marriage opponents support civil unions as an alternative to gay marriage, so that compromise appears unlikely to mollify critics.

Moreover, a majority (51%) support liberalizing New York’s divorce laws. Only 28% oppose such liberalization. These numbers are virtually identical to those among Likely Democratic Primary Voters (51% of whom supported more liberal divorce laws and 28% of whom opposed liberalization). Support for no-fault divorce is greatest among the Middle Aged (63%) and Women under 45 (61%); opposition is strongest among High School Graduates (40%).

New Yorkers Favor No-Fault Divorce

Question 41: Now I'm going to read you some statements about divorces in New York State. When I am done, please tell me which one you agree with more. [ROTATE] Statement A: Some/Other people say that New York State's laws make divorces here far more difficult, expensive, and nasty than divorces in other states. They say New York's divorce laws make the lawyers who handle these cases very rich while forcing people to stay in bad and unhealthy marriages. These people also say New York needs to adopt no-fault divorce like every other state in the country. Statement B: Some/Other people say that New York State's laws should keep it a little difficult to get a divorce. Otherwise, people will divorce too quickly and easily rather than work to save the marriage and that will lead to more divorces and more emotional damage and financial harm to children. These people point out that New York's current divorce laws help keep New York's divorce rate among the lowest in the nation. Which statement do you agree with more?



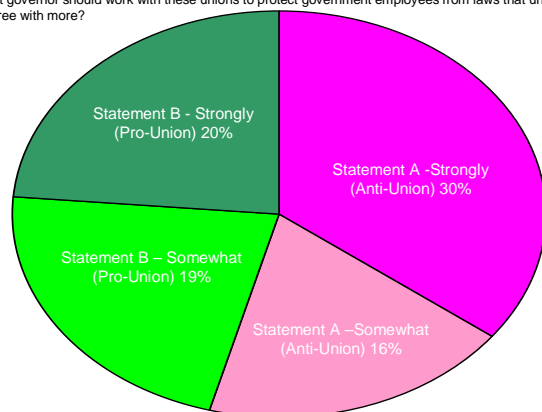
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XI. Public Employee Unions

In what can only be described as a potential Democratic vulnerability, public employee unions are controversial: 46% of Likely Voters think such unions make government more expensive and inefficient while only 39% think these unions defend important ideals. The most support for public employees unions comes from the Upper Middle Class (55%), Union Households (52%), Blacks (51%), Renters (49%), Women under 45 (48%); the greatest opposition comes from New York Suburbanites (56%), Upstate Ruralists (55%), and Gun Owners (55%).

Public Employees Unions Are Controversial

Question 42: Now I'm going to read you some statements about unions that represent government employees. When I am done, please tell me which one you agree with more. [ROTATE] Statement A: Some/Other people say that unions representing government employees make state and local government more expensive and inefficient. They say these unions demand lavish pensions for government employees that taxpayers just can't afford. They say these unions are just special interest groups that put their own interests above the public's, and they say the next governor should try to limit the power and influence of these unions. Statement B: Some/Other people say that the unions representing government employees make state and local government more honest and fair in their dealings with employees and the general public. They say that these unions fight against budget cuts to schools, hospitals, and other essential services, and they say the next governor should work with these unions to protect government employees from laws that unfairly limit their rights to unionize. Which statement do you agree with more?



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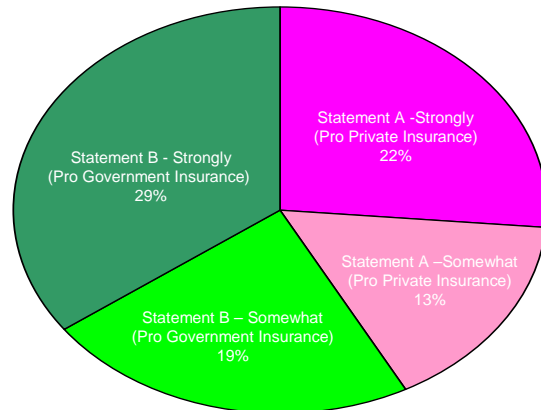
Could this suspicion grow into a political issue? Perhaps, but those who benefit from these unions are far more likely to cast their votes on issues relating to these unions than opponents are because the benefits of unionization are concentrated on the employees and their families while the costs are spread across all taxpayers, so public employee unions remain only a potential vulnerability.

XII. Health Insurance

Support for private health insurance is on life-support – at an out of network hospital. Even when presented with the Massachusetts' model of universal health insurance through the private sector, New Yorkers favor a government-run plan by 48% to 35%.

Will Private Health Insurance Wind-up on the Ash Heap of History?

Question 43: Now I'm going to read you some statements about health insurance, which helps people pay doctors' bills and other medical expenses. When I am done, please tell me which one you agree with more. [ROTATE] Statement A: Some/Other people say that New York State should require people without health insurance to buy it and that the government should help people pay for health insurance if they can't afford it. They say that many uninsured people are young, healthy, and financially well-off, so their failure to buy health insurance forces the rest of us to pay more than our fair share of the high cost of caring for the sick. Statement B: Some/Other people say that New York State should create a government-run health insurance program to replace private health insurance companies and provide health insurance to everyone. They say that private insurance companies drive up the cost of health care by acting as useless middlemen between doctors and patients, and they say that people in other countries spend less money on health care while enjoying better health because they don't waste money on insurance companies. Which statement do you agree with more?



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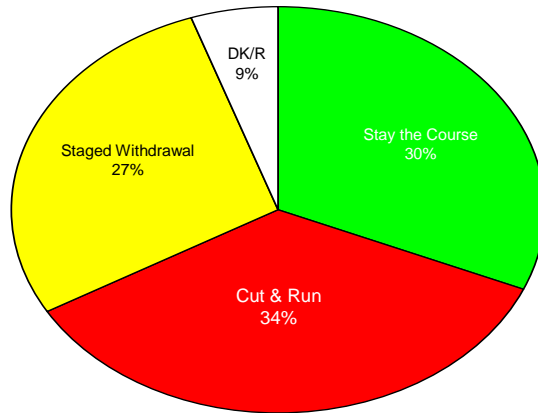
At least as far as New Yorkers are concerned, it seems more and more likely that Hillary Clinton's health insurance reform plan failed because it just wasn't radical enough, and whoever has the courage to call for a single-payer system may well seize this health care issue for themselves.

XIII. Iraq

Although 30% want to stay the course, 61% want to get out of Iraq now (27%) or set a firm deadline for the withdrawal of American troops (34%). Compared to Likely Democratic Primary Voters, however, support for the War is much stronger among Likely Voters generally than it is among Likely Dems, 19% of whom favored staying the course, 37% favored a deadline and 35% favored an immediate exit.

Fewer than 1/3 of New Yorkers Want to Stay the Course in Iraq

Question 44: Thinking about Iraq...Do you think we should [SCRAMBLE] keep American troops in Iraq until the Iraqis Can form a stable and democratic government, set a firm deadline for withdrawing American troops, or withdraw American troops immediately?



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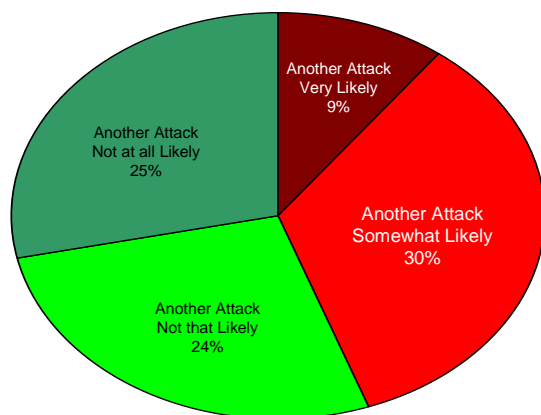
In the context of the Iraq War, Likely Voters reject the draft 60% to 32%. It's worth noting that these numbers are virtually identical to those who want to stay the course (30%) and those who want to end it either immediately or soon (61%). In other words, a draft does not seem likely to affect public support for the War here in New York, but that may only mean that public support has already bottomed-out.

XIV. Terrorism

Almost half (49%) of Likely Voters think it is either "not that likely" (24%) or "not at all likely" (25%) that New York will suffer another terrorist attack within the next few months. Yet, 39% think it is either "very" (9%) or "somewhat" (30%) that we will be so afflicted.

Terrorist Fears Persist

Question 48: How likely is it that there will be another terrorist attack in New York State within the next few months – very likely, somewhat likely, not that likely, not likely at all?



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V. CONCLUSION

Given our natural interest in the horse race, it's easy to think an uncompetitive race is an insignificant one as well, but this election is anything, but insignificant. The viability of the Republican Party in New York State is at issue, and the outcome remains uncertain. If Eliot Spitzer can give the Democrats traction on taxes and regulatory reform and if he can revitalize the Upstate economy, then it's difficult to imagine how any Republican will avoid the fate of this year's Republican candidates.

From a historical perspective, the Republican Party's collapse is remarkable: in 1860, New York made Lincoln President; in 1900, it sent Teddy Roosevelt to serve as Vice President and later President; in 1974, it sent Nelson Rockefeller to serve as Vice President; in 1984, New York's electoral votes went for the GOP; until 1998, it almost always had at least one Republican Senator; in 2002, it re-elected a Republican Governor to his third term; in 2004, it hosted the Republican National Convention, but in 2006, it seems likely that few – if any – Republicans will be elected at any level. Saying this result is just a "bad year" is like saying what happened to the Hindenburg was a "bad moment" in aviation. Something significant is occurring, and only time will tell just how significant this moment was.

VI. METHODOLOGY

This survey is based on statewide phone interviews of 601 Likely Voters between October 12 and 17, 2006. Respondents were randomly selected from a list of New York

State registered voters who have voted in similar past statewide elections and who plan on voting in this November's election. The findings of the survey are statistically significant within a $\pm 4\%$ margin of error at a 95% level of confidence. Though The Pace Poll adheres to strict methodological standards, the practical elements of fielding any survey can introduce additional sources of error.