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**Siena New York Poll:**

## **Voters Keep Gov. Paterson's Ratings Near Record Lows**

**Giuliani Widens Lead Over Gov & Gillibrand; Closes Gap on Cuomo  
*Legislature Blamed Most for Deficit & Held Most Responsible for Solving It***

**Loudonville, NY.** Governor David Paterson's ratings with voters – favorable/unfavorable and job performance ratings, as well as hypothetical electoral contests – remain near record low levels, according to a new Siena (College) Research Institute poll of registered voters. Former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani's potential electoral match-ups all improved in the last month. Voters blame the Democrats who control both houses of the Legislature more than the Governor for the budget deficit, and they hold the Legislature more responsible for proposing ways to close the deficit. When asked about actions that could make them more likely to support the Governor next year, the advice voters provide conflicts with budget realities and the Governor's stated goals.

Paterson's favorable/unfavorable rating is 27-61 percent (29-59 percent last month). His job performance rating is 19 percent positive, 79 percent negative (18-80 percent last month). Only 15 percent are prepared to elect Paterson Governor, while 72 percent prefer 'someone else' (14-71 percent last month). In a Democratic primary, Paterson loses to Attorney General Andrew Cuomo 70-20 percent (66-20 percent last month). In general election match-ups, he loses to Giuliani 56-33 percent (52-35 percent last month) and beats former Congressman Rick Lazio 39-37 percent (39-35 percent last month).

“By every measure, voters continue to keep Governor Paterson in the electoral cellar, and by every measure, Paterson's numbers are within a handful of points or less of his all time record lows,” said Siena New York pollster Steven Greenberg. “It is now nine consecutive months of a favorable rating below 40 percent and eight consecutive months of a job approval rating below 25 percent.

“Nearly three quarters of voters – including two-thirds of Democrats and 56 percent of African Americans – would prefer to elect 'someone else' next year. A potential Democratic primary is now less than a year away, and while a year is a political lifetime, the hill that the Governor must climb is incredibly steep,” Greenberg said.

“While the Governor cannot control the economy, he does have a major say on the state’s budget. More than half of voters say they would be less likely to vote for Paterson if he balances the state budget with significant cuts in health care and education, and 53 percent would be more likely to vote for him if the budget is balanced without tax increases,” Greenberg said. “It’s clear from the Governor’s proposal that he is seeking to do both of those things. While it is arguably good budget policy, voters say it is bad political policy to balance the budget with large education and health care cuts, as he proposed.”

<b>For each event, tell me if it would make you more likely to vote for Paterson for Governor, less likely, or have no effect</b>			
<b>Event</b>	<b>More Likely</b>	<b>Less Likely</b>	<b>No Effect</b>
<i>The state budget is balanced with significant cuts in education and health care spending</i>	14%	<b>56%</b>	27%
<i>New York’s economy improves</i>	<b>54%</b>	7%	37%
<i>The state budget is balanced without any increase in broad based taxes</i>	<b>53%</b>	12%	32%
<i>Same-sex marriage is made legal in New York</i>	16%	32%	<b>51%</b>
<i>A bill to cap property taxes is not passed into law</i>	12%	39%	<b>45%</b>
<i>Meaningful ethics reform of state government is passed into law</i>	41%	10%	<b>43%</b>

**Giuliani Looking Stronger in Favorable Rating & Every Horse Race**

<b>2010 Gubernatorial Horse Race Questions</b>									
<b>Date</b>	<b>Paterson v. Giuliani</b>		<b>Cuomo v. Giuliani</b>		<b>Paterson v. Lazio</b>		<b>Cuomo v. Lazio</b>		
	<b>Paterson</b>	<b>Giuliani</b>	<b>Cuomo</b>	<b>Giuliani</b>	<b>Paterson</b>	<b>Lazio</b>	<b>Cuomo</b>	<b>Lazio</b>	
<b>October 20</b>	33%	<b>56%</b>	<b>50%</b>	43%	<b>39%</b>	37%	<b>66%</b>	21%	
<b>September 22</b>	35%	<b>52%</b>	<b>52%</b>	39%	<b>39%</b>	35%	<b>64%</b>	18%	

“Giuliani beats Paterson by 23 points – up from 17 points last month,” Greenberg said. “He closed the deficit against Cuomo to seven points down from 13. Against Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, Giuliani leads 53-36 percent, up from an eight point lead last month. His 60 percent favorable rating is within three points of his record high.”

**More Blame for Budget Deficit Goes to Dems in Legislature than Governor**

“While 13 percent of voters blame the Governor most for the state’s budget deficit, 19 percent blame the Democrats who control the Senate, 14 percent blame the Democrats who control the Assembly and eight percent volunteered that it was both houses of the Legislature. Another 20 percent blamed the Legislature and the Governor,” Greenberg said. “Clearly, there’s blame for everyone involved.

“Nearly half of voters – 46 percent – say the Legislature is most responsible for proposing ways to close the deficit, compared to 32 percent who say it’s the Governor’s responsibility,” Greenberg said. “Three quarters of voters do not believe the deficit will be closed without increased taxes, as the Governor proposed.”

**Cuomo Should Run for Governor & He Can Take His Time Deciding What to Run For**

“By a 49-36 percent margin, voters say Cuomo should run for Governor rather than re-election for Attorney General. And 53 percent of voters say Cuomo can wait several months before announcing what he’s running for, compared to 34 percent who say he should declare now what he’s running for,” Greenberg said

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## Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about David Paterson?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	27	61	12
September 2009	29	59	13
August 2009	32	55	12
July 2009	36	56	8
June 2009	31	57	11
May 2009	27	60	13
April 2009	27	63	10
March 2009	29	58	13
February 2009	40	47	13
January 29, 2009	54	30	17
January 26, 2009	60	23	16
December 2008	63	22	16
November 2008	64	19	17
October 27, 2008	62	19	18
September 2008	59	13	28
August 2008	59	16	26
July 2008	57	15	28
June 2008	57	17	25
May 2008	48	17	35
April 2008	48	18	34
March 24, 2008	58	10	31
January 2007	17	8	76
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>64 (11/08)</b>	<b>63 (4/09)</b>	<b>76 (1/07)</b>

How would you rate the job that David Paterson is doing as Governor – excellent, good, fair, or poor?

DATE	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	1	18	43	36	1
September 2009	2	16	41	39	2
August 2009	3	20	38	38	2
July 2009	2	20	41	36	1
June 2009	2	18	39	39	2
May 2009	2	16	43	38	1
April 2009	1	17	41	40	2
March 2009	1	18	46	32	2
February 2009	2	26	46	23	3
January 26, 2009	8	43	35	10	4
December 2008	9	46	32	8	4
November 2008	9	46	34	7	4
October 27, 2008	7	48	35	5	5
September 2008	7	44	33	4	12
August 2008	7	45	30	5	12
July 2008	7	41	34	5	13
June 2008	6	38	31	6	19
May 2008	5	35	28	4	29
April 2008	4	30	30	4	32
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>9 (12/08)</b>	<b>48 (10/08)</b>	<b>46 (3/09, 2/09)</b>	<b>40 (4/09)</b>	<b>32 (4/08)</b>

# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 2

If David Paterson runs for Governor in 2010, would you vote to elect him or would you prefer someone else?

DATE	ELECT	PREFER SOMEONE ELSE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	15	72	13
September 2009	14	71	16
August 2009	15	68	16
July 2009	17	69	13
June 2009	15	70	15
May 2009	15	71	15
April 2009	12	71	17
March 2009	14	67	19
February 2009	19	57	24
January 26, 2009	32	36	32
December 2008	36	31	33
November 2008	42	32	26
October 27, 2008	40	29	31
September 2008	35	25	39
August 2008	35	26	40
July 2008	34	27	40
June 2008	30	30	40
May 2008	29	25	47
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>42 (11/08)</b>	<b>72 (10/09)</b>	<b>47 (5/08)</b>

(DEMS ONLY): Looking ahead to 2010 and the next election for Governor. If the Democratic primary for governor were held today and the candidates were David Paterson or Andrew Cuomo, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	PATERSON	CUOMO	SUOZZI	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	20	70	NA	10
September 2009	20	66	NA	14
August 2009	23	65	NA	12
July 2009	23	65	NA	13
June 2009	16	69	NA	15
May 2009	19	70	NA	11
April 2009	11	64	8	17
March 2009	17	67	NA	17
February 2009	27	53	NA	20
January 26, 2009	35	33	NA	33
December 2008	49	26	NA	25
November 2008	53	25	NA	22
July 2008	51	21	NA	28
June 2008	43	31	NA	26
May 2008	42	29	NA	29
April 2008	35	30	7	28
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>53 (11/08)</b>	<b>70 (10/09, 5/09)</b>	<b>8 (4/09)</b>	<b>33 (1/09)</b>

If the 2010 election for governor were held today and the candidates were David Paterson on the Democratic line and Rick Lazio on the Republican line, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	PATERSON	LAZIO	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	39	37	23
September 2009	39	35	26
August 2009	38	37	25
July 2009	41	39	20
February 2009	46	28	26
January 26, 2009	52	22	26
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>52 (1/09)</b>	<b>39 (7/09)</b>	<b>26 (9/09, 2/09, 1/09)</b>

# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 3

If the 2010 election for governor were held today and the candidates were David Paterson on the Democratic line and Rudy Giuliani on the Republican line, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	PATERSON	GIULIANI	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	33	56	11
September 2009	35	52	13
August 2009	33	56	11
July 2009	34	57	9
June 2009	27	57	15
May 2009	31	59	10
April 2009	29	56	15
March 2009	33	56	11
February 2009	36	51	13
January 26, 2009	44	42	14
December 2008	51	38	11
November 2008	49	43	8
October 27, 2008	51	40	9
September 2008	50	40	10
August 2008	48	38	15
July 2008	47	40	13
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>51 (10/08, 12/08)</b>	<b>59 (5/09)</b>	<b>15 (4/09, 8/08)</b>

If the 2010 election for governor were held today and the candidates were Andrew Cuomo on the Democratic line and Rudy Giuliani on the Republican line, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	CUOMO	GIULIANI	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	50	43	6
September 2009	52	39	9
August 2009	53	40	7
July 2009	49	44	7
June 2009	49	40	11
May 2009	53	41	6
April 2009	53	39	8
March 2009	51	41	9
February 2009	51	38	11
January 26, 2009	48	39	13
December 2008	50	37	13
November 2008	44	46	10
July 2008	47	42	11
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>53 (8/09, 5/09, 4/09)</b>	<b>46 (11/08)</b>	<b>13 (12/08, 1/09)</b>

If the 2010 election for governor were held today and the candidates were Andrew Cuomo on the Democratic line and Rick Lazio on the Republican line, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	CUOMO	LAZIO	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	66	21	14
September 2009	64	18	18
August 2009	66	16	18
July 2009	65	20	15
February 2009	66	16	18
January 26, 2009	61	17	22
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>66 (10/09, 5/09, 2/09)</b>	<b>21 (10/09)</b>	<b>22 (1/09)</b>

– more –

# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 4

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about Rick Lazio?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	23	27	50
September 2009	22	25	53
August 2009	21	22	57
July 2009	25	22	53
February 2009	23	23	54
January 26, 2009	19	18	64
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>25 (7/09)</b>	<b>27 (10/09)</b>	<b>64 (1/09)</b>

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about Andrew Cuomo?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	67	20	14
September 2009	66	21	13
August 2009	70	14	16
July 2009	63	21	16
June 2009	71	17	12
May 2009	66	20	14
April 2009	66	18	16
March 2009	68	17	15
February 2009	69	18	13
January 26, 2009	64	17	19
December 2008	59	24	17
November 2008	61	19	20
October 27, 2008	59	25	16
September 2008	54	24	22
August 2008	54	25	21
July 2008	57	23	21
June 2008	57	22	21
May 2008	56	25	20
April 2008	55	24	21
March 24, 2008	53	25	22
January 2008	51	29	20
December 2007	52	29	19
November 2007	56	27	17
October 2007	54	29	17
September 2007	51	26	24
July 2007	55	26	19
June 2007	49	31	20
May 2007	51	32	18
April 2007	52	31	18
March 2007	50	32	19
February 2007	45	35	20
January 2007	48	29	23
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>71 (6/09)</b>	<b>42 (10/06)</b>	<b>24 (1/06, 2/06, 9/07)</b>
<b>LOWEST EVER</b>	<b>44 (8/06, 10/06)</b>	<b>14 (8/09)</b>	<b>12 (6/09)</b>

Would you prefer to see Attorney General Andrew Cuomo run for re-election as Attorney General next year or would you prefer to see him run for Governor instead?

DATE	ATTORNEY GENERAL	GOVERNOR	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	36	49	15
September 2009	34	47	18
August 2009	31	52	17
July 2009	31	45	24
June 2009	35	46	19
May 2009	33	47	20
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>36 (10/09)</b>	<b>52 (8/09)</b>	<b>24 (7/09)</b>

– more –

# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 5

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about Rudy Giuliani?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	60	35	5
September 2009	56	38	6
August 2009	57	35	8
July 2009	61	34	5
June 2009	62	33	5
May 2009	61	35	5
April 2009	55	41	4
March 2009	58	36	6
February 2009	58	35	7
January 29, 2009	60	35	5
January 26, 2009	59	33	8
December 2008	50	43	7
November 2008	57	39	4
August 2008	51	42	7
July 2008	51	39	10
January 2008	44	48	8
December 2007	48	46	6
November 2007	49	41	11
September 2007	53	39	9
July 2007	53	40	7
June 2007	50	42	8
May 2007	51	43	6
April 2007	56	38	6
March 2007	60	33	8
February 2007	59	34	7
January 2007	63	29	9
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>63 (1/07, 10/06, 4/05)</b>	<b>48 (1/08)</b>	<b>11 (11/07, 2/05)</b>
<b>LOWEST EVER</b>	<b>44 (1/08)</b>	<b>26 (4/05)</b>	<b>4 (4/09, 11/08)</b>

Would you like Rudy Giuliani to run for Governor of New York in 2010, United States Senator, or would you prefer that he not run for Governor or Senator in 2010?

DATE	GOVERNOR	SENATOR	NOT RUN FOR EITHER	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	32	21	43	4
September 2009	27	24	45	4
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>32 (10/09)</b>	<b>24 (9/09)</b>	<b>45 (9/09)</b>	<b>4 (10/09, 9/09)</b>

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about Richard Ravitch?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	16	18	66
July 2009	19	19	62
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>19 (7/09)</b>	<b>19 (7/09)</b>	<b>66 (10/09)</b>

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about Kirsten Gillibrand?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	28	26	46
September 2009	29	24	47
August 2009	29	20	52
May 2009	33	21	46
April 2009	33	23	44
March 2009	26	20	54
February 2009	34	20	46
January 29, 2009	30	14	56
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>34 (2/09)</b>	<b>26 (10/09)</b>	<b>56 (1/09)</b>

# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 6

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about George Pataki?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	53	34	12
August 2009	53	35	13
May 2009	53	36	11
April 2009	49	43	8
March 2009	49	41	10
February 2007	36	57	7
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>53 (10/09, 8/09, etc)</b>	<b>57 (2/07)</b>	<b>16 (2/05)</b>
<b>LOWEST EVER</b>	<b>36 (2/07)</b>	<b>34 (10/09)</b>	<b>7 (many; most recently 2/07)</b>

If the 2010 election for United States Senator were held today and the candidates were Kirsten Gillibrand on the Democratic line and Rudy Giuliani on the Republican line, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	GILLIBRAND	GIULIANI	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	36	53	10
September 2009	38	46	16
January 2009	44	42	14
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>44 (1/09)</b>	<b>53 (10/09)</b>	<b>16 (9/09)</b>

If the 2010 election for United States Senator were held today and the candidates were Kirsten Gillibrand on the Democratic line and George Pataki on the Republican line, who would you vote for? (CANDIDATE CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	GILLIBRAND	PATAKI	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	41	46	13
August 2009	39	42	18
May 2009	43	43	14
March 2009	41	41	18
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>43 (5/09)</b>	<b>46 (10/09)</b>	<b>18 (8/09, 3/09)</b>

As things stand now, if the election for State Senate were held today, would you vote to re-elect your incumbent Senator or would you prefer someone else?

DATE	RE-ELECT	PREFER SOMEONE ELSE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	40	46	15
September 2009	38	45	17
August 2009	37	43	20
July 2009	31	40	28
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>40 (10/09)</b>	<b>46 (10/09)</b>	<b>28 (7/09)</b>

Governor Paterson says that he wants the budget deficit closed by cutting spending and not increasing taxes or fees. Do you think he will be successful in closing the deficit without raising taxes or fees?

DATE	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	19	75	6
September 2009	15	80	5
August 2009	17	77	7
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>19 (10/09)</b>	<b>80 (9/09)</b>	<b>7 (8/09)</b>

Governor Paterson says the state has a budget deficit of more than two billion dollars in the current year budget. Which of the following ways to close the state budget deficit do you think should be the top priority? (CHOICES WERE ROTATED)

DATE	INCREASE			CUT SPENDING ON			SOME-THING ELSE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION	
	INCOME TAX	SALES TAX	BUSINESS TAX	ROADS/ BRIDGES	HEALTH CARE	LOCAL GOVT.			EDUCATION
October 2009	5	14	16	8	4	32	3	10	9
September 2009	6	10	15	10	4	31	5	4	10
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>6 (9/09)</b>	<b>14 (10/09)</b>	<b>16 (10/09)</b>	<b>10 (9/09)</b>	<b>4 (10/09, 9/09)</b>	<b>32 (10/09)</b>	<b>5 (9/09)</b>	<b>10 (10/09)</b>	<b>10 (9/09)</b>



# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 7

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about Barack Obama?

DATE	FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	65	31	4
September 2009	65	31	4
August 2009	70	23	6
May 2009	72	23	5
April 2009	75	19	6
March 2009	70	23	7
February 2009	74	18	8
January 26, 2009	81	10	9
December 2008	76	16	7
November 2008	70	23	8
October 27, 2008	67	28	5
October 2, 2008	64	29	7
September 2008	56	32	12
August 2008	54	34	12
July 2008	57	32	12
June 2008	58	30	13
May 2008	55	34	11
April 2008	54	34	12
March 24, 2008	56	32	13
March 3, 2008	56	31	13
February 2008	60	30	10
January 2008	57	28	15
December 2007	55	30	15
September 2007	56	24	20
June 2007	53	24	23
May 2007	58	22	20
April 2007	55	23	22
March 2007	52	20	28
February 2007	52	21	28
January 2007	50	17	34
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>81 (1/09)</b>	<b>34 (8/08, 5/08, 4/08)</b>	<b>40 (11/06)</b>
<b>LOWEST EVER</b>	<b>48 (11/06)</b>	<b>10 (1/09)</b>	<b>4 (10/09, 9/09)</b>

Is the United States on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?

DATE	RIGHT TRACK	WRONG DIRECTION	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	48	43	10
September 2009	49	42	9
August 2009	52	37	10
July 2009	49	41	10
May 2009	62	31	7
April 2009	61	29	11
March 2009	50	36	14
February 2009	48	39	13
January 26, 2009	61	24	15
December 2008	41	48	11
November 2008	44	44	13
October 27, 2008	19	69	12
September 2008	28	56	17
September 2007	23	64	13
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>62 (5/09)</b>	<b>69 (10/08)</b>	<b>17 (9/08)</b>

– more –

# Siena New York Poll Trends – October 2009

Page 8

Do you support or oppose the President's approach to reforming health care in the U.S. or do you need more information in order to say?

DATE	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	NEED MORE INFO	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	36	27	37	0
September 2009	36	21	43	1
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>36 (10/09, 9/09)</b>	<b>27 (10/09)</b>	<b>43 (9/09)</b>	<b>1 (9/09)</b>

Is New York State on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?

DATE	RIGHT TRACK	WRONG DIRECTION	DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
October 2009	24	61	15
September 2009	28	57	15
August 2009	28	57	15
July 2009	23	64	13
June 2009	24	63	13
May 2009	33	52	14
April 2009	27	57	15
March 2009	30	52	19
February 2009	31	53	16
January 26, 2009	39	42	19
December 2008	37	44	19
November 2008	39	43	18
October 27, 2008	39	41	19
October 2, 2008	35	40	25
September 2008	35	37	28
August 2008	34	44	22
July 2008	36	39	25
June 2008	30	46	23
May 2008	32	43	26
April 2008	33	48	20
March 24, 2008	34	41	26
February 2008	33	43	24
January 2008	39	38	23
December 2007	35	45	21
November 2007	32	45	23
October 2007	42	36	22
September 2007	44	30	26
July 2007	37	38	25
June 2007	45	28	27
May 2007	46	29	25
April 2007	47	29	24
March 2007	37	37	26
February 2007	49	26	25
January 2007	45	26	30
<b>HIGHEST EVER</b>	<b>52 (11/15/06)</b>	<b>64 (7/09)</b>	<b>30 (1/07)</b>
<b>LOWEST EVER</b>	<b>23 (7/09)</b>	<b>26 (1/07)</b>	<b>13 (7/09, 6/09)</b>

**Poll Trend Notes:** Trends reflect questions asked at least twice since the first Siena New York poll in February 2005. Results listed here include all times questions have been asked since January 2007

“Highest Ever” is provided at the bottom of each question. “Lowest Ever” is presented at the bottom of each question that was asked prior to 2007.

All surveys are of registered voters except for the polls of September 2008, October 2008, September 2006, and October 2006, which are polls of likely registered voters.