

SUPREME COURT, STATE OF COLORADO

2 East 14th Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80203

**ORIGINAL PROCEEDING PURSUANT TO
§ 1-40-107(2), C.R.S. (2006)
Appeal from the Ballot Title Setting Board**

**IN THE MATTER OF PROPOSED INITIATIVE 2007-
2008, #31**

Petitioners:

**POLLY BACA, KRISTY SCHLOSS, and RON
MONTROYA, Objectors,**

v.

Respondents:

VALERY ORR and LINDA CHAVEZ, Proponents,

and

**Title Board: WILLIAM A. HOBBS, DANIEL L.
CARTIN, and DANIEL DOMENICO**

Submitted by:

**Victor R. Ridder
Amicus Curiae
1900 Grant Street, Suite 1170
Denver, Colorado 80203
Telephone: (303) 832-2444**

**FILED IN THE
SUPREME COURT**

JUL 27 2007

**OF THE STATE OF COLORADO
SUSAN J. FESTAG, CLERK**

▲ COURT USE ONLY ▲

Case No. 07SA197

**BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE VICTOR R. RIDDER IN
SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS**

I. BACKGROUND OF THE AMICUS CURAIE

Victor "Rick" Ridder has been a public opinion research and strategic advisor to ballot initiative and candidate campaigns for 35 years. Based in Colorado, Ridder's firm has worked on 23 statewide ballot measures in Colorado in the past three decades. Ridder's firm has supervised several hundred polls and focus groups for initiatives, referenda, and numerous campaigns. Additionally, Ridder has worked on dozens of ballot initiatives in other states and several ballot initiatives in Australia, Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain.

II. SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The title of a ballot initiative has an enormous impact on the choice made by the voter. The strategy groups of nascent ballot initiative campaigns typically spend countless hours finding ballot initiative language that will give their cause an advantage and increase their chances of winning passage of the proposal. The term "preferential treatment" is a term used by groups to evoke support to ban affirmative action programs and is just the kind of term that would arise as part of a campaign strategy.

There is evidence to demonstrate that the use of the "preferential treatment" phrase would be a wise move for the proponents of the ballot initiative. Public opinion research results issued by the Pew Center for People and Politics this spring demonstrate that the "preferential treatment" language leads to a shift in attitudes on the policy of affirmative action. After reviewing the title of Proposed Initiative for 2007-2008 #31, and the use of the term "preferential treatment" in Section 1, there is little doubt that this

is a political catch phrase that evokes an emotional feeling from voters that is likely to increase support for the measure regardless of the substance of the policy.

Furthermore, the most recent statewide campaign, held in Michigan, for a very similar ballot initiative, employed the “preferential treatment” phrase in their campaign advertising.

Given this evidence, to leave such a phrase in the ballot language would extend persuasive rhetoric of the campaign effort into the polling booth.

III. ARGUMENT

Publicly available research has demonstrated that permitting the use of the catch phrase “preferential treatment” on a neutral voting ballot would be an unacceptable and unfair influence on voters in the ballot box.

The Pew Research Center for The People & The Press released the results of a poll on March 22, 2007 entitled “Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987 – 2007.”(see attached)¹ The Pew Center decided to highlight a key finding about public attitudes toward affirmative action, concluding that there was a dissonance between support for affirmative action policies and support for “preferential treatment”

“[n]otably, there has been a dramatic rise in support for affirmative action since the mid-1990s. Currently, 70% say they favor affirmative action programs, up from 58% in 1995. But there continues to be widespread opposition to granting minorities ‘preferential treatment’ to level the playing field, though the number who favor preferences has grown modestly since 2002.”²

¹ Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007, The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=312>, March 22, 2007. The poll was conducted from December 12, 2006 to January 9, 2007 and had a sample size of 2,007 respondents.

² Id. p.39

There are two questions in the Pew poll that give rise to this conclusion. The first is question 4(e), which asks “as I read some programs and proposals that are being discussed in the country today, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each.... Affirmative action programs designed to help blacks, women and other minorities get better jobs and education.”³ Seventy percent of respondents strongly favor or favor affirmative action programs while only 25% would oppose or strongly oppose this proposal.

Later in the poll, question 20F1(1.F1) asks “...for each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it...[w]e should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities even if it means giving them preferential treatment.”⁴ The results to this question are almost a mirror opposite to the previous question, with only 34% of respondents saying they completely or mostly agree, while 62% say that they completely or mostly disagree with the statement. This simple change in wording caused a 36% swing in support against the proposal. Respondents that had previously indicated that they were overwhelmingly in favor of affirmative action later indicated that they overwhelmingly oppose “preferential treatment,” exposing the opinion shaping capacity of the loaded “preferential treatment” catchphrase.

While the second question employs the phrase “every possible effort” and omits naming “women” as one of the beneficiaries, these changes in wording have far less impact than the use of the phrase “preferential treatment,” as the Pew Center concluded.

³ Id. p.70

⁴ Id. p.91

Moreover, the impact of the phrase is demonstrated in the way that proponent campaigns have employed the term as a means to influence public opinion. Last year, an initiative that is almost identical to the Proposed Initiative 2007-2008 #31 filed here in Colorado was on the ballot in Michigan. The initiative was called "Proposal 2." The proponents for Proposal 2 launched a radio ad that included the following phrase: "Proposal 2 bans giving preferential treatment to anyone based on their skin color or gender—it's that simple."⁵ The words used in expensive campaign advertisements are carefully chosen, and the inclusion of the phrase "preferential treatment" demonstrates that the phenomenon illustrated in the Pew research is likely to be exploited by the proponent campaign. "Proposal 2" was passed into law by the voters in Michigan.

While it is the right of every campaign to employ phrases that persuade the voters to support their position, the state should not sanction such phrases and make them available in the polling booth for the benefit of one side. The massive swing of support illustrated in the most recent Pew research, along with the use of the catch phrase in the most recent high-profile campaign to ban affirmative action in another state, leave little doubt that "preferential treatment" is a catch phrase that will detract from the ability of voters to make a sober assessment of the strengths or weaknesses of Proposed Initiative 2007-2008 #31.

IV. CONCLUSION

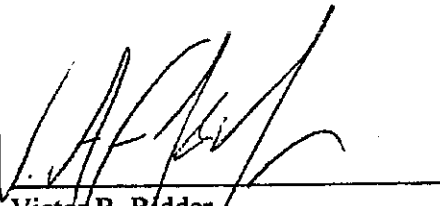
For the reasons above, the undersigned respectfully requests that the Court invalidate the title of Proposed Initiative 2007-2008 #31 ("Prohibition on Discrimination

⁵ Campaign website for the Michigan Civil Rights Institute, registered proponents of "Proposal 2" http://www.michigancivilrights.org/audio/mcrici_radio_ad2.mp3, downloaded July 13, 2007.

and Preferential Treatment by Colorado Governments") because it contains an impermissible catch phrase.

DATED: 7/16/07

Respectfully submitted,



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Amicus Curiae
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Telephone: (303) 832-2444

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I HEREBY CERTIFY that on this 16th day of July, 2007, a true and correct copy of the foregoing **AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS** was served via hand delivery to the following addressees:

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Work Experience

RBI Strategies and Research, Denver, CO

1985-Present

Founder and President. Started firm with partner as a small voter file vender ad state-based political consulting firm, now considered one of the leading international political consulting firms offering campaign and organizational consulting, qualitative and quantitative research, training and voter file products. Current and past clients include:

- Six U.S. presidential candidates, including Campaign Manager of Dean for America
- Six heads of state
- Numerous members of the U.S. Congress
- International, national, and state political parties
- Non-profit organizations and corporations

Client Management

- Oversaw organized and implemented:
 - Strategic and tactical campaign and field plans
 - Message development for campaigns and organizations
 - Qualitative and quantitative research
 - Statistical analysis of voting behavior
 - Public outreach efforts
 - Campaign, activist, and non-profit training
 - Event planning including press conferences, rallies and international conferences
 - Creation and production of radio and television spots
 - Considered an expert on campaign budgeting and administration

Fiscal Oversight

- Grew business from start-up to over \$1.5 million in annual revenues.
 - Oversight of corporate finances of a sub-chapters S corporation including preparation of accounts for year-end taxes
 - Responsible for corporate development and sales

Personnel

- Hired and managed a professional staff of as many as sixty
 - Developed staff guidelines and procedures
 - Set salary and benefit schedule
 - Devised organizational structure
 - Created and delineated staff responsibilities

Hart for President, Washington, DC **1983-1984**

National Field Director. Responsible for design and implementation of field programs in caucus and primary states.

- Selected and assigned State Coordinators
- Responsible for the performance of a staff of 200 and supervised national "Boiler Room"

Hart Convention Floor Manager. Democratic National Convention. Designed and implemented floor activities and strategy at National Convention.

- Responsible for development of communications from floor leaders to "boiler room"
- Assigned and coordinated key Hart leaders
- Directed floor demonstrations
- Briefed members of the press on floor activities, and acted as campaign spokesperson

Coloradans for Lamm/Dick, Denver, CO **1982**

Deputy Field Director. Supervised all statewide field activities. Developed and implemented field strategy. Prepared targeting materials. Directed statewide Get-Out-the-Vote effort.

National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, Washington, DC **1981**

Field Coordinator. Hired by Ralph Nader to organize NCCB state chapters. Headed low-power television project.

Hart for Senate, Denver, CO **Fall 1980**

Field Staff. Directed field activities in Larimer, Weld, and Morgan counties

Backstage Ltd., Cambridge, MA **1978-1980**

President. Supervised all aspects of a television and radio production company. Handled all artist and union negotiations. Responsible for corporate finance. Clients included the BBC, ABC, and Showtime. Artists included Jay Leno, Waylon Jennings, Tanya Tucker, the Police, the Cars, and Bonnie Raitt.

Education

B.A. Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT **1977**
Major: American Studies. Departmental Honors.

M.S. Broadcasting, Boston University, Boston, MA. **1980**

Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA **1978**
Special Student

Awards and Honors

Pollie Award as International Political Consultant of the Year	1999
Gleitsman Foundation Award of Achievement "In recognition of commitment and leadership initiating social change."	2004
Ballie Award for "Best Diversionary Strategy"	2004
Congressional Record Tribute	2004
Two Pollie Awards won by firm for creative entries	2007

Publications and Media Appearances

- The Ridder/Braden Manual for Initiative Campaigns prepared for the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center and the Human Rights Campaign Fund
- Primer on Use of Telephones in Campaigns for the Liberal Democrats of the UK
- Primer on U.S. Senate Campaign Budgeting for the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee
- Various newspaper and periodical articles appearing in such publications as *Campaigns and Elections*, *In These Times*, *AlterNet*, *Access*, and The Manship School Guide to Political Communication
- Radio Documentary aired on National Public Radio
- Appeared on major international and national radio and television networks. Special guest on "The Al Franken Show," "Good Morning Australia." "Australian Broadcasting," and the BBC
- Quoted extensively in local, national, and international newspapers and magazines
- Speaker at numerous symposia, conferences, and training

Corporate, Community, and Organizational Leadership

Board of Trustees, Verde Valley School, Sedona, AZ	1975-1978
Director, Philadelphia Investment Group, NY, NY	1979-1981
Member, Denver Women's Commission	1993-1995
Member, Board of Directors, Colorado NARAL	1996-1999
Official Representative, State of Colorado President William Clinton	1996
President, International Association of Political Consultants	1999-2001
Treasurer, Glen Canyon Institute	2005-Current
Member, Board of Directors, Resource Media	Current



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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 2007, 2:00 PM

Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007
POLITICAL LANDSCAPE MORE FAVORABLE TO DEMOCRATS

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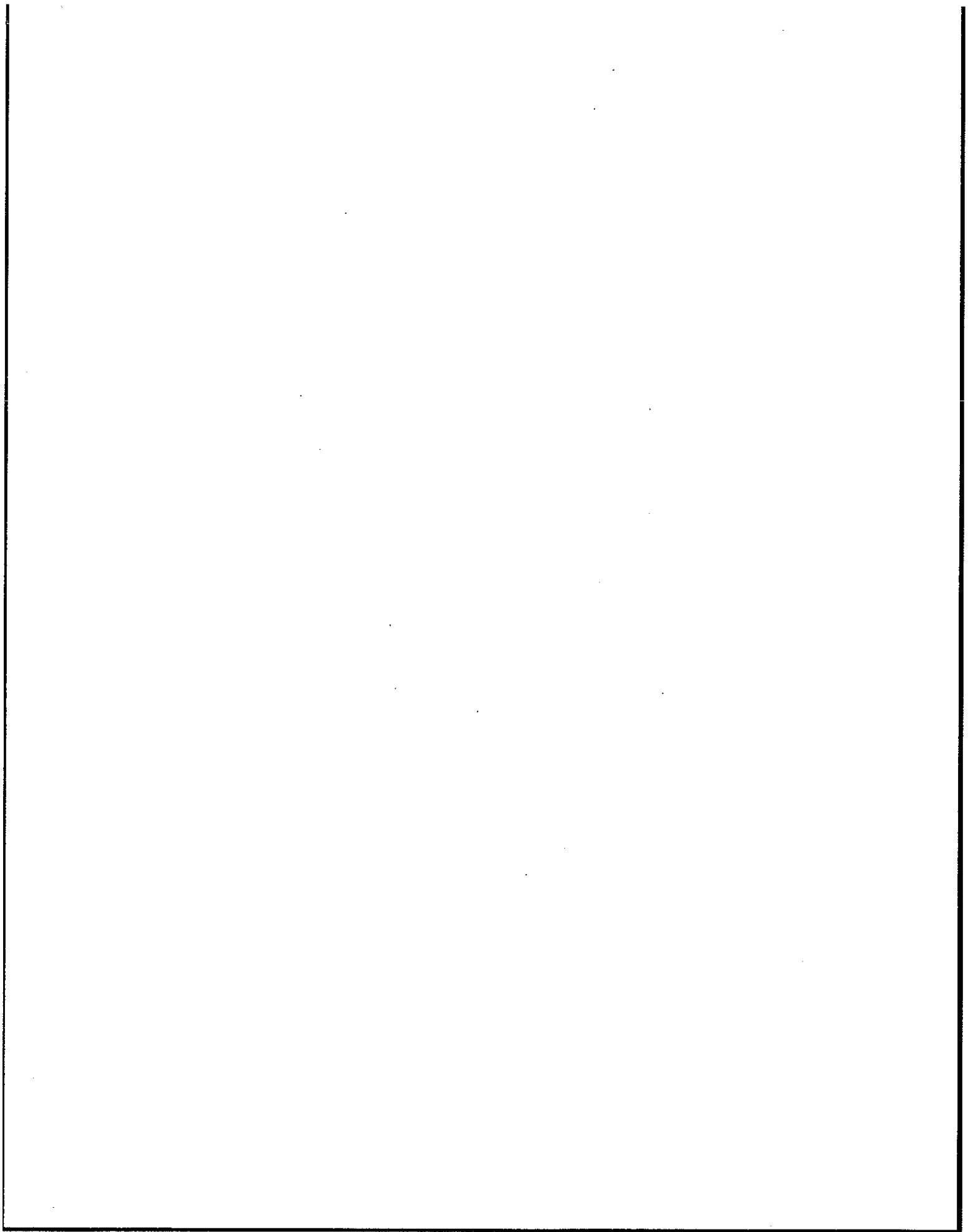
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POLITICAL LANDSCAPE MORE FAVORABLE TO DEMOCRATS
Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007

Pew Research Center for the People & the Press
 March 22, 2007

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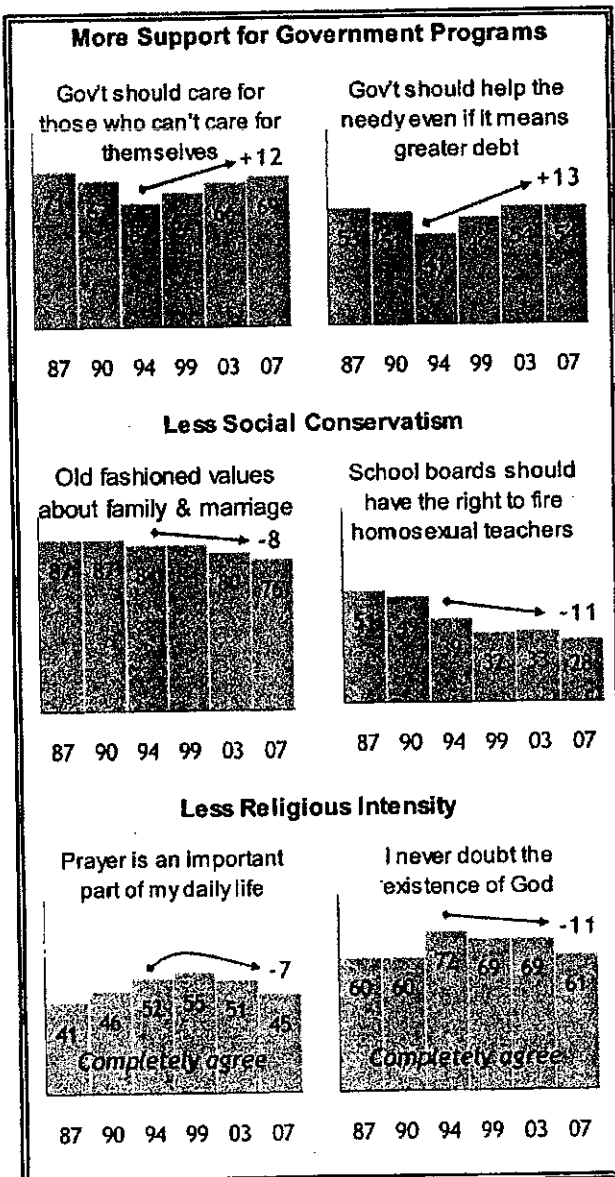
Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE MORE FAVORABLE TO DEMOCRATS

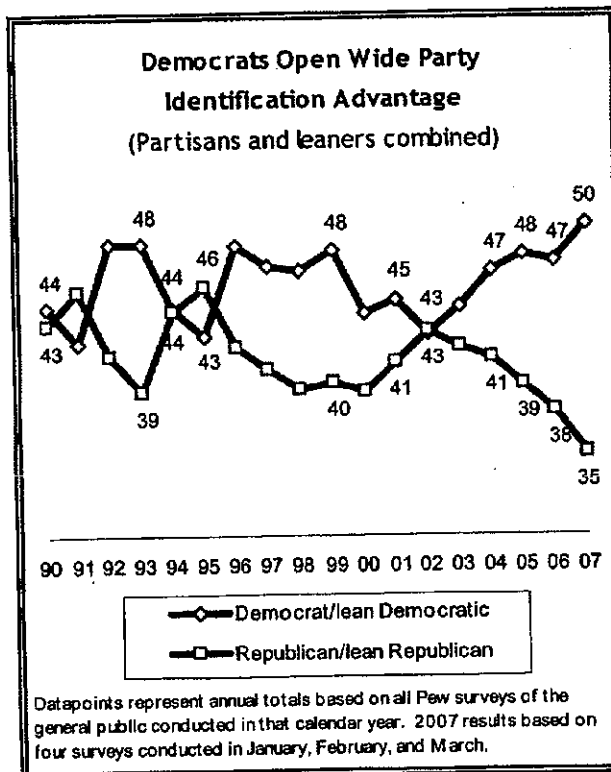
Increased public support for the social safety net, signs of growing public concern about income inequality, and a diminished appetite for assertive national security policies have improved the political landscape for the Democrats as the 2008 presidential campaign gets underway.

At the same time, many of the key trends that nurtured the Republican resurgence in the mid-1990s have moderated, according to Pew's longitudinal measures of the public's basic political, social and economic values. The proportion of Americans who support traditional social values has edged downward since 1994, while the proportion of Americans expressing strong personal religious commitment also has declined modestly.

Even more striking than the changes in some core political and social values is the dramatic shift in party identification that has occurred during the past five years. In 2002, the country was equally divided along partisan lines: 43% identified with the Republican Party or leaned to the GOP, while an identical proportion said they were Democrats. Today, half of the public (50%) either identifies as a Democrat or says they lean to the Democratic Party, compared with 35% who align with the GOP.



Yet the Democrats' growing advantage in party identification is tempered by the fact that the Democratic Party's overall standing with the public is no better than it was when President Bush was first inaugurated in 2001. Instead, it is the Republican Party that has rapidly lost public support, particularly among political independents. Faced with an unpopular president who is waging an increasingly unpopular war, the proportion of Americans who hold a favorable view of the Republican Party stands at 41%, down 15 points since January 2001. But during that same period, the proportion expressing a positive view of Democrats has declined by six points, to 54%.



The study of the public's political values and attitudes by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press – the most recent in a series of such reports dating back to 1987 – finds a pattern of rising support since the mid-1990s for government action to help disadvantaged Americans. More Americans believe that the government has a responsibility to take care of people who cannot take care of themselves, and that it should help more needy people even if it means going deeper into debt.

These attitudes have undergone a major change since 1994, when the Republicans won control of Congress. In particular, 54% say the government should help more needy people, even if it adds to the nation's debt, up from just 41% in 1994. All party groups are now more supportive of government aid to the poor, though Republicans remain much less supportive than Democrats or independents if it means adding to the deficit.

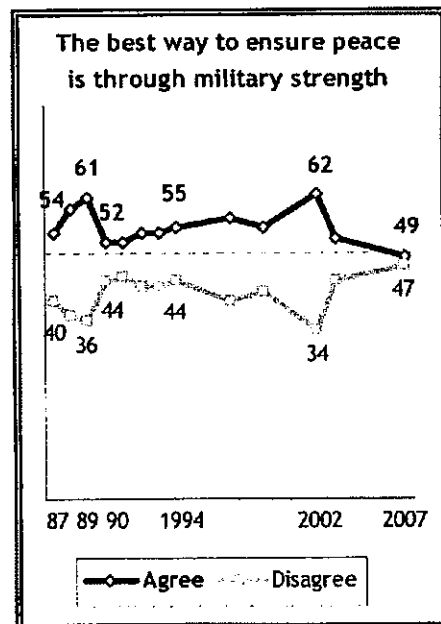
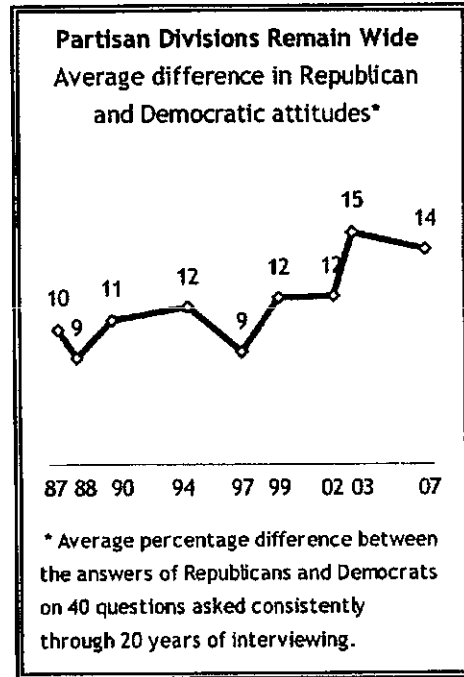
Despite these favorable shifts in support for more government help for the poor, 69% agree that "poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs." Still, the number in agreement has been declining over the past decade.

More broadly, the poll finds that money worries are rising. More than four-in-ten (44%) say they “don’t have enough money to make ends meet,” up from 35% in 2002. While a majority continues to say they are “pretty well satisfied” with their personal financial situation, that number is lower than it has been in more than a decade.

In addition, an increasing number of Americans subscribe to the sentiment “today it’s really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer.” Currently, 73% concur with that sentiment, up from 65% five years ago. Growing concerns about income inequality are most apparent among affluent Americans; large percentages of lower-income people have long held this opinion.

The new survey also shows that the deep partisan fissure in values and core attitudes revealed in Pew’s previous survey in 2003 has narrowed slightly. But Republicans and Democrats remain far apart in their fundamental attitudes toward government, national security, social values, and even in evaluations of personal finances. Three-in-four (74%) Republicans with annual incomes of less than \$50,000 say they are “pretty well satisfied” with their financial conditions compared with 40% of Democrats and 39% of independents with similar incomes.

Even as Americans express greater commitment to solving domestic problems, they voice more hesitancy about global engagement. They also are less disposed than five years ago to favor a strong military as the best way to ensure peace. In 2002, less than a year after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, more than six-in-ten agreed with the statement, “The best way to ensure peace is through military strength.” Today, about half express similar confidence in military power.



The latest values survey, conducted Dec. 12, 2006-Jan. 9, 2007, finds a reversal of increased religiosity observed in the mid-1990s. While most Americans remain religious in both belief and practice, the percentage expressing strong religious beliefs has edged down since the 1990s. And the survey finds an increase in the relatively small percentage of the public that can be categorized as secular. In Pew surveys since the beginning of 2006, 12% identified themselves as unaffiliated with a religious tradition. That compares with 8% in the Pew values survey in 1987. This change appears to be generational in nature, with each new generation displaying lower levels of religious commitment than the preceding one.

Generation (year of birth)	1987 %	1997 %	2006-07 %	Change 87-07
Pre-Boomer (< 1946)	5	4	5	0
Boomer (1946-64)	10	9	11	+1
Gen X (1965-1976)	--	14	14	--
Gen Y (1977-)	--	--	19	--
Total	8	9	12	+4

*Percent atheist, agnostic, or no religion.

In addition, political differences in levels of religious commitment are larger now than in years past. Republicans are at least as religious as they were 10 or 20 years ago, based on the numbers expressing belief in God, citing prayer as important, and other measures. By contrast, Democrats express lower levels of commitment than in the late 1980s and 1990s.

At the same time, the survey records further declines in traditional social attitudes. The poll finds greater public acceptance of homosexuality and less desire for women to play traditional roles in society. Both represent a continuation of trends that have been apparent over the past 20 years, and have occurred mostly among older people. The younger generations have changed the least, as they have consistently expressed more accepting points of view over the past 20 years.

Divides on some once-contentious issues also appear to be closing. In 1995, 58% said they favored affirmative action programs designed to help blacks, women, and other minorities get better jobs. That percentage has risen steadily since, and stands at 70% in the current poll. Gains in support for affirmative action have occurred to almost the same extent among Republicans (+8), Democrats (+10), and Independents (+14).

Changes nationally in the beliefs of Americans on social, political and religious values tell a revealing but incomplete story. The proportion of voters who hold certain politically relevant core beliefs varies widely from state to state, further complicating an already complicated 2008 election campaign. For example, politically conservative, white evangelical Christians make up 10% of all Republicans and Republican leaners in New Hampshire – currently the first state to hold its presidential primaries in 2008 – but 39% of all GOP partisans in South Carolina where primary voters go to the polls several days later. On the Democratic side, the proportion of Democrats who say they are politically liberal ranges from 38% in California to 25% in South Carolina. (See pages 10-11 for a fuller ideological profiling of key primary states)

Ideological Profile of Voters In Early Primary States				
Percent of Republicans who are...				
	White Evang Cons*	Other Cons	Mod/ Lib	DK
	%	%	%	%
Iowa	31	35	33	1
New Hampshire	10	47	40	3
South Carolina	39	29	29	3

Percent of Democrats who are...				
	Lib- eral	Mod- erate	Cons- erv.	DK
	%	%	%	%
Iowa	30	44	23	3
Nevada	27	50	21	2
New Hampshire	39	37	22	2
South Carolina	25	44	25	6

See pages 10-11 for full table and methodology.

Among other key findings from the wide-ranging survey:

- The public expresses highly favorable views of many leading corporations. Johnson & Johnson and Google have the most positive images of 23 corporations tested. At the bottom of the list: Halliburton, which is viewed favorably by fewer than half of those familiar enough with the company to give it a rating.
- Views of many corporations vary significantly among Democrats along class lines. Two-thirds of working-class Democrats have a favorable view of Wal-Mart compared with 45% of professional-class Democrats.
- Americans are worried more that businesses rather than government are snooping into their lives. About three-in-four (74%) say they are concerned that business corporations are collecting too much personal information while 58% express the same concern about the government.
- The public is losing confidence in itself. A dwindling majority (57%) say they have a good deal of confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions. Similarly, the proportion who agrees that Americans “can always find a way to solve our problems” has dropped 16 points in the past five years.
- Americans feel increasingly estranged from their government. Barely a third (34%) agree with the statement, “most elected officials care what people like me think,” nearly matching the 20-year low of 33% recorded in 1994 and a 10-point drop since 2002.

- Young people continue to hold a more favorable view of government than do other Americans. At the same time, young adults express the least interest in voting and other forms of political participation.
- Interpersonal racial attitudes continue to moderate. More than eight-in-ten (83%) agree that “it’s all right for blacks and whites to date,” up six percentage points since 2003 and 13 points from a Pew survey conducted 10 years ago.
- Republicans are increasingly divided over the cultural impact of immigrants. Nearly seven-in-ten (68%) conservative Republicans say immigrants threaten American customs, compared with 43% of GOP moderates and liberals. Democrats have long been divided along ideological lines, but the GOP previously had not been.

Roadmap to the Report

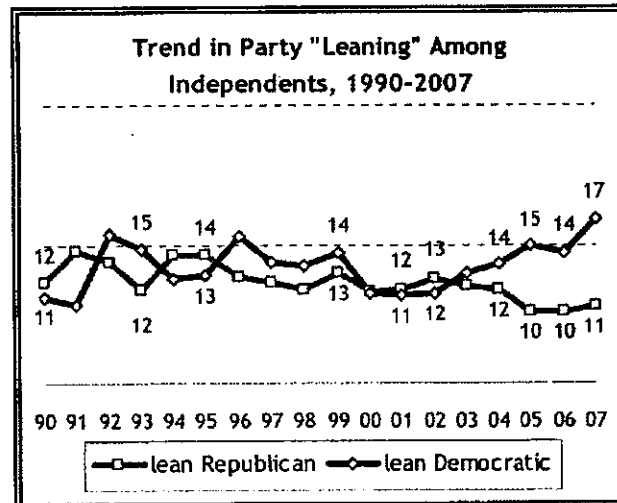
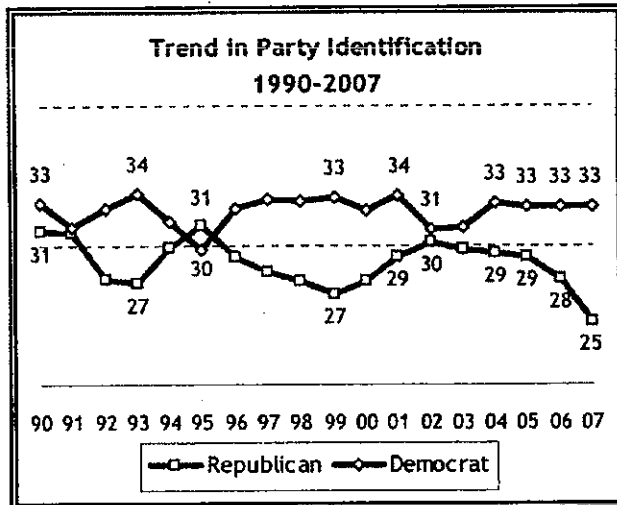
Section 1, which begins on p. 7, describes the striking shift in party identification over the past five years, the public’s views of both parties, and the ideological profile of the early presidential primary states. Section 2, which details the public’s views of the government safety net, success and empowerment, and personal finances, begins on p. 12. Section 3 (p. 19) covers public attitudes toward foreign policy and national security. Section 4 (p. 30) covers opinions about religion and social issues. Section 5 (p. 39) describes changing attitudes toward race and race relations. Section 6 (p. 45) discusses the public’s complex views about government and political participation. Opinions about business, and ratings for individual corporations, are covered in Section 7, which begins on p. 52. Section 8 covers public views about civil liberties, the environment, and science.

SECTION 1: PARTY AFFILIATION AND VIEWS OF THE PARTIES

The Republican Party appears to be paying a steep price for growing dissatisfaction with conditions in the country. However, while Democrats have clearly benefited from declining support for the GOP since 2002, these gains have come almost by default. While public perceptions of the Republican Party have tumbled, evaluations of the Democratic Party have not improved substantially in recent years, and the Democratic gains in party identification are in the form of a softer “leaning” among independents rather than in the share who think of themselves as Democrats.

Over the past five years, the political landscape of the nation has shifted from one of partisan parity to a sizable Democratic advantage. But the change reflects Republican losses more than Democratic gains. Compared with 2002, Democratic Party identification is up just two points (from 31% to 33%) and has not grown at all since 2004. Republican Party identification, meanwhile, has fallen precipitously, from 29% as recently as 2005 to just 25% in the first quarter of 2007.

The shift that favors the Democratic Party is among independents. The share of Americans who describe themselves as independents who “lean” toward the Democratic Party has gradually risen from 12% in 2002 to 17% in the first quarter of 2007. Meanwhile, the share leaning toward the GOP has dropped, but only slightly (from 13% to 11%). But the survey suggests that even these Democratic gains reflect independents’ dissatisfaction with the Republican Party more than any greater liking for the Democrats.



Public Sours on Republican Party

The changing fortunes of the parties in recent years appear to have almost everything to do with shifting perceptions of the GOP, while impressions of the Democratic Party have remained relatively stable. This is reflected in the views of political independents, who take a decidedly negative view of the Republican Party today but express no particular enthusiasm for the Democrats.

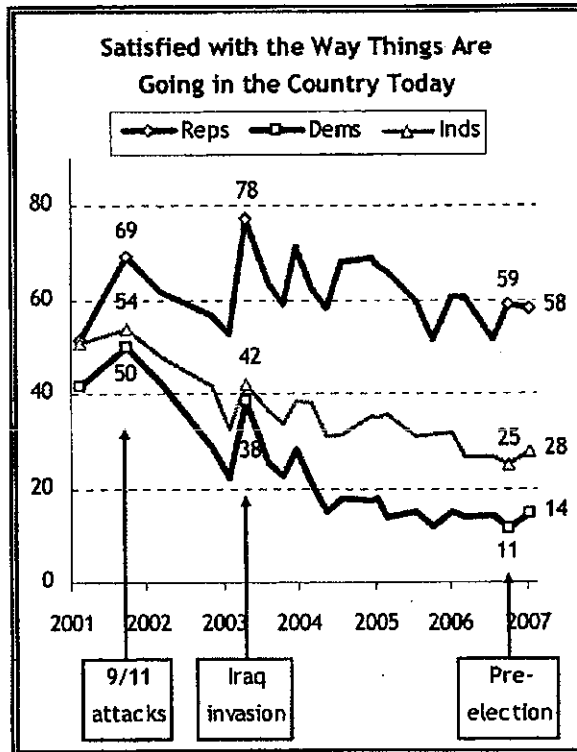
In the wake of the 1994 midterm election, 67% of Americans expressed a favorable view of the Republican Party, compared with 50% who viewed the Democratic Party favorably. But the Republican Party's ratings have fallen substantially from that high point. In the wake of the 2004 election, 52% viewed the GOP favorably, and today, just 41% have a favorable view of the Republican Party.

	Dec 1994 GOP victory	Jan 2001 Bush victory	Dec 2004 Bush victory	Jan 2007 Dem victory
<i>Percent "favorable"</i>	%	%	%	%
Republican Party				
Total	67	56	52	41
Republicans	94	90	91	88
Democrats	34	31	22	13
Independents	68	55	46	40
Democratic Party				
Total	50	60	53	54
Republicans	17	33	25	22
Democrats	87	91	87	87
Independents	50	55	46	51

By comparison, ratings of the Democratic Party have remained relatively stable. Despite their significant electoral gains in the 2006 midterms, public ratings of the Democratic Party are nearly identical to where they were in 1994, when they lost 52 House seats to the Republicans. And the GOP's deteriorating image since Bush's reelection – down 11 points since December 2004 – has not been mirrored by an improved image of the Democratic Party. The 54% favorability rating Democrats receive today is virtually identical to their 53% rating in December 2004.

Even more significantly for the two parties, perceptions of the GOP have fallen dramatically among political independents: Among voters with no firm ties to either party, favorable views of the GOP have declined from 55% in 2001, to 46% in 2004, to 40% in the current survey. Meanwhile, independent ratings of the Democratic Party have not varied substantially. Currently, 51% of independents view the Democratic Party favorably. This is up slightly from 46% following the 2004 election, but is not substantially better or worse than in the wake of previous election cycles in which the party faced electoral defeats.

Growing dissatisfaction with current conditions in the country appears to be one key to the worsening fortunes of the GOP, the party that has occupied the White House since 2001 and controlled both houses of Congress until last November. Overall, just three-in-ten Americans say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, a 25-point decrease in the past seven years. As public satisfaction has fallen, the views of independents have tracked more closely with those of Democrats than Republicans. Currently, 28% of independents are satisfied with the way things are going in the country today, 14 points higher than among Democrats (14%), but 30 points lower than among Republicans (58%).



The Early Primaries

The potential realignment of the 2008 primary schedule – with many states considering moving their primaries and caucuses to Feb. 5 – creates a particularly challenging environment for candidates of both parties who will have to appeal to voters with widely divergent ideological viewpoints. Candidates for the Republican nomination will face voters in a diverse group of states even before Feb. 5, because the early primary states of New Hampshire and South Carolina have starkly different Republican primary electorates.

Most Republican and GOP-leaning independent voters in every state consider themselves to be conservative, but an analysis of the proportion that is both conservative and white evangelical Protestant reveals widely divergent profiles across the states. In New Hampshire, moderate and liberal Republicans outnumber these more religious conservative Republicans by four-to-one (40% vs. 10%). However, in South Carolina, white evangelical Protestant conservatives make up a plurality of GOP voters (39%) while fewer than three-in-ten (29%) describe themselves as moderate or liberal.

When the candidates for the Republican nomination look toward Feb. 5, the landscape becomes even more divergent. In states such as Arkansas and Tennessee, roughly half of Republican voters are conservative evangelicals, and outnumber moderate and liberal Republicans by nearly two-to-one. But in many other states – particularly New York, New Jersey, Arizona and California – the bulk of Republican voters are moderate or liberal, with

Profile of Republicans and Republican Leaners in the States*

	Ideology/Religion				(N)
	Cons White Evang Prot**	Cons Other	Mod/ Lib	DK	
NATIONWIDE	26	35	37	2=100	22,054
Jan 14 - Feb 2					
South Carolina	39	29	29	3	364
Iowa	31	35	33	1	298
New Hampshire	10	47	40	3	123
Feb 5***					
Arkansas	50	19	29	2	218
Tennessee	47	22	29	2	582
Alabama	45	19	34	3	495
Oklahoma	42	23	32	3	321
North Carolina	36	30	32	3	795
Georgia	35	30	33	3	698
New Mexico	33	29	37	1	183
Missouri	32	29	37	3	498
Texas	29	36	33	2	1,646
Colorado	28	37	32	3	426
Kansas	28	31	39	2	311
Montana	27	36	36	2	112
Pennsylvania	23	37	39	1	1,211
Illinois	23	38	38	1	734
Florida	22	37	39	2	1,281
California	19	39	40	2	1,896
Nevada	18	43	38	1	155
Arizona	17	39	43	1	422
New York	10	41	46	3	1,054
New Jersey	9	47	43	1	488
Utah	1	62	32	5	270
Later					
Mississippi	54	16	27	3	271
Kentucky	34	26	37	3	418
Indiana	33	32	33	2	561
Virginia	32	29	38	2	602
West Virginia	31	26	38	5	170
Washington	28	33	37	2	477
Louisiana	27	38	32	3	374
Oregon	26	37	34	3	288
Minnesota	25	38	36	1	410
Michigan	25	36	37	3	690
Maine	25	32	43	0	111
Ohio	24	36	37	2	1,049
Idaho	23	47	28	1	148
Maryland	22	39	36	3	317
Wisconsin	21	43	34	2	514
Nebraska	19	41	39	1	219
Connecticut	10	48	40	3	209
Massachusetts	9	46	42	2	282

* Based on all Republican or Republican-leaning registered voters interviewed between January, 2005 and March, 2007. DE, DC, ND, RI, SD, VT and WY had too few cases to analyze. Not all figures add to 100% due to rounding.

** Respondents are categorized into White evangelical Protestant conservatives, other conservatives, and moderates or liberals.

*** This list includes states currently considering moving their primaries to Feb. 5; primary list as of March 19, 2007, according to the National Association of Secretaries of State.

only small minorities of conservative evangelicals.

Candidates for the Democratic nomination also could face a complex political environment in the early primary states. Nationwide, 45% of Democrats, and independents who lean Democrat, describe themselves as ideologically moderate, while 31% say they are liberal and 21% are conservative. But the balance of liberals and conservatives varies widely by state. For example, liberals outnumber conservatives by nearly two-to-one (39% vs. 22%) among New Hampshire Democrats, while in South Carolina there are just as many conservative Democrats as liberal Democrats (25% each).

Again, this landscape becomes even more diverse among the long list of states considering a Feb. 5 primary or caucus. In Colorado, for example, liberals outnumber conservatives by three-to-one (39% vs. 13%) and the margin is nearly as wide in California (38% vs. 15%). Other key states, such as New York and New Jersey, have nearly twice as many liberal Democrats as conservatives.

But in states such as Oklahoma, Alabama and Arkansas, conservatives outnumber liberals within the Democratic electorate, and in many other states – including large states such as Georgia, North Carolina, Texas and Missouri – there are roughly equal numbers of Democratic conservatives and liberals.

Profile of Democrats and Democratic Leaners in the States*

	Ideology				(N)
	Lib- eral**	Mod- erate	Cons- erv.	DK 4=100	
NATIONWIDE	31	44	21	4=100	24,687
Jan 14-29					
Iowa	30	44	23	3	305
Nevada	27	50	21	2	141
New Hampshire	39	36	22	2	131
South Carolina	25	44	25	6	326
Feb 5***					
Colorado	39	46	13	2	398
California	38	44	15	3	2,427
Utah	38	37	22	4	117
New York	35	44	18	3	1,553
New Jersey	34	47	18	2	654
Rhode Island	32	52	17	0	112
Florida	32	43	20	4	1,270
Arizona	31	46	20	3	359
Illinois	31	43	23	3	1,013
Kansas	29	49	19	3	196
Pennsylvania	28	46	21	4	1,376
New Mexico	27	48	22	3	189
Missouri	26	44	23	6	607
Texas	25	45	26	3	1,271
Tennessee	24	45	26	5	519
North Carolina	24	45	27	3	863
Arkansas	23	40	30	7	276
Alabama	22	43	30	5	403
Georgia	21	50	24	4	609
Oklahoma	19	49	28	5	342
Later					
Oregon	44	42	12	3	374
Washington	44	40	13	3	633
Vermont	40	45	13	2	109
Maine	39	38	19	4	177
Massachusetts	37	43	17	2	642
Minnesota	35	42	19	4	574
Virginia	34	44	18	4	655
Connecticut	34	43	20	2	332
Maryland	33	44	21	3	578
Nebraska	32	42	23	2	147
Wisconsin	31	47	19	3	585
Michigan	29	48	18	5	904
Ohio	29	46	20	6	1,201
Indiana	26	47	24	3	574
Mississippi	25	36	32	7	243
West Virginia	22	43	30	6	238
Kentucky	20	45	27	8	442
Louisiana	18	39	39	4	354

* Based on all Democratic or Democratic-leaning registered voters interviewed between January, 2005 and March, 2007. DE, DC, ID, MT, ND, SD, and WY had too few cases to analyze. Not all figures add to 100% due to rounding.

** Respondents' self identification as liberal moderate or conservative.

*** This list includes states currently considering moving their primaries to Feb 5; primary list as of March 19, 2007, according to the National Association of Secretaries of State. Not all states have confirmed the dates of their primaries.

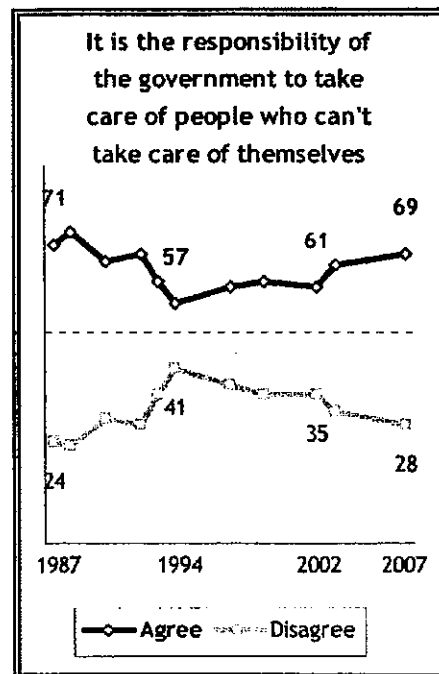
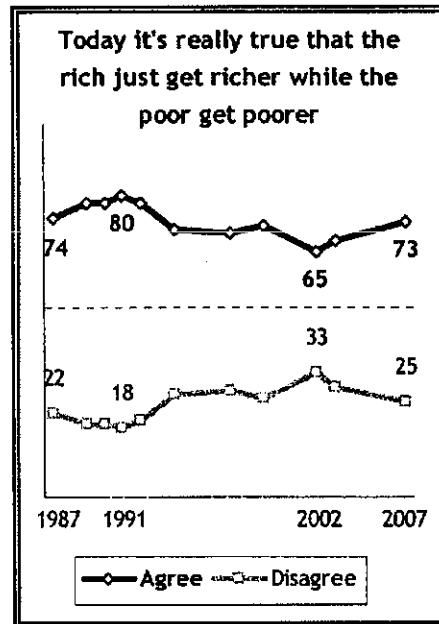
SECTION 2: SUCCESS, POVERTY AND GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

A growing number of Americans believe that the gap between rich and poor is getting bigger, while more also say it is the government's responsibility to help the needy. Nearly three-quarters (73%) agree with this statement: "Today it's really true that the rich get richer while the poor get poorer." The percentage concurring with this statement has risen eight points since 2002 and represents the highest number in agreement since the early 1990s (80% in 1991).

Support for a government safety net for the poor also is at its highest point in many years. Roughly seven-in-ten (69%) believe the government has a responsibility "to take care of people who can't take care of themselves" – up from 61% in 2002. The number saying that the government should guarantee "every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep" has increased by a similar margin over the past five years (from 63% to 69%); agreement with this statement is the highest it has been since 1991.

As in the past, a smaller majority (54%) believes the government should expand aid for the needy "even if it means going deeper in debt." However, the percentage expressing this view, while unchanged since 2003, is much higher than it was during the mid-1990s; in 1994, just 41% supported helping more needy people if it means adding to the nation's debt.

The increasing support for a government safety net comes at a time when more Americans are feeling pinched financially. More than four-in-ten (44%) say they "don't have enough money to make ends meet," up from 39% in 2003 and 35% in 2002. While a majority (61%) continues to say they are "pretty well satisfied" with their personal financial situation, that number is lower than it has been in more than a decade.



In addition, while most Americans continue to feel a strong sense of personal empowerment and believe in the benefits of hard work, slightly fewer share these sentiments today than in 2003. A majority of the public (62%) still rejects the idea that “Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control,” but the gap between those who share this value and those who do not has narrowed a bit over the past four years.

More Support Aid for the Poor

Since the mid-1990s, the belief that it is the government’s responsibility “to take care of people who can’t take care of themselves” has steadily gained adherents. This shift has occurred across the political spectrum – 58% of Republicans agree with this statement, up from 45% in 1994. More independents and Democrats also say the government has an obligation to care for those unable to care for themselves than did so 13 years ago.

Yet Republicans remain generally opposed to expanding the government safety net for the poor if it means increasing the national debt. Only about a third of Republicans (34%) agree with the statement, which is modestly higher than in 1994 (25%) but represents a slight decline since 2003 (from 39%). By contrast, about two-thirds of Democrats (68%) – and a growing number of independents – believe the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper into debt.

The shift in independents’ opinions on this issue has been striking. Currently, 57% say the government should aid more needy people even at the price of increasing the deficit. That represents an 18-point increase since 1994, and a seven-point gain since 2003.

Poor Still Seen as Too Dependent

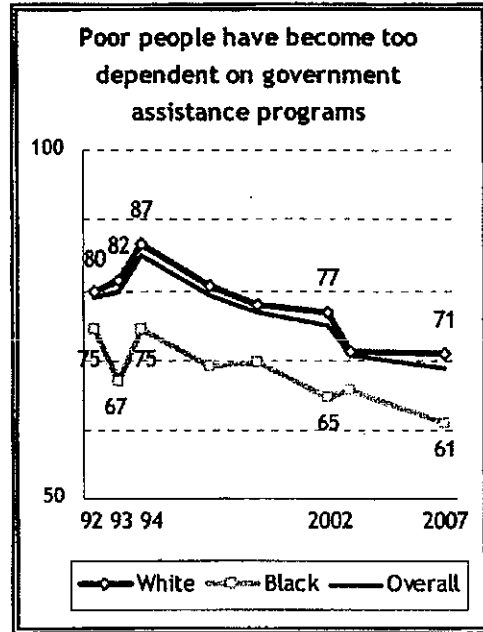
In spite of the shift in favor of greater government help for the poor, a large majority (69%) agrees that “poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs.” Still, the number in agreement has been declining over the past decade; 79% agreed with this statement in 1997. The belief that poor people are overly reliant on government aid peaked in July 1994. At that time, 85% felt poor people were too dependent – and 46%

Government’s Obligations to the Poor and Needy				
<i>Government should... Take care of people who can't care for themselves</i>				
	1994	1999	2003	2007
	%	%	%	%
Total	57	62	66	69
Republican	45	52	54	58
Democrat	69	73	79	79
Independent	56	64	62	69
<i>Guarantee food and shelter for all</i>				
	1994	1999	2003	2007
	%	%	%	%
Total	59	64	65	69
Republican	41	48	46	47
Democrat	71	72	81	83
Independent	61	68	64	71
<i>Help more needy people even if debt increases</i>				
	1994	1999	2003	2007
	%	%	%	%
Total	41	49	54	54
Republican	25	35	39	34
Democrat	55	58	72	68
Independent	39	54	50	57

completely agreed. This year, as in values surveys in 2002 and 2003, roughly three-in-ten (29%) completely agree that the poor are too dependent on government help.

Blacks and whites are more divided over this issue than they were in 2003. While the percentage of whites who say poor people are too dependent on government assistance has not changed (71%), the share of African Americans who agree has dropped from 66% to 61%, the lowest number since Pew first asked the question 15 years ago.

The partisan gap over this issue also has grown slightly since 2003 and is now wider than at any point since 1992. At that time, 88% of Republicans and 73% of Democrats agreed that the poor were too dependent on government assistance. Today, the gap has grown to 23 points: 83% of Republicans believe that poor people have become too dependent on government programs, compared with 60% of Democrats.



Notably, a solid majority of those who say the poor are too dependent (63%) believe the government has a responsibility to take care of people who cannot take care of themselves. And nearly half of those who say the poor have become too dependent on the government (48%) also agree with the statement “The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt.”

Views of the Rich-Poor Gap

The belief that “the rich just get richer” has increased significantly among people with relatively high annual incomes. Nearly two-thirds of those with household incomes of at least \$75,000 (65%) agree that the richer are getting richer; in 2003, only about half of those in this income category (51%) shared this sentiment. More people with somewhat lower annual incomes – between \$50,000 and \$74,999 – also see the rich-poor gap growing (10-point increase).

Today it's really true that the rich get richer while the poor get poorer

	2003	2007	Change
	%	%	03-07
Total	68	73	+5
\$75,000+	51	65	+14
\$50,000-74,999	58	68	+10
\$30,000-49,999	73	72	-1
Less than \$30,000	82	81	-1

By contrast, the views of people with household incomes of less than \$50,000 annually have been stable. Large majorities of less wealthy Americans already believed that the rich-poor

gap was widening, but this attitude has not gained support since 2003. Consequently, the difference in attitudes between those with high and low incomes has narrowed considerably since 2003.

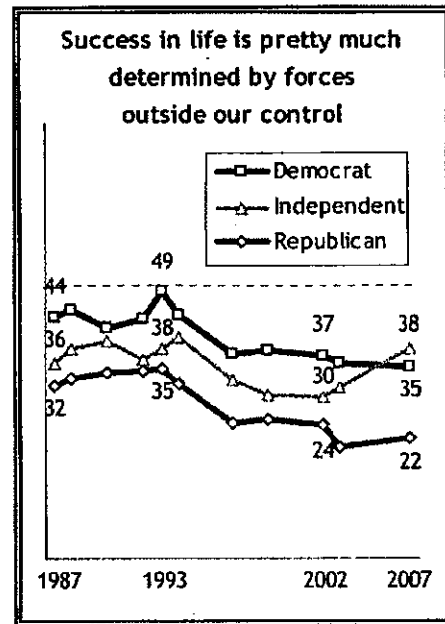
Politically, many more liberal Democrats say that the gap between rich and poor is growing than did so in 2003 (89% now, 76% then). In addition, there has been a sharp increase in the percentage of liberal Democrats who completely agree with this statement – from 32% in 2003 to 49% this year. By contrast, views among other political and ideological groups have been much more stable.

Personal Empowerment

Most Americans (62%) disagree with the idea that success is mostly determined by forces outside a person’s control, while 34% agree with this sentiment. In 2003, the public dismissed the idea that success is largely outside of one’s control by a slightly wider margin (67%-30%).

For most of the past 20 years, Democrats have been gloomier than either Republicans or independents about prospects for personal empowerment. But in the current survey, 38% of independents agree that success in life is determined mostly by forces outside a person’s control, compared with 35% of Democrats and just 22% of Republicans. In the first Pew values survey in 1987, independents’ views were closer to those of Republicans – 32% of Republicans and 36% of independents agreed that success in life is determined by forces outside one’s control, compared with 44% of Democrats.

Independents and Democrats express nearly identical views about the link between hard work and success. When asked about the statement, “hard work offers little guarantee of success,” 39% of Democrats and 37% of independents concur. Among Republicans, only one-in-five agree that working hard does not necessarily guarantee success. Opinions among Democrats and Republicans have not changed significantly since 2003, but independents are somewhat less convinced that hard work guarantees success than they were four years ago, when nearly a third (31%) expressed skepticism.

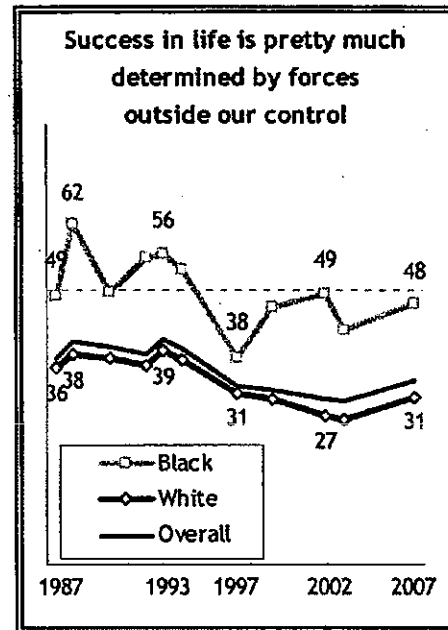


Racial Gap Remains

Blacks continue to feel less empowered than whites. About half of African Americans (48%) say success in life is largely determined by forces outside of one's control, compared with 31% of whites.

A decade ago, the racial differences in views of personal empowerment were much narrower. Fewer than four-in-ten African Americans (38%) and 31% of whites said that success was mostly the result of outside forces. But since then, higher percentages of blacks have agreed with this statement. In 2002, 49% said that success largely determined by outside forces; that number fell to 43% in 2003, and rose to 48% in the current survey.

Whites also have become slightly more skeptical about the possibilities for success. Four years ago, about one-quarter of whites (26%) agreed that success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control. Today, 31% of whites agree with this statement.



Party Gap on Size of Government

Americans are divided over whether they would rather have a smaller government providing fewer services (45%) or a bigger government providing more services (43%). Democrats and Republicans are polarized on this issue. About two-thirds of Republicans (68%) say they would rather have a smaller government providing fewer services; most Democrats (60%) would prefer a bigger government providing more services.

Independents are more divided on this – 48% say they prefer a smaller government while 40% would rather have a bigger government.

Republicans and Democrats Divided Over Size of Government

Percent who would rather have...	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
Smaller government	45	68	28	48
Bigger government	43	26	60	40
Depends (VOL.)	4	2	3	5
Don't know	8	4	9	7
	100	100	100	100

Despite being divided on government size, Americans are overwhelmingly in favor of the U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means raising taxes. Two-thirds of the public (66%) – including a majority of those who say they would prefer a smaller government (57%) – favor government-funded health insurance for all citizens.

Blacks More Affected by Lack of Health Care and Jobs

More than a quarter of Americans (26%) say there has been a time when they have been unable to afford necessary health care for themselves or a family member over the past 12 months, including almost six-in-ten (57%) of those who describe their household as "struggling."

Lack of health care has been especially problematic for African Americans. More than four-in-ten African American respondents (41%) say they have been unable to afford necessary health care for themselves or a family members over the past 12 months, compared with less than a quarter of whites (23%).

When it comes to employment, 37% of Americans say there has been a time over the past 12 months when they or someone in their household has been without a job and looking for work. Blacks are considerably more likely than whites to say this has been the case. About half of African American respondents (51%) say they or someone in their household has been without a job, compared with only about a third of white respondents (34%).

Support for Minimum Wage Increase Remains High

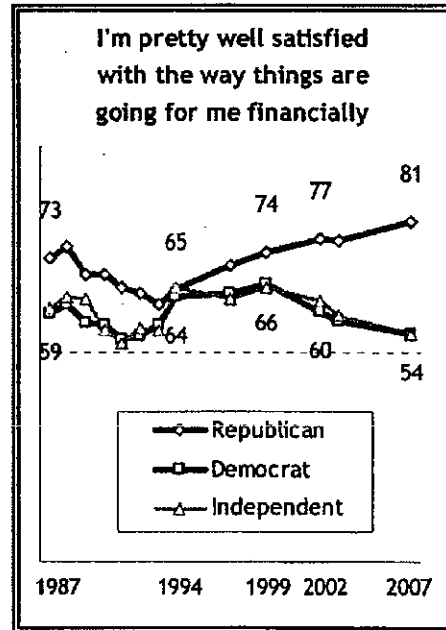
Americans continue to support an increase in the minimum wage, but Republicans and independents are slightly less likely to favor it now than in March 2006. At that time, 77% of Republicans and 90% of independents favored increasing the minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$6.45 an hour. Currently, 69% of Republicans and 85% of independents favor increasing it from \$5.15 to \$7.25 an hour. Democrats overwhelmingly supported a minimum wage increase in both years (93% each).

While those who describe their household as working class or struggling are the most supportive of an increase in the minimum wage (85% among working class and 90% of struggling households), almost eight-in-ten (79%) of those who describe their household as professional or business class are also in favor. Three-quarters of small business owners also support raising the minimum wage from \$5.15 an hour to \$7.25 an hour.

Views of Personal Finances

Americans express more negative views about their personal finances today than they did four years ago. The percentage saying they often do not have enough money to make ends meet has increased from 39% in 2003 to 44% today. In addition, 61% agree with the statement: "I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially." While this figure has not changed significantly over the past four years (63% agreed in 2003), it has declined since 1999, when nearly seven-in-ten (68%) expressed satisfaction with the way things were going for them financially.

The public's evaluations of personal financial satisfaction is increasingly split along partisan lines and the gap between Republicans and Democrats is the largest it has been since the Pew values surveys began 20 years ago. Roughly eight-in-ten Republicans (81%) say they are largely satisfied with the way things are going for them financially, compared with much smaller majorities of Democrats and independents (54% each). A decade ago, there were only modest partisan differences in satisfaction with personal finances, and in 1994 Republicans, Democrats and independents expressed nearly identical levels of satisfaction with their finances.



The partisan split is especially notable among Americans of mid- to low income levels. Three-quarters of Republicans with household incomes of \$50,000 or less say they are pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for them financially, compared with just 40% of Democrats and a similar share of independents (39%). Even among Republicans who say they often do not have enough money to make ends meet, nearly six-in-ten (58%) express satisfaction in the way things are going for them financially. By contrast, just 30% of Democrats and 32% of independents who have trouble making ends meet say they are satisfied with their personal financial situation.

Personal Finances Seen Through A Partisan Lens

Household Income	Satisfied with personal finances			
	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
\$75,000 and over	85	91	88	79
\$50-\$75,000	66	79	59	61
Under \$50,000	46	75	40	39