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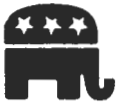
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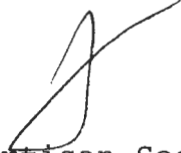
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Republican
National
Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

MEMORANDUM TO: JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL DEEVER
SENATOR PAUL LAXALT

FROM: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 

SUBJECT: Media to Support the Bipartisan Social Security Solution

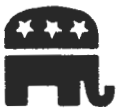
As you know, the RNC produced a television advertisement designed to increase support for the President's leadership in gaining the bipartisan social security legislation signed into law yesterday. Following a decision by Jim and Mike, the RNC tested the proposed spots for effectiveness.

We have now completed the test of the effectiveness of the spot. It was done in a very tough market, Jacksonville, Florida. As the attached memorandum indicates, the advertisement worked to improve ratings for the President on social security. Also, his job rating was improved.

A copy of the actual research, conducted by Dick Wirthlin and DMI, is attached for your review. The bottom line from Dick is: "That the Postman IV-A spot be aired as soon as possible following the signing of the Social Security Bill, with a targeted air date of Thursday, April 28."

To get on the air, several things must be done in short order. These are covered in the attached memorandum. We are excited about the possible airing of the spot and await your comments.

Attachments



Republican National Committee

William I. Greener, III
Director of
Communications

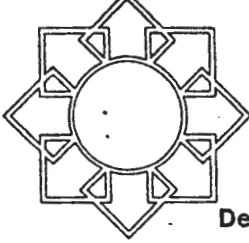
April 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM

To: CHAIRMAN FAHRENKOPF
Attention: BILL PHILLIPS *bp*
Through: RICHARD N. BOND *RSB*
From: WILLIAM I. GREENER, III *WIG*
Subject: Media Test of Postman IV

Per your instructions, we conducted a test to see if Postman IV moved attitudes in a direction which helps the President and the GOP. Very simply, the recommendation of Dick Wirthlin (see attached) is "that the Postman IV-A spot be aired as soon as possible following the signing of the social security bill, with a targeted air date of Thursday, April 28."

- (1) Spot Worked. The spot worked to change attitudes concerning the President's handling the social security issue. In addition, the job approval rating for the President improved. The difference in attitudes between those who did see the ad and those who did not is marked. This strongly suggests the ad works.
- (2) What Must be Done to Get on the Air. To be on the air by April 28 (Thursday), we must: (a) have the approval of the White House, (b) have the approval of Senator Laxalt, (c) by Friday, April 22, at noon, have the approval of Senator Lugar and Congressman Vander Jagt, and (d) by 2:00 pm on Friday, April 22, have shipped the money to our media buyers and have all markets selected.
- (3) Target of Buy. For about \$750,000, we can purchase 300 Gross Rating Points (GRPs) in about 45 markets. We would be on the same markets as last time--President's numbers in the midrange and not high unemployment--with an additional emphasis given to Florida and the farmbelt (per Wirthlin recommendation).
- (4) Nature of Test. We were on the air for four days in Jacksonville, Florida. We tested attitudes prior to airing the spot and after airing the spot. The impact of the ad was favorable.



Decision/Making/Information®

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**MEDIA PRE- AND POST-TESTS
POSTMAN IV-A**

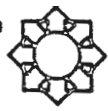
Prepared for the
Republican National Committee
April 1983

610-20-01
#39101



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OVERVIEW

Decision/Making/Information is pleased to present the results of these television advertising tests to the Republican National Committee.

Project Director and principal investigator for this study was Richard B. Wirthlin. He was assisted in all phases of reserach and analysis by Lori A. Forman and Elizabeth M. Hawkins.

The purpose of this research was to determine the communications, effectiveness of the proposed 30-second spot: Postman IV-A.

The research method used for this study included a pre-test fielded the day before the advertisement was first aired (April 12, 1983). The test ADI was Jacksonville, Florida; the pre-test included three hundred fifty (350) randomly selected adults.

After the commercial had been on air for 3-½ days, a post-test of four hundred (400) randomly selected adults was conducted. The same questionnaire was administered with the addition of several recall and diagnostic questions specifically about the commercial. Attitudinal shifts and differences are therefore measured 1) between the pre- and post-tests, and 2) between those who did and did not recall seeing the commercial.

The responses are indicative of the communications effect of the test spot among adults in the ADI where the spot was shown. Comparisons between this commercial and other commercials tested should be made with caution because the samples are relatively small.



consequently, differences in data need to be large in order to indicate statistical significance.

All interviewing, coding and tabulation was done in Decision/Making/Information offices in McLean, Virginia and Santa Ana, California.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Review of the data for the Postman IV-A media tests is approached on two levels. First, there is the comparison between the pre- and post-test attitudes. Secondly, there is the consideration of attitudinal differences based on whether or not the respondent could recall seeing the commercial.

On the first level, several conclusions can be drawn. There is indeed movement on the variables we wanted to move -- that is, those relating to social security -- but no concurrent increase in variables unrelated to the commercial. For instance, Ronald Reagan's strong job approval increases 3% on the general job rating question, and 3% on the economy. However, the increase in the "strongly approve" responses on his social security job rating is 5 percentage points. The rating for Congress, over the same period, drops 3%.

Secondly, what movement there was between the pre- and post-tests on these dimensions is indeed positive. As an example, the belief of what Reagan has done to social security benefits moves an overall +11 points. That is, when asked:

From what you've heard and read, has Ronald Reagan increased or reduced social security benefits?

	<u>Pre-Test</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
Increased	14	18	+4
Reduced	59	52	-7
Stayed the same	17	19	+2
No opinion	10	11	+1

We can also conclude from the test that no significant negatives were generated as a result of airing the commercial.



Furthermore, the commercial -- admittedly shown in a short time period and over a weekend -- did reach a substantial portion of an unrecruited audience (45%), based on aided and unaided recall questions. The impact of the commercial on the attitudes of those who saw it leads to the second level of consideration.

While the differences between the pre- and post-test numbers are not overwhelming, a greater difference can be seen between the attitudes of those who claim to have seen the advertisement and those who do not. Generally speaking, positive shifts in attitudes are amplified when looking at those who recalled the commercial.

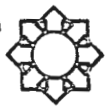
For instance, the overall difference on the "right direction/wrong track" question between those who saw and did not see the ad is +7 points among those who saw the commercial ("right direction" scores are 4 points higher and "wrong track" responses are 3 points lower).

On Reagan's general job rating, the difference is +14 and on the economy, no difference.

However, the effect on the social security rating is +25 points for those who recalled the ad compared to those who did not ("approves" are 13 points higher and "disapproves" are 12 points lower).

Similarly, those who saw the commercial are more likely to feel Reagan has increased (20%) rather than reduced social security benefits (46%). Among those respondents who did not see the commercial, the results are 16% increased, 57% reduced.

Also, the commercial's overall message -- "Ronald Reagan got the leaders of both parties together, and they came up with the answer to the problems of social security" -- is agreed to by 42% of those who saw the commercial, compared to 29% of those who did not, a difference of 13 points.



Among those who saw the ad, several positive messages came through, based on the response to the content/message recall question. Among viewers, 31% mentioned that Reagan has saved the social security system, with 20% saying Reagan has done a good job in general. Another 14% picked up on the concept that Reagan got the parties together to work out a compromise; 11% added "we gave the guy a chance"; and 8% said Reagan "keeps his promises."

On specific diagnostic questions, the commercial receives the following scores:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Objectionable/Poor taste	15%	78%	7%
Newsworthy	9	82	9
Unclear	8	85	7
Untrue	25	65	10

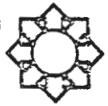
These figures are based on those who recalled seeing the commercial (N=180 or 45% of total sample). Remember this was not a recruited audience test. The "objectionable" and "untrue" scores are moderately high, but lower than expected given the emotionalism surrounding the social security issue.

Based on this data, we recommend that the Postman IV-A spot be aired as soon as possible following the signing of the social security bill, with a targeted beginning air date of Thursday, April 28.

The buy should approximate that of the "Optimist" but more weight should be given to Florida and the Farm Belt states -- areas with high concentrations of older Americans. The airing of this commercial, along with the actual signing of the legislation and the media coverage of that event, should serve to increase the President's job rating in general and on this issue in particular.



COMPARISONS BETWEEN PRE-TEST (APRIL 14) AND POST-TEST (APRIL 18)



Right Direction/Wrong Track

=====
"Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
Right Direction	51	50	-1
Wrong Track	43	45	+2
No opinion	6	5	-1



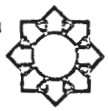
Status of the National Economy

"Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
Gotten better	52	51	-1
Gotten worse	23	22	-1
Stayed the same	24	27	+3
No opinion	1	0	-1

"Thinking about a year from now, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse or be about the same as it is now?"

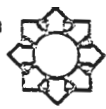
	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
Get better	58	56	-2
Get worse	17	17	0
Stay the same	23	24	+1
No opinion	2	3	+1



Job Rating: U.S. Congress

=====
"Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
Strongly approve	8	5	-3
Somewhat approve	32	32	0
Somewhat disapprove	25	26	+1
Strongly disapprove	27	30	+3
No opinion	8	7	-1



Job Rating: Ronald Reagan

 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

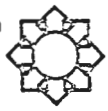
	Pre-test April 14 (%)	Post-test April 18 (%)	Change (%)
Strongly approve	27	30	+3
Somewhat approve	31	31	0
Somewhat disapprove	19	16	-3
Strongly disapprove	19	19	0
No opinion	4	4	0

"Now a little more specifically. I am going to read you a list of issues. For each, I would like you to tell me whether you strongly approve ... somewhat approve ... somewhat disapprove ... or strongly disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling each of these issues:"

	Pre-test April 14 (%)	Post-test April 18 (%)	Change (%)
<u>The Economy</u>			
Strongly approve	28	31	+3
Somewhat approve	31	30	-1
Somewhat disapprove	14	18	+4
Strongly disapprove	25	18	-7
No opinion	2	3	+1

Social Security

Strongly approve	16	21	+5
Somewhat approve	30	28	-2
Somewhat disapprove	18	14	-4
Strongly disapprove	32	32	0
No opinion	4	5	+1

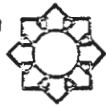


Reagan's Characteristics

=====

"Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
<u>Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor</u>			
Excellent	10	12	+2
Good	31	30	-1
Only fair	24	26	+2
Poor	34	30	-4
No opinion	1	2	+1
 <u>Trustworthy</u>			
Excellent	25	25	0
Good	35	35	0
Only fair	23	26	+3
Poor	13	12	-1
No opinion	4	2	-2



Reelect Reagan?

=====

"Thinking ahead to the 1984 Presidential election ... do you think Ronald Reagan has performed well enough as President to deserve reelection, or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>(%)</u>
Reelect	48	49	+1
New person	42	40	-2
Depends	8	10	+2
No opinion	2	1	-1



Social Security Benefits -- Increased or Reduced?

=====

"From what you've heard and read, has Ronald Reagan ... increased ... or ... reduced social security benefits?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>(%)</u>
Increased	14	18	+4
Reduced	59	52	-7
Stayed the same	17	19	+2
No opinion	10	11	+1



Bipartisan Solution to Social Security Problems

=====

"Here is a statement people have made to us about the country. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Ronald Reagan got the leaders of both parties together, and they came up with the answer to the problems of Social Security. Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

	Pre-test April 14 (%)	Post-test April 18 (%)	Change (%)
Agree strongly	12	16	+4
Agree somewhat	26	19	-7
Disagree somewhat	27	27	0
Disagree strongly	26	29	+3
No opinion	9	9	0



Party Registration

=====

"Are you registered to vote?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)
Yes (N=283)	81	81
No (N=67)	19	19

(IF "YES," ASK:) "Are you registered to vote as a ... Republican ... Democrat ... Independent ... or something else?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)
Republican	21	21
Democrat	72	72
Independent	7	7



Age/Education

"What is your age please?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
17 - 20	4	5	+1
21 - 24	7	7	0
25 - 29	12	12	0
30 - 34	12	11	-1
35 - 39	10	11	+1
40 - 44	10	10	0
45 - 49	9	7	-2
50 - 54	9	6	-3
55 - 59	7	10	+3
60 - 64	7	5	-2
65 - 69	5	8	+3
70 and older	8	8	0

"What is the last year of school you have completed?"

	<u>Pre-test</u> <u>April 14</u> (%)	<u>Post-test</u> <u>April 18</u> (%)	<u>Change</u> (%)
Less than high school	18	20	+2
High school graduate	36	37	+1
Some college	26	22	-4
College graduate	15	15	0
Post-graduate	5	6	+1



COMPARISONS BETWEEN EXPOSURE ON POST-TEST

SAW AD AND DID NOT SEE AD



Right Direction/Wrong Track

"Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Right Direction	52	48	+ 4
Wrong Track	43	46	- 3
No opinion	5	6	- 1



Status of the National Economy

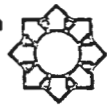
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"Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Gotten better	57	46	+11
Gotten worse	19	25	- 6
Stayed the same	24	29	- 5
No opinion	0	0	0

"Thinking about a year from now, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse or be about the same as it is now?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Get better	58	54	+ 4
Get worse	13	20	- 7
Stay the same	26	23	+ 3
No opinion	3	3	0



Job Rating: U.S. Congress

=====

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Strongly approve	3	6	- 3
Somewhat approve	36	28	+ 8
Somewhat disapprove	24	29	- 5
Strongly disapprove	31	29	+ 2
No opinion	6	7	- 1



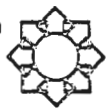
Job Rating: Ronald Reagan

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Strongly approve	34	27	+ 7
Somewhat approve	32	30	+ 2
Somewhat disapprove	13	19	- 6
Strongly disapprove	19	18	+ 1
No opinion	2	6	- 4

"Now a little more specifically. I am going to read you a list of issues. For each, I would like you to tell me whether you strongly approve ... somewhat approve ... somewhat disapprove ... or strongly disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling each of these issues:"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
<u>The Economy</u>			
Strongly approve	33	29	+ 4
Somewhat approve	29	32	- 3
Somewhat disapprove	20	17	+ 3
Strongly disapprove	17	19	- 2
No opinion	1	4	- 3
<u>Social Security</u>			
Strongly approve	28	16	+12
Somewhat approve	28	27	+ 1
Somewhat disapprove	13	16	- 3
Strongly disapprove	27	36	- 9
No opinion	4	5	- 1



Reagan's Characteristics

"Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
<u>Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor</u>			
Excellent	13	11	+ 2
Good	29	30	- 1
Only fair	27	25	+ 2
Poor	30	31	- 1
No opinion	1	3	- 2
 <u>Trustworthy</u>			
Excellent	26	25	+ 1
Good	36	35	+ 1
Only fair	22	28	- 6
Poor	16	10	+ 6
No opinion	0	2	- 2



Reelect Reagan?

=====

"Thinking ahead to the 1984 Presidential election ... do you think Ronald Reagan has performed well enough as President to deserve reelection, or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Reelect	51	49	+ 2
New person	41	39	+ 2
Depends	8	11	- 3
No opinion	0	1	- 1



Social Security Benefits -- Increased or Reduced?

=====
"From what you've heard and read, has Ronald Reagan ... increased ...
or ... reduced social security benefits?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Increased	20	16	+ 4
Reduced	46	57	-11
Stayed the same	22	16	+ 6
No opinion	12	11	+ 1



Bipartisan Solution to Social Security Problems

"Here is a statement people have made to us about the country. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Ronald Reagan got the leaders of both parties together, and they came up with the answer to the problems of Social Security. Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

	Saw Ad (%)	Did Not See Ad (%)	Difference (%)
Agree strongly	20	12	+ 8
Agree somewhat	22	17	+ 5
Disagree somewhat	25	29	- 4
Disagree strongly	24	32	- 8
No opinion	9	10	- 1



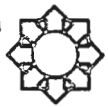
Party Registration

=====
 "Are you registered to vote?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not</u> <u>See Ad</u> (%)
Yes (N=283)	81	81
No (N=67)	19	19

(IF "YES," ASK:) "Are you registered to vote as a ... Republican ... Democrat ... Independent ... or something else?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not</u> <u>See Ad</u> (%)
Republican	21	20
Democrat	72	72
Independent	7	8



Age/Education

=====
 "What is your age please?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
17 - 20	5	4	+ 1
21 - 24	7	8	- 1
25 - 29	10	14	- 4
30 - 34	9	13	- 4
35 - 39	8	13	- 5
40 - 44	11	9	+ 2
45 - 49	7	7	0
50 - 54	8	5	+ 3
55 - 59	11	9	+ 2
60 - 64	4	6	- 2
65 - 69	7	8	- 1
70 and older	12	5	+ 7

"What is the last year of school you have completed?"

	<u>Saw Ad</u> (%)	<u>Did Not See Ad</u> (%)	<u>Difference</u> (%)
Less than high school	19	20	- 1
High school graduate	38	36	+ 2
Some college	22	22	0
College graduate	14	15	- 1
Post-graduate	7	7	0

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

DECISION/MAKING/INFORMATION
2760 North Main Street
Santa Ana, California 92701-1272
April 14, 1983

Study #39101
Time Started _____
Time Ended _____
Field Edit _____
Field Validation _____
Coding Edit _____

POSTMAN IV-A: PRE-TEST

Hello, I'm _____ of Decision/Making/Information, a national research firm. We're talking with people in your area today and would like to ask you a few questions about some issues of concern today. (DO NOT PAUSE)

- A. Are you 18 years of age or over? YES (CONTINUE).....1
NO (THANK AND TERMINATE).....2

RESPONDENT MUST BE 18 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER. IF NOT OBVIOUS, VERIFY. IF RESPONDENT IS UNDER 18, YOU MAY ASK TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE ELSE IN THE HOUSEHOLD WHO IS 18 OR OVER.

- 1. Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track? RIGHT DIRECTION.....1
WRONG TRACK.....2

- 2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)? STRONGLY APPROVE.....1
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....2
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....3
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....4

Now, a little more specifically. I am going to read you a list of issues. For each, I would like you to tell me whether you strongly approve ... somewhat approve ... somewhat disapprove ... or strongly disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling each of these issues: (ROTATE QS. 3 - 4.)

	Strongly Approve (1)	Somewhat Approve (2)	Somewhat Disapprove (3)	Strongly Disapprove (4)
3. The economy	()	()	()	()
4. Social security	()	()	()	()

Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. (READ FIRST ONE) Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan? (ROTATE QS. 5 - 6.)

	<u>Excellent</u> (1)	<u>Good</u> (2)	<u>Only Fair</u> (3)	<u>Poor</u> (4)
5. Cares about the needs of the elderly and the poor	()	()	()	()
6. Trustworthy	()	()	()	()
<hr/>				
7. From what you've heard and read has Ronald Reagan (ROTATE) ... increased ... or ... reduced ... social security benefits?	INCREASED.....1 REDUCED.....2 STAYED THE SAME (DO NOT READ).3			
<hr/>				
8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, AND ASK:) Would that be <u>strongly</u> (approve/disapprove) or just <u>somewhat</u> (approve/disapprove)?	STRONGLY APPROVE.....1 SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....2 SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....3 STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....4			
<hr/>				
9. Compared to <u>a year ago</u> , do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?	GOTTEN BETTER.....1 GOTTEN WORSE.....2 STAYED THE SAME.....3			
<hr/>				
10. Thinking about <u>a year from now</u> , do you think the national economy will get better, get worse or be about the same as it is now?	GET BETTER.....1 GET WORSE.....2 STAY THE SAME.....3			
<hr/>				
11. Here is a statement people have made to us about the country. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Ronald Reagan got the leaders of both parties together, and they came up with the answer to the problems of Social Security. (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE FOR INTENSITY: "Would that be <u>strongly</u> (agree/disagree) or just <u>somewhat</u> (agree/disagree)?")	AGREE STRONGLY.....1 AGREE SOMEWHAT.....2 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT.....3 DISAGREE STRONGLY.....4			

Now, just a few more questions for statistical purposes ...

12. Are you registered to vote? YES (ASK Q.13).....1
NO (SKIP TO Q.14).....2

IF "YES" IN Q.12, ASK:

13. Are you registered to vote as a (ROTATE) ... Republican ... Democrat ... Independent ... or something else? REPUBLICAN.....1
DEMOCRAT.....2
INDEPENDENT.....3
OTHER.....4

14. What is your age, please? 17 - 20.....1
21 - 24.....2
25 - 29.....3
30 - 34.....4
35 - 39.....5
40 - 44.....6
45 - 49.....7
50 - 54.....8
55 - 59.....9
60 - 64.....10
65 - 69.....11
70 AND OLDER.....12

15. What is the last year of school you have completed? LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL (1-11)..1
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE (12).....2
SOME COLLEGE (13-15).....3
COLLEGE GRADUATE (16).....4
POST-GRADUATE (17 AND OVER)...5

16. What is your zip code, please? _____

17. Thinking ahead to the 1984 presidential election .. do you think Ronald Reagan has performed well enough as President to deserve reelection, or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better? REELECT.....1
NEW PERSON.....2
DEPENDS (DO NOT READ).....3

18. Sex (BY OBSERVATION) MALE.....1
FEMALE.....2

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AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q.	1:	RIGHT DIR/WRONG TRACK	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
		1. RIGHT DIRECTION	200.	50. %
		2. WRONG TRACK	179.	45. %
		3. NO OPINION	21.	5. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q.	2:	JOB RATING: REAGAN	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
		1. STRONGLY APPROVE	120.	30. %
		2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	123.	31. %
		3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	65.	16. %
		4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	74.	19. %
		5. NO OPINION (N/A)	18.	4. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
		(MEAN= 2.24 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q.	3:	REAGAN: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
		1. STRONGLY APPROVE	125.	31. %
		2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	122.	30. %
		3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	71.	18. %
		4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	72.	18. %
		5. NO OPINION (N/A)	11.	3. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
		(MEAN= 2.23 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q.	4:	REAGAN: SOCIAL SECURITY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
		1. STRONGLY APPROVE	85.	21. %
		2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	111.	28. %
		3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	57.	14. %
		4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	127.	32. %
		5. NO OPINION (N/A)	20.	5. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
		(MEAN= 2.60 S.E.= 0.06)		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 5: CARES ABOUT ELDERLY/POOR	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. EXCELLENT	48.	12. %
2. GOOD	119.	30. %
3. ONLY FAIR	104.	26. %
4. POOR	122.	30. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	7.	2. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.76 S.E. = 0.05)		

Q. 6: TRUSTWORTHY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. EXCELLENT	101.	25. %
2. GOOD	141.	35. %
3. ONLY FAIR	102.	26. %
4. POOR	50.	12. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	6.	2. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.26 S.E. = 0.05)		

Q. 7: RR: DONE TO SS BENIFITS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. INCREASED	71.	18. %
2. REDUCED	209.	52. %
3. STAYED THE SAME	77.	19. %
4. NO OPINION	43.	11. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 8: JOB RATING: CONGRESS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. STRONGLY APPROVE	19.	5. %
2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	127.	32. %
3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	107.	26. %
4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	120.	30. %
5. NO OPINION	27.	7. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 3.02 S.E. = 0.05)		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 9: YEAR AGO/NOW: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. GOTTEN BETTER	202.	51. %
2. GOTTEN WORSE	89.	22. %
3. STAY THE SAME	108.	27. %
4. NO OPINION	1.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 1.77 S.E.= 0.04)		

Q. 10: NOW/FUTURE: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. GOTTEN BETTER	224.	56. %
2. GOTTEN WORSE	68.	17. %
3. STAY THE SAME	98.	24. %
4. NO OPINION	10.	3. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 1.74 S.E.= 0.05)		

Q. 11: RR: BIPART SS SOLUTION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. AGREE STRONGLY	64.	16. %
2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	77.	19. %
3. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	108.	27. %
4. DISAGREE STRONGLY	114.	29. %
5. NO OPINION	37.	9. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.96 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q. 12: REGISTERED TO VOTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	324.	81. %
2. NO	75.	19. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	399.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 13: PARTY REGISTERED VOTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. REPUBLICAN	67.	21. %
2. DEMOCRAT	229.	72. %
3. INDEPENDENT	22.	7. %
4. OTHER	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	318.	100. %

Q. 14: AGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. 17 - 20	18.	5. %
2. 21 - 24	30.	7. %
3. 25 - 29	48.	12. %
4. 30 - 34	46.	11. %
5. 35 - 39	44.	11. %
6. 40 - 44	39.	10. %
7. 45 - 49	28.	7. %
8. 50 - 54	26.	6. %
9. 55 - 59	39.	10. %
10. 60 - 64	20.	5. %
11. 65 - 69	32.	8. %
12. 70 AND OLDER	31.	8. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 15: EDUCATION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	79.	20. %
2. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	148.	37. %
3. SOME COLLEGE	89.	22. %
4. COLLEGE GRADUATE	58.	15. %
5. POST-GRADUATE	24.	6. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	399.	100. %

Q. 16: ZIP CODE (FIRST TWO)	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. IN STORAGE	393.	100. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	393.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 17:	ZIP CODE (LAST THREE)	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. IN STORAGE	400.	100. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 18:	REELECT RONALD REAGAN	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. REELECT REAGAN	197.	49. %
	2. NEW PERSON	159.	40. %
	3. DEPENDS	39.	10. %
	4. NO OPINION	5.	1. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 19:	SEX	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. MALE	198.	50. %
	2. FEMALE	202.	50. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 20:	SEEN POLITICAL ADS ON TV	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. YES	195.	49. %
	2. NO	205.	51. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 21:	WHO POLITICAL ADS FOR	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. REPUBLICAN PARTY	14.	7. %
	2. REAGAN	73.	38. %
	3. REPUBLICANS/REAGAN	3.	1. %
	4. OTHER	101.	52. %
	5. NO OPINION	4.	2. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	195.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 22: SEE REPUBLICAN/REAGAN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	47.	15. %
2. NO	259.	85. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	306.	100. %

Q. 23: SEE POSTMAN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	39.	15. %
2. NO	220.	85. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	259.	100. %

Q. 24: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS <UP TO 4 ANSWERS PER INT.>	RESPONDENTS MENTIONING	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	15.	9. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	56.	31. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	3.	2. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	37.	21. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	24.	14. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	36.	20. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	3.	2. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	1.	1. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	1.	1. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	14.	8. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	20.	11. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	79.	44. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	16.	9. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	4.	2. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	6.	3. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	18.	10. %
17. OTHER	38.	21. %
18. NO OPINION	18.	10. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	(N/A)

Q. 25: AD OBJECTIONL/POOR TASTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	27.	15. %
2. NO	141.	78. %
3. NO OPINION	12.	7. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 26: ANYTHING NEW IN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	15.	9. %
2. NO	149.	82. %
3. NO OPINION	16.	9. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 27: ANYTHING UNCLEAR IN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	14.	8. %
2. NO	154.	85. %
3. NO OPINION	12.	7. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 28: ANYTHING UNTURE IN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	45.	25. %
2. NO	117.	65. %
3. NO OPINION	19.	10. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 29: FIELD LOCATION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SANTA ANA	301.	75. %
2. MCLEAN	99.	25. %
3. OTHER	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 30: ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. OPTIMISTS	156.	39. %
2. MILD OPTIMISTS	82.	20. %
3. REBOUNDERS	23.	6. %
4. STATUS QUOERS	35.	9. %
5. MILD PESSIMISTS	52.	13. %
6. PESSIMISTS	41.	10. %
7. DON'T KNOW	10.	3. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 31: REGISTERED VOTERS/PARTY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. REGISTERED GOP	67.	17. %
2. REGISTERED DEMOCRATS	229.	57. %
3. REGISTERED INDEPNDTS	22.	6. %
4. REGISTERED OTHERS	0.	0. %
5. NOT REGISTERED	81.	20. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	399.	100. %

Q. 32: AGE/C	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. 18 - 24	47.	12. %
2. 25 - 34	94.	23. %
3. 35 - 44	83.	21. %
4. 45 - 54	54.	13. %
5. 55 - 64	59.	15. %
6. 65 AND OVER	63.	16. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 33: SEX/AGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YOUNGER WOMEN(18-44)	104.	26. %
2. OLDER WOMEN (45+)	97.	24. %
3. YOUNGER MEN (18-44)	120.	30. %
4. OLDER MEN (45+)	79.	20. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 34: AIDED/UNAIDED:RECALL ADS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. UNAIDED	94.	23. %
2. AIDED REAGAN/GOP	47.	12. %
3. REAGAN/GOP/POSTMAN	39.	10. %
4. NO RECALL	220.	55. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 35: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/1	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	15.	8. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	53.	29. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	2.	1. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

(Q. 35 CONT.)

4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	29.	16. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	5.	3. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	23.	13. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	1.	0. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	0.	0. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	1.	1. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	1.	1. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	5.	3. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	8.	4. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	2.	1. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	1.	1. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	1.	1. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	2.	1. %
17. OTHER	12.	7. %
18. NO OPINION	18.	10. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 36: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/2

	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	0.	0. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	3.	2. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	1.	1. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	8.	7. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	18.	15. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	12.	10. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	2.	2. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	0.	0. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	0.	0. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	13.	11. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	6.	5. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	36.	29. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	4.	3. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	0.	0. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	2.	2. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	5.	4. %
17. OTHER	12.	9. %
18. NO OPINION	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	123.	100. %

Q. 37: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/3

	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	0.	0. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	0.	0. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

(Q. 37 CONT.)

3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	0.	0. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	0.	0. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	1.	2. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	2.	3. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	0.	0. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	1.	2. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	0.	0. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	0.	0. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	9.	13. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	27.	41. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	5.	7. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	1.	2. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	1.	1. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	8.	12. %
17. OTHER	12.	17. %
18. NO OPINION	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	68.	100. %

Q. 38: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/4	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	0.	0. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	0.	0. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	0.	0. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	0.	0. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	0.	0. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	0.	0. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	0.	0. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	0.	0. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	0.	0. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	0.	0. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	0.	0. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	7.	34. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	5.	24. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	2.	9. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	2.	10. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	3.	14. %
17. OTHER	2.	9. %
18. NO OPINION	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	21.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 39: AIDED/UNAID:RECLL ADS/C	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. RECALLED AD	180.	45. %
2. NO RECALL	220.	55. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

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Q. 6:	TRUSTWORTHY	2
Q. 7:	RR: DONE TO SS BENIFITS	2
Q. 8:	JOB RATING: CONGRESS	2
Q. 9:	YEAR AGO/NOW: ECONOMY	3
Q. 10:	NOW/FUTURE: ECONOMY	3
Q. 11:	RR: BIPART SS SOLUTION	3
Q. 12:	REGISTERED TO VOTE	3
Q. 13:	PARTY REGISTERED VOTE	4
Q. 14:	AGE	4
Q. 15:	EDUCATION	4
Q. 16:	ZIP CODE (FIRST TWO)	4
Q. 17:	ZIP CODE (LAST THREE)	5
Q. 18:	PEELECT RONALD REAGAN	5
Q. 19:	SEX	5
Q. 20:	FIELD LOCATION	5
Q. 21:	ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMY	5
Q. 22:	REGISTERED VOTERS/PARTY	6
Q. 23:	AGE/C	6
Q. 24:	SEX/AGE	6

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 1: RIGHT DIR/WRONG TRACK	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. RIGHT DIRECTION	179.	51. %
2. WRONG TRACK	150.	43. %
3. NO OPINION	21.	6. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %

Q. 2: JOB RATING: REAGAN	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. STRONGLY APPROVE	94.	27. %
2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	109.	31. %
3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	65.	19. %
4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	66.	19. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	16.	4. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.31 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q. 3: REAGAN: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. STRONGLY APPROVE	97.	28. %
2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	108.	31. %
3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	51.	14. %
4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	86.	25. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	8.	2. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.37 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q. 4: REAGAN: SOCIAL SECURITY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. STRONGLY APPROVE	57.	16. %
2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	103.	30. %
3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	64.	18. %
4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	111.	32. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	15.	4. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.68 S.E.= 0.06)		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q.	5: CARES ABOUT ELDERLY/POOR	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. EXCELLENT	33.	10. %
	2. GOOD	109.	31. %
	3. ONLY FAIR	84.	24. %
	4. POOR	120.	34. %
	5. NO OPINION (N/A)	4.	1. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
	(MEAN= 2.84 S.E.= 0.05)		

Q.	6: TRUSTWORTHY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. EXCELLENT	86.	25. %
	2. GOOD	124.	35. %
	3. ONLY FAIR	81.	23. %
	4. POOR	46.	13. %
	5. NO OPINION (N/A)	13.	4. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
	(MEAN= 2.26 S.E.= 0.05)		

Q.	7: RR: DONE TO SS BENIFITS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. INCREASED	51.	14. %
	2. REDUCED	206.	59. %
	3. STAYED THE SAME	59.	17. %
	4. NO OPINION	34.	10. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %

Q.	8: JOB RATING: CONGRESS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. STRONGLY APPROVE	27.	8. %
	2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	112.	32. %
	3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	88.	25. %
	4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	95.	27. %
	5. NO OPINION	28.	8. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
	(MEAN= 2.96 S.E.= 0.06)		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 9: YEAR AGC/NDW: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. GOTTEN BETTER	182.	52. %
2. GOTTEN WORSE	82.	23. %
3. STAY THE SAME	83.	24. %
4. NO OPINION	3.	1. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
(MEAN= 1.73 S.E. = 0.05)		

Q. 10: NOW/FUTURE: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. GOTTEN BETTER	202.	58. %
2. GOTTEN WORSE	59.	17. %
3. STAY THE SAME	81.	23. %
4. NO OPINION	8.	2. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
(MEAN= 1.70 S.E. = 0.05)		

Q. 11: RR: BIPART SS SOLUTION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. AGREE STRONGLY	44.	12. %
2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	93.	26. %
3. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	93.	27. %
4. DISAGREE STRONGLY	90.	26. %
5. NO OPINION	30.	9. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.91 S.E. = 0.06)		

Q. 12: REGISTERED TO VOTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	283.	81. %
2. NO	67.	19. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 13: PARTY REGISTERED VOTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. REPUBLICAN	59.	21. %
2. DEMOCRAT	198.	72. %
3. INDEPENDENT	18.	7. %
4. OTHER	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	275.	100. %

Q. 14: AGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. 17 - 20	15.	4. %
2. 21 - 24	26.	7. %
3. 25 - 29	43.	12. %
4. 30 - 34	41.	12. %
5. 35 - 39	34.	10. %
6. 40 - 44	34.	10. %
7. 45 - 49	30.	9. %
8. 50 - 54	30.	9. %
9. 55 - 59	24.	7. %
10. 60 - 64	24.	7. %
11. 65 - 69	19.	5. %
12. 70 AND OLDER	29.	8. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	349.	100. %

Q. 15: EDUCATION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	62.	18. %
2. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	127.	36. %
3. SOME COLLEGE	91.	26. %
4. COLLEGE GRADUATE	54.	15. %
5. POST-GRADUATE	16.	5. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %

Q. 16: ZIP CODE (FIRST TWO)	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
NO ONE IN THIS SAMPLE ANSWERED THIS QUESTION.		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q.	QUESTION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
Q. 17:	ZIP CODE (LAST THREE)		
	1. IN STORAGE	350.	100. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
Q. 18:	REELECT RONALD REAGAN		
	1. REELECT REAGAN	166.	48. %
	2. NEW PERSON	147.	42. %
	3. DEPENDS	29.	8. %
	4. NO OPINION	8.	2. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
Q. 19:	SEX		
	1. MALE	172.	49. %
	2. FEMALE	178.	51. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
Q. 20:	FIELD LOCATION		
	1. SANTA ANA	250.	71. %
	2. MCLEAN	100.	29. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %
Q. 21:	ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMY		
	1. OPTIMISTS	138.	40. %
	2. MILD OPTIMISTS	81.	23. %
	3. REBOUNDERS	14.	4. %
	4. STATUS QUOERS	22.	6. %
	5. MILD PESSIMISTS	35.	10. %
	6. PESSIMISTS	49.	14. %
	7. DON'T KNOW	11.	3. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 22: REGISTERED VOTERS/PARTY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. REGISTERED GOP	59.	17. %
2. REGISTERED DEMOCRATS	198.	57. %
3. REGISTERED INDEPNOTS	18.	5. %
4. REGISTERED OTHERS	0.	0. %
5. NOT REGISTERED	75.	21. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	350.	100. %

Q. 23: AGE /C	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. 18 - 24	41.	12. %
2. 25 - 34	84.	24. %
3. 35 - 44	68.	19. %
4. 45 - 54	60.	17. %
5. 55 - 64	48.	14. %
6. 65 AND OVER	48.	14. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	349.	100. %

Q. 24: SEX/AGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YOUNGER WOMEN(18-44)	92.	27. %
2. OLDER WOMEN (45+)	85.	24. %
3. YOUNGER MEN (18-44)	101.	29. %
4. OLDER MEN (45+)	71.	20. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	349.	100. %

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

DECISION/MAKING/INFORMATION
2760 North Main Street
Santa Ana, California 92701-1272
April 17, 1983

Study #39101
Time Started _____
Time Ended _____
Field Edit _____
Field Validation _____
Coding Edit _____

POSTMAN IV-A: POST-TEST

Hello, I'm _____ of Decision/Making/Information, a national research firm. We're talking with people in your area today and would like to ask you a few questions about some issues of concern today. (DO NOT PAUSE)

- A. Are you 18 years of age or over? YES (CONTINUE).....1
NO (THANK AND TERMINATE).....2

RESPONDENT MUST BE 18 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER. IF NOT OBVIOUS, VERIFY. IF RESPONDENT IS UNDER 18, YOU MAY ASK TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE ELSE IN THE HOUSEHOLD WHO IS 18 OR OVER.

- 1. Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track? RIGHT DIRECTION.....1
WRONG TRACK.....2

- 2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)? STRONGLY APPROVE.....1
SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....2
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....3
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....4

Now, a little more specifically. I am going to read you a list of issues. For each, I would like you to tell me whether you strongly approve ... somewhat approve ... somewhat disapprove ... or strongly disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling each of these issues: (ROTATE QS. 3 - 4.)

	<u>Strongly Approve</u> (1)	<u>Somewhat Approve</u> (2)	<u>Somewhat Disapprove</u> (3)	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u> (4)
3. The economy	()	()	()	()
4. Social security	()	()	()	()

Now I'm going to read you some characteristics that are often used to describe political leaders. As I read each one, please tell me how well you think it describes Ronald Reagan. (READ FIRST ONE) Would you say that this is an ... excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan? (ROTATE QS. 5 - 6.)

	<u>Excellent</u> (1)	<u>Good</u> (2)	<u>Only Fair</u> (3)	<u>Poor</u> (4)
5. Cares about the needs of the elderly and the poor	()	()	()	()
6. Trustworthy	()	()	()	()
<hr/>				
7. From what you've heard and read has Ronald Reagan (ROTATE) ... increased ... or ... reduced ... social security benefits?	INCREASED.....1 REDUCED.....2 STAYED THE SAME (DO NOT READ).3			
<hr/>				
8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE, AND ASK:) Would that be <u>strongly</u> (approve/disapprove) or just <u>somewhat</u> (approve/disapprove)?	STRONGLY APPROVE.....1 SOMEWHAT APPROVE.....2 SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE.....3 STRONGLY DISAPPROVE.....4			
<hr/>				
9. Compared to <u>a year ago</u> , do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?	GOTTEN BETTER.....1 GOTTEN WORSE.....2 STAYED THE SAME.....3			
<hr/>				
10. Thinking about <u>a year from now</u> , do you think the national economy will get better, get worse or be about the same as it is now?	GET BETTER.....1 GET WORSE.....2 STAY THE SAME.....3			
<hr/>				
11. Here is a statement people have made to us about the country. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Ronald Reagan got the leaders of both parties together, and they came up with the answer to the problems of Social Security. (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE FOR INTENSITY: "Would that be <u>strongly</u> (agree/disagree) or just <u>somewhat</u> (agree/disagree)?")	AGREE STRONGLY.....1 AGREE SOMEWHAT.....2 DISAGREE SOMEWHAT.....3 DISAGREE STRONGLY.....4			

12. Are you registered to vote? YES (ASK Q.13).....1
 NO (SKIP TO Q.14).....2

IF "YES" IN Q.12, ASK:

13. Are you registered to vote as
 a (ROTATE) ... Republican ... REPUBLICAN.....1
 Democrat ... Independent ... DEMOCRAT.....2
 or something else? INDEPENDENT.....3
 OTHER.....4

14. What is your age, please?
 17 - 20.....1
 21 - 24.....2
 25 - 29.....3
 30 - 34.....4
 35 - 39.....5
 40 - 44.....6
 45 - 49.....7
 50 - 54.....8
 55 - 59.....9
 60 - 64.....10
 65 - 69.....11
 70 AND OLDER.....12

15. What is the last year of school you
 have completed? LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL (1-11)..1
 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE (12).....2
 SOME COLLEGE (13-15).....3
 COLLEGE GRADUATE (16).....4
 POST-GRADUATE (17 AND OVER)...5

16. What is your zip code, please? _____

17. Thinking ahead to the 1984 presidential
 election .. do you think Ronald Reagan
 has performed well enough as President
 to deserve reelection, or do you think
 it will be time to give a new person
 the chance to do better? REELECT.....1
 NEW PERSON.....2
 DEPENDS (DO NOT READ).....3

18. Sex (BY OBSERVATION) MALE.....1
 FEMALE.....2

19. During the past week, have you happened to see any political advertising on television, or not?

YES (ASK Q.20).....1
NO (SKIP TO Q.21).....2

IF "YES" IN Q.19, ASK:

20. Who was the political advertising for?

REPUBLICAN PARTY/REPUBLICANS (SKIP TO Q.23).....1
REAGAN (SKIP TO Q.23).....2
REPUBLICANS AND REAGAN (SKIP TO Q.23).....3
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____ (GO TO Q.21).....4

IF "OTHER" IN Q.20, ASK:

21. Did you happen to see any advertising on television about the Republican party or Ronald Reagan, or not?

YES (CONTINUE INTERVIEW WITH Q.23)....1
NO (ASK Q.22).....2

IF "NO" IN Q.21, ASK:

22. Did you happen to see any advertising on television that showed a postman, or not?

YES (GO TO Q.23).....1
NO (THANK, GET NAME, AND TERMINATE)...2

23. Please tell me everything that you can remember about the advertisement? (PROBE FOR UP TO FOUR RESPONSES) What ideas were brought out in the advertisement? What else was said or shown in the advertisement? Anything else?

SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM SAVED.....1	POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN.....12
SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED/BY REAGAN.....2	POSTMAN WITH CHECK.....13
SOC SEC SYSTEM IN TROUBLE.....3	HAVE SEEN AD/POSTMAN BEFORE..14
SOCIAL SECURITY/GENERAL.....4	SPONSORED BY REPUBLICANS.....15
	OTHER VISUAL RECALL.....16
REAGAN GOT LEADERS/CONGRESS TOGETHER...5	
REAGAN LEADERSHIP/DONE GOOD JOB.....6	OTHER.....17
BIPARTISAN BILL/COMPROMISE.....7	
REAGAN JUST SIGNED SOC SEC BILL.....8	NO OPINION.....18
GOVERNMENT KEPT PROMISES.....9	
REAGAN KEPT PROMISES.....10	
GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE.....12	

24. Was there anything in the commercial that was objectionable or in poor taste, or not? YES.....1
NO.....2

25. Was there anything in the advertising that was new or that you did not know before you saw it, or not? YES.....1
NO.....2

26. Was there anything that was unclear or confusing in the commercial you saw? YES.....1
NO.....2

27. Was there anything in the advertising you found untrue or hard to believe? YES.....1
NO.....2

28. Post Code: Location SANTA ANA.....1
McLEAN.....2
OTHER.....3

What is your name please? _____

IF REFUSAL, ASK:

May I have your first name then in case my supervisor needs to verify that this interview actually took place?

TELEPHONE () _____
AREA NUMBER

I have re-read this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring answers have been appropriately filled in and that this interview has been obtained from the individual designated.

INTERVIEWER _____ DATE _____

NOTE: This interview is the sole property of Decision/Making/Information. Any attempt to duplicate or sell the contents constitutes an illegal act and is subject to prosecution.

TO: FIELD SUPERVISORS
FROM: LORI FORMAN
RE: INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE RECALL QUESTION

This post-test questionnaire contains a question which is "Please tell me everything you can remember about the advertisement?" with probes for up to four responses. Because the timing is crucial on this study, we cannot afford to take open-ended responses, code them, etc., but must enter the responses directly as if it is a close-ended question.

We have devised codes based on repeated viewings of the actual commercial. Let me give a quick explanation of some of the distinctions.

1. SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM SAVED

This is for comments like the system is still here, Congress, saved the Social Security system, etc. The exception is if they say the system was saved by Reagan. Those responses fall into category 2.

2. SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM SAVED BY REAGAN

This is for comments which say we still have the SS system and attribute this to Reagan specifically.

3. SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM IN TROUBLE

This is for people who say that the ad said the SS system is going bankrupt, is in other financial trouble, etc.

4. SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM/GENERAL

This is for those who say something like "It was about Social Security," but don't say anything more.

5. REAGAN GOT LEADERS/CONGRESS TOGETHER

This is for people who talk about Reagan's efforts with Congress and/or the SS reform commission.

6. REAGAN LEADERSHIP/GENERAL

This is for the "Reagan's done a good job," "He's a strong leader," etc., kind of statements.

7. BIPARTISAN BILL/COMPROMISE

This is for mentions of the SS bill recently passed by Congress and signed by the President; however, if they mention Reagan's signing of the bill, instruct them to mark #8.

8. REAGAN JUST SIGNED BILL

Self-explanatory.

9. GOVERNMENT KEPT PROMISES

There's a line in the ad that now "the government will keep it's promise to millions of Americans." This is for comments like that.

10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISES

If they mention promises, keeping their word, etc., and attribute it to Reagan specifically, mark this category.

11. GAVE REAGAN A CHANCE

The ad ends with "Now we can all be glad we gave the guy a chance." If this line, or a paraphrase of it, is mentioned, mark this category.

12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN

If they mention a visual recall statement like "It had this old postman talking about social security," then there would be one mark for SOCIAL SECURITY/GENERAL and one for POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN.

13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK

If they are more detailed in their description of the postman and say that he had a check, then mark this one instead.

14. SEEN AD/POSTMAN BEFORE

If they say they've seen this guy before, or this ad, then mark here.

15. SPONSORED BY REPUBLICANS

At the end of the ad there is a tag line superimposed which says the ad is paid for by the Republican National Committee. If they say something along these lines, then mark this.

16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL

If they describe something else about how the ad looked, but not what it said, then mark this.

17. OTHER

18. NO OPINION

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AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q.	1:	RIGHT DIR/WRONG TRACK	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1.	RIGHT DIRECTION	200.	50. %
	2.	WRONG TRACK	179.	45. %
	3.	NO OPINION	21.	5. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q.	2:	JOB RATING: REAGAN	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1.	STRONGLY APPROVE	120.	30. %
	2.	SOMEWHAT APPROVE	123.	31. %
	3.	SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	65.	16. %
	4.	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	74.	19. %
	5.	NO OPINION (N/A)	18.	4. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
		(MEAN= 2.24 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q.	3:	REAGAN: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1.	STRONGLY APPROVE	125.	31. %
	2.	SOMEWHAT APPROVE	122.	30. %
	3.	SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	71.	18. %
	4.	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	72.	18. %
	5.	NO OPINION (N/A)	11.	3. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
		(MEAN= 2.23 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q.	4:	REAGAN: SOCIAL SECURITY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1.	STRONGLY APPROVE	85.	21. %
	2.	SOMEWHAT APPROVE	111.	28. %
	3.	SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	57.	14. %
	4.	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	127.	32. %
	5.	NO OPINION (N/A)	20.	5. %
			=====	=====
		NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
		(MEAN= 2.60 S.E.= 0.06)		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 5: CARES ABOUT ELDERLY/POOR	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. EXCELLENT	48.	12. %
2. GOOD	119.	30. %
3. ONLY FAIR	104.	26. %
4. POOR	122.	30. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	7.	2. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.76 S.E.= 0.05)		

Q. 6: TRUSTWORTHY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. EXCELLENT	101.	25. %
2. GOOD	141.	35. %
3. ONLY FAIR	102.	26. %
4. POOR	50.	12. %
5. NO OPINION (N/A)	6.	2. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.26 S.E.= 0.05)		

Q. 7: RR: DONE TO SS BENIFITS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. INCREASED	71.	18. %
2. REDUCED	209.	52. %
3. STAYED THE SAME	77.	19. %
4. NO OPINION	43.	11. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 8: JOB RATING: CONGRESS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. STRONGLY APPROVE	19.	5. %
2. SOMEWHAT APPROVE	127.	32. %
3. SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	107.	26. %
4. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	120.	30. %
5. NO OPINION	27.	7. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 3.02 S.E.= 0.05)		

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 9: YEAR AGO/NOW: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. GOTTEN BETTER	202.	51. %
2. GOTTEN WORSE	89.	22. %
3. STAY THE SAME	108.	27. %
4. NO OPINION	1.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 1.77 S.E.= 0.04)		

Q. 10: NOW/FUTURE: ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. GOTTEN BETTER	224.	56. %
2. GOTTEN WORSE	68.	17. %
3. STAY THE SAME	98.	24. %
4. NO OPINION	10.	3. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 1.74 S.E.= 0.05)		

Q. 11: RR: BIPART SS SOLUTION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. AGREE STRONGLY	64.	16. %
2. AGREE SOMEWHAT	77.	19. %
3. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	108.	27. %
4. DISAGREE STRONGLY	114.	29. %
5. NO OPINION	37.	9. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
(MEAN= 2.96 S.E.= 0.06)		

Q. 12: REGISTERED TO VOTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	324.	81. %
2. NO	75.	19. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	399.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 13: PARTY REGISTERED VOTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. REPUBLICAN	67.	21. %
2. DEMOCRAT	229.	72. %
3. INDEPENDENT	22.	7. %
4. OTHER	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	318.	100. %

Q. 14: AGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. 17 - 20	18.	5. %
2. 21 - 24	30.	7. %
3. 25 - 29	48.	12. %
4. 30 - 34	46.	11. %
5. 35 - 39	44.	11. %
6. 40 - 44	39.	10. %
7. 45 - 49	28.	7. %
8. 50 - 54	26.	6. %
9. 55 - 59	39.	10. %
10. 60 - 64	20.	5. %
11. 65 - 69	32.	8. %
12. 70 AND OLDER	31.	8. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 15: EDUCATION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. LESS THAN HGH SCHOOL	79.	20. %
2. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	148.	37. %
3. SOME COLLEGE	89.	22. %
4. COLLEGE GRADUATE	58.	15. %
5. POST-GRADUATE	24.	6. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	399.	100. %

Q. 16: ZIP CODE (FIRST TWO)	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. IN STORAGE	393.	100. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	393.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 17:	ZIP CODE (LAST THREE)	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. IN STORAGE	400.	100. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
Q. 18:	REELECT RONALD REAGAN	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. REELECT REAGAN	197.	49. %
	2. NEW PERSON	159.	40. %
	3. DEPENDS	39.	10. %
	4. NO OPINION	5.	1. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
Q. 19:	SEX	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. MALE	198.	50. %
	2. FEMALE	202.	50. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
Q. 20:	SEEN POLITICAL ADS ON TV	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. YES	195.	49. %
	2. NO	205.	51. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %
Q. 21:	WHO POLITICAL ADS FOR	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. REPUBLICAN PARTY	14.	7. %
	2. REAGAN	73.	38. %
	3. REPUBLICANS/REAGAN	3.	1. %
	4. OTHER	101.	52. %
	5. NO OPINION	4.	2. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	195.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 22:	SEE REPUBLICAN/REAGAN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. YES	47.	15. %
	2. NO	259.	85. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	306.	100. %

Q. 23:	SEE POSTMAN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. YES	39.	15. %
	2. NO	220.	85. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	259.	100. %

Q. 24:	REMEMBER ABOUT ADS <UP TO 4 ANSWERS PER INT.>	RESPONDENTS MENTIONING	PERCENT
	1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	15.	9. %
	2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	56.	31. %
	3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	3.	2. %
	4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	37.	21. %
	5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	24.	14. %
	6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	36.	20. %
	7. BIPARTISAN BILL	3.	2. %
	8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	1.	1. %
	9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	1.	1. %
	10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	14.	8. %
	11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	20.	11. %
	12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	79.	44. %
	13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	16.	9. %
	14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	4.	2. %
	15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	6.	3. %
	16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	18.	10. %
	17. OTHER	38.	21. %
	18. NO OPINION	18.	10. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	(N/A)

Q. 25:	AD OBJECTIONL/POOR TASTE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
	1. YES	27.	15. %
	2. NO	141.	78. %
	3. NO OPINION	12.	7. %
		=====	=====
	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 26: ANYTHING NEW IN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	15.	9. %
2. NO	149.	82. %
3. NO OPINION	16.	9. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 27: ANYTHING UNCLEAR IN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	14.	8. %
2. NO	154.	85. %
3. NO OPINION	12.	7. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 28: ANYTHING UNTURE IN AD	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YES	45.	25. %
2. NO	117.	65. %
3. NO OPINION	19.	10. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 29: FIELD LOCATION	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SANTA ANA	301.	75. %
2. MCLEAN	99.	25. %
3. OTHER	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 30: ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. OPTIMISTS	156.	39. %
2. MILD OPTIMISTS	82.	20. %
3. REBOUNDERS	23.	6. %
4. STATUS QUOERS	35.	9. %
5. MILD PESSIMISTS	52.	13. %
6. PESSIMISTS	41.	10. %
7. DON'T KNOW	10.	3. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 31: REGISTERED VOTERS/PARTY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. REGISTERED GOP	67.	17. %
2. REGISTERED DEMOCRATS	229.	57. %
3. REGISTERED INDEPNDTS	22.	6. %
4. REGISTERED OTHERS	0.	0. %
5. NOT REGISTERED	81.	20. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	399.	100. %

Q. 32: AGE/C	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. 18 - 24	47.	12. %
2. 25 - 34	94.	23. %
3. 35 - 44	83.	21. %
4. 45 - 54	54.	13. %
5. 55 - 64	59.	15. %
6. 65 AND OVER	63.	16. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 33: SEX/AGE	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. YOUNGER WOMEN(18-44)	104.	26. %
2. OLDER WOMEN (45+)	97.	24. %
3. YOUNGER MEN (18-44)	120.	30. %
4. OLDER MEN (45+)	79.	20. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 34: AIDED/UNAIDED:RECALL ADS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. UNAIDED	94.	23. %
2. AIDED REAGAN/GDP	47.	12. %
3. REAGAN/GDP/POSTMAN	39.	10. %
4. NO RECALL	220.	55. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

Q. 35: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/1	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	15.	8. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/RE'AGAN	53.	29. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	2.	1. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

(Q. 35 CONT.)

4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	29.	16. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	5.	3. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	23.	13. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	1.	0. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	0.	0. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	1.	1. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	1.	1. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	5.	3. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	8.	4. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	2.	1. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	1.	1. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	1.	1. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	2.	1. %
17. OTHER	12.	7. %
18. NO OPINION	18.	10. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	180.	100. %

Q. 36: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/2 RESPONDENTS PERCENT

1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	0.	0. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	3.	2. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	1.	1. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	8.	7. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	18.	15. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	12.	10. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	2.	2. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	0.	0. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	0.	0. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	13.	11. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	6.	5. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	36.	29. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	4.	3. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	0.	0. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	2.	2. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	5.	4. %
17. OTHER	12.	9. %
18. NO OPINION	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	123.	100. %

Q. 37: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/3 RESPONDENTS PERCENT

1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	0.	0. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	0.	0. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 37 (CONT.)

3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	0.	0. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	0.	0. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	1.	2. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	2.	3. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	0.	0. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	1.	2. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	0.	0. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	0.	0. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	9.	13. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	27.	41. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	5.	7. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	1.	2. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	1.	1. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	8.	12. %
17. OTHER	12.	17. %
18. NO OPINION	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	68.	100. %

Q. 38: REMEMBER ABOUT ADS/4

	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. SOC SEC SYSTEM SAVED	0.	0. %
2. SOC SEC SAVED/REAGAN	0.	0. %
3. SOC SEC SYS/TROUBLE	0.	0. %
4. SOCIAL SECURITY/GEN	0.	0. %
5. REAGAN CONGRS TGETHR	0.	0. %
6. REAGAN DONE GOOD JOB	0.	0. %
7. BIPARTISAN BILL	0.	0. %
8. REAGAN SIGND SS BILL	0.	0. %
9. GOVT KEPT PROMISES	0.	0. %
10. REAGAN KEPT PROMISE	0.	0. %
11. GIVE REAGAN A CHANCE	0.	0. %
12. POSTMAN/OLD POSTMAN	7.	34. %
13. POSTMAN WITH CHECK	5.	24. %
14. HAVE SEEN AD BEFORE	2.	9. %
15. SPONSERED BY REPUB	2.	10. %
16. OTHER VISUAL RECALL	3.	14. %
17. OTHER	2.	9. %
18. NO OPINION	0.	0. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	21.	100. %

AGGREGATE RESULTS

Q. 39: AIDED/UNAID:RECLL ADS/C	RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
1. RECALLED AD	180.	45. %
2. NO RECALL	220.	55. %
	=====	=====
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	400.	100. %

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III
EDWIN MEESE III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: EDWARD J. ROLLINS *ER*
RE: Congressman Dan Burton's Reception

Congressman Burton is having a fund-raising reception at the Capitol Hill Club on Tuesday, May 24 from 6-8 p.m.

He would like you to serve on his host committee, understanding that you will, in all likelihood, not be able to attend.

If you could have your scheduler call Linda White in my office on x7914 by Friday of this week to let us know if you will serve or will not, I would be most appreciative.

Thank you.

*BH
please handle -
4/22
MOT
Done
bh*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR OUTREACH WORKING GROUP

FROM: EDWARD J. ROLLINS *ER*

RE: Blue Collar

✓
TO
MDT
For info
JRB

The "Blue Collar Worker" as defined by the Census Bureau includes the following occupational subcategories:

- craft and kindred workers
- operatives except transportation
- transportation equipment operators
- laborers, except farm

The following profile includes the most recent data (as of April 13, 1983) of the Census Bureau.

BLUE COLLAR PROFILE

I. THE WORK FORCE

° Thirty percent of the approximately 100 million employed Americans are in blue collar occupations. The 30 million blue collar workers still barely outnumber the swelling ranks of the white collar category as a percentage of the work force (30 percent to 29 percent).

It is important to recognize however, that most workers who don't strictly fall into either the blue or the white collar category are closer in outlook to the blue collars. Many of the 38 million sales, service, and clerical workers are unionized, for example.

The table below summarizes the distribution of the work force.

TABLE 1

	White Collar	29%
Non-white collar:	BLUE COLLAR	30%
	Sales, Service, Clerical	38%
	Farm	3%

° Blue collar work is dominated by males, especially white males. Forty-three percent of all working men work in blue collar jobs, compared to 13 percent working women. Although just 51 percent of the work force is composed of white males, they hold 71 percent of all blue collar jobs.

Black males are also over-represented in blue collar jobs. Although black males compose just 5 percent of the work force, they have 9 percent of all blue collar jobs. Obviously if men are over-represented in the blue collar area, then women are under-represented. The table below summarizes the data on work force distribution by sex and race.

TABLE 2

	<u>M E N</u>		<u>W O M E N</u>		
	White	Black	White	Black	
Percent of Work Force	51	5	39	5	100%
Percent of BLUE COLLAR jobs	71	9	17	3	100%

II. UNEMPLOYMENT

° In the last ten years the unemployment rate rose from 4.9 percent to a yearly rate of 8.7 percent. The number of unemployed rose from 4 million to 9.5 million. However, the decade-long surge in unemployment should not obscure some good news about the economy's job-producing capacity. The total number of employed Americans rose from 82 million in 1972 to 100 million in 1982, a jump of 22 percent.

However, blue collar occupations enjoyed very little growth. The number of blue collar jobs rose by about 1 million from 1972 to 1982, while the number of blue collar unemployed rose by more than 2 million in the same period. The blue collar unemployment rate rose from 6.5 percent to 14.2 percent--the highest of any occupational category--in this period.

° Ninety-five percent of all the new jobs created in the last decade were created in non-blue collar categories. The fear of being left behind and out of work is a major concern of blue collar Americans.

° The average blue collar worker who loses his or her job is out of work for 18 weeks.

° 84.6 percent of employed blue collar workers are working 40 hours a week or more. Under-employment as well as unemployment is a major concern of blue collar workers.

III. EARNINGS

° The table below summarizes the mean (defined as half above and half below) earnings of workers.

TABLE 3

	Male (1981 \$ thousands)	Female (1981 \$ thousands)
All workers	17	8
BLUE COLLAR	14	8

Blue collar workers lag behind the average earning for all workers. The gap between male and female earnings is slightly smaller among blue collar workers.

° Just as important as where workers' incomes are right now is the direction in which they are heading. The mean real earnings of male blue collar workers fell 7 percent from 1972 to 1982. The growth of their income fell behind the inflation rate. These calculations do not include taxes. The decline in male blue collar income roughly parallels the overall decline in real income for all workers in the decade 1972-1982.

Female blue collar workers' income actually rose 4 percent from 1972 to 1982.

° The decline of male income and the rise of female income suggests that the traditional husband-breadwinner is losing his former prominence in the family. Families which depend on a single breadwinner-husband are falling behind, on average. The presence of a female breadwinner in the family may boost real family income, but that does not necessarily mean much of a gain in quality of life, since care for the children, etc. might be expected to decline with the mother working. The average woman working at a non-white collar job earns \$7,000 a year.

IV. FAMILIES

° Blue collar families are extremely devoted to the nuclear family. Blue collar families have the highest average number of children per family under 18 years old (1.2).

° Only 5 percent of blue collar families have no mother present, compared to the national average of 12 percent.

° The key point about blue collar families is that they are keeping together in spite of severe social and economic pressures.

V. EDUCATION

° In all categories and classifications, Americans are better educated than they were a decade ago. The percentage of Americans, aged 25 to 64, who have graduated from high school rose from 67 percent in 1972 to 82 percent in 1982. The percentage of college graduates rose from 16 percent to 24 percent.

The table below summarizes the educational status of the work force in 1982:

TABLE 4

	<u>High School Graduate</u>	<u>College Graduate</u>
All Americans 25-64	82%	24%
White Collar	96%	55%
BLUE COLLAR	67%	4%
MALE BLUE COLLAR	68%	5%
FEMALE BLUE COLLAR	60%	4%

° To some extent the high levels of educational attainment are misleading, since educational quality and standards have declined. However, there is no question that the electorate, including the blue collars, is getting much more sophisticated.

VI. VOTING

° The percentage of Americans reporting that they voted in Presidential elections declined across the board from 1972 to 1980. The table below summarizes:

TABLE 5

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1980</u>
Total	66%	60%
White Collar	80%	75%
BLUE COLLAR	54%	48%

° Blue collar workers have the lowest voting percentage of any

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTES	BLUE COLLAR	PERCENT
North Carolina	13	1,062,000	40
South Carolina	8	536,000	40
West Virginia	6	280,000	40
Alabama	9	584,000	38
Mississippi	7	357,000	38
Indiana	12	889,000	37
Tennessee	11	719,000	37
Kentucky	9	517,000	37
Arkansas	6	330,000	37
Maine	4	169,000	36
Pennsylvania	25	1,771,000	35
Ohio	23	1,605,000	35
Rhode Island	4	152,000	35
Wyoming	3	77,000	35
Georgia	12	807,000	34
Louisiana	10	560,000	34
New Hampshire	4	150,000	34
Michigan	20	1,267,000	33
Texas	29	2,028,000	32
Wisconsin	11	697,000	32
Oklahoma	8	418,000	32
Illinois	24	1,581,000	31
Missouri	11	657,000	31
Utah	5	183,000	31
Virginia	12	716,000	30
Kansas	7	326,000	30
Vermont	3	69,000	30
Connecticut	8	444,000	29
Iowa	8	389,000	29
Oregon	7	333,000	29
Delaware	3	76,000	29
New Jersey	16	949,000	28
Massachusetts	13	751,000	28
Washington	10	515,000	28
Arizona	7	312,000	28
New Mexico	5	146,000	28
Idaho	4	110,000	28
Florida	21	1,085,000	27
Minnesota	10	511,000	27
Nebraska	5	194,000	27
California	47	2,857,000	26
Colorado	8	361,000	26
New York	36	1,908,000	25
Maryland	10	494,000	25
Montana	4	83,000	25
South Dakota	3	72,000	24
Alaska	3	39,000	24
Hawaii	4	96,000	23
North Dakota	3	65,000	23
Nevada	4	89,000	22
D.C.	3	43,000	14

U.S.A.

538

30,453,000

31

LABOR UNIONS

Membership in the nation's 208 labor unions and professional and state employee associations totaled more than 22 million in 1982. Not included in these totals are members of local unaffiliated unions in the United States and members of municipal employee associations.

Of this total, 108 unions are affiliated with the AFL-CIO. These unions have membership of approximately 17 million.

Union membership accounts for 19.7 of the total labor force. When employee associations are included, this percentage of the total labor force is increased to 22.2%. Approximately 56% of union and employee association members are blue collar, 34% white collar, and 10% service workers.

State membership data for all unions in the United States show that three states account for nearly 1 out of every 3 members -- New York, California and Pennsylvania. These three states, coupled with Illinois, Ohio and Michigan, account for 52 percent of the total.

The states listed below have at least 30% of the non-agricultural workforce holding membership in unions or employee associations:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>PERCENT OF WORK FORCE IN UNIONS</u>
New York	41.0
West Virginia	40.4
Michigan	38.5
Pennsylvania	37.3
Washington	36.5
Hawaii	35.9
Ohio	33.6
Illinois	33.4
Alaska	32.3
Indiana	32.0
Missouri	31.0
Wisconsin	30.5

Historically, union membership has been concentrated in a small number of unions. Sixteen unions represent 61% of the total union membership. Over 64% of all employee association members belong to one organization, the National Education Association. Twenty-five associations, or 74% of the total, have fewer than 25,000 members. Most employee associations are state organizations and limited in potential membership.

LABOR VOTING BEHAVIOR

The sources of information for study and analysis of union member voting patterns is extremely limited and not recent. Little research has been done in analyzing the union vote in elections other than Presidential races.

The research does show that persons from labor union households are more likely to turn out at the polls than persons from non-union households. The research also indicates that labor union members do not vote as a cohesive bloc in support of either party, despite the near unanimous effort on the part of labor union leaders in support of Democratic presidential candidates. The actual Democratic presidential vote since 1952 by persons living in a union household varies from a high of 73% in 1964 to a low of 46% in 1972. Available data on voting behavior of union members in congressional races yields similar patterns.

The following table presents the percentage of the union vote received by the major Presidential candidates for 1952 through 1980. The source of this information is the Gallup index.

	1952	
	<u>Stevenson (D)</u>	<u>Eisenhower (R)</u>
Union household	61.0%	39.0%
National total	44.6%	55.4%

	1956	
	<u>Stevenson (D)</u>	<u>Eisenhower (R)</u>
Union household	57.0%	43.0%
National total	42.2%	57.8%

	1960	
	<u>Kennedy (D)</u>	<u>Nixon (R)</u>
Union household	65.0%	35.0%
National total	50.1%	49.9%

	1964	
	<u>Johnson (D)</u>	<u>Goldwater (R)</u>
Union household	73.0%	27.0%
National total	61.3%	38.7%

LABOR VOTING BEHAVIOR (continued)

	1968		
	<u>Humphrey (D)</u>	<u>Nixon (R)</u>	<u>Wallace (I)</u>
Union household	56.0%	29.0%	15.0%
National total	43.0%	43.4%	3.6%
	1972		
	<u>McGovern (D)</u>	<u>Nixon (R)</u>	
Union household	46.0%	54.0%	
National total	38.0%	62.0%	
	1976		
	<u>Carter (D)</u>	<u>Ford (R)</u>	
Union household	63.0%	36.0%	
National total	51.0%	48.0%	
	1980		
	<u>Carter (D)</u>	<u>Reagan (R)</u>	<u>Anderson (I)</u>
Union household	50.0%	43.0%	5.0%
National total	41.0%	51.0%	7.0%

Almost all of the available research shows that union membership does seem to make a significant difference in the electoral decisions of union members. Data available from the University of Michigan Survey Research Center (1948-1968) shows that union members were from 82% to 34% more likely to vote for the Democratic presidential candidates than non-union voters.

In the mid-sixties, though, the research begins to show a significant decline in the Democratic preference of union voters. Although the basic partisan leanings of union voters have not changed greatly since 1952 (2 to 1 Democratic), union members have become more affluent, less working-class conscious, and less closely attached to their unions.

While political scientists will debate the relative value of a labor endorsement, there is little disagreement that the actions taken by organized labor can fundamentally affect the size of urban pluralities for Democratic candidates and that their activity or inactivity is an important factor in determining who wins state-wide elections.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE ELECTIONS

- 1968 was the high water mark of organized labor's efforts on behalf of a presidential candidate. The Great Society liberalism of Humphrey and Johnson was about as antithetical to the conservative social values of blue collar workers as anything could be. Furthermore, blue collar America not only shared the frustrations of the rest of the nation over Vietnam, but the sons of unionists were suffering disproportionate casualties, since they did not enjoy college deferments.

With all those handicaps, labor delivered the votes of 55% of its members to Humphrey, overcoming the conservative appeal of Nixon and the populist appeal of Wallace.

- 1972. McGovern was so offensive to organized labor that the AFL-CIO failed to endorse him. A number of unions went beyond neutrality and actually endorsed Nixon. They included:
 - - the American Postal Workers Union
 - - the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks
 - - Laborers International Union
 - - Seafarers International Union
 - - United Paperworkers
 - - Plumbers and Pipefitters

In all, 17 unions endorsed Nixon. McGovern got a mere 46% of the labor vote in '72. He received less than \$1 million in direct contributions.

- 1976. Big Labor was not high on Jimmy Carter during the primaries. He was a Baptist from a Right to Work state, something that did not sit too well with the ethnics in the big unions.

A few unions did back Carter in the primaries, most notably the United Auto Workers and the National Education Association. In fact, Carter was the first presidential candidate the NEA ever endorsed, mostly on the strength of his promise to create a separate Department of Education.

In the general election, labor went all out to beat Ford, and to elect Carter. Counting direct and indirect expenditures, it is estimated that labor spent \$11 million to elect Carter, which compares to the \$21 million that Carter had to spend himself.

The only Union to endorse Ford was the International Conference of Police Associations. The Teamsters made no endorsement.

Ford had antagonized the Republican-leaning building trades and maritime unions with his vetoes of common situs picketing and cargo preference legislation.

- In 1980 the President won the endorsement of five unions:
 - - Teamsters
 - - National Maritime Union
 - - National Association of Chiefs of Police
 - - Marine Engineers
 - - PATCO

Several other unions, including the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, the Airline Pilots Association, International Association of Firefighters, and the American Federation of Government Employees refused to endorse anyone. The International Association of Machinists, under the leadership of William Winpisinger, endorsed Barry Commoner.

As for all the other unions, the mere fact that they endorsed Carter does not mean that they put out anything resembling the effort in 1976 to help him in 1980.

- Looking at 1984, labor is making a determined effort not only to elect a Democrat, but to have an effect on the nominating process.

The idea of the AFL-CIO getting involved in the primaries is not new. In 1974, George Meany announced that the AFL-CIO would no longer participate in presidential primaries. This was no doubt a reaction to the frustrations of the 1972 campaign, when labor was brushed aside by the McGovernites.

While the AFL-CIO was on the sidelines in '76 and '80, they are tentatively scheduled to try to endorse a candidate this December. Mondale certainly has the edge on that endorsement, although he may fall short of the necessary two-thirds vote. Two unions that are using their considerable clout to help Mondale are the government-dependent NEA and AFSCME - - the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

As to the question of whether or not the AFL endorsement will help or hurt, we should remember that plenty of Democratic candidates, e.g. Johnson, Kennedy, Roosevelt, have won with it. A recent David Garth poll indicated that 8% of the voters would be more likely to vote for the labor-backed candidate, 16% would be less likely, and for 72% it would make no difference. Even among union families, 71% said it would make no difference.

- In political terms, how effective can we expect labor to be in 1984? Labor traditionally is most effective at delivering votes for low-level elections; least effective at directing them in presidential elections. After all, the vote for president is the most important that a citizen can cast. In addition, TV is most influential and pervasive at the higher levels.
- The table below shows that the labor vote no longer runs as far ahead of the Democratic presidential vote as it used to. The Democratic vote % is the actual nationwide %, while the labor % comes from post-election Gallup Polls.

Year	Demo % of nationwide	Demo % of labor vote	Margin
1956	42	57	+15
1960	50	65	+15
1964	61	73	+12
1968	43	56	+13
1972	38	46	+ 8
1976	50	63	+13
1980	41	50	+ 9

The margin column on the far right shows not only that the general trend is down, but that Carter made the second poorest showing ever among labor voters.

- There are three main parts of the labor political equation:
 - - the leadership
 - - the membership
 - - COPE (The Committee On Political Education)

Under the old-fashioned leadership of Alexander Barkan, COPE was not as effective as it could have been. It has always had lots of money, but it did things the old-fashioned way.

Under John Perkins, who took over in 1981, COPE is employing ultrasophisticated telephone and mail solicitation techniques. Prospects are contacted, and then are sent follow-up material keyed to local issues - - even demographics!

In 1982, for the first time in more than a decade, the Democrats, mostly thanks to COPE, actually out-contacted the GOP in terms of potential voters.

Already many unions have people out in the field, preparing for the '84 elections. Effective field work is worth more than mere money.

Other Labor activities with the Democratic Party in 1982-84:

- PARTY SLOTS

Thirty union officials, including 10 members of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee, sit on the 325-member Democratic National Committee

- MONEY

Labor is now putting money directly into the DNC. Contributions to the DNC topped \$1 million in 1981, and more in 1982.

- COOPERATION

Labor now joins DNC officials and staff in targeting meetings. Polling data and plans are routinely exchanged.

In short, Labor is supporting the Democratic Party heavily, in addition to Democratic candidates.

Over 150,000 COPE volunteers and paid workers canvassed union neighborhoods to get out the vote in 1982.

Pollster Peter D. Hart was retained as a consultant to COPE, to provide in-house polling capabilities.

Non-allocable union expenditures on behalf of campaigns was estimated at about \$12 million in the last election. Like Republican advertising, non-allocable expenditures aren't charged against specific candidates, but do directly impact their campaigns.

- TELEVISION

After the incredibly successful Republican media program of 1980 (26% of all voters said they were more likely to vote for local Republican candidates because they saw the GOP spots), the Democrats resorted to media, too. Labor wasn't to be left out.

In the spring of 1982, for instance, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) launched a TV campaign directly at the Reagan Administration, with lines like "Let them eat cake!" and "A loaf for them, a crumb for you."

AFSCME's program is just a precursor to future union activities in the broadcast media.

● CONTRIBUTIONS

As usual, labor candidate contributions show a strong pro-Democratic bias. It wasn't particularly new, but in the first 18 months of the 1982 election cycle, labor PACs gave 93.2% of their contributions to Democrats.

The record of the Top 10 union PACs is clearly indicative of this bias:

	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS TO:</u>		
	<u>\$ RAISED</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
AFL-CIO	1,196,861	780,525	2,500
American Federation of Teachers Communications Workers of America	1,039,388	311,075	4,100
International Assoc. of Machinists and Aerospace Workers	1,183,803	541,028	4,250
International Ladies' Garment Workers	1,578,709	1,277,159	28,250
National Education Association	1,040,448	613,963	8,000
Seafarers International Union of N. America	1,380,323	1,118,765	62,650
United Auto Workers	1,261,125	680,293	130,538
United Food & Chemical Workers	1,667,174	1,403,996	13,450
United Transportation Union	1,129,697	693,102	19,400
	1,232,599	400,225	40,490

SUMMARY

Clearly, Republican candidates in 1984 will face a stronger union political force, as labor adopts our high-tech programs and folds it into its already formidable organizational and financial skills.

It is equally clear that labor's impact in the Presidential campaign will likewise be enhanced.

PRINCIPAL U.S. LABOR UNIONS AND EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATIONS

The following is a list of selected labor unions with a membership of more than 100,000.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, 1,891,000 - National Education Association, 1,684,000 - United Mine Workers of America, 245,000 - National Association of Government Employees, 200,000 - American Nurses Association, 180,000 - Fraternal Order of Police, 150,000 - (Independent - not members of AFL-CIO)

MEMBERS OF AFL-CIO

International Union United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Workers of America, 1,357,000 - United Food and Commercial Workers Union, 1,300,000 - United Steelworkers of America, 1,238,000 - American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, 1,098,000 - International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 1,041,000 - United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, 784,000 - International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 754,000 - Service Employees International Union, 650,000 - Laborers International Union of North America, 608,000 - American Federation of Teachers, 551,000 - Communications Workers of America, 551,000 - Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers of America, 455,000 - International Union of Operating Engineers, 423,000 - Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International, 400,000 - United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry of the United States and Canada, 352,000 - International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 323,000 - American Federation of Musicians, 299,000 - United Paperworkers International Union, 275,000 - American Federation of Government Employees, 255,000 - American Postal Workers Union, 251,000 - International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, 233,000 - National Association of Letter Carriers, 230,000 - Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, 215,000 - United Transportation Union, 190,000 - International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, 184,000 - Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, 180,000 - International Association of Firefighters, 178,000 - International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades of the United States and Canada, 164,000 - Amalgamated Transit Union, 162,000 - United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 162,000 - Sheet Metal Workers International Association, 161,000 - Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers International Union of America, 160,000 - Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union, 154,000 - United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, 151,000 - International Brotherhood of Boilemakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers, and Helpers, 145,000 - International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, 135,000 - Transport Workers Union of America, 130,000 - National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, 125,000 - International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, 122,000 - International Woodworkers of America, 112,000 - Office and Professional Employees International Union, 107,000 - California State Employees Association, 105,000 - Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, 102,000

UNIONS THAT HAVE BEEN SUPPORTIVE OF VARIOUS ADMINISTRATION POLICIES

Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association
National Maritime Union
International Longshoremen's Association
Air Line Pilots Association
International Union of Tool, Die & Mold Makers
International Union of Police Associations
International Association of Fire Fighters
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Seafarers International Union
International Organization of Masters, Mates and
Pilots
American Radio Association
International Association of Tool Craftsmen
Air Line Employees Association
Association of Flight Attendants
National Federation of Independent Unions
National Association of Police Organizations
Assembly of Government Employees
Congress of Independent Union

ACTION ITEMS

Efforts must be made to identify the President with the working man and his interests.

- The President must stress, in every speech that he makes and at every meeting, that the Economic Recovery Program is working and that the Administration's Number One goal is getting Americans working again.

JOBS! JOBS! JOBS!!

- The President should make appearances at key ethnic events, and speak to family values and jobs. This will show a sensitivity to the blue collar ethnics.
- The President should appear with small groups of workers at a union hall or factory as a forum to explain key Administration programs.
- Whenever traveling, the President should try to meet local Catholic Bishops or church leaders.
- The President should increase the frequency with which he attends Sunday services. Consideration should be given to having visiting church leaders hold services at Camp David. (Religion and fear of its decline are important to blue collar ethnics.
- The President should go to retirement homes in blue collar neighborhoods and discuss Social Security and family-related issues.
- Get the President meeting with working people!

Harley-Davidson Factory -- tariff decision saved their jobs

Shipyard workers -- The Navy's 600 fleet program is creating thousands of jobs. Attend a keel-laying ceremony

Textile Mill -- Administration has saved jobs

Meet with Teamsters

Meet with Working Women

Consult with labor on ~~labor~~-sensitive appointments

Invite local and friendly international Labor leaders to White House functions -- State Dinners, briefings, etc.

The President, when on the road, should invite five or six local Labor leaders for breakfast, lunch or short meeting.

ACTION ITEMS (continued)

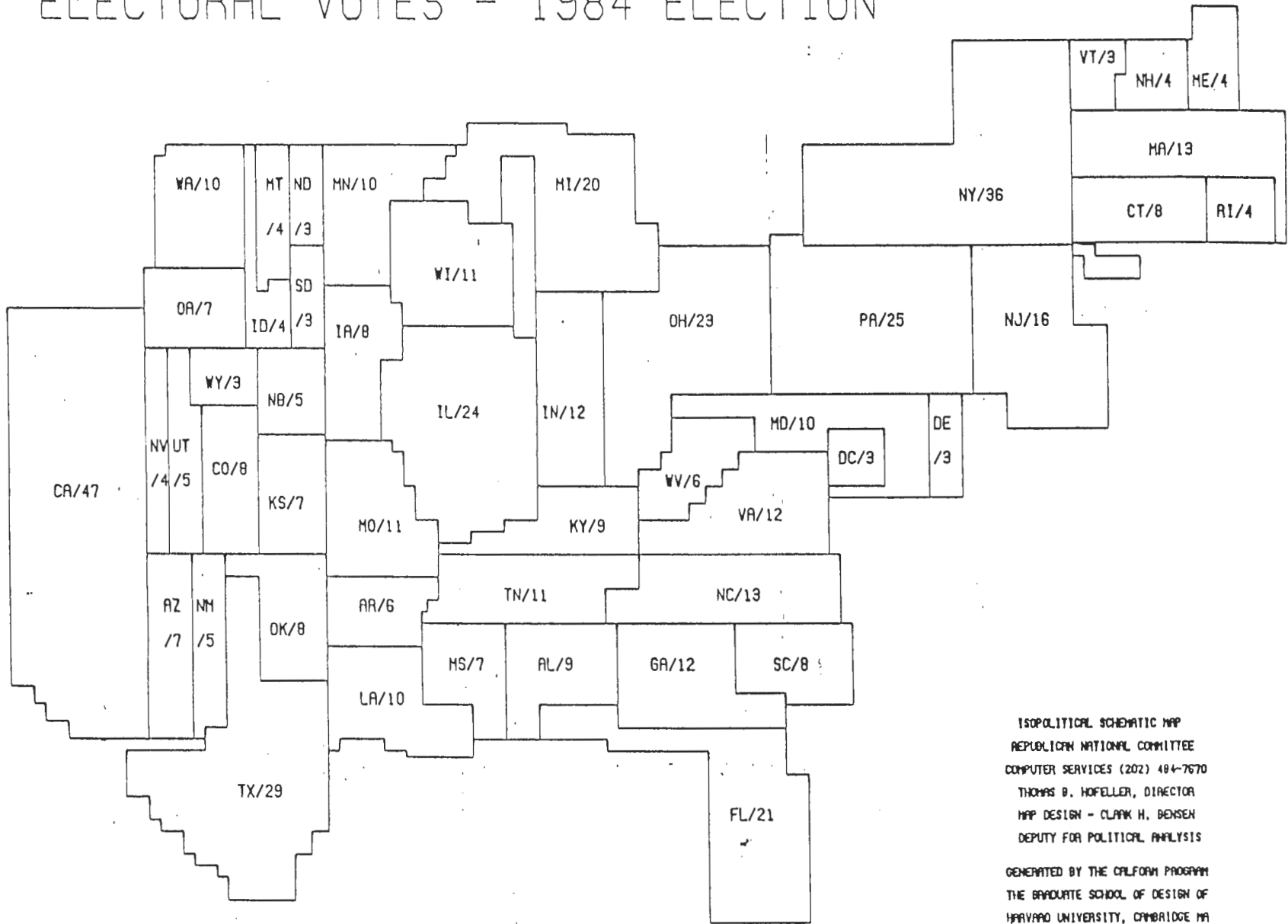
- The President should bring in representatives from Unions with high death or injury rates to discuss OSHA enforcements (Injuries and deaths have actually gone down under the Reagan Administration).
- ✓ ● The President should make sure that Labor representatives are fully involved in the White House Conference on Productivity.

THE WHITE HOUSE SHOULD:

- ✓ ● Compile a list of Labor groups and leaders (local and national) who will be supportive or neutral in the President's re-election. Determine what they want from us in return, and begin negotiations.
- Symbolism is important in the Labor movement. The Administration should appear to be concerned with the "working man" and his organizations.
- Jim Baker, Mike Deaver, Ed Meese and Bill Clark should be "open and accessible" to friendly Labor supporters. (They understand that you have access to the President and are willing to deal with you.)
- ✓ ● Once or twice a month, have lunch with Labor leaders and stop by Oval Office for quick introduction with the President.
- The White House, with the President's participation, should host a "Hall of Fame" Bowling lunch, similar to the Baseball Hall of Fame.
- ✓ ● Likewise, the White House, with the President's participation, should meet with the Republican National Committee's Labor Advisory Committee, chaired by Bill Usery.

ELECTORAL VOTES - 1984 ELECTION

AK/3



HI/4

ISOPOLITICAL SCHEMATIC MAP
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMPUTER SERVICES (202) 484-7670
THOMAS B. HOFELLER, DIRECTOR
MAP DESIGN - CLARK H. BENSON
DEPUTY FOR POLITICAL ANALYSIS

GENERATED BY THE CALFORM PROGRAM
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DESIGN OF
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE MA

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: ED ROLLINS *ER*

RE: 1984 REPUBLICAN SENATE BREAKFAST

For your meeting with Senators up for re-election in 1984, I thought you might like to be aware of our commitments for visits on their behalf.

Please note that our selections were based on suggestions by the Senatorial Campaign Committee, with oversight by my office, and that specific dates still lack confirmation and have yet to be disseminated.

SENATORIAL STOPS - 1983

Senator Tower, TX

April 29

(the following dates have been OK'd by Scheduling, but are considered as tentative as they have not been confirmed by Deaver or the President.)

Senator Boschwitz, MN June 9

Senator Helms, N.C. June 16 (held in Washington, DC)

Senator Jepsen, IA July 4

Senator Thurmond, S.C. September 20

Senator Warner, VA October 20

The Vice President has agreed to make stops for the other 11 Senators seeking re-election. Those Senators who will benefit from a Presidential visit will not get a Vice Presidential stop as well. Percy has been done.

In addition, the President is hosting the Senate Campaign Committee's Inner Circle (\$1,000-\$5,000 contributors) on April 11 at the Corcoran Art Gallery.

The President and Mrs. Reagan are also the guests of honor at the Senate-House Dinner on May 12, 1983.

Likewise, The President is willing to sign fund-raising letters for incumbents running for re-election, or cut endorsement TV or radio spots.

Of the 19 Republican seats up in 1984, at least eleven will be competitively challenged by the Democrats -- and at least five of these seats are vulnerable.

At this time, none of the 14 incumbent Democrats up in 1984 appear to be vulnerable.

This could change if Governor Pete DuPont will take on Senator Joe Biden in Delaware, and if Congresswoman Claudine Schneider will challenge Senator Claiborne Pell in Rhode Island.

REPUBLICAN INCUMBENTS

TENNESSEE - open - Recent Senate Committee survey shows Governor Alexander beating probable Democratic nominee Congressman Albert Gore by 21 points. Alexander, however, doesn't want to run and prospects are dim without him.

SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED

HELMS - North Carolina - will be seriously challenged by Governor Jim Hunt --- polls have Helms behind

JEPSEN - Iowa - could have a primary battle. General election opponent will probably be Congressman Tom Harkin. Uphill fight to hold seat.

TOWER - Texas - tough battle. You know Texas better than anyone else.

COMPETITIVE RACES

ARMSTRONG - Colorado - If Governor Lamm makes the race, it will be very tough to hold this seat.

BOSCHWITZ - Minnesota - Boschwitz expects a tough re-election fight against 1982 Democratic senate nominee Mark Dayton.

HUMPHREY - New Hampshire - recent polls show him in better shape than previously thought.

COMPETITIVE RACES (continued)

PERCY - Illinois - will be challenged in primary by Congressman Tom Corcoran. If he survives primary, will face tough General re-election.

DOMENICI - New Mexico - No Democratic opponents have surfaced, but could be in tough races if serious challenger emerges

THURMOND - South Carolina - "

COCHRAN - Mississippi - "

SAFE RACES

COHEN, Maine Should be safe

HATFIELD, Oregon "

KASSEBAUM, Kansas "

McCLURE, Idaho "

PRESSLER, South Dakota "

SIMPSON, Wyoming "

STEVENS, Alaska "

WARNER, Virginia "

Lee Atwater and I are meeting with each of the incumbents on a one-on-one basis to offer the White House's help, and to discuss their individual races with them.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
RICHARD DARMAN
KEN DUBERSTEIN

FROM: ED ROLLINS {K

DATE: MARCH 30, 1983

RE: ATTACHED DOCUMENTS RE: CONGRESSMAN RINALDO

I have attached a news clip from the Friday, March 25 Star-Ledger, wherein Congressman Matt Rinaldo makes some comments that I think you should be aware of.

Likewise, I have attached a reaction to the news clip from New Jersey Assemblyman Chuck Hardwick, who serves on the RNC Executive Committee as President of the National Republican Legislators Association.



GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF NEW JERSEY
TRENTON

MINORITY WHIP
CHUCK HARDWICK
ASSEMBLYMAN, DISTRICT 14 (LUDLOW)
LEGISLATIVE OFFICE
100 QUIMBY STREET
WESTFIELD, N.J. 07090

201 232 3673

March 26, 1983

Dear Matt,

You were quoted in the March 25 Star-Ledger as voting for the Democrat's budget in order to send a "signal" to President Reagan that you didn't like his budget proposal. I am writing you to send you a "signal" that I don't like your vote.

As a Republican who has supported you and voted for you, I feel betrayed when you are among a tiny minority of Republicans who side with Tip O'Neil in opposition to our President and the Republican Congressional leadership.

But even more important to me than party loyalty, you voted for a \$30 billion tax increase, an inadequate budget for our nation's security and an increase in social spending. I don't believe that the Democrat budget you voted for is in our country's best interest.

Personally, I consider your vote a slap in the face not only to President Reagan, but also to the majority of voters who supported you over your opponent last November. If we had wanted such a voting record we would have supported Adam Levin, who ran precisely on that platform.

You and I have discussed your voting record in the past apparently to no avail. So, I am sending this letter to Republican leaders in the belief they share my view, and I hope they will communicate with you.

Sincerely,

Chuck Hardwick

The Hon. Matthew J. Rinaldo
1961 Morris Avenue
Union, N.J. 07083

*Dear Ed,
As we discussed at
R.N.C. Executive Committee.
Hope this helps.
Chuck*

Rinaldo 'signals' President with his budget vote

Star-Ledger Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. Matthew Rinaldo (R-7th Dist.), one of only four Republicans to vote for the Democratic budget plan, said yesterday he wanted to send a signal to President Reagan that some key programs important to New Jersey should not be cut drastically.

"As I finally saw it, there was not an alternative Republican budget to vote on, and I was very disappointed that the Administration was not offering a new plan of its own," said Rinaldo.

The congressman said the Democratic resolution approved Wednesday was favorable to the people of his district and New Jersey because it did not reduce mass transit operating subsidies

and provided higher levels of hazardous waste cleanup money than the President's first budget proposal. He said the Democratic plan also did not make big reductions in education aid or low-income energy assistance as President Reagan has proposed.

"I wanted to send a signal that we can't cut back in those vital areas," he said.

Rinaldo said the Democratic resolution provides funding for New Jersey mass transit operating subsidies at this year's \$44.3 million level. He said the cuts proposed by Reagan would hurt the state's transit systems, result in reduced ridership and higher fares.

The congressman added New Jersey cannot afford the higher taxes nec-

essary to make up for the federal shortfall.

The congressman said the Democratic budget resolution is "far from the last word on the budget," noting that the Senate will have to come up with its own version, and the two will have to be reconciled.

He said there are portions of the Democratic budget plan he does not like but hopes that the final compromise will be closer to a middle ground between the Democratic and Republican options.

In particular, Rinaldo said he opposes repealing the third year of the income tax cut, a provision that is assumed to be part of the Democratic budget. He said he would vote against such a repeal.

Rinaldo said he was lobbied by the

White House this week, and was promised that the Administration would show flexibility in the budget, but in the end had to go against the President.

Rinaldo said he does not expect any retribution from the White House and found that some Reagan aides understood his position and were sympathetic. He said he probably would have voted for a GOP budget if one had been offered off the House floor.

In past years, Rinaldo has ranked high on the list of Republicans who have often veered from the party line and voted with the Democrats.

During Wednesday's budget vote, Rinaldo was joined by GOP Reps. William Green of New York, Claude Schneider of Rhode Island and James Jeffords of Vermont in voting with the Democrats.

Pres.
R
Legislative
Leaders Conf.
Nat. →
Legislators
Asso.

THE STAR-JEDGER, FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y.

Rinaldo signals President with his budget vote

WASHINGTON—(AP) — Rinaldo Ossola, president of the Congressional Budget Office, today signaled President Truman's position on the budget by voting for a bill that would increase the federal deficit.

Ossola's vote was the only one of the 10 members of the committee to vote in favor of the bill. The other nine members voted against it.

The bill would increase the federal deficit by \$1 billion over the next five years. It would also increase the federal income tax by 1 percent.

Ossola said that he had voted in favor of the bill because he believed that it was necessary to increase the federal deficit in order to pay for the war. He said that he believed that the government should not be able to raise the money it needed to pay for the war by increasing the federal income tax.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



March 28, 1983

TO: JIM BAKER

~~FROM:~~ MARGARET TUTWILER

The attached flyer was handed to the President by Mr. John Hvaspa who is the President of the American Political Research Council.

He lives at 10701 Marbury Road
Oakton, Virginia 22124

His phone numbers are: 703-281-0333 (o)
703-938-0606 (h)

1. He is a Republican.
2. He is active in the Republican Heritage Council.
3. He is of ^{SLAVIC}~~Solvae~~ origin.
4. He had these flyers printed at his own expense to show support for the President.
5. There is no official organization by the name on the flyer.
6. He has sent a flyer with a letter to Ed Meese.

LISTEN FELLOW-AMERICANS TO US WHO KNOW

"HOW TO TRUST THE SOVIETS..."

- * AMERICANS OF AFGANISTANI HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF ARMENIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF BYELORUSSIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF BULGARIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF CHINESE (RED) HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF COSSACK HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF CROATIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF CZECH HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF EAST GERMAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF ESTONIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF HUNGARIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF LATVIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF LITHUANIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF POLISH HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF RUMANIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF RUSSIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF SERBIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF SLOVAK HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF SLOVENIAN HERITAGE
- * AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN HERITAGE

OUR FORMER LEADERS IN OUR FORMER HOMELANDS TRUSTED THE SOVIETS...AND OUR NATIONS PAID DEARLY WITH COUNTLESS LIVES...AND MISERIES PERPETRATED ON OUR PEOPLES...

This is why our fathers, and we, risked everything to flee to this great country. Why everyone, who can, flees the Soviet grip. Just remind yourselves, how many have fled the Soviet threat...and now, you, you "Freezenicks," who have never had to fear the Soviet Communist danger, now you want to surrender us! If you want to trust the Soviets--we suggest you go and live there yourselves, to find out just how far they can be trusted. We've had over 64 years' experience!

YOU CAN RELY ON US, PRESIDENT REAGAN...TO BACK YOU AGAINST THE "FREEZENICKS."

Ethnic Americans for
Peace with Freedom through
Strength