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*Richard B. Wirthlin*  
*you want to*  
*see these -*  
*pls return*

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1050 Seventeenth Street N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 822-9010

TO: James A. Baker, III  
Richard G. Darman  
Michael K. Deaver  
Ed Rollins

FROM: Richard B. **Wirthlin**

DATE: June 9, 1983

SUBJECT: **Hispanics**

Attached are materials relating to Hispanic attitudes as they may affect our efforts this year and next.

I am contacting Hispanic marketing research firms to determine who the ten or twenty most admired Hispanic individuals might be.

III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PERFORMANCE RATING

President Reagan is given a favorable job rating by Hispanics, slightly lower than reported in September. The President receives a favorable rating (excellent + good + fair) of 57.1%, compared to an unfavorable rating of 32.3% (poor) among all persons interviewed. The "No Opinion" group is 10.6%.

The previous Poll showed a 61.3% favorable rating, a "poor" rating of 26.9% and 11.8% with no opinion. Differences in opinion by place of origin continue to be large. Cubans view President Reagan more favorably than average, 78.6% rating the job performance positively versus 15.4% rating it negatively.

Puerto Ricans and Mexicans give the President a lower rating than average, and their rating has declined since September.

Other Hispanics continue to show a favorable rating, and the President's position has improved slightly.

RATING	PLACE OF ORIGIN									
	TOTAL		PUERTO RICO		CUBA		MEXICO		OTHER HISPANIC	
	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.
Excellent	8.8%	8.8%	1.7%	2.2%	24.4%	20.5%	5.8%	6.5%	5.9%	6.8%
Good	17.0	15.1	5.7	6.1	30.8	30.5	14.7	12.7	17.9	11.3
Fair	31.3	37.4	46.9	47.7	23.4	26.5	32.5	40.7	34.7	33.8
Poor	32.3	26.9	33.7	31.1	15.4	17.0	36.6	30.2	26.8	26.5
Don't Know	10.6	11.8	12.0	12.9	6.0	5.5	10.4	9.9	14.7	21.6
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Hispanic Poll ©  
Strategy Research Corporation

The performance rating given the President is down slightly, the trend being supported by Hispanic opinion on political parties and the economic situation as shown on following pages.

Question in Spanish:  
Como Ud. clasifica el trabajo que Ronald Reagan  
esta haciendo en estos momentos como Presidente  
de los Estados Unidos?

Question in English:  
How do you rate the job Ronald Reagan is doing as  
President of the United States today?

B. THE POLITICAL PARTY MOST ABLE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN THE U.S. TODAY

The Democratic Party is named most often as being the political party most able to solve the problems in the U.S. at present. The Democratic Party is named by 41.1% vs. 28.2% for the Republican Party. The last Poll showed 39.0% Democratic and 30.1% Republican, a slight shift in favor of the Democratic Party, but not significant.

Puerto Ricans and Mexicans favor the Democratic Party more than the average. Among Cubans, the Republican Party leads the Democratic Party 48.3% to 25.8%.

Other Hispanics show a slight change toward the Democratic Party.

The size of the group stating that none of the parties is "Most Able" equals 9.7%.

PLACE OF ORIGIN

POLITICAL PARTY	TOTAL		PUERTO RICO		CUBA		MEXICO		OTHER HISPANIC	
	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.
Democratic	41.1%	39.0%	49.8%	44.7%	25.8%	27.5%	45.2%	43.0%	40.0%	37.2%
Republican	28.2	30.1	20.5	23.5	48.3	43.0	24.9	28.7	21.6	25.0
Other	4.4	5.0	4.0	3.8	2.5	3.0	3.7	5.4	8.4	6.9
None	9.7	8.2	10.3	13.6	6.0	6.5	7.8	3.7	17.4	16.7
Don't Know	16.6	17.7	15.4	14.4	17.4	20.0	18.4	19.2	12.6	14.2
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Hispanic Poll<sup>©</sup>  
Strategy Research Corporation

The basic pattern of opinions on Party has not changed, but the slight improvement in the Democratic Party position relates to the President's rating, as does the subject of the following section - the family's economic situation.

Question in Spanish:  
Pensando en los problemas y temas aflijendo a los Estados Unidos hoy dia, cual partido politico cree Ud. que esta mejor capacitado para lidiar con los problemas enfrentando la nacion?

Question in English:  
Thinking about the problems and issues current in the U.S. today which political party in the U.S. is best able to handle the problems facing the country?

C. SENTIMENTS ON FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION, PRESENT AND FUTURE

1. Sentiments On Family Economic Situation At Present Vs. A Year Ago

More Hispanics say their family is worse off now than a year ago, 33.3%, than say they are better off, 19.7%, continuing the pessimistic trend shown in recent Hispanic Polls.

Less than half, 43.3%, feel the situation is about the same as a year ago.

The differences in opinion by place of origin vary, but not extremely. Cubans feel "better off" slightly more than average, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans somewhat worse off, but the pattern of sentiment is very similar.

Almost all respondents continue to have an opinion on this subject, indicating concern with the issue.

PRESENT FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION	PLACE OF ORIGIN									
	TOTAL		PUERTO RICO		CUBA		MEXICO		OTHER HISPANIC	
	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.
Better	19.7%	20.2%	17.7%	17.5%	22.8%	23.5%	19.1%	21.8%	19.5%	15.2%
Same	43.3	48.2	44.0	53.0	46.3	47.0	38.5	43.5	50.5	56.9
Worse	33.3	27.9	36.6	26.5	28.9	26.5	37.1	31.3	26.3	22.5
Don't Know	3.7	3.7	1.7	3.0	2.0	3.0	5.3	3.4	3.7	5.4
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Hispanic Poll<sup>©</sup>  
Strategy Research Corporation

Thus, the above data show a pessimistic sentiment about the present, on balance. But in general, Hispanics foresee a change for the better in the future as shown on the following page.

Question in Spanish:  
Pensando en la situacion economica de su familia  
en este momento...Diria Ud. que esta...(mejor)  
(mas o menos igual)(peor) que un ano atras?

Question in English:  
Thinking about the economic situation of your family  
today...Do you think they (you) are (better off)  
(about the same) (worse off) than a year ago?

2. Sentiments On Future Family Economic Situation - One Year From Now

The general sentiment about the future is more optimistic than about the present. The size of the group feeling that the family economic status will be better a year from now is larger than the group saying that it will be worse, 34.3% to 25.5%. About one-third (32.0%) feel it will be about the same.

The last Poll showed an optimistic attitude also, and the trend is sustained.

Cubans and Other Hispanics are more optimistic than average. Mexicans are less optimistic but follow the overall trend, as do Puerto Ricans.

FUTURE FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION	PLACE OF ORIGIN									
	TOTAL		PUERTO RICO		CUBA		MEXICO		OTHER HISPANIC	
	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.	Dec.	Sept.
Better	34.3%	38.1%	46.4%	53.0%	55.2%	52.5%	23.8%	30.8%	35.3%	30.9%
Same	32.0	32.3	25.0	20.5	25.9	30.0	33.4	33.4	38.9	39.7
Worse	25.5	21.7	20.6	15.9	10.4	11.0	34.3	30.2	18.4	16.7
Don't Know	8.2	7.9	8.0	10.6	8.5	6.5	8.5	5.6	7.4	12.7
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Hispanic Poll ©  
Strategy Research Corporation

The general pattern of expectations holds true, across-the-board, and demonstrates a continuing trend established in previous Hispanic Polls.

Question in Spanish:  
(Vea introduccion de la pregunta en la pagina anterior) Pensando de aqui a un ano, piensa Ud. estara (mejor)(mas o menos igual)(peor)?

Question in English:  
(See lead-in question on preceding page) And one year from now, do you think you will be (better off)(about the same)(worse off)?

TO: James A. Baker, III  
Richard G. Darman  
Michael K. Deaver  
Ed Rollins

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: June 9, 1983 (written July 28, 1982)

SUBJECT: Hispanic Population

(If you find this memo of interest, we would be able to update it through 1983.)

By the year 2000, Hispanics will be the largest minority group in the United States. In 1980, their numbers were counted at 14,588,876 million, or 6.4% of the U.S. population, however the true figure is probably several million greater than this. Many illegal aliens are never counted, and because even those who are not illegal aliens may be undercounted. In 1980, the Bureau of the Census estimated that 59% of the Spanish-speaking population in this country are of Mexican heritage, 13.8% are Puerto-Rican, and 6.3% are from Cuban backgrounds. The Hispanic population is growing at a very rapid rate, primarily because of three factors: 1) the tendency of many Hispanics to marry young and have large numbers of children; 2) the large numbers of Hispanics of child-bearing ages, and 3) large numbers of recent legal and illegal immigrants. Hispanics will probably continue to grow as a proportion of the population for many, many years. Therefore, it is important that Republicans begin now to design a comprehensive strategy to attract this group.

Before a strategy can be designed, more must be learned about the political attitudes and behaviors of Hispanics. We do not know a great deal about the voting behavior of Hispanic because most of them are relatively new in this country. We do know that their political potential has not yet been realized. In part, this is due to the low levels of attention paid them by both major parties. Whereas other

ethnic groups have been systematically wooed by political machines and other local political organizations, Hispanics have often been left alone. As a result, they are less partisan than the rest of the population.

However, as Hispanics assimilate into society, they are likely to become more and more partisan. Republicans, with careful planning now, can begin to capture a fair portion of this emerging partisanship.

Hispanics and blacks are often lumped together in political analyses. This is a real mistake, for the two groups are quite different, not only in their partisanship, but also in their ideologies, views toward candidates, and issue positions.

### Partisanship

Hispanics are not yet nearly as Democratic as blacks, but there is evidence that they are becoming more and more Democratic. In the past year alone, there has been some erosion of Republican partisanship and an increase in Democratic partisanship among Hispanics.

This is evident when one looks at Chart 1. The percentage of strong Republicans has dropped 3 points since 1981, and the percentage of strong Democrats has jumped 5 points. When leaners are added to party identifiers, we see that the Republicans have lost 6 percentage points and the Democrats have gained 8 percentage points--in just the last year.

The Hispanic population cannot be looked at as a homogeneous entity. Each of the major sub-groups -- Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans -- has its own distinctive political culture and characteristics. For example, the partisanship of Cuban-Americans tends to be considerably more Republican than that of Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans.



Therefore, suitable political appeals to Hispanics in Florida (Cubans) would likely be considerably different from suitable appeals to Hispanics in California or Texas (Mexican Americans) or New York (Puerto Ricans).

As we can see in Chart 2, Florida has a large percentage of Hispanics--57%--who say they are Republican identifiers. In the other states, Republicans have only attracted 23 or 24% of the Hispanic population. Democrats have attracted 57% of Hispanics in California, 61% in Texas, and 51% in New York, but only 37% in Florida.

Republicans have lowered their image somewhat, in the eyes of Hispanics. The mean rating given by Hispanics to the Republican party has dropped significantly since last year. The mean rating in 1981 was 55.4; now it is 47.9. The ratings given the Democratic party have not changed much. In 1981, the mean rating was 64.8; now it is 66.3.

Interestingly, younger Hispanics may be slightly more apt to be Republicans than older Hispanics. Twenty-seven percent of those in the young age group said they were Republicans, or leaned toward the Republicans, but only 21% in the 35 to 54 age group, and 23% in the 55 and older group gave these responses. When one considers that the median age of Mexican Americans--who make up approximately 59% of the Spanish-speaking population in this country--is only 21.4 years old (Bureau of the Census, 1980), this suggests that young Hispanics may be a good group for the Republicans to target.

Partisanship also varies by sex. Women are significantly more likely to be Democrats than men are. While 63% of females are Democrats, only 50% of men were.

Income does not appear to be associated with the partisanship of Hispanics in the same way it is associated with the partisanship of

most of the population. Income is usually correlated with higher likelihood of being Republican. Among Hispanics, 28% of those making \$15,000 or less are Republican identifiers or leaners, but only 21% of those making \$15,000 to \$30,000, and 26% of those making over \$30,000 are Republicans.

Occupation, also, does not generally appear to make much of a difference in the partisanship of Hispanics, although those repoding "other" or "refused" are somewhat less likely to be Republicans.

Education does not have a straight linear effect on the partisanship of Hispanics. Instead, we find that lower-educated Hispanics are less likely to be Republicans, those with some college or vocational training are most likely to be Republicans, and those with college degrees or post-graduate training are less likely to be Republicans.

### Ideology

Ideologically, Hispanics can be described as mixed. This can be seen in Chart 3. Whereas they are not as conservative as whites, they are also nowhere near as liberal as blacks. Although Hispanics may have become a little more Democratic in the last year, they appear to have become slightly more conservative.

In Chart 4, the ideology of Hispanics is broken down by state. The data on partisanship would probably lead one to expect that the state with the largest number of conservatives is Florida. It is somewhat surprising, then, to find that the state which appears most conservative from this analysis is Texas -- a state whose Hispanics tend to be quite Democratic.

However, among the hispanic population in general, Democrats are about as likely to be conservative as they are to be liberal. We also find that only 37% of those saying they are very conservative are

Republicans or Republican leaners. This may be largely because determination of conservatism here is based on self-rankings. Mexican Americans especially may consider themselves socially conservative, even though outside observers would not consider them to be politically conservative.

### Views on Political Figures

Reagan garners a considerable amount of support from Hispanics. This is evident especially when one compares the Reagan feeling thermometers for blacks and Hispanics. Reagan, in 1982, got average ratings of 52.4 among Hispanics, and 33.5 among blacks. However, Reagan's rating for 1982 was about 12 percentage points lower than his rating for 1981 (See Chart 5 ).

Hispanics give Reagan fairly high approval ratings, especially when compared to the ratings given by the black population. As we might expect, approval ratings vary enormously by state, as can be seen in Chart 6. Floridians are much more likely to given high job ratings to Reagan.

In Chart 7, one can see that Reagan's image among Hispanics has dropped somewhat since 1981. In 1981, 61% of Hispanics gave good or excellent ratings to Reagan's strength of leadership. By 1982, this percentage had dropped a full twenty points.

Hispanics also perceive Reagan to be effective in getting things done. The percentages giving him high ratings on this characteristic have dropped slightly since 1981.

The percentage of Hispanics giving Reagan high ratings for "caring about the elderly and the poor" has dropped drastically since 1981. In 1981, 17% gave Reagan an excellent rating, and 23% gave him a good rating. By 1982, these figures had dropped to 6% and 19%.

The percentages of Hispanics who say they think Reagan's chances of starting an unnecessary war are good or excellent have remained approximately the same since last year. These percentages are lower than the ratings given by blacks, and higher than the ratings given by whites.

Nancy Reagan makes a fairly good impression on Hispanics. She draws many more favorable reactions from Hispanics than from blacks. In fact, Hispanics look very much like whites in their assessments of Nancy Reagan.

In 1981, both Bush and Reagan received higher ratings than either Carter or Mondale. In both years, Ted Kennedy got the highest average ratings of any candidate. Much of this support is probably due to the enormous popularity of his late brother, John, among Hispanics in the Southwest.

### Issue Positions

#### Right Direction/Wrong Track

Hispanics, like the rest of the population, are more inclined to believe that the country is on the wrong track now, than they were in 1981. In 1981, 44% believed the country was on the right track. By 1982, this figure had dropped to 39%. Fifty-four percent of Hispanics in Florida believe that the country is on the right track, but 44% and 43% of Hispanics in California and Texas, and only 34% of Hispanics in New York believe this.

#### Economic Issues

Hispanics are somewhat less optimistic than whites about the likelihood that Reagan's economic program will reduce inflation, increase unemployment, and balance the budget, but they are

nowhere near as pessimistic as blacks. When studies over the last year and a half are merged, the breakdowns are as follows:

- 51% feel that Reagan's economic program will reduce inflation; 44% say it will not (See Chart 8).
- 49% think Reagan's economic program is fair; 43% think not.
- 39% believe Reagan's program will increase unemployment; 54% say they do not believe this (See Chart 9).

On the first two of these questions, there is evidence that people have become more pessimistic over time about the success of Reagan's economic programs. In the past year, Hispanics do not appear to have become much more pessimistic about the chances that Reagan's program will increase employment.

The percentages approving of Reagan's overall economic program have dropped substantially since 1981 (Refer to Chart 10). For example, half as many persons as in 1981, now say they strongly approve of Reagan's handling of the economy. Perhaps this is because they were pessimistic to begin with.

Whereas a large majority of Hispanics in 1981 believed Reagan's economic package would help, now a slight majority feels instead that it will hurt.

### Foreign Affairs

Hispanics, like the rest of the population, have lowered their approval ratings about the way Ronald Reagan has handled foreign affairs (See Chart 11). The percentages of Hispanics giving favorable ratings to Reagan's handling of foreign affairs is much closer to the percentages of whites than the percentages of blacks giving such ratings.

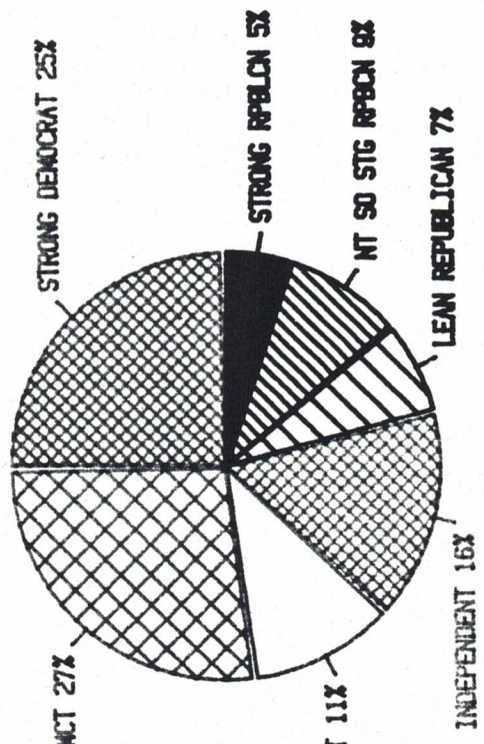
## Conclusion

In sum, it is possible for Republicans to attract a significant portion of the Hispanic vote. While most Hispanics tend to lean towards the Democrats, Hispanics consider themselves to be conservative, and they are much more favorable than blacks in their opinions of Reagan and his programs. However, approval of Reagan in the Hispanic population has been slipping rapidly. Simultaneously, Hispanics have been becoming more and more Democratic.

Republicans need to put an end to these trends now. In the next twenty years, Hispanics will have the capacity to become a very important political force. The partisan ties they are making today could have very important influences on the future of politics in this country. Now is the time for the Republicans to begin to build these ties.

# HISPANICS: PARTY ID

1982



1981

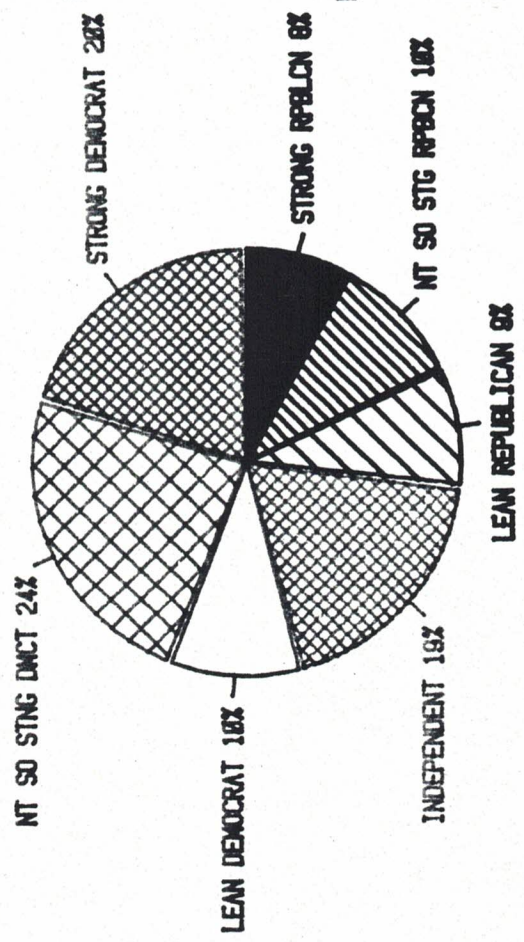
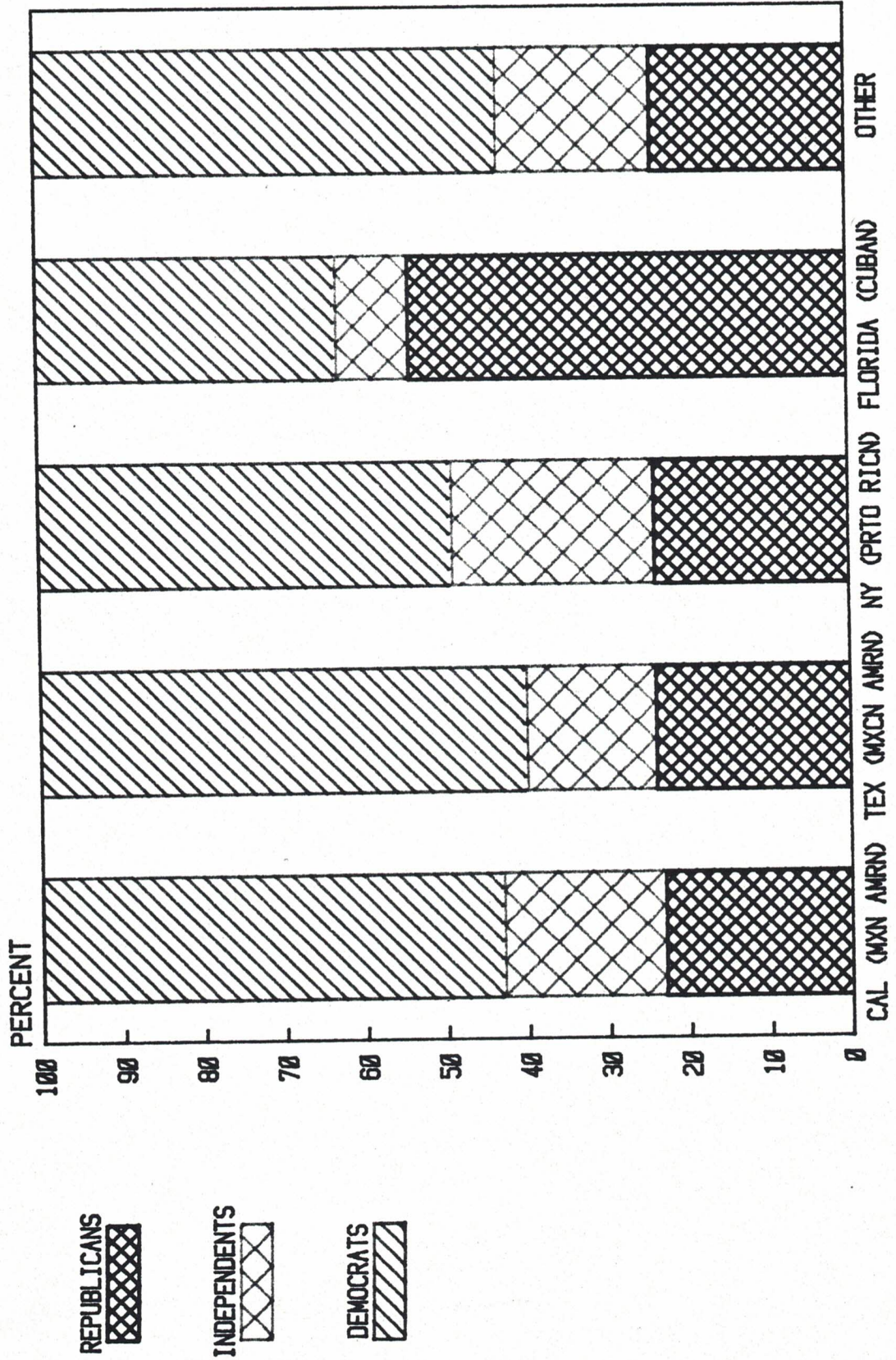


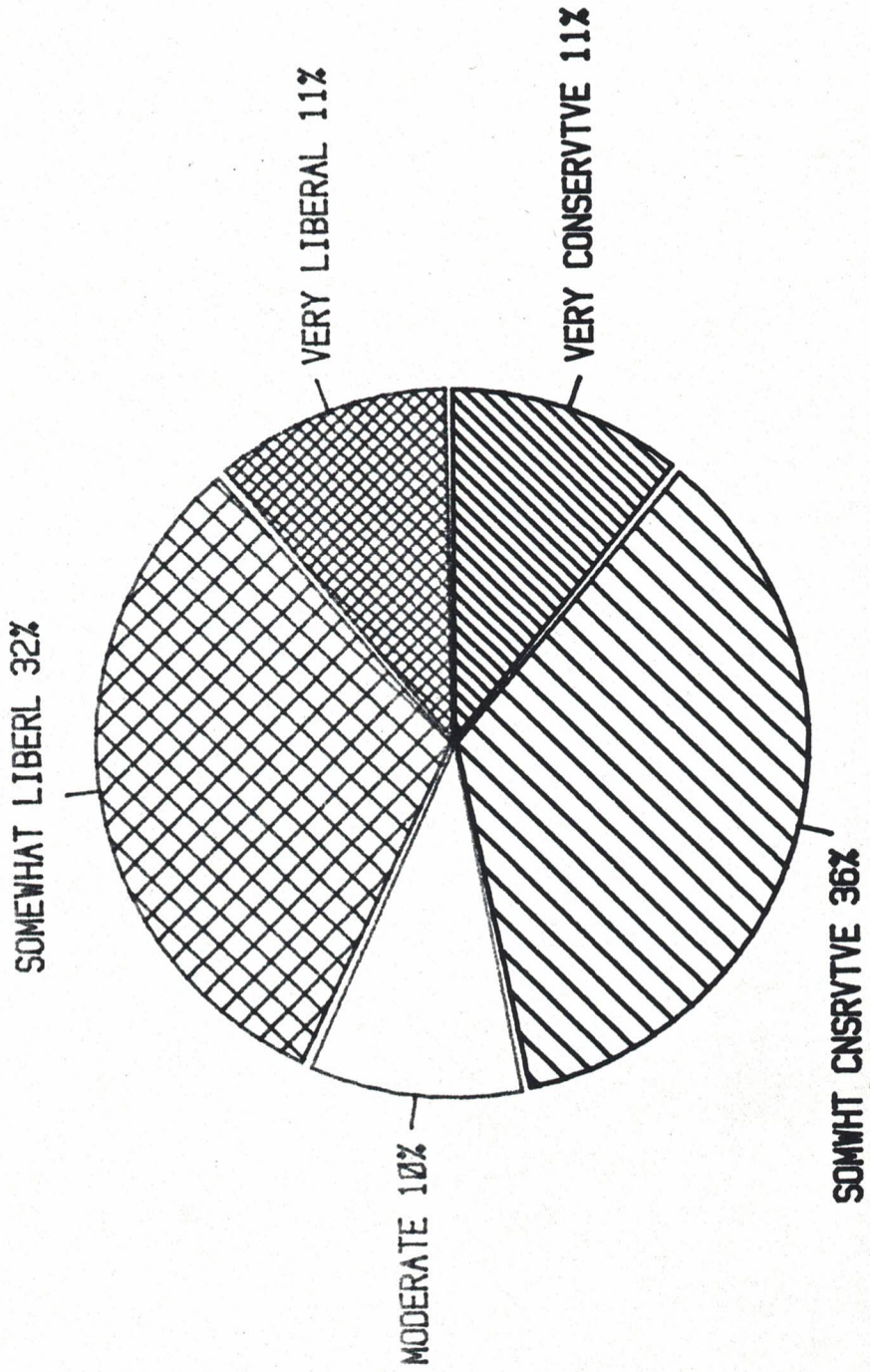
CHART 2

# HISPANICS: PARTY ID WITH LEAN BY CONCENTRATION STATE

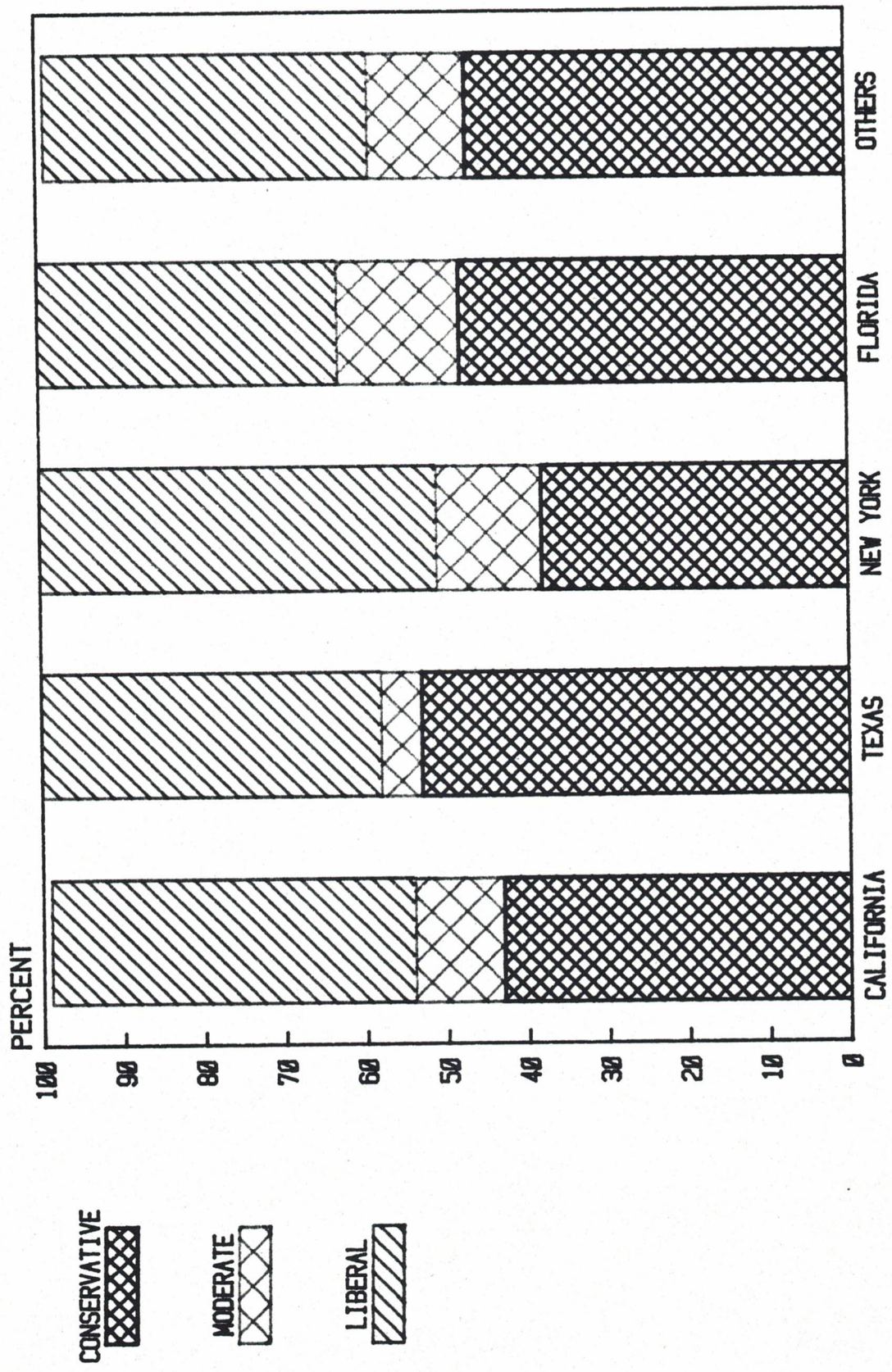




# IDEOLOGY OF HISPANICS

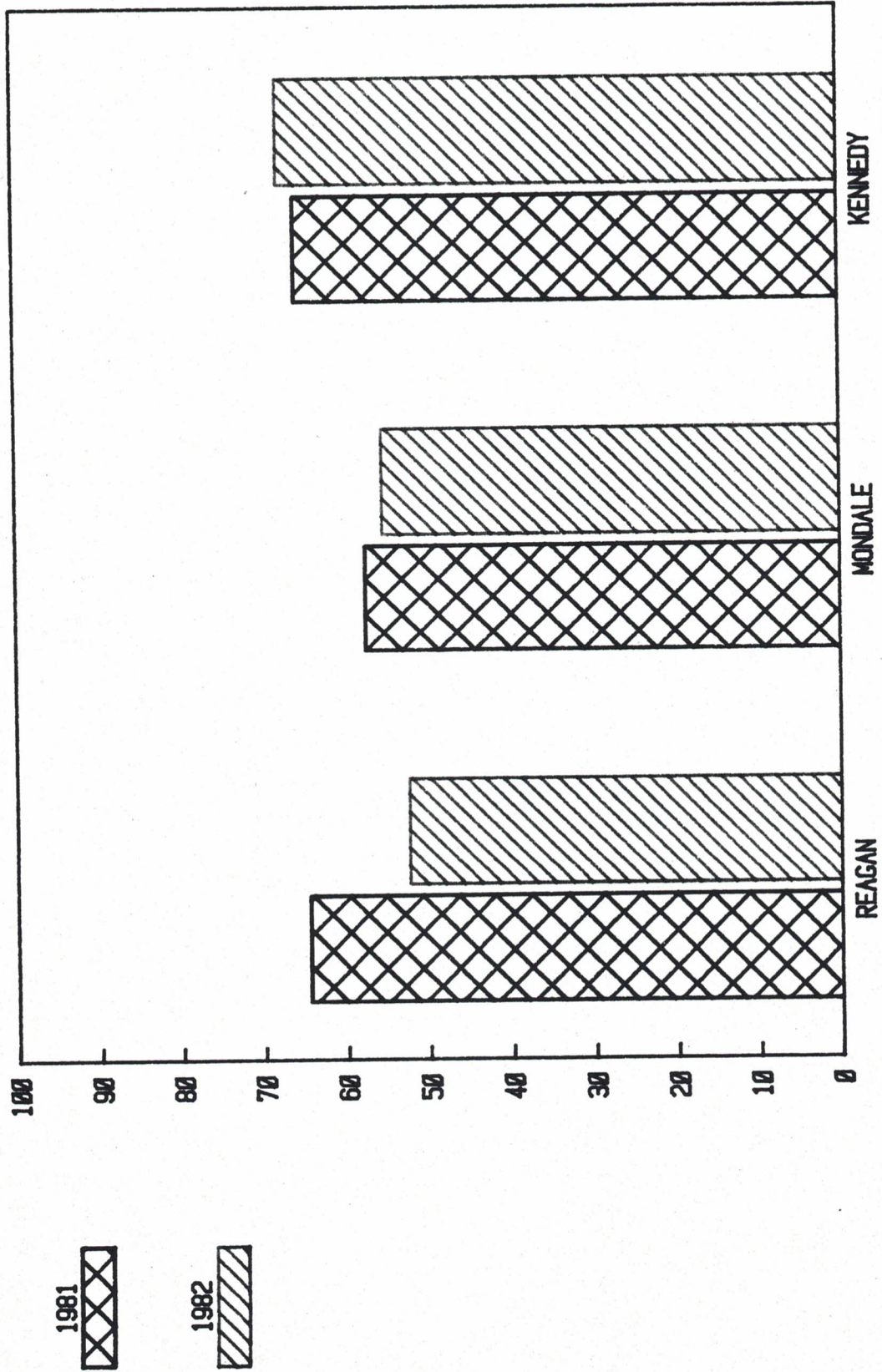


# HISPANICS IDEOLOGY BY CONCENTRATION STATE



# HISPANICS: VIEWS ON KEY FIGURES

## THERMOMETER RATINGS 1981, 1982



# HISPANICS: REAGAN JOB RATING BY CONCENTRATION STATE

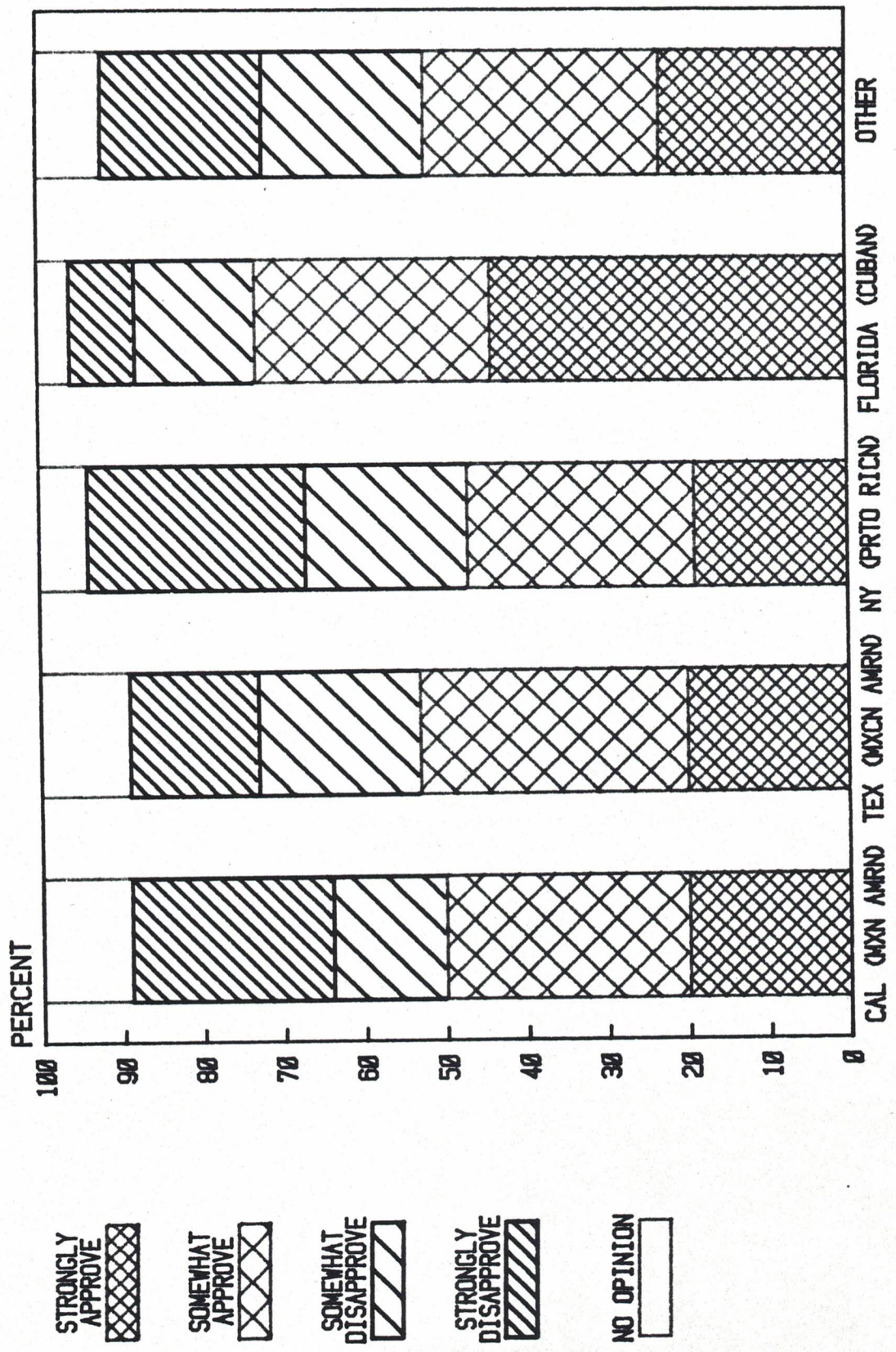
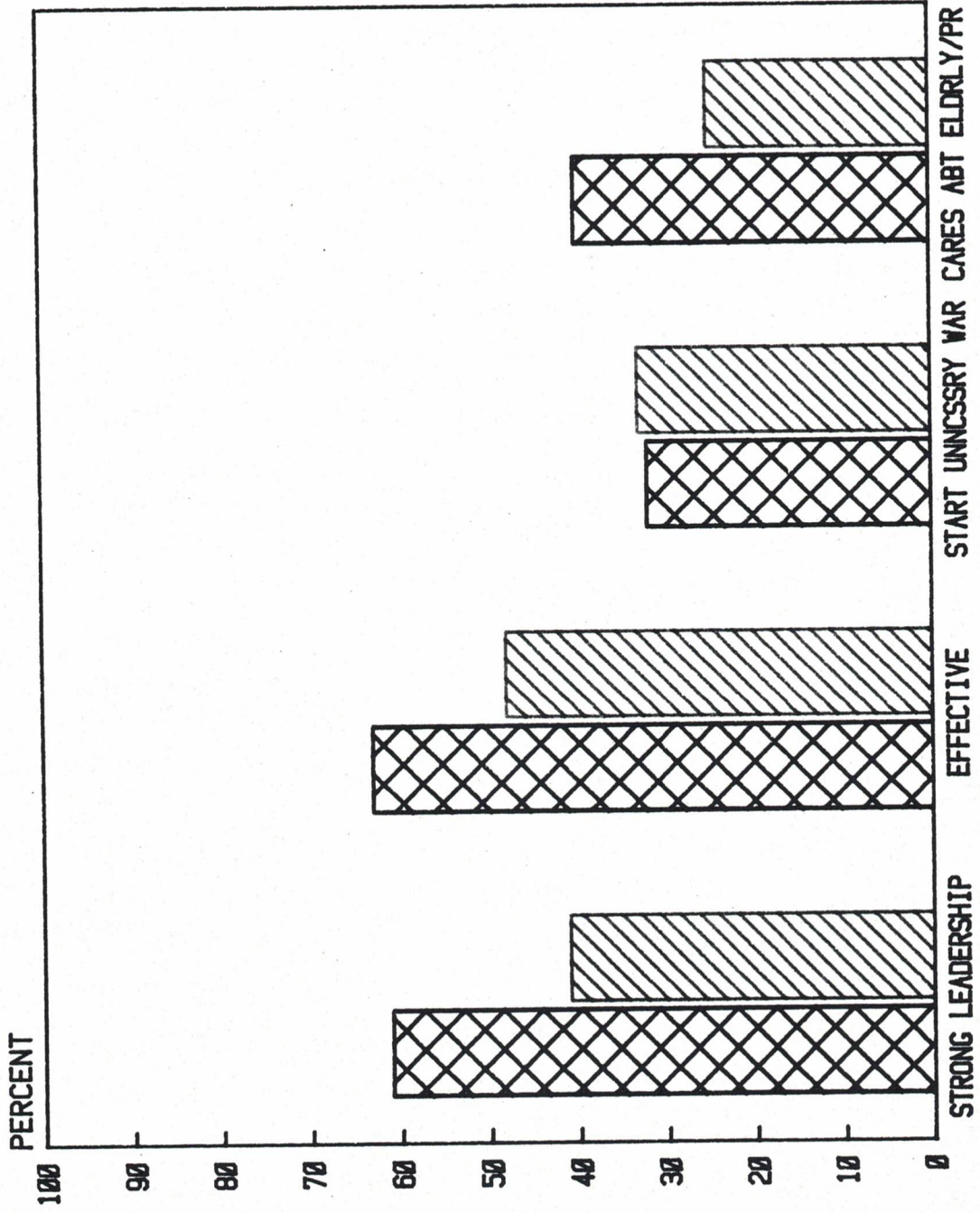


CHART 7

# HISPANICS: CHARACTERISTICS OF REAGAN

PERCENT SAYING EXCELLENT OR GOOD

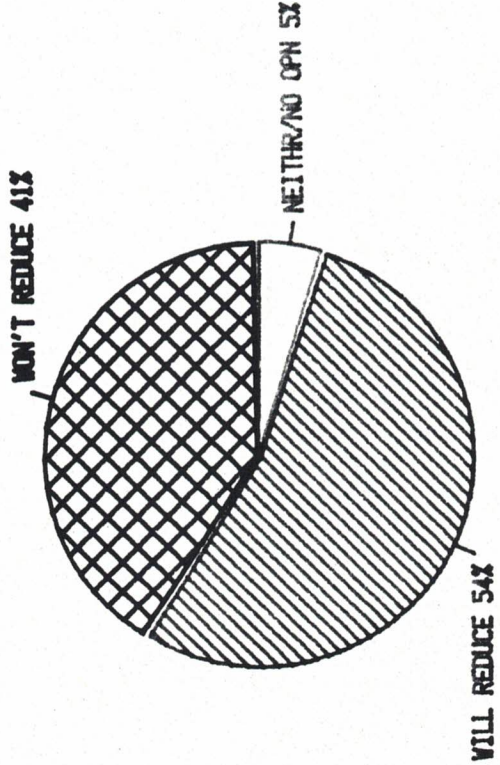


1981

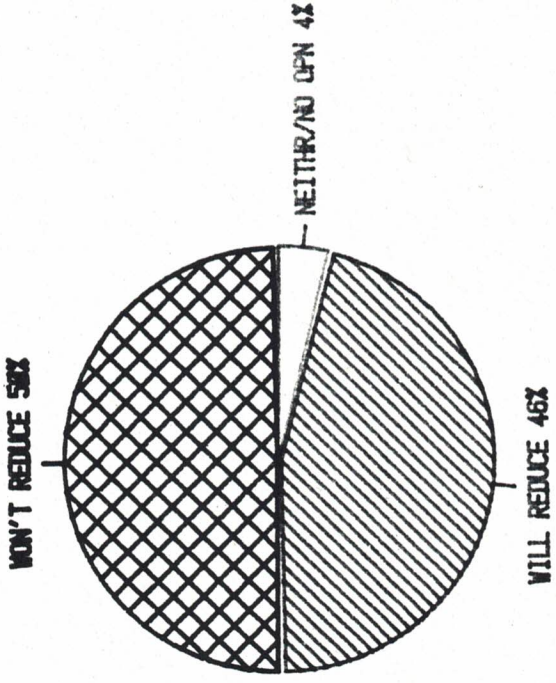
1982

# HISPANICS: ECON PROGRAM & INFLTN

1981

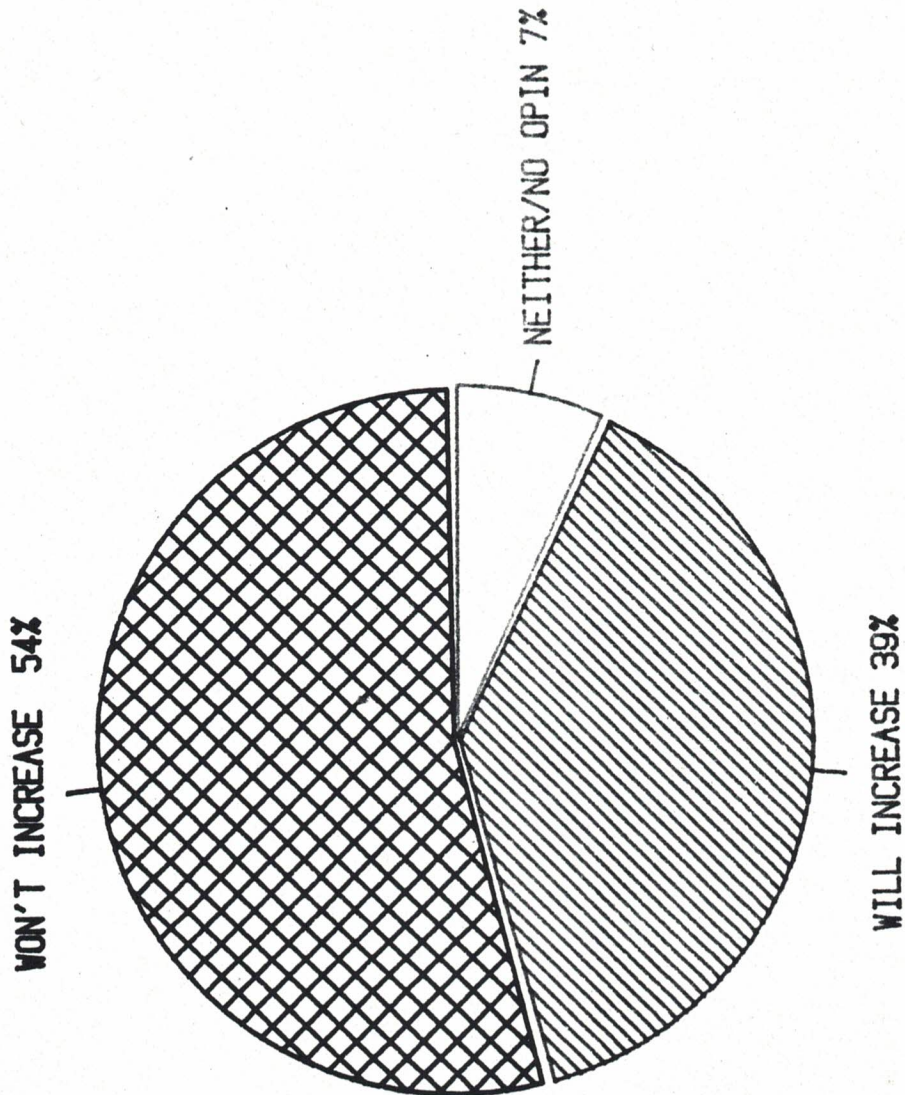


1982



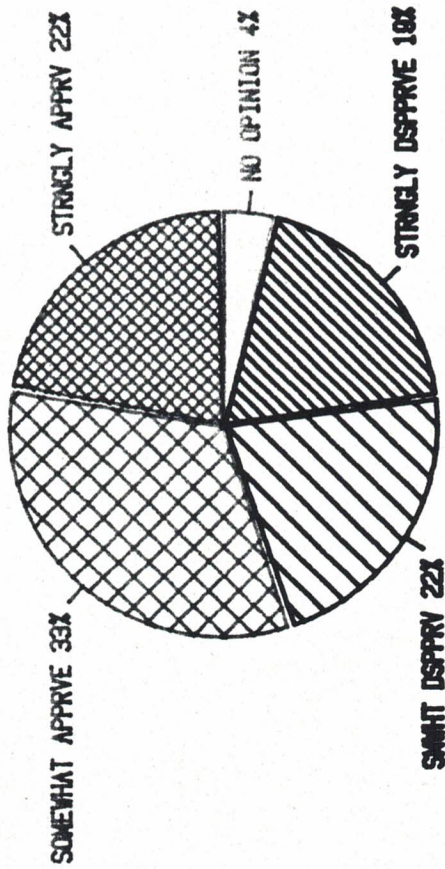
# ECONOMIC PROGRAM: EMPLOYMENT

## HISPANICS

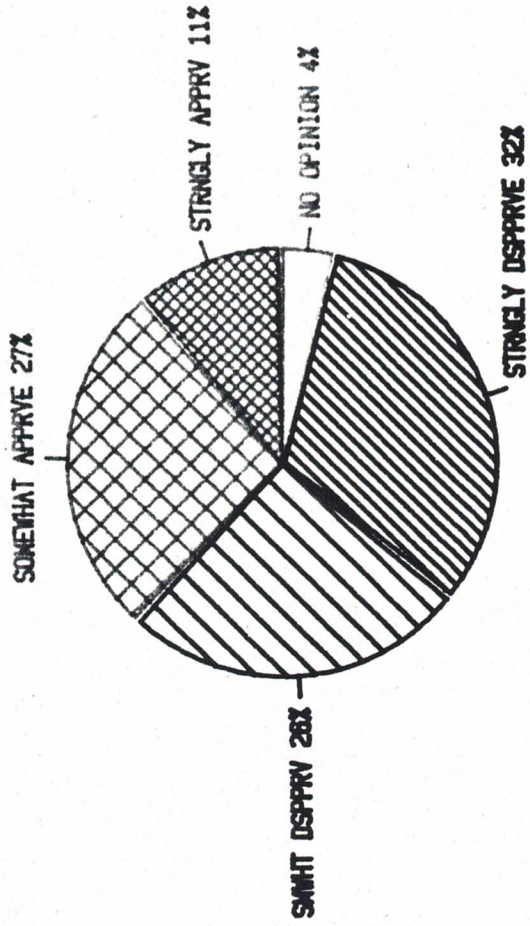


# HISPANICS: REAGAN & ECONOMY

1981



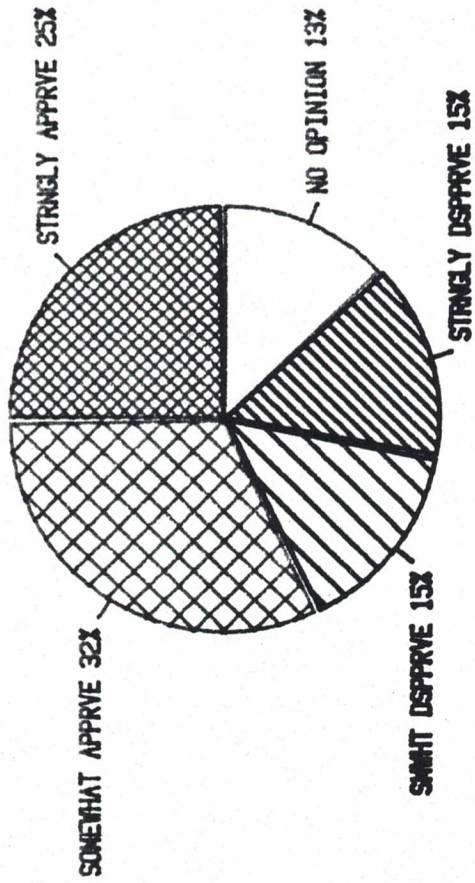
1982



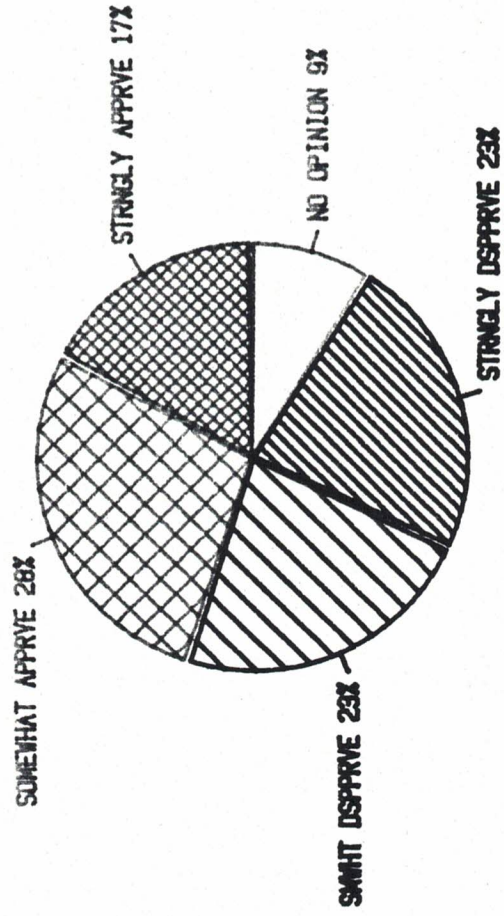


# HISPANICS: REAGAN & FOREIGN AFFRS

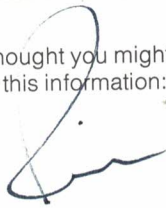
1981



1982



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## ACTION ITEMS

### Presidential

#### Substantive

1. The single most important thing the President could do immediately to stimulate Hispanic support would be to appoint more Hispanics to top jobs.

The dearth of high level, visible, Hispanics in jobs with authority was cited over and over again by Hispanics in the course of our research. They even went so far as to say that this Administration's record was worse than that of the Nixon and Ford Administrations. That may not be a fair statement based on the facts, but the perception is real. If we have a superior record, we have failed to promote it.

Hispanics would resent tokenism, but as one said, "Somebody has to be first. For there to be a second, there has to be a first."

A bold enough stroke could turn our poor hiring image around overnight. An appointment to the Supreme Court would be a milestone, but an appointment to the Cabinet would be an even better milestone, because then the appointee would be free to stump the nation, generating support for the President.

Appointing San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros to the Cabinet would be the political equivalent of Nixon going to China, as far as Hispanics are concerned. There is no reason to think that Cisneros would take a job with the Administration if one were offered, but there is ample precedent. FDR named Henry Stimson, a former Cabinet member under Hoover, to be Secretary of War, and Frank Knox, the GOP Vice Presidential nominee against Roosevelt in 1936 to be Secretary of the Navy. They controlled what is now the Defense Department all the way through World War II! Among others, Eisenhower appointed Robert Anderson, a Democrat from Texas, to be Treasury Secretary. Nixon appointed Texas Democrat John Connally to Treasury. And, of course, the President has Democrat Jeane Kirkpatrick in his Cabinet.

Failing a Cabinet slot, the President might consider appointing an Hispanic "point man" for the White House and the Administration.

2. The best issue we have going for us is education. Hispanics are sympathetic to our back-to-basics approach (although we have to be careful about bilingual education, see Section C, #2). Tuition tax credits is a subsidiary issue very favorable to us. The President could assemble a bipartisan group of Hispanics, clergy, educators, politicians, business people--to serve as an advisory panel/steering committee to help him implement his policies, which incorporate the recommendations of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

## Media

1. An important step in the right direction would be for the President to give new stature to his Hispanic appointee in the Office of Public Liaison.

Another idea would be to put a Spanish-speaking Hispanic in the Communications Office to deal with the Spanish language media.

2. The President could improve his outreach to the Hispanic community. There was a wide feeling among the Hispanics that we talked to that the Administration had failed to seize public relations opportunities connected with not only appointments, but grants and contract awards, groundbreaking ceremonies, etc. Not only could we be more aggressive in publicizing the awards themselves, but we could be more careful in making sure that Hispanic appointees were present.

3. The President could expand his appeal to Hispanics by targeting key groups, times, and areas that already support us and building on that support. Groups that would receive the President warmly include LAMA, the Latin American Manufacturers Association, the GI Forum, the Republican National Hispanic Assembly, and a wide variety of business and professional groups, both national and local.

4. There are four cities which serve as regional "capitals" for Hispanic America. Miami is the focus city for the Cubans, New York for the Puerto Ricans, San Antonio for the Hispanics of Texas, and Los Angeles for the Hispanics further West. The President should focus on Miami and San Antonio.

5. The President has already declared September 11th through 18th to be National Hispanic Week. This week includes the Mexican national holiday of 16 de Septiembre.

Any initiative--or any set of initiatives--that the President has in mind could be unleashed during this week. If the President of Mexico were to visit, then foreign policy initiatives would receive great play. Otherwise, the President could assemble a bipartisan group of Hispanic leaders to push for domestic goals, i.e. education reform, high tech programs, enterprise zones, etc.

## First Lady

Mrs. Reagan's efforts to combat drug abuse could play an important role in the overall campaign to increase Hispanic support. Another program that she is very interested in, the Foster Grandparents Program, works closely with local Catholic archdioceses.

## Vice President

The Vice President received extremely high marks as a speaker and as an empathetic figure from those we talked to. As a Texan with a Spanish-speaking son and a Hispanic daughter-in-law, the Vice President could do a lot of good in Hispanic areas.

## Cabinet/Administration Appointees

Cabinet members and other Administration appointees should be more aggressive in seeking contact with Hispanics. They should consider learning at least a few phrases of Spanish. They should mobilize their departments and agencies to help Hispanics more.

For example, Hispanics have little input into the twenty-nine Offices of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization. These offices are not connected to the Small Business Administration. Instead, they are attached to the headquarters of twenty-nine federal agencies, including most of the Cabinet. The Director of each office is charged with seeking out eligible minority businesses for government work. Of the twenty-nine Directors, nineteen are Black, but only one is Hispanic.

## Surrogates

Like any other group, Hispanics have their own stars. Many of them are actively involved in philanthropic projects. For example, Vikki Carr holds a benefit fundraiser in San Antonio every year for that city's parochial schools. We should seek to enlist her aid, if only for our tuition tax credit effort. No matter what Ms. Carr's politics are, it would seem she would be glad to help on this one issue.

As we seek to develop a cadre of Hispanic surrogates, we must be sensitive to distinctions within the Hispanic community. The average American may lump all Spanish-surnamed celebrities together, but Hispanics know that Fernando Valenzuela is Mexican, that Erik Estrado is Puerto Rican, that Tony Orlando is Cuban, and that Lorenzo Lamas is of South American descent.

## Republican Party

1. The Republican National Committee should conduct a voter registration drive for Cuban-Americans in South Florida. The Cuban American Foundation should direct the effort. Carlos Salman says that there are 200,000 unregistered Cuban Americans in South Florida.

2. It is, of course, desirable in and of itself to build as broad a base as possible for the GOP. But a broad-based Party is

also important because it helps presidential candidates. If the GOP fields a strong, well-supported set of candidates in 1984, not only will we win a lot of those elections, but we will be helping the GOP presidential nominee.

The Democrats, being the more broadly-based Party, have found their presidential candidate riding on the coattails of their other candidates time and time again. In 1976, for example, Carter ran behind the Democratic ticket in forty-six states. In the previous narrow Democratic presidential win, John Kennedy ran behind the Democratic ticket in forty-eight states.

Strong Hispanic GOP candidates have the potential of knocking off a score of Anglo Democrats in heavily Hispanic districts--including such luminaries as Pepper of Florida and Udall of Arizona. Strong Hispanic GOP challenges would mobilize GOP sentiment among Hispanic voters for the presidential election as well.

In 1982--not a great GOP year--three Republican Cuban-Americans swam against the tide and got elected to the Florida state legislature. Aggressive candidate recruitment in the next few months could lead to more and bigger success stories in 1984.

OUTLINE

- A. INTRODUCTION
- B. DEMOGRAPHICS AND OPINIONS
- C. ISSUES
- D. THEMES

## A. INTRODUCTION

Looking to 1984, we see that some of our key Reagan states have significant Hispanic populations. California, Florida and Texas, for example, have 97 electoral votes between them. In two of those states, California and Texas, the number of Hispanics eligible to vote exceeded the President's 1980 margins of victory.

The GOP has not done very well with Hispanics in the past. However, we have reason to be very optimistic about our prospects for improving our share of the Hispanic vote. Hispanics generally share the President's and the GOP's conservative personal and social values. They believe in work and upward mobility. As more of them enter the middle class, we can expect many of them to become Republicans. We can accelerate this "Republicanizing" process by working diligently to overcome those barriers of tradition and culture that have kept us from communicating our message to this potentially receptive audience.

The Hispanic vote is very diverse. GOP support from within the various Hispanic subgroups ranges from near-unanimous to near zero. In 1980 the President won over 80 percent of the Cuban-American vote, about 25 percent of the Mexican-American vote, and less than 10 percent of the Puerto Rican vote. Across the nation, the Hispanic base Republican vote is about 10 percent of the total. The Democrats have a Hispanic base of 50 percent or more. The remaining 40 percent or so of the Hispanic vote "swings" from election to election. However, Republican candidates have rarely gotten more than 30 percent of the Hispanic vote nationwide.

Hispanics are the fastest-growing minority group in the United States. They are second to Blacks, but they lag disproportionately behind Blacks in terms of registration, turnout and elected officials. Since Hispanics are still "maturing" politically, we have a good chance to head off their drift into the Democratic Party.

The Hispanics present an opportunity and an imperative to the GOP. We have the opportunity to augment our political strength with Hispanic votes. We face the imperative of preventing them from becoming another Democratic bloc.

## B. DEMOGRAPHICS AND OPINIONS

1. In 1980, the Census Bureau counted 14.6 million Hispanics in the U.S., about 6.4 percent of the population. Below are the top ten Hispanic-minority states:



	<u>Hispanic %</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>
New Mexico	37	5
Texas	21	29
California	19	47
Arizona	16	7
Colorado	12	8
New York	10	36
Florida	9	21
New Jersey	7	16
Illinois	7	24
Nevada	7	4
		<u>197</u>

2. The following table shows the relative size of the major Hispanic subgroups:

	<u>Percent of Total</u>
Mexican	59
Puerto Rican	15
Central & South American	7
Cuban	6
Other	12

Sixty-three percent of all U.S. Hispanics live in five Southwestern states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.

3. Accurate statistics on Hispanic voting power are scarce. Many voting-age Hispanics are not citizens. Some of the groups that undertake to count voting age Hispanics have a vested interest in inflating the total. On the other hand, not all of these who consider themselves to be Hispanic have Spanish surnames.

We do know, however, that Hispanic political power is rising rapidly. Fewer than 600,000 Hispanics were registered in Texas in 1976. That figure grew to almost 800,000 in 1980, and is expected to exceed 1 million in 1984.

4. Hispanic incomes are catching up to the national average. As they move into the middle class, we can expect them to become more Republican. In 1980 the mean family income for all Americans was approximately \$19,600. For Hispanics, it was \$16,100. For Blacks, \$13,000.

Hispanics may be better off than Blacks, but 18 percent of them receive food stamps. Twenty percent rely on Medicaid. Forty-three percent of Hispanic school children depend on school lunches.

5. Hispanic opinion parallels national opinion on most issues. According to a Tarrance poll taken in California, for example,

Hispanic opinion is in line with the general population on education, crime, and the environment. One standout difference is that 45 percent of Hispanics--twice the percentage of the general sample--are concerned about attracting jobs and industry to California.

6. A look at the issues that Hispanics generally say are most important to them confirms their "bread and butter" outlook:

1. Unemployment
2. Education
3. Crime
4. Budget Cuts
5. Immigration

### C. ISSUES

The issues discussed below are the same as those rated most important by Hispanics, as per Section B.

#### 1. Unemployment.

Far and away the most frequently cited Hispanic concern. Politicians who minimize its impact and importance, such as Bill Clements, suffer the consequences at the ballot box. Clements' technically excellent campaign last year was undone by his failure to relate to voters' fears about rising unemployment. Nobody has a magic bullet for unemployment; but, voters, including Hispanics expect their leaders to be aware, concerned, and compassionate.

Congressman Robert Garcia (D-NY) was the co-sponsor of Jack Kemp's original urban enterprise zone bill. Apparently, Garcia's very liberal Puerto Rican constituency is now even willing to explore conservative free market solutions in their search for jobs.

Some of our budget cuts have temporarily increased unemployment, e.g. elimination of CETA. We need to focus attention on the job-creating aspects of the President's policies, from tax cuts to the defense buildup, which is pouring money into installation-heavy Southern California and South Texas.

#### 2. Education.

As the saying goes, "demography is destiny." The high Hispanic birthrate guarantees that education and other developmental issues are high on their list of concerns. Hispanic culture focuses on children. The Hispanic work ethic stresses getting ahead. Hispanic parents want their kids to become doctors and engineers. They don't want the high tech revolution to leave their kids behind.

Probably the single biggest concern of Hispanic parents is school funding. This is ordinarily a local matter, since it involves district boundaries, zoning, property tax assessments. The federal government's only involvement is its various school aid programs. These have not been cut very much. However, we should be aware that every time a school system cuts anything, they find it convenient to scapegoat "Reagan budget cuts."

The second biggest concern is bilingual education. Here we run into trouble because Hispanics are confused as to what bilingual education entails. Evidently a great many believe that bilingual education refers merely to the process of teaching non-English speaking children English before "mainstreaming" them into the English-speaking school population. They are upset when they hear that President Reagan "opposes" bilingual education.

The confusion--our problem-- stems from the fact bilingual education, as ordered by the courts and implemented by the bureaucracy, consists of teaching students their native language and (maybe) English. Critics of this Balkanizing policy, including President Reagan, decry the diversion of scarce funds to support a program that diminishes the opportunities on non-English speaking students to participate fully in American society. Some radical Hispanics support this approach, but most do not. While polls show that 80-90 percent of Hispanics support bilingual education, polls also show that when the question is worded so that Hispanics have a choice between students being taught English as rapidly as possible or students learning both languages, they choose the rapid English option by 2 to 1.

The confusion over bilingual education--and the political damage to us--will not end until the President says that he supports bilingual education that helps non-English speaking students join the mainstream, but opposes bilingual education designed to ghettoize those students.

A third major education issue is tuition tax credits. Because a high percentage of Hispanic parents send their children to parochial schools--and a lot more wish they could afford to--even liberal Hispanic politicians have to support tuition tax credits. A prominent Democratic state senator from San Antonio even supports vouchers! This is one clear cut issue where we have the opportunity to separate Hispanics from the national Democratic Party.

### 3. Crime.

Most affects those at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale. Youth gangs are a major problem. Any sort of Presidential or Justice Department initiative to combat gangs would be welcomed.

### 4. Budget Cuts.

Our key Hispanic target groups have not been very affected by budget cuts. Rather, as is the case with other working Americans,

they have benefitted from tax cuts and the decline in inflation.

#### 5. Immigration.

This issue deeply divides the Hispanic community. On the one hand, Hispanics would like to see more of their own come here. On the other hand, they worry about immigrants undercutting their wages. This issue separates the pro-immigration intelligentsia from the anti-immigration union leadership.

The Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill (S.529) was endorsed by the Administration and passed the Senate 76-18 on May 18. Some aspects of the legislation, such as those which require employers to verify the citizenship of prospective employees, are extremely unpopular. Other provisions, such as amnesty for resident aliens, are popular.

While polls show a close split among Hispanics, it is certainly interesting that of the ten Senators from the five states with the highest Hispanic percentages (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas), only two voted for Simpson-Mazzoli. Six voted against and two didn't vote. Of the five Republicans, one voted "yes" and four voted "no." Of the five Democrats, one voted "yes," two "no," and two didn't vote.

In view of all the sensitivities involved, it is hard to see how we profit from saying anything more than we have to on this subject.

The following pair of issues are also important.

#### 6. Policy toward Central America.

An emerging concern. Hispanics are generally anti-communist, but they are touchy about Yanquis with big sticks. It would electrify a Hispanic audience if the President were to say that he worries as much or more about what happens to the brown people of Central America as he does about the white people of Europe.

#### 7. Abortion.

Hispanics are pro-life as their Catholicism would suggest. In polls they show up about 20 percent to the right of the general population.

#### D. THEMES

The President was absolutely on target when he told the Cinco de Mayo crowd in San Antonio that Hispanics shared his belief in "God, family, work, democracy, and justice." Each word from that sentence evokes a theme:

1. The President shares Hispanics deep faith. He is trying to do what's best for the nation and the world. He has worked to promote religious freedom here and abroad, where communism seeks to suppress it.

2. The President is committed to the family, and will defend its integrity from government meddling. At the same time his policies are restoring economic viability to the family unit.

3. The President has gotten where he is by hard work, and believes that all Americans can and should be rewarded for hard work. He respects manual labor, but wants to help children go farther than their parents.

4. The President's leadership is the best defense this country has of its democratic freedom. The President recognizes the sacrifices made by Hispanics on behalf of our liberty.

5. The President fights for justice. He fights for freedom, he fights for the right of workers to preserve the fruits of their labor, but he also fights for equal opportunity, for the safety net, for a decent education for the young, for a decent retirement for the elderly, etc.

6. The President speaks for the "Silent Majority" of Hispanics. He speaks for the Hispanics who want to be thought of as Americans, first and foremost.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR OUTREACH WORKING GROUP

FROM: EDWARD J. ROLLINS *ER*

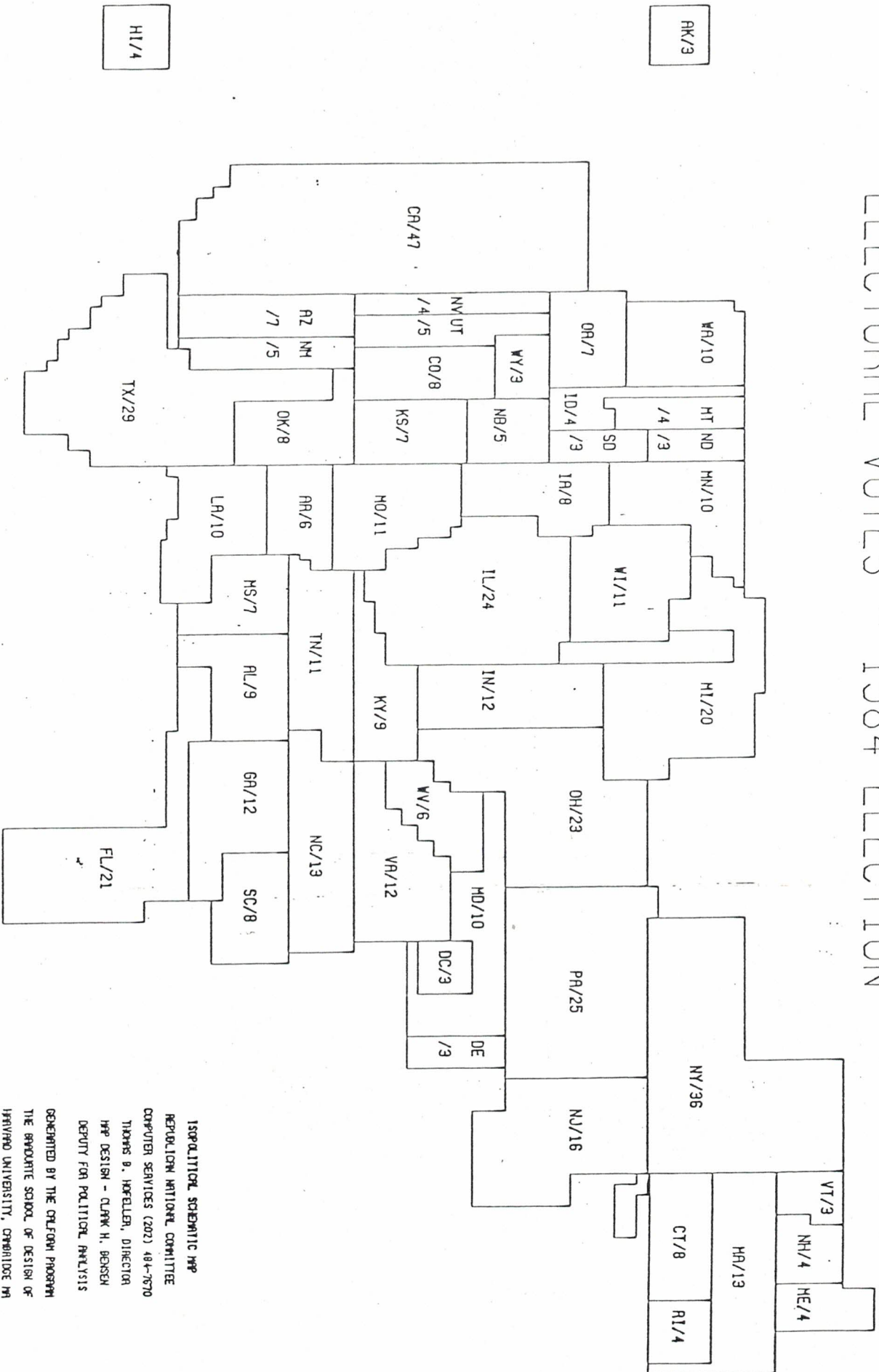
RE: Blue Collar

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.

# ELECTORAL VOTES - 1984 ELECTION



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

GENERATED BY THE CHLFORM PROGRAM  
 THE BRADGATE SCHOOL OF DESIGN OF  
 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE MA

## 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 occupational category.

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%

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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.

EDUCATION!

Strategic Questions

- as a value
  - jobs for the future
  - anti crime & Drugs
  - Foreign competition
- for Blacks.

1. Do you recreate the 1980 Reagan coalition, or do we assume there are elements within the coalition we cannot get back and thereby need to replace them with new Reagan voters?

Catholics

2. How do we appeal to the white Southerners and the northern educated ticket splitters without alienating one of them?

Local school system under 40 whites  
populists  
Defense issues

3. What is our plan to reduce the gender gap?

4. How do we handle the social issues?

5. Should we and how do we effect the perceptions of Mondale and Glenn now?

Polling see Tetter

6. To what degree do we run a national vs. regional campaign?

7. What is the central message of our campaign?

- We solved the economic problems?
- Rework 1980 themes?
- New Themes?

Economic Recovery  
Future - next four years.  
The 80's

8. What are the timing and various phases of our message and campaign?

Aug } set the agenda.  
Sept  
Oct }

How are we better off today than we were 4 years ago?

## Summary

### Target Groups

1. Northern educated ticket splitters
2. White Southerners
  - middle/lower middle class, under 40
3. Catholics
  - middle class
4. Women

### Priority States

Texas

Louisiana

South Carolina

Alabama

Mississippi

Georgia

Illinois

New Jersey

(Ohio)