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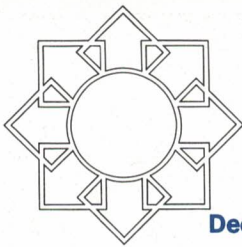
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6803 Poplar Place, Suite 300, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

TO: Edwin Meese III  
James A. Baker, III  
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 9, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Cynicism

Is Government Hopeless?

According to a national poll done by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan (cited by Adam Clymer in The New York Times, July 15, 1983), Americans are expressing increased confidence in their government for the first time in nearly two decades.

Our poll substantiates this trend (in a somewhat different dimension) with response patterns to the statement:

As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.

Only 47% now agree with this statement as compared to 56% in January 1983 and 57% in March 1981. Additionally, 47% of the respondents disagree with the statement, which also indicates an increased confidence level. This is a rise of five percentage points from the low of 42% disagreement in January of this year.

Women are somewhat more pessimistic about government than men:

	Agree with Statement	
Female/Male	49%	44%
Married women/Married men	50	43
Non-married women/Non-married men	48	47
Older women/Older men	49	44
Young women/Young men	48	44



Cynicism  
August 9, 1983  
Page Two

As can be expected, blacks (62% agree), Democratic leaners (61% agree), and the unemployed (60% agree) are very cynical.

Among geographic areas, the Mountain States show the most cynicism (53% agree), followed by the Great Lakes States (50% agree). The Pacific States show the least cynicism (41% agree).

Only 39% of the senior citizens polled agree with the statement, as opposed to 25 - 34 year olds, who indicate 54% agreement, and 45 - 54 year olds, who indicate 53% agreement.

Education seems to affect American attitudes toward government, as those with a high school education or less than high school education are more inclined to agree with the statement (51% and 49%, respectively). Respondents with some college, college graduates, and postgraduates are less inclined to agree (41%, 39% and 33%, respectively).

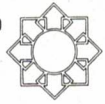
Although confidence in government seems to be rebounding, Arthur H. Miller, an associate professor of political science at the University of Michigan, reminds us that "the American public remains predominately negative toward government and public officials, but" he adds, "the shift toward a more positive attitude is historically and politically important." This shift could well have some interesting consequences for us in 1984.

#### A Few Good Leaders

Although indicating a somewhat more positive attitude toward government, the public feel that the solutions to our problems lie, not with the institutions of government, but with good leadership. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of the public agree that:

A few good leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.

Although this is a drop of 4 percentage points from 72% agreement in the January 1983 and the March 1981 surveys, there is still a strong feeling that Americans want good leadership. In fact, virtually all demographic subgroups give high agreement ratings. Those with the highest ratings are white Baptists (86%), Deep South residents (82%), blacks (80%), those with less than a high school education (77%), the unemployed (77%), older women (75%), and blue-collar workers (74%).



Cynicism  
August 9, 1983  
Page Three

Men (67%) and women (69%) differ only 2 percentage points in their belief that good leaders can make this country better. Age and marital status appear to be relatively important variables, for example, the difference between older women (75%) and younger women (62%), and married men (70%) and non-married men (61%).





## Government As Now Organized Incapable

=====

"Now, here are some statements people have made to us about the country. As I read each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.

	<u>Mar 25-29</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan 7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Agree strongly	28%	30%	26%
Agree somewhat	29	26	21
Disagree somewhat	23	24	22
Disagree strongly	20	18	26



## Few Good Leaders

=====

"Now, here are some statements people have made to us about the country. As I read each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

A few good leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.

	<u>Mar 25-29</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan 7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jul 30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Agree strongly	41%	46%	49%
Agree somewhat	31	26	19
Disagree somewhat	15	13	15
Disagree strongly	13	13	14



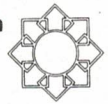
## Government Hopeless

=====

"Now, here are some statements people have made to us about the country. As I read each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. "Would that be strongly (agree/disagree), or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.

	Agree Strng (%)	Agree Smwht (%)	Disag Smwht (%)	Disag Strng (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	26	21	22	25	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	17	17	21	35	9
Farm Belt states	26	20	26	17	11
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	32	22	21	22	3
Senior citizens	25	14	19	26	17
Women	27	22	21	22	8
Catholics	26	24	18	25	8
Independents/Leaners	29	21	24	24	3
White Baptists	27	14	26	24	9



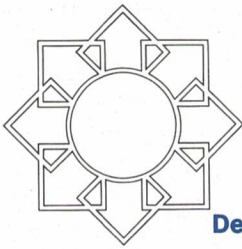
## Few Good Leaders

=====  
 "Now, here are some statements people have made to us about the country. As I read each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with what is said. "Would that be strongly (agree/disagree), or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?"

A few good leaders could make this country better than  
 all the laws and talk.

	<u>Agree</u> <u>Strng</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Agree</u> <u>Smwht</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Disag</u> <u>Smwht</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Disag</u> <u>Strng</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> <u>(%)</u>
Aggregate	49	19	15	14	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	39	21	19	18	2
Farm Belt states	49	20	17	9	5
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	57	16	13	12	1
Senior citizens	60	12	11	12	4
Women	52	17	16	12	3
Catholics	50	14	14	17	4
Independents/Leaners	48	19	16	13	3
White Baptists	71	15	7	7	1





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6803 Poplar Place, Suite 300, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

TO: Edwin Meese III  
James A. Baker, III  
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 9, 1983 (RNC 83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Political Thermometers

#### Ronald Reagan

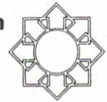
President Reagan's thermometer rating (0 to 100 scale) has increased slightly since the June 1983 study. Currently, he is rated 58, a three-point increase since last month. Increases in support are found among residents of the Farm Belt (3 points), senior citizens (6 points), Catholics (5 points) and Independents/leaners (7 points). With the increase, the President now receives higher thermometer scores than Walter Mondale from Catholics (57 to 55) and women (56 to 53).

#### Walter Mondale

Americans also rated Walter Mondale more favorably this month, his score increasing from 51 to 53 on a scale of 0 to 100. Mondale's increased popularity is reflected by higher scores from blue collar workers (3 points), white Baptists (4 points), senior citizens (3 points), and respondents from the Farm Belt (3 points). Although Mondale gained support in most of the key subgroups, his increases were smaller than Reagan's, which gives the President an edge over Mondale in every key constituency group.

#### John Glenn

Glenn's thermometer rating increased four points in this study to 64. This six-point lead over the President is the highest rating Glenn has received this year. It can be partially attributed to regained support among senior citizens and residents of the Farm Belt states. His image has also become more favorable among blue collar workers and white Baptists. The only constituency group that rates Glenn lower than the President is base Republicans.



Political Thermometers  
August 9, 1983  
Page Two

### George Shultz

Respondents give Secretary of State George Shultz a thermometer rating of 58, seven points higher than former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Shultz receives his highest ratings from base Republicans, senior citizens, blue collar workers, Catholics, and Independents/leaners. The other key constituency groups all give him at least a 53.

### Caspar Weinberger

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who received a thermometer rating of 51 on a 0 to 100 scale, is regarded less favorably by Americans than the Secretary of State. Like Shultz, Weinberger derives support from base Republicans, senior citizens, and residents of the Farm Belt states; however, he receives a score of 50 or slightly less from blue collar workers, women, Catholics, Independents/leaners, and white Baptists.


 Thermometer Ratings -- Political and Others
 

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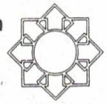
	<u>Jan 9-12 1981</u>	<u>May 12-17 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Jimmy Carter	50	*	*	*	*	*
John Glenn	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ted Kennedy	49	56	50	49	51	51
Walter Mondale	51	58	55	52	50	51
Tip O'Neill	*	*	53	*	50	*
Paul Volcker	*	*	*	*	*	*
Anne Gorsuch Burford						
Menachem Begin	*	*	50	*	49	36

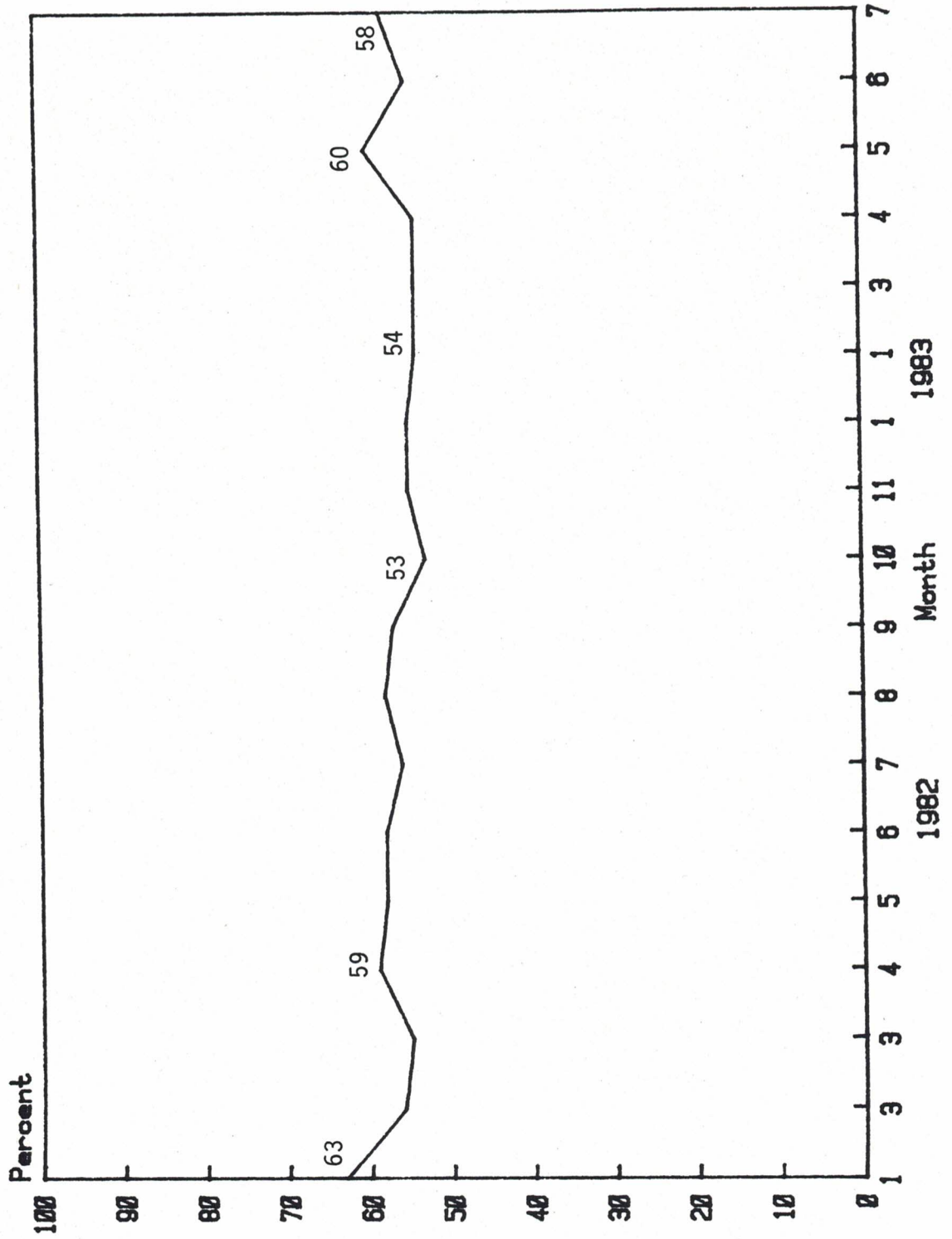
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Jimmy Carter	*	*	*	*	*	*
John Glenn	61	62	61	59	*	60
Ted Kennedy	*	*	*	*	*	*
Walter Mondale	52	54	54	52	*	54
Tip O'Neill	53	57	58	56	*	*
Paul Volcker	*	*	51	*	*	*
Anne Gorsuch Burford	*	*	43	*	*	*
Gary Hart	*	*	*	50	*	*
Menachem Begin	*	*	*	*	*	*

	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>
Jimmy Carter	*	*
John Glenn	60	64
Ted Kennedy	*	*
Walter Mondale	51	53
Tip O'Neill	*	*
Paul Volcker	*	*
Anne Gorsuch Burford	*	*
Gary Hart	*	*
Menachem Begin	*	*



# REAGAN THERMOMETER







Comparative Thermometer Ratings: Reagan/Mondale/Glenn

=====  
 "Now I'd like to get your feelings toward some people and organizations in politics. I'm going to read you some names and I'd like you to rate each one on a scale of 0 to 100, where the worst possible person or groups, in your judgment, would get a rating of 0, while the best possible person or group would get a rating of 100. Most people or organizations, of course, would be rated somewhere in between those extremes.

Remember, we just want to know your opinion of these people and institutions, with 0 being the worst possible rating and 100 being the best. If I name someone who you don't know too much about, just tell me and we'll go on to the next one.

The first person is ... how do you feel about him?"

	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Mondale</u>	<u>Glenn</u>
Aggregate	57.90	53.30	63.60
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	74.20	45.17	59.35
Farm Belt states	56.24	53.71	64.83
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	54.54	52.66	66.01
Senior citizens	65.62	54.58	66.49
Women	55.71	52.00	63.80
Catholics	56.58	54.98	64.28
Independents/Leaners	60.93	49.98	63.24
White Baptists	57.96	52.00	66.86



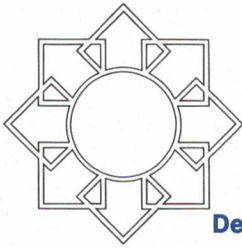
Comparative Thermometer Ratings: Shultz/Weinberger

=====  
 "Now I'd like to get your feelings toward some people and organizations in politics. I'm going to read you some names and I'd like you to rate each one on a scale of 0 to 100, where the worst possible person or groups, in your judgment, would get a rating of 0, while the best possible person or group would get a rating of 100. Most people or organizations, of course, would be rated somewhere in between those extremes.

Remember, we just want to know your opinion of these people and institutions, with 0 being the worst possible rating and 100 being the best. If I name someone who you don't know too much about, just tell me and we'll go on to the next one.

The first person is ... how do you feel about him?"

	<u>Shultz</u>	<u>Weinberger</u>
Aggregate	57.90	50.60
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>		
Base Republican	66.71	59.29
Farm Belt states	58.54	53.95
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>		
Blue-collar workers	53.35	50.80
Senior citizens	69.47	43.44
Women	55.05	49.83
Catholics	56.47	49.96
Independents/Leaners	56.59	49.82
White Baptists	53.02	50.53



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TO: Edwin Meese III  
James A. Baker, III  
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 9, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Debate Papers

The potentially dangerous debate papers incident seems to have, for the present, lost its news value. At the President's most recent press conference, subsequent to announcement of the formation of the bi-partisan Central American commission, there was only one question regarding the debate papers.

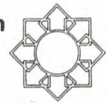
Although public awareness of this issue (aided and unaided) reached 80% at the height of its press coverage, only two-thirds of the public can now identify the major theme -- briefing papers from the Carter campaign -- and most are unable to detail the situation. The public's perception of the President appears unaffected; the perceptions of trustworthiness and leadership abilities remain as favorable as in past months.

When asked specifically:

Do you approve or disapprove of Ronald Reagan's handling of the debate papers issue?

Strongly approve	18%
Somewhat approve	22
Somewhat disapprove	17
Strongly disapprove	17
No opinion	26

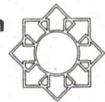
Over one-quarter of the American public has no opinion on Reagan's handling of this issue. Of those expressing an opinion, 55% approve of Reagan's actions while 45% disapprove.



Debate Papers  
August 5, 1983  
Page Two

The highest approval ratings come from professionals, college graduates, base Republicans, and men. Disapproval is higher among women (a swing constituency), blacks, Democrats, and older voters. Interestingly enough, of those groups registering the highest awareness of the controversy, postgraduates are more likely to disapprove of Reagan's handling of the issue while college graduates and professionals generally approve.





## Reagan Job Rating -- Debate Papers

=====  
 "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."

### Handling of the debate papers issue.

	Strong Approve (%)	Smwht Approve (%)	Smwht Disapp (%)	Strong Disapp (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	18	23	17	16	27
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	27	28	13	8	24
Farm Belt states	13	29	9	19	30
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	16	25	19	16	25
Senior citizens	22	16	10	18	35
Women	14	19	21	16	30
Catholics	17	22	19	16	26
Independents/Leaners	18	26	15	13	28
White Baptists	17	21	17	14	31



## Reagan Job Rating: Debate Papers

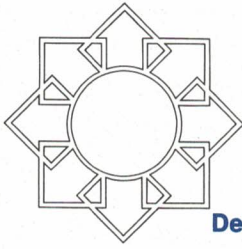
=====  
 "Just generally, on the basis of what you now know, do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling these charges? And would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	<u>July 6-8 1983</u>	<u>July 7-9 1983</u>	<u>July 8-10 1983</u>	<u>July 9-11 1983</u>	<u>July 10-12 1983</u>	<u>July 11-13 1983</u>
Strongly approve	24	27	32	32	32	29
Somewhat approve	28	29	29	30	30	29
Somewhat disapprove	11	10	10	10	12	12
Strongly disapprove	17	15	13	13	13	14
No opinion	20	19	16	15	13	16

	<u>July 12-14 1983</u>	<u>July 13-15 1983</u>	<u>July 14-16 1983</u>	<u>July 15-17 1983</u>	<u>July 16-18 1983</u>	<u>July 17-19 1983</u>
Strongly approve	30	28	30	27	28	30
Somewhat approve	28	27	28	28	28	27
Somewhat disapprove	12	13	13	13	13	13
Strongly disapprove	13	13	13	15	17	17
No opinion	17	19	17	17	14	13

	<u>July 18-20 1983</u>	<u>July 19-21 1983</u>	<u>July 20-22 1983</u>	<u>July 21-23 1983</u>	<u>July 22-24 1983</u>	<u>July 23-25 1983</u>
Strongly approve	29	28	30	32	32	31
Somewhat approve	29	32	33	31	28	29
Somewhat disapprove	13	11	12	12	15	16
Strongly disapprove	16	16	16	16	16	15
No opinion	13	13	9	9	9	9

	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>
Strongly approve	18
Somewhat approve	23
Somewhat disapprove	17
Strongly disapprove	16
No opinion	27



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TO: Edwin Meese III  
James A. Baker, III  
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 9, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Reagan Job Rating -- Education

As expected, education continues to be a major issue. Approval ratings for President Reagan's education policies have dropped three points from 52% in June when his own visibility on the issue was highest to coincide with May's aggregate rating (49%). The 43% disapproval rating also matches the May figure, a rise of two percentage points from the June disapproval rating (41%).

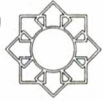
Men give the President a higher job rating on education than do women (53% and 45%, respectively). The rating by women reflects a five percentage-point drop from June. The lowest approval ratings among men and women come from single men (50%) and single women (42%).

Other significant declines in approval ratings were registered by base Republicans (72% to 65%) and Catholics (49% to 47%).

People in the Farm Belt States feel more positively now (51%) about the job President Reagan is doing on education than they did in June (43%). Senior citizens also give a higher approval rating than last month (49% to 53%), as do white Baptists (56% to 59%).

Blacks, postgraduates, and the unemployed give extremely low approval ratings on education (22%, 23%, and 30% respectively).

The geographic areas that are most supportive of the President's policies on education are the Deep South (54%), New England (53%), and the Outer South (52%). Areas where support is less evident include the Mountain States (49%), the Pacific States (48%), the Mid-Atlantic region (46%) and the Great Lakes (44%).

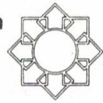


## Reagan Job Rating -- Education

=====  
"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling \_\_\_\_\_?"

	May 27-30 1983	Jun 25-27 1983	July 30-31 1983
Approve	49	52	49
Disapprove	43	41	43
No opinion	8	7	8

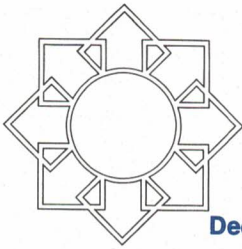




## Reagan Job Rating: Education

=====  
 "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>Strong</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disapp</u> (%)	<u>Strong</u> <u>Disapp</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	19	30	17	26	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	28	37	16	11	8
Farm Belt states	18	33	22	18	8
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	18	33	21	24	5
Senior citizens	33	20	13	21	13
Women	16	29	18	26	11
Catholics	18	29	20	24	9
Independents/Leaners	20	30	21	22	8
White Baptists	20	39	12	20	9



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**TO:** Senator Paul Laxalt  
Frank Fahrenkopf

**FROM:** Richard B. Wirthlin

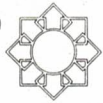
**DATE:** August 9, 1983 (RNC 83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

**SUBJECT:** Partisanship

Americans now give a more favorable thermometer rating to both political parties than they did in the June 1983 survey. On a scale of 0 to 100, Republican scores increased from 53 to 54 and Democratic scores from 59 to 61. Republican gains can be found among senior citizens and Independents/leaners. Democrats, on the other hand, appear to have gained support from the white Baptists, a group previously supporting Republicans and Democrats equally.

Further comparisons of the key constituency group ratings reveal that residents of the Farm Belt, blue collar workers, women, Catholics, and white Baptists rate the Democrats higher than they rate the Republicans.

Party identification has changed slightly since the last study. Currently, one-half of the respondents (50%) consider themselves to be Democrats, while slightly more than a third (36%) identify with the Republican party and one-seventh (14%) consider themselves to be Independents. The shift in affiliation narrows the gap between Democratic and Republican identification from 17 to 14 points.


 Thermometer Ratings -- Party
 

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	<u>Jan 30-3 1981</u>	<u>Jul 16-18 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Republicans	64	62	55	56	54	52
Democrats	57	56	58	59	60	60

	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Republicans	49	52	50	50	*	54
Democrats	61	63	63	61	*	61

	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>
Republicans	53	55
Democrats	59	61



## Comparative Party Thermometer Ratings

=====

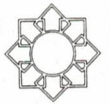
"Now I'd like to get your feelings toward some people and organizations in politics. I'm going to read you some names and I'd like you to rate each one on a scale of 0 to 100, where the worst possible person or groups, in your judgment, would get a rating of 0, while the best possible person or group would get a rating of 100. Most people or organizations, of course, would be rated somewhere in between those extremes.

Remember, we just want to know your opinion of these people and institutions, with 0 being the worst possible rating and 100 being the best. If I name someone who you don't know too much about, just tell me and we'll go on to the next one.

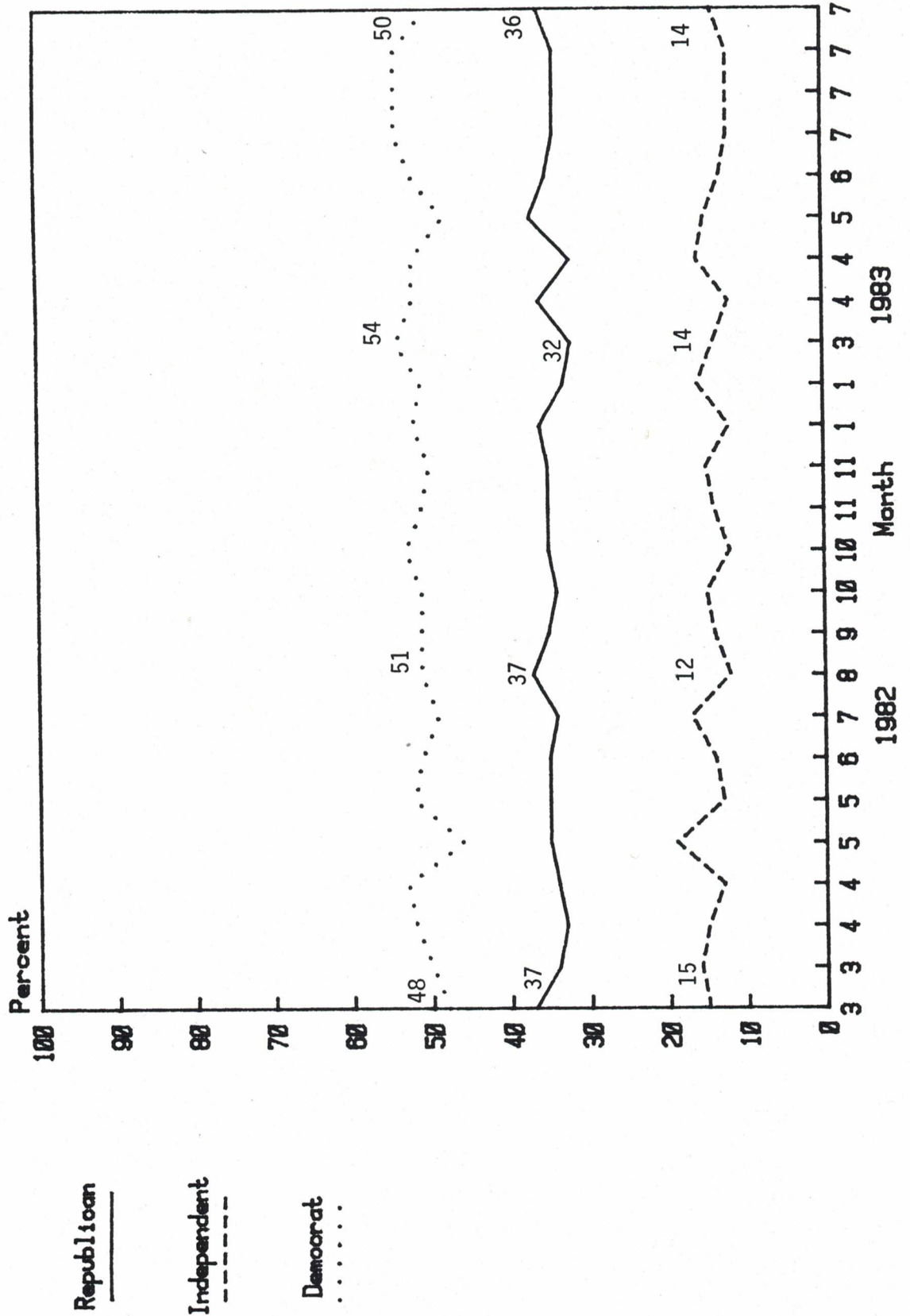
The first one is ... how do you feel about it?"

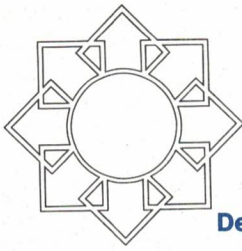
	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>
Aggregate	54.90	60.60
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>		
Base Republican	75.90	39.97
Farm Belt states	54.72	59.17
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>		
Blue-collar workers	52.51	59.75
Senior citizens	63.41	58.71
Women	52.58	61.81
Catholics	54.14	62.81
Independents/Leaners	57.11	54.43
White Baptists	50.81	62.66





# PARTY IDENTIFICATION (with lean)





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6803 Poplar Place, Suite 300, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

TO: Senator Paul Laxalt  
Frank Fahrenkopf

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 5, 1983 (RNC83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Presidential Performance

The President's current general approval rating is fairly consistent with those obtained in June and early July. Although his approval rating rose slightly in the early and middle part of July, it leveled off again to 52% approval and 43% disapproval.

Although specific ratings on Reagan's handling of foreign affairs and inflation are lower in this survey than in July, his job rating on unemployment continues to improve (up four points to 40% approval) as unemployment declines.

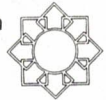
Respondents were asked:

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling \_\_\_\_\_?

	Strng Approve (%)	Smwht Approve (%)	Smwht Disapp (%)	Strng Disapp (%)	No Opin. (%)
His job as President	21	31	18	24	5
Foreign affairs	16	32	19	24	9
Unemployment	15	25	17	40	4
Inflation	28	23	17	29	3

### General

The President's job rating remains strong as it continues to hover around 52%. Since Eisenhower, the first half of a President's third year has always left them politically weaker by the dog days of summer. Reagan has strongly reversed that pattern. He appears fairly unaffected by the debate papers' incident.



Presidential Performance  
August 5, 1983  
Page Two

Generally, current job rating patterns are similar to those in June. Reagan continues to receive strong support from party stalwarts and men (57%). He also has strong support among professionals (60%), other white collar workers (65%), those with some college education (60%) or a college degree (60%), and white adults (58%).

When compared with the June numbers, it is clear that Reagan now receives less strong ratings from senior citizens (60% to 54%) and residents of the Mountain States (61% to 52%).

As usual, blacks give him the lowest rating (86% disapproval), followed by Democrats, the lesser educated, and women. In short, the same groups that have consistently registered disapproval in the past, continue to do so.

The gender gap is not as pronounced this month; however, the difference between Republican men and Republican women is 9%, whereas there is no difference in job rating between Democratic men and Democratic women. Like the Republicans, Independent men (66%) are much more supportive of the President than Independent women (45%).

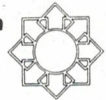
### Foreign Affairs

Although in June the President's job rating on foreign affairs improved by six percentage points; this month, the rating is less favorable. Five percent fewer Americans (48%) now approve of the job Reagan is doing on foreign affairs than did in June (53%). July ratings are comparable to those registered in May.

Positive ratings are most prevalent among base Republicans (69%), college graduates (61%), white collar workers (58%), and men (55%). Generally speaking, the younger the respondent, the greater his approval of Reagan's job on foreign affairs. Geographically, the South rates Reagan's handling of foreign affairs higher than other areas of the nation.

Except for senior citizens and Independents/leaners whose ratings are unchanged, all key constituencies voice lower overall approval of Reagan's handling of U.S. foreign policy: Farm Belt residents down 5%, blue collar workers down 10%, women down 3%, Catholics down 3%, and white Baptists down 2%.





Presidential Performance  
August 5, 1983  
Page Three

The gap between men and women, which was 10% in May and 14% in June, is currently 13%. This gap narrows with increased education, closing to eight percentage points between those men and women with at least a college degree. The gap cuts across party lines with Democratic men expressing more support of Reagan on the issue of foreign affairs than their female counterparts.

### Unemployment

Although the unemployment rate is still high, it is declining steadily, recently experiencing the single biggest monthly decrease since 1959. Although the drop was not reflected in this survey, approval on the President's handling of jobs rose another four percent in July to 40%. The rise from a January low of 26% approval bodes well for us if the recovery is sustained and more unemployed workers get their "five a week."

Specifically, greatest increases in approval are among younger, less well-educated Americans: 18-34 year olds (particularly younger men), and those with less than a high school education or with a high school diploma only. In terms of key constituencies, approval ratings are now higher among blue collar workers up 4%, women up 5%, Catholics up 5%, and white Baptists up 8%. Reagan's highest ratings continue to come from the Republican base (64%), men, white collar workers, those with some college or college degrees, and New England residents.

Attitudes on Reagan's performance on the unemployment issue are much more negative among minorities, Democrats, and women.

### Inflation

In July, Reagan's job rating on inflation remains practically unchanged. Just over half of all Americans approve of the job Reagan is doing on inflation (51%). Among his key constituencies, however, approval declined slightly: blue collar workers down 5%, senior citizens down 6%, Catholics down 6%, and white Baptists down 6%. On the other hand, the better educated Americans continue to evaluate Reagan positively for his part in controlling inflation: college graduates (72%), postgraduates (66%), and those with some college education (63%). He also retains a higher approval rating among base Republicans (75%), white collar workers (66%), and professionals (64%).

Approval is lower among Democrats, older Americans, minorities, and women.





## Reagan Job Rating -- General

=====

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?"

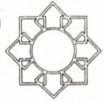
	<u>Feb</u> <u>20-22</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>12-14</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>
Approve	70	67	60	60	52	51
Disapprove	14	27	33	33	40	43
No opinion	16	6	7	7	8	6

	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>
Approve	46	44	50	50	50	55
Disapprove	49	50	46	46	44	41
No opinion	5	5	4	4	6	4

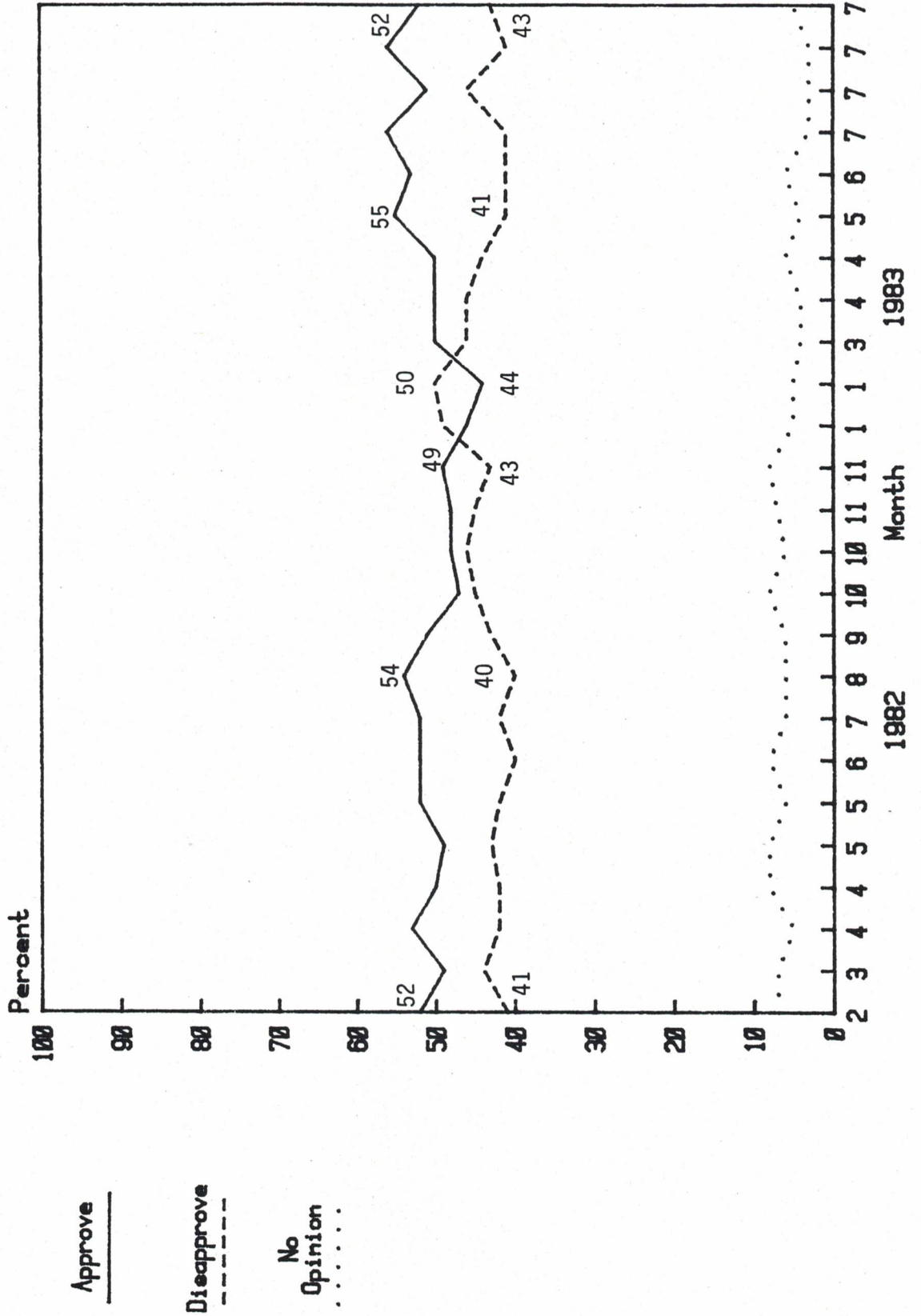
  

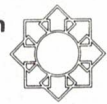
	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-11</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>12-17</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>18-23</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Approve	53	56	51	56	52
Disapprove	41	41	46	41	43
No opinion	6	3	4	3	5



# REAGAN JOB RATING

General





Reagan Job Rating -- General  
(Approve)

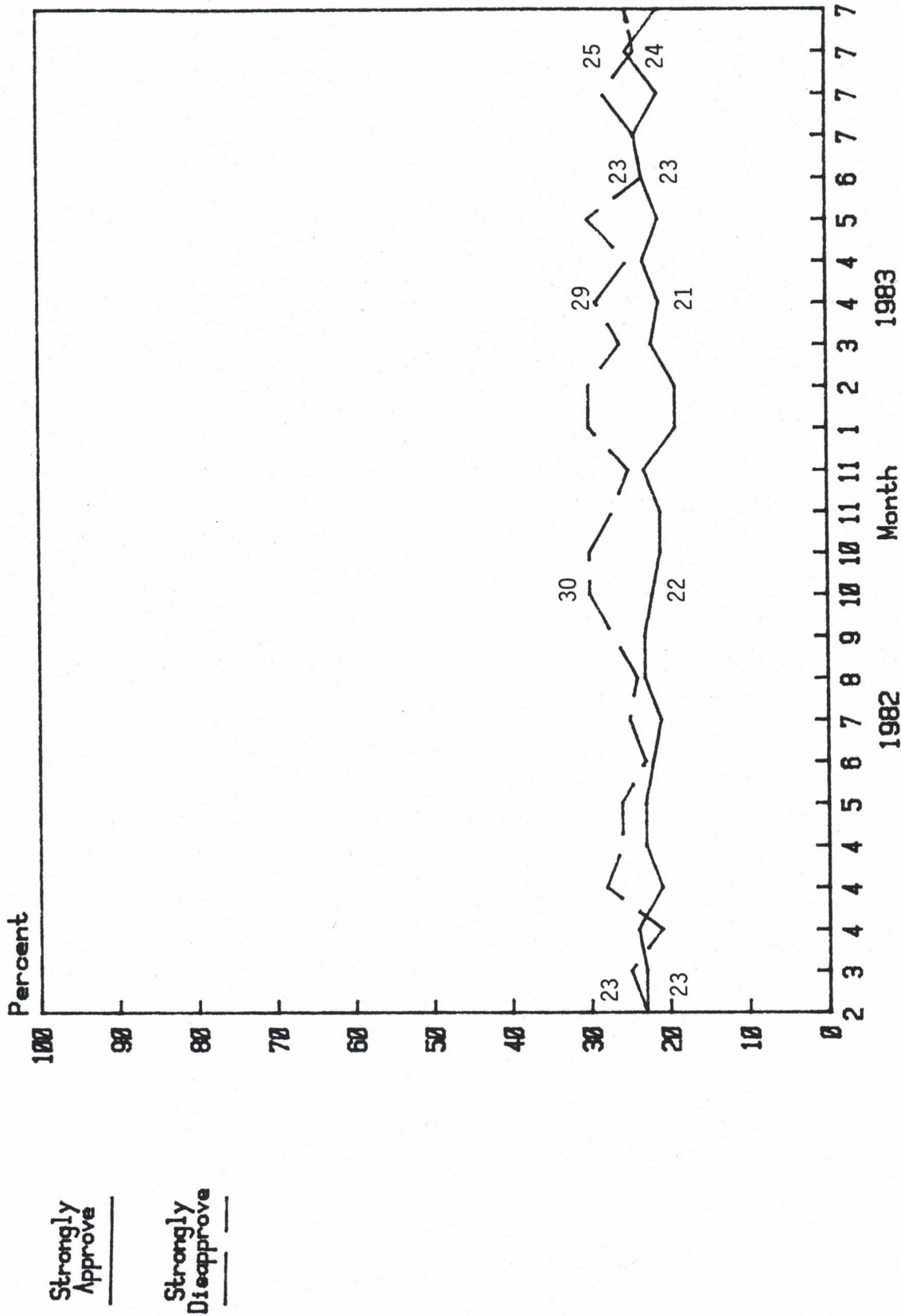
-----  
 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	May 27-30 1983 <u>(%)</u>	June 25-27 1983 <u>(%)</u>	July 30-31 1983 <u>(%)</u>
Aggregate	56	53	52
Base Republican	85	85	88
Small Business	59	61	*
Farm Belt states	57	56	54
Blue-collar workers	58	55	56
Senior citizens	44	59	54
Women	49	47	49
Catholics	57	51	51
Independents/Leaners	60	57	61
White Baptists	58	58	57

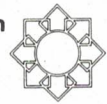


# REAGAN JOB RATING

Intensity of Response







## Reagan Job Rating -- Foreign Affairs

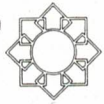
=====

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling \_\_\_\_\_?"

	<u>Mar 6-9 1981</u>	<u>Jul 16-18 1981</u>	<u>Oct 5-14 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Approve	60	56	65	59	56	46
Disapprove	19	27	23	33	34	43
No opinion	21	16	12	8	10	11

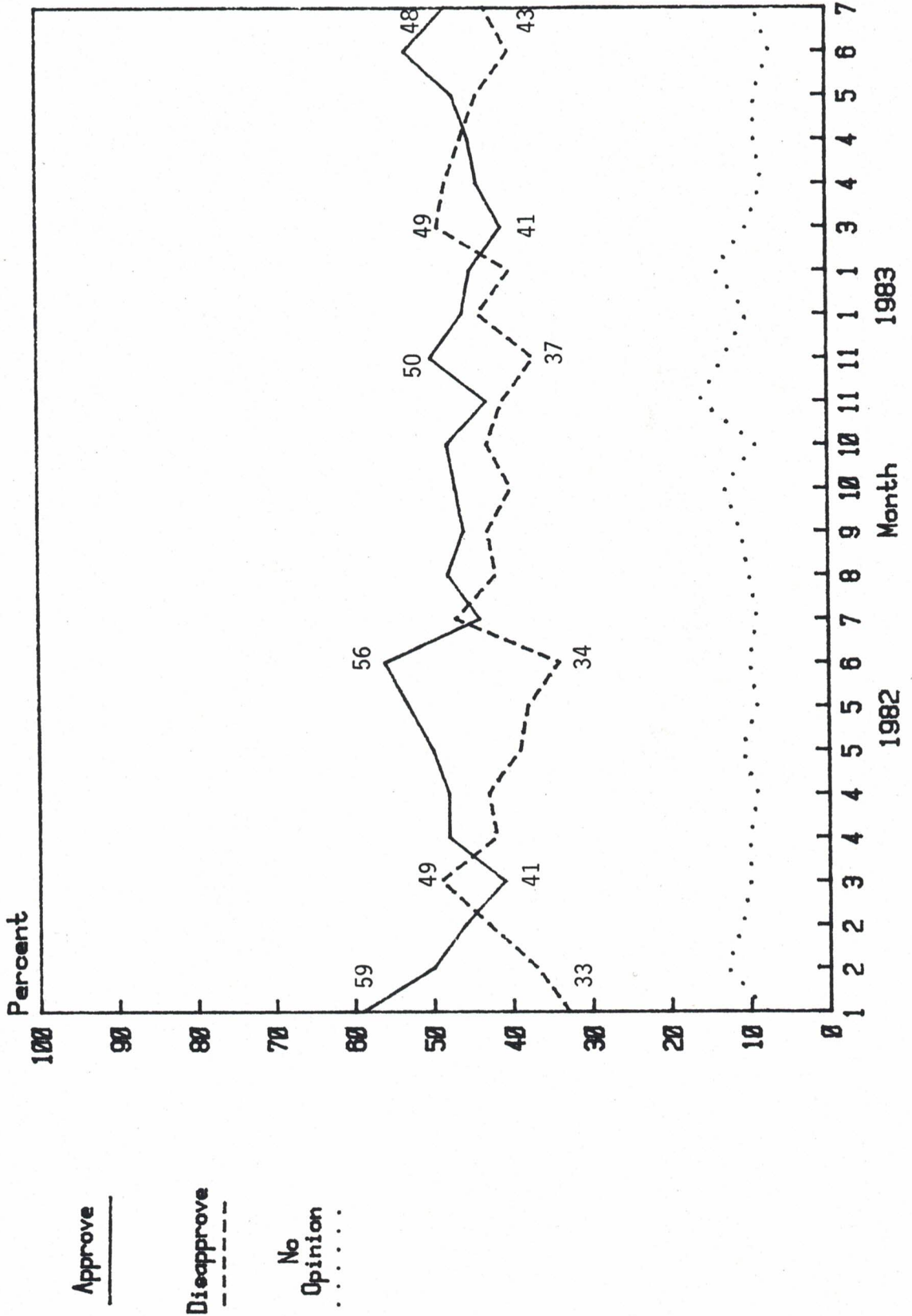
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Approve	46	45	41	44	46	47
Disapprove	44	40	49	48	46	44
No opinion	10	14	10	8	8	9

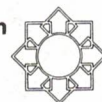
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>
Approve	53	48
Disapprove	40	43
No opinion	7	9



# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Foreign Affairs





## Reagan Job Rating: Foreign Affairs

=====

"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>Strongly</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	16	32	19	23	9
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	27	42	13	11	8
Farm Belt states	15	31	19	18	17
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	13	33	22	25	8
Senior citizens	22	25	14	25	14
Women	12	31	22	24	12
Catholics	14	34	25	20	7
Independents/Leaners	15	35	21	23	7
White Baptists	20	33	15	22	10



## Reagan Job Rating -- Unemployment

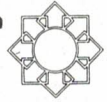
=====  
 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling \_\_\_\_\_?"

	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>
Approve	34	30	30	26	28	31
Disapprove	57	64	63	70	67	65
No opinion	9	6	7	4	5	4

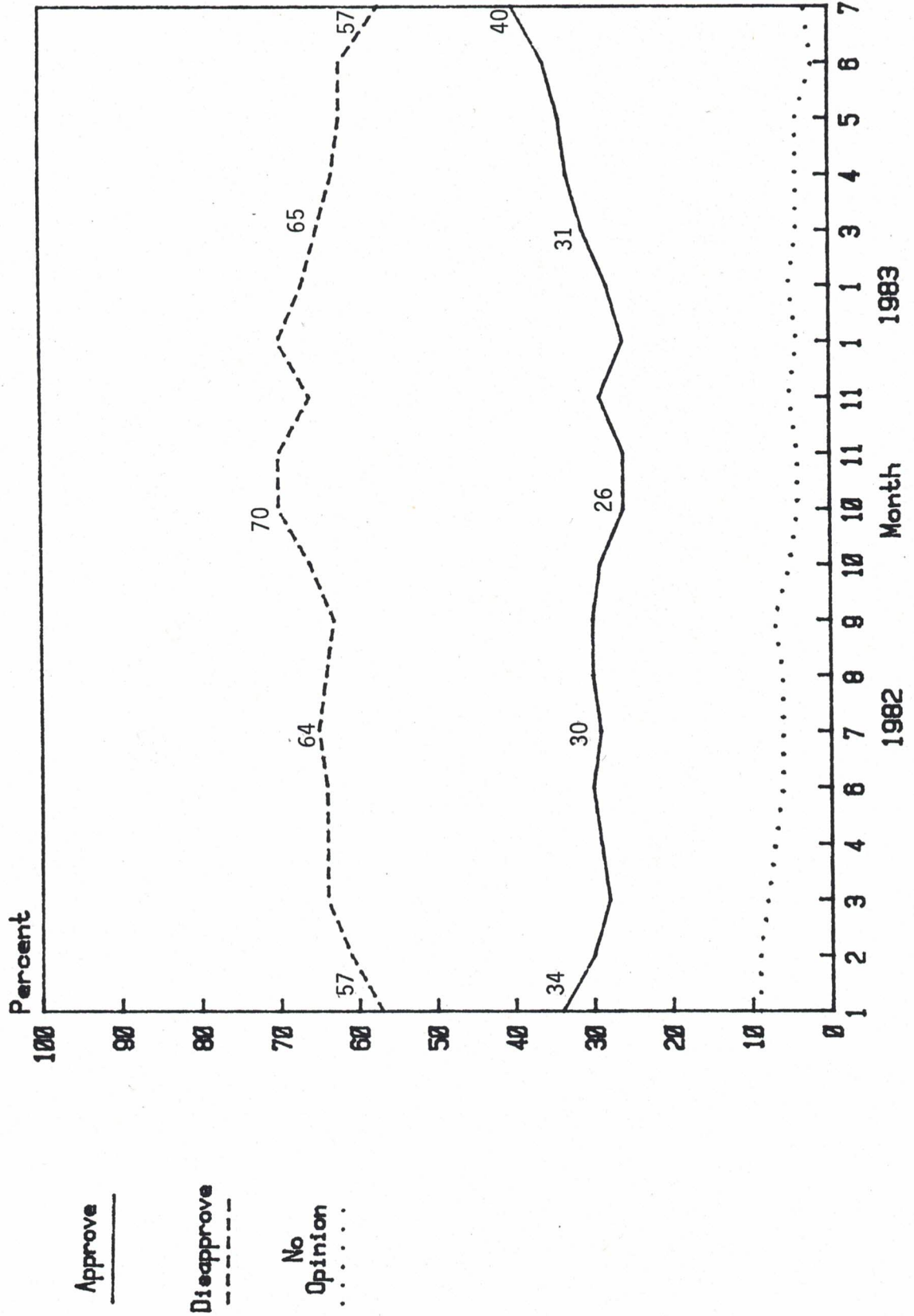
	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>
Approve	33	*	34	36	40
Disapprove	63	*	62	62	57
No opinion	4	*	4	2	3





# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Unemployment

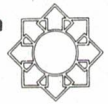




## Reagan Job Rating: Unemployment

=====  
 "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>Strongly</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	15	25	17	38	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	28	36	14	19	4
Farm Belt states	12	24	36	26	3
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	13	25	18	44	1
Senior citizens	20	24	15	34	7
Women	11	25	17	43	4
Catholics	14	23	20	38	5
Independents/Leaners	16	30	18	32	3
White Baptists	16	31	18	34	1



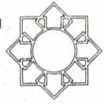
## Reagan Job Rating -- Inflation

=====  
 "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling \_\_\_\_\_?"

	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>
Approve	51	41	43	42	44	49
Disapprove	43	53	52	55	55	48
No opinion	6	6	5	3	3	3

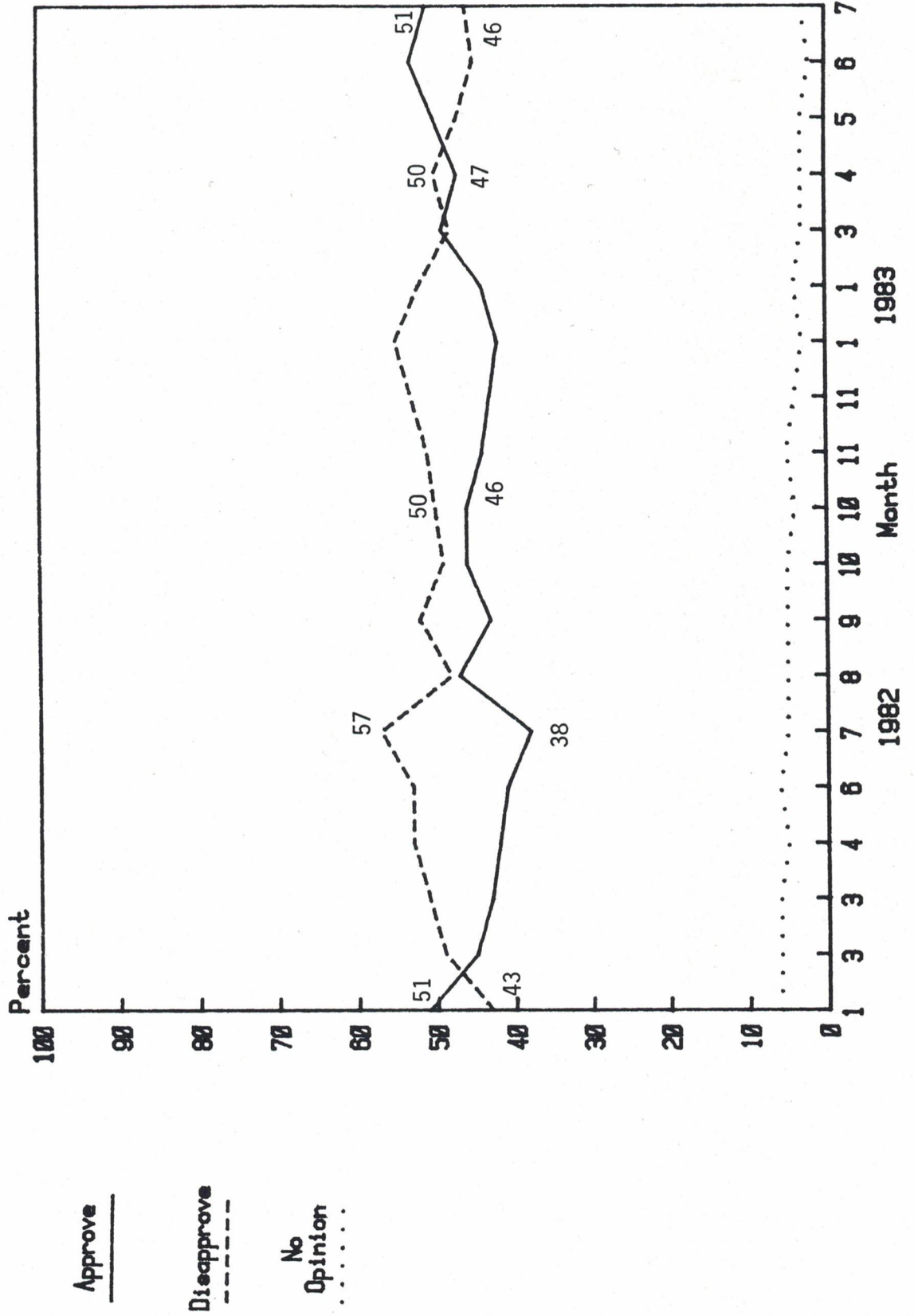
  

	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>	<u>July 30-31 1983</u>
Approve	47	*	50	53	51
Disapprove	50	*	47	45	46
No opinion	3	*	3	2	3



# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Inflation



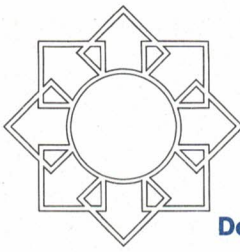




## Reagan Job Rating: Inflation

=====  
 "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>Strongly</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	29	23	17	28	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	47	28	10	13	2
Farm Belt states	37	18	26	19	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	25	21	16	36	2
Senior citizens	35	19	18	22	6
Women	21	23	19	33	3
Catholics	25	19	22	30	3
Independents/Leaners	33	23	17	24	4
White Baptists	29	25	12	32	2



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6803 Poplar Place, Suite 300, McLean, Virginia 22101, (703) 556-0001

TO: Senator Paul Laxalt  
Frank Fahrenkopf

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: August 9, 1983 (RNC 83-8: July 30-31, 1983)

SUBJECT: Political Climate

Right Direction or Wrong Track?

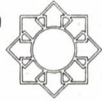
In the aggregate, American attitudes toward the general status of the country have remained fairly stable since June. A majority of respondents continue to believe that the country is on the wrong track. Nevertheless this pessimism is much less prevalent now than it was at the first of the year. Respondents were asked:

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	42%
Wrong track	50
No opinion	8

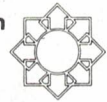
Currently, only four in ten respondents believe that the country is headed in the right direction, while five in ten say it is on the wrong track. This is, however, a one-point drop in wrong track scores since last month.

Highest right direction scores come from base Republicans (62%), college graduates (61%), younger men (56%), white collar workers (56%), and professionals (54%). Conversely, lowest right direction scores continue to be found among blacks (15%), strong Democrats (20%), the unemployed (23%), and the less educated (27%).



Political Climate  
August 9, 1983  
Page Two

Analysis of the key constituency groups reveals that increases in right direction scores come from senior citizens (43%) and Independents/leaners (48%). On the other hand, losses are suffered among base Republicans (62%) and blue collar workers (39%). The scores of the respondents from the Farm Belt region (50%), women (34%), Catholics (43%), and white Baptists (37%) show little change on this issue since June.



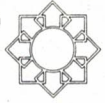
### Right Direction/Wrong Track

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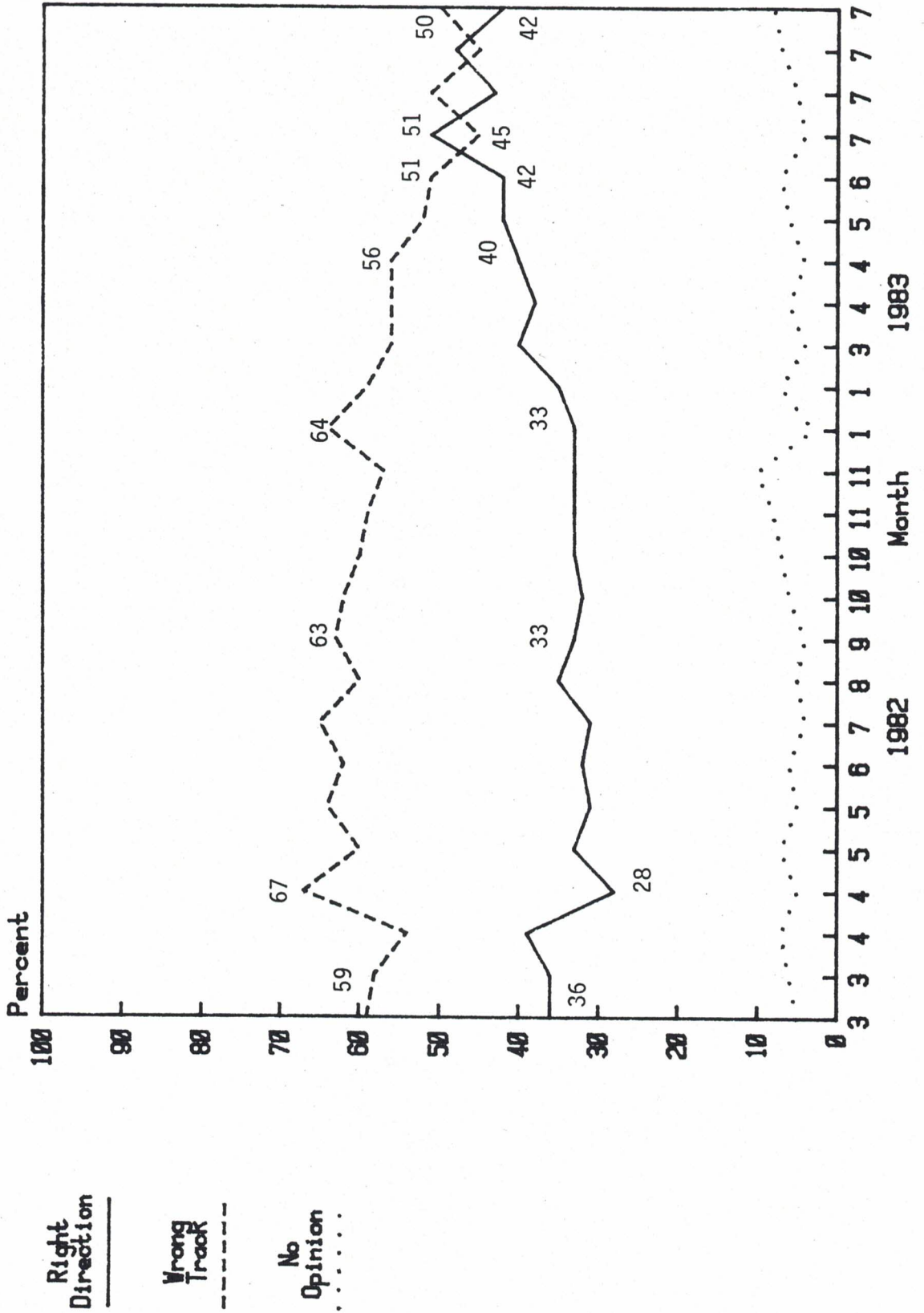
"Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

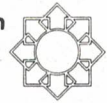
	<u>Feb</u> <u>20-22</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>12-14</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>June</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>
Right direction	42	41	46	50	32	33
Wrong track	51	51	47	45	62	63
No opinion	8	8	7	5	6	4
	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>
Right direction	33	35	40	38	40	42
Wrong track	64	59	56	56	56	52
No opinion	3	7	4	6	4	6
	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-11</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>12-17</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>18-23</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>	
Right direction	42	51	43	48	42	
Wrong track	51	45	51	45	50	
No opinion	7	4	5	7	9	





# RIGHT DIRECTION or wrong track?





## 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>Feb</u> <u>20-22</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>12-14</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>June</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>
Right direction	42	41	46	50	32	33
Wrong track	51	51	47	45	62	63
No opinion	8	8	7	5	6	4

	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>
Right direction	33	35	40	38	40	42
Wrong track	64	59	56	56	56	52
No opinion	3	7	4	6	4	6

	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>6-11</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>12-17</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>18-23</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>July</u> <u>30-31</u> <u>1983</u>
Right direction	42	51	43	48	42
Wrong track	51	45	51	45	50
No opinion	7	4	5	7	9