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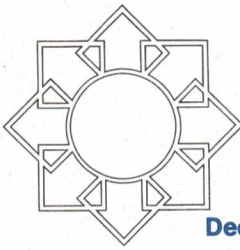
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TO: Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 7, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Perceptions of the President

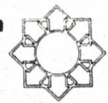
Overall, the perceptions of President Ronald Reagan are slightly more negative now than in May 1983, with the most significant changes occurring in two important areas: caring about the needs of the elderly and poor and being trustworthy.

Would you say this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?

	<u>Excellent/ Good</u>	<u>Only Fair/ Poor</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	31%	68%
Effective in getting things done	47	51
Really knows what he is doing	41	58
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	49	50
Is trustworthy	53	44
Shows too much business favoritism	49	45
Will start an unnecessary war	29	66

Cares

While there has been a net 10% erosion since May 1983 in the perception of Reagan as one who cares about the needs of the elderly



Perceptions of the President
July 7, 1983
Page Two

and poor, the latest results are similar to the March and April 1983 figures.

Among the key constituencies, women are the most critical of Reagan on this point, and their attitudes have been the most consistent over time. Blue-collar workers rate Reagan more harshly on this characteristic than they did in May but slightly better than they did in March and April. A positive trend has developed among senior citizens, with an 8% gain (from 37% to 45%) in the number of respondents evaluating this description as excellent or good. Catholics also tend to rate Reagan more positively in this area now than earlier.

Trustworthy

The nine percent (9%) aggregate erosion since May 1983 in President Reagan's image as a trustworthy individual sets him back to the March and April 1983 level. This drop occurs among most voter subgroups -- the exception being senior citizens where his positive rating has improved 9 percentage points.

Among Reagan's strongest supporters -- base Republicans, men, and small businessmen -- the positive evaluations softened, some moving from the "excellent" to "good" category.

Significant increases in negative ratings are found among women, residents of the Farm Belt States, and those from the Pacific States. The erosion in Reagan's home region is a substantial 20 percentage points.

The recent media issue known as "Debategate" may have influenced the perceptions of Reagan as trustworthy. Comparing the daily aggregate results, we find a net 10 percentage point erosion from June 25th to June 26th. Attitudes tend to balance out on June 27th. This corresponds closely to the media attention given the issue.

Effective

The perceptions of Reagan as "effective in getting things done" has declined a net 4 percentage points over the month, with a majority (51%) of the respondents now saying this phrase is an only fair or poor description of Reagan. Analysis of key constituencies reveals the most significant negative change occurring among blue-collar workers. On the other hand, senior citizens now rate Reagan more positively on this characteristic, as they have on each trait measured.



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July 7, 1983
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Knows What He Is Doing

Although the aggregate change for the characteristic "really knows what he is doing" is slight (-2%), the pattern of subgroup erosion or improvement is consistent with that discussed above. Respondents from the Farm Belt States and blue-collar workers show the greatest erosion, while the evaluation from senior citizens has improved dramatically. Other subgroup attitudes have remained stable.

Strong Leader

No erosion has occurred in the aggregate perception of Reagan as a strong leader, and most subgroup attitudes are consistent with the results of recent surveys. However, senior citizens show dramatic improvement in their evaluations of the President on this characteristic. In May 1983, by a 57% to 46% margin, senior citizens thought this was an only fair or poor description of Reagan. In June 1983 those figures reversed, and by a 54% to 42% margin senior citizens say this is an excellent or good description of Reagan. Respondents from the Farm Belt States and blue-collar workers now give Reagan slightly lower ratings for strong leadership than they did in the May survey.

Favors Business

In aggregate, there is currently a stronger feeling than in May that Reagan shows too much business favoritism (a net 4% increase). The most significant change has taken place among small businessmen, with a majority (52%) of these voters now saying that this is an excellent or good description of the President. Other subgroup attitudes are consistent with the May 1983 results.

Start an Unnecessary War

There is also more concern now than in May 1983 that Reagan is a man who will start an unnecessary war (a net 4% increase). Senior citizens, however, move strongly against the aggregate trend and are much less critical than most voters about Reagan in this area. Respondents from the Farm Belt States, previously a subgroup quite supportive of Reagan, now are among those most critical of the President on this dimension. As with all other character traits examined, the erosion of Reagan's image is greatest among these Farm Belt respondents.



Perceptions of the President
July 7, 1983
Page Four

Although just three in ten respondents feel Reagan is a man who will start an unnecessary war, over four in ten respondents say that the President's policies during the past year have done more to increase the risk of war than to insure peace.

On balance, do you think that President Reagan's policies and actions during the past year have done more to promote peace or done more to increase the risk of war?

More to promote peace	47%
More to increase the risk of war	44
No opinion	9

Most key constituencies are evenly divided on the issue. Small businessmen, blue-collar workers, senior citizens, Catholics, independents/leaners, and white Baptists tend to feel Reagan's actions have done more to promote peace.

Residents from the Farm Belt States and women tend to say the President's actions have increased the risk of war.

By a 72% to 18% margin, base Republicans believe that Reagan's policies have done more to promote peace.

Men are much more likely than women to feel that Reagan's policies will promote peace. Age, education and marital status also factor into these attitude differences. By significant margins, younger women, those with between one and eleven years of formal education, and non-married women feel that Reagan's policies will increase the risk of war. Older women, those with more education and married women tend to be divided more evenly in their attitudes, yet still less favorable point of view. The attitudes of women who work outside the home are similar to those with no outside employment -- both tend to view Reagan's policies as increasing the risks of war.

As might be expected, military veterans are more positive than non-veterans in evaluating the effect Reagan's policies and actions might have on world peace. By a 58% to 35% margin, veterans see Reagan's actions as peace promoting. Non-veterans are divided evenly, 45% to 46%.



Reagan's Characteristics -- Excellent/Good

=====
 "Would you say that this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?"

	<u>May</u> <u>12-17</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>	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	47	*	40	37	33	32
Will start an unnecessary war	19	27	25	23	23	23
Effective in getting things done	78	71	69	51	52	45
Really knows what he is doing	*	*	*	45	43	40
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	77	68	*	54	51	48
Is trustworthy	*	*	65	*	61	56
Shows too much business favoritism	*	*	*	*	*	*
Dangerous	*	*	*	*	*	*
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	*	*
Is delivering on what he promised	*	*	*	*	*	*
	<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>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	33	30	30	30	36	31
Will start an unnecessary war	20	22	24	23	27	29
Effective in getting things done	39	44	46	47	49	47
Really knows what he is doing	37	37	38	*	42	41
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	45	45	47	49	48	49
Is trustworthy	54	53	54	*	57	53
Shows too much business favoritism	*	47	49	*	47	49
Dangerous	*	*	22	*	22	*
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	57	*
Is delivering on what he promised	*	*	*	*	39	*



Reagan's Characteristics -- Only Fair/Poor

=====
 "Would you say that this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?"

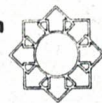
	<u>May</u> <u>12-17</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	52	*	59	62	65	66
Will start an unnecessary war	70	70	73	72	70	73
Effective in getting things done	20	28	30	47	46	53
Really knows what he is doing	*	*	*	53	54	59
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	21	23	*	44	47	51
Is trustworthy	20	*	33	*	35	41
Shows too much business favoritism	*	*	*	*	*	*
Dangerous	*	*	*	*	*	*
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	*	*
Is delivery on what he promised	*	*	*	*	*	*
	<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>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	67	69	69	69	63	68
Will start an unnecessary war	76	72	73	73	68	66
Effective in getting things done	59	55	53	52	49	51
Really knows what he is doing	60	61	60	*	57	58
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	53	54	52	49	50	50
Is trustworthy	41	44	44	*	39	44
Shows too much business favoritism	*	47	47	*	47	45
Dangerous	*	*	75	*	75	*
Knowledgeable	*	*	*	*	41	*
Is delivery on what he promised	*	*	*	*	60	*



Reagan's Characteristics

=====
 "Would you say that this is an ... excellent, good, only fair, or poor description of Reagan?"

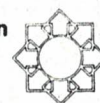
	<u>Excellent/Good</u>			<u>Only Fair/Poor</u>			<u>Net Change</u>
	<u>May 27-30</u>	<u>Jun 25-27</u>	<u>% Imprvmnt or (Erosion)</u>	<u>May 27-30</u>	<u>Jun 25-27</u>	<u>% Imprvmnt or (Erosion)</u>	
<u>Positive Characteristics</u>							
Cares about the needs of the elderly and poor	36	31	(5)	63	68	(5)	(10)
Effective in getting things done	49	47	(2)	49	51	(2)	(4)
Really knows what he is doing	42	41	(1)	57	58	(1)	(2)
Has the strong leadership qualities this country needs	48	49	1	50	50	0	1
Is trustworthy	57	53	(4)	39	44	(5)	(9)
<u>Negative Characteristics</u>							
Shows too much business favoritism	47	49	(2)	47	45	(2)	(4)
Will start an unnecessary war	27	29	(2)	68	66	(2)	(4)
Dangerous	22	-	-	75	-	-	-



Cares About the Needs of the Elderly and Poor

=====
 "Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

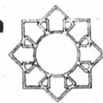
	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	32	68	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	57	41	2
Small Business	34	69	1
Farm Belt states	29	70	1
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	29	71	0
Senior citizens	45	55	0
Women	29	70	1
Catholics	29	65	1
Independents/Leaners	30	69	1
White Baptists	30	69	1



Effective in Getting Things Done

=====
 "Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

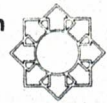
	Excellent/ Good ----- (%)	Only Fair/ Poor ----- (%)	No Opinion ----- (%)
Aggregate	48	51	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	74	26	0
Small Business	51	47	2
Farm Belt states	54	44	2
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	46	53	1
Senior citizens	48	50	2
Women	40	58	2
Catholics	44	53	2
Independents/Leaners	46	51	2
White Baptists	53	46	1



Really Knows What He is Doing

=====
 "Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

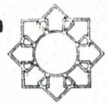
	<u>Excellent/ Good</u> (%)	<u>Only Fair/ Poor</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	42	58	0
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	71	27	2
Small Business	44	54	2
Farm Belt states	33	63	4
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	41	59	1
Senior citizens	49	50	1
Women	37	63	0
Catholics	41	58	1
Independents/Leaners	38	60	2
White Baptists	42	57	1



Has the Strong Leadership Qualities
This Country Needs

=====
"Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor
description of Reagan?"

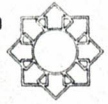
	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	49	50	1
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	75	25	1
Small Business	52	47	1
Farm Belt states	42	54	4
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	46	54	0
Senior citizens	54	42	4
Women	42	57	1
Catholics	45	55	0
Independents/Leaners	47	51	2
White Baptists	52	47	1



Trustworthy

=====
 "Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good <hr/> (%)	Only Fair/ Poor <hr/> (%)	No Opinion <hr/> (%)
Aggregate	53	44	3
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	81	17	3
Small Business	53	45	2
Farm Belt states	43	50	4
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	52	46	2
Senior citizens	62	34	4
Women	50	47	3
Catholics	51	46	3
Independents/Leaners	53	44	3
White Baptists	58	40	2

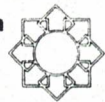


Shows Too Much Business Favoritism

=====

"Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	49	46	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	41	53	6
Small Business	52	44	4
Farm Belt states	43	52	5
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	47	46	7
Senior citizens	43	49	8
Women	47	45	8
Catholics	52	44	4
Independents/Leaners	51	43	6
White Baptists	45	51	4

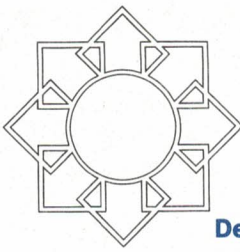


Will Start an Unnecessary War

=====

"Would you say this is an excellent ... good ... only fair ... or poor description of Reagan?"

	Excellent/ Good (%)	Only Fair/ Poor (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	29	66	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	17	78	5
Small Business	30	65	5
Farm Belt states	30	64	6
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	29	66	5
Senior citizens	19	71	10
Women	30	63	6
Catholics	33	62	5
Independents/Leaners	30	64	6
White Baptists	26	67	7



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

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 7, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Education

Since the fall of 1979, we have known that education could become a major and pivotal issue in the 80's. In the last few months President Reagan has made education an issue, as indicated by its rise from non-issue status in January (or 0%) to 2% in June of the "number one national issue" response. It will be an issue of interest well through 1984.

Public Education Today

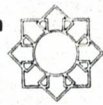
When asked if the education most children are getting today in public schools is ... better ... about the same ... or is worse than the education the respondent received, 25% replied better, 12% replied about the same, and a whopping 61% replied "worse."

Blacks rate current education as being better (38%) and postgraduates rate it the lowest (15%). All demographic subgroups are unhappy with the current quality of education.

Reagan Job Rating

Turning specifically to the issue of the President's job rating on education, 52% of the populace approve of Reagan's education policies, -- a slight increase of 3 percentage points over May.

Although the overall rating increased with specific subgroups such as base Republicans, small business owners and women reflecting the greatest increases, three significant decreases in the approval rating should be noted: Hispanics (from 56% to 46%), white Baptists (from 64% to 56%) and those living in the Farm Belt States (from 49% to 43%).



Education
 July 7, 1983
 Page Two

Note that while non-married women's rating fell from 56% to 49% this ranking places them at an almost even level with non-married men.

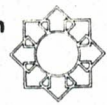
Back to Basics

When presented with a hypothetical situation involving no increases in federal spending and "back to basics" in education (the Reagan position) versus sharp increases in federal spending (the Democrats solution), 61% of those polled favored "back to basics."

All of our key constituencies favor tougher basic courses and merit pay for teachers, rather than increasing federal spending:

	<u>Back to Basics</u>	<u>Increased Federal Spending</u>
Base Republicans	73%	24%
Small business owners	61	36
Farm Belt States	55	46
Blue-collar workers	59	39
Hispanics	51	48
Senior citizens	72	22
Women	58	38
Catholics	61	37
Independents/Leaners	67	30
White Baptists	60	36

Those groups that favor increased federal spending are blacks (66%) and 18 to 24 olds (51%). All other voter groups favor the "back to basics" approach.

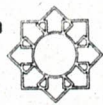


Education: Yours vs. Children Today

=====
"In general, do you think the education most children are getting today in public schools is ... better ... about the same ... or is worse than the education you received?"

	<u>D/M/I</u> <u>June 25-27, 1983</u> (%)	<u>CBS News</u> <u>June 26-29, 1978</u> (%)
Better*	26	38
About the same	12	17
Worse	62	45

*2% "no opinion" was distributed to compare to CBS News poll.

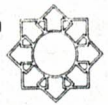


Public Education Today

=====

"In general, do you think the education most children are getting today in public schools is ... better ... about the same ... or is worse than the education you received?"

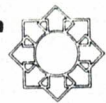
	<u>Better</u> (%)	<u>About The Same</u> (%)	<u>Worse</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	25	12	61	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	28	10	62	0
Small business	26	16	57	1
Farm Belt states	24	14	60	2
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	31	13	55	1
Senior citizens	24	8	67	1
Women	24	11	63	1
Catholics	24	10	63	3
Independents/Leaners	24	14	60	2
White Baptists	26	8	64	1



Reagan Job Rating -- Education

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

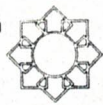
	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>
Approve	49	52
Disapprove	43	41
No opinion	8	7



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>Strng</u> <u>Apprv</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Apprv</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disap</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Strng</u> <u>Disap</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> <u>(%)</u>
Aggregate	21	31	18	23	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	33	39	12	9	7
Small business	23	31	16	22	8
Farm Belt states	7	36	21	29	7
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	18	33	21	21	8
Senior citizens	27	22	18	25	7
Women	20	30	20	25	6
Catholics	16	33	18	27	6
Independents/Leaners	18	31	19	23	9
White Baptists	24	32	17	20	7



Education: Back to Basics

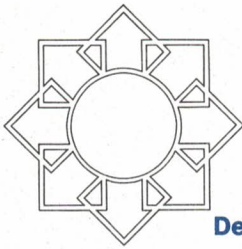
=====
 "Recently there has been some discussion about education in America. I'd like to read you the opinions of an imaginary Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones about education. Please tell me whether your own opinion about the education issue is ... just like Smith ... somewhat like Smith ... somewhat like Jones ... or just like Jones.

Mr. Smith believes that, in order to improve the quality of education in American, the federal government needs to invest substantial amounts of federal aid into education and research.

Mr. Jones says that we don't need to spend large amounts of money to improve education. He thinks that instead of more federal money, we need to require students to take tougher basic courses and give merit pay to attract and reward outstanding teachers.

Is your opinion ...

	Just Like Smith (%)	Somewhat Like Smith (%)	Somewhat Like Jones (%)	Just Like Jones (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	14	22	31	30	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	8	16	33	40	3
Small business	14	22	29	32	3
Farm Belt states	24	22	24	31	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	16	23	32	27	2
Hispanics	20	28	17	34	0
Senior citizens	7	15	28	44	7
Women	15	23	31	27	4
Catholics	11	26	28	33	2
Independents/Leaners	10	20	32	25	4
White Baptists	15	21	37	23	3



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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: July 7, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Political Thermometers

Ronald Reagan

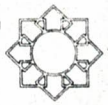
With the exception of the May 1983 survey, Reagan's thermometer rating has remained fairly stable since January 1983. The May reading showed a 6-point improvement from April (54 to 60), but the rating has settled again to 55. This drop has been consistent among most voter subgroups with the exception of senior citizens who still give Reagan 60 points on the 0-to-100 scale.

Walter Mondale

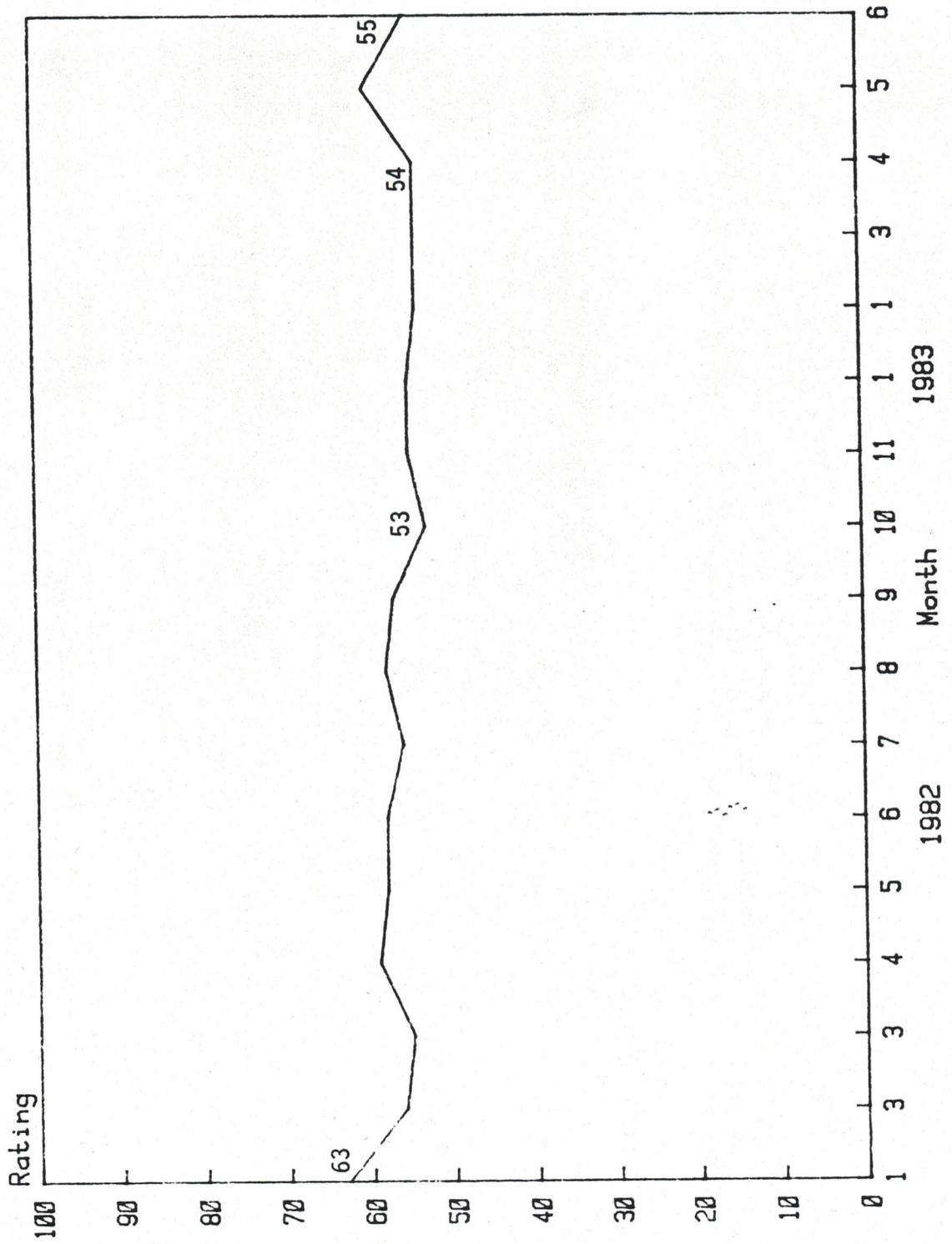
Mondale's thermometer rating also declined between the May and June 1983 surveys, dropping from 54 to 51. The negative change is consistent among all voter subgroups. Looking at the key constituencies, Mondale receives higher ratings than Reagan from Catholics (57 and 52 respectively) and women (53 and 50 respectively). Reagan has slightly better ratings than Mondale among respondents from the Farm Belt States (53 and 51), and independents/leaners (54 and 51). Small businessmen, blue-collar workers, senior citizens, and white Baptists rate Reagan considerably better than Mondale.

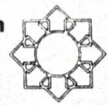
John Glenn

Glenn's thermometer rating (60) has remained stable since January 1983. Although most subgroup ratings are unchanged, there is some erosion among senior citizens and residents of the Farm Belt States. Glenn still does slightly better than Reagan in the Farm Belt States (56 to 53 respectively) and is tied with the President among senior citizens. Glenn's scores are also better than Reagan's among small businessmen, blue-collar workers, women, Catholics, independents/leaners, and white Baptists.



REAGAN THERMOMETER



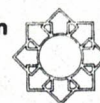


Thermometer Ratings -- White House and Cabinet People

	<u>Jan 30-3</u>	<u>May 12-17</u>	<u>Sep 18-28</u>	<u>Jan 11-19</u>	<u>Jun 15-22</u>	<u>Sep 23-27</u>
Ronald Reagan	72	77	64	63	58	57
George Bush	56	66	*	*	*	54
Bill Brock	*	55	*	*	*	*
James Watt	*	53	39	*	40	*
Al Haig	*	59	*	*	*	*
Caspar Weinberger	*	61	*	*	*	*

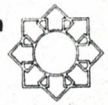
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Ronald Reagan	55	54	54	54	*	60
George Bush	*	*	*	55	*	57
Bill Brock	*	*	*	*	*	*
James Watt	*	*	35	*	*	*
Al Haig	*	*	*	*	*	*
Caspar Weinberger	*	*	*	50	*	*
Raymon Donovan	*	*	*	42	*	*
Donald Regan	*	*	*	49	*	*

	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Ronald Reagan	55
George Bush	*
Bill Brock	*
James Watt	*
Al Haig	*
Caspar Weinberger	*
Raymon Donovan	*
Donald Regan	*



Thermometer Ratings -- Political and Others

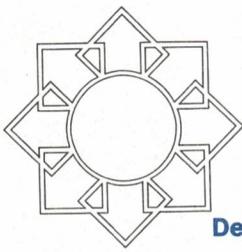
	<u>Jan</u> <u>9-12</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>May</u> <u>12-17</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>
Jimmy Carter	50	*	*	*	*	*
John Glenn	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ted Kennedy	49	56	50	49	51	51
Walter Mondale	51	58	55	52	50	51
Tip O'Neill	*	*	53	*	50	*
Paul Volcker	*	*	*	*	*	*
Anne Gorsuch Burford						
Menachem Begin	*	*	50	*	49	36
	<u>Jan</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>
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</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>					
Jimmy Carter	*					
John Glenn	60					
Ted Kennedy	*					
Walter Mondale	51					
Tip O'Neill	*					
Paul Volcker	*					
Anne Gorsuch Burford	*					
Gary Hart	*					
Menachem Begin	*					



Comparative Thermometer Ratings: Reagan/Mondale/Glenn

=====

	<u>Reagan</u> (%)	<u>Mondale</u> (%)	<u>Glenn</u> (%)
Aggregate	55	51	60
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	77	45	58
Small business	57	47	59
Farm Belt states	53	51	56
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	56	49	62
Senior citizens	60	52	59
Women	50	53	62
Catholics	52	57	64
Independents/Leaners	54	51	62
White Baptists	59	48	61



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

TO: Paul Laxalt
Frank J. Fahrenkopf

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 5, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Congressional Perceptions

Americans' perceptions of Congress have become more negative since May, falling to the level they were at in January, 1983. Respondents were asked to rate Congress on the job it is doing:

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

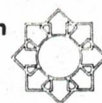
Approve	35%
Disapprove	56
No opinion	9

Only one-third (35%) of those sampled approve of the way Congress is handling its job while over one-half (56%) disapprove and 9% have no opinion.

Highest drops in subgroup approval can be found among:

	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u>	<u>June</u> <u>25-27</u>	<u>Change</u>
Farm Belt residents	51%	33%	-18
Small business owners	48	31	-17
Blue-collar workers	48	35	-13
Women	50	35	-15
Catholics	50	36	-14
White Baptists	50	32	-18

Interestingly, public opinion has shifted against Congress since last month while attitudes towards the two political parties in Congress have remained virtually the same as they were in May.



Congressional Perceptions
July 5, 1983
Page Two

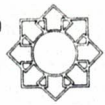
Respondents were asked a hypothetical question concerning the 1984 congressional elections:

Thinking about the 1984 elections for a moment ... if the 1984 elections for U.S. Congress were being held today, would you be voting for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district? (IF "DON'T KNOW" OR "REFUSED/N.A.," ASK:) Which way do you lean as of today -- towards the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?

	<u>April</u> <u>7-10</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u>	<u>June</u> <u>25-27</u>
Republican candidate	34%	38%	37%
Democratic candidate	54	50	49
No opinion	12	12	14

Note that the gap between Republicans and Democrats favored the Democrats by 20 points. That gap narrowed to 12 points.

A plurality of Americans say that they would vote for the Democratic candidate (49%) while 37% say they would vote Republican and 14% have no opinion.



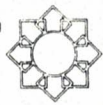
Congressional Job Rating

=====

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

	<u>Jan 30 Feb 3 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>
Approve	36	38	35	34	42	*
Disapprove	48	50	60	59	52	*
No opinion	16	12	5	7	6	*

	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Approve	*	46	35
Disapprove	*	50	56
No opinion	*	4	9

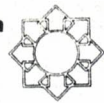


Congressional Job Rating

=====

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

	Approve (%)	Disapprove (%)	No Opinion (%)
Aggregate	35	56	9
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	35	57	8
Small Business	31	61	8
Farm Belt states	33	63	4
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	35	55	10
Senior citizens	32	60	8
Women	35	52	13
Catholics	36	53	11
Independents/Leaners	29	64	7
White Baptists	32	64	4

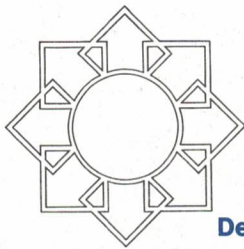


Congress Vote with Leaners

=====

"Thinking about the 1984 elections for a moment ... if the 1984 elections for U.S. Congress were being held today, would you be voting for ... the Republican candidate ... or ... the Democratic candidate in your district?" (IF "DON'T KNOW" OR "REFUSED/N.A.," ASK:) "Which way do you lean as of today -- towards ... the Republican candidate ... or ... the Democratic candidate?"

	<u>Republican Candidate</u> (%)	<u>Democratic Candidate</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	37	49	14
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	89	6	5
Small Business	39	47	14
Farm Belt States	30	53	16
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	35	52	12
Senior citizens	45	47	8
Women	33	52	14
Catholics	35	53	12
Independents/Leaners	36	37	27
White Baptists	43	43	14



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TO: Paul Laxalt
Frank J. Fahrenkopf

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 5, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Political Climate

Right Direction or Wrong Track?

The gap between positive and negative attitudes towards the country continues to narrow. However, a majority of Americans still feel that the country is headed off on the wrong track. Specifically, 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?

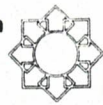
Right direction	42%
Wrong track	51
No opinion	7

Currently, four in ten (42%) say right direction, while five in ten (51%) say wrong track.

In comparison to the summer of 1979, when Jimmy Carter was President, Americans have now vastly improved their attitudes towards the general climate of the United States. A study done in June, 1979 revealed that only 16% of Americans felt that the country was headed in the right direction while three-fourths (78%) said that it was headed off on the wrong track¹.

Americans are also more optimistic now about the country than they were six months ago. The current right direction score shows a 10

¹Decision/Making/Information, survey dates June 1-8, 1979, National Registered Voters, Sample Size = 200.



Political Climate
 July 5, 1983
 Page Two

percentage point increase since January when only one-third (33%) said that the country was moving in the right direction.

Those bearing upscale characteristics on income, education and profession, as well as Republicans, show both high positive scores as well as substantial increases in their "right direction" scores since January.

	January 7-10	June 25-27	Change
Upper-income respondents	59%	67%	+ 8
Professionals	44	57	+13
Postgraduates	38	58	+20
Base Republicans	58	69	+11

Their counterparts show lowest "right direction" ratings. However, their scores have also increased somewhat since January.

	January 7-10	June 25-27	Change
Lower-income respondents	22%	30%	+ 8
Some high school or less	21	26	+ 5
Democrats	21	26	+ 5
Liberals	28	34	+ 6
Blacks	11	21	+10

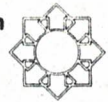
Better Off or Worse Off?

In order to ascertain how Americans perceive the economy effects not just the country's health but also the effect on Americans personally, D/M/I asked the following question:

How about you personally? Generally speaking, are you better or worse off now than you were two years ago today?

Better off	44%
Worse off	35
About the same	21

Slightly more than two-thirds of those sampled perceive that they are at least as well off now as two years ago. Four in ten (44%) say they are better off, while 21% say they are about the same. One-third (35%) report that they are worse off now.



Political Climate
 July 5, 1983
 Page Three

Although there has been little change since this question was asked in May, a positive trend has emerged since January. "Better off" figures have risen 8 percentage points while "worse off" figures have dropped 3 percentage points.

As is to be expected, upscale respondents and Republicans continue to report they are better off: postgraduates (66% better off), upper income (64%), and base Republicans (60%).

Democrats and those with downscale characteristics tend to report that they are worse off now than two years ago. Drop off in constituency support since last month can be seen among residents of Farm Belt States (an 8 percentage point drop to 37% better off), blue-collar workers (8 percentage point drop to 45%), white Baptists (5 percentage points to 41%), those owning, managing or working for a small business (4 percentage points to 47%) and women (4 percentage points to 40%).

Number One National Problem

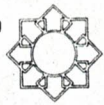
Respondents were also asked to name specific problems facing our country that they consider important. Specifically, respondents were asked:

What would you say is the single most important problem facing the United States today, that is, the one that you, yourself, are most concerned with?

Unemployment	28%
Inflation	8
Economy/Other	17
Domestic/Social	9
Crime/Drugs/Morals	11
Foreign affairs/Defense	19
Government leadership	4
No problems/no opinion	4

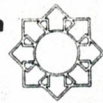
Although unemployment continues to be the most frequently mentioned problem, the number of mentions has dropped from 51% to 28% since January, a 23 percentage point decrease. Both crime/drugs/morals and foreign affairs appear to be picking up some of the previous unemployment mentions.

Crime/drugs/morals has increased from 4% in January to 11% in June, a 7 percentage point increase. The increase can be broken down as; morals up from 3% to 5%, drugs up from 2% to 4% and crime at the same level with 2%.



Political Climate
July 5, 1983
Page Four

Foreign affairs has jumped from 11% in January to 19% in June, an 8 percentage point increase. Two categories account for most of the increase: "concern about war and world peace" at 9%, a 4 point increase, and "SALT-II" 4%, a 2 point increase. Concern for "national defense" dropped from 2% to 1% percent.



Right Direction/Wrong Track

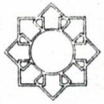
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"Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"

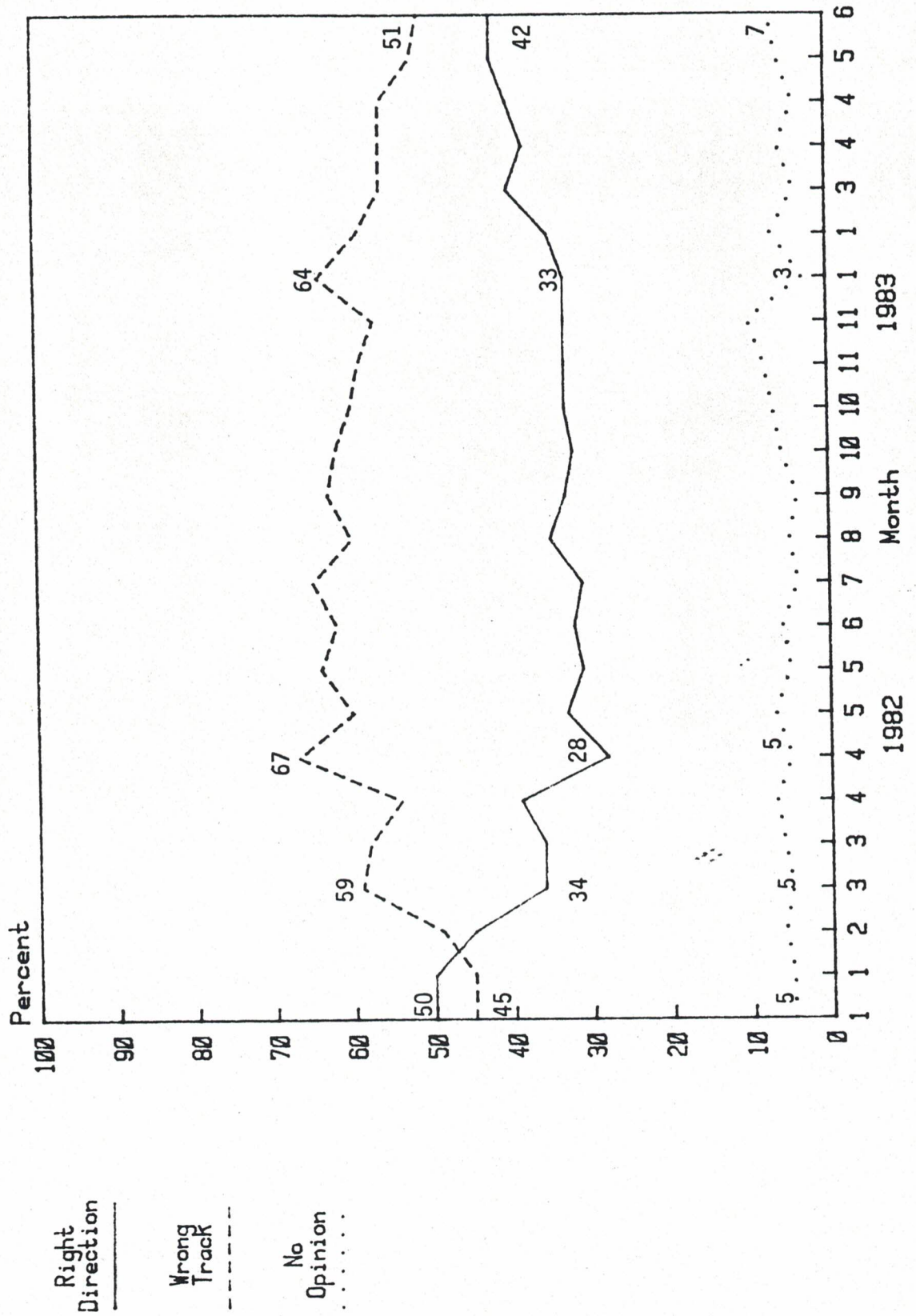
	<u>Feb 20-22 1981</u>	<u>Jun 12-14 1981</u>	<u>Sep 18-28 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>June 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Right direction	42	41	46	50	32	33
Wrong track	51	51	47	45	62	63
No opinion	8	8	7	5	6	4

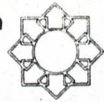
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Right direction	33	35	40	38	40	42
Wrong track	64	59	56	56	56	52
No opinion	3	7	4	6	4	6

	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Right direction	42
Wrong track	51
No opinion	7



RIGHT DIRECTION or wrong track?



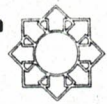


Right Direction/Wrong Track

=====

"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>Right Direction</u> (%)	<u>Wrong Track</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	42	51	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	69	27	5
Small Business	48	45	7
Farm Belt states	49	42	9
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	43	54	3
Senior citizens	37	54	10
Women	36	57	7
Catholics	42	50	9
Independents/Leaners	41	51	7
White Baptists	38	56	6

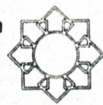


Better Off/Worse Off

=====
 "How about you personally? Generally speaking, are you better or worse off now than you were two years ago today?"

	Jan 28-31 1982	Apr 12-18 1982	Jan 7-10 1983	Jan 27-29 1983	Mar 17-21 1983	Apr 7-10 1983
Better off	43	33	*	36	40	44
Worse off	34	39	*	38	37	33
Same	11	28	*	25	23	23
No opinion	12	-	*	1	0	0
	*					

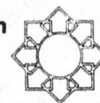
	May 27-30 1983	Jun 25-27 1983
Better off	46	44
Worse off	32	35
Same	21	21
No opinion	1	0



Better Off/Worse Off

=====
 "How about you personally? Generally speaking, are you better or worse off now than you were two years ago today?"

	<u>Better Off</u> (%)	<u>Worse Off</u> (%)	<u>Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	44	35	21
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	60	18	22
Small Business	47	35	17
Farm Belt states	37	33	31
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	45	34	20
Senior citizens	33	38	29
Women	40	37	23
Catholics	46	33	21
Independents/Leaners	46	30	23
White Baptists	41	37	23



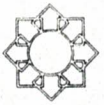
Number One National Problem

=====
 "What would you say is the single most important problem facing the United States today, that is, the one that you, yourself, are most concerned about?"

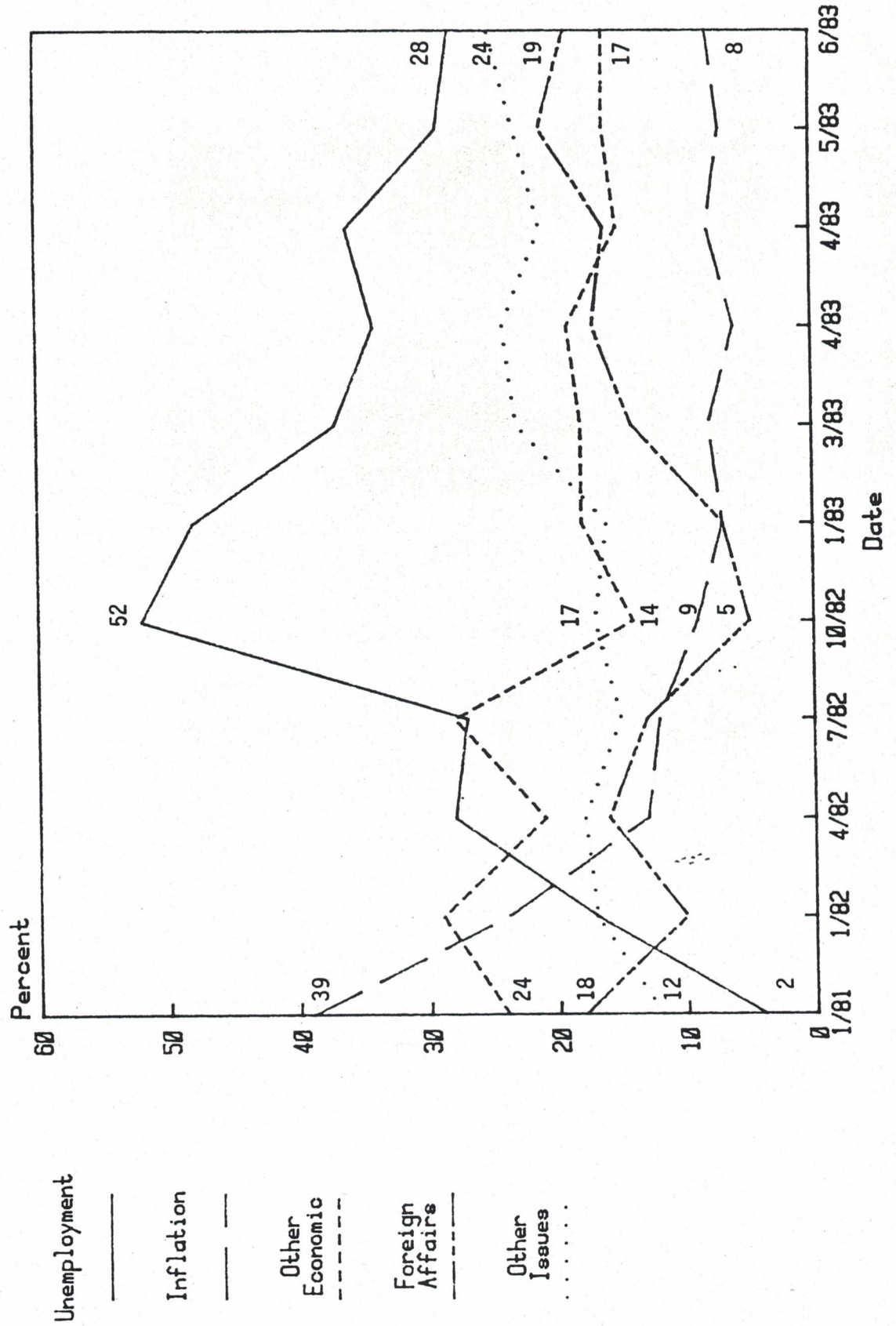
	<u>Feb</u> <u>20-22</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jul</u> <u>16-18</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>18-28</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>
Unemployment	5	6	7	24	28	36
Inflation	38	31	30	17	15	12
Economy/Other	33	26	33	29	19	22
Domestic/Social	7	13	11	5	5	6
Crime/Drugs/Morals	8	10	7	9	10	7
Foreign Affairs/Defense	6	10	8	10	15	9
Government leadership	3	3	3	3	4	4
No problems/No opinion	1	2	1	3	4	4

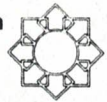
	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>
Unemployment	51	48	37	34	36	29
Inflation	5	7	8	6	8	7
Economy/Other	18	18	18	19	15	16
Domestic/Social	7	7	7	7	9	9
Crime/Drugs/Morals	4	5	9	9	8	10
Foreign Affairs/Defense	11	7	14	17	16	21
Government leadership	1	4	4	4	4	4
No problems/No opinion	2	3	3	4	4	4

	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>
Unemployment	28
Inflation	8
Economy/Other	17
Domestic/Social	9
Crime/Drugs/Morals	11
Foreign Affairs/Defense	19
Government leadership	4
No problems/No opinion	4



NUMBER ONE PROBLEM (National)





Number One National Problem

	<u>Unemploy- ment</u> (%)	<u>Other/ Economy</u> (%)	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> (%)	<u>Domestic/ Social</u> (%)	<u>No Problem/ No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	29	25	19	24	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	22	25	21	27	5
Small business	30	26	16	22	6
Farm Belt states	36	25	17	23	0
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	32	24	16	22	7
Senior citizens	18	21	25	33	4
Women	32	25	18	23	3
Catholics	29	25	22	20	4
Independents/Leaners	25	24	22	25	4
White Baptists	28	32	13	20	6