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Austerity is in the forefront of the public psyche. Pocketbook concerns dominate the national issue agenda.

Importantly, voters are willing to hold Jimmy Carter responsible for the nation's economic ills. They see Carter's economic policy as a failure and seek a president who will pull the country out of its economic tailspin.

- President Carter's job approval ratings with regard to inflation, the energy crisis, and taxes have been low throughout his term in office.
- Voters see the nation as teetering on the brink of economic ruin and perceive Carter as both contributing to the problems and being incapable of finding solutions.
- However, voters do think that inflation can be managed by a strong president. The voters believe a competent president can keep prices from continually rising (74%) and balance the federal budget in the next five years (77%).

An Economically Sophisticated Electorate

An important element in 1980 campaign planning of economic messages is that the economic crunch under the Carter Administration has caused the electorate to develop a measure of economic sophistication. Contemporary austerity has caused voters to become practiced in weighing economic alternatives and making difficult economic decisions. They are aware of the national economic situation and are reminded daily of the pinch which an economic downturn places on their individual lives.

- Voters report making difficult economic decisions each day to modify their lifestyles. And they want to see government make the same type of difficult decisions.
- The voters' economic sophistication causes them to reject simplistic economic plans. They sense the complexity of the economy and are unwilling to believe simplistic or "quick-fix" economic proposals.

- The American people are well aware of the relative decline of their own economy. They can relate those countries which they believe are doing better than America and they are able to distinguish among our own domestic industries, in terms of rates of growth and decline.

Proposed Economic Plans

The central issue of the 1980 presidential election is the economy; hence, it is imperative that Reagan propose an economic plan which has credibility with the voters. As may be hinted by the extreme voter interest in cutting government spending, voters generally favor an economic plan which focuses on cutting government spending and government services to balance the federal budget. Voters perceive the use of government spending cuts as a more viable means of curing the nation's economic ills than the use of large tax cuts.

In the recent national survey conducted by Decision/Making/Information, voters were asked to rank order by favorability three of the most frequently discussed economic proposals.

- Carter Plan (Plan X): Plan X focuses on balancing the federal budget. Under this plan the federal government would continue to provide citizens with present services and federal spending would remain at about the current level. Taxes would be increased to provide the necessary money to balance the federal budget.
- Plan Focusing On Cuts In Federal Spending (Plan Y): Plan Y focuses on balancing the federal budget. Under this plan, the federal government should balance the federal budget by decreasing the number of services provided citizens and cutting federal spending. Taxes would decrease slightly under this plan.
- Plan Focusing On Large Cut In Federal Taxes (Plan Z): Plan Z focuses on a large cut in federal taxes. Under this plan, private individuals and companies would be given a large tax cut. The money saved by these individuals and companies would be used to increase individual and business

productivity and stimulate the economy. This plan provides no assurance that the federal budget would be balanced.

Voters, by a fairly wide margin, choose Plan Y focusing on cuts in federal spending as the optimal economic plan. Plan Z focusing on a large tax cut places second with the Carter plan finishing a distant third.

- With 1 representing the number of first choice votes a plan receives, 2 representing the number of second choice votes and 3 representing the number of third choice selections, the three plans have the following mean scores: Plan Y focusing on cuts in government spending--1.75; Plan Z focusing on large tax cuts--1.97; and Plan X--2.27.
- Almost one-half (45%) of the voters choose the plan focusing on cuts in federal spending as the most optimal plan; the plan focusing on large tax cuts is most favored by about one-third (34%) of the voters and the Carter plan is the first choice of only 20% of the voters.
- The most popular plan--cuts in federal spending and services--is especially popular among voters who choose Reagan in a three-man presidential ballot. The plan garners strongest support from Republicans, Independents and Conservatives. Those voter types most attracted by this plan are: Conservative White Ticket-Splitters (62% choose as first choice), Conservative Republicans (58% choose as first choice), Conservative White Democrats (47% choose as first choice).
- The plan focusing on a large tax cut does not have a strongly ideological appeal and receives significantly stronger support among Democrats than either Republicans or Independents. Those voter types most likely to choose this plan as optimal are: Black/Hispanic (not GOP) (41%), Moderate/Liberal Republicans (40%), Moderate/Liberal Ticket-Splitter (37%), and Liberal White Democrats (36%).
- Note that the above measures only relative positions. The fact that the plan for a large tax cut does not receive strongest marks among Reagan voter base or target voters does not mean that this plan has no appeal to these critical Reagan voters. It does mean that Reagan base and target voters favor a plan focusing on cuts of government spending more than they favor a plan focusing on large tax cuts.

Need For a Reagan General Economic Program

If Ronald Reagan is to capture the issue of the day and excite the support of American voters, a comprehensive, credible, proprietary economic program should be devised. This program needs to go beyond the isolated treatment of pocketbook issues--inflation, unemployment, balanced budget, taxes--to a comprehensive proposal for curing the nation's economic ills. Voters are aware of the dual economic demons of inflation and unemployment and want a strategy which copes with both. Although they may not understand economic theory or the relationship of economic factors, voters do understand that economic issues are complex and not subject to facile resolution. A Reagan proposal, while remaining straightforward, must convince the voters that it deals with the spectrum of economic complexities.

- Reagan is not now perceived as a candidate with a plan for getting the nation on the right track economically. He is perceived as a candidate who knows people--Jack Kemp and various economists--who have plans. If Reagan is to exercise the economic leadership which the voters crave this election year, he must present a national plan which synthesizes the disparate plans of his noted advisors into a peculiarly Reagan scheme.
- Although voters strongly favored tax cuts in 1976, the general perception now is that, although tax cuts are advantageous, simple tax cuts are not enough to cure the nation's economic ills.

30% Federal Tax Cut

Although it was shown that voters generally favor an economic plan focusing on cuts in federal spending and services over a plan focusing primarily on large tax cuts, that does not imply that voters oppose large tax cuts. On the contrary, voters desire a 30% federal tax cut phased in over a three year period.

- More than one-fourth of the voters strongly support a 30% tax cut.

- Voters perceive Carter as being out of step with the public mood on the tax cut issue.
- Both Reagan (mean: 3.27) and Anderson (mean: 3.17) are perceived as being in accord with the public sentiment of desiring a 30% tax cut. Anderson more closely matches the public sentiments while voters perceive Reagan as supporting a 30% tax cut more enthusiastically than they do themselves.
- Support exists among Conservatives for the 30% federal tax cut, but is actually greatest among Reagan's target voters: Conservative White Democrats (34%), Black/Hispanic (38%), and Moderate/Liberal Republicans (27%).

Cuts In Federal Spending

There is strong support for reducing federal spending by as much as 20%.

- One-third of the voters (33%) strongly support a reduction in federal spending by 20%.
- Carter is perceived by the voters as slightly opposing a 20% cut in federal spending--a position out of step with the mood of the electorate.
- Reagan and Anderson are both perceived as supporting a 20% cut in federal spending.
- Reagan is perceived as being most in step with public support of a 20% tax cut but neither of the three presidential candidates is perceived as supporting a 20% cut in federal spending as strongly as do the voters.
- Reagan voters are more likely than the norm to strongly support a 20% federal spending cut. Anderson and Carter voters are less likely than the norm to support such a cut. This indicates that Reagan is better positioned than the other candidates to take advantage of this crucial election issue.
- The federal spending issue offers great campaign mileage for solidifying and extending Reagan's voting base. The voter types who most favor a 20% cut in federal spending are those who fall within Reagan's target group: Conservative White Democrats (45% favor a 20% cut), Conservative Republicans, and Conservative White Ticket-Splitters.

- Most government workers even favor cuts in government spending. About one-fourth of them strongly support a 20% cut in federal spending. Moreover, more than one-half (56%) of the voters employed by the government favor to some degree the cutting of government spending by 20%.
- Not only do voters see cuts in government spending as a key instrument in curing the nation's economic ills, many voters see cuts in government spending as the only way to strengthen the national economy.
- Voters appear more readily willing to cut federal spending even if it may mean losing programs which directly benefit them.

The debate over just where to cut and where not to cut the federal budget has been raging in the nation's capitol in recent weeks. The issue has been cast as a choice between spending for defense and national security on the one hand, and spending for social programs on the other. But trade-offs between national defense and domestic well-being simply do not coincide with the sentiments of the American people. A recent Harris survey (June 12, 1980) shows that the public desires spending cuts according to the following list of priorities.

- At the top of the list is "Social Security payments," in which a substantial 74-23 percent majority of the public now opposes any cutbacks. Americans have strong feelings about Social Security today. A 61-32 percent majority is opposed to any cut in the stepped-up Social Security taxes. Citizens are aware that the Social Security system is the underpinning of the nation's retirement plans and they are not willing to see it compromised.
- By 64-34 percent, a majority also is opposed to cuts in defense spending. Indeed, a big 71-6 percent majority wants to see defense spending increased to help the nation keep pace with the expansion of Soviet military capabilities.
- By 63-37 percent, almost as large a majority opposes cuts in federal aid to education. Despite widespread criticism of how the education system is working, the American people have not become disenchanted about the amount of federal spending for education. It ranks in the category of untouchable items as far as cost-cutting is concerned.

- By 61-37 percent, a big majority feels the same way about federal spending on health care: Americans do not want to see it cut back. They feel that this is an area that deserves a continued high priority.
- By 54-42 percent, a majority also opposes cuts in federal spending for mass transportation. This latest result marks a rise in support for mass transit over previous surveys, and is reflective of the growing realization on the part of Americans that mass transportation must be improved if proper energy conservation is to be achieved.

The top five targets for cuts in federal spending comprise a mixed ideological bag:

- By 82-14 percent, a sizable majority of Americans favor cutting back on federal funds for foreign economic aid.
- By 77-20 percent, a comparable majority is also in favor of paring back the amount of foreign military aid this country now is spending.
- By 72-15 percent, a majority also favors the cutting of spending by federal regulatory agencies. These agencies have become an object of much public ire, and are viewed by 40 percent of the people as contributors to inflation.
- By 69-22 percent, a sizable majority also favors cutting federal subsidies to business. The federal rescue of Chrysler, which was opposed by the public 7 to 1, has put into sharp focus just how much and in what ways the federal government is subsidizing American business.
- Finally, by 69-28 percent, a majority also favors cuts in federal welfare spending, a traditional target for budget-cutters.

Constitutional Amendment To Balance The Federal Budget

Voters in the United States tend to favor passage of a Constitutional Amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. There is virtually no strong opposition to such a measure and about one-fourth of the electorate profess strong support for such an Amendment.

- A substantial 57% of the American people feel that "the decline of productivity among American workers is a major cause for the continuing high inflation" in the United States. Only a year ago, a much lower 46% felt that declining productivity was a key contributor to inflation.
- A majority of the voters (54%) feel that "the changing values of the American worker" are a "very important" cause of declining productivity.
- About 3 out of 4 voters think that excessive government regulation lowers productivity. Although voters tend to favor government regulation which promotes worker safety, the general voter view is that government regulation is a stultifying effect on growth.
- About 3 out of 4 voters also believe that "inadequate investment by business in new plant and equipment" is an important reason for decreased productivity.
- Most voters (70%) feel that an important contributor to the declining productivity is "reduced spending for research and development." Americans feel that good research and development is a key to investment and growth that will lead to added productivity.

Unemployment

The concern pendulum is starting to swing from inflation as the greatest concern in the nation to a national pre-occupation with unemployment. With unemployment statistics rising and claims for unemployment insurance reaching record highs, one may assume that this issue will continue to rise over the next months as an area of justifiable voter concern.

- As joblessness rises in the nation, more Americans believe that solving unemployment is more important than holding down inflation. But those who see inflation as the more important problem are still the larger group. Today, 30% of the population say that finding jobs for people is more important than fighting inflation. Last October, the figure was only 20%. About one-half of the public (52%) see inflation as the larger problem, compared to 68% who felt that way then.

Although it is important that Reagan presents a broad-based economic plan, the move away from simplicity should not extend to the proposed Constitutional Amendment requiring a balanced budget. It would be erroneous to inject too many rigid details into a proposed Constitutional Amendment. While voters generally favor the idea of a Constitutional Amendment to balance the budget, Americans are skeptical about tampering with the Constitution and are likely to reject a proposed Amendment which would be inflexible.

- More than one-half of the voters (56%) favor, to some degree, the passage of a Constitutional Amendment to balance the federal budget while an additional 18% are neutral on the issue. Only 21% of the voters oppose to any degree such a measure.
- Only 7% of the voters strongly oppose a Constitutional Amendment requiring a balanced budget, but 24% favor such an Amendment.
- Voters generally perceive both Reagan and Carter as favoring a Constitutional Amendment requiring a balanced budget. Both are seen as being in step with the public view.

Economic Productivity

Along with their recent increase in economic sophistication, the electorate has also realized that much of the inflation ravaging the country is the result of declining productivity in the private sector. The public has come to understand and adopt the view long espoused by economists that inflation will not be resolved in the long-term until productivity--the output per man-hour worked--begins to rise. Voters assign blame for the decline in productivity to three entities--government, private industry and themselves. First, voters perceive the waning of the work ethic and the changing values of the American worker to have contributed to the slump in productivity. Second, voters see industry as likely to pocket economic profits rather than invest those profits into new plants and equipment or develop new technology. And third, voters feel that excessive government regulation has served to foster economic stagnation.

The increase in importance of unemployment as a pocketbook issue presents the Reagan campaign with both opportunities and risks. The opportunity is that of enticing disenchanted blue-collar Democrats into the Reagan camp. As unemployment rises and more middle-class Americans find themselves without jobs, Carter will find it very difficult to maintain the allegiance of his working-class support. The risk arises in terms of Reagan's preparation for the disaffection of Carter's blue-collar Democrat support. Those voters will choose Reagan over Anderson only if Reagan presents a viable plan. Reagan must be ready to propose (1) a credible job programs for getting these Americans back to work, (2) a convincing argument that tax cuts will stimulate the economy sufficiently in the short-term to get these workers back on the job, and (3) allay some of labor fears about anti-trust legislation directed toward the unions.

The lack of a comprehensive Reagan economic plan has lead to the promulgation of independent economic policies which must now be synthesized into a general economic framework. In order to achieve credibility, both with the voters and the press, Reagan must announce a pervasive economic plan which reconciles the following seemingly contradictory Reagan objectives:

- A massive income-tax cut for individuals;
- Relief for business, ththrough reductions in corporate taxes or through reductions in corporate taxes or through tax credits or through faster depreciation of plants and equipment;
- Substantial increases in the defense effort, to catch up with the Russians;
- A balanced budget.

United States' Peace Posture

Jimmy Carter's failures in foreign affairs have left United States' foreign policy in a shambles and have placed world peace in a

precarious position. While the tone of the 1980 election will be set by pocketbook issues, voters are anxious to elect a president with the leadership strength necessary to maintain a strong national defense, keep world peace and restore the country's prestige in the world.

World Leadership

A year ago, a majority of the electorate believed that the Soviet Union would be stronger than the United States within 10 years. Although that pessimism concerning the world leadership of the United States seemed shocking at the time, any shock has long since been surpassed by the numbing reality of how much the United States' position in the world has deteriorated. Voters perceive the international prestige of the United States has slipped considerably under the Carter Administration. They feel that the United States has not only lost respect abroad, but has lost ground in the world community, both militarily and economically.

Voters are dissatisfied with the U.S. slippage in world leadership and are willing to take a firmer stand in foreign policy. The vast majority (71%) even support taking some risks to restore United States' leadership in the world. The apathetic new-isolationism of the post-Viet Nam era is fading as voters see the United States losing ground militarily and economically in world affairs. Of course, voters would be forced back into their shell by proposals which were overly inflammatory. Still, they are willing to take minimal risks to be restored to a position of leadership in the world which has been lost during the Carter term.

- Jimmy Carter is out of step with the public desire in this area. It is apparent that voters do not see Carter as willing to take risks to restore United States leadership in the world.
- On the other hand, Reagan is perceived by the voters as supporting the taking of some risks to restore U.S. world

leadership. Significantly, Reagan's mean score of 2.68 on this issue is almost identical to the mean score of the voters, 2.69. Voters perceive Reagan as being in the mainstream of public thought in his willingness to take some risk to restore United States' leadership in the world.

- Interestingly, this issue causes a split along ideological lines. Those voters most likely to support taking risks to restore world leadership are very conservative voters and very liberal voters. Strongly ideological voters of both persuasions are distressed by Carter's inability to maintain a strong United States leadership role in the world.

Draft Registration

Consonant with the desire of voters to take some risks in restoring United States world leadership is the voter inclination to favor draft registration. There is a vocal minority, mostly young voters, who strongly oppose draft registration; still, most feel it is necessary for boosting the United States' defense capability.

Of those voters who favor draft registration--59% of the electorate--slightly more than one-half favor registration of both men and women. This translates to the conclusion that two third of the voters in the United States oppose registration of women.

- Most voters (59%) favor draft registration to some degree.
- While one-third of the voters strongly favor draft registration, only 15% of the voters are strongly opposed.
- Among young voters (ages 17-24) the figures are reversed. While one-third of the voters (32%) in this category strongly oppose draft registration, only 17% are strongly in favor. In more general terms, 43% of these young voters favor draft registration while 42% are opposed. The rest are undecided or neutral on the matter. If this opposition translates into action, a significant failure to register for the draft may occur.
- The draft issue cuts strongly across the ideological spectrum with very conservative voters and somewhat

conservative voters favoring registration more than the norm.

- Liberal voters and Anderson voters are significantly more likely than other voters to favor draft registration for women.
- About one-half (49%) of those women who favor draft registration also favor registration of women. Since 52% of the women voters favor draft registration, this means that 26% of the female voters in the United States favor registration of women for the draft.

Defense Spending

The United States is blessed with such resilient people and institutions and with such vast resources that it can cope with a lot of domestic turmoil and chaos. With the right strategy and with perserverence, the nation can recover from domestic setbacks.

The same cannot be said for the external defense of the United States if the military posture continues to decline. With this decline, the national diplomatic position has weakened. The deterioration of the military capability relative to the Soviet Union must be reversed.

Consequently, Ronald Reagan must have a well developed defense strategy and spending policy. Recent economic performance has demonstrated that defense production is not needed to sustain economic growth. The real issue is whether the economy can carry the burden of adequate defense spending. The public is already heavily taxed. Federal revenues are committed to massive transfer payment programs. These programs need to be brought under control. The government should be able to control other spending at least in tandem with increased spending for defense. In the meanwhile, the restoration of the national defense capability should be top priority with other budget and tax decisions in a follow-on position.

The United States can cope with the budget pressures of spending for defense but cannot recover from a failure to commit adequate resources to the task.

International Crises

International crises have frequently raised the popularity of an incumbent President. The recent crises in Iran and Afghanistan have sharply raised Carter's sagging popularity. However, the popularity increases of these crises has been only short-lived. A successful rescue or diplomatic release of the hostages or a Soviet withdrawal in Afghanistan could be turned to Carter's favor in the election, but the current forecast is that these crises will continue to drain popularity from the President and, even if resolved, would not be attributed particularly to his leadership.

- Although the public was quick to rally behind the President in the initial months of the Iran crisis, the public perception of Carter as a patient, stable leader has waned.
- A majority of the voters in the United States now disapprove of the way in which Carter has handled the situation in Iran. They perceive Carter as being trapped in a difficult situation which he should have either avoided or terminated by decisive action early in the seige.
- Carter's inability to handle the situation in Afghanistan has always been viewed critically by the public. Voters see the fact that the Soviet Union can move unimpeded into a neighboring state as evidence of Carter's ineffective leadership in the international arena.

Energy Concerns

The difficulty with addressing the energy issue is directly related to the importance and complexity of the task. Energy concerns are not readily definable; they are nebulous and pervade the spectrum of both domestic and international issues. Energy concerns are

closely tied to pocketbook issues in that increases in fuel costs have contributed to the worsening economy. Energy concerns are also related to the United States' peace posture; Americans fear dependence upon foreign sovereigns for oil supplies. No candidate can address the energy concerns of the nation without considering at the same time every major issue with which voters are concerned. The energy area is a particularly difficult one from which to achieve campaign mileage.

Voter positions on the various energy issues are marked by several widely held opinions: (1) voters are skeptical about the motives and intentions of the big oil companies. (2) Voters are wary about government involvement in the oil industry; they believe that a reduction in government regulation of the oil industry would result in the production of more oil, but at the same time they see a need for government to keep the oil companies in check. (3) Voters are cautious about continuing United States' dependence upon foreign oil imports. And, (4) voters believe that technological advances can be made which will allow the energy problem to be solved with little voter sacrifice.

- Voters perceive the energy problem as one of the biggest and most complex problems facing a President. Nearly one-half of the voters (47%) think that the problems of energy are basically too big for any President to solve.
- The fact that energy problems are big leads voters to the conclusion that government must be in charge of any attempt to solve those problems. Voters do not perceive resolution of the energy problem as totally within the ambit of private enterprise.
- Although voters recognize the gravity of the nation's energy problems, voters do not see sacrifice and austerity as the means of coping with the nation's energy ills.
- Voters are optimistic that with proper priorities American technology can be directed to the development of energy sources which will solve any problem of shortages.
- Consistent with their faith in American ingenuity and with their unwillingness to decrease their standard of living, voters believe that solar energy is the best choice as an

energy source for the future (40%). Oil (21%), nuclear (15%) and all other energy sources trail solar energy in popularity as the energy source of the future.

- Voters are still not convinced that the big oil companies are not promoting energy shortages.
- Distrust of the oil companies leads voters to demand that government take an active role in dealing with the energy crisis.
- The energy issue is not one which determines, by itself, how voters will cast their ballots.
- Voters strongly oppose increasing gasoline taxes to encourage conservation.
- Reagan voters are the voters most likely to oppose gasoline tax increases to encourage conservation.
- Most voters in the United States see nuclear power as a necessary element of the future energy picture.
- Americans perceive gasohol as a good alternative to gasoline. They generally know what gasohol is and are pleased with its performance as a fuel.

Issues of Special Opportunity

Issues of special opportunity are those issues which have national appeal but are not high on the national issue agenda. These issues are, general speaking, non-ideological. They address the concerns of a broad segment of American society. By treating these issues in targeted policy addresses, Governor Reagan will be able to accomplish the following objectives:

- Appeal to large blocs of voters directly impacted by the issue;
- Create and/or enhance the public impression that Reagan is a compassionate individual who has concern for the common man and understands the problems facing voters in their daily lives;
- Point out Carter's failures in providing leadership and policy direction for these issues and hence failing to fulfill his 1976 campaign promises; and,

- Control the direction and focus of the presidential campaign by making national issues of concerns which are crucial to large segments of society, but which are not currently at the forefront of the national issue agenda.

Urban Affairs

The march of urban blight--poverty, unemployment, deterioration, and population decreases--of recent decades has been speeded by the economic crises during the Carter term. The condition of the nation's cities is critical. Lifelong residents of the central city are moving to the suburbs at an increasing rate. Inner city unemployment is reaching record highs. Buildings of the nation's cities are crumbling, and once prosperous businesses are relocating in the open spaces of the suburbs. Many political scientists speculate that the recent upheavals in Miami are only a precursor of election-year strife which may erupt in the nation's cities. Although urban problems are generally overshadowed in the national issue agenda, there exists such a widespread discontent with the plight of the large cities.

Three interests are at stake in the inner cities: (1) interests of the residents--usually focusing on concerns involving race relations, crime, unemployment and taxation; (2) interests of inner city businesses--including concerns involving the spectrum of small business worries as well as crime, unemployment, and deterioration of capital; and (3) interests of city governments--focusing upon financing, tax bases, and general unrest. Governor Reagan's approach to the urban problem needs to differentiate between these overlapping and sometimes competing interests.

- Generally speaking, the more affluent, highly educated and more conservative voters are less interested in urban problems than the less affluent, lesser educated and less conservative voters.
- Those individuals associated with inner city politics are disenchanted and upset with Carter's lack of action.

- Most Americans (53%), Black and White, believe that the recent racial disturbances in Miami are of a type which are likely to occur in other American cities this year.
- Most voters feel that racial disturbances will occur elsewhere and not in their own community. Blacks are only more likely than Whites to believe that racial disturbances will occur in their own communities within the next year (17% Blacks as compared to 8% Whites).
- Half of the American public believes that Blacks in America are a lot better off today than they were ten years ago. One out of every five voters believe Blacks are either "no better off" or "worse off" than ten years ago.
- Most Blacks feel that Blacks are "a little better off" than or "about the same" as they were ten years ago.

Farm Policy

The economic downturn of the Carter term has hit farmers hard. Farmers are upset with Carter and feel betrayed by his failure to follow through on campaign promises to help farmers. The farmers are anti-Carter and could be drawn into the Reagan camp with a credible Reagan farm policy. Farmers feel government regulations directly and daily. They are extremely sensitive to federal farm policies. Governor Reagan will need to restore himself with the farmers over the "party" blunder and seek their vote by showing he is capable of understanding their problems, learning from them and putting together policies that respond to their basic needs.

Reagan can expect Carter to make pre-emptive policy moves in order to solidify the farm vote.

Health Care

Americans are deeply concerned about their ability to pay for their health care needs. Medical costs are soaring almost to the point that they make one sick.

The environment is set for Reagan to make political gains by proposing a plan for meeting the health needs of the nation. A majority of the voters have two sentiments in common: (1) a strong concern for being able to meet medical costs without totally disrupting personal finances, and (2) a strong desire to keep government out of their personal lives and to deal freely in the marketplace. A Reagan plan can satisfy these voter desires and garner voter support if it meets the following criteria:

- The plan must be couched in compassionate terms and designed to meet adequately the people's legitimate health needs.
- The plan must depend upon the workings of the private sector and not propose that government become involved in this highly personal area.
- Most importantly, the plan must assure the people that their health care needs will be met efficiently, professionally at a reasonable cost.

Care For The Elderly

While most voters have been inconvenienced by the economic downturn of recent months, the elderly have been seriously harmed. Those elderly voters who have not experienced tangible hardships have at least been beset by concern for meeting the economic needs of the immediate future. Elderly voters are rightfully scared when they see inflation use up their savings and fixed incomes, the demise of the Social Security system, and inability or unwillingness of government and the private sector to do anything about it.

Reagan can appeal to the elderly voters in America by providing them with a stable national economy and the expectation that they will be cared for and protected. This appeal is important to the Reagan campaign. Not only do elderly voters compose a significant voting bloc, but an outward concern for the elderly is necessary for Reagan to project the image of concern for the common man which will allow him to cut into the Carter voting base.

Immigrants

Recent voter concerns with immigrants from Mexico, Cuba, and Asia have catapulted the immigration issue onto the national issue agenda. A significant number of voters (10%) claim that if they were elected President today their first action would relate to improving the United States' immigration policy. While voters sympathize with those individuals seeking refuge in the United States, that sympathy is tempered by the realization that the economy has a limited ability to assimilate new residents. Voters feel that Carter has failed to strike the proper balance between compassion and self protection. They feel that the United States must maintain limits on immigration in order to allow the society to assimilate immigrants.

- Three out of four Americans do not approve of the job Jimmy Carter has done in handling the Cuban refugee situation.

Education

Although the education issue is one which must be tailored to the local situation, it is important to note that Reagan voters are concerned about the direction of education in the United States. These voters think the traditional education system which has served well the needs of the nation is deteriorating. Liberalized curricula and lack of discipline have become the rule rather than the exception in the nation's schools. In promulgating an education policy, the following factors should be taken into account.

- Voters in the United States are not enthusiastic about the education which children receive in the nation's schools. Only 16% of the voters give the nation's schools an "A" grade.
- Midwestern voters are significantly more content with the education their children receive while Western voters are most likely to find the education system lacking.

- Conservative voters are most concerned about curriculum changes and a general lack of discipline while liberal voters seem more satisfied.

Welfare

Ronald Reagan has a welfare message which has strong voter appeal. That message is that the problem with the nation's welfare system is not in the concept, but in the implementation. Voters agree universally that a legitimate and desirable function of government is to provide relief for individuals who are either unable to work or find themselves temporarily unemployed. They agree that individuals who can work should work; the government has no responsibility to provide a public dole for those individuals who could, if they were so disposed, contribute to the national workforce. The problem with the current welfare system, however, lies in the implementation by government of the welfare assistance programs. Voters generally agree that the present welfare system fails abominably in deciding who qualifies for welfare assistance.

The "time is now" for Governor Reagan to provide America with a plan for implementing the government responsibility to aid the deserving poor and unemployed. Such a plan would swing many voters into the Reagan camp by demonstrating a willing disposition to help the poor and needy, but a contempt for a system that degrades them because of its own inefficiencies.

Justice in America

There is a widespread voter concern for the functioning of the entire judiciary system. Most of this voter concern is focused upon the functioning of the criminal courts. Voters are bewildered when they see criminals going free because of decisions mandated by the criminal law. They find it difficult to understand why the system is

incapable of punishing wrongdoers for their admittedly wrongful acts. Voters are ready for a movement to reform the criminal court system.

- Half of the country's voters feel the judicial system needs a major overhaul.
- Most Americans hold judges, personally, in quite high regard and feel that judges treat all individuals fairly.
- More than one-half of the public feel that the civil courts do a better job than the criminal courts.
- As a system, the justice system trails both the political system and business in public esteem and respect.

Freedom of the Press

The press has an enormous influence determining which of the many possible public issues ought to come before the public. It is important that Reagan establish a strong rapport with the press. That rapport may be established by stressing that the press plays an important role in checking government action. As Thomas Jefferson said, "No government ought to be without censors, and where the press is free, none ever will...."

Reagan's rapport with the press can be established at the expense of Jimmy Carter. Carter has alienated the press by calling for restraints which press people deem to be unrealistic. Jody Powell even went so far as to call unpatriotic reporters planning to broadcast a "60 Minutes" program on Iran. If Reagan can make peace with the press by affirming their important public role, that positive sentiment may extend to some favorable press coverage for Reagan.

Families

The family lies at the core of traditional values in America. As the basic unit of American society, the stability of the nation

depends upon the stability of the nation's families. However, family solidarity is being challenged by contemporary mores. As mothers are moving into the job market by a worsening economy, the traditional family structure is weakening. As the job market tightens, individuals are required to leave stable family settings and migrate to regions where employment can be found. Traditionalist Americans are finding themselves beset by a vocal minority who find it chic to denigrate family solidarity, parental respect, and familial intradependence.

Ronald Reagan can strike a resonant chord in a majority of America's households by speaking out in favor of the family--in favor of a stable home environment. In so doing, Reagan builds a basis for his call to national solidarity and a return to traditional American values. By strengthening millions of individual families, Reagan would be strengthening his national coalition.

Neighborhoods

Much of the current voter frustration comes from the inability to carry out personal, legitimate desires without the intervention of government. Nowhere is this frustration greater than in the lives of those voters who are not free to live where they wish and associate with whom they wish. An important aspect of America's traditionalist values lies in the solidarity of America's neighborhoods. Americans have found solace in the ability to live in an area of their choosing with neighbors of their choice, to join together in beautifying and protecting an area and to send their children to a neighborhood school. Neighborhoods develop a sense of community which gives the residents a feeling of stability and security.

Government activity in recent years has challenged the nation's neighborhoods by injecting government housing into established areas, sending children across the city to school, and allocating federal

money in a way so as to disrupt the continuity of neighborhood life. Many voters are upset at this government incursion into their lives.

Since Governor Reagan believes in these basic values of the family and neighborhoods, every effort should be made to argue for the preservation of the family and neighborhood without government intervention.

Issues of the Single Issue Voter

Much as been written recently about the single issue voter and the phenomenon of single issue politics. Some commentators argue that in this year of economic complexities and dilemmas in foreign affairs, more voters than usual will become single issue voters. They will be politically involved by vigorously adopting an issue they understand and about which they believe something can be done. A candidate's stand on this single issue will be the principal factor in determining their vote.

Single issue voters have in the past been and will continue to be an important element of the Reagan support base. The issues around which these voters rally are typically ideological and Reagan's base of support has always contained a cadre of strongly ideological voters. Consequently, Reagan must take special efforts to target messages to this key voter group and maintain their allegiance.

Issues of the single issue voters are ideological and highly controversial. Single issue voters are usually associated with partisan interest groups and are otherwise readily identifiable. Consequently, the strategy for employing the issues outlined below must be a strategy of rifle-shot targeting. These issues will not be the subject of major Reagan addresses; there is no need to arouse opposition against Reagan on these issues. Rather, these topics will be treated through direct mail and messages targeted to key interest groups.

Overview of Single Issue Voting

Slightly more than one-fourth of the voters in the United States (28%) are predisposed to determine how to vote in the presidential race solely on the basis of the candidates' stands on a single issue. Of those voters who are leaning towards single issue voting, the following are the issues upon which their votes are based:

National Defense	27%
Reduce Government Spending	25
Draft Registration	11
Abortion	11
Federal Income Tax Policy	10
Women's Rights Movement	7
Ownership of the Panama Canal	1
(Other)	<u>8</u>

National defense and reduction of government spending have become very important and highly ideological issues. These issues are perceived by many voters to be of such importance that a candidate's stand on these issues will determine, of itself, how the voter will vote on election day.

Of those issues generally regarded as issues of the single issue voter--abortion, E.R.A., and the Panama Canal--abortion is the one issue which most often determines the vote.

Abortion

Half of the voters in the United States (48%) are very interested in the abortion issue. Although this level of voter interest does not bring abortion to the top of the issue agenda, it does signal that significant campaign mileage can be had by addressing the topic properly. The disadvantages are, however, that abortion is highly

*89% Pro-life
Pre-abortion
A*

controversial and hence vote support in this area should be sought discreetly through well-targeted messages.

- There is great polarity on the abortion issue with voters either strongly favoring or strongly opposing abortion. Those voters who strongly oppose abortion except when a mother's life is in danger outnumber by almost a 2:1 margin those voters who strongly favor abortion.
- The abortion issue is highly ideological: Conservatives and Republicans oppose abortion except when the life of a mother is in danger, and Liberals and Democrats favor it.

Equal Rights Amendment

Time is the greatest enemy of the Equal Rights Amendment. A substantial majority of the voters in the United States favored the passage of E.R.A. when it was initially presented. But, time has shown that the problems beseting women can be handled by legislation short of a Constitutional Amendment. Still, a scant majority of the voters support passage of the Amendment. But this support has lost the spark it once had. Few voters today express a keen interest in the women's movement.

- Slightly more than one-half of the voters in the United States (52%) support to some degree the passage of E.R.A.
- Many of those voters who support E.R.A. profess strong support.
- Although a majority of the voters support E.R.A. when they are forced to take a stand, only one-third (33%) of the voters in the United States are "very interested" in the women's rights movement.
- Popular support for the Equal Rights Amendment has eroded with only slight variation since 1974.

Panama Canal

The Panama Canal issue sparked widespread interest in 1976, high interest in the issue this election year is limited to a minority of the voting population. The issue has potential for gaining votes in highly targeted campaign messages, but offers very little mileage as a major campaign issue.

- About one-third of the voters in the United States (31%) are "very interested" in ownership of the Panama Canal.
- Those voters expressing most interest in the Panama Canal are: Reagan voters, Conservative Republicans, Conservative Ticket-Splitters, and Very Conservative voters.

Gun Control

Gun control has not yet surfaced as a major campaign issue, but the candidacy of John Anderson may spark the public debate once again. Anderson is vocal in his support of controls on the manufacture and sale of guns, especially handguns. In any event, Reagan can reap voter gains by targeting messages in this area to Conservative, traditionalist voters.

- Voters are generally protective of the Constitutional right of Americans to bear arms. However, most voters agree that such a right does not impede limiting the sale of certain types of handguns particularly suited to the commission of crimes.
- While voters favor in principle the limitation of the manufacture and sale of certain handguns, no proposal for implementing such limitations has yet been promulgated which evokes the support of a majority of the voters.

SECTION V
VOTER PERCEPTIONS

SECTION V

VOTER PERCEPTIONS

Introduction

Seldom does the public image of a political leader conform to the more intimate perceptions of those who know him well. The Congressman whose constituents believe him to be "concerned about people" may in actuality be an office tyrant with one of the highest turnovers in personnel on the Hill. The Senator who "works hard for the people of his state" may have a drinking problem that makes any post-lunch activity a disaster. Even the President who is a very likeable family man with strong moral and religious beliefs may be seen by close associates as ruthless and ambitious to a fault, letting nothing stand in the way of achieving his desired goals.

Whatever the realities about our elected leaders -- negative or positive -- they are almost irrelevant in predicting public acceptance or rejection. Not what is, but what appears to be, determines the image of public figures.

Further, when asked for an opinion about a political figure, voters are more inclined to say something nice than something negative. Hence, the negative perceptions that are mentioned should be weighed more heavily than their numbers would suggest.

Another distortion that affects responses is the "He's just like me!" syndrome. When making judgments under conditions of uncertainty about the issue stands or the ideology of favored candidates, there exists a recognizable bias that moves the candidate closer to the respondent than is usually warranted. Similarly, disliked candidates may be perceived further away from a respondent's position on an issue, thus maintaining a psychological balance between issue stands,

the voter and the candidate. These processes reflect in the data reported in this section which deals with perceptions of the 1980 presidential candidates.

How Much Is Known?

The accuracy of perceptual judgments concerning political figures is a function of the amount of knowledge possessed by the respondent. Generally speaking, the greater the knowledge, the more accurate the perception. Of course, if the presumed knowledge consists of misinformation, then perceptions of candidate image will be less accurate. Knowledgeability is measured in several ways: self-described amount of knowledge concerning the candidates; placement of each candidate on a liberal-conservative scale, and on various issues; and, the number of "don't know" responses to specific questions about candidate image and issue stands.

- Not unexpectedly, Jimmy Carter is well-known by more than nine out of ten voters. Further, a plurality of voters believe they know a great deal about what he stands for politically.
- Ronald Reagan is also well-known. More than nine out of ten voters are familiar with his name. However, as late as June 1980 nearly four voters in ten felt they knew very little about what he stands for politically.
- Relatively speaking, John Anderson is still an unknown political figure. Seven voters out of ten know very little about what he stands for.

How much is known about the political stands of the presidential candidates ranges from a great deal in the case of Jimmy Carter to very little for John Anderson. Ronald Reagan is widely recognized but still lacks clear image definition. This is particularly true among: Moderate ticket splitters and conservative Democrats (44%); voters in the Great Lakes states and the Industrial states of the Northeast (44% and 42%, respectively).

Ideology and Issues

Ideological position and stands on selected issues are used in this section as indicators of the amount of information respondents believe they have about a particular candidate. Of course these measures are subject to the same distortions as perceptual judgments of more personal attributes and characteristics and should be treated with that in mind.

- Voters think they know more about Jimmy Carter's stand on issues and ideological position than any other candidate. Only one voter in ten is unable to offer a judgment which places Carter on issues and ideology.
- On the other hand, one voter in four cannot place Ronald Reagan's position on issues and ideology. Significantly fewer voters think they know Reagan's stand than Carter's.
- John Anderson's candidacy is characterized by lack of information on what Anderson stands for. Nearly half (45%) cannot position Anderson on the issues and ideology scales.

The perceived positions on issues and ideology of the three candidates show some clear differences:

- Of the three, Ronald Reagan is believed to be the most in favor of:
 - . taking some risks to restore American leadership in the world (56%);
 - . a 20% cut in federal spending (47%);
 - . a balanced budget (44%);
 - . a 30% cut in federal taxes over a three year period (41%); and,
 - . strong opposition to abortion (41%).
- Jimmy Carter is believed to be the strongest in support of:
 - . an increase in gasoline taxes to encourage conservation (73%);

- . peacetime draft registration (59%); and,
- . the Equal Rights Amendment for women (45%).
- John Anderson is not perceived as the leader on any single issue. However, he does project an image resembling President Carter's stands on:
 - . a 20% cut in federal spending;
 - . taking some risks to restore American leadership in the world; and,
 - . the Equal Rights Amendment for women.
- Among those who think they know the ideological positions of the candidates, Reagan is widely perceived as the conservative (71%) and Anderson as the liberal (45%), while Carter is viewed in nearly equal proportions as conservative, moderate, and liberal. Carter is thus ensconced presently in the comfortable middle.

Ronald Reagan is perceived to be significantly more conservative than the average voter. Even so, he stands closest to the position of a plurality of voters on (a) taking some risks to restore American leadership; (b) opposition to abortion; (c) favoring a balanced budget; (d) favoring a 30% tax cut; and, (e) favoring a 20% cut in federal spending.

Feelings About the Candidates

The evaluation of a candidate as good or bad is the essential ingredient in the measurement of an attitude. Feelings about Reagan, Carter, and Anderson have been measured with a 100 point thermometer scale ranging from very cold feelings (0⁰) to very warm feelings (100⁰). The following observations are drawn from these evaluative data:

- Of the three candidates, the most favorable attitudes are measured for Ronald Reagan in the Decision/Making/Information June survey. Forty-eight percent of the voters express a warm feeling for the former

California governor (rate him 60 or above on the scale) while only 33% express cold feelings (the smallest negative of the three candidates).

- The warmest attitudes toward Reagan are expressed by self-identified conservative Republicans (76%), conservative white ticket splitters (66%) and moderate and liberal Republicans (60%).
- John Anderson is the least favorably rated candidate with a slightly larger expression of cold feelings than warm (42% cold to 36% warm) associated with his political image.
- Anderson's most favorable voter types are liberal white Democrats and moderate to liberal self-identified ticket splitters (41% warm and 47% warm, respectively). Interestingly, moderate and liberal Republicans do not differ significantly from conservative Republicans in their feelings toward Anderson.
- Despite dismal ratings on his performance as President, Jimmy Carter still enjoys a positive evaluation as a person (43% warm versus 35% cold).
- The President is still warmly regarded by conservative white Democrats (55%), the non-white voters (54%) and the traditional liberal white Democrats (52%). Conservative ticket splitters, while not enthusiastic in their expression of positive attitudes toward the President, nevertheless give Carter an average rating on the thermometer.

The evaluations of the three candidates follow partisan and ideological lines quite closely. Republicans like Reagan, tolerate Anderson and strongly dislike Carter. Democrats generate the reverse pattern with one exception--they are less tolerant of Anderson than Republicans. Anderson's warmest attitude ratings come from liberals, independents and ticket-splitters. It may be concluded that:

- Reagan must refrain (at least in the early campaign stages) from attacking Carter personally since the President's negative performance ratings have not yet been translated into negative attitudes towards his person.
- The fact that Republicans are more tolerant of Anderson than Democrats suggest that Republican Party attacks on Anderson have not changed the Republican identification accompanying Anderson's candidacy.

General Attributes and Characteristics

What people first think of and say when asked to respond with good or bad things about a politician, generally reflect the most salient aspects of political image. These publically perceived attributes and characteristics are slow to form and even more difficult to change. Hence, measureable image characteristics voiced voluntarily by the voters must be closely attended to by the campaign.

Reagan Strengths and Weaknesses

- Ronald Reagan's principal image strength stems from the perception of him as a doer--a strong decisive leader capable of taking charge, getting things done and solving America's economic problems.
- The image of Reagan the doer is strongest among Republicans, but Independents and Ticket-Splitters also share this perception.
- Notably absent from the volunteered positive responses to the Reagan image are mentions of "concern for people" or "able to solve America's social problems." At best this implies a neutral image on the social concern dimension of candidate perception. At worst it suggests a negative image of an unsympathetic candidate lacking in personal concern for the people's problems of welfare, aging, health care, etc.
- Reagan's principal negative image perceptions focus on (a) a simplistic and naive approach to the issues; (b) frequent misuse of information and the confusing use of facts; and (c) a rashness that could lead to disaster if he had control of the country.
- When asked what the country could expect if Ronald Reagan became our next President, positive expectations focus on Reagan's ability to cut government spending (17%), improve the economy (23%), and improve foreign relations (16%). Such positive expectations bode well for the coming election.
- Contrary to the views of many Washington experts, Reagan does not frighten the electorate. Few volunteer gloomy expectations of bad things to happen if he were

*crisp, short
answers*

President. A majority (52%) believe only good things will happen and cannot think of a negative response to this question. Two specific negative expectations do surface--

- . one voter in ten expects Reagan to create problems in foreign affairs;
- . one voter in ten expects his age to be a problem.
- No evidence can presently be found in the volunteered responses for a war hysteria response such as accompanied the Goldwater candidacy in 1964. Nevertheless, the concern about Reagan's foreign policy does surface and it is in this area that Carter runs comparatively well against Reagan.

The combination of high positive and low negative expectations for Reagan as President is a key finding of this study. Assuming the positive to negative ratio holds through October, Reagan can strongly and successfully challenge even a hard campaigning incumbent President.

Carter's Strengths and Weaknesses

Although President Carter's popularity rating (measured in terms of his job approval) has been in an overall downward trend, there is little or no change in the public's positive perceptions of his personal characteristics. These personal characteristics contributed significantly to his victory in 1976 and hence cannot be ignored. However, there have been sharp changes in the public's perception of Carter as President. People are more inclined now to have confidence in Carter, the man, and less in him as the President. Certainly the initial sense that Carter was a "new politician" with a fresh approach capable of resolving the country's problems has disappeared.

- Carter is perceived as a likeable person with strong moral and religious beliefs. He is viewed as honest, sincere and worthy of our trust.

- A plurality of voters believe he is a moderate, capable of restraint under pressure. The President also benefits from the perception of occupying the middle ground on an ideological continuum.
- "Carter cares" is a perception that extends to the poor white, the minority voter and others within the traditional Democratic coalition.
- The strongest negative perception of Carter tags him as an uncertain leader, incapable of clear policy for moving the country ahead.
- Additional negative perceptions focus on Carter's failure to inspire hope and confidence in the future, his lack of leadership skills and his failure to produce consistent policy on vital U.S. concerns leaving the impression that he is someone we can't be totally sure of.

If voters in November conform to the volunteered expectations for the performance of Jimmy Carter in a second term, a new national leader will be elected.

- Nearly 3 voters in 10 feel that "nothing good" will happen to this country if Carter is re-elected. An additional 16% of the voters can't think of a good thing to happen with his re-election.
- Most voters have come to expect "bad things" from their current President. Another four-year term is expected to produce: more failures in foreign policy (3 out of 10 voters); more failures to bring the economy under control (3 out of 10 voters); little change in government spending (4%); and no solution to the energy crisis (3%).
- This gloomy view of the future is expected to be presided over by a president (if it is Carter) who is: weak and indecisive (7%); not able to do a good job (5%); and unable to get along with Congress (3%).

Carter the President would appear to be "on the ropes" judging from the volunteered perceptions of those voters interviewed in recent surveys. Nevertheless, he still commands a respectable share of the popular vote. It does not appear at this point that Mr. Carter's lack of popularity as President has been translated into his unacceptability as a Presidential candidate.

Anderson Strengths and Weaknesses

Perceptual data on John Anderson is still rather weak in the sense that his national image has yet to come into clear focus. Presently he receives the benefit of the "if you can't say something nice..." bias discussed earlier in this section.

- Anderson is perceived to possess a straight forward, no nonsense delivery on the issues. This perception correlates highly with the emerging image of Anderson as a decisive, tough leader.
- On the negative side his no nonsense approach gets translated as abrasiveness, inflexibility and self-righteousness.

The critical question is whether or not Anderson's candidacy will wear well with voters. Close monitoring of the perceptions associated with John Anderson is clearly called for.

Candidate Comparisons on Key Attributes

Volunteered perceptions of the candidates strengths and weaknesses reveal the most salient aspects of political image. A more systematic approach to the assessment of political perception is frequently called for to separate the candidates on particular image characteristics and attributes. Such an approach is used here to highlight the current perceptual similarities and differences between Reagan, Carter and Anderson.

- Of the three candidates, Ronald Reagan is perceived to best match the following descriptions:
 - . offers best hope to reduce inflation;
 - . has the strong leadership qualities this country needs; and,
 - . would keep after a problem until he got results.

- Carter's principal strengths by way of comparison include:
 - . can be trusted not to start a nuclear war if he were President;
 - . will tell the truth even if it hurt him politically to do so;
 - . would bring honesty and moral leadership to government; and,
 - . takes the side of the average person against the big interests.
- On the negative side, President Carter is perceived to be the one candidate most closely matching the description, "very likely to make errors of judgment." Further, the President is perceived to be the worst match for:
 - . offers best hope to reduce inflation; and,
 - . has the strong leadership qualities this country needs.
- Reagan's negative perceptions are mirror images of Carter's strengths. Reagan is the worst match for:
 - . can be trusted not to start a nuclear war if he were President;
 - . would tell the truth even if it hurts him politically to do do; and,
 - . takes the side of the average person against the big interests.
- John Anderson is seldom selected as the best match for any of the descriptions tested. However, he is the second choice of a plurality of voters for nearly all positive descriptive statements. This indicates that Carter and Reagan provide perceptual anchors with Anderson benefiting from his poorly defined public image to occupy a "second best" middle ground position.

These observations suggest that the decision process leading to a final choice of a presidential candidate may hinge on a voter's preference for a bold, decisive (but perhaps risky) national leader capable of solving our economic problems over a safe, honest (but error prone) incumbent President who is concerned about the little guy.

SECTION VI
REAGAN BALLOT STRENGTH AND WIN CONSTITUENCIES

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REAGAN BALLOT STRENGTH AND WIN CONSTITUENCIES

A year ago when John Anderson was not running as an independent for the Presidency, Governor Reagan ran one percentage point ahead of Jimmy Carter (47% to 46%). But the Anderson factor forces all ballot strength considerations to be made in terms of a three-man race as long as Anderson remains viable.

- In March 1980, Reagan ran 7% ahead of Carter (43% to 36%), and 28% ahead of Anderson (43% to 15%).
- But three months later after Anderson's candidacy started to take shape, Reagan's lead was reduced to 16 points (36% to 20%), while the Governor's lead over Carter remained fairly stable (36% to 34%).

The single most important difference between the Decision/Making/Information surveys of March and June, 1980 is the emergence of the Anderson candidacy. The result is that the soft Reagan vote, which favored the Governor over Carter, and the soft Carter vote, which favored the President over Reagan, has departed to Anderson.

Among the critical political variables, Reagan's strength lies obviously among the conservatives. Reagan's strength over Carter is greater among conservatives, than Carter's over Reagan among liberals because of the Anderson factor. However, Carter maintains his strength among moderates.

- Anderson areas of support are among Independents and weakly affiliated partisans, Republicans and Democrats.
- Reagan holds onto a larger proportion of his Republican base than Carter does of his Democratic base.

- Reagan currently appeals to the largest proportion of Independents.
- Reagan loses less of his support to Anderson than does Carter; the difference in the rates of defection is 5 points.
- Anderson takes 41% of those undecided while 54% remain undecided whether it is a two-man or a three-man race.
- A large bloc of the voters are described as low turnout probability voters. Among them Reagan draws 31% against Carter's 37%.
- Reagan is strongest among those most likely to turnout.

The geopolitical factor was especially critical in the 1976 campaign when Carter was successful in putting together the traditional Democratic coalition of the "cities and the South."

- Of the four major regions of the country Reagan runs ahead in the Northeast and the West, even in the South, but behind in the Midwest.
- In the South where Reagan and Carter run a dead heat, Reagan loses the Outer South, but is ahead in the Deep South. This trend completely reverses the 1979 pattern.
- Anderson is strongest in the Mountain and Pacific states where he constitutes a greater threat to Reagan than to Carter.
- Carter's greatest strength is in the Outer South, and the Great Lakes regions.

Reagan's support among the different socio-economic subgroups is highest among the voters with some college, vocational training or college degree. The lower the level of education, the less likely he is to support Carter. Anderson is unquestionably drawing off a substantial number of the more educated voters from the Democratic ticket.

Reagan pulls ahead of Carter in all of the politically active age subgroups. Carter's two strongest age subgroups appear to be the very

young and the over 60 voters. Reagan's massive loss of support among those over 65 (15 points) should give us some cause for serious concern.

- Reagan's critical voter strength is among voters 35 to 54.
- Anderson's support is sporadic, but highest among the very young and 26% of the 40-44 year olds.
- There is virtually no difference between the sexes and their relative support for Reagan, Carter or Anderson. The rates of relative support are the same as the national averages.
- The labor union member vote is evenly divided among Reagan, Carter and Anderson. This distribution is indicative of the failure of the Carter administration to satisfy the rank and file union members.
- Reagan has a slight lead among the non-union members.

Unacceptability of the Candidates

The only clearly unacceptable presidential candidate at the moment is Senator Kennedy (53%). Governor Reagan, President Carter and Congressman Anderson are unacceptable to approximately 1 out of every five voters. Carter's unacceptability rate is greater than the Governor's (23% to 20%), and Anderson's rate is the lowest at 17%. Anderson's rate is undoubtedly lowest because he is currently the least well-known of the major candidates.

- Carter's level of unacceptability is fairly consistent across all sub-categories of ideology, but the Governor is largely unacceptable to the more liberal elements and largely acceptable to the conservative subgroups in the electorate.
- The proportion of Republicans who find Reagan unacceptable is smaller than the proportion of Democrats who find Carter unacceptable. There is, therefore, greater party dissatisfaction among Democrats with the President than among Republicans with Reagan.

- Of those who are voting for Anderson, 35% see Governor Reagan as unacceptable to them as President.

The rates of positive for either Reagan or Carter are approximately the same--28% "for" Reagan and 30% "for" Carter. Similarly, the rates of negative voting "against" the two principal candidates are about equal--19% "against" Reagan and 21% "against" Carter.

- The conservative vote is essentially a positive endorsement of Reagan with 40% of the conservatives voting "for" Reagan and 23% respectively voting "for" and "against" Carter.
- The moderate vote is a positive endorsement of Carter with 40% of the respondents voting "for" Carter and the remainder evenly distributed among the "for" and "against" Reagan and "against" Carter categories.
- The liberal vote represents a split between a positive endorsement of Carter and a negative endorsement of Reagan--31% and 30% respectively.
- The registered Republican's vote represents a 2:1 split (56% to 30%) between a positive vote "for" Reagan and a negative vote "against" Carter.
- The split among Democrats is less pronounced with 46% casting a positive vote "for" Carter and 26% voting "against" Reagan leaving larger proportions "for" Reagan and "against" Carter than among the Republicans.
- The Independent vote is fairly evenly distributed among all four categories providing little indication of the independent's motivations.

Reagan Win Constituencies

Using the results of the 1976 Ford campaign as a minimum basis for a winning coalition, some essential campaign objectives may be delineated. The primary sources of Republican support in the 1976 election included such traditional subgroups as the white, the better-educated, white-collar and professional people, and the politically-active middle-age subgroups. In addition to these

subgroups Ford was able to command an advantage in two of the four major regions of the country, the Midwest and the West. Reagan must do better than Ford to win in 1980 and must do so with the initial disadvantage of not having a substantial base of moderate support. From this brief analysis of the 1976 Republican support several points may be made about a winning constituency for Reagan.

- It is essential that Reagan not only retain his Republican base, but that he capture a substantial portion of the independent vote. The June 1980 Decision/Making/Information survey indicates that Reagan has strong support from Republican party affiliates as well as a sizeable though diminished lead among independents. Anderson may well prove a factor among the latter subgroup.
- It is equally essential that Reagan capture a large proportion of the moderate vote. Though he holds a strong lead among conservatives, Carter maintains an edge among the moderate populace.
- Among the various age subgroups those most likely to participate are middle-aged. Reagan will need strong support from these subgroups. The June survey indicates that Reagan holds a substantial lead over Carter among all the age groups from thirty-five to fifty-four, and a marginal lead among those slightly younger.
- Among the better-educated, generally a traditional source of Republican strength, Reagan maintains a 40% to 25% advantage over Carter. This is an essential constituency, and one which may be prone to shift to Anderson. Trends in the Decision/Making/Information surveys suggest that up to this point such shifts have been at the expense of Carter rather than Reagan.
- For the major national regions, Reagan holds a comfortable lead in two, and splits two with Carter. Reagan leads in the East and in the West though in the latter Reagan's strength is threatened by Anderson. Reagan leads in the Deep South and the Farm Belt while Carter controls the Other South and the Great Lakes region. A combination of winning the East and the West and splitting the South and Midwest could well produce the necessary winning constituency.
- Reagan has strong support among the upper income subgroups but runs even with Carter among the middle classes and

behind Carter among the lower income subgroups. Greater support from the middle-income populace is important. Furthermore the survey data show increased support for Anderson among the more wealthy, a possible threat to Reagan's strength.

See Tables 3-7 which follow.

Table 3
The Ballot by Selected Political Variables

	Reagan (%)	Carter (%)	Anderson (%)	Undecided (%)	N (%)
Aggregate	36	34	20	10	100
<u>Ideology</u>					
Very conservative	54	27	10	9	11
Somewhat conservative	50	28	15	8	36
Moderate	26	39	20	15	23
Somewhat liberal	20	39	31	10	25
Very liberal	19	36	31	13	6
<u>Registered Strength</u>					
Strong Republican	83	2	12	3	8
Weak Republican	62	15	17	6	14
Lean to Republican	57	12	25	6	8
Independent/No preference	33	23	29	14	19
Lean to Democratic	19	39	28	13	9
Weak Democratic	24	42	20	14	25
Strong Democratic	10	71	11	8	17
<u>Registration</u>					
Republican	53	10	15	5	22
Democrat	18	70	16	12	42
Independent/Other	35	25	28	12	36
<u>Turnout Probability</u>					
High	46	25	23	6	14
Average	41	30	20	9	24
Low	31	37	20	12	62
<u>Campaign Interest</u>					
High	45	29	18	7	23
Moderate	35	36	20	9	29
Low	32	34	21	12	48
<u>2-way Ballot/Uninformed</u>					
Reagan	80	1	15	4	44
Carter	1	74	20	5	44
Undecided	2	3	41	54	12

Table 4
The Ballot by Regions

	Reagan (%)	Carter (%)	Anderson (%)	Undecided (%)	N (%)
Aggregate	36	34	20	10	100
<u>Geographic Region</u>					
Northeast	35	29	22	14	30
Midwest	33	39	20	8	30
West	38	27	29	6	18
South	39	39	11	12	22
<u>Geopolitical Area</u>					
New England	40	30	19	11	7
Middle Atlantic	34	29	23	15	23
Great Lakes	31	40	22	7	25
Farm Belt	40	35	12	13	5
Mountain	43	24	29	4	5
Pacific	37	28	29	6	13
Other South	34	41	12	13	15
Deep South	48	35	8	9	7
<u>Geopolitical Region</u>					
Northeast	36	30	22	13	15
Industrial	35	32	21	12	25
Midlands	29	41	21	9	19
Heartland	45	25	25	5	7
Pacific	37	28	29	6	13
Other South	33	41	13	13	11
Deep South	44	37	8	11	10

Table 5
The Ballot by Selected Demographics

	<u>Reagan</u> (%)	<u>Carter</u> (%)	<u>Anderson</u> (%)	<u>Undecided</u> (%)	<u>N</u> (%)
Aggregate	36	34	20	10	100
<u>Age</u>					
17 - 20	24	35	40	2	4
20 - 24	34	36	23	6	6
25 - 29	24	39	28	8	13
30 - 34	32	30	24	14	12
35 - 39	42	26	19	13	9
40 - 44	44	20	26	1	8
45 - 49	51	26	15	8	6
50 - 54	40	31	18	11	8
55 - 59	29	32	25	14	7
60 - 64	39	41	9	11	8
65 and over	36	42	12	10	18
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	37	32	21	10	50
Female	35	35	20	10	50
<u>Self: Labor Union</u>					
yes	29	32	28	10	14
No	37	34	19	10	86
<u>Family: Labor Union</u>					
Yes	30	36	24	10	29
No	38	33	19	10	71

Table 6
The Ballot by Education and Income

	<u>Reagan</u> (%)	<u>Carter</u> (%)	<u>Anderson</u> (%)	<u>Undecided</u> (%)	<u>N</u> (%)
Aggregate	36	34	20	10	100
<u>Education</u>					
Some high school or less	34	45	9	12	21
High school graduate	33	38	18	11	32
Some college/Vocational	41	24	26	10	25
College graduate	40	25	26	9	14
Post-graduate	30	33	33	5	8
<u>Income</u>					
Under \$ 5,000	31	42	14	13	8
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	28	49	13	10	14
\$10,000 - \$14,999	32	39	20	9	15
\$15,000 - \$19,999	36	36	19	9	16
\$20,000 - \$29,999	39	26	25	11	23
\$30,000 - \$39,999	45	25	24	6	9
\$40,000 or more	48	13	28	11	7
Refused	30	33	21	16	7

Table 7
Ballot by Constituencies

=====				
	PARTY			
	<u>Reagan</u> (%)	<u>Carter</u> (%)	<u>Anderson</u> (%)	<u>Undecided</u> (%)
<u>Strong Republican</u>				
Size of group:	8%			
Turnout probability:	88%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	85	5	9	1
June, 1980	83	2	12	3
Percentage point change	-2	-3	+3	+2
<u>Weak Republican</u>				
Size of group:	14%			
Turnout probability:	82%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	60	26	10	4
June, 1980	62	15	17	6
Percentage point change	+2	-11	+7	+2
<u>Lean Toward Republican</u>				
Size of group:	8%			
Turnout probability:	80%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	63%	15%	17%	5%
June, 1980	57%	12%	25%	6%
Percentage point change	-6	-3	+8	+1
<u>Independent</u>				
Size of group:	19%			
Turnout Probability:	68%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	46	28	16	10
June, 1980	33	23	29	14
Percentage point change	-13	-5	+13	+4
<u>Lean Toward Democrat</u>				
Size of group:	9%			
Turnout probability:	72%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	23	48	21	8
June, 1980	19	39	28	13
Percentage point change	-4	-9	+7	+5

Table 7 (Continued)
Ballot by Constituencies

=====				
PARTY (Continued)				
	Reagan (%)	Carter (%)	Anderson (%)	Undecided (%)
<u>Weak Democrat</u>				
Size of group:	25%			
Turnout probability:	72%			
<u>D/M/I Survey</u>				
March, 1980	34	41	19	6
June, 1980	24	42	20	14
Percentage point change	-10	+1	+1	+8
<u>Strong Democrat</u>				
Size of group:	17%			
Turnout probability:	81%			
<u>D/M/I Survey</u>				
March, 1980	15	67	13	5
June, 1980	10	71	11	8
Percentage point change	-5	+4	-2	+3
IDEOLOGY				
<u>Very Conservative</u>				
Size of group:	11%			
Turnout probability:	86%			
<u>D/M/I Survey</u>				
March, 1980	60	26	9	5
June, 1980	54	27	10	9
Percentage point change	-6	+1	+1	+4
<u>Somewhat Conservative</u>				
Size of group:	36%			
Turnout probability:	82%			
<u>D/M/I Survey</u>				
March, 1980	50	35	11	5
June, 1980	50	28	15	8
Percentage point change	0	-7	+4	+3
<u>Moderate</u>				
Size of group:	23%			
Turnout probability:	76%			
<u>D/M/I Survey</u>				
March, 1980	38	36	18	8
June, 1980	26	39	20	15
Percentage point change	-12	+3	+2	+7

Table 7 (Continued)
Ballot by Constituencies

=====				
IDEOLOGY (Continued)				
	Reagan (%)	Carter (%)	Anderson (%)	Undecided (%)
<u>Liberal</u>				
Size of group:	31%			
Turnout probability:	82%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	24	47	23	6
June, 1980	20	38	31	12
Percentage point change	-4	-9	+8	+6
AGE				
<u>17 - 20 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	4%			
Turnout probability:	18%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	33	50	15	2
June, 1980	24	35	40	2
Percentage point change	-9	-15	+25	0
<u>21 - 24 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	6%			
Turnout probability:	26%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	29	52	12	6
June, 1980	34	36	23	6
Percentage point change	+5	-16	-11	0
<u>25 - 29 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	13%			
Turnout probability:	34%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	37	32	24	6
June, 1980	24	39	28	8
Percentage point change	-13	+7	+4	+2
<u>30 - 34 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	12%			
Turnout probability:	43%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	32	43	18	7
June, 1980	32	30	24	14
Percentage point change	0	-13	+6	+7

Table 7 (Continued)
Ballot by Constituencies

=====				
AGE (Continued)				
	Reagan (%)	Carter (%)	Anderson (%)	Undecided (%)
<u>35 - 39 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	9%			
Turnout probability:	49%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	39	37	20	4
June, 1980	42	26	19	13
Percentage point change	+3	-11	-1	+9
<u>40 - 44 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	8%			
Turnout probability:	51%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	52	29	15	4
June, 1980	44	20	26	10
Percentage point change	-8	-9	+11	+6
<u>45 - 49 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	6%			
Turnout probability:	55%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	55	28	11	6
June, 1980	51	26	15	8
Percentage point change	-4	-2	+4	+2
<u>50 - 54 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	8%			
Turnout probability:	58%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	50	31	14	6
June, 1980	40	31	18	11
Percentage point change	-10	0	+4	+5
<u>55 - 59 Years of Age</u>				
Size of group:	7%			
Turnout probability:	61%			
D/M/I Survey				
March, 1980	44	37	11	8
June, 1980	29	32	25	14
Percentage point change	-15	-5	+14	+6