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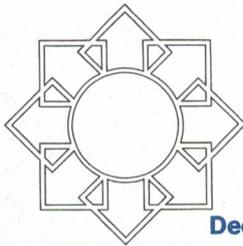
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**TO:** Paul Laxalt  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf

**FROM:** Richard B. Wirthlin

**DATE:** July 11, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

**SUBJECT:** Economic Expectations

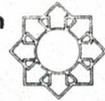
Perceptions of the economy's past performance continue to improve, while anticipation for the future took a slight downward turn in June. In general, the numbers remained fairly stable in June, with only slight changes in sentiments about the various economic winds affecting the respondents lives.

In particular, Americans overwhelmingly feel that, when choosing between inflation and unemployment, unemployment is perceived as the greater national menace; however, when asked which of the two was a bigger problem for the family, they reversed their previous sentiments and suggest inflation as more detrimental to themselves and their families. This split greatly helped the Thatcher campaign in England last month.

Current responses are:

Compared to a year ago, do you think \_\_\_\_\_ (has/have)  
gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed the same?

	<u>Gotten Better</u>	<u>Gotten Worse</u>	<u>Stayed The Same</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
The national economy	45%	25%	29%	1%
Inflation	40	32	27	1
Unemployment	28	47	24	1
Interest rates	63	20	14	3



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Thinking about a year from now, do you think \_\_\_\_\_ will get better, get worse or stay about the same as (it is/they are) now?

	<u>Get Better</u>	<u>Get Worse</u>	<u>Stay The Same</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
The national economy	52%	14%	31%	3%
Inflation	38	27	32	3
Unemployment	54	19	25	2
Interest rates	39	22	35	4

### The National Economy

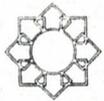
Opinions about the economy's past performance continue rising, with 45% of the public thinking that the economy has gotten better (up one percent) and 25% feeling that it has gotten worse (down 3%). Since January of 1983, perceptions of improvement under Reagan have risen from a low 19% -- an increase of 26%, or just over a quarter of the electorate have become more optimistic about the performance of the economy. On the other hand, expectations slipped slightly in June to the levels expressed in early April. Starting in March, a majority of the people -- between 52% and 56% -- have felt that the economy will continue to recover; another one-third feel that it will stay about the same, and a relatively small group (14%) actually feel that things will get worse.

Among key groups, the signals are somewhat mixed. Those most optimistic about the past and future performance of the economy tend to be more upscale -- higher-income voters -- base Republicans and senior citizens. Blue-collar workers, independents, and even small business owners express lower overall optimism about the economy. Women tend to be much more negative than men about past performance and more status quo oriented towards the future. In both cases, the gap ranges from 11% to 17%.

Whereas most of the key groups expressed greater increases in the previous performance of the economy, Farm Belt State residents are more critical of past performance, but 54% (up 4 percentage points) feel that the economy will "get better" in the future.

### Inflation

Only 38% (down 4%) of the nation feels that inflation will get better in the next year. Another one-third think that it will remain about the same, and 27% think that it is going to get worse.



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After climbing to 46% of the populace in March, optimism has gradually declined to the current 38%. Perceptions of the past year have remained fairly stable over the past few months -- around 40% "gotten better". Essentially, both past and future perceptions continue to run parallel to each other.

There appears to be a degree of uncertainty as to what exactly has been done to reduce inflation and how the inflation will change over the coming year.

Among target groups, opinions remain basically unchanged, with the exception of senior citizens, who increased from 36% to 43% on "gotten better", and from 36% to 46% on "get better" in the future.

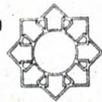
#### Unemployment

Although the unemployment rate has continued to drop, evaluation of the unemployment remains -- albeit improved -- fairly negative. From a low of 4% in January, the percent of the country who feel that unemployment has "gotten better" has risen to 28% (up 1 percentage point in June). Conversely, expectations remain very high, with 54% of the nation suggesting that they think unemployment will "get better". This is a slight drop-off from the May figures, but has nonetheless remained fairly stable between 51% and 58% since January. Just under one out of five (19%) Americans think that the unemployment situation will deteriorate, with the remaining one-quarter (25%) expecting more of the same.

The most optimistic groups are base Republicans, Farm Belt State residents, the more affluent, and men. Farm Belt residents exhibit a large gain in their evaluation of unemployment now compared with a year ago -- 28% "gotten better" in May, 46% now. Senior citizens, as with the other economic measures, are suggesting greater confidence in the economic recovery (44% "get better" in May compared with 65% in June). Far less enthusiasm, however, is found among blue-collar occupations, where expectations for future unemployment reductions dropped 11 percentage points to 47%. Women continue to lag behind men with about a ten percent difference between themselves and men -- women exhibiting higher negativism in general.

#### Interest Rates

Of the four components of the national economy, American's are most sanguine in key economic evaluation of interest rates over the last year, and not without justification. However, their expectations



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may be moderated by the concern that budget deficits will compete with the private sector, putting pressure on the amount of available money and force up interest rates. As a result, a shrinking 39% (down from 45% in January) think that interest rates will continue to decline; another 35% think that they will remain where they currently are (consistent over the past six months), while 22% (up 1 percentage point) think that they will increase.

The June results are nearly identical to those obtained in May.

Again, the gap between men and women remains about 10%, with women one of the few groups to increase in pessimism since June. Key coalitions exhibiting the greatest gain in enthusiasm are Farm Belt State residents (up 13% on "gotten better", and 7% on "get better" in the next year). Independents are more uncertain, with an increase of 9% to 39% "stay the same".

The greatest increase in skepticism is expressed by white Baptists -- from 15% to 25% "get worse".

#### More Serious Problem: Rising Prices or Unemployment

Personally, people are more afraid of inflation; as a nation, they are more concerned about unemployment.

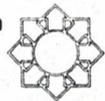
Which do you think is a more serious economic problem  
 \_\_\_\_\_ -- rising prices or high unemployment?

	<u>Rising Prices</u>	<u>High Unemply</u>	<u>Equally Serious (VIntd)</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
For the country	25%	67%	7%	1%
For you and your family	56	28	5	1

The same question was also asked in the United Kingdom with very similar results: 30% felt that inflation was the biggest national threat, 61% mentioned unemployment; for the family, 56% said inflation, with 36% suggesting that unemployment was the more important problem.

#### For the Country

Over two-thirds of the sample pick unemployment as the more serious problem facing the nation. This pattern varies little among the

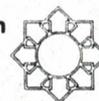


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key target subgroups. Farm Belt State residents are particularly intense in picking unemployment (76%), while senior citizens (40%) and white Baptists (33%) are slightly more likely to pick rising prices than are the other groups -- not surprising with many senior citizens on fixed incomes. The question does not tend to polarize: postgraduates and those with less than a high school education are equally as likely to pick rising prices; the same is true for various income levels. The gap between men and women, though still present, is not as sharp -- about 5%.

#### For You and Your Family

Opinions are quite different when they are considering themselves and families. There are few cases of extreme variance from the mainstream sentiments. Senior citizens and retired Americans are the most likely to choose inflation; conversely, voters 18 to 24 -- those just getting started in the job market -- and minorities are the most likely to suggest that unemployment is more of a concern. Unlike sentiments about which of the two is more important to the nation, the question of unemployment versus inflation tends to split more along socioeconomic lines, as well as ideology and party affiliation. However, without exception, a majority of all demographic subgroups think that inflation is more of a problem for themselves and their families.

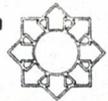


## Status of the National Economy

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"Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? Thinking about a year from now, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?"

	<u>Feb</u> <u>13-14</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>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>					
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>											
Gotten better	11	12	20	*	19	39					
Gotten worse	56	51	51	*	54	30					
Stayed the same	31	33	28	*	26	30					
No opinion	2	4	1	*	1	1					
<u>Now/Future</u>											
Get better	48	43	46	*	47	56					
Get worse	25	20	22	*	20	15					
Stay the same	23	34	29	*	31	26					
No opinion	4	3	3	*	2	3					
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	<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>							
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>											
Gotten better	39	*	44	45							
Gotten worse	32	*	28	25							
Stayed the same	28	*	27	29							
No opinion	1	*	1	1							
<u>Now/Future</u>											
Get better	53	*	56	52							
Get worse	13	*	14	14							
Stay the same	31	*	28	31							
No opinion	3	*	2	3							



## The National Economy

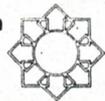
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"Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?"

	<u>Gotten Better</u> (%)	<u>Gotten Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stayed the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	45	25	29
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	69	9	21
Small Business	46	25	28
Farm Belt states	41	16	42
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	41	27	31
Senior citizens	47	26	27
Women	37	30	32
Catholics	43	26	30
Independents/Leaners	48	24	26
White Baptists	47	21	31

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

	<u>Get Better</u> (%)	<u>Get Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stay the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	52	14	31
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	72	4	20
Small Business	53	16	28
Farm Belt states	54	11	34
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	47	17	34
Senior citizens	60	13	23
Women	47	16	35
Catholics	49	13	33
Independents/Leaners	49	16	32
White Baptists	57	15	27

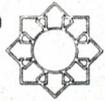


## Status of Inflation

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"Compared to a year ago, do you think inflation has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? Thinking about a year from now, do you think inflation will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?"

	<u>Feb</u> 13-14 1982	<u>June</u> 15-22 1982	<u>Aug</u> 25-29 1982	<u>Jan</u> 7-10 1983	<u>Jan</u> 27-29 1983	<u>Mar</u> 17-21 1983
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>						
Gotten better	23	26	29	*	33	43
Gotten worse	50	42	43	*	42	26
Stayed the same	26	31	28	*	24	30
No opinion	1	1	0	*	1	1
<u>Now/Future</u>						
Get better	36	45	39	*	35	46
Get worse	31	21	25	*	25	18
Stay the same	29	31	34	*	37	34
No opinion	4	3	2	*	2	2
	<u>Apr</u> 7-10 1983	<u>Apr</u> 27-28 1983	<u>May</u> 27-30 1983	<u>Jun</u> 25-27 1983		
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>						
Gotten better	41	*	41	40		
Gotten worse	30	*	34	32		
Stayed the same	29	*	24	27		
No opinion	0	*	1	1		
<u>Now/Future</u>						
Get better	41	*	42	38		
Get worse	22	*	22	27		
Stay the same	35	*	34	32		
No opinion	2	*	2	3		



## Inflation

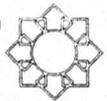
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"Compared to a year ago, do you think inflation has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?"

	<u>Gotten Better</u> (%)	<u>Gotten Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stayed the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	40	32	27
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	60	16	23
Small Business	43	33	23
Farm Belt states	42	24	34
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	35	38	27
Senior citizens	43	29	29
Women	32	36	32
Catholics	39	33	28
Independents/Leaners	44	30	25
White Baptists	41	31	28

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

	<u>Get Better</u> (%)	<u>Get Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stay the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	38	27	32
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	47	17	35
Small Business	36	29	32
Farm Belt states	39	35	24
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	32	28	38
Senior citizens	46	21	30
Women	39	28	30
Catholics	38	27	34
Independents/Leaners	36	29	33
White Baptists	45	26	27



## Status of Unemployment

-----

"Compared to a year ago, do you think unemployment has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? Thinking about a year from now, do you think unemployment will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?"

	<u>Feb</u> <u>13-14</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>25-29</u> <u>1982</u>	<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>Year Ago/Now</u>						
Gotten better	4	4	4	*	4	17
Gotten worse	80	83	82	*	86	61
Stayed the same	14	12	13	*	9	21
No opinion	2	1	1	*	1	1
<u>Now/Future</u>						
Get better	40	43	44	*	51	58
Get worse	35	30	29	*	24	16
Stay the same	21	24	26	*	23	24
No opinion	4	2	1	*	2	2

	<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>
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>				
Gotten better	18	*	27	28
Gotten worse	57	*	48	47
Stayed the same	24	*	24	24
No opinion	1	*	1	1
<u>Now/Future</u>				
Get better	57	*	57	54
Get worse	18	*	16	19
Stay the same	23	*	25	25
No opinion	2	*	2	2



## Unemployment

=====

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

	<u>Gotten Better</u> (%)	<u>Gotten Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stayed the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	28	47	25
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	45	26	27
Small Business	34	47	18
Farm Belt states	46	37	17
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	26	49	25
Senior citizens	30	41	28
Women	24	52	24
Catholics	25	51	24
Independents/Leaners	29	46	25
White Baptists	33	41	26

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

	<u>Get Better</u> (%)	<u>Get Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stay the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	54	19	25
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	70	8	21
Small Business	55	22	21
Farm Belt states	59	19	21
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	47	20	31
Senior citizens	65	14	20
Women	50	22	26
Catholics	52	22	24
Independents/Leaners	51	21	26
White Baptists	57	17	24



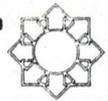
## Status of Interest Rates

=====

"Compared to a year ago, do you think the interest rates have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? Thinking about a year from now, do you think the interest rates will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?"

	<u>Feb</u> <u>25-6</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>25-29</u> <u>1982</u>	<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>Year Ago/Now</u>						
Gotten better	17	19	51	*	60	65
Gotten worse	51	37	29	*	24	17
Stayed the same	29	42	18	*	14	14
No opinion	3	2	2	*	2	4
<u>Now/Future</u>						
Get better	41	45	49	*	43	45
Get worse	22	18	17	*	19	16
Stay the same	34	34	31	*	34	36
No opinion	3	3	3	*	3	3

	<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>
<u>Year Ago/Now</u>				
Gotten better	66	*	64	63
Gotten worse	20	*	21	20
Stayed the same	11	*	14	14
No opinion	3	*	1	3
<u>Now/Future</u>				
Get better	44	*	40	39
Get worse	19	*	21	22
Stay the same	34	*	35	35
No opinion	3	*	4	4



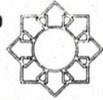
## Interest Rates

=====  
 "Compared to a year ago, do you think interest rates have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?"

	<u>Gotten Better</u> (%)	<u>Gotten Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stayed the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	63	20	14
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	79	12	8
Small Business	68	17	13
Farm Belt states	72	12	12
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	64	20	15
Senior citizens	56	16	19
Women	57	22	16
Catholics	64	23	11
Independents/Leaners	65	18	15
White Baptists	57	23	18

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

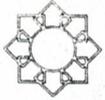
	<u>Get Better</u> (%)	<u>Get Worse</u> (%)	<u>Stay the Same</u> (%)
Aggregate	39	22	35
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	49	13	35
Small Business	34	25	38
Farm Belt states	45	20	32
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	35	26	36
Senior citizens	45	11	33
Women	39	20	35
Catholics	41	19	36
Independents/Leaners	31	26	39
White Baptists	42	25	28



More Serious Problem for the Country:  
Inflation or Unemployment

=====  
 "If you had to choose, which do you think is a more serious economic problem  
 for the country -- rising prices ... or ... high unemployment?"

	<u>Rising Prices</u> (%)	<u>High Unemployment</u> (%)	<u>Equally Serious (Vol.)</u> (%)
Aggregate	25	67	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	31	62	6
Small business	25	67	7
Farm Belt states	19	76	5
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	22	71	6
Senior citizens	40	53	6
Women	23	69	8
Catholics	23	66	10
Independents/Leaners	25	65	9
White Baptists	33	61	7

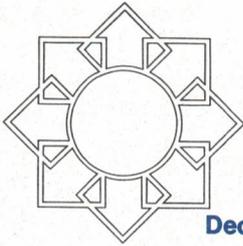


More Serious Problem Facing the Family:  
Inflation or Unemployment

=====

"If you had to choose, which do you think is a more serious economic problem for you and your family life -- rising prices ... or ... high unemployment?"

	<u>Rising Prices</u> (%)	<u>High Unemployment</u> (%)	<u>Equally Serious (Vol.)</u> (%)
Aggregate	66	28	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	74	23	1
Small business	56	27	5
Farm Belt states	72	24	3
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	65	30	4
Senior citizens	74	14	7
Women	64	29	6
Catholics	66	27	5
Independents/Leaners	56	28	5
White Baptists	71	25	3



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

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 8, 1983: Reported orally June 28, 1983  
(RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

SUBJECT: Tax Cap

Nearly five out of ten Americans (48%) oppose Congress' proposed \$700 tax cap on a personal income tax refund. Respondents were asked whether they favor or oppose the following statement:

This July Americans will get a tax cut. Some people believe that no one should get a tax refund that's greater than \$700; others disagree. How about you, do you favor or oppose a tax cap on personal income tax refunds?

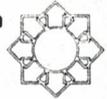
Favor	45%
Oppose	48
No opinion	7

(IF "OPPOSED," ASK:)

Suppose you heard that a family of four with an income of \$100,000 a year would receive \$2,384 a year in tax cuts, while a family of four earning \$30,000 a year would receive a cut of \$325. Would you still oppose or would you favor putting a cap on tax refunds?

Still oppose	61%
Favor	33
Don't know	6

Thus while slightly more Americans are opposed to the cap, that slim margin is swamped by the argument made by the Democrats.



Tax Cap  
July 8, 1983  
Page Two

Not surprisingly, highest opposition is generated from upper-income respondents (56%). Conversely, subgroups having a majority favoring the tax cap include blacks (56%) and Democrats (51%).

Even after actual dollar amounts were explained to those who oppose the tax cap, nearly two-thirds say they still oppose it while 33% changed their answer to favor and 6% don't know.

Interestingly, men are more likely to continue to oppose the cap (67%) than women (57%). Other subgroup differences emerge among non-union members (65%) versus union members (51%), suburban residents (70%) versus rural residents (52%), and high income (72%) versus low income (59%).

#### What is a Middle-Class Income?

In order to determine which income level the phrase "middle class" encompasses respondents were asked:

Now, just your best guess, how much money do you think the average middle-class American family earns in a year?

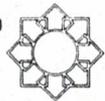
Under \$4,999	1%
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	4
\$10,000 - \$14,999	9
\$15,000 - \$19,999	16
\$20,000 - \$29,999	36
\$30,000 - \$39,999	24
\$40,000 - \$49,999	6
\$50,000 - \$54,999	2
\$55,000 or more	2

One out of two respondents answered that middle class is between \$15,000 and \$30,000 a year, while another fourth said \$30,000-\$40,000. Only 14% answered less than \$5,000 and 10% said over \$40,000.

Upper-income and better-educated respondents are directionally more likely to say a higher income bracket while the less-educated and lower-income respondents tend to report a lower income bracket for the middle class.

#### Tax Cap Drawn Middle-Class: Tax Payers

Interestingly, even though respondents believe that the middle class is somewhere below \$30,000, a level which would not even be



Tax Cap  
July 8, 1983  
Page Three

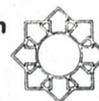
affected by a \$700 tax cap, they overwhelmingly agree with a statement President Reagan made about the tax cap and the middle class. Specifically, respondents were asked:

Now I'm going to read you a list of statements that other people have made. Each statement represents a commonly-held opinion, and there are no right or wrong answers. You will probably disagree with some items and agree with others. Would you please tell me, for each statement, whether you agree or disagree. Capping the third year of the tax cut won't soak the rich, but it will drown millions of taxpayers in the middle class.

Agree	65%
Disagree	27
No opinion	8

Two-thirds agreed with the President on this statement while slightly more than one-fourth (27%) agreed and 8% had no opinion.

Highest agreement can be found among blacks (86%), Democrats (77%), non-married women (76%), lower-income respondents (71%) and liberals (72%). Respondents with advanced degrees are the only subgroup having more members disagreeing with this statement than agreeing.

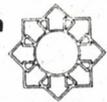


## The Tax Cap: Favor or Oppose

=====

"This July Americans will get a tax cut. Some people believe that no one should get a tax refund that's greater than \$700; others disagree. How about you, do you favor or oppose a tax cap on personal income tax?"

	<u>Favor</u> (%)	<u>Oppose</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	45	49	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	43	52	5
Small business	42	52	5
Farm Belt states	41	53	7
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	44	52	4
Senior citizens	49	40	11
Women	43	48	9
Catholics	45	49	6
Independents/Leaners	39	53	7
White Baptists	42	50	9

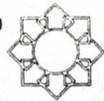


## The Tax Cap: Favor or Oppose/Push

=====

"Suppose you heard that a family of four with an income of \$100,000 a year would receive a \$2,384 a year in tax cuts, while a family of four earning \$30,000 a year would receive a cut of \$325. Would you still oppose or would you favor putting a cap on tax refunds?"

	<u>Yes/ Still Oppose</u> (%)	<u>No/ Now Favor</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	62	33	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	67	26	7
Small business	58	37	5
Farm Belt states	54	43	3
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	58	36	6
Senior citizens	54	32	14
Women	57	37	7
Catholics	59	39	2
Independents/Leaners	63	32	5
White Baptists	69	27	3



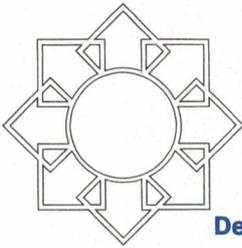
## The Tax Cap: Drown the Middle Class

=====

Now I'm going to read you a list of statements that other people have made. Each statement represents a commonly-held opinion, and there are no right or wrong answers. You will probably disagree with some items and agree with others. Would you please tell me, for each statement, whether you ... agree ... or ... disagree?

"Capping the third year of the tax cut won't soak the rich, but it will drown millions of taxpayers in the middle class."

	<u>Agree</u> (%)	<u>Disagree</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	65	27	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	47	43	10
Small business	66	29	5
Farm Belt states	70	21	9
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	70	25	5
Senior citizens	56	30	14
Women	71	20	9
Catholics	69	26	5
Independents/Leaners	65	25	10
White Baptists	69	24	7



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

**FROM:** Richard B. Wirthlin

**DATE:** July 8, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

**SUBJECT:** Nuclear Arms Control

American attitudes are fairly evenly split on President Reagan's nuclear arms control job rating. Currently, five out of ten (49%) Americans approve of Reagan's treatment of arms control, four in ten (43%) disapprove and 8% have no opinion.

A significant gender gap emerges on the issue of arms control with 59% of the men surveyed approving of Reagan and only 40% of the women approving. Marital status also seems to be a factor in perceptions of arms control. Married men give the highest approval scores (64%) while non-married women give the lowest (37%).

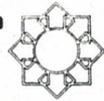
Other demographic differences exist along partisan lines. As is to be expected, base Republicans give high support (69%) while Democrats and liberals give low support (36%/37%). Blacks and residents of New England also give low approval ratings (24%/33%).

In order to test whether Americans correctly understand President Reagan's position on arms control, respondents were asked the following question:

From what you've heard and read, which of the following two positions best describes the way Ronald Reagan feels about nuclear weapons?

POSITION A

Ronald Reagan believes that we must build as many nuclear weapons as quickly as we can so that we won't be pushed around by the Russians any more.



Nuclear Arms Control  
July 8, 1983  
Page Two

POSITION B

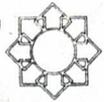
Ronald Reagan believes that once the Soviets and the United States have about the same strength in nuclear weapons then nuclear weapons must be reduced dramatically to assure lasting peace and security.

Position A	39%
Position B	56
Neither/No opinion	5

Most Americans (56%) believe that Reagan will reduce the number of United States nuclear weapons once it has reached the same level as the Soviet Union. Four in ten (39%) continue to believe that Reagan is quickly building up the level of nuclear weapons to provide leverage for the U.S. and 5% have no opinion.

These figures are similar to those given in the beginning of the year. In March and April, however, responses on this question were reversed. At that time more people believed that President Reagan was trying to increase the level of nuclear weapons in order to keep the Russians from pushing the United States around.

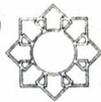
As with the job rating, male and female subgroups have divergent opinions on President Reagan's position on nuclear arms control. Males are much more likely to say Position B (62%) than females (50%). Base Republicans (63%) are also more likely to say Position B than Democrats (50%).



## Reagan Job Rating: Arms Control

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

	<u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	49	43	8
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	69	25	6
Small business	56	27	7
Farm Belt states	45	49	7
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	53	40	7
Senior citizens	48	39	13
Women	40	48	11
Catholics	45	49	6
Independents/Leaners	49	42	8
White Baptists	52	39	9



## Reagan on Nuclear Arms

=====

"From what you've heard and read, which of the following two positions best describes the way Ronald Reagan feels about nuclear weapons?"

### POSITION A

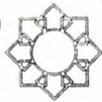
Ronald Reagan believes that we must build as many nuclear weapons as quickly as we can so that we won't be pushed around by the Russians any more.

### POSITION B

Ronald Reagan believes that once the Soviets and the United States have about the same strength in nuclear weapons then nuclear weapons must be reduced dramatically to assure lasting peace and security.

	<u>Nov</u> 23-24 1982	<u>Jan</u> 7-10 1983	<u>Jan</u> 27-29 1983	<u>Mar</u> 17-21 1983	<u>Apr</u> 7-10 1983	<u>Apr</u> 27-28 1983
Position A	39	*	35	56	54	*
Position B	51	*	58	36	40	*
Neither	2	*	3	3	2	*
No opinion	8	*	4	5	4	*

	<u>May</u> 27-30 1983	<u>Jun</u> 25-27 1983
Position A	*	39
Position B	*	56
Neither	*	3
No opinion	*	2



## Position on Nuclear Weapons: Reagan

=====

"Now, from what you've heard and read, which of these two positions best describes the way Ronald Reagan feels about nuclear weapons?"

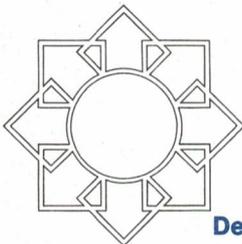
### POSITION A

Ronald Reagan believes that we must build as many nuclear weapons as quickly as we can so that we won't be pushed around by the Russians any more.

### POSITION B

Ronald Reagan believes that once the Soviets and the United States have about the same strength in nuclear weapons then nuclear weapons must be reduced dramatically to assure lasting peace and security.

	<u>Position A</u> (%)	<u>Position B</u> (%)	<u>Neither/ No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	39	56	5
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>			
Base Republican	33	63	4
Small Business	34	62	3
Farm Belt states	39	54	7
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>			
Blue-collar workers	36	61	3
Senior citizens	32	56	12
Women	43	50	7
Catholics	41	55	4
Independents/Leaners	39	55	6
White Baptists	37	57	6



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**TO:** Paul Laxalt  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf

**FROM:** Richard B. Wirthlin

**DATE:** July 8, 1983 (RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983)

**SUBJECT:** Presidential Performance

The President's general job approval rating remained consistent with the ratings of June; our reading note only a slight 2% drop in overall approval (53% approve/41% disapprove).

Specific ratings on the economy, unemployment, social security, and inflation show marginal improvement, with the biggest upswing coming in the assessment of Reagan's handling of foreign policy (6% improvement since May).

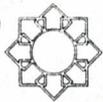
Respondent's were asked:

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

	<u>Strng</u> <u>Apprv</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Apprv</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disap</u>	<u>Smwht</u> <u>Disap</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opin</u>
His job as President	23%	30%	18%	23%	6%
The economy	24	28	20	27	1
Foreign affairs	17	36	19	21	7
Unemployment	13	23	19	43	2
Inflation	27	26	16	29	2
Social security	16	25	18	37	4

### General

Since March of this year, Reagan's job approval has hovered between 50% and 55%. After a rather sharp collapse in late summer and fall, the President's rating went against historical standards for the third year, first term and picked up ten points. Now his current job rating is nearly identical to what it was at this same time last year.



Presidential Performance  
July 8, 1983  
Page Two

As has been the case in previous months, Reagan retains high job approval ratings from his base support groups: Republicans (88%), upper-income voters (75%) and conservatives (62%). His approval rating has dropped among voters 45 to 64, but among senior citizens his approval rating rose to 60%. Geographically, his support remains strong in the Mountain States (61% approve) and has improved in the Farm Belt region (56% approve).

Not surprisingly, his lowest job approval is found among the same groups as in previous months, with blacks expressing the highest disapproval (78%), followed by Democrats, the lesser educated, self-identified liberals, lower-income voters and union members. Blue-collar workers, in general, approve of the job Reagan is doing (55%), but specifically, among blue-collar workers who are also union members, his approval rating drops to 45% approve.

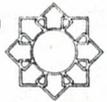
The gender gap is particularly evident between married men (64% approve) and nonmarried women (44% approve) -- a 20-percentage point difference. In general, males give the President a 61% approval rating, while women give him only 47%.

### Economy

Perhaps fueled by the good news regarding economic growth in the first quarter of 1983 and the projected adjusted growth rate for the rest of the year -- between 5% and 6% -- assessment of Reagan's handling of the economy is continuing its upward climb that started in January of this year.

In this latest survey, 52% approve of what Reagan is doing -- up from 50% in May. Private economists added a further positive note suggesting that second quarter growth estimates also reflect a "broadening" of the recovery. This upswing is reflected throughout all elements of the nation. His biggest supporters are again base Republicans, the more affluent, conservatives, and men. Another particularly good sign is the continued positive perceptions of the people most likely to be aware of the recovery and Reagan's roll in it -- those with at least a college degree.

Negative sentiments are expressed by the less affluent, Democrats, liberals, less educated, blacks, and women; however, even among these somewhat disaffected groups, there is an increase in Reagan's approval rating. The gap between men and women though, has increased from 15% in May, to 19%. Women's sentiments in general did not improve, but those for non-married women, however, improved 8 percentage points.



Presidential Performance  
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Page Three

### Foreign Affairs

For the past six months, approval of the President's handling of United States foreign affairs has remained stable between 44% and 47% of the populace.

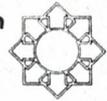
In June, however, his largest net job rating improvement is the 6 percentage point increase in his approval rating -- 47% in May to 53% now -- of his handling of foreign affairs. Attitudes are most positive among the more upscale voters; base Republicans, the affluent, and those with some college education or more -- essentially the same groups who have consistently given Reagan good appraisals over the past few months.

Among the swing constituencies, there were stronger positive increases among Farm Belt residents (plus 11% to 51% approve), blue-collar workers (plus 8% to 56% approve), and senior citizens (plus 11% to 47% approve), with the smallest net gain (plus 4% to 46% approve) coming among women. Unaffiliated voters express lower approval in June (42% approve) than in May (46% approve). Also, in May the gap between men and women was 10%; now, the gap has increased to 14%, with non-married women the most critical.

### Inflation

Approval of Reagan's handling of inflation climbed for the second month in a row. Although the inflation rate was slightly higher in the first quarter of this year, the Commerce Department's estimate for the current quarter is approximately 4% -- well below the double digit days of Jimmy Carter. These numbers are not failing to impress the American people. As with the economy, the overall impression of Reagan's control of inflation continues to improve essentially among most of our key subgroups.

Again, his highest marks are given by those most likely to be aware of moderation in the inflation rate: college graduates (72%), postgraduates (72%), and those with some college (65%). Other groups giving high approval marks are Republicans (80%), upper-income voters (76%) and men (65%). Senior citizens -- those most likely on fixed incomes -- have increased their approval from 41% in May to 60% now. Consistent with the other job ratings tested, women are much more negative (44% approve) than men (65% approve). The perception of men has improved 8 percentage points compared with only a 2% increase for women.



Presidential Performance  
July 8, 1983  
Page Four

### Unemployment

Although the unemployment rate is dropping slowly and inspite of predictions for high unemployment through at least next year, Reagan's job approval of his handling of unemployment continues to rise, but also slowly. Starting with a low of 26% in January 1983, his approval rating has climbed ten percentage points to 36%. This is still a relatively weak assessment of his performance on this issue with nearly two-thirds (62%) disapproving, but the trends are positive.

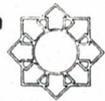
In terms of absolute gains in his approval rating, there is an across-the-board increase since May among several groups. Only a few segments give him majority approval; among those groups are respondents of college and postgraduate education.

The gap between men and women is not pronounced on the issue of unemployment. Blue-collar workers (34% approve) and Farm Belt residents (36%) are more alienated towards Reagan on economic issues like unemployment than they are generally with other concerns.

### Social Security

Reagan's job rating on the social security issue dropped slightly this month, with disapproval rising to 55%. As in previous months, an interesting phenomenon continues to manifest itself: those individuals most directly affected by any reductions or freezes in social security benefits gave the President above average approval for his work on the program: senior citizens (59% approve) and 55 to 64 year olds (44% approve).

As with unemployment, approval among any one particular segment of society seldom reaches 50%. The strongest supporters of the President's work are Republicans, senior citizens, the affluent, and college graduates. There exists a significant difference between urban dwellers (34%) and their counterparts in the suburbs (46%) those in the rural areas (44%).



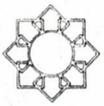
## Reagan Job Rating -- General

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

	<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>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Approve	70	67	60	60	52	51
Disapprove	14	27	33	33	40	43
No opinion	16	6	7	7	8	6

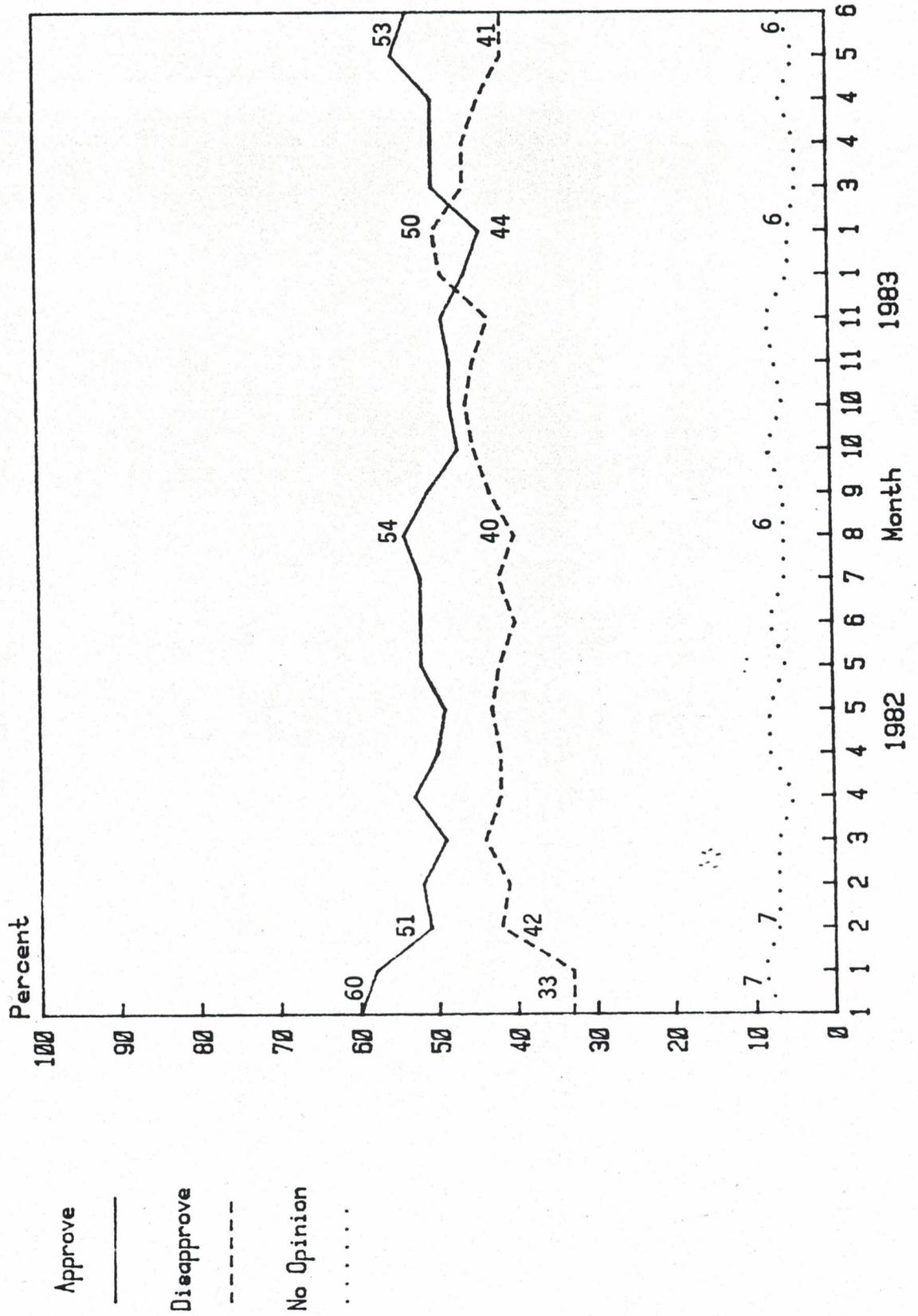
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Approve	46	44	50	50	50	55
Disapprove	49	50	46	46	44	41
No opinion	5	5	4	4	6	4

	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Approve	53
Disapprove	41
No opinion	6



# REAGAN JOB RATING

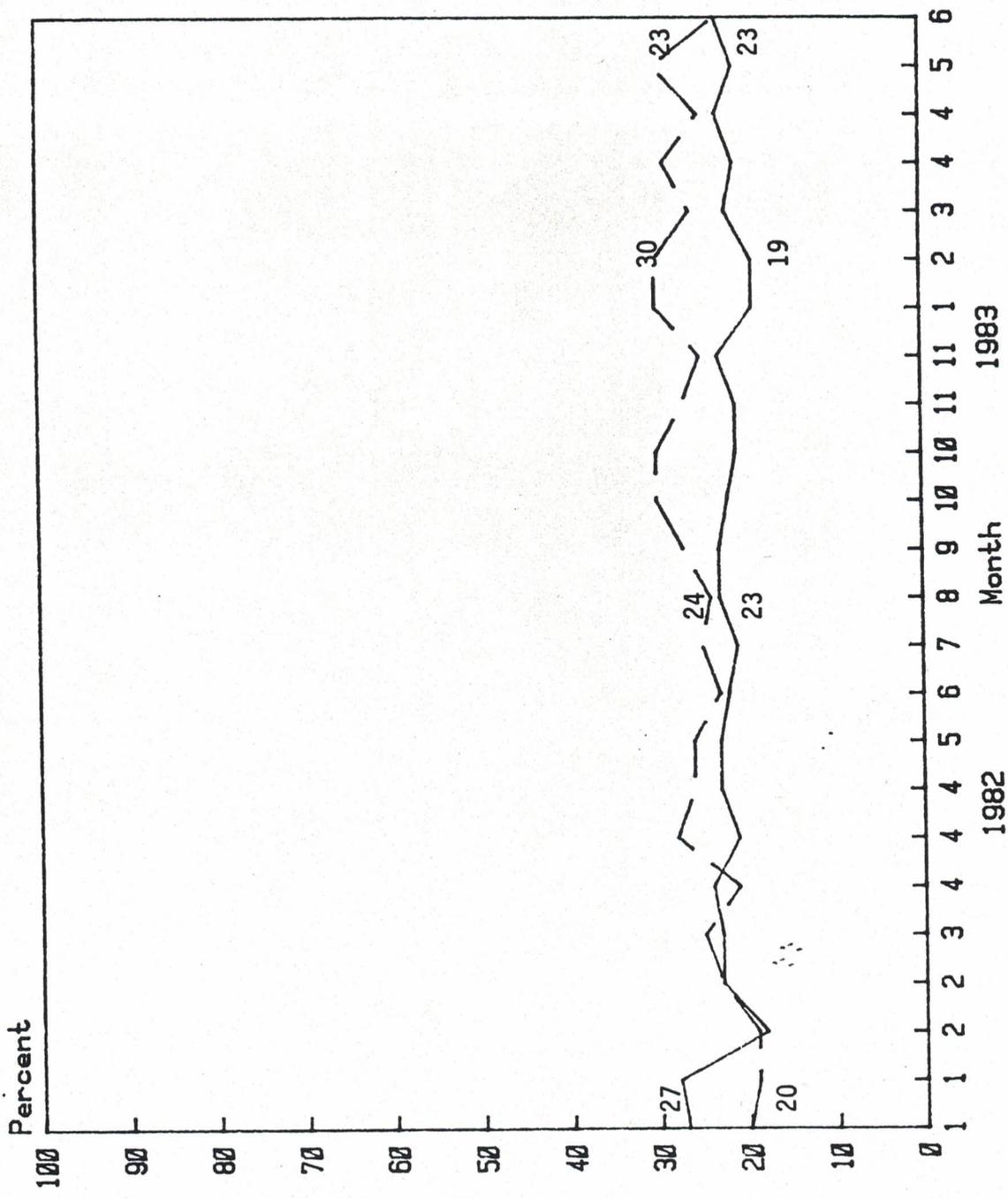
General





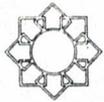
# REAGAN JOB RATING

Intensity of Response



Strongly Approve

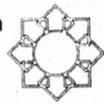
Strongly Disapprove



## Reagan Job Rating: General

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

	<u>Strongly Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	23	40	18	23	6
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	50	35	7	4	4
Small Business	24	37	15	18	6
Farm Belt states	22	34	17	14	13
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	21	34	21	18	6
Senior citizens	35	25	13	25	2
Women	20	27	21	26	6
Catholics	18	33	17	24	8
Independents/Leaners	20	37	18	19	6
White Baptists	23	35	17	21	4



## Reagan Job Rating -- Economy

=====

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

	<u>Mar 6-9 1981</u>	<u>Jul 16-18 1981</u>	<u>Oct 5-14 1981</u>	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>
Approve	63	61	66	57	45	44
Disapprove	23	33	28	40	51	52
No opinion	14	6	5	3	4	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>
Approve	38	40	44	47	49	50
Disapprove	58	57	54	52	49	48
No opinion	4	3	2	1	2	2

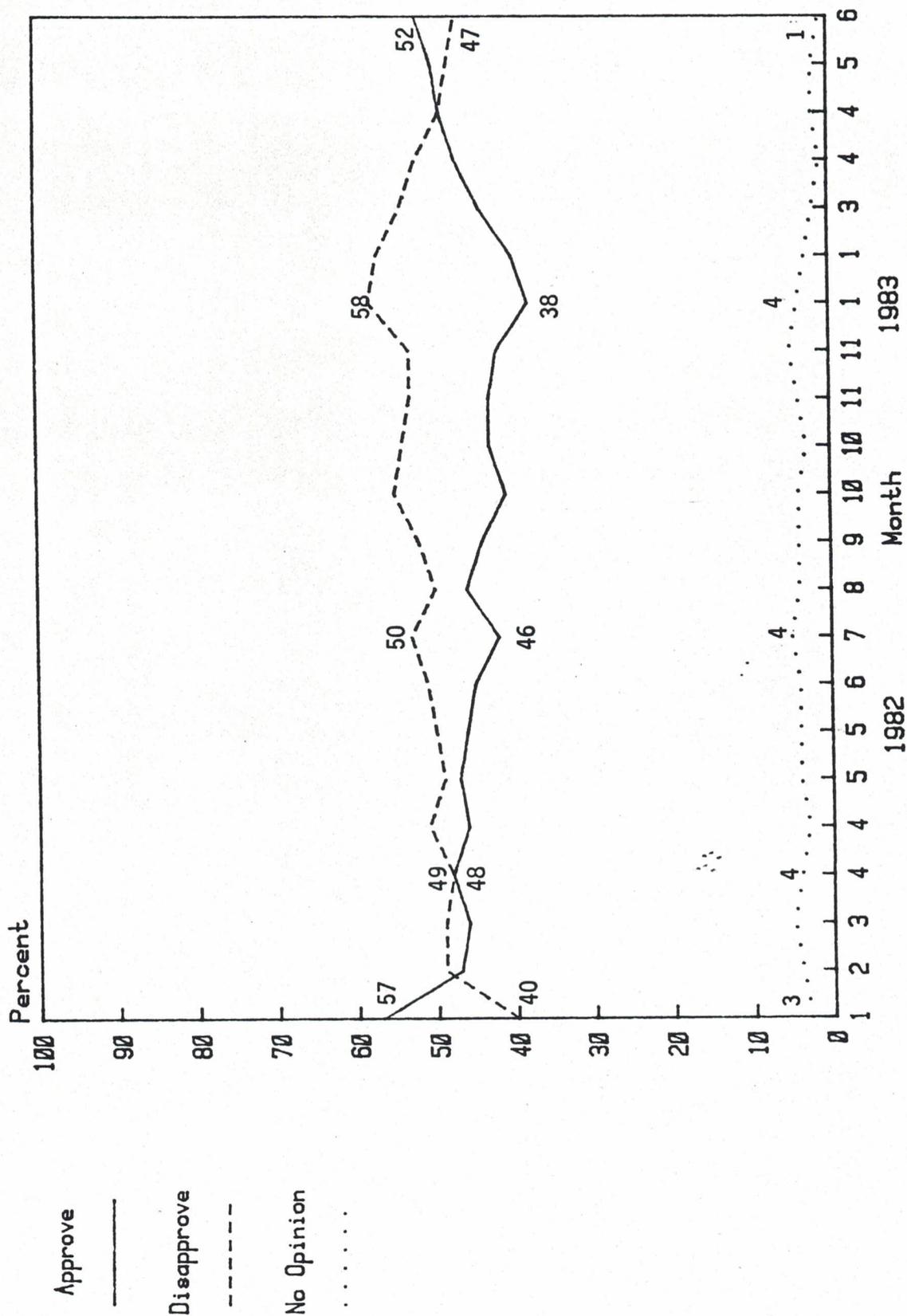
  

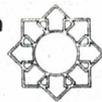
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Approve	52
Disapprove	47
No opinion	1



# REAGAN JOB RATING

The economy

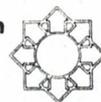




## Reagan Job Rating: Economy

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

	<u>Strongly Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u> (%)
Aggregate	24	28	20	27
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>				
Base Republican	48	35	9	8
Small Business	25	32	19	23
Farm Belt states	19	38	18	23
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>				
Blue-collar workers	19	31	21	28
Senior citizens	34	21	21	21
Women	18	25	22	32
Catholics	21	33	17	29
Independents/Leaners	22	34	19	25
White Baptists	23	32	21	24



## Reagan Job Rating -- Foreign Affairs

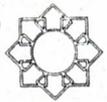
=====

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

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

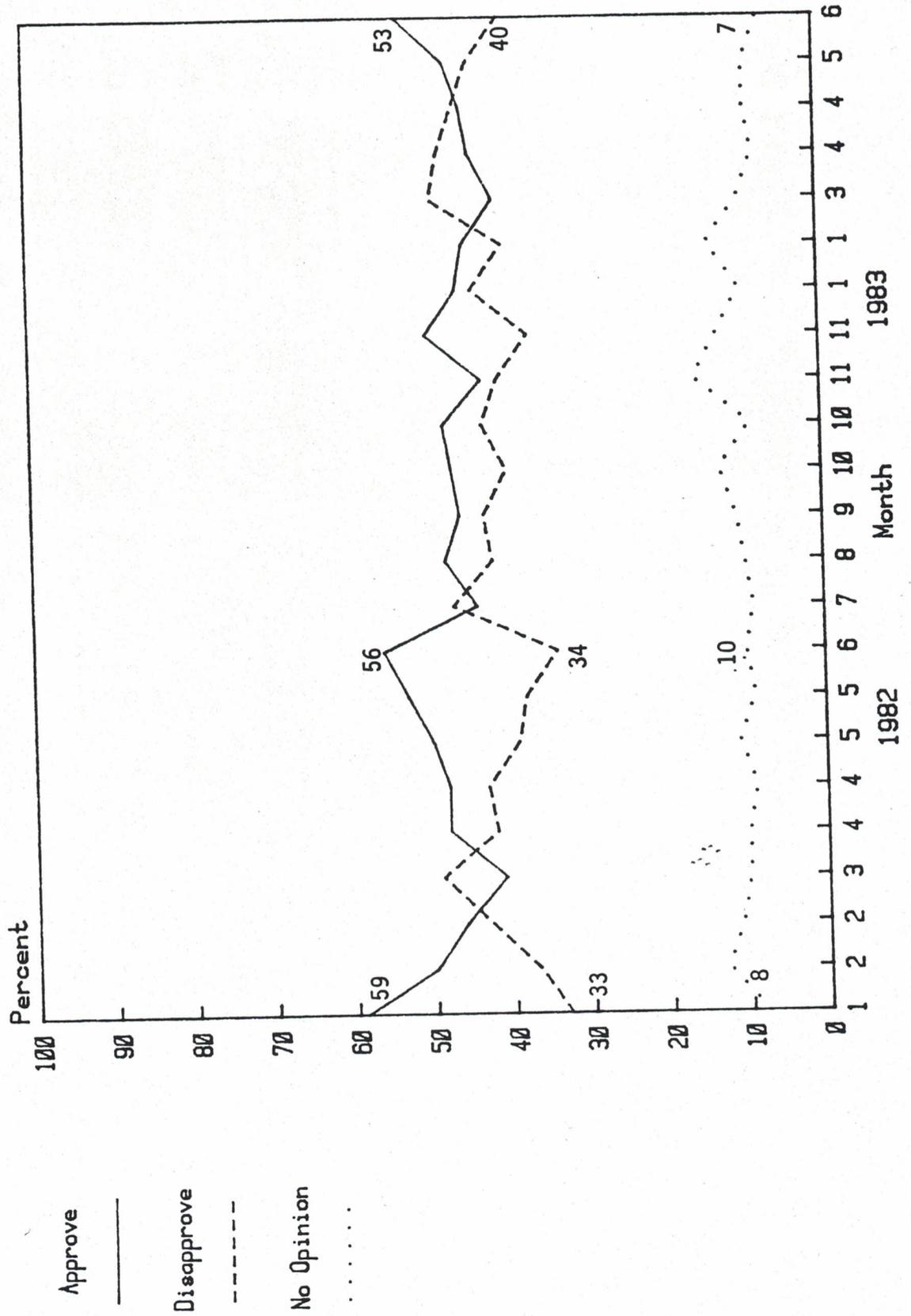
	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>
Approve	46	45	41	44	46	47
Disapprove	44	40	49	48	46	44
No opinion	10	14	10	8	8	9

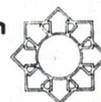
	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Approve	53
Disapprove	40
No opinion	7



# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Foreign Affairs





## Reagan Job Rating: Foreign Affairs

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

	<u>Strongly Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	17	36	19	21	7
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	32	46	6	8	8
Small Business	20	35	17	21	7
Farm Belt states	23	28	17	25	7
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	14	43	18	20	5
Senior citizens	23	24	16	22	15
Women	12	35	19	25	9
Catholics	12	39	18	24	7
Independents/Leaners	14	36	21	23	6
White Baptists	20	35	17	19	9

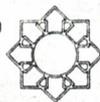


## Reagan Job Rating -- Inflation

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

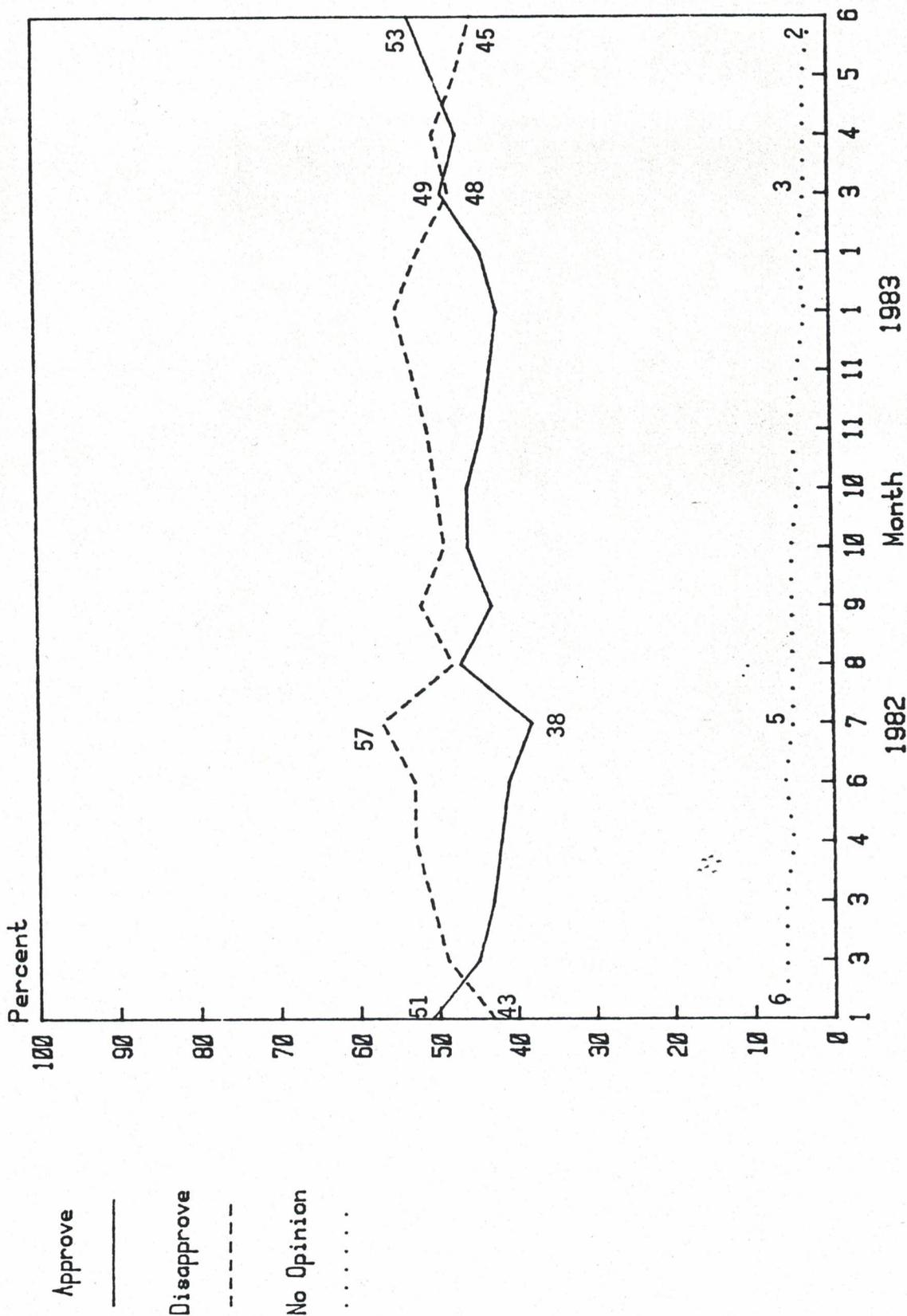
	<u>Jan</u> <u>11-19</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>15-22</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>23-27</u> <u>1982</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>27-29</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Mar</u> <u>17-21</u> <u>1983</u>
Approve	51	41	43	42	44	49
Disapprove	43	53	52	55	55	48
No opinion	6	6	5	3	3	3

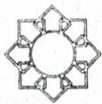
	<u>Apr</u> <u>7-10</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>27-28</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>May</u> <u>27-30</u> <u>1983</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>25-27</u> <u>1983</u>
Approve	47	*	50	53
Disapprove	50	*	47	45
No opinion	3	*	3	2



# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Inflation

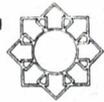




## Reagan Job Rating: Inflation

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

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	27	26	16	29	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	50	29	6	12	2
Small Business	31	28	12	27	3
Farm Belt states	16	39	21	23	1
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	23	28	15	31	2
Senior citizens	33	27	11	26	3
Women	21	23	19	35	2
Catholics	22	30	17	29	2
Independents/Leaners	28	28	14	28	2
White Baptists	30	22	15	32	2



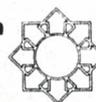
Reagan Job Rating -- Unemployment

=====

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

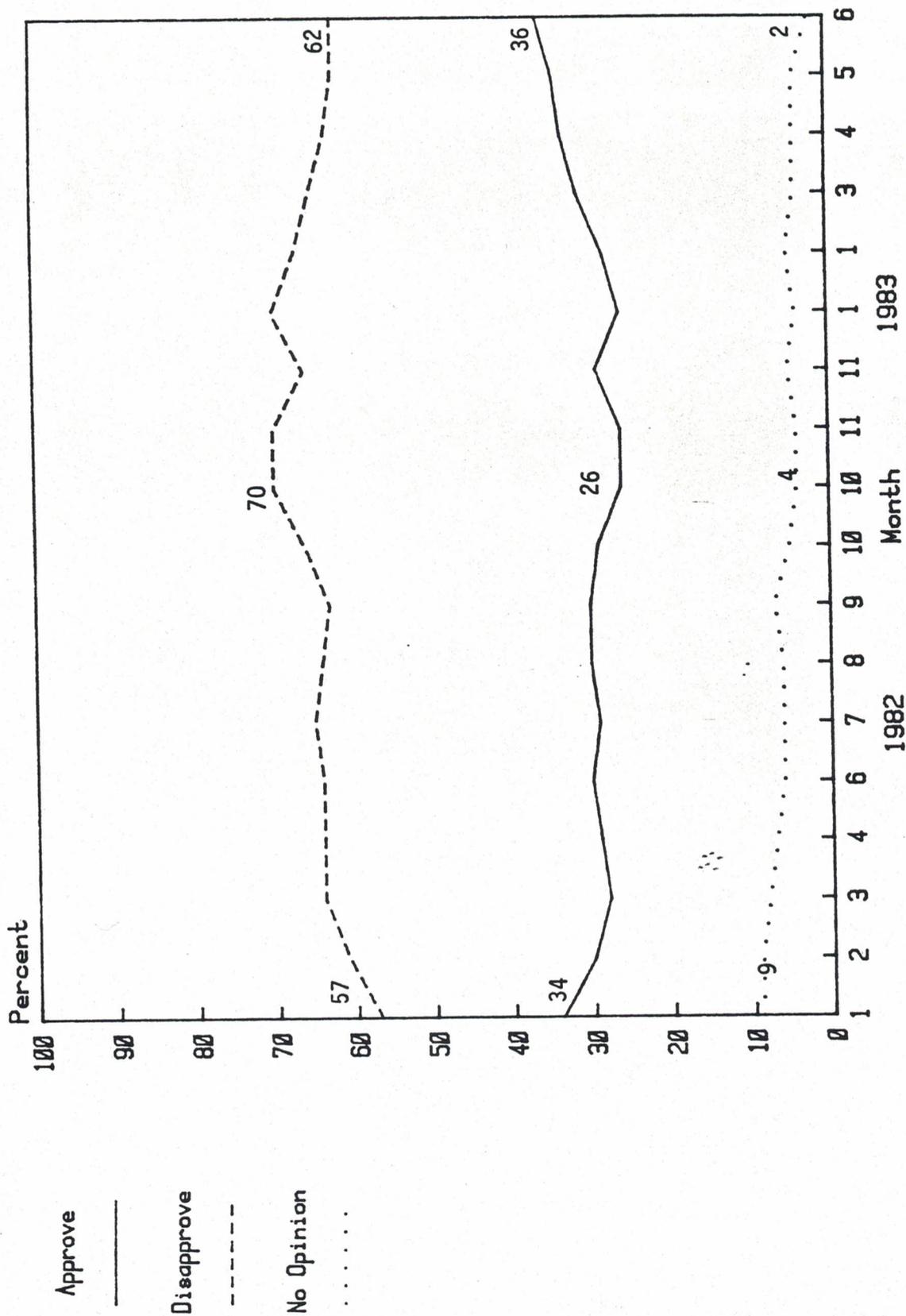
	<u>Jan 11-19 1982</u>	<u>Jun 15-22 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>
Approve	34	30	30	26	28	31
Disapprove	57	64	63	70	67	65
No opinion	9	6	7	4	5	4

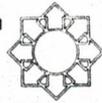
	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Approve	33	*	34	36
Disapprove	63	*	62	62
No opinion	4	*	4	2



# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Unemployment





## Reagan Job Rating: Unemployment

=====

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

	<u>Strongly Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	13	23	19	43	2
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	27	36	15	18	2
Small Business	14	24	19	42	3
Farm Belt states	8	28	15	47	1
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	12	21	23	41	2
Senior citizens	22	24	13	38	2
Women	10	22	19	48	2
Catholics	13	19	20	47	2
Independents/Leaners	11	25	21	42	1
White Baptists	16	23	24	37	1



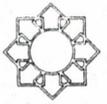
## Reagan Job Rating -- Social Security

=====

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

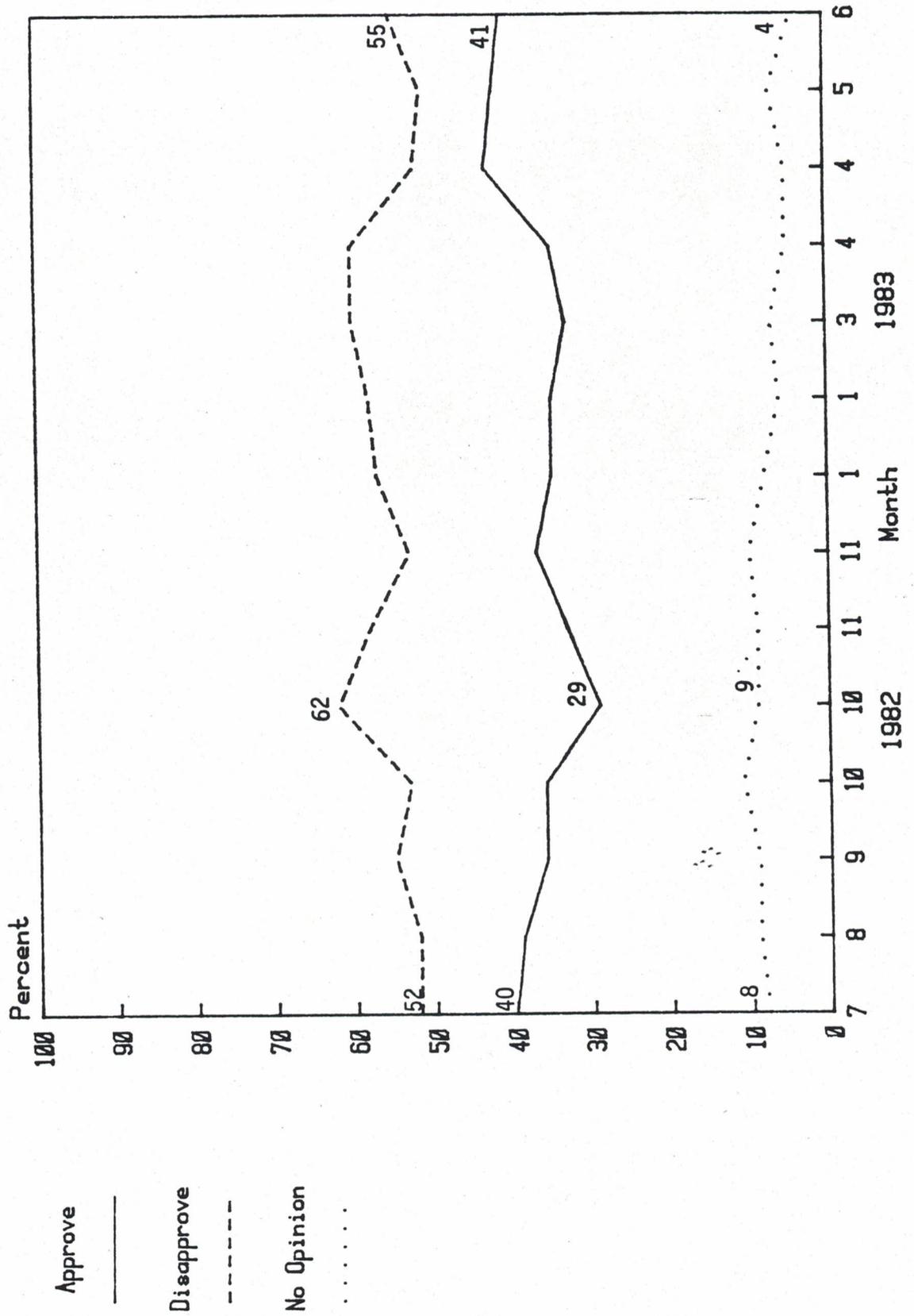
	<u>Jul 16-19 1982</u>	<u>Sep 23-27 1982</u>	<u>Jan 7-10 1983</u>	<u>Jan 27-29 1983</u>	<u>Mar 17-21 1983</u>	<u>Apr 7-10 1983</u>
Approve	40	36	35	35	33	35
Disapprove	52	55	57	58	60	60
No opinion	8	9	8	6	7	5

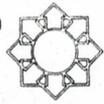
	<u>Apr 27-28 1983</u>	<u>May 27-30 1983</u>	<u>Jun 25-27 1983</u>
Approve	43	42	41
Disapprove	52	51	55
No opinion	5	7	4



# REAGAN JOB RATING

## Social Security



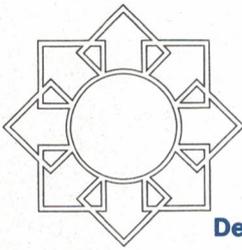


## Reagan Job Rating: Social Security

=====

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

	<u>Strongly Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Approve</u> (%)	<u>Somewhat Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No Opinion</u> (%)
Aggregate	16	25	18	37	4
<u>Strength Constituencies</u>					
Base Republican	30	35	15	18	3
Small Business	12	26	20	36	6
Farm Belt states	6	34	22	35	3
<u>Swing Constituencies</u>					
Blue-collar workers	10	25	20	40	5
Senior citizens	37	21	13	28	1
Women	15	22	19	40	4
Catholics	13	24	20	39	4
Independents/Leaners	14	23	20	38	5
White Baptists	16	20	18	41	5



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**TO:** Paul Laxalt  
Frank Fahrenkopf

**FROM:** Richard B. Wirthlin

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

**SUBJECT:** Federal Entitlement Programs

Over three-fourths (78%) of the Americans polled say they have never heard of federal entitlement programs and those who have are rarely able to identify these programs.

Now, have you ever heard of the phrase -- "federal entitlement programs?" (IF YES, ASK:) And from what you've heard and read, what are "federal entitlement programs?"

No, never heard of	78%
Social security	4
Medicaid	1
Medicare	1
Food stamps	2
Aid to families with dependent children	2
Other	11
No opinion	9

The awareness and understanding of federal entitlement programs correlates directly to education: 85% of those with less than high school educations have never heard of the programs, while 44% of those with postgraduate work are unfamiliar with federal entitlements. These postgraduate respondents name social security most frequently when asked to describe the program. Differences among other demographic subgroups are minimal.



## Federal Entitlement Programs

=====

"Now, have you ever heard of the phrase -- 'federal entitlement programs?'"

No, never heard of	78%
Yes, heard of	13
No opinion	9

"And from what you've heard and read, what are 'federal entitlement programs?'"

Social security	4%
Medicaid	1
Medicare	1
Food Stamps	2
Aid to families with dependent children	2
Other	11