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P.12,17

6 INTENTIONS

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U.S. NATIONAL RE-CONTACT STUDY
Prepared for

The President Ford Committee

oting Intention by Handling Issues
oting Intentions by Qualities and
teristics



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10/12

Mike,

note numbers on

1. Who will reduce fed employees
2. Who will control CIA + FBI

T.

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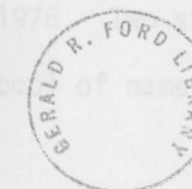
TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<u>FOREWORD</u>	1-11
<u>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS</u>	1-2
<u>CURRENT VOTING INTENTIONS</u>	3-7
U.S. NATIONAL RE-CONTACT STUDY	
Current Voting Intent by Type and Area	4
Current Voting Intent by Geographic Groups	4
Voting Behavior by The President Ford Committee	5
Current Voting Intent by Handling Issues	6
Current Voting Intent by Qualities and Characteristics	7
<u>EVALUATIONS OF THE DEBATE</u>	9-13
Qualitative Evaluations of the Debate	12
Perceived Media Evaluation of Debate	13
<u>QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS</u>	14-16
<u>ISSUE POSITIONS</u>	17-22
Handling of Issues	21
<u>NEW ISSUES</u>	23-24



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<u>FOREWORD</u>	i-ii
<u>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS</u>	1-2
<u>CURRENT VOTING INTENTIONS</u>	3-7
Current Voting Intention by Voter Type and Area	4
Current Voting Intention by Demographic Groups	4
Voting Behavior	5
Current Voting Intention by Handling Issues	6
Current Voting Intentions by Qualities and Characteristics	7
<u>EVALUATIONS OF THE DEBATE</u>	8-13
Qualitative Evaluations of the Debate	12
Perceived Media Evaluation of Debate	13
<u>QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS</u>	14-16
<u>ISSUE POSITIONS</u>	17-22
Handling of Issues	21
<u>NEW ISSUES</u>	23-24



Methodology

A first wave of telephone interviews were done beginning immediately after the first debate on the night of September 23 and continuing through the following day. Two hundred and sixty-six (266) interviews were completed.

A second wave of interviews began on Sunday, September 26, and ran through Tuesday noon, September 28. Four hundred and ninety-two (492) interviews were completed.

FOREWORD

A two phase U.S. National Re-contact study was completed from September 23 to September 30, 1976. The main purpose of this study was to ascertain changes in voting behavior, knowledge of issues, and evaluations of President Ford and Jimmy Carter that might have resulted from the first Presidential debate on domestic affairs broadcast September 23. Several questions in this study were also asked to determine which candidate did the best job in the debate and how the media transmitted its evaluation of the debate to these voters.

Sample

The re-contact respondents were drawn from 1495 respondents initially contacted from September 10-14, 1976. Two sub-samples of approximately 750 respondents each formed the pool of names for each re-contact effort.

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A second wave of interviews began on Sunday, September 26, and ran through Tuesday noon, September 28. Four hundred and ninety-two (492) interviews were completed.

1. President Ford and Jimmy Carter are very close in the current. The two wave interviewing sequence was designed to enable analysis of immediate voter responses to the debates, and analysis of voter responses after approximately three days of media reports on the debates had taken place.
2. President Ford clearly did a "better job" in the initial debate, and voters perceive the media saying that the President "won" the debate. In particular, President Ford was more believable and answered questions more directly. Both candidates were perceived as well informed, and, significantly, both candidates were perceived about equally as good speakers.
3. President Ford shows the most overall gain in the qualities of strength, decisiveness, and good speaker while Carter makes smaller gains in the areas of informed, intelligent, and sincere. President Ford also gains in "trust to do right thing".
4. Holding down taxes is the domestic issue President Ford shows the most gain across all political and demographic groups. The President also showed strong positive gains in handling national defense and foreign affairs, two issues not discussed in the first debate.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. President Ford and Jimmy Carter are very close in the current voting intentions of these voters. The President has increased his vote total from 41% to 45%, Carter has dropped from 47% to 45%, and undecided has dropped from 12% to 10%.
2. President Ford clearly did a "better job" in the initial debate, and voters perceive the media saying that the President "won" the debate. In particular, President Ford was more believable and answered questions more directly. Both candidates were perceived as well informed, and, significantly, both candidates were perceived about equally as good speakers.
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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. President Ford and Jimmy Carter are very close in the current voting intentions of these voters. The President has increased his vote total from 41% to 45%, Carter has dropped from 43% to 42%, and undecided has dropped from 12% to 10%.
2. President Ford clearly did a "better job" in the initial debate, and voters perceive the media saying that the President "won" the debate. In particular, President Ford was more believable and answered questions more directly. Both candidates were perceived as well informed, and, significantly, both candidates were perceived about equally as good speakers.
3. President Ford shows the most overall gain in the qualities of strength, decisiveness, and good speaker while Carter makes smaller gains in the areas of informed, intelligent, and sincere. President Ford also gains in "trust to do right thing".
4. Holding down taxes is the domestic issue President Ford shows the most gain across all political and demographic groups. The President also shows strong positive gains in handling national defense and foreign affairs, two issues not discussed in the first debate.

5. The debate has had considerable impact in informing voters on the positions President Ford and Carter take on issues like amnesty, guaranteeing jobs with Federal funds, and stimulating jobs in the private sector. In each case, the two candidates have been pushed further apart in the minds of these voters.

At this point in the campaign, President Ford appears to have moved into a virtual tie with Jimmy Carter. Each candidate garnered about 45% of the vote with 10% of the voters still undecided. This data is shown in Table 1.

President Ford has moved from 41% to 45% of the vote while Carter has slipped two points from 43% to 42%. The undecided vote has also declined from 12% to 10%.

Change in vote intentions mirrors the change in voter preferences. President Ford's voters are slightly more definite about their choice and Carter's voters are slightly less sure of their candidate.

While some opinions are expressed within the 14-24 age group, the evidence continues to show that President Ford and Jimmy Carter are very close in ballot strength at the present time.

Current Voting Intention by Voter Type and Area

CURRENT VOTING INTENTIONS

President Ford appears to be building strength from both undecided Republicans and Democrats, while also pulling slightly ahead of Carter.

Analysis of voters contacted before and after the initial, domestic affairs debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter confirms President Ford's steady growth in ballot strength since the campaign start. Ford

appear to have occurred mainly in the Midwest and South regions. President

At this point in the campaign, President Ford appears to have moved into a virtual tie with Jimmy Carter. Each candidate garners about 45% of the vote with 10% of the voters still undecided. This data is shown in Table 1.

Current Voting Intention by Demographic Groups

President Ford has moved from 41% to 45% of the vote while Carter has slipped two points from 47% to 45%. The undecided vote has also declined from 12% to 10%.

*those voters 65 years old and over
*those voters with a high school education or less.

Change in vote intensity mirrors the change in voter preferences.

President Ford's voters are slightly more definite about their choice and Carter's voters are slightly less sure of their candidate.

While movement of 2-4% is within the boundaries of sampling error, the evidence continues to mount that President Ford and Jimmy Carter are very close in ballot strength at the present time.

Current Voting Intention by Voter Type and Area

President Ford appears to be building strength from both undecided Republicans and Democrats, while also pulling slightly ahead of Carter among ticket-splitters.

Within the four major political regions, the voting shifts toward Ford appear to have occurred mainly in the Midwest and South regions. President Ford now appears to have an edge among Midwestern voters, and has apparently made some in-roads among both Carter voters and undecided voters in the South.

Current Voting Intention by Demographic Groups

Change in vote intention toward President Ford appears to have taken place to the greatest extent among:

- *those voters 65 years old and over
- *those voters with a high school education or less.

Table 1

VOTING BEHAVIOR

	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-Contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE I Re-Contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE II Re-Contact (9/26-28)
Number of Cases	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
<u>Total Vote</u>							
Ford	41%	41%	45%	41%	44%	41%	46%
Carter	47	47	45	47	43	47	46
Undecided	12	12	10	12	12	12	8
<u>Committed Vote</u>							
Ford	47	47	50	46	51	46	50
Carter	53	53	50	54	49	54	50
<u>Vote Intensity</u>							
<u>FORD</u>							
Definitely	59%	61%	64%	67%	71%	59%	60%
Probably	20	21	18	18	13	22	21
Leaning	19	17	12	16	10	18	14
Don't know	2	1	5	--	6	1	5
<u>CARTER</u>							
Definitely	60%	59%	58%	62%	51%	58%	61%
Probably	21	21	19	19	22	22	18
Leaning	17	18	15	18	14	19	16
Don't know	2	2	7	2	13	2	5

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Current Voting Intention by Handling Issues Characteristics

President Ford impressed his own voters as the candidate who would do better handling all the issues mentioned from inflation to foreign affairs. He does particularly well in positive gains in the number of Ford voters who feel he would handle inflation, unemployment, holding down taxes, and national defense.

Among Carter voters, the only positive gain is in terms of the perception of President Ford as the best person to handle foreign affairs.

Among currently undecided, President Ford gains considerably in a voter perception of his ability to hold down taxes.

Current Voting Intentions by Qualities and Characteristics

EVALUATIONS OF THE DEBATE

The relationship between changes in perception of the qualities and characteristics of the Presidential candidates, and the vote intentions of the re-contacted voters appear to be as follows:

- * Ford voters moved most in terms of changes in their evaluations of President Ford as decisive, a good speaker, strong, competent, and trustworthy.
- * The only movement among Carter voters toward Ford appears to be in relation to President Ford now being perceived as a good speaker and, to a much less extent, decisive.
- * The undecided voters moved most toward President Ford in relation to the characteristics good speaker, decisive, and intelligent.
- * Voting for President Ford seems most related to trusting him to do the right thing in a difficult situation, while undecided voters gave President Ford high marks on most effective getting results on a tough problem. President Ford made no gains among Carter voters in either of these two areas or, in the area of concern for the problems of the average citizens.

It is clear from these data that as word and news media reports and interpersonal discussions entered the communication environment and interpersonal discussions occurred about the debate, it became apparent to these voters that the media were saying President Ford "won" the debate.

Among demographic groups:

- * 25-34 year olds, with some college education are slightly more likely to believe President Ford did a better job than Jimmy Carter in this debate.

EVALUATIONS OF THE DEBATE

President Ford established a clear victory in this initial debate, as 33% of these voters said that President Ford did "a better job," 23% said Carter did a better job, 26% thought both did well, 4% volunteered that neither did well, and 14% were undecided. These data are shown in Table 2.

President Ford came across to these voters both as more believable than Jimmy Carter and as a candidate who answers questions more directly than his Democrat opponent.

It is clear from these data that as more and more media reports and inter-personal discussions entered the communication environment and inter-personal discussions occurred about the debate, it became apparent to these voters that the media were saying President Ford "won" the debate.

Among demographic groups:

- * 25-34 year olds, with some college education are slightly more likely to believe President Ford did a better job than Jimmy Carter in this debate.

* This same group appears slightly more likely to say Ford "won" the debate than other groups.

* The perception of President Ford's believability and direct answering of questions is held equally as strong across all demographic sub-groups.

* Republicans gave President Ford a 58%-10% rating over Carter as to who did a better job on the debate; ticket-splitters gave President Ford the edge 34-20 over Carter; and Democrats thought Carter won the debate by a 36-18 margin.

* President Ford was seen as doing a "better job" than Carter in all four major political regions including the South.

EVALUATION OF DEBATE

	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE I Re-contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE II Re-contact (9/26-28)
Who Did "Better Job"?	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
Ford			33%		33%		33%
Carter			23		23		23
Both (Volunteered)			26		25		27
Neither (Volunteered)			4		6		3
Don't know			14		13		14
Who Do the Media Say "Won"?							
Ford			39%		27%		45%
Carter			11		13		9
Both (Volunteered)			18		17		19
Neither (Volunteered)			11		11		11
Don't know	NOT ASKED	NOT ASKED	21	NOT ASKED	31	NOT ASKED	16
More Believable?							
Ford			36%		35%		37%
Carter			27		27		27
Both (Volunteered)			16		16		16
Neither (Volunteered)			3		5		3
Don't know			17		16		18
Answered More Directly?							
Ford			41%		44%		39%
Carter			22		24		22
Both (Volunteered)			18		16		19
Neither (Volunteered)			4		6		3
Don't know			15		11		16

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

The most revealing qualitative assessments shown in Table 3 are those that indicate perceived differences between the two candidates in the manner in which they conducted themselves during the debate. In particular, it is interesting to note that:

- * President Ford gets four percent of the voters describing him as "in command/confident," while nine percent of the voters saw Carter as "scared/nervous/worried."
- * "Appealed to working class people" is mentioned for Carter but not for President Ford.
- * In these open-ended, uncued responses as well as as in the adjective scales, President Ford apparently impressed voters with his speaking ability and is rated equal to Carter in presentation and delivery.
- * The major achievement for Carter appears to be in his ability to persuade voters that he is informed on these issues.

THINGS PRESIDENT FORD DID NOT DO WELL IN DEBATE

Could have done better	7%
Evaded the issue	6%
Cut down everything Carter said	5%
No warmth/Sober/Stoic-faced	4%
Not aggressive	4%
Not clear speaker	4%

THINGS JIMMY CARTER DID NOT DO WELL IN DEBATE

Scared/Nervous/Worried	9%
Evaded issue/Did not address issues	5%
Not a clear speaker	4%
Unorganized facts	4%
Not specific enough	3%

QUALITATIVE EVALUATIONS OF THE DEBATE

	COMBINED Re-Contact (9/23-28) (758)		COMBINED Re-Contact (9/23-38) (758)
<u>THINGS PRESIDENT FORD DID WELL IN DEBATE</u>		<u>THINGS JIMMY CARTER DID WELL IN DEBATE</u>	
Spoke well/Speaks well	8%	Well-informed/Knowledgeable	8%
Well-informed/Knowledgeable	7	Presentation-delivered well	6
Knew the facts	6	Spoke well	5
Overall answered		Overall answered questions	
questions well	5	well	5
Calm/Relaxed	4	Calm/Relaxed	5
Direct answers	4	Made points clearly	4
In command/Confident	4	Appealed to working class people	4
<u>THINGS PRESIDENT FORD DID NOT DO WELL IN DEBATE</u>		<u>THINGS JIMMY CARTER DID NOT DO WELL IN DEBATE</u>	
Could have done better	7%	Scared/Nervous/Worried	9%
Evaded the issue	6	Evaded issue/Did not address issues	5
Cut down everything Carter said	5	Not a clear speaker	4
No warmth/Sober/Stone- faced	4	Unorganized facts	4
Not aggressive	4	Not specific enough	3
Not clear speaker	4		

Perceived Media Evaluation of Debate

President Ford is clearly the "winner" of the debates in terms of how voters perceive the media have reported about the debates.

Nineteen percent (19%) saw something on television about how President Ford "did well" versus four percent mention for Carter. Eighteen percent (18%) read something about President Ford doing well in the debates, while only two percent saw something indicating that Carter did well.

The largest mention in both cases (25% for television and 23% for newspapers) was that both candidates won or that the debate was a toss up.

Among voters who discussed the debate with friends or relatives, 16% said the main thing they discussed was that President Ford did well, while 11% discussed how well Jimmy Carter had done.

QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS

The greatest change in perceptions of candidate qualities and characteristics occurs between pre and post-debate responses to the adjectives:

* decisive	(+10 gain for President Ford)
* strong	(+ 7 " " " ")
* good speaker	(+21 " " " ")

President Ford also gains six points in "trust to do right thing when making a difficult decision," and four points in "most effective in getting results on a tough problem." These data are displayed in Table 3.

In terms of changes among specific demographic groups, the following types of movement seems to have occurred:

- * the 35-54 year old, female tends to see President Ford as decisive more than before the debate;
- * voters with less than high school education move ten points toward President Ford on the adjective straightforward;
- * Middle age females see President Ford more than Jimmy Carter as strong;
- * those voters with less than high school education now see President Ford much more as a sincere candidate than they did before the debate;

15 .

Qualities and Characteristics	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE 1 Re-contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)
Decisive	(1490)	+7	(758)	+7	(266)	(492)
Straightforward	+4	+7	+17	+7	+18	+3
Strong	+1	+0	+0	+0		
Informed	+20	+32	+0	+32		
Intelligent	+4	+7	+0	+7		
Sincere	+3	+3	+0	+3		
Competent	+6	+7	+0	+7		
Trustworthy	+2	+8	+0	+8		
Good Speaker	+26	+28	+0	+28		

Qualities	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE 1 Re-contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)
Concerned about problems of average citizen	-19	-10	-1	-10		
Trust to do right thing when making difficult decision	+8	+6	+1	+6		
Most effective in getting results on a tough problem	+0	-2	+0	-2		

Qualities and Characteristics	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE 1 Re-contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)
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Informed	+20	+32	+0	+32		
Intelligent	+4	+7	+0	+7		
Sincere	+3	+3	+0	+3		
Competent	+6	+7	+0	+7		
Trustworthy	+2	+8	+0	+8		
Good Speaker	+26	+28	+0	+28		

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Concerned about problems of average citizen	-19	-10	-1	-10		
Trust to do right thing when making difficult decision	+8	+6	+1	+6		
Most effective in getting results on a tough problem	+0	-2	+0	-2		

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Sincere	+3	+3	+0	+3		
Competent	+6	+7	+0	+7		
Trustworthy	+2	+8	+0	+8		
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Concerned about problems of average citizen	-19	-10	-1	-10		
Trust to do right thing when making difficult decision	+8	+6	+1	+6		
Most effective in getting results on a tough problem	+0	-2	+0	-2		

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CHARACTERISTICS
(FORD/CARTER PLUS MINUS TABLES)

	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE I Re-contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE II Re-contact (9/26-28)
<u>Qualities and Characteristics</u>	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
Decisive	+7	+ 7	+17	+11	+18	+ 4	+17
Straightforward	+4	+ 7	+ 9	+ 7	+ 4	+ 7	+12
Strong	+1	+ 0	+ 7	+ 6	+ 7	- 2	+ 7
Informed	+30	+32	+33	+36	+28	+31	+36
Intelligent	-4	- 7	- 7	- 8	- 4	- 6	- 9
Sincere	+3	+ 3	+ 1	+ 2	+ 0	+ 4	+ 2
Competent	+5	+ 7	+ 7	+ 9	+11	+ 5	+ 5
Trustworthy	+3	+ 5	+ 6	+ 1	+ 9	+ 6	+ 5
Good Speaker	-20	-23	- 2	-23	+ 1	-24	- 4
<u>General Qualities</u>							
Concerned about problems of average citizen	-19	-18	-18	-14	-14	-19	-21
Trust to do right thing when making difficult decision	+8	+ 6	+12	+ 9	+12	+ 6	+11
Most effective in getting results on a tough problem	+0	- 2	+ 2	- 2	+ 0	- 1	+ 2

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ISSUE POSITIONS

Three issues -- amnesty to Vietnam draft dodgers, guaranteeing jobs through Federal taxes, and stimulating the private sector to reduce unemployment -- were measured both before and after the debate. It is clear in each case that the debate actually served to strengthen voter perceptions of where President Ford and Jimmy Carter stand on these issues. In detail:

- * The perception of President Ford being against amnesty gains 20 points and the perception that Carter is for amnesty gains 17 points.
- * The voter perception that President Ford is against guaranteeing jobs gains 21 points; the perception that Carter is for guaranteeing jobs gains 16 points.
- * The view that President Ford is for stimulating jobs in the private sector gains 21 points; the perception of Carter's stance against that concept strengthens by 14 points (although the view that he is for that concept also gains six points).

On other issues addressed in the debate, we have only re-contact measures of voter perceptions of the candidates' positions. Among the four new issues tested:

- * President Ford is viewed as much more in favor of using budget surpluses to cut taxes than Carter. The President is much closer to the voters' own position on this issue than Carter.
- * Carter is still viewed as wanting to cut the number of federal employees more than President Ford is viewed holding that position. In this case, Carter is closer to the voters' own position on cutting the number of Federal employees.

- * These voters are much in favor of more control over the CIA and FBI, and Carter is much closer to the voters than President Ford on this issue.
- * Voters place themselves between President Ford and Jimmy Carter on the use of nuclear power, with the President closer to the voters' position than Carter. President Ford is seen as much more for using nuclear power than Carter.

	Original U.S. National (5/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (5/10-14)	Combined Re-Contact (5/15-20)	U.S. National 1st Contact (5/15-16)	U.S. National 1st Contact (5/17-18)	U.S. National 1st Contact (5/19-20)	U.S. National 1st Contact (5/21-24)	U.S. National 1st Contact (5/25-26)
FORD	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(256)	(256)	(256)	(492)	(492)
CARTER	244 36	243 36	275 58	218 41	243 62	268 37		
FORD	47 11	51 10	68 14	53 11	71 14	50 10		
CARTER	39 9	43 9	64 15	42 7	59 19	44 10		
FORD	37 10	39 10	45 24	39 8	42 24	38 12		
CARTER								

* Voters place themselves between President Ford and Jimmy Carter on the use of nuclear power, with the President closer to the voters' position than Carter. President Ford is seen as much more for using nuclear power than Carter.

ISSUE POSITIONS

Table 4

	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-Contact (9/23-28)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE I Re-Contact (9/23-28)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE II Re-Contact (9/26-28)
<u>AMNESTY</u>	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
FORD							
FOR	24%	24%	27%	21%	24%	26%	28%
AGAINST	36	38	58	41	62	37	55
CARTER							
FOR	47	51	68	53	71	50	66
AGAINST	11	10	14	11	14	10	15
<u>GUARANTEE JOBS</u>							
FORD							
FOR	18	19	21	31	26	18	18
AGAINST	31	33	54	31	52	33	55
CARTER							
FOR	40	42	68	41	67	43	70
AGAINST	9	8	7	8	10	8	6
<u>STIMULATE JOBS IN PRIVATE SECTOR</u>							
FORD							
FOR	40	43	64	42	59	44	62
AGAINST	9	9	15	7	19	10	13
CARTER							
FOR	37	39	45	39	42	38	46
AGAINST	10	10	24	8	24	12	24
<u>USE BUDGET SURPLUS FOR TAX CUTS</u>							
FORD							
FOR	--	--	53	--	51	--	54
AGAINST	--	--	19	--	22	--	17
CARTER							
FOR	--	--	30	--	31	--	30
AGAINST	--	--	35	--	38	--	34

VCYINZ1	--	--	32	--	30	--	34
LOS	--	--	30	--	31	--	30
CYKLE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VCYINZ1	--	--	10	--	55	--	11
LOS	--	--	23	--	21	--	24
LONG	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TWT 0012							
TWT 0012							
VCYINZ1	10	10	54	8	54	15	54
LOS	31	30	42	30	45	30	40
CYKLE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VCYINZ1	8	8	12	1	10	10	13
LOS	40	43	24	45	20	44	25
LONG	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SECTION							
SECTION							
VCYINZ1	3	8	1	8	10	8	9
LOS	40	45	28	41	21	43	10
CYKLE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VCYINZ1	31	33	24	31	25	33	22
LOS	18	18	31	11	32	19	18
LONG	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SECTION							
VCYINZ1	11	10	14	11	14	10	12
LOS	41	21	28	23	11	20	22
CYKLE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VCYINZ1	20	30	20	41	25	31	22
LOS	54	54	53	51	54	50	50
LONG	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WAVE I	(1490)	(128)	(128)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
SECTION							
SECTION							

IS POSITIONS

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Table 4 (CONT.)

Number of Cases	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-Contact (9/23-28)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE I Re-Contact (9/23-28)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE II Re-Contact (9/26-28)
	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
CUTTING NUMBER OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES							
FORD	--	--	40	--	45	--	37
FOR	--	--	33	--	28	--	36
AGAINST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CARTER	--	--	54	--	51	--	56
FOR	--	--	20	--	25	--	18
AGAINST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CONTROL CIA AND FBI							
FORD	--	--	44	--	45	--	44
FOR	--	--	25	--	25	--	25
AGAINST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CARTER	--	--	58	--	57	--	57
FOR	--	--	7	--	7	--	7
AGAINST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
USE OF NUCLEAR POWER							
FORD	--	--	51	--	54	--	49
FOR	--	--	10	--	8	--	12
AGAINST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CARTER	--	--	31	--	32	--	31
FOR	--	--	25	--	27	--	24
AGAINST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Handling of Issues

Overall, President Ford made positive gains in voter perceptions of his ability to hold down taxes, maintain a strong national defense, and handle our foreign affairs. Obviously, the latter two issues were not debate topics, and the positive movement might be attributed to several things including gains in voter perceptions of Ford as decisive and strong; other world events occurring at the same time as the debates like Kissinger's trip to Africa; and, more generally, an up-turn in confidence in President Ford as a leader and less confidence in Carter because of his statements on taxes and in the Playboy interview.

Holding down taxes is a strong issue for President Ford across Republicans, Ticket-Splitters and Democrats. The choice of President Ford to handle national defense and foreign affairs also gains among ticket splitters.

PLUS-MINUS TABLES BETWEEN FORD AND CARTER TABLE 5

	Original U.S. National (9/10-14)	U.S. National 1st Contact (9/10-14)	COMBINED Re-contact (9/23-28)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE I Re-contact (9/23-24)	U.S. Nat'l 1st Contact (9/10-14)	WAVE II Re-contact (9/26-28)
Number of Cases	(1490)	(758)	(758)	(266)	(266)	(492)	(492)
Inflation/Cost of living	+1	+ 2	+ 3	+ 4	- 1	+ 1	+ 4
Unemployment	-22	-26	-24	-26	-23	-26	-25
Holding down taxes	+3	+ 6	+14	+ 0	+14	+ 9	+14
Maintain a strong national defense	+24	+26	+34	+24	+33	+28	+34
Running the federal government	+4	+ 5	+ 5	+ 8	+ 2	+ 6	+ 6
Reducing crime	-5	- 5	- 4	- 5	- 2	- 5	- 5
Handling our foreign affairs	+21	+21	+34	+20	+34	+22	+34

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

NEW ISSUES

Thirty-five percent (35%) of re-contacted voters at Wave II say they have heard something about Carter's statements on taxes. Of those who have heard something, about equal numbers (8 to 9% of all voters) say the statements on taxes will make them more or less favorable toward Carter.

Have you read, seen, or heard about Carter's tax statements?

Yes	35%
No	62
Don't know	3
	100%
(Number of Cases)	(492)

(IF YES) Do Carter's statements make you more of less favorable toward him?

More Favorable	8%
No Difference	13
Less Favorable	9
Don't know	4
	100%
(Number of Cases)	(492)

Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the open-end mentions of what Carter said referred to raising taxes on middle income groups, 20% referred to raising taxes on "high" income groups, and 11% mentioned taxes on low income. Nine percent (9%) thought his statement was about reducing taxes in general groups.

Seventy-seven percent (77%) of these voters saw, read, or heard something about Carter's statements in Playboy. About 21% of all voters said that

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

what they heard made them less favorable toward Carter while four percent said what they heard made them more favorable toward Carter.

Have you read, seen, or heard anything about Carter's statements in Playboy?

Yes	77%
No	23
Don't know	--
	100%
(Number of Cases)	(492)

(IF YES) Do Carter's statements make you more favorable, less favorable, or no difference in how you feel about Carter?

More Favorable	6%
No Difference	45
Less Favorable	21
Don't know	5
	100%
(Number of Cases)	(492)

The key words voters were picking up on from the media were "lust" (19% mention) and "adultery of the heart or mind" (13% mention). Seven percent (7%) say he shouldn't have given the interview.