

Caddell, Patrick (3)

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MEMO	John Gorman to Hamilton Jordan re DAC payments to Cambridge Survey Research, 3 pp. Open 9/29/95	6/15/79	C

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June 11, 1979

Mr President,

These are the written analysis of the in-depth field survey conducted earlier this year by the DNC.

This package contains four parts as you already have the SALT section.

1. Attitudes toward the President
2. Attitudes on Inflation
3. Attitudes on Reorganization
4. Attitudes on miscellaneous issues

The staff has already seen these reports. The only one of major importance is #1.

Pat

Cambridge Survey Research

Fresh Pond 10 Moulton Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138 Telephone 617-661-0110
Suite 1250 1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20006

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

DATE JUNE 11, 1979

The New York Times results, as well as the Gallup survey, also released yesterday, show the President's job approval rating at its lowest point yet surpassing the lowest figures registered by Johnson or Ford.

Yesterday's Times result, if accurate, is staggering.
It showed the President's favorable/unfavorable personal rating as a negative. The drop from our survey earlier this year is almost incredible.

At no time in our survey work has the President's personal rating ever fallen to a negative -- no matter what the drop in various job ratings has been. Checking the Times ratings for other public officials, they roughly approximate those in our own survey. Only Carter's rating shows an enormous discrepancy and only in small part can that be explained by the higher "don't know, can't rate, etc." in this Times survey.

Memorandum to the President
June 11, 1979
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The significance of this result cannot be over-emphasized.
Almost no candidate whose personal rating has been negative has survived reelection although that is not necessarily the case with job ratings. This result tends to suggest that frustration with the President is moving toward personal hostility as opposed to indifference or disappointment. This suggests a qualitative change in public attitude that can only be viewed with alarm. For poor or actual negative "personal" ratings are always significantly more difficult to stem or reverse than job ratings.

Cambridge Survey Research

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TO HAMILTON JORDAN
FROM JOHN GORMAN
DATE JUNE 15, 1979
RE CSR DEBT

The issue of payments from the DNC is very sensitive to us in Cambridge. With the passage of time and the struggle by Cambridge Survey Research to carry this debt the financial burden has been heightened.

Currently the DNC is carrying a balance of \$294,524, which includes a still disputed consulting bill for 1978 of \$25,000. (Billing on election area analysis work by Paul Maslin is as yet unbilled.) We are all aware of the amount of time Pat has spent working with the Administration and the Party and in order to avoid any legal problems with the FEC and IRS, the bill for the entire 1978 year was rendered. This followed the procedure agreed upon with the DNC in early 1977 and we had billed that year as well. We at Cambridge continue to feel the bill is reasonable -- less than we intended -- and absolutely necessary from a legal point of view.

Payments have been forthcoming from the DNC; in an arrangement worked out between Jim Murphy and Dave Phelps a small monthly payment has been rendered by the DNC over the past few months. Although the checks are small (\$10,000) it demonstrated a recent good faith move on the part of the DNC to our banks. However, if the DNC were to keep to their monthly commitment this would only reduce the debt by \$105,000 by December 31 of this year, leaving us with a debt of almost \$200,000, excluding any additional work.

Below is a table that shows the year-to-year debt situation of the payments that calendar year by the DNC to CSR.

<u>Payment</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Debt owed</u>	<u>Total payments in Calendar year</u>
1	January 7, 1977 (Post campaign/pre inaugural)	\$275,000 (app.)	--
2	December 1977	231,987	\$185,000
3	December 1978	235,487	65,000
4	June 1979	294,524 (app.)	90,000 *

*Actually \$40,000 since \$50,000 was up-front money for field survey commissioned in late 1978 and represents no part of debt.

Some Key Points

1. Much of the 1977 payments were directed toward paying off 1976 campaign debt rather than any real payment of current bills.

2. In 1978 when the DNC had its money crunch, we received less than one-fourth of what we had been promised. In addition, our election program had to be scrapped as did vital Presidential survey work due to those money problems and other political priorities. After February, we received only \$30,000 having been assured by the new leadership that our entire debt would be paid off that year.

3. In 1979, as indicated, we have received \$40,000 toward debt repayment and \$50,000 was the up-front money for the new survey. (As you remember, waiting for that money delayed the survey four months from the time of commissioning.)

4. Of the \$340,000 paid to us so far, about 80% has gone to pay off pre-inaugural and campaign debt and only 20%, or \$65,000, toward paying for work done post-inaugural.

Of course, part of the problem with the Committee has been the continual commitments made by individuals to clear the debt via mail campaigns, dinners, individual fundraising attempts, etc. Various Chairmen, Executive Directors, and Treasurers have all, at many points, made commitments to paying the debt. Yet these commitments have never really materialized and the debt has continued to grow, being financed by Cambridge Survey Research on 10% interest loans with inflation cheapening the value of the debt by almost 20%. We were promised that the debt would be paid in 1977, we were promised that it would be paid by July 1978, by the end of 1978, etc.

Currently we are being investigated by the New York Times, being audited by the IRS, we have been subpoenaed by the Securities and Exchange Commission as of June 15, and the FEC is auditing the DNC which will almost surely result in an FEC investigation of CSR and its debt and debt procedures. Aside from the probability of one of these external situations blowing up in our faces, we continue to have serious financial strains, senior employees have been on half salary all year, we have no capital to expand other projects. We are unable to do needed Presidential work since we cannot commit any additional dollars. Our debt servicing, since all our bills must be paid, has created an enormous cash flow drain in our company that literally with a bad break could sink us. Frankly these events have put serious strains on our own internal relationships.

An effort on the Committee's part to focus in on this debt clearly is called for. One downside of not acting quickly is that we in Cambridge are going to be placed in the public arena and asked to explain why and how we have carried this debt. A most difficult situation at the outset of a campaign.

The amount of survey research that has been completed for the Committee over the past few years has not been overwhelming. Some small phone surveys on issues such as the Panama Canal or ERA in Florida, several national field and phone surveys, a subscription to the Cambridge Report program, and election analysis have been the limit of involvement; it has been less than we planned, expected, or feel was necessary. Nonetheless we have understood priorities and money problems. However, other debts, bills, and projects have been paid and to some extent, it is difficult not to believe that we have been dealt with in somewhat bad faith by the DNC.

It is vital from all the reasons cited above that this debt and the costs of any further work be liquidated before we begin serious surveying for the campaign. Otherwise, I fear not only will we have financial problems, but that we all may get embroiled in a political issue.

Cambridge Survey Research

Suite 1250 1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20006 Telephone (202) 223-6345

November 26, 1979

TIMETABLE

The following proposal covers our planned polling operations for the first stages of the campaign. It is crucial that we get underway immediately if survey data is to be available by the end of the year. We would assume quick approval and will operate on that assumption unless notified otherwise.

We expect to have finished questionnaire drafts by early next week and to commence field work immediately.

Patrick H. Caddell

IN CAMBRIDGE
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(617) 661-3212

Cambridge Survey Research

Suite 1250 1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20006 Telephone (202) 223-6345

PROPOSAL

To: The Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee
From: Patrick H. Caddell
Re: Initial survey research needs of the campaign

This proposal will outline what I believe to be the initial survey research needs of the campaign. The surveys are intended to determine in which areas we can spend our limited resources, which groups within those areas are most persuadable to support the President and finally what appeals and themes will gain the most response for the President.

I. A national survey

First of all, however, I believe that we need to undertake a national survey of Democrats and some eligible independents in order to plan overall campaign strategy as carefully as possible. The essential questions involve:

1. Attitudes toward Carter and his Administration -- tracking both attitudes we have explored in DNC surveys in the past as well as examining new issues that seem to be emerging as the campaign gets underway.
2. Attitudes toward Senator Kennedy -- here we want to look particularly at voter attitudes and the basis for those attitudes. Many people have pointed out that much of what the public seems to believe about Senator Kennedy is, in fact, based on impressions of his brothers and not of the Senator himself. Thus it is particularly important to explore not only what people feel they know and believe about the Senator but also why they feel they know it or believe it. What is the source of their feeling?

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3. Issues and attitudes that will influence the electorate. We want to examine both the basic issues that constantly confront the electorate and those election issues that will be important in 1980. Among these are, of course, issues such as the economy, national defense, energy, honesty in government and the kinds of personal qualities that people want in government. Attention will also have to be paid to comparisons of how voters feel that President Carter and Senator Kennedy would deal with these issues in the next four years.

This survey would involve 1500 personal interviews with a sample of Democrats and Independents likely to participate in the Democratic nomination process -- either through primary elections or caucus participation.

II. Qualitative research

We also want to undertake -- as quickly as possible -- a 300 interview national sampling using the telephone interviewing format developed in 1976 by Professor Robert Abelson for CSR and the Carter campaign. Those interviews, which ask respondents to imagine various situations with different people playing different roles, have proved most helpful in the past in uncovering the actual feelings that respondents have and in breaking down superficial reactions.

During the course of the campaign we probably will want to conduct focus group interviews -- small groups of respondents -- and other tests, for example the debates utilizing the instant response tests.

III. State by state surveys

Beyond these two forms of national -- and essentially qualitative -- research, we need the following state by state assessments:

1. A survey of Iowa to enable us to maximize support for the caucuses by determining where support is most readily obtainable and where media and organizational efforts will bear the most fruit. This should be possible using a phone survey consisting of about 500 interviews and 50 questions.

2. A survey of Maine to determine our possibilities there and to allocate resources. 400 interviews by phone with about 40 questions.

3. New Hampshire represents a major northern contest and it is to be hoped that Carter can do well enough there to deny Kennedy any momentum even if he wins. Determining the best strategy requires in-depth information and we propose an extensive personal interview survey with 450 interviews and about 180 questions.

4. While Massachusetts is a certain Kennedy win, some information about targets and groups might enable us to shave the margin and reduce both the media and delegate impact of a win. A short phone survey with about 500 interviews and 35 questions seems appropriate to us.

5. Wisconsin represents another primary battle that may be significant early on. We suggest a relatively extensive phone survey of 500 interviews and 50 questions, provided there is intention to run or to examine a possible race.

6. Vermont -- while only a beauty contest primary -- may represent our best shot at beating Kennedy in New England, which would have psychological benefits for the campaign. The relatively low Catholic population and the unique brand of liberalism in the state -- "conservative conservationist" -- make it a potential Carter area. We suggest a relatively extensive phone survey to check on this with 400 interviews and 80 questions each.

7. Florida is clearly a potentially critical southern state where Kennedy has some chance to do very well against Carter. It seems to deserve maximum effort with a personal interview survey of 600 respondents at 140 questions each.

8. Alabama seems to me like a state where, if we have any Southern problems, they might show up. I suggest a 450 interview phone survey with about 50 questions to check.

9. Illinois is obviously a key state with a large bloc of delegates as well as a psychological early test. We face a situation where we might win a number of delegates in some districts but suffer a worse defeat in the overall vote due to disproportionate margins in the city if the organization really works. Furthermore, the potential for crossover voting has to be explored. I suggest an in-depth analysis with 600 interviews and 150 questions.

10. New York should also be a priority since it is both influential and has a large delegate pool. I suggest another in-depth look with 800 interviews and 120 questions.

IV. Consultation and overhead

Since the amount of work required to fully service the Carter/Mondale campaign will be far in excess of that normally incurred in servicing campaigns, we will be forced to charge fees for excess consultation and overhead incurred by CSR for the campaign.

At the moment we contemplate a charge of \$15,000 per month retroactive to September 1979 which we will adjust periodically in consultation with the campaign as circumstances change.

V. Media testing

Still another potential use of survey research at this point in the campaign would be to test public reaction to the media that is being prepared. Obviously, we have several different possible ways of responding to the Kennedy challenge and it seems important to determine which of them the public most responds to.

The theory of such testing is to pick a relatively small but representative isolated media market. A survey would be conducted and then a week or two weeks of media, at relatively saturation levels would be shown. Then a follow-up survey would determine the impact.

Using 1000 interview telephone surveys before and after the media blitz we would have a total cost of \$50,000 not counting media production and air costs. Another possibility is traditional focus group surveys -- small groups exposed to spots and interviewed. However, we have serious methodological questions with this approach.

Jerry and I should work out a determination of how many tests -- and what kinds -- are needed and the cities to be used so we can present a joint proposal to the campaign.

VI. Phone bank

Finally, on or about February 1st I think we should plan to have a phone bank for continuous telephone interviewing in place so that we can begin continuous telephone tracking of the key primary states. Such a bank will reduce costs compared to doing surveys individually as outlined above.

In tracking areas we have developed procedures for using phone banks effectively to monitor developments. We should probably begin this procedure around February with a 20 phone bank for the early rounds of primaries and expand to 30 phones late in April. Sample design has already been completed for many primary states, and we are well on the way to planning the logistics of the project. While some costs are still hard to estimate (e.g. phone company rates next March), we estimate that the cost of the project will be \$125,000 per month for the twenty phone banks and \$187,000 per month for the 30 phone banks. It is assumed that these costs would hold for the first two quarters of 1980.

VIII. Media targetting

One valuable use of the survey and voting data that has been collected is to devise a model for the precise targetting of media purchases.

Although we have not yet had the opportunity to discuss this with Jerry Rafshoon, we feel that major breakthroughs could be established by combining computer modelling with additional media/political data to produce precise information for the time buyers and ad agency.

The basic idea would be to parallel our normal survey research with another flow of research that would examine in detail the media habits of various groups of voters -- crossing those habits not only by demographic breakdown but by political attitudinal groups (such as undecideds, soft Carter, soft Kennedy, conservatives, single issue voters, etc.) as well. Thus a matrix can be established with computer modelling of these input data which structures (1) media habits, (2) demographic groups, and (3) political/attitudinal segments and yields precise target information for placing the "right" spot in the "right" time slot to reach the "right" group. Thus the limited time that can be purchased can be maximized for impact, in effect expanding the dollars available for the media buy by several factors.

We think this unique and revolutionary approach could yield in enormous dividends to the campaign and the advertising. Because it would require a research program apart from the normal campaign research we would recommend that it be funded differently since the time buying yields a percentage of 15% of total buy to the media centers. We would recommend that a third of that (5%) be devoted to cover the costs of this project. It would seem logical that the effort be funded out of the time buying commission since it is devoted to and enhances that effort and indeed makes the actual buying simpler. We would like to pursue this with Jerry, the media people, and the campaign.

I. National survey \$85,000

II. Qualitative research \$12,000

III. State surveys

	<u>Method</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>#Q</u>	<u>Prices</u>
Iowa	phone	500	50	\$14,650
Maine	phone	400	40	9,400
N.H.	field	450	180	29,700
Mass.	phone	500	35	10,425
Wisc.	phone	500	50	14,650
Vermont	phone	400	80	18,720
Florida	field	600	140	35,200
Alabama	phone	450	50	13,125
Illinois	field	600	150	36,100
N.Y.	field	800	120	44,325

\$226,295

IV. Initial Consulting
(Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec.)

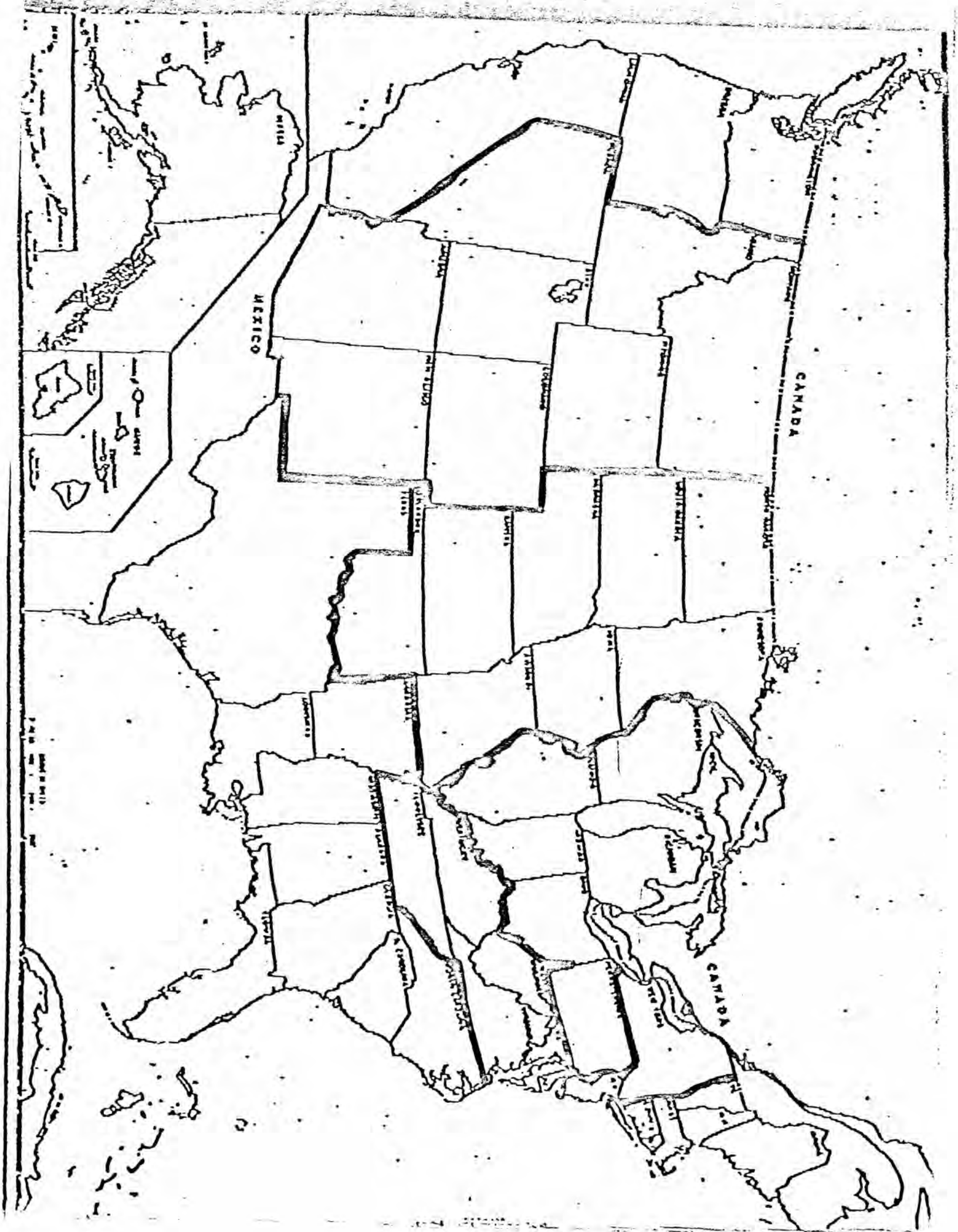
\$ 60,000

Overhead

(undetermined)

Appendix 1

The attached map shows areas contemplated for the national survey and for subsequent 1980 national surveys. The pages following show the number of interviews the areas would receive on the basis of their contribution to the Carter/Mondale vote in 1976 (N) and the number we suggest they receive on the basis of weighting to provide adequate sample sizes for small areas.



'76 g.e. president

		<u>N'</u>	<u>N</u>
1.	New England	2,765,874	150
2.	New York-New Jersey	4,834,211	178
3.	Industrial	10,363,253	300
4.	Border	3,711,432	177
5.	South	8,276,348	300
6.	Central/West	5,738,198	212
7.	Pacific	4,950,014	183
		40,639,330	1500

'76 g.e. democrats

New England

Maine	232,279
New Hampshire	147,635
Vermont	80,954
Mass.	1,429,475
Conn.	647,895
R.I.	227,636
	2,765,874

NY-NJ

New York	3,389,558
New Jersey	1,444,653
	4,834,211

Industrial

Michigan	1,696,714
Wisconsin	1,040,232
Illinois	2,271,295
Indiana	1,014,714
Ohio	2,011,621
Penn.	2,328,677
	10,363,253

Border

Maryland	759,612
Delaware	122,596
West Virginia	435,914
Virginia	813,896
Kentucky	615,717
Tenn.	825,879
D.C.	137,818
	3,711,432

1976 g.e. democrats (continued)

South

N. Carolina	927,365
S. Carolina	450,807
Georgia	949,409
Florida	1,636,000
Alabama	659,170
Mississippi	381,309
Arkansas	498,604
Louisiana	661,365
Texas	2,082,319
	8,276,348

Central

N. Dakota	136,078
Minnesota	1,070,440
S. Dakota	147,068
Nebraska	233,692
Iowa	619,931
Kansas	430,421
Oklahoma	532,442
Missouri	998,387
	4,168,459

West

Montana	149,259
Idaho	126,549
Wyoming	62,239
Colorado	460,353
Utah	182,110
Nevada	92,479
Arizona	295,602
New Mexico	201,148
	1,569,739

1976 g.e. democrats (continued)

Pacific

Washington	717,323
Oregon	490,407
California	3,742,284
	4,950,014

40,639,330

Cambridge Survey Research

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MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

BETWEEN

CAMBRIDGE SURVEY RESEARCH, INC.

AND

THE CARTER/MONDALE REELECTION COMMITTEE

The purpose of this memorandum is to confirm an agreement under which Cambridge Survey Research, Inc. (Cambridge) will undertake surveys for the Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee (Campaign).

I. The nature of the research

The surveys and research will be concerned with examining and evaluating the attitudes of the voters of the United States. Both parties hereto will consult with each other and reach a mutual agreement on the contents of that research.

The research undertaken under this contract will be for the purpose of aiding the campaign in its electoral efforts in 1980. Cambridge agrees to work for no other Presidential campaign and the Campaign agrees to contract with no other research firm for the period in which this contract is in force.

Due to the large number of changing needs that the Campaign may face, the scope of the work under this contract will be defined by "proposals" submitted by Cambridge to the Campaign. When such proposals are accepted by the Campaign, the scope of work outlined in those proposals and financial obligations attached to that work will be considered as parts of this agreement.

The initial proposal to the Campaign is attached to this contract.

IN CAMBRIDGE
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II. Other provisions

Cambridge agrees to furnish to the Campaign written and oral analyses and presentations of research findings as well as consultation time with respect to its data and findings. Cambridge will furnish to the Campaign copies of appropriate data and computer runs.

All of the data obtained by Cambridge is the property of the Campaign subject to the following reservations.

Cambridge is entitled to retain copies of all data and analysis and the original interview forms used in the field for its own internal use.

The Campaign agrees that any public or private dissemination of any data or conclusions represented to be those of Cambridge will be in strict conformity with the data and analysis provided to the Campaign by Cambridge. The Campaign further recognizes the right of Cambridge to correct errors in such data as may be attributed to them by releasing the correct data or analysis.

Cambridge will not release any data whatsoever except as provided in the preceding paragraph, nor any other information in its possession concerning the Campaign, except as may be required by law, without the written permission of the Campaign.

IV. Costs

The costs of work undertaken will be clearly stated in each proposal.

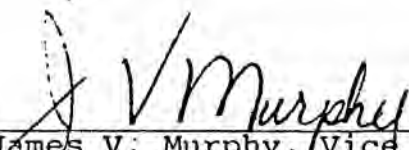
Cambridge also agrees to provide technical services such as additional keypunching and computer processing, if desired by the Campaign at cost, plus 25%.

Memorandum of Understanding
November 1979
Page 3

The Campaign agrees to pay to Cambridge half of the total cost of each proposal at the time it is accepted and half on delivery of the finished work.

The Campaign has assured Cambridge that in connection with this matter it will account for and disclose the cost of the research as an expenditure, if required by Federal, State, or local campaign law.

By:


James V. Murphy, Vice President
Cambridge Survey Research

By:

Carter/Mondale Reelection Committee

MEMORANDUM

25 May 1979

TO: The Democratic National Committee
FROM: Cambridge Survey Research
RE: The political situation and President Carter

This memorandum will outline the results of the most recent national survey as they relate to the current political situation and to the image that voters have of President Carter. In most cases, we will try to tie the standings in potential primary and general election races back to the views that voters have of the President.

The basic question

The basic question, of course, is how the President stands for re-election. The results of this survey show that despite the general spirit of unhappiness in the country, and a great deal of dissatisfaction with the way that he is doing the job, Jimmy Carter still holds leads over all his primary and general election opponents, except for Senator Edward Kennedy. However, the leads are often fairly small for an incumbent President running against less well-known opponents. Furthermore, the President often fails to achieve a solid 50% of the vote -- the figure needed to insure re-election.

The Democratic primary races

Looking first at the Democratic primary races, we see that while Carter holds a 2-to-1 lead over California Jerry Brown, he trails Senator Kennedy by a similar margin.

Thinking ahead to 1980, if a Democratic primary were held today for whom would you vote if the candidates were Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown?
[IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

Carter	44%
(Lean Carter)	12
Brown	22
(Lean Brown)	5
(Undecided)	17

Let's say the candidates were Edward Kennedy and Jimmy Carter, who would you favor? [IF UNDECIDED]
Well, toward whom do you lean?

Kennedy	53%
(Lean Kennedy)	9
Carter	22
(Lean Carter)	5
(Undecided)	11

Looking at the demographic breakdowns of the Carter/Kennedy race, we see that Kennedy does slightly better among liberal Democrats, although he carries moderates, liberals and conservatives. Even Democrats who express a favorable opinion of Carter give a plurality of their votes to Kennedy.

If the 1980 Democratic primary were held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were Edward Kennedy and Jimmy Carter? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Lean Kennedy</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>	53%	9	22	5	11
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (32)	57	10	21	5	7
Moderate (23)	45	13	21	9	12
Conservative (34)	47	8	28	4	14
<u>Carter rating</u>					
Favorable (62)	44	10	30	6	11
Unfavorable (30)	65	9	9	3	13
Can't rate (6)	57	16	10	4	12
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (6)	37	7	42	7	8
Good (33)	35	10	37	7	11
Only fair (43)	58	10	17	4	10
Poor (17)	72	8	3	2	15
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (42)	46	5	38	5	5
Lean Carter (12)	43	19	11	15	13
Undecided (19)	48	12	7	2	30
Brown (21)	71	8	15	2	4
Lean Brown (5)	45	26	8	2	19
<u>Sex</u>					
Female (52)	52	11	22	3	12
Male (48)	50	9	24	6	10
<u>Race</u>					
White (83)	49	10	24	5	12
Black (14)	62	8	18	3	9

DNC

Page 4.

1980 Democratic primary (continued)

		<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Lean Kennedy</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>		53%	9	22	5	11
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	29	19	33	3	16
White collar	(12)	48	9	24	8	12
White clerical	(8)	55	9	19	7	11
Government	(5)	43	9	38	6	4
Skilled blue collar	(15)	61	13	17	5	5
Unskilled blue collar	(16)	60	12	13	3	13
Retired	(27)	43	7	30	5	15
Self-employed	(4)*	55	11	27	—	7
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(13)	39	9	31	4	17
English	(18)	42	10	30	7	11
French	(5)	51	12	16	3	18
German	(13)	47	16	20	5	11
Italian	(5)	54	8	27	3	8
Eastern European	(7)	65	11	8	6	10
Scandinavian	(3)*	56	4	9	9	21
Spanish	(6)	58	5	15	9	13
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(12)	60	8	19	3	10
Some high school	(16)	53	12	18	3	14
High school graduate	(32)	48	9	27	5	12
Technical/vocational	(5)	54	8	32	—	5
Some college	(19)	55	10	20	6	9
College graduate	(9)	35	12	24	11	18
Graduate school	(6)	53	14	22	4	7
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant	(54)	48	9	26	5	11
Catholic	(33)	57	7	21	5	10
Jewish	(5)	53	17	—	5	25
Other	(3)*	30	36	16	4	15
None	(4)*	58	11	21	3	7

1980 Democratic primary (continued)

		<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Lean Kennedy</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>		53%	9	22	5	11
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(6)	58	2	26	3	11
\$4-6,999	(13)	53	4	27	5	10
\$7-9,999	(12)	52	10	20	7	10
\$10-14,999	(14)	50	9	19	8	14
\$15-19,999	(16)	51	15	21	3	8
Over \$20,000	(27)	50	9	27	4	10
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(18)	63	8	16	5	7
Family member	(14)	59	12	17	4	8
No member	(67)	47	10	26	5	13
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(10)	64	3	17	7	10
26-35	(18)	62	11	12	4	11
36-45	(17)	49	18	17	7	9
46-55	(17)	54	11	23	3	9
56-65	(17)	46	4	33	5	11
Over 65	(19)	38	11	31	4	16
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(53)	53	10	21	4	11
Suburban	(29)	51	9	23	7	10
Rural	(18)	45	11	27	3	13
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(12)	56	7	20	5	12
Industrial	(22)	52	15	20	4	8
Midlands	(12)	57	11	18	3	11
South	(24)	37	10	30	4	18
Central	(14)	59	5	24	2	10
Pacific	(14)	59	9	18	10	5
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(11)	58	7	19	12	4
West	(12)	59	8	22	3	8
New York	(7)	50	6	22	6	17
South	(19)	34	10	35	3	17
Industrial	(23)	53	16	18	4	9
Border	(9)	53	9	16	6	16
New England	(6)	64	7	17	5	7
Midwest	(13)	55	6	24	3	12

DNC

Page 6.

1980 Democratic primary (continued)

	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Lean Kennedy</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>	53%	9	22	5	11
<u>Area III</u>					
South (30)	42	10	28	5	15
Industrial (47)	54	11	20	6	9
Other (23)	59	8	21	2	11

Carter does somewhat better among whites than among blacks. Carter's vote also increases with the age of the respondent; young people are much more strongly for Kennedy. Regionally, Carter loses every section of the country. Even in his native South, while running more strongly, he loses a plurality of the vote to Kennedy.

We also asked respondents why they favored the candidate that they did. As the table shows, those who back Kennedy tend to cite his qualifications, but his brother still ranks as the second largest specific reason for backing him. People also give favorable comments for his work as a Senator, his positions, and so on.

Why would you favor that person?

KENNEDY

Capable, qualified, good leader, would do a good job	15%
Kennedy follows brother's footsteps, like his brother	13
Experienced	10
General like, good man, heard good things	7
For the people, for the common man, down-to-earth, listens to people	7
Done a good job, good record, good Senator	5
Intelligent, educated, bright	5
For poor and minorities	4
Don't like the other candidates, lesser of evils, negative comments about other candidates	4
Best man, better candidate	4
For national health program	4
Issues, ideas, views in general	3

KENNEDY (continued)

Aggressive, outspoken, strong, his own man, a fighter	3%
Honest, sincere, straightforward	3
Hardworking, tries hard, dedicated	2
Fresh ideas, need a change	2
Liberal	1
Know more about him, don't know other candidates	1
Specific issues, ideas, views	1
Personality, image, appearance	1
Other	4
Don't know	2

Interestingly, anti-Carter statements did not really figure prominently in the reasons for backing Kennedy. Shockingly, though, the strongest reason many Democrats can give for backing an incumbent President of their party is that they don't like Kennedy. One-quarter of Carter's voters, as the next table shows, give that as a reason for backing Carter. It far exceeds the number who cite his positions or his job as reasons for re-electing him.

Why would you favor that person?CARTER

Don't like other candidates, lesser of evils, negative comments about other candidates	23%
Done a good job, good record, good President	11
Honest, sincere, straightforward	9
Give Carter another chance, Carter needs more time	8
General like, good man, heard good things	7
Experienced	6
Capable, qualified, good leader, does a good job	5

<u>CARTER (continued)</u>	
Conservative	3%
Hardworking, tries hard, dedicated	3
Intelligent, educated, bright	3
For the people, for the common man, down-to-earth, listens to people	2
Best man, better candidate	2
Liberal	1
Know more about him, don't know other candidates	1
Specific issues, ideas, views	1
Issues, ideas, views in general	1
For poor and minorities	1
Other	11
Don't know	3

We also asked voters to place themselves on a differential scale for each pair of candidates. As the table shows, Carter gets a third of the vote solidly against Brown while Brown himself has only a miniscule share. Kennedy, on the other hand, has a solid third of the vote against Carter, while Carter manages to keep about a solid fifth of the vote.

Please look at this card. On it are the names of Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown separated by seven blank spaces. These spaces represent different degrees of support for the two candidates. If you support one man very strongly, you would place yourself on the blank closest to his name. If you are less certain, you would put yourself on one of the blanks in between. Now, where would you put yourself between Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown? [NOTE: POSITION "4" REPRESENTS UNDECIDED]

Jimmy Carter	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jerry Brown
	30%	12	14	21	12	6	6	

Please look at this card. On it are the names of Jimmy Carter and Edward Kennedy. As you did above, where would you place yourself between Jimmy Carter and Edward Kennedy?

Jimmy Carter	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Edward Kennedy
	17%	6	9	11	11	13	33	

Later on in the survey, since Kennedy is so obviously the strongest challenger, we asked all respondents, including Republicans, to tell us how the government might be different if Kennedy were President. As the next table shows, most people tended to say that Kennedy would bring more forceful and accomplished leadership. National health insurance was also cited prominently as a Kennedy achievement. However, other people did cite some negative factors, such as the Senator's personal life or what they perceived as his "too liberal" or big-spending policies.

Let's say Edward Kennedy were President instead of Jimmy Carter -- what do you think the biggest differences would be?

Stronger leader, more decisive	10%
Would do a better job, would get work done, capable	8
National health insurance plan	7
More liberal on issues	4
Kennedy could work better with Congress	4
More popular, Kennedy charisma would be there	4
Increase government spending	3
Other positive specific issues (economy, foreign affairs)	3
More give-away programs, big welfare handouts, wasteful spending	3

If Kennedy were President (continued)

More experienced	3%
More for the people	2
Could deal with inflation, lower inflation	2
Would spend money to help the poor, would care about the poor	2
Kennedy would be worse than Carter	2
Other negative specific issues (pro-rich)	2
More social programs	2
More socialism	2
Greater Federal deficit	1
Corrupt, couldn't be trusted	1
Country would be more united behind Kennedy	1
Higher inflation	1
People would remember Chappaquiddick, girl drowning, his running around, less morality	1
Not much difference, both Democrats, no difference	8
Other	7
Don't know	17

General election races

We also tested Carter in four general election races. As the next tables show, he won all four general election races with varying margins. Former President Ford scored best against the President, while John Connally -- who remains surprisingly unpopular, as we will see -- fares worst.

Let's say the 1980 general election for President was held today. For whom would you vote if the candidates were Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican Gerald Ford? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

Carter	37%
(Lean Carter)	9
Ford	32
(Lean Ford)	9
(Undecided)	14

Let's say the candidates were Republican Ronald Reagan and Democrat Jimmy Carter. For whom would you vote? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

Reagan	31%
(Lean Reagan)	8
Carter	38
(Lean Carter)	9
(Undecided)	14

Let's say the candidates were Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican John Connally. For whom would you vote? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

Carter	46%
(Lean Carter)	10
Connally	16
(Lean Connally)	5
(Undecided)	22

Let's say the candidates were Republican Howard Baker and Democrat Jimmy Carter. For whom would you vote? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

Baker	19%
(Lean Baker)	8
Carter	39
(Lean Carter)	9
(Undecided)	25

Looking at the demographic breakdowns of the Ford/Carter race, we see the following major points:

- * Undecided voters are slightly more unfavorable than favorable to Carter. Thus, we would expect him to lose many of them, making the race even closer than it now appears.
- * Whereas most Kennedy primary voters return to Carter in the general election, he loses Brown primary voters. This would seem to indicate that a Brown race might potentially be very damaging for the general election. His constituents are less loyal to the Democratic Party and its principles than Kennedy voters.

- * Carter wins men, while he and Ford are tied among women. Carter also wins black voters substantially, while only breaking even among whites.
- * Carter does best among lower-income and less-educated respondents; the Ford vote increases as education and income increase.
- * Geographically, Carter wins the Midlands, the South and the Pacific areas. His weakness in the Northeast and Midlands areas is striking compared to his relatively strong showing in 1976.

The complete demographic breakdown follows.

If the 1980 Presidential election were held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican Gerald Ford? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, toward whom do you lean?

	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Lean Ford</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>	37%	9	32	9	14
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	56	9	17	6	12
Independent (37)	27	9	34	11	19
Republican (17)	10	2	68	9	10
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	49	9	22	7	13
Moderate (24)	32	12	27	12	17
Conservative (42)	31	6	43	8	13
<u>Carter rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	58	11	16	5	10
Unfavorable (39)	11	4	54	12	19
Can't rate (7)	20	14	31	13	22
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	77	3	7	4	10
Good (29)	59	13	16	6	7
Only fair (44)	31	9	34	10	17
Poor (21)	11	3	56	11	20
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	82	4	10	1	3
Lean Carter (12)	44	26	9	9	12
Undecided (17)	25	9	17	14	35
Brown (22)	34	7	37	9	14
Lean Brown (5)	23	22	17	21	16
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	50	7	21	8	14
Lean Kennedy (9)	46	23	11	8	11
Undecided (11)	34	7	17	11	31
Carter (22)	72	10	14	2	2
Lean Carter (5)	52	14	12	9	14

1980 Presidential election (continued)

		<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Lean Ford</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>		37%	9	32	9	14
<u>Sex</u>						
Female (50)		34	9	32	10	15
Male (50)		40	8	32	7	13
<u>Race</u>						
White (89)		35	8	34	9	14
Black (10)		54	12	11	4	19
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional (5)		28	15	31	16	10
White collar (14)		36	8	34	11	12
White clerical (9)		32	10	32	9	17
Government (4)*		44	9	39	4	4
Skilled blue collar (14)		39	7	35	5	13
Unskilled blue collar (14)		37	12	25	11	16
Retired (26)		40	7	31	8	15
Self-employed (6)		22	6	46	8	18
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish (11)		40	8	28	10	14
English (20)		29	8	41	9	12
French (4)*		49	5	30	5	11
German (17)		27	10	40	8	16
Italian (5)		50	6	26	6	12
Eastern European (7)		36	10	25	9	19
Scandinavian (4)*		36	9	42	5	8
Spanish (4)*		40	9	26	9	16
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school (10)		53	6	19	4	18
Some high school (15)		41	11	25	8	15
High school graduate (32)		35	7	34	8	16
Technical/vocational (5)		39	4	33	9	15
Some college (20)		33	9	35	12	12
College graduate (12)		30	12	36	10	11
Graduate/professional (7)		34	9	37	8	12

1980 Presidential election (continued)

	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Lean Ford</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>	37%	9	32	9	14
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	34	7	35	9	15
Catholic (30)	40	10	29	7	13
Jewish (4)*	43	10	17	11	19
Other (4)*	38	11	26	10	15
None (4)*	42	10	31	9	9
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	57	6	18	4	16
\$4-6,999 (11)	45	10	22	6	17
\$7-9,999 (11)	36	8	31	8	17
\$10-14,999 (16)	37	7	33	9	14
\$15-19,999 (18)	31	10	35	10	15
Over \$20,000 (29)	35	9	37	9	10
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	43	9	29	5	15
Family member (13)	32	10	36	10	13
No member (70)	36	8	32	9	14
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	37	9	28	13	12
26-35 (17)	39	8	30	8	15
36-45 (17)	36	12	29	10	14
46-55 (18)	30	5	37	11	17
56-65 (17)	39	9	33	5	14
Over 65 (19)	44	8	32	7	14
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	43	8	28	7	14
Suburban (35)	29	9	35	11	15
Rural (20)	37	8	34	8	14

1980 Presidential election (continued)

	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Lean Carter</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Lean Ford</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
<u>Overall</u>	37%	9	32	9	14
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast (15)	30	9	32	6	23
Industrial (25)	28	12	35	8	18
Midlands (15)	43	9	26	9	13
South (19)	44	6	26	9	14
Central (14)	41	3	40	9	7
Pacific (13)	38	10	32	12	8
<u>Area II</u>					
California (10)	37	9	32	14	7
West (11)	39	6	40	9	6
New York (8)	30	8	27	6	29
South (13)	47	8	23	10	11
Industrial (28)	31	11	33	8	17
Border (8)	34	3	36	7	20
New England (7)	30	10	38	6	16
Midwest (15)	43	9	29	7	13
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	43	6	29	8	13
Industrial (52)	33	10	31	9	17
Other (24)	38	7	37	8	10

In order to measure strength of support, we also asked respondents to place themselves on a differential vote scale between Ford and Carter and between Carter and Reagan. While in both cases Carter wins, it is notable that he has only a fifth to about a quarter of the vote solidly behind him.

Please look at this card. On it are the names of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, separated by seven blank spaces. As you have already done, please place yourself between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. [POSITION "4" REPRESENTS "UNDECIDED"]

Gerald Ford	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jimmy Carter
	17%	12	11	17	11	11	21	

Please look at this card. On it are the names of Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Again, please place yourself between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. [POSITION "4" REPRESENTS "UNDECIDED"]

Ronald Reagan	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jimmy Carter
	18%	9	10	16	10	11	27	

On a scale from "1" to "7", where would you place yourself between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter? If you support one man very strongly, you would place yourself on the blank closest to his name. If you are less certain, you would put yourself on one of the blanks in between.

	Gerald Ford	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jimmy Carter
<u>Overall</u>	16%	12	11	17	11	11	21		
<u>Party preference</u>									
Democrat (44)	10	6	8	14	13	15	35		
Independent (37)	14	15	13	22	12	10	14		
Republican (17)	43	20	16	11	5	2	2		
<u>Political ideology</u>									
Liberal (26)	10	8	10	17	13	15	27		
Moderate (24)	14	12	10	22	12	11	19		
Conservative (42)	24	15	13	15	10	9	15		
<u>Carter rating</u>									
Favorable (54)	8	7	7	13	15	17	33		
Unfavorable (39)	30	18	17	22	7	2	5		
Can't rate (7)	12	16	11	27	13	10	10		
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>									
Excellent (4)*	3	4	--	16	4	20	53		
Good (29)	9	6	8	10	14	18	34		
Only fair (44)	15	14	13	21	13	9	15		
Poor (21)	35	18	13	19	6	3	7		
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>									
Carter (44)	5	4	4	5	9	18	56		
Lean Carter (12)	5	10	7	13	24	19	22		
Undecided (17)	11	8	8	41	14	8	11		
Brown (22)	14	13	14	17	13	10	18		
Lean Brown (5)	14	5	11	32	10	15	12		
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>									
Kennedy (53)	11	7	9	17	12	13	32		
Lean Kennedy (9)	6	3	8	18	17	19	30		
Undecided (11)	9	9	9	27	16	10	20		
Carter (22)	4	9	4	7	11	18	45		
Lean Carter (5)	7	8	6	27	14	11	27		

On a scale from "1" to "7", where would you place yourself between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter..... (continued)

		Gerald Ford	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jimmy Carter
<u>Overall</u>			16%	12	11	17	11	11	21	
<u>Sex</u>										
Female	(50)		16	13	11	19	11	10	20	
Male	(50)		17	11	11	16	12	12	21	
<u>Race</u>										
White	(89)		18	13	11	17	12	10	19	
Black	(10)		5	2	10	24	9	17	32	
<u>Occupation</u>										
Professional	(5)		14	14	19	18	13	9	14	
White collar	(14)		12	16	13	19	15	12	13	
White clerical	(9)		12	16	15	16	13	11	17	
Government	(4)*		22	5	12	11	17	12	21	
Skilled blue collar	(14)		18	12	7	16	11	16	20	
Unskilled blue collar	(14)		13	9	13	19	13	11	22	
Retired	(26)		21	10	10	15	9	10	26	
Self-employed	(6)		14	20	15	25	6	5	15	
<u>Ethnic background</u>										
Irish	(11)		18	13	7	16	9	12	25	
English	(20)		21	17	13	15	10	9	15	
French	(4)*		19	9	9	15	8	8	32	
German	(17)		23	12	13	20	12	7	14	
Italian	(5)		9	10	10	15	10	14	32	
Eastern European	(7)		16	4	15	19	20	12	14	
Scandinavian	(4)*		19	13	8	24	6	15	15	
Spanish	(4)*		6	4	8	13	7	12	49	
<u>Education</u>										
Some grade school	(10)		14	6	7	15	10	10	38	
Some high school	(15)		16	6	7	18	12	11	30	
High school graduate	(32)		18	12	10	19	10	11	20	
Technical/vocational	(5)		17	10	12	13	17	12	19	
Some college	(20)		17	15	14	17	11	11	14	
College graduate	(12)		15	18	16	15	13	11	12	
Graduate/professional	(7)		15	17	13	15	12	13	14	

On a scale from "1" to "7", where would you place yourself between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter..... (continued)

	Gerald Ford	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jimmy Carter
<u>Overall</u>		16%	12	11	17	11	11	21	
<u>Religion</u>									
Protestant (58)		18	14	12	17	10	9	20	
Catholic (30)		15	9	10	18	12	12	24	
Jewish (4)*		11	2	11	18	19	21	17	
Other (4)*		18	14	5	13	15	28	8	
None (4)*		14	10	9	20	13	11	25	
<u>Income</u>									
\$0-3,999 (5)		17	6	3	14	9	10	41	
\$4-6,999 (11)		14	5	8	15	10	12	35	
\$7-9,999 (11)		17	10	11	22	7	10	24	
\$10-14,999 (16)		16	14	11	17	12	10	19	
\$15-19,999 (18)		19	15	12	18	12	10	15	
Over \$20,000 (29)		15	14	15	16	13	12	16	
<u>Union membership</u>									
Respondent (17)		15	10	8	17	12	15	23	
Family member (13)		16	12	12	19	13	9	18	
No member (70)		17	13	12	17	11	10	21	
<u>Age</u>									
18-25 (12)		11	14	13	18	11	14	18	
26-35 (17)		13	11	13	19	14	12	18	
36-45 (17)		14	14	7	19	16	14	16	
46-55 (18)		15	16	14	21	8	8	18	
56-65 (17)		22	8	11	15	10	11	24	
Over 65 (19)		20	11	10	14	11	8	27	
<u>Urban/rural</u>									
Urban (46)		14	12	9	18	11	11	25	
Suburban (35)		18	11	15	18	11	11	15	
Rural (20)		19	12	8	15	13	10	22	

On a scale from "1" to "7", where would you place yourself between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter..... (continued)

Gerald Ford		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Jimmy Carter
<u>Overall</u>		16%	12	11	17	11	11	21	
<u>Area I</u>									
Northeast	(15)	23	7	6	21	13	11	18	
Industrial	(25)	14	10	15	24	10	10	16	
Midlands	(15)	17	13	9	17	16	10	19	
South	(19)	14	12	9	15	10	11	28	
Central	(14)	18	15	12	12	10	11	22	
Pacific	(13)	14	16	14	11	9	14	22	
<u>Area II</u>									
California	(10)	15	16	11	13	11	13	21	
West	(11)	16	17	16	10	3	15	23	
New York	(8)	23	8	3	25	13	10	19	
South	(13)	12	13	8	14	9	10	34	
Industrial	(28)	17	10	13	21	11	11	17	
Border	(8)	14	13	15	22	11	12	13	
New England	(7)	24	7	10	17	14	12	18	
Midwest	(15)	15	13	9	16	18	7	20	
<u>Area III</u>									
South	(24)	14	12	12	16	9	12	26	
Industrial	(52)	17	11	11	20	12	11	19	
Other	(24)	19	15	11	13	12	10	20	

Political personalities

Obviously, electoral standing depends to some extent on both recognition and favorability. In order to put the Carter ratings into some perspective, we asked respondents to tell us whether they had a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of a whole range of political figures. As the table shows, Jimmy Carter had slightly more than five people rate him favorably for every four that rated him unfavorably. This is not a terribly good showing by any standards. However, one of the striking things about the list is how relatively badly everyone does. Even Senator Kennedy has nearly a third of the people rating him unfavorably. Only Mrs. Carter achieves more than a 2-to-1 favorable/unfavorable ratio -- a margin that we used to regard as a prerequisite for political viability. It is notable that John Connally -- despite all of his favorable press -- is regarded unfavorably by a large plurality of those who know him.

I'm going to read to you a list of political figures and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of each one. If you have never heard of someone, please just say so.

	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Can't rate</u>	<u>Never heard</u>
Jimmy Carter	54%	39	7	1
Gerald Ford	56%	36	8	1
Walter Mondale	44%	25	29	2
Ronald Reagan	46%	38	15	2
Howard Baker	29%	20	31	20
Edward Kennedy	60%	31	8	1
Jerry Brown	38%	25	27	9
John Connally	25%	43	25	8
Rosalyn Carter	60%	21	18	1

Aside from any specific opponent, we also asked respondents whether they thought they would be voting for Carter in 1980. As the table shows, there has been a substantial decline in the number who feel that they will be backing Carter from the level of 1977. Now, by nearly a 2-to-1 margin, respondents with an opinion say they will not be backing Carter.

Although it's a long way off, in 1980 do you think you'll probably be voting for or against President Carter?

	<u>Vote for</u>	<u>Vote against</u>	<u>Depends on Republican candidate</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
<u>1979</u>				
Today	21%	38	20	21
<u>1977</u>				
August-September	38%	19	14	29
July	39%	21	13	27
April 3-11	42%	14	8	36
February	36%	12	9	43
December-January	28%	14	9	49

Cambridge Survey Research

This is particularly interesting when we compare it to the results of all the election races where Carter usually wins. Obviously, while many people are wary of backing Carter again, they do back him when they are forced to consider the alternatives.

As the next table shows, when people are asked just in general whether they want President Carter to run again, only a third of them say "yes". Even among Democrats, less than half say that they want the President to run again.

Would you personally like to see Jimmy Carter run for re-election or not?

Yes	33%
(Not sure)	23
No	44

Democrats			Independents			Republicans		
Yes	Not sure	No	Yes	Not sure	No	Yes	Not sure	No
40%	38	22	30%	45	24	23%	59	18

Finally, when we asked people whether they would like to see someone other than Jimmy Carter as President, as the table shows, a majority say "yes" while less than a third say "no". Even among Democrats, a plurality say that they would rather

have someone else as President. This bodes ill for the President's re-election chances..

If it were up to you, would you rather see someone else besides Jimmy Carter as President, or not?

Yes	51%
(Not sure)	20
No	30

Democrats			Independents			Republicans		
<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>No</u>
43%	37	20	54%	26	20	69%	19	12

Jimmy Carter

We can begin our more detailed examination of the Carter image by looking at some of the things people say when they are asked to talk about the Carter Administration on their own. As the first table shows, when people are asked to talk about the Administration's accomplishments, they tend to think of two major foreign affairs events -- the Mideast peace and the establishing of relations with China. About one-fifth of the people can't think of any accomplishment while another one in seven says that the Administration has accomplished nothing.

What do you think are the two major accomplishments -- or best things -- that the Carter Administration has done?

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>
Handling of Middle East, peace efforts, Camp David, Begin-Sadat	21%	9%
Relations with China, recognizing China	13	8
Cutting or stabilizing inflation, trying to fight inflation, inflation program, wage-price guidelines	3	3
Foreign policy, talking with other governments	3	2
Raised employment, plan for more jobs, working on unemployment	2	2
Energy program, energy department, fuel rebates, oil costs, making awareness of energy crisis	2	2
Honest, open, frank, has integrity	2	1
Cutting costs or wastes in government, lower budget, efforts to balance budget	2	1

Two major accomplishments (continued)

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>
Human rights	2	2
Peace, no wars right now	2	1
Trying to get new SALT treaty	1	1
Government reorganization	1	1
Taxes, cutting taxes, tax reform, tax rebates	1	1
Panama Canal Treaty	1	1
Trying hard	1	1
Restored trust in government, restored honest image of Presidency, uniting country	1	1
Open Presidency, talks to people, brought President closer to people, communicates, tells people what's going on, taking issues to the people	1	--
Helping old people, raising Social Security	1	1
Helping poor	1	1
Nothing, hasn't done anything, none	14	7
Other	7	7
Don't know	19	46

Turning to the failures, we see that the failure to stop inflation is most on the minds of the American people. They blame Carter for not being able to bring this problem under control. Interestingly, despite the timing of the survey, more than one-tenth of the people still bring up the Panama Canal treaties as a major failure -- even more than mention the recognition of the People's Republic of China. People also cite numerous other failures in energy, foreign affairs, and so on. It is notable that over 80% of the people can name a failure -- significantly more than could cite an accomplishment.

What do you think are the two major failures -- the worst things -- that the Carter Administration has done?

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>
Inflation, hasn't stopped inflation, don't like anti-inflation program	23%	11%
Panama Canal, negotiations with Panama	9	3
Recognizing mainland China, breaking treaty with Taiwan	6	5
Energy program, raising gas taxes, not developing solar or nuclear energy, not doing anything or enough about energy crisis, de-regulating natural gas	4	5
Not keeping promises, breaking campaign promises	3	2
Foreign affairs, foreign policy in general, international dealings	3	4
Iranian conflict, poor intelligence in Iran	2	1
Economy, economy is bad, poor handling of economy	2	1
Not a strong or effective leader, wishy-washy	2	2
Not able to reorganize government or cut size of government	2	3
Jobs and unemployment, failed to cut unemployment or make jobs	2	3
Has not cut government spending, budget not balanced	2	2
Middle East negotiations, messing in Egyptian and Israeli affairs, sold out Israel, sided with Egypt	2	1
Didn't lower taxes, raised taxes, Social Security Tax	1	2
Hasn't helped elderly, not enough aid or benefits to senior citizens, trying to lower Social Security	1	1
Not getting along with Congress	1	2
Cabinet selections, appointments, advisors, people who work for him	1	1
Has not cut defense, increases defense spending	1	1
Not enough help to cities, not enough for New York City	1	1
Patty Hearst release	1	1
No national health care	1	1
Amnesty, pardoning draft dodgers	1	--
Firing Bella Abzug, can't work with women	1	--

Two major failures (continued)

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>
Bert Lance, Lance as Budget Director, Lance affair	1	—
Nothing, no failures, doing a great job	3	2
Failed to do anything, done nothing	1	1
Other	7	10
Don't know	17	35

When we asked people how their view of Carter's job might have changed over the past year, we found over one-third felt their opinion of Carter had worsened -- only about half as many felt it had improved.

Just in the last year, has your opinion of the
job Carter is doing gotten better or worse?

Better	17%
(No change)	44
Worse	36
(Don't know)	3

When asked why they had changed, those who saw improvement generally cited the idea that Carter was doing better or trying harder. Few specifics, other than Camp David, emerge. Those whose opinion has worsened tend to cite inflation as the major reason for their worsening opinion, followed by charges of general ineffectiveness and lack of leadership.

[IF OPINION CHANGED AT ALL] Is there any specific reason
for that change?

BETTER

Carter has matured into the office	15%
Trying harder	12
Doing a better job	10
Camp David talks were major accomplishment, handling of the Middle East situation	8
More decisive attitude	5
Recognized China	3
Honest, sincere	3
Not dealing with inflation	2
Nothing, just feel that way, no	7
Other	22
Don't know	12

WORSE

Not dealing with inflation	18%
Has been ineffective	13
Not doing anything	12
No leadership, not strong, unsure of himself	8
Other specific negative issues (stopped B-1, forgets farmer, can't work with women, unemployment)	8
Hasn't fulfilled campaign promises	7
Shouldn't have recognized China	4
Not concerned for people	1
Fixed income and elderly are suffering	1
Panama Canal Treaty was bad	1
Sold out Israel	1
Nothing, just feel that way, no	7
Other	10
Don't know	8

We next asked respondents what they wanted President Carter to do in the coming year. As the table shows, working on economic problems, and particularly inflation, easily topped the list. People asked either directly for work on inflation or for specific measures, like wage and price controls, or for general work on the economy.

What would you most like to see President Carter do in the coming year?

Control inflation, curb inflation, more on inflation	37%
Resign, go back to Georgia or the peanut farm, quit, get out of office	5
Price controls, wage and price controls	4
Cut government spending, cut wasteful spending, cut Federal programs	4
Stabilize or improve economy, stop the recession, keep us out of depression	4
Lower unemployment, create more jobs	3
More work on energy, come up with solutions to energy problems	3
Lower taxes	3
Stronger leadership	2
Concentrate more on U.S. problems	2
Reorganize government, continue to work on reorganization	2
Carry out campaign promises	2
Help elderly more	2
Cost of food stabilized	1
Pass some sort of national health program, better health care program	1
Balance the budget	1
Help cities more, more help for New York City	1
Other	16
Don't know	6

Carter job ratings

Our current data indicate that President Carter's overall job ratings continue to decline. As the next trend chart shows, there has been a 2-point slippage in the percentage of people who rate the President's job as "good", and a 5-point increase in the "poor" rating since the fourth quarter of 1978.

On a scale of excellent, good, only fair or poor, how would you rate Jimmy Carter's overall performance as President?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
February 1979	4%	29	44	21	2
R17 - 1978 IV	4%	31	47	16	3
R16p - October 1978	4%	37	44	14	2
R16 - 1978 III	3%	26	48	19	3
R15 - 1978 II	2%	30	44	21	4
R14 - 1978 I	6%	33	44	15	3
R13 - 1977 IV	6%	43	38	10	3
R12 - 1977 III	8%	46	36	9	2
R11 - 1977 II	11%	55	27	4	3
R10 - 1977 I	17%	52	21	3	7

Among Democrats, the results are only marginally better. As the next table shows, only four Democrats in ten give the President an "excellent" or "good" job rating. Our trend data show that there has been a dramatic 11-point shift

from the "good" to the "only fair" and "poor" categories in the 12 month period since February of 1978.

Carter Job Rating Among Democrats

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>
February 1979	7%	33	42	17
February 1978	7%	44	43	4

Among Independents, less than one-third give the President a positive rating, with nearly six respondents in ten assessing his job performance as "only fair" or "poor". As the next trend table shows, there has been a 7-point drop in the percentage of Independents who think the President is doing a "good" job since February of 1978.

Carter Job Rating Among Independents

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>
February 1979	3%	29	45	21
February 1978	2%	36	48	13

More than three-quarters of the Republicans in our sample rate the President's job performance negatively, with less

than one-fifth opting for a positive rating. Our trend table indicates that the current results reflect a 4-point decline in positive ratings among Republicans since February of 1978.

Carter Job Rating Among Republicans

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>
February 1979	2%	17	43	34
February 1978	1%	22	51	25

Specific job ratings

We asked our sample to evaluate President Carter's handling of 19 specific problems facing the nation. Majorities of Americans approve of President Carter's handling of the following problems:

- * Advocacy of human rights
- * Unemployment
- * National defense
- * Relations with the Soviet Union
- * Foreign policy generally
- * The Middle East
- * Bringing integrity to government

Majorities disapprove of the President's handling of the following problems:

- * Inflation
- * Energy
- * Keeping his campaign promises
- * Reorganizing the Federal bureaucracy
- * Generally handling the economy
- * Providing inspiration to the nation
- * Managing the Federal government

Pluralities approve of the President's handling of:

- * Bringing government closer to the people
- * The firing of Bella Abzug

Pluralities disapprove of his handling of:

- * Urban problems
- * Farm problems
- * The Iranian crisis

A complete listing of all responses follows.

How would you rate President Carter's handling of the following problems on a scale of strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove?

	<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
The problem of standing up for human rights	31%	43	12	7	7
The problem of unemployment	9%	41	30	15	6
Handling national defense	10%	41	26	15	9
Problems of inflation	4%	22	31	38	4
Our relations with the Russians	9%	45	23	13	11
Energy problems	7%	31	31	24	8
The problem of bringing government closer to the people	12%	35	25	18	10
Keeping his campaign promises	5%	23	33	32	8
Handling foreign policy in general	13%	43	22	17	6
Working on the Middle East problem between Israel and the Arabs	35%	34	13	12	7
Reorganizing the Federal bureaucracy	6%	26	29	25	14
Bringing integrity to government	17%	40	20	14	9
Handling problems of the cities	7%	31	31	16	16
General handling of the economy	4%	27	35	29	5
Providing inspiration and leadership to the nation	11%	32	30	21	7
Working on farm problems	6%	24	29	22	20
Managing the Federal government	6%	29	34	22	10
Handling the situation in Iran	7%	25	23	25	20
Handling the decision to fire Bella Abzug as Chairperson of the President's Advisory Commission on Women	19%	17	16	16	33

Looking more closely at attitudes toward the President's handling of inflation, we see that people who express the greatest disappointment tend to be:

- * Republicans
- * Conservatives
- * Undecideds in a race with Jerry Brown
- * Kennedy supporters in a race with the President
- * Residents of the Northeast

A full demographic breakdown follows.

How would you rate President Carter's handling of the problem of inflation?
Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of President Carter's handling of inflation?

	<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>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	48	22	31	38	4
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	5	23	31	35	5
Independent (37)	3	23	33	38	3
Republican (17)	4	19	27	45	5
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	4	24	30	36	5
Moderate (24)	5	23	32	36	5
Conservative (42)	3	20	32	41	4
<u>Jimmy Carter</u>					
Favorable (54)	7	32	34	22	4
Unfavorable (39)	1	9	27	60	3
Can't rate (7)	2	17	32	39	10
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	21	47	14	11	7
Good (29)	7	37	35	16	5
Only fair (44)	2	17	35	42	4
Poor (21)	1	6	24	66	3
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	10	31	32	22	5
Lean Carter (12)	1	27	43	28	1
Undecided (17)	—	15	27	55	4
Brown (22)	3	20	28	42	8
Lean Brown (5)	—	22	32	46	—
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	3	18	31	43	5
Lean Kennedy (9)	5	30	32	32	1
Undecided (11)	2	21	30	41	5
Carter (22)	9	38	32	15	6
Lean Carter (5)	9	23	38	27	3

Strongly approve or disapprove of the way President Carter's handling inflation
(continued)

		<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		4%	22	31	38	4
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	4	23	30	38	6
Male	(50)	4	22	33	38	3
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	4	22	31	39	4
Black	(10)	6	26	28	34	7
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	—	32	32	31	4
White collar	(14)	2	17	39	38	4
White clerical	(9)	3	22	31	41	3
Government	(4)*	2	25	37	34	2
Skilled blue collar	(14)	1	21	34	42	2
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	4	23	28	40	6
Retired	(26)	7	25	29	34	6
Self-employed	(6)	3	24	27	43	2
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	5	20	26	46	3
English	(20)	2	24	35	36	3
French	(4)*	2	22	30	38	8
German	(17)	3	18	36	37	6
Italian	(5)	4	12	38	42	4
Eastern European	(7)	6	15	24	50	4
Scandinavian	(4)*	—	30	30	38	2
Spanish	(4)*	2	34	35	26	4
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(10)	7	22	35	32	4
Some high school	(15)	5	22	24	43	6
High school graduate	(32)	4	19	32	40	5
Technical/vocational	(5)	6	29	31	33	1
Some college	(20)	3	27	29	36	4
College graduate	(12)	3	20	35	37	4
Graduate/professional	(7)	—	26	37	34	2

Strongly approve or disapprove of the way President Carter's handling inflation
(continued)

	<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	4%	22	31	38	4
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	5	23	31	36	4
Catholic (30)	3	21	32	39	5
Jewish (4)*	2	8	25	62	4
Other (4)*	2	28	35	33	2
None (4)*	4	24	35	30	7
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	8	30	28	25	9
\$4-6,999 (11)	8	25	30	31	6
\$7-9,999 (11)	5	21	28	41	5
\$10-14,999 (16)	4	22	31	38	4
\$15-19,999 (18)	3	19	28	47	3
Over \$20,000 (29)	2	24	35	37	3
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	4	19	30	43	3
Family member (13)	2	20	33	39	5
No member (70)	4	23	31	36	4
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	4	25	30	38	4
26-35 (17)	2	22	35	37	4
36-45 (17)	2	24	31	39	4
46-55 (18)	4	17	34	41	5
56-65 (17)	6	24	28	37	5
Over 65 (19)	6	24	30	35	5
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	4	23	30	38	5
Suburban (35)	3	19	33	41	4
Rural (20)	5	27	32	32	4

Strongly approve or disapprove of the way President Carter's handling inflation
(continued)

	<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	4%	22	31	38	4
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast (15)	2	13	24	58	3
Industrial (25)	5	18	32	40	5
Midlands (15)	5	27	33	32	4
South (19)	5	25	30	36	5
Central (14)	5	26	38	28	3
Pacific (13)	3	29	32	30	6
<u>Area II</u>					
California (10)	3	26	32	35	5
West (11)	4	28	38	26	4
New York (8)	2	9	28	59	3
South (13)	6	27	28	35	5
Industrial (28)	5	19	33	39	5
Border (8)	2	23	35	36	4
New England (7)	2	17	20	58	4
Midwest (15)	6	28	31	31	4
<u>Area III</u>					
South (24)	5	24	31	35	5
Industrial (52)	4	19	32	41	4
Other (24)	3	29	30	33	4

Turning to the question of the President's ability to inspire and lead the nation, we find that approval of his actions comes more often than not from:

- * Democrats
- * Liberals and moderates
- * Blacks
- * Labor union members
- * Residents of the Midland states

A full demographic breakdown of this question follows.

How would you rate President Carter's handling of the following problem: providing inspiration and leadership to the nation? On a scale of strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove?

	<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	11%	32	30	21	7
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	13	37	25	18	7
Independent (37)	11	28	34	22	5
Republican (17)	5	25	34	29	7
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	13	32	31	19	5
Moderate (24)	12	30	32	21	5
Conservative (42)	9	32	29	23	7
 Favorable (54)	18	46	22	6	8
Unfavorable (39)	2	13	40	41	5
Can't rate (7)	5	26	36	21	12
 <u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	41	42	1	13	3
Good (29)	21	51	17	4	6
Only fair (44)	6	30	39	18	7
Poor (21)	2	7	34	52	5
 <u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	21	47	17	9	6
Lean Carter (12)	11	44	32	8	5
Undecided (17)	2	26	28	32	13
Brown (22)	6	24	33	31	5
Lean Brown (5)	8	26	34	29	3
 <u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	10	32	26	24	7
Lean Kennedy (9)	11	39	24	21	4
Undecided (11)	5	25	37	23	11
Carter (22)	20	50	20	6	4
Lean Carter (5)	18	43	18	11	10

Carter's handling of the following problem: providing inspiration and leadership
(continued)

		<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		11%	32	30	21	7
<u>Sex</u>						
Female	(50)	10	32	31	20	8
Male	(50)	12	31	28	23	6
<u>Race</u>						
White	(89)	10	32	30	22	6
Black	(10)	16	30	28	16	10
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional	(5)	13	32	40	13	1
White collar	(14)	10	30	32	21	6
White clerical	(9)	8	27	33	25	7
Government	(4)*	9	41	31	17	2
Skilled blue collar	(14)	11	32	28	24	6
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	8	36	27	21	8
Retired	(26)	13	33	26	20	8
Self-employed	(6)	10	27	40	19	4
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish	(11)	10	31	24	24	10
English	(20)	9	31	35	20	5
French	(4)*	10	43	24	18	5
German	(17)	8	31	30	25	6
Italian	(5)	8	44	27	16	5
Eastern European	(7)	7	31	29	30	3
Scandinavian	(4)*	4	38	32	22	4
Spanish	(4)*	12	41	20	18	9
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school	(10)	16	36	21	15	12
Some high school	(15)	11	32	27	20	9
High school graduate	(32)	9	33	29	22	6
Technical/vocational	(5)	12	27	36	24	1
Some college	(20)	12	28	32	21	6
College graduate	(12)	8	29	33	26	4
Graduate/professional	(7)	10	32	34	20	4

Carter's handling of the following problem: providing inspiration and leadership
(continued)

	<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	11%	32	30	21	7
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	11	32	30	21	7
Catholic (30)	11	33	29	21	7
Jewish (4)*	2	29	36	33	—
Other (4)*	15	27	34	18	6
None (4)*	13	31	28	22	5
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	15	33	21	17	14
\$4-6,999 (11)	12	38	21	19	10
\$7-9,999 (11)	13	32	31	19	5
\$10-14,999 (16)	10	28	34	21	6
\$15-19,999 (18)	10	30	27	30	4
Over \$20,000 (29)	10	33	34	18	5
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	11	35	24	23	6
Family member (13)	10	32	28	22	8
No member (70)	11	31	31	21	6
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	12	31	27	20	8
26-35 (17)	11	26	30	24	9
36-45 (17)	7	34	33	19	6
46-55 (18)	9	29	33	23	6
56-65 (17)	12	35	29	19	5
Over 65 (19)	12	35	25	21	7
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	13	32	28	20	7
Suburban (35)	9	30	31	25	6
Rural (20)	10	35	30	17	8

Carter's handling of the following problem: providing inspiration and leadership
(continued)

		<u>Strongly approve</u>	<u>Somewhat approve</u>	<u>Somewhat disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		11%	32	30	21	7
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	8	27	25	32	8
Industrial	(25)	8	32	35	18	7
Midlands	(15)	16	36	24	17	6
South	(19)	14	31	28	17	9
Central	(14)	11	32	35	17	5
Pacific	(13)	7	32	28	29	4
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	7	30	28	32	3
West	(11)	10	34	33	16	7
New York	(8)	9	29	19	34	10
South	(13)	16	31	24	19	10
Industrial	(28)	9	31	34	18	8
Border	(8)	8	34	35	16	7
New England	(7)	8	24	32	31	5
Midwest	(15)	16	37	27	17	3
<u>Area III</u>						
South	(24)	13	31	28	19	9
Industrial	(52)	10	31	29	23	6
Other	(24)	10	33	32	21	4

The speed and quality of decisions

Dissatisfaction with Carter's abilities as an executive predominate over perceptions of him as a person when respondents were asked about the job he is doing. The latter are quite positive, in fact. Only 22% of the public say they don't like the President personally. However, a majority (63%) think he hasn't gotten much done and give only grudging support to the man personally. As we see in the next table, there has been some slippage since 1977.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion:

I like Carter personally and approve of the job he has been doing.	27%
I like Carter personally but I don't really approve of the job he has been doing.	45
I don't really like Carter personally but I do have to approve of the job he has been doing.	4
I didn't like Carter personally and I don't approve of the job he has done either.	18
(Don't know)	7

Which of these four statements best describes the first two years of the Carter Administration in your opinion:

	<u>1979</u>	<u>1977</u>
Carter has had a good two years and has had real accomplishments.	7%	5%
While he hasn't accomplished much yet, he has tackled the hard problems and laid a firm foundation for future accomplishments.	27	32
While he hasn't accomplished much, he's done about as well as you could expect given the tough problems we face.	36	51
He has been disorganized and inept and has failed to get things done.	26	10
(Don't know)	5	2

One of the principal criticisms stems from perceptions that Carter is moving too slowly to face the country's problems. As we see in the next table, there is a marked change in data from 1977.

Thinking in general about the country's problems and various issues, do you think that President Carter has been moving too fast, too slow, or about right in dealing with the problems?

	<u>Too fast</u>	<u>Too slow</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>1979</u> Today	7%	50	32	11
<u>1977</u> December	16%	26	54	4
August-September	19%	21	49	11
July	10%	20	66	5
April 3-11	12%	12	72	4

Looking at the demographics, we note that perceptions about Carter's slowness cross the full spectrum of the party. Liberals and moderates are slightly more inclined to think Carter is moving at the right pace (34%) and 35% versus 28% for conservatives, but the difference is small.

- * Even among those who have favorable attitudes toward Carter almost as many say he is moving too slowly (36%) as think he is about right (48%).

- * Criticism is especially pronounced in the Northeast, Industrial and Midlands where by a 2-to-1 margin people think Carter is moving too slowly. Even in the South, Central and Pacific regions a narrow plurality share this view.

Slowness might be considered a virtue by those who feel it is equated with pondering and planning. While there was a substantial public willing to take this view in 1977 (39%), it has dwindled sharply to 25% now and more importantly, two respondents in five say Carter is just putting off actions rather than dealing with the issues.

Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion:

	<u>Today</u>	<u>December 1977</u>	<u>August-September 1977</u>
Carter is approaching issues and problems carefully, giving them full study before proposing solutions and programs in order to ensure that they are the right ones.	25%	39	36
Carter is dealing too slowly with problems and issues, preferring to put them off rather than risk actions which might lower his popularity.	36%	16	21
Carter is trying to do too much, too fast and should slow down and take more time with his proposals.	25%	38	29
Other	3%	2	3
(Don't know)	11%	5	11

Again, we find that even among those who think favorably of Carter, significant numbers (27%) feel he is moving too slowly. Of course, 20% think he is moving too rapidly. But among liberals generally a plurality (38% versus 25%) say he's moving too slowly and the numbers are virtually identical among conservatives (37% versus 24%). Only among moderates are there as many as 30% who think Carter is approaching issues carefully.

In apparent contradiction, we find that people think Carter ought to be acting cautiously and carefully and feel he is doing so -- apparently to excess, if we are to recognize the implications of the foregoing data.

Which of the following three statements do you think best describes how you would like President Carter to proceed/which do you think he has been following?

	<u>Would like Carter to proceed</u>	<u>Think Carter has been following</u>
He should move cautiously and carefully -- trying to keep things as stable as possible	34%	41%
He should try to follow Roosevelt by bringing in new programs and trying to bring fundamental change to the country.	19	12
He should try to follow Kennedy by inspiring and challenging the country -- even if he does not introduce many new programs	17	8
(Combination #1 and #3)	7	3
(Combination #2 and #3)	7	2
(Other combinations)	3	3
(None/other)	5	15
(Don't know)	9	16

Not only is there a lack of confidence implied in people's criticism of the speed with which Carter appears to be moving, but when we ask people what they think of Carter's judgment, results show that as many people think ill of his judgment as well.

About how much of the time do you think you can trust Jimmy Carter to do the right thing: all of the time, most of the time, only sometimes, hardly ever or not at all?

All of the time	8%
Most of the time	42
Only sometimes	35
Hardly ever	10
Not at all	2
(Don't know)	3

Looking at the demographic breakdowns, we find that Carter does especially poorly in the urban and suburban areas, where there are as many detractors as there are those with confidence in him. Only in the South do we find a solid plurality trusting Carter's judgment. In other parts of the country, results are pretty evenly divided.

A further lack of confidence appears in the next table. Given the criticisms regarding Carter's pace, we can scarcely interpret these findings to refer to that aspect of the

statement. Rather, the resounding criticism from a majority says that programs and policies are not well thought out.

Many of Carter's programs and policies have been announced too quickly and without enough thought being given to them. Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree	51%
(Don't know)	22
Disagree	28

Even among the people who give Carter high favorability ratings, almost as many fault him for this (35%) as don't (41%).

Agree/disagree statements

In order to further gauge public perceptions toward the President and his performance in office, we asked our sample to look at a series of statements about Jimmy Carter and tell us whether they agreed or disagreed with the content of each.

First, we will examine responses to questions that deal with the personality of the President. As the next table shows, a slim majority support the contention that Jimmy Carter really cares about average people. However, trend data indicate that agreement with this statement has fallen off sharply since December of 1977.

Would you agree or disagree: Jimmy Carter really cares about people like you.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	53%	33
<u>1977</u>		
December	79%	17
October	70%	23
August-September	63%	24
July	76%	19
April 3-11	83%	13
February	72%	11
December-January	64%	17

Jimmy Carter cares about people (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>1976</u>		
October 23-25	61%	27
October 10-12	58%	32
September 24-27	64%	24
September 20-22	65%	22
August 25-September 13	48%	22
August 23-25	65%	20
August 6-15	59%	19
July 29-August 1	69%	17
May 21-June 1	47%	26

Demographically, agreement with the statement -- the belief that the President does care about the average person -- is most prevalent among Democrats, moderates, professional workers, people aged 56-65 and residents of the South. Disagreement with the statement -- the belief that the President does not care about the average person -- is most common among Republicans, conservatives (as well as one-third of all liberals), skilled blue collar workers, people aged 46-55 and residents of the Northeast. A full demographic breakdown of this question follows.

Would you agree or disagree that Jimmy Carter really cares about people like you?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	53%	14	33
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	61	13	26
Independent (37)	48	14	38
Republican (17)	41	12	47
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	55	12	33
Moderate (24)	56	15	29
Conservative (42)	50	11	38
<u>Carter rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	74	11	14
Unfavorable (39)	26	14	59
Can't rate (7)	43	23	34
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	84	12	5
Good (29)	80	12	8
Only fair (44)	50	14	36
Poor (21)	18	14	68
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	77	10	13
Lean Carter (12)	63	15	22
Undecided (17)	48	21	32
Brown (22)	38	14	48
Lean Brown (5)	53	13	35
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	52	13	35
Lean Kennedy (9)	59	17	24
Undecided (11)	54	19	27
Carter (22)	80	10	10
Lean Carter (5)	67	14	18

...Jimmy Carter really cares about people..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		53%	14	33
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	54	14	32
Male	(50)	52	13	35
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	55	12	33
Black	(10)	44	23	33
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	65	13	22
White collar	(14)	56	10	34
White clerical	(9)	50	15	35
Government	(4)*	57	17	26
Skilled blue collar	(14)	51	11	38
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	46	15	39
Retired	(26)	57	14	29
Self-employed	(6)	47	16	37
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	56	13	31
English	(20)	54	11	36
French	(4)*	64	11	25
German	(17)	49	13	38
Italian	(5)	64	7	29
Eastern European	(7)	49	14	36
Scandinavian	(4)*	58	12	29
Spanish	(4)*	61	20	19
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	59	14	27
Some high school	(15)	50	15	35
High school graduate	(32)	53	14	33
Technical/vocational	(5)	50	10	40
Some college	(20)	52	12	36
College graduate	(12)	53	13	34
Graduate/professional	(7)	57	16	28

...Jimmy Carter really cares about people..... (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	53%	14	33
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	52	12	36
Catholic (30)	58	14	29
Jewish (4)*	50	11	39
Other (4)*	56	15	29
None (4)*	41	25	34
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	54	6	41
\$4-6,999 (11)	60	15	25
\$7-9,999 (11)	52	14	33
\$10-14,999 (16)	51	15	34
\$15-19,999 (18)	48	13	40
Over \$20,000 (29)	58	11	31
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	46	15	39
Family member (13)	52	14	34
No member (70)	55	13	32
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	47	15	38
26-35 (17)	50	15	35
36-45 (17)	54	14	32
46-55 (18)	45	14	41
56-65 (17)	61	12	27
Over 65 (19)	60	11	29
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	55	14	31
Suburban (35)	52	14	34
Rural (20)	51	11	37

...Jimmy Carter really cares about people..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		53%	14	33
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	48	11	41
Industrial	(25)	49	16	35
Midlands	(15)	59	15	27
South	(19)	60	13	27
Central	(14)	58	7	35
Pacific	(13)	43	18	38
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	38	16	45
West	(11)	59	14	28
New York	(8)	42	12	46
South	(13)	64	12	24
Industrial	(28)	51	16	33
Border	(8)	53	12	34
New England	(7)	53	10	37
Midwest	(15)	59	11	30
<u>Area III</u>				
South	(24)	59	12	29
Industrial	(52)	47	16	37
Other	(24)	60	10	30

One of the major themes of the 1976 election campaign stressed Jimmy Carter's ability to provide a certain vision that had been lacking in the Presidency. Our next measure shows that the public, for the first time since this question was asked, does not believe the President possesses the vision to provide solutions to the nation's problems.

Jimmy Carter has the vision to provide solutions
to the country's problems.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	39%	40
<u>1977</u>		
December	67%	25
August-September	54%	24
April 3-11	69%	21
December-January	59%	20
<u>1976</u>		
October 23-25	52%	36
October 10-12	51%	37
September 24-27	55%	34
September 20-22	50%	33
August 29-September 13	41%	27
August 23-25	49%	31
August 6-15	51%	22
July 29-August 1	55%	26

However, an overwhelming majority of Americans have faith in the President's basic honesty. As the next table

shows, nearly three-quarters of our sample think the President is a man of high integrity.

Would you agree or disagree: Jimmy Carter is
a man of high integrity.

Agree	71%
Disagree	15

Similarly, a majority of Americans believe the President has the courage to make the correct decisions, regardless of their popularity. As the next table shows, however, this belief too has suffered a sharp decline since December of 1977. Moreover, disagreement with the statement has more than doubled over the same period.

Would you agree or disagree: As President, Jimmy Carter has the courage to make the right decisions even if they are unpopular.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	56%	32
<u>1977</u>		
December	80%	15
August-September	71%	17
December-January	65%	16
<u>1976</u>		
August 6-16	62%	14

A solid majority of Americans believe that the President should be admired for his willingness to tackle difficult problems, despite the certainty of political repercussions. However, as the next table shows, the number of people who hold this belief has dropped a full 25 points since December of 1977.

You have to admire the way Carter has been willing to tackle tough problems, like energy and reducing the budget deficit, despite the political problems he knew they would cause.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	61%	27
December 1977*	86%	11

(* Without reducing the budget deficit)

More Americans believe the President shifts positions on issues than believe he sticks to initial policy decisions. Our extensive trend data show that, with a few exceptions, this negative perception has been with the President during much of his tenure in office.

It seems like Jimmy Carter is always changing his positions.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	48%	35
<u>1977</u>		
December	41%	50
October	50%	43
August 5	37%	46
April 3-11	28%	64
February	24%	61
December-January	36%	50
<u>1976</u>		
October 23-25	49%	42
October 10-12	49%	43
September 24-27	40%	51
September 20-22	46%	40
August 23-25	34%	47
August 6-15	25%	50
July 29-August 1	33%	48

In a similar measure, we find that more than half of all Americans think the President takes "inconsistent" or "contradictory" stands on the issues. Our trend data show that this perception of the President has increased by a full 12 percentage points since mid-1977.

Carter often seems to take inconsistent or contradictory stands on the issues.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	54%	31
August-September, 1977	43%	41

Demographically, agreement with this statement -- the belief that the President takes inconsistent stands on issues -- is most prevalent among Republicans (although also among majorities of independents and Democrats), conservatives (although also among majorities of moderates and liberals), upper-income individuals, those aged 46-55 and residents of the Central and Northeast states. Disagreement with this statement -- the belief that the President does not take inconsistent stands on the issues -- most often comes from Democrats, liberals, the best-educated, people earning \$7-10,000 per year, people aged 26-35 and residents of the Midlands. A complete demographic breakdown follows.

Would you agree or disagree: Jimmy Carter seems to take inconsistent or contradictory stands on the issues?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	54%	14	31
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	50	15	35
Independent (37)	57	14	29
Republican (17)	60	13	27
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	51	13	36
Moderate (24)	53	16	31
Conservative (42)	59	12	29
<u>Jimmy Carter</u>			
Favorable (54)	37	16	47
Unfavorable (39)	78	10	12
Can't rate (7)	62	20	17
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	22	24	55
Good (29)	29	18	54
Only fair (44)	62	13	25
Poor (21)	82	7	10
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	39	14	48
Lean Carter (12)	41	20	39
Undecided (17)	65	16	19
Brown (22)	61	14	24
Lean Brown (5)	71	5	24
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	59	14	27
Lean Kennedy (9)	48	17	35
Undecided (11)	52	18	30
Carter (22)	36	11	52
Lean Carter (5)	35	20	45

Carter takes inconsistent or contradictory stands on issues (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		54%	14	31
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	52	16	32
Male	(50)	57	13	31
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	56	13	31
Black	(10)	43	25	32
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	47	12	41
White collar	(14)	59	11	30
White clerical	(9)	62	13	26
Government	(4)*	55	17	28
Skilled blue collar	(14)	57	11	31
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	51	19	30
Retired	(26)	55	15	30
Self-employed	(6)	49	11	40
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	57	13	29
English	(20)	56	12	32
French	(4)*	60	5	35
German	(17)	64	12	24
Italian	(5)	49	7	44
Eastern European	(7)	59	15	26
Scandinavian	(4)*	56	11	33
Spanish	(4)*	43	26	31
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	48	22	31
Some high school	(15)	51	17	32
High school graduate	(32)	56	14	31
Technical/vocational	(5)	67	9	24
Some college	(20)	55	13	32
College graduate	(12)	55	13	32
Graduate/professional	(7)	52	10	38

Carter takes inconsistent or contradictory stands on issues (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	54%	14	31
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	55	14	32
Catholic (30)	53	15	32
Jewish (4)*	61	16	23
Other (4)*	66	10	24
None (4)*	44	28	28
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	45	28	27
\$4-6,999 (11)	51	17	32
\$7-9,999 (11)	52	13	34
\$10-14,999 (16)	56	15	29
\$15-19,999 (18)	59	10	31
Over \$20,000 (29)	56	11	33
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	55	14	31
Family member (13)	53	18	30
No member (70)	55	14	32
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	54	17	30
26-35 (17)	48	16	36
36-45 (17)	54	15	31
46-55 (18)	62	12	26
56-65 (17)	54	14	32
Over 65 (19)	55	12	33
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	54	16	30
Suburban (35)	54	14	32
Rural (20)	55	12	33

Carter takes inconsistent or contradictory stands on issues (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	54%	14	31
<u>Area I</u>			
Northeast (15)	61	10	29
Industrial (25)	53	15	32
Midlands (15)	46	16	39
South (19)	56	17	28
Central (14)	62	11	27
Pacific (13)	50	17	33
<u>Area II</u>			
California (10)	52	14	34
West (11)	63	13	23
New York (8)	56	14	30
South (13)	52	16	32
Industrial (28)	49	17	33
Border (8)	65	14	20
New England (7)	66	7	27
Midwest (15)	49	12	39
<u>Area III</u>			
South (24)	59	14	27
Industrial (52)	51	15	34
Other (24)	57	13	30

Nearly two-thirds of the American public say that, because of the flurry of programs emanating from the Administration, they are confused about what the President is trying to achieve. As the next trend chart shows, this negative perception has shot up 10 points in 10 months.

I often have trouble seeing what Carter is trying to accomplish with all of his proposals and programs.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	63%	26
April-May, 1978	53%	38
August-September, 1977	51%	35

As the next table shows, nearly six Americans in ten are unconvinced that the President has the ability to get things done.

Jimmy Carter has shown that he can get things done.

Agree	28%
Disagree	59

A dangerous hint of disenchantment felt by many Americans about the President is reflected by our next measure. Only about one-tenth of our sample think the President will be

able to deliver on the promises he made in the campaign. While our trend data show that this kind of skepticism has consistently been present since late 1976, it has never reached its current level.

During his campaign, Jimmy Carter promised the American people a lot more than he'll ever be able to deliver.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	79%	11
<u>1977</u>		
December	72%	22
August-September	68%	20
July	74%	23
April 3-11	63%	30
February	52%	30
December-January	59%	23

About six Americans in ten say that, while the President is a good man, he is unable to take charge of the government. As the trend table shows, this survey marks the first time since we began measuring this question in August of 1976, that either a plurality or majority has agreed with this statement.

Jimmy Carter is a good man but he isn't really
able to take charge of the government.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	59%	30
<u>1977</u>		
December	45%	48
October	43%	50
August-September	34%	50
July	35%	56
April 3-11	26%	64
February	14%	67
December-January	26%	53
<u>1976</u>		
October 23-25	31%	58
October 10-12	29%	58
September 24-27	31%	58
August 6-15	19%	58

Demographically, the feeling that the President cannot take charge of the government is strongest among Republicans (along with majorities of independents and Democrats), conservatives (along with majorities of moderates and liberals), Jewish respondents, people aged 46-55 and over 65 and residents of the Central states. The feeling that the President can take charge of the government is strongest among Democrats -- although only 34% -- liberals, the less-educated, Catholics, those aged 56-65 and residents of the Midlands. A full breakdown of this question follows.

Would you agree or disagree that Jimmy Carter is a good man but he isn't really able to take charge of the government?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	59%	12	30
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	55	11	34
Independent (37)	60	11	29
Republican (17)	69	12	19
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	57	10	33
Moderate (24)	53	15	31
Conservative (42)	64	9	27
<u>Carter rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	44	14	43
Unfavorable (39)	80	7	14
Can't rate (7)	65	22	13
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	23	12	65
Good (29)	33	13	53
Only fair (44)	69	13	18
Poor (21)	81	4	15
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	42	7	51
Lean Carter (12)	49	15	36
Undecided (17)	62	17	21
Brown (22)	78	9	13
Lean Brown (5)	69	11	21
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	65	9	26
Lean Kennedy (9)	55	9	36
Undecided (11)	52	17	30
Carter (22)	43	10	48
Lean Carter (5)	27	21	53

...Jimmy Carter is a good man but..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		59%	12	30
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	59	13	28
Male	(50)	58	10	31
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	60	11	28
Black	(10)	45	13	42
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	58	13	29
White collar	(14)	59	12	29
White clerical	(9)	56	13	30
Government	(4)*	59	15	26
Skilled blue collar	(14)	57	11	33
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	62	12	26
Retired	(26)	60	9	31
Self-employed	(6)	67	9	24
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	61	10	29
English	(20)	64	10	26
French	(4)*	62	6	32
German	(17)	65	13	22
Italian	(5)	55	11	34
Eastern European	(7)	58	10	32
Scandinavian	(4)*	62	6	31
Spanish	(4)*	37	23	40
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	53	7	40
Some high school	(15)	49	15	36
High school graduate	(32)	61	11	28
Technical/vocational	(5)	63	16	21
Some college	(20)	64	11	25
College graduate	(12)	59	10	31
Graduate/professional	(7)	58	15	27

...Jimmy Carter is a good man but..... (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	59%	12	30
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	59	12	29
Catholic (30)	55	12	33
Jewish (4)*	62	11	26
Other (4)*	68	4	28
None (4)*	57	14	29
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	63	8	28
\$4-6,999 (11)	54	11	35
\$7-9,999 (11)	60	12	28
\$10-14,999 (16)	52	14	33
\$15-19,999 (18)	62	13	25
Over \$20,000 (29)	62	8	30
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	59	8	33
Family member (13)	60	13	27
No member (70)	58	12	29
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	58	19	23
26-35 (17)	56	15	29
36-45 (17)	59	11	30
46-55 (18)	61	11	28
56-65 (17)	55	9	35
Over 65 (19)	61	8	31
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	55	13	31
Suburban (35)	62	10	28
Rural (20)	61	10	29

....Jimmy Carter is a good man but..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		59%	12	30
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	56	10	34
Industrial	(25)	63	12	25
Midlands	(15)	49	12	39
South	(19)	56	11	33
Central	(14)	66	9	24
Pacific	(13)	60	16	24
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	60	18	23
West	(11)	65	10	25
New York	(8)	49	11	40
South	(13)	54	10	36
Industrial	(28)	59	13	27
Border	(8)	67	9	23
New England	(7)	63	9	28
Midwest	(15)	54	10	35
<u>Area III</u>				
South	(24)	59	10	31
Industrial	(52)	57	13	30
Other	(24)	62	11	27

About six respondents in ten feel the President will not be able to re-organize the Federal government. Our trend data indicate that this is the highest level of pessimism on this issue since we began this questioning in the summer of 1976.

Jimmy Carter won't really be able to re-organize the government to make it run better.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	57%	24
<u>1977</u>		
December	45%	45
October	44%	46
August-September	42%	35
July	44%	45
April 3-11	37%	54
December-January	30%	47
<u>1976</u>		
September 24-27	39%	48
September 20-22	36%	49
August 6-15	29%	41

As the next table shows, a dismally low percentage of Americans believe the President is rebuilding confidence in the White House.

Jimmy Carter is successfully rebuilding confidence in the White House and the government.

Agree	36%
Disagree	48

Half of our respondents feel the President's staff appear disorganized, with only about one-quarter in disagreement with such a contention. Again, we see a sharp turnaround in the trend data.

Carter's staff appears to be disorganized.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	50%	26
April-May, 1978	36%	50

More than half of the American public say that Jimmy Carter is unable to unify the country.

As President, Jimmy Carter is able to unify the country.

Agree	31%
(Don't know)	17
Disagree	52

Most Americans believe that the President is committed to the resolution of urban and minority problems. As the next table shows, less than one-third take the opposite position. However, in the summer of 1977, only about one-fifth felt the President was unconcerned about urban and minority issues.

Carter is not concerned enough about the
problems of cities and minority groups.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	30%	51
August-September, 1977	22%	59

As the next table shows, most Americans consider the President to be adept at matters of foreign affairs. Not surprisingly, this perception is up slightly since the summer of 1977, due in large part to the President's efforts in the Middle East settlement.

As President Jimmy Carter has shown the ability
to deal effectively with foreign affairs.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	56%	33
<u>1977</u>		
August-September	51%	29
July	60%	30
April 3-11	60%	27
December-January	52%	22
<u>1976</u>		
August 6-15	46%	21

However, as the next table shows, a majority of Americans remain critical of the President for attempting to handle too many foreign policy concerns at once.

Carter is trying to tackle too many foreign problems at once.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	51%	32
August-September, 1977	51%	31

Despite the score of negative perceptions of the President's performance, nearly six respondents in ten said the President had met their expectations. However, as the next trend table shows, this position has fallen off considerably since December of 1977.

Carter has done about as well as I expected him to do as President.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	59%	35
December, 1977	74%	24

People are not as charitable on our next question. As the table below shows, a plurality disagree with the contention that the President has done as well as anyone could, given the problems he faced. Our trend data show a dramatic reversal in this measure since December of 1977.

Given the problems he has faced, I don't think that any President could have accomplished more than Carter.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	41%	45
December, 1977	65%	30

As the table below indicates, nearly six Americans in ten feel the President is not providing strong and inspired leadership to the nation.

Carter is providing strong and inspired leadership for the country.

Agree	28%
Disagree	59

Demographically, the belief that Carter does provide strong and inspired leadership is most strongly felt by Democrats, liberals, blacks, the retired, the less-educated, Catholics, lower-income people, people over 65, and residents of the South and Central states. The belief that the President does not provide strong and inspiring leadership is felt most strongly by Republicans -- and half of all Democrats -- conservatives, the better-educated, Jewish respondents, upper-income people, labor union members, people aged 46-55, and residents of the Northeast. A full demographic breakdown follows.

Would you agree or disagree that Carter is providing strong and inspired leadership for the country?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	28%	13	59
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	36	13	60
Independent (37)	25	11	64
Republican (17)	16	12	72
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	32	11	57
Moderate (24)	28	16	56
Conservative (42)	26	10	65
<u>Carter rating</u>			
Favorable (54)	46	15	38
Unfavorable (39)	5	5	90
Can't rate (7)	16	32	52
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	79	10	11
Good (29)	54	19	27
Only fair (44)	19	11	70
Poor (21)	3	5	92
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	54	12	34
Lean Carter (12)	40	21	39
Undecided (17)	22	11	67
Brown (22)	17	11	72
Lean Brown (5)	7	13	79
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	27	9	65
Lean Kennedy (9)	36	13	51
Undecided (11)	34	15	51
Carter (22)	57	17	27
Lean Carter (5)	38	31	30

...Carter is providing strong and inspired leadership..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		28%	13	59
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	29	13	58
Male	(50)	28	12	60
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	27	12	61
Black	(10)	40	15	45
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	26	14	60
White collar	(14)	23	11	66
White clerical	(9)	23	14	64
Government	(4)*	29	4	67
Skilled blue collar	(14)	27	10	63
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	28	18	54
Retired	(26)	34	12	54
Self-employed	(6)	20	10	70
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	27	12	61
English	(20)	22	12	66
French	(4)*	40	4	56
German	(17)	25	13	61
Italian	(5)	37	13	51
Eastern European	(7)	20	11	69
Scandinavian	(4)*	24	8	68
Spanish	(4)*	47	22	31
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	41	16	42
Some high school	(15)	33	12	54
High school graduate	(32)	28	15	58
Technical/vocational	(5)	23	9	68
Some college	(20)	28	10	63
College graduate	(12)	19	11	70
Graduate/professional	(7)	24	13	63

...Carter is providing strong and inspired leadership..... (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	28%	13	59
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	29	12	59
Catholic (30)	32	14	54
Jewish (4)*	15	7	78
Other (4)*	23	8	68
None (4)*	20	13	66
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	36	17	47
\$4-6,999 (11)	40	14	46
\$7-9,999 (11)	30	12	58
\$10-14,999 (16)	32	13	55
\$15-19,999 (18)	26	13	62
Over \$20,000 (29)	23	10	67
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	27	10	64
Family member (13)	27	15	57
No member (70)	29	13	58
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	30	12	50
26-35 (17)	26	15	50
36-45 (17)	27	14	58
46-55 (18)	24	10	66
56-65 (17)	32	12	56
Over 65 (19)	33	12	55
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	30	13	57
Suburban (35)	24	12	64
Rural (20)	33	13	54

...Carter is providing strong and inspired leadership..... (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		28%	13	59
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	25	9	66
Industrial	(25)	24	16	59
Midlands	(15)	32	9	59
South	(19)	34	14	52
Central	(14)	34	10	56
Pacific	(13)	23	15	62
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	23	16	62
West	(11)	34	11	55
New York	(8)	28	12	61
South	(13)	35	15	50
Industrial	(28)	26	16	58
Border	(8)	25	12	63
New England	(7)	22	5	74
Midwest	(15)	33	9	59
<u>Area III</u>				
South	(24)	34	12	54
Industrial	(52)	27	14	59
Other	(24)	27	11	62

Our final measure in this section tests the public's perception of Jimmy Carter's effectiveness as President. While a slim plurality of Americans say they consider Mr. Carter to be an effective President, more than four people in ten take the opposite position. As the next trend table shows, the percentage of Americans saying the President is ineffective has almost doubled since December of 1977.

Jimmy Carter has been ineffective as President.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Today	43%	47
December, 1977	22%	73

Demographically, the belief that the President has been ineffective in office is strongest among Republicans, conservatives, Kennedy voters in a Democratic primary with the President, the better-educated, Jewish respondents -- somewhat surprisingly -- people over 65, and residents of the Northeast. The belief that the President has been effective in office is most strongly felt by Democrats, liberals, Catholics, people earning \$10-15,000 per year, people aged 18-25, residents of rural areas and people living in the Industrial and Midland states. A full breakdown follows.

Would you agree or disagree that Jimmy Carter has been ineffective as President?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	43%	11	47
<u>Party preference</u>			
Democrat (44)	36	11	53
Independent (37)	45	10	45
Republican (17)	59	9	32
<u>Political ideology</u>			
Liberal (26)	36	9	54
Moderate (24)	37	12	50
Conservative (42)	51	9	41
<u>Jimmy Carter</u>			
Favorable (54)	19	11	70
Unfavorable (39)	77	8	16
Can't rate (7)	40	21	39
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>			
Excellent (4)*	21	10	69
Good (29)	10	9	81
Only fair (44)	47	14	39
Poor (21)	85	4	11
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Carter (44)	19	4	77
Lean Carter (12)	32	18	50
Undecided (17)	51	14	35
Brown (22)	51	13	35
Lean Brown (5)	68	16	16
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>			
Kennedy (53)	47	8	45
Lean Kennedy (9)	31	17	52
Undecided (11)	39	19	42
Carter (22)	14	7	79
Lean Carter (5)	27	15	58

Carter has been ineffective as President (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		43%	11	47
<u>Sex</u>				
Female	(50)	41	10	49
Male	(50)	45	10	44
<u>Race</u>				
White	(89)	44	9	47
Black	(10)	35	21	44
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	(5)	37	9	54
White collar	(14)	44	7	49
White clerical	(9)	43	10	47
Government	(4)*	41	8	51
Skilled blue collar	(14)	40	10	51
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	38	15	47
Retired	(26)	48	10	42
Self-employed	(6)	50	8	43
<u>Ethnic background</u>				
Irish	(11)	47	7	46
English	(20)	46	7	48
French	(4)*	35	4	61
German	(17)	49	10	40
Italian	(5)	35	4	61
Eastern European	(7)	53	12	36
Scandinavian	(4)*	51	11	38
Spanish	(4)*	30	15	55
<u>Education</u>				
Some grade school	(10)	43	10	47
Some high school	(15)	39	14	47
High school graduate	(32)	43	12	45
Technical/vocational	(5)	42	11	47
Some college	(20)	43	9	48
College graduate	(12)	47	6	47
Graduate/professional	(7)	46	7	47

Carter has been ineffective as President (continued)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>	43%	11	47
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (58)	43	10	47
Catholic (30)	41	10	49
Jewish (4)*	60	14	26
Other (4)*	47	14	38
None (4)*	33	14	53
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-3,999 (5)	42	14	44
\$4-6,999 (11)	37	17	46
\$7-9,999 (11)	41	12	47
\$10-14,999 (16)	41	9	50
\$15-19,999 (18)	47	9	43
Over \$20,000 (29)	43	9	48
<u>Union membership</u>			
Respondent (17)	43	9	48
Family member (13)	42	12	46
No member (70)	43	11	46
<u>Age</u>			
18-25 (12)	35	13	52
26-35 (17)	40	10	50
36-45 (17)	39	12	50
46-55 (18)	47	11	42
56-65 (17)	42	8	50
Over 65 (19)	50	9	40
<u>Urban/rural</u>			
Urban (46)	43	11	46
Suburban (35)	44	11	45
Rural (20)	41	9	51

Carter has been ineffective as President (continued)

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Overall</u>		43%	11	47
<u>Area I</u>				
Northeast	(15)	56	5	39
Industrial	(25)	36	14	50
Midlands	(15)	41	11	49
South	(19)	45	7	48
Central	(14)	45	7	48
Pacific	(13)	38	18	44
<u>Area II</u>				
California	(10)	41	20	39
West	(11)	36	8	56
New York	(8)	54	7	40
South	(13)	41	7	52
Industrial	(28)	37	14	49
Border	(8)	56	6	38
New England	(7)	59	3	38
Midwest	(15)	42	9	48
<u>Area III</u>				
South	(24)	46	6	48
Industrial	(52)	41	14	46
Other	(24)	44	8	48

All in all, it appears that the American people continue to have faith in the President's fundamental honesty, integrity, and good intentions. However, they are dismayed by the President's performance over the last three years and have serious reservations about his ability to carry out his campaign promises and effectively lead, reorganize and restore integrity to government.

Semantic differentials

One of President Carter's greatest strengths has been his ability to exhibit certain personal traits that strike a positive chord with the great mass of American people. We asked our sample to look at a series of opposite adjectives representing many of these personal traits, and place Jimmy Carter on one of seven blanks between the paired adjectives that best represents their perception of his position on the scale.

Our data indicate that on measures disassociated with his performance in office -- personal warmth, trustworthiness, dedication -- the President continues to do fairly well. However, pluralities of Americans feel he has been ineffective, indecisive and generally not in control of things. Our data also show modest improvements in public perceptions of the President's leadership abilities, strength and boldness. Moreover, almost half of our respondents think the President is "in touch with the feelings of the country", which, given the importance of this theme in 1976, is a somewhat reassuring finding.

Looking at the data itself, we find, as the next table shows, that fully four Americans in ten consider the President

to be "ineffective" in his job -- an increase of 4% since April of 1978. Erosion has taken place among people who considered the President to be extremely effective (position "1" on the scale) in April of 1978.

More importantly, this study marks the first time since our measurement began that a plurality of Americans have rated the President as "ineffective".

	Effective	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Ineffective	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(7	13	17)	22	(15	14	12)		1
			37%				41%			
<u>1978</u> April-May, 1978		(10	13	16)	21	(12	12	13)		3
			39%				37%			
<u>1977</u> August-September		(14	21	20)	19	(10	7	5)		3
			55%				22%			
February	57	23	14							
December-January	55	17	17							
<u>1976</u> August 6-15	56	18	19							

Indecision about the President's effectiveness is more likely to come from the well-educated, white collar workers and residents of the Pacific states.

Where would you place Jimmy Carter on the following scale?

	Ineffective	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Effective	DON'T KNOW <u>8</u>
<u>Overall</u>	12%	14	15	22	17	13	7			1
<u>Party preference</u>										
Democrat (44)	10	13	13	22	16	14	9			2
Independent (37)	11	14	17	20	18	14	5			1
Republican (17)	17	15	18	23	16	8	3			--
<u>Political ideology</u>										
Liberal (26)	11	11	14	25	18	13	7			1
Moderate (24)	10	13	13	26	14	16	7			1
Conservative (42)	13	17	17	18	17	11	6			1
<u>Jimmy Carter</u>										
Favorable (54)	3	6	14	23	22	20	11			1
Unfavorable (39)	25	24	17	17	10	4	2			1
Can't rate (7)	4	15	20	33	11	12	3			2
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>										
Excellent (4)*	2	6	9	10	14	15	43			2
Good (29)	2	3	11	21	23	27	12			1
Only fair (44)	8	16	19	28	18	9	2			1
Poor (21)	35	24	17	10	7	4	2			2
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>										
Carter (44)	3	9	8	20	19	23	16			3
Lean Carter (12)	5	11	13	29	14	15	10			2
Undecided (17)	23	16	18	19	8	11	4			1
Brown (22)	16	19	15	23	17	7	1			1
Lean Brown (5)	15	19	32	11	13	5	3			2
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>										
Kennedy (53)	14	16	15	21	14	11	6			2
Lean Kennedy (9)	11	12	19	17	15	16	9			--
Undecided (11)	15	13	14	19	15	12	8			3
Carter (22)	2	7	8	22	21	23	14			2
Lean Carter (5)	--	16	15	26	6	23	15			--

Where would you place Jimmy Carter on the following scale (continued)

		Ineffective	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Effective	DON'T KNOW 8
<u>Overall</u>		12%	14	15	22	17	13	7			1
<u>Sex</u>											
Female	(50)	10	13	17	23	17	13	7			1
Male	(50)	13	15	13	21	17	13	6			2
<u>Race</u>											
White	(89)	12	14	15	22	17	13	6			1
Black	(10)	11	11	15	22	12	11	14			5
<u>Occupation</u>											
Professional	(5)	8	18	14	25	23	12	--			--
White collar	(14)	10	17	17	24	21	4	6			--
White clerical	(9)	9	12	21	23	17	11	7			--
Government	(4)*	4	26	13	25	5	21	5			--
Skilled blue collar	(14)	10	12	21	22	14	15	4			2
Unskilled blue collar	(14)	12	12	15	21	20	13	4			2
Retired	(26)	14	12	12	22	15	13	12			1
Self-employed	(6)	10	17	14	16	14	22	4			4
<u>Ethnic background</u>											
Irish	(11)	20	10	14	19	20	13	4			1
English	(20)	13	14	17	19	19	12	4			1
French	(4)*	13	12	12	15	12	27	9			--
German	(17)	8	17	18	25	16	12	5			1
Italian	(5)	8	13	16	16	15	19	11			1
Eastern European	(7)	13	14	11	30	14	13	5			--
Scandinavian	(4)*	13	15	13	28	15	11	4			--
Spanish	(4)*	13	13	11	18	20	16	4			7
<u>Education</u>											
Some grade school	(10)	13	13	11	23	16	10	10			4
Some high school	(15)	11	10	14	22	15	17	7			4
High school graduate	(32)	12	11	15	24	14	16	7			1
Technical/vocational	(5)	11	13	27	18	16	7	8			--
Some college	(20)	9	20	16	17	20	11	6			--
College graduate	(12)	14	15	15	20	21	9	5			--
Graduate/professional	(7)	9	16	15	25	22	9	4			--

Where would you place Jimmy Carter on the following scale (continued)

	Ineffective	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Effective	DON'T KNOW <u>8</u>
<u>Overall</u>	12%	14	15	22	17	13	7			1
<u>Religion</u>										
Protestant (58)	11	14	16	23	15	13	7			2
Catholic (30)	12	13	13	21	20	14	7			1
Jewish (4)*	16	17	14	23	11	13	6			—
Other (4)*	13	9	26	24	17	4	4			2
None (4)*	7	19	21	12	20	16	3			2
<u>Income</u>										
\$0-3,999 (5)	11	9	10	23	14	8	18			5
\$4-6,999 (11)	11	7	13	22	19	18	9			1
\$7-9,999 (11)	14	12	16	19	11	18	7			3
\$10-14,999 (16)	12	10	14	24	17	14	7			1
\$15-19,999 (18)	10	19	16	21	16	12	5			1
Over \$20,000 (29)	11	15	19	21	19	10	4			1
<u>Union membership</u>										
Respondent (17)	12	13	18	21	17	11	7			2
Family member (13)	8	17	14	25	16	13	5			1
No member (70)	12	13	15	21	16	14	7			2
<u>Age</u>										
18-25 (12)	8	12	17	24	18	16	4			2
26-35 (17)	10	14	16	23	20	10	4			3
36-45 (17)	11	16	17	23	14	11	6			1
46-55 (18)	11	15	21	21	15	12	5			1
56-65 (17)	11	13	11	20	20	14	10			1
Over 65 (19)	17	11	11	21	14	16	9			1
<u>Urban/rural</u>										
Urban (46)	13	14	16	21	14	12	8			2
Suburban (35)	12	12	15	24	19	13	5			—
Rural (20)	8	14	15	18	18	15	8			3

Where would you place Jimmy Carter on the following scale (continued)

		Ineffective	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Effective	DON'T KNOW <u>8</u>
<u>Overall</u>		12%	14	15	22	17	13	7			1
<u>Area I</u>											
Northeast	(15)	22	13	12	16	12	15	8			2
Industrial	(25)	10	11	15	26	22	12	4			1
Midlands	(15)	11	13	19	18	17	12	9			2
South	(19)	11	16	15	18	12	15	9			2
Central	(14)	9	15	17	24	16	11	5			1
Pacific	(13)	6	16	15	27	19	13	4			1
<u>Area II</u>											
California	(10)	5	18	13	30	15	14	4			1
West	(11)	8	14	16	24	21	11	5			2
New York	(8)	20	15	10	12	15	16	10			2
South	(13)	11	19	15	18	11	16	9			2
Industrial	(28)	9	10	15	27	21	12	5			2
Border	(8)	17	14	14	14	18	12	9			3
New England	(7)	25	10	13	21	10	15	6			1
Midwest	(15)	9	14	23	17	16	12	8			—
<u>Area III</u>											
South	(24)	13	17	15	17	14	14	9			2
Industrial	(52)	10	13	14	23	18	13	6			1
Other	(24)	13	11	18	23	17	11	6			1

Our next measure shows that people are about evenly divided as to whether the President is decisive or not. Our trend data show that these attitudes have remained fairly stable since our last measurement, with marginal shifts on the extremes of the differential scale.

	Decisive	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Wishy-washy	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(8	13	17)	20	(15	12	14)		2
		38%				41%				
<u>1978</u> April-May		(10	13	14)	20	(13	12	16)		3
		37%				41%				
<u>1977</u> August-September		(16	22	19)	16	(8	7	7)		4
		57%				22%				
February		61	17	17						
December-January		52	16	26						
<u>1976</u> August		54	17	22						

Demographically, people who tend to take a neutral attitude toward this issue are generally skilled blue collar workers, aged 36-45 and residents of the Industrial states.

Turning to perceptions of strength and weakness, we find that there has been some increase in the percentage of people who rate the President as strong. However, the perception of the President as weak has also scored a modest gain, virtually offsetting the improvement. Looking at the scale itself, we see that there has been some erosion at both extremes and a diminishing number of neutral (position #4).

	Strong	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Weak	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(9	14	18)	23	(15	11	9)		2
			41%				35%			
<u>1978</u> April-May		(10	14	15)	25	(12	11	10)		3
			39%				33%			
<u>1977</u> August-September		(23	22	20)	18	(7	4	3)		2
			65%				14%			
February		74	15	11						
December-January		69	15	13						
<u>1976</u> August		70	15	11						

Neutral responses on this question come more often than not from Republicans, moderates, Brown voters in a head-to-head Democratic Presidential primary, Kennedy voters in a Kennedy-Carter Democratic primary, skilled blue collar workers, people aged 36-45, and residents of the Industrial states. (Clearly, a pattern of indecision is emerging among the latter three demographic categories.)

Marginal improvement was also achieved on our leadership measure. As the next table shows, while this perception does not reach the levels of 1977, nearly half of the people now view the President as more of a leader than a follower.

	Leader	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Follower	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(11	14	20)	24	(12	10	7)		2
			45%				29%			
<u>1978</u> April-May		(12	15	17)	23	(11	10	9)		4
			44%				30%			
<u>1977</u> August-September		(28	24	16)	15	(7	5	4)		1
			68%				16%			
February		74	14	10						
December-January		70	13	14						
<u>1976</u> August		70	14	12						

Indecision on the leadership measure is more likely to come from among white collar professionals (closely followed by skilled blue collar workers), the best-educated, and residents of the Industrial states.

Our current data indicate that the public increasingly considers the President to be lacking in boldness. As our next table shows, while nearly four people in ten think the President is bold, a full third of the public (an increase of 5% since April, 1978) view him as timid.

	Bold	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Timid	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(8	13	18)	27	(16	10	7)		2
		39%				33%				
1978 April-May		(10	12	18)	29	(13	9	6)		3
		40%				28%				
1977 August-September		(20	22	19)	23	(8	3	3)		3
		61%				14%				

Those who are undecided as to whether the President is either bold or timid tend more often than not to be political moderates or liberals, unskilled blue collar workers, aged 36-45, and residents of the Industrial states.

An astounding 48% of Americans believe the President is not in control of things (a 6% increase over April of 1978). As the next table shows, less than one-third consider the President to be in control, while only slightly more than one-twentieth opt for the most positive position (blank #1).

	In control	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Not in control	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(6	9	16)	20	(17	15	16)		2
		31%				48%				
<u>1978</u> April-May		(7	10	15)	23	(14	13	15)		3
		32%				42%				

Indecision on this question is more likely to come from professionals, the better-educated and residents of the Industrial states.

Nearly half of the American public feel the President has remained in touch with the feelings of the country. This vital sign of trust seems to have escaped unscathed from the less favorable results of the performance-related measures. However, fully one-third of Americans currently believe the President is out of touch with the country.

	In touch	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Out of touch	Don't know
Today		(16	18	12)	20	(10	11	11)		3
		46%				32%				

President Carter's political philosophy remains ambiguous to most Americans. Our sample is evenly divided as to whether he is a conservative, liberal or moderate. This ambiguity seems to cut across ideological barriers, although conservatives are slightly more likely to view the President as a conservative than are liberals to view him as a liberal.

	Liberal	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Conservative	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(6	10	15)	33	(16	10	6)		5
			31%				32%			
<u>1978</u> April-May		(9	10	15)	31	(14	8	7)		6
			34%				29%			
<u>1977</u> August-September		(11	13	16)	29	(12	8	6)		4
			40%				26%			
February		39	27	30						
December-January		47	27	20						
<u>1976</u> August 6-15		38	33	21						

As stated earlier, measures that reflect strictly personal traits garner much more favorable responses for the President. As the next table shows, nearly two-thirds of Americans consider the President to be a warm individual.

	Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cold	Don't know
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>8</u>
Today		(21	22	22)	16	(7	4	6)		2
		65%				17%				
1978 April-May		(21	22	21)	17	(8	5	4)		3
		64%				17%				
1977 August-September		(29	24	18)	16	(6	3	2)		3
		71%				11%				
February		78	12	8						
December-January		66	18	13						
1976 August 6-15		73	13	11						

Almost identical proportions prevail in our next measure, showing a 4% increase in the perception of the President as trustworthy.

	Trustworthy	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Untrustworthy	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(25	24	16)	17	(7	5	4)		2
			65%				16%			
<u>1978</u> April-May		(24	21	16)	15	(8	6	7)		3
			61%				21%			
<u>1977</u> August-September		(28	24	16)	15	(7	5	4)		2
			68%				16%			
February		72	16	10						
December-January		61	15	19						
<u>1976</u> August 6-15		62	18	15						

Nearly six people in ten express the belief that the President is a dedicated man, while slightly less than one-quarter see him as opportunistic.

	Dedicated	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	Opportunistic	Don't know <u>8</u>
Today		(19	22	17)	16	(10	8	6)		3
		58%				24%				
1978 April-May		(13	17	19)	19	(11	8	9)		3
		49%				28%				
1977 August-September		(22	20	14)	16	(8	7	8)		4
		56%				23%				
February		57	17	20						
December-January		52	17	24						
1976 August 6-15		50	18	26						

We can evaluate the preceding semantic differentials in a slightly different way, by looking at the responses of people who claim to be undecided in head-to-head primary contests between the President and both Governor Brown and Senator Kennedy.

As the next table clearly shows, undecided Democrats in a Carter/Kennedy primary are far more positively disposed to the President than are undecided Democrats in a Carter/Brown primary fight.

	<u>Among undecideds in:</u>	
	<u>Carter/Brown</u>	<u>Carter/Kennedy</u>
Wishy-washy	54%	39%
Neutral	21	25
Decisive	25	36
Leader	28%	36%
Neutral	29	30
Follower	43	36
Strong	30%	40%
Neutral	16	22
Weak	53	38
Opportunistic	27%	19%
Neutral	19	19
Dedicated	53	61
Conservative	30%	33%
Neutral	31	31
Liberal	39	36

	<u>Among undecideds in:</u>	
	<u>Carter/Brown</u>	<u>Carter/Kennedy</u>
Bold	27%	30%
Neutral	30	31
Timid	42	38
In control	12%	23%
Neutral	29	32
Not in control	60	47
Out of touch	40%	31%
Neutral	24	25
In touch	37	45
Warm	60%	67%
Neutral	21	14
Cold	19	19
Ineffective	57%	42%
Neutral	20	22
Effective	23	35
Trustworthy	53%	62%
Neutral	25	22
Untrustworthy	22	16

Issue agenda

President Carter is facing an ever-proliferating number of issues that demand his attention. The order in which he tackles these issues will be perceived differently by various groups in society. We showed our sample a list of 15 pressing national issues, and asked them to rank the importance they should have on the President's agenda. As the next table shows, the leading priorities are -- in descending order -- reducing inflation, solving unemployment and reducing taxes.

Presidential Priorities															
Which issue should the President work on:	Reduce inflation	Solving unemployment	Reduce taxes	Eliminate waste in government	Reduce budget deficit/ government spending	Overhaul welfare	Energy	National health care	Tax reform	Foreign policy/ improved U.S. image	Restoring trust	Stimulating business	Limiting nuclear weapons	Urban problems	Reorganize Federal
First	36%	14	9	7	5	5	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	1
Second	16%	9	13	7	8	7	8	5	7	5	3	5	3	2	3
Third	9%	7	10	10	10	8	8	7	7	5	5	3	3	3	5
Fourth	8%	6	7	10	9	10	9	6	7	6	5	3	3	3	6
Fifth	7%	5	6	14	8	10	8	6	5	7	5	4	4	3	6

If we look at the data a little differently, and rank the issues in terms of their total number of responses throughout all five categories, we get the following results:

	<u>Total Mentions</u>
1. Reducing inflation	76%
2. Eliminating government waste	48%
3. Reduce taxes	45%
4. Solve unemployment	41%
5. Reduce budget deficit	40%
6. Overhaul welfare	40%
7. Energy	37%
8. Tax reform	29%
9. National health care	28%
10. Foreign policy	26%
11. Reorganize Federal bureaucracy	21%
12. Restore trust	21%
13. Stimulate business	17%
14. Limit nuclear weapons	15%
15. Urban problems	13%

Thus, it becomes clear that the American public want the President to act first on those "pocketbook" concerns that have a direct impact on their daily lives.

Walter Mondale

Nearly four Americans in ten say they are unable to rate the job performance of Vice President Mondale. Of the remainder, slightly more than one-third give him positive job ratings and slightly less than one-third rate his performance negatively. As the next table shows, the predominant substantive response was that he was doing a "good" job.

On a scale of excellent, good, only fair or poor,
how would you rate the job Walter Mondale has done
as Vice President?

Excellent	7%
Good	28
Only fair	20
Poor	9
(Don't know)	37

Demographically, people who give the Vice President a generally favorable rating tend more often than not to be Democrats, liberals or moderates, retired persons, and residents of the South and Midlands. Those who give the Vice President a generally unfavorable job rating tend to be, not surprisingly, Republicans, conservatives, self-employed persons, the better-educated, younger persons and residents of the Central and Industrial states. A full demographic analysis of this question follows.

On a scale of excellent, good, only fair or poor, how would you rate the job Walter Mondale has done as Vice President?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	6%	28	20	9	37
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	8	31	20	5	35
Independent (37)	7	26	18	12	37
Republican (17)	2	21	24	14	40
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	9	29	19	8	35
Moderate (24)	9	29	17	8	38
Conservative (42)	5	26	24	11	34
<u>Carter rating</u>					
Favorable (54)	10	36	17	5	33
Unfavorable (39)	3	18	25	15	39
Can't rate (7)	5	19	20	7	49
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	23	31	15	2	30
Good (29)	10	40	14	5	30
Only fair (44)	5	24	25	8	38
Poor (21)	1	16	22	19	42
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	13	41	15	1	29
Lean Carter (12)	5	31	27	4	33
Undecided (17)	4	18	19	15	45
Brown (22)	3	21	25	9	42
Lean Brown (5)	—	31	23	13	33
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	7	28	19	6	40
Lean Kennedy (9)	6	29	26	9	30
Undecided (11)	6	26	16	13	38
Carter (22)	10	40	20	2	27
Lean Carter (5)	6	35	17	4	38

Mondale performance rating (continued)

		<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		6%	28	20	9	37
<u>Sex</u>						
Female (50)		6	26	20	8	40
Male (50)		7	29	21	10	33
<u>Race</u>						
White (89)		7	28	20	9	36
Black (10)		3	30	20	8	39
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional (5)		7	18	22	6	47
White collar (14)		5	28	21	10	36
White clerical (9)		4	27	21	9	40
Government (4)*		12	26	17	2	44
Skilled blue collar (14)		4	29	21	10	36
Unskilled blue collar (14)		3	29	21	10	37
Retired (26)		11	32	20	9	29
Self-employed (6)		6	21	22	12	40
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish (11)		7	26	18	11	38
English (20)		9	31	20	8	32
French (4)*		15	21	27	4	33
German (17)		7	27	18	13	36
Italian (5)		6	30	24	4	36
Eastern European (7)		4	22	23	10	41
Scandinavian (4)*		4	34	24	15	23
Spanish (4)*		5	25	23	8	39
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school (10)		6	28	22	5	39
Some high school (15)		5	28	19	6	42
High school graduate (32)		5	32	21	9	33
Technical/vocational (5)		14	33	10	10	34
Some college (20)		6	24	22	12	36
College graduate (12)		10	19	22	10	40
Graduate/professional (7)		9	27	18	10	36

Mondale performance rating (continued)

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>	6%	28	20	9	37
<u>Religion</u>					
Protestant (58)	7	28	20	9	36
Catholic (30)	7	27	20	8	38
Jewish (4)*	—	29	25	9	37
Other (4)*	4	29	17	14	36
None (4)*	8	18	25	8	41
<u>Income</u>					
\$0-3,999 (5)	10	24	19	11	36
\$4-6,999 (11)	7	33	16	6	39
\$7-9,999 (11)	8	30	21	7	35
\$10-14,999 (16)	8	28	22	8	34
\$15-19,999 (18)	4	27	21	9	38
Over \$20,000 (29)	6	26	21	11	36
<u>Union membership</u>					
Respondent (17)	8	30	20	8	33
Family member (13)	3	25	21	7	44
No member (70)	7	27	20	10	36
<u>Age</u>					
18-25 (12)	4	18	24	14	40
26-35 (17)	4	27	19	8	42
36-45 (17)	5	28	21	8	38
46-55 (18)	5	24	22	8	40
56-65 (17)	8	32	17	7	35
Over 65 (19)	11	33	19	10	27
<u>Urban/rural</u>					
Urban (46)	8	25	21	9	36
Suburban (35)	5	28	18	9	39
Rural (20)	5	32	23	8	33

Mondale performance rating (continued)

		<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
<u>Overall</u>		6%	28	20	9	37
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	4	25	19	9	43
Industrial	(25)	5	29	22	9	35
Midlands	(15)	11	28	19	9	33
South	(19)	8	32	17	10	33
Central	(14)	7	29	23	9	32
Pacific	(13)	4	20	20	9	46
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	4	15	23	11	47
West	(11)	8	30	21	8	33
New York	(8)	—	26	20	11	43
South	(13)	9	32	17	10	31
Industrial	(28)	7	29	19	9	37
Border	(8)	5	25	24	7	39
New England	(7)	9	25	18	6	41
Midwest	(15)	8	32	22	9	28
<u>Area III</u>						
South	(24)	8	28	20	9	34
Industrial	(52)	4	26	21	10	39
Other	(24)	9	32	19	6	33

Next, we asked respondents to tell us something they particularly liked about the Vice President. As the next table shows, the most common substantive response centered around his honesty, sincerity and straightforwardness. The next most frequent response mentioned is his "clean-cut" personal image, followed by mentions of general likability and a perception that he has performed well in office. A full listing of the responses follows.

Can you tell me something you like about Walter Mondale?

Honest, sincere, straightforward	6%
Personality, appearance, image, clean-cut	5
General like, good man, I like him, heard good things	4
Done a good job, good record, past performance, efficient, effective	3
Low-key, quiet, no problem sort of guy, stays in background	3
Capable, qualified, experienced	2
Intelligent, educated, bright, knowledgeable	2
Helps the President, tries to help Carter	2
Doing his best, hardworking, tries hard, dedicated	2
For the people, for the common man, for the middle class or working man, listens to people, helps people	1
Goodwill ambassador, travelling for peace	1
Aggressive, strong, outspoken, takes a stand, his own man, guts, a fighter	1
Specific issues, ideas, views	1
Like his wife	1
Don't hear about him, don't know what he does	4
Nothing or other negative comments	9
Other	2
Don't know	52

We then reversed our emphasis, and asked people to tell us something they particularly disliked about Mr. Mondale. As the next table shows, the most often mentioned, substantive response was a rather sympathetic reference to the Vice President's lack of exposure. Significantly, nearly one-fifth of the sample said there was nothing they disliked about Mr. Mondale. Other comments centered around his relative obscurity in the Administration, a perception that he is "wishy-washy" and the belief that he is "too liberal". A full listing of responses follows.

Can you tell me something you dislike about Mondale?

Needs more public exposure, too obscure	5%
Don't see him doing anything, hear little about him	5
Weak, wishy-washy, not his own man, no backbone	3
Too liberal	2
General dislike, don't like him, heard bad things	1
Specific issues, ideas, views	1
Puppet for Carter	1
Not capable, not qualified, not experienced	1
Hasn't done a good job, poor record	1
Not honest, insincere, phony	1
Personality, appearance, image	1
Nothing or other positive comments	19
Other	2
Don't know	58

Supplementary Demographic Tables

APPENDIX A

Which of the following four statements best describes the first two years of the Carter administration?

	Carter has had two good years and lots of accomplishments	He's trying hard and has laid a founda- tion for the future	He's done as well as you'd expect given the tough problems	He's disorgan- ized and inept	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>	7%	27	36	26	5
<u>Party preference</u>					
Democrat (44)	11	29	36	20	5
Independent (37)	4	28	35	29	4
Republican (17)	3	17	39	35	5
<u>Political ideology</u>					
Liberal (26)	8	32	35	20	4
Moderate (24)	8	32	34	21	5
Conservative (42)	5	21	37	32	4
<u>Jimmy Carter</u>					
Favorable (54)	11	39	39	7	4
Unfavorable (39)	1	8	31	55	5
Can't rate (7)	4	32	38	15	11
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>					
Excellent (4)*	37	46	12	5	—
Good (29)	15	44	35	2	4
Only fair (44)	2	24	45	24	6
Poor (21)	1	6	20	69	4
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Carter (44)	17	39	36	6	2
Lean Carter (12)	11	36	34	12	6
Undecided (17)	3	20	30	39	8
Brown (22)	4	14	43	34	5
Lean Brown (5)	3	16	31	44	6
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>					
Kennedy (53)	8	21	39	27	5
Lean Kennedy (9)	5	25	39	24	7
Undecided (11)	10	27	27	28	7
Carter (22)	16	43	32	7	2
Lean Carter (5)	15	45	32	9	—

Best describes Carter's first two years (continued)

		Carter has had two good years and lots of accomplish- ments	He's trying hard and has laid a foun- dation for the future	He's done as well as you'd expect given the tough problems	He's disorgan- ized and inept	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		7%	27	36	26	5
<u>Sex</u>						
Female (50)		7	26	37	24	7
Male (50)		7	28	34	28	3
<u>Race</u>						
White (89)		6	26	37	26	4
Black (10)		12	26	27	25	9
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional (5)		3	42	33	19	3
White collar (14)		6	28	33	30	3
White clerical (9)		5	29	35	23	8
Government (4)*		8	23	44	23	2
Skilled blue collar (14)		5	24	40	25	6
Unskilled blue collar (14)		9	32	31	22	7
Retired (26)		10	21	39	26	4
Self-employed (6)		2	25	35	37	--
<u>Ethnic background</u>						
Irish (11)		5	30	31	29	4
English (20)		4	27	37	28	4
French (4)*		9	38	30	22	2
German (17)		4	22	42	29	3
Italian (5)		16	27	30	25	1
Eastern European (7)		4	27	29	33	7
Scandinavian (4)*		7	25	43	23	2
Spanish (4)*		15	41	19	15	10
<u>Education</u>						
Some grade school (10)		10	28	33	23	7
Some high school (15)		9	24	34	27	5
High school graduate (32)		7	26	37	25	6
Technical/vocational (5)		1	26	39	27	6
Some college (20)		7	31	33	27	3
College graduate (12)		2	29	38	28	3
Graduate/professional (7)		11	22	39	26	2

Best describes Carter's first two years (continued)

		Carter has had two good years and lots of accomplish- ments	He's trying hard and has laid a foundation for the future	He's done as well as you'd expect given the tough problems	He's disorganized and inept	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		7%	27	36	26	5
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant	(58)	7	26	35	27	5
Catholic	(30)	7	29	35	24	5
Jewish	(4)*	4	23	33	35	6
Other	(4)*	4	21	44	31	—
None	(4)*	5	35	37	17	5
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-3,999	(5)	12	29	31	25	3
\$4-6,999	(11)	13	29	34	20	4
\$7-9,999	(11)	8	25	35	26	5
\$10-14,999	(16)	5	29	37	23	6
\$15-19,999	(18)	6	25	34	30	4
Over \$20,000	(29)	5	26	38	28	3
<u>Union membership</u>						
Respondent	(17)	4	26	40	26	4
Family member	(13)	5	29	36	24	5
No member	(70)	8	27	34	26	5
<u>Age</u>						
18-25	(12)	8	36	33	19	4
26-35	(17)	5	32	33	23	7
36-45	(17)	7	23	38	27	4
46-55	(18)	4	25	33	34	5
56-65	(17)	9	25	38	25	4
Over 65	(19)	9	24	38	24	5
<u>Urban/rural</u>						
Urban	(46)	9	28	33	25	6
Suburban	(35)	4	27	34	29	5
Rural	(20)	7	23	45	23	2

Best describes Carter's first two years (continued)

		Carter has had two good years and lots of accomplish- ments	He's trying hard and has laid a foun- dation for the future	He's done as well as you'd expect given the tough problems	He's disorganized and inept	Don't know
<u>Overall</u>		7%	27	36	26	5
<u>Area I</u>						
Northeast	(15)	8	20	28	39	5
Industrial	(25)	3	30	37	26	5
Midlands	(15)	7	30	37	19	7
South	(19)	8	24	36	26	5
Central	(14)	10	26	40	21	3
Pacific	(13)	8	30	35	24	3
<u>Area II</u>						
California	(10)	10	27	31	28	3
West	(11)	11	31	40	16	2
New York	(8)	8	20	25	41	6
South	(13)	8	24	34	28	5
Industrial	(28)	4	29	38	23	6
Border	(8)	8	23	41	24	4
New England	(7)	7	20	30	38	5
Midwest	(15)	6	31	36	22	5
<u>Area III</u>						
South	(24)	8	25	37	26	4
Industrial	(52)	6	27	34	27	5
Other	(24)	8	27	38	23	4

Although it's a long way off, in 1980 do you think you'll probably be voting for or against President Carter?

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Depends on Republican nominee</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
<u>Overall</u>	21%	38	20	21
<u>Party preference</u>				
Democrat (44)	31	28	16	25
Independent (37)	18	39	25	18
Republican (17)	5	62	21	13
<u>Political ideology</u>				
Liberal (26)	28	33	16	23
Moderate (24)	21	33	24	22
Conservative (42)	15	47	20	18
<u>Jimmy Carter</u>				
Favorable (54)	36	15	21	28
Unfavorable (39)	3	72	16	10
Can't rate (7)	5	33	35	27
<u>Carter job performance rating</u>				
Excellent (4)*	76	10	8	6
Good (29)	41	11	20	28
Only fair (44)	12	40	25	22
Poor (21)	1	77	13	8
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Carter (44)	57	11	11	21
Lean Carter (12)	18	22	27	33
Undecided (17)	8	43	14	35
Brown (22)	9	54	20	16
Lean Brown (5)	10	37	27	25
<u>Democratic primary for President</u>				
Kennedy (53)	22	37	17	23
Lean Kennedy (9)	24	31	19	26
Undecided (11)	20	28	10	42
Carter (22)	57	11	13	19
Lean Carter (5)	26	24	32	18

1980 vote; for or against Carter (continued)

		<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Depends on Republican nominee</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
<u>Overall</u>		21%	38	20	21
<u>Sex</u>					
Female (50)		19	38	22	21
Male (50)		24	38	19	20
<u>Race</u>					
White (89)		20	39	21	20
Black (10)		30	26	12	32
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional (5)		19	30	26	25
White collar (14)		20	35	22	23
White clerical (9)		17	44	21	18
Government (4)*		29	36	23	13
Skilled blue collar (14)		23	40	18	19
Unskilled blue collar (14)		21	39	16	24
Retired (26)		23	37	22	18
Self-employed (6)		13	45	17	25
<u>Ethnic background</u>					
Irish (11)		24	40	15	21
English (20)		15	42	24	19
French (4)*		21	40	18	20
German (17)		14	48	21	18
Italian (5)		37	31	17	15
Eastern European (7)		15	33	26	25
Scandinavian (4)*		21	46	22	11
Spanish (4)*		43	23	10	24
<u>Education</u>					
Some grade school (10)		30	29	16	25
Some high school (15)		25	35	15	25
High school graduate (32)		22	41	20	18
Technical/vocational (5)		19	34	22	25
Some college (20)		17	41	23	20
College graduate (12)		19	38	24	19
Graduate/professional (7)		19	38	25	18

1980 vote; for or against Carter (continued)

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Depends on Republican nominee</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
<u>Overall</u>	21%	38	20	21
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (58)	21	40	20	19
Catholic (30)	25	35	19	21
Jewish (4)*	9	39	25	27
Other (4)*	12	39	31	18
None (4)*	21	34	15	30
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-3,999 (5)	31	32	12	25
\$4-6,999 (11)	31	27	21	21
\$7-9,999 (11)	26	39	15	20
\$10-14,999 (16)	19	38	21	22
\$15-19,999 (18)	18	41	23	19
Over \$20,000 (29)	18	40	23	19
<u>Union membership</u>				
Respondent (17)	21	40	18	21
Family member (13)	18	34	23	24
No member (70)	22	38	20	20
<u>Age</u>				
18-25 (12)	25	38	18	19
26-35 (17)	19	41	20	20
36-45 (17)	15	34	24	27
46-55 (18)	17	41	20	22
56-65 (17)	28	37	18	17
Over 65 (19)	24	37	20	19
<u>Urban/rural</u>				
Urban (46)	23	38	18	22
Suburban (35)	18	38	24	19
Rural (20)	24	38	19	20

1980 vote; for or against Carter (continued)

		<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Depends on Republican nominee</u>	<u>Not sure</u>
<u>Overall</u>		21%	38	20	21
<u>Area I</u>					
Northeast	(15)	22	45	16	17
Industrial	(25)	17	38	21	24
Midlands	(15)	19	32	22	27
South	(19)	27	31	19	23
Central	(14)	22	44	21	13
Pacific	(13)	19	42	24	16
<u>Area II</u>					
California	(10)	15	45	24	15
West	(11)	26	41	18	16
New York	(8)	22	44	12	21
South	(13)	31	26	16	27
Industrial	(28)	18	34	23	24
Border	(8)	17	47	19	16
New England	(7)	23	46	21	11
Midwest	(15)	20	37	21	22
<u>Area III</u>					
South	(24)	27	35	16	22
Industrial	(52)	18	38	21	22
Other	(24)	22	41	22	16

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM PATRICK H. CADDELL

RE RECENT POLLS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR STRATEGY

DATE NOVEMBER 6, 1979

You may have been baffled by the disparity of recent polls, particularly the Yankelovich Time Magazine poll showing a distance of 10 points and the NY Times/CBS poll showing you trailing 54%-20%. Well, frankly, so am I. I have some tentative ideas -- but since we have no data of our own (and have had none since early this year when we surveyed for the first time since early 1978 -- Hamilton and others decided long ago that there was no need for polling, a decision that I would selfishly argue has been costly beyond measure) and since the news organizations are parsimonious in their willingness to release information, these conclusions are tentative at best.

1. Which is right? Although Time shows a 49%-39% margin, the answer is not simply due to the inclusion of Independents for the margin among Democrats is 52% to 38%, a far cry from the 54% to 20% numbers in the Times/CBS poll. From what I can gather, part of the answer lies in the South, where Time shows a significant rallying for you and where the Times/CBS shows Kennedy leading 44% to 29%. None of the state polls in the South suggest margins in the South anything like the latter figures. Nonetheless, both polls would tend to show serious problems in the Northeast and Industrial midwest -- the first major primary hurdles. Also, the CBS/Times poll shows an abnormally high undecided, about 20%.

The Time poll shows a major movement from 58% to 25% with a similar sample in August and the change in the primary percentages is reflected in the general election pairings where you go from a 4 point deficit against Reagan to a 4 point lead, from a 3 point lead on Connally to a 12 point lead, and from being even with Baker to a 15 point edge now.

Leaving aside the Times/CBS vote pairings, there is something even more disturbing -- the approval/disapproval figures. The latest poll shows a rating of 30% approval, 50% disapproval with the balance undecided. There is every reason to suspect that the Time internal numbers reflect similarly low ratings.

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This would argue that, whatever the movement, it operates against an upper limit imposed by such ratings. In other words, whatever the movement, the advance to victory will be halted unless these numbers move. Since September these numbers -- even the softer approval/disapproval questions -- have shown great resistance to upward movement. I will return to this question in a moment.

My best guess is that we are not as bad off as the Times/CBS poll suggests. Neither, I suspect, are we as well off as Time suggests (indeed, I have had trouble for years with Yankelovich's weighting process and general political work -- which on the whole seems far below his excellent sociological studies). If I were pressed I would guess that margin is about 52% to 32% with a sizeable and real undecided. Further, I would suspect that as Kennedy becomes a candidate, he will get a small surge which will dissipate and go down under scrutiny. If we did nothing, my guess is that by years end the margin might be 55% to 40%, still a sizeable deficit, particularly in the crucial North.

2. What controls the flow? The survey data that I have seen at this point suggests massive attitudinal contradictions which I suspect explain the unusually large undecideds. Simply put you dominate the most important personality characteristics-- honest, truthful, forthright, moral, etc. Kennedy dominates the minor personality attributes -- better speaker, better personality, dynamic, attractive, etc. However, Kennedy dominates all the leadership questions -- more knowledgeable, more experienced, knows what direction to go, strong, effective, and even handling a crisis. Indeed you are viewed as less a leader by great margins when compared to all the other candidates.

Thus, if the issue were simply to be decided on a question of character, I think we could be assured of success. However, given the attitudes in the country, which we have discussed at length, and the overwhelming crush of economic news, the situation becomes precarious. For we are not simply the victim of "not getting our story out", we are hostage to real events and to the appearance of how we respond to those events. People make that judgment everyday and I fear that they see too much of what has troubled them the last two years -- that events dominate us, that we react to, not lead events. Much of this has been a result of the signals we send; frankly we respond too much and appear to initiate too little; hence, we appear to dominate too little.

November 6, 1979
Page 3

Two examples will suffice. Since Labor Day you have had one inflation event -- the grocers -- and nothing else except reaction statements to the CPI, WPI, etc. Yet this is the major concern. While not suggesting an answer to inflation, it appears to me that certainly we could have done more, sent more signals, been more in the thick of this major issue, than we have. Another point is our "response group." The idea is for our surrogates to respond to Senator Kennedy. We think little of initiating against Senator Kennedy. Thus we allow him to attack -- we respond hard -- but still the initiative, the attack goes to Kennedy who gives every sign of being willing to pound away. Thus, why should this do anything but reinforce the notion that Kennedy dominates, leads (he initiates) and we are passive (we respond).

I fear that we may slaughter Kennedy on character and yet given the inability to visibly lead by signal, to dominate the debate over real events, lose because enough people will gamble to try the signal of leadership despite apprehensions over character.

Frankly, I believe that even if we dominate the character issue totally, in a general election contest, at best we are going to have less than an even chance. Yet if somehow we can also dominate the initiative, send the signals of leadership then we can in the crazy dynamics of this election, break open 20 or more points -- hence victory. Unfortunately campaign media which says we have led or will lead cannot overcome the impressions on this subject imposed by day to day signals. People who become uneasy over Kennedy must have a real Carter hook to grab onto to justify the movement of attitudes that a voter undergoes.

We suffer horribly in that area. It seems that three years of failure to send those signals or understand the process of synthesizing substance, boldness, signal, drama, and communication has led your principal advisors to simply walk away from it. All the efforts now are directed to Kennedy on comparatives, pushing our "accomplishments," and building an organization. The largest lever is left untouched -- due much to ignorance. Yet it seems impossible to focus attention to utilizing that lever -- every conversation on the subject might as well be in Chinese. Without question, it is the road that will yield the most results -- force up the job ratings -- provide rationale for voters to move toward you. I have totally and abysmally failed to move anyone on this subject. Therefore I am prepared to remove myself from the debate. I implore you to personally take on this area -- otherwise I fear that you will find yourself next year in tantalizing striking distance of victory but falling short of the promised land.