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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...⁷

CALIFORNIA PUBLIC OPINION DATA ANALYSIS

As recently as early August, California Poll (Field) data showed the President losing California by 20 points, 33-53, with 14% undecided.

Current (early September) Market Opinion Research data show the President behind Carter in California by 5 points, 43-48, with 7 per cent undecided. A New York Times/CBS poll released Monday, September 26 said that the regional data collected showed that Carter had lost his lead in "the West," which suggests that the MOR data, which puts the President 4 points behind Carter when the currently undecided vote is distributed, is probably fairly accurate.

By political affiliation, the data show the following:

	GOP	T-S	DEM		GOP	T-S	DEM
Ford	78	51	15	Hayakawa	79	52	21
Carter	15	37	79	Tunney	16	42	71

The President is currently doing better among ticket-splitters than he does nationally, but his position here could use improvement. And the President is not doing as well among California Republicans as he needs to do to win.

By age, the voting pattern is as follows:

	Under 35	35-54	55+
Ford	38	48	44
Carter	52	44	47

These figures demonstrate that most of Carter's California lead comes from his strength among younger voters.

By political area, the data indicate the following strengths and weaknesses:

	North	Bay Area	Central Coast	Cent. Cal.	LA	South
Ford	47	41	46	41	44	45
Carter	42	50	44	51	49	44

The Ford vote is softest in the Central Coast and Central California areas (68 and 62 per cent firm respectively), while Carter's vote seems generally firmer throughout the state, though not by a substantial margin (73 Ford, 79 Carter).

The President's strongest assets in terms of voting choice appear to be his experience (33% mentioned), and the fact that his voters believe the President has done a good job (30% mentioned). Ford voters are also vocally anti-Carter -- arguing that they don't trust him, that he doesn't take a stand on the issues, and that he lacks experience.

Carter voters, on the other hand, stress that Carter is a Democrat, and that they want a change. A relatively high percentage of them (17%) see Carter as someone who is honest and trustworthy. Then too, many of Carter's supporters tie Ford in their minds to former President Nixon.

COMPETENCE AND SENSITIVITY

The President's ratings on the "competence and sensitivity" questions (feeling for the average man, trust more to do the right thing, effectiveness, handling of economic and foreign affairs) showed the following deviations from the national average data:

FEELING FOR THE AVERAGE MAN

The President trails Carter on this issue in California by 18 points, which is about the same as his national deficit.

TRUST

The President leads Carter by 7 points on this issue, about the same as his national margin. But the President has a 24 point lead on this point among ticket-splitters (48-24), which is considerably better than the 16 point lead he holds nationally.

EFFECTIVENESS

The President trails Carter by 4 points on this issue, with a 10 point lower margin among Republicans over Carter than he has national (42 vs. 54). His position on this question with ticket-splitters and Democrats is about the same as it is nationally.

HANDLING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

In the nation as a whole, the President holds a slim lead over Carter on two aspects of the economic issue: taxes and inflation.

On unemployment, on the other hand, the President's lead among GOP voters diminishes from 50 points nationally on taxes and inflation to 38 points, and he loses to Carter among ticket-splitters by 15 points (vs. 13 point lead on taxes, inflation) and to Carter among Democrats by 60 points (vs. 40 points on taxes and inflation).

In California, the President is nearly even with Carter on his handling of economic problems (37-40), and holds a 47 point lead with Republicans, a 9 point lead with ticket-splitters, and loses this issue by 50 points among Democrats.

HANDLING FOREIGN AFFAIRS/NATIONAL DEFENSE

Nationally, defense and foreign policy are clearly the President's strong suits, since he holds a 24 point margin overall on this issue over Carter, with a 31 point margin among ticket-splitters and only a 7 point deficit among Democrats. The pattern in California is not substantially different.

RATINGS OF MAJOR ADMINISTRATION FIGURES

Reagan (Priority States w/o Calif-Texas): 57 Favorable, 33 Unfavorable
Reagan California: 53 Favorable, 44 Unfavorable.

Kissinger (Priority States W/o Calif-TX.): 52 Fav., 35 Unfav.
Kissinger California: 49 Favorable, 43 Unfavorable.

Dole (Priority States W/O Calif-Tx.): 35 Fav., 18 Unfav., 47 Don't Know
Dole California: 32 Favorable, 22 Unfavorable, 46 Don't Know

CALIFORNIA ISSUES

Almost 60% of the California voters cited an economic problem as most important in their voting decision in the fall. The rankings were as follows (voters are allowed more than one):

Unemployment	26
Economic Iss.	15
Inflation	13
Tax Reform	12
Govt. Spdg.	8

In the priority states outside California and Texas, the overall economic problems rankings were as follows:

Economy Issue	15
Unemployment	11

Inflation 7
Tax Ref. 4
Govt.Spdg 3

Next in order of priority to California citizens are the following issues:

Foreign Affairs/ Defense	15
Best Man/Best Person	14
Honesty/Trust/Integrity	12
Welfare Reform	7
Crime	6
Experience	5

According to polling data collected in California on September 30 and October 1, 1976 under the direction of Market Opinion Research, the President now leads Carter in California, 46-43 with 11% of the voters undecided.

Early Spetember Overall Vote

Early October Overall Vote

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>		<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>
Hard	38	44	Hard	43	39
Soft	5	3	Soft	3	4
Total	43	47	Total	46	43

By political affiliation, the early October poll vote was as follows:

	<u>GOP</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>DEM</u>
Ford	83	52	21
Carter	11	34	68

Thus, the President has solidified more of his Republican support, and picked up 6% among California Democrats. But his level of support among Ticket-Splitters remained unchanged.

By political area, the early Ocrober data show the following changes:

	<u>Bay Area</u>	<u>Central Calif.</u>	<u>LA</u>	<u>South</u>
Ford	43	41	44	57
Carter	44	46	43	36

Much of the President's gain among Republicans appears to come from traditionally Republican Southern California.

ISSUES

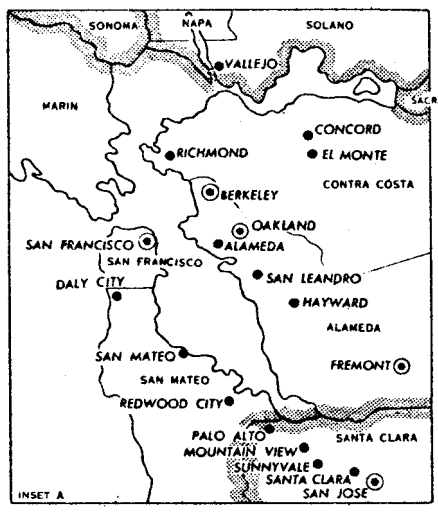
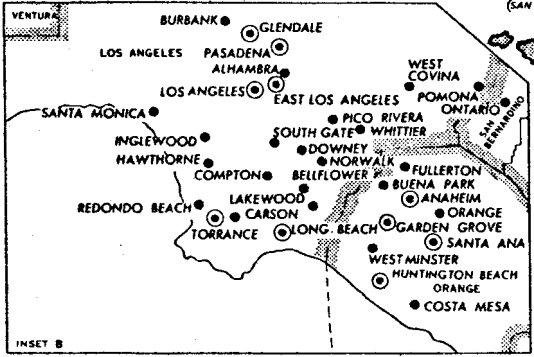
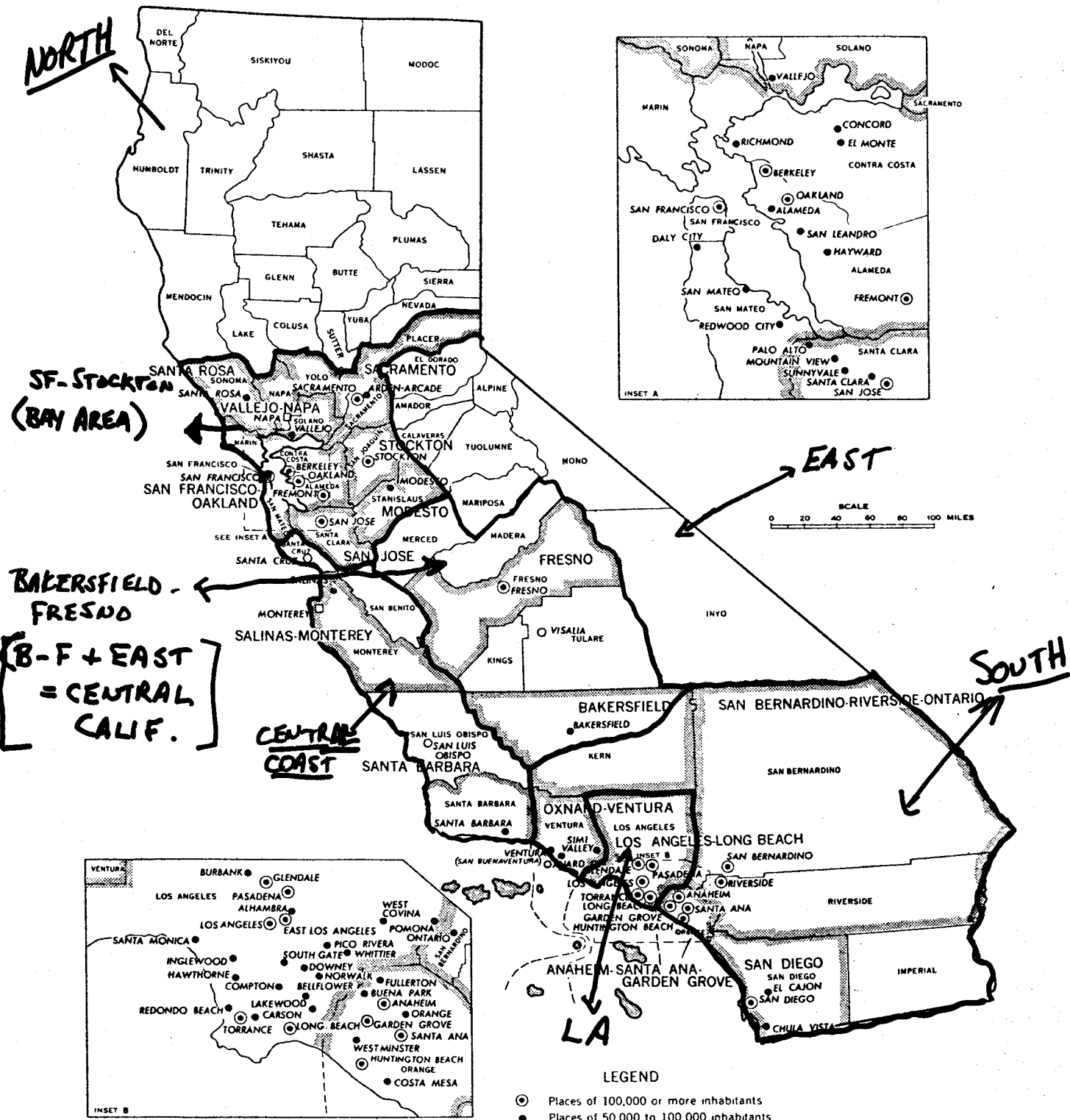
Taxes and tax reform seem to have become more significant issues to California voters. Although California voters appear to ~~oppose~~ the Carter "median income split" tax proposal by 51-37, Carter's proposal is strongly opposed by middle-aged, middle and upper income voters.


About 50% of California voters accpet the proposition than inflation leads to unemployment (vs. 45% who do not). But "soft Democrats," members of minority groups, and union members appear to split 60-40 in agreement on this proposition. Thus an attack on higher deficits due to social spending programs as causing higher unemployment will be well received among these groups.

Aid to parochial schools is supported by 36% of California voters, and opposed by 64%. But Spanish-speaking voters favor such aid by a 58-39 margin.

Political Regions (MOR/DMI)

10/4/76



- LEGEND**
- ⊙ Places of 100,000 or more inhabitants
 - Places of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants
 - Central cities of SMSA's with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants
 - Places of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants outside SMSA's
-  Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's)

TEXAS PUBLIC OPINION DATA ANALYSIS

MOR data for Texas collected in early September show the President trailing Carter by 6 points (44-50) with 5 per cent of the voters undecided. The percentage deficit remains the same when the undecided voters are distributed (47-53).

By political affiliation, the vote was as follows:

	<u>GOP (16%)</u>	<u>T-S (33%)</u>	<u>DEM (51%)</u>
Ford	83	54	27
Carter	11	39	71

In the Senate race, Lloyd Bentsen holds a 32 point lead over Alan Steelman (28-60) with 10% of the voters undecided. By political affiliation, the vote is as follows:

	<u>GOP</u>	<u>T-S</u>	<u>DEM</u>
Steeleman	61	33	15
Bentsen	29	53	76

Half of the President's Texas supporters currently intend to vote for Bentsen.

By age, the vote was as follows:

	<u>Under 35</u>	<u>35-54</u>	<u>55+</u>
Ford	46	45	42
Carter	49	51	51

By political area, the vote was as follows:

m	<u>South</u>	<u>Panhandle*</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>Houston</u>	<u>Dallas/Ft. W.</u>	<u>East*</u>
Ford	45	45	43	49	40	42
Carter	52	53	51	44	54	54

*Small sample.

The President's strengths with his voters appear to be their view that he has done a good job (42% mentioned) and his experience and qualifications (36%). Carter voters cite his Democratic Party affiliation and the need for change as reasons for their choice of Carter.

VOTE SOFTNESS

77% of the Ford voters will definitely or probably vote for the President. 83% of Carter's voters are equally firmly committed to their choice. The two major regional differences in vote firmness are the South (Ford 76% firm, Carter 89% firm) and the Dallas/Fort Worth areas (Ford 69% firm, Carter 78% firm).

Texas Issues

Economic problems are number 1 in importance in Texas. The voters rank various economic problems as follows (in order of importance, voters are allowed more than one choice):

Economic Issue	16
Unemployment	16
Inflation	13
Govt. Spdg.	11
Tax Reform	9

But foreign affairs appears to be a close overall second, with 23% of the voters mentioning some aspect of foreign affairs and ranking their concerns in that areas as follows:

For.Affs/Aid/Policies	14
Natl. Def/Mil. Stand	7
Peace/Keep Out of War	2

Competence and Sensitivity Questions

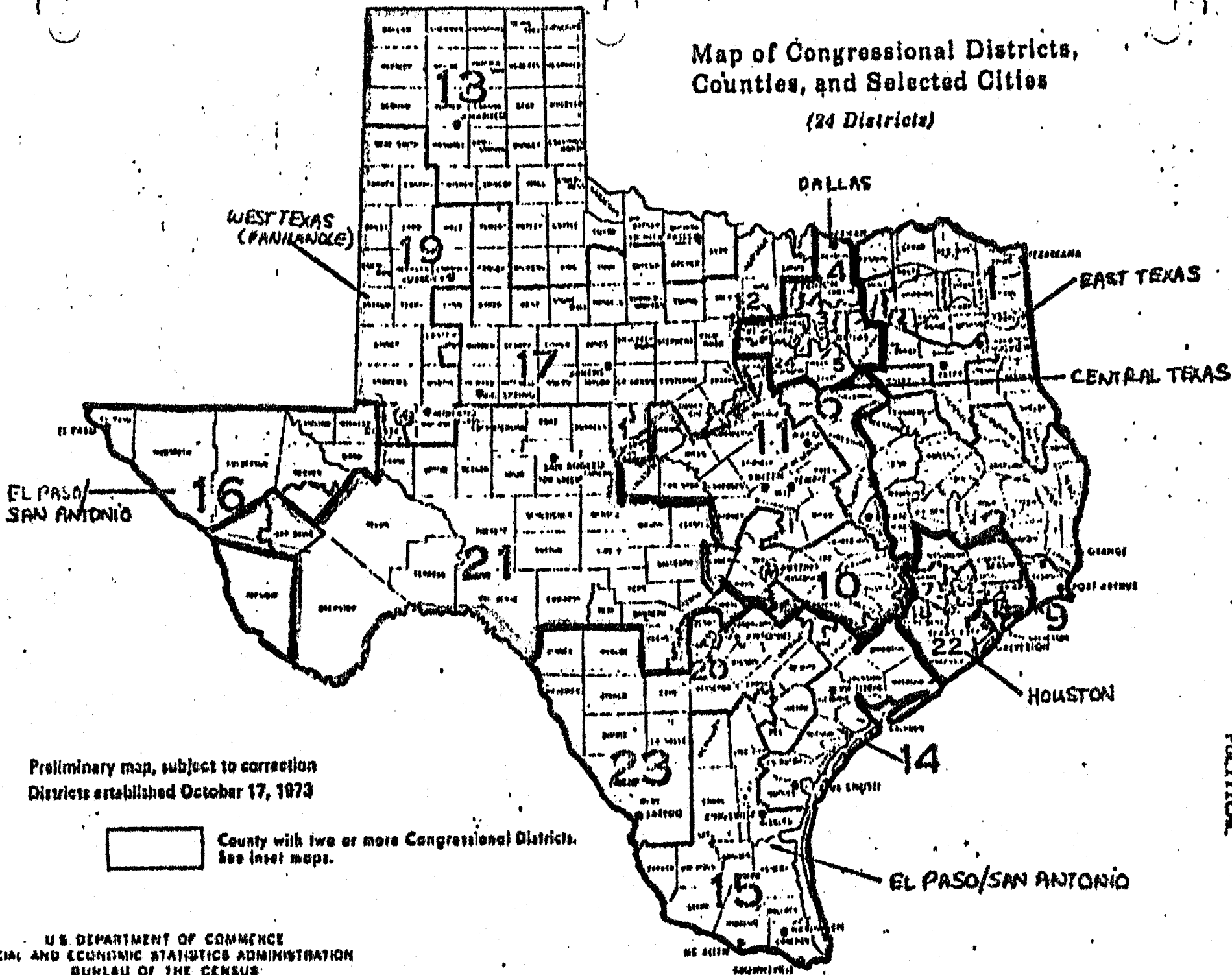
On the five competence and sensitivity questions (feeling for the average man, trust to do the right thing, effectiveness in getting results on tough problems, handling of economics and defense), the partisan divisions in responses are generally close to those found in the September national survey. The exceptions are that the President leads on the trust question by 1 point (vs. 8 points nationally), loses the "effectiveness" question by 3 points (vs. a small lead nationally), and loses the handling of economic problems question by 2 points. The President maintains his 25 point lead on the "handling of foreign affairs" question -- and to do this, he has to do quite well on this question with Texas Democrats (42-41 over Carter).

Ratings of Administration Figures

Connally
48 Favorable
46 Unfavorable
6 Don't Know

Reagan
69 Favorable
27 Unfavorable
4 Don't Know

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities (24 Districts)



Preliminary map, subject to correction
Districts established October 17, 1973



County with two or more Congressional Districts.
See inset maps.