

The original documents are located in Box 26, folder “First Debate, 9/23/76: Comments and Analysis” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

fit

September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JACK MARSH
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*
SUBJECT: House Reactions/First Debate



Attached are reactions from both Republicans and Democrats
in the House to last night's debate.



Bob Michel - Thought the President did very well. The Peoria paper called 74 people in a survey -- 54 responded. Sixteen people thought the President won the debate - 12 people thought Carter won - and 26 people felt it was a draw. Michel says this survey indicates that there is still a big undecided vote out in this neck of the woods. Michel was glad to see that the President finally got some national press on his program for tax reductions, holding the line on government spending, and the use of the veto. People talking to Michel said they were with the President on these points and there was no need for the President to apologize for his position on tax reductions, government spending, and the use of the veto. Said Carter rambled at first and picked up momentum in his summation. Overall he was very happy and pleased with the President's performance.

Barber Conable - Thought debate went all right, but not thrilled by either performance. The President came off better than Carter. The President did well not to press harder on the issues than he did because the issues are with the President and he thought the President's general posture on the issues was a good one. Thought the President's summation was poor and cliché. Carter comes across as too glib and does not come across as well as the President. Suggests that the President work on his summation more. Says the President emerged as Gerald Ford and that is the right way to do it and not be somebody that he is not. He thought the President's statistical countering was good but somewhat dull. Says it appears that the general public and newspaper reaction is that the President clearly won. Says if Gerald Ford continues to be Gerald Ford he will continue to close the gap and can win this election with the issues in the President's favor.

Sam Devine - President should look at the camera and not at the person asking the question when he responds - direct his eyes at the camera. Says President lacks the killer instinct and missed three or four opportunities to really give it to Carter. For example, when Carter said that the tax structure is a mess, full of loopholes for the wealthy and rich people of this country - the President should have hit Carter for taking full advantage of these loopholes in his own personal income tax returns. Felt the President



took one hour and ten minutes to hit the Democratic-controlled Congress which wrote the tax laws and created other economic problems.

Guy Vander Jagt - Felt he was not the proper person to respond because of his bias and prejudice toward the President. Incensed that Carter does not know what he is talking about regarding taxes and tax structure. Felt the President totally overpowered Carter on the tax issue but feels that his reaction is not shared by others. Says all Carter has done on the tax issue is learn a few words and that's all. Talked to people back in his district and they felt the President did well.

Al Quie - Felt President was clearly the winner in the first part of the debate and this was good first impression. Felt that the viewing public got the impression that the President knew his job and where he was going and where he wanted to go. Said Carter at first was ill at ease, rambled, and didn't know where he was going. Quie says that then Carter picked up steam as the debate went on. Quie felt the President should have hit the Democrat-controlled Congress much earlier, specifically on the energy question. Felt that the President did not show enough sympathy for the poor and unemployed. President should have stated what he had done and his programs for the poor and unemployed and how the Democrat-controlled Congress has thwarted his efforts. Feels the President should take a lot more credit than he does on education issues. Says President did OK and that Carter started out fuzzy and is going to have to stay on that track.

John Murtha - President should look more at the camera and not the panel asking the questions. He felt the President showed confidence, mastery of the issues, and displayed leadership with confidence. He felt the cut-off or technical difficulties was very bad and made everything uncomfortable. The President in the debate established himself as able to run the government but he didn't think the debate changed any minds. He felt that the debate showed that Carter has a problem with the issues and that the President is doing the best job under some difficult circumstances. He felt the President had the edge and destroyed Carter's credibility when he spoke of the increase in jobs in state government when Carter was governor of Georgia. He felt

Carter was more sincere in his closing statement and more interested in people. He felt an important point from the debate was that the President did not have to defend himself on a whole range of issues and Carter will have a difficult time explaining how he is going to cut defense spending in his district. Murtha feels that this was the toughest one of the debates since it involved the economy and domestic issues. He says from here on out it's downhill for Carter because he does not think he will be able to match the President on foreign policy. Murtha said that Carter looked at the camera and his final statement was very good.



Rep. Bill Armstrong - Thought that the debate went reasonably well. Strong point in the President's favor was that Carter came out clearly as the candidate advocating big spending, big programs and more big government. He felt the President's image was that of a leader trying to reduce the size of Government and reduce taxes.

He felt the President missed an opportunity early in the debates to come out swinging against the Congress. By the time this issue was raised, he felt that most of the audience had tuned out the debate.

Because of the recent publicity in PLAYBOY, he felt that Carter went into the debate as the underdog. He feels, therefore, that the debate helped Carter too as he was able to hold his own.

Rep. Marjorie Holt - Carter did better than she had hoped he would. However, the President clearly came out more forcefully and more as a leader. She would have liked to have seen the President hit harder on the issues - be more on the offensive.

Rep. John Wydler - The President won! Carter was not clear on any issues. He never answered any of the difficult questions. The President came across as a leader who knew what he wanted to say and said it. He was very pleased that the President made a statement that he would sign the tax bill.

He felt that the hardest question that the President had to respond to was the question on the pardon. He would like to suggest in the future the President emphasize the difference between granting a blanket pardon and a pardon granted on an individual basis on merit. He should explain how he agonized over the Nixon pardon and how it too was judged on its merits and in retrospect history has shown that he was correct.

Rep. Silvio Conte - He felt that the President should have been more aggressive. On the subject of tax loopholes, he said that the President should have brought out the fact that Carter took advantage of those loopholes.

Congressman Conte said that the President let Carter get away with using the time to talk politics, making statements which were irrelevant to the questions. He said he didn't think the debate made that much difference.

Jim Quillen - Believes that the President did a tremendous job and came out far ahead of Carter in the debate.

Al Cederberg - Noted that he viewed the debate with Mrs. Ford in the White House and that he talked to the President following the event last night. Suggests that the President should be more aggressive and "rougher" on Carter. Stated the issue of the debate was clear -- Carter waffling around the Democratic platform, in essence calling for increased taxes along with increased federal expenditures -- the President projecting his programs which would reduce taxes and reduce federal spending.

Jack Edwards - Thought Carter and the President did a good job of putting the Democratic and Republican philosophies of government in perspective. Believes the President should have emphasized more that it is Congress who has failed in allowing a tax reduction/spending ceiling and an overall energy policy. Noted that he believed Carter did a better job of working into his answers political rhetorical comments. Stated that overall public contacts made to him expressed a very good feeling with the President's appearance.

Bill Whitehurst - Felt that until the conclusion the President definitely had the upper hand in the debate. Commended the President for exposing Governor Carter's record in Georgia. On balance, feels the President came across better, however, suggests that he become more aggressive in his delivery and attacks on Carter.

Clarence Brown - Believes the President did a good job, but the debate seemed dull and there was no real audience-holding power. Thinks many errors of fact were made by Carter as he addressed economic issues. Therefore, Bud suggests that the minority staff of the Joint Economic Committee review the transcript of the debate and issue a press release pointing out the errors in fact as advocated by Carter. Overall, it was his feeling the President came out on the positive side.



Bill Young - Saw the debate as being a "draw" between Carter and the President. It appeared that Carter was more relaxed and confident, but the President walked all over Carter on substance. Because the economy is the President's most vulnerable issue and Carter was not able to win this debate, believes the President is sitting in a very favorable position for the remainder of the debates as well as the campaign.

Joe Waggoner - Was returning to Louisiana while the debate was being aired on TV and therefore was only able to hear about 45 minutes of the debate on radio. What he heard definitely was in the President's favor. It was his opinion that Carter manifested the fact that he doesn't have a grasp of our tax laws, the importance of a free enterprise system, and our current economic situation. Suggests that in forthcoming debates the President may want to follow Carter's answers by simply stating "Governor Carter didn't answer the question" and then proceed to give specific details as to why. Again, thought the President handled himself very well but stated that in listening to the debate on radio the President's speech often seemed broken.

Sonny Montgomery - The President was forceful and in charge. Believes that in the next several days Ford will be described as being the clear winner. However, the President's closing statement was not as good as Carter's. However, Carter gave his standard political speech used daily on the campaign trail.

Rep. Albert Johnson - Thought the President did very well. Was impressed with the debates and was quite enthusiastic with the way he thought the President got through to the people tagging the Democrats as big spenders.

As far as criticism goes, he felt the President could have been more forceful in his closing remarks. He was very pleased with the AP poll that came out last night after the debate.

Rep. Harold Runnels - Thought the President did real well but please stop looking at questioners and look at the camera.

Encourages the President to keep hitting Carter on the Georgia issues - increased employees, increases in bonded indebtedness, increases in budget, etc.



September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT: Senator Hubert Humphrey/First Debate

I discussed the first debate with Senator Humphrey today and he had these observations:

"The President did very well. He was the most forceful. Carter was nervous at the start and did not seem sure of himself. My only suggestion for the President would be that he look at the camera rather than the reporter."

bcc: Mack Marsh
Dick Cheney
Mike DuVal



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file

September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JACK MARSH

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*

Attached are some Senatorial reactions to last night's debate.

The House is in recess today and Republican leaders were difficult to reach Friday morning, but we expect House comments later in the day.



September 24, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

259.

JOE JENCKES

SUBJECT:

The First Debate -- Senate Reactions

Following are the reactions of selected Senators to the President's performance during the First Ford/Carter Debate (September 23, 1976). These reactions were received between 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. this morning.

GRIFFIN

1. "The President's closing statement was not a "ten strike." It should have been. It tended to be generally rambling and not well organized which was unfortunate in light of the advance notice of this golden opportunity."
2. "Generally, the President was ahead throughout the debate -- particularly in the first 20 minutes which is most important. That is when the President won the debate."
3. "In preparing for the next debate, carefully make a list of telling points that should be made regardless of what the questions are. The questions asked tend to be general and broad enough to allow a lot of flexibility so long as the question is answered."
4. "Either candidate would have scored a lot of points last night if he had injected just a little humor somewhere in the proceedings -- particularly after the sound breakdown. Both were stiff and unreal in reacting to this situation."
5. "DON'T let down or be too confident about the next debate. Carter will work harder and will be better organized. The President will be expected to do better on defense and foreign policy -- that offers great opportunity for Carter to pull an upset."



H. SCOTT

"The President had a definite edge. I thought Carter misquoted his record as Governor and the President scored points on Carter regarding Carter's veto record. Carter made mistake in referring to the depression of the '40's."

The Senator also stated that he did not believe that the President made the best use of time in his closing. Could have been prepared in advance. Should have been more forceful. The Senator feels that Carter beat the President on the closing. The President had no "specific vision of future."

BAKER

"The President won on points. No knock-out for either side. The general format favors the President. The President's closing statement was not as good as other parts of debate."

CURTIS

"It's clear that the President won the debate. I'm glad that it wasn't a real debate because in true debate the participants get involved in minutiae. The format being used allows the President to say what he wants to the American people."

STEVENS

The Senator watched the debate with his children who are of college age. They felt the President had the edge. His daughter said she "liked" the President.

The Senator felt the President came over with a Father image. In addition, the Senator believes that the President should not always be positioned on the right-hand side of the screen. The left side is more dominant. We read and look from left to right.

The Senator felt that the President was superior on substance. He also suggested that the President look at the camera instead of the questioner and that the President not wear a vest in one of the future debates. Believes that too many statistics were used by both participants last night. Said Carter's sentences were too long and rambling.

GOLDWATER

"The President was a clear winner. The President did a wonderful job. I think the President made Carter look irresponsible and totally lacking in a knowledge of government. The President should have lambasted Carter a little more. It is essential that the President continue to put the heat on the failures of Congress."



150 debate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1976

FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: WILLIAM CARRUTHERS



Attachment

SUMMATION

| | |
|---|------------|
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| Average Length of Rebuttal: | 2:04 |
| Average Length of Rebuttal (Ford) | 2:06 |
| Average Length of Rebuttal (Carter): | 2:02 |



| <u>CANDIDATE</u> | <u>QUESTIONER</u> | <u>QUESTION TIME</u> | <u>RESPONSE TIME</u> | <u>SUBJECT</u> |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| CARTER | REYNOLDS | :33 | 2:43 | ENERGY |
| CARTER | REYNOLDS | :06 | 1:43 | MANDATORY RATE STRUCTURE |
| FORD (R) | | | 2:04 | FIRST COMP. ENERGY PROGRAM |
| FORD | GANNON | :32 | 2:33 | UNEMPLOYMENT (COMPENSATION) |
| FORD | GANNON | :29 | 1:48 | VETO MONEY BILL |
| CARTER (R) | | | 2:00 | VETOS |
| CARTER | DREW | :28 | 3:05 | TAX RELIEF |
| CARTER | DREW | :37 | 1:09 | RAISE REVENUE |
| FORD (R) | | | 2:15 | RAISE TAX ON MEDIUM INCOME |
| FORD | REYNOLDS | 1:03 | 2:18 | ANTI WASHINGTON |
| FORD | REYNOLDS | :22 | 1:37 | GET ALONG WITH CONGRESS |
| CARTER (R) | | | 2:10 | LEADERSHIP WITH CONGRESS |



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| CARTER | REYNOLDS | :15 | 2:55 | UNEMPLOYMENT |
| CARTER | REYNOLDS | :12 | :55 | UNEMPLOYMENT |
| FORD (R) | | | 2:00 | UNEMPLOYMENT |
| FORD | GANNON | :31 | 2:25 | TAX CUTS |
| FORD | GANNON | :20 | 1:31 | TAX BILL |
| CARTER (R) | | | 1:49 | TAX BILL |
| CARTER | DREW | :40 | 1:32 | BALANCE BUDGET |
| CARTER | DREW | :30 | 1:37 | BUDGET SURPLUS |
| FORD (R) | | | 2:09 | SURPLUS |
| FORD | REYNOLDS | :48 | 2:07 | PARDON & AMNESTY |
| FORD | REYNOLDS | :12 | :34 | AMNESTY |
| CARTER (R) | | | 2:02 | AMNESTY |
| CARTER | GANNON | :31 | 2:33 | RESHAPE GOVERNMENT |
| CARTER | GANNON | :22 | 2:04 | NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES |
| FORD (R) | | | 2:01 | GEORGIA GOVERNMENT |
| FORD | DREW | :42 | 2:57 | PAY FOR NEW PROGRAMS |
| FORD | DREW | :15 | 1:48 | RETURN SURPLUS |
| CARTER (R) | | | 2:11 | NEGATIVE GROWTH |



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first debate

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File

October 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: WAYNE H. VALIS *Wayne*

Dr. Gerald Goldhaber has done an analysis of the first debate based on body language and the way in which both candidates conducted themselves. He sent me the enclosed study and letter, both of which are very interesting. I believe that the results of this first debate tend to contrast with the President's performance in the second.





INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION

Publishers of the Journal of Communication

Publishers of Human Communication Research

GERALD M. GOLDHABER, PH. D., Director, ICA Communication Audit
Department of Communication
State University of New York at Buffalo
Buffalo, New York 14226 (716) 831-1608

Oct. 4, 1976

Wayne Valis
President Ford Committee
1828 L St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036



Dear Mr. Valis:

Enclosed is a copy of the report our research team has completed on the communication behavior of Ford/Carter during the first debate. We hope it helps the President and we intend to do this again for all three debates. As you can tell from the conclusions, the President is most effective when he:

1. speaks about 133 WPM
2. looks directly at the camera or Carter
3. maintains relaxed but erect posture
4. speaks forcefully and concisely
5. avoids long complicated statistics and short, unexplained examples
6. references himself as "the President"
7. remains generally calm
8. avoids frowns

He tends to lose effectiveness and become nonfluent when he:

1. slows down to 100-125 WPM
2. frowns
3. uses long statistics or short examples
4. looks too often at the panel

Our report also references Carter's behavior and we refer you to it for its conclusions. Feel free to call on us for any further explanation or assistance. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Gerald M. Goldhaber, Ph.D.

U/B RESEARCHERS ANALYZE FORD/CARTER IMAGE: 1st DEBATE



After many combined hours of analysis, professors Gerald M. Goldhaber and Jerry K. Frye together with research fellow, Michael Yates, all from U/B's Department of Communication and graduate students Kathy Cress, Laura Hunter, Arnold Hoop, and Sue Green of U/B's Center for Studies of Cultural Transmission have discovered major verbal and nonverbal communication differences between the candidates in the first Ford/Carter debate. The research was based on an analysis of 2,164 specific nonverbal behaviors and 405 verbal references found in the 10,705 word transcript. The researchers found differences in eye gaze, mouth expression, shoulder and head movements, speech rate, non-fluences, use of specific supporting materials, and character references.

Since most viewers in national surveys conducted after the first debate were unable to identify specific reasons why Ford or Carter "won," the researchers' data may provide useful clues for the study of candidate image in the remaining debates. The findings were based on an analysis of the written transcript and video-tapes of the first debate. Among the major findings: (1) Ford was more fluent than Carter as measured by the number of non-fluences per minute; (2) Carter was more expressive than Ford as measured by the number of head, eye, and mouth movements; on the other hand, Ford's shift in body position was more frequent than Carter's; (3) Carter spoke about 20% faster than Ford (Carter's delivery rate approached the rate of American disc jockeys); (4) Carter was more specific than Ford. Carter used longer and more detailed examples and statistical material more frequently; and (5) Ford had more than 4 times as many character building references (e.g., "As President, I recommended . . .") than Carter (e.g., "As Governor, I . . ."). These were designed to enhance Ford's presidential image.

Goldhaber, Frye, and Yates conclude that their research is largely descriptive, but that it should provide a useful foundation for their subsequent analysis of the second and third presidential debates. Goldhaber, Frye, and Yates suggest that "as you view the 2nd and 3rd debates, watch for" the following:

1. Who smiles most often (Ford or Carter)?
2. Who looks more directly at you, the television viewer?
3. Who spoke faster?
4. Who spoke more fluently?
5. Who was more specific?
6. Who used more image building self references?

These answers may provide a useful index of who made the best television impression in the debates in terms of the candidates' composure, debate strategy, and dynamism--in short, his image as perceived by the American voter."



Eye Gaze. Carter had more eye movement than Ford, shifting his gaze almost 4 times as much as Ford. While Carter spent the majority of his time switching his gaze from the TV camera to the podium and back to the TV camera, Ford maintained eye contact with the panel of questioners (Ford did this almost 95% of the time). Carter looked at the panelists more frequently, but for shorter periods of time (Carter averaged 6 seconds per gaze and Ford averaged 32 seconds per gaze), whereas Ford tended to maintain eye contact with the panelists and, particularly during the first half of the debate, virtually ignored the TV camera! Neither candidate looked at his opponent while speaking. As the debate progressed, Carter looked down at his podium much less and he seemed more relaxed, decreasing nervous shifts from TV camera to panelists.





TABLE 1

DIRECTION OF EYE GAZE

| PRESIDENT FORD | | | | GOVERNOR CARTER | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>EYE GAZE DIRECTION</u> | <u>NUMBER OF EYE GAZES</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF GAZE (SEC.)</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> | <u>NUMBER OF EYE GAZES</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF GAZE (SEC.)</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> |
| TV CAMERA | 36 | 6 sec. | 10.5% | 83 | 6 sec. | 25.8% |
| PANEL | 54 | 32 sec. | 88.9% | 153 | 6 sec. | 48.6% |
| OPPONENT | 1 | 1 sec. | .1% | 2 | 1 sec. | .1% |
| PODIUM | 6 | 1 sec. | .5% | 138 | 3 sec. | 21.0% |
| CEILING | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 6 sec. | 4.5% |
| TOTAL | 97 | - | 100% | 391 | - | 100% |

Head. Neither candidate moved their heads much, although Ford frequently made slight head movements (tilted to left about 25% of speaking time). As the debate progressed, head movements (tilted left) increased in frequency for Ford. Carter tended to move his head forward slightly as he spoke. Carter's head movements paralleled closely his eye gazes toward podium. Random head movements as described here are generally associated with nervousness of the speaker.



TABLE 2

HEAD MOVEMENT



| PRESIDENT FORD | | | | GOVERNOR CARTER | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| <u>HEAD POSITION</u> | <u>NUMBER OF MOVEMENTS</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF MOVEMENTS (SEC.)</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> | <u>NUMBER OF MOVEMENTS</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF MOVEMENTS (SEC.)</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> |
| LEVEL | 76 | 18 sec. | 71.2% | 186 | 8 sec. | 77.1% |
| TILT LEFT | 45 | 9 sec. | 22.4% | 12 | 5 sec. | 3.1% |
| TILT RIGHT | 21 | 4 sec. | 4.7% | 9 | 7 sec. | 3.3% |
| TILT BACK | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TILT FORWARD | 9 | 4 sec. | 1.7% | 69 | 5 sec. | 16.5% |
| TOTAL | 151 | - | 100% | 267 | - | 100% |

Mouth. For the most part both candidates were expressionless and solemn during the debate, Ford being the more solemn. Ford smiled only 8 times. Carter smiled more than Ford, but the majority of Carter's smiles were slight and brief (lasting only 3 seconds) and only 10 times did Carter exhibit his familiar broad smile. Carter smiled 2 to 3 times more frequently as the debate progressed as compared to the beginning of the debate. As Carter became more comfortable and more relaxed he smiled more often. Carter's increase in smiles were accompanied by improved speech fluency, fewer eye shifts toward the podium, and a decrease in speech rate. This evidence tends to support the public's perception that Carter progressively became more relaxed as the debate progressed.

TABLE 3

MOUTH EXPRESSION

| PRESIDENT FORD | | | | GOVERNOR CARTER | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| <u>MOUTH EXPRESSION</u> | <u>NUMBER OF EXPRESSIONS</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF EXPRESSION (SEC.)</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> | <u>NUMBER OF EXPRESSIONS</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF EXPRESSION (SEC.)</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> |
| NO EXPRESSION | 56 | 30 sec. | 94.8% | 170 | 9 sec. | 79.8% |
| BROAD SMILE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 4 sec. | 1.8% |
| MILD SMILE | 8 | 2 sec. | .9% | 49 | 3 sec. | 6.9% |
| FROWN | 3 | 2 sec. | .3% | 13 | 3 sec. | 1.8% |
| PRESS&LICK LIPS | 33 | 2 sec. | 4.0% | 86 | 2 sec. | 9.7% |
| TOTAL | 100 | - | 100% | 328 | - | 100% |

Upper Body Movement. Ford had 3 times more upper body movement than Carter, whose shoulders were almost always level. Apparently, Ford, who maintained almost constant head, eye, and mouth movements throughout the majority of the debate, found it necessary to relieve some tension by shifting his body weight from one foot to the other. Carter, with his slighter body build, shifted his body weight less frequently.



TABLE 4

UPPER BODY MOVEMENT

| PRESIDENT FORD | | | | GOVERNOR CART | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT</u> | <u>NUMBER OF MOVEMENTS</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF MOVEMENT</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> | <u>NUMBER OF MOVEMENTS</u> | <u>AVE. LENGTH OF MOVEMENT</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL SPEAKING TIME</u> |
| ERECT | 123 | 8 sec. | 45.3% | 37 | 49 sec. | 90.0% |
| LEAN LEFT | 88 | 6 sec. | 26.1% | 25 | 3 sec. | 4.0% |
| LEAN RIGHT | 48 | 5 sec. | 11.6% | 29 | 4 sec. | 6.0% |
| LEAN FORWARD | 43 | 5 sec. | 11.2% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| LEAN BACKWARD | 22 | 5 sec. | 5.8% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 324 | - | 100% | 91 | - | 100% |

Speech Rate. The average speaking rate of most Americans ranges from 125 to 150 wpm (words per minute). Throughout the first debate Carter maintained a 164 wpm average speaking rate compared with Ford's slower rate of 133 wpm. Ford's speech rate was higher at the beginning and end of the debate and lower (127 wpm) in the middle where he also was less fluent. On the other hand, Carter spoke faster at the beginning of the debate, sometimes exceeding 200 wpm (faster than many disc jockeys), at the beginning of the debate where he was less fluent and appeared more nervous. Apparently, Ford slows down where Carter speaks faster when they become less fluent during high anxiety or nervousness.

TABLE 5

SPEAKING RATE

| | PRESIDENT FORD | GOVERNOR CARTER |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| NUMBER OF WORDS | 4382 | 5354 |
| TOTAL SPEAKING TIME | 32 min. 53 sec. | 32 min. 36 sec. |
| WORDS PER MINUTE | 133 | 164 |

Non-fluencies. Non-fluencies are those breaks or substitutions which interrupt the normal speech flow (e.g., repetition, tongue slips, er, ah, um). Carter had 3 times more such non-fluencies than Ford (averaging about 9 non-fluencies per minute compared with Ford's $3\frac{1}{2}$ non-fluencies per minute). Most of Ford's non-fluencies were of the "er, ah, um" variety, while Carter's speech reflected a variety of non-fluency types. Again, the evidence supports the general impression that Carter was more anxious and tense at the beginning and tended to relax as the debate progressed because Carter had more non-fluencies at the beginning, less in the middle, and even less toward the end.



TABLE 6

NONFLUENCIES

| | PRESIDENT FORD | GOVERNOR CARTER |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| NUMBER OF NONFLUENCIES | 123 | 283 |
| RATE OF NONFLUENCIES | 3.7 per min. | 8.6 per min. |

Supporting Materials. Supporting materials are those specific forms of evidence or explanation which help a speaker clarify or support a given statement, including statistics, examples, authority references, and comparisons. When Ford turned to supporting materials he used statistics 53% of the time. Although Carter relied on statistics more frequently (Carter used 52 statistical references to Ford's 38), he typically used fewer words than Ford to describe them. This means that Ford used more words to describe his statistics than Carter, a technique that typically decreases the effectiveness of statistics presented orally. Carter used examples more often than Ford (Carter used 53 references and Ford used 26) and provided more details in his illustrations. Apparently, Carter attempted to defuse the charge that he was fuzzy on the issues by his detailed explanations. Carter also cited more authorities than Ford and neither candidate used many comparisons (Carter used 6 comparisons and Ford used only 1 comparison).



TABLE 7

USE OF SUPPORTING MATERIALS

| TYPE OF SUPPORT | PRESIDENT FORD | | | GOVERNOR CARTER | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>NUMBER OF REFERENCES</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL REFERENCES</u> | <u>ELAPSED TIME</u> | <u>NUMBER OF REFERENCES</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL REFERENCES</u> | <u>ELAPSED TIME</u> |
| STATISTICS | 38 | 52.8% | 8 min. | 52 | 41.9% | 5 min. |
| EXAMPLES | 26 | 36.1% | 4 min. | 53 | 42.7% | 10 min. |
| AUTHORITY | 7 | 9.7% | 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ min. | 13 | 10.5% | 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ min. |
| COMPARISON | 1 | 1.4% | 6 sec. | 6 | 4.9% | 1 min. |
| TOTAL | 72 | 100% | 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ min. | 124 | 100% | 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ min. |

TABLE 8

CHARACTER REFERENCES

| PRESIDENT FORD | | | | GOVERNOR CARTER | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| <u>OBJECT OF REFERENCE</u> | <u>NUMBER OF REFERENCES</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL REFERENCES</u> | <u>ELAPSED TIME</u> | <u>NUMBER OF REFERENCES</u> | <u>% OF TOTAL REFERENCES</u> | <u>ELAPSED TIME</u> |
| SELF | 56 | 49.1% | 9 min. | 15 | 15.8% | 3 min. |
| OPPONENT | 22 | 19.1% | 2½ min. | 32 | 33.7% | 3½ min. |
| OTHERS | 36 | 31.6% | 5½ min. | 48 | 50.5% | 5 min. |
| TOTAL | 114 | 100% | 17 min. | 95 | 100% | 11½ min. |



Character References. Both candidates attempted to present themselves in a positive manner and their opponent in a negative manner. Ford used more than 4 times as many image-building self references ("in the Oval Office . . . as President I recommended . . . ") than Carter and talked about himself for 9 minutes either subtly or directly compared with Carter who spend 3 minutes using image-building self references ("as Governor, I . . . or I've been a nuclear engineer"). Ford spent more than 25% of his debate time apparently attempting to build his presidential image. Although Carter used more words on the average than Ford to build his self-image, he did this less frequently. Carter attacked Ford more frequently (Carter spent 3½ minutes attacking Ford; Ford spent 2½ minutes attacking Carter) than Ford attacked Carter. For example, at one point, Carter stated that "Mr Ford has not accomplished one single major program for this country." And Ford attacked by saying, "Governor Carter skims over a very serious and a very broad subject (energy)." Both candidates made ample references, both positively and negatively, to other parties. Ford spent much time, (about 5 minutes) berating Congress, the Democratic platform, and President Nixon, while lauding the efforts of government agencies. Carter used the same amount of time to attack the federal bureaucracy, the Republican Party, and President Nixon, while he praised the efforts of former Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.



October 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO MIKE DUVALL

FROM : ROB QUARTEL *Rob Quarrel*
SUBJECT : DEBATE COMMENTS

You have probably already had the following points brought to your attention by other persons, but I thought it would be useful to do some reinforcing.

1. Over the last several weeks, Carter's foreign affairs expertise has been somewhat denigrated, if only incidental to the prevailing view that foreign policy and defense were the President's strong suits.

Any dummy can sound good on foreign policy--witness the wide discussion of foreign policy on a daily basis by the general public. Carter is no dummy, nor is he unschooled in foreign policy and defense, given his experience on the Trilateral Commission.

Given the above, it seems apparent to me that Carter will be attempting to score points not on the substance of what he says versus current Administration policy, but rather through a demonstration that he is conversant in the themes and general politics of foreign policy and defense.

Unless he is a complete idiot, he should well be able to do just that. The net result will be a situation analogous to that which happened in the first debate, where the President gained not necessarily through his expertise in the subject of economics, but rather through the fact that he was able to discuss the subject at all.

Therefore, it seems imperative that the President not only disagree strongly with Carter on a number of points, but that he prove conclusively that Carter's analysis is shallow and downright incorrect.

2. Carter is obviously going to try to out-conservative the President; while, at the same time, attempting to mollify the left with a token defense cut of \$5-7 billion.

There are two points about the \$5-7 billion defense cut that Carter has proposed that I want to make at once:

- a. That small of a cut doesn't scare anyone but the the most ardent defense fans. It is a perfectly reasonable number, when compared to the overall federal budget and when tied to Carter's rationale that he will "cut the fat" out of the budget.

- b. Carter has based his budget on the Brookings defense budget projections, which start from a base \$5-7 billion behind the Administration budget, but continue on a parallel course over the next several years.

The obvious point, again, is that Carter is just making a token cut.

The President should be prepared to show exactly where his own "overhead" cuts have occurred; and he should be prepared to come back with a precise number of dollars that would be saved in the budget by, for example, cutting out half of the flag rank officers (an absurd illustration, of course, but that's the point). My guess is that you couldn't pick up a single billion dollars that way.

3. The Jewish/Israel question is going to be a problem area. Over the last several days, I have heard from a number of persons representing a wide spectrum of opinion in the Jewish community, that are unhappy with the President's actions with regard to Israel.

The general view seems to be that the U.S. and Kissinger in particular, are pushing Israel along in lockstep fashion, for U.S. ends, not those of Israel.

Carter is bound to raise this issue and take a strong stand because of his needs in New York.

4. If I were Carter, I would find a way to show that maintaining Earl Butz, after his racial slurs, is inconsistent with the Administrations' expressed actions in Africa. (Witness the Scranton interview this morning.)

One caution here is that Carter may try to pull the President far out enough here to trigger some reactions in the South, if he "defends" his African actions.

Finally, two tactical points:

5. The President has to be aggressive, not defensive, in expounding his foreign policy and defense programs. He should tell his hopes and desires for a peaceful solution to the world's problems over the next Administration.
6. The President should try to keep Carter over on Defense, not foreign policy. Defense is Carter's most vulnerable area.

xc: Teeter
Slight

