

The original documents are located in Box 64, folder “January 27, 1972 - Attorney General - Kentucky and Illinois Poll Analysis” of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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January 27, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Kentucky and Illinois Poll Analysis

Attached are my analysis of the poll results from Kentucky and Illinois. Accompanying these analysis are the vendor's reports for Wisconsin, Florida, New Hampshire in addition to Kentucky and Illinois. These reports contain additional tables which will be useful as reference material.

Robert M. Teeter

R.M.T. by J. Evans

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Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By JD NARA, Date 12/20/09



Kentucky General Election

Ballots. The President is running well ahead of his 6% margin in 1968 against all the three potential Democratic candidates measured. He has 15-16% leads over Muskie and Humphrey both with and without Wallace on the ballot. Generally, Wallace draws his support from both sides with slightly more from the Democrats. Kennedy is the strongest potential Democratic candidate trailing the President by 10% in a two-way race and by 7% in a three-way race.

The difference between Kennedy and the other two Democrats is that he does three times as well with 18-24 year olds and about twice as well with 25-34 year olds as does Muskie. Humphrey runs even less well with the young voters. Kennedy also does somewhat better with ticket-splitters than do Muskie or Humphrey.

McCarthy and Chisholm pick up a small 4.9% (4.0 and .9 respectively) and succeed in slightly diffusing Muskie's support.

Nixon never loses more than 11% of the Republican vote to a Democrat and gets an average of 20% of the Democratic vote. Among ticket-splitters he is two to one ahead of Muskie and Humphrey and five to three ahead of Kennedy.

The President leads in all Congressional districts except three (Louisville). In Louisville he trails Muskie by 1%, is tied with Humphrey and trails Kennedy by almost 8%.

Demographically, both the President's and the three Democrats' basis of support is consistent with normal party voting behavior. The President's support increases with income, and education, and is stronger with non-union households, whites and Protestants. He does particularly well among 25-34 age group.

Awareness and Perception

Kentucky approves at a substantially higher level than the national average of the way President Nixon is handling his job (65.9% approve and 22.3% disapprove). The voters also approve of the way the President is handling Vietnam and his handling of economic conditions by margins.

Inflation is the most important "vote determining issue" in Kentucky and the voters are closely split as to whether Nixon has done his best job or worst job in this area (16%-12%). The President is, however, rated as better able to handle the problem than either Kennedy and Muskie.

Almost half of the electorate thinks that the Administration tries to make things seem more favorable than they really are and a fifth think it holds back or slants information that would make the Administration





look bad.

Vice President Agnew's job as Vice President is approved by 44% of the Kentucky electorate.

The President receives higher "ability to handle" ratings than either Muskie or Kennedy in all areas except in crime, drugs and bussing. He leads Muskie by a small margin in unemployment and trails Kennedy. The President receives particularly high ratings for his handling of inflation, Vietnam and National defense.

Muskie rates his highest "ability to handle" in the areas of health care, education, and environment/pollution. Kennedy also rates his highest on health care, education and environment/pollution.

The President was rated as "above average" by 64% when compared to past presidents. One-fifth think he is better and 14% not so good.

Muskie causes little reaction among Kentucky voters, 70% claiming to know very little about him. Twenty-seven percent know a fair amount and only 3% a great deal. Familiarity with Kennedy is markedly higher with 67% saying they know a fair amount or great deal about him and a relatively low 33% knowing very little. Humphrey and Wallace are between the two.

On personality dimensions, the President rates high as experienced, trained, honest, safe, informed, competent, and conservative. He also rates as cold, tense and old-fashioned. The Democrats rate well in these areas. Kennedy is seen as the most liberal and most dangerous. Muskie is coldest and most inexperienced of the Democrats.

Issues. Fifty-seven point six percent believe that "things in this country...have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track", as opposed to 42.4% who feel that we are "going in the right direction today". By a fairly close margin (40.6% to 33.8%) Kentuckians think the country is better off than it was three or four years ago. The economy, in general, moral decay and crime/drugs were most frequently mentioned as reasons why the country was headed in the wrong direction.

The Vietnam war was mentioned by 30.3% as being the most important problem facing the nation today. The economy in general received 6.9% mention, inflation/wage-price 8.8%, and unemployment 7.6%. No other problem receives more than 5%. When asked to rate how important a series of problems is to them, inflation, crime and drugs receive the highest marks with Vietnam, taxes, education and health care following closely in order.

Fifty-six point seven percent, a solid majority, think the troop withdrawal program in Vietnam is at about the right speed, 31.1% think it too slow, and only 2.6% think it too fast. A great majority, 68.5%, believe that the United States should keep some troops in Vietnam until



all our Prisoners of War are released.

Labor is blamed the largest percentage for inflation with 31% saying so. Business is mentioned 18.6%, government 22.1% and the consumer 8.4% of the blame.

Racial integration of schools is favored by 69.0 of the electorate but 83.0% oppose bussing as a means to achieve integration.

Stricter laws, a crack down on pushers, the education and rehabilitation and a halt in the supply are most often mentioned as solutions to the drug problem.

State Candidates and Issues. Unemployment (19.9%), taxes (16.9%) and education (13.2%) are the most frequently mentioned problems facing the State of Kentucky.

Governor Nunn receives an approval rate of 54% with 33.1% disapproving. This is substantially lower than the President's approval rating and may be a result of a recent Nunn proposed sales tax in the recent gubernatorial campaign. It may also be a result of Tom Emberton's defeat. Senator Cook receives a 49.6% approval rate. Senator Cooper receives a remarkable high approval rate of 86%.

Somewhat surprisingly 47.6% of Kentuckians think their State is better off than it was three or four years ago, 29.7% worse off and 27.8% about the same. This goes counter to our experience in other states.

Although the poll was conducted before Senator Cooper's retirement became public, a sample ballot pitting Nunn and Walter Huddleston was administered to the respondents. Nunn leads at this point by a slim 1.6% receiving 38.2% to Huddleston's 36.6 with a large 25.2% undecided.

On this sample ballot Nunn only picks up 62.4% of the Nixon vote in a Nixon, Muskie, Wallace race. Nunn loses the 18-24 year old vote, the 45-54 year old vote and the over 65 vote. He even loses the college educated vote, but by a small 1% margin. He trails in the first Congressional district the second, the fourth and the seventh.

The critical undecided vote approves by a substantial 65.3% to 34.7% of Nunn's job performance.

When asked why they voted for Ford, only .7% said it was to remove the Republican Administration and 4.4% said a change was needed. Forty point seven percent said Ford was the best man.

Only one out of three Huddleston voters feel the state is worse off than it was prior to Nunn.

Huddleston's strength and the large number of undecideds may be the result of the recent Democrat Ford victory. Nunn is in a strong Nixon

and could be expected, based on present data, to make a strong and probably victorious race.

Nunn gamers 43.1% of the ticket-splitters, 16.3% of the self-perceived Democrats and 73.3% of self-perceived Republicans. In a Nixon-Muskie-Wallace race, the President gets 52.5% of the ticket-splitters, 19.8% of Democrats and 84.5% of the Republicans.

Because of the timing of this poll it may be that Kentuckians think that Nunn will have to oppose Cooper for the Republican nomination. Cooper's phenominally high approval rate may be hurting Nunn among Republicans and ticket-splitters.

Now that Cooper's retirement plans are public some of the undecideds may commit to Nunn and it is probable his share of the three voting groups will increase.

Conclusions.

- The President is very strong in Kentucky and should be able to match, if not increase, his 1968 margin of 6.2%.
- As a result of the President's high approval rate his coalition includes large numbers of Democrats.
- Kennedy is the strongest contender largely due to his strength among the young.
- The one potentially dangerous issue is the economy. Kentuckians are especially concerned with unemployment and inflation.
- Senator Cooper's seat is in some question. Nunn is strong but many voters are undecided. Opposition to Nunn may diminish as the memory of last fall's Democratic gubernatorial victory fades.

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ILLINOIS GENERAL ELECTION

Ballots. The President's electoral strength in Illinois at the end of October, 1971 was greater than his 1968 showing. Among voters willing to commit themselves (about 90% of the sample) slightly more than 50% chose the President against Muskie, Humphrey or Kennedy. Wallace appeared on each of these ballots. There was remarkably little variation in the President's total vote against the three different Democratic candidates (a low of 50.1% against Kennedy, a high of 51.4% against Humphrey).

When the undecided vote is added the President's total ranges from 44.6% against Kennedy to 45.8% against Muskie. This represents a 6% lead over Muskie and Kennedy and a 9% lead over Humphrey. Wallace's vote remains close to 6% in all three races. The greater lead over Humphrey apparently stems from Muskie and Kennedy voters being unwilling to commit themselves with Humphrey on the ballot; the latter yields a three-ballot high of 12% undecided.

The three major voting groups display a clear stability in their voting behavior across the three ballots. The President receives about 81% of the behavioral Republican vote and 12% of the Democratic vote. The latter represents a gain of two Democrats for every one Republican he loses. The actual figures for specific ballots vary only slightly from the ones cited here. The ticket-splitters, however, pull away from the similar pattern with Humphrey or Kennedy on the ballot (a 17% lead for the President) when Muskie is the Democratic choice. The President's lead in the latter case shrinks to 6%. The reason this does not give Muskie a larger lead than Kennedy in their respective races against the President is the poorer showing of Muskie among marginal voters (mostly the young).

The demographic patterns of candidate support are generally in line with traditional party voting behavior. That is, the President's vote increases with age, income, and education and he does better with Protestants than non-Protestants. The most notable variation on the demographic patterns occurs with a huge Catholic vote for Muskie (74% to 21%) while, by contrast, the President leads both Humphrey (43% to 37%) and Kennedy (44% to 40%) among Catholic voters.

Different running mates for the President caused a greater variation in his vote total than did the different opponents. With Agnew on the ticket the President receives his largest vote total and percentage point lead (45.8%, + 6.2%). The other four possibilities look like this:





	<u>% of Vote</u>	<u>% Lead</u>
Connally	43.9%	+5.7%
Reagan	44.7	+4.6
Rockefeller	41.3	+2.0
Dole	40.1	- .2

These results are for races against a Muskie/Jackson ticket and a Wallace/LeMay ticket.

The strengths of these possibilities among each of the major voting groups approximates the above ranking. Compared to Agnew, Rockefeller then does not help Nixon among Illinois Democrats or ticket-splitters; nor does John Connally clearly do so. The primary effect of Agnew is in his drawing behavioral Republicans to the ticket (84.5%) compared to Connally's 81.4% and Rockefeller's 76.1%. Further analysis reveals that Reagan has the unique effect of drawing Wallace voters to the Republican ticket (17% of them).

Candidate Perceptions. The President's general approval rating is 54% with 33% disapproval. Of those disapproving, a majority say it is because of the way he handles issues and problems (52%) as opposed to personally disliking him. Vietnam and the economy were the most frequently mentioned issues among the disapprovers, 23% and 22% respectively.

When all were asked what the President might do that would improve their opinion of him, 21% said, "end the war." Frequent mention of Vietnam cut across the three behavioral voting groups. In contrast, only 5% mentioned controlling inflation and 3% mentioned creating jobs.

Seventy-one percent did not have anything in particular to mention in way of a personal dislike of the President.

The President gets his highest "ability to handle" ratings on inflation/economy, foreign affairs, and Vietnam. In each case these ratings are significantly higher than Muskie's. He receives his lowest ratings on school bussing, and this was the only rating which was below Muskie's, but not significantly so. Muskie's highest rating was on the environment.

On various personal attributes tested, the President was rated as more experienced, trained, informed, leader-like and qualified than Muskie, Humphrey, or Kennedy. These differences were in most cases quite large especially over Muskie and Kennedy. The President was seen as less bold, interesting, active, aggressive, and frank compared to Kennedy. He was also seen as less honest than Muskie and Humphrey but more honest than Kennedy.

Muskie's ratings did not fall in a clear pattern. His highest rating was on honesty. Humphrey scored well on the experience cluster noted above; Kennedy was highest on the bold-active cluster.

Issues. Almost half of the Illinois voters felt that the U. S. is worse off today than it was a few years ago. About equal proportions feel it is better off (25%) and about the same (26%). The major reason cited for the country being worse off was the economy (51%). Vietnam followed with 18% mentions. Among those who felt the country was better off, 40% referred to the war slowing down and 32% cited price and wage controls.

The Vietnam War is seen as one of the most important problems facing the country by 53% of the voters. Inflation, unemployment, and general economic references together receive an almost equal number of mentions as the war. Within that grouping, inflation and general references to the economy outnumber references to unemployment by over two-to-one. Eighteen to twenty-four year olds mentioned the war far more frequently than any other age group (73%).

When the respondents were asked to rate how important each of a series of problems is to them, inflation/economy, crime, Vietnam, drugs, and unemployment are rated most important. School bussing received the lowest average rating and fell slightly toward the "unimportant" end of the scale. The environment, racial problems, health care, and foreign affairs fell near the midpoint of degree of importance.

A majority of Illinois voters say they favor integrating public schools with 19% in opposition. However, 64% of all voters oppose bussing with 70% of the behavioral Republicans and ticket-splitters in opposition compared to 53% of the Democrats.

Twenty-nine percent of Negro voters feel the treatment of blacks in this country has improved while only 16% feel they have gotten worse. Twenty-nine percent feel things have stayed the same. Among whites, 54% felt treatment of blacks has improved.

Only half of the voters said they are aware of the President's new economic policies. Of these, a clear majority (60%) felt his policies would have a positive effect. Approval of the President's actions with the economy stands at 50% with 15% disapproving and one person in three having no opinion.



Voters were asked if they favored six economic policy changes proposed by the administration. The most favorably received were car excise tax removal and cutting federal spending, 63% and 61% respectively. The least favorably received policy change was the business tax credit (27% opposed) and floating the dollar (26% opposed). On all the items those in favor outnumbered those opposed by significant margins.

On relations with Communist China, 40% said they favor increasing our relations with China with 37% offering no opinion.

State Candidates and Issues. Senator Percy shows considerable ballot strength against Paul Simon and Thomas Foran garnering 53% and 58% of the total vote respectively. Simon makes the strongest showing against Percy with 36% of the vote. This study was completed before Pucinski was a candidate for the Senate.

Governor Ogilvie is in definite electoral trouble. Against Paul Simon he trails 36% to 51%.

In the race for Secretary of State Michael Howlett clearly leads Kucharski (+ 11%), Lewis (+ 11%) and Anderson (+ 16%). Against Altorfer the race is considerably closer (44.9% to 40.1%).

Taxes, educational financing and bussing, and political graft are seen as the top state issues by the voters as a whole. However, Chicago area residents mention unemployment most often (24%). Suburban residents mention political dishonesty most often (28%) and out-state residents mention taxes most often (29%).

A plurality of voters (39%) think the state is worse off today compared to two or three years ago. Only 18% feel it is better off. Asked for the reasons for their negative judgement, the voters cited high taxes, (23%), unemployment (15%), corrupt politicians (15%), inflation (13%) and crime (10%). Other issues received less than a 10% mention.

Conclusions.

-- The President is showing a greater ballot strength in Illinois than he had in the 1968 election. It makes little difference as to which opponent he faces.

-- Wallace is not a major factor in Illinois at this time.



--There appears to be a strong Catholic vote shaping up for Muskie but not for Kennedy.

--Agnew is the best Vice President selection in terms of electoral considerations. Replacing him with John Connally or Ronald Reagan probably would not hurt the President's chances. Rockefeller or Dole would seriously jeopardize the President's lead.

--The President definitely comes across to the voters as the competent candidate, ie., experienced, trained, informed and qualified. Kennedy rates low on these items but counters with a "dynamic" image, ie., bold, active, and frank. Neither Muskie or Humphrey have much image impact on the voters.

--The President still appeared to be losing votes on the Vietnam issue in October. However, recent actions in this area may have widened his lead in Illinois.

--The bussing issue could be a problem. The President receives his lowest rating on this issue. Republicans and ticket-splitters are overwhelmingly opposed to bussing.

--Governor Ogilvie is in serious trouble with the electorate.

--Senator Percy is running ahead of the President.



	<u>Total</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Ticket-Splitter</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Nixon	45.9	84.5	52.5	19.8
Muskie	30.5	3.4	23.3	52.3
Wallace	11.2	5.8	9.4	14.8
Undecided	12.4	6.3	14.9	13.1
Nixon	46.3	82.5	55.4	20.1
Humphrey	30.0	3.9	19.8	52.3
Wallace	10.0	6.3	10.9	11.3
Undecided	13.6	7.3	13.9	16.3
Nixon	42.6	81.6	48.5	17.7
Kennedy	35.2	4.9	28.2	57.0
Wallace	9.1	6.3	8.4	10.8
Undecided	13.2	7.3	14.9	14.5



Demographics
Table

B

Kentucky

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Number</u>
Total - 100%	45.9	30.5	11.2	12.4	806
<u>Education</u>					
Less than high school	42.8	31.3	11.5	14.4	383
High school or graduate	50.7	28.0	12.0	9.3	225
College	46.4	33.3	9.3	10.9	183
<u>Income</u>					
Less than \$5,000	47.5	32.2	7.0	13.2	242
\$5-10,000	39.5	32.4	16.4	11.7	256
\$10-15,000	57.1	33.0	6.3	3.6	112
\$15,000 +	50.0	25.9	16.7	7.4	54
<u>Age</u>					
18-24	39.6	38.5	16.7	5.2	96
25-34	55.6	25.4	11.1	7.9	126
35-44	48.6	30.1	11.6	9.6	146
45-54	46.7	28.5	16.1	8.8	137
55-64	48.0	34.6	5.5	11.8	127
65 +	35.6	30.0	8.1	26.2	160
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	46.8	26.8	13.4	12.9	395
Female	44.9	33.7	9.2	12.2	403
<u>Union</u>					
Yes	43.7	37.0	9.6	9.6	135
No	47.7	28.8	10.3	13.1	503
<u>Religion</u>					
Catholic	29.4	52.9	7.8	9.8	102
Protestant	48.4	27.1	11.5	12.9	667
Jewish	100.0	0	0	0	2
Other	43.5	34.8	13.0	8.7	23
<u>Race</u>					
White	46.2	29.8	11.7	12.3	771
Negro	37.9	44.8	0	17.2	29
Oriental	0	100.0	0	0	1
Mexican-American	60.0	40.0	0	0	5



Demographics
Table

C

Kentucky

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Number</u>
Total - 100%	46.3	30.0	10.0	13.6	806
<u>Education</u>					
Lower than high school	42.3	32.6	9.4	15.7	383
High school or graduate	48.0	29.3	11.6	11.1	225
College	52.5	26.8	9.3	11.5	183
<u>Income</u>					
Lower than \$5,000	45.5	33.5	7.4	13.6	242
\$5-10,000	41.8	31.3	14.5	12.5	256
\$10-15,000	57.1	30.4	7.1	5.4	112
\$15,000 +	53.7	27.8	11.1	7.4	54
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Protestant	49.0	26.7	10.5	13.8	667
Jewish	50.0	50.0	0	0	2
Other	43.5	30.4	13.0	13.0	23
<u>Race</u>					
White	47.0	29.1	10.4	13.6	771
Negro	34.5	44.8	3.4	17.2	29
Oriental	0	100.0	0	0	1
Mexican-American	20.0	80.0	0	0	5



Demographics
Table

D

Kentucky

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Number</u>
Total - 100%	42.6	35.2	9.1	13.2	806
<u>Education</u>					
Less than high school	37.6	39.2	8.6	14.6	383
High school or graduate	48.0	29.3	10.7	12.0	225
College	47.5	34.4	7.7	10.4	183
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Other	47.8	26.1	13.0	13.0	23
<u>Race</u>					
White	43.8	34.0	9.2	13.0	771
Negro	13.8	65.5	0	20.7	29
Oriental	0	100.0	0	0	1
Mexican-American	20.0	40.0	40.0	0	5



KENTUCKY

How important is the Problem?	Nixon: Ability to handle the problem.	Muskie: Ability to handle the problem.	Kennedy: Ability to Handle the problem.
<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Infaltion	4.26%	3.24%	2.83%
Race Problems	3.46	3.18	2.85
Taxes	4.07	3.04	2.79
Unemployment	3.94	2.90	2.87
Vietnam	4.12	3.44	2.88
Env/Pollution	3.81	3.03	2.97
Education	4.03	3.23	3.04
Crime	4.24	2.96	2.84
National defense	3.94	3.43	2.88
Health Care	3.94	3.26	3.07
Drugs	4.23	2.81	2.84
Busing	3.22	2.66	2.75
General Unrest	3.90	2.95	2.83

Based on a one to five scale. One being most unimportant or candidate has least ability to handle and five being most important or candidate has greatest ability to handle



SEMANTICS

KENTUCKY

	NIXON	KENNEDY	MUSKIE	HHH
1.....7	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Warm/Cold	3.32	3.02	3.31	3.25
Experienced/Inexperienced	2.17	3.14	3.27	3.08
Open/Close-minded	3.35	3.14	3.33	3.66
Trained/Untrained	2.17	2.84	3.27	2.96
Bold/Timid	2.83	2.66	3.32	3.22
Honest/Dishonest	2.65	3.10	3.06	3.12
Extravert/Intravert	3.76	3.27	3.63	3.60
Safe/Dangerous	2.66	3.49	3.34	3.25
Informed/Uninformed	2.44	2.56	3.09	3.06
Aggressive/Meek	3.12	2.87	3.32	3.38
Just/Unjust	2.61	2.97	3.06	3.18
Competent/Incompetent	2.67	3.19	3.21	3.43
Frank/Reserved	3.48	3.08	3.45	3.25
Humor/Lack-of-humor	3.23	2.84	3.48	3.06
Up-to-date/Old-fashioned	3.53	2.32	3.37	3.52
Tense/Relaxed	4.02	4.44	4.48	4.46
Tough/Soft	3.52	3.47	3.77	4.07
Conservative/Liberal	3.71	5.02	4.55	4.41



AA

	Voter Type				Area		
	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Ticket-Splitter</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Suburban</u>	<u>Outstate</u>
Nixon/Agnew	45.8%	84.5%	45.0%	13.4%	28.2%	55.5%	51.7%
Muskie/Jackson	39.6	4.9	38.4	72.0	58.5	31.1	31.6
Wallace/LeMay	5.8	4.0	9.2	6.1	2.8	5.5	8.9
Undecided	8.9	6.6	7.4	8.5	11.2	7.9	7.9
Nixon/Agnew	45.2	80.1	48.5	11.7	26.6	55.9	51.0
Humphrey/Jackson	36.2	4.4	31.0	70.9	57.7	25.6	28.0
Wallace/LeMay	6.5	4.4	8.7	6.9	2.5	7.1	9.2
Undecided	12.1	11.1	11.8	10.5	13.3	11.4	11.8
Nixon/Agnew	44.6	80.5	49.8	10.5	25.3	56.7	49.7
Kenndy/Jackson	38.9	5.8	32.8	73.3	62.2	27.6	29.9
Wallace/LeMay	6.1	3.1	9.2	6.5	3.3	6.3	8.2
Undecided	10.4	10.6	8.3	9.7	9.1	9.4	12.2





DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Und.</u>	<u>Interview</u> <u>Base</u>
Total	100%	45.8%	39.5%	5.8%	8.9%	799
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Grade school or less	100%	32.0	46.4	8.8	12.8	125
Some high school	100%	39.3	46.2	4.8	9.7	145
Graduated high school	100%	46.3	34.6	9.3	9.8	246
Some college	100%	52.8	38.0	1.2	8.0	163
Graduated college	100%	65.7	30.0	2.9	1.4	70
Post graduate work	100%	48.7	46.2	--	5.1	39
Refused	100%	36.4	45.5	9.1	9.1	11
<u>INCOME</u>						
0 - \$2,999	100%	34.4	45.3	6.3	14.1	64
\$3,000 - \$4,999	100%	34.6	47.4	5.1	12.8	78
\$5,000 - \$5,999	100%	33.3	41.0	7.7	17.9	39
\$6,000 - \$6,999	100%	43.4	45.3	3.8	7.5	53
\$7,000 - \$9,999	100%	43.8	42.9	5.4	8.0	112
\$10,000 - \$14,999	100%	46.4	39.6	6.8	7.3	192
\$15,000 - \$24,999	100%	51.8	36.8	7.9	3.5	114
\$25,000 and over	100%	61.1	31.5	1.9	5.6	54
Refused	100%	54.8	29.0	4.3	11.8	93
<u>AGE</u>						
18 - 20 years	100%	38.9	38.9	--	22.2	18
21 - 24 years	100%	50.0	46.2	--	3.8	26
25 - 29 years	100%	40.7	48.0	7.3	4.1	123
30 - 34 years	100%	46.7	41.3	5.3	6.7	75
35 - 39 years	100%	42.5	40.0	7.5	10.0	80
40 - 44 years	100%	41.3	44.4	7.9	6.3	63
45 - 49 years	100%	42.0	43.2	8.6	6.2	81
50 - 54 years	100%	48.8	36.9	3.6	10.7	84
55 - 59 years	100%	39.6	39.6	11.3	9.4	53
60 - 64 years	100%	50.9	34.0	--	15.1	53
65 and over	100%	54.0	29.5	4.3	12.2	139
Refused	100%	75.0	25.0	--	--	4
<u>SEX</u>						
Male	100%	44.0	40.5	6.8	8.8	398
Female	100%	47.6	38.7	4.7	9.0	401
<u>NATIONAL ORIGIN</u>						
American born white	100%	53.9	31.6	7.0	7.5	629
Foreign born	100%	40.4	40.4	1.9	17.3	52
Negro	100%	4.3	81.9	.9	12.9	116
Not stated	100%	50.0	50.0	--	--	2

DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

(Continued)

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Und.</u>	<u>Interview Base</u>
Total	100%	45.8%	39.5%	5.8%	8.9%	799
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Yes	100%	28.6	57.1	8.1	6.2	161
No	100%	52.0	33.8	4.9	9.3	594
Not stated	100%	25.0	52.3	9.1	13.6	44
<u>RELIGION</u>						
Protestant	100%	53.4	31.6	7.0	8.1	431
Roman Catholic	100%	21.1	73.7	--	5.3	232
Jewish	100%	42.2	42.7	6.0	9.1	19
Other	100%	29.4	56.0	1.8	12.8	109
Not stated	100%	25.0	75.0	--	--	8
<u>OCCUPATION-HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u>						
Professional/Technical	100%	61.0	31.4	3.4	4.2	118
Farm owners/Managers	100%	57.9	31.6	10.5	--	19
Officials/Business owner	100%	62.0	26.1	7.6	4.3	92
Clerical/Sales workers	100%	44.3	41.8	5.1	8.9	79
Skilled craftsmen/Foremen	100%	43.4	37.5	10.3	8.8	135
Operatives/Kindred workers	100%	31.1	56.7	3.3	8.9	90
Service workers/Laborers	100%	28.8	52.5	3.4	15.3	59
Housewife/Student	100%	30.4	57.1	3.6	8.9	56
Retired	100%	54.1	29.5	5.7	10.7	122
Unemployed/Disabled/Refused	100%	14.3	53.5	3.6	28.6	28

DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Und.</u>	<u>Interview</u> <u>Base</u>
Total	100%	45.2%	36.2%	6.5%	12.1%	799
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Grade school or less	100%	29.6	44.8	11.2	14.4	125
Some high school	100%	35.2	46.9	4.8	13.1	145
Graduated high school	100%	47.6	30.9	8.9	12.6	246
Some college	100%	54.0	31.9	3.7	10.4	163
Graduated college	100%	62.9	25.7	2.9	8.6	70
Post graduate work	100%	53.8	35.9	--	10.3	39
Refused	100%	27.3	45.5	9.1	18.2	11
<u>INCOME</u>						
0 - \$2,999	100%	34.4	50.0	7.8	7.8	64
\$3,000 - \$4,999	100%	33.3	47.4	6.4	12.8	78
\$5,000 - \$5,999	100%	35.9	38.5	7.7	17.9	39
\$6,000 - \$6,999	100%	37.7	43.4	3.8	15.1	53
\$7,000 - \$9,999	100%	47.3	37.5	5.4	9.8	112
\$10,000 - \$14,999	100%	47.9	33.9	8.3	9.9	192
\$15,000 - \$24,999	100%	49.1	34.2	8.8	7.9	114
\$25,000 and over	100%	63.0	22.2	1.9	13.0	54
Refused	100%	47.3	25.8	4.3	22.6	93
<u>AGE</u>						
18 - 20 years	100%	50.0	27.8	11.1	11.1	18
21 - 24 years	100%	42.3	38.5	7.7	11.5	26
25 - 29 years	100%	43.9	42.3	5.7	8.1	123
30 - 34 years	100%	50.7	36.0	8.0	5.3	75
35 - 39 years	100%	40.0	41.3	8.8	10.0	80
40 - 44 years	100%	41.3	41.3	7.9	8.5	63
45 - 49 years	100%	46.9	34.6	4.9	13.6	81
50 - 54 years	100%	48.8	36.9	3.6	10.7	84
55 - 59 years	100%	34.0	43.4	11.3	11.3	53
60 - 64 years	100%	49.1	26.4	--	24.5	53
65 and over	100%	46.8	28.1	7.2	18.0	139
Refused	100%	75.0	25.0	--	--	4
<u>SEX</u>						
Male	100%	43.0	36.7	8.3	12.1	398
Female	100%	47.4	35.7	4.7	12.2	401
<u>NATIONAL ORIGIN</u>						
American born white	100%	52.9	28.1	7.9	11.0	629
Foreign born	100%	44.2	28.8	3.8	23.1	52
Negro	100%	3.4	82.8	--	13.8	116
Not stated	100%	50.0	50.0	--	--	2

DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

(Continued)

		Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace	Und.	Interview Base
Total	100%	45.2%	36.2%	6.5%	12.1%	799
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Yes	100%	29.2	52.8	9.3	8.7	161
No	100%	51.0	30.8	5.6	12.6	594
Not stated	100%	25.0	47.7	9.1	18.2	44
<u>RELIGION</u>						
Protestant	100%	51.5	30.2	7.2	11.1	431
Roman Catholic	100%	43.1	37.1	7.3	12.5	232
Jewish	100%	15.8	68.4	--	15.8	19
Other	100%	31.2	49.5	3.7	15.6	109
Not stated	100%	25.0	75.0	--	--	8
<u>OCCUPATION-HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u>						
Professional/Technical	100%	61.9	26.3	5.9	5.9	118
Farm owners/Managers	100%	52.6	31.6	10.5	5.3	19
Officials/Business owner	100%	58.7	23.9	6.5	10.9	92
Clerical/Sales workers	100%	49.4	32.9	2.5	15.2	79
Skilled craftsmen/Foremen	100%	43.4	29.4	11.8	15.4	136
Operatives/Kindred workers	100%	30.0	51.1	4.4	14.4	90
Service workers/Laborers	100%	28.8	57.6	5.1	8.5	59
Housewife/Student	100%	30.4	57.1	1.8	10.7	56
Retired	100%	49.2	27.9	8.2	14.8	122
Unemployed/Disabled/Refused	100%	17.9	64.2	3.6	14.3	28



DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Und.</u>	<u>Interview Base</u>
Total	100%	44.6%	48.9%	6.1%	10.4%	799
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Grade school or less	100%	30.4	42.4	10.4	16.8	125
Some high school	100%	33.8	50.3	4.8	11.0	145
Graduated high school	100%	46.3	34.1	10.2	9.3	246
Some college	100%	50.9	41.1	1.8	6.1	163
Graduated college	100%	67.1	21.4	1.4	10.0	70
Post graduate work	100%	56.4	38.5	--	5.1	39
Refused	100%	27.3	36.4	--	36.4	11
<u>INCOME</u>						
0 - \$.2,999	100%	32.8	48.4	6.3	12.5	64
\$3,000 - \$4,999	100%	32.1	47.4	9.0	11.5	78
\$5,000 - \$5,999	100%	30.8	46.2	10.3	12.8	39
\$6,000 - \$6,999	100%	39.6	43.4	5.7	11.3	53
\$7,000 - \$9,999	100%	43.8	41.1	5.4	9.8	112
\$10,000 - \$14,999	100%	50.0	35.4	8.3	6.3	192
\$15,000 - \$24,999	100%	47.4	37.7	6.1	8.8	114
\$25,000 and over	100%	64.8	27.8	--	7.4	54
Refused	100%	46.2	32.3	2.2	19.4	93
<u>AGE</u>						
18 - 20 years	100%	38.9	33.3	16.7	11.1	18
21 - 24 years	100%	30.8	61.5	--	7.7	26
25 - 29 years	100%	40.7	51.2	5.7	2.4	123
30 - 34 years	100%	52.0	34.7	9.3	4.0	75
35 - 39 years	100%	38.8	41.3	10.0	10.0	80
40 - 44 years	100%	36.5	47.6	7.9	7.9	63
45 - 49 years	100%	42.0	40.7	4.9	12.3	81
50 - 54 years	100%	47.6	39.3	2.4	10.7	84
55 - 59 years	100%	45.3	35.8	5.7	13.2	53
60 - 64 years	100%	52.8	30.2	1.9	15.1	53
65 and over	100%	50.4	25.2	6.5	18.0	139
Refused	100%	50.0	25.0	--	25.0	4
<u>SEX</u>						
Male	100%	43.7	38.7	8.0	9.5	398
Female	100%	45.4	39.2	4.2	11.2	401
<u>NATIONAL ORIGIN</u>						
American born white	100%	52.9	29.4	7.5	10.2	629
Foreign born	100%	34.6	46.2	3.8	15.4	52
Negro	100%	3.4	87.1	--	9.5	116
Not stated	100%	50.0	50.0	--	--	2



DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

(Continued)

		<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Und.</u>	<u>Interview Base</u>
Total	100%	44.6%	48.9%	6.1%	10.4%	799
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Yes	100%	30.4	54.7	8.1	6.8	161
No	100%	50.0	33.5	5.7	10.8	594
Not stated	100%	22.7	54.5	4.5	18.2	44
<u>RELIGION</u>						
Protestant	100%	50.1	32.7	6.7	10.4	431
Roman Catholic	100%	44.4	40.5	7.3	7.8	232
Jewish	100%	21.1	63.2	--	15.8	19
Other	100%	28.4	54.1	2.8	14.7	109
Not stated	100%	25.0	62.5	--	12.5	8
<u>OCCUPATION-HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u>						
Professional/Technical	100%	62.7	28.0	2.5	6.8	118
Farm owners/Managers	100%	63.2	26.3	5.3	5.3	19
Officials/Business owner	100%	59.8	25.0	6.5	8.7	92
Clerical/Sales workers	100%	44.3	40.5	5.1	10.1	79
Skilled craftsmen/Foremen	100%	43.4	33.8	11.0	11.8	136
Operatives/Kindred workers	100%	27.8	57.8	4.4	10.0	90
Service workers/Laborers	100%	23.7	57.6	6.8	11.9	59
Housewife/Student	100%	25.0	57.1	3.6	14.3	56
Retired	100%	51.6	29.5	7.4	11.5	122
Unemployed/Disabled/Refused	100%	17.9	64.2	3.6	14.3	28

RATINGS OF POLITICAL FIGURES ON PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES AND SOURCE CREDIBILITY

(Answers are average rating on 7-point scale where a 7 rating is like the attribute on the left in the list and a 1 rating is like the attribute on the right.)

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Agnew</u>
<u>Competence</u>						
Experienced/Inexperienced	5.7	4.9	5.5	5.0	3.9	4.6
Trained/Untrained	5.8	5.1	5.5	5.2	4.0	4.7
Informed/Uninformed	5.6	5.1	5.4	5.2	4.5	4.9
Qualified/Unqualified	<u>5.4</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.7</u>
Average Competence	5.6	5.0	5.4	4.5	4.2	4.7
<u>Dynanism</u>						
Bold/Timid	5.0	4.8	4.8	5.3	.60	5.5
Interesting/Uninteresting	4.6	.47	4.2	5.3	4.2	4.6
Active/Passive	5.0	5.1	5.3	5.5	5.6	5.3
Aggressive/Meek	5.1	4.9	4.7	5.3	5.9	5.6
Leader/Follower	5.1	4.8	4.6	4.9	5.6	4.4
Frank/Reserved	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>5.5</u>
Average Dynanism	4.8	4.8	4.6	5.2	5.2	5.2
<u>Trustworthiness</u>						
Honest/Dishonest	5.1	5.3	5.3	4.9	4.4	5.2
Safe/Dangerous	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.6	3.1	4.3
Just/Unjust	<u>5.1</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>4.7</u>
Average Trustworthiness	5.1	5.1	5.2	4.9	3.7	4.7
<u>Sociability</u>						
Congenial/Quarrelsome	4.8	4.6	4.7	4.5	2.6	3.3
<u>Conservatism</u>						
Conservative/Liberal	4.8	3.4	3.3	2.7	5.2	4.8

Differences of .2 between average ratings are statistically significant between Nixon, Muskie, Kennedy, Humphrey, and Wallace.

Differences of .3 between average ratings are statistically significant between Agnew and all other figures.



	<u>How important is the problem</u>	<u>Nixon: Ability to handle the problem</u>	<u>Muskie: Ability to handle the problem</u>
Inflation	6.4	5.4	4.7
Crime	6.4	5.0	4.8
Vietnam	6.3	5.2	4.8
Drugs	6.2	4.9	4.7
Unemployment	6.1	4.9	4.8
Environment/pollution	5.9	4.9	4.9
Racial problems	5.8	4.8	4.7
Health care	5.8	5.0	4.8
Foreign affairs	5.5	5.3	4.7
School bussing	4.8	4.5	4.6

Based on a zero to eleven scale. One being extremely unimportant or candidate is extremely incapable and eleven being extremely important or candidate is extremely capable.

