

The original documents are located in Box 64, folder “February 11, 1972 - Attorney General - New Jersey Poll Results” of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

February 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New Jersey Poll Analysis

Attached is my analysis of the New Jersey campaign poll, with a copy of the vendor's report for reference.

ROBERT M. TEETER

R.M.T.
[Signature]
by

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By SJD NARA, Date 12/30/09



Approximate Sampling Tolerances For
Survey Percentage at or near these levels

| | <u>Number of Interviews (Unweighted)</u> | <u>10% or 90%</u> | <u>20% or 80%</u> | <u>30% or 70%</u> | <u>40% or 60%</u> | <u>or 50%</u> |
|------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Republican | 210 | 4% | 6% | 7% | 7% | 7% |
| Ticket-Splitters | 226 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Democrats | 242 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 |



Approximate Sampling Tolerances For
Survey Percentages at or Near These Levels

| | <u>Number of Interviews*</u> | <u>10% or 90%</u> | <u>20% or 80%</u> | <u>30% or 70%</u> | <u>40% or 60%</u> | <u>50%</u> |
|-----------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Nixon | 392 | 3% | 4% | 5% | 5% | 5% |
| Muskie | 288 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Wallace | 62 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Undecided | 65 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Nixon | 395 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Humphrey | 266 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Wallace | 65 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Undecided | 81 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Nixon | 363 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Kennedy | 307 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Wallace | 65 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Undecided | 73 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Nixon | 395 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Muskie | 331 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Undecided | 81 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Nixon | 436 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Humphrey | 291 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Undecided | 80 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Nixon | 395 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Kennedy | 331 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Undecided | 81 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Nixon | 323 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Muskie | 210 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Wallace | 40 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 14 |
| McCarthy | 81 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Chisholm | 32 | 12 | 16 | 18 | 20 | 20 |
| Undecided | 121 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 |

*The unweighted figures were not readily available except for the Nixon/Muskie/Wallace ballot. However, because the weighted figures were so close to the unweighted figures, the calculations above were made using weighted numbers.





Approximate Sampling Tolerances For
Survey Percentage at or near these levels

| | <u>Number of Interviews (Unweighted)</u> | <u>10% or 90%</u> | <u>20% or 80%</u> | <u>30% or 70%</u> | <u>40% or 60%</u> | <u>50%</u> |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Total - 100% | 807 | 2% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 4% |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | | | |
| 18-24 years | 113 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| 25-34 years | 148 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 35-44 years | 154 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 45-54 years | 152 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 55-64 years | 115 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| 65 years + | 125 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 222 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| High school graduate | 282 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| College | 302 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| <u>Religion</u> | | | | | | |
| Catholic | 385 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Protestant | 283 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Jewish | 87 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Other | 47 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 14 |
| <u>Race</u> | | | | | | |
| White | 766 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Negro | 40 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 14 |
| Oriental | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mexican American | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Union</u> | | | | | | |
| Yes | 299 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| No | 508 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | | | |
| Under \$5,000 | 69 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| \$5,000-9,999 | 205 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| \$10,000-14,999 | 234 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| \$15,000 + | 219 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| <u>Sex</u> | | | | | | |
| Female | 401 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Male | 406 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| <u>Geographic</u> | | | | | | |
| Major Met. Areas | 712 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| All other areas | 95 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 |

The President has an 8% lead over Muskie and Kennedy and an 18% lead over Humphrey in New Jersey. 10% of the electorate are undecided.

When Wallace is included on the ballot, the President's lead over Humphrey and Kennedy is not changed. His lead over Muskie increases slightly. The undecided vote averages 9%.

On the Nixon/Muskie/Wallace ballot, the President's strength follows traditional Republican patterns with two significant exceptions. He receives almost twice as many Black votes in New Jersey as nationally and a larger proportion of the Catholic vote than Muskie. In the trade off between Democrats and Republicans, the President receives twice as many Democrats as Muskie does Republicans. The pattern is similar among ticket-splitters.

Twice as many voters are able to rate the President's ability to handle issues as are able to rate Muskie. Kennedy is better known than Muskie but still far behind the President. The President's awareness level for the handling of various issues ranges between 85% to 98%, while Muskie's awareness level averages 45%. The awareness for Kennedy is approximately 65%. Consequently as knowledge of the Democrat candidates increases, so might their share of the total vote. This trend appears in Pennsylvania where the voters are more aware of Kennedy and Muskie and they run stronger on the sample ballots.

The President's overall approval rating, (53% approve, 36% disapprove) handling of Vietnam and handling of the economy, is approximately equal to the National average. The only demographic groups that disapprove are Democrats, voters under 25, Jews, and Blacks. Muskie voters disapprove and the undecideds are split evenly. The main reasons mentioned for approval were personal qualities and attributes followed by his efforts to bring peace in Vietnam and his economic policies. The main reasons for disapproval were personal dislikes, handling of Vietnam and not keeping past promises.

The most important national issues are Vietnam, economy/inflation, drugs, and crime. On the state level the issues are high taxes, unemployment, crime and drugs.

In terms of issues, the undecided and Nixon voters are most concerned with high taxes and crime. The Muskie and Wallace voters are most concerned with unemployment and taxes.

Governor Cahill is approved by one-half (53%) of the electorate with a quarter (26%) disapproving and Senators Case and Williams are approved by slightly less than half, (45%). Both Senators have extremely low disapproval rates of approximately 11%.





Ballots. President Nixon currently leads all three of the major potential Democratic candidates in New Jersey.

He has an 8% lead (49-41) over Muskie and Kennedy and a considerably large lead (18%) over Humphrey. Compared to the 1968 election results in New Jersey, all of these races represent larger margins of victory for the President than he received four years ago.

The inclusion of Wallace in the race does not affect the standing of the President relative to Humphrey or Kennedy and increases his lead by 3% over Muskie.

When McCarthy and Chisholm are added to the ballot as independent candidates, they jointly attract 9% and increase the President's margin over Muskie to 14%. A significant number of Muskie's supporters are undecided in the five-way race.

The President does very well among the three major political groupings: Republicans, ticket-splitters and Democrats. In both the two and three-way races he captures between 79 and 90 percent of the Republican vote, leads by 21 to 34 percent among the ticket-splitters, and wins at least two and one-half behavioral Democrats for every one Republican voter he loses. Muskie fairs the best with Republicans and has the lowest net loss ratio against the President's appeal to Democrats; Kennedy does the best job in winning the ticket-splitters among the Democratic candidates.

Interestingly there does not appear to be a significant Catholic bloc vote in New Jersey. The President's vote proportions among Catholics and Protestants are about the same with Humphrey as the opponent as they are with Kennedy or Muskie as the opponent (he does about 6.5% better with Protestants than Catholics).

With the exception of Muskie ballots, the President's support follows quite closely the national pattern of support for a Republican. That is, his support increases as age, income, and educational level increase. However, against Muskie the two candidates support does not vary significantly with income until it reaches \$15,000 and over where the President's margin widens to 15%. Yet this lead is considerably less than those he enjoys against Humphrey (39%) and Kennedy (30%) with upper income voters. Moreover, the President trails Muskie with those with some college education while he has a fairly large lead over Humphrey and Kennedy with this group.

Candidate Perception. The President's overall approval rating is 53% with a 38% disapproval. His personal characteristics (57%) are most frequently mentioned by those who approve. Vietnam (20%) and his economic policies (12%) are chief among the other reasons for approval. The same ranking is found for those disapproving of

Determined to be an Administrative Marking

By SP NARA, Date 12/30/09



the President's job performance: personal dislikes (20%), Vietnam (17%), and the economy (12%). Only a vague reference to "unkept campaign promises" had a frequency of mention of over ten percent among the remaining reasons for approval or disapproval (15%).

In terms of both the administration's most important accomplishment and its greatest failure; Vietnam and the economy rank one and two. However, far more New Jersey voters see Vietnam as an accomplishment (39%) than as a failure (19%). About equal numbers cite the economy as the administration's greatest accomplishment (17%) and as its greatest failure (16%).

When asked specifically for their rating of the President's handling of the Vietnam situation, 54% approved and 36% disapproved. On his handling of the economy 48% approved and 38% disapproved. However, a clear majority of ticket-splitters (55%) and, of course, Republicans (68%) gave their approval to the President's efforts on improving the country's economic situation.

The President is rated as "about average" when compared to past Presidents by 59% of the New Jersey voters. About one in four, (mostly Democrats) think he is not as good as most other Presidents and only 13% (mostly Republicans) rate him as better than most.

Seven out of ten voters think that the Nixon administration either tries to make things seem more favorable than they really are or holds back or slants information.

Vice President Agnew's approval rating is 46% and his disapproval 32%. Significantly, the only political or social group which gave the Vice President a higher performance rating than the President were behavioral Democrats.

Kennedy is the best known of the Democrats with 67% of the New Jersey voters saying they know either a great deal or a fair amount about him. This compares to 59% for Wallace and Humphrey, and only 28% for Muskie. Although Muskie is the least well known, the ratio of positive-to-negative comments about him is well over two-to-one. Kennedy receives a two-to-one ratio. Humphrey's is only one-to-one.

The President receives his lowest "ability to handle" ratings on crime, unemployment, and drugs. He is rated significantly higher than Kennedy and Muskie on national defense and inflation and considerably below them on drugs, crime, and unemployment. He is also rated as less able than Muskie to handle the problem of pollution.

The President is seen by New Jersey voters as particularly trained, experienced, informed, honest, and competent. He is not seen as

open-minded, up-to-date, warm, extroverted, or frank.

President Nixon is rated high on his ability to handle national defense, Vietnam and inflation. He receives his poorest ratings on crime, unemployment and drugs. When the voters were asked to rate Muskie in a similar fashion well over half (between 52% and 56%) are unable to rate him. A smaller percentage (between 32% and 36%) are unfamiliar with Kennedy's ability to handle the issues.

The personal image that New Jerseyites have of Kennedy is in direct contrast to the one they have of the President. He is seen as distinctively up-to-date warm, open-minded, aggressive, bold, and having a sense of humor but not as experienced, trained, honest, competent and safe as the President. Humphrey and Muskie have the better balanced images, scoring relatively well on the "competency", "dynamism", and "trustworthy" dimensions.

Issues. Sixty-one percent of the New Jersey voters think that the country has gotten off on the wrong track compared to only 32% who say things are going in the right direction. Also, four out of ten people feel the country is worse off today than it was a few years ago compared to three out of ten who feel the United States is better off.

The main reasons cited for this pessimism were the economy, the war, crime, and lack of government leadership, in that order. Such problems as pollution, taxes, race, and poverty received only scattered attention.

The Vietnam war is mentioned most often (29%) as the single most important problem facing the country. The cost of living and general economy are mentioned by 15% of the respondents. No other issue was mentioned by more than 9% of the voters. When asked to rate several issues in terms of their importance "to you personally", drugs and crime are rated the highest followed by Vietnam and inflation. The least important was bussing. However, voters chose Vietnam and inflation as being the most important issues in deciding on how to vote for President.

Equal proportions of New Jersey voters believe that troop withdrawals from Vietnam are at about the right speed or proceeding too slowly. Practically no one (4%) thinks that the troops are being brought home too rapidly. However, 65% of the voters think that some troops should remain until the Prisoners of War are released.

When asked to place the blame for inflation and unemployment problems, 36% blame the government, 30% blame labor, 25% name business, and 7% cite the consumer.



New Jersey voters were about evenly divided on the proposal to bring about property tax relief by increasing the state sales tax.

Fifty-four percent of the voters would oppose bussing even if the Supreme Court ordered it and even if the ride took no longer than ten minutes.

Responsibility for solving the drug problem is placed by the majority of voters on the federal government and parents rather than state or local governments and the schools.

Some other issues that were presented and the responses were:

- The federal government should be responsible for providing complete health care for everyone (64% agree).
- Parochial schools should receive financial aid as long as it is not used for religious purposes (59% agree).
- Keeping the economy strong is more important than worrying about pollution (32% agree).

State Political Figures and Issues. Governor Cahill's approval rating is 53% and his disapproval 26%.

Senator Case's approval is 45%, his disapproval 13%.

Senator Williams' approval rating is also 45% with an almost equally low rate of disapproval 10%. There is a sizable number of people unable to evaluate either senator.

When asked to name the single most important problem facing the State, New Jerseyites concentrate on high taxes (20%) and unemployment (14%). Crime (12%) and the drug problem (12%) also receive significant mention.

Thirty-nine percent feel things have gotten worse in the state compared to a few years ago. About equal proportions take a less pessimistic view and say things have improved (27%) or stayed the same (25%).



CONCLUSIONS

- The President currently enjoys significant leads over all three Democrat candidates ranging from 8% over Muskie and Kennedy to 18% over Humphrey.
- The addition of Wallace on the ballot does not affect the President's lead over Humphrey or Kennedy but decreases his lead over Muskie by 3%.
- The President's approval rate of 53% is about equal with the national average. Vietnam and the economy are most often mentioned as reasons for approval.
- Never more than 15% of the New Jerseyites are unable to rate the President's ability to handle a specific issue. An average of 55% cannot rate Senator Muskie and 34% are unable to rate Senator Kennedy.
- The high percentage of those who are unable to rate the Democrat candidates on their ability to handle specific issues will diminish as time passes.
- Vietnam and the economy in general are the most important problems facing the nation according to New Jerseyites.
- At the state level the order of issues is high taxes, unemployment, crime and the drug problem.

