

The original documents are located in Box 64, folder “February 24, 1972 - Attorney General - Reformatted Analysis and Analysis of New York and Virginia” of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Sample

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Reformatted Analysis of Campaign Polls
and Analysis of New York and Virginia

I have attached the reformatted versions of our analysis of the campaign polls for the 13 states which had been previously delivered. This is the form requested by Mr. Haldeman.

I am also attaching the complete analysis for New York and Virginia. The vendor's reports for New York and a supplemental vendor's report for California are included under separate cover.

ROBERT M. TEETER

Teeter

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY~~

Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By CSO NARA, Date 12/30/09



New York

Trial Heats

President leads all Democrats. 1968: -5.4%

= 100%?

	<u>Muskie</u> 46-45-9 43-44-5-8			<u>Kennedy</u> 45-43-12 44-43-5-8			<u>Hill</u> 49-40-11 46-39-5-10		
	<u>Rep.</u>			<u>T-S</u>			<u>Dem.</u>		
N	77	79	77	48	53	54	16	16	20
M-K-H	14	14	13	39	32	29	74	71	67
W	3	2	3	5	7	7	9	5	4
U	6	5	7	7	8	10	6	8	9

With ticket-splitting, President leads all Democrats. Against Muskie, President's strength comes from middle income and education segments, and outstate. Nixon also leads Muskie with Catholics and runs twice as well with blacks (23%) as the national level. Nixon is behind national average with 18 to 24 year olds.

Approval

	<u>A.</u>		<u>D.</u>		<u>N.O.</u>	
	<u>(NY)</u>	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>(NY)</u>	<u>Nat'l</u>	<u>(NY)</u>	<u>Nat'l</u>
Job	52	54	37	35	11	11
Economy	46	49	41	38	13	13
Vietnam	52	55	40	38	8	7

100%?

Issues

	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Nat'l</u>
Vietnam	32	31
Economy	19	16
Crime	7	6
Unemployment	6	8
Drugs	6	6

Relative to Muskie, the President is rated lowest on his ability to handle drugs, unemployment, unrest and crime.

State

	<u>A.</u>	<u>D.</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
Governor Rockefeller	25	68	7
Senator Javits	52	24	24
Senator Buckley	47	19	34

10-70?



New York
January 4-19, 1972
1,007 Interviews

CAMPAIGN IMPLICATIONS

It is clear on the basis of this data that the President can carry New York and that it should be a top priority state. The Nixon/Muskie and Nixon/Kennedy races are virtually even, with and without Wallace on the ballot. The undecided vote is very small.

It should be kept in mind, however, that Muskie is not very well known at this point and as the voters become more familiar with him he will probably gain some ground, at least temporarily. This should not, however, change the basic conclusion that the President can carry New York and that it should be a priority state.

The President is running stronger in New York than he did in 1968 because he is doing very well with the ticket-splitters, particularly those from the middle socio-economic groups, many of whom usually vote Democratic in New York (\$7-15,000 income, high school graduates, and union members). At the same time the President is not doing as well as he should be with the upper income and college educated families who traditionally vote Republican. He is also running poorly with the low income groups (under \$7,000) and with young voters. Nixon is receiving 23% of the black vote against Muskie which is double the support he received in 1968.

The perception and issue data indicate that there is some skepticism of the President as an individual even among those who are supporting him, but that there is substantial support for administration policies and programs. There are some indications that New York voters are more willing to accept new policies and programs than are voters in other states. It is also evident that New York voters expect the federal government to solve problems to a greater extent than do voters in other areas of the country.

These conclusions have several implications on the campaign:

- The key will be for us to hold the marginal Democrat, middle income groups now voting for Nixon and to improve our position with two ends of the socio-economic scale. As Muskie becomes better known, any gains he makes will probably be with the middle and low income groups, and we will have to offset those gains with the more traditional Republican groups. The President should also be able to improve his position with 18 to 24 year old voters. Each of these groups appear to have particular issue interests, as follows:



CAMPAIGN IMPLICATIONS
(Cont'd.)

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<u>Voter Type</u>	<u>Issues</u>
Higher Income (\$12,000 and over)- Higher education (above High School)	Economy/Inflation Taxes Vietnam
Lower Income (\$7,000 and below)- Lower Education (Less than High School)	Drugs Crime Unemployment
Young voters (Ages 18 to 24)	Vietnam Pollution

- A close race and small undecided vote makes it critical that our campaign identify and turn out every possible Nixon voter and find the uncommitted voters and deliver a persuasive message to them. Because of the nature of the coalition we have to build on, it is undoubtedly more important in New York than in most states to have a carefully executed campaign to reach each of these market segments. This implies a strong emphasis on our organizational effort and ability to deliver a specific message to a specific set of voters.
- Generally, those efforts should be directed at the suburban areas of New York city and the outstate metropolitan areas.
- Governor Rockefeller has used this type of campaign very successfully in the past, particularly in the last election. He began his campaign with a relatively low approval rating and yet ultimately won with a strong organizational effort and with directed communications. It is obviously most important that we have the Governor's campaign group and organization working vigorously on the President's behalf.
- Lastly the vice presidential candidates may have a significant effect in New York. Vice President Agnew's ratings are considerably lower than the President's and his disapproval significantly higher with groups the President needs to attract. New York should definitely be one of the states where all Vice Presidential candidates are measured.



A

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Ticket-Splitter</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Nixon	43%	77%	48%	16%
Muskie	44	14	39	74
Wallace	5	3	5	9
Undecided	8	6	7	6
Nixon	46	77	54	20
Humphrey	39	13	29	67
Wallace	5	3	7	4
Undecided	10	7	10	9
Nixon	44	79	53	16
Kennedy	43	14	32	71
Wallace	5	2	7	5
Undecided	8	5	8	8
Nixon	46	82	54	17
Muskie	45	12	38	76
Undecided	9	6	8	7
Nixon	49	80	60	20
Humphrey	40	13	28	69
Undecided	11	7	12	11
Nixon	45	82	55	16
Kennedy	43	13	31	73
Undecided	12	5	14	11
Nixon	41	73	47	16
Muskie	35	14	32	56
Wallace	10	4	5	3
McCarthy	5	3	8	13
Chisholm	4	3	3	7
Undecided	5	4	4	4



B

100%

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Number</u>
Total - 100%	43%	44%	5%	8%	1,007
<u>Age</u>					
18-24 years	37	48	6	8	129
25-34 years	47	43	3	6	209
35-44 years	37	56	3	4	177
45-54 years	40	47	5	7	171
55-64 years	51	39	4	6	136
65 years +	51	34	5	10	162
<u>Education</u>					
Less than high school	41	44	6	8	292
High school graduate	49	40	5	6	349
College	40	49	3	8	357
<u>Religion</u>					
Catholic	49	40	6	5	467
Protestant	52	34	4	9	326
Jewish	12	78	2	7	157
Other	33	52	4	10	48
<u>Race</u>					
White	46	43	4	7	909
Negro	23	65	6	6	79
Oriental	14	14	29	43	7
Mexican American	22	78	0	0	9
<u>Union</u>					
Yes	35	48	8	9	202
No	45	43	4	7	805
<u>Income</u>					
Under \$5,000	35	44	9	11	169
\$5,000-9,999	44	46	5	6	261
\$10,000-14,999	47	44	4	5	249
\$15,000 +	43	51	5	5	216
<u>Geographic</u>					
Major Met. Areas	41	47	5	8	886
All other areas	64	24	5	7	121





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C

RATINGS ON ABILITY
TO HANDLE ISSUES

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Current Voting</u>	<u>Percentage Rating Nixon</u>		<u>Percentage Rating Muskie</u>	
		<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Drugs	Total	38%	59%	26%	7%
	Muskie	26	73	33	5
	Nixon	52	46	22	10
Unemployment	Total	45	52	26	10
	Muskie	27	50	33	5
	Nixon	67	31	21	11
Unrest	Total	50	47	26	8
	Muskie	29	70	34	4
	Nixon	75	24	22	11
Crime	Total	47	49	27	7
	Muskie	33	66	35	4
	Nixon	65	33	22	10
Taxes	Total	50	47	24	11
	Muskie	34	64	31	6
	Nixon	68	30	19	13
Bussing	Total	50	44	25	10
	Muskie	39	57	31	7
	Nixon	64	31	21	11
Environment	Total	55	41	28	7
	Muskie	39	58	34	4
	Nixon	73	25	24	8
Race	Total	60	37	26	8
	Muskie	41	57	33	5
	Nixon	82	16	23	10
Inflation	Total	62	35	26	10
	Muskie	44	55	34	4
	Nixon	85	14	21	12
Vietnam	Total	66	32	25	9
	Muskie	47	52	34	4
	Nixon	90	8	19	14
Health Care	Total	63	33	29	5
	Muskie	50	48	35	3
	Nixon	80	17	26	7
Education	Total	66	30	29	6
	Muskie	54	44	36	3
	Nixon	82	16	25	7
Defense	Total	77	20	26	9
	Muskie	70	29	34	5
	Nixon	90	8	21	12

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D

PERSONALITY ATTRIBUTES

	<u>Percentage Rating Nixon</u>			<u>Percentage Rating Muskie</u>		
	<u>Muskie Voters</u>	<u>Nixon Voters</u>	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>Muskie Voters</u>	<u>Nixon Voters</u>
Cold	60%	18%	40%	9%	4%	14%
Neutral	16	22	19	14	13	17
Warm	23	34	39	32	47	20
Inexperienced	13	3	8	11	6	18
Neutral	13	6	10	14	16	15
Experienced	72	89	78	29	42	19
Closed Minded	55	20	38	10	9	12
Neutral	16	18	17	15	17	15
Open Minded	27	59	41	28	38	23
Untrained	13	3	8	9	4	14
Neutral	14	7	10	12	13	13
Trained	71	89	78	54	47	25
Timid	22	13	17	10	8	12
Neutral	26	21	22	20	25	18
Bold	50	64	56	25	32	22
Dishonest	37	6	22	5	5	7
Neutral	24	14	20	13	11	17
Honest	37	54	54	36	48	28
Introverted	39	28	33	12	16	10
Neutral	31	36	33	22	26	21
Extroverted	26	33	28	20	22	20
Dangerous	37	5	22	7	2	11
Neutral	26	16	21	17	18	17
Safe	36	77	54	31	44	22
Uninformed	22	8	16	8	4	11
Neutral	15	8	11	13	9	18
Informed	38	82	68	35	52	22



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D (Cont'd.)

	<u>Percentage Rating Nixon</u>			<u>Percentage Rating Muskie</u>		
	<u>Muskie Voters</u>	<u>Nixon Voters</u>	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>Total Voters</u>	<u>Muskie Voters</u>	<u>Nixon Voters</u>
Meek	17%	10%	15%	9%	8%	10%
Neutral	27	22	24	18	22	17
Aggressive	54	66	58	28	35	24
Unjust	36	4	21	4	3	6
Neutral	28	19	23	16	14	20
Just	33	75	51	34	47	25
Incompetent	36	6	22	5	2	10
Neutral	22	10	16	13	10	17
Competent	40	82	58	36	52	24
Reserved	55	30	42	11	13	12
Neutral	20	23	20	14	14	16
Frank	22	45	33	29	38	24
Lacks Humor	47	18	33	10	8	12
Neutral	19	23	21	19	21	20
Sense of Humor	32	56	42	25	35	19
Old Fashioned	45	25	35	12	13	13
Neutral	26	27	27	20	22	20
Up-to-date	26	45	33	22	30	18
Relaxed	22	48	32	27	39	18
Neutral	20	19	20	18	19	20
Tense	55	30	43	9	6	13
Soft	19	16	17	11	10	12
Neutral	34	32	32	25	32	22
Tough	45	49	46	19	23	17
Liberal	11	14	13	28	35	26
Neutral	20	33	26	18	18	20
Conservative	66	50	57	8	10	6



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E

Job Approval Demographics

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.O.</u>
18-24	45%	47%	8%
25-34	56	38	6
35-44	48	41	11
45-54	53	36	11
55-64	60	30	10
65 +	54	35	11
Less than HS	51	36	13
HS Grad.	59	33	8
College	47	42	11
Catholic	61	27	12
Protestant	56	33	11
Jewish	25	72	3
Other	31	56	13
White	55	36	9
Negro	19	58	23
Union	47	43	10
Non-Union	53	36	11
Less than 5,000	38	41	21
5-10,000	50	43	7
10-15,000	60	32	8
15,000 +	53	42	5
Republican	79	17	4
T-S	59	27	14
Democrat	29	62	9
Marginal	46	37	17

100%

