Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

Box Number	Folder Number	Document Date	No Date	Subject	Document Type	Document Description
46	3	5/15/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	From Arthur J. Finkelstein to Magruder RE: critiques of the memo recipient's survey books. 2 pgs.
46	3	4/13/1972	☐	Campaign	Memo	Draft of a memo, possibly generated by Finkelstein, analyzing California voter demographics and trends. California county map and county voting figures for the 1968 election attached. 6 pgs.

MEMORANDUM

May 15, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ARTHUR J. FINKELSTEIN

SUBJECT: Survey Review

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By----------NAR., Date 6-16-80

After perusing with some degree of diligence the survey books
you have on file in your desk, I have the following comments
to make.

    1. The sample size in the national poll appears to be a
little bit smaller than perhaps it should be. Fifteen hundred
samples, I would suggest, would give a better cross-section
breakout.

    2. Depending on the definition of the category, "south",
there would appear to be an over-emphasis in the national sample
of the south, (i.e. 32% of the total sample is, in the south,
where Nixon receives a rather large plurality).

    3. In the national sample, there appears to be too few
Blacks and too many Jews.

    4. In Maryland, there appears to be too many young.

Beyond some of the demographic weightings mentioned above, there
are certain numbers which, logically speaking, cannot be the case.
However, this is my political judgment and not a statistical one,
for, no doubt, the actual raw numbers do, in fact, state the
following results.

    1. In Oregon, Nixon runs behind in the over-65 group.

    2. In Southern California, Nixon runs virtually even
against Muskie, which seems to be a total impossibility.

    3. In Pennsylvania, Nixon received 17% of the Philadelphia
vote against Muskie's 69%; 52% of the suburban vote to Muskie's
34%, yet with both Kennedy and Humphrey, Nixon runs virtually even
in the city of Philadelphia, but loses by better than 3 to 1 in the
traditional Republican suburbs to both Humphrey and Kennedy. These
numbers, too, seem highly improbable.

4. When Nixon is matched head-to-head to Kennedy in Arkansas, he leads by a margin of 49 to 33. With Wallace in the race, Nixon receives 33% to 36% for Kennedy, with 17% for Wallace. It is perfectly legitimate for Wallace to take 16% of his 17 percentage points from Nixon, however, it is totally illogical to expect the Kennedy vote to increase by 13 percentage points because of the inclusion of Wallace.

In a real sense, this is nitpicking, for the data in your book seems entirely professional. Some numbers are wrong or an inaccurate reflection of the real position of the electorate. However, this is not an unusual case for a survey document. Afterall, statistically, one case in 20 will have a margin of error greater than that of the acceptable error tolerance. With literally hundreds of cells of data collected, it is not surprising to find some that are considerably off base. Since the reports you have do not break down the issues by demographic cell, it is hard to determine whether or not the specific comments made about the issues are being properly interpreted. From my own experience, I know that the non-solicited response from "What in your opinion is the single most important issue facing the United States today?" is not necessarily the one that most concerns the respondents.

I have been playing around with a relationship question asking, for example, "From a list of issue concerns, which are most important to you personally?", and find that Vietnam falls drastically, and far more local concerns race to the front. Busing, which virtually never shows up on the unsolicited response, time and again is cited in the relationship questions.

As a last comment on the reports you have, Mr. Teeter seems to make certain interpretive judgments based on data, which, in fact, does not exist. For example, intensity of commitment, or, as in Texas, saying that we should go strongly for the Mexican/American vote since the data does not reflect any anti-Mexican/American feeling among our voters. Unless there is data I have not seen or heard about, I have no way to know how Teeter can make the judgment that no such biases exist. I must strongly point out that each professional surveyor has his own style and technique and that, by and large, I am very impressed with the thoroughness of the research done for the Nixon campaign, and as to interpretive judgments, that entirely implies a personalized and stylized approach.

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: California

California's population in 1970 was 19,696,840. It is the largest
state in the nation in terms of population. The state is 7% Black,
9% Mexican and Spanish, and 2% Oriental. Total foreign stock is
25%, with Mexicans 4%, Germans 2%, Canadians 2%, British 2%,
Italians 2%, being the largest ethnic groups.

In political terms, California is very much a North versus South
state. The southern section of the state (Tab A), which is the
larger of the two, tends to be very conservative, while the
northern portion tends to be rather liberal. Orange and San
Diego Counties in the south, for example, were the only two heavily
populated counties in the country that gave Goldwater a plurality
in 1964. The southern part of the state has been described as the
"Sun Belt State", similar politically to southern Florida and
central Texas. It was settled by "Bible Belt types" and has taken
on that political mold. San Francisco, on the other hand, being
the center of liberalism and Democratic strength in California, is
also the headquarters for many Far Left organizations, such as the
Black Panthers. The Central Valley of the state, generally
agricultural and desert, was settled by people coming from the
Oklahoma plains during the Dust Bowl era.

Nixon's greatest vote totals in 1968 came out of Los Angeles, Orange,
San Diego, Santa Clara and Alameda Counties. The President re-
ceived 2,159,656 votes from these five counties, or 62.3% of his
total California vote. (Tabs B and C)

Humphrey's best counties were northern counties of San Francisco
(plurality - 76,539), Alameda (66,260), Sacramento (21,592), Santa
Clara (10,065). These four best Humphrey counties, in terms of raw
vote, gave Humphrey a total plurality of 174,456 which is only
8,000 more than the plurality given Nixon from Orange County alone.

Wallace received 6.7% of the total vote in 1968. His vote appears
to have come most heavily, percentage wise, from that area of the
state north of Sacramento. This would make it appear that the
Wallace vote probably helped Nixon in 1968. A recent Field Poll in
California indicates that most of the vote which Wallace now re-
ceives in three-man, head-to-head contests, would go to the Democrat
in a two-man race.

The conventional wisdom of the Republican politicians is that one must get large portions of the vote downstate to offset the upstate margins of the Democrats. In 1968, the Presidential contest followed that pattern. Nixon carried southern California by about 376,000 votes, lost northern California by about 143,000 votes and lost the Central Valley by about 9,000 votes.

In order to gain the plurality necessary in Southern California, the emphasis in 1972 should be placed on Los Angeles, Orange, and San Diego Counties. Southern California may be much more difficult this year than in 1968 due to the high unemployment rate in the space industry and related business. Orange and Los Angeles Counties were the hardest hit by the white collar recession. In particular, the Burbank, Glendale, Pasadena and South Bay areas of Los Angeles County should receive maximum attention since so many of their residents are out of work. All activities should focus on alleviating this major problem.

National polls indicate that the President runs well with older Americans. Over 18% of California's voting population is over 60. Specific attention should be given to the problems of the senior citizens in the following locations: (1970 Congressional Districts)

1. 32nd Congressional District - Long Beach
2. 20th Congressional District - Pasadena
3. 6th Congressional District - West San Francisco
4. 38th Congressional District - Palm Springs
5. 1st Congressional District - Marin
6. 18th Congressional District - Tulare, Kern

Close attention should be paid to San Francisco as 24.5% of its voting population is over 60 years old. An effort should be made to attract these voters so that the Democratic plurality in Northern California can be limited.

Agriculture is important to the economy of California. Particular emphasis should be placed on the farm vote in the following areas;

1. 1st Congressional District - Napa
2. 38th Congressional District - Imperial, Riverside
3. 18th Congressional District - Kern, Tulare
4. 16th Congressional District - Fresno
5. 12th Congressional District - Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Luis Obispo
6. 4th Congressional District - Glenn, Lake, Colusa, Sutter

Approximately 9% of California's population have Spanish surnames.
Considerable attention has been given to the Mexican American by
the Nixon Administration. If we are indeed going to persuade
this minority to vote for the President, we must seek them out in
the following areas of California:

1. 38th Congressional District - San Bernardino, Imperial
2. 30th Congressional District - Los Angeles
3. 29th Congressional District - Los Angeles
4. 19th Congressional District - Los Angeles
5. 16th Congressional District - Fresno
6.   9th Congressional District - Santa Clara

Although the Mexican American vote, the older American vote, and
the agricultural vote should receive consideration, they are secondary
in priority. Our main emphasis should center on San Diego,
Los Angeles, and Orange Counties. These Southern California Counties
will mainly determine whether we win or lose California's 45
electoral votes.

(1968 VOTE TOTALS IN THOUSANDS)

STATEWIDE RESULTS

NIXON   3,463 (49%)
HUMPHREY   3,244 (44%)
WALLACE   487 (7%)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
(27% OF TOTAL VOTE)
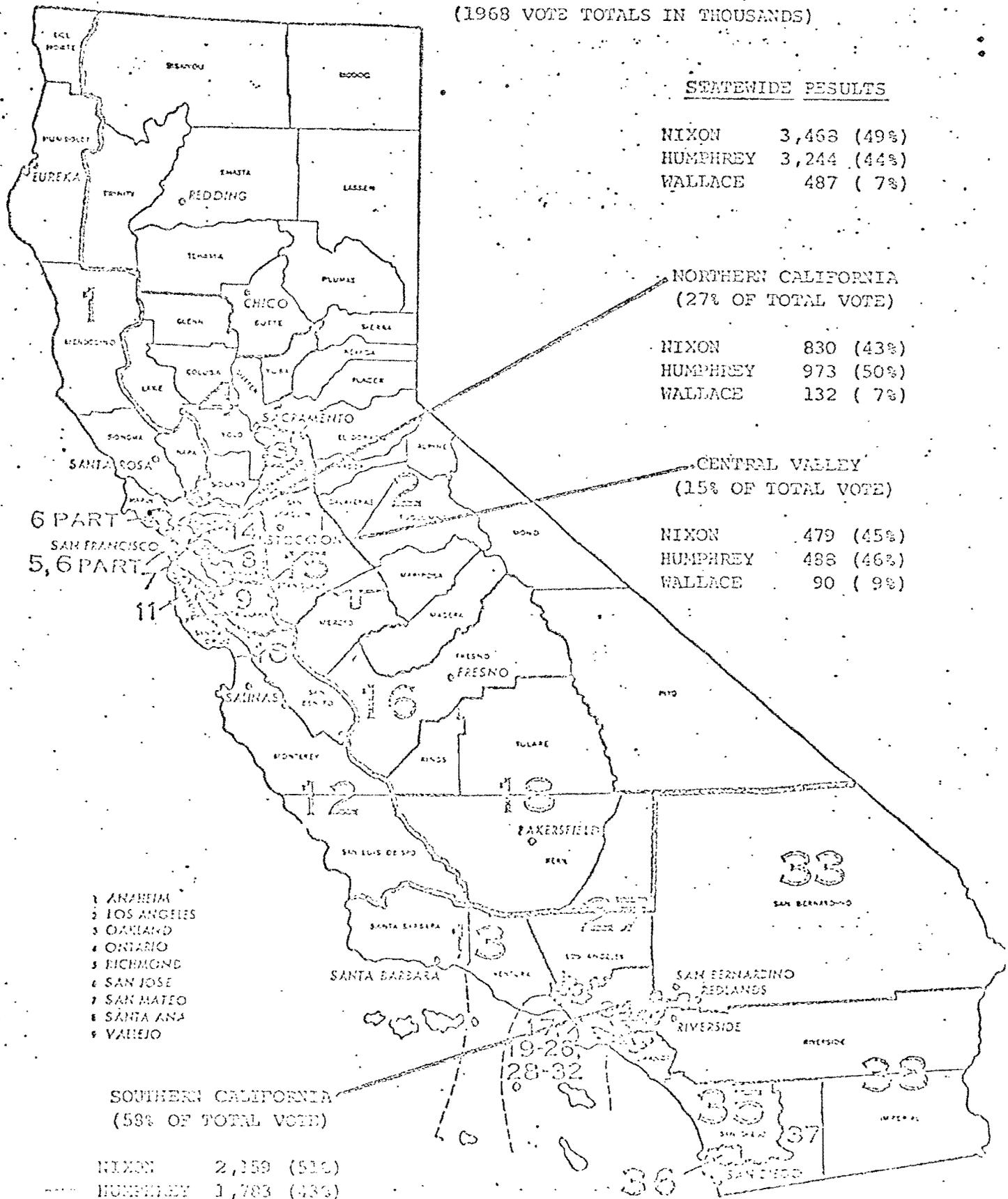
NIXON   830 (43%)
HUMPHREY   973 (50%)
WALLACE   132 (7%)

CENTRAL VALLEY
(15% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON   479 (45%)
HUMPHREY   486 (46%)
WALLACE   90 (9%)

1 ANAHEIM
2 LOS ANGELES
3 OAKLAND
4 ONTARIO
5 RICHMOND
6 SAN JOSE
7 SAN MATEO
8 SANTA ANA
9 VALLEJO

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
(58% OF TOTAL VOTE)

NIXON   2,159 (51%)
HUMPHREY   1,783 (43%)
WALLACE   265 (6%)

(California Counties Providing the Largest Number of Votes for Richard Nixon)

	CANDIDATES			
COUNTY	NIXON	HUMPHREY	WALLACE	PLURALITY
Los Angeles *	1,266,480 (47.6%)	1,223,251 (46.0%)	151,050 (5.7%)	43,229 (R)
Orange	314,905 (63.1%)	148,869 (29.9%)	33,034 (6.6%)	166,036 (R)
San Diego	261,540 (56.3%)	167,669 (36.1%)	33,340 (7.2%)	93,871 (R)
Santa Clara	163,446 (45.6%)	173,511 (48.4%)	18,754 (5.2%)	10,065 (D)
Alameda	153,285 (37.6%)	219,545 (53.9%)	28,426 (7.0%)	66,260 (D)

* Nixon's plurality vote from Los Angeles accounted for 36.5% of his total Republican vote.

1960 Census Population	County	Total Vote	Republican	Democratic	AIP	Other	Plurality	Percentage Total Vote Rep.	Dem.	AIP
905,673	ALAMEDA	407,349	153,285	219,545	28,426	6,093	66,260 D	37.6%	53.9%	7.0%
397	ALPINE	253	150	83	20		67 R	59.3%	32.8%	7.9%
9,990	AMADOR	5,390	2,269	2,440	660	21	171 D	42.1%	45.3%	12.2%
32,050	BUTTE	39,211	22,225	12,887	3,891	208	9,338 R	56.7%	32.9%	9.9%
10,289	CALAVERAS	5,832	3,042	2,134	643	13	908 R	52.2%	36.6%	11.0%
12,075	COLUSA	4,577	2,361	1,858	344	14	503 R	51.6%	40.6%	7.5%
409,030	CONTRA COSTA	219,917	97,436	101,668	18,330	1,433	4,182 D	44.5%	46.4%	8.4%
17,771	DEL NORTE	5,168	2,387	2,236	495	50	151 R	46.2%	43.3%	9.6%
29,390	EL DORADO	15,241	7,468	6,054	1,676	43	1,414 R	49.0%	39.7%	11.0%
365,945	FRESNO	137,396	59,901	65,153	11,292	1,050	5,252 D	43.6%	47.4%	8.2%
17,245	GLENN	7,138	3,848	2,466	808	16	1,382 R	53.9%	34.5%	11.3%
104,692	HUMBOLDT	36,214	16,719	16,476	2,759	260	243 R	46.2%	45.5%	7.6%
72,105	IMPERIAL	20,446	10,818	7,481	2,100	47	3,337 R	52.9%	36.6%	10.3%
11,664	INYO	6,687	3,641	2,314	714	18	1,327 R	54.4%	34.6%	10.7%
291,984	KERN	115,832	53,990	49,284	12,309	249	4,706 R	46.6%	42.5%	10.6%
49,954	KINGS	18,101	7,796	8,643	1,640	22	847 D	43.1%	47.7%	9.1%
13,786	LAKE	9,111	4,464	3,777	838	32	687 R	49.0%	41.5%	9.2%
13,597	LASSEN	6,218	2,555	2,930	712	23	377 D	41.1%	47.1%	11.5%
6,033,771	LOS ANGELES	2,657,982	1,266,480	1,223,251	151,050	17,201	43,229 R	47.6%	46.0%	5.7%
40,400	MADERA	14,303	6,229	6,932	1,120	22	703 D	43.6%	48.5%	7.8%
146,820	MARIN	82,755	41,422	36,278	3,801	1,254	5,144 R	50.1%	43.8%	4.6%
5,064	MARIPOSA	2,997	1,496	1,187	302	12	309 R	49.9%	39.6%	10.1%
51,059	MENDOCINO	17,904	8,305	7,935	1,554	110	370 R	46.4%	44.3%	8.7%
90,446	MERCED	28,349	11,595	14,453	2,248	53	2,858 D	40.9%	51.0%	7.9%
8,308	MODOC	3,267	1,713	1,264	284	6	449 R	52.4%	38.7%	8.7%
2,213	MONO	1,758	1,130	465	156	7	665 R	64.3%	26.5%	8.9%
198,351	MONTEREY	67,124	33,670	28,261	4,800	393	5,409 R	50.2%	42.1%	7.2%
65,890	NAPA	32,612	14,270	14,762	3,476	104	492 D	43.8%	45.3%	10.7%
20,911	NEVADA	11,794	6,061	4,607	1,078	48	1,454 R	51.4%	39.1%	9.1%
703,925	ORANGE	498,707	314,905	148,869	33,034	1,899	166,036 R	63.1%	29.9%	6.6%
56,998	PLACER	29,144	12,427	14,050	2,574	93	1,623 D	42.6%	48.2%	8.8%
11,620	PLUMAS	5,611	2,097	2,961	529	24	864 D	37.4%	52.6%	9.4%
306,191	RIVERSIDE	157,670	83,414	61,146	12,432	678	22,268 R	52.9%	38.8%	7.9%
502,778	SACRAMENTO	233,246	97,177	118,769	16,269	1,031	21,592 D	41.7%	50.9%	7.0%
15,396	SAN BENITO	6,229	2,961	2,809	447	12	152 R	47.5%	45.1%	7.2%
503,591	SAN BERNARDINO	223,616	111,974	89,418	21,187	1,037	22,556 R	50.1%	40.0%	9.5%
1,033,011	SAN DIEGO	464,803	261,540	167,669	33,340	2,314	93,871 R	56.3%	36.1%	7.2%
742,855	SAN FRANCISCO	299,947	100,970	177,509	17,332	4,136	76,539 D	33.7%	59.2%	5.8%
249,989	SAN JOAQUIN	98,589	47,293	42,073	8,923	300	5,220 R	48.0%	42.7%	9.1%
81,044	SAN LUIS OBISPO	37,881	19,420	15,828	2,416	217	3,592 R	51.3%	41.8%	6.4%
444,387	SAN MATEO	225,668	98,654	106,519	14,720	5,775	7,865 D	43.7%	47.2%	6.5%
168,962	SANTA BARBARA	93,420	50,068	37,565	5,083	704	12,503 R	53.6%	40.2%	5.4%
642,315	SANTA CLARA	358,367	163,446	173,511	18,754	2,656	10,065 D	45.6%	48.4%	5.2%
54,219	SANTA CRUZ	49,944	25,365	20,492	3,465	622	4,873 R	50.8%	41.0%	6.9%
59,460	SHASTA	29,230	11,821	14,510	2,815	84	2,689 D	40.4%	49.6%	9.6%
2,247	SIERRA	1,193	548	559	85	1	11 D	45.9%	46.9%	7.1%
32,885	SISKIYOU	13,732	6,334	6,260	1,088	50	74 R	46.1%	45.6%	7.9%
134,597	SOLANO	50,952	17,683	27,271	5,810	188	9,588 D	34.7%	53.5%	11.4%
147,375	SONOMA	78,059	38,088	33,587	5,875	509	4,501 R	48.8%	43.0%	7.5%
157,294	STANISLAUS	65,063	29,573	31,316	3,973	201	1,743 D	45.5%	48.1%	6.1%
33,380	SUTTER	14,545	8,665	4,624	1,228	28	4,041 R	59.6%	31.8%	8.4%
25,305	TEHAMA	10,999	5,198	4,565	1,216	20	633 R	47.3%	41.5%	11.1%
9,706	TRINITY	3,307	1,426	1,433	432	16	7 D	43.1%	43.3%	13.1%
168,403	TULARE	56,189	29,314	22,180	4,580	115	7,134 R	52.2%	39.5%	8.2%
14,404	TUOLUMNE	9,119	4,330	3,913	865	11	417 R	47.5%	42.9%	9.5%
199,138	VENTURA	116,261	59,705	47,794	8,234	528	11,911 R	51.4%	41.1%	7.1%
65,727	YOLO	28,960	11,123	15,833	1,742	262	4,710 D	38.4%	54.7%	6.0%
33,859	YUBA	11,150	5,371	4,461	1,296	22	910 R	48.2%	40.0%	11.6%
15,717,204	TOTAL	7,251,587	3,467,664	3,244,318	487,270	52,335	223,346 R	47.8%	44.7%	6.7%