Richard Nixon Presidential Library Contested Materials Collection Folder List

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
45	47	4/18/1972		Campaign	Report	Position Paper on the 1972 Campaign - focusing on the American Electorate. 17pgs

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#### II. The American Electorate

# 1. Total Voters

In 1972 an estimated 139.6 million Americans will be eligible to vote. This is about 19.4 million potential voters more than the 1968 total, or an increase of 16.1%. Most of this large increase in eligible voters is attributable to the 11.4 million 18-20 year olds who have been newly enfranchised by the Voting Rights Act Amendment of 1970.\*

In 1968 about 61% of those eligible actually voted in the Presidential election. If that same percentage holds for 1972, there will be about 85 million votes cast this November.

	Est.	Eligible	Voters	Est.	Actual	Voters	_%_
1968		120.3			73.0		60.7
1972		139.6			84.7		60.7

#### 2. Voting by Region of the U.S.

The South, with the greatest concentration of eligible voters, has the lowest voter turnout of any region, while the North Central region has the highest voter turnout and provides the greatest number of actual voters.

More important, however, are the regions' electoral votes; the South, with 169 electoral votes, has over 31% of the nation's total, followed by the North Central, the North East and then the West.

\* This act also enfranchises about 6 million other persons who previously had been unable to pass literacy tests.

#### Regional Popular\* and Electoral Votes

Est. Eligible Voters	Est. Actual Voters	as % of Eligible: 1968 & Est. 1972	% of Total U.S. Vote: 1972	Elect	oral Vote 1972 % of
· <u>1968</u> <u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u> <u>1972</u>			No.	Total U.S.
30.1 34.2	19.2 21.9	63.9	25.8	122	22.6
33.1 38.2	22.2 25.6	67.1	30.3	145	27.0
36.8 43.1	19.2 22.4	52.0	26.4	169	31.4
20.3 24.2	12.4 14.8	61.3	17.5	102	19.0

(Popular vote shown in millions)

### 3. Voting by Sex\*

orth East orth Central

outh lest

In 1964, about 2 million more women than men reported casting votes in the Presidential election. In 1968 the number of female voters was about 3 million more than male voters. Based on this, it appears that in 1972 women voters will outnumber male voters again by about 3 million.

# 4. Voting by Occupation

In 1964 and 1968 just over half of all voters were white collar workers and another third of all voters were manual workers. Service occupations accounted for 10% of the vote, and farm voters made up the remaining 5%. Although it might be expected that the percentage of farm voters will decline and the voters from service occupations will increase somewhat, the overall complexion of voters by occupation is unlikely to change substantially in 1972 ("students" are not listed as a census occupation).

\* Voting breakouts by sex, age, occupation, education, race and income are based on a U.S. Bureau of Census survey reported in "Voting and Registration in the Election of November, 1968", December 2, 1969. These data show that about 8% more people said they voted than (the March 1972 voting report of the 1968).

<sup>\*</sup> Source of popular vote data: March 1972 Population Estimates and Projections, U.S. Department of Commerce

election indicates) <u>actually</u> voted. Accepting this discrepency, the demographic breakouts of voters are still useful for assessing and analyzing the electorate.

#### 5. Voting by Family Income

In 1968 approximately 20% of those who said they voted reported a total family annual income of less than \$5,000. About 40% reported earning between \$5,000 and \$10,000. The remaining 33% who reported their family incomes placed total earnings at \$10,000 per year. These figures fluctuated considerably from 1964 reports.

### 6. Voting by Education

The educational level of American voters is increasing, and may be expected to continue to increase in the 1972 election and beyond.

#### Educational Level of Voters

	Less than high school grad.	High school grad.	Some or Grad College
1964	41.3%	34.6%	23.0%
1968	36.7	36.9	25.0

# 7. Voting by Age

If Americans vote in about the same percentage by age group in 1972 as they did in 1968 (and 18-21 year olds vote in the same proportion as 21-24 year olds in the last election), it is estimated that the electorate would divide as follows:

# Estimated 1972 Voters by Age

	18-20	21-24	25-34	35-54	<u>55+</u>	<u>Total</u>
Est. # of Actual Voters	5.0	7.0	16.0	32.0	25.0	85.0
% of Total Voters	6% (Mil	8%	19%	38%	29%	100%

# 8. Voting by Race

Based on 1964 and 1968 voting patterns, it is anticipated that, of the estimated total 85 million voters, about 78 million, or 92%, will be white and approximately 7 million, or 8%, will be Negro. No data are available on other races.

(See Exhibit 1 for estimated "actual" voting percentages in 1972.)

# III. Voter Attitudes - Perceptions of the Candidates

It is probably impossible to separate voters' views of a candidate's personal attributes and qualifications from voter perceptions of the issues and how a candidate deals with those issues. The voting decision, especially among currently non-committed voters or those who are ticket splitters, is likely based on a combination of feelings about both the qualities of the candidates and the issues.

Research suggests several things about how voters see the men who are now running for the Presidency:

 Among those who approve of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job, the major reason given for this approval is the President's qualifications and attributes. This is true for ticket splitters as well as the general electorate, and holds for all sections of the country.

# Approve/Disapprove of Way Nixon Is Handling His Job

Approve	Disapprove
54%	35%
49	39
56	32
	54% 49

(Total Sample)

# Why Do You Approve? (Jan. '72 Committee)

	Total	Ticket Splitters
Personal quali- fications and attributes	57%	54%
Ending the war	17	21
Economic policy	8	6

2. Those who disapprove of the President's job performance also cite personal attributes as a major reason. This appears to hold for all sections of the U.S.

# Why Do You Disapprove?

•.	Total	Ticket Splitters
Personal dislikes	17%	23%
Hasn't kept promises	14	13
Done nothing about the war	17	17
Economic policy	13	13

3. Overall, most Americans believe that Richard Nixon is performing about average in comparison to previous Presidents, with voters from metro areas and the East slightly less inclined to rank Nixon as high as other voters.

	<u>Total</u>	Ticket Splitters	Metro Areas	<u>East</u>
Better than average	16%	17%	13%	12%
About average	61	66	59	66
Not as good as most	21	16	26	21

4. When asked to briefly describe Richard Nixon as a person, the majority of responses are positive for all sections of the country.

·	<u>Total</u>	East	Midwest	South	West
Sincere/Honest Integrity	19%	21%	15%	22%	17%
Doing his best/ Dedicated	5	6	5	3	4
Intelligent/ Smart/Educated	8	7	6	11	8
Strong-Minded/ Aggressive	8	9	7	8	7

- 5. When asked to rate the President and three Democrats separately on a series of descriptive attributes:
  - a. Nixon emerges with the strongest image on the "professional" attributes ("experienced", "trained", "informed", "competent") among all voter segments. His only competition comes from Humphrey, who is rated equally with the President in metro areas.

How Candidates Compare on Four "Professional" Attributes:
(Percent of Time Each Candidate First or Second)

	Nixon	<u>Muskie</u>	Humphrey	Kennedy
Total Electorate	100%	25%	75%	25%
Ticket Splitters	100	25	75	· =
East	100	25	75	25
Midwest	100	50	75	-
South	100	50	50	25
West	100	25	. <b>7</b> 5	-
Metro	75	25	<b>7</b> 5	25
Non-Metro	100	25	75	-

b. On attributes relating to "trust" ("open-minded", "honest", "just"), Nixon is perceived considerably behind Muskie, except among the important ticket splitter group. Humphrey and Kennedy receive overall ratings comparable to the President, but fall behind among ticket splitters.

How Candidates Compare on Attributes of "Trust"

(Percent of Time Each Candidate First or Second)

	Nixon	Muskie	Humphrey	Kennedy
Total Electorate	33%	100%	33%	33%
Ticket Splitters	100	100	No.	-
East	33	100	33	33
Midwest	33	100		66
South	66	100	***	33

	Nixon	Muskie	Humphrey	Kennedy
West	33%	33%	33%	33%
Metro	***	100	33	33
Non-Metro	100	66		33

Another indication of this public perception of "trust" is seen in responses to questioning about the information which the Nixon Administration releases to the public. About half of the total group surveyed believes that the administration "tries to make things more favorable than they really are." A quarter of the respondents feel that information is "held back or slanted". Only 19% believe that the administration is "always frank and truthful".

c. In the area of "personal" qualities ("warm", "extroverted", "frank", "sense of humor", "relaxed"), the President is viewed far less favorably than any of the three Democrats. In addition, Edmund Muskie, probably because he is not as well known, is seen by virtually all voter groups as less personable than either Humphrey or Kennedy.

How Candidates Compare on Five "Personal" Attributes:
(Percent of Time Each Candidate First or Second)

•	Nixon	Muskie	Humphrey	Kennedy
Total Electorate	-%	20%	80%	80%
Ticket Splitters		20	100	80
East	<del></del>	40	100	80
Midwest	***	40	100	80
South	•••	60	80	60
West	· <u></u>	60	60	80
Metro	-	. 20	80	80
Non-Metro	20	20	100	40

(See Exhibit 2 for rankings on each attribute. The attributes shown above in categories of "professional", "trust" and "personal" were

#### IV. Voter Attitudes - The Issues

Based primarily on research conducted in January, 1972, voter attitudes on issues are as follows:

1. Vietnam - The war in Vietnam was viewed as the single most important and the second most important issue facing the United States today. Also, when asked specifically about the war, 82% of all voters queried said that Vietnam is an important problem to them. When asked which issue would be most important in voting for a President, total respondents and all sectional groups except the South cited Vietnam as 'the most important voting issue.

The war appears to be seen as both a positive and negative factor for the Nixon Administration. The President's performance on the war is listed first as both the major accomplishment of the Nixon Administration and also as the major failure.

With the relatively low level of American troops currently in Vietnam, and the troop withdrawel continuing, it will be necessary to measure voter perceptions repeatedly over the next half year to determine whether the war issue remains as important as the January, 1972 study indicates.

2. The Economy - This issue was listed after Vietnam as the most important problem facing the U.S. Inflation is regarded as an important personal problem to 82% of total voters, and taxes, which may be indirectly related to economic conditions in voters' minds, are viewed as an important personal problem by 74% of the total sample.

Generally, the President's performance on economic issues receives positive ratings from the majority of voters, with the lowest overall ratings coming from voters residing in metro areas and the East.

# VOTER RATINGS OF NIXON PERFORMANCE -- ECONOMY

	ECONOMI	C CONDITIONS	INF	LATION	TAXES				
	Approve	Disapprove	approve	disapprove	approve	disapprove			
Total:	49%	38%	64%	33%	56%	40%			
Ticket Splitter	s 155	31	72	25	58	37			
East	46	41	62	35	48	48			
Midwest	52	36	67	29	56	40			
South	47	39	62	35	60	36			
West	53	34	. 66	32 <sup></sup>	56	38			
etro	44	44	57	41	51	46			
Non-metro	52	33	65	33	58	38			

3. <u>Unemployment</u> - This issue is rated behind Vietnam and the Economy as the most important problem facing the country today, although in non-metro areas and in the South umemployment receives less emphasis than elsewhere. The problem is most acute in metro areas, where 81% of those surveyed rate unemployment as a serious personal problem.

Unemployment should be anticipated as an issue which the opposition will attack heavily, since it is here that the President receives low ratings for performance.

#### HOW WELL IS NIXON HANDLING UNEMPLOYMENT

•	Total Voters	Ticket Splitters	East	Midwest	South	West
Positive	42	43	36	41	48	42
Negative	54	52	60	55	46	54
Positive Negative	Metro No 34 64	on-Metro 50 46				

4. Crime and Drugs - Both these issues rate lower than the war and the pocketbook issues of the economy and unemployment as the single and second most important problems facing the nation today. However, when asked to respond to specific problems in personal terms, crime and drugs rank above all other issues.

In addition, voters tend to rate the President low on his handling of the drug problem and are about evenly split in rating his performance on dealing with crime.

#### HOW WELL NIXON IS HANDLING DRUGS/CRIME

	<u>Total</u> Voters	<u>Ticket</u> Splitters	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non Metro
DRUGS			•					
Positive	38%	44%	34%	40%	40%	37%	32%	39%
Negative	55	50	62	53	54	53	63	53
CRIME								
Positive	46	48	40	48	49	46	42	47
Negative	50	49	54	49	47	47	55	49

- 5. Other Issues Race relations are cited by voters, especially among ticket splitters and those residing in the East, Midwest, and South as one of the second most important U.S. problems. At the same time, a majority of American voters from all sections of the country believe that "treatment of Blacks is improving under Nixon". \*
- \* The sample size of the survey does not permit a breakout of attitudes among Black voters.

The environment is not listed by voters as one of the nation's most important problems, but 74% of respondents later said that environmental pollution was an important personal problem. In addition, 65% of all voters sampled would pay higher taxes if the money were used to clean up the environment. Only 20% disagreed with this proposal. Westerners and metro area residents are most in accord with this concept.

Bussing is not cited in this research as a significant issue, probably because the study was completed before the Florida primary and other events brought this issue to the front. The research does confirm, however, that three out of four voters are in favor of integrated schools, but against bussing as a means of integration.

Surprisingly, "general unrest" is considered to be a concern which ranks behind only Vietnam and inflation as the issue most important in selecting a President. The issue does not surface among voters' lists of important problems facing the nation today, and therefore may be the reflection of the national concern over the social disruptions of the late 60's. Another possibility is that "general unrest" is indicative of an unarticulated, broad feeling of dissatisfaction with current conditions in the U.S. — the same area that Wallace, and now other Democrats, are attacking with their "populist" approaches.

(See Exhibit 3 for full information on issues.)

### V. Voter Attitudes - Trial Heat Indications

There appear to be no available data on correlating trial heat trends in presidential election years with actual voting performance. Therefore, the value of trial heat trends at various stages in an election year as a predictor of election results is unknown. However, trial heats do appear useful as:

- Indications of general voter attitudes towards the candidates,
- Reflections of voter response to events, such as a Presidential action, a primary result, or some outside influence,
- c. A tracking of the opposition.

Reliable trial heat data on a <u>national</u> basis are currently unavailable from Committee research. Published trial heats from Gallup, Harris, etc. are being compiled for the November Group's competitive analysis.

Briefly, here is where the President stands vs. potential Democratic contenders, as shown in most recent public polls:

### Three Way Race

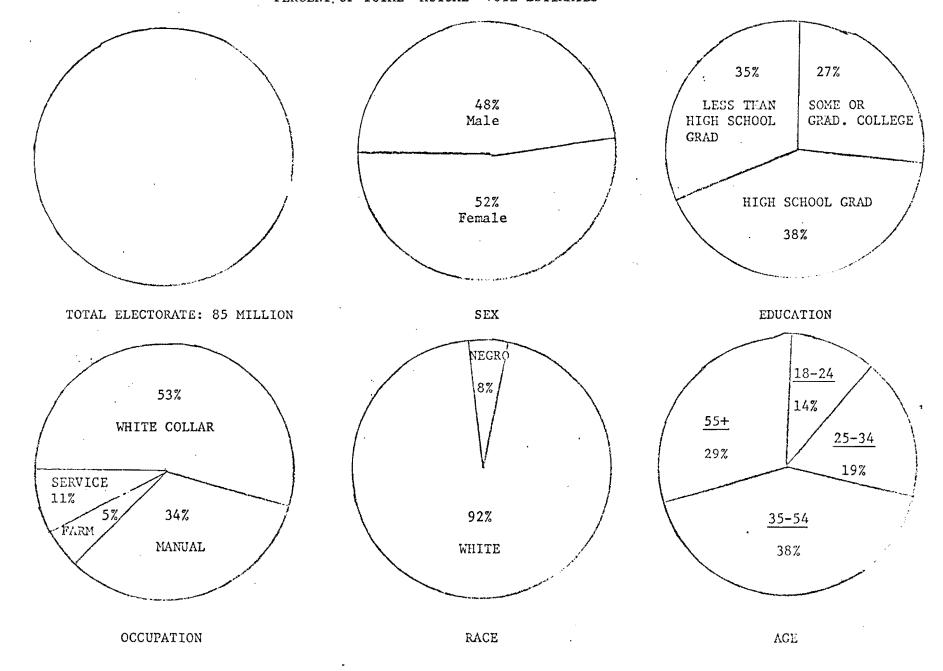
		Nixon	<u>Muskie</u>	Wallace	Not Sure
2/72	Harris Harris Gallup	47% 44 43	35% 40 42	12% 11 10	6% 5 5
		<u>Nixon</u>	Humphrey	<u>Wallace</u>	Not Sure
2/72	Earris Harris Gallup	48% 47 46	35% 36 39	12% 12 10	5% 5 5
		Nixon	Kennedy	Wallace	Not Sure
	Gallup Gallup		39% 41	9% 10	5% 5
		Nixon	McGovern	Wallace	Not Sure
	Gallup Gallup	49% 49	34% 33	11% 12	6% 6

#### Two Way Race

<u>Nixon</u> <u>Muskie</u> <u>Not Sure</u>

2/72 Harris 47% 45% 8%

1972 VOTING ESTIMATES - BY D GRAPHIC GROUP PERCENT OF TOTAL "ACTUAL" VO. ESTIMATED



THE ISSUES

Exhibit 3

	Sing	Single Most Important Problem Facing U.S. Today							Second Most Important Problem Facing U.S. Today					Rank of Issues From "How Important a Problem is to You?						Rank of Issues Important in Deciding Vote for President												
	. (%)						-	(%)			to	You?	<u>'</u>							*												
	rotal	Ticket Splitters	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non-Metro	Total	Ticket'Splitters	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non-Metro	Total	Ticket Splitters	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non-Metro	Total	Ticket Splitters	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non-Metro
Vietnam	31	26	33	34	29	26	29	31	20	23	17	17	, 23	23	23	17	3	3	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	1
Inflation/Economy	16	18	17	15	18	13	17	15	14	13	16	11	15	12	13	15	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
Unemployment	8	8	8	. 9	5	10	11	5	: } 7	5	7	7	4	10	9	4	5	6	5	5	6	6	5	. 6	4	4	3	3	4	4	3 -	4
Crime	6	6	7	8	6	4	9	, 3	5	4	7	5	4	5	6	3	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	2	7	6	5	5	7	8	٠5	8
Drugs	6	7.	5	5	7	7	5	.9	6	4	8	7	6	2	5	7	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	1	6	7	6	6	7	7	6	7
Race Relations	3	3	1	4	5	2	3	4	6	7	8	6	6	3	6	6	8	9	. 9	9	8	8	8	9	7	6	7	6	5	6	5	6
Taxes	3	2	3	3	2	2	1	4	3	3	3	2	2	4	2	5	6	7	6	6	.7	6	7	5	5	5	4	4	6	6	5	5
Environment	3	3	2	2	3	5	3	4	5	7	3	5	6	4	5	4	6	. 5	7	7	5	5	6	8	5	5	3	5	7	5	4 -	5
Busing	~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	. <b>-</b>	-	-	2	1	-	2	9	10	1,0	10	9	9		10	8	8	8	1	8	9	,	9
General Unrest	2	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	4	2	3	3	4	2	2	17	8	8	8	5	7	9	7	3	1	2	3	3	3	Z	3

# RANKINGS ON ATTRIBUTES

		Cotal Llectorate	Ticket Split,	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non-Metro
		5173	NIX	NTX.	NIX	NIX	NIX	No Tarl	NIX
	1. 2.	HHH HHH	HHH FHH	HHH	HHH	HEH	HHH	EHH SIX	HHE EHE
Experienced	3.	MUS	MUS	MUS	MUS	MUS/KEN	MUS	MUS	MUS
	4.	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	-	KEN	KEN	KEN
	1.	NIX	_NIX	_NIX	NIX.	NIX	NIX	NIX.	NIX
	2.	ннн	EHH	HHH	ннн	нин	HHH	EHH	HHH
Trained	3.	MUS	MUS	MUS	KEN	KEN	MUS	MUS	KEN
	4.	KEN	KEN	KEN	MUS	MUS	KEN	KEN	MUS
	1.	NIX	NIX-	NIX	NIX	NIX	NI	212	NIX
	2.	HHH/KEN	HHH	HHH/KEN		KEN	HHE	KEN	HHE
Informed	3.	MUS	KEN	MUS	KEN	HHH	MUS	ннн	MUS
	4.	•	MUS	-	-	MUS	KEN	MUS	KEN
	1.	NIX	_ <u>SIZ</u> _	MUS	MUS	NIX-	-NIX	MUS	NIX
_	2.	MUS	MUS	NIX-	NIX	MUS	MUS	<u> </u>	MUS
Competent	3.	нин	HHH	HHH	KEN	нин	ннн	MIM	HEE
	4.	KEN	KEN	KEN	нни	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN
	1.	NIX	NIX	NIX-	NIX-	NIX	NIX-	- XIX	- NIX
	2.	MUS	HHH	MUS	MUS	MUS	MUS	MUS	· MUS
Conservative	3.	HHH	MUS	ннн	HHH	нин	HHH	HHH	HEH
	4.	. KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN
	1.	Ken	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN
	2.	HITH	MUS	ннн	ннн	нин	HHH	нин	HHH
Liberal	3.	MUS	ннн	MUS	MUS	MUS	MUS	MUS	M.S
	4.	KIX	NIX	NIX-	NIX	NIX	NIX	NIX-	— <u>NL</u>
	1.	MUS	NIX	MUS	MUS	NIX	NIX	MUS	NIX
	2.	NIX	MUS	NIX-	NIX	MUS	HEH	ини	MUS
Honest	3.	HHH	HHR	HHH	нин	ннн	MUS	KEN	HEE
	4.	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	MIM	KEN
	1.	MUS	NIN.	HHK	KEN	NIX	MUS	MUS	NIX
	2.	HHH	MUS	MUS	MUS /	MUS	HEH	ннн	MUS
Just	3.	NIX	HHH	MIX	KHH	HHH	NIX	KEN	HEH
	4.	KEN	KEN	KEN	NIX	KEN	KEN	NIX	KEN
	1.	NIX	-NIX-	NIX	-NIX	NIX	-NIX	MUS	NIX
	2.	MUS	MUS	MUS	KEN	MUS	HEH	NIX	MUS
Safe	3.	HHH	HIH	ннн	MUS	HHH	MUS	нин	HEH
•	4.	KEN	KEN	KEN	ннн	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN
	1.	NIX-	-NI3-	NIX.	MUS	KEN	NIX	NIX	KEN
	2.	MUS	MUS	MUS	NIX-	—NIX HHH	KEH'	NUS /	FEH
Tough	з.	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	MUS	MUS	ннн	M.TS
	4.	EHH	HHH	HHH	HHH	-	KEN	KEN	NIX -
	1.	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN
	2.	NIX	-NIX	-NIX	MIX	HHH	-KIX-	-NIX	HEH -
Aggressive	3. 4.	Hiih Mus	MUS MUS	MUS HHH	MUS HHH	MUS	nus ehh	HHH MUS	KIS KIS
•						. •			
	1.	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN	KEN
B. 1.1	2.	NIX-	<u> </u>	- <u>NIX</u>	-NIX	HHH	<u>- [27]</u> -		EH
Bold	3.	MUS	HEH	MUS	Hit	MIX	MUS	HEH	
	4.	нин	MUS	инн .	MUS	MUS	HHH	MUS	MS
	1.	MUS	NIX	MUS	MUS	MUS	KEN	MUS	EIN
	2.	KEN	MIS	KEN	KEN	KEN	HHH	KEN	
Open-Minded	3.	HEH	KEN	TIEH	HHH	MIN	MUS	HEH	EEH
	4.	NIX	HEH	NIX-	-NIX	HHH	<u>√≅⊠</u> —	- NIX	MUS

# RANKINGS ON ATTRIBUTES

		Total Electorate	Ticket Split	East	Midwest	South	West	Metro	Non-Metro
Frank	1. 2. 3. 4.	KEN HIH NUS NIX	HHH KEN MUS	KEN HHH/MUS NIX	KEN/HHH MUS NIX	MIX MUS MUS	MUS KEN/HIHH	KEN MUS HHH NIX	MUS HHH KEN NIX
Warm <sub>.</sub>	1. 2. 3. 4.	KEN HHH MUS NIX	KEN HHH MUS NIX	KEN/HHH MUS NIX	KEN HHH MU'S	MUS KEN HHH NIX	KEN MUS HEH NIX	KEN HHH MUS	NIX HHH KEN MUS
Extroverted	1. 2. 3. 4.	KEN HHH MUS NIX	KEN HHH NIX MUS	KEN HHH MUS NIX	KEN HHH MUS BIX	HHH KEN NIX MUS	HEH KEN MUS NEX	KEN HHH MUS	KEN HEH NIX MUS
Relaxed	1 2. 3. 4.	KEN MUS HHH NIX	HHH MUS KEN NIX	KEN HHH MUS NIX	KEN MUS HHH NIN	HHH MUS KEN NIX	KEN MUS HEH NIX	KEN HHH MUS NIX	KEN HHH MUS NIX
Sense of Humor	1. 2. 3. 4.	HHH KEN NUS NIX	HIH KEN NIX MUS	HHH KEN MUS NIX	KEN HHH MUS NIX	MUS HHH KEN NIX	HEH KEN MUS NIX	HHH KEN MUS NIX	HHH KEN NIX MUS
Up to Date	1. 2. 3. 4.	KEN MUS NIX HHH	EEH\WRT	KEN HHH S MUS NIX	NIX MUS HHH	KEN MUS NIX HHH	KEN MUS —NIX HEH	KEN MUS NIX HEH	KEN NIX MUS HHH