

The original documents are located in Box 64, folder “January 26, 1972 - Attorney General - New Hampshire, Florida, and Wisconsin Polls” 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 26, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin Polls

This memorandum contains a brief summary of the New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin polls, some conclusions, and thoughts on their implications on our campaign strategy. I think we should reserve any hard conclusions on our initial campaign strategy until the entire first wave of studies is completed in mid-February.

NEW HAMPSHIRE GENERAL ELECTION

Ballots. The President is in good shape in New Hampshire in the general election. He has over 50% of the vote committed to him against Muskie, Kennedy and Humphrey, with and without Wallace on the ballot. He runs his best race against Humphrey, leading him by 24%, with or without Wallace, while Muskie runs within 7% in a two-way race and 10% behind with Wallace on the ballot.

Wallace is not a major factor in New Hampshire as he gets only 5% in his best race. What effect he does have, however, appears to help the President against Muskie but not make any significant difference against Kennedy or Humphrey.

When McCarthy and Chisholm are added to the ballot as independent candidates they jointly attract 11% and the President's lead over Muskie increases slightly.

Against Muskie the President has a large lead among behavioral Republicans (62%) and a smaller lead among ticket-splitters (8.4%). Against Humphrey and Kennedy, however, his lead among Republicans goes up to 75 and 80% respectively and his lead with ticket-splitters increases to 30%. The President also attracts more behavioral Democrats (20%) than his opponent does behavioral Republicans in each of the races measured. Muskie picks up significantly more Republicans (15%) than either Humphrey (9%) or Kennedy (6%).

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By SD NARA, Date 12/30/09



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. There are, however, a few exceptions which are almost all instances of Muskie cutting into upper-middle and upper class socio-economic groups to a greater degree than the other Democrats. He runs 15-20% higher than Humphrey or Kennedy among those with a college education and 15% higher with those with over \$15,000 incomes. Another significant difference is that while Muskie leads the President by 6% among Catholics, Kennedy is tied with him.

Candidate Perception. The President's approval rating is 59% with a 31% disapproval. His major accomplishments are seen as his handling of Vietnam (70% approve) and the economy/inflation (55% approve). Failure to end the war and the economy are the most frequently mentioned failures but at a fairly low level.

The President gets his highest "ability to handle" ratings on Vietnam, national defense and inflation and his lowest ratings on unemployment, drugs, bussing, and general unrest in the country. He is rated significantly more able to handle Vietnam, national defense, and inflation than either Muskie or Kennedy but significantly less able to handle health care or drugs than either of them. He is also rated as more able to handle taxes than Kennedy but less able to handle the environment and crime than Muskie. There is no difference in the ratings on the candidates' ability to handle race, education, bussing or general unrest.

The President as an individual is viewed quite positively by New Hampshire voters. A majority of the respondents responded positively when asked to describe the President as a person. On the semantic scale, he was rated as significantly more competent, experienced, trained, safe, and conservative than all of the Democrats but less warm, relaxed, frank, and as lacking a sense of humor.

The President is rated as "about average" when compared to past Presidents by almost three-quarters of the New Hampshire voters. Equal numbers think the President is better and worse than other Presidents.

Two-thirds think that the Nixon Administration tries to make things seem more favorable than they really are and holds back and slants information. This attitude is particularly prevalent among the young and among upper-SES people.



Vice President Agnew's approval rating is 50% and his disapproval 31%. Approval of the Vice President is particularly high among Wallace voters (67%).

Kennedy is the best known of the Democrats with 70% of the New Hampshire voters saying they know either a great deal or fair amount about him. This compares to 47% for Humphrey, 43% for Wallace, and only 37% for Muskie. While Muskie is the least well-known, the ratio of positive-to-negative comments made about him is over two-to-one while it is only one-to-one for Humphrey and somewhat less than that for Kennedy and Wallace. In terms of their ability to handle major national problems more people see Kennedy as able to handle education, health care, and the environment than rate him favorably on other issues. He gets his poorest ratings on inflation and taxes. Significantly less people are able to rate Muskie but among those who can, he gets his best ratings on the same items as Kennedy and his lowest on national defense, inflation and bussing.

On the personality dimensions, Humphrey is rated quite favorably as being competent and Kennedy as being very dynamic but not particularly trustworthy or competent. Muskie is rated about in the middle of most of the scales which is partially due to his lack of familiarity.

Issues. Fifty-one percent of the New Hampshire voters think that the country has gotten off on the wrong track compared to 41% who think things are going fairly well. Also, a third think that the country is better off today than it was a few years ago and a third think it is worse off.

Vietnam and the economy are by far the most often mentioned problems facing the country in New Hampshire, as no other issue is mentioned by more than 10% of the voters. However, when the respondents were asked to rate how important each of a series of problems is to them, drugs, crime, and inflation are rated most important. They are followed by unemployment, national defense, Vietnam, health care and the environment, all of which get relatively high ratings. This is basically a rating of intensity and drugs, crime and inflation are problems which a large number of voters are having to contend with or are afraid will affect them personally.

On Vietnam, a majority (58%) think the President is bringing home the troops at the right speed although a significant minority (32%) think he is bringing them home too slowly. Over three-quarters of the voters think that some troops should remain until the Prisoners of War are released.





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Thirty-eight percent think labor is primarily to blame for the current inflation problems compared to 31% who blame government, and 28% who blame business, and 11% who blame the consumer.

More New Hampshire voters (47%) oppose shifting the cost of education from the property to the sales tax.

The two most often mentioned solutions to the drug problem are stricter laws (particularly for pushers) and education of parents. The blame for the problem is not placed on any one group or institution.

Table G measures the voters' feelings on other issues.

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE ISSUES

Governor Peterson is clearly in some trouble and the least popular of the major statewide office-holders. His approval rating is 40% and his disapproval, 42%.

Senator Cotton's approval is 57% and his disapproval 14%. He is particularly popular among Republicans (75%).

Senator McIntyre's approval is 69% and his disapproval, 16%.

Moreover, Senator McIntyre is an easy winner against either Louis Wyman or Wesley Powell. He runs ahead of Wyman about two-to-one and ahead of Powell over three-to-one.

In the gubernatorial race, Governor Peterson has a small lead (5% over Roger Crowley, his previous opponent.)

The major state issue is clearly taxes, with over 60% mentioning it as an important problem facing the state. Moreover, almost two-thirds are opposed to Governor Peterson's proposed state income tax.

Other frequently mentioned state problems are unemployment, the environment, and education.

About 40% of the electorate are regular readers of the Manchester Union Leader, and 54% of this group generally agree with the paper's editorial positions. Thirty-two percent generally disagree. Agreement is directly proportionate to age.

NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

Interestingly, over two-thirds of the Republican primary voters think the President should be opposed in the New Hampshire primary. Of these



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37% say they would like his opponent to be more liberal and 28% more conservative. It does appear, however, that those who would like a more conservative opponent have a slightly higher probability of voting than do those who would prefer a liberal opponent.

However, in the primary trial heat, the President has a large lead over both McCloskey and Ashbrook. He has 74% of the primary vote committed to McCloskey's 9% and Ashbrook's 2%. There are 15% undecided.

Among Republican primary voters, the President's approval rating is 76% with 14% disapproval and 10% no opinion.

It may be significant that 72% of the primary voters say that Nixon has done an "about average" job as compared to other Presidents which is the same as the general election sample. Also, over 50% do not think that the administration is always truthful.

While primary voters tend to be more favorably inclined towards Nixon policies, there are not any major differences between them and the general election voters in direction of attitude on any major issues.

McCloskey awareness is 41% although three-fourths of those who are aware of him don't know much about him. However, of those who are able to give an opinion, most have a favorable impression of him.

Ashbrook was virtually unknown at the time of this poll.

Conclusions. The President is in good shape in terms of the general election although Muskie is a much more formidable candidate than Humphrey or Kennedy.

Wallace is not a major factor in New Hampshire. Any third or fourth party liberal candidate would help us greatly.

Awareness and knowledge of Muskie is surprisingly low but will probably go up substantially as a result of his primary campaigns.

There are no major national issues which are working against the President in New Hampshire at this time.



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The President is also in very good shape with regard to the primary. He has over 70% of the voters committed and while McCloskey and Ashbrook can be expected to gain, there does not appear to be any substantial anti-Nixon group for them to capitalize on. The absolute maximum for Ashbrook and McCloskey combined is probably about 30%, but there is no evidence in this study that they would get more than 15-20%.

We should be very careful of our relationships with the Governor. He has some serious problems with the electorate but his supporters are intense and are largely Republican primary voters. McIntyre in particular and Cotten are in good shape.

We should stick to our low-key organizational strategy. The problem, if there is one, will be to deliver our vote on election day. This may be more of a problem than it appears as there is not any particular intensity to the President's support. Nor are there any particularly important issues with the primary voters. The only thing that will get our vote out is a strong organizational effort on election day.

A majority of the voters think the President should have opposition. McCloskey (and Ashbrook) are not well-known but are liked by those who do know them, but no one is voting for them.

Unless there are some changes in the data, we should leave Ashbrook and McCloskey completely alone and not let anyone else who might be identified with the President attack them.

ROBERT M. TEETER

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TABLE A

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Ticket-Splitter</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Nixon	76.8%	47.8%	20.3%
Muskie	14.6%	39.4%	68.4%
Wallace	2.7%	8.3%	6.8%
Undecided	5.9%	5.0%	4.5%
Nixon	84.3%	57.2%	23.3%
Humphrey	9.2%	27.2%	64.7%
Wallace	1.6%	8.3%	4.5%
Undecided	4.9%	7.3%	7.5%
Nixon	86.5%	58.9%	24.1%
Kennedy	5.9%	28.3%	63.1%
Wallace	2.2%	8.3%	5.3%
Undecided	5.4%	4.5%	7.5%



B

(New Hampshire)

TOTAL 100%	<u>NIXON</u> 49.9%	<u>MUSKIE</u> 40.5%	<u>WALLACE</u> 5.2%	<u>UNDECIDED</u> 4.6%	<u>N</u> 608
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Less than High School	53.1%	36.7	5.7	4.5	194
High school or graduate	49.8	40.1	5.7	4.4	235
College	44.3	47.9	3.6	5.0	177
<u>INCOME</u>					
Less than \$5,000	44.0	44.8	6.4	4.8	114
5 - 10,000	53.0	37.7	4.7	5.1	196
10 - 15,000	44.4	48.1	6.7	.8	129
\$15,000 +	59.5	35.1	2.7	2.7	75
<u>AGE</u>					
18 - 24	43.0	50.0	5.3	.9	80
25 - 34	42.9	45.5	9.8	.9	98
35 - 44	53.1	36.1	7.4	2.8	107
45 - 54	55.9	40.4	0	3.7	93
55 - 64	49.4	36.5	3.5	10.6	96
65 +	54.3	32.4	3.8	9.5	130
<u>SEX</u>					
Male	48.1	39.3	8.1	4.5	300
Female	51.7	41.5	2.5	2.5	308
<u>UNION</u>					
Yes	51.5	37.7	7.8	3.6	146
No	49.5	41.3	4.3	4.3	462
<u>RELIGION</u>					
Catholic	42.3	48.9	3.9	4.9	254
Protestant	59.6	30.1	6.1	4.2	319
Jewish	0	100	0	0	6
Other	33.3	53.3	10.0	3.4	25



(New Hampshire)

<u>RACE</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	<u>N</u>
White	49.8	40.5	5.2	4.6	603
Negro	0	100	0	0	1
Oriental	0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	100	0	0	0	1



DEMOGRAPHIC TABLESNEW HAMPSHIRE

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	<u>N</u>
TOTAL 100%	56.4%	33.1%	4.4	6.1	608
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Less than high school	54.7	37.1	3.3	4.9	194
High school or graduate	55.4	31.6	6.5	6.5	235
College	60.7	29.3	2.9	7.9	177
<u>INCOME</u>					
Less than \$5,000	52.0	36.0	4.8	6.4	114
5 - 10,000	56.3	34.0	3.7	5.6	196
10 - 15,000	51.1	39.3	6.7	3.7	129
\$15,000+	71.6	20.3	2.7	5.4	75
<u>AGE</u>					
18-24	47.4	43.8	5.3	3.5	80
25-34	55.3	31.3	7.1	6.3	98
35-44	60.2	28.7	7.4	7.4	107
45-54	64.2	29.4	0	7.3	93
55-64	58.8	28.2	3.5	10.6	96
65 +	53.3	35.2	2.9	7.6	130
<u>SEX</u>					
Male	54.8	31.3	7.4	6.5	300
Female	57.5	34.8	1.5	5.8	308
<u>UNION</u>					
Yes	53.3	37.7	6.6	2.4	146
No	57.4	31.5	3.9	7.5	462
<u>RELIGION</u>					
Catholic	45.4	44.4	4.2	6.0	254
Protestant	67.3	21.8	4.8	5.8	319
Jewish	33.3	50.0	0	16.7	6
Other	53.3	36.7	6.7	6.7	25

<u>RACE</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	<u>N</u>
White	56.2	33.2	4.4	6.2	603
Negro	0	100	0	0	1
Oriental	0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	100	0	0	0	1





D

(New Hampshire)

	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	<u>N</u>
TOTAL 100%	55.3%	34.5%	4.9%	5.3%	608
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Less than High School	52.3	36.3	5.7	5.7	194
High School or graduate	56.3	34.0	5.3	5.3	235
College	58.6	32.8	3.6	3.6	177
<u>INCOME</u>					
Less than \$5,000	47.2	36.0	7.2	9.6	114
\$5 - 10,000	57.7	34.4	4.2	4.2	196
\$10 - 15,000	48.9	45.2	4.4	2.2	129
\$15,000 +	70.3	27.0	2.7	1.4	75
<u>AGE</u>					
18 - 24	36.8	51.9	4.4	.9	80
25 - 34	51.8	38.4	6.2	3.6	98
35 - 44	60.2	30.5	5.6	3.7	107
45 - 54	62.4	31.2	1.8	4.6	93
55 - 64	64.7	21.2	3.5	11.8	96
65 +	60.0	23.8	6.7	9.5	130
<u>SEX</u>					
Male	54.2	33.5	7.8	4.5	300
Female	56.6	35.4	2.2	6.2	308
<u>UNION</u>					
Yes	47.3	41.3	8.4	3.6	146
No	58.2	32.1	3.9	6.0	462
<u>RELIGION</u>					
Catholic	45.1	45.8	3.5	5.3	254
Protestant	66.3	22.8	5.8	5.1	319
Jewish	33.3	66.7	0	0	6
Other	46.7	43.3	10.0	3.3	25

(New Hampshire)

<u>RACE</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	<u>N</u>
White	55.2	34.6	4.9	5.4	603
Negro	0	100.0	0	0	1
Oriental	0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	100.0	0	0	0	0



NEW HAMPSHIRE

	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>Primary</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Drugs	4.36	4.35	2.58	2.77	3.07	2.87
Crime	4.33	4.27	2.71	2.88	2.99	2.77
Inflation	4.26	4.20	3.10	3.38	2.87	2.60
Taxes	4.19	4.15	2.76	2.98	2.85	2.58
Education	4.15	4.00	3.01	3.19	3.22	3.05
Nat'l Defense	4.15	4.20	3.15	3.30	2.90	2.80
Health Care	4.13	4.00	2.95	3.15	3.19	3.15
Vietnam	4.13	4.15	3.39	3.64	2.95	2.70
Env/Pollution	4.08	3.98	2.86	3.03	3.33	2.92
Unemployment	4.07	3.88	2.60	2.83	2.98	2.76
Gen'l Unrest	3.90	3.76	2.67	2.89	2.99	2.66
Race Problems	3.01	3.56	2.90	3.10	2.94	2.89
Bussing	2.87	2.77	2.53	2.67	2.87	2.65

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

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1.....7	NIXON		KENNEDY	MUSKIE	HHH
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prim.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Liberal/Conservative (yourself)	4.41	4.48			
Cold/Warm	4.39	4.76	4.73	4.96	4.76
Inexperienced/Experienced	5.69	6.07	4.37	4.60	5.12
Close-minded/Open	4.50	4.69	4.74	4.76	4.74
Untrained/Trained	5.72	6.02	4.57	4.52	5.10
Timid/Bold	4.70	4.82	5.13	4.51	4.77
Dishonest/Honest	5.32	5.70	4.42	5.29	5.12
Intravert/Extravert	4.28	4.27	4.75	4.43	4.85
Dangerous/Safe	5.15	5.61	4.21	4.79	4.53
Uninformed/Informed	5.41	5.68	4.97	4.95	5.28
Meek/Aggressive	5.00	5.10	5.35	4.62	4.91
Unjust/Just	5.11	5.59	4.71	5.01	5.13
Incompetent/Competent	5.24	5.66	4.42	4.84	4.79
Reserved/Frank	4.06	4.28	4.75	4.67	4.63
Lack of humor/Humor	4.55	4.67	5.21	4.80	4.86
Old-fashioned/Up-to-date	4.51	4.63	5.49	4.57	3.97
Tense/Relaxed	3.95	4.20	4.65	4.87	4.26
Soft/Tough	4.35	4.54	4.37	4.14	3.89
Liberal/Conservative	4.56	4.64	2.99	3.40	3.57



TABLE G

<u>Personal feelings about:</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Republican Primary Voters</u>	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>/Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>/Disagree</u>
We should spend what is necessary to keep our military capability ahead of Russia.	49%	39%	52%	35%
You can feel more confident about your own future because of President Nixon's new economic policy.	45	29	30	17
Treatment of Blacks has improved under the Nixon Administration.	56	19	63	12
We are going too fast in trying to achieve equal opportunities for all racial minority groups.	32	49	37	44
Government should give financial aid to parochial schools if not used for any religious purposes.	67	23	59	28
Government should be responsible for complete health care for everyone.	51	36	43	51
Would pay higher taxes or prices to clean up environment.	67	18	73	15
It is a mistake for the President to visit Communist China.	24	53	22	57
To achieve racial balance, students should be bussed out of their neighborhood.	25	63	19	68
The President's new economic policies and wage/price freeze will benefit the working man.	50	28	61	18



	<u>Total</u> <u>Agree/Disagree</u>		<u>Republican Primary Voters</u> <u>Agree/Disagree</u>	
To stop crime, we need tougher law enforcement and more police.	69	23	73	17
Keeping the economy strong is more important than worrying about pollution.	39	36	39	38
Chances for peace are improved if we keep our military capability stronger than Russia's.	61	24	65	21
Government should give financial aid to parochial schools so that students will not be dumped into the public school systems.	65	22	58	26

