

The original documents are located in Box 21, folder “Vice President - Survey of New York Political Climate” of the Robert T. Hartmann Files 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 Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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.

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1717 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. (Suite 1307)
Washington, D.C. 20006
785-8200

file

August 13, 1974

Mr. Robert T. Hartman
Counselor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

I am out of action in the Caribbean and have missed all the excitement but I congratulate the President and all of you on a very strong accession. You are giving us all a great lift. I wanted very much to feed the enclosed poll into the Vice President selection process. It was done last winter shortly after Rocky left office for Jerry Wurf's union and it was an expensive, professional job. It makes very clear something which most of us do not realize -- that Rockefeller was as unpopular as hell, almost as unpopular as Nixon was, in his own state. Anyway I submit it for your analysis.

Sincerely,

Charles Bartlett



Personal and ~~Confidential~~

Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By SD NARA Date 6/11/2015

A SURVEY OF
THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF
NEW YORK STATE

February 1974

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.
213 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002



CONTENTS

<u>Introduction</u>	iii	
<u>Glossary</u>	v	
SECTION I	THE MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE	1
	Voters' Feelings about the Nation	2
	Job Ratings of U.S. Senators	4
SECTION II	A LOOK AT THE GOVERNORSHIP	7
	Direction of New York State	8
	Ratings of the Rockefeller Administration	10
	Job Rating of Malcolm Wilson	13
	Qualities Sought in a Governor	14
	Other Factors	18
SECTION III	THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY FOR GOVERNOR	21
	Candidate Preferences	22
	Feelings about the Democratic Party	27
SECTION IV	A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE GENERAL ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR	34
	The Pairings	35
SECTION V	THE ISSUES	43
	Summary Table	45
	Cost of Living	47
	Crime and Drugs	47
	Taxes and Spending	50
	Graft and Corruption	51
	Responsive Government	52
	Other Issues	56
SECTION VI	THE PERSONALITIES	59
	Perceived Ideologies	60
	Feeling Thermometer	61
	Other Measurements	64
<u>Tables</u>	T1	
<u>Appendix</u>	A1	



Introduction

The politics in New York State have often been characterized as the most complex in the nation. Despite the Democratic party's tremendous advantage in party registration totals, the Republicans under the leadership of former Governor Nelson Rockefeller have captured all but one of the major statewide public offices in the past two decades. However, with the resignation of Nelson Rockefeller, Governor Malcolm Wilson (virtually unknown as the Lieutenant Governor for the past 15 years) must carry the party's banner this year. The 1974 gubernatorial elections provide the Democratic party with its best chance of regaining the Governorship. This survey is designed to determine how the Democrats can best achieve that goal.

It was against this background that Hart Research Associates measured the attitudes of the voters in New York State some 10 months prior to the 1974 gubernatorial election. The purpose of this study, with an accurate cross-section of the total New York electorate, is to provide our client with an insight into the voters' attitudes toward various personalities and issues which will form the basis of the 1974 election.

Information for this study was gathered by trained members of the Hart field staff who conducted personal interviews with 811 voters between January 25 and February 2, 1974. All interviewing was performed in the homes of respondents who had first passed a rigid three-part screen establishing themselves as likely voters in the 1974 gubernatorial election. A full description of the sample design, the questionnaire, and the procedures used by Hart Research are included in the appendix of this report.



This report is divided into three parts for the convenience of the reader. The first part, subdivided into six sections, contains a written analysis and presentation of the highlights of the data. Within this written analysis, there will be many single-spaced paragraphs identified as "Interpretation" which represent the subjective analysis of Hart Research. In the margins of these sections will appear references to the tables which make up the second major part of the report. The third part is the appendix referred to above.



Glossary

Throughout this report, we will refer to several different voting blocs of the electorate using our own terminology. For the convenience of the reader, we have defined these terms below.

Manhattan/Bronx: New York and Bronx Counties.

Queens: Queens County.

Brooklyn/Staten Island: Kings and Richmond Counties.

New York City Suburbs: Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties.

Upstate West: Erie and Monroe Counties.

Upstate East: Upstate New York, excluding Erie and Monroe Counties.

Strong Democrats: All respondents who perceived themselves as being either "Staunch Democrats" or "Strong Democrats."

Weak Democrats: All respondents who perceived themselves as being either "Mainly Democratic" or "Independent Democrats."

Republicans/ Conservatives: All respondents who affiliated themselves with either the Republican or Conservative Parties.

Independents/ Liberals: All respondents who classified themselves as being either Liberal Party members or affiliated with no political party.

Government Worker: Any respondent employed by any state, county, or municipal office.



MONITION

This report is strictly confidential and is intended solely for the internal use of our client. Any reproduction, publication, or release is strictly prohibited without the express written consent of Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc. If this agreement is violated, we reserve the right to make public the entire contents of this report.



SECTION I

THE MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE



Voters' Feelings about the Nation

In order to get an initial judgment about how New York voters feel about life in America, we asked them if they felt that the country was "generally going in the right direction today" or if "things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track." Fully 77 percent of the voters in New York State answered that they thought the country was off on the wrong track, and only 15 percent believed that things were moving in the right direction. This strongly negative feeling is shared by persons of all income groups. Especially notable is the fact that 81 percent of all voters with incomes over \$15,000 felt that the country was moving off on the wrong track. In our surveys over the past 12 months, we have found that voters throughout the country share this negative mood, but it seems even stronger in New York than in most other states, particularly among high income voters.

To some extent, this pessimism probably reflects lack of confidence in national leadership. We asked voters to rate the performance of President Nixon, and not surprisingly we found his ratings to be very low. Only 5 percent of New York voters rated Nixon's performance as excellent, 16 percent said good, 20 percent fair, and 54 percent poor. This means that only 21 percent of these voters have a positive response to Nixon, as against 74 percent who have negative responses. Nixon's showing here is almost 10 percent below his average in the national polls. Also important is the very large gap between the 5 percent who consider Nixon's performance excellent and the 54 percent who consider it poor - an excellent-to-poor ratio of 1 to 11. This gap and the fact that Republican voters, by a 41 to 55 margin, rated Nixon's performance

T1

T2



negatively (fair or poor) indicates the President's low esteem among New Yorkers. This score among Republicans is one of the lowest such figures this organization has ever recorded.

To some extent, these extremely poor ratings are the result of voters' feelings that Nixon has been unable to deal effectively with inflation and the energy crisis. But more than that, they are a result of his handling of the Watergate and related scandals. We asked voters whether they believed that Nixon had either directly or indirectly been involved in the erasure of portions of the Watergate tapes. Fully 63 percent agreed that Nixon was involved in erasing the tapes, while only 20 percent disagreed. Among Democrats and Independents, this feeling was especially strong. But even among Republicans, 45 percent believed that Nixon was involved in erasing the tapes, and only 35 percent disagreed. This belief that Nixon committed acts which obviously constitute obstruction of justice shows just how low his credibility has sunk, and we shall return to that subject later.

Negative reaction to Nixon also appeared when we asked voters whether Nixon should resign, be impeached, or remain in office. Thirty-six percent of the New York voters said Nixon should resign, and another 19 percent said he should be impeached. Only 36 percent responded that he should remain in office. Of all segments of the electorate, it was only among Republicans that a majority (60 percent) opted for Nixon's remaining in office, and even here, 34 percent said he should resign or be impeached. Support for resignation or impeachment was greatest among younger voters and least among those over 50. But all segments of the electorate, except Republicans, exhibited a strong feeling that Nixon must go.

T3

T4



Interpretation

Richard Nixon is in deep trouble with the voters of New York. Of all our surveys over the past six months, these are the results least favorable to Nixon. In every other state we have surveyed, there has been a plurality of voters who believed that Nixon should remain in office. In New York, an absolute majority of the voters believe he should leave office, whether voluntarily or involuntarily.

It is obvious, then, that Richard Nixon's credibility is at a very low level. With respect to the New York gubernatorial election, however, we see no direct correlation between Nixon's unpopularity and the voters' opinions of Governor Malcolm Wilson, as will be obvious from later sections of this report. Rather, the relevance of Nixon's unpopularity to the 1974 race is that the voters are astoundingly pessimistic about the quality of their President's leadership:

There is a need here for some reason for optimism, a yearning for a new outlook. This is a theme Democrats in New York should use. It is easy to concentrate on Richard Nixon, for just about everyone in New York agrees that he is doing a dismal job. If only for its obviousness, though, a concentrated attack on Nixon would not be very meaningful to the voters. Rather, Democrats should concentrate on presenting a new look at state problems; they should try to show the voters that there is reason to hope their problems can be attacked intelligently and their complaints fairly redressed.

Job Ratings of U.S. Senators

To get a fuller picture of how New York voters assess their national leadership, we also asked them to rate the performance of the state's two United States Senators. Considering these two Republicans' very different views, it is not surprising that the ratings were considerably different.



The voters' reaction to Senator James Buckley was not particularly good. Altogether, only 4 percent rated Buckley's performance as excellent, and 28 percent called it good. Twenty-nine percent thought Buckley was doing only a fair job, and 16 percent characterized his performance as poor. Thus, only 32 percent of the voters had positive responses (excellent or good) to Buckley, while 45 percent had negative responses. It is also significant that 23 percent of the voters expressed no opinion at all of Buckley's performance. This is an unusually high figure, for in most states only about 15 percent of the voters can offer no opinion on their Senator's performance; this finding is an indication that Buckley is not making much of an impression on the electorate.

T5

Beyond that, Buckley's support is not impressive. He has only a very small base of strong support: even among Republicans and Conservatives, only 7 percent rate his performance as excellent. Overall, four times as many voters rate him "poor" as say "excellent." Not surprisingly, Buckley does least well among Democrats and best among Republicans. (The reader should note that this survey was conducted prior to his statement urging the President to resign.)

Senator Jacob Javits, who is up for re-election this year, elicits rather different responses from New York voters. Nine percent of the voters rate his performance as excellent, 44 percent as good, 24 percent as fair, and 12 percent as poor. This is basically a positive rating; 53 percent of the voters react positively to Javits, compared with 36 percent who react negatively. But Javits' score is still far from impressive, particularly considering the fact that Javits has been in the



Senate for 18 years and has not encountered difficulty in a general election since 1956. Considering Javits' generally liberal voting record, it is perhaps not surprising that Democrats rate him slightly higher than do Republicans. But it is also worth noting that among Independent and Liberal voters, the ratio of positive to negative responses to Javits is only 47 to 45. Despite the fact that political pundits consider Javits a shoo-in for re-election, apparently he is not held in correspondingly high regard by the voters.

Interpretation

Although we did not explore national issues comprehensively in this survey, the responses to questions on national leadership indicate that the public's mood in New York is as bleak and pessimistic as anywhere in the nation. We were not surprised to find that New York voters came out strongly against Richard Nixon. But even in the ratings of the Empire State's own Senators, voters did not show much confidence in their leadership. Obviously the mood of the electorate in New York is strongly negative. What New York voters are seeking in their national elected officials they have not found.



SECTION II

A LOOK AT THE GOVERNORSHIP



Before turning to ratings of the various candidates for Governor in 1974, we shall look first at the New York electorate's attitudes toward the Governorship, and its evaluation of the jobs done by former Governor Nelson Rockefeller and current Governor Malcolm Wilson.

Direction of New York State

To get an idea of how New York voters view their state government, we asked them in what general direction they thought the state was moving.

T7

To our surprise, we found that 63 percent of the voters thought New York was off on the wrong track, while only 24 percent believed the state was moving in the right direction. Although these percentages mirror fairly closely New York voters' attitudes on the general direction of the nation as a whole, the responses are wholly out of line with the attitudes of voters in other states. We have asked essentially the same question of voters in such states as Connecticut, Hawaii, Ohio, and Wisconsin. While they, too, were pessimistic about the direction the nation was taking (though not quite so much so as New York voters), they registered positive attitudes about their own states. Thus, this pessimistic response in New York is especially significant.

Not surprisingly, Democrats were most vehemently negative about the direction in which New York was moving. By a 75 to 13 percent margin, they were pessimistic about the state of the state. In most states we have surveyed, we have found that Democrats tend to respond to this question more negatively than Republicans. The same is true in New York, but even among Republicans - whose party has held the Governorship for 16 years - 53 percent answered that the state was off on the wrong track, and only 36 percent believed it was moving in the right direction.



Not unexpectedly, we found that all other segments of the electorate responded negatively to this question. Voters who identified themselves as having Irish backgrounds, for example, were even more negative than the electorate as a whole, with 67 percent believing the state was off on the wrong track, while only 21 percent believed it was moving in the right direction. Italian-American voters were a little less pessimistic: 55 percent believed things were off on the wrong track, as against 27 percent who believed the state to be moving in the right direction. Government employees responded much as did the entire electorate. Fifty-seven percent of them believed things were off on the wrong track and 26 percent that things were moving in the right direction.

For the last 15 years, the state government of New York has been led by Nelson A. Rockefeller - a record of longevity in gubernatorial office not exceeded since the early days of the Republic. Inevitably, New York has been shaped in many ways by Rockefeller's leadership, and on three successive occasions voters have responded positively to Rockefeller's record by re-electing him with comfortable, sometimes very large majorities. However, when we asked voters to evaluate Nelson Rockefeller's performance in office, we found that voters were basically dissatisfied. Only 7 percent gave him an excellent job rating. Another 32 percent rated Rockefeller as fair, and 24 percent considered his performance poor. Overall then, Rockefeller's job rating is 39 percent positive and 57 percent negative. We have seen many negative polls on Rockefeller over the past ten years; although our results do not show him as popular, he has sometimes been in worse shape than he is in now.

T8



The significant fact here, however, is that in 1974 Rockefeller will not be up for re-election. Consequently, he will not have the opportunity to wage a sophisticated campaign and thereby increase his popularity as he has done in the past. This is the picture of Rockefeller which the voters have after his 15 years in office, and it is this picture which will be relevant in the 1974 gubernatorial race.

Ratings of the Rockefeller Administration

When we examine Rockefeller's ratings in more detail, we find them extremely low in New York City and among Democrats. He fares far better in the New York City suburbs and the eastern portion of upstate New York, as well as with Republicans.

To get a better idea of voters' views on Rockefeller, we asked them to tell us in their own words what they considered to be the greatest accomplishments of the Rockefeller administration. Interestingly enough, we found that fully 49 percent of the voters did not cite a single accomplishment (including 2 percent who mentioned "getting rid of Rockefeller" as an accomplishment). This is a strongly negative result, considering that Rockefeller was in office for 15 years and had clearly dominated state government all during that period. In only three areas of public activity did a substantial number of voters volunteer that they thought Rockefeller had accomplished something. Twelve percent of the electorate cited his record in education, including state aid to schools and the establishment of more state universities. Ten percent of the voters cited New York's new narcotics law and Rockefeller's stand on drugs. The same percentage mentioned Rockefeller's building or maintenance of roads and highways. Less than 5 percent of the voters cited other accomplishments,

T9



including the building of the Albany Mall, increased employment, efficient spending of state money, and improvement of transportation.

We also asked voters what they considered to be the greatest shortcomings of the Rockefeller administration. Here it is particularly significant that only 21 percent failed to cite at least one shortcoming.

By far the most frequent response was that Rockefeller had raised taxes too much; this feeling was expressed by 27 percent of all voters and by 30 percent of the Republicans and Conservatives. Among other frequently mentioned shortcomings were that Rockefeller favored upstate areas and didn't work for New York City (11 percent), that he didn't spend money wisely (10 percent), that he should not have built the Albany Mall (8 percent), and that he did not pay enough attention to mass transit and allowed fares to rise (7 percent). Other alleged shortcomings - Attica, the ending of rent control, his presidential campaigns, abortion - were each mentioned by only a handful of voters, less than 5 percent in each case.

T10

These responses give a surprisingly negative assessment of the Rockefeller record. We also asked the voters whether New York should continue in the same direction as it moved under Rockefeller. In line with their responses to other questions, voters registered a vehement "no" in response. Only 16 percent said the state should continue in the Rockefeller direction. Fully 77 percent said New York should move in a new direction.

In all parts of the state and among all income groups, the response was overwhelmingly in favor of a new direction.

T11



Interpretation

As Nelson Rockefeller left the Governorship, he left the voters in a strongly negative mood. By an overwhelming margin, Empire State voters believe that their state is off on the wrong track and that it should not continue to move in the direction in which Rockefeller steered it. Voters do not remember the Rockefeller years in a very favorable light. Their specific complaints include the raising of taxes, favoring of upstate interests, and inefficient spending.

In structuring any Democratic gubernatorial campaign this fall, the key is to provide an idea of new leadership and new direction. The voters are clearly looking for a way out of the current situation as they perceive it. With the low confidence in the Nixon administration and its handling of Watergate, this mood will be even stronger. In this context, it should be a good year for the Democrats - especially in light of the fact that Malcolm Wilson served Nelson Rockefeller faithfully for 15 years. There could be some advantage in linking Wilson directly with Rockefeller. But we think it will be even more productive to talk of the politicians of the past, to say that we should not continue with the politicians of the 1950's as we are looking ahead to the 1980's. We are not suggesting the phrase "Let's get this state moving again." But we do believe that a successful Democratic campaign for the Governorship should be run on a theme along similar lines.

Certainly one of the reasons for the lack of enchantment with the Rockefeller record is that New York voters feel that state government has been too concerned with buildings and monuments and not concerned enough with programs that relate directly to people. When we asked the voters, fully 63 percent of the electorate agreed with this point of view. Only 21 percent disagreed with the idea that the state government has been too concerned with buildings and monuments (what might be called Rockefeller's "edifice complex"). Once again, sentiment on this issue was overwhelmingly one-sided among voters of all partisan persuasions. Clearly New York is in need of fresh approaches and new ideas.

T12



Job Rating of Malcolm Wilson

Governor Malcolm Wilson has inherited the current situation from Nelson Rockefeller. When we asked the voters to evaluate Wilson's performance on the same four-part scale we have employed for other officials, we found the public's response almost a question mark. Fully 49 percent could not respond with any rating of his performance. This is the highest "no opinion" rating we have ever encountered for an incumbent Governor.

T13

Interpretation

There are two ways of looking at this unusual rating. One reading is that voters are waiting to see what Wilson's performance will be like. The second is that Wilson is not enjoying the usual "honeymoon" period enjoyed by new public officials - a period during which they receive high ratings although the public has not yet become completely familiar with them. The voters do not seem to be giving Wilson the benefit of the doubt, even in his earliest days in office. (The reader should bear in mind that our survey was conducted in mid-February 1974, when Wilson had been Governor for less than two months.)

X Even among those voters who did express an opinion, Wilson's rating was low. His positive ratings - 3 percent excellent and 18 percent good - totalled only 21 percent, while his negative ratings - 20 percent fair and 10 percent poor - totalled 30 percent. Even among Republicans, his job rating is only 31 to 26 on the positive side. Clearly, Wilson has a big job ahead of him to establish himself as a strong candidate for a full term. We will look at other ratings later which will suggest that no one else has emerged as a particularly strong candidate and that Governor Wilson is not disliked or distrusted by the electorate. But he will have to establish himself as an individual, as a formidable leader - or else he will go down to defeat in the backwash of negative sentiment about Governor Rockefeller. The next three months will be critical for Malcolm Wilson. It is probably too early to come up with a hard appraisal of Wilson's strengths and weaknesses. But his current job rating is not decisive, and he does not have a large core



This gives us a picture of where New York Stands today. The voters are yearning for new Leadership and a shift in direction away from the Rockefeller years. As yet, Malcolm Wilson has not come close to satisfying this yearning. Let us turn now to the specific qualities New York voters are looking for in their next Governor.

Qualities Sought in a Governor

Even more pressing than the electorate's yearning for a new direction is the desire for another quality - a desire which is typical of the Watergate era. When we asked voters to volunteer what special qualities they looked for in a Governor, an amazing 47 percent mentioned honesty, sincerity, trust. This set of attributes was mentioned particularly often - by more than 50 percent of those we asked - by white voters and Republicans. After honesty, all other qualities were mentioned far less often. Only 19 percent of the voters said that the next Governor needs to work for the people and be concerned with their problems. Nine percent said they were looking for a Governor who would support the common man or the working man. Nine percent talked about the need for a strong leader, and 7 percent cited the need for someone qualified and experienced. Six percent of the voters wanted a Governor who stands up for what he believes. Four percent talked about the ability to communicate with people. These latter responses are not particularly remarkable; they are the sort of thing people always say they are looking for in high officeholders. The significance in the response to this question is that a staggering percentage of voters are looking first of all for honesty. This is more than a catchword or a slogan. The voters are deeply convinced that they must support only those politicians they can trust as completely honest, and after 1972 they are not about to grant that trust easily.

T14



We used a second method to understand what qualities voters are looking for in their Governor. We handed each of our respondents a list of 14 qualities that people might feel were important, and asked each voter to select the one or two most important. The one quality that we omitted (quite purposely) from this list was honesty, because we believed that it would be of great importance to a very large percentage of the voters and thought that its presence would decrease the choice of any of the other qualities listed. We did use a phrase which means basically the same thing - "high ethical standards."

The quality most frequently selected by the voters was "experienced," which was mentioned by 49 percent of all voters and by 68 percent of those living in Manhattan and the Bronx. "Effective" was mentioned by 43 percent of all voters, and by over half the voters in the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx, and Queens. The third most frequently mentioned quality was that of fairness - 40 percent of the voters selected this as a quality vital in the next Governor. Interestingly enough, 55 percent of the blacks mentioned fairness, as well as 63 percent of the voters from Queens. This similarity suggests the possibility of at least a semantic rapprochement between blacks and white homeowners in New York City. The selection of these three qualities is hardly novel; rather, it suggests that some of the standard qualities people have looked for in politicians over the years remain important.

After experience, effectiveness, and fairness, voters selected four other qualities which we would consider of secondary importance.

"Innovative" was cited by 29 percent; this quality was particularly important to younger voters and those in the suburbs. "High ethical standards" was mentioned by 29 percent and was particularly important

T15



to Irish-American voters and those in the western half of upstate New York. Intelligence was a virtue mentioned by 23 percent - and 41 percent of the blacks. "Compromiser, works well with everybody" was mentioned by 21 percent of the state's voters.

These seven qualities represent the main characteristics the voters are looking for. Other descriptive terms, such as "thrifty," "stable," "dynamic," "humble," and "religious," were selected far less often as the one or two most important of the 14.

Next, we asked voters to select which qualities were least important in the next Governor, again from the same list of 14. The results were almost the inverse of the responses to the previous question. Those qualities which many voters had rated as most important - experienced, effective, fair - were mentioned as least important by only 2 or 3 percent of the voters. Those qualities infrequently picked as most important were most often picked as least important: "a religious person, good set of values," (32 percent); "humble, down to earth" (29 percent); and "hard-nosed, forceful" (28 percent).

T16

Then, in order to see which qualities were most important in the context of a contest between two candidates, we asked the voters to choose between two unnamed hypothetical candidates defined only by a pair of qualities. The results proved revealing. When we asked the voters to choose between a candidate who is innovative and fair and one who is religious and experienced in government, they chose the innovative and fair candidate by almost a 3 to 1 margin - 63 percent to 22 percent. The innovative and fair candidate received heavy support from all groups in the electorate. Democrats gave this candidate an even larger margin than did state voters generally. Even among Republicans, 61 percent



preferred the combination of innovative and fair - just 29 percent picked the religious and experienced candidate. Support for the religious and experienced candidate was greatest among Protestant voters, at 30 percent; perhaps surprisingly, only 22 percent of Catholic voters made that choice.

We also asked the voters to choose between a candidate who is dynamic and effective and one who is thrifty and forceful. Here the margin was 2 to 1: 58 percent for the dynamic and effective candidate, 28 percent for the thrifty and forceful candidate. Democrats favored the dynamic and effective candidate by very large margins, and Republicans gave such a candidate a 56 to 36 percent edge. On this pairing of characteristics, there was considerable variation among responses in the different parts of the state. New York City and suburban voters came out overwhelmingly for the dynamic and effective candidate. But in the upstate areas, the qualities of thriftiness and forcefulness obviously attracted support. In the eastern half of the upstate region, often the most Republican part of the state, the thrifty and forceful candidate came out ahead by a narrow 44 to 42 margin; in the western part of upstate New York, the dynamic and effective candidate was preferred by only a 50 to 42 percent edge.

T18

Interpretation

These pairings tend to reinforce the conclusions we have drawn from answers to other questions about the qualities people are seeking in a Governor. Qualities such as thrift, forcefulness, and religiousness were not selected from the list of 14 qualities by large percentages of voters; and when we offered a hypothetical candidate with these qualities, the same voters obviously preferred a candidate with other qualities - the qualities they had said they valued more highly. Even when linked with experience, a quality many voters selected from the list, religiousness was still not a major asset.



It will be noted that the qualities of the losing candidates in these pairings are those that have been, or may be, ascribed to Governor Malcolm Wilson, at least in the media. However, these results should not be taken as an indication that a man with these qualities can automatically be defeated. It is more important that his opponent be someone who can affirmatively demonstrate to the electorate that he or she possesses those qualities the people say they value more highly: innovativeness, fairness, dynamism, effectiveness. As we shall see, the Democrats who have been considered for the Governorship have some distance to go in this regard.

× All of this material helps to bring out the underlying importance of restructuring state government from the top. Voters naturally want a person who is big enough to handle the problems of state government but they want much more besides. New York has been under a "benevolent dictatorship" for the past 16 years, and what voters are saying now is that they need a leader who will be responsive to the needs of the people, who will treat everyone fairly. Voters are also saying that the state is facing some serious problems, and that the state will need a leader who will deal with these problems effectively and provide some immediate remedies. The remedies must provide some innovative approaches.

In structuring a Gubernatorial campaign, any successful candidate must become more accessible to the voters and look for a great deal of one-to-one contact. Although many pros would argue that this is an inefficient method of campaigning, we would counter this by suggesting that the media coverage of such a campaign would create a strong positive reaction. Furthermore, we would suggest the importance of scheduling more informal appearances rather than just set speech formats. Finally, with regard to media, the cleverly produced production spots used so effectively in the Nixon and Rockefeller campaigns could be poorly received in 1974.

Other Factors Influencing the Voters

Finally, we asked voters how Watergate has affected the way in which they evaluate candidates. One voter in three--33 percent of our respondents-- said Watergate had no effect on their evaluation, either because all politicians are crooks or because they could not judge a person till in office-- or, presumably, because the voters thought their means of evaluation were already sufficient. However, the other two-thirds of the voters appear to have less faith in politicians and to approach the question of candidate evaluation more skeptically.

T19



Interpretation.

The voters will be looking at candidates, including those they have not heard much about, with a jaundiced eye. Candidates who are able to portray themselves as honest and fair will be greatly rewarded. But the voters this year are likely to be sterner critics than they have been in the past. We do not believe that a heavy media campaign, taken alone, can convince voters who are this skeptical that a candidate is the kind of person they want to support. Rather, candidates will have to develop closer ties with the electorate; they will have to mingle with voters and be available, accessible, and responsive to them.

Just as Nelson Rockefeller's record is in bad odor with the voters, so are his campaign tactics of expensive and sophisticated advertising. There must be more one-to-one contact with voters. Obviously, this is extremely difficult to achieve in New York with its 18 million citizens. But the voters must have a feeling that they can relate to candidates, and not just by watching television. The next Governor will have to conduct a campaign and an administration which will allow voters enough access so that, in their skeptical mood, they can satisfy themselves that the candidate is the kind of Governor they want.

*- Forums
- just what
about
city rules*

We also asked voters which party they thought would better be able to eliminate corruption in government. Twenty-eight percent of all voters said the Democratic party, 12 percent said the Republican, 28 percent volunteered that both would be about the same and 19 percent volunteered--in an expression of extreme cynicism--that neither party would be able to eliminate corruption. About half of all Democrats said they thought their party would be better able to eliminate corruption, and less than 3 percent of the Democrats preferred the Republicans in this regard. Republicans tended to be highly cynical. Only 31 percent thought their own party would better eliminate corruption, while 28 percent of Republicans volunteered that the parties would be about the same and 22 percent said neither party could do the job.

T20



Finally, we asked voters which party was more responsive to the needs of selected groups. New York voters believed, by large margins, that the ^a
X Democrats could handle the problems of various groups better. There was one exception: 53 percent of the voters said that the Republicans would be more responsive to upstate problems--hardly a surprising finding in light of the New York Republican party's long history of support in this part of the state.

T21



SECTION III
THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY FOR GOVERNOR



In one respect, this year appears to be no different from other election years in New York: the Democratic Party once again seems headed into a divisive internal contest for the gubernatorial nomination. This section of the report is intended to determine which candidate has the most support at this early stage of the campaign and, perhaps more important, to indicate what is necessary to put together a winning ticket for the Democratic Party in the general election.

We began by asking Democratic voters to select their first and second choices for the Democratic nomination for Governor from among eight possible candidates. Overall, better than four out of five Democrats were able to make a selection. The favorite of these voters was Howard Samuels, who received 22 percent of first-choice support. Second was John Lindsay with 21 percent first-choice support, but as we will see in a moment, his support is confined to a small constituency. These two possible candidates could be considered the frontrunners; all the other possible candidates showed very little support. Interestingly enough, Robert Wagner, who left Gracie Mansion almost 10 years ago, received 11 percent of the first-choice support to rank third. Fourth is Bess Meyerson, with 9 percent first-choice support. Meyerson's rating is fascinating, for as we shall see later she is the single most popular public figure in the state; but Democratic voters nevertheless do not seem ready to accept her as a possible Governor. Samuel Stratton, the upstate Congressman, received 5 percent first-choice support, while Hugh Carey and Ogden Reid, the two most likely candidates along with Samuels, received only 4 percent each. Finally, Basil Paterson received just 2 percent of the first-choice support.

T22



Interpretation

Howard Samuels is clearly ahead. But 22 percent is a very small hard-core percentage of the vote. Another way to look at it is to say that 78 percent of the Democratic voters find somebody else--or nobody--preferable. As we will see from all our results, Howard Samuels is ahead. But he still has a job to do if he is to put together a coalition that can win the primary as well as the General Election. Others before us have looked at results of polls in early 1970 and early 1962 which showed Arthur Goldberg and Robert Morgenthau with about the same amount of strength, and we know what happened in those general elections and in the 1970 primary.

Congressman Ogden Reid, though he had been campaigning diligently for three months at the time this survey was made, still has no solid base of support. The question raised by this data is whether Ogden Reid will be able to become a serious candidate; he must be considered at present to be in a struggle for survival as a viable candidate. Although the primary is probably six months away, the fact that Reid stands at 4 percent does not bode well for him.

We do not believe that Carey's 4 percent showing is quite as meaningful as Reid's. At the time the poll was taken, Carey was just beginning to emerge as a candidate. This performance certainly indicates low recognition, and it is clear that Carey has a hard job ahead of him. However, his showing here does not necessarily indicate that he cannot do that job.

The fact that John Lindsay does so well cannot be taken as an indication that he would be a strong candidate. Instead, it just shows that he retains, after eight years as mayor, some hard-core support. The Wagner performance shows us very little except high name identification. To us, it is a sign that the voters have not yet focused closely on this election, for if they had they would realize that Wagner is highly unlikely to run.

We also asked Democratic voters to name their second choice among the eight possible candidates listed. The results were in a close ratio to first-choice support. Once again, it appears that voter support has yet to jell.

In addition to asking Democratic voters about their first and second choices for Governor, we also asked them if any of the eight possible candidates listed would be unacceptable to them. None of the announced

T22



candidates--Samuels, Reid, or Carey--was found unacceptable by more than 5 percent of the Democratic voters. The three candidates unacceptable to significant percentages of Democrats were John Lindsay, unacceptable to 23 percent of the Democrats, Robert Wagner, 14 percent, and Bess Meyerson, 11 percent. Although each of these three possible candidates receives some first-choice support, they are found to be unacceptable by even larger percentages of the Democratic voters. Lindsay, in particular, polarizes the Democratic electorate. Altogether, 44 percent have strong views on him, finding him either their first choice or unacceptable. This leaves an unusually small percentage of the Democrats with anything like neutral feelings toward the former Mayor. In a large many-candidate primary, Lindsay would be very formidable, but he would be very weak in any two- or three-candidate primary or in the general election.

T23

We then asked the Democratic voters to choose from smaller numbers of candidates. First we asked them to choose from among four candidates:

Carey, Reid, Samuels, and Stratton. Howard Samuels is the decided leader, with 39 percent of the Democratic support. Carey receives 11 percent, Stratton 10 percent, and Reid trails with 6 percent. Most significant is the fact that 32 percent of the Democrats said they were undecided. Samuels does best with blacks and Jews: close to half the Democrats in these groups support him. Carey, naturally, does particularly well (26 percent) in his home borough of Brooklyn. Stratton receives the bulk of his support in his home area, the eastern half of upstate New York (Albany-Syracuse), where he leads the other candidates with 41 percent of the Democratic votes.

T24

Reid shows slightly greater support in the New York suburbs than in the rest of the state, but even here in his home territory he receives the support of X only 14 percent of the Democrats. The fact that 32 percent of the electorate



--and 43 percent of the blacks--are undecided is an indication that the primary is definitely still up for grabs. While Samuels is clearly the frontrunner, the potential support for a Carey or possibly a Reid candidacy cannot be completely discounted.

*115
by L.W.L.*

One point that may be of interest is that Samuels receives 46 percent of the men's votes, but only 33 percent of the women choose him. Equally significant is the fact that 40 percent of the women are undecided, as against 24 percent of the men. Samuels' identification with off-track betting (which, as we will see, is considerably more popular with men than with women) and his recent divorce may cause him particular problems with the female half of this electorate. Other than that, Samuels shows no major weaknesses with any segments of the electorate.

We also paired each of the two Congressmen, Carey and Reid, head to head with the former Off-Track Betting czar: In each instance, Howard Samuels receives about 50 percent of the vote, with no more than 15 percent going to his rival. Although their areas of strength differ on a regional basis, their overall showings are virtually the same.

T25, 26

Our match race between Reid and Carey indicates the low level of recognition for these two men. A huge 61 percent of the voters had no choice in this election. Among no segment of the electorate did the proportion of undecideds drop below 50 percent. Among blacks, 82 percent had no opinion.

T27

Interpretation

Howard Samuels is indeed the frontrunner--at this stage. This electorate is still very volatile, and these results should be read in that light. Reid seems to have attracted little attention despite the fact that he has been openly in the race for several months. There still remains time for these results to change.

Certainly, on the face of it, the head-to-head matchings look very encouraging for Howard Samuels. But we would remind



the reader that this is still very much up-for-grabs. Indeed, the results may well resemble the figures Samuels could have seen in 1970--except that Samuels was the underdog that time. Yet in 1970 Howard Samuels almost beat Arthur Goldberg in the Democratic primary. That Samuels has a job to do is clear when we recall that only 22 percent of the Democratic voters named him as their first choice for the nomination. The results of this survey indicate that Samuels probably can count, today, on the support of between 35 and 40 percent of the Democratic electorate in a three-man primary, but much of this support is soft and the Democratic electorate as a whole is highly volatile. At this stage, it appears possible that Carey may have the potential to mount a major challenge and in the end be the most potent opponent.

Despite the fact that Democratic voters have not yet settled on a single gubernatorial candidate, fully 54 percent of them feel that the chances of their party's winning the Governorship in 1974 are better than average.

T28

By way of comparison, only 3 percent consider the Democrats' chances to be below average. The remaining 43 percent of the Democrats either feel that their party's chances are 50-50 or are not sure. Among those most optimistic about Democrats' chances are Democratic suburbanites in the New York metropolitan area, 67 percent of whom think the Democrats have a better chance than usual, and well-to-do Democratic voters, 62 percent of whom are optimistic on this score.

Interpretation

We consider this Democratic optimism good news. After 16 years of Nelson Rockefeller and Malcolm Wilson, Democrats seem to be feeling that it's time for a change, and that 1974 could, at long last, be their year. This type of optimistic atmosphere must be duplicated and nurtured at the Democratic Convention. To the extent that Democrats finally believe they have a chance to win, there will be an incentive to party unity and reasonable compromise--in contrast to much that has happened in the past. There is a great difference between picking a candidate who everyone thinks will lose, and choosing the next Governor of New York. Hopefully, Democrats at the convention will believe that they are doing the latter--and act accordingly.



the reader that this is still very much up-for-grabs. Indeed, the results may well resemble the figures Samuels could have seen in 1970--except that Samuels was the underdog that time. Yet in 1970 Howard Samuels almost beat Arthyr Goldberg in the Democratic primary. That Samuels has a job to do is clear when we recall that only 22 percent of the Democratic voters named him as their first choice for the nomination. The results of this survey indicate that Samuels probably can count, today, on the support of between 35 and 40 percent of the Democratic electorate in a three-man primary, but much of this support is soft and the Democratic electorate as a whole is highly volatile. At this stage, it appears possible that Carey may have the potential to mount a major challenge and in the end be the most potent opponent.

Despite the fact that Democratic voters have not yet settled on a single gubernatorial candidate, fully 54 percent of them feel that the chances of their party's winning the Governorship in 1974 are better than average.

T28

By way of comparison, only 3 percent consider the Democrats' chances to be below average. The remaining 43 percent of the Democrats either feel that their party's chances are 50-50 or are not sure. Among those most optimistic about Democrats' chances are Democratic suburbanites in the New York metropolitan area, 67 percent of whom think the Democrats have a better chance than usual, and well-to-do Democratic voters, 62 percent of whom are optimistic on this score.

Interpretation

We consider this Democratic optimism good news. After 16 years of Nelson Rockefeller and Malcolm Wilson, Democrats seem to be feeling that it's time for a change, and that 1974 could, at long last, be their year. This type of optimistic atmosphere must be duplicated and nurtured at the Democratic Convention. To the extent that Democrats finally believe they have a chance to win, there will be an incentive to party unity and reasonable compromise--in contrast to much that has happened in the past. There is a great difference between picking a candidate who everyone thinks will lose, and choosing the next Governor of New York. Hopefully, Democrats at the convention will believe that they are doing the latter--and act accordingly.



When we asked Democratic voters which of the three announced candidates would have the best chance of defeating Malcolm Wilson in November, nearly half (48 percent) answered Howard Samuels. Ten percent named Hugh Carey and 6 percent Ogden Reid. Thirty percent were not sure which of these candidates had the best chance.

T29

We also asked these Democrats to tell us, in their own words, why they thought the Democratic party always lost statewide elections. (Only one Democratic candidate for Governor or Senator, Robert Kennedy, has won in New York since 1954.) Among the explanations most often volunteered were the concentration of Democrats in New York City (mentioned by 16 percent of the Democrats), a lack of good candidates in the Democratic Party (14 percent); a need for more unity in the Democratic Party (11 percent), that the Democrats do not have enough money (8 percent). Twenty-eight percent of the Democrats said they did not know why the Democrats have consistently been losing statewide elections these past 20 years.

T30

Interpretation

These responses indicate that the Democratic party is in great need of unity. The party desperately needs a convention which draws people together in support of Democrats, not a convention which--as so many have done in the past--pulls things apart. We will focus shortly on the importance of regional support for Democrats, but it is important to note here that the most frequent answer to the question of why the Democrats always lose is that the party is too much a New York City party. The convention will be important in shaping the mood of the voters and in setting the framework within which they will see the subsequent primary (if any) and the general election. The aim at the convention should be to broaden the Democratic coalition and to convince the public that the Democrats have good candidates, for the lack of good candidates was the reason second most often volunteered as a cause for Democratic defeats in the past. The convention is more than a selection process; it is also a process which will structure the electorate's view of the Democratic party and its candidates.



To find some of the reasons for lack of unity in the Democratic party in the past, we sought to explore people's perceptions of how the party actually works. We asked voters to weigh the relative amounts of influence of 12 different groups in the Democratic Party. Two groups are seen as having too much influence by the majority of Democrats. Seventy-three percent of those Democrats who expressed an opinion said party leaders had too much influence, and 62 percent said union leaders had too much influence. *Very important*

About the Upstate region, 45 percent of those with an opinion said that they thought it had too much influence in the Party; 31 percent said it had about the right amount, and 24 percent too little. The Democrats who had an opinion on the influence of the New York City area were split almost evenly. Thirty-four percent said the City area had too much influence, 33 percent said about the right amount, and 33 percent said too little.

But when we find out which segments of the Democratic voters believe these areas to have too much or too little influence, we come to the essence of the Democratic Party's disunity. For example, better than 65 percent of the Democratic voters in New York City who expressed an opinion said that Upstate has too much influence in the party, and only 7 percent of those City Democrats believed that Upstate has too little influence.

Among Democrats in the upstate area, however, 40 percent of those who expressed an opinion said that Upstate had too little influence. On the question of whether the New York City area has too much or too little influence in the Democratic party, there was an analogous pattern. In New York City, less than 10 percent of the Democrats who had an opinion felt that the City had too much influence, while fully 65 percent of the Upstate Democrats expressing an opinion said that the City area had too much influence.

*City
Ticket*



The same type of feeling is visible in certain segments of the electorate. Sixty-one percent of the women who expressed an opinion said women
had too little influence in the Democratic party. Likewise, fully 94 per-
cent of the blacks with an opinion said that blacks had too little influence
in the party. Interestingly, even in union households, more than three-
fifths felt that union leaders had too much influence in the Democratic
Party--a percentage virtually identical to that of the electorate as a whole.

However, some groups did not feel so strongly that they were deprived
of the proper amount of influence. Seventy-two percent of Jews with an
opinion, for example, felt that Jews had too much or the right amount of
influence in the Party--a percentage not far below the 82 percent of the
electorate with an opinion which felt the same way. However, almost every-
one felt that "people like you" had too little influence. No one--liter-
ally zero percent--felt that "people like you" had too much influence in
the party, while 70 percent of those with an opinion felt that "people
like you" had too little influence.

Interpretation

It is clear that sizable segments of the Democratic party
in New York believe that they have too little influence and
that those whose interests they perceive as antagonistic to
theirs have too much influence within the party. These Demo-
crats are highly suspicious of each other, and in this atmos-
phere in the past, Democrats seem to have concentrated on de-
feating or blocking the aspirations of Democrats with contrary
interests rather than on defeating the Republicans. Nor is
there any faith that party or union leaders can resolve these
conflicts. On the contrary, all segments seem agreed that
party and union leaders --although neither group is very
numerous--have too much influence, and that "people like
you" have too little.

Drift,
Trends!



New York Democrats approach the selection of a gubernatorial candidate in an optimistic mood about the general election, and at a time when voters of all sorts are plainly unhappy with the direction the state government has followed in the past 16 years of Republican rule. But the Democrats retain this residue of mutual mistrust, which could still split the party and allow the Republicans to win again. We believe that the results of our survey show that the greatest mistrust is between City and Upstate voters. Here there were the largest differences in perceptions of which groups had the most and least influence. By way of comparison, Democratic voters were far less likely to believe that various ethnic groups, including those whose interests they may consider antagonistic, had too much influence in the Party.

Priv

So the task of the Democratic Convention is to put together a ticket which will be perceived by both New York City and Upstate New Yorkers as satisfying their legitimate expectations. Both Upstate and the City must become convinced that they are getting their share. And, to make it more difficult, this must be done without heavyhanded use of influence by party and labor leaders, for Democrats all over the state agree that they already have too much influence. This will not be an easy task; in some ways, probably, the Democratic Party might be better off if there were no Convention at all and the nomination were determined solely by a primary. In the meantime, those with the ability to shape the convention process must do so with these goals in mind, in order not to decrease drastically the chances of a Democratic victory in November.

MANY
CITIES
"LITTLE"
CROWD
-
THE
UNION
ENFORCE
PARK

T32

We also asked Democratic voters to identify the groups which they feel have the most influence in the Democratic Party. The responses to this question reiterated the point we have just made--that most segments of the electorate feel "the other guy" has the power in the Democratic party. Party leaders were identified as most influential by 57 percent of the Democrats, and union leaders by 32 percent. Eighteen percent of the Democrats identified the Upstate area as the most influential; significantly, too, that was the answer given by 26 percent of the Democrats in Manhattan and the Bronx and by 25 percent of the Jewish Democrats--groups which presumably conceive their interests to be somewhat different from those of Upstate voters. Fourteen percent of the Democrats identified New York City as the most influential



area, including fully 37 percent of the Democrats in the Upstate East area. This is the key: perceptions of party and union bossism and rivalry between the City and Upstate are the major sources of Democrats' dissatisfaction with the way their party works.

These findings provide one perspective on the difficulties Democrats face in uniting their party. To check on some other viewpoints, we asked the voters the bull's-eye question: We had these Democratic voters assume that the party had chosen a highly qualified ticket which did not include representation from certain specified groups, and we asked our respondents to tell us whether they considered that exclusion very important or not that important. We also asked them to pick the group whose exclusion from the ticket they would consider the most important. Two sets of responses stood out: those of City and of Upstate people. Fully 55 percent of all Democrats who had an opinion felt that it was very important that a qualified ticket include a person from New York City.

T33

In addition, 41 percent of all Democrats who had an opinion felt that it was very important to have an Upstate person on the ticket. Particularly significant is the fact that, even in the City, close to 40 percent of the Democrats felt that the inclusion of an Upstater was very important. Among Upstate Democrats with an opinion, more than half felt the lack of an Upstater would be a very important omission. Only New York City area suburbanites expressed a feeling that inclusion of an Upstater was not that important.

These two omissions--of a City person or an Upstater--would be considered the most critical by New York Democrats. Two other kinds of candidates were judged to be extremely important and could be very helpful on the ticket. However, their omission would be less critical. Some 27 percent of all Democratic voters with an opinion say the omission of a woman



would be a very important shortcoming. Interestingly enough, 40 percent of the blacks expressed this opinion, as did 32 percent of the women who had an opinion and 42 percent of the young voters. Twenty-seven percent also thought that the omission of a black person would be very important. Of the blacks who had an opinion, 53 percent felt this way, as did 18 percent of the whites. Of far less consequence, apparently, would be the omission from the ticket of people with Puerto Rican, Jewish, Italian, Irish, or Polish backgrounds.

At the same time, we asked these Democratic voters what would be the one most important omission from the ticket. Twenty-five percent of the Democrats said that the lack of a City person would be most important. Another 10 percent mentioned a black person, 9 percent an Upstate person, and 7 percent a woman. Forty percent of the Democrats either said none of these groups would be an important omission or were not sure.

Interpretation

The conclusion we draw from these responses is, once again, that regional balance is essential on the Democratic ticket. In 1970, the Democratic ticket consisted of three residents of New York City (Goldberg, Paterson, Levitt) and two residents of Westchester County suburbs (Halinsky, Ottinger). If the Democrats are to capture the Governorship in 1974, they will need far better regional balance.

The inclusion or exclusion of other types of candidates has, in our view, a minimal effect by comparison. The presence of a black or a woman on the ticket could be helpful, but is not essential. As for other ethnic groups, less than one-fifth Democratic voters considered the inclusion of any very important, and when asked to select the most important possible exclusion, only 11 percent of all Democrats picked persons in any one of these categories (Puerto Rican, Jewish, Italian, Irish, Polish) put together.



Never in the last 20 years has there been a brighter election year prospect for the Democratic party in New York. But this rosy outlook could be completely changed if Democrats, particularly at their convention, manage to pull the party apart rather than move it together. Of course there may well be a primary which will take care of the actual selection of candidates. But the picture the voters have of the Democratic party will be shaped, for better or for worse, by what happens at the convention. If voters get the idea that party bosses and union leaders are choosing a ticket entirely from New York City and Scarsdale as happened in 1970--then chances for Democratic victory in November will be considerably diminished. But if voters see a convention of Democrats coming together, and see them giving legitimate representation on the ticket to both City and Upstate interests, then chances for a Democratic victory in 1974 will be enhanced. As we said before, this will not be an easy task. But it is one that is essential if past defeats are not to be repeated.



SECTION IV
A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE GENERAL ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR



In this section of our report, we will take a cursory glance at the various pairings for Governor. The significance of this section is not as the indicator of the final results, but instead as an indication of where people are and how they have to be moved. At the outset, we would make the point that not a single candidate has really emerged from the pack. In many of the states where we are currently conducting surveys, 85 to 90 percent of the voters have made up their minds whom they will vote for in November. In New York, by contrast, more than 30 percent of the voters are still undecided. We believe that this large undecided segment is a result of two factors. First, the Democratic party has been unable to come up with a single candidate who enjoys wide visibility. Second, the voters have not yet been much exposed to Malcolm Wilson; many voters do not have strong opinions about the incumbent and are unwilling so far to commit themselves to vote for or against him.

SUMMARY TABLE
STATEWIDE RESULTS IN GUBERNATORIAL PAIRINGS

T34-37

Malcolm Wilson vs. Hugh Carey

	%
Wilson	34
Carey	21
Not Sure/Wouldn't Vote	45

Malcolm Wilson vs. Ogden Reid

	%
Wilson	35
Reid	20
Not Sure/Wouldn't Vote	45

Malcolm Wilson vs. Bess Meyerson

	%
Wilson	43
Meyerson	24
Not Sure/Wouldn't Vote	33

Perry Duryea vs. Ogden Reid

	%
Duryea	14
Reid	28
Not Sure/Wouldn't Vote	58



Perry Duryea vs. Howard Samuels

	%
Duryea	16
Samuels	43
Not Sure/Wouldn't Vote	41

Malcolm Wilson vs. Howard Samuels

	%
Wilson	32
Samuels	36
Not Sure/Wouldn't Vote	32

As the above pairings show, Malcolm Wilson is currently ahead of three potential Democratic candidates: Carey, Reid, and Meyerson. But at this point the Governor trails Howard Samuels. In the unlikely event that Perry Duryea would be the Republican nominee, our pairings indicate that, at this time, either Samuels or Reid would run ahead of him. However, the extremely large percentage of undecided voters in any pairing involving Duryea makes these results not very meaningful.

Let us now look more closely at the pairings which show how the various Democrats would run against Malcolm Wilson at this time.

Wilson-Carey. Here the Governor leads by 34 to 21 percent, but fully 45 percent of the electorate is still undecided. We feel that little can be concluded from these figures, except that this contest is still up for grabs. Wilson manages to hold 61 percent of the support of his fellow Republicans and Conservatives. Carey receives fewer than half the votes of strong Democrats and only 30 percent of the votes of weak Democrats. Of the Independents, 63 percent are undecided. Carey runs ahead among Catholics by a 36 to 21 percent margin.

T34

Wilson-Reid. There is no significant difference between the results of the Wilson-Reid and Wilson-Carey pairings. Twenty percent of the voters said they would support Ogden Reid, 35 percent were for Malcolm Wilson, and 45 percent either were undecided or said they would not vote. Reid's

T34



percentages among the various voting blocs closely resemble Carey's. It is interesting to note that Jewish voters pick Carey over Wilson by a 36 to 25 percent margin--a difference of 11 percent--while Reid leads Wilson among Jews by only 32 to 28 percent, or 4 percent. While this difference is not statistically significant, it is clear that Reid, in spite of his excellent credentials as a supporter of Israel, has not yet won any extraordinary support among Jewish voters.

Wilson-Meyerson. The Governor leads Bess Meyerson by a larger margin than he does either Carey or Reid; Wilson is ahead of the former consumer affairs leader by a 43 to 24 percent margin, with 33 percent unsure. Frankly, we were surprised at this outcome, since Meyerson, as we shall see, is the most popular political figure on our feeling thermometer. Even among women, Meyerson loses to Wilson by a 39 to 27 percent margin. We think Meyerson's poor showing here suggests that voters in New York, at least, may be very reluctant to elect Bess Meyerson or any woman as Governor. In this pairing with Meyerson, Wilson's strongest support comes from Catholics (45 percent), and even among weak Democrats, Meyerson gets only 29 percent of the votes compared to Wilson's 32 percent.

T34,35

Interpretation

We consider Meyerson's weak showing an indication that New York voters are not ready to elect a woman as Governor this year--this despite the fact that, according to newspaper reports, Representative Ella Grasso is a strong candidate for Governor in neighboring Connecticut, and despite the fact that in 1973 Meyerson ran well in surveys when paired against other potential candidates for mayor of New York City. Although a significant number of New York voters would like to see a woman on their party's ticket this year, it seems obvious that they do not want a woman to get the gubernatorial nomination.

There is little significance in the pairings of Wilson with either Carey or Reid. The results, in our opinion, are as devastating to Malcolm Wilson as to anybody. Although he runs ahead of both Carey and Reid, he wins such a small segment



of the total electorate that his seeming victory is actually a showing of weakness. He is far better known, as we shall see, than either Carey or Reid, and Wilson is of course the incumbent--and yet when the voters are asked to decide between him and two comparatively unknown candidates, a massive 45 percent are unable or unwilling to make a decision. This situation suggests a twist on the old adage in politics that "you can't beat nobody with nobody." Malcolm Wilson's lack-luster performance against candidates who are still, to many voters, "nobody", show that he, though Governor of the nation's second largest state, is still "nobody" himself.

T37

Wilson-Samuels. This is the only pairing which gave what we consider significant results. Thirty-six percent of the voters were for Samuels, 32 percent for Wilson, 30 percent were undecided, and 2 percent said they would not vote. Most important is the fact that Samuels runs particularly well in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Queens. Brooklyn, in contrast, remains up for grabs; 44 percent of the voters there and on Staten Island are undecided, and 6 percent said they would not vote. In the suburbs, Wilson is winning quite handily, by a 45 to 29 percent margin, while in the western half of Upstate New York (Buffalo, Rochester) Samuels is ahead by a 40 to 31 percent margin. Wilson's 44 to 29 percent edge in the Upstate East section gives him a small lead in the Upstate region as a whole, but his biggest margin--and Samuels' greatest weakness--is in the New York City suburbs.

When the electorate is divided according to party affiliation, Samuels is ahead among strong Democrats by 63 to 17 percent. But among weak Democrats, the former OIB Chairman receives only 53 percent of the votes, while 28 percent are undecided and up for grabs. If Samuels is having difficulty with weak Democrats, Wilson encounters similar problems among Republicans. Even here, among members of his own party, the Governor receives only 59 percent of the votes, while 26 percent report they are undecided. Among Independents, a whopping 40 percent are undecided; Samuels leads here by a small 32 to 24 percent margin. Samuels, in order to achieve a commanding



lead, must strengthen considerably his standing among weak Democrats. Wilson, to strengthen his position, must improve his standing with his own Republicans. Among the Independents, neither candidate is running well enough to win.

Next, let us examine the Wilson-Samuels results according to the voters' religious backgrounds. Among Catholic voters (and here, as elsewhere, Puerto Ricans were not included in the Catholic category), Samuels holds a narrow 36 to 31 percent lead. But a full 31 percent of the Catholic vote is up for grabs. This is one of the pivotal blocs in the New York electorate. Among Protestants, Wilson leads by 45 to 29 percent, while among Jews, Samuels has a 47 to 22 percent lead.

When we divide the electorate by race, we find most notably that a huge 37 percent of black voters have yet to make up their minds; among those with an opinion, though, 5 out of 6 go to Samuels. White voters split almost dead even.

As we have noted before, Samuels' standing is weaker among women than among men. The former OTB Chairman receives only 34 percent of women's votes, though he gets 40 percent of men's votes against Malcolm Wilson. The primary difference here shows up among the undecided voters. Thirty-three percent of women voters are undecided; while only 25 percent of the men say they have not yet made up their minds.

Abortion

When we look at the preferences of the various income groups, surprisingly enough, we find that the Democrat Samuels does better among high-income than among low-income voters. Although Samuels leads among all three income categories, he does best (40 percent) with voters whose annual incomes are over \$15,000; he receives 34 percent of the votes of those in the middle income bracket, and 35 percent of the votes of those with incomes below \$7,000. Wilson, too, receives higher support as one ascends the income



ladder; the reason for this is that considerably fewer of the high-income voters fall into the undecided category.

When the electorate is broken down by age, a very definite pattern emerges. Thirty-eight percent of the voters between 18 and 24 are undecided, while Samuels carries the remainder by a hefty 40 to 22 percent margin, nearly 2 to 1. Samuels carries the 25-34 age category by a margin of nearly 3 to 2; he continues to lead, although by a smaller margin, among family-aged (35-49) voters. Voters over 50 prefer Malcolm Wilson by a margin of approximately 5 to 4. Clearly, Samuels has a need to increase his support among older voters. At the same time, he would appear to have some potential for winning over at least a part of the large number of undecided younger voters, particularly those under 35.

Let us turn now to ethnic categories. We have already seen that Samuels runs far ahead of Wilson among black and among Jewish voters. He also has a large lead among New York's largest ethnic group, Italian-Americans. Here the former OTB Chairman gets 38 percent of the votes, while Wilson wins only 20 percent; 40 percent of the Italian vote is still up for grabs. The Irish-American vote is much more evenly divided--39 percent for Samuels, 37 percent for Wilson--and also is much less likely than the Italian-American to be undecided.

Among labor union families, Samuels is comfortably ahead. But it is early in the race, and 29 percent of the voters in this category are presently undecided. The picture is rather different among those voters who are government workers. Wilson receives 37 percent of the government workers' votes, while Samuels receives only 35 percent; 25 percent are undecided. Obviously, those who believe that the best interests of government employees would be



served by the election of a Democratic Governor have their work cut out
for them to convince government employees that this is so.

Interpretation

Malcolm Wilson is not a particularly popular Governor. He is saddled with the legacy of 15 years of the Rockefeller Administration--one which is not remembered with fondness by most New York voters. Accordingly, Democrats have their best chance in 20 years to occupy the Governor's mansion. Howard Samuels, already a three-time gubernatorial candidate, is the only possible Democratic nominee who has, at this stage, begun to emerge into the public eye. For this reason, he appears more formidable than other Democrats when matched against Wilson. But it is still too early to say that Samuels is the only candidate who can win in November.

The high undecided vote does not augur well for either side. It probably indicates, more than anything else, that voters have not yet focused on this election and that they have no particular enthusiasm for the candidates they have heard of.

Although one could point out many different segments for special attention, we would focus particularly on Catholics, weak Democrats, and Independents as pivotal groups. In addition, Samuels may well have a particular problem with women voters. And even in the segments of the electorate where he shows his greatest strength, among blacks and Jews, Samuels still is not running as strongly as he should if he is to win. Too many voters in these groups remain undecided, despite their traditional Democratic leanings.

Finally, let us conclude this section by looking at the relative strengths of Wilson's and Samuels' support. Although Malcolm Wilson is only slightly behind Howard Samuels, the Governor's support is far softer. Only 52 percent of his voters are what we would consider "hard" support, that is, only these voters indicated to our interviewers that they totally or strongly supported Wilson. At the same time, 48 percent of Wilson's



support must be characterized as weak; these voters said that they had some reservations, that they supported Wilson only slightly, or that they were not quite sure why they supported him. In contrast, 64 percent of those who preferred Howard Samuels to Malcolm Wilson said they supported him totally or strongly, while only 36 percent of Samuels' support was soft. This is good news for Howard Samuels; it is worth noting, however, that his hard support amounts to only 23 percent of the total electorate.



SECTION V

THE ISSUES



If the Republicans win the Governorship in 1974, it will be because of the issues. Although this survey did not probe the voters' views on the issues in quite the same detail as most of our surveys, it is clear to us that the issues which are most on the minds of the voters definitely work to the advantage of the Republicans. Therefore, the key for the Democrats in this election will be to move beyond a narrow focus on specific, parochial issues and to talk instead about a general thematic approach to governing the state of New York in the second half of the 1970's. In this section we will not only look at the specific issues of greatest concern to the electorate, but will also evaluate which party and candidates these issues are likely to help. In addition, we will also discuss some other potentially volatile issues. Beyond that, what really needs to be done is to construct a program for the Democratic party, to give voters cogent reasons for switching from the Republicans.

Let us begin with a summary chart. We asked voters to select, from a list of 22 problems, those which should be attacked first. In addition, we asked them to tell us whether they thought the Democrats or the Republicans would be better able to deal with each of these problems, or whether both parties would be about the same in this respect. The summary table shows the percentage of voters who rated each issue a top priority and the percentage of voters who expressed an opinion that one party could better handle an issue. Finally, we have indicated the differential between the percentage which thought the Democrats could handle the problem better and the percentage which thought the Republicans could.

T40

T39



SUMMARY TABLEHANDLING OF STATE ISSUES BY POLITICAL PARTIES*

	<u>Attack First</u> %	<u>Democrats</u> %	<u>Republicans</u> %	<u>Differential</u>
Controlling the cost of living	40	34	15	+19
Controlling crime in the streets	26	23	19	+4
Keeping taxes down	24	34	17	+17
Eliminating graft and corruption	19	29	15	+14
Providing an adequate energy supply	17	23	14	+9
Responding to the needs of people	17	43	15	+28
Getting new industry and jobs	13	39	23	+16
Dealing with problems of the cities	13	41	17	+24
Keeping government spending in line	13	33	21	+12
Curbing unemployment	11	39	16	+23
Curbing drug abuse	11	20	26	-6
Providing tax reform	11	40	19	+21
Improving welfare system	10	38	18	+20
Improving mass transit	6	33	21	+12
Cutting down air and water pollution	5	21	16	+5
Improving medical services	5	32	17	+15
Controlling hospital costs	5	27	16	+11
Improving public education	4	27	22	+5
Easing racial tensions	3	33	17	+16
Aiding parochial schools	3	33	20	+13
Reforming the prisons	2	29	17	+12
Improving roads and highways	2	18	32	-14

*Based on those who expressed an opinion.

**Total is greater than 100 percent due to multiple responses.



For purposes of interpreting these results, we add an important caveat.

When we asked voters to identify themselves by party, 46 percent indicated that they thought of themselves as Democrats and only 30 percent considered themselves Republicans. Thus, the Democrats have a 16 percent lead in registration. In evaluating the differential between the number who believe Democrats could best handle any issue and those who think Republicans could, this percent differential in party identification should be kept in mind: Any issue on which the differential in favor of the Democratic party is less than 16 percent is not an issue which works in favor of Democrats--

~~for, issues apart, the Democrats already enjoy a 16 percent advantage.~~ On its face, the above chart may look favorable to the Democrats, since they are considered more capable than the Republicans of handling 20 of the 22 issues. But on only 7 of these issues does the differential in favor of the Democrats exceed 16 percent, and on only 1 of the top 6 issues does the differential in favor of the Democrats substantially exceed 16 percent. In other words, the Democrats generally do better simply on the basis of party identification than they do when specific issues are taken into account.

One other observation should be made before we look at specific issues. The reader will note that the percentage which believes that either the Democrats or the Republicans could handle an issue better seldom adds up to anything near 100. The reason for this is that between 28 and 51 percent of those who had an opinion on each issue believed that both parties would handle it about the same. And on each issue, between 4 and 21 percent volunteered that they thought neither party could handle the issue well. Such high percentages of volunteered pessimistic responses are evidence of extreme cynicism in the electorate. In this age of Watergate, apparently many voters believe that neither party will solve basic problems.

T39



Cost of Living

The voters' cynicism is particularly evident when we consider the issue most often cited as a top priority, the high cost of living. Across the country we have found that this issue is singled out by the largest number of voters; in New York, 40 percent cited it as a top priority. When asked which party could best handle this problem, the Democrats had an advantage, with 34 percent of the voters picking them and 15 percent the Republicans. However, of far more significance is the fact that 30 percent of the voters said both parties would do equally well on handling the cost of living, and fully 21 percent of the voters said that neither party could handle it well. Voters are extremely skeptical that either party can handle the problem: 51 percent, in effect, say that their voting choice will make no difference in terms of this issue which is ranked so high as a major priority.

Interpretation

We should note that the cost of living is a national issue. New York Democrats may be able to use it to their advantage by talking about the failure of the Nixon administration to stop inflation. But on the whole, we believe that it will have relatively minor importance in the 1974 gubernatorial campaign. Too many voters are skeptical about politicians' promises in this area, and many others sensibly ask what the Governor of New York can do to stop the rising cost of living. //

Crime and Drugs

In New York, more than 1 voter out of every 4 selected "crime in the streets" as being a particularly important issue. This issue was of greatest significance to voters in Queens, where 45 percent mentioned it, and to Jewish voters, 39 percent of whom cited it. Looking more closely



at this issue, we find that 45 percent of the voters think both parties would do about the same; 13 percent volunteered that neither party would do a good job. Of the minority that did think one party would control crime better, 23 percent chose the Democrats and 19 percent the Republicans. The narrowness of this difference, in light of the fact that 16 percent more voters identify themselves as Democrats than as Republicans, is an indication that the crime issue could be used to great advantage by the Republican party. Considering the importance of this issue to the voters, the Republicans might make some real gains here. As we recall, one of the few accomplishments voters were willing to ascribe to Nelson Rockefeller was his narcotics program. Altogether, 11 percent of the voters cited drugs as a priority problem. But voters who thought the Republicans would handle it better outnumbered those who preferred the Democrats by 26 to 20 percent. This is one of the two issues, out of a total of 22, on which a plurality of voters preferred the Republicans. However, 64 percent of those voters with an opinion think that both parties would be the same, or that neither would do a good job. In order to understand better the voters' attitudes toward the crime issue, we asked them to evaluate selected anticrime measures and choose which measures they thought would be very effective.

The attitude revealed by their answers is a punitive one. Sixty-six percent

T41
of all voters and 75 percent of those in the New York City suburbs felt that giving lifetime sentences to drug pushers would be a very effective anticrime measure. Sixty-three percent of all voters and 72 percent of the suburbanites felt that stiffer sentences would be very effective.

In addition, in response to a separate question, 56 percent of New York voters favored reinstatement of the death penalty. Only 33 percent came out against capital punishment. Of all major segments of the electorate, only blacks and voters under 25 were against the death penalty.



Less punitive approaches to the crime problem were favored by only small segments of the electorate. For example, only 22 percent thought more aid to minorities would be very effective (although 46 percent of the black voters agreed with this proposition), and only 14 percent expressed confidence that free drugs for addicts would be an effective anticrime measure.

However, certain other less punitive approaches to crime, such as better rehabilitation, more community centers for youth, and better street lighting, were considered very effective by about 55 percent of all voters, and by much larger percentages (74 to 81 percent) of those in Manhattan and the Bronx. Voters are more evenly divided on the effects of more control for police (51 percent thought that would be very effective), more police (47 percent), elimination of all handguns (46 percent), and higher bail requirements (43 percent).

Interpretation

While dormant in many other states, the law and order/crime in the streets issue is still very much a part of the New York political scene. It is an issue which has to be considered as working to the advantage of the Republicans. It works to their advantage because Catholics and suburbanites, many of them obviously with Democratic backgrounds, strongly favor a punitive approach to the problem and clearly perceive the Republicans as favoring more punitive measures than the Democrats. Blacks in contrast tend to favor less punitive anticrime measures and, of course, are much more likely to support Democrats.

If there is an issue which can fragment the Democratic coalition that is developing in 1974, it is the crime in the streets/drugs issue. We would urge Democratic candidates not to allow this issue to dominate in the campaign. There are certain anticrime measures, such as better rehabilitation, more community centers, and more police, which many voters believe would be very effective and which a liberal Democrat can support without alienating any of his hard-core constituency. But even if a Democrat were to come out in favor of the punitive approaches (taking the risk of alienating blacks and Manhattan/Bronx voters), he would be hard put to convince voters who strongly support such



measures that he is more likely to implement them than the Republican candidate. In the end, the Democrats will have to decide whether to support some of Rockefeller's punitive measures, and neither choice helps the Democrat to win votes and build a majority coalition. At the risk of repetition, we say again that crime and drugs are Republican issues, and the Democrats should not let them become dominant in this campaign.

Taxes and Spending

Fully 24 percent of the voters selected the need to keep taxes down as a priority problem. Among voters with an opinion, the Democrats hold a 34 to 17 margin over the Republicans as the party best able to handle the issue. But also significant is the fact that 21 percent of the voters volunteered the opinion that neither party would keep taxes down, and 28 percent of those with an opinion thought both parties would be the same. Related to the issue of taxes is that of government spending. Thirteen percent selected this as a priority issue, and it is of particular importance to voters Upstate, where 18 percent mentioned it as a priority issue.

Another related issue, tax reform, was selected by 11 percent of the voters, with Upstate voters once again the most concerned. However, there is a vital difference between public opinion here and on the other tax and spending issues. For one thing, only 29 percent of those with an opinion rated both parties the same, and a comparatively low 12 percent volunteered that neither party would do a good job. But a full 40 percent of those with an opinion thought that the Democrats would do a better job, while only 19 percent thought Republicans would do a better job. This 21-point differential in favor of the Democrats is among the largest we found on any issue and is larger than the 16 percent advantage they hold in party identification.



Interpretation

We believe that tax reform can be used by Democrats and that it would be an apt vehicle for zeroing in on voters' discontent with the Rockefeller regime. However, we would caution against undue reliance on tax reform as an issue. Ultimately it is a rather negative issue; even a good tax reform proposal tells us little about the kind of people we are or the kind of state New York should be. By itself, it is not a good vehicle, in our opinion, for projecting a new outlook and a new approach to governing the state.

Graft and Corruption

Nineteen percent of all voters chose graft and corruption as being a priority issue, making it the issue fourth most frequently selected. However, a clear majority of voters (55 percent) said that they found little difference between the parties in terms of the ability to eliminate graft and corruption. In a previous section of this report, we mentioned the importance for the Democratic candidate of convincing the voters that he or she is completely honest and trustworthy. It is our view that graft and corruption in themselves do not constitute a campaign issue; rather, the task of the Democratic candidates is to convince voters that they embody the honesty and frankness and openness the electorate is searching for in public figures.

Energy

This issue was selected as a priority item by 17 percent of all voters. In Queens, 37 percent thought it was a critical issue. But 63 percent of the voters saw no difference between the parties on energy matters - the highest such percentage we have encountered on any issue. In addition, it is obvious that energy is largely a national issue. Like inflation, it may help the Democrats to criticize Nixon and the oil companies a little



on energy policy. But this clearly is not an issue around which a Democratic candidate for Governor could build his campaign.

Responsive Government

Finally we have come to a state issue which clearly works to the advantage of the Democratic party: the need for a government that responds to the needs of the people. When our respondents were asked to select the most important issues from our list of 22, 17 percent picked responsive government. Of those who voiced an opinion, 43 percent felt that the Democrats would provide more responsive government, while only 15 percent of those replying thought the Republicans would do so. This 28 percent differential between Democrats and Republicans is the largest recorded for any of the 22 issues on our list. It is not enough, however, for a candidate simply to say he is going to respond to people's needs. The key, rather, is to build this into the central theme of the Democratic candidate's campaign.

As is clear from the chart, issues which can be considered people-related are, individually, of rather minor importance to the voters. For example, only 6 percent of all voters cited mass transit as a critical issue. Only 5 percent selected medical services, 5 percent hospital costs, and 4 percent public education. Only 5 percent chose the need to cut down air and water pollution, despite New York's problems in this area. And on most of these specific issues, voters do not perceive a great difference between the parties.



Interpretation

It is clear that emphasis on any one or two of these specific issues, by themselves and outside any broader framework, would not make for a successful Democratic campaign. Instead, the Democrats should seek to use these issues as examples, as part of a list of things they would do to make government more responsive to people's needs. As we have noted, one of the main complaints about the Rockefeller administration was that it placed too much emphasis on buildings and monuments and not enough on people and their needs. Malcolm Wilson inherits this legacy, and voters do perceive a difference between the parties here. The Democrats should campaign as a party that will emphasize people over monuments, a party that will be responsive to people's needs. This is the kind of new outlook and new program that can make a Democrat Governor of New York in 1974.

Unemployment and Jobs

In New York, 13 percent of all voters selected getting new industry and jobs as an important issue, as did 22 percent of voters in Manhattan and the Bronx. Eleven percent of all voters mentioned unemployment as a critical issue. Combining these two issues gives us an indication that about 1 in 5 voters consider the problems of jobs and unemployment to be top priority. It is significant that the Democrats are perceived, by a 39 to 16 percent margin, as preferable on the unemployment issue. With respect to the need for new jobs, 39 percent of the voters prefer the Democrats while 23 percent prefer the Republicans - a 16 percent differential.



Interpretation

We recommend that the Democrats make jobs and the need to curb unemployment into a major issue. It may not be irrelevant to point out here that in 1972-73 New York state, according to the Census Bureau, lost population for the first time in history. The Democrats should emphasize how many businesses and jobs have left the state in the recent years of the Rockefeller administration. Finally, we would surmise that the Democrats may get an additional boost on this issue as the election year progresses and unemployment rises.

Minorities

There is a series of issues which, although stated in various ways, have racial overtones. For example, dealing with the problems of the cities, rated by 13 percent of the voters as a priority issue; improving the welfare system, selected by 10 percent; and improving racial relations, mentioned by 3 percent, are all race-oriented issues in the voters' minds. These issues, while important to part of the core vote of the Democratic party, can definitely work to Democrats' disadvantage with the total electorate. Although Democrats have a 24 percent differential over the Republicans in terms of their ability to deal with the problems of the cities, a 20 percent differential on improving the welfare system, and a 16 percent differential on easing racial tension, it is clear that the Democratic party is looked upon by much of the electorate as being too sympathetic to the problems of such minorities as blacks and Puerto Ricans.

When we turn to the question of what voters think of the state's performance in cleaning up the welfare system, we find that a huge 82 percent give state government negative marks - fair or poor - compared to only 12 percent who rate it positively. Although these percentages might suggest a campaign against the Rockefeller administration's welfare record,

T43



waging such a campaign would be playing into the Republicans' strength. When we asked voters directly whether welfare should be eliminated except for aid to dependent mothers and old people, 58 percent say it should not be eliminated, and 31 percent say it should be eliminated. Basically, for all their discontent with the system, voters are not in favor of eliminating welfare. Altogether, we believe that the minority issues are of secondary importance. To the extent they help at all, they simply strengthen Democrats' hard-core constituency; overemphasis could easily lead to loss of votes among other groups. These issues should not be overemphasized.

T43

"Catholic" Issues

Only 3 percent of all New York voters selected the need for aid to parochial schools as an important issue; even among Irish-American voters, only 8 percent rated it as important. This is obviously an issue of secondary importance. To our surprise, when we asked the question directly, we found that 57 percent of all voters in New York favor aid to parochial schools, while only 31 percent are opposed. Catholics come out 78 to 15 percent in favor of parochial aid; Jews, 56 to 37 percent against. Considering the critical nature of the Catholic vote, this would be a hard issue for a Democrat to oppose. However, in light of the relatively small number of voters who consider it a priority issue, and in light of recent Supreme Court rulings which outlaw just about every method, direct or indirect, of public aid to parochial schools, it is unlikely to be a major issue in the campaign. Certainly no Democrat should make it one; it has the effect of tearing apart the traditional Democratic coalition. This is true despite the fact that 33 percent of the voters who had an opinion feel the Democrats would handle the issue better and only 20 percent feel that the Republicans

T45



would. Much of the 13 percent Democratic differential here may be accounted for by people who have quite different expectations of what the Democratic party would do.

Another issue which is of special concern to Catholics is that of abortion. We asked New York voters whether they favored legalization of non-therapeutic abortions in New York. Fifty percent were in favor of legalized abortion, and 37 percent were opposed. While the difference in attitudes between members of political parties was rather small, a great deal of difference appeared when the electorate was divided by religion. Catholics were against legalized abortion by a 56 to 32 percent margin, while Jews were in favor by an 87 to 8 percent margin. Interestingly, women favored legalized abortion by only a 48 to 41 percent margin, while men were more strongly in favor, 52 to 33 percent. Italian-American voters, although most of them are Catholic, opposed abortion only by a 46 to 39 percent margin, but Irish-Americans were far more strongly opposed. Sixty-three percent of the Irish were against legalized abortion, and only 30 percent were in favor.

Interpretation

For Democrats, we believe abortion is a no-win issue. This is a moral issue, where people have opinions which are not related to party affiliation. Some people who otherwise plan to vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor will be opposed to his or her position on the abortion issue. Fortunately, the Republicans have the same problem. Mr. Carey could run into particular problems on this issue.

Other Issues

Only 6 percent of all voters mentioned mass transit as an important issue; even in the suburbs, where the state has been running the Long Island Railroad with well-known results, only 9 percent considered mass transit a critical issue. We also asked voters whether this was a problem



for the federal, state, or city government to handle. The largest number, 37 percent, felt it was a problem for the federal government. Only 19 percent said the state should handle it, and 17 percent thought it should be the province of the New York City government.

T47

We also asked voters a question about their perception of the balance of power in the legislature. Specifically, we asked whether Upstate or New York City legislative leaders have a greater say about the direction of New York. Overall, the results were not remarkable. Twenty-nine percent of the voters said City legislators had too much interest and 38 percent believed Upstate legislators had too much say. Nineteen percent volunteered that both had about the same amount of influence. However, when we look at the results by region, we get a far different picture. We have already seen that among Democrats, Upstaters think the City has too much influence and City residents think Upstaters are too powerful. From this question, it is clear that this perception is shared by all voters. Fewer than 10 percent of the voters in New York City and 20 percent of the voters in the New York City suburbs thought City legislators had more influence than Upstaters, while about half the City and suburban voters thought Upstate legislative leaders had more influence. In the Upstate regions, exactly the opposite pattern emerges. More than half the Upstaters thought City legislators had more influence than Upstate leaders, and only about a quarter thought Upstate legislators had more say. In light of the voters' low opinions of the direction in which things are moving in New York state, these results point up again the great suspicion and mistrust between the City and Upstate. Emphasized once again is the need for a Democratic candidate who can transcend these regional rivalries and suspicions and can convince New Yorkers of all

T48



Divide &
Dominate
Waves -
Unit
Move
Firewall

regions that he represents a new, non-regional approach to the state's problems. Again, the people-versus-monuments argument could be quite effective here.

Finally we asked voters whether state and local employees should be allowed to campaign for political candidates. Despite the long tenure of the Hatch Act, voters by a 67 to 18 percent margin endorsed the idea that government employees should be able to exercise this basic political right. Support for this proposition was about equally high among voters of all parties, and among government workers themselves.

T49

Interpretation

We think it is clear that, on balance, the specific issues tend to help the Republicans in 1974. Considering the general unpopularity of the Rockefeller regime and the weak showing of Governor Wilson, issues are really the major factor in the Republicans' favor in this election. The only way to make the issues work to the Democrats' advantage is to broaden the scope. A thematic approach is needed: the voters want a new direction to state government, they want a state government that cares about people rather than about monuments, they want a state government which is accessible and responsive to ordinary people and their needs. Unemployment and jobs and, perhaps, tax reform are the specific issues which work most favorably for the Democrats. These issues should be used, not in isolation, but as examples of ways in which the Democrats will steer the state government in a new direction. To a limited extent, the Democrats can attack the national Administration and its graft and corruption, but we do not see that as the cutting edge in what is after all a state election. The Democrats must not under any circumstances allow crime and drugs to become the central issues in the campaign.



SECTION VI
THE PERSONALITIES



Perceived Ideologies

Let us conclude this report by looking at voters' impressions and perceptions of the character and ideology of major political figures in New York state. First, we explored voters' perceptions of the ideologies of various candidates and officeholders. We asked voters to rate each of 10 public figures on a five-part scale: very conservative, fairly conservative, middle-of-the-road, fairly liberal, and very liberal. We also asked the voters to rate themselves on the same scale. Of the total New York electorate with an opinion, 32 percent called themselves very or fairly conservative, 38 percent said they were middle-of-the-road, and 30 percent rated themselves as fairly or very liberal.⁷⁵⁰ Voters perceive Richard Nixon to be the most conservative of these 10 figures; 66 percent of those with an opinion perceive him as being to the right of center. Fifty-six percent of the 69 percent of the voters who were able to rate Malcolm Wilson consider him conservative. Speaker Perry Duryea and former Governor Nelson Rockefeller are also seen as conservative by close to half the voters with an opinion. But, curiously enough, 28 percent still consider Nelson Rockefeller a liberal.

On the other end of the scale was John Lindsay. Fully 85 percent had an opinion of where he stood, and 70 percent of those rated him as a liberal, compared to only 12 percent who perceived him as a conservative. Howard Samuels and Bess Myerson are also perceived as liberal, each by about 60 percent of the voters with an opinion. Javits and Reid, the now and erstwhile Republicans, were perceived by almost 50 percent of the voters with an opinion to be left of center, while only about 1 in 5 of these voters considered either man conservative. However, 62 percent of the total electorate declined to state an opinion of where Reid stood. Finally, Hugh Carsy was the best



positioned of these 10 political figures: the electorate's perception of his ideology was closest to the voters' perceptions of their own. Only 33 percent of the total electorate could place Carey on this scale; of those, 36 percent saw him as liberal, 39 percent as middle-of-the-road, and 25 percent as conservative.

Interpretation: The most important point is that both Samuels and Wilson have a potential positioning problem; voters tend to perceive Samuels as being to their left and Wilson to their right. For the Democrats, it will be desirable to push Wilson as far to the right as possible. At the same time, Samuels should try to alter vastly the perceptions voters have of him, but he should try to avoid ideological positions which will tend to antagonize many voters.

Feeling Thermometer

An ideological scale is one way to measure voters' perception of politicians. Another type of measurement is what we call the "feeling thermometer." Here, voters are asked to place various public figures on a scale of 1 to 10; a placement at 1 indicates that the voter has very cool feelings toward the politician; a 10 indicates very warm feelings. For our analysis, we have used only the ratings given by those voters with an opinion; therefore the lesser-known candidates are not penalized by their lack of name recognition. However, we have listed the degree of recognition of each candidate so that the reader will be aware of the differences between them. One tool used in evaluating the results of the feeling thermometer is the median score, which indicates the point where half the answers are above and half are below. This permits a very precise measurement of how voters in general are reacting to these individuals. A median score of 8 to 10, for example, indicates very positive feelings toward the politician, while a median score of 1 to 3 indicates very cool feelings.



62

In all, we tested 14 public figures. At the outset, we want to make the point that none of the scores was particularly impressive; in other states, we have found that many public figures receive higher median scores than any of the 14 politicians in New York. Of all the 14, Bess Meyerson T51
scores the best. Recognized by 77 percent of the voters, she receives a 6.1 median score. Fully 35 percent of the voters have very warm feelings toward Meyerson, while only 8 percent have very cool feelings. On the basis of this figure, one might say that she would have a very good chance for a high elective position. But as we have seen, the Governorship apparently is not within her grasp. Jacob Javits, after 17 years in the U.S. Senate, is also very well received. His 6.0 median score is based on a Twenty-eight percent of the voters with an opinion have very warm feelings, while only 12 percent are very cool toward Javits. While, as we have seen, his job rating is less impressive, he is still very warmly thought of.

These are the only two political figures who, in our estimation, enjoy strong popularity. In the middle range, Howard Samuels does the best--with a 5.6 median score, a 78 percent recognition factor, 26 percent very warm feelings, and 13 percent very cool feelings. Obviously, Samuels starts out with fairly good popularity. Malcolm Wilson is known to about 74 percent of the voters, and from them he receives a 5.4 median score; the ratio of very warm to very cool feelings is not as favorable as Samuels'. Basil Paterson, Ogden Reid, Herman Badillo, and Samuel Stratton are less well known, and their scores tend to hover around the 5.0 mark. Reid's recognition factor of 43 percent gives some indication of what a long uphill road he has ahead of him. The same can be said of Hugh Carcy, whose recognition factor is 38 percent and median score is 4.9.



John Lindsay has a 4.8 median, based on 95 percent recognition; he is better known than any of the public figures except Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon. Twenty percent of those with an opinion have very warm feelings about Lindsay, and 25 percent have very cool feelings, illustrating once more how Lindsay tends to polarize the electorate. Lee Alexander, with a 20 percent recognition factor, is virtually unknown. Perry Duryea has a 4.6 median, based on 48 percent recognition; 23 percent of those with an opinion have very cool feelings about him, as compared to only 8 percent who have very warm feelings. Obviously, the public's perception of Duryea is negative. Nelson Rockefeller's median score of 4.4 signifies that after 15 years as Governor he is not at all well regarded; twice as many voters have very cool as very warm feelings toward him. Finally, Richard Nixon receives a 2.4 median score. This score shows clearly just how strongly this electorate has repudiated him. Fifty-five percent of the voters have very cool feelings about Nixon.

T52

Next, we analyzed various subgroups' attitudes toward these 14 public figures. Let us point out a few of the highlights for each. In each case we are talking about the median score on the feeling thermometer, reflecting the estimate of those voters who had an opinion.

Richard Nixon fails to get even a 1.0 median score among strong Democrats, Jews, and blacks. Even among Republicans, his median score is only 5.4. Such extremely low ratings are highly unusual.

Attitudes toward John Lindsay vary greatly. On the high side, blacks give him a 7.0 median score (the highest given any figure here by blacks), while in the western part of Upstate New York he receives a 5.7. In his home area, Manhattan and the Bronx, Lindsay gets a strong 6.2. However, his scores plummet in Queens (4.0), among Catholics (4.2), and Italian-Americans (4.2).



Malcolm Wilson receives a 6.0 from Republicans, and 5.8 from voters over 65 and the eastern part of Upstate New York. Among all other groups he receives 5.0 or better, except among Jews (4.9), strong Democrats (4.9), and voters in Manhattan and the Bronx (3.3).

Hugh Carey's scores are, in general, lackluster--ranging from 4.5 to 5.3, except in his home borough of Brooklyn, where he receives 5.6, and with strong Democrats, where he has a 5.5. Ogden Reid receives scores slightly higher than Carey's in most areas, with a high of 6.4 among strong Democrats, despite his rather recent conversion to their party.

Howard Samuels receives a 7.1 among strong Democrats, 6.7 in Manhattan and the Bronx, and 6.5 from blacks. These are strong scores, indicating that he is well regarded in the hard-core Democratic constituency. The only group among which he scored below 5.0 was the Republicans; here he received a 4.7 median score.

Other Measurements

As we have seen before, honesty is a quality which voters are desperately seeking in their politicians this year. We asked voters to rate on the one hand various occupational groups and on the other eight political figures in terms of honesty. Doctors are perceived as the most honest of all. Among those with an opinion 37 percent thought doctors were almost always honest and 46 percent considered them usually honest, for a total of 83 percent of these voters having great trust in doctors. Of the public figures, Bess Myerson ranks highest in trust; 76 percent of those with an opinion rated her as almost always or usually honest. This exceptionally high score points up yet another facet of Myerson's great popularity and feelings of great trust. Policemen are trusted--considered almost always

T53



or usually honest--by 69 percent of those with an opinion. Also scoring better than 60 percent in the trust index are Mayor Abe Beame, Governor Malcolm Wilson, and Howard Samuels. For Samuels, this is an encouraging indication of his strength on this front.

Two other figures are worthy of note. Former Governor Nelson Rockefeller wins the trust of only 46 percent, and Richard Nixon is rated as almost always or usually honest by only 30 percent of those voters with an opinion. Even door-to-door salesmen inspire more trust among these voters than the President; only politicians as a class rate lower.

Interpretation

The most important point here is that Governor Wilson is a trusted figure. He rates higher on the trust scale than does Mayor Beame. Consequently, his credibility cannot really be attacked; his personal character, in the voters' minds, is far removed from Richard Nixon's or even Nelson Rockefeller's.

The second point to be made is that all of the Democrats rate well in this regard. Both Carey and Reid do reasonably well among the minority of the voters who expressed an opinion. And Howard Samuels, despite his sometimes controversial record in public life, comes off well indeed; there is no statistically significant difference between the percentage that trusts him and that which expresses trust of Malcolm Wilson. Unless perceptions change, the Democrats will not be saddled this year with a candidate whose integrity the public questions.

Finally, to gauge feeling on various candidates with more precision, we asked voters to agree or disagree with selected statements about the candidates. We found, first of all, that only 34 percent of the voters agreed with the statement "Malcolm Wilson deserves four years as Governor to show what he can do." Thirty-seven percent disagreed, and 29 percent said they were not sure. This, obviously, is not good news for the Republicans. Democrats and Independents disagree with the statement by 2 to 1 margins, and only 55 percent of the Republicans agree.

T54



Next, we asked voters to evaluate the statement "I respect Hugh Carey because he is a good family man." Only 16 percent agreed and 11 percent disagreed; fully 73 percent had no opinion. On the statement "I tend to think less of Ogden Reid for switching from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party," 14 percent agreed and 40 percent disagreed. Even among Republicans, slightly more voters disagreed than agreed; in the usually Republican New York City suburbs, only 18 percent agreed while 44 percent disagreed. We think the responses to these statements on Carey and Reid are of limited significance, since neither man is known to very many voters.

We also tried to probe more deeply into voters' feelings about Howard Samuels. Only 22 percent of the voters agreed that "Howard Samuels seems a little too slick for me," while 43 percent disagreed and 35 percent were not sure. By a similar margin, most voters either disagreed with or were not sure about the proposition that Samuels should step aside because he has run for Governor three times in the past. Our respondents were evenly divided on the question whether they thought more of Howard Samuels because he did a good job with off-track betting. Thirty-three percent agreed, 33 percent disagreed, and 34 percent were not sure. However, fully 54 percent of the voters in Queens and 48 percent of the Italian-American voters--both pivotal segments of the electorate--agreed with that statement. To get at this issue in another way, we asked voters whether they considered off-track betting a good or bad idea. Fifty-eight percent of all voters said it was a good idea, and only 13 percent said it was a bad idea; 10 percent volunteered that it was neither, and 19 percent were not sure. Support for off-track betting was high among all groups. It was highest in Queens (78 percent) and the New York City suburbs (71 percent). Even in Upstate New York, those who thought off-track betting a good idea outnumbered

T55

T55



those who thought it a bad idea by a 2 to 1 margin; however, in this area (which of course does not have off-track betting), about 30 percent of the voters were not sure. Voters of all parties favored OTB; Catholic voters, a key segment of the electorate, were in favor by a 62 to 11 percent margin.

Interpretation:

From this data, it seems that the voters are sending two messages. First, "OTB has been good," and second, "I'm not sure that I would want a bookie as Governor." Although we have not probed this attitude in depth, a cursory glance would indicate that Mr. Samuels needs to get away from the image of "Howie the Horse" and move into the more substantive areas of his connection with the OTB--fiscal management and administrative ability.

T57

To compare Samuels against Wilson, we asked voters to tell our interviewers whether they agreed that certain selected words and phrases accurately described Howard Samuels and/or Malcolm Wilson. Those with opinions most often ascribed positive traits to both men. Samuels was rated as intelligent by 41 percent of those with an opinion, energetic and active by 40 percent, experienced and qualified by 31 percent, independent by 26 percent, and honest by 25 percent. Wilson was rated as experienced and qualified by 51 percent, intelligent by 33 percent, and honest by 29 percent. Of the negative phrases, these were most often selected about Samuels: opportunistic, out for himself (13 percent); wealthy, not concerned about the average person (13 percent of those with an opinion); slick, a sharpie (11 percent); show-off, flashy (6 percent). These were most often selected about Wilson: cautious, afraid to lead (12 percent); wishy-washy, cautious (11 percent); ineffective, can't get things done (7 percent); cold, not friendly (6 percent). In addition, 15 percent of those with an opinion cited both Samuels and Wilson as "too political."



Interpretation:

Once again, we believe it is too early to say anything definitive about Reid or Carey on the basis of these findings except to note that their candidacies are not yet off the ground and that both of them continue to suffer from low name recognition.

As for Howard Samuels, we consider these results to be, on the whole, good news. Although more voters consider him opportunistic, too slick, and flashy than ascribe these qualities to Malcolm Wilson, the number of voters with this kind of negative feeling about Samuels is still fairly small. His association with off-track betting is surely an asset, particularly with Catholic and Queens voters among whom OIE is very popular and who ordinarily are not prone to support liberal, Jewish Democratic candidates, but it is still important to heed our earlier interpretation.

It is true that 51 percent of the voters consider Governor Wilson experienced and qualified and that Samuels lags behind in this department. But the fact that 31 percent consider him experienced and qualified must be regarded as a plus in light of the fact that the only public office he has held was as head of what was really a New York City department.

Samuels' greatest advantage over Wilson is that far more voters consider him energetic and active. Forty percent attributed this quality to Samuels, while only 22 percent applied it to Wilson. In addition, more than 10 percent found Wilson cautious, wishy-washy, afraid to lead. For Howard Samuels, this presents a great opportunity. He is well positioned to convince the voters of New York state that he can energetically turn the state around and lead it in a new direction. Samuels, as we have noted before, has some problems as a candidate, particularly with women and in the New York City suburbs. And all the Democrats face the problem of getting their party together rather than pulling it apart, and of constructing a state ticket which will satisfy the expectations of both City and Upstate voters. But from the results of this survey, we conclude that it is possible--though far from certain--that Howard Samuels could lead the Democratic Party to statewide victory in 1974 by promising a new direction and a new responsiveness to people's needs on the part of the state government. We believe it is too early to say whether either Hugh Carey or Ogden Reid would be able to pull this role off successfully.