

HARRIS SURVEY

Teddy Moves Up Against Nixon

By Louis Harris

In the latest Harris Survey trial heats, President Nixon leads Senator Edward Kennedy in the race for the White House in 1972 by 45 to 38 percent, with George Wallace on a third-party ticket winning 11 percent.

The significance of this result is not only the seven-point lead of Nixon but also that Sen. Kennedy is moving up at a time when other Democrats are losing ground against the President.

Here is the trend of Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace test runs, the latest of which was conducted between Sept. 24th and Oct. 1 among a cross section of 1327 likely voters 19 years of age and over.

QUESTIONS:

"Suppose the 1972 election for President were being held today and you had to choose right now. Would you vote for Richard Nixon the Republican, Senator Edward Kennedy the Democrat, or George Wallace as an Independent?" and

"If you're not sure but had to say, would you lean toward Nixon the Republican, Kennedy the Democrat, or Wallace the Independent?"

	LATEST	AUG.	JULY
Nixon	45%	48%	44%
Kennedy	38	37	36
Wallace	11	11	13
Not Sure	6	4	7

Senator Kennedy has narrowed his gap behind the President from nine to seven points in the latest survey.

Would Divide Electorate

A Nixon-Kennedy race, however, would divide the electorate more intensely than any other contest in 1972. The Massachusetts Senator evokes support reminiscent of old-time Democratic patterns: Strong among the lower income, less well-educated sectors of the electorate, among blacks and with substantial backing from members of labor unions.

Here is a break-down of the results by these key groups:

Nixon Kennedy Wallace Not Sure

Nationwide	Nixon	Kennedy	Wallace	Not Sure
By Income				
Under \$5000	35%	43%	14%	8%
\$5000.9999	37	42	13	8
\$10,000-14,999	50	37	10	3
\$15,000 and over	63	26	7	4
By Education				
8th grade or less	33	48	14	5
High School	41	40	13	6
College	58	30	5	7
By Race				
White	52	30	12	6
Black	3	93	1	3
By Union				
Union members	33	46	12	9
Union families	39	50	6	5

Kennedy carries the voters with incomes under \$10,000, those who never went beyond the eighth grade, union members with their families, and blacks overwhelmingly. Together, these voting groups make up the old Democratic coalition on which the New Deal was founded almost 40 years ago. They formed the heart of the coalition on which Sen. Kennedy's brother John won the White House in 1960.

Operating Under Handicap

However, as far as these traditional sources of support are concerned, Kennedy in 1972 would be operating under a handicap rather than an advantage if they constituted his political base. For these old-time Democratic groups have shrunk appreciably in their proportion of the actual electorate.

For example, families with incomes of under \$10,000, where Kennedy is strong, have declined from 68 to 54 percent of the electorate just since 1968.

At the same time, the groups with incomes over \$10,000 where Kennedy is weak, have increased from 32 to 46 percent. The college-educated, among whom Kennedy is weak, have increased from 29 to 35 percent of the likely voters since 1968. Union members, another source of Kennedy strength, have declined from 25 to 23 percent of the electorate since 1968.

Only the blacks from this basic Kennedy coalition are increasing their representation in the electorate, moving from an estimated 8 to 9 percent the group most likely to vote.

Although they make up close to 12 percent of the population, blacks are counted as only 9 percent of the vote, because heretofore they have tended to turn out in lesser numbers than whites on election day.

But there is one additional group in the electorate which will be a new factor in 1972: Young people between 18 and 20 years of age. Among these new voters, Senator Kennedy partially offsets some of his losses among the growing number of the affluent.

	Under 30	31-49	50 and over
Nixon	29%	45%	47%
Kennedy	54	40	33
Wallace	10	10	12
Not Sure	7	5	8

Kennedy sweeps the younger voters, but loses decisively among those 50 years of age and over. At first glance, this division would appear to help the Massachusetts Senator, for it is estimated the under-30 vote will increase from 19 to 25 percent of the electorate in 1972.

However, the young are likely to parallel the turnout patterns among blacks: Based on past performances, they probably will not come out to vote in numbers proportionate to their share of the eligible population.

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