

Nixon Landslide Is Traced To Democratic Defections

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NYTimes Desertion Rate Doubled

By JACK ROSENTHAL

As indicated by the major political polls, more than twice the usual proportion of Democrats abandoned their party's nominee Tuesday and voted for President Nixon.

The Democratic defectors were so numerous, in fact, that they alone could be said to have given Mr. Nixon his sweeping landslide victory, according to the findings of an extensive post-election survey.

The survey was conducted by George Fine Research, Inc., a New York marketing research company, for CBS News. A total of 17,405 voters were interviewed as they left their polling places in a national sample of 143 precincts. The total is about ten times that usually employed in national surveys.

The CBS survey indicated that more than a third of all Democrats—an estimated 36 per cent—voted for Mr. Nixon. This compares with an average defection rate of 16 per cent for the previous five elections.

If Mr. McGovern had been able to hold his Democratic losses down to normal, Mr. Nixon might still have won, but the race would have been very close. Without so many defec-

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tors, Mr. Nixon could not have come close to a landslide.

The CBS survey findings closely paralleled what voters had said they would do when interviewed by the Gallup, Harris and Times/Yankelovich political surveys. The final standings compiled by all three organizations almost exactly anticipated the final popular vote.

Among such findings were the following:

For the first time in history, Roman Catholic voters, taken as a whole, voted Republican. Previously, they came close to doing so only in 1956, when, according to the Gallup organization, they split 51 to 49 for Adlai E. Stevenson over President Eisenhower. This time, the CBS survey showed, Catholics chose Mr. Nixon by about 53 to 46.

Support Grew Across State

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

President Nixon's re-election victory in New York State marked by an increase in support from 1968 in all geographical ethnic groups.

For the first time, at least in recent history, blue-collar voters went Republican. They voted 5 to 4 for Mr. Nixon. In the last five elections, they have voted 5 to 4 Democratic. Union families appeared to split evenly. The survey, subject to sampling error of about 2 percentage points, found them 50 per cent for Mr. McGovern, 48 per cent for Mr. Nixon.

As expected, Mr. McGovern won easily among black and Jewish voters, but among both blocs his majorities appeared somewhat smaller than those estimated for recent Democratic candidates.

Mr. McGovern appeared to win the youth vote, but narrowly. The major polls had found first-time voters, aged 18 to 24, about evenly split or slightly favoring Mr. Nixon. The CBS post-election survey reported a 52-to-46 McGovern margin. This was far from the decisive margin predicted by his strategists.

Projection Recalled

Early in the campaign, they projected a youth vote of 18 million, with Mr. McGovern winning 13 million. The CBS findings indicated, however, that only about 12 million young people had voted. That would mean that about 47 per cent of the 25.7 million new young voters turned out. This is well below the average participation rate of about 60 per cent averaged by other adults.

The final findings of the national polls this year came almost as close to the results as in 1968. Then, the Gallup Poll came up with its closest result—43 per cent for Mr. Nixon, 42 for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Mr. Nixon's actual margin was 43.4 to 42.7 per cent.

With the total vote count almost complete, the 1972 result was about 61 per cent to 38 per cent. The last Gallup finding published Monday, was 62 to 38. The last Harris finding, also published Monday, was 61 to 39.

The Times/Yankelovich survey, designed to assess electoral vote patterns in the 16 largest states, found a 60-to-40 margin in those states. The estimated total result in those states was 60 to 38.

At least two state polls predicted the outcome in their states with precision. The California Poll, conducted by Mervin Field Research, Inc., found a 14-point Nixon lead as of Nov. 1. The final result in California appeared to be 14 points.

10-Point Forecast Upheld

A state survey in Massachusetts, the only state won by Senator McGovern, produced a similarly exact result. The survey, conducted by Becker Research for the Boston Globe and published Sunday, found a 10-point McGovern lead. Mr. McGovern appears to have won the state by 10 points.

The final Minnesota Poll, published Sunday in The Minneapolis Tribune, found a 17-point Nixon lead. The final result appeared to be a 5-point Nixon margin.

In Detroit, the final finding of a poll by Market Opinion Research for Monday's Detroit News found a 6-point Nixon lead. The President's winning margin in the state appeared to be 13 points.

What the CBS post-election survey most dramatically validated in the national pre-election polls was the massive shift of Democrats into the Nixon column.

The first clue to the potential magnitude of the defections came in a Times/Yankelovich survey conducted immediately after the California primary last June. It found that 40 per cent of the Democrats who had supported Senator Humphrey in the primary said that they would vote for Mr. Nixon if Mr. McGovern ended up as the Democratic nominee.

High defection rates were found in later Times surveys and by both the Gallup and Harris organizations. The last Gallup estimate was that 32 per cent of the Democrats would vote for Mr. Nixon—very close to the 36 per cent figure reported today by CBS.