

five

Harris Analysis
**President
Widens
His Lead**

By Louis Harris

President Nixon has widened his lead over Sen. George McGovern to a margin of 34 points, winning the latest Harris Survey trial heat by 63 to 29 per cent. Last month, Nixon held a 57 to 34 per cent edge, a 23-point spread. Thus, the Nixon margin has risen 11 points in the past month.

At the same time, when asked if they thought President Nixon "deserves to win reelection by a landslide," a plurality of voters agreed by only 46 to 25 per cent.

As the formal campaign got underway the President had registered his major gains in the Midwest and South, in smaller towns, among women, Democrats, union members, and Catholics.

Significantly, the Nixon total among Democrats has now risen to 43 per cent, up from 29 per cent in May, and the G. O. P. nominee trails McGovern among Democrats by only 47 to 43 per cent, a four-point margin.

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted between Aug. 30 and Sept. 1, a cross-section of 1,640 likely voters 18 years of age and over was asked: "This November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Sen. George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, who would you be for?"

	Total voters %
Nixon	59
McGovern	25
Not sure	16

Then the 16 per cent "not sure" vote was asked: "If you had to say, would you lean toward Nixon the Republican or McGovern the Democrat?"

	Total "Not sure" %
Nixon	4
McGovern	4
Still not sure	8

When the committed and leaners are added together, President Nixon emerges with his 63 to 29 per cent lead. Here is the trend in the Nixon-McGovern standings:

	Nixon %	McGovern %	Not sure %
Sept.	63	29	8
Aug.	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
May	48	41	11
April	54	34	12
Mar.	59	32	9

In the latest results, McGovern now trails the President by the most sizable margin since the Harris Survey first pitted the two men against each other in two-way pairings last March.

However, between March and May, McGovern reduced a 27-point deficit to seven points. The 34-point Nixon lead is larger than the Harris Survey recorded at a comparable period in the Johnson-Goldwater race of 1964, which the Democratic incumbent finally won by a 29-point margin.

Here are some key dimensions of this latest Nixon-McGovern trial heat:

● Contrary to expectations, Nixon continues to lead McGovern among voters under 30 by a 10-point margin, 52 to 42 per cent, identical to the results in early August. However, there is a sharp difference between new voters, aged 18 to 24, who show a 47 to 47 per cent standoff, and voters 25 to 29 who favor Nixon 59 to 34 per cent. On an age basis, the contest for the White House is still closest among young voters.

● The President's margin has been soaring among voters with incomes of \$10,000 and over, a substantial 45 per cent of the electorate. Back in May, Nixon led among voters in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 bracket 51 to 39 per cent, but now is ahead by 70 to 23 per cent. With the \$15,000 and over group, the Nixon lead in May was a narrow 49 to 43 per cent, but has risen to 71 to 24 per cent.

● Consistently, Richard Nixon has been weaker among women than among men, but now the two sexes are giving the incumbent President an identical 63 to 29 per cent lead. His gains among women have been dramatic, with his coming from only a 47 to 42 per cent lead in May to a full 34 points in the latest survey.

● The heartland of Nixon strength in 1972 was supposed to be found in the South and in the Midwest. Yet, in early August, the President was ahead by a wider margin in the East than the Midwest. But in the past month, the Nixon lead in the Midwest has jumped to 64 to 29 per cent, a vast change from the narrow 46 to 43 per cent edge he showed just last May. In the South, Nixon is ahead 70 to 19 per cent.

● The trade-union vote has now gone to a rather decisive 56 to 34 per cent Nixon lead, a margin of 22 points. This is a direct reversal of the 1968 pattern, when Humphrey won among union members by 53 to 32 per cent, a Democratic edge of 21 points.

● Among Catholic voters, the President has moved out to a commanding 62 to 27 per cent margin. This is a dramatic turnaround from the standing in May, when McGovern held a slim 46 to 44 per cent lead.

OVER →



© 1972 by The Chicago Tribune

TARRISH

The Shadow Boxer's Troubles

Judy Kaufman

May 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

BARBARA FRANKLIN

SUBJECT:

Polling analysis

We appreciated having these data and Ted Garrish's input.

Analysis of Results

The principal things we learned were:

1. Those issues we had identified earlier as being of major concern to women -- the Vietnam war, the economy (inflation, unemployment, taxes), drugs, crime and education -- are indeed the key issues. The results also indicated that the environment is an issue, particularly in Western states, and we will use this information in reaching appropriate groups in the West. Julie, for example, will talk about environmental problems when she addresses the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Denver next month.
2. In general, women seem to have deeper feelings about most issues. The most significant example is the Vietnam war -- 84% of women think the war is an "important problem," vis-a-vis 78% of the total population.
3. Ticket splitters are extremely important.
4. We found new data about the way people feel about Richard Nixon (i.e. "Cold/warm", etc.). The results seem to indicate the need for us to show that the President "cares", in a very human way, about women and issues which concern women.

Generally, the polls verified what we had already assumed, and we think our plan is on target. We will, however, incorporate some of the fine tuning indicated by the above.

Future Polling

Other data we need are:

1. Information of women's rights issues -- equal opportunity in jobs and education, equal pay for equal work, child care, abortion, women on the Supreme Court/Cabinet, etc. We believe there are women who will vote against us on this if they perceive our record negatively, and we're in desperate need of good up-to-date information to verify our positioning on these things.

a. Specifically, where does women's rights rank among other key issues as a factor which influences a woman voter?

b. How do women perceive the Nixon Administration record on women's rights? (Good vs bad.)

c. How does the total population -- men and women -- feel about abortion? We have the feeling that events of the last couple weeks have made this an issue, and I believe we should be more sure of the effects of our position.

2. Information which shows voter image of our record on women's rights vis-a-vis that of the principal Democratic contenders.

3. Description of ticket-splitters. Who are they? Where are they? What characteristics do they have in common? We have a feeling that a number of independent-type women are among the ticket-splitters. We also think this is the group most likely to swing their votes based on women's rights. Hence, we'd like to know especially how ticket splitters feel about women's rights issues.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COST OF LIVING COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20507

April 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DICK CHENEY
JAMIE MCLANE
BARBARA FRANKLIN

FROM :

DONALD RUMSFELD

Attached is some material on American Women's Opinion Poll which I thought you might find of interest.

P.S. Dick, After you and Jamie have seen it, just send it over to Barbara with a bump slip from me. There is no point in copying it.

The Harris Survey**Nixon Lead Widens to 34 Per Cent**

By Louis Harris

President Nixon has widened his lead over Sen. George McGovern to a margin of 34 points, winning the latest Harris Survey trial heat by 63-29 per cent. Last month, Mr. Nixon held a 57-34 per cent edge, a 23-point spread. Thus, the Nixon margin has risen 11 full points in the past month.

At the same time, when asked if they thought President Nixon "deserved to win re-election by a landslide," a plurality of voters agreed by 46-40 per cent.

In the latest Harris Survey conducted Aug. 30 - Sept. 1, a cross-section of 1,640 likely voters 18 and older was asked:

"This November for President it will be between Richard Nixon for the Republicans and Senator George McGovern for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, who would you be for?"

	Total Voters
Nixon	59
McGovern	25
Not Sure	16

Then the 16 per cent "not sure" vote was asked:

"If you had to say, would you lean toward Nixon, the Republican, or McGovern, the Democrat?"

	Total "Not Sure"
Nixon	4
McGovern	4
Still not sure	9

When the committed and leaners are added together, President Nixon emerges with his 63-29 per cent lead. Here is the Nixon-McGovern trend:

	Nixon	McGovern	Not Sure
	on %	ern %	%
Sept.	63	29	8
Aug.	57	34	9
July	55	35	10
May	43	41	11
April	54	34	12
Mar.	59	32	9

The 34-point Nixon lead is larger than the Harris Survey recorded at a comparable period in the Johnson-Goldwater race of 1964, which the Democratic incumbent finally won by a 29 percentage point margin.

Here are some key dimensions of this latest Nixon-McGovern trial heat:

- Contrary to expectations, President Nixon continues to lead Sen. McGovern among voters under 30 by a 10-point margin, 52-42 per cent, identical to the results in early August. However, there is a sharp difference between new voters, aged 18-24, who show a 47-47 per cent standoff, and voters 25-29, who favor Mr. Nixon by 59-34 per cent. On an age basis, the contest for the White House is still closest among young voters.

- The President's margin has been soaring among voters with incomes of \$10,000 and over, a substantial 45 per cent of the electorate. Back in May, Mr. Nixon led among voters in the \$10,000-15,000 bracket by 51-39 per cent, but now is ahead by 70-23 per cent. With the \$15,000 and over group, in May the Nixon lead was a narrow 49-43 per cent, but has risen to 71-24 per cent.

- The trade union vote has now gone to a rather decisive 66-34 per cent Nixon lead. This is reversal of the 1968 pattern, when Humphrey won among union members by 53-32 per cent.

- Consistently, Richard Nixon has been weaker among women than among men, but now the two sexes are giving the incumbent President an identical 63-29 per cent lead. His gains among women have been dramatic, with his coming from only a 47-42 per cent lead in May to a full 34 points in the latest survey.

- Among Catholic voters, the President has moved out to a commanding 62-27 per cent margin. This is a dramatic turnaround from the standing in May, when McGovern held a slim 46-44 per cent lead.

Despite the current wide Nixon lead, by only 46-40 per cent a plurality of the likely voters think the President "deserved to win by a landslide margin." The cross-section was asked:

"Do you feel that President Nixon deserves or not to win re-election by a landslide vote?"

	Deserves	Doesn't	Not To Win
	%	%	%
Total Likely Voters	46	40	14
Live in West	40	51	9
Democrats	35	59	15
18-29 age	40	47	13
Union members	39	46	15

© 1972, Chicago Tribune

PRESERVATION COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jen-Pals

Vietnam

May 4, 1972

To: White House Staff

From: Ken Clawson

--the attached is for your information
and use.

NEWS

from opinion research corporation

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

609/924-5900

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PRESS CONTACT: L.C. MILCHUK

65% OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BELIEVE
PRESIDENT NIXON IS DOING ALL HE CAN
TO END THE VIETNAM WAR

Princeton, N.J.: Two-thirds of the American people believe President Nixon is doing all he can to end the war in Vietnam, and a majority of Americans feel none of the Democratic candidates seeking the nomination for President could do a better job than President Nixon in handling the war.

These are two highlights of a recent nationwide survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N.J.

When asked "Do you believe that President Nixon is doing all he can to end the war in Vietnam, or isn't he?" 65% of the American public say yes, 29% say he isn't, and 6% express no opinion. 51% of those questioned say none of the Democrats seeking the Presidency could do a better job than the President in handling Vietnam. Of the 25% who think a Democrat could do a better job, 7% say McGovern could, 6% think Wallace could, 6% give the nod to Humphrey, 2% say Muskie, and 2% believe noncandidate Kennedy could. An additional 2% say that they all could, while 24% say they have no opinion on this question.

The results of this survey were obtained by telephone interviews conducted among a nationwide representative sample of persons 18 years of age and over. The interviews numbered 1,024 and were conducted during the period April 27-29 1972. Following are the actual questions and the results:

(MORE)

"Do you believe that President Nixon is doing all he can to end the war in Vietnam or isn't he?"

TOTAL	<u>TOTAL PUBLIC</u>
HE IS	65%
HE IS NOT	29
NO OPINION	6

"In your opinion, can any of the various Democrats seeking the nomination for President do a better job than President Nixon in handling the Vietnam war? Who?"

	<u>TOTAL PUBLIC</u>
NONE OF THEM	51%
MC GOWAN	7
WALLACE	6
HUMPHREY	6
MUSKIE	2
KENNEDY	2
ALL OF THEM	2
OTHER	2
JACKSON	*
NO OPINION	24

* less than 1/2%

#

The left side of the cover features a series of vertical stripes in various shades of orange and yellow, creating a textured, layered effect.

THE
1972
VIRGINIA SLIMS
AMERICAN
WOMEN'S
OPINION
POLL

A Study Conducted by
Louis Harris and Associates

THE 1972 VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL

**A SURVEY OF THE ATTITUDES OF WOMEN
ON THEIR ROLES IN POLITICS AND THE ECONOMY**

Conducted by

Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	I
SECTION I: WOMEN'S STATUS AND EFFORTS TO CHANGE IT	1
Efforts to Strengthen Women's Status	2
Women's Liberation Groups	4
Personal Satisfaction with Life	7
SECTION II: WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS	13
How Active Are Women in Politics?	19
A Review of Women's Political Activities	22
SECTION III: WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE	27
Discrimination Against Women in Politics & Government	28
A Woman Who Tries to Get Ahead in Politics	28
Where Women Can Do a Better Job than Men	31
A Woman as President?	35
What a Woman President Would Be Like	38
Selecting a President	41
Women Governors, Mayors, Supreme Court Justices?	44
SECTION IV: WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY	47
Women's Role in the Economy	48
Women As Borrowers	50
Women As Investors	53
Feelings About the Stock Market	55
Income and the Cost of Living	61
Keeping the Family Budget	63
SECTION V: WOMEN AS VOTERS	67
Problems to Attack First	68
Solutions to Serious Problems	75
Drugs	75
Crime	77
Pollution	81
The Economy	85
Taxes	88
Race Relations	90
Priorities in Government Spending	92
Leanings Toward Candidates	99
Rating the President	101
Party Affiliation	107
Concluding Observations	111
APPENDIX	115

INTRODUCTION

In this, an election year, the second Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll provides new insights into one of the great imponderables of 1972 — how are women likely to vote?

At the same time, the Poll goes beyond the "likely to vote" question and presents a barometer of women's future political involvement.

Additionally, the economic affairs of our nation receive close scrutiny as women express their views on a subject often considered the province of men.

But perhaps most important of all, the survey, conducted by Louis Harris and Associates, reveals increasing outspokenness and independence on the part of American women. In growing numbers, women today favor strengthening and changing their status in society. This is especially true — as was learned in the first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll — of an essentially urban coalition of young women, well-educated women and black women.

More and more women are responding to the efforts of bona fide women's organizations, although there is still considerable resistance to the "women's liberation" movement.

The first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll was conducted a year ago. In it a cross-section of American women was interviewed about their goals in life, their roles in society and their efforts to strengthen their status. That Poll came in the wake of marches, rallies and demonstrations celebrating the anniversary of women's suffrage.

Since that first Poll, things are happening which affect women and their position in American society. Business and government are adopting new hiring and promotion policies for women.

An amendment to the Constitution guarantees women equal rights, and there is evidence of growing support for a woman candidate for President.

A woman candidate for President? Why not, many women seem to be saying. They take the staunch position today that women can be just as effective as men in politics. They see their idealism and feminine attributes as assets in this area. A majority of women say they are ready to accept a female candidate for President, and 2 in 3 women and men feel the nation as a whole will be ready for this in the next 50 years.

By nearly 2 to 1, women assert that their political beliefs are independent of their husbands'— and most men agree. Yet the majority of women tend to look to "other women" to actually speak up for their sex in politics. A plurality of women feel that there are too few female delegates at the national Republican and Democratic conventions. The findings also show that many women want to become more involved in political activity and that they represent a largely untapped source of "women power" available for campaigning.

And what about the candidates themselves? Here, the Poll reveals that President Nixon, as a '72 candidate, runs better among men than he does among women. Women tend to prefer Senator Muskie, Senator Kennedy, Senator Humphrey and Mayor Lindsay more than men do. On the other hand, men show stronger support for Governor Wallace than women do.

Elsewhere in the Poll, in rating the most urgent problems facing the nation:

- ... 65% of women place the war in Vietnam at the top of the list.
- ... 9 out of 10 women call the drug problem "very serious," and they show a strong preference for rehabilitation over punitive measures.
- ... More than 3 out of 5 women (64%) say they personally feel more afraid on the streets today than they did a year ago.
- ... And 4 out of 5 women favor a strict system of gun control.

In economic matters, the majority of women feel that their role is "just about right," but a substantial minority want greater influence and control. While as many women as men have stocks, bonds and mutual funds, few women make important decisions concerning these investments without consulting their husbands.

Most women feel that the stock market is "as risky as gambling," yet 2 out of 5 believe that investing in the stock market is a good way to share in America's growth and prosperity. More than 3 out of 4 women and men list the cost of the Vietnam war as the major cause of inflation.

The strides women are making can be measured not only by achievements, but by attitudes as well. To a large degree, the progress of the women's movement today is more accurately reflected in the minds of many American women and men who have begun to see it in a new light. It is this critical zone of changing views and attitudes that the 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll has been able to gauge.

Despite their protestations, most women believe that their responsibilities as mothers are as challenging as "men's jobs" and they are not anxious to risk their security at home for the uncertainties of a career. When asked about their aspirations for their daughters, many women (43%) expressed the hope that their daughters will have more interesting careers outside the home than they have had. Women seem to be torn about this particular issue, because 50% of women rarely hope to see their daughters in a role or life-style different from their own.

To sum up, the 1972 Poll explores vital territory as it looks into women's influence and potential effect on American politics and the national economy. Typical of the types of questions answered:

- ... How do women feel about their say in running the country? Do they consider efforts of female activists "unladylike?"
- ... Do women feel they should continue to run the households of this nation while their husbands run the nation itself? Or do they believe they really have more political power than they are given credit for? How large is their influence "behind-the-scenes"?
- ... Can women be expected to do as good (or as bad) a job in public office as men — or even better? Must they surrender femininity in order to gain political power? How useful are traditional feminine traits in politics?
- ... When this country is ready to elect a woman President, what will she be like?
- ... What are the problems that women feel are the most urgent in the nation today? How do they compare with men's views?
- ... Where do women stand on the economy — an issue that might well decide the 1972 election? Do women feel they are a controlling force in the economy today? And what role do they actually play?
- ... How do women rate the abilities of the leading candidates in the 1972 Presidential race? Which groups of women are likely to support President Nixon, Governor Wallace, Senators Muskie, Kennedy, McGovern, Humphrey and Mayor Lindsay?

At the close of 1971, Harris interviewers spoke with a representative, nation-wide cross-section of 3,000 women and a comparable group of 1,000 men. Their responses to the above questions and others are treated on the following pages.

SECTION I:
WOMEN'S STATUS AND EFFORTS TO CHANGE IT

Efforts to Strengthen Women's Status

A swing in attitude — and a dramatic one — is taking place among women in America today. When asked in 1971 whether they favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today, women were almost equally divided (42 to 40% opposed). Only a year later, American women are voicing their approval of such efforts by a substantial 48 to 36%.

Significantly, men are expressing even greater enthusiasm than women for efforts to strengthen (49 to 36%) or change women's status in society.

FAVOR/OPOSE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN OR CHANGE
WOMEN'S STATUS IN SOCIETY

	1972						1971					
	Women			Men			Women			Men		
	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
Total	48	36	16	49	36	15	40	42	18	44	39	17
Single	67	20	13	61	27	12	53	33	14	58	31	11
Married	46	38	16	47	38	15	38	45	17	41	41	18
Divorced, separated	57	29	14	58	27	15	61	27	12	44	42	14
Widowed	40	40	20	62	19	19	36	41	23	40	33	27
Black	62	22	16	47	27	26	60	20	20	52	27	21
White	45	39	16	50	37	13	37	46	17	41	40	19
18 to 29	56	30	14	61	30	9	46	39	15	53	34	13
30 to 39	49	36	15	47	33	20	40	44	16	37	45	18
40 to 49	42	41	17	50	35	15	39	43	18	52	34	14
50 and over	41	40	19	44	40	16	35	45	20	38	41	21
8th grade	42	34	24	38	40	22	36	38	26	40	37	23
High school	43	40	17	45	41	14	38	45	17	43	40	17
College*	57	32	11	62	27	11	44	40	16	49	38	13
Post graduate*							58	32	10			
East	49	34	17	43	43	14	41	40	19	45	38	17
Midwest	46	38	16	54	32	14	38	46	16	43	40	17
South	46	37	17	48	35	17	39	41	20	42	39	19
West	51	36	13	56	32	12	42	43	15	47	38	15
Cities	52	31	17	50	33	17	47	36	17	46	36	18
Suburbs	51	35	14	52	37	11	41	44	15	43	40	17
Towns	44	38	18	52	32	16	37	46	17	43	43	14
Rural	40	43	17	47	38	15	34	45	21	43	38	19

*In these results, women who have completed post graduate work are included in the "college" totals.

Strong support for upgrading women's role in society comes from single women, divorced and/or separated women, black women, college educated women and women under 30.

The number of single women who now support these efforts increased from 53% in the previous survey to the present 67%. There was a strong positive shift in the 18 to 39-year-old groups, both single and married. Among women in suburbs, 51% now favor change, compared with 41% about a year ago.

Observation:

American women, in a relatively short period, have accelerated their desires for a changed role in society. Those who are most concerned with strengthening women's status represent an essentially urban coalition of young, well-educated, and black women. Those most interested in changing women's present status may be found among the single, divorced and separated.

Of significance is the fact that men and women, in almost identical proportions, are in favor of changing women's status in society. Only in one group — black Americans — do the two sexes differ meaningfully: 62% of black women favor efforts to change women's status, compared with only 47% of black men. This difference appears in other areas of the present study.

In rating the effectiveness of organizations trying to change women's status, women are divided about equally: 43% feel that "most" or "some" of the organizations are helping the cause of women, while 44% feel that "only a few" or "none" of the organizations are helping. This represents increased confidence in such organizations. The previous study showed that only 34% of women found them helpful, while 51% questioned their effectiveness.

Men, on the other hand, have less faith in the capabilities of such organizations to change women's status: only 36% feel that "most" or "some" are helping, while 51% feel that "only a few" or "none" are helping.

Observation:

The findings suggest that women's organizations are gradually earning the respect of more and more women. It would appear that this trend will continue as dedication and hard work replace isolated protests and demonstrations. However, large numbers of women (44%) and a majority of men (51%) are still not convinced that women have found productive organizational channels.

Women's Liberation Groups

About half of all women studied are unsympathetic toward the efforts of "women's liberation groups." At the same time, sharp sympathy for such groups exists among single, black, and young women, those who live in cities, college educated women and among the poor.

SYMPATHY WITH EFFORTS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION GROUPS

	Women			Men		
	Sympa- thetic %	Unsympa- thetic %	Not Sure %	Sympa- thetic %	Unsympa- thetic %	Not Sure %
Total	39	49	12	42	42	16
Single	62	31	7	53	33	14
Married	36	51	13	40	45	15
Divorced, separated	58	33	9	48	37	15
Widowed	35	51	14	47	23	30
Black	67	22	11	50	31	19
White	35	53	12	41	44	15
18 to 29	49	41	10	46	42	12
30 to 39	39	50	11	41	44	15
40 to 49	34	53	13	40	45	15
50 and over	34	51	15	42	40	18
Under \$5,000	45	41	14	44	36	20
\$5,000 to \$9,999	37	50	13	43	39	18
\$10,000 to \$14,999	35	54	11	40	47	13
\$15,000 and over	41	50	9	42	46	12
8th grade	37	44	19	45	34	21
High school	36	50	14	36	48	16
College	46	47	7	49	39	12
East	42	44	14	45	42	13
Midwest	38	53	9	42	45	13
South	37	49	14	37	43	20
West	41	48	11	47	36	17
Cities	47	42	11	45	40	15
Suburbs	42	48	10	44	40	16
Towns	34	55	11	44	42	14
Rural	32	52	16	37	45	18

The phrase "women's liberation" evoked a broad range of responses. Among the positive thoughts were: freedom for women, equal rights and opportunities, better jobs and better pay, equal pay with men, liberation from housework. The negative reactions included: women wanting to take over men's roles, "radical, militaristic, revolutionary, aggressive women," "silly and faddish," women trying to get into things they don't belong in, "bunch of frustrated, insecure, ugly, hysterical, masculine-type women."

Observation:

While support for efforts to change women's status in society appears to be growing, the phrase "women's liberation" remains an emotionally charged expression with negative implications for many women.

This factor may prove to be a major obstacle in the women's movement, unless enlightened women's organizations begin to underplay the label of "women's liberation." By more than 3 to 1, women today agree that if women don't speak up for themselves and confront men with their real problems, nothing will be done about these problems." Moreover, women today are far more ready to protest the injustices that they feel they have faced for years. But they still want to be ladylike about it. Picketing and participating in protests come under sharp criticism from women, as well as men.

STATEMENTS ABOUT ACTIVIST WOMEN'S GROUPS

	1972			1971		
	Women		Men	Women		Men
	Agree %	Disagree %		Agree %	Disagree %	
If women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing will be done about these problems.	71	23	6	67	28	64
Women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children. Their behavior is undignified and unwomanly.	60	32	8	57	35	57
Leaders of women's organizations are trying to turn women into men and that won't work.	51	43	6	52	42	51
Women are right to be unhappy with their role in American society but wrong in the way they're protesting.	51	34	15	44	40	44
It's about time women protested the real injustices they've faced for years.	48	43	9	41	50	36
It's women who have nothing better to do who are causing all the trouble.	42	49	9	46	45	48

Observation:

There is no question that women have reached a new "level of consciousness" about their situation, that they are ready to speak up for themselves and to try to do something positive about it. But the women's movement as a whole has yet to find the activist techniques to rally the majority of women, who presently look with disfavor on picketing and protest demonstrations.

Personal Satisfaction with Life

While they recognize problems and injustices in their lives, most women are pretty satisfied with their roles. Few women belittle their responsibilities in life. On the contrary, a majority feel that their roles as mothers are as challenging as a man's career. If they had to choose, most women would opt for husbands to support them over careers of their own.

On the question of whose life is easier, a man's or a woman's, women are almost evenly divided, including those who must leave home to earn their own living. Moreover, few women harbor resentment because they were born women. In fact, the majority find their responsibilities as women and mothers as challenging as men's.

HOW OFTEN WOMEN HAVE CERTAIN FEELINGS (Base: Women only)

	Total Women %	Sin- gle %		Mar- ried %		Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %		Wid- owed %		Black %		White %		18 30 40 50 to to to to 29 39 49 Over %		Under \$5,000 %		\$5,000 to \$9,999 %		\$10,000 to \$14,999 %		\$15,000 and Over %		8th Grade %		High School %		College %		
Bringing up children properly takes as much intelligence and drive as holding a top position in business or government	64	50	66	56	61	53	66	61	65	68	63	57	63	68	70	54	66	66	54	66	66	54	66	66	54	66	66	54	66	66
Frequently	20	30	19	23	16	25	19	23	21	17	18	21	22	20	17	22	19	20	22	19	20	22	19	20	22	19	20	22	19	20
Occasionally	14	13	13	17	19	14	13	13	12	13	16	17	13	11	12	18	13	13	18	13	13	18	13	13	18	13	13	18	13	13
Hardly ever	2	7	2	4	4	8	2	3	2	2	3	5	2	1	1	6	2	1	6	2	1	6	2	1	6	2	1	6	2	1
Not sure																														
Having a loving husband who is able to take care of me is much more important to me than making it on my own	56	21	63	32	47	36	59	50	57	61	59	48	58	63	55	51	63	49	51	63	49	51	63	49	51	63	49	51	63	49
Frequently	18	19	18	21	13	22	17	21	19	18	13	16	18	18	19	16	17	19	16	17	19	16	17	19	16	17	19	16	17	19
Occasionally	22	47	17	41	29	33	21	26	21	17	23	29	20	17	23	25	17	29	25	17	29	25	17	29	25	17	29	25	17	29
Hardly ever	4	13	2	6	11	9	3	3	3	4	5	7	4	2	3	8	3	3	8	3	3	8	3	3	8	3	3	8	3	3
Not sure																														
My life is much easier than a man's, since I don't have to worry about earning a steady income	28	11	32	17	21	23	29	21	29	37	29	23	28	30	34	25	32	24	25	32	24	25	32	24	25	32	24	25	32	24
Frequently	23	18	25	12	17	21	23	23	27	22	19	19	22	27	24	20	22	25	20	22	25	20	22	25	20	22	25	20	22	25
Occasionally	47	64	42	68	57	51	47	54	42	39	49	53	48	42	41	51	44	50	51	44	50	51	44	50	51	44	50	51	44	50
Hardly ever	2	7	1	3	5	5	1	2	2	2	3	5	2	1	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1
Not sure																														

(continued)

(continued)

HOW OFTEN WOMEN HAVE CERTAIN FEELINGS (continued)

	Total Women %	Sin- gle		Mar- ried		Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated		Wid- owed		Black		White		18 30 40 50 to to to to 29 39 49 Over		Under \$5,000		\$5,000 to \$9,999		\$10,000 to \$14,999		\$15,000 and Over		8th Grade		High School		College		
		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Things will be much easier for girls growing up today than they were for girls in my time	28	23	27	40	34	48	25	23	26	31	32	33	28	26	23	36	29	22	36	29	22	36	29	22	36	29	22	36	29	22
Frequently	22	24	22	14	24	25	21	21	22	21	23	24	22	22	19	24	21	23	24	21	23	24	21	23	24	21	23	24	21	23
Occasionally	44	44	46	41	34	21	48	50	48	43	37	35	44	46	55	31	44	50	31	44	50	31	44	50	31	44	50	31	44	50
Hardly ever	6	9	5	5	8	6	6	6	4	5	8	8	6	6	3	9	6	5	9	6	5	9	6	5	9	6	5	9	6	5
Not sure																														
To get ahead in this world, a woman has to be twice as good at what she does as a man is	27	29	26	31	27	36	25	27	28	27	26	27	26	28	27	27	26	27	27	26	27	27	26	27	27	26	27	27	26	27
Frequently	26	36	26	25	21	25	26	30	27	24	23	24	26	26	29	19	25	30	19	25	30	19	25	30	19	25	30	19	25	30
Occasionally	43	32	45	40	44	28	46	40	43	45	45	42	44	44	42	43	46	41	43	46	41	43	46	41	43	46	41	43	46	41
Hardly ever	4	3	3	4	8	11	3	3	2	4	6	7	4	2	2	11	3	2	11	3	2	11	3	2	11	3	2	11	3	2
Not sure																														
I hope that my daughter will have a more interesting career outside the home than I have had	23	16	22	38	23	42	19	21	27	23	20	28	25	19	17	31	26	14	31	26	14	31	26	14	31	26	14	31	26	14
Frequently	20	16	20	24	17	25	19	22	20	21	17	23	21	19	16	23	21	16	23	21	16	23	21	16	23	21	16	23	21	16
Occasionally	50	54	52	35	48	28	54	51	48	49	53	41	47	56	62	39	46	63	39	46	63	39	46	63	39	46	63	39	46	63
Hardly ever	7	14	6	3	12	5	8	6	5	7	10	8	7	6	5	7	7	7	7	6	5	7	7	7	7	6	5	7	7	6
Not sure																														
If I had been a man, I would have gotten a lot further in this world	9	11	8	18	13	17	8	10	10	8	10	14	9	7	7	13	9	8	13	9	8	13	9	8	13	9	8	13	9	8
Frequently	15	16	14	19	14	21	14	18	16	13	12	16	16	13	13	16	14	15	16	14	15	16	14	15	16	14	15	16	14	15
Occasionally	74	70	76	61	68	57	76	71	73	77	74	66	72	79	79	66	75	76	66	75	76	66	75	76	66	75	76	66	75	76
Hardly ever	2	3	2	2	5	5	2	1	1	2	4	4	3	1	1	5	2	1	5	2	1	5	2	1	5	2	1	5	2	1
Not sure																														

(continued)

(continued)

HOW OFTEN WOMEN HAVE CERTAIN FEELINGS (continued)

	Total Women %	Sin- gle %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Wid- owed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and over %	Under \$5,000 %	\$5,000 to \$9,999 %	\$10,000 to \$14,999 %	\$15,000 and over %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %
Being a woman has prevented me from doing some of the things I had hoped to do in life																		
Frequently	7	12	6	20	9	18	6	8	8	5	7	11	7	4	6	10	7	7
Occasionally	12	15	12	14	12	19	11	15	13	11	10	13	12	13	11	12	11	15
Hardly ever	78	70	80	64	75	60	82	75	78	82	80	72	79	82	82	72	80	77
Not sure	3	3	2	2	4	3	1	2	1	2	3	4	2	1	1	6	2	1
My education is being wasted, since I never get to use what I learned in school in my everyday life																		
Frequently	7	14	7	15	3	12	7	11	8	6	4	10	8	6	5	6	8	8
Occasionally	10	11	11	8	9	16	10	13	13	9	7	11	10	10	11	10	9	12
Hardly ever	80	71	81	73	84	64	82	75	76	83	86	75	80	83	83	78	81	79
Not sure	3	4	1	4	4	8	1	1	3	2	3	4	2	1	1	6	2	1
I would have received a better education if I had been born a man																		
Frequently	6	4	6	11	10	10	6	5	7	6	7	9	6	5	6	8	6	6
Occasionally	8	6	8	9	8	14	7	7	10	8	9	9	7	9	7	10	9	6
Hardly ever	82	84	83	75	75	66	84	85	81	83	78	75	84	84	85	74	82	86
Not sure	4	6	3	5	7	10	3	3	2	3	6	7	3	2	2	8	3	2

PERSONAL SATISFACTION WITH OWN LIFE TODAY

	Women				Men			
	Very Satisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Only Slightly Satisfied %	Not at all Satisfied %	Very Satisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Only Slightly Satisfied %	Not at all Satisfied %
Total	58	29	8	4	49	35	10	5
Single	47	36	13	4	37	43	15	4
Married	61	28	7	3	52	34	9	4
Divorced/separated	30	38	17	13	30	33	15	15
Widowed	51	30	12	7	54	25	13	8
Black	37	33	16	11	32	46	14	5
White	61	29	7	3	52	34	9	4
18 to 29	55	31	10	3	44	37	14	5
30 to 39	61	29	7	2	47	35	13	4
40 to 49	61	27	6	5	47	39	9	4
50 and over	58	29	8	5	54	33	7	5
Under \$5,000	47	32	12	8	44	38	11	5
\$5,000 to \$9,999	58	30	8	3	48	35	11	5
\$10,000 to \$14,999	66	27	5	2	52	33	11	4
\$15,000 and over	66	27	5	2	58	33	6	3
8th grade	51	29	13	6	48	38	8	5
High school	60	28	7	4	47	35	11	6
College	60	31	7	2	53	34	10	3

In spite of a strong desire to change women's status in society, women feel an even greater sense of satisfaction with their lives than men do. This is true despite the fact that women feel they have to "run twice as fast" to keep up with their male counterparts in this "man's world." Twelve percent of women feel "only slightly" or "not at all satisfied" with their lives, compared with 15% of men.

Observation:

The majority of women view their responsibilities as mothers to be as challenging and important as "men's jobs," and they are not about to risk their security at home for the uncertainties and rigors of a career. They are aware also that careers are less accessible to them than to men, but this does not seem to disturb most of them.

Where dissatisfaction does exist, it appears to be determined less by sex than by such factors as marital status, race, age, income and educational background. On the whole, men indicate less satisfaction with their personal lives than do women. Only among blacks do some women seem less satisfied with their lot in life than their male counterparts.

**SECTION II:
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS**

There is clear-cut agreement among men and women that women exert more influence in politics than they are given credit for. By nearly 2 to 1, women assert that their political beliefs are independent of their husbands' — and most men confirm this. Furthermore, a majority of both men and women feel that the country would be better off if women had more to say about politics.

STATEMENTS ABOUT WOMEN AND POLITICS

	Women											Total Men %		
	Total %	Single %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Wid- owed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %
While women hold few public offices, they work behind the scenes and really have more influence in politics than they're given credit for	79	75	80	76	76	77	79	77	79	79	80	70	80	80
	14	20	13	16	11	11	14	17	14	13	9	9	12	17
	7	5	7	8	13	12	7	6	7	8	11	21	8	3
Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women	63	50	63	55	69	57	62	57	60	65	67	71	66	52
	33	47	32	39	26	34	33	40	35	29	27	18	30	44
	4	3	5	6	5	9	5	3	5	6	6	11	4	4
This country would be better off if women had more to say about politics	56	71	55	58	51	73	54	59	57	55	55	49	53	66
	34	21	36	32	36	17	37	32	34	36	36	37	37	29
	10	8	9	10	13	10	9	9	9	9	9	14	10	5
To be really active in politics, women have to neglect their husbands and children	55	38	56	49	62	46	57	48	55	56	61	67	58	44
	42	60	41	46	32	48	41	49	43	39	34	25	39	54
	3	2	3	5	6	6	2	3	2	5	5	8	3	2

(continued)

(continued)

STATEMENTS ABOUT WOMEN AND POLITICS (continued)

	Women										Total Men %				
	Total %	Single %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Wid- owed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	
Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men	50 48 2	37 63 —	50 50 —	51 46 3	64 35 1	51 45 4	50 49 1	41 57 2	47 52 1	51 49 —	61 37 2	73 24 3	55 43 2	31 67 2	51 47 2
Agree Disagree Not sure															
Women are mostly given the detailed dirty work chores in politics, while men hold the real power	50 29 21	64 19 17	51 30 19	51 31 18	41 28 31	50 23 27	51 30 19	54 29 17	56 26 18	48 33 19	45 28 27	39 21 40	48 32 20	62 26 12	46 37 17
Agree Disagree Not sure															
Politics is too dirty a business for women to become involved in	35 60 5	26 70 4	34 60 6	32 62 6	48 45 7	38 52 10	34 61 5	27 68 5	29 65 6	37 58 5	44 50 6	50 35 15	38 57 5	22 76 2	41 53 6
Agree Disagree Not sure															
When it comes to poli- tics, women don't have a mind of their own and tend to vote the way their husbands tell them to	33 64 3	35 64 1	31 66 3	41 55 4	41 53 6	38 53 9	32 66 2	31 66 3	32 66 2	31 66 3	36 59 5	44 47 9	31 66 3	30 69 1	37 60 3
Agree Disagree Not sure															
Women have more time to be involved in politics than men have	27 66 7	32 63 5	26 67 7	24 71 5	27 63 10	34 51 15	26 69 5	25 69 6	30 65 5	25 68 7	27 65 8	24 62 14	27 68 5	29 66 5	34 58 8
Agree Disagree Not sure															

Observation:

In the previous study, behind-the-scenes influence was claimed by women in the area of their private lives. Practicing similar "underground" tactics, women view their strength in the political sphere as largely underestimated. It appears that only increased experience and self-confidence will bring women out from behind the scenes to center stage in the political arena. And both sexes agree that this country will have much to gain from their arrival.

With some exceptions, there is agreement among men and women that women have to neglect their husbands and children when they become "really active in politics." Women also resent the fact that they are given the "dirty work" in political activity. At the same time, 2 out of 3 women point out that men are better suited emotionally for politics — and men agree.

Observation:

While 1 in 4 women blames men for the relative absence of women in the political world, the responsibility for this absence seems to rest more with women themselves. Granted their jobs as wives and mothers may be as time-consuming and challenging as men's. But a more important reason for their low level of participation in politics seems to be insecurity and their sense of not being as emotionally well suited as men.

The findings also indicate why few women remain dedicated to political work. Most women, and particularly those with more experience in politics, complain that they are saddled with the detailed dirty work chores, while men hold the real power. Such delegation of responsibility is unlikely to give women the political savvy and self-confidence that they now seem to be lacking.

Whatever their reasons for lack of participation, women feel strongly that they should become more involved in politics. The strongest sentiments came from single women, black women, those under 40 and the college-educated. Geographically, women in the East and the West, and those in cities and suburbs favor greater female involvement in politics. The majority of men also feel that women should become more politically active.

SHOULD WOMEN BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN POLITICS

	Women				Men			
	Should Become More Active %	Should Become Less Active %	Should Stay As Active %	Not Sure %	Should Become More Active %	Should Become Less Active %	Should Stay As Active %	Not Sure %
Total	59	8	29	4	55	9	32	4
Single	76	6	16	2	64	3	28	5
Married	59	7	30	4	53	10	33	4
Divorced, separated	63	10	24	3	46	4	43	7
Widowed	49	11	32	8	55	10	27	8
Black	66	6	19	9	48	9	35	8
White	59	8	30	3	56	9	31	4
18 to 29	65	6	26	3	59	4	33	4
30 to 39	64	6	25	5	56	9	30	5
40 to 49	58	7	31	4	55	12	31	2
50 and over	52	11	32	5	50	11	34	5
8th grade	41	13	36	10	46	13	34	7
High school	56	9	32	3	49	10	37	4
College	75	4	19	2	65	6	27	2
East	61	6	29	4	55	10	32	3
Midwest	59	8	30	3	57	9	32	2
South	55	10	29	6	47	11	36	6
West	66	6	25	3	64	3	27	6
Cities	65	6	25	4	57	8	31	4
Suburbs	66	6	25	3	61	10	26	3
Towns	58	11	27	4	56	8	32	4
Rural	49	9	37	5	44	10	40	6
Favor efforts to change women's status	78	3	17	2	73	2	22	3

How Active Are Women in Politics?

The majority of women today tend to look to other women to represent their sex in politics. Thus, while 62% of the women surveyed believe that "most women" are politically active, only 17% say they themselves are personally active. This compares with 26% of men who report direct involvement in politics.

Two groups of women stand out as more politically active than the rest: 26% of single women and 28% of college-educated women say they are personally active in politics.

Observation:

This finding suggests that another reason women have not yet fulfilled their political potential is that they assume other women are doing the job for them.

"Men hold women back" (say 23% of women), "women aren't interested in politics" (say another 21%), "it is not a traditional role for women" (say 12% of women), "women's place is in the home" (say 9% of women) — these are some of the reasons offered by both women and men to explain why there are relatively so few women in politics today.

A majority of women (59%) feel women "should be more active in politics" and offer these main reasons why: they are "informed," they have "better/different ideas than men and can get things done," they can "gain more power and achieve their own objectives," they are as "intelligent, capable and qualified as men."

Still, a minority (29%) of women believe that their level of political activity should remain about where it is. They offer such reasons as: "women's place is in the home," "politics is a man's world," many women "don't have the time," women are "not qualified and not capable enough for politics."

There is no doubt that greater involvement of women in the political processes of this country is desired by both sexes. In almost identical proportions, both men and women favor the formation, by leaders of the women's movement for equality, of "new organizations to strengthen women's participation in politics."

HOW ACTIVE ARE YOU PERSONALLY IN POLITICS

	Women					Men				
	Very Active %	Some-what Active %	Only Slightly Active %	Not at All Active %	Not Sure %	Very Active %	Some-what Active %	Only Slightly Active %	Not at All Active %	Not Sure %
Total	3	14	28	55	*	6	20	35	39	*
Single	5	21	31	43	—	9	22	31	38	—
Married	3	14	28	55	*	5	21	36	37	1
Divorced, separated	3	11	26	60	—	7	15	45	33	—
Widowed	2	12	25	60	1	7	9	30	54	—
Black	2	13	20	64	1	8	13	31	48	—
White	3	15	29	53	*	6	22	36	36	*
18 to 29	3	14	27	56	*	5	20	38	36	1
30 to 39	2	15	30	53	*	6	20	39	35	—
40 to 49	3	15	29	53	*	7	19	34	40	—
50 and over	3	13	27	57	*	6	22	33	38	1
8th grade	2	6	19	72	1	6	13	34	47	—
High school	2	11	27	60	—	5	19	34	41	1
College	5	23	33	39	*	7	25	38	30	*
East	3	13	24	60	—	5	14	29	51	1
Midwest	3	16	29	52	*	6	25	36	33	—
South	2	12	28	58	*	8	22	35	34	—
West	3	17	32	48	—	5	20	44	31	—
Cities	3	14	24	59	*	4	18	30	48	*
Suburbs	3	16	27	54	—	6	18	36	40	*
Towns	3	15	32	50	*	6	25	37	32	—
Rural	3	12	31	54	*	9	23	39	28	1

FAVOR/OPOSE ORGANIZATIONS TO STRENGTHEN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

	Women			Men		
	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
Total	52	29	19	54	29	17
Single	66	16	18	64	19	17
Married	51	30	19	53	31	16
Divorced, separated	59	28	13	50	29	21
Widowed	40	34	26	50	27	23
Black	63	18	19	52	25	23
White	50	31	19	54	30	16
18 to 29	58	24	18	59	23	18
30 to 39	55	27	18	51	31	18
40 to 49	50	31	19	57	27	16
50 and over	44	35	21	51	32	17
Under \$5,000	50	26	24	50	26	24
\$5,000 to \$9,999	54	32	14	54	32	14
\$10,000 to \$14,999	49	32	19	49	32	19
\$15,000 and over	66	23	11	66	23	11
8th grade	38	33	29	47	31	22
High school	47	33	20	49	34	17
College	65	21	14	65	21	14
East	55	27	18	53	35	12
Midwest	51	31	18	56	27	17
South	46	33	21	49	31	20
West	56	25	19	61	19	20
Cities	57	26	17	59	26	15
Suburbs	56	27	17	57	28	15
Towns	51	29	20	51	23	26
Rural	42	35	23	48	36	16
Women should become more active	72	12	16	76	12	12
Favor efforts to change women's status	73	12	15	75	10	15

Observation:

The thrust of opinion is clearly toward greater participation of women in politics. Once again, most enthusiastic is the pro-change coalition of the young, the single, the black, the poor as well as the affluent, and the well-educated.

Interestingly, men are just as eager for greater political involvement on the part of women as are women themselves. It appears that men are becoming increasingly willing to share with women some of the burdens of decision-making and the ultimate responsibility for our domestic and international policies.

A Review of Women’s Political Activities

The results of this segment of the Virginia Slims American Women’s Opinion Poll provide insights into women’s past political activities and further evidence of their interest in greater involvement.

Nearly 3 out of 4 women surveyed (73%) say they are registered to vote, which is only slightly lower than registration among men (78%). Voter registration among women increases directly with age, income and education. More married women are registered than single, and more white women than black.

Two out of three women (67%) say they voted in the 1968 Presidential election, compared with a higher 72% of the men.

Fifty-four percent of the women surveyed say they voted for Congress in their district, compared with a higher 63% of all men.

VOTING HISTORY

	Total	Single			Married		Divorced/ Separated*		Widowed*		Black		White		18 to 29		30 to 39		40 to 49		50 and Over		Under \$5,000		\$5,000 to \$9,999		\$10,000 to \$14,999		\$15,000 and Over		8th Grade		High School		College										
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%										
Women																																													
Registered to vote	73	59	74	63	81	65	75	55	76	81	84		63	69	80	86	63	70	82																										
Voted in 1970																																													
Congressional election	54	24	58	43	59	44	57	29	59	70	66		40	51	63	69	41	53	62																										
Voted in 1968																																													
Presidential election	67	29	71	54	73	56	70	38	77	81	80		53	62	78	83	55	65	76																										
Men																																													
Registered to vote	78	59	82			79	79	57	84	84	85		68	76	85	86	75	76	81																										
Voted in 1970																																													
Congressional election	63	30	69			55	64	27	64	74	79		53	57	69	75	65	61	64																										
Voted in 1968																																													
Presidential election	72	36	79			64	74	37	75	83	86		60	68	85	78	72	72	71																										

*Results for men are not indicated here, since the number of cases in these groups is too small for statistical accuracy.

(continued)

VOTING HISTORY (continued)

	Mid-west			Sub-			Repub-			Inde-			For President in 1972		
	East	Mid-	West	Cities	Sub-	Rural	lican	crat	pend-	Nixon	Wal-	Ken-	Musk-		
	%	west	%	%	urbs	%	%	%	ent	%	lace	edy	ie	%	%
Women															
Registered to vote	78	78	66	72	77	76	83	76	74	80	68	69	76		
Voted in 1970															
Congressional election	59	61	45	53	60	53	67	56	56	64	51	48	58		
Voted in 1968															
Presidential election	71	73	57	63	73	70	82	68	70	78	62	60	72		
Men															
Registered to vote	83	76	76	75	84	72	86	82	72	86	73	77	81		
Voted in 1970															
Congressional election	68	67	57	57	68	56	77	63	55	78	59	55	60		
Voted in 1968															
Presidential election	75	72	70	66	77	72	87	73	62	87	70	63	68		

Observation:

While 3 out of 4 women 18 years of age and over are registered to vote, women lag behind men in registration and in recent Presidential and Congressional voting records. Among certain groups in the population and in certain regions, the discrepancies are substantial. As voters, women trail far behind men among blacks, the less well educated, in the South and in rural areas. Efforts to strengthen the women's vote should be directed first and foremost toward these groups.

The survey shows that the political participation of women reaches far beyond voting.

One in 3 women has attended rallies for candidates running for local, state or national office, compared with 38% of men. One in 4 women has contributed money in support of selected candidates, while 34% of men have made similar contributions. One in 10 women has actually raised money for candidates, compared with 12% of men.

About 1 in 7 women says she has canvassed voters door-to-door during a political campaign, and a like number have served as volunteers in a campaign headquarters. A similar proportion of men report these activities.

It is in the area of canvassing voters by telephone that women (13%) are more active than men (10%). And more women (3%) have had paying jobs in campaign headquarters than men (2%).

Only one in 25 women (4%) has organized rallies for a candidate, compared with 6% of men.

But the political performance of women in the past does not adequately reflect their real yearning to participate more: 27% say they would like to work as volunteers in a campaign headquarters; 21% would like to do telephone canvassing; 16% would like to be involved in fund raising; 9% would like to organize rallies; and 23% would welcome a paying job in a campaign headquarters.

Observation:

These findings suggest that candidates and political parties are making poor use of the "women power" available for campaigns.

Willingness to participate in all aspects of campaigning runs highest among single, young, black, affluent and well-educated women — the same coalition that is most eager for increased participation in politics and for changes in the social and political structure of the country. Candidates who share their "pro-change" views have at their disposal untapped resources of ready and willing campaign workers.

SECTION III:
WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Given the feeling among both sexes that women should become more involved in politics, what level of participation should they aspire to? Should they strive for greater influence over the men in power or should they instead challenge men for their political offices? Should they aspire to campaign staffs or instead to candidacies? Should women continue to work "behind the scenes" in the political arena or should they now compete for leading roles?

Discrimination Against Women in Politics and Government

Most women feel that working within the rank and file of political parties and organizations poses fewer problems than aspiring to leadership positions. By 62 to 27% they say they are not discriminated against in "participating in political organizations and parties." But by 49 to 42%, they feel they are discriminated against in "attaining public office." The only area in which women feel that they run into comparable discrimination (52 to 38%) is in "obtaining executive positions in business." Those who are most aware of discrimination in all areas again are single, black, young and college-educated women.

Overall, the findings show that men are just slightly less conscious of discrimination against women than are women themselves.

A Woman Who Tries to Get Ahead in Politics

Women take the staunch position that they can be just as effective as men in politics — and often more so. Three out of 4 women say that "women in public office can be equally logical and rational as men" — and men agree — despite the fact that earlier 3 out of 5 women said most men are better suited emotionally for politics than most women.

Also, a majority of women (57 to 34%) reject the statement that "no woman can be a good wife and mother and be active in politics too" — although elsewhere in the survey, a like majority pointed out that women have to neglect their husbands and children to be really active in politics.

Men and women both recognize that femininity can be a great advantage to women seeking political office. Women also credit themselves with another trait that could serve them in political office — idealism. Men are not as certain about this. But both sexes agree, with men more emphatic, that women are not more attentive to detail and necessarily better administrators in high office.

A 47% plurality of women take issue with the statement that "women are better off married to public leaders than holding political offices themselves;" the same plurality of men subscribe to this statement.

STATEMENTS ABOUT WOMEN WHO TRY TO GET AHEAD IN POLITICS

	Women											Total Men %			
	Total %	Single %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Wid- owed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %		8th Grade %	High School %	College %
Women in public office can be equally logical and rational as men	74 16 10	85 12 3	74 17 9	72 18 10	67 14 19	68 13 19	75 17 8	77 16 7	76 17 7	73 17 10	72 16 12	58 19 23	73 18 9	83 13 4	71 21 8
Feminine charm and diplomacy can be a woman's greatest asset in getting ahead in politics	63 27 10	60 35 5	63 28 9	61 24 15	64 18 18	60 23 17	63 28 9	60 33 7	62 30 8	66 26 8	64 21 15	58 20 22	61 29 10	67 28 5	61 30 9
A woman in politics will usually be more idealistic than a man	46 37 17	47 39 14	45 38 17	45 38 17	47 28 25	49 22 29	45 39 16	44 42 14	47 40 13	47 35 18	45 32 23	38 27 35	46 37 17	48 42 10	40 43 17
Women are better off married to public leaders than holding political office themselves; then they get all the pleasure and few of the problems of public life	41 47 12	29 59 12	41 47 12	37 53 10	55 27 18	38 43 19	42 47 11	34 55 11	35 55 10	43 46 11	52 33 15	55 23 22	45 42 13	28 65 7	47 39 14
															(continued)

STATEMENTS ABOUT WOMEN WHO TRY TO GET AHEAD IN POLITICS (continued)

	Women														Total Men %
	Total %	Sin- gle %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Wid- owed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	
Women are more attentive to detail and therefore can be better administrators in high office than men	35 45 20	44 41 15	33 48 19	39 37 24	33 38 29	50 20 30	33 48 19	35 46 19	35 49 16	33 47 20	34 41 25	29 33 38	36 45 19	34 51 15	23 58 19
Agree Disagree Not sure															
No woman can be a good wife and mother and be active in politics too	34 57 9	23 73 4	34 57 9	40 53 7	41 49 10	37 50 13	34 58 8	29 64 7	32 57 11	33 58 9	40 51 9	52 35 13	37 55 8	21 73 6	40 50 10
Agree Disagree Not sure															
Women in politics usually are more hard-nosed and aggressive than men	31 54 15	29 57 14	31 56 13	34 51 15	27 46 27	37 37 26	30 57 13	31 58 11	31 57 12	31 55 14	31 48 21	32 39 29	32 53 15	29 62 9	29 57 14
Agree Disagree Not sure															
Women who succeed in politics usually have to sacrifice their femininity to get there	26 67 7	23 69 8	24 69 7	35 56 9	36 50 14	32 50 18	25 69 6	23 71 6	25 69 6	24 70 6	31 58 11	41 41 18	28 65 7	16 80 4	34 57 9
Agree Disagree Not sure															

Observation:

While most women might prefer their responsibilities at home to those of public office, they are quick to recognize that some women are as capable — if not more capable — as men to fill positions of leadership in the public domain. It is clear from their earlier responses, however, that they view such women as exceptions and not the rule.

Women credit their own sex with idealism that could very well enhance the service of a public official.

Interestingly, women do not seem to feel that to succeed in public office they have to sacrifice their femininity and become hard-nosed and aggressive. Rather than imitating these traditionally "masculine" traits, they feel that women in public office should use their "feminine charm and diplomacy" in positive ways.

Where Women Can Do a Better Job Than Men

Women in public office would do at least as good a job as men — if not better — in most areas of public concern and policy making. So say both sexes.

With significant pluralities, men and women agree that women could do "just as good a job as men" in dealing with health problems, improving our educational system, working for peace in the world, protecting the environment, maintaining honesty and integrity in government, improving the prison system, making decisions on whether or not to go to war, strengthening the economy, improving justice for minority groups, balancing the federal budget, getting us out of Vietnam, solving the urban crisis, conducting diplomatic relations with other countries and dealing with student demonstrations.

In four of these areas, pluralities of women feel that women in public office could do even "better" than men, and in most instances, men agree: 69% of women and 66% of men feel that women would do a better job than men in dealing with family problems; 48% of women and men agree that women would do a better job in encouraging the arts; 48% of women and 44% of men feel that women would fare better in protecting the interests of the consumer.

In assisting the poor, a 47% plurality of women feel that they'd do a better job. Men are not as certain about this, with 42% saying "a better job" and 44% "just as good a job."

There are two areas where both sexes agree that women would have a hard time doing as good a job as men. In dealing with big business, 47% of women and 52% of men feel that women in public office would do “a worse job” than men. And in directing the military, 69% of women and 75% of men feel that women would do a “worse job.”

These results are supported by some additional findings, related to the differences between the sexes. For example, women believe by nearly 4 to 1 that they are "more sensitive to the problems of the poor and the underprivileged than men are." A clear majority of women feel that "women have more artistic ability and appreciation of the arts than men do." Men agree emphatically on these points. On the other hand, both sexes tend to agree that "men are better at economics and business than women."

The feeling that directing the military would pose problems for women in public office is explained by some underlying feelings both men and women share, namely that "men are more aggressive than women" and that "women attach greater value to human life than men do."

FEELINGS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

	Women														
	Total %	Single %	Married %	Divorced/ Separated %	Widowed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	Total Men %
Women are more sensitive to the problems of the poor and the underprivileged than men are															
Feel	71	69	71	72	74	86	69	71	71	70	72	75	74	65	68
Don't feel	23	26	24	19	15	9	25	25	24	23	21	14	21	30	26
Not sure	6	5	5	9	11	5	6	4	5	7	7	11	5	5	6
Women have more artistic ability and appreciation of the arts than men do															
Feel	58	53	59	50	61	64	57	53	56	58	64	61	62	51	62
Don't feel	32	40	32	36	22	18	34	39	36	30	24	18	28	44	29
Not sure	10	7	9	14	17	18	9	8	8	12	12	21	10	5	9
Women are more emotional and less logical than men															
Feel	55	45	56	57	63	55	56	46	55	59	64	65	59	47	64
Don't feel	35	49	35	32	20	28	36	45	38	31	25	20	32	46	26
Not sure	10	6	9	11	17	17	8	9	7	10	11	15	9	7	10
Women attach greater value to human life than men do															
Feel	55	58	54	65	59	71	53	56	54	56	56	61	56	51	56
Don't feel	35	34	37	24	27	15	38	37	39	33	32	23	35	42	36
Not sure	10	8	9	11	14	14	9	7	7	11	12	16	9	7	8

(continued)

FEELINGS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN (continued)

	Women														Total Men %
	Total %	Single %	Married %	Divorced/ Separated %	Widowed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	8th Grade %	High School %	College %	
Men have more physical stamina than women															
Feel	52	44	51	45	59	53	51	46	48	52	58	68	55	38	62
Don't feel	42	50	43	44	32	33	44	48	47	42	34	20	39	58	30
Not sure	6	6	6	11	9	14	5	6	5	6	8	12	6	4	8
Men are more aggressive than women															
Feel	51	55	50	47	58	46	51	48	50	53	53	53	50	51	58
Don't feel	41	38	43	48	30	42	42	45	43	39	38	36	43	42	34
Not sure	8	7	7	5	12	12	7	7	7	8	9	11	7	7	8
Men are better at economics and business than women															
Feel	49	43	49	45	54	39	50	41	47	55	55	56	49	45	56
Don't feel	41	52	42	43	28	43	41	50	46	35	33	27	40	49	34
Not sure	10	5	9	12	18	18	9	9	7	10	12	17	11	6	10

Observation:

In all but two areas of policy-making, both sexes agree that women office holders could measure up to men — and occasionally surpass them. It is interesting to note that the areas where women credit themselves with greatest potential are, in one way or another, extensions of the roles and traits traditionally identified with the female sex: experience with children and family problems, concern for consumer interests, artistic appreciation and compassion for the poor.

That women might be less aggressive than men, and attach a higher value to human life, agrees with the findings of the first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll. In that survey, women emerged far more pacifist than men, finding war less justifiable under all circumstances. In their attitudes, women showed themselves to be more compassionate and less hardened than men to the reality of war.

A Woman as President?

The Poll presented this question to women:

"If two people with equal qualifications were running for President of the United States, and one of them were a woman, would you be more likely to vote for the woman candidate, less likely to vote for her, or wouldn't it make any difference to you at all?"

The majority answered that they would not be prejudiced against the female candidate, although 2 out of 5 said that they would be less likely to vote for her. One in 6 said she would be more likely to vote for her.

Among single and black women, 1 in 3 said she would be more likely to support the woman candidate than an equally qualified man.

LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR WOMAN CANDIDATE FOR
PRESIDENT IF RUNNING AGAINST EQUALLY QUALIFIED MALE

	Women				Men			
	More Likely to Vote for Woman	No Difference at All	Less Likely to Vote for Woman	Not Sure	More Likely to Vote for Woman	No Difference at All	Less Likely to Vote for Woman	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Total</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>5</u>
Single	33	42	20	5	9	47	39	5
Married	15	37	42	6	7	36	52	5
Divorced, separated	22	40	29	9	—	46	54	—
Widowed	15	30	50	5	4	50	44	2
Black	34	27	27	12	10	34	43	13
White	14	39	42	5	6	39	51	4
18 to 29	21	43	31	5	10	50	34	6
30 to 39	15	42	37	6	3	39	55	3
40 to 49	15	34	45	6	7	36	55	2
50 and over	14	30	49	7	7	32	55	6
8th grade	20	26	46	8	7	37	50	6
High school	16	37	41	6	8	35	51	6
College	17	44	34	5	6	43	49	2

Both men and women find a woman Vice President more acceptable than a woman President. One out of 5 women would be "more likely" to vote for a Presidential candidate who has a woman as a Vice Presidential running mate, and 1 out of 8 men would be more likely to vote for the man with a female running mate. Still, 1 out of 4 women and 1 out of 3 men would be "less likely" to vote for that candidate.

LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING FOR MALE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WITH
WOMAN VICE PRESIDENT IF RUNNING AGAINST EQUALLY
QUALIFIED MALES

	Women				Men			
	More Likely	No Difference At All	Less Likely	Not Sure	More Likely	No Difference At All	Less Likely	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Total</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>5</u>
Single	34	53	9	4	15	58	23	4
Married	21	48	25	6	12	47	36	5
Divorced, separated	23	46	20	11	7	67	26	—
Widowed	17	39	38	6	6	51	33	10
Black	35	32	20	13	11	38	38	13
White	20	50	25	5	12	51	33	4
18 to 29	27	54	15	4	15	60	20	5
30 to 39	22	50	22	6	13	49	34	4
40 to 49	19	48	26	7	15	47	35	3
50 and over	17	43	34	6	8	45	41	6
8th grade	19	35	36	10	8	44	41	7
High school	18	50	26	6	12	47	35	6
College	28	52	16	4	14	55	28	3

Observation:

While the findings indicate that male attitudes represent the chief obstacle to a qualified woman aspiring to the Presidency, female resistance to the idea of a woman President should not be underestimated. That 2 out of 5 women feel the Presidency should be reserved for a man suggests that women might well suffer from a collective inferiority complex which must be overcome before women can attain high political offices.

When, if ever, will the country be ready to elect a woman as President? In 50 years or sooner, say 65% of women and 67% of men, while about 1 in 15 declares the country is ready right now.

How do women stand compared with members of minority groups who might aspire to the top office of this land?

Seven out of 10 women and 67% of men think this country will be ready to elect a black as President in the next 50 years, while 67% of women and 69% of men feel that a Jew might be a successful Presidential candidate in that time. More than half (58%) of both women and men think that an American Indian might be elected President in the next 50 years, while 57% of women and 53% of men say that the country could elect a Puerto Rican or Mexican American President in 50 years or sooner.

Observation:

For these projections of the election of a woman President in the next 50 years to become reality, new generations of voters will have to be much more tolerant toward the idea of a woman President than the 18-year- and-older group surveyed here.

The Poll shows that black and Jewish Presidential candidates have the best chances among minority groups of reaching the Presidency in the next 50 years. Women Presidential candidates — representing not a minority group but one half of the U.S. population — are given the next best chance for election in 50 years.

What a Woman President Would Be Like

A woman President would be less likely to take the country into war than a man, say most men and women. But would a woman President cope with the long hours and pressures of the office? Would she be able to deal with big business, the Russians, riots, crime?

STATEMENTS ABOUT WHAT A WOMAN PRESIDENT WOULD BE LIKE

	Women														
	Total %	Sin- gle %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Wid- owed %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	8th Grade %	High School %	Col- lege %	Total Men %
A woman President would have more sympathy with the problems of the poor and disadvantaged than a man President	64	63	58	53	58	63	57	59	59	53	59	54	60	58	65
	27	24	30	33	25	20	30	30	29	34	26	26	27	33	26
	9	13	12	14	17	17	13	11	12	13	15	20	13	9	9
A woman President would do a better job of supporting the arts and developing the cultural life of this country than a man President	60	64	61	53	55	63	60	62	62	60	58	52	62	61	60
	26	26	27	28	20	15	28	28	26	28	24	21	25	31	26
	14	10	12	19	25	22	12	10	12	12	18	27	13	8	14
A woman President would be less likely to take this country into war than a man President	58	63	58	53	58	63	58	59	59	53	59	54	59	58	54
	29	24	30	33	25	20	30	30	29	34	26	26	27	33	34
	13	13	12	14	17	17	12	11	12	13	15	20	14	9	12
A woman President would have a harder time dealing with riots and crackdowns on hardcore criminals than a man President	54	42	54	54	63	49	55	47	52	58	61	63	59	44	57
	36	50	36	37	22	30	37	45	39	32	27	19	32	50	34
	10	8	10	9	15	21	8	8	9	10	12	18	9	6	9

(continued)

	Women										Total Men %
	Total %	Single %	Mar- ried %	Di- vorced/ Sepa- rated %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	
A woman President would have a harder time dealing with big business and the problems of the economy than would a man President											
Agree	50	37	50	45	46	51	41	47	51	61	58
Disagree	38	53	39	44	32	39	49	43	37	26	31
Not sure	12	10	11	11	22	10	10	10	12	13	11
The long hours and pressures of the Presidency would wear a woman down more quickly than a man											
Agree											
Disagree	48	36	47	50	50	47	41	46	47	55	52
Not sure	44	55	46	44	34	46	51	48	45	34	39
	8	9	7	6	16	7	8	6	8	11	9
A woman President would not be able to stand up to the Russians as well as a man President											
Agree											
Disagree	39	30	38	38	40	39	32	36	41	47	45
Not sure	46	57	48	48	33	48	56	50	44	34	41
	15	13	14	14	27	13	12	14	15	19	14
A woman President would be less likely to compromise her ideals and principles than a man President											
Agree											
Disagree	37	33	36	39	42	36	32	36	38	41	35
Not sure	44	53	46	41	26	47	51	48	44	35	46
	19	14	18	20	32	17	17	16	18	24	19

Observation:

Both women and men expect to find in the first woman President those traits — strengths and weaknesses — that have been traditionally identified with the female sex. As indicated earlier, the general feeling is that she would be more compassionate to the poor, more interested in the arts and culture, and more pacifist in regard to military involvements. On the other hand, she is expected to be less tough than a man in dealing with crime, physically and emotionally weaker than a man and less able to deal with big business and the economy.

Selecting a President

Are women fairly represented at Republican and Democratic National Conventions? For every woman (5%) who feels that there are usually "too many women delegates at these conventions," there are 8 women (40%) who feel that there are usually "too few women delegates." More than a third of men (37%) also feel that there are "too few women delegates," while 33% say that there are "just about the right number," and 8% say there are "too many."

The women who feel strongest that greater representation is needed include single and college-educated women, and those who previously indicated that women should become more active in politics and who favor a change in women's status.

One out of 3 women feels that "half of the delegates at these National Nominating Conventions should be women, to represent their half of the U.S. population." One out of 4 men feels that half of the delegates should be women.

FEELINGS ABOUT USUAL NUMBER OF WOMEN DELEGATES TO REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

	Women			Men		
	Just About the Right Number Women Delegates			Just About the Right Number Women Delegates		
	Too Few Women Delegates %	Too Many Women Delegates %	Not Sure %	Too Few Women Delegates %	Too Many Women Delegates %	Not Sure %
<u>Total</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>22</u>
Single	57	3	16	45	5	23
Married	40	4	30	36	8	22
Divorced, separated	47	4	30	39	7	7
Widowed	28	8	33	38	4	29
Black	48	4	22	29	7	29
White	38	5	31	38	8	21
18 to 29	49	3	23	39	5	24
30 to 39	40	4	30	45	5	20
40 to 49	38	5	32	39	9	20
50 and over	31	7	33	33	10	23
8th grade	26	6	29	24	12	28
High school	37	5	32	36	9	23
College	51	3	25	47	4	18
Feel women should become more active in politics	58	1	19	55	2	20
Favor efforts to change women's status	58	1	20	54	3	18

SHOULD ONE-HALF OF THE DELEGATES AT NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS BE WOMEN

	Women			Men		
	Half Should Be Women %	Doesn't Make Much Difference %	Not Sure %	Half Should Be Women %	Doesn't Make Much Difference %	Not Sure %
<u>Total</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>13</u>
Single	49	41	10	19	70	11
Married	30	61	9	24	62	14
Divorced, separated	35	55	10	32	61	7
Widowed	29	55	16	43	44	13
Black	49	36	15	28	46	26
White	29	62	9	25	64	11
18 to 29	36	57	7	24	66	10
30 to 39	32	60	8	23	67	10
40 to 49	29	61	10	23	62	15
50 and over	30	57	13	26	59	15
8th grade	30	51	19	25	58	17
High school	30	60	10	28	58	14
College	36	58	6	21	69	10
Feel women should become more active in politics	45	48	7	34	56	10
Favor efforts to change women's status	46	47	7	35	56	9

Observation:

Women who favor increased participation of women in politics see the Democratic and Republican National Nominating Conventions as one channel for the expression of women's political views. Although 2 out of 3 women question the necessity of proportional representation of women, there is a nucleus of women across the nation who feels that half of the delegates should be women.

Women Governors, Mayors, Supreme Court Justices?

Three out of 4 women and men feel that the voters in their state would be ready to elect a woman Governor in 50 years or sooner, and a sizeable majority (58%) believe that this can happen inside of 10 years. Geographically, chances for a woman Governor are expected to be best in the West and worst in the South.

When it comes to a woman Mayor, most men and women believe it can come about in their cities in just 5 years.

When asked when they would like to see a woman appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, 57% of women and 50% of men responded "now."

WHEN VOTERS OF THIS STATE WILL BE READY TO ELECT A WOMAN GOVERNOR

	Now %	In Next 5 Years %	In 10 Years %	In 20 Years %	In 50 Years %	Never %	Not Sure %
Total Women	19	19	20	12	5	16	9
East	20	18	21	14	4	13	10
Midwest	19	17	23	12	6	15	8
South	20	18	17	10	4	20	11
West	18	23	21	13	5	13	7
Total Men	22	18	21	10	6	14	9

WHEN VOTERS OF THIS CITY/TOWN WILL BE READY TO ELECT A WOMAN MAYOR

	Al- ready Have/ Had One (vol.) %	Now %	In Next 5 Years %	In 10 Years %	In 20 Years %	In 50 Years %	Never %	Not Sure %
Total Women	2	29	20	15	9	2	14	9
Cities	3	27	19	17	10	3	12	9
Suburbs	2	33	21	17	9	2	11	5
Towns	2	21	20	14	8	4	20	11
Rural	2	29	19	12	7	1	18	12
Total Men	2	36	17	14	7	3	12	9

WHEN THIS COUNTRY WILL BE READY TO ACCEPT THE APPOINTMENT OF A WOMAN JUSTICE TO THE U. S. SUPREME COURT

	Now %	In Next 5 Years %	In 10 Years %	In 20 Years %	In 50 Years %	Never %	Not Sure %
Total Women	42	21	11	6	1	10	9
18 to 29	43	24	12	6	1	7	7
30 to 39	46	23	11	6	1	7	6
40 to 49	44	21	10	6	1	10	8
50 and over	37	18	11	5	1	14	14
8th grade	31	17	9	3	1	18	21
High school	40	23	11	7	1	10	8
College	54	20	11	5	1	5	4
East	46	22	10	6	1	7	8
Midwest	41	21	12	6	2	10	8
South	36	22	10	6	1	13	12
West	47	21	13	6	1	6	6
Total Men	50	19	9	4	2	9	7

WHEN YOU PERSONALLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE A WOMAN APPOINTED
JUSTICE TO THE U. S. SUPREME COURT

	<u>Now</u> %	<u>In</u> <u>Next</u> <u>5</u> <u>Years</u> %	<u>In 10</u> <u>Years</u> %	<u>In 20</u> <u>Years</u> %	<u>In 50</u> <u>Years</u> %	<u>Never</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total Women</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>
18 to 29	62	13	5	2	1	9	8
30 to 39	61	10	4	2	1	14	8
40 to 49	60	9	5	2	*	14	10
50 and over	48	9	5	1	1	21	15
8th grade	39	10	5	2	1	24	19
High school	54	12	5	2	1	16	10
College	71	8	4	1	1	8	7
East	61	12	5	2	*	10	10
Midwest	57	11	6	2	*	15	9
South	49	9	5	2	1	20	14
West	64	9	4	1	1	12	9
<u>Total men</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>

Observation:

Signs are clear that an appointment of a woman justice to the U.S. Supreme Court during the next administration would not be premature. When it comes to electoral politics, however, the mood of the country is slightly less encouraging for women. Least encouraging is the fact that as many women as men are resistant to the idea of women in top offices.

Overall, it appears that attaining public office will be a far greater challenge to women than participating at lower levels of political organizations, until members of both sexes overcome some of their "traditional" views regarding women's roles.

SECTION IV:
WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY

Women's Role in the Economy

While both sexes consider men more versed in business and economics than women, women have an important say in the economic life of this country — as consumers, as borrowers, as savers and investors and as voters. And that say could well be more important in the 1972 election than ever before, with the state of the economy likely to be a significant issue in the Presidential campaign.

Few men or women deny the role that women play in controlling the economy of the United States today. Two out of 5 (38% of women, 41% of men) consider it a "major role," while a like number (40% of women, 38% of men) consider it a "minor role." Only 11% of both sexes would say that women play "hardly any role at all."

Awareness of women's role in the economy increases directly with income. Among the \$15,000-and-over income group, a full 49% feel that women play a "major role" in controlling this country's economy. Similarly, among women who own stocks and/or mutual funds, 48% consider women's role to be "major."

ROLE WOMEN PLAY IN CONTROLLING THE ECONOMY OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY

	Major Role %	Minor Role %	Hardly Any Role at All %	Not Sure %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
Single	32	45	14	9
Married	40	41	10	9
Divorced, separated	37	34	14	15
Widowed	36	31	13	20
Black	30	37	15	18
White	40	40	10	10
18 to 29	36	46	11	7
30 to 39	41	38	12	9
40 to 49	44	38	9	9
50 and over	37	35	11	17
Under \$5,000	30	37	14	19
\$5,000 to \$9,999	37	42	11	10
\$10,000 to \$14,999	42	41	9	8
\$15,000 and over	49	39	8	4
Own stocks, mutual funds	48	39	8	5
<u>Total men</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>

The majority of women believe that women's role in the economy is just "about right," but for every woman who feels that women play "too large a role," there are more than 5 (27%) who find women's present role "too small."

ROLE WOMEN PLAY IN CONTROLLING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

	Too Large A Role %	Too Small A Role %	About Right Role %	Not Sure %
Total women	5	27	52	16
Single	4	42	37	17
Married	6	27	52	15
Divorced, separated	6	33	43	18
Widowed	2	20	50	28
Black	4	35	39	22
White	5	26	54	15
18 to 29	4	34	50	12
30 to 39	7	29	49	15
40 to 49	7	25	55	13
50 and over	4	21	51	24
Under \$5,000	4	26	46	24
\$5,000 to \$9,999	5	27	52	16
\$10,000 to \$14,999	5	27	55	13
\$15,000 and over	7	31	52	10
Own stocks, mutual funds	5	30	54	11
Total men	9	19	57	15

Observation:

There is apparent agreement between the sexes on women's present role in the economy, but men are somewhat more content than women to leave things the way they are, and even to limit women's say in the economy.

While the "pro-change" groups (the single, young, affluent and black) agree more strongly than other women that they should have more control over economic affairs, they speak from different vantage points. While the affluent feel women's control should be increased, they already enjoy an important role in the economy. However, single women, the young and black women are advocating greater control from a position of relative economic weakness.

Women As Borrowers

Two out of 3 women feel borrowing is a "perfectly normal part of using money intelligently." They reject the idea — and men agree — that borrowing indicates a failure to live within one's means. Rather, they say that "borrowing is a sensible way to buy something you need with someone else's money." But 3 out of 4 women say that borrowing is "a bad practice to fall into."

ATTITUDES TOWARD BORROWING

	Women												Total Men %	
	Total %	Black %		White %		18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	Under \$5,000 %	\$5,000 to \$9,999 %	\$10,000 to \$14,999 %		\$15,000 and Over %
Borrowing is a bad practice to fall into														
Agree	75	79	74	74	74	74	70	75	79	80	75	73	69	69
Disagree	20	11	21	21	22	22	25	18	14	13	20	22	26	27
Not sure	5	10	5	5	4	4	5	7	7	7	5	5	5	4
Borrowing is a perfectly normal part of using money intelligently														
Agree	65	56	66	66	66	66	69	68	58	55	64	70	75	73
Disagree	25	22	25	25	26	26	22	24	27	29	26	22	20	20
Not sure	10	22	9	9	8	8	9	8	15	16	10	8	5	7
Borrowing is a sensible way to buy something you need with someone else's money														
Agree	47	42	48	48	46	46	50	50	44	43	47	49	50	50
Disagree	41	34	42	42	43	43	39	39	43	41	41	41	41	41
Not sure	12	24	10	10	11	11	11	11	13	16	12	10	9	9
When I borrow money, it means I've failed to live within my means														
Agree	34	45	32	32	29	29	29	35	43	46	33	27	28	26
Disagree	61	43	64	64	67	67	68	61	50	46	62	70	70	73
Not sure	5	12	4	4	4	4	3	4	7	8	5	3	2	1

Observation:

In general, women see borrowing as a perfectly acceptable way of using money — if it is not done on a regular basis. Those who see borrowing in a more disparaging light, however, are the poor — that is, women who are likely to have suffered most from the financial and psychological burdens of debt.

Better than half the women (52%), compared with 45% of men, have department store charge accounts. Charge accounts are less common among single (31%), black (32%), young (47%), old (43%) and poor (25%) women than among married women (58%), the 30-to-39-year-olds (61%), the 40-to-49-year-olds (63%) and the affluent (76%).

More than one-fourth (27%) of women and 31% of men say that they owe "installment credit loans." One out of 5 women and men has "personal loans from banks." And only 1 in 100 women, compared to 1 in 50 men, reports that she has margin accounts at a brokerage firm.

Observation:

While married women report that they do incur debts, rarely are loans made in the name of the wife alone, but rather jointly with their husbands. Only in the case of department store purchases do women sometimes accept the responsibility of payment in their own name.

Women As Investors

There appears to be some uncertainty among women and men as to which sex owns more stocks, bonds and mutual funds in the United States today.

WHO OWNS MORE STOCKS, BONDS, MUTUAL FUNDS

	Women Own More %	Men and Women Own Same Amount %	Men Own More %	Not Sure %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>31</u>
Single	17	15	45	23
Married	20	16	34	30
Divorced, separated	13	19	36	32
Widowed	19	18	17	46
Black	9	16	33	42
White	21	16	33	30
18 to 29	9	18	47	26
30 to 39	21	15	37	27
40 to 49	25	18	29	28
50 and over	23	16	20	41
Under \$5,000	11	19	29	41
\$5,000 to \$9,999	15	16	36	33
\$10,000 to \$14,999	19	17	36	28
\$15,000 and over	36	13	33	18
Own stocks, mutual funds	35	16	30	19
<u>Total men</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>26</u>

When queried as to whether they have various savings and investments on which their own name appears, women and men gave similar affirmative responses:

- life insurance — 70% women, 75% men
- checking account — 70% women, 69% men
- savings account — 63% women, 65% men
- mortgage — 42% women, 39% men
- Government Bonds and/or U.S. Savings Bonds — 29% women, 31% men
- common stock — 18% women, 22% men
- real estate other than home — 17% women, 18% men
- mutual fund — 17% women, 18% men

But, when the married women of this group were asked whether their savings and investments were in their "own name alone" or "held jointly with their husbands," the answers were heavily weighted toward joint ownership. With the exception of life insurance policies (38% own name, 59% held jointly), at least 4 out of 5 had their savings and investments "jointly" with their husbands.

Observation:

While as many women as men have investments, the findings reveal an important clue to the degree of direct control women have over their investments: few women own their stocks, bonds and mutual funds in their name alone. It is clear that partnership in ownership is a widely accepted part of the marriage contract in American society — from which women have as much to gain as their husbands. It may well be that the primary reason for joint ownership is legitimate tax considerations, rather than any effort to deprive women of control over their investments.

Who makes the decisions about which stocks or mutual funds to invest in? Only 1 out of 7 women makes this decision herself, while 2 out of 5 say their husbands decide. When it comes to how much money to invest, husbands and wives seem to confer a little more. But, in both cases, most men say that they alone make the decisions.

WHO DECIDES WHICH STOCK OR MUTUAL FUND TO INVEST IN, AND HOW MUCH MONEY TO INVEST

(Base: 22% of women and 25% of men who own stock and/or mutual funds)

	Which Stock or Mutual Fund To Invest In		How Much Money to Invest	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Respondent	14	55	17	54
Spouse	42	2	35	3
Both	31	32	41	39
Other family member	4	3	3	2
Broker or financial advisor	8	8	2	2
Other	1	—	1	*
Not sure	—	—	1	*

Observation:

Few women hold their investments in their own name. More importantly, few decide how much money to invest, and even fewer decide which stocks and mutual funds to invest in, without consulting their husbands or allowing such decisions to be made entirely by their husbands. The majority of men, however, make these important decisions on their own. Therefore, the number of women who own stocks and mutual funds seems to be a misleading indication of the real power that women have over the stock market.

Feelings About the Stock Market

By 47 to 23%, women say they are more interested in the "growth (appreciation) of their stocks or mutual funds" than in "the dividends they pay." Male stock and mutual fund owners are more interested in "growth" by 58 to 19%.

By 41 to 10%, women feel that inflation "endangers" their stocks or mutual funds, rather than "helping them to grow." Men agree here by a higher 53 to 24%.

On the whole, women are somewhat less interested in the stock market than are their male counterparts. Only 1 out of 5 women says that she is "personally interested" in what happens in the stock market from day to day. But of the women who own stocks and/or mutual funds, 47% express an interest in day-to-day market events.

PERSONAL INTEREST IN WHAT HAPPENS IN THE STOCK MARKET
FROM DAY TO DAY

	Interested %	Not Interested %	Not Sure %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>2</u>
Single	18	80	2
Married	22	76	2
Divorced, separated	15	81	4
Widowed	16	77	7
Black	11	81	8
White	22	76	2
18 to 29	18	81	1
30 to 39	22	77	1
40 to 49	23	74	3
50 and over	22	74	4
Under \$5,000	11	85	4
\$5,000 to \$9,999	16	82	2
\$10,000 to \$14,999	23	75	2
\$15,000 and over	43	56	1
Own stocks, mutual funds	47	52	1
<u>Total men</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>2</u>

One in 3 women (31%) believes that the stock market is a true barometer of the health of the economy, while 42% of men believe that it is.

IS THE STOCK MARKET A TRUE BAROMETER OF THE HEALTH
OF THE ECONOMY

	Is a True Barometer %	Is Not a True Barometer %	Not Sure %
<u>Total Women</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>43</u>
Under \$5,000	20	25	55
\$5,000 to \$9,999	29	24	47
\$10,000 to \$14,999	36	27	37
\$15,000 and over	49	29	22
Own stocks, mutual funds	48	29	23
<u>Total Men</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>23</u>

More than half (57%) the women think that "it is possible to have a stock market crash such as we had in 1929," while 18% think that "such crashes can't take place anymore." By 60 to 26%, men also feel that such a crash could happen again.

The study shows an overall reluctance among women and men alike to invest in the stock market. Four out of 5 women feel that they'd rather keep money in a savings bank than "fool around with the stock market," and nearly 3 out of 4 men concur.

Most women feel that the stock market is "as risky as gambling," yet 2 out of 5 believe that investing in the market "is a good way to share in America's growth and prosperity."

ATTITUDES TOWARD INVESTING AND SAVING

	Women													Total Men %	
	Total %	Black %		White %		18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	Under \$5,000 %	\$5,000 to \$9,999 %	\$10,000 to \$14,999 %	\$15,000 and Over %		Own Stocks/Mutual Funds %
I'd rather keep my savings in a bank than fool around with the stock market, because I don't know enough about stocks and investing	80 12 8	78 4 18	80 13 7	82 11 7	75 15 10	82 12 6	80 11 9	86 7 7	80 14 6	65 30 5	62 32 6	73 20 7			
Investing in the stock market is about as risky as gambling	52 29 19	52 9 39	51 32 17	50 32 18	47 33 20	52 31 17	57 20 23	53 25 22	48 36 16	42 50 8	42 51 7	54 33 13			
Investing in the stock market is a good way to share in America's growth and prosperity	41 24 35	27 17 56	42 26 32	45 23 32	47 20 33	45 25 30	31 27 42	38 23 39	50 22 28	60 24 16	64 20 16	50 26 24			
Agree													50		
Disagree													26		
Not sure													24		

(continued)

(continued)

ATTITUDES TOWARD INVESTING AND SAVING (continued)

	Women													Total Men %								
	Total %	Black %		White %		18 to 29 %			30 to 39 %			40 to 49 %			50 and Over %		Under \$5,000 %	\$5,000 to \$9,999 %	\$10,000 to \$14,999 %	\$15,000 and Over %	Own Stocks/Mutual Funds %	
People who make money fast usually lose it	33	46	31	32	28	31	40										44	38	25	20	24	37
Agree																						
Disagree	52	34	55	58	59	52	41										37	49	62	69	65	51
Not sure	15	20	14	10	13	17	19										19	13	13	11	11	12
Buying stocks is a good way to stay ahead of inflation																						
Agree																						
Disagree	16	15	16	15	18	18	14										11	14	17	25	28	23
Not sure																						
Agree																						
Disagree	32	20	33	36	31	33	27										28	29	34	39	35	42
Not sure	52	65	51	49	51	49	59										61	57	49	36	37	35

Attitudes toward savings and investing were reflected in another question: What would you do if you had an extra \$1,000 to invest? More than half (56%) of all women and 49% of men would put it into a savings account.

IF YOU HAD AN EXTRA \$1,000, WHAT WOULD YOU BE MOST LIKELY TO DO WITH IT?

	Put It In a Savings Account %	Invest in Real Estate %	Invest it In Bonds %	Invest it in Common Stock %	Invest in Mutual Funds %	Buy Life Insurance %	Not Sure %
Total Women	56	19	10	4	3	3	5
Single	57	13	11	3	4	6	6
Married	55	22	10	4	3	2	4
Divorced, separated	59	13	11	—	2	6	9
Widowed	71	7	10	2	1	3	6
Black	63	6	11	1	1	5	13
White	55	21	10	4	3	3	4
18 to 29	54	25	8	3	2	4	4
30 to 39	55	23	9	4	4	2	3
40 to 49	49	21	14	5	3	2	6
50 and over	65	9	12	3	2	3	6
Under \$5,000	66	9	11	1	1	4	8
\$5,000 to \$9,999	60	18	10	2	2	3	5
\$10,000 to \$14,999	53	25	10	4	3	2	3
\$15,000 and over	41	26	12	11	6	2	2
Own stocks, mutual funds	40	26	13	11	6	1	3
Total Men	49	22	10	6	4	4	5

Observation:

Men obviously are more interested in following the stock market than are women. Yet women's interest here might well develop were they encouraged to make more of the decisions concerning their own investments.

Both sexes experience uncertainty about the market and view a savings account as a safer investment. While investing in the stock market might be a good way to share in the country's growth and prosperity, most people agree that it will remain "as risky as gambling" until they learn more about stocks and investing.

Preferences for savings accounts suggest also an interest on the part of many to keep their money as liquid as possible. Apart from wariness about the market, this attitude may well reflect a shortage of funds in today's economy and a failure to keep within the family budget.

Income and the Cost of Living

Women and men both feel it is becoming harder and harder to pay the family bills. Nearly 2 out of 3 women believe that their income increased "slower than living costs" during the past year.

HAS INCOME KEPT PACE WITH INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING IN PAST YEAR

	Kept Pace %	Increased Slower %	Increased Faster %	Not Sure %
1972				
Total Women	26	65	5	4
Under \$5,000	13	76	5	6
\$5,000 to \$9,999	22	69	5	4
\$10,000 to \$14,999	33	60	4	3
\$15,000 and over	41	50	7	2
Total men	25	63	8	4
1971				
Total women	27	66	4	3
Total men	26	65	6	3

During the next couple of years, only 1 in 4 women — and men, as well — expects income to “keep pace” with the rising cost of living.

WILL INCOME KEEP PACE WITH RISE IN COST OF LIVING IN NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS

	Will Keep Pace %	Will Increase Slower %	Will Increase Faster %	Not Sure %
1972				
<u>Total</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>
Under \$5,000	13	58	8	21
\$5,000 to \$9,999	20	55	7	18
\$10,000 to \$14,999	30	49	6	15
\$15,000 and over	41	42	7	10
<u>Total men</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>

Observation:

There seems to be no effective movement toward closing the gap between income levels and living costs during the last couple of years. The first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll showed an identical 2 out of 3 women complaining that their income had increased more slowly than living costs since the previous year.

Those surveyed identified the “major” causes of inflation as follows:

- “The cost of the Vietnam war” (78% of both sexes)
- “Federal government spending” (64% women, 65% men)
- “Taxes” (61% women, 54% men)
- “Union wage demands” (56% women, 61% men)
- “Business profits being too high” (55% women, 52% men)
- “The high interest rates on borrowing” (50% women, 48% men)
- “Welfare and relief money payments” (49% women, 45% men)
- “Local government spending” (30% women, 26% men)
- “People having too much money to spend” (20% of both sexes)
- “Federal money spent on education and health” (13% of both sexes)

Observation:

The cost of the Vietnam war is clearly uppermost in the minds of women as the “major” cause of inflation. This was also the finding in the earlier Virginia Slims Poll. But the present study points out that women are becoming more critical of other inflationary areas, such as taxes, union wage demands, high business profits and welfare and relief money payments.

Generally, the sexes seem to agree on the factors leading to inflation. The one cause of inflation which women single out noticeably more than men is taxes.

Keeping the Family Budget

Half of all women say that they “keep a budget” or other such plan for living within their income. Those women most likely to keep such an expense budget are married, white, under 30 and the middle income group.

WHETHER KEEP A BUDGET OR OTHER PLAN FOR LIVING WITHIN INCOME

	Keep Budget %	Don't Keep Budget %	Not Sure %
<u>Total Women</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>2</u>
Single	47	48	5
Married	52	47	1
Divorced, separated	49	49	2
Widowed	41	57	2
Black	43	54	3
White	51	48	1
18 to 29	61	37	2
30 to 39	55	43	2
40 to 49	46	53	1
50 and over	39	60	1
Under \$5,000	43	55	2
\$5,000 to \$9,999	53	46	1
\$10,000 to \$14,999	56	42	2
\$15,000 and over	50	48	2
<u>Total Men</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>2</u>

Among married women who keep a budget or some plan of expenses, 45% say that they do it alone, while 38% say that they and their husbands keep the budget together and 17% that their husbands do it by themselves. Married men see the situation somewhat differently however: only 33% say their wives keep the budget, while 39% say they keep the budget jointly and 27% of husbands say they keep the budget on their own.

Among divorced, separated and widowed women, 95% say they keep the budget alone. Three out of 4 low income women also do it alone.

WHO IN THE FAMILY KEEPS THE BUDGET OR PLAN

	Respondent %	Spouse %	Both %	Other %	Not Sure %
Total women who keep budget (50%)	52	14	31	3	*
Single	66	—	—	34	—
Married	45	17	38	*	*
Divorced, separated	95	1	4	—	—
Widowed	95	1	2	2	—
Black	60	6	26	8	—
White	52	15	31	2	*
18 to 29	51	14	29	6	—
30 to 39	47	16	37	*	—
40 to 49	52	14	34	*	*
50 and over	65	10	24	1	—
Under \$5,000	74	7	17	2	—
\$5,000 to \$9,999	52	11	34	3	—
\$10,000 to \$14,999	47	18	34	1	*
\$15,000 and over	40	20	37	3	—
Total men who keep budget (43%)	33	28	34	5	*
Married	27	33	39	1	—

Slightly more than 2 out of 5 women claim success in staying within the limits of their budgets. Those who have the most difficulty with their budgets include the divorced and separated, black and young women.

WHETHER USUALLY STAY WITHIN BUDGET OR PLAN

	Stay Within Budget %	Sometimes Run Over %	Have Money Left Over %	It Varies (vol.) %	Not Sure %
Total women who keep a budget (50%)	43	46	5	6	*
Single	46	45	1	7	1
Married	42	46	6	6	*
Divorced, separated	38	51	3	8	—
Widowed	59	36	2	3	—
Black	26	68	3	3	—
White	47	42	5	6	*
18 to 29	36	51	5	7	1
30 to 39	37	51	6	6	*
40 to 49	45	49	2	4	—
50 and over	60	29	5	5	1
Under \$5,000	44	45	4	7	—
\$5,000 to \$9,999	43	49	2	6	*
\$10,000 to \$14,999	42	48	5	4	1
\$15,000 and over	47	35	10	7	1
Total men who keep a budget (43%)	39	45	9	7	*

* Less than .5%.

The majority of women report that there's no money left "for saving, investing and other such things" when "all the things they have to pay for are taken care of."

WHETHER USUALLY HAVE ANY MONEY LEFT OVER FOR
SAVING AND INVESTING

	Have Money Left Over %	Don't Have Money Left Over %	Not Sure %
<u>Total Women</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>3</u>
Single	41	50	9
Married	48	49	3
Divorced, separated	23	76	1
Widowed	28	68	4
Black	23	75	2
White	47	49	4
18 to 29	45	50	5
30 to 39	46	51	3
40 to 49	44	53	3
50 and over	42	55	3
Under \$5,000	23	74	3
\$5,000 to \$9,999	37	60	3
\$10,000 to \$14,999	57	40	3
\$15,000 and over	71	25	4
<u>Total Men</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>3</u>

Observation:

The findings show that women's influence in the economy is largely confined to purchasing power. Few women have the final word when it comes to borrowing, saving and investing. Only in the area of budgeting family expenses do some women make decisions independently of their husbands.

With majorities of women just barely breaking even in their family's expenses, and most predicting that the gap between income and expenses will worsen in the next couple of years, one conclusion is inescapable: the state of the economy is an issue that has an enormous direct effect on the personal lives of most women in the United States — in many ways, more than on men, since women not only do the actual purchasing for the home but are often responsible for making ends meet.

SECTION V:
WOMEN AS VOTERS

Problems to Attack First

An overwhelming majority of women (65%) cite the war in Vietnam as the most urgent problem facing the U.S. today. National problems considered urgent by women and men are shown below:

MOST URGENT PROBLEMS FACING THIS COUNTRY TODAY (volunteered)

	Women														For President in 1972						Men Total %												
	Black		White		18 to 29		30 to 39		40 to 49		50 and Over		Under \$5,000		\$5,000 to \$9,999		\$10,000 to \$14,999		\$15,000 and Over			Repub- lican %	Demo- crat %	Inde- pend- ent %	Nixon		Wal- lace		Ken- nedy		Mus- kie %		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%					%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%
Total	65	50	67	70	65	64	59						59	65	69	68	63	67	63	71	68	67	56										
The war	35	24	37	40	33	35	32						31	33	38	42	36	34	39	26	34	36	47										
The economy	22	21	23	26	25	22	17						17	21	25	29	27	21	22	25	22	23	20										
Racial problems	17	19	17	11	18	19	21						18	20	17	12	14	18	19	20	15	16	10										
Drugs	17	6	19	22	19	16	13						13	17	21	20	23	15	18	12	16	18	16										
The environment	11	13	11	8	12	11	13						11	11	9	13	10	10	13	7	9	10	14										
Crime	10	15	9	14	12	6	6						9	10	10	10	8	10	8	8	7	13	6										
Poverty	9	14	8	7	9	11	10						9	11	7	9	11	9	7	9	4	11	12										
Unemployment	9	6	9	9	9	10	9						8	9	9	11	10	12	10	9	9	10	8										
Welfare	9	3	9	11	7	7	9						7	8	10	11	10	10	11	8	7	7	14										
Foreign relations	7	5	7	5	6	8	8						8	7	6	6	7	7	7	7	6	7	7										
Taxes	6	2	6	5	5	6	6						5	7	5	4	5	5	5	11	5	5	6										
Protests and riots	6	8	5	5	7	7	5						5	6	6	7	7	6	6	2	6	7	4										
Education	5	4	5	2	4	7	6						4	4	6	5	4	6	6	5	4	3	3										
Youth problems	4	4	5	4	6	5	3						4	4	6	2	2	3	3	15	3	2	4										
Busing	3	5	2	3	4	1	2						3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	4	3										
Housing	1	1	1	1	2	1	1						1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3										
Leadership	11	10	12	10	11	8	14						13	11	10	10	13	10	12	11	10	12	15										
All other	3	9	2	3	3	2	4						5	4	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	2	3										
Don't know																																	

These results point up some important differences in intensity of concern between men and women, and among key groups of women in America:

Sex: The findings show that women are more concerned about the war in Vietnam than are men. Women are also more worried about the drug problem. By contrast, men are more troubled by economic woes, unemployment, crime and foreign relations

Race: Among black women, worries are higher over poverty, unemployment, education, and housing; while white women are relatively more concerned about the war, the economy, the environment, welfare, foreign relations and protesting and rioting.

Age: Younger women tend to be more troubled by the war, the economy, racial problems, the environment and poverty, while older women are disturbed more by drugs, crime, unemployment and taxes.

Income: Women with incomes of \$15,000 or more reflect greater concern than lower income groups about the war, the economy, racial problems, the environment, welfare and foreign relations; while the under \$5,000 income group is largely troubled by the drug problem.

Political affiliation: Women who consider themselves Republicans tend to be more worried about the economy, drugs and crime than other women, while the concerns of women who see themselves as Democrats focus mainly on the war and unemployment. Independents, however, show the highest concern for racial problems, the environment and busing.

Candidate support: Supporters of President Nixon show greater concern over the economy, crime and foreign relations than do women supporting other Presidential candidates. Women who back Senator Muskie share a large concern over the environment with supporters of President Nixon, but, on other issues, they line up with Senator Kennedy supporters in their concern over poverty, unemployment and housing. Governor Wallace supporters tend to be most worried about the war, racial problems, drugs, protesting and rioting and busing.

TWO OR THREE NATIONAL PROBLEMS THAT SHOULD BE ATTACKED FIRST

	Total Women %	Voted in '68 %	Republican %	Democrat %	Independent %	For President in 1972			
						Nixon %	Wallace %	Kennedy %	Muskie %
Bringing the Vietnam war to an end	49	48	47	48	51	46	51	53	51
Curbing drug abuse	49	50	51	50	48	54	54	44	43
Reducing crime	27	26	29	27	22	31	23	25	22
Cutting down air and water pollution	21	22	21	19	26	24	18	19	23
Checking inflation	18	18	21	16	21	21	23	15	18
Reducing unemployment	16	16	15	17	15	14	11	19	19
Easing racial tensions	15	14	13	15	17	14	12	17	17
Keeping taxes in line	14	15	17	12	14	14	21	12	12
Improving public education	13	14	12	15	13	13	18	14	14
Improving the welfare system	11	11	10	12	14	10	7	13	13
Helping older people	8	7	8	8	6	6	8	8	8
Providing more help for poverty stricken people	6	6	4	7	7	5	5	9	8
Keeping spending in line	6	7	9	5	6	8	9	4	5
Negotiating a limit on nuclear weapons in the world	6	6	6	6	7	7	3	6	7
Providing better health care for everyone	4	4	5	4	5	4	3	5	5
Providing more low income housing	3	3	2	4	3	2	1	5	3
Improving relations with Mainland (Communist) China	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3
Improving relations with Russia	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	1	2
Sharing more federal revenues with states and cities	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	2
Handling student protests	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	2
Taking steps to achieve racial balance in housing	1	1	1	1	1	*	-	1	1
Providing more middle income housing	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
Improving public transportation	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1
None/not sure	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	1

Observation:

Both sexes place the highest priorities on resolving the Vietnam war and on economic recovery. Women, however, express far greater concern about the war than do men, while men apparently are more troubled by the economy than are women. Behind these two dominant issues, there is a roster of problems confronting the nation which every Presidential candidate must face if he hopes to win the women's vote.

The top six "very serious" problems in America today, according to the largest majorities of most women and men, are: curbing drug abuse, bringing the Vietnam war to an end, reducing crime, checking inflation, keeping taxes in line and cutting down air and water pollution.

PROBLEMS CONSIDERED "VERY SERIOUS" FOR THE NATION AS A WHOLE

	Women											
	Total	Black	White	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 and Over	Under \$5,000	\$5,000 to \$9,999	\$10,000 to \$14,999	\$15,000 and Over	Total Men
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Curbing drug abuse	91	88	92	89	90	94	92	89	92	95	89	86
Bringing the Vietnam war to an end	90	90	90	91	90	90	90	90	88	93	92	83
Reducing crime	85	86	85	80	85	87	89	84	86	87	84	79
Checking inflation	78	63	80	77	81	79	78	72	77	82	84	81
Keeping taxes in line	74	69	74	64	75	79	78	74	76	75	68	72
Cutting down air and water pollution	71	52	74	80	75	69	61	61	69	81	79	66
Reducing unemployment	69	74	68	71	69	69	67	70	70	69	69	67
Keeping spending in line	68	59	70	61	72	72	70	67	67	69	69	68
Easing racial tensions	66	65	66	71	67	65	61	63	65	69	70	62
Negotiating a limit on nuclear weapons in the world	64	51	65	65	63	64	63	59	61	67	73	64
Improving the welfare system	58	62	58	53	64	58	58	58	52	59	68	53
Providing more help for poverty stricken people	52	74	49	57	51	46	51	60	52	45	50	47
Helping older people	51	68	49	44	50	53	57	61	51	45	44	47
Providing better health care for everyone	50	71	47	53	49	47	51	60	52	44	43	52
Improving public education	47	58	46	51	51	45	42	49	45	45	53	47
Improving relations with Mainland (Communist) China	45	36	46	49	44	44	42	41	44	48	50	44
Handling student protests	43	38	44	37	43	44	48	43	44	45	38	39
Improving relations with Russia	42	37	42	41	40	43	43	40	42	44	42	41
Providing more low income housing	36	65	31	39	35	30	37	45	35	30	31	34
Sharing more federal revenues with states and cities	31	33	31	31	33	31	29	29	29	32	35	34
Taking steps to achieve racial balance in housing	28	48	26	32	30	26	25	31	26	27	30	28
Providing more middle income housing	26	42	23	25	25	24	27	29	27	21	24	24
Improving public transportation	24	26	28	21	24	25	26	25	20	26	27	28

PROBLEMS CONSIDERED "VERY SERIOUS" (continued)

	Voted in '68	Women						
		Republican	Democrat	Independent	For President in 1972			
	%	%	%	%	Nixon	Wallace	Kennedy	Muskie
					%	%	%	%
Curbing drug abuse	92	93	91	90	94	89	90	90
Bringing the Vietnam war to an end	91	87	92	90	88	87	93	93
Reducing crime	87	85	86	85	88	79	85	86
Checking inflation	81	82	77	82	81	78	77	80
Keeping taxes in line	75	75	75	71	73	79	73	74
Cutting down air and water pollution	72	71	69	79	71	68	72	74
Reducing unemployment	70	62	72	71	61	61	77	77
Keeping spending in line	70	71	67	69	70	71	65	69
Easing racial tensions	66	63	66	70	63	66	70	72
Negotiating a limit on nuclear weapons in the world	66	67	63	67	64	54	66	70
Improving the welfare system	61	59	57	63	57	44	63	64
Providing more help for poverty stricken people	50	43	55	54	42	38	63	61
Helping older people	51	46	56	49	42	53	57	57
Providing better health care for everyone	49	43	54	51	39	45	61	59
Improving public education	49	44	48	51	44	47	52	52
Improving relations with Mainland (Communist) China	46	45	46	46	43	35	48	49
Handling student protests	43	44	45	37	47	56	40	39
Improving relations with Russia	42	43	42	40	41	37	43	43
Providing more low income housing	35	29	40	35	25	26	47	44
Sharing more federal revenues with states and cities	33	30	32	34	27	33	36	37
Taking steps to achieve racial balance in housing	28	22	31	31	22	19	37	35
Providing more middle income housing	25	21	29	24	20	17	33	30
Improving public transportation	25	24	24	25	22	18	27	29

There is a direct correlation between the problems women rate as "very serious" and those they feel should be attacked first.

NATIONAL PROBLEMS THAT SHOULD BE ATTACKED FIRST

	<u>Total Women</u> %	<u>Total Men</u> %	<u>Net Women Over Men</u> %
Bringing the Vietnam war to an end	49	44	+5
Curbing drug abuse	49	41	+8
Reducing crime	27	25	+2
Cutting down air and water pollution	21	18	+3
Checking inflation	18	29	-11
Reducing unemployment	16	20	-4
Easing racial tensions	15	14	+1
Keeping taxes in line	14	17	-3
Improving public education	13	10	+3
Improving the welfare system	11	11	-
Helping older people	8	8	-
Providing more help for poverty stricken people	6	5	+1
Keeping spending in line	6	9	-3
Negotiating a limit on nuclear weapons in the world	6	8	-2
Providing better health care for everyone	4	5	-1
Providing more low income housing	3	4	-1
Improving relations with Mainland (Communist) China	3	3	-
Improving relations with Russia	2	5	-3
Sharing more federal revenues with states and cities	2	2	-
Handling student protests	2	3	-1
Taking steps to achieve racial balance in housing	1	1	-
Providing more middle income housing	1	1	-
Improving public transportation	1	1	-
None/not sure	2	1	+1

Note: totals here come to way over 100% as respondents were asked to select two or three problems.

Observation:

The Poll employed two methods here: women were asked first to volunteer what they considered to be serious national problems, and then they were asked to choose from a prepared list. The results were similar, with women showing deeper concern over drugs and the war than men. This may be explained in part by the findings of the previous Virginia Slims survey, which showed that in general women attach greater value to human life than do men and would thus be more distressed by both drug abuse and war.

Solutions to Serious Problems

Here are the ways women would cope with some of the problems facing the nation:

Drugs

Women show a strong preference for rehabilitation over punitive measures. Two out of 3 feel that "regular users of soft drugs like marijuana" should be given "medical and mental treatment" rather than "stiff prison terms." When it comes to "hard drugs like heroin and speed," 1 in 6 women advises "stiff prison terms," although a majority (56%) opt for "medical and mental treatment." Those least likely to favor punitive measures include black women, the young and the old, the affluent, women who consider themselves Independent and supporters of Senators Kennedy and Muskie.

TREATMENT OF REGULAR USERS OF "SOFT" DRUGS LIKE MARIJUANA
AND "HARD" DRUGS LIKE HEROIN AND SPEED

<u>Soft Drugs</u>	<u>Should Be Given Stiff Prison Terms</u> %	<u>Should be Given Medical and Mental Treatment</u> %	<u>Given Both (vol.)</u> %	<u>Given Neither (vol.)</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
Black	9	70	12	2	7
White	12	66	14	5	3
18 to 29	10	63	12	11	4
30 to 39	13	66	15	3	3
40 to 49	13	68	13	2	4
50 and over	10	69	15	1	5
Under \$5,000	12	63	15	5	5
\$5,000 to \$9,999	12	64	15	4	5
\$10,000 to \$14,999	11	69	13	4	3
\$15,000 and over	8	74	9	7	2
Republican	13	68	14	2	3
Democrat	11	67	14	4	4
Independent	8	64	13	10	5
For Nixon in 1972	14	64	16	2	4
For Wallace in 1972	17	57	22	2	2
For Kennedy in 1972	9	70	11	7	3
For Muskie in 1972	8	70	11	7	4
<u>Total men</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>

Hard Drugs

<u>Total women</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
Black	15	65	14	1	5
White	18	55	24	1	2
18 to 29	16	60	21	1	2
30 to 39	19	55	23	1	2
40 to 49	20	53	23	1	3
50 and over	16	55	24	1	4
Under \$5,000	17	55	23	1	4
\$5,000 to \$9,999	18	53	24	1	4
\$10,000 to \$14,999	18	54	25	1	2
\$15,000 and over	15	65	18	2	*
Republican	19	52	25	1	3
Democrat	18	57	21	1	3
Independent	14	61	23	*	2
For Nixon in 1972	20	50	27	1	2
For Wallace in 1972	22	46	27	2	3
For Kennedy in 1972	15	64	18	1	2
For Muskie in 1972	15	63	18	1	3
<u>Total men</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>

Observation:

On the whole, women opt for rehabilitation over imprisonment as a way of dealing with the drug problem — an indication that they have greater sympathy for drug users than do men. More men than women would choose stiff prison terms over medical and mental treatment.

Crime

More than 3 out of 5 women (64%) say that they personally feel "more afraid and uneasy on the streets today" than they did a year ago; fewer men (45%) share this feeling. This sense of fear is most common among black women (76% "more afraid and uneasy"), older women (73%), the poor (68%) and women in cities (71%). Also, supporters of Governor Wallace are more fearful than women who favor other candidates.

HOW FEEL ON THE STREETS TODAY COMPARED TO A FEW YEARS AGO

	More Afraid and Uneasy %	Less Afraid and Uneasy %	Not Much Different %	Not Sure %
<u>1972</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>1</u>
Black	76	2	19	3
White	62	2	35	1
18 to 29	56	3	41	*
30 to 39	64	1	34	1
40 to 49	66	3	30	1
50 and over	73	1	25	1
Under \$5,000	68	2	28	2
\$5,000 to \$9,999	67	2	30	1
\$10,000 to \$14,999	62	2	36	*
\$15,000 and over	56	3	41	*
Cities	71	2	26	1
Suburbs	65	3	31	1
Towns	57	2	40	1
Rural	60	1	38	1
Republican	59	3	37	1
Democrat	68	2	29	1
Independent	61	2	36	1
For Nixon in 1972	62	2	35	1
For Wallace in 1972	73	3	23	1
For Kennedy in 1972	65	2	32	1
For Muskie in 1972	64	2	33	1
<u>Total men</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>1971</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>—</u>
<u>Total men</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>—</u>

By 80 to 15%, women favor "a system of strict gun control under which every hand gun a person buys would have to be registered." Men favor strict gun control also, by 68 to 29%. Those women most in favor of gun control include black women, the young, Democrats, Independents and supporters of Senators Kennedy and Muskie.

FAVOR/OPPOSE A SYSTEM OF STRICT GUN CONTROL

	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>
Black	81	11	8
White	79	16	5
18 to 29	84	12	4
30 to 39	77	19	4
40 to 49	79	16	5
50 and over	78	14	8
Under \$5,000	77	15	8
\$5,000 to \$9,999	82	14	4
\$10,000 to \$14,999	78	18	4
\$15,000 and over	83	13	4
Republican	77	19	4
Democrat	81	13	6
Independent	80	17	3
For Nixon in 1972	76	19	5
For Wallace in 1972	66	27	7
For Kennedy in 1972	85	11	4
For Muskie in 1972	85	12	3
<u>Total men</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>3</u>

When asked whether "there is a gun in your home," 45% of women and 55% of men answered affirmatively. The largest numbers of women with guns in their homes are among the married, and supporters of Governor Wallace and President Nixon.

WHETHER THERE IS A GUN IN YOUR HOME

	Have Gun %	Don't Have Gun %	Not Sure %
Total women	45	53	2
Single	22	74	4
Married	51	47	2
Divorced, separated	31	67	2
Widowed	25	69	6
Black	39	54	7
White	46	52	2
Under \$5,000	36	60	4
\$5,000 to \$9,999	48	50	2
\$10,000 to \$14,999	50	49	1
\$15,000 and over	44	55	1
Republican	49	49	2
Democrat	43	55	2
Independent	45	54	1
For Nixon in 1972	51	47	2
For Wallace in 1972	67	31	2
For Kennedy in 1972	37	61	2
For Muskie in 1972	39	59	2
Total men	55	43	2

Observation:

While strong majorities of both sexes favor strict gun control, men lag behind women in their support of this measure. This may well be explained by the finding that far more men report the presence of a gun in their home.

In any case, the results indicate that women (particularly the black, elderly and poor) suffer most from the fear of crime, and would be more likely than men to support a candidate who shared their concern on this issue.

Pollution

For every woman who feels that the "air and water pollution" situation has improved in her area compared with a few years ago, there are 9 women who feel that things are worse. The belief that the environment has deteriorated is most prevalent among white women, the young, the affluent, women in the East and West, women in cities, Independents and Senator Muskie supporters.

**AIR AND WATER POLLUTION IN THIS AREA COMPARED WITH
A FEW YEARS AGO**

<u>1972</u>	<u>Worse</u> %	<u>Improved</u> %	<u>Remained the Same</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>5</u>
Black	49	9	32	10
White	56	6	35	3
18 to 29	60	5	30	5
30 to 39	57	7	32	4
40 to 49	52	8	35	5
50 and over	51	6	39	4
Under \$5,000	48	5	39	8
\$5,000 to \$9,999	54	6	36	4
\$10,000 to \$14,999	58	7	31	4
\$15,000 and over	59	8	30	3
East	60	6	30	4
Midwest	51	8	39	2
South	50	6	37	7
West	61	5	28	6
Cities	64	6	25	5
Suburbs	61	8	27	4
Towns	46	6	42	6
Rural	45	4	47	4
Republican	54	7	36	3
Democrat	55	6	35	4
Independent	61	9	26	4
For Nixon in 1972	54	7	35	4
For Wallace in 1972	52	4	41	3
For Kennedy in 1972	57	6	32	5
For Muskie in 1972	60	6	31	3
<u>Total men</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>1971</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Total men</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>2</u>

A majority of women (64%) would be "willing to pay \$300 more for a car to eliminate health risks from smog and pollution caused by present automobiles." Three out of 5 men share this willingness.

**WILLINGNESS TO PAY \$300 MORE FOR A CAR TO ELIMINATE
SMOG AND POLLUTION HEALTH RISKS**

	<u>Willing</u> %	<u>Not Willing</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>11</u>
Black	33	51	16
White	69	21	10
18 to 29	76	17	7
30 to 39	69	23	8
40 to 49	62	27	11
50 and over	51	31	18
Under \$5,000	46	38	16
\$5,000 to \$9,999	64	24	12
\$10,000 to \$14,999	73	20	7
\$15,000 and over	81	14	5
East	64	23	13
Midwest	67	24	9
South	57	31	12
West	74	18	8
Cities	62	27	11
Suburbs	74	17	9
Towns	64	25	11
Rural	57	29	14
Republican	69	22	9
Democrat	62	27	11
Independent	72	18	10
For Nixon in 1972	67	22	11
For Wallace in 1972	61	27	12
For Kennedy in 1972	64	26	10
For Muskie in 1972	67	25	8
<u>Total men</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>7</u>

Most women and men are also "willing to pay an additional 10% of their electric bill to eliminate health risks from smog and pollution caused by electrical generating plants."

**WILLINGNESS TO PAY ADDITIONAL 10% ON YOUR ELECTRIC BILL TO
ELIMINATE HEALTH RISKS FROM SMOG AND POLLUTION CAUSED BY
ELECTRICAL GENERATING PLANTS**

	<u>Willing</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Willing</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>11</u>
Black	34	50	16
White	60	30	10
18 to 29	66	25	9
30 to 39	57	35	8
40 to 49	55	35	10
50 and over	47	38	15
Under \$5,000	43	43	14
\$5,000 to \$9,999	55	33	12
\$10,000 to \$14,999	63	29	8
\$15,000 and over	70	24	6
East	57	32	11
Midwest	61	30	9
South	47	39	14
West	65	28	7
Cities	55	35	10
Suburbs	67	25	8
Towns	58	32	10
Rural	47	39	14
Republican	61	31	8
Democrat	54	34	12
Independent	64	28	8
For Nixon in 1972	59	30	11
For Wallace in 1972	49	41	10
For Kennedy in 1972	57	33	10
For Muskie in 1972	58	33	9
<u>Total men</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>6</u>

Those who are most willing to pay more to achieve pollution control include white women, the young, the affluent, women in the West, in the suburbs, women who consider themselves Republicans and Independents and supporters of President Nixon and Senator Muskie.

Observation:

While an expression of "willingness" to pay for pollution control should not necessarily be equated with actual payment, these results suggest that to a large degree women are ready to make financial sacrifices to achieve a cleaner environment.

The Economy

When asked in late 1971, three out of every 5 women expressed the belief that the country is "in a recession today," and men were even more convinced of this. When asked whether they expected the country to be "in a recession by this time next year," pluralities of women and men responded positively. Women least optimistic about economic recovery include the low income groups, Democrats, Independents and supporters of Senators Muskie and Kennedy.

IS COUNTRY IN A RECESSION TODAY,
WILL COUNTRY BE IN A RECESSION BY THIS TIME NEXT YEAR

	Today			By This Time Next Year		
	In Recession %	Not in Recession %	Not Sure %	In Recession %	Not in Recession %	Not Sure %
Total Women	60	23	17	42	26	32
Under \$5,000	58	18	24	43	20	37
\$5,000 to \$9,999	61	21	18	45	23	32
\$10,000 to \$14,999	62	24	14	39	28	33
\$15,000 and over	63	29	8	42	35	23
Own stocks, mutual funds	63	28	9	37	36	27
Republican	54	32	14	35	36	29
Democrat	65	18	17	47	21	32
Independent	65	22	13	44	27	29
For Nixon in 1972	53	31	16	34	35	31
For Wallace in 1972	63	17	20	45	19	36
For Kennedy in 1972	66	18	16	48	22	30
For Muskie in 1972	70	19	11	51	23	26
Total Men	62	29	9	42	34	24

Despite a felt "recession," more women (by 45 to 28%) favor President Nixon's economic policies than oppose them; 27% say they're "not sure." By 2 to 1, men agree that the Administration's policies are doing "more good than harm," but 1 in 5 is "not sure."

ARE PRESIDENT NIXON'S ECONOMIC POLICIES DOING MORE GOOD
THAN HARM OR MORE HARM THAN GOOD

	More Good Than Harm %	More Harm Than Good %	Not Sure %
Total Women	45	28	27
Black	16	48	36
White	50	25	25
18 to 29	46	31	23
30 to 39	48	29	23
40 to 49	46	27	27
50 and over	44	24	32
Under \$5,000	36	32	32
\$5,000 to \$9,999	45	29	26
\$10,000 to \$14,999	50	24	26
\$15,000 and over	57	24	19
Own stocks, mutual funds	58	21	21
East	43	28	29
Midwest	47	28	25
South	47	24	29
West	43	34	23
Cities	38	35	27
Suburbs	52	26	22
Towns	49	27	24
Rural	46	22	32
Republican	68	11	21
Democrat	35	39	26
Independent	48	25	27
For Nixon in 1972	74	5	21
For Wallace in 1972	37	31	32
For Kennedy in 1972	27	47	26
For Muskie in 1972	32	45	23
Total Men	53	26	21

Observation:

While more people claim to support President Nixon's economic policies than to oppose them, there is a high degree of uncertainty, both in evaluating his policies and in anticipating the state of the economy next year. Before making up their minds, a lot of people (particularly women) are waiting to see what happens.

Taxes

Nearly 3 in 4 women — and 2 in 3 men — agree that taxes in America are “unreasonable.” (Only 9% of black women take the position that taxes are “reasonable,” compared with 23% of white women).

ARE TAXES IN THE U. S. REASONABLE

	Reasonable.	Unreasonable	Not Sure
	%	%	%
1972			
Total Women	21	73	6
Single	17	75	8
Married	23	73	4
Divorced, separated	15	78	7
Widowed	15	74	11
Black	9	77	14
White	23	73	4
Under \$5,000	16	75	9
\$5,000 to \$9,999	18	77	5
\$10,000 to \$14,999	25	71	4
\$15,000 and over	29	67	4
Own stocks, mutual funds	29	67	4
Republican	27	70	3
Democrat	17	77	6
Independent	26	69	5
For Nixon in 1972	25	70	5
For Wallace in 1972	19	79	2
For Kennedy in 1972	18	75	7
For Muskie in 1972	21	74	5
Total Men	28	67	5
1971			
Total Women	26	67	7
Total Men	35	61	4

By 62 to 28%, women feel they “have reached the breaking point on the amount of taxes they pay.” Those who feel hardest hit by taxes are divorced and separated women and middle income groups. Men agree with women here, but by a slightly lower margin.

WHETHER HAVE REACHED BREAKING POINT ON AMOUNT OF TAXES YOU PAY

	Have Reached Breaking Point	Have Not Reached Breaking Point	Not Sure
	%	%	%
Total Women	62	28	10
Single	53	30	17
Married	63	30	7
Divorced, separated	69	20	11
Widowed	64	19	17
Black	61	16	23
White	62	30	8
Under \$5,000	61	21	18
\$5,000 to \$9,999	66	26	8
\$10,000 to \$14,999	64	30	6
\$15,000 and over	54	42	4
Own stocks, mutual funds	56	39	5
Republican	61	33	6
Democrat	64	25	11
Independent	60	34	6
For Nixon in 1972	59	34	7
For Wallace in 1972	68	23	9
For Kennedy in 1972	63	26	11
For Muskie in 1972	62	29	9
Total Men	55	37	8

Observation:

Taxes are a clear source of economic dissatisfaction among women, more so than among men. Women view taxes as a major cause of inflation and most find them unreasonable and intolerable. Since the first Virginia Slims Poll, it seems that taxes have become more of a burden for more women. If there is a tax-affected vote in 1972, women are likely to be a key factor.

Race Relations

Fifty percent of all women view blacks in America as "trying to move too fast," compared to 54% of men. Thirty-two percent of women and 31% of men feel that the pace is just "about right." Among likely Wallace supporters, 4 out of 5 women feel blacks are pushing "too fast."

SPEED AT WHICH BLACKS IN AMERICA ARE TRYING TO MOVE

	<u>Too Fast</u> %	<u>Too Slow</u> %	<u>About Right Pace</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>1972</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>10</u>
Black	15	31	46	8
White	55	5	30	10
18 to 29	45	12	34	9
30 to 39	46	9	36	9
40 to 49	52	6	32	10
50 and over	58	5	25	12
Under \$5,000	47	10	31	12
\$5,000 to \$9,999	52	8	29	11
\$10,000 to \$14,999	55	5	31	9
\$15,000 and over	42	9	41	8
East	48	8	32	12
Midwest	55	7	29	9
South	53	8	29	10
West	41	9	39	11
Republican	54	4	31	11
Democrat	50	10	31	9
Independent	43	10	38	9
For Nixon in 1972	56	3	31	10
For Wallace in 1972	80	1	10	9
For Kennedy in 1972	40	14	37	9
For Muskie in 1972	42	13	37	8
<u>Total men</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>1971</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Total men</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>5</u>

Are blacks justified in their demands? While 25% of women don't believe they are, 40% say they are justified. (Fewer Republicans, Nixon supporters and Wallace supporters, feel that blacks' demands are justified.) Three in 10 (29%) of the women said it "depends" on the demands.

ARE BLACKS JUSTIFIED IN THEIR DEMANDS

	<u>Are Justified</u> %	<u>Are Not Justified</u> %	<u>Depends (vol.)</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>1972</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>6</u>
Black	67	9	17	7
White	36	27	31	6
Republican	35	25	34	6
Democrat	43	25	26	6
Independent	45	22	29	4
For Nixon in 1972	34	27	34	5
For Wallace in 1972	21	49	23	7
For Kennedy in 1972	52	19	23	6
For Muskie in 1972	49	20	27	4
<u>Total men</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>1971</u>				
<u>Total women</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Total men</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>2</u>

School busing is overwhelmingly opposed by women, 76 to 17%. Those least opposed to busing are single women, blacks, the young, the poor, Democrats and supporters of Senators Kennedy and Muskie.

FAVOR/OPPOSE BUSING CHILDREN TO SCHOOLS TO ACHIEVE RACIAL DESEGREGATION

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sure</u>
<u>Total women</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>7</u>
Single	35	57	8
Married	14	80	6
Divorced, separated	31	61	8
Widowed	14	78	8
Black	43	52	5
White	13	80	7
18 to 29	23	70	7
30 to 39	17	79	4
40 to 49	13	80	7
50 and over	12	79	9
Under \$5,000	22	70	8
\$5,000 to \$9,999	16	76	8
\$10,000 to \$14,999	12	84	4
\$15,000 and over	17	77	6
Republican	10	83	7
Democrat	20	75	5
Independent	16	78	6
For Nixon in 1972	10	85	5
For Wallace in 1972	8	88	4
For Kennedy in 1972	27	66	7
For Muskie in 1972	23	70	7
<u>Total men</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>7</u>

Observation:

Regardless of what happens in the judiciary and executive branches of the Federal government, it is unlikely that racial tensions in the U.S. will be eased substantially as long as a majority of Americans feel that blacks are trying to move "too fast" toward equality. The findings show that school busing is an extremely unpopular solution to the racial problem.

Priorities in Government Spending

Majorities of women would like to see additional Government funds going toward "pollution control" and "federal aid to education."

AREAS OF FEDERAL SPENDING THAT SHOULD RECEIVE ADDITIONAL FUNDS

	Women						Total Men
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Pollution control	53	57	50	59	57	53	50
Federal aid to education	52	49	54	57	47	43	48
Federal poverty program	39	32	42	42	33	25	33
Federal aid to cities	22	23	23	22	21	13	28
Federal welfare spending	19	13	23	16	11	14	17
Federal highway financing	7	9	7	6	7	15	15
Other defense spending (besides Vietnam)	6	7	6	6	8	11	10
Vietnam spending	4	5	4	4	5	9	2
Space program	4	6	3	5	5	3	9
Foreign aid	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
None/not sure	11	12	11	7	14	16	10

Cuts should be made in these three areas of Government spending, say majorities of women: "foreign aid," "the space program" and "Vietnam spending." (Men show an even greater interest in reducing spending for foreign aid and Vietnam.)

AREAS OF FEDERAL SPENDING THAT SHOULD BE CUT FIRST

	Women						Total Men
	Total %	Republican %	Democrat %	Independent %	Nixon %	Wallace %	
Foreign aid	58	63	57	58	64	66	61
Space program	57	51	62	54	52	57	45
Vietnam spending	55	48	57	61	47	36	67
Federal welfare spending	27	34	23	28	37	38	32
Other defense spending (besides Vietnam)	21	18	21	25	16	12	23
Federal highway financing	15	15	14	17	13	9	10
Federal aid to cities	7	8	6	7	9	7	7
Federal poverty program	7	11	5	5	9	16	9
Pollution control	3	4	4	2	4	2	3
Federal aid to education	3	5	3	3	5	4	4
None/not sure	4	3	5	1	1	4	3

Should the federal government give more money to help the cities? Forty-six percent of women say it should, while 31% feel federal spending for cities should remain "about the same."

SHOULD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GIVE MORE MONEY TO HELP THE CITIES

	More Money %	Less Money %	About the Same as it Has %	Not Sure %
Total women	46	8	31	15
Black	59	4	20	17
White	44	8	33	15
18 to 29	54	4	29	13
30 to 39	52	8	29	11
40 to 49	43	10	31	16
50 and over	36	9	34	21
Under \$5,000	42	9	29	20
\$5,000 to \$9,999	45	7	33	15
\$10,000 to \$14,999	45	8	34	13
\$15,000 and over	53	8	27	12
East	59	5	24	12
Midwest	42	9	34	15
South	37	10	33	20
West	48	6	32	14
Cities	58	5	24	13
Suburbs	53	6	29	12
Towns	37	10	34	19
Rural	30	11	40	19
Republican	38	10	35	17
Democrat	50	7	29	14
Independent	51	7	30	12
For Nixon in 1972	36	10	38	16
For Wallace in 1972	34	14	38	14
For Kennedy in 1972	58	4	25	13
For Muskie in 1972	57	6	25	12
Total men	48	10	32	10

But if more aid to the cities means higher taxes, women — and men — become far less enthusiastic. A majority (71%) of both sexes are “not willing to pay higher taxes to see more money go to help the cities.”

**WILLINGNESS TO PAY HIGHER TAXES TO SEE MORE MONEY
GO TO HELP THE CITIES**

	<u>Willing</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Willing</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>11</u>
Black	13	68	19
White	18	72	10
18 to 29	23	65	12
30 to 39	18	73	9
40 to 49	15	74	11
50 and over	13	74	13
Under \$5,000	15	71	14
\$5,000 to \$9,999	15	74	11
\$10,000 to \$14,999	18	73	9
\$15,000 and over	27	64	9
East	19	70	11
Midwest	19	70	11
South	12	75	13
West	22	69	9
Cities	22	66	12
Suburbs	21	68	11
Towns	16	73	11
Rural	10	78	12
Republican	17	75	8
Democrat	17	71	12
Independent	22	67	11
For Nixon in 1972	14	77	9
For Wallace in 1972	6	86	8
For Kennedy in 1972	23	65	12
For Muskie in 1972	23	66	11
<u>Total men</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>8</u>

Women would welcome cuts not only in Vietnam spending but in defense spending in general. While 36% of women would “keep defense spending where it is now,” 45% favor “decreasing defense spending.” Among Kennedy and Muskie supporters, majorities would cut defense spending.

FEELINGS TOWARD DEFENSE SPENDING

	<u>Favor</u> <u>Increasing</u> <u>Defense</u> <u>Spending</u> %	<u>Favor</u> <u>Decreasing</u> <u>Defense</u> <u>Spending</u> %	<u>Favor</u> <u>Keeping Defense</u> <u>Spending Where</u> <u>it is Now</u> %	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>12</u>
Black	7	47	26	20
White	7	45	37	11
18 to 29	5	50	36	9
30 to 39	7	46	36	11
40 to 49	6	44	38	12
50 and over	8	41	35	16
Under \$5,000	7	42	34	17
\$5,000 to \$9,999	7	45	35	13
\$10,000 to \$14,999	5	46	40	9
\$15,000 and over	7	52	34	7
Republican	7	41	39	13
Democrat	7	45	37	11
Independent	6	56	30	8
For Nixon in 1972	8	37	43	12
For Wallace in 1972	13	34	35	18
For Kennedy in 1972	5	54	32	9
For Muskie in 1972	5	56	31	8
<u>Total men</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>6</u>

By 47 to 31%, women would oppose "federal funds spent for housing, welfare and other assistance" if this meant "reducing the United States to a second position behind the Soviet Union." Men are even more opposed — 56 to 27% — to such a possibility.

FAVOR/OPPOSE SPENDING FEDERAL FUNDS FOR HOUSING, WELFARE AND OTHER ASSISTANCE AT THE COST OF PUTTING THE U. S. BEHIND USSR IN MILITARY DEFENSE

	<u>Favor Such Spending</u> %	<u>Oppose Such Spending</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
<u>Total women</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>23</u>
Black	40	24	36
White	28	51	21
18 to 29	39	43	18
30 to 39	31	50	19
40 to 49	25	52	23
50 and over	22	48	30
Under \$5,000	31	37	32
\$5,000 to \$9,999	29	49	22
\$10,000 to \$14,999	28	51	21
\$15,000 and over	34	53	13
Republican	25	56	19
Democrat	30	46	24
Independent	38	45	17
For Nixon in 1972	22	59	19
For Wallace in 1972	14	62	24
For Kennedy in 1972	40	38	22
For Muskie in 1972	40	41	19
<u>Total men</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>17</u>

Observation:

Women's concerns are much more oriented toward domestic than international affairs. They recognize a great need for increased funds for the nation's cities, although they are not prone to paying higher taxes to achieve it. While most women support cuts in defense spending, they are not ready to concentrate on domestic problems at the expense of our superior military position vis-a-vis other world powers.

Leanings Toward Candidates

Women and men were asked to choose the 3 or 4 phrases that best describe 7 possible Presidential candidates.

Women (33%) and men (31%) refer most often to President Nixon as "intelligent" and a "good family man" (women by 31% and men by 22%). Senator Muskie is viewed as "straight-forward" by 28% of women and 31% of men. Both women (30%) and men (27%) find Senator Kennedy "intelligent" and also say he "speaks well" (women by 29%, men by 26%). Women (25%) and men (24%) regard Senator Humphrey as "intelligent" and "straight-forward" (women by 25%, men by 26%). Governor Wallace is described as "narrow-minded" by 32% of women and 31% of men.

WORD PROFILES OF SEVEN POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

	President Nixon			Senator Muskie			Senator Kennedy			Governor Wallace			Senator Humphrey			Mayor Lindsay			Senator McGovern		
	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Intelligent	33		31	25		24	30		27	10		11	25		24	20		20	15		16
2. Good family man	31		22	10		10	9		8	4		4	17		14	5		5	3		3
3. Experienced	30		31	14		17	15		16	6		7	25		26	11		10	8		8
4. Straight-forward	23		26	28		31	14		17	18		26	18		21	12		14	12		14
5. Honest	20		21	20		25	12		13	9		11	20		20	11		12	10		14
6. Speaks well	20		19	19		20	29		26	13		15	19		22	21		21	11		12
7. Knowledgeable	19		19	17		18	13		14	7		5	16		17	9		10	9		10
8. Open to new ideas	16		17	17		18	18		19	6		7	12		14	18		18	12		12
9. Sincere	15		14	14		15	7		9	7		8	15		15	9		10	9		9
10. Courageous	14		17	6		6	16		15	14		19	8		10	11		11	7		8
11. Tricky	14		18	2		3	6		8	16		14	5		7	4		6	1		1
12. Real leadership ability	11		11	11		11	13		11	6		7	8		8	10		9	5		4
13. Not much leadership ability	10		12	5		7	8		10	12		13	13		15	6		9	4		9
14. Insincere	10		12	2		3	9		12	12		12	6		8	5		9	2		4
15. Too cautious	8		9	2		5	2		2	1		2	6		7	1		2	1		3
16. Narrow-minded	8		9	2		4	2		4	32		31	5		7	2		3	2		5
17. Speaks poorly	8		7	2		2	2		1	5		6	7		8	1		1	2		2
18. Good upbringing	5		3	2		2	14		12	1		1	3		2	2		1	1		1
19. Dishonest	4		6	1		1	9		11	8		7	2		3	2		2	1		1
20. Unattractive	3		3	1		3	1		1	4		3	5		5	*		*	1		2
21. Not good-looking	3		2	2		2	*		*	1		1	5		2	*		*	*		*
22. Inexperienced	2		2	3		7	7		12	8		13	3		4	7		4	*		*
23. Handsome	2		1	1		2	21		14	2		2	1		1	10		4	4		9
24. Uninformed	2		4	1		2	1		3	6		6	2		3	16		1	1		1
25. Not very bright	2		3	1		1	2		3	7		7	3		3	5		2	2		4
26. Attractive	1		*	1		1	8		6	1		*	*		*	1		1	1		2
27. Not a good family man	*		1	*		*	7		6	2		1	*		*	7		4	*		1
28. Not so good upbringing	*		1	*		*	1		1	2		2	*		*	*		1	*		*
29. None/not sure	8		7	37		28	18		16	29		25	23		18	39		35	61		51

Observation:

These findings suggest that two possible Democratic candidates may enjoy greater popularity among women than among men: Senator Kennedy and Mayor Lindsay. Not surprisingly, the physical appearance of these two men is appealing to women. However, the extent to which this attraction could, in fact, influence the female vote has yet to be established.

The results also show that women are more likely to credit President Nixon with one positive trait to which men are generally less responsive — 1 out of 3 describes him as a "good family man," compared with only 1 out of 5 men. In the minds of many women, it seems the President fills the role of head of "the first family" with great success.

Many women are still uncertain about the abilities and personalities of several of the possible Presidential candidates, particularly Senator McGovern. Senator Muskie leaves 2 out of 5 women unable to describe him. Compared with President Nixon, both of these men suffer from lack of exposure.

Rating the President

Those surveyed were asked to rate President Nixon on a variety of domestic and international responsibilities. Three out of 5 approve of his efforts in "working for peace in the world" and "putting in the wage-price freeze." On "handling the Vietnam war," however, majorities give him negative ratings. What's more, more than 2 in 3 women feel that he is not "handling taxes and spending," "keeping down the cost of living" and "keeping down unemployment" to their liking, and 3 out of 5 question the way he is "handling civil rights and race matters."

RATING OF JOB PRESIDENT NIXON IS DOING IN SPECIFIC AREAS

	Total Women			Total Men			Net Women Over Men
	Posi- tive %	Nega- tive %	Not Sure %	Posi- tive %	Nega- tive %	Not Sure %	
Working for peace in the world	60	38	2	60	37	3	—
Putting in the wage-price freeze	59	35	6	60	35	5	-1
Taxing all imported goods from foreign countries 10%	58	28	14	66	26	8	-8
TV speeches and press conferences	55	40	5	55	43	2	—
Handling relations with Russia	54	35	11	58	37	5	-4
Keeping controls on price increases	48	47	5	52	45	3	-4
Keeping controls on wage increases	47	46	7	52	43	5	-5
His upcoming summit meeting with Russian leaders in Moscow	46	30	24	51	34	15	-5
His upcoming trip to Mainland China	45	35	20	50	37	13	-5
Handling the Vietnam war	42	55	3	46	51	3	-4
Inspiring confidence personally in the White House	40	46	14	41	48	11	-1
Handling relations with Communist China	37	40	23	46	42	12	-9
Keeping the economy healthy	35	58	7	36	60	4	-1
Handling civil rights and race matters	34	60	6	34	61	5	—
Handling the Middle East crisis	34	45	21	38	48	14	-4
Handling crime and law and order	33	61	6	34	62	4	-1
Handling control of air and water pollution	32	59	9	32	62	6	—
Winding down the war in Indo- China	29	52	19	39	50	11	-10
Handling taxes and spending	27	66	7	28	68	4	-1
Keeping down the cost of living	26	70	4	26	71	3	—
Keeping down unemployment	21	73	6	20	76	4	+1

Note: "Positive" = sum of "excellent" plus "pretty good" ratings; "negative" = sum of "only fair" plus "poor" ratings.

"Suppose the 1972 election for President were being held today and you had to choose right now" — this hypothetical possibility was presented to those polled late in 1971. Women and men were asked to indicate their preferences regarding various combinations of candidates. The results highlight the differences between the sexes, and the differences among certain groups of women.

President Richard Nixon: Men show a slightly higher preference for re-electing President Nixon than do women, no matter who his opponents are. Among women, the President's greatest support comes from the married and widowed, white, women 40 years of age and over, those with incomes of \$10,000—\$15,000, the college educated and women in suburbs.

Senator Edmund Muskie: When asked to choose among President Nixon, Senator Muskie and Governor Wallace, women (39%) show a higher preference for Muskie than do men (35%), with his greatest support coming from single women, blacks, women under 40, the \$15,000-and-over group, the college educated, women in the East and West and from urban areas.

Senator Edward Kennedy: If the Presidential race were among President Nixon, Senator Kennedy, and Governor Wallace, 2 out of 5 women would support Kennedy. His greatest female support comes from blacks, single, young, poor, less well-educated and women in cities.

Senator Hubert Humphrey: In an election contest among President Nixon, Senator Humphrey and Governor Wallace, women (36%) indicate more support for Humphrey than do men (34%). Women give him substantially more support than do men among blacks, the 30 to 39-year-old group, the poor and also in the East and Midwest. In the South, however, men (34%) favor Humphrey more than women do (31%).

In a race against President Nixon and Governor Wallace, Humphrey could expect to find his strongest support among black, single, divorced or separated women, the poorly educated and women in cities.

Governor George Wallace: Wallace clearly has greater strength among men than women, regardless of who his opponents are. Among women, he receives the greatest support from married, divorced or separated women, white women, the under-\$10,000 group, the less well educated, women in the South, and those in rural areas.

NIXON VS. MUSKIE VS. WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1972

	Women				Men			
	Nixon %	Muskie %	Wallace %	Not Sure %	Nixon %	Muskie %	Wallace %	Not Sure %
Total	42	39	9	10	44	35	14	7
Single	36	50	4	10	34	48	9	9
Married	43	38	10	9	45	33	15	7
Divorced, separated*	28	47	10	15				
Widowed*	46	33	7	14				
Black	22	58	2	18	24	58	3	15
White	45	37	10	8	46	32	16	6
18 to 29	38	43	10	9	37	40	15	8
30 to 39	41	43	8	8	41	35	19	5
40 to 49	43	36	10	11	45	37	12	6
50 and over	45	34	9	12	49	31	12	8
Under \$5,000	35	38	11	16	34	37	15	14
\$5,000 to \$9,999	40	38	11	11	42	36	16	6
\$10,000 to \$14,999	45	39	9	7	48	35	12	5
\$15,000 and over	51	42	3	4	54	33	10	3
8th grade	32	35	13	20	39	37	12	12
High school	40	38	12	10	39	34	18	9
College	48	43	3	6	50	36	10	4
East	38	45	5	12	45	38	11	6
Midwest	42	42	8	8	51	32	11	6
South	44	27	18	11	37	32	22	9
West	42	43	5	10	39	44	10	7
Cities	34	47	7	12	36	43	13	8
Suburbs	46	40	7	7	47	33	14	6
Towns	42	37	10	11	44	31	14	11
Rural	46	30	14	10	47	32	15	6

* The bases here for men are too small for statistical validity.

NIXON VS. KENNEDY VS. WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1972

	Women				Men			
	Nixon %	Kennedy %	Wallace %	Not Sure %	Nixon %	Kennedy %	Wallace %	Not Sure %
Total	42	40	9	9	43	36	14	7
Single	31	58	3	8	33	51	9	7
Married	45	37	10	8	44	34	15	7
Divorced, separated*	24	61	7	8				
Widowed*	44	37	6	13				
Black	10	78	1	11	13	73	2	12
White	47	34	10	9	49	29	16	6
18 to 29	33	53	9	5	34	44	16	6
30 to 39	44	40	9	7	42	36	17	5
40 to 49	46	36	9	9	47	32	14	7
50 and over	47	30	9	14	47	33	12	8
Under \$5,000	32	47	8	13	32	44	15	9
\$5,000 to \$9,999	37	45	10	8	38	36	18	8
\$10,000 to \$14,999	50	33	10	7	49	32	12	7
\$15,000 and over	56	32	6	6	59	29	9	3
8th grade	28	48	10	14	35	43	12	10
High school	38	42	11	9	37	38	18	7
College	55	34	5	6	53	31	11	5
East	42	42	5	11	45	37	12	6
Midwest	43	42	7	8	51	31	11	7
South	41	33	18	8	34	35	23	8
West	44	43	5	8	41	45	8	6
Cities	35	49	7	9	32	48	13	7
Suburbs	50	38	7	5	49	31	14	6
Towns	45	37	9	9	48	30	14	8
Rural	42	33	13	12	47	30	16	7

* The bases here for men are too small for statistical validity.

NIXON VS. HUMPHREY VS. WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1972

	Women				Men			
	Nixon %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Not Sure %	Nixon %	Humphrey %	Wallace %	Not Sure %
Total	44	36	10	10	45	34	14	7
Single	36	46	4	14	34	47	10	9
Married	46	34	11	9	47	32	15	6
Divorced, separated*	30	49	9	12				
Widowed*	45	37	6	12				
Black	10	76	2	12	15	70	4	11
White	49	30	11	10	51	28	16	5
18 to 29	43	38	11	8	40	35	18	7
30 to 39	45	38	8	9	45	33	17	5
40 to 49	46	34	10	10	48	34	11	7
50 and over	46	33	9	12	47	33	13	7
Under \$5,000	34	41	10	15	36	37	17	10
\$5,000 to \$9,999	41	38	12	9	41	36	16	7
\$10,000 to \$14,999	51	30	10	9	53	28	13	6
\$15,000 and over	57	32	5	6	55	32	9	4
8th grade	26	45	12	17	33	42	14	11
High school	41	37	12	10	41	34	19	6
College	58	31	4	7	56	28	10	6
East	42	40	5	13	46	36	11	7
Midwest	46	37	8	9	53	30	12	5
South	40	31	19	10	38	34	22	6
West	49	36	6	9	43	36	12	9
Cities	36	45	8	11	37	42	14	7
Suburbs	51	33	8	8	51	30	14	5
Towns	47	32	11	10	47	29	15	9
Rural	45	30	13	12	48	31	15	6

* The bases here for men are too small for statistical validity.

Party Affiliation

While one half of voters — both women and men — say they are registered as Democrats, a higher percentage of women (48%) than men (44%) consider themselves Democrats. While 1 out of 4 men and women considers himself a Republican, a higher proportion (31%) of both sexes say they are registered Republicans.

Democratic identity among women appears strongest among blacks, the poor, the less educated, women in cities and in the South. Republican identity increases among white women, older women, those in the West, Midwest and in suburbs.

PARTY AFFILIATION

	Women										
	Total %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	50 and Over %	Under \$5,000 %	\$5,000 to \$9,999 %	\$10,000 to \$14,999 %	\$15,000 and Over %
31	6	34	22	31	34	35	25	25	33	43	
50	83	47	47	49	48	52	58	56	47	38	
10	3	10	19	10	8	5	7	11	10	10	
2	*	2	4	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	
7	8	7	8	8	9	6	9	6	8	7	
25	7	28	18	25	27	32	21	21	27	38	
48	75	44	43	49	47	49	54	51	44	33	
18	6	20	23	20	18	13	13	18	22	23	
2	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	
7	11	6	13	5	6	4	11	8	4	4	

(continued)

PARTY AFFILIATION (continued)

Women												Total Men %
8th Grade %	High School %	Col-lege %	East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %	Cities %	Sub-urbs %	Towns %	Rural %		
20	27	40	33	37	17	37	21	38	33	33	31	
66	55	38	48	38	69	46	60	43	47	48	50	
6	9	11	14	10	4	10	10	11	7	9	11	
—	2	3	1	4	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	
8	7	8	4	11	9	4	6	6	11	8	6	
17	21	36	25	30	17	31	18	30	27	28	25	
61	51	35	44	41	58	46	55	41	45	45	44	
9	18	24	21	22	14	15	18	22	18	16	24	
1	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	4	2	3	
12	8	3	8	4	10	5	7	6	6	9	4	

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

	Radical Left %	Liberal %	Moderate %	Conser- vative %	Right Winger %	Other %	Not Sure %
Total	1	14	32	27	1	1	24
Single	6	32	22	19	1	3	17
Married	1	13	32	28	1	1	24
Divorced, separated	4	17	25	17	6	3	28
Widowed	1	10	27	30	1	1	30
Black	2	20	19	16	4	1	38
White	1	13	33	29	1	1	22
18 to 29	3	22	26	22	1	1	25
30 to 39	1	14	33	31	1	1	19
40 to 49	*	12	36	26	1	1	24
50 and over	*	8	31	32	1	1	27
Under \$5,000	2	13	22	23	2	2	36
\$5,000 to \$9,999	1	12	33	26	1	1	26
\$10,000 to \$14,999	*	14	34	31	1	1	19
\$15,000 and over	1	19	38	31	*	2	9
8th grade	1	10	18	21	2	1	47
High school	1	10	34	27	1	1	26
College	2	22	35	30	*	2	9
East	2	16	34	27	*	1	20
Midwest	1	14	36	25	1	1	22
South	1	10	21	32	2	1	33
West	2	17	35	24	1	3	18
Cities	2	19	29	23	1	2	24
Suburbs	1	14	37	32	*	1	15
Towns	*	12	27	26	2	2	31
Rural	*	9	32	28	1	*	30
Republican	*	8	33	43	*	1	15
Democrat	1	17	30	24	2	1	25
Independent	2	17	39	23	*	2	17
For President in 1972							
Nixon	—	6	31	44	1	1	17
Wallace	1	6	28	32	2	1	30
Kennedy	2	23	31	17	1	1	25
Muskie	3	24	34	18	1	1	19
Total Men	2	18	31	30	2	1	16

* Less than 0.5%

Observation:

The survey shows that President Nixon does not run as well with women voters as he does with men. This may be due largely to the fact that there are more registered Democrats among women than among men, as well as more women who consider themselves to be Democrats.

In any event, the findings clearly support women's earlier claim that they have minds of their own on political matters. Moreover, their particular priorities and preferences — in many instances, different from those of men — will inevitably come into play in the way they vote. Until women are ready to emerge from "behind the scenes" and take their place among men in public office, the voting booth may remain their strongest seat of political power.

Women yearn for greater involvement in the political life of this country. Only through their increased participation in politics on all levels can one of women's assumptions be tested: that this country would be better off if women had more to say about politics.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

- More and more women — and men — are voicing support of women's efforts to change and strengthen their role in society.
- But half of all women are unsympathetic toward the efforts of "women's liberation groups."
- Most women are pretty satisfied with their lives, although they are aware of the problems and injustices that they face as women.
- By nearly 2 to 1, women assert that their political beliefs are independent of their husbands'— and most men confirm this.
- The majority of women today tend to look to other women to represent their sex in political offices.
- There appears to be a large untapped source of available "women power" that political candidates are neglecting in their campaigns.
- Most women say they are not discriminated against in political organizations, but that they face widespread discrimination when it comes to getting top Government jobs and executive positions in business.
- Women take the staunch position that they can be just as effective as men in politics — and often more so.
- Women credit themselves with particular capabilities in dealing with such areas as children and family problems, consumer interests and problems of the poor.

- The majority of women would not be prejudiced against a qualified female candidate for President, but 2 out of 5 say they would be less likely to vote for her as against a man with comparable qualifications.
- Large numbers of women and men believe that a woman President would be less tough than a man in dealing with crime, would show less physical and emotional strength in office and would be less able to deal with big business and the economy.
- By 8 to 1, women feel that there are too few women delegates at Republican and Democratic National Conventions.
- The appointment of a woman to the U.S. Supreme Court now would be welcomed by 57% of women and half of all men.
- A "pro-change" women's coalition of single women, the young, the affluent and blacks feels more strongly than others that women should have more control over economic affairs.
- Two-thirds of women feel borrowing is a perfectly normal way of using money intelligently, although 75% believe borrowing is a bad practice to fall into.
- While as many women as men have stocks, bonds and mutual funds, few women make important decisions concerning these investments without consulting their husbands.
- Most women feel that the stock market is "as risky as gambling," yet 2 out of 5 believe that investing in the market is a good way to share in America's growth and prosperity.
- Women and men both feel it is becoming harder and harder to pay the family bills.
- Half of all women say they keep a budget, but only 2 out of 5 claim success in staying within the limits of their budgets.
- Three out of 5 women believed the country was in a recession when questioned at the close of 1971.
- Nearly 3 in 4 women — and 2 in 3 men — agree that taxes in America are "unreasonable."
- 78% of both sexes blame the cost of the Vietnam war as the major cause of inflation.
- Majorities of women advocate cutbacks in federal spending for foreign aid, the space program and Vietnam.
- An overwhelming majority of women cite the war in Vietnam as the most urgent problem facing the U.S. today.
- In dealing with drug abuse, women show a strong preference for rehabilitation over punitive measures.

- More women — and men — are afraid to be on the streets today than a year ago.
- Four out of 5 women favor strict gun control, although 45% say there is a gun in their home.
- By 9 to 1, women feel that air and water pollution has worsened in the past few years.
- School busing is opposed by women 76 to 17%.
- Many women ascribe these characteristics to President Nixon: "intelligent" and a "good family man."
- Many women view Senator Muskie as "straightforward," Senator Kennedy and Mayor Lindsay as "open to new ideas" and Senator Humphrey as "intelligent."
- Three out of 5 women approve of President Nixon's efforts in "working for peace" and "putting in the wage-price freeze," but disapprove of the way he is handling "the Vietnam war" and "civil rights and race matters."
- More women than men are Democrats and would opt for a Democratic candidate for President.
- Overall, as a candidate, President Nixon runs better among men than he does among women.

APPENDIX

RESPECT FOR PROMINENT WOMEN
("A great deal" of respect)

	Women						Total Men %
	Total %	Black %	White %	18 to 29 %	30 to 39 %	40 to 49 %	
Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, widow of the former President	67	49	69	60	63	70	64
Mrs. Pat Nixon, wife of the President	56	41	58	43	53	59	48
Queen Elizabeth II of England	51	40	52	41	51	53	48
Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith, U.S. Senator from Maine	45	22	49	38	49	49	44
Mrs. Ladybird Johnson, wife of the former President	44	46	44	34	42	47	37
Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel	44	23	48	40	53	45	49
Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King, Jr.	42	88	36	47	44	41	32
Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India	42	20	45	40	48	45	45
Marian Anderson, opera singer	37	58	35	22	41	45	28
Mrs. Claire Booth Luce, author and former diplomat	37	18	39	23	43	44	32
Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, former United Nations delegate	36	37	35	32	32	36	31
Ann Landers, advice columnist	36	33	37	31	35	35	26
Margaret Mead, anthropologist	31	19	33	37	37	28	27
Barbara Walters, TV journalist	27	22	28	28	27	26	18
Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York	21	38	18	25	24	19	21
Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, widow of the former President	21	49	17	26	24	19	20
Mrs. Martha Mitchell, wife of the Attorney General	18	15	18	16	18	17	20
Joan Baez, folk singer	13	11	13	24	11	8	15
Elizabeth Taylor, actress	12	26	9	15	11	11	15
Jane Fonda, actress	9	23	6	14	8	7	10
Julie Christie, actress	9	14	9	13	8	8	13
Congresswoman Bella Abzug of New York	8	9	7	12	8	7	10
Gloria Steinem, writer	7	11	6	10	8	5	7
Angela Davis, black activist	7	37	3	11	7	5	8
Vanessa Redgrave, actress	6	10	5	10	6	4	10
Kate Millet, feminist author	5	7	5	7	6	4	6
Germaine Greer, feminist author	5	6	5	9	6	3	7

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE

	Total Women (3000) %	Total Men (1000) %
Total	100	100
Single	8	16
Married	76	76
Divorced, separated	5	3
Widowed	11	5
Black	11	11
White	86	85
18 to 29	28	25
30 to 39	23	17
40 to 49	18	18
50 and over	31	40
Under \$5,000	26	26
\$5,000 to \$9,999	33	31
\$10,000 to \$14,999	24	25
\$15,000 and over	17	18
Own stocks, mutual funds	22	25
8th grade	14	19
High school	54	43
College	32	38
East	28	26
Midwest	28	28
South	27	28
West	17	18
Cities	31	30
Suburbs	27	28
Towns	15	15
Rural	27	27

THE VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL

A Study Conducted by Louis Harris and Associates

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1972 & THEREAFTER

REMARKS OF LOUIS HARRIS, PRESIDENT,

LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES

AT THE

VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL PRESS BRUNCHEON

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1972, PARK LANE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

The focus of the second annual Virginia Slims Poll conducted by our organization is geared particularly to the role of women in the 1972 elections. Yet I would be remiss if I did not report at the outset some of the key trends we have observed in just one year on the subject of women assessing women's status in society.

The cause of advancing women's status has literally leaped forward among women since a year ago. For example, last year, by a narrow 42-40%, most women opposed efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society." This year a sharp reversal has taken place: by 48-36%, now most women back the thrust for equality. Big gains have been registered among married women, who have flipped from opposing such efforts by 38-45% to now supporting them by 46-38%; suburban women have gone from 41-44% in opposition to 51-35% in support; the college-educated have jumped from 48-36% in support to a much higher 57-32% backing; and young women from 18-29 have zoomed from 46-39% in support to a substantial 56-30% in favor of strengthening and changing women's status in society.

Yet this surge of support for the idea should not be mistaken for outright backing of women's liberation groups. In fact, women reject such groups by 49-39%, while men are split down the middle 42-42% on them.

-more-

This division and distinction between the need for women to speak out for their own status, on the one hand, and to take to the streets in protest on the other, emerged clearly in this year's survey. The number who think "if women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing would be done about these questions" has increased from 66 to 71%. And there has been a significant turn-around on another key statement. A year ago, by 52-38%, women rejected the notion that "it's about time women protested the real injustices they have faced for years." Now by 48-43%, most women agree that the time has come.

But, despite this rise in awareness of the aims and objectives of women's lib, by 60-32%, a majority of women also feel that "women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children. Their behavior is undignified and unwomanly." By 51-43%, a majority also thinks that "leaders of women's organizations are trying to turn women into men and that won't work."

The prevailing view of women about the struggle for improved status is best summed up in the 51-34% majority who feels that "women are right to be unhappy with their role in American society, but wrong in the way they are protesting." The rightness of the cause obviously is on the rise among women, but the leadership has not yet gelled. The time has never been riper nor more propitious for leadership of this growing cause to emerge. The constituency is there, in a sense ahead of its spokeswomen, waiting for the vehicles and the new tactics which will crystallize this movement of women who now number a majority across the country.

The imminence of this force of women seeking to improve their lot in American society will be felt in this year's Presidential election. There is every likelihood, for example, that for the first time in relative peacetime, women will become a majority of the voters to cast their ballots this November. Women have been 51% of the eligible electorate, but in 1968 made up no more than 49% of the actual voting public. The reason: the turn-out among women has been lower than among men: an estimated 58% against 63% of the eligibles turning out for men.

But there is a real chance that in 1972, with the heightened awareness of women and the new politics, that women will pass the 50% mark, and, once there, for the rest of this century, it is entirely likely that women will continue to be a majority of the voting constituency in the United States.

The day is also passing when the vote of women could be taken for granted as simply reflecting the prevailing male sentiment in the family. It is now a rare occasion, indeed, when one of our poll-takers finds the woman of the house saying, "Well, my husband has to make up his mind and then he will tell me whom we are for."

In fact, in 1968, the women in America went in one direction and the men in quite another. In 1968, Humphrey, not Nixon, carried the women's vote by 46-43%, with Wallace at 11%. Men went 44-40% for Nixon, with Wallace at a much higher 16%. The simple fact is that had women voted their full numbers in 1968, there is every likelihood that Hubert Humphrey rather than Richard Nixon would have been sitting in the White House these past three plus years.

At this juncture in time, it is obvious that the Democratic nomination is in doubt. When this Poll was taken in late 1971, Senator Muskie was considered to be the Democratic frontrunner. He figures prominently, therefore, in this analysis. Let me stress, however, that the greatest significance of this Poll is its examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the one known sure quantity in the 1972 election -- the incumbent in the White House, Richard M. Nixon. For it is my opinion that in all likelihood people will be voting in 1972 for or against Richard Nixon far more than they will for or against his Democratic opponent.

In our Virginia Slims survey, President Nixon again runs much stronger among men than women. Overall, he held a 43-37% lead over the leading Democratic contender at that time, Senator Muskie, with Wallace at 12%. But among men, his lead was 44-35% (9 points), while among women it was a slim 42-39%. In fact, in a still later poll, this split between men and women over the President is even sharper: an 11 point lead

for Nixon among men, but a 3 point lead for Muskie over Nixon among women. Wallace as a third party candidate polls only 9% among women and a much higher 14% among men.

Overall, it is fair to conclude that one in six voters this Fall will be divided along sex lines, and that 16% of the electorate is more than enough to settle the outcome on November 7th. Put it this way: unless President Nixon can find ways to shore up his weakness among women, the 1972 election could remain in doubt.

With the massive sample at our disposal in the Virginia Slims Women's Poll, we are able for one of the few times to analyze this woman vote in depth. It is not news that Nixon does not do well among young people. But young women under 30 are more against him than young men. Moving up in the age brackets, the turning point comes between 30 and 39: here women oppose Nixon while men support him. Older women are more for him, but still are less for him than their male counterparts.

Other key elements of the women's electorate where the President has ground to make up are the affluent college-educated with incomes of \$15,000 and over, the fastest growing voting bloc in America (up from 11 to 19% in four years). Again, Nixon is weaker with women than men in this key group. The wives of professionals and businessmen are more inclined to vote less the same way than their husbands than any other segment in the electorate. The suburbs, heavily populated with these types, are a pivotal, swing vote in 1972. Suburban women are more inclined to vote against Nixon, while men are more inclined to be for him.

This relative lack of Nixon strength among women is well worth analyzing, and the Virginia Slims Poll provides a good many of the answers.

One key can be found in the Vietnam war issue, which might be settled by election time, but which is still a major front and center concern as of this reading. When asked to volunteer what they feel is the most pressing issue facing the country, 65% of the women said it was the war, and more specifically, 46% mentioned "bringing

the boys home, getting out of Vietnam, and ending the war sooner rather than later," No more than 38% of the men said the same.

But the significance of this finding emerges when the likely vote of that 46% of women most concerned with Vietnam is analyzed. The result shows: Nixon at 35%, Muskie, as the then leading Democrat, at 46%, Wallace at 11%. This is confirmed in other questions in which women give President Nixon 10 point lower ratings than men for his efforts to wind down the war in Indochina, and 8 points lower in his handling of the war.

A real question is whether women are reacting more sharply to war as a political issue or is it a deeper sign that women have different values about human life and suffering than men? It will be recalled that in the first Virginia Slims Poll a year ago, women were found to oppose capital punishment by 46-39%, while men favored it 56-37%. And a high 67% of the women said they would feel "very upset" when they hear of a young draftee being killed in Vietnam, compared with no more than 49% of the men. Consistently, women have favored a faster pace of withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam than is the case with men.

The fact is that women do have more compassion about human life than men. We ran an interesting and revealing test of this dimension in the latest Virginia Slims Poll. It can be called a test of compassion for the less fortunate in society, and consists of four measures. We found out how "upset" people often feel about the fact that "some people go hungry in this country," "the way older people are neglected," "the way some people in big cities live in slums," "the discrimination against blacks that has gone on for 300 years." In each case, at least one-fourth more women said they were "often upset" by these conditions than among men.

There is a significant and deep difference between women and men on these key measures of compassion, which have little to do with the war. And when the vote of women

the boys home, getting out of Vietnam, and ending the war sooner rather than later," No more than 38% of the men said the same.

But the significance of this finding emerges when the likely vote of that 46% of women most concerned with Vietnam is analyzed. The result shows: Nixon at 35%, Muskie, as the then leading Democrat, at 46%, Wallace at 11%. This is confirmed in other questions in which women give President Nixon 10 point lower ratings than men for his efforts to wind down the war in Indochina, and 8 points lower in his handling of the war.

A real question is whether women are reacting more sharply to war as a political issue or is it a deeper sign that women have different values about human life and suffering than men? It will be recalled that in the first Virginia Slims Poll a year ago, women were found to oppose capital punishment by 46-39%, while men favored it 56-37%. And a high 67% of the women said they would feel "very upset" when they hear of a young draftee being killed in Vietnam, compared with no more than 49% of the men. Consistently, women have favored a faster pace of withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam than is the case with men.

The fact is that women do have more compassion about human life than men. We ran an interesting and revealing test of this dimension in the latest Virginia Slims Poll. It can be called a test of compassion for the less fortunate in society, and consists of four measures. We found out how "upset" people often feel about the fact that "some people go hungry in this country," "the way older people are neglected," "the way some people in big cities live in slums," "the discrimination against blacks that has gone on for 300 years." In each case, at least one-fourth more women said they were "often upset" by these conditions than among men.

There is a significant and deep difference between women and men on these key measures of compassion, which have little to do with the war. And when the vote of women

is analyzed among that 42% who express the most compassion for the disadvantaged, it comes out at 44% for Muskie, 38% for Nixon, 10% for Wallace.

There are two other issues working among women which help explain the apparent weakness of Richard Nixon among them. One is the environment issue, where by a slight margin, women are more inclined to think air and water pollution has become worse than is the case among men. On this issue, the President runs three points behind his overall mark in voting preference among women. The other deals with the economy. Among the plurality of over 40% who still think there likely will be a recession around election time, the vote division among women is 47-35% in Muskie's rather than Nixon's favor. But on this last issue, women are not appreciably different from men.

If all of the foregoing leads you to believe that the Nixon candidacy is doomed in its effort to win the women's vote in 1972, there is another side. There are three other issues which can help the Republicans in this election to win the vote of women. One is a direct answer to the weakness on the Vietnam question. It is the basic gut issue of peace. Despite their criticism of the President on Vietnam, women are also very high on him for his efforts to "work for peace in the world." The central focus of these answers deals far more with his trips to China and Russia and his efforts to ease the Cold War than with Vietnam. By a substantial 60-38%, women in the survey feel the President is effectively "working for peace." And this vote divides 48-39% for Nixon over the strongest Democrat at the time of the Poll, Muskie, with Wallace only at 7%.

Clearly, the tug of war among women on the critical foreign policy issue will be between the Nixon deficit on Vietnam and the Nixon advantage on the broader peace question

Two other issues tend to be the other side of the coin to women's deep and compassionate concern for the disadvantaged. One is the question of unease or safety on the streets. While 45% of all men say they are more uneasy about walking on the streets than they were a few years ago, a much higher 64% of all women express such apprehension. And among this apprehensive group, President Nixon holds a 41-37% lead over Senator

Muskie, with Wallace at 14%. Actually, for Nixon, this split is not much better than his overall run among women, but is somewhat remarkable since the crime and law and order issues have been largely neutralized since, as the incumbents, the Nixon Administration tends now to be blamed for the lack of law and order.

The other issue could be explosive. It is the matter of school busing for racial balance purposes. Women oppose such busing by an overwhelming 76-17%, with even black women on the side of opposition, though not by as much as white women. The school busing issue tends to work much more decisively for the President. Among the 76% of all women opposed to busing, the vote divides 46% for Nixon, only 32% for Muskie, and 14% for Wallace. Bear in mind that the political winds are still shifting and these figures are more importantly a reflection of people's attitudes about Mr. Nixon than they are about individual Democrats.

The line-up on the issues, then, provides some real insight into where this election stands with the pivotal women's vote. At the moment, Vietnam still cuts deeper than the President's bold bids for rapprochement with the communist super-powers. And the issues of compassion for the disadvantaged tend to work more strongly than the issues of fear on the street or racial busing of school children. In addition, the Nixon posture among women on air and water pollution control and the state of the economy tends to be essentially defensive.

There is yet another key dimension which cannot be ignored in any election and this one perhaps more perilous than most: the element of the personality of the candidates. The Virginia Slims Women's Poll went into this area in considerable depth and the results are revealing.

President Nixon essentially comes through as a more cool type to women. His outstanding attributes are viewed as being intelligent, a good family man, experienced, straightforward, a good speaker, honest, and knowledgeable -- in that order. The Nixon personal impact is basically that of competence, experience, a man who works hard and does his homework, and is a good family man.

By contrast, Senator Muskie comes through strongly for his attributes of character, straightforwardness, integrity, open to new ideas, intelligent, and knowledgeable. However, a full 37% of the women had little or no impression of Muskie the man at the time of the survey, and there are some overtones of softness about the Muskie impact as a personality among women.

Senator Humphrey comes through with many of the same attributes as President Nixon -- experienced, a good family man, a good speaker, and honest and straightforward. Both he and the President have something of an old shoe profile, and on the cool side.

Although he has declared himself out of the running, Senator Edward Kennedy cuts a much different figure among women. His number one attribute is his intelligence, as it is for Nixon. But his second characteristic among women is that he knows how to communicate well, and his third that he is "handsome." Then that he is open to new ideas. There is a vibrancy -- and also a sense of controversy -- in the Kennedy profile that is lacking in the top three possible candidates.

Governor Wallace cuts an entirely different and easily the most controversial personality figure in the entire contest of 1972. Among women, the outstanding attribute of Wallace is that he is "narrowminded." Another is that he is "tricky." Nonetheless, he is also felt to be "courageous" and "straightforward." Clearly, most women would not feel comfortable with George Wallace in the White House, but he does evoke some admiration for saying things the way he thinks they are.

Mayor Lindsay had not made an impression with 39% of the women at the time of the survey, despite his widespread exposure on television and as mayor of New York City. The top attribute for Lindsay is that he is "handsome," say the women, although he also scores for being open-minded to new ideas, a good speaker, and an intelligent man.

Senator McGovern still suffered from a lack of visibility among women, with a high 61% who simply could not register an opinion about him as a man. Among those who did,

he was known for being open to new ideas, intelligent, with a high sense of integrity. But the McGovern image comes through as rather bland though positive.

From these results, it is apparent that the most likely candidates for President in 1972 are not going to make it among women primarily on the basis of their personalities. Nixon will have to emphasize his ability to handle the key issues of peace and the neutralization of the economic issue. His gains as a good family man, for example, prove out to be marginal. Muskie has some possibilities as a man who can be trusted, but he must score more heavily than he has to date and make his personality more distinctive. Humphrey is basically old hat, a known quantity, who simply provides a viable alternative to Nixon.

McGovern has to make it on his stands rather than his personality. Kennedy would provide a definite and distinct personality dimension to women, and he runs ahead of Nixon among them, Chappaquidick notwithstanding. But in a pure test of pro or con on his impact as a personality, Kennedy might well lose, as he consistently has shown in all of our polls to date. Lindsay appears to depend on personality more than the others, and the real question here is how thin his substance would appear to the electorate were he nominated front and center.

The irony of personality among women in 1972 is its likely absence as a decisive element than its dominance. There just doesn't appear to be a Dwight Eisenhower or John Kennedy on the horizon in this year's cards. It is more possible for a candidate to lose the election among women by dint of his lack of personality appeal than to win it on that basis.

But up to now I have dealt only with women as a political force at the ballot box. And while that impact will be the true measure of women's effectiveness and real power in the end, nonetheless much is happening to women as activists in the political process. There are many signs that women are now playing for keeps in politics more than at any time in the past and that this activism will accelerate.

No doubt much will be made of the fact that, in this poll, no more than 37% of the women seriously think a woman can be elected President in the next 10 years. This is fewer women than think a man who is Jewish or black can be elected President. But it would also suggest that this finding is surface deep. There are stirrings underneath the surface which spell out quite a different story.

By 49-42%, women feel they are discriminated against in attaining public office. By a wider 51-39%, they feel discriminated against in obtaining top jobs in government.

Their determination to rectify this condition of inferiority and discrimination is attested to by these solid facts:

-- 74% of all women feel that a woman can be just as logical and rational as a man in holding down public office.

-- By a substantial 67-26%, a solid majority of women reject the notion that "women who succeed in politics usually have to sacrifice femininity to get there."

-- By 57-34%, a majority of women turn down the claim that "no woman can be a good wife and mother and be active in politics, too."

-- A majority also reject the idea that "women in politics are usually more aggressive than men."

It is significant that by 46-37%, most women feel that "a woman in politics will usually be more idealistic than a man."

Clearly, these results point to a condition of growing confidence, determination and bitterness that combine to a potential explosion of woman-power in American politics.

Revealing were the results of women's estimates of where they could do a better or as good a job in high public office, compared with men. In only two areas did women feel they could not do as good a job as men: in dealing with big business and in directing the military. Yet both of these areas have been notable for the lack of women having had any real opportunities, with rare exceptions.

Harris Speech - 11

In four areas, women definitely feel they could do a better job than men if given the opportunity to serve in high public office: dealing with children and family problems, encouraging the arts, protecting the interests of the consumer, and assisting the poor. Perhaps more significantly, women will yield no ground to men in their capabilities to handle such vital areas as: dealing with health problems, improving the education system, working for peace in the world, protecting the environment, maintaining honesty and integrity in government, improving justice for minority groups, and in strengthening the economy.

Obviously, women are quite convinced that sex is a disappearing criterion for qualification for leadership in politics or in government. And while 40% say they would still rather vote for a man for President, it is also true that 65% think a woman will be elected to the Chief Executive's office within the next half century.

The news that just cries out from this welter and mass of information about women's attitudes and condition in 1972 is that women have sprung loose as an independent political force, standing squarely on their own feet. They are voting differently from men. They are motivated by different considerations. They are much more inclined now to vote and to become active not only for their own self-interest, but for the interest of society, the world, and most of all, out of compassion for humanity. And once you let a force like that loose, I would suggest that it can never be bottled up again.

#

THE VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL

A Study Conducted by Louis Harris and Associates

FROM: Bonnie Schwartz

RUDER & FINN INCORPORATED

110 East 59th Street

New York, New York 10022

(212) 759-1800

Eileen Merlo

PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

100 Park Avenue

New York, New York 10017

(212) 679-1800

FOR: VIRGINIA SLIMS

FOR RELEASE MARCH 24, 1972 & THEREAFTER

IF AMERICAN WOMEN HAD VOTED IN FORCE IN '68,

HUBERT HUMPHREY MIGHT BE PRESIDENT TODAY, SAYS LOUIS HARRIS

New York, March 23 -- If women had voted in force in 1968, Hubert Humphrey might be President of the United States today.

This rather startling fact and its bearing upon November's Presidential election were explored at a press conference at the Park Lane Hotel here today by public opinion analyst Louis Harris, as he announced the findings of the second Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll.

According to Mr. Harris, whose research firm conducted the new study, women voted quite differently from men in 1968. Senator Humphrey carried the women's vote by 46-43%, with 11% for Governor Wallace, while President Nixon had the men's vote by 44 to 40%, with 16% for Wallace. But men were the more conscientious voters. Although women had the potential to comprise 51% of the electorate, only 49% exercised that franchise.

However, Mr. Harris added, there is now such a "heightened awareness" among women that "there is every chance women will pass the 50% mark in 1972." And, once there, "it is entirely likely that women will continue to be a majority of the voting constituency for the rest of this century."

The implications of this are enormous for, as the noted pollster put it, "The day is passing when the vote of women could be taken for granted as reflecting the prevailing male sentiment in the family."

-more-

As for 1972, President Nixon continues to do better with men than with women. At the time the Virginia Slims study was conducted in late 1971 via in-person interviews with a representative cross-section of 3,000 U.S. women and 1,000 men, Nixon held a nine point, 44 to 35%, lead over Senator Muskie among men, but only a three point, 42 to 39%, edge among women. In a still later poll, the President actually fell three points behind Muskie among women, but increased his lead among men to 11%. Wallace continues to do better with men (14%) than women (9%).

"Overall," said Mr. Harris, "it is fair to conclude that one in six voters this Fall will be divided along sex lines. That 16% of the electorate is more than enough to settle the outcome on November 7. Unless President Nixon can find ways to shore up his weakness among women, the 1972 election could remain in doubt."

Mr. Harris pointed out that women and men often differ on political personalities and issues. Vietnam is especially important with women. Nearly one half of the Virginia Slims sample (46%) volunteered the opinion that we are not getting out of Vietnam fast enough. Women have consistently favored a faster pace of withdrawal from Vietnam than have men.

In addition, Mr. Harris explained, women reveal more compassion about "the way some people go hungry in this country," and "the way some people in big cities live in slums." To a lesser extent, women also feel more concern than men about environmental and economic issues. A plurality of more than 40% of women thinks there will still be a recession around election time. The women who are most concerned about these issues, the study shows, are most likely to prefer Muskie over Nixon.

However, Mr. Harris observed, the President is not "doomed to lose the women's vote in 1972." For, despite their criticism of his Vietnam withdrawal pace, they give him a 60 to 38% vote of confidence on the way he is "working for peace." Nixon also stands to benefit from the fact that substantial majorities of women feel more uneasy walking the

streets than they did a few years ago and oppose school busing to achieve racial integration. Even black women oppose busing, though by a much smaller margin.

Women's attitudes toward the personalities of potential candidates is another key dimension explored by the Virginia Slims Poll. Mr. Harris reported that women tend to regard President Nixon as a "cool type." His basic impact is one of competence and experience, a man who works hard and is a good family man. Muskie strikes women as a man of integrity and intelligence who is knowledgeable and open to new ideas. However, women have yet to decide about Muskie. At the time of the survey, 37% of women had little or no impression of him. Humphrey comes through with many of the same attributes as Nixon. He is considered experienced, a good family man, honest and straightforward. Wallace is the most controversial. To women, he is narrowminded, tricky, courageous and straightforward.

The heightened awareness of women is reflected in areas other than politics. Indeed, noted Mr. Harris, "The cause of advancing women's status has literally leaped forward among women since a year ago. For example, in last year's Virginia Slims Poll, by a narrow 42 to 40%, most women opposed efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society.' This year, a sharp reversal has taken place: by 48 to 36%, most women now back the thrust for equality."

The biggest gains have been registered among women who are married, suburbanites, college graduates and those between the ages of 18 and 29.

Summing up, Mr. Harris concluded: "The news that just cries out from this welter and mass of information is that women have sprung loose as an independent political force... Once you let a force like that loose, I would suggest that it can never be bottled up again."

#

THE VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL

A Study Conducted by Louis Harris and Associates

FROM: Bonnie Schwartz

RUDER & FINN INCORPORATED
110 East 59th Street
New York, New York 10022
(212) 759-1800

Ellen Merlo

PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.
100 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017
(212) 679-1800

FOR: VIRGINIA SLIMS

FOR RELEASE MARCH 24, 1972 & THEREAFTER

AMERICAN WOMEN MORE CONSCIOUS OF NEED TO CHANGE THEIR STATUS

SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY, NEW VIRGINIA SLIMS OPINION POLL SHOWS

Study Supports Thesis That Women May Exercise 51% Majority Vote This Year For First Time and Hold Majority for Remainder of 20th Century

The mood of American women is changing. There is no mistaking it. They have become increasingly conscious of their rights as citizens and their competence as individuals, and increasingly responsive to the tenets of women's liberation.

According to the second Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, conducted by Louis Harris and Associates and just released, women in the U.S. favor efforts "to strengthen and change women's status in society today" by 48 to 36%. In the first Virginia Slims study a year ago, women opposed such efforts by 42 to 40%. Women have also become more amenable to organizations seeking to improve their status. Last year, they declared, by 51 to 34%, that only a few or none of these organizations were helpful. Now, only 44% find none or a few helpful, while 43% praise some or most of them.

The study indicates that there is good reason to believe that women this year may exercise their vote to their full 51% potential, which would give them a majority for the first time. If that happens, women will probably hold the majority for the remainder of this century.

This hypothesis is supported by the findings that feminist thinking is gaining strength in virtually every demographic group of American women, but is particularly strong among those who are young, single, separated, divorced, college educated and who live in suburbs and cities. This surge toward a greater voice in society is reflected in many women's desire to become more involved in political activities and in their belief that women can be just as effective as men in politics. As in the first Poll, this attitude is more evident among an urban coalition of young women, well-educated women and black women.

And, as in the previous Poll, men tend to agree that women deserve greater status and responsibility.

However, American women are still resistant to feminist efforts that smack of extremism or stridency. They still abhor protests and picketing and feel that they can best help themselves and their country by maintaining the femininity and idealism traditionally associated with women.

The new study was conducted in late 1971 via in-person interviews with a representative cross-section of 3,000 U.S. women and 1,000 men. According to John Granville, Virginia Slims manager, "This second Poll continues and expands our investigation of the attitudes and opinions of American women and takes a profound look at their influence and effect on American politics and the national economy in this, a Presidential election year. With women accounting for 51% of the potential voting strength of this country, their feelings about the major issues facing the nation are most significant. The new findings not only reveal women's attitudes to the general public, but, we hope, will increase women's consciousness of their role in politics and will encourage them to get out and vote."

The new Virginia Slims study indicates that women:

- support President Nixon's economic policies, but think income will not keep pace with the cost of living during the next couple of years;

- . approve of the way the President is working for world peace, but object to the slowness with which he is winding down the war in Indochina;
- . dislike the relatively small women's representation at the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions, and think that women in public office can be equally logical and rational as men;
- . are more likely than men to support Senators Muskie, Humphrey and Kennedy and Mayor Lindsay for the Presidency, less likely than men to support President Nixon or Governor Wallace;
- . are distressed by the drug problem, but are against stiff jail terms for hard and soft drug users;
- . oppose busing to achieve racial integration -- and this opposition comes from many black women, too;
- . express contentment with their own lives as homemakers, but frequently want their daughters to have careers;
- . are more satisfied with their lives today than are men.

The Candidates

The leading Presidential contenders evoke distinctive images from the female electorate. President Nixon is described by about a third of women as "intelligent" and "a good family man." Senator Muskie is mostly described as "straightforward" (28%) and "intelligent" (25%). One of every four women thinks of Senator Humphrey as "intelligent." Senator McGovern is called "experienced" by 15%.

Senator Kennedy, should he choose to run, would have the advantage of being regarded as "intelligent" by 30% of American women, while 7% think that he is "not a good family man." Governor Wallace is considered "narrowminded" by nearly a third (32%) and "straightforward" by about one in six (18%).

Women tend to prefer Muskie, Kennedy, Humphrey and Lindsay more than men do, Nixon and Wallace less. However, women frequently observe that they are "not sure"

about leading Democratic contenders.

A greater percentage of women than men report that they did not vote in the 1968 and 1970 elections.

Priorities -- Bring the Boys Home

More than nine in 10 women select curbing drug abuse as a very serious problem for the nation as a whole. But there are signs that the narcotics issue is not considered as serious as other problems. Only one in six (17%) volunteers the view that the drug problem is one of the most urgent facing the country today.

Women do not feel that punitive measures are the solution to drug problems. By 56 to 17%, the Virginia Slims study shows they opt for medical and mental treatment rather than stiff prison terms for hard drug users "like heroin and speed." And, by a ratio of six to one (66 to 11%), women support rehabilitation over prison terms for users of "soft drugs like marijuana."

The Vietnam war seems closer to the surface of women's thoughts than the drug issue. Nine of 10 women select bringing the Vietnam war to an end as a very serious problem and nearly two-thirds (65%) volunteer the view that the war is an urgent issue. Nearly half of the respondents (46%) volunteer the view that we should get out of Vietnam now. Only 4% volunteer that we should withdraw gradually as we are now doing, and only 2% that we fight to win.

Problems acknowledged as "very serious" include reducing crime (87%), checking inflation (81%), keeping taxes in line (75%), cutting down air and water pollution (72%), reducing unemployment and keeping spending in line (70% each), negotiating a nuclear weapons limit and easing racial tensions (66% each).

Women would like the government to rearrange its priorities. More than half want more federal money allocated to pollution control and education, and reductions in appropriations for foreign aid, space exploration and the Vietnam war.

Pollution concerns the young and the affluent. Four of five women who are under 30 or in the \$10,000 and over income group consider pollution a very serious problem, while only half of blacks (52%) and three-fifths (61%) of women over 50 and those earning less than \$5,000 annually express such concern.

Again this year, women believe blacks are moving too fast, though most feel blacks are justified in their demands.

A Woman President?

Women feel that they would make an effective contribution to the country if more held public office.

However, two out of five report that, all things being equal, they would vote for a male Presidential candidate rather than a female. Only one of six (17%) would more likely vote for a woman, while 37% say the candidate's sex makes no difference. While more than one in four women (27%) think the country will never be ready to elect a woman President, 37% feel we will be ready within the next 10 years. Women believe, however, that within 10 years we will be more likely to elect a candidate who is Jewish (51%) or black (41%) than a woman.

But women want to play a greater role in selecting our President. By 40 to 34%, they think there are usually too few female delegates at the Presidential nominating conventions. And nearly one-third of American women (32%) and half of black and single women (49% each) feel half the delegates should be women.

Women in the 18-29 age group are more likely than women in any other age group to vote for a female President. Young women are more likely than others to reject the idea that a woman President would have a harder time than a man dealing with big business, Russia, riots and criminals. They are also more ready to reject the concepts that men have more physical stamina than women and that women are more artistic, emotional and idealistic than men.

The Feminist Constituency

It is clear from the Virginia Slims findings that a feminist "pro-change" constituency is solidifying among specific groups of women. The most conspicuous increases in support for efforts to change women's status have occurred among women who are single (from 53% last year to the present 67%), in the 18-29 age group (from 46 to 56%), college graduates (from 44 to 57%) and suburban residents (from 41 to 51%). Strong support for status-changing efforts persists among blacks (62%), the divorced and separated (57%) and city residents (52%). Strongest opposition to change is found among women who are widows, over 40 and residents of rural areas. But, even among these groups, opposition to feminist ideas is diminishing.

Other signs of increasing support for efforts to improve women's status are:

- by 48 to 43% women now agree "it's time they protested the real injustices they've faced for years." In the first Virginia Slims Poll, women rejected this view by 52 to 38%;
- nearly three-fourths (71%) of the respondents feel women must now confront men on their real problems or nothing will be done. In the previous Poll, 66% agreed with this viewpoint.

The intensity with which women feel the insufficiency of their status is reflected in their aspirations for their daughters. Nearly one-fourth of American women (23%) say they frequently "hope that my daughter will have a more interesting career outside the home than I have had." Another 20% occasionally share this hope. And, by 50 to 44%, women feel that "things will be easier for girls growing up today than they were for girls in my time."

The Shock Terms

However, despite their desire for change, women remain unsympathetic to the "efforts of women's liberation groups" by 49 to 36%. And, as in the previous survey,

only one in three favors pickets and protests as a means of achieving progress, while a substantial majority finds that such methods set a bad example for children. Clearly, "liberation," "picket" and "protest" remain shock terms that dismay American women.

It is also clear that most women do not see themselves in positions of national leadership, especially where high elective office is concerned. Although three of four women (74%) believe women in public office can be just as logical and rational as men, nearly two-thirds (63%) think that men are better suited emotionally for politics than most women. In addition, women still respect most those women who have achieved stature in the shadow of their husbands. As in last year's Virginia Slims Poll, the most widely respected woman in the United States is Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Mrs. Eisenhower evokes "a great deal of respect" from two-thirds (67%) of the female respondents.

Mrs. Pat Nixon is second on the list of most respected women. The highest woman active in politics, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, finished fourth, while Mrs. Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel, came in fifth, tied with Mrs. Ladybird Johnson. Active feminist leaders such as Gloria Steinem (7%), Kate Millett and Germaine Greer (5% each) are near the bottom of the list, well behind such well-known women as Ann Landers (36%) and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis (21%).

The Verities

Women remain devoted to such traditional values as motherhood, femininity and "working behind the scenes." Five of six women (84%) feel that bringing up children requires as much intelligence and drive as holding a top position in business or government. Fifty-eight percent are "very satisfied" with their lives today, compared with less than half of men (49%). Three-fourths of American women (74%) feel (frequently or occasionally) that "having a loving husband who is able to take care of them is much more important than making it on their own." Supporters of feminism, however, are not so ready to stay home. Single women attach as much importance to careers

as to husbands by 47 to 40%.

There are signs that the resentment and estrangement expressed by women in the previous Virginia Slims study are abating. Fewer women feel unaffected by "important things that are happening in the world" (a drop from 31 to 25%). Women are now less apt to think they "never had a chance to do the things they really wanted" (from 40 to 35%) and that they "cannot ever be independent" (from 32 to 27%). However, a greater percentage of women feel discriminated against in obtaining top jobs in the professions (from 40 to 47%) and more than half (52%) feel women encounter sexist bias that prevents them from obtaining executive positions in business.

Money

The old ideal of living strictly within one's means is on its way out, the Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll shows. Nearly two-thirds of American women (65%), including 58% of women over 50, think that borrowing is a perfectly normal way of using money intelligently. A 47% plurality agrees that borrowing is a "sensible way to buy something you need with someone else's money." Even a 44% plurality of women over 50 buys this view.

More than half of American women (52%) have department store charge accounts and 27% installment credit loans, although most forms of indebtedness are held jointly with their husbands. Moreover, while almost as many women own stocks as men, men usually decide on the investments women buy. Women are more cautious with money than men. More than half of women (56%), compared with 49% of men, would deposit a \$1,000 windfall in the savings bank rather than invest in stocks, bonds, mutual funds or real estate.

Blacks

The term, "women's liberation," has a much more positive meaning to black than to white women. Among black women, nearly three of every four ideas that "women's

liberation" brings to mind are positive (71%), less than one in five are negative (19%). Among white women, a majority of the thoughts evoked by the words "women's liberation" are negative (63 to 52%).

Black women express dissatisfaction with their lives as women as well as members of a racial minority. Nearly one-third of black women (32%), compared with only 17% of white, feel that being a woman has prevented them from doing the things they had hoped to do. By 38% (as against 22% of white women), black women are also more likely to think that "if I had been a man I would have gotten a lot farther in the world." And, by 67% (vs. 38% of white women), black women hope that their daughters will "have a more interesting life outside the home than I have had."

By 34 to 27%, black women would be more likely to vote for a woman Presidential candidate than an equally qualified male. White women, by 42 to 14%, would vote for the man.

Black women frequently respect different women more than whites do. Black women most admire Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King, Jr. (88%); Marian Anderson (58%); Mrs. Onassis and Mrs. Eisenhower (49%).

Interestingly, black women oppose busing of children to schools by 52 to 43%. Whites oppose busing by 80 to 13%.

Men

Men continue to avow strong support of the feminist cause, in some cases even stronger than women. By 49 to 36%, men favor efforts to strengthen or change women's status in society. Women favor such efforts by a nearly identical 48 to 36%. Men are evenly divided in their approval of women's liberation groups, while women tend to be unsympathetic.

Men and women differ somewhat in their political priorities. Women feel a little more strongly about ending the war, curbing drug abuse and instituting a system of gun control. Men feel much more strongly that unemployment must be reduced.

The Future

It is highly probable that women of the future will have vastly different pictures of themselves from women of today. According to the Virginia Slims study, younger women are rejecting many cherished stereotypes of their sex and frequently expressing opinions and life style preferences quite different from those of older women.

Women in the younger age group are also more likely to feel that their education has been wasted and that they are discriminated against in the job world. They are the least likely to disapprove of borrowing and the most likely to keep a budget and stick to it. Women between 18 and 30 comprise the age group that is least concerned about narcotics and crime and the most in favor of gun control, busing and aid to the cities.

And, as the leaders of the country might note, they are the most likely to declare themselves to be politically independent.

#

THE VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL

A Study Conducted by Louis Harris and Associates

FROM: Bonnie Schwartz

RUDER & FINN INCORPORATED

110 East 59th Street

New York, New York 10022

(212) 759-1800

Ellen Merlo

PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

100 Park Avenue

New York, New York 10017

(212) 679-1800

FOR: VIRGINIA SLIMS

FOR RELEASE MARCH 24, 1972 & THEREAFTER

'MINI' BOOK HITS HIGHLIGHTS OF NEW VIRGINIA SLIMS POLL

A handy, 20-page, purse-sized booklet, summing up the findings of the just-released 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, is now available free of charge. The study, which was conducted by Louis Harris and Associates via in-person interviews with 3,000 U.S. women and 1,000 men, explores women's role in politics and the economy.

With women comprising a potential 51% of the total electorate, their voting preferences, feelings about major issues facing the country and actual political activities are of special significance in this, a Presidential election year. According to John Granville, Virginia Slims manager, "The new Poll continues and expands our investigation of the attitudes and opinions of American women. The findings not only reveal these attitudes to the general public, but, we hope, will increase women's consciousness of their role in politics and will encourage them to get out and vote."

Topics covered in the survey are: women's status and efforts to change it, including both male and female attitudes toward "women's liberation"; women's participation in politics; women in public office, including male and female thinking about a woman President; women and the economy, covering borrowing, budgeting and the stock market; women as voters, encompassing both sexes' attitudes toward the nation's problems and the potential Presidential candidates, President Nixon's performance, the coming election and American women's "respect" ratings of prominent women.

Copies of the "mini" book are available free of charge by writing:

Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll
Philip Morris U.S.A.
100 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

file

THE VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL

A Study Conducted by
Louis Harris and Associates

The Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll

A Study Conducted by Louis Harris and Associates

CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	1
WOMEN'S STATUS IN A MAN'S WORLD . . .	5
WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE HOME	6
WORKING IN A MAN'S WORLD	7
WOMEN AND THE MEN THEY LIVE WITH .	9
WOMEN VERSUS THE FASHION INDUSTRY.	11
ALIENATION OF A SIGNIFICANT MINORITY.	12
COPING WITH A MAN'S WORLD	13
WOMEN AS CITIZENS	15
APPENDIX	19

FOREWORD

One of the most talked-about subjects today is women's new role in society. But, until now, women as a group in society have been unstudied, and often misunderstood.

How do women view their new role?

What do they think of the liberation movement?

Where do they stand on public issues, and what issues are particularly their own?

Are they happy — in their jobs, in their homes, with their men?

Do they feel they are being exploited — by men, by employers, by the fashion industry?

What sorts of freedoms are women looking for, and how much freedom do they really want?

Who really speaks for women today? Are women's thoughts, opinions, attitudes, and aspirations accurately conveyed by a handful of women writers, a minority of outspoken celebrities, and the members of the liberation movement?

To find the real answers, to feel the true pulse beat of the American woman as she emerges into the 1970's, Virginia Slims commissioned the research firm of Louis Harris and Associates to conduct an in-depth study of women, U.S.A. During the Fall of 1970, interviewers spoke with a cross-section of 3,000 women throughout this country,

and to a comparable cross-section of 1,000 men as well.

They learned that:

- * While more women are content than discontent with their position in American society, a sizeable proportion would welcome a new role. And, though a majority of women agree that they alone can do something about their problems, most women are reluctant to "rock the boat."
- * Women who are most ready to challenge the status quo in American society include city dwellers, the young, the educated, and the black. Their efforts to bring about change are opposed more by other women than by the opposite sex.
- * Women strongly believe that woman's place is in the home, and consider housekeeping and child-rearing as rewarding and important as men's jobs.
- * Working women are as satisfied in their jobs as most housewives are at home, and are less aware of anti-female job bias than are men.
- * Women want the right to hold their own opinions and, on vital issues, they do. Although they tend to agree with their husbands on most issues, they are not afraid to disagree.

- * Women want to feel that they are an important part of the world in which they live and, for the most part, they do. However, a significant minority share a sense of alienation and feel left out of things going on around them.
- * The alienation that some women suffer has been tempered by the unique ways most women have found to cope with their role in life. Through subtle techniques, women generally feel they can achieve many of their aims. Most believe that they have more power than they are credited with and that, in a sense, the American woman is "the power behind the throne."

The following pages give some of the specific facts and details that comprise the most definitive picture to date of women, U.S.A. We undertook the survey as part of our continuing effort to study and understand the American woman. We hope that you will find this report interesting, enjoyable, and thought-provoking.



Steven S. Korsen
Brand Manager, Virginia Slims
Philip Morris, U.S.A.
100 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

WOMEN'S STATUS IN A MAN'S WORLD

While a minority of women are burning bras and pushing their way into bars once reserved for men, a majority remain silent on the issue of women's status in American society . . .

- 40% of women favor efforts to strengthen or change women's status; 42% oppose them.
- Men tend to be more in favor of such efforts than women themselves.
- Support for these efforts comes from an essentially urban coalition of black women, and the unmarried (single, divorced, and separated), young, and more highly educated women of both races.
- 51% of women believe "Women's Lib" efforts aren't working.

A plurality of women favor change and feel they are right to be unhappy with their role in society, but they shy away from protest . . .

- 38% believe that "it's about time women protested the real injustices they've faced for years," but 52% disagree.
- Two out of three agree that it is up to women themselves to do something about their problems.
- By 45 to 41% women feel that they are right to be unhappy with their role in American society, but wrong in the way they're protesting.

- 49% feel that “leaders of women’s organizations are trying to turn women into men and that won’t work,” while 41% disagree.
- 61% say that “women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children,” are “undignified” and “unwomanly.”

WOMEN’S PLACE IN THE HOME

If women’s place is still in the home, it’s basically because women want it that way . . .

- 71% feel “taking care of a home and raising children is more rewarding for a woman than having a job.”
- More than half find being a mother and raising a family are the most enjoyable things about being a woman today.
- Women cite difficulties raising children, drugs, and the generation gap as the greatest problems in being a woman today.
- More than a fourth claim to have no problems being a woman today.
- 77% are not annoyed by bars and restaurants which serve only men; 71% are not annoyed by those which serve a woman only if accompanied by a man.

American men are at least partially housebroken . . . both by demands of women and acquiescence of men themselves . . .

- 70% of women would be annoyed if “left home while a man went out for a good time” —but this doesn’t seem to happen much.
- Women feel men should spend more time fixing things around the house, taking care of the children, cleaning up around the house, and shopping for the family — but most respect men’s rights to a little privacy sometimes, and don’t discourage them from enjoying exclusively male activities.
- While one man in five feels that men should engage in more male activities, only one woman in 10 would encourage her husband to spend more time “with the guys” than he presently does.
- 69% of women would “respect a man less” if he decided to stay at home and take care of the children while his wife worked.

WORKING IN A MAN’S WORLD

About three out of 10 American women, out of choice or necessity, devote all or part of the work day to a career . . .

- A vast majority of men and women feel that a woman can be successful in a career and feminine at the same time.
- Two-thirds of men and women feel that women have as much to contribute to business and public life as men and should be given a better chance.

- While 84% of women take their jobs seriously, only 39% regard their work as a lifetime career; most consider their jobs "temporary."

- Most women support more day-care centers where working mothers could leave their children.

- Among non-working mothers with children under 12, 24% would look for a job if they could find reliable day-care centers.

Men and women agree that women generally are given an equal chance on the job, but men are more alert to female job discrimination than are working women themselves . . .

- Most women feel there is no discrimination in hiring for white-collar and clerical positions and jobs in the arts; half feel there is discrimination toward women seeking executive positions.

- Most women feel they are given equal chances at job responsibility, promotions, and higher salaries; men more often think women's opportunities are not equal.

- 56% of women feel they receive special treatment on the job **because** they are women; 65% of men feel female employees receive more courtesy and respect than male.

- Working women prefer a male boss over a female boss by eight to one, and prefer working alongside a man by more than seven to one.

WOMEN AND THE MEN THEY LIVE WITH

Some thoughts about the opposite sex . . .

- 67% of women think men are basically kind, gentle, and thoughtful.

- Half feel that most men "think only their opinions about the world are important," and "find it necessary for their egos to keep women down."

- 81% say that "at heart, most men are just as big gossips as women."

- One woman in four is concerned that she'll be "put in her place" if she speaks up on some matter outside the home.

- Some two-thirds of women say they are not annoyed by jokes about mothers-in-law or dumb blondes, nor are they offended when men refer to them as "girls" rather than "women."

- On questions concerning male egocentricity, married women are generally the least critical.

Sex life is no "bed of roses" . . .

- Three out of four women contend that a double moral standard has existed for years, depriving them of the freedoms men enjoy; 70% of men agree that this double standard exists.

- Four in five women feel that a single woman who becomes pregnant should not be obliged to marry the man involved.
- A 45% plurality favors abortion and, where it is legal, 53% believe that the man involved should be consulted on the decision to proceed.
- Two out of three women — three in four among the unmarried — are annoyed if a man regards a woman "as a sex symbol instead of having sense in her head."
- 41% feel most men "look at a woman and immediately think how it would be to go to bed with her," while 49% disagree.
- Two out of five say that men "are more interested in their own rather than a woman's sexual satisfaction," but as many disagree.
- A plurality of 45% believes "men are more unfaithful than women."
- 26% think "most men get real pleasure out of taking advantage of a woman;" 62% disagree.

Women prefer making love to talking about it . . .

- 56% of women believe marriage in general "cannot be happy" without sex.

- Seven out of 10 cannot envision themselves happy in a marriage without sex.
- Three out of four regard discussion of personal sexual matters with men as taboo.
- Only one in three has discussed sex with a woman friend, one in four with a doctor or female relative, one in five with a male relative, and just 13% with a male friend.
- Four in five say they are not bothered by sexual problems; this includes 88% of married women, 46% of single.

If marriage fails, what then . . .

- 52% of women favor divorce as the solution for unsuccessful marriage — 49% of Protestants, 50% of Catholics, and 82% of Jewish women.
- 62% of all women oppose alimony for a divorced woman if she is able to earn a living.
- 56% of divorced and separated women support this view.

WOMEN VERSUS THE FASHION INDUSTRY

Women are interested in wearing not what fashion dictates, but rather what makes them comfortable and happy . . .

- 84% of women dress to please themselves rather than men or other women.

- They prefer the mini over the midi by almost two to one.
- 86% don't want to abandon bras, and 57% opt for girdles.
- 85% disapprove of see-through blouses.
- Only one in five favors uni-sex styles.
- Three in four feel that new fashions are less a reflection of what women are looking for than what fashion designers want them to wear.

ALIENATION OF A SIGNIFICANT MINORITY

Although most women are basically satisfied with their role in society, significant numbers suffer from a deep sense of alienation . . .

- 51% of women feel that what they think "doesn't count very much."
- Two in five say they "never really have had a chance to do the things in life they would like to and probably never will."
- 32% admit they "would like to be more independent, but know deep down" they can't.
- 35% feel "left out of things going on around" them.

- 31% believe "important things that happen in the world" don't affect their lives.
- One-fourth say they "rarely get a chance" to enjoy themselves.
- Alienation is suffered most by those whose schooling never went beyond the eighth grade, and by black women, who carry the double burden of felt discrimination — as blacks and as women.

COPING WITH A MAN'S WORLD

When a woman wants something, she generally knows how to get it . . .

- 84% of women feel they've managed to survive in this so-called man's world by developing techniques for making the best of things, rather than staging open rebellion.
- 84% believe that they have more power than they are given credit for.
- 68% find they have to be more clever than men simply because they are viewed as the weaker sex.

Women have a strong dependence upon men, and both still cling to marriage as a cornerstone of life . . .

- "For a woman to be truly happy," say two in three, she must have a man around.

- But 73% of women — and an almost equal amount of men — agree that marriage as an institution has become weaker in the past 10 years.
- Almost two-thirds of women — and more than half of men — think premarital sex is immoral.
- More than three-fourths of women and two-thirds of men disapprove of "trial" marriages.
- More than four out of five men and women oppose out-of-wedlock births.
- Close to nine in 10 men and women believe society could not survive without the marriage institution.

Women lack confidence in their own sex . . .

- Seven in 10 women feel "men get on far better with other men than women get on with other women."
- 58% believe "women will always be more emotional and less logical than men."
- Half think "men enjoy action and excitement more than women do."
- 67% say "there won't be a woman President of the United States for a long time, and that's probably just as well."

Behind every great man is a woman . . .

In rating their respect for well-known members of their

sex, women most often choose those who have gained prominence as the wives of famous men. Out of a list of 21, for instance, the top third were:

Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower
 Queen Elizabeth of England
 Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith, U.S. Senator
 Mrs. Richard Nixon
 Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson
 Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
 Mrs. Hubert Humphrey

WOMEN AS CITIZENS

Women are basically satisfied with the way men are governing the country, but they do hold strong opinions of their own . . .

. . . on race and violence . . .

- 74% of women feel more uneasy on the streets today compared with a few years ago.
- 62% say fear of racial violence makes them uneasy.
- A 42% plurality thinks blacks are justified in their demands — 71% of the black women; 38% of white.
- 61% of black women and 44% of white would prefer if blacks integrated into white society rather than establishing their own society. An equal number of whites and 24% of blacks prefer separatism.

- 55% of white women feel blacks in America are moving too fast today; 15% of black women agree.

- Three-fourths of white women would be upset if white children were bused to schools in black neighborhoods; 51% object to black children being bused into white neighborhood schools.

- 55% of white women would be upset if more blacks moved into their neighborhoods.

... on the economy ...

- Two in three women feel their family's income has increased "slower" than the cost of living.

- 72% believe rising costs of living are not inevitable and can be controlled.

- Women blame the high cost of living chiefly on the Vietnam war, federal government spending, high interest rates, taxes, too-high business profits, and union wage demands.

- They feel government spending should be cut first in foreign aid, the space program, and Vietnam.

- They would like to see additional government spending first for federal aid to education and pollution control.

- And, although 67% find U.S. taxes unreasonable, 53% would be willing to pay an additional \$30 a year in taxes to finance a federal program to control air and water pollution.

... on education and student protest ...

- Two-thirds of women rate the quality of public education in America as "excellent" or "pretty good," but, by three to one, they consider parochial schools better.

- However, a plurality of 44% is opposed to federal aid to parochial schools.

- By 12 to one, women feel elementary and high school students have too much freedom.

- 65% oppose the aims and goals of student protest; 85% oppose their tactics.

- College student demonstrators are considered by 72% of women to be more harmful to American life than any other group except the communist party.

... on capital punishment and war ...

- By 46 to 39%, American women oppose capital punishment; by 56 to 37%, men favor it.

- 61% of women are opposed to war in general, and seven out of 10 cannot conceive of any situation in which nuclear war would be necessary.

- 99% of men and women agree that war would be necessary if the U.S. were invaded, and 78% of women (84% of men) would go to war if Canada were invaded.

- More than three in four women would advise their sons to serve willingly in the armed forces if they were drafted; 10% would advise them to avoid induction, but to serve if the attempt failed.
- A 44% plurality of American women feels the pace of President Nixon's troop withdrawal rate from Vietnam is "about right."
- 53% would favor the withdrawal of American troops if the South Vietnamese government collapsed.

APPENDIX

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLES

	(3,000) Total Women %	(1,000) Total Men %
Geographical Location		
East	27	29
West	17	16
South	29	28
Midwest	27	27
Size of Place		
Cities	30	29
Suburbs	23	24
Towns	17	17
Rural	30	30
Marital Status		
Single	8	19
Married	76	75
Divorced or separated	5	2
Widowed	11	4
Religion		
Protestant	55	57
Catholic	24	20
Jewish	2	2
Other	19	21

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLES

	(3,000) Total Women %	(1,000) Total Men %
Age		
18-29	30	28
30-39	21	17
40-49	18	14
50 and over	31	41
Annual Income		
Under \$5,000	27	24
\$5,000-\$9,999	38	39
\$10,000-\$14,999	22	24
\$15,000	13	13
Race		
White	89	89
Black	11	11
Level of Education Completed		
8th grade or less	14	19
High school	59	47
College	23	34*
Post graduate	4	

* Includes men who have completed some college or some postgraduate work.

THE
1972
VIRGINIA SLIMS
AMERICAN
WOMEN'S
OPINION
POLL

A Study Conducted by
Louis Harris and Associates

**THE 1972
VIRGINIA SLIMS AMERICAN WOMEN'S OPINION POLL
WOMEN IN POLITICS AND THE ECONOMY**

A Study Conducted by Louis Harris and Associates

CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	1
WOMEN'S STATUS AND EFFORTS TO CHANGE IT . .	5
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS.	6
WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE	7
WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY	9
WOMEN AS VOTERS	12
APPENDIX.	18

FOREWORD

How will women vote in this a Presidential election year? Because women make up 51% of the potential voting population, Virginia Slims commissioned Louis Harris and Associates to ask this and other questions which would reveal women's feelings and attitudes about the significant issues facing the voter in 1972. The survey indicates that women's voting preferences are deeply rooted in how they feel about their own political power (or lack of it), how they see their impact as a group on the economy, how they react to the most pressing problems of the day and how they respond to specific characteristics of the candidates.

The first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, conducted over a year ago, revealed strong undercurrents among women toward greater independence. The present study delves more deeply into these feelings, with special attention to women's growing influence in the following areas:

- Do women feel they should continue to run the households of the nation while their husbands run the nation itself?
- Must women surrender their femininity in order to gain political power?
- What are the problems that women feel are the most urgent in the nation today?

- Do women have any control over the economy?
- Which groups of women are likely to support President Nixon, Governor Wallace, Senators Muskie, Kennedy, McGovern, Humphrey and Mayor Lindsay?
- Are most women supporters of "women's liberation" or are they becoming disenchanted with the movement?
- Do women feel they could do as good (or as bad) a job in public office as men — or better?

During late 1971, in-person interviews were conducted with a representative cross-section of 3,000 women — and a control group of 1,000 men — throughout the United States to learn the answers to these and other questions. Some of their findings include:

- * Women take the staunch position that they can be just as effective as men in politics, yet the majority of women tend to look to "other women" to speak up for their sex in politics.
- * Many women want to become more involved in political activity. As in the first Virginia Slims study, this surge toward greater involvement is most evident among an urban coalition of young women, well-educated women and black women.
- * While most women tend to shy away from protests

and demonstrations, they respond favorably to the efforts of bona fide organizations out to change women's status.

- * Despite their desire for a more important role in society, most women believe their responsibilities as mothers are as challenging as "men's jobs" and they are not anxious to risk their security at home for the uncertainties of a career.
- * Two out of 3 women place the war in Vietnam at the top of their list of the most urgent problems facing the nation today. Significantly, they see the first woman President (a definite possibility in the next 50 years) as being far more able than a man to keep the nation out of war.
- * President Nixon, as a '72 candidate, runs better among men than he does among women, although there is widespread agreement among women that he is "intelligent" and a "good family man."

Our goal in these surveys is to compile much needed data on how women view their roles in society today. We believe that this area can provide important insights into the direction in which women — and the nation — are going. The most salient points of the recent study are contained in the following pages. We hope you will find this report informative, useful and stimulating.

John Granville

John Granville
Brand Manager, Virginia Slims
Philip Morris, U.S.A.
100 Park Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017

WOMEN'S STATUS AND EFFORTS TO CHANGE IT

Women are far more eager today to change their status in society than they were a year ago . . .

- Nearly half of American women (48%) today favor efforts to strengthen their role in society, while only 36% are opposed; in last year's Virginia Slims Poll, women were almost equally divided on this issue (42 to 40% opposed).
- More men today also favor changing women's status in society; only among black Americans do many more women (62%) than men (47%) desire change.
- Strong support for status changes comes from an essentially urban "bloc" of single, divorced and / or separated women, black women, college educated women and women under 30.

For many women, the phrase "women's liberation" is emotionally charged . . .

- Women today are far more ready to battle the injustices that they feel they have faced for years, but by 49 to 39% they are unsympathetic to the efforts of "women's liberation" groups.
- While they realize they have to speak up for themselves, most women still want to be ladylike about it; picketing and protest demonstrations come under sharp criticism.

Few women resent being born women . . .

- On the whole, women are pretty satisfied with their lives today; more so than men are with their lives.
- If they had to choose, most women (56%) would opt for husbands to support them over careers of their own.
- The majority of women find their responsibilities as wives and mothers as challenging as men's jobs.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Women feel they exert more influence in politics than they are given credit for . . .

- By nearly 2 to 1, women assert that their political beliefs are independent of their husbands'—and most men agree.
- Four out of 5 women place a high value on their "behind-the-scenes" influence in politics; in the previous Virginia Slims Poll, women claimed similar tactics were effective in their private lives.
- Women resent being given the "dirty work" in political activities.

Women feel strongly that they should become more involved in politics, but most of them look to "other women" to do it . . .

- Nearly 3 out of 5 women feel that women should be more active in politics, but only 1 in 6 says she is personally active.

- Single women and college-educated women are more politically active than other groups of women.

- Majorities of both sexes favor new organizations to strengthen women's participation in politics.

Political parties are making poor use of the "women power" available for campaigns . . .

- Three out of 4 women 18 years of age and over are registered to vote, but women lag behind men in recent Presidential and Congressional voting records.
- Relatively few women are involved in such political activities as: attending rallies (1 in 3), contributing money (1 in 4), door-to-door canvassing (1 in 7), fund raising (1 in 10). Men's involvement in such activities has been slightly greater.
- But, if given the opportunity, there is a definite willingness among single, black, well-educated, young and affluent women to increase their participation in these and other political activities.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Women say that some women are as capable as men as leaders . . .

- More than 3 out of 5 women say they are not discriminated against in working within political parties.
- But nearly half the women feel they are discriminated

against in seeking public office.

- Three out of 4 women believe that women in public office can be as logical and rational as men.
- Both men and women agree that femininity can be an asset to women seeking political office.
- Women also credit themselves with idealism and feel that it can be a useful trait in public office; men are doubtful about this.

In most areas of public concern and policy making, women can do at least as good a job as men — if not better . . .

- Pluralities of both sexes feel that women can do a better job than men in dealing with family problems, encouraging the arts and protecting the consumer.
- Women and men agree that women in public office would have a harder time in dealing with big business and in military affairs.
- As shown in the first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, women still see themselves as less militaristic than men and more compassionate toward the poor.

A woman President? . . .

- Most women would not be prejudiced against a female candidate for President; nevertheless, 2 out of 5 said they would be less likely to vote for her than for an equally qualified male candidate.

- Both sexes find a women Vice President more acceptable than a woman President.
- Majorities of women (57%) and men (58%) feel that the U.S. will be ready to elect a woman President in the next 20 years.
- More than half of women (57%) and 50% of men would like to see a woman appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court "now."

Are women fairly represented at Republican and Democratic National Conventions? . . .

- By 8 to 1, women feel that there are too few women delegates at the conventions; men feel the same way by 5 to 1.
- One out of 3 women believes that half of the delegates at the conventions should be women, to represent half of the U.S. population.

WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY

Women have an important say in the economic life of the nation — as consumers, as borrowers, as savers and investors and as voters . . .

- Two out of 5 women and men feel that women play a "major" role in the economy.
- More than half of women feel their role in the economy is just "about right," but 27% would like to have a greater

economic control.

- Men are somewhat more content than women to leave things the way they are, and even to limit women's impact on the economy.

"Borrowing is a sensible way to buy something you need with someone else's money" . . .

- Two out of 3 women feel borrowing is a "perfectly normal part of using money intelligently."
- They reject the idea — and men agree — that borrowing indicates a failure to live within one's means.
- Yet 3 out of 4 women believe borrowing is "a bad practice to fall into."
- Most debts incurred by married women are loans which are made jointly with their husbands.
- Only in the case of department store purchases do women sometimes assume responsibility for payment in their own names.

Few women own their stocks, bonds and mutual funds in their name alone . . .

- Four out of 5 women own their savings and investments (except for life insurance) jointly with their husbands.
- Only 14% of women stockholders decide by themselves which stocks or mutual funds to invest in; 42% say their husbands decide.

- Most men report that they alone make the decisions as to which investments to make and how much to invest.

Most women (52%) feel that the stock market is "as risky as gambling" . . .

- Yet 2 out of 5 believe that investing in the market "is a good way to share in America's growth and prosperity."
- More than half of women (57%) think that it is possible to have "a stock market crash such as we had in 1929."
- Four out of 5 women feel they'd rather keep money in a savings bank than "fool around with the stock market."
- Men also display uncertainty about the market and a preference for savings accounts.

It's becoming harder and harder to pay the family bills . . .

- Nearly 2 out of 3 women believe their incomes increased more slowly than living costs in the past year.
- Only 1 in 4 women — and men — expects her income to "keep pace" with the rising cost of living in the next couple of years.
- Three major causes of inflation, according to most women, are: the Vietnam war, government spending and taxes.

On keeping a budget . . .

- Half of all women say they "keep a budget."

- A plurality of married women (45%) who keep a budget report that they do so alone, compared with 27% of married men who say they keep the family budget on their own.
- Fewer than half of women budget keepers (43%) claim success in staying within the limits of their plan.
- For a majority of women, there is no money left "for saving, investing and other such things" after all essential bills are paid.

WOMEN AS VOTERS

The dominant issues facing the nation . . .

- Women in general are more concerned about the war in Vietnam and drug abuse than are men.
- Black women place a higher priority than whites on the issues of poverty, unemployment, education and housing.
- Younger women tend to be more troubled by the war, the economy, racial problems, the environment and poverty than their elders.
- Older women are disturbed more by drugs, crime, unemployment and taxes.

The drug problem . . .

- Two out of 3 women feel that regular users of soft drugs, like marijuana, should be given medical and mental treatment rather than "stiff prison terms."

- One in 6 women advises "stiff prison terms" for users of hard drugs "like heroin and speed."
- Overall, more men than women recommend imprisonment for drug users.

Crime in the streets . . .

- Most women (64%) and 45% of men say they personally feel "more afraid and uneasy on the streets today" than a year ago.
- This feeling is most prevalent among black women, older women, the poor and women in cities.

- Four out of 5 women favor a system of strict gun control, while 45% of women and 55% of men report the presence of guns in their homes.

The pollution problem . . .

- By 9 to 1, women feel that air and water pollution has gotten worse in the past few years.
- Nearly two-thirds of women say they would be willing to pay \$300 more for a car "to eliminate health risks from smog and pollution;" so would 3 out of 5 men.
- Most women and men say they are also willing to pay an additional 10% of their electric bills to eliminate environmental health hazards caused by generating plants.
- Those most willing to pay for pollution controls include white women, young women, the more affluent, women in

the West, women in suburbs and those who consider themselves political Independents.

Recession . . . inflation . . . taxes . . .

- Three out of 5 women feel the country is "in a recession" and nearly 3 out of 4 believe that taxes are "unreasonable."
- More than 3 out of 5 women say they "have reached the breaking point on the amount of taxes they pay."
- Those who feel hardest hit by taxes are divorced and separated women and middle income groups.
- Since the first Virginia Slims Poll, more women feel that taxes have become "unreasonable."
- Women view taxes as a major cause of inflation.
- Women least optimistic about economic recovery include low income groups, Democrats, Independents and supporters of Senators Muskie and Kennedy.

School busing is unpopular . . .

- Three out of 4 women oppose busing children to achieve racial desegregation; this includes more than half of all black women.
- Half the women view blacks in America as "trying to move too fast," while nearly 1 in 3 says the pace is just "about right."

- Two out of 5 women feel the demands of blacks are justified; 1 in 4 women doesn't believe they are.

Women would like to see more government spending on domestic issues . . .

- Majorities of women favor additional government funds for pollution controls and education.
- They would like to see cuts in federal spending for foreign aid, the space program and Vietnam.
- Nearly half of women and men approve of increased government funds to help cities, but majorities of both sexes are not willing to pay higher taxes to achieve this.
- Most women support cuts in defense spending, but not at the expense of placing the U.S. in a "second position behind the Soviet Union."

Women's thoughts on the potential Presidential candidates . . .

- Women refer most often to President Nixon as "intelligent" and a "good family man."
- Senator Muskie is viewed as "straight-forward" by 28% of women and 31% of men.
- Many women tend to regard Senator Kennedy and Mayor Lindsay as "handsome" and "open to new ideas."
- Senator Humphrey is described as "sincere" by a total

of 30% of women and men.

- Governor Wallace is "narrow-minded," according to 32% of women and 31% of men.
- Many women are unable to describe the abilities and personalities of several of the possible Presidential candidates, particularly Senator McGovern.

Rating President Nixon's performance . . .

- Three out of 5 women and men approve of the President's efforts in "working for peace" and "putting in the wage-price freeze."
- On "handling the Vietnam war," majorities of both sexes give him negative ratings.
- More than 2 out of 3 women feel the President is not handling taxes and spending adequately, nor keeping unemployment and the cost of living down to satisfactory levels.
- Three out of 5 question the way he is dealing with civil rights.

On the coming election . . .

- Men show a slightly higher preference for re-electing President Nixon than do women, no matter who among the likely challengers his opponent may be.
- Governor Wallace gathers his greatest support from men.

- Democratic identity among women is strongest among blacks, the poor, the less educated, women in cities and in the South.

- Those women who identify with the Republican party are found more among white women, older women, those in the West, Midwest and in suburbs.

Women whom women respect

In the first Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, the women who generated the most respect from other women were primarily wives of famous men. A comparison with the present survey shows that although this is still true, there is more of an inclination to acknowledge women who "made it" on their own rather than through the reflected glory of their husbands. Here are the leaders from both studies, in order of the way women rate them:

<u>1972</u>	<u>1971</u>
1. Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower	1. Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower
2. Mrs. Pat Nixon	2. Queen Elizabeth of England
3. Queen Elizabeth of England	3. Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith
4. Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith	4. Mrs. Pat Nixon
5. { Mrs. Ladybird Johnson	5. Mrs. Ladybird Johnson
Mrs. Golda Meir	

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE

APPENDIX

<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Women (3,000)</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>Men (1,000)</u>	
	<u>%</u> <u>100</u>		<u>%</u> <u>100</u>	
Single	8		16	
Married	76		76	
Divorced, separated	5		3	
Widowed	11		5	
Black	11		11	
White	86		85	
18 to 29	28		25	
30 to 39	23		17	
40 to 49	18		18	
50 and over	31		40	

Under \$5,000	26	26
\$5,000 to \$9,999	33	31
\$10,000 to \$14,999	24	25
\$15,000 and over	17	18
Own stocks, mutual funds	22	25
8th grade	14	19
High School	54	43
College	32	38
East	28	26
Midwest	28	28
South	27	28
West	17	18
Cities	31	30
Suburbs	27	28
Towns	15	15
Rural	27	27