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## Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

—October 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

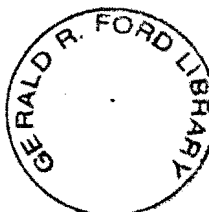
SUBJECT: Final Polling

Attached is a schedule for the next series of telephone polls which would run through October 30. Assuming we continue our phone polling through November 5, we will spend \$24,000 less than our total budget allocation. If we also do personal interview studies in New York and California later this week they will cost us an additional \$30,000 which would put us about \$6,000 over our budget. There are three alternatives which would keep us within budget:

1. To conduct one personal interview study in either New York or California and continue with daily polls through November 5.
2. To terminate our telephone interviewing with our current series on October 30. This would save \$15,000 and allow us to do personal interview studies in both New York and California and still end up a few thousand under budget.
3. To terminate our telephone interviewing this weekend (October 22), which would save \$30,000. This saving along with the \$24,000 remaining in the budget would allow us to do five personal interview studies over the weekend. We would then finish about even or just slightly over budget.

My recommendation is that we terminate the phone interviewing this Sunday, October 22, and do personal interview studies late this week in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California. Data would be available next Tuesday or Wednesday. If any of these states appear to be sliding or in serious trouble, we would have the option of doing a quick panel or regular telephone study in that state any time during the last ten days.

The advantage of this last course of action is that we will have absolutely reliable data that we are confident to act on during the last two weeks of the campaign. I do not have this confidence in the telephone data we have received during the past three weeks. This problem may be with the weighing of the data or, in fairness to ORC, in the phone technique itself. There is some evidence that in a year when one candidate is far ahead and appears to be an



obvious landslide, some people are hesitant to tell a telephone interviewer that they are going to vote for McGovern and may tend to show a preference for Nixon because it is the socially accepted position. This may well be the reason that our telephone polls, - the Yankelovich studies and Sindlinger all have consistently shown larger margins through the Fall than the personal interview studies. This problem is minimized with the secret ballot technique. Our test with Michigan over the weekend leads me to believe that this is at least a portion of the problem. ORC did Michigan on the telephone at exactly the same time that MOR was doing the Detroit News Poll. The News poll was a personal interview study which used an exact duplicate of the Michigan printed ballot with vignette and straight ballot boxes. It gave us a margin of 13%. Regardless of how the telephone poll was weighed, it gave us a margin of 23-25%.

Recommendation: That we terminate our telephone interviewing this Sunday and do personal interview studies with secret ballots in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California beginning as soon as possible with the data available Tuesday and Wednesday, the 24th and 25th. If you definitely want to finish under budget we should cut one of these.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Disapproved: \_\_\_\_\_ Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

Attached is a draft of a questionnaire I recommend we use for any personal interview studies we do. We will have to keep the interview this short in order for the companies involved to turn it around in our time limit. We will, of course, include all major state races on the ballot.



<u>STATE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</u>	<u>LAST DATE TO CHANGE QUESTIONNAIRE</u>	<u>FLASH REPORT</u>	<u>FULL REPORT</u>
West Virginia	400	(Noon)	10/17	10/19
New Hampshire	400	N/A	10/17	10/19
Washington	400	N/A	10/18	10/20 ✓
Pennsylvania	500	N/A	10/18	<del>10/20 ✓</del>
Illinois	500	N/A	10/20	10/21 ✓
Ohio	500	N/A	10/22	10/24 ✓
New Jersey	500	N/A	10/24	10/25 ✓
Connecticut	400	N/A	10/24	10/25 ✓
New York	500	N/A	10/26	<del>10/27</del>
California	500	N/A	10/26	10/27
Michigan	500	10/20	10/27	10/28
Maryland	400	10/19	10/28	10/30
Wisconsin	400	10/20	10/28	10/30

① Calif —  
 ② Wash -  
 Penn

③ Ill.  
 ④ Ohio ①  
 Conn  
 & N/A ⑤  
 Wis

115 ①  
 111 ③  
 110 ⑤





Hello, I'm Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ from Market Opinion Research, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in \_\_\_\_\_ and would like to have your opinions.  
(state name).

1. Are you now registered to vote here in \_\_\_\_\_? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1  
(state name) NO (GO TO Q. 1a) . . . 2

1a. Do you intend to register so you will be able to vote in the 1972 Presidential election? YES (GO TO Q. 2) . . . 1  
NO (TERMINATE) . . . 2

*Sn/Ltc*

2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time? (PROBE)

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President? APPROVE . . . . . 1  
DISAPPROVE . . . . . 2  
NO OPINION . . . . . 3

3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? APPROVE . . . . . 1  
DISAPPROVE . . . . . 2  
NO OPINION . . . . . 3

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country? APPROVE . . . . . 1  
DISAPPROVE . . . . . 2  
NO OPINION . . . . . 3

INTERVIEWER: ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 8 AND 9.

5. How would you rate Richard Nixon in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able? VERY ABLE . . . . . 1  
FAIRLY ABLE . . . . . 2  
NOT VERY ABLE . . . . . 3  
NOT AT ALL ABLE . . . . . 4  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 5

6. How would you rate George McGovern in terms of his ability to handle the job of President -- very able, fairly able, not very able, not at all able? VERY ABLE . . . . . 1  
FAIRLY ABLE . . . . . 2  
NOT VERY ABLE . . . . . 3  
NOT AT ALL ABLE . . . . . 4  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 5

7. Now, I'm going to hand you a sample election ballot. I would like you to mark it just as you would if the election were being held today.

Here is another ballot on which you can indicate how strongly you feel about the candidate you voted for on the sample ballot. Please mark the position on it that best describes your feelings.

Please put them in the envelope, seal it, and return it to me.

8. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote? DEFINITELY VOTE . . . . . 1  
PROBABLY VOTE . . . . . 2  
MAY OR MAY NOT VOTE . . . . . 3  
DEFINITELY NOT VOTE . . . . . 4  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 5

9. How serious of a problem do you think corruption is in the federal government -- very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not at all serious? VERY SERIOUS . . . . . 1  
FAIRLY SERIOUS . . . . . 2  
NOT VERY SERIOUS . . . . . 3  
NOT AT ALL SERIOUS . . . . . 4  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 5

10. Are there any recent examples of corruption or influence peddling that you can think of and that concern you and what are they?

(IF "SPECIFIC ANSWER," ASK:)

10a. Will this make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you when you vote this Fall? MORE LIKELY VOTE NIXON . . . . . 1  
MORE LIKELY VOTE MCGOVERN . . . . . 2  
NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE . . . . . 3  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 4

11. Do you think George McGovern or Richard Nixon would do the better job of keeping corruption and influence peddling out of the Federal Government over the next four years? GEORGE MCGOVERN . . . . . 1  
RICHARD NIXON . . . . . 2  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 3

12. Senator McGovern has charged that the Nixon administration is one of the most corrupt in history. Some people have said that this is simply a political charge by a desperate politician who is far behind. Others agree with him and think President Nixon needs to answer and explain these charges. Which side do you agree with? POLITICAL CHARGE BY DESPERATE POLITICIAN . . . . . 1  
MOST CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION AND NEEDS EXPLAINING . . . . . 2  
DON'T KNOW . . . . . 3

*Handwritten notes in a box:*  
Nixon  
Candid  
Pres.  
Comm  
Wis

I. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what?

- REPUBLICAN . . . . . 1
- INDEPENDENT . . . . . 2
- DEMOCRAT . . . . . 3
- DON'T KNOW . . . . . 4

II. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

- STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC . . 1
- MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC . . . 2
- A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS . . . 3
- ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES . . . . . 4
- A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS . . . . 5
- MOSTLY REPUBLICAN . . . . 6
- STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN . . . 7
- NEVER VOTED . . . . . 8
- DON'T KNOW . . . . . 9

III. For whom did you vote for President in 1968?

- NIXON . . . . . 1
- HUMPHREY . . . . . 2
- WALLACE . . . . . 3
- DIDN'T VOTE . . . . . 4
- DON'T KNOW . . . . . 5

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

IV. What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

- 17-20 . . . . . 01
- 21-24 . . . . . 02
- 25-29 . . . . . 03
- 30-34 . . . . . 04
- 35-39 . . . . . 05
- 40-44 . . . . . 06
- 45-49 . . . . . 07
- 50-54 . . . . . 08
- 55-59 . . . . . 09
- 60-64 . . . . . 10
- 65 AND OVER . . . . . 11
- REFUSED . . . . . 12

V. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS (Grades 1-8) . . . . . 1
- SOME HIGH SCHOOL . . . . . 2
- GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (Grades 9-12) . . . . . 3
- VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL SCHOOL . . . . . 4
- SOME COLLEGE . . . . . 5
- GRADUATED COLLEGE . . . . 6
- POST GRADUATE WORK . . . . 7
- REFUSED . . . . . 8

VI. What is your religion?

- ROMAN CATHOLIC . . . . . 1
- PROTESTANT (eg. Baptist, Methodist, etc.) . . . . . 2
- JEWISH . . . . . 3
- OTHER (SPECIFY) . . . . . 4

VII. (BY OBSERVATION) RACE:

- WHITE . . . . . 1
- NEGRO . . . . . 2
- ORIENTAL . . . . . 3
- SPANISH-AMERICAN . . . . . 4
- OTHER (SPECIFY) . . . . . 5

VIII. Are you a labor union member

- YES . . . . . 1
- NO . . . . . 2

a. (IF "NO" ASK:) Is any member of your immediate family a union member.

- YES . . . . . 1
- NO . . . . . 2

XI. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- MALE . . . . . 1
- FEMALE . . . . . 2

XII. (SHOW INCOME CARD) Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?

- 0-\$2,999 . . . . . 1
- \$3,000-\$4,999 . . . . . 2
- \$5,000-\$5,999 . . . . . 3
- \$6,000-\$9,999 . . . . . 4
- \$7,000-\$9,999 . . . . . 5
- \$10,000-\$14,999 . . . . . 6
- \$15,000-\$24,999 . . . . . 7
- \$25,000 AND OVER . . . . . 8
- REFUSED . . . . . 9

