Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Final Polling

October 17, 1972

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 Yankelovitch 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>LAST DATE TO CHANGE QUESTIONNAIRE</th>
<th>FLASH REPORT</th>
<th>FULL REPORT</th>
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<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>(Noon)</td>
<td>10/17</td>
<td>10/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>10/17</td>
<td>10/19</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>10/24</td>
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</tr>
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<td>500</td>
<td>10/20</td>
<td>10/27</td>
<td>10/28</td>
</tr>
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<td>10/19</td>
<td>10/28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>10/20</td>
<td>10/28</td>
<td>10/30</td>
</tr>
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</table>


**National Election Survey**

Survey conducted by the Voter Research & Data Center at the University of Michigan, with funding from the Ford Foundation.

**Instructions:**

Please answer each question by checking the appropriate box. The order of the questions is not important. Please answer all questions.

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**Questions:**

1. Are you now registered to vote in the United States?
   (Circle one)
   - Yes (Code 9, 2)  1
   - No (Code 0, 0)  2

2. Do you think the most important problems facing the United States as a whole are: (Focus on the most important problem for this country)
   - Domestic problems
   - Economic problems
   - International problems
   - Political problems
   - Environmental problems

3. If you do not think the problems are adequately handled, please indicate what you think should be done. (Focus on the problems you do not think are adequately handled)

4. How do you rate Richard Nixon in terms of his ability to handle the job of President? 
   - Very able
   - Fairly able
   - fairly able
   - Not very able
   - Not at all able
   - Don't know

5. How do you rate George McGovern in terms of his ability to handle the job of President? 
   - Very able
   - Fairly able
   - Fairly able
   - Not very able
   - Not at all able
   - Don't know

6. How serious a problem do you think corruption is in the federal government? 
   - Very serious
   - Fairly serious
   - Not very serious
   - Not at all serious
   - Don't know

7. Are there any recent examples of corruption or influence peddling that you feel could end the current and any other similar problems? 
   - More likely vote Nixon
   - More likely vote McGovern
   - Not much of a difference
   - Don't know

8. Do you think George McGovern or Richard Nixon would do a better job of keeping the federal government from corruption and influence peddling? 
   - George McGovern
   - Richard Nixon
   - Don't know

9. Senator McGovern has charged that the Nixon administration is one of the most corrupt in history. Some people have said that this is merely a political charge by a disinterested politician who is far behind. Others agree, and think President Nixon should be removed from office. Do you agree with these charges? (Check one)
   - Political charges by Senator McGovern
   - Most current administration
   - Most recent administration
   - Not very recent administration
   - Don't know

10. If the election this fall will you definitely vote for George McGovern or not make any difference? 
    - Definitely vote McGovern
    - Definitely vote Nixon
    - Not make any difference
    - Don't know

11. How much do you think Richard Nixon cares about the problems of the middle income voter? 
    - Very much
    - Fairly much
    - Not very much
    - Not at all
    - Don't know

12. How much do you think George McGovern cares about the problems of the middle income voter? 
    - Very much
    - Fairly much
    - Not very much
    - Not at all
    - Don't know

13. If you could call Nixon or McGovern and ask him or her to explain his or her position on a matter of importance to you, which would you choose to call? 
    - Nixon
    - McGovern
    - Don't know

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**Appendix:**

- **Politicization of the Vietnam War:**
  - Very able, fairly able.
  - Not very able, not at all able.
  - Don't know

- **Economic Conditions in the Country:**
  - Very able, fairly able.
  - Not very able, not at all able.
  - Don't know

- **Political Charges:**
  - Very able, fairly able.
  - Not very able, not at all able.
  - Don't know
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 ...... 3
- ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES ...... 4
- A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS ...... 5
- STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN ...... 6
- NEVER VOTED ...... 8
- DON'T KNOW ...... 9

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17-20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-24</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>04</td>
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<td>55-59</td>
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<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 AND OVER</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- 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
- REFUSED ...... 6

VIII. Are you a labor union member

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

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

IX. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1,999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-4,999</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-8,999</td>
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<tr>
<td>39,000 AND OVER</td>
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- REFUSED ...... 8