November 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT H. TEETER
SUBJECT: Post Election Analysis

In addition to the internal analysis of the campaign you asked for I think that our post election analysis should contain two other components. The most important is a post election survey. While post election data is useful after most campaigns there are several reasons why I think it is important for this one.

1) We have spent something close to 45 million dollars this year. We put a great deal more emphasis on techniques such as mail and telephone than has been done in previous presidential campaigns. We should find out which of the techniques were effective and why.

2) It appears that this campaign is going to create some significant new voting patterns. We should find out what the important factors were in attracting these new voters and how we can keep them.

3) The 18 year old vote brought a large new segment of voters into the electorate. We should find out what affected them and how to approach them in the future.

4) The campaign and the election undoubtedly have had an affect on the mood of the country, the issue structure, and the perception of the President and the administration. Data on the President and the issues would be useful to him and the White House staff in planning the inaugural, their congressional proposals, and the staffing of the second administration.
The basic element of such a study should be a national sample of at least 1500 personal interviews.

Along with this national poll, it would also be useful to sample a few precincts where our campaign was active organizationally and with the mail and telephone programs.

The general areas this study would cover are:

- National issue structure
- Perception of the candidates
- Perception of the campaign
- Sources of information
- Impact of campaign techniques — advertising, mail, telephone
- Key elements of voting decisions
- Timing of voting decisions
- Expectations of a second Nixon administration

This project would cost $40-50,000 which represents .1% of the total budget for evaluation.

Also, MOR is going to do three or four state after election panel studies for their own use. These could be tied to the national study to give us a comparison of some of the key states and the national data. They are definitely going to do Michigan and will pick other states on the day after the election.

We need a decision on the national poll by Sunday or Monday to begin interviewing immediately after the election. If you approve it, I will draft a questionnaire for you this weekend; we can finalize it on Wednesday, and begin interviewing Friday or Saturday.

The second component I think should be added to our post election analysis is a detailed voting analysis to see where we did change voting patterns. A preliminary analysis can be done as soon as we get county returns. A more detailed analysis will have to wait until precinct data is available. This will undoubtedly be at least the first of the year. If you agree with this part of the proposal, I will prepare a detailed description of the analysis that should be done after the election.

It would be a mistake for us to close down the campaign and not have our evaluation include an analysis of the actual result.