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MEMORANDUM

To: The Attorney General
 From: Robert M. Teeter
 Re: 1972 Campaign Polling

November 12, 1971

The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the general guidelines for the 1972 polling program and to specifically propose the first series of polls. It covers my recommendations for general areas; the basic design of our polling effort and specific design for the first wave, the selection of vendors, possible joint efforts with Republican State Committees, and the handling of the data internally.

My recommendation is that the survey research or polling effort be divided functionally into three basic parts: three basic parts

The primary aspect of the program would be four waves of statewide sample surveys done in the target states, none additional interviewing on the first and third waves which when weighted and added to the statewide waves would yield reliable national data, and one or more polls in the important primary states.

The first wave would be done immediately and serve both as a series of baseline and primary studies, the second would be done after the primaries are over in the June-July period, the third immediately after the conventions in late August,



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and the fourth would be a series of continuing telephone tracking studies beginning about September 25 and running through the election.

Because we will be polling in the larger states which make up a large share of the total country it will also be possible to add an additional ~~four to~~ five hundred interviews done in other states which when weighted and combined with our statewide interviews would give us a national baseline survey. I think this should be done in the first and third waves. It will be helpful to have national baseline data with which to compare our statewide polls and having a baseline national study will also allow us to make greater use of the regular Gallup and Harris waves. I do not think that these uses ~~would~~ warrant the campaign funding a complete national survey but I do think that they warrant the expenditure of the \$10,000-\$12,000 it will cost to expand our statewides into a national.

This program of statewide surveys will provide the necessary in-depth and trend data that will be needed to select target states and assign priorities to them, to re-evaluate this list of priority states periodically during the campaign, to plan a national campaign strategy, and to plan and implement individual campaigns within the target states.

While each of the waves would vary in scope they would all cover three basic areas:



Current Voting Intentions

Each study would cover the various potential Presidential contests before the convention and the effect of Wallace being on or off the ballot. The first and/or second wave could be used to test various Vice-Presidential possibilities. The major statewide races within each of the target states would be measured as they may have major effects on the President within that state.

Perception of the Candidates

The perceptions of the major candidates would be studied through a series of comparative ratings and open end questions. Particular emphasis would be placed on the perception of the candidates with regard to the major issues and the important leadership dimensions.

Issues

The polls would investigate the major areas of concern both nationally and within the target states, the attitudes toward specific facets of the President's program, and measure various alternative proposal solutions to major national problems.

The data from each of the studies would be run and analyzed by voting behavior groups, by candidate preference groups, by geographic region and by selected demographic groups. Additional selected runs would also be made when they appeared useful for individual states or for issue orientation groups. While more than one geographic break may be useful, a break by major media market should be made to assist the advertising people and because the influence of particular media often causes specific attitude sets within a media market area.



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I would recommend that the first wave of this program begin immediately so that we can get a baseline measurement before the primary fray begins as once the primary campaign and elections start there may be fairly severe temporary fluctuations in attitudes toward individual candidates or issues and I'd like to get the data we are going to use for planning for the next six months before this begins. Moreover, I think we should get baseline data now for planning purposes both within the target states and the primary states. The advertising people are going to have to settle on a theme for the primaries very soon which may emerge into the theme for the campaign and if we want to influence the local candidate selection process in any of the states it would be useful to have polling data both to determine if and how we want to influence it and for use in actually doing so.

Also unless we start the first wave now and get the interviewing done before the Christmas season we are going to have to wait until after the first of the year because we can't get good interviewing during the holidays. This would mean that we wouldn't have the data until February which is obviously too late for the primaries and in my judgement not as good a time to get target state baseline data as now.

This first wave should be done in the following twenty states (actually 19 as MOR is just completing a privately financed poll in Illinois) and should be a series of in-depth personal interview studies with sample sizes varying from 600 to 1,000. The interviewing could begin immediately after Thanksgiving and making the data available by the end of the year.



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Target States

California
New York
Pennsylvania
Texas
Illinois
Ohio
New Jersey
Florida
Indiana
North Carolina
Virginia
Missouri
Tennessee
Kentucky
Iowa

Primary States

Wisconsin
Maryland
Oregon
Nebraska
New Hampshire

The areas this poll would cover are:

Ballot test of the President vs.

Muskie
Humphrey
Kennedy
Jackson
(both with and without Wallace)

Test of effect of various vice-presidential candidates.

Ballot tests of the President versus McCluskey in the primary
states with probable Republican primary votes.

Ballot test of various important statewide races.



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National issues:

Open-end on problems of concern

Ratings of intensity

Measurement of proposal solution

Measurement of reaction to specific Nixon programs

State issues:

State issue which could effect election

Perception of the President and potential Democratic candidates:

Open-end on general perception of the candidate ratings
or handling and ability to handle specific issues

Semantic differential scales on leadership dimensions

Measurement of potential campaign theories.

It is impossible to give you detailed cost figures until I begin to negotiate with the individual values but I think the figures in the Magruder/Marik memo of \$20-\$22 per interview are accurate. If we do the fifteen target states (except Illinois), the five additional primary states, and it takes five hundred additional interviews to get the national sample the cost would be approximately \$325,000. This assumes no shared cost (which are discussed later) agreements with state committees.

If we are to begin the waves I need to begin to negotiate with the vendors, get an exact time table, design a questionnaire, and negotiate any arrangements we want to make with various state groups.



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The second wave would be a wave done in the target states in the June-July period after the primaries were over but before the conventions. This would allow us to evaluate the effect of the primaries and of the first five or six months of 1972 and to re-evaluate our list of target states. It would also give us a good trend measurement from the first wave and would provide a good opportunity to test various Vice-Presidential alternatives before the conventions.

While it is not necessary to finalize the dates now I would propose that the wave be given about June 15-20 with data available about July 15.

The third wave of statewide survey would be done soon after the Republican Convention and be a relatively short measurement of changes in support for the candidates after both tickets were nominated, changes in the issue structure, and identify the remaining undecided vote. This data would be available shortly after Labor Day. It should also be possible, on the basis of our earlier work, to cut down our list of target states at this point although we may also want to add some new ones.

The final phase of this part of the polling effort would be to establish telephone tracking capabilities beginning approximately September 25, and continuing through the election. This would be similar to what was done in 1968 and could be used to do regular regional panel studies which could be accumulated into national data every three or four days, to do statewide polls in the few states which still may be close, and to check the effect of any major incidents in the campaign.



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It may also be desirable to do some short checks during the course of the primaries in the primary states to spot any potential problems. These would be done on a ad-hoc basis although I think we should plan on doing at least one short check in each of the primary states where any contest or potential problem develops 3-4 weeks prior to the primary.

The second major part of the polling programs would be any special projects or studies that you and the strategy group think should be done. These would include any advertising, special group studies (youth, minority groups, senior citizens) or campaign techniques testing (client mail, taped telephone, specialized organizational efforts, etc.).

The third part of the program would also include a limited amount of testing of new research techniques. A number of new research techniques have been developed during the past few years and we have a number of proposals to implement on hand. While I don't believe that most of these would be of significant use to us in planning and implementing the campaign a few of them may be and may warrant a limited test. I would like to have a budget of \$50,000-\$60,000 set aside to test some of these techniques. We are now testing one such technique called multi-dimensional scaling as a part of a statewide survey being done by Market Opinion Research in Illinois for a private individual. Some other possible projects would be to do some measurement of content analysis in our commercials or to use some of the primaries as laboratories to test campaign techniques and to do short after elections surveys in any of the primaries where the result was particularly interesting.



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While I don't have any specific projects to propose at this time and am not at all sure we will need the total budget amount I would like to have the flexibility to move in and study situations that look warranted or add to research projects that looked like they might have particular applicability to our campaign. I have seen a number of situations in the past where we could have moved in quickly to study a situation or added some extra questions or analysis to a poll and learned something that could be generalized and of use in other situations for a very small amount of money (\$2,000-\$5,000). I do not think that we ought to invest a large amount of money in any one project but rather do a series of limited projects from which we can clearly learn at least one thing.

Lastly, I would like the flexibility to negotiate our participation in state-wide polls being done by Republican pollsters in states where we are not doing our own polls. This opportunity has already been made available in Arkansas and will certainly be in other states. There will be many areas in which we can probably get this type of data for nothing but in those cases where we cannot and the state is of some interest to us an investment of \$1,000 or \$2,000 is undoubtedly a good one.

I have not completed detailed budget figures for this program and would prefer to do so after I have a chance to personally negotiate with the vendors. I do think the \$692,000 figure in the Magruder/Marik memorandum is a little low as it does not include any special projects or primary state polls in that figure. I will have a more detailed budget to you by December 15.



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Vendors

Jed Magruder and Bob Marik have interviewed a number of research firms and received written proposals from four of them. They believe that all of these firms are competent and qualified to work for us. They are:

Campaign Opinion Studies of New York

Opinion Research of Princeton

Market Opinion Research of Detroit

Decision Making Information of Los Angeles

I am familiar with all these firms and concur with Magruder and Marik's evaluation that they are all competent and that they can contribute to the campaign.

My recommendation is that we definitely use Opinion Research, Decision Making Information, and Market Opinion Research. I would also like to use Cambridge for some projects but they have done some work for Lindsay in the past and I need an opportunity to talk with them and check them out before including them as vendors. Apparently they have not done any work for Lindsey since he switched and severed any relationship they had when he became a Democrat. If this is the case we might want to use them for some projects.

Each of these firms has had considerable experience in a number of individual states, many of which are our target states and have developed particular avenues of competence and expertise. Using more than one vendor has several advantages. It gives the President's campaign access to large amounts of



trend data, experience, and expertise these firms have built up in many of our target states. It facilitates working out joint agreements with the states and most importantly it gives us access to more of the advanced thinking and new techniques that have been developed within the party during the past few years. Each of these firms has developed new techniques and areas of expertise which we would not have access to should we use only one company.

My recommendation is that if one of the above mentioned firms we are using has done the work in a given state during the past few years we use them for that state and we divide the remaining states regionally. Any special projects would be contracted for on a functional basis as each clearly has individual areas of experience and expertise.

There would not be any problem of comparability data as all vendors would use the same sampling technique and we would develop the questionnaire which would be at least 2/3 common with the remaining 1/3 used to measure local races or issues. Also we would design and require a minimum set of common tabulation specifications but encourage the vendors to do additional runs if they appear useful.

Relations with State Committees

An important polling question that should be decided now is what our relationship should be with the Republican or Nixon committees in the key states with regard to joint surveys. Many of them will want to do surveys jointly with us or will be doing similar surveys as these are at the same times. While



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we should go over the list of states and make this decision on a state-by-state basis I think that unless there is a reason not to we should cooperate with most of the states. The advantages to us are several. We could effect a very substantial savings by sharing costs, we would be pulling them closer to us and have a greater chance to influence their thinking, and through interpretation of the data they would probably make additional polls and data available to us. Obviously the potential problem would be in the handling of the data.

I don't think this is as great of a problem as it may appear, however, because most of our target states will be doing similar polls and picking up similar data anyway. Also, many of them will be using the same polling firms we will. If either of the parties had data they didn't want the other one to see they could request that those results be only reported to them. However, both the State Committee and our group will be seeking the same data for the most part. For example, my firm (MOR) has a long standing agreement for regular polling in Ohio, the current plan covering 1971-72 calls for four polls to be done between now and the 1972 election. As there are no statewide races in Ohio in 1972 the majority of this polling will be oriented to the President. It would surely be a waste of effort and money for the State Committee to hire MOR to do a poll thru November and for the Citizens to hire the same firm to do a poll at the same time, in the same state, and covering the same things. A similar situation exists in California with Tom Reed and DMI. As near as I can tell we plan to use the same firm that does the State Committee's polling in well over half of our target states. The total savings over the campaign could easily be \$200,000 - \$300,000.



I would like to go over this list of states with you soon and decide whether we will cooperate with the State Committees in each state or who we will work with so I can begin to negotiate with them.

Handling of the Data

The last problem which needs some attention now is the handling of the data. I don't think this should be a great problem.

My recommendations are that all the vendors report directly to me and that I report the complete data with my survey, analysis, and recommendation to you and Bob Maldeman. I do not believe that the data should go any further in its entirety but that I should make summary reports to the strategy group (not using actual numbers) and make available selected parts of the data to other members of the campaign staff, such as theme test results to Pete Daily, etc.

This hopefully will prevent any unplanned leaks or indiscreet use of the poll results. It may be we will have to expand the circulation of the poll results later but I see no need to now. One of the functions of my group should be to write memorandums on the application of the poll results to specific problems but very few people need to see the complete sets of data.

In planning polling I would like to go over the polling for the 1968 campaign, particularly that done for the primaries and any polling that has been done in the past year which include data on the major national issues, Vietnam, the economy, race, crime, and the environment. Also any polls which have tested alternative courses of action or reaction to major Presidential programs.



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It would be helpful if I could see an inventory of what has been done during the last year and much of it may not be applicable to the campaign. The best way for me to determine what might be useful would be to be able to go over the various questionnaires that were used.

