The original documents are located in Box 63, folder "9/23/75 - To Dick Cheney - General Outline of Polling Program" of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

TO: Dick Cheney FROM: Bob Teeter RE: 1976 CAMPAIGN POLLING

DATE: September 23, 1975

Following our conversations about the polling needs of the campaign committee, I thought it might be useful to summarize my thoughts.

This memo is concerned with the committee's polling needs and a structure for fulfilling those needs. It is not meant to be either a proposal for specific projects or a Market Opinion proposal.

I think there should be three basic elements to the polling program and they are as follows:

1. State polls

We all know the Presidential election is a composite of 50 state elections and must be strategically planned to win enough states to produce 270 electoral votes. Therefore, individual state polls are very important both in the development of the target state list and in developing and executing a campaign to carry those states.

Without the new election law the optimum would be to do three waves of statewide polls in 15 to 20 states - one wave in early 1976, one in the May-June period, and another in September. The new law makes this impossible from a cost standpoint. However, I think this data can be obtained at a much reduced cost by taking advantage of the polling done by state committees and at times encouraging it by sharing in its cost.

- a) The campaign committee should have a system by which it keeps track of what polls are being done and collects and analyzes the Presidential and national issue data from them. Most of this data is readily available for the asking from state chairmen and/ or candidates.
- b) The campaign committee should develop some standard questions which state people can be encouraged to include in their polls which would give the Ford campaign some comparable data from state to state, and the ability to test specific things in individual states from time to time.

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> c) The committee should be able to negotiate various cost sharing agreements with state organizations where they want specific data or the addition of a couple of thousand dollars will get a poll done that would otherwise not get done.

The advantages to this sharing program with the states are that it saves the committee a tremendous amount of money and creates considerable good will. Also, the states that you are most interested in are the ones where the most (and better) polling gets done.

The disadvantages of this system are that you have to bend to the timing of the various states, that you create some security risk (although I did not have this problem), and it would have to be very carefully done procedurally in order to avoid any legal questions.

2. National polls

I think you need three national polls in addition to the information you get from public polls. These can probably be done by the Republican National Committee.

The first of these would be a major in-depth issues study done late in the fall, to be completed in early December. Its major use would be in developing the State of the Union message and the 1976 legislative program. It would also have many other uses and should include some questions on the President's perception, although the major emphasis should be on issues.

The second national poll should be done in the May-June period of next year at about the end of the Primaries, and also include both issues and candidate perception, but with the emphasis on candidate perception. This study would be the major source of information for the advertising people and those responsible for creating the theme, slogan, brochures, etc.

Finally, some type of short national poll (or two) will need to be done in September-October, 1976.

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3. Primary State polls

This is the one area where I don't see anyway around the committee doing some polling on its own. Although you will probably be able to pick up some primary data from friendly states, I think you have got to get some data on New Hampshire and Florida no later than December 1, 1975, and some of the other states soon after the first of the year.

The function of co-ordinating these projects and analyzing this data is about one-third administrative, one-third analutical, and onethird communicating it to the campaign management. It could either be handled by contracting with someone like us or by hiring a full time in-house analyst.