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RT speech - Rep. Gov's,

11/76



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1 "THE PRESENT NATIONAL POLITICAL ATTITUDE
2 AS DETERMINED BY PRE-ELECTION POLLS,"

3 BY

4 BOB TEETER, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF
5 MARKET OPINION RESEARCH, DETROIT



6 MR. TEETER: Thank you, Governor Moore.

7 I would like this morning to start out with some
8 general descriptions and attitudes I think we found over the
9 past eight or 10 months this year in surveying for the
10 presidential campaign in a number of individual States.

11 First of all, I think as a background to your delibera-
12 tions here and to your thoughts about the role of the party and
13 the role of the governors in the future, a few comments about
14 the general mood or attitudes in the country are in order.

15 First of all, as many of you know, and I discussed with
16 a number of you, beginning in 1972 and 1973 we had tremendously
17 increasing rates of alienation and of cynicism from the govern-
18 ment and government officials on the part of the public.

19 These attitudes and changing attitudes did not begin
20 in 1973 and 1974. They began in the mid and late sixties. They
21 simply were accelerated and, if anything, just moved ahead and
22 were amplified by Watergate. The fact is today we still are
continuing to work in an atmosphere where the cynicism toward
government and government officials is at an all-time high.

alienation

ac 2

1 These attitudes have been measured for 20 or 25 years.
2 We found these changes moving very rapidly in the early
3 seventies and, when they reached their high in 1974, we found
4 them almost double what they were 10 years ahead of that in 1964.

5 Those attitudes and those feelings of alienation and
6 cynicism have not changed since 1974 and remained immediately
7 before the election and still do in our post-election surveys at
8 an all-time high.

9 Interestingly and importantly, these feelings of
10 alienation are not directed simply at government and government
11 officials. They are directed at almost every major institution
12 in our society and with which individuals have to work. They
13 are directed at businesses, at labor unions, at school systems,
14 at churches, at stores where people shop, at every kind of
15 institution that individuals are forced to deal with in their
16 regular daily lives.

17 Certainly they have not been caused simply by Watergate,
18 even though they were accelerated over those years. They have
19 been caused, I think, by simply a very rapid growth in both the
20 size and the complexity of the society in which people have to
21 deal.

22 If you question individual citizens about their

ac 3

1 attitudes and why they hold those attitudes toward government,
2 largely in other institutions bigness tends to be the bottom
3 line. Ultimately, if you continue to question what is the cause
4 and what is wrong with these institutions, the bottom line and
5 the real objection to most of them is simply bigness.

6 The individual has been taught for a large number of
7 years that this society and this system works best when it is
8 made up of a group of individuals all acting as responsible
9 individuals. They have come to find over the last number of
10 years that no longer as individuals can they have any significant
11 effect on the institutions they have to deal with.

12 There is just no way as an individual -- whether they
13 don't vote or who they vote for or where they shop or what they
14 do -- it doesn't have any real influence on that particular
15 institution they are dealing with.

16 Moreover, and even a greater objection, I think they
17 found it almost impossible to communicate on a one-to-one basis
18 with anybody in those institutions that makes any difference,
19 whether it is the government or again the most simple example
20 we find regularly are simply stores where people shop.

21 They go to large chain stores because they feel they
22 have to do it to get the best price. At the same time, they

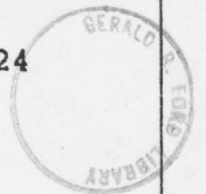
1 say, "It really doesn't make any difference whether I stop
2 buying things there or don't go there. I can't affect them, I
3 can't register any objection, I can't register any satisfaction.
4 There is no way that I can change or affect those institutions
5 or even communicate with them."

6 It is in many ways the classic definition of the
7 notion of powerlessness. People simply feel powerless to deal
8 with or to affect or to communicate with or to influence the
9 institutions that they have to deal with.

10 Certainly, while this spreads across almost every
11 institution they deal with, at the same time these attitudes
12 are held in a much greater degree and to a much greater
13 intensity when directed at government and government officials.

14 For the first time we have found over the last year
15 or year and a half, when we asked the traditional question about
16 which level of government do you think is best able to solve
17 your problems, for 25 or 30 years, at least as far back as
18 public opinion data that has been collected that I am aware of,
19 that answer was always the Federal Government first, the State
20 government second, and the local government third.

21 We have found over the past two or three years that
22 that has essentially reversed and that now we have people saying



1 the local government, then the State government, and the Federal
2 Government last.

3 Believe me, that is a change that was not there and has
4 not been there, at any time that I am aware of, for 25 or 30
5 years. It is simply not a matter that they are angry. It is
6 a matter that they are frustrated.

7 They are anxious; they are frightened; they are
8 worried about the future and worried about the role that they
9 are going to play in how the institutions are going to affect
10 them. They are the people who are on the end of the string.
11 They are also the ones that, every time one of these major
12 institutions makes a change of policy or the way they are doing
13 things, it is the individual citizen and voter on the bottom of
14 that string that is affected. And yet he feels his complete
15 inability to do anything about the policies or the direction
16 that those institutions take.

17 Certainly, there have been some very important effects
18 in our political systems of these changes in attitudes. The
19 most important one is simply less participation. This was the
20 seventh consecutive election over 14 consecutive years in which
21 participation in elections in this country has gone down.

22 While we talked all during election day, and many of

: 6

1 the press talked about, a remarkably high turnout, the fact is
2 turnout was lower in this election than it has been in any
3 other election in modern time. And it continued to decrease
4 as it has now for 14 consecutive years.

5 Secondly, as we find a higher and higher level of
6 ticket split, there is virtually no longer any association or
7 very little association to party ties. The number of people
8 who affiliate themselves or who identify with either of the
9 major political parties is at an all-time low.

10 Certainly the Republican problem is by far the most
11 acute simply because we are lower in number. We have 20 to 21
12 percent of the people that identify with us. The Democrats have
13 42 or 43 percent.

14 If you add those together, we have less people
15 identifying with either of the two major political parties
16 than we have ever had in modern times. And those people are
17 identifying with those parties with less intensity than they
18 ever have, which may be even more important, which means that
19 the tie in voting parties to those parties is less than it
20 has ever been and appears to be continuing to decrease.

21 The third effect is that we have had a dramatic
22 increase -- and I am sure all of you are well aware of this --

1 in the number of special interest groups which in many ways
2 have become ad hoc political parties in this country. Most of
3 you have seen all kinds of unusual bizarre coalitions formed
4 around various causes.

5 Those special interest groups, whether they be in
6 environmental groups or consumer groups or any other kind of
7 special interest group, have in many ways become ad hoc political
8 parties.

9 It is a fact that the people have found that the two
10 political parties themselves are simply no longer effective to
11 communicate with and to influence the issues that they want to
12 influence. So they have found it much more effective to form
13 these special interest groups and make their wishes and their
14 influence in society known through them.

15 Again, I am sure, as most of you know, these groups
16 have had an increased militancy and people who belong to them
17 feel stronger and stronger about their goals, about narrow
18 special interests as opposed to what has been the role of the
19 party politician. That is direct interest in a whole breadth
20 of problems in the society.

21 Along with this we have certainly had a change in
22 values. Leading up to about five or six years ago, I think we

ac 8

1 always found in every survey that I am aware of, that when you
2 ask people what their immediate goals and what their aspirations
3 in life were, in every survey I am aware of for 35 years that
4 it has been done, that something having to do with people's
5 jobs or their occupation or their profession was the leading
6 goal and aspiration.

7 That was, people's leading goal was to either get
8 promoted to do better in their job, to learn how to do it
9 better, to leave that and start their own business, but it was
10 something having to do with the way they made their living.

11 Beginning about five or six years ago, with an
12 increasing number of people, those kinds of concerns have gone
13 down and down the list. Even at the height of the recession
14 we did not find those problems -- of how to improve someone's
15 life through their job -- rising very much.

16 All of those things that get lumped into a kind of
17 quality-of-life issues have increased in terms of people's
18 goals and aspirations. Certainly how well they do on the job,
19 or at least how much they make, greatly affects how well they
20 can satisfy these other goals.

21 But the fact is when you question people in an open-
22 ended fashion, no longer do they tell you that their leading

ac 9

1 goal or their aspiration is to get promoted or get a better job
2 or a new job. It now tends to be things like travel, leisure
3 time activity.

4 Certainly the leading aspiration in the country right
5 now is for people to own their own home. If you asked people
6 what is the single thing that you and your family are working
7 hard for right now, your immediate goal, what is the number one
8 thing that you would like to accomplish over the next few years,
9 there are two things that come far to the top of that list.

10 The first is either to own their own home or own a
11 better home; the second one is to be able to educate their
12 children better than they were educated themselves.

13 Another political effect -- and it may be the most
14 important one of these changing attitudes and this increased
15 alienation -- is that our elections have become virtually
16 totally candid^{ate}-oriented.

17 It is that we have always had that mix of influence
18 in people's voting behavior between partisan issues and candi-
19 dates. In the great majority of elections that we have studied
20 in the past four or five years, and particularly this year, we
21 find that the only overriding issues are the two candidates.
22 Presidential elections have become, and certainly the one just

1 past was to a greater extent than any that I am aware of,
2 essentially a nonpartisan media event, is simply a contest
3 between two individuals.

4 I find that increasingly a number of top of the
5 ticket races, whether for governor or senator, have also become
6 essentially nonpartisan media events in which people are
7 deciding whether to vote for President Ford or for Governor
8 Carter simply on the basis of those two individuals.

9 While partisan issues still have some effect, at no
10 time -- and this is an amazing finding -- at no time during
11 this presidential campaigning, from the Democratic Convention
12 through the election, could we find one issue that was having a
13 statistically significant cut in determining whether people
14 were going to vote for President Ford or Governor Carter.

15 All the variance that we could account for statisti-
16 cally throughout this campaign, and in the post-election study
17 we are just finishing now, is accounted for by the perception
18 of the personal characteristics of those two individuals.
19 Whether they be of competence, honesty, intelligence, trust-
20 worthiness, whatever they are, it was the personal dimensions
21 that almost entirely determined whether people voted for or
22 against one or the other of the candidates in the presidential

1 election, in most of the gubernatorial and senatorial elections
2 that I was involved in this year.

3 There are some exceptions to that. As you get lower
4 down the ticket you are more apt to find a local issue moving
5 in and affecting an election greatly. But at the same time
6 this general trend that we are now dealing in -- an era of
7 almost entirely candidate elections -- I think is critical.
8 The issues simply have become the means or one of the important
9 means by which people learn what kind of individuals they are
10 that they choose to vote for or against.

11 The only issue -- I was asked this many times during
12 the campaign this year and I answered it after seeing post-
13 election data the same way I answered it before the election --
14 the only issue in the presidential election this year was which
15 one of the two men would you most prefer to have sit in the
16 Oval Office over the next four years and make your value
17 judgments for you.

18 When we looked at the dimensions and studied them
19 carefully on how they considered these two individuals or any
20 individuals this year, we found that the people think the voters
21 think of candidates roughly in two dimensions.

22 They think of them kind of in the old classic partisan

ac 12

1 dimensions and economic dimensions which have controlled
2 elections for 40 years in this country. Then they think of the
3 two candidates as how they spread themselves across in
4 dimensions, how they are perceived on dimensions of traditional
5 American values.

6 Within traditional American values come almost every
7 issue: the economic issues, all of the issues you and I think
8 of which are called the social issues, the foreign affairs
9 issues, the national defense issues.

10 And out of those that is thought of as the traditional
11 American values, the voter tends to vote for the candidate who
12 they feel most strongly represents a reaffirmation of what they
13 think of as traditional American values.

14 I saw no evidence in this election or in recent
15 years, where there are a large number of voters, of anything
16 resembling a majority or significant plurality of voters who
17 are demanding or want some kind of basic or fundamental change
18 in our basic system of government.

19 People simply want better government. They want the
20 government to be responsive to them. They want the government
21 and the individuals who are running the government to address
22 their concern. But you could not find a demand for a basic

1 change in the way our government, or the economic system for
2 that matter, is organized or the way it is conducted.

3 Another reason, I think, for this candidate orienta-
4 tion is that over the past 10 years or so voters simply are having
5 to deal with more issues. They have more concerns that are
6 important to them.

7 Each of those concerns have become more complex. If
8 you go back into public opinion data more than eight or 10 years
9 ago, you will find that in any given election there usually was
10 one overriding issue.

11 There were always three issues in this country: war,
12 peace or foreign affairs issues. The money issues, whether at
13 any given point it was unemployment or inflation or taxes,
14 government spending; and the domestic peace issues which for
15 30 years in this country have centered in some way around
16 race.

17 At any given point prior to 1966 or 1968, one of
18 those issues was important in each two-year election. You had
19 a Korea election; you had a recession election in 1958; and
20 then beginning in 1968, as we came into that election, all
21 three of those issues were perceived as vitally important.
22 Inflation was important in 1968. Certainly the Vietnam war



ac 14

1 and foreign affairs was important, and domestic peace was
2 important when we had a lot of domestic unrest.

3 So once you got all of those issues of great concern,
4 people voters simply said to themselves I can't separate the
5 two candidates in any given election on all these issues I am
6 concerned about. I can't find one candidate I agree with
7 exclusively and one I disagree with. Therefore, what I am
8 going to have to do is simply rely on my judgment of the two
9 individuals, which one will I most trust and I think is best
10 able to deal with these individual problems.

11 So that tended to make candidates and the candidates'
12 perception much more important and diminish the importance of
13 the individual issue.

14 At the same time, I think there are a number of rising
15 concerns that we are going to see over the next period of a few
16 years that are critically important that you, as governors,
17 will have to address and be confronted with.

18 Certainly if I were to list the five or six issues
19 I see rising -- and these are things we can deal with -- generally
20 are: taxes is going to be a critical issue. It always has been
21 and will continue to be. The crime issue I don't believe has
22 reached its high point yet. The crime issue is an issue which

1 has greater intensity than any other issue in the country right
2 now. And the difference in the crime issue today and what it
3 was two or three or four or five years ago, it is no longer
4 limited to the large cities.

5 The concern over crime has spread to suburbs, to small
6 towns, to the rural areas, and the intensity of that concern is
7 going to force public officials and force parties and govern-
8 ments to deal with it in the next two or three years.

9 Public employee strikes is another one that I think
10 is a problem that has only begun to make its head felt.

11 The cost of health care is an issue on which there
12 is going to be a great demand for some kind of governmental
13 action. The cost of health care is a terribly complex issue,
14 as all of you know, and the perceptions of it are almost as
15 complex.

16 The fact is that most people in this country today
17 are satisfied with the kind of health care they get. They think
18 they are getting good health care and they like the delivery
19 system they are getting. But there is a misapprehension that
20 this is being priced out of their list and in the near future
21 they are no longer going to be able to afford it. And there
22 is also a great concern over the possibility of catastrophic

1 illness.

2 The energy issue is going to become important. It is
3 an important issue and it is unfortunate it is one of those
4 issues that only expresses itself in surveyed data in the public
5 concern when there is a crisis.

6 It is one when prices go up or a shortage develops
7 or a problem appears to be developing in the Middle East that
8 concern over energy goes up. In the absence of that problem,
9 it goes down.

10 As all of you know, it probably could have a greater
11 effect on us than almost any of these other issues.

12 Then there is this general broad issue I mentioned
13 before, about people wanting to improve their quality of life.
14 During this fall and after the election we have questioned very
15 carefully about what people think improves their quality of
16 life.

17 What are the elements of the quality of life that they
18 would like to see changed or they would like to improve in their
19 own lives. First of all, the most important element -- not the
20 most important but one of the elements -- is that they have a
21 job, have a means of income.

22 Secondly, that they have home ownership, that they



1 have a place to live.

2 Third, that they and their family have adequate
3 health care, that they have the opportunity to give their
4 children a better education than they had.

5 Fourthly, that they have the opportunity for recrea-
6 tion and leisure time. That is a much broader issue, as most
7 of the unions have found out, than is generally perceived.

8 Many of the labor unions have found in their survey-
9 ing of their own members in getting ready for contract
10 negotiations that the demand for more time off and for greater
11 amounts of leisure time has exceeded many of the economic goals
12 that were there five and six years ago.

13 Look at these attitudes. I think there are some
14 demographic cuts that may be very important to you and very
15 important to us in trying to broaden and build this party from
16 a small minority party, and one which is very close to becoming
17 a permanent minority party in this country. And believe me,
18 that can happen.

19 If you look at countries in Western Europe, there are
20 many of them that have essentially permanent majority parties
21 and permanent minority parties. Until we can improve and
22 expand this party at its most elemental levels, at the local

ac 18

1 levels and the legislative level and get control of the reorgani-
2 zation and redistributing process, I think we are confined and
3 doomed to the role of a permanent minority party both in many
4 of our legislatures and in Congress.

5 That is why it is simply more important to build a
6 party with a much broader base than a number of very attractive
7 elected officials -- whether they be governors or senators or
8 the President.

9 While it is very important to do that, you in no way
10 can have a broad effect in this country until we can get control
11 of the party at its grass roots or particularly at its
12 legislative level.

13 The Republican Party suffers today from exactly the
14 same perceptions it suffered from ever since the Depression --
15 that of representing the wealthy, the rich, and many specialty
16 interests in this society.

17 We gained unfortunately over a short period of time
18 about two or three years there the perception of being corrupt.
19 Fortunately, that has left us and neither party has seen this
20 more onerous or more corrupt than the other at this point.

21 We have now I think fallen back into the perceptions
22 that have doomed us or caused us problems for 20 or 30 years,

ac 19

1 that is that we represent a special interest while the Democrats
2 and other parties represent an average and working people better
3 than we do.

4 Certainly the rebuilding of a party is a slow and
5 tedious process. But in our upswings that we have had at any
6 point in the past, the governors have always been the cornerstone
7 of that rebuilding.

8 I think there are three or four things that we ought
9 to keep in mind as you address yourself to the party and the
10 rebuilding of it here.

11 First of all, while we cannot limit, and ought not
12 to limit, to specific demographic rules in the society and aim
13 at those, there are two or three things that are very apparent.

14 One is that we have got to do better with blacks
15 than we have done in the past. That is not a liberal or a
16 conciliatory argument. It is simply a statement of fact, as
17 we found out in this presidential election, you cannot carry a
18 majority of the States in this country and get two or three
19 percent or four percent of the black vote, which is what the
20 President got in many of the large States.

21 Traditional Republicans, if you justify them, have
22 gotten 10 or 11 percent. And successful Republicans in most of

ac 20

1 these big States have also been able to get a minimum of 16 or
2 18 percent, and in many cases up to 30 percent. We have got to
3 do better with blacks.

4 That is the only group that in this country continues
5 to vote 90 percent one way or the other in election after
6 election. We cannot allow that to continue and build a broad
7 party.

8 Secondly, as Governor Moore said, we have got to do
9 better with our younger voters. If you look at the distinguish-
10 ing, the only distinguishing demographic trait of some of the
11 things that I talked about before -- these attitudes of aliena-
12 tion and cynicism -- it is age.

13 There is a very sharp distinction in this country
14 between people who enter the electorate, pre- and post-1960.
15 And if we look at those people who have entered the electorate
16 prior to 1960, which means they have got to be over 38 or 39
17 years old today, they have behaved in a pretty traditional
18 political manner.

19 They hold about the same values voters have held
20 for 30 or 40 years. They have tended to follow their parents in
21 one party or the other by the time they are about 25 or 30
22 years old.

ac 21

1 But if you look at the group of voters who have come
2 into the electorate, 38 or 39 years old, that is where the
3 highest levels of alienation are, where the lowest levels of
4 turnout are, and particularly with the groups of voters who are
5 not college educated.

6 Forty percent of all the eligible voters in this
7 country in this past election were people who have become
8 eligible to vote since 1960. And 70 percent of that group have
9 never seen a college campus.

10 So don't fall into the trap, that when immediately
11 people start talking about young voters and doing better with
12 you, of thinking of college campuses. Seventy percent of those
13 people have never seen any kind of post-secondary education.
14 In fact, 29 percent have not graduated from high school.

15 That is the one group I think that will determine
16 where the next majority coalition in this country comes from.
17 The fact is that over, I think this is true, at no time in our
18 history has any political party ever built a majority by convinc-
19 ing people to switch from one party to another.

20 Every new majority, if I am not mistaken, has been
21 built by one political party or the other, bringing people into
22 the active electorate who have not been there before, new

ac 22

1 voters.

2 That is how the Democrats accomplished the New Deal
3 in the thirties. They brought blacks, blue-collar workers and
4 labor union members into the electorate in the thirties who had
5 not been there previously. This is a group, this group of
6 under 37 or 38 year olds, particularly not college educated
7 voters, who will determine in my mind where the next majority
8 coalition comes from.

9 There was no evidence in this election that they were
10 moving one way or the other. Those are people who are essen-
11 tially anti-party and aparty right now. They are slightly more
12 Democratic than Republican, but they are not people we have got
13 to change from being Democrats to being Republicans.

14 These are people who are looking for some kind of an
15 institution to associate themselves with.

16 I think that we have got to continue the emphasis on
17 candidates that Governor Moore mentioned.

18 Certainly, if there is one single most important thing
19 in determining whether we win or lose, in any election that I
20 have ever been involved in, it is the candidate selection
21 process; that once the candidate is chosen, certainly a great
22 majority of the variance in that election is over.



1 This is an area where I think the governors can be
2 particularly important in helping, beginning right now, to find
3 people to run for the governorships that are opening in 1977
4 and 1978.

5 I think you can be very important, and there is,
6 nothing that is more important than finding good people to run
7 for office. More importantly, finding qualified people and
8 good candidates to run for legislative and congressional seats,
9 particularly within your own State.

10 It is also important that a political party has some
11 kind of idea behind it. I don't think you can build a majority
12 political party simply out of a number of attractive individual
13 stars.

14 I think you can elect a large number of Republican
15 governors or a significant number, at various times Republican
16 senators, but I don't believe that you can have a serious effect
17 on the Democratic majorities in most legislatures and in Congress
18 unless we can establish something more than just a lot of
19 attractive individuals.

20 Because there is not enough awareness, there is not
21 enough focus on those positions on the ticket that those are the
22 places that are important to the future of the party, that the

1 places where the party has its greater effect on voting is down
2 the ticket at the legislative and congressional level, where
3 we have got to have some kind of an idea behind the party.

4 That is not necessarily an ideological idea, but it
5 is simply important that our party not represent in its
6 minority status. It has got to say something more, that we can
7 do the same thing the Democrats have been doing only do it a
8 little better.

9 It is important, I think, that the Republican Party
10 be able to communicate some kind of an ideal that we can improve
11 and that our kind of government can improve the way of life of
12 a majority of the citizens in the country.

13 It certainly is also important that we pay attention
14 to the political organizations within the States. When we look
15 around the table here this morning -- and I am aware of it and
16 I think a majority of the governors here -- a number of the
17 successful governors are those who have spent considerable time
18 and paid considerable attention to improving and strengthening
19 the Republican Party within their own State.

20 In closing, I think there is one other thing that I
21 probably don't have to say here but I would like to say in
22 almost every speech I give. This is that when we think about

ac 25

1 building the Republican Party, what our plans are going to be
2 certainly for the next two years but more importantly for the
3 next four and six and eight years, it is that it is very
4 important that we not underestimate the intelligence and the
5 wisdom of the American voter.

6 The American voters, when they go to the polls,
7 generally have -- at least in my view -- a very true, a very
8 real, a very accurate perception of what it is they are voting
9 for and what it is they are voting against.

10 They generally have, at least in my experience of
11 dealing with candidates over a number of years, a pretty
12 accurate view and a pretty accurate perception of just what
13 kind of an individual it is they are voting for or against.

14 They may think they may be taking some risks and may
15 not like everything about the person they are voting for, but at
16 least the voter you see by the time you get to the election
17 day, the average voter has a pretty accurate view of the kind
18 of individual they are voting for on that day or the kind of
19 program they are voting for.

20 I would be happy to answer any questions.

21 ... Applause ...

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1 GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you. I would like at this
2 time to open the floor for questions. Simply raise your hand
3 and inquire of Bob on any of the areas that he touched upon
4 or, more importantly, an area of deficiency. Governor Romney
5 has a question.

6 MR. ROMNEY: Bob, what states have done the best job
7 of broadening the base, and how did they do it? Do you know
8 examples?

9 MR. TEETER: I think, not to be overly provincial,
10 that in Michigan the Party has done a good job. It certainly
11 has, in Indiana, done a good job, as witness the results in
12 this particular election, where the two top-of-the-ticket
13 candidates both got about 60 percent. In each of those cases
14 one of the things you find is that you do not have a narrow
15 demographic appeal or a narrow ideological appeal of those
16 campaigns or the parties in those states. They have been,
17 as Governor Moore referred to, big enough umbrellas and are
18 broadly enough based that they do reasonably well, whether they
19 win or lose. They address themselves and they don't go into
20 any election, I think, writing off any kind of individual group.
21 If you don't find any group within those states where we end
22 up with three or four or five or ten percent, it is that we

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1 are able to do reasonably well right across the spectrum.
2 In fact, this is a censorious people. When you ask people,
3 if they don't know anything else about two candidates, and they
4 know one is a conservative and one is a liberal, which do they
5 vote for, 57 percent of the people, as recently as, I believe,
6 August, rejected that out of hand and say simply, "That doesn't
7 tell me enough. I couldn't make up my mind if that is all
8 I knew. I wasn't able to do it."

9 The fact is that it is an eccentric kind of thing.
10 If you look specifically in addressing ourselves to individual
11 demographics, particularly Blacks -- I referred to Blacks
12 earlier--it is that you know from your own experience,
13 Governor, as I believe you did significantly better every time
14 you ran among Blacks than you did the time before, I think
15 it is because you had a record of addressing yourself to the
16 concerns that they had and that, as you see the Republican
17 candidates who do well among Blacks, they are those who do
18 better each time they are elected and those who build a record
19 of being concerned and expressing that concern about the things
20 that those voters are concerned with. It is simply addressing
21 yourself, I believe, to the concerns of these individuals.
22 I believe it is much more important to do that in the record

1 of the officials than it is to do it organizationally.

2 I think we have got to pay attention to an organization.
3 Bill McLaughlin told me after the election that, I believe,
4 the ticket in Michigan paid a lot of attention to working hard
5 in the student areas this year, that the ticket in Michigan
6 carried every student precinct except those at the University
7 of Michigan, and across the state, at all of the other universi-
8 ties -- Central Michigan, Michigan State -- the Republican
9 ticket carried every student precinct in Michigan except a
10 few in Ann Arbor. That is simply, and I think Bill can
11 tell you, a matter of paying attention and making a serious
12 effort in those areas, which we too often don't do.

13 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor-elect Thompson.

14 MR. THOMPSON: Bob, when you get down to the
15 comparison of Ford and Carter as individuals without controlling
16 the vote, where does Carter's Southern background and associations
17 in the Southern vote come into that, if at all?

18 MR. TEETER: It is critical. If you look at a map,
19 that was the thing.

20 MR. THOMPSON: Are you assuming the regionalism of
21 Carter's appeal is part of his personality as distinct from
22 an outside force in the election?

1 MR. TEETER: Yes, I think so. And I think it is
2 particularly so that if there was one thing that was very
3 important in Governor Carter's appeal, it was the Black voters,
4 where he did very well. It was basically, I think, his per-
5 ception as an honest and moral and Christian individual. His
6 religion was particularly, and probably more important to him
7 among Black voters than any other place in the election.

8 MR. DU PONT: Bob, you commented that so often the
9 successful candidates at a state-wide level were the individuals
10 who were able to run an effective and bright, if you will,
11 campaign on their own. What happens when you get down to the
12 state legislative level?

13 Our experience in Delaware has been that you can
14 run the brightest, most attractive, most articulate people you
15 can find, and they get the devil knocked out of them because
16 we haven't found whatever the correct key is.

17 Have you any observations on that?

18 MR. TEETER: We found that everywhere this year, that
19 we did poorly in elective races and we did poorly with good
20 candidates, well-financed candidates. That is why I mentioned
21 the fact that it is important, I think, that we begin to
22 build an idea behind the Republican Party; because, given

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1 the negative perception that the Party has now and is
2 separate from varying degrees and intensities of 35 years, it
3 is that at those lower levels on the ticket where those
4 candidates don't get that much exposure, that is where a
5 party group has its greatest effect and that is where our two-to-
6 one deficit is. When you get down to a level where the voter
7 says, "I don't know either of these candidates very well", then
8 they tend to fall back into the party predisposition which is
9 better than two-to-one Democratic and we do very poorly.

10 So I think it is important that, through your adminis-
11 tration, we begin to build the notion of what a Republican
12 Government would do differently than a Democratic Government
13 and what it would stand for. Because if we cannot begin
14 to effect the general perception of the Party in addition to
15 just those individuals at the top of the ticket, I don't think
16 we are ever going to have the kind of success we need to have
17 at that level of the ticket. I just don't think it is possible
18 in a state to go down and mount 50 or 60 or 70 individual
19 campaigns to give those candidates the kind of exposure that
20 you are going to get at the top of the ticket. It won't work.

21 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor McCall.

22 MR. MC CALL: Very quickly, Mr. Teeter, there is

1 a greater faith in local government, you say; yet we are
2 having more trouble getting school levies passed in our State
3 and I know in Ohio and around the nation.

4 Would you comment on that and what approach school
5 board members could take? They are killing themselves to try
6 to get these passed now. Is there any psychological fulcrum
7 they could use to get more of these levies passed?

8 MR. TEETER: I am not aware of it if there is any magic
9 button in that regard. It seems to me that with the school
10 levies, there are two things, very briefly, that have affected,
11 I think, a lot of school levies when we studied them.

12 First of all is that as we went through the recession,
13 it is simply dollars became more important. People were
14 unwilling to vote for anything that would cost them any more
15 money. It simply was not out of an antagonism for education.
16 It was simply out of a feeling they could not afford anything
17 more.

18 If you go back as far as '58 and look at the recession
19 and when inflation was important, and ask people, "What were
20 the elements of inflation that concerned you the most?" 93
21 percent mentioned food prices. Now, if you ask, "What are the
22 elements of inflation that concern you greatly?" there are

1 three that get significant mention. First are good prices,
2 secondly are energy costs and taxes -- particularly property
3 taxes are seen as a rising and important element of inflation.

4 The second thing that has had to do, I think, with
5 a lot of school levies, frankly, is that 15 or 20 years ago
6 the majority of the teachers' income was less than a large
7 number of people in any given community. As the income of each
8 teacher rose and rose above the average income, there were more
9 and more people who were feeling that they were not getting
10 anything more, they were not improving the quality of education
11 by voting for school levies. Certainly, you will find where
12 there have been public employee strikes, and teacher strikes
13 in particular -- we studied one a year ago in Buck County,
14 Pennsylvania, where attitudes toward public employee strikes
15 and toward the schools just simply suffered irreparable harm
16 over the period of an extended strike. We had that experience
17 in Michigan, certainly.

18 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Farrar.

19 MR. FARRAR: Mr. Teeter, you talked about building
20 a base through an idea, an idea different than the Democratic
21 Party. But you didn't suggest any idea. Do you have any?
22 Could you enlighten us on a couple of those ideas that look

1 attractive to the American people that we could live with
2 in the Republican Party?

3 MR. TEETER: Certainly I think that idea has to
4 be built around two or three things. One is the notion of
5 individuals and the rights and the ability of individuals
6 to function as individuals, the ability of individuals to
7 communicate with and influence their institutions. I think this
8 has a lot to do with local government and the kind of old
9 Republican idea of more decision-making on the part of local
10 government; for instance, an idea in which the name never meant
11 much, but which we tested and was a very important idea before
12 I think it got shoved off. It was back in the Nixon Adminis-
13 tration when the whole notion of new federalism was around.
14 If you were testing examples of that idea, that was a very strong
15 idea. It was one, I think, that contained the elements for a
16 real basis for the Republican Party, the whole notion of getting
17 decision-making back into local areas and away from the state
18 capitol. And just as importantly, it has to contain, however,
19 the idea that in doing that we are not saying that government
20 is not going to address any of the problems. People want
21 the government to address problems that they have. It is
22 not a matter of people wanting to see the roads built. People

1 want to see the city and the problems of the cities taken
2 care of. People want the government to do things, and they
3 think the government has a legitimate role. It is continuously
4 an argument for government, which is somewhat different
5 than it is now; that is, that they locally can control and that
6 they can decide which problems are going to be addressed and
7 which priorities, and how they are going to be addressed.
8 And this whole field of alienation has been brought about in
9 large degree by this idea that there are regulations passed
10 on down and down and down and, as the individual begins to
11 try and work his way up and change those, he sees something
12 he doesn't like. There is no place that he can get that.

13 Another important aspect is some way that the
14 individual can get his hands on the policy-making mechanism.
15 There is a growing feeling, and probably an accurate one, that
16 a great number of policy-making decisions have been taken out
17 of the hands of individuals and of institutions that the
18 individual can get close to. For instance, huge numbers
19 of policy decisions that directly affect people are made in
20 what they think of as the bureaucracy. Even if they vote
21 against them, throw out all the incumbent office-holders,
22 it doesn't change those decisions. They can't get to them.

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1 Certainly this is a source of a lot of antagonism towards
2 the courts, a feeling that there is a public policy being
3 made and decisions being made by courts in which the voters
4 cannot get their hold on these courts. They can't do anything.
5 There is no way they can affect them.

6 The most obvious example of that is busing. If you
7 go out and ask people what they think, or what the neighbors
8 think, whether they are for or against busing, most have
9 a pretty accurate view in those cities, in Louisville, Boston
10 and Detroit, if you studied it. You studied it in Pontiac,
11 which was one of the first cities to have a busing program.
12 We did a study of that city to test the effect of it every
13 year since it took place. What has happened is you find people
14 having a very accurate view. They say, "Eighty percent of the
15 people in this community are opposed to it, and yet it has
16 happened."

17 We are having policy being made, forced on us
18 through institutions that in no way can we affect. I think
19 we have got to find a way for individuals to communicate with
20 and affect those institutions that are making policy that affect
21 their lives.

22 If you listen to group interviews that we video-taped

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1 and sit in our office and watch them, you hear example after
2 example where individuals say, "I can't find out who made
3 the regulations. I can't change it. I can't even talk
4 to somebody who has anything to do with it" -- that kind of
5 frustration. So I think this idea of bringing government down
6 to a lower level ought to be the basis for it to prosper.

7 GOVERNOR MOORE: Governor Thomson.

8 GOVERNOR THOMSON: I would like to know whether
9 you see the voters as perceiving any material difference between
10 the two major parties; and, if so, what are those differences?

11 MR. TEETER: They do not perceive significant
12 enough differences to influence their vote record. They do
13 perceive some differences. They perceive the differences
14 that have been there for 30 years or 40 years, since the
15 Depression. The Republicans are generally perceived as more
16 able to handle foreign affairs and defense. The Democrats are
17 more able to handle economic issues. But in terms of approach
18 to government and this general issue I was just talking about,
19 that they do not see as chief differences, as most of us here
20 do, in the approach between the Republicans and Democrats
21 as to where decisions are going to be made and how government
22 is going to be conducted.