

The original documents are located in Box 64, folder “May 26, 1972 - John N. Mitchell - Second Wave Questionnaire” of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

May 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Second Wave Questionnaire

Attached please find our long form draft questionnaire for the second wave. The circled questions will be used on the short form.

We are going to field test this questionnaire the first of next week and I would like to go over it with you on Tuesday. I am sure some changes will have to be made as it appears to be too long in its present form. Also we have not included a number of specific issue questions which various people have asked for. These include subjects such as farm subsidies, abortion, marijuana and so forth. I would also like to discuss this list of questions with you next week.



WAVE II DRAFT QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, I'm Mrs. _____ from Market Opinion Research, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in _____ and would like to have your opinions.
(STATE NAME)

1. Are you now registered to vote here in _____?
(STATE NAME)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

(IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW BEGINNING WITH QUESTION 2)

(IF "NO", ASK:)

a. Do you intend to register so you will be able to vote in the 1972 Presidential election?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

(IF "NO", TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

(IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW)

2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a nation at this time? (CIRCLE BELOW)

<u>Most Important Problems (Multiple)</u>	<u>Single Most Important Problems</u>	
1	1	Vietnam
2	2	Inflation/Economy
3	3	Unemployment
4	4	Taxes
5	5	Crime
6	6	Drugs
7	7	General Unrest/Demonstrations/Riots
8	8	Environment/Pollution
9	9	Racial Problems (Not Schools)
10	10	Bussing
11	11	Education (Not Race or Bussing)
12	12	National Defense
		Other (Specify)

3. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States? (CIRCLE JUST ONE ABOVE)

4. Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction today or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

- 1 Right direction
- 2 Wrong track
- 0 Don't know



5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

a. Why do you say that? (PROBE) _____

6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is dealing with the economic conditions in this country?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

9. Now, I'd like you to take this group of cards. (HAND 7 ISSUE CARDS) Each card has an issue or problem facing our country on it. I'd like you to pick out the one that has the issue or problem on it that you will most seriously consider when deciding how to vote for President this fall and hand it to me. Now pick the one that will be the second most important to you in deciding how you will vote. Now pick out the one that will be the third most important...and so on until you have handed me all of the cards.

(RECORD THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ARE HANDED THE CARD)

- Drugs _____
- Taxes _____
- Vietnam _____
- Unemployment _____
- Crime _____
- Inflation _____
- Bussing _____

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 10, 11, 12)



10. Now I'd like to read through the list of problems and issues again and as I mention each one I'd like you to rate President Nixon on how well he's handling each one. (HAND ABILITY CARD)

	<u>Extremely Well</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Not At All Well</u>
Drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Taxes	1	2	3	4	5
Health Care	1	2	3	4	5
Vietnam	1	2	3	4	5
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5
Racial Problems	1	2	3	4	5
National Defense	1	2	3	4	5
Crime	1	2	3	4	5
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5
Pollution/Environment	1	2	3	4	5
Bussing	1	2	3	4	5
General Unrest	1	2	3	4	5

11. Now I'd like to go through the list again and have you rate Hubert Humphrey on his ability to handle each problem.

	<u>Extremely Well</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Not At All Well</u>
Drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Taxes	1	2	3	4	5
Health Care	1	2	3	4	5
Vietnam	1	2	3	4	5
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5
Racial Problems	1	2	3	4	5
National Defense	1	2	3	4	5
Crime	1	2	3	4	5
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5
Pollution/Environment	1	2	3	4	5
Bussing	1	2	3	4	5
General Unrest	1	2	3	4	5

12. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate George McGovern on his ability to handle each problem.

	<u>Extremely Well</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Not At All Well</u>
Drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Taxes	1	2	3	4	5
Health Care	1	2	3	4	5



	Extremely Well	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All Well
Vietnam	1	2	3	4	5
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5
Racial Problems	1	2	3	4	5
National Defense	1	2	3	4	5
Crime	1	2	3	4	5
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5
Pollution/Environment	1	2	3	4	5
Bussing	1	2	3	4	5
General Unrest	1	2	3	4	5

13. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of Richard Nixon?

a. Do you consider this good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE) a. Good Bad

b. Is there anything else? [] []

c. Do you consider this good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE) c. Good Bad

d. Is there anything else? [] []

e. Do you consider that good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE) e. Good Bad

14. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of Hubert Humphrey?

a. Do you consider this good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE) a. Good Bad

b. Is there anything else? [] []

c. Do you consider this good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE) c. Good Bad

d. Is there anything else? [] []

e. Do you consider that good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE) e. Good Bad



15. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of George McGovern?

a. Good Bad
[] []

a. Do you consider this good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE)

b. Is there anything else? _____

c. Good Bad
[] []

c. Do you consider this good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE)

d. Is there anything else? _____

e. Good Bad
[] []

e. Do you consider that good or bad? (ANSWER ABOVE)

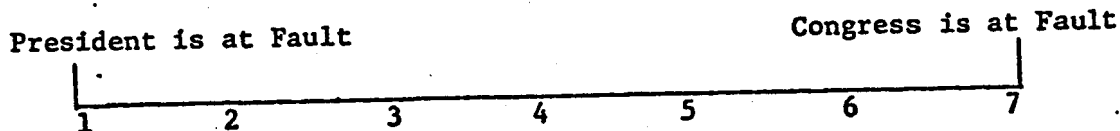
16. Do you think President Nixon has an overall plan for this country?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

What is it? _____

17. What does the phrase "general unrest" mean to you? _____

18. Some people have accused the Congress of partisan tactics in blocking the President's legislation, while others say the President's program is inadequate. The differences between the two points of view mean there has been few bills passed during this session of Congress.
(SHOW SCALE)



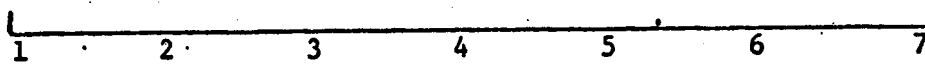
- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place Hubert Humphrey on this scale? _____



19. Some people have said that much of the money we are spending for war will become available for domestic programs when the Vietnam war winds down. Others have said that much of this money will need to be spent to replace and modernize our armed forces. (SHOW SCALE)

Need National Defense Spending

Need Domestic Spending

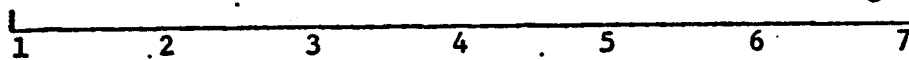


- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____
- d. Where would you place Hubert Humphrey on this scale? _____

20.1 Some people have said that having a strong national defense at least equal to the Russians and Chinese is the best hope for peace. Others have said that we have more important needs in our own country and that we should spend more of our money on domestic programs even if it means that our military strength would be less than some other countries. (SHOW SCALE)

Strong National Defense

Spend At Home and Less Strong Defense

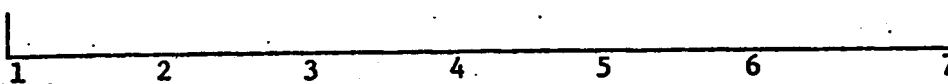


- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____
- d. Where would you place Hubert Humphrey on this scale? _____

20.2 It has been said that this country needs major tax reform. Some say the present tax structure is unfair to the little man and favors big business and those with high income. Others say that taxing of big business and those with large incomes at a high rate would cause a lack of incentive and economic decline. (SHOW SCALE)

Need Tax Reform

Do Not Need Tax Reform



- a. Where do you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where do you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where do you place George McGovern on this scale? _____
- d. Where do you place Hubert Humphrey on this scale? _____



WAVE II BRANT SUBSIDIARIES (CONT'D)

20.3 According to some recent court cases, our traditional method of financing schools with local property taxes may be in for some changes. Do you favor or oppose retaining the local school property taxes to finance schools?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose
- 0 Not sure

(IF OPPOSE, ASK:)

a. Which of the following would you prefer as a replacement for local property taxes. (READ LIST)

- 1 Increased federal income tax
- 2 Increased state income tax
- 3 Increased state sales tax
- 4 Increased state property tax
- 5 Some type of national sales tax

20.4 Generally speaking, do you believe the steps taken by President Nixon have satisfactorily slowed inflation?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

20.5 Do you believe inflation of food prices has been slowed?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

a. (IF NO, ASK:) Would you support or oppose a total freeze on food prices similar to Phase I.

- 1 Support
- 2 Oppose

21 Do you think business, labor unions, the President, Congress, or the consumer is most responsible for rising prices and inflation?

- 1 Business
- 2 Labor Unions
- 3 President
- 4 Congress
- 5 Consumer
- 0 Don't know



GO TO GREEN SCALES (HAVE RESPONDENT COMPLETE PERSONALITY SHEETS)

22. Now, I'm going to hand you six sample Presidential election ballots. I would like you to mark each one of the ballots just as you would if the election were being held today, and return them in this sealed envelope to me.

23. Using this scale card (HAND INTEREST CARD), how interested are you in seeing the Presidential candidate you support being elected in the fall?

- 1 Very Interested
- 2 Fairly Interested
- 3 Not Very Interested
- 4 Not At All Interested
- 0 Don't know

24. In the election this fall will you definitely vote, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?

- 1 Definitely vote
- 2 Probably vote
- 3 May or may not vote
- 4 Probably not vote
- 5 Definitely not vote
- 0 Don't know

25. What do you think are the most important problems facing the state of _____ at the present time? _____

26. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing _____? (CIRCLE JUST ONE ABOVE)

27. Do you approve or disapprove of the way _____ is handling his job as Governor?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

28. Do you approve or disapprove of the way _____ is handling his job as United States Senator?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

29. Do you approve or disapprove of the way _____ is handling his job as United States Senator?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 0 Don't know

30. Now, I'm going to hand you another secret ballot for the State election. I would like you to mark it just as you would if the election were being held today, and return it in this sealed envelope to me.



31 Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or what?

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Independent
- 0 Don't know

32 (IF INDEPENDENT, ASK:) How do you lean?

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Independent
- 0 Don't know

33 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?

- 1 Straight Democratic
- 2 Mostly Democratic
- 3 A few more Democrats than Republican
- 4 About equally for both parties
- 5 A few more Republicans than Democrats
- 6 Mostly Republican
- 7 Straight Republican
- 8 Never Voted
- 0 Don't know

34 For whom did you vote for President in 1968?

- 1 Nixon
- 2 Humphrey
- 3 Wallace
- 4 Didn't vote
- 0 Don't vote

35 (How are you registered to vote in _____?)

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 American Independent Party
- 4 Conservative
- 5 Liberal
- 0 Don't know

Now a few questions for statistical purposes.....

36 What is your occupation? _____

a. (IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD) What is the occupation of the head of this household?



37 What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

- 1 17-20
- 2 21-24
- 3 25-29
- 4 30-39
- 5 35-39
- 6 40-44
- 7 45-49
- 8 50-54
- 9 55-59
- 10 60-64
- 11 65 and over
- 0 Refused

38 What is the last grade of school you completed?

- 1 Grade school or less (grades 1-8)
- 2 Some high school
- 3 Graduated high school (grades 9-12)
- 4 Vocational/Technical school
- 5 Some college
- 6 Graduated college
- 7 Post graduate work
- 0 Refused

39 What is your religion?

- 1 Roman Catholic
- 2 Protestant
- 3 Jewish
- 4 Other (SPECIFY:) _____

40 (BY OBSERVATION) Race:

- 1 White
- 2 Negro
- 3 Oriental
- 4 Mexican-American

41 What is your nationality?

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1 American/U.S. | 14 Netherlands |
| 2 Austria | 15 Norway |
| 3 Czechoslovakia | 16 Poland |
| 4 Denmark | 17 Portugal |
| 5 England | 18 Rumania |
| 6 Estonia | 19 Russia |
| 7 France | 20 Spain |
| 8 Germany | 21 Sweden |
| 9 Hungary | 22 Ukraine |
| 10 Ireland | 23 Yugoslavia |
| 11 Italy | 24 Other _____ |
| 12 Latvia | (<u>SPECIFY</u>) |
| 13 Mexico | 0 Don't know |



42. Are you a labor union member?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

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

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

43. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

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

- 1 0-\$2,999
- 2 \$3,000-\$4,999
- 3 \$5,000-\$5,999
- 4 \$6,000-\$6,999
- 5 \$7,000-\$9,999
- 6 \$10,000-\$14,999
- 7 \$15,000-\$24,999
- 8 \$25,000 and over
- 0 Refused

45. What is the make, series and year of your principal car?

Make _____
(example: Chevy, Ford, Plymouth)

Series _____
(example: Impala, Torino, Belvedere)

Year _____

46. Do you have a telephone?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

a. (IF "YES", ASK:) Is your number listed or unlisted?

- 1 Listed
- 2 Unlisted



SCALE SHEET

liberal	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	conservative
close minded	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	open minded
trained	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	untrained
bold	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	timid
experienced	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	inexperienced
dishonest	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	honest
safe	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	dangerous
uninformed	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	informed
meek	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	aggressive
just	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	unjust
incompetent	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	competent
tough	_____	:	_____	:	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	:	_____	:	_____	soft



SECRET BALLOTS

If you had to decide today, how would you vote between the candidates in the following election situation?

PRESIDENT

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Richard Nixon [] | Hubert Humphrey [] | |
| Richard Nixon [] | George McGovern [] | |
| Richard Nixon [] | Edward Kennedy [] | |
| Richard Nixon [] | Hubert Humphrey [] | George Wallace [] |
| Richard Nixon [] | George McGovern [] | George Wallace [] |
| Richard Nixon [] | Edward Kennedy [] | George Wallace [] |

