

The original documents are located in Box 64, folder “June 2, 1972 - John N. Mitchell - Revised Second Wave Questionnaire” of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1972

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

Attached is the revised questionnaire with those changes we discussed on May 30 and also those changes necessitated by the pretest. The short version is designated by those questions with circled numbers.

We are conducting a further pretest of this questionnaire over the weekend and I would like to finalize it with you when we meet on Wednesday.

All of the companies intend to print their questionnaires on Thursday and Friday following our meeting and the interviewing will begin on June 13 and 14.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By RT NARA, Date 12/31/09



Market Opinion Research
28 W. Adams
Detroit, Michigan 48226

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 Michigan and would like to have your opinions.

1. Are you now registered to vote here in Michigan?

- 1 Yes (IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW BEGINNING WITH QUESTION 2)
- 2 No (IF "NO", ASK:)

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

- 1 Yes (IF "YES", CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW)
- 2 No (IF "NO", TERMINATE 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 Problem</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 |
| 13 | 13 | Other (Specify) _____ |
| 0 | 0 | Don't know |

3. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States? (CIRCLE JUST ONE ANSWER UNDER SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM)

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

(To be included in 1/2 of the questionnaires)



ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 6 AND 7.

When you think about Richard Nixon, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? _____

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

a. Good Bad
[] []

b. Is there anything else? _____

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

c. Good Bad
[] []

7. When you think about Hubert Humphrey, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? _____

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

a. Good Bad
[] []

b. Is there anything else? _____

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

c. Good Bad
[] []

8. 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) _____

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

- 1 Yes (IF "YES" ASK:)
- 2 No

a. What is it? _____

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

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



(Please fill in Section 1/2 of the questionnaires)

FOR THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 6 AND 7.

When you think about a Christian, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? _____

a. Do you consider this good or bad? a. Good Bad
[] []

b. Is there anything else? _____

c. Do you consider this good or bad? c. Good Bad
[] []

7. When you think about George McGovern, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? _____

a. Do you consider this good or bad? a. Good Bad
[] []

b. Is there anything else? _____

c. Do you consider this good or bad? c. Good Bad
[] []

8. 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) _____

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

- 1 Yes (IF "YES", ASK:)
- 2 No

a. What is it? _____

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

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



11. 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

12. 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

13. Several of the issues and problems facing our country are listed on this card. I'd like you to pick out the three that will be most important to you in deciding how you will vote for President this fall. (LIST THE THREE PROBLEMS IN THE ORDER THEY ARE MENTIONED)

| | <u>Most Important</u> | <u>Least Important</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Drugs | _____ | _____ |
| Taxes | _____ | _____ |
| Health Care | _____ | _____ |
| Vietnam | _____ | _____ |
| Unemployment | _____ | _____ |
| Racial Problems | _____ | _____ |
| National Defense | _____ | _____ |
| Crime | _____ | _____ |
| Inflation | _____ | _____ |
| Pollution/Environment | _____ | _____ |
| Bussing | _____ | _____ |
| General Unrest | _____ | _____ |
| Welfare | _____ | _____ |

a. Which three will be least important to you? (ANSWER ABOVE AND LIST IN ORDER OF MENTION)

ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK QUESTIONS 14 AND 15.

14. 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 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Vietnam | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Unemployment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Racial Problems | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| National Defense | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Inflation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Pollution/Environment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Bussing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| General Unrest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Welfare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

(To be included in 1/2 of the questionnaires)

- 4 -

5. 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 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Vietnam | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Unemployment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Racial Problems | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| National Defense | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Inflation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Pollution/Environment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Bussing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| General Unrest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Welfare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

16. As you may know, the Congress has passed very little of President Nixon's domestic program. Do you think this is primarily because the President's program is not a good one or because of politics?

- 1 Program is not a good one
- 2 Politics
- 0 Don't know

17. 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 (IF "OPPOSE", ASK:)
- 0 Not Sure/Don't know

- 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

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

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Don't know



questionnaire)

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

| | Extremely Well | Very Well | Fairly Well | Not Very Well | Not At All Well |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Drugs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Health Care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Victims | 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 |
| Welfare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

16. As you may know, the Congress has passed very little of President Nixon's domestic program. Do you think this is primarily because the President's program is not a good one or because of politics?

- 1 Program is not a good one
- 2 Politics
- 0 Don't know

17. 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 (IF "OPPOSE", ASK:)
- 0 Not Sure/Don't know

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

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

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Don't know



19. Do you believe inflation of food prices has been slowed?

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 0 Don't know
- (IF "NO" ASK:)



a. Would you support or oppose a total freeze on food prices similar to Phase I?

- 1 Support
- 2 Oppose
- 0 Don't know

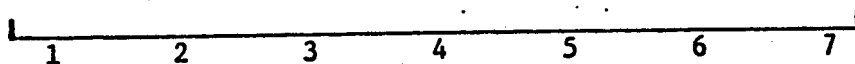
20. Do you think business, labor unions, the President, Congress, or the consumer is most responsible for rising prices and inflation?

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

21. 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. On this scale card 1 would represent those people who believe we should have a national defense at least as strong as the Russians and Chinese and 7 would represent those who think we should spend less on national defense and more on domestic programs even if it leaves our military strength less than some other country. (HAND SCALE CARD 21) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b, c, AND d.)

Strong National Defense

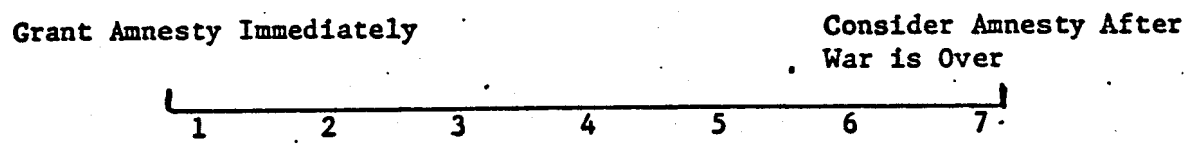
Spend At Home and Less Strong Defense



- 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? _____

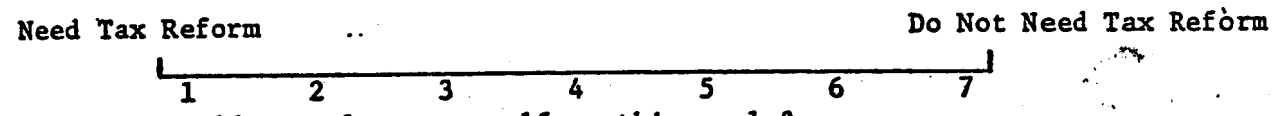


22. Some people have said that we ought to give amnesty immediately to those who have left the country or have gone to prison to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War. Others have said that we should not grant amnesty at this time and that we should not consider it at all until after the War is over. (HAND SCALE CARD 22) (ROTATE b, c, AND d.)



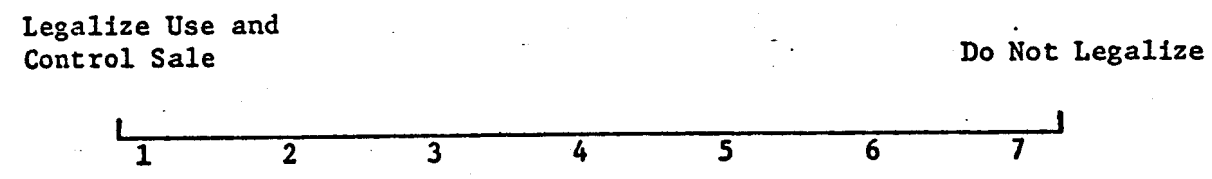
- a. Where would you place yourself on this scale? _____
- b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale? _____
- c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale? _____
- d. Where would you place Hubert Humphrey on this scale? _____

23. 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 incomes. 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. (HAND SCALE CARD 23) (ROTATE b, c, AND d.)



- 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? _____

24. Some people in our country think that we should legalize the use of marijuana and control its sale similarly to the way we do liquor. Others think that we should not legalize the sale or use of marijuana at all. (ROTATE b, c, AND d.) (HAND SCALE CARD 24)



- 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? _____

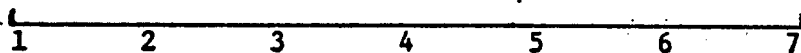




25. Some people think that our laws governing abortion should be changed so that the decision to have an abortion would be made only by the woman involved and her doctor. Others think that the laws should not be changed and abortions should not be performed unless the woman's life is in danger. (HAND SCALE CARD 25) (ROTATE b, c, AND d.)

Legalize Abortions

Do Not Legalize Abortions



- 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? _____

GO TO GREEN SCALES (HAVE RESPONDENT COMPLETE PERSONALITY SHEETS)

26. 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.

27. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care very much who wins the Presidential election this Fall, care somewhat, don't care very much or don't care at all who wins?

- 1 Care Very much
- 2 Care somewhat
- 3 Don't care very much
- 4 Don't care at all

28. 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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

34. 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.

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

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

36. 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 Republicans
- 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

37. For whom did you vote for President in 1968?

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

38. Now where do you get most of your information on the major issues such as Vietnam, taxes, and crime during a political campaign? _____

39. Now where do you get most of your information on the candidates for major offices such as President and Senator during a campaign year? _____

40 What is your occupation? _____

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

41. What is your approximate age? (SHOW AGE CARD)

- 1 17-20
- 2 21-24
- 3 25-29
- 4 30-34
- 5 35-39
- 6 40-44
- 7 45-49
- 8 50-54
- 9 55-59
- 10 60-64
- 11 65 and over
- 0 Refused

42. 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

43. What is your religion?

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

44. (BY OBSERVATION) Race:

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

45. 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 | (SPECIFY) |
| 13 Mexico | 0 Don't know |



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

47 (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

48 (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

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

Make _____
(example: Chevy, Ford, Plymouth)

Series _____
(example: Impala, Torino, Belvedere)

Year _____

50. 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 [] |

