

The original documents are located in Box 66, folder “November 5, 1972 - Clark MacGregor - Post Election Poll” 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 Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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

November 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Post Election Poll

Attached is a draft questionnaire for the national after election study.

It is obviously too long to actually be done in the field. It was designed to give us an opportunity to look at several different areas and types of questions. Virtually all of the candidate and issue questions are the same as we asked in Wave II and or III so that we can identify trends.

In addition to this questionnaire which will be used for the national we will administer a short form to those individuals we find who are registered but did not vote. We will also use a shorter form of this questionnaire to do the four state panels MOR is going to do.

We should meet sometime early Wednesday a.m. to finalize the questionnaire so we can begin interviewing Thursday and Friday.



Hello, I'm _____ of Market Opinion Research. We are making a study of the recent national election and I would like to ask you a few questions.

1. Were you registered to vote in the election last Tuesday? YES.....
NO

(IF YES, GO TO QUESTION 2, IF NO TERMINATE)

2. Did you vote in the election last Tuesday? YES:.....
NO

(IF YES CONTINUE, IF NO ADMINISTER YELLOW QUESTIONNAIRE)

3. Did you vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican, or George McGovern the Democrat for President? RICHARD NIXON.....
GEORGE MC GOVERN.....
OTHER.....
REFUSED

4. (IF VOTED FOR NIXON ASK) Would you say you voted more for Nixon or against McGovern? FOR NIXON.....
AGAINST MC GOVERN.....

(IF FOR NIXON ASK a, IF AGAINST MC GOVERN, ASK b)

a. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote for Nixon? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

b. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote against McGovern? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

5. (IF VOTED FOR MC GOVERN ASK:) Would you say you voted more for McGovern or against Nixon? FOR MC GOVERN.....
AGAINST NIXON

(IF FOR MC GOVERN ASK a, IF AGAINST NIXON ASK b)

a. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote for McGovern? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?





b. Looking back at the whole presidential campaign, what was the most important thing that caused you to vote against Nixon? (PROBE) (IF NEEDED, ASK:) What is the one thing that stands out most in your mind?

6. Again, looking back at the whole presidential campaign, when did you finally make up your mind how you would vote for the President?

(MARK APPROPRIATE CATEGORY, READ CHOICES ONLY IF RESPONDENT NEEDS HELP)

Interviewer Information:

- Democratic Convention - July 10-13
- Republican Convention - August 21-24

- BEFORE EITHER OF THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS..... _____
- AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION..... _____
- AFTER THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION..... _____
- DURING SEPTEMBER..... _____
- DURING THE LAST HALF OF OCTOBER..... _____
- DURING THE LAST WEEK BEFORE THE ELECTION..... _____
- ON THE DAY BEFORE OR ON ELECTION DAY..... _____

7. Did you at any time during the campaign change your mind about who you were going to vote for?

- YES..... _____
- NO..... _____

(IF YES ASK a AND b)

a. When did you change your mind?

b. What caused you to change your mind?

(ASK ONLY IF THERE WAS A U.S. SENATE RACE IN STATE IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING, CONSULT INSTRUCTION)

8. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator?

- REPUBLICAN..... _____
- DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- OTHER..... _____

(ASK ONLY IF THERE WAS A GOVERNOR'S RACE IN STATE IN WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING, CONSULT INSTRUCTION)

9. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Governor?

- REPUBLICAN..... _____
- DEMOCRATIC..... _____
- OTHER..... _____

10. Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?

REPUBLICAN..... _____
DEMOCRATIC..... _____
OTHER..... _____

11. Now thinking about all of the races on the Ballot in the election last Tuesday, which answer on this card best describes how you voted?

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC..... _____
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC..... _____
A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS..... _____
ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES..... _____
A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS..... _____
MOSTLY REPUBLICAN..... _____
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____

(HAND POLITICAL CARD)

12. What do you think are the most important problems facing the United States as a Nation at this time (PROBE)

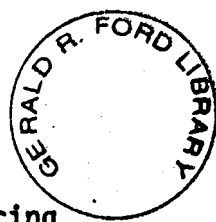
13. Which one of these do you think is the single most important problem facing the United States (CIRCLE JUST ONE OF THE ABOVE)

a. What do you think should be done about it?

14. 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?

RIGHT DIRECTION..... _____
WRONG TRACK..... _____
DON'T KNOW..... _____





I'd like to hand you a group of cards. On each card is a problem or issue facing our country. I'd like you to hand me the card that was most important to you in deciding how to vote for President this fall. Then hand me the card with the problem that was second most important to you, and continue handing me the cards in order of their importance until you have handed me all of the cards. (HAND ISSUE CARDS AND BE SURE TO ROTATE THEM.)

(LIST PROBLEMS IN THE ORDER THEY ARE HANDED BACK TO YOU 1, 2, 3, 4,.....)

- _____ Drugs _____
- _____ Taxes _____
- _____ Health Care _____

- _____ Vietnam _____
- _____ Unemployment _____
- _____ Racial Problems _____

- _____ Foreign Policy _____
- _____ National Defense _____
- _____ Crime _____

- _____ Inflation _____
- _____ Pollution/ _____
- _____ Environment _____
- _____ Busing _____

- _____ General Unrest _____
- _____ Welfare _____
- _____ Corruption _____

16. 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 his ability to handle each one. (HAND ABILITY CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

	<u>Extremely Well</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Not at All Well</u>
Drugs	5	4	3	2	1
Taxes	5	4	3	2	1
Health Care	5	4	3	2	1
Vietnam	5	4	3	2	1
Unemployment	5	4	3	2	1
Racial Problems	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign Policy	5	4	3	2	1
National Defense	5	4	3	2	1
Crime	5	4	3	2	1
Inflation	5	4	3	2	1
Pollution/Environment	5	4	3	2	1
Busing	5	4	3	2	1
General Unrest	5	4	3	2	1
Welfare	5	4	3	2	1
Corruption	5	4	3	2	1

17. Now, I'd like to go through the list once more and have you rate George McGovern on his ability to handle each problem. (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU MENTION ISSUES)

	<u>Extremely Well</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Not at All Well</u>
Drugs	5	4	3	2	1
Taxes	5	4	3	2	1
Health Care	5	4	3	2	1
Vietnam	5	4	3	2	1
Unemployment	5	4	3	2	1
Racial Problems	5	4	3	2	1
Foreign Policy	5	4	3	2	1
National Defense	5	4	3	2	1
Crime	5	4	3	2	1
Inflation	5	4	3	2	1
Pollution/Environment	5	4	3	2	1
Busing	5	4	3	2	1
General Unrest	5	4	3	2	1
Welfare	5	4	3	2	1
Corruption					

Did the developments in the Vietnam War peace negotiations during the last few days of the campaign make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern or not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote?

RICHARD NIXON..... _____
 GEORGE MC GOVERN..... _____
 NO DIFFERENCE..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

19. Regarding Vietnam, do you think the peace terms now being discussed are more favorable to the Communist side, more favorable to the U.S. and South Vietnamese side, fair to both sides, or don't you know?

FAVORS COMMUNISTS..... _____
 FAIR TO BOTH SIDES,,,,, _____
 FAVORS U.S. AND VIETNAM.. _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

20. The charge has been made that President Nixon could have made the Vietnam peace settlement long ago and that he delayed it just to help his reelection. Do you agree or disagree with this charge?

AGREE..... _____
 DISAGREE..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____



21. After the U.S. finally withdraws all its forces from Vietnam, do you expect South Vietnam to remain a non-communist country or do you think it is likely that the communists will take it over?

REMAIN NON COMMUNIST.... _____
 COMMUNISTS WILL TAKE
 IT OVER..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

22. After the war is over do you think the United States should or should not help rebuild Vietnam?

SHOULD _____
 SHOULD NOT..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

23. 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 22)

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b, c.)

Strong National Defense

Spend At Home and
 Less Strong Defense

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 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? _____

24. Do you think that we should spend more, about the same amount, or less money on national defense in the next few years as we are now?

- 1 Spend less
- 2 About the same amount
- 3 Spend more
- 0 Don't know





15. There has been some discussion lately of amnesty, that is, forgiveness, for those who have left the country or gone to prison to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War. Which of the courses of action on this card would you most like to see the government take?

- 1 GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY NOW
- 2 GRANT UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER AND OUR PRISONERS OF WAR HAVE BEEN RETURNED
- 3 GRANT AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, BUT REQUIRE TWO YEARS OF SOME TYPE OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE
- 4 GRANT AMNESTY AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, BUT REQUIRE AN APPROPRIATE PENALTY
- 5 NOT GRANT AMNESTY AT ALL
- 6 DON'T KNOW

a. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think Richard Nixon favors?

_____ (Record number of response)

b. (REFER TO CARD "E.") Which of these positions do you think George McGovern favors?

_____ (Record number of response)

26. Considering the whole economic situation, which one of these concerns you most -- unemployment, inflation, or taxes?

UNEMPLOYMENT _____
 INFLATION _____
 TAXES _____
 DON'T KNOW _____

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

YES _____
 NO _____
 DON'T KNOW _____

28. Some People say that giving certain tax breaks to business will create more jobs. Others say that business now receives too many tax breaks. (HAND SCALE CARD) (ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b AND c)

Create More Jobs

Too Many Tax Breaks

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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 _____

29. Some people have said that the governmental and economic systems in our country are no longer able to solve our problems and need to be changed drastically. Other people have said that while we have many problems that need to be solved our basic economic and governmental systems are good ones and should not be changed.

(HAND SCALE CARD)

(ROTATE THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU ASK b AND c)

Governmental and Economic Systems Need Drastic Change

Governmental and Economic Systems Do Not need Change

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 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? | | | | | | _____ |

30. Have you read or heard anything about someone breaking into the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate Building in Washington?

- YES..... _____
 NO..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

(IF YES ASK:)

a. From what you have read or heard, who do you think was responsible for this?
 (INTERVIEWER: ASK AS AN OPEN END QUESTION. DO NOT READ RESPONSES. CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE OR WRITE IN OTHER ANSWER.)

- REPUBLICANS..... _____
 PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMPAIGN/THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT..... _____
 OTHER..... _____
 (specify)
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

31. Do you think that President Nixon himself knew anything about the incident before it occurred?

- YES..... _____
 NO..... _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____

32. Did this incident make you more likely to vote for McGovern, more likely to vote for Nixon, or not make any idfference to you in deciding how to vote?

- MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR MC GOVERN..... _____
 MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR NIXON..... _____
 NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE.. _____
 DON'T KNOW..... _____





What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about President Nixon?

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....

b. Is there anything else?

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....

d. Now, is there anything else?

e. Is that good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....

34. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about George McGovern?

a. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....

b. Is there anything else?

c. Do you consider this good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....



d. Now is there anything else?

e. Is that good or bad?

GOOD.....
BAD.....
NEITHER.....

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

APPROVE.....
DISAPPROVE.....
DON'T KNOW.....

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

APPROVE.....
DISAPPROVE.....
DON'T KNOW.....

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

APPROVE.....
DISAPPROVE.....
DON'T KNOW.....

38. Is your impression of Richard Nixon better or worse, or no different, than it was 1 year ago?

BETTER.....
WORSE.....
NO DIFFERENT.....
DON'T KNOW.....

(IF BETTER OR WORSE ASK:)

a. Why is your impression _____

39. Is your impression of George McGovern better or worse, or no different, than it was 1 year ago?

BETTER.....
WORSE.....
NO DIFFERENT.....
DON'T KNOW.....

(IF BETTER OR WORSE, ASK:)

a. Why is your impression _____

40. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information the Federal government in general gives the public?

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD _____
- NO OPINION..... _____

41. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information President Nixon gives the public?

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD..... _____
- NO OPINION..... _____

42. Which of the statements on this card best describes how you feel about the information Senator McGovern gives the public?

- ALWAYS FRANK AND TRUTHFUL WITH THE PUBLIC..... _____
- TRIES TO MAKE THINGS SEEM MORE FAVORABLE THAN THEY REALLY ARE..... _____
- HOLDS BACK OR SLANTS INFORMATION THAT WOULD OTHERWISE LOOK BAD..... _____
- NO OPINION..... _____

(GO TO GREEN SCALES)

43. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the campaign. What do you think was the main idea or message the Nixon campaign tried to get across to convince people to vote for him?

44. What do you think was the main idea or message the McGovern campaign tried to get across to convince people to vote for him?





45. Where did you get your most useful information about Richard Nixon?

46. Where did you get you most useful information about George McGovern?

47. Now, I would like to mention a number of the ways people get information about the candidates and issues, and have you tell me whether or not you recall getting any information from each one? (IF YES ASK a. AND b.)

a. What do you remember about it? (RECORD BELOW)

b. How useful was the information to you? (RECORD ABOVE)

	Yes	No	b.			
			Very Useful	Somewhat	Not Very	Don't Know
Radio Commercials	1	2	1	2	3	0
Television Commercials	1	2	1	2	3	0
Newspaper Advertisements	1	2	1	2	3	0
Letters/direct mail	1	2	1	2	3	0
Telephone call	1	2	1	2	3	0
Personal visits by campaign worker	1	2	1	2	3	0
Campaign literature	1	2	1	2	3	0
Meetings	1	2	1	2	3	0
Radio newscasts	1	2	1	2	3	0
Television news	1	2	1	2	3	0
Magazines	1	2	1	2	3	0
Special television programs	1	2	1	2	3	0
Newspaper news columns	1	2	1	2	3	0
Newspaper editorials	1	2	1	2	3	0
Talking with husband/wife	1	2	1	2	3	0
Talking with neighbors/co-workers	1	2	1	2	3	0

a. Radio Commercials _____

a. Television Commercials _____

a. Newspaper Advertisements _____

a. Letters/direct mail _____

a. Telephone call _____

a. Personal Visits by campaign worker _____

a. Campaign literature _____

a. Meetings _____

a. Radio newscasts _____

- a. Television news _____
- Magazines _____
- a. Special television programs _____
- a. Newspaper news columns _____
- a. Newspaper editorials _____
- a. Talking with husband/wife _____
- a. Talking with neighbors/co-workers _____

48. Did you personally participate in the campaign by working for any candidate?

YES..... _____
 NO..... _____

49. Now, I would like to mention a number of events that took place during this campaign and as I mention each one have you tell me whether you recall the event or not

(IF YES ASK:)

a. Did it make you more likely to vote for Richard Nixon, more likely to vote for George McGovern, or did not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote.



	Yes	No	More Likely Nixon	More Likely McGovern	No Difference
President Nixon's trip to China	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
President Nixon's trip to Russia	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
The Humphrey/McGovern debate in the California primary	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
The shooting of Governor Wallace	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
The bombing of North Vietnam	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Senator McGovern's nomination	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Nomination and dropping of Senator Eagleton from the Democratic ticket	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
The nomination of Sargent Shriver as Democratic Vice President candidate	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
The Republican National Convention	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
The nomination of Spiro Agnew as Republican Vice President candidate	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>More likely Nixon</u>	<u>More likely McGovern</u>	<u>No Difference</u>
The Watergate incident and political spying by Republicans	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

(HAND CARD _____)

50. From the people on this list, who would have been your first choice to be President?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| HUBERT HUMPHREY..... | _____ |
| EDWARD KENNEDY..... | _____ |
| GEORGE MC GOVERN..... | _____ |
| EDWARD MUSKIE..... | _____ |
| RICHARD NIXON..... | _____ |
| JOHN SCHMITZ..... | _____ |
| GEORGE WALLACE..... | _____ |

51. Now, that the campaign is over, I would like to ask you a few questions about the future. Do you think that the United States as a nation will be better off, worse off, or in about the same shape a year from now as it is today?

- | | |
|---------------------|-------|
| BETTER OFF..... | _____ |
| WORSE OFF..... | _____ |
| ABOUT THE SAME..... | _____ |
| DON'T KNOW..... | _____ |

a. Why do you say that?

52. Do you think that you and your family will be better off, worse off, or in about the same position a year from now as you are today?

- | | |
|---------------------|-------|
| BETTER OFF..... | _____ |
| WORSE OFF..... | _____ |
| ABOUT THE SAME..... | _____ |
| DON'T KNOW..... | _____ |

a. Why do you say that?

53. Some people have complained that things in our country are changing too fast, while others say our country's problems are because there is not enough change. Others would like to return to the way the United States used to be. On this scale card 1 would represent those people who believe we should return to the way we used to be, and 7 would represent those who are calling for more change.

Change at

Return to the past	Same Rate		More Change
1	2	3	4
			5
			6
			7

a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale?



54. Now that President Nixon has been re-elected what one thing would you most like to see him accomplish during his second term as President?

a. Is there anything else? (PROBE)

55. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

REPUBLICAN.....
DEMOCRAT.....
INDEPENDENT.....
OTHER.....
DON'T KNOW.....

56. (IF REPUBLICAN) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican

STRONG.....
NOT VERY STRONG....
DON'T KNOW.....

57. (IF DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

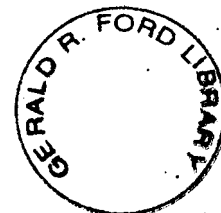
STRONG.....
NOT VERY STRONG....
DON'T KNOW.....

58. (IF INDEPENDENT) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

REPUBLICAN.....
DEMOCRAT.....
NEITHER.....

59. Thinking back to the last few elections before this year, which answer on this card (HAND POLITICAL CARD) best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC..
MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC....
A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN
REPUBLICANS.....
ABOUT EQUALLY FOR
BOTH PARTIES.....
A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS
THAN DEMOCRATS.....
MOSTLY REPUBLICAN....
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..
NEVER VOTED.....
DON'T KNOW.....



how you will vote for state and local offices such as Governor and Senator?

- MOSTLY DEMOCRATIC.....
- A FEW MORE DEMOCRATS THAN REPUBLICANS.....
- ABOUT EQUALLY FOR BOTH PARTIES.....
- A FEW MORE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS.....
- MOSTLY REPUBLICAN.....
- STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN..
- DON'T KNOW

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

- NIXON.....
- HUMPHREY.....
- WALLACE.....
- DIDN'T VOTE.....
- DON'T KNOW.....

Now a few questions for statistical purposes...

62. What is your occupation? _____

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

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

- 34-35-01 17-20
- 02 21-24
- 03 25-29
- 04 30-34
- 05 35-39
- 06 40-44
- 07 45-49
- 08 50-54
- 09 55-59
- 10 60-64
- 11 65 and over
- 00 Refused

64. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- 36-1 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

65. What is your religion?

- 37-1 Roman Catholic
- 2 Protestant (eg. Baptist, Methodist, etc)
- 3 Jewish
- 4 Other (SPECIFY) _____



66. (BY OBSERVATION) Race:

- 39 1 White
- 2 Negro
- 3 Oriental
- 4 Spanish-American
- 5 Other (SPECIFY)

67. What is your nationality?

- 10 American/U.S
- 20 Italian
- 30 Irish
- 40 Polish

East European

- 50 Czechoslovakia
- 51 Estonia
- 52 Hungry
- 53 Latvia
- 54 Rumania
- 55 Russia
- 56 Ukraine
- 57 Yugoslavia
- 59 Other East European

Scandinavia

- 60 Denmark
- 61 Finland
- 62 Norway
- 63 Sweden

West European

- 70 Austria
- 71 Belgium
- 72 English, British
- 73 France
- 74 Germany
- 75 Netherlands
- 76 Scottish
- 79 Other West European

Spanish

- 80 Mexico
- 81 Portugal
- 82 Spain
- 89 Other South American

90 Other _____

(Specify)

00 Don't know

68. Are you a labor union member?

- 43- 1 Yes
- 2 No

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

- 44- 1 Yes
- 2 No

69. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:

- 45- 1 Male
- 2 Female

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

- 46- 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



SCALE CARD

Now I'd like to have you do something different. There are many ways you can judge a political candidate. He can be good or bad, interesting or uninteresting, liberal or conservative, and many other things.

We will be judging two candidates in several ways.

Let's take the liberal-conservative rating below as an example. There are three spaces on each side of the box which is exactly in the middle. If you feel the candidate is very liberal or extremely liberal, choose one of the spaces towards the word liberal, and mark the space with an : X :. If you feel the candidate is neither conservative nor liberal, mark the middle box X /. Use the conservative spaces in the same way.

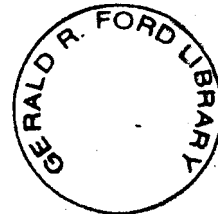
Move quickly down a page. You should do a page in about one minute.

Now let's start with yourself as the example. Rate yourself on this scale . . .

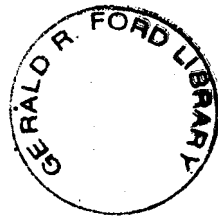
YOURSELF

Liberal _____ : _____ : X / _____ : _____ : _____ Conservative

*** TURN TO NEXT PAGE ***



SCALE SHEET
RICHARD NIXON



_____	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	cold
experienced	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	inexperienced
closed-minded	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	open-minded
trained	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	untrained
bold	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	timid
dishonest	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	honest
introverted	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	extroverted
safe	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	dangerous
informed	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	informed
meek	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	aggressive
just	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	unjust
incompetent	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	competent
frank	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	reserved
sense of humor	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	lacks humor
old-fashioned	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	up-to-date
tense	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	relaxed
rough	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	soft
liberal	:	_____	:	_____	_____	:	_____	:	_____	conservative



SCALE SHEET
GEORGE McGOVERN

rm	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	cold
experienced	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	inexperienced
closed-minded	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	open-minded
trained	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	untrained
bold	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	timid
dishonest	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	honest
introverted	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	extroverted
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
frank	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	reserved
sense of humor	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	lacks humor
old-fashioned	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	up-to-date
tense	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	relaxed
tough	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	soft
liberal	_____:	_____:	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____:	_____:	conservative