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.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

November 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR
FROM: ROBERT H. 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 MCGOVERN... OTHER... REFUSED

4. (IF VOTED FOR NIXON ASK) Would you say you voted more for Nixon or against McGovern? FOR NIXON... AGAINST MCGOVERN
   (IF FOR NIXON ASK a, IF AGAINST MCGOVERN, 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 MCGOVERN ASK:) Would you say you voted more for McGovern or against Nixon? FOR MCGOVERN... AGAINST NIXON
   (IF FOR MCGOVERN 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?

(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?

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?

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)

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?
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)

Extremely Well
Very Well
Fairly Well
Not Very Well
Not at All Well

Drugs
Taxes
Health Care
Vietnam
Unemployment
Racial Problems
Foreign Policy
National Defense
Crime
Inflation
Pollution/Environment
Busing
General Unrest
Welfare
Corruption
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)

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

- 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, or not make any difference to you in deciding how to vote?
  - Richard Nixon
  - George McGovern
  - 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
11. 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
- Don't Know

12. 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 I 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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?

- Spend less
- About the same amount
- Spend more
- Don't know
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?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Where would you place yourself on this scale?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Where would you place President Nixon on this scale?</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Where would you place George McGovern on this scale?</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(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.)

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

Yes

No

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:  

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?

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

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

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

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

(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?

(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

43. How 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 your 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information Source</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio Commercials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television Commercials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Advertisements</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters/direct mail</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone call</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal visits by campaign worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign literature</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
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<td>Television news</td>
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<td>Magazines</td>
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<td>Special television programs</td>
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<td>Newspaper news columns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newspaper editorials</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talking with husband/wife</td>
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<td>Talking with neighbors/co-workers</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Useful</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Not Very</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a. Radio Commercials

a. Television Commercials

a. Newspaper Advertisements

a. Letters/direct mail

a. Telephone call

b. Personal Visits by campaign worker

a. Campaign literature

a. Meetings
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>More Likely Nixon</th>
<th>More Likely McGovern</th>
<th>No Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Nixon’s trip to China</td>
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<tr>
<td>President Nixon’s trip to Russia</td>
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<td>The Humphrey/McGovern debate in the California primary</td>
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<tr>
<td>The shooting of Governor Wallace</td>
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<tr>
<td>The bombing of North Vietnam</td>
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<td>Senator McGovern’s nomination</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nomination and dropping of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senator Eagleton from the Democratic ticket</td>
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<tr>
<td>The nomination of Sargent Shriver as Democratice Vice President candidate</td>
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<td>The Republican National Convention</td>
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<td>The nomination of Spiro Agnew as</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican Vice President candidate</td>
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</table>
The Watergate incident and political spying by Republicans

Yes  No  More Likely  More Likely  No Difference
Nixon  McGovern

(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

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

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.

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?
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
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 (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc)
- 3: Jewish
- 4: Other (Specify)
66. **(BY OBSERVATION)** Race:
   1. White
   2. Negro
   3. Oriental
   4. Spanish-American
   5. Other (SPECIFY)

67. What is your nationality?
   1. American/U.S
   2. Italian
   3. Irish
   4. Polish
   **East European**
   5. Czechoslovakia
   6. Estonia
   7. Hungary
   8. Latvia
   9. Lithuania
   10. Russia
   11. Ukraine
   12. Yugoslavia
   **Scandinavia**
   13. Denmark
   14. Finland
   15. Norway
   16. Sweden
   **West European**
   17. Austria
   18. Belgium
   19. English, British
   20. France
   21. Germany
   22. Netherlands
   23. Scottish
   24. Other West European
   **Spanish**
   25. Mexico
   26. Portugal
   27. Spain
   28. Other South American
   **Other**
   29. (Specify)
   30. Don’t know

68. Are you a labor union member?
   43. Yes
   44. No
   a. *(IF "NO" ASK:)* Is any member of your immediate family a union member?
   45. Yes
   46. No

69. **(BY OBSERVATION)** Sex:
   47. Male
   48. Female

70. *(SHOW INCOME CARD)* Which classification includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1971 before taxes?
   49. 0-$2,999
   50. $3,000-$4,999
   51. $5,000-$5,999
   52. $6,000-$6,999
   53. $7,000-$7,999
   54. $8,000-$8,999
   55. $9,000-$9,999
   56. $10,000-$10,999
   57. $11,000-$11,999
   58. $12,000-$12,999
   59. $13,000 and over
   60. Don’t know
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.

He 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 con-
servative 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 .

| Liberal | | | Conservative |
|---------|---|---|

*** TURN TO NEXT PAGE ***
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