The original documents are located in Box 41, folder "Market Opinion Research (1)" of the James M. Cannon Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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LLOYD A. FREE 1740 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TEL.: (202) 785-6269

October 8, 1975

TO: The Vice President

FROM: Lloyd Free

SUBJECT: How the President can Win Both the Nomination and the Election -

Actually, I seriously doubt that the President will have much trouble gaining the nomination unless he seriously stubs his toe in the coming months. In the first place, it is difficult to conceive of the Republican Party failing to name an incumbent President. Secondly, Ford is way out in front ahead of Reagan as the choice of Republicans generally: 45% to 19% in a recent Gallup Poll. The President also has an invaluable asset: A "nice guy" image somewhat along the lines of that enjoyed by Eisenhower, plus a conservative orientation which Republicans generally are bound to find congenial.

Thus the question really becomes one of how Ford will do in the primaries if Reagan continues to make the race. Here the polls I am recommending in an accompanying memo are absolutely necessary, plus vigorous campaigning by the President in the states he decides to run in.

While Ford's image is perfect enough for acquiring the nomination, his conservative stance is not as well positioned as a middle-of-the-road one would be in terms of the general election. However, only a bit of shading in the direction of showing more compassion for people is possible between now and the election. To do any flip-flop would leave both liberals and conservatives so bewildered that the President's cause could be gravely damaged.

Having acquired the nomination, he should therefore conduct the campaign as a conservative -- not, obviously, of the extremist, John Birch type but as an intelligent leader who is particularly concerned about alleviating the burdens of middle class citizens. (In this connection, the President's "popularity" rating is highest among professional and business people and those with incomes of over \$15,000 a year and a college education.) To make this appeal to the conservative elements more compelling, the President should connect up his desire to hold down government spending not only with avoiding <u>inflation</u> (which is what he has done mostly up till now) but also with keeping <u>taxes</u> down. Crazily enough, the majority of our schizophrenic public doesn't mind <u>spending</u>, as such; they only mind <u>taxes</u>. And on that score the pressure on the middle class from both Federal and State and local taxes has obviously grown through the years. From this point of view, the President's position in regard to cutting taxes if spending is reduced is a masterpiece; masterful in punching in the message.

The fact that only 21% of the public now considers itselves to be Republicans (vs. 44% who say they are Democrats and 35% independents) is not really much of/drawback any more. The crucial bulk of the citizenry tends to vote for individual candidates these days, regardless of party labels.

However, Ford's "nice guy" image and his anti-big government and anti-tax positions may not prove to be quite enough, depending upon who his Democratic opponent turns out to be. The main trouble is that, while the President is obviously trying to pin a "do-nothing" tag on Congress, actually the public is tending also to see him as a "do-nothing" President. For example, a Gallup poll in September showed that, when asked to name Ford's most important achievement, one-fourth believed he hadn't accompished anything of note, and an additionalone-fourth had no opinion or couldn't answer. Among the one-half who did reply, as yet unpublished figures show a low degree of mentions (6%-7%) of the Mayaguez affair (his most notable achievement to date), getting out of Viet Nam, diplomatic relations in general -all of which are in the international arena which is generally assumed to be Kissinger's province primarily -- plus restoring faith in the Presidency. Please note that not one single domestic issue received enough mentions to be listed separately.

In line with this, a recent Harris survey shows that, while the ratings given the President in such respects as "working for peace in the world" tend to be moderately favorable, the ratings on such domestic matters as "really caring what happens to the unemployed", "keeping the economy healthy", and "handling inflation" are in most cases crushingly negative.

To overcome his do-nothing image, it is especially important that the President advance some dramatic proposals for the future over the coming months -- proposals which, ideally, would not involve increases in expenditures

- 2 -

or taxes, but would relate to problems the public is vitally concerned about. Such things are not easy to dream up, but I shall give some examples below, chiefly to spur your own imagination.

To start with, there are various types of legislative changes and/or law enforcement which could accomplish a good deal while costing very little. One would be amendments to the tax laws making it less possible for the wealthy to get away with paying little or no taxes -- yet such a move would look awfully good to middle class elements which feel unfairly discriminatedagainst under the present tax structure.

Similarly, a good deal might be done by way of stricter enforcement or tightening up of the anti-trust laws -- which, with the present tendency of the market not to respond to traditional motivations, could be turned into an appealing consumer protection device.

Obviously also, a few dramatic steps in regard to law enforcement could be very effective in view of the rising crime rate which is reflected in greatly increased anxiety about personal safety.

Another broad grouping of steps that wouldn't cost anything in terms of the budget would be a few more along the lines of the proposed Energy Independence Authority. The same method could be used to stimulate employment without increasing inflation through government spending by beefing up and modernizing some of our American industries which are today virtually stagnant or obsolescent. One example perhaps is housing.

CONFIDENTIAL

LLOYD A. FREE 1740 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TEL.: (202) 785-6269

October 8, 1975

TO: The Vice President

FROM: Lloyd Free

SUBJECT: Polling during the Presidential campaign

Having just returned from a hectic trip, I can now prepare the memo you wanted on the polling which should be undertaken in preparation for the 1976 election.

To start with, I would recommend at this stage (subject to later revision) that not more than four nation-wide polls be commissioned, each of which would cost about \$55,000. The first should be undertaken as soon as possible; the second early next year (February or March); the third in May or June; and the final one after the Democratic nominee has been chosen.

As I see it, these surveys would include all the aspects that you have become accustomed to in my polling efforts, among others:

-- The image the public tends to hold of the President;

- -- The amount of trust and confidence the people have in him both in general and in connection with handling certain major problem areas;
- -- What the public thinks an ideal President should do about a considerable range of issues and what they think the Ford Administration is likely to do;
- -- How respondents place both themselves and the President on a spectrum ranging from very conservative to very liberal to see how well they think the President conforms to their own values;
- -- What they like best and what they like least about Mr. Ford;
- -- How they react to certain statements, favorable and unfavorable, about him that will by then have gained public currency;

- -- How worried or concerned they are about various issues;
- -- What stands would make them more or less likely to vote the Republican ticket;
- -- Trial heats pitting different Democratic contenders, along with where appropriate potential third party candidates, against Ford; etc.

Both before and in between these national surveys, there will, of course, be a good deal to be drawn on from the regular published polls, including a succession of significant trial heats. To flesh these out, it may be advisable to conduct some polls by telephone to get quick readings on current issues as they arise and to keep in touch with the public mood in general. I doubt if there would be much point to doing more than one of these a month on the average, not on any strictly scheduled basis but as occasion warrants. These would cost between \$4,400 for a total of five questions up to \$5,700 for ten questions.

Finally, needless to say, there is the all important matter of polls within states to determine where the President should enter individual primaries (to the extent he has a choice) and/or where he should campaign intensively. The emphasis here, would, of course, be on trial heats; but some of the items mentioned above in connection with the national surveys could also be covered. These would cost somewhere between \$15,000 and \$20,000 each.

In the present situation with the Reagan threat in the background, unless Ford's only likely opponent backs out of the race, it goes without saying that the need for these state polls can hardly be overestimated; they should be arranged for in the near future. As you know, the New Hampshire primary is now set for February 24th -- and that, in my opinion, is one the President cannot duck unless Reagan does not enter.







October 15, 1975

MEETING WITH DICK CHENEY, JIM LYNN, ALAN GREENSPAN, BOB TEETER (Market Opinion).

RE: Bob Teeter is in charge of polling for the Campaign

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? Reception of Ford Education - + / 1890 ann punts inder 50 Aduty gps me want + werd Her to lunch This -Plast uni Phudet WTo story on for puling - defense 3 wichs. with le

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

October 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR :

DICK CHENEY

FROM :

JIM CANNON

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SUBJECT :

Market Opinion Research Poll

Attached are my suggested changes and/or additions to the U.S. National Study prepared by Market Opinion Research.

Attachment

- 4 C I suggest "The President" instead of "Executive Branch of Government".
- 8F 4 It seems to me that "unjustified" loads the question. Wouldn't it be better to say "The power of organized labor to get wage increases that exceed the cost of living?"
- 22 A 1 This question talks only about money. It seems to me that first this question should be asked:
 - Do you as parents feel your children are getting a proper education?
 - 2. If not, to what do you attribute the low caliber of education?
 - a) Quality of teachers
 - b) Lack of discipline
 - c) Racial problems in the school
 - d) Not enough money
 - e) Other
- 22 A 2 The question is also focused narrowly on money. A first question in this group might be --

"Would you attribute the inadequacy of police protection to:

"1) Lack of discipline

- "2) Lack of training
- "3) Poor pay
- "4) Other

We would get a poor reading from this question as stated. Why not restate it this way:

"Do you think Government assistance to the poor should be in the form of direct cash payments, or in the form of coupons such as food stamps, and other assistance such as free hot meals and payments of medical services?"

24 A

I would suggest an additional question:

"How long do you think a person who has lost his job should receive Federally-financed unemployment compensation?"

3 months

6 months

9 months

l year

Until he gets his old job back?

26 A

In this group, I would suggest these additional questions:

"Who is best able to care for the poor?

" the Federal government?

" the State government?

" the local government?

" private charities?

" family?

"____Other?

I suggest this additional question also.

23

26 B

Do you feel the Federal government should provide cash assistance, food stamps, and other assistance to a family if their family income totals more than the official poverty level about \$100 weekly for a family of four?



26 C Can people live on that in your community?

Yes No

26 D Do you believe the Federal government should provide school lunches for children of families above the poverty level?

Yes No

26 E

In a Federal Assistance Program, do you believe in order to be fair, the same amount of Federal aid should be paid in one state as in another?

Yes No

35

To precede Question 35:

Would it not be better to first establish a person's level of fear about crime with such questions as these?:

- 1) Have you ever been a victim of a crime?
- 2) Has a relative, friend, or neighbor been a victim of a crime?
- 3) Do you believe in a neighborhood where people are concerned about crime?

42

Perhaps the first question should be:

Health costs are increasing at twice the rate of other costs. Do you think the Federal Government should take steps to control health costs before any government insurance plan should be enacted?

That would set the stage for the present question 42:

Regulatory Reform

To establish public perception about Federal interference in the lives of individuals, we might add these questions:

- a) What personal contact have you had with any agency of the Federal Government?
- b) What do you believe the Federal Government does best?
- c) How would you rate the performance of the Federal person or agency you dealt with?

Favorable Too much red tape

Too many forms

Lack of courtesy

Infringement upon private affairs

Interference with Businessmen

If you are in business, have you had a recent experience with a Federal Agency? How would you rate the person or agency you dealt with?

Do you believe Federal regulations have increased your cost of doing business?

Significantly

Quite a bit

Not too much

No inconvenience

To follow the 22 series.

Yes

Do you think the Federal Government should be required to have a balanced budget?

U.S. NATIONAL STUDY

Draft Questionnaire

October 28, 1975

1

ponession.				
	Hello, I'm from Market an international research company with headque making a study of problems and political figure and would like to have your opinions.	uart		
	 Now, I'd like you to think about you and your family's plans for the future. What are your main goals and hopes you and your family are trying to work toward and fulfill? (PROBE) 			
ā.	Do you believe this is a goal that the government should or should not help you to attain?		Should	
b.	Are the government's actions helping you or hindering you in achieving this goal, or not making any difference?		Helping	
	2. Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. Are there any groups or kinds of people which you think have too much influence and are getting more than their fair share? (PROBE)			
	a. Are there any groups which you think don't have as much influence as they deserve and are receiving less than their fair share? (PROBE) (IF RESPONDENT SAYS PEOPLE LIKE ME, ASK:) How would you describe yourself?			

3. Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. On this card (HAND CARD) are three statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the number of the statement that best says how you feel. The first group is Labor Unions.

		Too Much Influence	Just About The Right Amount of Influence	Too Little Influence	Don't Know	
a. b. c.	Labor Unions Workingmen Big Business]]]	2 2 2	3 3 3	0 0 0	
d. e. f,	Blacks Liberals Young People	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	0 0 0	
g. h. i.	Commentators	1 1 1 1	2	3 3 3	0 0 0	
j. k. 1.		1 1 e 1.	2 2 2	3 3 3	0 0 0	
m.	People like me	1	2	3	0	

1.6

Now I'm going to mention several institutions in our society and as I mention each one, I'd like you to tell me how satisfied you are with its performance - very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied, don't know. (HAND SATIFACTION CARD). (ROTATE LIST)

		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied		Very Dis- satisfied	Don't Know
1. 7.	major companies organized religion executive branch of	1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	5 5	0 0
	government organized labor Congress	1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	5 5 5	0 0 0
	State government school systems press/media	1 1	2	3 3 3	4 4 4	5 5 5	0 0 0
•	political parties Supreme court local government	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	5 5 5	0 0 0

F VERY DISSATISFIED WITH ANY OF THE ABOVE ASK: I'd like to have you look at these easons that other people have told us as to why they are dissatisfied with institutions and have you tell me which of these is the major reason why you are dissatisfied with ABOVE MENTION)

		Reason			
	A	B	<u>C</u>	D	
 major companies organized religion executive branch of government 	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	
 organized labor Congress State government]]]	222	3 3 3	4 4 4	
 school systems press/media political parties 	1 1 1	2 2 2	3 3 3	4 4 4	
. Supreme court . local government	1	2 2	3 3	4 4	
		A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A			

Reasons for dissatifaction in Q. 4:

A. Doesn't listen to people/Too big/Inpersonal

B. Doesn't meet real needs of the people/irrelevent in today's world

C. Run by selfish, dishonest people/Out for their own gain

A Anningt the susans may librate the -

the U.S. as a nation at this time? (RECORD BELOW IN SPACES PROVIDED)

a.	(FOR EACH PROBLEM IN Q. 1 ASK:) What would this problem? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH PROBLE												
	b. (FOR EACH PROBLEM IN Q. 1 ASK:) Now, what do you feel might be the role of the federal government in helping to solve this problem a major role, a minor role, or almost no role in helping to solve that problem? (RECORD BELOW FUR EACH PROBLEM)												
Q	<u>l Problem</u> <u>la. Solution</u>	<pre>1b. Federal Government Role Major role 1 Minor role 2 Almost none 3 Don't know 0</pre>											
	How much confidence do you have that President Ford can help to solve this problem a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all?	A great deal											
d.	How much confidence do you have that Congress can help to solve this problem a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all?	A great deal 1 Only some 2 Hardly any 3 Don't know 0											

5. What do you think are the two or three most important problems facing the U.S. as a nation at this time? (RECORD BELOW IN SPACES PROVIDED)

a.	(FOR EACH PROBLEM IN Q. 2 ASK:) N this problem? (RECORD BELOW FOR B	What would you like to see done about EACH PROBLEM)
b,	of the federal government in help	Now, what do you feel might be the role Ing to solve this problem a major role in helping to solve that problem?
	<u>2 Problem</u> 2	lution2b. Federal Government RoleMajor role 1 Minor role 2 Almost none 3 Don't know 0
с.	How much confidence do you have that President Ford can help to solve this problem a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all?	A great deal
d.	How much confidence do you have that Congress can help to solve this problem a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all?	A great deal

5. What do you think are the two or three most important problems facing the U.S. as a nation at this time? (RECORD BELOW IN SPACES PROVIDED)

a.	(FOR EACH PROBLEM IN Q. 3 ASK:) this problem? (RECORD BELOW FOR		11ke to	see done	about
b.	(FOR EACH PROBLEM IN Q. 3 ASK:) of the federal government in hel role, a minor role, or almost no (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH PROBLEM)	ping to solve	this probl	em a m	ajor
<u>Q.</u>	<u>3 Problem</u> <u>3a.S</u>	olution). Federal overnment	·
T per	#3		M1 A1	ijor role nor role most none on't know	
	How much confidence do you have that President Ford can help to solve this problem a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all?		A great de Only some Hardly any Don't know	* * * * *	
	How much confidence do you have that Congress can help to solve this problem a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all?		A great de Only some Hardly any Don't know	× • • • •	

6.	Overall, do you think the quality life in the United States is bett worse, or about the same as it wa a year or two ago?	ter,	Better
7.	Looking ahead, do you think the quality of life in the United States will be better, worse, or about the same a year or two from now than it is today?		Better off

8. I would like to hand you a group of cards. On each card is a problem or issue facing the country. I would like you to hand me the card with the issue that most concerns you, then hand me the card with the problem that is 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 SHUFFLE. CIRCLE NUMBER INDICATING ORDER THEY ARE HANDED BACK TO YOU -- 1,2,3, etc.)

				RAN	K ORDE	R			
Inflation/Cost of living Unemployment Crime/Drug Abuse Government spending	1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2	3 3 3 3	4 4 4	5555	6 6 6	7 7 7 7	8 8 8 8	9 9 9
Education Taxes	1	2 2	3 3	4	5 5	6	7 7	8 8	9 9
Keeping the U.S. out of war	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Energy Maintaining good relations with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
other countries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

a.	Which rising prices or costs concern you the most? (PROBE FOR MULTIPLE RESPONSES)	Food. 1 Medical. 2 Housing. 3 Clothing. 4 Rent. .5 Loans/Interest. .6 Utilities. .7 Gasoline. .8 Transportation .9 Other 1 (SPECIFY TO LEFT) Everything. .2 Don't know. .0
b.	(FOR EACH SPECIFIC PRICE/COST MENTIONE ASK:) Who or what do you think is most prices being too high?	
	WRITE AND UNDERLINE EACH PRICE/COST FOR WHO OR WHAT RESPONDENT BLAMES.	LOWED BY

						F	appe	r	SI	t	Se	90	0	n	d	T	
Yes.						•		1	0				1				
No.																	
Don'	t	k	n	0	W			0					0				

d. What? (WRITE AND UNDERLINE EACH PRICE/COST FOLLOWED BY WHAT RESPONDENT THINKS COULD BE DONE)

- e. I'm going to read you six things other people have told us have caused inflation. As I mention each one I would like you to tell me if you think it has or has not been an important cause of inflation.
- f. Which one do you think has been the most important cause? (HAND CARD)

		Has	Has Not	Don't Know	llost Important
#1	Mistakes and poor planning by the Ford administration.	1	2	0	1
#2	Overspending by the U.S. Congress.	1	2	D	2
#3	The desire on the part of big business for large profits.	1	2	0	3
#4	The power of organized labor t get unjustified wage increases		2	0	4
5	Worldwide demands for goods rising faster than the ability to meet them.	1	2	0	5
46					
#6	The increase of oil prices by Arab oil producing countries.	1	2	0	6

88.	IF GAVE UNEMPLOYMENT FIRST ASK:	
<i>#</i> 1.	Why do you think unemployment is the most important problem? (PROBE)	
#2.	Are you or your spouse currently unemployed?	Yes
a.	(IF NO ASK:) Have you or your spouse been unemployed during the past year?	Yes
b.	(IF NO ASK:) During the past year has there been any time that you felt either you or your spouse were in serious danger of being laid-off?	Yes
	 a. The rate of unemployment reduced even in prices to rise further, or b. Would you rather see prices kept from generat allowing an increase in the number 	going up even if it
	b. Would you rather see prices kept from g meant allowing an increase in the number of the number of the number	going up even if it er of unemployed? Unemployment reduced/High prices preferred 1 Lowered prices/Increased unemployment
		preferred 2 Don't know 0
10.	Thinking about our economic problems, do you think the people will have to turn more and more to the federal government for protection through price controls, or do you think government price controls seriously disrupt the economy and are not the long range answer?	Need more control
11.	Thinking about the recession we've been in the past several months, do you think the economy is now improving and will continue to improve over the next few months, or do you think things will get worse before they get better?	Will continue to improve
12.	From what you have read or heard, what has P Ford proposed to speed-up our economic recov	President very?

13.	President Ford has proposed that taxes be cut by 28 billion dollars, but that this tax cut be accompanied by cutting federal government spending by 28 billion dollars. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal?	Approve
14.	Do you agree or disagree that further tax cuts will help speed our economic recovery?	Agree
15.	From what you have read or heard, would most of the tax cuts President Ford has proposed go to individuals or to businesses?	To individuals
16.	From what you have read, seen or heard, if President Ford's proposal is passed, about how much would your taxes be cut?	\$0-50
17.	The President has said that the tax cut must be tied to an equal cut in spending. Several Democratic leaders of Congress, Including Senators Kennedy and Humphrey, have said we should cut taxes but that this cut cannot be tied to an equal cut in spending because many important programs would be endangered. Do you agree with the President or the Democratic Congressional leaders?	Agree with President1 Agree with Democratic Congressional leaders2 Don't know0
18.	Suppose Congress passed a tax cut bill but didn't cut government spending. Do you think President Ford should or should not sign the bill?	Should
19.	Who do you have the most confidence in to speed economic recovery - President Ford or Congress?	President Ford 1 Congress 2 Neither (VOLUNTEERED) 3 Don't know 0

.....

20. Suppose your total taxes for the year are \$1,000 and you were free to choose how much would go to each level of government. How much of your \$1,000 in taxes would you give to your (READ LIST - ROTATE ITEMS)

	Amount of taxes	Level of Government
Local government		1
State government		2
Federal government		3
Don't know		0

(WHEN RESPONDENT MENTIONS FIRST AMOUNT OF TAXES (e.g. \$600) SUBTRACT IT FROM THE \$1,000 TOTAL AND GIVE RESPONDENT THE BALANCE FIGURE (e.g. \$400) BEFORE ASKING NEXT LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT)

21. Most people think government spending should be cut. In what areas do you think government spending should be cut?

22. Here's a list of the major areas where the federal government spends money and of each \$1,000 in tax money, how much is being spent in each area. If you had to cut \$100 from this list, how much would you cut in each area? (HAND CARD - WRITE AMOUNTS BELOW)

Social Security		
Aid to dependent		
Children Anti-crime programs		
Hot lunch program		
Environment		
protection		

each - excellent, good, poor, very poor, or so-so?

#1. Providing the children in your area with good quality education.

JOB BEING DONE IS ---



PUTTO

IN I CYATA LU

program is poorly done?

	ARE 1	ARE NOT 2 GO TO # 2	DON'T KNOW GO TO # 2
e.	Do you think the federal government should or should not provide money to help improve this service/ program for people in other parts of the country?	Should not	· · · · · · · · · 1 · · · · · · · · · 2 · · · · · · · · 0
4.	Would you be willing or not willin to have a moderate increase in you federal income tax if the addition money was all used to improve this program/service for people in other parts of the country?	al Don't know,	

c. revealing adequate portice protection in your city or town.

JOB BEING DONE IS ---



parts of the country?

6

#3. Maintaining a strong national defense.

JOB BEING DONE IS ---


#4. Helping poor people in the country get adequate food and housing.

JOB BEING DONE IS ---





#5. Reducing the air and water pollution in your city or town.

JOB BEING DONE IS ---



#6. Upgrading your local streets and keeping them in good condition.

JOB BEING DONE IS ---



parts of the country?

program/service for people in other

23.	Do you think government assistance to the poor should be in the form of direct cash payments or in the form of specified goods and services offered at a lower price?	Cash payments 1 Specific goods/Services . 2 Don't know 0
24.	Currently, people continue to receive unemployment compensation until they find a job like the one they held previously. If after 60 days, they have not found a similar job, do you think they should or should not be required to take any job that is available?	Should
25.	Suppose prices are rising faster than wages and salaries. Should people on social security receive an increase to keep-up with rising prices or a smaller increase so they advance no faster than employed people?	Keep up with inflation1 Samller increase2 Don't know0
26.	Thinking about your own community, at what income level on this card do you think a family of 4 would need some government financial assistance to get along? (HAND CARD)	\$0-3,000
27.	Do you think the federal government should or should not help New York City out of its current financial difficulties?	Should

mention each one please tell me whether you would be willing or unwilling to have your taxes raised slightly if the money were used for each area.(ROTATE)

		Willing	Unwilling	Don't know
l.).	Increased aid to the elderly Increased aid to education Improved national defense	1 1 1	2 2 2	0 0 0
· · · ·	federal health insurance Increased aid to local police Increased aid to underdeveloped countries	1 1	2 2 2	0 0 0
29.	Do you think the energy crisis honestly a very serious problem that its seriousness has been o stated by politicans and oil co	or ver-	proble Energy overs	crisis serious em
30	Would you be willing or not wi to pay more for gas and oil if helped the United States achie energy independence?	lift:	Not willi It depend	ng
a	. Would you be willing or not wi to pay ten cents more a gallon gas and oil if it helped the U States achieve energy independ	for Inited	Willing . Not willi Don't kno	ng
31.	Which of the following factors you the most about the energy p (READ LIST ON SIDE)		short ——High p ——Depend count	ility of ages rices ence on foreign ries know
a.	Why do you say that? (PROBE)			

do you think President Ford's plan is to help solve the energy problem?

-	The second start and the second secon	Agree	
1.1.4	controls on the price of crude oil and	Disagree	
	natural gas over a period of several months, and while this would raise prices slightly in the short term, it would provide incen- tives to develop new sources of energy and therefore hold prices down in the long run and make us independent of foreign sources. Do you agree or disagree with this proposal?	Don't know 0	
	bo you agree of arsagice with this proposition	and the second	

34. Do you feel it is worth it or not to eliminate all health risks from smog and pollution if it means: (READ LIST)

	Worth It	Not Worth It	Don't Know
a. Autos will cost \$300 more	1	2	0
b. Electric bills will go up 10%	1	2	0

35. Some people think that the best way to cut down crime is to have stricter law enforcement and to have mandatory sentences for those convicted of crime, while others think the emphasis should primarily be on eliminating poverty and other conditions that cause crime and work on rehabilitating criminals.



	crime rate. As I mention each one tell help solve the problem. (ROTATE ITEMS)		think it would	
		Would	Would not	Don't know
a.	Improve our prisons and rehabilitation	1	2	0
b. c.	Increase number of policemen Sentence people convicted of crimes	1	2	0
	to longer jail terms	1	2	0
d. e.	Ban hand guns Mandatory prison terms with no	1	2	0
	paroles for all crimes	1	2	0
f.	Reinstitute capital punishment for serious crimes	1	2	0
g.	Improve neighborhood youth programs	1	2	0

37. Some people think that we should try to relax tensions and reach as many cooperative agreements with the Soviet Union as possible, Others think we should treat the Soviet Union as an enemy and not enter into any cooperative agreements until they change their form of government.

Form Do Not Agreements Form Agreements 3 4 6 Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you a. thought much about this? 0.... Don't know 8 . . . Haven't you thought about it (GO TO Q.34) (Where would you place) Congress? b. 0 Don't know c. (Where would you place) the Ford Administration? 0.... Don't know Do you think the U.S. should or Should . . 38. Should not should not give diplomatic ,2 . Don't know . . recognition to Cuba? .0 .

39.	Do you think it is or is not important for the United States to keep its military strength equal to that of the Soviet Union and China?	Is
a.	If the Soviet Union developed more powerful weapons, some people think it would be necessary for us to develop more powerful weapons of our own while others think this would be a waste of money as we already have the capability of destroying any nation many times over. Which opinion is closest to your own - that it would or would not be necessary to develop more powerful weapons to keep up with the Soviet Union?	Develop new weapons 1 Would be silly
	Suppose our best military experts said we needed to significantly upgrade our weapons or else we would be seriously vulnerable to an attack. Some people think Congress should give them the money immediately while others think Congress should take the time to inves- tigate the request thoroughly because military men often exaggerate what they need. Which opinion is closest to your own?	Give immediately
c.	Do you think there is or is not a significant amount of waste in our present defense spending?	Is

A. YORD



- 41. Some people think that we should increase the amount of grain we sell to foreign countries to help prevent starvation. Other people think that we should eliminate selling American grain to foreign countries in order to make sure we have enough here and to hold down prices. Increase Amount Eliminate Amount of Grain We Sell Of Grain Sold' 2 3 4 5 6 Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you a. thought much about this? 0 Don't know 8 Haven't thought about it (GO TO Q. b. (Where would you place) Congress? 0.... Don't know c. (Where would you place) the Ford Administration?
 - 0.... Don't know

42. There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross.

Government Private Insurance Plan Insurance Plans 2 3 5 6 4 (INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN NUMBER) Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you a. thought much about this? 0.... Don't know 8 Haven't thought about (GO TO Q, C) b. (Where would you place) President Ford? 0.... Don't know c. (Where would you place) Congress? O, , , , , Don't know 1

#1	Do you think a government health insurance plan should cover all citizens for all medical care or that it should cover only those who can't afford private health insurance and have catastrophic illnesses?	Cover all citizens for all medical care 1 Only those who can't afford private and have catastrophic illness 2 Don't know 0
#2	If a government health insurance plan was enacted, do you think it should be paid for by increasing taxes or by individuals pay- ing insurance premiums to the government to cover the cost of the program?	Increase taxes
43.	Generally, do you believe you would receive better health care under a private health insurance plan, a government plan, or that it wouldn't make any difference?	Better under private plan

44. President Ford has been President for slightly over a year now. What things do you think President Ford is trying to accomplish with his Presidency?

	way Gerald Ford is handling his job as President?	Disapprove
a.	How strongly do you approve of the way Gerald Ford is handling his job as President - very strongly,fairly strongly, or not too strongly?	a. How strongly do you disapprove of the way Gerald Ford is handling his job as President - very strongly, fairly strongly, or not too strongly?
	Very strongly	Very strongly
b.	Why do you approve? (PROBE)	b. Why do you disapprove? (PROBE)
с.	(IF ANSWER IS "Doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?	c. (IF ANSWER IS "Not doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?

46. Now, I'd like you to think about Gerald Ford for a moment not as President, but as a person. What 2 or 3 words do you think best describe him?

47. Is there anything President Ford had done that has particularly impressed you since he became President?

48. Is there anything President Ford has done that has particularly disappointed you since he became President? extremely well, very well, fairly well, not very well, or not at all well. (ROTATE ITEMS)

		Extremely Well	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not at all Well	Don't Know
(Concerned for the average person.	1	2	3	4	5	0
[Does the right thing	. 1	2	3	4	5	0
0	ets results.	1	2	3	4	5	0
0.	How much do you fe Gerald Ford and wh a great deal, a mo little?	nat he stand	ds for -	A mod ery Very	lerate amo little.	ount	.2
51.	Do you approve or Betty Ford is hand Lady?	disapprove lling her jo	of the wa b as Firs	t Disap	prove	· · · · · · ·	2

52. I would like to read you several names and I would like you to tell me if you are aware or not aware of each one. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him favorable or unfavorable, and how much do you feel you know about him and what he stands for - a great deal, a moderate amount, or very little?

		Aware	Not Aware	Favor- able	Unfav- able	Don't <u>Know</u>	A Great Deal	A Moderate Amount	Very Little	Don't Know
b. Mor	und Musk ie	N	1	2	3	0	4	5	6	0
	ris Udall	N	1	2	3	0	4	5	6	0
	Kennedy	N	1	2	3	0	4	5	6	0
e. Hub	rge Wallace	N]	2	3	0	4	5	6	0
	ert H. Hump hrey	N]	2	3	0	4	5	6	0
	op Jackson	N]	2	3	0	4	5	6	0
	ald Reagan ch Bayh	N N	1	2 2	3 3	0 0	4 4	5 5	6 6	0 0

Ford personally, what two or three things would you like to ask him to do? (PROBE)

54. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

1	1	1	1	1	1	/
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Liberal	Liberal	Slightly Liberal	Moderate, Middle of the Road.	Slightly Conservative	Conservative	Extremely Conservative
(INTER	VIEWER RECC	RD NUMBER)	-	ā.	on this scal	you place yoursel le, or haven't you about this?
				• •	Haven't thou Don't know.	ight much8
**			_	b.	(Where would Congress?	d you place)
		é			Don't know.	1
			-	C.	(Where would Ford Admini	d you place) the stration?
					Don't know.	1

56. Now I'm going to hand you a sample ballot for next year's Presidential election. I would like you to mark it just as you would if the election were being held today and the people listed on the ballot were the candidates.

Please put it in the envelope, do not seal, but hold.

- 57. Now, to find out how strongly you feel about this election, I would like you to fill out this sample ballot. Please mark the box next to the description that best represents how you feel as of today. (HAND INTENSITY BALLOT)
- 58. Now I'm going to hand you another sample ballot for next year's Presidential election, and ask that you mark it just as you would if the election were being held today and the people listed on the ballot were the candidates.

Please put it in the envelope also.

59. I am going to read you a series of statements that other people have mentioned to us and as I read each one please tell me if you strongly agree with it, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree with it.

			rongly ree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
	a.	We always seem to have economic pro- blems with Repub- lican Presidents.	1	2	3	4	5	0
	b.	Pres. Ford deserves a full term of his own.	1	2	3	4	5	0
	с.	Pres. Ford is an honest man but not smart enough to be president.	1	2	3	4	5	0
mbruite	d.	We'd be better off with a president that has never had any- thing to do with the government in Washing	-,	2	3	4	5	0
	e.	ton before. Pres. Ford would have accomplished more if he'd had a better Congress to work with.	1	2	3	4	5	0
	f.	Pres. Ford always seems to be against things but never for anything.	1	2	3	4	5	0

60.		Definitely vote(GO TO a)1 Probably vote(GO TO a)2
		-May or may not (GO TO a)3
	Reagan, would you definitely vote in that Primary, probably vote, may or may not	Probably not vote
	vote, probably not vote or definitely not vote in the Republican Primary?	Don't know 0

a. I'm going to hand you a sample ballot for the Republican Presidential Primary election and ask you to mark it just as you would if the primary were being held today.

Please put it in the envelope.

b. Again, to find out how strongly you feel about the primary race, I would like you to fill out this sample ballot. Please mark the box next to the description that best represents how you feel as of today. (HAND INTENSITY BALLOT)

Ι.	Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a <u>Republican</u> , a <u>Democrat</u> , an <u>Independent</u> , or what?	Republican
II.	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?	a. Straight Democrat 1 b. Mostly Democrat 2 c. A few more Democrats than Republicans
III.	Thinking about all elections, including school, local, and primary elections, how many of them have you voted in over the past few years all of them, most of them, about half of them, less than half of them, none of them?	All of them
IV.	What is your occupation?	
	a. (IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLI What is the occupation of the head of household?	
L		S. FOR

	Prease took at this card (HAND AGE CARD) and tell me the letter of the age group which represents your approximate age?	a. 17-20 years. 1 b. 21-24 years. 2 c. 25-29 years. 3 d. 30-34 years. 4 e. 35-39 years. 5 f. 40-44 years. 6 g. 45-49 years. 7 h. 50-54 years. 8 i. 55*59 years. 9 j. 60-64 years. 1 k. 65 and over. 2 l. Refused. 0
VI.	What is the last grade of school you completed?	Grade school or less (Grade 1-8)1 Some high school2 Graduated high school (Grade 9-12)3 Vocational/Technical School4 Some college5 Graduated college6 Post graduate work7 Refused0
VII	 In addition to being an American, what do you consider your main ethnic or nationality group to be? 	British/English 1 Irish
	·	Other9 (specify) Don't know0
VIII	I. Are you or is any member of your family a member of a labor union?	Respondent. 1 Other member. 2 Both. 3 No one. 4 Don't know. 0

IX. In which state or states were you brought up as a child? (WRITE STATE BELOW)

Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else?	Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.)2 Jewish
	Other4(Specify)Agnostic/Atheist.5Don't know.8Refused.9None.0
XI . Are you a home-owner or do you rent?	Home-owner
XII . Please look at this card (HAND INCOME CARD) and tell me the letter of income group that includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1975 before taxes?	a. \$0-\$2,9991 b. \$3,000-\$4,9992 c. \$5,000-\$5,9993 d. \$6,000-\$6,9994 e. \$7,000-\$6,9995 f. \$10,000-\$14,9996 g. \$15,000-\$24,9997 h. \$25,000 and over8 i. Refused0
XIII (BY OBSERVATION) Race:	White
IVX. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex:	Male

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

FILL OUT AFTER COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW

NAME:		TELEPHONE NUMBER:	
ADDRESS:		COUNTY:	
CITY:		STATE:	
Length of Interview:	Time Ended:	Date of	2W:

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:

INTERVIEWER, PLEASE READ AND SIGN.

I have reread this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring answers have been recorded in the respondent's exact words, and that all boxes and spaces requiring an "X", a number, or a letter are filled in. This bona fide interview has been obtained according to quota and all interviewing specifications. I agree to keep the content of questions, respondent's answers, and the subject of this interview confidential.

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE:

SUPERVISOR'S NAME:

DATE:

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.

Let's take the active/passive 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 person is very active, choose one of the spaces towards the word active, and mark the space with an X: If you feel the person is neither active or passive. make the middle box X. Use the passive spaces in the same way.

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

Now, let's start with Gerald Ford as the example. Rate him on this scale. . .

GERALD FORD

Active : Passive

GERALD FORD

÷ ...

lligent	:	:	• •	*	:	* *	Unintelligent
1		8 9	*	• • •	* 0	5	Timid
ionest	6 9	5 9	8	* 5	:		Honest
sive	• •	*	•	*	:	*	Indecisive
3	*		5	6 . 0		*	Dangerous
of Touch	• •	8 8	8	*		*	In Touch
t.			8 0	•		:	Unjust
ifferent	•		:	*		:	Concerned
l lightforward		*	:	*	1 1	*	-Evasive
cere		:	:		*		Insincere
petent	: .	:	:	:	:		Incompetent
rustworthy	:	:	:	:			Trustworthy
ong	•		•		9 9		Weak

FORD LIBRAR

HUBERT HUMPHREY

elligent		ě •		*	* *	*	Ünintelligent
d ·	*	:	*	*			Timid
honest	:	*	:		* 8	*	Honest
isive	\$ 0	6 9	6 9	0 9	0 0	8 8	Indecisive
е	<u>,</u>	:	5 0	* 0		0 0	Dangerous
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ifferent		8 0	•		*	*	Concerned
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petent	:	*	* 0	*	8	*	Incompetent
rustworthy	*	* *		:		0 7	Trustworthy
ong		:		*	: ,	*	Weak

- -----

BALA

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(Check One)

REPUBLICAN

Gerald Ford

DEMOCRAT

Hubert H. Humphrey

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Check one)

IF VOTED FOR GERALD FORD

Will definitely vote for Gerald Ford Will probably vote for Gerald Ford Am leaning toward Gerald Ford Am undecided about voting

.

IF VOTED FOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Will definitely vote for Hubert Humphrey Will probably vote for Hubert Humphrey Am leaning toward Hubert Humphrey Am undecided about voting

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(Check One)

EPUBLICAN

erald Ford

DEMOCRAT

Hubert H. Humphrey

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT

George C. Wallace

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTION

(CHECK ONE BOX)

Gerald Ford

I

Ronald Reagan

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY (CHECK ONE BOX)

IF VOTED FOR GERALD FORD

WILL DEFINITELY VOTE FOR GERALD FORD WILL PROBABLY VOTE FOR GERALD FORD AM LEANING TOWARD GERALD FORD AM UNDECIDED ABOUT VOTING

Γ	

IF VOTED FOR RONALD REAGAN

WILL DEFINITELY VOTE FOR RONALD REAGAN WILL PROBABLY VOTE FOR RONALD REAGAN AM LEANING TOWARD RONALD REAGAN AM UNDECIDED ABOUT VOTING

Sugal

"The President instead of Executive Branch of Government".

8F 4 It seems to me that "unjustified" loads the question. Wouldn't it be better to say Get wage increases that exceed the cost of living?"

THAT FURST

4C

This question talks only about money. It 22 A 1 seems to me this tick of question should be asked:

Do 100 45 feel their children are not getting a proper education? you should ack:

2. 76 NOT, TO

What do you attribute the low caliber of education?

Frast

1. The power

horgenial

- Quality of teachers
 - 27 Minorities
- 5) Lack of discipline
- c. () Racial problems in The school
- a 5) Not enough money
- C () Other

The question is too narrowly focused on money. A FIRST QUESTION IN THE GROUP MIDING ISE -22 A 2 "Would you attribute the inadequacy of the police protection to:

- Lack of discipline (1)
- (2) Lack of training
- (3) Poor pay
- 94) Other

23

We would get a poor reading from this question as stated. Why not restate it this way:

"Do you think Government assistance to the poor should be in the form of direct cash payments, or in the form of coupons such as food stamps and other assistance such as payments of medical services? "

FREE MEALS CAND

2	A .	7
4	4	A

26 A

I would suggest an additional question:

" How long do you think a person who has lost his job should receive, unemployment compensation?

_ 3 months Febrally-financed
6 months
9 months
l year
Until he gets his old job back?
I would suggest this additional questions ;
"Who is best able to care for the poor?
Cr the Federal government?

the State government?

the local government?

private charities?

family 7

Other " ?

Yes

I suggest this additional question also.

26 B

Do you feel the Federal government should provide cash assistance, food stamps, and other assistance if their incoment total more than the official poverty level - about \$100 weekly for a family of four?

26 C Can people live on that in your community?

No

26-Be

In a Federal Assistance Program, do you believe in order to be fair, the same amount of Federal aid should be paid in one State as in another?

f26 d Do you bulieve The Federal goverment should provide school lumbe. ou children of fourities about the pourty level?

FAMILY

To preceed Question 35:

Would it not be better to first establish a person's level of fear about crime with such questions as these?:

- 1) Have you ever been a vicim of a crime?
- 2) Has a relative, friend, or neighbor been a victim of a crime?
- 3) Do you live in a neighborhood where people people are concerned about crime?

Perhaps the first question should be:

Health cost are increasing at twice the rate of other costs. Do you think the Federal Government should take steps to control health costs before any government insurance plan should be enacted?

That would set the stage for the present question 42:

Regulatory Reform

To establish public perception about Federal interference in the lives of individuals, we might add these questions:

- a) What personal contact have you had with any agency of the Federal Government?
- b) What do you believe the Federal Government does best?
- c) How would you rate the performance of the Federal person or agency you dealt with?

Favorable Too much red tape

Too many forms

Lack of courtesy

Infringement upon private affairs

35

42

-1

C

21

INTERFERENCE WITH BUSINESSMEN

If you are in business have you had a recent experience with a Federal Agency? How would you rate the person or agency you dealt with?

Do you believe Federal regulations have increased your cost of doing business?

Significantly

Quite a bit

Not too much

No inconvenience

TO FOLLOW THE 22 SERIES.

Do you think the Federal Government should be required to have a balanced budget?

- 4 C I suggest "The President" instead of "Executive Branch of Government".
- 8F 4 It seems to me that "unjustified" loads the question. Wouldn't it be better to say "The power of organized labor to get wage increases that exceed the cost of living?".
- 22 A 1 This question talks only about money. It seems to me that first this question should be asked:
 - Do you as parents feel your children are getting a proper education?
 - 2. If not, to what do you attribute the low caliber of education?
 - a) Quality of teachers
 - b) Lack of discipline
 - c) Racial problems in the school
 - d) Not enough money
 - e) Other
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- "3) Poor pay
- "4) Other .

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9 months

l year

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" the State government?

" the local government?

" private charities?

" family?

" Other?

I suggest this additional question also.

23

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Do you feel the Federal government should provide cash assistance, food stamps, and other assistance to a family if their family income totals more than the official poverty level about \$100 weekly for a family of four?

___Yes ___No

26 C Can people live on that in your community?

___Yes ___No

26 D Do you believe the Federal government should provide school lunches for children of families above the poverty level?

Yes No

26 E

In a Federal Assistance Program, do you believe in order to be fair, the same amount of Federal aid should be paid in one state as in another?

_Yes __No

35

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