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November 12, 1975

TO: JIM CANNON

FROM: JERRY H. JONES

U.S. NATIONAL STUDY

Draft Questionnaire

November 10, 1975

Hello, I'm _____ from Market Opinion Research Company, an international research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in the United States and would like to have your opinions.

1. 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)

| | |
|--|--|
| a. Do you believe this is a goal that the government should or should not help you to attain? | Should.1 Should not.2 Don't know.0 |
| b. Are the government's actions helping you or hindering you in achieving this goal, or not making any difference? | Helping1 Hindering2 No difference3 Don't know.0 |

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)

-
3. 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?

4. 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 _____. (ROTATE ITEMS)

| | <u>Too Much Influence</u> | <u>Just About The Right Amount of Influence</u> | <u>Too Little Influence</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Labor Unions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| b. Workingmen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| c. Businessmen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| d. Blacks | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| e. Liberals | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| f. Young People | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| g. Women | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| h. Television Commentators | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| i. Republicans | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| j. People on Welfare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| k. Democrats | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| l. Middle-class People | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| m. People like me | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |

5. 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 SATISFACTION CARD). (ROTATE LIST)

| | <u>Very Satisfied</u> | <u>Satisfied</u> | <u>Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied</u> | <u>Dis- satisfied</u> | <u>Very Dis- satisfied</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. major companies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| b. organized religion | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| c. the President | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| d. organized labor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| e. Congress | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| f. State government | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| g. school systems | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| h. press/media | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| i. political parties | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| j. Supreme court | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| k. local government | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |

6. 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. 1 ASK:) What would you like to see done about this problem? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH PROBLEM)

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 FOR EACH PROBLEM)

Q. 1 Problem

1a. Solution

1b. Federal
Government Role

#1

Major role 1
Minor role 2
Almost none 3
Don't know 0

c. 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 1
Only some 2
Hardly any 3
Don't know 0

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

6. 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:) What would you like to see done about this problem? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH PROBLEM)

b. (FOR EACH PROBLEM IN Q. 2 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 FOR EACH PROBLEM)

| <u>Q. 2 Problem</u> | <u>2a. Solution</u> | <u>2b. Federal Government Role</u> |
|---|---------------------|---|
| #2 | | Major role 1 Minor role 2 Almost none 3 Don't know 0 |
| c. 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 1 Only some 2 Hardly any 3 Don't know 0 |
| 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 |

6. 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. 1 ASK:) What would you like to see done about this problem? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH PROBLEM)

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 FOR EACH PROBLEM)

| <u>Q. 1 Problem</u> | <u>1a. Solution</u> | <u>1b. Federal Government Role</u> |
|---|---------------------|---|
| #1 | | Major role 1 Minor role 2 Almost none 3 Don't know 0 |
| c. 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 1 Only some 2 Hardly any 3 Don't know 0 |
| 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 |

7. Overall, do you think the quality of life in the United States is better, worse, or about the same as it was a year or two ago?

Better 1
Worse 2
About the same 3
Don't know 0

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.)

| | RANK ORDER | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Inflation/Cost of living | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Unemployment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Crime/Drug Abuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Government spending | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Keeping the U.S. out of war | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Energy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Maintaining good relations with other countries | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Government getting too big | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

8A IF GAVE INFLATION FIRST ASK:

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 MENTIONED ABOVE, ASK:) Who or what do you think is most to blame for _____ prices being too high? (ASK AS OPEN-END)

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------|---|
| Issue Name | Unions | 1 |
| | Federal gov't. | 2 |
| | The President | 3 |
| | Business | 4 |
| | Congress | 5 |
| | Other _____ | 6 |
| | (SPECIFY) (TAB) | |

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------|---|
| Issue Name | Unions | 1 |
| | Federal gov't. | 2 |
| | The President | 3 |
| | Business | 4 |
| | Congress | 5 |
| | Other _____ | 6 |
| | (SPECIFY) (TAB) | |

c. (FOR EACH SPECIFIC PRICE/COST MENTIONED IN b, ASK:) Do you think there is anything the federal government could do that could help hold down _____ prices?

| | <u>First</u> | <u>Second</u> | <u>Third</u> |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| Yes | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know .0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

d. What? (WRITE AND UNDERLINE EACH PRICE/COST FOLLOWED BY WHO OR 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)

| | | <u>Has</u> | <u>Has Not</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> | <u>Most Important</u> |
|----|--|------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| #1 | Mistakes and poor planning by the Ford administration. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| #2 | Overspending by the U.S. Congress. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| #3 | The desire on the part of big business for large profits. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| #4 | The power of organized labor to get unreasonable wage increases. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| #5 | Worldwide demands for goods rising faster than the ability to meet them. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| #6 | The increase of oil prices by Arab oil producing countries. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| #7 | Careless spending by people for unnecessary items. | 1 | 2 | 0 | 7 |

8B. IF GAVE UNEMPLOYMENT FIRST ASK:

| | |
|--|---|
| #1. Why do you think unemployment is the most important problem? (PROBE) | |
| #2. Are you or your spouse currently unemployed? | Yes.1 No(GO TO a). . . .2 ↓ |
| a. (IF NO ASK:) Have you or your spouse been unemployed during the past year? | Yes.1 No(GO TO b). . . .2 ↓ |
| 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.1 No2 |

9. If you had to choose, would you rather see . . .

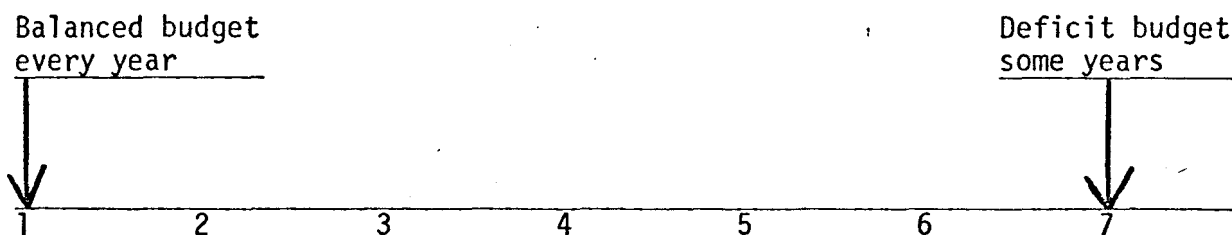
- a. The rate of unemployment reduced even if it meant allowing prices to rise further, or . . .
- b. Would you rather see prices kept from going up even if it meant allowing an increase in the number of unemployed?

c. *slow reduction in unemployment*
 SLOWER REDUCTION IN UNEMPLOYMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment reduced/High prices preferred . . . | 1 |
| Lowered prices/Increased unemployment preferred . . . | 2 |
| Don't know . . . | 0 |

| | |
|--|---|
| 10. 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.1 Will get worse before better.2 Don't know0 |
|--|---|

11. Some people say that the federal government should be required to operate on a balanced budget every year. Others say that the government should be able to borrow and operate at a deficit in some years.



- ____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
- 0 Don't know 8 Haven't thought about it
(GO TO Q. 12)
- ____ b. (Where would you place) Congress?
- 0 Don't know
- ____ c. (Where would you place) President Ford?
- 0 Don't know
-

12. From what you have read or heard, what has President Ford proposed to speed-up our economic recovery?
-

| | |
|--|---|
| 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.1 Disapprove2 Don't know0 |
|--|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| 14. From what you have read or heard, would most of the tax cuts President Ford has proposed go to individuals or to businesses? | To individuals1 To businesses.2 Don't know0 |
|--|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| 15. From what you have read, seen or heard, if President Ford's proposal is passed, about how much would your taxes be cut? | \$0-50.1 \$50-100.2 \$100-2503 \$250-5004 \$500-1,0005 Don't know0 |
|---|---|

| | |
|--|--|
| 16. President Ford 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 leaders. . .2 Don't know0 |
|--|--|

| | |
|--|--|
| 17. 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.1 Should not.2 Don't know.0 |
|--|--|

18. Most people we have talked to think government spending should be cut. In what areas do you think government spending should be cut?

19. 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 and from where would you cut to get the \$100? (HAND CARD - WRITE AMOUNTS BELOW)

National defense (\$315) _____

Space program (\$20) _____

Aid to veterans (\$20) _____

Transportation (\$20) _____

Subsidy to farmers (\$10) _____

Health care (\$80) _____

Unemployment/Social
Security (\$390) _____

Aid to education (\$25) _____

Foreign aid (\$20) _____

Law enforcement (\$10) _____

Environment Protection (\$30) _____

Job training (\$20) _____

Revenue sharing (\$20) _____

Housing/Community
Development (\$20) _____

} ?

0. Now, I'd like to mention several areas the government is involved in and as I mention each one, I'd like you to rate how good a job you think is being done in that area - very good, fairly good, or not very good?

a. Now, I'd like to go through this list once more and tell me if you would be willing or not willing to have your taxes raised slightly if the money were used for each area?

| | | | | | ASK 20a | | |
|--|------|-------------|---------------|------------|---------|-------------|------------|
| | | | | | Willing | Not Willing | Don't Know |
| | Good | Fairly Good | Not Very Good | Don't Know | | | |
| a. Reducing air and water pollution | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| b. Providing quality education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| c. Providing adequate police protection | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| d. Maintain a strong national defense | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| e. Helping poor people get adequate food and housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| f. Providing economic and military aid to our allies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| g. Providing adequate health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| h. Providing needed assistance for the elderly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| i. Improve transportation systems | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |

21. Now I'd like to mention a few of these problems and have you tell me whether you think the federal government, your state government, your local government, or a private group in your area should have the major role in solving the problem. (ROTATE ITEMS)

| | <u>Federal gov't.</u> | <u>State gov't</u> | <u>Local gov't</u> | <u>Don't know</u> |
|--|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Providing better housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| b. Providing health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| c. Improving transportation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| d. Providing quality education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| e. Help poor people get adequate food and housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| f. Providing needed assistance for the elderly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |

22. Do you think that the federal tax money that is returned to local governments should be in the form of grants for special projects and programs, or that it should be returned as revenue sharing money for the local government to decide how to spend?
- Should be grants for special programs 1
Should be returned as revenue sharing for local gov't to decide 2
Don't know 0

23. Do you think that the revenue sharing money your local government has received during the past few years has or has not helped to keep your property taxes down?
- Has 1
Has not 2
Don't know 0

24. Do you think government assistance to the poor should be in the form of direct cash payments or special programs such as food stamps, free hot lunches, payments for medical services?
- Direct cash payments 1
Special programs 2
Don't know 0

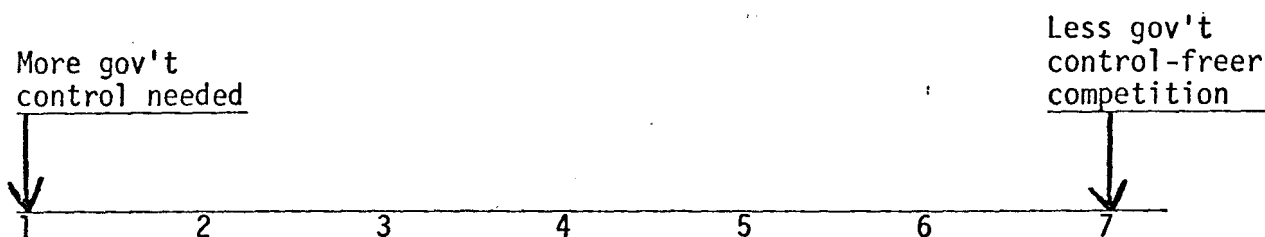
25. Currently, people continue to receive unemployment compensation until they find a job like the one they held previously. If after 60 days, they have not found a similar job, do you think they should or should not be required to take any job that is available?
- Should 1
Should not 2
Don't know 0

*up to 65 who
anyway
quarter*



| | | | |
|-----|--|--|----|
| 26. | How long do you think a person who has lost his/her job should receive federally financed unemployment compensation - 3 months, 6 months, 9 months, 1 year, or until he/she gets a job? | 3 months. | .1 |
| | | 6 months. | .2 |
| | | 9 months. | .3 |
| | | 1 year. | .4 |
| | | Until gets job. | .5 |
| | | Don't know. | .0 |
| 27. | 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 at the same rate as employed people? | Keep up with inflation. | .1 |
| | | Smaller increase. | .2 |
| | | Don't know. | .0 |
| 28. | Thinking about your own community, at what income level on this card do you think a family of 4 would need some government assistance to get along? (HAND CARD) | \$0-3,000 (\$250 a month). | 1 |
| | | \$4,000. .(\$333 a month). | 2 |
| | | \$5,000. .(\$415 a month). | 3 |
| | | \$6,000. .(\$500 a month). | 4 |
| | | \$7,000. .(\$583 a month). | 5 |
| | | \$8,000. .(\$666 a month). | 6 |
| | | \$9,000. .(\$750 a month). | 7 |
| | | \$10,000 .(\$833 a month). | 8 |
| | | Over \$11,000 (\$916 a month). | 9 |
| | | Don't know. | 0 |
| 29. | Do you think the federal government should or should not provide cash assistance, food stamps, and other assistance to a family if their income totals more than the official poverty level - about \$100 weekly for a family of four? | Should. | .1 |
| | | Should not. | .2 |
| | | Don't know. | .0 |
| 30. | Do you believe the federal government should or should not provide school lunches for children of families above the official poverty level? | Should. | .1 |
| | | Should not. | .2 |
| | | Don't know. | .0 |
| 31. | Do you think the federal government should or should not help New York City out of its current financial difficulties? | Should. | .1 |
| | | Should not. | .2 |
| | | Don't know. | .0 |

32. Thinking about our economic system again, some people have told us that they think we need more government control of business to protect the consumer. Others think that too much government control is part of the problem and that less government control and freer competition would benefit the consumer.



- _____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
0. Don't know 8. Haven't thought about it
(GO TO Q. 33)
- _____ b. (Where would you place) Congress?
0. Don't know
- _____ c. (Where would you place) President Ford?
0. Don't know

33. Do you think the energy crisis is honestly a very serious problem or that its seriousness has been overstated by politicians and oil companies?

Energy crisis serious problem. 1
Energy crisis overstated 2
Don't know. 0

34. Which of the following factors concern you the most about the energy problem?
(READ LIST ON SIDE)

Possibility of shortages. 1
High prices 2
Dependence on foreign countries. 3
Don't know. 0

35. From what you have read, seen or heard, what do you think President Ford's plan is to help solve the energy problem?

36. Would you be willing or not willing to pay more for gas and oil if it helped the United States achieve energy independence?

Willing 1
 Not willing 2
 It depends (VOLUNTEERED) .3
 Don't know 0

a. Would you be willing or not willing to pay ten cents more a gallon for gas and oil if it helped the United States achieve energy independence?

Willing 1
 Not willing 2
 Don't know 0

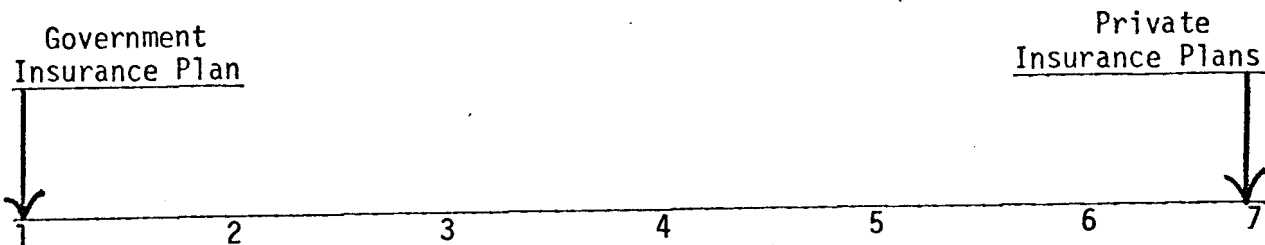
37. President Ford has proposed that we remove controls on the price of crude oil and natural gas over a period of several months, and while this would raise prices slightly in the short term, it would provide incentives to develop new sources of energy and therefore hold prices down in the long run and make us independent of foreign sources. Do you agree or disagree with this proposal?

Agree. 1
 Disagree 2
 Don't know 0

38. There are trade-offs between eliminating pollution and higher costs. I'd like to mention several increased costs and have you tell me if you'd be willing or not willing to pay these increased costs if it would reduce pollution.

| | <u>Willing</u> | <u>Not Willing</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|---|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Have average price of new cars go up \$300 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| b. Increase in your electric bill of 20% | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| c. (Increase in your electric bill) of 50% | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| d. (Increase in your electric bill) of 100% | 1 | 2 | 0 |

39. 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.



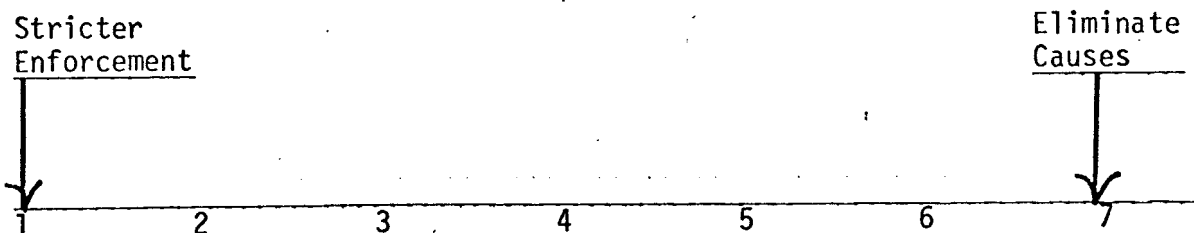
(INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN NUMBER)

- _____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you 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?
- 0 Don't know

IF FAVOR GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN IN Q. 39 ASK:

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>#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?</p> | <p>Cover all citizens for all medical care.1 Only those who can't afford private and have catastrophic illness.2 Don't know.0</p> |
| <p>#2 If a government health insurance plan was enacted, do you think it should be paid for by increasing taxes or by individuals paying insurance premiums to the government to cover the cost of the program?</p> | <p>Increase taxes.1 Individuals pay premiums2 Don't know.0</p> |
| <p>40. 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?</p> | <p>Better under private plan.1 Government plan.2 No difference.3 Don't know0</p> |

41. 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.



- _____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you 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

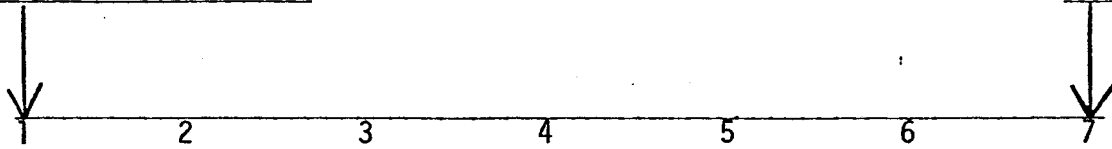
42. Now I'd like to mention several things people have proposed to help cut the crime rate. As I mention each one tell me if you think it would or would not help solve the problem. (ROTATE ITEMS)

| | <u>Would</u> | <u>Would not</u> | <u>Don't know</u> |
|---|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
| a. Improve our prisons and rehabilitation | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| b. Increase number of policemen | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| c. Sentence people convicted of crimes to longer jail terms | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| d. Ban hand guns | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| e. Mandatory prison terms with no 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 |

43. Some people think that as the most powerful nation in the world, the United States has a responsibility to be involved as a world leader and help other countries where possible. Others think that we should only be involved in foreign affairs when the interests of the United States are directly involved.

U.S. has responsibility
to help other countries

U.S. involved
only when interests
are involved



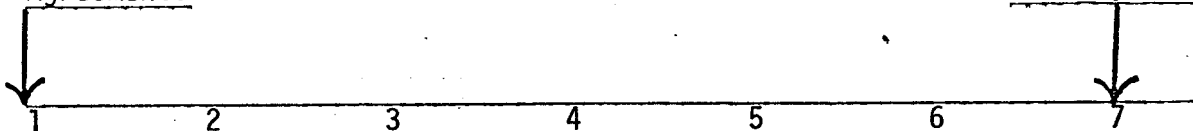
(INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN NUMBER)

- _____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about it?
 0 Don't know 8. Haven't thought about (GO TO Q. 41)
- _____ b. (Where would you place) President Ford?
 0 Don't know
- _____ c. (Where would you place) Congress?
 0 Don't know

44. 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
Agreements

Do Not
Form Agreements



- _____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?
 0 Don't know 8 Haven't you thought about it (GO TO Q. 34)
- _____ b. (Where would you place) Congress?
 0 Don't know
- _____ c. (Where would you place) the Ford Administration?
 0 Don't know

45. 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?

Is1
Is not2
Don't know0

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 weapons1
Waste of money2
Don't know0

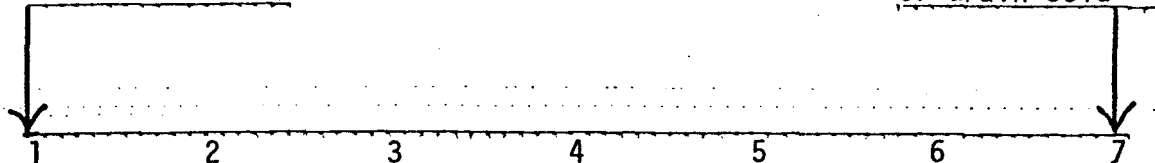
46. Do you think the U.S. should or should not give diplomatic recognition to Cuba?

Should.1
Should not.2
Don't know.0

47. Some people think that we should increase the amount of grain we sell to foreign countries. Others think we ought to eliminate selling American grain to foreign countries.

Increase Amount
of Grain We Sell

Eliminate Amount
Of Grain Sold



_____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you 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

48. There have been several reasons given as to why we should sell grain to other countries. I'd like to mention several of these reasons to you and have you tell me whether you think each one is a good reason or not a good reason for selling the grain. (ROTATE ITEMS)

| | <u>Good Reason</u> | <u>Not good Reason</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|--|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| a. Help prevent starvation | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| b. Use as a bargaining tool to get more oil at a lower price | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| c. Use to assist our foreign policy | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| d. Help increase prices for our farmers | 1 | 2 | 0 |

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|----|
| 49. Overall, do you think the quality of your life is better, worse or about the same as it was a year or two ago? | Better. | .1 |
| | Worse | .2 |
| | About the same. | .3 |
| | Don't know. | .0 |

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|----|
| 50. Looking ahead, do you think the quality of your life will be better off, worse off, or about the same a year from now than it is today? | Better off. | .1 |
| | Worse off | .2 |
| | About the same. | .3 |
| | Don't know. | .0 |

-
51. As you know, we will be celebrating our Bicentennial next year. Thinking about our country's past, what things would you like to see done to improve our country over the next few years?
-

52. Do you approve or disapprove of way Gerald Ford is handling his job as President?

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

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?

Very strongly. 3
Fairly strongly. 2
Not too strongly. 1
Don't know. 0

b. Why do you approve? (PROBE)

c. (IF ANSWER IS "Doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?

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. 3
Fairly strongly. 2
Not too strongly. 1
Don't know. 0

b. Why do you disapprove? (PROBE)

c. (IF ANSWER IS "Not doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?

53. 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?

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

55. Is there anything President Ford has done that has particularly disappointed you since he became President?

56. Now, I'd like to mention three characteristics to you and using this card, I would like you to rate each one on how well you think it describes President Ford - extremely well, very well, fairly well, not very well, or not at all well. (ROTATE ITEMS)

| | <u>Extremely Well</u> | <u>Very Well</u> | <u>Fairly Well</u> | <u>Not Very Well</u> | <u>Not at all Well</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Concerned for the average person. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| Does the right thing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| Gets results. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |

57. How much do you feel you know about Gerald Ford and what he stands for - a great deal, a moderate amount, or very little?
- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| A great deal. | 1 |
| A moderate amount | .2 |
| Very little. | .3 |
| Don't know. | .0 |

58. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Betty Ford is handling her job as First Lady?
- | | |
|----------------------|----|
| Approve. | .1 |
| Disapprove | .2 |
| Don't know | .0 |

59. 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 Know | A Great Deal | A Moderate Amount | Very Little | Don't Know |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| a. Edmund Muskie | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| b. Morris Udall | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| c. Ted Kennedy | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| d. George Wallace | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| e. Hubert H. Humphrey | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| f. Scoop Jackson | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| g. Ronald Reagan | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| h. Birch Bayh | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 |

60. 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 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Extremely Liberal | Liberal | Slightly Liberal | Moderate, Middle of the Road. | Slightly Conservative | Conservative | Extremely Conservative |

(INTERVIEWER RECORD NUMBER)

_____ a. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Haven't thought much. . . .8

(GO TO Q. 61)

Don't know. 0

_____ b. (Where would you place) Congress?

Don't know. 0

_____ c. (Where would you place) President Ford?

Don't know. 0

_____ d. Ronald Reagan?

Don't know. 0

_____ e. George Wallace

Don't know. 0

_____ f. Edward Kennedy

Don't know. 0

_____ g. Hubert Humphrey

Don't know. 0

61. GO TO THE GREEN SCALES

62. 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.

- a. 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)
-

63. 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.

64. 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.

65. 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.

| | <u>Strongly Agree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Strongly Disagree</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|--|---------------------------|--------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. We always seem to have economic problems with Republican Presidents. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| b. Pres. Ford is doing a good job and deserves to be elected. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| c. Pres. Ford is an honest man but not smart enough to be president. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| d. We'd be better off with a president that has never had anything to do with the government in Washington before. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| e. 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 |

66. If there was a Republican Presidential Primary election in your State, and the candidates were Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan, would you definitely vote in that Primary, probably vote, may or may not vote, probably not vote or definitely not vote in the Republican Primary?
- | | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Definitely vote. .(GO TO a) | . .1 |
| Probably vote. . .(GO TO a) | . .2 |
| May or may not . .(GO TO a) | . .3 |
| Probably not vote. | .4 |
| Definitely not vote. | .5 |
| 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)

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a <u>Republican</u> , a <u>Democrat</u> , an <u>Independent</u> , or what? | Republican. 1 Independent. 2 Democrat. 3 Other. 4 Don't know. 0 |
|---|---|
-

- | | |
|---|---|
| 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. . . 3 d. About equally for both parties. 4 e. A few more Republicans than Democrats. . . . 5 f. Mostly Republican. . . 6 g. Straight Republican. . 7 h. Never voted. 8 i. Other _____ 9 (Specify) j. Don't know. 0 |
|---|---|
-

- | | |
|--|---|
| 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 1 Most of them 2 About half of them 3 Less than half of them . . 4 None of them 5 Don't know 0 |
|--|---|
-

IV. What is your occupation?

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

V . Please look 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 school. 2
- Graduated high school
(Grade 9-12). 3
- Vocational/Technical
School. 4
- Some college. 5
- Graduated college. 6
- Post graduate work. 7
- Refused. 0

VII . In addition to being an American, what
do you consider your main ethnic or
nationality group to be?

- British/English. 1
- Irish. 2
- Italian. 3
- Polish. 4
- German. 5
- French/Franco American
French Canadian 6
- Greek 7
- Cuban/Spanish American. . 8
- Other. 9
- (specify)
- Don't know. 0

VIII. 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)

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| X . Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? | Roman Catholic. | 1 |
| | Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.). | 2 |
| | Jewish. | 3 |
| | Other _____ | 4 |
| | (Specify) | |
| | Agnostic/Atheist. | 5 |
| | Don't know. | 8 |
| | Refused. | 9 |
| | None. | 0 |

| | | |
|---|---------------------|---|
| XI . Are you a home-owner or do you rent? | Home-owner. | 1 |
| | Rent. | 2 |
| | Don't know. | 0 |

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 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-\$2,999. | 1 |
| | b. \$3,000-\$4,999. | 2 |
| | c. \$5,000-\$5,999. | 3 |
| | d. \$6,000-\$6,999. | 4 |
| | e. \$7,000-\$9,999. | 5 |
| | f. \$10,000-\$14,999. | 6 |
| | g. \$15,000-\$24,999. | 7 |
| | h. \$25,000 and over. | 8 |
| | i. Refused. | 0 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| XIII (BY OBSERVATION) Race: | White. | 1 |
| | Black. | 2 |
| | Oriental. | 3 |
| | Spanish-American/ Cuban . | 4 |
| | Other _____ | 5 |
| | (Specify) | |

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|---|
| IVX. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex: | Male. | 1 |
| | Female. | 2 |

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 Interview: _____

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

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Intelligent | : : : : : : | Unintelligent |
| Bold | : : : : : : | Timid |
| Dishonest | : : : : : : | Honest |
| Decisive | : : : : : : | Indecisive |
| Safe | : : : : : : | Dangerous |
| Out of Touch | : : : : : : | In Touch |
| Just | : : : : : : | Unjust |
| Indifferent | : : : : : : | Concerned |
| Straightforward | : : : : : : | Evasive |
| Sincere | : : : : : : | Insincere |
| Competent | : : : : : : | Incompetent |
| Untrustworthy | : : : : : : | Trustworthy |
| Strong | : : : : : : | Weak |

HUBERT HUMPHREY

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Intelligent | : : : : : : | Unintelligent |
| Bold | : : : : : : | Timid |
| Dishonest | : : : : : : | Honest |
| Decisive | : : : : : : | Indecisive |
| Safe | : : : : : : | Dangerous |
| Out of Touch | : : : : : : | In Touch |
| Just | : : : : : : | Unjust |
| Indifferent | : : : : : : | Concerned |
| Straightforward | : : : : : : | Evasive |
| Sincere | : : : : : : | Insincere |
| Competent | : : : : : : | Incompetent |
| Untrustworthy | : : : : : : | Trustworthy |
| Strong | : : : : : : | Weak |

RONALD REAGAN

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| Intelligent | : | : | : | : | : | : | Unintelligent |
| Bold | : | : | : | : | : | : | Timid |
| Dishonest | : | : | : | : | : | : | Honest |
| Decisive | : | : | : | : | : | : | Indecisive |
| Safe | : | : | : | : | : | : | Dangerous |
| Out of Touch | : | : | : | : | : | : | In Touch |
| Just | : | : | : | : | : | : | Unjust |
| Indifferent | : | : | : | : | : | : | Concerned |
| Straightforward | : | : | : | : | : | : | Evasive |
| Sincere | : | : | : | : | : | : | Insincere |
| Competent | : | : | : | : | : | : | Incompetent |
| Untrustworthy | : | : | : | : | : | : | Trustworthy |
| Strong | : | : | : | : | : | : | Weak |

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(Check One)

REPUBLICAN

Gerald Ford ,

DEMOCRAT

Hubert H. Humphrey

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT

George C. Wallace

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 _____

IF VOTED FOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Will definitely vote
for Hubert Humphrey _____

Will probably vote
for Hubert Humphrey _____

Am leaning toward
Humber Humphrey _____

IF VOTED FOR GEORGE WALLACE

Will definitely vote
for George Wallace _____

Will probably vote
for George Wallace _____

Am leaning toward:
George Wallace _____

AM UNDECIDED _____

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(Check One)

REPUBLICAN

Gerald Ford

DEMOCRAT

Hubert H. Humphrey

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(Check One)

REPUBLICAN

Gerald Ford

DEMOCRAT

Edward Kennedy

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTION

(CHECK ONE BOX)

GERALD FORD

☐

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 []

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 []

CHENEY GROUP MEETING WITH
THE PRESIDENT
WEDNESDAY, November 19, 1975
The Oval Office
9:15 a.m.

P -

Ms Heed



TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH BOB TEETER
November 24, 1975

As the recession abates, the cost of health care will come right to the top of major issues.

Polls so far show people are to the right of center on most issues except health. On health, they go all the way left and believe the Federal government ought to provide some kind of health insurance.

On questions relating to whether they would receive better medical care under private insurance programs or government insurance programs, they strongly favor government health insurance.

In brief, people want to walk right in and get the best of health care and they are looking to the Federal government for health.

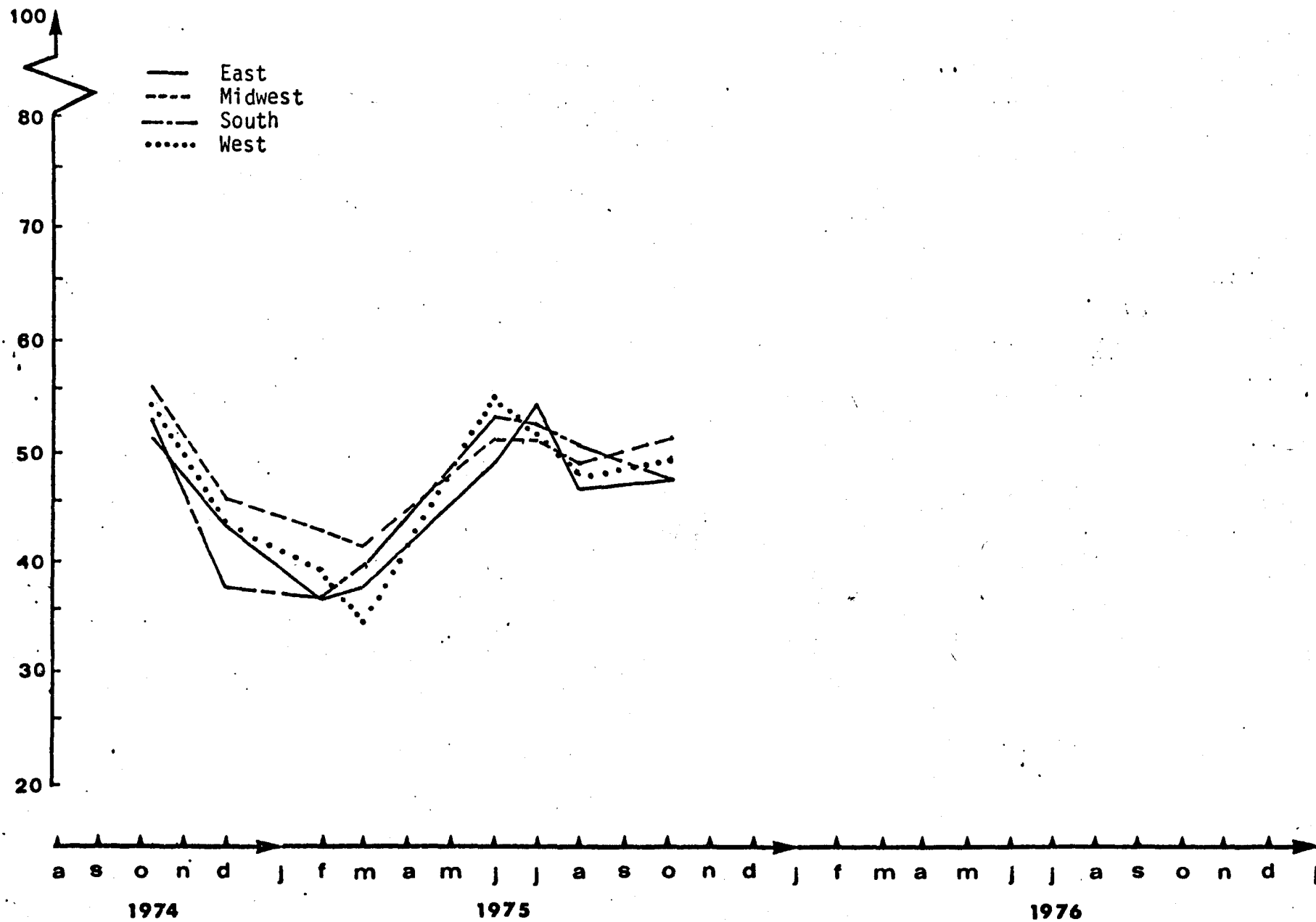
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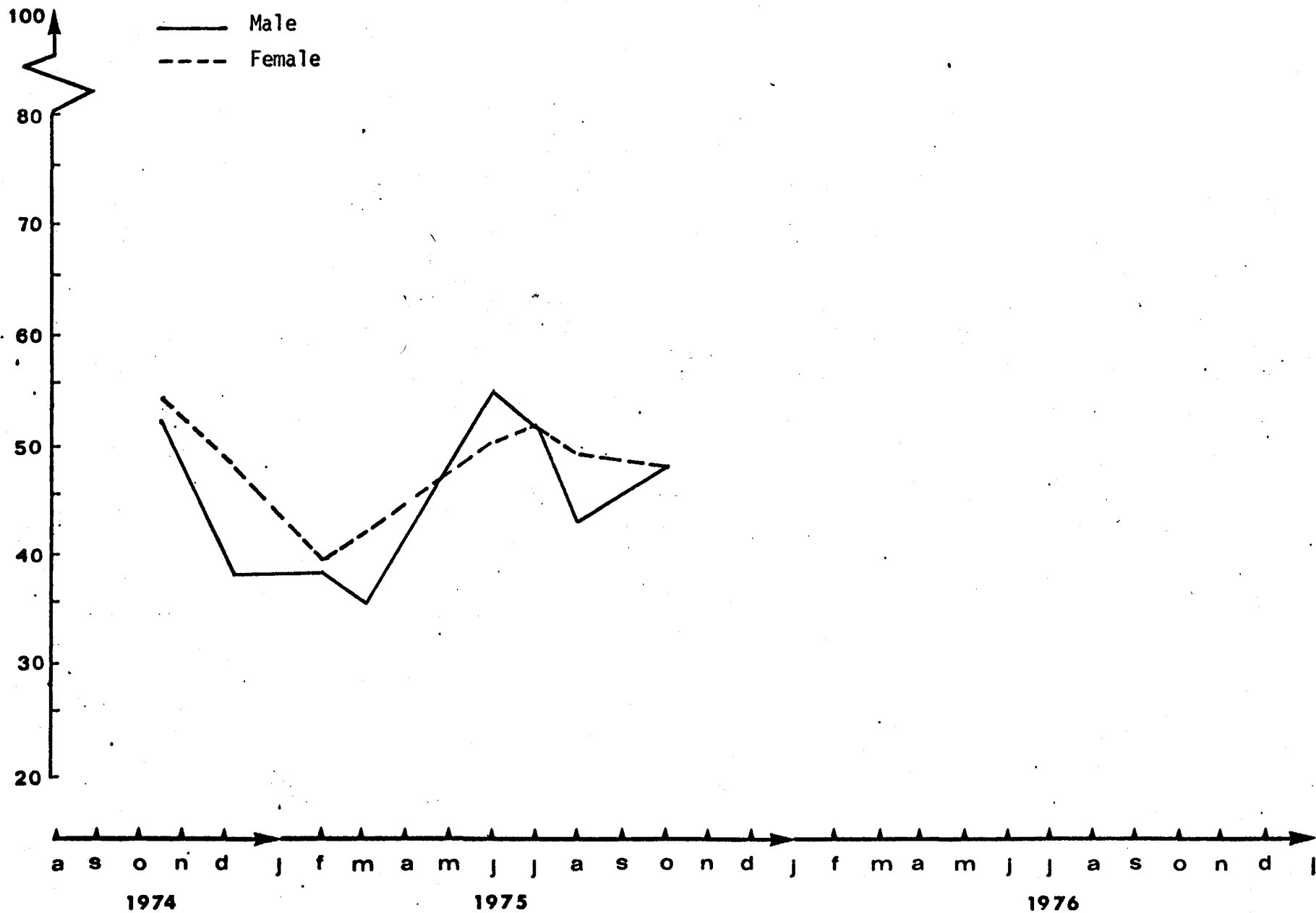
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ford approval rating

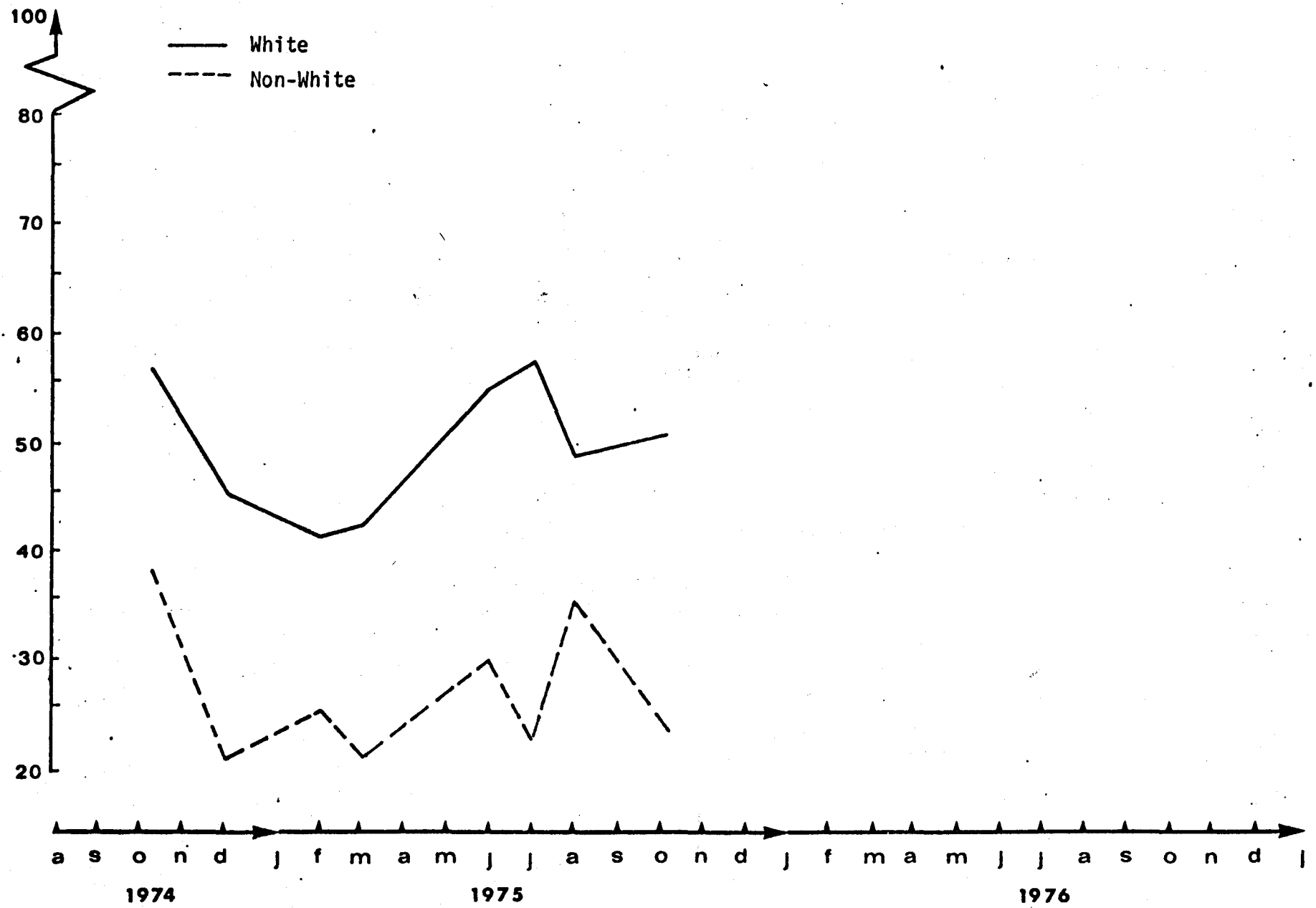


ford approval rating



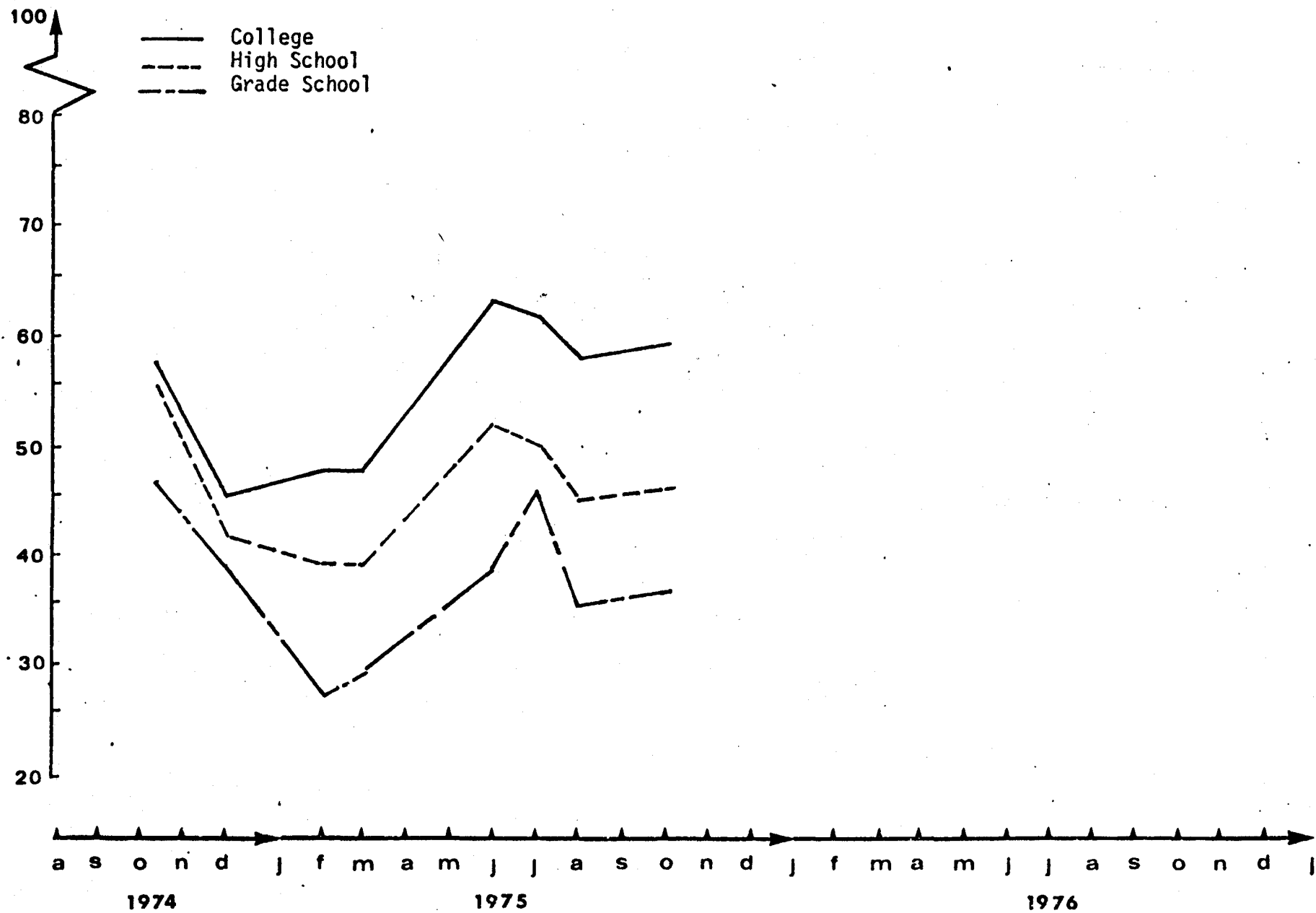
source; gallup opinion index

ford approval rating



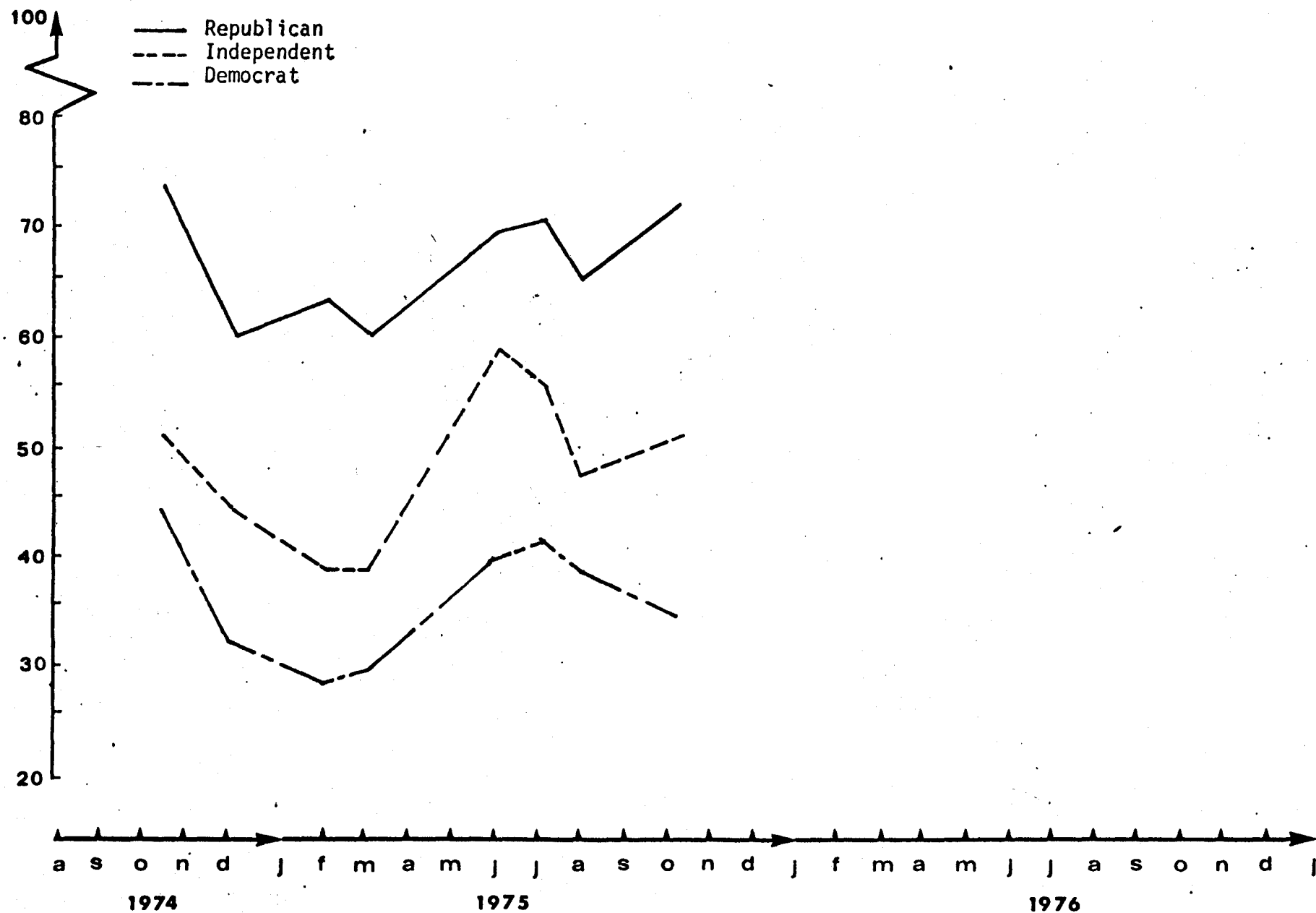
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ford approval rating



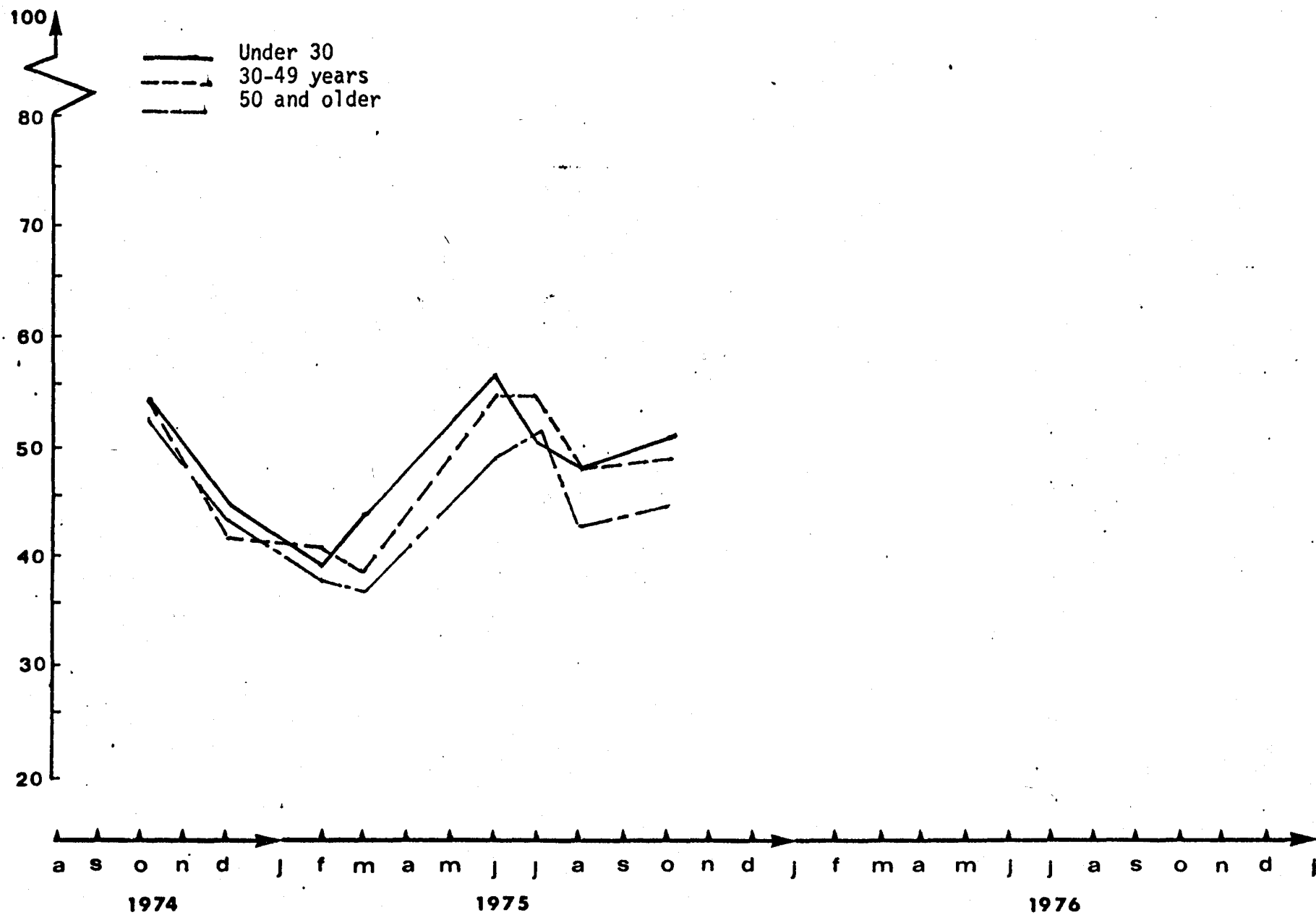
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Ford approval rating



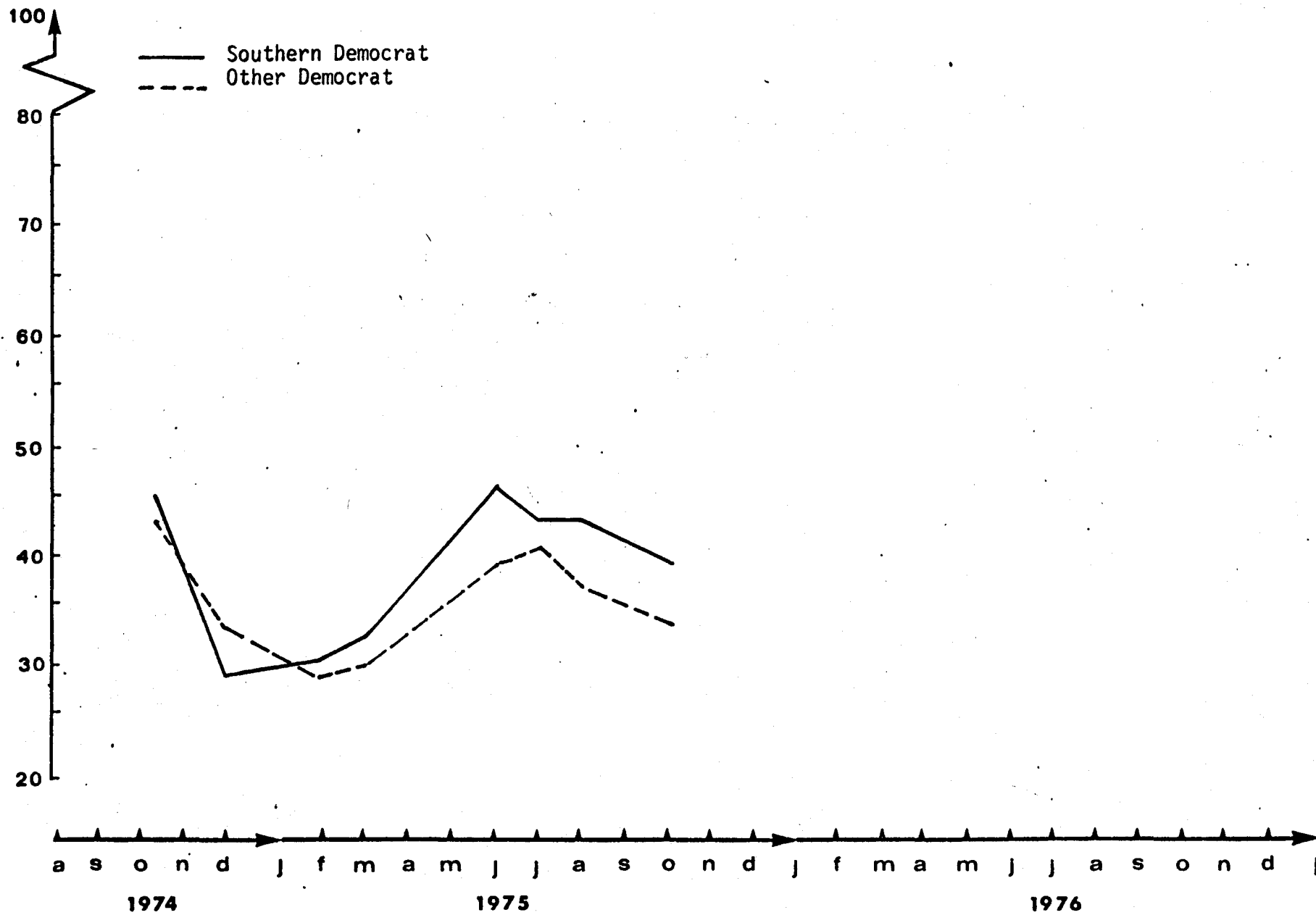
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ford approval rating



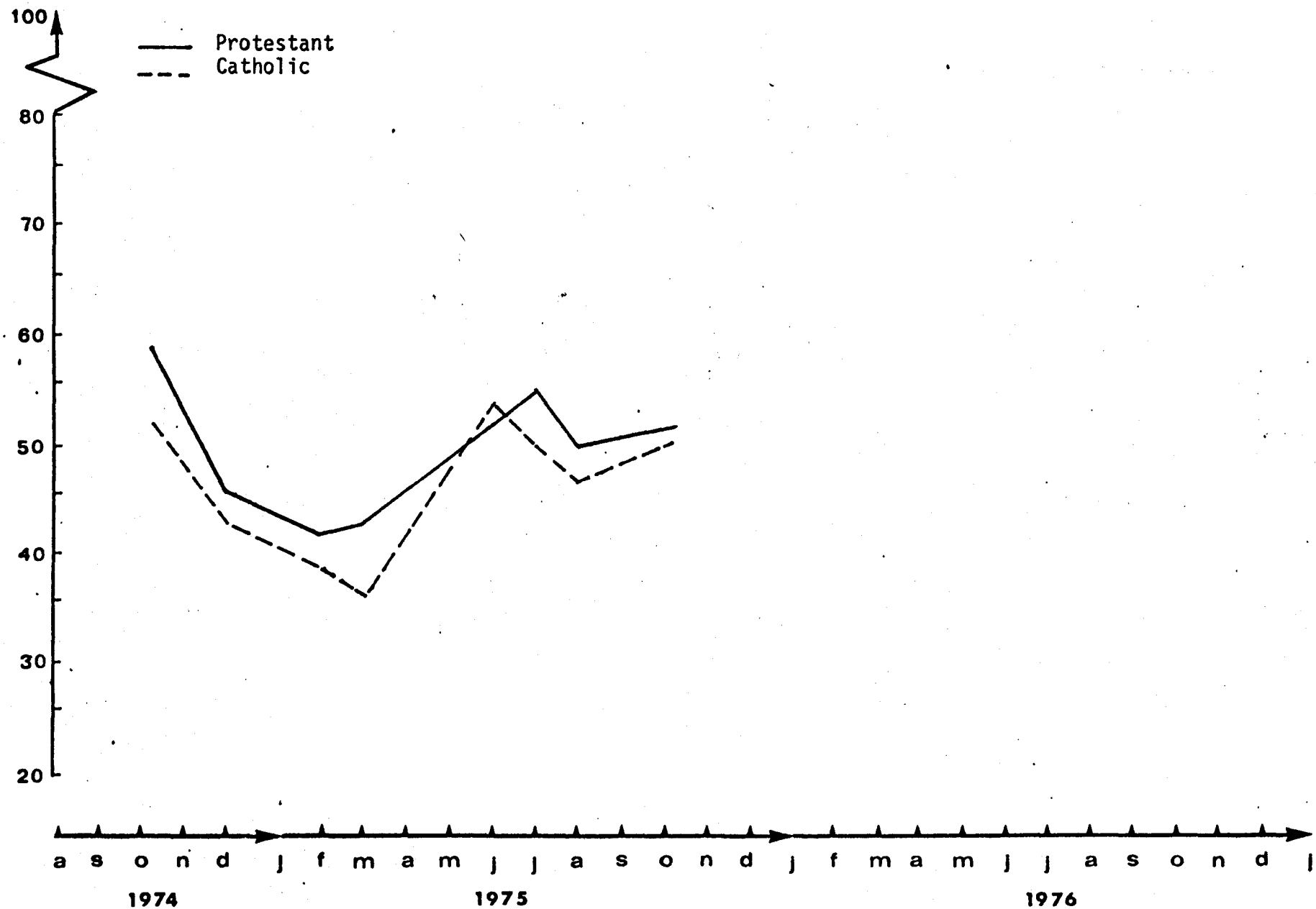
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ford approval rating



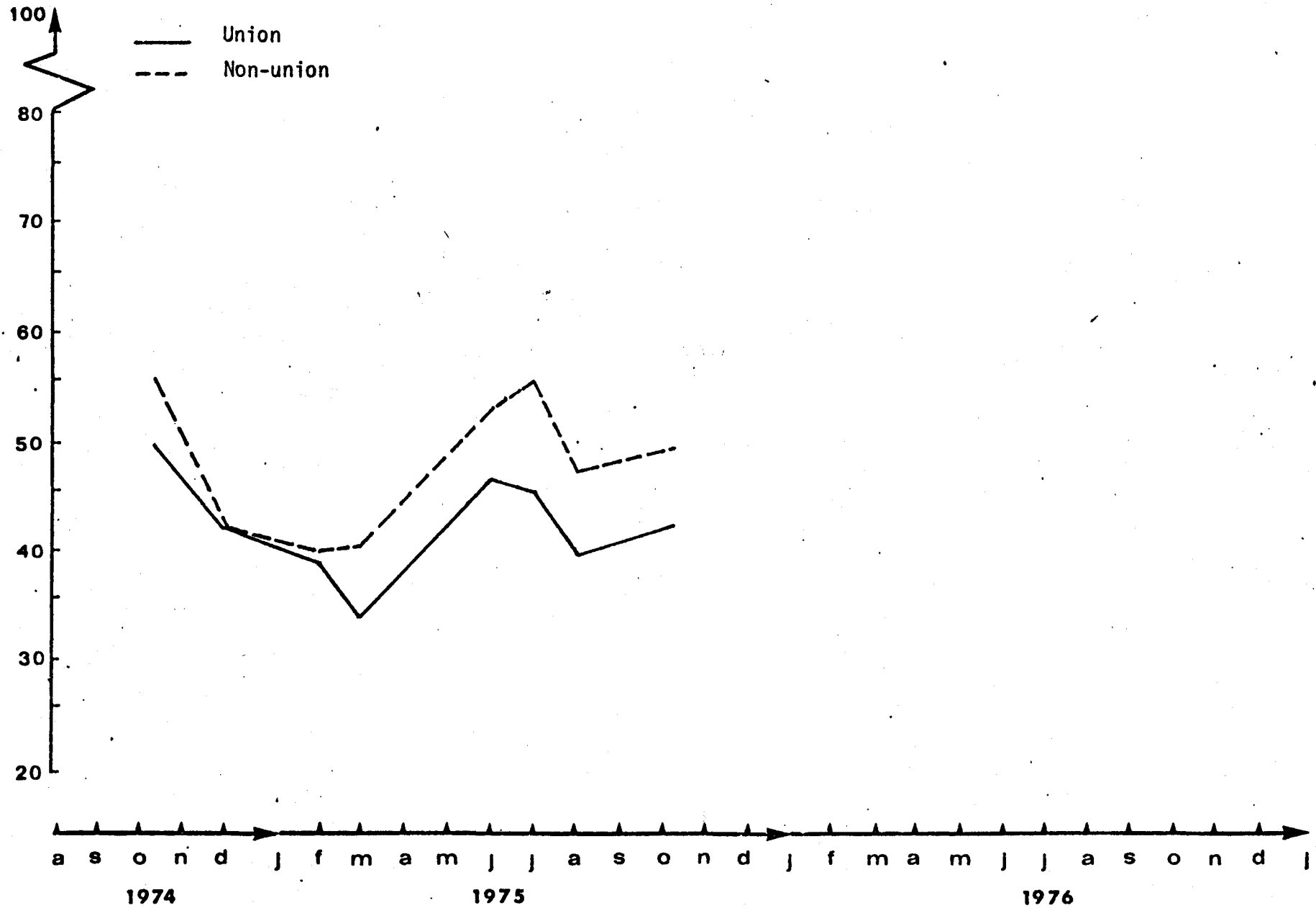
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ford approval rating



source; gallup opinion index

ford approval rating



source; gallup opinion index

December 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BO CALLAWAY

FROM:

BOB TEETER *anti*

SUBJECT:

Bill Signing/Veto

With three tough bill-signings or vetoes coming up, it is critical that the President realize whatever advantages there are in the positions he takes on each of these three issues. One of the problems over the past few weeks is that when the President takes a position or action, he seems to lose ground with not only the groups who are opposed to that action, but those who favor it. Clearly, this was the case with New York. The President is being perceived as having bailed New York out when he said he wouldn't, and is not getting any advantage for having forced more changes and reforms to take place than almost anyone possible.

Unless we are careful, this is going to be the case with the common situs and energy bills. If he vetoes common situs, the unions are going to be mad and the business people are not going to be particularly happy because they had to fight so hard to turn him around when they thought he should have been on their side from the beginning. If he does veto it, it has got to be done with an interpretation of how his veto will help individual citizens (keeping the price of housing down, and helping rejuvenate the construction industry) and not because he is anti-union or pro big-business. It may, however, be an opportunity to take a crack at big unions and a way to prevent the over-concentration of power in big unions.

If he signs the energy bill, it has got to be done with the interpretation of accomplishing some of the things he has proposed while helping the consumer by holding prices down during economic recovery. And it is also an opportunity to take a crack at the big oil companies who everybody dislikes. This would also provide some balance to the anti-union interpretation of a common situs veto. The key, in my opinion, to the anti-bigness or concentration of power theme, is balance. It can't look like he is using this idea as a means to go after one group more than the other. The President needs to be perceived as being against the concentration of power whether it is in big government, big unions, or big business.

He also needs to be careful when taking on the unions not to become anti-"the working man". While only slightly more than half of those who make their living by manual labor belong to unions, many of them identify with union causes.

We also need to get commitments for the active, vocal support of those who agree with what the President does on these bills after he acts. Whatever position he takes, there are groups and individuals who will support and interpret positively what he did.

In summary, we are not getting any political advantage from the positions the President is already taking and have got to begin to do so now. This is not achieved by interpreting every action as a middle-to-moderate position which results in everybody thinking you are not doing enough for them, but rather by doing something that will make a group of citizens happy and add them to the constituency. The people who are opposed to the action are going to be mad regardless of the explanation.

December 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BO CALLAWAY

FROM:

ROBERT TEETER *RT*

SUBJECT:

Momentum

The Gallup Poll is a further indication that we have a serious momentum problem. However, in attempting to slow Reagan down and regain the momentum for the President, there are several things we should keep in mind.

1. Without a Mayaguez or something comparable that we don't see in the immediate future, there is probably no one thing the President can do to himself to turn this situation around. Moreover, we ought not to be looking for something spectacular but rather develop a plan in conjunction with the White House to work our way out of this problem over the next six weeks.
2. The Christmas lull may well be the best thing we have going for us in that it should blunt Reagan's momentum and give us the opportunity to start anew after the first of the year. However, what the President does over Christmas may be significant. Whatever he does should be seen as working at the Presidency and if he goes to Colorado for Christmas, it should be for a minimum amount of time, the family tradition and family get-together aspect emphasized, and it be seen as a working vacation.
3. We need people out talking about the President, explaining, agreeing with, and praising his actions. Most of the things that need to be said about the President are things he can't say himself. There needs to be a planned series of speeches, interviews, etc., over the next two or three months by administration officials and other public figures talking about President Ford, what he is trying to do and what he has accomplished. This needs to be happening in the various regions of the country every day during the early months of next year.

4. It may be time for us to help put the bright light on Reagan. No one yet has really gone after his record as Governor of California or his 90 billion dollar proposal which most of the press people recognize as unwise, unworkable and a political blunder. While the President certainly shouldn't do this and the majority of it should be reserved until after the new year, I think we need one recognized, respected public figure to make a tough, blunt statement on just what Reagan's record is and what he might do to the country, let alone the Republican Party before Christmas. This person should not be directly connected with the President Ford Committee nor should he be seen as a member of the liberal wing of the Republican Party. He should be someone like Laird or Rogers Morton.

One further note is that the President's political travel is going to get blamed (and probably rightly) for a share of this downturn. It is my belief that it is not the fact that he traveled as much as he did during the past few months as much as what he said and how he said it that hurt him. I think he could have made most of the trips and gone to most of the fund-raisers if he would have avoided the partisan rhetoric and talked to the country as President in each of these appearances rather than to the narrow partisan audiences. This is easy to say with the benefit of hindsight, but I think it once again points out how very important style of leadership, that is the way he does what he does, is to his perception. Also the fact that anything he does is seen and heard by the entire country, not just his actual audience or those who live in the region he happens to be in.

MEMORANDUM

To: Bo Callaway

From: Robert Teeter *Teeter*

Date: December 9, 1975

For the record. After looking over the data from the NBC Poll and talking to Bud Lewis who conducted it, I think there are three reasons for the discrepancy between the earlier Gallup data.

- 1) The question was different. The NBC Poll asked who Republicans preferred to have as the nominee and the Gallup Poll asked who they would vote for.
- 2) The Republican sample was very small -- only 256 out of a total sample of 1,066. This incidentally, was not mentioned on the air.
- 3) By far the most significant reason is the method of filtering Republicans they used. They only accepted registered Republicans into their sample which systematically excluded Republicans in all those states who do not have party registration, many of which are undoubtedly strong Ford states (Michigan, Illinois).

This undoubtedly was a mistake and I am sure Lewis recognizes it. However, as a result of my conversations with him, our relations are pretty good and I think the best course of action is to maintain a relationship with him rather than attack them publicly.

MEMORANDUM

To: Bo Callaway

From: Robert Teeter *Reut*

Date: December 5, 1975

It is becoming apparent to me that while the idea of the President's 28 billion dollar tax and budget cut is popular and will help him politically, it will not win the election. The major reason for this is, it like several of the President's recent programs don't do anything for anybody even though there is majority agreement with them. They all cut back and take something away from people rather than given them anything or do anything positively for them. As Lloyd Free pointed out Monday, there is a lot of evidence that many successful politicians get that way by talking conservatively and acting liberally.

I think the President needs to have a series of proposals and programs that do something for individual citizens to help them make their lives better. I recognize the economic realities of not being able to add major programs to the budget next year, but I am sure that we can find a series of things that the administration can do or propose to Congress that will help people that don't have large price tags attached.

It would be helpful if we could come up with a number of programs that would together form a theme for the administration for next year and for the campaign. One possibility might be to come up with proposals in the area of de-regulation, privacy, anti-trust and others that would increase competition, limit large institutions of all kinds and thereby help individuals. As I have pointed out previously, the levels of alienation and cynicism are at an all-time high and are directed at most major institutions. Moreover, when questioned closely, most people feel the problem with these institutions is that they have become too big. I think this anti-bigness, anti-concentration of power theme might be a good one for the administration for several reasons. Most importantly, it fits the tenor of the times, is consistent with Republican principles and would not cause us any problems in the primaries. It is a theme into which we could fit the President's budget cutting proposals and it is one which can have balance. That is, if the general theme is to attack the concentrations of power, we can build in programs to limit big government, big unions, big businesses and other large institutions and not appear to be one-sided. Also, we can find an example of how all of these proposals ultimately serve to help individual citizens and consumers.

Whatever theme we decide on, I think there are several elements we could keep in mind in presenting it.

First, it ought to have the element of hope. Hope has been the basis for successful politics for a long time and while people want less government they also want change. While this is no time to overpromise or raise expectations above reality, we ought to try to give people some hope that things can and will change for the better with Gerald Ford as President.

Second, whatever proposals we make, we ought to remember that two good general rules of politics are that it is impossible to over-simplify proposals or to repeat them too often. Also, we need to find examples of how individuals have been hurt by specific situations and how our proposed changes will help individuals. For example, should we decide to do something with the privacy issue, I am sure we can find a number of examples where individuals, not just public figures, have been wronged by the bureaucracy or some computer system and that the President's program will correct.

Another area that needs attention is that we are not getting enough political mileage out of the proposals and actions that the Administration is already taking. The President has made a series of comprehensive proposals in the crime area, which is an issue of great concern to voters, including a proposal for mandatory sentencing. Yet there is no evidence that the President has gotten any support for this or that he is identified with it. The proposals were sent to Congress, he made one speech in Sacramento, which got lost in the Fromme incident, and we haven't done anything with it since then. In the last few weeks, the FTC has floated the idea of an anti-trust action against General Motors and taken action against the American Pharmaceutical Association which if successful would lower the price of prescription drugs and yet the President has in no way been identified with either of these. All of these proposals could be interpreted to help individuals. Also remember, there is no evidence anywhere that to be anti-big business is to be anti-Republican.

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Another example is that if he decides to sign the energy bill, we ought to get some credit for being against the big oil companies. There is absolutely no support for the oil companies and there is wide-spread public belief that they were and are part of the cause of the energy crisis and increased gasoline prices.

over bureau
create strict
bureau in habit.
people on drug war without
to commit crime.



MEMORANDUM

To: Bo Callaway

From: Robert Teeter *Rut*

Date: December 8, 1975

We have examined all the public and available private data for the full-term of the Ford Presidency for the purpose of identifying the current and potential Ford constituency. While it is impossible to analyze this subject in as much detail as need be until the national poll is completed, the public polling data does give us some insight into just where the President's current support is now.

The most important finding is that there is no unique Ford constituency independent of that of a normal or traditional Republican President with one exception.

The President's approval rating and ballot strength come largely from voters that would be expected to support a Republican President. This is not to say, however, that we are in serious trouble because Republicans constitute a small minority of the electorate but rather says that he will win the election with the same coalition of states and voters within those states that other winning Republicans have had. He will not win by creating a unique constituency of various special groups of voters as Nixon did in 1972. It is an established fact that in most states, various Republicans who win regardless of their ideological or other differences do, in fact, get their support from the same general constituency.

Even though one winning Republican candidate may get 60% and another only 51%, they tend to get the same proportion of their support from the same places. One just does better with all groups than the other. For example, in Pennsylvania, Scranton, Schafer, Scott and to a lesser degree Schweiker, all win the state with about the same coalition. The same is true for Olgivie and Percy in Illinois.

The one exception is that for a Republican, he does have unique strength among younger voters (18-35) and it appears that this younger voter strength is fairly solid and can be conducted throughout the election. Apparently the reasons for it are the perception of the President's personal qualities and a positive perception of his family.

The important point is that the President will win the election by carrying the large swing states and will carry each of these states individually with approximately the same coalition of voters that other Republicans who have won statewide in those states have had rather than with some unique demographic constituency.

This means that for most swing states, the strategy will be to get at least 90% of the Republicans, 60%-65% of the ticket-splitters or swing voters and 10%-15% of the Democrats. It also means that we can best identify the priority areas in these states by voting analysis rather than demographic analysis.

Obviously, then the ticket-splitters in the states become our target voters. In most of middle-to-large states there are now two groups of ticket-splitters we need to be concerned with. The first is a group of voters who tend to have slightly higher incomes, be slightly better educated, and are generally slightly more white-collar than the average voters. These voters tend to live in the middle-sized communities and suburban areas and are generally in the upper-middle, socio-economic class. They have been splitting their ticket for some time, think of themselves as good government voters, formerly were moderate to liberal on most domestic issues but have become more conservative on economic and some social issues such as busing. They also tend to be somewhat younger than the average voters (under 45).

Beginning in about 1968, a second group of voters began to split their tickets. This group is about the same age as the first but is somewhat lower on the socio-economic scale. They tend to be blue-collar and are generally people who make their living through manual labor. They come from a Democratic background and still vote for more Democrats than Republicans. Many of them split their ticket for the first time in 1968 to vote for Wallace and then again in 1972 to vote either for Nixon (or against McGovern). This group is more conservative than the first on the social issues but are for a greater degree of government involvement in the economy.

This group has been variously interpreted as the new majority, peripheral urban ethnics, and by a number of other demographic descriptions. While some of these descriptions may be demographically correct, none of them address the reason these people have begun to split their ticket. That is, the one common characteristic between both groups of ticket-splitters is that they are made up of people who have moved up a social class in their own lifetime. They are almost all people who are a social class higher than their parents were. Even though many of these voters may be ethnic Catholics in the east, it is not either their ethnicity or Catholicism that makes them ticket-splitters. There are voters of the same social class who split their ticket for the same reasons in Georgia, and Iowa and California, but who do not have the same demographic characteristics as their counterparts in Massachusetts, New York, or New Jersey.

Demographic information is useful, however, in that we have found the past that if we can identify the demographic characteristics of a ticket-splitter and they can find an area with similar demographics, but rather ticket-splitting ways go in and cause ticket-splitting with an introduction of intensive campaign effort.

Because of their age, many ticket-splitters are parents and interested in issues that have to do with children, with home ownership, and with job opportunities. They are generally the people who want to protect what they have gained but are not opposed to the government helping others as long as they don't perceive it as hurting themselves.

The current national study will give us detailed information on the current Ford constituency potential but not realized Ford support at the issue

MEETING WITH BOB TEETER
FRIDAY, December 19, 1975
Roosevelt Room
10:00 a.m.