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MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



Market Bond
NEW YORK, N.Y.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



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THE 1976 ELECTION

Regional Patterns in the 1976 Election

The most obvious comment on Carter's winning coalition was that he swept the South, won a majority in the East, and picked-up two key states in the Midwest. While this is certainly true, it implies too much about the differences between the regions in the North. There was in fact, relatively little difference across the North in its swing away from the inflated Republican vote in 1972. For example, President Ford ran 6 points behind Nixon's 1972 vote in New England and 8 points behind Nixon's 1972 vote in the Rocky Mountain States. Carter's vote in the South represents the overpowering difference between this election and recent presidential elections. His vote represented a huge 25 percent increase over McGovern's vote in the ten Deep South states compared to a 9 percent increase in the North.

Comparison of the 1972 and 1976 Republican Two-Party Vote by Region

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>Total</u>	61%	49%	-12
<u>Regions</u>			
New England	52	46	- 6
Middle Atlantic	59	48	-11
East North Central	59	50	- 9
West North Central	60	48	-12
Mountain	64	56	- 8
Pacific	55	49	- 6
Border	65	45	-20
Deep South	70	45	-25



Ford's Electoral Vote and Past Republican Coalitions

The losses of Ohio (25 electoral votes) and Wisconsin (11 electoral votes) must be considered the most disappointing to Ford when looking at the 1952 to 1972 state pattern. Of the 24 states which had gone Republican every year except 1964, Ford lost four of them: Florida, Ohio, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. Florida and Tennessee can be explained by Carter's regional appeal. That leaves Ohio and Wisconsin as the major defectors from the 24 states with 216 electoral votes which are the core of the Republican presidential coalition. Wisconsin is one of the weaker states in the Republican coalition, and it was lost by a less than average Democratic swing in the state (down 6% from 1972). However, in Ohio (-11%) the decline was larger than the average decline in the North from 1972 and, consequently, represents a major failure to the Ford campaign.

The most unexpected pick-up from the point of view of past Republican coalitions was Connecticut. Only Eisenhower and the 1972 landslide year previously had brought this state into the G.O.P. column. Michigan also has the same pattern as Connecticut and clearly was a bonus win for the Republicans because of Gerald Ford. Four other states went Republican only for Eisenhower and in the 1972 landslide: Texas, Pennsylvania, New York, and Minnesota. Although the first three were major target states in 1976, the Ford campaign was unable to break one loose. Instead, they remained in-tandem for the seventh consecutive time.

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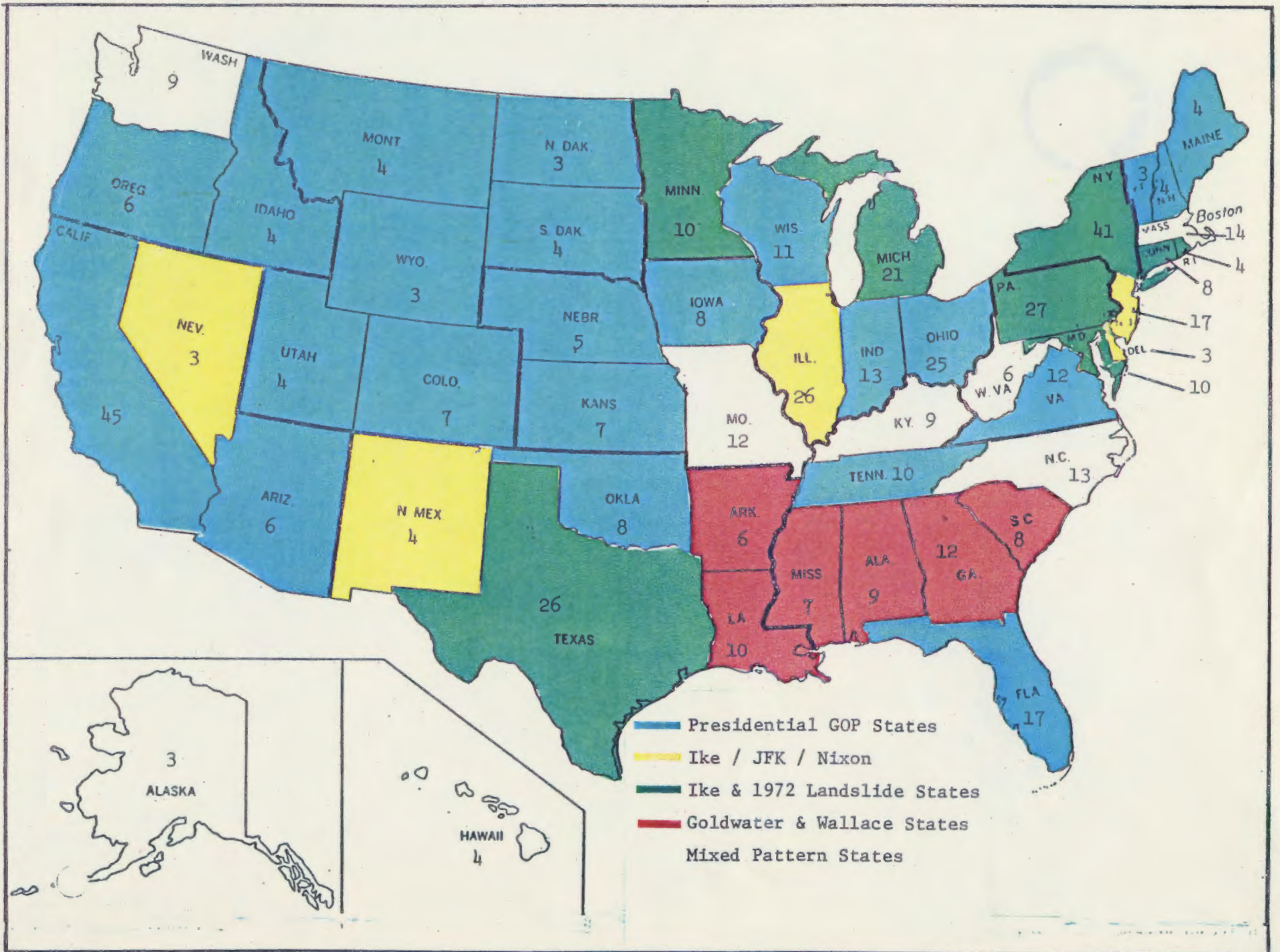


Interestingly, the group of five states which went for Kennedy in 1960 but Republican in four other elections held together for Ford with the exception of Delaware. They were Illinois, Nevada, New Jersey, and New Mexico. In a close election with a Democratic winner they did not do what they did in 1960. Perhaps they belong with the 24 Republican states and Kennedy's Catholicism deflected them in 1960.

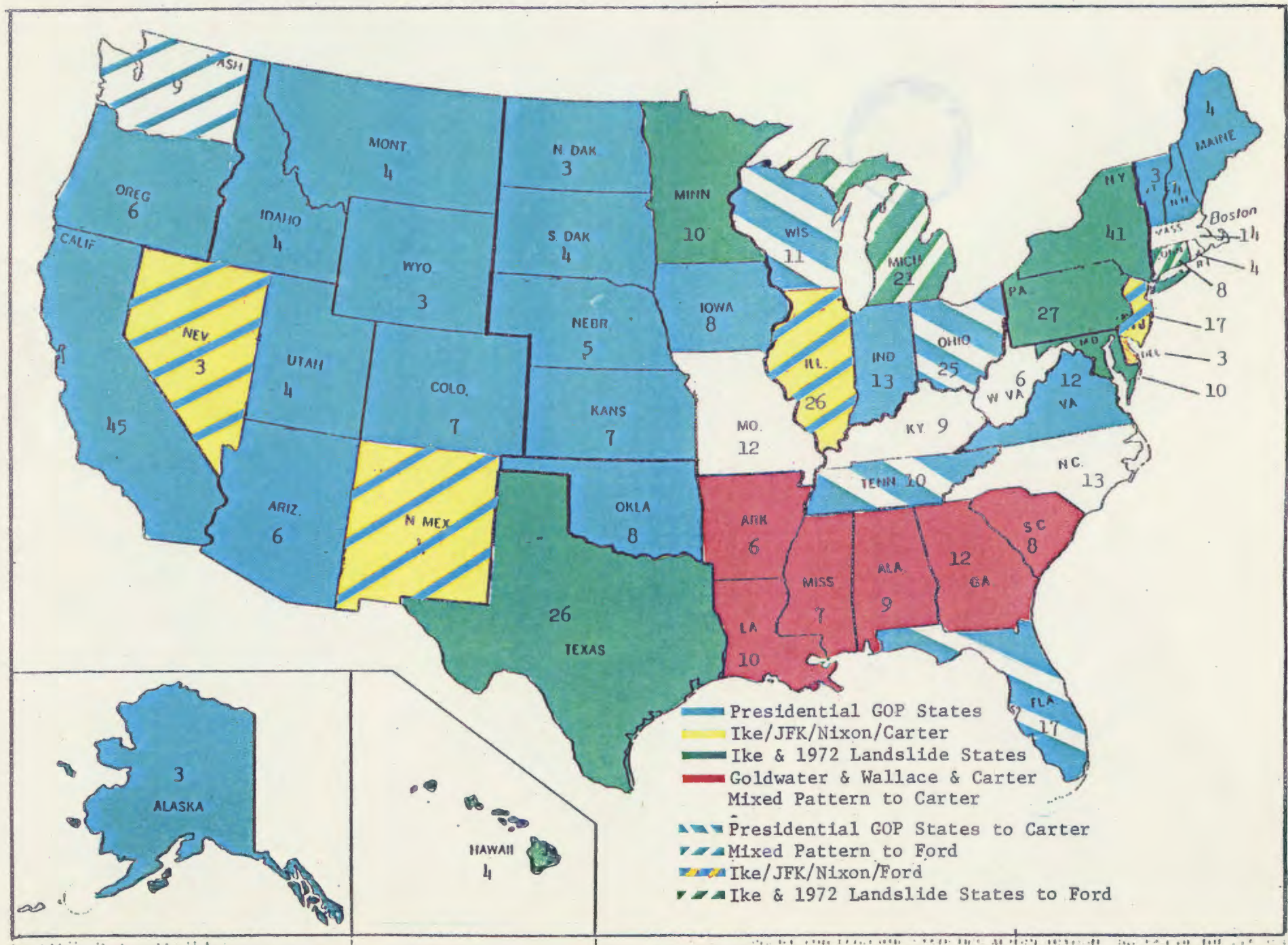
All-in-all there is a surprising degree of comparability to the past state pattern when, for a long while, the polling data indicated that there would be a host of oddities in the 1976 results.

Finally, although Kansas stayed in the Republican column, the Republican vote dropped 16 points from 1972. This was the largest decrease in the Republican vote of any state outside the South. It cannot be explained as being part of a generally larger swing in the western farm states. As a whole, they dropped about the northern average.

CLASSIFICATION OF STATES BY 1952 - 1972 PRESIDENTIAL MAJORITIES

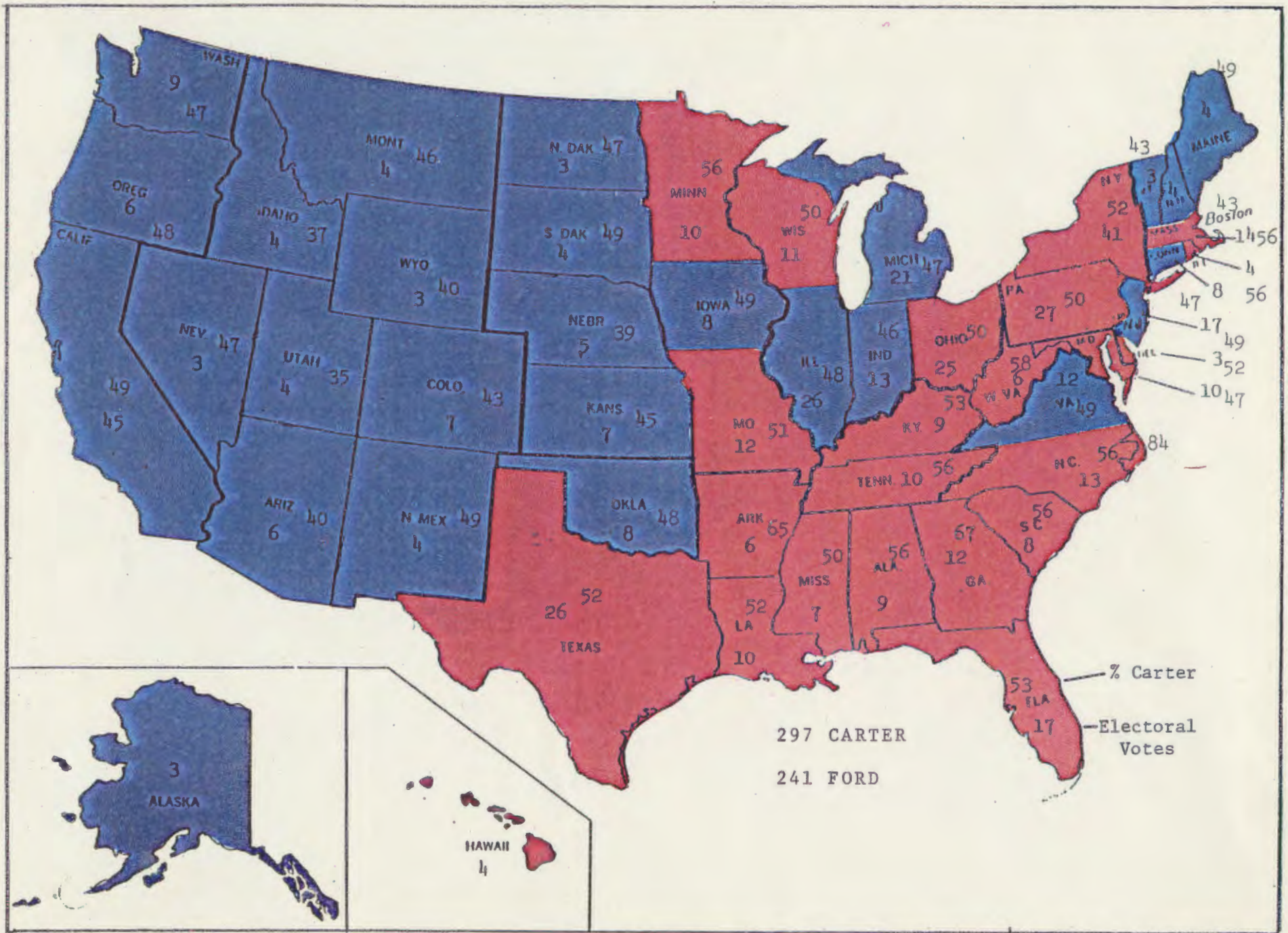


CLASSIFICATION OF STATES BY 1952 to 1976 PRESIDENTIAL MAJORITIES



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1976 ELECTORAL VOTE





1976 Presidential Election
Major Party Vote by Region

	1976 Republican Proportion of Major Party Vote	Change From 1972 Republican Proportion of Major Party Vote
United States	48.9	-12.9
<u>New England</u>		
Massachusetts	41.9	- 3.6
Connecticut	52.6	- 6.4
Vermont	56.0	- 7.2
Rhode Island	44.2	- 8.9
New Hampshire	55.7	- 9.0
Maine	50.3	-11.2
<u>Pacific</u>		
Oregon	50.0	- 5.3
California	50.8	- 6.2
Washington	51.4	- 8.2
Hawaii	48.7	-13.8
<u>East North Central</u>		
Michigan	52.7	- 4.6
Wisconsin	49.2	- 5.8
Illinois	51.1	- 8.2
Ohio	49.9	-11.1
Indiana	53.8	-12.7
<u>Mountain</u>		
Montana	53.6	- 6.9
Utah	64.9	- 7.0
Arizona	58.6	- 8.4
Colorado	55.9	- 8.5
Idaho	61.8	- 9.4
Wyoming	59.9	- 9.5
Nevada	52.3	-11.4
New Mexico	51.0	-11.5
<u>West North Central</u>		
South Dakota	50.9	- 3.4
Iowa	50.5	- 8.2
Minnesota	43.4	- 9.4
Nebraska	60.3	-10.2
North Dakota	52.9	-10.5
Missouri	48.2	-14.1
Kansas	53.9	-15.7
<u>Middle Atlantic</u>		
New York	47.8	-10.9
New Jersey	51.0	-11.6
Pennsylvania	48.6	-11.6
Delaware	47.3	-13.0
<u>Border</u>		
District of Columbia	16.5	- 5.1
Maryland	46.9	-15.2
Kentucky	46.2	-18.4
West Virginia	41.9	-21.7
Oklahoma	50.5	-24.9
Tennessee	43.5	-26.0
<u>Deep South</u>		
Texas	48.0	-18.6
Virginia	50.7	-18.6
Louisiana	47.0	-22.7
Florida	46.8	-25.3
North Carolina	44.4	-26.2
South Carolina	43.5	-20.4
Alabama	43.5	-30.4
Mississippi	49.2	-30.7
Arkansas	35.0	-34.2
Georgia	33.0	-42.3



The Rural and Non-Rural Vote

Ten states were used for a county level analysis of rural and non-rural patterns of the vote: Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Idaho and Oregon. Across all ten states there was a larger swing to Carter in the rural counties than in the non-rural counties compared to the 1972 vote. In some cases, the difference was a small two or three points e.g., Wisconsin, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Idaho and Oregon. In the three southern states, the differential in the two swings rises to six to eight points. Nebraska also had a six point greater increase in its rural Democratic vote compared to the increase in its non-rural counties.

Of the ten states investigated, Ohio is the one which shows the greatest impact of Carter's rural appeal. Ohio's rural counties declined 19 percent in their support for the Republican candidate while the non-rural counties dropped 9 percent in their Republican vote for a difference of a full 10 points. These changes produce the unusual pattern of a Republican presidential candidate receiving a higher vote from Ohio's metropolitan areas (49%) than from its rural counties (46%). In 1972, for example, Nixon ran 7 points better in the rural counties than in the metropolitan counties of Ohio.

The surprising loss of Ohio obviously can be attributed to the unique impact that Carter had in the rural areas. A comparison to the pattern in Illinois clearly underscores the significance of this finding. The declines in the metropolitan Republican vote in Ohio (-9%) and Illinois (-7%) were nearly



the same. However, Illinois' rural counties swung to Carter by only 9% compared to the 19% rural swing in Ohio. This difference is at the root of the unprecedented result of having Illinois enter the Republican column but not Ohio.

The decline in the rural Ohio Republican vote was led, significantly enough, by the rural counties bordering on Kentucky and West Virginia: Brown (-24%), Scioto (-22%), Laurence (-21%), Gallia (-22%) and Meigs (-23%). Adams (-16%) and Washington (-14%) did not follow as strongly, and the Cincinnati metropolitan counties of Hamilton (-6%) and Clermont (-6%) declined by less than the statewide Republican decline.

A southern spill-over into the Midwest is also in evidence in extreme southern Illinois. In the ten southernmost counties of Illinois, the Republican vote dropped 17 percent compared to the statewide decline of 8 percent against 1972. At this point, one would like to conclude that Carter sliced off all the southern counties of the Midwest except for the fact that the Indiana results resist such a parsimonious conclusion. The southern border counties of Indiana did not swing Democratic to any greater degree than did the State as a whole.



Comparison of the 1972 and 1976 Republican Presidential Vote in SMSA and Non-SMSA Counties for Select States

	<u>OHIO</u>			<u>WISCONSIN</u>			<u>ILLINOIS</u>		
	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>
Total	60%	49%	-11%	53%	49%	- 4%	59%	51%	- 8%
SMSA	58	49	- 9	52	49	- 3	58	51	- 7
Non-SMSA	46	46	-19	55	50	- 5	62	51	-11

	<u>NEBRASKA</u>			<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>		
	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>
Total	71%	59%	-12%	59%	48%	-11%
SMSA	67	60	- 7	58	48	-10
Non-SMSA	73	60	-13	65	52	-13

	<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>			<u>TENNESSEE</u>			<u>VIRGINIA</u>		
	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>
Total	71%	43%	-28%	68%	43%	-25%	68%	49%	-19%
SMSA	72	49	-23	67	45	-22	59	46	-13
Non-SMSA	75	39	-31	69	41	-28	70	51	-19

	<u>IDAHO</u>			<u>OREGON</u>		
	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>Swing</u>
Total	64%	62%	- 2%	52%	50%	- 2%
SMSA	66	65	- 1	51	50	- 1
Non-SMSA	63	59	- 4	55	52	- 3



Movement of the Vote During September and October

An analysis of the major national public polls and the PFC/MOR national studies confirms that the second debate stalled the President's momentum and arrested the steady erosion to Carter's support.

During the weeks following the first debate the majority of polls had the President trailing Carter by only a two to three point margin or less; Associated Press (46% to 44%), Gannett (43% to 41%), Time/Yankelovich (43% to 43%), PFC/MOR (45% to 45%), Gallup (47% to 45%). The ABC/Harris poll which placed the President seven points back of Carter (46% to 39%) was the only major exception.

Significantly, the Gallup data which was collected during the post debate I period shows the rate of Ford's upward trend increasing substantially just prior to the second debate. In fact, the rate of increase in the President's ballot support during the post-debate I period was greater than the rate of increase registered throughout the entire month of September.

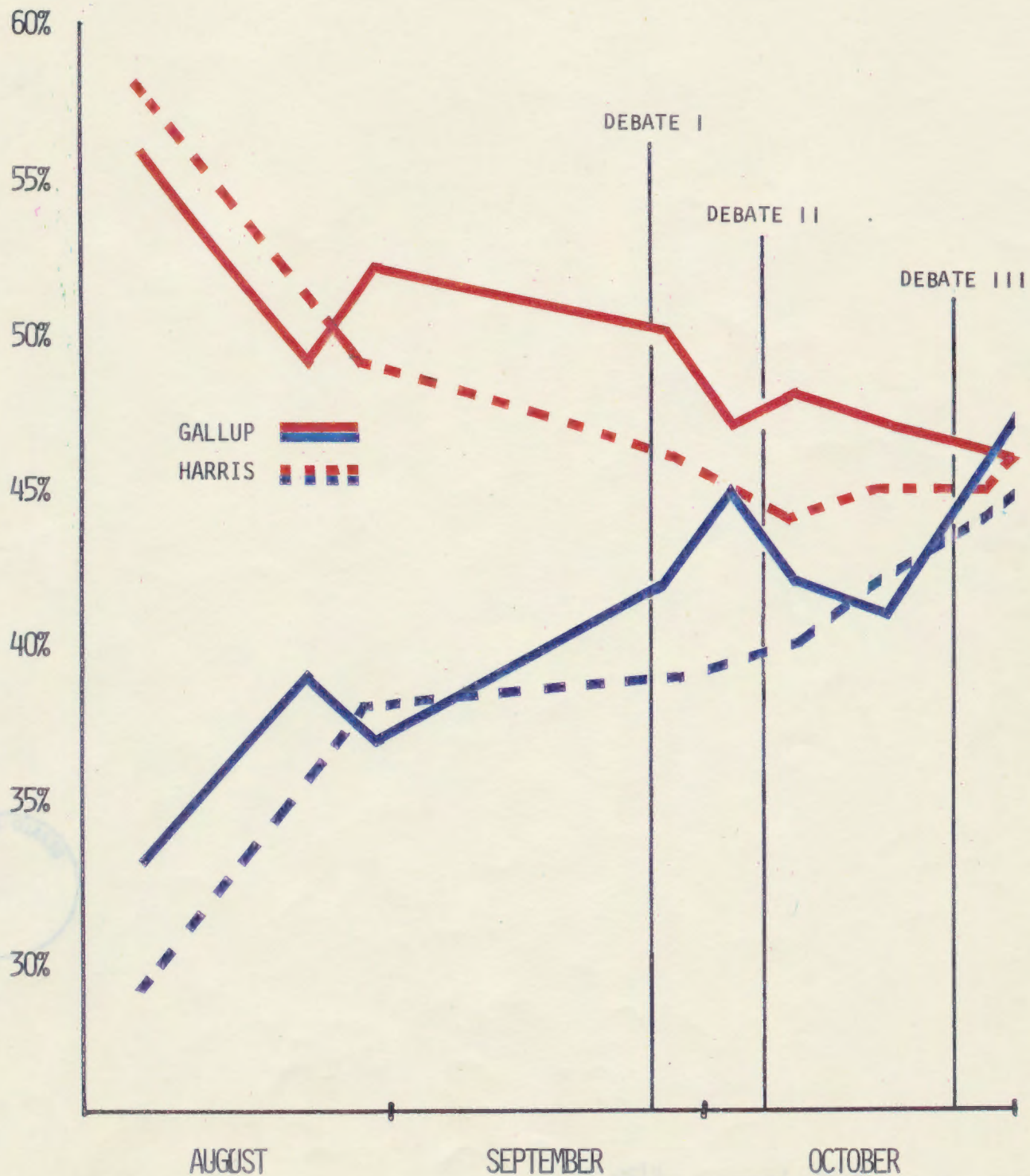
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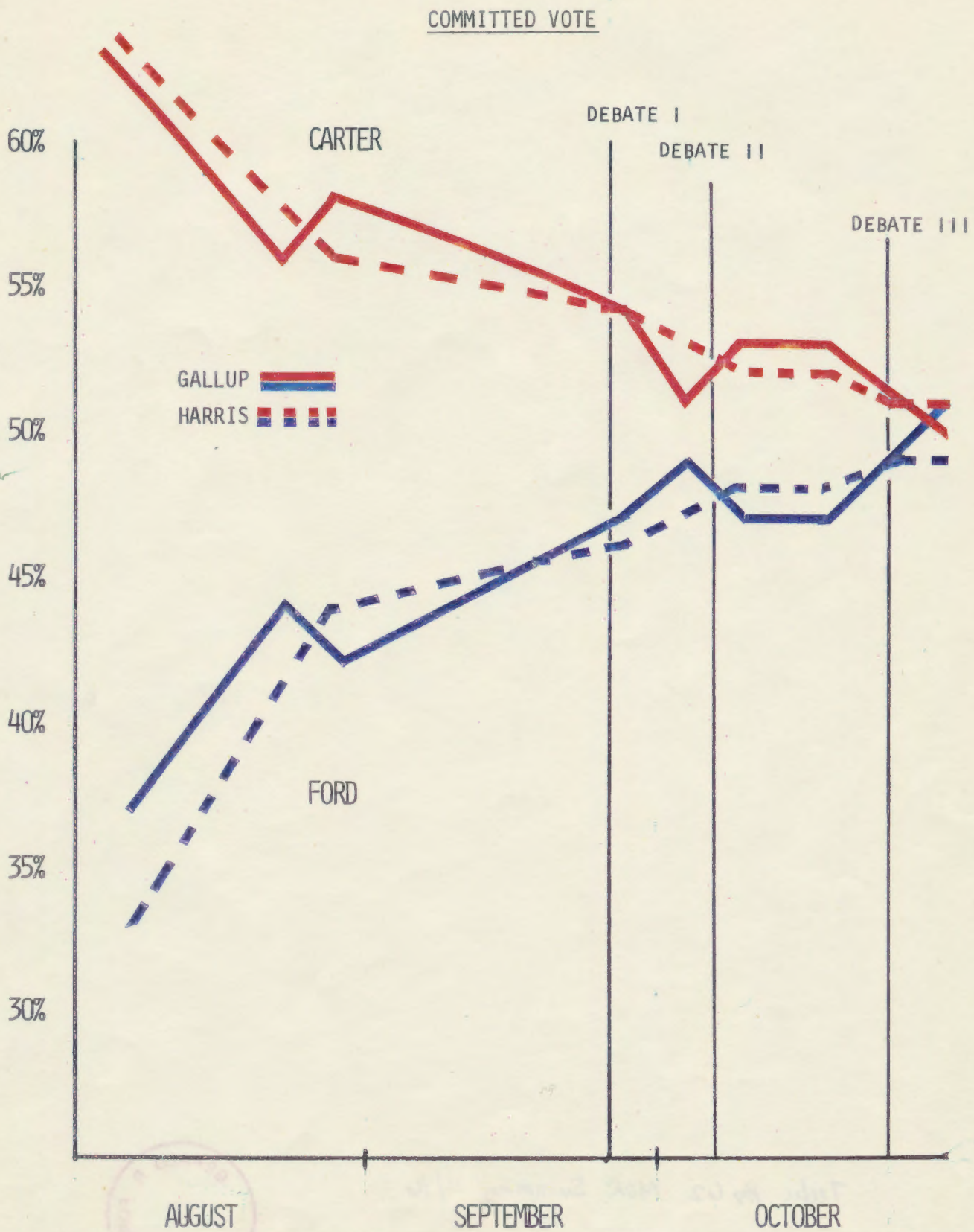
The President's post debate I surge proved to be temporary. Gallup's post debate II survey showed Carter widening his lead over Ford for the first time since mid-July. It is at this point -- immediately after the second debate -- that the Ford campaign lost the momentum which had been building throughout September. This period of stagnation appears to have derailed the Ford campaign for nearly two weeks. The Harris data for this period suggested that Ford continued to increase his support but Carter was also moving as undecideds began to move. If one examines the committed vote graph, it shows that the post-debate II period was flat for both campaigns.

TREND TO PRESIDENTIAL VOTING INTENTIONS

TOTAL VOTE



TREND TO PRESIDENTIAL VOTING INTENTIONS



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Trend to National Polling Data: Harris, Gallup, PFC/MOR

		Harris Poll						Gallup Poll					PFC/MOR					
		Ford	Carter	Other	Undec.	Ford Margin		Ford	Carter	Other	Undec.	Ford Margin	Ford	Carter	Other	Undec.	Ford Margin	
Post-Debate III	Oct. 29-30	45	46	4	5	(- 1)	Oct. 28-30	47	46	3	4	(+ 1)						
	Oct. 23-26	44	45	4	7	(- 1)												
Post-Debate II	Oct. 19-20	42	45	6	7	(- 3)	Oct. 15-18	41	47	2	10	(- 6)						
	Oct. 7-11	40	44	7	9	(- 4)	Oct. 8-11	42	48	2	8	(- 6)	Oct. 6-7	45	44	*	11	(+ 1)
Post-Debate I	Sept. 23-30	39	46	6	9	(- 7)	Sept. 27-Oct. 4	45	47	2	6	(- 2)	Sept. 23-28	45	45	*	10	(+ 0)
							Sept. 24-27	42	50	*	8	(- 8)						
Pre-Debate	Aug. 18-30	38	49	6	7	(-11)	Aug. 27-30	37	52	*	11	(-15)	Sept. 10-14	41	47	*	12	(- 6)
						Aug. 20-23	39	49	*	12	(-10)							
	Early Aug.	29	58	7	6	(-29)	Aug. 6-9	33	56	*	11	(-23)						



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Issues and the Vote

The voters' indecision in this election can be linked to their split preferences between Ford and Carter on the issues. Ford was the voters' choice to handle foreign affairs (47% to 31%) and national defense (49% to 29%), but Carter was their choice to reduce unemployment (58% to 22%).

However, the issue which held the strongest correspondence to their actual voting was the inflation issue on which Carter finished with a small 43% to 36% plurality preference. Among those who thought Carter could best handle this problem, 89% voted for him. Among those that chose Ford, 85% voted for him. By comparison, among the voters that had more confidence in Carter on unemployment 22% nevertheless voted for Ford. By the same token, of the voters who preferred Ford on national defense, 27% voted for Carter in spite of that perception.

The voters' choice on "running the federal government" bears as strong a relationship to voting as does inflation. However, this perception is very close psychologically to the voting preference itself and, therefore, is almost the expected result.



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I am going to mention some problems facing the nation today and as I mention each one I would like you to tell me who you thought would do the best job of handling that problem -- (Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter)?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>1976 Vote</u>		<u>Difference</u>
		<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>(1558)</u>	<u>(672)</u>	<u>(843)</u>	
<u>Running the Federal Government</u>				
Ford	37	73	9	+64
Carter	43	8	71	-63
Both	4	3	4	- 1
Neither	2	3	1	+ 2
Don't know	14	13	15	- 2
<u>Reducing Inflation/Cost of Living</u>				
Ford	36	72	9	+63
Carter	43	8	71	-63
Both	2	2	3	- 1
Neither	6	6	4	+ 2
Don't know	12	11	13	- 2
<u>Handling Our Foreign Affairs</u>				
Ford	47	79	21	+58
Carter	31	3	54	-51
Both	4	2	5	- 3
Neither	3	3	3	+ 0
Don't know	15	12	17	- 5
<u>Holding Down Taxes</u>				
Ford	37	68	12	+56
Carter	40	11	64	-53
Both	3	3	4	- 1
Neither	7	7	6	+ 1
Don't know	13	12	14	- 2
<u>Maintaining a Strong National Defense</u>				
Ford	49	80	24	+56
Carter	29	4	48	-44
Both	7	5	9	- 4
Neither	2	2	2	+ 0
Don't know	13	8	16	- 8
<u>Reducing Unemployment</u>				
Ford	22	46	3	+43
Carter	58	30	82	-52
Both	2	4	1	+ 3
Neither	5	6	3	+ 3
Don't know	13	15	11	+ 4



Strength of Relationships Between Candidate Preference on Six Issues and Reported 1976 Vote For President

	<u>Total</u>	<u>1976 Vote^a</u>		<u>Correlation</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
		<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>		
<u>Running the Federal Government</u>					
				.91	
Ford	100%	85%	13%		(578)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	42	54		(314)
Carter	100%	8	90		(667)
<u>Reducing Inflation/Cost of Living</u>					
				.90	
Ford	100%	85	13		(568)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	43	53		(315)
Carter	100%	8	89		(675)
<u>Handling Our Foreign Affairs</u>					
				.86	
Ford	100%	72	24		(737)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	34	62		(341)
Carter	100%	5	94		(481)
<u>Holding Down Taxes</u>					
				.84	
Ford	100%	77	18		(574)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	40	56		(359)
Carter	100%	12	86		(625)
<u>Maintaining a Strong National Defense</u>					
				.84	
Ford	100%	70	27		(766)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	30	67		(344)
Carter	100%	7	91		(448)
<u>Reducing Unemployment</u>					
				.82	
Ford	100%	91	8		(338)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	54	41		(311)
Carter	100%	22	76		(910)

^a Percent for other candidates not shown.



Perceived Attributes and the Vote

The voters were apparently weighing four attributes in making up their minds: competence, trustworthiness, concern or compassion, and a known quantity as opposed to the unknown challenger. Ford and Carter were virtually tied by the end of the election as to which was best described by the words "competent" and "trustworthy". In each case the voters' choice was very strongly correlated to their vote. However, about one-third of the voters did not see a difference between Carter and Ford on these two attributes.

This leaves considerable room for the next two attributes to come into play: "concerned" and "safe". Perceived "concern" was Carter's strongest point with the voters (42% to 23%) across the eight characteristics tested, and its very high correlation to the vote suggests it was the deciding factor for him. At the same time, Carters' weakness as being less known and somewhat a puzzle to many voters is seen in a 39% to 26% plurality of voters saying "safe" better described Ford than Carter. Moreover, this perception was as strongly related to the vote as was the voters' choice on "concerned".

Attributes which had weaker relationships to the vote were: "straightforward", "strong", "informed" (a big Ford advantage), and "intelligent".

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Now I'd like you to think about qualities and characteristics that people associated with the two presidential candidates. Please tell me if you believe the characteristics best describes (Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter).

	Total 100% (1558)	1976 Vote		Difference
		Ford 100% (672)	Carter 100% (843)	
<u>Competent</u>				
Ford	33	66	6	+60
Carter	35	5	59	-54
Both	21	18	23	- 5
Neither	2	3	2	+ 1
Don't know	10	8	10	- 2
<u>Trustworthy</u>				
Ford	34	66	8	+58
Carter	33	4	57	-53
Both	23	21	26	- 5
Neither	3	3	2	+ 1
Don't know	7	6	7	- 1
<u>Concerned</u>				
Ford	23	47	4	+43
Carter	42	12	66	-54
Both	29	35	25	+10
Neither	1	1	*	+ 1
Don't know	4	4	4	+ 0
<u>Safe</u>				
Ford	39	69	14	+55
Carter	26	3	45	-42
Both	13	10	15	- 5
Neither	3	2	4	- 2
Don't know	19	15	22	- 7
<u>Straightforward</u>				
Ford	40	71	16	+55
Carter	38	11	60	-49
Both	14	13	14	- 1
Neither	3	1	4	- 3
Don't know	5	4	7	- 3
<u>Strong</u>				
Ford	34	63	11	+52
Carter	42	15	65	-50
Both	13	12	13	- 1
Neither	3	5	2	+ 3
Don't know	8	5	9	- 4
<u>Informed</u>				
Ford	48	74	27	+47
Carter	29	6	48	-42
Both	15	14	16	- 2
Neither	1	1	1	+ 0
Don't know	7	5	7	- 2
<u>Intelligent</u>				
Ford	24	46	7	+39
Carter	34	12	52	-40
Both	34	34	34	+ 0
Neither	2	2	1	+ 1
Don't know	6	6	6	+ 0



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Strength of Relationships Between Candidate Preference on Personal Attributes and 1976 Reported Vote for President

	<u>1976 Vote</u>			<u>Correlation</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>		
<u>Competent</u>				.90	
Ford	100%	88%	10%		(507)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	38	58		(508)
Carter	100%	7	91		(544)
<u>Trustworthy</u>				.90	
Ford	100%	85	13		(525)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	39	57		(517)
Carter	100%	5	94		(516)
<u>Concerned</u>				.85	
Ford	100%	87	10		(361)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	51	46		(537)
Carter	100%	13	85		(660)
<u>Safe</u>				.85	
Ford	100%	78	20		(601)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	33	63		(551)
Carter	100%	5	93		(406)
<u>Straightforward</u>				.81	
Ford	100%	76	21		(627)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	36	60		(340)
Carter	100%	13	85		(592)
<u>Strong</u>				.81	
Ford	100%	80	17		(533)
Both/Neither/Don't know	100%	41	54		(370)
Carter	100%	15	84		(656)
<u>Informed</u>				.77	
Ford	100%	67	31		(745)
Both/Carter/Neither	100%	38	58		(360)
Carter	100%	8	90		(454)
<u>Intelligent</u>				.76	
Ford	100%	81	16		(380)
Both/Carter/Neither	100%	44	53		(655)
Carter	100%	15	83		(524)

Volunteered Reasons Given for the 1976 Vote

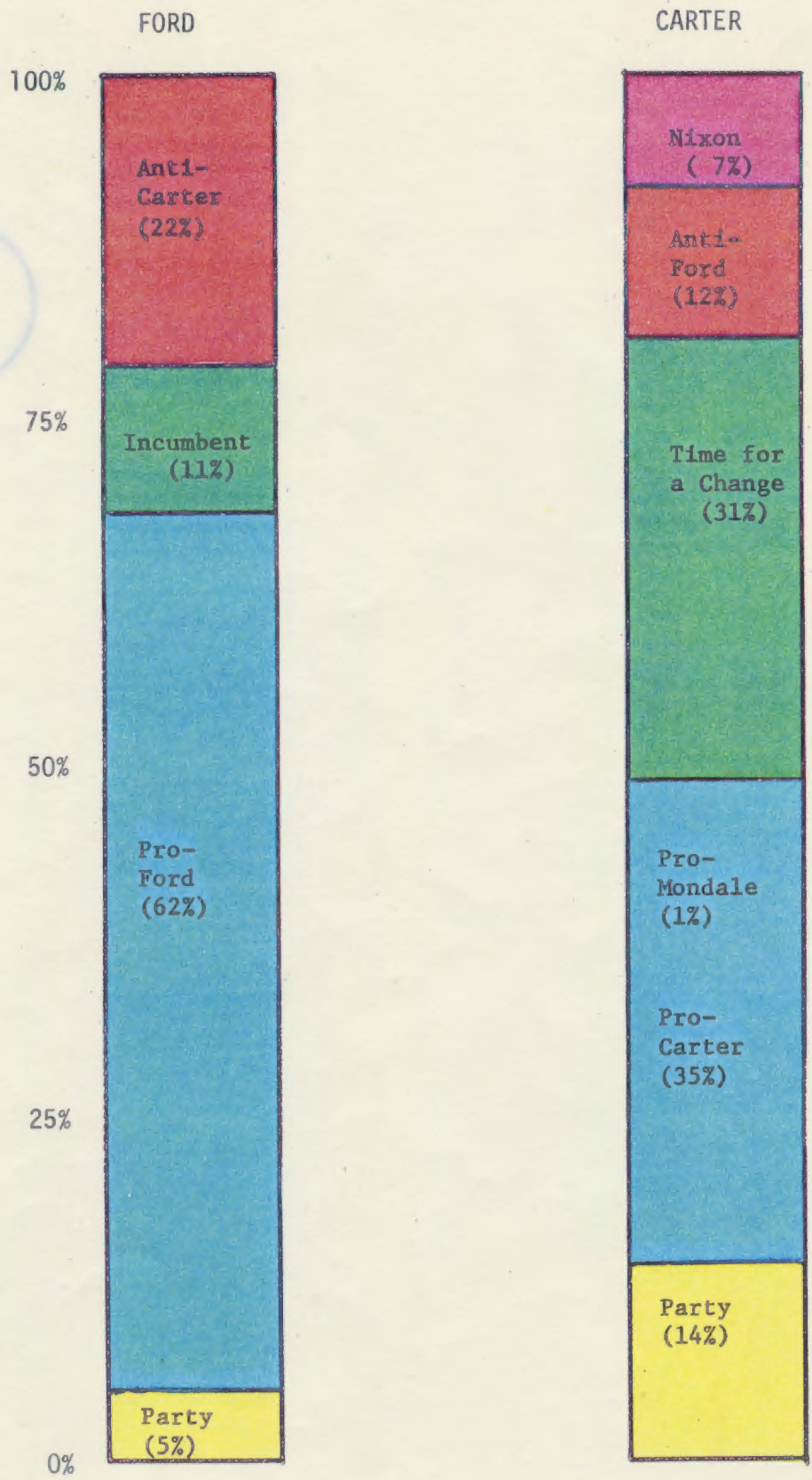
In the voters' own words the opinion that it was "time for a change" was the major impetus that Carter received over Ford. Fully 31 percent of Carter's vote was based on this expressed wish. In contrast, only 11% of Ford's vote was based on the opinions that "he needs more time" or "we should support the President."

Positive opinions about the candidate of their choice were much more important for Ford voters (62%) than for Carter voters (35%). There was also a slightly greater anti-Carter vote among Ford voters (22%) compared to the anti-Ford vote among Carter voters (19%). Seven points of the anti-Ford vote stemmed from Watergate.

Party loyalty as an expressed reason for their vote was greater among Carter voters than Ford voters by a difference of 14% to 5%.



Summary of Motivational Components to Each Candidates' Vote





The Protestant and Catholic Vote in 1976

The unusually high level of Catholic support for President Ford which existed during the first half of the campaign vanished by election day. The apparent cause of this loss was the second debate.

In the second week of September, the President had a surprisingly high 47% of the Catholic vote which unexpectedly matched his level of Protestant support. This finding signaled that a unique religious reaction was occurring in the electorate toward the candidacies of Ford and Carter. After the first debate, the pattern became more pronounced as Ford's national Catholic vote went ahead of his Protestant vote (53% to 51%). During early September, the statewide studies also were registering very high levels of Catholic support for Ford in the states of New Jersey, New York, Maryland and Virginia. Away from the eastern seaboard, the state findings were more spotty. The unique religious pattern appeared in Illinois and Missouri but not in Wisconsin, Iowa, Ohio or Colorado. However, in no case where a state had a significant Catholic population, did the Catholic vote tend to go against the President more than expected.

However, in the national study done immediately after the second debate, the President's Catholic vote had fallen to 48% from its previous 53% level. Significantly, Ford's Protestant vote did not fall but instead held at 52%. In the statewide studies done during the last week, a continuing erosion of Ford's Catholic vote was measured particularly in New Jersey and New York where in early September it was above 50% of the committed vote.



The post debate II decline in Ford's Catholic vote ended at 41% on election day. Ford finished with 53% of the Protestant vote which represents virtually no change during the same period that the Catholic downward trend was occurring.

Trend in Ford's Protestant and Catholic Vote ^a

	<u>Sept. 10-14</u>	<u>Sept. 23-28</u>	<u>Oct. 6-7</u>	<u>1976 Election</u>
Catholics	47%	53%	48%	41%
Protestants	47	51	52	53

^aCommitted vote for Ford shown.

Nevertheless, some commentaries on the election have interpreted the results as still showing an unusually high Catholic vote for Ford. George Gallup correctly observes that the differential between Catholics and Protestants was the smallest in the last seven presidential elections. According to his past studies, between 1952 and 1972, Catholics voted an average of 22 percentage points more Democratic than did Protestants. This is significantly larger than the 12 point difference measured in our study or the 11 point difference measured in Gallup's 1976 post election study. Gallup interprets this result as representing "a gain for the Republican candidate" among Catholics. However, the gap could have become closer just as well from a Republican loss of the Protestant vote as a gain among the Catholics. The question becomes -- was the Republican Protestant vote unusually "low"; or was the Catholic vote unusually "high"; or, perhaps, were both true?

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

The comparison to the historical average indicates that it was the Protestant vote which changed the most in the 1976 election. Ford's 53% is seven points lower than the 1952, 1956, 1964 and 1972 average Republican Protestant vote.

His Catholic vote, however, was not above this four election average but was also a point below it.

The historical averages for the gross categories of Protestants and Catholics is, however, a poor yardstick to use for the 1976 election. The 1952 to 1972 "Protestant" average has two very dissimilar components -- the black vote and the southern white vote. Beginning with the 1964 election, these two groups went in opposite directions. The fact that the differential between Protestants and Catholics remained in the 20 point range through 1972 was largely a function of the black and southern white Protestants cancelling each other out. The gap between Protestants and Catholics closed to its unprecedented 11 points in 1976 because (1) the southern white Protestants shifted dramatically from their 1964 to 1972 defection rates from the Democratic Party; and (2) the Republican black vote was now below 10% compared to highs of 39% in 1956 and 32% in 1960. These two factors now worked together to depress the overall Republican Protestant vote in 1976 compared to previous elections.

The final piece of evidence on the Catholic and Protestant vote is Ford's vote within each compared to his expected vote, not based on past averages but on each group's current party loyalties. Among white Catholics, Ford did seven points better than their partisan profile would predict. Among white Protestants, however, he did 14 points better. (These same calculations in early September were showing larger deviations among the Catholics than the Protestants in such states as New Jersey and New York.)

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

The fact that President Ford was running ahead of a party label vote by as much as 14 percent with white Protestants but behind the 1972 Republican vote for this group is testimony to how large the southern white defection had become in 1972. That defection was greatly reduced in 1976 although it still remained on the plus side for the Republicans.



Demographic Vote: 1952-1976

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972		1976			
	Stev.	Ike	Stev.	Ike	JFK	Nixon	LBJ	Gold.	HHH	Nixon	Wallace	McG.	Nixon	Carter	Ford	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NATIONAL	45	55	42	58	50	50	61	39	43	43	14	38	62	50	48	2
SEX																
Men	47 &&	53	45 &&	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16	37	63	49	48	3
Women	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12	38	62	50	48	2
RACE																
White	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15	32	68	45	53	2
Non-White	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3	87	13	91	8	1
EDUCATION																
College	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	37	54	9	37	*63	42	55	3
High School	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15	34	66	52	46	2
Grade School	52	48	50	50	55	**45	66	**34	52	33	15	49	51	64	34	2
AGE																
Under 30 years	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15	48	52	53	44	3
30-49 years	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15	33	**67	50	47	3
50 years & older	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12	36	64	48	51	1
RELIGION																
Protestants	37	63	37	63	38 &&	62	55	45	35	49	16	30	70	45 "	53	2
Catholics	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8	48	52	57 &&	41	2
POLITICS																
Republicans	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5	5	95	8	90	1
Democrats	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14	67	33	84	15	1
Independents	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25	31	69	42	54	4
Members of Labor																
Union Families	61	39	57	43	65	35	73	27	56	29	15	46&	54	60	37	3

&Unusually small difference
&&Unusually large difference

*Unusually low Republican vote
**Unusually high Republican vote

1952-1972: George Gallup
1976: Market Opinion Research





Comparison of Republican Percentage of Total Vote For Selected States



ILLINOIS

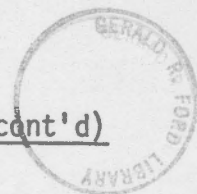
	<u>Republican Percentage</u>			<u>Republican C.R.</u>		
	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Total	55.5	59.0	51.1	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	52.0	56.2	49.2	57.4	57.9	57.7
Balance of State	61.1	63.4	53.9	42.6	42.1	42.3
SMSA Counties	60.8	57.9	51.1	72.1	73.5	74.2
Non-SMSA Counties	53.7	62.2	51.2	27.9	26.5	25.8

NEBRASKA

	<u>Republican Percentage</u>			<u>Republican C.R.</u>		
	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Total	68.2	70.5	59.2	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	63.1	67.3	60.0	40.2	43.1	45.0
Balance of State	72.1	73.1	58.5	59.8	56.9	55.0
SMSA Counties	62.2	67.0	59.6	35.4	38.6	40.0
Non-SMSA Counties	72.0	72.8	58.9	64.6	61.4	60.0

OHIO

	<u>Republican Percentage</u>			<u>Republican C.R.</u>		
	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Total	57.0	59.6	48.7	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	54.3	56.7	49.4	41.9	41.8	41.8
Balance of State	59.2	61.9	48.1	58.1	58.2	58.2
SMSA Counties	55.9	58.3	49.3	76.9	77.0	77.4
Non-SMSA Counties	61.1	64.6	46.3	23.1	23.0	22.6



Comparison of Republican Percentage of Total Vote For Selected States (cont'd)

WISCONSIN

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.4	53.4	49.1	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	50.9	48.7	46.9	38.7	38.7	39.5
Balance of State	58.7	56.8	50.7	61.3	61.3	60.5
SMSA Counties	53.2	52.2	48.5	48.9	50.5	57.8
Non-SMSA Counties	57.8	54.6	50.1	51.1	49.5	42.2

NEW HAMPSHIRE

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.9	64.0	55.7	100%	100%	100%
Four Largest Counties	55.4	63.7	55.3	75.3	76.2	75.9
Balance of State	57.4	64.5	57.1	24.7	23.8	24.1

PENNSYLVANIA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	52.0	59.1	47.7	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	46.6	54.0	45.2	42.3	42.9	42.2
Balance of State	56.7	63.7	51.3	57.7	57.1	57.8
SMSA Counties	50.4	57.8	47.7	79.4	80.2	79.9
Non-SMSA Counties	59.4	64.9	52.3	20.6	19.8	20.1

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of Republican Percentage of Total Vote For Selected States (cont'd)

RHODE ISLAND & CONNECTICUT

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	47.0	57.3	50.7	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	46.9	57.1	50.7	80.4	79.1	78.8
Balance of State	47.4	58.0	50.3	19.6	20.9	21.1



SOUTH CAROLINA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	70.4	70.8	43.1	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	72.1	71.9	46.3	36.5	36.3	39.2
Balance of State	69.4	70.1	41.2	63.5	63.7	60.7
SMSA Counties	72.6	72.1	48.6	42.9	43.5	48.9
Non-SMSA Counties	68.8	69.8	38.9	57.1	56.5	51.1

TENNESSEE

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	71.9	67.7	43.4	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	68.5	66.5	46.1	44.5	48.6	49.7
Balance of State	74.8	68.9	41.0	55.5	51.4	50.2
SMSA Counties	70.1	67.0	45.1	62.9	65.3	66.2
Non-SMSA Counties	75.2	68.9	40.5	37.1	34.7	33.7

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

VIRGINIA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	67.0	67.8	49.3	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	61.2	63.4	49.4	24.5	27.7	28.8
Balance of State	69.1	69.6	49.2	75.5	72.3	71.2
SMSA Counties ^(a)	62.3	59.3	46.3	35.6	34.1	35.4
Non-SMSA Counties	69.9	69.9	51.1	64.4	65.9	64.6

(a) Independent Cities

IDAHO

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	69.3	64.2	61.7	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	73.3	66.0	64.8	48.1	47.2	49.0
Balance of State	66.1	62.7	58.9	51.9	52.8	51.0

OREGON

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.9	52.4	50.4	100%	100%	100%
Five Largest Counties	53.5	50.7	49.6	58.7	59.2	58.5
Balance of State	59.8	55.1	51.6	41.2	40.8	41.5
SMSA Counties	53.6	50.9	49.7	60.4	61.0	60.3
Non-SMSA Counties	59.7	55.0	51.6	39.6	39.0	39.7

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

Comparison of the Republican Presidential Vote for 1968 to 1972 for Ohio and Indiana Counties Bordering The South



	<u>Republican Percentage</u>			
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	
<u>Ohio Rural Border Counties</u>				
Brown	66.0%	62.7%	38.8%	-23.9
Adams	65.1	63.2	47.7	-15.5
Scioto	57.2	63.1	41.3	-21.8
Laurence	58.6	67.0	46.0	-21.0
Gallia	69.9	72.4	50.3	-22.1
Meigs	65.5	70.7	47.9	-22.8
Washington	66.1	68.6	54.6	-14.0
				<u>-20.2</u>
<u>Indiana Rural Border Counties</u>				
Spencer	58.0	58.6	46.5	-12.1
Perry	52.2	54.7	42.1	-12.6
Crawford	63.6	59.0	44.9	-14.1
Harrison	61.3	59.8	46.0	-13.8
Jefferson	59.6	60.5	47.6	-12.9
Switzerland	57.2	53.5	38.2	-15.3
				<u>-13.5</u>
<u>Illinois Rural Border Counties</u>				
White	61.4	62.1	46.4	-15.7
Gallatin	52.6	53.7	35.3	-18.4
Hardin	58.3	62.5	46.5	-16.0
Pope	67.6	64.9	52.6	-12.3
Massac	59.9	70.0	45.4	-24.6
Polaski	55.2	59.3	42.4	-16.9
Alexander	57.4	59.1	42.0	-17.1
Union	56.9	59.4	41.4	-18.0
Johnson	71.1	68.5	52.5	-16.0
Saline	57.7	59.3	43.2	-16.1
				<u>-17.1</u>

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

OHIO

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	57.0%	59.6%	48.7%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Cuyahoga	46	50	42	13.8	13.5	12.7
Hamilton	63	66	61	10.2	9.8	10.5
Franklin	65	64	57	8.3	9.0	9.4
Montgomery	54	58	48	5.0	5.0	5.0
Summit	53	50	39	4.9	4.6	4.0
Lucas	49	48	42	3.9	3.6	3.8
Stark	60	63	51	3.7	3.8	3.6
Mahoning	45	50	38	2.4	2.6	2.3
Lorain	50	56	43	1.9	2.1	1.9
Trumbull	51	56	41	1.9	2.0	1.8
Butler	68	68	59	2.3	2.1	2.4
Lake	57	59	47	1.7	1.7	1.8
Clark	56	62	51	1.4	1.4	1.3
Richland	66	68	51	1.2	1.3	1.2
Columbiana	55	63	49	1.1	1.1	1.1
Allen	71	70	62	1.2	1.1	1.1
Jefferson	54	56	40	0.8	0.8	0.7
Greene	61	65	53	1.1	1.0	1.1
Ashtabula	55	59	45	0.9	0.9	0.8
Portage	55	52	42	0.9	1.0	0.8



*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

NEBRASKA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	68.2%	70.5%	59.2%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Douglas	63	68	60	23.4	25.0	25.8
Lancaster	61	62	58	9.8	10.5	10.8
Sarpy	70	75	62	2.1	2.8	3.3
Hall	67	72	64	2.5	2.7	3.0
Scotts Bluff	76	76	62	2.2	2.1	1.9
Dodge	71	72	63	2.4	2.4	2.4
Buffalo	72	74	65	2.0	2.1	2.2
Adams	69	73	61	2.1	2.2	2.1
Lincoln	66	70	57	1.8	1.8	1.9
Madison	76	79	70	2.0	2.1	2.1
Platte	69	73	66	1.7	1.9	2.0
Gage	63	64	54	1.6	1.5	1.4
Dawson	78	81	69	1.5	1.5	1.5
Cass	69	71	54	1.0	1.1	1.0
Saunders	66	63	52	1.0	1.0	1.1
Otoe	74	74	60	1.1	1.2	1.0
Custer	78	81	66	1.2	1.2	1.0
York	77	78	72	1.1	1.1	1.2
Washington	73	75	63	0.9	1.0	1.0
Dakota	64	62	53	0.7	0.7	0.7



*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
	Total	70.4%	70.8%	43.1%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Charleston	68	69	49	8.0	8.3	9.8
Greenville	79	80	51	9.9	9.7	11.3
Richland	65	64	47	7.1	8.1	9.4
Spartanburg	76	75	42	7.6	6.5	5.9
Anderson	77	75	33	3.8	3.7	2.7
Florence	67	70	45	3.5	3.8	3.9
Aiken	77	77	51	4.5	4.4	4.6
York	73	69	41	3.1	3.0	2.8
Sumter	61	65	47	2.2	2.3	2.7
Orangeburg	58	59	39	2.6	2.4	2.5
Horry	73	77	37	2.2	3.2	2.7
Lexington	84	85	59	4.5	5.3	6.2
Darlington	72	72	40	2.2	2.5	1.9
Laurens	75	75	41	1.9	1.7	1.5
Greenwood	74	72	37	2.3	2.0	1.7
Beaufort	54	64	49	0.9	1.2	1.7
Pickens	85	82	48	2.4	2.5	2.3
Williamsburg	53	52	38	1.2	1.2	1.5
Oconee	78	78	31	1.6	1.4	1.1
Lancaster	78	78	37	2.0	1.9	1.4

*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

NEW HAMPSHIRE

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.9%	64.0%	55.7%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Counties</u>						
Hillsborough	51	64	54	28.0	30.5	28.8
Rockingham	59	63	55	18.8	18.2	19.7
Merrimack	62	68	60	12.3	11.8	11.7
Strafford	50	58	50	7.9	7.9	7.8
Grafton	63	66	62	8.2	7.8	7.8
Cheshire	55	59	55	6.7	6.3	6.7
Coos	47	61	49	4.3	4.4	3.8
Belknap	67	71	62	5.5	5.4	5.3
Sullivan	52	58	51	3.9	3.7	3.6
Carroll	77	77	72	4.3	4.0	4.6

*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

TENNESSEE

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	71.9%	67.7%	43.4	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Shelby	65	65	47	16.8	19.9	20.2
Davidson	67	61	38	10.2	10.2	9.5
Knox	72	72	51	7.3	8.0	8.8
Hamilton	73	71	51	6.9	7.2	7.5
Sullivan	76	72	49	3.4	3.4	3.6
Washington	79	75	51	1.9	2.1	2.3
Madison	74	72	47	1.7	1.9	1.7
Blount	77	74	53	1.9	2.0	2.1
Montgomery	62	56	32	1.0	1.0	0.9
Anderson	67	66	44	1.6	1.7	1.6
Rutherford	71	64	35	1.4	1.4	1.2
Sumner	73	66	36	1.3	1.2	1.2
Bradley	80	77	51	1.3	1.3	1.4
Gibson	76	71	35	1.3	1.2	0.8
Greene	78	77	55	1.2	1.2	1.3
Maury	77	66	38	1.2	0.9	0.8
Carter	85	82	54	1.4	1.4	1.4
Roane	76	70	44	1.1	1.1	1.1
Hamblen	78	76	48	1.0	1.1	1.1
Wilson	74	66	31	0.9	0.8	0.7



*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

PENNSYLVANIA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	52.0%	59.1%	48.5%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Philadelphia	38	44	32	12.9	12.7	10.6
Allegheny	48	56	48	13.9	13.7	13.8
Montgomery	60	64	58	6.3	6.4	7.1
Delaware	59	64	56	6.4	6.5	6.8
Bucks	70	62	52	3.4	3.7	3.9
Westmoreland	45	55	44	2.7	2.8	2.7
Luzerne	45	61	45	2.6	3.0	2.7
Lancaster	73	76	67	3.1	3.0	3.3
Berks	54	62	52	2.4	2.4	2.5
Chester	66	68	60	2.7	2.7	3.1
York	64	68	58	2.4	2.3	2.6
Erie	48	58	47	1.9	2.3	2.3
Lehigh	54	62	50	2.1	2.1	2.1
Lackawanna	42	56	43	1.9	2.2	2.0
Dauphin	69	69	58	2.3	2.0	2.2
Northampton	45	56	44	1.4	1.5	1.5
Washington	44	54	40	1.5	1.6	1.5
Beaver	45	56	42	1.4	1.6	1.5
Cambria	48	60	46	1.5	1.6	1.5
Schuylkill	55	62	49	1.7	1.6	1.4



*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

OREGON

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.9%	52.4%	50.4%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty largest counties</u>						
Mulnomah	49	47	47	25.7	24.3	22.5
Lane	56	49	45	9.9	9.8	9.3
Clackamas	57	54	53	7.8	8.6	9.6
Washington	61	58	60	8.0	9.0	10.0
Marion	60	58	51	7.2	7.5	7.1
Jackson	63	58	51	4.8	4.9	4.9
Linn	59	54	47	3.1	3.1	2.9
Douglas	64	58	52	3.6	3.3	3.3
Coos	48	45	40	2.1	2.1	1.9
Benton	65	56	57	2.7	3.1	3.1
Klamath	66	59	55	2.4	2.3	2.4
Umatilla	61	58	54	2.1	2.2	1.9
Yamhill	62	59	53	1.9	2.0	2.0
Josephine	70	59	54	2.2	2.0	2.2
Polk	61	58	51	1.6	1.8	1.7
Deschutes	57	52	48	1.3	1.6	1.6
Columbia	45	44	40	1.0	1.1	1.1
Clatsop	51	47	50	1.4	1.2	1.3
Lincoln	53	52	46	1.2	1.3	1.1
Malheur	76	67	62	1.4	1.2	1.1

*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ILLINOIS

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.5%	59.0%	51.1%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty largest counties</u>						
Cook	49	53	46	44.7	44.3	41.6
Du Page	74	75	71	5.4	6.2	7.5
Lake	64	66	62	3.0	3.3	4.0
St. Clair	49	52	40	1.9	1.8	1.7
Kane	69	70	64	2.3	2.3	2.5
Madison	54	56	44	2.1	2.0	1.9
Will	63	66	55	2.2	2.3	2.7
Winnebago	60	61	55	2.1	2.1	2.3
Peoria	58	65	57	1.6	1.8	1.6
Champaign	62	57	56	1.2	1.2	1.5
Rock Island	50	53	48	1.4	1.3	1.4
Sangamon	59	66	53	1.7	1.8	1.9
Macon	52	59	47	1.0	1.1	1.1
Tazewell	57	67	56	1.1	1.1	1.2
McHenry	73	75	69	1.2	1.3	1.6
LaSalle	56	59	52	1.1	1.1	1.1
McLean	65	68	63	1.0	1.1	1.2
Kankakee	62	67	56	0.9	0.9	1.0
Vermilion	62	63	52	1.0	0.9	0.8
DeKalb	68	60	61	0.6	0.7	0.8

*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

WISCONSIN

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	55.4%	53.4%	49.1%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Milwaukee	49	46	43	20.8	19.4	18.9
Dane	42	41	44	4.7	5.7	6.3
Waukesha	63	61	60	4.1	6.0	7.0
Racine	57	56	50	3.8	3.9	3.7
Brown	62	56	52	3.7	3.7	3.6
Rock	58	58	50	3.1	3.1	2.8
Winnebago	61	57	57	3.0	3.0	3.2
Outagamie	66	60	55	3.0	2.8	2.8
Kenosha	49	54	45	2.2	2.4	2.2
Marathon	52	51	47	2.1	2.2	2.2
Sheboygan	49	49	48	2.1	2.3	2.2
Fond Du Lac	62	61	57	2.1	2.1	2.2
Manitowoc	49	49	45	1.6	1.7	1.6
Lacrosse	63	63	59	2.1	2.2	2.4
Dodge	65	62	55	1.8	1.7	1.7
Eau Claire	54	51	47	1.4	1.6	1.6
Wood	55	55	51	1.5	1.5	1.5
Washington	65	57	57	1.5	1.6	1.9
Walworth	69	66	59	1.8	1.8	1.8
Jerrerson	62	59	55	1.5	1.5	1.5

*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

IDAHO

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	69.3%	64.2%	61.7%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties</u>						
Ada	76	68	66	18.0	18.4	20.1
Canyon	76	68	65	8.9	9.7	8.4
Bonneville	76	61	69	7.8	6.6	7.7
Bannock	57	58	56	6.0	6.4	6.4
Twin Falls	78	74	68	7.1	6.6	6.2
Kootenai	58	61	59	4.2	5.0	5.1
Nez Perce	48	52	49	3.0	3.1	3.0
Bingham	72	64	63	3.8	3.4	3.6
Latah	59	55	56	2.6	3.0	3.3
Shoshone	50	54	53	1.8	1.9	1.7
Elmore	68	67	56	1.2	1.5	1.4
Cassia	79	74	71	2.6	2.3	2.2
Minidoka	76	69	60	2.2	2.1	1.7
Bonner	57	58	53	2.0	2.2	2.2
Madison	80	69	76	1.8	1.8	2.0
Idaho	62	62	58	1.5	1.6	1.5
Payette	75	68	59	1.9	1.8	1.5
Jefferson	81	58	67	1.8	1.4	1.7
Clearwater	47	51	46	0.8	0.8	0.7
Jerome	79	75	64	1.8	1.8	1.5

*These percentages combine the Republican and A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

VIRGINIA

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	67.0%	67.8%	49.3%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Twenty Largest Counties/ Cities</u>						
Fairfax County	62	66	54	7.9	11.3	13.2
Norfolk City	56	58	40	4.0	3.9	3.4
Richmond City	51	58	45	3.7	4.7	4.4
Arlington County	57	59	48	3.8	4.0	3.7
Henrico County	84	85	66	5.1	5.3	5.4
Virginia Beach City	72	77	54	3.0	3.9	4.1
Newport News City	63	67	47	2.6	2.7	2.5
Hampton City	65	66	42	2.3	2.2	1.7
Prince William County	70	72	49	1.4	2.0	1.8
Portsmouth City	58	59	36	2.4	2.0	1.6
Alexandria City	55	56	45	1.9	2.0	2.0
Roanoke City	69	65	41	2.3	1.9	1.7
Chesapeake City	70	68	40	1.9	1.8	1.5
Chesterfield County	85	85	66	3.7	2.5	3.3
Roanoke County	81	77	50	1.9	2.0	1.6
Pittsylvania County	72	72	51	1.6	1.2	1.1

*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

RHODE ISLAND & CONNECTICUT

	Republican Percentage			Republican C.R.		
	1968*	1972	1976	1968*	1972	1976
Total	47.0%	57.3%	50.7%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Counties</u>						
Hartford, C	44	52	48	19.3	18.8	19.4
Fairfield, C	58	64	59	24.7	22.6	23.2
New Haven, C	49	59	56	20.0	19.5	19.3
Providence, R	32	50	42	10.4	12.6	11.5
New London, C	50	63	51	5.4	5.7	5.2
Litchfield, C	54	60	56	4.6	4.2	4.5
Kent, R	41	58	49	3.2	3.9	3.8
Middlesex, C	51	58	52	3.3	3.2	3.4
Tolland, C	51	56	51	2.4	2.5	2.6
Newport, R	42	50	46	1.5	1.9	1.7
Washington, R	48	59	50	1.7	1.9	1.9
Windham, C	45	56	46	2.0	2.1	1.9
Bristol, R	41	55	47	1.0	1.2	1.1



*These percentages combine the Republican and the A.I.P. vote.

