The original documents are located in Box 64, folder "April 17, 1972 - John N. Mitchell - Interim Analysis Report" of the Robert Teeter Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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April 17, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT: Interim Analysis Report

During the last several weeks we have been doing an in-depth
analysis of our first wave of campaign polls, and this memorandum
will present some of our interim findings.

The findings outlined are only <u>preliminary</u>. The major portion of
this research was conducted using California and New York data.
We are now in the process of expanding our analysis to include
the six top priority states to confirm our original conclusions.
Although the conclusions are only tentative, several of the tech-
niques have produced the same results which would indicate that
our initial findings are reliable.

Automatic Interaction Detector (A.I.D.) and Multiple Classification Analysis (M.C.A.)

A.I.D. has been used to determine what factors are affecting the
vote for the President and to arrange the factors in order of
their importance. Similarly, multiple classification analysis
quantifies the contribution of these factors to the Nixon vote.

In the Nixon/Muskie race for California, A.I.D. has produced the
following diagram showing the important factors that affect the
vote for President. The factors at the top are most important.

```
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │  Nixon vs. Muskie │
                          └─────────────────┘
                                    │
                   Party                        ┌──────────────┐
                 Behavior                       │ St. Repub.    │  (Nixon
        ┌──────────────────┐                    │   N=41        │   Voter)
        │ Dem.,T-S,Marg.    │                   └──────────────┘
        │    N=101          │
        └──────────────────┘
              │        Muskie
              │        Trust
   ┌──────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────┐
   │ Muskie Trust = HI │          │ Muskie Trust = LO │
   │     N=51          │          │      N=50         │
   └──────────────────┘          └──────────────────┘
         Income                        Income
   ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐     ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐
   │ S=10,000 │  │ S=6,000  │     │ $=10,000 │  │ $=18,000 │
   │  N=22    │  │  N=29    │     │  N=28    │  │  N=22    │
   └──────────┘  └──────────┘     └──────────┘  └──────────┘
      Age        (Muskie           Nixon
                 Voter)            Issue
┌────────┐ ┌────────┐       ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│ Age=25 │ │ Age=30 │       │ Nixon Issue = HI │ Nixon Issue = LO │
│ N=10   │ │ N=12   │       │   N=10       │ │    N=18      │
└────────┘ └────────┘       └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
 (Muskie    (Nixon          (Nixon Voter)    (Muskie Voter)
  Voter)     Voter)
                                                  Nixon
                                                  Issue
                              ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
                              │ Nixon issue = HI │ Nixon Issue = LO │
                              │   N=11       │ │    N=11      │
                              └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
                              (Nixon Voter)    (Nixon Voter)
```

This chart shows that past party behavior is the single most important vote determining factor for the President. The next most important factor is the voters perception of Muskie's trustworthiness. It is not until after each of these has been taken into account that income and age have any effect. Following the differences from income and age, the perceived trustworthiness and strength of the President then affects the vote. The results from this technique were confirmed through the use of M.C.A. The factors affecting the President's vote in California are:

Factor	Percentage of Nixon Vote Explained
Total	56%
Voter type	21
Income	5
Muskie trust	4
Age	4
Nixon trust	3
Nixon strength	3
Misc. other factors	16

Using A.I.D. on the Nixon/Kennedy ballot, a somewhat different
set of factors appear to be explaining the Nixon vote. These are
shown in the following chart:

```
                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Nixon  vs. Kennedy │
                        └─────────────────────┘
                             Kennedy
                              Issue
              ┌──────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────┐
              │ Kennedy Issue = LO   │      │ Kennedy Issue = HI   │
              │ N=53                 │      │ N=81                 │
              └──────────────────────┘      └──────────────────────┘
                      ·Party
                      Behavior
        ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
        │ Dem., T-S, Marg. │   │ Republican   │          Nixon Issue
        │ N=30             │   │ N=53         │
        └──────────────────┘   └──────────────┘
              Age                (Nixon
                                  : Voter)                    ┌──────────────────┐
     ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐                               │ Nixon Issue = LO │
     │ Age=38   │  │ Age=23   │                               │ N=42             │
     │ N=20     │  │ N=10     │                               └──────────────────┘
     └──────────┘  └──────────┘                                     Income
      (Nixon         (Kennedy                          ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐
      Voter)         Voter)          ┌──────────────┐  │ $=9,000  │   │ $=25,000 │
                                     │ Nixon Issue  │  │ N=32     │   │ N=10     │
                                     │ = HI  N=39   │  └──────────┘   └──────────┘
                                     └──────────────┘   (Kennedy       (Kennedy
                                        Kennedy          Voter)         Voter)
                                        Competence
                           ┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
                           │ Kennedy Comp.│  │ Kennedy Comp.=HI │
                           │ =LO  N=11    │  │ N=28             │
                           └──────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
                            (Nixon Voter)         Education
                                        ┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
                                        │ Ed.=Some college │  │ Ed.=9th grade│
                                        │ N=18             │  │ N=10         │
                                        └──────────────────┘  └──────────────┘
                                         (Kennedy Voter)      (Kennedy Voter)
```

The most important factor from the above chart is Kennedy's handling of the issues. Party behavior and income are the next most important factors. These are followed by the perceptions of Nixon's trust and voter's age. Using M.C.A. analysis, the factors have the following levels of contribution to the vote:

Factor	Percentage of Nixon Vote Explained
Total	57%
Kennedy's issue handling	11
Income	8
Voter type	5
Nixon trust	3
Age	3
Kennedy competence	3
Misc. other factors	24

When the voters are presented with a Nixon/Kennedy/Wallace ballot, Kennedy's handling of the issues becomes relatively unimportant and party behavior increases in predicting substantially more of the vote. Under these circumstances, the election becomes more of a party choice, although much less so than was the case in the Nixon/Muskie race.

To more fully understand why issues have such a small effect on the vote, we have calculated an average handling of the issues score weighted by their importance given to each issue by the respondent. This is shown in the following table:

MEAN SCORES FOR CANDIDATES ON ISSUE HANDLING
CAPABILITY (LOW = 0, HIGH = 6)

	Nixon	Muskie	Nixon	Kennedy
Inflation	2.47	1.83	2.76	2.52
Racial Problems	2.06	1.84	2.22	3.26
Taxes	2.01	1.83	1.75	2.64
Unemployment	1.53	2.08	1.50	2.99
Vietnam	2.32	1.87	2.46	2.88
Environment	1.88	2.19	1.92	3.09
Education	2.55	2.34	2.42	3.41
Crime	1.86	1.93	2.12	2.85
National Defense	2.87	1.51	2.82	2.47
Health Care	2.51	2.27	2.34	3.42
Drugs	1.78	1.71	1.56	2.98
Bussing	0.85	0.87	1.17	1.41
General Unrest	1.87	1.72	1.77	2.77

Between Nixon and Muskie, the ratings are very close and both candidates have the advantage on some important issues. On the other hand, Kennedy is rated substantially higher on most issues. The high scores for Kennedy may indicate the reason why issues are related to the Kennedy vote. Thus, the only time issues may affect the vote for the President is when Nixon is perceived as substantially better able to handle the issues over the opposition.

Using these techniques, we have tentatively concluded that the most important predictor of vote in the Nixon/Muskie race, continues to be party behavior. Because of this, the project ranking all precincts in critical states by their degree of ticket-splitting should be a priority project for our organizational and direct mail efforts. Secondly, the importance of demographic groups appears to be small, and the voter's perceptions of personalities and abilities to handle issues seem to be more important.

Aggregate Linear Regression

This technique has been used to obtain a gross measure of importance on various issues and personality variables in affecting the vote for President Nixon. For instance, we attempted to determine whether Vietnam and inflation or whether crime, unemployment, and drugs were the most important vote determining issues. The following chart lists our initial results showing the important issues first:

Issue	Correlation Coefficient To Nixon Vote
Vietnam	.43
General Unrest	.33
Inflation	.31
National Defense	.31
Drugs	.18
Education	.16
Racial Problems	.12
Unemployment	.11
Health Care	.11
Environment	.08
Taxes	.07
Crime	.05
Bussing	-.02

Similarly, we have ranked the President's perceived personality variables according to importance in affecting the vote:

Personality Variable [1/]	Correlation Coefficient To Nixon Vote
Informed-Uninformed	.74
Experienced-Inexperienced	.71
Competent-Incompetent	.70
Safe-Dangerous	.69
Trained-Untrained	.57
Honest-Dishonest	.56
Just-Unjust	.47
Extroverted-Introverted	.40
Aggressive-Meek	.37
Warm-Cold	.36
Sense of Humor-Lacks Humor	.35
Relaxed-Tense	.21
Open Minded-Close Minded	.18
Frank-Reserved	.18
Up to Date-Old Fashioned	.14
Tough-Soft	.10
Bold-Timid	-.18

This preliminary data shows that the most important issues during the campaign will be Vietnam, general unrest, and inflation rather than other issues. The most important personality variables are those which characterize the President as informed, experienced, competent, and safe.

In analysing whether any states deviate from the normal patterns we have used regression analysis. Using this analysis we have produced the following exhibit:

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF NIXON'S VIETNAM AND ECONOMIC APPROVAL RATINGS
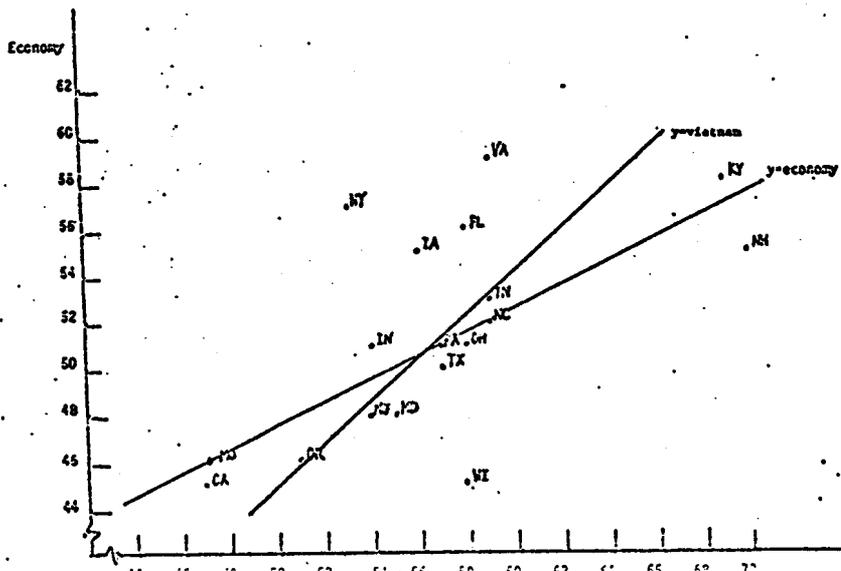
This graph shows where the various states are positioned relative to one another on two important issues — Vietnam and the economy. Deviations from the two regression lines deserve our special attention. For example, in Wisconsin the President does well on Vietnam but is perceived very poorly on the economy. Exactly the reverse is true for New York. This would indicate that the President is very vulnerable on the economy in Wisconsin and on Vietnam in New York. We have not determined what action is entirely appropriate to overcome this problem.

In California and Missouri, you will note that the President does poorly on both issues. Because of the relative position of these states, we may not be able to correct this situation. On the other hand in New York and Wisconsin the President is perceived well on at least one of these measures, and it appears easier to correct the perceptions.

In order to further analyze the issue structure, we correlated each issue against the others. The correlation coefficients are shown in Attachment A. This analysis shows a high degree of inter-correlation except with the bussing issue. Apparently the voters only differentiate one or two issues and ratings on the other issues are a function of the first issues. From this finding we would suggest that our media campaign be limited to those issues where the President is favorably received.

Normal Vote Analysis

As a further technique, we examined the "normal vote" patterns from the data to ascertain the extent of any deviations of the President's strength from the traditional patterns. This analysis has shown that overall the President is producing substantial favorable deviations from the normal Republican vote. There is a great variation in these figures by geographical area as shown below:

	Normal Vote	Actual Vote*	Deviation
North Carolina	37.5%	60.0%	+22.4%
Florida	40.8	61.8	+21.0
Maryland	32.9	49.4	+16.5
Kentucky	43.8	58.8	+15.0
Tennessee	43.0	57.7	+14.7
Virginia	43.8	58.6	+14.8
Texas	38.5	49.0	+10.7
New Jersey	45.0	54.4	+ 9.4
Indiana	43.2	52.2	+ 9.0
Ohio	45.5	52.9	+ 7.4
New York	44.5	50.5	+ 6.0
Oregon	44.9	50.6	+ 5.7

	Normal Vote	Actual Vote*	Deviation
Iowa	48.9%	54.3%	+ 5.4
California	42.8	47.0	+ 4.2
Pennsylvania	45.1	46.9	+ 1.8
Wisconsin	43.6	43.6	0.0
New Hampshire	54.2	53.7	− .5

*Percent Nixon of committed Nixon/Muskie vote from trial heat data.

The above chart clearly shows the success of the President in the border states. The chart also demonstrates that information about the President has been received favorably throughout the country with the exception of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.[2/] It would appear that Wisconsin and Pennsylvania might respond very favorably to any additional effort which would be directed to these states. Marginally these states should produce more results than other areas, such as New Jersey and Ohio where the President is already experiencing substantial positive deviations.

The normal vote analysis was further used to test the existence of any "bloc" or "group" voting. We analyzed all of the campaign states using this technique and the tables for California and New York are included as Attachments B and C.

From this analysis we have concluded that for each demographic group studied, the Nixon vote is somewhat higher than the traditional Republican pattern and that all groups are deviating at about the same rate. The analysis did yield a few cases where the demographic group was voting as a bloc. The three exceptions are blacks, California young voters (18-24), and New York Jews, as described below:

> Blacks are voting less Republican than normally across all states. This is in contrast to a positive deviation from the group norm for practically all the other social groups. This was the only consistent negative deviation found.

> New York Jews show the largest group difference examined in this analysis. The President wins only 13% of their vote compared to an estimated normal Republican vote of 29%. Moreover, this is in a state which, as a whole, is voting Republican by +6% more than expected.

> Young Voters in California are voting significantly less Republican than would be expected given their party composition (-7.5%). This compares to the overall California result of +4.2% Republican.

Analysis of Variance

To determine whether that rate of support for the President among
ticket-splitters varied across states, an analysis of variance was
calculated. Our results showed no difference in the rate of support
among ticket-splitters anywhere in the country.

Multi-dimensional caling

The data from our pre-test of multi-dimensional scaling has already
been presented orally; however, because several of the findings are
reconfirmed by other analyses, we are attaching the maps for your
further use with this report.

Concluding Comments

Please remember that the conclusions contained in this memorandum
are preliminary. We are currently expanding each of these techniques
including more states to confirm our initial findings. Although
the conclusions are only tentative, several of the techniques have
produced the same results which would indicate that our initial
findings are reliable. We are also exploring new hypotheses un-
covered by these initial runs. Upon completion of our study, we
will be reporting campaign implications and recommendations where
appropriate.

In summary, our analysis leads us to the following conclusions:

1. Past voting behavior is the most important factor
   affecting the President's vote. The ticket-splitter
   analysis should be a top priority project for our
   organizational and direct mail efforts.

2. Demographic bloc voting is significantly less important
   than voting behavior in affecting the election. The only
   exceptions to this rule are blacks, young voters in
   California, and Jewish voters in New York.

3. The key issues for this election are:

   > Vietnam
   > Inflation
   > General Unrest

   Crime, drugs, and unemployment do not appear to affect
   the vote for the President; however, the President is
   still being perceived poorly on these issues.

4. The key personality variables which affect the vote are
   those which describe the President as informed, exper-
   ienced, competent and safe.

5. Ratings on the President's handling of all issues seem to be perceived by the voters as a single personality variable. There is little differentiation between issues.

1/
  The computer has eliminated those variables where the effect on the vote was insignificant.

2/
  The President also fares poorly in New Hampshire; however, the large number of Republicans in the state offsets the otherwise poor showing.

Attachment A

CORRELATIONS OF ISSUE HANDLING CAPABILITY AMONG ISSUES FOR NIXON
(ON BALLOT D SUBGROUP)

ISSUES

1. Inflation
2. Racial Problems
3. Taxes
4. Unemployment
5. Vietnam
6. Environment/Pollution
7. Education
8. Crime
9. National Defense
10. Health Care
11. Drugs
12. Bussing
13. General Unrest

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1)	1.0000											
(2)	0.4392	1.0000										
(3)	0.4292	0.4617	1.0000									
(4)	0.4252	0.3744	0.4294	1.0000								
(5)	0.4170	0.2355	0.3744	0.3783	1.0000							
(6)	0.4103	0.3730	0.4443	0.3052	0.3344	1.0000						
(7)	0.2737	0.3675	0.3223	0.3107	0.2973	0.4400	1.0000					
(8)	0.4358	0.3571	0.3633	0.3255	0.3877	0.4350	0.3827	1.0000				
(9)	0.4312	0.3566	0.3322	0.2343	0.4011	0.3766	0.3774	0.4254	1.0000			
(10)	0.3767	0.3245	0.3363	0.3162	0.3456	0.3083	0.3894	0.4248	0.4319	1.0000		
(11)	0.3381	0.3476	0.3503	0.2609	0.2091	0.4497	0.3364	0.4622	0.3966	0.4310	1.0000	
(12)	0.1988	0.1218	0.0704	0.1676	0.0619	0.1267	0.1106	0.1900	0.1412	0.2013	0.1543	1.0000
(13)	0.4125	0.3983	0.2734	0.2624	0.2797	0.3528	0.3609	0.3595	0.3143	0.2534	0.3317	0.2597

California

	Normal Vote	Actual Vote[a]	Deviation
Total	42.8%	47.0%	+ 4.2%
Age			
18-24 Years	41.3	33.8	- 7.5
25-34 Years	42.2	43.2	+ 1.0
35-44 Years	44.0	50.0	+ 6.0
45-54 Years	40.5	49.1	+ 8.6
55-64 Years	45.2	57.8	+ 12.6
65 and over	48.9	55.5	+ 6.6
Education			
Less than High School	30.9	35.7	+ 4.8
High School	42.1	49.6	+ 7.5 [b]
College	49.5	50.1	+ .6
Income			
Under $ 5,000	34.2	36.9	+ 2.7
5,000- 10,000	39.3	46.4	+ 7.1
10,000-15,000	42.1	44.5	+ 2.4
Over 15,000	52.9	56.1	+ 3.2
Religion			
Catholic	34.9	39.6	+ 4.7
Protestant	48.3	55.3	+ 7.0
National Origin			
White	47.6	52.5	+ 4.9
Negro	18.2	13.0	- 5.2
Mexican American	21.1	24.6	+ 3.5
Union Membership			
Yes	33.0	38.6	+ 5.6
No	49.6	53.4	+ 3.8

a Percent Nixon of Committed Nixon/Muskie vote

b Contains disproportinate number of young people (18-24).

Attachment C

NEW YORK

	Normal Vote	Actual Vote[a]	Deviation
Total	44.5	50.5	+ 6.0
Age			
18-24 Years	40.1	42.6	+ 2.5
25-34 Years	44.3	52.8	+ 8.5
35-44 Years	42.1	42.3	+ .2
45-54 Years	44.7	48.1	+ 3.4
55-64 Years	45.4	58.7	+13.3
65 and over	52.4	59.4	+ 7.0
Education			
Less than High School	37.3	49.6	+12.3
High School	45.2	54.5	+ 9.3[b]
College	49.8	47.4	- 2.4
Income			
Under $5,000	43.7	45.8	+ 2.1
$5,000-$10,000	40.2	49.4	+ 9.2
$10,000-$15,000	45.3	53.6	+ 8.3[b]
Over $15,000	47.0	45.9	- 1.1
Religion			
Catholic	42.3	57.4	+15.1
Protestant	54.6	61.2	+ 6.6
Jewish	29.0	12.9	-16.1
National Origin			
White	46.0	52.5	+ 6.5
Negro	29.6	26.1	- 3.5
Union Membership			
Yes	37.1	43.6	+ 6.5
No	46.4	52.2	+ 5.8

a Percent Nixon of committed Nixon/Muskie vote

b Contains disproportionate number of Jewish voters.

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL SCALING MAPS

The solid black lines running out from the center of the
page represent positive aspects of either the personality
traits or the issue handling. The lines running from
the candidate to the personality or issue vectors (and
at right angles to them) provide a comparative location
of the candidate on the vector. The further out the
intersection of the perpendicular and the vector, the
more positive the candidate's rating. If no perpendicular
is possible the candidate has a negative image. Thus for
the straight Democrats here Kennedy is seen as most inter-
esting, Humphrey slightly more informed, and President
Nixon as most conservative. All three major candidates
are seen similarly on their ability to handle the Vietnam
and the Crime issue.

Aggressive

Interesting

5 WALLACE

3 KENNEDY

6 AGNEW

4 HUMPHREY

2 MUSKIE

Conservative

1 NIXON

Informed

Crime & Vietnam
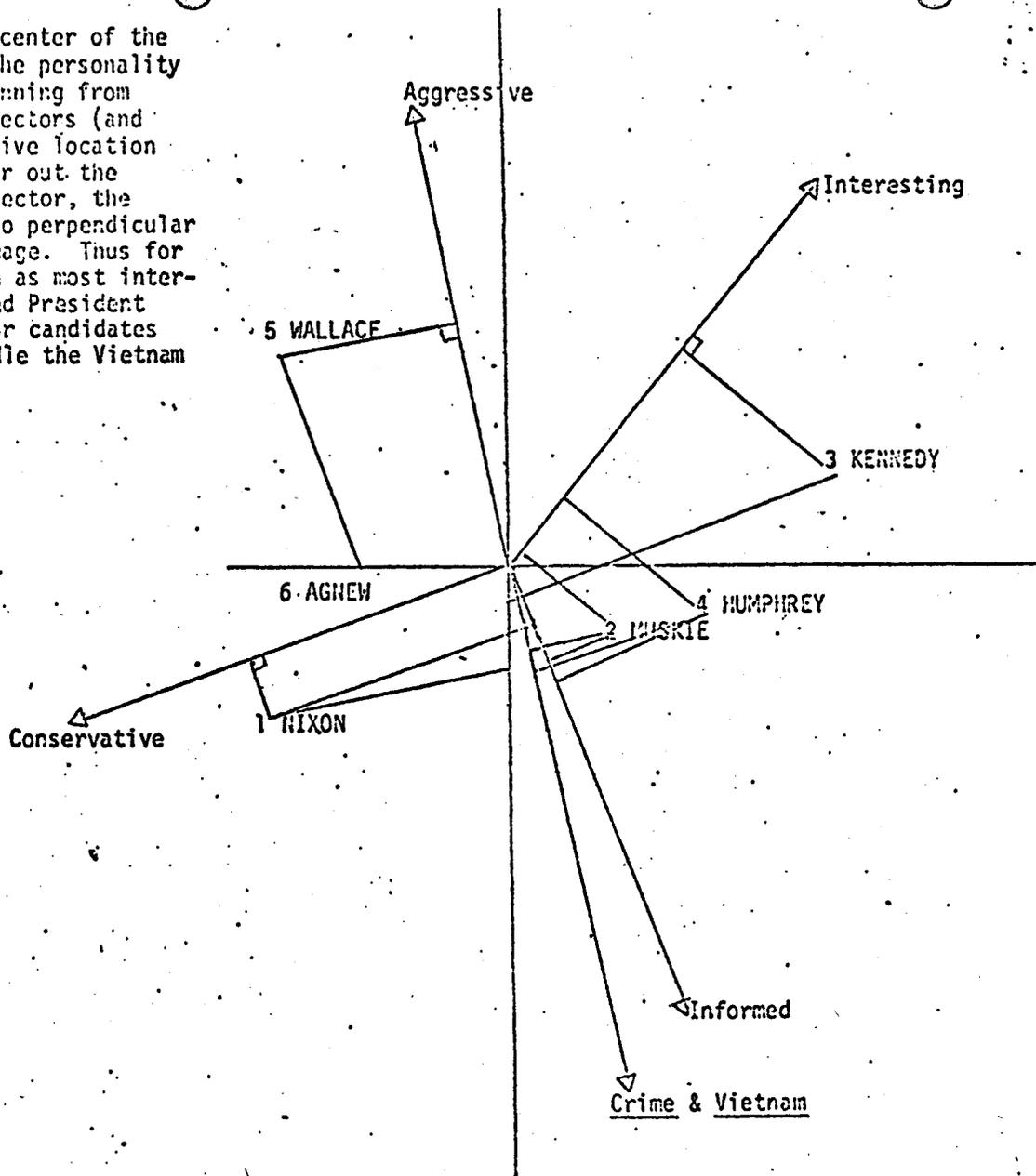
Group 1 = Predominantly straight Democratic voter; he sees himself as a Democrat. Voted for Humphrey in 1968 at about 5:3 ratio. Second youngest group (52% < 45). This is the least educated group with 39% having some high school. 5:3:2 ratio of Protestant, Catholic and other religions. Nearly 40% are Black. Slightly (12%) more males. 4:1 non-union households. Second lowest income group here.

Group 2 = Ticket-splitter or independent Democrat. Voted for Humphrey in 1968 about 4:3 ratio. Youngest of the four groups (61% < 45). This is the most educated group with 68% having some college and 15% having post graduate work. 4:4:2 ratio of Protestant, Catholic and other religions. Predominantly white (6% Black). There is 4% less males. Union households by 2:1 over other groups. Generally highest money group.

Group 3 = Ticket-splitter or independent Republican. Voted for Nixon 3:1 in 1968. Third youngest group (57% > 45). This is the second most educated group along with Group 4, although having the largest number of post graduate types (18%). 7:3 ratio of Protestant to Catholics. White (0% Blacks). 10% more males. 4:1 non-union households. Lowest income group here.

Group 4 = Straight Republican; sees himself as straight Republican, with slightly greater chance of thinking of himself as an independent. Voted for Nixon in 1968 by a 15:1 ratio. Oldest group by far (71% > 45). The second most educated group with the bulk having some college training (63%). Protestant/Catholic split as for Group 3. White (8% Black). 14% more males. 4:1 non-union households. Second highest earners.

Combined Perceptual Map for Candidates
and Selected Personality Traits.

(1) Bold

(3) Bold

(2) Bold

(4) Bold

(1) Honest

(4) Informed

(2) Honest

(3) Honest
(4) Honest

(3) Informed
(3) Trained

(1) Trained

(3) Experienced

(4)(4) (2)(2)
Trained   Trained   (1) (1) Informed
Experienced Exper-   (2) Informed Experienced
             ienced
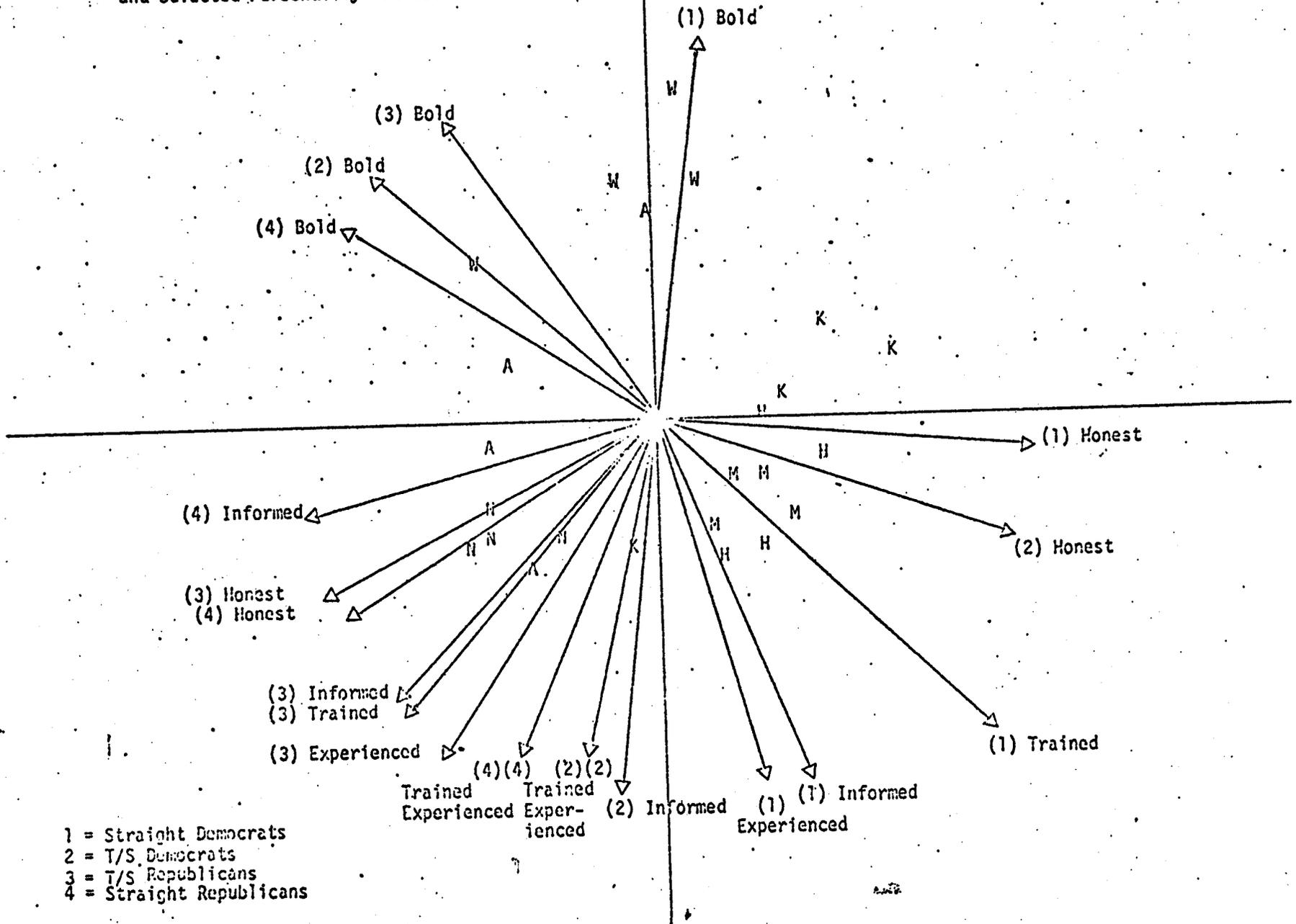
1 = Straight Democrats
2 = T/S Democrats
3 = T/S Republicans
4 = Straight Republicans

Perceptual Map of Straight Republicans for
Candidates, Issues, Personality traits

5 WALLACE

Aggressive
10

Bold
Frank   5,13
7,14
Active
Leader

3 KENNEDY

4 HUMPHREY

Environment   15 Conservative
Crime
Vietnam
Pace
Interesting   Congenial
12
Qualified   Informed   1 NIXON 6 AGNEW

2 MUSKIE

6
Honest

2,4,8,11
Experienced
Trained
Safe
Just   Inflation
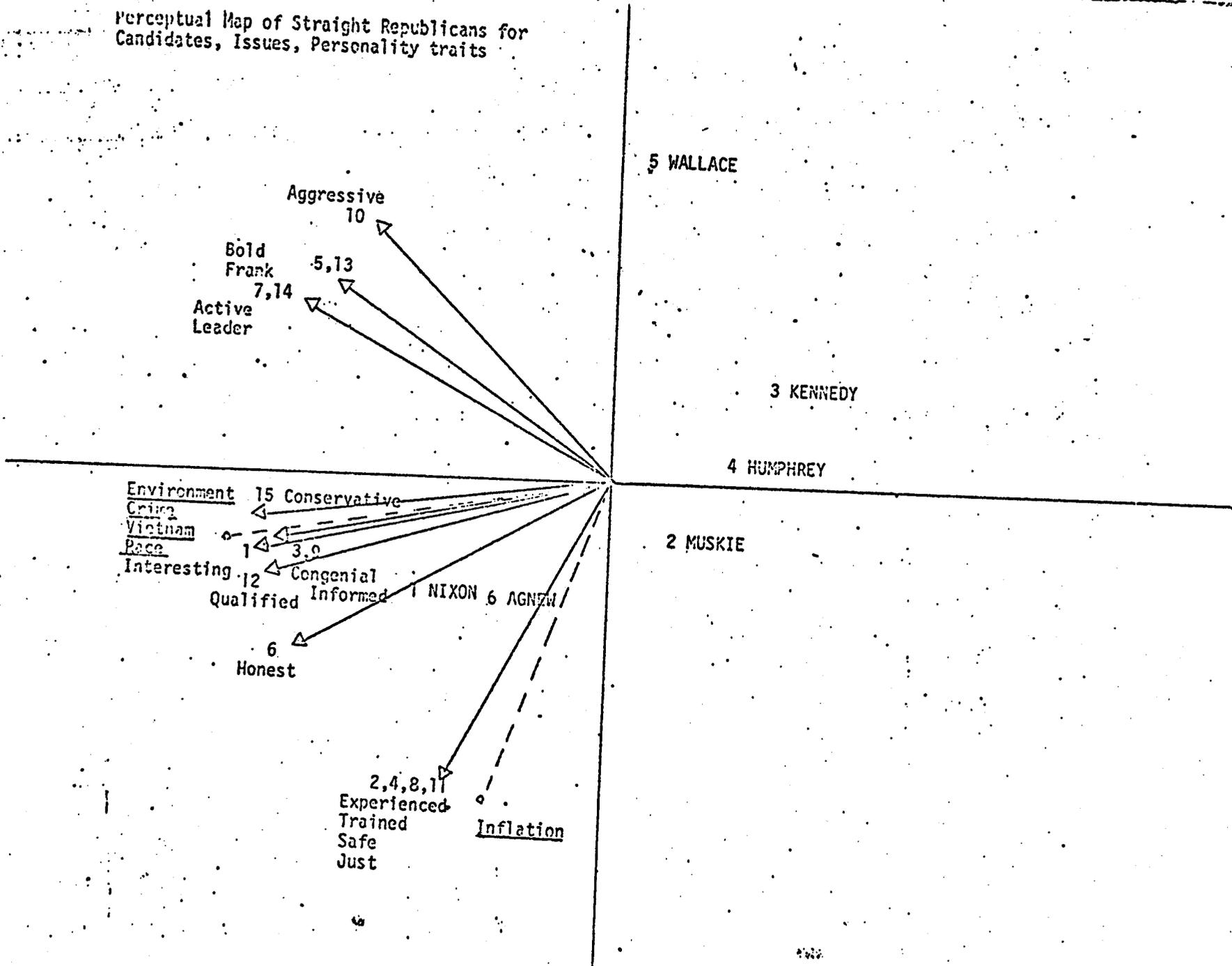
Perceptual Map of Ticket-splitting Republicans for
Candidates, Issues, Personality traits.

5 WALLACE

5   Bold
10   Agressive

Frank
1,13
Qualified

14
Leader

7
Active   6 AGNEW

3 KENNEDY

15
Conservative

6,12
Qualified
Honest

NIXON

2 MUSKIE
4 HUMPHREY

Crime

Interesting

9
Informed   4
Trained

Just
2,8,11 Experienced
Safe   Inflation
Environment   Race
Vietnam   Congenial
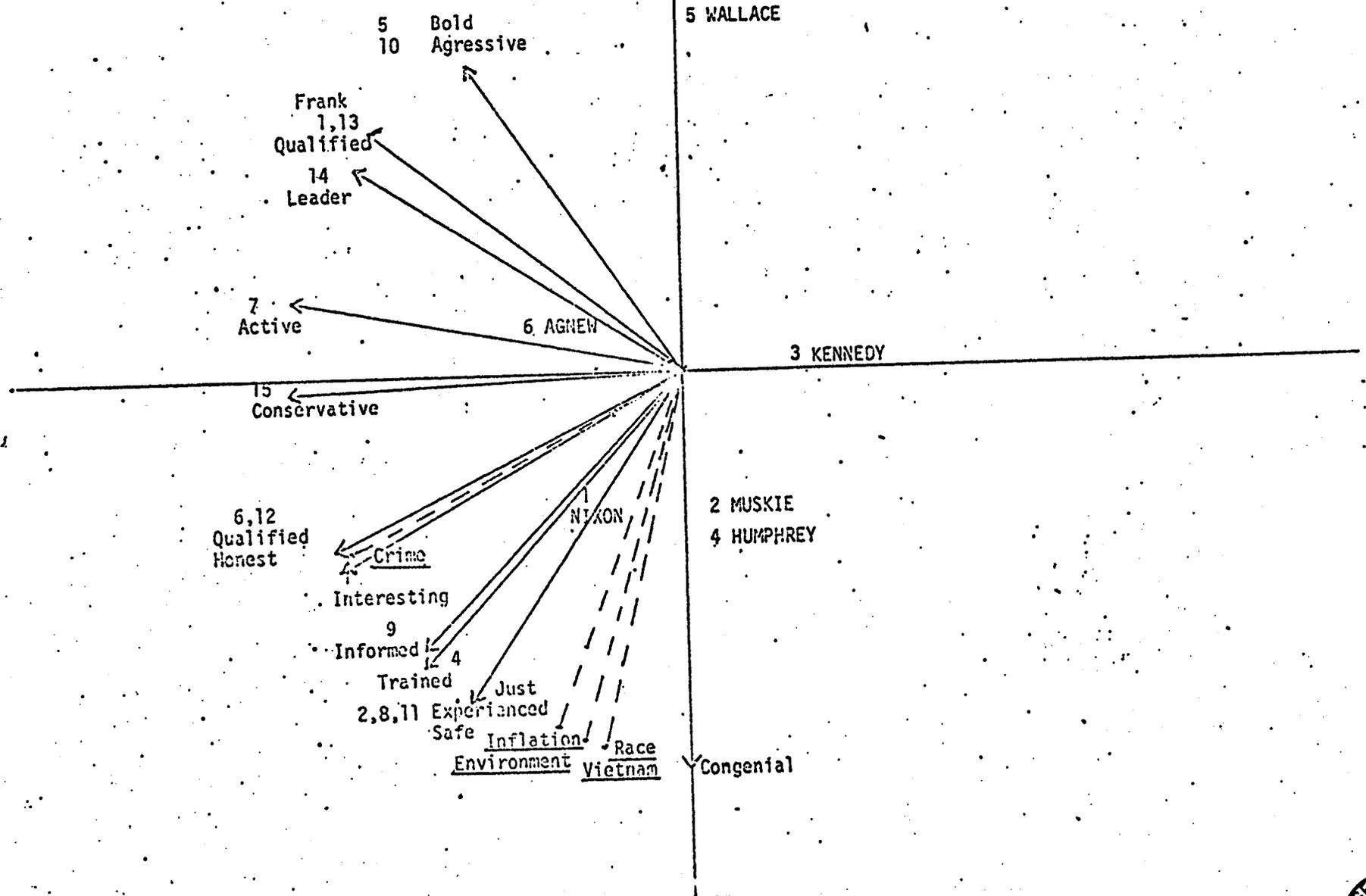
Perceptual Map of Ticket-splitting Democrats for
Candidates, Issues, Personality traits.

10 Agressive

7 Active

13 Frank

5 Bold

6
WALLACE

6AGNEW

15 Conservative

1 NIXON

2 MUSKIE

6 Honest

3
KENNEDY

4
HUMPHREY

Crime

3,11
Congenial
Just

Vietnam   Environment
                Race

1,14
Interesting
Leader

2,4
Experienced
Trained

12 Qualified

8,9 Safe
Inflation Informed.
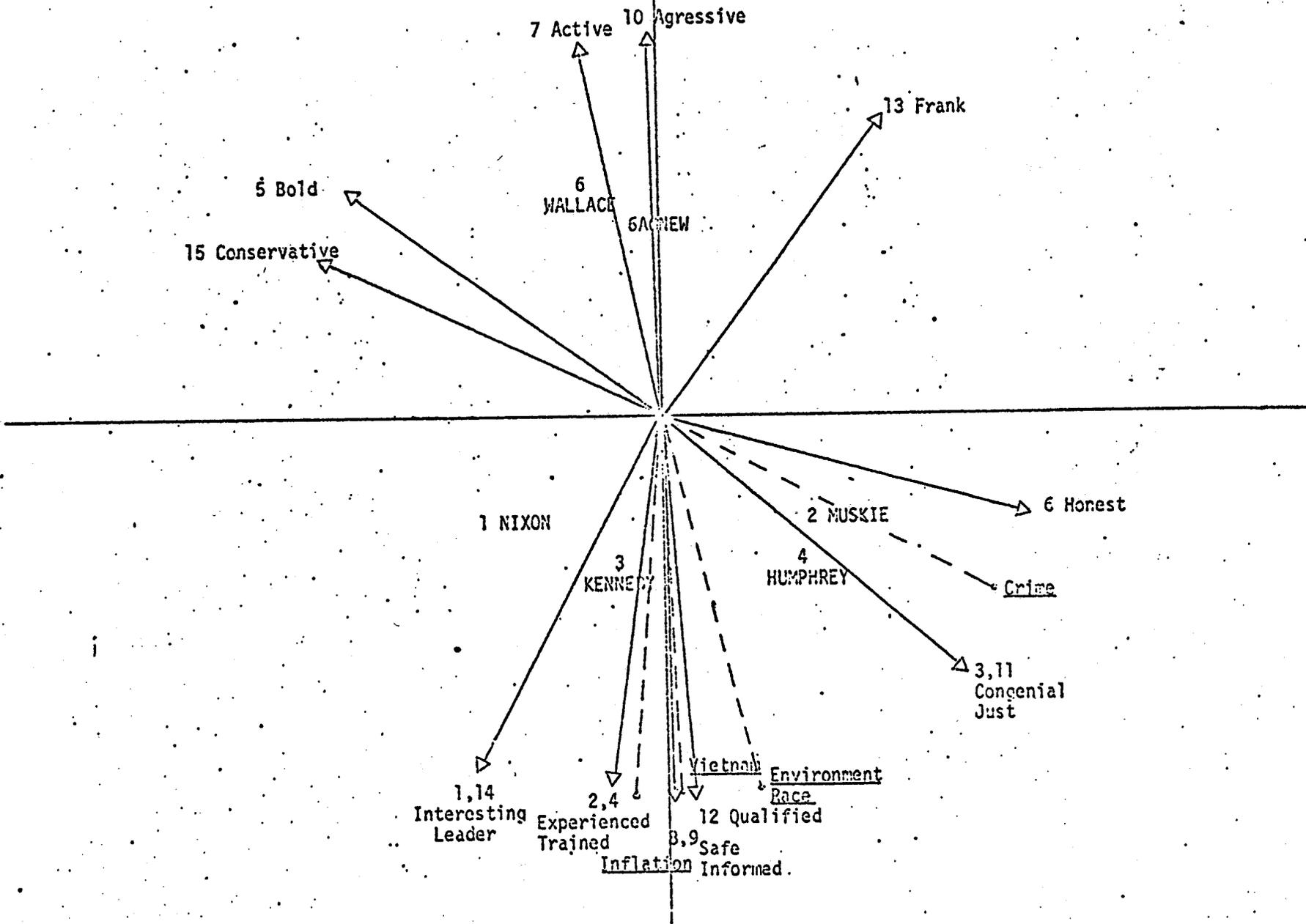
Perceptual Map of Straight Democrats for
Candidates, Issues, Personality traits

Aggressive
10

Bold   Frank
5,13

14 Leader
7 Active

1 Interesting

5
WALLACE

3 KENNEDY

6
AGNEW

4 HUMPHREY

6 Honest

2
MUSKIE

15
Conservative

1 NIXON

11 Just

3 Congenial

8 Safe

4 Trained

Pace
Inflation
Environment

Crime
Vietnam

9 Informed

2 12 Qualified
Experienced
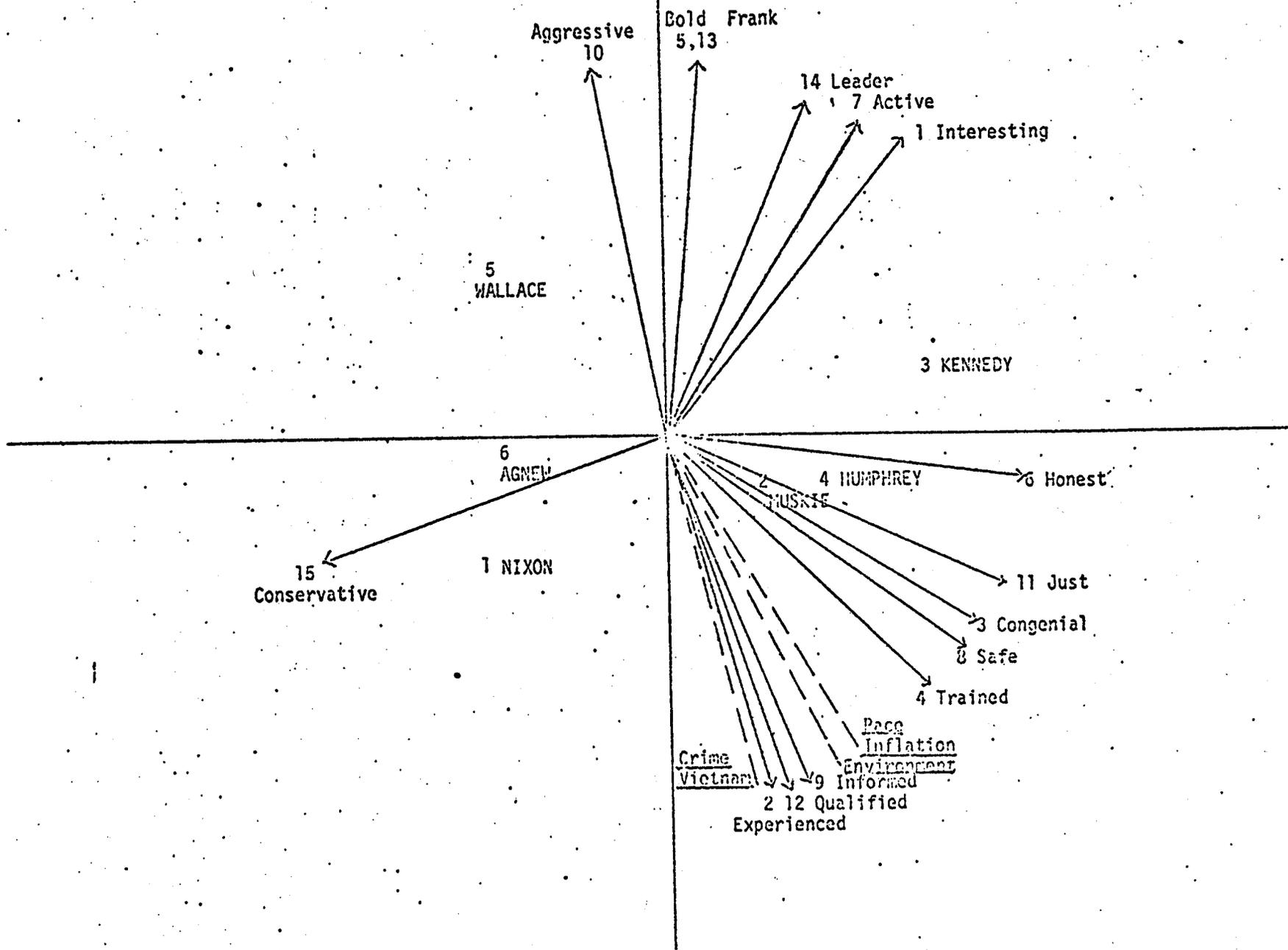
	Estimated T/S					Attitude ID			1968 Vote				Age				Education			Religion			Race			Sex		Union		Income					
	SD	MD	TS	MR	SR	D	I	R	NV	H	W	N	18-30	30-45	45-60	60+	Some HS	Some Coll	Coll+	C	P	O	W	B	O	M	F	U	NU	-5000	5000	10M	15M	&	Ref.
Group 1	35%	14%	19%	9%	16%	55%	14%	20%	14%	46%	7%	32%	24%	28%	30%	18%	39%	49%	11%	32%	46%	23%	61%	37%	2%	56%	44%	19%	75%	21%	16%	35%	18%	11%	
Group 2	28	9	33	9	2	44	28	19	17	43	6	32	23	38	21	19	17	68	15	37	43	20	82	6	11	55	45	14	86	11	24	33	24	7	
Group 3	9	18	34	18	16	30	23	48	16	16	7	59	18	18	18	39	30	50	16	24	71	5	89	8	8	57	43	18	79	26	18	21	26	8	
Group 4	8	11	15	29	26	16	29	55	13	5	8	74	25	11	39	32	29	63	8	24	71	5	89	8	8	57	43	18	79	26	18	21	26	8	

TABLE II

	A			B			C			D			E			F			G			H			A & B Averaged		
	N/A	M/J	W	N/A	M/J	W	N/C	M/J	W	N/Ro	M/J	W	N/Re	M/J	W	N/D	M/J	W	N/A	M/J	W	N/A	K/J	W	N/A	M/J	W
Group 1	29%	71%	10%	41%	47%	12%	36%	55%	9%	26%	61%	4%	34%	57%	9%	31%	58%	11%	32%	56%	9%	32%	57%	11%	35%	55%	11%
Group 2	25	66	0	44	56	0	31	61	8	39	57	14	32	62	6	34	60	6	35	54	10	31	63	6	35	61	0
Group 3	53	37	0	77	18	5	63	29	8	60	33	7	65	30	5	60	32	8	68	25	7	61	31	8	65	23	3
Group 4	69	31	10	52	19	29	60	29	11	52	39	9	62	29	9	56	32	12	60	23	17	61	31	8	60	25	20
Total	40	54	6	53	35	12	45	46	9	42	49	9	46	47	7	43	48	9	47	43	11	43	49	8	47	45	9

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	A & B Averaged
Republican V.P. =	Agnew	Agnew	Connally	Rockefeller	Reagan	Dole	Agnew	Agnew	Agnew
Democratic President Nominee =	Muskie	Muskie	Muskie	Muskie	Muskie	Muskie	Humphrey	Kennedy	Muskie

SD = Straight Democratic Voting		C = Catholic	
MD = Most Democratic Voting		P = Protestant	
TS = Pure Ticket-Splitter		O = Other	
MR = Most Republican Voting		W = White	
SR = Straight Republican Voting		B = Black	
		O = Other	
D = Democrat			
I = Independent		M = Male	
R = Republican		F = Female	
NV = No Vote		U = Union member	
H = Humphrey		NU = Non-union member	
W = Wallace			
N = Nixon			

VOTING BEHAVIOR AS DEFINED BY BALLOTS A & B

Ballot C	SD 2			MD 4			T/S 5			WR 3			SR 1			U/D	Total
	N/C	M/J	W	N/C	M/J	W	N/C	M/J	W	N/C	M/J	W	N/C	M/J	W		
Group 1	0%	93%	0%	0%	0%	100%	38%	46%	15%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	7%	29%
Group 2	0	100	0	0	0	100	33	54	12	0	0	0	67	33	0	7	28
Group 3	0	100	0	0	0	0	60	30	5	0	0	0	91	0	0	6	23
Group 4	25	75	0	0	67	33	50	30	10	0	0	100	93	0	0	3	20

Ballot D	N/Ro	M/J	W	N/Ro	M/J	W	N/Ro	M/J	W	N/Ro	M/J	W	N/Ro	M/J	W
Group 1	0	93	0	0	0	100	23	54	23	0	0	0	0	93	0
Group 2	8	83	0	0	0	100	42	54	4	0	0	0	100	0	0
Group 3	0	100	0	0	0	0	60	30	5	0	0	0	91	0	0
Group 4	0	100	0	0	0	100	40	30	10	0	0	100	80	7	0

Ballot E	N/Re	M/J	W	N/Re	M/J	W	N/Re	M/J	W	N/Re	M/J	W	N/Re	M/J	W
Group 1	0	93	0	0	0	100	38	46	15	0	0	0	67	33	0
Group 2	0	100	0	0	0	100	33	58	8	0	0	0	67	33	0
Group 3	0	100	0	0	0	0	70	30	0	0	0	0	91	0	0
Group 4	0	100	0	33	67	0	50	20	10	0	0	100	93	0	0

TABLE III

VOTING BEHAVIOR AS DEFINED BY BALLOTS A & B
(Continued)

Ballot F

	SD 2			WD 4			T/S 5			WR 3			SR 1		
	N/D	N/J	W	N/D	N/J	W	N/D	N/J	W	N/D	N/J	W	N/D	N/J	W
Group 1	0%	93%	0%	0%	0%	100%	31%	50%	19%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Group 2	0	100	0	0	0	100	37	54	8	0	0	0	82	0	0
Group 3	0	100	0	0	0	0	55	35	5	0	0	0	93	0	0
Group 4	0	100	0	0	67	33	40	30	10	0	0	100	93	0	0

Ballot G

	SD 2			WD 4			T/S 5			WR 3			SR 1		
	N/A	N/J	W	N/A	N/J	W	N/A	N/J	W	N/A	N/J	W	N/A	N/J	W
Group 1	0	93	7	0	0	100	35	54	12	0	0	0	67	33	0
Group 2	17	83	0	0	0	100	33	54	12	0	0	0	100	0	0
Group 3	0	100	0	0	0	0	70	25	5	0	0	0	91	0	0
Group 4	0	100	0	0	33	67	50	10	20	0	0	100	100	0	0

Ballot H

	SD 2			WD 4			T/S 5			WR 3			SR 1		
	N/A	K/J	W	N/A	K/J	W	N/A	K/J	W	N/A	K/J	W	N/A	K/J	W
Group 1	0	93	0	0	0	100	35	46	15	0	0	0	67	0	33
Group 2	0	100	0	0	0	100	42	50	8	0	0	0	33	67	0
Group 3	0	100	0	0	0	0	55	40	5	0	0	0	82	9	0
Group 4	25	75	0	33	33	33	50	30	10	0	0	100	93	7	0

SEE TABLE II FOR CANDIDATE NAMES