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REPUBLICAN COALITION

																					GRO	DUP	PE	RCH	ENI	AGE
1			SIZ	E				X	TUI	RNO	UT			X	LO	YAL	TY			X	COI	NTR	IBU	TIO	N	
	NT	NL	NP	W	NU	P	N	NCC	NP	W	NU	P	N	NCC	NP	W	NU	P	N	NCC	NP	W	NU	P	N	NCC
.952	63	55.1	64	90	73	74	72	84	72	67	61	58	73	61	56	57	61	61	57	57	75	99	79	75	87	84
.956	60	57.4	75	91	74	75	71	86	67	64	58	56	69	60	59	59	63	62	60	60	84	98	78	75	84	89
.960	64	49.5	77	90	75	75	66	87	70	68	65	61	71	63	50	51	55	63	50	52	83	97	84	90	75	90
964	63	38.5	81	89	77	74	72	88	67	66	61	60	68	63	40	42	45	44	38	40	89	100	87	80	76	91
.968	62	43.4	84	89	76	74	69	90	65	63	62	60	66	62	44	47	46	49	47	45	90	91	81	80	80	92

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NT National Turnout

۳,

NL National Loyalty

NP Non-Poor (Over \$3,000)

W White

NU Non-Union

P Protestant

N Northern (excluding border states)

NCC Non-Central Cities (outside 12 SMSA's)



								DE	EMO	CR.	ΑT	IC	С	OAL	ITIC	N										
			1					1	1						1						GI	ROU	PF	PERC	CEN	TAGE
			S	IZ	E		X		TU	JRN	OU	Т	2	X	LC	AYC	LT.	Y			CC	DNT		UTI	ON	
	NT	NL	P	В	U	С	S	CC	P	В	U	С	S	CC	P	В	U	С	S	CC	P	В	U	C	S	CC
1952	63	44.4	36	10	27	26	28	16	46	23	66	76	35	68	47	83	59	57	55	51	28	7	38	41	20	21
1956	60	42.0	25	9	26	25	29	14	40	23	64	72	39	63	47	68	55	53	52	55	19	5	36	38	23	15
1960	64	49.7	23	10	25	25	34	13	46	31	60	74	50	74	48	72	66	82	52	65	16	7	31	47	27	19
1964	63	61.1	19	11	23	26	28	12	45	42	69	72	49	65	69	99	80	75	58	74	15	12	32	36	21	15
1968	62	42.7	16	11	24	26	31	10	44	51	61	68	53	63	44	92	51	61	39	58	12	19	28	40	24	14

NT National Turnout

NL National Loyalty

P Poor (\$3,000 year)

B Black and other non-white

U Union member (in household)

C Catholic (and non-protestant)

S South (including border states)

CC Central Cities (12 SMSA's)



Multi-city ADI cross-reference. The following cities are in hyphenated markets, but are not the first city given in such a market; i.e., Troy in Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y. They are listed alphabetically.

Ada, Okta. See Ardmore-Ada. Okla. Altoona. Pa. Isee Johnstown-Altoona, Pa. Asheviller N.C. See Greenville-Spartanburg, S.C. Asheville, N.C. Austin, Minn. See Rochester, Minn. Mason City, Iowa-Austin, Minn. Bay City, Mich. See Flint Saginaw-Bay City, Mich Becklay, W. Va. See Bluefield-Beckley-Oak Hill, W Va. Bismarck, N.D. See Minot-Bismarck Dickinson, N.D. Brownsville, Tex. See McAllen Brownsville, Tex. Butte, Mont. See Nisoula-Butte, Mont Cadillac, Mich. See Traverse City-Cadillac, Mich. Cape Girardeau, Mo. See Paducah, Ky-Cape Girardeau, Mo-Harrisburg, III. Carthage, N.Y. See Watertown-Carthage, N.Y. Champaign, III. See Springfield-Decatur Champaign, III. Daytona Beach, Fla. See Orlando-Daytona Beach, Fla. Decatur, Ala. See Huntsville Decatur Champaign, III. Decatur, III. See Springfield-Decatur Champaign, III. Decatur, III. See Springfield Decatur Champaign, III. Decatur, III. See Springfield Decatur Champaign, III. Dickinson, N.D. See Minot-Bismarck-Dickinson, N.D. Durham, N.C. See Raleigh-Durham, N.C. Eau Claire, Wis. See La Crosse-Eau Claire. Wis. El Dorado, Ark. See Monroe, La-El Dorado, Ark. Elkhart, Ind. See South Bend-Elkhart, Ind. Elmira, N.Y. See Synacuse-Elmina, N.Y. Florence, Ala. See Huntsville-Decatur Florence, Ala. Fort Worth, Tex. See Dallas-Fort Worth, Tex. Glendive, Mont. See Miles City-Glendive, Mont Greenville, Miss. See Bilox-Gulfport-Pascagoula, Miss Hampton, Va. See Nortok-Portsmouth-Newport News-Hampton, Va. Hannibal, Mo. See Cuincy, III-Hannibal. Mo. Harrisburg, III. See Paducah, Ky-Cape Giradeau, Mo-Harrisburg, III. Hastings, Neb. See Luncoln Hastings-Kearney, Neb. Hattiesburg, Miss. See ClaireHattiesburg, Miss. High Point, N.C. See Greensboro-Winston Salem-High Point, N.C. Huntington, Wa. See Charleston-Huntington, Wva. Hutchinson, Kan. See Wichta-Hutchinson, Kan. Jefferson City, Mo. See Columbia-Jefferson City, Mo. Johnson City, Tenn. See Birstol, Va-Kingsport-Johnson City, Tenn. Kaamazoo, Mich. See Girand Rapids Kalamazoo, Mich. Kaarney, Neb. Lynchburg, Va. See Roanoke Lynchburg, Va. Mason City, Iowa. See Rochester, Minn. Mason City, Iowa-Austin, Minn. Midland, Tex. See Odessa-Midland, Tex Michell, S.D. See Slow Falls-Michell, SD. Moline, III. See Davenport-Rock Island, Iowa, Moline, III. (Quad City) Monterey, Calif. See Salinas-Monterey, Calif. New Bern, N.C. See Greenville-New Bern-Washington, N.C. New Haven, Conn. See Hartford-New Haven, Conn. Newport News, Va. See Norfolk-Portsmouth-Newport News-Hampton, Va. Oak Hill, W. Va. See Bluefield Beckley-Oak Hill, W. Va. Pascagoula, Miss. See Biloxi-Gultport-Pascagoula, Miss. Pensacola, Fla. See Mobile, Ala-Pensacola, Fla. Pittsburg, Kan. See Joplin, Mo-Pittsburg, Kan. Plattsburgh, N.Y. See Burlington, Vt-Plattsburgh, N.Y. Practaello, Idaho, See Idaho Falls-Pocatello, Idaho Pocatello, Idaho, See Idaho Falls-Pocatello, Idaho Poland Spring, Me. See Idaho Falls-Pocatello, Idaho Port Arthur, Tex. See Beaumont-Port Arthur, Tex. Portsmouth, Va. See Norfolk-Portsmouth-Newport News-Hampton, Va. Pueblo, Colo. See Colorado Springs-Pueblo, Colo. Redding, Calif. See Chico-Redding, Calif. Rhinelander, Wis. See Wausau-Rhinelander, Wis Riverton, Wyo. See Casper-Riverton, Wyo. Rock Island, III. See Davenport-Rock Island, Iowa, Moline, III. (Quad City) Saginaw, Mich. See Flint-Saginaw-Bay City, Mich. Santa Maria, Calif. See Santa Barbara-Santa Maria, Calif. St. Petersburg, Fla. See Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla. St. Petersburg, Fia. See latinpa-St. Petersburg, Fia. Schenectady, N.Y. See Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y. Scranton, Pa. See Wilkes Barre-Scranton, Pa Spartanburg, S.C. See Greenville-Spartanburg, S.C. Asheville, N.C. Steubenville, Ohio. See Wheeling, W. Va.-Steubenville, Ohio Superior, Wis. See Dulutn, Minn-Superior, Wis. Stockton, Calif. See Sacramento-Stockton, Calif. FOA Sweetwater, Tex., See Abilene Sweetwater, Tex. Tacoma, Wash. See Seattle-Tacoma, Wash. Temple, Tex. See Waco-Temple, Tex. 8. Texarkana, Tex. See Shreveport, La Texarkana, Tex Troy, N.Y. See Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y. Washington, N.C. See Greenville-New Bern-Washingtor NG Waterloo, Iowa. See Cedar Rapids-Waterloo, Iowa Weston, W. Va. See Clarksburg-Weston, W Va. Winston-Salem, N.C. See Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, N.C. See Harrisburg-York-Lancaster-Lebanon, Pa. Yuma, Ariz. See El Centro, Calit-Yuma, Ariz.

The Markets Ranked by Size

.6

Here are the television markets of the U.S. ranked in descending order by the number of television homes they contain. Also shown are the numbers of women, men, teenagers and children in each market and the percentage of the total U.S. population each represents. All data is from American Research Bureau, and represents the Arbitron Television household and population estimates for the 1975-1976 season.

		ADI TV Hou	seholds	ADI	Women	AD	I Men	ADI Tee	n-Agers	ADI Chi	ldren
	Total U.S.	70,573,300	100%	74,874,800	100%	67,817,400	100%	24,132,900	100%	34,038,100	100%
1	New York	6,410,600	9.08%	6.896.600	9.21%	5,960,600	8.79%	1,978,800	8.20%	2,754,200	8.09%
2	Los Angeles	3,647,200	5.17	3,614,600	4.83	3,289,100	4.85	1,130,400	4.68	1,620,000	4.76
3	Chicago	2,777,100	3.94	2,916,300	3.89	2,631,600	3.88	966,500	4.00	1,363,100	4.00
4 :	Philadelphia	2,295,500	3.25	2,503,300	3.34	2,225,400	3.28	773,700	3.21	1.054,200	3.10
5	Boston	1,736,300	2.46	1,923,800	2.57	1,681,200	2.48	593,700	2.46	820,000	2.41
6	San Francisco	1.682.400	2.38	1,688,600	2.26	1,564,600	2.31	509.000	2.11	698,600	2.05
7	Detroit	1,587,500	2.25	1,727,200	2.31	1,572,400	2.32	593,100	2.46	835,600	2.45
8	Washington, DC	1.322.900	1.87	1,386,700	1.85	1,258,800	1.86	454,200	1.88	655,400	1.93
9	Cleveland	1.308.800	1.85	1,427,800	1.91	1,272,600	1.88	466,400	1.93	644,200	1.89
10	Pittsburgh	1.082,900	1.53	1,198,500	1.60	1,047,900	1.55	351,200	1.46	459,700	1.35
	Markets 1-10	23,851,200	33.80%	25,283,400	33.77%	22,504,200	33.18%	7,817,000	32.39%	10,905,000	32.04%
	Cumulative Total	23,851,200		25,283,400	33.77%	22,504,200	33.18%	7,817,000	32.39%	10,905,000	32.04%
11	Dallas-Ft. Worth	1,045,400	1.48%	1,083,600	1.45%	971,700	1.43%	346,200	1.43%	520,100	1.53%
12	St. Louis	928,900	1.32	1,003,600	1.34	877,700	1.29	336,100	1.39	480,700	1.41
13	Minneapolis-St. Paul	908,700	1.29	962,800	1.29	875,900	1.29	348,800	1.45	471.600	1.39
14	Houston	882,300	1.25	916,600	1.22	853,600	1.26	324,000	1.34	479,800	1.41
15	Miami	842,600	1.19	905,000	1.21	777,100	1.15	236,600	.98	328,700	.97
16	Atlanta	836,100	1.18	909,600	1.21	815,300	1.20	296,300	1.23	460,700	1.35
17	Tampa-St. Petersburg	791,700	1.12	814,100	1.09	689,200	1.02	202,000	.84	289,900	.85
19	Seattle-Tacoma	783,300	1.11	781,900	1.04	752,700	1.11	252,700	1.05	341,300	1.00
19	Baltimore	745,500	1.06	823,700	1.10	754,100	1.11	270,400	1.12	362,400	1.06
20	Indianapolis	738,100	1.05	768,900	1.03	695,200	1.03	258,800	1.07	372,200	1.09
	Markets 11-20	8,502,600	12.05%	8,969,800	11.98%	8,062,500	11.89%	2,871,900	11.90%	4,107,400	12.07%
	Cumulative Total	32,353,800	45.84%	34,253,200	45.75%	30,566,700	45.07%	10,688,900	44.29%	15,012,400	44.10%
21	Hartford-New Haven	653,500	.93%	715,900	.96%	642,500	.95%	222,200	.92%	303,300	.89%
22	Milwaukee	639,900	.91	673,000	.90	609,000	.90	231,400	.96	307,300	.90
23	Kansas City	632,000	.90	639,800	.85	575.800	.85	207.600	.86	280,900	.83
24	Portland, Or	630,300	.89	636,200	85	575,800	.85	197,600	.82	267,200	.79
25	Sacramento-Stockton	627,700	.89	638,200	.85	602,900	.89	214,600	.89	281,100	.83
26	Cincinnati	617,100	.87	658,200	.88	580,300	86	221,400	.92	311,800	.92
22	Bullaio	611,100	.87	664,600	.89	585,400	86	213,100	.88	285,300	.84
28	Denver	598,500	.85	641,400	.86	591,300	.87	217,300	.90	301,600	.89
29	Providence	597,100	.85	638,200	.85	564,500	.83	192,900	.80	275,400	81
	Nashville	579,900	.82	603,600	.81	559,600	83	186,800	.77	268,100	.79
	Markets 21-30	6,187,100	8.77%	6,509,100	8.69%	5,887,100	8.68%	2,104,900	8.72%	2,882,000	8.47%
	Cumulative Total	38,540,900	54.61%	40,762,300	54.44%	36,453,800	53.75%	12,793,800	53.01%	17,894,400	52.57%

Broadcasting Yearbook 1976

	ADI TV H	louseholds	ADI W	'omen	ADI	Men	ADI Tee	n-Agers	ADI C	Children
San Diego Columbus, Oh Charlotte Memphis New Orleans Greenville-Spartanburg-Asheville Phoenix Louisville Grand Rapids-Kalamazoo Dayton Markets 31-40 Cumulative Total	542,200 500,600 500,100 493,200 481,800 475,800 469,100 469,100 446,000 4,851,900 4,851,900 43,392,800	.77% .71 .70 .70 .68 .67 .66 .64 .63 .64 .63 .64 .63 .6463 .61.49%	521,200 534,700 551,500 517,900 517,600 512,800 496,400 489,400 477,900 5,160,600 45,922,900	.70% 71 .74 .72 .69 .68 .66 .65 .64 .65 .64 .89% 61.33%	560,900 487,500 478,000 456,000 462,400 469,500 459,100 444,000 431,500 4,735,900 41,189,700	83% .72 .70 .67 .68 .69 .68 .65 .64 6.98% 60.74%	164,900 175,200 174,700 191,900 187,600 156,000 179,100 168,700 175,400 160,100 1,733,600 14,527,400	68% 73 80 78 65 74 70 73 66 7.18% 60.20%	239.500 254.400 275.200 275.300 263.400 237.100 238.300 226.600 2 ,510,100 20,404.500	.70% 75 78 81 69 .77 .70 .70 .67 7.37% 59,95%
Okiahoma City Charleston-Huntington Albany-Schenectady-Troy Oriando-Daytona Beach San Antonio Harrisburg-York-Lancaster-Lebanon Wikes Barte-Scranton Nrfolk-Portsmth-Newpit News-Hamptin Syracuse-Elmira Salt Lake City Markets 41-50 Cumulative Total	443,600 434,200 428,600 419,500 406,300 397,800 396,700 396,500 4,172,500 47,565,300	63% .62 .61 .59 .59 .58 .56 .56 .56 .56 5.91% 67.40%	459,100 472,300 458,000 464,100 444,200 444,200 435,000 429,600 414,000 4,476,600 50,399,500	61% 63 61 62 59 59 58 57 55 5.98% 67.31%	411,300 423,900 403,600 410,400 428,200 397,800 381,400 449,000 391,300 4,083,900 4,083,900 45,273,600	61% 63 60 61 63 59 56 66 58 57 6.02% 66.76%	138,300 149,500 139,700 165,800 137,300 117,300 156,000 141,800 159,200 1,453,100 15,980,500	.57% .62 .58 .61 .69 .57 .49 .65 .59 .66 .02% .66.22%	196.000 212.000 193.100 200.500 250.200 192.100 162.900 220.300 198.100 256.200 2,083.400 22,487,900	.58% .62 .57 .59 .74 .56 .48 .65 .58 .76 6.12% 66.07%
Birmingham Flint-Saginaw-Bay City Raleigh-Durham Wichita-Hutchinson Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Pt. Richmond Little Rock Knoxville Des Moines Toledo Markets 51-60 Cumulative Total	396,300 380,800 377,800 377,900 358,800 353,800 350,300 344,100 3,657,500 51,222,800	.56% .54 .54 .54 .53 .51 .50 .50 .49 .49 .49 .49 .5.18% 72.58%	430,400 409,500 427,400 409,800 409,800 405,800 363,300 373,500 341,300 3,908,200 54,307,700	.57% .55 .57 .51 .55 .54 .49 .50 .46 .49 5.22% 72.53%	371,100 378,200 417,900 362,300 368,800 324,700 332,100 310,100 328,100 3,538,500 48,812,100	.55% .56 .62 .51 .53 .54 .48 .49 .48 .49 .46 .48 .5.22% 71.98%	134,900 157,400 138,800 123,600 127,400 113,700 115,000 108,100 122,100 12,2100 12,2100 1,267,400	.56% .55 .58 .51 .52 .53 .47 .48 .45 .51 .5.25% 71.47%	190.200 223.100 158.700 183.200 177.500 166.400 144.100 177.700 1,794.200 24,282,100	.56% .66 .61 .47 .54 .52 .49 .42 .52 .527% 71.34%
Shreveport-Texarkana Tulsa Omaha Rochester, NY Mobile-Pensacola Green Bay Davenprt-Rock Is-Moline (Ouad City) Paducah-Cape Girardeau-Harrisburg Jacksonville Roanoke-Lynchburg Markets 61-70 Cumulative Total	341,800 331,300 326,400 316,800 302,400 295,400 294,800 294,500 292,900 3,107,000 54,329,800	.48% .47 .46 .45 .44 .43 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42	355.300 342,300 340,800 340,200 324,500 298,100 303,400 318,800 329,300 3,283,200 57,590,900	.47% .46 .44 .45 .43 .40 .41 .43 .44 .38% 76.92%	310,400 303,500 298,900 304,000 318,700 300,200 271,200 273,400 297,300 298,000 2,975,600 51,787,700	.46% .45 .44 .45 .47 .44 .40 .40 .40 .44 .44 .439% 76.36%	114,000 104,600 116,300 128,200 101,200 86,500 110,000 1,092,100 18,340,000	.47% .43 .46 .53 .50 .42 .36 .46 .42 4.53% 76.00%	163.400 144.200 157,100 155,400 155,400 138,100 118,500 160,700 147,100 1,529,600 25,811,700	.48% .42 .46 .47 .55 .46 .41 .35 .43 .47 .43 4.49% 75.83%
Cedar Rapids-Waterloo Springfield-Decatur-Champaign Johnstown-Altoona Fresno South Bend-Elkhart Chattanooga Youngstown Portland-Poland Spring Spokane Albuquerque Markets 71-80 Cumulative Total	288.600 285.500 284.500 267.300 259.000 256.500 252.100 248.700 238.500 2.661.700 56,991.500	.41% .40 .40 .38 .37 .36 .36 .36 .35 .34 3.77% 80.76%	298.400 296.300 291.800 271.600 286.700 286.700 255.400 247.000 2,814,300 60,405,200	.40% .40 .41 .39 .36 .38 .37 .36 .38 .37 .34 .33 3.76% 80.67%	272.500 269.300 278,400 254.100 254.100 257.900 253,000 241,100 225.700 2 ,565,900 54,353,600	.40% .40 .41 .40 .37 .35 .38 .37 .36 .33 .36 .33 .378% 80.15%	102,600 91,100 93,100 105,100 85,500 90,500 89,400 83,300 99,700 933,200 19,273,200	.43% 38 39 .44 .38 35 .38 .37 .35 .41 3.87% 79.86%	140,300 126,200 131,200 147,500 129,300 129,300 120,900 127,100 139,800 1,310,500 27,122,200	.41% .37 .39 .43 .40 .38 .36 .37 .33 .41 3.85% 79.68%
Lincoln-Hastings-Kearney Springfield, Ma West Palm Beach Springfield, Mo Jackson, Ms Bristol-Kingsport-Johnson City Evansville Sioux Falls-Mitchell Ft. Wayne Peoria Markets 81-90 Cumulative Total	238,300 228,900 226,500 219,800 219,300 209,100 208,100 198,800 198,400 2,169,900 59,161,400	.34% .32 .32 .31 .31 .30 .29 .28 .28 3.07% 83.83%	243,000 257,400 233,700 259,900 238,500 218,500 219,600 207,100 209,700 2,313,700 62,718,900	.32% .34 .31 .30 .35 .32 .29 .29 .29 .28 .28 .28 .309% 83.77%	225,600 227,100 203,800 218,200 222,700 214,600 196,400 203,800 187,400 186,800 2,086,400 56,440,000	.33% .33 .30 .32 .33 .32 .29 .30 .28 .28 .28 .3.08% 83.22%	73,600 75,800 64,300 94,200 71,300 71,300 78,900 71,000 65,700 732,900 20,006,100	.30% .31 .27 .27 .39 .30 .30 .30 .33 .29 .27 .3.04% 82.90%	99.400 101.600 96.400 138.300 106.700 97.300 97.300 103.500 91.900 1.021.300 28.143.500	29% .30 .28 .27 .41 .31 .28 .29 .30 .27 3.00% 82.68%
Greenville-New Bern-Wash. Fargo Lexington Salinas-Monterey Tucson Lansing Columbia, SC Baton Rouge Huntsville-Decatur-Florence Burlington-Platisburgh Markets 91-100 Cumulative Total	195,600 194,800 189,100 182,700 180,400 179,800 177,700 176,800 172,500 1,823,300 60,984,700	.28% .28 .27 .26 .25 .25 .25 .25 .25 .25 .24 2.58% 86.41%	219,700 202,700 182,600 196,400 197,700 201,800 199,100 187,400 192,600 1,983,800 64,702,700	29% .27 .27 .24 .26 .26 .27 .27 .25 .26 2.65% 86.41%	220,000 199,100 184,500 182,600 182,600 184,700 171,200 171,200 1,905,000 58,345,000	.32% .29 .27 .28 .30 .27 .25 .26 2.81% 86.03%	75.600 71.700 62.800 66.200 66.100 71.500 75.300 67.200 68.200 679.700 20,685,800	.31% .30 .26 .23 .27 .27 .30 .31 .28 .28 28 2.82% 85.72%	112,400 92,200 81,500 98,000 98,300 105,100 111,700 94,600 95,600 987,000 29,130,500	33% 27 29 24 29 29 31 33 28 28 290% 85.58%
Waco-Temple El Paso Colorado Springs-Pueblo Rockford Madison Austin, Tx Terre Haute	171,300 169,600 168,900 165,200 164,000 163,700 160,700	24% 24 23 23 23 23 23	170,900 185,400 175,400 167,900 170,600 173,200 166,300	.23% .25 .23 .22 .23 .23 .23 .23 .22	189,900 174,000 181,700 153,300 158,800 163,500 148,100	28% 26 27 23 23 23 24 22	51,300 76,200 62,700 60,500 55,900 50,500 48,600	.21% 32 26 .25 .23 21 .20	87.000 115.600 90.100 85.100 76.800 79.000 66.400	26% 34 26 25 23 23 20

108. 109 110.	Duluth-Superior Amarillo Wheeling-Steubenville Markets 101-110 Cumulative Total	160,300 158,400 158,300 1,640,800 62,625,500	.23 .22 .22 2.32% 88.74%	162,600 158,900 170,600 1,701,800 66,404,500	.22 .21 .23 2.27% 88.69%	153.100 148.200 151.400 1,622,000 59,967,000	23 22 22 2.39% 88.42%	55.900 53.400 51.200 566,200 21,252,000	.23 .22 .21 2.35% 88.06%	68.000 76.200 70.300 814,500 29,945,000	2 2.3 87.9
111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120.	Augusta Monroe-El Dorado Lafayette, La Joplin-Pittsburg Binghamton Columbus, Ga La Crosse-Eau Claire Wichita Falls-Lawton Sioux City Rochester-Mason City-Austin Markets 111-120 Cumulative Total	157,800 154,500 152,500 149,600 149,100 146,900 146,800 146,800 146,300 146,300 146,300 1492,700 64,118,200	.22% .22 .21 .21 .21 .21 .21 .21 .21 .21 .21	175,900 163,400 162,200 151,400 165,200 158,900 148,600 151,100 1,578,900 67,983,400	.23% .22 .20 .21 .22 .21 .20 .20 .19 2.11% 90.80%	166,100 143,000 146,800 132,100 144,200 150,400 149,400 137,100 1,444,800 61,411,800	.24% .21 .22 .19 .21 .22 .22 .22 .20 .19 2.13% 90.55%	62,100 56,600 65,100 41,600 55,300 53,400 46,300 50,700 50,500 536,500 21,788,500	.26% .23 .27 .17 .23 .23 .23 .22 .19 .21 .21 .21 2.22% 90.29%	91,600 82,900 93,000 57,900 73,800 84,100 70,300 65,600 64,200 64,200 746,300 30,691,300	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130.	Montgomery Traverse City-Cadillac Charleston, SC Topeka Columbia-Jefferson City Corpus Christi Beaumont-Port Arthur Wausau-Rhinelander Yakima Eugene Markets 121-130 Cumulative Total	138,200 137,700 137,600 136,500 132,500 131,700 131,400 131,100 131,100 130,400 128,300 1,335,400 65,453,600	.20% .20 .19 .19 .19 .19 .19 .19 .18 .18 1.89% 92.75%	153,400 144,300 149,400 135,100 142,900 141,200 138,200 134,400 127,900 1,411,700 69,395,100	.20% .19 .20 .18 .19 .19 .19 .19 .18 .18 .18 .18 .18 .18 .92.68%	131,900 138,000 147,500 138,600 135,400 134,700 128,800 130,000 126,000 122,500 1,333,400 62,745,200	.19% .20 .22 .20 .20 .20 .19 .19 .19 .19 .18 1.97% 92.52%	51,700 52,500 59,200 41,000 55,200 48,900 51,500 44,800 43,000 489,000 22,277,500	.21% .22 .25 .17 .17 .23 .20 .21 .19 .18 2.03% 92.31%	75.300 69.400 86.800 61.300 58.500 83.600 64.700 66.100 59.600 57.400 682,700 31,374,000	2.0 92.1
131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140.	Savannah Ouincy-Hannibal Bluefield-Beckley-Oak Hill Lubbock Wilmington Macon Erie Minot-Bismarck-Dickinson Albany, Ga Las Vegas Markets 131-140 Cumulative Total	127,900 124,000 123,800 122,600 117,700 117,200 115,100 115,100 112,900 1,189,000 66,642,600	.18% 18 .18 .17 .17 .17 .17 .16 .16 .16 .16 94.43%	138,400 129,500 136,100 129,500 129,500 126,600 122,200 124,300 107,200 1,280,500 70,675,600	.18% .17 .18 .17 .17 .18 .17 .16 .17 .14 1.71% 94.39%	136,200 115,800 120,200 119,800 117,200 111,800 116,200 111,000 107,400 63,919,800	.20% .17 .18 .18 .17 .18 .16 .16 .17 .16 .16 .173% 94.25%	49,100 37,400 42,700 46,400 40,800 40,800 48,700 44,200 39,100 440,200 22,717,700	.20% .15 .18 .19 .19 .19 .17 .20 .18 .16 1.82% 94.14 %	74,500 51,500 69,100 69,000 66,500 59,600 62,800 70,800 59,100 644,600 32,018,600	1.8 94.0
141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150.	McAllen-Brownsville (LRGV) Ft. Smith Columbus-Tupelo Boise Abliene-Sweetwater Bangor Utica Odessa-Midland Odessa-Midland Tallahassee Reno Markets 141-150 Cumulative Total	109,900 109,200 108,400 100,300 99,400 99,200 99,100 97,000 96,000 1,023,200 67,665,800	.16% .15 .15 .14 .14 .14 .14 .14 .14 .14 .14 .14 .5% .95.88%	132,700 110,500 122,600 109,400 104,300 111,800 105,400 111,700 94,000 1,111,800 71,787,400	.18% .15 .16 .15 .14 .15 .15 .14 .15 .13 1.48% 95.88 %	113,200 101,400 110,100 93,900 103,800 ~97,500 98,000 98,500 92,700 1,011,700 64,931,500	.17% .15 .16 .15 .14 .15 .14 .14 .15 .14 1.49% 95.74%	56,100 34,000 41,500 30,000 36,400 34,100 39,200 30,400 375,500 23,093,200	.23% .14 .17 .16 .12 .15 .14 .16 .15 .13 1.56% 95.69%	93,400 49,900 62,500 54,300 41,400 50,600 47,200 54,500 54,500 54,900 41,100 549,800 32,568,400	1.6 95.6
151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160.	Bakersfield Chico-Redding FL Myers Santa Barbara-Santa Maria Medford Tyler Alexandria, Mn Missoula-Butte Dothan Florence, SC Markets 151-160 Cumulative Total	95,700 95,500 94,600 93,800 90,500 86,200 86,200 84,100 82,900 78,500 887,8C0 68,553,600	.14% .14 .13 .13 .13 .13 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .11 1.26% 97.14%	97,400 96,000 95,400 98,600 93,100 88,200 90,200 87,200 88,900 923,200 72,710,600	.13% .13 .13 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12 .12	91,300 89,000 84,700 92,700 83,400 83,400 84,000 84,000 84,700 76,800 • 858,100 65,789,600	.13% .13 .12 .14 .12 .12 .12 .12 .13 .12 .11 1.27% 97.01%	36,000 30,300 24,400 30,900 27,300 31,500 30,600 28,700 32,100 299,700 23,392,900	.15% 13 10 .13 .12 .11 .13 .12 .13 .12 .13 1.24% 96.93%	48,600 38,200 36,300 40,900 41,800 41,800 45,400 45,400 415,000 32,983,400	1.: 96.:
161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170.	Clarksburg-Weston Watertown-Carthage Laurel-Hattiesburg Meridian Rapid City Salisbury Alexandria, La Jonesboro Idaho Falis-Pocatello Billings Markets 161-170 Cumulative Total	77,300 71,600 65,400 64,400 63,200 63,100 62,600 62,400 62,300 656,700 69,210,300	.11% .10 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .93% 98.07%	82,700 79,400 75,300 65,000 66,100 67,300 63,800 69,300 65,800 707,300 73,417,900	.11% .11 .10 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .09 .94% 98.05%	73,200 72,700 66,800 64,200 58,700 77,800 57,500 65,800 61,300 661,800 661,800	.11% .11 .10 .09 .09 .09 .11 .08 .10 .09 .98% 97.99%	23,900 28,200 25,000 24,200 24,600 24,600 18,900 27,500 22,900 240,100 23,633,000	.10% .12 .10 .10 .09 .10 .08 .11 .09 .99% 97.93%	34.200 38,400 37,000 35,200 28,700 35,400 25,300 40,900 28,600 341,000 33,324,400	1.0 97.9
171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180.	Cheyenne Great Falls Ardmore-Ada Marquette Lake Charles Anchorage St. Joseph Panama City Mankato Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula Markets 171-180 Cumulative Total	56,000 54,000 53,100 51,300 50,700 50,600 46,300 46,300 46,300 507,000 69,717,300	.08% .08 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07	57,700 56,700 55,100 53,400 52,200 53,300 52,200 53,300 50,500 48,900 533,800 73,951,700	.08% .08 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .07 .71% 98.77%	53,900 55,300 48,500 57,700 57,300 46,800 46,800 45,900 53,400 514,600 66,966,000	.08% .08 .07 .09 .07 .08 .07 .07 .07 .07 .08 .76% 98.74%	20,300 22,600 15,400 20,800 22,600 15,100 18,400 15,500 18,400 18,7,100 23,820,100	.08% .09 .06 .07 .09 .09 .09 .06 .08 .06 .08 .78% 98.70%	26,800 29,600 21,100 25,200 35,600 20,700 25,200 19,900 28,900 28,900 261,700 33,586,100	() () () () () () () () () () () () () (

Broadcasting Yearbook 1976 B-82



		ADI TV He	ouseholds	ADI W	omen	ADI M	Men	ADI Teen	1-Agers	ADI C	hildren
	Gainesville	44,500	.06	50,400	.07	48,400	07	14,900	.06	23,200	.07
82.	Roswell	44.300	06	44,100	.06	40,800	06	16.600	.07	21,800	.06
a.3."	F Centro-Yuma	43,400	.06	45,500	.06	44,900	07	18.600	08	26,800	.08
44 44	Casper-Riverton	40.000	.06	40,900	.05	38,800	.06	15.300	.06	20.200	.06
26	Grand Junction	38.600	.05	41,500	.06	38,900	.06	14.000	.06	17.000	.05
4.7 4.7	Twin Falls	38.600	.05	40,100	.05	37,400	.06	14,100	.06	20.300	.06
14	Jackson, Tn	38,500	.05	41,100	.05	35,400	05	12,100	.05	18,000	05
50. 84	Greenwood-Greenville	38.000	.05	45,300	.06	39.000	.06	18,400	.08	29,100	.09
17 20	Tuscaloosa	37,400	.05	44,900	.06	41,400	.06	12,400	.05	19,300	.06
£.)	Markets 181-190	408.000	.58%	437,700	.58%	409,000	.60%	151,200	.63%	214,900	.63%
	Cumulative Total		99.37%	74,389,400	99.35%	67,375,000	99.35%	23,971,300	99.33%	33,801,000	99.30%
11	Palm Springs	36,600	.05%	36,300	.05%	33,300	.05%	12,000	.05%	16,400	.05%
2	Lafayette, In	35,900	.05	39,400	.05	40,600	.06	10,500	.04	18,300	.05
a	Lima	34,800	.05	36,900	.05	33,600	.05	12,800	.05	18,200	.05
4	Anniston	32,400	.05	36,500	.05	32,300	.05	11,200	.05	16,600	.05
5	Ottumwa-Kirksville	30,400	.04	30,400	.04	28,800	.04	8,200	.03	11,300	.03
6	Bellingham	30,200	.04	31,500	.04	28,900	.04	9,000	.04	12,900	.04
7	Harrisonburg	29,300	.04	35,700	.05	30,100	.04	10,000	.04	14,400	.04
e	Parkersburg	29,100	.04	30,400	.04	26,500	.04	9,800	.04	14,300	.04
9	Zanesville	28,100	.04	29,800	.04	25,900	.04	9,600	.04	14,200	.04
0	San Angelo	26,700	.04	28,500	.04	26,000	.04	8,700	.04	12,500	.04
	Markets 191-200	313,500	.44%	335,400	.45%	306,000	.45%	101,800	.42%	149,100	.44%
	Cumulative Total	70,438,800	99.81%	74,724,800	99.80%	67,681,000	99.80%	24,073,100	99.75%	33,950,100	99.74%
1	Presque Isle	26,300	.04%	30,700	.04%	29,100	.04%	12,400	.05%	16,800	.05%
12	Laredo	21,200	.03	24,800	.03	21,700	.03	10,600	.04	18,200	.05
13	North Platte	17,300	.02	18,100	.02	16,000	.02	5,700	.02	7,200	.02
14	Farmington	16,700	.02	• 17,800	.02	16,500	.02	8,900	.04	12,300	.04
15	Selma	16,500	.02	18,100	.02	15,500	.02	7,000	.03	10,900	.03
6	Flagstaff	16,100	.02	19,000	.03	18,100	.03	7,300	.03	12,500	.04
17	Helena	11,800	.02	12,400	.02	10,900	.02	4,200	.02	5,700	.02
8	Miles City-Glendive	8,600	.01	9,100	.01	8,600	.01	3,700	.02	4,400	.01
	Markets 201-208	134,500	.19%	150,000	.20%	136,400	.20%	59,800	.25%	88,000	.26%
	Cumulative Total	70,573,300	100%	74.874.800	100%	67.817.400	100%	24,132,900	100%	34,038,100	100%

TV Markets by Nielsen Retail Index Territory

Vielsen Retail Index territory groupings are another standard way of recorting sales data. The following table ranks TV markets within each vielsen Territory. This provides a yardstick for determining the number of pot markets needed to achieve a given coverage of a territory. For eximple, if the national media are not delivering sufficient advertising veight in New England, the planner will find that three TV markets (Boston, Hartford and Providence) contain more than 80% of the New England territory households. Or, he can use the table to get a better idea of how and what TV markets are needed to cover all of New England. Data is from a special Nielsen Station Index tabulation based on a September 1975 estimate.

signated Market Area	TV Households	% Territory	% Total U.S.	Rank	Designated Market Area	TV Households	% Territory	% Total U.S.	Rank
al U.S. (excluding Alaska, Hawaii)	69,644,300	100	100		Raleigh-Durham	330,570	2.9	.473	62
tro New York					Mobile-Pensacola	304,740	2.7	436	65
York	6.337.510	100	9.069	1	Roanoke-Lynchburg	299,560	2.6	.429	68
	0,007,010	100	9.009		Chattanooga	255.210	2.2	.365	77
ro Los Angeles					West Palm Beach, Ft. Pierce-Vero Beach	222,760	1.9	.319	82
Angeles, Palm Springs	3,638,680	100	5.207	2	Tri Cities: Tenn -Va.	220,500	1.9	.315	83
ro Chicago					Greenville-New Bern-Washington	220,440	1.9	.315	84
200	2,718,100	100	3.890	3	Jackson, Miss.	211,020	1.8	.302	87
				5	Columbia, S.C.	177.620	1.6	.254	96
r England Territory	3,718,960	100	5.34	-	Huntsville-Decatur, Florence	173,900	1.5	.249	99
on, Manchester, Worcester	1,734,090	46.6	2.482	5	Augusta, Ga	157,480	1.4	.225	111
ford & New Haven	646,280	17.4	.925	21	Montgomery	153,630	1.3	.220	112
dence	588,990	15.8	.843	29	Charleston, S.C.	151,970	1.3	.217	114
and-Poland Spring	240,300	6.5	.344	78	Columbus, Ga	141,900	1.2	.203	118
ngfield-Holyoke	214,060	5.8	.306	86	Wilmington	128,710	1.1	.184	130
ngton-Plattsburgh	169,530	4.6	.243	102	Macon	120.300	1.0	.172	134
gor	99,220	2.7	.142	144	Tallahassee-Thomasville	114,440	1.0	.164	13
que Isle	26,490	.7	.038	195	Savannah	114,400	1.0	.164	138
dle Atlantic	7,562,250	100	10.86	-	Columbus-Tupelo	100,450	9	144	14:
delphia	2.278,100	30.1	3.260	4	Albany, Ga	93,660	.8	.134	149
		17.0	1.843	8	Dothan	84,590	.7	121	155
hington, D.C., Hagerstown more	1,287,850	9.7	1.043	20	Ft Myers	80,100	7	115	15
alo *	731,460	9.7	.888	20	Florence, S.C.	78,490	7	.112	158
	620,620	5.7	.000	42	Hattiesburg-Laurel	64,860	.6	.093	163
ny-Schenectady-Troy	429,970	5.6	.609	42	Meridian	64,180	.6	.092	164
es Barre-Scranton	426,850	5.5	.598	44	Biloxi	44,120	4	063	18:
isburg-Lancaster-Lebanon-York	418,100			47	Panama City	43,400	4	.062	185
cuse, Elmira	417,750	5.5	.598		Greenwood, Miss.	38,490	.3	.055	18
nester	303,790	4.0	.435	67	Harrisonburg, Va.	37,050	3	.053	189
stown-Altoona	284,380	3.8	.407	70					10.
hamton	135,020	1.8	.193	125	East Central	10,451,960	100	15.010	-
3	94,430	1.2	.135	148	Detroit	1,559,890	14.9	2 2 3 2	
ertown	71,990	1.0	.103	161	Cleveland-Akron	1.280.570	123	1.833	
ibury	62,940	.8	.090	165	Pittsburgh	1,118,180	10.7	1.600	10
theast	11.457.870	100	16.45		Indianapolis, Lafayette	771,760	7.4	1 104	15
ita	827,240	7.2	1 184	15	Cincinnati	625,580	6.0	.895	2
ni-Ft Lauderdale	820,820	7.2	1.175	16	Columbus, Ohio	493.580	4.7	.706	3
pa-St Petersburg, Sarasota	794,470	6.9	1 1 37	18	Louisville	449,170	4.3	.643	3
nville. Bowling Green	573,520	5.0	821	30	Grand Rapids-Kalamazoo	444,570	43	.636	4
iphis, Jackson	554,680	4.8	794	31	Dayton	429.190 -	4.1	614	4
otte	504,790	4.4	722	33	Charleston-Huntington	420,180	40	.601	4
nville-Spartanburg-Asheville	473,040	4.1	667	37	Flint-Saginaw-Bay City	375.830	3.6	538	5
Ingham, Anniston	463,890	40	664	38	Toledo	338,400	3.2	484	6
ndo-Daytona Beach	421,980	3.7	604	45	South Bend-Elkhart	263,260	25	.377	7
olk-Portsmouth-Newport News	392,180	3.4	561	51	Youngstown	218,380	21	.313	8
ensboro-High Point-Winston Salem	376,660	3.3	.539	52	Evansville	201.880	19	289	9
mond-Petersburg	352,350	31	504	57	Lexington	192,130	1.8	275	9
ksonville, Florida	339,460	3.0	468	59	Fort Wayne	187,770	18	.269	9

			Summary	/ Statistics	
	State	Average	Range	Minimum	Maximum
1.	Nebraska	62.4%	23.1	47.4	70.5
2.	Kansas	60.4	23.7	45.1	68.8
3.	Vermont	58.6	38.5	33.7	72.2
4.	Idaho	58.4	16.3	49.1	65.4
5.	North Dakota	58.0	29.1	41.9	71.0
6.		57.9	22.3	45.3	67.6
7.		57.7	25.6	43.4	69.0
8.		57.5	14.3	50.4	64.7
9.		56.3	24.9	44.4	69.3
10.		55.7	29.4	44.3	73.7
11.	New Hampshire	55.5	22.5	43.6	66.1
12.		55.4	27.8	38.2	66.0
13.		55.4	30.0	36.1	66.1
14.		54.9	39.7	31.2	70.9
15.		54.7	25.9	37.9	63.8
16.	Florida	54.2	31.4	40.5	71.9
17.	Virginia	53.6	24.4	43.4	67.8
18.	Nevada	53.5	22.3	41.4	63.7
19.	New Mexico	(52.6	20.6	40.4	61.0
20.	Montana	52.8	18.8	40.6	59.4
21.	Illinois	52.2	23.9	37.7	61.6
22.		52.2	24.0	37.1	61.1
23.		52.1	30.8	33.9	64.7
24.		51.8	19.0	40.5	59.5
25.		51.1	24.5	36.0	60.5
26.	California	50.9	15.5	40.8	56.3
27.	Tennesse	50.4	29.9	37.8	67.7
28.	Kentucky	50.1	27.7	35.7	63.4
29.	Connecticut	50.1	31.6	32.1	63.7
30.	Texas	49.9	29.7	36.5	66.2
31.	Maryland	49.9	26.8	34.5	61.3
32.	Delaware	49.9	20.8	38.8	59.6
33.	Washington	49.7	19.5	37.4	56.9
34.	New York	49.7	29.9	31.3	61.2
35.	North Carolina	49.4	30.0	39.5	69.5

ADVARADT

Table 5. Rank Order of States by Republican Presidential Vote: 1952-1972

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		Summary	Statistics	
State	Average	Range	Minimum	Maximum
 Pennsylvania Missouri South Carolina Michigan 	49.3	24.4	34.7	59.1
	48.9	26.2	36.0	62.2
	48.5	45.6	25.2	70.8
	48.4	23.1	33.1	56.2
	47.9	19.3	36	55.3
 40. Minnesota 41. West Virginia 42. Alaska 43. Arkansas 44. Louisiana 	47.7	31.5	32.1	63.6
	47.1	24.0	34.1	58.1
	46.0	38.1	30.8	68.9
	45.8	41.8	23.5	65.3
	45.3	58.4	14.0	72.4
 45. Alabama 46. Mississippi 47. Georgia 48. Hawaii 49. Massachusetts 50. Rhode Island 	44.6	73.6	13.5	87.1
	43.4	44.7	30.3	75.0
	43.1	41.3	21.2	62.5
	42.4	35.9	23.4	59.3
	41.6	39.2	19.1	58.3

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file Caddell polls

Executive summary

This *Report* stands out from those that have gone before it because of the new highs set by the key measures we use to understand the mood of the American people. Consumers have become markedly more optimistic about the health of the economy and the prospects for both their own and the nation's well-being. In fact, the total number of confident consumers is the highest we've found in any Cambridge Report survey, and the total number of unconfident consumers the lowest.

Inflation psychology has taken an even bigger jump than consumer confidence, and it, too, is at the highest level we've seen since the start of The Cambridge Report program. Today, despite their experience of stable or falling prices over the last quarter, nearly half the population believes prices will never be stable again. This acceptance of inflation has combined with consumer confidence to boost purchase plans for some items - in particular, automobiles - to their highest level in over a year, and sustain others at the same record level they set last quarter.

So, looking at the growing confidence of our respondents and the way they plan to spend their money, it's hard to resist the conclusion that the country is back on the track again. Yet there are some disturbing signs. Confidence may be spreading across the country, but we're definitely not in the midst of an epidemic; it still hasn't infected the majority of Americans. Although economists have no doubt that recovery is in full swing, the majority of Americans still aren't convinced that the worst times are behind us. Fear of inflation is strong, and we're already getting signals of a new round of price increases. If inflation psychology gets additional impetus from rising food and fuel prices, it may boomerang and push consumers back into pessimism.

A marriage of hope and fear

In understanding the economy today, the history of the last few years is of vital importance. The massive and unprecedented inflation of 1974 and 1975 set the stage for both a different kind of recession and a different kind of recovery. And unless that point is understood, it is hard to follow the developments of today. It is clear that complex interactions



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exist between price changes and confidence, between price changes and inflation psychology, and between both confidence and inflation psychology and purchase plans. Inflation contributed to an extra decline in the economy during the recession as it scared consumers away from spending. Now, as the recession ends, it is aiding the upturn as more confident consumers are encouraged by inflation psychology into additional spending, particularly for luxury-type goods. We can envision several possible scenarios for the coming months. If prices remain stable or falling in many sectors, as they were last quarter, confidence should continue to increase and, sooner or later, inflation psychology will abate. In this scenario the nation should experience a stable and sustained economic recovery.

On the other hand, a resumption of rising prices could fuel inflation psychology and proportionately weaken confidence. Rumblings from the farms already indicate higher food prices are on the way; similar increases can be expected in industrial commodities. If prices rise rapidly, consumer confidence could fall dramatically. Our findings in this *Report* indicate that while inflation psychology would continue to rise, it is not strong enough by itself to keep purchase intentions up in the absence of wage increases that sustain real income. Indeed, in times of falling confidence, inflation psychology may actually work against increases in purchase plans. Worried consumers who see their standard of living falling may view inflation as just one more bad sign, one more reason to pull back and save.

A third scenario, which exemplifies the last quarter, is also possible. Prices resume their climb and inflation psychology marches onward. However, the rise of prices is moderate and wage inflation cushions or negates any impact on real income. The consumer thus finds inflation an unreliable planning tool – as we saw in *Report 5* – and remains confident until some more decisive clue to the future of the economy appears. A marriage of hope and fear continues to fuel economic progress for at least the rest of the year. We think this is the most likely scenario.

In this *Report* we introduce a new scale – the buying power scale – designed to measure the sum total of consumer confidence and inflation psychology and help us determine how the two together affect consumer behavior. Hopefully, this scale will provide a more sensitive indicator of aggregate consumer intentions than either of the original indices alone. We also think it will be helpful in understanding the patterns of individual consumer purchases.

Personal economic plans

We mentioned earlier that purchase plans for some economically important goods, such as automobiles, have registered substantial increases



since the fourth quarter of 1975. Intentions for durable goods show less of an upbeat pattern, with small increases for some items and small declines for others. However, intentions to purchase have, on the whole, held steady at the same healthy levels of last quarter.

What is more interesting than the absolute levels of purchase plans this quarter are the patterns of these plans. In the case of automobiles, for example, we are seeing a shift back to medium-size, American-made vehicles. However, this is due less to any change in preferences than to the fact that many middle-income, middle-aged Americans have reentered the auto market after a year's absence. Similarly, the seeming shift that we saw over the past year to smaller, imported cars was produced largely because higher-income and younger consumers, who prefer such cars, accounted for a disproportionate share of all auto purchases.

In the case of consumer durables, our buying power scale shows that inflation psychology not only encourages both confident and unconfident consumers to purchase more than they otherwise would, it also affects the types of goods they purchase. Thus, confident consumers who believe prices will never be stable again tend to make luxury purchases, such as televisions, stereos and dishwashers. Unconfident people who have an inflation psychology, on the other hand, are more inclined to make investment-type purchases, such as clothes washers and dryers and refrigerators.

One note of caution in the area of personal economic plans is sounded by the expressed desire of consumers to take care of their fiscal obligations regardless of whether their personal economic circumstances get better or worse. Despite the fact that inflation psychology should make debt more attractive to consumers, many — obviously wary of being trapped in a future downturn still carrying the debt burden they incurred over the course of the recession — have announced that they will use any increase in prosperity to pay off their outstanding debts. Thus, while they intend to make more purchases, it seems unlikely that consumers will indulge in as much spending on credit as they did before the recession. In fact, most consumers say they expect their total debt to remain stable, or decline over the course of the next 6 months.

Our system, right or wrong?

Although it is difficult to sum up in a few words, a new mood seems to be emerging among the American people. In earlier *Reports*, we noted the dilemma that most Americans experienced when confronting issues such as business regulation and energy policy. People think business needs to be watched and regulated, but they're afraid of giving government more control over their lives. This survey indicates that a compromise solution may exist — the essentially conservative solution of reduc-



ing the size and power of *both* government and business. This is clearly an important objective for Americans today, as the response to one of our questions about possible changes in this country's basic system shows. More than half the population believes that wealth and power have become too concentrated in our society and should be broken up. Much of the anti-Washington sentiment evident today, as well as much of the surprisingly strong public support for oil industry divestiture, rests on this belief that "smaller is better." This theme – along with its twin, "less is more," also appears in our examination of growth in this *Report*. Many Americans, though still a minority, are rejecting the traditional American idea of continued economic growth.

We looked at attitudes toward the size and power of government and business on two levels: the changes Americans would like to see in our basic economic and political structure, and the level of regulation they feel is necessary.

The economic structure

The survey uncovered a substantial amount of ignorance about the basic economic system of this country and the way it works. Most Americans, including many supposedly well-educated people, simply do not know how our economic system works. Nonetheless, the majority believe it needs some kind of fundamental change to function better. This sentiment was particularly pronounced among the poor, the liberal and the young. Americans have come to believe that power and wealth are too concentrated in our society.

The main complaint that most Americans have about the "system," as we mentioned earlier, is that power and wealth are too concentrated in our society today. However, our respondents roundly rejected one possibility that radical critics have proposed – socialism. Americans definitely don't want to put government in business.

As we've seen before, Americans do want their government to watch business. When the government engages in protecting the consumer, it is at its most popular. We found strong opposition to relaxing regulation of industry in areas that affect consumer safety. Nearly half our respondents even opposed relaxing commercial regulations such as rules affecting interstate commerce. These findings suggest that sweeping proposals to free "free enterprise" will not win strong grass roots support.

One area of regulation where the "small is better" philosophy comes through clearly is the question of oil industry divestiture. A plurality of the American people favor divestiture, and although many believe prices would be reduced by such a breakup, a more important motivation is the belief that "smaller" companies would be better, simply because they are closer to the original ideal of free enterprise. Americans also like the idea of reducing the "power" of the large oil companies. Unfor-



tunately, the oil industry has become so unpopular with most people that the strongest reason of all for favoring divestiture is simply that it would "punish" the oil companies.

The political structure

Although no level of government is popular, state and local governments – which are smaller and closer to citizens – are rated more favorably than the federal government. On the whole, Americans feel that state government taxes more fairly and spends more wisely than does Washington. Consequently, Americans tend to favor proposals that would strip away some of the power of the federal government. Ronald Reagan's proposal to shift \$90 billion of federal spending to the states is greeted favorably by a plurality of our respondents.

Despite their concern with protecting themselves, Americans also reject a series of proposals that would increase the government's power to fight crime. However, it is an astounding testimony to the fear of crime and violence that pervades much of our society that nearly a quarter of our respondents consistently favor compromising basic constitutional liberties in the war on crime.

Anti-growth grows

It is in the area of attitudes toward growth, however, that the "smaller is better/less is more" philosophy reaches its zenith. While only a minority of Americans – though a substantial one – oppose growth, sentiments on individual questions show high levels of doubt about the feasibility or wisdom of continued growth. For example, more than half the population agrees with the statement that America would be better off if we stopped the frantic pace of growth.

Many who worry about the impact of the "no-growth" movement had hypothesized that the recent economic hard times would cause antigrowth people to back down from their positions. This trend, however, is not evident in the data. Anti-growth sentiment remains just as firm today as it was a year ago.

One major reason for the strong anti-growth sentiment we see today is worry about environmental quality. When we posed the possibility of trade-offs between growth and the environment, both pro- and antigrowth Americans choose the environment, arguing that no trade is needed. <u>Most people feel we can have both economic progress and environmental quality</u>. This conviction will, of course, make them less tolerant of any compromises that may be needed to promote economic growth.



The crisis of capital formation

The American people know as little about the accumulation of capital as they do about the workings of capitalism. Many of our economic planners are deeply concerned with the question of where the capital to build the factories and industries America needs in the future will come from. Only about a quarter of the population, however, worry about this problem to any great extent. Their lack of concern and their distaste for all the solutions available suggest that it would be difficult to mobilize Americans behind any course of action.

When confronted with the basic choice between public and private investment as a means of providing needed capital, our respondents came out overwhelmingly for action through the private sector — one more expression of their aversion to giving the government more control over the economy. From here on, however, the path to a solution gets muddied. Although people say they could accept higher corporate profits as a consequence of going the private investment route, they are completely unsympathetic to one change in tax legislation — the elimination of double taxation — that would increase profits, thereby attracting investment, and are relatively sympathetic to another change that would actually decrease profits — the elimination of special tax treatment for capital gains.

Increased savings are, of course, another way to fill the capital gap, but respondents reject this approach as well. Most do not think they could save more. The minority who think they could, however, represent a potentially substantial increase in the total national savings rate.

Most Americans are also hostile to the prospect of foreign investment, the third solution we tested. They strongly reject the idea that foreign investors should be allowed to own any substantial share of an American corporation. Such attitudes, while not precluding foreign investment, certainly make America a less attractive place for foreigners to put their money.

A tougher line on foreign affairs

Whether we are seeing another example of xenophobia or the impact of the barrage of criticism that has been aimed at Secretary of State Kissinger, Americans are taking a much more activist view of their country's role in the world today. This has become an important election year theme, and the shift in attitudes from last year is striking. Where Americans were weary of foreign involvement and eager to make big cuts in the defense budget, they now are less enthusiastic about *detente* and more concerned about defense. Kissinger gets a much lower, though still positive, rating on his performance, and defense spending gets much stronger support. Out of a list of possible foreign policy moves, <u>Ameri-</u>

cans support the more aggressive proposals – e.g., cutting off food exports to unfriendly countries – and reject the more "dovish" ones – e.g., closing military bases in foreign countries.

In the political arena

With the rapidly advancing primary season, the political data from our survey were out of date almost as soon as we completed our interviewing. Furthermore, the results can hardly surprise anyone who has followed the newspapers.

Obviously, Jimmy Carter was the major story of the last quarter. While he may yet be blocked on the path to the nomination, he catapulted himself from relative obscurity to front-runner status. Head-to-head matches in our hypothetical election contests show Carter tied with Hubert Humphrey as the leading choice of Democrats, and ahead of both President Ford and Ronald Reagan.

Despite Reagan's primary victories, Ford continues to be the choice of most Republicans for the nomination. However, there is no national primary, and Reagan has shown an ability to capitalize on his strengths in specific states, including an ability to attract Wallace voters into the Republican primary. The whole process is an intriguing one; Ford is clearly the stronger standard bearer against the Democrats at this time, but many of his cohorts seem to be rejecting him.

All in all, this survey presents a relatively positive picture of America today. Americans see an upturn in the economy. Their fear of inflation, coupled with this new confidence, has encouraged them to spend money and to make purchases. Considering the events of the past 2 years, they remain wary that something will go wrong. If food inflation can be controlled, however, and other prices do not get too far out of line, we anticipate a fairly healthy continuing recovery of consumer spending. In other areas, as well, Americans remain on guard — wary of big government on one side and big business on the other. Their divergent choices in the various debates of 1976 indicate they are unlikely to be stampeded either way.



THE AMERICAN VOTER: CYNIC OR DISILLUSIONED?

March 23, 1976

Conducted for:

NEWSWEEK



The Gallup Organization, Inc. 53 Bank Street Princeton, New Jersey

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INTRODUCTION

This is a report on a survey designed to investigate whether, and to what extent American voters have become cynical about the electoral process.

The objectives of the study were to determine:

- 1. Have Americans lost interest and confidence in the electoral process?
- 2. Do Americans believe they have any means available to them for influencing the way the government is run?
- 3. What is public opinion regarding the need for strong leadership or for non-political condidates?
- 4. How do Americans assess the over-all quality of candidates today?
- 5. How much trust do Americans have in the nation's institutions and leaders?

To achieve these objectives, a national sample of the adult civilian population was personally interviewed by means of the Gallup Omnibus. A total of 1,525 adults 18 and older was interviewed during the period February 27 - 29, 1976. A description of the sample design, the composition of the obtained sample, recommended tables of sampling tolerances, and a copy of the questions asked are to be found in the Technical Appendix.

All questions have been tabulated by the following characteristics:

- 1. Political affiliation Republican, Democratic, Independent
- 2. Education Any college, any high school, grade school only
- 3. Region East, Midwest, South, West
- 4. Sex Male, Female
- 5. Age 18 29, 30 49, 50 and older
- Occupation of Chief Wage Earner Professional, or Business Clerical or Sales, Manual Worker, Farmer, Non-labor force (retired, etc.)

7. Political Idealogy - Right, Middle of the road, Left

8. Interest in this year's elections - Lot, Some, Little or None

- Trust in Washington government to do right Always, Most of the time, Some of the time
- Country's need for strong leadership strong leadership dangerous, strong leadership needed.

The number of interviews in each of these anaylitical segments of the sample are to be found in the first three of the detailed tables. These should be used when estimating sample tolerances, and not the weighted percentage bases.

The Gallah Crasmization . Inc



SUMMARY

Interest and confidence in the electoral process

This year's primary contests may have stimulated an early interest in the presidential campaign. Forty two percent say they are more interested in politics this year than in 1972, while 28% say they are just as interested and 29% that they are less interested.

By way of reference, in reply to a standard Gallup Poll question asked in this survey, 33% said they have given a "lot" of thought to the November elections. This compares with 50% who said they had given a lot of thought in an August 1972 Gallup Poll. Taking the time of year difference into account, it seems likely that interest is indeed higher now than at a comparable time in 1972.

Another indicator of attitude toward the electoral process is the proportion who would like their son or daughter to go into politics as a career. In the current survey 34% said they would, virtually the same (36%) as said in February 1965 that they would want a son to go into politics. Two year's after Watergate, politics is in as good esteem as it was before Vietnam divided the nation.

Finally, there is virtual consensus that it does make a difference who is elected President. Fully 80% take this position contrasted with 18% who believe it really does not make a difference (2% had no opinion).

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Despite this "vote of confidence" in the electoral process, there is still considerable dissatisfaction with the way it is functioning. By a margin of 27% to 18%, there are more who feel there has been a worsening of quality of political candidates rather than an improvement.

Moreover, the public is divided as to whether things are now improved after the scandals and problems in Washington during the last few years. Forty seven per cent believe there has been improvement, but 46% take the opposing view.

A similar split exists with regard to the kind of leadership the nation needs. Virtually half (49%) concurred with the view that "what this country needs is some really strong leadership that would try to solve problems directly without worrying how Congress and the Supreme Court might feel". However, almost as many (44%) think that such leadership might be dangerous. Support for a strong leader exists at about the same level among young and old, in all occupational categories, among Republicans and Democrats alike, and among middle of the roaders as well as among those who identify with the political right.

In only a few segments of the public does the weight of opinion tilt to the belief that such a strong leader might be dangerous. Even in these segments, large proportions concur in the need for a strong leader: 42% of those who have attended college, 43% of those who identify with the political left, and 40% of Westerners. In other words, a willingness to accept a strong leader who might

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trammel constitutional forms of government is widespread - SEEMS a Strange in all walks of life and among those with otherwise disparate political positions.

These conflicting attitudes are encapsulated in the expressed tendency of a significant proportion of the public to cast a "no-confidence" vote. If there were a place on the ballot where one could refuse to vote for any of the candidates, 21% say they are very likely to cast a "no-confidence" vote and 32% fairly likely. It is true that the largest proportion, 41%, said they are not at all likely to do .so. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that this 41% who are committed to the electoral process are outnumbered by those whose committment is provisional.

Influencing How The Government Is Run

Parallel with its attitudes toward the electoral process are the public's beliefs concerning the effectiveness of alternative ways of trying to influence how the government is run and what laws are passed.

The most effective way, in the public's view, is working through the electoral process while the least effective way is one that attempts to bypass it. However, also rated quite high

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assumption

are attempts to manipulate the electoral process through political

contributions and personal influence.

Rating of Eight Ways of Influencing The Government

		+ Fairly = Effective	
	%	%	%
Making sure to vote in all elections	38	39	77
Making large contributions to political leaders	28	23	51
Working in political campaigns to get your preferred candidate elected	22	50	72
Writing your Congressman or other political leaders	19	42	61
Joining your local political party	17	47	64
Developing personal contacts in your local political party	16	46	62
Joining non-political organizations that lobby for your point of view	13	39	52
Staging protest demonstrations	6	22	28

It is evident in the above ranking that most Americans accept the belief that the electoral process does provide the public with a reasonably effective way of influencing the government and that relatively few are ready to try to work outside the system. At the same time, the view that the system can be manipulated by money and personal influence is also widespread.

Further testimony to the doubts many Americans have regarding the responsiveness of government to the citizenry is the fact that almost half (45%) agree with the statement "People like me •

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don't have any say about what the government does." Fifty percent disagreed, and 5% were unable to decide.

Trust and Confidence in the Nation's Institutions and Leaders

In light of the above attitudes, it is not surprising that at this time there is limited trust and confidence in the nation's institutions and leaders. Only 32% believe that they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right "just about always" or "most of the time".

Related to this lack of trust is a desire that someone from outside of politics be a Presidential candidate. Nationally, 45% think a non-political candidate would be a good idea, and 42% that it would be a bad idea. However, among those who think the government can be trusted just about always, only 17% endorse the idea of a non-political candidate. This endorsement goes up to 34% among those who think that the government can be trusted "most of the time". Among the majority who feel that the government can be trusted only "some of the time", fully 53% favor a nonpolitical candidate.

The limited confidence in "the government" extends over both the executive and the legislative branches and to the state and local level as well. However, few are completely disillusioned:

Amount of trust in	A lot	Some	None at all
	%	%	%
President Ford and his Cabinet	23	63	12
Members of Congress	19	70	8
Your own state government	20	66	11
Your own local government	19	63	14

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Trust in the news media is at a level comparable with government, while both business and labor rank appreciably lower in the public's esteem.

Amount of trust in	A lot	Some	None at all
	%	0,0	%
The news media	20	66	12
Business leaders and heads of corporations	6	62	26
Labor leaders and heads of labor unions	7	49	36 _]

Distrust appears to be a generalized attitude in the United States today, as indicated by the limited trust that most have toward "most people you meet". Only with respect to their neighbors and to local police is there any widespread degree of trust.

Amount of trust in	A lot	Some	None at all
	26	%	%
Most people you meet	28	64	6
Your local police	42	47	8
Your neighbors	49	44	4

Confidence In Current Political Leaders

About two out of every three Americans (66%) can name at least one political leader or figure who they think are "really speaking out on the important probelms facing this country" (without being shown any list or prompted in any other way).

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The three most frequently named leaders who are "speaking out" are ---

Ronald Reagan 22%, George Wallace 22%, and Gerald Ford 21%. Three others named by relatively large proportions are --- Jimmy Carter 14%, Edward Kennedy 13%, and Hubert Humphrey 12%. No other person was named by more than 5%.

Ford and Reagan are each more likely to be named by Republicans than by Democrats or Independents as "speaking out", while Wallace is named by equivalent proportions of each political segment. Perhaps surprisingly, Carter is as likely to be named by Republicans as by Democrats. Conversely, Humphrey and Kennedy are selected primarily by Democrats as a spokesman.

Named as "speaking out"	Republican	Democrat	Independent
	%	%	%
Ronald Reagan	33	18	19
Gerald Ford	32	16	20
George Wallace	20	22	21
Jimmy Carter	17	15	11
Edward Kennedy	6	18	11
Hubert Humphrey	5	19	8

Two noteworthy aspects of this identification of spokesman are:

 Those named by the largest proportions are primarily associated with a conservative or moderate viewpoint rather than a liberal one.

 Democrats are as likely to name the Republicans --Reagan and Ford -- as they are to name the Democrats -- Kennedy and Humphrey.

The Gallup Organization, Inc.



A somewhat different pattern emerges when each leader is rated separately with respect to the amount of trust and confidence held in each regarding his ability "to provide this country with the kind of leadership it needs". In this case, Ford and Kennedy socre best, followed closely by Humphrey and Reagan. Carter and Wallace trail behind the other four, with equal proportions rating each favorably. However, Carter's relatively poor standing is due to the fact that he was the least well known of the six, while Wallace got the largest negative score. (Six other political leaders were also rated, but none of them comes close to the standing of these six).

Trust and Confidence To Provide Leadership	Great deal and lot	Some	Little		Never heard of him
	%	%	%	%	%
Gerald Ford	38	35	22	4	1
Edward Kennedy	37	27	32	4	*
Hubert Humphrey	34	34	28	4	*
Ronald Reagan	32	35	28	4	1
Jimmy Carter	24	34	18	9	15
George Wallace	22	29	44	5	*

If Carter's rating were to be based only on those claiming they had heard of him, his favorable score would be 28%.

The amount of trust and confidence five of these six leaders inspires is strongly colored by partisan loyalities. The one exception is Carter, who rates about as well among Republicans as among Democrates. In contrast, Ford, and to a somewhat lesser degree Reagan, are the Republican's choice while Humphrey and Kennedy are the Democrat's.

The Gallup Organization, Inc.

Taking these partisan loyalties into account, a few noteworthy points are:

1. Ford is the strongest among Independents, and is relatively strong among Democrats.

2. Wallace's appeal is limited to a minority among Democrats, Republicans, and even Independents.

3. While Kennedy and Humphrey score relatively well among Independents, as well as leading among Democrats, they show little ability to attract Republicans. The reverse is true for Reagan.

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4. Carter is the only one to show bi-partisan strength, though it is as yet limited in relation the other five.

Have "A great deal" or "A lot of trust" in	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
	%	.%	06
Ford	57	28	40
Kennedy	15	51	33
Humphrey	20	48	25
Reagan	50	22	31
Carter	25	27	20
Wallace	17	23	24

Although the above six are the only "standouts" of the twelve candidates tested, it must be recognized that none of them emerges as a leader who inspires trust and confidence among an absolute majority. In light of the fact, noted earlier, that few think the choice of candidates has improved, the electorate's judgment can best be summarized as: acceptable but not what the nation really needs.

In summary, it appears to be an exagerration to describe the electorate at large as "cynical". As of now, "disillusioned" would be a more accurate term. The seeds of cynicism are evident, however, and it would be equally misleading to conclude that the danger of widespread post-Watergate cynicism has been successfully avoided.

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Political Polls : News

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Harris Survey Ford's still well ahead of Reagan

By Louis Harris

PRESIDENT FORD has the support of 60 per cent of Republican and independent voters for the GOP nomination. compared with 30 per cent backing for Ronald Reagan. sus 35 per cent for Ford. However, Sasked about the chances of "winning the election in November," 53 par cent gave Ford the edge, while 21 per cent said Reagan was the more likely victor.

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Reagan and Ford ended up with 33 per cent each on the issue of "keeping "For the Republican nomination for President this year, if you had to choose between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan, who would be your preferred choice?"

The answers, compared with those of earlier polls, were as follows:

Chicago Tribune, 6/7/76

6/10/76

PRIORITY STATES

1		2		. 3	
State	Elec- toral Votes	State	Elec- toral Votes	State	Elec- toral Votes
California Illinois Michigan New Jersey Ohio Pennsylvania New York Texas	45 26 21 17 25 27 41 26	Missouri Florida Maryland Washington Wisconsin Minnesota Kentucky Tennessee	12 17 10 9 11 10 9 10	Connecticut Iowa Alaska Colorado Delaware Oregon Indiana North Dakota South Dakota	8 3 7 3 5 13 3 4
Total	228	Total	88	Virginia Oklahoma Total	11 <u>8</u> 73

4		
State	Elec- toral Votes	
Arizona	6	
Maine	4	
New Hampshire	4	
Vermont	3	
Kansas	7	
Nebraska	5	
Idaho	4	
Utah	4	
Wyoming	3	
Montana	4	
Nevada	3	
New Mexico	4	
Total	51	

5	
State	Elec- toral Votes
Massachusetts Rhode Island D. C. Hawaii W. Virginia Georgia Alabama Arkansas Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Total	14 4 3 4 6 12 9 (7) FORO 1) BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B BRAP FORO 1) B B B B B BRAP FORO 1) B B BRAP B BRAP B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B

WHAT IOWANS LOOK FOR IN A PRESIDENT

By GLENN ROBERTS

Director of The Iowa Poll

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lowans still look for basic qualities in a president in 1976, placing a high rating on honesty, leadership, intellect, stand on issues and experience in foreign affairs.

They have less concern about such

DES MOINES SUNDAY REGISTER

June 13, 1976







Harris Survey Integrity is Carter's strong suit

By Louis Harris

WHAT THE American people find most appealing about former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter is that "he is not part of the Washington, D.C., establishless privileged people and genuinely wants to help them if he becomes President."

• By 40-22 per cent, a plurality believes that "as President, he would inspire confidence personally in the White House."

These figures indicate that Carter is beginning to come through to substantial numbers of the American people as a different type of national figure who can generate much positive support.

HOWEVER, AS he becomes a more familiar face, some of the early negatives that were raised about him linger:

• A 48-26 per cent plurality believes the charge by his primary opponents that "he has ducked taking stands on

POSITI	VE		Nat	
	Agree Per cent	Disasree Per cant	Sara	•
He is not part of the Washing-				
ton, D. C., establishment,	57	14	29	
and this is good. He is a man of high integrity.		. 11	25	
If he gets the Democratic nom-				
ination, he will have done it				
without being colligated to				
anyone. except the voters, and that's very good.	47	21	32	
He has the courage not to				
make promises to set votes.	. 45	24	30	
He feels deeply about less priv-		1.8	Territe.	
· ileged seosie and genuinely			-	*
wants to help them if he be- comes President.	- 42		. 10 .	-
As President, he would inspire		14.		1.
confidence personally in the		1 1 1		2
White Wants	13	27	1 98	A



Chicago Tribune (6/17)




By Louis Harris

WITH HIS FIRST-ballot nomination behind his candidacy now assured, former Georgia Gov. Jim- mary season is over. my Carter has moved out to a sweeping 53 to 40 per cent lead over President.

A traiter

istered and likely voters is that tradi- back to the fold under Carter's banner, tional Democratic groups have rallied behind his candidacy now that the pri-

Among labor union members, Carter leads the President by 61 to 33 per -

there are two other groups with whomhe makes a particularly impressive showing:

Among young people under 30, who have not notably backed Carter in the



Chicago Tribuse, 6/24/76



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

August 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable Michael Duval Special Counsel to the President FROM: Jerry Thomas SUBJECT: Balanced Budget

You will undoubtedly recall the discussion concerning a Constitutional amendment requiring a

balanced budget except during times of emergency.

A recent Gallup poll shows that 78 percent of the people favor such an amendment.

FO a.

STRATEGY

POLLING REVIEW Gallup (post Dem. <u>Convention)</u> 62 29

	~
Gallup	MOR
8/9	8/14
52	48
33	33

August 24, 1976

PRIORITY STATES (A)

CONSTITUENCIES Base Republican Ticket splitters - 2 groups

> Upper Middle Suburban Rep. Tendency Younger More affluent/better educated High school and some college High media intake print

Gallup

8/9

56

33

Conservative economically Moderate conservative socially

Both upward mobile Both younger Candidate oriented

SPECIAL GROUPS Catholic Jewish Younger

60-65%

95%

Upper Working Class

Upper blue collar Lower white collar High school educated Dem. tendency

476 5615 476 5312

TV

Liberal economically Conservative socially



August 24, 1976

CANDIDATE PERCEPTION

Positive

Questions

Negative

FORD

Honest Decent Intelligent Political openess Compassionate/ understanding Not strong leader Not decisive

CARTER

Honest/moral Religious fanatic Social conservative restore traditional American values Good Democrati Economic liberal

Not experienced Not specific No record of accomplishment

REVIEW MAPS



August 24, 1976

THEME

Trust Ford more than Carter to sit in Oval Office and make value judgments for you.

DESIRED PERCEPTION

FORD

Intelligent Competent Knowledgeable Compassionate Decisive Stable Even-handed Trustworthy Forward-looking

NEW DIMENSION OF FREEDOM NEW FREEDOM NEW GENERATION OF FREEDOM

MISC.

Break stero type Use anti-establishment record Ask for support

CARTER

Calculating Manipulative Inexperienced No record of accomplishment Not specific Classic Liberal Democrat Soft/fuzzy Thin-skined



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1976

MEMODANDUM FOR:

MIKE DUVAL

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN

SUBJECT:

Initial Reaction to Sindlinger Visit



Mike, there are several important things that emerged from the Sindlinger visit which I want to give you in a summary form now and I'll expand upon later.

One, the sample we heard was fairly extensive but it tilted toward the upper-middle income voters and, therefore, we had an overlay of strong pro-Ford group responding to us. The net result showed Ford ahead but that is contrary to the nationwide polling Sindlinger's has been running over the last few weeks, most of which shows Carter with a lead of 6-8 points with a very, very high undecided rate.

<u>Two</u>, it was interesting that much of the Ford support seemed to be solid whereas the Carter support was soft. And there were a number of people who indicated that they might switch over to Ford under the right circumstances. There were several Reagan supporters who were called and they are all for Ford. The opportunity here, clearly, is to draw supporters away from Carter in the first debate. The danger is that Carter will be able to solidify his supporters and draw away the undecided during the first debate.

Three, the key question then, since Ford supporters are hard, is how to break into the ranks of the undecided and soft Carter supporters. The major point that emerges from the undecided and the soft Carter supporters is that they are more for Carter than for Ford because they don't think Ford has shown much leadership and doesn't have much of a record. As you know, in our preparations, we are heavily stressing the record and what he has achieved. In view of what is recounted here, I seriously think we ought to reconsider what we have in the answer, for instance, to the question of Why I should be President". It should not be my record, my performance in office, my experiences in Washington. Rather, it should be directed at the softnesses of Carter which are perceived; namely, that he may be very expensive, that his programs will be inflationary, that he's unreliable, and that he'll send the country down the river. In response to the question of "Why I should be President", the point one might want to make instead of record, experience, etc., are these:

(a) I am a candidate who will reduce inflation. Carter is a candidate who will cause more inflation.

(b) I am a candidate who is going to lower taxes. Carter is a candidate who will raise taxes.

(c) I am the candidate who is going to reduce the size of government. Mr. Carter is a candidate who is going to increase the size of government.

As you can see, this is a very different approach but after hearing the polls and recognizing what the opportunities are, I am more and more persuaded that this is the right way to go.

Four, we have got to make it very clear that inflation causes unemployment. Contrary to Carter's view that the way to stop inflation is through government spending to create new jobs. We ought to use very simple, man-on-the-street language to convey the point that too many people in this country like plumbers and construction workers have found that they have priced themselves out of the market so that business has turned bad. What we need to do is get inflation under control in order to start jobs up again.

Five, it is very clear that most people don't think that Ford "has turned the country around" on inflation. They think that inflation is still very bad and they don't seem to give Ford much credit one way or the other. Ford can say "We've stopped <u>run-away</u> inflation, but prices are still going up and I am the man who is going to bring them down."

Six, we ought to hit Carter hard on a philosophy of spend-and-spend, elect-and-elect, and we ought to hit him hard on his inconsistencies and vacilations. It is very clear that he is extremely vulnerable on both of these points.



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON October 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MIKE DUVAL

FOSTER CHANOCK

FROM:

Polling Information on Foreign Pol

SUBJECT:

Polling Information on Foreign Policy/ National Defense

Teeter Polls from Market Opinion Research

- 1. Foreign Policy and National Defense are low priority issues.
- 2. The President enjoys a 5: 3 advantage over Carter on the ability to handle foreign policy and defense matters.
- 3. The President's advantage is due to incumbency and experience. People do not offer a positive reason for preferring the President. Therefore, it is to our advantage to make this area an issue if we can articulate accomplishments which give people a reason to support the President.
- 4. Republicans traditionally receive higher ratings in this area.
- 5. By a 5:3 margin, people are against defense cuts. But, if asked to cut the budget, people agree that about 8% could be cut without jeopardizing our security. Forty percent cannot place the President on the defense spending issue. Sixty percent cannot place Carter on the defense spending issue.

- 7. In the priority states, we are doing below our normal vote with people in the Midwest and West who cite foreign policy as an important issue. Those same people do not like Kissinger.
- 8. The public wants us to be number one and wants to see evidence that detente benefits us.
- 9. Those who disapprove of Kissinger are on the idealogical extremes. The public wants to see evidence of the President's running foreign policy, not Kissinger.
- 10. The President should not be an apologist for our international situation -- Congress is responsible for our defense cuts; the Russians are responsible for inflaming the trouble spots in the world.

FOR

National Yankelovich Poll on Foreign Policy

- 1. Half of the public see detente benefiting the Russians more. Half of the public see detente benefiting both parties equally.
- 2. The public strongly agrees that:
 - A) We should not get involved in a country's internal affairs.
 - B) We should not aid countries just because they are anti-Communist.
 - C) We should withold aid from countries supporting our enemies.
 - D) We should not aid corrupt regimes where aid does not reach the people.
 - E) Our domestic needs should take priority over the needs of people in foreign countries.
 - F) We need more cooperation on food, energy, and R. FORO economic problems.
- 3. The public less strongly agrees that:
 - A) We should work more closely with our allies.
 - B) Our foreign policy should be more moral (consistent with American values).
 - C) The United Nations is ineffective.
 - D) We should work more closely with Peking without abandoning Taiwan.
 - E) We must end our dependence on foreign countries for raw materials.
 - F) We must learn to "get along" better with countries different than our own.

- 4. The public is strongly divided on the subject of arms sales:
 - A) They favor sales because of job creation and increased international influence.
 - B) But, they fear sales which might get us involved in another Vietnam and which encourage military governments.
 - C) Vietnam is viewed as a dark moment in American history and we should never have been there (by 70%).
- 5. Seventy percent of the people are worried because the U.S. is losing power and respect in the world.
- 6. The public will compromise morality for self-interest but they don't want to.
- 7. The public classifies themselves as:

Interventionists	44%
Moderates	33%
Isolationists	23%

Potomac Associates National Poll

- 1. The general public sees the world situation facing the country and the prospects for peace as slightly worsening.
- 2. Confidence in our armed forces has risen as has a willingness to maintain the U.S. in a dominant military position.
- 3. The public sentiment for defense spending and military bases abroad has increased while military aid, economic aid and UN support are decreasing. Those against military spending and bases tend not to be our constituents (liberals, blacks, union members, and under 30). Our constituents do fear that the Russians are getting stronger at a faster rate than we are.
- 4. Although a large majority agree we should improve relations with Russia (trade, SALT, other cooperative agreements), few people trust them.
- 5. More people think that our alliances are improving in the last two years, but they find that they could be stronger.

Conclusions

The average voter is best described as a cautious internationalist. He is uneasy about the present and the future, and therefore, supportive of being as strong as possible militarily. Vietnam left a bad taste which on the one hand encourages a desire to be strong and respected while on the other hand a reticence to become involved. There is no cause in the world which Americans would lay down their lives at present.

The electorate favors more cooperation in the areas of food, energy, and economic planning. They want to see us once again standing for what's right in the area of human values. But, they want us to be more selfish in our decision-making.

We are on the right side of the major issues in foreign policy and defense but people need a reason to be proud of their country and their President's leadership. We must be strong and we must be right. Our policy must first protect ourselves and then strive to achieve goals for other people which we set for ourselves, which ultimately benefits ourselves as well.

Carter's thematic approach restores a moral tone which people are longing for; to be friendlier with our allies, to stand up for what's right, to be tougher on our enemies, and not to get involved where it's unnecessary.

We must level with the people in the debate:

- 1. We must be strong enough to keep the peace.
- 2. We must cooperate with other countries where it benefits the United States.
- 3. We must stand up for human rights wherever we can so people can be proud again.
- 4. We must face the fact that it is a hostile and difficult world where we must often settle for less than perfection to protect the safety of our nation.

October 21 THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON TO: MIKE DUVAL JOHN O. MARSIN JR. FROM: For Direct Reply For Draft Response XX For Your Information Please Advise

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 21, 1976

Dear Cliff:

Just a short note to thank you for sending me the most interesting opinion survey of editors.

I have taken the liberty of making copies available to other interested individuals here.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr. Counsellor to the President

1

FORD LIBRARL

Mr. Clifford Evans Vice President Washington News Bureau RKO General Broadcasting 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue,N.W. Washington, D. C. 20006

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VICE PRESIDENT

October 20, 1976

007 20 10.0

- a ·

Dear Jack,

I know you will find the enclosed of interest. This will be released tomorrow.

Regards,

Clifford Evans

0

R. FOI

Mr. Jack Marsh The White House Washington, D.C.

CE/kp

NEW YORK: WOR AM-TV-WALD FM • LOS ANGELES: KHJ AM-TV-KRTH FM • BOSTON: WNAC TV-WRKD AM-WROR FM SAN FRANCISCO: KFRC AM- FM • WASHINGTON, D.C.: WGMS AM-FM • MEMPHIS: WHBQ AM-TV CHICAGO: WFYR • FT. LAUDERDALE: WAXY



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CLIFFORD EVANS • VICE PRESIDENT ASHINGTON NEWS BUREAU

Release at Will

OPINION SURVEY

of

*** EDITORS ***

of the

MAJOR DAILY NEWSPAPERS OF THE COUNTRY

on the

* * *

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

90% say: Jimmy Carter is the stronger Candidate at this time

- 49% say: Jimmy Carter will be elected and 45% say President Ford will be elected (6% Don't Know)
- 55% say: Economy is the No. 1 Issue in the Election; 27% also say, Leadership
- 68% say: Election will be determined by Personalities...20 % say Issues and Personalities...12% say Election will be determined by Issues.



112 Questionnaires were mailed October 7 & 8

51 Answers were received October 11-19

ion Survey conducted by the Washington News Bureau*RKO General Broadcasting

NEW YORK: WOR AM TV-WALLOTM • LOS ANGELES: WALAM TV-KRIHTM • BOSTON: WALS TV ARKO AM ARKOR FM SAN FRANCISCO: KIRC AM TM • WASHINGTON, D.C.: WOWS AM-FM • MEMPHIS: WHED AM-TW CHICAGO: WIYR • FT, LAUDERDALE: WAXY

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CLIFFORD EVANS

VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON NEWS BUREAU

Release at Will

(Opinion Survey conducted by the <u>Washington</u> <u>News</u> Bureau*RKO General Broadcasting)

Responding to a written Questionnaire, the Editors of the major newspapers of the nation see the Presidential Election as being very close...Jimmy Carter being stronger "at this time", and also bearly winning the election.

112 Questionnaires were mailed to the Editors of the largest daily newspapers in the Northeast, South, Midwest, Southwest and the Pacific Coast.

51 responded and of that number, 25 Editors say that Jimmy Carter will win...23 others say President Ford will win and 3Editors are undecided.

In answer to the Question, "Who is stronger <u>at this time</u>?"... 46 say Jimmy Carter is ahead, 3 say President Ford...and 2 Editors believe it's a tie even now.

Responses came from the Editors of the following daily newspapers:

Northeast (16 Editors): New York Daily News, Philadelphia Inquirer, Harrisburg News & Patriot, Camden Courier-Post, Syracuse

(more)

FOR

Herald-Journal, Providence Journal & Bulletin, Boston Herald-American, Buffalo Evening News, Worcester Telegraph & Gazette, Pittsburgh Press, Newday, Christian Science Monitor (4 Editors asked not to be identified).

South (llEditors): The News & Observer of Raleigh, New Orleans Times-Picayune, St. Petersburg Times, Orlando Sentinel Star, Winston-Salem Journal, Jacksonville Times-Union & Journal, Knoxville News-Sentinel (l Editor asked not to be identified), Atlanta Journal, Atlanta Constitution, Miami Herald.

<u>Midwest</u> (14): Detroit Free Press, Cincinnati Post, Cleveland Press, Detroit News, Indianapolis Star, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press, Lincoln Star, (5 Editors asked not to be identified).

Southwest (4): Albuquerque Journal, Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, Austin American, Houston Chronicle.

Pacific Coast (6): Long Beach Press-Telegram, Santa Ana Register, Sacramento Union, Spokane Spokesman-Review, San Diego Union, Portland Oregonian.

* * * What Do You See As The Key Issue? * * *

In answer to the Question, "What do you see as the key issue in determining the 1976 Presidential Election?", 28 of the 51

(more)

Editors say, The Economy.14 say, Leadership.

A number of Editors list more than l Issue, but the following list only The Economy as the <u>key issue</u> which will determine the election: Hal Gulliver of the Atlanta Constitution; James Hoge, Chicago Sun-Times; William Sumner, St Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press; William O. Dobler, Lincoln Star; Clayton Kilpatrick, Chicago Tribune; Frank H. Crane, Indianapolis Star; Bobert H. Wills, Milwaukee Sentinel; Ralph L. Millett Jr., Knoxville News-Sentinel; Fred Flagler, Winston-Salem Journal; Claude Sitton, The News & Observer of Raleigh; Miles E. Sines, Long Beach Press-Telegram; Don Hoenshell, Sacramento Union; Robert A. Brown, Albuquerque Journal; J.R. Nokes, Portland Oregonian; John Troan, Pittsburgh Press; Creed Black, Philadelphia Inquirer; Sam Bornstein, Boston Herald-American; Charles M. Hauser, Providence Journal & Bulletin; .

; William D. Cotter, Syracuse Herald-Journal; Robert T. Seymour, Harrisburg News & Patriot.

* * Who Is Stronger Now? Who Will Win? * * *

In answer to the Question, "Who is stronger at this time?", 46 say Carter...3 say Ford...2 are undecided.

In answer to the Question, "Who will win on Election Day?", 25 of the 51 Editors who responded pick Jimmy Carter as the Election Day winner...23 name President Ford...and 3 make no prediction

A Geographical Breakdown:

Northeast: (16 Editors responded) 15 say Carter is stronger now, but 9 say Ford will win.

<u>South</u>: (11 responded) 9 say Carter is ahead now, but 2 switch--7 see Carter as the winner.

<u>Midwest</u>: (14) 13 say Carter is the leader now, but as to who will win, 8 say Carter and 6 say Ford.

<u>Southwest</u>: (4) 3 say Carter is ahead now, but as to who will win, 2 say Ford and 2 say Carter.

<u>Pacific Coast</u>: (6) All 6 say Carter is the Leader now, but as to who will win, 2 predict Carter, 2 predict Ford and 2 are undecided.

Clayton Kirkpatrick, Editor of the Chicago Tribune, says Carter is stronger <u>at this time</u>, but in answer to the Question "<u>Who will win on Election Day</u>?", writes, "Too close to call, but I'd lean to Ford."

Thomas Boardman of the Cleveland Press, who sees Carter ahead now, sees Carter as the winner, "but close."

Robert C. Achorn of the Worcester Telegram and Gazette, says

(more)

that Carter is stronger now, but that Ford will win "by a whisker." Jack L. Butler of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram sees Carter the winner, adding: "Ford is coming--but I doubt that he can make it." Miles E. Sines of the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram says that while Carter is stronger now, the winner on Election Day is "too close to call."

The upcoming Debate is emphasized by Don Shoemaker of the Miami Herald, Gerald Warren of the San Diego Union and John S. Walters of the Jacksonville Times-Union & Journal.

Shoemaker says Carter is stronger now and will win, but he writes, "This does not mean that I will vote for Carter. I am undecided so far and I think that 15-20% of the voters are, too. Carter shows evidence of eating into the undecided and independent vote. But much will swing on the last debate."

Warren, who says Carter is stronger now but sees Ford the winner adds "I still believe President Ford has time to reassure the electorate of his leadership qualities. Mr. Carter has regained the momentum, however, since the second Debate. The third Debate is crucial for the President."

And Walters sees Carter the Election Day winner, "if no new disclosure or development such as the Playboy Interview surface to his embarrassment between now and November 2. The <u>third</u> Debate should be especially important to both men."

(more)

* * * On the Key Issue * * *

Michael J. O'Neill of the New York Daily News sees the <u>Key Issue</u> as "the public perception of the Leadership qualities of the respective candidates." David Laventhol of Newsday says "competence as President." While John Hughes of the Christian Science Monitor sees the <u>Key Issue</u> as "economy and personal integrity."

Martin S. Hayden, Editor of the Detroit News says the <u>Key</u> <u>Issue</u> is "taxes and cost of government." But Joe H. Stroud of the Detroit Free Press says, "trust in government."

The <u>Key Issue</u>? James Hoge of the Chicago Sun Times writes, "state of the Economy and the effect on Jobs and Prices." Claude Sitton of The Newsand Observer of Raleigh says, "The economy is the single most frequently mentioned issue in my opinion, however, the decisive factor will be the voters' assessment of the leadership."

William O. Dobler of the Lincoln (Neb.) Star writes, "the economy is a gut issue that is hard to put down. Second to that, Confidence in the government or Integrity. Ford does not suffer much on that, but his party does, as does all of politics, which favors Carter as a new face."

Everett D. Collier of the Houston Chronicle sees the <u>Key Issue</u> as "morality and big government, with taxes being a part of big govern-

ment." And Jim Dean of the Santa Ana (Calif.) Register lists, "Candidate Credibility."

* * * Who is Stronger at This Time? * * *

Only three Editors, out of 51 who responded, say President Ford is stronger at this time.

Michael J. O'Neill of the New York Daily News (who then says Jimmy Carter will win)...Edward Tunstall of the New Orleans Times-Picayune (who predicts a Ford victory)...and Fred Flagler of the Winston-Salem Journal (who forecasts Carter the Election Day winner).