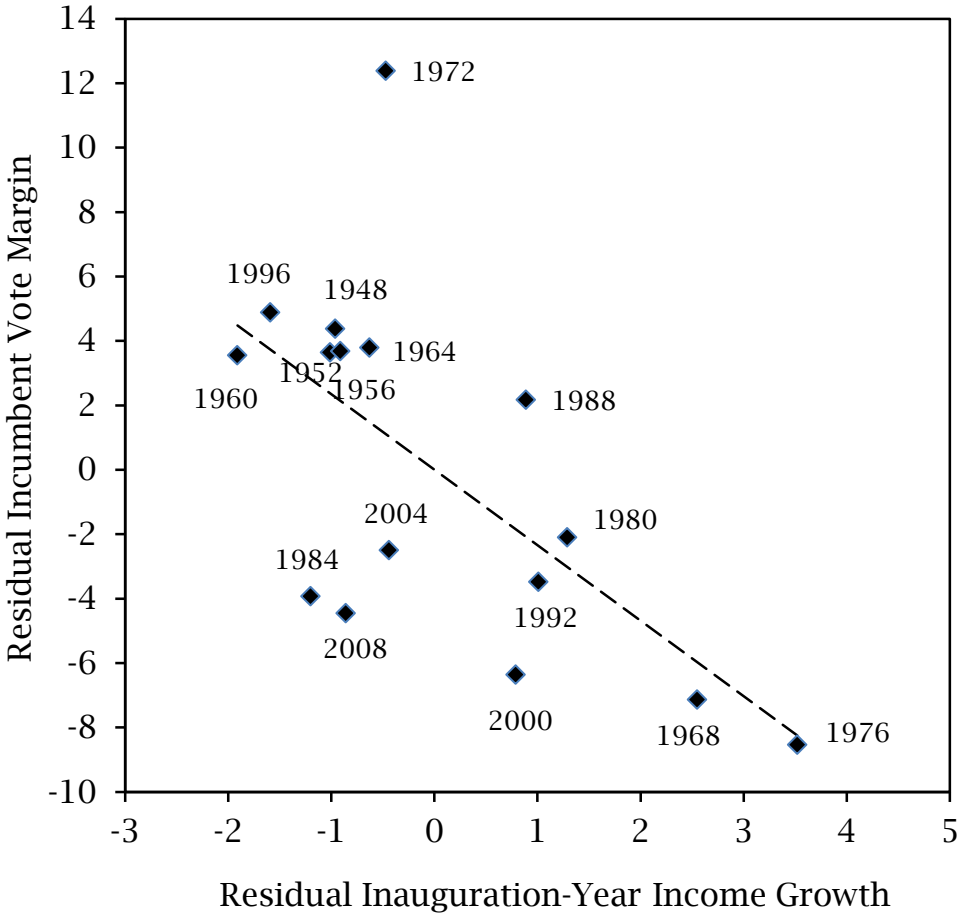
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
-2
-4
-6
-8
-10
-3
-2
-1
0
1
2
3
4
5
Residual Incumbent Vote Margin
Residual Inauguration-Year Income Growth
1972
1996
1948
1964
1952
1956
1960
1988
2004
1980
1984
1992
2008
2000
1968
1976