Official Results of the 2018 Presidents & Executive Politics Presidential Greatness Survey

Brandon Rottinghaus, University of Houston Justin S. Vaughn, Boise State University

About the Survey

The 2018 Presidents & Executive Politics Presidential Greatness Survey was conducted online via Qualtrics from December 22, 2017 to January 16, 2018. Respondents were current and recent members of the Presidents & Executive Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, which is the foremost organization of social science experts in presidential politics. 320 respondents were invited to participate, and 170 usable responses were received, yielding a 53.1% response rate.¹

Rating and Ranking the Presidents

The primary purpose of this survey was to create a ranking of presidential greatness that covered all presidents from George Washington to Donald Trump. To do this, we first asked respondents to rate each president on a scale of 0-100 for their overall greatness, with 0=failure, 50=average, and 100=great. We then averaged the ratings for each president and ranked them from highest average to lowest.

The results of this ranking are quite similar to the 2014 ranking: Abraham Lincoln again tops the list (95.03 average), followed by George Washington (92.59), Franklin Delano Roosevelt (89.09), Teddy Roosevelt (81.39), Thomas Jefferson (79.54, Harry Truman (75.15), and Dwight Eisenhower (75.43). This is the same order as last year. After these first seven places, however, there are several significant changes from 2014. Barack Obama now occupies the 8th slot (71.13), up ten places from 2014. He is followed by Ronald Reagan (69.24), Lyndon Johnson (69.06), Woodrow Wilson (67.4), and James Madison (64.48). Next comes Bill Clinton at 14th (64.25), down five places from our previous study, followed by John Adams (63.24) and Andrew Jackson (62.16), who drops six places to 15th.

The middle third of the ranking is generally stable with the 2014 results, though Ulysses S. Grant has climbed to 18th (52.88), up seven places from 2014. The bottom third is also largely consistent with our previous survey's ranking, with two exceptions. First, George W. Bush has risen 5 places (40.42), moving to 30th in this ranking. Second, Donald J. Trump makes his ranking debut at the very bottom of the list. His average rating is 12.34, which is nearly three points lower than James Buchanan (15.09), who previously occupied the lowest rank. William Henry Harrison (19.02), Franklin Pierce (23.25), Andrew Johnson (24.91), Warren Harding (25.26), and Millard Fillmore (27.71) all also reside near the bottom of this ranking.

1

¹ Responses where respondent did not confirm they officially agreed to participate were dropped and are not included in the submission figure. Similarly, in the event a respondent completed the survey twice, the second submission was dropped, as was any submission where the respondent did not answer any questions. Incomplete submissions, however, were included, with responses being analyzed for those questions where answers were provided.

There is more interesting variation when we move our comparison to the different partisan and ideological groups within the 2018 survey. In order to identify these groups, we asked respondents two questions. The first asked which political party the respondent considered themselves a part of. The results showed that 57.2% (95/166) of respondents were Democrats, while 12.7% were Republicans (21/166), 27.1% were Independents (45/166), and 3% (5/166) selected Other as their option. The second question asked whether the respondent ideologically considered themselves to be liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, or conservative. The results of this question showed that 32.5% (54/166) consider themselves ideologically liberal, while 25.9% (43/166) consider themselves somewhat liberal, and 24.1% consider themselves moderate (40/166). Only 5.4% (9/166) consider themselves ideologically conservative, while 12% (20/166) say they are somewhat conservative.

Interestingly, there is no meaningful difference between the rankings generated by self-identified Moderates and the overall ranking. Moreover, because they make up such a large percentage of the sample, there is little variation between the overall ranking and those of just Democrats and those who identify as liberal or somewhat liberal. In fact, there is only one noteworthy difference² – both groups rank Ronald Reagan as 14th, compared to his overall rating of 9th. There is somewhat more variation between those who responded to the partisan identification question by selecting either Independent or Other. This group ranked Barack Obama as 12th, compared to his overall rating of 8th, while their ranking of George H.W. Bush rose to 11th, compared to his lower overall ranking of 17th. Independents/Others also ranked Jimmy Carter less favorably than the overall list, placing him at 32nd, down six places from his perch at 26th on the overall list.

The rankings generated by Republicans and those who self-identified as either conservative or somewhat conservative had greater differences from the overall list, however. Republicans were significantly less favorable to Barack Obama, rating him 16th, as well as to Lyndon Johnson (19th), James Madison (22nd), John F. Kennedy (24th), and Jimmy Carter (32nd). They were considerably more favorably disposed to William McKinley (9th), George H.W. Bush (11th), James Polk (13th), William Howard Taft (14th), Calvin Coolidge (21st), George W. Bush (23rd), Herbert Hoover (30th), and Martin Van Buren (33rd). Self-identified conservatives and somewhat conservatives are largely the same population and thus generally consistent with the Republican pattern, though that group is also unfavorably disposed to Woodrow Wilson, dropping him from 12th place to 21st, and Ulysses S. Grant (down to 27th), but more favorable to James Monroe, moving him up from 18th overall to 12th. Both groups are somewhat more favorable, though not overwhelmingly so, to Donald Trump, ranking him 40th in each case, compared to the overall ranking of 44th.

Table 1: Overall Presidential Greatness Ratings and Rankings

Name	2018 Rating	2018 Rank	2014 Rank
Lincoln	95.03	1	1
Washington	92.59	2	2

² Differences identified as noteworthy here are at least 5 places different from the overall ranking.

2

FDR	89.09	3	3
T. Roosevelt	81.39	4	4
Jefferson	79.54	5	5
Truman	75.15	6	6
Eisenhower	74.03	7	7
Obama	71.13	8	18
Reagan	69.24	9	11
LBJ	69.06	10	12
Wilson	67.4	11	10
Madison	64.48	12	13
Clinton	64.25	13	8
Adams	63.24	14	15
Jackson	62.16	15	9
JFK	61.86	16	14
Bush 41	60.9	17	17
Monroe	60.74	18	16
McKinley	55.49	19	21
Polk	54.09	20	19
Grant	52.88	21	28
Taft	51.96	22	20
JQA	51.9	23	22
Cleveland	51.01	24	23
Ford	47.28	25	24
Carter	45.04	26	26
VanBuren	44.27	27	25
	42.23	28	27
Coolidge	41.5	29	30
Hayes			35
Bush 43	40.42	30	
Arthur	39.9	31	32
B. Harrison	37.63	32	29
Nixon	37.18	33	34
Garfield	36.64	34	31
Taylor	33.34	35	33
Hoover	33.27	36	38
Tyler	31.46	37	36
Fillmore	27.71	38	37
Harding	25.26	39	42
A. Johnson	24.91	40	41
Pierce	23.25	41	40
Wm Harrison	19.02	42	39
Buchanan	15.09	43	43
Trump	12.34	44	n/a

Table 2: Presidential Greatness Rankings by Party and Ideology

Name	Republican Rank	Democrat Rank	Independent/ Other Rank	Conservative Rank	Liberal Rank	Moderate Rank
\\/- a a : a a + a a		3			3	2
Washington	1		2	1		
Adams	17	15	10	13	15	16 5
Jefferson	6	5	5	6	5	
Madison	22	11	9	16	11	17
Monroe	18	16	18	12	16	18
JQ Adams	27	20	24	25	20	25
Jackson	10	17	17	11	17	10
VanBuren	33	27	27	31	27	27
WH Harrison	43	42	42	43	42	42
Tyler	37	36	37	37	36	37
Polk	13	21	21	17	21	19
Taylor	36	35	34	35	35	35
Fillmore	39	39	38	39	38	39
Pierce	42	40	40	41	41	40
Buchanan	44	43	44	44	43	43
Lincoln	2	1	1	2	1	1
A. Johnson	41	38	41	42	39	38
Grant	25	19	22	27	19	22
Hayes	28	28	28	28	28	30
Garfield	35	34	30	33	34	32
Arthur	34	29	29	29	29	33
Cleveland	20	23	23	19	25	21
B. Harrison	31	32	33	34	30	31
McKinley	9	22	16	9	23	15
T. Roosevelt	4	4	4	5	4	4
Taft	14	25	20	15	22	23
Wilson	12	10	15	21	10	9
Harding	38	41	39	38	40	41
Coolidge	21	33	25	14	32	29
Hoover	30	37	35	32	37	34
FDR	3	2	3	4	2	3
Truman	8	7	8	8	7	8
Eisenhower	7	9	6	7	9	6
Kennedy	24	12	19	26	12	20
LB Johnson	19	8	13	20	8	13
Nixon	29	31	36	30	31	36
Ford	26	26	26	24	26	24
Carter	32	24	32	36	24	26

Reagan	5	14	7	3	14	7
GHW Bush	11	18	11	10	18	14
Clinton	15	13	14	18	13	12
GW Bush	23	30	31	23	33	28
Obama	16	6	12	22	6	11
Trump	40	44	43	40	44	44

Note: Conservative column includes those who self-identified as either Conservative or Somewhat Conservative. Liberal column includes those who self-identified as either Liberal or Somewhat Liberal.

Table 2A: Presidential Greatness Ratings by Party and Ideology

Name	Republican	Democrat	Independent/	Conservative	Liberal	Moderate
	Average	Average	Other Average	Average	Average	Average
	Rating	Rating	Rating	Rating	Rating	Rating
Washington	94.33	92.74	91.49	94.11	92.48	91.73
Adams	57.14	64.21	64.11	61.64	64.08	62.35
Jefferson	69.71	82.11	78.88	74.92	81.48	77.95
Madison	52.29	67.29	64.56	60.50	66.77	61.65
Monroe	56.05	62.24	59.95	61.67	60.87	59.72
JQ Adams	48.62	52.85	51.55	51.54	52.62	50.39
Jackson	64.24	62.17	61.14	63.00	60.66	65.19
VanBuren	38.25	44.27	47.14	44.77	43.43	45.97
WH Harrison	18.53	19.23	18.79	20.12	18.29	20.21
Tyler	33.35	30.52	32.45	34.33	30.72	31.03
Polk	60.30	51.83	55.68	60.46	49.84	59.54
Taylor	33.60	31.21	37.27	37.64	30.76	36.14
Fillmore	29.05	26.37	29.76	31.69	26.79	27.00
Pierce	18.95	23.63	24.55	21.69	23.59	23.60
Buchanan	14.32	15.88	13.73	13.44	15.48	15.17
Lincoln	93.57	95.87	94.00	92.54	96.09	94.28
A. Johnson	20.90	26.58	23.41	21.35	25.06	27.26
Grant	49.25	53.32	53.62	48.86	53.82	53.69
Hayes	44.05	39.12	44.93	46.61	39.31	42.77
Garfield	35.95	33.93	42.46	41.12	34.62	38.38
Arthur	36.20	38.52	44.11	45.93	38.86	37.67
Cleveland	54.80	48.86	53.53	56.22	47.28	56.26
B. Harrison	38.85	36.07	40.12	39.44	35.82	40.63
McKinley	64.40	50.45	61.27	68.11	48.60	62.51
T. Roosevelt	77.14	83.33	79.49	75.54	82.89	82.14
Taft	59.85	48.13	56.05	60.75	48.69	53.26
Wilson	61.10	71.55	61.60	55.31	71.11	66.83

Harding	32.15	23.28	25.95	31.93	24.48	21.92
Coolidge	52.45	36.02	49.69	61.43	35.63	43.44
Hoover	40.71	29.47	37.22	41.71	29.13	36.81
FDR	82.71	93.76	82.62	78.57	93.51	86.05
Truman	66.81	77.62	74.07	70.43	77.20	73.65
Eisenhower	67.95	74.15	76.60	72.54	73.15	77.32
Kennedy	49.57	66.66	57.80	49.93	66.30	59.51
LB Johnson	55.67	75.12	62.91	56.15	74.92	63.89
Nixon	41.67	36.77	35.89	45.81	35.70	34.57
Ford	49.19	46.21	48.58	52.25	44.19	51.27
Carter	38.71	48.21	41.35	34.35	47.34	46.76
Reagan	75.95	65.00	74.69	79.21	64.10	74.49
GHW Bush	62.90	59.03	63.76	67.04	57.97	63.57
Clinton	58.57	66.47	62.28	59.85	65.42	64.41
GW Bush	52.24	36.79	42.31	52.86	35.37	43.70
Obama	57.33	78.10	62.98	54.96	78.27	64.57
Trump	24.53	7.60	16.49	25.19	7.92	13.43

Note: Conservative column includes those who self-identified as either Conservative or Somewhat Conservative. Liberal column includes those who self-identified as either Liberal or Somewhat Liberal.

The Next President on Mt. Rushmore

When it comes to which president should join Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt on Mt. Rushmore, Franklin Delano Roosevelt again comes in first, by a wide margin. 164 respondents provided answers to this question, with nearly two-thirds (65.9%) of them selecting Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This is up from our 2014 study, when Franklin Roosevelt was selected by 64% of that study's respondents. He is followed by Barack Obama (7.3%), Ronald Reagan (4.9%), Dwight Eisenhower and James Madison (tied with 3.7% each), Lyndon Johnson (2.4%), and William McKinley (1.8%). Andrew Jackson, Harry Truman, James Polk, and John Adams each received two votes (1.2%), while Bill Clinton, Calvin Coolidge, John F. Kennedy, and Richard Nixon each received one vote (0.7%).

When we break these figures down across partisan and ideological affiliation, the top choice is consistent but interesting differences emerge. Franklin Roosevelt received 71 of the 95 votes cast by self-identified Democrats (74.7%), 9 of the 21 votes cast by self-identified Republicans (42.9%), and 27 of the 47 votes cast by those who identified as either Independents or Other (57.45%). Roosevelt tops all ideological groups, too, receiving 8 of the 29 votes cast by those identifying as either conservative or somewhat conservative (27.6%), 70 of the 95 votes cast by those identifying as either liberal or somewhat liberal (73.7%), and 29 of the 39 votes cast by those identifying as moderate (74.36%). In addition, one respondent did not answer questions about their partisan or ideological leanings, but selected Franklin Roosevelt as the next president to be carved onto Mt. Rushmore.

The second and third choices of those different sub-groups are illuminating, however. For example, Ronald Reagan and James Madison are the next most popular choices for Republicans, while Barack Obama comes in second with Lyndon Johnson and James Madison tying for third among Democrats. For those identifying as either Independents or Other, Eisenhower and Reagan tie for second, followed by William McKinley. The tally is closest among conservatives and somewhat conservatives, with only one vote separating Reagan from Roosevelt, followed by Eisenhower. For those who are liberal or somewhat liberal, Obama is again second, followed by James Madison, whereas moderates have Dwight Eisenhower in second place, followed by a handful of other presidents who each received one vote.

Table 3: Next on Mt. Rushmore (Overall)

Name	Votes	% Vote Received
Franklin Roosevelt	108	65.85%
Barack Obama	12	7.32%
Ronald Reagan	8	4.88%
Dwight Eisenhower	6	3.66%
James Madison	6	3.66%
Lyndon Johnson	4	2.44%
William McKinley	3	1.83%
Abraham Lincoln*	2	1.22%
Andrew Jackson	2	1.22%
Harry Truman	2	1.22%
James Polk	2	1.22%
John Adams	2	1.22%
Theodore Roosevelt*	2	1.22%
Bill Clinton	1	0.71%
Calvin Coolidge	1	0.71%
George Washington*	1	0.71%
John F. Kennedy	1	0.71%
Richard Nixon	1	0.71%

^{*} Presidents already on Mt. Rushmore

Table 4: Next on Mt. Rushmore (By Party)

	Name	Votes	% Vote Received
			(Group)
Democrats	Franklin Roosevelt	71	74.74%
N=95	Barack Obama	10	10.53%
	Lyndon Johnson	3	3.16%
	James Madison	3	3.16%
Republicans	Franklin Roosevelt	9	42.86%
N=21	Ronald Reagan	4	19.05%
	James Madison	2	9.52%
Independents/Other	Franklin Roosevelt	27	57.45%
N=47	Ronald Reagan	4	8.51%
	Dwight Eisenhower	4	8.51%
	William McKinley	3	6.38%

Note: Only presidents receiving multiple votes in a group are listed.

Table 5: Next on Mt. Rushmore (By Ideology)

	Name	Votes	% Vote Received (Group)
Liberal/Somewhat	Franklin Roosevelt	70	73.68%
N=95	Barack Obama	11	11.58%
	James Madison	4	4.21%
	Lyndon Johnson	3	3.16%
Conservative/Somewhat	Franklin Roosevelt	8	27.57%
N=29	Ronald Reagan	7	24.14%
	Dwight Eisenhower	3	10.34%
	Andrew Jackson	2	6.90%
	William McKinley	2	6.90%
Moderates	Franklin Roosevelt	29	74.36%
N=39	Dwight Eisenhower	2	5.13%

Note: Only presidents receiving multiple votes in a group are listed.

The Most Polarizing Presidents

In the current polarized political climate, we thought it would be interesting to ask which presidents were considered by presidency experts to be the most polarizing. To do so, we asked respondents to identify up to five individual presidents they believed were the most polarizing, and then rank order them with the first president being the most polarizing, the second as next most polarizing, and so on. We then calculated how many times a president was identified as well as their average ranking. The results of this question can be seen in the table below.

Donald Trump is by far the most polarizing of the ranked presidents earning a 1.6 average (1 is a "most polarizing" ranking). Lincoln is the second most polarizing president of those presidents ranked. He earned a 2.5 ranking. This is close to Polk as the second most polarizing president at 2.6. Trump was ranked "most polarizing" by 95 respondents and second most polarizing by 20 respondents. For comparison, Lincoln, the second most polarizing president on average, received 20 "most polarizing" rakings and 15 second "most polarizing" rankings.

President Obama has a 3.26 ranking, falling a few points in terms of "most polarizing." George W. Bush is ranked similar in position to Obama at 3.28. President Obama received fewer first place "most polarizing" votes (4) than Trump, but more second to fifth "most polarizing" ranking. Presidents who were not ranked by respondents in the "most polarizing" category include Washington, Garfield, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Ford.

Table 6: Most Polarizing Presidents

Name	Number of Times Identified	Average Polarization Rank
Donald Trump	138	1.62
Andrew Jackson	81	3.26
George W. Bush	74	3.28
Barack Obama	72	3.26
Richard Nixon	55	3.27
Abraham Lincoln	55	2.4
Andrew Johnson	37	3.18
Ronald Reagan	33	3.91
Bill Clinton	30	3.7
Franklin Roosevelt	29	3.87
Thomas Jefferson	18	2.89
Woodrow Wilson	15	3.67
James Buchanan	15	2.53
John Adams	14	2.93
Lyndon Johnson	11	3.82
Herbert Hoover	8	3
John Quincy Adams	5	4.2
Franklin Pierce	4	2.75
Theodore Roosevelt	3	3.33
Harry Truman	2	4.5
William McKinley	2	4
George H.W. Bush	2	3.5
John Tyler	2	3
James Polk	2	2.5
Ulysses Grant	1	5
Jimmy Carter	1	5
Grover Cleveland	1	4
James Madison	1	4
Warren Harding	1	4
Zachary Taylor	1	3

Note: Presidents with lower average polarization rankings are considered more polarizing than those with higher average polarization rankings.

President Trump is ranked as the most polarized by all party identifiers. On average, Republicans view President Trump one full spot less polarizing than Democrats. Independents found President Trump the most polarizing president than either Democrats or Republicans and in general Independents rank President Trump as the most polarizing president of any modern president.

President Obama is ranked roughly as polarizing for Democrats as for Republicans. Independents viewed him as more polarizing than either of the two major parties. Democrats find President George W. Bush as more polarizing than President Obama but not as polarizing as President Trump. Republicans rank Bush as polarizing but only 7 respondents ranked him in the top 5 and the average is 4.42 making his ranking very low.

The partisan divide on polarizing rankings continues for Republicans rank of President Clinton who place him as more polarizing than either Democrats or Independents. Democrats rank President Clinton as middle of the field in top five most polarizing presidents (3.8), similar to their rankings of president Obama. Independents found President Clinton to be the least polarizing of all of the modern presidents, just behind George W. Bush.

Table 7: Presidential Polarization By Party

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Trump	1.50	1.38	2.41
	(N=81)	(N=36)	(N=17)
Obama	3.45	2.90	3.54
	(N=37)	(N=22)	(N=11)
W. Bush	2.92	3.6	4.42
	(N=39)	(N=25)	(N=7)
Clinton	3.8	3.90	2.75
	(N=15)	(N=11)	(N=4)

Similar to the results by party, respondents of every ideological orientation found President Trump to be the most polarizing of all modern presidents. Respondents who identified as liberal (1.35) and somewhat liberal (1.64) are the most likely to rank President Trump as polarizing, but those identifying as somewhat conservative (1.85) or conservative (2.42) also ranked him as polarizing.

In general, the more conservative a respondent, the less likely an individual is to believe that a president was polarizing. This is true of both Republican and Democratic presidents. For instance, liberals ranked President Obama as more polarizing than conservatives (although the total number of conservatives ranking was small at 6). The same effect holds for Republican President Bush – liberal ranked him on average 2.89 and conservatives at 4.5.

Table 8: Presidential Polarization By Ideology

Name	Liberal	Somewhat	Moderate	Somewhat	Conservative
		Liberal		Conservative	
Trump	1.35	1.64	1.66	1.85	2.42
	(N=42)	(N=39)	(N=36)	(N=14)	(N=7)
Obama	2.8	3.38	3.5	3.1	4
	(N=20)	(N=18)	(N=18)	(N=10)	(N=6)
W. Bush	2.89	3.31	3.44	4.16	4.5
	(N=29)	(N=19)	(N=18)	(N=6)	(N=2)
Clinton	3.7	4	3.66	3	No Ratings
	(N=10)	(N=8)	(N=9)	(N=3)	

Grading Donald Trump's First Year

This year, with the survey being conducted close to the end of Donald Trump's first year in office, we added in several questions where respondents were asked to grade Donald Trump on the traditional academic A-F scale along five key dimensions: his presidency overall, legislative accomplishments, foreign policy leadership, embodying institutional norms, and communicating with the public. Overall, the results of this report card were negative, though as has been the case with other questions, different groups view his presidency somewhat differently.

To calculate his grades, we converted each letter grade into a number (A=5, B=4, C=3, D=2, and F=1), and then calculated the average score for each. We received 155 responses to these questions, yielding 775 grades total. In the table below are the letter grades and average score for Trump overall as well as broken down by the partisan and ideological affiliations of the respondents.

Overall, Trump earns 3 Fs and 2 Ds, with his best score on Communicating with the Public and his lowest on Embodying Institutional Norms. As one might expect for a Republican president, Trump did best with self-identified Republicans and those who identified as either conservative or somewhat conservative. However, he did not do extremely well even with these groups. Self-identified Republicans gave him 3 Ds and 2 Cs, with his best marks in Foreign Policy Leadership and Communicating with the Public. But those identifying as either conservative or somewhat conservative gave him 4 Ds and 1 F, with the latter grade concerning his embodiment of institutional norms. Again, as one might expect, Trump did worst with Democrats and those identifying as either liberal or somewhat liberal; both groups gave Trump 4 Fs with a D in Communicating with the Public. His grade from those identifying as ideological moderates matched his overall report card – 3Fs and 2Ds, though with a slightly different highlow pattern.

In sum, Trump's freshman year grades were not strong, even among those experts most likely to support him. He consistently did very poorly when it comes to Embodying Institutional Norms and performed best in Communicating with the Public, but never received higher than

the equivalent of a C from any group along any dimension. One interesting observation here is that both partisan independents (and those who selected 'other') and ideological moderates rated Trump highest on his legislative accomplishments, rather than communicating with the public as the more partisan and ideological respondents did (right and left alike). A second interesting observation is that, after public communication, self-identified Republicans rated Trump next highest on his foreign policy leadership, while Democrats, conservatives, and liberals all rated him next highest on legislative accomplishments.

Table 9: Grading Donald Trump's First Year in Office

	Overall Grade	Legislative Accomplishments	Foreign Policy	Embodying Institutional	Communicating with the Public
	Grade	Accomplishments	Leadership	Norms	with the rubile
Overall	F	D	F	F	D
(n=155)	(1.58)	(2.07)	(1.65)	(1.18)	(2.30)
Democrats	F	F	F	F	D
(n=89)	(1.44)	(1.97)	(1.40)	(1.0)	(2.29)
Republicans	D	D	С	D	С
(n=21)	(2.76)	(2.62)	(3.0)	(2.33)	(3.10)
Independents/	F	D	F	F	F
Other	(1.31)	(2.02)	(1.49)	(1.0)	(1.93)
(n=45)					
Liberals/	F	F	F	F	D
Somewhat	(1.41)	(1.92)	(1.34)	(1.0)	(2.32)
(n=91)					
Conservatives/	D	D	D	F	D
Somewhat	(2.19)	(2.52)	(2.41)	(1.81)	(2.63)
(n=27)					
Moderates	F	D	F	F	D
(n=37)	(1.57)	(2.11)	(1.84)	(1.16)	(2.0)