

Public Perceptions of Past Presidents:
A Study of Presidential Legacy

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Abstract

This project seeks to determine if attitudes about presidents change significantly after they have left office. I further examine the relationship between age, political ideology, and current individual-level presidential approval rating for all presidents since President Truman. By conducting a survey based on historic Gallup Poll phrasing I ask “Did you approve of the job [the president] did as president?” I find that there does exist in many cases a significant relationship between both age and presidential approval and political Ideology and presidential approval. I also notice that after a certain point in time there no longer exists such a distinction between political ideology and presidential approval rating but at this point, I speculate historical perception begins to play more of a role than opinion.

The question of presidential approval is an important one, as it can have major impacts on public policy (Neustadt 1960). Presidential Mandate, or a president's call to lead the nation, is derived from how much of the public supports the current president and his policies. Whether or not the president has a mandate to lead affects his ability to push policies through congress and even enact administrative regulations (Neustadt 1960). Certainly, one of the most important products of a popular presidency is reelection of that president or a member of the former President's party. The source of a president's approval is far from certain. Political scientists have offered varying explanations for presidential approval rates and the reason why they vary so widely throughout a president's term.

The existing literature on presidential approval rating during time in office is extensive. This stems from the multi-billion-dollar industry that opinion polling has become, and the importance it has on shaping policy decisions during a president's term in office. Little to no research has been done directly into the topic of how people today perceive past presidents. The presidential legacy is one that is rarely studied outside the context of history but some presidents have stated that how they believe they are perceived by future generations actually has a real time effect on their policy decisions. In an interview with President Barack Obama in the months before he left office, NBC news anchor Lester Holt jokingly reminded the President that "there is still room on Mt. Rushmore for one more President" (NBC 2017). The same remark was made by President Bill Clinton in 2001 in a special interview for the popular television show, *The West Wing* (PBS 2017). The former president, when asked if presidents were aware of their impact on the office, he replied that every president was subconsciously aware that they

were a part of history everyday they stepped into the office. Presidential legacy is clearly a topic of importance to presidents and thus, should be important to those studying the presidents.

In order to measure the perceptions of past presidents, and how they change over time, I first review existing literature on what factors affect presidential approval. Then I develop hypothesis as to the cause for the changes in presidential approval over time. To test this theory, I conducted a survey of collegiate and elderly populations to see how different age groups, with differing first hand knowledge of the presidents, perceive the presidents. I conclude that there does exist a significant correlation between a person's age and how they perceive the president, and that there exists a significant relationship between a person's political ideology and how they perceive the president. The nature and shape of these relationships changes over time. In order to understand how I arrived at these conclusions one must first examine the existing work on how people's opinions of presidents are formed.

Natural Life Cycle Theory

One theory suggests that the approval ratings of presidents follow a "natural life cycle that is the same from president to president (Stimson 1976). According to this cyclical model, if one accounts for declines in popularity, trends caused by economic slumps, wars and international 'rally points', one can begin to distinguish uniform trend lines in a president's performance (Mueller 1970). Furthermore, this theory suggests that this trend is shaped as a parabolic curve. Ignoring major events, presidents are expected to begin their terms with high amounts of public support, steadily lose support for about three years, and then recover support at the end of the term.

Stimson (1976) suggests that this cycle is independent of the behavior of the president in office and is an inevitable result of the election cycle and what he calls, "inevitable forces

associated with time” (p.27). He finds that for presidents Truman through Johnson the approval rates significantly fit close to a parabolic curve. In addition, his data increased in significance when he increased the number of factors for which he considered, resulting in the conclusion that presidential approval ratings do not depend on the performance of the president but rise and fall regardless, over time.

Performance Theory

In addition to Natural life cycle theory there is another school of thought that argues a president’s approval follows closely with a president’s policy performance. The basic idea behind this school is that people will approve of the job the president is doing if they approve of the actions he is taking in the exercise of that job. While Stimson’s paper is one of the seminal works in the field of studying Presidential approval, it looks to remove the factors that account for the greatest shifts in presidential approval ratings, those being major events.

Military or crisis intervention are key events that affect opinions about presidents. A substantial number of scholars support a school of thought that argues for a ‘rally around the flag effect’ (Mueller 1970, O’Neal 1995, Baker 2001, Baum 2008). This school of thought is based around the initial theory by Mueller (1970) that in times of national crisis the public will “rally” support around the chief executive (Mueller 1970). One recent example of this would be the increase in support for President George W. Bush after the attacks on September 11, 2001. The “rally” had the effect of giving the president enough public support to quickly unify a divided congress and pass the U.S.A. Patriot Act. Thus, demonstrating the legislative power given a president backed by popular support (Heatherington 2003).

Outside of the field of major events, a president’s economic policy and economic success of the nation while the president is in office, is argued, to be a determining factor in the public’s

approval rating. Fauville-Aymar and Mary Stegmaier (2013) show that rise and fall of presidential approval ratings are tied to the success of the stock market. This effect, they argue, is influenced by the increasingly large number of Americans who have investments in the stock market or whose personal finances are directly impacted by the success or failure of the country's macroeconomic policies, reflected in the stock index (Lewis-Beck and Nadeau 2011; Barabas 2006). In addition to the stock market, a number of scholars (Fauville-Aymar 2013; Geys and Vermeir 2008; Mackuen et.al. 1992; Monroe 1978; Edwards et. al 1995) have tested other variables of economic performance affecting the president's popularity. Variables such as, the unemployment rate, inflation, disposable income, economic growth rate, and individual tax burdens all impact the overall macroeconomic state of the nation.

Issue Saliency

The last school of thought that is relevant to understanding presidential approval is issue saliency. Otherwise considered to be the theory that individuals only care about the president and what he does to the extent that it affects them personally. Edwards (1995) argues that in order for an issue to factor in to a person's evaluation of the president, the issue must be salient to them personally. Different issues are salient to the public at different times, therefore each president is evaluated by the public with a different set of parameters than previous presidents. To make a logical comparison one might evaluate a current president by his position on gay rights. A voter in 1860 could not adequately evaluate president Lincoln based on his stance regarding gay rights because it was not salient at the time of his presidency. Thus, a president must be evaluated in the terms of the saliency of his issue policies in terms of the issues at the time he is president (Epstein and Segal 2000).

Theory and Hypothesis

The theory that best describes the change in public opinion from a president's time in office and after his time in office is the devil shift argued by Sabatier et. al. (1987). This theory is easily simplified into the idea that whoever is in power is “the devil” and is perceived by his opponents as such. The central tenants of the devil shift are as follows

- “1: Actors will impugn the motives and/or reasonableness of their opponents while perceiving themselves to be reasonable people acting out concern for the public welfare.
 - 2: Actors will evaluate their opponents’ behavior in harsher terms than will most members of their policy community, while evaluating their own behavior in more favorable terms.
 - 3: Actors will perceive their opponents to be more influential, and themselves to be less influential, than will most members of their policy community.
 - 4: The amount of distortion (or “devil shift”) is correlated with the distance between one’s own beliefs and those of one’s opponents.”,
- (pg. 451)

Translated into understanding presidential approval, the devil shift would propose that the opposition to the president is never able to adequately judge a president based solely on his performance. The member of the opposition’s opinion is skewed and biased by his inherent opposition to the president. Thus, even if a member of the opposition liked a particular policy the president may propose, they are more likely to disapprove of it, or find it suspect, because the president supports it (Festinger 1957; Abelson et al. 1968; Harrison 1976).

The first two tenants of the devil shift theory are the ones most relevant to this study and understanding why people have dynamically shifting views on the presidents. To apply those tenants to the perceptions of past presidents I must look to see if a devil’s shift occurs by noticing a significant difference in the opinions of the president in people of different ideologies. Since issue salience is an important component of public support for the president, age should also be an important factor in how an individual perceives past presidential performance. Older

respondents should recall more presidents, and their actions, than younger respondents should. I then arrive at the following hypothesis to test these connections:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals with more liberal ideology will be more likely than individuals with more conservative ideology, to have higher job approval of Presidents who were also democrats.

This first hypothesis is derived directly from Sabatier's theory's second point in in that 'Actors (or voters) will impugn or evaluate their opponent's (past presidents of differing political ideology) behavior in harsher terms than will most members [of the president's party], while evaluating their own behavior (the behavior of presidents of similar ideology) in more favorable terms.' (Sabatier et. al. 1987).

Hypothesis 2: As an individual's age increases, they will be more likely to rate a past president more positively.

The reasoning for testing an elderly population is derived from the logic that elderly persons have more firsthand knowledge of more bygone presidencies and thus would be more directly affected by factors such as performance theory or issue salience that could lead to a more positive appraisal of the president's performance.

Methodology

This project surveyed 100 participants on the OSU campus and 64 retired persons aged 60 years or older at various independent living facilities in Edmond, Oklahoma. Oklahoma State Students were selected from volunteers out of an introductory history class. As all students are required to take this class it seemed a good way to get a wide variety of majors and social backgrounds. Students being so young, the average age was 20 years old, there is potential bias of a lack of education and participation in the political process. Some respondents had not been of age to vote any previous election. While this may present the potential for error in that the

population is less educated on the topic about which they were being surveyed, it presents the unique advantage of obtaining the opinions of people who have opinions on presidents based almost solely on second hand knowledge. I.e. the opinions of this group are likely influenced most directly by the legacy of the presidents and not by firsthand knowledge.

To offset this potential age bias, I also surveyed retired persons aged 60 years or older. The sample of retired persons was collected from among independent living facilities in Edmond, Oklahoma. The persons surveyed, though elderly, still meet the qualification of healthy adults, as they were living on their own, without assistance. The facilities visited were retirement communities and thus offered a sample of convenience of elderly persons who were still living on their own without health problems that would encumber their ability to consent to the survey. The communities that were chosen were chosen by a randomly generated list of retirement communities that met the independent living criteria. Many retirement communities were contacted but only three consented to allow surveys to be conducted at their facility. From those 3 facilities 64 surveys were completed. The elderly person's survey will be able to allow insight that the collegiate surveys will not, in that, they are based on first hand memory of the presidents while they were in office. This will allow us to compare to see if the legacy of a president as perceived by young people differs from the memory of a president by those who lived through their terms in office.

Dependent Variable:

The dependent variable in this study is the *approval rate* of each president. This variable is calculated by asking the same question used by the Gallup polling organization for the last 60 years, "Do you approve of the way [The President] performed his job as president?" (Smith 1990). Participants are asked to respond to this question on a 7-point Likert scale. (see appendix

1 for full list of response options). Note that the only change I make to the Gallup poll wording of the question was from present to past tense. This congruity allows more valid comparison between our results of the presidential approval ratings now and when they were conducted during the president's term in office. I then look at the changes in this variable to determine if and to what degree a devil's shift has occurred.

Independent Variables:

The first independent variable is that of *political ideology*. To measure this, I ask each respondent to identify their political party affiliation and to identify their political ideology on a 11-point self-identification scale ranging from "far right" to "far left". This is the same method used by Gallup to determine partisanship among respondents (see Appendix A. for list of response options) (Holli 2002).

The second independent variable in this study is the *age* of the survey respondent. I am seeking to determine whether persons falling into the collegiate age group perceive the legacy of presidents differently than those in the elderly age demographic, who have firsthand knowledge of the terms of the past presidents. Moreover, I am looking to see if evidence exists of the devil shift in the younger population and if it disappears as I move backward in time to more bygone presidencies and if there is a similar or no pattern at all in the case of the elderly. The elderly having been party to more changes in presidencies and thus party to more devil's shifts are expected to have more dynamic opinions of more bygone presidents.

Analysis

To analyze my data I use an ordered logistic regression for the legacy approval ratings of each president. An ordered logistic regression was chosen because of the nature of the dependent variable as ordinal, which, as stated previously falls on a 1 – 7. A traditional linear regression

does not work on ordinal variables, when the range is small, and a logistic regression only works for dichotomous dependent variables. The results of the ordered logistic regression analysis are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Presidential Approval compared with Age and Ideology

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
D. J. Trump		
Age	.0140579 **	.0049981
Liberal Ideology	-.2521062 ***	.0582745
B. Obama		
Age	-.0161955 ***	.0049492
Liberal Ideology	.2201376 ***	.0529691
G. W. Bush		
Age	.0165091 ***	.0050721
Liberal Ideology	-.2323992 ***	.0499351
W. Clinton		
Age	.0062731	.0050651
Liberal Ideology	.1876986 ***	.04824233
G. H. W. Bush		
Age	.0181349 ***	.0051836
Liberal Ideology	-.1999947 ***	.0504952
R. Reagan		
Age	.0116835 **	.0049075
Liberal Ideology	-.1516686 ***	.0484011
J. Carter		
Age	.0091208 *	.0052703
Liberal Ideology	.0987216 **	.0475926
G. D. Ford		
Age	.008857 *	.0054429
Liberal Ideology	-.0673985	.0519919
R. M. Nixon		
Age	.0052324	.0048898
Liberal Ideology	-.1137107**	.0477805
L. B. Johnson		
Age	.0028567	.0028567
Liberal Ideology	.065873	.065873
J. F. Kennedy		
Age	.000734	.000734
Liberal Ideology	.0005291	.0005291
D. D. Eisenhower		
Age	.0180106 ***	.0051604
Liberal Ideology	-.0418521	.0491733
H. S. Truman		
Age	.0232049 ***	.0053257
Liberal Ideology	-.0482732	.0493695

N=159, *=p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

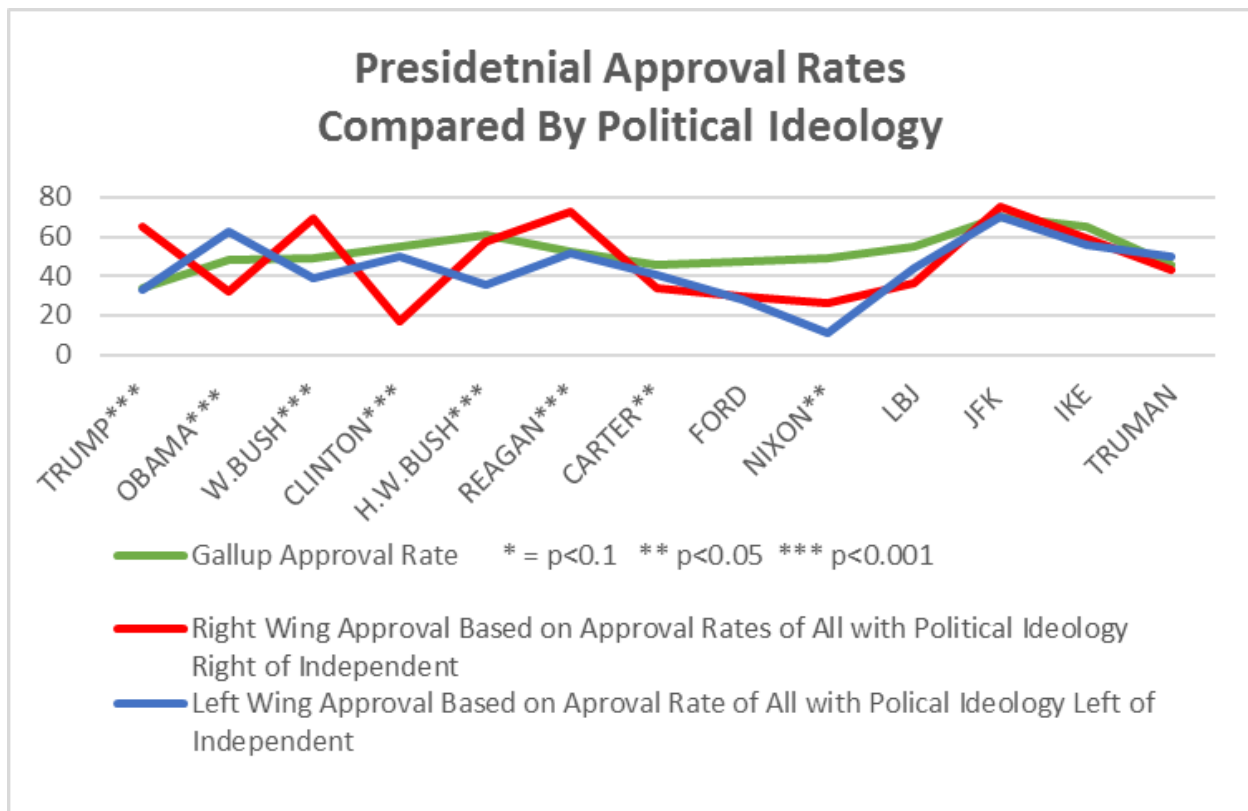
As stated in my hypothesis there is a significant relationship between presidential approval and political ideology. The data collected in my survey support this claim. One will notice that for past presidents prior to Reagan, there exists a significant relationship for every president.

However, for President Clinton one can see that there exists only a significant relationship between ideology and approval not age and approval. It is expected to see some abnormality in the data for Clinton as he is one of two presidents whom have had the end of their terms historically marred by scandal; Nixon being the other. One could argue that the reason for low approval rating in the surveyed collegiate population is that they did not live through the Clinton presidency and therefore lack the frame of reference beyond that of the historical stain on a president who by national polling data of the time averaged comparatively high poll numbers. This likely because of the successful economy of the 1990's which experts show to boost support for the president. This could also account for the high approval numbers shown for Clinton by elderly respondents who have memory of the Clinton presidency beyond the historic scandal.

It could also be argued that the reason for the significance found in political ideology is the prevalence of the devil shift in political groups but not in age groups. A lack of significance in the age category but presence in the political ideology category would support the theory of the devil shift. If one further examines the data one will notice that Ideology is found to be a significant factor in the approval of every president until Lyndon B. Johnson. At which point it is no longer significant for him or any of his predecessors that were examined in this study. If one excludes the significance found for Nixon then this pattern would begin after Ford. This

exclusion should be made as he resigned amid scandal and is tied to the Republican Party, which could influence the ideological perceptions of his presidency.

Figure 1; Presidential Approval Rates Compared by Ideology



The lack of significance of these variables at this point would suggest that there is merit to the issue of salience of the presidential legacy. In other words, the devil shift only exists in so far as people have knowledge and care about the president. Regardless of ideology, beginning at LBJ and going back, public opinion now appears to be significantly similar to the national average polling data for each president at the time they were in office. This would lend to the conclusion that more bygone presidents are not susceptible to the devil shift but rather are perceived based on what is now the historically accepted performance of their time in office.

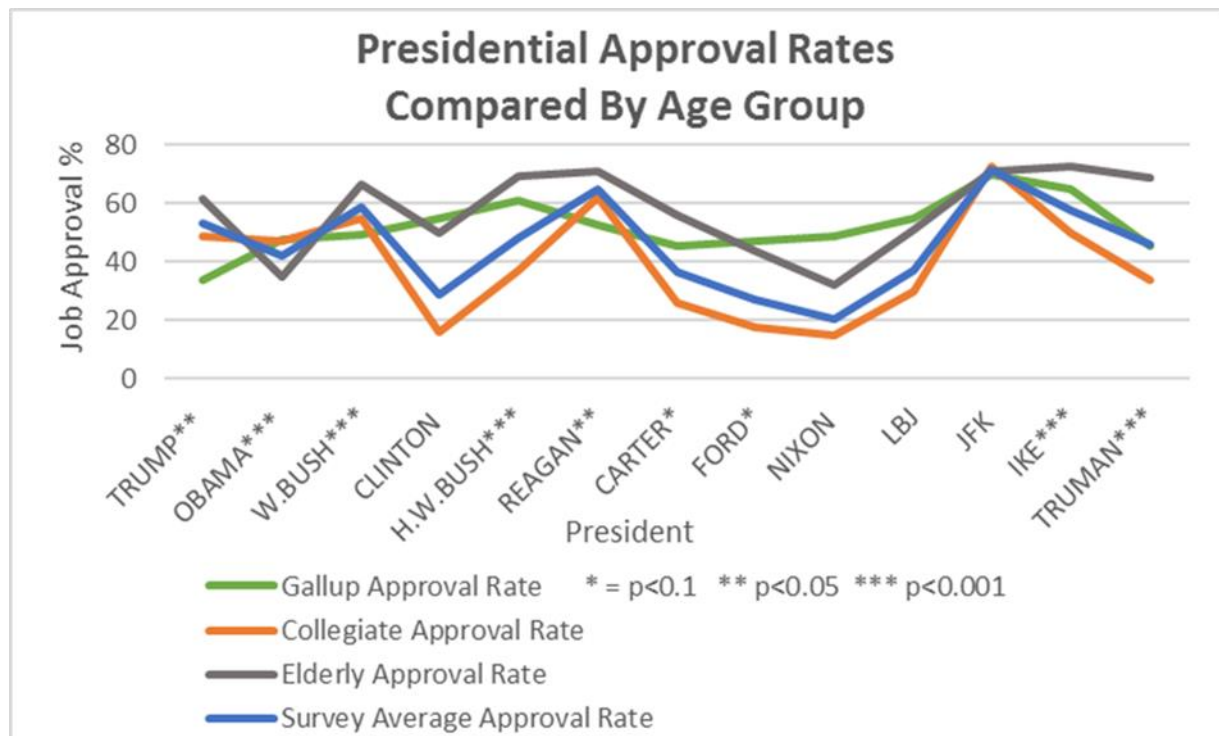
Changes in opinion based on political ideology will be the determining factor in examine the devils shift. The devil shift is based around the idea that political ideology will shift ones opinion of a political actor, in this case the president, based on their political ideology. This theory is supported by the data that was collected. One can see that among liberal respondents, there is a dramatic shift in support from republican to democratic presidents among recent presidents. This is indicated by the blue line in Figure 2. One will also notice that the intensity or dynamism of the changes in this line decreases as one moves to more bygone presidents. This same pattern is true of the conservative line; it moving in the opposite direction for corresponding liberal and conservative presidents. This line is indicative of the devils shift.

The exception to this rule of the devils shift in presidential approval begins around the time of President Ford. The liberal and conservative respondents still rank Ford lower than the national average but there is no significant difference in opinion between parties for Presidents Ford, LBJ, Kennedy, Eisenhower, or Truman. This lack of significant difference in opinion between members of differing ideologies would lend to the conclusion that after a certain point the devil shift is no longer in effect. Moreover, it would appear that for those same presidents the measured public opinion now is almost identical to the measured public opinion when they were in office.

The exception in this pattern is in the case of President Nixon who is an anomaly as it was found for political party to be of significance during his presidency. This is likely caused by the Watergate scandal, which mars his presidency. It also is likely to influence liberal respondents to rate him more dis-favorably as the Watergate scandal was primarily about a crime perpetrated against the Democratic Party. Therefore, it can reasonably be take that Nixon is an exception to the rule of non-significance beginning with Ford.

The second factor I examine in determining presidential opinion is age. I hypothesize that ‘as an individual's age increases, they will be more likely to rate a past president more positively.’ Age does appear to be a significant factor in determining presidential opinions but does not have as discernable or pattered of degradation over time as does political ideology. Age is in many cases a significant factor in determining how one would perceive a president. The elderly sample as a whole tended to rate presidents higher than the collegiate sample.

Figure 2: Presidential Approval Rates Compared by Age Group



As seen in Figure 2, major differences in opinions between the two groups are seen in Clinton, as previously discussed, and also in the time around the presidencies of Carter, Ford, and Truman. Another anomaly worth discussion is that of the presidency of George H.W. Bush. This is another case where the elderly sample significantly differs from the younger sample. In this case the elderly sample is much closer to the national average of the time. A possible

explanation for this is derived from economic performance theory. The Economy during the presidency of George H.W. Bush was successful which would, according to this theory, lend to higher support numbers. Also at play here could be the Rally around the flag effect. The United States had successfully won victory in the Gulf War during the Bush presidency which would also lead to higher support numbers. It makes logical sense then that the elderly population who lived through this presidency would succumb to these effects and give the President Bush higher approval. The collegiate population was not born at the time of the Bush presidency and could not have memory of it and thus is not subject to the effects of performance theory but rather gauges the president solely on their historic perceptions of him. These perceptions could be influenced by, among other things, the devil shift; and his relationship to George W. Bush, which some of the students may either remember first hand or be influenced by recollections of their parents.

In President H.W. Bush, one sees that the collegiate population rates him very low compared to the elderly. This is an anomaly in the data because the data show that historically President Bush was a more popular president than most. Including his son George W. Bush who, despite lower historic polling numbers polled higher among collegiate students than did Bush Sr.

Conclusion

This study is unique in that very little research has been done into the presidential legacy. Unfortunately this study was limited by both time and resources and was only able to examine two of the 125 different variables that were collected in this survey. In the future I would like to examine different demographic factors such as gender, race and others, do test their links to the perceptions of past presidential performance. Additionally I must acknowledge that the scope of these results are limited by the sample population in which the survey was conducted.

Edmond, Oklahoma retirement homes and Oklahoma State University intro history classes are hardly a large enough sample to make claims about the national population. Thus, I limit the scope of the results previously discussed to apply only to these areas. Saying only that the results of this survey are interesting and call for further research into the important topic of the presidential legacy nationwide.

The president's legacy is something worth studying. A president concerned with their legacy today, in a time embroiled with political turmoil and divisive partisanship, can take comfort in the knowledge that this data suggests that in 60 years members of the opposition party won't have any differing opinion from members of his own party with regards to his job performance.

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Appendix 1: Survey

Interviewer_____

Given ☐

Date:_____

Verbal Consent

Hi my name is [investigator name] I'm conducting a brief presidential opinion survey of OSU students and Stillwater residents to help determine how presidential approval rates change over time.

Would you mind taking a few minutes to answer some brief questions? It shouldn't take longer than 15 minutes.

Thank you.

{review participant information sheet}

Let's begin with some basic demographic questions

1) Are you a registered voter?

Yes No

2) Where are you Registered to Vote? (State and County)

3) How old are you?_____

4) What is your Ethnicity?

White

Hispanic

Black or African American

American Indian or Alaska Native

Asian

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

5) In which political party are you registered?

Republican

Democrat

Independent

Libertarian

Green

Other (please specify)_____

6) Who was elected president in the first presidential election you were of age to vote?

7) Do You Vote Regularly?

Yes No

8) Do you vote in local elections not held during a Presidential or congressional election year?

Yes No

9) What is your political ideology?

Far Right

Conservative

Republican

Libertarian

moderate right leaning

Independent

Moderate left leaning

Green

Democrat

Liberal

Far Left

Other _____

Unsure

For the Following question please respond with one of the following seven options:

Indicate that you either: Highly Disapprove, Disapprove, Slightly disapprove, are Neutral, Slightly approve, Approve, or Highly Approve

Do you believe ethical or personal scandal effects a presidents ability to preform his job?

1) Highly Disapprove

2) Disapprove

3) Slightly disapprove

4) Neutral

5) Slightly Approve

6) Approve

7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Trump is Handling his job as president?

1) Highly Disapprove

2) Disapprove

3) Slightly disapprove

4) Neutral

5) Slightly Approve

6) Approve

7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Obama handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Bush handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Clinton handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way H.W. Bush handled his job as president?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Reagan handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Carter handled his job as president?

- 1) Highly Disapprove

- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Ford handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Nixon handled his job as president?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Johnson handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Kennedy handled his job as president ?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Eisenhower handled his job as president?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve

- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Do you approve of the way Truman handled his job as president?

- 1) Highly Disapprove
- 2) Disapprove
- 3) Slightly disapprove
- 4) Neutral
- 5) Slightly Approve
- 6) Approve
- 7) Highly Approve

Please rate each of the following presidents in each of the following categories

Place an "X" near the _ where you feel appropriate to gauge which adjective best describes the President.

Example:

President Y

Good _ _ _ _ X _ _ _ _ **Bad**

Happy _ X _ _ _ _ _ **Sad**

Donald Trump

Honest	_ _ _ _ _	dishonest
Presidential	_ _ _ _ _	Un-presidential
Respectful	_ _ _ _ _	Disrespectful
Honorable	_ _ _ _ _	dishonorable
Effective	_ _ _ _ _	Ineffective
Intelligent	_ _ _ _ _	Stupid
Ethical	_ _ _ _ _	Unethical
Caring	_ _ _ _ _	Careless
Relatable	_ _ _ _ _	unrelatable
Forthright	_ _ _ _ _	Underhanded

Barack Obama

Honest	_ _ _ _ _	dishonest
Presidential	_ _ _ _ _	Un-presidential
Respectful	_ _ _ _ _	Disrespectful
Honorable	_ _ _ _ _	dishonorable
Effective	_ _ _ _ _	Ineffective
Intelligent	_ _ _ _ _	Stupid
Ethical	_ _ _ _ _	Unethical
Caring	_ _ _ _ _	Careless
Relatable	_ _ _ _ _	unrelatable
Forthright	_ _ _ _ _	Underhanded

George W. Bush

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelateable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

William Clinton

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

George H. W. Bush

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Ronald Reagan

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless

Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Jimmy Carter

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Gerald Ford

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Richard M. Nixon

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Lyndon B. Johnson

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

John F. Kennedy

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded

Harry S. Truman

Honest	-----	dishonest
Presidential	-----	Un-presidential
Respectful	-----	Disrespectful
Honorable	-----	dishonorable
Effective	-----	Ineffective
Intelligent	-----	Stupid
Ethical	-----	Unethical
Caring	-----	Careless
Relatable	-----	unrelatable
Forthright	-----	Underhanded