Religious Commitment and Political Interest

Melanie Walther

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RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND POLITICAL INTEREST

MELANIE WALTHER

INTRODUCTION

While driving through any American community, it is common to pass billboards preaching salvation, signs posting church meeting times, synagogues, stain-glassed windows, and other symbols of the country’s religious life. Religion is a vibrant component of local communities and a prevalent part of American society. Compared to other developed nations, the United States retains an unusually religious citizenry. Over eight-two percent of Americans identify with religion and around two thirds attend church (Wald 2003, 11). Although religion is not formally entrenched in the U.S. government, religion is deeply rooted in the country’s social structure and as a result it has great potential to shape American political attitudes, specifically political interest. The psychological and sociological forces inherent in religious organizations offer several routes by which political interest can be stimulated and fostered. In buildings of worship, people gather together and interact in ways that have natural consequences on their levels of political interest.

This study seeks to understand how religiosity affects engagement in politics. The social aspect of religion can only influence people who are actively involved in religious organizations, therefore being physically and emotionally committed to religion is expected to increase political interest. Due to the pluralistic nature of religion in the United States, great variation exists in religious organizations and practice. While this diversity of religious tradition may cause the level of political interest to differ by tradition, higher levels of religious commitment should increase political interest regardless of tradition by escalating social awareness and political ability. In addition, as religious bodies are often organized on a local scale, increasing religious commitment should have a larger impact on political interest in local rather than national affairs. Therefore, higher levels of religious commitment should increase political interest, especially at the local level.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

There are many routes by which religious organizations endow committed members with greater interest in local politics. First, religious institutions promote political interest by providing members with civic skills that are easily converted to political activity and political interest. Committed members learn how to organize and communicate as they
participate in various activities sponsored by their church (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995, 273). For example, active members will often teach classes, conduct meetings, or organize service projects sponsored by their church. All of these activities teach the participant how to effectively express their ideas and translate them into action.

Communication and organizational skills facilitate political activity because they are easily drawn upon by the individual when placed in political situations. When individuals feel they have the ability to become involved in political processes, they are also more inclined to be interested in the political issues. The civic skills resulting from religious involvement enable greater political interest by making politics more approachable. Since religious membership and participation within religious organizations is not based on educational or economic standards, religious organizations are egalitarian sources of these political resources (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995, 275). Therefore, the equal distribution of political resources by religious organizations provides all members who choose to become actively involved with greater mental ability to engage in politics and enables greater political interest.

Religious organizations also increase political interest by providing a safe forum for discussing local issues. Members of a congregation tend to develop similar worldviews as they interact with each other. Because members exhibiting strong religious commitment experience more frequent interpersonal interactions with other members, high religious commitment results in greater conformity to the group’s worldview. Wald, Owen, and Hill find that the collective outlook of a church has greater political significance on individuals’ views than their worldviews (1988, 545). As members reinforce each other’s views, a friendly environment in which political ideas and issues can be discussed is created and political interest can be magnified. The tight social networks resulting between those members with high levels of religious commitment supply efficient communications networks that stimulate discussion and issue-specific political interest if consciously activated (Campbell 2005, 155). Therefore, greater commitment not only solidifies a group’s mindset but also increases opportunities for discussion of issues that kindle political interest.

The idea that religious commitment promotes political interest is partially supported by a study on civic engagement using data from the American Citizen Participation Study. In this study, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady find that increased religious attendance promotes greater political interest (1995, 435-436). While religious attendance measures some of an individual’s likelihood to be influenced by religious organizations, religious commitment provides a stronger measure of religion’s impact on political interest. Commitment refers to the extent an individual actively participates and holds the beliefs espoused by the religious tradition (Kohut et al. 2000, 14). In measuring religion’s impact on political behaviors, Kohut et al. discover members who are more committed exhibit distinctly different political behaviors than members with lower commitment levels (2000, 35). Committed members are more ideologically cohesive and more likely to participate in politics. Higher religious commitment produces greater political commitment by magnifying the social interactions and political resources obtained through organized membership which should stimulate political interest.

Through the analysis presented later in this paper, I improve and expand upon the study produced by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady. Rather than just examine religious
Walther – Religion and Politics

attendance, I analyze the relationship between religious commitment and political interest is examined. Also, I explore the effect of the local nature of religious organizations by comparing the impact of religious commitment on national versus local political interest.

In early America, religious bodies and communities were often closely intertwined (Stout 1996, 114). Churches provided both the social and religious nucleus for many towns and held a significant influence within their respective communities. As society grew and modernized, communities became increasingly complex and impersonal (Stout 1996, 116). Now, communities are essentially complex organizations of interlocking institutions (Stout 1996, 118). Although religious organizations' role in communities has declined, most religions continue to function primarily as local institutions. Congregations are generally organized by neighborhood boundaries. In addition, the basic functions of churches are often deeply tied to the community in which they reside. For example, churches often provide communities with supporting functions such as hospitals and shelters. Geographically and functionally, churches are local institutions.

As a result of the local nature of religions, religious organizations have great potential to influence local political matters and behaviors. A number of studies reveal the importance of congregations as a source of political socialization (Gilbert 1993; Jelen 1992; Wald, Owen, and Hill 1988; Wald, Owen, and Hill 1990). Individuals who are active church members are more likely to be aware of community opportunities and needs as a result of attending services and socializing with other members (Wuthnow 1999, 334). Discussions between committed church members are likely to center around local issues. Therefore, it is expected that high religious commitment has a disproportionate impact on political interest in local politics. Citizens who are religiously committed will have more access to discussions of local politics and higher probabilities of being interested in the affairs of their communities than individuals not active in religious organizations.

Like most attitudes, political interest is determined by an intricate combination of individual characteristics and environmental conditions. Because of its inherent complexity, several factors other than religious commitment consistently emerge as major forces influencing political interest. To isolate the relationship between religious commitment and political interest, these other variables influencing political interest must be accounted for. Through survey analysis, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady find political interest stems largely from socioeconomic factors (1995, 494). Higher economic and educational resources stimulate a citizen's interest in political matters by providing political resources that enable exposure to political ideas and processes. In contrast, those with low family income and low education express a psychological detachment through lower intensities of political interest (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, 526-527).

These divisions along lines of education and income suggest that the ability to physically and mentally participate in politics plays a large role in shaping psychological receptivity to politics. While political interest is also influenced by family socialization settings (level of parental interest), parental interest can be traced back to parental education, income, and political participation levels (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, 442-443). Although educational and financial resources promote greater exposure to political ideas and higher interest, participation in social organizations, specifically
Walther – Religion and Politics

religious organizations, also provide exposure to political ideas and consequently stimulate political interest (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, 494).

Participation in social organizations reaps a host of political rewards. According to Putnam, involvement in social organizations produces social capital which kindles trust, political engagement, and collective political interest (1995, 664-665). Greater political interest and participation is often attributed to organizational membership for several reasons. First, social organizations create social networks that provide forums in which social issues can be discussed (McClurg 2003, 449). Second, organizations subsidize the costs of political information by providing other incentives and often promote political involvement (Leighley 1996, 447). Group participation also provides members with political resources such as public speaking, organizational, or letter-writing skills (Brady, Verba, Schlozman 1995, 271). On the logical basis that social interactions within a voluntary organization promote political behaviors, social interaction within local religious groups should also encourage interest in local politics.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

To measure religious commitment’s relationship to political interest on the local and national levels, an ordered logit regression model was applied to the survey data from the 1990 American Citizen Participation Study. Conducted by Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry E. Brady, and Norman Nie, the study gathered a wide range of information on political activities, values, and personal characteristics for 2,517 individuals over the age of eighteen using in-person interviews. Data collection relied on an advanced clustered and stratified sampling method which increases the likelihood the sample values are representative of the total population values.

Political interest was measured by asking respondents, in two separate questions, to indicate if they were (1) not interested, (2) slightly interested, (3) somewhat interested, or (4) very interested in local and national politics (see Appendix A for exact question wording). The broad nature of the political interest questions proves more valuable than

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Level</th>
<th>National Politics (Percent %)</th>
<th>Local Politics (Percent %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not</td>
<td>7.74</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly</td>
<td>16.55</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>37.88</td>
<td>38.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td>38.33</td>
<td>29.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
questions asking issue-specific interest levels because they provide a psychological indicator of an individual's general receptivity to politics. If interest was measured according to topic, other factors of issue salience and relevancy of the issue would obscure the respondent's predilection or distaste for political matters as a whole.

When the overall responses of local and national political interest are compared, we see that individuals are more likely to be interested in national rather than local politics. While most respondents tend to cluster in the middle categories (slightly and somewhat interested) for both local and national politics, the difference between local and national political interest levels becomes very apparent in the extremities of interest levels. Respondents were more likely to indicate they were not at all interested in local politics and less likely to indicate a high level of interest. Because of the difference in local and national interest levels, when analyzing the impact of religious commitment on interest, the differences between commitment levels within the local and national political interest questions must first be computed to allow comparison between national and local political interest results.

Measuring religious commitment was more complicated as it relies not only on individual involvement in a congregation, but also on how important religion is to the individual. Members who are defined as highly committed are both physically and mentally invested in the religion. Using Kohut's breakdown of religious activity by belief, belonging, and behavior, an additive index ranging from zero to four was created that focused on the belief and behavior facets of religious activity (Kohut 2000, 12). The index increases in value when the respondent categorized religion as important, attended religious services weekly, served on a committee, or participated in the official organization of a church in the past five years. Table 2 presents a distribution of this index. Of the respondents, over half (61 percent) scored one or less on the index and only 12 percent qualified as being very committed.

Table 2 - Religious Commitment Index (4=high)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commitment Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cum %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>38.18</td>
<td>38.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>23.32</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>14.38</td>
<td>75.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>11.72</td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2517</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several variables were added to the model to control for other known influences on interest levels. Socioeconomic variations were measured by questions asking about the respondents' education level and income level (see Appendix A for exact question wording). To control for parents' level of political interest, respondents were asked about
the level of political discussion in their home when they were sixteen years old. Finally, age was included as younger people are generally less interested in politics. In this sample, the average respondent was 41 years old, had an income between $20,000 and $24,999, received 13 to 14 years of education, and sometimes discussed politics in the home when a teenager.

The models in this study specifically examine how religious commitment, income, educational level, age, and level of parental interest influence interest in national politics and interest in local politics. The two hypotheses propose that (1) those respondents with higher levels of religious commitment will have a higher propensity of being very interested in both national and local politics and (2) religious commitment will have a greater impact on interest in local politics than on interest in national politics. In other words, Hypothesis 1 states that religious commitment positively impacts the probabilities of being interested in politics. An individual who displays greater commitment to his or her religion should also report higher interest in national and local politics compared to an individual not committed to religion. Hypothesis 2 anticipates that religious commitment has more influence on interest in local politics than in national politics due to religion's local structure. The difference in reported interest between individuals committed and individual not committed to religion should be more dramatic for reported interest in local politics versus interest in national politics. If there is no change in reported interest levels when religious commitment changes, Hypothesis 1 will fail, as the null hypothesis of no relationship would not be rejected. Also, if the change in interest between high and low religious commitment levels is similar for reported interest in both local and national politics, Hypothesis 2 will fail to have support as its null hypothesis of no relationship will also not be rejected.

1 The estimated model can be formally written as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{natint} &= \beta_0 + \beta_1\text{com} + \beta_2\text{owninc} + \beta_3\text{edgrade} + \beta_4\text{dischome} + \beta_5\text{age} + u \\
\text{locint} &= \beta_6 + \beta_7\text{com} + \beta_8\text{owninc} + \beta_9\text{edgrade} + \beta_{10}\text{dischome} + \beta_{11}\text{age} + u 
\end{align*}
\]

Where:

- \(\text{natint}\) Interest in national politics/affairs (not interested = 1, very interested = 4)
- \(\text{locint}\) Interest in local community politics (not interested = 1, very interested = 4)
- \(\text{com}\) Index of a respondent's religious commitment (low commitment = 0, high commitment = 4)
- \(\text{owninc}\) Respondent's total income for 1989
- \(\text{edgrade}\) Highest grade of regular school completed
- \(\text{dischome}\) How frequently politics were discussed at home when respondent was 16 (1=Never, 2=Sometimes, 3=frequently)
- \(\text{age}\) Age of respondent

2 Hypothesis 1 can be formally written as:

\[
\begin{align*}
H_0 & : \beta_0 = 0 \text{ and } \beta_7 = 0 \\
H_1 & : \beta_1 > 0 \text{ and } \beta_7 > 0
\end{align*}
\]
The ordered logit regression is used to analyze the data in this study due to the ordinal nature of the dependent variables, national and local political interest. Although the categories of political interest can be ranked, the distances between "not interested", "slightly interested", "somewhat interested", and "very interested" are unknown and not necessarily equal at every level. Using the ordinal regression model (ORM), the uncertainty of scale is taken into account, and the probability that the dependent variable will take on a particular value at specified values of the independent variables can be calculated.

Table 3 presents the ordered logit models with interest in national politics and interest in local politics as the dependent variables. When political interest, religious commitment, and the control variables were tested using the ordered logit model, all of the relationships were statistically significant. All of the tested independent variables have a positive relationship with the dependent variable in addition to being statistically significant. As each independent variable increases, the level of political interest is also likely to increase. The statistically significant results and positive value of the coefficient on religious commitment in the national and local interest regressions allow the null hypothesis of Hypothesis 1 to be rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis. The significant positive results suggest that being more religiously committed increases an individual’s tendency to be interested in both national and local politics.

However, the magnitude of this relationship cannot be immediately derived from the regression coefficients because of the model’s nonlinear form. In probability models, the size of the change in the outcome’s probability for a given change in the independent variable depends on the levels of the other independent variables. Therefore, to obtain a

$H_0$: There is no relationship between religious commitment and political interest

$H_1$: Religious commitment causes greater interest in local and national politics

**Hypothesis 2 can be formally written as:**

$H_0$: $P(\text{locint}=4|\text{com}=4) - P(\text{locint}=4|\text{com}=0) = P(\text{natint}=4|\text{com}=4) - P(\text{natint}=4|\text{com}=0)$

$H_1$: $P(\text{locint}=4|\text{com}=4) - P(\text{locint}=4|\text{com}=0) > P(\text{natint}=4|\text{com}=4) - P(\text{natint}=4|\text{com}=0)$

$H_0$: The probability of being very interesting in local politics given an individual who is very religiously committed minus the probability of being very interested in local politics given an individual who is not religiously committed is equal to the probability of being very interesting in local politics given an individual who is very religiously committed minus the probability of being very interested in local politics given an individual who is not religiously committed.

$H_1$: The probability of being very interesting in local politics given an individual who is very religiously committed minus the probability of being very interested in local politics given an individual who is not religiously committed is greater than the probability of being very interesting in local politics given an individual who is very religiously committed minus the probability of being very interested in local politics given an individual who is not religiously committed.
better understanding of how religious commitment affects political interest, all other
independent variables were held constant at their average values and the predicted
probabilities were calculated for each interest level as religious commitment varies.

Table 3 - Ordered Logit Estimates of Interest in National and Local Politics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest in National Politics</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Commitment Index</td>
<td>0.081*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Level</td>
<td>0.076**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Political Discussion at home when 16 years old</td>
<td>0.198**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of Respondent</td>
<td>0.019**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest in Local Politics</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Commitment Index</td>
<td>0.197**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Level</td>
<td>0.061**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Political Discussion at home when 16 years old</td>
<td>0.137**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of Respondent</td>
<td>0.036**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pseudo R-squared: 0.09

number of observations: 1608

**Significant at the 1% level or lower;
*Significant at the 5% level

Table 4 shows these predicted probabilities of local and national interest for each value of commitment. Because the probabilities of being interested in politics decline in every religious commitment category except for very committed, these data add further support for Hypothesis 1. When individuals are deeply immersed in their religious organizations, they have a greater probability of being interested in politics.
The changes are visually represented in Figures 1 and 2 as the very interested probabilities increase as commitment increases. The predicted probabilities of Table 4 also help support the claims of Hypothesis 2—that religious commitment has a stronger impact on local political interest. The change in the probability of being very interested is much more dramatic in local politics than in national politics. When the very committed probabilities of local and national interest are juxtaposed in Figure 3, the differing impact of commitment becomes apparent.
There is only a 0.076 change in probability of being very interested in national politics between a very religiously committed and non-committed respondent, while the change in probability in terms of interest in local politics is 0.1898. The differences between the local and national interest probabilities allows the null hypothesis for Hypothesis 2 to be rejected in favor of the hypothesis that the magnitude of religious commitment’s impact on being very interested is greater in local politics than in national politics. The gap between religiously committed and non-committed individuals is much greater at the local level. Becoming involved in religious organizations increases people’s likelihood of being interested in the affairs and politics of their communities. According to these data, religious commitment not only increases political interest, but its influence is stronger in local politics.

That the impact of religion on political interest varies between levels of government is exciting because religion’s impact on local political behaviors has received little scholarly attention. Although the structure of this study cannot calculate the exact statistical significance of the difference between the impact religious commitment has on
local and national political interest, it does offer strong support that religion has a stronger influence on local political behaviors. While this study indicates that religious commitment stimulates political interest, further research of the impact of religion on other political behaviors at both the national and local levels should be conducted. Insight into the relationship between religion and local political behaviors will not only increase our understanding of political behavior but could also significantly alter how religion is used as an explanatory variable in the study of political behavior.

CONCLUSION

Although the political effects of different religions' doctrinal foundations are difficult to measure, the social and organizational aspects of religious groups contain several political implications. In addition to being sources of doctrine and places of worship, churches are locally organized social bodies. Compared to many other social organizations, churches open their doors to a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds. Both the CEO and the high school drop out are invited to participate fully in church activities. While the CEO has access to many other resources, the skills gained from church activity have high rewards for the high school drop out. The egalitarian and social nature of religious organizations makes churches a key potential source of political socialization, especially in local politics.

The results of this study reveal how involvement in religious organizations impacts members' probability of being interested in politics. The social and local organizations of churches provide members with greater political skills, more chances for political discussions, and increased exposure to community affairs. Therefore, when people are deeply involved in their religions, there is an increased probability they will be interested in politics. Religious commitment also has the additional influence of increasing interest in local politics, more so than in national politics. Because members within a church often share a common local identity, interpersonal interactions occurring from religious involvement tend to increase political interest, especially in local matters.

Religion is often passed over in studies of national political behaviors and events because its pluralistic and fragmented nature makes it hard to measure consistently. The results of this study imply that perhaps religion is less important as a national explanatory tool because it is fundamentally a local organization. There is a need for further analysis of the local dimension of religion in political behaviors and events. It may be that the true explanatory power of religion lies on the local rather than the national level.
APPENDIX A
EXACT SURVEY QUESTION WORDING

POLITICAL INTEREST

1.1 locint
Thinking about your local community, how interested are you in local community politics and local community affairs?
   1. Not Interested
   2. Slightly Interested
   3. Somewhat Interested
   4. Very Interested

1.2 natint
How interested are you in national politics and national affairs?
   1. Not Interested
   2. Slightly Interested
   3. Somewhat Interested
   4. Very Interested

RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT INDEX

2.1 rlimp
How important is religion in your life?
   1. Not at all important
   2. Somewhat important
   3. Very important

2.2 rlattend
Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your religious activity. How often do you attend religious services?
   1. Never
   2. Less than once a year
   3. About twice a year
   4. Several times a year
   5. About once a month
   6. 2-3 times a month
   7. Nearly every week
   8. Every week
   9. More than once a week
2.3 cslyr
Aside from attending services, in the past twelve months have you been an active member of your (church/synagogue) – I mean, have you served on a committee, given time for special projects, or helped organize meetings?
   1. No
   2. Yes

2.4 csoff5
In the past five years, have you served on a board or held an official position in your (church/synagogue)?
   1. No
   2. Yes

CONTROL VARIABLES

3.1 owninc
In which of these groups did your own total earnings from your occupation fall last year—1989—before taxes, that is. Just tell me the letter.
   1. UNDER $1,000
   2. $1,000-2,499
   3. $2,500-4,999
   4. $5,000-9,999
   5. $10,000-14,999
   6. $15,000-19,999
   7. $20,000-24,999
   8. $25,000-29,999
   9. $30,000-34,999
  10. $35,000-39,999
  11. $40,000-49,999
  12. $50,000-59,999
  13. $60,000-74,999
  14. $75,000-99,999
  15. $100,000-124,999
  16. $125,000-149,999
  17. $150,000-199,999
  18. $200,000 AND OVER
3.2 edgrade
What is the highest grade of regular school that you have completed and gotten credit for? If necessary say: By regular school we mean a school which can be counted toward an elementary or high school diploma or a college or university degree.

0. 0 YEARS
1. 1ST GRADE
2. 2ND GRADE
3. 3RD GRADE
4. 4TH GRADE
5. 5TH GRADE
6. 6TH GRADE
7. 7TH GRADE
8. 8TH GRADE
9. 9TH GRADE
10. 10TH GRADE
11. 11TH GRADE
12. 12TH GRADE
13. 1ST YEAR OF COLLEGE
14. 2ND YEAR OF COLLEGE
15. 3RD YEAR OF COLLEGE
16. 4TH YEAR OF COLLEGE
17. 5TH/HIGHER YEAR COLL
18. HIGHER
19. HIGHER

3.3. age
Value converted from the variable: yearborn
In what year were you born?

3.4. dischome
At the time you were sixteen years old, how frequent were political discussions at home? Were they frequent, did they happen sometimes, or almost never?

1. Almost never
2. Sometimes
3. Frequently
Walther – Religion and Politics

REFERENCES


Walther – Religion and Politics


Table 4 – Predicted Values of Political Interest for Changing Values of Religiosity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>natint</th>
<th>locint=1</th>
<th>locint=1</th>
<th>locint=2</th>
<th>locint=2</th>
<th>locint=3</th>
<th>locint=3</th>
<th>locint=4</th>
<th>locint=4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 (lowest)</td>
<td>0.0431</td>
<td>0.0852</td>
<td>0.1674</td>
<td>0.2533</td>
<td>0.4506</td>
<td>0.4549</td>
<td>0.3388</td>
<td>0.2065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0399</td>
<td>0.0711</td>
<td>0.1575</td>
<td>0.2248</td>
<td>0.4454</td>
<td>0.4634</td>
<td>0.3572</td>
<td>0.2407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0369</td>
<td>0.0591</td>
<td>0.148</td>
<td>0.1975</td>
<td>0.4391</td>
<td>0.4649</td>
<td>0.376</td>
<td>0.2785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0341</td>
<td>0.0491</td>
<td>0.1388</td>
<td>0.1718</td>
<td>0.4318</td>
<td>0.4594</td>
<td>0.3953</td>
<td>0.3197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (highest)</td>
<td>0.0316</td>
<td>0.0407</td>
<td>0.1301</td>
<td>0.1482</td>
<td>0.4235</td>
<td>0.4472</td>
<td>0.4148</td>
<td>0.3963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>