NATIONAL LEADERSHIP INDEX 2007

SPECIAL REPORTS

Memo to the Press
Presidential Leadership

A NATIONAL STUDY OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERSHIP

CENTER FOR PUBLIC LEADERSHIP
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT · HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

SECTION 1 CONFIDENCE IN LEADERSHIP 2007 2

National Leadership Index 2007 3

SECTION 2 MEMO TO THE PRESS 4

SECTION 3 THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 9

Presidential Leadership Traits 9

Election Outlook 12

Confidence in the American Voter 14

Confidence in the Candidates 15

SECTION 4 AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE 18

Women and Leadership 21

ABOUT THE STUDY 23

METHODS 23

APPENDICES 26

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 28

ABOUT THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC LEADERSHIP 29

Citation

Rosenthal, S. A., Pittinsky, T. L., Purvin, D. M., & Montoya, R. M. (2007). *National Leadership Index 2007: A National Study of Confidence in Leadership*. Center for Public Leadership, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Copyright © 2007 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

All Rights Reserved.

INTRODUCTION

November, 2007

The American people are alarmed about the quality of their leaders and concerned about the country's future, yet optimistic that things can improve.

This national study of confidence in leadership, our third, reveals that the leadership crisis we first identified in our 2005 report continues—and, in the eyes of Americans, is deepening. More than three quarters of those surveyed now believe there is a leadership crisis in this country, up from 69% in 2006 and 65% in 2005. Fully half of all Americans, when asked how much confidence they have in their leaders, answer "not much" or "none at all."

The message is clear: Americans want more from their leaders—and fast. Americans feel strongly that our country must soon have better leadership if we are to thrive in the future. Only 14% of our survey respondents currently believe the country is moving in the right direction, while 48% believe we are moving in the wrong direction. Bottom line—79% believe the United States will decline as a nation unless we get better leaders.

With national elections approaching, it's easy to assume that politicians are the prime focus of Americans' disenchantment. But, as you will read in this report, confidence in leadership in many sectors—from religion to business, from education to nonprofits—remains tepid or continues to sink. And the press receives the lowest ratings of all. This is troubling, because democracies rely on a vibrant, probing, and trusted press. This year, we dig more deeply into the public's views on news media election coverage. The key finding: Americans' lack of confidence in the press stems from deep unease about bias and editorial content. This is not good news for the professionals upon whom we must rely for information about our leaders.

We can take comfort, however, in Americans' deep reserves of optimism. The public remains hopeful that capable leaders will emerge soon. This year, with the 2008 presidential election approaching, we provide a special section on attitudes toward the election and the major candidates. By and large, Americans like what they see. Almost eight in ten (79%) are confident that the next president will be good for the country. Looking to the future, 59% believe that the country will have better leaders in 20 years.

This report is one product of a partnership between the Center for Public Leadership at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and *U.S.News & World Report*. Together, we are exploring public attitudes about our leaders and identifying—through a national selection committee—today's exemplary leaders. (See *U.S.News*, November 19, 2007, to read about "America's Best Leaders" for this year.)

Special thanks are due to the chief architects of this project: Todd L. Pittinsky, Research Director of the Center and Associate Professor of Public Policy at the Kennedy School, and Seth A. Rosenthal, a Research Fellow at the Center. We are very grateful to them and their research colleagues for their stewardship of this project and their insightful analysis.

With the hope that this project contributes to widening the civic dialogue and opening new paths of inquiry for scholars, we welcome your thoughts, insights, and comments.

David Gergen
Director

Andy Zelleke
Co-Director

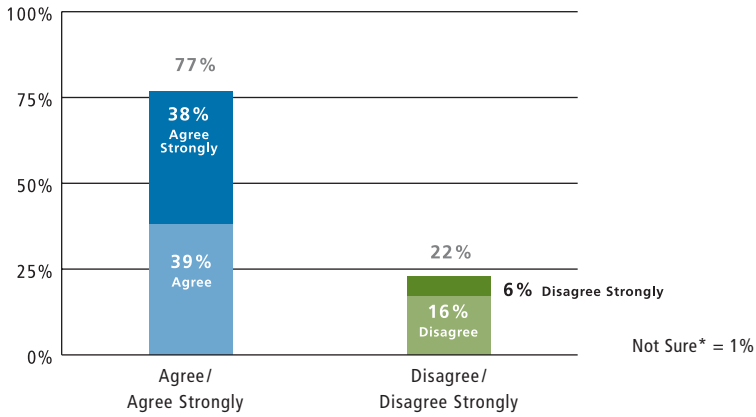
Donna Kalikow
Executive Director

SECTION 1

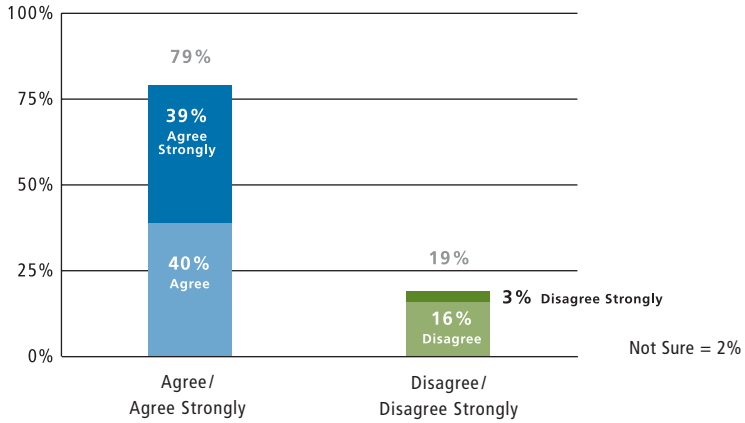
CONFIDENCE IN LEADERSHIP 2007

Americans have a crisis of confidence in their leaders

To what extent do you agree with this statement:
We have a leadership crisis in this country today?



To what extent do you agree with this statement:
Unless we get better leaders, the United States will decline as a nation?



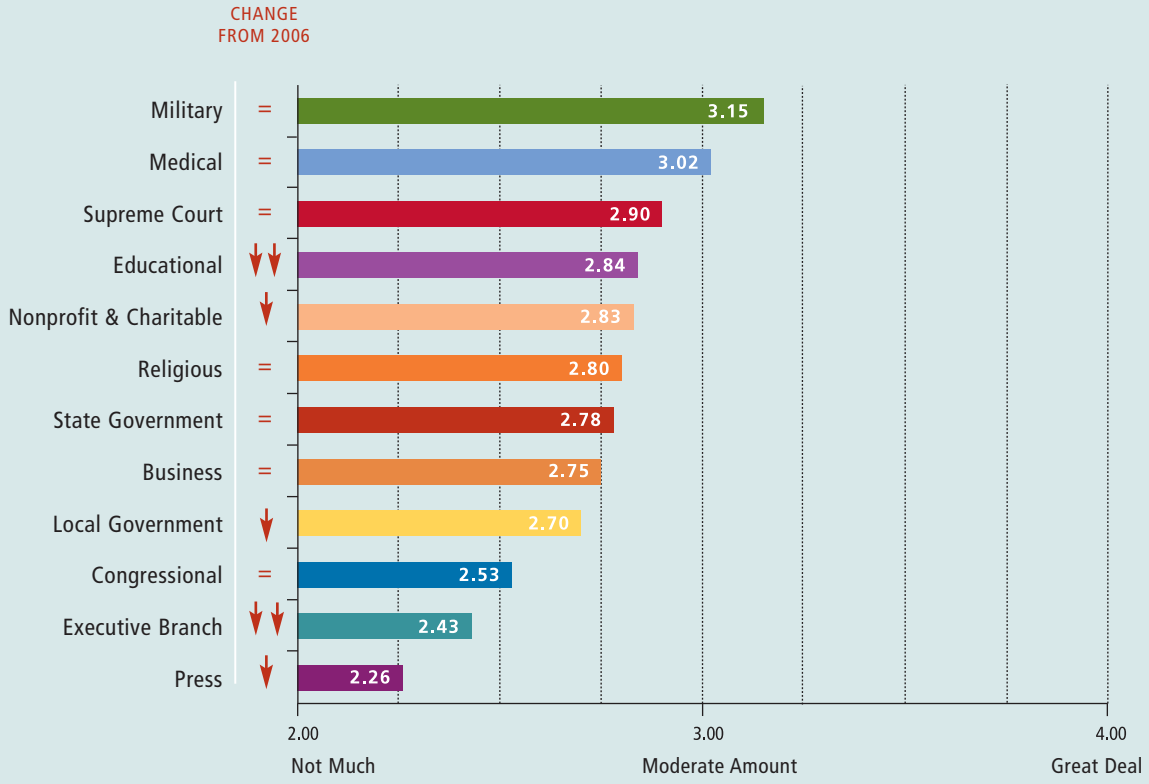
- 77% of Americans** *agree* or *agree strongly* that "we have a leadership crisis in the country today"—an 8% increase from 2006***
- 79% agree that "unless we get better leaders, the U.S. will decline as a nation"—a 6% increase from 2006

*"Not Sure" responses were volunteered by survey participants
**The sample size (*N*) for all analyses included in this report is 1,207 and the margin of error is +/- 2.8%, unless otherwise noted
***All differences reported are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level unless otherwise noted

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP INDEX 2007

How much confidence do you have in the leadership of the following sectors?

Range: 1 (*none at all*) – 4 (*great deal*)



↓ indicates a statistically significant decrease from 2006

↓↓ indicates a statistically significant decrease two years in a row

= indicates no statistically significant change from 2006

Note

Please see Appendix A for further details.

Key Findings

- The only sectors of leadership in which Americans have more than a moderate amount of confidence are military and medical leadership
- For the third year in a row, military leadership inspires the most confidence and leadership in the press the least confidence
- For the second year in a row, confidence has not increased in any sector
- Confidence in the leadership of five sectors—education, nonprofits & charities, local government, the executive branch, and the press—has declined since 2006
- Leadership in two sectors—education and the executive branch—has declined for two years in a row

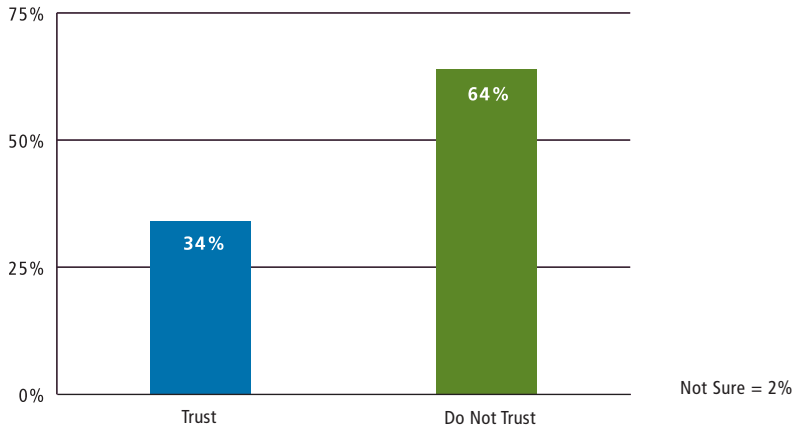
SECTION 2

MEMO TO THE PRESS

Leaders in the press have inspired less confidence than leaders in any other sector during each of the three years of the *National Leadership Index* (2005-2007). Given the central role of the news media in covering presidential politics, Americans were asked how they felt about media coverage of the 2008 campaign.

Americans distrust the news media's coverage of the 2008 presidential campaign

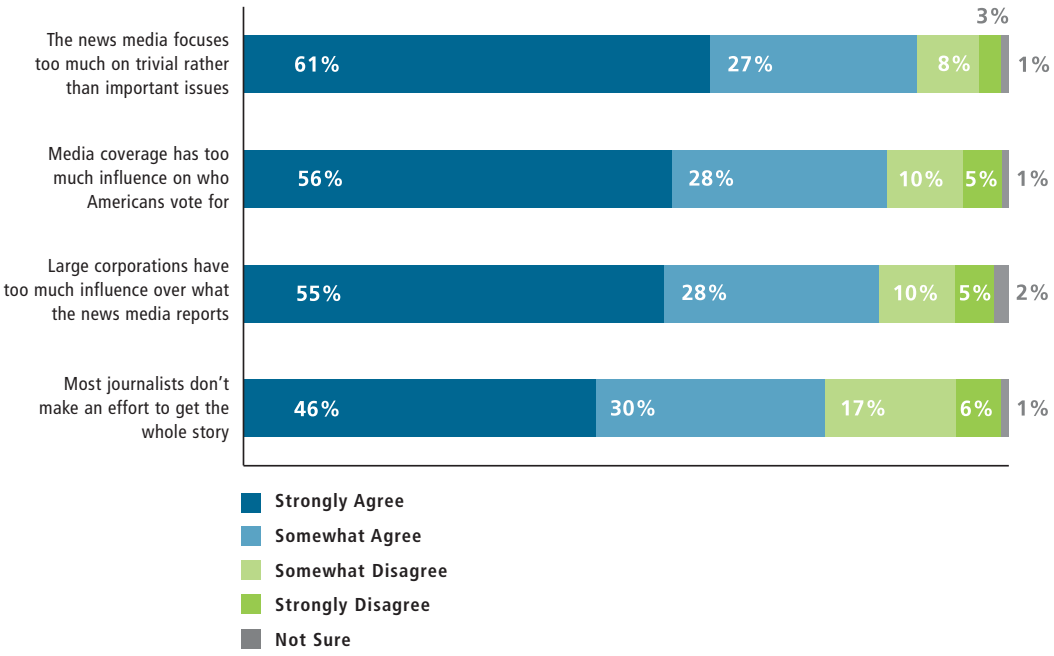
Do you generally trust or not trust the news media's coverage of the most important aspects of the presidential campaign?



64% of Americans say they do not trust the news media's campaign coverage.

Americans believe media coverage of the 2008 presidential election focuses on trivial issues and is too influential

Thinking more about the news media's coverage of presidential campaigns, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.

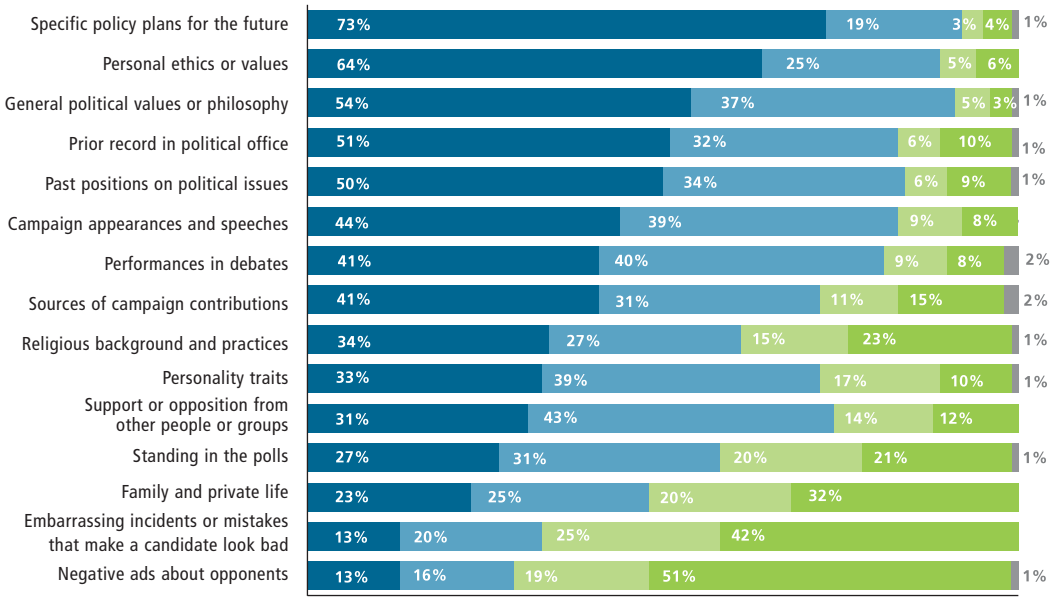


Several major aspects of the media's coverage raise concerns:

- 88% *somewhat* or *strongly agree* that the news media focuses too much on trivial rather than important issues
- 84% believe the news media has too much influence on voters' decisions
- 83% believe that large corporations have too much influence over what information the news media reports during the campaign

Americans want 2008 campaign coverage to focus on candidates' policies, ethics, values, and political philosophies…

Think about the type of information that the news media provides or could provide in helping you decide who to vote for in the 2008 presidential election. How important is it to you that the news media provides information about candidates'…?



N = 605, Margin of Error +/- 4.0%

- **Very Important**
- **Somewhat Important**
- **Not Very Important**
- **Not At All important**
- **Not Sure**

Americans believe that the news media does not provide enough coverage of the most important information about the candidates and provides too much coverage of the least important information. In fact, the more important the American people believe an area of press coverage is, the less they say the press is providing coverage of it. In contrast, the less important they believe an area of coverage is, the more they believe they are seeing too much of it.

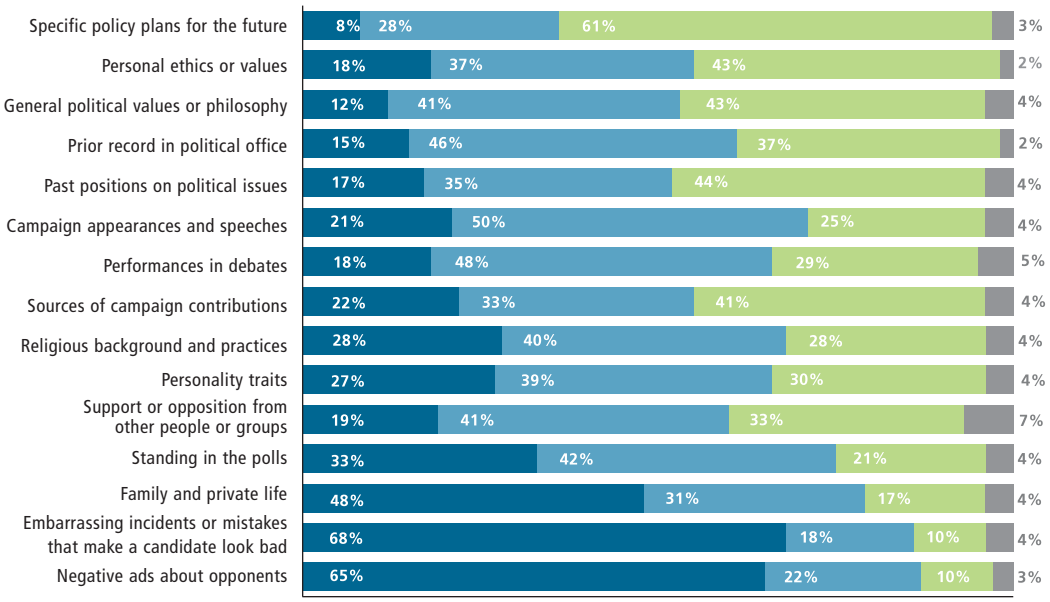
Americans say that what they want most, but are getting least, from news media coverage of the election is substantive information about what the candidates stand for. For instance:

- 92% say that it is *somewhat* or *very important* that the news media provide information on candidates' specific policy plans
  - –but 61% believe that the news media is not providing enough coverage of policy plans
- 89% say that information on candidates' personal ethics or values is *somewhat* or *very important*
  - –but 43% say that the news media is not providing enough coverage of candidates' ethics and values

More than 40% of Americans also believe that the news media does not provide enough coverage of candidates' general political values or philosophy, past positions on political issues, and sources of campaign contributions.

…Yet they believe that the news media is providing too little coverage of these important campaign issues

Think about the type of information that the news media provides or could provide in helping you decide who to vote for in the 2008 presidential election. Do you think the news media is providing too much, not enough, or about the right amount of information about candidates'...?



N = 602, Margin of Error +/- 4.0%

Americans say they are getting too much coverage of the campaign topics they are least interested in, such as candidates' personal lives, negative ads, and "gotcha'" moments. For instance:

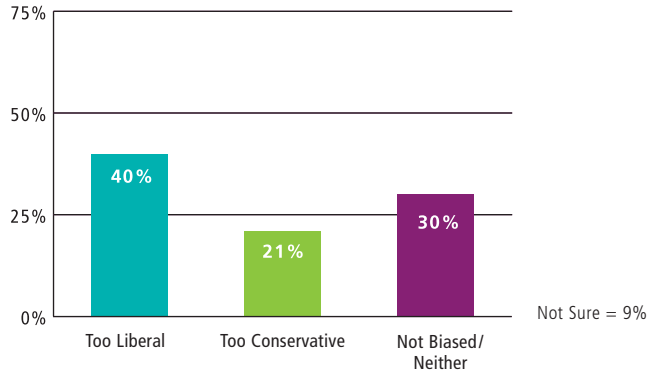
- 70% say that coverage of negative ads is *not very* or *not at all important*
  - –but 65% say the news media is providing too much coverage of negative ads
- 67% say that coverage of embarrassing incidents or mistakes that make a candidate look bad is *not very* or *not at all important*
  - –but 68% say the news media is providing too much coverage of embarrassing incidents and mistakes
- 52% say that coverage of candidates' family and private lives is *not very* or *not at all important*
  - –but 48% say the news media is providing too much coverage of candidates' family and private lives

Note

To ensure that answers to questions about the importance of various types of campaign coverage did not bias answers to questions about the frequency of those types of coverage, respondents were asked about only one or the other of those two topics. Half of the respondents received questions about importance, and the other half received questions about frequency.

Americans believe media coverage of the 2008 presidential election is politically biased

Do you think that the press coverage of the election is politically biased? If yes, do you think it is too liberal or too conservative?

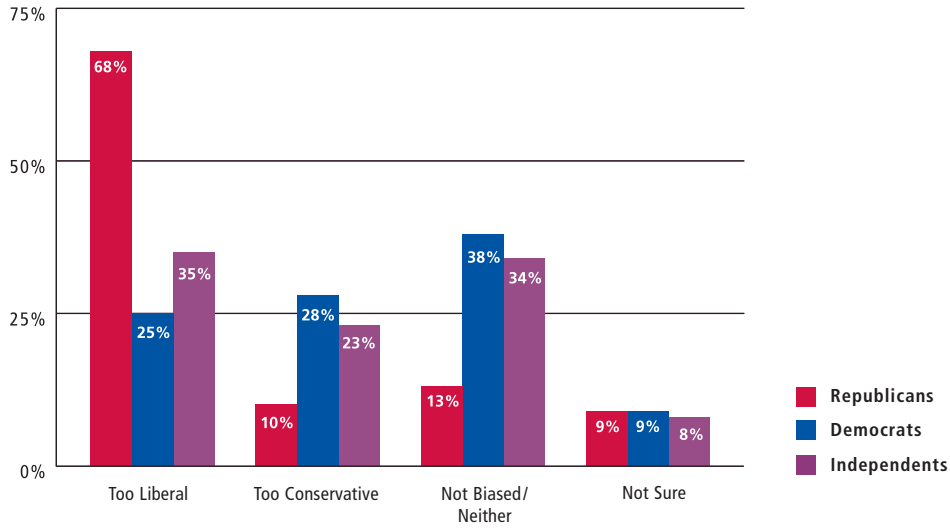


61% of Americans believe the news media's election coverage is politically biased:

- 40% believe the media is too liberal
- 21% believe the media is too conservative

Only 30% believe that media coverage of the campaign is not biased in a liberal or conservative direction.

Perceptions of media bias are strongly tied to party affiliation



Republicans (N = 318), Margin of Error +/- 5.5%; Democrats (N = 427), Margin of Error +/- 4.7%; Independents (N = 398), Margin of Error +/- 4.9%

Republicans have the strongest attitudes—68% believe that the press is too liberal.

Independents and Democrats are more ambivalent:

- 34% of Independents believe that the press is not politically biased, and 35% believe that it is too liberal
- Democrats are the most likely to believe that the press is not politically biased (38%), and are statistically equally likely to believe that the press is too conservative (28%) or too liberal (25%)

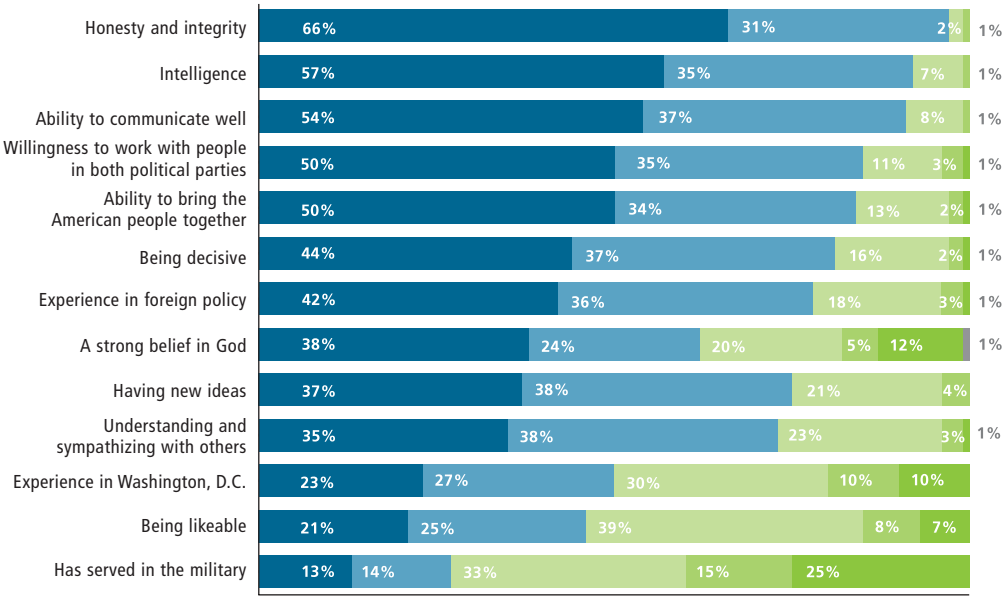
SECTION 3

THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP TRAITS

Americans agree that the next president should possess honesty and integrity, intelligence, and the ability to communicate well…

What leadership traits do you think the next president should have? Please tell me whether you think that each of the following traits is extremely important for the next president to have, very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not important at all.



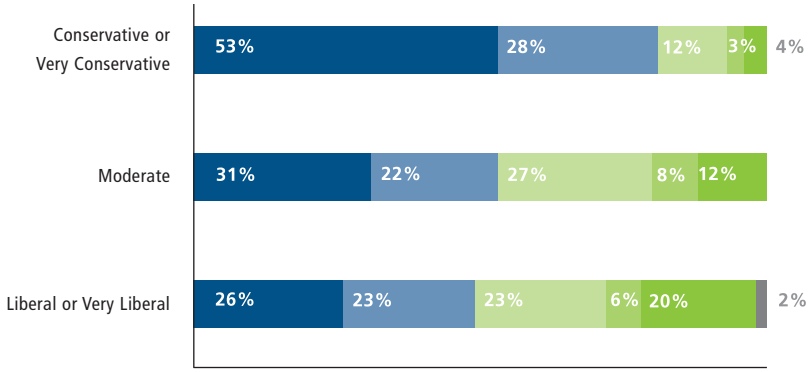
- **Extremely Important**
- **Very Important**
- **Moderately Important**
- **Slightly Important**
- **Not At All Important**
- **Not Sure**

At least 50% of Americans identified the following as *extremely important* leadership traits for the next president to possess:

- Honesty and integrity
- Intelligence
- Ability to communicate well
- Willingness to work with people in both political parties
- Ability to bring the American people together

Despite their differences, liberals, moderates, and conservatives express a strong level of consistency in the relative importance they place on the different presidential leadership traits. For instance, all three groups agree that honesty and integrity, intelligence, and the ability to communicate well are the three most important leadership traits for the next president to have. They also agree that experience in Washington, D.C., likeability, and military service are the least important presidential leadership traits.

…However, more conservatives than moderates or liberals believe that the next president should have a strong belief in God



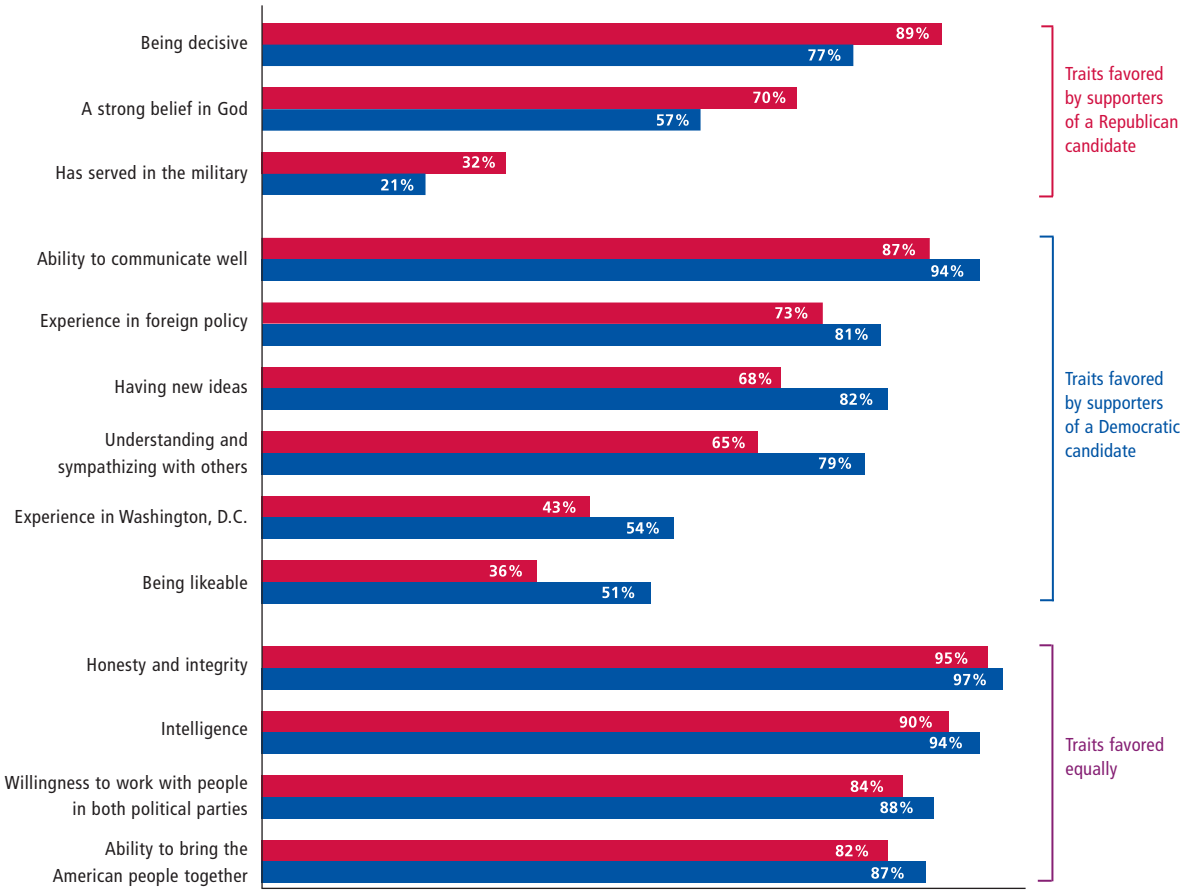
Conservative or Very Conservative (N = 388), Margin of Error +/- 5.0%; Moderate (N = 438), Margin of Error +/- 4.7%; Liberal or Very Liberal (N = 330), Margin of Error +/- 5.4%

- **Extremely Important**
- **Very Important**
- **Moderately Important**
- **Slightly Important**
- **Not At All Important**
- **Not Sure**

Attitudes about how important it is for the next president to have "a strong belief in God" differ more across the political spectrum than do attitudes about any other trait.

- 81% of conservatives say a strong belief in God is *extremely* or *very important* in the next president
- 53% of moderates and 49% of liberals rate a strong belief in God as *extremely* or *very important*

Supporters of Republican and Democratic candidates differ in how they value some presidential leadership traits



Percent who say each trait is extremely or very important. Favors a Republican Candidate (N = 359); Favors a Democratic Candidate (N = 604)

Favors a Republican Candidate

Favors a Democratic Candidate

When supporters of a Republican candidate are compared with supporters of a Democratic candidate (see Appendix B), other differences in the importance of leadership traits emerge.

Americans who support a Republican candidate place a greater value on:

- Decisiveness
- A strong belief in God
- Experience in the military

Americans who support a Democratic candidate place a greater value on:

- Ability to communicate well
- Experience in foreign policy
- Having new ideas
- Understanding and sympathizing with others
- Experience in Washington, D.C.
- Being likeable

Americans value honesty and integrity, intelligence, willingness to work with people in both political parties, and ability to bring the American people together equally regardless of the party affiliation of the candidate they support.

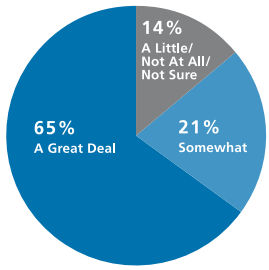
Note

Differences reported are statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level.

ELECTION OUTLOOK

Americans believe the 2008 election matters…

How much does it matter to you personally which candidate becomes president in 2008?

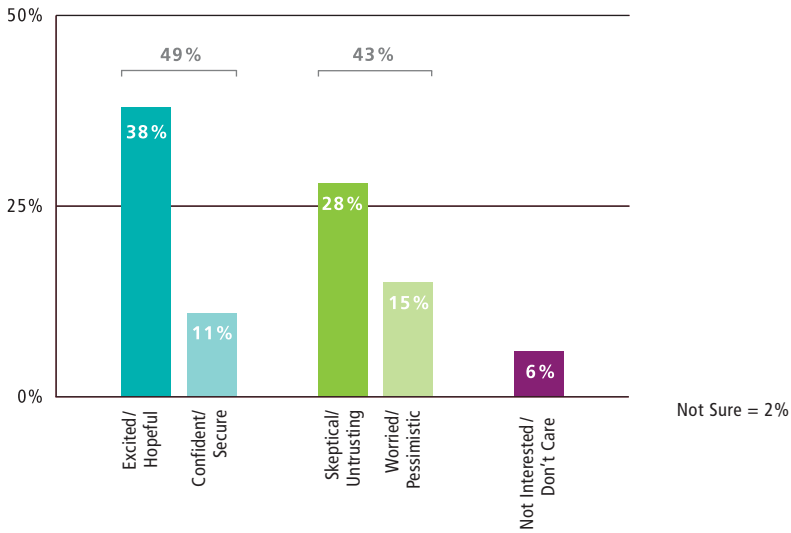


Americans believe that the 2008 election is important.

- 65% say that it matters a *great deal* to them personally which candidate becomes president in 2008
- Only 14% say that it matters a *little*, *not at all*, or that they're *not sure*

…But they have mixed feelings about the election

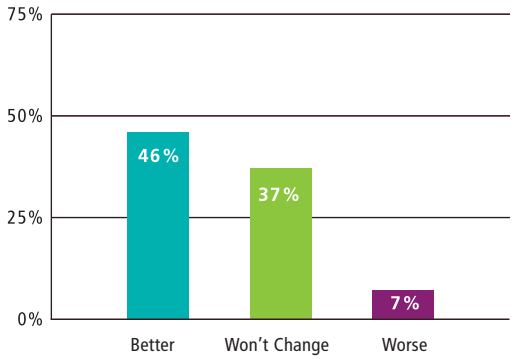
Which of the following best describes your feelings about the 2008 election?



- 49% of Americans have positive feelings about the election, saying that they are *excited/hopeful* or *confident/secure*
- 43% have negative feelings, saying that they are *skeptical/untrusting* or *worried/pessimistic*

Nearly half of the American people believe things will be better after the 2008 election

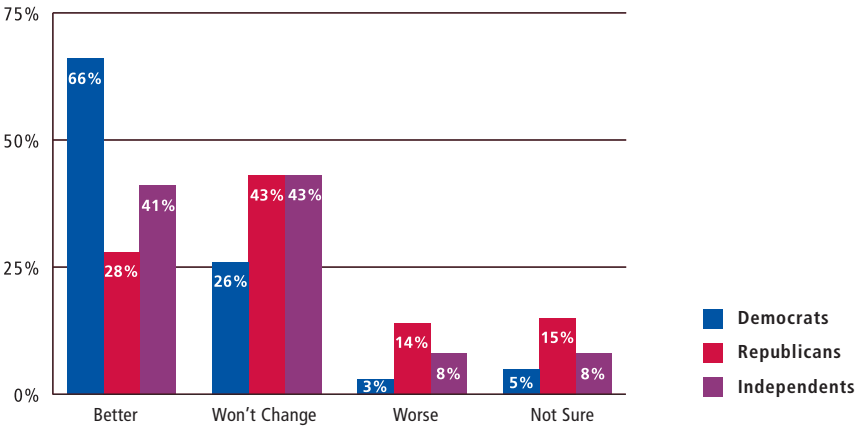
American voters will be picking a new president in November, 2008. Do you think things will be better after the 2008 election, worse after the election, or that things won't change?



- 46% believe that things will be better after the election
- 37% say that things won't change
- Only 7% believe things will be worse

Not Sure = 10%

Democrats are the most likely to believe that things will improve in the country after the 2008 election



Democrats (N = 427), Margin of Error +/- 4.7%; Republicans (N = 318), Margin of Error +/- 5.5%; Independents (N = 398), Margin of Error +/- 4.9%

Americans' assessments of whether things will be better, be worse, or stay the same after the 2008 election is related to which political party they belong to.

- 66% of Democrats expect things to be better, and only 3% say things will be worse
- 43% of Republicans think that things won't change, 28% think that things will be better, and 14% expect that things will be worse
- Independents are approximately evenly split between believing that things will be better and won't change

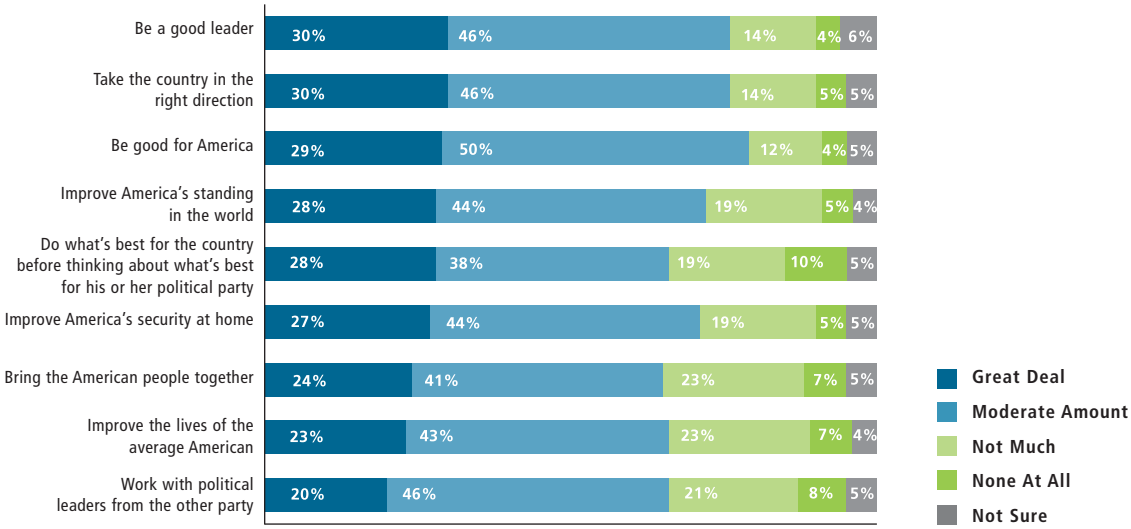
Note

Democrats' higher expectations compared with Republicans' are not attributable to Republicans' relative positive assessments of the current condition of the country. Specifically, higher expectations cannot be attributed to differences between Democrats' and Republicans' attitudes about whether the country is moving in a positive or negative direction, general optimism or pessimism about the country's future, confidence in the country's leaders overall, confidence in the Executive Branch, or approval or disapproval of President Bush.

CONFIDENCE IN THE AMERICAN VOTER

Americans are confident that voters will choose a good president

How much confidence do you have that the president the American voters elect in 2008 will:



Even with their mixed feelings about the election, more than 75% of Americans have a *great deal* or *moderate amount* of confidence that the voters will choose a president who will be a good leader, take the country in the right direction, and be good for America.

Americans are confident that the voters will pick a good president, regardless of whether they expect a Democrat or a Republican to win

Whether they believe voters will choose a Democrat or Republican as the next president (see Appendix C), Americans are equally confident that the next president will:

- Be a good leader
- Take the country in the right direction
- Be good for America
- Improve America's security at home
- Bring the American people together
- Work with political leaders from the other party

Americans who believe a Democrat will win have higher confidence that the next president will:

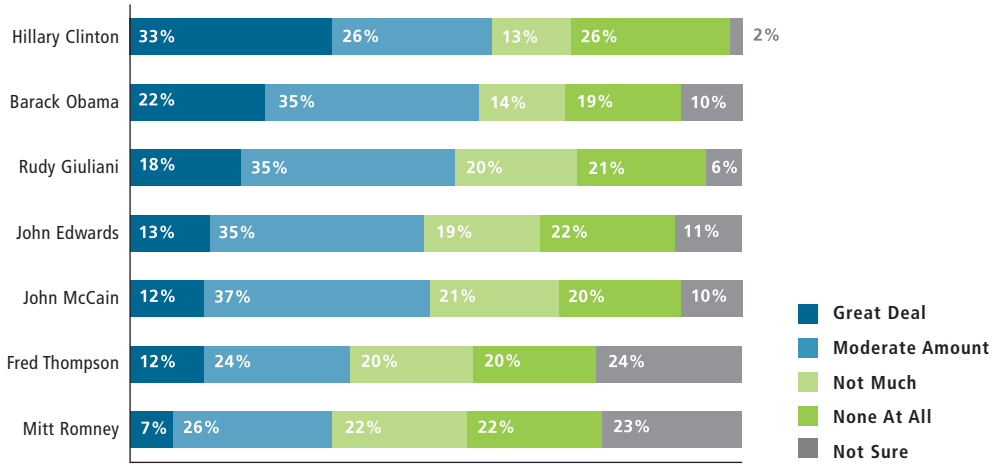
- Do what's best for the country before thinking about what's best for his or her political party
- Improve America's standing in the world
- Improve the lives of average Americans

Those who believe a Republican will win do not have higher confidence about the next president's performance in any of these areas.

CONFIDENCE IN THE CANDIDATES

The American public has the most confidence in Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and Rudy Giuliani

How much confidence do you have that … would be a good president—a great deal, a moderate amount, not much, or none at all?

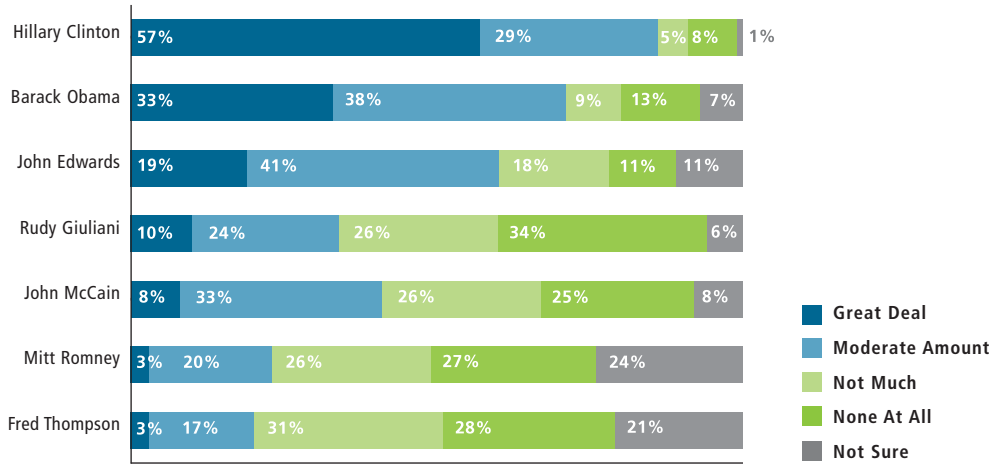


- More than half of the American public has a *great deal* or *moderate amount* of confidence that Hillary Clinton (59%), Barack Obama (57%), and Rudy Giuliani (53%) would be good presidents
- Approximately half of the American public also has confidence in John McCain (49%) and John Edwards (48%)

More Americans have made up their minds about whether Hillary Clinton would or would not be a good president than about any other candidate:

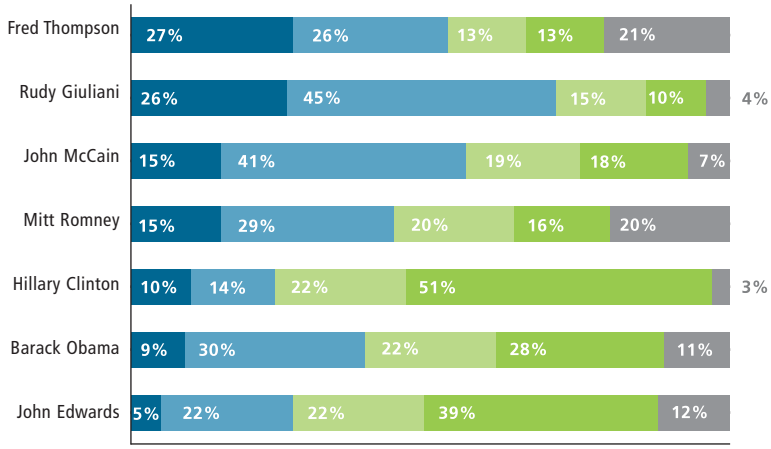
- Only 2% of Americans say that they *don't know* whether she would be a good president
- 33% of Americans say they have a *great deal* of confidence that she would be a good president—more than for any other candidate
- However, 26% give her a *none at all* confidence rating—also more than for any other candidate

Democrats have the most confidence in Hillary Clinton



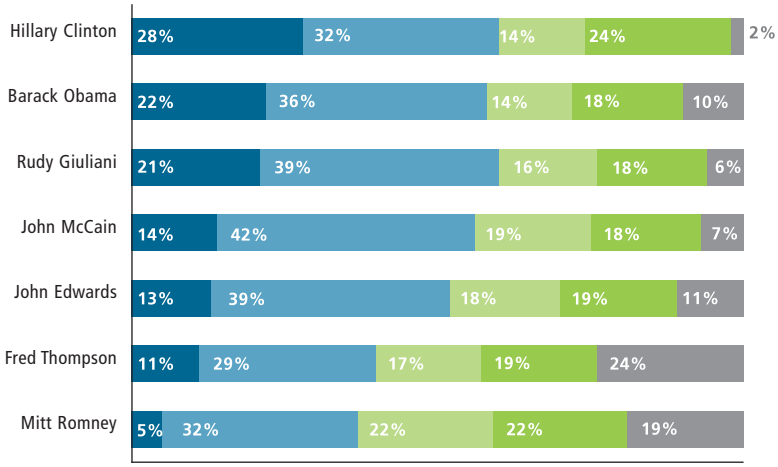
N = 427, Margin of Error +/- 4.7%

Republicans have the most confidence in Rudy Giuliani and Fred Thompson



N = 318, Margin of Error +/- 5.5%

Independents have confidence in several Democratic and Republican candidates



N = 398, Margin of Error +/- 4.9%

Summary of confidence in candidates

Democrats have more confidence in Hillary Clinton than any other candidate—86% of Democrats have a *great deal* or *moderate amount* of confidence that she would be a good president. The top Republican among Democrats is Rudy Giuliani, with 34% of Democrats saying they have a *great deal* or *moderate amount* of confidence that he would be a good president.

Among Republicans, Fred Thompson and Rudy Giuliani are in a statistical tie when considering ratings of a *great deal* of confidence. However, when *great deal* and *moderate amount* ratings are combined, Rudy Giuliani receives higher confidence ratings—71% of Republicans have a *great deal* or *moderate amount* of confidence that he would be a good president. The top Democrat among Republicans is Barack Obama, with 39% of Republicans saying they have a *great deal* or *moderate amount* of confidence that he would be a good president.

Independents give Hillary Clinton the highest percentage of *great deal* of confidence ratings at 28%. When *great deal* and *moderate amount* of confidence ratings are combined, Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Rudy Giuliani, and John McCain elicit a statistically equivalent amount of confidence.

More Democrats than Republicans have confidence that their party's candidates would be good presidents

DEMOCRATS

	% with confidence
Hillary Clinton	86%
Barack Obama	71%
John Edwards	60%

REPUBLICANS

	% with confidence
Rudy Giuliani	71%
John McCain	56%
Fred Thompson	52%
Mitt Romney	44%

% = great deal or moderate amount of confidence

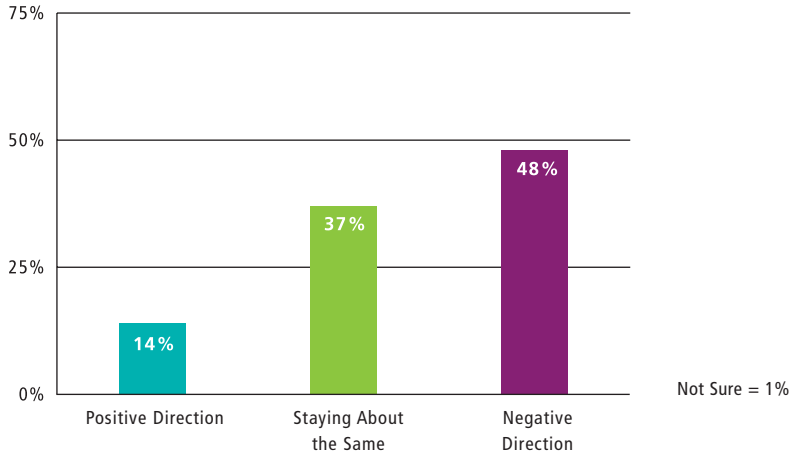
Comparing Democrats and Republicans side-by-side, Democrats have, on average, more confidence that their top candidates would be good presidents.

SECTION 4

AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

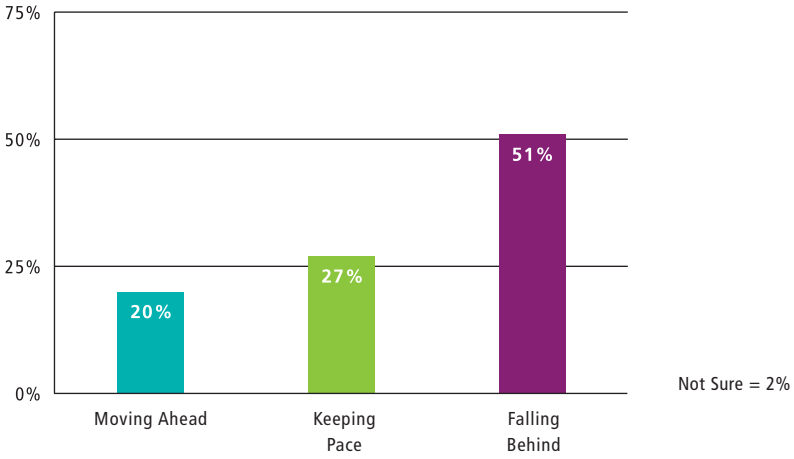
Many Americans think the country is moving in the wrong direction

In general, do you think that the country is moving in a positive direction, a negative direction, or staying about the same?



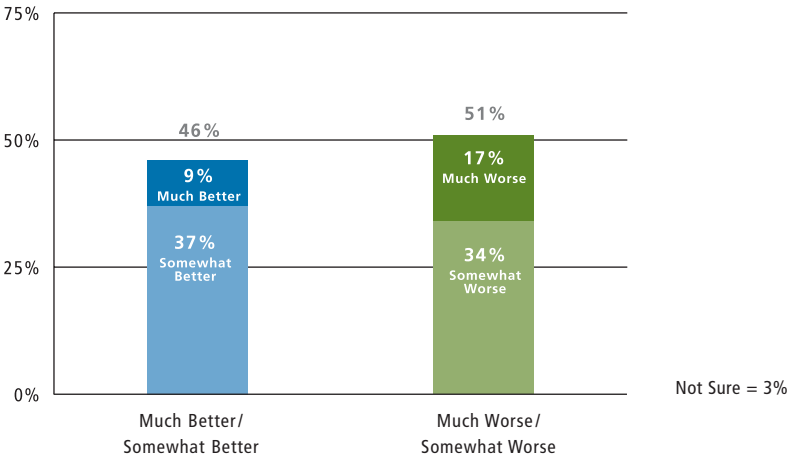
48% of Americans believe the country is moving in a negative direction, but only 14% believe the country is moving in a positive direction.

Do you think the United States is moving ahead of other nations, keeping pace with other nations, or falling behind?



51% believe the U.S. is falling behind other nations, 27% think we are keeping pace, and only 20% believe we are moving ahead.

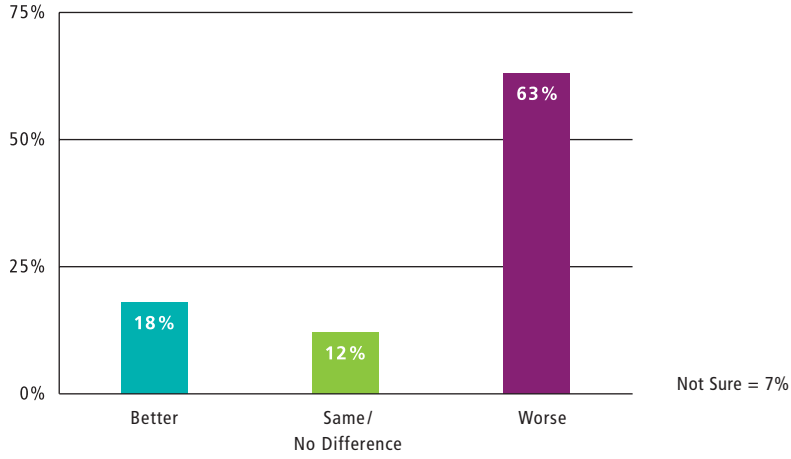
Do you think the quality of life for the next generation will be much better than your own, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?



51% of Americans believe that the quality of life for future generations will be worse than their own.

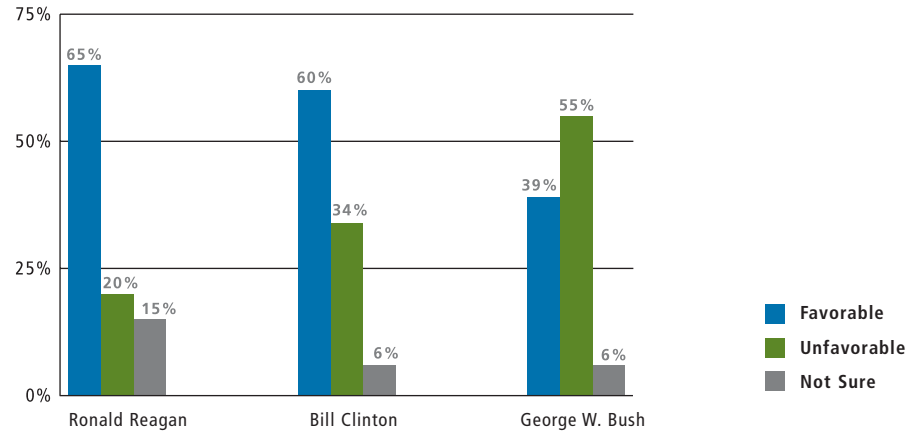
Americans think current leaders are not as good as leaders in the past

Compared to 20 years ago, do you think we have better leaders today or worse leaders today?



63% of Americans believe that we have worse leaders today than we did 20 years ago, but only 18% believe that today's leaders are better.

Would you say that you have generally favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward…?



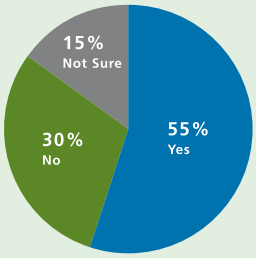
Americans give higher favorability ratings to recent presidents than to the current president.

- Ronald Reagan: 65% favorable
- Bill Clinton: 60% favorable
- George W. Bush: 39% favorable

WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP

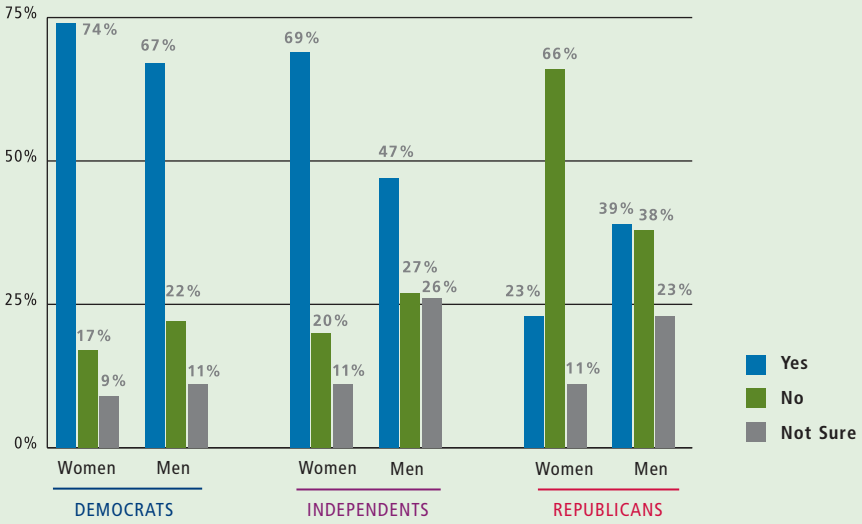
The majority of Americans believe that the country would be better off with more female leaders

Do you think this country would be better off if there were more women in leadership positions, or don't you feel that way?



55% of Americans say that the country would be better off if there were more women in leadership positions.

Republican women are the least likely to believe that the country would be better off with more women in leadership positions



As was the case when this question was asked in 2005, Republican women were statistically less likely than all other groups to say that the country would be better off with more women in leadership positions.

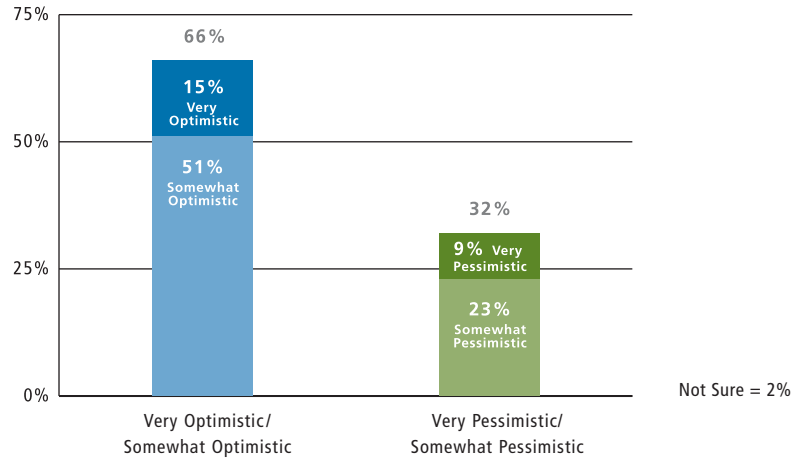
- Only 23% of Republican women think that the country would be better off with more women in leadership positions
  - –66% do *not* think the country would be better off
- In contrast, 74% of Democratic women think that the country *would* be better off with more women in leadership positions

Note

The discrepancy between Republican and Democratic women's attitudes regarding more women in leadership positions is not attributable to the differences in their attitudes toward Hillary Clinton.

Americans are optimistic about the future and future leaders

How optimistic or pessimistic are you about the country's future?

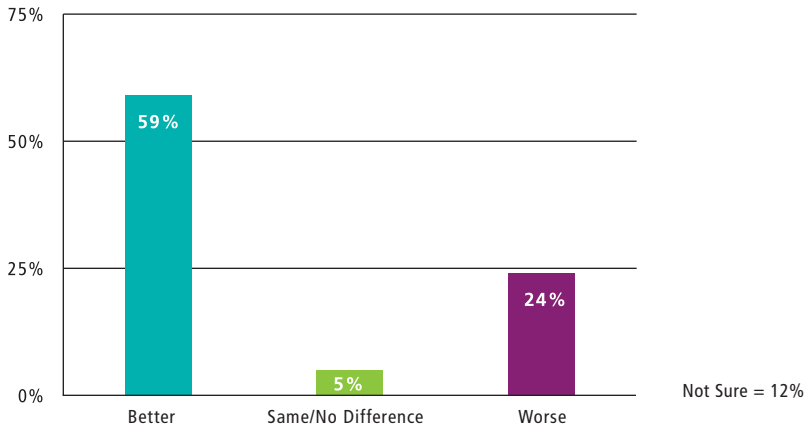


Although Americans are concerned that the U.S. will decline as a nation unless we get better leaders, 66% are *somewhat* or *very optimistic* about the country's future.

Younger and older Americans are the most optimistic:

- 70% of those 18-34, and 69% of those 65 and older, express optimism about the country's future
- 65% of Americans 35-49 express optimism
- The least optimistic are those 50-64, with 58% expressing optimism

Compared to today, do you think that 20 years in the future we will have better leaders or worse leaders?



59% of Americans believe that we will have better leaders in 20 years than we do today.

ABOUT THE STUDY

The National Study of Confidence in Leadership is a social science research program examining the attitudes of the American public toward the nation's leadership. The study includes the *National Leadership Index 2007* (NLI), a multidimensional measure of the public's confidence in leadership within different sectors of society.

Launched in 2005, in collaboration with *U.S.News & World Report* and Yankelovich, Inc., the National Study of Confidence in Leadership brings new insights to our understanding of the public's confidence in America's leadership.

For more details on the long-term scope, goals, and contributions of the study and index, please see the *National Leadership Index 2005* (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, Welle, & Montoya, 2005), and the *National Leadership Index 2006* (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, Bacon, Montoya & Zhu, 2006). Both reports are available at the project website:

http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/leadership/nli

METHODS

Survey results were obtained through telephone interviews of a representative sample of adults (18 years of age or older) in the continental United States. Study data were collected by TSC, a division of Yankelovich, Inc.

A total of 1,207 respondents were interviewed. Random-digit dialing was used to ensure that individuals with unlisted numbers as well as listed numbers would be included in the study. U.S. Census data were used to weight key demographic dimensions to ensure that the sample was representative of the adult population.

The interviews were conducted from September 4–17, 2007. Calls were made weeknights from 5:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m. and Saturdays and Sundays from noon–6:00 p.m. in each local time zone. The response rate was 23%.

Table 1.1: Personal Characteristics		FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Gender	Male	584	48.38
	Female	623	51.62
	Total	1207	100.00
Age	18–24	133	11.02
	25–34	237	19.64
	35–49	361	29.91
	50–64	281	23.28
	65 & over	195	16.16
	Total	1207	100.00
Race/Ethnicity	White	889	73.65
	Black	147	12.18
	Asian	19	1.57
	Hispanic/Latino	77	6.38
	Other	56	4.64
	Refused	19	1.57
	Total	1207	100.00
Marital Status	Married	671	55.59
	Single, never married	269	22.29
	Divorced/Separated	155	12.84
	Widowed	71	5.88
	Living with a partner	33	2.73
	Refused	8	0.66
	Total	1207	100.00

Table 1.2: Socioeconomic Position		FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Education	8th grade or less	34	2.82
	Some high school	150	12.43
	High school graduate	379	31.40
	Some college	330	27.34
	College graduate	184	15.24
	Postgraduate study	122	10.11
	Refused	8	0.66
	Total	1207	100.00
Employment Status	Employed full-time	534	44.24
	Employed part-time	96	7.95
	Self-employed	88	7.29
	Student	42	3.48
	Retired	260	21.54
	Homemaker	99	8.20
	Unemployed	80	6.63
	Refused	8	0.66
	Total	1207	100.00
Income	Less than $20,000	162	13.42
	$20,000–$34,999	166	13.75
	$35,000–$49,999	154	12.76
	$50,000–$74,999	212	17.56
	$75,000–$99,999	141	11.68
	$100,000–$124,999	109	9.03
	$125,000–$149,999	41	3.40
	$150,000 or above	81	6.71
	Refused	142	11.76
	Total	1207	100.00

Telephone interviews were conducted with a random sample of 1,207 adults.

The tables present the weighted characteristics of the survey sample. Data presented in the tables may not sum to the totals due to rounding of weighted statistics.

Table 1.3: Geographic Location		FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Region	Northeast	228	18.89
	Midwest	270	22.37
	South	439	36.37
	West	269	22.29
	Total	1207	100.00
Community	A big city	257	21.29
	A small city	256	21.21
	A suburb	232	19.22
	A small town	259	21.46
	A rural area	191	15.82
	Refused	11	0.91
	Total	1207	100.00

Table 1.4: Civic/Communal Values		FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Political Affiliation	Democrat	427	35.38
	Republican	318	26.35
	Independent	398	32.97
	Other	27	2.24
	Not Sure	20	1.66
	Refused	18	1.49
	Total	1207	100.00
Political Orientation	Very liberal	67	5.55
	Liberal	263	21.79
	Moderate	438	36.29
	Conservative	253	20.96
	Very conservative	136	11.27
	Other	3	0.25
	Not Sure	36	2.98
	Refused	11	0.91
	Total	1207	100.00
Importance of Organized Religion	Very important	562	46.56
	Somewhat important	335	27.75
	Not very important	143	11.85
	Not important at all	158	13.09
	Refused	1	0.08
	Total	1207	100.00
Religion	Catholic	295	24.44
	Protestant	722	59.82
	Jewish	17	1.41
	Muslim	12	0.99
	Not religious	79	6.55
	Other (Specify)	55	4.56
	Not Sure	7	0.58
	Refused	21	1.74
	Total	1207	100.00
Born-Again/ Evangelical	Yes	486	40.27
	No, I am neither	658	54.52
	Not Sure	22	1.82
	Refused	42	3.48
	Total	1207	100.00

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Changes In Confidence By Sector (Alphabetical)

	2005 Mean (*SD*)	2006 Mean (*SD*)	2007 Mean (*SD*)	Mean change (2006-2007)	Cohen's *d* (2006-2007)
Business	2.78 (0.78)	2.70 (0.78)	2.75 (0.76)	0.05	0.06
Congressional	2.66 (1.12)	2.55 (1.09)	2.53 (0.86)	-0.02	-0.02
Educational	2.98 (0.82)	2.92 (0.84)	2.84 (0.85)	-0.08	-0.09*
Executive Branch	2.64 (1.12)	2.54 (1.09)	2.43 (1.08)	-0.11	-0.10*
Local Government	2.78 (0.85)	2.83 (0.83)	2.70 (0.89)	-0.13	-0.15*
Medical	3.11 (0.73)	3.08 (0.77)	3.02 (0.80)	-0.06	-0.08
Military	3.21 (0.82)	3.18 (0.85)	3.15 (0.87)	-0.03	-0.03
Nonprofit & Charitable	2.94 (0.82)	2.93 (0.84)	2.83 (0.78)	-0.10	-0.12*
Press	2.39 (0.92)	2.38 (0.90)	2.26 (0.92)	-0.12	-0.13*
Religious	2.94 (0.89)	2.86 (0.92)	2.80 (0.91)	-0.06	-0.07
State Government	2.71 (0.89)	2.75 (0.89)	2.78 (0.87)	0.03	0.03
Supreme Court	2.91 (0.86)	2.90 (0.86)	2.90 (0.84)	0.00	0.00

Notes

- For 2005, $N = 1{,}374$; for 2006, $N = 1{,}604$; for 2007, $N = 1{,}207$
- Asterisk (*) indicates a statistically significant change at the $p < .05$ level
- Cohen's *d* provides a standardized estimate of the magnitude of the difference in means (effect size), which is calculated by dividing the difference in means by the pooled standard deviation

Appendix B

Who would you most like to become the next president [names read in random order]: Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, Rudy Giuliani, Al Gore, John McCain, Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, or Fred Thompson?

OVERALL	%	DEMOCRATS	%	REPUBLICANS	%	INDEPENDENTS	%
N = 1,207; Margin of Error = +/- 2.8%		*N* = 427; Margin of Error = +/- 4.7%		*N* = 318; Margin of Error = +/- 5.5%		*N* = 398; Margin of Error = +/- 4.9%	
Hillary Clinton	26	Hillary Clinton	44	Fred Thompson	26	Hillary Clinton	23
Don't Know	17	Barack Obama	22	Don't Know	19	Don't Know	20
Barack Obama	14	Don't Know	10	Rudy Giuliani	17	Barack Obama	12
Fred Thompson	11	Al Gore	8	Mitt Romney	11	Rudy Giuliani	9
Rudy Giuliani	9	John Edwards	7	John McCain	9	Fred Thompson	9
John McCain	6	Rudy Giuliani	3	Hillary Clinton	7	John McCain	9
Al Gore	5	John McCain	2	Barack Obama	4	Al Gore	6
John Edwards	5	Fred Thompson	2	John Edwards	3	John Edwards	5
Mitt Romney	4	Mitt Romney	1	Other	3	Other	5
Other	3	Other	1	Al Gore	1	Mitt Romney	2

Note

"Don't Know" and "Other" responses were volunteered by survey participants.

Appendix C

Who do you believe the American voters will choose as the next president in November, 2008 [names read in random order]: Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, Rudy Giuliani, Al Gore, John McCain, Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, or Fred Thompson?

OVERALL	%	DEMOCRATS	%	REPUBLICANS	%	INDEPENDENTS	%
N = 1,207; Margin of Error = +/- 2.8%		*N* = 427; Margin of Error = +/- 4.7%		*N* = 318; Margin of Error = +/- 5.5%		*N* = 398; Margin of Error = +/- 4.9%	
Hillary Clinton	35	Hillary Clinton	50	Hillary Clinton	20	Hillary Clinton	33
Don't Know	15	Barack Obama	15	Fred Thompson	19	Don't Know	19
Barack Obama	12	Don't Know	13	Rudy Giuliani	15	Rudy Giuliani	13
Rudy Giuliani	10	Al Gore	6	Don't Know	15	Barack Obama	10
Fred Thompson	8	John Edwards	5	Barack Obama	9	Fred Thompson	5
John McCain	5	Rudy Giuliani	4	John McCain	8	Al Gore	5
Al Gore	5	John McCain	4	Mitt Romney	7	John Edwards	5
John Edwards	5	Fred Thompson	2	John Edwards	4	John McCain	4
Mitt Romney	3	Mitt Romney	1	Al Gore	2	Mitt Romney	3
Other	2	Other	0	Other	1	Other	3

Note

"Don't Know" and "Other" responses were volunteered by survey participants.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Study Authors

Seth A. Rosenthal, Ph.D.
Lead Author, Co-Investigator
Research Fellow & Project Manager,
Center for Public Leadership

Todd L. Pittinsky, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
Research Director, Center for Public Leadership
Associate Professor of Public Policy,
John F. Kennedy School of Government

Diane M. Purvin, Ph.D.
Post-Doctoral Fellow,
Wellesley Centers for Women

R. Matthew Montoya, Ph.D.
Post-Doctoral Fellow,
Center for Public Leadership

Study Staff

Owen Andrews
Editor

Laura A. Maruskin
Editorial Assistant

Max Ritvo
Research Assistant

Ciano Design
Design

U.S.News & World Report
We gratefully acknowledge the collaboration of the weekly national news magazine *U.S.News & World Report* in partnering with us to create the third *National Leadership Index*. In particular, we thank Bill Holiber, Brian Kelly, Lee Wilcox, Susan Headden, Margaret Mannix, and Nancy Morrissey.

Founded in 1933, *U.S.News* is devoted to investigative journalism and reporting and to analyzing national and international affairs, politics, business, health, science, technology, and social trends. Through its annual rankings of *America's Best Colleges*, *America's Best Graduate Schools*, and *America's Best Hospitals*, as well as its *News You Can Use* brand, *U.S.News* has earned a reputation as the leading provider of service news and information that improves the quality of life of its readers.

Yankelovich, Inc.
We are indebted to Hal Quinley, Ph.D., and Valrie Horton of Yankelovich, Inc., for their work and collaboration on the project.

Yankelovich, Inc., delivers measurable breakthroughs in marketing productivity for its clients. For more than 30 years, the Yankelovich MONITOR has tracked and forecasted consumer value and lifestyle trends. The Segmentation Company (TSC), a division of Yankelovich, is a full-service custom research division conducting research for business, the media, associations, and government.

The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, & Public Policy
We thank the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, & Public Policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government for their generous financial support, which enabled production of the *Memo to the Press* section of this report.

The Joan Shorenstein Center is a Harvard University research center dedicated to exploring and illuminating the intersection of press, politics, and public policy in theory and practice. The Center strives to bridge the gap between journalists and scholars, and between them and the public.

Center for Public Leadership
We thank colleagues at the Center—Barbara Kellerman, Ph.D., Jennifer Ratcliff, Ph.D., Laura Bacon, Loren Gary, Jeremy Haber, Katie Koopman, and Stefanie Simon—for their valuable input. We also thank Rod Kramer, Ph.D., and Margaret Shih, Ph.D.

ABOUT THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC LEADERSHIP

The Center for Public Leadership at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government opened its doors in 2000 with a generous gift from the Wexner Foundation. Our mission is two-fold: to help develop a new generation of public leaders for the common good and to advance the frontiers of knowledge about leadership.

We define public leadership broadly: the acts, large and small, of individuals and groups as they tackle challenges facing a community or society. Through research, teaching, and extracurricular programs, we seek to support the growth of leaders in every sector, including activists bringing social problems forward and promoting peace and better feelings between divided groups, political leaders crafting better policy, educators raising achievement levels in challenging environments, public health workers tackling the world's profound health care challenges, business entrepreneurs creating new ways for marginalized peoples to launch successful enterprises, and artists engaging with social dilemmas through their work.

To develop the next generation of leaders, we have opened up learning opportunities within Harvard classrooms and beyond. The Center believes tomorrow's effective leaders must be able to work across boundaries—of disciplines, organizations, communities, and countries. We help students gain a broad and sophisticated perspective on social challenges and build skills for leadership work across boundaries through a growing array of programs and events. For example, the Center:

- Oversees four fellowship programs, serving a total of 75 graduate students pursuing careers in public service, which provide financial support, an intensive cocurricular program, and an engaging and informal academic and social "home" for the fellows
- Collaborates with the Kennedy School on a partnership with the World Economic Forum to launch twice-yearly executive education programs at Harvard for the Forum's Young Global Leaders
- Organizes study groups, workshops, and presentations—reaching up to 60% of Kennedy School students—that help them become better leaders by deepening their self-understanding and interpersonal awareness

To advance the frontiers of knowledge about leadership, we are home to a core group of Kennedy School faculty whose research and teaching is creating new insights into what leadership is and how it works in individuals and in society. With their guidance, the Center:

- Helps support faculty research in promising areas of leadership studies such as crisis leadership, decision-making, and allophilia (intergroup liking and love)
- Helps support the leadership research of pre-doctoral and post-doctoral fellows in several disciplines
- Hosts an annual leadership research conference to promote dialogue among scholars and launch new lines of inquiry
- Works with Harvard Business School Press on "Leadership for the Common Good," a ground-breaking series of books on leadership topics

Americans—and people across the world—are eagerly searching for new kinds of leaders in government, business, and every other key civic sector to meet the unprecedented challenges now facing society. The Center is committed to helping develop those leaders through dynamic, innovative approaches at the forefront of teaching, research, and personal and social development.

CENTER FOR PUBLIC LEADERSHIP
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
79 JFK STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138

PHONE (617) 496-8866
FAX (617) 496-3337
E-MAIL CPL@KSG.HARVARD.EDU

WWW.KSG.HARVARD.EDU/LEADERSHIP

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP INDEX 2007

A NATIONAL STUDY OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERSHIP