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"American Idol" – 65 Years of Admiration

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Abstract
Since the 1940s Gallup has, every December, asked Americans about the living man and woman they most admire. This paper documents the way in which the types of people who are admired has changed and argues that the responses to this question tells us something about the way in which society has been evolving - the 65 years of data are probably the longest consistent series on social attitudes. We argue on theoretical grounds and show using empirical analysis that admiration can be linked to trust, and specifically that admiring the president is strongly related to trust in government. Using this link we can provide information on trends in trust on a consistent basis back to the late 1940s, earlier than most other data sources. Finally, the paper investigates the link between admiration and media mentions. We show that people who receive a relatively large number of mentions in newspapers in particular year and state are also more likely to be admired by people.

Keywords: Admiration, trust
JEL codes: Z1

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1 Introduction

Almost every December since 1948, Gallup has conducted an opinion poll in which it asks an open-ended question "what man/woman that you have heard or read about, living in any part of the world, do you admire most?" The result usually forms the basis for a few news articles at the end of the year[1] . But the winner is very rarely a surprise - the male competition is almost always won by the US president and the female competition has been won by Hilary Rodham Clinton for 15 of the past 17 years and before her was mostly won by foreign female political leaders or the wife of the President or an ex-President. Table 1 gives the list of winners. But what is more interesting is that the winning share of the vote varies considerably over time and is often low - for example, in 2013 Barack Obama won with 15% of the vote and Hilary Rodham Clinton with 16% - so that most votes are going to someone other than the winner.

This chapter analyses responses to the 'most admired' question for the period 1948-2013 focusing not on the specific individuals who are named but on the type of individuals e.g. whether they are politicians, celebrities, businessmen or family/friends. There are a number of reasons why this exercise is interesting. First, the description of the way in which the responses have changed can tell us something interesting about the way social attitudes have been evolving over 65 years. Arguably this is the longest run of data on social attitudes on a consistent basis that exists. Second, we argue that there is a robust correlation between admiration and trust. Specifically, a correlation between admiring the president and trust in government[2]. Using this link we can provide evidence on trends in trust from the late 1940s, at least a decade earlier than is available from other sources. Third we investigate the link between admiration and media coverage showing there is a robust positive correlation between being admired and newspaper coverage.

[2]It is true that the level of trust in the US congress is very low, however the time series data for trust in federal government and congress track each other surprisingly well.

The chapter is structured in the following way. In the next section we describe the data and the way we categorize it. The second section documents the type of people who are admired and the trends in the types over the 60-year period. The most common type of response is current or former presidents or vice/presidents, followed by those who respond, "don't know/ no one" each receiving about a quarter of votes over the whole period. Other politicians and religious leaders each get about 10%, family and friends about 5% with the rest of the votes quite widely spread. Only a small number of respondents name someone from the world of business, entertainment or sports. In terms of trends, there is a remarkable similarity between the pattern of responses today and in the early 1950s suggesting that not much has changed. But there were large changes in the intervening period the share of votes for the president/vice-president fall (e.g. Bill Clinton won in 2000 with 7% of the vote) before recovering with the categories of dont know/ no one and other politicians rising and then falling.

While these trends are perhaps interesting in their own right, their significance is less clear. The third section summarizes the disparate literature on the nature and purpose of 'admiration', arguing that admiration reflects a good opinion of the person admired, telling us something about the types of people and actions that are thought of as praise-worthy. This suggests that we think of the nature of the responses to the 'most admired' question as a form of social capital, specifically an indicator of trust. If, for example, one says one admires the president this might suggest one trusts the government. And if one admires no one then perhaps one is less likely to trust others.

The fourth section of the chapter explores these hypotheses using a number of data sets. We use the Civic Culture data set from Almond and Verba (1963) (the only data we have been able to find containing questions on both admiration and trust) to show the links between admiring different types of people and trust, providing support for the hypothesis of a link between admiration and trust. In addition, using the General Social Survey (GSS) and the American National Election Study (ANES) we show how the characteristics that predict answers to questions on trust also predict answers to the admiration question. In particular we find that those who report that they admire the president are more likely to trust the government and those who admire no one are less likely to trust others.

The relationship between admiration of the president and trust in government also holds in the time series as well as the cross-section i.e. the year-to-year variation in the admiration of president/vice-president tracks variation in trust in government. Using this link we can argue that trust in government was high from the late 1940s but rose further during the 1950s and perhaps peaked around 1960. The admiration data gives us 10 earlier years of data on trust in government before the ANES data starts. However, we do not find a strong correlation between the year-to-year variation in the propensity to report that one admires 'don't know/no-one' and generalized distrust. We argue that this is partly the result of the way the Gallup survey responses are coded with don't know' and no-one' being only distinguished after 1977, and partly that responses to questions on generalized trust are quite variable (e.g. the ANES and GSS measures do not always show consistent trends).

The fifth section of the chapter investigates the connection between the media and admiration. We show there is a robust positive correlation between the number of votes received in the 'most admired' poll and the number of mentions in newspapers, even once one controls for person by year fixed effects and is using variation across states.

Our conclusion is that the 'most admired' data series allows us to investigate the way in which attitudes have changed over a very long period of time on a consistent basis, much longer than is common in studies of this type, so is a valuable resource for social scientists.

2 The 'Most Admired' Survey and Data

2.1 The 'Most Admired' Question

The main data used in this chapter comes from Gallup's most admired man and woman poll which has been conducted at the end of virtually every single year since 1948 and the individual data have been deposited in the Roper Centre (see, for example, Gallup, 2010). In the poll, Americans are asked, without prompting, to say what man and woman "living today in any part of the world, do they admire most?" Although the basic question has remained unchanged for 65 years, there have been some minor variations in the framing of the most admired question. Prior to 1960, respondents were asked to name the most admired man/woman, however after 1960, respondents were asked about both their most and second most admired man/woman. In 1999, the way in which the second most admired person was asked changed so that respondents were asked to name up to two most admired persons - the number of 2nd responses fell dramatically. In order to have the longest possible run of consistent data, our main analysis only uses first responses though results using second responses are very similar.

Further, in order to maintain consistency between polls over time, we restrict our analysis to years in which the question asked was the same to ensure no bias from framing of the question. Thus we drop data for 1969, 1976 and 1999 when the question asked varied significantly from the other years. We do not have any data for 1962, 1964, 1968, 1986, 1991 and 2006, as the survey was not carried out in those years. 1975 is another year, which is excluded as an abnormally large number of responses were coded as miscellaneous. Finally we drop the years 1960 and 1978, as the data dictionary was not coded properly. In total we use 54 out of the 66 years for analysis.

2.2 The Coding of Responses

Although the question is asked in an open-ended format and the response is not restricted in any way, the coding of those responses has varied somewhat over time so the individual data sets are not completely consistent over time. The way in which the coding has changed over time is best explained through the general types of responses.

First, there are those responses, which refer to what we might call 'public figures' that are people who generally would not know the respondent personally. The most common responses are always identified by name but the number of individuals so identified has varied over time with a maximum of 144 in 1952 and a minimum of 13 in 1990. In the earliest years the individuals with a small number of responses are recorded by type (e.g. religious leaders, businessmen) and there are some years in the 1950s where it appears that every public figure listed by a respondent is identified in the data set passed down to us. But in later years it is only the individuals with the largest number of votes who are identified by name and the rest are grouped into an 'other' category. In our main analysis we artificially limit the number of recorded public figures with rank less than or equal to 13 for men and 11 for women (these being the smallest number of names identified in any specific year) and assign all the rest to an 'unidentified' category. But the Appendix does show that our main conclusions seem robust to the problem that we cannot identify the type of person for those in the 'Unidentified' category.

The second big category of responses are those that refer to people who are not public figures but are known to and know the respondent these can be grouped together as 'family and friends. There has always been a category of this type.

The final category is those who either refuse to answer the question, who say that they don't know and those who respond 'no one'. In the earliest years the don't know/no one/refused are combined in a single code but after 1992 there is a separate code for refused. These two categories are not exactly the same, as one might know whom one admires but refuse to answer the question. But, in practice, the numbers refusing the question are very small - only 0.76

In most, but not all years, the responses 'don't know' and 'no one' are coded separately but there are some years where they are coded together (see Table 8.1 in the Appendix for details). These responses are not the same - 'no one' suggests some degree of thought has been given to the answer whereas 'don't know' perhaps suggests an absence of thought (though it is not clear that more thought would elicit a response). In most of our analysis we group these two responses together in order to have the longest run of data but there is some indication, discussed later, that the difference between 'no-one' and 'don't know' is significant.

Where we have a named person we classify them according to the type of person they are. Our categories are chosen on the basis of those that are most frequently mentioned though the bulk of votes are taken by a small number of categories. Our chosen categories are:

- Current or Past Presidents or Vice-Presidents (or their wives in the case of women)
- Other American Politicians
- Foreign Political Leaders
- Religious Leaders
- Celebrities (Media, Arts and Sports)
- Business Persons
- Academics and Experts

In addition, we have the 'don't know/no one' category, 'friends and family', and the 'unidentified'.

There are some ambiguities in classifying particular individuals and we try to use the appropriate category at the time they are mentioned. For example, Arnold Schwarzenegger is mentioned twice in 1987 when we classify him as a celebrity and 14 times in 2003/4 when we classify him as a politician. But there are some cases that are more tricky e.g. is Jesse Jackson a religious leader or a politician (we put him in the latter category), is Ross Perot a businessman or a politician (we classify him as the latter as he only appears after his political campaigns). Our detailed classification is available online - while some may dispute some of our classifications we do not think our results are likely to be altered with one notable exception. The exception is Hilary Rodham Clinton who at some point probably moved from being a first lady (her first mention is in 1993) to being a politician in her own right.

The question specifically asks about a living person. So, for example it seems that in 2013 some people responded Nelson Mandela and this was not a valid answer. But

starting in 2000, the response God/Jesus appears seemingly allowing for the validity of the Resurrection and the fact that God is a man. To avoid controversy, we classify the handful of such responses as a religious leader.

3 A First Look at the Data

We start by looking at the broad categories of responses. The first panel of Table 2 presents - by decade - the fraction of first responses by different types of individual for men and Table 3 does the same for women. At this stage, we use the broad list of categories defined at the end of the previous section in order to make clear that no category we omit in the later analysis is quantitatively important. The first panel uses our preferred form of the data, using first responses only and restricting the number of named individuals to 13 a year for men and 11 for women.

However, to show that our results are not sensitive to these decisions the second panel reports all first responses (in which the number of named individuals varies by year) and the third panel includes second responses (years prior to 1960 are excluded as the question is not asked and after 1999 when a change in the routing means there are very few second responses).

The first column of Tables 2 shows the fraction of responses in different categories over the whole period 1948-2013 inclusive. For men, the category with the largest vote share is distributed between the don't know/ no one category with 27% and the president/vice president category with 26% of all votes. This is followed by religious leaders with 9%, other politicians with 7%, international political leaders with 5%, and all other categories with a very small share (apart from the unidentified category). For example, it has always been the case that only small numbers of people cite businesspeople and celebrities as their most admired person, so there is no evidence here that US society is becoming increasingly materialistic or celebrity-obsessed. It is the domination of politicians in general and the president/vice-president in particular that is most striking.

Table 3 does the same for women - here the category of president/vice-president is replaced by a relative of them, most commonly their wife. A higher proportion say don't know/no one for women than for men. But, overall the pattern of responses is very similar. Comparing the first with the second and third panels, one can see that our modeling choices to ensure consistency do not hide any important patterns.

These figures refer to the 65-year period as a whole over which a lot may have changed. So the second through seventh columns of Table 2 and 3 break up the responses by broad decade. Comparing the 2000s with the 1950s perhaps the most striking feature of the data is how little has changed - in both periods about one-third cite the president or vice-president, about one quarter cite don't know or no one (slightly higher in the later period). But this masks quite dramatic change in the intervening years - the share admiring the president or vice-president slumped to 15% in the 1970s with the loss of support going to the don't know/no one category and to unidentified others. Table 3 shows similar trends in the types of women who are admired.

Because Tables 2 and 3 group years into decades and there might be important within-decade trends, we group the responses into 4 main categories in what follows - those who name a president/vice-president, those who name no one or say they don't know, those who name someone else who is a public figure, and those who name family and friends. The trends in the vote shares for these four categories are shown in Figure 1 for men and Figure 2 for women the three different measures - the adjusted first responses, the raw first responses and the first and second responses.

Although the responses are clearly influenced by short-term events and there is considerable year-to-year variation in the proportions responding in various categories, there are also longer-term trends that are observable. To make these clearer Figures 3 and 4 also report for men and women a 5-year moving average of the results for the adjusted first responses.

For the fraction reporting a president/vice-president there is a rise in the proportion from the late 1940s until a peak in the early 1960s when about 40% of respondents named the president/vice-president. There is then a long period of decline reaching a low point of 6.5% in 1974. There was then a recovery to about 20% in the 1990s before a startling rise to over 40% in 2001. Since then there has been a general decline though with a rise in 2008, when Barack Obama was first elected. We are currently in a period of declining support for the president/vice-president though it is hard to say where this will eventually go. There are some obvious events that one might suggest lie behind some of these trends - for example, the Vietnam War, Watergate and 9/11. In the fourth section we investigate the correlation with other measures of trust in government.

Turning to the fraction reporting don't know/ no one, this was stable at about 20% in the 1950s before then rising to about 30

But the rise in the share of don't known/ no one; in the 1960s and 1970s only makes up for about half of the striking fall in the vote share loss for the president/vice-president in this period. The other half of the decline went to the 'unidentified' category i.e. votes became much more dispersed. Figure 8.1 and 8.2 in the Appendix provides information about the composition of the unidentified group for male and female most admired persons.

This section has documented the trends in the type of person who is admired in the United States. But, while the description of these trends is interesting, we need to have an interpretation about the nature and purpose of admiration in order to attach any significance to them - that is the purpose of the next section.

4 Interpreting Admiration

Philosophers, psychologists and political scientists have been interested in admiration - its nature and purpose - since at least Classical Greece. Here we provide the briefest of overviews (see Brennan and Pettit, 2004, for more extensive discussion)[3].

4.1 What is Admiration?

Many have offered a definition of admiration e.g. Adam Smith in the Theory of Moral Sentiments wrote that "the sentiment of complete sympathy and approbation, mixed and animated with wonder and surprise, constitutes what is properly called admiration" (Smith (2002), p58). In more recent academic work, admiration is generally classed as one of the moral emotions (Haidt (2003)) in the family of other-praising emotions. For example, in the global categorization of emotion types (Ortony et al., 1988, pp. 145) claim that admiration is one of the 'appreciation' emotions and defines it as the emotion that is "a reaction of approval for some praiseworthy action". Different authors differ in the extent to which related emotions are seen as simply different words for the same underlying emotion or different variants of emotion[4].

[3]It should be noted that Brennan and Pettit (2004) seek to distinguish between esteem and admiration in a way that we do not. They are at pains to emphasize that esteem (in their sense) and admiration, while sharing the feature of being evaluative are distinct with esteem being directive (in the sense of conveying an action to be emulated) while admiration is non-directive (p21-22). We are not so convinced that the question 'who do you most esteem' would elicit very different answers from 'who do you most admire' so think esteem and admiration are closer in practice than their analysis would suggest.

[4]There is also a neurological study of the areas of the brain that are triggered by the feeling of admiration (Immordino-Yang et al. (2009)). This study distinguishes between admiration for virtue

For example, Ortony et al. (1988), group admiration with appreciation, awe esteem and respect but(Brennan and Pettit, 2004, pp. 21-22) seek to distinguish between esteem and admiration though admitting they do share important features. And some authors seeks to make distinctions in terminology for academic purposes - for example, Algoe and Haidt (2009) use the term admiration to refer to non-moral excellence (e.g. sporting excellence) and use elevation for moral excellence[5]. But - as they acknowledge - this does differ somewhat from common usage and many respondents might struggle with the question 'what living person do you elevate the most?'

And it is the common usage meaning of admiration that will be useful in explaining our data and it is likely that this does not mean exactly the same thing to all our respondents. But it does seem plausible to think that all people have a good opinion of those they say they admire the most. One way of illustrating this is that individuals are named much less frequently after being engulfed by some scandal with Watergate being the most prominent example (Nixon drops from 9% in 1972 to 5% in 1973 and never recovers).

4.2 The Purpose of Admiration

A long line of thinkers from at least Ancient Greece onwards have argued that admiration is important in human society. But there are a number of arguments put forward for why admiration is important.

First, there is the idea is that individuals want to be admired and this encourages them to behave in ways that make them admired. The benefit from admiration might be in material terms e.g. one's economic relations go more smoothly with those who admire you, or it might be desired for its own sake. According to this latter view, humans evolved a desire for admiration (see Henrich and Gil-White (2001), for one theory of why this might have evolved and Plutchik (1980), Frank (1988) and Ekman (1992), on why emotions in general might have evolved).

Secondly, there is the idea that the purpose of admiration is not to influence how

(i.e. for someone who has done something 'good') and admiration for skill (i.e. for someone who has a high level of achievement) and shows that while these emotions activate some similar areas of the brain, they also activate different areas suggesting they are not exactly the same emotion even though the single word 'admiration' can be used for them

[5]It is not clear that this distinction is well-supported by their own data - for example as many respondents used the word admiration to describe their feeling in a condition meant to induce a feeling of elevation as they did in the condition designed to produce a feeling of admiration (p110).

others behave but to influence how we behave ourselves. Algoe and Haidt (2009) quote Thomas Jefferson "When any . . . act of charity or of gratitude, for instance, is presented either to our sight or imagination, we are deeply impressed with its beauty and feel a strong desire in ourselves of doing charitable and grateful acts also". According to this view, the admiration (or elevation to use Jefferson's term) of acts inspires us to seek to emulate that behavior i.e. the purpose of admiration is to influence our own actions. They also suggest that the act of admiration may simply make us happier. According to this view, the type of people we admire tells us about who we aspire to be.

Thirdly, there is the view that we have a pre-disposition to admire certain types of people -for example, Cuddy et al. (2008) argue that we admire those who we think are both 'competent' and 'warm' i.e. successful others whose actions benefit oneself. They also argue that we tend to ascribe these virtues to those who are high in the social hierarchy and that this helps to provide order in society (see also Sweetman et al. (2013)). Adam Smith, was of a similar view that we tend to admire those of high status - "our obsequiousness to our superiors more frequently arises from our admiration for the advantages of their situation, than from any private expectations of benefit from their good-will" ((Smith, 2002, pp. 63)) - though he did not think it necessarily a good thing - "that wealth and greatness are often regarded with the respect and admiration which are due only to wisdom and virtue; and that the contempt, of which vice and folly are the only proper objects, is often most unjustly bestowed upon poverty and weakness, has been the complaint of moralists in all ages" ((Smith, 2002, pp. 72)).

But even if we understand why individuals like being admired, we also need an explanation of why we admire others. One view is that we expect direct returns from those we admire - that is obviously implausible in most of the cases in the Gallup survey, as one cannot credibly believe that to admire the President leads to personal gain. Another view is that we have evolved an automatic ability to admire others that then helps to motivate those who are admired. And a third view is that individuals get a direct utility from admiring others - that the act of admiring makes individuals feel good or that those admired act as role models about how we would like ourselves to be (see, for example, Algoe and Haidt (2009)).

According to all of these interpretations of what it means when we admire somebody, it seems valid to conclude that it tells us something about position in the social hierarchy, what behaviors we view as pro-social or who we would like ourselves to be.

And it is clear that the types of behavior and people that are admired vary across cultures and over time within a single culture (see, for example, Appiah (2011), for some examples of dramatic change in what is admired). So changes in the types of people who are admired might reasonably be used to infer something about the way in which values are changing.

Because of the connection with admiration with how one views the behavior of others, we might expect that admiration data is linked to, though not identical to, measures of social capital in general, and trust in particular, something that has been argued to be of critical importance in underlying successful societies (e.g.Fukuyama, 1996; Putnam, 2001). That there might be such a link is perhaps not surprising - saying that one admires no one suggests that one does not have a high opinion of the moral worth of others as does saying that one does not think most people can be trusted. The next section investigates the hypothesis that there is a link between admiration and trust.

5 Trust and Admiration

Although one might find the results to this point intriguing, we have done little to establish their significance. In this section we investigate the link between admiration and trust, perhaps the most widely used measure of social capital (though there is controversy about the meaning and interpretation of responses to trust questions - see, for example, Glaeser et al., 2000; Uslaner, 2002; Nannestad, 2008; Johnson and Mislin, 2012).

To establish the connection between trust and admiration we turn first to the one study we could find in which there is a measure of both trust and admiration in the same data set - this is the classic book by Almond and Verba (1963), a study of the civic and political culture in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Mexico[6]. It involved a questionnaire (conducted in 1958 in all countries except the US, where it was conducted in 1960) that asked a variety of questions about political and civic attitudes and involvement[7]. Of interest for our purposes is that it asked a question about admiration, which took the form "aside from people you know personally – of all the, people you hear or read about, could you name one or more individuals you admire very much". This is quite similar to the question

[6]We mostly discuss the questions used in chapter 9.

[7]This data set is available through ICPSR - Almond-Verba (2009).

in the Gallup survey though explicitly excludes the 'family and friends' category as a possible response. Although the question asks for a specific person, the responses are grouped by type of person in the data set available to us, fortunately using very similar categories to the ones we have used. The responses are tabulated in Table 4, with a comparison of the Gallup survey responses for the same year. The two surveys for the US have a similar pattern of responses - politicians are the most common answer, followed by don't know/ no one. But, they are not identical - entertainers are mentioned more frequently than religious leaders in the Almond-Verba survey but not in the Gallup survey. We also include the responses for other countries as a comparison.

Turning to trust, the Almond-Verba survey asks a number of questions about trust: "some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?" (this is the classic generalized trust question) as well as "If you don't watch yourself people will take advantage of you. Do you agree or disagree with that?", and "human nature is fundamentally cooperative. Do you agree or disagree with that?" Almond and Verba (1963) documented relatively high levels of trust in the US and UK and lower levels elsewhere, with very low levels in Italy - this is shown in the lower panels of Table 4. But, of more interest to us is the correlation with the responses to the admiration question. Table 5 presents the US data distinguished by the type of person who is admired. The first panel shows that those who report they admire no one or don't know have markedly lower levels of trust than those who report admiring a politician or an entertainer (though similar levels to the small group who admire others). However, the second panel shows that those who don't admire anyone are less likely to think one has to watch oneself lest people take advantage. The third panel shows there are no marked differences in beliefs about whether human nature is fundamentally co-operative. The Almond-Verba questionnaire also asked directly about the character qualities that are admired i.e. we do not have to infer them from the type of person who is admired. Results are presented in the final panel of Table 5. The most common response is that people admire those who are generous (mentioned by almost 30% of people) followed by 16% who admire someone who does his job well, and 15% each for those who are respectful and keeps himself to himself[8]. But there are significant differences between the qualities admired by those

[8]Note the masculine nature of the responses is in the original survey.

who admire someone and those who report don't know/ no one. The latter group are less likely to admire those who are generous and more likely to admire those who keep to themselves. The over-riding image is that those who reply don't know/ no one are more isolated individuals not embedded in a social structure that they have faith in.

To investigate further the relationship between trust and admiration, we do a regression analysis investigating the characteristics that are associated with admiring someone and being trusting. As characteristics we include gender, age, race, education and political affiliation. The results for such a model in the Almond-Verba data set are reported in Table 6. The most consistent finding is that those who are more educated are more likely to admire someone, to trust others, and to think others don't take advantage of you. Non-whites are significantly less trusting but, although they are less likely to report admiring someone this difference is not significant. Of course, there are other factors apart from the ones we control for that influence both admiration and trust. The correlation in the residuals among the first three columns in Table 6 are positive suggesting that those unobserved factors that cause someone to admire someone also cause them to trust others. Next we investigate the hypothesis that there is a single underlying factor causing both admiration and trust which can be modeled as the hypothesis that the coefficients in the different columns are proportional - the chi-squared test statistic for this hypothesis is reported in the 'beta proportionality test' row of Table 6. One accepts this hypothesis. Finally, as a comparison, the final two columns of Table 6 also report a regression model for the Gallup data for the most admired man and woman for the years around the period of the Almond-Verba study - the determinants are similar.

Overall, the Almond-Verba data does support the hypothesis that there is a link between admiring someone and measures of trust. But, this is data from one year over 50 years ago and this link might not apply at all times. Unfortunately there is no way to check directly whether this relationship holds in other years because we do not have data sets containing questions on both admiration and trust. But we can look for indirect evidence by seeing whether the demographic characteristics associated with distrust are also associated with admiring no one. For this exercise we use data on trust from the American National Election Study (ANES) and the General Social Survey (GSS).

Table 7 presents the results. The first two columns report results where the dependent variable is the measure of generalized trust in the GSS and the ANES.

The repressors included are race, age, gender, religion, political affiliation, political affiliation interacted with the party of the incumbent president, year and region dummies. These variables are chosen partly because they are standard demographic variables but also because they are available on a consistent basis in all surveys. We did experiment with including some other variables (e.g. employment) that were only asked in some surveys but they were never significant and we present the specification with the largest number of observations. The college educated, the old and men are more likely to trust others, non-whites and political independents less likely to[9]. The results for the GSS and the ANES are very similar and our results are similar to those presented in Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) who are able to include a wider set of explanatory variables as they are not constrained to variables that appear in multiple data sets.

The third and fourth columns of Table 7 report estimates of models where the dependent variable is trust in the federal government using questions from both the GSS and ANES. In both surveys the college educated and democrats are more likely to trust the government, as are Catholics. The old in both surveys are less likely to trust government. There is also a large negative effect if the incumbent President is not from the party you support. But there are also a number of variables - race and gender where the coefficient is differently signed in the two datasets.

Columns 5 and 6 of Table 7 analyze the Gallup admiration data to investigate the factors associated with admiring different types of people. To keep the analysis of the Gallup data relatively simple, we aggregate the responses into three main categories, president or vice-president (relatives of politicians for women), all others and don't know/ no one. Since there is no natural ordering of the three major classifications, we estimate a multinomial logit specification for the type of person admired. We choose the classification Don't know/ No One as the reference category. The coefficients presented in the table are multinomial log-odds ratios. The standard interpretation of the multinomial logit is that for a unit change in the predictor variable, the logit of outcome m relative to the reference group is expected to change by its respective parameter estimate given the other variables in the model are held constant. For instance, the coefficient on Age is significant for All Others. Thus the interpretation of the coefficient would be that for an increase in Age by one year, the multinomial log-odds for All Others relative to Don't know would be expected to decrease by

[9]More variables are significant in these regressions than in the Almond-Verba data because the sample size is much larger.

0.005, while holding all other variables in the model constant.

The results in column 5 of Table 7 suggest that the older you are, the more likely you are to name the President or Vice-president and less likely to say someone else relative to the referent group Don't Know/ No One. Relative to Protestants, Catholics are more likely to vote for a member of the Society (which also includes religious leaders) as opposed to Don't Know/ No One. All religions have a lower preference for the President or Vice-President relative to the Protestants while people with minority religions or no religion are more likely to say Don't Know/ No One than All Others when compared to Protestants. Regarding respondent's political affiliation, Democrats, Independents and Other parties are more likely to say Don't Know/ No One than name a person, may it be the President or Vice-president or anyone else. Finally, the higher the education you have, the more likely you are to vote for someone instead of saying Don't Know/ No One when compared to persons with less than college education.

Column 6 of Table 7 presents the same analysis for most admired females. Like most admired males, age seems to be negatively correlated to naming a most admired female relative to saying Don't Know/ No One. Non-white respondents are more likely to say a female name than Don't Know/ No One. On the other hand, men are more likely to say Don't Know/ No One then name a most admired female. Regarding the respondent's religion, Catholic and Jewish persons are more likely to mention a most admired female compared to Protestants, while persons of no religion or minority religions are less likely to name a most admired female. Democrats have a positive correlation with naming Relatives of Politicians as opposed to saying Don't Know/ No One when compared to Republicans. This may be driven by the dominance of Hilary Clinton as the most admired female over the last 15 years. Consistent with findings regarding education and most admired males, we observe the same relationship with respect to most admired females; the higher the schooling you have, the more likely you are to vote for someone instead of saying Dont Know/ No One when compared to persons with less than college education.

The rows at the bottom of Table 7 labelled 'Trust People GSS' etc take the estimated coefficients from the different regressions in Table 7, compute the predicted values of trust and the probability of admiring a particular type of person and then sees whether these are positively correlated or not. We adopt this procedure because we do not have data where we observe both trust and admiration in the same data set and this provides a simply way to see whether the types of people who, for

example, admire the president are also likely to trust government. The correlation between the predicted levels of admiration for the president/vice-president has a correlation of 0.46 and 0.47 with the predicted level of trust in government i.e. there is a strong positive relationship. There is also a strong negative correlation between the predicted level of admiring 'No one' and trust in both people and government. Again, we see a link between the admiration and trust data.

This relationship is a cross-sectional one and we might also be interested in whether the variation over time in admiration and trust is also correlated. To investigate this we compare trends in measures of trust in government from the GSS and ANES with the fraction of persons voting for the president or vice-president from the Gallup data. Figure 5 and figure 6 show the time series variation [10]. As is well-known (see, for example, Alford (2001)) trust in government fell precipitously in the 1960s and 1970s before recovering somewhat, then spiking up around 9/11 and falling back subsequently. Both the figures also show the fraction of respondents admiring the president or vice-president - the correlation with trust in government is very clear showing, again, the link between admiring politicians and trust in government.

This is interesting because it allows us to infer something about trust in government in the 1950s before we have very good data. White (1982) argued that the 1945 victory had a positive effect on the view of government that lasted for a generation. But, some doubt has been cast on whether the 1950s were so 'golden'. For example, Bennett (2001) uses a handful of studies (e.g. Hyman and Sheatsley, 1954; Mitchell, 1959) reporting responses to a rather disparate set of questions (thus making identification of trends difficult) before the ANES data starts in 1958, arguing that American attitudes to government and politicians were ambivalent in that period. And (Hodge et al., 1966, table 7), using some NORC surveys of the prestige of a wide range of occupations found that political/government occupations were one of only two broad occupational groups (the other being businessmen) where occupations had declined in prestige from 1947-1963. However the Gallup data on the admiration of the president/vice-president suggests that trust in government was at a very high level in the 1950s though it did peak around 1960.

We performed the same time-series exercise for generalized trust, relating it to

[10] All of the estimates in Table 7 include year effects, so assumes that the impact of different regressors does not vary with time. The Appendix presents some figures to show this is a good assumption in the data - the year-to-year variation in the type of person admired is very similar for all demographic groups and the time series variation is larger than the cross-section variation.

the fraction reporting 'don't know/ no-one' - however we fail to see any meaningful correlation between the two measures. There are a number of possible reasons why the cross-section relationship does not translate to the time-series for generalized trust. One caveat of the Gallup data is the way responses have been grouped. In particular, until 1977 (other than for 3 years in the late 40's and early 50's) the responses were grouped together if one admired no-one or said don't know. Since admiring no-one is clearly distinct from saying don't know, it is not surprising that we do not observe any strong correlation between generalized distrust and responding 'don't know/ no-one'. However, we are able to carry out the same exercise for the years in which there is distinct coding of the two responses. The GSS has asked a question on generalized trust since its inception in 1972 and, as can be seen from Figure 7, this shows a downward trend at least since 1980 though with considerable volatility. The ANES has asked a question about generalized trust in a number of years back to 1958 (there are also some earlier surveys - see, for example, Smith (1997) but it is hard to argue these are consistent) - these are shown as points in Figure 7 as to join them up and infer a trend is potentially misleading. Figure 7 shows that while there is volatility in this measure of generalized trust from the admiration data, it does pick up the fall since 1980 as seen in the GSS data, which has been the subject of widespread interest and research (e.g. Putnam, 2001; Uslaner, 2002; Robinson and Jackson, 2001; Clark and Eisenstein, 2013; Nannestad, 2008, for an overall review). One should also note that the series on generalized trust from the GSS and ANES also do not show a strong correlation even though they are responses to the same question - this is perhaps because responses are sensitive to framing and context - see (Smith (1997)). Although considerable caution is obviously warranted here the fraction reporting that they admired 'no-one' in the early 1950s was at very low levels, consistent perhaps with generalized trust being high in that period.

Using this link between admiring no-one and generalized trust, we can speculate about trends in trust prior to the start of the GSS in 1972. The admiration data suggests that generalized trust was on a downward trend from peaking in the late 1940s. Interestingly, the peak in generalized trust in Putnam (2001) analysis of trends in social capital occurs almost a decade later in 1960, though he too lacks a long and consistent time series on generalized trust. However, without granular data for the missing years, it is difficult to make any definite claims.

In this section we have argued that there is a link - albeit imperfect - between admiration and trust. Admiring the president or vice-president is most closely linked

to trust in government and admiring other persons linked to generalized trust. This link exists in both the cross-section and the time series. That there might be such a link is not surprising - social capital is about group formation and these groups very rarely have formal contracts governing who is supposed to do what. As a result one has to trust people and have a favorable view of their public-spiritedness, something that naturally leads to admiration of others.

6 Media and Admiration

In this section we attempt to investigate the role of the media in influencing who, if anyone, is admired. The role of the media has been hotly debated in the literature on social capital - for example Putnam, 2001; Norris, 1996; Newton, 1999 inter alia.

The form of media we consider here are newspapers. There are two advantages of using newspapers over other forms of media. First, newspapers have been around for a long period of time, thus giving us significant time variation and second, newspaper markets are geographically divided by the extent of circulation and local news component. The data for media's influence on cultural role models is obtained from the NewspaperArchive.com. It is the largest newspaper archive online with 130 million-page database that captures coverage from valuable local newspapers throughout North America, the U.K., and select countries from 1607 to the present. Because of its focus on small newspapers, researchers can search for newspapers and keywords by disaggregated locations up to the state level. Further, print media allows us to get variation in coverage both over time and over space. We use the database to search for complete names to construct a spatially disaggregated count of newspaper presence for each named person mentioned in that specific year and state.

We normalize the media presence of name i in each state s and year t by the news count of the most commonly used words. Thus the newspaper presence is defined as:

$N_{ist} = \frac{count\_of\text{“}name\text{”}_{ist}}{count\_of\text{“}that/would\text{”}_{st}}$

and standardized for ease of interpretation.

Table 8 presents summary statistics related to the variables used in the analysis. After cleaning the data, we remain with an unbalanced panel of 9,403 Name by State by Year observations. As a first indication that there is a correlation between media mentions and being admired we plot in Figure 8 the time series of the measure of

mentions of different types of people and the levels of admiration of those types. The positive correlation between the two measures is very clear. But this does not establish a positive correlation between admiration and media mentions of individual people. To investigate this we report some statistical models in Table 9.

Given the nature of the data, a Poisson regression is appropriate since the dependent variable is a count and often a small number. Since the sampling is not representative at the state level, we have some states with more unique mentions than number of respondents in other states. To address this issue, we create a yearly balanced panel (i.e persons mentioned in state 'A' may not be named in state 'B', we replace mentions for people who are not mentioned in a given state with zeroes) for the empirical analysis. But we do not include in our sample individuals who received zero votes in all states in any year.

Indexing name by i, state by s and years by t, our problem may be stated as one of estimating:

$$V_{ist} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 N_{ist} + X'_{ist}\beta_j + \epsilon_{ist} \tag{1}$$

Where X denotes a vector of observed individual characteristics and ϵ_{ist} describes unobserved contributors to voting response in the survey. We are interested in the coefficient of N, the news elasticity of votes.

The first column of Table 9 shows that the number of mentions F_{ist} in the Gallup data is positively correlated to newspaper presence when we do not control for any other factors. The second column then includes controls for age and being non-white. Whites are more likely to be admired, as are the old. But the inclusion of these controls makes little difference to the estimated link between media mentions and admiration. Adding in year (column 3), region (column 4) or state (column 5) fixed effects also makes little difference to the estimated link. This relationship between media mentions and admiration is unsurprising - if someone has done something admirable in a year one is both more likely to be mentioned in the newspapers and in the Gallup data.

But the positive relationship between media mentions and admiration also holds (albeit weaker) if one includes name fixed effects (column 6) and name-year fixed effects (column 7). In this last specification we are effectively controlling for what an individual has done in a particular year and finding that states in which that person receives a relatively high share of media mentions also receives a relatively

high share of votes in the most admired poll. This is a demanding specification but a positive significant link remains. We have not established whether this link is causal - it could run from admiration to media rather than the other way round. But there does seem to be a robust link.

7 Conclusion

For 65 years since the late 1940s Gallup has, every December, asked Americans about the living man and woman they most admire. This is perhaps the longest run of consistent data on attitudes in any data set. In this chapter we have documented the way in which the responses to this question have changed and argued that the changing nature of responses to this question tells us something interesting about the way in which society has been evolving. The pattern of responses in the 2010s is (perhaps surprisingly) similar to those from the late 1940s with the most common response being a current or ex-president or vice-president (with about one-quarter of votes), followed by a sizeable group (again, almost one quarter) who say they don't know or admire no one. Other politicians, religious leaders and family and friends are the next most common categories of response. Americans never have and still do not often name celebrities and business people. But this similarity in the beginning and the end hides considerable change in the intervening years with a very marked collapse and then recovery in the vote share of the president and vice-president.

We have drawn on the disparate literature on admiration to argue on theoretical grounds that admiration data is likely to tell us something about the types of people and actions that are viewed positively so is likely to be informative about levels of social capital in general and trust in particular, both trust in government and generalized trust. We provide empirical support for this hypothesis using the Almond-Verba data from 1960 that asks about both trust and admiration and the ANES and GSS surveys to highlight the cross-sectional and time-series variation in the trust and admiration. We conclude that admiring a president or vice-president is a good measure of trust in government and admiring no-one a good measure of generalized distrust. Using this link we can say something about the evolution of trust back to the late 1940s before we have reliable other sources of data. We argue that trust in government was high from the late 1940s though peaked about 1960.

Finally, the chapter investigates the link between admiration and media mentions.

We show that people who receive a relatively large number of mentions in newspapers in a particular year and state are also more likely to be admired to people in that year and state. Whether this relationship is causal is left for further research.

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Table 1: Most Admired Male and Female, 1947-2013

Year	Admired Male	Vote Share	Admired Female	Vote Share
1947			Eleanor Roosevelt	0.29
1948	Harry Truman	0.22	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.30
1949	Dwight Eisenhower	0.12	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.32
1951	General Douglas Mcarthur	0.21		
1952	Dwight Eisenhower	0.26	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.30
1954	Dwight Eisenhower	0.27	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.27
1955	Dwight Eisenhower	0.26	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.25
1958	Dwight Eisenhower	0.22	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.26
1961	John F Kennedy	0.23	Eleanor Roosevelt	0.31
1963	Lyndon Johnson	0.21	Jacqueline Kennedy	0.53
1965	Lyndon Johnson	0.19	Jacqueline Kennedy	0.36
1966	Lyndon Johnson	0.14	Jacqueline Kennedy	0.24
1967	Dwight Eisenhower	0.12		
1970	Richard Nixon	0.10	Mamie Eisenhower	0.06
1971	Billy Graham	0.09	Golda Meir	0.11
1972	Richard Nixon	0.11	Pat Nixon	0.09
1973	Henry Kissinger	0.11	Golda Meir	0.17
1974	Henry Kissinger	0.16	Golda Meir	0.10
1977	Anwar Sadat	0.10	Golda Meir	0.06
1978	Jimmy Carter	0.09	Betty Ford	0.09
1979	Pope John Paul II	0.12	Rosalyn Carter	0.08
1980	Pope John Paul II	0.08	Mother Teresa	0.06
1981	Ronald Reagan	0.20	Mother Teresa	0.06
1982	Ronald Reagan	0.15	Margaret Thatcher	0.09
1983	Ronald Reagan	0.20	Margaret Thatcher	0.12
1984	Ronald Reagan	0.12	Margaret Thatcher	0.16
1985	Ronald Reagan	0.17	Margaret Thatcher	0.11
1987	Ronald Reagan	0.11	Mother Teresa	0.14
1988	Ronald Reagan	0.20	Mother Teresa	0.13
1989	George H W Bush	0.14	Margaret Thatcher	0.13
1990	George H W Bush	0.17	Margaret Thatcher	0.25
1992	George H W Bush	0.10	Mother Teresa	0.13
1994	Bill Clinton	0.09	Mother Teresa	0.12
1995	Bill Clinton	0.12	Mother Teresa	0.15
1996	Bill Clinton	0.13	Mother Teresa	0.22
1997	Bill Clinton	0.10	Hillary Clinton	0.10
1998	Bill Clinton	0.12	Hillary Clinton	0.24
2000	Bill Clinton	0.07	Hillary Clinton	0.19
2001	George W Bush	0.38	Laura Bush	0.12
2002	George W Bush	0.27	Hillary Clinton	0.07
2003	George W Bush	0.29	Hillary Clinton	0.16
2004	George W Bush	0.25	Hillary Clinton	0.13
2005	George W Bush	0.21	Condoleezza Rice	0.13
2007	George W Bush	0.10	Hillary Clinton	0.16
2008	Barack Obama	0.30	Hillary Clinton	0.19
2009	Barack Obama	0.28	Hillary Clinton	0.18
2010	Barack Obama	0.21	Hillary Clinton	0.18
2011	Barack Obama	0.17	Hillary Clinton	0.21
2012	Barack Obama	0.29	Hillary Clinton	0.25
2013	Barack Obama	0.15	Hillary Clinton	0.16

Note: This table reports vote shares based on first response only. The category Family and Friends was ranked first in the years 1980 for Most Admired Males and 1977, 1980, 1981 and 1982 for the Most Admired Female.

Table 2: Major Classification Most Admired Male, by Decades

	Decade						
Group (First Response Adjusted)	**Total**	**1948-1959**	**1960-1969**	**1970-1979**	**1980-1989**	**1990-1999**	**2000-2013**
Academics and Experts	0.91	0.81	1.28	0.00	2.39	0.33	0.32
Business Persons	0.94	0.64	0.00	0.00	2.44	1.97	1.24
Don't Know/ No One	27.13	21.15	24.19	32.35	30.60	30.94	25.26
Friends & Family	4.31	1.38	3.13	4.42	6.59	6.70	4.48
International Political Leader	4.51	8.42	4.22	3.65	4.16	3.88	3.33
Media, Artists, Sports	0.62	1.42	0.00	0.60	0.38	0.65	0.99
Other Politicians	7.27	13.01	6.74	12.25	3.12	3.88	4.64
Religious Leaders	9.09	7.48	8.94	11.06	10.94	8.90	7.09
Royalty	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00
USA President or Vice	25.78	33.20	33.40	15.02	18.06	18.75	31.60
Unidentified	19.42	12.50	18.11	20.64	21.25	24.01	21.05
Group (First Response)							
Academics and Experts	1.77	3.16	2.65	0.79	2.55	0.72	0.39
Business Persons	1.15	1.14	0.17	0.26	2.44	2.23	1.42
Don't Know/ No One	27.13	21.15	24.19	32.35	30.60	30.94	25.26
Friends & Family	4.33	1.46	3.17	4.42	6.59	6.70	4.48
International Political Leader	5.16	8.91	5.68	4.54	4.43	4.11	3.47
Media, Artists, Sports	1.98	2.56	1.46	2.48	2.33	1.36	1.68
Other Politicians	9.22	14.81	10.26	14.84	4.56	4.40	5.45
Religious Leaders	9.71	8.15	9.96	11.91	11.11	8.94	7.69
Royalty	0.08	0.23	0.06	0.07	0.09	0.00	0.06
USA President or Vice	26.40	33.71	34.56	15.51	18.68	18.86	32.04
Unidentified	13.06	4.73	7.85	12.82	16.62	21.74	18.05
Group (First & Second Response)							
Academics and Experts	1.07		2.71	0.42	0.18	0.00	
Business Persons	1.08		0.17	0.26	2.44	2.23	
Don't Know/ No One	29.00		24.19	32.35	30.60	31.36	
Friends & Family	4.90		3.17	4.42	6.59	6.70	
International Political Leade	4.83r		5.68	4.54	4.43	4.11	
Media, Artists, Sports	1.87		1.46	2.48	2.07	1.36	
Other Politicians	10.51		11.32	16.12	6.93	5.12	
Religious Leaders	10.66		9.90	11.91	11.38	8.94	
Royalty	0.06		0.06	0.07	0.09	0.00	
USA President or Vice	22.65		33.50	14.61	18.68	18.86	
Unidentified	13.37		7.85	12.82	16.62	21.32	

Note: This table reports vote shares by decades and major classification. The first panel reports vote shares for first response, restricting number of named individuals to 13 a year (the rest are classified as unidentified). The second panel reports vote shares for first response without any adjustment. The third panel includes second responses (years prior to 1960 are excluded as the question is not asked and after 1999 when a change in the routing means there are very few second responses).

Table 3: Major Classification Most Admired Female, by Decades

	Decade						
Group (First Response Adjusted)	**Total**	**1948-1959**	**1960-1969**	**1970-1979**	**1980-1989**	**1990-1999**	**2000-2013**
Academics and Experts	4.41	5.02	1.58	1.43	9.88	10.85	1.39
Don't Know/ No One	33.59	35.90	32.39	41.55	32.95	29.36	28.70
Friends & Family	5.92	2.52	4.73	6.15	7.59	8.26	6.79
International Political Leader	6.23	3.66	2.42	9.98	11.83	7.55	2.99
Media, Artists, Sports	3.37	4.23	1.08	1.93	1.98	3.34	7.76
Other Politicians	6.17	5.41	2.55	2.88	4.67	1.49	17.36
Relative of Politicians	22.14	31.61	42.73	16.15	8.53	15.02	14.55
Religious Leaders	0.01	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Royalty	1.84	3.45	2.35	0.56	1.61	2.95	0.90
Unidentified	16.32	8.13	10.16	19.37	20.95	21.18	19.55
Group (First Response)							
Academics and Experts	4.99	5.82	1.75	3.01	10.60	10.92	1.47
Business Persons	0.06	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.20
Don't Know/ No One	33.59	35.90	32.39	41.55	32.95	29.36	28.70
Friends & Family	6.03	2.52	4.81	6.15	7.59	8.26	7.28
International Political Leader	6.57	3.78	3.03	10.33	12.47	7.64	3.08
Media, Artists, Sports	5.43	6.30	3.53	5.01	4.54	4.02	8.74
Other Politicians	7.15	5.86	2.93	4.67	6.55	2.30	17.94
Relative of Politicians	22.91	31.99	43.17	17.28	10.14	15.29	15.14
Religious Leaders	0.03	0.18	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
Royalty	2.25	3.83	2.71	1.24	2.13	3.18	1.13
Unidentified	10.98	3.76	5.67	10.72	12.99	19.02	16.32
Group (First & Second Response)							
Academics and Experts	5.84		1.75	3.01	10.60	10.92	
Business Persons	0.01		0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	
Don't Know/ No One	34.52		32.39	41.55	32.95	29.36	
Friends & Family	6.44		4.81	6.15	7.59	8.26	
International Political Leader	8.20		3.03	10.33	12.47	7.64	
Media, Artists, Sports	4.27		3.53	5.01	4.54	4.02	
Other Politicians	4.27		2.93	4.67	6.55	2.30	
Relative of Politicians	23.21		43.17	17.28	10.14	15.29	
Religious Leaders	0.01		0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	
Royalty	2.23		2.71	1.24	2.13	3.18	
Unidentified	10.99		5.67	10.72	12.99	19.02	

Note: This table reports vote shares by decades and major classification. The first panel reports vote shares for first response, restricting number of named individuals to 11 a year (the rest are classified as unidentified). The second panel reports vote shares for first response without any adjustment. The third panel includes second responses (years prior to 1960 are excluded as the question is not asked and after 1999 when a change in the routing means there are very few second responses).

Table 4: Civic Culture - Admiration and Trust

	Country						
Major Classification	**Germany**	**Italy**	**Mexico**	**UK**	**USA**	**Total**	**USAGallup**
All Others	9.15	9.74	6.35	19.73	10.82	11.10	30.33
Don't Know/ No One	44.42	36.75	38.19	24.51	22.06	33.29	21.35
Entertainment	34.77	25.97	32.54	30.84	22.68	29.42	3.91
Politicians	11.66	27.54	22.92	24.92	44.43	26.19	44.41
Trust I - Some people say that most people can be trusted. How do you feel about it?							
Diagree	92.38	80.28	69.80	49.63	44.41	67.23	
Agree	7.62	19.72	30.20	50.37	55.59	32.77	
Trust II - If you don't watch yourself people will take advantage of you.							
Agree	82.47	86.67	95.34	77.38	69.76	82.43	
Disagree	17.53	13.33	4.66	22.62	30.24	17.57	
Trust III - Human nature is fundamentally cooperative							
Disagree	21.93	31.04	12.75	12.73	14.46	18.01	
Agree	78.07	68.96	87.25	87.27	85.54	81.99	

Note: This table reports the relationship between admiration and trust based on the Almond-Verba (1963) Civic Culture Study across 5 countries for the years 1958 for Germany, Italy, Mexico and UK and 1960 for the USA. Data in Column (USAGallup) is obtained from the Gallup Opinion Poll and pertains to the years1958 and 1960 for the most admired man. Entertainment category for Gallup includes persons in News, Media, Sports, Artists, Experts, Academics and Business Persons. All Others category for Gallup includes International Political Leaders, Religious Figures, Royalty, Family and Unidentified persons.

Table 5: Civic Culture - Admiration and Trust

	Major Classification				
	All Others	**Don't Know/ No One**	**Entertainment**	**Politicians**	**Total**
Trust I - Some people say that most people can be trusted. How do you feel about it?					
Diagree	55.77	56.13	42.01	37.12	44.41
Agree	44.23	43.87	57.99	62.88	55.59
Trust II - If you don't watch yourself people will take advantage of you.					
Diagree	71.15	81.07	71.50	62.89	69.76
Agree	28.85	18.93	28.50	37.11	30.24
Trust III - Human nature is fundamentally cooperative					
Diagree	18.28	15.93	15.02	12.68	14.46
Agree	81.72	84.07	84.98	87.32	85.54
Most Admired Quality					
Active in public and social affairs	4.76	3.50	5.23	6.84	5.52
Ambitious	7.14	11.45	12.27	10.79	10.88
Does his job well	15.71	17.99	17.95	13.57	15.77
Don't know	2.38	2.34	0.91	0.70	1.29
Generous	28.57	21.50	30.45	33.41	29.59
Keeps himself to himself	15.24	20.33	12.05	12.65	14.48
Lets no one take advantage of him	4.29	2.57	3.41	1.97	2.68
Other	0.48	0.70	0.23	1.04	0.72
Respectful	16.67	13.32	13.86	15.43	14.74
Thrifty	4.76	6.31	3.64	3.60	4.33

Note: This table reports the relationship between admiration, trust and character qualities that are admired for the US sample. The data is based on the Almond-Verba (1963) Civic Culture Study across 5 countries.

Table 6: Admiration and Trust

	Civic Survey				Gallup Survey	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Admire Someone	Ppl can be Trusted	Ppl Don't Take Adv. of You	Ppl are Cooperative	Admire Male	Admire Female
Non White	-0.012	-0.332***	-0.171***	0.008	-0.062***	0.160***
	(0.054)	(0.063)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Age	-0.000	-0.003**	-0.003**	-0.001	-0.001***	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Male	0.029	-0.017	-0.065*	-0.002	-0.002	-0.099***
	(0.032)	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.028)	(0.012)	(0.014)
Ommitted Category: Republicans						
Democrat	0.030	-0.040	-0.083*	-0.066*	-0.058***	0.115***
	(0.040)	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.014)	(0.017)
Other Party	0.069	0.025	0.017	-0.011	-0.093***	0.011
	(0.043)	(0.054)	(0.055)	(0.038)	(0.017)	(0.021)
College	0.080**	0.152***	0.182***	-0.002	0.078***	0.141***
	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.034)	(0.014)	(0.017)
Year FE	.	.	.	.	Yes	Yes
Beta Proportionality Test	.	2.97	3.65	0.20	.	.
Residual Correlation	1	0.12	0.09	-0.03	.	.
Mean	.793	.583	.319	.866	.793	.614
Observations	646	643	630	611	4392	4392

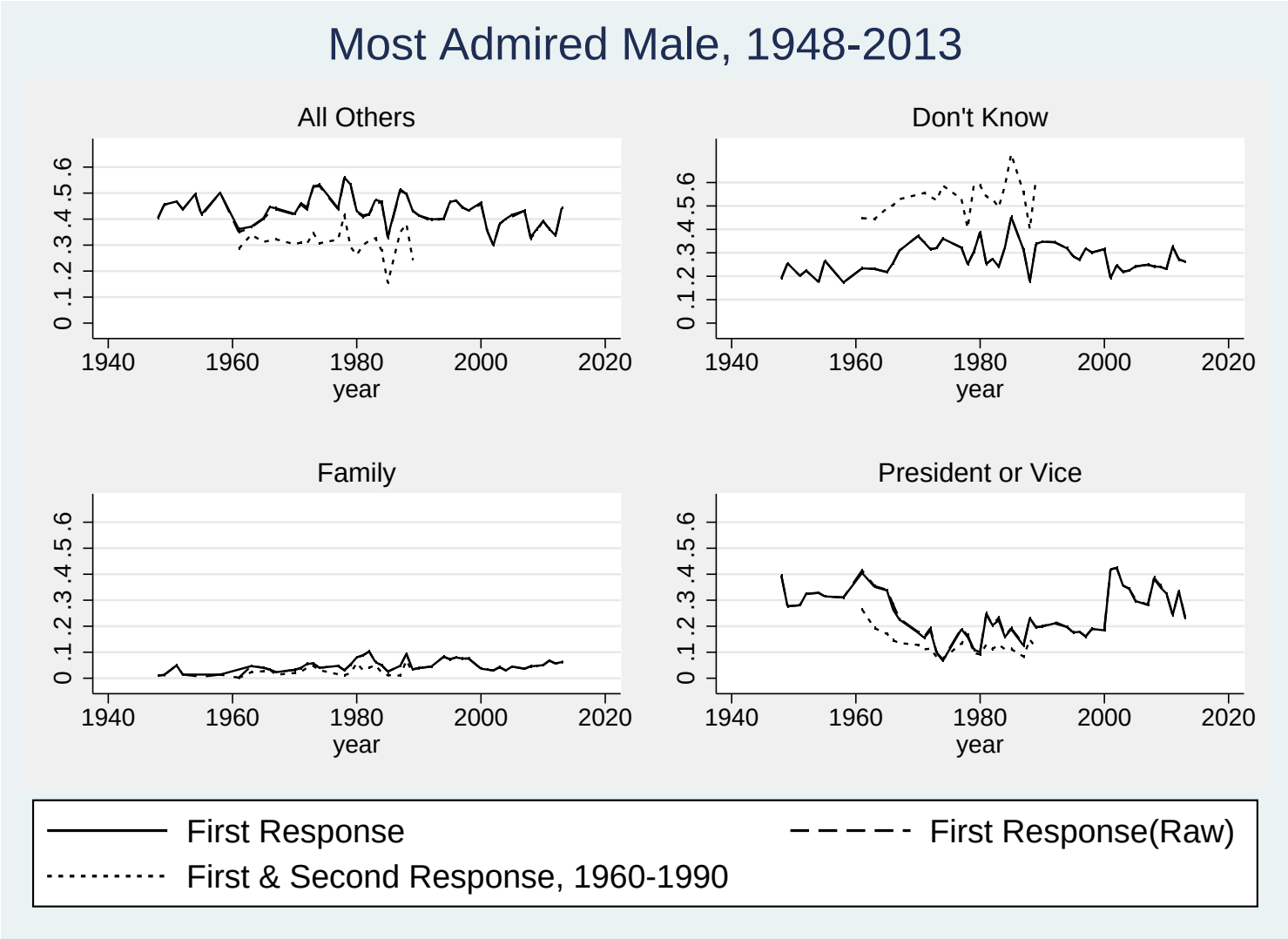
Note: This table presents regression analysis between trust and admiration. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. All regressions include Region fixed effects. The dependent variable in the column 1 to 4 is from the Civic Culture study pertaining to year 1960, while the dependent variable in columns 5 and 6 is from the Gallup Opinion Poll for the years 1958 and 1961. Dependent variables in all regressions are indicator variables taking the value 1 or 0. Non White is a dummy variable for race, Age is measured in years, Male is a dummy variable for gender, Democrat and Other Party are dummy variables for respondents political preferences (relative to being Republican) and college is a dummy variable for having some years of post-secondary education. The beta proportionality test reports the chi-square statistic. For consistency with other trust measures, the dependant variable in column (3) is the inverse of the question.

Table 7: Admiration and Trust

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)			(6)		
	Trust-GSS	Trust-ANES	FedTrust-GSS	FedTrust-ANES	Most Admired Male			Most Admired Female		
					All Others	President Vice	Don't Know	All Others	Relative of Politicians	Don't Know
Non White	-0.196***	-0.268***	0.014**	-0.087***	0.037	-0.098	0.000	0.248***	0.082	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.02)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.063)	(0.077)	(.)	(0.072)	(0.108)	(.)
Age	0.003***	0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.005***	0.005***	0.000	-0.005***	-0.002	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(.)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(.)
Male	0.038***	0.035***	-0.027***	0.013**	0.036	0.031	0.000	-0.118***	-0.505***	0.000
	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.024)	(0.032)	(.)	(0.025)	(0.04)	(.)
Ommitted Category: Protestants										
Catholic	-0.010	0.006	0.030***	0.034***	0.171***	-0.048	0.000	0.121***	0.214***	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.051)	(0.064)	(.)	(0.038)	(0.058)	(.)
Jewish	-0.030	0.021	-0.006	-0.010	0.153	-0.298**	0.000	0.200**	0.477***	0.000
	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.118)	(0.13)	(.))	(0.09)	(0.076)	(.)
Other and None	-0.016	-0.013	0.011	-0.059***	-0.228***	-0.452***	0.000	-0.170***	-0.432***	0.000
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.045)	(0.049)	(.))	(0.046)	(0.073)	(.)
Ommitted Category: Republicans										
Democrat	0.002	-0.012	0.147***	0.107***	-0.065	0.185**	0.000	-0.012	0.693***	0.000
	(0.009)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.076)	(0.082)	(.))	(0.048)	(0.066)	(.)
Other Party	-0.040***	-0.046**	-0.002	0.010	-0.157**	-0.213***	0.000	-0.120**	0.329***	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.063)	(0.078)	(.))	(0.053)	(0.081)	(.)
Democrat x Republican	-0.033***	-0.024	-0.345***	-0.195***	0.085	-1.320***	0.000	-0.049	-0.831***	0.000
	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.087)	(0.108)	(.))	(0.064)	(0.083)	(.)
Other Party x Republican	-0.012	0.013	-0.121***	-0.103***	0.023	-0.786***	0.000	0.029	-0.741***	0.000
	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.066)	(0.094)	(.))	(0.050)	(0.076)	(.)
College	0.188***	0.205***	0.016***	0.022***	0.500***	0.231***	0.000	0.577***	0.222***	0.000
	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.038)	(0.057)	(.))	(0.030)	(0.042)	(.)
Beta Correlation										
Trust People GSS	1.00	0.88	0.26	0.33	0.00	0.18	-0.25	0.03	0.01	-0.06
Trust People ANES		1.00	0.13	0.30	0.12	0.11	-0.31	0.23	-0.10	-0.20
Trust Gov GSS			1.00	0.69	-0.34	0.46	-0.24	-0.44	0.52	-0.07
Trust Gov ANES				1.00	-0.30	0.47	-0.30	-0.25	0.34	-0.11
Observations	34062	15440	37188	28120	51946	51946	51946	51863	51863	51863

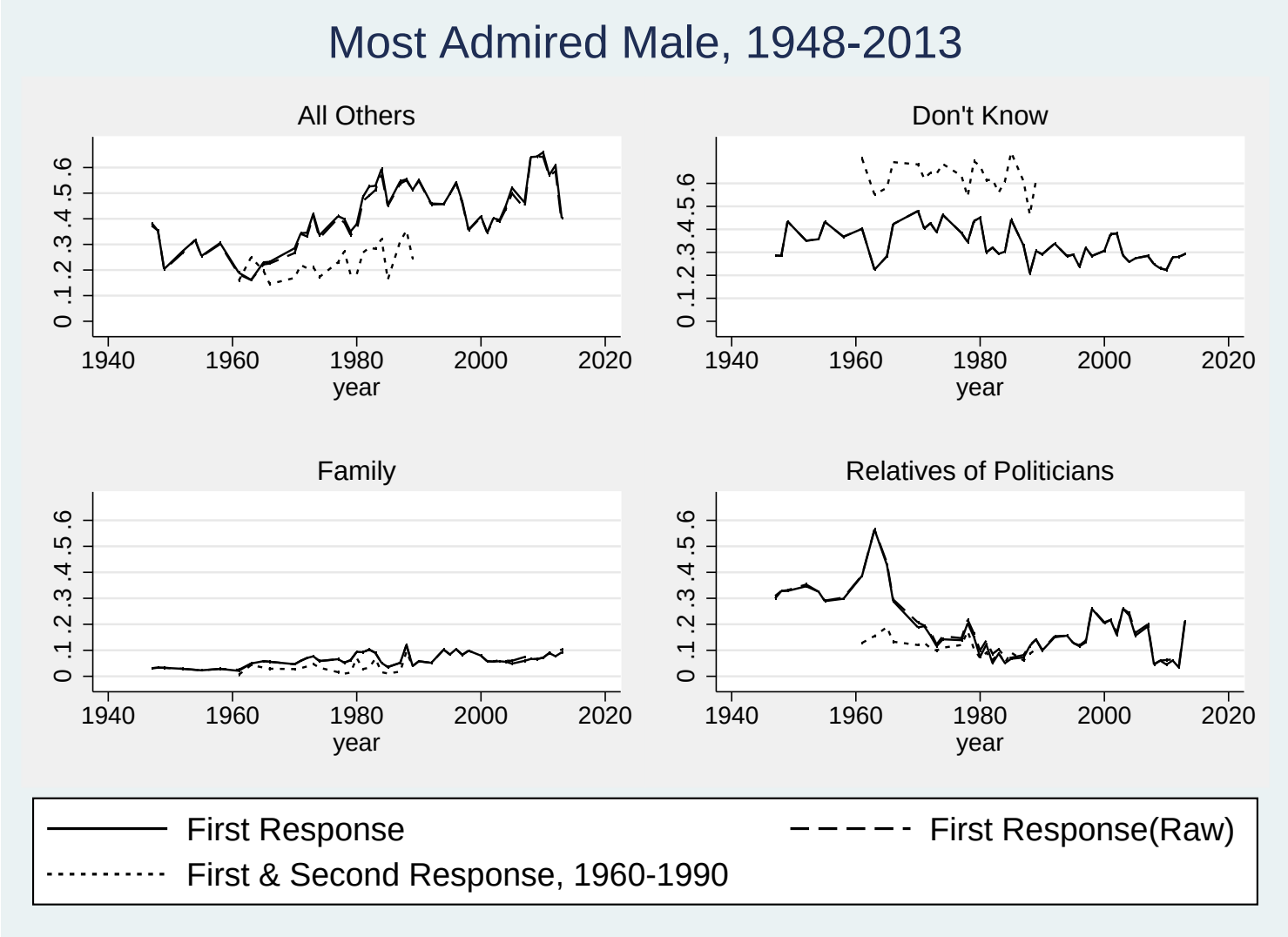
Note: This table presents regression analysis between trust and admiration for a longer time period. The data is obtained from the General Social Survey, Annual National Electoral Survey and Gallup Opinion Polls. The data spans from 1972-2012, 1964-2008 and 1948-2013 respectively. All regressions control for region and year fixed effects. Robust standard errors applied for ANES sample. Standard errors clustered at the state level for the rest of the regressions. Linear probability models estimated for columns (1) to (4), while multinomial logit specification estimated for columns (5) and (6) with referent category as Don't Know. Non White is a dummy variable for race, Age is measured in years, Male is a dummy variable for gender, Catholic, Jewish and Other and None are dummy variables for religious affiliation (relative to Protestants), Democrat and Other Party are dummy variables for respondents political preferences (relative to being Republican), Democrat/ Other Party X Republican is an interaction between respondent's political preference and if the sitting President is a Republican and college is a dummy variable for having some years of post-secondary education. The beta proportionality test reports the chi-square statistic. Trust in Federal Government in the GSS sample is a measure of confidence in the Executive branch of Federal Government. Beta correlations are correlations between the predicted values across the regressions.

Figure 1: Most Admired Male - All data



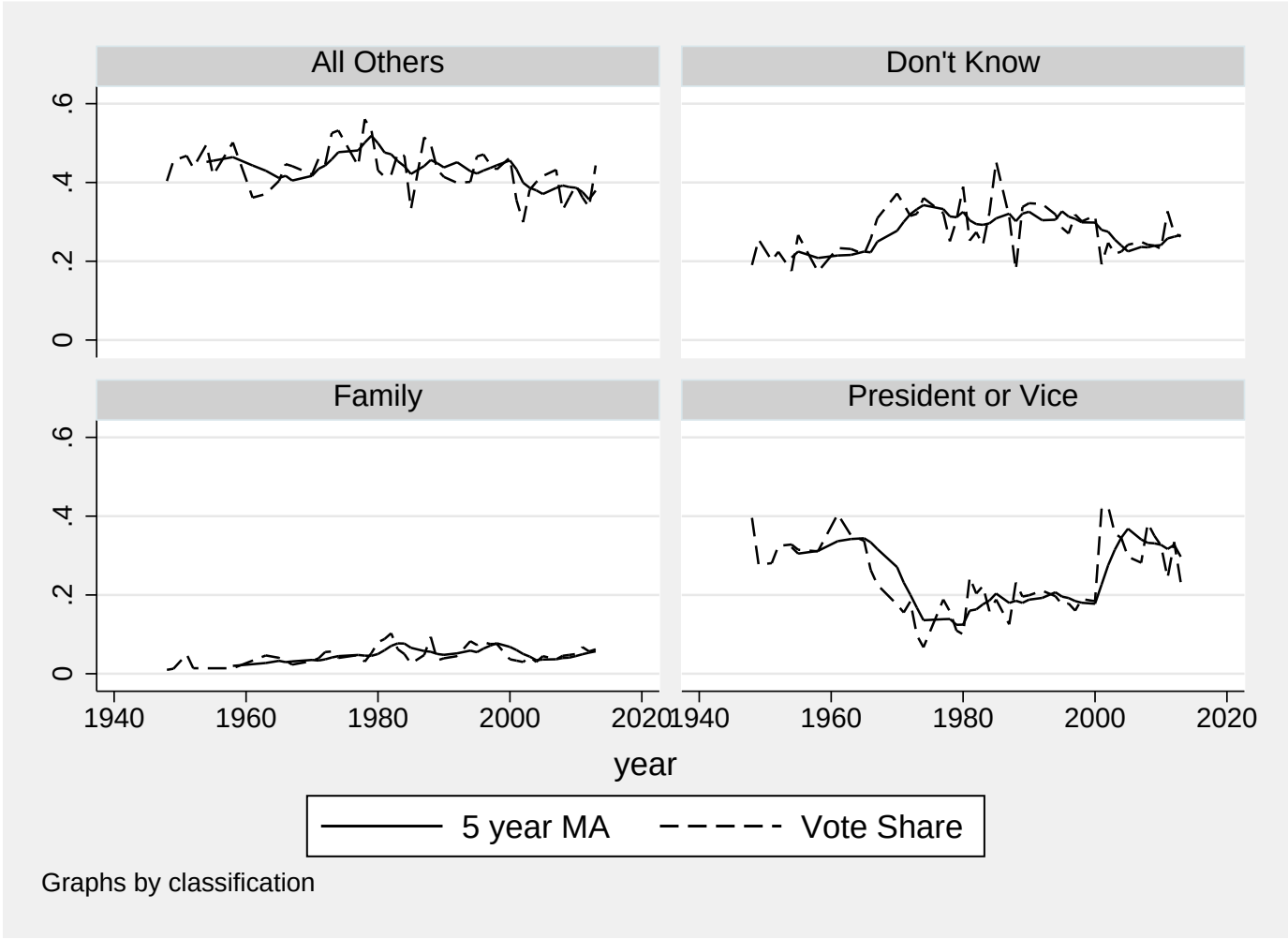
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 2: Most Admired Female - All data



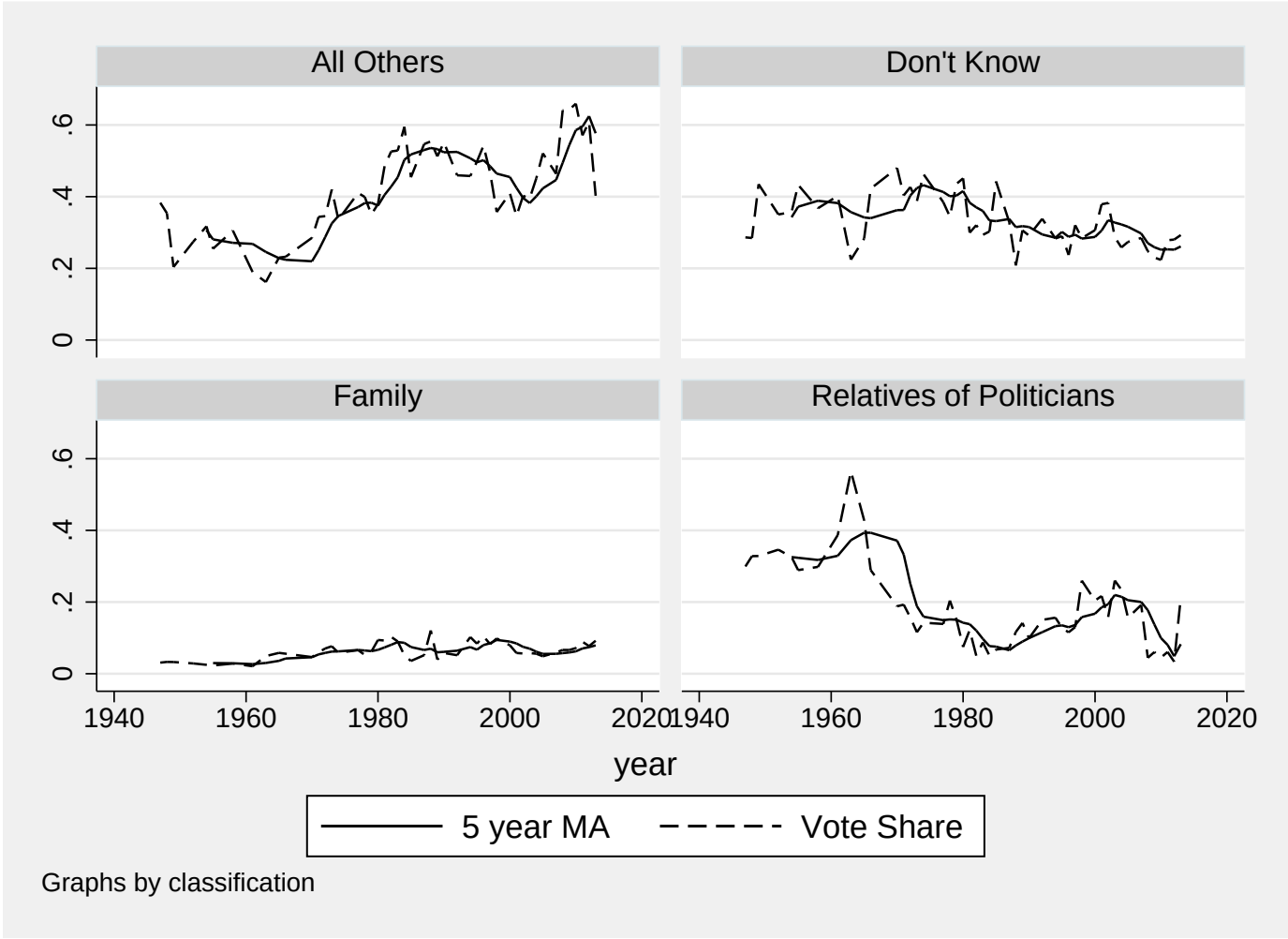
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 3: Most Admired Male



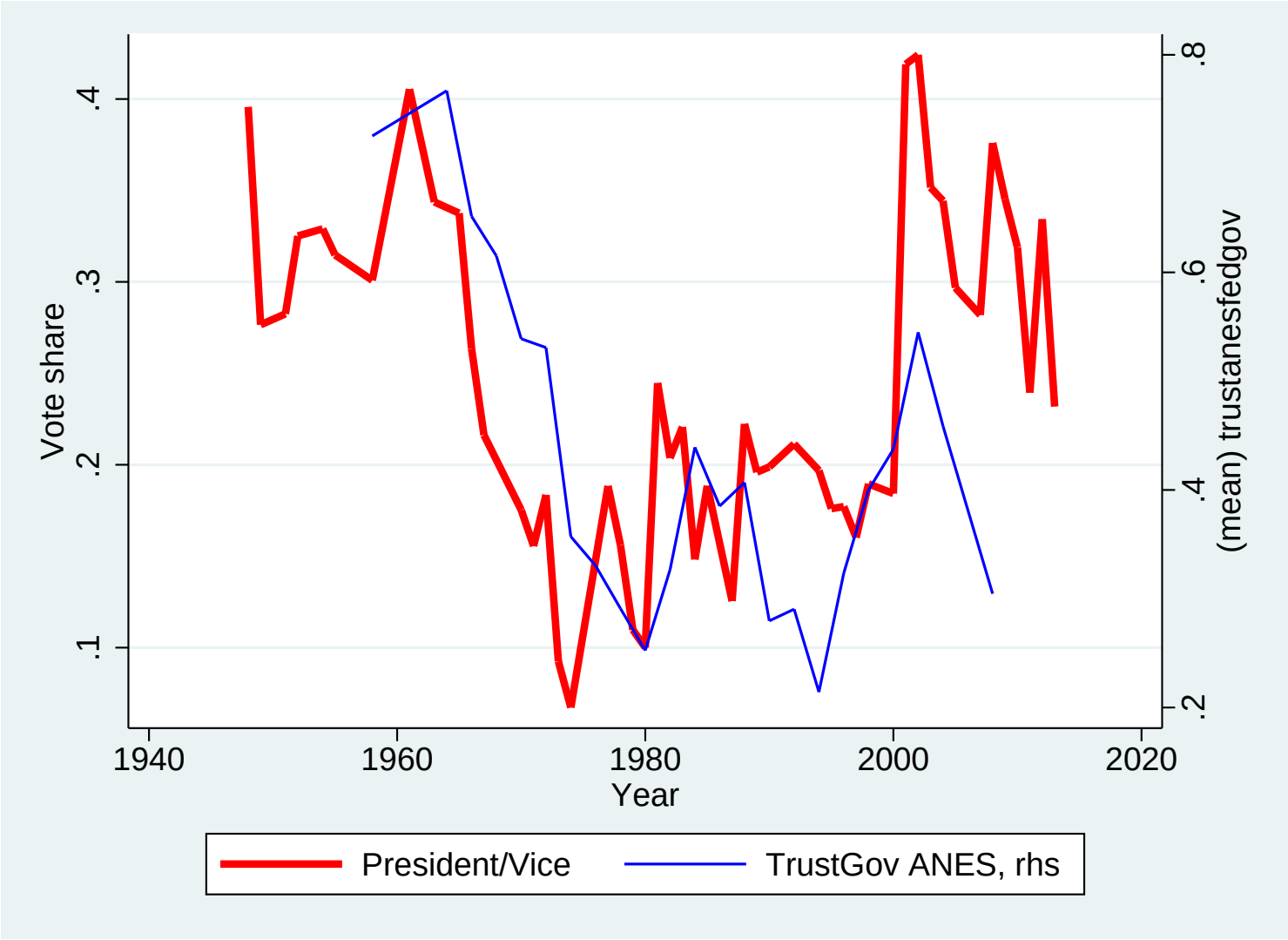
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male based on first response only. The solid line is a 5-year moving average. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 4: Most Admired Female



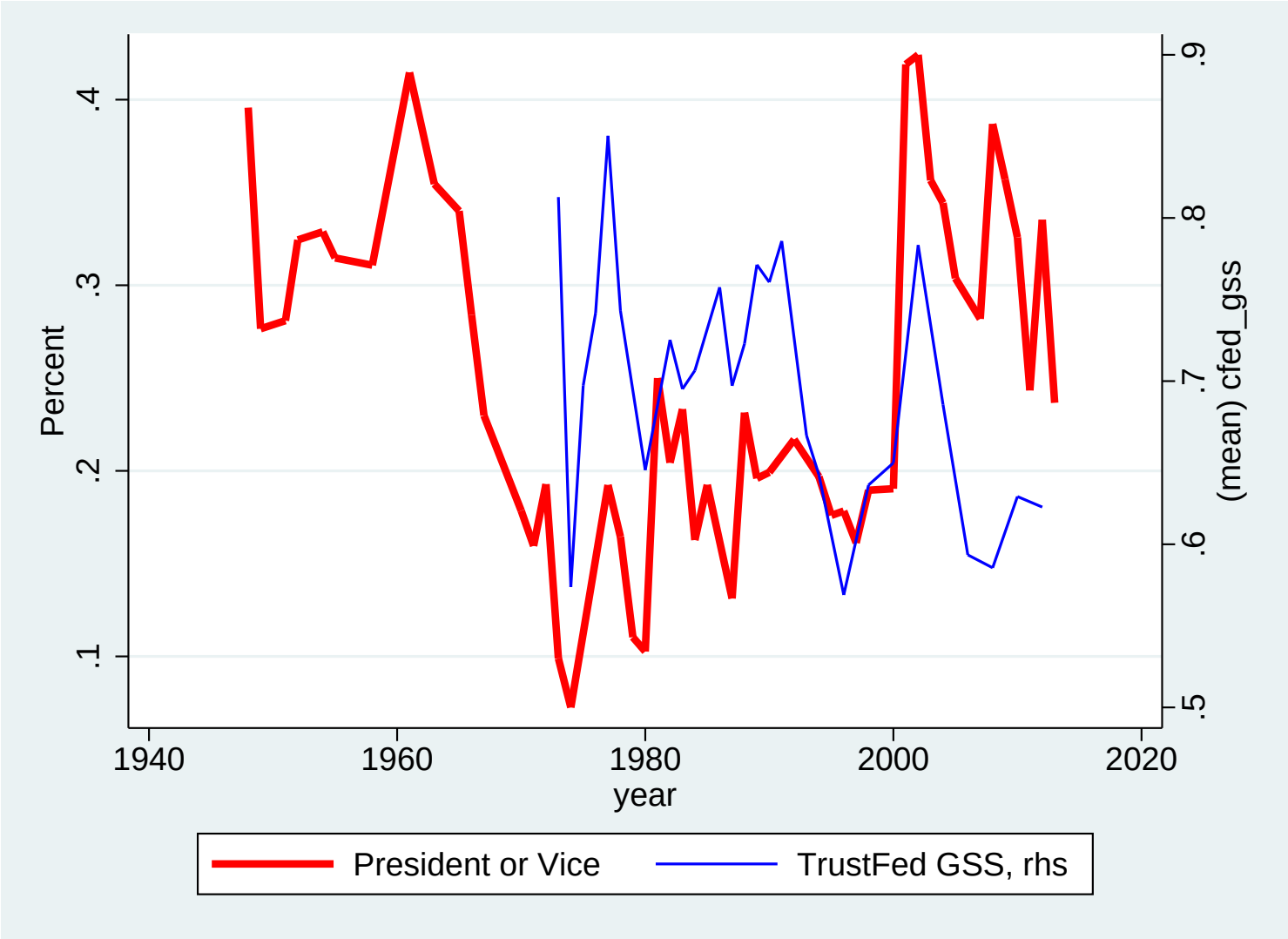
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female based on first response only. The solid line is a 5-year moving average. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll, 1948-2013.

Figure 5: Admiration of the President/Vice and Trust in Federal Government ANES



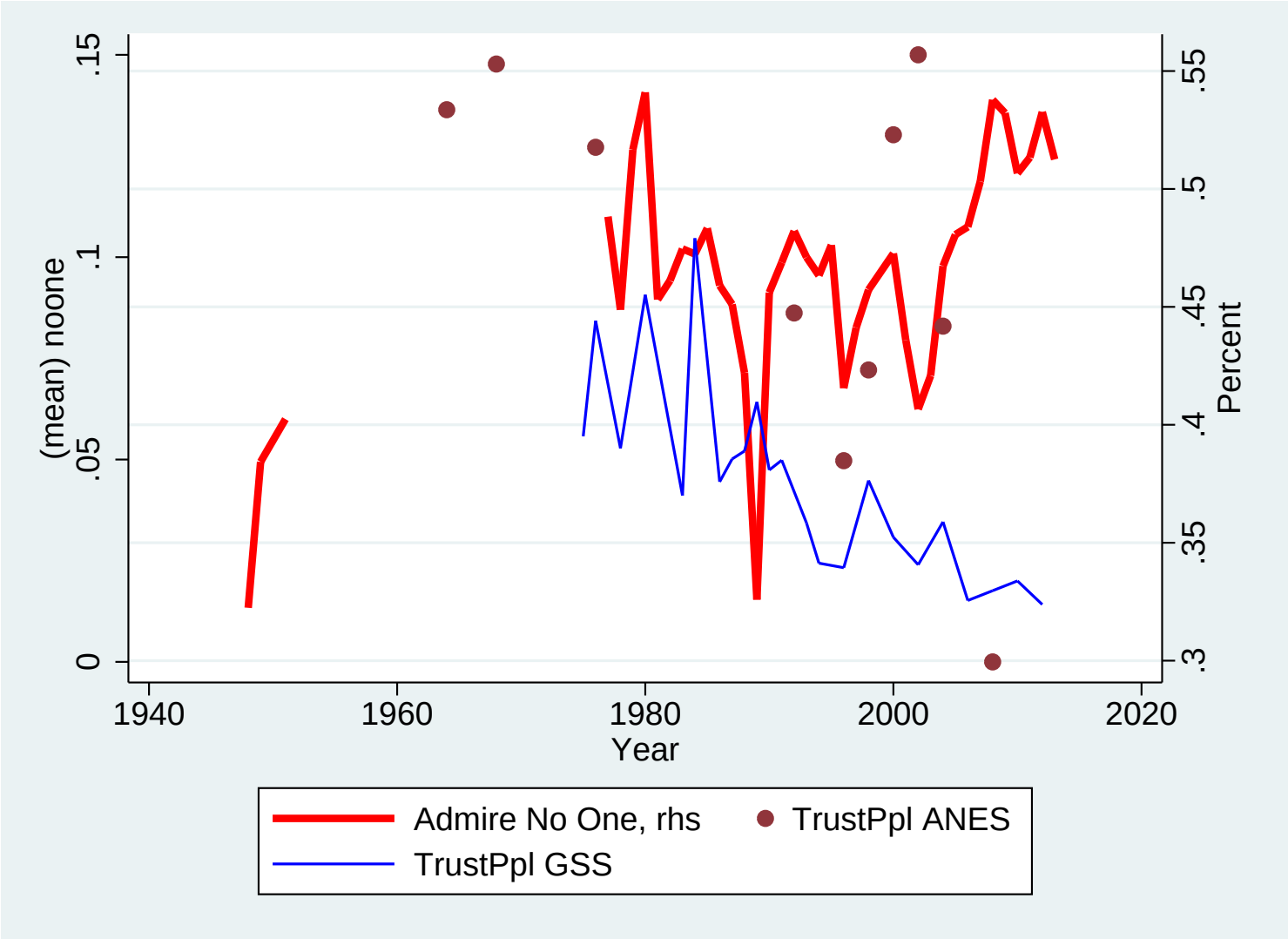
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for the president or the vice president based on first response only and the fraction of people with trust in the Government. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll and Annual National Electoral Survey.

Figure 6: Admiration of the President/Vice and Trust in Federal Government GSS



Note: This figure plots the share of votes for the president or the vice president based on first response only and the fraction of people with trust in the Government. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll and Generalised Social Survey.

Figure 7: Admiration of No-One and Trust in People



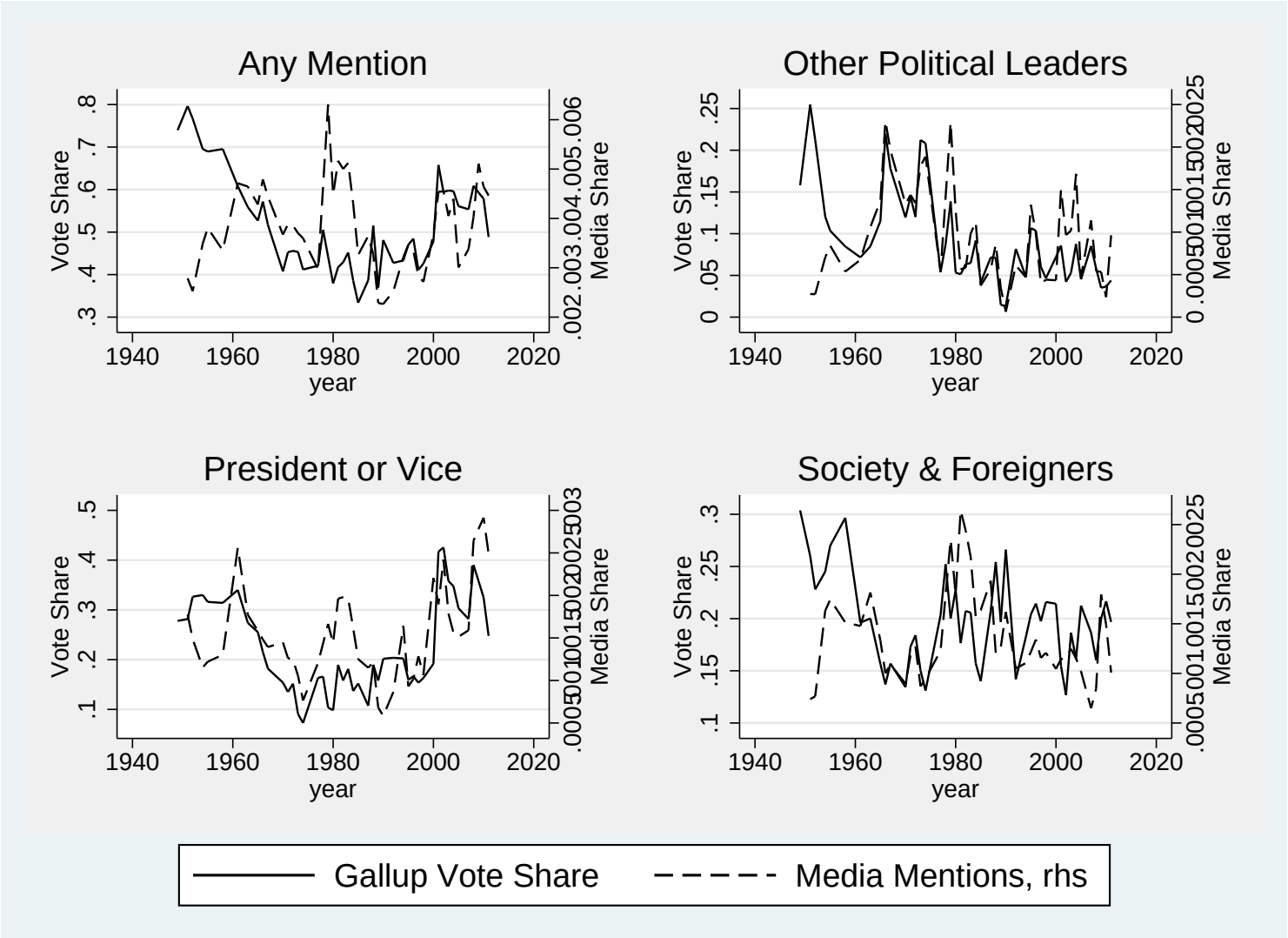
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for reporting admiring 'no-one' based on first response only and the fraction of people with trust in other people. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll, Annual National Electoral Survey and General Social Survey.

Table 8: Summary Statistics for Media Analysis

Variable	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Min.**	**Max.**	**N**
Mentions	0.75	2.809	0	86	37945
Avg. No. of Resp.	48.241	54.208	1	453	37945
News presence	0	1	-0.641	20.706	37945
Age	59.958	13.962	21	97	37945
Non White	0.152	0.359	0	1	37945

Note: This table reports summary statistics for data used in the media analysis. Mentions is the average number of times a name is mentioned across newspapers in state s and year t. Avg. No. Of Resp. is the average number of respondents during the Gallup survey in in state s and year t. News presence is constructed by scaling the mentions by the number of times the most common 4 letterwords ('that' and 'would') apper in the newspapers in state s and year t. The measure is further standard normalized for ease of interpretation. Age is measured in years and Non White is a dummy variable equal to 1 if the most admired person is not white and 0 otherwise. Source: Gallup Opinion Polls and Newspaperarchieve.com

Figure 8: Media and Admiration, by Gender 1949-2012



Note: This figure plots the share of votes for the most admired male based on first response only. Media share is defined as the total name count of most admired persons in the newspapers across the US, scaled by the total number of times the most common 4 letter words ('that' and 'would') appear in the newspapers. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll, Newspaperarchieve.com and authors calculations.

Table 9: Influence of Media on Most Admired Male - Balanced

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
News presence	0.264***	0.272***	0.263***	0.270***	0.282***	0.075***	0.026***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Age		0.013***	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***	0.331**	-0.208***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.159)	(0.076)
Non White		-0.200***	-0.299***	-0.300***	-0.299***	7.985	-13.487***
		(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(6.275)	(3.233)
Year FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	.
Region FE	No	No	No	Yes	.	.	.
State FE	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Name FE	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	.
Name Year FE	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean of dependent variable	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75
Observations	37945	37945	37945	37945	37945	37945	37945

Note: This table reports the relationship between newspaper presence and share of votes the most admired person gets. The dependent variable is the frequency of votes the most admired person got in state s and year t. News presence is the frequency of mentions the most admired person got in state s in year t, normalized by the average times 'that' and 'would' appear in the newspapers in state s and year t. All regressions have been offset by the total number of respondents in state s in year t to account for differential sampling. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis clustered by state.

8 Appendix

Table 8.1: Gallup Questionnaire Summary

Survey Details											Response Groupings											
year	**Q**	**All**	**M**	**2nd Resp M**	**F**	**2nd Resp F**	**No of coded M**	**No of coded F**	**Un M**	**Un F**	**Misc, Other**	**Dec**	**DK**	**NO**	**DK, NA**	**NA/ Blank**	**DK, NA, None**	**Dec, DK, NA, Blank**	**Dec, DK, NA, None**	**ND/ No 2nd Mention**	**Ref**	**Un**
1946	1	X					425		45					X	X							
1947	1	X							27					X	X							
1947	2				X			203						X	X					X		
1948	2		X		X		14	19	4	1				X	X							
1949	2		X		X		18	18	1			X		X	X							X
1950																						
1951	2		X				31		2		X			X	X							
1952	2		X		X		144	95	2		X			X	X							X
1953																						
1954	2		X		X		20	11	13		X				X							
1955	2		X		X		37	19	2		X						X					
1956																						
1957																						
1958	2		X		X		43	32			X		X	X		X						
1959																						
1960	2		X	X	X	X	26	14					X	X		X						
1961	2		X	X	X	X	95	66	3		X		X			X						
1962																						
1963	2		X	X	X	X	63	30	1		X							X				

Continued on next page

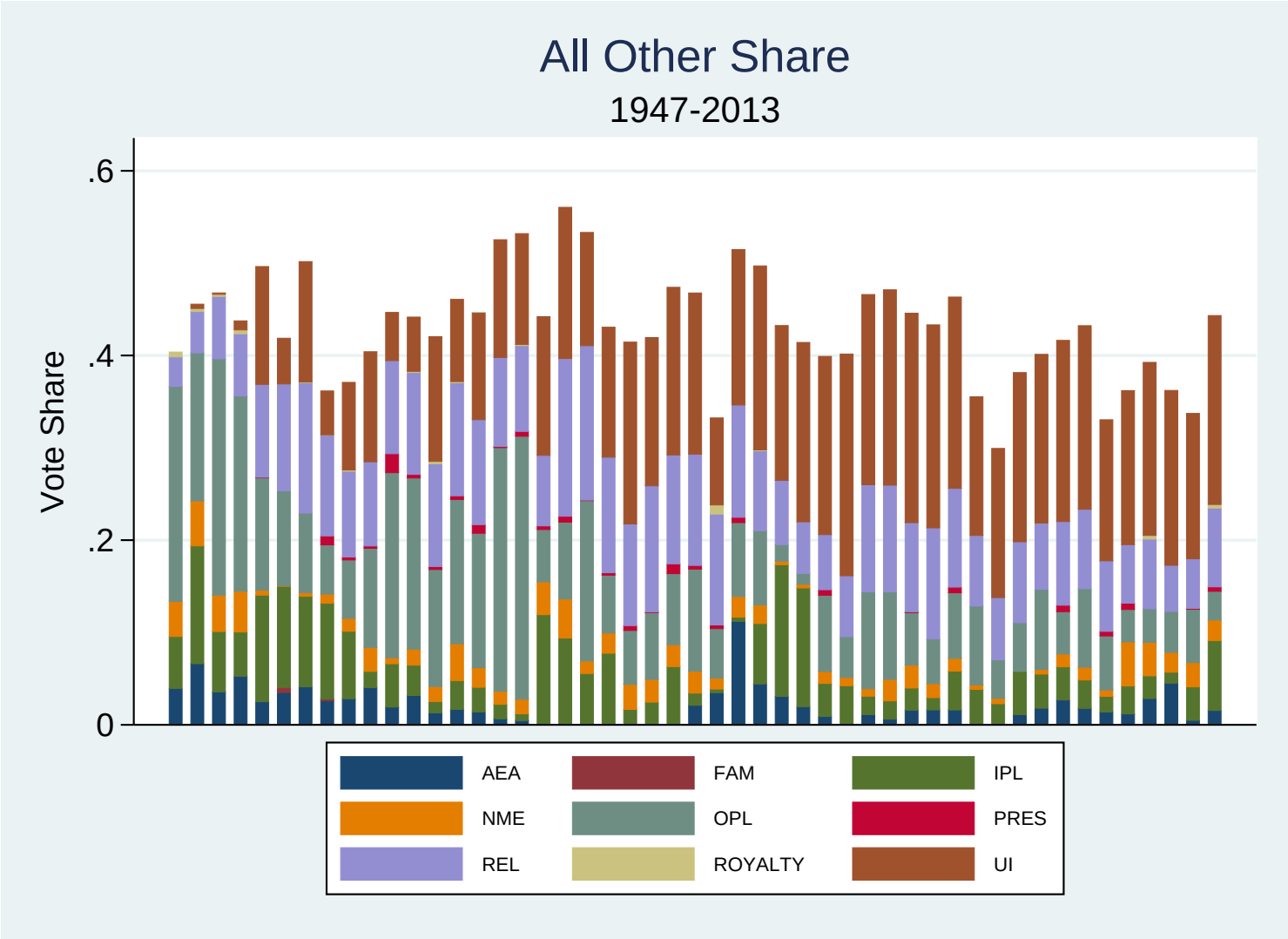
1964																					
1965	2		X	X	X	X	67	58			X							X			
1966	2		X	X	X	X	73	61			X							X		X	
1967	2		X	X	X	X	83	25			X							X		X	
1968																					
1969	3				X	X		20			X				X						
1970	2		X	X	X	X	70	40			X							X		X	
1971	2		X	X	X	X	81	55			X							X		X	
1972	2		X	X	X	X	83	55			X							X			
1973	2		X	X	X	X	87	60			X							X			
1974	2		X	X	X	X	76	58			X							X			
1975	2		X	X	X	X	86	61	1		X								X		
1976	4				X																
1977	2		X	X	X	X	24	22			X		X	X							
1978	2		X	X	X	X	26	25			X		X	X							
1979	2		X	X	X	X	27	25			X		X	X							
1980	2		X	X	X	X	29	27			X		X	X							
1981	2		X	X	X	X	28	31			X		X	X							
1982	2		X	X	X	X	34	34			X		X	X							
1983	2		X	X	X	X	34	34			X		X	X							
1984	2		X	X	X	X	41	39			X		X	X							
1985	2		X	X	X	X	46	41			X		X	X							
1986																					
1987	2		X	X	X	X	33	43	1		X		X	X							
1988	2		X	X	X	X	32	33			X		X	X							
1989	2		X	X	X	X	14	18			X		X	X							
1990	2		X	X	X	X	13	19			X		X	X							
1991																					

Continued on next page

1992	2		X	X	X	X	21	21			X		X	X						X	
1993	2		X	X	X	X	23	23			X		X	X						X	
1994	2		X	X	X	X	16	19	4		X		X	X						X	
1995	2		X	X	X	X	18	19	1		X		X	X						X	
1996	2		X	X	X	X	20	18			X		X	X						X	
1997	2		X	X	X	X	19	21			X		X	X						X	
1998	2		X	X	X	X	19	19			X		X	X						X	
1999	5	X																			
2000	2		X	X	X	X	20	15			X		X	X						X	
2001	2		X	X	X	X	18	15			X		X	X						X	
2002	2		X	X	X	X	20	19			X		X	X						X	
2003	2		X	X	X	X	19	15			X		X	X						X	
2004	2		X	X	X	X	22	19			X		X	X					X	X	
2005	2		X	X	X	X	22	22			X		X	X						X	
2006																					
2007	2		X	X	X	X	27	17			X		X	X					X	X	
2008	2		X	X	X	X	25	19			X		X	X					X	X	
2009	2		X	X	X	X	29	20			X		X	X					X	X	
2010	2		X	X	X	X	31	24			X		X	X					X	X	
2011	2		X	X	X	X	35	25			X		X	X					X	X	

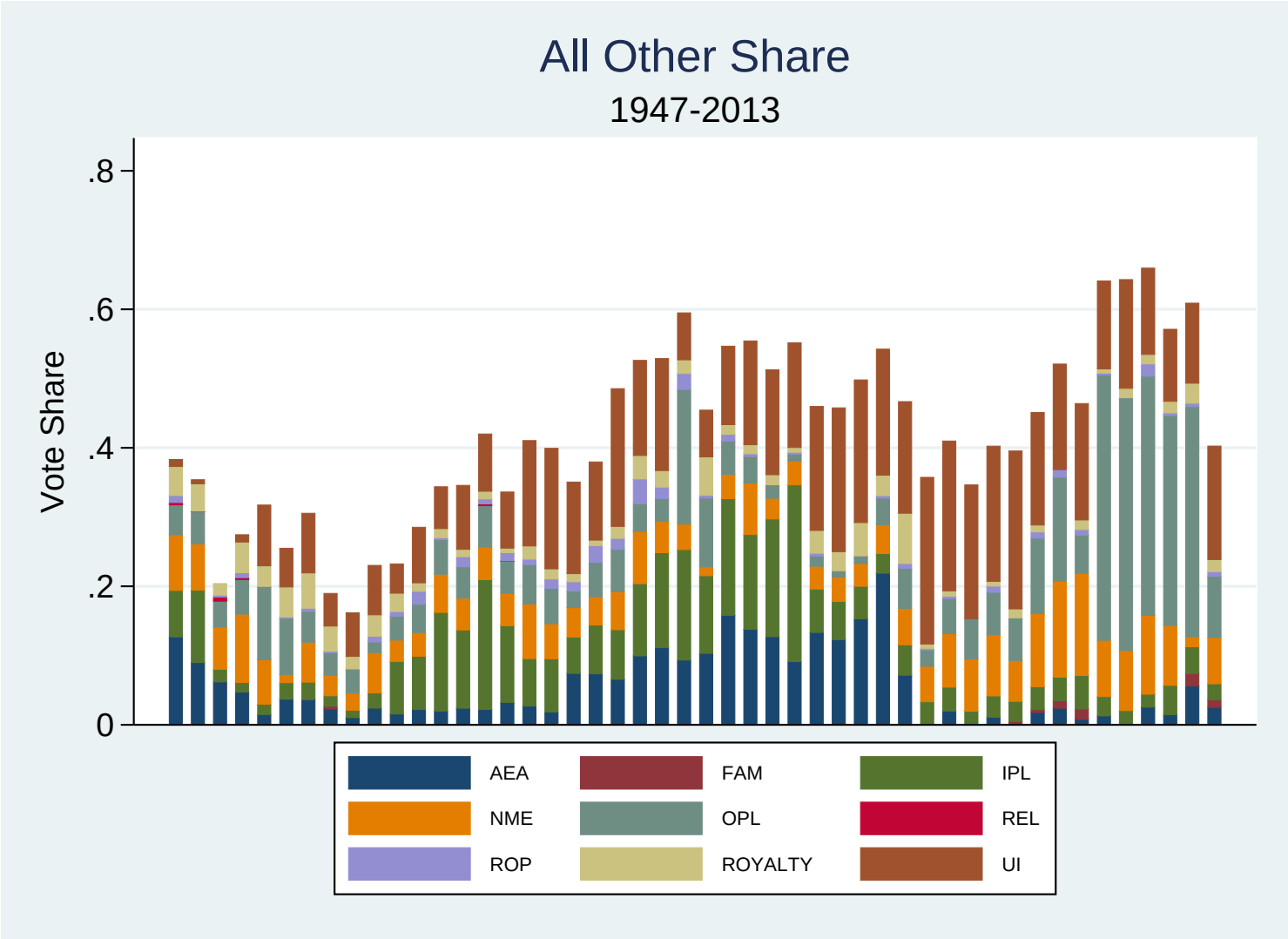
Note: This table provides a summary of the surveys questionnaires carried out by Gallup since 1947. Response grouping identifies the categories that have been used to code the survey in different years. Survey statistics provide some general descriptives regarding the most admired male question. Column Q identifies the type of question asked in each survey year. 1.What person living today in any part of the world that you have heard or read about do you admire the most? 2. What man/ woman living today in any part of the world, that you have heard or read about, do you admire the most? 3. Here is a list of 20 women. Which one of them would you say you admire the most? 4. Here is a list of prominent women. Would you tell me which three of these women you admire the most? 5. Now I'm going to read you a list of people who have lived this century. For each one, please tell me if you consider that person to one of the people you admire MOST from this century, a person you admire, but not the MOST, a person you somewhat admire, or someone you do not admire at all. First, ... How about ... M stands for males, F stands for femailes, Un stands for Unidentified, Dec stands for decesed, DK stands for don't know, NO stands for no-one, NA stands for no answer, ND stands for no data and Ref stands for refused to answer.

Figure 8.1: All Other Males



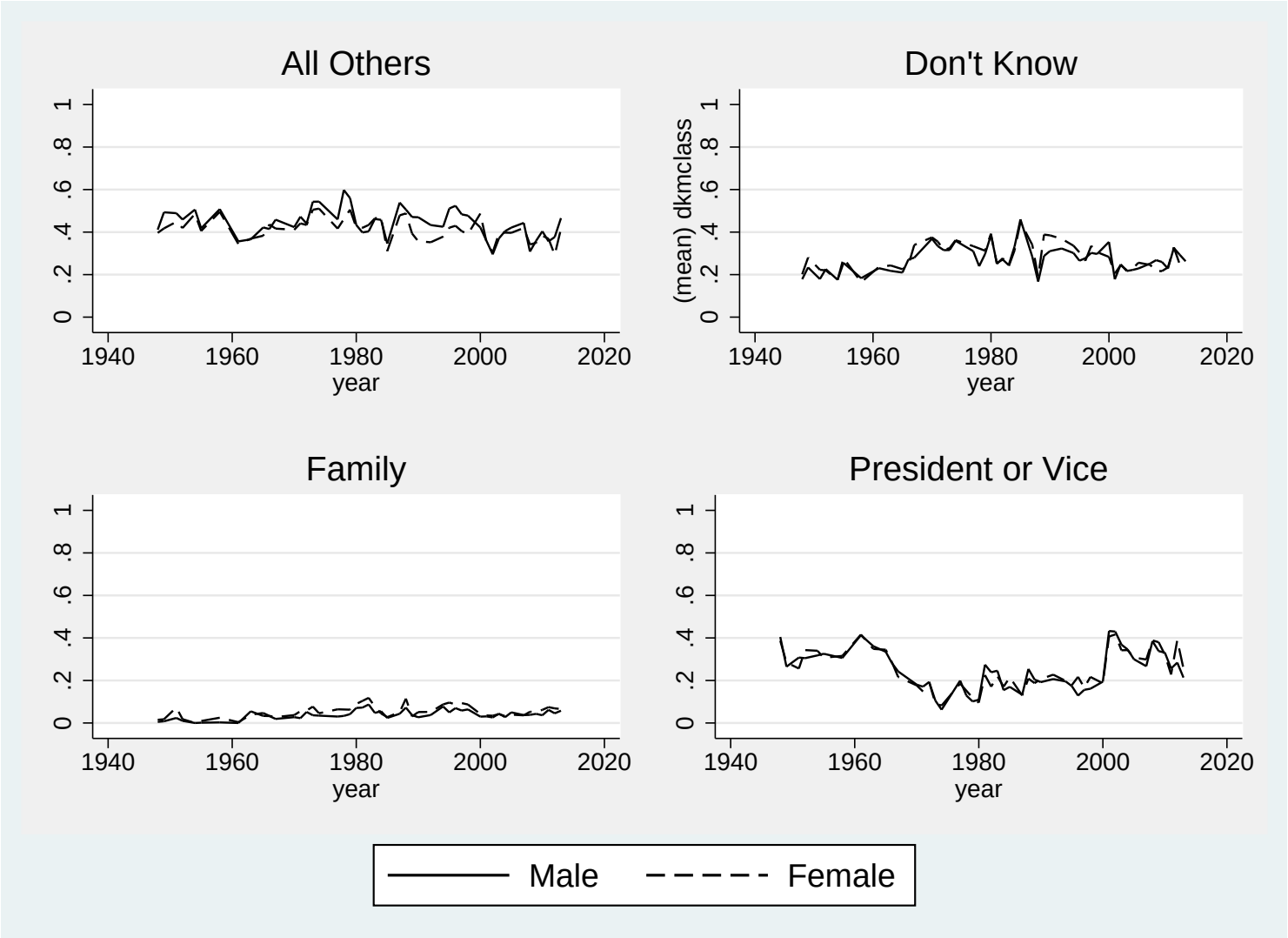
Note: This figure plots the distribution of share of votes for the all other category based on first responses adjusted data (i.e persons with rank greater than 13 are grouped under all others). Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.2: All Other Females



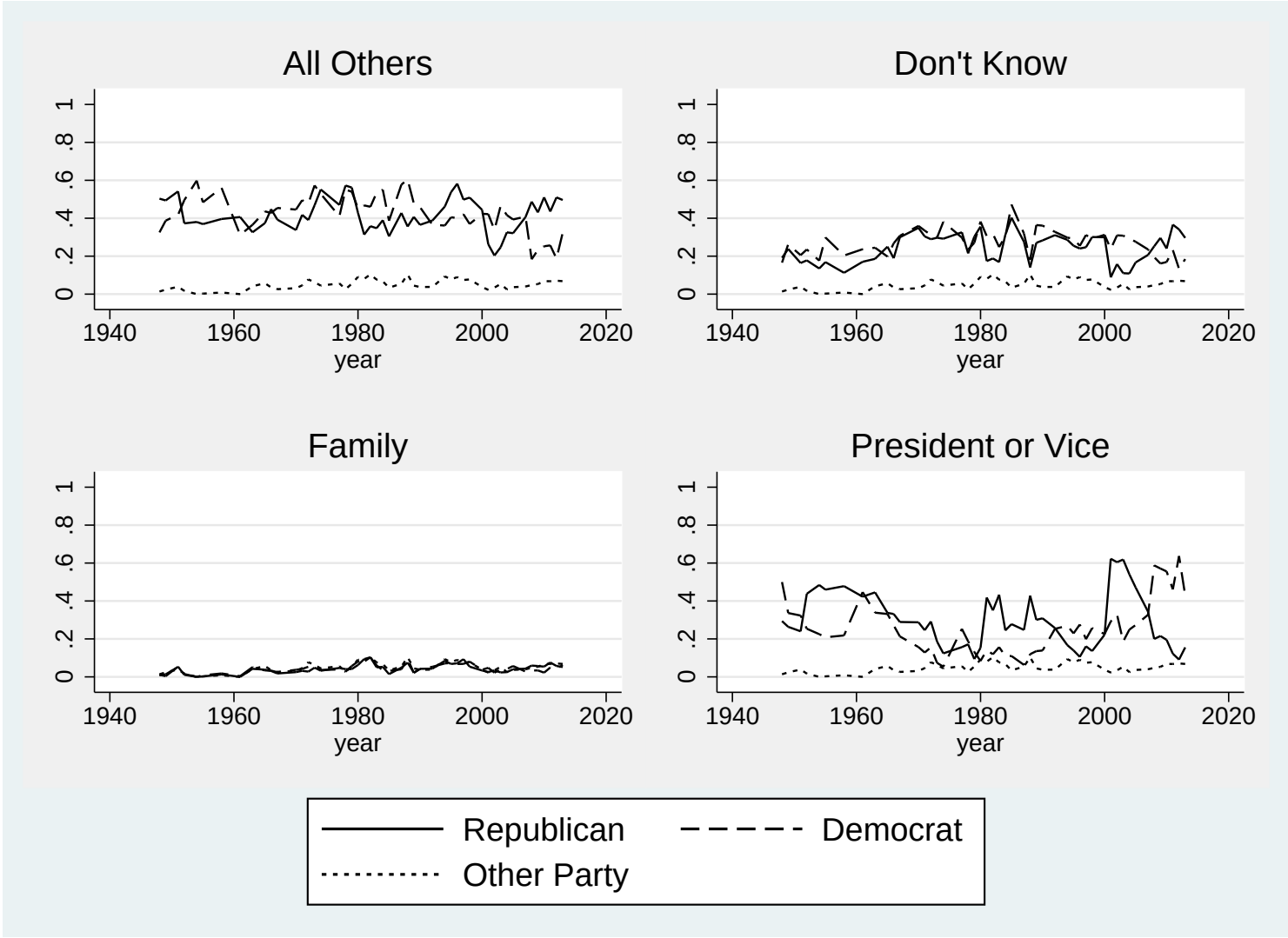
Note: This figure plots the distribution of share of votes for the all other category based on first responses adjusted data (i.e persons with rank greater than 11 are grouped under all others). Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.3: Most Admired Male, by Gender



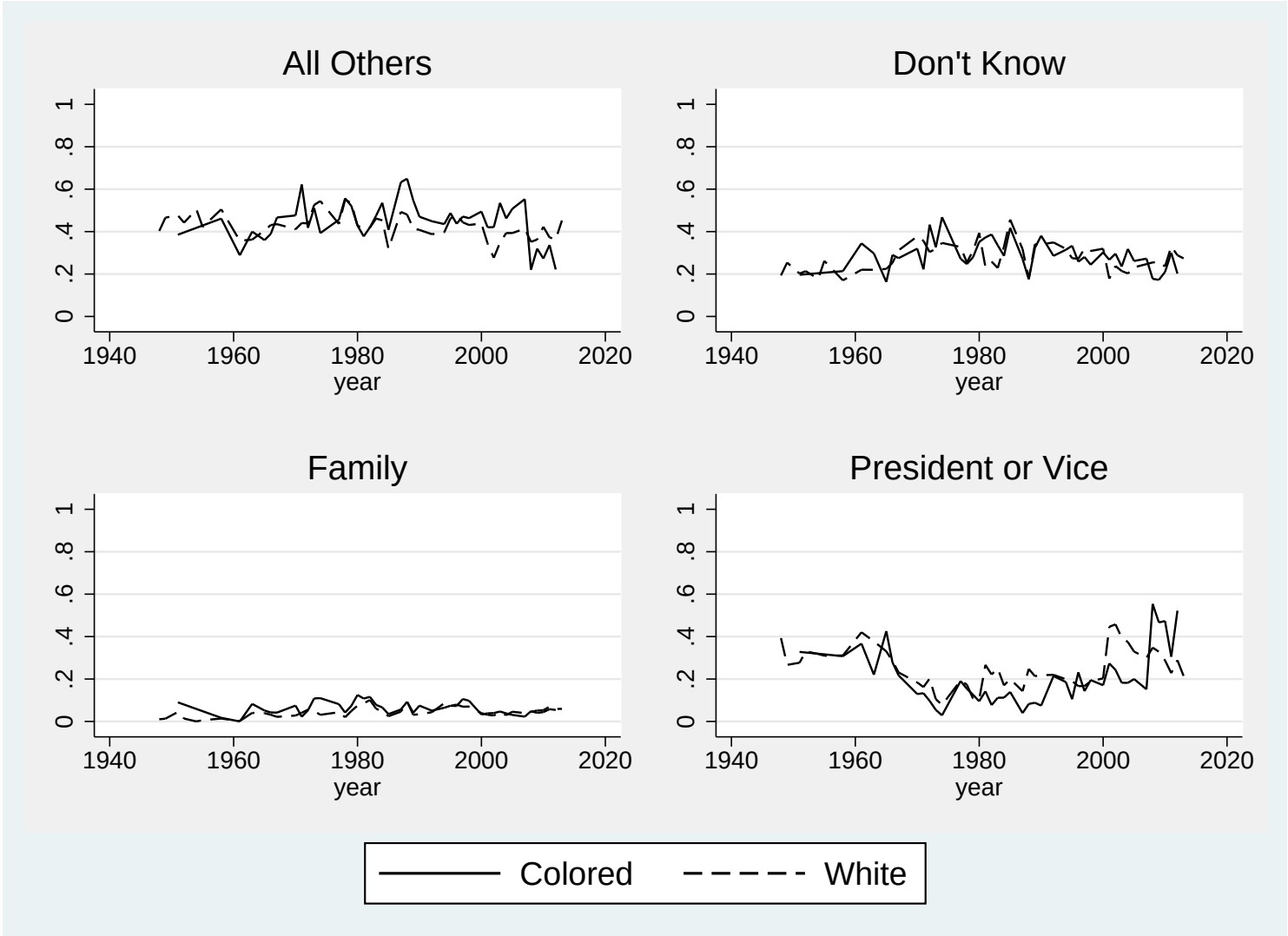
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.4: Most Admired Male, by Political Affiliation



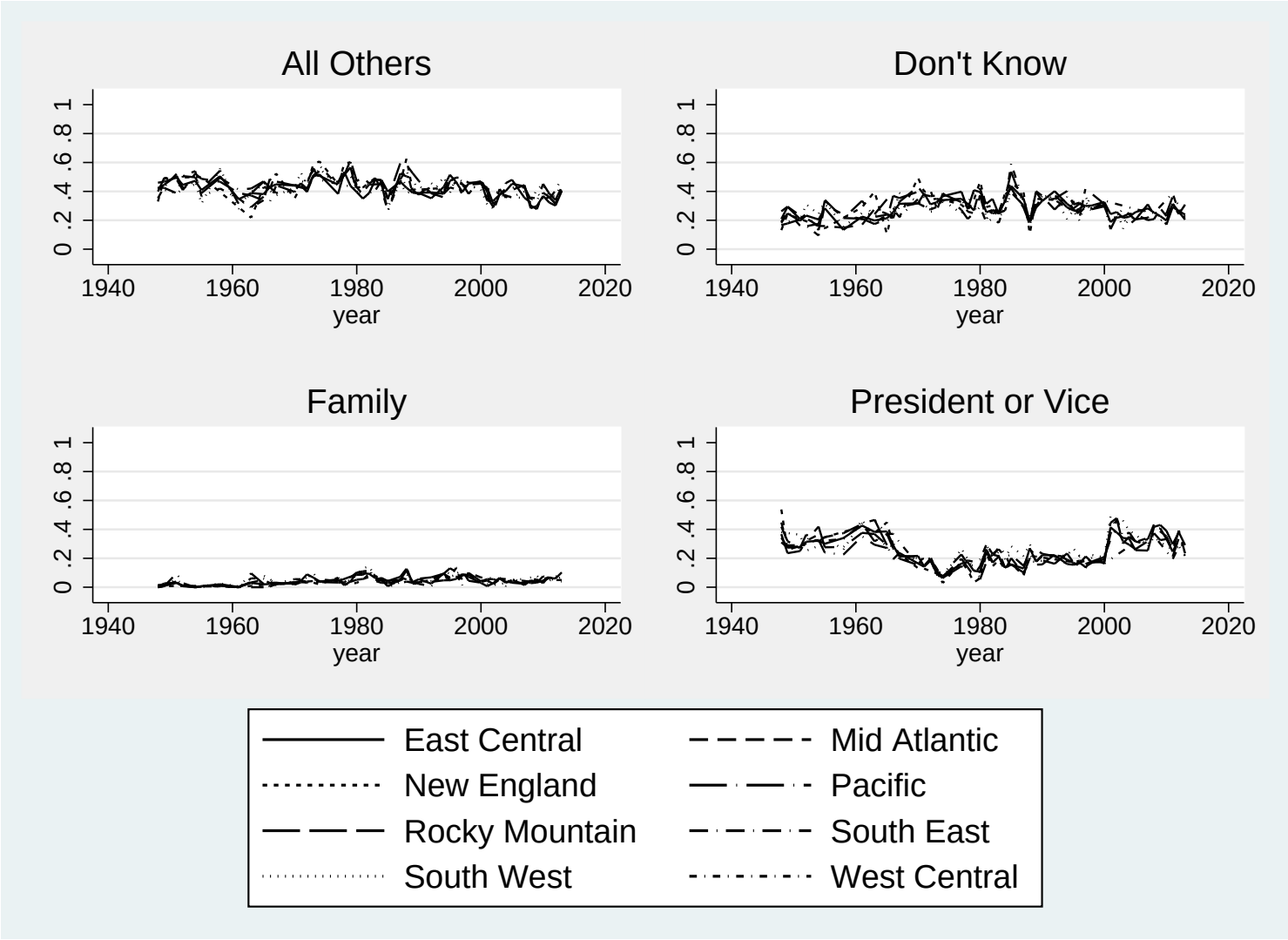
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.5: Most Admired Male, by Race



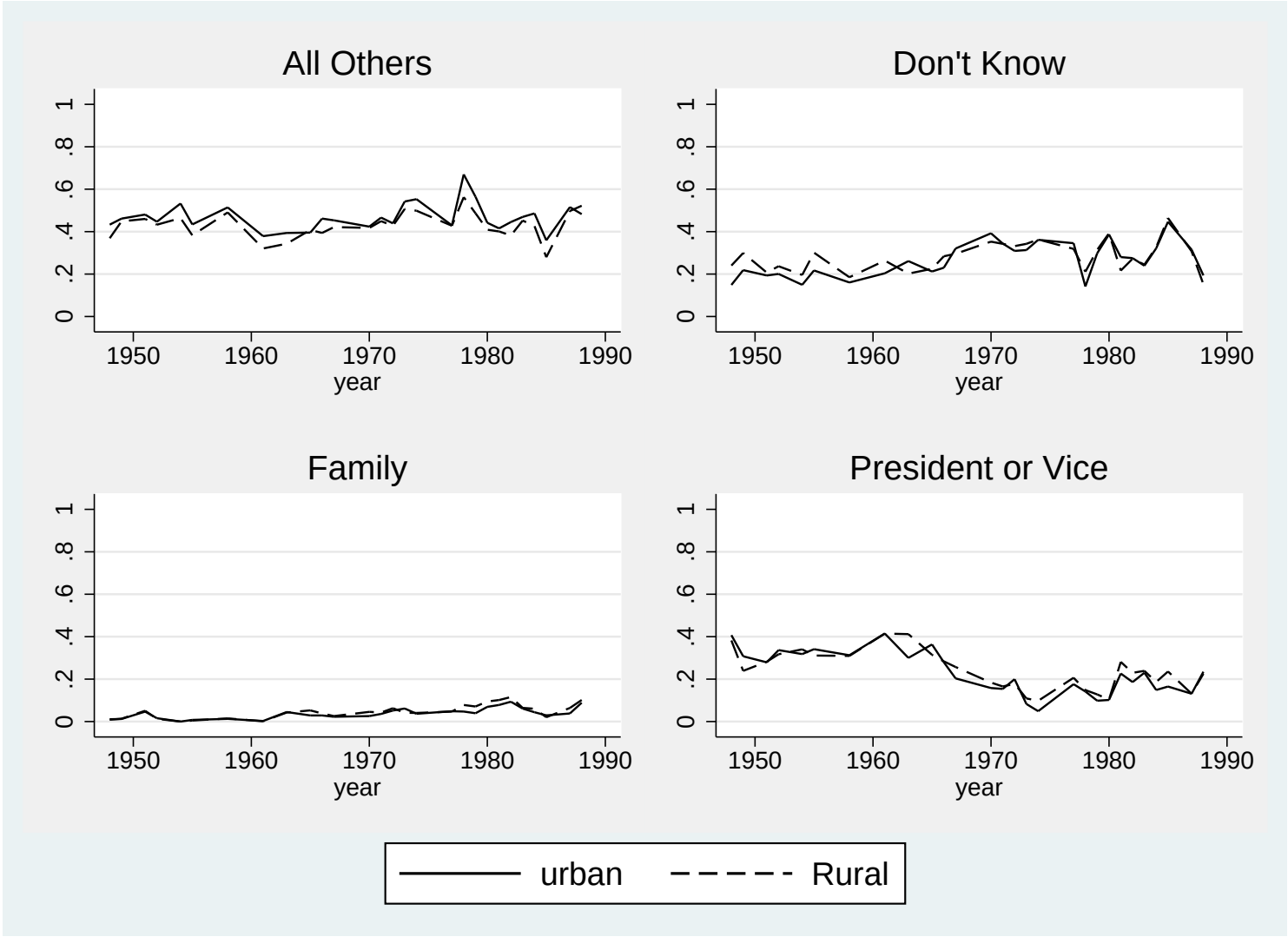
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.6: Most Admired Male, by Region of Residence



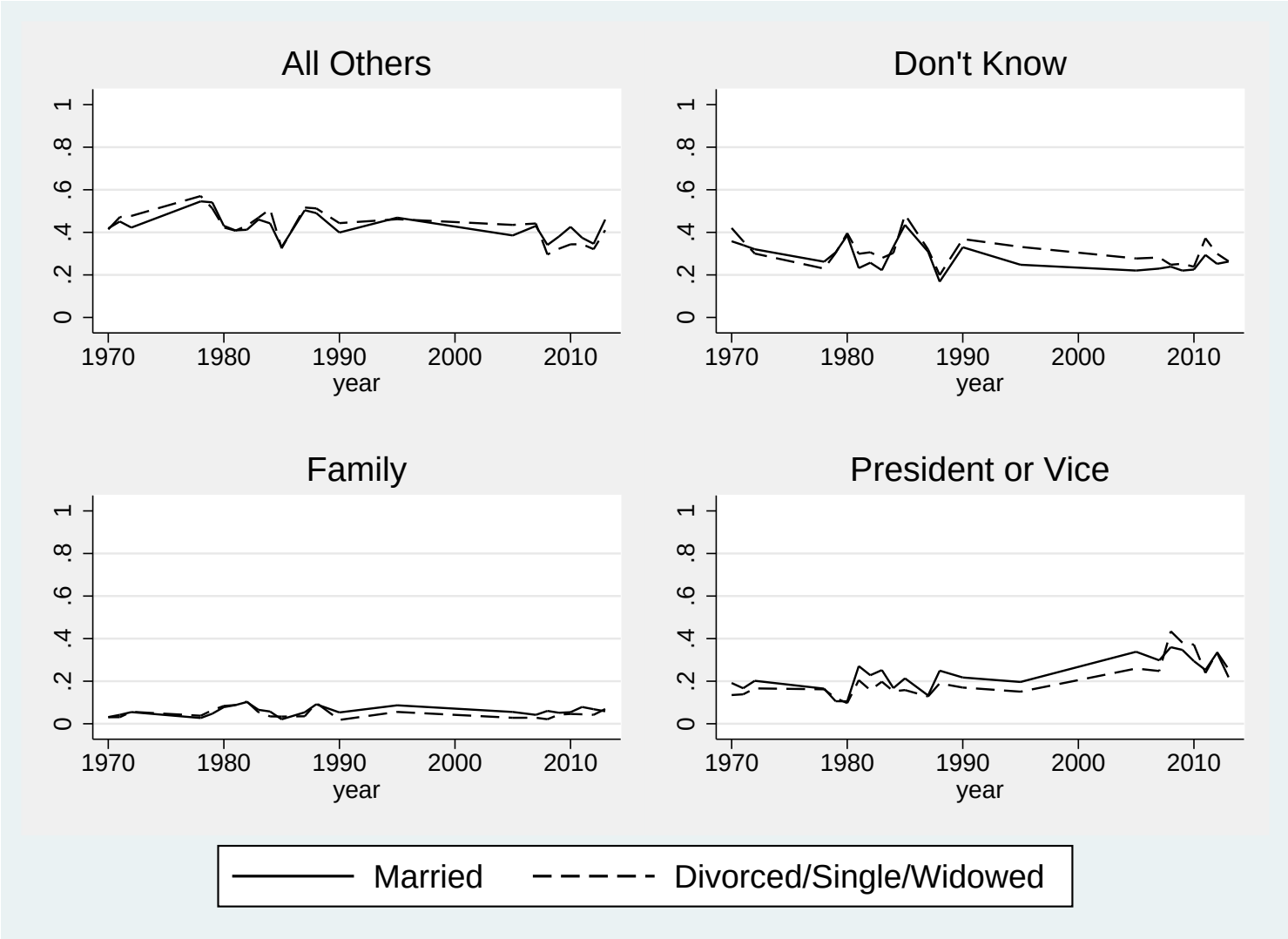
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.7: Most Admired Male, by Urban Status



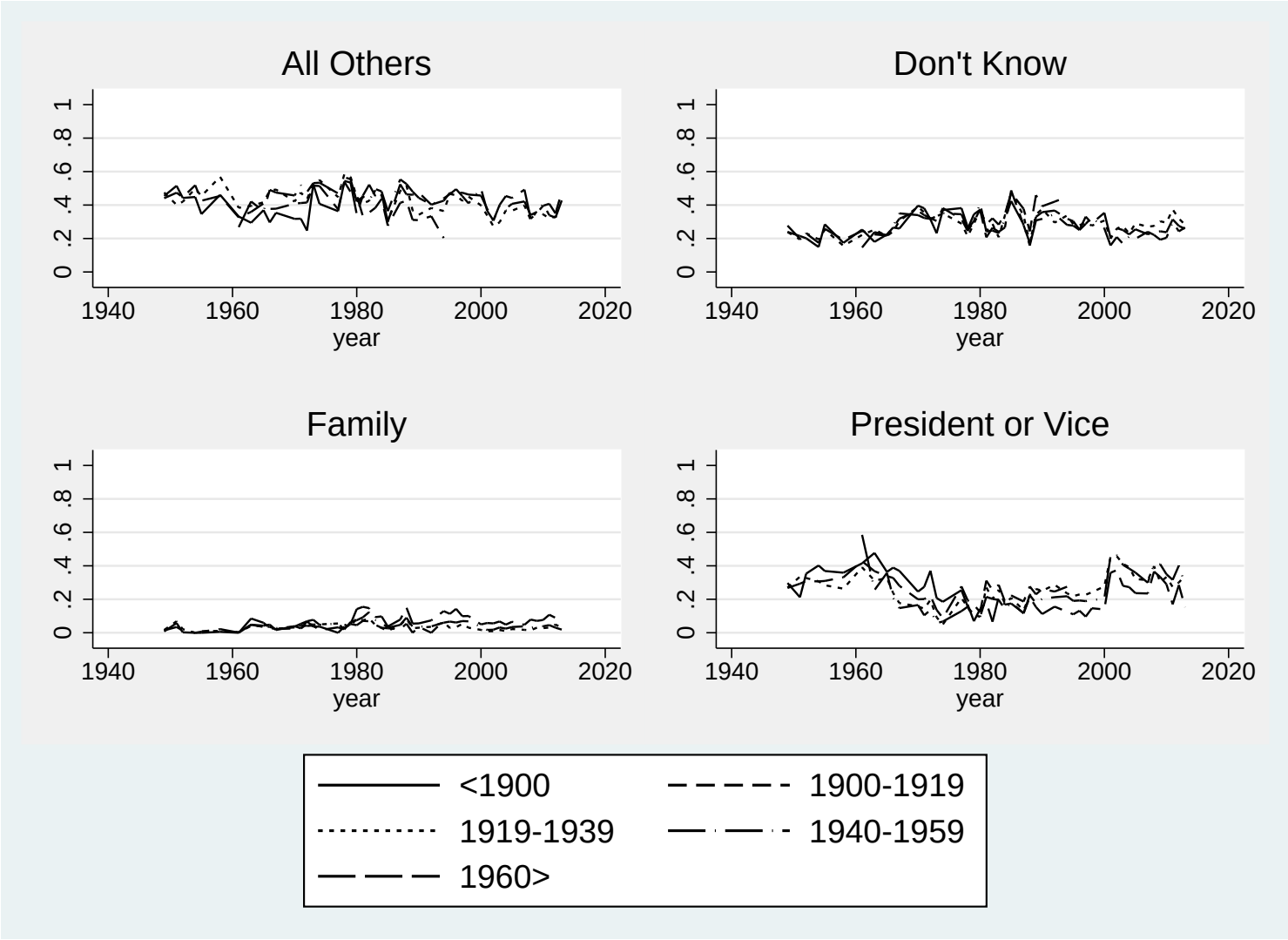
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll

Figure 8.8: Most Admired Male, by Marriage Status



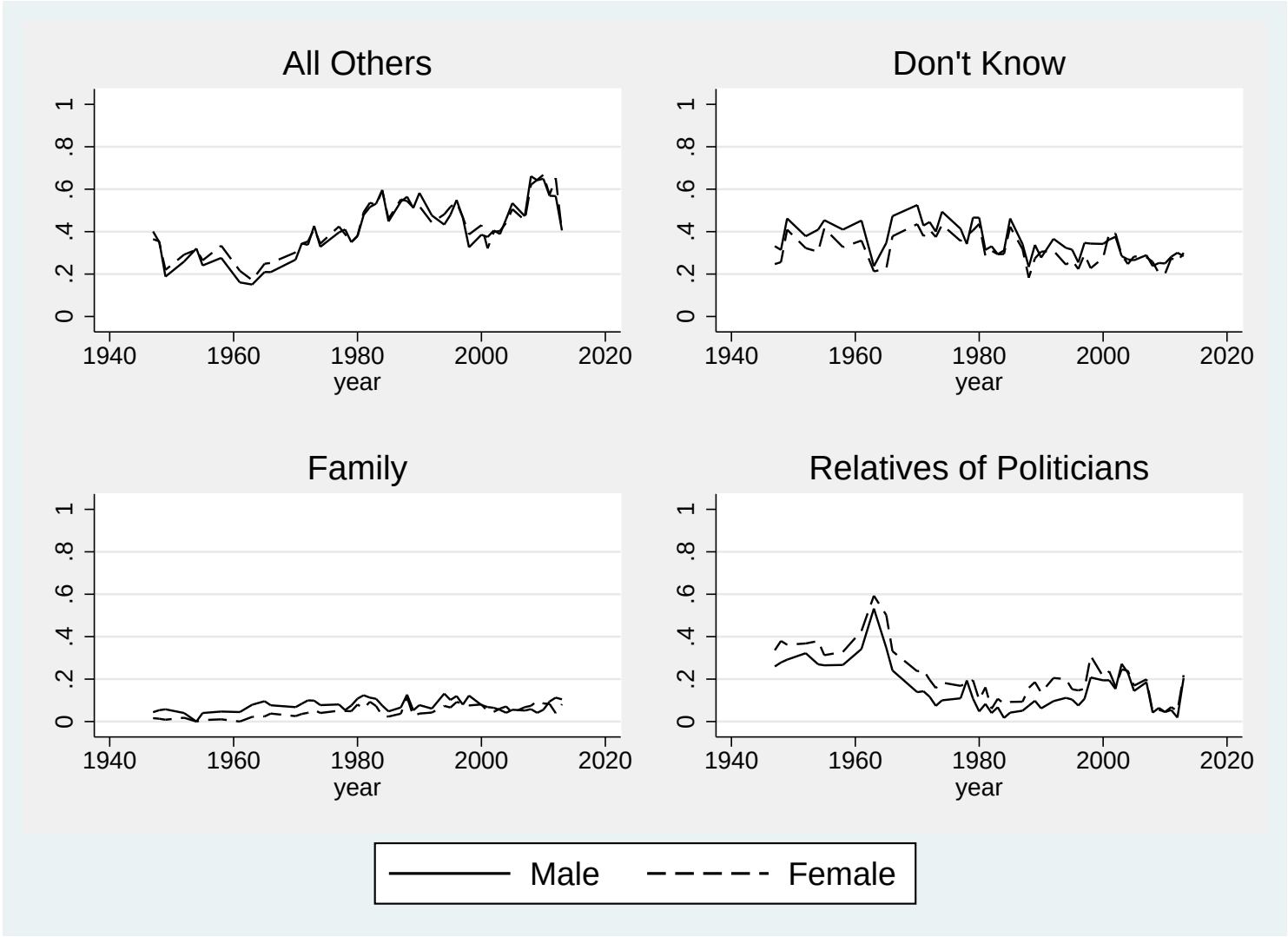
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.9: Most Admired Male, by Birth Cohort



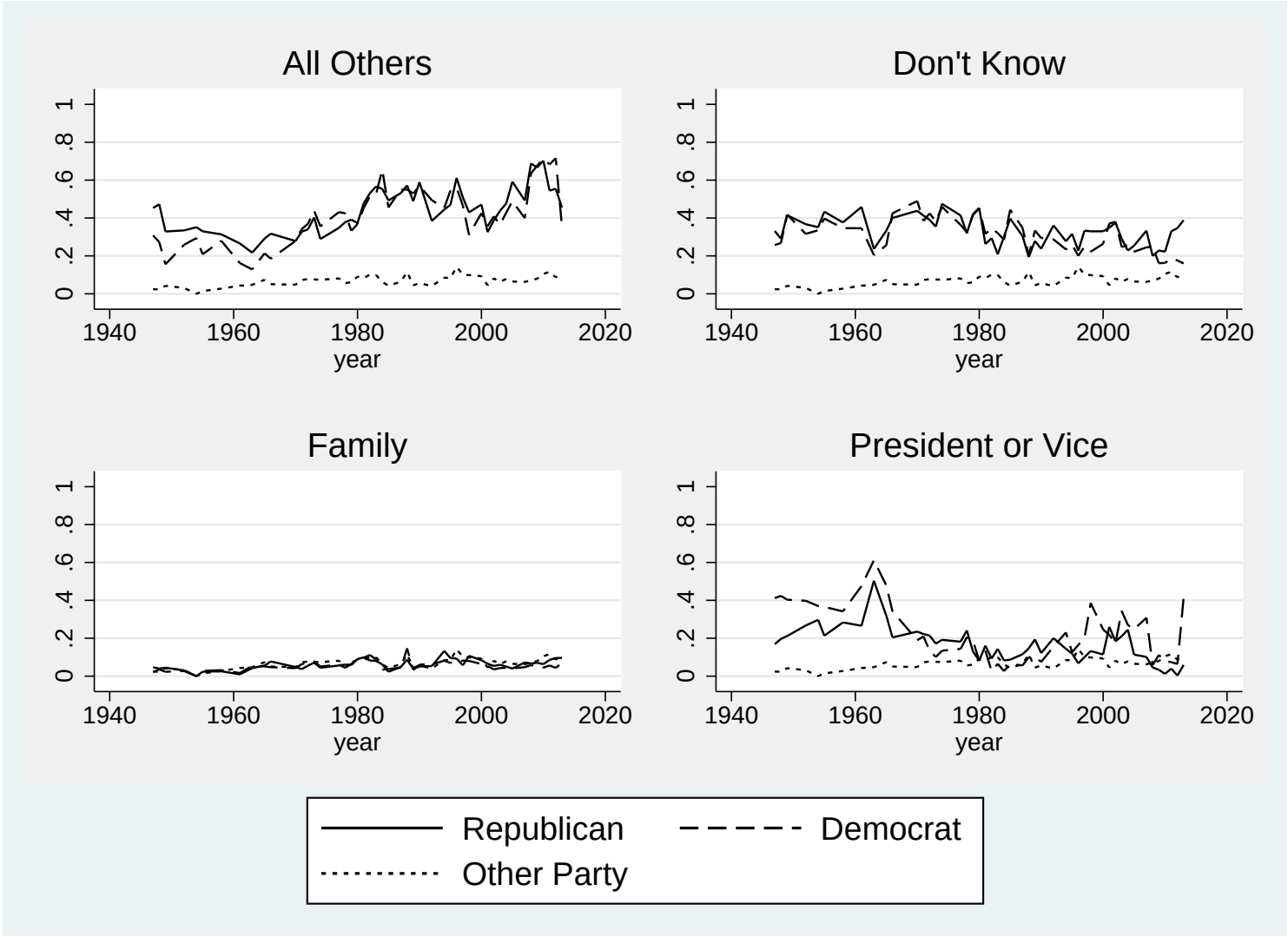
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired male over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.10: Most Admired Female, by Gender



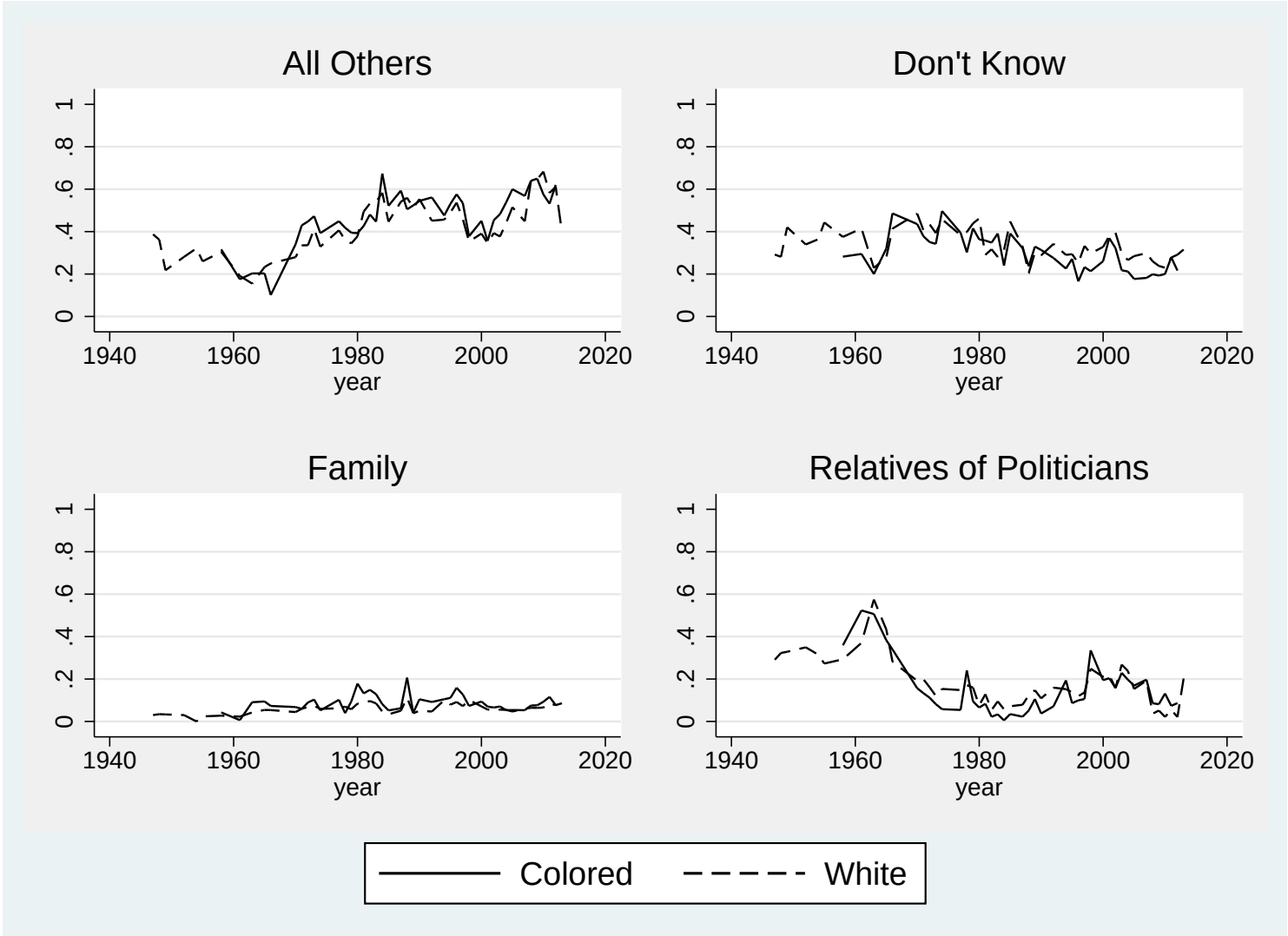
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.11: Most Admired Female, by Political Affiliation



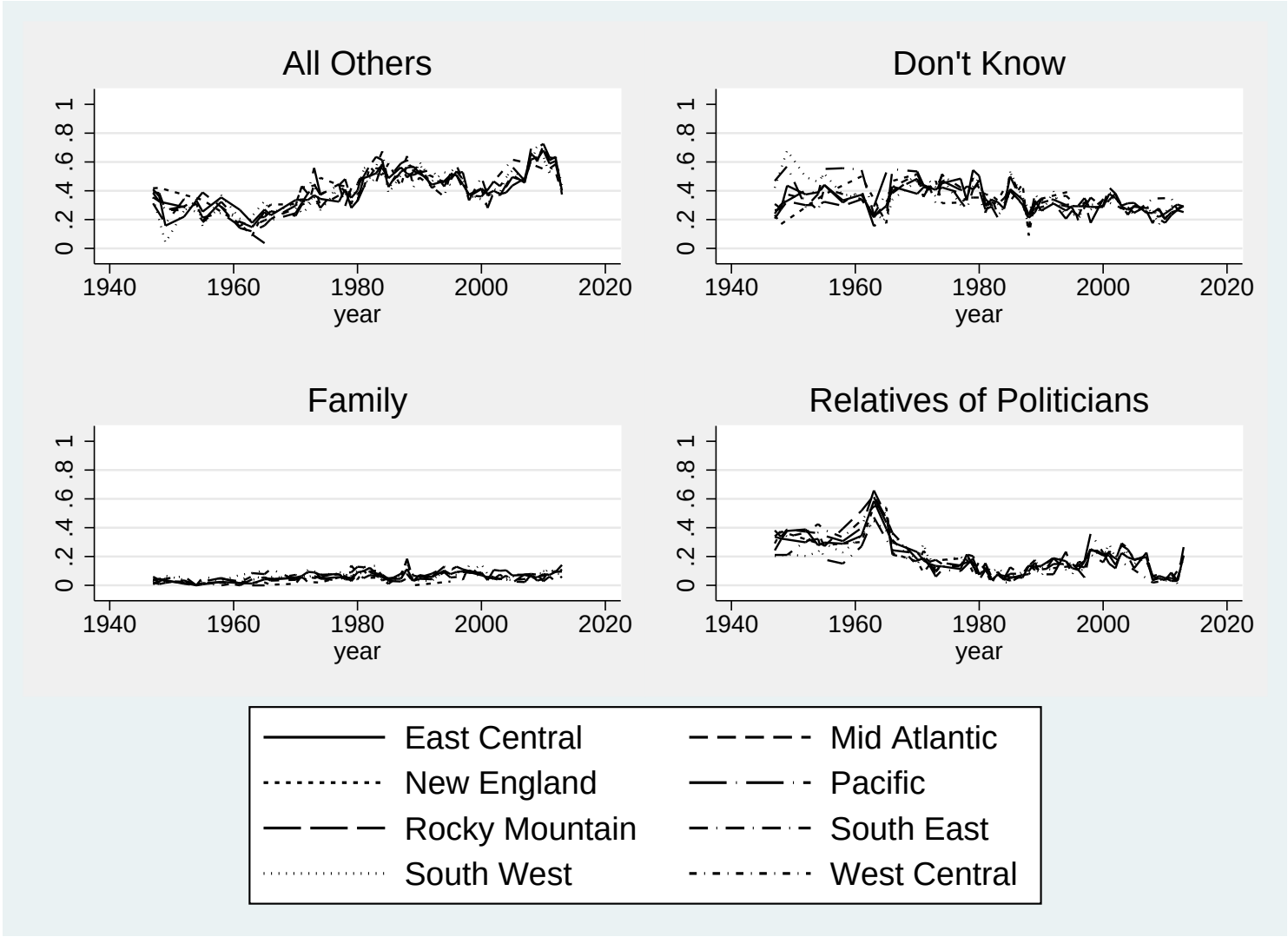
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.12: Most Admired Female, by Race



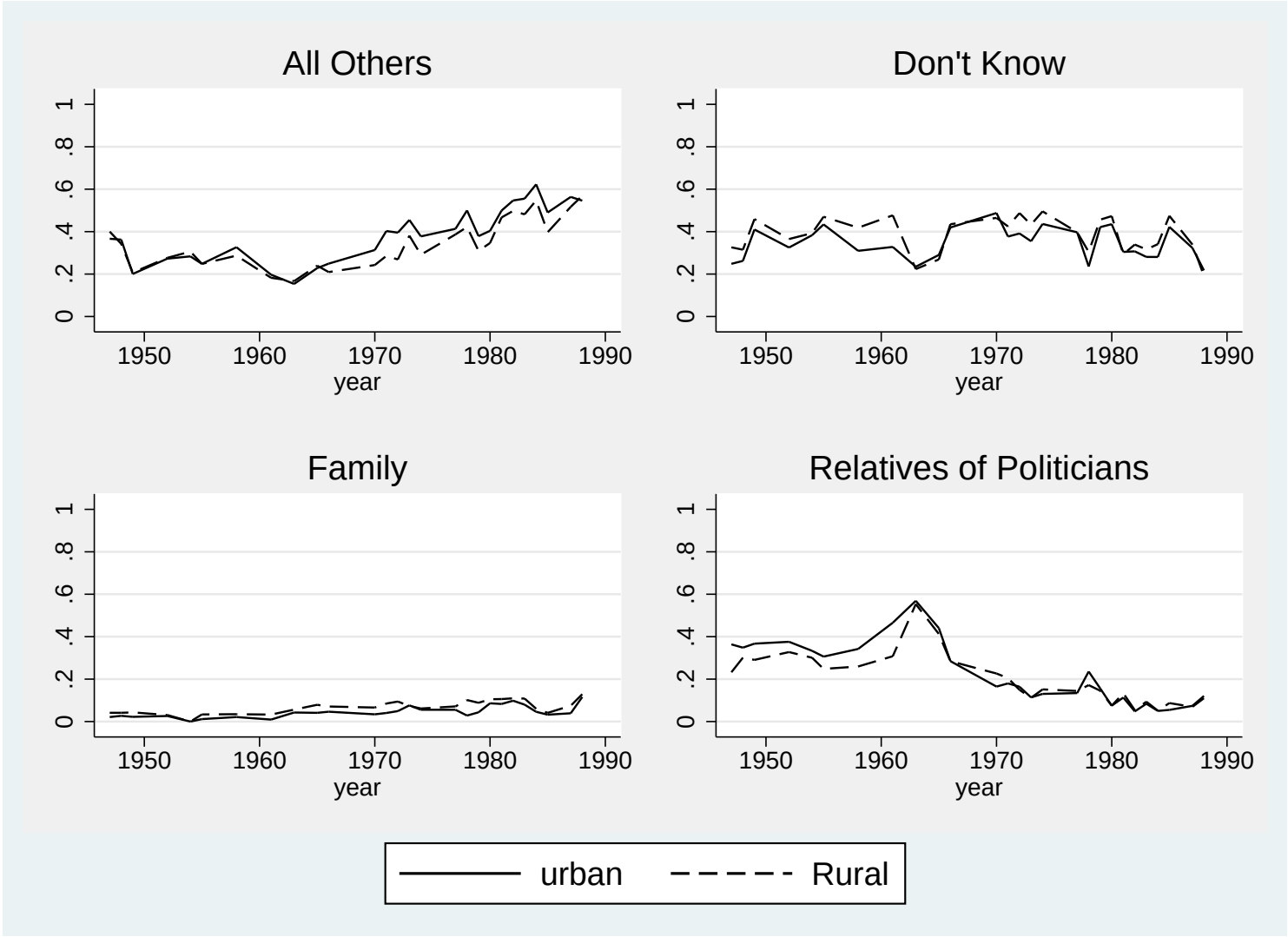
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.13: Most Admired Female, by Region of Residence



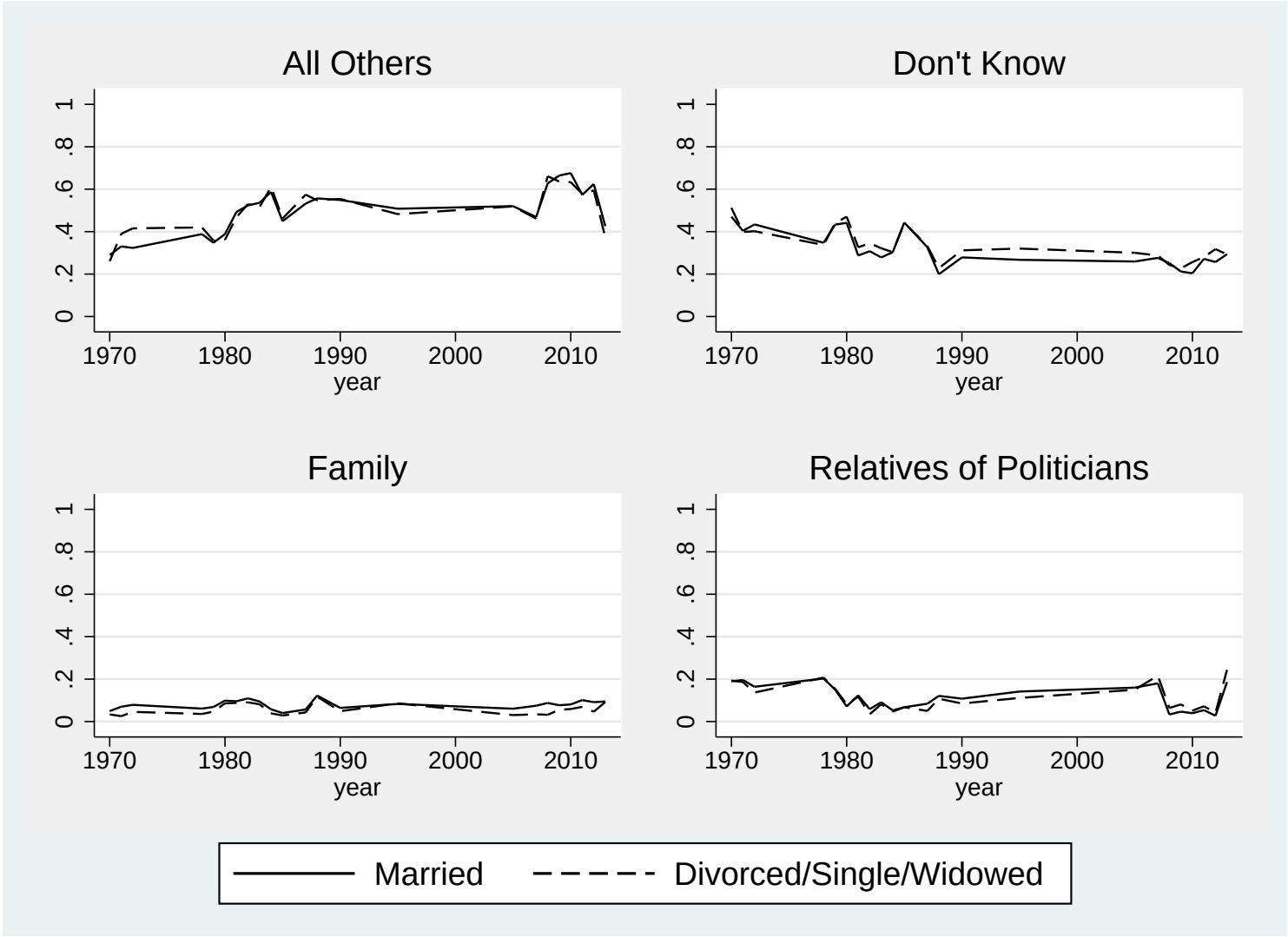
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.14: Most Admired Female, by Urban Status



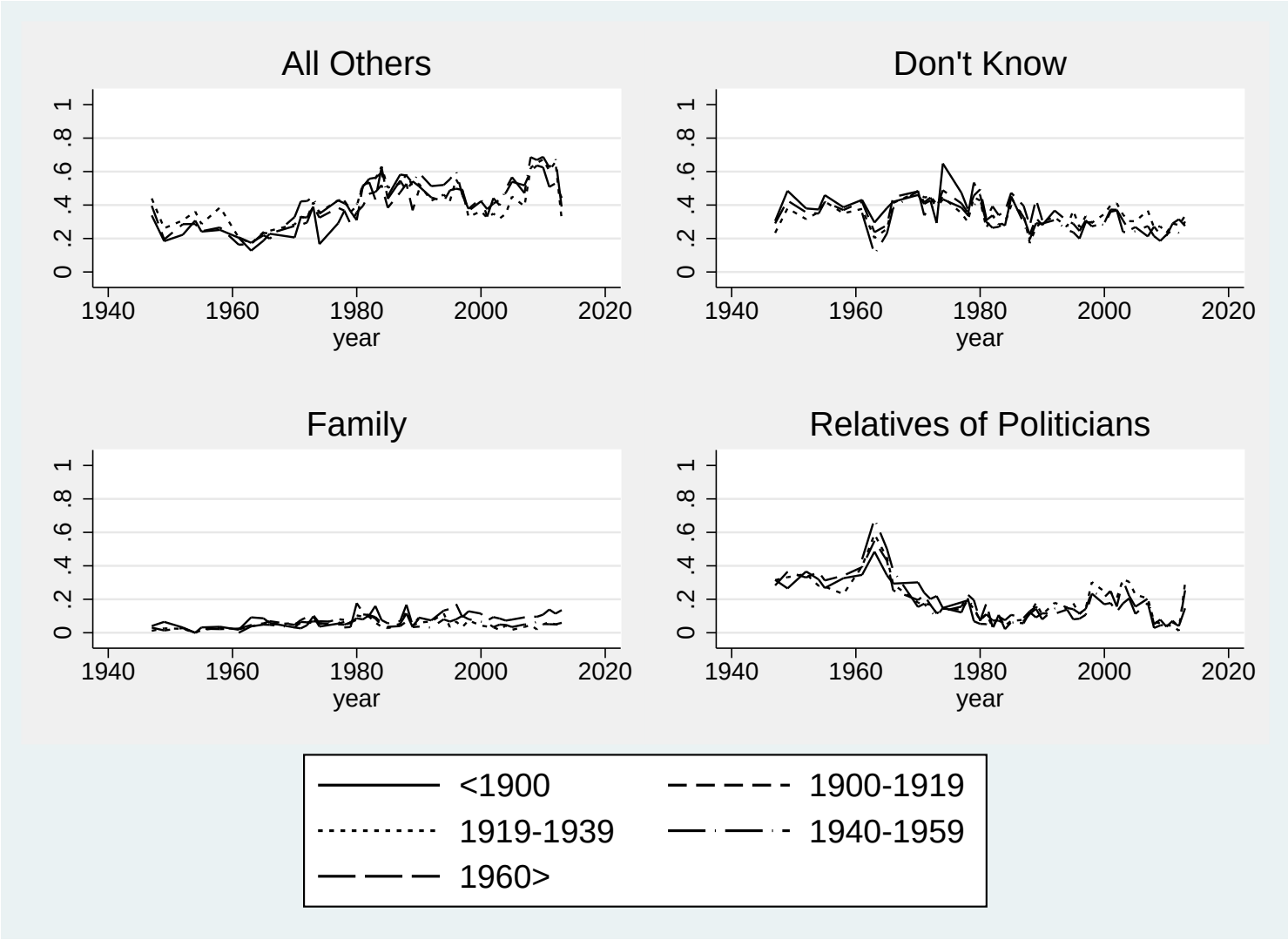
Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.15: Most Admired Female, by Marriage Status



Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

Figure 8.16: Most Admired Female, by Birth Cohort



Note: This figure plots the share of votes for most admired female over time by respondent characteristics. Source: Gallup Opinion Poll.

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