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LOMA LINDA UNIVERSITY
School of Behavioral Health
in conjunction with the
Faculty of Graduate Studies

The Virtues-Based Leadership Model: Assessing Consistency
across Three Spheres-of-Life

by

Vicki L. Smith

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Policy and Social Research

September 2014

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Each person whose signature appears below certifies that this dissertation in his/her opinion is adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.

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*“Live as if you were to die tomorrow. Learn as if you were to live forever.”
(Mahatma Gandhi).*

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Virtues-Based Leadership Model: Assessing Consistency across Three Spheres-of-Life

by

Vicki L. Smith

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Social Policy and Social Research
Loma Linda University, September 2014
Dr. Mark T. Clark, Chairperson

This study develops and tests whether the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life. I present an exploratory qualitative descriptive design using a problem-driven content analysis based within a neo-Aristotelian ethics framework focusing on Ronald Reagan's presidency as the single case study and exploring whether his personally embraced writings, publicly espoused speeches, and executively enacted orders contain concepts related to the seven Christian virtues (fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and love). Ronald Reagan was chosen because of his openly professed belief in God, his role in virtues-based decision making and access to public records for the purpose of research. The study looks more specifically at the consistency of Reagan's references to both the cardinal and theological virtues in handling three events: (1) the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) event; (2) the Father Jenco event; and (3) the Nicholas Daniloff event. It treats a leader as one who has the duty or expectation and authority (delegated or direct) to take action, even if that action is inaction, to accomplish a specified goal. The study concludes that the virtues-based

leadership model can, in fact, identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of the cardinal virtues across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres-of-life. I also offer suggestions on how the virtues-based leadership model adds to the body of academic literature and how the model can be applied in the pragmatic professional leadership arena.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“In God We Trust”

Few works have been published in the area of virtues leadership, exploring all three spheres of a leader’s life, yet virtuous leadership appears to remain a great concern for the American public. The findings of this study offer the virtues-based leadership model as a means to assess a leader’s consistency in employing virtues across their embraced (private), espoused (publicly spoken) and enacted (authoritative) spheres-of-life. To answer the research question, I employ a content analysis methodology using Ronald Reagan’s presidency as the single case study looking at three events which preceded major policy initiatives during his presidency. Understanding what a leader values may help explain how such a leader may react in other value-based, decision-making situations.

This chapter will present the research question, an overview of America’s history in civil religion, a discussion on presidential leadership and how the president may set the tone for society, presidential influences in the policy cycle, the concept of virtues, and finally, a brief overview of each of the remaining chapters.

The Research Question

This dissertation focuses on the following research question: Is the virtues-based leadership model able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life?

America's History in Civil Religion

A great many Americans waver in both trust and approval of elected officials including their trust in the president. “Whenever a president speaks openly of his religion, faith, citizens want to know how that faith affects his political priorities. And we look for clues. But the lines between religious convictions and public policy are seldom clear, even in retrospect” (Woodward, 2003). As recent as the 2012 U.S. presidential election debates, the candidates were questioned about their faith and the role it plays in their lives. America's history is enmeshed with the concept of civil religion (Bellah, 1967), Judeo-Christian values of human rights and individual freedoms.

Since the crisis of authority brought on by the Vietnam War and Watergate, many Americans have come to view ‘political ethics’ as an oxymoron. At the same time, the public has continued to demand ethical leadership from its elected representatives. This is particularly true of the president, who sits at the pinnacle of government and sets the moral tone for the executive branch. (Fousek & Wasserman, 2010, p. 2)

Perhaps it is oxymoronic because Americans question both candidates and incumbents for what they promise in public compared to what they truly believe on a personal level. There also appears to be a widening gap between campaign promises and corresponding policy priorities once an official is seated in office. Such wavering of support by the American people of their president is well documented in popularity polls.

Smith (2006) points to many factors that suggest that religious faith remains important to Americans. Many of these factors shape religious life in America and influence presidential decisions. This current study focuses on the specific values that a president holds. For the sake of developing a virtues-based leadership model, this study separates a president's life into three distinct parts – his personal life (embraced), his public life (espoused) and his authoritative life (enacted). It distinguishes the values

found in each sphere of a president's life and while separate, they can be occasionally overlapping. These parts are as follows: *embraced sphere* – those that the president holds personally; *espoused sphere* – those that the president speaks about in public; and *enacted sphere* – those that the president acts upon with authority to do so. These terms so understood are employed throughout this study.

Individual Americans may distrust the president because of the leader's failure to follow-through on promises. This difficulty is compounded exponentially for the policy strategists whose charge is to bring a legislative proposal to the floor for action in hopes that it coincides with the President's agenda. It is not obvious whether a president's personal beliefs will be more influential upon the policy or whether what he publicly states will be more influential on the success of that proposed policy. "Moreover, both biblical and contemporary narratives suggest that however elusive a leader's character may be, it is no more difficult to discern than his policy, and may provide a more reliable basis for predicting his actions" (Carney, 2010, p. 76). The policy strategist may find a lack of empirical evidence on a leader's character difficult. Smith (2006) suggests that "although numerous books explore the presidents' personal piety and use of civil religion rhetoric, few books or articles examine, or even suggest, that their convictions influenced their policies and performance as our nation's chief executives" (p. 6). While there is a small sampling of empirical research that provides insight into formulating a question about this problem (D'Souza, 1997; Edwards, 2011; Kaufmann 2011), there is far less evidence when it comes to providing an answer to this question and fewer still that lend to consistency, stability or reliability.

Sicherman (2007) points to four elements of American civil religion: America is exceptional; American “values,” including the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, apply to all people everywhere; American motives are pure and our advocacy of a better life for others is not sullied by base material interests; and America never acts alone because God is our Ally. Previous research in the area of virtues and American presidential leadership tends to focus on popularity poll data compared to the rhetoric of individual State of the Union speeches (in fact, a simple Google search will result in more than five million hits). Other research focuses on the “rhetoric” of a president’s stated policy versus his enacted policy without mention of his embraced beliefs. Occasionally, there is in the literature a comparison of a single speech to a set of values/terms/ideas, but more frequently, the focus turns to what seems like a narrative venture into a chronological study of the office of the presidency (Canes-Wrone, 2005; Coburn, 2000; Gaddis, 1992; Pfiffner 2011; Popkin, 1991; Schweizer, 2002). Riggio, Zhu, Reina and Maroosis (2010) developed a Leadership Virtues Questionnaire (LVQ) measuring effectiveness from the development of leader virtues and ethics but it is not focused on crossing spheres of a leader’s life. Likewise, Michaeilova and Minbaeva (2012) offer the Danisco case, which examines the processes of espousment, enactment and internalization of organizational values by surveying staff at several international locations; however, the study does not assess a leader’s personally held values within a virtue-based framework. Both Riggio, et al. and Michaeilova and Minbaeva’s research contribute to the study of virtue in leadership; however, they do not address the three different spheres of a leader’s life.

Presidential Leadership – Setting the Tone for Society

Bellah (1967) argues that civil religion is expressed in “a set of beliefs, symbols and rituals” (p. 3), but he does not examine whether the president serves as a conduit of religion itself. Bellah (1967) does note that the president may set the precedent for such civil religion as it reflects both the leader’s public and private views. Neither Bellah nor other researchers explore or explain whether the values based on the model of civil religion are solely on personal conviction and certainly not whether there is a correlation between America’s civil religion and the seven Christian virtues. Smith’s (2006) study comes close by looking at the faith of several U.S. presidents but fails to provide a concrete model.

Presidential virtue is an instance of public virtue, which raises the question of whether public and private virtues are the same or different. Much evidence suggests that they are not the same – at least not entirely. In private life, candor and honesty are regarded as virtues, but many presidents have deliberately obscured the truth when they thought the national interest required it. (Galston, 2010, p. 91)

Galston (2010) further contends that a world where the positives of private character and public character coincide is an “imaginary world”.

Drawing on the foundations of the extant literature, albeit sparse, I answer the question of whether a virtue-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life by using a virtues-based leadership model provides a solid starting point for further study into the role of religious values in leaders and especially in the role of the U.S. president.

A look specifically at whether a president brings forward values that fit Bellah’s (1967) theory of American civil religion, especially utilizing a content analysis of the

seven Christian virtues, reveals that the literature is simply non-existent. In order to address this gap, this study puts forward the development of a virtues-based leadership model for future use in case studies concerning moral leadership and is tested here by exploring Ronald Reagan's presidency and data on three specific events. First is the Professional Air Traffic Controller's Organization (PATCO) event which culminated in Reagan firing more than 11,000 federal air controllers after the air controllers held an illegal strike and failed to return to work. Second, the Father Lawrence Martin Jenco event which involves the taking of Father Jenco as a hostage in Beirut and led Reagan to the selling of arms to Iran as a precursor to the Iran-Contra Affair. Third, the Nicholas Daniloff event where Daniloff was taken prisoner by the KGB in the former U.S.S.R. and charged with espionage. Daniloff was part of what led to the talks between Reagan and former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at Reykjavik regarding reduction of nuclear weapons. While the *PATCO*, *Jenco* and *Daniloff* events are quite different from one another, they also have enough similarities to ascertain whether there was consistency in the way President Reagan handled each. Due to limited sources available to extrapolate data for the enacted sphere of Reagan's life in relation to the Jenco event, a decision was made to add the PATCO affair to the study. This decision was made prior to coding of the data.

Ronald Reagan's values as seen during his presidency are captured in this way: values in his embraced sphere-of-life are captured through official documents such as his personally written memoirs, books and diaries. His values in his espoused sphere-of-life are captured through his public speeches. His values in his enacted sphere-of-life are captured through his executive orders or presidential directives. I used computer-aided

content analysis to explore whether there is consistency in references made of both the Cardinal and Theological virtues across the three spheres of Reagan's life. This general study in the humanities blends social policy, political science and its subfields of international relations and security studies along with communication studies, sociology, theology and ethics and should assist current and future policy specialists.

There is no lack of good and well-crafted books on the subject of Ronald Reagan and his presidency. In fact, the same can be said about the academic research on issues surrounding the time period that Ronald Reagan was President of the United States and his presidential rhetoric. When narrowing the search for empirically qualitative studies about matters concerning Ronald Reagan's presidency, however, the gap widens dramatically. The studies are nearly non-existent when they attempt to measure Ronald Reagan's personal beliefs against his publicly spoken and authoritatively enacted beliefs. Most current research focuses on the lingering question of who was responsible for winning the Cold War. In a recent review of the literature, however, more researchers are linking Reagan's strategy in ending communism to a type of moral imperative based on his intrinsic commitment to human freedom and natural rights (Edwards, 2011; Pfiffner, 2011; Schweizer, 2002). I use the development and testing of the virtues-based leadership model to determine whether Reagan's virtue-based leadership style is consistent across the three spheres of his life.

In addition to recent research, the published article that most closely supports the current study is Shuh and Miller's (2006) work on the espoused versus enacted values of three presidents: George H.W. Bush, William J. Clinton and George W. Bush. The authors compare the values held by these presidents to various federal agencies' mission

statements to determine correlation coefficient. Speeches were utilized for the three presidents' espoused values and Executive Orders for enacted values. For the agencies, the researchers used the mission statements as espoused and a survey of executives for the enacted values. Schuh and Miller's main focus was to determine if Woodrow Wilson's politics/administration dichotomy would be supported. Most importantly, the article's conclusion confirmed a gap in the literature.

...the values espoused by the Presidents in their speeches may merely be the values they think the public wants to hear, as opposed to the values they truly believe. This could raise a question as to whether the speeches espouse those values necessary to get the President reelected versus true presidential policy making values. (Schuh and Miller, 2006, p.730)

Further gaps in the literature are discussed in Chapter 3, and I continue herein with the president's influence on driving policy.

Presidential Influences in the Policy Cycle

The president is an agent of political change and "has been a singularly persistent source of change, a transformative element engrained in the Constitution itself" (Skowronek, 1997, p. xiv). Kingdon (2003) goes even further by stating that "...the president can single-handedly set the agendas, not only of people in the Executive branch, but also of people in Congress and outside of government" (p. 23). Neustadt (1990) believes that "A President's advantages are greater than mere listing of his 'powers' might suggest. Those with whom he deals must deal with him until the last day of his term" (p. 31). In fact, those relationships may extend beyond the president's term of office. Masciulli and Day (2006) promote the idea that globalization elevates to the forefront the importance of leadership with international corporations, regional factions

and various global agencies. While the office of the president retains the same Constitutional powers conceived by the founding fathers, each occupant brings new leadership, sets new tones and orchestrates new methods to achieve policy outcomes to problems they perceive to be in greatest need of addressing. Presidents do cause disruptions in policy streams, opening windows of opportunity and closing windows as well (Kingdon, 2003). Americans carry an expectation of their president to set what Abshire (2002) would term a “community of character” (p. 11) while fulfilling his duty as a leader.

Howlett and Ramesh (2003) best define the policy process in five stages: Agenda-Setting, Policy Formulation, Decision-Making, Policy Implementation and Policy Evaluation (p. 232). The president has a direct impact on at least three of these five stages, referring both the implementation and evaluation stages more typically to agency bureaucrats and other specialists. By either preference or by duty, the president retains means that no other elected official has. The executive office of the president has unmatched information, unparalleled access to mass media, the bureaucracy itself, timing and, most importantly, veto power.

The Concept of Virtues

Bellah (1967) contends that American civil religion is closely related to Judeo-Christian beliefs. As such, an exploratory study looking at whether a president uses rhetoric of the seven Christian virtues is a good beginning for developing and testing the virtues-based leadership model. There have been volumes written regarding “religion” in America, from de Tocqueville’s (1899) concept of “Democracy in America” to Dewey’s

(1923) ideas on civil society to Bellah's concept of a civil religion. The question raised here focuses on whether a president brings personal convictions or a set of values to his presidency, or what virtues he may carry on a personal level rather than merely a political level. This study uses a virtue ethic framework, namely a neo-Aristotelian one that rests heavily on Plato's separation of the virtues of an individual from the virtues of the state.

The focus of this dissertation is on whether a president's character traits include the seven Christian virtues in answer to Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton's (1991) contention that "the central tradition of the American civil religion not as a form of national self-worship but as the subordination of the nation to ethical principles that transcend it in terms of which it should be judged" (p. 1) holds true. Bellah et al. then argue that the beliefs, symbols and rituals that lend to this civil religion are not to be confused with Christianity, because this civil religion is more closely "related to order, law and right than to salvation and love" (p. 3). The president to whom he refers as "national magistrate" operates under the rubrics of the civil religion as long as he is in his official capacity "regardless of his personal religious views" (p. 5). Bellah's et al. view seems contradictory to a president's power to exhibit control of the given environment, including the policy setting process. It implies that he is merely an agent in change and not of change. In fact, many presidential scholars believe that a president is not only a historical actor, but will also "situate himself in public discourse" (Skowronek, 1997, p. 24) in order to control the direction under his administration. Regardless of whether one views the president as an agent of change in the course for the nation or whether one views the president as a powerless occasional meddler in the political process, it remains

equally important to understand and assess a president's personal beliefs in terms of character or virtue ethics, or in this case the seven Christian virtues.

I captured and compared data surrounding the PATCO, Father Jenco and Nicholas Daniloff events and used textual analysis to look more specifically at Ronald Reagan's use of terms in the three different spheres of his life, from the embraced sphere to the espoused sphere to the enacted sphere. This study examines discrete periods of time in Ronald Reagan's presidency to explore the research question of whether the virtues-based leadership model can assess consistency across the three spheres of a leader's life. In selecting President Reagan's handling of the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events, it was important that data be available, that the case showed at least surface-level indications of those associated with an ethics framework, and especially exhibited terms that may be associated with the seven Christian virtues. In the events involving humanitarian issues within the Reagan presidency, many terms are utilized that are associated with "good" versus "evil." Taking Reagan's life and separating it by the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere and then the enacted sphere proves useful in noting any changes in his environment, whether it is the personally embraced sphere, the publicly spoken sphere, or, the authoritatively enacted sphere.

Chapter 2 of this study presents the conceptual framework and the virtues. This study utilizes a problem-driven exploratory content analysis to discover messages in written text to decipher value-laden statements in relation to the seven Christian virtues (4 cardinal and 3 theological) of fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and love. The cardinal or *cardo* (Latin), meaning the door hinge on which the moral life swings, dates back to Plato in *The Republic* and was adopted by Saint Ambrose,

Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas. It can be traced further back to ancient Chinese literature. The cardinal virtues were also originally associated with classes: fortitude (warrior class or the spirit of man), justice (outside of classes and rules the relationship of the other three virtues), prudence (to rulers and reason), and temperance (all classes but primarily the working class or laymen). In early Christianity, St. Augustine used the virtues to describe the morals of the church. Added to these cardinal virtues – the term first coined by St. Ambrose – are the three theological virtues, which were specific to Christians and written by Paul in the New Testament. They first appeared biblically, however, in Genesis 28:10-22 in Jacob's vision of the ladder with rungs representing the steps to heaven. These theological virtues found again in 1 Corinthians 13:13 are faith (belief in God), hope (expectation and not giving up) and, love/charity (selflessness). In Catholicism a person can only receive theological virtues by infusion through Divine Grace.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature with regard to the virtues typically associated with the concept of leadership and how researchers have assessed the concept of leadership and the American presidency. It also reviews the literature focused on Ronald Reagan as a leader, both supportive and critical of his value-based decision-making and concludes with a reflection on the gap in the literature that this study proposes to address.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology employed in the classic content analysis of this study. In such analysis, the number of variables for coding should be fairly small (Hodson, 1999, p. 12-24). The proposed research study is compatible with this chosen method of analysis for a number of reasons. First, it answers the research question of whether the virtues-based leadership model can be developed to assess consistency

among different aspects of a leader's life from personal to public and provides an opportunity to test such a model. Second, it helps in determining whether there are gaps between words and deeds within the field of virtues in leadership. Finally, it helps gain a better understanding of how content analysis can help ascertain whether a leader uses terms associated with value-based decision-making. Thus, the study devotes a segment to carefully establishing the definitions of concepts to ensure reliability in coding. In this particular study, the word/theme categorical clusters are to be defined by the seven Christian virtues of fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and charity/love. For example, if a leader who claims to be Buddhist were selected, the model would employ categorical clusters related to the ten virtuous actions proffered by Buddhism (Rinpoche, n.d.) but would continue to utilize data from the leader's personal, public and authoritative spheres of life. To ensure proper methodological checks for trustworthiness, including credibility, dependability, confirmability, transferability and authenticity, categorical coding and subcoding protocols were developed prior to the collection of data.

Chapter 5 provides a background and justification for the selection of the three specific events -- PATCO, Father Jenco and Nicholas Daniloff. In summary, Reagan was selected because contrary to many critics that identified him as a "hawk", the data reflect a rather humanistic approach and especially in cases where the concept of freedom is jeopardized. The selection of the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events are examples of events where Reagan took a humanistic approach. Selecting these three particular events means the study and testing of the virtues-based leadership model may have concluded with differing results had other events been selected.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the data analysis after utilizing NVivo8. The results are presented in raw frequencies as well as standardized percentages. I present the results by virtue, by event and then across the three spheres-of-life. Chapter 7 provides the discussion of the results, proving that the virtues-based leadership model can assess for consistencies and inconsistencies across the three spheres of a leader's life. I also present the contribution that this current study makes to the existing literature. I conclude by presenting policy implications as well as examples of how the virtues-based leadership model may be applied and make some suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

“Pay close attention to yourself and to your teaching; persevere in these things, for as you do this you will ensure salvation both for yourself and for those who hear you.” (1 Timothy 4:16)

Frameworks are like the coloring of a lens. Combinations of lenses or varied colors of lenses provide us different views. One is not right and one is not wrong; they are merely different views of the same problem or object. Thus, we can look through different shades of lenses at the same problem and arrive at different proposed solutions. In the end, there is always one framework that provides a clearer picture of the problem and for which a higher success rate can be sought in the proposed solution. To answer the research question in this study of whether the virtues-based leadership model can assess for consistencies and inconsistencies in the use of the seven Christian virtues across the spheres-of-life, I elected to use a neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics framework. A neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics framework, unlike the Aristotelian framework, rests on distinguishing the virtue of the individual from the virtue of the state as found in Plato’s *Republic*. Making this distinction between the individual and the state allowed me to look at the seven Christian virtues as the constant while switching between the three spheres of Reagan’s life.

Establishing the viability for selecting a virtue ethics framework to explore the development of a virtues-based leadership model using the seven Christian virtues in former President Reagan’s moral rhetoric requires conceptualization and acceptance that Reagan had a deep-seated belief in God. Since this dissertation considers not only his personal beliefs but also his role as president, the context of the office of the president

must also be set forth. As previously noted, the United States has a long history in its founding and establishment of rule in civil religion. Bellah (1967) believes that the president sets the tone for society and that American society in particular has a civil religion based closely on the principles of Judeo-Christianity but not fully in Judeo-Christianity. This view seems a place to begin determining whether a president's religious beliefs, or lack thereof, set such a tone. This study, then, begins with exploring Reagan's values and whether they fall into the seven Christian virtues. While Reagan maintained a human rights framework (Edwards, 2011; Kissinger, 1994; Schweizer, 2002), his framework was based on his reliance on God (Brown, 2004). Michael E. Reagan believed that his father had a "...deep reliance on the providence of God and the Christian principles by which he lived" (Brown, 2004, p. ix). Not only did Reagan feel it his duty to respond to God's calling to run for president, he looked to Him for guidance in the decisions he made in policy as the president. Others claim that "Reagan radiated supreme confidence in the moral and practical superiority of democratic capitalism" (Kaufman, 2011, p. 8) but make no mention of God being the center of democratic capitalism.

Outka (1972) proposes a complementary thesis where both intra-personal and inter-personal actions are assessed, and where moral assessments of character are to be made, "it seems most coherent to hold that the biography is the man, including the autobiography" (p. 142). In this same work, Outka distinguishes that virtue may need to be discovered in the context of different roles at different times. Looking then at the embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life would provide a place to explore this

separation of roles and whether character virtue is habitual regardless of situation or context, for habits of anyone, including leaders, are not usually based on context.

When the idea of morals in leadership is researched, it is done with the notion that “...a sense of direction and having the strength of one’s convictions are the key ingredient of leadership” (Kissinger 1994, p. 765). According to Edwards (2011), Reagan exemplified all aspects of leadership, especially courage, prudence, justice and wisdom. Whether or not these aspects are consistent in different arenas—from the man to the president—is yet to be explored. Though Plato separates the individual from the state, this current study separates the state into two parts, the leader’s espoused (publicly spoken) sphere and the leader’s enacted (authoritatively acted upon) sphere.

Plato’s early work distinguishes between virtues of the individual and virtues of the state, and his work holds that if virtues are in pragmatic alignment, only then can one obtain true happiness in living the virtuous life. While we know that “Reagan’s rhetoric defined the agenda during his presidency...” (Milkis & Nelson, 1990, p. 343), the question is whether that rhetoric supported the seven Christian virtues. If it did, only then would the Greeks believe that he lived a virtuous life.

There is, however, another strand in the history of ethics, conveniently identified with Aristotle and the Greeks, but strongly represented among Jewish and Christian thinkers committed to describing the good life as taught in scripture. This tradition of “virtue ethics” is interested not only in how the individual performs his or her positive or negative obligations, whether they are “crooked or righteous,” but also in whether that person is living the right kind of life. This approach to character is broader than the Kantian one.” (Carney, 2010, pp.77-78)

It is, therefore, the design of this study to explore the virtues-based leadership model through a content analysis approach at the broadest level of applicability, namely the use

of terms in categorical clusters. This broad nature of design allows for further studies to narrow the design in identifiable areas should the topic warrant future study.

This chapter examines the broader teleological virtue theory and why ethics is an important aspect to the discovery at hand. Next, it looks more specifically at the neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics framework and why it is the most appropriate framework for the study of presidential rhetoric as it relates to the seven Christian virtues. Finally, this chapter examines the difference between the cardinal virtues (fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance) and the theological virtues (faith, hope, love) to gain a richer understanding of the seven Christian virtues. This examination helps to further understand the definitions used in the coding matrix and how the data was interpreted for coding in accordance with the seven Christian virtues.

Teleological Virtue Theory

Ethics presents a natural starting point for exploring the virtuous leadership of President Reagan as seen through his rhetoric. “Ethics is a branch of philosophy; it is *moral philosophy* or philosophical thinking about morality, moral problems, and moral judgments” (Frankena, 1973, p. 4). More specifically, teleological virtue theory holds to a three-fold structure: who we are, who we could be, and how we get from point A to point B. Human good requires activity – especially activity that exemplifies the virtues. The virtues both lead to and constitute the human *telos* in that they are not merely means but are also a central element of the goal itself. This description helps in the distinction of duty from habit. “In order to know whether something is right, ought to be done, or is morally good, one must first know what is good in the non-moral sense *and* whether the

thing in question promotes or is intended to promote what is good in this sense” (Frankena, 1973, p. 14-15). It is not just a duty, which rests in the enacted or authoritative sphere-of-life; it is a habit which extends from the embraced sphere to the espoused sphere to the enacted sphere of one’s life. A habit is a habit because it is consistent in every sphere-of-life. In this current study, habit is the very basis for assessing consistency.

Exploring Reagan’s rhetoric within teleological virtue theory is not robust enough, however, because it is static towards the individual and fails to account for different roles, duties and responsibilities an individual may be responsible for. It does not properly account for habit as a character trait. As such, it became necessary to extrapolate from the literature a proper framework to hold to a higher and more in-depth analysis where I could test for consistency across the spheres-of-life. Regrettably, an Aristotelian framework does not provide the specificity to separate the individual from that of the leader, and although a solid framework in itself, it is not ideal for the proposed study, which intends to separate the different spheres of a leader’s life. Such criteria can be met nicely, however, by using a neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics framework rooted primarily in a work that, again, distinguishes the individual from the state. The best match for this type of framework is found primarily in the work of Plato’s *The Republic* where he distinguishes the spheres of life between the individual and the state.

Neo-Aristotelian Virtue Ethics Framework

“Aristotelians will reply that virtue always begins with externally driven habituation that only over time is transformed into inner conviction and character”

(Galston, 2010, p. 101). Hence, a Neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics framework lends more pragmatically to the individual personal level as well as to the broader leader or state level. This framework is useful in viewing the expressed Christian convictions and modes of moral reasoning, or, better yet, such a framework is especially well-suited for looking at Christian convictions about the moral life (Kotva, 1997). Virtues involve both the intellect and the will and therefore represent the relatively stable aspects of what Aristotle refers to as “character” in *Nichomachean Ethics*. It is primarily the writings of Plato, however, or, Aristotle’s student, that provides a proper framework for Neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics. The distinction between the virtues of the individual and virtues of the state that Plato brings to bear on a deeper understanding of virtue ethics lends itself well to the study of a president as a man and also as a leader.

“Virtue ethics is currently one of three major approaches in normative ethics” (Stanford, 2007). Unlike deontological ethics (duty to rules) and consequentialism (where moral judgment is made in reference to a goal), virtue ethics differentiates how moral dilemmas are approached. It is comprised of virtue, practical wisdom and eudaimonia, a Greek term used by Aristotle and Plato and rooted originally in Chinese philosophy. Used largely in Western moral philosophy by Anscombe, it centers itself on the pragmatic question of “what sort of person I should be and how we should live” (Stanford, 2007). It is, in every sense of the word, focused on the pragmatic.

Virtue ethics’ three main concepts are “arête (excellence or virtue), phronesis (practical or moral wisdom) and eudaimonia (usually translated as happiness or flourishing)” (Stanford, 2007). Arête or virtue is not a duty but rather a binding of emotions and rational recognition and therefore exists far deeper at the individual level

than merely upholding a duty or having conscious repetitive habitual behavior. In *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book II, Aristotle suggests that moral virtue could only be perfected by habit. Being virtuous, then, is done without reservation. If one lacks phronesis, one can fall short of displaying oneself as a fully virtuous being. A person who lacks phronesis, or what Aristotle refers to as “natural virtue” (Aristotle, trans. W.D. Ross, 350 B.C.E.), fails to possess it because such virtue has not been applied to pragmatic situations. For example, people with phronesis “will not make the mistake of concealing the hurtful truth from the person who really needs to know it in the belief that they are benefiting him” (Stanford, 2007). It is the call, in some sense, for situational appreciation of the applied portion of *arête* where some features of a situation are more important than others. The final concept of *eudaimonia* is central to modern neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics. It is flourishing, or living a good life to obtain true happiness and is intrinsically linked to virtue itself. In some sense, it is the environment for which the other two give rise for applying the practice of the virtue in every pragmatic sense. It is not materialistic but rather a successfully virtuous life or living with purpose (Stanford, 2007).

Duffner (1998) provides an overview of

...how the moral virtues fit in the overall scheme of the Christian life. While the three theological virtues put us directly in contact with the **goal** or **end** [emphasis original] of our life, the four moral virtues have to do with the **means** [emphasis original] that must be used to attain that end; or looked at in a negative way, they remove the obstacles that stand in the way of attaining that end. (p. 1)

Duffner outlines the differences between virtues that are acquired and those that are infused, whether purely natural or supernatural, respectively. Purely natural or acquired virtues are by repeated acts whereas supernatural or infused virtues are via baptism; the

practice of both can be at odds. “Christian prudence is ever at odds with the wisdom of the world” (p. 2).

The weaknesses of virtue ethics is that it lacks codifiability, or the creating of a selection list of what is and is not with universal rules and principles (Stanford, 2007). For example, one cannot say with much credibility that temperance has a greater weighted value than does love. Nor can one say that love has a greater weighted value than does temperance, at least not based on some type of quantifiable measurement. Most critics, including Rachels (1978), fall far short of understanding the concept of phronesis when considering the ethics of virtue. As such these critics begin to focus on virtue theory rather than virtue ethics as a framework. Perhaps the virtue ethics framework can be strengthened by utilizing it properly in this and future research.

Defining the Seven Christian Virtues

Bellah’s (1967) perspective on American civil religion suggests that the president sets the tone for society in determining symbols, beliefs, etc. and that America’s civil religion is based largely on Judeo-Christian values but again, not in Judeo-Christian values. While there are many variables that one can retain and act upon as a Christian, the seven virtues are the most widely recognized. Four of the virtues are referred to as the cardinal virtues and the remaining three are referred to as the theological virtues. The cardinal virtues are the basic or raw elements of character dating back to the ancient Greeks, while the theological are endemic to Christianity and are infused through Divine Grace. I present an examination of each herein.

Cardinal Virtues: Fortitude, Justice, Prudence and Temperance

The term cardinal comes from Latin “cardo” or hinge. The cardinal virtues are so called because they are hinges upon which the door of the moral life swings. Derived initially from Plato’s *Protagoras* 330b, it was later adapted by Saint Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas. In *Protagoras*, Plato clearly spells out that virtue cannot be taught. Such cardinal virtues are not exclusive to the Greeks, for they are mentioned in around the 1st Century BC in *The Holy Bible* at Wisdom 8:7, “...if one loves justice the fruits of her works are virtues; for she teaches moderation and prudence, justice and fortitude, and nothing in life is more useful for men than these.” The cardinal virtues date back to the ancient Greek philosophers.

Aristotle and Plato laid the foundations on which the cardinal virtues are built. Plato discusses the “Virtues of the State” in Book IV, 427-434, of *The Republic* and in Book IV, 441-445, he distinguishes the “Virtues in the Individual.” He does so in attempting to ascertain the broader level of the state and then the narrower level of the individual. While they are highly complementary, these virtues do differ, and the difference warrants an explanation. Plato refers to the Virtues of the State as “‘civic’ or ‘popular’ virtue (Book IV, p. 120) while expanding the individual level in that “...virtue and wickedness are brought about by one’s way of life, honourable or disgraceful” (Book IV, p. 143). For the state, Plato separates the virtues by the different classes. Ultimately, the character of a good state “is wise, brave, temperate, and just” (Book IV, p. 121). Such ideas are also supported by other notable philosophers.

Cicero writes as early as 106-43BC in *De Inventione* that “Virtue may be defined as a habit of mind (animi) in harmony with reason and the order of nature. It has four

parts: wisdom (prudentium), justice, courage, temperance” (Cicero, II, LIII). This definition is supported by Jewish Apocryphal literature such as can be found in 3 Maccabees 1:18-19: “Now the kinds of wisdom are right judgment, justice, courage, and self-control, right judgment is supreme overall of these since by means of it reason rules over the emotions.” Commenting on Luke, “On the Duties of the Clergy”, Saint Ambrose, 330-397 AD, coins the phrase cardinal virtues in that “...we know that there are four cardinal virtues temperance, justice, prudence and fortitude”. Finally, St. Augustine, writing on the morals of the Catholic Church, discusses both the morals of the church and the Greek philosophers, thereby linking the cardinal and theological virtues together in *City of God*, IV, 20 p. 158. Each of the cardinal virtues needs to be explored to determine their meaning and relevance and to discover how they work together.

Fortitude (Fortitudo)

Fortitude is “strength of mind that enables a person to encounter danger or bear pain or adversity with courage” (Webster, 1984, p. 486). Courage is “mental or moral strength to resist opposition, danger or hardship (Webster, 1984, p.299). Plato assigned courage to the warrior class/fighting force in the state and the spirited element of man on the individual level. For the individual, Plato states that “we call an individual brave in virtue of this spirited part of his nature, when, in spite of pain or pleasure, it holds fast to the injunctions of reason about what he ought or ought not to be afraid of” (Book IV, 441, p.140). He offers for the state level that “courage means preserving something...I meant preserving it always and never abandoning it, whether under the influence of pain or of pleasure, of desire or of fear” (Book IV, 429, p.123). St. Augustine felt that the

virtue of fortitude focused on love readily bearing all things for the sake of the loved object.

Justice (Justitia)

Justice is “the maintenance or administration of what is just especially by the impartial adjustment of conflicting claims or the assignment of merited rewards or punishments” (Webster, 1984, p. 655). Plato proffered that the virtue of justice stands outside the class system and the divisions of man, but that it rules the proper relationship among the other three virtues of temperance, courage and wisdom. At the individual level, “a man is just in the same way that a state was just...justice in the state meant that each of the three orders in it was doing its own proper work...it is not a matter of external behaviour, but of the inward self and of attending to all that is, in the fullest sense, a man’s proper concern” (Book IV, 441-443, p. 139-142).

Only when he has linked these parts together in well-tempered harmony and has made himself one man instead of many, will he be ready to go about whatever he may have to do, whether it be making money and satisfying bodily wants, or business transactions, or the affairs of the state. (Book IV, 443, p. 142).

For the state level, he believes it is “complementary principle of differentiation, keeping the parts distinct...injustice will mean invasion and encroachment upon the rights and duties of others” (Book IV, 427 trans. Cornford p. 120). He further writes that “everyone ought to perform the one function in the community for which his nature best suited him. Well, I believe that that principle, or some form of it, is justice” (Book IV, 432 trans. Cornford p. 127). So, for the rulers,

the chief aim of their decisions will be that neither party shall have what belongs to another or be deprived of what is his own...so here again

justice admittedly means that a man should possess and concern himself with what properly belongs to him. (Book IV, 432, p. 128)

Goethals (2005) discusses Tyler and Lind's 1992 work where they distinguish procedural justice from distributive justice in respect to leadership. In terms of leadership, procedural justice becomes more valued than distributive justice. It rests on the belief that when the authority treats the individual with fairness, the group as a whole allocates its representation to such authority with the belief that the group as a whole will be treated well. In complementary terms, St. Augustine felt that the virtue of justice was centered on love serving only the loved object and therefore ruling rightly and that faith was inherent within justice.

Prudence (Prudentia)

Prudence is "the ability to govern and discipline oneself by the use of reason" (Webster, 1984, p. 949), where wisdom is the "ability to discern inner qualities and relationships" (Webster, 1984, p. 1354). Plato assigned the virtue of prudence (or what he referred to as wisdom) to reason itself at the individual level and to the rulers at the state level. On the individual level, Plato concedes that "wise in virtue of that small part which rules and issues these injunctions, possessing as it does the knowledge of what is good for each of the three elements and for all of them in common" (Book IV, 441, p. 140). On the state level, however, wisdom displays "good counsel of the deliberative body" (Book IV, 427, p. 119). Or, the state's wisdom "as a whole will be due to the knowledge residing in the smallest part, the one which takes the lead and governs the rest" (Book IV, 428, p. 122). While Plato looked at reason, St. Augustine felt that the

virtue of prudence focused on love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it. Both require reason and insight.

Prudence, then,

...is a virtue that directs reason to choose rightly the proper means to attain the end in view. It is the most important of all the moral virtues, for it directs all the other virtues in choosing the proper means in attaining their respective goals. Without this virtue one will not choose well nor live rightly as regards the final goal of his life. It is not enough to want to do good, one must know the means he must choose to achieve that good. (Duffner, 1998, p. 1)

Prudence is to the Cardinal Virtues what love is to the Theological Virtues.

Temperance (Temperantia)

Temperance is “moderation in action, thought, or feeling” (Webster, 1984, p. 1217). Restraint is “a control over the expression of one’s emotions or thoughts” (Webster, 1984, p.1006). Plato associated temperance as being common to all classes but primarily associated it with the producing classes such as farmers and craftsmen. At the individual level, Plato believed reason should be the ruler at the individual level. For the state, such virtue “includes the unanimous agreement of all classes as to who should rule and who obey” (Book IV, 427, p.120). For the state level, Plato argues with respect to the leader that “within the man himself, in his soul, there is a better part and a worse; and that he is his own master when the part which is better by nature has the worse under its control” (Book IV 430, p. 124). Again, in complementary form, St. Augustine feels that the virtue of temperance was centered on love giving itself entirely to that which is loved. I now turn to the theological virtues.

Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope and Love

Theological comes from *Theos*, or divine being, and according to Catholic theology, these virtues differ from the cardinal virtues because they cannot be obtained by human effort and only be received by being “infused” through the divine grace of God. In 1 Corinthians 13:13, Paul writes “and now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love.” Such virtues specific to Christians seeking to live virtuous lives were not introduced in the New Testament; they appeared as early as Genesis 28:10-22 when Jacob describes his vision of the ladder/stairway to heaven. The three rungs of the ladder can be denominated as faith, hope and love. In the end, theological virtues are the character qualities associated with salvation, resulting from the grace of God, which enlightens the human mind. According to St. Augustine in *City of God*, they are gifts of the true God and “...virtue includes all that ought to be done, felicity all that ought to be desired...” (159).

Faith

Faith is “allegiance to duty or a person” or “fidelity to one’s promises” (Webster, 1984, p. 446). It is the belief in God and in the truth of His revelation as well as obedience to Him (Romans 1:5, 16:26). After all, the “just man lives through his faith.” The Holy Bible, New International Version defines faith as “belief and trust in God; knowing that God is real, even though we can’t see him” (p. 964). *The Holy Bible* further defines faith in Hebrews Chapter 11:1 as “Now faith is being sure of what we hope for and certain of what we do not see.” Verse 6 says, “And without faith it is impossible to please God, because anyone who comes to him must believe that he exists and that he

rewards those who earnestly seek him.” In James, 2:24 it says, “You see that a person is justified by what he does and not by faith alone...” Faith in all these references requires deeds. It requires action and application to be understood both for the state leader and for the individual himself.

Hope

Hope is “to cherish a desire with expectation of fulfillment” (Webster, 1984, p. 581). It is the expectations of and desire of receiving; refraining from despair and the capability of not giving up. *The Holy Bible*, New International Version, provides many references to the overall concept of hope with minimal references to the actual wording itself. For instance, in I John 4:13-15, the Bible says,

I write these things to you who believe in the name of the Son of God so that you may know that you have eternal life. This is the confidence we have in approaching God: that if we ask anything according to his will, he hears us. And if we know that he hears us – whatever we ask – we know that we have what we asked of him.

In Isaiah 40:29-31,

He gives strength to the weary and increases the power of the weak. Even youths grow tired and weary, and young men stumble and fall; but those who hope in the Lord will renew their strength. They will soar on wings like eagles; they will run and not grow weary, they will walk and not be faint.

Hope is the expectation of receiving something we long for. Romans 8:24-25, continues the idea with, “For in this hope we were saved. But hope that is seen is no hope at all. Who hopes for what he already has? But if we hope for what we do not yet have, we wait for it patiently.” Hope is the payoff of salvation due to the outcome of the great

commission found in Matthew 28:18-20. For Christians, it is the hope or desire to earn redemption and a life everlasting.

Love

In general, the swapping of terms between love and charity in the theological virtues can be quite common. Outka (1972) provides an ethical analysis of the concept of *agape*. *Agape* is a Greek term meaning divine love. In practice it may be translated to an unconditional love for it bears no element other than the very core of love absent of emotional, social or contextual elements or additives. It is unlike *phila* or *eros* which represent bonding or brotherhood and a sexual love, respectively. Outka reiterates von Hildebrands' concept that a virtue is more than a "temperamental disposition or even a good intention because it must be capable of dominating the whole pattern of someone's life" (p. 133). Love is a "strong affection for another arising out of kinship or personal ties" (Webster, 1984, p. 707). It is to be selfless, unconditional, and voluntarily show kindness such as helping one's neighbors and is the primary virtue of all the theological virtues. Charity is "benevolent goodwill toward or love of humanity" (Webster, 1984, p. 228). *The Holy Bible* provides some insight into this theological virtue. Mark 12:28-34 says, "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind and with all you strength....Love your neighbor as yourself...You are not far from the Kingdom of God." But in Romans 12:9 the writer stipulates, such love "must be sincere." Of all the virtues, love is supreme. According to Colossians 3:14, "And overall these virtues put on love, which binds them all together in perfect unity." Love in this way is shown to Christians through the ultimate sacrifice of Jesus, the Son of God, and

our practice and application of love models such as Christ-like benevolence. I believe Outka characterizes the concept of love best as that which is linked to man's *raison d'être*.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

*“...it is quite possible to be moral in public but not in private, and vice versa”
(Thompson, 2010, p. 24).*

A review of literature is provided to expose what previous research has been conducted and its results, in part to justify the employment of content analysis for this study but in larger part to expose the gap in the literature this study proposes to fill. Because of the complexity of the conceptual framework that lends to the development and testing of the virtues-based leadership model, the literature review covers previous research on virtues in leadership and then the current literature on how one might assess the virtues of leadership. It then moves into a review of the literature surrounding, more specifically, the virtues of the American presidency, those specific to President Ronald Reagan outlining both those supportive and critical of his presidency, and finally discusses the exposed gap in the literature.

Virtues of Leadership

In its problem-driven approach, this study looks at the seven Christian virtues as the virtues of leadership. It does so because the leader under review was very open about his Christianity and because it provides a way to explore the research question. It is equally important, however, to review the literature, both academic and non-academic, that have been put forward concerning what the virtues are when studying leadership. My argument is that research on virtues in leadership needs to return to the cardinal virtues and for leaders who profess a Christian belief to add the theological virtues. A general review of the literature about leadership exposes a movement away from this

foundation in the cardinal virtues and towards other factors including personal attributes and even personal characteristics. Take for example, Edwards' (2002) study on the concept of charisma in leadership. Edwards (2002) contends that charisma is in fact taken from early Christianity. While charisma is a Greek term meaning "gift of grace," he argues that it was "used in two letters of St. Paul to describe the Holy Spirit (Romans 12 and 1 Corinthians 12)" (p. 26). Through his study of the ineffectiveness of using charisma to measure leadership, he traces its roots in the social arena back to Max Weber, a sociologist that while giving the term political relevance in applying it to leadership, still tied it to a divine origin. Edwards' study does little to help researchers understand why he chose charisma rather than the traditional virtues.

Parry-Giles and Kaufer (2012), who specialize in rhetorical analysis, evaluate more than one hundred reminiscences on Abraham Lincoln and determined that Adam Smith's alignment of character as it relates to civic leadership "incubated in the heart and soul of the individuals" (p. 203). Parry-Giles & Kaufer's results implies that there is a crossover of virtue, at least that of character, from the enacted/authoritative sphere-of-life into the embraced/personal sphere-of-life. Their study examined only the use of reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln to discover virtues thought of as essential for a president. Reminiscences include the writings of others, paintings and other genres that together make up a story of how we understand someone collectively. Their findings show a balance of common and uncommon virtues. While utilizing reminiscences is a fairly newer approach to studying the virtues of leadership, it fails to address the three different spheres of a leader's life. They looked at reminiscences that offered both private as well as public dimensions of Lincoln's character, but did not separate the public

between what image is being projected (espoused sphere) and what actions are taken (enacted sphere). Reminiscences of Lincoln reflect an extraordinary man who never lost touch with the common man, which humanized the office of the Presidency. Portraiture data showed that many questioned Lincoln's intelligence because of his unusual physical structure. Overall, this methodology is only one tool of measurement, but it cannot be taken alone as giving an overview of the presidency.

Fousek and Wasserman (2010) describe the need for the virtue of prudence for leadership, both ethical and effective prudence. They distinguish its use in political leadership as fundamentally of greater importance than in private life in part due to the leaders' "responsibility for the welfare of the polity, whether a city or an entire nation" (p. 4). They are among the researchers who distinguish the individual from the state – at least addressing two of the three spheres-of-life. They establish their theory by examining historical surveys and examining psychological qualities focusing on the role of ethics and character in the U.S. presidency. Their research artificially pulls prudence away from the other cardinal virtues with no explanation why. The reader has to assume that prudence is simply more important than the other virtues.

The U.S. populace maintains an innate need and desire for moral leaders especially in the presidency. Galston (2010) also distinguishes between the public and private virtues and what he calls obligations to core convictions rather than obligations to the electorate. He contends that leaders can become virtuous through training and experience. He further believes that the "practice of politics puts unusual pressure on ordinary moral restraints" (p. 90). He does little, however, to describe what these virtues look like or how one measures them to know how to educate leaders to be more virtuous.

That desire to become a moral leader is often studied through social psychology by researchers such as Goethals, a collaborator with Burns, one of the early researchers in leadership, who specializes in presidential leadership research. His 2005 work reviews psychological theories of leadership and related literature on the American presidency to highlight key psychological principles. His contribution is that situation variables may lend to effective presidential leadership. Coming from a social psychological perspective he could have offered how those situational factors vary depending on which sphere-of-life is under review for the leader under study, but he does not do so. He describes situational factors as electoral mandates, congressional support, strength of the economy, scandals in the White House, assassination attempts, or whether the nation is at peace or at war. For the most part, Goethals merely attributed leadership action on a policy only when that leader's self-worth is tied to it where the idea of "retreat would carry a crushing psychic costs" (p. 468). He attributes success as dependent upon personal qualities interacting with contextual variables. His study hardly explains the degree of action or inaction or priority-setting for action of any given president. In fact, it does just the opposite and argues that there is not much influence that the person occupying the office may carry.

When it comes to virtues in leadership, some researchers identify distinct factors or name specific virtues that a leader must possess in order to be effective. Bailey (2004) points to eight discrete qualities of real leaders: individuals with a vision, strong and optimistic communicators, focused on a few priorities, exhibiting the courage of their convictions, relentlessly preparing, willing to take risks and make decisions, stewards of other people's resources; and people of passion. Bailey believes that Ronald Reagan

embodied all of these. These qualities are partly reiterated by Heatherly (1987) as truthfulness, honoring agreements, reverence for the law and honest work for honest pay. Carmy (2010) provides a long list of attributes that make up a good character but questions whether they are necessary in public life, assuming that public is separate from private. Such attributes are “honesty, faithfulness, truthfulness, reliability, or courage...” (p. 77). Carmy’s study questions how relevant these same virtues are in transferring between private life and the duties of the president.

Similarly, Abshire (2002) focuses leadership on the concept of character. He clearly distinguishes the private life from the public, and he is best known for stating that “What we do when no one is watching is the essence of character” (p. 21). He implies there should be consistency between at least two of the three spheres-of-life. He further argues in both his 2000 and 2002 studies that leaders must establish an atmosphere of integrity known as a “community of character.” He comes to this conclusion by comparing triumphs and disasters of three Presidents: Nixon, Reagan and Clinton. He does so in order to provide the incoming president a roadmap to build a dynamic, principled leadership atmosphere, which he believes is vital to government. In his speech, he presents the findings of three cases of his seventy-six case studies conducted among different presidents. Reviewing his work, readers might anticipate Abshire would discuss the difference between setting that standard in the administration versus following through in action. Instead he focuses on what he considers the importance of humility as a main factor that makes up character.

Johnson (2009) points to three key aspects of virtues. First, virtues are part of the inner life of a leader and persist over time. Second, virtues shape leaders’ views and

behavior, making them sensitive to ethical issues and compelling them to act morally. Finally, virtues are not situational and while they may be expressed differently based on the circumstances, virtuous leaders do not abandon principles to please others (p. 71). Both Brown (2011) and Burns (1978) believe that it is possible for people to learn how to become a virtuous leader. Burns (1978) argues more towards a transformational type of leadership as one that “occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (p. 2). Neither goes far enough to challenge whether they ought to be a virtuous leader by the Greek standards of being virtuous in every aspect of their life, or as I term it, across the spheres-of-life.

Kouzes and Posner (2007) distinguish between the virtues of a leader between embraced and espoused in that “leaders are supposed to stand up for their beliefs, so they’d better have some beliefs to stand up for” (p. 15), but they make no distinction between speaking up and acting upon. Axline (1996) distinguishes between the virtues of a leader between espoused and enacted in that “the ethics of individuals and organizations is based on how they respond when faced with ethical issues – not with what they say” (n.p.), but makes no distinction as to whether that leader must personally believe in that set of ethics. These are important distinctions as it allows for the virtues-based leadership model presented in this study to help fill that gap and perform that role in assessing for all three spheres-of-life and not merely two of the three. Mahatma Gandhi once said “Happiness is when what you think, what you say and what you do are in harmony”. Finally, Silverman & Bharathy (2005) explain it best in that the creation of plausible models on leadership and leaders “can help to explain what makes them tick,

and can explain their possible intentions, thereby helping others to see more clearly how to influence them and elicit their cooperation” (p. 1). Though this study focuses its case study on one former U.S. President’s tenure, it can certainly be applied to any leader when assessing for consistency in the use of virtues across all three spheres-of-life.

In Plato’s *Republic*, though separating the individual from the state, he maintained the idea of parallel virtues. This is the foundation for the research questioning consistency between the spheres-of-life, which includes the separation of the person from the position. A review of the literature on how current research assesses the virtues of leadership is next to help explain how the proposed virtues-based leadership model helps fill the literature gap.

Assessing the Virtues of Leadership

Most research in the assessment of virtues in leadership lacks a discussion about how the purity of the classic cardinal virtues themselves have now become transformed into character attributes. Warber and Olson (2007) test whether religious rhetoric influences presidential leadership by looking at the ways which presidents strategically employ religious rhetoric. They looked at Reagan’s use of substantive versus symbolic religious rhetoric from 1981-1989 through an exploratory analysis of public speeches and statements. Warber and Olson focused on nature and frequency of religious rhetoric by reviewing 10,959 presidential speeches and statements and recorded all specific religious keywords such as Bible, bless, Christian, church, clergy, divine, faith, God, heaven, pray, preach, providence, religion and worship. They did not include non-religious uses of faith or blessed. In doing so, they found that Ronald Reagan used largely symbolic (like “God Bless the U.S.A.”) messages rather than substantive (what they refer to as a

relevant statement to communicate a policy-relevant message) messages. They found that religion and politics scholars and sociologists of religion alike “often assume that religion influences presidential leadership, but their assumption has not been subjected to rigorous empirical testing” (p. 1). As we see from the literature review of “virtues in leadership,” there is no general consensus among the academia on what constitutes the “standard” virtues. Warber and Olson’s research comes closest to standardizing and empirically testing presidential rhetoric as it relates back to virtues of leadership. As an ancillary outcome of this study, the virtues-based leadership model may contribute to the field of virtues and ethics in leadership studies to come to some agreement on the standardization of what those virtues are. Doing so would provide for more systematic gains in research.

Thompson (2010) identifies four virtues he sees as central to the concept of character. He does so by discussing “constitutional character” which is distinct from personal or private morality. In his work, constitutional character belongs to the office of the President and not to the inhabitant of that office. Constitutional character is one’s ability to act and make others act and, in so doing, maintain a general sensitivity to rights, respect for due process, an ability to justify decisions and, above all, a commitment to candor. In Thompson’s study, it is difficult to discern where candor ends and secrecy begins and how we assess effectiveness or consistency because he considers ethical character to be fragmented. In other words, presidents are humans who have some virtues without having others and which can be displayed in some situations and not in others. With a move towards transparency in all levels of government, this inconsistency would be an important factor to go back and address.

Assessing virtues in leadership can fall upon personal psychological reflections or personality traits such as the “Big Five model of personality.” The Big Five model includes personal characteristics of assertiveness, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness to experience (see Hogan, et al., 1994). This changing of terms from virtues to character traits to personality traits complicates standardizing measurements in leadership across time and across the spheres-of-life. Researchers ought to know and define the differences between virtues and character traits, for they are different. The field of virtues in leadership, not new, has fallen short in building theory or testing empirical research questions.

Other researchers examine the type of leader rather than assessing the virtues themselves. For example, Yager and Schonhardt-Bailey (2007) examine the rhetoric of a leader in the context of whether that leader is conviction-based or consensus-based. Conviction-based refers to rhetoric based on centrally held beliefs of an individual. For example, Ronald Reagan’s rhetoric towards lower taxes or a balanced budget or smaller government is generally seen as conviction-based. Consensus-based refers to something inspirational and motivational and tends to lean towards what Bellah (1967) and others would term American civil religion concepts. Using automated content analysis, they explore similarities and differences in the themes of rhetorical leadership between former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and former President Ronald Reagan. These researchers were focused more specifically on identifying dissimilar themes between Thatcher and Reagan and looked only at their major speeches. They discovered that Reagan used far more consensual and inspirational themes. This discovery does little to add to whether those themes were based on the cardinal virtues or any other standardized

set of virtues. However, Keller offers two studies (2005, 2009) that both discuss the domestic constraints on foreign policy decision making of a president by developing integrated concepts of “constraint respecters” and “constraint challengers.” He tests the concepts in crisis decision-making by comparing John F. Kennedy to Ronald Reagan. Keller equates John F. Kennedy to a constraint respecter, or one who internalizes potential constraints, whereas Ronald Reagan is identified as a constraint challenger, or one who views potential constraints as obstacles to be overcome. Keller’s study considers constraints as variables such as public opinion, institutional opposition, and the norms for conflict resolution. He concludes that leadership style is a major factor in decision-making for crisis situations.

Keller furthers his 2005 study in 2009 by offering a general theoretical framework to help explain rigidity and flexibility in leaders by tracing rigidity to self-validation. Where Keller falls short is not addressing the fact that rigidity may be the action itself and not necessarily the virtue employed in the rigidity. For example, a president may deal with a totalitarian leader in a much more rigid way due to situational variables, but that does not necessarily mean he values rigidity. Describing what core convictions are and how we assess them first would be important to understand how and why they are employed. In Keller’s (2009) testing, “Arms for Hostages” (a term coined in reference to the Iran Initiative policy) was classified as a rigid case where Reagan continued on a path despite encountering serious political opposition (p. 476).

Keller (2005) believes that most leaders fall somewhere between a “constraint respecter” or a “constraint challenger” and that “the closer a leader is to either pole, the more confidence one may have in predicting which set of variables (dispositional or

situational) will play a more important role in shaping their decisions” (p. 840). His focus then is really on the way in which a leader may practice the virtues but not about the virtues held on a personal level.

Tedin, Rottinghaus, and Rodgers (2011) use an experimental design to test the effect of communication modes across issue types and groups of people from constituents to opponents to various races, ethnicities, and genders. They conclude that “writing off presidential leadership as totally ineffective may be as yet premature” (p. 506). Their research found that there are, in fact, conditions where presidents are able to influence public opinion. Going public allows the President to garner support for his policy or idea. He may do so by using certain terminology to move a select group to higher approval ratings based on the audience. If that is the case, then it is ever more important that we find some viable tools for assessing whether the president’s personal values are consistent with his public values and the values he brings to the role of the presidency. Margaret Thatcher (1988) would differ with any form of assessing political leadership. To her, statesmanship cannot be measured. The current study and its results beg to differ.

This study presumes that however one crafts the language, the majority of researchers indicate that the presidency and the individual occupying that position hold certain virtues; and, while we may not agree on what those virtues are, we begin with that assumption as a baseline. One way then to measure leadership and virtues is through case studies, or what Abshire (2002) refers to as actual stories. He believes that case studies help us to explore real life situations. These case studies, such as the one presented here, sometimes present dilemmas “...between one bad outcome and a worse one” (p. 15). This study will expose such a dilemma in the presidency of Ronald Reagan.

The American people, as researchers have uncovered, have certain expectations and hopes in their president. Researchers have an obligation to try to decipher how to assess those virtues that Americans have, and that search begins with finding some valuable assessment tools that may lead in that direction. When looking at virtues in general, some are explicit to the American presidency and yet may not be as overt in other types or levels of leadership.

Finally, Edwards (2002) believes that charisma, as an attribute, is not helpful in the empirical sense. Part of the difficulty in measuring or assessing the virtues is the ever-changing definition of attributes now growing in number in terms of virtues. If the field of study adhered to first measuring the standard cardinal virtues and added to them the attributes, it would have some baseline for how the measuring could provide more consistency across the individuals and across the spheres-of-life. However, this movement away from the ancient writings also distances our ability to connect to biblical virtues and toward the secularization of the virtues themselves. A future study on the history and impact of this movement would be well warranted.

Virtues of the American Presidency

Virtues of the American presidency may differ from those of other types of leaders. In looking at the virtues of the American presidency, James Barber, a political psychologist, identifies self-esteem as a key concept in presidential leadership. Barber (1992) asserts that “every story of Presidential decision-making is really two stories: an outer one in which a rational man calculates and an inner one in which an emotional man feels” (p. 4). He identifies three essential components: character, worldview, and style – of which character is the most important. Of the four types of character he analyzes, he

classifies Ronald Reagan as “passive-positive;” likely to have low self-esteem, fragile, dependent, and easily pushed around by others. Barber does not give as much weight to situational factors as Stephen Skowronek does. An American political scientist who specializes in the study of presidents, Skowronek (1997) points to a president’s energy and competence in making all the difference in effective presidential leadership. He historically reviews several presidents and determines that the president is, in fact, a persistent agent of change in the political system.

While some researchers look at situational factors, others look at the role or the perceived role and duty of the presidency. Carmy (2010), a Jewish theologian, addresses the role of the president in relation to Biblical kings. He argues that kingship is an exercise of virtue and not just some legal or moral standard and ties this idea loosely into the role of the president as the magistrate in American civil religion. He believes that both Biblical kings and U.S. presidents have different situations where drawing the line between private and public is not abundantly clear. He further contends there are striking similarities between Biblical Kings and U.S. presidents both in the moral and psychological qualifications and suggests that character in the presidency is about how the private virtues will be applied in carrying out duty to the public while in office. He argues, “We don’t know the man or woman behind the mask. Private life, even if it is not faked, is an unreliable clue to public performance...a candidate’s previously manifested character is often a more reliable predictor than policy preferences” (pp. 86-87). Carmy provides excellent insight into the role of Biblical kings versus the role of American presidents, identifying both similarities and differences. Edwards (2002) also identifies the importance of studying the characteristics of candidates because it is often their

character traits that the populace votes for rather than the issues they stand on. Ever since the political fallout from the Vietnam and Watergate scandals, perhaps the American populace has become cynical about the idea of “political ethics.” “At the same time, the public has continued to demand ethical leadership from its elected representatives. This is particularly true of the president, who sits at the pinnacle of government and sets the moral tone for the executive branch” (Fousek & Wasserman, 2010, p. 2). One thing is certain: the American public expects their president to hold to a higher standard than they themselves do. With such a foundation in American civil religion, Bellah (1967) and Warber and Olson (2007) contend that the office is greater than the person occupying it and with it comes a pre-determined set of values that fall within the American civil religion. They would agree with Bellah that a president acts merely as the national magistrate.

Galston (2010), looking at core convictions compared to convictions to the electorate, argues that the virtues of presidential leadership are comprised of certain “functional” attributes or responsibilities. The first responsibility is that a U.S. president acts as “head of state;” second, he acts as “head of government;” and thirdly, he acts as “head of party.” Eventually, this three-fold role will bring their virtues into conflict. He then points to a more “core virtue” of democratic leadership that depends on the will of the people and not the president’s own virtues that he brings to office. Thus, the president’s failure is either because of a lack of public support for the agenda, or because the president is only saying what people want to hear.

Thompson (2010), on the other hand, focuses on the constitutional character of presidents. Constitutional character includes “sensitivity to basic rights, respect for due

process in the broad sense, willingness to accept responsibility, tolerance of opposition, and most importantly a commitment to candor” (p. 23). It involves the duty to act and motivate others according to democratic principles to do so using the set of virtues specific to public office like courage, constancy, compassion, etc., even if they take on a different form in the private arena. These, Thompson argues, are the virtues we should not just hope for but that we should come to expect; he includes other virtues like loyalty as well. Thompson does not link the parallel necessity of employing the virtues in both public and private life because his argument assumes that these “constitutional virtues” are different because they may not arise in private life. For instance, he provides an example of telling the truth but fails to distinguish the act of secrecy from that of lying. Thompson does not make references to the virtues in terms of living a virtuous life which would necessitate the consistency in application across the leader’s three spheres-of-life.

Newmann (2004) points to two distinct but overlapping leadership styles that orchestrate presidential decision-making. One style is the institutional approach and the other is the idiosyncratic approach. The institutional approach places the president in battle with other bureaucracies, and, therefore, the nature of the decision making in any administration is essentially the same regardless of the occupant. Idiosyncratic, on the other hand, rests on the belief that the personal leadership style of each president is the key variable in decision-making. While Newmann was specifically speaking about the structure of the National Security Council, the conclusions may have broader application. The American presidency entails obligations to act by virtue of being “positioned” in a certain place. Newmann concludes that how the president actually manages the institutional change makes the greatest impact on decision-making and that viewing the

institutional and idiosyncratic as mutually exclusive prohibits proper analysis in understanding how presidential decision-making occurs.

The virtues of the American presidency are not just about occupying a physical place. Heclo (2008) argues that the virtues of the American Presidency have to do with occupying a “moral space in the political order” (p. 568). He assesses Ronald Reagan’s impact on U.S. national political life under eight areas of public concern. Heclo looks at the welfare state, taxation, national security, the presidency, personnel, party politics, political leadership, and the person. Though not empirically tested, Heclo provides a good general look into the virtues in the American presidency by recounting President Reagan’s handling of policies in those eight areas. He argues that the uniqueness of the virtues of the American presidency rest in the uniqueness of the expectations of the electorate.

The American people want someone to inspire them and to lift them up in times of great adversity as the everyday citizen looks for someone to be greater than he himself may be. For example, Robert McFarlane (1999), former National Security Advisor to President Reagan, provides a personal account of what inspired Americans to share in Reagan’s vision and challenges future presidents to understand and employ the American idea of freedom and for free people to prevail in any struggle. McFarlane argues that “the president must be able to inspire the confidence of Americans that he will do the right thing” (P. 2). It is that which separates the virtues of the American presidency from other leaders and at different levels. McFarlane could have pushed further to discuss whether those are personal virtues that transfer to public life and duty, but that was not his focus.

Virtues and Ronald Reagan

Past research has not made a distinction between Reagan's virtues in the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere or the enacted sphere. Limited research has been put forward that reflects correlations between espoused versus enacted values in general. Schuh and Miller's (2006) study explores the mission statements of government agencies compared to the enacted orders of three presidents (Reagan not included) through content analysis. It was their preliminary research that, in part, lent to the design of this study using Ronald Reagan's presidency as a case study. A general review of the literature, both academic and non-academic, is warranted to help set the context of why the seven Christian virtues were chosen in the directed approach to this study for President Reagan. Reagan, like all U.S. presidents, had a number of supporters and an equal number of critics. Supporters and critics tended to focus on Reagan's fundamental beliefs. All point to him not wavering on certain principles.

Pfiffner (2011) determined that Ronald Reagan's success and failures stemmed from his character and style of leadership. He shows Reagan as a hands-off leader, helping him succeed in some policy areas and leading to great failures in others such as the Iran-Contra Affair. Pfiffner concludes that Reagan was quite stubborn when it came to something involving his ideals. He believes his stubbornness most likely led to an increase in desperation to free the hostages in Lebanon and thereby led to the Iran Initiative, or the selling of arms to Iran (the precursor to the Iran-Contra Affair). In fact, Gaddis (1992), a well-known American historian of the Cold War, believes it was Reagan's simple-mindedness and unfaltering commitment to his freedom-based ideology,

rooted in God-given natural rights, as a pivotal factor in the virtue of his presidency. It is not clear whether Pfiffner would agree with Gaddis' assessment. Gaddis did not believe that rhetoric alone would provide an accurate account of Reagan's presidency.

There are numerous books by and about Ronald Reagan and his presidency. Four of these books, *An American Life* (1990), *Speaking My Mind* (1989), *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (2003), and *The Reagan Diaries* (2007), are the primary sources for this study as they were written by Ronald Reagan and reflect who he was on a more personal level. *The Reagan Diaries* represent Ronald Reagan's personal chronological diaries from the inauguration on January 20, 1981, to his departure from the White House on January 20, 1989. The two-volume set provides an excellent historical timeline and general insights based on brief reflections by Ronald Reagan. Published in 1989, one year prior to his memoirs, *Speaking My Mind* is a personally selected compilation of Ronald Reagan's speeches. He claims in the foreword that he "selected a group of speeches that will give anyone who's interested some insights into who I am, where I came from, what I believe, and what I tried to do as a result"(p. 13). The great advantage this book provides is in the short introductory passage he lends to each speech. *Reagan: A Life in Letters*, published in 2003, is a compilation of select letters in chronological order taken from the Presidential Handwriting Files at the National Archives that Reagan felt reflected his beliefs. The final Ronald Reagan book that provides significant insight into his embraced values is *An American Life* published in 1990 as his official presidential memoir.

One of the more popular non-fiction books on Ronald Reagan is Peggy Noonan's *When Character Was King* (2001). She posits that the secret of Reagan's success was his "character: courage, persistence, honesty, and incredible patience in the face of setbacks"

(back cover). Noonan was a primary speechwriter and Special Assistant to President Reagan and remains a conservative writer to this day. Though highly critical of George W. Bush and presidential candidate Sarah Palin, Noonan is known for her avowed conservative beliefs and her commitment to Ronald Reagan. Through her narrative of her encounters with Ronald Reagan and in policy development, she points to Reagan having unmistakable courage and an innate desire to always do what was right even when it meant calling for strength from within. Her book provides insight into the character of Reagan and is worthwhile for any researcher looking to grasp the moral fiber of the 40th president as a leader.

Another book on Ronald Reagan was written by Fred Greenstein (2000). Through first-hand accounts, he looks at Reagan's "tone and direction for his administration's policies" (p. 150) and shows that Reagan had "strong general convictions," was "tactically flexible," a "good negotiator," and made decisions "easily and promptly." He also speaks of Reagan "carrying off his rhetorical responsibilities with a virtuosity exceeded only by FDR" (pp. 150-1) but provides no reference to empirically-based textual analysis in his research.

In Peter Wallison's (2004) book, *Ronald Reagan: The Power of Conviction and the Success of His Presidency*, the author provides a first-hand account of Reagan's interest in "ideas and principles" and believes that that is what sets him apart from other presidents (p. 17). Gary Scott Smith (2006) provides a historical overview, examining how religious beliefs have shaped both the presidencies and the history of the United States. His book examines George Washington to George W. Bush and finds there has been a general consistency among presidents, but that Reagan "remained remarkably true

to his core principles and values, which were significantly shaped by his religious commitments. Few scholars, however, have examined the nature of Reagan's faith or how it affected his performance and policies as president" (pp. 7-8). Smith helps point to one of the gaps in the literature.

Another non-academic book on Reagan is Mary Beth Brown's book, *Hand of Providence* (2004). Through a Christian framework, Brown examines Reagan's life and decision-making process as president and the unprecedented success it produced. Brown argues that to understand Reagan, "you must understand his reliance on God" (p. xiii). She further argues that unlike the usual political or sociological context of study, one can only examine Reagan's uniqueness by understanding first his faith and relationship with God.

When it comes to Ronald Reagan's espoused values, we draw from the fact that Ronald Reagan was instrumental in making changes, additions and deletions to his speeches, maintaining his espoused values through the final approval process for all his speeches. He was an active participant in his speechwriting, something well documented historically. Peter Robinson, former speechwriter for Reagan, famous for the line Reagan used to challenge the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, to "tear down this wall," provides a first-hand account of his interaction with the President in his book *How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life* (2003). Robinson verifies that Reagan was indeed highly involved in writing his speeches to ensure that they conveyed his core beliefs. This is important to recognize since speeches are one of the sources of data for this study. Robinson states that "sometimes Reagan rewrote speeches extensively. Looking over the records in the Reagan Library recently, I found that he'd rewritten about a third of the

1983 ‘evil empire’ speech” (p. 62). Robinson shares numerous accounts through his memoirs of the faith that Ronald Reagan held and lived by in the White House. When it comes to Reagan’s speechwriting, another well-documented book is by William Muir, *The Bully Pulpit* (1992). A portion is devoted to looking at the religious discourse of Ronald Reagan, which reflects a 9.3% figure for overall remarks that included some religious discourse (p. 133) with 74 speeches containing religious themes. Finally, Dinesh D’Souza, former policy analyst in the Reagan White House, wrote *Ronald Reagan* (1997). D’Souza focuses on the published record of the Reagan era and includes more than 100 interviews. He states that Reagan

...was reserved and understated about his personal beliefs because he didn’t want to sound self-righteous or exhibitionistic. When he did speak of God, it was often in casual terms, as in “the man upstairs.” Yet there is no doubt about the sincerity of his deep faith in God and his acceptance of the fundamental truths of Christianity. On more than one occasion he was asked who he admired most and he always answered, “the man from Galilee.” (p. 214)

More recently, Schweizer’s (2002) article identifies Reagan as admiring the virtues of courage and character and that he never attempted to camouflage his personal convictions while serving as president. He shows that Reagan had been advocating for more than 20 years that freedom is the defining value of mankind and that it did not start when he came to Washington, D.C. Similarly, Lt. Col. William E. Coburn, USAF Reserve (2000), speaks of Reagan’s envisioning himself as the champion of traditional U.S. values – none of which were greater than freedom. Coburn’s paper was presented as part of the U.S. Army War College Strategy Research Project and focuses on the qualities of leadership and decision-making.

A broader survey of the literature concerning Reagan's personal beliefs uncovers more general references to religious values. Most frequently they point to such terms as "manifest destiny," "redeemer nation," or by today's standard the "American exceptionalism," all of which can be traced back to the Calvinist settlers to America and great scholars like Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Bellah and John Winthrop. Much of what Reagan believed rested in John Winthrop's puritan theology of "divine providence" over nations and individuals (Yager, 2006). Kengor (2004) offers a spiritual biography of Ronald Reagan. Kengor believes that Reagan subscribed "to a general Protestantism with friendly leanings toward Catholicism, but may have reflected more of a 'civil religion'" (p. 342, footnote 6). Hayward (2005) argues that "Reagan's belief in the destiny of the United States was vividly expressed in religious language" (p. 89). Neustadt (1990) points to Reagan's yes's and no's coming from "deeply planted convictions" (p. 277) that he brought into office. Reagan's fans and foes alike consistently point to his deeply seated religious convictions.

Americans understand that the root of America's greatest conflicts have and most likely always will be moral in nature. Even the idea of freedom is understood in terms of virtue. Holmes and Hillen (2002) argue that the U.S. needs to be more selective in foreign policy decisions and researchers have attributed too much credit to Reagan for improving relations with the U.S.S. R. as the outcome of the Cold War. But they also found that "For Reagan, all of America's major struggles – whether they be against terrorists or against the Soviet Union – were fights for freedom" (p. 476), and his concept of freedom was based on natural rights.

In Warber and Olson's (2007) research, they found that for Ronald Reagan "the most precipitous leap occurred between 1981 and 1982, when his use of religious rhetoric more than doubled" (p. 18). Yet since he had recently been elected, there would have been less of a need to use language to sway the public for votes. Warber and Olson distinguish between the uses of substantive terminology from that of symbolic messages. Again, substantive terminology refers to public rhetoric used to sell a particular policy where symbolic messages are those that the President uses to inspire or motivate the people. They found Reagan showed consistency in both of his two terms by using mostly religious rhetoric in symbolic terms. For example, in 1982 Reagan added his signature statement "God bless you, and God bless America" – clearly a symbolic message. Yager and Schonhardt-Bailey (2007) point out that

Reagan did not suddenly discover and employ his religious rhetoric after becoming president. Rather, key elements of Reagan's civil religion rhetoric ('city on a hill,' etc.) are palpable in his speeches many years before he ran for public office. His commencement address, '*America the Beautiful*,' at William Woods College in June 1952 is a classic example of his civil religion rhetoric almost a decade and a half before he first ran for public office. (p. 34)

Nothing in the literature suggests that Reagan felt compelled to use terms of civil religion merely because he was the president.

Additional researchers look at internal psychological factors that may have led Reagan to use a virtues-based language. Keller (2009) identifies that Reagan had an internal self-validating positive self-image "based on the notion that he was a heroic defender of the American people against oppressive government at home and tyranny abroad, a virtuous leader who kept his word, upheld the honor of America and the presidency, and remained faithful to cherished principles even when doing so wasn't

popular” (p. 479). Perhaps this view stems from his younger days as a lifeguard, or perhaps he became a lifeguard because of this innate self-image. In her firsthand account of interactions with Reagan, Margaret Thatcher (1988) attributes Reagan’s firm convictions, his steadfastness in difficult times and his infusion of his own optimism to the American people, but also adds three other qualities that enabled him to transform the political landscape. Those three attributes are courage (cheerful bravery in the face of personal danger), opinions that strike a chord in the heart of the average American, and deep conviction of knowing what he believes in and standing by it in good times and bad.

The American people often judge the president retrospectively by appreciating his willingness to “stay the course” in the face of determined opposition from powerful opponents. Knott (1996) argues that Reagan was more than willing to stay the course and that if this is the standard for success as a president, then “Ronald Reagan must be regarded as one of the most successful presidents of the twentieth century, particularly in foreign policy”. Whether Knott intended to or not, he identified steadfastness as a virtue of Ronald Reagan. Richard Allen (2003), Reagan’s assistant for National Security Affairs, provides another first-hand account about Reagan’s virtues. He argues that “No political personality with whom I have been acquainted over the past forty years, save perhaps Sen. Barry Goldwater, ever evinced more dedication to first principles, values and fundamental beliefs than did Ronald Reagan”. Ronald Reagan had a broad-based appeal because of his style of leadership. Nelson and Gardner (2004) found that five qualities define Reagan’s leadership: “simple central vision...overarching optimism...self-deprecating wit...youthful energy and enthusiasm...straightforwardness in times of adversity”. Reagan viewed things as right and wrong. Del (2004) postulates

that to Reagan, communism was wrong and human craving for freedom was right. Jeansonne (2004) believed that while Reagan cared for the poor as individuals, he believed more strongly in individual responsibilities. This concept presents a true ethical dilemma in choosing between two rights and not simply a wrong and a right, something that Jeansonne does not attempt to address.

Diggins (2007) links Reagan with the early American Founders. He argues that “Reagan subscribed to a Jeffersonian belief in religion because it enabled the mind to resist political tyranny—and not...because he wanted to impose it as a pledge of allegiance”. These were deeply held beliefs. Dallek (2009) shows how much research on Reagan makes him into a hero, but his decision-making did not lead to better policy. Dallek argues that Reagan “...was a man of deeply felt beliefs...Reagan’s forte was invoking uplifting nationalistic sentiments, making gaudy tributes to God and America’s grandeur, and hammering home the ideal of individual striving and faith that America was the focus of liberty in world history”. Unfortunately, Dallek fails to show the reader how the cases he reviewed were selected. Nonetheless, generally researchers tend to show a consistency in Reagan’s base virtues stemming from a deeply-held Christian belief.

George Will (1986) labeled Reagan a “conviction politician” because he firmly adhered to the core principles he communicated. Both Minogue (2013) and Holmes (2010) also label Reagan in a similar manner. Reagan’s eternal optimism can be looked at positively as encouraging hope in the American dream or negatively, as him failing to engage in reality. Whether readers view themselves as supporters or critics most likely depends on whether they agree with the ideology Reagan brought to office.

Supporters

A few researchers opined that Ronald Reagan was a true political strategist and not the “amicable dunce” that others portrayed him to be. Warber and Olson’s (2007) study, looking at the ways in which Reagan strategically employed religious rhetoric concludes that “...Ronald Regan invokes a variety of substantive and symbolic religious language in the public statements he made during both terms in office...Reagan relied often on religious rhetoric in foreign policy to aid in his crusade against communism and religious persecution” (p. 34). Others such as Yager and Schonhardt-Bailey (2007) explore the similarities and differences between Thatcher and Reagan in themes of rhetorical leadership. They show that “Reagan’s rhetorical leadership, however, contains the distinctive themes of civil religion...” (p. 3). Keller (2009) provides a contrast by offering a general theoretical framework for explaining rigidity and flexibility of leaders and argues that Reagan “repeatedly extolled the virtues of doing the right thing despite the polls...the evidence suggests he was more concerned about how he saw himself than how others viewed him” (p. 479). Reagan had no greater supporter than that of Margaret Thatcher.

For Reagan, the hope of virtue rested in the concept of freedom based on basic human rights. Through Margaret Thatcher’s (1988) first-hand account of interactions with President Reagan, she knew that at the core was his belief that “freedom works. It brings growth, opportunity, and prosperity in its train...President Reagan decided what he believed in, stuck to it through thick and thin, and finally, through its success, persuaded others” (p. 22). Reagan’s concept of freedom was rooted in natural rights. Even

President Barack Obama, who shares virtually no priorities with Ronald Reagan, was clearly impressed by Ronald Reagan and talks about his transformative leadership qualities. Scherer, Duffy, Newton-Small, Steinmetz, and Baah, (2011) recount a White House supper in May 2010 in which Obama pressed the group of presidential historians to share lessons from Ronald Reagan. Scherer et al., provide a historical dialogue comparing and contrasting President Reagan to President Obama. Their conclusion is that while Ronald Reagan inspired a nation because he believed in its destiny, President Obama's desire to emulate Ronald Reagan is out of self-interest in his need to project authority and credibility.

Critics

Reagan was often criticized as being simple or showing a lack of engagement or even a lack of religion. He stopped attending church after an assassination attempt on his life, while in office, since he believed having his Secret Service detail would disrupt parishioners. When his core values were affected, however, he played a more active role. Keller (2005) looks at crisis situations such as Vietnam and Grenada and compares John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan's decision-making to determine which leadership style is a major factor in crisis decision-making. He argues that Reagan was "much more passive and willing to delegate and compromise when these core convictions were not considered relevant to the immediate issue" (p. 860). Evidence found in the Lebanon hostage situation and resulting Iran Initiative are prime examples of how the lack of compromise may have led to extended periods of captivity and certainly to the increase in hostage taking. For many researchers of presidential politics, this passivity is seen as a negative.

History certainly indicates that for Reagan this passivity did not always pan out well. Thompson (2010) argues that the idea of “constitutional character” is necessary in presidential leadership and criticizes Reagan for the lack of action in several arenas. “Not only action but also inaction can show a disregard for rights. The failure to speak out against the violation of basic rights is another sign of the lack of this virtue” (p. 26). Cook (2011) echoes Thompson’s critique of Reagan. He criticizes Reagan for failing to develop a Civil Rights bill, or support public medical benefits such as Medicare or Medicaid, and attributes the collapse of the Soviet Union more to Gorbachev than to Reagan.

Criticism came even from some of Reagan’s former aides. Doyle McManus (2004) believes Ronald Reagan came into office with two challenges – Islamic militants and the Cold War. While one ended, the other got worse. McManus argues that Reagan was a “passive leader, a man who had strong convictions but paid little attention to the details of his own policies”. He provides no empirical evidence, however, to support his claims. Cannon (1991) portrays Reagan as more pragmatic than ideological by arguing that “Reagan had both the courage and the ignorance to ignore the collective wisdom of his experts and follow his own counsel when he was convinced he was on the right course” (p. 631). Cannon also believes Reagan’s ignoring the collective wisdom led to the downfall of his presidency related to the Iran-Contra Affair.

Unlike many other researchers, Diggins (2007) finds that “although many conservatives see religion, especially Christianity, as the bedrock of morality, Reagan’s thoughts reveal no suggestion of the doctrines of Calvinism and original sin and the ideas

of the framers and their sense of evil” (p. 3). Diggins is the only one to make this conclusion, however.

Other critics view Reagan as an unintelligent Hollywood actor, but this may not be an accurate assessment either. Even Sam Donaldson, longtime critic of Reagan and American reporter and retired anchor with ABC News, White House Correspondent (2011), stated that “Ronald Reagan’s longtime friends said people constantly underestimated this former Hollywood actor, and I must admit that when he came to the presidency, I was one of them”. Donaldson went on to say that he actually liked Reagan as a person, too, contrary to what most conservatives might have thought at the time. Rauch (2004), critic of Reagan and devoted atheist, gave a farewell to Ronald Reagan, arguing that he was wrong about Reagan being a simpleton; still, he also thought Reagan could have cared more about important issues such as AIDS. Much of Rauch’s change of mind occurred when in 2001 Kiron K. Skinner, a young historian at Carnegie-Mellon, published the texts of many of the hundreds of radio talks that Reagan wrote in the late 1970s. At that moment many of Reagan’s critics realized his ideology based in the concept of freedom was not new, was well thought out, and represented the core convictions of Reagan.

Some critics retained their harshest verbal criticism for Ronald Reagan on a personal level, including Speaker of the House, Tip O’Neill who claimed that evil “is in the White House at the present time, and that evil is a man who has no care and no concern for the working class of America and the future generations of America, and who likes to ride a horse. He’s cold. He’s mean. He’s got ice water for blood” (as cited in Carney, 2004, p. 82). Others thought similarly, though less dramatically. In Jeansonne’s

(2004) study looking at the paradox of Reagan's presidency with great successes and equally great failures, he shows how others felt that Reagan came across as cold and indifferent. Reagan was

...able to concentrate on only one thing at a time. He showed little interest in the families of federal officials outside his inner circle. He did not offer help to individuals who had served him loyally when they encountered legal problems. An unusual number of Reagan's advisers wrote harshly critical memoirs after leaving the White House. (p. 39)

Jeansonne's study, however, is more of a commentary on the Decade of Reagan than an empirically tested case study.

Others too went on to attack him personally. Garvin (2003), in reviewing Schweizer's book, goes through the history of U.S. and Soviet relations and somehow arrives with a statement that "however great a moron [George W. Bush] the current president is said to be, his dimwittedness pales beside that of Ronald Reagan..." (p. 1). Other critics chalked up Reagan's success to Irish Luck, equating Reagan to the millionth customer at Bloomingdale's. Garvin gives no background for this conclusion, however, Joffe (2004) retraces the historical voyage of Ronald Reagan and identifies the tearing down of the Berlin wall as a pure test of will and strength crediting it largely to Reagan's insistence on intermediate-range nuclear weapons stationed in Western Europe. At the time, however, Joffe went so far as to think that Reagan was "demented when he challenged Gorbachev to tear down the Wall" (p. 85).

Other critics referred to Reagan as both a hawk and a hardheaded realist. These two labels tend not to be associated with a president who would risk his legacy to garner the freedom of a single individual held in captivity, however, as we see in the two cases evaluated here. Holmes and Hillen (1996) argue in *Foreign Affairs* that "this was

hardheaded realism at its best” (p. 164). Those who failed to find a tangible reason for Reagan’s success decided it must have been Reagan’s Irish luck or that Gorbachev ended the Cold War.

Literature Gap

The current study fills an important gap in the literature. After all, as Thompson (2010) argues,

If moral character is so variable and so mixed, we should be prepared to tolerate some vices in our presidents, and be more discriminating in the virtues we require of them. Some vices may be less serious in public office, and some virtues more essential than in private life. We may, of course, aspire to have a president who has all the virtues, public and private, or as many as possible, but we should recognize that we have to decide which are more important. (p. 24)

First, we need to have some standardization in the use of terms and definitions of what virtues truly are and then how to measure for consistency in their use. Until one has a model to look at, virtue-based leadership assessments are difficult to formulate. Warber and Olson (2007), in analyzing ways in which presidents strategically employ religious rhetoric, found scholarly works scant at best: “...scholars of political rhetoric often assume at the outset that presidential rhetoric actually makes a difference in American politics and policymaking. However, this assumption is usually not subjected to empirical analysis” (p. 4). Toolin’s (1983) study focusing on civil religion in inaugural speeches from Washington to Reagan, which falls short in discovering whether the coding resulted in categories related to the Cardinal virtues, and Beasley’s study in 2004 looking at similar patterns from Cleveland to Clinton, both failed to evaluate the separation of the virtue of the man versus the virtue of the state, or whether those concepts and symbols were held personally by the presidents. Warber and Olson (2007),

in their examination of the five arenas of religious rhetoric (television, radio, written statements, White House remarks and public remarks), discovered that “the notion of civil religion remains a largely foreign concept to the presidency field” (p. 7). Their study, however, ignores personal writings, phone calls, diaries and the like. On the other hand, they hope that further study looking at multiple dimensions of a president’s rhetoric will contribute to the research. They believe that such additional studies will aid in pushing the existing literature in the direction of “building a more solid body of theory to explain whether such strategies actually have an influence on the political environment and significantly extend our knowledge about religion and the American presidency” (p. 35). Though Bimes (2003) performs a content analysis on Ronald Reagan’s inaugural addresses and State of the Union messages, other major addresses to the nation, minor addresses, and campaign addresses, she too does not look at his diaries. “...Our knowledge about the nature and role of religious rhetoric is extremely limited at this time” (Warber & Olson, 2007 p. 1). Burns (1992) looks at recent presidential rhetoric with its civil religious themes but in relation to society’s interaction with the natural environment.

Ronald Reagan’s legacy is a complex mixture of intended accomplishments and unintended consequences. While he was distinctive and remarkably consistent in his approach, it often “flew in the face of the prevailing opinion of the time. But eventually Reagan bent much of that opinion in his direction” (Hecklo, 2008, p. 563). Since leaving office with almost two-thirds of Americans (64%) approving the way he handled the job, to “portray Reagan as a lucky optimist is to trivialize the profundity of his vision and the power of his confidence in the American people. Reagan believed that we could compete

with any nation and win and that when it came to the Soviet Union, we just hadn't tried hard enough" (McFarlane, 1999, p. 2). Reagan just might have been right.

The primary gap in the literature is the lack of any study, empirical or not, that spans across the three spheres-of-life (embraced sphere, espoused sphere and enacted sphere). I have presented several pieces of literature that deal with the president as an individual, several that deal with the president as a public figure and a few that deal with the private versus the public, but none of these deal with the public as both spoken and then acted upon. In answering the research question that a virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life, I seek to add to the literature and fill a portion of the gap.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

“Any researcher who wishes to become proficient at doing qualitative analysis must learn to code well and easily. The excellence of the research rests in large part on the excellence of the coding” (Strauss, 1987, p. 27)

Introduction

To answer the research question of whether the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life, I conducted exploratory and descriptive research. I did this by specifically focusing on a single U.S. president’s involvement in one “domestic” event and two specific “humanitarian-based” events. I present the research and findings as a single case study using an exploratory qualitative descriptive design employing a problem-driven content analysis based within a neo-Aristotelian virtue ethics framework. While recognizing the works of other authors and researchers, this research question stands alone as unique, and the answer to it strives to fill a gap or provide new answers to questions that appear to have never been asked before, or perhaps better stated, are yet to be answered.

While the qualitative descriptive design provides for the exploratory nature of the model development and testing, the single case study of Ronald Reagan’s presidency allows a deeper and more defined understanding of an individual and of that individual as a leader. Since this study examines the use of language specific to the seven Christian virtues, I selected a directed problem-driven deductive content analysis as the proper methodology to analyze the data. In content analysis, often times the data sources are

qualitative where the methods of discovery are quantitative. Utilizing content analysis for documentary works “combines the strengths of qualitative and quantitative research methods” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 343). With a systematic coding of documentary evidence, the descriptive data then becomes available for quantitative analysis.

In this chapter I present the study design including a discussion on using content analysis in single case studies, the problem-driven content analysis, a brief discussion on using computer-aided textual analysis and the concept of trustworthiness. Next, I address the preparation phase involving the data collection, making sense of the data, and finish by describing the unit of analysis. Then, I present the organizing phase including the development of the structured matrix for coding, the coding process itself and how the data analysis was performed. Finally, the chapter ends with an overview of the reporting phase and presents the study limitations.

Study Design

Exploratory Qualitative Descriptive Designs

This study employs an exploratory qualitative descriptive design. Such design is a “method that researchers can claim unashamedly without resorting to methodological acrobatics” (Sandelowski 2000, p. 335). Sullivan-Bolyai, Bova and Harper (2005) explain that the goal of qualitative description is “not thick description (ethnography), theory development (grounded theory) or interpretative meaning of an experience (phenomenology) but a rich description of the experience depicted in easily understood language” (p. 128). Sandelowski (2000) views qualitative descriptive designs as “a comprehensive summary of an event in the everyday terms of those events” (p. 336). Such researchers “stay closer to their data and to the surface of words and events...” (p.

336). Therefore, “qualitative descriptive study is the method of choice when straight descriptions of phenomena are desired” (p. 334) and as such, it was the most appropriate to select in answering the research question.

Using Content Analysis in Single Case Studies

I chose to employ content analysis to the single case study to answer the research question. Content analysis began with single case studies as a historical analytical technique formalized during research of propaganda material during World War II (Berelson, 1952). Holsti (1968) defines content analysis as “...*any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages*” [emphasis original] (p. 601). In content analysis it is recommended, in carrying out the coding of relevant text and “in interpreting the meaning and significance of what is said, the analyst should consider *who is speaking to whom, for what purpose and under what circumstances*” (George and Bennett, 2004, pp. 99-100). It is not merely the counting of words or phrases but involves searching for patterns of meaning within specific arenas or across and between various arenas. As such, Riffe says content analysis relies on “face validity,” or common sense, and on social validity – a relevance and meaning that extends beyond academic discourses (as cited in Krippendorff, 2004, p. 314). Holloway and Wheeler (2010) state that the case study “can be the study of a single individual though it need not be. A case study is an entity studied in a single unit, and it has clear confines and a specific focus and is bound to context” (p. 249). Yin (2003) describes the case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between

phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). In this current study, understanding context of the three events within Reagan’s presidency is imperative to proper coding and the foundation of establishing trustworthiness in ascertaining personal, public and authoritative beliefs.

One way to extrapolate an individual’s personal beliefs is merely to ask him or her, but in this case, that is not an available option. Even if it were an option, several noted authors felt that Reagan remained “mysterious” to them regardless of the duration of their relationship. His own family disclosed that they often felt distanced from the President (N. Reagan, 1989, p. 106). Holsti (1968) contends that “if the subject is no longer alive, he can only be studied through the record of his activities, through what his contemporaries set down about him, or through whatever writing he has left” (p. 603). Hence, content analysis can often serve as a viable last resort in social research. When patterns across data exist, or in this single case study such as in personal writings, speeches and professional orders, content analysis can provide a deeper understanding of such patterns.

Problem-Driven Content Analysis

According to Krippendorff (2004), content analysis requires a nine-step process for a problem-driven analysis (p. 343): formulating the research question, ascertaining stable correlations, locating relevant texts, defining units of analysis, sampling the texts, developing categories and recording instructions, selecting an analytical procedure, adopting standards, and allocating resources. These steps are partially reiterated by Kaid and Wadsworth (1989), Berg (2001) and Thayer, Evans, McBride, Queen, & Spyridakis,

(2007). Because this is a directed approach to content analysis, the categories, or nodes were preselected. I chose a directed problem-driven approach in order to “validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281), namely whether the outcome answers the research question. Based on the research question, I conducted a deductive problem-driven approach where the categories for coding are predetermined to develop the virtues-based leadership model. Those predetermined categories are the seven Christian virtues. Unlike an inductive approach, a problem-driven deductive exploratory content analysis allowed me to systematically read and analyze the texts. Such a process is best suited to provide answers to real-world problems (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 343). Through a purposive examination of texts, I found content analysis also helped to decipher the epistemic research question of whether a president acts in accordance with his written and spoken values.

My methodological design and execution adheres to a blend of Krippendorff’s (2004) and Elo and Kyngäs’ (2008) guides for deductive content analysis. Elo and Kyngäs’ guide contains three phases: Preparation, Organizing, and Reporting Process and Results. It was imperative that this study design be adhered to rigorously so that overall trustworthiness could be applied in each of the three phases including the analysis and the validity of the results. I found one of the main strengths to a directed content analysis is that it helps to determine whether the virtues-based leadership model can in fact be supported and tested.

Computer-Aided Textual Analysis

I conducted this content analysis manually on the computer line by line and

managed the data through computer-aided software by utilizing NVivo8. Using NVivo8 allowed me to “categorize codes, assigning second-level codes to them (rather than to the original text), which gives the impression of a hierarchical category scheme” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 305). This idea of a mutually exclusive category is user-defined, and the hierarchical category scheme allows the separation of the cardinal from theological virtues within Reagan’s data, and nodes were created for each virtue. For coding President Reagan’s text from his diary and other personal writings, I imported the text in along with speeches and executive orders as “Internals” data files.

In testing the virtues-based leadership model, I performed only interpretive (descriptive) coding through NVivo8. While computer-aided systems allow for automatic coding, Krippendorff (2004) encourages the analyst to look for supplements that allow the researcher to examine the actual segments of text within each category and to reverse errors or inappropriate assignments. This ability to call on my pragmatic professional skills set allowed for increased rigor while also increasing applied bias as mentioned earlier.

Trustworthiness

Though Polit and Beck (2012) and Lincoln and Guba (1985, 1994) point to trustworthiness as an essential separate element, Elo and Kyngäs (2008) believe it must be included in every step of the process. Trustworthiness is a vital component of performing a content analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Polit & Beck, 2012) and is comprised of the three main factors of credibility, confirmability and transferability but also contains the two additional factors of dependability and authenticity.

Trustworthiness occurs when all five factors are implemented properly.

In brief, this study looks at credibility as the idea that those participating are identified and described accurately. This study has identified and described each of the three events (PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff) under review for coding by providing a historical background, an account of the presidents involvement in the event as well as consequences to leadership. I have also identified and described the types of sources for each sphere of the leader's life (embraced sphere, espoused sphere and enacted sphere), and how the categories for coding (fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and love) are defined. I look at confirmability as the objectivity of the data's accuracy, relevance and meaning. This study has pulled all materials relating to the three events from a cross-section of sources, including those available through the National Achieves, online sources, and written hardcopy format. A source must have made reference to one of the three events, and only when a portion or portions made reference to the pre-determined categories for coding was the data included for coding. In this study, I also address the idea of transferability or the potential for extrapolation or generalizability. I do this by offering some ideas for further studies in the area of using and further testing of the virtues-based leadership model as outlined in Chapter 7.

This particular study shows trustworthiness in dependability in that the stability of the data over time and under different circumstances remains constant. It does so primarily because the data available is text-based and will not change. I do, however, also recognize that a large gap in data exists in the enacted portion of the data relative to the Jenco event, which has been addressed in this chapter. Finally, this study looks at authenticity in relation to trustworthiness by the researcher showing a range of realities in

terms of data sources. Such authenticity is also verified by the primary author of the data sources themselves, which were President Reagan's own writings, speeches and actions. I ensured trustworthiness in each of the stages of the methodological steps put forth herein. The hope, of course, is that it is put forth in a manner that would allow a future researcher to repeat this study either using a different leader, different events, or different categories for coding within the very same model.

Preparation Phase

The Preparation phase is made up of three components: collecting suitable data, making sense of the data, and selecting the unit of analysis (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen and Kyngäs, 2014). With the Preparation phase, I began with selecting the unit of analysis and then moved into making sense of the data as a whole and ended with selecting the unit of analysis. Because this current study examines solely textual materials and because Reagan is deceased, it was determined to be IRB-Exempt.

Data Collection

In collecting the data, I drew from open source materials through the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, the National Archives, the Presidents Project via online databases, and through biographical and autobiographical diaries. Working through an Archivist at the National Archives at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, I performed subject searches on Lebanon, PATCO, Daniloff, U.S.S.R., National Security Council Country Files, Lebanon Situation, TWA Hijacking, as well as Presidential Handwriting Files and White House Staff and Subject files relating to any of the three

events. Once the boxes were identified, I physically reviewed each file on-site and if the source showed relevance to Reagan's involvement, the document was scanned on-site and identified into the proper event and into the appropriate sphere-of-life. For example, if the source was a handwritten document from the President, it was placed into the embraced sphere-of-life folder on my computer, but if it was a memo issued by or on behalf of the president, it was placed into the enacted sphere-of-life folder. Speeches were always placed into the espoused sphere-of-life folder. Other materials were collected for background information and to confirm the authenticity of selected documents. For example, a staff note may indicate a meeting with the President on a certain item; I would then review the President's Daily Schedule to confirm the meeting took place. Selecting relevant texts was based on Krippendorff's (2004) definition as one that shows "evidence for or an assumption of stable correlations between the text and answers to the research question" (p. 347).

In total, I analyzed the following sources for data collection (See Table 1). For Ronald Reagan's embraced values, I looked at *The Reagan Diaries; An American Life; Reagan: A Life in Letters; President Reagan, the Role of a Lifetime;* and *Speaking My Mind*. For Ronald Reagan's espoused values, I reviewed official speeches of Ronald Reagan, official statements of Ronald Reagan Cabinet meeting minutes/notes, remarks at White House briefings, Presidential News Conferences, National Security Council minutes and National Security Planning Group agenda/minutes that have any reference to the three events under review. Finally, for Ronald Reagan's enacted values, I searched through *An American Life*, Executive Orders, Statements of Administrative Policy,

official White House or Department Memos or statements, and Official Letters for coding and analysis.

Sandelowski (2000) states that “As in any qualitative study, the ultimate goal of purposeful sampling is to obtain cases deemed information-rich for the purposes of study. The obligation of researchers is to defend their sampling strategies as reasonable for their purposes” (p. 338). Hence, my data collection was directed towards “discovering the who, what, and where of events or experiences, or their basic nature and shape....Data collection techniques may also include observations of targeted events and the examination of documents and artifacts....” (Sandelowski, 2000, p. 338). Categories are then “Descriptive Codes” which summarize the primary topic of the excerpt (Saldana, 2008), and in this study, the categories are the virtues themselves.

Table 1 is provided as a categorized list of sources I used for data collection. Table 1, row 1 contains the titles for the columns 1-4. Column 1 contains the three spheres-of-life (embraced sphere, espoused sphere, and the enacted sphere) while Column 2 contains the sources for the PATCO event by the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere and the enacted sphere. Column 3 contains the sources for the Jenco event by the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere and the enacted sphere, and, finally, column 4 contains the various sources for the Daniloff event by the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere and the enacted sphere. It is important to keep in mind that I only coded the portions of text which reference one or more of the three events (PATCO, Jenco, and Daniloff). For example, a news conference may have forty paragraphs and yet only one may pertain to the PATCO event, and it is only that specific paragraph that I extracted for coding.

Table 1

Sources by Sphere-of-Life and by Event

Sphere of Life	PATCO Event	Jenco Event	Daniloff Event
Embraced sphere	<i>Ronald Reagan Diaries</i>	<i>Ronald Reagan Diaries</i>	<i>Ronald Reagan Diaries</i>
	<i>A Life in Letters</i>	<i>A Life in Letters</i>	<i>A Life in Letters</i>
	<i>An American Life</i>	<i>An American Life</i>	<i>An American Life</i>
	<i>President Reagan, the Role of a Lifetime</i>	<i>President Reagan, the Role of a Lifetime</i>	<i>President Reagan, the Role of a Lifetime</i>
	<i>Speaking My Mind</i>		
Espoused sphere	Official Speeches of Ronald Reagan	Official Speeches of Ronald Reagan	Official Speeches of Ronald Reagan
	Official Statements of Ronald Reagan	Official Statements of Ronald Reagan	Official Statements of Ronald Reagan
	Cabinet Meeting Minutes/notes	National Security Council Minutes	National Security Council Minutes
	Remarks at White House Briefing	National Security Planning Group Agenda/Minutes	National Security Planning Group Agenda/Minutes
	Presidential News Conference	Remarks at White House Briefing	Remarks at White House Briefing
Enacted sphere	<i>An American Life</i>	<i>An American Life</i>	<i>An American Life</i>
	Executive Orders	National Security Council Memos	National Security Council Memos
	Official White House or Department Memos or Statements	Official White House or Department Memos or Statements	Official White House or Department Memos or Statements
	Official Letters	Official Letters	Official Letters

Making Sense of the Data

Once I was assigned an Archivist from the National Archives at the Reagan Library, I began a search for materials relevant to the three events. I found that putting the data sources into a table (Table 1) helps ensure that all possible data sources had been identified and makes sense and organizes the large quantity of data sources. In reviewing the sources, when a document was shown as relevant to any of the three events and within which the president had direct involvement, it was scanned on site and placed into one of nine electronic folders: Embraced_PATCO, Espoused_PATCO, Enacted_PATCO, Embraced_Jenco, Espoused_Jenco, Enacted_Jenco, Embraced_Daniloff, Espoused_Daniloff, or Enacted_Daniloff. Each document was electronically recorded with the date appearing first so that sorting the materials electronically would place them in chronological order. I found that putting the sources in chronological order gave better accuracy to the reading and subsequent coding of the text as it provided a historical narrative to the presidents beliefs, statements and actions. Other materials were also scanned for background information or in order to provide confirmation of the authenticity of the primary source. I later printed a hardcopies of each of the sources and kept them in a 3-ring binder by the same nine identifiers. To assure data saturation, I worked on an ongoing basis with the Archivist to ensure that any possible file on-site was explored until neither one of us could think of any other possible source of material for any of the three events. I found this overall method the best way to organize original and primary textual resources for this project and to ensure that every possible file on the three events had been explored. It was not until I did the on-site file reviews for the Jenco event that I realized that there was a lack of open source material available in the

enacted sphere of Reagan's life. Many of the files contained sheets indicating that that portion of the file remained classified.

Selecting the Unit of Analysis

When selecting the three events within the Reagan presidency, I considered only those events with which the president was directly involved, those that involved human beings, those that preceded major policy initiatives or actions, and those which I took an interest in. As such, these three distinct events occurred during the Reagan presidency and all of them preceded major policy initiatives. These events, in chronological order, are, first, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) which occurred from roughly October 1980 to November 1983 with the height of the affair on August 3, 1981. The second event is the Father Martin Jenco situation which occurred roughly January 1985 to November 1986. The final of the three events is the Nicholas Daniloff event that occurred roughly August 30, 1986 to November 19, 1986. Because of an unforeseen limitation on access and availability of sources and data on the Jenco event for the enacted sphere-of-life due to continued classification of documents, the PATCO event was added to this study. In adding the PATCO event, it remained important to select an event which occurred in a different term of the presidency and which did not rest solely within domestic policy or exclusively within foreign policy. Overall, these three events are a good representation of Reagan's leadership.

Because this is a directed problem-driven study, selecting the unit of analysis was predetermined in building and testing the virtues-based leadership model. My structured data collection began with a purposive sampling of presidential writings, records and

actions on these three specific events (PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff). A White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) file search was performed as well as inquiries for Presidential Handwriting Files, correspondence files, authorized biographies, presidential diaries, and White House personnel files. Only sources that showed a direct presidential involvement were selected for coding. For example, a briefing paper in the subject file produced by a Special Assistant to the President may have been used for background information on the event, but I would not have selected it for coding because it did not indicate that any portion was a view held by, spoken by, or ordered by the President. A set of handwritten staff meeting notes that indicated something the President said regarding one of the events or even a public statement issued and delivered by White House personnel on behalf of the president, however, was included for coding but only that portion in which the President expressed a personal or public view or gave an order in relation to one of the three events.

Organizing Phase

The organizing phase involved my development of the structured analysis matrix, my coding of the data according to the categories, and my data analysis or testing of the correspondence based on expectations.

Structured Matrix Development

Within the directed categorical codes (Cardinal and Theological), I developed the sub-codes of fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and love. Sub-codes can “allow the identification and comparison of complex causal paths from event histories such as those available in documentary accounts” (Hodson, 1999, p. 30). Such

causal sequences are investigated by coding data from the documents for important types of events and event sequencing and played an important part in the discovery of the enacted policy-level of Ronald Reagan's values. Because this is a model-testing exploratory qualitative design, I determined that I would use the broadest and most inclusive definition for each of the virtues to capture all possible data associated with the virtue itself.

See Table 2 as a reference for the coding agenda/categorization matrix. The table includes the virtues and the definition of each virtue as applied to the text being coded and three examples for each of the virtues as they were coded. Such a structured matrix is highly important as the text under review is constantly compared to the definition within each of the codes to determine whether the text matches closely enough to code into the category. Again, the virtues themselves were chosen based on Reagan's own identification as a Christian. In order to test the virtues-based leadership model against the specific case of Reagan, I felt after the review of the literature that the seven Christian virtues were an obvious choice to initiate such an exploratory study.

Table 2

Descriptive Coding Agenda/ Categorization Matrix

Code	Definition	Examples
Fortitude	Strength in the face of adversity, meeting the danger of death fearlessly, moral courage against the evil spirit of the time, courage, forbearance, endurance and the ability to confront fear and uncertainty	<p>“Incidentally, I would have been just as forceful if I thought management had been wrong in that dispute” (Reagan, 1990, p. 282-283).</p> <p>“We have never given up for a minute in our efforts to get them back” (Remarks, 6-13-1986).</p> <p>“It’s time to serve notice we won’t hold still for their barbarism” (Reagan, 2009, p. 417).</p>
Justice	Fundamental fairness in agreements and exchanges, rights between one individual and another individual, what society owes to members, atonement for damages, rights and responsibilities of citizens to obey and respect the rights of all and the laws	<p>“As a former union president myself, I couldn’t go along with the controllers violating not only the law, but their own pledges, not to strike” (Reagan, 1989, p. 84-85).</p> <p>“I told him nothing of the kind but we were going to do everything we could to bring the murderers of our young men to justice” (Reagan, 2009, p. 478).</p> <p>“The Soviet Union bears the responsibility for the consequences of its actions” (Address to the 41st Session, 9-22-1986).</p>
Prudence	Foresight and sagacity found in the content of the decision, based on good will and loving kindness	<p>“I felt we had to do what was right” (Reagan, 1989, p. 84-85).</p> <p>“I won’t even write in the diary what we are up to” (Reagan, 2009, p. 548).</p> <p>“The fact that we aren’t on the front page of the paper everyday with a story is because that would be counterproductive” (Remarks, 6-13-1986).</p>
Temperance	Self-restraint/ regulation, humility, modesty, forgiveness, mercy. Espousal of moderation, marked by personal restraint, control over excess, restraining of an	<p>“He chided me for not communicating with labor. I politely reminded him of the approaches we’d made – all of which he turned down and I said, “Lane - you slammed the door, not me” (Reagan, 2009, p. 88).</p> <p>“We’re trying to hold it secret because of the other</p>

	impulse – reaction v. response	5 kidnap victims” (Reagan, 2009, p. 496). “He’d better be careful, if we cut off U.N. allowance they’d be out of business” (Reagan, 2009, p. 640).
Faith	Steadfastness in belief, allegiance to duty or a person, fidelity to one’s promise, stated belief in God	“I think the principle was worth the price” (Reagan, 1989, p. 84-85). “We’re getting closer” (Reagan, 2009, p. 641). “Needless to say they were happy but so were we and grateful to the Lord for making it possible to save him” (Reagan, 2009, p. 644).
Hope	Expectation of good, not giving up, confidence in positive outcome, willingness to be patient for end result	“I hoped the air controllers realized I meant what I said” (Reagan, 1990, p. 282-283). “This could be what we are waiting for” (Reagan, 2009, p. 477). “It gives us hope the rest of the plan will take place” (Reagan, 2009, p. 622).
Love	Charity or selfless, unconditional and voluntary loving-kindness, benevolent goodwill, genuine gratitude, sincerity, binding, life-encompassing	“I’m not very good at firing people; maybe it goes back to the fact that as a child I can remember my father being out of work. I know the hardship and dislocation it can cause a family” (Reagan, 1989, p. 84-85). “I am grateful that our prayers for the safe return of Father Lawrence Jenco have been answered” (Statement on Release of Jenco, 7-26-1986). “Made decision to ask for waiver allowing striking air controllers to apply for govt. jobs (not including air control) without waiting 3 years...” (Reagan, 2009, p. 91).

Best practice dictates a conceptual dictionary/coding agenda or what Elo and Kyngäs (2008) refer to as a categorization matrix (see Table 2) to assist the reader in understanding the researcher’s word meanings in context to the study at hand (Elo &

Kyngäs, 2008; McTavish, 1990). Berg (2001) recommends providing three examples for each category when employing latent content and I followed this recommendation (p. 243). In Table 2, Column 1, is the list of the seven Christian virtues listed as the “codes” for the study. They are Fortitude, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Faith, Hope, and Love as put forward in the Conceptual Framework (See Chapter 2). In Column 2 are the Definitions for each of the “codes” of the seven Christian virtues and in Column 3 are three coding examples for each of the seven Christian virtues, taken from at least one of the three events (PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff).

For the purpose of answering the research question, however, I made a conscious decision to not sub-code once I believed the data was covering the categories of the seven Christian virtues quite well. Because this study is examining whether the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life, I did not see further layers of sub-coding as beneficial in answering the research question.

Coding Process

Once all 135 sources were brought in, I began with descriptive coding, uncovering phrases or concepts as identified based on the Coding Agenda/Categorization Matrix (Table 2). Data was coded to one of the predetermined categories of Cardinal or Theological virtues and their respective sub-codes of fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and love. I began coding immediately after acquiring the sources as the aim was to extrapolate supporting or non-supporting evidence for validation of the

proposed virtues-based leadership model and to examine the use of the seven Christian virtues. Of the 135 sources, 43 were for PATCO (see Appendix A), 50 were for Jenco (see Appendix B), and 42 were for Daniloff (see Appendix C). I coded the unit of analysis as the sentence, taking into account whether sentences were linked together regardless of punctuation. While the sentence was the unit of analysis, the context of the sentence could only be understood in its historical setting. I had to consider the intended audience or what the sentence prior to and the sentence after meant in framing the sentence under review. In other words, coding on latent constructs, which is what all political leaders' writings, speeches and actions are, cannot simply be done in a vacuum where a sentence is pulled out and coded (unless, of course, one is merely using "In-Vivo" coding for actual words versus "descriptive" coding – which is to capture meaning).

Berg (2001) provides a basic overview of the different qualities of manifest versus latent constructs in that manifest constructs are "physically present and countable" whereas latent constructs are "interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data" (p. 242). Thayer, et al. (2007) lay out the strengths and weaknesses of using either manifest or latent constructs. Manifest, again, are those surface level characteristics whereas latent constructs are the interpretation of underlying meanings. Such meaning is grounded in context to the author, time, audience, and typically situational factors. For applied fields of policy, this study takes the data and applies descriptive coding techniques. Doing so relies on my training, background and pragmatic skills of policy-making, policy-setting, policy implementation and policy analysis to help

determine the context of the terminology and concepts that rest within one of the seven codes.

Because text is interpreted relative to the context in which it appears, both audience and time period, it allows for reliability for subsequent textual analysis within the same types of variables such as historical setting. For “Descriptive Coding”, the “understanding is the point at which the reading of the texts resonates with the analyst’s background” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 303). It may be a phrase or a concept captured in one or more words, sentences or paragraphs but when taken as a whole, they relate back to the broad concept or code. This is why I included a historical background for each of the three events in Chapter 5. I read each data source twice within a one-week period to absorb the data in its historical context. In between readings I re-read the descriptions for each of the categories and sub codes of the seven Christian virtues. A copy of the coding agenda/categorical matrix was before me at all times when coding while I kept in mind the overall research question. Becoming enmeshed in the context of what was being coded and how that coding was occurring, was essential for increasing consistency in coding. In this study, the process stated above was done purposely as an added effort because coding was done by a single coder, and no opportunity for peer coding was available. Next, I coded the data utilizing NVivo8 software. NVivo8 software terms the categorical codes as “Tree Nodes,” and within those “Tree Nodes” one can create sub-codes. Therefore, for this study, the two main “Tree Nodes” were defined as Cardinal Virtues and as Theological Virtues. Sub-codes (or as NVivo8 calls them “nodes”) within Cardinal Virtues were then added as fortitude, justice, prudence, and temperance and

within the Theological Virtues as faith, hope, and love. These sub-codes together comprise the seven Christian virtues.

I also reviewed the data that did not fall into one of the predetermined categories through a comprehensive reading of the data sources. This process is often defined as “open coding” looking for patterns that might emerge outside of predetermined categories (see Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 112). No clear patterns emerged. I believe this lack of additional emerging patterns is due to the very narrow scope of data that was selected for coding. Since the sources had to reference one of the three events and only that portion of the text that made reference was subsequently selected for coding, very little additional data was available to review for emerging patterns. For example, had I taken Reagan’s diary in whole, certain patterns would have emerged such as his concept of freedom as an underlying foundational belief or pattern. In order to avoid what I call “research creep” where the researcher begins reviewing data that creeps away from the research question, I created no additional categories, or nodes, in conducting this research.

It is also worthy of mentioning that a phrase may be coded into more than one category as qualitative content analysis allows text to be assigned to more than one category at a time (Tesch, 1990). Because one sentence, as a unit of analysis, may contain more than one theme, it may also reference multiple categories. For example, “I am trying to arrange a waiver of that law so that all the 12,000 can apply for whatever government jobs are available without waiting” (Reagan letter to Mrs. Browning, September 1981) was coded into both Prudence (Embraced) and Love (Embraced). This overlap is because the unit of analysis has qualities of both sagacity in the content of the

decision (Prudence) and benevolent goodwill (Love). For this reason, it becomes even more important that I constantly rechecked the coding matrix to avoid allowing myself to drift into an internal debate on what else the codes/categories might mean.

Data Analysis

This section aims to “describe the analyzing process in as much detail as possible” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 112) in order to adhere to the rigor of trustworthiness. Replicating this study also provides for reliability. I provided background information in Chapter 5 to give historical context to each of the three events under review for coding (PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff).

In content analysis, a quantifiable data set can emerge. “Researchers may use a “quasi-statistical analysis style” (Miller & Crabtree, 1992, p. 18) by summarizing their data numerically with descriptive statistics. “But the end result of counting is not a quasi-statistical rendering of the data, but rather a description of the patterns or regularities in the data that have, in part, been discovered and then confirmed by counting” (Sandelowski 2000, p. 338). I present the outcome of the data in such a way that it is not necessarily re-presented. In Chapter 6, I compare the raw frequency of references for each virtue between the three events of PATCO, Father Jenco, and Daniloff and for each sphere-of-life. I then standardize the raw frequencies by converting them to percentages to account for the differing durations of each of the three events. For example, standardizing helps to treat all the events in a consistent manner due to differing durations. The PATCO event had 43 data sources and lasted a matter of months; the Father Jenco event had 50 data sources and lasted more than one year while the Daniloff

event had 42 data sources and lasted weeks. Raw frequencies alone, therefore, may not tell me much given that one presumes the number of sources would be proportionate to the duration of the affair. Clearly it is not.

Frequency of references would be expected to have a range of use in the raw form, but if those frequencies can be standardized into percentage of usage between the broader theological virtues and the broader cardinal virtues and then within each of the coded virtues and subsequently the three spheres-of-life, then I am able to assess the cases on a more equal footing. For example, Table 2 shows a total of 196 references by Ronald Reagan to the virtues in his embraced sphere-of-life out of a total of 539 references to all virtues for all three spheres-of-life. Taking the 196 references and dividing it by the 539 total references yields a 36.36%. Therefore, 36.36% of all references made by Ronald Reagan in relation to the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events were in his embraced sphere-of-life. I therefore standardized the raw frequencies for all results. Standardizing the frequency did not impair the ability to see definite differences between the three events, the seven virtues or the three spheres-of-life. The raw data in rank order is presented first followed by the standardized percentages of use for each virtue and each event both across each of the three spheres-of-life. I then present the combined percentage for each event by each sphere-of-life for all virtues and then combine all three events together to expose the percentage of use or proportion of use for the virtues by each sphere-of-life (embraced sphere, espoused sphere and enacted sphere). Finally, I present a comparison between the percentage of use for all virtues across all spheres-of-life for all three events -- PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff -- and compare this percentage to the percentage of use for all virtues across all spheres-of-life

for the PATCO event and the Daniloff event, excluding the Jenco event. Removing the Jenco case was important to determine whether the inclusion of the Jenco event, with such limited data in the enacted sphere, caused the overall study to fail in answering the research question. I then provide a summary of my findings and point to several areas included in the Discussion chapter.

Reporting Phase

In the final phase of reporting process and results, I present a narrative and tables for the results chapter. It clearly reflects whether there was consistency across both the three events and more importantly across the spheres-of-life. Because the aim of the study is to develop a virtues-based leadership model and to test such a model, the results are “presented as a model outlining the concepts, their hierarchy, and possible connections” (Elo et al., 2014, p. 6). I explain in Tables 3-15 the outcome of the coding in comparison to the model developed and test the model to answer the research question. The virtues-based leadership model is able to measure consistencies and inconsistencies across a leader’s three spheres-of-life.

Limitations

Limitations to this problem-driven content analysis approach involve bias and blindness to context, both of which have the potential to limit neutrality or confirmability of trustworthiness and hence objectivity (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). This study is performed by a single coder and the data is analyzed by that same coder; therefore, the potential for subjectivity rises. Because this is an exploratory, problem-directed case

study design, the concern can be somewhat minimized but is addressed. As with strict content analysis with a single coder, there is no confirmability or coding discussions to ensure proper coding. Intercoding reliability suffers and with it overall reliability. Bradley et al. (2007) suggest that the “disclosure of the researcher’s bias and philosophical approach” (p. 1762) be disclosed to provide transparency.

Another limitation to this single-case study is the lack of generalizability. This study, however, focuses on whether a virtue-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres-of-life. Its focus is not whether the results can be generalized to other leaders. On a broader scale, as was experiences with collection of sources for the Jenco event, access to all presidential directives on such highly sensitive affairs may not be available to properly determine the enacted values. Also, it would be remiss to not point out that my selection of only three events within an eight-year term of leadership means I excluded several events, and those excluded events always have the potential to produce different results.

Summary

The outcome of the data for this study is organized and presented in such a way as to help future policy-makers or future researchers look at employing the virtues-based leadership model to a leader of their choosing without having to make significant modification other than the virtues under review. The data tables can be recreated for any other leader taking the concepts specific to that leader’s personal religious or spiritual

beliefs. Primarily, it may help decipher whether the virtues-based leadership model developed may be used successfully in later studies exploring virtues in leadership.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE THREE EVENTS

“...the quest for human freedom is not material, but spiritual” (Reagan 1989, p. 175).

A review of each of the three specific events during the Reagan presidency (PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff) is provided in order to give historical context to the events themselves and both presidential involvement and the consequences to leadership.

The PATCO Event, the Father Jenco Event and the Nicholas Daniloff Event

By utilizing textual analysis on the data surrounding the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) event, the Father Lawrence Martin Jenco event, and the Nicholas Daniloff event, I can look at Ronald Reagan’s values in the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere, and the enacted spheres of his life. This study utilizes data from these events to test a virtues-based leadership model, focusing on similarities and differences for consistency in how Reagan handled each event individually and collectively. Upon Ronald Reagan’s election, “Former Iranian Prime Minister, Bani Sadr, admitted that the main reason the Iranians released the hostages was their fear of Reagan” (Holmes, 2002, p. 475). This statement is important to keep in mind as it very well may have fueled the frustration in not being able to get the later Beirut hostages freed, including Jenco. In selecting President Reagan’s handling of the PATCO event, the Father Jenco event and the Nicholas Daniloff event, it was important that data be available, that the events showed at least surface-level indications associated with an ethics framework, and that it especially used terms that may be associated with the seven

Christian virtues. In the events involving humanitarian issues within the Reagan presidency, many terms are utilized that are associated with the concept of freedom or “good” versus “evil.” Taking Reagan’s life and separating it by the embraced, espoused and then enacted proves useful in noting any change in his environment, be it personal, public or authoritative/dutiful.

The Professional Air Traffic Controllers (PATCO) Event

PATCO – Background

The Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) event was selected because President Reagan became personally involved and because it largely set the tone for his presidency. The PATCO event was also selected after finding extremely limited sources for the Jenco event within the enacted sphere of Reagan’s life and the PATCO event was added prior to any coding of the data. Originally founded in 1968 as a professional organization representing air traffic controllers, PATCO members were employed by the FAA and the two organizations maintained decades of a strained relationship. As early as 1963, Congress became aware of the troubling status of the controller profession with long work hours, few breaks, demeaning supervisors and the like. The culmination of this strained relationship came in February 1981 when PATCO began requesting a 32-hour work week, a \$10,000 increase in pay and a better retirement benefits package for all its members. This request came when the economy was struggling, and representatives, including the President, were reining in federal spending. Such a request by PATCO did not sit well with the American public and would cost them greatly as public opinion, in the end, would support Reagan’s decision for termination.

Over the course of more than forty negotiation meetings between the FAA and PATCO, the FAA under Reagan offered an eleven percent pay raise and other pay differentials that far exceeded any other branch of federal employment. When the union turned down the offer and came back in the summer of 1981 requesting a one hundred percent pay raise, the President turned down its offer. “The cumulative effect of the FAA’s refusal to bargain, PATCO’s aggressive stance, and the logjam nature of public sector negotiations generated a dispute so resolutely stalled that the only hope for resolution lay in the hands of President Reagan” (Meeks, 2009, p. 9). The belief that Reagan would be favorable towards PATCO stemmed from a 1980s campaign letter from Ronald Reagan to Robert Poli (President of PATCO) which outlined Reagan’s broad commitment to air traffic controllers and public safety.

In 1962, former President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10988 which allowed millions of federal employees to not only join unions but collectively bargain over work conditions, pay and associated benefits. This Executive Order did not alter the statutory prohibition forbidding federal employees from striking. This would be a major point made by President Reagan in holding firm to his decision. Under the Federal Service Labor-Management Relations Statute, federal employees take an oath to specifically not strike. Reagan, as a lifetime member of an AFL-CIO union, was very familiar with labor and union relations. At one point, Reagan even told his Secretary of Transportation, Drew Lewis, to inform PATCO that he was probably the best friend they would ever have in the White House -- to no avail. PATCO believed that “there was no way the government could refuse to improve its contract offer in the face of this strike...” (McClinton, 2011, p. 7). Robert Poli, President of PATCO, who made this statement,

could not have been more wrong. PATCO was not the first striking entity within federal employment; however, they were the one that paid the heaviest price for misreading the actions that the President would take. According to Schalch (2006), on August 3, 1981, President Reagan ordered that the air traffic controllers return to work within 48 hours or they would be terminated. At the same time, a Federal judge found Robert Poli in contempt. On August 5, 1981 the air traffic controllers who failed to return to work were terminated. Between August 3 and August 5, 1981, approximately 3,000 supervisors joined 2,000 non-striking controllers and 900 military controllers to maintain the safety of the sky. On August 17, 1981, the FAA began accepting applications for new air traffic controllers, reaching more than 45,000 applicants within four weeks of the strike's onset. On October 22, 1981, PATCO was decertified, no longer retaining the right to bargain for its members.

Today, air traffic controllers are represented by the National Air Traffic Controller's Association founded on June 19, 1987. In total, President Reagan fired 11,245 striking air traffic controllers and barred them for life from federal service (Mitchell, n.d.). According to Drew Lewis, Reagan was "almost in tears that he was going to hurt these families" (Noonan, 2001, p. 225). Out of compassion, in December of 1981, President Reagan issued a memorandum allowing terminated air traffic controllers to apply for federal employment but specified that they could not return to employment within the FAA.

PATCO – Presidential Involvement

In a press conference on August 3, 1981, President Reagan, along with the U.S.

Attorney General and the Secretary of Transportation, gave the air traffic controllers 48 hours to report to work or they would forfeit their jobs and be terminated. “Of all the roles American presidents are remembered for – military commander, legislative leader, international ambassador – strike breaker does not often make the list” (Meeks, 2009, p. 1). The President is given authority in the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 (LMRA; 29 U.S.C. Sec. Sec 141-197) for legal strikebreaking injunctions if a current or impending strike puts national health or safety at risk, especially those that create a national emergency (Title 29, Ch 7, U.S.C.). It was President Reagan who chose to get involved and who chose to give PATCO members 48 hours to report for duty – allowing both a cooling off period and time for word to spread from the top down to the workers. Reagan believed in the rights of workers, of collective bargaining, of bringing to the employer the labor issues faced by workers. He also believed that when one takes an oath that one has a legal obligation to uphold that oath and that these federal employees had taken that oath to not strike. His “intervention in the air traffic controllers strike was paradoxically both unavoidable and unexpected” (Meeks, 2009, p. 10). The strike and Reagan’s involvement ranked as number three on the Top 10 Government Showdowns according to *Time Magazine’s* Frances Romero in 2011, who specializes in travel, tourism and transportation issues. It was a major policy decision that faced the president early in his presidency that would have lasting effects on his remaining time in office.

As a lifetime union member, Reagan was not perceived as a union-buster nor did he speak with anti-union sentiment. His focus had always been on the members and not on the union itself. And although he opposed government strikes,

Reagan supported government worker’s efforts to unionize and bargain collectively. As governor, he extended such rights in California. As

president he was prepared to do the same. Not only did he court and win Patco's endorsement during his 1980 campaign, he directed his negotiators to go beyond his legal authority to offer controllers a pay raise before their strike – the first time a president had ever offered so much to a federal employee's union. (McCartin, August 2011, p. 2)

It was also Reagan who felt sorry for the terminated workers and within four months of his decision to impose a lifetime ban on re-employment he ordered the federal government to allow terminated air traffic controllers to re-apply for federal jobs with the exception of returning to the FAA. While PATCO felt that the threat of shutting down the nation's air traffic would cause Reagan to cave, Reagan felt that if he gave the workers forty-eight hours they would return to work and accept the deal the FAA had put before them for the eleven percent increase in pay, earlier retirement age, premium for time the controller spent training other employees, and a reduced work week.

While the law allows the president to get involved in national strikes, it is a permissive ability and not a mandatory one. In the past, presidents remained neutral or even allowed strikes to occur, but Reagan viewed the law as inviolable and believed that federal employees had a duty to uphold the law and the oath they took to not strike. Reagan chose to get involved in the PATCO strike and subsequent terminations because of this issue.

PATCO – Opinion on Presidential Action

Opinions on Reagan's involvement in the strike and subsequent termination were varied. They did, however, weigh more heavily towards supporting the President's position on the terminations. His actions were controversial because no other president before him had terminated illegally striking federal employees. Critics claimed that

Reagan merely wanted to privatize the industry, but evidence shows that “if Reagan had really wanted to send an antiunion message, he would have proposed to privatize air traffic control rather than replace strikers with new government hires” (Hayward, 2005, p. 134). In fact, PATCO had a strike in 1972, and the federal government quietly hired the air traffic controllers back. Others felt that Reagan’s reaction to the PATCO strike was excessively harsh – “not only did Reagan fire the controllers; he banned the government from ever rehiring them. The ‘ban for life’ was rescinded by the Clinton Administration, but not until 12 years after the strike” (Pew, 2011, p. 1). Still others felt that Reagan left behind an ugly economic legacy of union busting, “of the most brutal variety. To this day, commentators hail Reagan’s handling of the 1981 strike staged by the nation’s air traffic controllers as the defining moment of his fledgling presidency” (Lehmann, 2012, p. 1). A Gallup Poll a few days after the firing showed 59% of Americans approved of Reagan’s handling of the issue.

Former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan argued Ronald Reagan’s intervention in the strike as the most important domestic initiative of his presidency because it created a chilling effect on organized labor to hold the economy hostage through striking. For the first time, private industry began questioning whether they could replace workers while they were striking. Reagan chose not to negotiate with the workers while on an active strike, and he held firm to this. George Schultz believed Reagan’s handling of the PATCO affair was the most important foreign policy decision that Reagan made (Noonan, 2001) because the Soviets were watching the new president closely and were struck by the fact that he meant what he said. Cowie (2012) points out that “Reagan never wavered, making the hardline stance part of his projection of

character and resolve, the larger labor movement buckled” (p. 8). As a consequence and oddly enough, the PATCO affair was a domestic crisis that resulted in a foreign policy triumph.

PATCO – Consequences to Leadership

Ronald Reagan’s involvement in the PATCO affair showed decisiveness and unyielding leadership, and the implications were broad both geographically and bureaucratically. “Cases which have warranted presidential intervention are rare in American history, but when they do arise, the repercussions for organized labor and for presidential powers are pronounced” (Meeks, 2009). As a result of Reagan’s actions towards PATCO, major strikes in the United States “plummeted from an average of 300 each year in the decades before to fewer than 30 today” (Schalch, 2006). Many did not know or discuss they knew at the time that a long-term strike by PATCO would also have real national security implications as American AWACs bombers were in the skies every day as part of the U.S. military defense posture against the U.S.S.R. This threat was significant because the Soviets came to realize that if the U.S. air control system was jeopardized, then part of our military-readiness, made up largely of land-based, sea-based and air-based systems, could also be compromised. McCartin (2011) believes that Reagan’s “forceful handling of the walkout, meanwhile, impressed the Soviets, strengthening his hand in the talks he later pursued with Mikhail S. Gorbachev” (p. 1). McCartin was not alone in this analysis. Both Noonan (2001) and Hayward (2005) point to Reagan’s consistency in following through with action as a large influence on future relations with the Soviet Union.

PATCO leaders thought Reagan was bluffing, but they did not know Reagan. If they had studied his history, they would have seen that when he was governor of California, he had stopped public employee strikes twice, including one in which he gave the employees the minimum period of time allowed by California law for them to return to their jobs (Hayward, 2005). And while not by any means premeditated, Reagan's consistency would solidify not only his role as president but also set the tone for his remaining years. The event offered a clear indication that he would remain firm.

The Father Jenco Event

The Father Jenco event was selected because President Reagan became personally involved and because it preceded a historically significant policy fallout period within Reagan's tenure (the Iran Initiative which later became half of the Iran-Contra Affair). In brief, on January 8, 1985, Father Lawrence M. Jenco, O.S.M. (11/27/34-7/19/96), U.S. Citizen, while serving as the Program Director for Catholic Relief services was abducted on the streets of Beirut, Lebanon, by the terrorist organization Islamic Jihad (a group linked to Hezbollah) at the age of 50. Jenco (1995) stated that his kidnappers asked several times if he was "Mr. Joseph Curtin" – implying that they kidnapped the wrong man; knowing this, he thought they'd let him go (p. 23). At the time, Islamic Jihad was asking for the release of 17 members who had been convicted and sentenced and were being held in Kuwaiti jails for their roles in the 1983 bombings of the U.S. and French embassies in Lebanon. Father Jenco was interrogated, beaten and tortured while being held hostage and allowed no visitors. Father Jenco was released on July 26, 1986, to the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon where he was picked up by a Syrian

government car, ending his 572 days of captivity. Reagan first notes his awareness of Father Jenco's capture on January 18, 1985, ten days post captivity. Father Jenco went on to write of his experience in a book titled *Bound to Forgive*.

Jenco - Background

In 1985, President Reagan denounced Iran as one of five countries that were sponsoring terrorists. Motivated to challenge the power elites, largely due to the success of their Iranian brothers and sisters, an extremist group of radicals "Islamic Jihad" (Islamic Holy War) developed and cloaked themselves under the umbrella organization of Hezbollah (Iranian-founded Party of God). Father Jenco's kidnappers were a minority that not only believed that western influences were corrupting the Middle East, but who also wanted Lebanon to be an Islamic state. His lead kidnapper's (Hajj) wife "had been convicted of bombing the American and French embassies in Beirut and was in jail. Hajj wanted a hostage to exchange for his brother-in-law and went after Joe Curtin but took me by mistake" (Jenco, 1995, p. 31). This request for the release of the Shiite prisoners in Kuwait seemed a reasonable request to Father Jenco's captors. After all, in June of 1985 after TWA Flight 847 was high-jacked, the Reagan Administration negotiated the release of the Americans onboard via secret negotiations with the terrorists. Such a release was conditioned on Israel's release of thirty-one Shiite prisoners (Heclo, 2008).

Father Jenco, while in captivity, was subject to constant torture and inhumane conditions.

From the moment he was abducted, Father Jenco was treated little better than a caged animal. He was chained, beaten, and almost constantly blind-folded...He also withstood repeated psychological torture. Most notably, at one point, his captors held a gun to his head and told him that

he was about to die. The captors pulled the trigger and laughed as Father Jenco reacted to the small click of the unloaded gun. (Bettis, et al. v. Iran, 2003, p. 2; Jenco, 1995)

In July of 1986, CIA Director William Casey made a secret trip to Syria, meeting with Syrian President Assad, to enlist the support for the release of American hostages in Lebanon (de Lama, 1986). Such involvement by Syria was confirmed by Jenco (1995) post-release: "...My captors in those final minutes stressed that they do not want the Syrians to be involved in any negotiations on the release of the other three Americans" (p. 129). Terry Waite, a personal representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had made several trips to help negotiate the release of the hostages in Lebanon and was in Amman, Jordan, at the time of Father Jenco's release. While refusing to discuss his role in Jenco's freedom, being in Jordan at the time "was not coincidental" (Clift, 1986) though his captors said that Father Jenco was released because of his "worsening health" (Weinraub, 1986, p. 2).

Upon Jenco's return to the United States, he met with the President and first Lady Nancy Reagan. In a brief press conference after the meeting, Jenco described it as "such a warm, healing experience for me" and one that he found "unexpected, in a way" expressing that he felt like a returning family member (Clift, 1986, p.1). In Jenco's (1995) book, he describes his visit to the Oval Office as follows:

There was little conversation during my Oval Office visit. The President was distant, Oakley and North said nothing, and Schultz made a comment something to the effect that "I guess prayer works." Mrs. Reagan on the other hand displayed the kind of compassion that women have and men often seem incapable of expressing. She talked with me in a way that helped pull out some of the pain, asking me understanding questions about my imprisonment. It was exactly what I needed in the process of healing my memories at that time. (p. 127)

Soon after his visit, Father Jenco implored the Shiites to “end this situation and release the remaining American hostages in Lebanon” (Weinraub, 1986, p. 1).

Jenco – President’s Involvement

Throughout 1984, as American hostages accumulated in Lebanon, [James } Baker and [Michael] Deaver had kept hostage family members away from the president. This was partly to spare him from emotionally trying encounters and partly to prevent him from making unwise commitments. Reagan responded humanly to crises. While he could be loftily (or sleepily) disengaged from consequential policy decisions, he was rarely passive when confronted with a personal situation where he thought he could be of help. (Cannon, 1991, p. 609)

Cannon (1991) further notes that Reagan was frustrated “at his inability to mount an effective response to terrorist activities or to rescue Americans held hostage in Lebanon...” (p. 593). Again, one has to think in context that hostages were freed upon Reagan taking office, and, again later, TWA hostages were released which included the release of Shiite prisoners after negotiations with the Reagan administration. There would be no reason for the Islamic Jihadists who were holding Jenco to believe that the Reagan administration would not negotiate with them. What they failed to understand was that U.S. human intelligence was weak in that area and the people who should have known did not know who was holding the hostages or where they were being held. Reagan’s personal feelings about freeing these hostages were the principal cause, though not the only one, for his enthusiastic pursuit of the Iran Initiative. At the request of Republican Congressman George O’Brien, the Father Lawrence Jenco family was allowed to attend a meeting with the president and the TWA hostage families.

The State Department had rebuffed previous efforts of Jenco family members to see the president. The meeting in the library gave the Jencos an opportunity that might never come again, and they made the most of it.

Two of Father Jenco's brothers put Reagan on the spot. They wanted to know why he was willing to make a deal to release the Shiites held by the Israelis but not for their brother. Reagan was defensive and uncomfortable, saying, as he almost always did when pressed, that he was doing everything he could. After a half hour of this the son of one of the TWA hostages said sympathetically to Reagan, "Mr. President, I don't know how you can stand your job." On that note, [Donald] Regan finally pulled Reagan away. The president was so visibly shaken that Regan asked him if he needed to compose himself before his speech. (Cannon, 1991, p. 609)

Robert McFarlane finally realized that "at all times after Reagan's confrontation with the Jenco family that the central issue for the president was the release of the American hostages" (as cited in Cannon, 1991, p. 614). The Iran Initiative began via

...cooperation with the Israelis and then through a covert U.S. initiative managed by Oliver North, the Reagan administration from the late summer of 1985 to mid-autumn of 1986 supplied antitank and anti-aircraft weapons to Iran in violation of its proclaimed policy of withholding weapons from nations that sponsored terrorism and of a specific embargo on arms sales to Iran. Reagan sought by his actions to use Iran's influence to free U.S. hostages in Lebanon, the scene of the most costly foreign policy calamity of his first term. (Cannon, 1991, p. 589)

It became clear that Reagan's attention was heavily focused on the release of the Beirut Hostages. "The matter of the hostages was so much on Reagan's mind that he asked Regan if there was any new information about them on the evening of July 13, soon after signing a letter in which he reclaimed the presidential powers he had delegated to Vice President [George H. W.] Bush during surgery" (Cannon, 1991, p. 613). Reagan demonstrated that he "was willing to abandon his own principle of not negotiating with terrorists, reverse his own administration's policy, and even break the law" (Pfiffner, 2013, p. 93). Remaining disengaged from the day-to-day carrying out of directives is not unusual to presidents; however,

I am convinced that President Reagan's current difficulties arise from his willingness to trust his friends and associates. A 'hands off' administrator,

Mr. Reagan probably told his National Security Advisors, “Do everything you can to get those poor people freed! and trusted them to remain within the (admittedly murky) confines of the law. (Roche, 1987, p. 40)

As a consequence of multiple failed attempts to obtain the release of the American hostages in Lebanon, “three more hostages were captured” (Pfiffner, 2013, p. 94).

Jenco – Opinion on Presidential Action

In an interview with the editors of *U.S. Catholic*, Father Jenco was asked

How else did your faith sustain you? My faith is very much a part of who I am. Many of the things that are imprinted upon your soul are from your earliest years. For example, the hymns that came to my mind as a hostage were hymns that were taught to me as a child. (U.S. Catholic, 1996, p. 1)

Later in that same interview, Father Jenco was asked

Do you have any anger toward the way the church or U.S. government handled the hostage situation? As a hostage, for six months I had no information at all. I was in total isolation...not one article on the hostage situation was ever written on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, my order, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), or the Associated Press. The only news from the government we ever read was that the U.S. would not negotiate to secure the release of hostages. (p. 8)

When Father Jenco was asked

How did you feel about the circumstances surrounding your release – the Iran-contra arms deal? I totally disapproved of it. Why should they sell arms to secure the release of one man, breeding violence to hundreds of thousands of people in Iraq and in Nicaragua? What a horrible thing to do to secure my release with the sale of arms. Oliver North is not my hero. (p. 8)

According to Father Jenco, this statement won him harsh criticism including at least one offer to fly him back to Lebanon.

Jenco – Consequences to Leadership

Every action has a reaction, even if that action is inaction. “...Reagan and his

officials violated congressional laws and the spirit of the Constitution. And equally clearly, they largely got away with it as a precedent for future years” (Hecllo, 2008, p. 569). While the American presidency was left stronger and more manageable, it was also left more dangerous. Reagan wanted everything exposed, so despite attempted cover-ups, Abshire was personally summoned by President Reagan to leave his post as Ambassador to NATO to serve in the Cabinet as Special Counselor to the President. His charge was to get everything out in the open on the sale of arms to Iran. “He became the symbol and agent of the restoration of Presidential integrity” (Abshire, 2002, p. 2). “Reagan’s presidency reached its low point as a byproduct of terrorism, when he approved an abortive attempt to ransom American hostages in Lebanon through secret weapons sales to Islamic fundamentalist Iran – a scheme that led to the Iran-Contra scandal over the arms deals and secret payments to right-wing Nicaraguan rebels with the proceeds” (McManus, 2004). Reagan denied any knowledge of the subsequent funding to the Nicaraguan rebels. “By the way, trading arms for hostages in itself broke no law, but Reagan himself said giving in to such blackmail was immoral. He falsely rationalized he was doing something else” (Abshire, 2002, p. 9). What is perplexing is how Father Jenco could forgive his captors but not the people who broke the law to secure his release. “Through his life and through his final agony and final words, Jesus taught us that the heart of love is forgiveness. This is what he asked of us. This is what he asked of me during my captivity” (Jenco, 1995, p. 13). Perhaps this was also Reagan’s plea to the American people for breaking his solemn vow. “But it was the plight of the hostages that was decisive in leading Reagan to approve an initiative that flatly contradicted his general policy of not negotiating with terrorists or kidnappers and his specific policy of not

selling arms to Iran” (Cannon, 1991, p. 610). Cannon believed such action would tarnish Reagan’s reputation as an honest leader.

The Nicholas Daniloff Event

The Nicholas Daniloff event was selected because President Reagan became personally involved, it preceded a historically significant policy period within Reagan’s tenure (the Reykjavik meeting with U.S.S.R.), and it was referenced after Jenco’s release by the remaining American hostages in Lebanon in their plea to the Administration for more assistance. As background, on August 30, 1986 while serving as a Moscow Correspondent for *U.S. News and World Report* magazine, U.S. Citizen Nicholas Daniloff (b. 12/30/34 -) was arrested by the Soviet KGB and charged with espionage at the age of 51. He had served as a journalist for *U.S. News and World Report* in the Soviet Union for nine years, had many friends there and was to shortly return to the U.S. His arrest followed the U.S. arrest three days earlier of Gennadi Zakharov, an employee of the Soviet U.N. Mission who was arrested by the FBI for spying and who was denied bail on August 28, 1986. Daniloff was interrogated while held but was never physically tortured or beaten. Daniloff was released to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow on September 12, 1986, thus ending his 13 days of capture. Reagan first notes his awareness of Daniloff’s false imprisonment on August 30, 1986, the very same day as his arrest. Daniloff went on to write of his experience in a book titled *Two Lives, One Russia* (1988).

Daniloff – Background

Daniloff had been friends for over four years with a young Soviet man named Misha. Daniloff's arrest was ordered by KGB Colonel Valery Dmitrovich Sergadeyev after being set up by Misha with an envelope containing operational military maps of Afghanistan and an area map with code names marked "secret." Daniloff was arrested while walking home and held for his entire captivity at Lefortovo prison and subjected to mental torture while being interrogated for nearly thirty hours. He was allowed visitors such as his wife, son, editor-in-chief, and U.S. diplomats. In fact, it was his wife who shared that President Reagan had mentioned Daniloff's case publicly, and Reagan had also written to Gorbachev to certify that Daniloff was not a spy. To this day, contrary to statements by the State Department, Daniloff insists that he had not developed Stockholm syndrome and the interrogation was always unpleasant (*U.S. News*, 1986). Stockholm syndrome is when a victim sympathizes with his perpetrator, and it is largely associated with kidnappings. Daniloff's public clarification of this mischaracterization by the State Department indicates that in no way was Daniloff treated as anything other than a prisoner or, as Daniloff himself is aware of, as a political hostage.

Daniloff – Presidential Involvement

The Reagan Administration was heavily criticized even by fellow conservatives for its handling of the Daniloff event. Among its critics was Gorge Will who, in a September 20, 1986, article, blasted the Administration for dignifying the Soviet charges against Daniloff by denying them. This followed Gorbachev's flagrant disregard for

Reagan's assurance in a letter directly to Gorbachev that Daniloff was in fact not an agent of the U.S. Government (Will, 1986).

The handling of the Daniloff affair has cast a long shadow on the United States' resolve to stand up for its principles. The stakes were high during the latest East-West maneuverings. President Reagan was given the choice between the honor of a nation and the rights of an individual. Reagan's choice of the latter is attributable to the high value Americans place on human rights. Unfortunately, reporter Nicholas Daniloff's liberty did not come without a price tag. (Townsend, 1986, p. 1)

Mortimer Zuckerman (2011) opines on his encounter with President Ronald Reagan and his involvement in the negotiated release of Nicholas Daniloff. He claims he and the President met daily for at least a month as the White House strategized on how to work out an acceptable solution to release Daniloff. Reagan "attended many of the almost daily discussions organized by the White House team. He had an unflinching optimism and unending, self-deprecating sense of humor, and a calmness and charm that were totally devoid of any conceit". For Zuckerman, what struck him most was just "how effective Reagan was. He had an instantaneous grasp of the main issue or the true problems, and he was decisive in his responses. The team working to free Daniloff was glad to follow his lead" (p. 18). The negotiations surrounding Daniloff's release and the President's direct involvement were well documented in original papers held at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and research room. Perhaps his closer engagement was due to lessons he learned in the failure or inability to secure the release of the American hostages in Lebanon on his terms.

Daniloff – Opinion on Presidential Action

As the first American journalist locked up in a Soviet prison since 1949, Daniloff

was very aware of the political timing and nature of his arrest. In fact, Daniloff (1988) confirms that he drafted letters to both Gorbachev and to Reagan while in custody but acknowledges that with Reagan he “knew that many of his right-wing critics were urging him not to compromise. If I appealed to him, it would have to be very carefully composed so that it would strengthen his political hand at home” (p. 290). Daniloff, better than most, understood the unique timing of his arrest. It was no coincidence that it occurred shortly after Soviet Spy Zakharov was arrested and denied bail in the United States and both on the brink of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. desire to hold a summit concerning nuclear weapons.

Daniloff – Consequences to Leadership

The process of Daniloff’s release showed that some matters could be resolved via the two leaders. Unlike Father Jenco’s case, the U.S. knew who was holding Daniloff. The Reykjavik summit, which occurred within two weeks of Daniloff’s release, appeared to many at the time as a failure; however, “it was actually a turning point between the two leaders, who despite their disappointment in each other at Reykjavík, learned that they had common ideals that might be reconcilable in the future” (Pfiffner, 2013, p. 96). “The Soviet Union had to win the Daniloff business, and did so” (Buckley, 1986, p. 62).

Researchers on both sides continue to criticize and praise Reagan, but even if he had “done even less, as the Iranamuck [a nickname for the Iran-Contra affair] and Daniloff affairs demonstrate, he would still be the most popular second-term president in the post-World War II era” (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 62). One of the difficulties in assessing Reagan’s commitment to not negotiate with terrorists is captured by critics that point to

the lack of him acting in accordance with the promise. “The prisoner exchange highlights the hypocrisy of U.S. policy toward terrorism. Families of American hostages in Lebanon are justified in wondering how it is that their loved ones have slipped so low in U.S. foreign-policy priorities” (Townsend, 1986, p. 1).

Summary

Using the PATCO, Father Jenco and the Nicholas Daniloff events and focusing on a single case (Ronald Reagan) allows for classic content analysis to flourish. It is ideal as the number of variables for coding is fairly small (Hodson, 1990). The study works well with this chosen method of analysis for a number of reasons. First, the development of the virtues-based leadership model employs only seven variables (the virtues themselves). Second, the testing of the model will focus only on three events (PATCO, Father Jenco, and Daniloff) that occurred in the course of the single case study. The three events, while similar are also different enough that it gives opportunities for the leader (Ronald Reagan) to be inconsistent in the application of the seven virtues across the life span from personal to public to authoritative. In order to maintain the high standard, a portion is devoted to carefully determining the definitions of concepts to ensure reliability in coding. In particular categorical clusters are defined by the seven Christian virtues of fortitude, justice, prudence, temperance, faith, hope and love and include words, phrases or concepts that may be associated with the categories.

Overall, this research provides a strong exploratory qualitative descriptive study looking through a neo-Aristotelian ethics framework at Reagan’s use of the seven Christian virtues surrounding the three events. It presents a look at the data and presents

and tests a values-based leadership model for future use to determine whether the president's values are consistent in the three spheres of his life while serving in a leadership role.

In closing,

Reagan's legacy is something more than a sum of the parts...it is a legacy that has to do with the whole person. Reagan's is an influence that goes very deep because it can evade our consciousness...it is not the style but the substance of the man we are talking about here. Reagan's basis for being the so-called "great communicator" was not style. What Reagan communicated to people was that he believed what he said. And what he believed was hopeful. (Hecllo, 2008, p. 572)

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS

"It is a mistake to look too far ahead. Only one link in the chain of destiny can be handled at a time" (Winston Churchill, Speech in the House of Commons, February 18, 1945).

“If the aim is to construct a model, the results should be presented as a model outlining the concepts, their hierarchy, and possible connections” (Elo et al.2014, p. 6). The results here are presented in order to provide an answer to the research question of whether a virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life. In other words, if I take evidence from Reagan’s personal writings (embraced sphere), his public comments (espoused sphere), and his presidential actions (enacted sphere) and then code that material for concepts related to each of the seven Christian virtues, will the concept of fortitude be used as frequently in his embraced sphere, espoused sphere and enacted sphere-of-life? Will the concept of justice be used as frequently in his embraced sphere, espoused sphere, and enacted sphere-of-life? My research question does not explore whether the virtues themselves are used at the same frequency or in equivalent proportions across the seven Christian virtues, but rather whether each one is used consistently, by percentage of use, across the three spheres-of-life.

In this chapter, I present the numerical data ascertained from the coded text. First I present the raw frequencies obtained using computer-aided software for each of the seven Christian virtues, for each of the three spheres-of-life, and for each of the three events. The raw numbers are then converted to percentages to more accurately represent

the proportion of use that each virtue has within each sphere-of-life and by each event in relation to the total number of uses of that virtue within that sphere-of-life. For example, if Reagan mentions the concept of fortitude 100 times in the PATCO event and 10 of those are within his embraced sphere-of-life, then the corresponding percentage of use would reflect 10%. Likewise if Reagan mentions the concept of justice 50 times in the PATCO event and 5 of those are within his embraced sphere-of-life, then the corresponding percentage of use would also reflect 10%. Standardizing the raw frequencies to percentage of use is an important factor when treating events that lasted different durations the same. Since the Jenco event took longer than the Daniloff event, I would expect to see a higher raw number in the use of the virtues. By standardizing raw numbers into percentages, I treat all three events equitably. I do this for each of the three events (PATCO, Jenco, and Daniloff) separately and then combine the three events together to compare the average percentage of use by each virtue and for each sphere-of-life. I then repeat this process removing the Jenco event from the calculations. Perfect consistency across the three spheres-of-life would be 33.3%. Ranges for the total percentages attained are between 99.9% and 100.1%.

By comparing the events together, including and excluding the Jenco event, I can ascertain which virtue was used in a higher proportion across the three spheres-of-life. This was an important step to determine whether the lack of materials in the Jenco event for Reagan's enacted sphere-of-life would significantly alter the ranking hierarchy of the highest to lowest proportion of use for the seven Christian virtues. I present this chapter to show how the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and

inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life.

Raw Frequency Results by Virtue across the Spheres-of-Life for All Three Events

This section provides an overview of the raw number of times each of the virtues was used in each event and within each of the three spheres-of-life. The raw frequencies provide the true reflection of the use of each of the virtues; however, they are merely the foundation upon which the data is transformed to a more applicable manner to answer the research question. Namely, I use the raw frequencies to ascertain the percentage of use in the next section. I present the raw frequencies after coding each of the 43 sources from the PATCO event, the 50 sources from the Jenco event, and the 42 sources from the Daniloff event for data representing the categories of the seven Christian virtues. Table 3 depicts the raw number of times (frequency) that each of the seven Christian virtues appeared by each of the three spheres of a leader's life.

Using sources from the PATCO event that were identified for Reagan's embraced sphere-of-life, I coded 15 references to the category of Fortitude, 23 to Justice, 21 to Prudence, 6 to Temperance, 12 to Faith, 8 to Hope and 8 to Love rendering a total of 93 references by Reagan in the PATCO event within the embraced sphere-of-life. Using sources from the PATCO event identified for Reagan's espoused sphere-of-life, I coded 5 references to the category of Fortitude, 32 to Justice, 13 to Prudence, 10 to Temperance, 15 to Faith, 8 to Hope and 8 to Love rendering a total of 91 references by Reagan in the PATCO event within the espoused sphere-of-life. Finally, using sources from the

PATCO event that were identified for Reagan's enacted sphere-of-life, I coded 5 references to the category of Fortitude, 40 to Justice, 22 to Prudence, 8 to Temperance, 8 to Faith, 9 to Hope and 8 to Love rendering a total of 100 references by Reagan in the PATCO event within the enacted sphere-of-life.

Next, I used sources from the Jenco event that were identified for Reagan's embraced sphere-of-life and I coded 10 references to the category of Fortitude, 1 to Justice, 5 to Prudence, 10 to Temperance, 16 to Faith, 18 to Hope and 6 to Love rendering a total of 66 references by Reagan in the Jenco event within the embraced sphere-of-life. Using sources from the Jenco event identified for Reagan's espoused sphere-of-life, I coded 14 references to the category of Fortitude, 2 to Justice, 6 to Prudence, 10 to Temperance, 17 to Faith, 9 to Hope and 7 to Love rendering a total of 65 references by Reagan in the Jenco event within the espoused sphere-of-life. Finally, using sources from the Jenco event identified for Reagan's enacted sphere-of-life, I coded 2 references to the category of Fortitude, 0 to Justice, 2 to Prudence, 1 to Temperance, 0 to Faith, 1 to Hope and 0 to Love rendering a total of 6 references by Reagan in the Jenco event within the enacted sphere-of-life. As mentioned previously, there was a lack of source materials available for the Jenco case in the enacted sphere-of-life due to either continued classification or because shredding of documents occurred as a result of the attempted cover-up by Lt. Colonel Oliver North during the Iran-Contra Affair scandal of the Reagan presidency.

Finally, I used the sources from the Daniloff that were identified for Reagan's embraced sphere-of-life and I coded 9 references to the category of Fortitude, 5 to Justice, 4 to Prudence, 4 to Temperance, 10 to Faith, 3 to Hope and 2 to Love rendering a

total of 37 references by Reagan in the Daniloff event within the embraced sphere-of-life. Using sources from the Daniloff event identified for Reagan's espoused sphere-of-life, I coded 18 references to the category of Fortitude, 12 to Justice, 5 to Prudence, 2 to Temperance, 14 to Faith, 3 to Hope and 0 to Love rendering a total of 54 references by Reagan in the Daniloff event within the espoused sphere-of-life. Finally, using sources from the Daniloff event identified for Reagan's enacted sphere-of-life, I coded 9 references to the category of Fortitude, 11 to Justice, 1 to Prudence, 3 to Temperance, 3 to Faith, 0 to Hope and 0 to Love rendering a total of 27 references by Reagan in the Daniloff event within the enacted sphere-of-life.

The first column in Table 3 reflects Reagan's use of each of the virtues, first by the embraced sphere, followed by the espoused sphere and then the enacted sphere. At the end of each sphere, I provide a total number of references. This total number of references is used in a later table to divide the raw number by to obtain the percentage of use. Columns 2-4 reflect each of the three events (PATCO, Jenco, and Daniloff) and the number of sources coded for each of those events. Moving down the rows of Columns 2-4 is the raw number of coded references by virtue and corresponding sphere-of-life. Finally Column 5 reflects the total number of references for each virtue and for each sphere-of-life, combining all three events.

Table 3

Frequency of Reference by Virtue – Raw Numbers

Virtue by Sphere of Life	PATCO	Jenco	Daniloff	Total	Percentage of Total References
	(43 Sources) Number of References	(50 Sources) Number of References	(42 Sources) Number of References		
Fortitude – Embraced Sphere	15	10	9	34	
Justice - Embraced Sphere	23	1	5	29	
Prudence – Embraced Sphere	21	5	4	30	
Temperance – Embraced Sphere	6	10	4	20	
Faith – Embraced Sphere	12	16	10	38	
Hope – Embraced Sphere	8	18	3	29	
Love – Embraced Sphere	8	6	2	16	
Totals – Embraced Sphere	93	66	37	196	36.36%
Fortitude – Espoused Sphere	5	14	18	37	
Justice – Espoused Sphere	32	2	12	46	
Prudence – Espoused Sphere	13	6	5	24	
Temperance – Espoused Sphere	10	10	2	22	
Faith – Espoused Sphere	15	17	14	46	
Hope – Espoused Sphere	8	9	3	20	

Love – Espoused Sphere	8	7	0	15	
Totals – Espoused Sphere	91	65	54	210	38.96%
Fortitude – Enacted Sphere	5	2	9	16	
Justice – Enacted Sphere	40	0	11	51	
Prudence – Enacted Sphere	22	2	1	25	
Temperance – Enacted Sphere	8	1	3	12	
Faith – Enacted Sphere	8	0	3	11	
Hope – Enacted Sphere	9	1	0	10	
Love – Enacted Sphere	8	0	0	8	
Totals – Enacted Sphere	100	6	27	133	24.68%
Total Across all Spheres-of-Life	284	137	118	539	100.0%

**Percentage of References by Virtue across All Spheres-of- Life When PATCO,
Jenco and Daniloff Events are Combined**

Standardizing the raw numbers to percentages more accurately represents the proportion of use for each virtue within each sphere-of-life. This was an important and necessary step to provide equalization across the three events due to their varied duration. For example, the Jenco event lasted longer than the Daniloff event, so I would expect to see more raw numbers. But frequency is not a determinate of consistency. What is

important is what percentage of the overall references within each of the spheres-of-life the individual virtue was used. To standardize the raw numbers by each virtue across the three events, I divide them by the number of total references made within each of the three events and by each sphere-of-life within that event. Doing this computation gives me a percentage of usage for each virtue within each sphere-of-life for the three events.

Fortitude

For the proportion of references to the virtue of Fortitude, combining all three events while separating each sphere-of-life, I drew from the raw numbers in Table 3. When I combined the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events, I coded 23 references to Fortitude to the embraced sphere, 37 to the espoused sphere, 15 to the enacted sphere with a total of 87 for all three spheres combined (these figures are referenced in row 2 of Table 4). To ascertain the percentage the virtue of Fortitude is referenced, I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divide it by the total number of references for all spheres (Row 2, Column 5). Row 3 of Table 4 reflects that the percentage of references related to Fortitude in the embraced sphere is 39.1%; the espoused sphere is 3.4% higher than the embraced sphere at 42.5%; and the enacted sphere is 18.4%, 24.1% lower than the espoused sphere, with a total across all three spheres at 100.0%.

Table 4

References to the virtue of Fortitude for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloff events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	34	37	16	87
Percentages	39.1%	42.5%	18.4%	100.0%

Justice

In combining all three events for the proportion of use for the virtue of Fortitude while separating each sphere-of-life, I again drew from the raw numbers in Table 3. In combining the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events, I coded 29 references to Justice in the embraced sphere, 46 in the espoused sphere, 51 in the enacted sphere with a total of 126 for all three spheres combined (see row 2, Table 5). To ascertain the percentage that the virtue of Justice is referenced, I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divided it by the total number of references for all spheres reflected in row 2, column 5. Row 3 of Table 5 reflects the proportion of references related to Justice. The embraced sphere is 23.0%; the espoused sphere is 36.5% greater than the embraced sphere at 36.5%; and the enacted sphere is 40.5% greater than the espoused sphere at 40.5%, with a total across all three spheres at 100.0%.

Table 5

References to the virtue of Justice for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloff events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	29	46	51	126
Percentages	23.0%	36.5%	40.5%	100.0%

Prudence

Again, combining all three events for the proportion of use for the virtue of Prudence while separating each sphere-of-life, I drew from the raw numbers in Table 3. In combining the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events, I coded 30 references to Prudence in the embraced sphere, 24 into the espoused sphere, 25 into the enacted sphere with a

total of 79 for all three spheres combined (refer to row 2, Table 6). To ascertain the percentage the virtue of Prudence is referenced, I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divided it by the total number of references for all spheres found in row 2, column 5. Row 3 of Table 6 reflects the proportion of references related to the virtue of Prudence. The embraced sphere is 38.0%; the espoused sphere is 7.6% less than the embraced sphere at 30.4%; the enacted sphere is greater by 1.2% than that of the espoused sphere at 31.6%, with a total across all three spheres at 100.0%.

Table 6

References to the virtue of Prudence for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloff events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	30	24	25	79
Percentages	38.0%	30.4%	31.6%	100.0%

Temperance

In combining the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events for the proportion of use for the virtue of Temperance while separating each sphere-of-life, I drew from the raw numbers in Table 3, coding 20 references to Temperance in the embraced sphere, 22 into the espoused sphere, 12 into the enacted sphere with a total of 54 for all three spheres combined (see row 2, Table 7). Calculating the percentage that Temperance is referenced, I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divided it by the total number of references for all spheres found in row 2, column 5. The percentage of references related to Temperance is reflected in row 3 of Table 7. The embraced sphere

is 37.0%; the espoused sphere is 3.7% greater than the embraced sphere at 40.7%; and the enacted sphere is 17.5% less than the espoused sphere at 22.2%, with a total across all three spheres at 99.9%.

Table 7

References to the virtue of Temperance for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloff events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	20	22	12	54
Percentages	37.0%	40.7%	22.2%	99.9%

Faith

Again, combining all three events for the proportionate use of the virtue of Faith while separating each sphere-of-life, I drew from the raw numbers in Table 3. In combining the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events, I coded 38 references to Faith in the embraced sphere, 46 into the espoused sphere, 11 into the enacted sphere with a total of 95 for all three spheres combined (see row 2, Table 8). I then calculated the percentage the virtue of Faith is referenced. I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divided it by the total number of references for all spheres as found in row 2, column 5. Row 3 of Table 8 reflects the percentage of references related to Faith. The embraced sphere is 40.0%; the espoused sphere is 48.4%, which is 8.4% greater than the embraced sphere; and the enacted sphere is 11.6%, which is 36.8% less than the espoused sphere. All three spheres total 100.0%.

Table 8

References to the virtue of Faith for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloﬀ events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	38	46	11	95
Percentages	40.0%	48.4%	11.6%	100.0%

Hope

Combining the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloﬀ events to calculate the proportion of use for the virtue of Hope while separating each sphere-of-life, I drew from the raw numbers in Table 3 and coded 29 references to Hope in the embraced sphere, 20 into the espoused sphere, 10 into the enacted sphere with a total of 59 for all three spheres combined (refer to row 2, Table 9). To compute the percentage the theological virtue of Hope is referenced, I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divided it by row 2, column 5 the total number of references for all spheres. Row 3 of Table 9 reflects my calculation of percentages related to Hope. The embraced sphere is 49.2%; the espoused sphere is 33.9% which is 15.4% less than the espoused sphere; the enacted sphere is 16.9% which is 17.0% less than the espoused sphere, with a total across all three spheres at 100.0%.

Table 9

References to the virtue of Hope for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloﬀ events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	29	20	10	59
Percentages	49.2%	33.9%	16.9%	100.0%

Love

Finally, I combine all three events for the proportion of use for the theological virtue of Love while separating each sphere-of-life. Borrowing from raw numbers in Table 3 and combining the PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff events, I coded 16 references to Love in the embraced sphere, 15 into the espoused sphere, 8 into the enacted sphere with a total of 39 for all three spheres combined (see Table 10, row 2). To calculate the percentage the virtue of Love is referenced, I took the raw number for each sphere-of-life and divided it by the total number of references for all spheres referenced in row 2 of column 5. Row 3 of Table 10 reflects the percentage of references related to Love as 41.0% in the embraced sphere; 38.5% to the espoused sphere which is 2.5% less than the embraced sphere; 20.5% to the enacted sphere, which is 18.0% less than the espoused sphere. The total proportion across all three spheres is 100.0%.

Table 10

References to the virtue of Love for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloff events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	16	15	8	39
Percentages	41.0%	38.5%	20.5%	100.0%

**Total Number of References for All Virtues by Sphere-of-Life
when PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff are Combined**

Finally, I combined the seven Christian virtues referenced within each sphere-of-life for all three events (PATCO, Jenco, Daniloff) in answer to the research question of

whether a virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life. Row 2, Column 2 of Table 11 reflects the total number of references in the embraced sphere-of-life by adding row 2, column 2 of Tables 4-10 which yields 196 total references to the seven Christian virtues. Likewise, row 2, column 3 of Table 11 reflects the total number of references in the espoused sphere-of-life by adding row 2, column 3 of Tables 4-10 and presents 210 total references to the seven Christian virtues. Thirdly, row 2, column 4 reflects 133 total references to the seven Christian virtues within the enacted sphere which is made up of the totals from row 2, column 4 of Tables 4-10. When the embraced sphere (196 references), the espoused sphere (210 references) and the enacted sphere (133 references) are added together, they total 539 total references to the seven Christian virtues across the three spheres for all three events. Row 3 of Table 11 transforms these raw numbers to percentages by taking the raw number in each sphere and dividing it by the total number across the spheres. For example, row 3, column 2 of Table 11 reflects that 36.4% of all references when combining all three events are within the embraced sphere-of-life. I calculated 39.0% of the proportion of references to the seven Christian virtues when combining all three events falling within the espoused sphere and 24.7% falling within the enacted sphere. There is a minimal 2.6% difference between the proportion of the use of the seven Christian virtues between the embraced sphere and the espoused sphere, 11.7% difference between the embraced and enacted spheres, and 14.3% difference between the espoused and enacted spheres. When the proportion of use across the three spheres is added together, they account for 100.1% of all references made

to the seven Christian virtues. This table presents my first look at consistency across the three spheres-of-life in answer to the research question.

Table 11

Total number of references to the seven Christian virtues for PATCO, Jenco & Daniloff events combined

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	196	210	133	539
Percentages	36.4%	39.0%	24.7%	100.1%

Percentage of References by Virtue Across All Spheres-of-Life by Event

In order to determine whether there is stability if the Jenco event is removed from the calculations for the percentage of references by virtue, I present the proportion of references by virtue across all spheres-of-life by event. I then present the total number of references to the seven Christian virtues for PATCO and Daniloff with the Jenco case excluded. It is important to run the percentages both with and without the Jenco event because the Jenco event had such limited sources of data for the enacted sphere-of-life. Because the Jenco event is tied to the Iran Initiative, which is one half of the Iran-Contra Affair, many documents were shredded and others remain classified.

PATCO Event

For the PATCO event, combining the number of references to all seven Christian virtues within the three spheres-of-life, I extracted the raw numbers from Table 3,

Column 2-4 which reflect the embraced, espoused and the enacted spheres-of-life respectively. In row 2, column 2 of Table 12 (see below), the total number of references made to the seven Christian virtues for the embraced sphere is 93, the espoused sphere is 91, the enacted sphere is 100 with a total across all three spheres for all seven Christian virtues at 284 references. To calculate the proportion of references for all seven of the Christian virtues for each sphere-of-life, I took the raw numbers in table 12, row 2 and divide them by the total number reflected in table 12, row 2, column 5. Those percentages are reflected in row 3 of that same table. The total percentage of references made for all seven Christian virtues for the PATCO event in the embraced sphere is 32.7%, the espoused sphere decreases by a mere .7% to 32.0%, and the enacted sphere increases from the espoused sphere by a minor 3.2% reflecting a total of 35.2%. Adding the total percentages across all three spheres represents 99.9%.

Table 12

PATCO Event – Total Number of References to the seven Christian virtues

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	93	91	100	284
Percentages	32.7%	32.0%	35.2%	99.9%

Jenco Event

For the Jenco event, I followed the same steps from the PATCO event calculations. I first borrowed the raw numbers from Table 3, Column 2-4 which reflect the embraced, espoused and the enacted spheres-of-life respectively. In row 2, column 2

of Table 13 (see below), the total number of references made to the seven Christian virtues for the embraced sphere is 66, the espoused sphere is 65, the enacted sphere is 6 with a total across all three spheres for all seven Christian virtues at 137 references. The low number in the enacted sphere is noted as a concern due to the lack of sources available for the Jenco event in the enacted sphere from the classifying of information and/or shredding of materials as noted earlier. To calculate the percentage of references for all seven of the Christian virtues for each sphere-of-life, I took the raw numbers in table 13, row 2 and divide them by the total number reflected in table 13, row 2, and column 5. I placed the calculated percentages for Jenco in row 3 of table 13 (below). The total percentage of references made for all seven Christian virtues for the Jenco event in the embraced sphere is 48.2%, the espoused sphere is 47.4%, the enacted sphere at 4.4% and a total for all spheres is 100.0%.

Table 13

Jenco Event – Total Number of References to the seven Christian virtues

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	66	65	6	137
Percentages	48.2%	47.4%	4.4%	100.0%

Daniloff Event

Finally, for the Daniloff event I repeated the process used in the PATCO event and the Jenco event discussed above. I combined the number of references to all seven Christian virtues within the three spheres-of-life by taking the raw numbers from Table 3,

Column 2-4 which reflect the embraced, espoused and the enacted spheres-of-life respectively. In row 2, column 2 of Table 14 (see below), the total number of references made to the seven Christian virtues for the embraced sphere is 37, the espoused sphere is 54, the enacted sphere is 27 with a total across all three spheres for all seven Christian virtues at 118 references. To calculate the percentage of references for all seven of the Christian virtues for each sphere-of-life, I took the raw numbers in table 14, row 2 and divided them by the total number of references which is 118. Those percentages are reflected in row 3 of Table 14. The total percentage of references made for all seven Christian virtues for the Jenco event in the embraced sphere is 31.4%, the espoused sphere is 45.8%, the enacted sphere at 22.9% and a total for all spheres is 100.1%.

Table 14

Daniloff Event – Total Number of References to the seven Christian virtues

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	37	54	27	118
Percentages	31.4%	45.8%	22.9%	100.1%

**Total Number of References for All Virtues by Sphere-of-Life
when PATCO and Daniloff are Combined and Jenco is Excluded**

To determine if removing the Jenco event from the total number of references for all seven Christian virtues and across all spheres-of-life strengthens or weakens my assertion of the virtues-based leadership model, I extracted the total number of references to the seven Christian virtues as referenced in the Jenco event from the combined total

found in Table 11. When the total number of references were removed from Table 11 above, or in combining the figures found in Table 12 and 14, the number of references to all seven Christian virtues for the PATCO and Daniloff events is 130 in the embraced sphere, 145 in the espoused sphere and 127 in the enacted sphere for a total number of references for all three spheres at 402 (see row 2 of Table 15). In calculating the percentages of use for the PATCO and Daniloff events (again, excluding the Jenco event), row 3 of table 15 reflects 32.3% in the embraced sphere, 36.1% in the espoused sphere and 31.6% in the enacted sphere with a total for all spheres at 100.0%. The differences between the proportions relative to the embraced sphere and the espoused sphere is a minimal 5.8%, the difference between the embraced sphere and the enacted sphere is a mere .7%, and the difference between the espoused and enacted sphere is a minor 4.5%. These percentages are much smaller than the percentages when the Jenco case is included.

When I compared the total number of references to the seven Christian virtues across all three spheres both with and without the Jenco event, it becomes clear that the exclusion of the Jenco case raises the consistency across the three spheres-of-life. That finding is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. The results of retaining the Jenco case or excluding the Jenco case do not make a difference in the ability for the virtues-based leadership model to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life. The results found in both Table 11, row 3 of 36.4% for the embraced sphere, 39.0% for the espoused sphere, 24.7% for enacted sphere, and

Table 15, row 3 of 32.3% for embraced sphere, 36.1% for espoused sphere and 31.6% in the enacted sphere reflect near consistency across the spheres.

Table 15

Total number of references to the seven Christian virtues for PATCO and Daniloff (excluding Jenco event)

	Embraced Sphere	Espoused Sphere	Enacted Sphere	Total for all Spheres
Raw Numbers	130	145	127	402
Percentages	32.3%	36.1%	31.6%	100.0%

Summary

In providing the results of the coded data, I have reflected the raw frequencies as determined through the computer-aided software for all 43 sources identified in the PATCO event, the 50 sources identified in the Jenco event and the 42 sources identified in the Daniloff event. The data is separated by event, then by sphere-of-life (embraced sphere, espoused sphere, enacted sphere) and then by the four cardinal virtues and the three theological virtues which together comprise the seven Christian virtues. I then presented frequencies for each of the seven Christian virtues along with their respective percentages in Tables 4-10. Their total number of references and corresponding percentages are reflected in Table 11 which shows that when all three events (PATCO, Daniloff and Jenco) are taken together and the proportion of references to the virtues are combined that 36.4% are referenced in the embraced sphere, 39.0% are referenced in the espoused sphere and 24.7% are referenced in the enacted sphere. This finding shows near consistency in the use of the seven Christian virtues across the three spheres-of-life.

To confirm stability of including the Jenco data in the calculations in answering the research question, I present the three events separately in Tables 12-14 reflecting the seven Christian virtues combined. Finally, Table 15 represents the combination of Tables 12 and 14 (excluding Table 13, the Jenco event). The results in Table 15, taking all proportion of references to the seven Christian virtues for the PATCO and Daniloff event, are that 32.3% of the references are in the embraced sphere, 36.1% are in the espoused sphere and 31.6% are in the enacted sphere. The results presented serve to answer the research question that yes; a virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life. The impact of this finding is discussed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

“...a speech at the end of the day is just a speech, and whether or not any of these words are ultimately immortalized I think will depend on whether they’re truly borne out in policy and progress” (Vinca LaFleur, partner West Wing Writers in Brookings, 2009, p. 6).

Results in Response to the Research Question

This study affirms that the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life. Because this study examines the three spheres-of-life, perfect consistency would result in 33.3% of the total references for the embraced sphere, the espoused sphere and the enacted sphere. My results (see Table 3) show that 36.36% (196 of the 539 references) of all references by Reagan to the seven Christian virtues for all three events were in the embraced sphere-of-life. I show that 38.96% (210 of the 539 references) of Reagan’s references to the virtues are attributed to his espoused sphere-of-life. Finally, 24.68% (133 of the 539 references) of Reagan’s total references to the virtues for all three events are within his enacted sphere-of-life. The 36.36% in the embraced sphere, 38.96% in the espoused sphere, and the 24.68% in the enacted sphere show that, while not perfectly consistent, the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader’s use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life.

I have also presented the results for each of the seven Christian virtues separately, showing both the raw frequencies and the corresponding percentages provided for each of

the three events. For the sake of transparency and to ensure stability in the findings, I removed the Jenco case due to its sparse amount of sources for the enacted sphere, and then I presented the raw frequencies for all virtues taken together and by sphere-of-life for just the PATCO and Daniloff events combined. The results are reflected in Table 15 as 32.3% of all references to the virtues corresponding to Reagan's embraced sphere, 36.1% to his espoused sphere and 31.6% to his enacted sphere. The outcome of these results shows even greater consistency between the percentage uses of the virtues across the three spheres-of-life than when the Jenco event was included (see Table 3). With the Jenco event included the three spheres-of-life reflect 36.36%, 38.96% and 24.68% respectively. This increase in consistency across the three spheres-of-life when Jenco was removed is due to the very low percentage in the Jenco event for the enacted sphere of only 4.4% (See Table 13) when compared to the other two events which reflect 35.2% for PATCO (see Table 12) and 22.9% for Daniloff (see Table 14). Again, the question of whether the virtues-based leadership model is able to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres of life is affirmed by the results in both Tables 11 and 15.

Another result that I present is the total percentage of reference by the virtues themselves when all three events are taken together. Examining Tables 4-10, there is an observable difference between the cardinal and theological virtues, especially when it comes to the enacted sphere-of-life. The embraced sphere and the espoused sphere are fairly consistent for each of the seven Christian virtues; however, with the exception of Fortitude, the percentage of references to the virtues of Faith, Hope and Love are

substantially lower in the enacted sphere than the cardinal virtues (sometimes by nearly one-fourth). For example, for Faith, only 11.6% of all references are in the enacted sphere-of-life whereas for Justice, 40.5% of the references are in the enacted sphere-of-life. Likewise, Hope is at 16.9% and Love is at 20.5% in the enacted sphere. This finding may help to support Duffner's (1998) contention that the cardinal virtues and the theological virtues are ever at odds because the cardinal virtues are the means to the theological virtues which represent the goal. Furthermore, the coded materials for the theological virtues tend to fall more in the secularized definition of Faith, Hope and Love rather than the theological definition. For example, "Hope" was often associated more with the expectation of good in terms of success for a policy decision than it was for the concept of redemption, etc. If the theological virtues are indeed the goal, then perhaps they do not have the capacity to show as high a level in consistency to the embraced sphere or the espoused sphere – neither of which require action. Means, on the other hand, require action. Further studies may be able to help flesh out this distinction between the virtues serving as means versus ends.

Findings in Context of Current Literature

The results of the current study add to the body of literature on virtues and leadership by both filling in a portion of the gap and secondly, by expanding on previous studies. Green, Wheeler and Hodgson (2012) contend that "a growing body of literature indicates that leader spirituality positively influences how leaders lead" (p. 35). They further find that leader virtue, spirituality and effective leadership are all interrelated. Their focus is on the cardinal virtues only and also solely on ratings of the leaders by "two followers, two peers and a supervisor on two aspects of leadership" (p. 36). In their study they had 143

mid-level managers complete three scales on themselves. They then performed a Structured Equation Modeling to explore relationships among all the variables. Their study does not attempt to cross into different spheres of a leader's life nor does it address the fact that leaders have different roles and responsibilities from private to public to executive. What may be appreciated by their study is the addition it makes to the body of research on leadership and learning or developing the use of the cardinal virtues. Green et al. point out, however, that spirituality is much more of a private component and therefore more difficult to determine. This observation may explain the literature gap for the embraced sphere. The current study helps to fill this gap on how to measure between the different spheres of a leader's life, including the embraced sphere-of-life.

The results of this current study also help build upon or expand other studies looking at virtues and leadership. For example, Riggio et al. (2010) aim to “develop a reliable and valid scale to measure ethical leadership” by offering the *Leadership Virtues Questionnaire (LVQ)* as “a rating instrument for assessing leader virtues” (p. 235). Riggio et al.'s LVQ is based solely on the individual and not necessarily on the roles or responsibilities that the leader has to the constituency. The focus on the individual partly explains why their study is based within an Aristotelian virtue ethics framework and not on a neo-Aristotelian framework. The findings of this study are, however, similar to Green et al. (2002) in that they measure perceptions of the constructs rather than actual possession of the virtues, for they are both studies that reflect on what others think a leader possesses rather than what is put forth by the leader themselves. The current study looks at what the leader has put forth himself. Overall, Riggio et al.'s LVQ develops a scale to try to determine if someone is a “good” leader, but they do not separate the

spheres of a leader's life either. There is no doubt that the LVQ can help develop more virtuous leaders but in what sphere of life...personal, public or authoritative? These areas are not specified by the LVQ. If the LVQ seeks to make leaders virtuous, then according to the Greeks, they must be virtuous in all areas, which is why the current study looked for consistency across more than one sphere of a leader's life.

The results of this current study contribute to the field of virtues in leadership and how the field may assesses those virtues. The results assist in extending Johnson's (2009) assertion that "virtuous leaders do not abandon principles to please others" (p. 71). The virtues-based leadership model offers a tool to measure for this consistency without giving weight to situational factors while still recognizing the historical context within which the materials and sources reflective of the leader are coded. The results also contribute to Brown (2011), Burns (1978) and Galston (2010) assertions that people can learn how to become virtuous leaders through training and experience. The virtues-based leadership model is capable of identifying where that leader's virtues may be out of alignment or inconsistent in any of the three spheres-of-life. Once the leader can identify the inconsistency, they can better prepare a course of training to reconcile those differences. The results of the current study also bring Kouzes and Posner's (2007) study, which focuses on the embraced sphere and the espoused sphere together with Axline (1996) who looks at the espoused sphere and the enacted sphere.

The virtues-based leadership model expands upon Schuh and Miller's (2006) study by adding the embraced sphere-of-life. Finally, it confirms, through empirical testing, Smith's (2005) contention that Ronald Reagan remained true to his core principles and values by showing consistency in the three spheres-of-life. The virtues-

based leadership model also provides empirical testing to Hecló's (2008) contention that the virtues of the American presidency have to do with occupying a "moral space in the political order" (p. 568). But it does not in any way confirm his theory that the uniqueness of the President rests in the expectation of the electorate. In fact, the virtues-based leadership model development and testing actually supports the exact opposite – that a President can be consistent in belief regardless of the expectation of the electorate. As well, for a president that was highly focused on international relations, the results of consistency are actually a bit surprising since many theories of international relations hold that a leader says and does what he needs to in order to pursue state interests. Neo-realism, for example argues that a president would use his beliefs in different contexts in order to justify state interests despite his personal preferences; yet Reagan's continued references to the virtues show consistency across the spheres of his life even while acting as head of state. The more this study's results are compared to other similar studies, the more broad and wide the gap in the literature is than what was first postulated. Not a single study on virtues in leadership focuses on or attempts to measure the three spheres of a leader's life while utilizing a single model, tool or scale. The virtues-based leadership model offers, for the first time, a tool to assess all three spheres-of-life for both consistencies and inconsistencies in the leader's use of virtues. The virtues-based leadership model is a profound and long overdue contribution to the field of studying virtues in leadership and assessing those virtues.

Policy Implications

In the past, researchers have looked at voting trends or campaign promises to try to gauge where a candidate or leader may stand on an issue. The virtues-based leadership

model provides another option to gauge for consistency or the lack thereof of a leader's personal, public and executive spheres-of-life. It is important to understand that each individual employing the model may be measuring for a different outcome. The policy implications for this study are not only with the individual but also for the institution that employs the leader. It begins with an institution asking what type of individual it is looking for and whether an institution wants an individual that is consistent across the spheres-of-life. In other words, does the institution want a leader that lives a virtuous life where there is consistency across all three spheres? Likewise, a leader may want to personally reflect on or assess whether he or she is being consistent in all the spheres-of-life. The virtues-based leadership model can assess for consistency in both circumstances.

For applicability purposes, I provide a few examples of how the virtues-based leadership model could be employed and when it should have been employed to divert disastrous policy decision-making. First, take as an example a large state agency that provides overall policy development and implementation that is recruiting for a director-level position. The agency is statutorily responsible for developing and implementing policy related to healthcare, drug and alcohol recovery programs, and services for veterans, seniors, and people with developmental disabilities, people with mental illness, and people who are indigent. Its agency mission statement has references to compassion, justice, equality, and its past programs have proven successful for the population served. Its policies have been typical of social policy: value-based and related to the type of society we want to be and the agency identifies plans to help society get to that point. By its nature, the agency will look for a virtuous leader that holds virtues similar to the

institution itself. In the recruitment process, the search committee could easily employ the virtues-based leadership model as a screening tool for potential candidates for the new director-level position. The committee could ask the candidate to submit a personal written statement reflective of his or her beliefs, ask for public statements issued by the candidate in other employment or public areas, and then ask for policy statements or executive orders/memos that the candidate has issued. After coding the materials using the virtues-based leadership model, the agency could analyze the results against its mission statement and core values to see if the individual shows consistency in the three spheres-of-life similar to the agency's stance. If the candidate fails to show consistency, then it would be difficult to have the institution remain as a virtues-based institution when its leader's beliefs are not in alignment.

Second, virtues alter the leaders' approach to problems. This altering of approach could be good and it could be bad. Take, for example, the recent case in the U.S. Supreme Court of Hobby Lobby (*Burwell v. Hobby Lobby*, 573 U.S. ____ (2014)) and the "abortifacients" (life-terminating drugs and devices). Hobby Lobby is a family-owned business whose virtues do not support abortion of any kind or at any stage of the pregnancy, which they firmly believe begins at inception. With the new Affordable Care Act (P.L. 111-148, 2010), Hobby Lobby would not only have to provide its employees with health insurance, but under the new guidelines it would have to provide the same drug formulary which includes four "abortifacients". Hobby Lobby's leaders faced a decision of either fighting the new law or closing their business, thus putting thousands of people out of work. Hobby Lobby found themselves in a situation where their embraced virtues and espoused virtues (which were consistent) could not be

enacted. They chose to fight, and the U.S. Supreme Court sided with them in the appeal brought against them by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. In their decision to uphold the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, the U.S. Supreme court stated that,

But RFRA's [The Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993] question is whether the mandate imposes a substantial burden on the objecting parties' ability to conduct business in accordance with their religious beliefs. The belief of the Hahns and Greens implicates a difficult and important question of religion and moral philosophy, namely, the circumstances under which it is immoral for a person to perform an act that is innocent in itself but that has the effect of enabling or facilitating the commission of an immoral act by another. (*Burwell v. Hobby Lobby*, 573 U.S. ____ (2014), p. 5)

The court had to determine whether the belief of the owners of Hobby Lobby was an honest conviction and the court in a 5-4 decision found no dispute that it was. This case shows that the business sector does look for consistency in virtues across the spheres-of-life, and the U.S. Supreme Court recognized it.

Finally, take the example of Enron. Enron, a large scale energy producer, was contracted to the state of California for the provision of electricity. Enron, as a corporation, had a Code of Ethics. The board members may have held the same virtues, or at least they took an oath to employ those ethics when they joined the board. Enron's board voted to set aside their Code of Ethics when it entered into contract negotiations with California, acting in not only an illegal operation but in a highly unethical situation. This inconsistency across the spheres-of-life of the individuals and of the corporation they were entrusted with led to a disastrous policy move and consequent failure of the company, not to mention the economic damage done to those that utilized their services. Enron filed bankruptcy in 2001 following a series of unethical and illegal actions.

Thinking of policy on a grander scale, several disastrous and highly unethical social policies have been developed and implemented by human beings void of not just the seven Christian virtues but most other virtues as well. Take the eugenics movement which sought to “clean the gene” pool by euthanizing people of “inferior” status. In California, this movement included cleansing people with developmental and mental disabilities. California’s policy to force sterilization and institutionalization led to Hitler’s Operation T4 program of euthanasia of these same folks because he did not want to have to pay to feed them, hence calling them “useless eaters.” There have been other countries with social policies of genocide for the same purposes. Certainly, these leaders are what I would terms “virtue agnostics.” All of these policies were approved by institutions, some by legislation and some by court decisions.

Because the exercise of virtues requires behavior, it makes them much more visible than values or morals. Virtues have a long history of connections to social policy. Justice is largely associated with criminal justice services and programs as is the concept of forgiveness. Charity or love is largely associated with welfare programs and programs targeting affirmative action and immigration reform. The reality is that institutions cannot be virtuous without virtuous leaders. A Christian-based university certainly would not condone a president, provost or even a dean that showed a lack of compassion. If it did so, it would be heavily out of balance as a virtues-based institution employing non-virtues-based leaders. Their behavior would negatively affect the overall credibility of the institution as it proclaims to align itself with the seven Christian virtues. Therefore, it may want to employ the virtues-based leadership model as part of its recruitment and/or part of its annual evaluation process. These types of assessments may

help the individual and/or the institution come back into better alignment. Not only can individuals live virtuous lives but so can institutions, and we are beginning to see this move to the forefront of private business in the area of “social responsibility.”

Future Research Studies

In presenting the results of the coded data using content analysis of Ronald Reagan’s virtues in his embraced sphere, espoused sphere, and enacted sphere relative to three events (PATCO, Jenco and Daniloff), the virtues-based leadership model is able to measure consistencies and inconsistencies between the three spheres of a leader’s life. While it provides no generalizability or predictability, it does serve as a foundation upon which those two attributes may be built upon for future studies. As a standalone project, it contributes to the study of virtues in leadership. Its transferability to other types of leaders or other natural leaders is possibly its greatest asset for future studies and refinement to this area of leadership studies. In addition, it would be warranted to do an open-coding study of a leader, pulling the categories of virtues from their embraced sphere-of-life and using those virtues to test against the espoused sphere and the enacted sphere.

These findings represent a contribution to the previous literature which reflected an absence of studies looking at the virtues as held in the embraced sphere, spoken of in the espoused sphere or executed in the enacted sphere. This research opens the door for future studies to employ the virtues-based leadership model across different types of leaders from U.S. presidents to agency directors to chief executive officers. A researcher need only insert the virtues relative to that person’s stated religious or spiritual beliefs, gather the sources specific to major events in their tenure, and follow the steps I have

outlined in the methodology chapter of this study (see Chapter 4). As a first step, the virtues-based leadership model should be employed on a range of U.S. presidents or foreign prime ministers to explore similarity and difference in results. It is highly recommended that it be utilized with chief executive officers in the private and non-profit sectors and those of different religious or spiritual beliefs using the virtues endemic to their stated belief.

I would also encourage a future study to look at not only consistency across the spheres-of-life but across the seven Christian virtues themselves. For example, a future study could take the same set of sources used in this study and code the material using the same coding matrix to explore whether the virtues themselves are being used consistently within and across the spheres-of-life. Testing for the virtues, rather than the spheres-of-life would give the researcher an idea of which virtue ranked higher in use proportionate to other virtues. At the same time, the virtues could then be sub-coded into “types.” For example, the study could look at whether Reagan uses the concept “restorative” justice more frequently than “procedural” justice or “distributive” justice. The further the researcher can provide specificity to the virtues, the more it may help explain the patterns of a leader’s virtues-based decision making. Testing across the virtues would help to explore whether the range of use by various identified virtues drastically changes the concept of consistency.

Conclusion

This exploratory, problem-driven, qualitative content analysis answers the research question in the affirmative. The virtues-based leadership model is able to

identify consistencies and inconsistencies in a leader's use of cardinal and theological virtues (the seven Christian virtues) across their embraced, espoused and enacted spheres-of-life. This study has successfully developed the model and provided a test-case using sources from Ronald Reagan's embraced sphere, espoused sphere, and enacted sphere of life for three specific events (PATCO, Jenco, and Daniloff) to determine the percentage of use of the seven Christian virtues. It has done so to build upon Plato's concept of living a virtuous life by "pragmatic alignment" or consistencies in each sphere of a leader's life. It borrows from Outka's (1972) concept that habit extends across all spheres, thus making a habit quite different than duty. And it challenges Bellah's (1967) notion that America's civil religion may be stronger than the President's own personal convictions. Like most studies, some of the results elicit more questions than answers. This is not necessarily a negative outcome. It is the essence of conducting research, as research begets further research. It does so with the hope of further refinement and hopefully with a great deal of knowledge acquisition.

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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

JENCO EVENT - LIST OF CODED MATERIALS (CHRONOLOGICAL)

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Memo, Robert M. Kimmitt to Donald P. Gregg, Nicholas Platt, Colonel R.J. Affourtit, John H. Rixse, Major Larry Northington, January 17, 1985. Folder “Lebanon”, WHORM: Subject File, Ronald Reagan Library.

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DANILOFF EVENT - LIST OF CODED MATERIALS (CHRONOLOGICAL)

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- “Statement by Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Remarks by the President on Soviet-United States Relations, September 30, 1986”. *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. Retrieved from: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1986/093086a.htm>
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- “The President’s News Conference, November 19, 1986”. *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. Retrieved from: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1986/111986a.htm>

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Memo, David G. major to John M. Poindexter "NSC Memo Statement by the President"
Folder "Daniloff", Tab 1, Tab 8, WHORM: Subject File, Ronald Reagan Library.

Memo, Department of State from Secretary of State to American Embassy Moscow EO
12356. Subject: Presidential Message to Gorbachev, 9-04-1986 (4 pages) Folder
"Daniloff", WHORM: Subject File, Ronald Reagan Library.

Letter, President Reagan to Soviet Secretary General Gorbachev, September 7, 1986.
Folder "Daniloff", WHORM: Subject File, Ronald Reagan Library.