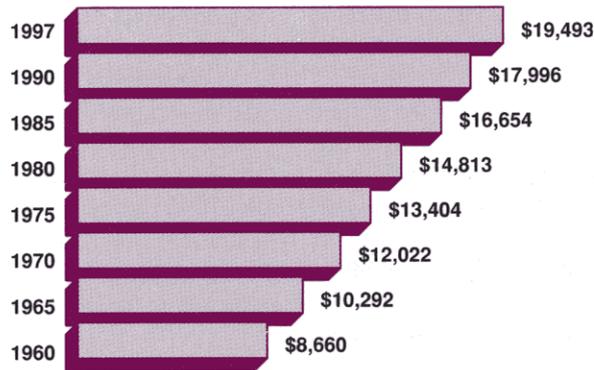


## Real Disposable Personal Income, Per Capita, Has More Than Doubled Since the Early Sixties

(Income in "chained" dollars, 1992 purchasing power)



Source: US Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1998, p. 456.

## Continuing Growth in Real Median Family Income Over the Last Half of the Century

But There's an Expanding Gap Between One- and Two-Wage-Earner Families, And a Large, Continuing Gap Between White and Black Families

(Income in "chained" dollars, 1997 purchasing power)



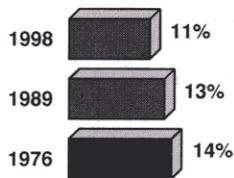
Source: US Bureau of the Census, Historical Income Tables—Families, Table F7, March Current Population Survey, 1998.

## Poverty in an Affluent Society

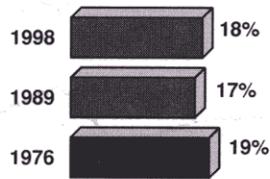
**Question:** Have there been times during the last year when you did not have enough money to buy...

(percent saying "yes")

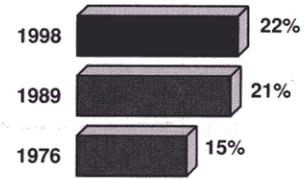
...**food** your family needed?



...**clothing** your family needed?

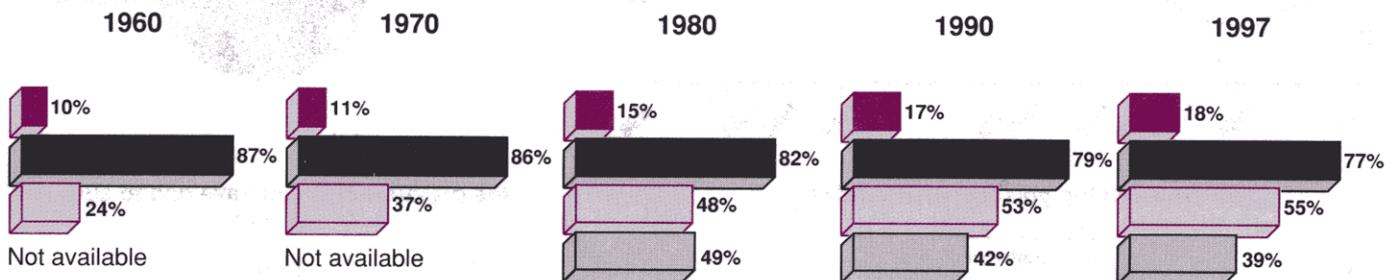


...**medical or health care?**



**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of April 23-May 31, 1998.

## Less Than a Fifth of All Families, But Over a Half Of Families in Poverty, Are Female-Headed



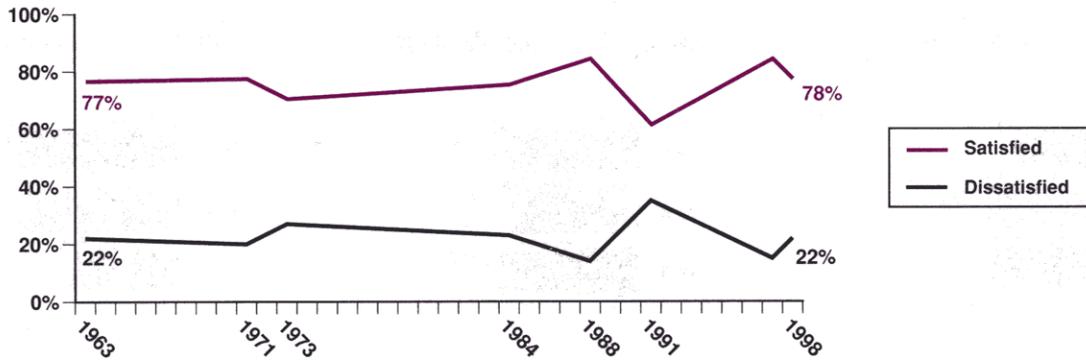
- Percent of all families that are female-headed
- Percent of all families that are married couples
- Percent of all poor families that are female-headed
- Percent of all poor families that are married couples

**Source:** US Bureau of the Census, March Current Population Survey, 1998.

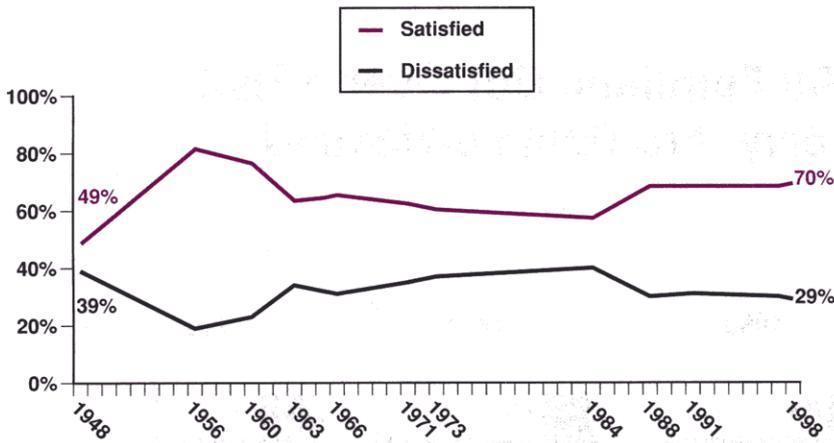
# Large Majorities of Americans, Though, Say They're Satisfied With Their Economic Positions— And Confident in Their Futures

Question: Please tell me whether you are generally satisfied or dissatisfied with each of the following...

...your standard of living, that is, the things you can buy or do?



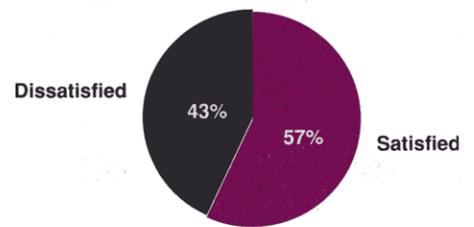
...your family or household income?



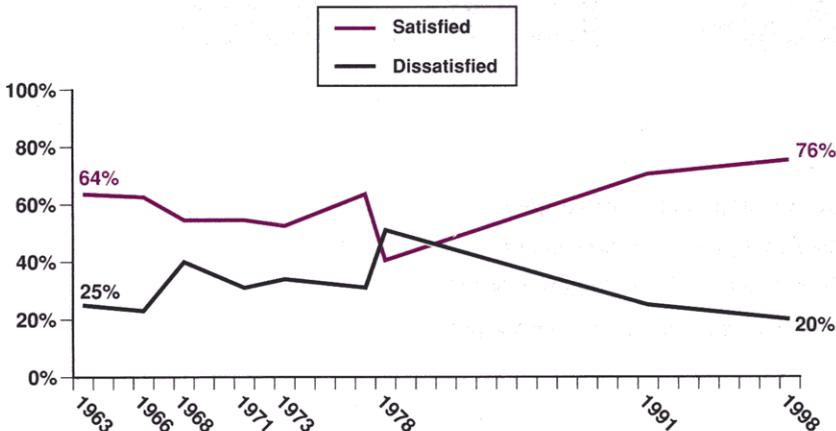
...your husband's salary

Asked of unemployed women

1948

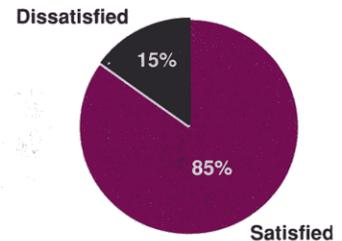


...the future facing you and your family?



...the opportunities you have had to succeed in life?

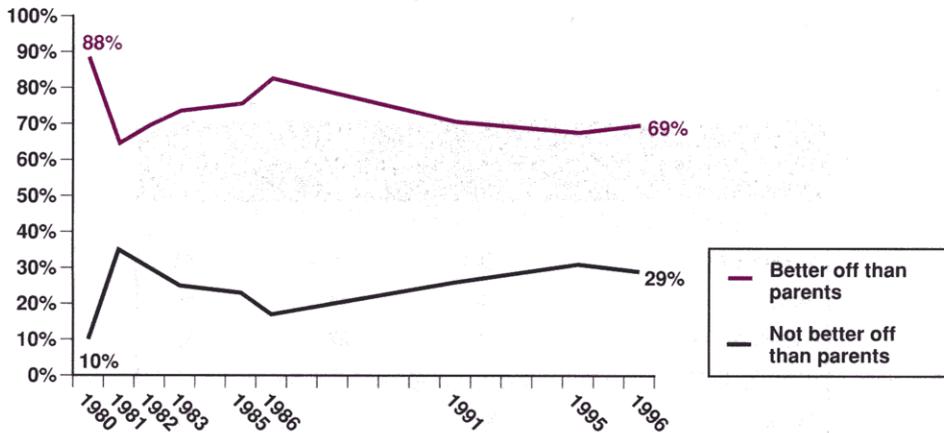
1998



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of April 23-May 31, 1998.

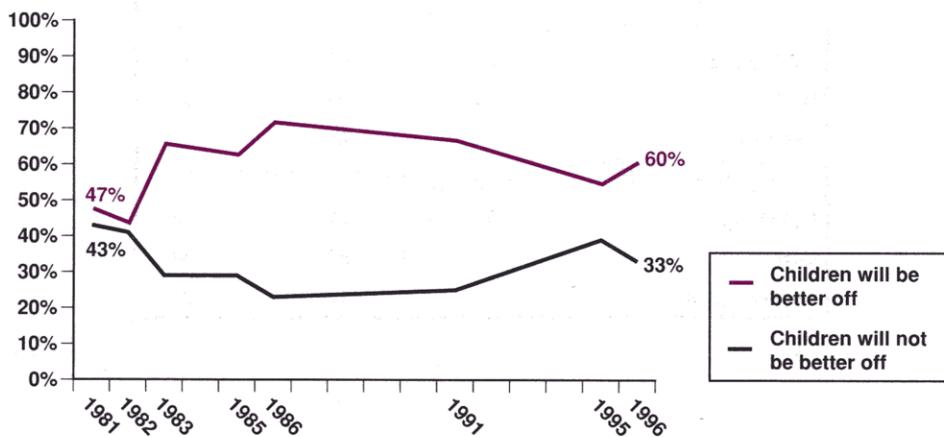
## Large Majorities Continue to See Themselves Ahead Economically, Compared to Their Parents...

**Question:** Think of your parents when they were your age. Would you say you are better off financially than they were or not?



## ...And Expect Their Kids Will Do Better Still

**Question:** And what about your children? Do you think they will be better off than you are financially when they reach your age, or not? (For people who say they have no children ask: "Suppose you did have children, do you think those children would be better off financially or not when they reach your age?")



Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of May 1996.

## On the Ladder of Life: Upward Bound

**Question:** Think about a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you, and the bottom represents the worst possible life for you. If the top step is "10" and the bottom step is "0," on which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? On which rung do you think you were 5 years ago? On which rung do you think you will be 5 years from now?

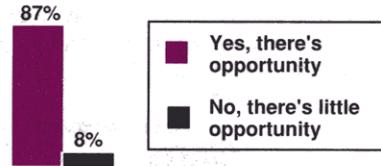
	Low (0-4)	Mid (5-7)	High (8-10)
<b>1964</b>			
5 years ago	28 %	43 %	28 %
Now	9	54	36
5 years hence	5	28	57
<b>1971</b>			
5 years ago	29	43	27
Now	13	51	34
5 years hence	9	25	52
<b>1974</b>			
5 years ago	38	39	25
Now	16	48	36
5 years hence	11	25	55
<b>1979</b>			
5 years ago	30	42	28
Now	14	50	34
5 years hence	10	27	57
<b>1985</b>			
5 years ago	29	46	25
Now	15	54	31
5 years hence	9	26	59
<b>1998</b>			
5 years ago	30	43	26
Now	7	49	44
5 years hence	4	19	72

**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of April 23-May 31, 1998.

# Legitimacy: Americans Continue to Believe Their Society Extends Real Opportunity to Advance

1952

**Question:** Some people say there's not much opportunity in America today—that the average man doesn't have much chance to really get ahead. Others say there's plenty of opportunity, and anyone who works hard can go as far as he wants. How do you feel about this?

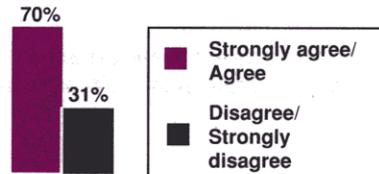
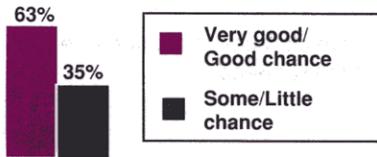


**Source:** Survey by the University of Michigan, National Election Survey.

1980

**Question:** How good a chance do you think a person has to get ahead today, if the person works hard?

**Question:** [Agree/Disagree] America is the land of opportunity where everyone who works hard can get ahead.

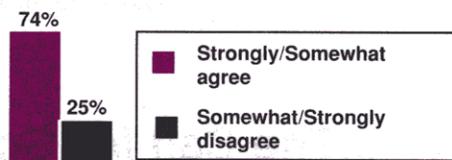
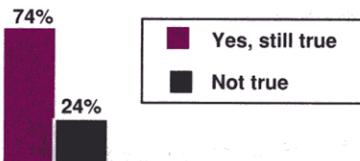


**Source:** Survey by Kluegel and Smith, *Beliefs About Inequality: Americans' Views of What Is and What Ought To Be*, 1980 survey for their 1986 book.

1994

**Question:** A basic American belief has been that if you work hard you can get ahead—reach the goals you set and more. Does that still hold true?

**Question:** [Agree/Disagree] In America, if you work hard, you can be anything you want to be.



**Source:** Survey by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut, for *Reader's Digest*.

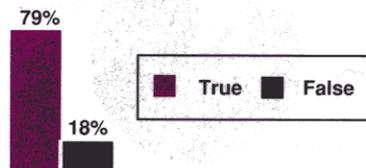
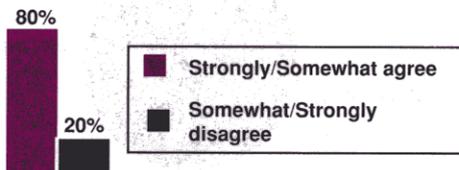
**Source:** Survey by Luntz Research Companies.

1996

**Question:** [Agree/Disagree] In America, if you work hard, you can be anything you want to be.

1997

**Question:** [True/False] People who work hard in this nation are likely to succeed.

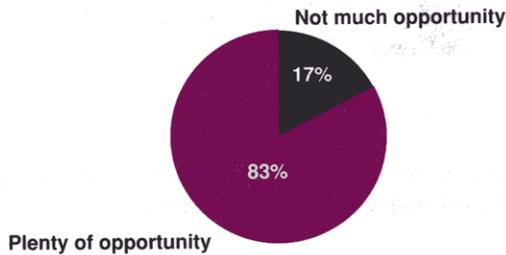


**Source:** Survey by Luntz Research Companies.

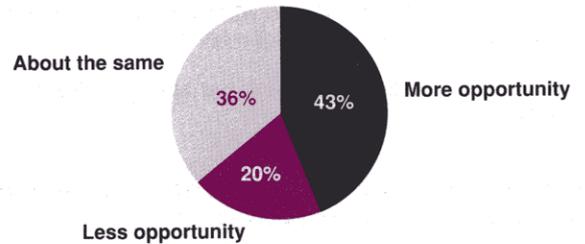
**Source:** Survey by Opinion Research Corporation for *USA Weekend*.

## If Opportunity is Present and the System's Somehow Fair...

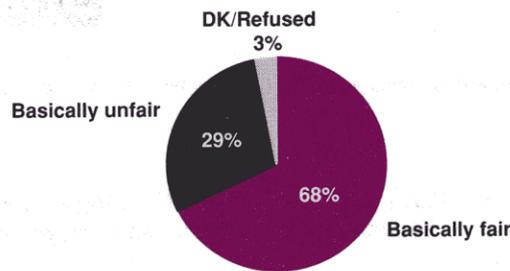
**Question:** Some people say there's not much opportunity in America today—that the average person doesn't have much chance to really get ahead. Others say there's plenty of opportunity and anyone who works hard can go as far as they want. How do you feel about this?



**Question:** Is there more opportunity in America today for the average person to really get ahead than there used to be, less opportunity for the average person to really get ahead, or is the amount of opportunity about the same?



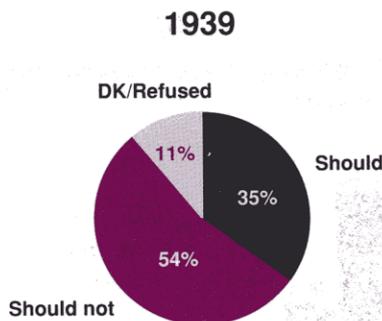
**Question:** Do you think the economic system in the United States is basically fair, since all Americans have an equal opportunity to succeed, or basically unfair, since all Americans do not have an equal opportunity to succeed?



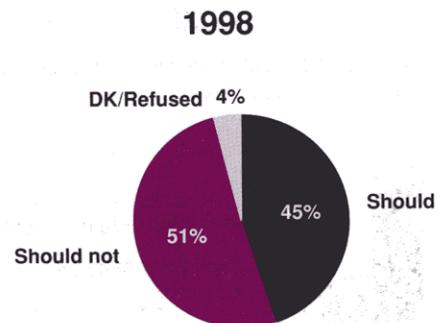
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

## ...The Call for Government-Directed Economic Redistribution Remains Submerged

**Question:** People feel differently about how far a government should go. Do you think our government should or should not redistribute wealth by heavy taxes on the rich?



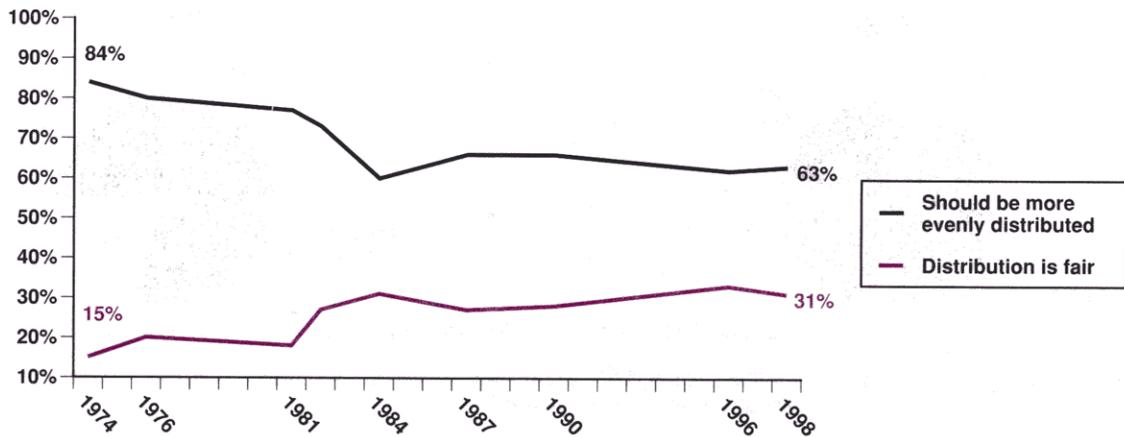
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization for *Fortune Magazine*, March 1939.



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

## Unease About Economic Inequality

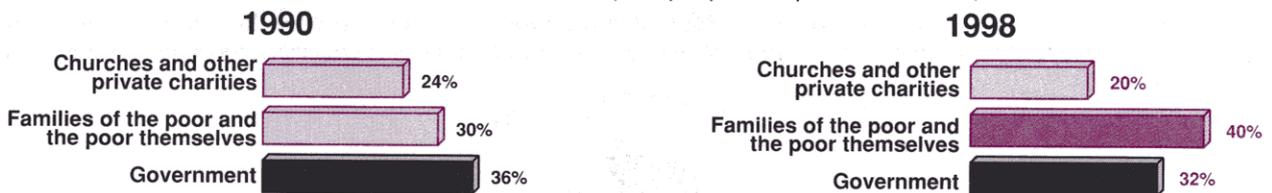
**Question:** Do you feel that the distribution of money and wealth in this country today is fair, or do you feel that the money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people?



**Source:** Surveys by Yankelovich, Skelly and White for *Time*, March 1974, January 21-28, 1976, May 4-12, 1981, and June 8-10, 1982; the Gallup Organization, December 7-10, 1984, December 12-17, 1987, May 17-20, 1990, April 23-25, 1996, and April 23-May 31, 1998.

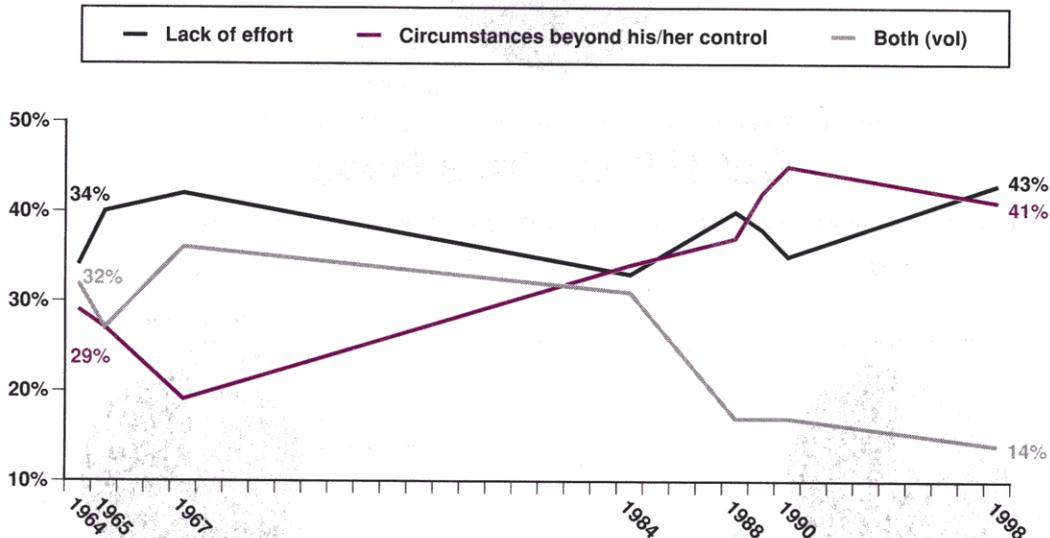
## But Remarkably Little Inclination To Turn to Government for Redress

**Question:** Which one of the following groups do you think has the greatest responsibility for helping the poor—churches, other private charities, the government, the families and relatives of poor people, the poor themselves, or someone else?



**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

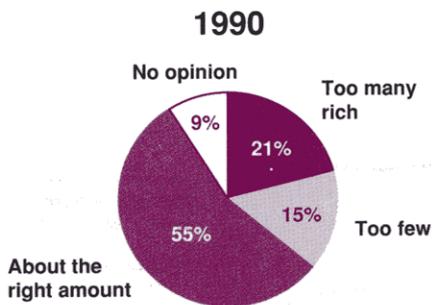
**Question:** Which is more often to blame if a person is poor—lack of effort on his or her part, or circumstances beyond his or her control?



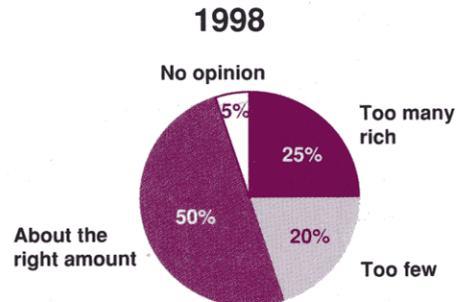
**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, February 28-March 5, 1964, October 8-13, 1965, May 11-16, 1967, December 7-10, 1984, July 1-7, 1988, August 10-13, 1989, May 17-20, 1990, and April 23-May 31, 1998.

## Americans Display Perhaps the Most Muted Sense of Class in Modern History

**Question:** As far as you are concerned, do we have too many rich people in this country, too few, or about the right amount?

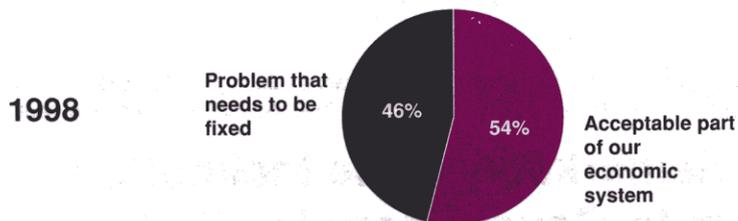


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 17-20, 1990.



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

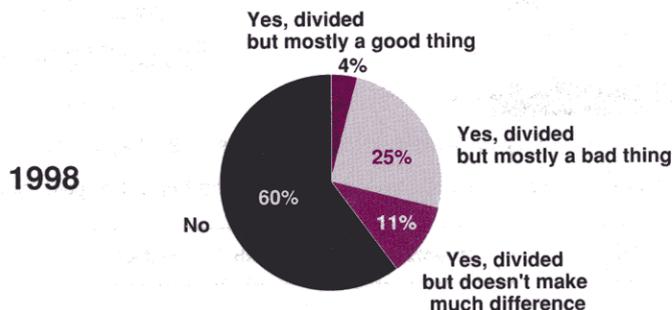
**Question:** Do you think that the fact that some people in the United States are rich and others are poor, represents a problem that needs to be fixed; or is an acceptable part of our economic system?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

## Not A Society of Haves vs. Have-Nots

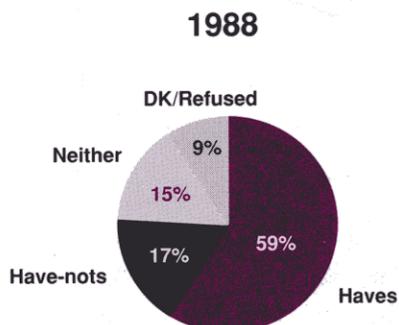
**Question:** Some people think of American society as divided into two groups—the “haves” and the “have-nots,” while others think it’s incorrect to think of America that way. Do you, yourself, think of America as divided into haves and have-nots, or don’t you think of America that way?



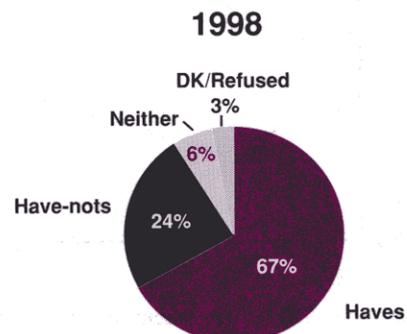
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

## But If It Is, I'm a Have

**Question:** If you had to choose, which of these groups are you in—the haves or the have-nots?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 1-7, 1988.

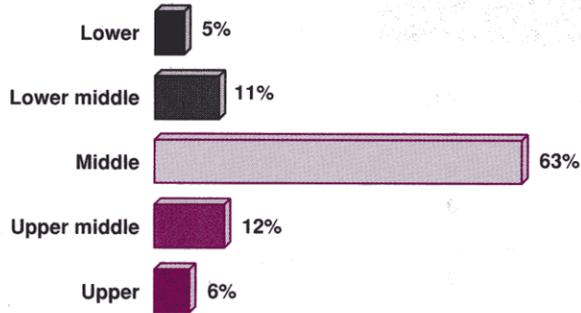


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

# A Middle-Class Nation

1939

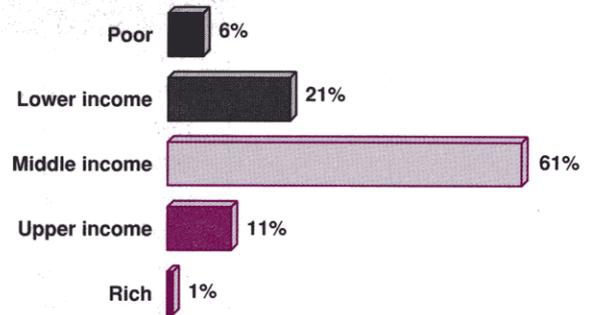
**Question:** To what social class in this country do you feel you belong—middle class, or upper, or lower?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 4-10, 1939.

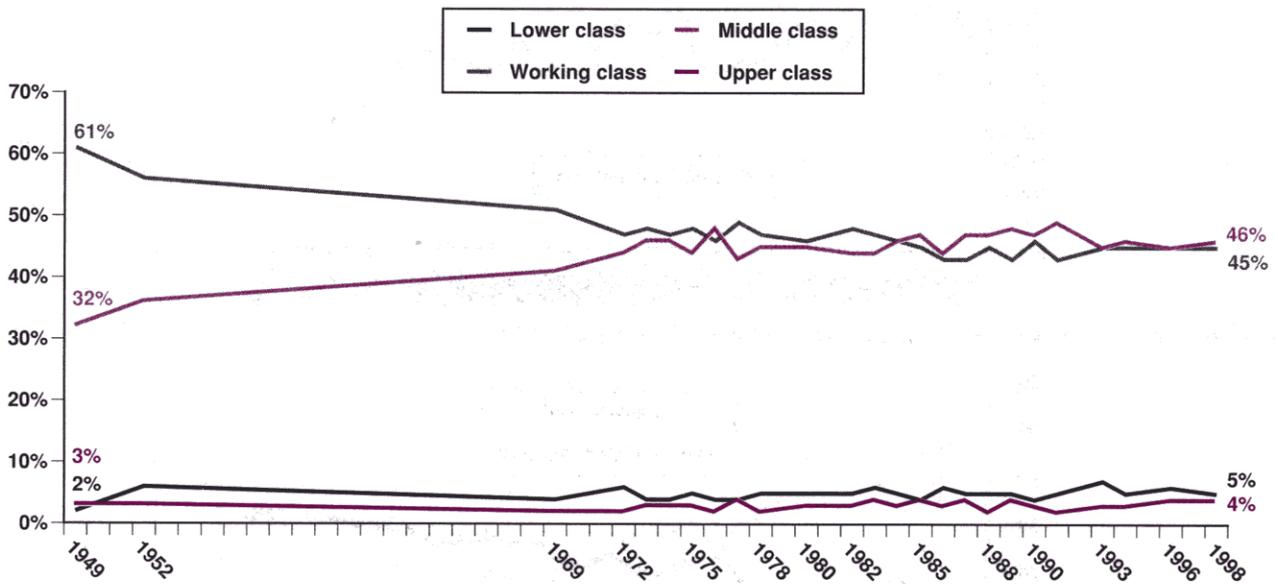
1998

**Question:** Thinking just about your own financial situation, do you consider yourself to be rich, upper income, middle income, lower income, or poor?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 23-May 31, 1998.

**Question:** If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belong to—the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center-General Social Survey, 1949, 1972-1998; and by the Gallup Organization, 1952 and 1969.

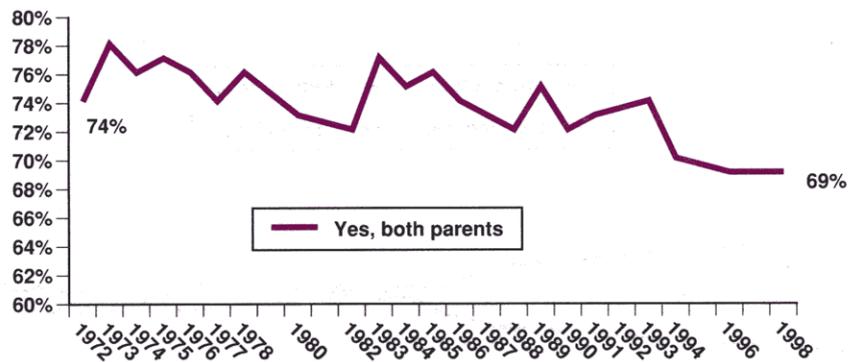
# “Material Status” Is More Than Economic: Children Raised in One-Parent Families Have More Than Doubled in the Last Quarter-Century

Percentage of All Children Being Reared in One-Parent vs. Two-Parent Families, 1970-1997

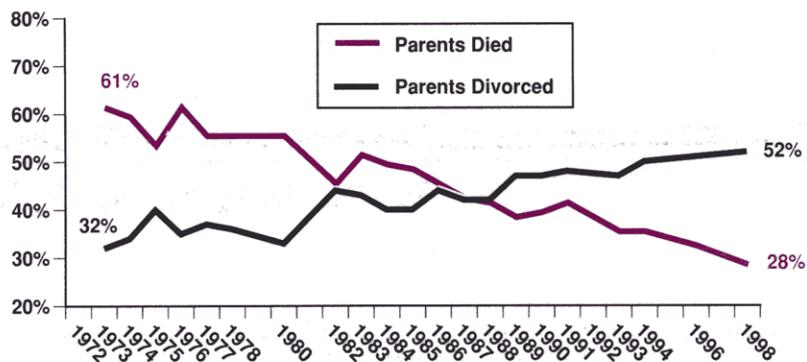
	Both Parents	Mother Only	Father Only/Neither Parent
<b>All Races</b>			
1970	85 %	11%	4%
1980	77	18	6
1990	73	22	6
1997	68	24	8
<b>Whites</b>			
1970	90	8	3
1980	83	14	4
1990	79	16	5
1997	75	18	7
<b>Blacks</b>			
1970	59	30	12
1980	42	44	14
1990	38	51	12
1997	35	52	13

Source: US Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1997 and 1998.

Question: Were you living with both your own mother and father around the time you were 16...?



Question: ...If not living with both own mother and father, what happened?



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center-General Social Survey, 1972-1998.

## We See the Country's Main Challenges in the Moral Dimension, Not in Economics or Power

**Questions:** How strong would you say the US decline or improvement is in [each of the following areas]...?

Area of Decline/Improvement	Strong/Moderate Decline	Holding Steady	Moderate/Strong Improvement
The area of crime and public safety	74%	17%	9%
The quality of television and entertainment	71	19	11
Its moral and ethical standards	70	24	6
The area of our criminal justice system	67	26	8
The area of family life	64	26	9
Our education and schools	61	26	14
The quality of our national leaders	57	34	8
The area of our health care system	56	32	12
The American work ethic	56	34	10
Our standard of living	54	33	14
The honesty and integrity of the average American	50	42	8
The area of business and the economy	48	37	16
The area of racial and ethnic relations	45	39	16
The area of religious and spiritual life	43	43	14
Its global influence	34	49	18
The area of churches and religious institutions	29	54	17
Its military power	27	51	23

Source: Survey of American Political Culture for the Post-Modernity Project, University of Virginia, January 27-April 14, 1996.

## But Most Of Us Continue to Endorse Old Verities

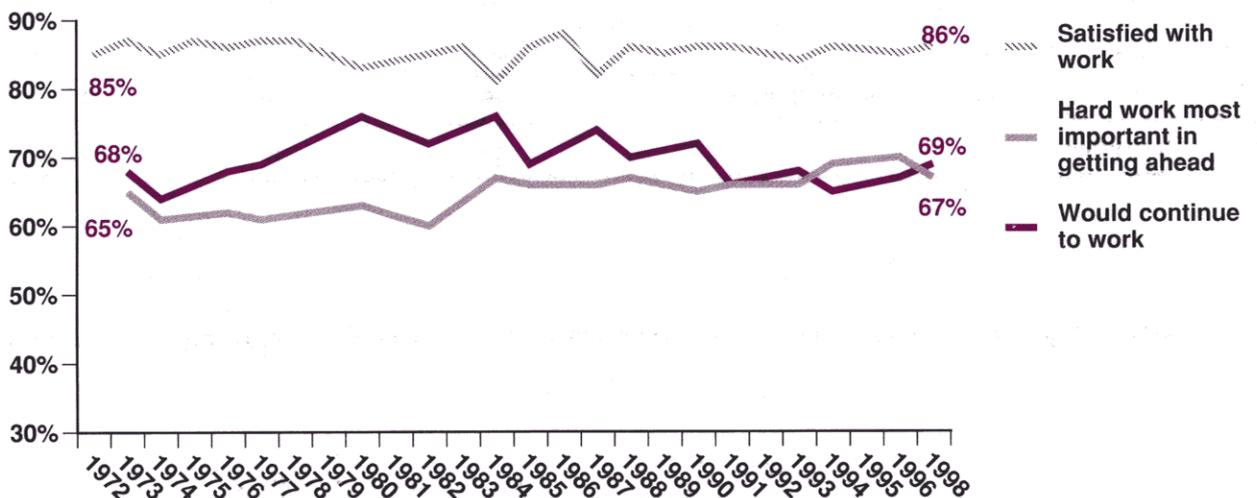
Questions: In teaching the American story to children, how important is the following theme...?

	Essential/Very Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat unimportant/ Very unimportant/ Leave it out of the story
With hard work and perseverance, anyone can succeed in America.	83%	14%	4%
American democracy is only as strong as the virtue of its citizens.	83	14	4
Our founders limited the power of government, so government would not intrude too much into the lives of its citizens.	74	19	8
America is the world's greatest melting pot in which people from different countries are united into one nation.	73	21	5
America's contribution is one of expanding freedom for more and more people.	71	22	6
From its start, America had a destiny to set an example for other nations.	65	22	13
Our nation betrayed its founding principles by cruel mistreatment of blacks and American Indians.	59	24	17
Our nation was founded upon Biblical principles.	58	26	15
Ours has been a history of war and aggression—our expansion occurred at the cost of much suffering.	58	26	16
America has a special place in God's plan for history.	50	22	29
Our founders were part of a male-dominated culture that gave important roles to men while keeping women in the background.	38	28	35

Source: Survey of American Political Culture for the Post-Modernity Project, University of Virginia, January 27-April 14, 1996.

## The Work Ethic and Job Satisfaction Look Strong and Stable

Questions: If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work or would you stop working?; Some people say that people get ahead by their own hard work, others say that lucky breaks or help from other people are more important. Which do you think is most important?; On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do?



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center-General Social Survey.

# What's Right and Wrong? What Should Be Legal or Illegal?

Questions: How wrong do you personally think it is when people engage in the following behavior...?

	Wrong for all/ and should not be legally tolerated	Wrong for all/ but should be tolerated	Right for some, but not for me personally	Right for me, but not necessarily for others	Right for all	Not a moral issue
Cheating on taxes	68%	11%	10%	3%	2%	7%
Smoking marijuana	51	13	19	4	3	10
Marriages between two persons of the same sex	41	19	24	3	4	10
Sexual relations between two adults of the same sex	33	23	27	3	5	10
Watching pornographic movies	39	17	26	6	3	8
Failing to follow through on commitment	23	33	21	4	3	15
Making negative remarks about someone who is not present	22	33	21	4	3	18
Swearing or using offensive language	22	33	22	6	4	14
Mistreating someone who first mistreated you	26	27	26	5	5	12
Abortion during the first three months of pregnancy	34	16	24	6	11	8
Medically assisted suicide for someone terminally ill	32	13	26	9	13	7
Sex before marriage	16	27	22	15	9	11
Smoking cigarettes	13	19	30	13	8	18
Withdrawing life support from someone who requests it	16	12	23	14	28	8
Marriages between blacks and whites	13	13	39	5	15	17
Drinking alcohol	11	14	29	17	10	18
Divorce	5	18	42	10	13	12
Spanking a child	10	11	24	19	20	16
Suing someone who has wronged you	8	12	27	10	28	15
Accepting a welfare payment from the government	7	12	45	6	14	16

Source: Survey of American Political Culture by the Gallup Organization for the Post-Modernity Project, University of Virginia, January 27-April 14, 1996.