

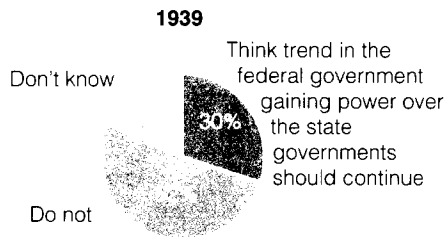
DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

Governments in many industrial democracies are confronted with a variety of expressions of direct democracy. Our own experience, as a highly individualistic nation, suspicious of concentrations of power and particularly federal power, inclines us in that direction more than most, particularly when we don't think institutions are performing well.

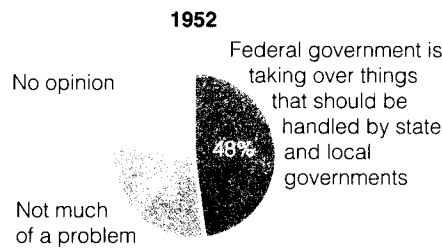
Question: **During the last few years, the federal government has been gaining in power over the state governments. Do you think this trend ought to continue?**

Question: **Do you think the federal government is taking over things that should be handled by state and local governments, or isn't that much of a problem?**

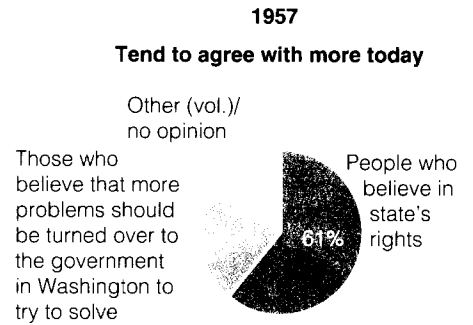
Question: **In general, which group do you, yourself, tend to agree with more today...?**



Source: Survey by People's Research, October 30–November 3, 1939.

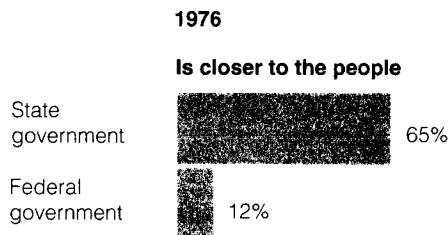


Source: Survey by Opinion Research Corporation, September 4–17, 1952.

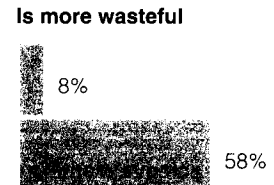
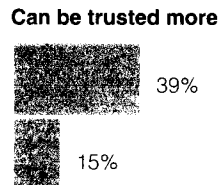


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 18–23, 1957.

Question: **If you had to choose, which do you think..., the federal or the state government?**



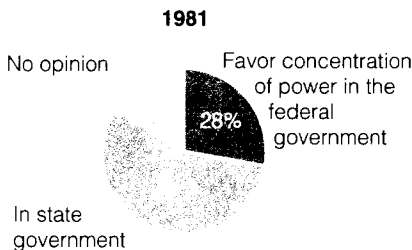
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, June 9–14, 1976.



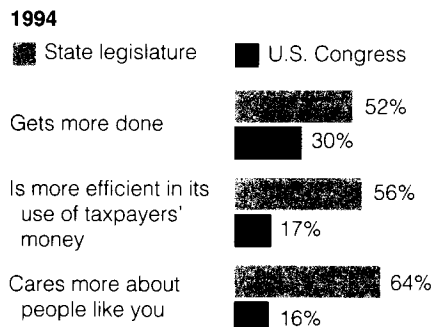
Question: **Which theory of government do you favor—concentration of power in the federal government or concentration of power in the state government?**

Question: **Thinking now about your state legislature and how it compares with the U.S. Congress, which do you think...?**

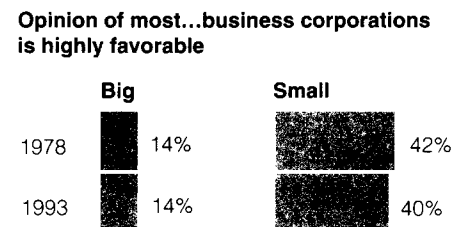
Question: **Now turning to another subject, what is your opinion of most...business corporations? There may be exceptions, of course, but would you say your opinion of most big business corporations is highly favorable, or moderately favorable, or not too favorable, or rather unfavorable?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, September 18–21, 1981.



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for Time and CNN, January 17–18, 1994.

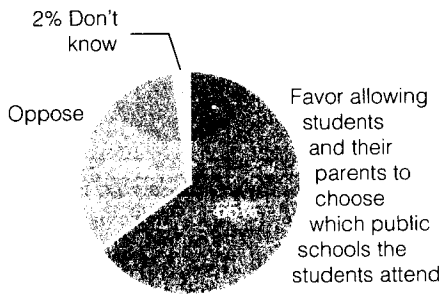


Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 93-6), latest that of May 15–22, 1993.

Let Us Choose

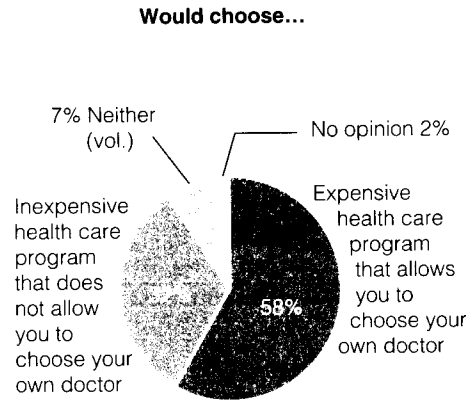
One of the defining characteristics of an individualistic culture such as ours is a strong desire for individual choice. The data below illustrate this uniquely American trait.

Question: **Do you favor or oppose allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in this community the students attend, regardless of where they live?**



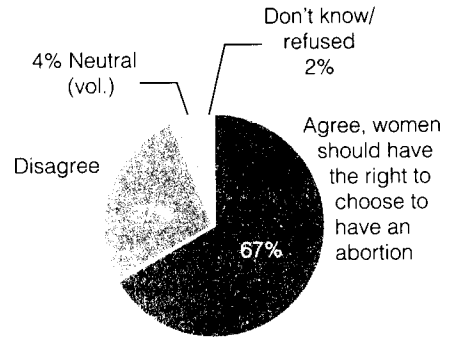
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *Phi Delta Kappan*, May 21-June 9, 1993.

Question: **Which of these would you choose...?**



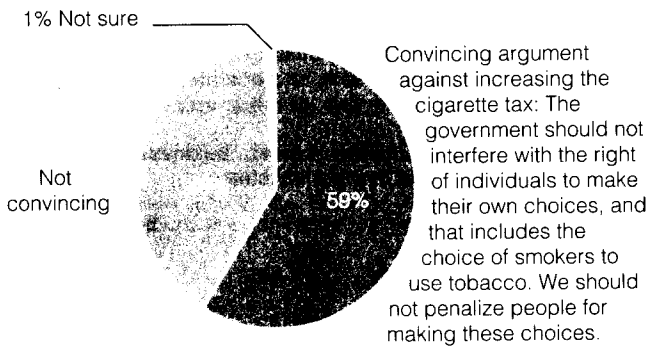
Source: Survey by ABC News, September 16-19, 1993.

Question: **Now I'm going to read you a number of statements on social issues. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with that statement.**



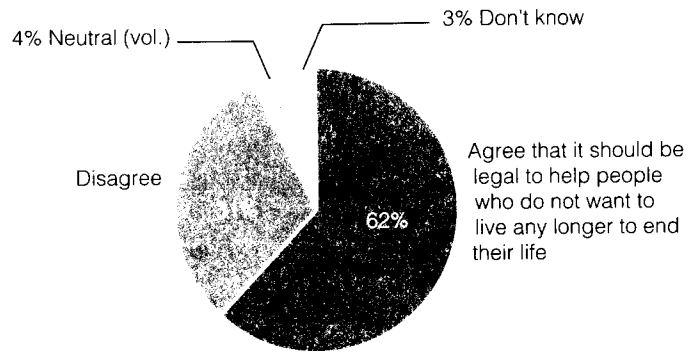
Source: Survey by Voter/Consumer Research for the Family Research Council, September 1993.

Question: **I am going to mention some arguments that have been raised against the proposal to increase the federal tax on cigarettes by two dollars. Please listen to each statement I read and tell me whether you consider it to be a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing, or not at all convincing argument against increasing the cigarette tax.**



Source: Survey by Marttila & Kiley for the American Cancer Society, April 14-19, 1993.

Question: **Now I'm going to read you a number of statements on social issues. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with that statement.**



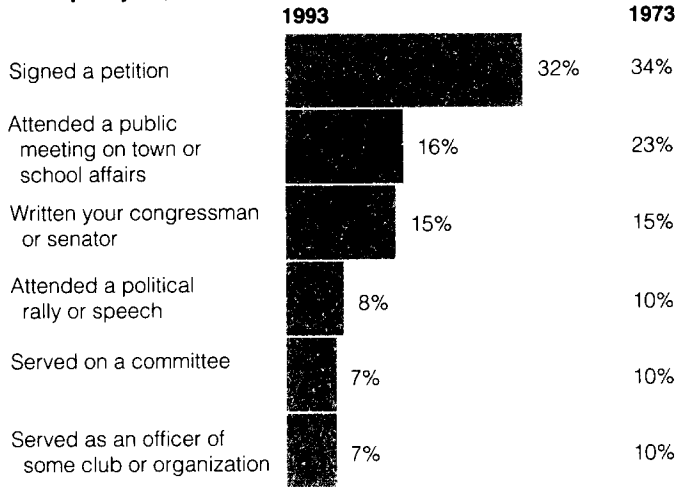
Source: Survey by Voter/Consumer Research for the Family Research Council, September 1993.

Activism

Coinciding with, and perhaps as a result of, our individualistic spirit is a commitment to individual activism, as the data on volunteer activity show. Our current rate of nonvoting notwithstanding, the level of citizen involvement here is also high and has been generally stable.

Question: **Now here is a list of things some people do about government or politics. Have you happened to have done any of those things in the past year? (If "yes"): Which ones?**

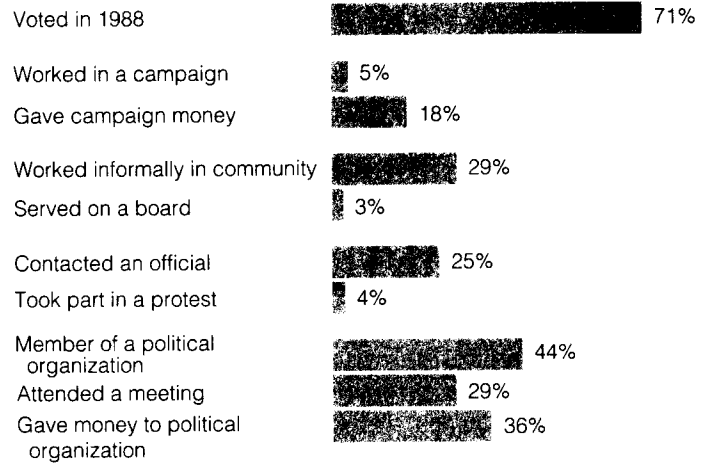
In the past year, have...



Note: Fewer than 10% in both 1973 and 1993 had written a letter to the paper, made a speech, worked for a political party, written an article, been a member of some group for better government, held or run for political office. Fifty-six percent in 1993 and 50% in 1973 had done none of activities listed.

Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Report 93-8), latest that of August 7-14, 1993.

Political activities



Source: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center with Harvard University, *Political and Social Citizens' Participation*, 1990.

Private philanthropy in the United States

	1990
Individuals	\$101.8 billion
Corporations	5.9
Foundations	7.1
Charitable bequests	7.8

	1955
Individuals	5.7
Corporations	.4
Foundations	.3
Charitable bequests	.2

Source: *Giving USA*, AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy, 1991.

Levels of volunteer service in the United States

Adults	
Volunteers	94.2 million
Volunteers as percentage of adult population	51%
Average weekly hours per volunteer	4.2 hours

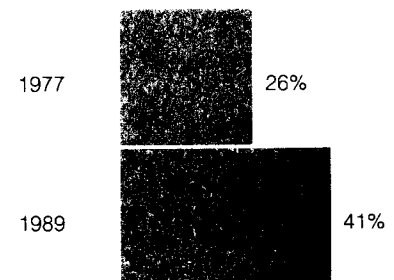
Teens	
Volunteers	12.4 million
Volunteers as percentage of teen population	61%
Average weekly hours per volunteer	3.2 hours

Note: Data for adults come from three surveys taken in 1988, 1990, and 1992. For teens, data are from two surveys taken in 1990 and 1992.

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for the Independent Sector.

Question: **Do you, yourself, happen to be involved in any charity or social service activities, such as helping the poor, the sick, or the elderly?**

Involved in any charity or social service activities

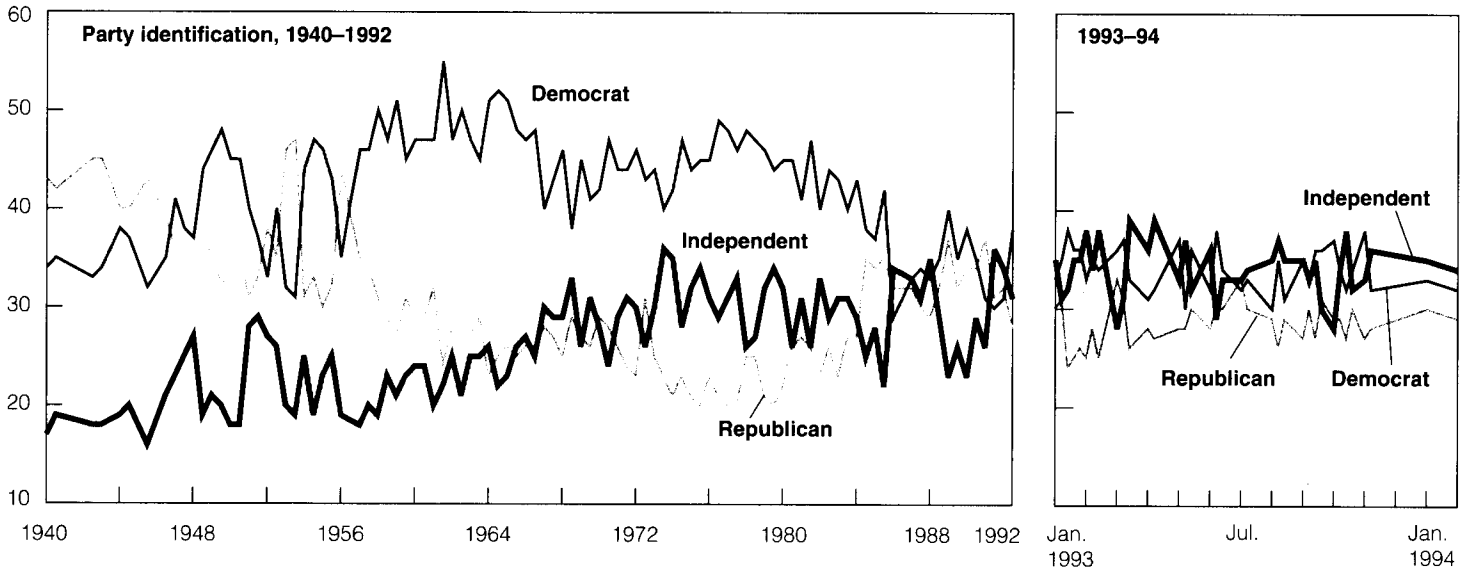


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, latest that of November 1989.

Weak Ties to Major Parties

Not surprisingly given the strong strain of individualism in our culture, Americans have long flirted with third parties, embraced independent candidates, and often chosen the independent label. We are splitting our tickets more often than in the past, and support for a third party is now at 54 percent.

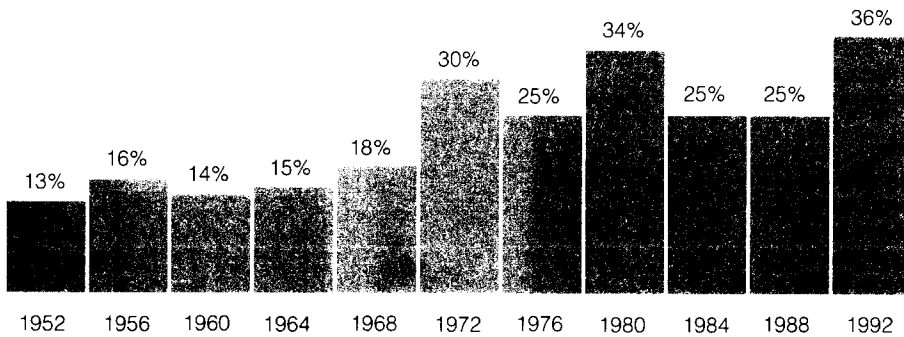
Percent



Note: Question wordings—In politics do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Independent? (1940-43); In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, Socialist, or Independent? (1944-48); In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Progressive, or Independent? (1948-51); In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? (1951-52); Normally, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, or Independent? (1953); In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself Democrat, Republican, or Independent? (1953-present). Surveys conducted from 1940-1985 were done by personal interview; surveys conducted from 1986 to the present were done by telephone. Selected data points from first and third quarters of each year shown.

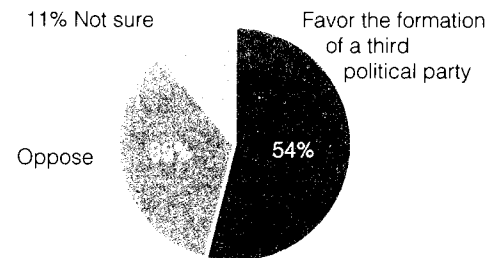
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of February 1-3, 1994.

Proportion of voters who split their ballot in presidential and House contests



Source: American National Election Studies, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

Question: **Would you favor or oppose the formation of a third political party that would run candidates for president, Congress, and state offices against the Republican and Democratic candidates?**



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, January 17-18, 1994.

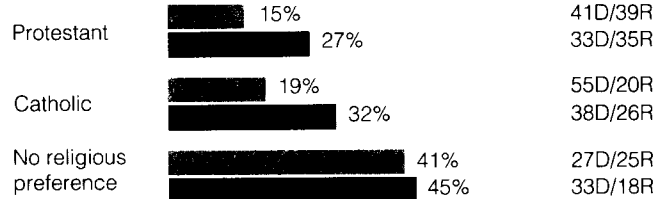
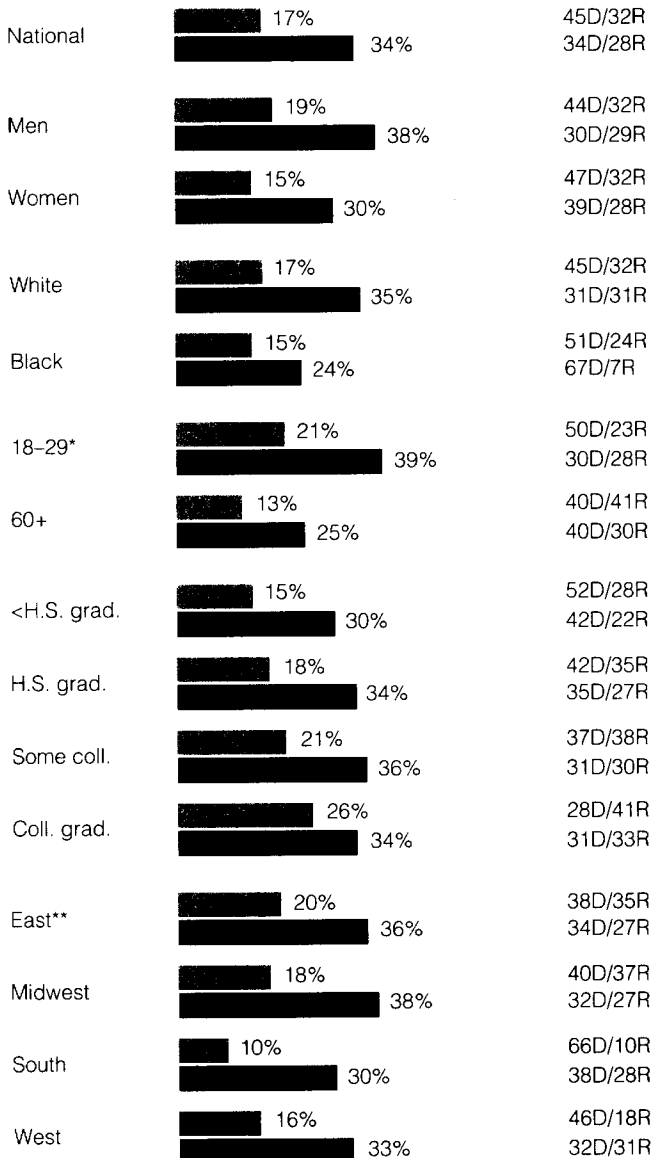
Independents

The across-the-board growth over the last 40 years in the number of Americans who have been describing themselves as "independent" reflects an individualistic cast of mind and growing dissatisfaction with the performance of the major parties.

Question: In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Progressive, or Independent? (1950) In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? (1993)

Consider self...

■ 1950 Independent
■ 1993



Additional 1993 subgroups

	Independent	Democrat	Republican
<\$15,000	31%	44%	21%
\$15,000-29,999	34	37	26
\$30,000-49,999	36	32	30
\$50,000+	35	28	35
Whites, outside South	37%	30%	30%
Southern whites	32	32	33
Blacks, outside South	23	68	6
Southern Blacks	24	66	7
Nonsouthern white Protestants	33%	24%	39%
Southern white Protestants	23	33	40
Nonsouthern white Catholics	33	38	26
Southern white Catholics	25	36	35
Northeastern white Protestants	34%	24%	42%
Northeastern white Catholics	33	35	29
Liberal	35%	51%	11%
Moderate	39	36	22
Conservative	27	25	46
Voted for Perot	60%	17%	21%
Clinton	24	69	6
Bush	24	8	66
Voted in 1992 election	31%	37%	29%
Did not	47	27	21
Born in the United States	34%	34%	29%
Born outside of United States	37	34	22

Note: Data from 17 surveys conducted in 1950 were combined as were the data from 28 surveys conducted in 1993 to enhance subgroup analysis.*=21-29 in 1950. **=Northeast in 1950.

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization.