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The Impact of Individualism on Political and Community Participation

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Abstract

This dissertation attempts to find a new explanation for political and community disengagement that complements the existing research on the topic. The American tradition of individualism, which has been significant in recognizing and protecting individual rights, is singled out and critically examined for ways in which it could be leading citizens to disengage from their communities and the political process. This is a departure from previous research that has focused logistical concerns and external conflicts as the leading causes of disengagement. The primary causes discussed herein are ideological in nature, thereby suggesting internal factors.

The United States Constitution is strongly rooted in classical liberalism. It has a commitment to liberal ideals of limited government, consent and individualism, and these ideals have been applied to all areas of American life—political, economic and social—with varying degrees of success. The liberal ideal that has come into the most conflict with the principles of democracy and self-government, however, is individualism. The American political system requires the involvement of the people, and the liberal need for a limited government requires a neighborly concern for others in society. Unfortunately, individualism leads people away from both of these requirements by providing the justification and rationale for non-participation.

Factor analyses of national datasets from the years 1960-2004 demonstrate a consistent relationship between individualistic attitudes and participation. The resulting factor scores consistently explain significant portions of the variance in other individualistic and communalistic attitudes and behaviors. Additionally, content analyses of elite discourse uncover consistent differences between the major parties' use of individualist rhetoric in platforms and State of the Union addresses over the same period.

Despite these successes, neither the factor analyses nor the content analyses provide evidence of a trend toward increased individualism over the 1960-2004 time period. This paper concludes with new thoughts and strategies for moving this research forward.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Whether one is resigned to it, resentful of it, or just simply confounded by it, a downward shift in political and community participation has occurred over the past few decades. We have presidents who win office with less than half of the eligible voters casting their votes for them. From 1960 to 2000, the President who won the most popular votes was Lyndon Johnson in 1964, but he only received votes from 37.8 percent of the voting age population (Conway 2000, 7). We have state and local elections with turnouts that are paltry at best. There are even fewer who participate in other political activities, such as volunteering for campaigns, running for office, and donating money. In fact, only six percent of respondents to the 1996 National Election Study (NES) stated that they had attended a rally or political meeting that year (Conway 2000, 8).

Not only are people not participating in political activities, but they have also withdrawn from community activities. Robert Putnam documents this decline in *Bowling Alone*, and presents very thorough evidence of this decline beginning in the late 1960s. Putnam discusses this decline in terms of “social capital,” or the “networks, norms, and trust—that enable participants to act together more effectively...” (Putnam 1996; Conway 2000, 189). Putnam’s research is significant because it departs from the notion that people simply do not want to participate in politics. His findings show that the participation problem is much larger than a loss of interest in the political realm. Putnam presents evidence that interest in non-political activities is also waning. His most significant finding, however, is that people are not only avoiding activities; they are avoiding one another. This finding is referenced in the title *Bowling Alone*, where Putnam finds more people getting involved in bowling, but fewer people joining leagues. It is necessary to look at participation in terms

of politics, the community, and the people involved to truly understand why a growing number of people choose to avoid involvement in activities and with people outside their homes and families.

Some might be inclined to think that this decline in participation is insignificant for our democracy. It can be argued that political and community participation is “merely symbolic,” the decline of which poses no real ramifications for American democratic society (Conway 2000, 184-5). I disagree with this argument, however, and stand by the assumption that the decline in participation is important and negative for our democracy. In *Political Participation in the United States*, Margaret Conway summarizes the ways in which participation has “instrumental effects.” In discussing political participation, she refers to Carole Pateman’s work on the participatory theory of democracy. Conway promotes the position that political participation not only gives the people a direct hand in influencing and directing governmental activity, but it also contributes to the “maximum fulfillment of the human potential of all citizens” (Conway 185). Political participation actually improves the lives of the individuals who participate. Additionally, political participation is closely linked to the individual’s participation in other activities, and the positive feelings that result from one’s effectiveness and impact on the world around him (Conway 186).

Conway also discusses Putnam and his contribution to the discussion of community involvement, or “civic engagement.” The argument is that where social capital has eroded, people are not connected to one another, they have decreased levels of trust in each other and in the political process, and are less likely to reciprocate acts of kindness and assistance (Putnam 1996, Conway 2000, 190).

Participation in politics and in one’s community should not be viewed as a symbolic nod to the rights affirmed by the U.S. Constitution. Participation enriches the lives of the individuals involved and enhances the overall quality of community life. That participation declined in the last half of the 20th century should not be glossed over or forgotten. Rather, it should be investigated to

find out why people would abandon activities that are supposed to promote so many positive results.

The question now is not: “Has participation declined?” We know that it has. Nor is the question: “Is this decline important?” I argue strongly that it is. The question that begs to be asked in light of these conclusions is: “*Why* has participation declined?”

As Putnam observes, it is a daunting task to delve into the past and recover evidence to explain a trend. That is, however, the exact goal of this project. Putnam provides one set of explanations, and it is the goal herein to provide a complementary alternative. The causes he cites for the decline in individual participation in political and community organizations – limited individual resources, urban sprawl, commercial mass media and the like—certainly have validity, but they fail to account for the ideological shift that has taken place not only over the past few decades but also since the founding of this country. Others have attempted to explain the disengagement of the American citizenry, and I recognize that a variety of distractions have been identified that have led people away from their communities. I will argue, however, that the primary cause for this disengagement is ideological in nature. I believe that these other factors have just exacerbated the problem.

The Impact of Liberalism

In order to explain this disengagement in ideological terms, it is first necessary to understand the ideology. Classical liberalism had an enormous impact on the framers of our government. The Declaration of Independence was firmly rooted in the ideas of classical liberalism. The Constitution follows in this tradition in large part. The citizens of this new country were quick to adopt the liberal concepts of a limited government and consent of the governed. They were somewhat slower to adopt the liberal idea of individual rights, because it differed so greatly from the religious traditions that many of these new Americans held dear (Shain). But adopt they did over the years. The liberal

influence came from several sources, and those who discussed it placed emphasis on different facets of the ideology. John Locke, who clearly discusses the need for a limited government and consent of the governed, also acknowledges that in order for society to work there must be some subordination of individual prerogative for the good of the society. Specifically, Locke discusses the need for the government to handle the settlement of disputes and wrongdoing among the individual citizens. Locke's discussion of consent also leads one to believe that he placed importance on the idea that once people join society out of the state of nature they have an obligation to other members of the society to abide by what the majority wishes (*The Second Treatise*, § 97). Locke believes that the success of civil society and the government that rules over it depends on cooperation among the group of individuals involved. In Locke's view, this cooperation must take the form of consenting to a 'judge on earth' to settle disputes and by agreeing to live under the conditions that the majority of citizens deem acceptable. Locke recognizes that the individual loses a certain amount of autonomy when he joins into a civil society. If this sacrifice is not made, then the society cannot be successful. While these are just a few examples, I believe that they are indicative of a more general acceptance of the compromises individuals must make to live in a successful society. It is classical liberalism so defined that had such a great impact on the American Founders.

It was not until the Industrial Revolution that classical liberals began to divide into two distinct groups (Ball and Dagger 2002). The Lockean acknowledgment of the importance of society and the surrender of some individual autonomy is similar to those positions held by the Progressives and ultimately by advocates of the modern welfare state: those whom we call "liberals" today. These people wanted governmental and social policies to help raise the standard of living for a segment of society that had not benefited from the Industrial Revolution. Other liberals, in response, took a hard-line individualist approach, arguing that the government was a "necessary evil" that should not be given more power than necessary. This movement found its most radical voices in people like

Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. They believed that the individual should be the primary unit and that any effort to maintain the group would only lead to the demise of each person's individuality. While Spencer and Sumner were radical in their thinking, their writings were a springboard for others who thought that those more concerned with the welfare of society as a whole had abandoned the true spirit of classical liberalism.

Other theorists who were more moderate than Spencer and Sumner also discussed the emphasis on the individual. John Stuart Mill, for example, placed considerable emphasis on the autonomy of the individual in some of his work. In *On Liberty*, Mill expresses a great concern that people will be overpowered by the majority will and will lose their individual autonomy. Mill is concerned about the expression of public opinion and what it can do to subdue the opinions of citizens who are influenced by prevailing views. Additionally, Mill's harm principle illustrates his emphasis on the individual's need to be left alone to do what he sees fit save for the extreme situation in which he would harm another. Mill's liberal views evolved over his lifetime, and he is a prime example of a classical liberal who found himself torn between the protection of the individual and the preservation of the general welfare. While he clearly emphasized the protection of the individual at one time, he later embraced collective solutions to society's ills.

An Alternative Explanation

This neo-classical liberalism illustrated by Spencer and Sumner and in portions of Mill's theory provided a platform for neo-conservatives of the twentieth century, such as Friedrich Hayek. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* seeks to contrast American individualism in the historical sense with the collectivism he saw developing during the early to mid-twentieth century. He takes an economic orientation regarding the role of the government in regulating the economy, and then applied his thinking to political groups, issues and liberties. If centralized government desiring a planned economy was considered an "evil in industrial society," then surely "labor unions, civil rights

organizations, environmentalists and most interest groups” should be included as evils based on their “social welfare, regulatory or redistributive orientation” (Tilman xiv). Some of Hayek’s main points include the relationship between economic and political freedom, the role of individualism in American progress, the potential for growth in a collectivist economy, and the controls that are present in an individualist economy.

A fundamental pillar of Hayek’s argument against collectivism is his perception of the relationship between economic and political freedom: “It is inevitable, Hayek thought, that governmental control of the economy leads to suppression of freedom of thought and speech. Economic and political liberty are coincident, just as collectivist economics and totalitarian politics are” (Ebenstein 120). Hayek did not believe that government economic controls could exist without eventually eroding political freedom. Hayek contended that “aspects of collectivist policy such as economic planning, heavy taxation and interference with freedom of contract also undermine and erode civil liberties” (Tilman 23). Essentially, Hayek believed that any group-based orientation in the economy would lead to diminishing individual rights in all other realms.

Hayek also maintained that the individualist tradition was solely responsible for American forward progress (Hayek 24). It was not collectivism that advanced this country economically and politically, and so to abandon individualism for collectivism made no sense at all. Individuals had been free in the past to pursue what they wished and the result was positive: “Wherever the barriers to free exercise of human ingenuity were removed, man became rapidly able to satisfy ever widening ranges of desire” (Hayek 20). He argued that the reason people began to shift away from individualism was because not all individuals had the wherewithal to find individual success. “It came to be regarded as a ‘negative’ creed because it could offer to particular individuals little more than a share in the common progress—a progress which came to be taken more and more for granted and was no longer recognized as the result of the policy of freedom” (Hayek 23). Without

an individualist tradition in place, forward advancement for the society as a whole would be impossible.

People began to believe that taking freedom from individuals would create more freedom for the group, and Hayek argued that this was counter-intuitive. People had been promised a “new freedom” in terms of wealth if the individual was abandoned for the group. Hayek believed, however, that a planned economy would not generate more wealth. He argued that it would only redistribute existing wealth and would lead to less in general (Hayek 30).

Hayek also addressed those who regarded free enterprise as some sort of individualistic free-for-all that was perpetually satisfied with the status quo. Rather, Hayek described economic liberalism as a harnessing of competitive forces: “The liberal argument is in favor of making the best possible use of the forces of competition as a means of coordinating human efforts, not an argument for leaving things just as they are” (Hayek 41). Hayek believed that individual competition was the best tool for “guiding individual effort” (Hayek 41). Individual competition was not to be seen as a state absent of regulation, but as a state of self-regulation as opposed to external government regulation.

The Road to Serfdom was originally published in 1944. Other neo-conservatives, such as Milton Friedman with his *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) were more than eager to carry the torch of individualism and wave it in the face of those who were dissatisfied with the impact of individualistic philosophy on society as a whole (Tilman 21). Just as an ideological split resulted in reaction to the Industrial Revolution, another split occurred in reaction to the Depression and the social ills of the 1960s.

Those “neo-conservatives” who disagreed with the growth of welfare liberalism were doing nothing more than returning to the individual-based liberalism that neo-classical liberals had advanced and the Social Darwinists promoted in their radical way. It is not coincidental that during

this time in the late 1960s and early 1970s Putnam detects the initial decline in civic participation. The resurgence of neo-classical liberalism and its extreme emphasis on the individual precipitated this drastic move away from community and group activity and towards a need for individual autonomy and withdrawal from political, organizational and communal activities.

I believe that the answer to why people do not participate lies with the people themselves, and that the views that people hold regarding individualism will determine how likely they are to participate in their communities and in political life. The most important and influential factor that led us to unprecedented levels of apathy is the one characteristic that sets us apart from so many others in the world: Individualism.

My analysis will test the extent to which the data support or contradict my ideological explanation for non-participation. In general, I am proceeding in the classical manner of falsification (Karl Popper), where I will put forth my theory unless or until the evidence causes me to reject it. By making such specific assertions in my theory regarding the increasing non-participation of the people, my theory is vulnerable to falsification. However, it is this vulnerability that increases its scientific value. If the data corroborate my theory, I will not have proved it; I will, however, have strengthened my theory versus others.

Data

I will follow the standard of “triangulating” evidence in order to provide solid support for my hypothesis. Since most of the data that I will examine were collected for purposes unrelated to a project of this nature, I will not generalize from only one set of data. I will look at many different sources and types of data with the hope that the conclusions drawn from them will be mutually reinforcing.

While I will be looking at different sources and types of data, the indicators that I will be looking for are the same. The main indicator for the ideological shift is a renewed if not extreme

emphasis on the individual in society. I will be looking for data that show whether or not, over the years since the 1960s, a relationship has existed between individualistic attitudes and participation rates and if the number of average citizens and elites placing value on individual autonomy and individual privacy has increased. If this relationship and trend is found in the various sources of data, then it could account for the downward trend in participation.

Types of Data

In order to substantiate the claim I am making, I am using a multi-method design delving into individual-level data as well as elite discourse. I am relying on the individual-level data to support my claim that individualism precipitates non-participation, and am looking at elite discourse as well to illustrate the trend over time towards a more individualistic society. In short, I am arguing that an ideological shift caused the decline in participation and that the discourse of elites was also influential in producing that decline.

Individual level data

The individual level data will serve two purposes. First, I will test my hypothesis that individualism functions differently from participation at several points in time and using different survey instruments. Second, I will examine how many respondents at each point in time were inclined to an individualistic attitude. If this proportion increases over time, it will help substantiate my claim that individualism has been affecting participation at an increasing rate. I will include longitudinal and single observation surveys. In each of these surveys, I will use variables that measure political and/or community participation and variables that measure individualism. My expectation is that individualistic attitudes function differently than the more communalistic attitudes that lead people to participate.

The National Election Studies

The National Election Studies (NES) provide the opportunity to examine data across time, compare the data analysis results and also compare the numbers of respondents that consider themselves individualistic from one time period to the next. I will examine twelve surveys from the National Election Studies, beginning in 1960 and then every four years until 2004. Fortunately, many of the same variables are included in all of the surveys. In the cases where the same variable has not been included, I have found a similar variable that measures the same concept for the sake of comparison.

The NES include several variables that measure participation, including political variables about voting, voluntarism, and monetary donations. These questions are available in all of the surveys I will be including. I have included questions regarding attitudes toward government intervention and societal responsibility to capture the ideological perspective of the respondents.

Quality of American Life, 1971 and 1978

The Quality of American Life surveys were conducted in 1971 and again in 1978, by Campbell, Converse and Rodgers. As the title suggests, these surveys were intended to discover information about how people perceived the quality of their lives. Specifically, they were asked questions regarding what they wanted and needed from life, and to what extent those wants and needs were met. This survey is of particular interest because it asks many closed and open-ended questions regarding the respondent's activities, including participation in political and community activities, leisure activities, and the satisfaction or disappointment he feels with the world around him. There are also questions that measure resentment of governmental interference, and questions that measure the respondent's autonomy or desired autonomy from outside assistance. Questions such as these are suitable for measuring the possible individualistic tendencies of the respondents.

Comparing data from the early 1970s to the late 1970s will be particularly interesting since this was when much of the hypothesized ideological shift took place. It will also be interesting to compare not only the results of the data analysis, but also to compare the numbers of respondents who placed themselves in the more individualistic, autonomous category in 1971 as compared to 1978.

American Citizen Participation Study, 1990

The American Citizen Participation Study (ACPS), conducted in 1990 by Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie, contains a wealth of information about the exact variables needed to test my hypothesis. This is neither a panel nor a longitudinal study, so I do not have the benefit of comparison over time that I have with the Quality of American Life survey and the NES. However, I am able to find similar questions in the ACPS that measure the same concepts found in every one of the aforementioned surveys. This provides the basis for reasonable comparison over time. Given that I am examining participation and its decline, this survey is invaluable since it is most closely designed to measure my exact variables.

The questions in this survey measure political and community participation, and there are questions that specifically ask if the respondent is more or less involved in political and community activities than they were at a previous point in time. Most importantly, the ACPS asks many questions that measure individualistic tendencies. There are questions about the sense of duty the respondents feel to vote and to be involved in their community; resentment of governmental interference; and individualism as a justification for non-involvement. The responses to all of these questions will reveal to what degree the respondents embrace individualism.

Elite Discourse

Demonstrating the effect of individualism on individual behavior and detecting an increasing trend towards individualism in individual level data goes a long way toward substantiating my

hypothesis. In the spirit of Putnam's "triangulation," however, finding evidence in other types of data would make the case even stronger. Based on the assumption put forth by John Zaller and others that individual opinion is impressionable, it is necessary to search for an ideological shift among those who create that impression. If an ideological shift among individuals follows an ideological shift among elites, then the increased level of individualism reaches a crucial level of significance in explaining the generalized change in individual behavior.

In order to detect this shift among the elite, I will examine sources of social elite data to see if an ideological shift is observable. With the assumption that the social elites drive public opinion, these data could be very helpful in supporting my theory.

Elite discourse data

In a departure from the type of analysis conducted on the individual level data, the best way to approach the study of elite discourse for this research is through content analysis of various partisan documents. First, I will examine communication from the elites to the masses in the form of State of the Union Addresses. While the most readily available texts are partisan in nature, I believe the sample size of speeches will incorporate both political parties adequately to compensate for any party effect.

I will conduct a content analysis of the final State of the Union Addresses from each presidential term, 1960 through 2004. Of these Addresses, Republican presidents made eight speeches and Democratic presidents made five. My units of analysis will be words and themes, such as *individual*, *help*, *participate*, *involve*, and *neighbor*. I hope and expect to find an increase in the use of "individualism" words.

I will also investigate elite ideological trends in the party platforms. While the State of the Union Addresses capture the party spirit to some extent, the party platforms will provide a balanced view of both major political parties at each point in time and give a more complete picture of the

ideological messages coming from the party elite from 1960-2004. As with the State of the Union Addresses, I will verify the context of each reference as to whether it is positive or negative in nature.

Taken together, these sources of elite discourse can provide parallel support to the individual level data. Detecting an ideological shift in these elite sources can provide further support to the assertion that individuals have become more individualistic, based on Zaller's assumptions. Using this multi-method approach of individual level data analysis and elite discourse content analysis will make it possible to show that not only does individualism correlate with non-participation, but individual and elite level individualism has increased from 1960 to 2004 thereby leading to the general decline in participation during this time period.

Summary

From the early 1960s to the late 1990s, a shift occurred in this country from the community to the individual. This shift was very gradual and consisted of the internalization of ideological concepts that have always been a part of American culture. Sometimes the tenets of classical liberalism have enjoyed the spotlight and other times they have waited in the background until the time was ripe for them again. The social upheaval of the 1960s spawned a renewal of classical liberal ideals, including that of individualism. The spotlight resumed its focus on this notion, and the masses absorbed its message and implications once again. The result of this ideological shift is significant for political and community participation in this country. Renewed individualism is a key factor in explaining why a very politically active and socially involved public of the 1960s evolved into a group of people who wanted to keep to themselves. These people were acted upon by external factors, as Putnam has argued, but even more importantly than that, they internalized an ideology that led them away from their neighbors and communities.

This shift is the story of classical liberalism and its role in American society and politics. In Chapter Two, I provide a more detailed explanation of the political theory behind my hypothesis and the ideological shift in the 1960s. In Chapter Three, I test the notion that individualism plays a large role in predicting participation rates through the use of individual level data. I then investigate further into this individual level data to see if a trend can be detected in the number of people who can be classified as individualists by their survey responses over time. I examine variables from the *National Election Studies (NES)* in order to establish the relationship between political participation and individualism. I test similar variables from twelve surveys over the years 1960 to 2004. Chapter Four focuses on the relationship between community participation and individualism. To this end, I look at variables from *The Quality of American Life* surveys conducted in 1971 and 1978 and the *American Citizen Participation Study* conducted in 1990.

Next, I use content analysis of elite discourse to ascertain whether or not a parallel trend exists among elites towards a more individualistic society. In Chapter Five, I examine all State of the Union addresses and party platforms from the years 1960 to 2004. Chapter Six addresses current ideological inconsistencies, alternate forms of participation, and ideas for future research. The increase in Internet activity and political activity surrounding the 2004 election has led to speculation that the downward participatory trend discussed herein is turning around. I will discuss this possibility and others with reference to Pew Research Center Data collected in the last ten years on the topic of participation.

At the end of the data analysis, it is my hope that the impact of individualism on participation will be readily apparent. The more fully we can understand why people have not participated in politics and community in the past, the better equipped we will be to understand the patterns of participation in the present and future and their impact on our democracy. Before now,

ideology has been considered motivation for citizen action. Now, we must consider ideology as a motivation for inaction.

Chapter Two

The Evolution of Individualism and the Implications for Democracy

The ideological concept of individualism has been an integral part of American political ideology since the Founding, and its importance to the development of this country cannot be overstated. The focus of the data analysis herein is on the past four decades, but the centuries of development and change preceding this time period are crucial to understanding what individualism meant to Americans living in the second half of the twentieth century. My argument centers on the impact of individualism in recent times, but it is a concept that has always been present in American political theory. Through a discussion of individualism's evolution and the implications individualism has for democracy, the importance of this uniquely American concept as a research topic will become clear.

The three main phases in the evolution of individualism will be classified in terms of “ideals”: individualism as a political ideal, an economic ideal and a social ideal. The literature documents the view of individualism as a political ideal and then as an economic ideal. The third category concerns individualism as a social ideal, and I believe that this is the phase Americans transitioned into during the last half of the twentieth century. Each individualism “ideal” has its own implications for democracy, and I will address the implications of each phase. I have developed this typology from an observation made by Charles Merriam in *American Political Ideals*. Merriam states: “the individualism of this period might more accurately be characterized as an industrial and social individualism, in contrast with the political individualism of the earlier times....the individualism of the Fathers was based upon an ideal of liberty; the later form upon an ideal of industrial production” (325).

I have changed Merriam's “industrial individualism” into economic individualism, but use his rough model to build up to my definition of “social individualism.” I believe Merriam's understanding of

American individualism as a changing concept is correct. The explanation of individualism's evolution over time provides an invaluable tool for understanding this concept and its implications for democracy in the present and future.

Before engaging in an explanation of these various "ideals," it is important to have an understanding of what exactly individualism is and to be aware of the various interpretations of the term. I do this by consulting with the current literature on the topic of individualism, and compare and contrast the varying definitions.

Individualism

The debate found in the literature on individualism can be most easily described as radical or "popular" individualism versus "authentic" individualism. These are two very different perceptions of what individualism is and how it should function, with very different implications for citizenship. To simplify these two types of individualism, radical individualism will refer to a highly self-interested individualism and "authentic" individualism will refer to a community-based individualism.

Radical Individualism

In his book *Individualism*, Steven Lukes expounds upon the topic of radical individualism. He defines individualism with words that appeal to self-interest and individual advancement. First, his radical individualism, a term he probably would not embrace, has no emphasis on the community and focuses only on individualism as it concerns individual wants and needs. He claims these individual concerns must be addressed in order for a people to truly be free. Any requirement or expectation that the individual would consider community concerns would decrease that individual's freedom. He claims that a person can be free only when he or she is completely left alone to do whatever he or she wants to do. It is obvious that Lukes advocates an individualism based in self-

interest and must maintain such self-interest in order to preserve liberty and equality as he defines them.

Authentic Individualism

R. Philip Brown uses the term “popular individualism” to describe what has been referred to herein as “radical individualism.” He believes that people who practice this individualism have specific characteristics that are undesirable: they do not commit themselves to careers, but merely have jobs for the sake of getting paid; they want “something for nothing” in that they want the government to provide a multitude of services but do not want to pay taxes; and they involve themselves only in activities that benefit them directly.

Brown discusses an alternative to radical individualism and these related characteristics. Unlike popular individualism, his concept embraces limits on autonomy and reins in the excesses he sees in popular individualism. He terms his concept “authentic individualism” and states that it teaches citizens to be interested in the welfare of others. Clearly, being “other-interested” distinguishes these two types of individualism. It is important that the individuals perceive themselves as pivotal players in the advancement of society’s interests, not just in the advancement of their own interests. Due to such a connection, the services owed to others should be viewed as required, not optional. Brown does not seek to de-emphasize the individual. He only wants to maintain the “other-interest” that is neglected in popular individualism and necessary for society. Brown believes that modern American individualism does not consider the necessity of this responsibility. Specifically, group interests must be given primacy over individual interests, and this shift must be caused by individual initiative in order for a truly authentic individualism to exist.

Both of these authors have discussed individualism, but individualism to Lukes and individualism to Brown are hardly the same. I believe that radical individualism is the problem and it has built momentum over time. Individualism has evolved from an authentic individualism

compatible with the Classical Liberalism of the Founding Era to a radical individualism that prevents people from functioning in their communities. As I discuss the way individualism has evolved through various “ideals,” the concurrent evolution from “authentic” to “radical” will be made obvious.

The Political Ideal

Individualism in this country began as a political ideal and a direct challenge to the group-based orientation and ideology of Europe. Individualism as a political ideal flourished from the second half of the eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth century. Bernard Bailyn addresses key components of this transition, and Charles Merriam provides a more detailed explanation of why individualism was adopted as a political ideal during this time period. The discussion of individualism as a political ideal will conclude with the explanation of its transition into an economic ideal.

The story of American individualism begins in the Founding Era when it was a political ideal. In *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, Bernard Bailyn identifies the key components of America’s transformation from British colonies to a new country, and this transformation seems to be based on a new understanding of the individual in relation to society. Bailyn identifies traditional concepts that were challenged during this American transformation. The first concept identified is representation. In England, virtual representation was acceptable because those in Parliament represented the group of citizens as a whole and not individuals. This argument was put forth by George Grenville, who was appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Parliament in 1763 (Morgan 16). Through a pamphleteer named Thomas Whately, Grenville justified British taxation by stating that “every member of Parliament...was there to represent the whole empire and not merely the few electors who happened to choose him” (Morgan 19-20). Early Americans were not satisfied with this explanation or the concept of virtual representation. It was based on the

assumption that the needs of the citizens could be addressed as a whole. On the contrary, the American colonists required direct representation, because they saw a need for individual citizens to be represented in smaller groups based on shared characteristics.

Secondly, the English tradition of rights tied the preservation of rights to the preservation of the government. The very existence of the government served as a guarantee that citizens' rights would be protected. Americans, borrowing from the theory of John Locke in his *Second Treatise on Government*, challenged this idea and believed that the government might not always do right by its citizens. Locke argued that the purpose of government was to protect an individual's "natural rights." The natural rights he identified were life, liberty and property (Locke 271). If the people consented to be ruled by a particular government, then that government was obliged to protect these natural rights. If the government failed to do so, then it would be in breach of its agreement with the people. The people would be justified, therefore, in revolting against that government. Thus, rights should be protected separately, and the people should have the right to challenge and question the legitimacy of the government without questioning or jeopardizing their rights. In this new scenario, the citizens have more power to preserve their individual liberty.

Lastly, Bailyn identifies the American challenge to the English concept of sovereignty. Similar to the English concept of rights, the English saw sovereignty as an indivisible concept located squarely with the government. The Americans challenged this notion and argued that the people should also be sovereign. These challenges to traditional concepts represent a move from the group-based mentality of an earlier time and a different ideology. Individualism as a political ideal began as a component of classical liberal thought, and Early Americans embraced it.

Many influential Americans during this time period were very accepting of this new emphasis on the individual, but the question still remains as to why this new country provided such fertile ground for this ideological concept. Charles Merriam addresses this question in *American*

Political Ideals. Merriam identifies the individual-based ideology of the Founders as a “philosophy of isolation” (Merriam 310). This philosophy provided for minimum government interference and maximum individual freedom, at least in the negative sense. Merriam argues that the success of this philosophy is based largely on the actual physical nature of America at that time. There was simply plenty of physical space for citizens to spread out and literally take care of themselves. I believe that individualism as a political ideal can be classified as an “authentic” form of individualism. While the emphasis was placed on the individual, no part of this ideal blatantly disregarded the interests of others. Political individualism did not necessarily force people to turn against the best interests of others to pursue their own best interests. The amount of land available at that time was vast, and those with sufficient “rugged” characteristics were free to depart from society and live as individuals. The concept of individualism as a political ideal was able to grow and thrive in this environment, because it was literally possible to leave civilized society, however one wished to define it.

The physical nature of America was bound to change, and it surely did. Due to the changing industrial and social environment, individualism was challenged and questioned as a political ideal and became more a question of economics. This transition was gradual, and included a change in the type of liberty the citizens could reasonably expect to enjoy. The assumptions of individualism as a political ideal and the negative liberty that was associated with it were directly challenged by the growing reality of an increasingly industrialized country in which not everyone had maximum individual liberty by being simply “left alone.” T.H. Green, and later, Isaiah Berlin, explored the idea of positive and negative liberty. Berlin characterized negative freedom as “the degree to which no man or body of men interferes with my activity” (Berlin 122). According to Merriam, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the developing conflict between labor and capital: capital supported negative freedom, and labor supported positive liberty in which individual liberty was provided for by safeguards to actively protect individual liberty (Merriam 8).

While individualism in American political thought began as a political ideal, the foundation for its economic understanding was also laid during this time. In fact, Charles Beard argues that there was a strong and unmistakable economic undercurrent during the founding years of this country. Beard does not see a separation between the political and economic foundation of the United States, and in fact sees them intentionally intertwined. By understanding the connectivity between the political and economic forces behind the American founding, it becomes easy to see how individualism was able to transform from a political ideal to an economic ideal over time.

Beard identifies the strong economic undertones of the Founding Era in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. He argues that a strong impetus for governmental change was that the legal system in place in early 1787 was unfavorable to the four main powerful groups of the time, all of which had great stakes in personal property (Beard 52). Beard argues that the people at the convention had a direct economic interest in a new constitutional system and that their product, the Constitution, is an economic document. As evidence of this, Beard cites Federalist No. 10 and Madison's discussion of factions. He references Madison's view that "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property" {Beard 156-7 (from Fed 10)}. The new governmental system proposed would keep factions from forming in light of the persistent and acceptable disparity in citizen wealth.

The connection between the political and the economic existed long before the economic rose to the fore and individualism melded with it to form a new ideal. Beard provides a thorough argument of how powerful economic influence was during the years of ideological development and American government formation. It is not surprising that the political ideal of these years would over time take on a new form in the economic realm. As the political reality of America changed over the years and the practicality of political individualism became harder to see, individualism found a new home as an economic ideal.

The Economic Ideal

Beard's argument centers on the notion that the political and the economic are one and the same. Based on this assumption, the evolution that individualism followed from the political realm to the economic realm is logical, if not inevitable. Individualism developed as the economic ideal during the second half of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century. It developed in response to the changing social and economic situation of Americans during this period. I believe that the shift of individualism from a political to an economic ideal also began the shift from authentic to radical individualism. Whereas a belief in political individualism did not require one to turn against the best interests of others, economic individualism is a zero-sum game in which one must lose for another to win.

Individualism as an economic ideal is best described by Charles Merriam in *American Political Ideals*. Merriam characterizes this new ideal as “the continuation of the earlier individualistic theory and its application to new industrial conditions” (313). Proponents of individualism saw the Industrial Revolution as the successful manifestation of classical liberalism in the economic realm, otherwise known as capitalism. The application of individualism to the economic realm appeared to be quite consistent to the same principles of individual enterprise, self-reliance and individual initiative that defined political individualism. These qualities were credited with the rise in American prosperity (Merriam 314). Given the ample economic opportunity provided by economic individualism, the success of every citizen was determined at the individual level, and was not a societal issue.

Others, however, failed to see the upsurge of capitalism during the Industrial Revolution in such a positive light. Many critics argued that the success of capitalism required its workers to suffer the burden of “vast inequalities of opportunity, freedom and wealth” (Ball and Dagger, 119). While many individual Americans were enjoying great prosperity, it was not a forgone conclusion that the

well-being of the group was keeping pace. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the individualistic dream of venturing out into the rugged terrain and living off the land in agrarian bliss was fading for many individual farmers. In order to compete and survive, many people of the poorer class were pulled into life in the factory, where they were overworked, unsafe, “ill-housed, often hungry, and sometimes homeless” (Ball and Dagger 119). Critics of capitalism, or individualism as an economic ideal, argued that it may have benefited the individual factory owner, but it failed the group as a whole. The workers were no longer connected to the products of their labor, and they suffered as a result. It failed to preserve liberty for the many workers whose quality of life was greatly diminished by an economic system that worked only for the owning class.

While economic individualism took hold in this country during this time period, it is of particular interest to discuss how individualism evolved from a purely political ideal to an economic ideal. In *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, Harold Lasswell discusses this developing ideal and why even those who were oppressed by it embraced it. In the 1800s, when the world faced the drawbacks of industrialization, the United States was absorbed with the debate over slavery. The factory workers in the North, who were personally experiencing the drawbacks of industrialization, were aligning themselves with their employers and against slave labor. Other parts of the world were coming to believe that they must be concerned with the collective interest so that industrialization would not isolate the laborer from the product of his labor, as Marx so described. Americans did not relate to this focus on the collective because of the American individualist psychology. The Communist Manifesto did not draw much attention, because the workers saw themselves on the same side as their employers. People who were interested in bringing socialism to America failed to frame it in terms that would appeal to individual-minded Americans, and so they could not identify with it.

Merriam presents a similar view. He argues that the absence of a fixed class system made it impossible for the collectivist vision of the laborers to take hold: “The absence of fixed classes as compared with the European countries, the quick and frequent transitions from class to class, the general mobility of persons and property, took away the class basis of solidarity upon which the Marxian socialism was founded and to which it owes much of its strength abroad” (Merriam 23). Basically, every American thought they had a chance to “make it” and didn’t want to settle for any collectivist solution.

This view was further encouraged by the great individual fortunes that were amassed during this time. By the early twentieth century, the highest two percent of the population owned sixty percent of the wealth (Merriam 13)¹. The ability of individuals and individual corporations to amass such wealth “profoundly affected the assumptions both of the many and of the few, and forced substantial modifications of theoretical belief and of practical policy as well” (Merriam 13). Due to the extreme financial success of a relative few, the many came to believe that success was within their reach as well.

People achieved various levels of success during the Industrial Revolution, and some people achieved little to nothing. The variance in financial success led people to wonder exactly why some people were able to prosper while others could barely keep afloat given the available opportunities. If some people were able to have success, then everyone must be able to attain the same level of success. If they are unable to duplicate the success of others, theorists began to speculate, there must be some reason why. The attempts to justify a system under which some could thrive and others could not began the development and acceptance of individualism as the social ideal.

¹ It is worth noting that as of 2001, the top five percent of the population held sixty percent of the wealth (Kennickell 2003). It is an improvement over two percent, but not very drastic for a century’s worth of advancement.

The Social Ideal

The development of social individualism was the transference of the principles of economic individualism to the social realm. Social individualism continues in the same radical vein as economic individualism, but it does have unique characteristics. Under economic individualism, one person's success means another's loss. Even though some people fail to thrive, there are many who make tremendous personal gains. Those personal gains can translate into wealth and prosperity on a macro level. Social individualism differs from this in that nothing positive results from social isolation. No one benefits on a social level from withdrawing from society and being isolated from others. People might be economically motivated to refrain from helping others, but when they use that logic to withdraw from social life, they are depriving themselves of the benefits of interaction and depriving others of those benefits as well.

Social Darwinism

The transition to this third and very important ideal began with the development of Social Darwinism. In *Social Statics*, Herbert Spencer developed the idea that civilizations with greater strength, better tools and more efficient adaptive capabilities would inevitably overtake lesser civilizations. Whatever harm is done to the lesser civilization is acceptable in the name of advancing people as a whole (Spencer 238-9). While Spencer published this theory before Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, adherents to Spencer's theory used Darwin's evolutionary theory to legitimate Spencer's assessment of the social world. In *The Man Versus the State*, Spencer further developed his theory. He argued for the "survival of the fittest," and believed that the weak should be left to fend for themselves and the strong would only be wasting their energy and diminishing their own strength by helping the weak (Spencer 365). Not only did Social Darwinists believe those who failed should be held accountable, they also thought that it was natural for some people to fail.

William Graham Sumner was an American scholar who promoted Social Darwinism in this country. In *What Social Classes Owe to One Another*, Sumner explained that the members of the various social classes owe nothing to one another. He praised individual freedom to succeed or fail based on one's own merit. He obviously defined freedom in strictly negative terms, and so freedom is the ability to live life without any interference from others. Sumner was opposed to interference especially if it would be in the form of aid or help to a needy party. If someone is needy, then nature has determined it. Trying to help someone in need would be contrary to nature, and would be harmful to society.

Understandably characterized as “radically individualist,” Sumner believed that society was not a collection of groups, but a collection of individuals whose interests came well before those of the group. Nothing was more important than the individual's right to be left alone to act as he pleased and to become as rich as he was able. The assistance and support that one would typically associate with a good community was seen as certain doom for future generations. The new social ideal advanced by this school of thought was one in which people did not offer assistance to others, because they would only be artificially sustaining those who could not survive otherwise. These actions would be counter to the natural process of eliminating those who cannot survive on their own (Tilman xi.)

The Social Darwinists took the economic theory of capitalism and developed a social theory to support its ill effects on society. If people were to be left alone in their economic life to succeed or fail, then they should be left alone in their social life. If they were economically successful, they should be free to enjoy their success. If they failed, then it was only right that they wither away. Anyone who cannot find success is destined to become a burden on society. It is with this theory that individualism as a social ideal was born.

The question remains: Why did individualism become the social ideal? Many have said that Social Darwinism is nothing but a “moral and political legitimization for *laissez-faire* capitalism” (Tilman ix). Not everyone was succeeding under capitalism, and so an explanation was needed. People in business “sought ‘scientific’ support” for capitalism, and found it in evolutionary theory (Ball and Dagger 20). The failure of some to thrive could not possibly be the fault of those who were successful. Thus, it was determined by some that those who failed to thrive should be blamed accordingly. Not only was it their fault that they could not succeed under capitalism, but they should be left to face the consequences alone, lest a more successful member of society waste his resources on someone who obviously had nothing to contribute.

Individualism as a social “ideal” is clearly an incongruous concept. Its acceptance requires one to reconcile notions of social interaction and concern with a disregard for others. Nevertheless, individualism is a social ideal that many Americans have embraced. Its incongruity is what makes the social ideal a problem. It does not make sense that citizens of a country enjoying a peak in community values and participation would begin to withdraw into their own uninvolved world, but it is easy to see how it happened. Many external factors have affected the ability of people to be active members of their community. Some of these alternatives include the role of religion (Djupe and Grant 2001), the role of personality (Scheufele, et al. 2000), conflict avoidance (Ulbig and Funk 1999), and social inequality (Verba, et al. 1997), as well as changes in mass media, geographic mobility, and the distribution of economic resources (Putnam 2000). I do not believe that there is any one answer to why people disengaged from community and political activities during the last few decades. Every one of these explanations provides part of the answer, and I believe that individualism will be yet another piece of the puzzle.

Classical liberal ideology has a permanent and evolving place in the American mind. The impact of liberalism can be found in our government, our history and our perspective of the world

around us. An important component of liberalism is the primacy of the individual. The spirit of individualism is illustrated in the economic theory of Adam Smith. He believed that when each person individually sought what was in his best interest, then the best interest of society would be served as well. I argue, however, that individuals may not always be aware of their best interest. For example, an individual may be more likely to pursue short-term gains at the expense of long-term goals. If one is not acting in his own best interest, then he could be correspondingly acting against the best interest of society. An individual may decide that it is in his or her own personal best interest to neglect or deny any societal responsibilities. This would certainly not benefit society nor the individual.

Implications for Democracy

Individualism as an American concept has evolved into a social ideal. As an ideological concept it is thought to be uniquely American, but it comes into conflict with other concepts that Americans value, including the concept of democracy. Democracy and its success are based on the participation and representation of groups of people with common interests who band together to see that their interests are protected and supported. Democracy is possible when everyone is afforded the same rights and privileges despite any demographic or ideological differences they have. Conversely, individualism is based on the success and freedom of the individual to behave in any way that promotes his own self-interest. Political individualism supported the individual's right to live outside of society. Economic individualism supported the individual's right to amass as much wealth as he possibly could. Social individualism took that idea a step further by advancing the idea that the successful individual under capitalism is under no obligation to help others less fortunate, and would actually be doing a disservice to the natural order by helping others.

John Dewey, in *The Public and its Problems*, provides insight into the problems that individualism creates for a democratic society. Dewey contends that any society that advances

individualism as a pillar of its political, economic or social philosophy is destined for trouble, as the doctrine of individualism is false. It is incorrect to conclude that because thought and action originate with the individual, then the subject of the thought and action only concerns the individual. He goes further to state that: “Nothing has been discovered which acts in entire isolation” (Dewey 22).

While Social Darwinists argued that it was not nature’s way for people to help the less successful members of society, Dewey argues that people exist naturally in relation to and in association with one another. It is not the natural state of humans to live as individualists (Dewey 95). He believes that it is not the conflict between individual and group interests that pose problems for people in society, but rather the conflict individuals feel among their own various group interests. People are unable to balance the interests of the several groups they may belong to, and so they retreat to the individual level so that they do not have to take any responsibility for the direction and activities of the groups (Dewey 147). People, however, are determined to create this conflict between individualism and community interests. This view further promotes the idea that individualism is on the side of democracy and community interests are on the side of some dark and sinister socialist ideal.

In response to this notion, Dewey argues that the community supports the mission of democracy in ways that individualism just cannot. Specifically, Dewey states that the democratic values of fraternity, liberty and equality are impossible without community (Dewey 149). Dewey believes that things can at once be individual and social, and that the antithesis between these two states of being is an artificial construct. We must get past this antithesis and accept that all things individual are defined by their relationship to other things (e.g. a tree stands alone but must be rooted in the soil) (Dewey 186).

Democracy requires the group as a whole to know its needs, its goals and its plan to achieve

them. When people live a purely individualist existence, the dialogue does not exist to meet this requirement. Democracy requires community life: “In its deepest and richest sense a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face intercourse” (Dewey 211). Along these same lines, Herbert Croly, in *Progressive Democracy*, argues that the individual can only “be effective as a member of a party” (Merriam 418). The existence of the individual and his rights is supported by the success and advancement of society as a whole. When living under a democratic system, one must appreciate and respect the role of the group and necessity of group and community participation for the democracy to thrive. When individualism is promoted as a social ideal, and people are encouraged not to help others and to withdraw into their own world, democracy begins to malfunction. Designed to represent the majority will, democracy will begin to represent only the interests of those who participate. It can certainly be argued that those who still choose to participate are not representative of the majority of people.

I have so far addressed the implications of individualism in general on the success of a democratic society, but three types of individualism have been outlined here. I contend that each type of individualism is more damaging for democracy than the last, leaving individualism as a social ideal the most dangerous form of individualism for our democracy. First, let us address the implications of the political ideal. The only way that this ideal is damaging is that it began the succession of individualist ideals. Otherwise, I think that individualism worked in this country as a general framework. It works in general as a tool for individual motivation and recognition. Human nature is such that individuals are motivated by the possibility of their own individual success and the wealth and attention that success generates. It is when individualism ideals become more specific that people and democracy begin to suffer.

Individualism as an economic ideal, or capitalism, creates an economic system that rewards only a portion of the participants. It claims to provide opportunities for all, but that does not

happen. Worse yet are the implications of individualism as a social ideal. I believe it is the most damaging because it tears at the fabric of society. Not only does it justify a faulty economic system, but it also encourages people to turn away from their neighbors in order to preserve their own best, and perhaps selfish, interest. It gives people the illusion that they can exist outside of society when they cannot. This idea is illuminated by the natural disaster caused in the Gulf States by Hurricane Katrina. Lynne Adrian identifies the American individualist social ideal in her description of how many people reacted to this tragedy and why many people were neither prepared to help nor to accept help when disaster struck: “At root is the idea that if I become strong enough, rich enough, or mean enough (or all three), I can control what happens to me and those I love” (Adrian B10).

The largest group capable of helping individuals is the government, and many people have become convinced that they would be better off caring for themselves (Adrian). These people fail to see that by banding together and working to meet common needs, solve common problems and fight common enemies, everyone has more than they could possibly get on their own. This is the essence of democracy. When people are encouraged to pull away from the values of democracy by the false hope that they can manage better on their own, everyone individually suffers.

Summary

Individualism as an ideological concept is significant for American political theory. The characterization of individualism has changed over time, but its use as an American ideal has been quite consistent. Americans have never strayed too far from the notion that the primary unit of measurement in our society is the individual. Unfortunately, the application of individualism was only appropriately applied in the original political sense. Since that time, individualism has become the ideal in realms in which it is a destructive justification for neglecting one's own neighbors. Individualism as an economic ideal leads some to gain from others' losses. As a social ideal, it convinces citizens that anything accomplished as a group would only be that much more successful

if attempted and accomplished by an individual. I believe this logic is faulty and detrimental to our democracy.

For those interested in ferreting out a cause for declining participation, individualism cannot and should not be overlooked. It is an ideological concept with deep roots in Classical Liberalism and the American psyche, and the effects of individualism on individual activities could prove to be significant. The available data have already revealed to scholars like Robert Putnam that community participation suffered a marked decline over the last several decades. My goal is to reveal an ideological cause of this decline that can work in tandem with the many other valuable explanations previously provided. If individualism is, in fact, another piece of the disengagement puzzle, then perhaps it can help us understand why people have reasoned themselves out of their communities. More than that, maybe it can ultimately help us understand how to lure people back in.

Chapter Three

Individualism and Political Participation

The best place to begin my quantitative analysis of the participation question is with the National Election Studies (NES). While other datasets will provide illuminating information about political and community participation at certain points in time, the NES will provide me with a basis for comparison and trends from 1960-2004. The NES provides an unmatched source of data for time-series analysis. A component of my hypothesis is based on the theory that there was an increase in individualism during the 1970s. The NES makes it possible to compare the number of individualistic respondents over the time period of interest. In addition, the NES provides similar, if not the exact same, variables from one survey to the next. This provides the opportunity to conduct a factor analysis for each dataset. We can then see how the variables behave at each point in time, and can determine whether or not there is something inherently different about a respondent who participates in political activities and a respondent who is individualistic.

For each survey year, I have conducted a factor analysis. I believe that factor analysis is the best mathematical tool for examining the data at hand. One approach used with factor analysis is to “hypothesize the existence of particular dimensions and then to factor-analyze the data to see whether these dimensions emerge” (Rummel 452). My hypothesis is that the factor analysis will reveal two dimensions: individualistic behavior and communalistic behavior. At the very least, these factors patterns will be descriptive. It has been argued, however, that the factor patterns can be identified as causal: “The regularities in the phenomena are described by these patterns, and it is these regularities that indicate a causal nexus” (Rummel 453). Discovering whether or not individualism functions separately from participatory attitudes among the NES respondents will go a long way to support or negate my hypothesis regarding the general relationship between these two concepts.

The variables

While the NES provides an incomparable number of variables in terms of sheer volume, it obviously focuses more on topics political than social. As a result, I was unable to find a variable that appeared often enough to be a consistent measure of community participation. In light of this, I decided it would be more appropriate to use the NES to focus on political participation, which is truly the subject of interest in these datasets.

One variable that I selected, and that was available in every survey during the time period of interest, is a measure of the work the respondent did for any party or candidate. Specifically worded, the survey question is: “Did you do any work for one of the parties or candidates?” I selected this measure of participation in addition to a more commonly used one such as whether or not the respondent voted. I felt that work for a party or candidate is far more social and active than the act of voting. For the purposes of this research, the focus is on social activities rather than individual activities. In the spirit of being thorough, however, I have included a “vote” variable to see how it functions in the analysis. The “vote” variable represents whether or not the respondent actually voted in the presidential election. The specific wording and coding of all questions is available in Appendix 3A. I have also included a variable measuring whether or not the respondent donated money to a political party or candidate. When possible, I selected a variable measuring involvement in a political club or organization.

When choosing the attitudinal variables, I looked at the relevance of the survey questions as measures of individualism and other related influences on participation. I also looked at the frequency with which the relevant questions were asked over the years, so that I could choose questions comparable over time. As a result, the individualism variable I selected is a compromise of these two issues: relevance and availability of data. I believe I was successful in selecting a variable to represent individualism that measures the respondent’s attitude regarding his relationship with the

world around him. Specifically worded, the survey question is: “Should the government guarantee a standard of living or should everyone get ahead on their own?” I realize that this question does not ask if society, sans government intervention, has an obligation to its citizens, but I think that those who answer that everyone should get ahead on their own are demonstrating a measurable amount of individualism. In addition, I have included other attitudinal variables dealing with issues ranging from government guaranteed employment, healthcare and standard of living to self-reliance and equal employment opportunity.

Of course, factor analysis assumes interval-level data, and my variables are mostly ordinal. This can be a problem if there is a high rate of correlation among the variables, which I test for in each factor analysis. As long as the correlations are moderate to low, it is generally considered acceptable to treat ordinal-level data as interval-level for the purpose of factor analysis (Garson; Kim and Mueller 74-5).

Individual Surveys

The factor analysis must reveal two factors for my set of variables, with the participation variables loading on one factor and the government attitude variables loading on the other, in order to confirm my theory. Upon conducting the factor analysis for each survey year, I will discuss how the variables behaved, the specific relevant information revealed by the factor analysis, and whether that year was consistent with any expectations I had before I conducted the analysis. Upon completion of the year-by-year review of factor analyses, I will then provide my final thoughts on the success or failure of these particular tests. I will also comment as to whether the NES in general tends to support or falsify my hypothesis.

1960

The first step in evaluating the 1960 data involved running a factor analysis of four participation variables and two attitudinal variables. The participation variables were much easier to

identify, as there were no variables specifically worded to measure individualism. The absence of such questions left me with the task of identifying questions that would measure individualistic attitudes. To this end, I selected a question asking if the government should guarantee a standard of living and a question asking if the government should subsidize healthcare. My assumption is that those respondents opposed to both of these measures would be displaying more individualistic attitudes and those in favor of these measures would be more communalistic in nature. Factor analysis is not designed to confirm information this specific, but can confirm which variables are being affected by a common influence or factor. My hypothesis is that the participation variables are affected by a different influence than the government variables.

The factor analysis of the 1960 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.1). The participation variables, which included measures of volunteer work, club participation and political contributions, loaded highly on the first factor. The government variables I previously described loaded highly on the second factor, together with the “vote” variable which showed an inverse relationship. This “vote” variable provides additional evidence for the conflicting relationship between the two concepts of individualism and participation.

I have identified the variables descriptively up to this point, but the existence of these two factors provides the opportunity to create causal labels. This course of action is consistent with reasoning “from the discovered patterns to the underlying influences causing them” (Rummel 471). I believe that the underlying influences that impact and promote political participation are different from the underlying influences that impact attitudes about the government. The attitude that links the government variables is individualism, and the attitude that links the participation variables is communalism. These factors achieved a moderately high communality, or the proportion of a variable’s variance explained by a factor structure (Kim and Mueller 83). The communalism factor

explained 32.3% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 23.9% of the variance, for a total of 56.2%.

Additionally, I generated a correlation matrix to see if the relationships between the variables were significant. The 1960 data do reveal a correlation coefficient of .5 between the two individualism variables that is significant at the .000 level. These are the only two variables in this data analysis that have a significant correlation, according to the matrix. I also conducted a reliability test of the variables that loaded together to test for internal consistency among the individualism variables. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .64, right at the threshold for data to be considered one-dimensional. In this case, the individualism variables load together, and appear to measure the same concept. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for the communalism variables is .53, but increases to .57 when the "vote" variable is excluded.

I generated factor scores during the factor analysis, and then included them in a logistic regression to see if they had any explanatory value. I selected an individualism variable that was not included in the factor analysis as the dependent variable. I included the factor scores for both the individualism and communalism factors as independent variables, together with a number of demographic variables. My hope in doing this was that the factor score for the individualism variable would be significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable. If the individualism factor score is significant, then that will add further evidence to the presence of a latent individualistic attitude among survey respondents that functions contrary to any communalistic notions. For 1960, I selected a variable that measured attitudes toward government provided housing as the dependent individualism variable (for this and all survey question wording, see Appendix 3A). This regression produced mixed results (see Table 3.2). The individualism factor score proved to be significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable, while the communalism variable does not seem to have much impact. According to the estimated odds ratio, as a person becomes more individualistic,

they are 1.5 times more likely to support private control over housing interests. I anticipated an odds ratio of less than one for the communalism variable, but it is 1.094, indicating that communalism may or may not have an effect on attitudes toward housing issues. The individualism and communalism variables move in the same direction. I would expect these variables to have opposite relationships with the dependent variable. The model chi-square is significant at the $p < .001$ level.

Overall, the 1960 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors.

1964

Like the 1960 survey, the 1964 survey was conducted before the ideological shift I am looking at. I again did not expect this survey to provide strong evidence of a connection between individualism and participation rates. Evaluating the 1964 data involved running a factor analysis of the same four participation variables and two individualism variables that were available in 1960. Again, I was looking for two factors that influenced the government and participation variables separately.

The factor analysis of the 1964 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.3). The participation variables, which included measures of volunteer work, club participation and political contributions, again loaded highly on the first factor. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor, together with the “vote” variable which once again showed an inverse relationship. These results were almost exactly the same as 1960 results, thereby providing some evidence for the stability of these relationships.

The existence of these two factors again allows me to make the argument that the underlying influences that impact and promote political participation are different from the underlying influences that impact attitudes about the government. The attitude that links the government

variables is individualism, and the attitude that links the participation variables is communalism. The Eigenvalues of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 32.7% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 21.4% of the variance, for a total of 54.1%.

The correlation matrix for the 1964 data showed the same .5 correlation coefficient between the individualism variables as the 1960 data did, also significant at the .000 level. These are again the only two variables in the data analysis that have a significant correlation. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .65, which rounds up to the .7 threshold required for data to be considered one-dimensional. The Cronbach's Alpha for the communalism variables is .52, increasing to .57 without the "vote" variable.

Again, I included the individualism and communalism factor scores in a logistic regression to explain an individualism variable not included in the original factor analysis. The results here were slightly more encouraging than the 1960 results (see Table 3.4). First, the individualism variable is very significant in explaining the individualism variable, while the communalism variable is not. The estimated odds ratio of the individualism variable indicates that, as one becomes more individualistic, he is more than twice as likely to support leaving fair employment issues to the state and local communities. Second, these variables are moving in opposite directions, as I would expect them to. As one becomes more communalistic, he is more supportive in federal intervention in fair employment issues, but the chance of this variable affecting this attitude is only around fifty percent. The model chi-square is significant at the $p < .001$ level.

The 1964 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. They are consistent with the 1960 data across the board. Further, they give me reason to believe that there could be some stability regarding the relationship between individualism and participation.

The 1968 analysis was slightly different in that I only included three participation variables and two individualism variables. The “political club” variable was not available in this survey. Despite this minor modification, the factor analysis of the 1968 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.5). The participation variables, which included measures of volunteer work and political contributions, loaded on the second factor. The “vote” variable loaded with these other communalistic variables for the first time. The government variables loaded highly on the first factor. These results were quite similar to the results from the previous surveys.

The communality of these factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 24.2% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 32.2% of the variance, for a total of 56.5%. The correlation matrix for the 1968 data showed no significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .57, below the .7 threshold required for data to be considered one-dimensional and the lowest coefficient for the variables thus far. The Cronbach’s Alpha for the communalism variables is .34, increasing to .44 without the “vote” variable.

Like the 1960 and 1964 regressions, the individualism variable in the 1968 regression was significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable, while the communalism variable was not (see Table 3.6). Based on the estimated odds ratio of 3.6, as citizens become more individualistic they are far more likely to support leaving fair employment issues to the states. The communalism variable has some chance of affecting this attitude, but this variable has the same sign, indicating that it has a similar relationship with the dependent variable. The model chi-square is significant at the $p < .001$ level.

The 1968 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by

different factors. They do not reveal any correlations among the variables, but this does not lessen the importance of the loadings. Additionally, the individualism variable is very significant in explaining attitudes toward fair employment.

1972

The 1972 analysis was similar to the 1968 analysis since I only included three participation variables and two individualism variables. The factor analysis of the 1972 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.7). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work, political contributions and voting behavior, loaded highly on the first factor. The “vote” variable loaded with these other communalistic variables, as it did in 1968. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor. These results were quite similar to the results from the previous surveys.

The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 28.9% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 26.8% of the variance, for a total of 55.7%. The correlation matrix for the 1972 data showed no significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .53, below the .7 threshold required for data to be considered one-dimensional. The Cronbach’s Alpha for the communalism variables is .36, and .42 without the “vote” variable.

The 1972 regression including the individualism and communalism factor scores again provide mixed results (see Table 3.8). The individualism variable is significant, but the estimated odds ratios show the individualism variable being only slightly more likely to explain attitudes toward illegal drugs. Additionally, the communalism and individualism variables have the same sign. This could have everything to do with the individualism variable I selected for this year which dealt with the government’s role in protecting its citizens from illegal drugs. Apparently, communalistic and individualistic attitudes both come into play in explaining why citizens favor increased penalties

on illegal drug use, and this actually makes sense. Those who are communalistic are going to favor government intervention to improve the community and protect the citizens from any corrupting influences that could hurt quality of life in the community. Those who are individualistic are more likely to be modern conservatives who are in favor of government involvement in areas involving morality. The model chi-square is significant at the $p < .001$ level.

The 1972 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. They do not reveal any correlations among the variables, but the loadings are still notable.

1976

Like the 1972 survey, the 1976 survey was conducted during the ideological shift toward individualism. Evaluating the 1976 data involved running a factor analysis of the same three participation variables that were available in 1972. The government variables were slightly different, but still measured attitudes regarding a government guarantee of jobs and healthcare. Again, I was looking for two factors that influenced the government and participation variables separately.

The factor analysis of the 1976 variables revealed two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.9). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work, political contributions, and voting behavior, again loaded on the first factor. The “vote” variable loaded with the participation factors, although not as highly as in 1972. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor. These results were almost exactly the same as 1972 results, which provide continued evidence for the stability of these relationships.

The existence of these two factors again allows me to make the argument that the underlying influences that impact and promote political participation are different from the underlying influences that impact attitudes about the government. The attitude that links the government

variables is individualism, and the attitude that links the participation variables is communalism. Looking at the communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 31.6% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 24.8% of the variance, for a total of 56.4%.

The correlation matrix for the 1976 data did not reveal any significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .54, which is consistent with the 1972 data. The Cronbach's Alpha for the communalism variables is .35, increasing to .48 without the "vote" variable. Up until this point, the "vote" variable has been reasonably consistent with the other communalism variables, but it is now bringing down the Cronbach's Alpha more than in the past.

The regression using the individualistic and communalistic factor scores yields similar results to the 1972 regression (see Table 3.10). The individualism variable is highly significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable which measures attitudes toward government aid for minorities. The estimated odds ratio shows that as one becomes more individualistic, they are more than twice as likely to believe minorities should help themselves. The communalism variable is not significant in explaining this attitude here, but it does surprisingly share the same sign as the individualism variable. The model chi-square is significant at the $p < .001$ level.

The 1976 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. They are consistent with the other analyses in this regard. In the regression, the individualism variable is very useful in explaining attitudes toward minority aid.

1980

The 1980 survey was conducted after the ideological shift. Evaluating the 1980 data involved running a factor analysis of the same three participation variables that were available in

1976. The government variables were slightly different, but still measured attitudes regarding a government guarantee of jobs and equal opportunity. Again, I was looking for two factors that influenced the government and participation variables separately.

The factor analysis of the 1980 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.11). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work, political contributions, and voting activity, again loaded on the first factor. The “vote” variable loaded with the participation factors, although not as highly as in previous years. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor.

The existence of these two factors reinforces the presence of the individualistic and communalistic attitudes. Looking at the communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 28.5% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 22.7% of the variance, for a total of 51.2%. The correlation matrix for the 1980 data did not reveal any significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient is quite low at .22 for the individualism variables and .23 for the communalism variables, increasing to .35 without the “vote” variable.

The 1980 regression cooperates with my assumptions more so than previous regressions (see Table 3.12). The individualism variable is very significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable—another government aid to minorities variable. An increase in individualism suggests a marked increase in opposition to federal minority aid. The communalism variable is not nearly as significant in affecting this attitude and it moves in the opposite direction as the individualism variable, which is what I would expect. The model chi-square is significant at $p < .001$.

The 1980 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by

different factors. The regression show the individualism variable being quite significant in explaining attitudes toward minority aid.

1984

The 1984 analysis utilized the “vote,” “volunteer,” and “donate” variables. The government variables measured attitudes regarding a government guarantee of jobs and the need for equal opportunity. The factor analysis of the 1984 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.13). The participation variables loaded on the second factor, and the government variables loaded quite highly on the first factor. The “vote” variable loaded inversely with the individualism variables.

The existence of these two factors reinforces the presence of the individualistic and communalistic attitudes. Looking at the communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 28.9% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 22.8% of the variance, for a total of 51.7%. The correlation matrix for the 1980 data did not reveal any significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the individualism variables, omitting the negatively loaded “vote” variable is .25, which is the lowest internal consistency result so far. The communalism variables have greater internal consistency at .37.

The 1984 regression provides consistent results (see Table 3.14). The individualism variable is very significant, and the communalism variable is insignificant and negative. As one becomes more individualistic, he is over twice as likely to agree with the idea that all people have an equal chance in life. While the communalism variable is negatively correlated with this attitude, it may or may not have any effect.

The 1984 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. Individualism is significant in explaining attitudes about equal chance.

1988

The 1988 analysis was similar to the 1984 analysis regarding the variables included, and did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.15). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work and political contributions, loaded on the first factor. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor, with the “vote” variable inversely loading with them. These results were similar to the results from the previous surveys.

The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 29.1% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 22.1% of the variance, for a total of 51.2%. The correlation matrix for the 1988 data showed no significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is very low at .2. The coefficient is .45 for the communalism variables.

Again, I included the individualism and communalism factor scores in a logistic regression to explain an individualism variable not included in the original factor analysis. The results here were slightly less supportive than previous results, though still consistent with my hypothesis (see Table 3.16). The individualism variable is very significant, while the communalism variable is not, but they once again share the same sign. Those with increased individualistic attitudes are twice as likely to believe all people have an equal chance.

The 1988 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. They do not reveal any significant correlations among the variables, but the loadings are significant nonetheless. Even though the internal consistency of the individualism

variables is quite low, they are still loading together and providing support for my hypothesis. The logistic regression shows the individualism variable to be very consistent in explaining equal chance attitudes.

1992

The 1992 analysis relied on similar variables, and revealed two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.17). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work and political contributions, loaded on the first factor. The government variables, including measures of equal opportunity and fair employment attitudes, loaded highly on the second factor. For the first time, “vote” did not truly load on either factor with values of .3 and -.08, respectively.

The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 29.6% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 21.4% of the variance, for a total of 51%. The correlation matrix for the 1992 data showed no significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is very low at .2. The coefficient is .3 for the communalism variables, increasing to .5 without the “vote” variable.

In the 1992 regression, the individualism variable remains consistent with the other years (see Table 3.18). It is significant and moving in the opposite direction of the insignificant communalism variable. As people become more individualistic, they are more likely to believe that the less government involvement we have, the better. An increase in communalism leads to an increased belief that the government should be doing more, but with an estimated odds ratio of .9, it has only about a fifty percent chance of impacting this attitude.

The 1992 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by

different factors. The regression provides further evidence for the individualism variable's ability to explain a variety of political attitudes.

1996

The 1996 analysis consisted of three participation variables and two government variables. The government variables measured attitudes regarding equal opportunity and self-reliance. The government variables were slightly different from variables selected from other surveys, but seemed to better measure the concept of individualism. My goal, as it has been throughout, was to reveal two factors that influence these variables.

The factor analysis of the 1996 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.19). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work and political contributions, loaded on the first factor. The "vote" variable inversely loaded with the government variables on the second factor, although not that highly. The existence of these two factors in the 1996 data reinforces the presence of the individualistic and communalistic attitudes. The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 27.9% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 21.1% of the variance, for a total of 49%. The correlation matrix for the 1996 data did not reveal any significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is very low at .1. The coefficient is .4 for the communalism variables.

The 1996 regression cooperates with my assumptions in that the individualism variable is significant and has an opposite sign than the communalism variable (see Table 3.20). The individualism variable is very significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable, a question regarding whether or not people all have an equal chance. In fact, as people become more individualistic, they are twice as likely to believe that all people have an equal chance. The

communalism variable moves in the opposite direction as the individualism variable, which is what I would expect. However, the chance of it impacting equal chance attitudes is only about 50%.

The 1996 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. The regression shows the anticipated relationships between individualism and communalism and the dependent variable, with the individualism variable having a far greater impact.

2000

The 2000 analysis consisted of three participation variables and two government variables. The factor analysis revealed two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.21). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work, political contributions and voting, again loaded on the first factor. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor. The government variables measured attitudes regarding equal opportunity and a government guarantee of jobs. The existence of these two factors in the 2000 data reinforces the presence of the individualistic and communalistic attitudes. The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 27% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 23.1% of the variance, for a total of 50.1%. The correlation matrix for the 2000 data did not reveal any significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is better than 1996 at .3. The communalism variables also have an alpha of .3.

The 2000 regression provide results similar to the 1996 model(see Table 3.22). The individualism variable is very significant, although it does not have as great an impact on government attitudes as before. The communalism variable is negative, and not as significant in its impact on the dependent variable.

The 2000 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors.

2004

The 2004 analysis consisted of four participation variables and two government variables. The government variables measured attitudes regarding equal opportunity and a government guarantee of jobs and a living standard. My goal for the final year of my study was to once more reveal two factors that influence these variables.

The factor analysis of the 2004 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 3.23). The participation variables, which included measures of campaign volunteer work and political contributions loaded on the first factor. The government variables loaded highly on the second factor, with the “vote” variable inversely loading with them. The existence of these two factors in the 2004 data reinforces the presence of the individualistic and communalistic attitudes. The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 26.9% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 24.5% of the variance, for a total of 51.4%. The correlation matrix for the 2004 data did not reveal any significant correlations among the variables. The Cronbach’s Alpha is .2 for the individualism variables and .4 for the communalism variables.

The regression using the individualistic and communalistic factor scores yields similar results to the previous years (see Table 3.24). The individualism variable is highly significant in explaining the dependent individualism variable which measures attitudes toward the necessity of all citizens having an equal chance. As individualism increases, the respondent is twice as likely to believe all people have an equal chance in life. The communalism variable is not significant in this case, and it shares the same sign as the individualism variable.

The 2004 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the government attitude variables, and participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors.

Summary

The individual survey factor analyses served to test the hypothesis concerning the relationship between individualistic and communalistic behaviors and attitudes. The factor analyses revealed some information that I did not expect. My original hypothesis suggested that the actual attitudes have changed over time, and that the relationship between individualism and participation changed during the 1970s. The factor analyses reveal, however, that there have been two factors influencing political participation and attitudes toward government intervention since 1960. Perhaps the significant ideological change during this time did not involve the development of a new ideological perspective, but rather an increase in the number of people subscribing to an existing perspective. The variance in the number of people answering individualistically to the question in Table 1 lends support to this idea.

I initially took into account the Cronbach's Alpha coefficients to build a case for generating an individualism summary variable. The inconsistency of that coefficient over time, together with the general lack of internal consistency among the individualism variables, made building that case impossible. Even though the government attitude questions do not measure the exact same concept, they are being influenced by the same factor—individualism. The lack of internal consistency does limit further testing of those variables, but it does not diminish the evidence supporting my hypothesis.

I generated the factor scores for both the individualism and communalism factors so that I could investigate whether or not these factors had any significant explanatory value with regard to another individualism variable not included in the original factor analysis. The significance of the

individualism factor score in a logistic regression would provide even more evidence for the existence of this latent individualistic attitude, but it would also show that it behaves consistently across time and a variety of individualistic variables. Fortunately for this research, the individualism factor scores were consistently significant in explaining a variety of dependent individualism variables across time, from 1960-2004. The communalism variable was insignificant in most years, with a few exceptions. There were times when it moved in the same direction as the individualism variable, but these variations were quite dependent on the nature of the dependent individualism variable and whether or not it dealt with government issues in areas of economics or morality. This variation reveals just one of the many complications inherent in American individualism, but does not undermine the strength of the regression results.

All in all, I find the results of the NES data analysis to be supportive. The factor analyses reveal a consistent relationship among the variables. The participation variables are consistently acted upon by a different influence than the government attitude variables, and I believe those influences are individualistic and communalistic attitudes. These results establish a decent and optimistic base upon which to continue the testing of my hypothesis that individualism and participation are antagonistically linked.

Appendix 3A

1960 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE (THEY WEREN'T OLD ENOUGH) THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU -- DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE ANY MONEY OR BUY TICKETS OR ANYTHING TO HELP THE CAMPAIGN FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Club”

DO YOU BELONG TO ANY POLITICAL CLUB OR ORGANIZATIONS?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Jobs”

THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

“Healthcare”

THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON OUGHT TO HELP PEOPLE GET DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL CARE AT LOW COST.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

“Housing”

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD LEAVE THINGS LIKE ELECTRIC POWER AND HOUSING FOR PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN TO HANDLE." DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD LEAVE THINGS LIKE THIS TO PRIVATE BUSINESS.

0. Disagree

1. Agree

1964 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE (THEY WEREN'T OLD ENOUGH) THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU -- DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Club”

DO YOU BELONG TO ANY POLITICAL CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE ANY MONEY OR BUY ANY TICKETS TO HELP A PARTY OR CANDIDATE PAY CAMPAIGN EXPENSES THIS YEAR?

- 0. Yes
- 1. No

“Jobs”

"IN GENERAL, SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN." HAVE YOU BEEN INTERESTED ENOUGH IN THIS TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER.(IF YES) DO YOU THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT:

- 0. SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB
AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Healthcare”

SOME SAY THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON OUGHT TO HELP PEOPLE GET DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL CARE AT LOW COST, OTHERS SAY THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT GET INTO THIS." HAVE YOU BEEN INTERESTED ENOUGH IN THIS TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER? (IF YES) WHAT IS YOUR POSITION?

- 0. HELP PEOPLE GET DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL CARE AT LOW COST
- 1. STAY OUT OF THIS

“Fair Employment”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT IF NEGROES (COLORED PEOPLE) ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON OUGHT TO SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO. OTHERS FEEL THAT THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HAVE YOU HAD ENOUGH INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OVER THE OTHER. IF YES) HOW DO YOU FEEL. SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON:

- 0. SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES (COLORED PEOPLE) GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS
- 1. LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES

1968 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE (THEY WEREN'T OLD ENOUGH) THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU -- DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE ANY MONEY OR BUY ANY TICKETS?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Healthcare”

SOME SAY THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON OUGHT TO HELP PEOPLE GET DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL CARE AT LOW COST, OTHERS SAY THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT GET INTO THIS." WHAT IS YOUR POSITION?

- 0. HELP PEOPLE GET DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL CARE AT
LOW COST
- 1. STAY OUT OF THIS

“Jobs”

"IN GENERAL, SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN." WHAT IS YOUR POSITION?

- 0. SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB
AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. SHOULD LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Fair Employment”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT IF NEGROES ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO. OTHERS FEEL THAT THIS IS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS." HOW DO YOU FEEL? SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON --

0. SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS
1. LEAVE THESE MATTERS TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES

1972 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE (THEY WEREN'T OLD ENOUGH) THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU -- DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE ANY MONEY TO A POLITICAL PARTY THIS YEAR?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Healthcare”

THERE IS MUCH CONCERN ABOUT THE RAPID RISE IN MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL COSTS. SOME FEEL THERE SHOULD BE A GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN WHICH WOULD COVER ALL MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL EXPENSES. OTHERS FEEL THAT MEDICAL EXPENSES SHOULD BE PAID BY INDIVIDUALS, AND THROUGH PRIVATE INSURANCE LIKE BLUE CROSS.

- 0. GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN
- 1. PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN

“Jobs”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SEE TO JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Illegal Drugs”

SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT THE USE OF MARIJUANA SHOULD BE MADE LEGAL. OTHERS THINK THAT THE PENALTIES FOR USING MARIJUANA SHOULD BE SET HIGHER THAN THEY ARE NOW.

0. SET PENALTIES HIGHER THAN THEY ARE NOW
1. MAKE USE OF MARIJUANA LEGAL

1976 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE (THEY WEREN'T OLD ENOUGH) THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU -- DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

<DURING THE CAMPAIGN> DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE ANY MONEY TO A POLITICAL PARTY OR MAKE ANY OTHER CONTRIBUTION THIS YEAR?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Healthcare”

THERE IS MUCH CONCERN ABOUT THE RAPID RISE IN MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL COSTS. SOME FEEL THERE SHOULD BE A GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN WHICH WOULD COVER ALL MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL EXPENSES. OTHERS FEEL THAT MEDICAL EXPENSES SHOULD BE PAID BY INDIVIDUALS, AND THROUGH PRIVATE INSURANCE LIKE BLUE CROSS.

- 0. GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PLAN
- 1. PRIVATE INSURANCE PLAN

“Jobs”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SEE TO JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Minority Aid”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS. OTHERS FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY SPECIAL EFFORT TO HELP MINORITIES BECAUSE THEY SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP MINORITY GROUPS
- 1. MINORITY GROUPS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

1980 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE (THEY WEREN'T OLD ENOUGH) THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU -- DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES? <DURING THE CAMPAIGN>?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Club”

DO YOU BELONG TO ANY POLITICAL CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

APART FROM CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPECIFIC CANDIDATES, HOW ABOUT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANY OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES? DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO A POLITICAL PARTY DURING THIS ELECTION YEAR?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Equal Rights”

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION, SOMETIMES CALLED THE ERA AMENDMENT?

- 0. APPROVE
- 1. DISAPPROVE

“Jobs”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SEE TO JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Minority Aid”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS. OTHERS FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY SPECIAL EFFORT TO HELP MINORITIES BECAUSE THEY SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP MINORITY GROUPS
- 1. MINORITY GROUPS SHOULD HELP THEMSELVES

1984 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU--DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

APART FROM CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPECIFIC CANDIDATES, HOW ABOUT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANY OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES? DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO A POLITICAL PARTY DURING THIS ELECTION YEAR?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Equal Opportunity”

OUR SOCIETY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED.

- 0. Agree
- 1. Disagree

“Jobs”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SEE TO JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Equal Chance”

ONE OF THE BIG PROBLEMS IN THIS COUNTRY IS THAT WE DON'T GIVE EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

1988 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU--DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO AN INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Equal opportunity”

OUR SOCIETY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED.

- 0. Agree
- 1. Disagree

“Jobs”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON THEIR OWN.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SEE TO JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Equal Chance”

ONE OF THE BIG PROBLEMS IN THIS COUNTRY IS THAT WE DON'T GIVE EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

1992 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU--DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY (OTHER) WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DURING AN ELECTION YEAR PEOPLE ARE OFTEN ASKED TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO SUPPORT CAMPAIGNS. DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO AN INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Equal opportunity”

OUR SOCIETY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED.

- 0. Agree
- 1. Disagree

“Fair Employment”

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SEE TO IT THAT BLACK PEOPLE GET FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS OR IS THIS NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS?

- 0. Government should help
- 1. Not the government's business

“Less Government”

One, the less government the better; or two, there are more things that government should be doing?

0. MORE THINGS GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO

1. LESS GOVERNMENT

1996 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU--DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY (OTHER) WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DURING AN ELECTION YEAR PEOPLE ARE OFTEN ASKED TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO SUPPORT CAMPAIGNS. DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO AN INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Self-reliance”

ONE, IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO BE A COOPERATIVE PERSON WHO WORKS WELL WITH OTHERS; OR TWO, IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO BE A SELF-RELIANT PERSON ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF ONESELF.

- 0. MORE IMPT. TO BE COOPERATIVE
- 1. MORE IMPT. TO BE SELF-RELIANT

“Equal opportunity”

OUR SOCIETY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED.

- 0. Agree
- 1. Disagree

“Equal Chance”

ONE OF THE BIG PROBLEMS IN THIS COUNTRY IS THAT WE DON'T GIVE EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

2000 Variables

“Vote”

IN 1996 BILL CLINTON RAN ON THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET AGAINST BOB DOLE FOR THE REPUBLICANS, AND ROSS PEROT AS AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE. DO YOU REMEMBER FOR SURE WHETHER OR NOT YOU VOTED IN THAT ELECTION?

- 0. Voter
- 1. Non-voter

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY (OTHER) WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Donate”

DURING AN ELECTION YEAR PEOPLE ARE OFTEN ASKED TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO SUPPORT CAMPAIGNS. DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO AN INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE?

- 1. YES
- 5. NO

“Self-reliance”

ONE, IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO BE A COOPERATIVE PERSON WHO WORKS WELL WITH OTHERS;
OR TWO, IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO BE A SELF-RELIANT PERSON ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF ONESELF.

- 0. MORE IMPT. TO BE COOPERATIVE
- 1. MORE IMPT. TO BE SELF-RELIANT

“Equal opportunity”

'OUR SOCIETY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED.'

- 0. Agree
- 1. Disagree

“Jobs”

Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own.

- 0. GOVERNMENT SEE TO JOB AND GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING
- 1. GOVERNMENT LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OWN

“Less Government”

One, the less government the better; or two, there are more things that government should be doing?

- 0. MORE THINGS GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO
- 1. LESS GOVERNMENT

2004 Variables

“Vote”

IN TALKING TO PEOPLE ABOUT ELECTIONS, WE OFTEN FIND THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WEREN'T REGISTERED, THEY WERE SICK, OR THEY JUST DIDN'T HAVE TIME. HOW ABOUT YOU--DID YOU VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS THIS NOVEMBER?

- 1. Yes, voted
- 5. No, didn't vote

“Volunteer”

DID YOU DO ANY (OTHER) WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

“Donate”

DID YOU GIVE MONEY TO AN INDIVIDUAL CANDIDATE RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE?

- 1. Yes
- 5. No

“Equal Opportunity”

OUR SOCIETY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED.

- 0. Agree
- 1. Disagree

“Jobs”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON THEIR OWN.

- 0. Government should see to jobs and standard of living
- 1. Government should let each person get ahead on own

“Equal Chance”

ONE OF THE BIG PROBLEMS IN THIS COUNTRY IS THAT WE DON'T GIVE EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

TABLE 3.1
1960 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote		-.402
2. Volunteer	.770	
3. Club	.782	
4. Donate	.725	
5. Guaranteed jobs		.828
6. Gov't healthcare		.833
Percent total variance	32.3	23.9
		56.2

TABLE 3.2

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Housing)—1960

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	.090 (.069)	1.094
Individualism	.376*** (.085)	1.457
Sex	.153 (.149)	1.165
Race	-.288* (.140)	.750
Age	.007 (.005)	1.007
Education	.000 (.004)	1.000
Constant	.515 (.427)	1.674
Model Chi-square	37.498***	
Pseudo R-Square	.057	
N	561	

*p<.05; ***p<.001

TABLE 3.3
1964 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote		-.346
2. Volunteer	.770	
3. Club	.780	
4. Donate	.630	
5. Guaranteed jobs		.850
6. Gov't healthcare		.828
Percent total variance	32.7	21.4
		54.1

TABLE 3.4

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Fair Employment)—1964

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	-.052 (.049)	.950
Individualism	.840*** (.056)	2.316
Sex	-.157 (.098)	.855
Race	-1.753 (.170)	.173
Age	-.007 (.003)	1.007
Education	-.004 (.003)	.996
Constant	2.140 (.362)	8.496
Model Chi-square	528.6***	
Pseudo R-Square	.29	
N	892	

***p<.001

TABLE 3.5
1968 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Individualism	Communalism
1. Vote		.490
2. Volunteer		.719
3. Donate		.717
4. Guaranteed jobs	.877	
5. Gov't healthcare	.803	
Percent total variance	32.3	24.2
		56.5

TABLE 3.6

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Fair Employment)—1968

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	.254 (.147)	1.290
Individualism	1.274*** (.164)	3.575
Sex	.934** (.298)	2.543
Race	-.537 (.399)	.584
Age	.012 (.010)	1.012
Education	-.030*** (.007)	1.020
Constant	.671 (.420)	.971
Model Chi-square	113.75***	
Pseudo R-Square	.414	
N	163	

p<.01; *p<.001

TABLE 3.7
1972 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote	.610	
2. Volunteer	.691	
3. Donate	.741	
4. Guaranteed jobs		.811
5. Gov't healthcare		.826
Percent total variance	28.9	26.8
		55.7

TABLE 3.8

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Illegal Drugs)—1972

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	.208 (.125)	1.231
Individualism	.502*** (.125)	1.653
Sex	.255 (.235)	1.291
Race	.267 (.237)	1.306
Age	.034*** (.009)	1.034
Education	-.039*** (.007)	.961
Constant	1.113 (.753)	3.044
Model Chi-square	124.184***	
Pseudo R-Square	.323	
N	490	

p<.01; *p<.001

TABLE 3.9
1976 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote	.478	
2. Volunteer	.774	
3. Donate	.764	
4. Guaranteed jobs		.823
5. Gov't healthcare		.817
Percent total variance	31.6	24.8
		56.4

TABLE 3.10

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Minority Aid)—1976

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	.037 (.093)	1.038
Individualism	.984*** (.099)	2.675
Sex	-.085 (.180)	.918
Race	-.909*** (.227)	.403
Age	.018*** (.006)	1.018
Education	-.059 (.040)	.943
Constant	1.153 (.564)	3.169
Model Chi-square	192.155***	
Pseudo R-Square	.324	
N	561	

***p<.001

TABLE 3.11
1980 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote	.469	
2. Volunteer	.751	
3. Donate	.706	
4. Guaranteed jobs		.786
5. Equal Rights		.780
Percent total variance	28.5	22.7
		51.2

TABLE 3.12

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Minority Aid)—1980

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	-.075 (.103)	.928
Individualism	1.067 *** (.117)	2.906
Sex	-.063 (.211)	.939
Race	-.257 (.210)	.773
Age	.000 (.006)	1.000
Education	-.125** (.046)	.882
Constant	2.197*** (.636)	9.001
Model Chi-square	123.534***	
Pseudo R-Square	.281	
N	557	

p<.01; *p<.001

TABLE 3.13
1984 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote		-.474
2. Volunteer	.776	
3. Donate	.766	
5. Guaranteed jobs		.754
6. Equal opportunity		.667
Percent total variance	28.9	22.8
		51.7

TABLE 3.14

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Equal Chance)—1984

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	-.032 (.068)	.968
Individualism	.835*** (.081)	2.305
Sex	-.015 (.132)	.985
Race	-.647*** (.170)	.523
Age	-.003 (.004)	.997
Education	.020 (.031)	1.020
Constant	.671 (.420)	1.957
Model Chi-square	185.967***	
Pseudo R-Square	.206	
N	1108	

p<.01; *p<.001

TABLE 3.15
1988 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote		-.432
2. Volunteer	.811	
3. Donate	.779	
4. Guaranteed jobs		.752
5. Equal opportunity		.642
Percent total variance	29.1	22.1
		51.2

TABLE 3.16

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Equal Chance)—1988

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	.115 (.0)	1.122
Individualism	.674*** (.0)	1.963
Sex	-.247 (.0)	.781
Race	-.942*** (.)	.390
Age	.007 (.0)	1.697
Education	.059 (.0)	1.060
Constant	.526 (.0)	.
Model Chi-square	156.3***	
Pseudo R-Square	.200	
N	978	

***p<.001

TABLE 3.17
1992 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote	.333	
2. Volunteer	.806	
3. Donate	.808	
4. Fair Employment		.762
5. Equal Opportunity		.732
Percent total variance	29.6	21.4

51

TABLE 3.18

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Less Government)—1992

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	-.083 (.088)	.921
Individualism	.550*** (.097)	1.733
Sex	-.194 (.178)	.824
Race	-.301 (.170)	.740
Age	.023*** (.005)	1.023
Education	.147*** (.038)	1.159
Constant	-2.932*** (.736)	.053
Model Chi-square	85.874***	
Pseudo R-Square	.173	
N	631	

***p<.001

TABLE 3.19
1996 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote		-.413
2. Volunteer	.794	
3. Donate	.783	
4. Self-reliance		.618
5. Equal opportunity		.742
Percent total variance	27.9	21.1

49

TABLE 3.20

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Equal Chance)—1996

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	-.047 (.065)	.954
Individualism	.814*** (.074)	2.258
Sex	-.102 (.133)	.903
Race	-.653*** (.146)	.520
Age	.007 (.004)	1.007
Education	.086** (.028)	1.089
Constant	-.993 (.556)	.370
Model Chi-square	213.6***	
Pseudo R-Square	.227	
N	1165	

p<.01; *p<.001

TABLE 3.21
2000 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote	.486	
2. Volunteer	.684	
3. Donate	.739	
4. Equal opportunity		.750
5. Guaranteed jobs		.719
Percent total variance	27	23.1
		50.1

TABLE 3.22

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Less Government)—2000

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	-.007 (.093)	.993
Individualism	.274** (.091)	1.315
Sex	.014 (.178)	1.014
Race	.020** (.007)	1.020
Age	.003 (.005)	1.003
Education	-.172*	.842
Constant	-.674 (.545)	.510
Model Chi-square	24.939***	
Pseudo R-Square	.059	
N	576	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

TABLE 3.23
2004 Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Vote		-.452
2. Volunteer	.761	
3. Donate	.751	
4. Equal opportunity		.672
5. Guaranteed jobs		.740
Percent total variance	26.9	24.5
		51.4

TABLE 3.24

Coefficients for the Logistic Regression Model of the Log Odds of an Individualism Variable (Equal Chance)—2004

Variables	Coefficients (SE in parentheses)	exp(B)
Communalism	.215 (.160)	1.240
Individualism	.837*** (.164)	2.308
Sex	-.371 (.257)	.690
Race	.042*** (.011)	1.043
Age	-.003 (.008)	.997
Education	-.031 (.087)	.969
Constant	-1.411 (.843)	.244
Model Chi-square	74.836***	
Pseudo R-Square	.283	
N	317	

***p<.001

Chapter Four

Individualism and Community Participation

The National Election Studies provided useful and relevant data with regard to political participation, but there were no consistent variables that measured community participation. Since the purpose of this project is to look at both types of participation, it was necessary to seek out datasets designed to measure types and instances of community participation. The Quality of American Life survey, conducted in 1971 and 1978, and the American Citizen Participation survey, conducted in 1990, provide this type of community-oriented data.

Once again, the factor analysis must reveal two factors for my set of variables in order to confirm my theory. It is my goal to establish that the same two latent factors of individualism and communalism underlie these data.

Upon conducting the factor analysis for each survey, I will discuss how the variables behaved, the specific relevant information revealed by the factor analysis, and whether that survey was consistent with any expectations I had before I conducted the analysis. Upon completion of the factor analyses, I will then provide my final thoughts on the success or failure of these particular tests. I will also comment on the ability of the Quality of American Life survey and the American Citizen Participation Survey to support or falsify my hypothesis.

Quality of American Life

The 1971 Quality of American Life survey was designed to measure how satisfied the respondents were with their station in life. It asked many questions about the respondents' expectations of life and how were living their lives. The survey inquired into what types of activities the respondents were involved in. That element of the survey provided a few useful community participation variables for my analysis. I settled on measures of civic involvement and membership in neighborhood organizations. Variables that measured attitudes toward individual autonomy and

governmental intervention were selected to represent the contrary individualist attitude (See Appendix 4A for question wording).

The factor analysis of the 1971 variables did reveal two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 4.1). The participation variables loaded highly on the first factor, and the attitudinal variables loaded highly on the second factor. The existence of these two factors provides the opportunity to create causal labels, as I was able to do with NES data. I believe that the underlying influences that impact and promote community participation are different from the underlying influences that impact attitudes about the government and autonomy. The attitude that links the attitude variables is individualism, and the attitude that links the participation variables is communalism. Both of these factors had moderately high communalities, with the communalism factor explaining 31% of the variance and the individualism factor explaining 25% of the variance, for a total of 56%.

Additionally, I generated a correlation matrix to see if the relationships between the variables were significant. The 1971 data do not reveal any significant correlations. Since I am again working with ordinal-level data, this finding is significant in justifying treating these variables as interval-level for the purpose of the factor analysis. I also conducted a reliability test of the variables that loaded together to test for internal consistency among the individualism variables. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .121, revealing that they have very low internal consistency. They do load together, however, and provide support for the existence of an individualist dimension to the data. Overall, the 1971 data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the attitudinal variables, and community participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors.

Prior to conducting any factor analyses, I would have hypothesized that the 1971 survey would be far less likely to support my hypothesis than the 1978 survey. I originally thought that the

more individualistic attitudes developed during the 1970s, but the results from the NES factor analyses created a somewhat different picture. The NES data provided evidence for the existence of individualism and its contrary relationship with political participation prior to the ideological shift of the 1970s. This discovery changed the expectations I had of these data. Instead of expecting little support from the 1971 data, I expected the community participation data in the Quality of American Life survey from both 1971 and 1978 to further substantiate my theory. The 1971 survey did exactly that. The results were pleasingly consistent with those generated by the NES factor analyses. The community participation variables and attitudinal variables loaded highly on two factors, respectively, which accounted for over half the variance.

I selected this particular dataset under the assumption that the 1971 and 1978 surveys would contain a number of the same questions, thereby allowing me to conduct similar factor analyses for each year. This, however, was not the case. Not only did the 1978 survey not contain all of the same variables I used in the 1971 analysis, it did not contain enough participation variables to conduct a meaningful factor analysis at all. The 1978 survey did not include any mention of civic or neighborhood participation. The only participation variable included dealt with volunteer work. When I included that variable in a factor analysis with the “autonomy” and “government” variables, it yielded only one Eigenvalue over 1.

I was unable to generate a useful factor analysis, but I was able to compare the responses to the “autonomy” question from 1971 and 1978. The questions asked if the respondent believed he was able to take care of himself or if he needed assistance. I wanted to see a jump in the number of respondents answering individualistically from 1971 to 1978 in order to provide some support for my theory. In 1971, 79.8% of respondents answered individualistically. In 1978, 82.4% answered individualistically. While this does indicate a slight increase in individualistic respondents, a one-tailed t-test reveals that it is not a statistically significant increase, $t(5854)=5$, $p>.05$ (see Table 4.2).

The Quality of American Life surveys from 1971 and 1978 both yield evidence that individualistic attitudes function distinctly from communalistic attitudes, but a significant trend toward increasing individualism during is not supported.

American Citizen Participation Survey

The American Citizen Participation Survey (ACPS) is definitely the dataset that is most compatible with my research needs in that it specifically addresses issues of participation. Of all the data I have tested so far, this dataset has the most variables designed to measure community participation. This survey was only conducted once, in 1990, so I have no other data to make a direct comparison to. However, I will be able to make an argument as to how consistent or inconsistent these results are with the other factor analyses. It is also far more recent than the Quality of American Life surveys.

The factor analysis of this dataset includes two participation variables and three attitudinal variables (see Appendix 4B for question wording). The participation variables measure participation in neighborhood organizations and organizations that support the cause of public assistance. The attitudinal variables deal with whether or not the government should guarantee jobs, if people should tend to their own needs of those of their community, and whether or not people have a responsibility to participate. Again, I am looking for two factors that influence the attitude and participation variables separately.

The factor analysis of the ACPS variables revealed two factors influencing this set of variables (see Table 4.3). The participation variables loaded on the first factor, and the government variables loaded highly on the second factor. The existence of these two factors allows me to make the argument that the underlying influence that impacts and promotes community participation are different from the underlying influence that impacts attitudes about the government and individual autonomy. The attitude that links the attitudinal variables is individualism, and the attitude that links

the participation variables is communalism. The communality of these two factors revealed that the communalism factor explained 37.7% of the variance and the individualism factor explained 23.3% of the variance, for a total of 61%.

The correlation matrix for the ACPS data did reveal a significant correlation between the community participation variables. In some situations, this could create a challenge for treating this ordinal data as interval-level data. I would argue, however, that this correlation does not affect the factor the other variables load on, nor does it make it difficult to interpret the factor analysis results. The participation variables align themselves on the communalism factor, and the attitudinal variables load on the individualism factor. This is consistent with the other data analyses and with my theory. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the individualism variables is .161, which indicates very low internal consistency.

The ACPS data support my hypothesis that individualism, as represented by the attitudinal variables, and community participation function separately from one another, and are influenced by different factors. They are consistent with all of the other analyses in this regard. The individualism variables do not appear to be measuring the same thing, but they load together and explain a good amount of the variance.

Summary

The Quality of American Life data and the ACPS data provide me with evidence unavailable in the NES data, even though they do not cover the same amount of time. The presence of community participation variables in these datasets allows me to broaden my claims to include community participation as well as political participation. The NES data show the stability of the latent individualism and communalism variables over time, and the Quality of American Life and ACPS data show that community participation and attitudinal variables reveal the same two latent variables discovered in the NES factor analyses.

The stability of those latent variables goes a long way to demonstrate the internal nature of individualism, as opposed to the external causes for disengagement cited by others. If individualistic attitudes do function differently than those attitudes that predispose people to participate, then it makes complete sense that they would display the same ideological perspective regardless of the activity at hand. Although individualism is considered an ideological attitude, it does not only affect engagement in political activities. These data lend support to the notion that engagement in a variety of activities is affected by the level of individualism that one possesses.

Appendix 4A

1971 Quality of American Life Questions

“Civic Group”

DO YOU BELONG TO BUSINESS OR CIVIC GROUPS?

- 0. R BELONGS TO ORGANIZATION
- 1. R DOES NOT BELONG TO THIS ORGANIZATION OR GROUP

“Neighborhood Group”

DO YOU BELONG TO NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATIONS?

- 0. R BELONGS TO ORGANIZATION
- 1. R DOES NOT BELONG TO THIS ORGANIZATION OR GROUP

“Autonomy”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THEY CAN RUN THEIR LIVES PRETTY MUCH THE WAY THEY WANT TO; OTHERS FEEL THE PROBLEMS OF LIFE ARE SOMETIMES TOO BIG FOR THEM. WHICH ONE ARE YOU MOST LIKE?

- 0. PROBLEMS OF LIFE TOO BIG
- 1. CAN RUN OWN LIFE

“Government”

SUMMARY: HOW LIFE IN THE U.S. IS GETTING WORSE

- 0. DID NOT MENTION GOVERNMENT
- 1. MENTIONED GOVERNMENT

Appendix 4B

1990 American Citizen Participation Survey Questions

“Neighborhood Group”

ARE YOU A MEMBER OF AN ASSOCIATION RELATED TO WHERE YOU LIVE--LIKE A NEIGHBORHOOD OR COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION, OR A HOMEOWNERS' OR CONDOMINIUM ASSOCIATION, OR A BLOCK CLUB?

- 0. YES
- 1. NO

“Public Assistance Organization”

DO YOU BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZATION CONCERNED ABOUT PUBLIC ASSISTANCE SUCH AS AFDC/ADC, GENERAL ASSISTANCE, GENERAL RELIEF OR SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME (SSI)?

- 0. YES
- 1. NO

“Government”

SOME PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERY PERSON HAS A JOB AND A GOOD STANDARD OF LIVING. OTHERS THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD JUST LET EACH PERSON GET AHEAD ON HIS OR HER OWN.

- 0. EVERYONE HAS A JOB
- 1. ONE GET AHEAD ON OWN

“Autonomy”

I THINK I SHOULD TAKE CARE OF MYSELF AND MY FAMILY BEFORE I WORRY ABOUT THE WELFARE OF THE COMMUNITY AND NATION.

- 0. NOT VERY IMPORTANT
- 1. VERY IMPORTANT

“Responsibility”

I FEEL IT'S NOT MY RESPONSIBILITY TO PARTICIPATE.

- 0. NOT VERY IMPORTANT
- 1. VERY IMPORTANT

TABLE 4.1
1971 Quality of American Life Factor Matrix

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Civic Group	.741	
2. Neighborhood Group	.739	
3. Autonomy		.596
4. Government		.840
Percent total variance	30.9	25.1
		56.0

TABLE 4.2

t-test for Equality of Means between 1971 and 1978 Individualistic Respondents

1971

Mean=1.82

SD=1.692

N=2164

1978

Mean=1.81

SD= 1.835

N=3692

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic respondents in 1971 and 1978.

Alt H: 1971 respondents had a higher average response (indicating lower levels of individualism) than the 1978 respondents.

SE=.05

Test Effect=.01

Test Statistic=.01/.05=.2

Rejection Decision: .2<1.64, thus $p>.05$. Fail to Reject Stat H.

TABLE 4.3**1990 American Citizen Participation Survey Factor Matrix**

Variables	<u>Orthogonally rotated factors</u>	
	Communalism	Individualism
1. Neighborhood Group	.859	
2. Public Assist. Org.	.904	
3. Jobs		.591
4. Autonomy		.701
5. Responsibility		.615
Percent total variance	37.7	23.3
		61.0

Chapter Five

The Role of Political Elites

The focus thus far has been on the individual American citizens and their attitudes regarding individualism and communalism. While this project emphasizes internal attitudes over external influences, the two do not exist separately. Previous research has cited general external influences that have decreased citizens' time to devote to community and political participation, and the presence of these influences is not disputed here. Rather, it would be complementary to this research and previous research to examine the more specific transference of attitudes from the elite members of society to the individual citizens. If there is a perceptible and traceable individualistic message coming from the political elites, it may help to explain the decrease in participation over this time period. Based on the assumption put forth by John Zaller and others that individual opinion is impressionable, it is necessary to search for an ideological shift among those who create that impression. In *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, Zaller argues "when elites uphold a clear picture of what should be done, the public tends to see events from that point of view....[and] when elites divide, members of the public tend to follow the elites sharing their general ideological or partisan predisposition..." (Zaller 8-9). If the people are being encouraged to be more individualistic and autonomous, it would logically lead to a less engaged citizenry. If there is no perceptible individualistic message coming from these political elites, then the door will be open for future research to establish exactly how this ideological attitude was established.

The individual-level data analysis revealed the contrary relationship between participation and individualism that I have hypothesized, but it did not provide answers regarding a possible trend in individualism nor did it reveal the source of these individualistic attitudes. In an attempt to answer these questions, I analyzed the messages and attitudes of political elites from 1960-2004 through State of the Union addresses and party platforms. I used content analysis to determine the

level of individualism and communalism present in these messages, and t-tests and analyses of variance to ascertain the statistical significance of my findings.

Methods

I used the same method of content analysis for both the State of the Union addresses and party platforms. First, I will explain the basic methods used, and then I will elaborate on the different statistical analyses of each data source. I selected eight terms I thought would measure levels of individualism and communalism: individual, help, participate, involve, neighbor, independence, self-reliance and community. For each document, I found the total number of each word and its various manifestations (See Appendix 5A). I then read each word in context to determine if that word was used in a positive, neutral or negative context. For example, in the 1960 State of the Union delivered by Eisenhower, he uses the word “individual” five times. I determined that two of those references were pro-individual or used in a positive context. For example, I found the statement, “The steady purpose of our society is to assure justice, before God, for every individual,” to be pro-individual. I concluded that the other three references were neutral, and none of them were negative or anti-individual. For example, I found the statement, “Those of the British and American scientific representatives are their own freely-formed, individual and collective opinion,” to be a neutral use of the word “individual” (See Appendix 5B for further content analysis guidelines). Based on that evaluation, I was able to identify which word uses were individualistic and which were communalistic (See Table 5.1). This content analysis provided the basis for statistical testing to see if there was any individualistic trend in the messages coming from the political elites from 1960-2004.

Additionally, I trained a second coder in the application of my content analysis definitions to obtain a measure of inter-coder reliability with my own coding. As a result, I am able to provide the percent agreement and Cohen’s Kappa for both the State of the Union and party platform analyses.

The percent agreement method is a much more liberal measure, in that it does not provide a way to know how each coder coded each case. The Cohen's Kappa is more conservative, because it does measure the symmetry of responses, and yields a result between zero and one. A Cohen's kappa of .75 or greater represents "excellent agreement beyond chance;" a result of .40 to .75 represents "fair to good agreement beyond chance;" and a result below .40 represents "poor agreement beyond chance" (Neuendorf 143).

State of the Union Addresses

In order to discover what type of messages the political elite were conveying during this study, it is logical to begin with the President of the United States, as leader of the country and certainly the leader of his political party. As a political leader, the President has the greatest influence and broadest reach in expressing his political and ideological views. The State of the Union content analyses did not examine every State of the Union address during the study period, but rather focused on the addresses delivered in the same years people were polled for the NES. These addresses were also the last ones delivered in each presidential term. As such, they represented each president's opportunity to either set the stage for his next term or identify what legacy he wished his successor to carry out. In either event, evaluating the State of the Union every four years is adequate for establishing an individualistic trend, if one in fact exists.

The raw data show that State of the Union addresses have typically been more communalistic than individualistic (See Table 5.1 and Chart 5.1). The only exception to this trend is Ronald Reagan's 1988 State of the Union, which has more individualistic than communalistic references. Based on the raw number of references, Bill Clinton employed communalistic rhetoric far more than his predecessors in this study. Certainly, the use of individualistic and communalistic terms has fluctuated over time, but statistical testing is necessary to determine the nature of the fluctuations. Specifically, does the level of individualism present in the State of the Union address

vary significantly based on time, partisanship or both? A finding that individualism varies significantly based on time would be significant to identifying a trend in individualism across the board. A finding that individualism has varied based on partisanship does not negate the presence of a trend, but it could isolate that trend to one side of the political spectrum.

This information is useable only if inter-coder reliability is established. The percent agreement between me (Coder 1) and my reliability coder (Coder 2) is 75.4%. Again, percent agreement is considered a liberal measure. It is worth mentioning; however, that of the questions the coders disagreed on, 99% of the disagreements were only one step apart on the coding scale. For example, if Coder 1 coded a term 1 for being a positive reference and Coder 2 coded a term 2 for being neutral, that would be a one step difference. The Cohen's kappa for this data takes into account our response symmetry. The kappa is .530, which falls into the "fair to good" agreement category, as described by Neuendorf in *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (see Table 5.2).

It is necessary to conduct a one-way ANOVA in order to answer the first question and determine whether or not the average number of individualistic mentions in the State of the Union addresses per decade varied significantly. Unfortunately, the data did not support the contention that individualism varied significantly over time, as no statistically significant relationship was detected between individualism and decade, $F(4,7)=.19$, $p>.05$ (See Table 5.3). However, an independent sample t-test reveals information regarding the partisan differences in the addresses. The individualistic nature of the State of the Union addresses does appear to vary significantly based on the party affiliation of the president, $t(18)=2.4$, $p<.01$, indicating that the State of the Union addresses delivered by Republican presidents have been significantly more individualistic than those delivered by Democratic presidents (See Table 5.4).

This analysis of the State of the Union Addresses revealed some information regarding the use of individualistic sentiment. The sentiment has been present across time and party, but the trend

toward increasing individualism is not detectable here. The t-test revealed a significant difference in the number of individualistic references between Republican and Democratic presidents, but with such a small number of cases, it is impossible to derive a trend from that data.

Party Platforms

The content analysis of the major party platforms yielded similar results as the State of the Union analysis. While the State of the Union address conveys the message of the party to some extent, the party platform carries a broader message to organize and direct members of the party and undecided voters. This broad message can provide a more general picture of each party's ideological position at various points in time and compensate for any individual presidential bias conveyed in the State of the Union addresses. The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain how individualistic the messages coming from the political elite during this time period were, and so a consideration of the party platforms provides a more complete view of those messages.

The raw data from the content analysis reveal a few interesting points (See Table 5.5). First, the party platforms tend to be more communalistic than individualistic, although not to the extent that the State of the Union addresses were. The parties have the luxury of being somewhat more divisive than a President does during his address, since they have a more specific audience. This may explain a willingness to be more individualistic in tone in the party platforms. The individualistic sentiment peaked in the Republican platforms of 1980 and 1984, which would be consistent with an ideological shift in the 1970s. Another relative high point in individualism is observable in the Republican platform of 1964, which could be a possible backlash against the Johnson Administration and the volume of civil rights legislation. As with the State of the Union addresses, the use of individualistic and communalistic terms has fluctuated over time, but it is not certain if the use of individualistic terms has varied significantly based on time or based on partisanship.

The percent agreement between me (Coder 1) and my reliability coder (Coder 2) is 70.7%. Of the 29.7% disagreement between the coders, 99% of the disagreements represented a one step difference on the coding scale. Since percent agreement is considered a liberal measure, the Cohen's kappa is necessary again to measure our response symmetry. The kappa is .419, which is lower than the reliability score for the State of the Union Addresses, but still falls into the "fair to good" agreement category, as described by Neuendorf (see Table 5.6).

Once again, analysis of variance by decade can reveal if there is a significant difference in the use of individualistic terms over time, but unfortunately, it does not, $F(4,19)=.08$, $p>.05$ (See Table 5.7). There does not appear to be any significant relationship between the decade and the level of individualism in the party platform, which again poses a problem for establishing an individualism trend. Taken as a whole, an independent sample t-test does reveal the Republican platforms to be more individualistic than the Democratic platforms, $t(341)=10$, $p<.001$ (See Table 5.8). Individualism again appears to be a function of partisanship independent of time.

One last effort to detect a trend towards growing individualism is to compare the number of individualistic terms in the Republican platforms versus the Democratic platforms for each decade and see if that changes per decade or if they are consistently different (See Chart 5.2). Upon completing a decade by decade comparison via independent sample t-tests, it is clear that at no point have the Republican and Democratic platforms conveyed the same level of individualism. The Republican platforms have been consistently more individualistic than the Democratic platforms at the $p<.01$ level (See Table 5.9). If there has been a detectable shift towards individualism among the political elite, it must have occurred prior to 1960.

Summary

While the content analysis of these partisan documents did not reveal the individualism trend that I had hoped for, it still provides us with information regarding this ideological concept.

The State of the Union Addresses were, by and large, not individualistic in nature (see Table 5.10). Of the terms I searched for, the most individualistic term, “self-reliance,” was used the least often, accounting for only .93% of all mentions. Every time it was used, however, it was in a positive individualistic context. The word used most often was “help,” although it was rarely used in an individualistic context. “Help” accounts for 64.8% of all mentions, but only it was only used in an individualistic way 2.4% of the time it was used. Of all the terms used in the content analysis of State of the Union Addresses, only 6.23% of them were used individualistically. 39.25% of them were used communally, while over half of all mentions were used in a neutral context.

The party platforms do not appear to be individualistic in nature, but they certainly convey a more individualistic message in general than the State of the Union Addresses (see Table 5.11). In the party platforms, “self-reliance” was again used the least often, accounting for only .62% of all mentions. It was used in a positive individualistic context 60% of the times it was mentioned. The word used most often was “help,” although “individual” and “community” were also used a fair amount. “Help” accounts for 32.53% of all mentions, but only it was only used in an individualistic way 2.1% of the time it was used. Of all the terms used in the content analysis of State of the Union Addresses, 14.13% of them were used individualistically. 24.93% of them were used communally, while over half of all mentions were again used in a neutral context.

Both State of the Union Addresses and party platforms appear to be more communalistic in nature, but the party platforms do use individualistic terms at over twice the rate as State of the Union Addresses. While a time-based trend has yet to be established, the fact that the Republican Party and its Presidents have been significantly more individualistic than Democrats across time can tell us something about the acceptance or rejection of individualistic thought by the American people at various points in time.

The fact that a clear-cut trend has not been established yet does not necessarily mean it is not there. Perhaps future research can examine these partisan documents for the decades preceding the 1960s in order to reveal the shift to a more individualistic message. This content analysis fails to confirm the presence of a time-based trend, but does provide interesting insight into the employment of individualistic rhetoric by the leaders of the two major parties.

APPENDIX 5A

Content Analysis Terms

Individ**

- Individual
- Individualistic
- Individualism

Help

Participat**

- Participate
- Participation

Involve**

- Involved
- Involvement

Neighbor**

- Neighborhood
- Neighborly

Independ**

- Independent
- Independence

Self-relian**

- Self-reliance
- Self-reliant

Community

APPENDIX 5B

Instructions for Content Analysis

In each State of the Union address and party platform, the terms from Appendix A must be counted and separated into “pro,” “neutral,” and “con” categories, based on the following criteria. Those categories are then labeled “individualistic” or “communalistic” and will be totaled across terms for each address and platform.

Term #1—Individ (individual, individualism, individualistic)**

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-individualistic reference, the statement must clearly advocate the individual and/or individual rights. (These will count as individualistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way neither promoting nor denying the individual citizen or individual rights.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-individualistic reference, the statement must clearly oppose the individual or individual rights. (These will count as communalistic references.)

Term # 2—Help

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-help reference, the statement must clearly advocate helping others directly or helping to promote or protect rights. (These will count as communalistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way neither promoting nor denying helping others.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-help reference, the statement must clearly oppose helping others directly or helping to promote or protect rights. (These will count as individualistic references.)

Term #3—Participat(participate, participation)**

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-participation reference, the statement must clearly advocate participation in community or political activities. (These will count as communalistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way that neither promotes nor denies the value of participation.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-participation reference, the statement must clearly oppose participation in community or political activities. (These will count as individualistic references.)

Term #4—Involve(involve, involved, involvement)**

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-involvement reference, the statement must clearly advocate the involvement of citizens and the government. (These will count as communalistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way that neither promotes nor denies the value of involvement.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-involvement reference, the statement must clearly oppose involvement of citizens and/or the government. (These will count as individualistic references.)

Term #5—Neighbor(neighbor, neighborhood, neighborly)**

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-neighbor reference, the statement must clearly advocate the value of neighbors and/or neighborhoods. (These will count as communalistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way that neither promotes nor denies the value of neighbors.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-individualistic reference, the statement must clearly oppose the value of neighbors and or neighborhoods. (These will count as individualistic references.)

Term #6—Independ(independent, independence)**

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-independence reference, the statement must clearly advocate the independence of the individual citizen. (These will count as individualistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way that neither promotes nor denies the value of individual independence.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-independence reference, the statement must clearly oppose the independence of the individual citizen. (These will count as communalistic references.)

Term #7—Self-relian(self-reliant, self-reliance)**

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-self-reliance reference, the statement must clearly advocate the value of self-reliance. (These will count as individualistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way that neither promotes nor denies the value of self-reliance.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-self-reliance reference, the statement must clearly oppose the value of self-reliance. (These will count as communalistic references.)

Term #8—Community

“Pro”—to be counted as a pro-community reference, the statement must clearly advocate the importance of community. (These will count as communalistic references.)

“Neutral”—to be counted as a neutral reference, the word must be used in a way that neither promotes nor denies the value of community.

“Con”—to be counted as an anti-community reference, the statement must clearly oppose the value of community. (These will count as individualistic references.)

TABLE 5.1

Summary of State of the Union Content Analysis Findings

The bolded rows represent the individualistic use of each selected word in the content analysis. This can be either a “pro” or “con” use, depending on the word in question. The initials indicate which President presented the State of the Union.

terms	1960 DDE	1964 LBJ	1968 LBJ	1972 RMN	1976 GRF	1980 JC	1984 RR	1988 RR	1992 GHWB	1996 WJC	2000 WJC	2004 GWB
Individual	5	1	3	2	0	1	0	5	0	1	2	4
pro	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
neutral	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
con	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Help	13	12	14	14	14	12	21	5	21	17	44	21
pro	5	10	4	5	6	0	5	0	6	12	24	17
neutral	8	2	9	8	8	12	14	5	14	5	20	4
con	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Participate	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
pro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
neutral	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Involve	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
pro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
neutral	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
neighbor	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	1	0	0	5	0
pro	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
neutral	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	5	0
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independence	3	2	1	1	4	4	0	2	0	1	1	0
pro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
neutral	3	2	1	0	4	4	0	1	0	0	1	0
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
self-reliance	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
pro	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
neutral	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community	1	2	2	2	3	0	3	1	0	13	15	3
pro	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	7	9	1
neutral	1	1	1	1	2	0	2	1	0	6	6	2
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDIVIDUALISTIC	2	0	1	3	1	0	2	4	1	2	0	4
NEUTRAL	17	6	13	14	15	16	18	10	14	12	34	6
COMMUNALISTIC	5	11	6	6	8	1	11	0	6	20	34	18

TABLE 5.2

Inter-coder Reliability Test for State of the Union Addresses

Percent Agreement between the Principal Investigator (Coder 1) and the Reliability Coder (Coder 2)

		Coder 2			
		1	2	3	Total
Coder 1	1 Count	117	40	0	157
	% of Total	36.30%	12.40%	0%	48.80%
	2 Count	29	124	0	153
	% of Total	9%	38.50%	0%	47.50%
	3 Count	1	9	2	12
	% of Total	0.30%	2.80%	0.60%	3.70%
Total	Count	147	173	2	322
	% of Total	45.70%	53.70%	0.60%	100%

Cohen's Kappa

Measure of Agreement	Kappa	Value	Approx. Sig.
N of Valid Cases		0.53 322	0.000

TABLE 5.3**ANOVA****Individualistic Mentions in State of the Union Addresses grouped by decade**

Group 1: 1960, 1964, 1968

Group 2: 1972, 1976

Group 3: 1980, 1984, 1988

Group 4: 1992, 1996

Group 5: 2000, 2004

Source of Variation	SS	df	MSV	F
Between groups	2.18	4	.545	.19
Within groups	20.5	7	2.929	
Total	22.68	11	2.062	

TABLE 5.4

t-test for Equality of Means between Republican and Democratic State of the Union Addresses

Republican SOTU

Mean=2.429

SD=1.27

N=17

Democratic SOTU

Mean=.6

SD= .89

N=3

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in Republican and Democratic State of the Union Addresses.

Alt H: Republican State of the Union Addresses have more individualistic terms than Democratic addresses.

SE=.78

Test Effect=1.83

Test Statistic=1.83/.78=2.37

Rejection Decision: 2.37>2.33, thus $p<.01$. Reject Stat H.

TABLE 5.5

Summary of Party Platform Content Analysis Findings

The bolded rows represent the individualistic use of each selected word in the content analysis. This can be either a “pro” or “con” use, depending on the word in question.

terms	1960		1964		1968		1972		1976		1980	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
Individual	6	14	10	26	6	12	19	13	14	15	17	57
pro	3	6	5	23	1	5	5	7	6	6	3	37
neutral	3	8	5	3	4	7	13	6	8	9	14	20
con	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Help	24	16	29	11	27	20	22	47	11	24	38	31
pro	7	5	16	6	6	9	5	16	2	8	15	6
neutral	16	11	12	5	20	11	16	30	9	14	22	22
con	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	3
Participate	1	0	2	0	4	5	6	4	3	2	10	2
pro	0	0	0	0	2	5	4	2	1	1	3	0
neutral	1	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	2	1	7	2
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Involve	3	2	1	2	2	3	9	11	9	19	14	10
pro	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	3	6	5
neutral	3	2	1	2	1	2	8	8	8	16	8	4
con	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
neighbor	3	0	2	2	19	1	17	4	8	15	21	38
pro	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	4	4	9
neutral	2	0	2	2	18	1	16	4	7	11	17	29
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independence	8	5	5	5	9	7	5	12	7	5	20	18
pro	2	0	2	0	3	2	0	2	1	1	6	3
neutral	5	5	3	5	6	5	5	10	5	4	14	15
con	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
self-reliance	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
pro	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
neutral	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community	15	6	20	1	20	9	17	13	16	27	33	13
pro	2	2	7	0	10	5	11	1	5	16	10	8
neutral	13	4	13	1	10	4	6	11	11	11	23	5
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
INDIVIDUALISTIC	6	6	8	24	5	8	6	12	7	10	10	45
NEUTRAL	43	30	38	18	61	30	66	71	50	66	105	97
COMMUNALISTIC	9	5	16	6	11	14	12	20	6	16	28	20

TABLE 5.5, continued

terms	1984		1988		1992		1996		2000		2004	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
Individual	16	53	1	31	7	32	4	20	10	47	8	44
pro	8	36	0	15	7	21	2	9	5	21	3	17
neutral	8	17	1	16	0	11	2	11	5	26	5	27
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Help	42	27	9	40	16	32	52	14	71	44	38	107
pro	12	11	7	19	8	15	30	9	33	21	22	31
neutral	30	14	2	21	8	15	20	5	38	23	16	76
con	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Participate	2	4	0	5	0	4	3	2	6	3	3	14
pro	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	2	4	1	2	4
neutral	2	2	0	3	0	2	1	0	2	2	1	10
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Involve	12	6	0	8	1	4	2	7	5	6	1	6
pro	4	2	0	4	0	1	0	2	3	2	0	3
neutral	8	2	0	4	1	3	2	2	2	3	1	2
con	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1
neighbor	8	19	5	17	7	9	11	7	8	22	9	18
pro	0	7	0	5	1	3	1	3	0	1	0	2
neutral	8	12	5	12	6	6	10	4	8	21	9	16
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independence	13	11	2	15	3	5	5	12	3	16	13	11
pro	8	5	0	7	1	1	3	1	1	5	0	2
neutral	5	6	2	8	2	4	2	11	2	11	13	9
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
self-reliance	1	2	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	1
pro	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
neutral	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community	22	13	7	20	16	17	31	18	23	24	20	32
pro	15	6	4	10	13	7	13	5	2	2	5	2
neutral	7	7	3	10	3	10	18	13	21	22	15	30
con	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDIVIDUALISTIC	16	47	0	22	8	26	7	14	6	27	3	20
NEUTRAL	69	60	13	74	20	53	55	47	78	109	60	171
COMMUNALISTIC	16	22	7	30	9	21	33	16	40	25	24	40

TABLE 5.6

Inter-coder Reliability Test for Party Platforms

Percent Agreement between the Principal Investigator (Coder 1) and the Reliability Coder (Coder 2)

		Coder 2			
		1	2	3	Total
Coder 1	1 Count	741	430	0	1171
	% of Total	28.20%	16.30%	0%	44.50%
	2 Count	313	1097	2	1412
	% of Total	12%	41.7%	0.1%	53.70%
	3 Count	5	21	21	47
	% of Total	0.20%	0.80%	0.80%	1.80%
Total	Count	1059	1548	23	2630
	% of Total	40.30%	58.90%	0.90%	100%

Cohen's Kappa

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	0.419	0.000
N of Valid Cases		2630	

TABLE 5.7**ANOVA****Individualistic Mentions in the Major Party Platforms, grouped by decade**

Group 1: 1960, 1964, 1968

Group 2: 1972, 1976

Group 3: 1980, 1984, 1988

Group 4: 1992, 1996

Group 5: 2000, 2004

Source of Variation	SS	df	MSV	F
Between groups	70.74	4	17.69	.08
Within groups	4374.3	19	230.23	
Total	4445.04	23	193.26	

TABLE 5.8

t-test for Equality of Means between Republican and Democratic Party Platforms

Republican Platforms

Mean=21.75

SD=13.36

N=261

Democratic Platforms

Mean=6.83

SD= 3.86

N=82

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in Republican and Democratic party platforms.

Alt H: Republican party platforms have more individualistic terms than Democratic party platforms.

SE=1.5

Test Effect=14.92

Test Statistic= $14.92/1.5=9.94$

Rejection Decision: $9.94 > 3.096$, thus $p < .001$. Reject Stat H.

TABLE 5.9

t-test for Equality of Means between Republican and Democratic Party Platforms by Decade

1960s Party Platforms

Republican Platforms

Mean=12.7

SD=9.9

N=38

Democratic Platforms

Mean=6.33

SD= 1.5

N=19

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in the Republican and Democratic party platforms.

Alt H: Republican party platforms have more individualistic terms than Democratic party platforms.

SE=2.29

Test Effect=-6.37

Test Statistic=2.78

Rejection Decision: $2.78 > 2.33$, thus $p < .01$. Reject Stat H.

1970s Party Platforms

Republican Platforms

Mean=11

SD=1.4

N=22

Democratic Platforms

Mean=6.5

SD= .7

N=13

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in the Republican and Democratic party platforms.

Alt H: Republican party platforms have more individualistic terms than Democratic party platforms.

SE=.42

Test Effect=4.5

Test Statistic=10.71

Rejection Decision: $10.71 > 3.096$, thus $p < .001$. Reject Stat H.

TABLE 5.9, continued

1980s Party Platforms

Republican Platforms

Mean=38
SD=14
N=114

Democratic Platforms

Mean=8.7
SD= 8.1
N=26

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in the Republican and Democratic party platforms.

Alt H: Republican party platforms have more individualistic terms than Democratic party platforms.

SE=2.89

Test Effect=29.3

Test Statistic=10.14

Rejection Decision: $10.14 > 3.096$, thus $p < .001$. Reject Stat H.

1990s Party Platforms

Republican Platforms

Mean=20
SD=8.5
N=40

Democratic Platforms

Mean=7.5
SD= .7
N=15

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in the Republican and Democratic party platforms.

Alt H: Republican party platforms have more individualistic terms than Democratic party platforms.

SE=2.21

Test Effect=12.5

Test Statistic=5.66

Rejection Decision: $5.66 > 3.096$, thus $p < .001$. Reject Stat H.

TABLE 5.9, continued

2000s Party Platforms

Republican Platforms

Mean=24

SD=4.9

N=47

Democratic Platforms

Mean=4.5

SD= 2.1

N=9

Stat H: There is no difference in the number of individualistic terms contained in the Republican and Democratic party platforms.

Alt H: Republican party platforms have more individualistic terms than Democratic party platforms.

SE=1.67

Test Effect=19.5

Test Statistic=11.68

Rejection Decision: $11.68 > 3.096$, thus $p < .001$. Reject Stat H.

TABLE 5.10

Summary of State of the Union Content Analysis Terms

Individual				7.48%
pro	10	3.12%		
neutral	11	3.43%		
con	3	0.93%		
Help				64.80%
pro	94	29.28%		
neutral	109	33.96%		
con	5	1.56%		
Participate				1.56%
pro	1	0.31%		
neutral	4	1.25%		
con	0	0.00%		
Involve				1.25%
pro	0	0.00%		
neutral	4	1.25%		
con	0	0.00%		
neighbor				4.36%
pro	6	1.87%		
neutral	8	2.49%		
con	0	0.00%		
Independence				5.61%
pro	2	0.62%		
neutral	16	4.98%		
con	0	0.00%		
self-reliance				0.93%
pro	3	0.93%		
neutral	0	0.00%		
con	0	0.00%		
community				14.02%
pro	22	6.85%		
neutral	23	7.17%		
con	0	0.00%		
	321	100.00%		
Individualistic Terms	20	6.23%		
NEUTRAL	175	54.52%		
Communalistic Terms	126	39.25%		

TABLE 5.11

Summary of Party Platform Content Analysis Terms

Individual				19.79%
	pro	251	10.31%	
	neutral	229	9.40%	
	con	2	0.08%	
Help				32.53%
	pro	319	13.10%	
	neutral	456	18.73%	
	con	17	0.70%	
Participate				3.49%
	pro	39	1.60%	
	neutral	46	1.89%	
	con	0	0.00%	
Involve				5.87%
	pro	40	1.64%	
	neutral	93	3.82%	
	con	10	0.41%	
neighbor				11.09%
	pro	44	1.81%	
	neutral	226	9.28%	
	con	0	0.00%	
Independence				8.83%
	pro	56	2.30%	
	neutral	157	6.45%	
	con	2	0.08%	
self-reliance				0.62%
	pro	9	0.37%	
	neutral	6	0.25%	
	con	0	0.00%	
community				17.78%
	pro	161	6.61%	
	neutral	271	11.13%	
	con	1	0.04%	
Individualistic Terms		344	14.13%	
NEUTRAL		1484	60.94%	
Communalistic Terms		607	24.93%	

CHART 5.1

Individualism and Communalism in the State of the Union Addresses

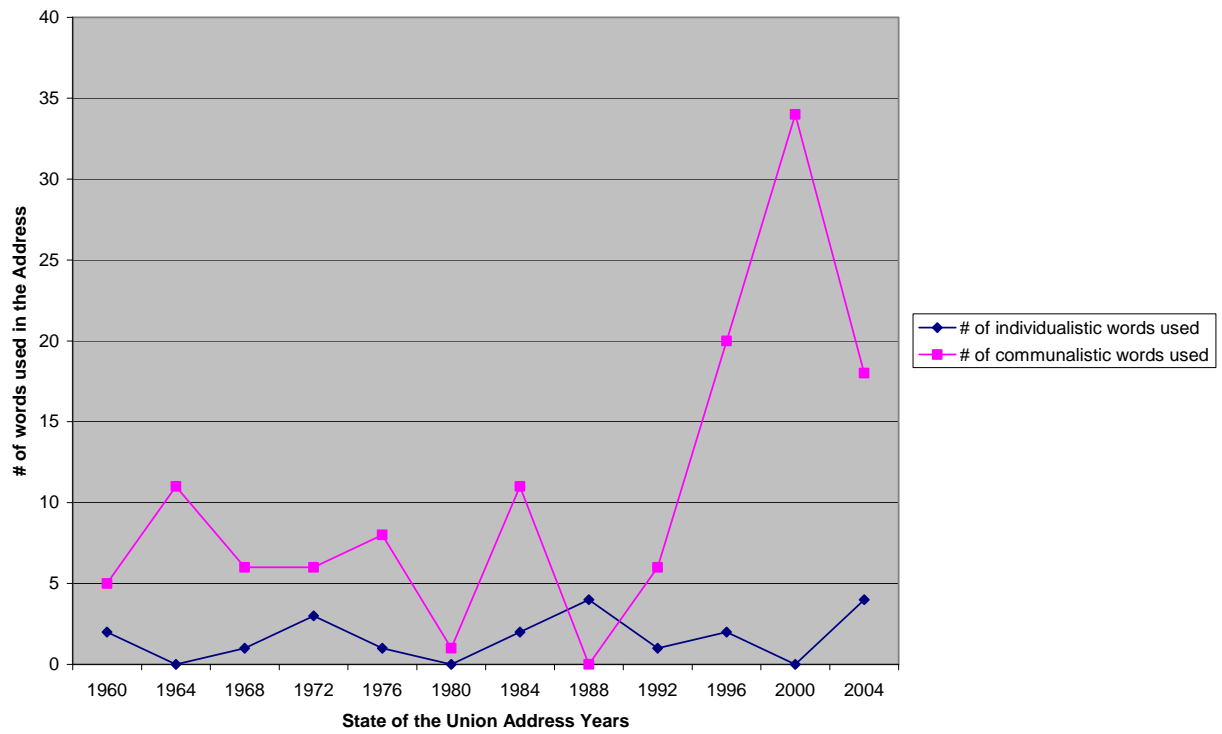
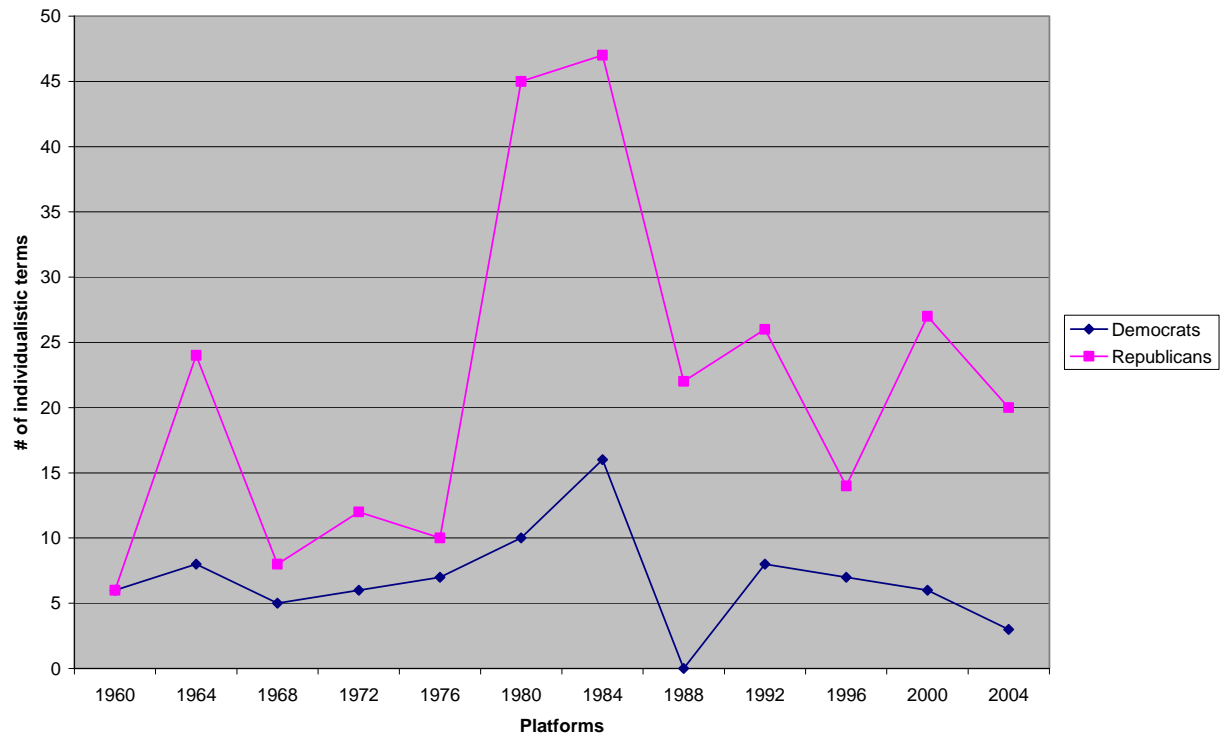


CHART 5.2

Individualism in Party Platforms, Democrats v. Republicans



Chapter Six

Conclusion

The data consistently support the hypothesized relationship between individualism and participation: attitudes related to individualism and those related to participation function independently of one another across time and datasets. Unfortunately, I found no empirical evidence for an individualism trend from 1964-2004 on the individual or party elite level. Individualism is obviously present and significant for participation in this country and democracy in general, but may be too pervasive to isolate and measure. A recent study by the Pew Research Center provides some insight as to why this evidence proved elusive.

In 2007, Pew released data from a longitudinal study entitled, “Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987-2007.” This study yielded abundant information, but nothing more striking than the ideological confusion of the American people. Previous research has indicated that people are swayed by numerous outside influences. When these influences are compatible with one’s pre-existing views, they reinforce those views. When the influences and views conflict, however, people tend to choose both rather than decide one way or the other.

The Pew study respondents seemed unable to maintain a consistent ideological perspective on issues related to individualism and communalism. Of those who agreed that the “poor have become too dependent on the government,” almost half also believed that “the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt” (Pew 2007, 18). The respondents seem reluctant to make decisive ideological decisions regarding how individualistic or communalistic they truly are.

This noncommittal behavior is perplexing: People know they are supposed to want to help others, but resent the assumption that they will help, be it through direct action or the government. Even acts of participation as basic as voting seem to be accompanied by a dread feeling of service

rather than excitement. The Pew study reveals that “the vast majority of Americans continue to see voting as a duty, and most say they feel guilty when they do not get a chance to vote” (Pew 2007, 53). There is a difference between acting out of obligation and acting out of eagerness. The Pew study picks up on this nuance, showing how ideologically conflicted many people are. This conflict and confusion may help explain why I have been unable to reveal an individualism trend, even though much of my data substantiates my claim regarding the relationship between individualistic and participatory attitudes

Future Research

There are many ways individualism and participation can be explored in the future. One area of research could focus on Internet use as a form of participation. Scholars have made the argument that the Internet is compensating for the participation decline of the past few decades. While this type of engagement may qualify as a kind of quasi-participation, there are no data available yet that show how Internet participation translates into participation in the real world. A Pew study released in 2000 stated that “there has been no indication that the Internet is actually drawing more young people -- or for that matter, more people of any age -- into the political process. Controlling for other factors related to participation, Internet users are no more likely to be engaged in the political process, and show no greater propensity to vote than do non-users” (Pew 2000). There is no evidence that it fosters a concern for others or community involvement. At the time of the Pew study in 2000, no link existed between Internet use and actual participation.

One research possibility is to include an Internet use variable in a factor analysis, comparable to the analyses contained herein, to see if it loads with the individualism or communalism variables. Due to the relative newness of the Internet, researchers could not analyze the issue over a long period of time, but perhaps they could provide information about the relationship between the Internet and individualism.

Another possibility for future research centers on the need to isolate and identify an individualism trend among survey respondents. Perhaps this could be done through the use of different datasets or different variables. Datasets such as the General Social Survey contain more attitudinal data, rather than the behavioral data herein. Additionally, the DDB Needham Lifestyles Survey that Robert Putnam uses in *Bowling Alone* (2000) could provide more suitable data for revealing an individualism trend.

Further evaluation of the individualistic or communalistic nature of elite discourse would be useful for participation studies. The focus herein was on partisan sources of elite discourse, but other non-partisan information sources could provide interesting insight into the use of individualistic messages over time. Mass media's role and influence would be particularly interesting to investigate. A trend in individualistic messages conveyed by the media over time could help explain changing attitudes.

My research could also be extended by exploring different themes of race and party identification. I do not include measures of race, nor theories of race that would contribute to a discussion of participation from 1960-2004. *Issue Evolution* (1989) by Edward Carmines and James Stimson deals with issues of race and politics, and would be a good place to start to build this argument. Also, I have not accounted for party identification in my individual-level data testing. The theory could be stronger if measures of party identification were included to see how they affected other variables in the model.

The content analysis reveals a high level of polarization between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party platforms from 1960-2004. Future research could deal with this polarization theme and explore why the two main parties have such different messages with regard to individualism and communalism.

The American notion of individualism is not one that is easy to quantify. It is an ideological concept that has evolved over our country's history from a purely political concept to a complex social ideal. It is a facet of classical liberalism that is at once latent in our political history and active in our cultural habits. Previous attempts at explaining declining participation have focused on logistical issues and external conflicts that make participation less feasible. The American tradition of individualism and the empirical evidence presented herein make obvious the need to include internal ideological attitudes in any discussion of non-participation.

The success of our democracy requires an open dialogue on the topic of non-participation. It is worth investigating whether or not one of America's founding ideological concepts is undermining that success. In the political realm, individualism has a history of empowering citizens. In the social realm, however, individualism is partially responsible for the neglect of community and political matters. It is an ideological concept many Americans embrace but do not apply consistently. Individualism has evolved into an incongruous concept, given the interconnected world we live in. Our democracy requires participation, yet individualism encourages withdrawal. We must deal directly with this ideological phenomenon if we hope to explain non-participation in political and community matters. And we must create a full explanation of non-participation if we hope to correct it.

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