

## CHAPTER 4

# American Political Culture

### REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

#### CHAPTER FOCUS

This chapter departs rather sharply from the previous ones, which focused on the legal and historical aspects of American government, and concentrates instead on the somewhat less concrete notion of *political culture*, or the inherited set of beliefs, attitudes, and opinions people (in this case, Americans) have about how their government ought to operate. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Define what scholars mean by *political culture*, and list some of the dominant aspects of political culture in the United States.
2. Discuss how U.S. citizens compare with those of other countries in their political attitudes.
3. List the contributions to U.S. political culture made by the Revolution, by the nation's religious heritages, and by the family. Explain the apparent absence of class consciousness in this country.
4. Explain why some observers are quite concerned about the growth of mistrust in government and why others regard this mistrust as normal and healthy.
5. Define internal and external feelings of *political efficacy*, and explain how the level of each of these has varied over the past generation.
6. Explain why a certain level of political tolerance is necessary in the conduct of democratic politics, and review the evidence that indicates just how much political tolerance exists in this country. Agree or disagree with the text's conclusion that no group is truly free of political intolerance.

#### STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
  - A. Generalizations about countries can vary, even when they are all representative democracies
  - B. Culture counts when it comes to politics and government
- II. Political culture
  - A. Constitutional differences
    1. Can be fairly obvious and easy to summarize
    2. Institutions, features of government and power relationships vary
  - B. Demographic differences
    1. Also pretty straightforward
    2. Language, race, ethnicity, religion, etc.
  - C. Cultural differences
    1. Distinctive patterned ways of thinking about how political and economic life ought to be carried out
    2. Notions of political and economic equality vary from one nation to the next

3. Sometimes the differences are quite sharp despite constitutional similarities
  4. Explanations?
    - a) Abundant and fertile soil for democracy to grow
    - b) No feudal aristocracy; minimal taxes; few legal restraints
    - c) Westward movement; vast territory provided opportunities
    - d) Nation of small, independent farmers
    - e) Tocqueville: “moral and intellectual characteristics” today called political culture
- III. American political culture
- A. Five important elements in the American view of the political system
    1. Liberty
    2. Democracy
    3. Equality
    4. Civic duty
    5. Individual responsibility
  - B. Some questions about the U.S. political culture
    1. How do we know people share these beliefs?  
Before polls, beliefs inferred from books, speeches, and so on
    2. How do we explain behavior inconsistent with beliefs?  
Beliefs still important, source of change
    3. Why so much political conflict in U.S. history?  
Conflict occurs even with beliefs in common
    4. Most consistent evidence of political culture  
Use of terms Americanism, un-American
  - C. The economic system
    1. Americans support free enterprise but see limits on marketplace freedom
    2. Americans prefer equality of opportunity to equality of result; individualist view
    3. Americans have a shared commitment to economic individualism/self-reliance (see 1924 and 1977 polls)
- IV. Comparing citizens of the United States with those of other nations
- A. Political system
    1. Swedes: more deferential than participatory
      - a) Defer to government experts and specialists
      - b) Rarely challenge governmental decisions
      - c) Believe in what is best more than what people want
      - d) Value equality over liberty
      - e) Value harmony and observe obligations
    2. Japanese
      - a) Value good relations with colleagues
      - b) Emphasize group decisions and social harmony
      - c) Respect authority
    3. Americans
      - a) Tend to assert rights
      - b) Emphasize individualism, competition, equality, following rules, treating others fairly (compare with the Japanese)
    4. Cultural differences affect political and economic systems
    5. Danger of over generalizing: many diverse groups within a culture
    6. Classic study: U.S. and British citizens in cross-national study
      - a) Stronger sense of civic duty, civic competence
      - b) Institutional confidence

- c) Sense of patriotism
- B. Economic system
  - 1. Swedes (contrasted with Americans): Verba and Orren
    - a) Equal pay and top limit on incomes
    - b) Less income inequality
  - 2. Cultural differences make a difference in politics: private ownership in United States versus public ownership in European countries
- C. The civic role of religion
  - 1. Americans are highly religious compared with Europeans
  - 2. Impact on individual behavior
    - a) Donation of money to charity
    - b) Volunteer work
  - 3. Impact on political system and processes
    - a) Religious movements transformed American politics and fueled the break with England
    - b) Both liberals and conservatives use the pulpit to promote political change
    - c) Candidate support for faith based approaches to social ills
    - d) The Pledge of Allegiance and American political culture
- V. The sources of political culture
  - A. Historical roots
    - 1. Revolution essentially over liberty; preoccupied with asserting rights
    - 2. Adversarial culture the result of distrust of authority and a belief that human nature is depraved
    - 3. Federalist-Jeffersonian transition in 1800 legitimated the role of the opposition party; liberty and political change can coexist
  - B. Legal-sociological factors
    - 1. Widespread participation permitted by the Constitution
    - 2. Absence of an established national religion
      - a) Religious diversity a source of cleavage
      - b) Absence of established religion has facilitated the absence of political orthodoxy
      - c) Puritan heritage (dominant one) stress on personal achievement
        - (1) Hard work
        - (2) Save money
        - (3) Obey secular law
        - (4) Do good
        - (5) Embrace “Protestant ethic”
      - d) Miniature political systems produced by churches’ congregational organization
    - 3. Family instills the ways we think about world and politics
      - a) Great freedom of children
      - b) Equality among family members
      - c) Rights accorded each person
      - d) Varied interests considered
    - 4. Class consciousness absent
      - a) Most people consider themselves middle class
      - b) Message of Horatio Alger stories is still popular
  - C. The culture war
    - 1. Two cultural classes in America battle over values
      - a) Orthodox: morality, with rules from God, more important than self-expression
      - b) Progressive: personal freedom, with rules based on circumstances, more important than tradition

2. Culture war differs from political disputes in three ways
    - a) Money is not at stake
    - b) Compromises are almost impossible
    - c) Conflict is more profound – animated by deep differences in people’s beliefs about private and public morality
  3. Two views of the culture war
    - a) Fiorina – war is myth, political leaders are polarize, but not the public
    - b) Abramowitz – war is real, issues matter more and more, political engagement more common
- VI. Mistrust of government
- A. What the polls say
    1. Since the 1950s, a steady decline in percentage who say they trust the government in Washington
    2. Important qualifications and considerations
      - a) Levels of trust rose briefly during the Reagan administration
      - b) Distrust of officials is not the same as distrust for our system of government
      - c) Americans remain more supportive of the country and its institutions than most Europeans
  - B. Possible causes of apparent decline in confidence
    1. Vietnam
    2. Watergate and Nixon’s resignation
    3. Clinton’s sex scandals and impeachment
    4. War in Iraq
    5. Levels of support may have been abnormally high in the 1950s
      - a) Aftermath of victory in World War II and possession of Atomic bomb
      - b) From Depression to currency that dominated international trade
      - c) Low expectations of Washington and little reason to be upset/disappointed
    6. 1960s and 1970s may have dramatically increased expectations of government
    7. Decline in patriotism (temporarily affected by the attacks of 9/11)
  - C. Other factors that might generally affect trust in the government
    1. Political efficacy
      - a) Internal – has not changed much since the 1950s and 1960s
      - b) External – fairly steep, steady decline since the 1960s
      - c) Still, our sense of efficacy remains higher than it is among Europeans
    2. Social and civic engagement
      - a) Putnam: the nation of “joiners” is increasingly “bowling alone”
      - b) Less socializing, involvement, volunteering, etc.
      - c) Evidence appears mixed
- VII. Political tolerance
- A. Crucial to democratic politics
    1. Citizens must be reasonably tolerant
    2. But not necessarily perfectly tolerant
  - B. Levels of American political tolerance
    1. Most Americans assent in abstract, but would deny rights in concrete cases
    2. General levels of tolerance appear to be increasing
    3. Some considerations
      - a) There may be a thin line between intolerance and civic concern
      - b) For most people, there is some group or cause worthy of restriction
    4. Groups less tolerated survive because
      - a) Few are willing to act on their beliefs—to restrict the liberties of others

- b) No widespread agreement as to which groups should be restricted
- c) Courts are sufficiently insulated from public opinion to enforce protections
- C. Conclusions
  - 1. Political liberty cannot be taken for granted
  - 2. No group should pretend it is always tolerant
    - a) Conservatives once targeted professors
    - b) Later, professors targeted conservatives

## KEY TERMS MATCH

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. A distinctive and patterned way of thinking about how political life ought to be carried out   | a. Almond and Verba     |
| 2. The condition of being relatively free of governmental restraints  | b. Americanism          |
| 3. A belief that one can affect government policies   | c. blue states          |
| 4. The inclination to believe that one's efforts and rewards in life are to be conducted and enjoyed by oneself, apart from larger social groupings | d. civic competence     |
| 5. Individual who explained the rise of capitalism in part by what he called the Protestant ethic   | e. civic duty           |
| 6. The condition in which people, although not guaranteed equal rewards, expect to have comparable chances to compete for those rewards             | f. class consciousness  |
| 7. Refers to states that vote Democrat  | g. Congregational       |
| 8. Conducted a famous cross-national study of political participation   | h. Erik Erikson         |
| 9. The feeling that one ought to do one's share in community affairs, irrespective of concrete rewards  | i. equal opportunity    |
| 10. A word used in naming a congressional committee to merge the concepts of acceptance of national values and goodness itself                      | j. Individualism        |
| 11. A political party that opposes the majority party but within the context of the legal rules of the game   | k. liberty              |
|   | l. Gunnar Myrdal        |
|   | m. opposition party     |
|   | n. orthodox (social)    |
|   | o. political culture    |
|   | p. political ideology   |
|   | q. political tolerance  |
|   | r. progressive (social) |
|   | s. red states           |
|   | t. un-American          |
|   | u. Max Weber            |
|   | v. work ethic           |

12. Individual who described race relations as “an American dilemma” resulting from a conflict between the “American creed” and “American behavior”
13. A set of values that includes working hard, saving one’s money, and obeying the law
14. A persistent word in our vocabulary that indicates Americans are bound by common values and hopes
15. A kind of church in which members control activities, whether erecting a building, hiring a preacher, or managing its finances
16. Refers to those states that vote Republican
17. The willingness to allow people with whom one disagrees to have the full protection of the laws when they express their opinions
18. The awareness of belonging to a particular socioeconomic group whose interests are different from those of others
19. People who believe that moral rules are derived from God, are unchanging, and are more important than individual choice
20. Psychologist who noted distinct traits of American and European families
21. A relatively consistent set of views of the policies government ought to pursue
22. People who believe that moral rules are derived in part from an individual’s beliefs and the circumstances of modern life

## DATA CHECK

### Figure 4.1 (Page 88): External Political Efficacy Index, 1952-2004

1. What year featured the highest external political efficacy score?

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2. What year features the lowest external political efficacy score?

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3. Which years feature scores below 50?

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### Figure 4.2 (Page 88): Trust in the Federal Government, 1958-2004

4. In what year did the highest percentage of respondents say they had confidence in the government in Washington “most of the time?”

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5. Describe the typical percentage of respondents who claim they have confidence in the government in Washington “just about always.”

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6. Describe the typical percentage of respondents who claim they have confidence in the government in Washington “none of the time.”

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### Figure 4.3 (Page 89): The American Civic Health Index, 1975-2002

7. America’s civic health appears to have been most healthy in what year?

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8. America’s civic health appears to be least healthy in what year?

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9. How would you describe America’s civic health over the last ten years based on these measures?

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## PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

### TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F Other nations have attempted the American model of government and experienced military takeovers.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. T F de Tocqueville argued American political culture was the byproduct of rich land and resources.  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. T F The immigration policies of Japan are much more restrictive than those of the United States.  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. T F The text suggests that Americans are preoccupied with their rights.  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. T F A majority of Americans believe people should have the right to vote even if they cannot read or write or vote intelligently.  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. T F When the Southern states seceded from the Union, they modeled their government on the Constitution and duplicated some of its language.  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. T F Americans are more willing to tolerate political inequality than they are economic inequality.  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. T F Americans generally support government regulation of business in order to keep some firms from becoming too powerful and to correct specific abuses.  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. T F Americans generally dislike preferential hiring programs and the use of quotas to deal with racial inequality.  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. T F The best way to learn what is distinctive about American political culture is to compare it with that of other nations.  
\_\_\_\_\_
11. T F Swedes have much higher rates of political participation than Americans.  
\_\_\_\_\_



12. T F Americans are more interested in reaching decisions through the application of rules than are the Japanese.
- 
13. T F Americans tend to have a higher sense of civic confidence than citizens in many other nations.
- 
14. T F Americans tend to have very low levels of faith in public institutions in comparisons with citizens in many other nations.
- 
15. T F A study of union and party leaders found Swedes were less likely than their American counterparts to favor equal pay for workers.
- 
16. T F There is less income inequality in Sweden than in the United States.
- 
17. T F From the time of its founding, until today, America has been among the most religious countries in the world.
- 
18. T F Religious ideas fueled the break with England.
- 
19. T F Both liberals and conservatives have used religious pulpits to promote political change.
- 
20. T F Federalists were suspicious that Jefferson intended to sell the country out to Spain.
- 
21. T F Erikson's study of American and European children noted a larger measure of equality among American family members.
- 
22. T F In America, most people, whatever their jobs, think of themselves as "middle class."
- 
23. T F The United States is the only large industrial democracy without a significant socialist party.
- 
24. T F In the culture war, "progressives" are said to value personal freedom as much as traditional moral rules.
- 
25. T F One notable feature of the "culture war" is that compromise is almost impossible to arrange.
-

26. T F The steady decline in the proportion of Americans who say they trust the government in Washington to do the right thing began in the 1970s.
- 
27. T F Levels of public trust in the government in Washington increased briefly during the Reagan administration.
- 
28. T F Americans are much more supportive of this country and its institutions than Europeans are of theirs.
- 
29. T F In immediate aftermath of the attacks of 9/11, Americans' trust in the government further eroded.
- 
30. T F Most Americans believe the government is run by "a few big interests."
- 
31. T F Since the 1960s, there has been a fairly sharp drop in internal political efficacy in the United States.
- 
32. T F The text suggests that, in concrete cases, a good many Americans are not very tolerant of groups they dislike.
- 
33. T F The text suggests that most Americans are ready to deny some groups its rights, but simply cannot agree on which group it should be.
- 

## MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

- Compared with people in other democracies, Americans are particularly preoccupied with
  - elections.
  - the assertion of rights.
  - social harmony.
  - institutions.
  - equality.
- Which of the following is *not* among the important elements in the American view of the political system?
  - Civic duty.
  - Individualism.
  - Equality of opportunity.
  - Democracy.
  - Equality of condition.

3. Scholars infer the existence of political culture by observing
  - a. the kinds of books Americans read.
  - b. the political choices Americans make.
  - c. the slogans Americans respond to.
  - d. the speeches Americans hear.
  - e. all of the above.
4. The Civil War provides an illustration of
  - a. political behavior inconsistent with personal values.
  - b. a radical rejection by the Confederacy of the constitutional order.
  - c. how governments cannot last long without internal conflict.
  - d. the conflict between existing constitutional values and institutional values.
  - e. the persistence of shared beliefs about how a democratic regime ought to be organized.
5. One important piece of evidence that Americans have believed themselves bound by common values and common hopes has been
  - a. that free elections could indeed be conducted.
  - b. their hostile attitudes toward free speech.
  - c. their use of the word *Americanism*.
  - d. the importance of the frontier in American history.
  - e. their tendency toward idealism.
6. Scholars such as Kinder and Sears worry that the widely shared commitment to economic individualism and personal responsibility might be a kind of camouflage for
  - a. symbolic racism.
  - b. class centered biases.
  - c. anti-Americanism.
  - d. ethnic socialization.
  - e. partisan groupthink.
7. When a 1924 study in Muncie, Indiana, was repeated in 1977, it found that 1977 respondents
  - a. judged those who failed more harshly.
  - b. were more sympathetic with failure.
  - c. had about the same attitudes as 1924 respondents.
  - d. were more critical of those who had great wealth.
  - e. were much more desirous of material success.
8. Which of the following statements regarding Swedish political culture is *incorrect*?
  - a. It is more deferential than participatory.
  - b. Voter turnout is low.
  - c. Swedes rarely challenge governmental decisions in court.
  - d. Swedes value harmony.
  - e. Swedes value equality as much as (or more than) liberty.
9. Compared with Americans, the Japanese are more likely to
  - a. emphasize the virtues of individualism and competition in social relations.
  - b. reach decisions through discussion rather than the application of rules.
  - c. emphasize the virtue of treating others fairly but impersonally, with due regard for their rights.
  - d. see conflict as a means of getting to know and understand the psyche of other people.
  - e. rely on individual decision-making rather than decisions made by groups.

10. A classic study of political culture in five nations concluded Americans
  - a. were generally much like the citizens in four other nations.
  - b. exhibited little that could be described as “culture.”
  - c. had a stronger sense of civic duty than citizens in other nations.
  - d. had a stronger sense of civic competence than citizens in other nations.
  - e. had a stronger sense of civic duty and civic competence than citizens in other nations.
11. A classic study of political culture in five nations found some degree of similarity between citizens of the United States and citizens of
  - a. Germany.
  - b. Great Britain.
  - c. Italy.
  - d. Mexico.
  - e. Sweden.
12. Polls suggest Americans have less trust in government than they once did, but it is important to keep in mind that
  - a. trust tends to increase when the economy is struggling.
  - b. we actually have very little data on the topic.
  - c. polls can rarely accurately measure such attitudes and opinions.
  - d. levels of trust were never very high to begin with.
  - e. confidence in political institutions remains higher than in most places abroad.
13. A 1985 study by Sidney Verba and Gary Orren compared the views of trade union and political party leaders in the United States and
  - a. Germany.
  - b. Great Britain.
  - c. Italy.
  - d. Mexico.
  - e. Sweden.
14. Which statement is *incorrect*?
  - a. In the 1830s, de Tocqueville was amazed at how religious Americans were.
  - b. The average American is more likely to believe in God than the average European.
  - c. Religious revival movements of the 1700s transformed political life in the colonies.
  - d. Today, America is less religious than most European countries.
  - e. Candidates for national office in most contemporary democracies rarely mention religion.
15. Research has found that religious persons are
  - a. more likely to donate money to charity.
  - b. more likely to volunteer time.
  - c. more likely to donate their time to nonreligious organizations.
  - d. more likely to give money to nonreligious organizations.
  - e. all of the above.
16. The unusual degree of concern about religion in the United States was apparent in 2002 when a federal appeals court issued a controversial ruling regarding
  - a. the Pledge of Allegiance.
  - b. the Salvation Army.
  - c. religious paraphernalia in public schools.
  - d. Christmas cards.
  - e. prayer in legislative chambers.

17. The American preoccupation with assertion and maintenance of rights has imbued the daily conduct of U.S. politics with
  - a. irregular sensitivity.
  - b. a willingness to compromise at great costs.
  - c. a lack of concern about the larger issues of politics.
  - d. a kind of adversarial spirit.
  - e. confusion.
18. The colonial distrust of British rule was the byproduct of both experience and
  - a. dire predictions by sociologists.
  - b. the public speeches of European leaders.
  - c. folk music in the Southern colonies.
  - d. writings of popular novelists.
  - e. the religious beliefs of many.
19. While there has been no established religion in the United States, there has certainly been a dominant religious tradition. That tradition can be best described as
  - a. Catholicism.
  - b. Protestantism.
  - c. Protestantism, especially Lutheranism.
  - d. Protestantism, especially Puritanism.
  - e. none of the above.
20. Max Weber explained the rise of \_\_\_\_\_, in part, by what he called the “Protestant ethic.”
  - a. two-party competition
  - b. elitism
  - c. totalitarianism
  - d. democracy
  - e. capitalism
21. Erik Erikson, the psychologist, found considerable difference between the \_\_\_\_\_ of Americans and Europeans.
  - a. marital relations
  - b. social organizations
  - c. religious beliefs
  - d. family characteristics
  - e. pop icons
22. Which of the following statements about class-consciousness in America is *accurate*?
  - a. It has been relatively unimportant.
  - b. It has had a powerful effect upon attitudes.
  - c. It is particularly salient among the unemployed.
  - d. It implies an ideology of class struggle.
  - e. It steers the campaigns of most presidential candidates.
23. The terms “progressive” and “orthodox” were first used in the context of a “culture war” by James Davison, a(n)
  - a. political scientist.
  - b. historian
  - c. anthropologist.
  - d. economist.
  - e. sociologist.

24. According to Davison, a person of “orthodox” beliefs is *not* likely to believe
  - a. morality is as important as self-expression.
  - b. moral rules derive from the commands of God and the laws of nature.
  - c. moral commands and laws are relatively clear.
  - d. moral commands and laws are dependent upon individual preferences.
  - e. moral commands and laws do not generally change.
25. The culture war is basically a conflict over
  - a. economic issues.
  - b. foreign affairs.
  - c. international norms.
  - d. differing religious ideologies.
  - e. private and public morality.
26. Morris Fiorina explains the “culture war” as an artifact of
  - a. deep divisions in American culture on most policy issues.
  - b. the emergence of a politically active middle class.
  - c. polarization of political leaders.
  - d. media emphasis on so-called “red” and “blue” states.
  - e. C and D.
27. The increase in cynicism toward our government has been specifically directed at
  - a. government officials.
  - b. the system of government itself.
  - c. the Constitution.
  - d. the Declaration of Independence.
  - e. capitalism in America.
28. The authors suggest levels of confidence in government in the 1950s may have been
  - a. abnormally high.
  - b. abnormally low.
  - c. inflated as a result of poor polling techniques.
  - d. the byproduct of false responses.
  - e. the result of economic stress and a lack of military power and might.
29. When people feel that they have a say in what the government does, that public officials pay attention to them, and they feel that they understand politics, then they are said to have a sense of political
  - a. trust.
  - b. tolerance.
  - c. efficacy.
  - d. legitimacy.
  - e. reciprocity.
30. Which is a *correct* description of trends in the political efficacy of Americans from the mid-1960s to today?
  - a. Internal efficacy has dramatically increased.
  - b. External efficacy has dramatically increased.
  - c. Internal efficacy and external efficacy have dramatically increased.
  - d. Internal efficacy appears to be in decline while external efficacy has remained the same.
  - e. Internal efficacy appears to be the same while external efficacy appears to be in decline.

31. The less voters trust political institutions and leaders, the more likely they are to support candidates
  - a. who are incumbents.
  - b. who are economically liberal.
  - c. from the non-incumbent major party or a third party.
  - d. who have the highest name recognition.
  - e. with little or no experience in politics.
32. Robert D. Putnam's "civic health index" includes measures for which of the following?
  - a. Membership in civic groups.
  - b. Online "chat."
  - c. Trust in the government and other institutions.
  - d. Trust in other people.
  - e. All of the above.
33. Which of the following statements concerning recent trends in tolerance is most *accurate*?
  - a. Female candidates are less tolerated than they once were.
  - b. Americans are increasingly less tolerant than they were in the 1950s.
  - c. The level of tolerance in America has not changed in the last twenty or thirty years.
  - d. Americans appear to be more tolerant than they were twenty or thirty years ago.
  - e. Americans are less tolerant of Communists than they once were.
34. Judgments about political tolerance should be made with caution because
  - a. Americans rarely have a clear idea of what is meant by the word "tolerance."
  - b. there is actually very little reliable data on the topic.
  - c. there is so very little intolerance in the world.
  - d. no nation is completely tolerant of every kind of political activity.
  - e. one person's intolerance is another person's civic "concern."

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

1. Identify and briefly comment on the five elements of American political culture.
2. What are some things that you have learned in this chapter about political culture in Sweden and Japan?
3. Summarize the findings of the classic study of political culture in the United States and citizens in Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico.
4. Discuss some ways that religion has played an important role in American political culture and continued to do so to this day.
5. Discuss 4-5 of the sources of American political culture.
6. Identify the two sides in the culture war and contrast their beliefs. Also note opposing views that notable political scientists (Fiorina and Abramowitz) take on the culture war.
7. What is political efficacy and what is the difference between internal and external political efficacy? What are recent trends in the United States regarding these aspects of public opinion?
8. What are some explanations for why some highly unpopular groups continue to survive in our culture?

**ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS**

1. o
2. k
3. d
4. j
5. u
6. i
7. c
8. a
9. e
10. t
11. m
12. l
13. v
14. b
15. g
16. s
17. q
18. f
19. n
20. h
21. p
22. r

**ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS**

1. 1960 (74).
2. 1994 (33).
3. 1986, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2004
4. 1964-1965.
5. It is a percentage which has generally been very small (below 5 percent) but was above 10 percent from the late 1950s to the late 1960s.
6. It is a percentage which has always been very small (below 5 percent).
7. 1974-1975
8. 1993-1994.
9. One might argue that it has been improving, based on these measures.



## ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. F He actually singled out our “moral and intellectual characteristics” as the primary factor in understanding our culture.
3. T
4. T
5. T
6. T
7. F They are more willing to tolerate economic inequality than they are political inequality.
8. T
9. T
10. T
11. T
12. T
13. T
14. F Our faith in institutions tends to be much higher than it is in other nations.
15. F Swedes are much more likely to favor equal pay for workers.
16. T
17. T
18. T
19. T
20. F The concern was that Jefferson would sell us out to France.
21. T
22. T
23. T
24. T
25. T
26. F It actually began in the 1950s.
27. T
28. T
29. F It actually increased a bit, before leveling off and decreasing once again.
30. T
31. F Internal political efficacy has remained about the same. It is external political efficacy which has declined considerably.
32. T
33. T

**ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS**

1. b
2. e
3. e
4. d
5. c
6. a
7. c
8. b
9. b
10. e
11. b
12. e
13. e
14. d
15. e
16. a
17. d
18. e
19. d
20. e
21. d
22. a
23. e
24. d
25. e
26. e
27. a
28. a
29. c
30. e
31. c
32. e
33. d
34. e