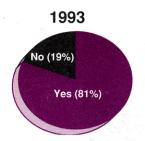
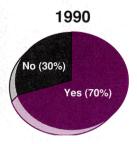
The PTA Story

Reported PTA Participation Up Over Time and Intergenerationally

Question: In the past year, have you (or your husband/wife/partner)...attended a PTA meeting or other special school meeting...?





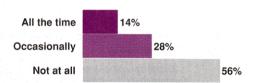
Note: In 1993, asked of parents with children 5-17 living in household; in 1990, asked of parents with any child in household in school. **Source**: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates, June 1-16, 1993 and September 17-November 23, 1990.

1978

Question: Do (did) **you**...participate in PTA...nearly all the time, occasionally, or not at all?



Question: ...Did **your parents**...participate in PTA activities...nearly all the time, occasionally, or not at all?

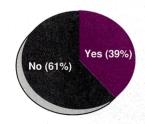


Source: Survey by CBS News, June 26-29, 1978.

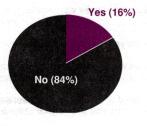
Attendance of School Board Meetings Also Up

1995

Question: During the past school year, that is since last September, which of the following, if any, have you...done...Attended a school board meeting?



Question: Have you even attended a school board meeting?



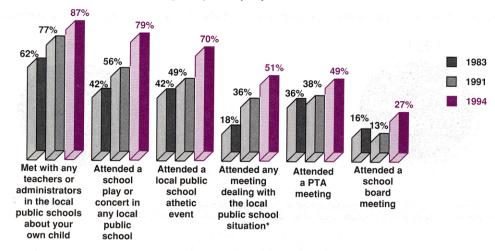
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, February 4-20, 1969.

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for Phi Delta Kappa, May 25-June 15, 1995.

The PTA Story

Phi Delta Kappa Surveys Show Increased Parental Participation in School Activities, 1983-1994

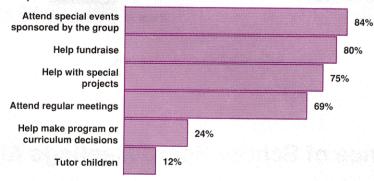
Question: Since last September, which of the following, if any, have you yourself done?



Note: In 1991, this category was worded: "Attended any meeting dealing with the local public schools." Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for Phi Delta Kappa in the years shown. Responses shown for public school parents only.

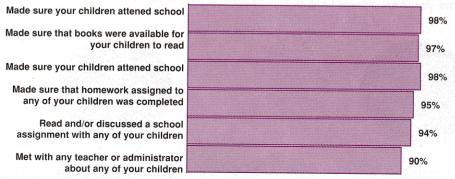
Parental Involvement in School Affairs Very High

Question: Please tell me in which of the following ways you or any other adult in your household is involved with this parent group (PTA, PTO, some other parent group)? Do you or any other adult ...?



Source: Survey by ICR Survey Research Group, December 29, 1989-January 7, 1990. Responses shown for household heads belonging to parent group (51%)

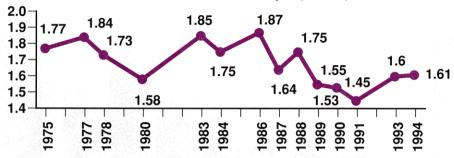
Question: During the past school year, that is since last September, which of the following, if any, have you...done...?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 25-June 15, 1995.

The General Social Survey's Askings of Group Memberships Show No Consistent Change Over the Last Two Decades

Number of Memberships (Mean)



Survey data on membership in voluntary associations hardly present a constant story of decline. Consider the two figures presented here. The above graph maps fluctuation, but shows minimal movement over the two decades. A second cut into the NORC data (below) also yields a picture of overall stability. A methodological wrangle over the validity of these numbers merits attention. In "Survey Research and Membership in Voluntary Associations," Frank Baumgartner and Jack Walker challenge assertions that memberships have stagnated in recent times. They contend, to the contrary, that the NORC surveys have underestimated activity. Survey research, according to their study, has masked the growth of the public's involvement in voluntary associations. Citing multiple monographic studies as "evidence of growth of membership of interest groups in the years since World War II" (909), they ask why GSS surveys failed to capture such growth.

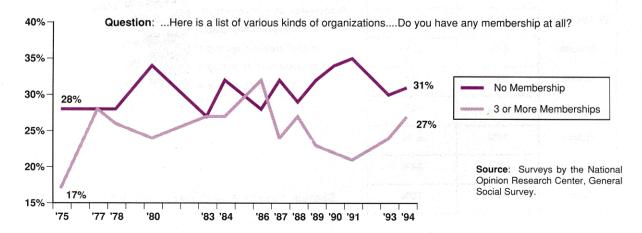
The otherwise sensible pursuit of time series data, they believe, limited the information gathered. Question wording is their culprit. Maintaining the trendable categories on the Standard Question may have come at the cost of capturing changes in types of new groups, the growth of multiple memberships, and changes in fundraising strategies that have affected how people affiliate with groups. Presenting their own results from a revised question on group affiliations, Baumgartner and Walker "find that a much larger proportion of the American public participates in the system of voluntary associations than we were led to believe by earlier studies" (924). NORC's Tom Smith, in his response, defends the Standard Question, challenging the two authors' account on a number of methodological grounds, and taking issue with their contention that memberships have grown in the first place. Still, Baumgartner and Walker's work prods us to consider the possibility that the NORC question is not capturing group membership as well as it might.

Endnotes

¹Frank R. Baumgartner and Jack L. Walker, "Survey Research and Membership in Voluntary Associations". American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 32, Nov. 1988, pp. 908-28.

—Catherine P. Flavin—

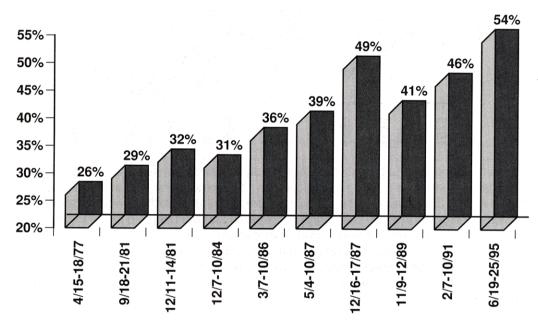
²Tom Smith, "Trends in Voluntary Group Membership: Comments on Baumgartner and Walker." American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 34, No. 3, Aug. 1990, pp. 646-61.



Group Memberships

Gallup and PSRA Surveys Show A Large Increase in Social Service Activities Over the Past Two Decades

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



Note: Question varies slightly in each asking.

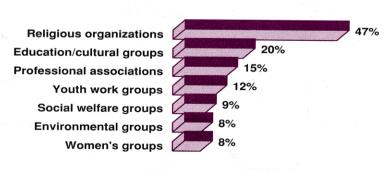
Source: Surveys in 1977-1989, by the Gallup Organization; Surveys in 1991 and 1995, by Princeton Survey Research Associates.

Americans Still Stand Out As "Joiners"

| | Percent belonging to at least 1 group | Percent belonging to no groups |
|-------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| U.S. | 82% | 18% |
| Netherlands | 85% | 15% |
| W. Germany | 67% | 33% |
| Canada | 65% | 35% |
| Britain | 54% | 46% |
| Italy | 41% | 59% |
| France | 39% | 61% |
| Mexico | 36% | 64% |
| Spain | 30% | 70% |

Percentage Claiming Membership, By Type of Association (U.S. only)

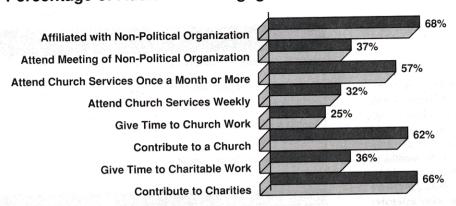
Question: ...Which, if any [of these groups], do you belong to?



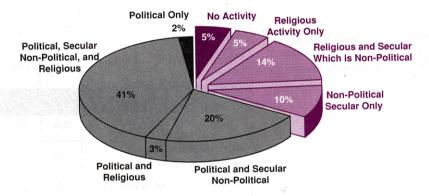
Source: World Values Surveys, 1990-1993.

The Verba, et al Participation Surveys Show Broad Civic Engagement

Percentage of Adult Public Engaged in Each of the Following Activities:



For Many, Participation Spreads Across Religious, Civic, and Political Life



Sectors with the Heaviest Participation

| | All Respondents |
|---|--------------------|
| Percentage affiliated with at least one association | 79% |
| Percentage affiliated with | |
| a charitable, social service assoc. | 44% |
| an educational assoc. | 25% |
| a business, professional assoc. | 23% |
| a hobby, sports, leisure assoc. | 21% |
| a service, fraternal assoc. | 18% |

Among Group Members, Type of Participation, by Group

| Type of group | Those who attend meetings | Those who give money, but don't attend meetings |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Charitable, social service assoc. | 14% | 79% |
| Educational assoc. | 50% | 34% |
| Business, professional assoc. | 66% | 13% |
| Hobby, sports, leisure assoc. | 52% | 17% |
| Service, fraternal assoc. | 50% | 35% |

Note: Listed here are levels of participation for the five sectors of organizational activity that have the highest. The data on rates of participation in othe other 15 sectors see *Voice and Equality*, pp. 58-65, especially Table 3.5, p. 63. See note, p. 7 for a full citation of the Verba, et al research.

Group Memberships

Party/Candidate Related Participation Down, 1967-1987; Most Other Political Participation Up

Note: The "Citizen Participation Survey" was conducted in 1987 under the direction of Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, with field work done by the public opinion laboratory of Northern Illinois University and by the National Opinion Research Center during the last six months of 1989. Approximately 15,000 persons were interviewed by telephone, and a subset of about 2,500 were re-interviewed in person using a far more extensive questionnaire. The 1967 data shown here are from a survey done for and reported in

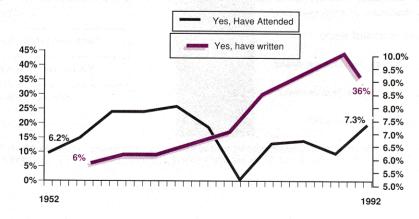
Source: The work is reported on by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady in *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995)*, pp. 76, 83.

| | 1967 | 1987 | Percentage point change | Proportional change |
|---|------|---------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Contacting Public Officials | | file of | | |
| Contact local official: issue-based | 14% | 24% | 10 | 71 |
| Contact state or national official; issue-based | 11% | 22% | 11 | 100 |
| Contact local official: particularized | 7% | 10% | 3 | 43 |
| Contact state or national official: particularized | 6% | 7% | 1 | 17 |
| Community Problem-Solving | | | | |
| Work with others on local problem | 30% | 34% | 4 | 13 |
| Active membership in community problem-solving organization | 31% | 34% | 3 | 10 |
| Form group to help solve local problem | 14% | 17% | 3 | 21 |
| Voting and Campaign Activity | | | | |
| Persuade others how to vote | 28% | 32% | 4 | 14 |
| Actively work for party or candidate | 26% | 27% | 1 | 4 |
| Attend political meeting or rally | 19% | 19% | 0 | 0 |
| Contribute money to party or candidate | 13% | 23% | 10 | 77 |
| Member of political club | 8% | 4% | -4 | -50 |
| Regular voting in presidential elections | 66% | 58% | -8 | -12 |
| Always vote in local elections | 47% | 35% | -12 | -26 |

People Writing Congress: Way Up; Campaign Events: Proportions Constant Over Four Decades

Questions: Have you ever written or wired your congressman or senator in Washington?; Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate...?

Source: "Written": Surveys by the Gallup Organization; and "Attended": National Election Studies, University of Michigan.

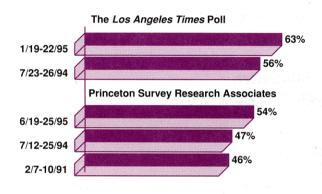


Volunteering is High and Shows No Decline

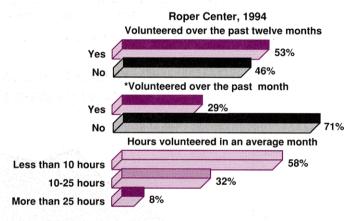
The Independent Sector **Survey Findings**

| Volunteer Indicator | 1993 | 1991 | 1989 | 1987 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Civilian noninstitutional population, 18 yrs. old or older (in millions) | 187 | 184 | 181 | 177 |
| Volunteers as percentage of population | 48% | 51% | 54% | 45% |
| Volunteers (in millions) | 89 | 94 | 98 | 80 |
| Avg. weekly hours per volunteer | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Avg. annual hours per volunteer | 218 | 218 | 208 | 244 |
| Annual hours volunteered (in millions) | 19,481 | 20,498 | 20,476 | 19,552 |

Source: Giving and Volunteering in the U.S.: Findings From a National Survey (Independent Sector, 1994).



Questions: (L. A. Times) In the last year or so, have you done any volunteer work for any church, charity or community group?... (PSRA, 1995) ...[Do]...you regularly attend or participate in...a volunteer group involved in charity or community service? (PSRA, 1994) ... Do you...do volunteer work for a charity or other non-profit organization? (PSRA, 1991) Do you, yourself, happen to be involved in any charity or social service activities, such as helping the poor, the sick or the elderly?

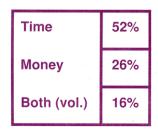


Questions:...Have you volunteered over the past twelve months?...What about in the past month? Have you done any volunteer work or service?...Approximately how many hours, in an average month, do you spending volunteering?...

Note: Asked of those who have volunteered in the last twelve months (53%) Source: Survey by the Roper Center for the Reader's Digest, August 22-29, 1994.

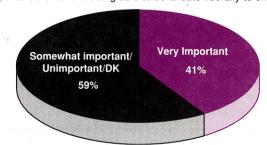
Giving, Especially of One's Time, Matters

Questions: Which (gives/would give) you a greater feeling of satisfaction: giving time to a charity or giving money?



Source: Survey by Gordon S. Black Corporation for USA Today, October 13-14, 1990.

Question: ...People have different ideas about what the term 'The American Dream' means to them personally. I'm going to read you a list. For each...please tell me whether it is a very important element of your American Dream, a somewhat important element, or a relatively unimportant element?...Being able to contribute liberally to charity.

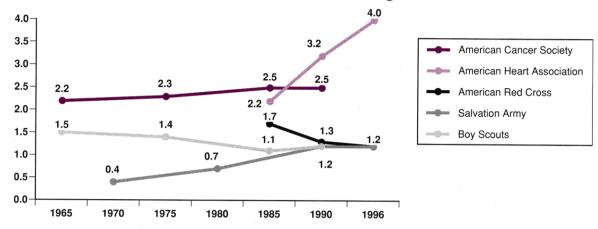


Source: Survey by the Roper Organization, May 1992.

Volunteering

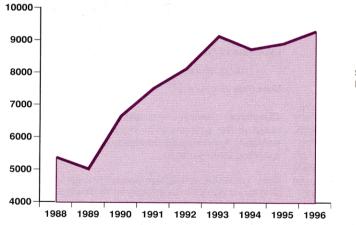
Many Organizations, Including Some Like Girl Scouts Seen Troubled By the Change in Women's Labor Force Participation, Show Volunteering Remaining High

Number of Volunteers Serving



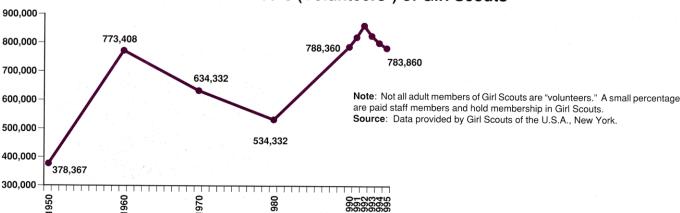
Source: For 1965-1990, The American Enterprise Magazine, September/October 1991, p. 101; for 1996, data provided by the national headquarters of each organization.

Prison Fellowship Volunteers (Certified Volunteers Program Graduates)



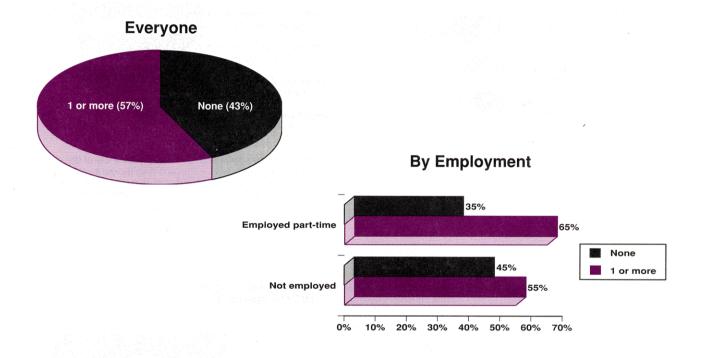
Source: Data provided by the Prison Fellowship Ministries office.

Adult Members (Volunteers*) of Girl Scouts



America's Teens: A Lot More Than "Couch Potatoes"

Question: [...By volunteer activity I mean not just belonging to a service organization, but actually working in some way to help others for no monetary pay. In which, if any, of the areas listed...have you done some volunteer work in the past twelve months]...Did you work for only one organization or more than one?



Question: ...[T]ell me if any of the things on this list ever happened to you when you were young?...

| | Yes | No |
|---|-----|-----|
| You belonged to a youth group or something similar. | 65% | 31% |
| By those employed part-time | 73% | 24% |
| By those not employed | 63% | 33% |
| 2. You did some kind of volunteer work. | 58% | 38% |
| By those employed part-time | 68% | 30% |
| By those not employed | 54% | 41% |
| You went door to door to raise money for a cause or organization. | 50% | 45% |
| By those employed part-time | 54% | 41% |
| By those not employed | 48% | 46% |

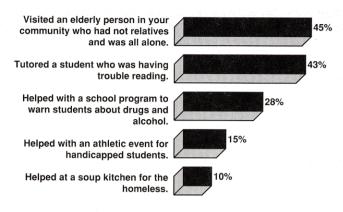
Note: Three items out of a total of thirteen were chosen for illustrative purposes here.

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Independent Sector, 1992. The survey has an unusually large (1,404) sample of young people ages 12-17.

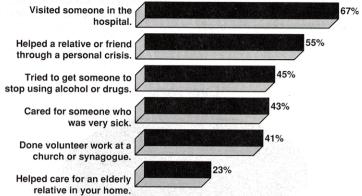
Volunteering

Teen Volunteering is High

Question: Have you actually done this?



Question: ...[P]lease tell me if you have done this within the past twelve

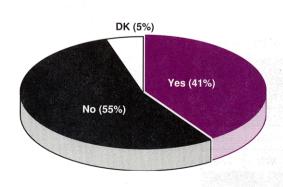


Note: Five items out of a total of twelve were chosen for illustrative purposes here.

Note: Shown here are the top five choices, out of a total of fifteen. We chose not to include "Did unpaid work"-71% and "Experienced a personal crisis, such as being seriously ill, or losing a friend or loved one"-41% in the top five because of vagueness, in the first instance, and lack of relativity to our purposes, in the second.

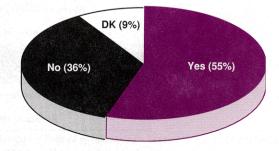
Question: At present, do either one of your parents do any kind of volunteer work in the community?...

Question: Did you, yourself, contribute money to any charity or a charitable organization in 1991, including a church or synagogue?



| | Yes | No |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Everyone | 50% | 48% |
| By Gender | | |
| Male | 45% | 53% |
| Female | 55% | 44% |
| Those with part- time employment | 55% | 44% |
| Those not employed | 48% | 50% |

Question: Does your school encourage community service?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Independent Sector, 1992. The survey has an unusually large (1,404) sample of young people ages 12-17.

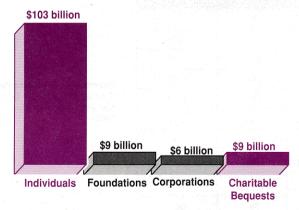
Charitable Giving has Continued to Rise Sharply and Steadily

| | Total Giving (in billions/current dollars) | Per Capita (current dollars) | Total giving (in constant 1993 dollars) | Per Capita (constant 1993 dollars) |
|------|--|---------------------------------|---|--|
| 1930 | \$1.2 | \$10 | \$10.4 | \$88 |
| 1940 | \$1.4 | \$11 | \$14.4 | \$112 |
| 1950 | \$4.5 | \$30 | \$27.0 | \$179 |
| 1960 | \$10.4 | \$58 | \$50.7 | \$280 |
| 1970 | \$19.2 | \$94 | \$71.4 | \$349 |
| 1980 | \$48.6 | \$213 | \$85.5 | \$376 |
| 1990 | \$111.9 | \$448 | \$124.2 | \$496 |
| 1995 | \$144.0 | \$547 | \$136.8 | \$522 |

Source: 1930-1993: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995-96, p. 396; idem, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, p. 359. 1995: National Report of the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel/Trust for Philanthropy. Constant dollar figures based on calculations from CPI data provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Money Comes Mostly From Individuals, Not Institutions, 1993

Bars show the portion of total giving (\$126 billion) from each source

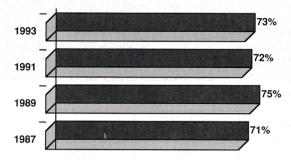


Note: These estimates are based on a number of different sources of data, including Internal Revenue Service reports on individual charitable deductions, household surveys by the Independent Sector, and, for foundations, compilations made by the Foundation Center.

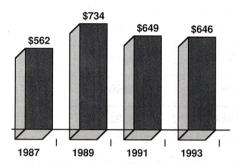
Philanthropic Nation

About Three-Quarters of Americans Give Each Year

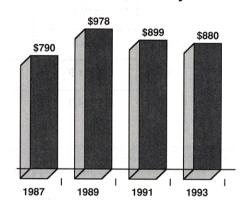
Percent of All Households Contributing By Year



Average Contribution, All Households



Average Contribution, Contributing Households Only



Where the Giving Goes: Findings of the Independent Sector Surveys

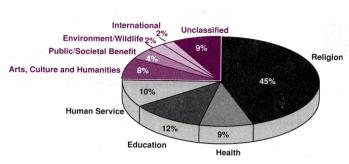
| Type of Charity | Percentage of Total Respondents | Average Contribution per Contributing Household |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Religious Organizations | 49% | \$817 |
| Human Services | 27% | \$208 |
| Health | 26% | \$139 |
| Youth Development | 18% | \$106 |
| Education | 18% | \$424 |
| Environment | 12% | \$89 |
| Public/Societal Benefit | 11% | \$160 |
| Arts, Culture, and Humanities | 8% | \$139 |
| Private/Community | 5% | \$144 |
| Other | 5% | \$81 |
| Recreation-Adults | 5% | \$193 |
| International, Foreign | 3% | * |

Source: The data presented here are taken from *Giving & Volunteering in the United States: Findings from a National Survey* (Washington, DC: Independent Sector, 1994).

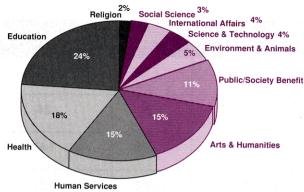
Where the Giving Goes: Aggregate Data

All Charitable Giving

Foundation Giving



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995-96, p. 393.



Source: Foundation Giving, 1995. Based on a sample of 1,020 larger foundations.

Who Gives: Except For Very Low Income Persons, Rates of Giving Are High and Steady Across Income Group Lines

| Income | | | dy ACI | USS |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----|
| 199 | 3 | March 19 | 994 | |
| Percentage of all respondents | Average Contribution | Previous 12 Months | Previous Month | |

| | Percentage of all respondents | Average Contribution | Previous 12 Months | Previous Month |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Everyone | 73% | \$880 | 48% | 39% |
| By Age | | | | |
| 18-24 | 58% | \$514 | 45% | 33% |
| 25-34 | 66% | \$520 | 46% | 38% |
| 35-44 | 80% | \$978 | 55% | 47% |
| 45-54 | 81% | \$1241 | 54% | 43% |
| 55-64 | 82% | \$1037 | 47% | 39% |
| 65-74 | 77% | \$1135 | 43% | 36% |
| 75+ | 71% | \$666 | 36% | 26% |
| By Income | | | | |
| Under \$10,000 | 48% | \$207 | 34% | 25% |
| \$10,000-\$19,999 | 67% | \$332 | 37% | 28% |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 68% | \$668 | 53% | 41% |
| \$30,000-\$39,999 | 81% | \$715 | 56% | 52% |
| \$40,000-\$49,999 | 84% | \$572 | 55% | 47% |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 94% | \$1042 | 61% | 54% |
| \$75,000-\$99,999 | 87% | \$1720 | 58% | 45% |
| \$100,000+ | 92% | \$3213 | 68% | 53% |

Source: Giving & Volunteering in the U.S.: Findings From a National Survey (Independent Sector, 1994), p. 39, 41.

Philanthropic Nation

Continued Growth of Foundations and Nonprofits

Foundation Births by Decade*

| Decade Created | Number | Annual Average |
|-----------------------|--------|----------------|
| 1980-1988 | 1,620 | 180 |
| 1970-1979 | 839 | 84 |
| 1960-1969 | 1,466 | 147 |
| 1950-1959 | 1,808 | 181 |
| 1940-1949 | 759 | 76 |
| 1930-1939 | 205 | 21 |
| 1920-1929 | 164 | 16 |

Note: The numbers are for foundations with \$1 million or more in assets or making grants of \$100,000 or more in 1989.

Source: The Nonprofit Almanac 1992-1993, pp. 24, 92.

The Ten Largest Foundations, Ranked by Assets

| Name | Assets (in billions) |
|---|----------------------|
| The Ford Foundation | \$6.6 |
| W.K. Kellogg Foundation | \$6.0 |
| J. Paul Getty Trust | \$6.0 |
| The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation | \$3.8 |
| The Pew Charitable Trusts | \$3.3 |
| Lilly Endowment, Inc. | \$3.1 |
| John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation | \$2.9 |
| The Rockefeller Foundation | \$2.4 |
| The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation | \$2.2 |
| Robert W. Woodruff Foundation, Inc. | \$1.7 |
| Total Assets | \$38.0 |
| Total assets of top 100 foundations | \$87.4 |

Associational America: Active*
Nonprofit Organizations

| Type of Tax-Exempt Organization | Active, 1987 | Active, 1990 6,278 | |
|---|--------------|-----------------------|--|
| Title-Holding Companies | 5,977 | | |
| Religious, Charitable, etc.(a) | 422,103 | 489,882 | |
| Social Welfare | 138,485 | 142,473 | |
| Labor, Agricultural Organizations | 75,238 | 71,653 | |
| Business Leagues | 59,981 | 65,896 | |
| Social and Recreational Clubs | 60,146 | 62,723 | |
| Fraternal Beneficiary Societies | 98,979 | 100,321 | |
| Voluntary Employees' Beneficiary Societies | 10,927 | 14,210 | |
| Domestic Fraternal Beneficiary Societies | 17,813 | 18,350 | |
| Benevolent Life Insurance Associations | 5,572 | 5,873 | |
| Cemetery Companies | 7,942 | 8,565 | |
| Credit Unions | 6,652 | 6,352 | |
| War Veterans' Organizations | 24,749 | 27,460 | |
| Farmers' Cooperatives | 2,405 | 2,372 | |
| All Others Combined | 2,136 | 2,240 | |
| All Tax-Exempts | 939,105 | 1,024,648 | |

Note: Number of active organizations on IRS's master file of the tax-exempt. **Source**: The *Nonprofit Almanac* 1992-1993, pp. 24, 92.

Source: The Foundation Directory, 1996 edition, The Foundation Center.

Overall, The Churching of America has Continued...

Even in a country where the forms of civic participation abound, some groups are constantly losing ground, as new groups and activities appear. Thus the social and fraternal organizations of one era are frequently supplanted by new ones in the next era. Elks and the K of C have declined in contemporary America, for example, while groups such as the Sierra Club have assumed a host of social functions along with their environmental objectives (see pp. 27-30).

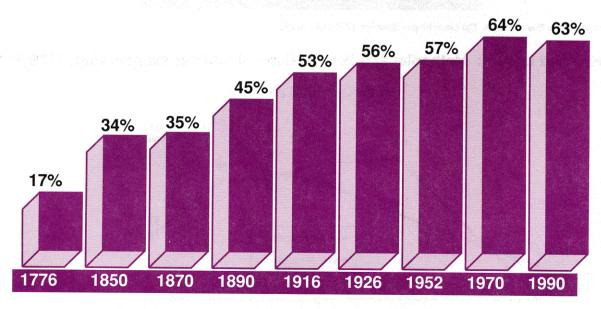
This picture of the group scene ever in flux is certainly borne out in the case of religious groups. Overall, as Roger Finke and Rodney Stark have demonstrated, historic American experience has seen large increases in the rates of religious adherence, from the time of the Revolution on into the first quarter of our own century. Since then, the proportion of Americans "churched" has remained essentially constant. But within this general vitality of religious institutions, some denominations have lost membership dramatically while others have made huge gains. The religious marketplace is competitive and enormously dynamic.

-ECL

Rates of Religious Adherence, 1776-1990

"This pattern can truly be called the churching of America. On the eve of the Revolution only about 17% of Americans were churched. By the start of the Civil War this proportion had risen dramatically, to 37%. The immense dislocations of the war caused a serious decline in adherence in the South, which is reflected in the overall decline to 35% in the 1870 census. The rate then began to rise once more, and by 1906 slightly more than half of the U.S. population was churched. Adherence rates reached 56% by 1926. Since then the rate has been rather stable although inching upwards...."

—Finke and Stark—



Source: Data based on calculations by Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), p. 16, Fig. 1.2; 1952-1990: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U.S., Colonial times to 1970*, p. 391; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1994-95, p. 70.

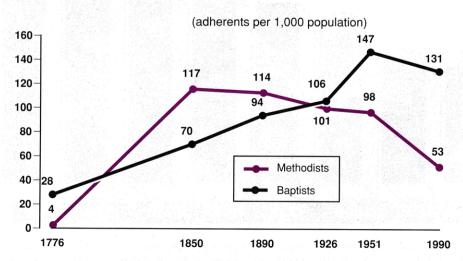
... Yet, Individual Denominations Show Striking Gains and **Striking Losses Historically**

Market Shares of Mainline, Evangelicals, and Catholics per 1,000 Church Members, 1940-1990

| Denomination | 1940 | 1960 | 1990 | Percentage loss or gain |
|--|-------|-------|-------|----------------------------|
| Mainline | | | | |
| United Methodists | 124.7 | 93.0 | 56.9 | -54% |
| Presbyterian, USA | 41.7 | 36.4 | 24.2 | -42% |
| Episcopal | 30.9 | 28.6 | 15.6 | -50% |
| Christian (Disciples) | 25.7 | 15.7 | 6.6 | -74% |
| United Church of Christ (Congregationalists) | 26.5 | 19.6 | 10.2 | -62% |
| Evangelicals | | | 2.9 | |
| South Baptists | 76.7 | 85.0 | 96.1 | 25% |
| Assemblies of God | 3.1 | 4.4 | 13.9 | 348% |
| Church of the Nazarene | 2.6 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 42% |
| Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.) | 1.0 | 1.5 | 4.0 | 300% |
| Roman Catholics | 330.0 | 367.9 | 374.4 | 14% |

Source: Roger Finke & Rodney Stark, The Churching of America, 1776-1990, p. 248.

Winners and Losers: Methodist and Baptist Denominational membership, 1776-1990



Source: Roger Finke & Rodney Stark, The Churching of America, 1776-1990, p.146.