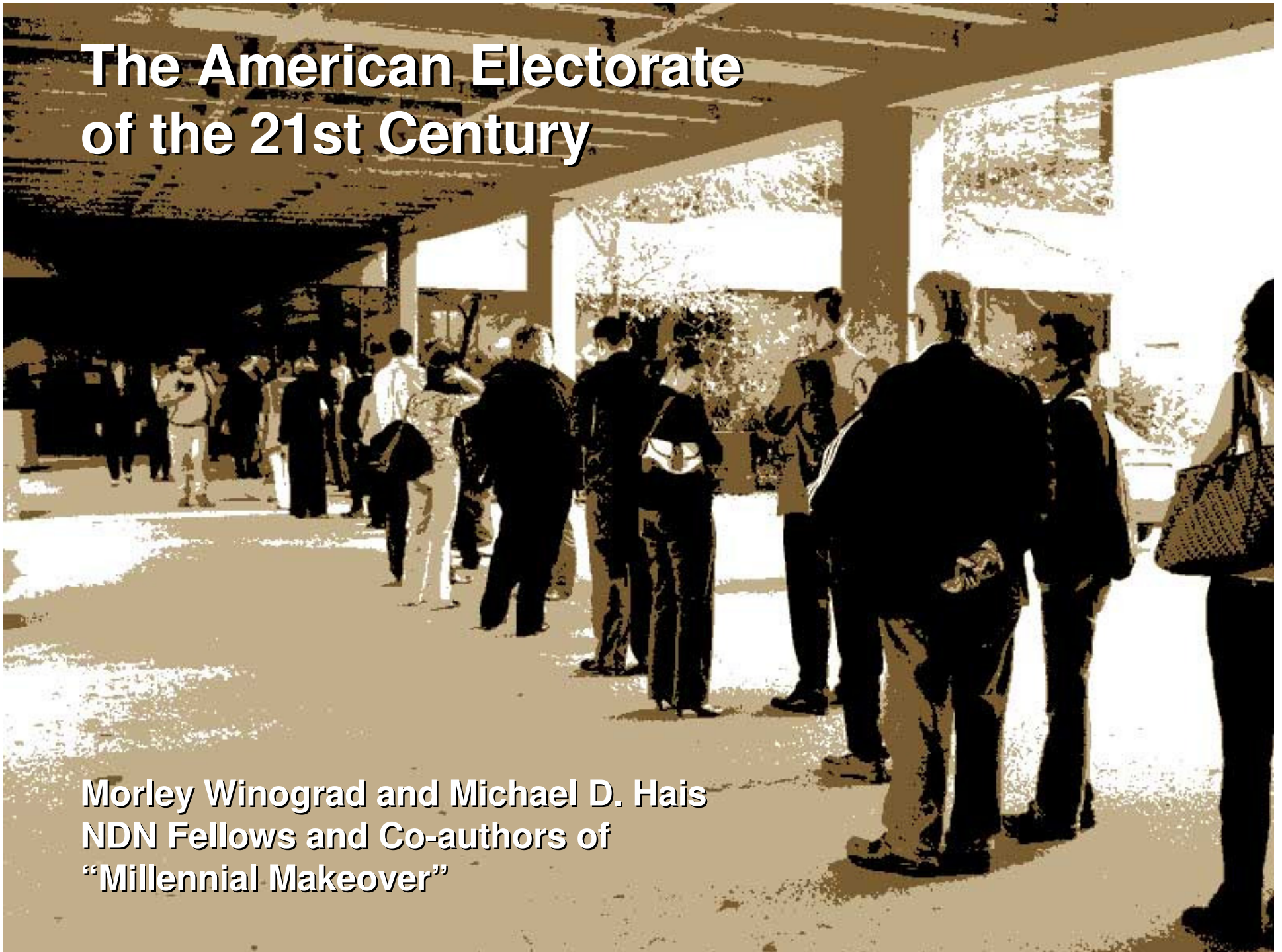


# The American Electorate of the 21st Century

Morley Winograd and Michael D. Hais  
NDN Fellows and Co-authors of  
“Millennial Makeover”





# New American Demographics



# America Is a Dynamic and Changing Nation

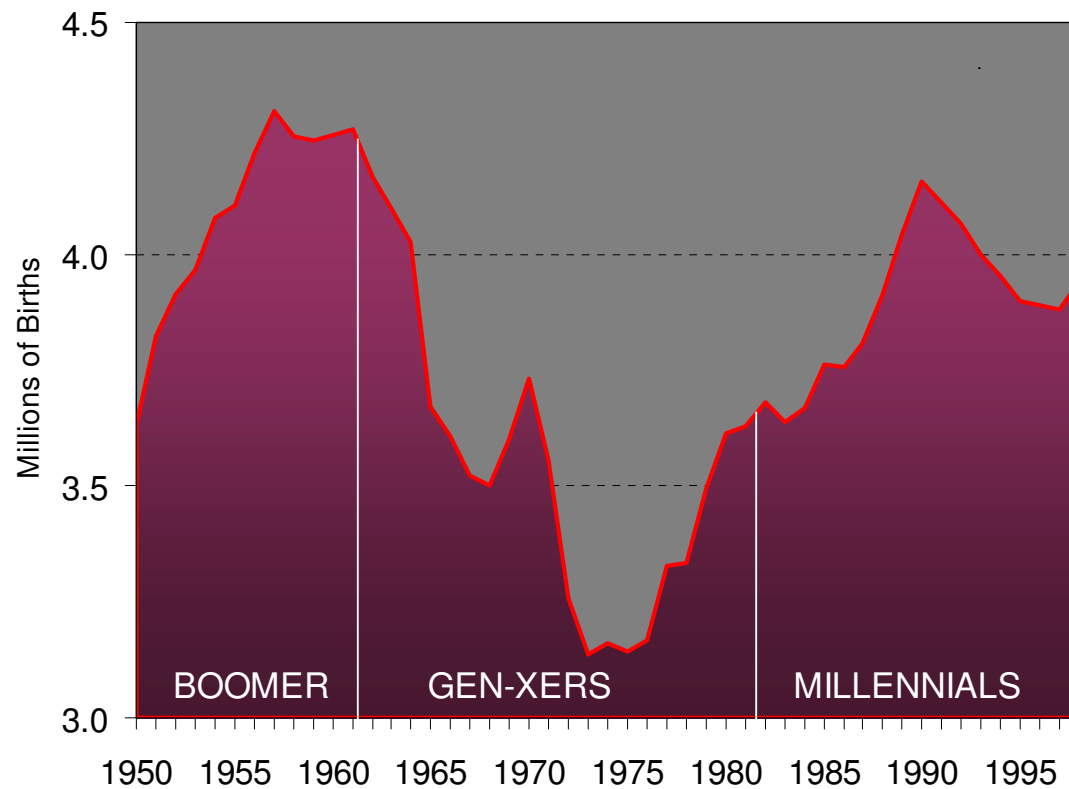
## The New America:

- Is about to be shaped by the Millennial Generation, the largest and most diverse generation in U.S. history
- Is more ethnically diverse
- Is more Southern and Western
- Is better educated
- Has a smaller manual labor force, especially among white population



There are now about 17 million more Millennials alive than Baby Boomers and 27 million more Millennials as there are members of Generation X.

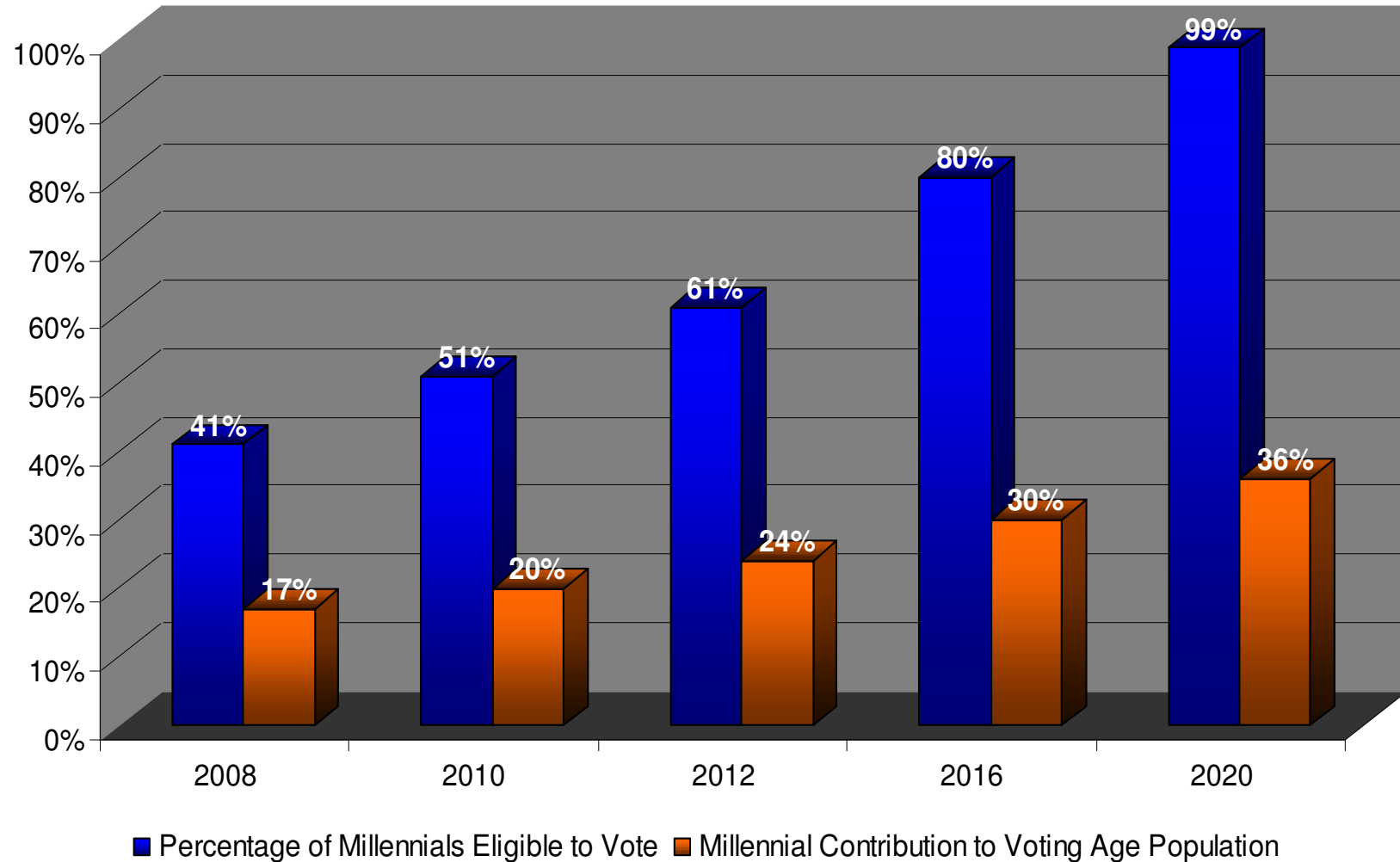
Total U.S. Births, in Millions, 1950 to 1998



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (2000)

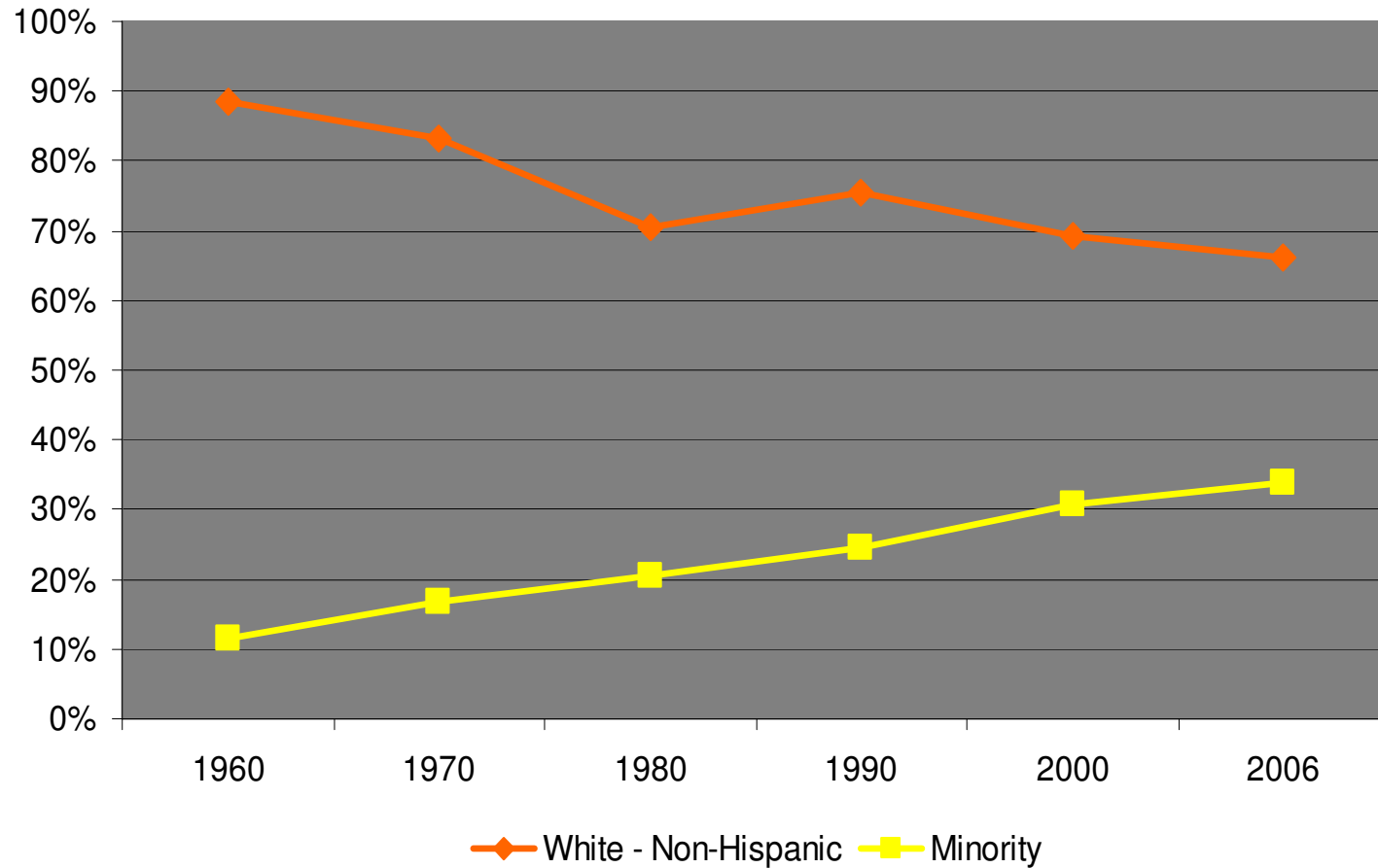


# Millennials Will Increasingly Dominate the Electorate Over the Next Decade



# The Rise of a Multi-racial America

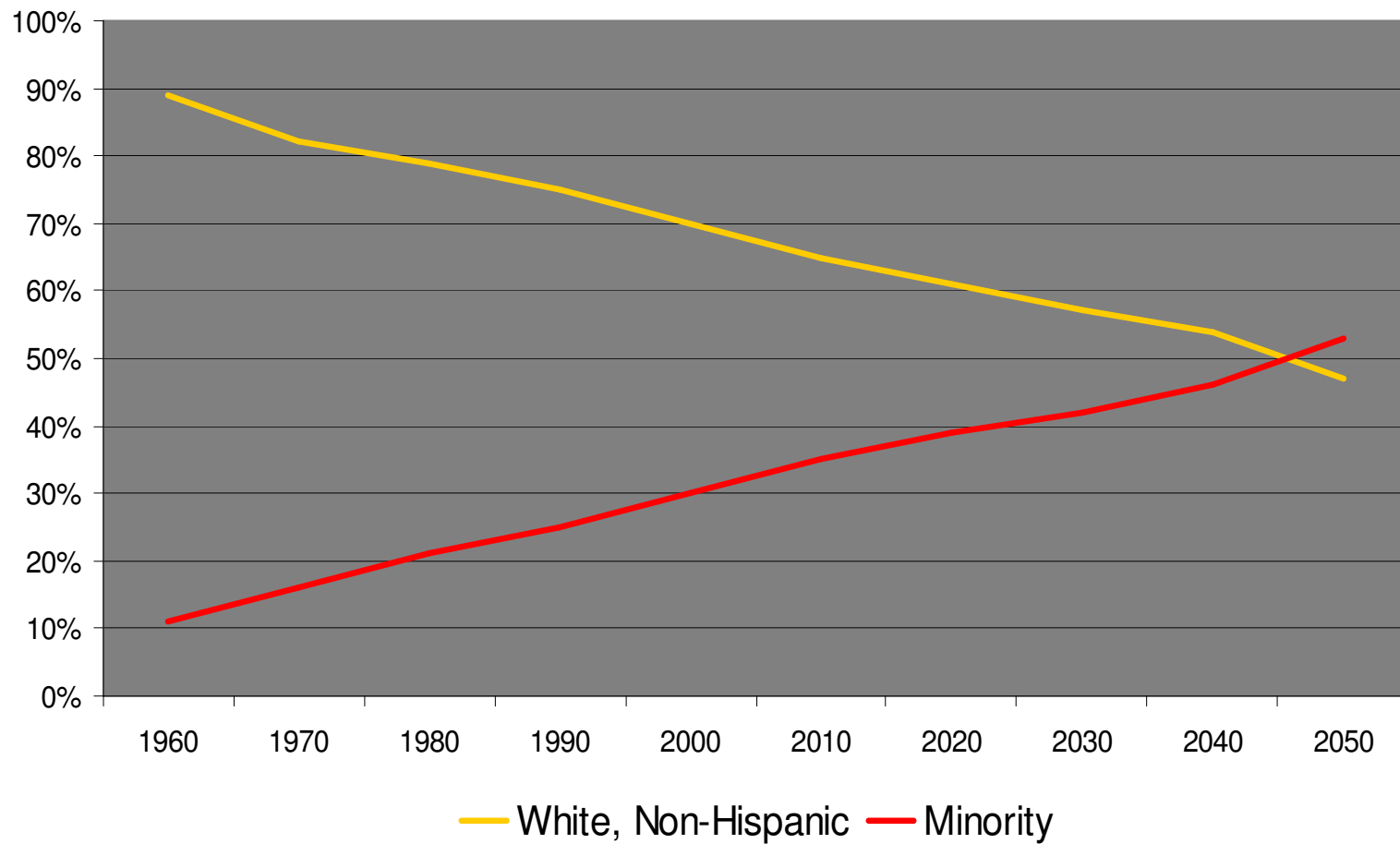
Percentage of the U.S. Population that is White drops by 25%



Source: US Census Bureau

# On Track to Becoming Majority Minority

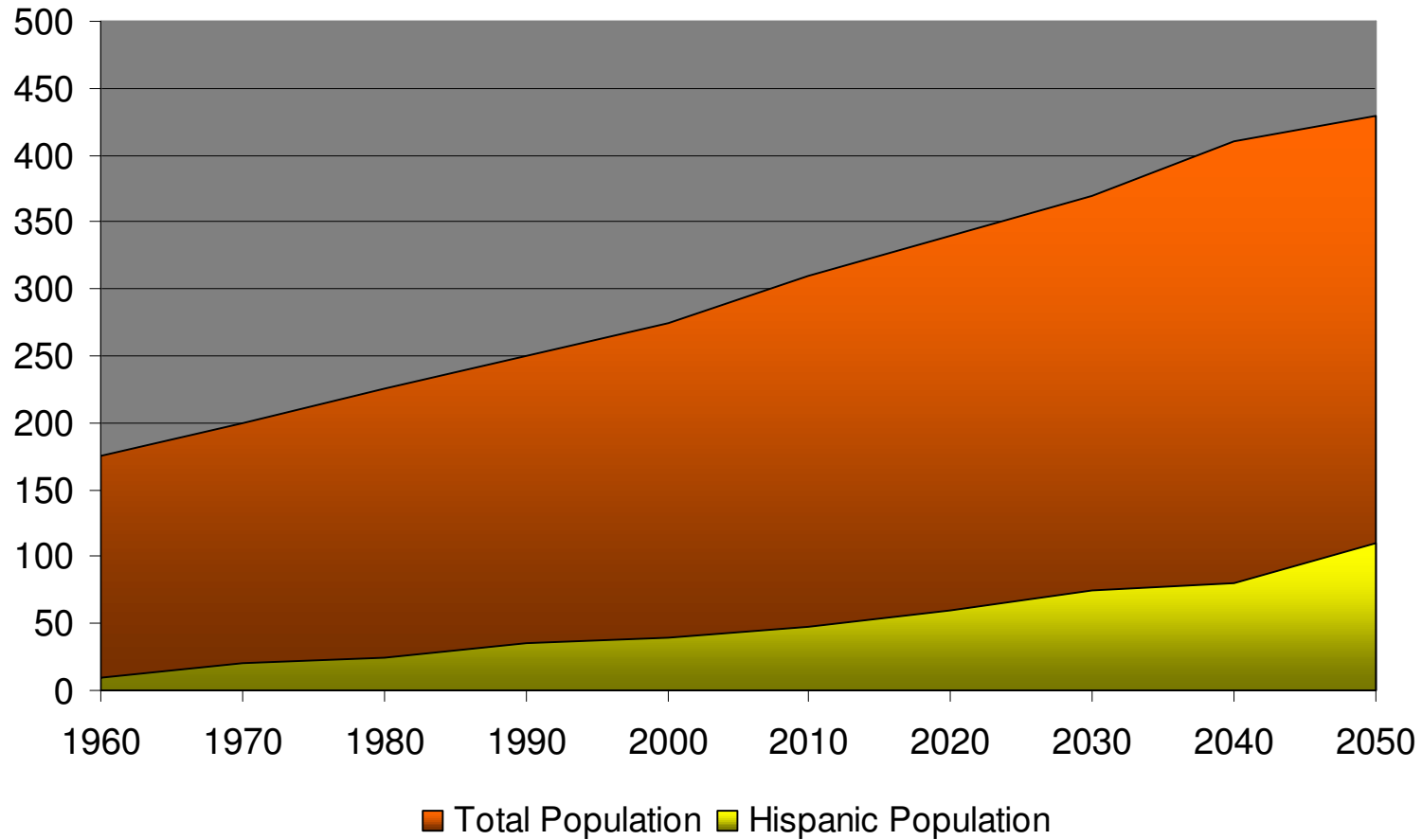
The U.S. Will be 47% White by 2050



Source: U.S. Census, March, 2004; Pew Research Center, 2/11/08

# Hispanic Population Boom

By 2050, Hispanics will be more than 1/4 of the US population

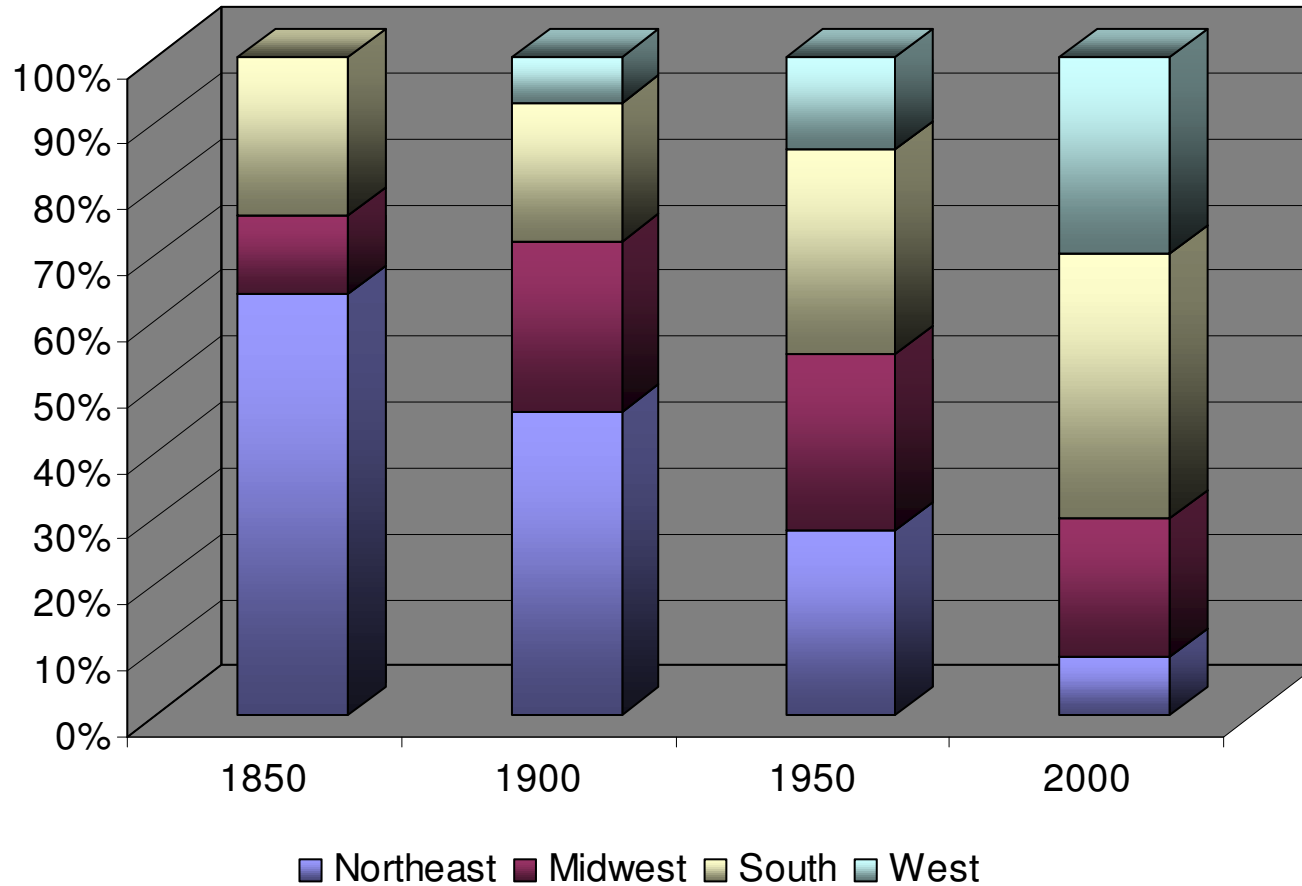


Source: US Census Bureau and Pew Hispanic Center, 2/11/08



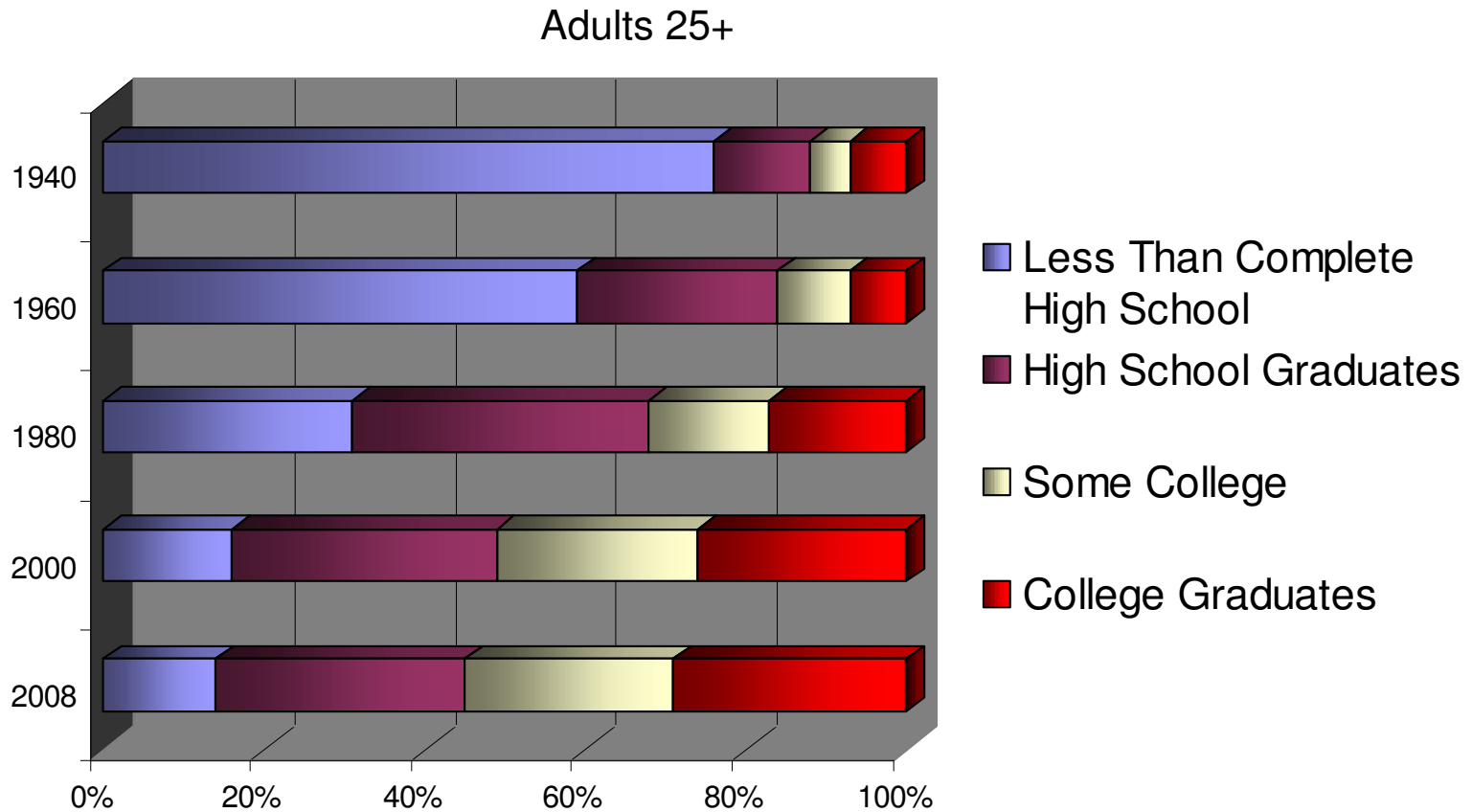
# Americans Moving South and West

100 Largest Cities Shift from Northeast to South and West



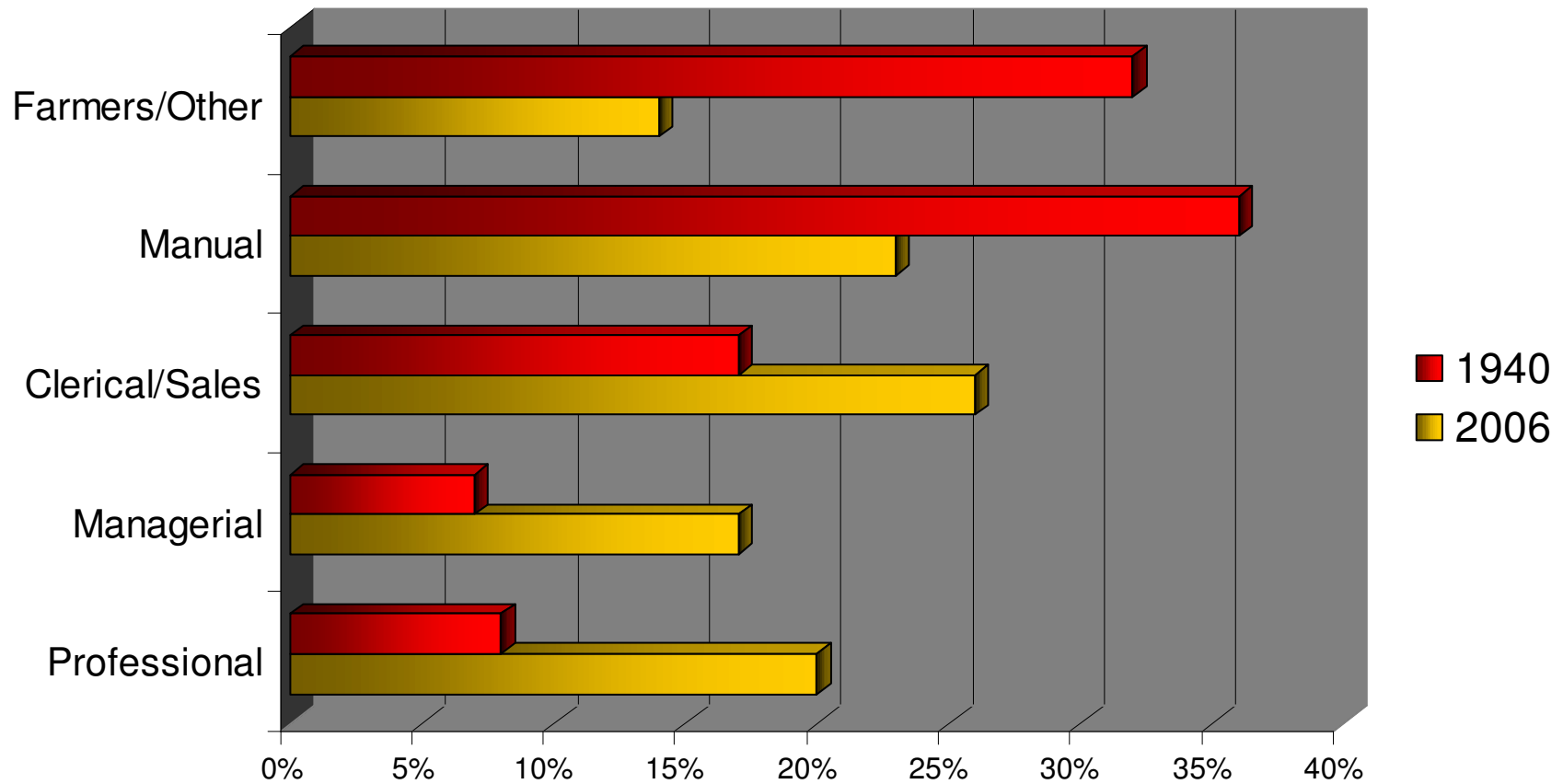
Source: Census.gov

# The Dream of Mass Education is a Reality in 21<sup>st</sup> Century America



Source: US Census Bureau

# The Labor Force Transformed



Source: US Census Bureau

## FDR's Dominant Voter Coalition

- Southern Whites
- White workers
- Central, Eastern, and Southern European immigrants and their children
- African-Americans in America's big cities





# The Democratic New Deal Coalition Dominated American Politics in the Mid-20th Century

- Won the presidency in 7 of 9 elections, 1932-1964
- Controlled Congress in 16 of 18 Congresses, 1932-1966
- Transformed economic policy from laissez-faire to governmental activism
- Transformed foreign policy from isolationism to interventionism
- Moved America from segregation toward racial equality



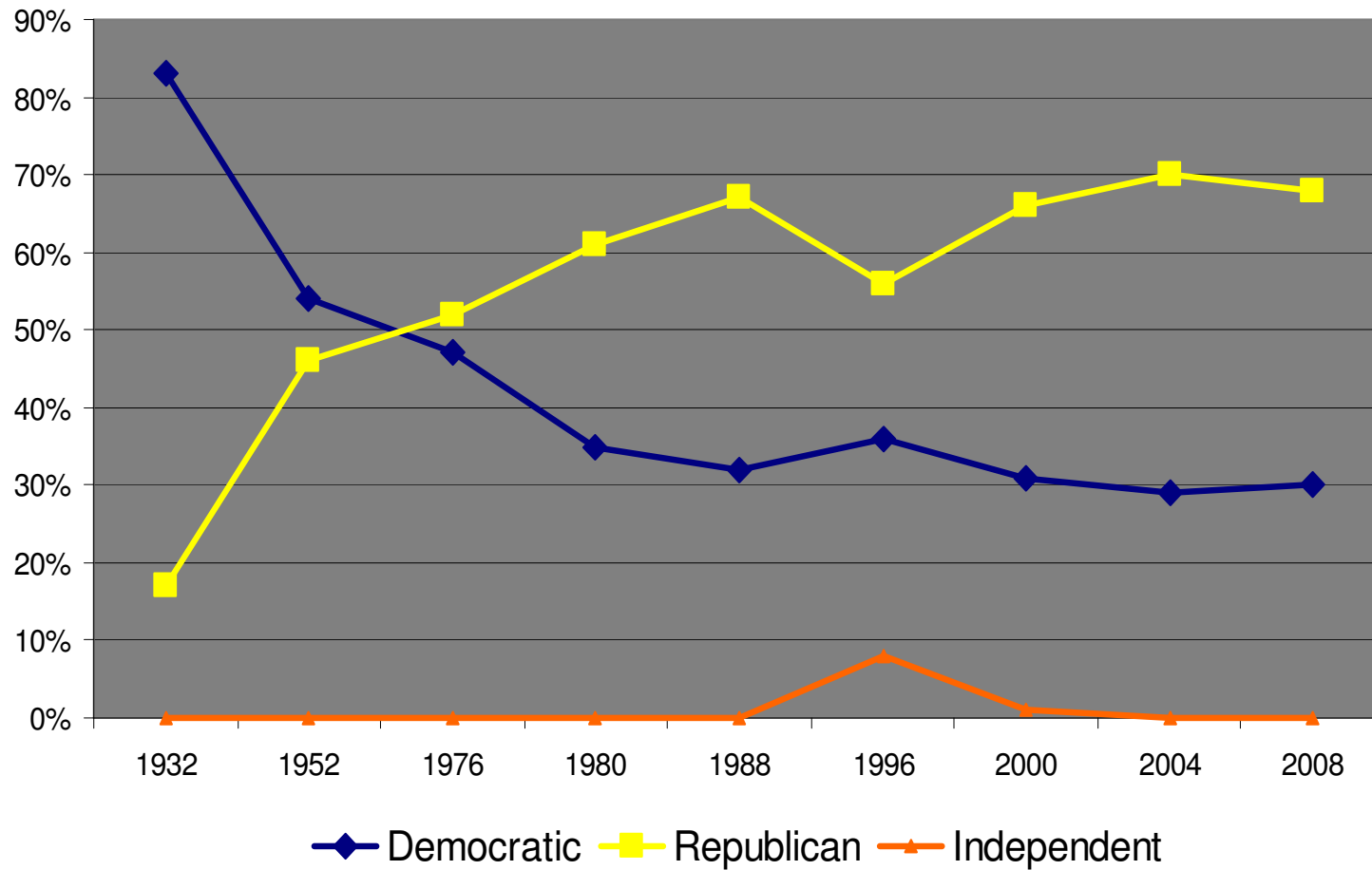


## Nixon's Republican Southern Strategy Cracks the New Deal Coalition

- Won the presidency in 7 of 10 elections, 1968-2004
- Controlled Congress consistently from 1995-2007
- Halted or rolled back New Deal and Great Society economic programs
- Campaigned on divisive social and racial issues

# The White South Leaves the Democratic Coalition

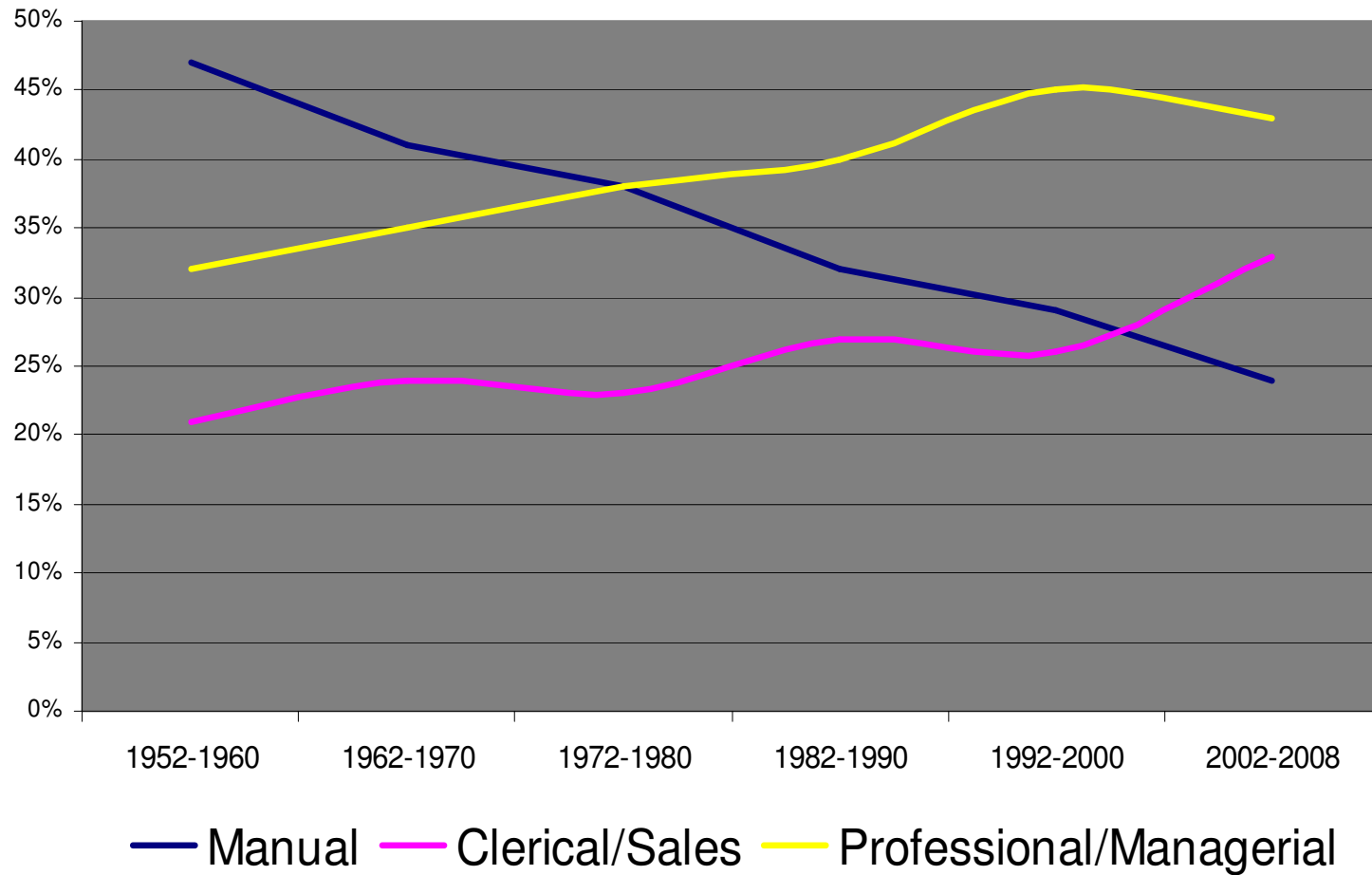
Partisanship of Southern White Presidential Popular Vote



Data sources: 1932 & 1952: Tabulated popular vote totals  
1997-2008: New York Times exit polls

# The Disappearing White Working Class

Occupation of White Voters by Decade

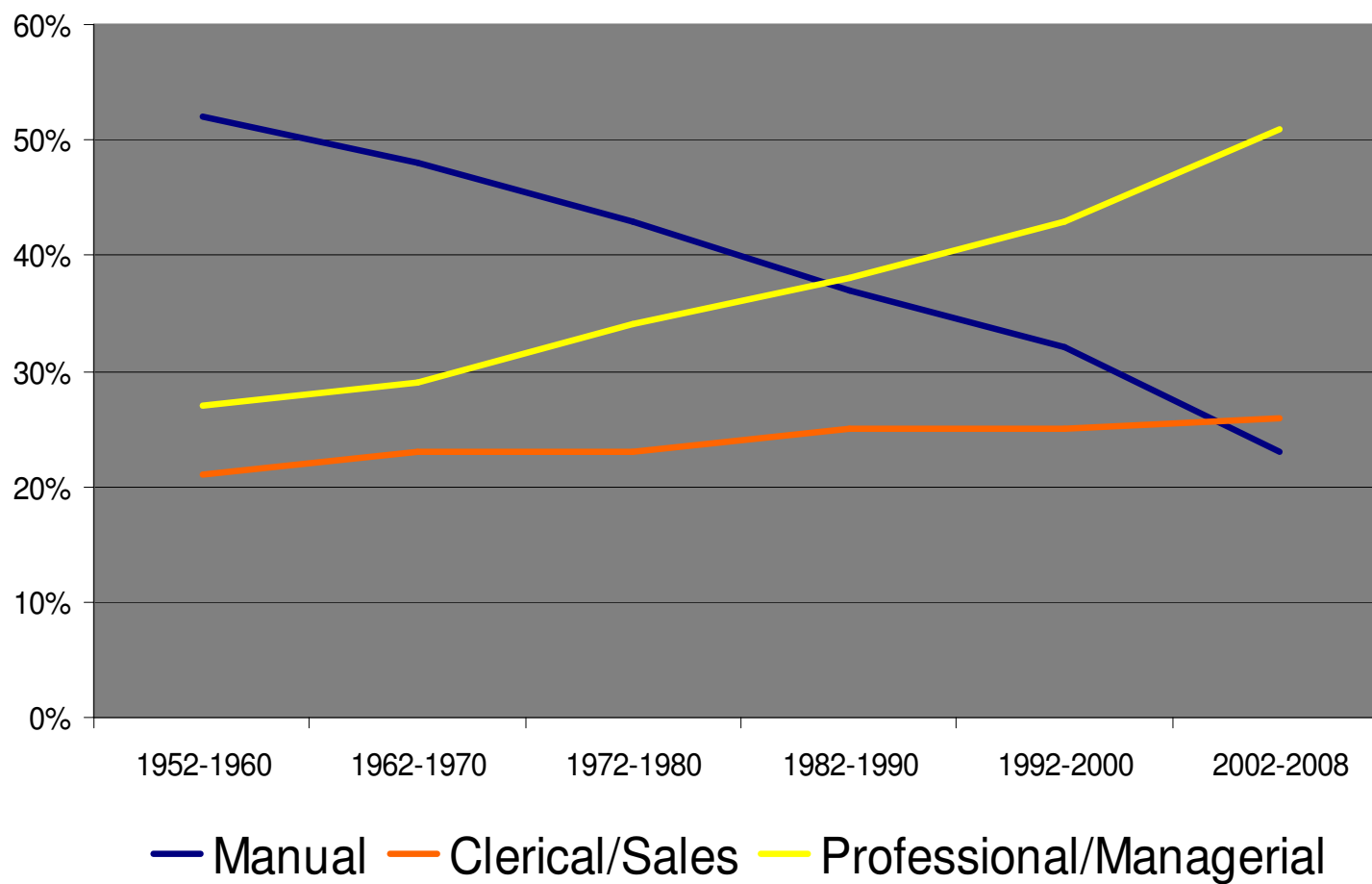


Data source: NES Cumulative File



# White Workers Leave the Democratic Coalition

Occupation of White Democratic Voters by Decade



Data source: NES Cumulative File

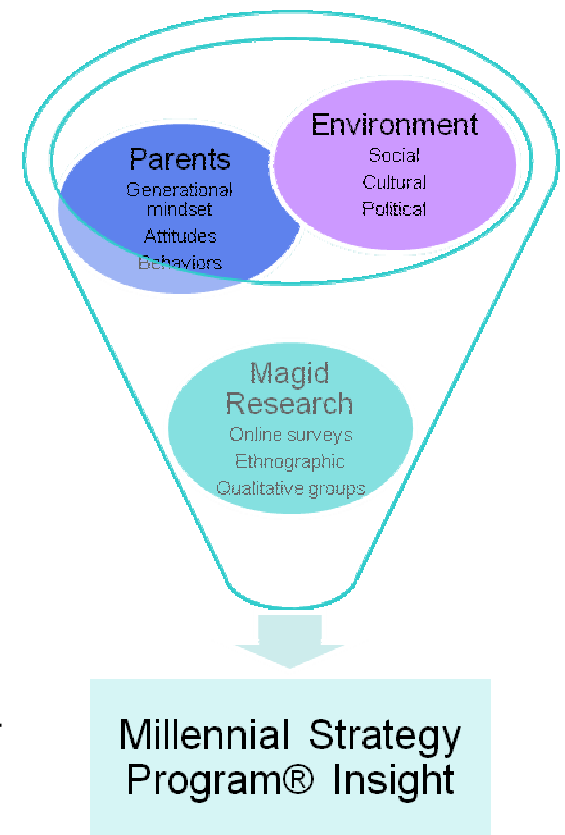
## Millennial Strategy Program®

Frank N. Magid Associates is widely recognized as the preeminent generational insights organization

- Formed in 2005, The Millennial Strategy Program® is grounded in Magid's 50 years of primary research expertise and illuminated with deep knowledge of social, cultural, and political events. Through extensive focus on the role of Baby Boomers, Gen Xers, and Millennials, the firm has unparalleled insight into the ways generational movements define worldwide culture, business success, and influence political and social events.
- We look at generations as much more than age-groups, which is why we study historical events and use multiple methodologies and research techniques



- Over the past six years, the Millennial Strategy Program® has conducted over 60,000 online interviews, hundreds of in-home and other ethnographic sessions, and led numerous qualitative group discussions



## Millennial Clients

- ABC-Disney Television Group
- ABC Family
- Anheuser-Busch
- AOL
- Bonneville International
- Clear Channel Communications
- Comcast Cable
- Conde Nast
- Cox Enterprises
- Current TV
- DirecTV
- Dispatch Group
- Dow Jones Company
- Evening Post Publishing
- General Growth Properties
- Hearst Corporation
- Lee Enterprises
- MediaFlo
- Media General
- Meredith Corporation
- NBC
- New York Times
- News Corp
- Paramount Television
- Saban Capital
- Sony Pictures Television
- Sony PlayStation/SCEA
- Tribune Interactive
- Warner Bros Television
- Washington Mutual



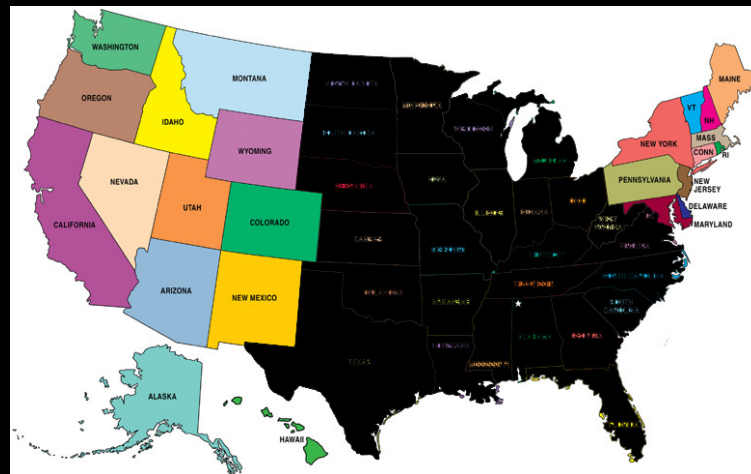
## Michael Hais

- Extensive media, entertainment, and political experience.
- Retired VP-Entertainment Research, 22 years with Frank N. Magid Associates, world's most influential media research firm.
- Designed and analyzed 1200+ quantitative surveys and 2000+ qualitative projects at Magid.
- Democratic pollster in Michigan, 1970s and 1980s.
- Ph.D. political science, dissertation on party coalitions and realignment.
- Co-authored, with Morley Winograd, Millennial Makeover, *New York Times* 2008 top-ten book.



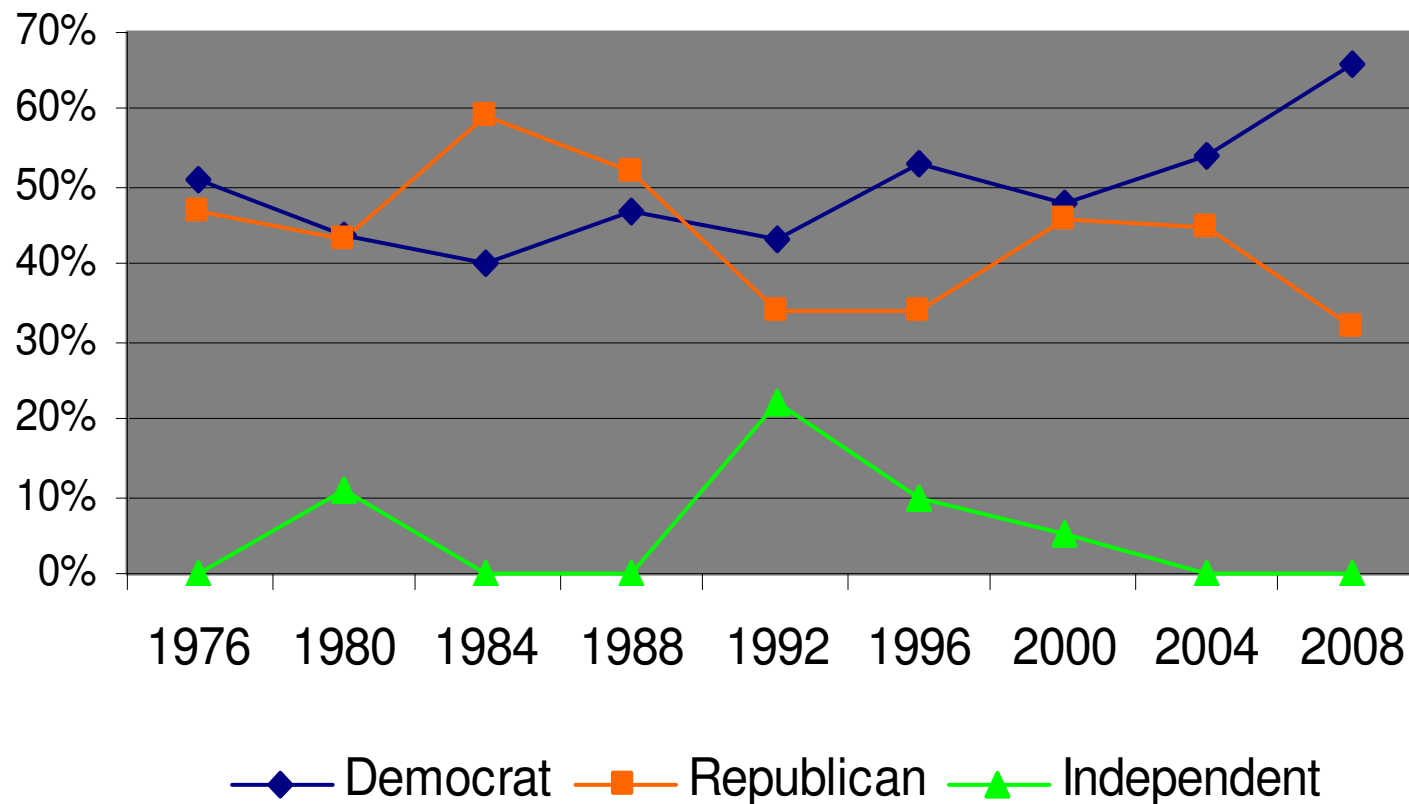
# An Emerging New and Potentially Dominant 21st Century Democratic Coalition

- Young voters
- African-Americans
- Hispanics
- Women
- The Northeast and West
- Highly educated Americans



# Young Voters Increasingly Democratic Since 1980s

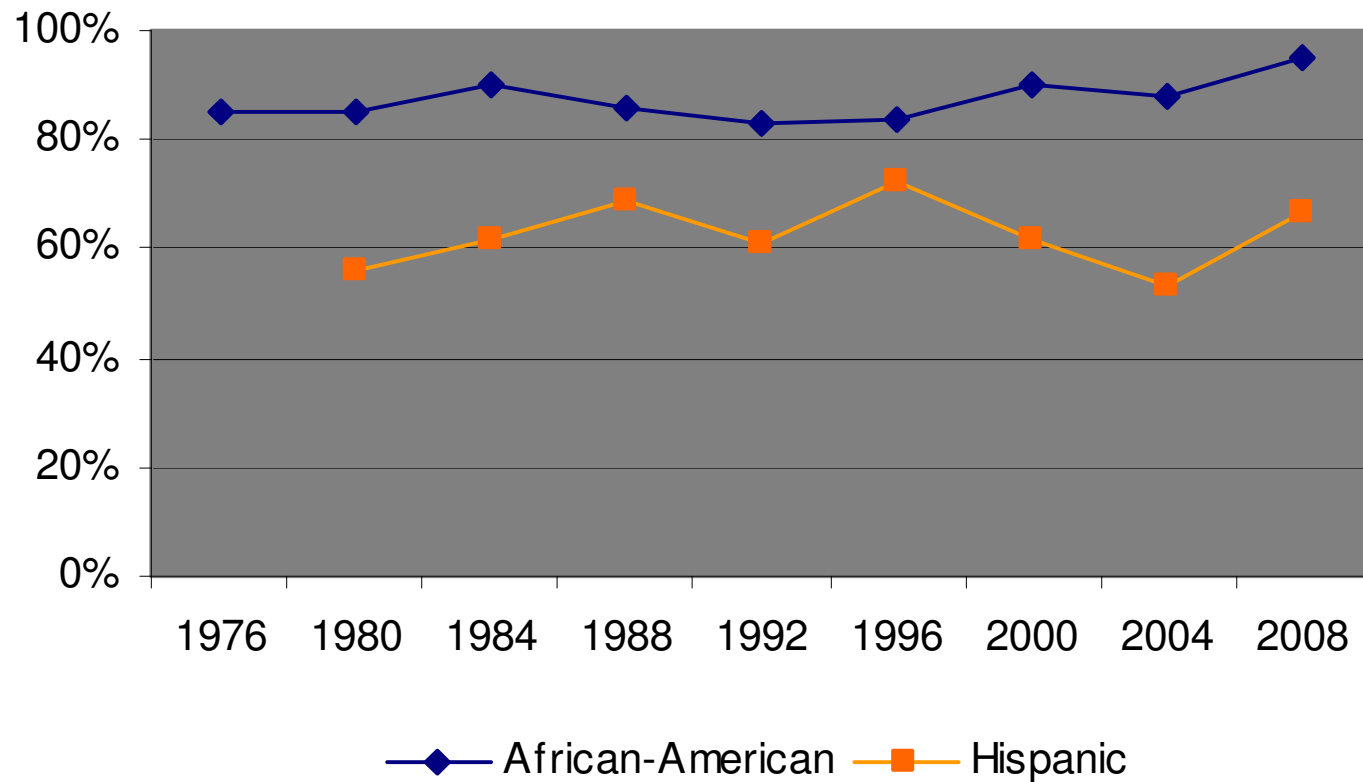
Partisanship of 18-29 Presidential Vote



- Young voters were Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964) in 1976 and 1980.
- The first members of Generation X (born 1965-1981) voted in 1984.
- The first Millennials (born 1982-2003) voted in 2000.

# African-Americans and Hispanics: Democrats for Decades

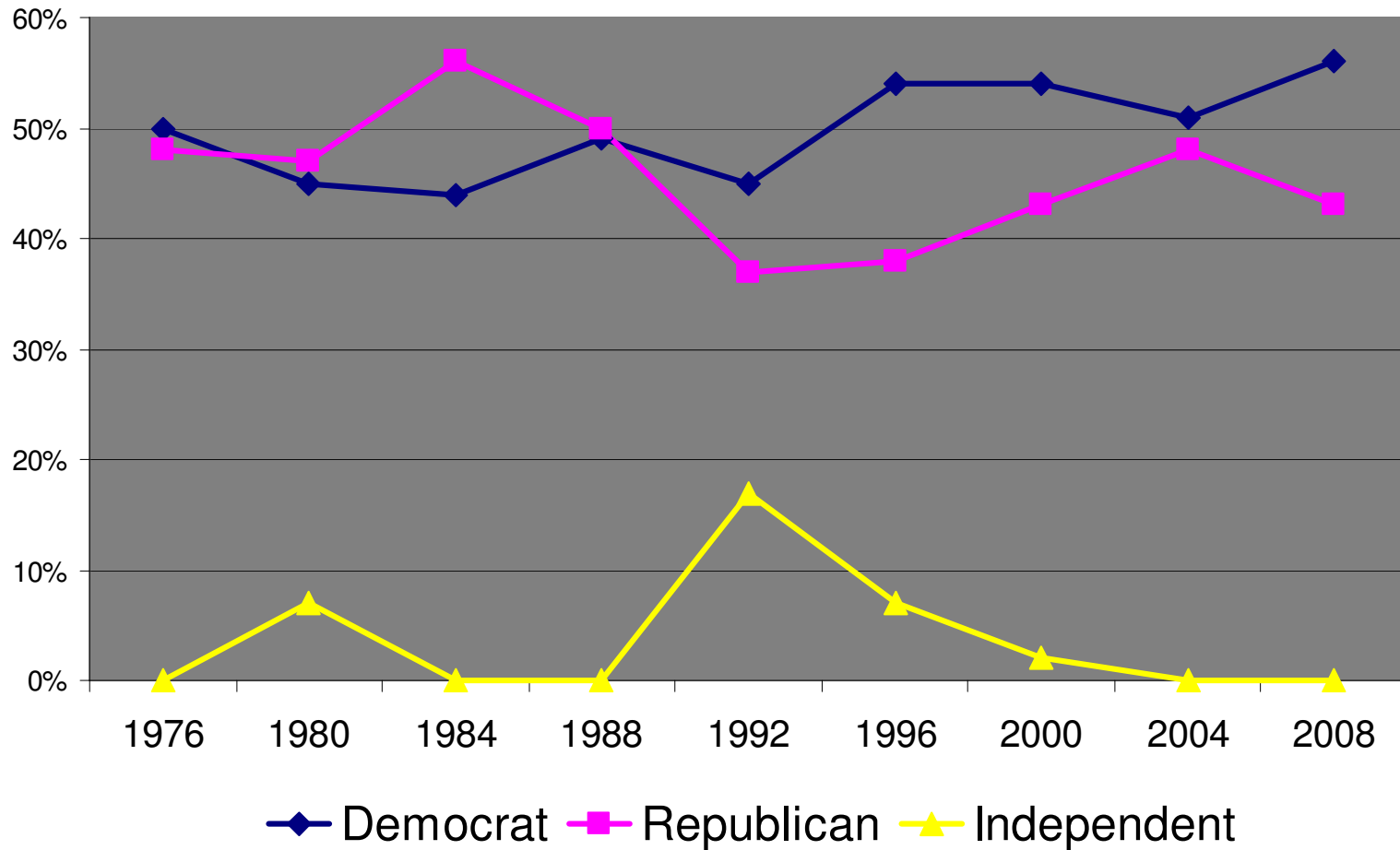
Democratic Percentage of African-American and Hispanic Presidential Vote



Data source: New York Times exit polls

# Women Increasingly Democratic Since 1980s

Partisanship of Female Presidential Vote

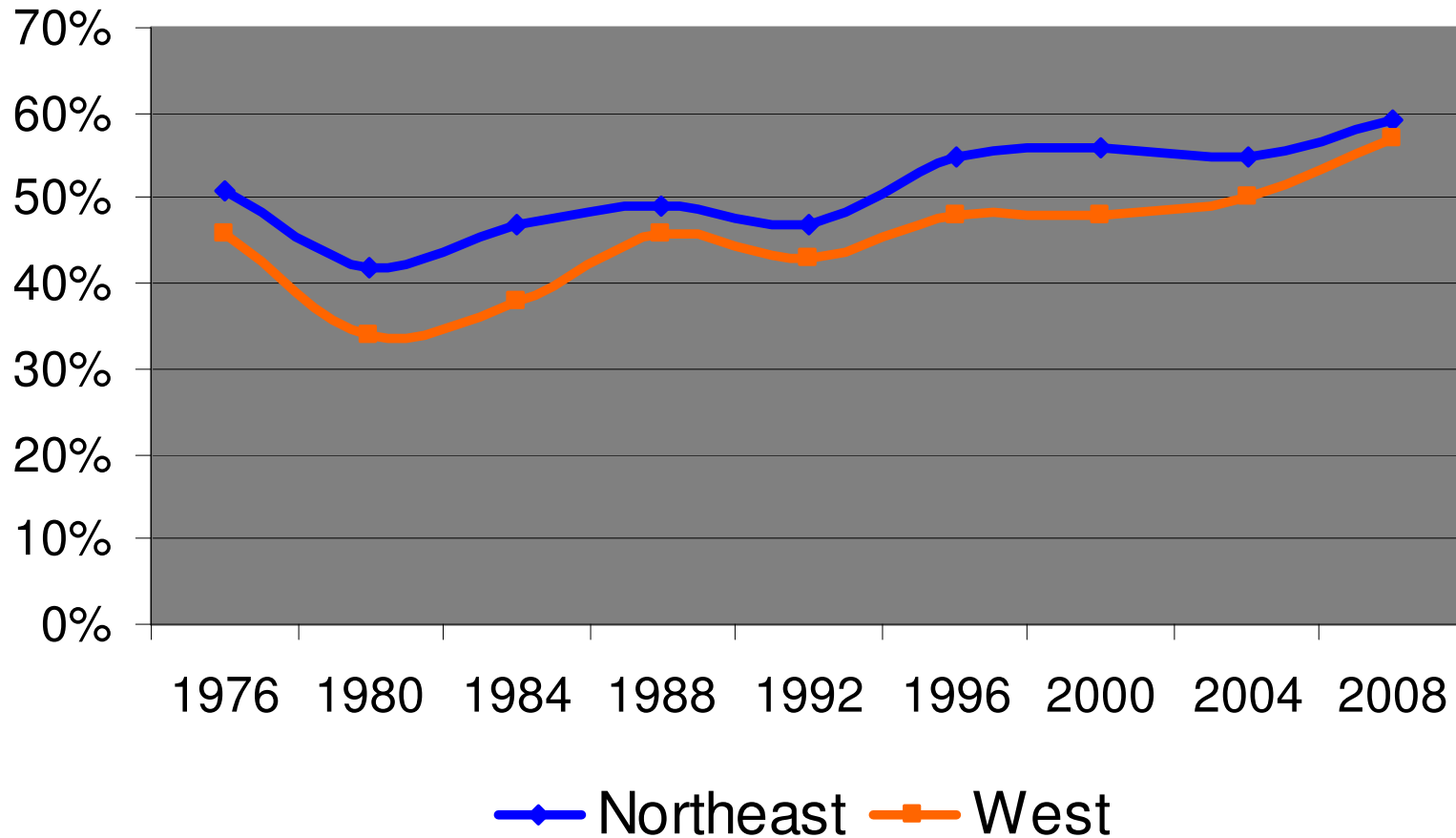


Since 1980 a "gender gap," women averaged 8% more Democratic than men.

Data source: New York Times exit polls

# Northeast and West Increasingly Democratic Since 1980s

Democratic Percentage of Northeast and West Presidential Vote

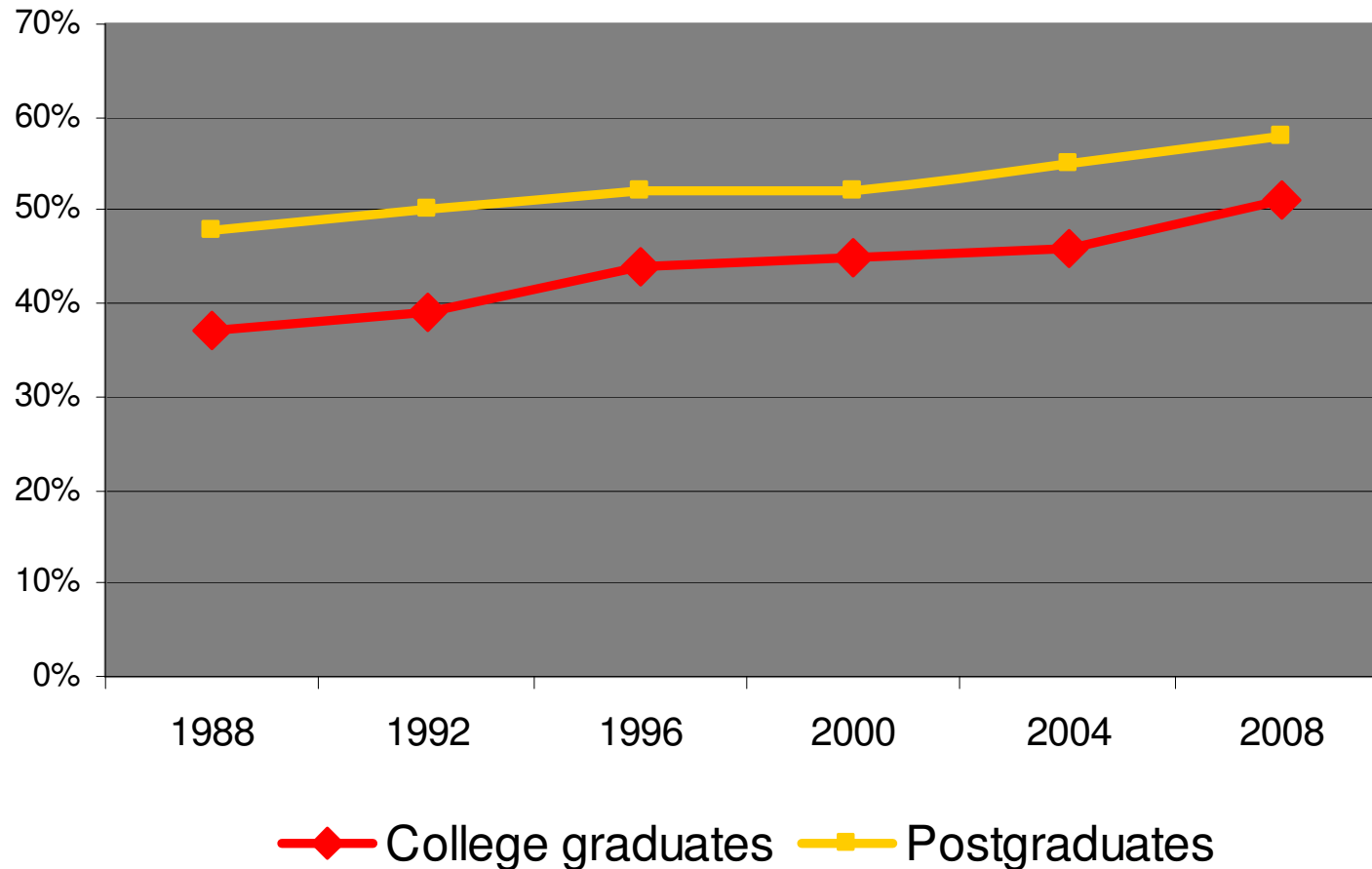


Data source: New York Times exit polls



# College Graduates and Postgraduates Increasingly Democratic Since 1980s

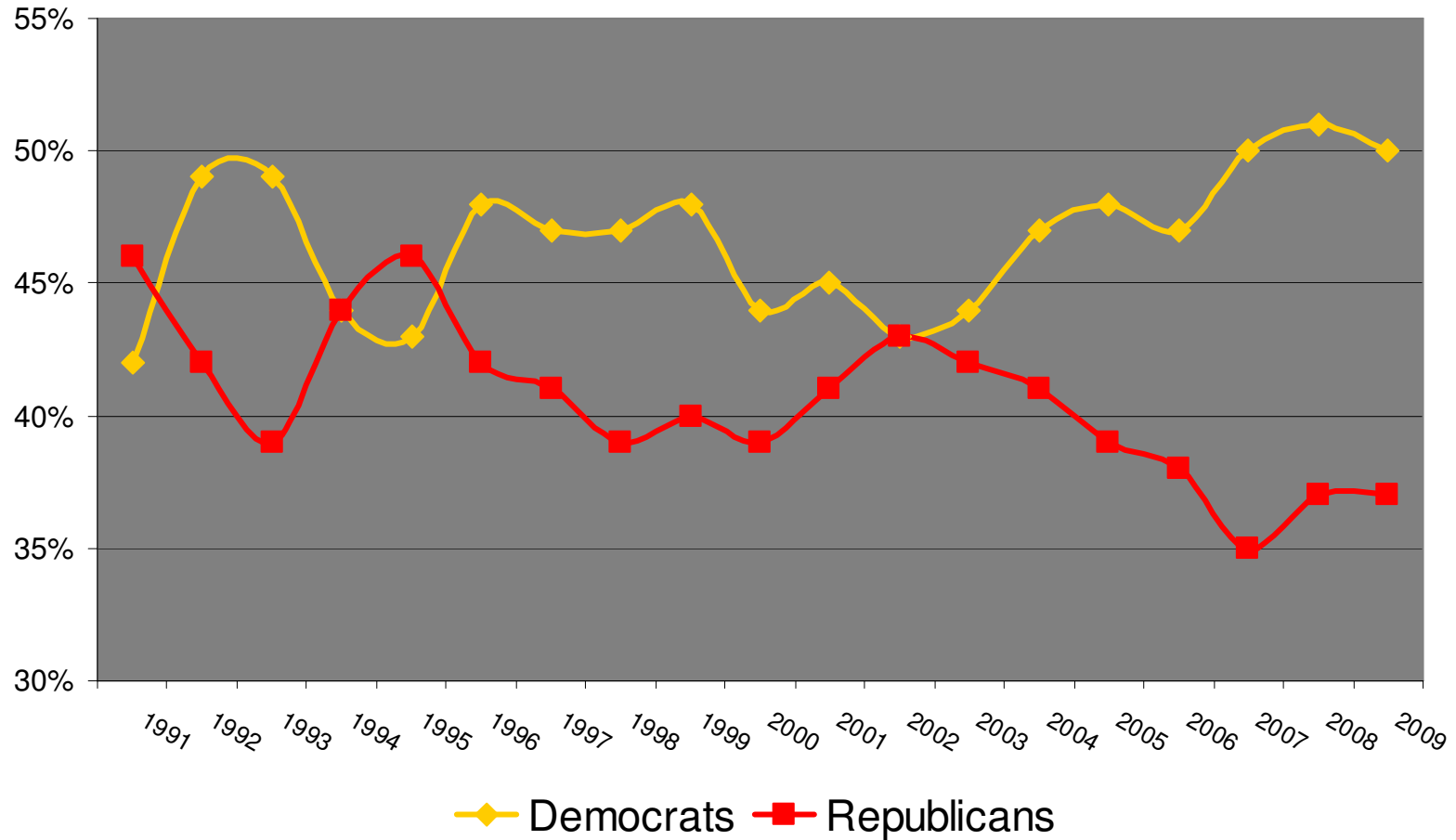
Democratic Percentage of College Graduate And Postgraduate Presidential Vote



Data source: New York Times exit polls

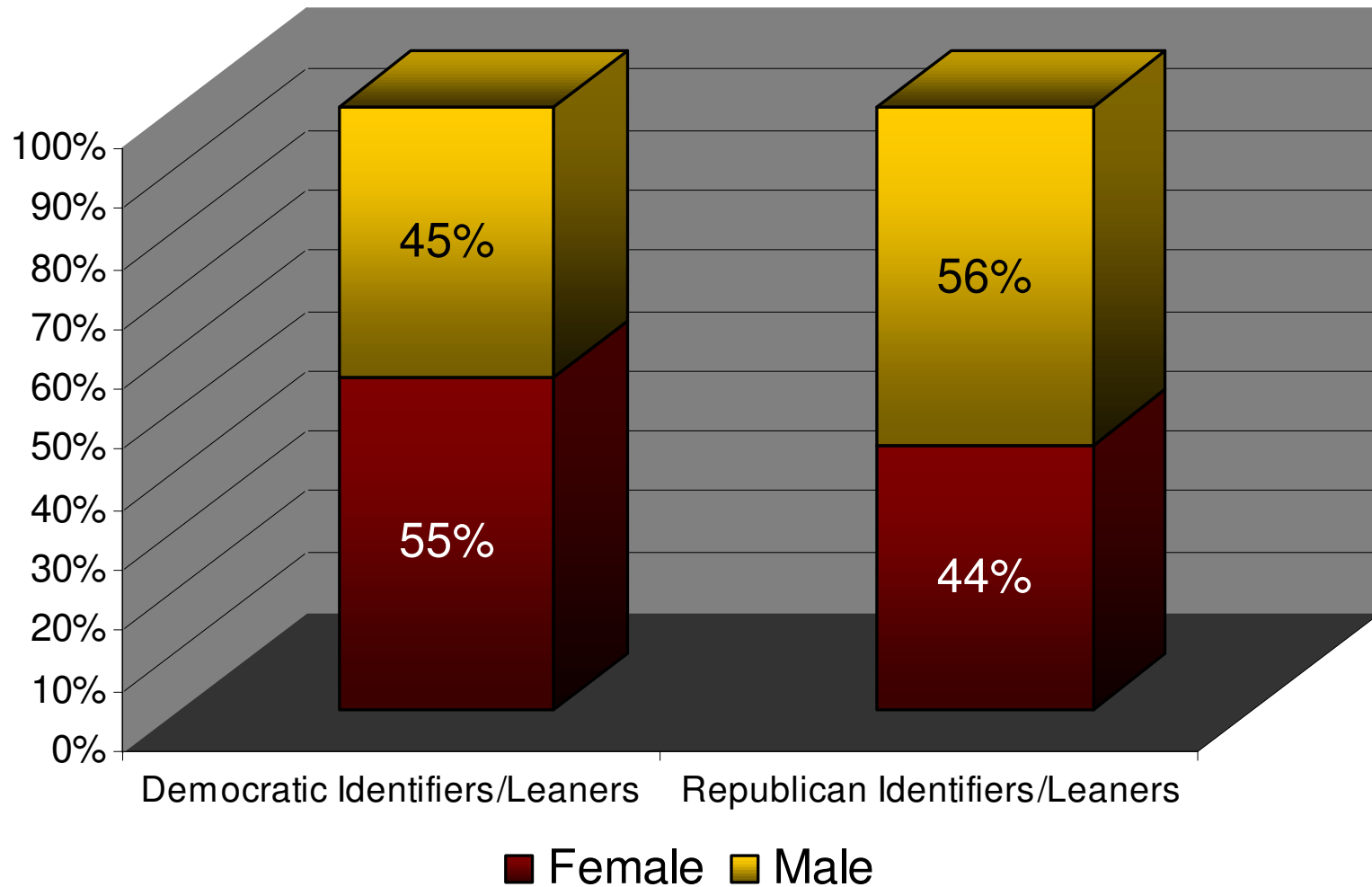
# A New Democratic Party Majority

National Party ID\*



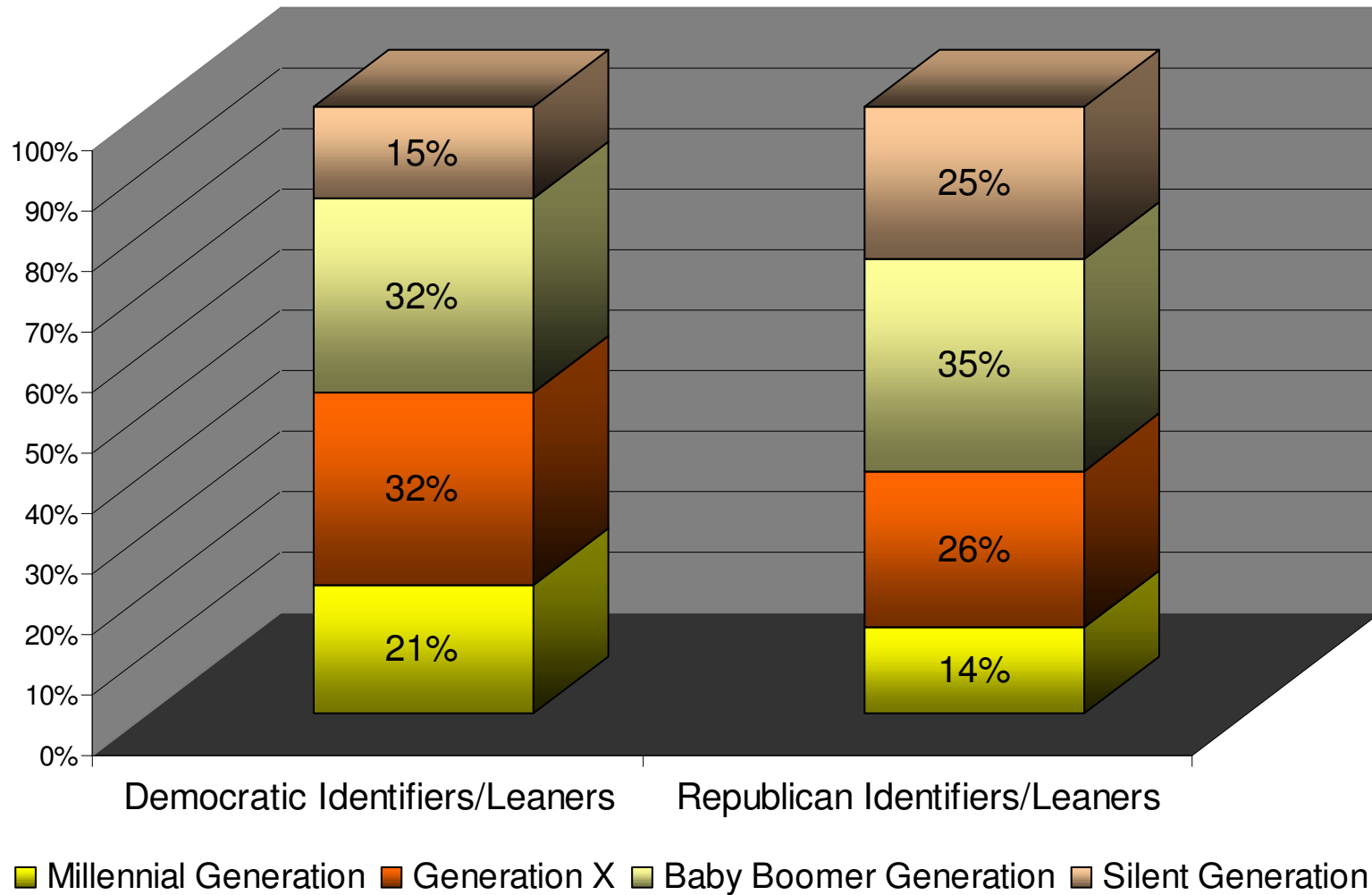
\* Partisans and leaners combined  
Data source: Pew Survey Research Center

# The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democratic Coalition Is Majority Female



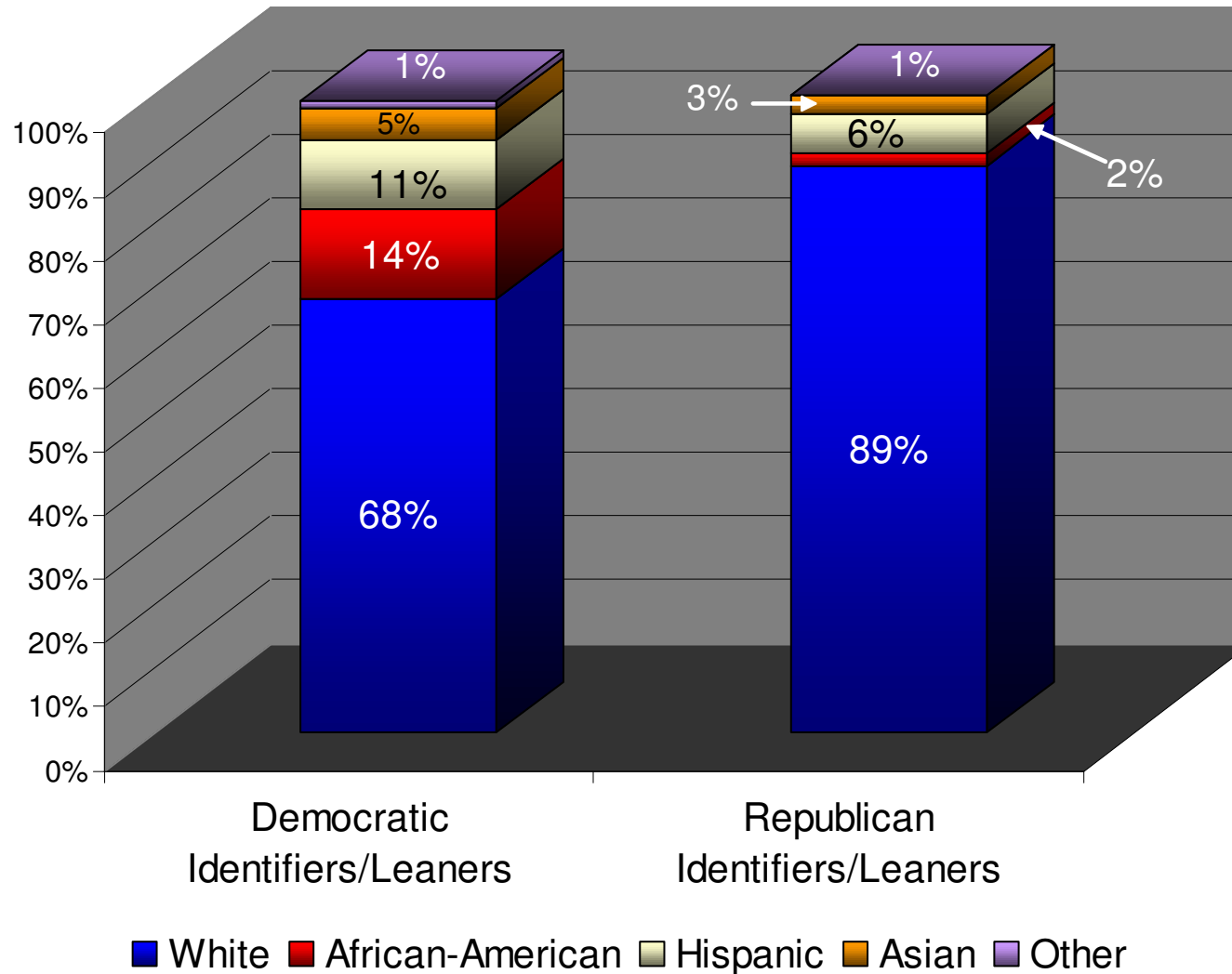
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democratic Coalition Is Younger



- A majority of Democrats are from the two youngest generations
- Six in ten Republicans are from the two oldest generations

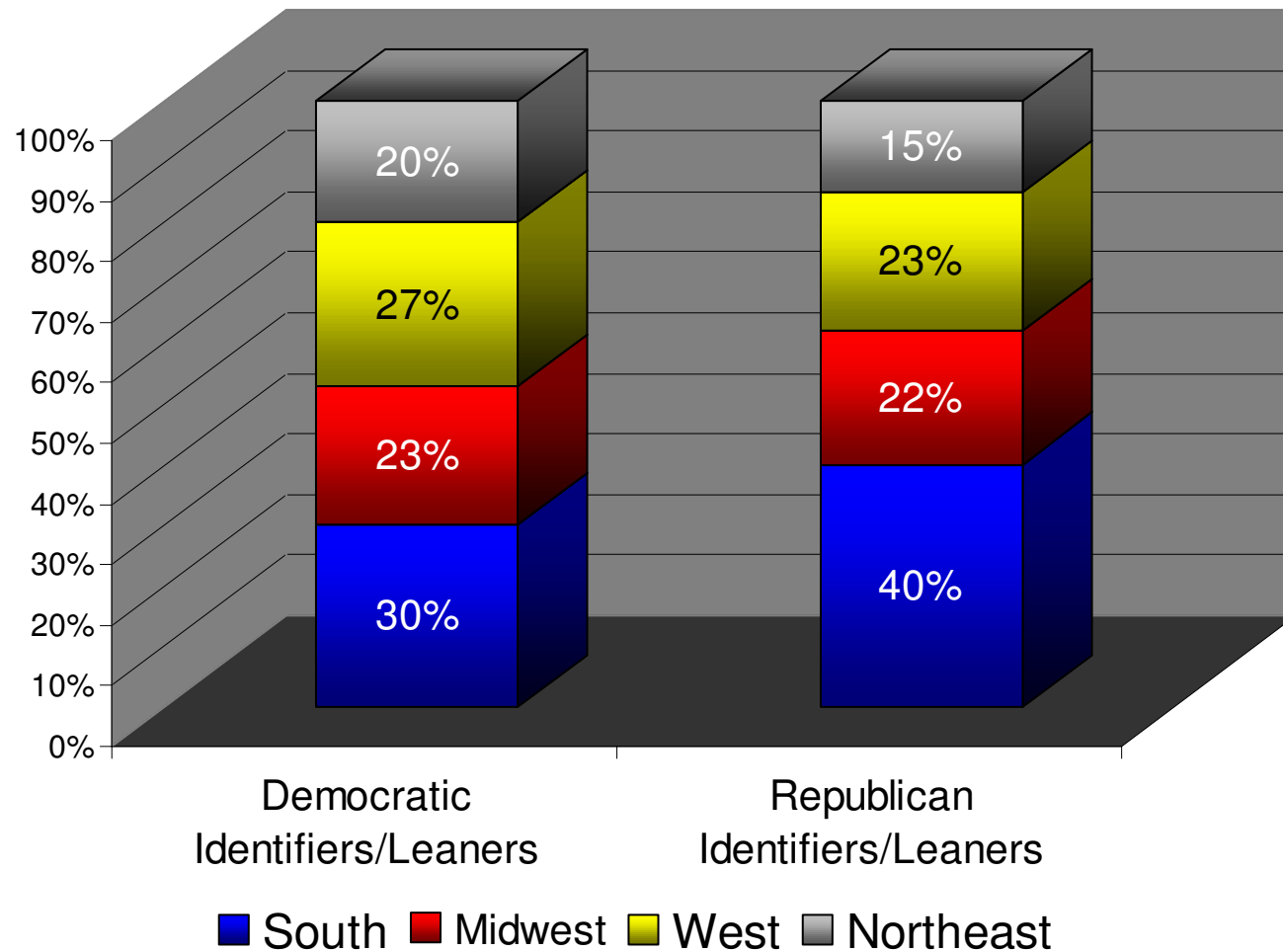
# The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democratic Coalition Is More Ethnically Diverse



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

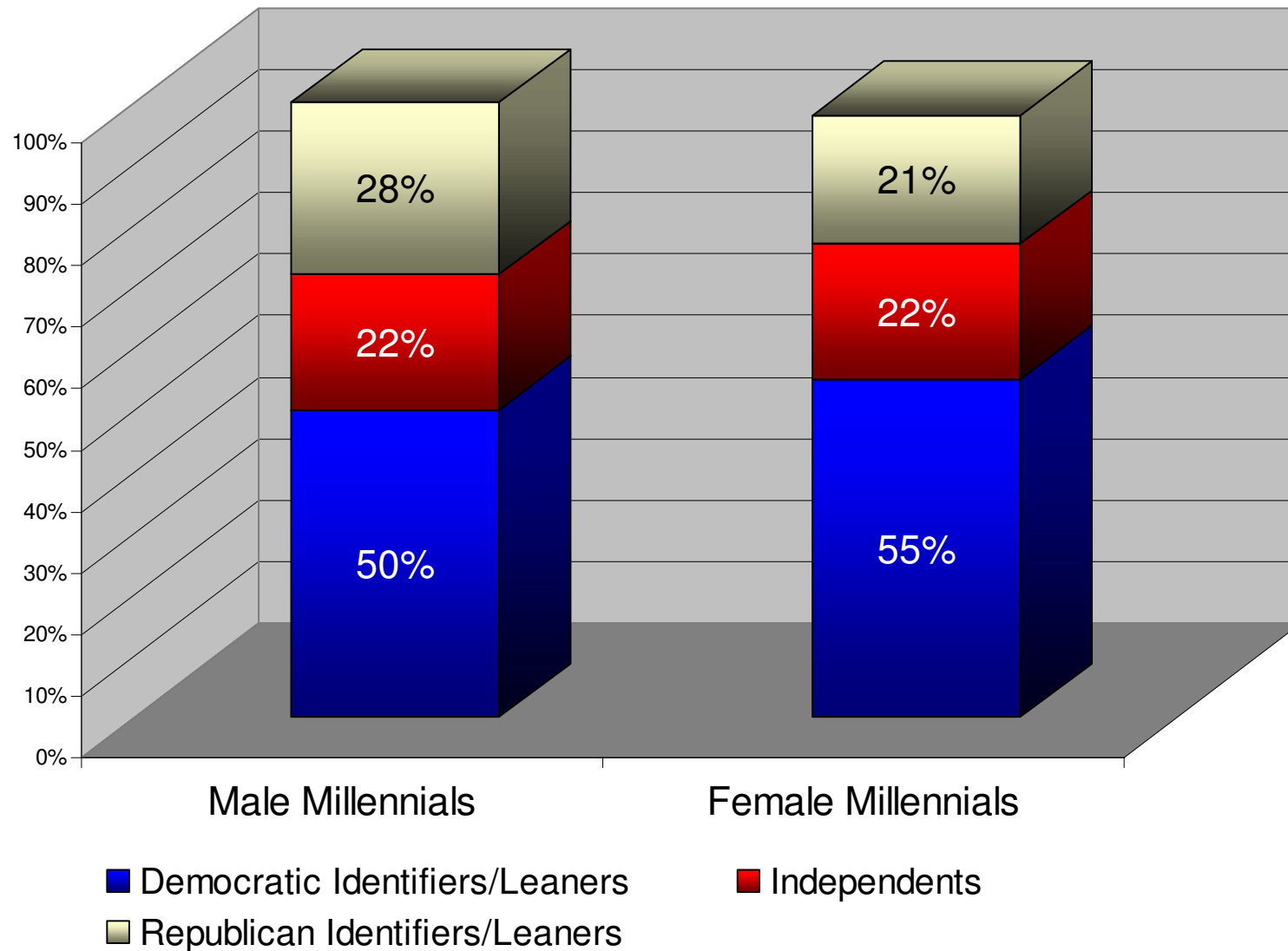


# The 21st Century Democratic Coalition Skews to the Northeast and West



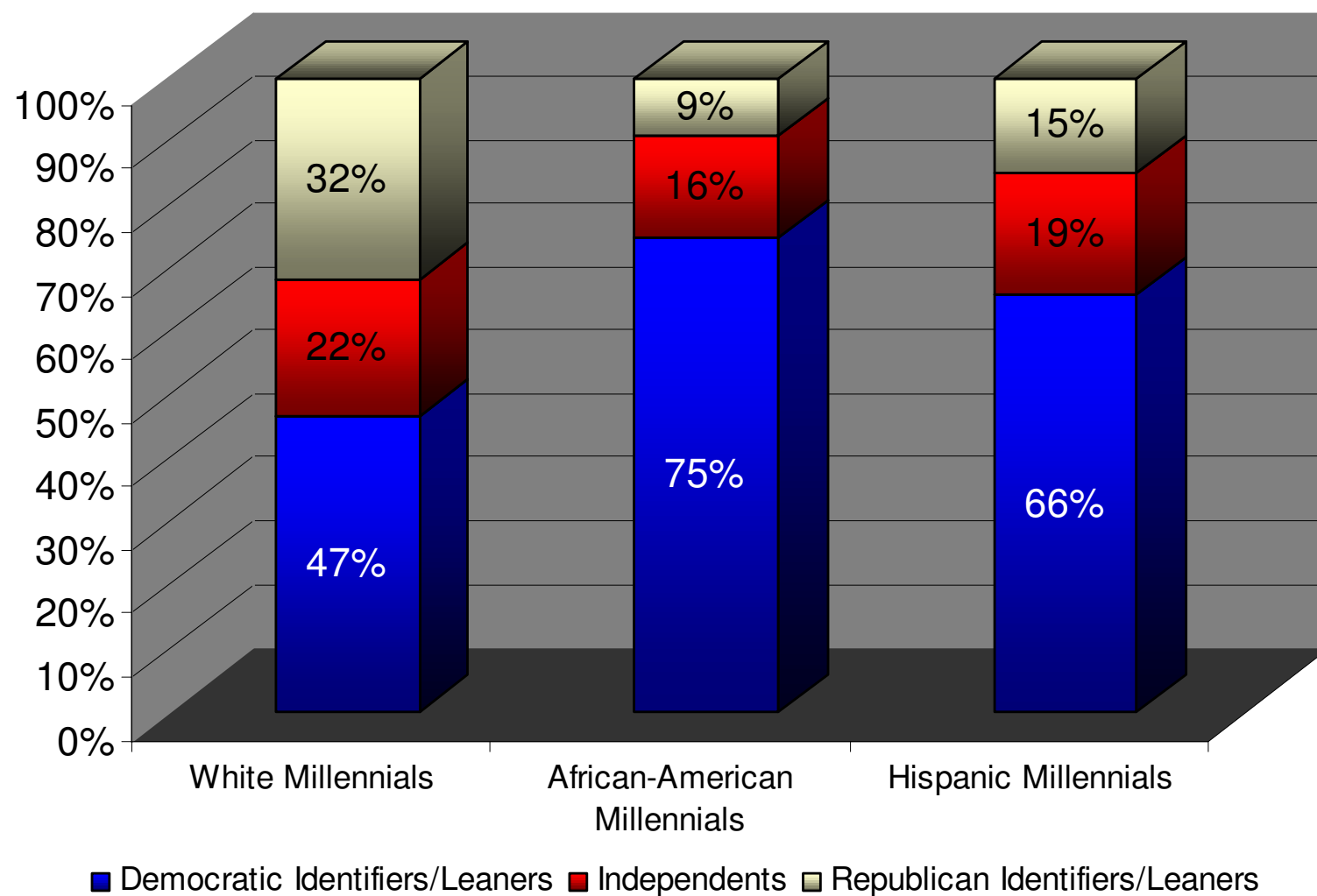
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# Both Male and Female Millennials Identify as Democrats



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# Millennial Democratic Loyalties Cross Ethnic Lines



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

New Attitudes



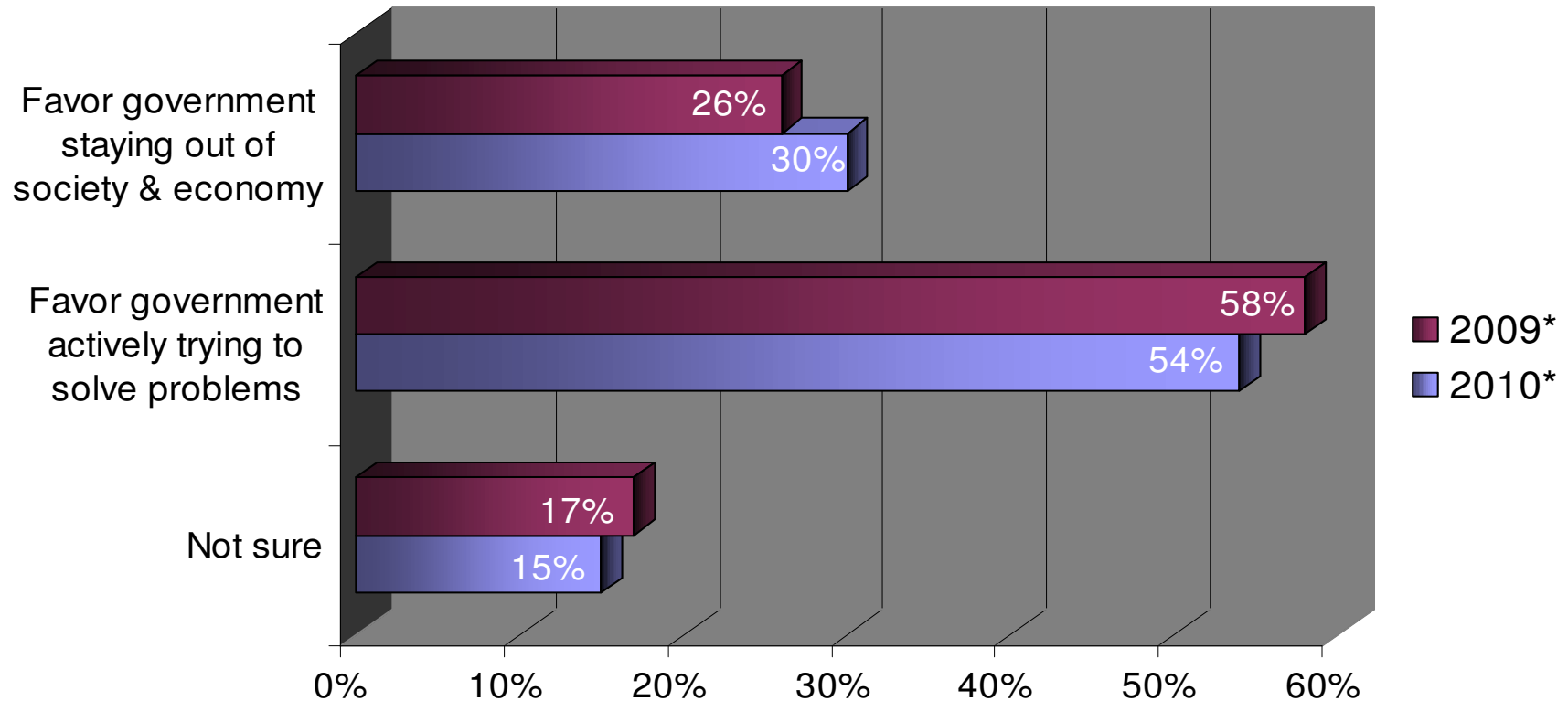
# America is no Longer a “Center-Right” Nation

- Americans favor activist government
- Americans want government to promote economic equality
- Americans favor multilateralism in foreign policy



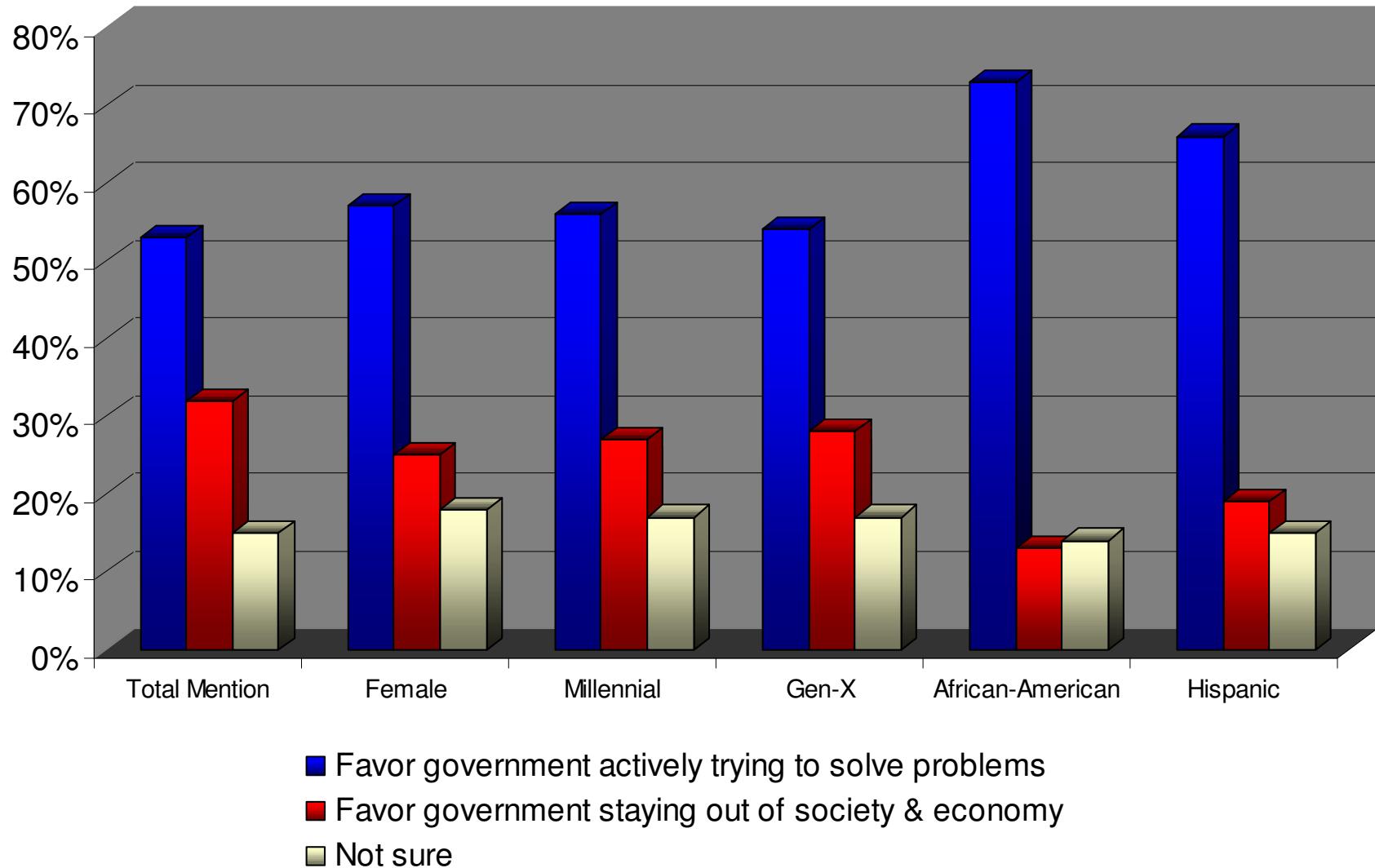


# Conventional Wisdom to the Contrary, Most Americans Continue to Support Activist Government



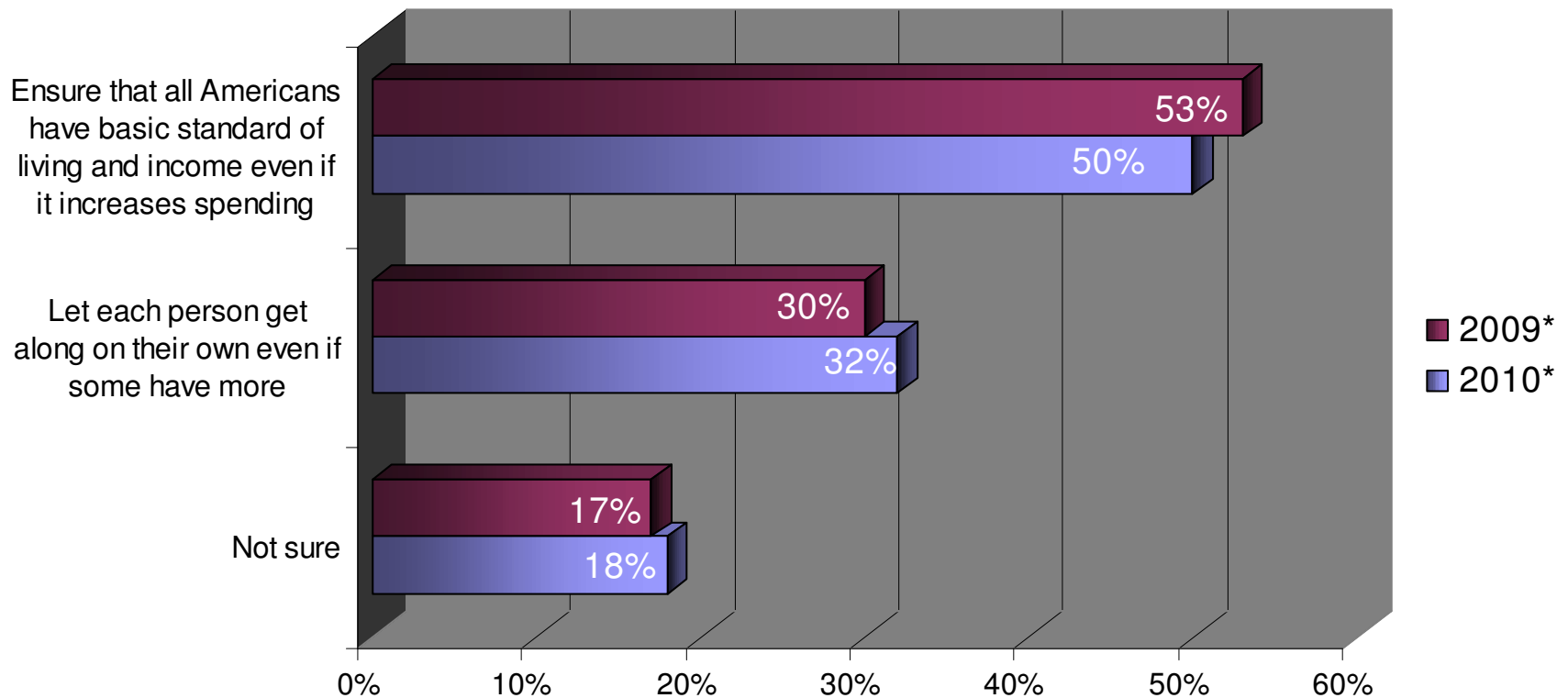
\* 2009 sample Millennial, Gen-X, and Boomer Generations only. 2010 percentage based on those generations only.  
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

## The New 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democratic Coalition Favors Activist Government



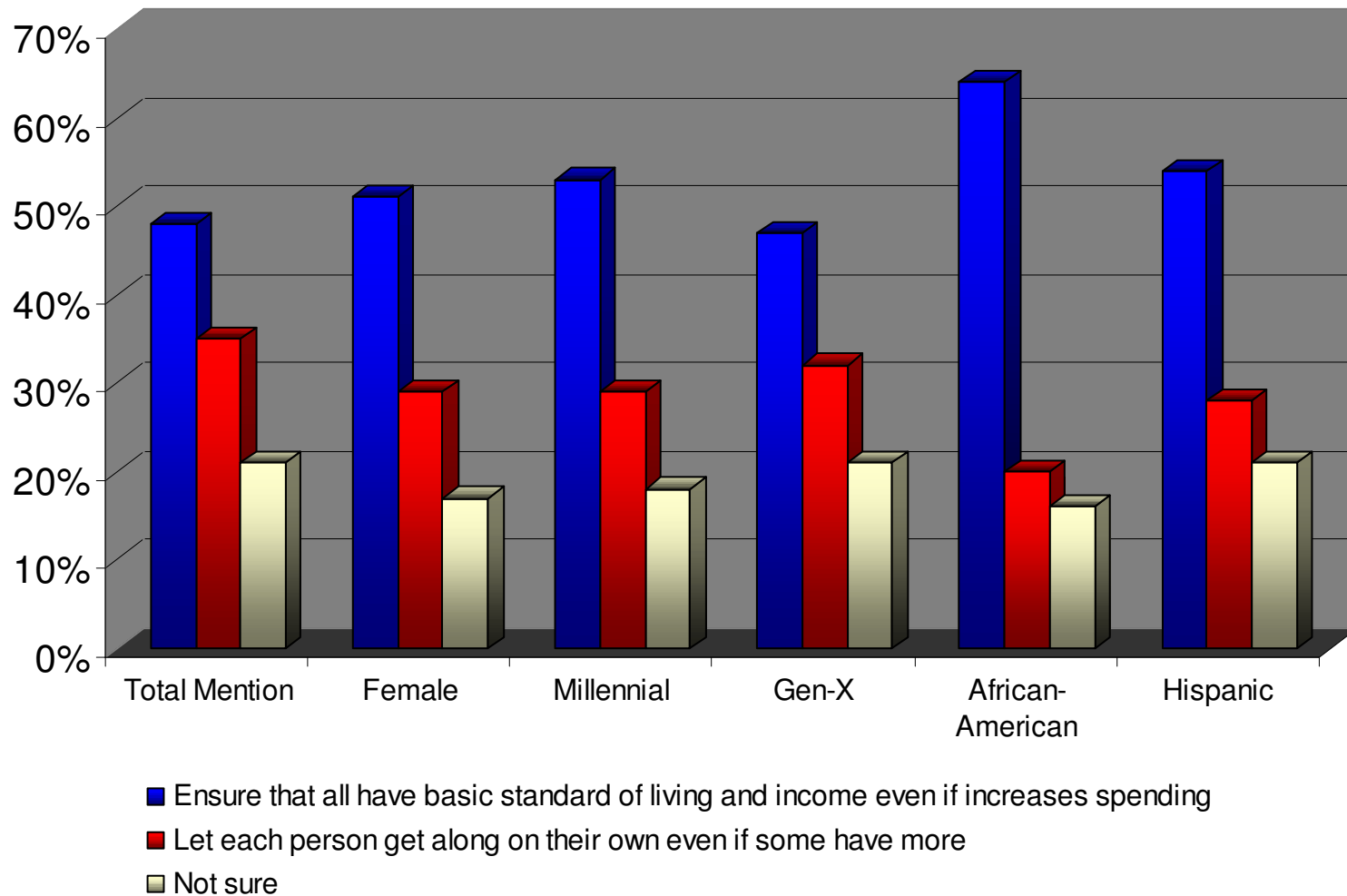
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# Conventional Wisdom to the Contrary, Most Americans Continue to Support Policies Promoting Economic Equality



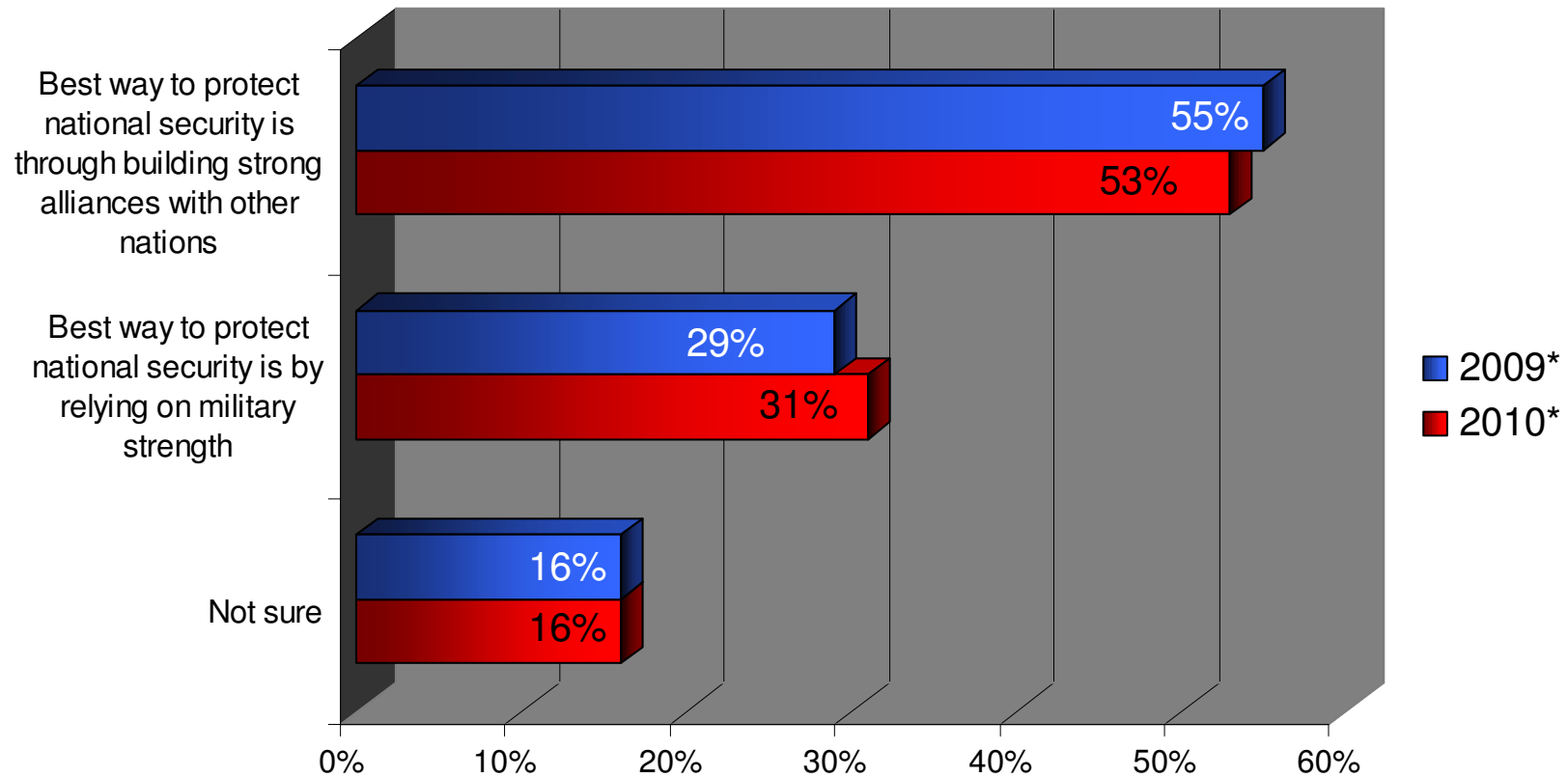
\* 2009 sample Millennial, Gen-X, and Boomer Generations only. 2010 percentage based on those generations only.  
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# The New 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democratic Coalition Favors Economic Equality



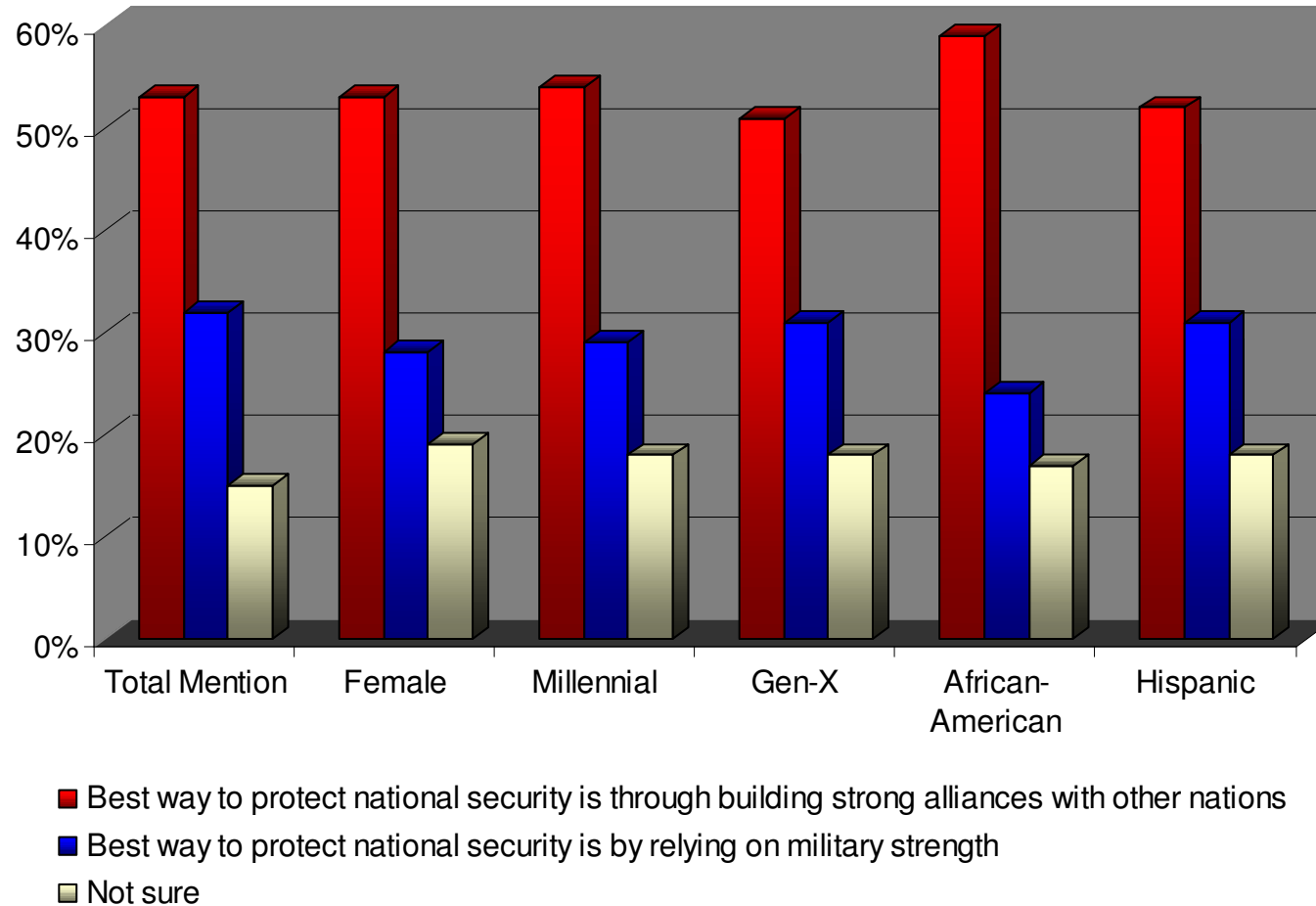
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# Most Americans Continue to Support Multilateralism in Foreign Policy



\* 2009 sample Millennial, Gen-X, and Boomer Generations only. 2010 percentage based on those generations only.  
Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

# The New 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democratic Coalition Favors Multilateralism in Foreign Policy



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

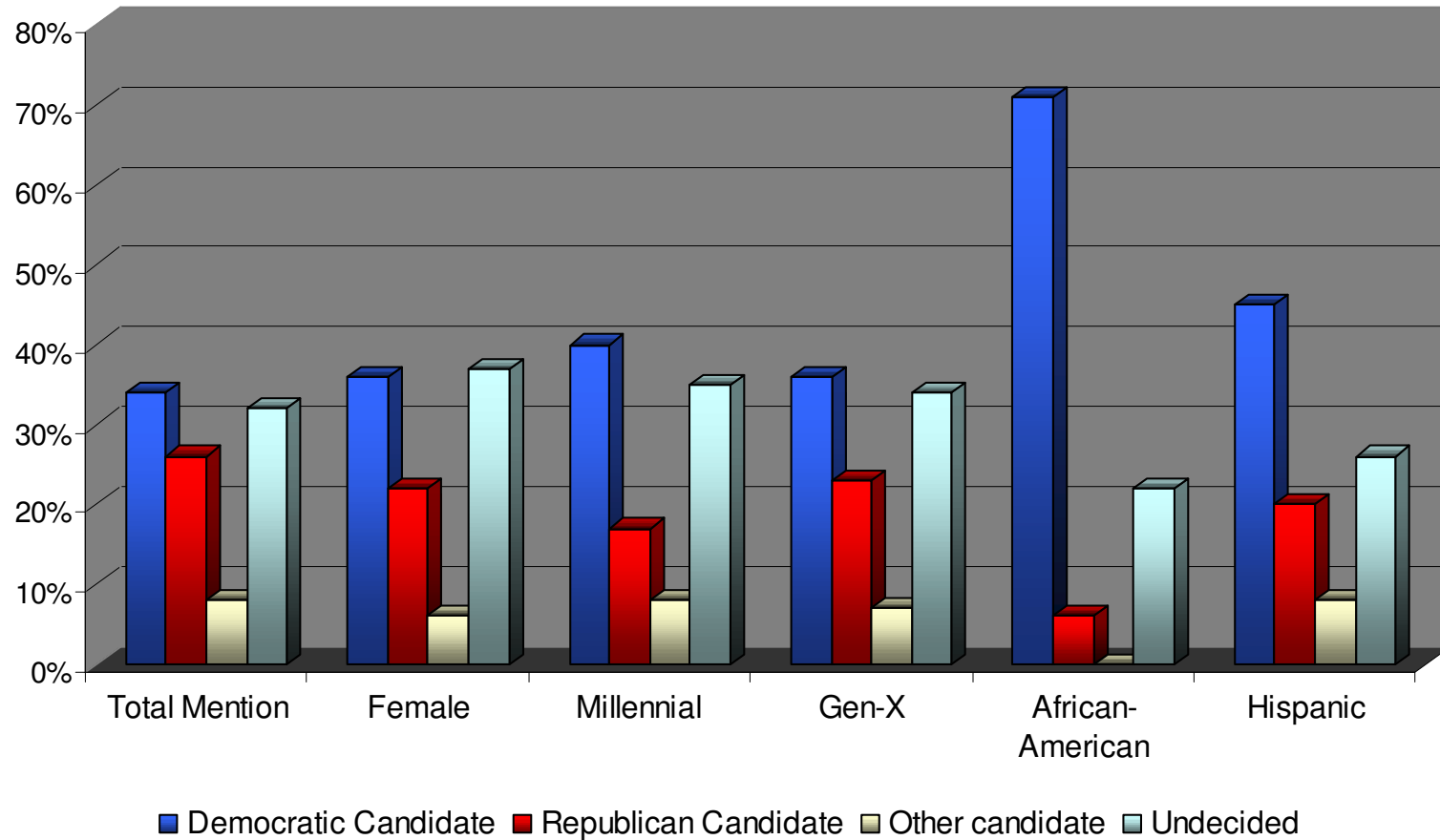


## New Mobilization Strategies



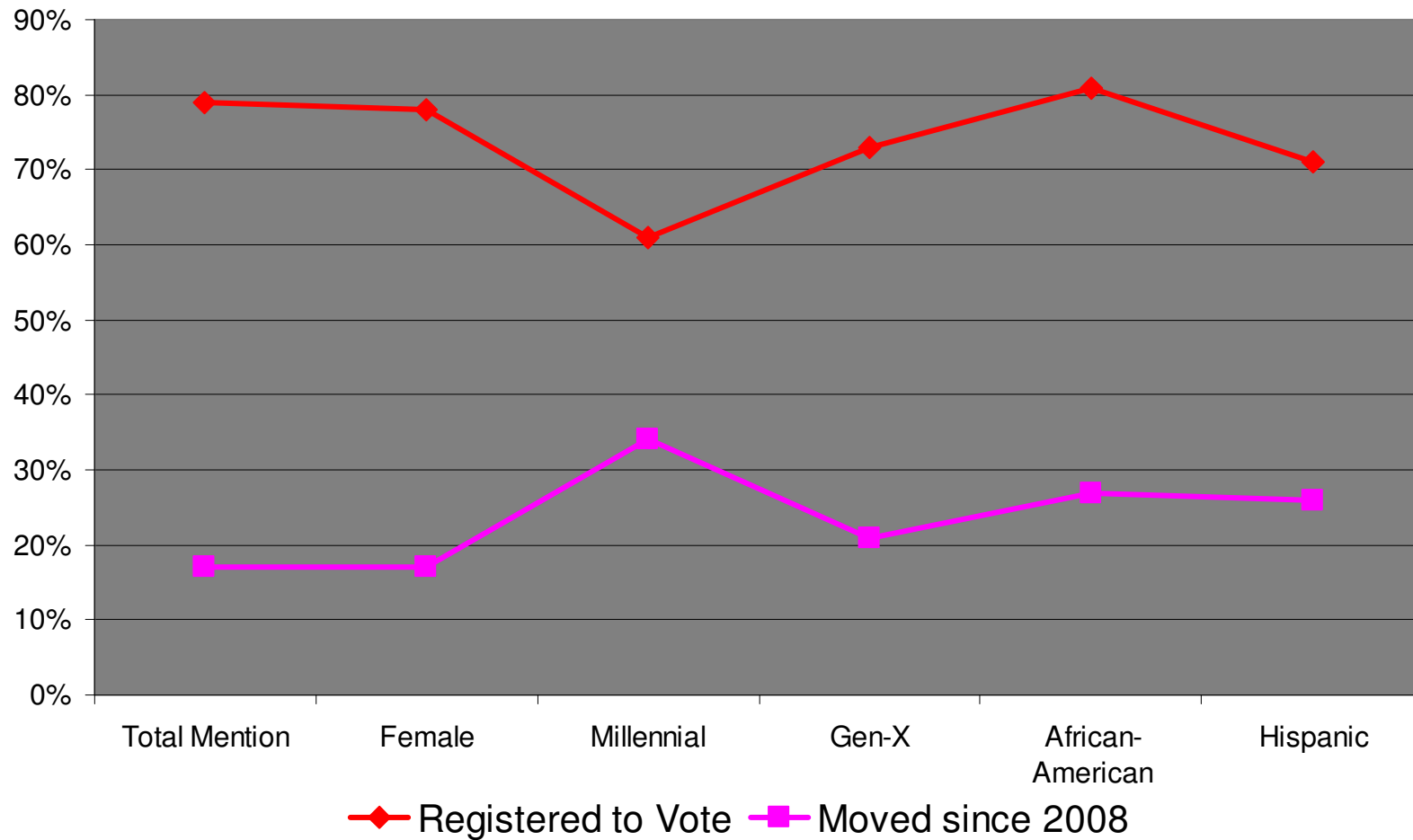
# Contrary to Conventional Wisdom the Democrats Can Win in 2010... If They Mobilize the New 21<sup>st</sup> Century Coalition

2010 Congressional Vote Intention



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

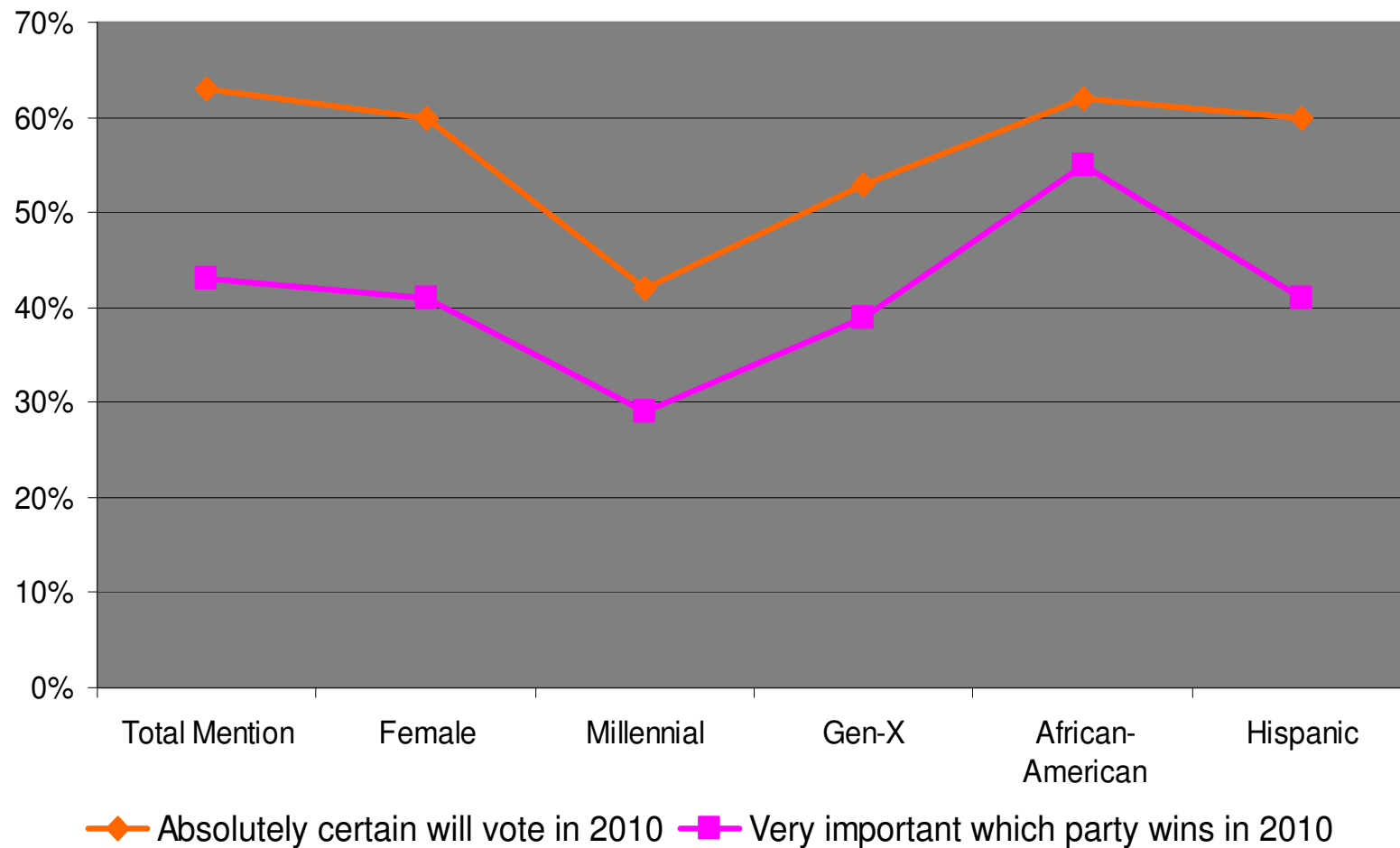
# Mobilization Issues: Getting the Coalition Registered



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

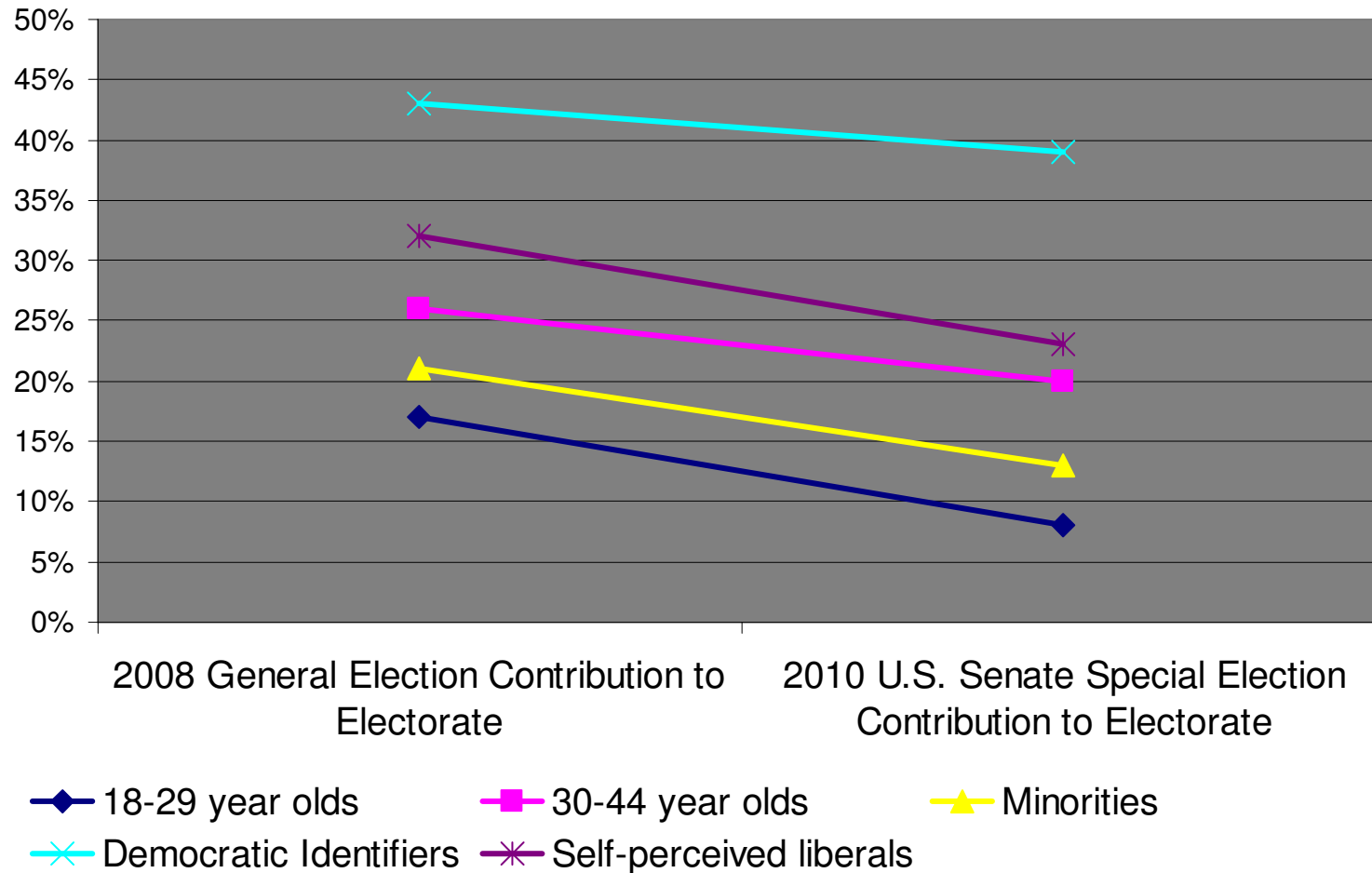


## Mobilization Issues: Getting the Coalition Inspired and to the Polls



Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

## Massachusetts: A Case Study in Losing by Not Using the New Coalition



- Majorities of all groups, except 30-44s, voted Democratic in both 2008 and 2010

Data sources: 2008—CNN Election Day exit poll  
2010—PPP Final pre-election poll, January 16-17, 2010