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

Millennials Will Increasingly Dominate the Electorate Over the Next Decade

Percentage of Millennials Eligible to Vote

Millennial Contribution to Voting Age Population
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 $\frac{1}{4}$ 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 21st Century America

Adults 25+

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
The Disappearing White Working Class

Occupation of White Voters by Decade

Data source: NES Cumulative File
White Workers Leave the Democratic Coalition

Occasion 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.

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.

Data source: New York Times exit polls
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 21st Century Democratic Coalition Is Majority Female

Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010
The 21st 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

Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010
The 21st 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

Male Millennials
- Democratic Identifiers/Leaners: 50%
- Republican Identifiers/Leaners: 28%
- Independents: 22%

Female Millennials
- Democratic Identifiers/Leaners: 55%
- Republican Identifiers/Leaners: 22%
- Independents: 21%

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 21st 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 21st Century Democratic Coalition Favors Economic Equality

Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010
Most Americans Continue to Support Multilateralism in Foreign Policy

- Best way to protect national security is through building strong alliances with other nations:
  - 2009: 29%
  - 2010: 31%
- Best way to protect national security is by relying on military strength:
  - 2009: 55%
  - 2010: 53%
- Not sure:
  - 2009: 16%
  - 2010: 16%

Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

* 2009 sample Millennial, Gen-X, and Boomer Generations only. 2010 percentage based on those generations only.
The New 21st Century Democratic Coalition Favors Multilateralism in Foreign Policy

Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010

- Best way to protect national security is through building strong alliances with other nations
- Best way to protect national security is by relying on military strength
- Not sure

Source: Frank N. Magid Associates, February 2010
Contrary to Conventional Wisdom the Democrats Can Win in 2010… If They Mobilize the New 21st 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