## America: The Next Decade

## I. Overview

The following document is a summary of research done on behalf of the Congressional Institute, January 12-13, 2005. Sample size was 1,000 registered voters, and margin of error was +/-3.1.

The purpose of this survey was to give Members of Congress a better understanding of what America will look like five to ten years from now by asking people to think long term about the nation's future and their own views. This approach allows political leaders time to assess, plan, and implement policies that will be in tune with where America is likely to be a decade from now.

In a wide-ranging and comprehensive national survey, respondents were asked what issues priorities and outcomes - will be important to the country and to them as individuals five to ten years from now: How their views will likely change, or not, on topics like the nation's political leadership, personal political ideology; media preferences, and religion. The findings showed some very important shifts and trends that will likely impact the way leaders will have to lead in the future. The survey results provided three key primary findings and a number of secondary findings - all with serious implications for those involved in the public-policy arena and the congressional legislative process.

## II. Primary Findings

- America 5-10 years from now will likely remain a center-right country with more minority voters shifting toward a moderate/conservative ideology.

There is likely to be continued movement toward the right, as America remains a center-right country. $27 \%$ of the electorate say they will become more conservative while $15 \%$ say more liberal which represents a slight shift to the right. $11 \%$ said they would most likely move toward the middle, and $44 \%$ say they are not likely to change. Of particular importance, however, is our finding that there may be significant ideological movement among liberals and the minority communities, which may pose an opportunity for conservatives.

## - People want outcomes/solutions from their political leaders not partisan policy positions.

How leaders present issues is important. The survey found that people are clearly focused on "outcomes" or solutions to problems, and successful leaders will embrace that approach. The fact that voters don't want to hear ideologically-framed policy positions is a reflection of the country's center-right politics today. They certainly have priorities for Congress; education ranking highest, followed by health care, jobs, and Social Security. But the data shows that when voters are given a "wish list" of possible outcomes or actual solutions, they respond far more strongly and with a sense of urgency to specific solutions than to simple issues.

## - The political impact of Internet/blogs and cable television will increase as network influence diminishes.

The 2004 election saw a significant shift toward cable/satellite television and Internet/blogs as sources of political news. According to the survey, that trend is likely to continue over the next decade with the greatest increase in consumer demand for news likely to be for Internet/blogs followed by cable television. This historic change in non-traditional media influence and impact holds true across party lines. Looking at the same question from an ideological perspective, the survey found that conservatives and moderates say they are likely to get more news from cable in the next ten years, while the amount of news liberals get from cable will remain steady.

## III. Secondary Findings

## - A Better America?

There is no clear consensus about the way that America will be for children in the future, but voters tend to lean pessimistic in their outlook. Among voters overall, about half feel that the America in which current and future generations of children will grow up will be worse than the one they had growing up. On this subject, women tend to be more pessimistic than do men; Republicans somewhat more optimistic than Democrats and Independents; and young people more optimistic than older people.

## - Policy Disengagement

Voters do not feel particularly engaged in public policy discussions, though Republican base groups are more likely to feel engaged than are Democrat-leaning groups. Interestingly, one exception to this generalization is that women 55+ feel more engaged than the average voter and security moms feel less so.

## - Party Leadership in Question

Approximately half of the voters surveyed believe that the Republican and Democrat Parties will provide voters with the kind of leadership the country will need in the future, though men, especially Independent men, and Democrats are most skeptical about this. Young voters are optimistic about the parties' leadership abilities.

## - Confidence in Government

In examining confidence in the ability of government institutions to meet the country's needs in the coming decade, a partisan split emerged. Republican-leaning groups displayed the highest level and Democrat-leaning groups the lowest of confidence in government. This partisan split was also clear when survey respondents were asked about their confidence in elected leaders meeting needs. While this may seem contradictory, it may well have more to do with which party is in power when the question is asked. Notably, by age, young voters once again had the highest level of confidence in government institutions. (Note: This overall change in attitude reflects a major shift over the past 10 to 20 years, when confidence in government was very low.)

## - Influence of Religion

There may be a slight increase in the role of religion in the near future. $35 \%$ see religion increasing in their lives and only $5 \%$ believe that it will play a lesser role, although a majority see the role of religion playing about the same role in their lives as it does now. Younger voters and African-Americans are particularly likely to see religion playing a greater role in their lives over the next decade, a trend that has the potential for political impact.

## - Islam and America

Voters in America believe that Islam will be a long-term issue, and that Islam may have a greater impact in the future. $37 \%$ of Americans see Islam having a greater impact than it does now within the next 10 years, and only 19\% believe that it will have a lesser impact, implying that Americans tend to see Islam slightly increasing in importance as an issue. Younger voters tend to believe that the impact of Islam will be about the same as it is now, whereas older voters are more likely to believe that Islam's impact will increase over the next 5 to 10 years. On a related note, voters are not clear about the best way to approach Islam, though younger voters and minorities lean toward learning more about Islam, older voters favor the approach of educating Islam's followers about America's values.

## IV. In-Depth Analysis

## Ideological Trends: America Remains a Center-Right Country

In this section, voters were asked to predict their ideology over the next ten years based on how they have "been looking at issues,".

The data clearly shows there is likely to be continued movement toward the right over the next 5 to 10 years, although America remains a center-right country. $27 \%$ of the electorate say they will become more conservative while $15 \%$ say more liberal which represents a slight shift to the right. 11\% said they would most likely move toward the middle, and 44\% say they are not likely to change.

| Shifting by Ideology | Overall | Cons | Mod | Lib |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Likely to become more conservative over the next 10 years | 27 | 47 | 18 | 12 |
| Likely to become more liberal over the next 10 years | 15 | 3 | 13 | 44 |
| Move toward the middle during the next 10 years | 11 | 5 | 17 | 8 |
| Not change your ideology at all over the next 10 years | 44 | 44 | 49 | 34 |

Almost half of self-identified conservatives (47\%) say that they are likely to become more conservative over the next ten years. Similarly, $44 \%$ of liberals say that they are likely to become more liberal. Moderates tend to say that their ideology will not change during the next ten years (49\%).

| Shifting by Party | Overall | Rep | Ind | Dem |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Likely to become more conservative over the next 10 years | $\mathbf{2 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ |
| Likely to become more liberal over the next 10 years | 15 | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{1 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 7}$ |
| Move toward the middle during the next 10 years | 11 | $\mathbf{7}$ | $\mathbf{1 4}$ | $\mathbf{1 4}$ |
| Not change your ideology at all over the next 10 years | $\mathbf{4 4}$ | $\mathbf{5 1}$ | $\mathbf{4 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 6}$ |

The above chart indicates that Democrats are facing an ideological shifting. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats $(61 \%$ ) anticipate that they will make some sort of ideological transition over the next ten years, with $20 \%$ of Democrats saying they are likely to become more conservative over the next ten years. In contrast, only $27 \%$ of Democrats are moving in a more liberal direction. 14\% intend to move toward the middle. Republicans, on the other hand, say they will become more conservative (38\%), more liberal (3\%), and more moderate (7\%).

These ideological trends pose a difficult challenge for the Democrat Party as an institution in the years ahead and are a likely reflection of the ongoing battle for the Party's ideological direction. Is it the party of the Liberal Left represented by Howard Dean or the more centrist party of Bill Clinton? The problem is complicated by the fact that, according to the survey's findings, Democrats tend to believe that the political parties will not give the country the leadership it needs in the next ten years by a 40\%--49\% margin.

A closer look at minority voters who might change ideology shows a trend that substantially favors conservatives: Minority voters say they are more likely to shift their political ideology than white voters. Since the vast majority of minority voters have traditionally voted Democratic, any shift in ideology would be significant.

| Ideological Transitions Among Minorities | White | Af-American | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Likely to become more conservative over the next 10 years | 27 | 29 | 28 |
| Likely to become more liberal over the next 10 years | 14 | 26 | 29 |
| Move toward the middle during the next 10 years | 11 | 12 | 19 |
| Not change your ideology at all over the next 10 years | 46 | 33 | 22 |

$29 \%$ of African-Americans who see their ideology changing say they are likely to become more conservative and $12 \%$ more moderate- a remarkable $41 \%$ of African-American voters, according to the survey.

Among Hispanics, only 1 in 5 (22\%) do not anticipate an ideological change within ten years. $28 \%$ of Hispanics anticipate that they will become more conservative, and $19 \%$ more moderate.

## Outcomes and Solutions Trump Partisan Policy Positions

How leaders present issues to voters is important. This survey tested more than the usual "congressional priorities" listings of most research. Instead, we compared issue lists against a list of "outcomes/ solutions." This section was designed to measure what voters want over the next five to ten years - priorities for Congress and outcomes for the future of the country. It also tests the urgency of these voter priorities for Congress and the outcomes they want for America and themselves.

One of the most important findings of the survey came from this section which found that "outcomes" - real solutions to problems -- rated a much greater sense of urgency than priorities set for Congress.

Clearly, voters want solutions not partisanship or platitudes, and successful leaders in the future should embrace that approach. The fact that voters don't want to hear ideologically-framed policy positions is a reflection of the country's centrist politics today. They certainly have priorities for Congress; education ranking highest, followed by health care, jobs, and Social Security, but the data shows that when voters are given a "wish list" of possible outcomes, they respond far more strongly and with a sense of urgency to specific solutions than to simple issues.

## Congressional Issue Priorities List

This question measured what voters see as the most important issues for Congress to address over the next 10 years; not the issues on which respondents vote today, but what they want Congress to take up in the future. Survey respondents were given a list of concerns to rank on a scale of 1-10 in terms of urgency for congressional action over the next 5 to 10 years. The results are as follows:

On a scale of 1-10 with 1 being not important at all and 10 being very important, please tell me how important or not important it is for Congress to find a solution to each problem in the next 5 to 10 years.

- Education 8.70
- Improving the quality of and access to health care 8.29
- Employment and the jobs outlook in the US 8.17
- Social Security and retirement plans 8.12
- War on international terrorism 8.00
- Finding cures to prevalent diseases 7.97
- The federal deficit 7.95
- Energy and dependence on foreign oil 7.95
- Bioterrorism 7.92
- Religious freedom around the world 7.36
- Immigration 7.28
- Developing greater economic cooperation with other countries 7.28
- Tax simplification 7.22
- Global AIDS 6.97
- Human causes of global warming 6.82
- Expanding stem cell research 6.33

While security issues like war on terrorism and bioterrorism ranked high on the list, other issues like education, health care, jobs and Social Security ranked even higher than terrorism. In the above list of issues, only one item - education - ranked at 8.3 or higher.

## Outcomes and Solutions

Here we tried to gauge what voters say they want the future to look like within ten years. Survey respondents were given a "wish list" of possible outcomes over the next 10 years and asked to rate the importance of each on a scale of 1 to 10 , not as Congressional priorities, but as personal preferences and outcomes.

Now I am going to read a list of possible outcomes. On a scale of 1-10 with 1 being not important at all and 10 being very important, please tell me how important or not important it is for that outcome to happen within the next 10 years.

- Ensuring that every child in America can read ..... 9.14
- Securing our homeland and borders ..... 8.66
- Finding a cure for cancer ..... 8.61
- Providing equal access to health care for all Americans ..... 8.58
- Finding a cure for AIDS ..... 8.35
- Eradicating AI Qaeda and terrorist networks ..... 8.30
- Successfully reforming Social Security ..... 8.09
- Finding ways for different cultures, races and religions to live together ..... 8.04
- Eliminating the national deficit ..... 7.86
- Developing positive relations between the US and Muslim countries 7.81
- Making America's kids more competitive with kids from Europe and Asia 7.78
- Significantly reducing human causes of global warming 6.83
- Creating a third political party to rival the existing Democrat and Republican Parties

The most desired outcome that voters want to see within ten years is ensuring that every child in America can read (9.14). This outcome outranks the other outcomes by a significant margin. Given that education also led the list of voters' Congressional priorities, it is clear voters want Congress to act to improve education over the next 5 to 10 years. It is important to note that when the issue of education was presented as an outcome - "ensuring that every child in America can read", it ranked as 9.14 , as compared to only 8.70 as the issue of "education".

In the previous list of Congressional priorities, only one issue - education - ranked at 8.3 or higher. However, in the outcomes list, six items ranked at 8.3 or above: ensuring that every child in America can read, 9.14; securing our homeland and borders, 8.66, finding a cure for cancer, 8.61; providing equal access to health care for all Americans, 8.58; finding a cure for AIDS, 8.35, and eradicating AI Qaeda and terrorist networks, 8.30. The higher ranking of outcomes indicates that voters respond more strongly and urgently to specific solutions rather than mere issues.

## Priorities and Outcomes By Subgroups

## Congressional Issue Priorities by Age

| $\mathbf{1 8 - 3 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 - 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{4 5 - 5 4}$ | $\mathbf{5 5 - 6 4}$ | $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Education 8.95 | Health <br> care/education <br> 8.22 | Education 8.78 | Education 8.71 | Education 8.79 |
| Health care 8.45 | Bioterrorism <br> 8.06 | Energy/oil 8.33 | Health care 8.42 | Social <br> Security/Terrorism <br> 8.37 |
| Jobs outlook 8.41 | Social <br> Security/ <br> retirement <br> 8.03 | Jobs outlook <br> 8.22 | Jobs outlook 8.26 | Deficit 8.31 |
| Finding cures to <br> prevalent diseases <br> 8.32 | Jobs outlook <br> 7.97 | Health care <br> 8.14 | Social <br> Security/retirement <br> 8.17 | Health care 8.29 |
| Social <br> Security/Retirement <br> 8.19 | Energy/oil <br> 7.72 | War on terror <br> 8.04 | Deficit 8.07 | Finding cures to <br> prevalent <br> diseases 8.22 |

In every age group, voters say that education should be the top priority for Congress over the next 5 to 10 years. This ranks ahead of other critical issues like war on terror and the jobs outlook. This does not indicate that terror and the economy are less important, but what it does imply is that education is the "most actionable item" in the minds of voters. In other words, education is a problem that Congress can have a significant role in solving as compared to other matters like terrorism, which cannot be solved entirely by Congress.

Another trait shared by both the old and young is the concern for finding cures to prevalent diseases. Among voters 18-34, finding cures to diseases (8.32) ranked closely behind education, health care and jobs and ahead of other items like Social Security and terrorism. Among 65+,
finding cures to diseases (8.22) ranked very closely behind health care (8.29) and Social Security (8.37).

## Congressional Issue Priorities by Party

| Rep | Ind | Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| War on terror 8.57 | Education 8.72 | Education 9.17 |
| Bioterrorism 8.26 | Improve access/quality of <br> health care 8.27 | Improve access/quality <br> of health care 8.94 |
| Education 8.20 | Jobs outlook 8.01 | Jobs outlook 8.69 |
| Social Security/ | Federal deficit 8.00 | Federal deficit 8.50 |
| Retirement 7.98 | Social Security/Retirement <br> 7.97 | Finding cures to <br> Energy/oil 7.95 |
| pralent diseases 8.46 |  |  |

Not unexpectedly, there were variations by party. Among Republicans, the war on terror (8.57) and bioterrorism (8.26) topped their list, but education (8.2), Social Security/retirement plans (7.98) and energy/dependence on foreign oil (7.95) were also critical priorities voters want Congress to solve.

Priorities were very similar among independents and Democrats, which should concern Republicans. Among both groups, security issues did not rank in the top five. Education was the top priority for both groups ( 8.72 among independents; 9.17 among Democrats), with health care and jobs next in rank order. Among independents, the federal deficit (8.00) received almost the same priority ranking as jobs (8.01), indicating that the deficit is very much a concern to independents. Additionally, finding cures to prevalent diseases (8.46) was almost as important to Democrats as the federal deficit (8.50).

## Desired Outcomes by Age

$\left.\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}\hline \text { 18-34 } & \text { 35-44 } & \text { 45-54 } & \mathbf{5 5 - 6 4} & \begin{array}{c}\mathbf{6 5 +} \\ \hline \begin{array}{c}\text { Making sure every } \\ \text { child can read } 9.46\end{array} \\ \hline \begin{array}{c}\text { Making sure } \\ \text { every child } \\ \text { can read 9.01 }\end{array}\end{array} \begin{array}{c}\text { Making sure every } \\ \text { child can read } \\ 9.08\end{array}\end{array} \begin{array}{c}\text { Making sure } \\ \text { every child can } \\ \text { read 9.05 }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}\text { Making sure } \\ \text { every child can } \\ \text { read 9.15 }\end{array}\right]$

In looking at the outcomes list by age group, ensuring that every child can read was the top outcome across every age group - including voters 65+.

## Desired Outcomes by Gender

| Men | Women |
| :---: | :---: |
| Making sure every child can read 9.00 | Making sure every child can read 9.27 |
| Securing homeland and borders 8.63 | Equal access to health care 8.86 |
| Finding a cure for cancer 8.42 | Finding a cure for cancer 8.77 |
| Equal access to health care 8.27 | Securing homeland and borders 8.70 |
| Eradicating Al Qaeda and terrorist networks <br> 8.20 | Finding a cure for AIDS 8.63 |

Ensuring that every child in America can read is the most desired outcome among both men (9.00) and women (9.27), but there are gender differences with regard to other outcomes that voters feel are most critical. Men tend to be more concerned about making sure that we secure the homeland and borders (8.63) and eradicate AI Qaeda and terrorist networks (8.20). While securing the homeland and borders is an important priority to women (8.70), three out of the top five outcomes to women are related to health care. Women want equal access to health care (8.86), but also believe that finding a cure for cancer (8.77) and curing AIDS (8.63) are even more critical outcomes than items like eliminating the deficit (8.01) and reforming Social Security (8.26).

## Desired Outcomes by Race

| White | African-Americans | Hispanics |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Making sure every child <br> can read 9.09 | Finding a cure for AIDS <br> 9.57 | Making sure every child can <br> read 9.5 |
| Securing homeland and <br> borders 8.62 | Making sure every child can <br> read 9.55 | Equal access to health care <br> 9.34 |
| Finding a cure for cancer <br> 8.53 | Finding a cure for cancer <br> 9.51 | Finding a cure for AIDS 9.10 |
| Equal access to health |  |  |
| care 8.48 |  |  | | Equal access to health care |
| :---: |
| 9.36 |$\quad$| Finding a cure for cancer 9.09 |
| :---: |
| Eradicating Al Qaeda and <br> terrorist networks 8.34 |
| Successfully reforming <br> Social Security 8.89 |
| Securing homeland and <br> borders 9.04 |

White voters and Hispanics share a more similar set of preferred outcomes than AfricanAmericans. Ensuring that every child in America can read is the top priority for whites (9.09) and Hispanics (9.55). Securing the homeland and borders was the second most desired outcome for whites (8.62), and this was also a critical priority to Hispanics (9.04). Equal access to health care was another top concern for both Hispanics (9.34) and whites (8.48). However, the top five outcomes chosen by Hispanics all ranked at 9 or above, indicating that there is a greater sense of urgency about these outcomes than with white voters.

The top concern among African-Americans was finding a cure for AIDS (9.57), which distinguishes this group from other demographics. This reflects the seriousness of the AIDS crisis within the African-American community. Among this group, finding a cure for AIDS ranks on par with ensuring that every child in America can read (9.55). Following closely behind, making sure every child can read is finding a cure for cancer (9.51).

While the desired outcome set was somewhat different for African-Americans as compared to white voters, the top five outcomes for African-Americans were also ranked at a higher urgency level than for white voters. For African-Americans, their fifth most pressing priority - Social Security reform - ranked at 8.89, and the highest - finding a cure for AIDS - ranked at 9.57. In contrast, the outcome that received the highest ranking among white voters (making sure every child can read) was 9.09 , and their fifth lowest was 8.34 (eradicating AI Qaeda). Thus, while many
of the desired outcomes may be similar across the races, African-Americans and Hispanics feel a far greater sense of urgency than white voters.

## Desired Outcomes by Party

| Republican | Independent | Democrat |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Securing homeland and <br> borders 8.97 | Making sure every child can <br> read 9.03 | Making sure every child can <br> read 9.41 |
| Making sure every child can <br> read 8.96 | Equal access to health care <br> 8.57 | Equal access to health care <br> 9.28 |
| Eradicating Al Qaeda and | Securing homeland and <br> terrorist networks 8.85 | Finding a cure for AIDS 8.91 <br> Finding a cure for cancer 8.53 |
| 8.41 | Finding a cure for cancer <br> 8.44 | Finding a cure for cancer 8.90 |
| Successfully reforming | Finding a cure for AIDS <br> Social Security 8.27 | Finding ways for different <br> cultures, races and religions <br> to live together 8.64 |

Across party lines, Republicans tend to be more focused on security-related outcomes than independents and Democrats. For Republicans, securing the homeland and our borders (8.97) was the top priority, and ranked on par with making sure that every child can read (8.96). Eradicating Al Qaeda and terrorist networks was another important outcome for Republicans (8.85). However, it is interesting to note that finding a cure for cancer (8.41) was a more important outcome to Republicans than other items like Social Security reform (8.27) and eliminating the deficit (7.21).

The top priorities of independents and Democrats were very similar, a sharing of priorities that Republicans should note. Making sure every child can read was the most desired outcome for both groups ( 9.03 among independents; 9.41 among Democrats) and equal access to health care was the second most desired outcome ( 8.57 among independents; 9.28 among Democrats). Finding cures for cancer and AIDS were also among the top five outcomes to both groups.

## Increased Impact of Cable TV and Internet/blogs; Network Influence Diminishes

Over the past ten years, traditional media has struggled to maintain audience and influence and the 2004 election saw a significant shift toward cable/satellite television and Internet/blogs as sources of political news. The survey found that the next ten years are likely to pose an even greater challenge as the rise of the Internet and cable news is likely to continue to erode mainstream media power. The trends, so evident in the last election, are likely to continue over the next decade with the greatest increase in consumer demand for news likely to be for Internet/blogs followed by cable television. This historic change in non-traditional media influence and impact holds true across party lines. In fact, $50 \%$ of voters anticipate that they will get more news from the Internet over the next ten years.

## - Internet and Blogs

| Internet Trends By Party | Overall | Rep | Ind | Dem |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from Internet and blogs | 50 | 50 | 45 | 53 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from Internet <br> and blogs | 28 | 29 | 29 | 25 |
| Will get less news from Internet and blogs | 9 | 9 | 11 | 7 |

The increase in demand for news from the Internet crosses party and ideological lines. Republicans (50\%), independents (45\%) and Democrats (53\%) all intend to get more news from the Internet and blogs over the next ten years.

| Internet Trends By Ideology | Conservative | Moderate | Liberal |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from Internet and blogs | 50 | 49 | 51 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from <br> Internet and blogs | 25 | 29 | 28 |
| Will get less news from Internet and blogs | 10 | 9 | 6 |

Similarly, conservatives (50\%), moderates (49\%) and liberals (51\%) intend to get significantly more news from the Internet and blogs.

## Groups Moving Most Toward Internet/Blogs

| Groups Moving Most Toward Internet/Blogs |
| :--- | :---: |
| in Next 10 Years | | Percentage That Intends to Get |
| :---: |
| More News From Internet/Blogs |
| Within 10 Years |$|$| $\mathbf{6 6 \%}$ |
| :--- |
| Democrats 18-34 |
| African-Americans |
| $100 \mathrm{~K}+$ |
| $18-34$ |
| Democrats 35-54 |
| Hispanics |
| 35-44 |
| $75-100 \mathrm{65} \mathrm{\%}$ |
| Independents 18-34 |
| Plains/Mountains |
| Independents 35-54 |
| West Coast |

Groups who are most inclined to get more news from the Internet and blogs over the next ten years include young Democrats (66\%), African-Americans (65\%), 100K+ (65\%) and Hispanics (57\%). Geographically, Plains/Mountains (55\%) and West Coast (54\%) are the regions most inclined to get more news from the Internet and blogs, more than Northeast (46\%) and Midwest (46\%).

## - Cable Television

$46 \%$ of voters anticipate that they will get more news from cable over the next ten years, and 40\% think that they will get about the same amount of cable news as they do presently.

| Cable Trends By Party | Overall | Rep | Ind | Dem |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from cable | 46 | 49 | 45 | 44 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from cable | 40 | 42 | 37 | 40 |
| Will get less news from cable | 9 | 6 | 12 | 8 |


| Cable Trends By Ideology | Cons | Mod | Lib |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from cable | 51 | 47 | 34 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from cable | 37 | $\mathbf{4 2}$ | 41 |
| Will get less news from cable | 7 | 8 | 13 |

The most significant differences in cable viewing habits are across ideological lines rather than partisan lines. One in two conservatives (51\%) say that they will get more news from cable over the next ten years, while $37 \%$ will get about the same amount. $47 \%$ of moderates say they will likely get more cable over the next ten years; $42 \%$ the same. In contrast to conservatives and moderates, only $34 \%$ of liberals believe they will get more news from cable while $41 \%$ say the same.

| Cable Trends By Current Sources of News | Cable is already main <br> source of news | Network is main <br> source of news |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from cable | 64 | 41 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from cable | 33 | 42 |
| Will get less news from cable | 2 | 10 |

According to the survey, cable viewers will increase their consumption of cable news over network viewers. Among those who cite cable news as one of their two main sources of news, $64 \%$ say that they will get even more news from cable over the next ten years. Even among those who cite a network as one of their two main news sources, $41 \%$ say that they will get more news from cable in the future.

| Network Trends by Current Sources of News | Cable is already <br> main source of <br> news | Network is <br> main source <br> of news |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from networks | 24 | 36 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from networks | 45 | 55 |
| Will get less news from networks | 25 | 8 |

However, among those who cite networks as a main source of news, most (55\%) see themselves getting about the same amount of news from networks, and only $36 \%$ believe that they will get more news from networks in the future.

| Groups Moving Most Toward Cable in Next 10 <br> Years | Percentage That Intends to <br> Watch More Cable Within <br> 10 Years |
| :--- | :---: |
| African-Americans | $\mathbf{6 8 \%}$ |
| Conservative Republicans | $\mathbf{5 2 \%}$ |
| Conservatives | $\mathbf{5 1 \%}$ |
| Moderate Democrats | $\mathbf{5 1 \%}$ |
| Catholics | $\mathbf{5 1 \%}$ |
| Hispanics | $\mathbf{5 0 \%}$ |
| Evangelical Protestants | $\mathbf{5 0 \%}$ |
| $75-100 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\mathbf{5 0 \%}$ |
| Republicans | $\mathbf{4 9 \%}$ |
| Females 35-54 | $\mathbf{4 9 \%}$ |
| $50-75 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\mathbf{4 9 \%}$ |

Even though liberals said that they were more inclined to get about the same amount of cable news in future, it is very significant that African-Americans top the list of groups that intend to watch more cable within ten years - even more than cable-friendly demographic groups like conservative Republicans and Evangelical Protestants. 68\% of African-Americans intend to watch more cable in the future - an important divergence from their ideological counterparts -liberals (34\%) and Democrats overall (44\%).

## - Networks

| Network Trends By Party | Overall | Rep | Ind | Dem |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from networks | 26 | 19 | 24 | 34 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from networks | 50 | 49 | 49 | 52 |
| Will get less news from networks | 18 | 24 | 21 | 12 |

Among voters, across party lines, most will not be getting more news from networks in the coming years. About one in two Republicans, independents and Democrats say that they will get the same amount of news from networks. However, Republicans and independents are "peeling away" from network news more than Democrats. One in four Republicans (24\%) and one in five independents ( $21 \%$ ) intend to get less news from networks over the next ten years. Among Democrats, there is some sense of moving closer to network news, with 34\% of Democrats intending to get more news from networks, but on the whole, network news viewership does not appear likely to be increase over the next ten years.

| Network Trends By Ideology | Cons | Mod | Lib |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will get more news from networks | 21 | 29 | 27 |
| Will get about the same amount of news from networks | 42 | 54 | 56 |
| Will get less news from networks | 29 | 13 | 14 |

Across ideological lines, it is significant to note that about 1 in 3 conservatives (29\%) intends to get less news from networks over the next ten years.

| Groups Moving Away From Networks in Next 10 <br> Years | Percentage That Intends to <br> Watch Less Network News <br> Within 10 Years |
| :--- | :---: |
| Conservative Independents | $\mathbf{3 5 \%}$ |
| Conservative Republicans | $\mathbf{3 1 \%}$ |
| $100 \mathrm{~K}+$ | $\mathbf{3 1 \%}$ |
| $75-100 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 \%}$ |
| Conservatives | $\mathbf{2 9 \%}$ |
| Republican Men | $\mathbf{2 9 \%}$ |
| Married Men w/Kids | $\mathbf{2 6 \%}$ |
| Independent Men | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |
| Mainline Protestants | $\mathbf{2 0 \%}$ |

Groups with the highest percentage of voters who intend to get less news from networks over the next ten years are conservative-leaning groups, such as conservative independents (35\%), conservative Republicans (31\%), and married men with kids (26\%).

## - Radio

As with networks, the percentage of voters who intend to get more news from radio is only $25 \%$, whereas $51 \%$ intend to get about the same level of news from radio as they do now. Conservative Republicans ( $29 \%$ ) are somewhat more likely than the average to get more news from radio over the next ten years, but on the whole, there is not likely to be much growth in the demand for radio news.

## - Newspapers

Similarly, there is not likely to be a growth in demand for daily newspapers. $21 \%$ of voters overall say that they are likely to get more news from daily newspapers, and $57 \%$ believe that they will get about the same level of news from newspapers as they do now.

## A Better America for Our Children?

According to the survey, there is no clear consensus about what the future holds for America's children although almost half of voters were pessimistic about the future, a troubling finding.

| Outlook by Gender | Overall | Men | Women |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Better than the one you had growing up | 24 | 28 | 21 |
| About the same as the one you had <br> growing up | 24 | 26 | 22 |
| Worse than the one you had growing up | 49 | 42 | 54 |

Among voters overall, almost half feel that the America in which children will grow up in the next five to ten years will be worse than the America of their own childhood. Women tend to be more pessimistic than men in terms of their outlook. $54 \%$ of women to only $42 \%$ of men believe that the America in which kids will grow up in the next decade will be worse.

| Outlook by Party | Republicans | Independents | Democrats |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Better than the one you had growing up | 31 | 25 | 18 |
| About the same as the one you had <br> growing up | 30 | 21 | 19 |
| Worse than the one you had growing up | 35 | 51 | 60 |

Republicans are slightly more optimistic than Independents and Democrats about the future for America's children, but they are evenly split about America's future. A significant number of Independents and Democrats, $51 \%$ and $60 \%$ respectively, are pessimistic about America over the next 10 years.

| Outlook by Age | $\mathbf{1 8 - 3 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 - 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{4 5 - 5 4}$ | $\mathbf{5 5 - 6 4}$ | $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Better than the one you had growing up | 25 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 19 |
| About the same as the one you had <br> growing up | 29 | 18 | 25 | 21 | 27 |
| Worse than the one you had growing up | 43 | 52 | 47 | 53 | 49 |

Across age groups, young people tend to be somewhat more optimistic than other age groups. $25 \%$ of voters 18-34 feel that America will be better place for its children, and $43 \%$ feel it will be worse. In contrast, only $19 \%$ of voters $65+$ feel that America will be better for kids, and $49 \%$ feel that it will be worse.

## Policy Engagement by Political Parties

On a scale of 1-10, respondents were asked to rate their perception of how political parties involve people like them in public policy discussions. The overall rating was 4.3 , indicating that voters do not feel particularly engaged by the political parties. However, there is a significant partisan and ideological gap with regard to how engaged the electorate feels.

| Groups That Feel Most Engaged | Perceived Level of Engagement |
| :--- | :---: |
| Conservative Republicans | 5.31 |
| Right Track | 5.25 |
| Republicans | 5.15 |
| Conservatives | 5.03 |
| $75-100 K$ | 4.66 |
| Evangelical Protestants | 4.63 |
| Women 55+ | 4.62 |

While their perceptions of engagement by the parties was lukewarm, groups that feel more engaged include Republican base groups, such as conservatives and evangelical Protestants. It is interesting to point out that women 55+ (4.62) were among the groups that felt somewhat more engaged than the average voter (4.3). This group has traditionally been somewhat pessimistic about Republicans, so it is significant that older women feel slightly more engaged than the average voter and share this trait with conservative-leaning groups.

| Groups That Feel Least Engaged | Perceived Level of Engagement |
| :--- | :---: |
| African-Americans | 3.62 |
| Moderate Independents | 3.64 |
| Democrats | 3.82 |
| Non-Churchgoers | 3.82 |
| Independents | 3.86 |
| Moderates | 3.99 |
| Married Women w/Kids | 3.99 |

Groups that feel the least engaged include Democrat-leaning groups such as African-Americans. However, independents and moderates also fell into the "least engaged" category. Additionally, married women with children - also known as "security moms" - felt less engaged (3.99) than the average voter.

## Leadership from Political Parties

About 1 in 2 voters (52\%) feel that the Republican and Democrat Parties will give voters the leadership we need, and $37 \%$ believe that they will not.

Republicans, by a wide margin, have more confidence in both the Democrat and Republican Parties to provide the leadership the country will need over the next decade. However, only $40 \%$ of Democrats overall believe that the political parties will provide sufficient leadership, while 49\% do not..

| Outlook by <br> Party/Gender | Rep <br> Men | Rep <br> Women | Ind <br> Men | Ind <br> Women | Dem <br> Men | Dem <br> Women |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will | 69 | 75 | 34 | 55 | 37 | 42 |
| Will not | 23 | 17 | 54 | 30 | 51 | 48 |

There are also some interesting gender differences concerning party leadership. Men, in general, tend to be more skeptical than women about parties providing leadership, but gender differences are most acute among independents and Democrats. Democratic men are particularly dissatisfied with the parties. Only $37 \%$ of Democrat men believe the parties will provide sufficient leadership while $51 \%$ do not. This is a significantly more pessimistic outlook than that of Democratic women (42-48). This gender trend poses a real challenge for the Democrat Party.

Among independents, we also find significant gender disparity. Independent women are fairly confident that the Republican and Democrat Parties will provide the leadership we need (55$30 \%$ ), a surprising finding. Independent men, however, are pessimistic about the parties' ability to lead in the future (34-54). Independents are likely to remain a key swing voter group, so their cynicism over the leadership issue should concern both parties.

| Outlook by Ideology | Conservatives | Moderates | Liberals |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will | 62 | 51 | 37 |
| Will not | 28 | 38 | 50 |

In terms of ideology, we see a majority of conservatives (62\%) believe that the parties will provide the leadership we need. Even moderates tend to be confident in the parties' ability (51-38). However, among liberals, there is a lack of confidence in the parties (37-50\%).

| Outlook by Race | White | African- <br> Americans | Hispanics |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will | 53 | 38 | 49 |
| Will not | 36 | 55 | 38 |

The survey also found significant differences between the races when it comes to confidence in the parties' leadership abilities. White voters (53-36\%) and Hispanics (49-38\%) are relatively confident in the parties, but African-Americans are skeptical (38-55\%).

| Outlook by Age | $18-34$ | $35-44$ | $45-54$ | $55-64$ | $65+$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Will | 57 | 51 | 53 | 51 | 48 |
| Will not | 36 | 41 | 38 | 40 | 33 |

One of the most interesting findings in the survey was the fact that young voters are the most optimistic about the parties' leadership abilities for the future (57-36 among 18-34 year-olds) whereas the country's oldest voters (65+) are least confident (48-33).

## Meeting America's Needs: Confidence in Government Institutions

While voters gave the political parties a mere 4.3 rating when it comes to engaging the public in policy discussion, their confidence in government institutions to meet the needs of the country in the future was somewhat better. On a scale of $1-10$ with 1 being not very well and 10 being very well, survey participants were asked to rate how well or not well institutions of government in America can meet our needs in the coming decade. Overall, the confidence rating was 5.43. Again, there was a significant partisan divide in terms of confidence in government institutions' ability to meet needs in the coming decade.

| Groups That Have Most Confidence in <br> Institutions Meeting Needs | Perceived Level of Confidence |
| :--- | :---: |
| Conservative Republicans | $\mathbf{6 . 2 6}$ |
| Republicans | 6.24 |
| Moderate Republicans | 6.08 |
| Men 18-34 | 5.96 |
| Conservatives | 5.93 |
| Mainline Protestant | 5.77 |
| Rural | 5.72 |
| Young voters 18-34 | 5.71 |
| 75-100K | 5.63 |
| Hispanics | $\mathbf{5 . 5 9}$ |
| Weekly Church Attendees | $\mathbf{5 . 5 8}$ |
| Catholics | $\mathbf{5 . 5 1}$ |

Those on the conservative side of the political spectrum (Republicans, conservatives, Moderate Republicans) had far more confidence in government institutions. Additionally, Hispanics (5.59) and Catholics (5.51) were among the groups with a higher confidence level than the average voter.

| Groups That Have Least Confidence in <br> Institutions Meeting Needs | Perceived Level of Confidence |
| :--- | :---: |
| Liberals | 4.88 |
| Moderate Independents | 4.96 |


| Democrats | 4.97 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Independent Men | 4.99 |

Demographic groups with the least confidence in institutions meeting our needs were liberals (4.88) and Democrats (4.97) but also Independent men (4.99) and moderate Independents (4.96) -- a seeming ideological contradiction given Democrats' traditional support for government-based solutions to problems and Republicans preference for personal responsibility.

What this data suggests is that in the voter's mind, the party in power is the party of governance. Therefore, partisan confidence (and blame) falls along party or ideological lines when it comes to confidence in government's ability to solve problems.

| Age | Perceived Level of Confidence |
| :--- | :---: |
| $18-34$ | 5.71 |
| $35-44$ | 5.45 |
| $45-54$ | 5.30 |
| $55-64$ | 5.28 |
| $65+$ | 5.43 |

Finally, given their history of low voter turnout, one might assume that young voters are disenchanted with the political system. Yet, this survey found that the 18-34 age group had the highest level of confidence in government institutions (5.71) of any age group.

## Meeting America's Needs: Confidence in Elected Leaders

The electorate's confidence in the ability of institutions to meet the nation's needs (5.43) is better than their perception of how elected leaders meet needs. On a scale of 1-10, the electorate rated leaders' ability to meet needs at 4.92 , a mediocre level of confidence in leaders' ability to solve problems.

| Groups That Have Most Confidence in <br> Leaders Meeting Needs | Perceived Level of Confidence |
| :--- | :---: |
| Conservative Republicans | $\mathbf{6 . 3 9}$ |
| Republicans | 6.12 |
| Conservatives | 5.79 |
| Mainline Protestants | 5.27 |
| Evangelical Protestants | $\mathbf{5 . 2 5}$ |
| Weekly Church Attendees | 5.24 |
| $75-100 K$ | 5.19 |
| Married Women w/Kids | $\mathbf{5 . 1 8}$ |
| $18-34$ | $\mathbf{5 . 1 8}$ |

Groups with more confidence in the ability of leaders to meet needs than the survey average are Republican-leaning groups, which include conservatives, Evangelical Protestants and weekly church goers. It is also important to note that married women with children (5.18) and younger voters (5.18) are among the groups with somewhat more confidence in leaders to meet needs. With regard to married women with children, their confidence in leaders is significant in that they were among the groups who felt the least engaged by parties in public policy discussions.

| Groups That Have Least Confidence in <br> Leaders Meeting Needs | Perceived Level of Confidence |
| :--- | :---: |
| Democrat Females | 3.94 |
| Liberals | 3.96 |
| Democrats | 4.06 |
| African-Americans | 4.18 |
| Independent Men | 4.29 |

Like the previous question on confidence in government institutions, Democrat-leaning groups have the least confidence in leaders meeting our needs. These include liberals, Democrats, and African-Americans. However, independent men (4.29) are also among the groups with the least confidence which reflects a cynicism and pessimism seen from this group in a number of questions throughout the survey.

## Impact of Religion

There may be a slight increase in the role of religion over the next 5 to 10 years. 1 in 3 (35\%) believe that religion will play an even greater role in their lives in the near future, and only $5 \%$ see its influence diminishing.

Younger voters and African-Americans are especially prone to believe that religion will play a greater role in their lives over the next decade, a trend that has the potential for political impact.

| Outlook On Religion By Religious <br> Denomination | Overall | Evangelical <br> Protestant | Mainline <br> Protestant | Catholic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Greater role in your life | 35 | 48 | 36 | 30 |
| About the same role in your life as it does now | 58 | 48 | 60 | 65 |
| Less of a role in your life | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 |

The importance of religion's influence on one's life varies by religious denomination. About one out of two ( $48 \%$ ) of Evangelical Protestants see religion playing a greater role in their lives during the next ten years; mainline Protestants $36 \%$; and Catholics $30 \%$. Thus, Catholics are less inclined to see a greater role for religion in their lives than voters overall.

| Outlook On Religion By Age | $18-34$ | $35-44$ | $45-54$ | $55-64$ | $65+$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Greater role in your life | 39 | 39 | 39 | 31 | 30 |
| About the same role in your life as it does now | 54 | 54 | 57 | 65 | 60 |
| Less of a role in your life | 6 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 7 |

Younger voters tend to see religion playing a greater role in their lives than older voters. Among the $18-34$ age group as well as the $35-44$ group, $39 \%$ see religion playing a greater role in the coming years. Only 6\% anticipate that religion will play a lesser role. Among seniors, 30\% see religion playing a greater role, and $60 \%$ believe that it will play the same role in their lives in the future.

| Outlook On Religion By Race | White | African- <br> American | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Greater role in your life | 33 | 75 | 31 |
| About the same role in your life as it does now | 62 | 22 | 56 |
| Less of a role in your life | 5 | 2 | 13 |

Over the next ten years, religion may play a more influential role in the African-American community than among white and Hispanic voters. African-Americans are much more inclined to see religion playing a greater role than voters overall. $75 \%$ of African-Americans say that religion will play a greater role in their lives over the next ten years, as compared to only $31 \%$ of Hispanics and $33 \%$ of white voters.

## Impact of Islam

| Attitudes About Islam By Age | Overall | $\mathbf{1 8 - 3 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 - 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{4 5 - 5 4}$ | $\mathbf{5 5 - 6 4}$ | $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Greater impact than it does now | 37 | 29 | 38 | 39 | 44 | 37 |
| About the same impact as it does now | 36 | 45 | 41 | 34 | 31 | 29 |
| Less of an impact than it does now | 19 | 19 | 16 | 21 | 19 | 20 |

Voters feel that Islam will be a long-term issue and that it may have a greater impact in the future. $37 \%$ of voters overall feel that Islam will have a greater impact than it does now, and only $19 \%$ feel that it will have a lesser impact in the future.

There are differences of opinion by age. Younger voters (age 18-34) tend to believe that Islam will have about the same impact as it does now ( $45 \%$ ), while $29 \%$ believe its role will increase. However, as voters become older, they tend to believe that Islam will have a greater influence than it does now. For instance, among the 55-64 age group, $44 \%$ see Islam's impact increasing, while only $31 \%$ feel that it will remain the same over the next ten years.

## - Approach to Islam

| Attitudes About Islam By Age | Overall | $18-34$ | $35-44$ | $45-54$ | $55-64$ | $65+$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Learn more about Islam | 38 | 48 | 42 | 33 | 40 | 29 |
| Be more tolerant of Islam | 16 | 14 | 15 | 20 | 13 | 21 |
| Help educate followers of Islam more <br> about our values | 36 | 27 | 35 | 38 | 39 | 40 |

While they believe that Islam will be a long-term issue, American voters are unclear about the best way to approach Islam. $38 \%$ believe that it is most important for Americans to learn more about Islam; $36 \%$ feel that the best approach is to better educate followers of Islam about our values; and $16 \%$ believe it is more important to simply be more tolerant of Islam.

There are significant differences by age with regard to the best approach. Younger voters under age 45 believe that the best approach is to learn more about Islam ( $48 \%$ among 18-34; 42\% among 35-44). However, older voters tend to prefer the approach of educating followers of Islam about our values ( $40 \%$ among $65+$ ).

| Attitudes About Islam By Race | White | Af-American | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Learn more about Islam | $\mathbf{3 6}$ | $\mathbf{5 1}$ | 54 |
| Be more tolerant of Islam | $\mathbf{1 7}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ |
| Help educate followers of Islam more <br> about our values | 37 | 23 | 37 |

While white voters are evenly split between learning more about Islam and educating followers more about our values, minorities are more decisive about their preferred approach, which is learning more about Islam ( $51 \%$ of African-Americans and $54 \%$ of Hispanics).

| Attitudes About Islam By Ideology | Cons | Mod | Lib |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Learn more about Islam | 27 | $\mathbf{4 1}$ | $\mathbf{5 2}$ |
| Be more tolerant of Islam | 14 | 17 | 21 |
| Help educate followers of Islam more <br> about our values | 49 | 33 | 21 |

There are clear ideological differences in the preferred approach to Islam. Conservatives tend to favor an approach of educating Muslims more about our values (49\%), while moderates (41\%) and liberals ( $52 \%$ ) tend to believe that we should learn more about Islam.

