Looking Backward and Forward, Americans See Less Progress in Their Lives

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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In the past four years, some of the edge has come off good old American optimism.

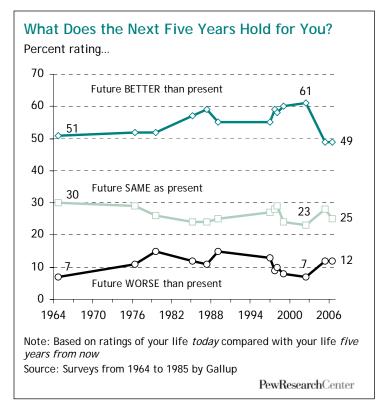
Just under half (49%) of the respondents in a new Pew Research Center survey rate the quality of the life they expect to be leading five years from now higher than their current quality of life. As recently as 2002, more than six-in-ten (61%) Americans said their future would be better than their present.

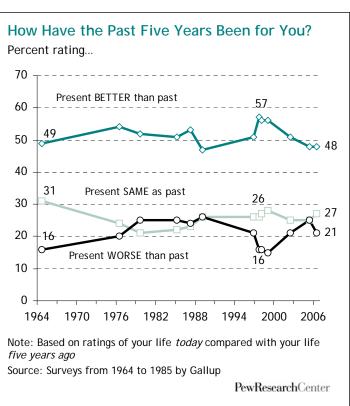
The new Pew survey also finds that a quarter of adults rate their life five years from now the same as they rate their current life, while just 12% rate the future worse (the remaining 14% say they aren't sure). Thus, looking at only the "worse" and "better" ratings, Americans continue to tilt heavily positive—by a ratio of four-to-one—in their outlook about the future.

Even so, the downturn in personal optimism since 2002 is the sharpest recorded in the more than 40 years that both Pew and the Gallup organization have been conducting this "ladder of life" survey.¹

In the 2006 Pew survey, as in all previous surveys in this series, Americans rate the present above the past and the future above the present. However, taking into account all three sets of ratings (past, present, future), Americans are on average about one-third less upbeat about the trajectory of their lives now than they were in 1999, at the height of a prolonged economic boom.

The Pew telephone survey was conducted from June 20 through July 16, 2006 among a





¹ This battery of questions was developed by Hadley Cantril and colleagues and has been asked by a number of different organizations over the years. See Cantril, Hadley. 1965. *The Pattern of Human Concerns*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

nationally representative sample of 2,003 adults. It has a margin of error of plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.

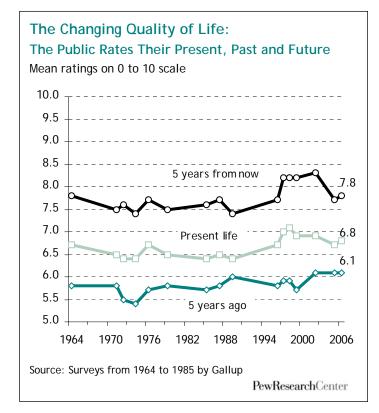
The ladder of life series employs what researchers call a "self-anchoring scale." Respondents are first asked to give a numerical rating to their present quality of life. Then, having anchored themselves in the present, they are asked to rate the past and future the same way. They are not asked if they think the future (or past) is better or worse. They are simply asked, in succession, to rate three points in time on the same numerical scale.

According to the 2006 survey, Americans on average give a 6.8 rating (on a zero to ten scale) to their current lives; a 6.1 rating to their lives five years ago and a 7.8 rating to the lives they expect to be leading in another five years. That adds up to an aggregate average of 1.7 rating points worth of forward progress between five years ago and five years hence.

This 1.7 figure in 2006 is a bit below the historical average of 2.0 for all surveys taken since 1964. However, it is fully a third below the 1999 figure of 2.5—the highest measure of forward progress recorded by this battery of questions.

In the seven years since 1999, the economic boom has long since passed and levels of satisfaction with the state of the nation have fallen off sharply. They are in the low 30 percent range now, down from the mid to high 50 percentage range in the late 1990s. So at a time when people have come to feel worse about the state of the nation, they are also feeling less optimistic about their own prospects for personal progress.

This correlation may seem self-evident, but it needs to be kept in perspective. Survey



researchers through the years have noted that there is very little correlation between satisfaction with one's own current quality of life and satisfaction with the current state of the nation². The former is a stable trend that changes little over time; the latter moves up and down a lot in response to changes in the economy or other major national events. However, it is not uncommon to find a correlation between feelings about the current state of the nation and feelings about one's *future* quality of life, as the latest Pew findings show.

² Lipset, Seymour Martin and William Schneider. 1987. *The Confidence Gap: Business, Labor and Government in the Public Mind*, second edition. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

The Trajectory of Life - Who's Moving Ahead?

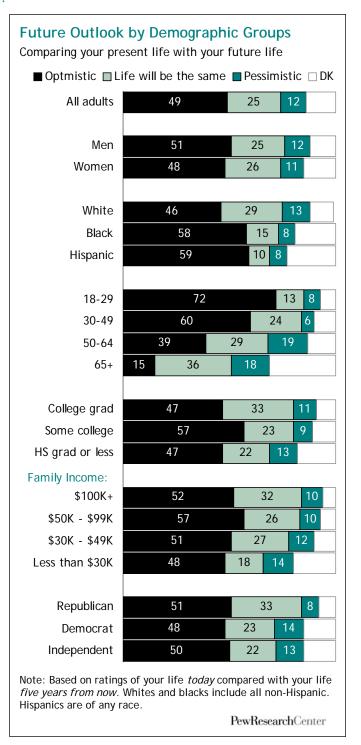
Needless to say, not all Americans are of the same mind as they assess whether they've made progress in life and whether they expect to make more in the future.

The groups most likely to forecast future personal progress include younger adults, blacks and Hispanics. The findings show that as people grow older, and especially as they move into their elderly years, their expectations for an improving quality of life decline sharply. Also, blacks and Hispanics are more likely than whites to forecast personal progress for themselves. (On the other hand, whites as a group place themselves considerably higher on the present ladder of life than either blacks or Hispanics place themselves.)

The groups most likely to say they have made progress over the past five years include younger adults, college graduates and people with higher incomes.

Most of these demographic differences have been present in the findings from this battery of questions over the years; however, the correlation between income levels and assessments of past progress have grown stronger over the course of the past four years.

In 2002, 45% of those in the lowest income bracket saw themselves as having made progress, compared with 57% of those in the highest bracket – a 12 percentage point gap. This year, 39% of those in the lowest bracket see themselves as having made progress, compared with 59% of those in the highest



bracket – a 20 percentage point gap. This gap, while significantly larger than it was four years earlier, is not unprecedented.

Where People Stand Now

About four-in-ten (41%) Americans rate their life today on one of the top three steps of the ladder of life (from 8 to 10), three-in-ten put themselves just below that as a six or seven and 26% rate their life at the lower levels (from 0 to 5). These figures are about the same as they have been since 2002, though fewer put their life on the highest steps of the ladder today than did so in the late 1990's.

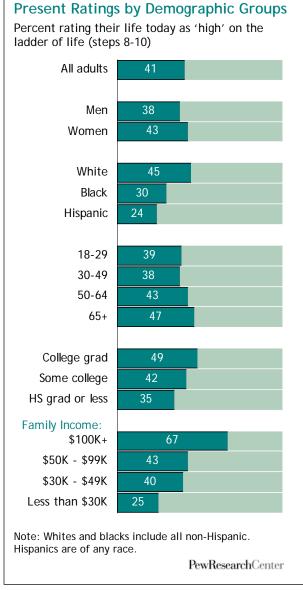
Income is strongly correlated with how people rate their present life. Two-thirds of those with incomes of \$100,000 or more place themselves on the three highest steps of the ladder (8 to 10). A quarter of those with incomes under \$30,000 do the same. A multiple regression analysis found that income was the strongest socio demographic predictor of present life evaluations.³

Other groups that are more likely to see themselves on the top three steps of the ladder include whites, more so than blacks or Hispanics; college graduates more so than those with less education; women more so than men; Republicans more so than either Democrats or independents; frequent church attendees more so than those who go to religious services less often; and married people more so than singles. These patterns have been present in this battery of questions over the years.

People who live in areas with low unemployment say
their quality of life is higher than do people who live in
areas of high unemployment. And, not surprisingly, workers who say they

areas of high unemployment. And, not surprisingly, workers who say they are satisfied with their jobs are more likely to rate their overall quality of life higher.

There are also correlations between one's level of work satisfaction and one's assessment of personal progress—although, depending on the time frame, these correlations operate in opposite directions. People who are satisfied with their job are more likely than others to say they have made progress over the past five years. However, looking forward, the opposite is true: people who are dissatisfied with their job are more likely than others to say they expect to make progress in the next five years.



³ Based on a linear regression analysis predicting ladder of life evaluations from the following independent variables: gender, race, age, education, income, party identification, marital status, having minor-age children, church attendance, and local unemployment conditions.

International Comparisons

In 2002 the Pew Global Attitudes Survey administered this same "ladder of life" battery of questions in 44 countries; it found that Americans placed in the middle to upper middle ranges compared with publics of other countries.

Looking backward, Americans were more inclined to say they had made progress than were the publics of any country surveyed in Europe or the Middle East and most of the countries surveyed in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Looking forward, Americans were more optimistic than almost all of the publics of Europe, the Middle East and Latin America, but were less optimistic than most of the publics of Africa and Asia.

How Come the Future Never Lives Up to Its Advance Billing?

Year after year, these ladder of life survey findings all share the same anomaly: the future, once it finally arrives, never measures up to today's expectation of it. To give just one example, in 1997 the public, on average, expected to enjoy an 8.2 quality of life in 2002. But by the time 2002 rolled around, the public, on average, rated the present as just a 6.9. (See chart.)

This apparent paradox in human perception applies to self-assessments of the past as well (the public rates the past worse in retrospect than they rated it at the time). As a result, at any given moment, the public as a whole believe they were worse off in the past and will be better off in the future. That suggests a blissful state of constant human progress. But there's just one problem: over the course of time, the public's evaluations of the present rarely changes. So what gives?

Some psychologists have theorized that human beings are hard-wired to imagine brighter tomorrows because the act of doing so is pleasurable in and of itself. Thinkers from other disciplines have other theories. For example, economist Richard Easterlin of the University of Southern California has suggested that this paradox can be explained by the interaction between human nature and rising personal income.

Over the course off their adult lives, Easterlin notes, most people acquire more money and material goods. That's a big part of the reason they expect tomorrow to be better than today (and rate today better than yesterday). However, as people get more, they also want more—and so they never achieve the increased level of satisfaction that they thought they would.

This is a neither a new insight nor a new dilemma. Back in 1776, long before survey researchers started asking their questions, writer Samuel Johnson observed: "Life is a progress from want to want, not from enjoyment to enjoyment."

⁴ Gilbert, Daniel. 2006. Stumbling on Happiness. New York: Knopf.

⁵ Easterlin, Richard A. 2002. "The Income-Happiness Relationship." In Wolfgang Glatzer, ed., Rich and Poor: Disparities, Perceptions, Concomitants. Boston: Kluwer Academic. pp. 157-175.

About the Pew Social Trends Reports

The Pew social trends reports explore the behaviors and attitudes of Americans in key realms of their lives — family, community, health, finance, work and leisure. Reports analyze changes over time in social behaviors and probe for differences and similarities between key sub-groups in the population.

The surveys are conducted by the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

Survey reports are the result of the collaborative effort of the social trends staff, which consists of:

> Paul Taylor, Executive Vice President Cary Funk, Senior Project Director Peyton Craighill, Project Director

About the Survey

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted with a nationally representative sample of adults, ages 18 years and older, living in continental U.S. telephone households. The sample design included a representative sample of 1,182 respondents and an oversample of 821 respondents ages 18 to 64. The data are weighted to produce a final sample that is representative of the general population of adults in the continental United States.

- Interviews conducted June 20-July 16, 2006
- 2,003 interviews
- Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 2.5
 percentage points for results based on the total
 sample at the 95% confidence level. The margin of
 sampling error is higher for results based on subgroups
 of respondents.

Survey interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish.

Bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias in the findings of opinion polls.

PEW SOCIAL TRENDS FINAL TOPLINE June 20 - July 16, 2006 N=2003

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country, today?

			Don't know/
_	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Refused
June 2006	33	60	7=100
May 2006	29	65	6=100
March 2006	32	63	5=100
January 2006	34	61	5=100
Late November 2005	34	59	7=100
Early October 2005	29	65	6=100
July 2005	35	58	7=100
Late May 2005	39	57	4=100
February 2005	38	56	6=100
January 2005	40	54	6=100
December 2004	39	54	7=100
Mid-October 2004	36	58	6=100
July 2004	38	55	7=100
May 2004	33	61	6=100
Late February 2004	39	55	6=100
Early January 2004	45	48	7=100
December 2003	44	47	9=100
October 2003	38	56	6=100
August 2003	40	53	7=100
April 2003 ⁶	50	41	9=100
January 2003	44	50	6=100
November 2002	41	48	11=100
September 2002 ⁷	41	55	4=100
Late August 2002	47	44	9=100
May 2002	44	44	12=100
March 2002	50	40	10=100
Late September 2001	57	34	9=100
Early September 2001	41	53	6=100
June 2001	43	52	5=100
March 2001	47	45	8=100
February 2001	46	43	11=100
January 2001	55	41	4=100
October 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7=100
September 2000	51	41	8=100
June 2000	47	45	8=100
April 2000	48	43	9=100
August 1999	56	39	5=100

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⁶ Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395

⁷ The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

January 1999 Satisfied Dissatisfied Refused 53 41 6=100
January 1999 53 41 6=100
November 1998 46 44 10=100
Early September 1998 54 42 4=100
Late August 1998 55 41 4=100
Early August 1998 50 44 6=100
February 1998 59 37 4=100
January 1998 46 50 4=100
September 1997 45 49 6=100
August 1997 49 46 5=100
January 1997 38 58 4=100
July 1996 29 67 4=100
March 1996 28 70 2=100
October 1995 23 73 4=100
June 1995 25 73 2=100
April 1995 23 74 3=100
July 1994 24 73 3=100
March 1994 24 71 5=100
October 1993 22 73 5=100
September 1993 20 75 5=100
May 1993 22 71 7=100
January 1993 39 50 11=100
January 1992 28 68 4=100
November 1991 34 61 5=100
Late February 1991 (<i>Gallup</i>) 66 31 3=100
August 1990 47 48 5=100
May 1990 41 54 5=100
January 1989 45 50 5=100
September 1988 (RVs) 50 45 5=100
May 1988 41 54 5=100
January 1988 39 55 6=100

Q.2 Let's talk about the quality of your life. Imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? You can name any number between 0 and 10.

	High	Medium	Low	Don't Know/	Mean
	(8-10)	(6-7)	(0-5)	Refused	Rating
On which step of the ladder do you feel you					
personally stand at the present time?	41	30	26	3=100	6.8
2005 Pew Global Attitudes ⁸	40	29	30	1=100	6.7
2002 Pew Global Attitudes	43	32	24	1=100	6.9
1999	43	31	25	1=100	6.9
1998	48	31	21	*=100	7.1
1997	47	31	22	*=100	7.0
1996	37	33	29	1=100	6.7
1989	31	35	34	*=100	6.4
1987	33	36	30	1=100	6.5
1985 Gallup	31	36	33	*=100	6.4
1979 Gallup	34	31	33	2=100	6.5
1976 Gallup	38	30	32	*=100	6.7
1974 Gallup	36	28	36	*=100	6.4
1972 Gallup	34	28	38	*=100	6.4
1971 Gallup	34	30	34	2=100	6.5
1964 Gallup	36	33	30	1=100	6.7

The trends from 2005 and 2002 are from Pew Global Attitudes surveys. The question was worded "Here is a ladder representing the 'ladder of life.' Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

Q.3 And on which step would you say you stood <u>five years ago</u>? Zero is the worst possible life and 10 the best possible life.

	High	Medium	Low	Don't Know/	Mean
	(8-10)	(6-7)	(0-5)	Refused	Rating
And on which step would you say					
you stood <u>five years ago</u> ?	31	26	40	3=100	6.1
2005 Pew Global Attitudes	31	26	41	2=100	6.1
2002 Pew Global Attitudes	32	23	43	2=100	6.1
1999	27	23	49	1=100	5.7
1998	29	23	48	*=100	5.9
1997	28	25	46	1=100	5.9
1996	26	27	46	1=100	5.8
1989	28	27	44	1=100	6.0
1987	28	26	45	1=100	5.8
1985 Gallup	25	27	48	*=100	5.7
1979 Gallup	28	24	48	*=100	5.8
1976 Gallup	29	22	49	*=100	5.7
1974 Gallup	24	22	54	*=100	5.4
1972 Gallup	24	23	53	*=100	5.5
1971 Gallup	27	25	47	1=100	5.8
1964 Gallup	28	24	47	1=100	5.8

Q.4 And on what number step do you think you will be <u>five years from now?</u> Zero is the worst possible life and 10 is the best possible life.

	High (8-10)	Medium (6-7)	Low (0-5)	Don't Know/ Refused	Mean Rating
And on what number step do you think					
you will be <u>five years from now?</u>	60	13	14	13=100	7.8
2005 Pew Global Attitudes	59	14	17	10=100	7.7
2002 Pew Global Attitudes	71	10	11	8=100	8.3
1999	69	14	10	7=100	8.2
1998	72	14	11	3=100	8.2
1997	73	13	10	4=100	8.2
1996	64	16	16	4=100	7.7
1989	56	21	18	5=100	7.4
1987	61	19	14	6=100	7.7
1985 Gallup	59	19	16	6=100	7.6
1979 Gallup	57	18	19	6=100	7.5
1976 Gallup	60	18	14	8=100	7.7
1974 Gallup	55	18	18	9=100	7.4
1972 Gallup	58	17	16	9=100	7.6
1971 Gallup	52	18	16	14=100	7.5
1964 Gallup	57	22	11	10=100	7.8

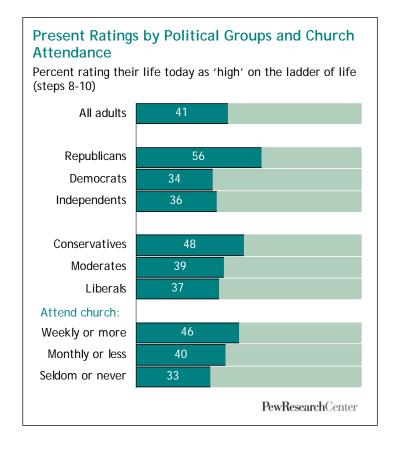
COMPARING PRESENT TO FUTURE LIFE (Q.2 AND Q.4) Ratings of your future life compared with the present.

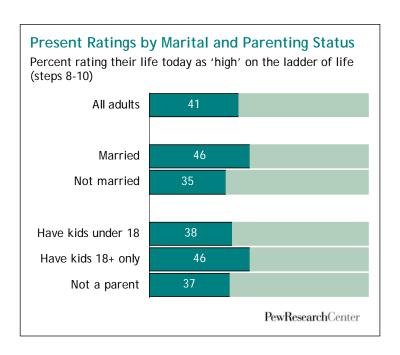
	Future life will be	Future life will be the SAME as present		Future life will be	Don't
_	BETTER than present	Present is positive	Present is negative	WORSE than present	Know
2006	49	21	4	12	14=100
2005	49	24	4	12	11=100
2002	61	20	3	7	9=100
1999	60	21	3	8	8=100
1998	58	26	3	10	3=100
1997	59	25	3	9	4=100
1996	55	22	5	13	5=100
1989	55	20	5	15	5=100
1987	59	20	4	11	6=100
1985 Gallup	57	19	5	12	7=100
1979 Gallup	52	20	6	15	7=100
1976 Gallup	52	25	4	11	8=100
1964 Gallup	51	25	5	7	12=100

COMPARING PRESENT TO PAST LIFE (Q.2 AND Q.3) Ratings of your past life compared with the present.

	Present life is	Present life is the SAME as the past		Present life is	Don't
	BETTER than the past	Present is positive	Present is negative	WORSE than the past	Know
2006	48	21	6	21	4=100
2005	48	19	6	25	2=100
2002	51	20	5	21	3=100
1999	56	20	8	15	1=100
1998	56	21	6	16	1=100
1997	57	21	5	16	1=100
1996	51	20	6	21	2=100
1989	47	18	8	26	1=100
1987	53	17	6	24	0=100
1985 Gallup	51	15	7	25	2=100
1979 Gallup	52	15	6	25	2=100
1976 Gallup	54	18	6	20	2=100
1964 Gallup	49	24	7	16	4=100

QUESTION 5 TO END IN PREVIOUS RELEASE OR HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE





Present Ratings by Local Unemployment Conditions Percent rating their life today as 'high' on the ladder of life (steps 8-10) All adults Unemployment in local area:

Note: Local unemployment conditions based on Bureau of Labor Statistics data of average 2005 unemployment in metropolitan or county areas.

40

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Percent rating their life today as 'high' on the ladder of life (steps 8-10) All adults Employed, not retired 42



Note: Job satisfaction asked of all employed adults.

Low

Present Ratings by Employment Situation

Medium High

PewResearchCenter

Present Ratings among Women

Women's ratings of their life today on a scale from 0 to 10 on the ladder of life $\,$

	High rating (8-10)	All other ratings	Mean rating	N		
	(0-10)	ratings	rating	IV		
	%	%				
All women	43	57=100	6.84	1069		
Employment status						
Working women	46	54=100	7.00	621		
Women, not working	40	60=100	6.66	444		
Retired women	47	53=100	6.85	234		
Other not working	32	68=100	6.45	209		
Parenting status						
Have children under 18	38	62=100	6.67	414		
No children under 18	46	54=100	6.95	650		
Have children 18+ only	49	51=100	6.95	409		
Not a mother	43	57=100	6.94	241		
Parenting and Employment Status						
Working mothers	44	56=100	6.84	268		
Working, no children under 18	3 49	51=100	7.11	351		
Mothers, not working Not working,	29	71=100	6.39	145		
no children under 18	45	55=100	6.78	297		
			PewRe	searchCenter		

