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Millennials Speak Out about the 2016 Campaign

A summary of key findings from the first-of-its-kind monthly
survey of racially and ethnically diverse young adults

Cathy J. Cohen, Matthew D. Luttig, and Jon C. Rogowski

GenForward: A survey of the Black Youth Project with the
AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

GenFORWARD



black youth project

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Reports and topline of the GenForward surveys by the
Black Youth Project are available at:

www.GenForwardSurvey.com

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. About the Black Youth Project and GenForward Surveys

II. Key Findings

III. 2016 Horse Race

- a. The Youth Vote in 2016
- b. Youth Vote among Likely Voters
- c. Is There a Gender Gap Among Millennial Voters?
- d. Vote Choice of Bernie Sanders Supporters
- e. Young People Respond to the Campaign's Controversies
- f. Candidate Evaluations
- g. Are the Candidates Healthy Enough to Serve as President?
- h. Which Candidate Would Best Address Race Relations and Helping People Like You Get Ahead?
- i. Congressional and Split-Ticket Voting in 2016
- j. Most Important Problem
- k. President Obama's Approval Rating

IV. Conclusion

V. Survey Methodology

I. Black Youth Project and the GenForward Survey

For over 10 years, the Black Youth Project (BYP), housed at the Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture at the University of Chicago, has dedicated its work to understanding the challenges and opportunities faced by young people of color in the contemporary United States. We are committed to disaggregating the larger category often labeled Millennials because our previous research has shown important differences in lived experiences and political attitudes among young adults of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.¹ We continue this mission with our GenForward surveys.

GenForward is a survey of the Black Youth Project at the University of Chicago with the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. The GenForward Survey is the first of its kind—a nationally representative survey of over 1750 young adults ages 18-30 conducted monthly that pays special attention to how race and ethnicity shape how respondents experience and think about the world. Given the importance of race and ethnicity for shaping the diverse perspectives and lived experiences of young people, we believe researchers make a mistake when they present data on young adults in a manner that assumes a monolithic young adult vote.

Young adults now represent the largest generation of Americans, and they are by far the most racially and ethnically diverse generation in the country.² About 19 percent of millennials identify as Latino or Hispanic, 13 percent as Black or African American, and 6 percent as Asian American. Thus, to fully understand how young people think about the upcoming election, issues such as terrorism or gun violence, as well as their economic futures, we have to pay attention to characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

In this report, we document what young African Americans, Latino/as, Asian Americans and whites are thinking about the 2016 presidential election. The report reflects the Black Youth Project's sustained commitment to *knowledge, voice* and *action* among young people, in particular young people of color. We create *knowledge* by detailing the real-life experiences of young people and how their perspectives and preferences differ based on their race and ethnicity. We help amplify their *voices* by providing platforms and opportunities for young people to weigh in on the issues most

¹ See, for example, our previous report, *Black Millennials in America* (available at http://blackyouthproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/BYP_ReportDesign04b_Dec03_HiRes.pdf).

² See: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/31/10-demographic-trends-that-are-shaping-the-u-s-and-the-world/>.

important to them. We present our data in an accessible form to multiple constituencies with the hope that our findings will contribute to a call to *action* to bring about change rooted in the ways young people of color experience contemporary America.

II. Key Findings



- > Hillary Clinton is poised to win the same percentage of young voters as Barack Obama won in 2012 (60%). However, Clinton's coalition is made up much more of white youth and less from youth of color relative to the coalition that helped re-elect Barack Obama
- > A majority of all 18-30-year-old African Americans (59%) and Asian Americans (52%), along with 44% of Latino/as, say they will vote for Hillary Clinton in November.
- > We have seen movement among young whites towards Hillary Clinton between September and October. Last month, whites were evenly divided between Clinton (27%) and Trump (27%). This month, Hillary Clinton holds a commanding lead: 35% to 21% over Trump.
- > When we look at young likely voters, we find a majority of African Americans (76%), Asian Americans (74%), Latino/as (57%), and whites (51%) say that they will vote for Hillary Clinton this election cycle.
- > Third party candidates Gary Johnson (11%) and Jill Stein (4%) continue to receive limited support from young adults, particularly young adults of color.
- > Few young adults have knowledge about the third-party candidates or the candidates for vice-president.
- > Majorities of young adults in every racial and ethnic group believe that Hillary Clinton's description of Donald Trump's supporters as "deplorable" is mostly accurate.
- > Evaluations of campaign controversies like Hillary Clinton's deplorables comment and accusations that Donald Trump called a former Miss Universe Alicia Machado "Miss Piggy" because of her weight gain are polarized on the basis of candidate support.
- > A majority of young people of all racial and ethnic groups approve of Barack Obama's handling of his job as president.

III. 2016 Horse Race



The Youth Vote in 2016

Millennials now represent the largest and most racially and ethnically diverse generation in the electorate. Given the diversity of this generation we are interested in how different racial and ethnic groups of Millennials are thinking about this election. Who will young adults vote for, and what issues do they care most about? Will young voters be crucial to Hillary Clinton's campaign much like they were for Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012? Or will young voters stay home this election cycle? And how do all of these critical questions vary by race and ethnicity? Our survey allows for the most extensive analysis of the voting preferences of Millennials in the 2016 elections, paying special attention to African American, Latino/a, and Asian American Millennials.

Our data in Table 1 show large differences across race and ethnicity in candidate preference among all Millennials—not just those likely to vote. **A majority of African Americans (59%) and Asian Americans (52%) say they will vote for Hillary Clinton in November**, compared to just 44% of Latino/as and 35% of whites.

Table 1: Support for the 2016 Presidential Candidates among All Young Adults

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non- Hispanic white adults 18-30	All Adults 18-30
Hillary Clinton	59	52	44	35	42
Donald Trump	4	15	8	21	15
Gary Johnson	2	5	7	15	11
Jill Stein	3	4	3	4	4
Someone else	6	4	5	4	5
Probably not vote	14	15	19	12	14
Undecided	12	5	12	8	9
N=	520	257	510	508	1,832

Question: If the 2016 presidential election were between Hillary Clinton for the Democrats and Donald Trump for the Republicans, would you vote for Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, someone else, or probably not vote? *N* = 1,832. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

While young whites give Hillary Clinton the lowest levels of support, **we do find that young white voters have moved towards Hillary Clinton over the past month.** In our

previous month's [report](#), we noted that young whites were evenly divided between Donald Trump (27%) and Hillary Clinton (27%). This month, support for Clinton is higher (35%) and support for Trump is lower (21%) than the previous month. In fact, this is the highest level of support among white youth for Hillary Clinton that we have recorded since our surveys were first in the field in June. The events of the past month appear to have shifted young white voters' support for Hillary Clinton, with most of her gains coming at the expense of Donald Trump.

It is also noteworthy that Hillary Clinton continues to receive less support from Latino/as than she does from African American and Asian American young adults. While Latino/a youth were central to the Obama coalition in 2008 and 2012, when 76% and 74% of Latino/a voters, respectively, voted for Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton is struggling to make in-roads with this critical group of young people. **Latino/a Millennials simply do not support Hillary Clinton at the same rate as other youth of color.**

Support for third-party candidates has remained stable—and relatively low—over the past month. We once again find that only small percentages of African Americans (5%), Latino/as (9%), Asian Americans (10%), and whites (19%) plan to vote for Gary Johnson or Jill Stein. As we reported previously, **youth support for third-party candidates has been exaggerated in some other polls which contain only limited samples of young adults. Most of the interest in voting for a third-party candidate like Johnson comes from young whites.**

While few young adults of color seem committed to voting for a third-party candidate, some African American (12%) and Latino/a (12%) young adults say they remain undecided about who they will vote for if they vote at all. Among those young adults of color who are undecided, many are leaning heavily toward Hillary Clinton, with 46% of undecided African Americans, 44% of undecided Asian Americans and 49% of Latino/a undecided leaning toward Hillary. A majority of the remaining undecided young adults of color say they are most likely to stay home on Election Day.

Among white young adults who are undecided, 15% are leaning to Hillary Clinton, 33% to Donald Trump, and 30% say they probably will not vote. Given these numbers, **it does not appear that moving the undecideds is likely to fundamentally alter the structure of the race.**

Youth Vote among Likely Voters³

When we look at likely voters in Table 2, we find even higher support for Hillary Clinton than we find among young adults overall. **In October, a majority of young likely voters who are African American (76%), Asian American (74%), Latino/a (57%), and white (51%) all say that they will vote for Hillary Clinton this election cycle. Among young whites, this represents a 10 percentage point increase in support for Hillary Clinton among likely voters over the previous month.** This shift comes mostly from previous Trump supporters, as there is an 8 percentage point decrease in support for Trump, from 31% in September to 23% in October, among likely white voters.

We are again surprised at how limited Hillary Clinton's support is among young Latino/as likely voters. Indeed, Clinton's support among young Latino/a likely voters has dropped by 7 percentage points (to 57%) between September and October. **Young Latino/a voters simply do not support Hillary Clinton at similar levels as young African Americans or Asian Americans.** And, as we noted above, young Latino/as also support Hillary Clinton at much lower rates (minus 17 percentage points) than they supported Barack Obama in 2012, as 74% of Latino/as 18-29 voted for Barack Obama in 2012.⁴

³ Our likely voter models are based on guidelines developed by the Pew research center. We ask respondents a series of four questions about their likelihood of voting in November, their interest in news about the election, their history of voting in the 2012 presidential election, and how often they typically vote. We use responses to these questions to help determine who is a "likely" voter come November 8th. Those who say they definitely will not vote to Question 7 or who say they probably will not vote to Question 1 are automatically coded as unlikely voters. We then create a scale combining these four questions, and coding those who were not eligible to vote in-between those who did vote and those who did not. We then draw cut-offs based on estimates of voting rates in 2012 from CIRCLE's tabulation of the Current Population Survey Voting and Registration supplement to determine the number of likely voters in each racial and ethnic group (see, http://civicyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/CIRCLE_2013FS_outhVoting2012FINAL.pdf, page 5). Data from the 2012 CPS shows that 54% of African Americans, 46% of Whites, 36% of Asian Americans, and 37% of Latino/as 18-29 voted in 2012. We assume that voting rates will be similar in 2016. Therefore, we code African Americans and Whites in the top 50% of our scale as "likely" voters, and top 36% of Latino/as and Asian Americans as likely voters. Using these cut-offs gives us a total voter turnout rate of approximately 45% among young voters 18-30.

⁴ Source: <http://www.people-press.org/2012/11/26/young-voters-supported-obama-less-but-may-have-mattered-more/>

Table 2: Support for the 2016 Presidential Candidates among Likely Voters

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non- Hispanic white adults 18-30	All Adults 18-30
Hillary Clinton	76	74	57	51	58
Donald Trump	3	9	13	23	17
Gary Johnson	4	9	11	14	12
Jill Stein	4	5	7	6	5
Someone else	6	3	2	2	3
Undecided	6	-	10	4	5
N=	282	110	187	264	843

Question: If the 2016 presidential election were between Hillary Clinton for the Democrats and Donald Trump for the Republicans, would you vote for Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, someone else, or probably not vote? *N* = 843. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

When we include undecided leaners in our analysis of likely voters, we find that overall youth support for Hillary Clinton is identical to the youth support given to Barack Obama in 2012, when 60% of voters under 30 voted for Barack Obama.⁵ As presented in Table 3, 60% of likely voters 18-30 plan to vote or are leaning towards voting for Hillary Clinton in 2016.

⁵ Source: http://civicyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/CIRCLE_2013FS_outhVoting2012FINAL.pdf

Table 3: Support for the 2016 Presidential Candidates among Likely Voters, Including Leaners

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non- Hispanic white adults 18-30	All Adults 18-30
Hillary Clinton	80	74	63	52	60
Donald Trump	4	9	14	26	19
Gary Johnson	5	9	11	14	12
Jill Stein	4	5	7	6	6
Someone else	6	3	4	2	3
<i>N</i> =	282	110	187	264	843

Question: If the 2016 presidential election were between Hillary Clinton for the Democrats and Donald Trump for the Republicans, would you vote for Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, someone else, or probably not vote? *N* = 843. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

However, the coalition of young voters supporting Hillary Clinton is not the same as the coalition that helped elect Barack Obama in 2012. Clinton's coalition of youth voters is made up much more of whites than young adults of color. In 2012, Mitt Romney won among young white voters with 51% of their vote.⁶ In 2016, Hillary Clinton looks poised to win the majority of white youth voters with 52% of their vote.

By comparison, Obama's coalition in 2012 was rooted much more strongly in young voters of color, as 91% of African Americans, 74% of Latino/as, and 86% of Asian American youth voted for Barack Obama in 2012. Hillary Clinton does not do as well among young voters of color, with 80% of the African American vote, 63% of the Latino/a vote, and 74% of the Asian American vote.

⁶ Data for African American, Latino/a, and white youth vote (ages 18-29) are from exit polls and can be seen here: <http://www.people-press.org/2012/11/26/young-voters-supported-obama-less-but-may-have-mattered-more/>. The Asian American youth vote (18-29) is from a report developed by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund using data from the 2012 Multilingual Presidential exit poll (see, <http://aaldef.org/AALDEF%20Asian%20American%20Exit%20Poll%20Presentation%202012.pdf>).

Figure 1. Comparison of the Youth Obama Coalition in 2012 to the Youth Clinton Coalition in 2016

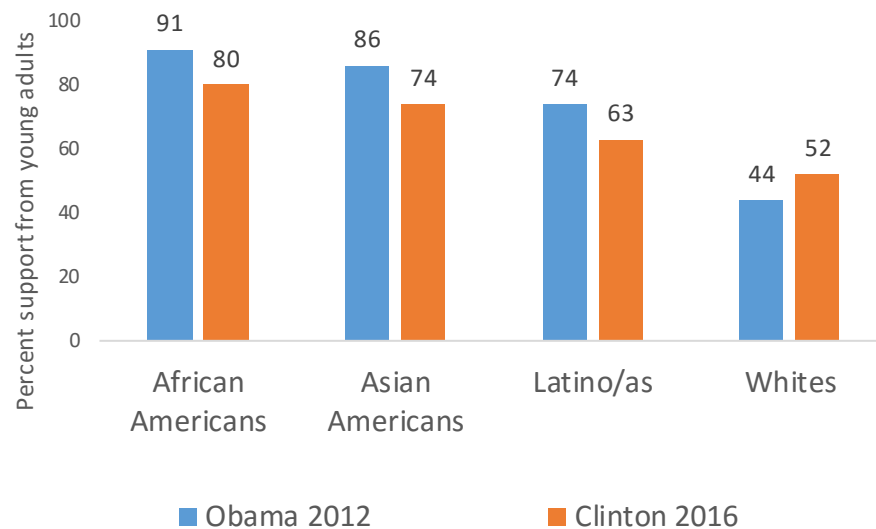


Figure 1 above provides a direct comparison between the Obama coalition in 2012 and what is shaping up to be the Clinton coalition in 2016. These numbers indicate that while overall youth support may be similar, there are important differences across race and ethnicity. **Any comparison to the youth vote in 2012 and 2016 should note that the coalition that helped elect Barack Obama in 2012 is not the same as the coalition of young voters currently planning to support Hillary Clinton in 2016.**

Hillary Clinton's coalition of young voters in 2016 is similar to Barack Obama's in 2008 with respect to the levels of support among young white voters. In 2008, Barack Obama won with the support of 54% of white youth, similar to the 52% of white voters who today say they plan to vote for or are leaning towards voting for Hillary Clinton. But Hillary Clinton falls far short of the 95% of African American youth, 76% of Latino/a youth, and 88% of Asian American youth that voted for Barack Obama in 2008.⁷ If Hillary Clinton could improve her numbers with young voters of color, she would be in

⁷ Source for estimates on overall youth support for Barack Obama in 2008 and support among white, African American, and Latino/a youth, see: <http://www.pewresearch.org/2008/11/13/young-voters-in-the-2008-election/>. For an estimate of Asian American youth support for Barack Obama in 2008, see: <http://www.aaldef.org/docs/AALDEF-ExitPoll-2008.pdf>. It should be noted that these previous estimates of youth support include young adults between the ages of 18 and 29, while our survey is of young adults 18-30.

reach of the 66% of the youth vote that Obama carried in 2008 and would ensure a much bigger victory come Election Day.

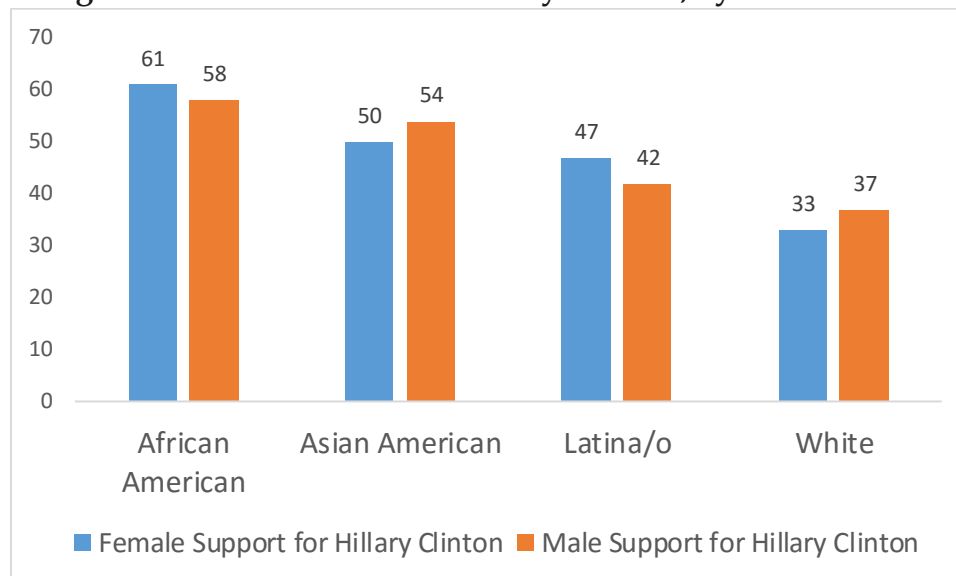
Is There a Gender Gap among Millennial Voters?

In recent weeks the topic of sexism and sexual harassment have become focal points in the election as a video was released capturing Donald Trump making crude remarks about sexually assaulting women. Moreover, the Trump campaign initiated their own efforts to redirect attention from their campaign to accusations that Bill Clinton has harassed women. In light of these events, the topic of a **gender gap** in voting preferences has become commonplace. As one recent news article states, “We could be looking at the largest gender gap in a presidential election since at least 1952,” as men prefer Trump to Clinton, and women strongly prefer Clinton to Trump.⁸

In contrast to that statement, we simply find no evidence of a gender gap among Millennial voters. Figure 2 below presents the percentage of young men and women, by race and ethnicity, who plan to vote for Hillary Clinton. As this Figure clearly shows, it is simply not the case among young adults that overwhelmingly women are more supportive of Hillary Clinton than men.

⁸ Source: http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/men-are-treating-2016-as-a-normal-election-women-arent/?ex_cid=538fb

Figure 2. Vote Intention for Hillary Clinton, by Race and Sex



As Figure 2 shows, there is no persistent gender gap in support for Hillary Clinton. Within each racial and ethnic group, similar numbers of men and women say they plan to vote for Hillary Clinton. African American women (61%) are slightly more likely to vote for Clinton than African American men (58%). Latinas are similarly slightly more likely to vote for Clinton (47%) than Latinos (42%). However, Asian American (54%) and white (37%) men are slightly more likely to vote for Clinton than Asian American (50%) and white (37%) women. In spite of some slight gender differences in who young people support, **there are far bigger differences across race and ethnicity than across gender in support for Hillary Clinton among Millennials.**

We do not analyze gender differences in support for Donald Trump because he simply has too few supporters, particularly among youth of color.⁹ Among young whites, 26% of women compared to just 18% of men plan to vote for Trump.¹⁰ Our findings suggest that whatever gender gap that does exist in the electorate is concentrated among older

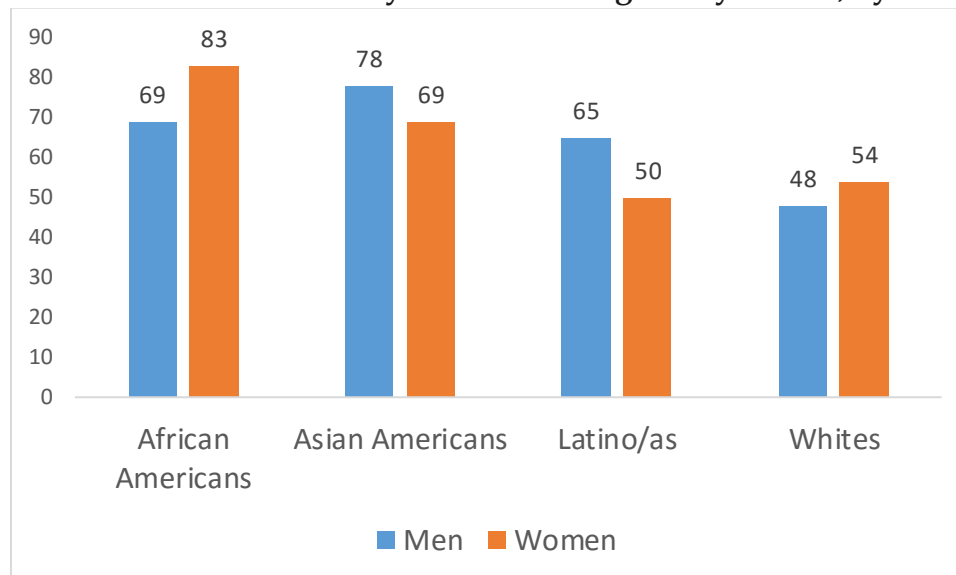
⁹ The very small sample sizes of young people of color who support Donald Trump gets even smaller when dividing further by gender. This just leaves too few respondents for us to make meaningful comparisons.

¹⁰ The difference between men and women among whites in vote intention for Donald Trump is marginally statistically significant ($p < 0.10$).

voters. In short, our data indicates that there is no significant gender gap in voting preferences among Millennials.

The results are similar when we analyze the gender gap among likely voters, presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Vote Intention for Hillary Clinton among Likely Voters, by Race and Sex



As Figure 3 shows, Hillary Clinton does better among African American and white women than African American and white men. But among Asian Americans and Latino/as, Hillary Clinton does better among men than among women. Only 50% of Latinas plan to vote for Hillary Clinton, which suggests that Clinton's struggles among Latino/as is partly a result of her inability to get Latino/a women to vote for her. Among likely voters overall, 60% of women and 56% of men say they will vote for Hillary Clinton.¹¹

We do not look at gender differences in support for Donald Trump among likely voters because his level of support, particularly from youth of color, is so low. Among young

¹¹ The differences here between African American men and women are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. The differences among Asian Americans, Latino/as, and whites are not statistically significant. The overall difference between men and women in support for Hillary Clinton among likely voters is also statistically insignificant.

white likely voters, Trump receives 22% support from men and 24% support from women.

In sum, there is no consistent gender gap among Millennials. These findings underscore the importance of breaking down survey results by multiple categories when possible such as race / ethnicity, gender, and age. Any claims of a gender gap in reporting on the 2016 election should be attentive to the distinct patterns among Millennials and the different patterns we observe across racial and ethnic groups.

Vote Choice of Bernie Sanders Supporters

Have Bernie Sanders supporters come around to support Hillary Clinton? In Table 4 we present the vote intentions of those who said they supported Bernie Sanders in the 2016 presidential primary. As Table 4 shows, a majority of African American (57%), Asian Americans (64%), and white (51%) Sanders supporters today say they will vote for Hillary Clinton in November. Once again, **we see that Clinton's support is more limited among Latino/as**, as 47% of Latino/as who supported Bernie Sanders in the primary, today say they will vote for Clinton. It is also noteworthy that a sizeable percentage of white Sanders supporters plan to vote for Gary Johnson (20%). Given that Gary Johnson and Bernie Sanders agree on little when it comes to public policy, this may represent a vote against the two major party nominees. Very few young adults who supported Bernie Sanders have moved into the Trump camp. Specifically, support for Trump among Bernie Sanders supporters is in the low single-digits for each racial and ethnic group.

Table 4. Bernie Sanders Supporters' Vote Intention

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non- Hispanic white adults 18-30	All Adults 18-30
Hillary Clinton	57	64	47	51	52
Donald Trump	3	1	4	2	2
Gary Johnson	3	6	8	20	13
Jill Stein	4	9	6	9	7
Someone else	10	7	8	6	7
Will probably not vote	12	10	17	7	11
Undecided	12	3	10	5	7
N=	239	123	259	190	831

Question: If the general election were held today, and the candidates were Hillary Clinton for the Democrats, Donald Trump for the Republicans, Gary Johnson for the Libertarian Party, and Jill Stein for the Green Party, for whom would you vote? *N* = 831. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Young People Respond to the Campaign's Controversies

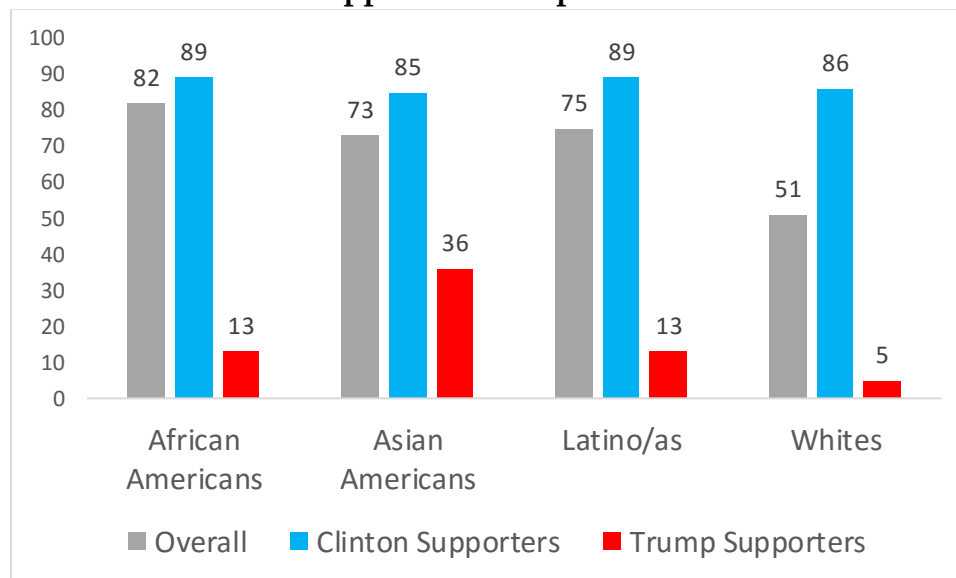
There has been no shortage of controversial statements and accusations of inappropriate remarks and behaviors by the presidential candidates this year. We wanted to know young adults' reaction to two recent statements made by the presidential candidates. First, Hillary Clinton's assertion that Donald Trump's supporters are "deplorable" as being "racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic, - you name it." And second, accusations made by the Clinton campaign during the first presidential debate that Donald Trump called a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, Miss Piggy because of her weight gain. Do these comments and accusations matter to young adults, and how?

Figure 4 below presents the percentage of respondents in each racial and ethnic group, and whether they plan to vote for Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump, who say that Hillary Clinton's description of Donald Trump's supporters as deplorable is mostly accurate.

As shown in Figure 4, overall majorities of African Americans (82%), Asian Americans (73%), Latino/as (75%), and whites (51%) say it is “mostly accurate” to describe Donald Trump’s supporters as “deplorable.” Donald Trump has made many controversial remarks about African Americans, immigrants, Muslims, and women in this campaign, and these remarks may have affected the way in which young people view Donald Trump and his supporters. **Young adults of all racial and ethnic groups, but overwhelmingly young adults of color, have negative evaluations not only of Donald Trump but also of his supporters.**

As is also clear in Figure 4, perceptions that Trump’s supporters are deplorable are highly polarized by candidate preference. For individuals who say they plan to vote for Hillary Clinton, nearly 90% of respondents in all racial and ethnic groups say that it is accurate to describe Donald Trump’s supporters as deplorable. For individuals who plan to vote for Donald Trump, far fewer respondents agree with this characterization of his supporters. **Young adults’ reaction to this campaign controversy are highly polarized on the basis of candidate preference.**

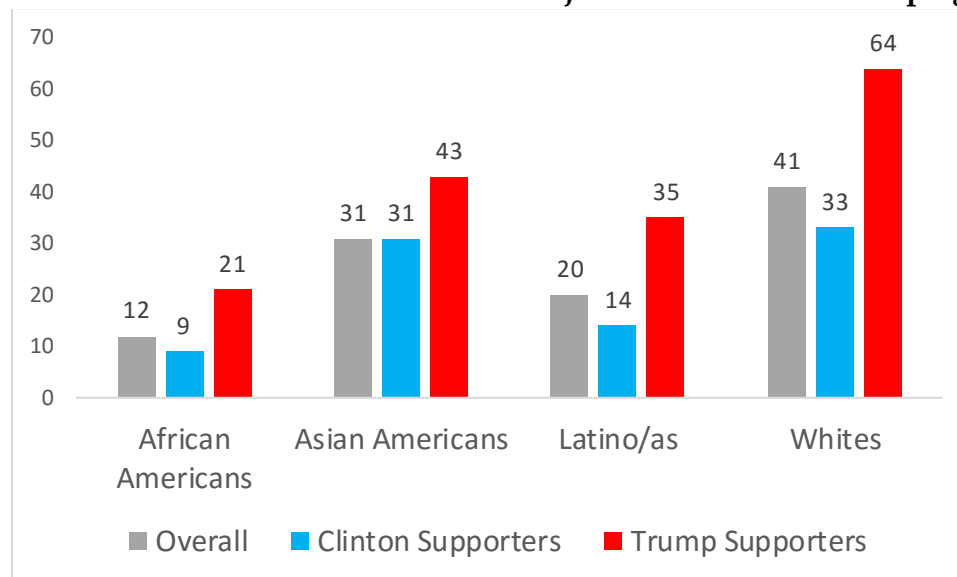
Figure 4. Percent who say it is “Mostly Accurate” to describe Donald Trump’s Supporters as Deplorable



Given this context, it is not surprising that most young adults do not believe that these comments by Clinton will hurt her campaign, and that perceptions of the impact of

these comments are also polarized by candidate preference. Figure 5 below presents the percentage of respondents who say that Clinton’s statement about Donald Trump’s supporters as deplorable will be either a minor or major setback. Overall, only a minority of young adults in each racial and ethnic group see Clinton’s comment as any kind of a setback. However, as above, we see again some polarization in responses to this question on the basis of candidate preference. White Trump supporters are the most likely to say that the comment will hurt her campaign (64%).

Figure 5. Percentage of Respondents Who Say that Hillary Clinton’s “Deplorables” Comment will be Either a Minor or Major Setback to Her Campaign

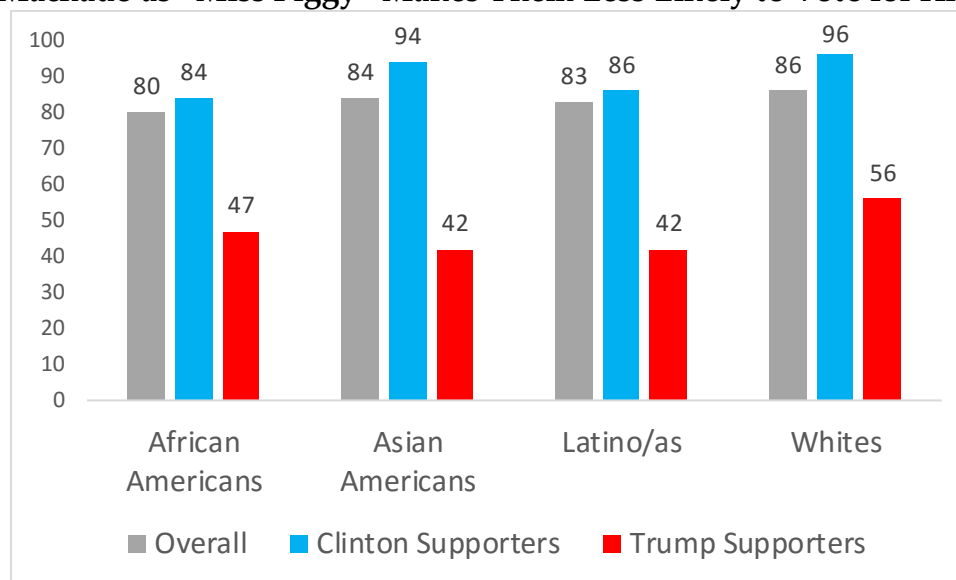


Maybe not surprisingly, we see a similar polarized pattern in responses to the accusation that Donald Trump called a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, Miss Piggy because of her weight gain. Figure 6 below presents the percentage of respondents in each racial and ethnic group, and by candidate preference, who say that these comments by Donald Trump make them somewhat or much less likely to vote for him.

As is evident in Figure 6, large majorities of young adults say that these comments by Donald Trump make them less likely to vote for him. Responses are again polarized by candidate preference, with Clinton supporters having the most negative reaction to these comments. However, even though Trump supporters are relatively less likely to be fazed by these comments than Hillary Clinton’s supporters, **many Trump voters,**

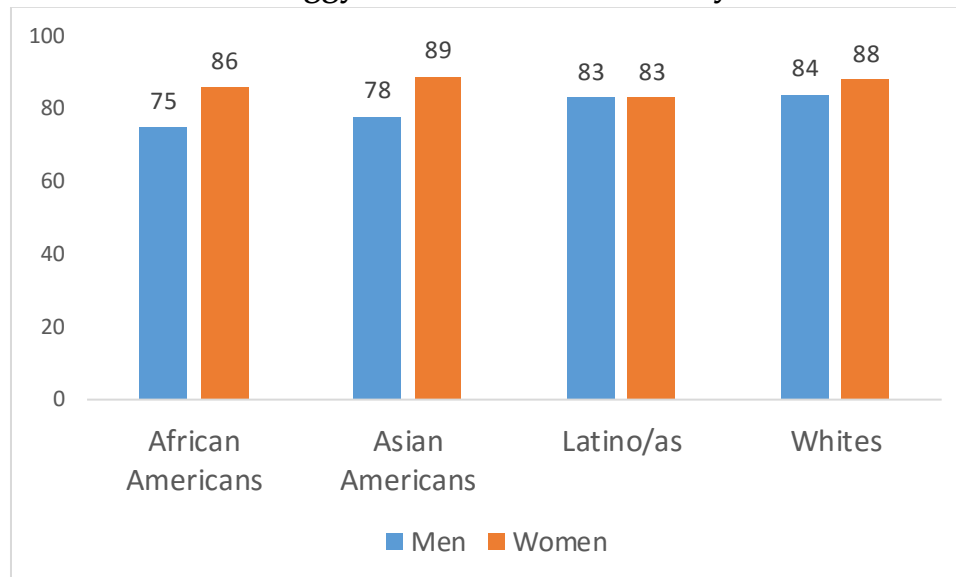
especially white Trump supporters, do say that calling Alicia Machado Miss Piggy makes them less likely to vote for Donald Trump. Forty-seven percent of African American, 42% of Asian American and Latino/a, and 56% of white Trump supporters say that these comments by Donald Trump make them less likely to vote for him in the election.

Figure 6. Percentage of Respondents Who Say that Trump’s Reference to Alicia Machado as “Miss Piggy” Makes Them Less Likely to Vote for Him



As Figure 7 shows, the divides based on candidate preference are much deeper than the divide in reaction to these comments based on gender. Thus, among those who indicated that Donald Trump’s comments about Alicia Machado made them less likely to vote for him, men and women in each racial and ethnic group generally reacted similarly. There is, however, a small gender divide among African Americans and Asian Americans, with women more likely than men more likely to say that these comments make them less likely to vote for Donald Trump.

Figure 7. Percentage of Respondents, by Sex, Who Say that Trump’s Calling of Alicia Machado as Miss Piggy Makes Them Less Likely to Vote for Him



Access Hollywood

We also analyzed whether the release of an Access Hollywood video that contained remarks by Donald Trump describing sexually predatory acts with women affected respondents’ evaluations of Donald Trump. We looked at differences in vote intention, perceptions of Donald Trump as qualified, honest and trustworthy, and his favorability ratings between respondents who took the survey on or before October 7th (the day the video was released) and those who took the survey on or after October 8th.

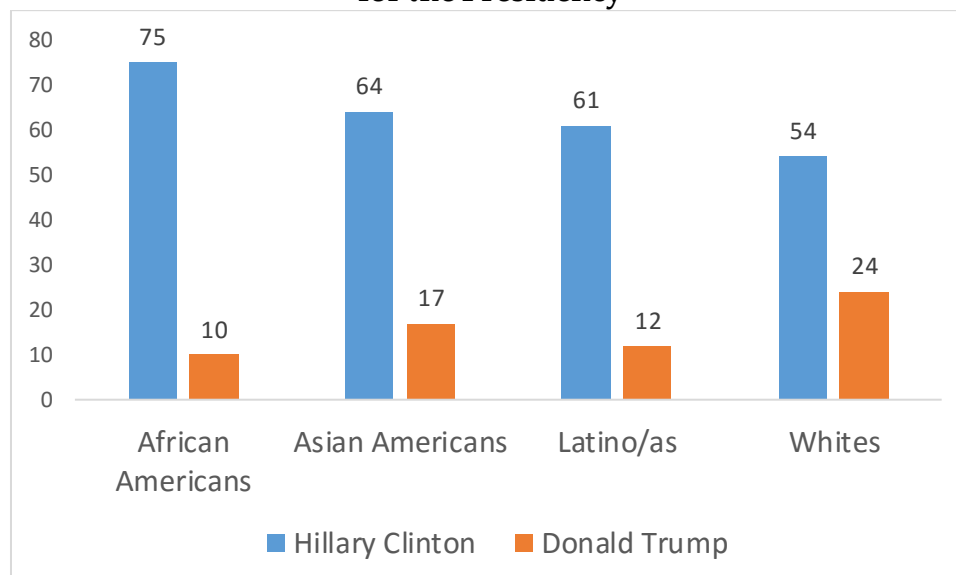
Overall, we found only small and insignificant differences between these two time periods. From this data, it appears that the release of the Access Hollywood video had little direct influence on Millennials’ evaluation of Donald Trump. This reinforces how polarized Trump and Clinton supporters are from each other, and the high levels of negativity that young adults already had for Donald Trump prior to the release of this video tape.

Candidate Evaluations

We can get a better handle on what young adults think about the 2016 presidential candidates through their evaluations of whether the candidates are qualified for the presidency, honest and trustworthy, and whether young adults have favorable or unfavorable views of the candidates. These measures of candidate evaluations further reveal the lukewarm support for both candidates among young adults as well as the stark differences in feelings about these candidates across race and ethnicity. Figure 8 presents the percentage of respondents who view the candidates as qualified, and Figure 9 the percentage of respondents who view the candidates as honest and trustworthy.

As Figure 8 shows, **Hillary Clinton is viewed by most young adults, across all racial and ethnic groups, as qualified for the presidency. Far fewer young adults say that Donald Trump is qualified.** In fact, less than a quarter of young adults in any racial and ethnic group believe Donald Trump to be qualified for the presidency.

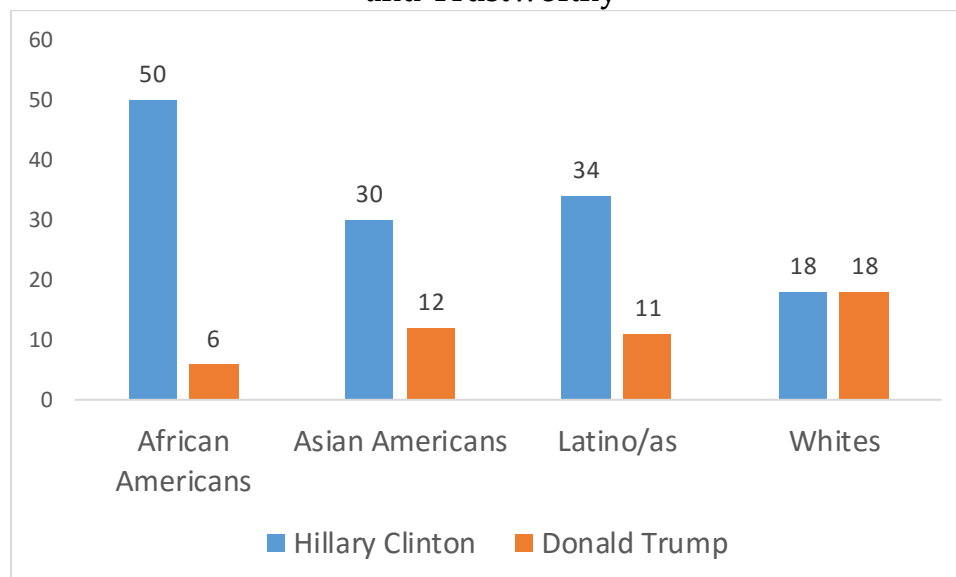
Figure 8. Percent Who Believe That Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump Are Qualified for the Presidency



When we examine evaluations of the candidates as honest and trustworthy in Figure 9, we find that **both candidates struggle with young adults**. It is only among African Americans where a majority (50%) perceive Hillary Clinton as honest and trustworthy. For Asian Americans (30%), Latino/as (34%), and whites (18%), only a minority say that Hillary Clinton is honest and trustworthy.

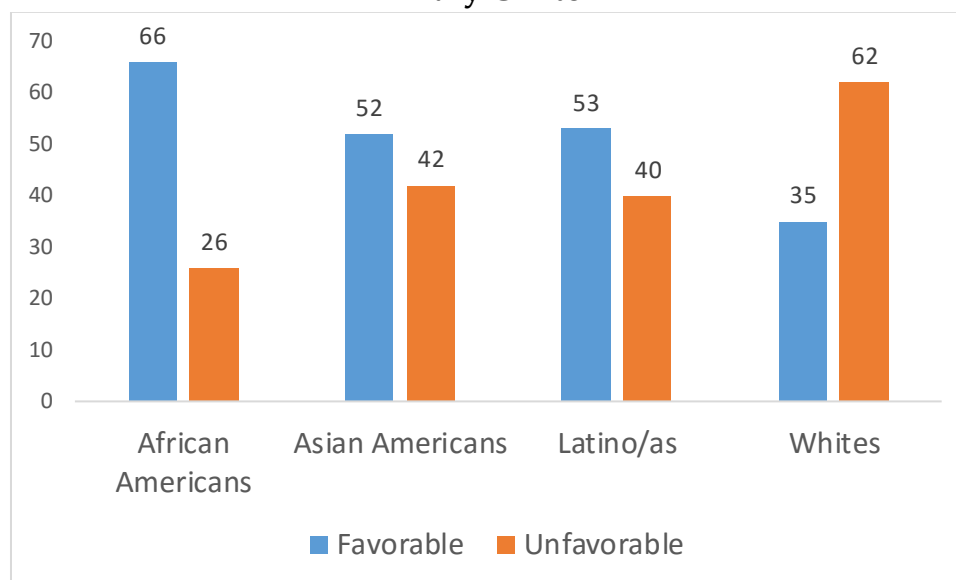
Donald Trump does as poorly or worse among each racial and ethnic group in evaluations of his honesty and trustworthiness. Only 6% of African Americans, 12% of Asian Americans, 11% of Latino/as, and 18% of whites say that Donald Trump is honest and trustworthy. These extremely low ratings suggest that Donald Trump is already at his floor in evaluations among young adults, and this may help explain why we observe little change in evaluations of Donald Trump by Millennials after the release of the Access Hollywood video.

Figure 9. Percent Who Believe that Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump Are Honest and Trustworthy



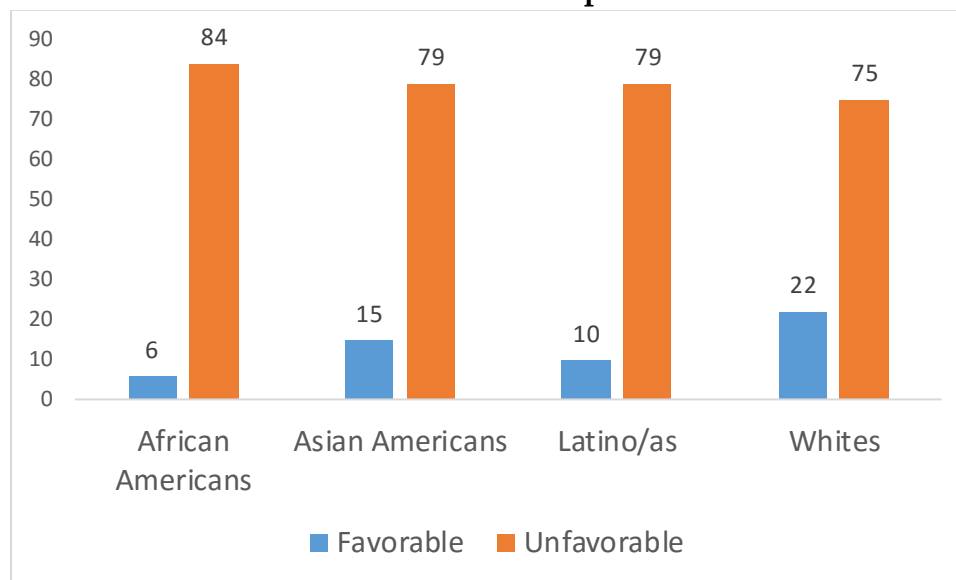
In Figures 10 and 11, we present the percentage of respondents in each racial and ethnic group with favorable and unfavorable evaluations of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. As Figure 10 shows, Clinton's favorable numbers outpace her unfavorable numbers for African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino/as. Her unfavorables are higher among young whites.

Figure 10. Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Hillary Clinton



By contrast, as shown in Figure 11, Donald Trump's unfavorable numbers far exceed his favorable numbers among young adults of color. For young whites, Trump, like Clinton, has higher unfavorable than favorable ratings. These results underscore again the important differences across race and ethnicity in evaluations of the two major-party candidates. But even among young whites the gap between favorable and unfavorable ratings is larger for Trump than for Clinton. Among Millennials, Donald Trump has a very limited base of appeal, even among young whites.

Figure 11. Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Donald Trump



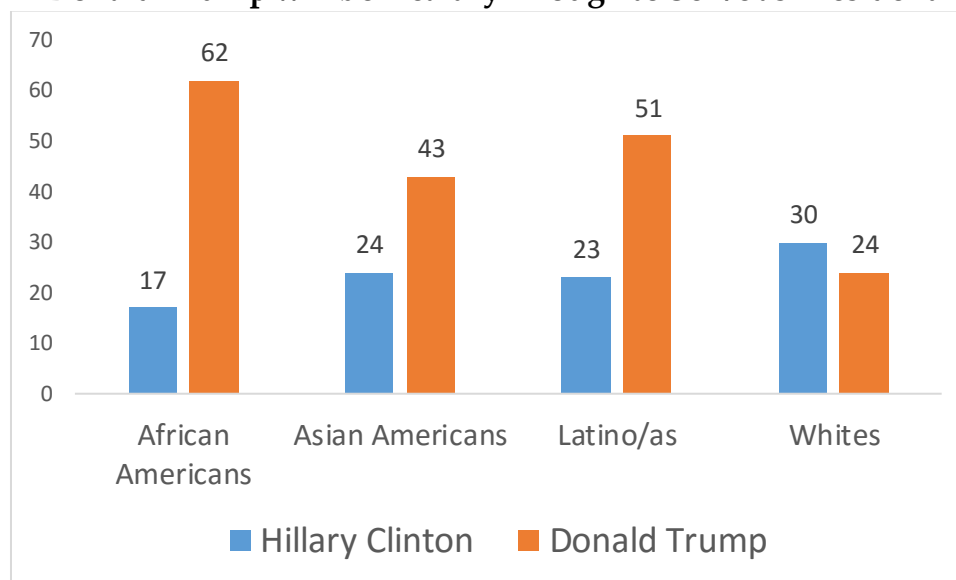
When we examine the favorability ratings of both the third-party candidates Gary Johnson and Jill Stein and the vice-presidential candidates Tim Kaine and Mike Pence, we find that most young adults do not know who these candidates are. Even after the vice-presidential debate, 70% of young African Americans, 60% of Asian Americans, 71% of Latino/as, and 50% of whites indicated that they did not know enough about Mike Pence to have a favorable or unfavorable evaluation of him. Similarly, 70% of African Americans, 68% of Asian Americans, 74% of Latino/as, and 59% of whites know too little about Tim Kaine to form a positive or negative evaluation.

Knowledge of the third-party candidates is also low across racial and ethnic groups. Seventy-one percent of African Americans, 59% of Asian Americans, 67% of Latino/as, and 47% of whites do not know enough about Gary Johnson to form a favorable or unfavorable opinion. And 70% of African Americans, 66% of Asian Americans, 72% of Latino/as, and 57% of whites do not know Jill Stein. **In short, young adults' attention in the 2016 election is focused on the two main candidates at the top of the ticket: Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.**

Are the Candidates Healthy Enough to serve as President?

One concern that has been raised in this campaign is the age and health status of the presidential candidates. Donald Trump in particular has criticized Hillary Clinton on the grounds that she is not healthy enough to serve as President. In Figure 12 below we present the percentage of young adults who say they are “not at all confident” that the two candidates will be healthy enough to serve as president.

Figure 12. Percentage of Respondents “Not at all Confident” that Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump will be Healthy Enough to Serve as President



As Figure 12 clearly shows, young people — particularly young people of color — have greater concerns about the health of Donald Trump than Hillary Clinton. Only among white young adults are health concerns slightly higher for Hillary Clinton than for Donald Trump. Evaluations of candidate health are likely to be more a *product* than a *cause* of candidate evaluations, but these results suggest that Donald Trump’s raising of concerns about Hillary Clinton’s health may be ineffective, particularly among young adults of color.

Which Candidate Would Best Address Race Relations and Helping People Like You Get Ahead?

In addition to their general evaluations of the candidates, we also wanted to know which candidate young people of different racial and ethnic groups believe would help solve two important problems: race relations and helping people like them get ahead.

Figure 13 presents the percentage of respondents who say that Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, or neither would best address race relations in America. Figure 13 shows that a majority of young African Americans (66%), Asian Americans (69%), Latino/as (59%), and whites (57%), all believe that Hillary Clinton would better handle race relations. The number of respondents who believe Donald Trump would best handle this issue is much smaller across the board. **When it comes to improving race relations, Hillary Clinton is perceived to have a clear advantage.**

Figure 13. Which Candidate Would Better Handle Race Relations?

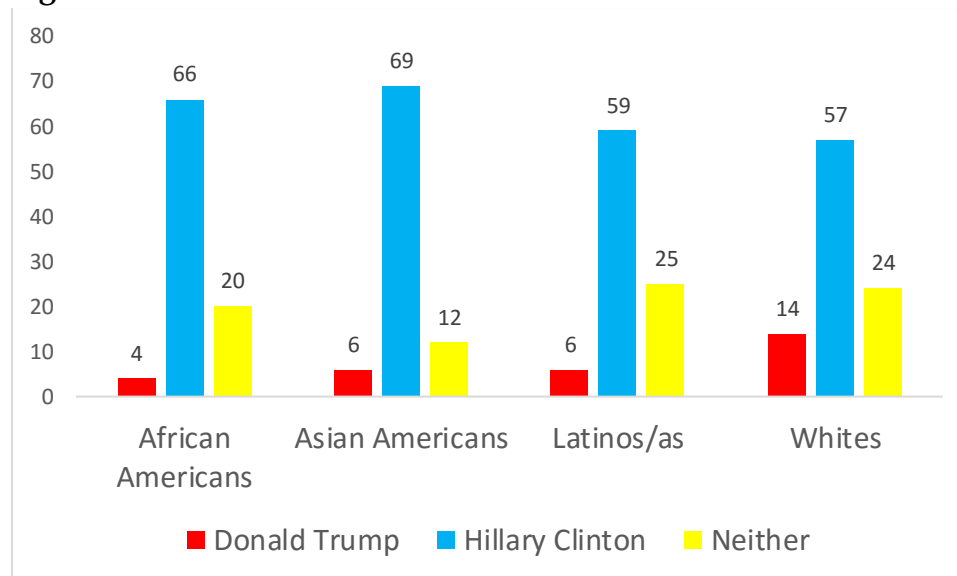
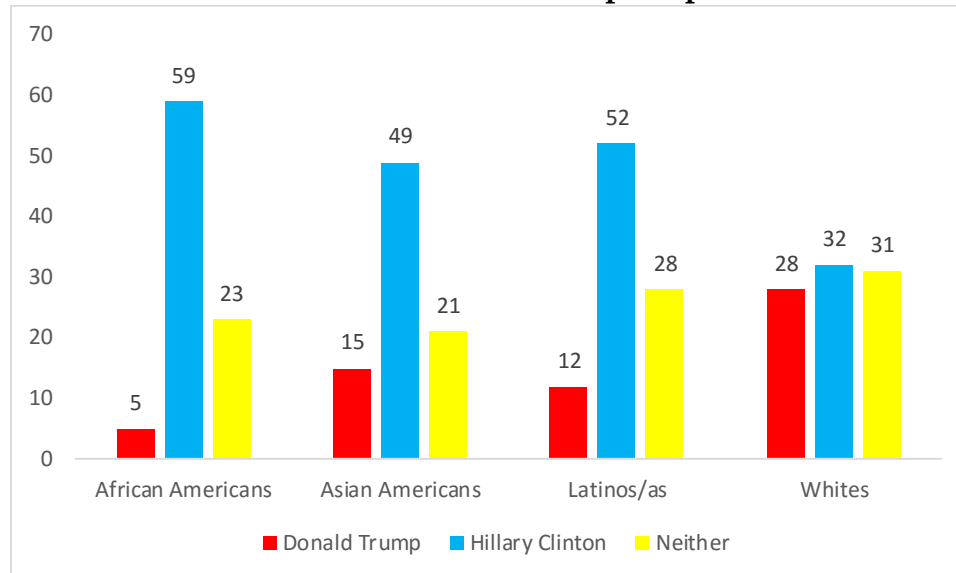


Figure 14 presents respondents' belief about which candidate would better help people like them get ahead. For young adults of color, Clinton has a strong advantage over Trump in the perception that she will better help them get ahead. But young whites are about evenly divided between the perception that Clinton and Trump would best help people like them.

Figure 14. Which Candidate Would Better Help People Like You Get Ahead?



Congressional and Split-Ticket Voting in 2016

The media has recently raised the question about whether voting in congressional elections will mirror the presidential election. In recent weeks, as many Republicans have unendorsed Donald Trump, the possibility of high levels of split-ticket voting has seemed increasingly likely with Republicans willing to support the bottom of the ticket but possibly not voting for Mr. Trump. To explore who young people plan to vote for in the congressional elections, we asked a generic question about whether they would vote for the Democratic Party's nominee, the Republican Party's nominee, or neither if the election were held today. Table 5 presents the results from all young adults, and Table 6 from likely voters.

Table 5. Congressional Vote Intention, all Young Adults

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Democratic Party's candidate	61	54	48	37
Republican Party's candidate	6	11	14	24
Neither	16	18	16	16
Unsure	16	18	20	22
N=	520	257	510	508

Question: If the election for Congress were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in your congressional district—the Democratic Party's candidate or the Republican Party's candidate? N = 1,795. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Table 6. Congressional Vote Intention, Likely Voters

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Democratic Party's candidate	77	76	57	50
Republican Party's candidate	5	5	17	29
Neither	7	6	6	9
Unsure	10	11	16	13
N=	282	110	187	264

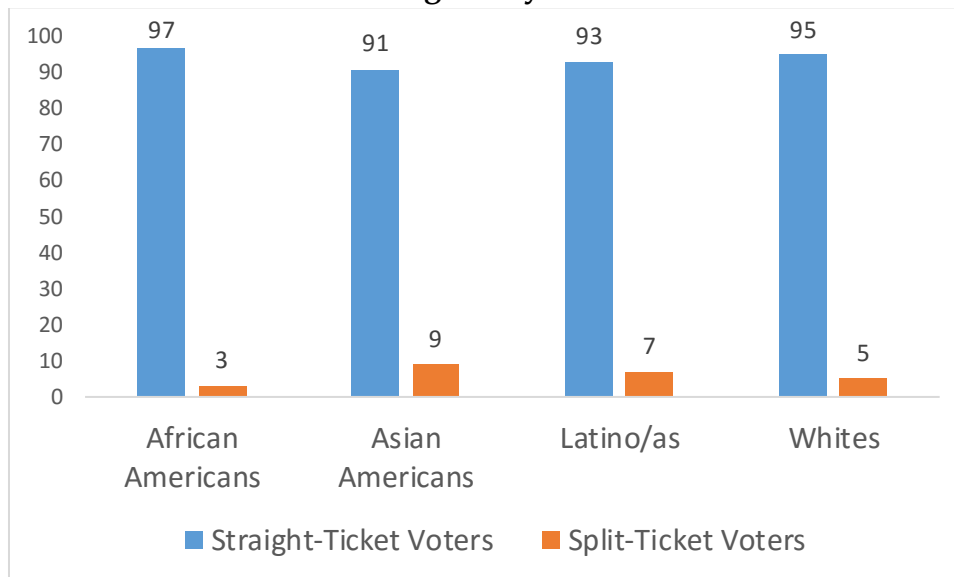
Question: If the election for Congress were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in your congressional district—the Democratic Party's candidate or the Republican Party's candidate? N = 843. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Like voting in the presidential election, we find that young voters are much more supportive of the Democrats than the Republicans in congressional voting. Even among white likely voters in Table 6, we find that 50% plan to vote for the Democratic Party's candidate, while 29% plan to vote for the Republican Party's candidate. These percentages are nearly identical to the percentages of young likely voters who plan to vote for Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. While we cannot attribute the divide directly to Donald Trump's struggles, our data does suggest that Millennial voters are gravitating to the Democratic Party much like they are gravitating towards Hillary Clinton at the top of the ticket.

We can look at split-ticket voting directly by analyzing how many respondents plan to vote for a different party for Congress than for President. For this analysis, we limit respondents who only indicate a vote intention for either Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump in the presidential race and a vote intention for either the Democratic Party's or Republican Party's candidate in the congressional race. Figure 15 presents the

percentage of consistent and split-ticket voters, among likely voters across racial and ethnic groups.

Figure 15. Percentage of Straight-Ticket and Split-Ticket Voters, Among Likely Voters



As is clear in Figure 15, most young adults plan to vote for the same party in congressional elections as their vote in the presidential race. **Thus, Donald Trump’s struggles among young voters does appear likely to affect down-ballot elections.**

Most Important Problem

One way candidates can try to mobilize young adults is to emphasize the issues that they care about. Our surveys show that young adults’ issue priorities vary substantially across race and ethnicity. Table 7 below highlights the three most frequently listed “most important problems” within each racial and ethnic group.

Table 7. The Three Most Important Problems, by Race and Ethnicity

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non-Hispanic white adults 18- 30
Most cited problem	Racism (43%)	Education (31%)	Immigration (29%)	Terrorism and Homeland Security (26%)
Second most cited problem	Police Brutality (35%)	Racism (27%)	Terrorism and Homeland Security (28%)	Education (25%)
Third most cited problem	Education (27%)	Gun Control (22%)	Racism (27%)	National Debt/ Environment / Climate Change/ Health Care (24% each)
N=	520	257	510	508

Question: What do you think are the three most important problems facing this country today? Respondents select three from a list of 22 issues (see the toplines). *N* = 1,795. The percentage of respondents listing each issue as one of the three most important problems is listed in parentheses.

As Table 7 shows, the issues that young adults care most about varies by race and ethnicity. African Americans most frequently listed problems are racism (43%), police brutality (35%), and education (27%). **Racism and police brutality have persistently been at the top of young African Americans' concerns and priorities since we initiated this survey in June of this year.**

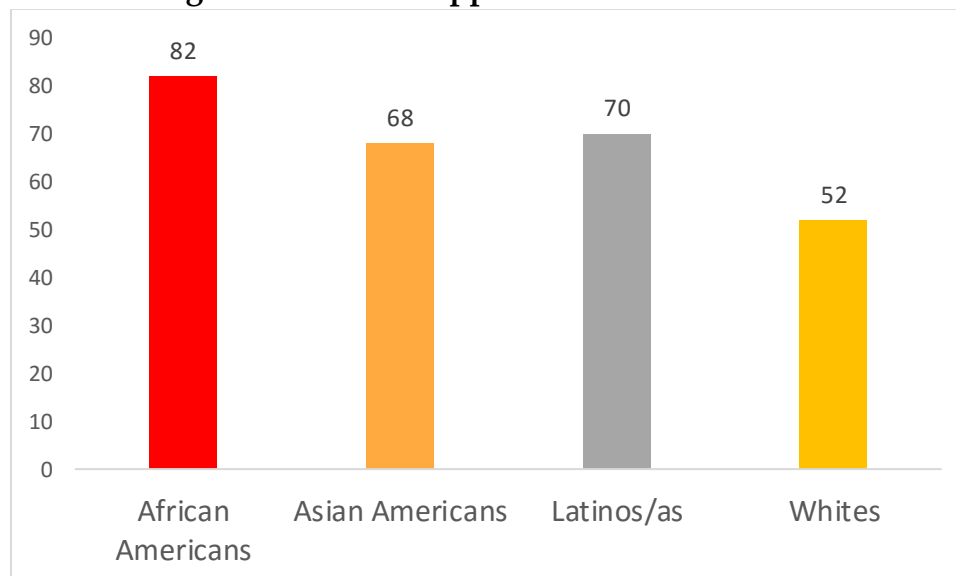
The three most important issues identified by Asian Americans are education (31%), racism (27%), and gun control (22%). Latino/as are the only group to list immigration as one of the three most important problems (29%), followed by terrorism and homeland security (28%), and racism (27%). Finally, young whites list terrorism and homeland security most frequently (26%), followed by education (25%), and the national debt, environment and climate change, and healthcare are tied as the third most frequently cited concern of young white Americans (24%).

These differences in issue priorities across race and ethnicity highlight the diversity of Millennials. Young adults are not a monolithic group, and the issues that young people most care about varies widely across race and ethnicity. For the candidates to mobilize young adults to vote, they should pay greater attention to the vast array of different issues that young people care about.

President Obama's Approval Rating

One of the greatest tools available to the Clinton campaign appears to be the support of President Obama, who remains extraordinarily popular among young people, particularly those of color. As Figure 16 shows, 82% of African Americans, 68% of Asian Americans, 70% of Latino/as, and 52% of whites somewhat or strongly approve of Barack Obama's performance in office.

Figure 16. Percent Approval of Barack Obama



Different from our previous surveys, this month we find that a majority of whites now approve of Barack Obama. In September, a near majority of white young adults (49%) approved of Barack Obama. As Donald Trump's numbers have faded--particularly

among white youth—over the past month, support for both Clinton and Obama have both risen.

IV. Conclusion

As we enter the final weeks of the 2016 presidential campaign, the data presented above provide a comprehensive picture of the state of the presidential race among Millennials. Our findings provide a corrective to many assertions about Millennials that have been made by the media and the presidential campaigns themselves. For example, rather than having difficulty securing the Millennial vote, we find that Hillary Clinton is building her own coalition of Millennial voters. Specifically, the coalition of young people that supported Obama in 2008 and 2012 – particularly young adults of color and progressive whites – is intact in terms of the size of its support for Clinton. But Clinton’s coalition of young voters seems to be comprised of more white young adults than President Obama’s coalition in 2012. Young people, and particularly young adults of color, are poised to vote for Hillary Clinton at high rates, and in large part because they reject the policies and demeanor of Donald Trump. But the rates of support for Hillary Clinton among Millennials of color trail what President Obama secured in both 2008 and 2012. If Hillary Clinton could increase her support from young people of color, and especially Latino/as, she would be poised to emerge with overwhelming support of young voters..

Our data also suggests that the extraordinarily large profiles of Clinton and Trump overwhelm the potential for third-party candidates like Gary Johnson and Jill Stein to make much of an impression among young adults. Clinton has also largely succeeded in consolidating former Bernie Sanders behind her own candidacy instead of having these voters migrate to a third-party candidate. These dynamics have shaped how young people have responded to some of the most newsworthy events of the 2016 presidential campaign. One of the last big questions for the Clinton campaign is whether they can successfully mobilize Millennials to turn out for her on November 8.

V. Survey Methodology



The October GenForward survey is a project of the Black Youth Project at the University of Chicago, with The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample from GenForwardSM, a nationally representative survey panel of adults ages 18-30 recruited and administered by NORC at the University of Chicago and funded by grants to the Black Youth Project at the University of Chicago from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

A total of 1,832 interviews were conducted between October 1 and 14, 2016 with adults ages 18-30 representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia, including completed interviews with 520 African American young adults, 257 Asian American young adults, 510 Latino/a young adults, 508 white young adults, and 37 young adults with other racial and ethnic backgrounds. The survey was offered in English and Spanish and via telephone and web modes.

The GenForward survey was built from two sample sources:

- Fifty-two percent of the completed interviews are sourced from NORC's AmeriSpeak® Panel. AmeriSpeak is a probability based panel that also uses address-based sample but sourced from the NORC National Frame with enhanced sample coverage. During the initial recruitment phase of the AmeriSpeak panel, randomly selected U.S. households were sampled with a known, non-zero probability of selection and then contacted by U.S. mail, email, telephone, and field interviewers (face-to-face).
- Forty-eight percent of the completed interviews are sourced from the Black Youth Project (BYP) panel of young adults recruited by NORC. The BYP sample is from a probability-based household panel that uses an address-based sample from a registered voter database of the entire U.S. Households were selected using stratified random sampling to support over-sampling of households with African Americans, Latino/as, and Asian Americans ages 18-30. NORC contacted sampled households by U.S. mail and by telephone, inviting them to register and participate in public opinion surveys twice a month.

Panelists on both the BYP and AmeriSpeak panels are invited to register for the panel via the web or by telephone to participate in public opinion surveys.

Of the 1,832 completed interviews in the October GenForward survey, 96% were completed by web and 4% by telephone. The survey completion rate is 36 percent. The weighted household panel recruitment rate is 19.4 percent and the weighted household panel retention rate is 94.8 percent, for a cumulative AAPOR Response Rate 3 of 6.6 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 3.8 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level, including the design effect. Among subgroups, the margin of sampling error at the 95 percent confidence level is +/- 5.9 percentage points for African Americans, +/- 8.9 percentage points for Asian Americans, +/- 6.4 percentage points for Latino/as, and +/- 5.9 percentage points for whites.

To encourage cooperation, respondents were offered incentives for completing the survey that ranged from the cash-equivalent of \$3 to the cash-equivalent of \$10.

The interviews from the two probability-based sample sources were combined for statistical weighting and analysis. The combined panel samples provide sample coverage of approximately 97% of the U.S. household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with P.O. Box only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings. The statistical weights incorporate the appropriate probability of selection for the BYP and AmeriSpeak samples, nonresponse adjustments, and also, raking ratio adjustments to population benchmarks for 18-30 year old adults. A poststratification process is used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any non-coverage or under- and over-sampling resulting from the study-specific sample design. The poststratification process was done separately for each racial/ethnic group and involved the following variables: age, gender, education, and census region. The weighted data, which reflect the U.S. population of adults ages 18-30, and the 18-30 year-old populations for African Americans, Latino/as, Asian Americans, and non-Latino/a whites, were used for all analyses.