

Politics Towards 2020

by Race and Ethnicity

July 2019

Survey Overview

The GenForward Survey, founded by Dr. Cathy Cohen at the University of Chicago, is the first of its kind—a nationally representative survey of over 3,250 young adults ages 18-36 conducted bimonthly that pays special attention to the ways race and ethnicity influence how young adults, both Millennials and Gen-Zers, 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 Millennial generation and young adult vote.

In this slide deck, we present an empirical overview of young adults' views on politics in the United States, with a focus toward the 2020 election. A total of 3,427 interviews were conducted between June 27th and July 11th, 2019 with adults ages 18-36, including completed interviews with 896 African American, 539 Asian American, 995 Latinx, and 903 white young adults.

Key Findings

- A majority (53%) of young adults [somewhat or strongly disapprove of the way Donald Trump](#) is handling his job as president, including 65% of African Americans, 57% of Asian Americans, 58% of Latinxs, and 47% of whites.
- A majority (55%) of [young adults have a negative view of the Republican Party](#): 63% of African Americans, 62% of Asian Americans, 56% of Latinxs, and 52% of whites.
- Majorities of people of color have [somewhat or very favorable views of the Democratic Party](#): 61% of African Americans, 65% of Asian Americans, 54% of Latinxs, all have very favorable or somewhat favorable views of the Democratic Party, while only 37% of whites have a very or somewhat favorable views.
- Majorities of young adults of color believe the [Democratic Party cares about people like them](#): 64% of African Americans, 63% of Asian Americans, and 63% of Latinxs. Slightly less than a majority of young whites (46%) believe the Democratic Party cares about people like them.

Key Findings

- A majority of young adults (67%) across race and ethnic groups believe that the [Republican Party does not care about people like them](#): 77% of African Americans, 68% of Asian Americans, 72% of Latinxs, and 62% of whites.
- A majority of all young adults (55%) believe [things in this country are off on the wrong track](#): 65% of African Americans, 52% of Asian Americans, 54% of Latinxs, and 53% of white young adults agree.
- While a slight majority of African Americans (56%) say they [plan to vote for a Democrat in the 2020](#) presidential election, less than a majority of other race and ethnic groups plan to do so: 45% of Asian Americans, 42% of Latinxs, and 34% of whites.
- Of the people who may be running in the Democratic presidential primaries, Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders emerge as [top candidates](#): 18% of African American young adults say they support Joe Biden; 14% of Asian Americans say they support Bernie Sanders; 15% of Latinx young adults support Bernie Sanders and 13% of whites support Bernie Sanders.

Key Findings

- Young adults differ on what is the [most important problem facing the United States today](#). African Americans say racism, while Asian Americans say health care and the environment/ climate change; Latinxs and whites both say immigration is the most important issue.
- Majorities of young adults believe [Donald Trump will lose the 2020 election](#): 76% of African Americans, 59% of Asian Americans, 67% of Latinxs, and 53% of whites.
- Majorities of young adults (67%) across race and ethnicity say that they [plan to participate in their state presidential primary elections](#): 67% of African Americans, 68% of Asian Americans, 66% of Latinxs, and 69% of white young adults say that they are somewhat or very likely to participate.
- Nearly a majority of young white adults (48%) strongly or somewhat agree that [discrimination against whites](#) has become as big a problem as discrimination against blacks and other minorities. Only 35% of African Americans, 36% of Asian Americans, and 38% of Latinxs agree.

Key Findings

- There is a 20 percentage point difference between African Americans who say that they feel like a [full and equal citizen](#) in the US and the percent of whites who say the same: 54% of African Americans strongly or somewhat agree that they are full and equal citizens, compared to 74% of whites.
- Majorities of young adults (62%) across race and ethnicity agree that [generations of slavery and discrimination](#) have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class: 77% of African Americans, 67% of Asian Americans, 64% of Latinxs, and 56% of white somewhat or strongly agree.
- Small percentages (11%) of young adults agree that we [should make it tougher or never allow women to get abortions](#). Only 8% of African Americans and Asian Americans, 10% of Latinxs, and 12% of whites agree that we should make it tougher or never allow abortions, contradicting legislation in some states that makes getting an abortion difficult to impossible.
- A majority (52%) of African Americans say that [women should have access to abortion even if it means using government funds to ensure equal access for all women](#), even as African Americans remain one of the most religious racial groups in the US.

By Race and Ethnicity

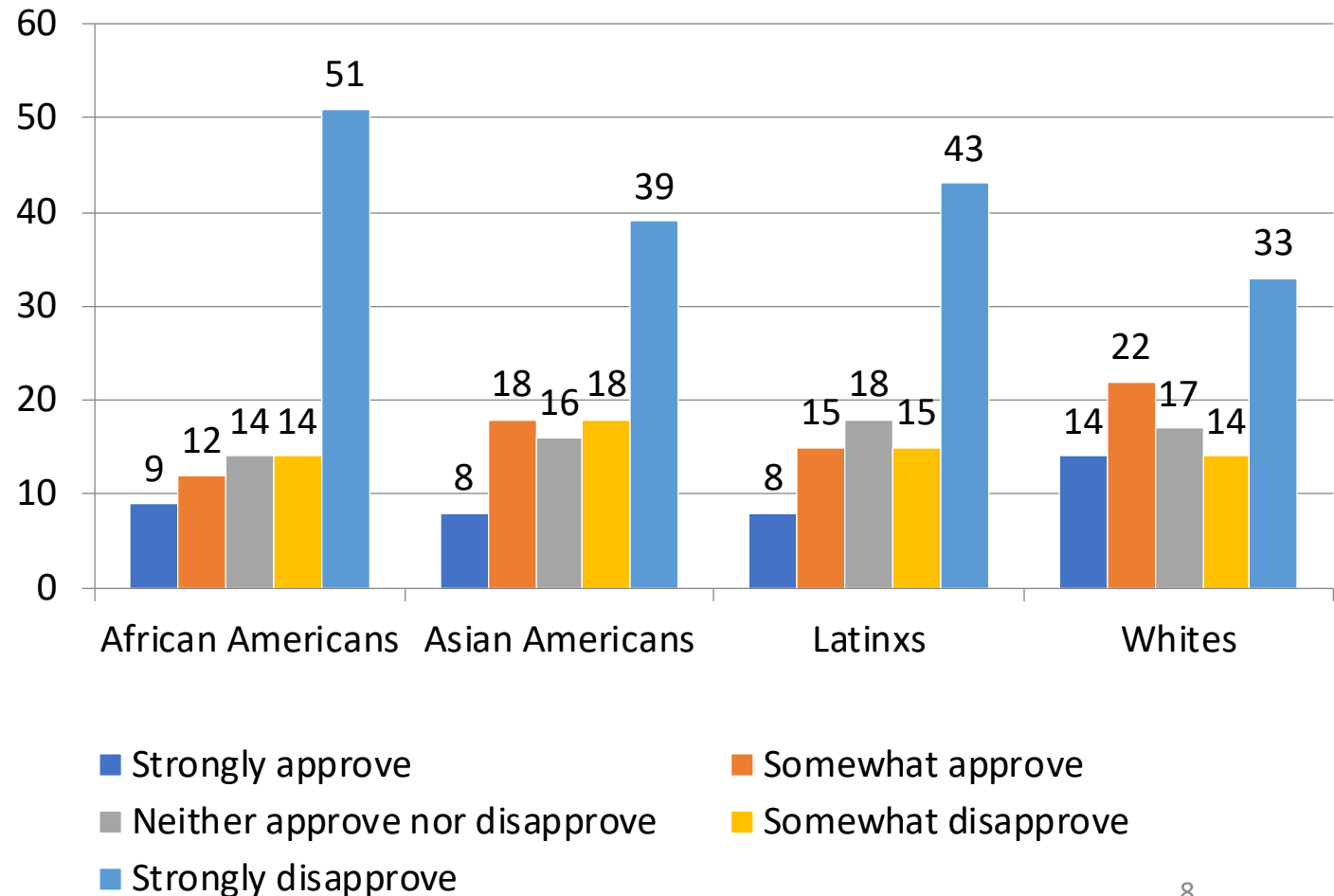
Approval of President Trump

Majorities of young adults, regardless of race and ethnicity, disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president. Pluralities of Latinx, Asian American, and white young adults– and a majority of African American young adults strongly disapprove of Trump’s job performance.

Percent that somewhat or strongly approve:

- African Americans = 21%
- Asian Americans = 26%
- Latinxs = 23%
- Whites = 36%

Overall, do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?



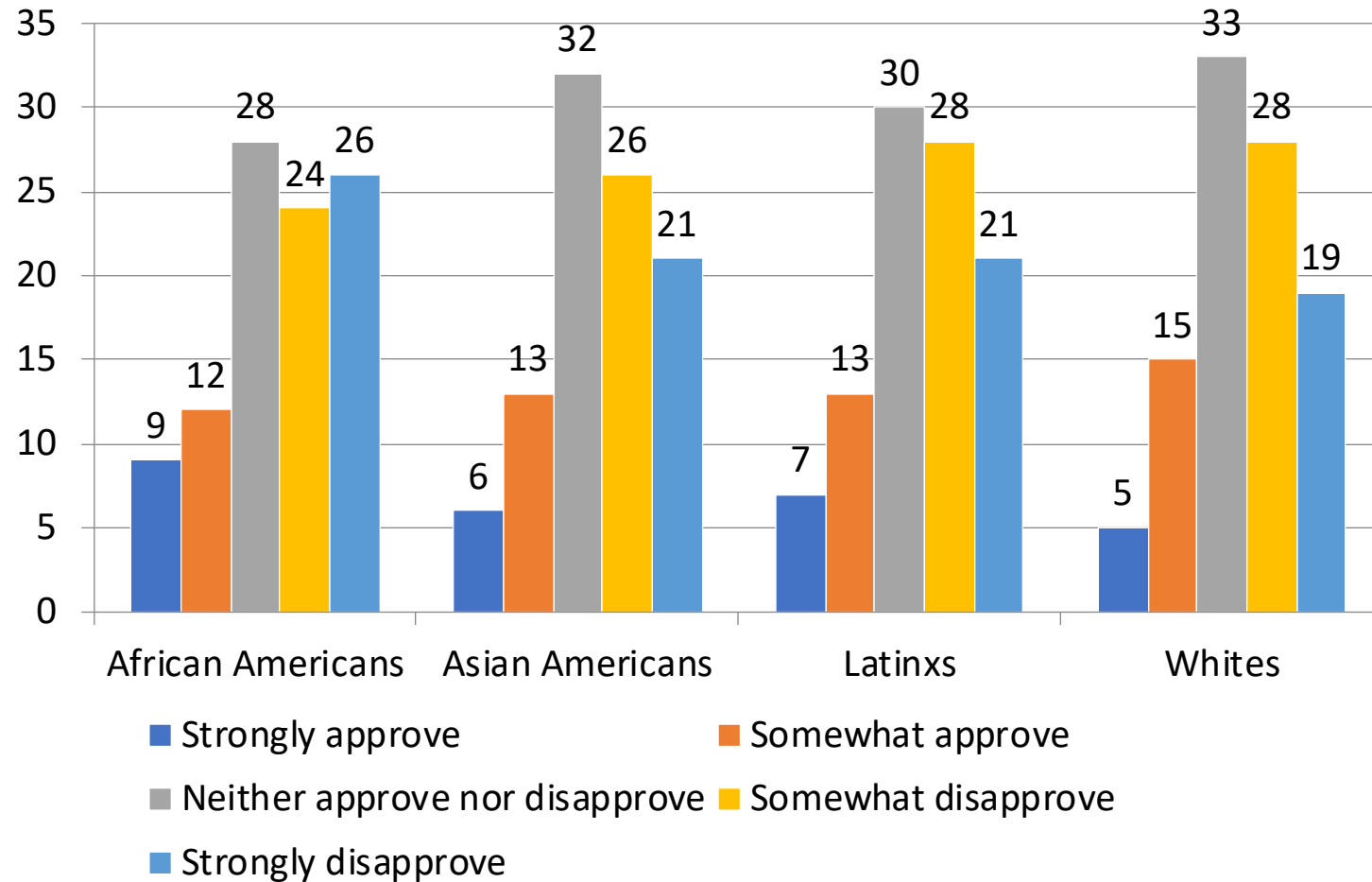
Approval of Congress

Pluralities of young adults across race and ethnicity approve of the way Congress is handling its job.

Percent that strongly or somewhat approve:

- African Americans = 50%
- Asian Americans = 47%
- Latinxs = 49%
- Whites = 47%

Overall, do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?



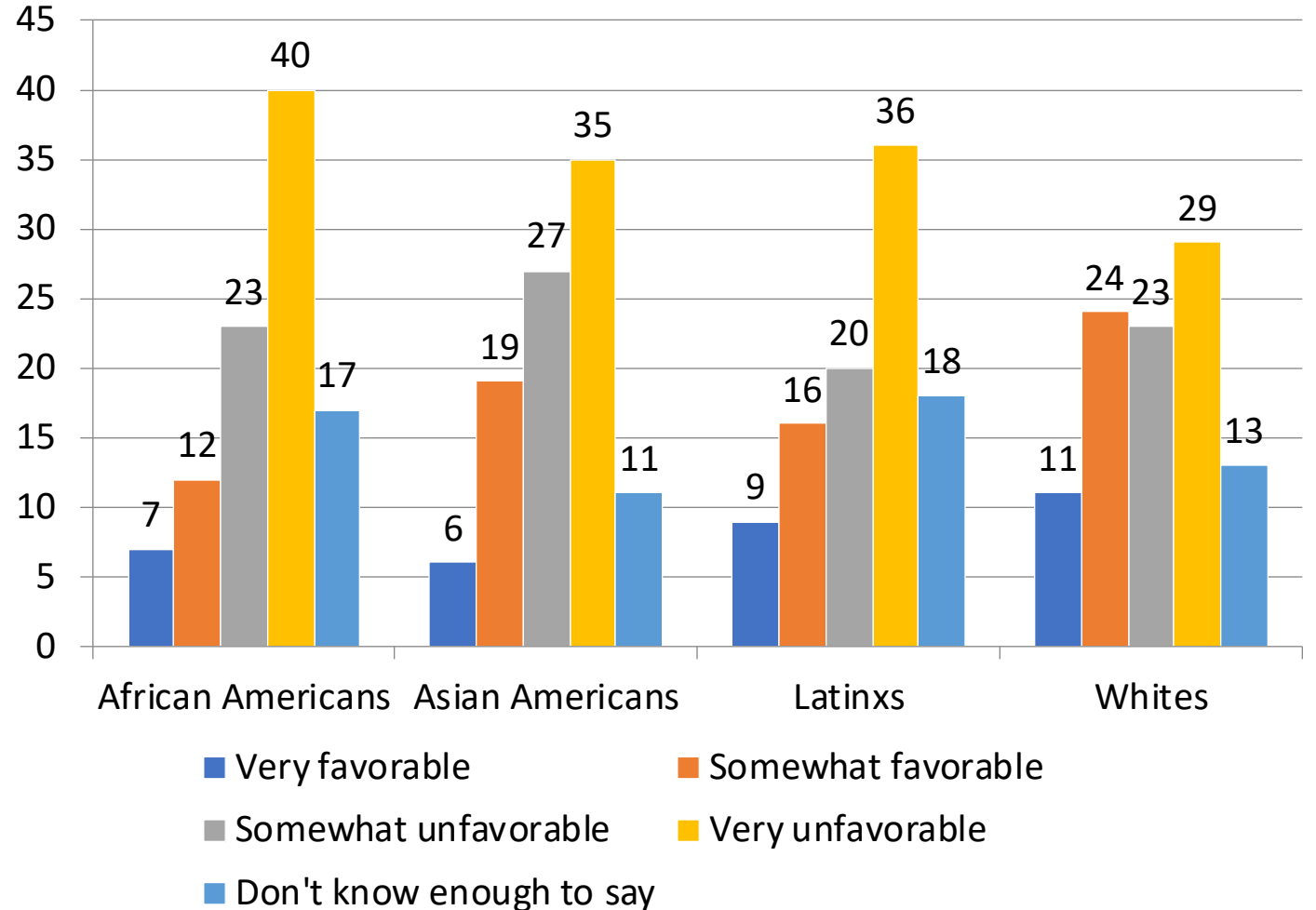
Favorability of the Republican Party

Majorities of young adults of color hold either “very” or “somewhat” unfavorable views of the Republican Party. Among whites, roughly 50% say they have a somewhat or very unfavorable impression of the Republican Party.

Percent reporting very or somewhat favorable views:

- African Americans = 19%
- Asian Americans = 25%
- Latinxs = 25%
- Whites = 35%

Please select if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of the Republican Party.



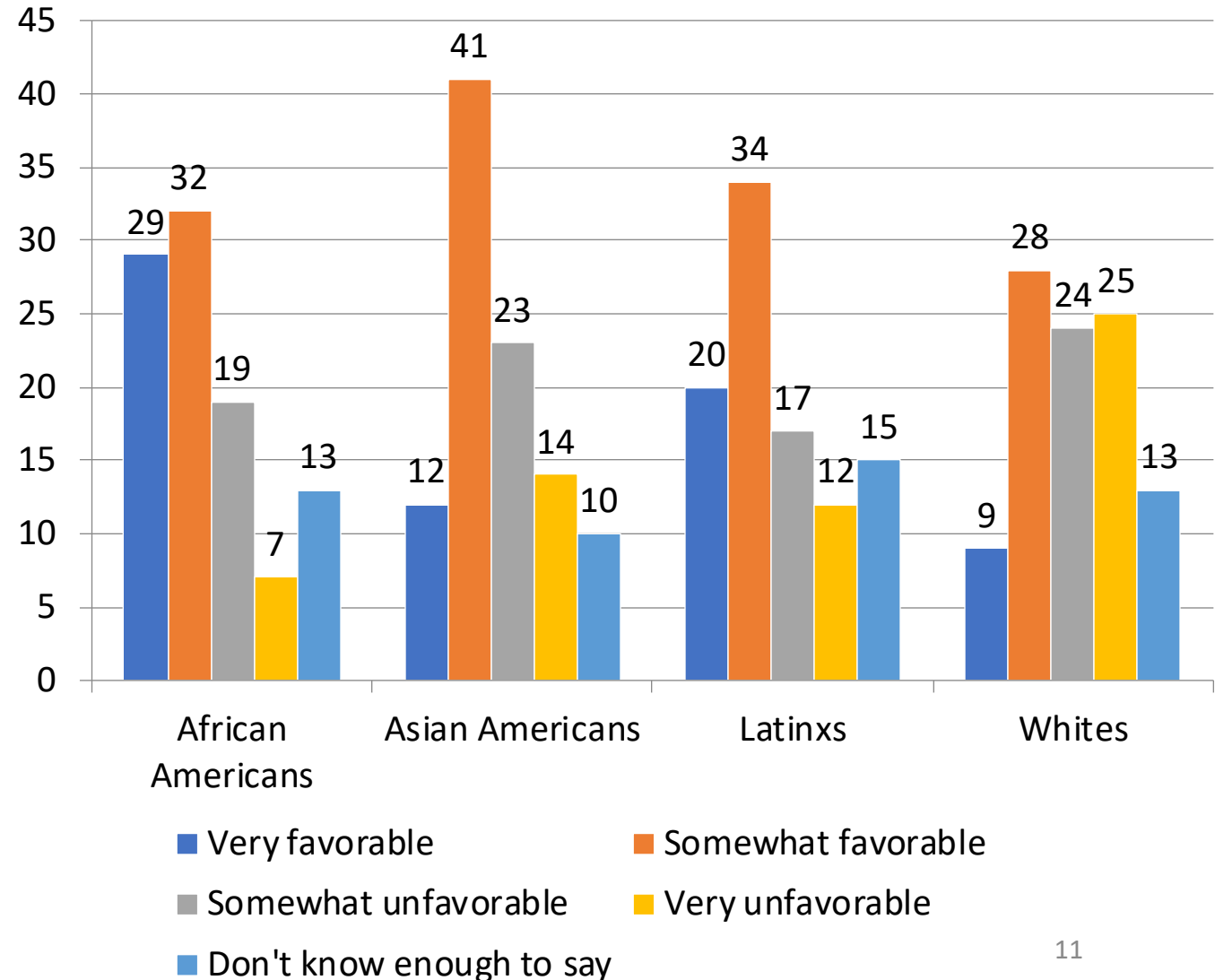
Favorability of the Democratic Party

Pluralities of young adults across race and ethnicity report holding “somewhat” favorable views toward the Democratic Party, though overall support is noticeably higher among young people of color when compared to whites. White young adults are the only group where the majority does not have a favorable impression of the Democratic Party.

Percent reporting somewhat or strongly favorable views:

- African Americans = 61%
- Asian Americans = 53%
- Latinxs = 54%
- Whites = 37%

Please select if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of the Democratic Party.



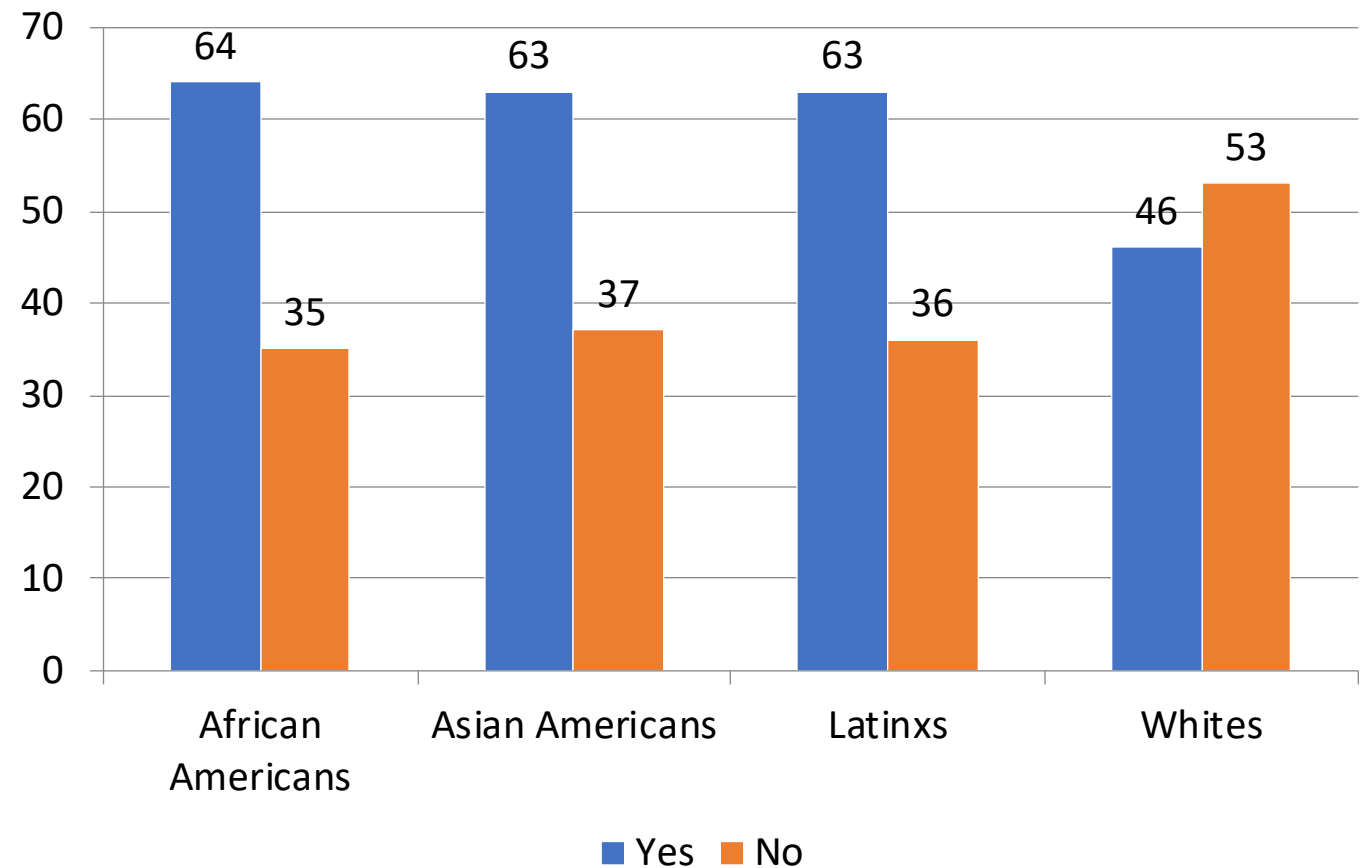
Does the Democratic Party Care about People Like You?

Substantial majorities of young adults of color think that the Democratic Party cares about people like them. The majority of white young adults, on the other hand, believe that the Democratic Party does *not* care about people like them.

Percent saying that the Democratic Party cares about people like them:

- African Americans = 64%
- Asian Americans = 63%
- Latinxs = 63%
- Whites = 46%

Do you think the Democratic Party cares about people like you, or not?



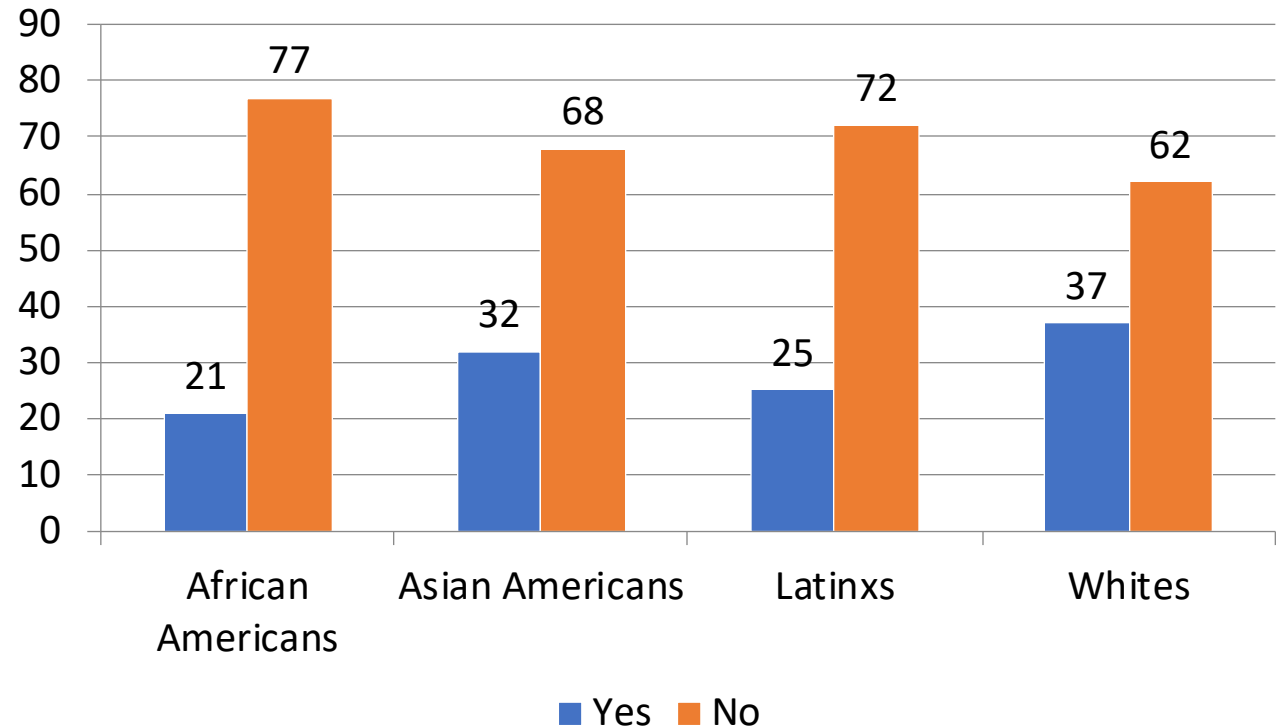
Does the Republican Party Care about People Like You?

Majorities of young adults across race and ethnicity do not believe that the Republican Party cares about people like them.

Percent saying that the Republican Party cares about people like them:

- African Americans = 21%
- Asian Americans = 32%
- Latinxs = 25%
- Whites = 37%

Do you think the Republican Party cares about people like you, or not?



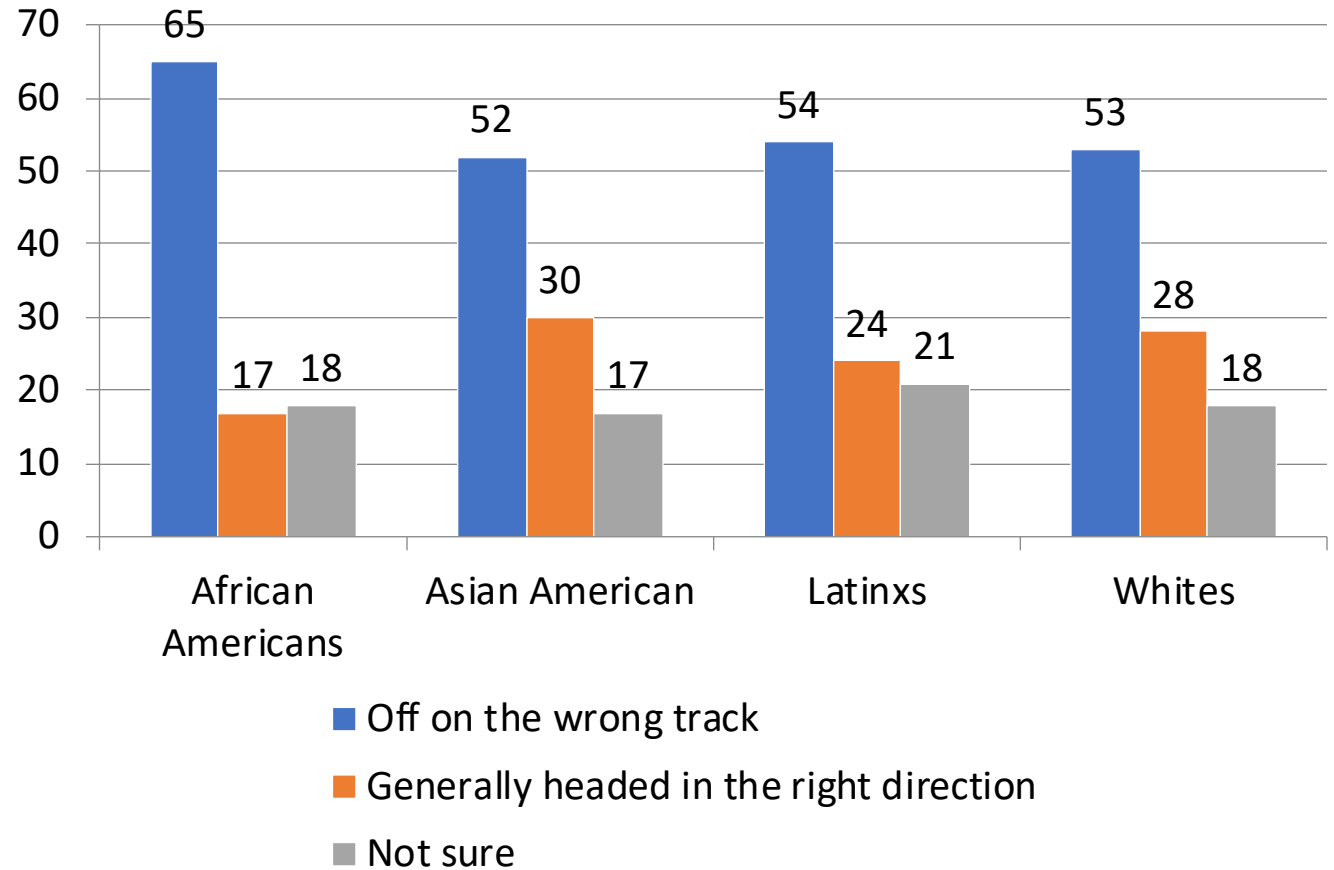
Direction of the country

Young adults across race and ethnicity believe that the country is going off on the wrong track, though African American young adults are much more likely to think so than their peers.

Percent who say that things in the country are going off on the wrong track:

- African Americans= 65%
- Asian Americans= 52%
- Latinxs = 54%
- Whites = 53%

Would you say things in this country are...



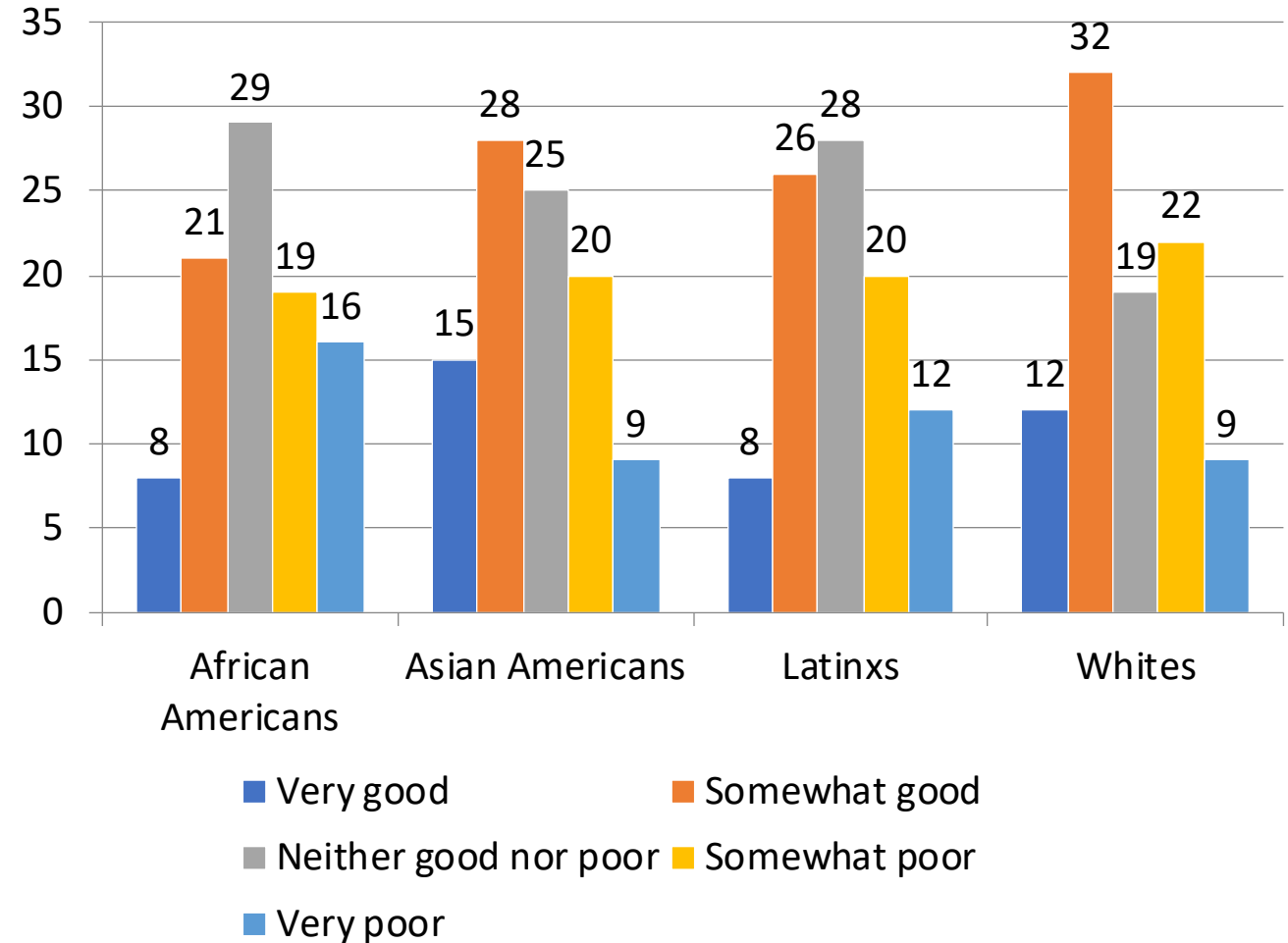
State of the national economy

More white and Asian young adults describe the nation's economy as doing well, especially when compared to Latinxs and African Americans.

Percent who say the nation's economy is very or somewhat good:

- African Americans = 29%
- Asian Americans = 43%
- Latinxs = 34%
- Whites = 44%

How would you describe the nation's economy these days?
Would you say...



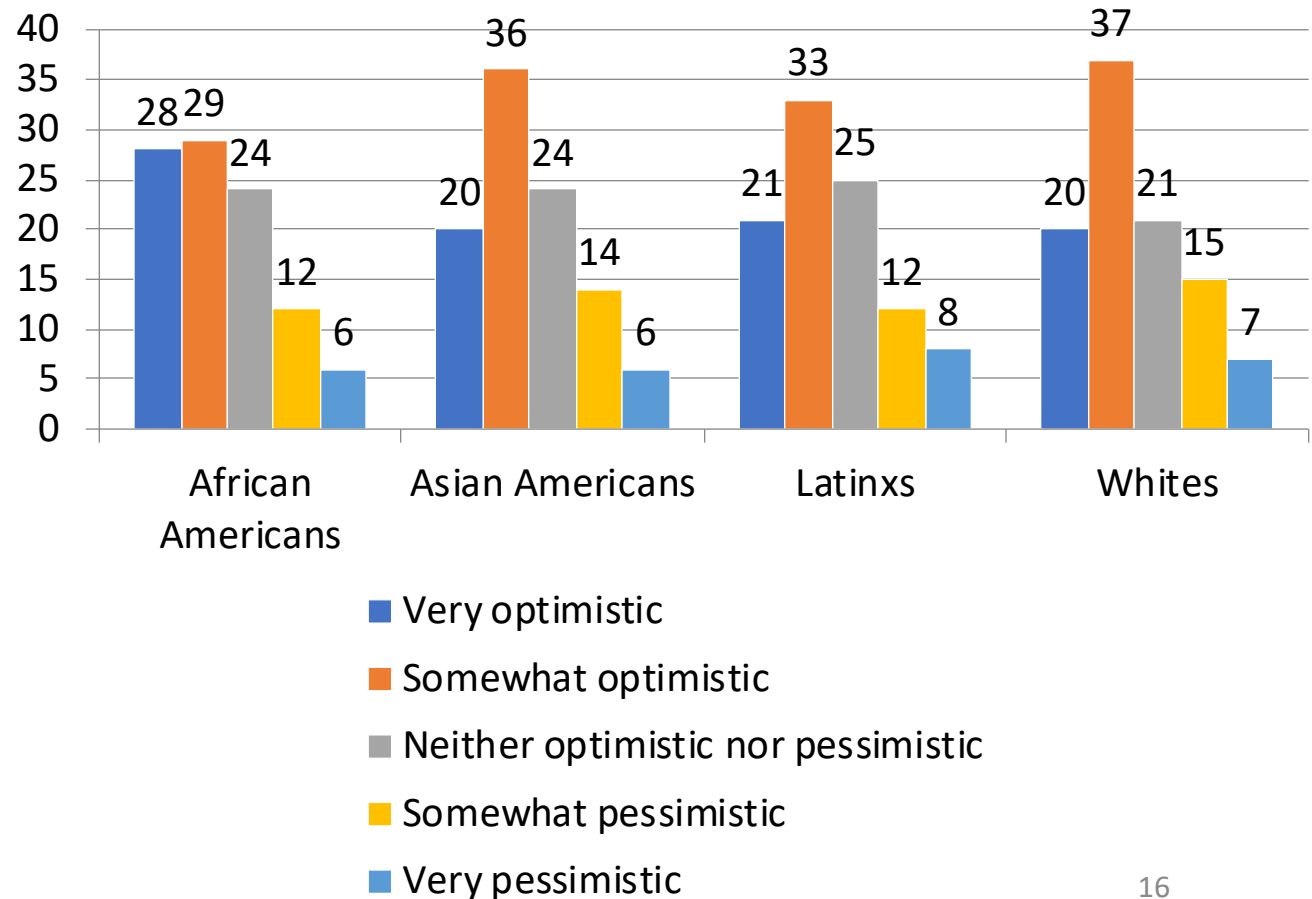
Optimism toward one's personal economic future

Most young adults across race and ethnicity feel “somewhat” or “very” optimistic about their personal futures.

Percent who are very or somewhat optimistic about their personal futures:

- African Americans = 57%
- Asian Americans = 56%
- Latinxs = 54%
- Whites = 57%

Generally speaking, how optimistic are you about your personal future—think about things like finding and keeping a good job, paying off your student loan debt, and being able to afford the lifestyle you want?



Most important issue

Race and ethnicity substantially impacts which issues young adults consider to be the important problem facing the United States today.

African Americans are most likely to name racism as the most important issue facing the country, while Asian Americans consider health care and the environment as the most important problems. Latinxs and whites consider immigration to be the most important problem facing the nation. Even so, these groups might approach this issue differently.

What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? Please select which one of these is the most important.

	African Americans	Asian Americans	Latinxs	Whites
1 st	Racism (17%)	Environment and climate change / Health Care (12%)	Immigration (19%)	Immigration (14%)
2 nd	Gun control (8%)	Immigration (11%)	Racism (12%)	Environment and climate change (12%)
3 rd	Health care/ Immigration/ Income inequality/ Crime/ Police brutality (6%)	Income inequality (9%)	Environment and climate change (9%)	Health care (9%)

Support for 2020 Democratic candidates

Below is a list of people who may be running in the Democratic primaries to be the party's presidential nominee. Which one candidate do you support or do you support someone else?

Across race and ethnicity, Bernie Sanders and Joe Biden are currently polling ahead of the other candidates in the 2020 primary field—followed by Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris.

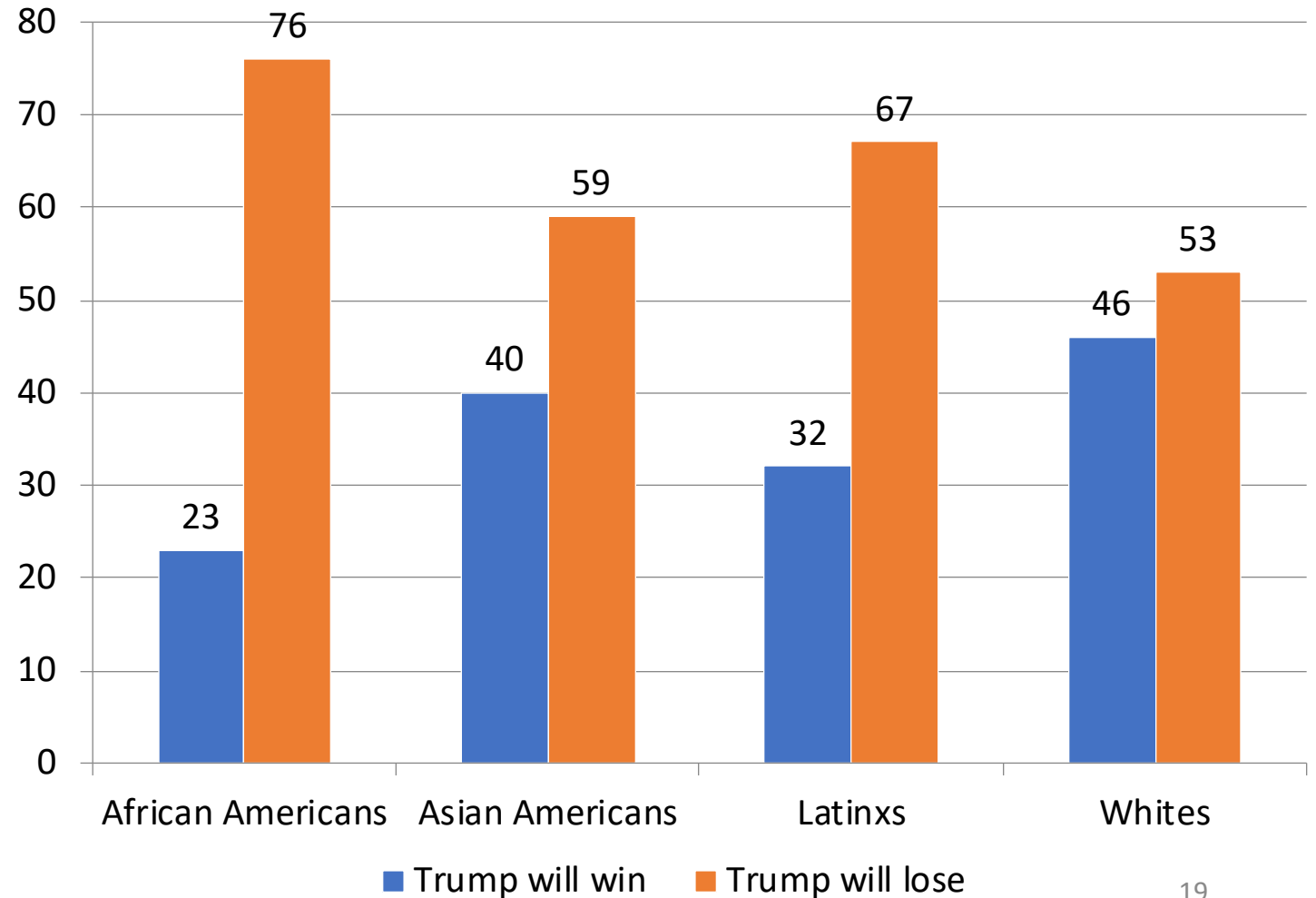
Nevertheless, substantial numbers of young adults—particularly white young adults—do or would like to support someone else not listed.

	African Americans	Asian Americans	Latinxs	Whites
Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders	14	14	15	13
Former Vice President Joe Biden	18	12	14	12
Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren	6	8	4	8
California Senator Kamala Harris	7	10	7	5
South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg	2	3	2	3
New Jersey Senator Cory Booker	3	2	2	1
Former Texas Congressman Beto O'Rourke	3	1	4	2
Someone else	23	23	24	35

Trump's Electoral Chances

Majorities of young adults across race and ethnicity believe that Donald Trump will lose the 2020 presidential election— though a smaller majority of whites and Asian Americans than African Americans and Latinxs agree that Trump will lose.

As you may have heard, Donald Trump has decided to run for re-election. Please just give me your best guess, do you think he will win the presidential election in 2020, or do you think he will lose?



2020 Election Intentions

Majorities of African Americans, pluralities of Asian American, Latinx, and white young adults plan to vote for a Democrat in the 2020 presidential election. Substantial numbers of people across race and ethnic group say they don't know who they will support.

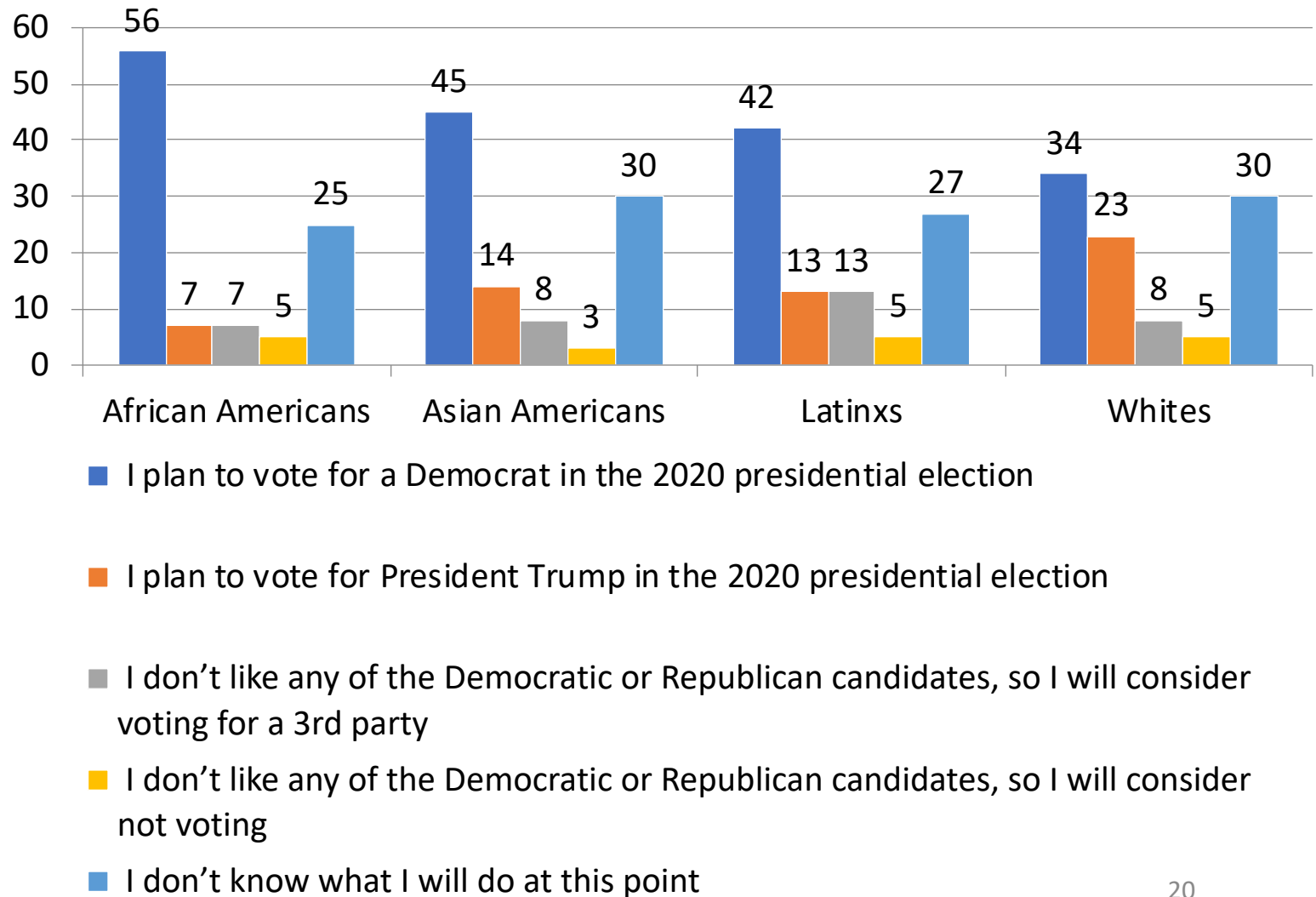
African Americans= 56%

Asian Americans= 45%

Latinxs= 42%

Whites= 34%

Given what you know about the candidates running for president which statement is closest to how you feel:



2020 Presidential Election Contact

Which, if any, of the groups below have contacted you about the 2020 elections? Please select all that apply.

Eighteen-percent of young African Americans, 13% of Asian Americans, 15% of Latinxs, and 11% of Whites, report being contacted by the Democratic Party regarding the 2020 election. Only 5% of African Americans, 7% of Asian Americans, 8% of Latinxs, and 8% of Whites report being contacted by the Republican Party.

	African Americans	Asian Americans	Latinxs	Whites
Democratic Party	18	13	15	11
Republican Party	5	7	8	8
Other political party	2	3	5	2
Democratic congressional candidate's campaign	6	10	7	8
Republican congressional candidate's campaign	4	5	5	5
Other congressional candidate's campaign	9	9	8	8
Labor union	4	4	4	3

2020 Presidential Election Contact (con't)

Which, if any, of the groups below have contacted you about the 2020 elections? Please select all that apply.

Thirteen percent of African Americans, 16% of Asian Americans, 12% of Latinxs, and 15% of whites report having been contacted by a friend or family member about the 2020 election. Around 5% of African Americans, 6% of Asian Americans, 6% of Latinxs, and 5% of whites say a political or civic organization has contacted them. However, most young adults say they have not been contacted by any of these or other groups.

	African Americans	Asian Americans	Latinxs	Whites
Political/ civic organizations	5	6	6	5
People you work with	9	9	8	8
Organizations to which you belong	5	5	3	6
Professional organizations	5	8	6	2
A race and ethnicity based organization	6	4	5	1
A gender and sexuality based organization	4	4	5	4
Friend or family member	13	16	12	15
You have not been contacted by any of these individuals or groups	30	39	31	41
Don't know	20	18	18	17

Interest in 2020 Presidential Election

Majorities of young adults report being a great deal or quite a bit interested in the 2020 election.

Those who report being interested:

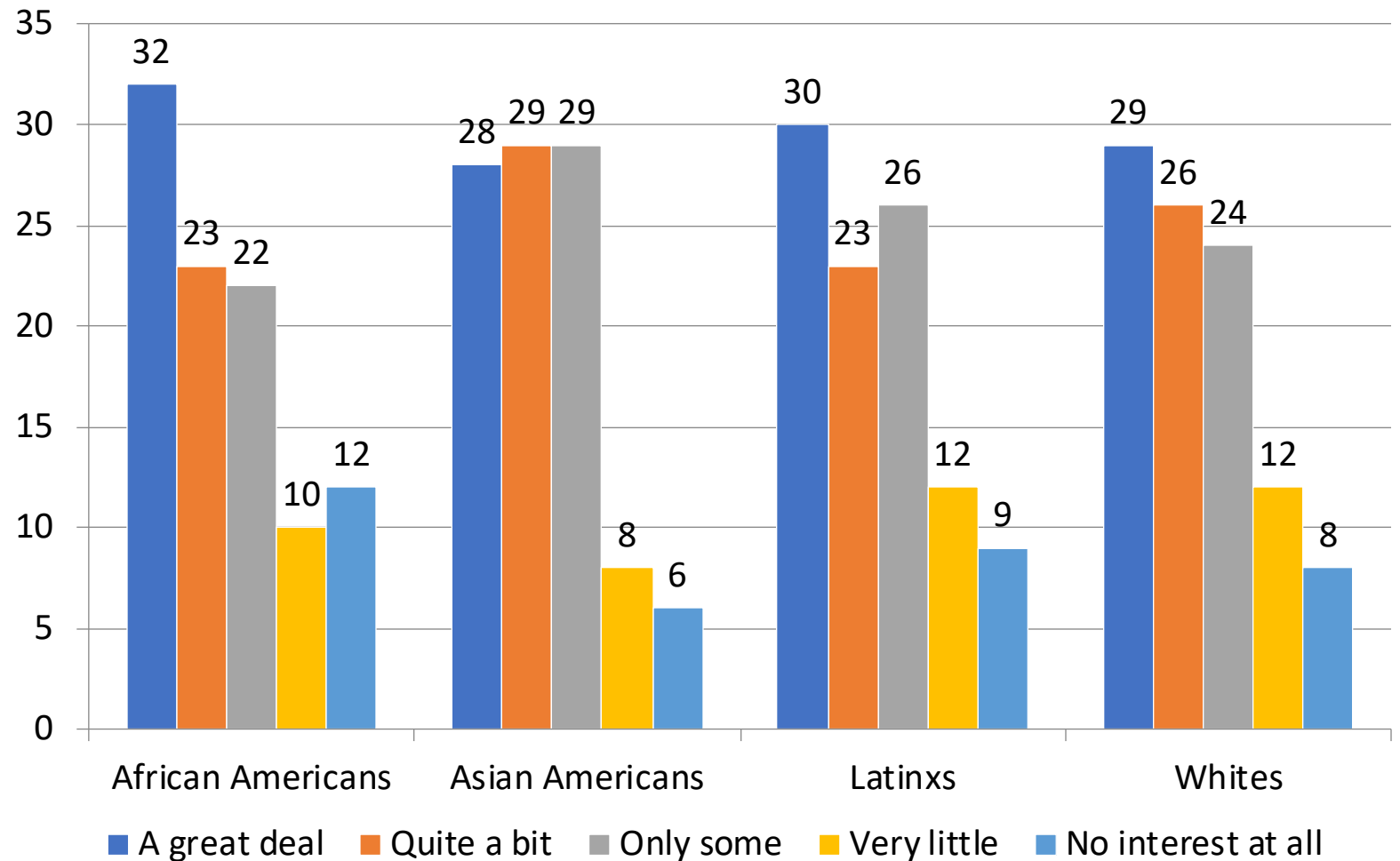
African Americans: 55%

Asian Americans: 57%

Latinxs: 53%

Whites: 55%

How much interest do you have in the upcoming 2020 presidential election?



2020 Presidential Election Primary or Caucus Participation

Majorities of young adults report being likely to participate in their state's primary or caucus during the 2020 election.

Those young adults who report likely participation:

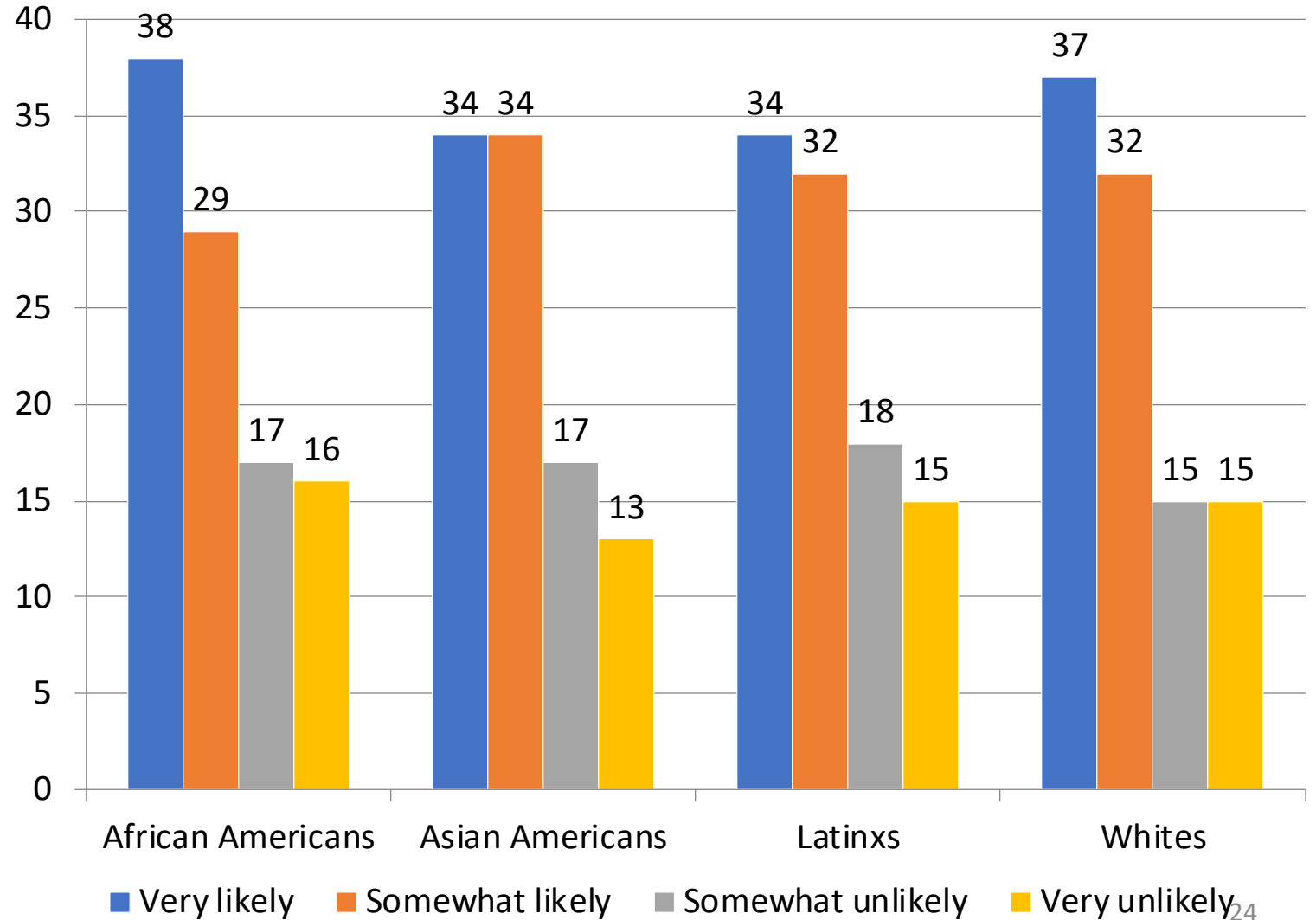
African Americans: 67%

Asian Americans: 68%

Latinxs: 66%

Whites: 69%

How likely or unlikely is it that you participate in your state's primary or caucus during the 2020 presidential election?



Full and Equal Citizen

Compared to other racial and ethnic groups, fewer African Americans report feeling like a full and equal citizen in this country with all the rights and protections that others have.

Those who somewhat or strongly agree that they feel like a full and equal citizen:

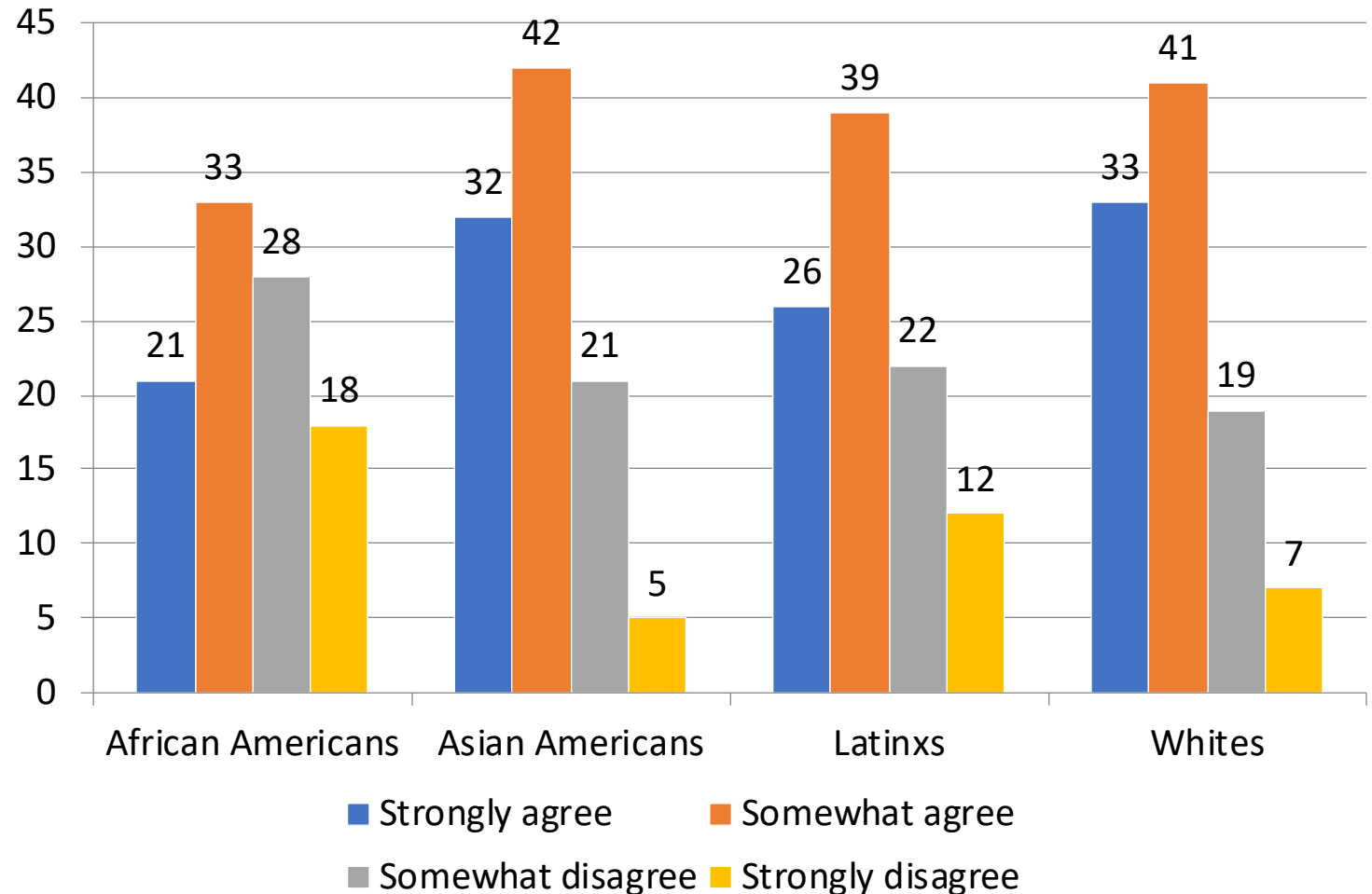
African Americans: 54%

Asian Americans: 74%

Latinxs: 65%

Whites: 74%

Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. Generally, I feel like a full and equal citizen in this country with all the rights and protections that other people have.



Work their Way Up

Majorities of Asian Americans, Latinxs, and whites feel that African Americans should not receive special favors.

Those who agree that blacks should not receive any special favors:

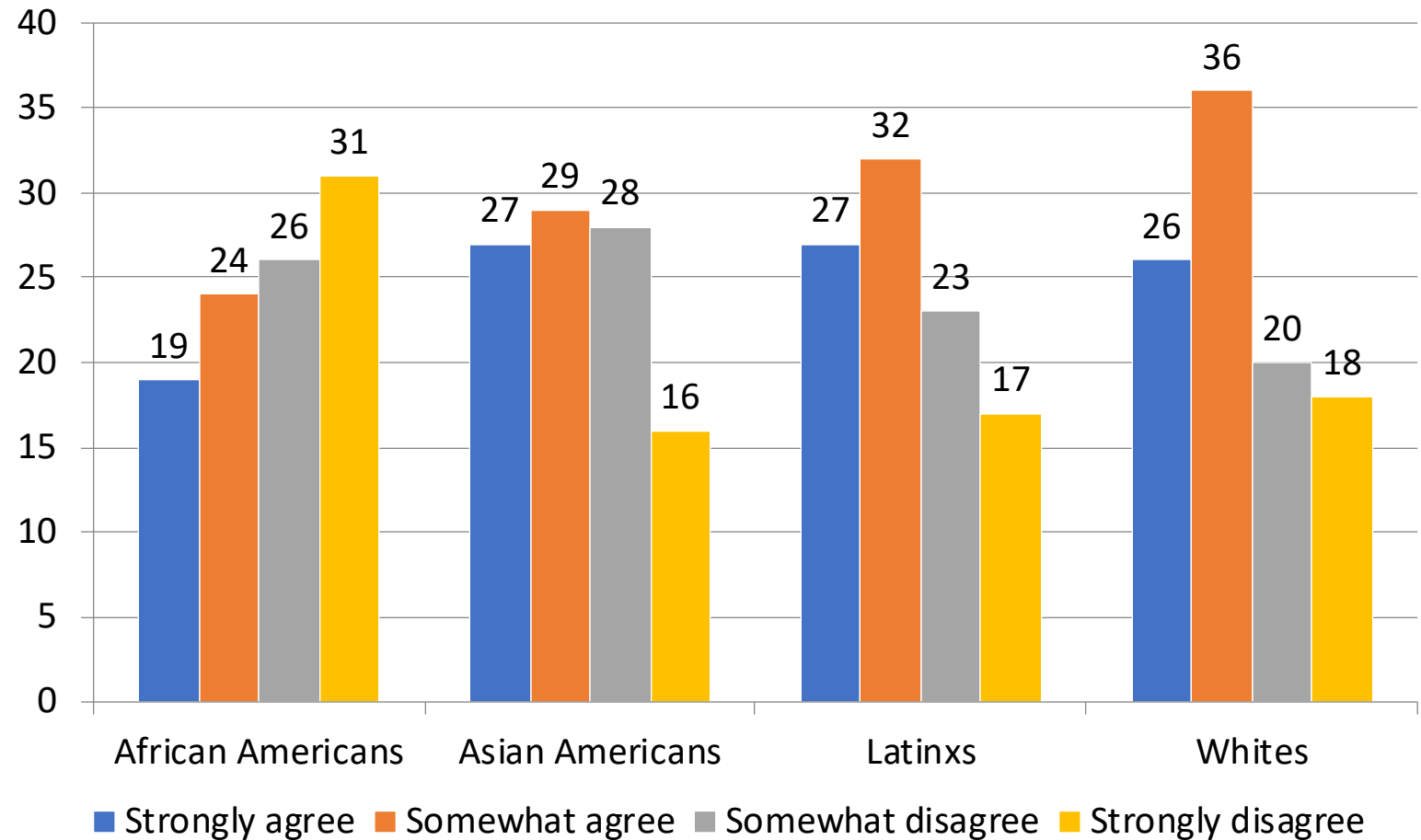
African Americans: 43%

Asian Americans: 56%

Latinxs: 59%

Whites: 62%

Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.



Generations of Slavery

Majorities of young people across race and ethnicity somewhat or strongly agree that generations of slavery and discrimination has made it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

Percent who agree:

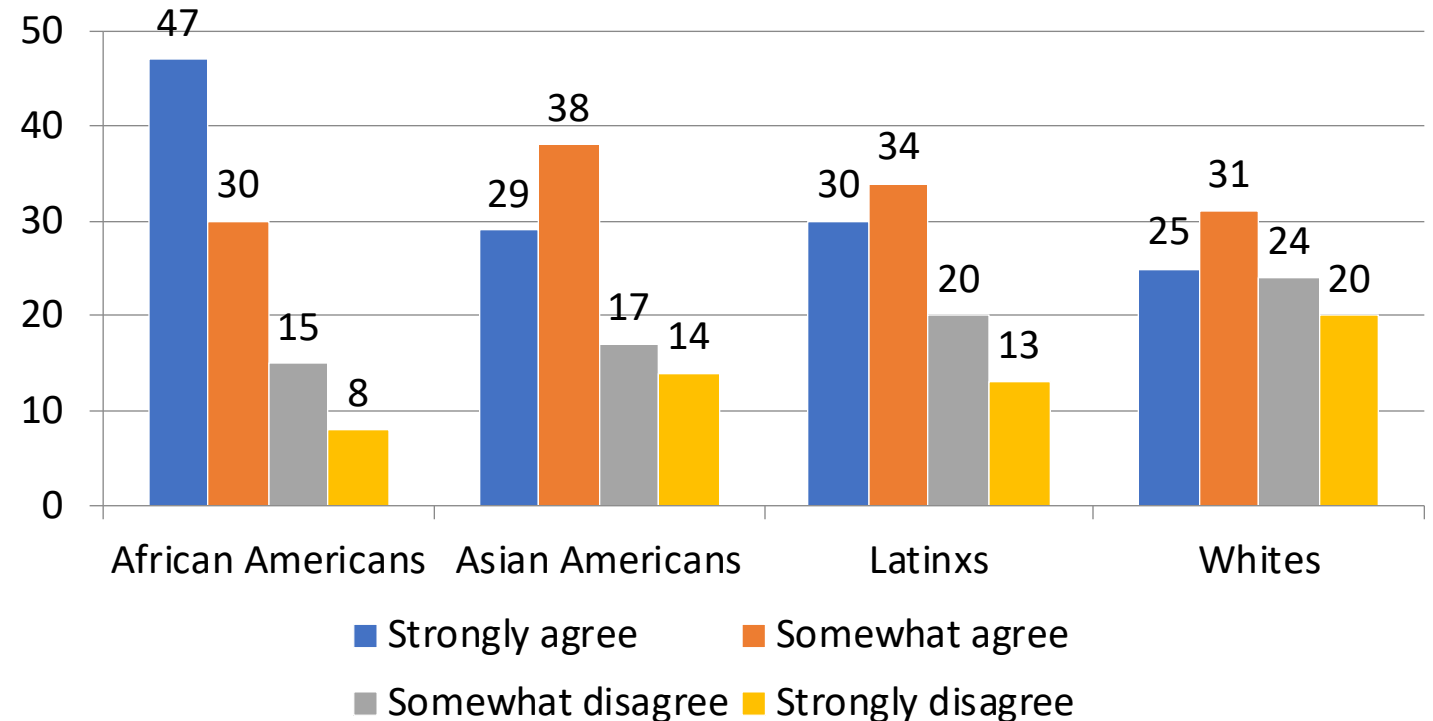
African Americans: 57%

Asian Americans: 67%

Latinxs: 64%

Whites: 56%

Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.



Whites Economically Losing Ground

Do you agree or disagree that, through no fault of their own, whites are economically losing ground today compared to other racial and ethnic groups?

Majorities of young adults disagree that whites are economically losing ground today compared to other racial and ethnic groups.

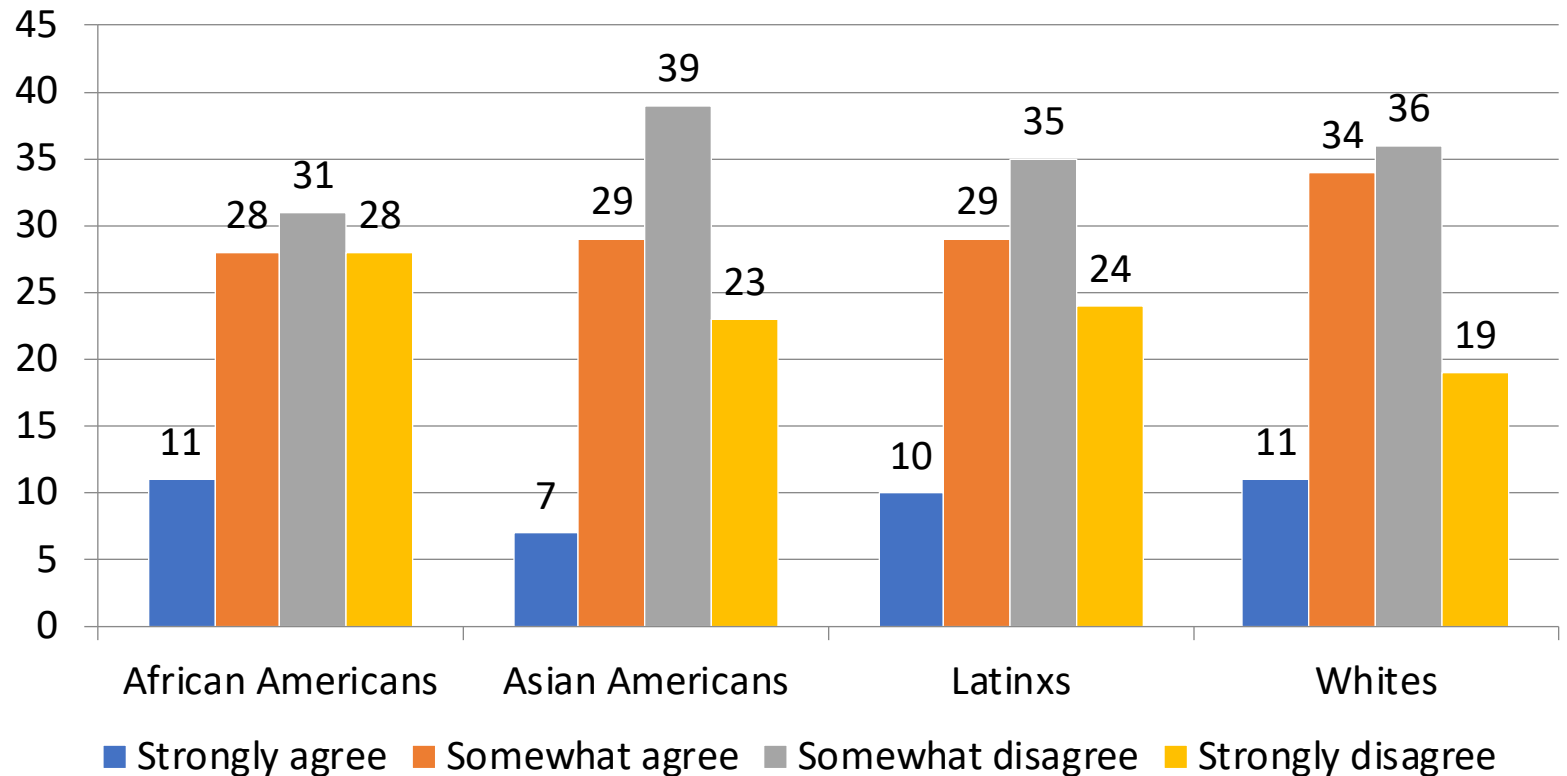
Percent who say that whites are not losing ground economically:

African Americans: 59%

Asian Americans: 62%

Latinxs: 59%

Whites: 55%



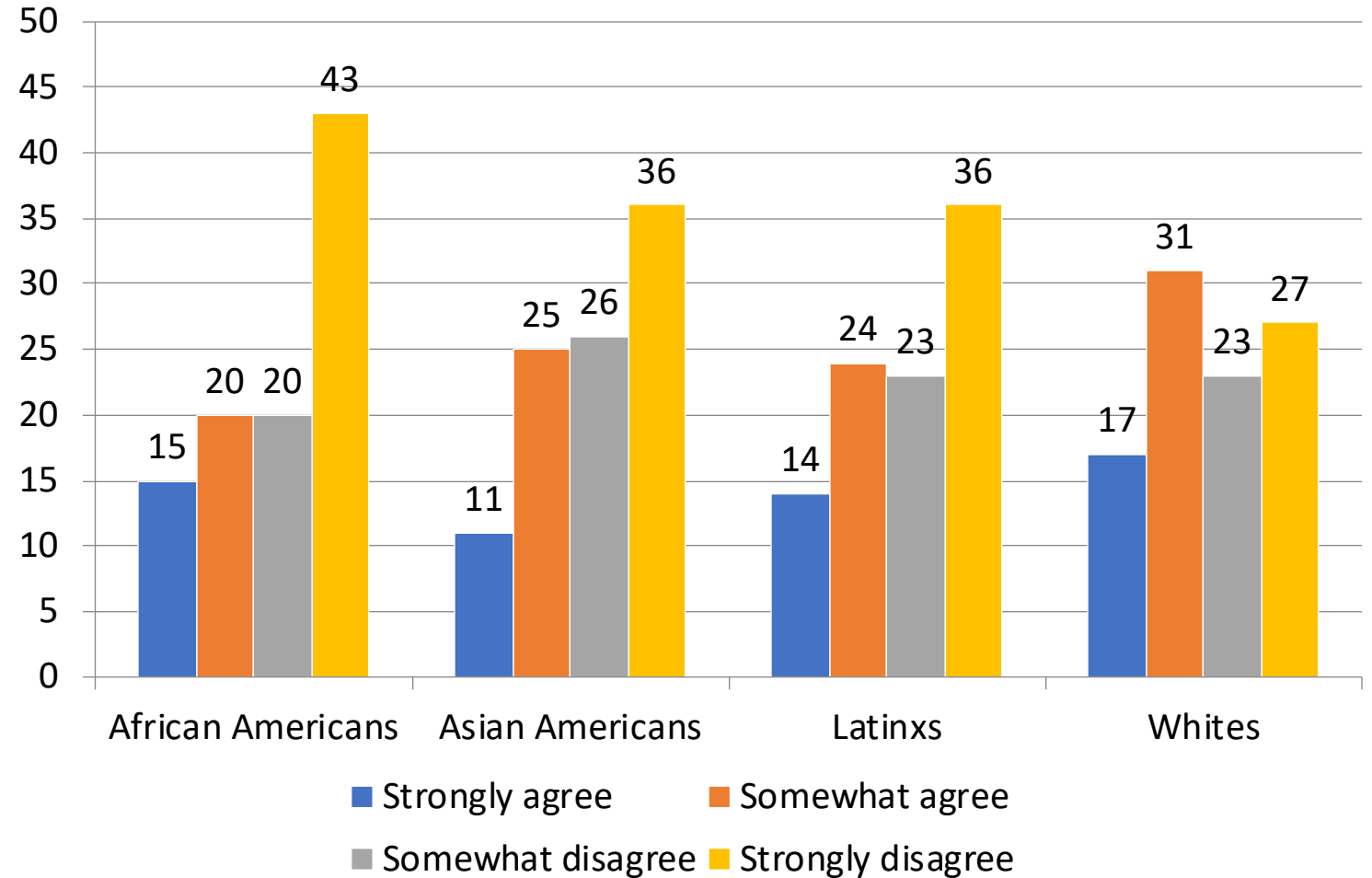
Discrimination Against Whites

A near majority of white young adults somewhat or strongly agree that discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against blacks and other minorities.

Those who agree that discrimination against whites has become a problem:

- African Americans: 35%
- Asian Americans: 36%
- Latinxs: 38%
- Whites: 48%

Do you agree or disagree that discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against blacks and other minorities?



Access to Abortion

A majority (52%) of African Americans say that women should have access to abortion even if it means using government funds to ensure equal access for all women. Forty-four percent of Asian Americans, 39% of Latinxs, and 36% of whites agree that women should be able to have access to abortions using government funds.

Even so, 44% of African Americans, 51% of Asian Americans, 45% of Latinxs, and 47% of whites agree that any woman should be able to get an abortion if she chooses.

Percent who agree that women should be able to get abortions if they choose, using government funds:

African Americans: 52%

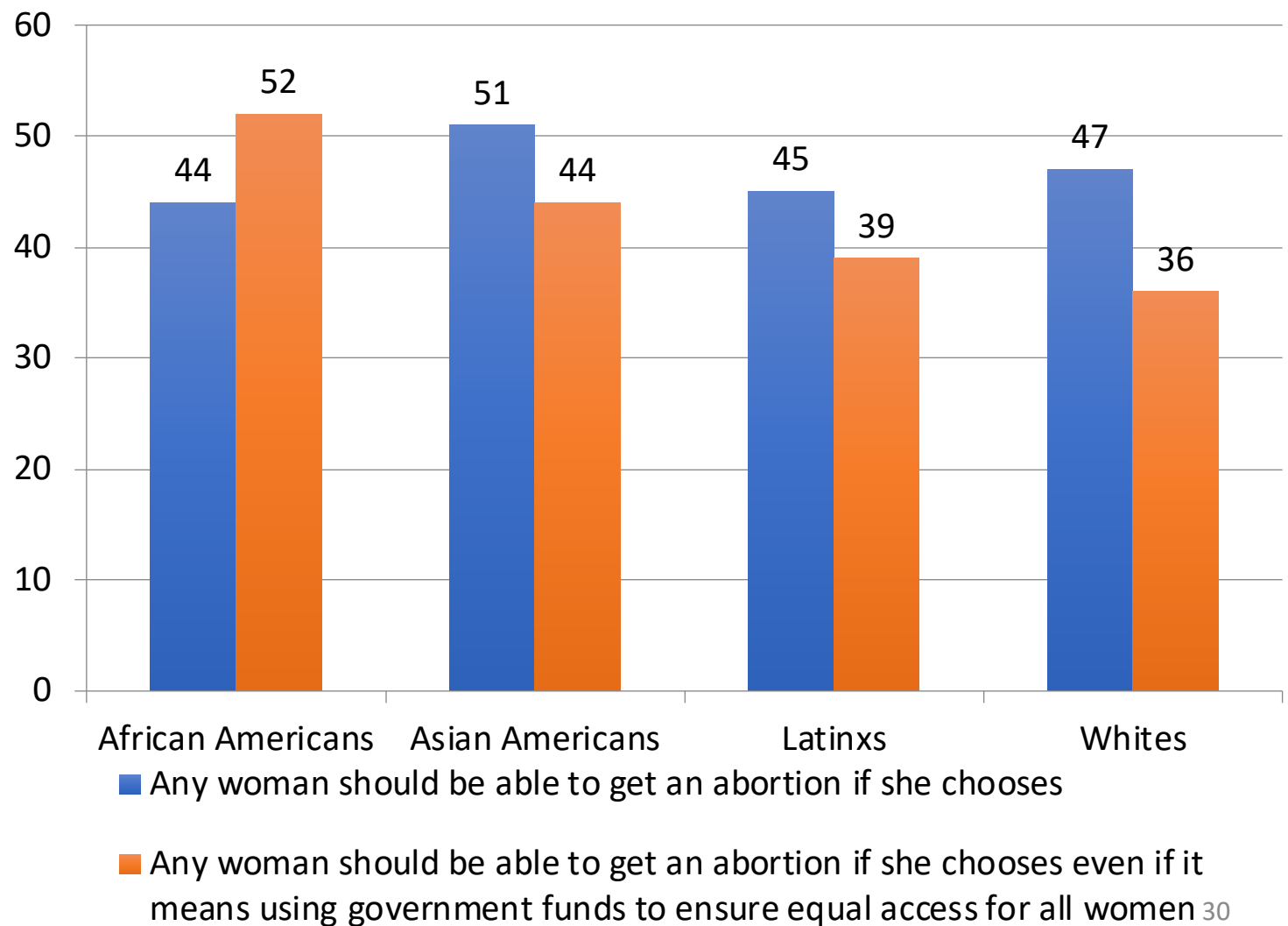
Asian Americans: 44%

Latinxs: 39%

Whites: 36%

GenForward surveys are available at www.genforwardsurvey.com

Several states have recently passed laws on abortion. Some states have made the laws much more strict, and others have made it easier for women to get abortions if they choose. Which of the following comes closer to your view?



Survey Methodology

Survey Methodology (1 of 3)

The GenForward July survey is a project of Professor Cathy J. Cohen at the University of Chicago. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample from GenForwardSM, a nationally representative survey panel of adults ages 18-36 recruited and administered by NORC at the University of Chicago.

A total of 3,427 interviews were conducted between June 27th and July 11th, 2019 with adults ages 18-36, including completed interviews with 896 African American young adults, 539 Asian American young adults, 995 Latinx young adults, 903 white young adults, and 134 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-one percent of the completed interviews are sourced from NORC's AmeriSpeak® Panel and from the Black Youth Project (BYP) panel of young adults recruited by NORC. 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). 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, Latinxs, and Asian Americans ages 18-36. NORC contacted sampled households by U.S. mail and by telephone, inviting them to register and participate in public opinion surveys twice a month.

Survey Methodology (2 of 3)

- The AmeriSpeak panel sample was supplemented with respondents from the Dynata nonprobability online opt-in panel. Forty-nine percent of the completed interviews are sourced from the Dynata panel. To help to reduce potential bias in the nonprobability sample, Dynata attempted to balance the nonprobability respondent sample by age, race and ethnicity, gender, and partisanship. In order to incorporate the nonprobability sample, NORC used TrueNorth calibration services, an innovative hybrid calibration approach developed at NORC based on small area estimation methods in order to explicitly account for potential bias associated with the nonprobability sample. The purpose of TrueNorth calibration is to adjust the weights for the nonprobability sample so as to bring weighted distributions of the nonprobability sample in line with the population distribution for characteristics correlated with the survey variables. Such calibration adjustments help to reduce potential bias, yielding more accurate population estimates.

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 3,427 completed interviews in the GenForward July survey, 98 percent were completed by web and 2 percent by telephone. The survey completion rate is 20.0 percent. The weighted AAPOR RR3 panel recruitment rate is 20.3 percent and the weighted household panel retention rate is 85.5 percent, for a cumulative AAPOR Response Rate 3 of 3.4 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 2.40 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 +/- 4.13 percentage points for African Americans, +/- 5.68 percentage points for Asian Americans, +/- 4.98 percentage points for Latinxs, and +/- 3.73 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.

Survey Methodology (3 of 3)

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 18-64-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 18-36, and the 18-36-year-old populations for African Americans, Latinxs, Asian Americans, and non-Latinx whites, were used for all analyses.

Full details are available at www.genforwardsurvey.com