

Millennials and the 2018 Midterm Elections

October 2018

Table of Contents

- I. [Survey Overview](#)
- II. [Views on the Country, Trump, and the Political Parties](#)
- III. [Voting in the Midterm Elections](#)
- IV. [Candidate Preferences for 2018](#)
- V. [Outcomes of the 2018 Midterm Elections](#)
- VI. [Political Participation and Representation](#)
- VII. [Identifying Likely Voters](#)
- VIII. [Survey Methodology](#)

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 1,750 young adults ages 18-34 conducted bimonthly that pays special attention to the ways race and ethnicity influence how young adults, or Millennials, 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 memo, we present an empirical overview of Millennials' views on the 2018 midterm elections, their candidate preferences, and policy preferences in the United States. The data presented were collected between September 21st and October 6th, 2018 and is comprised of 506 African American, 256 Asian American, 522 Latinx, and 538 white Millennial respondents.

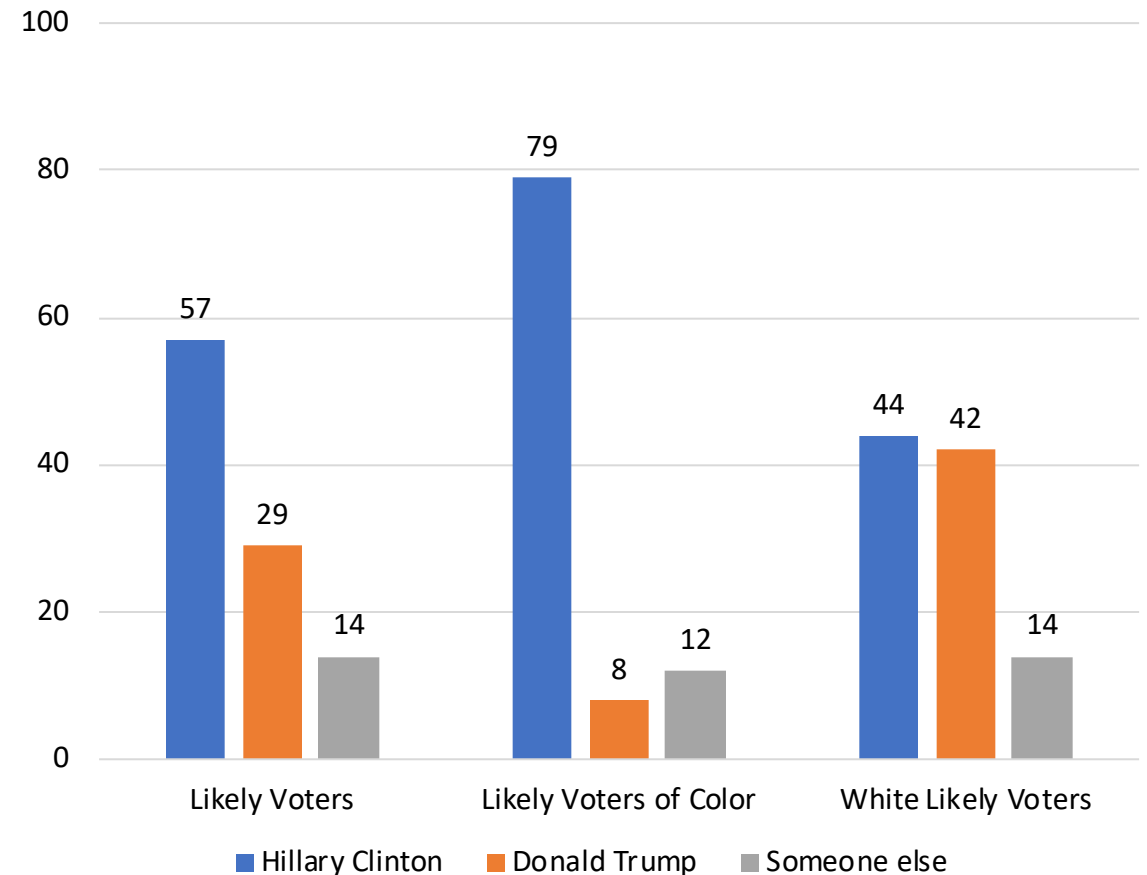
Views on the Country, Trump, and Political Parties

Vote choice in the 2016 general election

Among Millennials who are likely to vote in the 2018 midterm elections, 57% report voting for Hillary Clinton in 2016 compared to 29% who say they voted for Donald Trump, and 14% who voted for someone else.

When disaggregating by race and comparing white likely voters with likely voters of color, a large gap emerges in Democratic vote choice. Likely voters of color overwhelmingly voted Hillary Clinton in 2016. White likely voters, however, were relatively evenly split in their 2016 vote choice, with 44% saying they voted for Hillary Clinton and 42% reporting having voted for Donald Trump.

Did you vote for Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, someone else, or not vote in the 2016 presidential election?



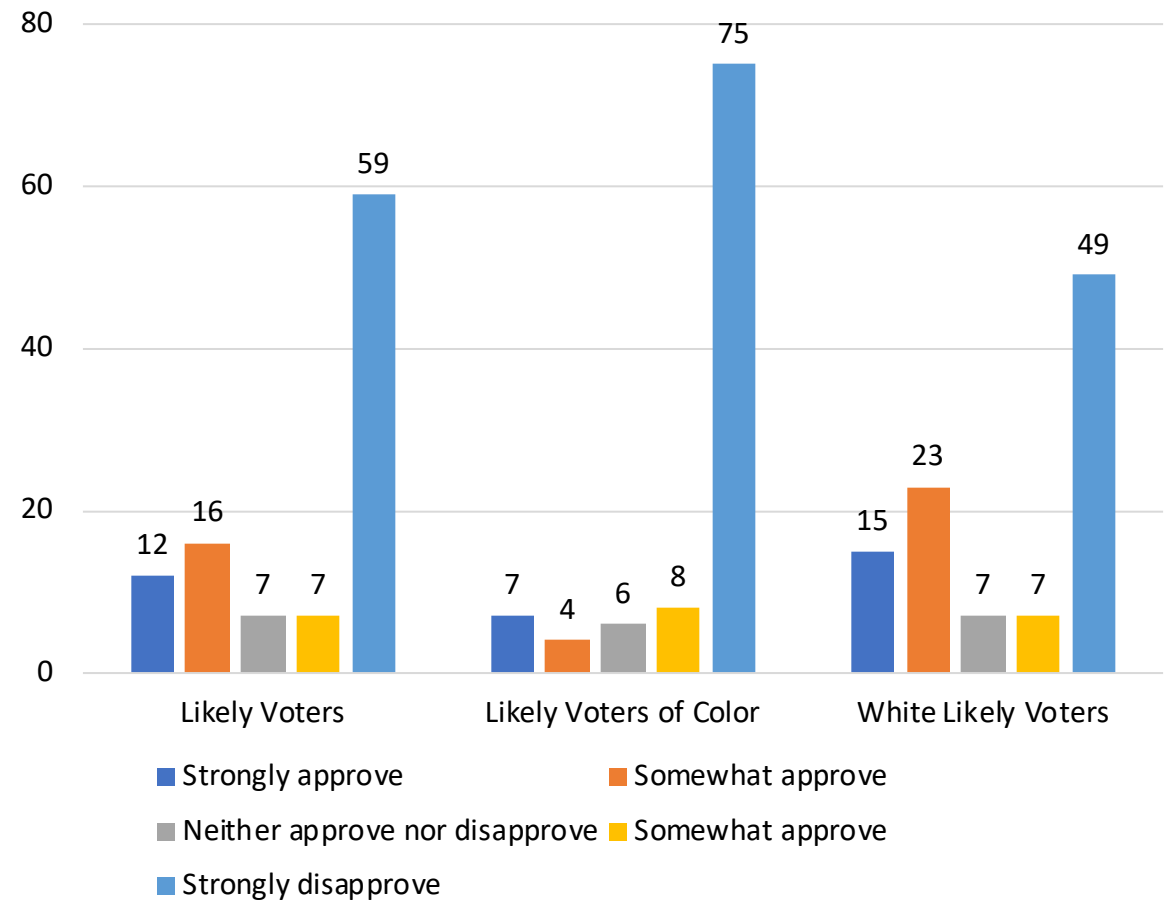
Presidential approval ratings

Majorities of likely voters, across race and ethnicity, disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president. Nevertheless, there is a large 27-point gap between the disapproval ratings of likely voters of color and white likely voters.

Percent that somewhat or strongly disapprove:

- Likely Voters = 63%
- Likely Voters of Color = 83%
- White Likely Voters = 56%

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



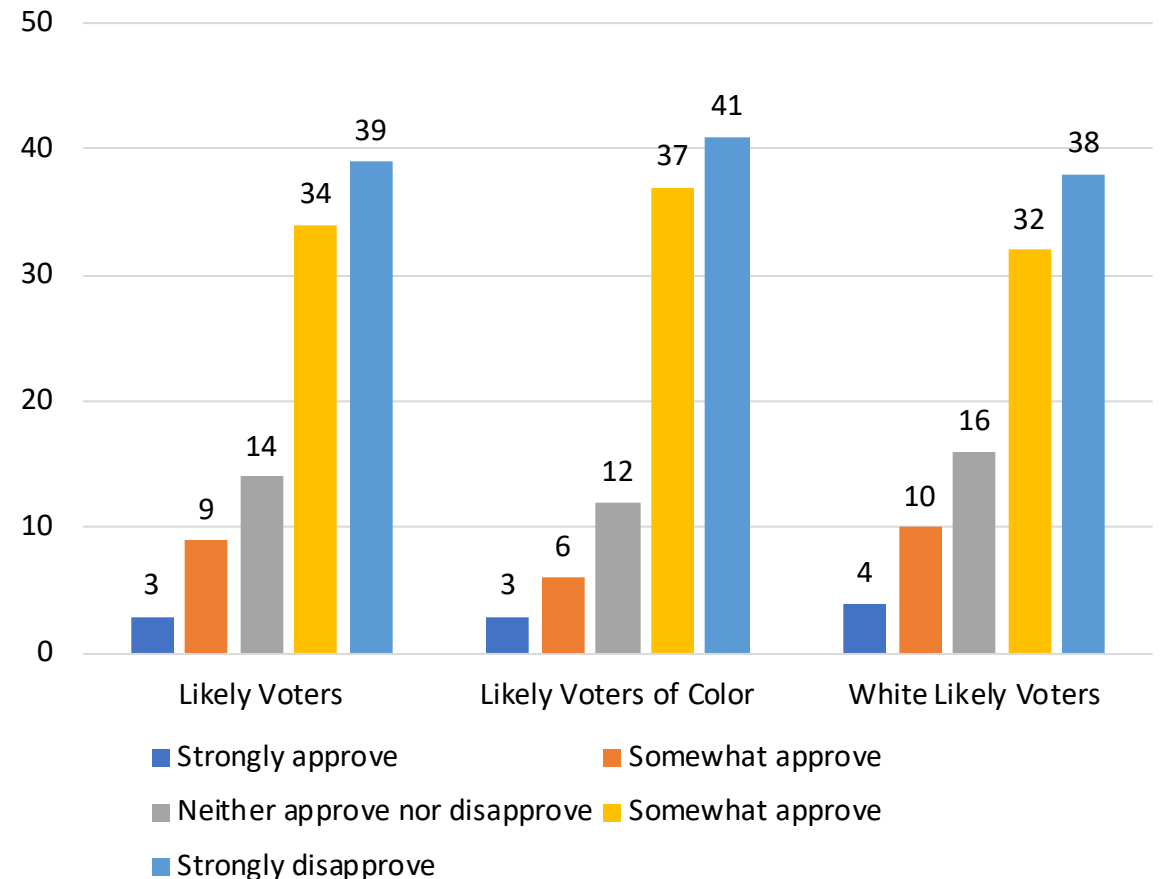
Congressional approval ratings

Overwhelming majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity either “somewhat” or “strongly” disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job.

Percent that somewhat or strongly disapprove:

- Likely Voters = 73%
- Likely Voters of Color = 78%
- White Likely Voters = 70%

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



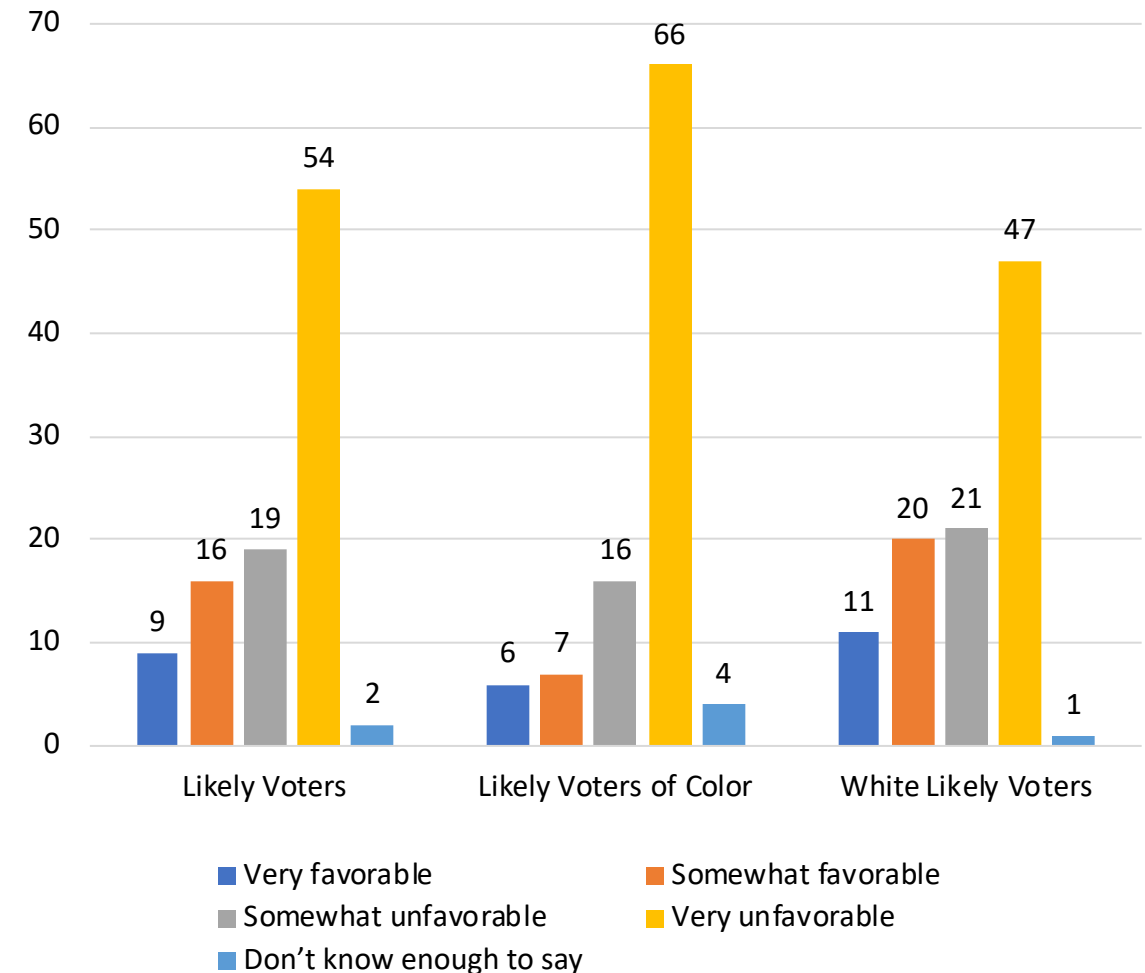
Republican Party favorability

Strong majorities of Millennial likely voters hold either “somewhat” or “strongly” unfavorable views of the Republican Party. Likely voters of color are about 14-points more likely to hold unfavorable views of the Republican Party compared to white likely voters.

Percent reporting somewhat or strongly unfavorable views:

- Likely Voters = 73%
- Likely Voters of Color = 82%
- White Likely Voters = 68%

Republican Party favorability:



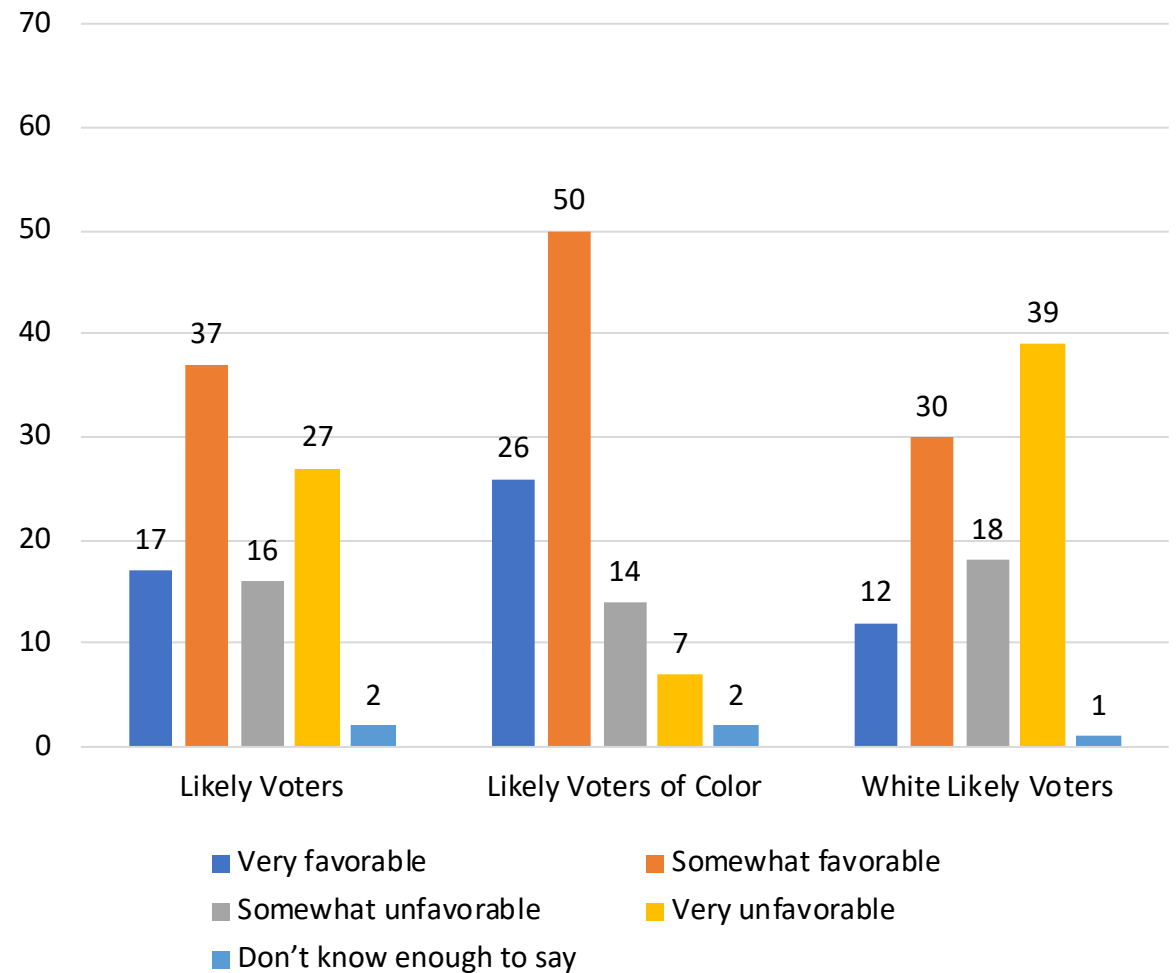
Democratic Party favorability

A plurality of Millennial likely voters report holding “somewhat” favorable views toward the Democratic Party. Views are somewhat more polarized by race and ethnicity. A slight majority of white likely voters hold unfavorable views toward the Democratic Party while a substantial majority (76%) of likely voters of color report having favorable views of the Democratic Party.

Percent reporting somewhat or strongly unfavorable views:

- Likely Voters = 43%
- Likely Voters of Color = 21%
- White Likely Voters = 57%

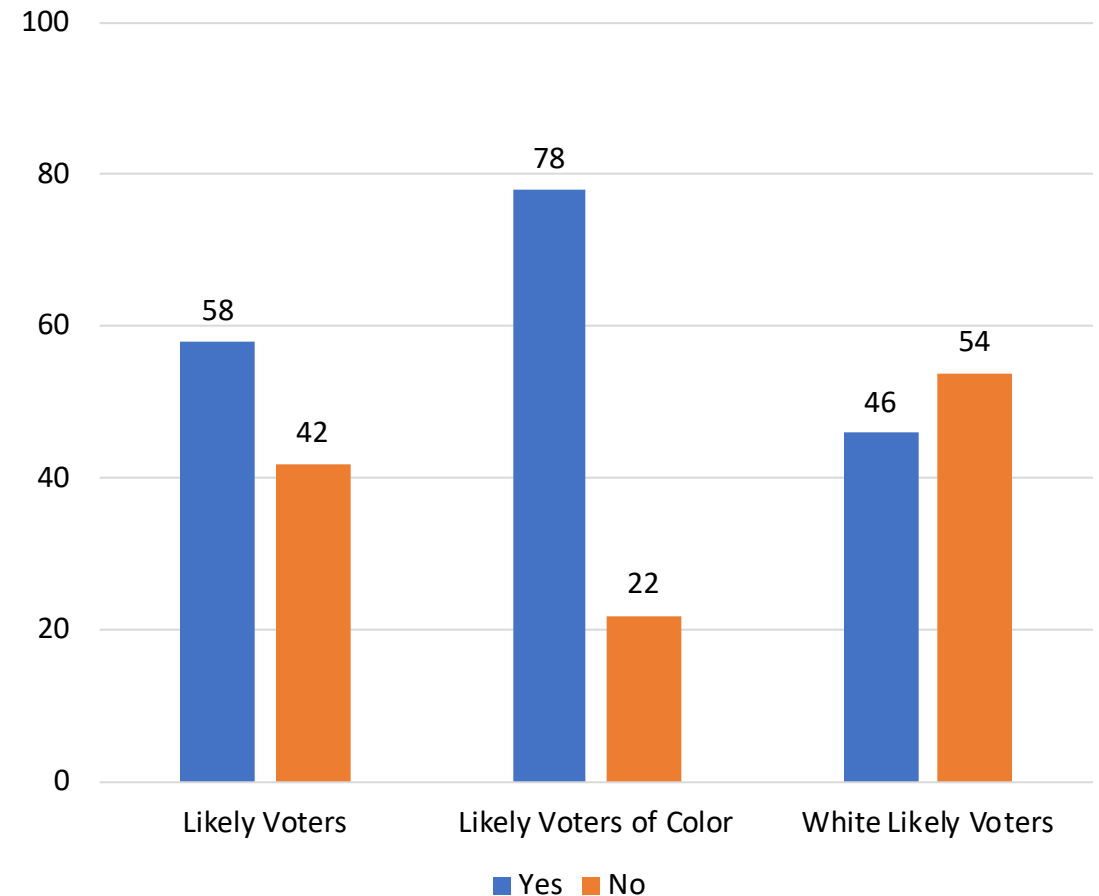
Democratic Party favorability:



Views toward the Democratic Party

A majority of likely voters think that the Democratic Party cares about people them. This is especially true among likely voters of color, 78% of whom report believing that the Democratic Party cares about people like them. White likely voters are more evenly split with a slight majority (54%) reporting that the Democratic Party does not care about people like them.

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



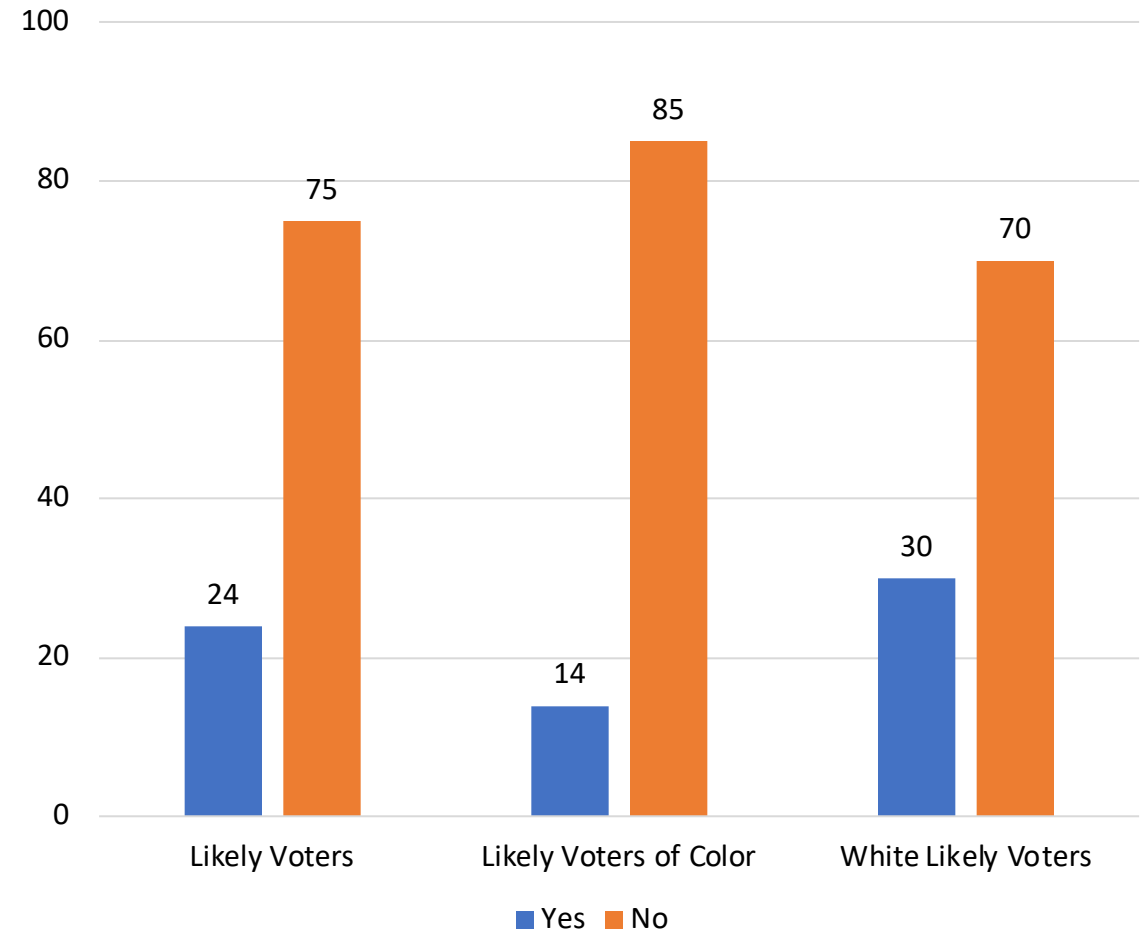
Views toward the Republican Party

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

Percent who feel the Republican Party cares about people like them:

- Likely voters = 24%
- Likely voters of color = 14%
- White likely voters = 30%

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



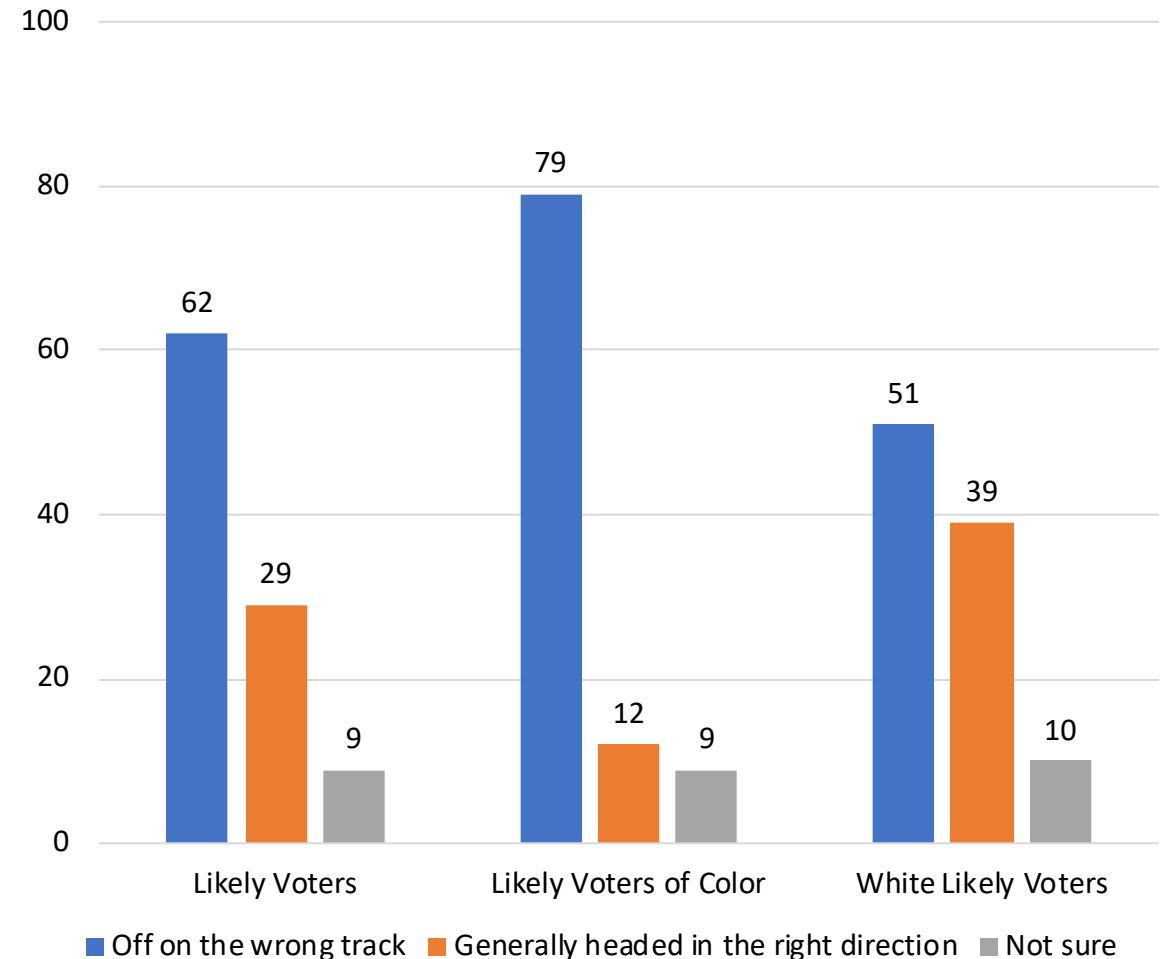
Direction of the country

Likely voters, across race and ethnicity but especially among those of color, believe that the country is going off on the wrong track.

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

- Likely Voters = 62%
- Likely Voters of Color = 79%
- White Likely Voters = 51%

Would you say things in this country are...



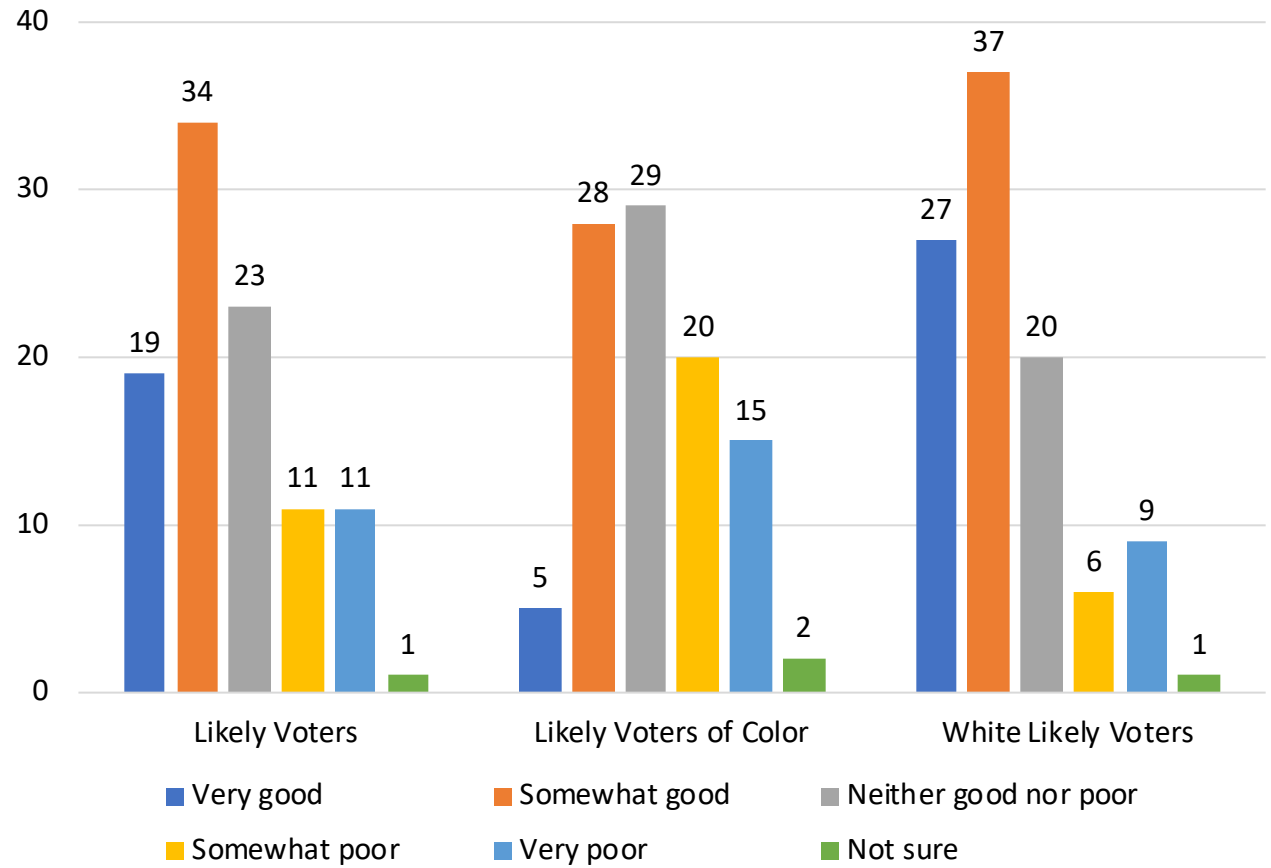
State of the national economy

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

While a slight majority of likely voters describe the nation's economy as being "very" or "somewhat" good, disaggregating likely voters by race/ethnicity suggests that this view is predominantly held by white likely voters.

Percent who say the nation's economy is good:

- Likely Voters = 53%
- Likely Voters of Color = 33%
- White Likely Voters = 64%



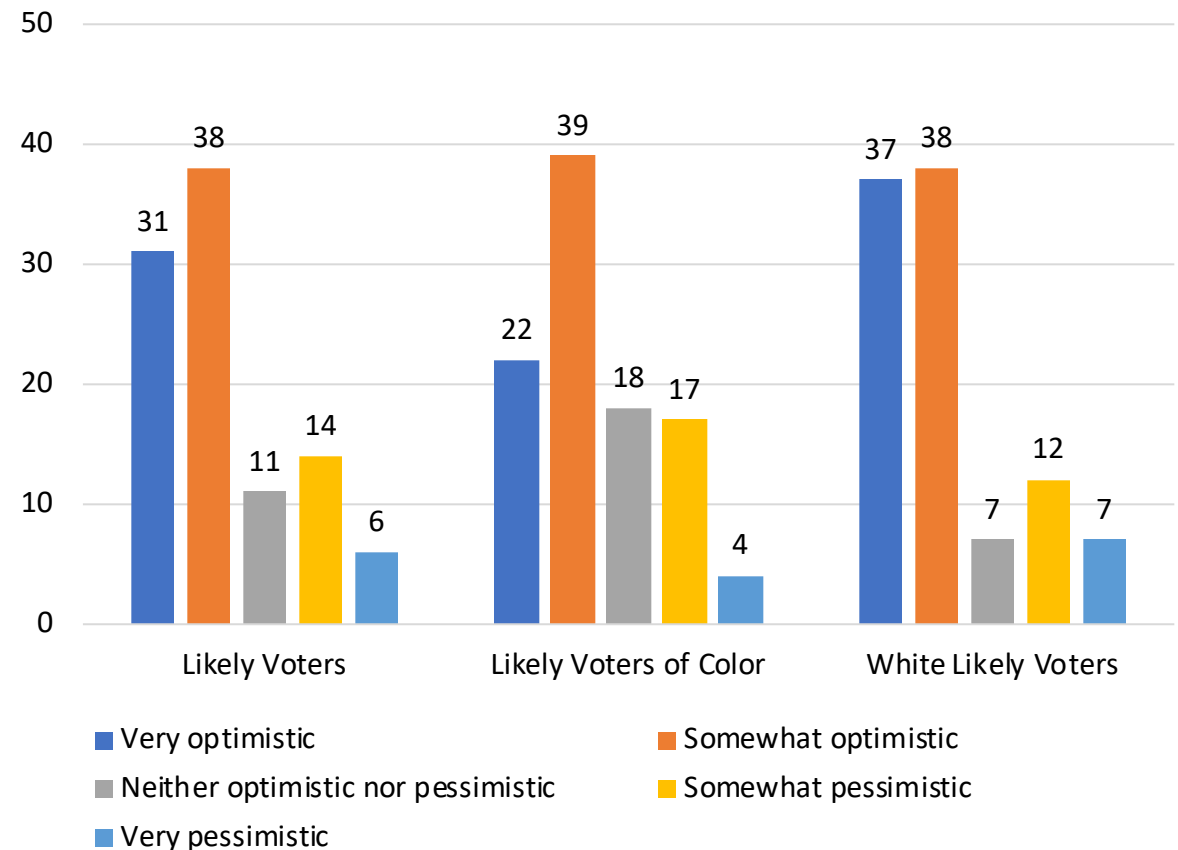
Optimism toward personal future

Strong majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity feel “somewhat” or “very” optimistic about their personal futures.

Percent who are optimistic about their personal futures:

- Likely voters = 69%
- Likely voters of color = 61%
- White likely voters = 75%

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?

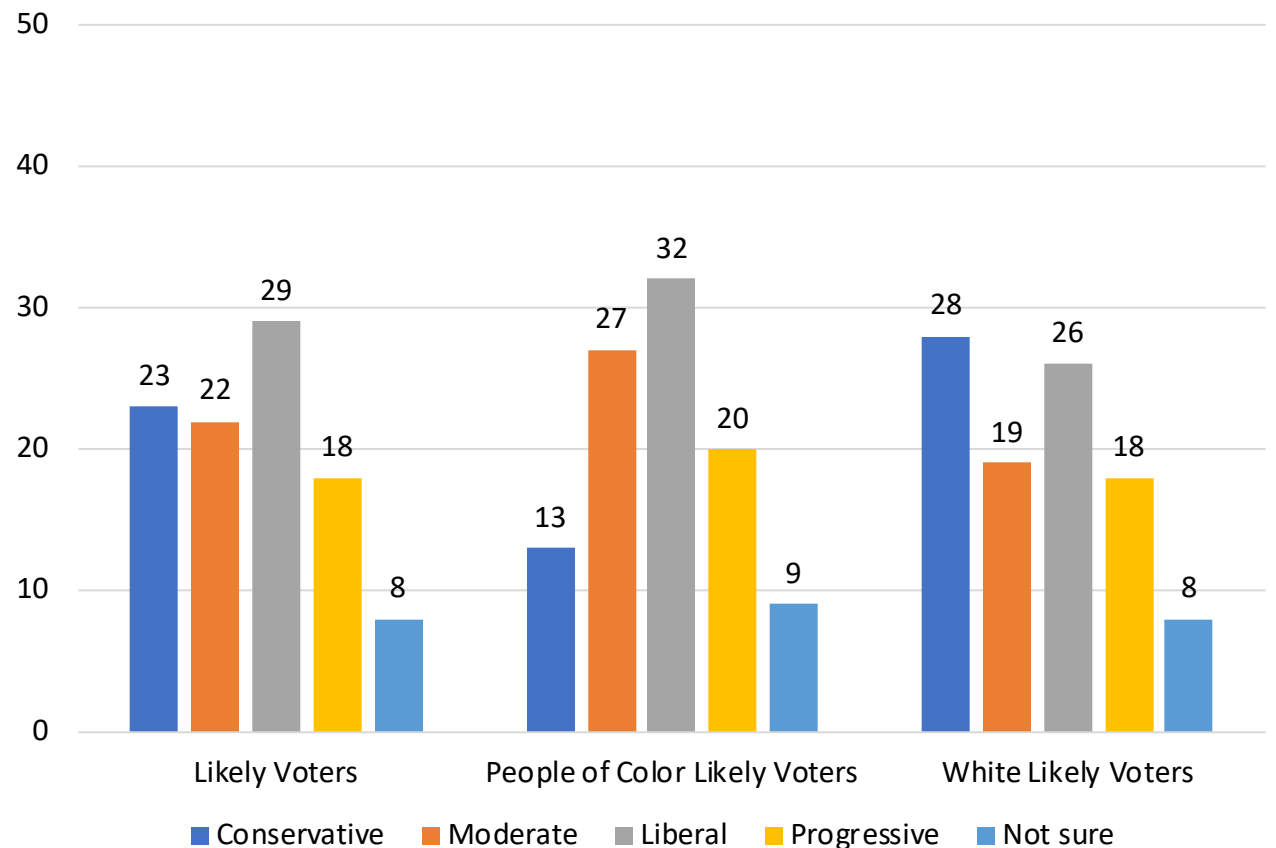


Ideological position on social issues

The plurality of likely voters (29%) considers their views on social issues like abortion, gay marriage, and the death penalty to be generally liberal.

When disaggregating likely voters by race and ethnicity, however, there is an important difference between likely voters of color and those who are white. While a plurality of likely voters of color identify their views on social issues as being liberal, the plurality of white likely voters self-identify as conservative on social issues.

Do you consider your views on social issues like abortion, gay marriage, and the death penalty to be generally conservative, moderate, liberal, or progressive?

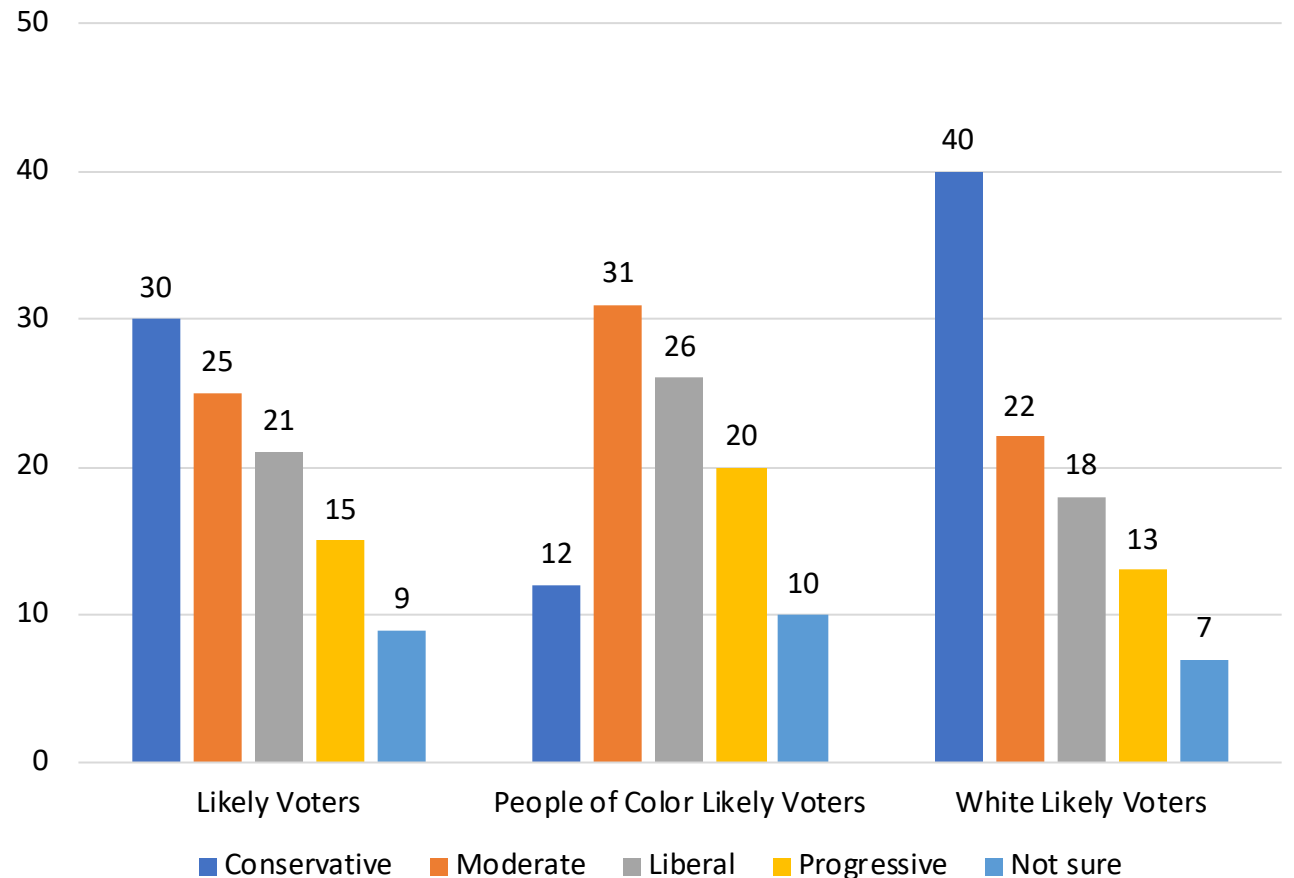


Ideological position on economic issues

The plurality of likely voters (30%) considers their views on economic issues like taxes and social security to be generally moderate.

When disaggregating likely voters by race and ethnicity, however, it becomes clear that this trend is driven largely by likely voters who are white. The plurality of likely voters of color considers their views on economic issues to be moderate.

Do you consider your views on economic issues like taxes and social security to be generally conservative, moderate, liberal, or progressive?

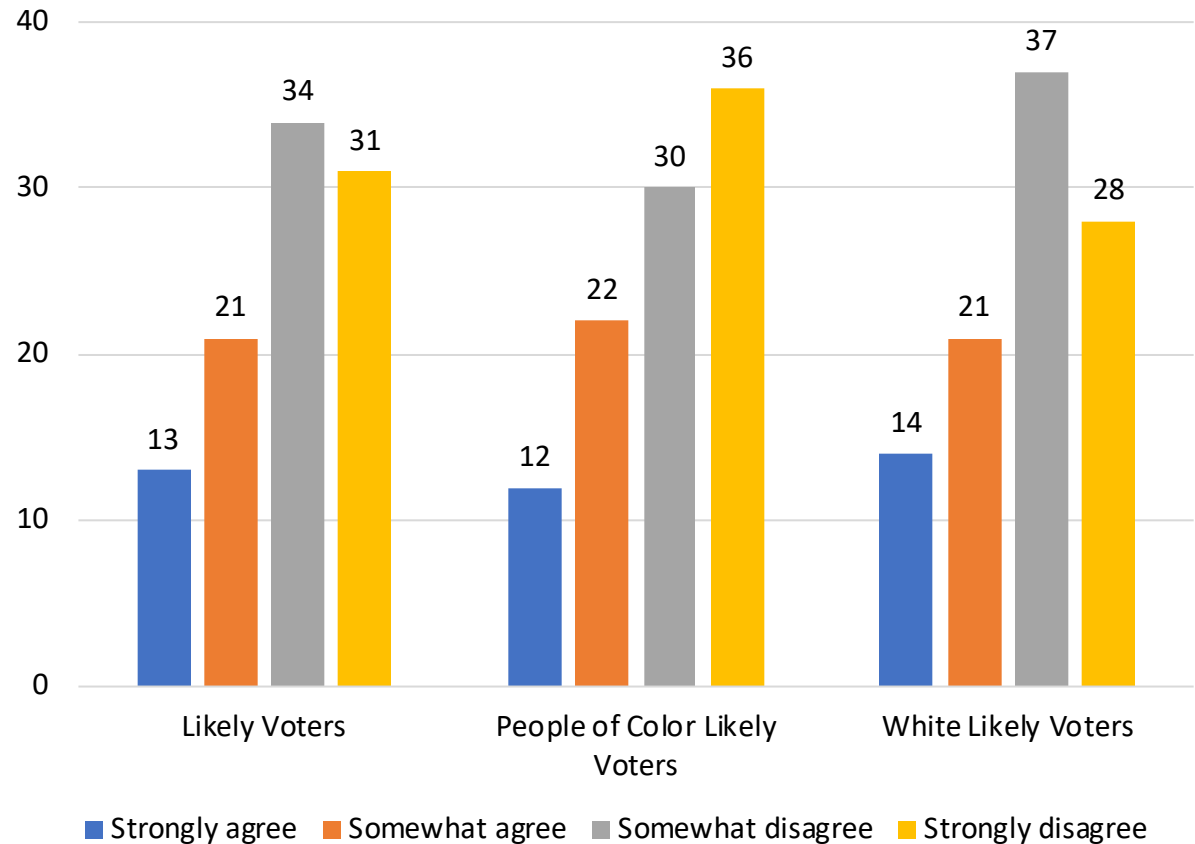


Whites are economically losing ground

While likely voters generally disagree (65%) that whites are economically losing ground through no fault of their own compared to other racial groups today, there are important differences in the magnitude of disagreement.

Likely voters of color are most likely to “strongly” (36%) disagree with this viewpoint. Likely voters who are white, on the other hand, are less likely to “strongly” (28%) disagree and more likely to “somewhat” (37%) disagree.

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?



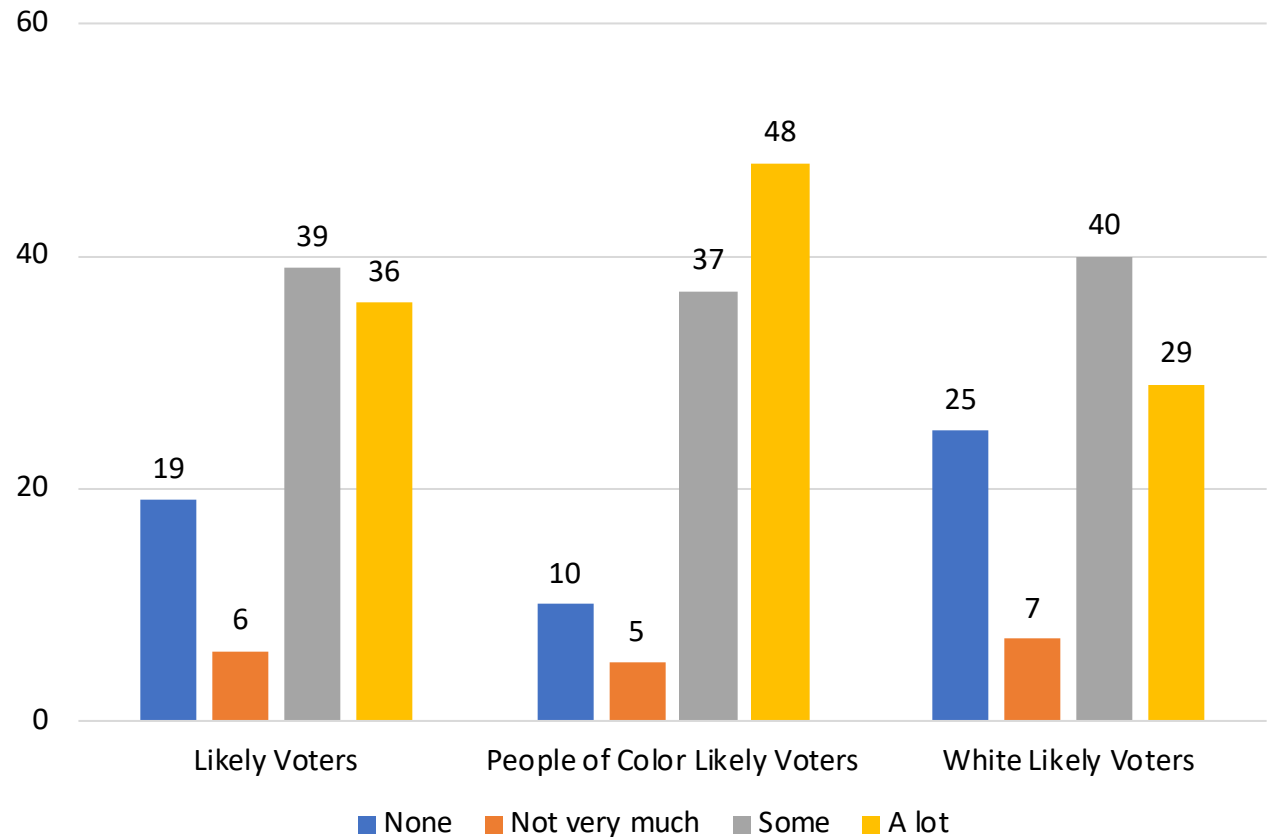
Linked fate with one's racial group

While a majority of likely voters believe that what happens to others who share their racial identity has “some” or “a lot” to do with what happens them, likely voters of color are more likely to hold this view more strongly than likely voters who are white.

Percent who say that what happens to others who share their race/ethnicity has “a lot” to do with what happens to them:

- Likely Voters = 36%
- Likely Voters of Color = 48%
- White Likely Voters = 29%

Do you think what happens to [African American] [Asian American] [Latinx] [White] people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

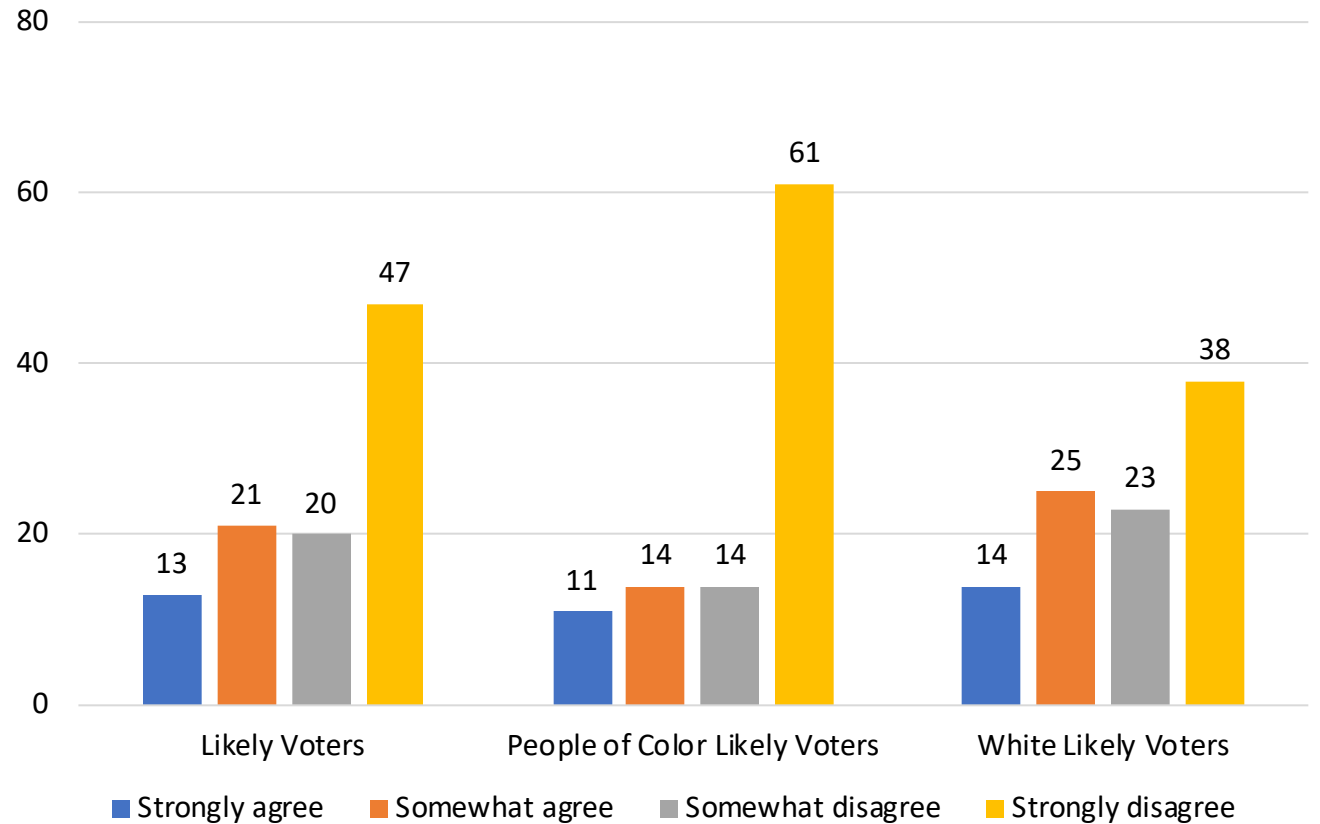


Discrimination against whites

Likely voters across race and ethnicity “strongly” disagree (65%) that discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against blacks and other minorities.

Nevertheless, the percentage of white likely voters who strongly disagree (38%) is drastically lower than the percentage among likely voters of color (61%).

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



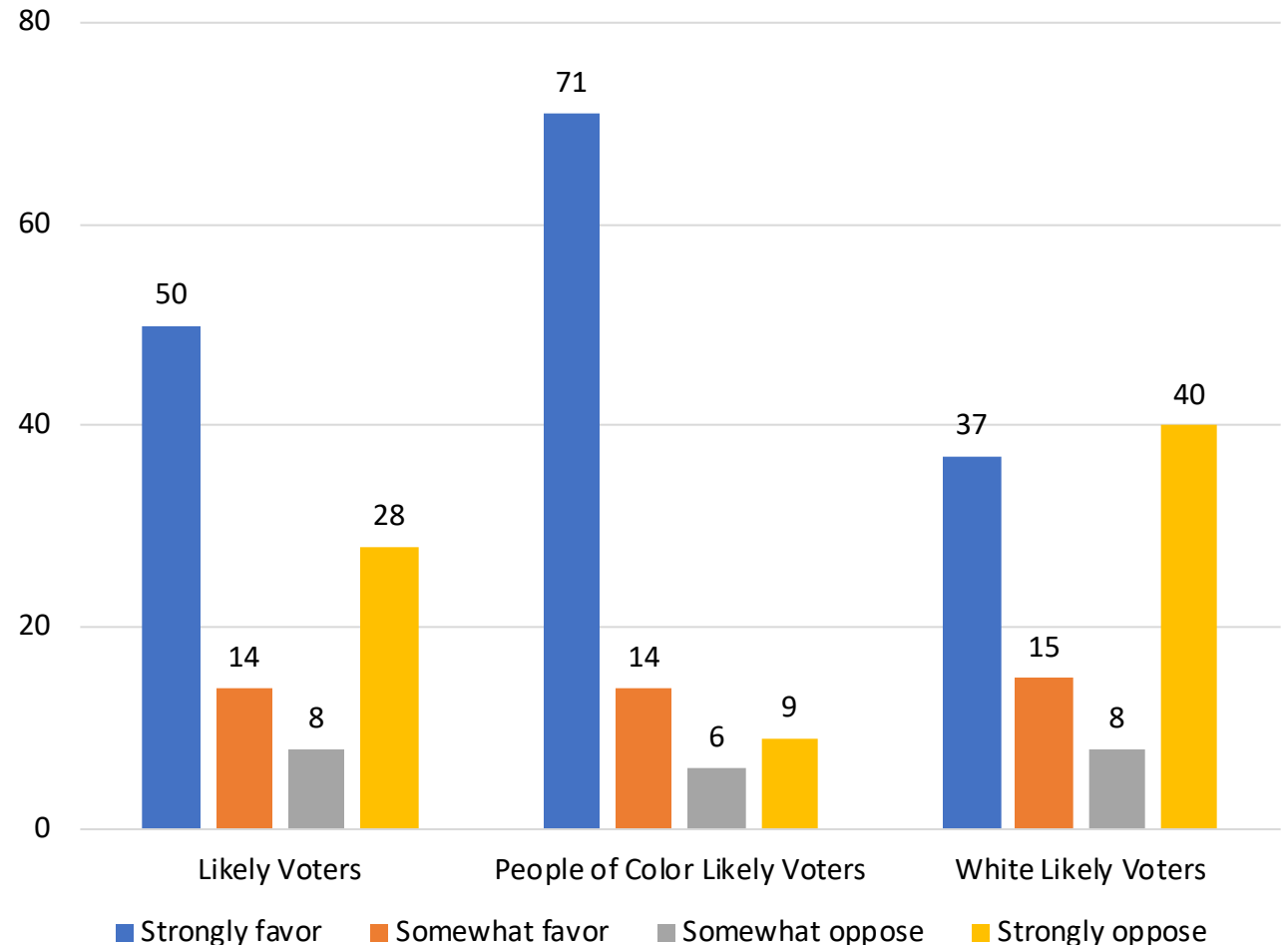
Favorability toward impeaching Donald Trump

While likely voters are in favor (50%) of impeaching Donald Trump, this trend is heavily driven by likely voters of color (71%). Indeed, the plurality of white likely voters (40%) strongly opposes impeaching Donald Trump.

Percent favoring the impeachment of Donald Trump:

- Likely Voters = 50%
- Likely Voters of Color = 71%
- White Likely Voters = 37%

Would you favor or oppose the impeachment of Donald Trump?



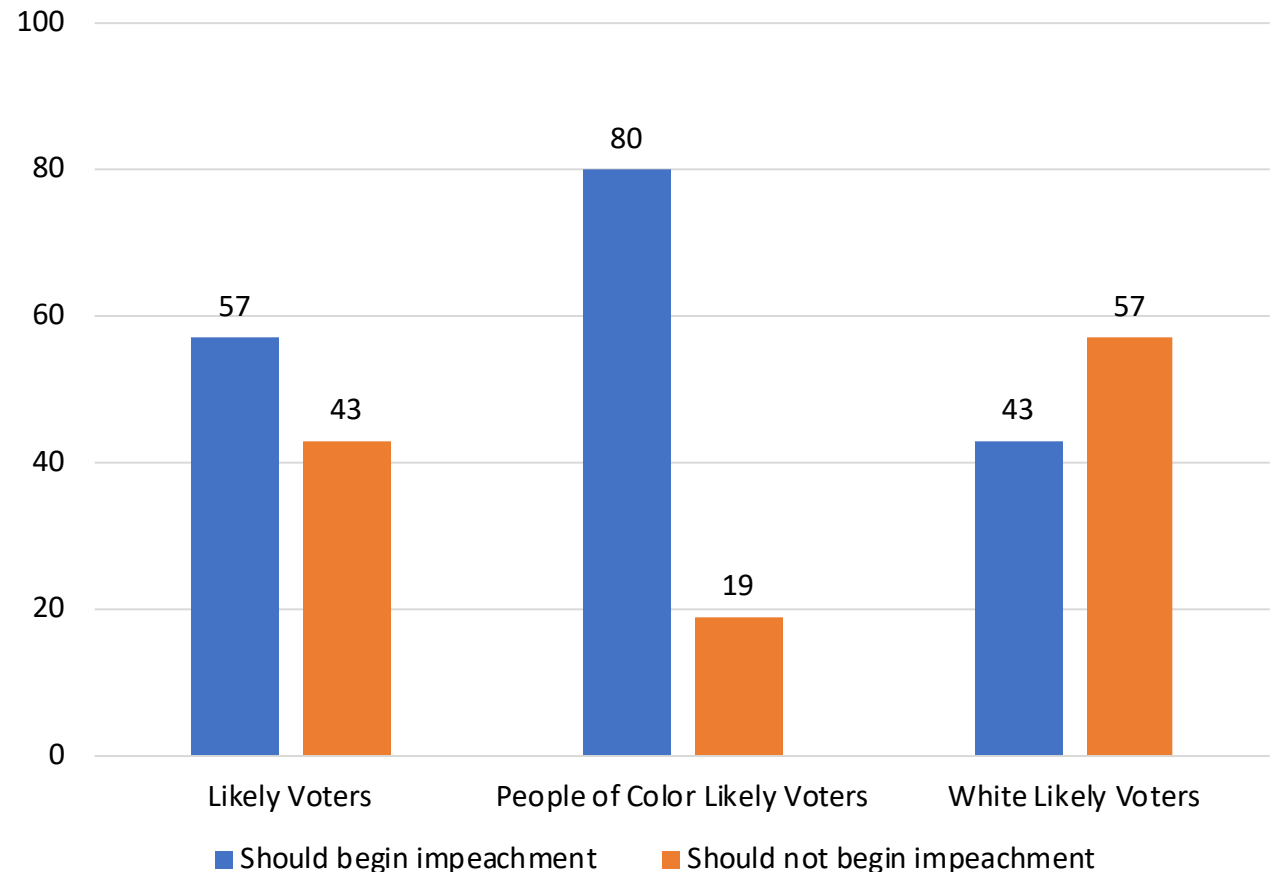
Congress initiating impeachment proceedings

The overwhelming majority (80%) of likely voters of color believe that Congress should begin impeachment proceedings on Donald Trump that could lead to his removal from office. However, the majority (57%) of white likely voters do not believe Congress should begin impeachment proceedings.

Percent who believe that Congress should begin impeachment proceedings:

- Likely Voters = 57%
- Likely Voters of Color = 80%
- White Likely Voters = 43%

Based on what you know, do you think Congress should or should not begin impeachment proceedings that could lead to Trump being removed from office?



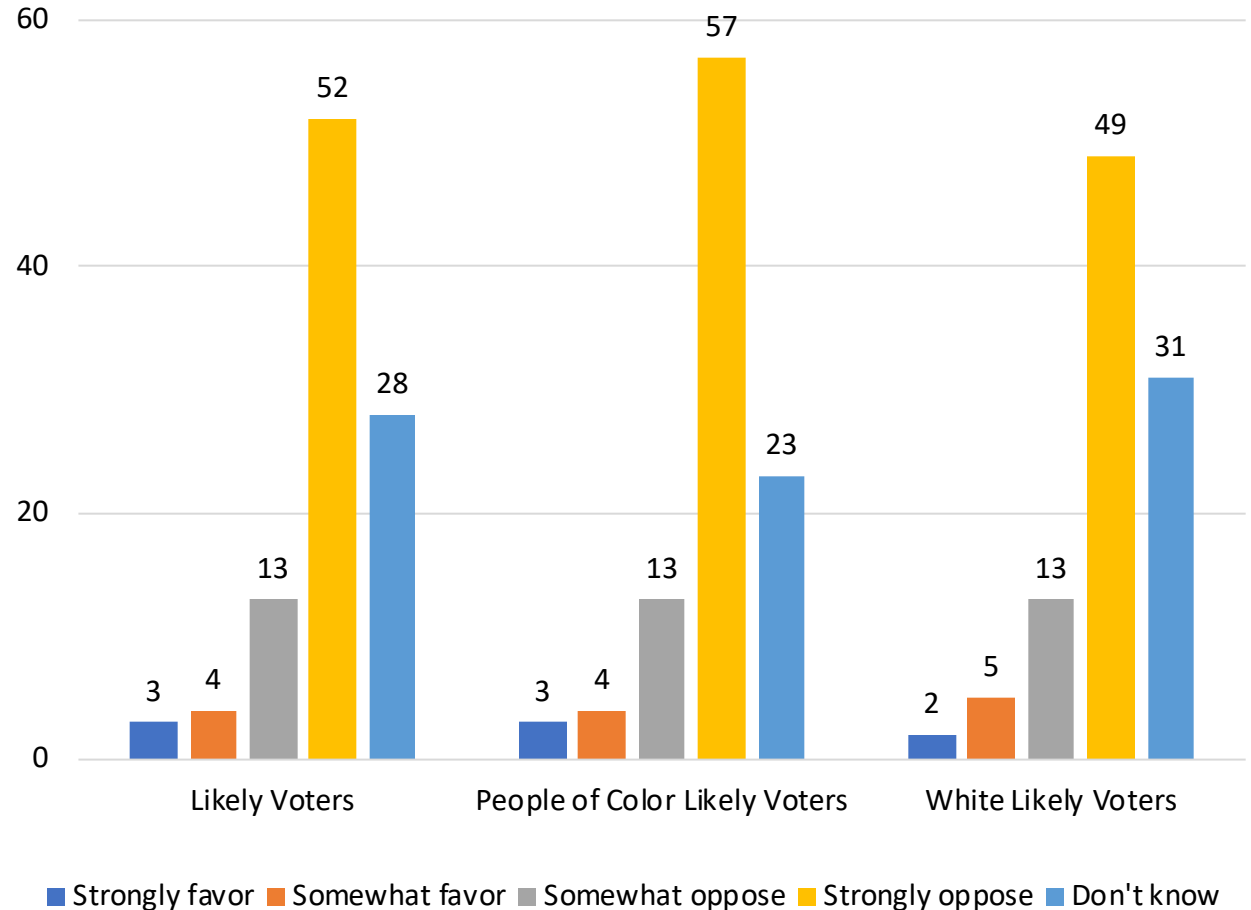
Support for pardoning Paul Manafort

Likely voters across race and ethnicity strongly oppose Trump giving Paul Manafort a pardon for his illegal campaign activities during the 2016 election season.

Percent who strongly oppose pardoning Paul Manafort:

- Likely Voters = 52%
- Likely Voters of Color = 57%
- White Likely Voters = 49%

Would you support or oppose Trump giving Paul Manafort a pardon?



Voting in the Midterm Elections

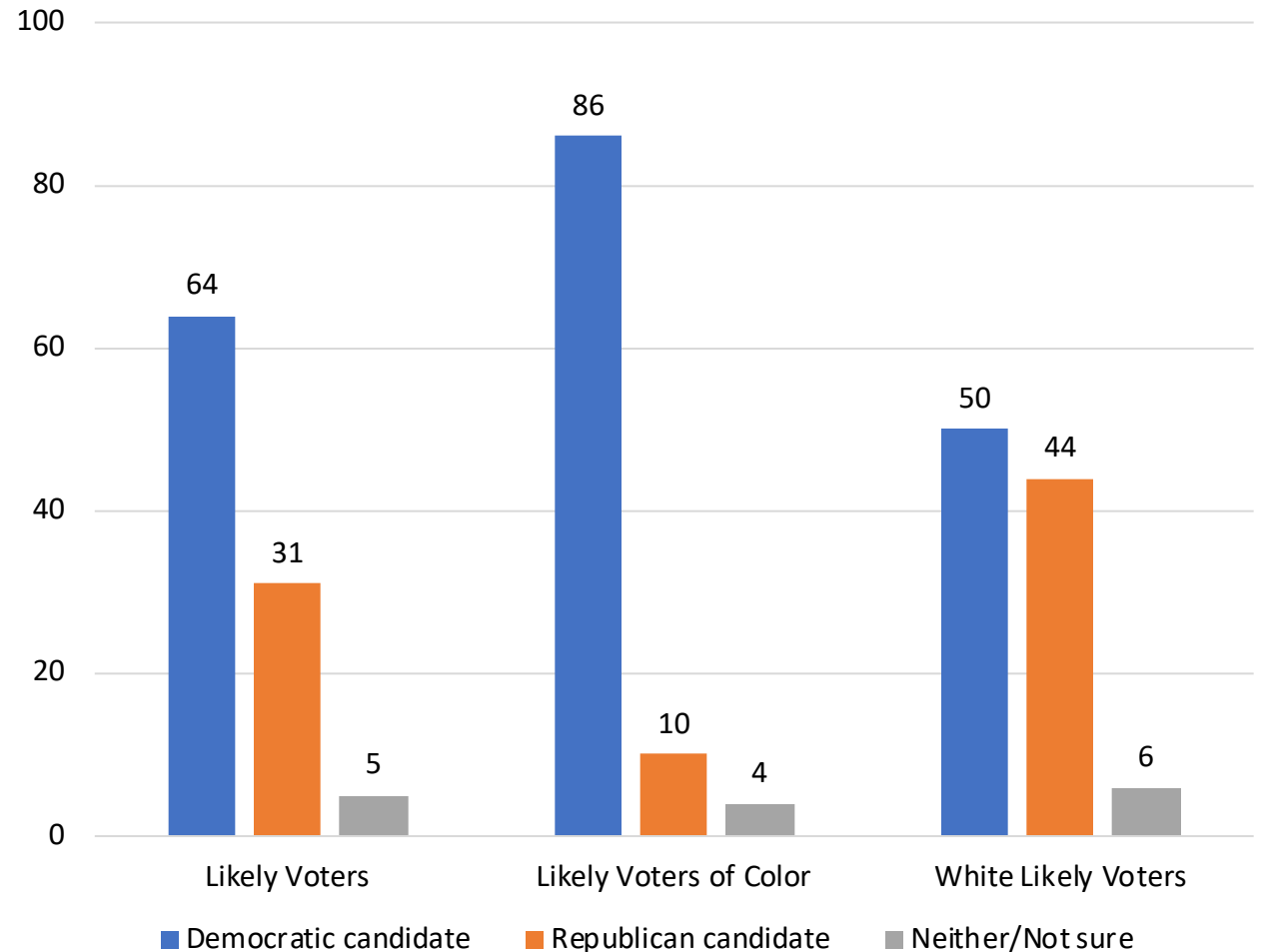
2018 midterm election vote intention

Approximately 64% of Millennial likely voters plan to vote for a Democratic candidate in the midterm elections compared to 31% who say they plan to vote for a Republican Candidate. This gap is much larger among likely voters of color—a whopping 76-point advantage for Democratic candidates—than among white likely voters (6 points).

Percent who plan to vote for a Democratic candidate:

- Likely voters = 63%
- Likely voters of color = 86%
- White likely voters = 50%

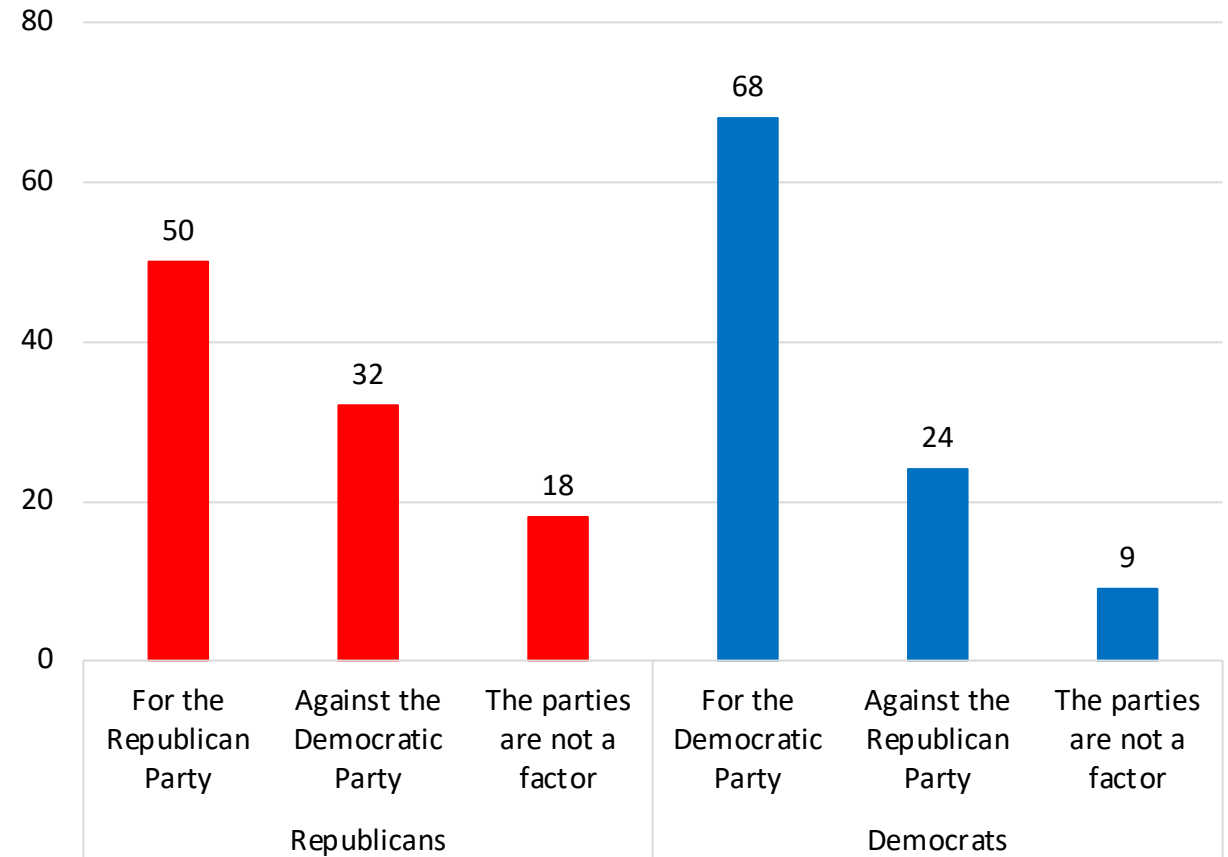
In the congressional elections in 2018, do you plan to vote for a Democratic or Republican candidate?



Reason for partisan support in 2018

Majorities of both Republican (50%) and Democrat (68%) Millennials think of their vote for Congress as more of a vote for their party than a vote against the opposing party. Nevertheless, almost a third (32%) of Republicans consider their vote more of a vote against the Democratic Party. Among Democrats, roughly a quarter (24%) say that their vote is more of a vote against the Republican Party.

Thinking again about the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives, do you think of your vote for Congress as more of a vote for the Republican Party or more of a vote against the Democratic Party?



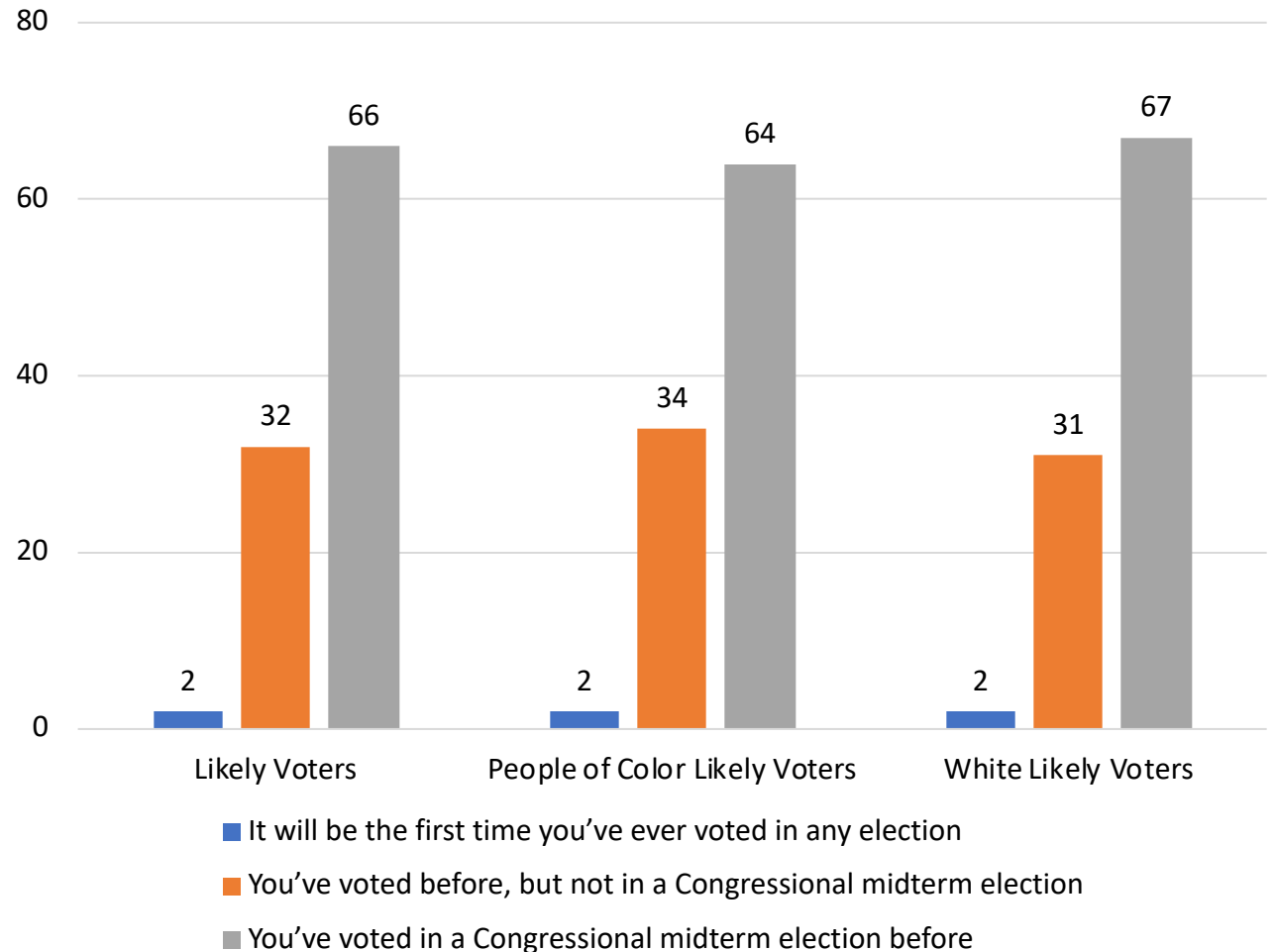
First time versus repeat voters

Among likely voters, the vast majority of respondents across race and ethnicity say that they've voted in a Congressional midterm or other election before.

Percent who have voted in a Congressional midterm elections prior to 2018:

- Likely voters = 66%
- Likely voters of color = 64%
- White likely voters = 67%

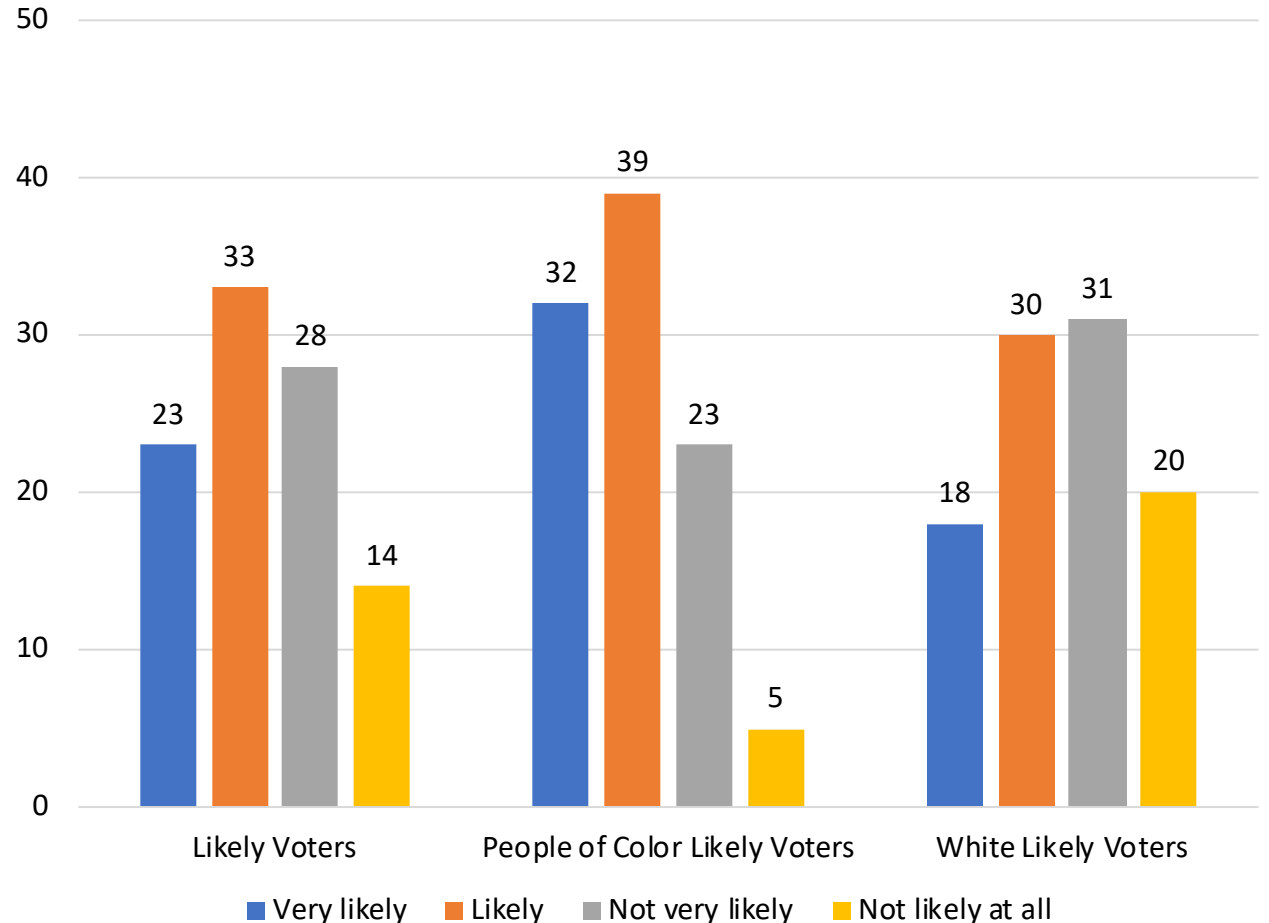
If you do vote, which best describes you?



Likelihood of Russian election interference

The majority (66%) of likely voters believe that Russian interference in the midterm elections is either “very likely” or “likely.” This is especially true among likely voters of color (71%), though is not necessarily the case for likely voters who are white (48%).

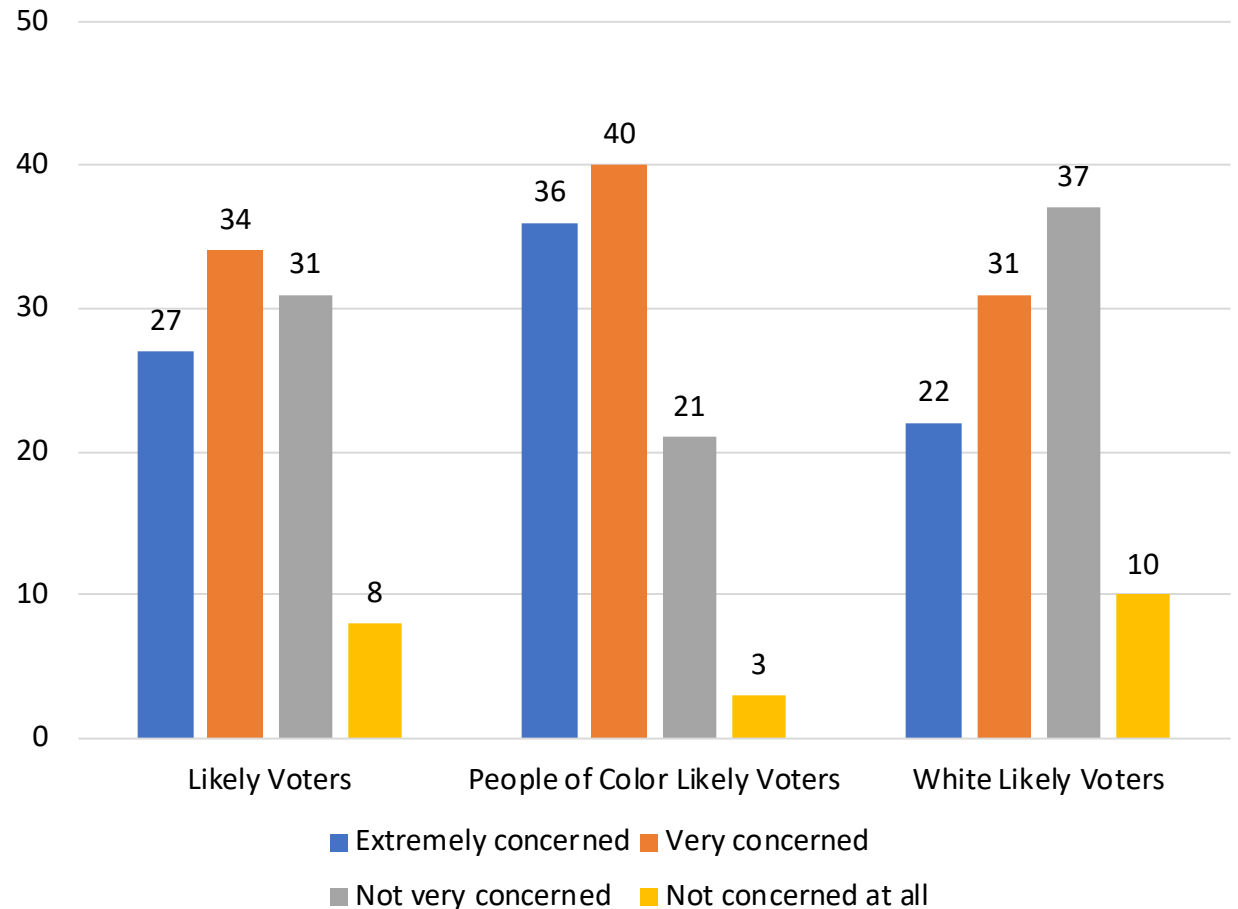
How likely do you think there will be Russian interference in November’s (2018) midterm elections?



Concern over election hacking

Across race and ethnicity, likely voters report being “extremely” or “very” concerned that the country’s voting system might be vulnerable to hackers. Very few likely voters report being not concerned at all, though the plurality of likely voters who are white do say that that they are “not very” concerned with hacking of the country’s voting system.

How concerned are you that the country’s voting system might be vulnerable to hackers?



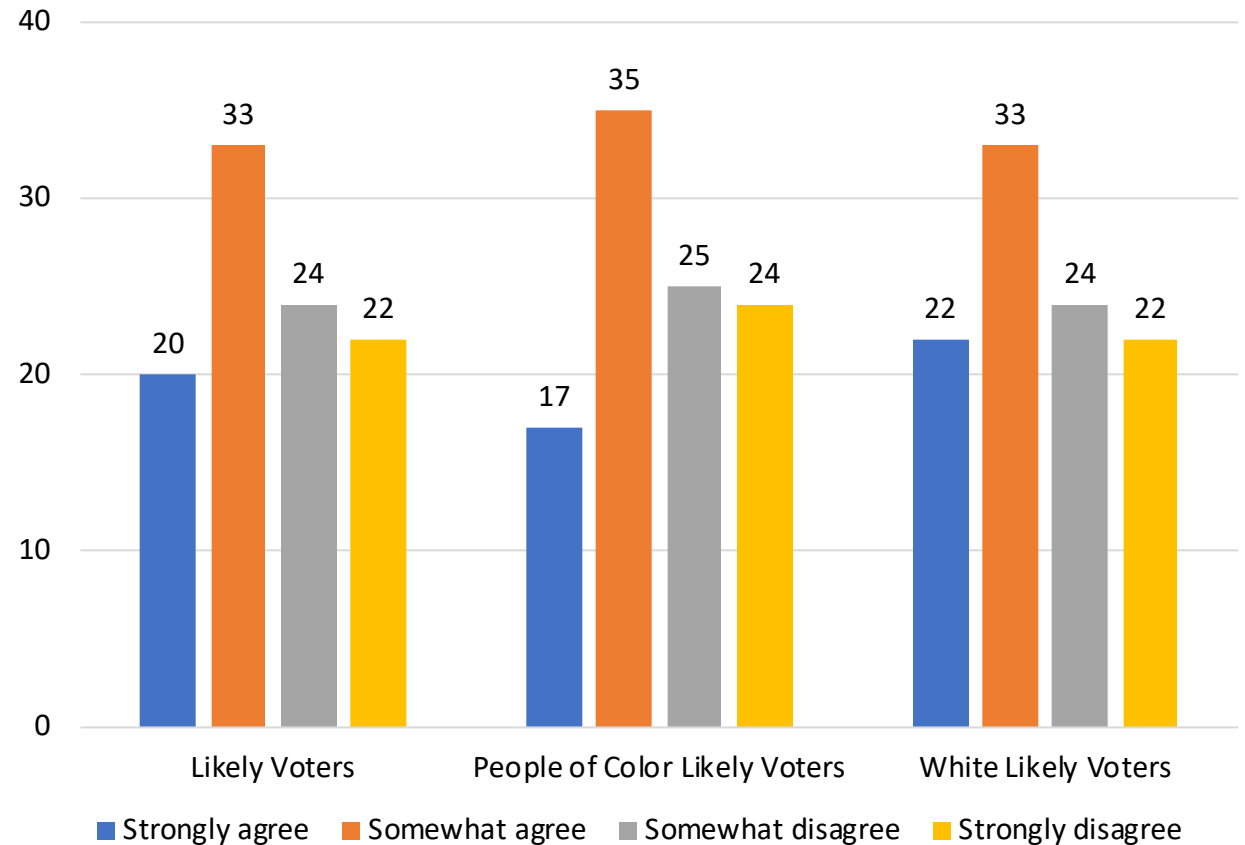
Perception that votes are counted and valued equally

Perceptions of whether each person's vote is counted equally in the United States are split among likely voters, though slight majorities across race and ethnicity generally agree that individual votes are counted equally.

Percent who agree that each person's vote is counted equally:

- Likely voters = 53%
- Likely voters of color = 52%
- White likely voters = 55%

In the United States each person's vote is counted and valued equally.



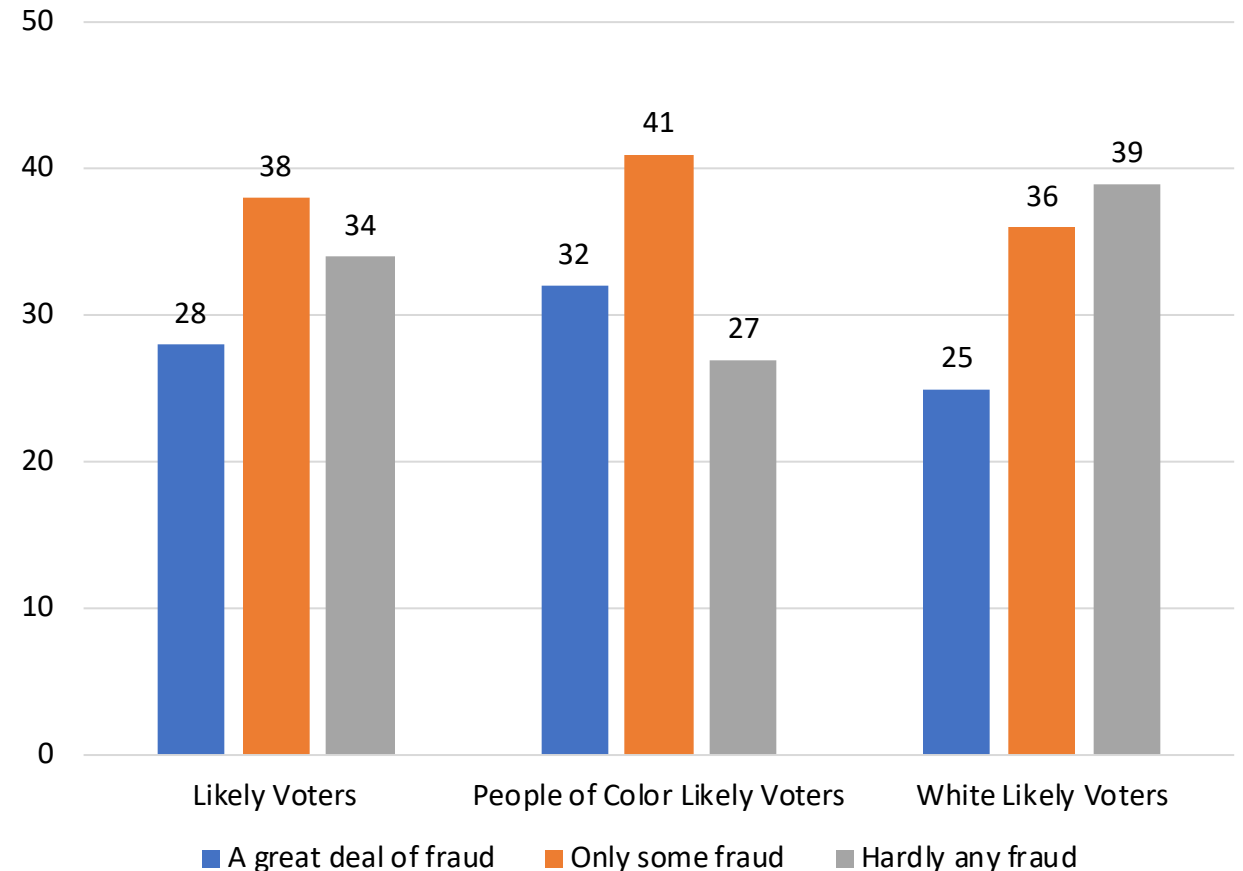
Perceptions of voter fraud

A plurality of likely voters (38%), and especially likely voters of color (41%), believe there is “some” voter fraud in U.S. elections. The most common response among white likely voters, however, is that there is “hardly any” fraud in the U.S.

Percent who believe there is a “great deal” of voter fraud in the U.S.:

- Likely Voters = 28%
- Likely Voters of Color = 32%
- White Likely Voters = 25%

How much voter fraud do you think there is in American elections, that is people voting who are not eligible or people casting multiple ballots?



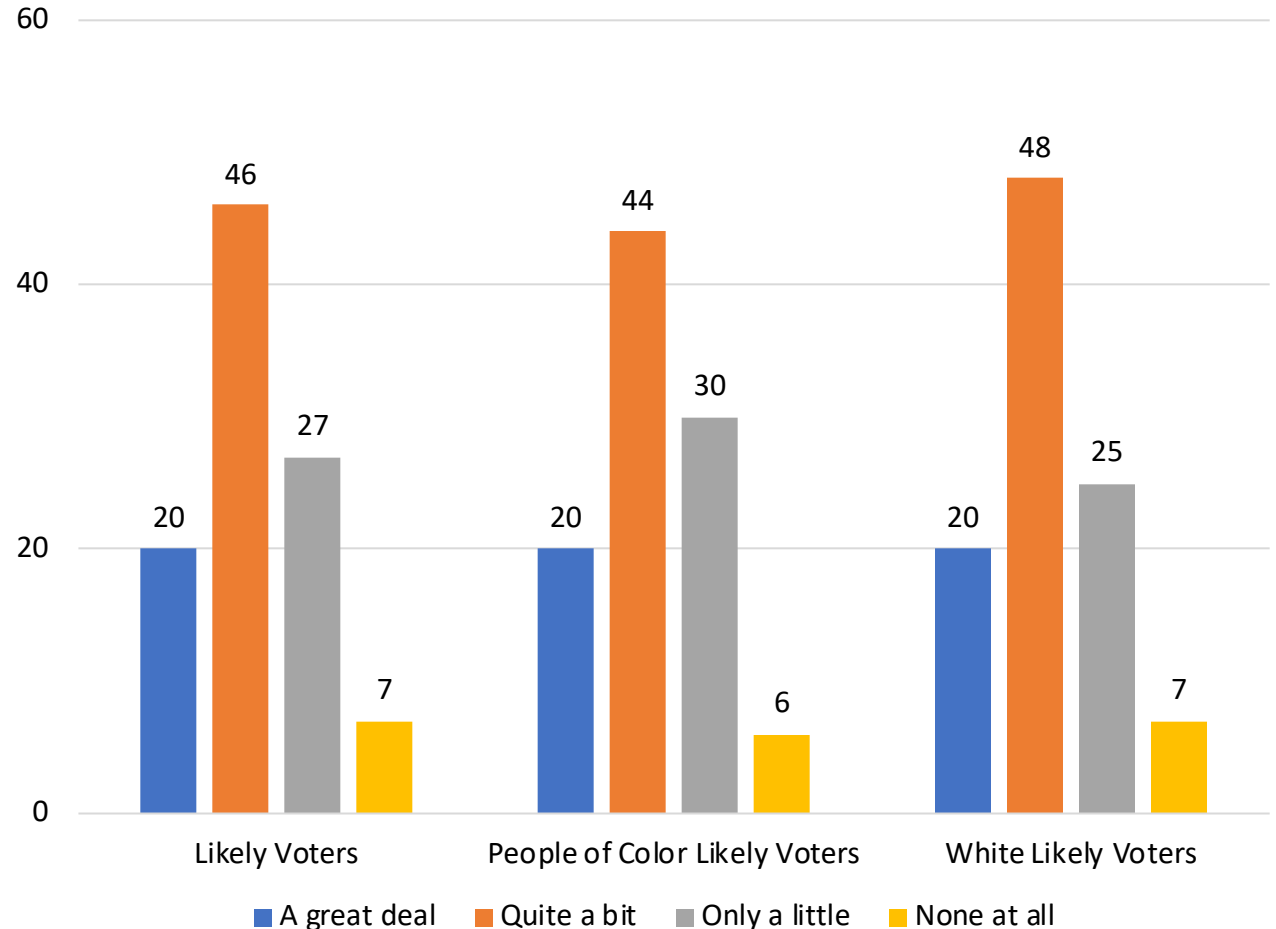
Confidence in the counting of votes

Pluralities of likely voters across race and ethnicity report “quite a bit” of confidence that the 2018 midterm election votes will be counted accurately.

Percent who have “quite a bit” of confidence that 2018 votes will be counted correctly:

- Likely Voters = 46%
- Likely Voters of Color = 44%
- White Likely Voters = 48%

How much confidence do you have that the votes in the 2018 midterm election will be counted accurately?



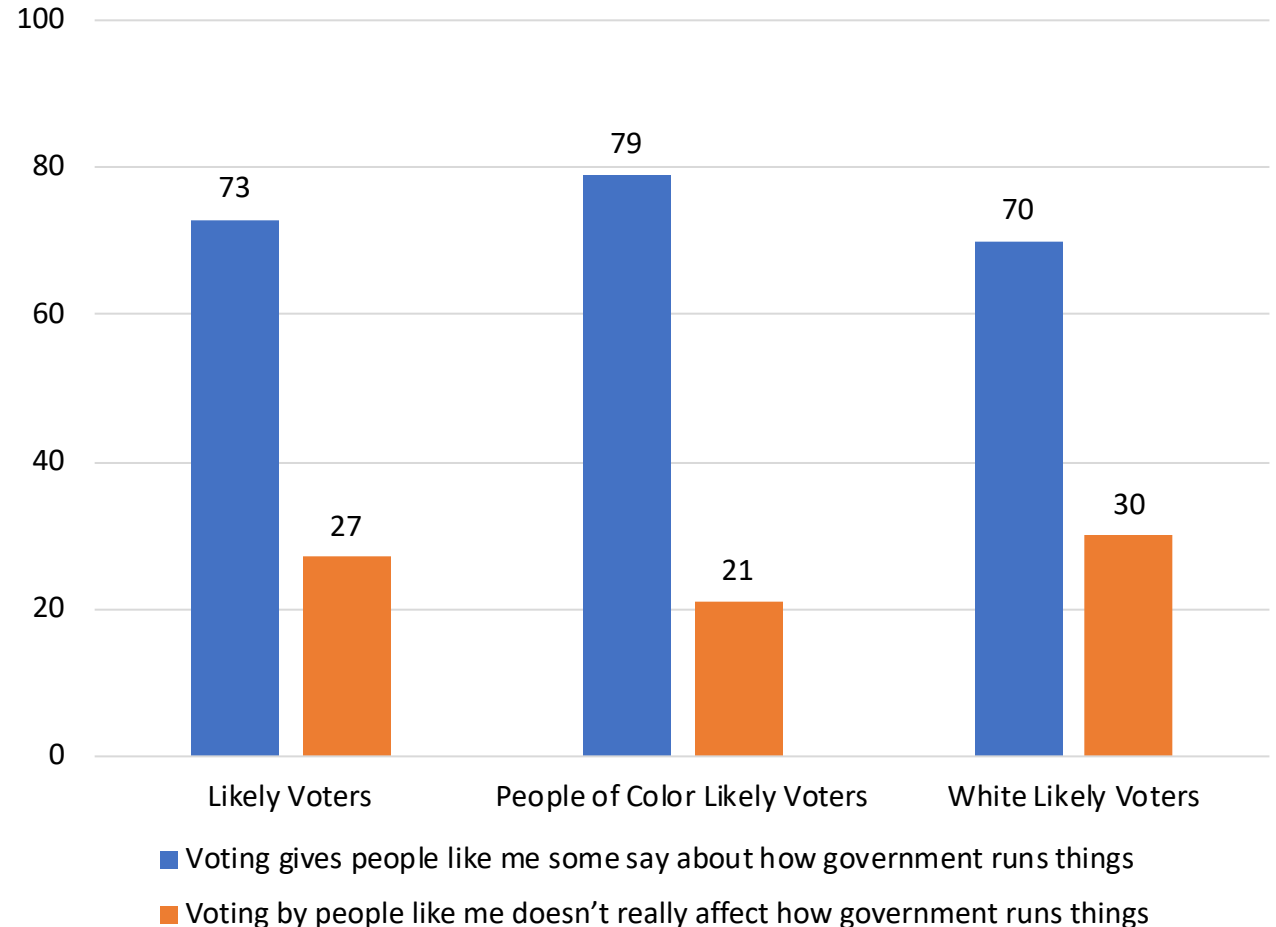
Voting as a way to influence government

Overwhelming majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity believe that voting gives people like them some say about how the government runs things.

Percent who agree that voting gives people some say over how government runs things:

- Likely Voters = 73%
- Likely Voters of Color = 79%
- White Likely Voters = 70%

Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?



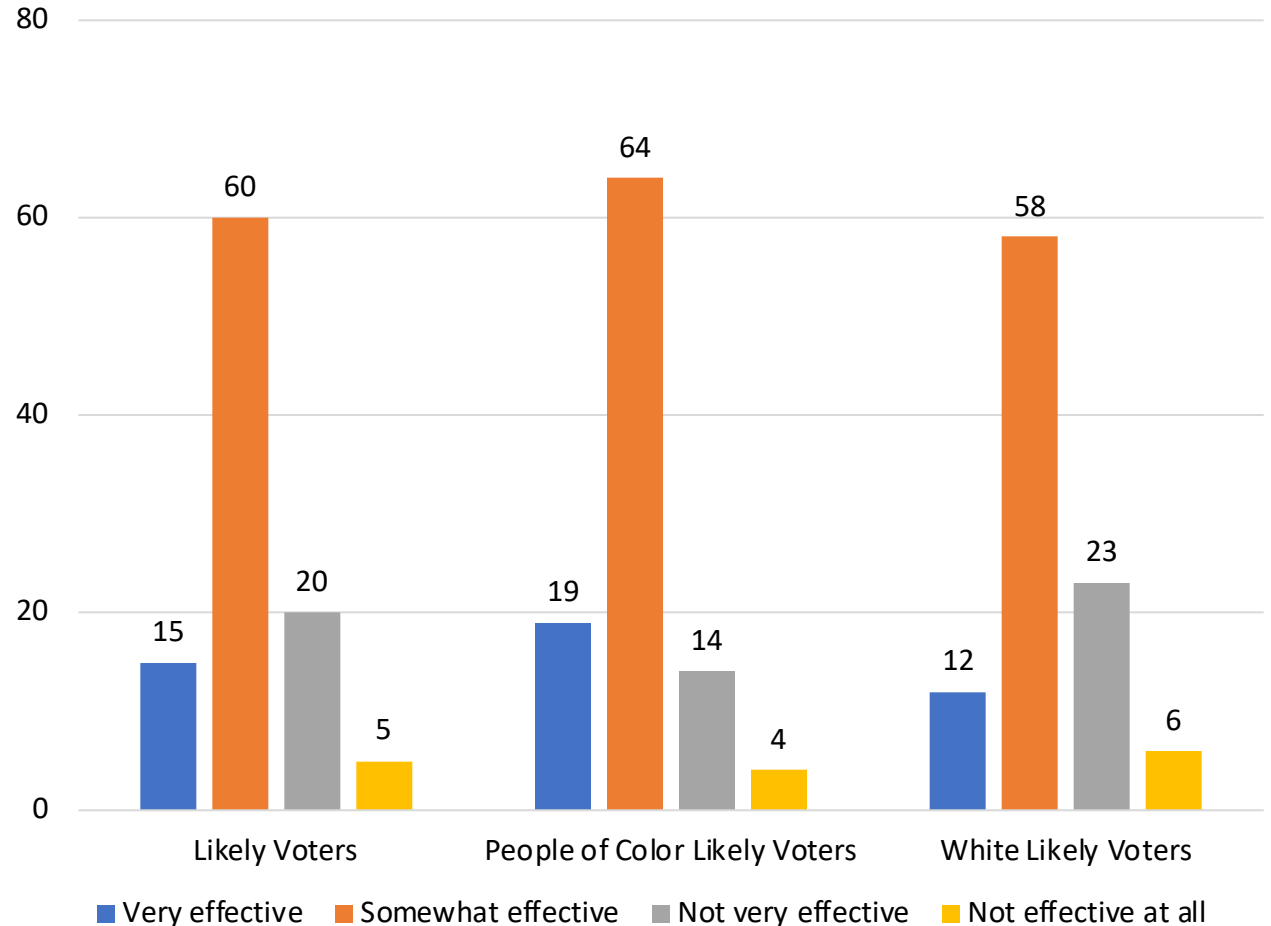
Effectiveness of elections in producing real change

Majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity believe that elections are “somewhat” effective in producing real change in the country.

Percent that say elections are “somewhat” effective:

- Likely Voters = 60%
- Likely Voters of Color = 64%
- White Likely Voters = 58%

How effective do you feel elections are in producing real change in the country?



Candidate Preferences for 2018

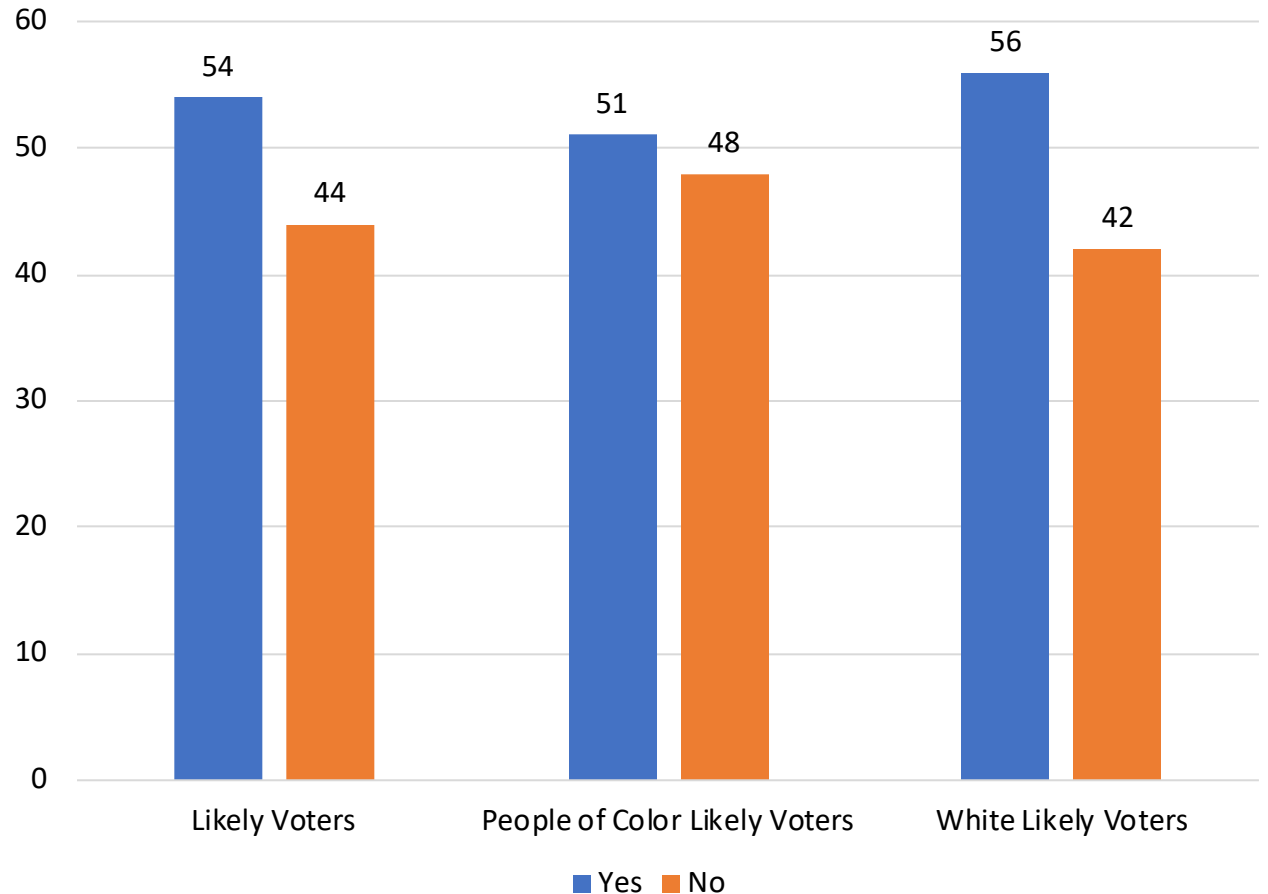
Preferences for Congressional re-election

Bare majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity would like to see their Congressional representatives re-elected in 2018. Likely voters of color, however, are most split in their views than likely voters who are white.

Percent who would like to see their representative re-elected:

- Likely voters = 54%
- Likely voters of color = 51%
- White likely voters = 56%

Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?



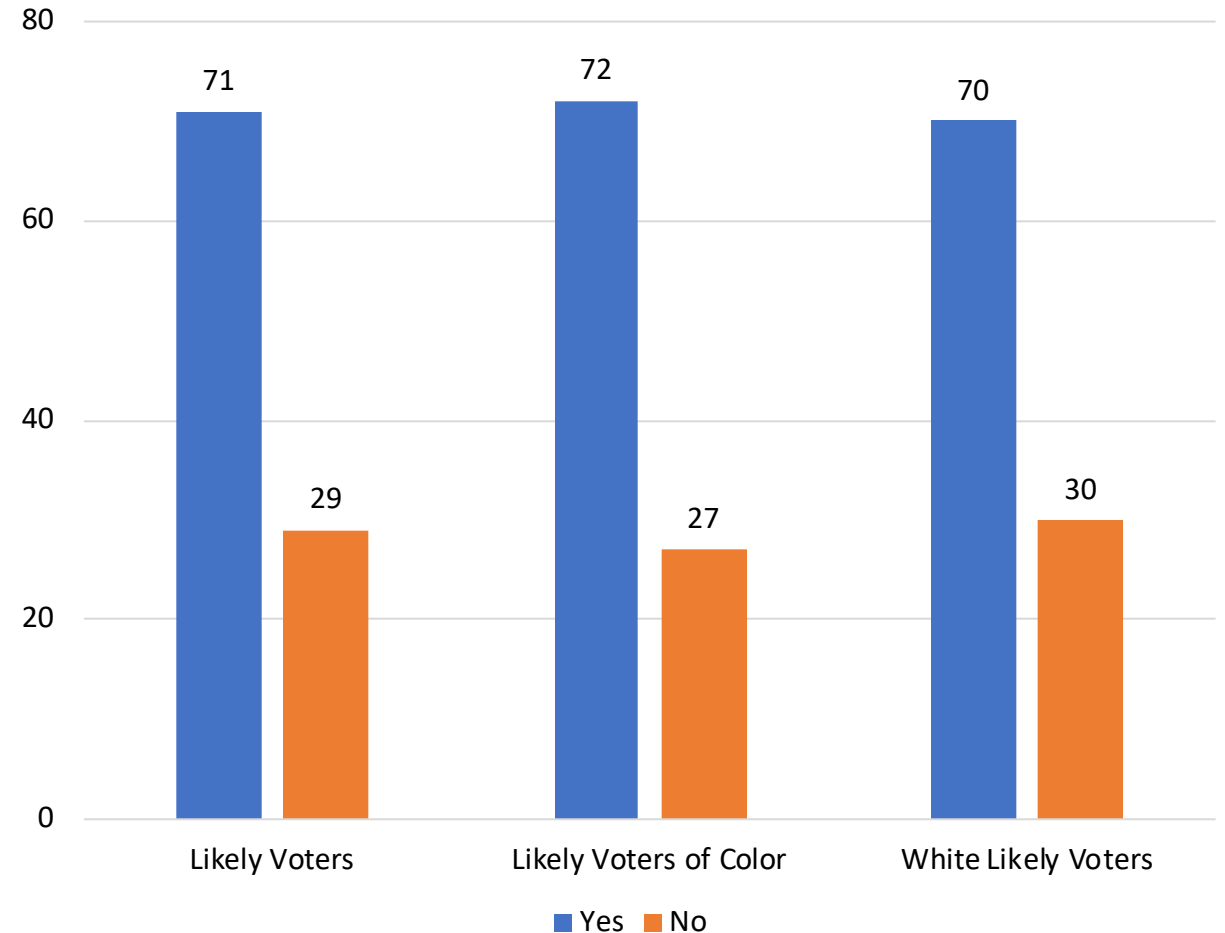
Familiarity with Congressional candidates

Over two-thirds of likely voters overall, likely voters of color, and white likely voters say that they are familiar with the midterm election candidates currently running for office in their Congressional district.

Percent who report being familiar with the midterm candidates in their district:

- Likely voters = 71%
- Likely voters of color = 72%
- White likely voters = 70%

Are you familiar with the midterm election candidates currently running in your Congressional district?



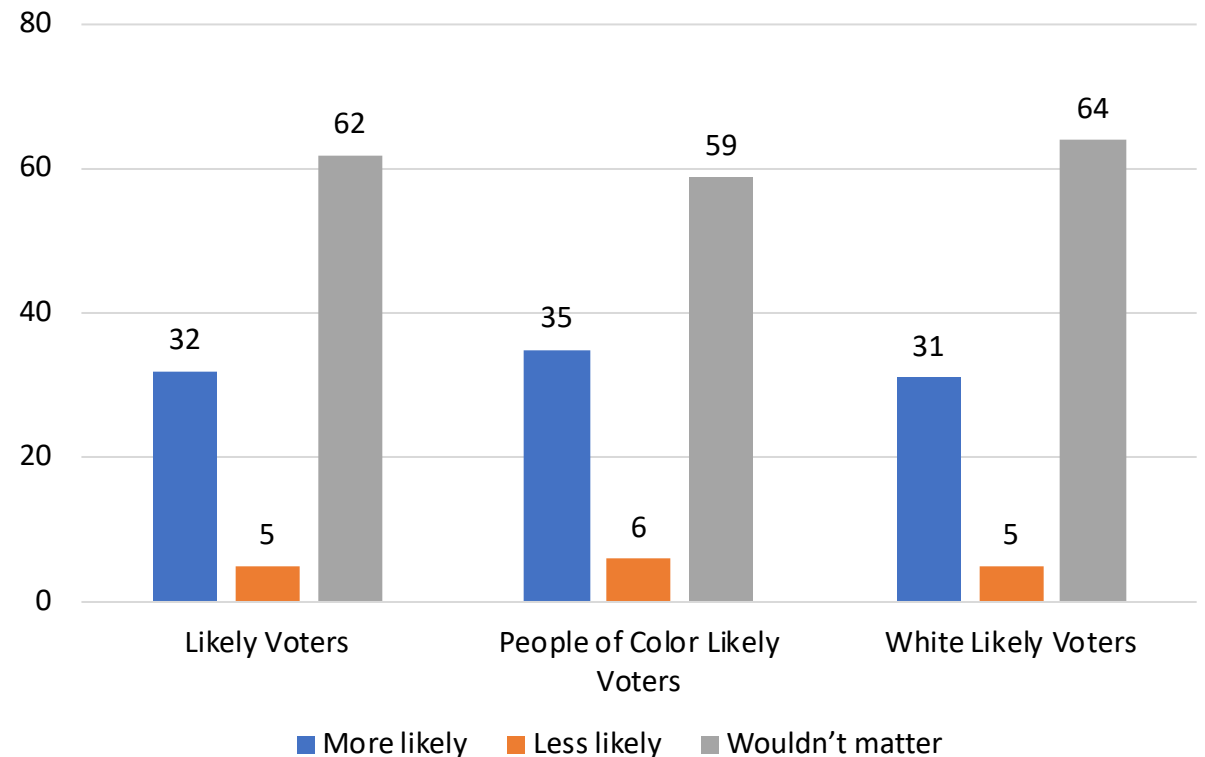
Support for woman candidates

Roughly a third of likely voters across race and ethnicity say that they would be more likely to support a candidate who is a woman. Majorities, however, report that a candidates gender would not matter to them.

Percent who would be more likely to support a candidate who is a woman:

- Likely voters = 32%
- Likely voters of color = 35%
- White likely voters = 31%

Thinking about congressional elections, we'd like to know how you generally feel about some different traits. Would you be more likely or less likely to support a candidate who is a woman, or wouldn't this matter to you?



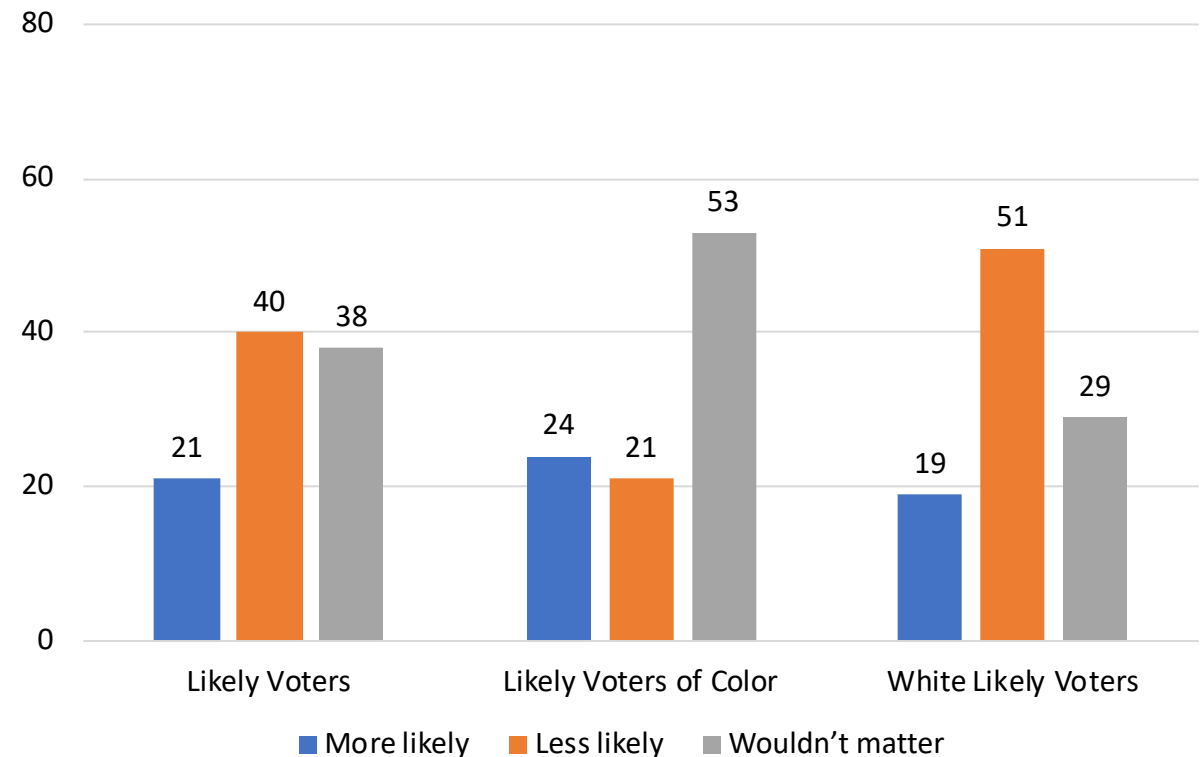
Support for Socialist candidates

A small majority of likely voters of color say that it wouldn't matter to them if a candidate were a Socialist. Nevertheless, the bare majority of likely voters who are white say that they would be less likely to support a Socialist candidate.

Percent who would be less likely to support a candidate who is a Socialist:

- Likely voters = 40%
- Likely voters of color = 21%
- White likely voters = 51%

Thinking about congressional elections, we'd like to know how you generally feel about some different traits. Would you be more likely or less likely to support a candidate who is a socialist, or wouldn't this matter to you?



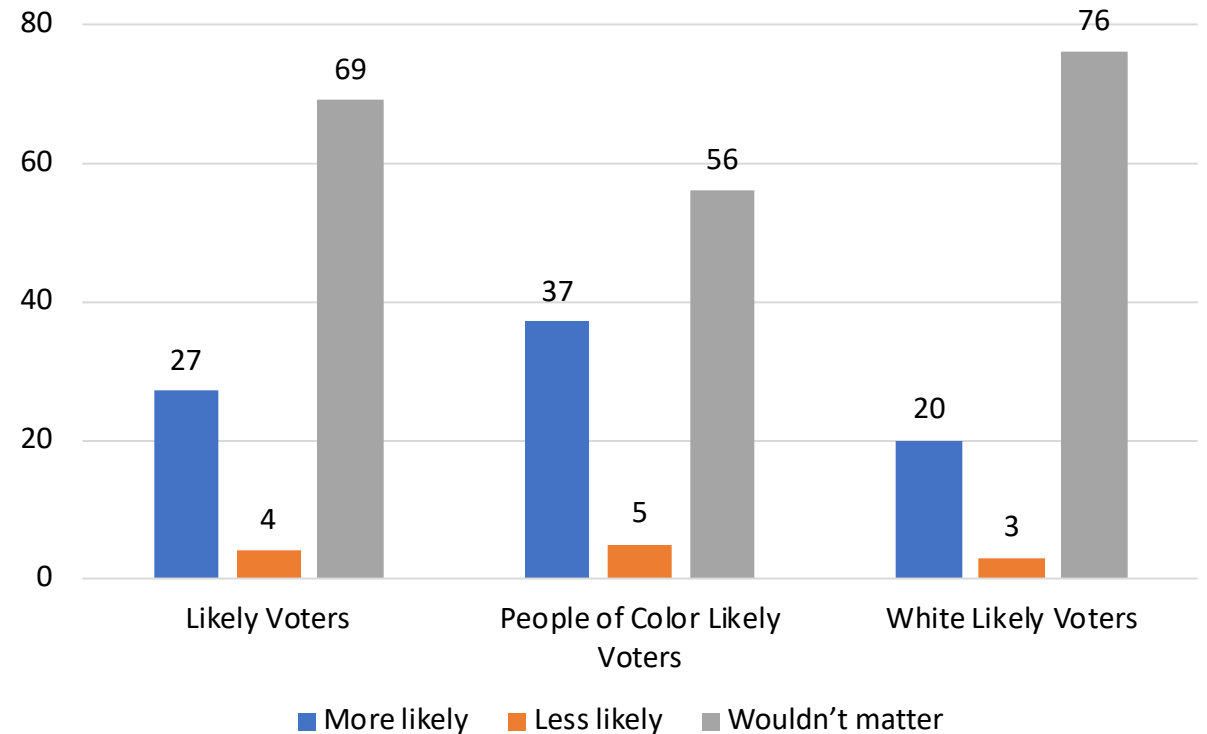
Support for candidates of color

The majority of likely voters across race and ethnicity say that it wouldn't matter much to them if a candidate were a person of color. Nevertheless, approximately 37% of likely voters of color say that they would more likely to support a candidate of color compared to 20% of white likely voters.

Percent who say that it wouldn't matter much to them if a candidate were a person of color :

- Likely voters = 69%
- Likely voters of color = 56%
- White likely voters = 76%

Thinking about congressional elections, we'd like to know how you generally feel about some different traits. Would you be more likely or less likely to support a candidate who is a person of color, or wouldn't this matter to you?

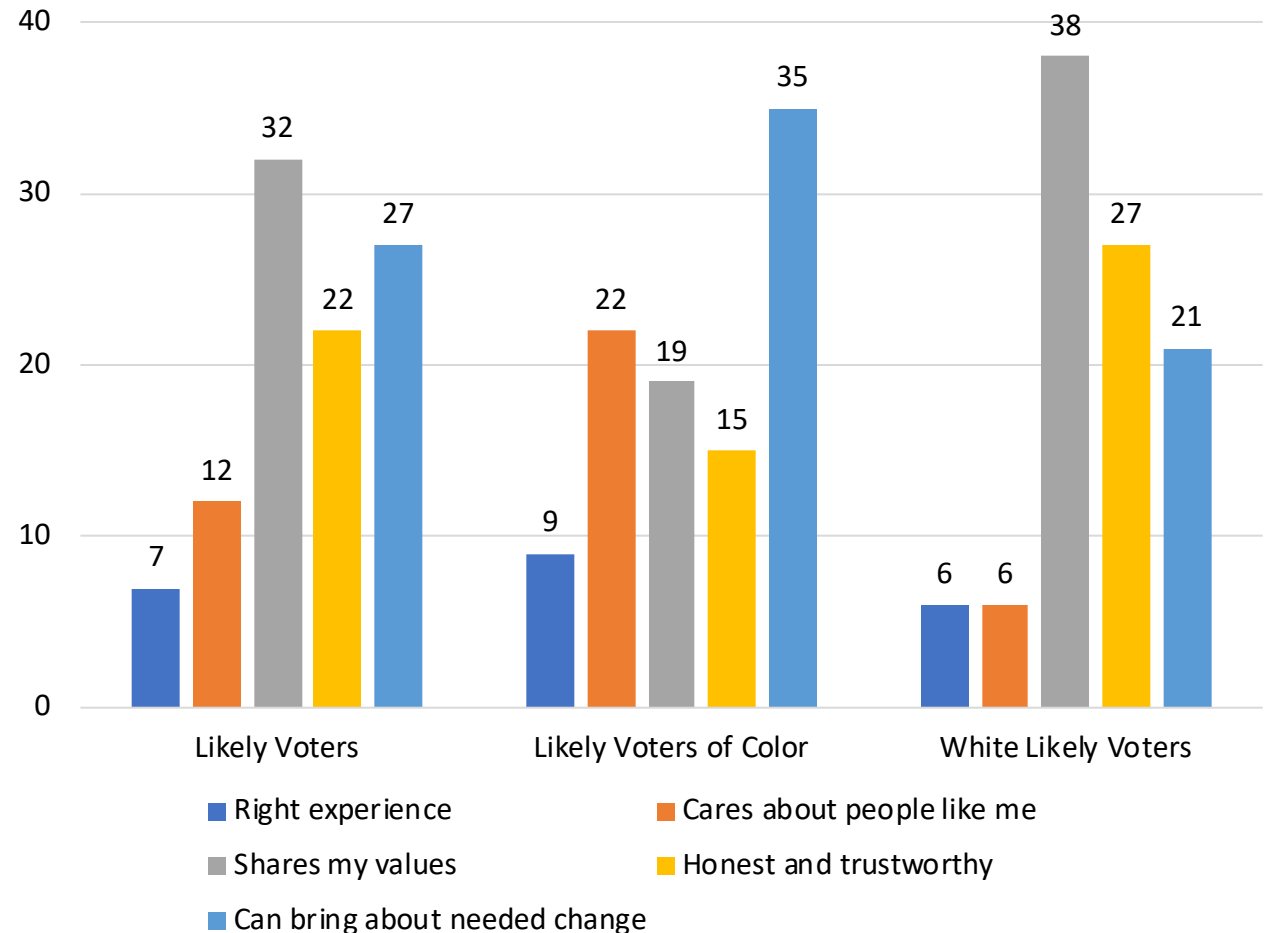


Most important candidate quality

There are important differences between likely voters of color and white likely voters when describing the one candidate quality that matters the most in deciding who to vote for in the midterm elections.

A plurality of White likely voters report caring most about shared values while likely voters of color are most concerned with whether a given candidate can “bring about needed change.”

Which one candidate quality matters most in deciding for whom to vote in the upcoming midterms?

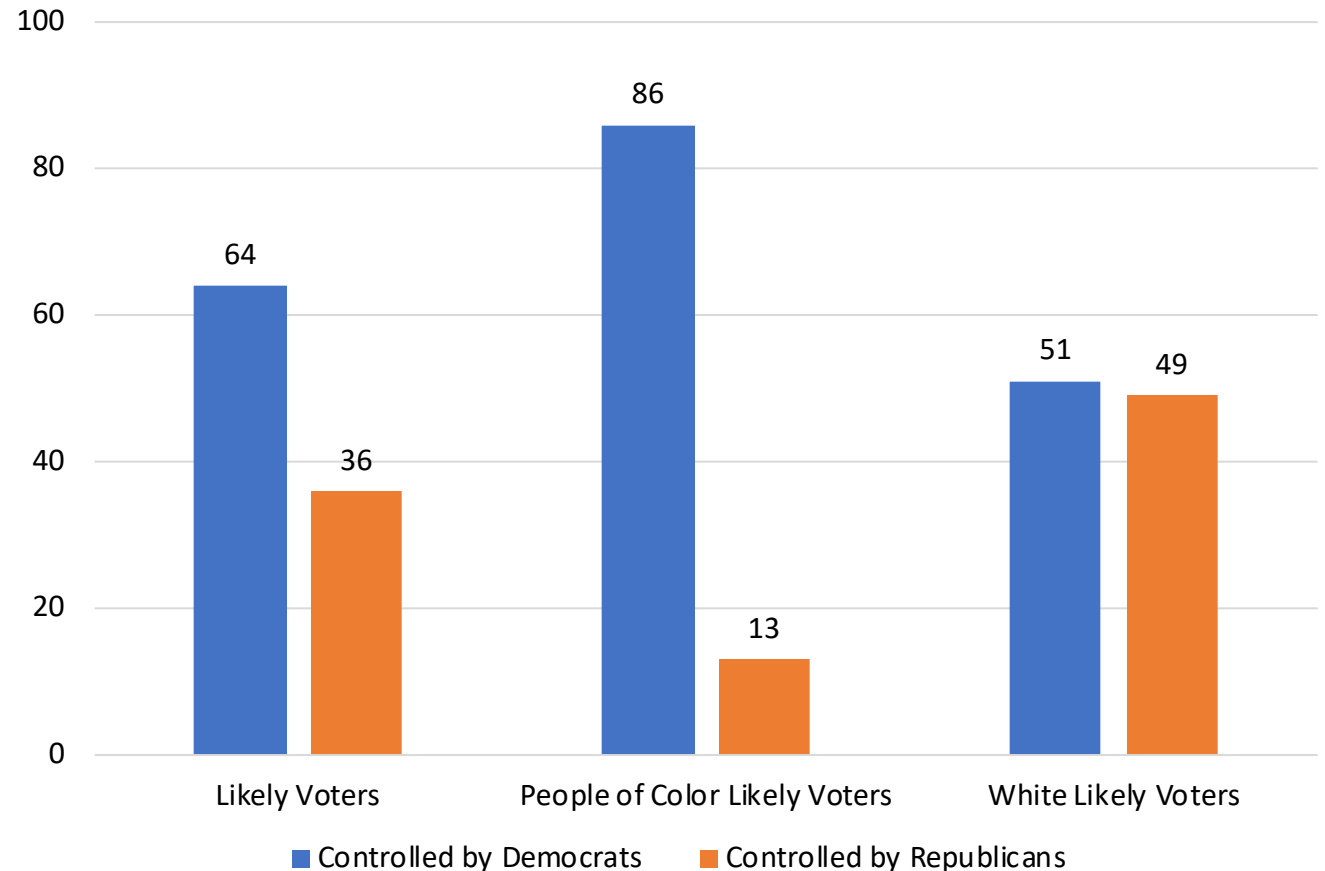


Outcomes of the 2018 Midterm Elections

2018 midterm election outcome preferences

A substantial majority (64%) of likely voters prefer Congress to be controlled by Democrats in 2018. This is driven almost entirely by likely voters of color, 86% of whom would prefer a Democratically controlled Congress. White likely voters are almost evenly split, though a bare majority (51%) indicate they would prefer Congress be controlled by Democrats.

What is your preference for the outcome of the 2018 Congressional elections, a Congress controlled by Democrats, or a Congress controlled by Republicans?



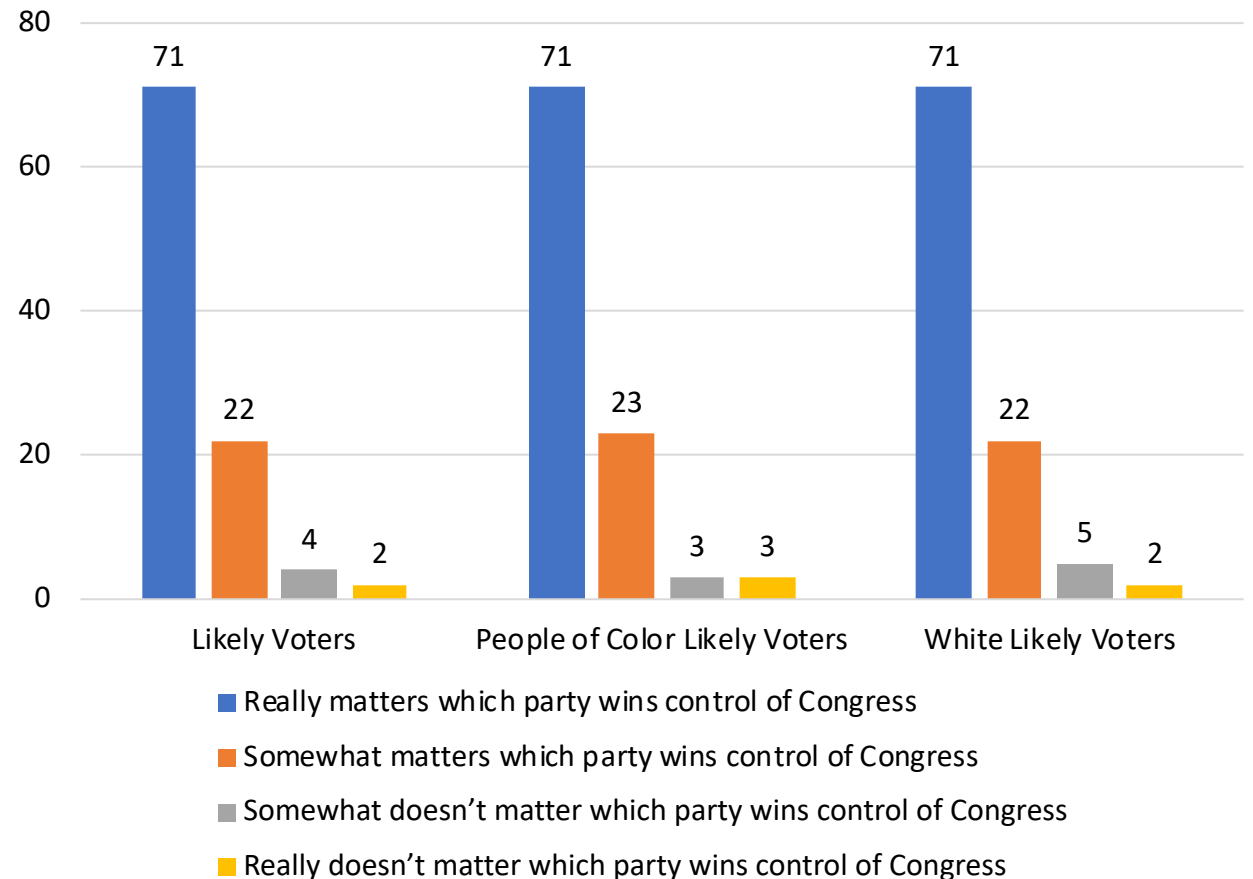
Importance of 2018 midterm election outcome

Substantial majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity believe that it really matters which party wins control of Congress.

Percent who feel that it really matters which party wins control of Congress:

- Likely voters = 71%
- Likely voters of color = 71%
- White likely voters = 71%

Thinking about how you feel about the 2018 congressional election, where would you place yourself on the following scale?

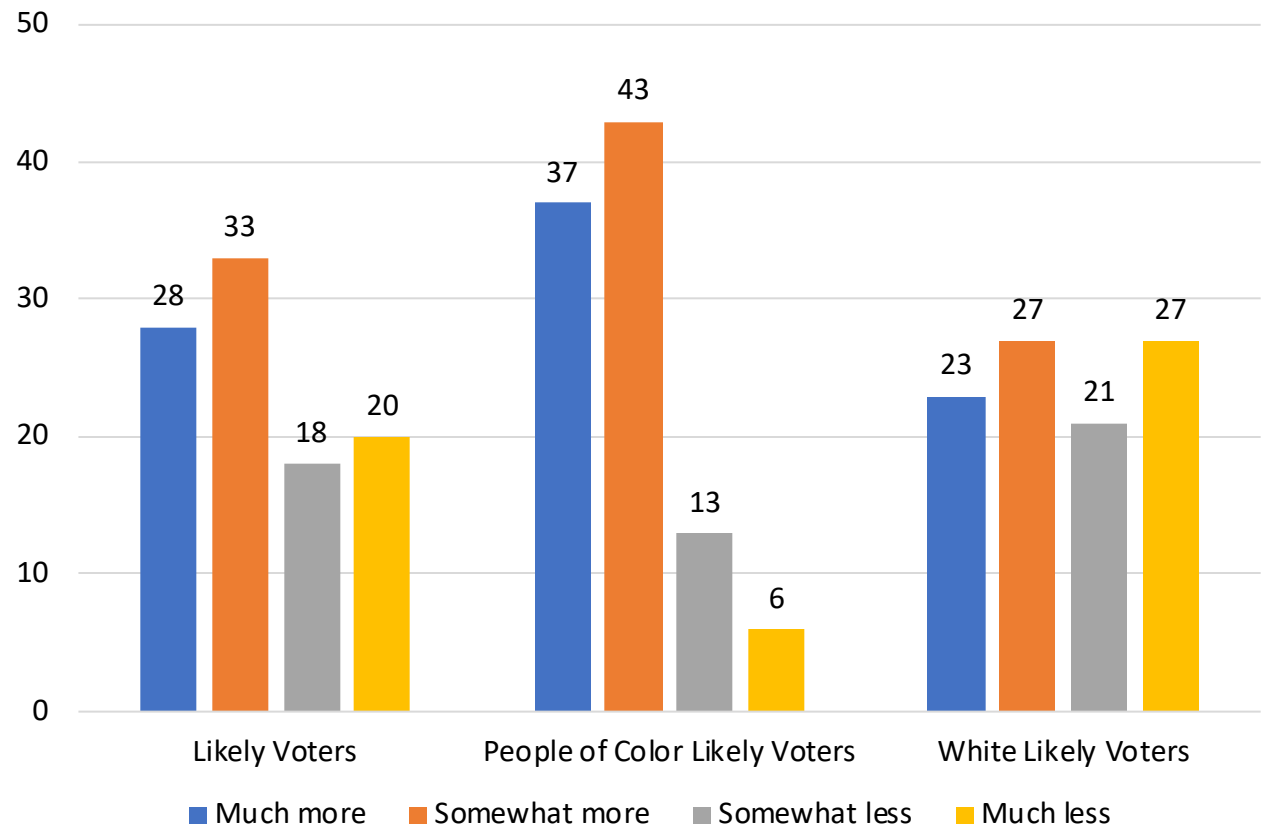


Congressional time spent on passing legislation

A plurality of likely voters, and especially likely voters of color, believe that Congress would spend “somewhat” or “much more” time on passing legislations and legislative accomplishments if it were controlled by the Democratic Party.

White likely voters are more split in their views, with 27% saying that Congress would spend “somewhat more” time and another 17% saying that Congress would spend “much less” time on legislation if it were controlled by the Democratic Party.

If the Democratic Party controls Congress after the 2018 midterm elections, do you think this would result in more or less of the following? Spending time on passing legislation and legislative accomplishments.



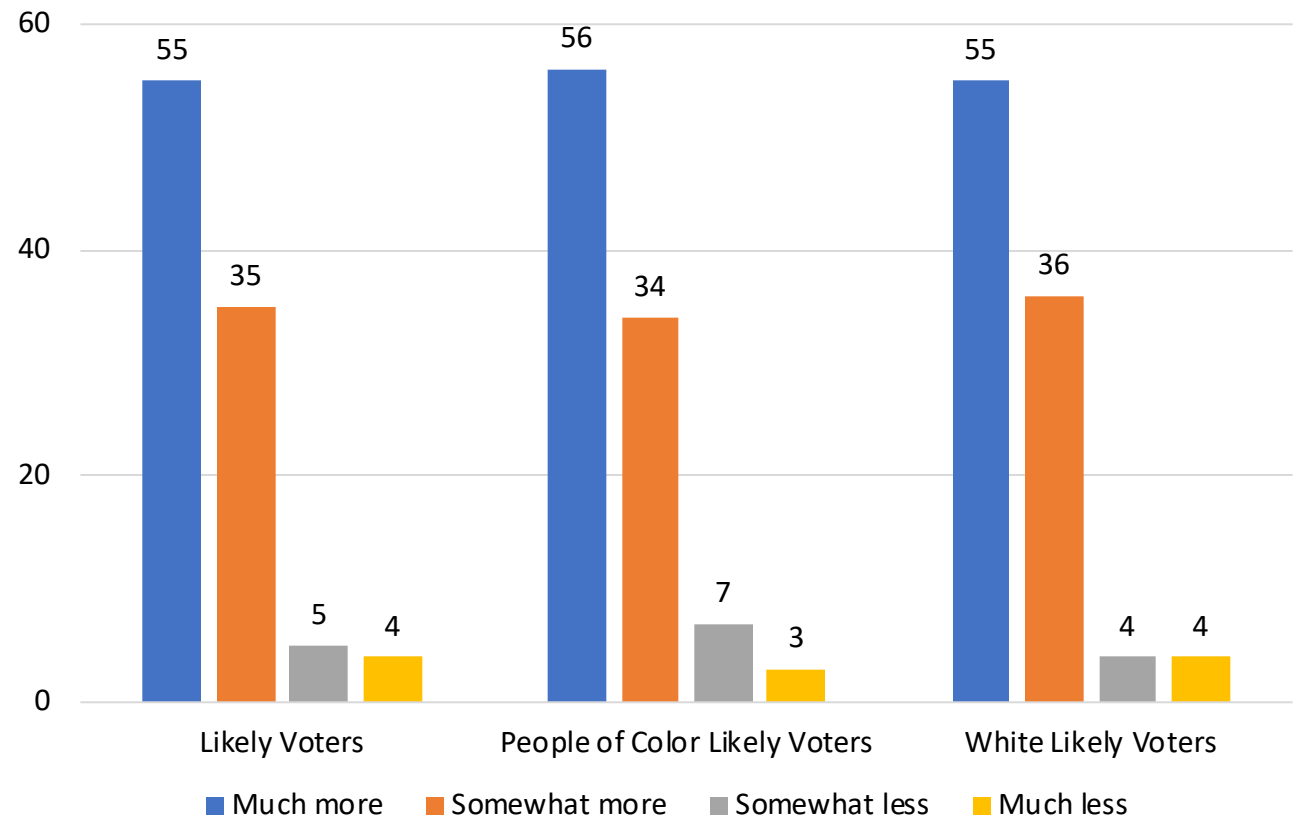
Congressional discussion on impeaching President Trump

Overwhelming majorities of likely voters across race and ethnicity believe that Congress would spend “much” or “somewhat” more time on discussions and committee hearings on impeaching Donald Trump if it were controlled by the Democratic Party.

Percent who believe Congress would spend “much more” time on impeaching Trump if it were controlled by the Democratic Party:

- Likely voters = 55%
- Likely voters of color = 56%
- White likely voters = 55%

If the Democratic Party controls Congress after the 2018 midterm elections, do you think this would result in more or less of the following? Discussions and committee hearings on impeaching Donald Trump.



Political Participation and Representation

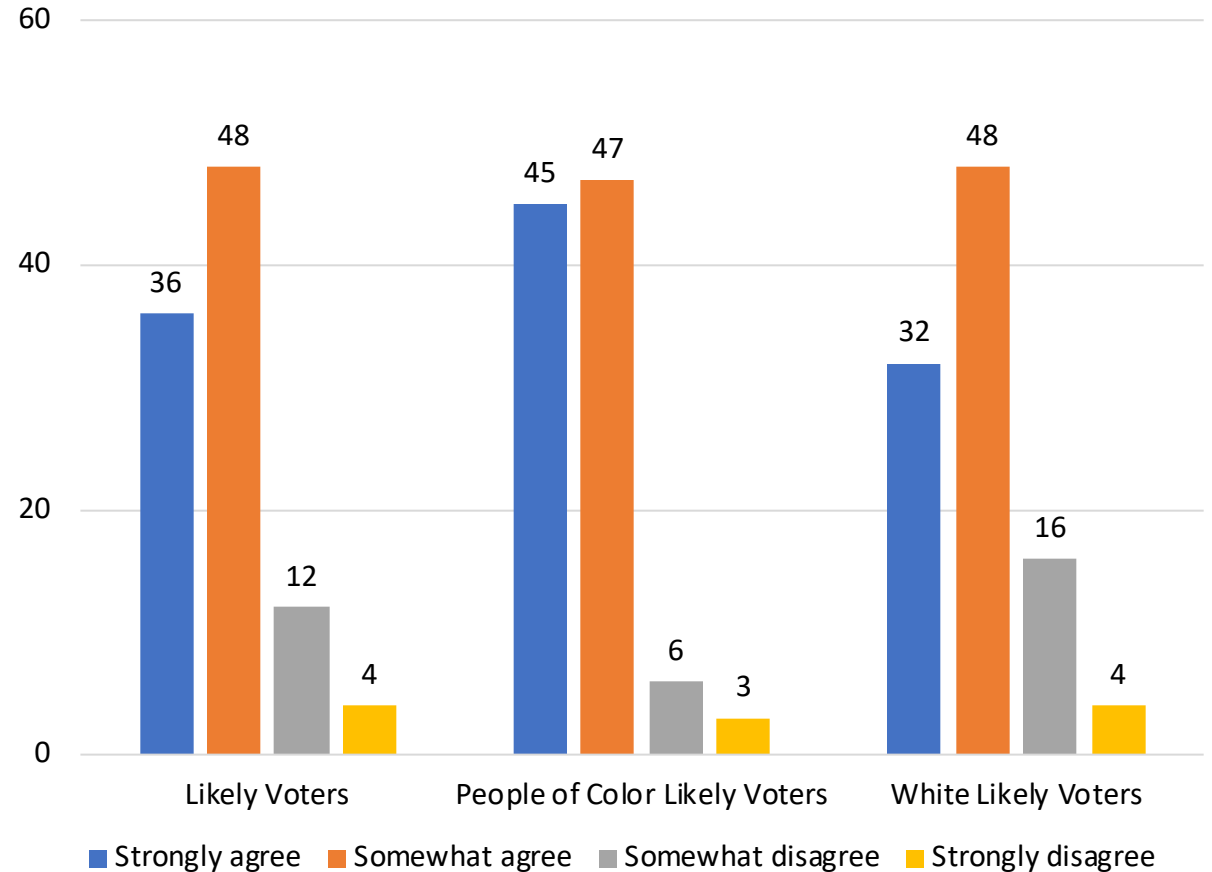
Political participation as a way to make a difference

Across race and ethnicity, overwhelming majorities of likely voters either “somewhat” or “strongly” agree that by participating in politics they can make a difference.

Percent that somewhat or strongly agree that they can make a difference by participating in politics:

- Likely Voters = 84%
- Likely Voters of Color = 92%
- White Likely Voters = 80%

I believe that by participating in politics I can make a difference.



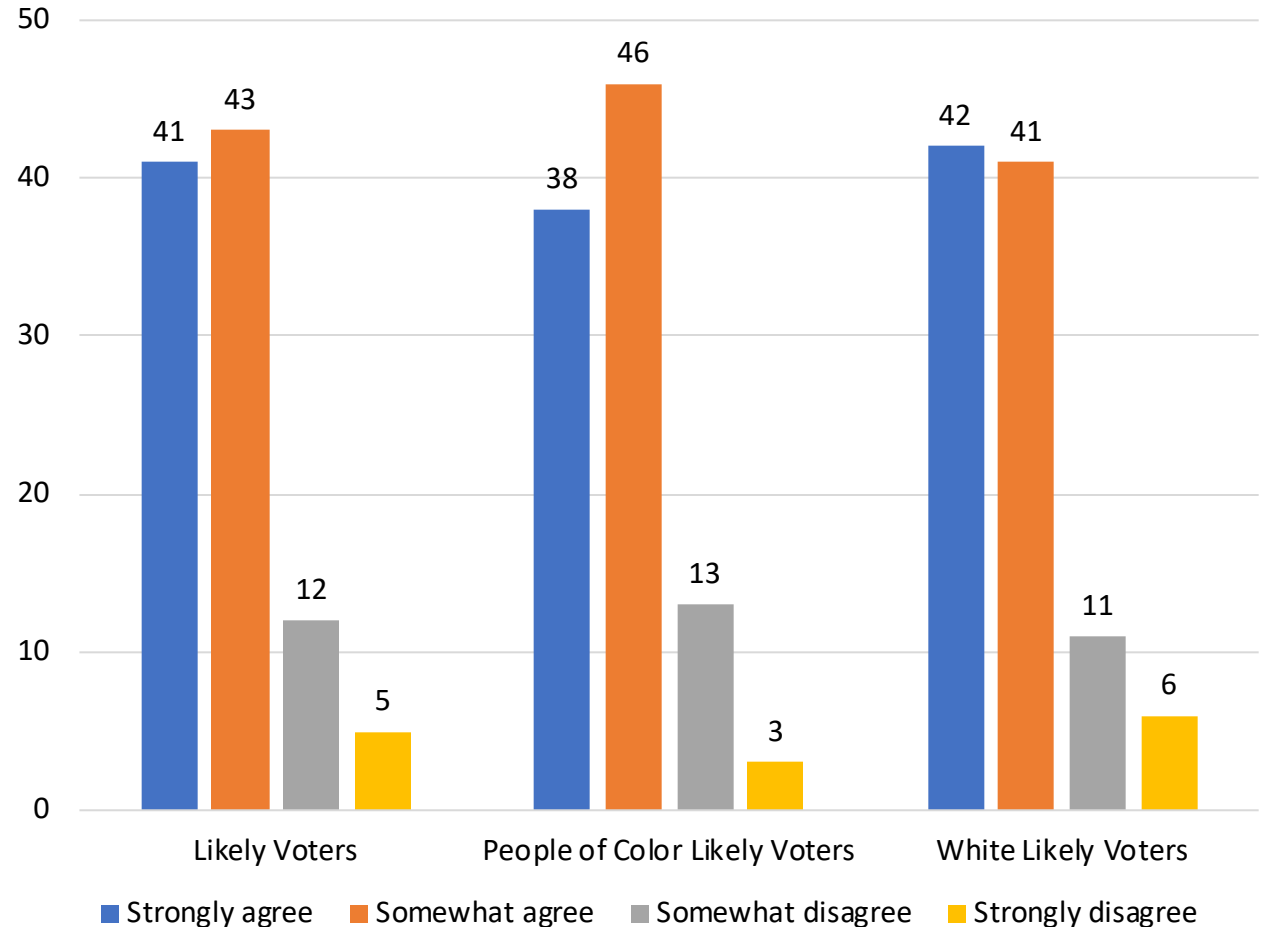
Skills and knowledge necessary to participate in politics

Across race and ethnicity, overwhelming majorities of likely voters either “somewhat” or “strongly” agree that they have the skills and knowledge necessary to participate in politics.

Percent that somewhat or strongly agree they have the necessary skills and knowledge to participate in politics:

- Likely Voters = 84%
- Likely Voters of Color = 84%
- White Likely Voters = 83%

I have the skills and knowledge necessary to participate in politics.



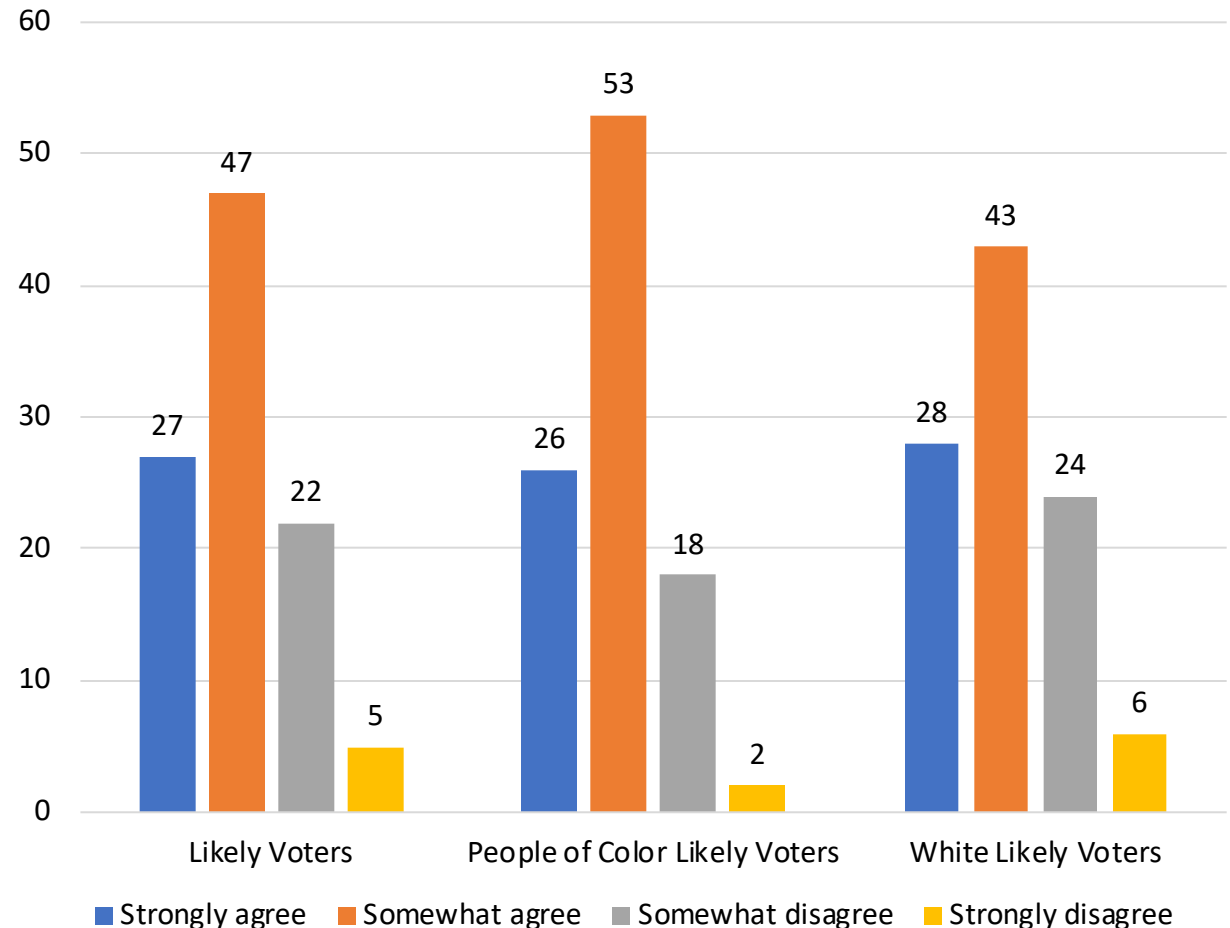
Government leaders care very little about people

Likely voters, especially those of color, generally believe that leaders in government care very little about people like them.

Percent that somewhat or strongly agree that government leaders care very little about people:

- Likely Voters = 74%
- Likely Voters of Color = 79%
- White Likely Voters = 71%

The leaders in government care very little about people like me.



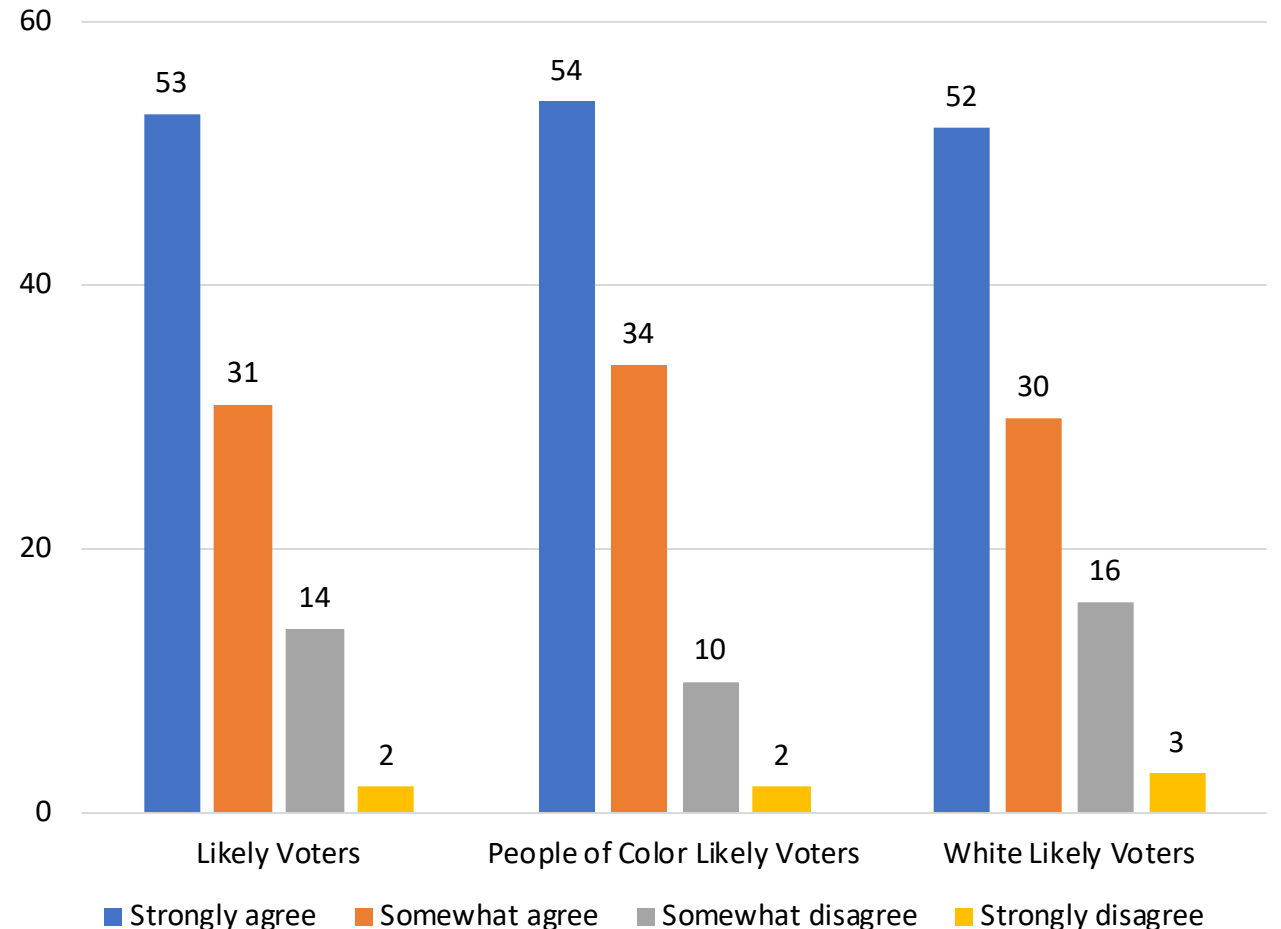
Government is run by a few big interests

Across race and ethnicity, majorities of likely voters “strongly” agree that the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves and their friends.

Percent who strongly agree:

- Likely Voters = 53%
- Likely Voters of Color = 54%
- White Likely Voters = 52%

The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves and their friends.



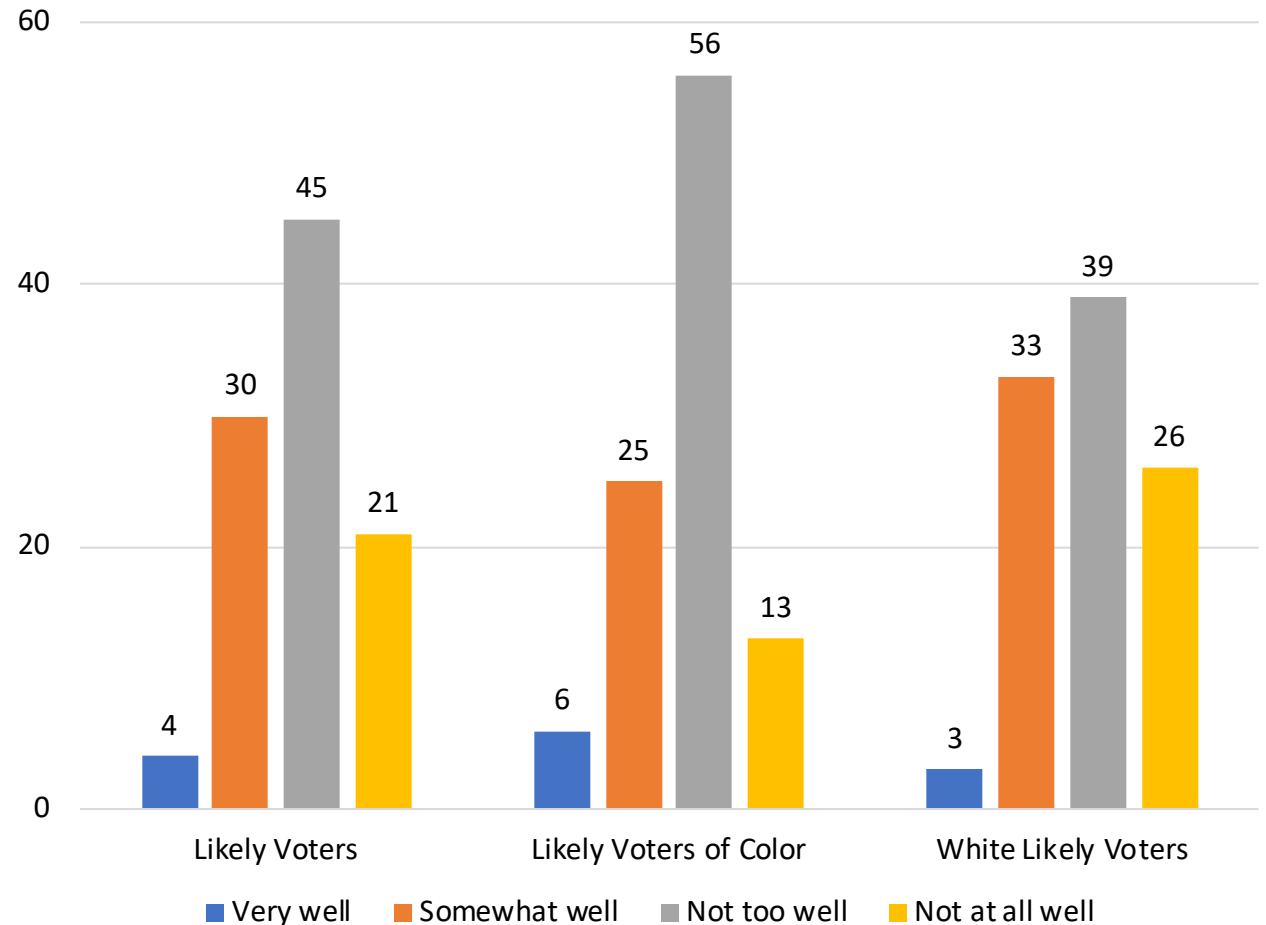
Views on Congressional representation

Across race and ethnicity, Millennial likely voters report that Congress represents the interests of people like them “not too well” or “not well at all”.

Percent saying Congress does not represent the interests of people like them well:

- Likely voters = 66%
- Likely voters of color = 69%
- White likely voters = 65%

How well does Congress represent the interests of people like you?



Organizational contract prior to the 2018 midterm election

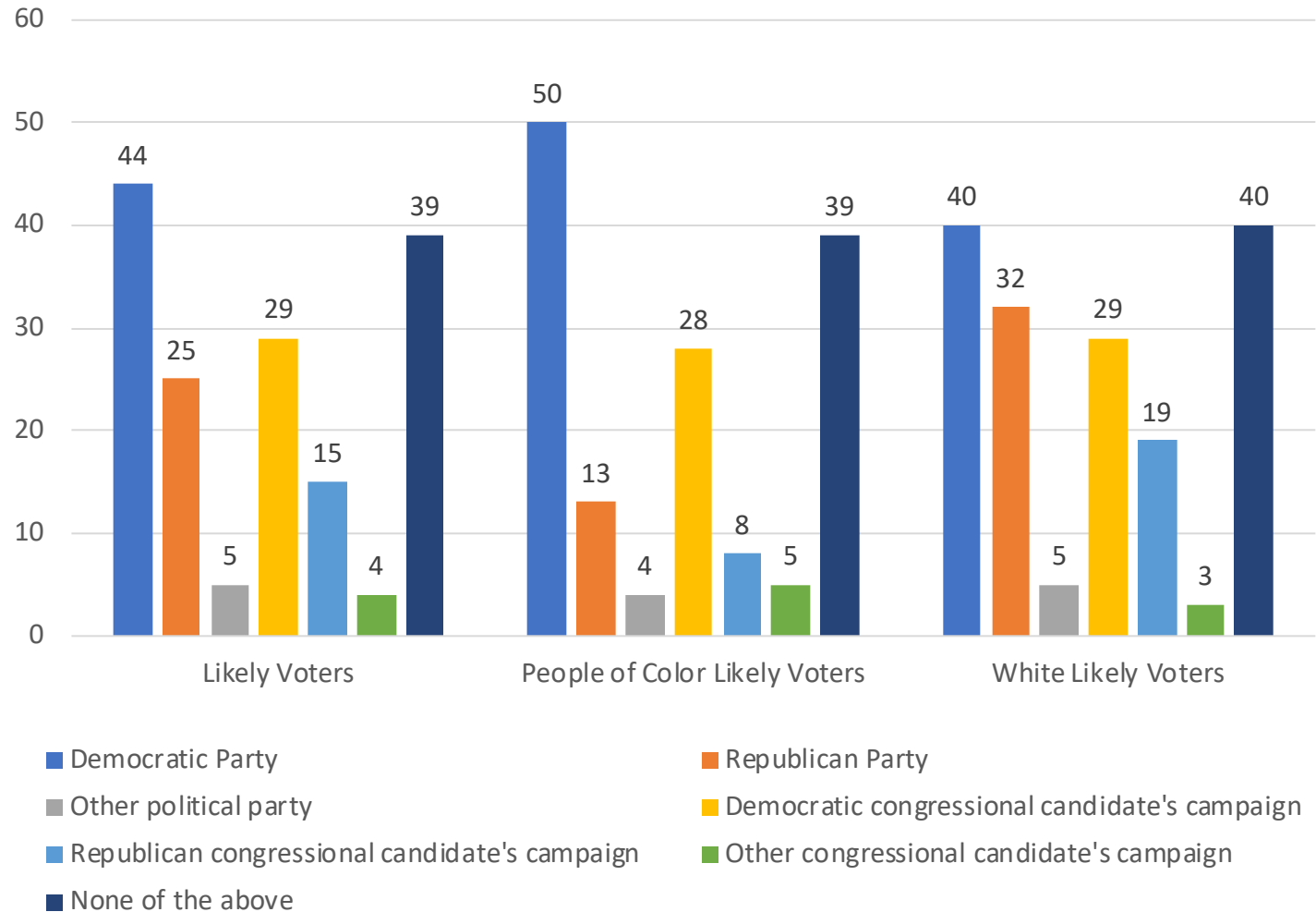
Roughly 40% of likely voters across race and ethnicity report not being contacted by any party or campaign prior to the 2018 midterm election.

However, of those who had been contacted, most say that were contacted by the Democratic Party.

Percent saying they were contacted by the Democratic Party:

- Likely Voters = 44%
- Likely Voters of Color = 50%
- White Likely Voters = 40%

Please tell us if any of the types of organizations listed here contacted you to vote in the midterm election.



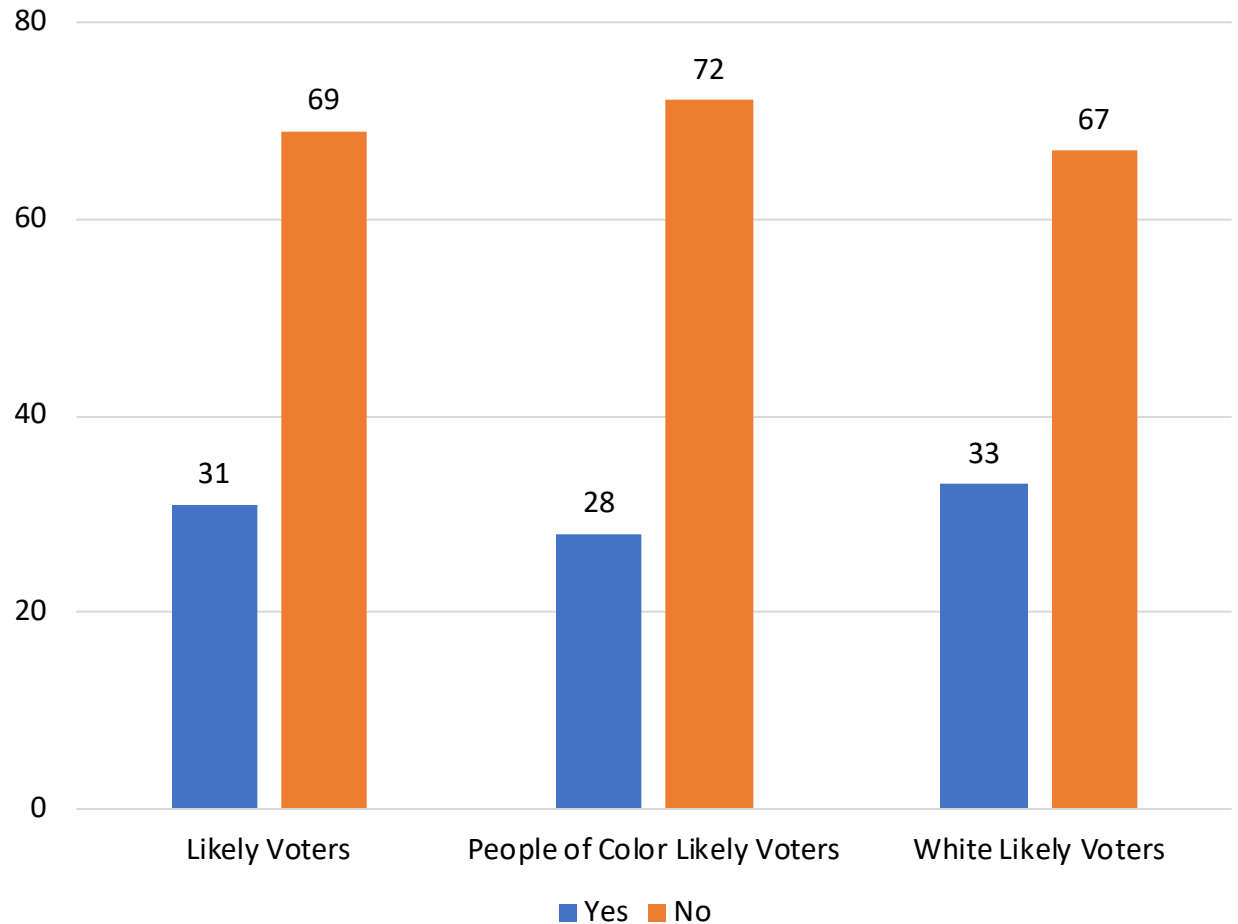
Running for political office

Millennials identified as likely voters are generally uninterested in running for political office. Nevertheless, roughly a third of likely voters across race and ethnicity say that would consider running for political office in the U.S.

Percent who would consider running for office:

- Likely Voters = 31%
- Likely Voters of Color = 28%
- White Likely Voters = 33%

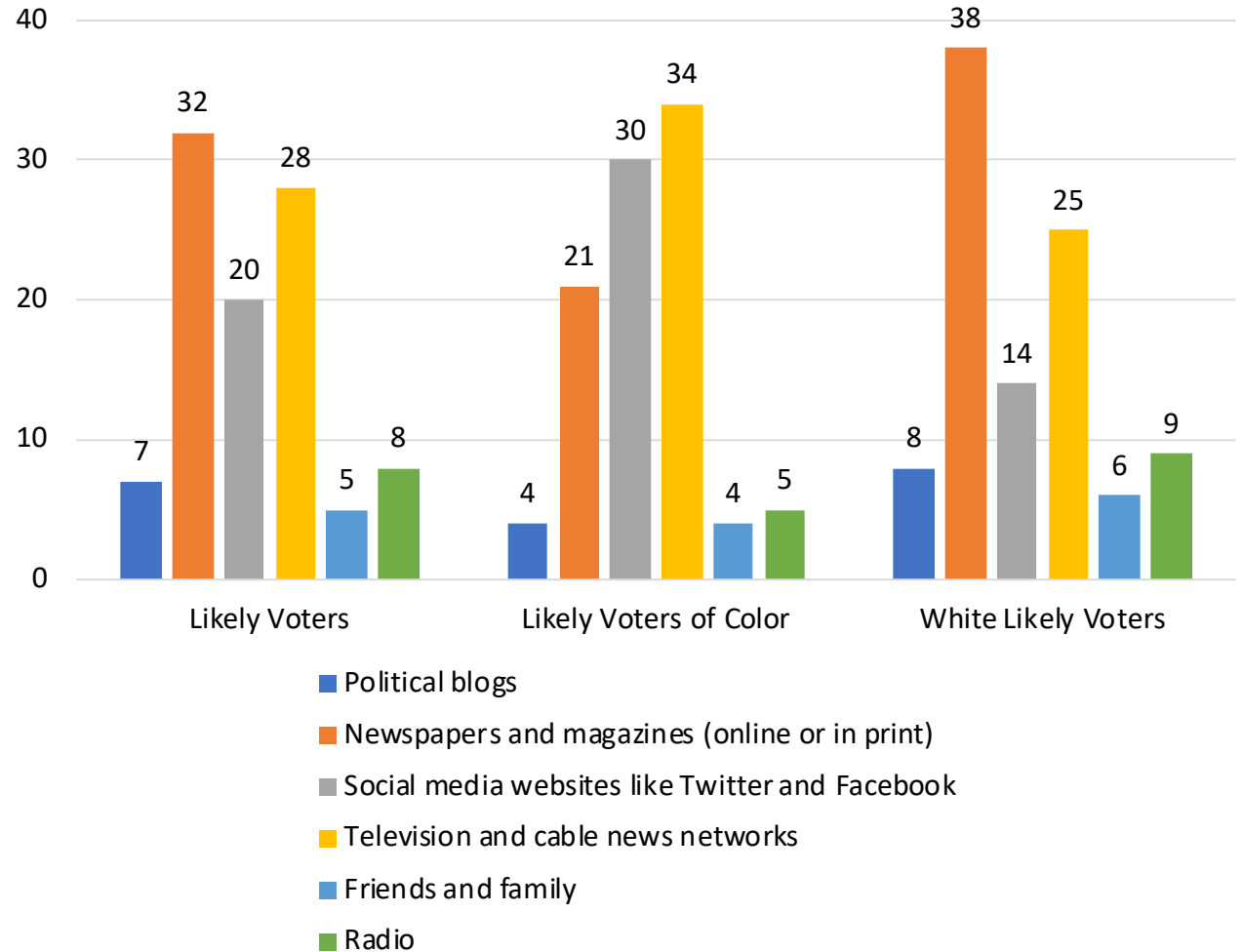
Would you consider ever running for political office in the U.S., or not?



Primary sources of political information

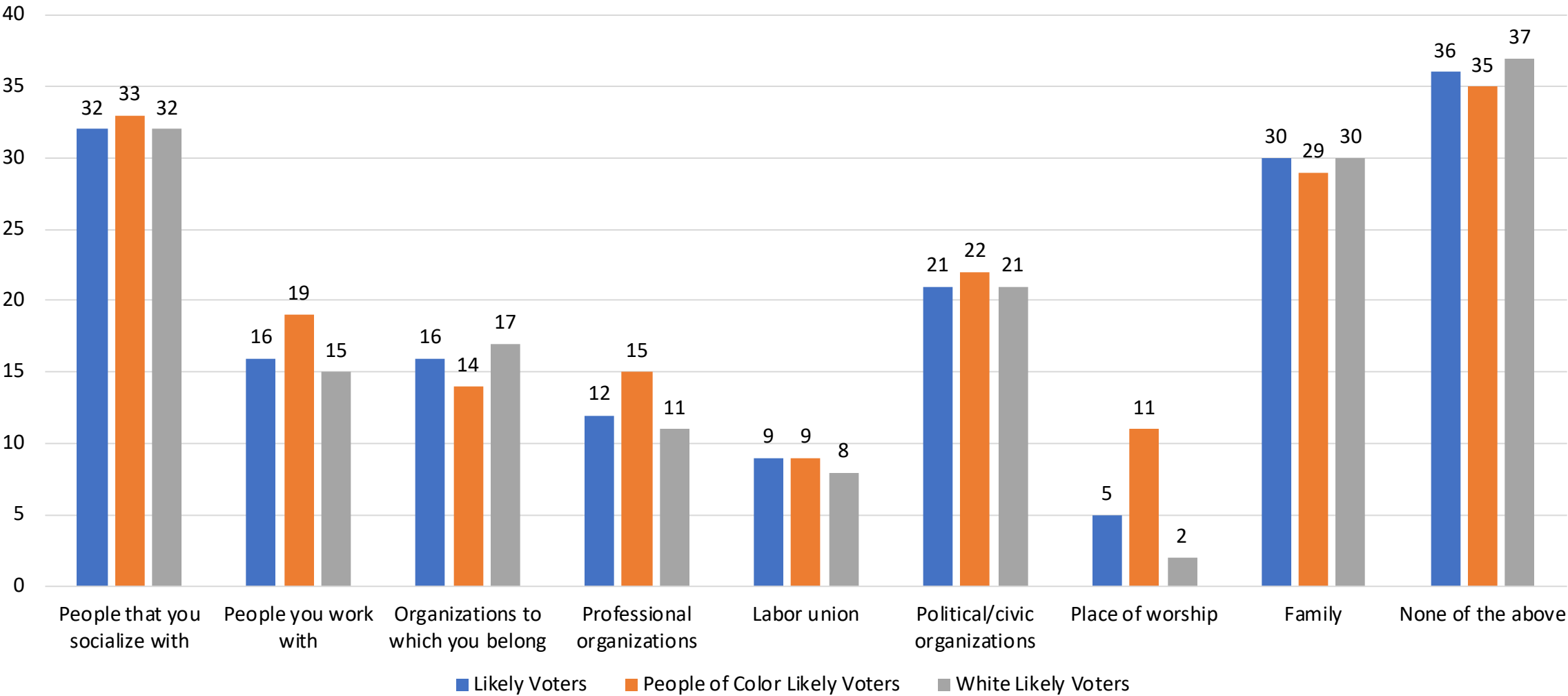
Pluralities of likely voters overall and white likely voters cite newspapers and magazine (either online or in print) as their primary source for political news and information. Among likely voters of color, the most cited source for news and information about politics is television and cable news networks followed by social media websites like Twitter and Facebook.

What is your primary source for political news and information?



Organizational contract prior to the 2018 midterm election

Please tell us if any of the types of people or organizations listed here contacted you to vote in the midterm election.



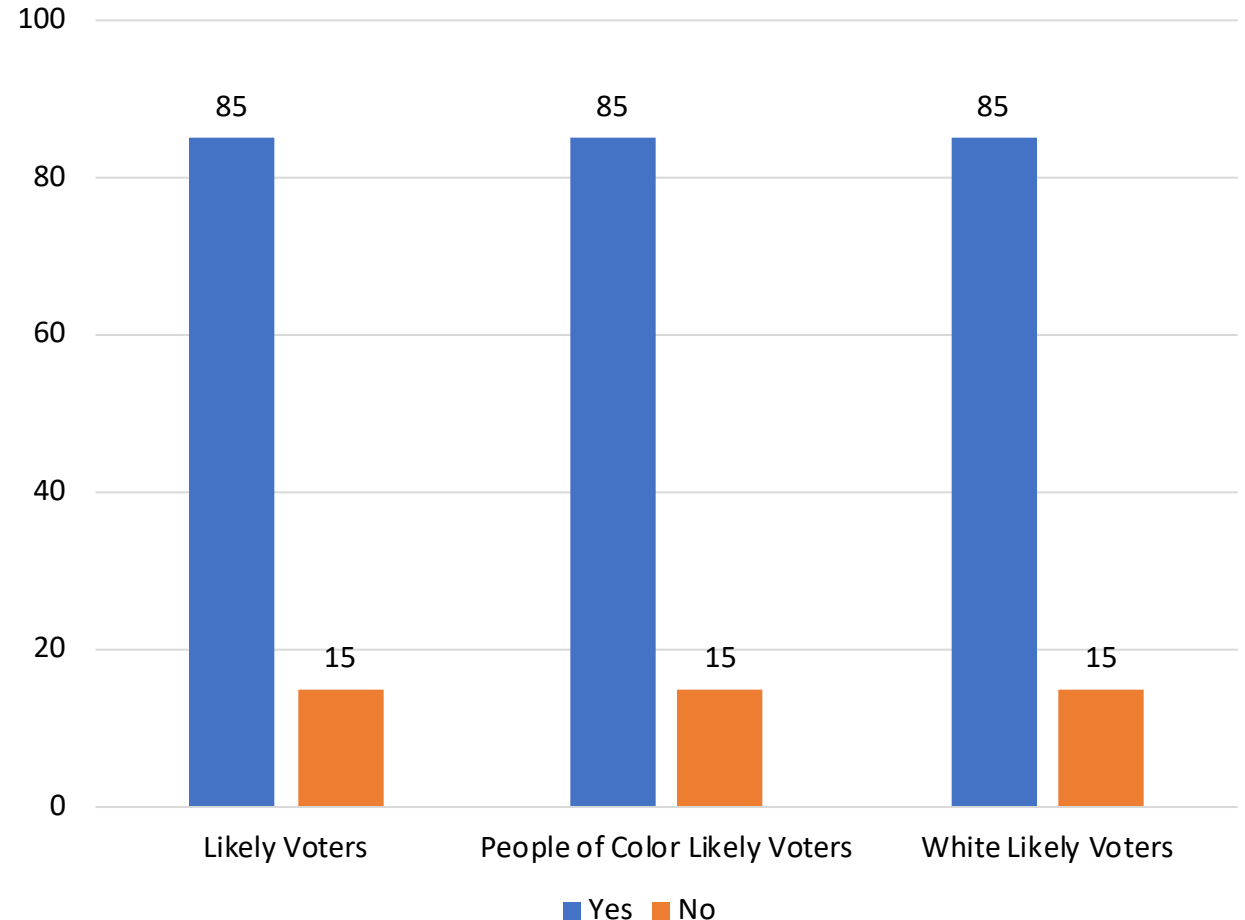
Talking to family and friends about politics

Across race and ethnicity, overwhelming majorities of likely voters report talking to family or friends about political issues, party, or candidate.

Percent that say they've talked with family or friends about politics:

- Likely Voters = 85%
- Likely Voters of Color = 85%
- White Likely Voters = 85%

Have you talked with family or friends about a political issue, political party, or candidate?



Identifying Likely Voters

How we identified likely voters (1 of 2)

GenForward uses two likely voter models to predict the likelihood of millennial turnout in the 2018 midterm elections. The models follow a procedure similar to [Pew's Perry-Gallup Likely Voter Index](#). For both approaches we use responses to four survey questions to calculate an additive scale of likelihood of voting:

“How likely are you to vote in the midterm election being held in November?”

- Definitely will not vote
- Probably will not vote
- Uncertain about whether I will vote or not
- Probably will vote
- Definitely will vote

“How often would you say you vote?”

- Always
- Nearly always
- Part of the time
- Seldom
- Never
- Never because I have never before been eligible to vote

“In the 2016 presidential election between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?”

- Yes, voted
- Did not vote
- Was not eligible to vote in 2016

“How much interest do you have in the following news about the upcoming midterm election? A great deal, quite a bit, only some, very little, or no interest at all?”

- A great deal
- Quite a bit
- Only some
- Very little
- No interest at all

How we identified likely voters (2 of 2)

For both models, we first create an additive scale ranging from 0 to 4 using the questions listed above. All variables are recoded where values range continuously from 0 to 1. For example, the interest question (Q4) is coded where 0 is “no interest at all”, 0.25 if “very little”, 0.5 is “only some”, 0.75 is “quite a bit”, and 1 is “a great deal”. Not to penalize those who were not eligible to vote in the past, we code them as a middle category, or 0.5, for questions 2 and 3. If respondents answers don’t know, refuse, or skips a question, we drop that respondent from the analysis. Finally, respondents who answered “definitely will not vote” are coded 0 for the entire scale, no matter what their responses are to the other questions listed above.

The first likely voter model, which we call **the quartile method**, is created by breaking this scale into quartiles categorizing respondents as very unlikely to vote if they fall in the bottom quarter of the scale, somewhat unlikely to vote if they fall in the next lowest quarter of scale up to the median, somewhat likely to vote in the second highest quarter of the scale above the median, and very likely to turnout in the 2018 midterm elections in the highest quarter of the scale.

The second likely voter model, which we call **the dichotomous method**, uses the average of estimated turnout cutoffs obtained from the [Census November Supplemental Voter file](#) for the 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014 midterm elections. To calculate this model, we first obtain the turnout rates of 18-34 year-olds for each racial/ethnic group for each midterm election we use. Second, we average the turnout rates by racial/ethnic group across all midterm elections that we are using (2002-2014). The average turnout for whites and Blacks across these elections is 28% and the average turnout for Latinx and Asian-Americans is 19%. We use average turnout for these recent midterm elections to avoid potential bias resulting from relying on any one year alone. For example, turnout was slightly lower than average for our target age group in 2014 compared to previous years.

Using these cutoffs for each racial group, we code respondents 1 if they fall in the top 28% of the additive scale distribution for whites and Blacks and the top 19% of the additive scale for Latinx and Asian Americans. All other respondents are coded as 0 otherwise. We also code those who are missing data as 0. For example, the top 19% of Latinx respondents score at or above 3.25 out of 4 on the additive scale. Therefore, any respondent who scores 3.25 or above is considered a likely voter and coded 1 while those who fall below 3.25 are coded as 0 and not considered likely voters. This allows us to compare millennials who are most likely to turnout in the 2018 midterm elections to those who are less likely.

The quartile method of likely voters gives us four categories of millennials who are least to most likely to vote. This variation allows us to explore, for example, what differentiates those very likely to vote compared to those who are somewhat likely to vote. The dichotomous method provides a means to explore attitudes among millennials who have the highest likelihood of turning out to vote in the midterm elections. Both methods offer unique benefits in defining and conceptualizing likely voters, and we draw from both depending on the context of the analysis we perform.

Survey Methodology

Survey Methodology (1 of 2)

The GenForward October survey is a project of Professor Cathy J. Cohen at the University of Chicago. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample from a nationally representative survey panel of adults ages 18-34 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 1,881 interviews were conducted between September 21 and October 6, 2018 with adults ages 18-34 representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia, including completed interviews with 506 African American young adults, 256 Asian American young adults, 522 Latinx young adults, 538 white young adults, and 59 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:

- Sixty-nine 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).
- Thirty-one 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, Latinxs, and Asian Americans ages 18-34. 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 2)

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 1,881 completed interviews in the GenForward October survey, 93 percent were completed by web and 7 percent by telephone. The survey completion rate is 27 percent. The weighted AAPOR RR3 panel recruitment rate is 17.5 percent and the weighted household panel retention rate is 85.8 percent, for a cumulative AAPOR Response Rate 3 of 4 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 3.76 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 +/- 5.14 percentage points for African Americans, +/- 7.75 percentage points for Asian Americans, +/- 6.71 percentage points for Latinxs, and +/- 6.13 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- 34-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 18-34, and the 18-34-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