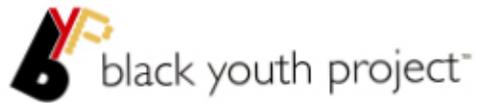


gen FORWARD



AUGUST 2016

Young People Speak Out about the 2016 Campaign, Policing, and Immigration

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

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

Table of Contents

- I. [About the Black Youth Project and GenForward Surveys](#)
- II. [Introduction](#)
- III. [2016 Horse Race](#)
 - a. [The Youth Vote in 2016](#)
 - b. [Young People's Assessments of the Vice Presidential Nominees](#)
 - c. [How Engaged Will Young Voters Be in the 2016 Elections?](#)
 - d. [What Issues Concern Young Adults?](#)
- IV. [Policing in America](#)
 - a. [Experiences with and Perceptions of the Police](#)
 - b. [Black Lives Matter](#)
 - c. [What Policies Will Prevent Police Violence Against Civilians?](#)
- V. [Immigration](#)
 - a. [Attitudes Toward Immigrants](#)
 - b. [Immigration Policy Preferences](#)
 - c. [Candidates on Immigration](#)
 - d. [Generational Status and Immigration Attitudes among Asian Americans and Latino/as](#)
- VI. [Conclusion](#)
- VII. [Survey Methodology](#)

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 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.

In this report, we document what young African Americans, Latino/as, Asian Americans and whites are thinking about: the 2016 presidential election, experiences with and attitudes toward the police and policies to enhance policing, and their views of immigrants and preferences over immigration policy. 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 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.

Introduction

The issues of policing and immigration are now front and center in American political discourse. Donald Trump’s campaign in particular has emphasized both issues and has tried to mobilize worries—especially the worries of whites—about attacks against police and dissatisfaction with the immigration system. Hillary Clinton’s campaign hopes to mobilize support around both issues particularly from the African American and Latino/a communities, respectively. Our survey provides a timely look at what young adults—particularly young adults of color—think about both sets of issues as well as their thoughts about the race for the presidency. We delve into young adults of colors’ experiences with and attitudes toward police, their thoughts about the Black Lives Matter movement, and their views about a number of issues that have been proposed to reduce police violence against civilians. We also consider in depth what young adults think about immigrants and their preferences for a variety of immigration policies. We present data on these and a host of other issues to bring the views of young adults into these debates.

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. 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

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. Our mission is to document the political views of young people, especially young people of color.

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/>.

Key Findings

- ❖ A majority of 18-30-year-old African Americans (60%) and Asian Americans (52%), along with 49% of Latino/as, today say they will vote for Hillary Clinton in November.
- ❖ Donald Trump receives only 2% of the vote from young African Americans, 8% from Latino/as, and 14% from Asian Americans.
- ❖ Whites 18-30 are evenly divided in their support for Hillary Clinton (28%) and Donald Trump (28%).
- ❖ Most young adults of all races and ethnicities know little about the vice-presidential candidates and few say that their selection will influence their vote choice.
- ❖ Young adults from different racial and ethnic backgrounds have different opinions of which issues are most important right now: for example, African Americans identify police brutality as the most important issue in America, while Latino/as report that immigration is most important.
- ❖ Our data start to flesh out how interactions with police vary by race and ethnicity. While young African Americans and whites report being stopped at equal rates by the police (75% and 74% of African Americans and whites, respectively, have been stopped), African Americans have been arrested (28%) at much higher rates than whites (15%).
- ❖ A majority of young adults of all races and ethnicities now support the Black Lives Matter movement, though there remains a big divide in support between African Americans (85%) and whites (51%).
- ❖ At the same time, a majority of young whites (66%) also believe that the Black Lives Matter's rhetoric encourages violence against police, compared to 43% for Asian Americans, 42% for Latino/as, and 19% for African Americans.
- ❖ Young adults of all races and ethnicities also believe that a number of reforms to the police may be effective at reducing police violence against civilians.

- ❖ Young adults have relatively positive views of immigrants. For example, only a minority of African Americans (43%), whites (42%), Asian Americans (30%), and Latino/as (25%) believe that immigrants take jobs, housing, or healthcare away from people born in the United States.
- ❖ We find little support—particularly among Asian Americans and Latino/as—for the proposal to identify and deport all immigrants who are here illegally. Thirty-seven percent of African Americans, 31% of Asian Americans, 20% of Latino/as, and a somewhat higher but still a minority 47% of whites support this policy.
- ❖ On many immigration issues, such as building a wall with Mexico, we find that first and second generation Asian Americans’ and Latino/as’ register more opposition to harsh immigration policies than Asian Americans or Latino/as who are third generation or later.

I. The 2016 Horse Race

The Youth Vote in 2016

The youth vote continues to vary substantially across race and ethnicity. Overall, 39% of young adults support Hillary Clinton in August 2016, compared to 19% for Donald Trump. These figures represent a four-percentage point increase in support for Clinton over the previous month, while Trump's support remains the same as we reported in July. The numbers overall suggest that both candidates are underperforming with young voters compared with candidates at similar stages of the campaign in 2008 and 2012.³

But these numbers overlook the vast differences in candidate support in each racial and ethnic group. As shown in Table 1, **Africans Americans (60%) and Asian Americans (52%) are far more supportive of Hillary Clinton than would be suggested by the overall numbers of young adult support**, with majorities of both groups currently saying they will vote for Clinton. Latino/a (49%) support for Clinton is also much higher than the overall numbers would suggest. Hillary Clinton's struggles with young people are largely confined to young whites (28%), among whom her support is currently identical to that for Donald Trump (28%).

Table 1 also shows that third-party candidates continue to struggle with young adults, particularly young adults of color. While a relatively high proportion (relative to most years) of young whites say they will vote for Gary Johnson (15%), far fewer African Americans (2%), Asian Americans (5%), and Latino/as (6%) currently plan to support the Libertarian candidate. Green Party candidate Jill Stein is struggling to gain traction among young adults of any racial or ethnic group: only 3% of African Americans, 4% of Asian Americans, 2% of Latino/as, and 4% of whites plan to vote for Jill Stein in November.

³ In a May 2008, the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) found that young adults supported Obama over McCain 52%-39%, while a July 2012 CIRCLE poll showed that young adults supported Obama over Romney 55%-42%. See <http://civicyouth.org/romney-trails-among-young-adults/>.

Table 1: Support for the 2016 Presidential Candidates

	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	60	52	49	28	39
Donald Trump	2	14	8	28	19
Gary Johnson	2	5	6	15	10
Jill Stein	3	4	2	4	3
Someone else	7	4	8	4	5
Will probably not vote	14	12	18	12	14
Undecided	13	10	8	9	9
<i>N</i> =	572	309	520	507	1,958

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* = 1,958. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Part of the explanation for Hillary Clinton’s expanding support between our July and August surveys is the increasing number of Bernie Sanders supporters—especially African American, Latino/a and Asian American young adults—who now say they plan to vote for the Democratic nominee. In July, 48% of African American and Asian American, and 40% of Latino/a young adults who supported Sanders in the Democratic primaries said they would vote for Hillary Clinton in the fall. Table 2 presents current vote intention among Bernie Sanders supporters and each candidates net gain since July in parentheses. Support for Hillary Clinton has increased substantially among young people of color: 60% of Asian American, 55% of African American, and 47% of Latino/as Sanders supporters now say they will vote for Hillary Clinton. The growth in support Clinton has received from these Sanders supporters helps explain her overall improvement over the past month.

Once again, the story with young whites is different. In July, 43% of white Sanders supporters said they would vote for Clinton. In August, Clinton’s support among white Sanders supporters dropped slightly to 39%.⁴ By contrast, white Sanders supporters in August reported a substantial increase in support for Gary Johnson (20%) over their numbers in July (7%). Regarding Donald Trump, in July, 3% of white Sanders supporters said they would vote for Trump, nearly identical to the percentage who say so in our August survey (5%). **Thus, while young adults of color who**

⁴ We note that the differences between July and August are within the margins of error.

previously supported Bernie Sanders are coming around to support Hillary Clinton in large numbers, many white Sanders supporters continue to look elsewhere.

Table 2: Support for the 2016 Presidential Candidates among Bernie Sanders Supporters

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30
Hillary Clinton	55 (+7)	60 (+12)	47 (+7)	39 (-4)
Donald Trump	3 (+2)	4 (-2)	2 (-4)	5 (+2)
Gary Johnson	3 (-1)	7 (+3)	10 (+3)	20 (+13)
Jill Stein	5 (+2)	6 (-1)	4 (--)	10 (-1)
Someone else	10 (-3)	6 (+1)	11 (-3)	9 (-2)
Will probably not vote	13 (-6)	7 (-7)	20 (--)	8 (-7)
Undecided	12 (-1)	10 (-9)	7 (-2)	9 (-3)
<i>N</i> =	268	171	274	175

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? Results confined to respondents who said that they supported Bernie Sanders in the democratic primaries. In parentheses are net losses or gains in candidate support among Bernie Sanders supporter since July. *N* = 888. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Differences in vote intention for the two major party candidates are closely aligned with overall evaluations of the two candidates. As Table 3 shows, we continue to find a wide gap in perceptions of whether Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton are qualified for the presidency. **Majorities of people of color view Hillary Clinton as qualified to be president.** For African Americans and Latino/as, the perception that Hillary Clinton is qualified for the presidency has grown from July to August. There has been a 7-percentage point increase among African Americans and an 8-point increase among Latino/as in the belief that Hillary Clinton is qualified for the presidency.

Perceptions that Donald Trump is qualified for the presidency are much lower: 14% of African Americans, 17% of Asian Americans, 14% of Latino/as, and 31% of whites say that Donald Trump is qualified to president. These numbers have remained relatively consistent across our last three months of surveys. It seems that **Donald Trump has been unable to change the perception that he is unqualified for the presidency among young adults of all races and ethnicities.**

Table 3 also shows the percentage of respondents in each racial and ethnic group who rate the candidates as either “very” or “somewhat” favorable. Contrary to the narrative that both candidates are viewed as unfavorable by most Americans, we find that young adults of color view Hillary Clinton more favorably than not: majorities of African Americans (67%), Asian Americans (52%), and Latino/as (53%) view Clinton favorably.

Donald Trump’s favorability ratings among young adults of color are **much lower**: only 10% of African Americans and Latino/as and 14% of Asian Americans have favorable views of Donald Trump. It is exclusively among whites where both candidates are equally viewed as unfavorable: 30% of whites rate both Trump and Clinton favorably. We will continue to monitor this question in future surveys, paying special attention to whether Trump’s favorability improve with young adults of color given his current “outreach” to African American and Latino voters, encouraging them to “take a chance” and vote for him.

Table 3. Evaluations of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton

	African American adults 18-30		Asian American adults 18-30		Latino/a adults 18-30		Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30	
	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton
Percent who view candidate as Qualified to be President	14	78	17	67	14	66	31	42
Percent who view candidate favorably	10	67	14	52	10	53	30	30
Percent who view candidate as Honest and Trustworthy	9	54	13	35	11	42	29	17
N=	572		309		520		507	

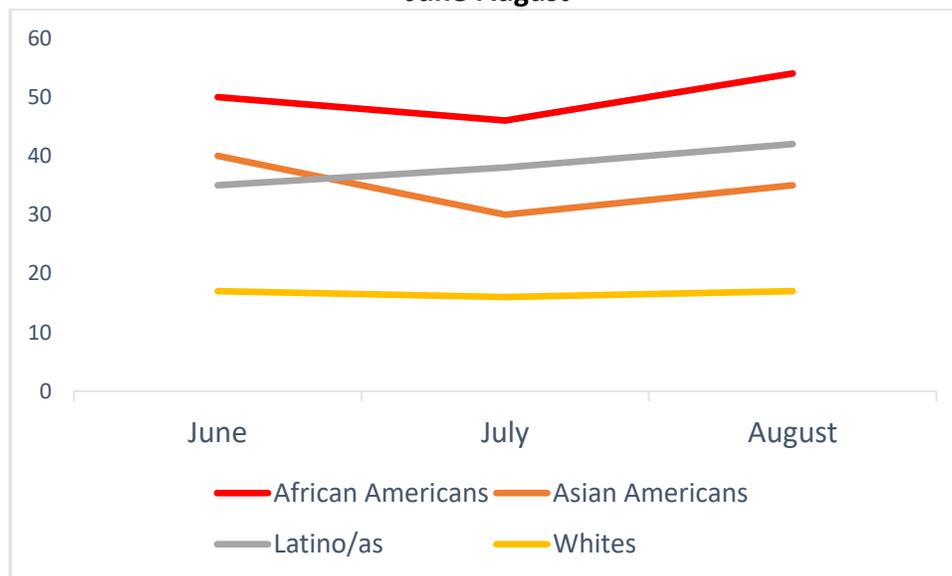
Question: See toplines for specific question wordings. *N* = 1,908.

Table 3 also reports that young adults have widely different views about whether the candidates are honest and trustworthy. African Americans (54%) are the most trusting of Hillary Clinton, reflecting their strong support for the Democratic nominee. African Americans (9%) are also the least trusting of Donald Trump. However, Hillary Clinton continues to struggle with Asian Americans (35%), Latino/as (42%), and especially

whites (17%), as only minorities of each group say that Hillary Clinton is honest and trustworthy. Of course, Donald Trump is also widely perceived as dishonest, as only 13% of Asian Americans and 11% of Latino/as say they trust Donald Trump. Only among whites is Donald Trump perceived as more honest (29%) than Hillary Clinton.

In Figure 1 we present the trend since June in evaluations of Hillary Clinton as honest and trustworthy. There was a slight decline between June and July among African Americans and Asian Americans in levels of trust in Clinton, possibly in response to FBI director’s James Comey’s criticism of Hillary Clinton’s email practices. But Clinton’s trust ratings have somewhat rebounded between July and August, especially among African Americans. Finally, we note the persistent divide between young people of color and young whites in trust in Hillary Clinton. Clinton has very serious trust deficits among white youth especially, while many (though rarely a majority) of people of color perceive Hillary Clinton as honest and trustworthy.⁵

Figure 1. Percent of Young Adults who believe Hillary Clinton is Honest and Trustworthy: June-August



All of these findings underscore the importance of race and ethnicity in structuring young adults’ evaluations of the two major presidential candidates in 2016. Contrary to the media narrative of two unpopular candidates who are struggling to appeal to young voters in particular, we find that African American, Latino/a and Asian American young adults of color are supportive of Hillary Clinton. While Clinton is not yet

⁵ These changes may not be statistically significant by the standard of overlapping confidence intervals.

receiving the same level of support from young adults of color as President Obama did in 2012, her support among African Americans, Latino/as, and Asian Americans has grown over the past month. On the other hand, young whites are more evenly divided between the two candidates and seem to be the most open to voting for a third-party candidate in 2016.

Young People's Assessments of the Vice Presidential Nominees

Just a few weeks before our August survey was in the field, both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton selected their running mates. Donald Trump picked Mike Pence, Governor of Indiana, and Hillary Clinton chose Tim Kaine, Senator from Virginia. What do young people think about these candidates and will their selection affect vote choice at the top of the ticket?

We find that young adults have little information about either candidate and their selection seems to have only minimal effects on who young people plan to vote for in November. Figures 2 and 3 display the percentages of respondents within each racial and ethnic group who have favorable and unfavorable evaluations of Tim Kaine and Mike Pence, respectively, along with the percentage who say they do not have enough information about the VP selection to form a positive or negative evaluation.

As Figure 2 shows, most young adults of all races and ethnicities report too little knowledge of Tim Kaine to rate him either favorably or unfavorably. We also find that 15% of African Americans, 21% of Asian Americans, 15% of whites, and 12% of Latinos view Tim Kaine favorably. For all groups except Latinos, Tim Kaine's favorable numbers are higher than his unfavorable numbers. Latinos have more or less evenly divided opinions, as 12% have favorable views and 14% have unfavorable views of the Democratic vice-presidential candidate.

Figure 2: Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Tim Kaine

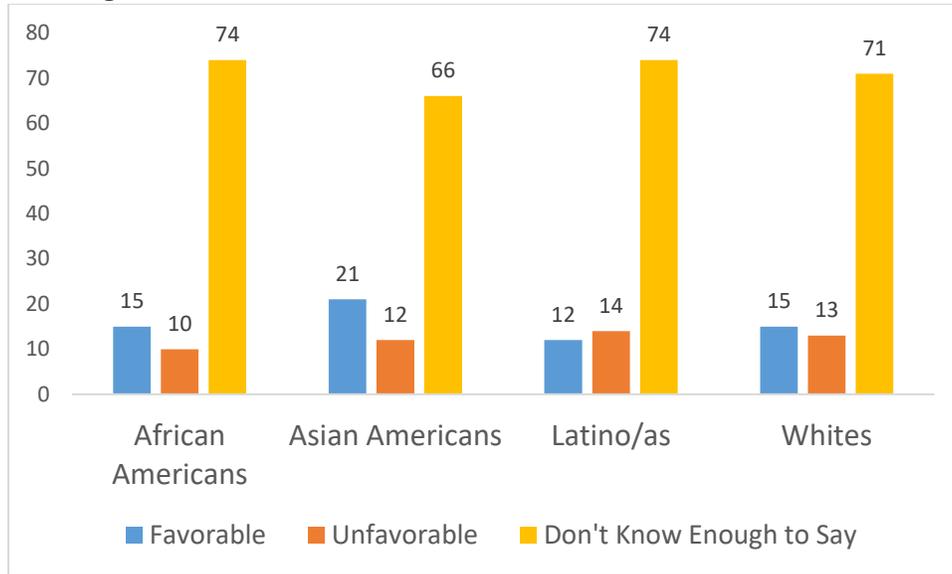
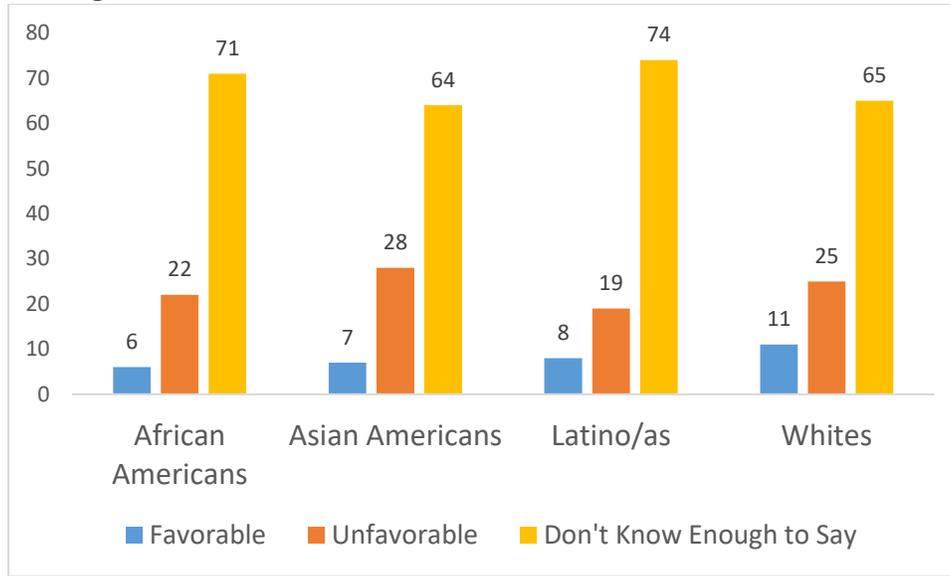


Figure 3 presents the favorable and unfavorable evaluations of Mike Pence. Again, we find that most young adults have too little information to form an evaluation. Even though our survey was fielded *after* the nominating conventions, both Tim Kaine and Mike Pence remain unknown among most young adults.

Among those who do know enough about the candidates to report having a favorable or unfavorable opinion, we find in Figure 2 that Tim Kaine tends to be viewed more favorably than not, while more people view Mike Pence (in Figure 3) unfavorably than view him favorably.

Compared to Tim Kaine, more young adults have unfavorable views of Mike Pence, as shown in Figure 3. Only 6% of African Americans, 7% of Asian Americans, 8% of Latinos, and 11% of whites view Mike Pence favorably. For each racial and ethnic group, Mike Pence's unfavorable numbers are greater than his favorable numbers. It seems that Mike Pence may have a limited ability to overcome Donald Trump's high unfavorable ratings and win young voters to the Republican ticket.

Figure 3: Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Mike Pence



Of course, party identification also shapes what young people think of the vice-presidential candidates. As Tables 4 and 5 show, within each racial group Democrats have more favorable evaluations of Tim Kaine than Republicans, except for African American Republicans who report higher favorables of Tim Kaine than African Americans Democrats. The pattern of shared party identification leading to higher favorables for the VP candidate holds for Mike Pence, with Republican young adults across race and ethnicity giving him higher favorables than Democrats.

Table 4. Evaluations of Tim Kaine, by Race and Partisanship

	African American adults 18-30			Asian American adults 18-30			Latino/a adults 18-30			Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30		
	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem	Rep	Ind
Favorable	15	20	9	30	4	0	16	1	11	29	5	6
Unfavorable	11	8	7	12	17	7	14	21	14	10	10	18
Don't Know Enough to Say	73	69	83	57	80	93	72	78	75	60	86	86
N=	463	76	29	232	32	43	354	80	84	237	71	198

Question: See topline for specific question wording. *N* = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Table 5. Evaluations of Mike Pence, by Race and Partisanship

	African American adults 18-30			Asian American adults 18-30			Latino/a adults 18-30			Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30		
	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem	Rep	Ind	Dem	Rep	Ind
Favorable	6	13	8	4	22	1	4	18	10	6	16	7
Unfavorable	23	6	17	36	14	12	25	8	8	41	14	12
Don't Know Enough to Say	71	69	75	59	65	87	71	74	80	53	70	81
N=	463	76	29	232	32	43	354	80	84	237	71	198

Question: See toplines for specific question wording. *N* = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Consistent with these findings, Table 6 further shows that most young adults say that the vice-presidential selections will have limited effects on who they vote for this fall. Majorities of all racial and ethnic groups say that neither vice-presidential candidate will affect their vote for Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump. In short, the vice-presidential candidates are largely unknown at this point by young adults, and they seem to have minimal effects on who young adults plan to vote for come November.

Table 6. Will the Vice-Presidential Candidates Affect Vote Choice in 2016?

	African American adults 18-30		Asian American adults 18-30		Latino/a adults 18-30		Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30	
	Tim Kaine	Mike Pence	Tim Kaine	Mike Pence	Tim Kaine	Mike Pence	Tim Kaine	Mike Pence
More Likely	17	5	13	6	17	6	6	13
Less Likely	8	28	5	18	7	22	11	13
Does Not Affect My Vote	51	50	63	62	56	53	69	61
Not Sure	21	7	19	12	20	19	14	12
N=	572		309		520		507	

Question: Does the selection of [Tim Kaine / Mike Pence] for Vice President on the [Democratic / Republican] ticket make you more or less likely to vote for [Hillary Clinton / Donald Trump]. *N* = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

How Engaged Will Young Voters be in the 2016 Election?

The degree to which young adults are a crucial constituency in 2016 will partly depend on the extent to which they turn out to vote. Will young voters go to the polls on Election Day, or will they stay home?

To provide some insight into what youth turnout in 2016 might look like, we asked our respondents how interested they were in the campaigns and their likelihood of voting in November. We know that individuals are more likely to vote when they are interested in the campaign, so these questions can provide useful information about how many young people may participate in the 2016 election.⁶

In Table 7 we present results showing the level of interest young adults report in news about the upcoming presidential election. We find that majorities of African Americans (50%), Asian Americans (55%), Latino/as (50%), and whites (53%), express either “a great deal” or “quite a bit” of interest in news about the 2016 election. Only a very small minority of individuals in each group reports “no interest at all” in the election. To the extent that news interest in the campaign leads to voting behavior, these results suggest that voting in 2016 among young adults may exceed the 45% of young adults who voted in 2012.⁷

Table 7: Interest in News about the 2016 Presidential Election

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non- Hispanic white adults 18-30
A Great Deal / Quite a Bit	50	55	50	53
Only Some / Very Little	37	40	38	39
No Interest at All	13	4	11	7
N=	572	309	520	507

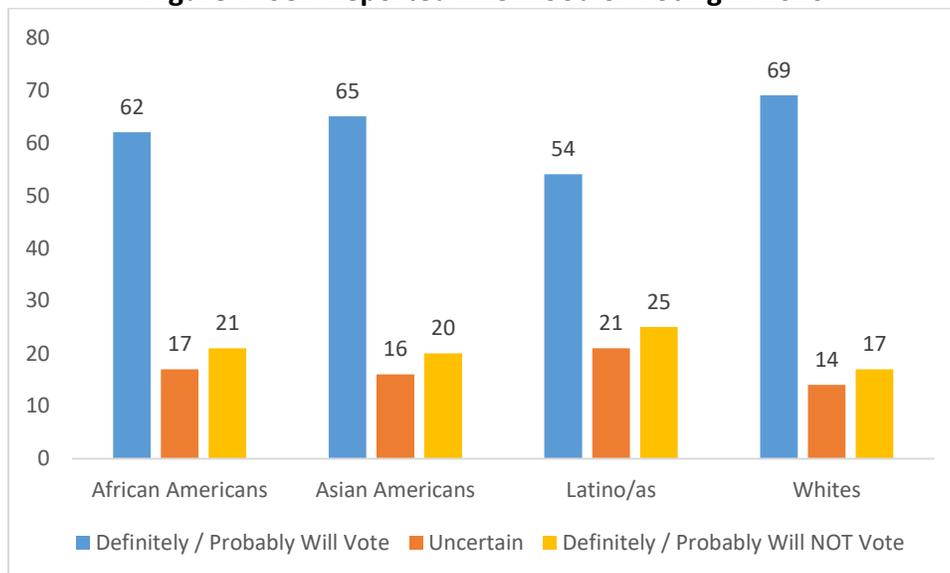
Question: How much interest do you have in following news about the upcoming presidential election? *N* = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

⁶ See the following report by Pew Research Center: <http://www.pewresearch.org/2016/01/07/can-likely-voter-models-be-improved/>

⁷ This estimate is obtained from U.S. Census Bureau’s Current Population Survey: <https://www.census.gov/prod/2014pubs/p20-573.pdf>

However, as we present in Figure 4, relatively large percentages of our sample express doubts about whether they will vote in the 2016 general election, with 38% of African Americans, 36 % of Asian Americans, 46% of Latino/as, and 35% of whites saying that they are uncertain or definitely / probably will not vote in 2016. In contrast to the question showing interest in news about the election, these numbers indicate that a large percentage of young voters across all racial and ethnic groups are currently not energized by the candidates or issues in the 2016 presidential campaign. These data may point to the importance of mobilization efforts by the presidential campaigns, organized interests, and community organizations to ensure that young people again turn out to vote at high rates.

Figure 4: Self-Reported Likelihood of Voting in 2016



Question: How likely are you to vote in the presidential election being held in November?
N = 1,908. Entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

What Issues Concern Young Adults?

In order to expand their support from young adults, both the candidates and the political parties often try to highlight those issues about which they believe that young people are most concerned. We find that young adults from different racial and ethnic backgrounds differ in what they think the most important issues are facing America. In Table 10 below we list the three most important problems identified by young African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/as, and whites.

Table 8 shows that, among African Americans, police brutality (42%) and racism (40%) top the list of most important issues, echoing what we found in our July survey. Given continuing racial inequalities in society and the number of police killings of African Americans, it is perhaps no surprise that these two issues top the list of young African Americans' concerns. The third most cited problem this month for African Americans is education (26%).

Racism is also a top concern for Asian Americans (29%) and Latino/as (29%). And while not one of the top three issues to young whites, racism is still widely perceived as an important problem among white respondents (22%). There is widespread concern about racism in American society among young adults. Will one of the candidates follow the lead of young voters and seriously discuss issues of racism in this country?

There is also fairly widespread concern about education among our respondents. Asian Americans (24%), whites (24%), Latino/as and African Americans (26%) all view education as an important problem.

The other most important problems tend to vary by race and ethnicity. As shown in Table 8, immigration is cited by young Latino/as (36%) more than any other issue. The issue of immigration has been a top issue for Latino/a young adults in each of the three surveys we have fielded since June. Asian Americans (35%) cite gun control more than any other issue as the most important problem facing America. And young whites (30%) are most concerned about terrorism and homeland security.

Table 8: 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	Police Brutality (42%)	Gun Control (35%)	Immigration (36%)	Terrorism and Homeland Security (30%)
Second most cited problem	Racism (40%)	Racism (29%)	Racism (29%)	Education (24%)
Third most cited problem	Education (26%)	Education (24%)	Terrorism and Homeland Security (28%)	National Debt (23%)
N=	572	309	520	507

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 topline). *N* = 1,892. The percentage of respondents listing each issue as one of the three most important problems is listed in parentheses.

II. Policing in America

The past few years have highlighted the uneasy relationships between police and local communities in many parts of America and for many residents of those communities. Police killings of African Americans from Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri to the shooting of Alton Sterling in Louisiana, along with many others, has made police violence against African Americans much more visible and one of the nation's central political issues. The Black Lives Matter movement has mobilized around cases of police brutality, along with other issues, and aims to end police violence, hold police officers accountable for harassing and committing violence against African Americans, and change what many African Americans believe is a broken system of policing.

At the same time, shootings of police in Dallas, Texas and in Baton Rouge, Louisiana this year have further heightened tensions between communities, especially communities of color, and the police. Furthermore, Donald Trump's calls for "law and order" seek to capitalize on these tensions and mobilize individuals who are primarily concerned about violence against police.

Given the tense relations between police and citizens, especially within the African American community, we wanted to know how young adults' experiences with and perceptions of the police varied across race and ethnicity. We also investigate what young adults think about police violence against Black Americans and their attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter movement. Finally, we examine which policies and presidential candidate young adults believe would best address police violence in America.

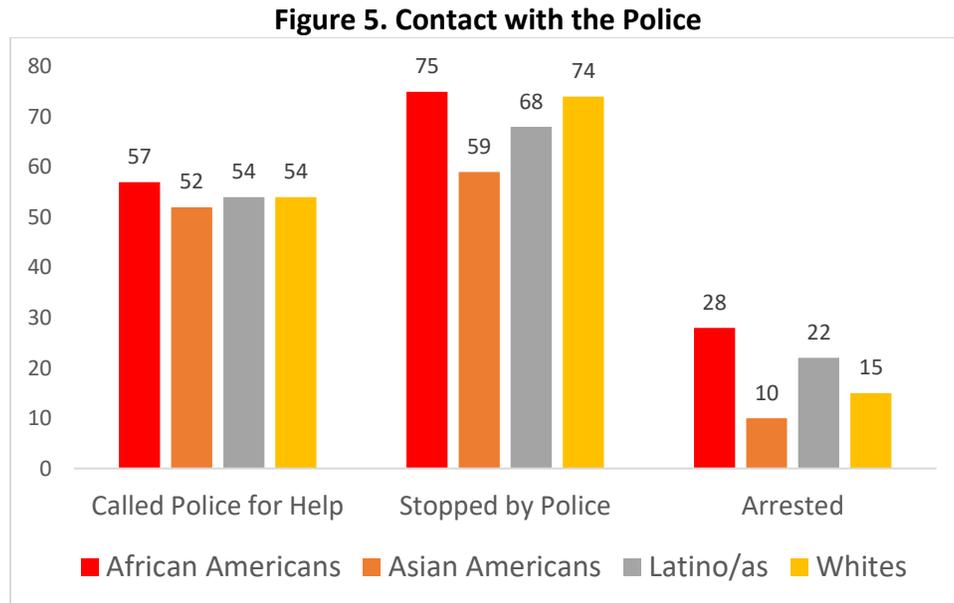
Experiences with and Perceptions of the Police

How does race and ethnicity structure young adults' interactions with police? Figure 5 shows the percentage of respondents in each racial and ethnic group who have called the police for help, been stopped by the police, and have been arrested. These data allow us to begin fleshing out what encounters between police and young people look like and how these experiences vary across race and ethnicity.

First, we find that majorities of African Americans (57%), Asian Americans (52%), Latino/as (54%) and Whites (54%) all report calling the police for help at similar rates. We also find similarities between African American (75%) and white (74%) young

adults in self-reported rates of being stopped by the police. Latino/as (68%) and Asian Americans (59%) report being stopped by police at lower rates.

Strikingly, while African American and white youth are stopped by police at similar rates, Figure 5 also shows that arrest rates vary widely between the two groups. African Americans (28%) are almost twice as likely to be arrested than white (15%) youth, even though the two groups report being stopped by police at similar rates. Latino/a (22%) arrest are also higher than white youth, despite reporting being stopped less frequently than whites. In short, young adults have different experiences with police based on their race and ethnicity. While being stopped by police at similar rates to white youth, young African Americans and Latino/as are more likely to end up being arrested.



Question: See topline for specific question wordings. N = 1,908.

There are even starker differences between racial and ethnic groups in terms of experiencing harassment or violence at the hands of police. As we show in Table 9, 24% of African Americans say that they personally have experienced harassment or violence by police, compared to just 8% for white young adults. While Latino/as (16%) report higher rates than whites of direct police harassment and violence, Asian Americans (4%) report the lowest rates of such encounters.

African Americans are also the most likely to know someone who has experienced harassment or violence by the police. More than half (53%) of African American young

adults say they know someone who has experienced police harassment, a much higher figure than Asian Americans (26%), Latino/as (35%), and whites (22%). In short, young African Americans have distinctly negative experiences with police officers, including being arrested and experiencing harassment and violence by police at much higher rates than other racial and ethnic groups.

Table 9: Harassment or Violence by the Police [Check all that Apply]

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Yes, me	24	4	16	8
Yes, someone I know	53	26	35	22
N=	572	309	520	507

Question: Have you or anyone you know experienced harassment or violence at the hands of the police? [Check all that apply]. *N* = 1,908.

We emphasize that the data shown above on young adults’ experiences with the police are all based on survey respondents’ self-reports. We cannot say with any certainty how well these data reflect actual rates of arrest and experiences with police violence among this population, in large part because validated data on these issues is not available. As recent debates in the media have made clear, data on arrest rates and police violence are often not collected or made available, and are extremely unreliable when they are.⁸ Our survey results add a valuable data point to the conversation and show that young people report very different experiences with police across racial and ethnic groups. While we do not expect these data will be the final word, they do suggest that differential experiences across racial and ethnic groups with police and the criminal justice system can result even when young adults of all groups are stopped by the police at relatively equal rates.

These different experiences are likely to affect young adults’ perceptions of the police. Table 10 presents data on young adults trust in police and their belief that police in their neighborhood are there to protect them. First, we note that there are widely different levels of trust in the police across racial and ethnic groups. Seventy-three percent of white young adults say that they “always” or “often” trust police to do what is right.

⁸ See, e.g., https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/07/11/arent-more-white-people-than-black-people-killed-by-police-yes-but-no/?utm_term=.b1521a841a8a; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/national/2015/08/08/black-and-unarmed/>; <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/18/upshot/police-killings-of-blacks-what-the-data-says.html? r=0>; <http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/07/data-police-racial-bias>.

By comparison, only 26% of African American young adults “always” or “often” trust police to do what is right. These are glaring differences, partly reflecting the distinctive experiences white and African American young adults have with the police. Trust in the police to do what is right among Asian Americans (50%) and Latino/as (48%) falls right in-between the levels of trust among African Americans and whites.

Table 10 also shows large differences between African Americans and white respondents in beliefs that police in one’s neighborhood are there to protect them. Only a minority of African Americans (48%) young adults believe that the police in their neighborhood are there to protect them; a majority either says they are not there to protect them (24%), or respond by saying they “Don’t Know” (28%). By contrast, 80% of white youth believe that police in their neighborhood are there to protect them. Asian Americans (74%) and Latino/a (66%) young adults are also more likely than not to believe that the police in their neighborhood are there to protect them.

Table 10: Perceptions of the Police

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Always / Often Trust Police	26	50	48	73
Believe Police are there to Protect them	48	74	66	80
N=	572	309	520	507

Question: See topline for specific question wording. *N* = 1,908.

Young adults seem to recognize these disparities in the treatment of different groups by the police. As Table 11 shows, majorities of all young adults said that they believe the police treat some groups better than others. But there are still differences across race and ethnicity in response to this question: 90% of African Americans, compared to 63% of whites, said that the police treat some groups better than others. Asian Americans (81%) and Latino/as (84%) fall much closer to African Americans in that most believe there are inconsistencies in how the police treat certain groups.

Table 11: Perceptions of Police Discrimination

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Treat all groups equally	10	18	15	37
Treat some groups better than others	90	81	84	63
N=	572	309	520	507

Question: Do you think the police treat all groups equally, or do they treat some groups better than others? N = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Table 12 presents the results of a follow-up question which asks those individuals who said that they believe the police treat some groups better than others to identify which groups they think are mistreated by the police. As Table 12 shows, overwhelmingly young adults from all racial and ethnic groups report that Africans Americans as a group are mistreated by the police. More than 90% of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino/as say that the police mistreat African Americans, along with 87% of whites. Young adults across race and ethnicity also widely agree that second only to Black Americans, Lationo/as are similarly mistreated by the police.

Table 12: Which Groups Are Mistreated by the Police?

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
African Americans	95	94	94	87
Asian Americans	10	38	10	12
Latino/as	69	77	87	76
Whites	3	3	2	10
Native Americans	23	31	28	26
Poor people	50	68	58	73
Lesbians and Gays	25	26	35	33
Transgender men and women	30	34	38	45
Women	16	10	12	17
Men	34	8	17	23
Immigrants	49	71	75	67
N=	521	261	442	351

Question: Which groups are more likely to be mistreated by the police? [Check all that apply]. N = 1,575.

There are also a number of other interesting patterns in this data. First, there seems to be a widespread tendency for individuals to perceive their own group as being mistreated by police. For example, both Asian Americans and whites are more likely than other groups to perceive members of their own racial group as being mistreated by police. Second, African Americans perceive less mistreatment by police of poor people (50%) and immigrants (49%) compared to Asian American, Latino/a, and white young adults. African Americans' negative experiences with police may reinforce a view that police harassment is primarily due to only racial considerations, while other groups are more likely to attribute police mistreatment to additional factors, including social class and immigrant status.

Black Lives Matter

The Black Lives Matter movement emerged in large part as a response to the killing of African Americans by both vigilantes and the police. The movement organizes for an end to police brutality, accountability for police who commit unlawful killings and harassment, the full transformation of policing in this country, reparations and investment in black communities.⁹ We wanted to know the extent to which young adults share the concerns of the Black Lives Matter movement about the killing of Black people by police, as well as their perceptions of and attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter movement itself.

Table 13 presents data on the extent to which young adults think that the killing of Black people by the police is a serious issue. As is clear, there are wide discrepancies across race and ethnicity in the extent to which young adults think that this is a serious problem. Ninety-one percent of young African Americans rate the killing of Black people by police as either "extremely" or "very" serious, compared to just 43% of whites. This is a dramatic gap, and it underscores why this issue and the Black Lives Matter movement has been so controversial for many white Americans. It is important to note that majorities of Latino/a and Asian American young adults, like Black Americans, register the killing of black people by police as an extremely or very serious problem.

⁹ See for example, "Vision for Black Lives: Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom and Justice," <https://policy.m4bl.org> and "Agenda to Build Black Futures," <http://agendatobuildblackfutures.org>

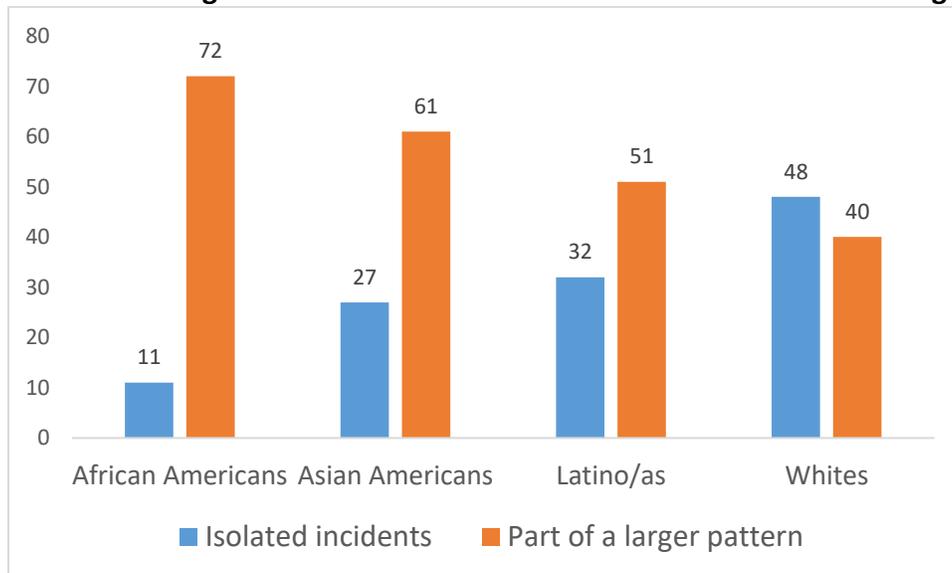
Table 13: How Serious is the Killing of Black People by Police?

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Extremely / Very Serious	91	63	71	43
Moderately Serious	6	22	19	30
Not too / at all Serious	3	13	11	27
N=	572	309	520	507

Question: How serious a problem do you think the killing of Black people by the police is in the United States? *N* = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Our data also unveils differences across racial and ethnic groups in how young adults interpret the recent high-profile killings of African Americans by police. As Figure 6 shows, large majorities of young African American adults (72%) believe police killings of Black Americans are part of a larger pattern rather than isolated incidents, and smaller majorities of Asian Americans (61%) and Latino/as (51%) also tend to see police killings of Black Americans as part of a larger pattern. Young white adults are more evenly split, with 48% believing police killings of African Americans are part of a larger pattern and 41% believing they are isolated incidents.

Figure 6: Are Police Killings of Black Americans Isolated Incidents or Part of a Larger Pattern?



Question: Do you think recent killings of Black Americans by police are isolated incidents or part of a larger pattern in the police’s treatment of Black Americans? *N* = 1,908. Entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

We find much more agreement across racial and ethnic groups in how young people think about violence against the police. Specifically, when asked how serious a problem violence against the police is, the majority of all young people agreed it was an extremely or very serious problem. As Table 14 shows, 60% of African American, 54% of Asian American, 65% of Latino/a and 63% of white young adults think that violence against police is an extremely or very serious problem.

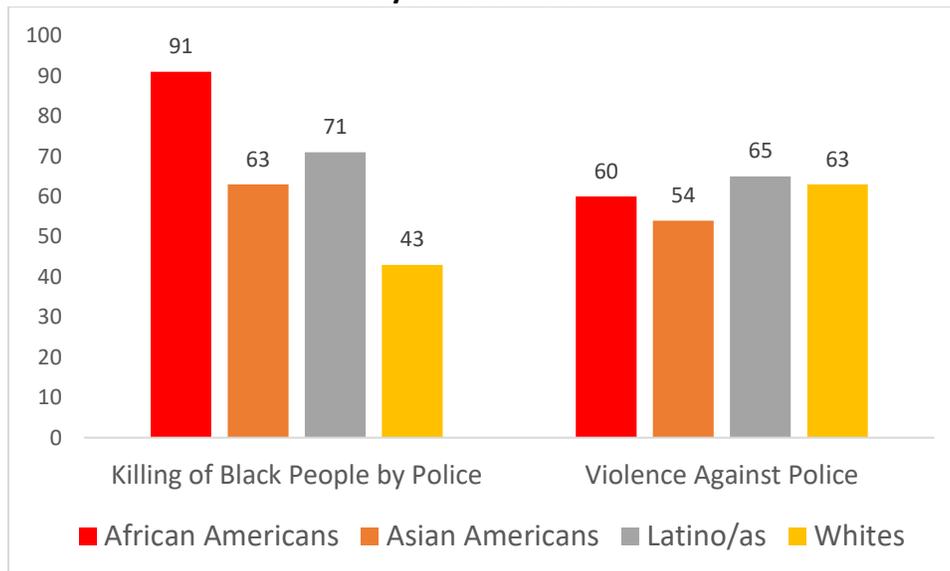
Table 14: How Serious is Violence Against the Police?

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	White adults 18-30
Extremely / Very Serious	60	54	65	63
Moderately Serious	22	32	25	25
Not too / at all Serious	18	12	10	13
N=	572	309	520	507

Question: How serious a problem do you think the killing of Black people by the police is in the United States? *N* = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Figure 7 below shows how perceptions of the severity of police violence against African Americans and violence against police vary across race and ethnicity. As is clear on the right-hand side of the figure, young adults are in relative agreement that violence against police is a serious problem. But, as the left-side of the figure shows, young adults are more divided over the severity of police killings of Black Americans. There is a difference of nearly 50 percentage points between African Americans and whites in the extent to which the killing of Black people by police is perceived as an extremely or very serious problem. In comparing responses to the two questions, African American responses prioritize the killing of Black people by the police, while Latino/as and Asian Americans place roughly equal priority on both. In contrast, young white adults believe violence *against* the police is a more serious issue than violence *from* the police.

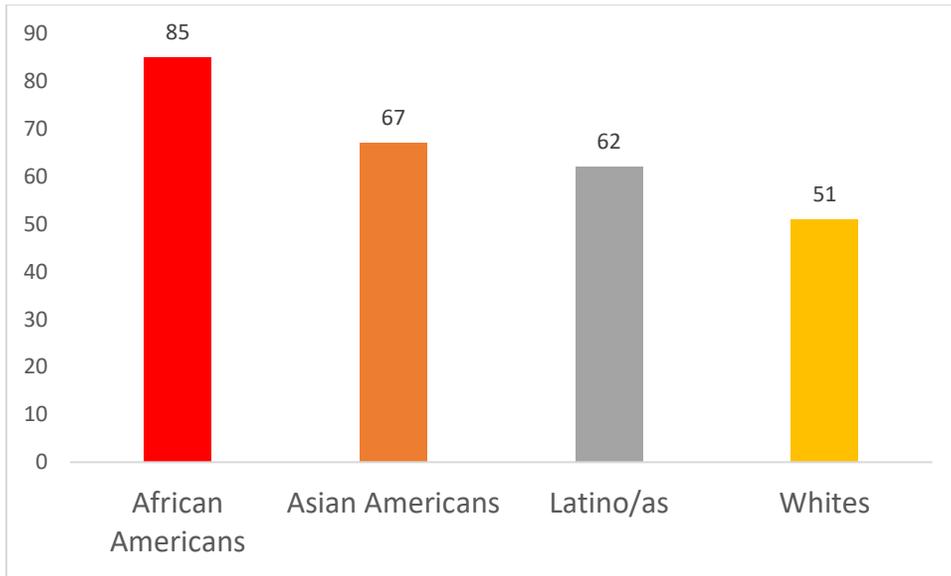
Figure 7: Percentage of Respondents Who Believe the Following Issues are an Extremely or Very Serious Problem



Given the centrality of the killing of Black people by the police to the Black Lives Matter movement, we might expect to see large differences across race and ethnicity in support for the movement. In our June survey we found that this was the case: at that time 41% of young whites supported Black Lives Matter compared to 84% of African Americans.

As shown in Figure 8, in our August survey, majorities of all racial and ethnic groups support the Black Lives Matter movement, even young white adults (51%). And while majorities of all young adults now support the Black Lives Matter movement, there remains a sizeable gap between African Americans and others—particularly whites—in their backing of the movement.

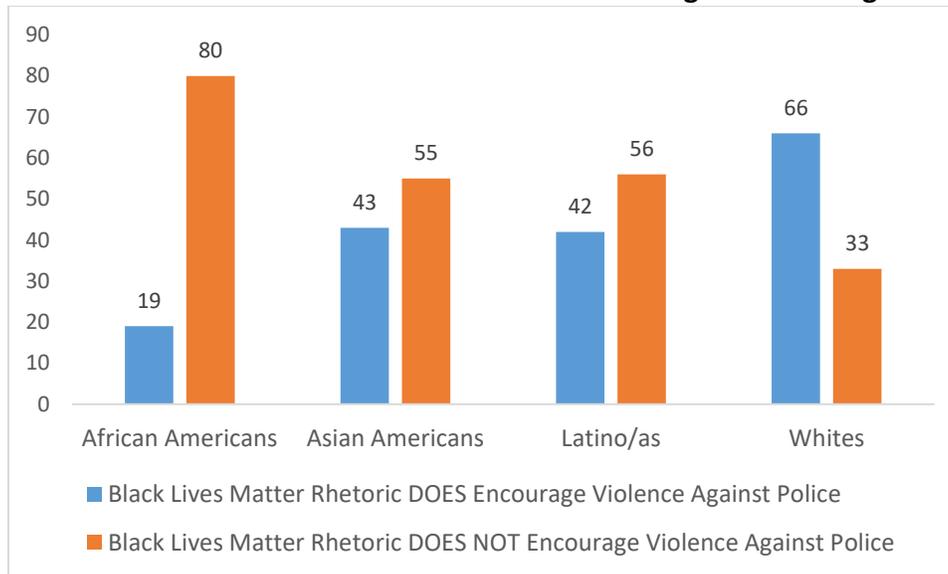
Figure 8: Percent of Individuals Who Strongly or Somewhat Support the Black Lives Matter Movement



Question: Recently there has been a lot of talk about the Black Lives Matter movement and policing in America. We would like to know your opinions on these issues. From what you have heard or read about the movement called #BlackLivesMatter, do you...
N = 1,908. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

While a majority of young adults of all races and ethnicities now indicate support for the Black Lives Matter movement, we also see significant differences in whether young adults believe that the rhetoric of the movement might encourage violence. Figure 9 presents the results from a survey question asking whether people **do** or **do not** believe that Black Lives Matter’s rhetoric encourages violence against police. A majority (66%) of whites said that they believe that Black Lives Matter’s rhetoric does encourage violence against police, compared to 43% for Asian Americans, 42% for Latino/as, and 19% for African Americans.

Figure 9: Does the Rhetoric of Black Lives Matter Encourage Violence Against Police?



Question: Some people have said that the rhetoric of the Black Lives Matter movement has encouraged recent shootings of police in Dallas, TX and Baton Rouge, LA. Others say that the Black Lives Matter movement does not encourage violence, and that recent police shootings were simply caused by disturbed individuals. Do you believe that the rhetoric of the Black Lives Matter movement does or does not encourage violence against police? *N* = 1,908. Entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

In sum, our data suggests that the Black Lives Matter movement has substantial support from young adults. Young African Americans, in particular, recognize the killing of Black Americans by police as an extremely or very serious problem. They see these shootings as part of a larger problem in the treatment of African Americans by the police and give strong support to the Black Lives Matter movement. Many Asian Americans and Latinos share these concerns and similarly give their support to the movement. And while young white Americans are less likely to recognize these problems or support the movement, we also find that a slight majority of young white adults do support the Black Lives Matter movement. At the same time, however, young adults are relatively unified in their belief that violence against police is a serious problem. Furthermore, many young adults, particularly whites, are concerned that the rhetoric of the Black Lives Matter movement may encourage violence against police. Our findings suggest that views about the Black Lives Matter movement among young adults are more nuanced and complicated than may typically be assumed.

What Policies will Prevent Police Violence Against Civilians?

What do young adults think should be done to prevent police violence? Our final subsection on policing considers what young adults think about how both the presidential candidates as well as a series of policy proposals might work to prevent police violence. The policy proposals we consider include a range of ideas that have been discussed as efforts to prevent police violence, including: the requirement that police wear video cameras, the use of special prosecutors in cases where police commit violence against a civilian, limiting police use of military equipment, and the adoption of community policing. In general, we find widespread agreement that many of these measures would be effective, though community policing seems to be thought of as one of the least effective solutions to police violence.

The percentage of respondents who thinks each of these policies would be “extremely” or “very” effective is presented in Table 15. As is evident, majorities of individuals within each racial and ethnic group believe that a number of measures may be effective at reducing police violence.

The proposal that is believed to be most effective in Table 15 among young Asian Americans (71%), Latino/as (71%), and whites (71%) is a proposal to require on-duty police officers to wear video cameras. The use of cameras has recently been proposed as a possible strategy to help prevent police violence, and many young adults have come to believe that it would be an effective policy. African Americans are slightly less convinced with only 62% believing that video cameras would prevent police violence.

The proposals that young African Americans believe would be most effective include: setting stricter criteria for the use of deadly force by police officers and requiring a special prosecutor in cases where police commit violence against a civilian (both 68%). Majorities of Asian Americans and Latino/as agree that both policies may be effective, but whites are less convinced that stricter criteria for the use of deadly force would help prevent police violence (48%).

Another policy that has been widely discussed as a solution to police violence is limiting the use of military equipment by police officers. Majorities of African Americans (60%), Asian Americans (52%), and Latino/as (62%) believe that this would help prevent police violence, while whites again are more skeptical (44%).

Finally, we note that community oversight of police (in the form of either a community accountability board or by adopting community policing) is believed to be far less

effective than the other policy initiatives we asked about. A minority of Asian Americans (47%), Latino/as (43%), and whites (42%) believe that community accountability boards would prevent police violence. Only a majority of African Americans (56%) think that this proposal might be effective. Young adults across racial and ethnic categories are also somewhat skeptical of community policing, though majorities of African Americans (51%), Asian Americans (57%), and whites (53%) do think this policy would be effective.

Table 15: Views about Effectiveness of Policies to Prevent Police Violence

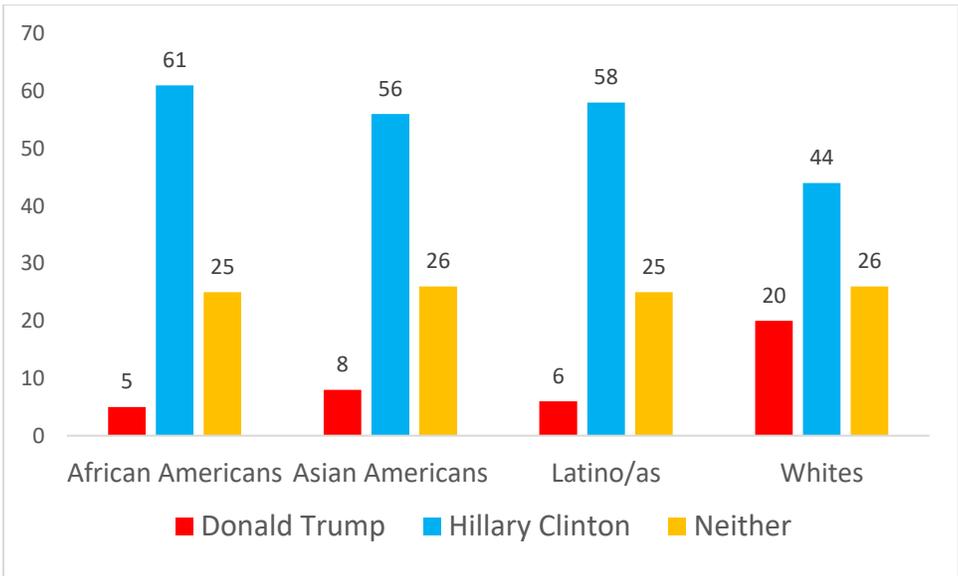
(% Extremely or Very Effective)	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non-Hispanic White adults 18-30
Requiring on-duty police to wear video cameras	62	71	71	71
Setting stricter criteria for the use of deadly force by police officers	68	61	68	48
Requiring a special prosecutor when a civilian is injured or killed by police	68	58	66	51
Setting limits on police use of military equipment	60	52	62	44
Making it more difficult to jail people for minor violations	60	57	51	46
Putting police under supervision of community accountability boards	56	47	43	42
Adopting community policing	51	57	47	53

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. *N* = 1,892.

Finally, we asked our sample of young adults, the question: “regardless of who they intend to vote for, which presidential candidate would better handle: (1) police violence against African Americans, and (2) attacks against the police.”

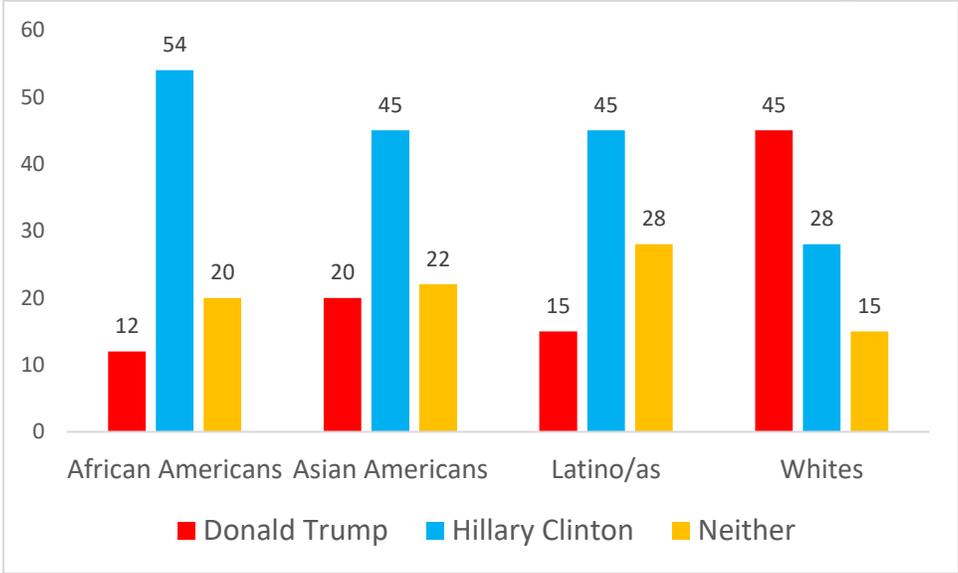
In Figure 10 we see that Hillary Clinton is widely viewed as more capable than Donald Trump of handling **police violence against African Americans** by all groups. Only whites give more than a modicum of support to Donald Trump (20%) as being more capable of handling police violence against African Americans. Also noteworthy is the relatively substantial numbers (around 25% in each racial and ethnic group) who respond that “neither” candidate will effectively address police violence against African Americans.

Figure 10. Views about Which Candidate Would Best Address Police Violence Against African Americans



We also asked our sample which candidate would best handle **attacks against police**. The results (presented in Figure 11) are similar for African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino/as, though less pronounced. Young adults of color believe that Hillary Clinton is also better able to handle attacks against the police. For young whites the response is quite different with more young whites believing that Donald Trump would better handle attacks against the police (45%) than Hillary Clinton (28%).

Figure 11. Views about Which Candidate Would Best Address Attacks Against the Police



Thus, young adults of color think that Hillary Clinton would better handle both police violence against African Americans and attacks against police, while young whites perceive the candidates as having different strengths on these issues. Consistent with Donald Trump's claims that he is the "law and order" candidate, young whites see him as more effective at preventing attacks against police. But when the topic is violence against African Americans by police, young white adults agree with young adults of color that Hillary Clinton is best able to address this pressing issue.

III. Immigration

Immigration is one of the central issues in American politics today. Though immigration reform was a top priority in President Obama's 2008 campaign, he and the Congress have been unable to agree on a comprehensive set of reforms. And while polls repeatedly show that a majority of Americans support some pathway to citizenship for individuals who are here illegally, Congress has repeatedly failed to pass comprehensive immigration reform despite some previous bipartisan support for such an initiative.¹⁰

Immigration has also been a key issue in the 2016 presidential campaign. Beginning with his announcement to enter the presidential race, Donald Trump has sought to capitalize on public dissatisfaction with the current immigration system. Previously he touted a number of restrictive immigration measures, such as building a wall along the Mexican border and banning Muslims or individuals from countries with terrorist activities from entering the country as the centerpiece of his candidacy. More recently, Mr. Trump has adopted what can only be termed a sizeable shift in his immigration policy agenda, now including proposals that might provide a pathway to citizenship for those who are currently undocumented.

Our August survey seeks to understand what young adults think about immigrants and immigration policy in the United States today. Do young adults believe that immigrants represent a threat to American culture or take jobs away from individuals born in the United States? And what do young people think about the many immigration policy initiatives that today are front and center in our political discourse: providing a path to citizenship, deporting immigrants here illegally, and building a wall along the Mexican border?

Immigration is also an issue where there are likely to be stark differences across race and ethnicity. Latino/as and Asian Americans, in particular, are apt to have distinct experiences with the immigration system that may shape their views of immigrants and policy preferences on this issue. Indeed, we find that whereas 80 and 90 percent of our African Americans and White respondents come from backgrounds where both parents were born in the United States, only 9 and 27 percent of Asian Americans and Latino/as young adults in our sample come from similar backgrounds. Large majorities of Asian

¹⁰ For example, a 2015 Gallup poll shows 65% of US adults favor some path to citizenship for immigrants who are here illegally: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/184577/favor-path-citizenship-illegal-immigrants.aspx>

Americans (89%) and Latino/as (68%) are first or second generation immigrants.¹¹ These differences are likely to be manifest in young peoples' attitudes toward immigration.

In the final section of our report, we directly examine how generational status affects young Asian Americans' and Latino/as' views of immigrants and immigration policy. We observe some substantial differences in immigration attitudes based on generational status, with individuals who have family backgrounds with more recent immigrant experience regularly espousing more progressive views. We bring these attitudes to the fore in an effort to expand the political debate to include those with more proximate experience with immigrating to the United States.

Attitudes Toward Immigrants

We start by considering young adults' attitudes toward immigrants themselves. Are young people concerned that immigrants threaten their economic future? Do young adults think that immigrants strengthen American culture? Do they think that the marginalized status of some immigrants is a product of their failure to work hard?

As shown in Table 16, young adults across all races and ethnicities have relatively sanguine attitudes toward immigrants. Only a minority of African Americans (43%), whites (49%), Asian Americans (30%), and Latino/as (25%) **believe that immigrants take jobs, housing, or healthcare away from people born in the United States.** African Americans and whites are more likely to worry that immigrants take economic benefits from people who are born here than Asian Americans and Latino/as.

Correspondingly, majorities of African Americans (63%), Asian Americans (76%), Latino/as (75%), and whites (59%) believe that **immigrants are changing American culture for the better.** We also see widespread rejection of the idea that immigrants need to work harder to adopt American culture and customs as their own. Only 25% of African Americans, 26% of Asian Americans, 24% of Latino/as, and 30% of whites

¹¹ The term first-generation immigrant refers to individuals who were born in another country and immigrated to the United States. Second-generation immigrants are those who had at least one parent born in another country and immigrated to the United States. We treat respondents who state that they were born in another country or have at least one parent who was born outside of the United States as a first or second generation immigrant, while individuals born in the United States and say that both of their parents were born inside the United States are categorized as third-generation or later.

agreed that immigrants would be better accepted by Americans if they tried harder to fit in.

Young adults of all races and ethnicities thus have quite **positive attitudes toward immigrants**. Of course, it is also worth noting that young Asian Americans and Latino/as stand out as having the most optimistic views of immigrants compared to both African Americans and whites.

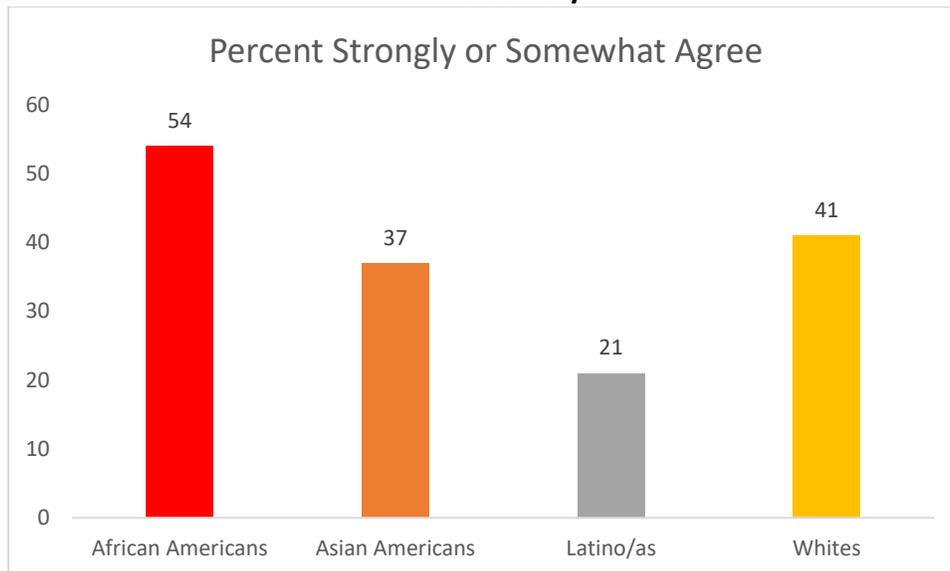
Table 16: Attitudes about Immigrants

(% Strongly or Somewhat Agree)	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30
Immigrants, especially from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, take jobs, housing and healthcare away from people born in the United States	43	30	25	49
If immigrants only tried harder to fit in, then more Americans would accept their cultural differences	25	26	24	30
Immigrants are changing American culture and way of life for the better	63	76	75	59
<i>N</i> =	572	309	520	507

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. *N* = 1,892.

In contrast with the generally positive sentiments documented in Table 16, a majority of young African Americans (54%) agree with the statement that the government treats most immigrants better than it treats most Black people born in this country. As we show in Figure 12, Asian Americans (37%), Latino/as (21%), and whites (41%) are more likely than not to disagree with this statement. Thus, while African American young adults generally espouse progressive beliefs about immigration, majorities believe that government privileges immigrants over native-born Black Americans.

Figure 12. Government Treats Most Immigrants Better than it Treats Most Black People Born in this Country



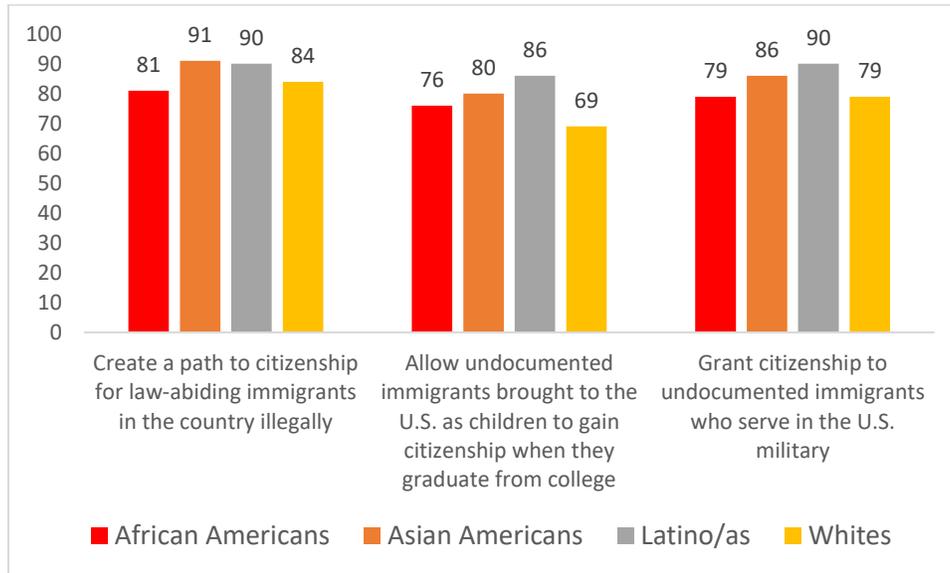
Immigration Policy Preferences

Along with their attitudes toward immigrants themselves, we also wanted to know what policy preferences young people favor to address immigration in the United States. Politicians from Donald Trump to Barack Obama have offered a number of policy proposals to reform our current immigration system, ranging from a pathway to citizenship to the deportation of those who are undocumented. Our survey provides an in-depth look at what young African Americans, Latino/as, Asian Americans and whites think about these various immigration proposals.

First, and as we illustrate in Figure 13, young adults give widespread support to a number of policy proposals that would grant citizenship status to immigrants who are currently undocumented. Large majorities of young African Americans (81%), Asian Americans (91%), Latino/as (90%), and whites (84%) **support creating a path to citizenship for law-abiding immigrants who are here illegally**. African Americans (76%), Asian Americans (80%), Latino/as (86%), and whites (69%) also support granting citizenship to undocumented immigrants who were brought to the United States as children upon graduating from college. And majorities of all racial and ethnic groups also support granting citizenship to immigrants without documentation who serve in the U.S. military.

Once again, we find that Asian Americans and Latino/as are more supportive of policies that would grant undocumented immigrants citizenship status. But African Americans and whites are also supportive of each of these three policy proposals.

Figure 13. Support for Various Proposals to Grant Citizenship to Immigrants who are Undocumented



Beyond granting citizenship, we also asked our respondents whether or not they support building a wall along the Mexican border as Donald Trump has proposed. As presented in Table 17, we find that few young adults support this proposal. Only 25% of African Americans, 19% of Asian Americans, 17% of Latino/as, and 39% of whites support building a wall along the Mexican border.

Table 17: Support for Building a Wall along the Mexican Border

	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30
% Support for building a wall along the Mexican border	25	19	17	39
<i>N</i> =	572	309	520	507

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. *N* = 1,892.

We also asked about a range of other initiatives, shown below in Table 18. First, we note that most young adults—except for whites—oppose Trump’s proposal to temporarily ban immigrants from areas with a history of terrorism. While a bare majority of whites (51%) support this proposal, a minority of African Americans (46%), Asian Americans (37%) and Latino/as (37%) agree with this policy proposal.

Second, we find little support—particularly among Asian Americans and Latino/as—for the proposal to identify and deport all immigrants who are here illegally. Thirty-seven percent of African Americans, 31% of Asian Americans, 20% of Latino/as, and a somewhat higher but still a minority 47% of whites support this policy.

We find much broader support for two other immigration policies: (1) expanding the guest worker program, which would provide immigrants who are undocumented with a temporary work visa, and (2) a proposal that often goes under the name of “e-verify,” which would require employers to verify that new hires are legal to work in the United States.

Large majorities of African Americans (76%), Asian Americans (84%), Latino/as (89%), and whites (71%) support the guest worker program. And majorities also favor the initiative that would require employers to verify the legality of new employees: 75% of African Americans, 78% of Asian Americans, 58% of Latino/as, and 89% of white young adults support this program.

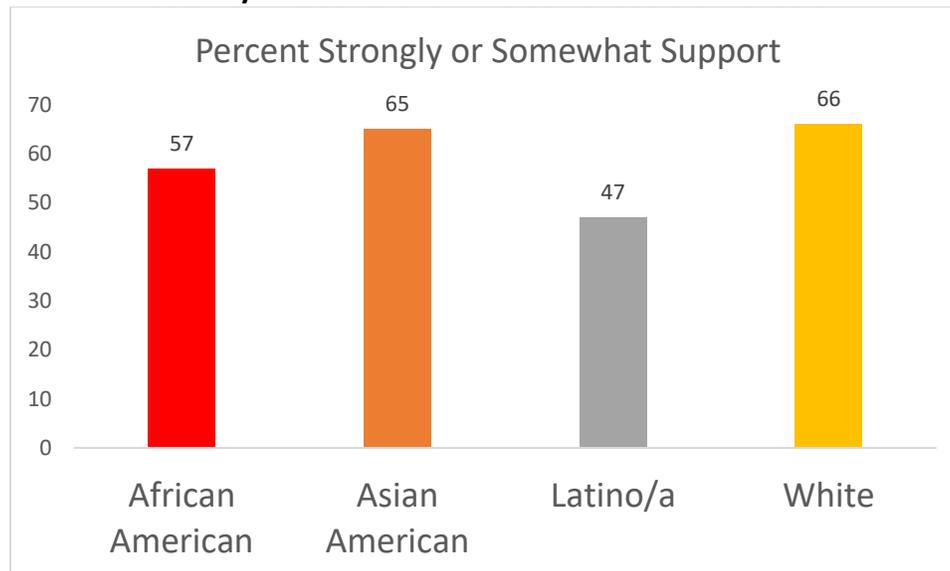
Table 18: Public Opinion Towards Other Immigration Policy Proposals

(% Strongly or Somewhat Support)	African American adults 18-30	Asian American adults 18-30	Latino/a adults 18-30	Non-Hispanic white adults 18-30
Temporarily banning immigrants from areas with a history of terrorism	46	37	37	51
Deport all immigrants living in the country illegally	37	31	20	47
Expand 'guest worker' programs that give a temporary visa to non-citizens to work in U.S.	76	84	89	71
Require employers to verify that new hires are in the U.S. legally	75	78	58	89
<i>N</i> =	572	309	520	507

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. *N* = 1,892.

One restrictive measure receives relatively broad support among young adults: increasing government spending on security at U.S. borders. As shown in Figure 14, two-thirds of young whites support this proposal, along with 57% of African Americans and 65% of Asian Americans. Only among Latino/as does this initiative receive less than majority support (47%). Given young adults' opposition to Trump's proposal to build a wall along the Mexican border, they must not see such a proposal as what they have in mind when thinking about securing the border.

Figure 14. Please tell us whether you Support or Oppose Increasing Government Spending on Security Measures and Enforcement at U.S. Borders



It is worth highlighting our finding that young whites (though, we point out, a minority of young whites) are the most supportive of some of the more restrictive immigration measures, like building a wall along the Mexican border, temporarily banning immigrants from areas with a history of terrorism, and increasing government spending on security at the border. Some academics and journalists have suggested that Donald Trump’s positions on these issues is meant to appeal to disaffected whites, and our results suggest that white young adults are likely to be more supportive of these initiatives than young adults of color. Yet at the same time, we also find that a majority of young whites support a path to citizenship for immigrants who are here illegally and oppose widespread deportation efforts. Thus, Trump’s recent tempering of his immigration platform may be a response to the tepid support his initiatives receive among young adults, even young whites.

Candidates on Immigration

To more directly address the question of which candidate would best deal with immigration, we asked our respondents which of the two major-party candidates would best handle: (1) securing the border, and (2) dealing with immigrants who are undocumented currently living in the United States.

Figure 15 presents the percentage of respondents across each racial and ethnic group who believe that Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, or neither of them would **best secure**

the border. Young adults of color are nearly evenly divided between Trump and Clinton on this issue: African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino/as are nearly as likely to select Donald Trump as they are to select Hillary Clinton as best able to secure the border. Young whites, by contrast, provide Trump with a huge edge over Clinton on this issue: 57% to 19%. In short, Donald Trump’s focus on border security throughout his campaign has filtered down to the electorate. Even young people of color—very few of whom support Trump for the presidency—are as likely to think Trump would best secure the border as think that Clinton would be best on this issue. But young whites in particular think that this is an issue where Donald Trump would do better than Hillary Clinton.

Figure 15. Which Candidate Would Better Handle Securing the Border?

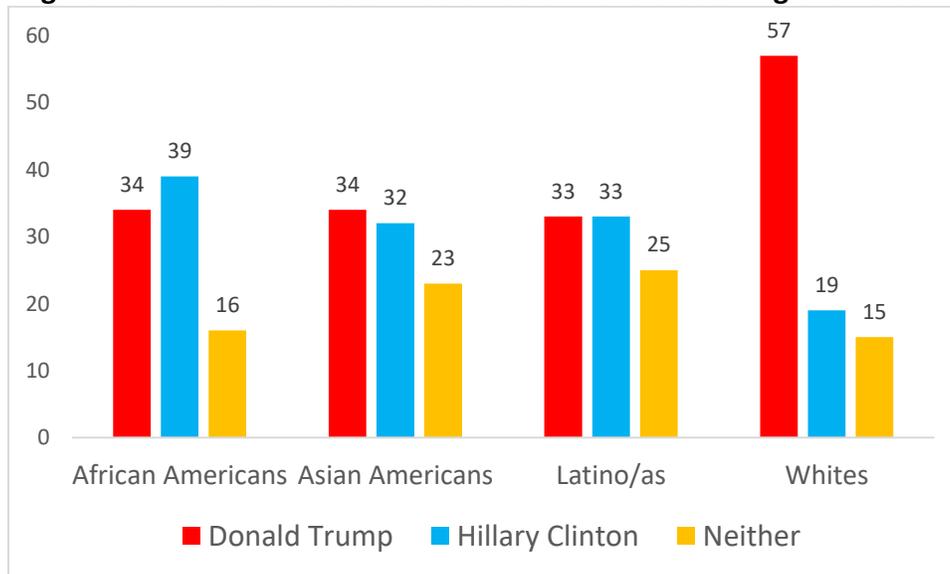
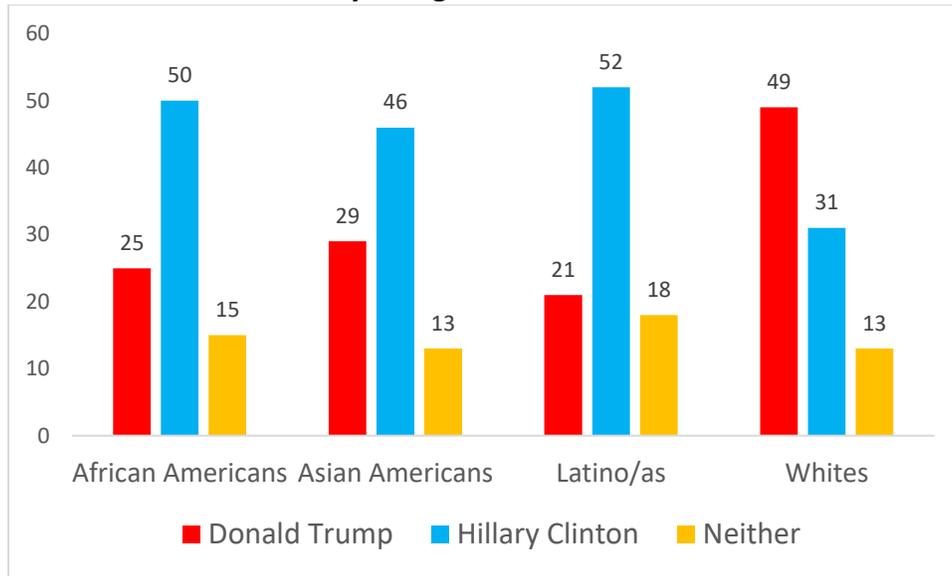


Figure 16 below presents the results of our question asking respondents **which of the two major-party candidates would best address the status of immigrants who are undocumented currently living in the United States.** Here we find starker differences between young adults of color and whites. African Americans (50%), Asian Americans (46%) and Latino/as (52%) are all more likely to believe that Clinton would be better than Trump on this issue. White respondents, though, are more likely to again give Trump the edge. In short, Trump’s campaign platform of being tough on immigration seems to be embraced by many white young adults. Young adults of color while evenly split on who would best secure the border, strongly indicate they believe that Hillary Clinton would best deal with immigrants who are undocumented living in the U.S.

Figure 16. Which Candidate Would Better Deal with Immigrants who are Undocumented Currently Living in the United States?



Generational Status and Immigration Attitudes among Asian Americans and Latino/as

The distinct attitudes of Asian Americans and Latino/as evident in their positions on immigrants and immigration policy may partly be a product of their unique experiences as family members of recent immigrants to the United States. As noted at the outset of this section, majorities of both the young Asian American and Latino/a communities are first or second generation—that is, they or one of their parents was born outside of the United States. In this section, we document how the immigration attitudes of 1st and 2nd generation Asian Americans and Latino/as differ from 3rd generation or later respondents (for whom both parents were born in the United States). To pursue this line of questioning we re-examine the immigration questions reviewed earlier in this section.

First, we return to the questions measuring attitudes toward immigrants. Of our four questions on this topic only two demonstrated generational differences that are statistically significant, meaning statistically different than zero. As shown in Table 19, we find statically significant differences based on generational status in Asian Americans’ and Latino/as’ attitudes about the effect of immigration on American culture and in views about how the government treats immigrants relative to African Americans.

First and second generation respondents were more likely to agree that immigration changes American culture for the better (79%) compared to third generation or later respondents (66%). First and second generation respondents were also *less likely* to agree that the government treats immigrants better than Black people (22% agree) compared to third generation Asian Americans and Latino/as (36%). These differences across generational status underscore how young adults' experiences and political attitudes vary *within* racial and ethnic groups, in this case based on one's generation status relative to immigration. Perhaps for these issues, those who have been in the United States for three generations or more—and thus are farther removed from the immigrant experience—become more conservative in their attitudes toward immigrants.

Interestingly, attitudes between the two groups do not significantly vary on other questions such as whether immigrants take jobs, housing and healthcare away from people born in the United States, as neither group thinks that immigrants take jobs from those born in the U.S. And we also do not observe differences in responses to the question about whether more Americans would be accepting of immigrants if they tried harder to fit in. Third generation+ Asian Americans and Latino/as are slightly more conservative in their responses to these opinions, but the differences are not as stark. Attitudes about the role of immigrants in the economy and the conditions in which other Americans would be more accepting of immigrants may derive from more general political beliefs than from one's personal immigration experiences.

Table 19: Generational Status and Attitudes about Immigrants

(% Strongly or Somewhat Agree)	1 st or 2 nd Generation Asian Americans and Latino/as 18-30	3 rd Generation or Later Asian Americans and Latino/as 18-30
Immigrants are changing American culture and way of life for the better	79	66
The government treats immigrants better than it treats Black people born in this country	22	36
Immigrants, especially from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, take jobs, housing and healthcare away from people born in the United States	25	31 ¹²
If immigrants only tried harder to fit in, then more Americans would accept their cultural differences	26	21 ¹³
N=	617	189

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. N = 806.

Second, we consider some policy preferences of first and second generation Asian Americans and Latino/as relative to those who are third generation or later. Figure 17 below presents the results of four policy issues where the differences across generational status are especially stark.

With regards to providing citizenship to the children of undocumented immigrants, we find that first and second generation Asian Americans and Latino/as are far more supportive of this policy (88%) compared to those who are third generation or later (72%). Similarly, first and second generation Asian Americans and Latino/as (93%) are also more much supportive of granting citizenship to those who serve in the military than third generation or later respondents (78%). Perhaps because they are not yet citizens themselves, or are more likely to know someone who is not yet a citizen, first and second generation Asian Americans and Latino/as are more supportive of these specific measures that would grant citizenship to those who are undocumented.

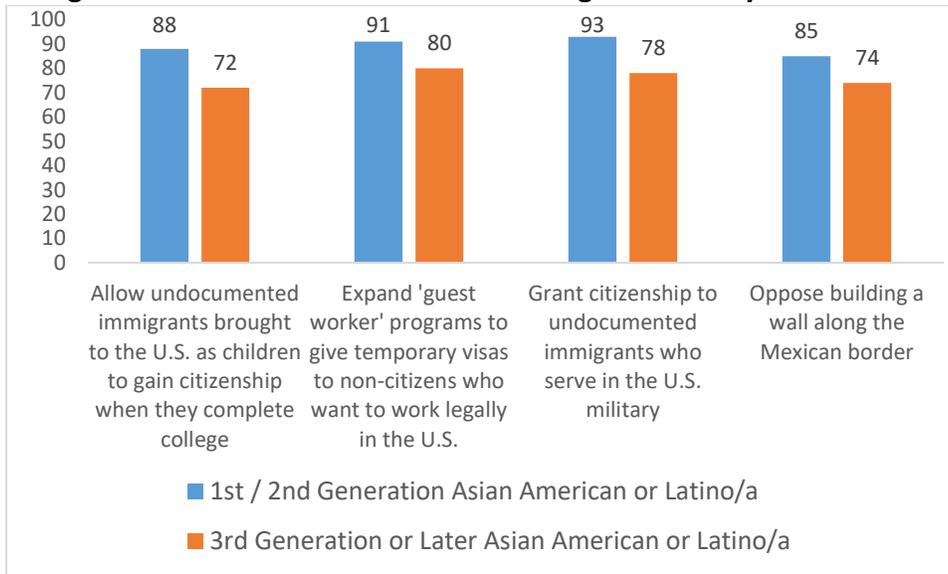
We also find substantial differences in support for a guest worker program and in opposition to building a wall with Mexico: 91% of first and second generation,

¹² The difference between the two groups here is only significant at a p<0.10 level.

¹³ These differences are not statistically significant.

compared to 80% of third generation or later, Asian Americans and Latino/as support expanding guest worker programs. And 85% of first and second generation, compared to 74% of third generation or later, Asian Americans and Latino/as oppose building a wall along the border of Mexico.

Figure 17. Generational Status and Immigration Policy Preferences



But as Table 20 below shows, we do not find significant differences across generational status regarding all of the policy proposals we asked about. For example, there are no differences in attitudes toward deporting immigrants here illegally or in opinion regarding whether we should temporarily ban immigrants from areas with a history of terrorism. Generational status does not lead to divides between Asian Americans and Latino/as on all immigration proposals. The deepest differences seem to lie on those policies that may have the most direct benefits to first and second generation immigrants: those that grant citizenship to “dreamers” and those who serve in the United States military, and policies that make it easier for non-citizens to legally find employment in the United States (the guest worker program).

Table 20: Public Opinion Towards Other Immigration Policy Proposals

(% Strongly or Somewhat Support)	1st or 2nd Generation Asian Americans and Latino/as 18-30	3rd Generation or Later Asian Americans and Latino/as 18-30
Require employers to verify that all new hires are living in the U.S. legally	67	64
Create a path to citizenship in which law-abiding immigrants currently in the country illegally all allowed to apply for citizenship	92	87 ¹⁴
Increase government spending on security measures at the U.S. border	53	55
Deport all immigrants living in the country illegally	22	28
Temporarily ban immigrants from areas of the world with a history of terrorism	37	38
N=	617	189

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. *N* = 806. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

In conclusion, we examine how generational status is related to partisan identification. In Table 21, we see stark differences across generational status in identification with the Democratic Party. Seventy percent of 1st and 2nd generation Asian Americans and Latino/as identify with or lean towards the Democratic Party, compared to just 49% of those who are third generation or later. This difference is consistent with our findings noted above that third-generation+ Asian Americans and Latinos, perhaps because they are more removed from the immigrant experience, are more conservative in some of their political preferences. As partisanship in particular is an enduring political attitude, this difference among Asian Americans and Latino/as across generational status could have a long-lasting impact on American politics.

¹⁴ The difference between the two groups here is only significant at a $p < 0.10$ level.

Table 21: Generational Status, Vote Intention, and Democratic Partisanship

	1st or 2nd Generation Asian Americans and Latino/as 18-30	3rd Generation or Later Asian Americans and Latino/as 18-30
% who identify with or lean towards the Democratic Party	70	49
N=	617	189

Question: See topline for specific question wordings. *N* = 806. Column entries may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Conclusion

The GenForward August survey provides an extensive look at young peoples' views of the 2016 presidential election, issues surrounding policing in America, and attitudes toward immigrant and immigration policy proposals. We focus in particular on the views of African Americans, Latino/as, and Asian Americans in an effort to develop our understanding of the political views of these communities. Through an analysis of a large sample of young adults within each racial and ethnic group, the GenForward surveys allow us to more accurately measure the preferences of these communities on the issues that are most likely to affect their lives.

In this report, we document how young adults' opinions about the 2016 presidential candidates continue to vary across race and ethnicity. Hillary Clinton does not yet have the same level of support from young African Americans, Latino/as, or Asian Americans that Barack Obama did. But many young adults of color say that they plan to vote for Democratic nominee. Our study also provides an in-depth look at the issue of policing. Through our data we can begin to understand how interactions with police vary by race and ethnicity, as African Americans report much higher levels of arrest rates than other racial and ethnic groups, even though their rate of being stopped by the police is similar to whites. Also we find that a majority of young adults of all races and ethnicities now support the Black Lives Matter movement that seeks to correct these and other injustices with the police system. Finally, we provide an extensive look at what young adults think of immigrants and immigration policy. Our findings indicate that large majorities of young adults oppose Donald Trump's restrictive immigration proposals and support a pathway to citizenship to immigrants who are undocumented.

Survey Methodology

The August 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 1,958 interviews were conducted between August 1 and 14, 2016 with adults ages 18-30 representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia, including completed interviews with 572 African American young adults, 309 Asian American young adults, 520 Latino/a young adults, 507 white young adults, and 50 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:

- Forty-eight 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).
- Fifty-two 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 1,958 completed interviews in the August GenForward survey, 92% were completed by web and 8% by telephone. The survey completion rate is 40 percent. The weighted household panel recruitment rate is 12.9 percent and the weighted household panel retention rate is 93.8 percent, for a cumulative AAPOR Response Rate 3 of 4.8 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 3.9 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 +/- 5.7 percentage points for African Americans, +/- 8.0 percentage points for Asian Americans, +/- 6.8 percentage points for Latino/as, and +/- 5.8 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 whites, were used for all analyses.