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Survey **REPORT 2013**

Survey of Young Americans' Attitudes
Toward Politics and Public Service:
24th Edition



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Introduction

Methodology

The first survey of N=800 college undergraduates was completed in the Spring of 2000 and all interviews were conducted over the telephone; since that time, 21 subsequent surveys have been released. Over this period, a number of modifications have been made to the scope and methodology in order to ensure that sampling methods most accurately capture the view of the population of young adults in a manner that will be useful to both the Institute of Politics and

- In 2001, the survey was expanded from N=800 to N=1,200 college students in order to capture a more robust sample of the undergraduate population.
- In 2006, the survey expanded to N=2,400 interviews, as we began interviewing members of the 18- to 24- year-old cohort who were not currently attending a four-year college or university. In addition, because of changing uses of technology among younger Americans, in 2006 the survey moved from a telephone poll to a survey that was administered online.
- In 2009, we expanded our scope a third time to include the population of young adults aged 18 to 29. While we will continue to report on the attitudes and opinions of U.S. college students, this change in our research subject was made to allow for better and more direct comparisons to the broader set of election and general public opinion research tracking data, which tends to track the 18- to 29-year-old demographic group. Our Fall political tracking surveys will include samples of N=2,000 while the Spring semester's research will be more in-depth and include N=3,000 interviews. All of our interviews are conducted in English and Spanish. Using GfK (formerly Knowledge Networks) as our research partner, the Institute of Politics surveys use RDD and Address-Based Sampling (ABS) frames and are administered online (see Appendix).

The interviewing period for this survey of N=2,089 18- to 29- year olds was October 30 to November 11, 2013. The margin of error for the poll is +/- 2.1 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level. During the interviewing period, major media stories included the Healthcare.gov technical failures, the TSA shooting at LAX, elections in New Jersey and Virginia, Toronto Mayor Rob Ford's substance abuse troubles, Republican leaders' assertion that there would not be no immigration reform this year and President Obama's apology to Americans losing coverage.

Conceived by two Harvard undergraduate students during the winter of 1999, Harvard University's Institute of Politics Survey of Young Americans' Attitudes toward Politics and Public Service began in 2000 as a national survey of 18- to 24- year old college undergraduates. Over the last 13 years, this research project has grown in scope and mission, as this report now includes an analysis of 18- to 29- year olds on a broad set of longitudinal and current events issues.



Demographic and Political Profile

For this survey, we completed N=2,089 web-enabled interviews with 18- to 29- year-olds in the United States

Demographic profile:

- 49 percent male, 51 percent female;
- 58 percent are between the ages of 18 and 24; 42 percent are between the ages of 25 and 29;
- 59 percent White (non-Hispanic), 20 percent Hispanic, 13 percent African-American (non-Hispanic), 7 percent other and 2 percent 2+ races;
- 19 percent are Catholic, 14 percent Fundamental/Evangelical, 13 percent Protestant, 3 percent Mormon, 1 percent Jewish, less than 1 percent Muslim, 10 percent another religion, 23 percent cite no religious preference and 13 percent decline to answer;
- 45 percent with a religious preference say that religion is a very important part of their life, 36 percent say that it is somewhat important and 15 percent say it is not very important;
- 20 percent are married, 12 percent are living with a partner, 2 percent are divorced, 1 percent are separated and 64 percent have never been married.

Technographic profile:

- 85 percent use a cell phone, 19 percent use a landline, and 3 percent use VOIP;
- 79 percent have an account on Facebook, 37 percent have the same on Google+, 35 percent on Twitter, 30 percent on Instagram,

25 percent on Pinterest, 16 percent on Snapchat, 10 percent on Tumblr and 5 percent on Foursquare.

Current educational status:

- 6 percent of the sample indicated that they are in high school, 3 percent in a trade or vocational school, 10 percent are in a two-year junior or community college, 21 percent in a four-year college, 4 percent in graduate school, 1 percent in a business or professional school, 2 percent are not enrolled but taking at least one class and 54 percent of 18- to 29- year olds surveyed are not enrolled in any of these categories;
- 67 percent of college students attend a public institution, 28 percent a private one.

Political and ideological profile:

- 68 percent say they are registered to vote;
- 22 percent consider themselves to be politically engaged or active;
- 33 percent self-identify as liberal or leaning liberal, 26 percent moderate, and 37 percent conservative or leaning conservative;
- 33 percent consider themselves Democrats, 24 percent Republicans, and 41 percent Independents.

Employment status:

- 56 percent are working as a paid employee, 4 percent are self-employed, and 19 percent are looking for work.

Approval of Obama, Both Parties in Congress, Slide Across the Board; Near Majority Would Support Recalling Congress and the President

Obama Job Approval at Low Point, Approval of Both Parties in Congress Also Declines

During the time that our survey was being conducted, most national polls reported that President Obama's approval rating was between 37 and 40 percent, and less than a quarter believed our nation was headed in the right direction. In our survey, which focuses exclusively on young Americans between the ages of 18 and 29, these Millennials were only slightly more likely to view President Obama favorably than the general population as a whole. Forty-one percent (41%) of 18- to 29- year olds indicated that they approved of his performance as president, while 54 percent indicated that they disapproved. This is the lowest approval rating we have reported since the beginning of his presidency (December 2011 was 46%) and a drop of 11 percentage points since our last survey was released in April 2013.

A majority of both major age cohorts, 18- to 24- year olds (39% approve, 56% disapprove) and 25- to 29- year olds (43% approve, 53% disapprove), disapprove of the president's job performance, and his ratings in every subgroup are significantly lower than they were in the Spring of 2013. For example, his approval rating among college students is down 11 percentage points to 39 percent, young male voters slipped 9 percentage points to 41 percent approval and this rating is now statistically tied with young female voters, whose approval of the president dropped 15 points to 40 percent. Young white voters' approval dropped by 10 points to 28 percent, Hispanics decreased by 18 points (53% approval) -- and approval among young Black voters slipped 9 percentage points, but was still strong at 75 percent.

OBAMA APPROVAL RATING

	FEB 2011	DEC 2011	MAR 2012	OCT 2012	APR 2013	NOV 2013
18-29 TOTAL	55%	46%	52%	52%	52%	41%
18-24	55%	44%	50%	50%	51%	39%
25-29	55%	47%	55%	55%	54%	43%
IN 4-YR COLL	60%	48%	52%	49%	50%	39%
DEM.	81%	74%	81%	87%	86%	79%
REP.	17%	15%	18%	12%	10%	7%
IND.	46%	39%	40%	46%	46%	31%
WHITE	44%	35%	41%	40%	38%	28%
BLACK	83%	83%	82%	86%	84%	75%
HISPANIC	68%	52%	66%	70%	71%	53%
MALE	52%	44%	50%	51%	50%	41%
FEMALE	57%	48%	54%	53%	55%	40%

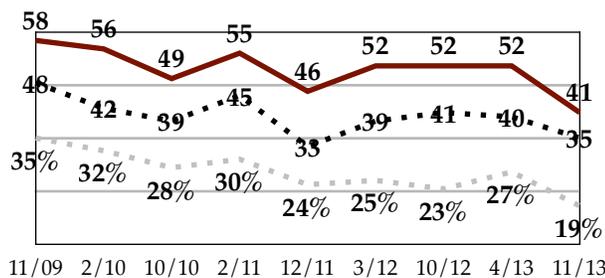
BY SUBGROUP

The 11-point drop in the president's approval rating brings him closer in line with Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Slightly more than two-in-five (41%) young Americans under 30 approve of the way President Obama is handling his job, while 35 percent feel the same about Democrats in Congress (down from 40% in the Spring) and 19 percent feel the same about the Republicans in Congress (down from 27%).

**DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE
JOB PERFORMANCE OF ____:**

-- APPROVAL RATINGS --

- Barack Obama
- Democrats in Congress
- Republicans in Congress

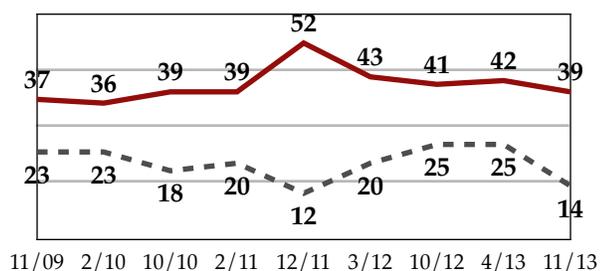


**Percentage Who Believe America's Headed in the
Right Direction Falls Again to Under 15**

Less than one-in-five (14%) young Americans in our poll indicate that the country is headed in the right direction, 49 percent believe its headed in the wrong direction, while 34 percent are not sure.

**ALL IN ALL, DO YOU THINK THINGS IN
THE NATION ARE...?**

- Right direction
- Wrong track



This drop in optimism was very pronounced among 18- to 29- year old females. The percent responding that the nation is moving in the right direction decreased by 14 percentage points from 2012 to 2013, compared to just 7 percentage points for males over the same time period. The percent of Black Millenni-

als under 30 believing that the country is moving in the direction also dropped significantly from 2012 to 2013. In 2012, 49 percent of Black respondents believed the country was moving in the right direction. Now, less than one-in-four (24%) believe the country is moving in the right direction.

**Obama's Job Approval Rating Falls to One-Third
on Key Issues**

Compared to our Spring survey, President Obama's job performance also decreased significantly across the four major issues that we have tracked in 2013. His approval rating for the way that he handled Iran is down 10 percentage points to 37 percent, his performance on health care is down 9 points to 34 percent, his performance on handling the economy is down nine points to 33 percent, and approval of the way he is handling the federal budget deficit is down eight points to 28 percent. While we did not ask about Syria in our Spring survey, currently one-third (33%) of 18- to 29- year olds approve of the president's job performance on Syria, while 60 percent disapprove.

**A Near Majority Support Recall of Congress and
the President**

In an attempt to place young voters' attitudes about the president, Democrats and Republicans in Washington, D.C. into context, we found that 17 percent of those who voted for President Obama in 2012 would not support him if they could recast their vote today; 83 percent of those who supported President Obama versus Mitt Romney tell us that they would vote again for Obama if they could recast their vote, only four percent (4%) would vote for Mitt Romney if they could, eight percent (8%) said they would vote for "someone else" and those remaining declined to answer.

Additionally, we found that a majority (52%) of 18- to 29- year olds would choose to recall all members of Congress if it were possible, 45 percent would recall

their member of Congress (45% would not) and approximately the same number indicate that they would recall President Obama (47% recall, 46% not recall).

In a recent NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey, released in October 2013 during the time of the government shutdown, 60 percent of adults in the U.S. would cast a vote to defeat and replace every single member of Congress, including their own representative, if provided an opportunity.

Among those indicating in our poll that they would recall the president if they could are:

- A majority (52%) of voters under the age 25, compared to 40 percent between 25 and 29;
- 19 percent of those who voted for him in 2012;
- 19 percent of Democrats, 82 percent of Republicans and 51 percent of Independent voters;
- 58 percent of young Whites, 35 percent of Hispanics and 21 percent of Blacks.

Majority Disapprove of Health Care Law, Believe Their Costs Will Rise and Quality Will Fall

A Majority of Young People Disapprove of the New Health Care Law

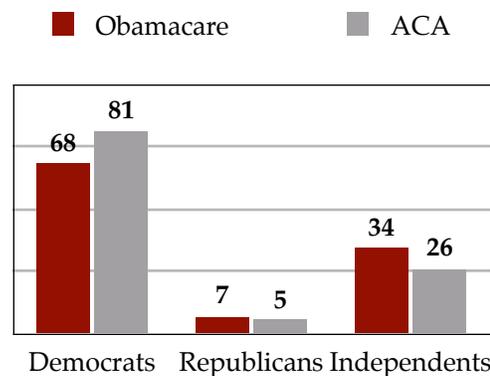
With the deadline to enroll in the president's new health care law quickly approaching and a large effort underway by the administration and interest groups to encourage more young people to either enroll or not enroll in health coverage, we were interested in gaining a better understanding of young Americans' views toward the new law. To help better understand the messaging, we conducted a split sample asking respondents about approval, quality, cost and how they were hearing about the law identifying it for n=1,024 respondents as the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and for n=1,065 respondents as Obamacare. While we did not find drastic differences between the two names there were some that existed and they are noted below.

Most significantly, when young Americans between the ages of 18 and 29 were asked if they approve or disapprove of the comprehensive health reform package that the president signed into law in 2010, a solid majority disapproved. When the law was referred to as the Affordable Care Act, 39 percent of young Americans under 30 approved, 56 percent disapproved; when the law was referred to as Obamacare, the numbers were nearly identical with 38 percent citing approval and 57 percent citing that they disapproved. These findings mirror recent ABC News/Washington Post (November 14-17, 2013) polling reporting that 40 percent of adults nationwide support the federal law making changes to the health care system, while 57 percent oppose it.

Among young Blacks, support is strongest as 68 percent approve of Obamacare while 62 percent approve of the Affordable Care Act. Among Whites, 28

percent approve of Obamacare and 26 percent approve of the Affordable Care Act; 48 percent of Hispanics approve of Obamacare, while 51 percent of Hispanics approve of the Affordable Care Act.

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF [SPLIT: THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT /OBAMACARE] THE COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH REFORM PACKAGE THAT THE PRESIDENT SIGNED INTO LAW IN 2010?
-- PERCENT WHO APPROVE --



For young Americans who report that they are uninsured, support for Obamacare is 35 percent; approval is nine points higher (44%) when the law is referred to as the Affordable Care Act.

Less than One Third of Uninsured Millennials Under 30 Plan to Enroll

Regardless of the term used in describing the federal health reform package, less than one-in-four (20% with use of Affordable Care Act and 22% with use of Obamacare) young Americans under the age of 30 report that they would definitely or probably enroll in insurance through an exchange if and when they are

eligible. Forty-seven percent (47%) tell us that they will probably not or definitely not enroll under the ACA program, 45 percent say the same under Obamacare.

Among the 22 percent of people under 30 who do not have health insurance presently, 29 percent (13% definitely will enroll, 16% probably will enroll) say they will roll in the program described as Obamacare, and 25 percent (10% definitely will enroll, 15% probably will enroll) say the same when it's referred to as the Affordable Care Act.

One of the most telling predictors of likelihood to enroll is political affiliation. Less than 10 percent of Republicans plan to enroll in an exchange, less than 20 percent of Independents -- and between 35 and 40 percent of Democrats, depending on the name associated with the law. Obamacare proves to be five percent (40% definitely or probably enroll) more beneficial when Democrats are considering enrollment compared to the Affordable Care Act (35% definitely or probably enroll).

Majority of Millennials Under 30 Believe Costs Will Rise and Quality Will Fall Under Health Reform

Between 50 (when ACA is used) and 51 percent (when Obamacare is used) of young people believe their cost of care will increase under the health reform law; approximately one-in-ten (10% under ACA, 11% under Obamacare) tell us that their costs will likely decrease. Young Americans who think their health care costs will increase are much less likely to enroll in the insurance program mandated by the 2010 legislation. Sixty percent (60%) of those who say they are unlikely to enroll in the Affordable Care Act program believe that their costs under the program would increase, which is significantly higher than those who say they will enroll in the program (40% of this group believe their cost of coverage will

increase, 43% say it will stay about the same and 16% say it will decrease.).

By a margin of more than two-to-one, young people under the age of 30 believe that the quality of their care will get worse under the new health care provisions. When Millennials in our survey are asked their opinion related to the Affordable Care Act, 17 percent say they expect the quality of their care to improve and 44 percent say it will worsen. When this question is asked to a similar group about Obamacare, the number who believe their care will get better is 18 percent, with 40 percent saying things will get worse.

Young Americans under 30 tell us that the news media is a primary source of information related to the president's health care initiative, with 67 percent of those who were asked about the Affordable Care Act saying that the news was a primary source, and 72 percent saying the same when they were asked about Obamacare. Friends and social media were the second leading source (42% ACA and 43% Obamacare) followed by Healthcare.gov (12% ACA and 14% Obamacare). Those who are unlikely to enroll are significantly more likely to have received information about the programs through the news media (77% ACA, 80% Obamacare) and their employer (21% ACA, 26% Obamacare).

Student Debt Viewed as Major Problem; Financial Considerations Important Factor for Most Millennials When Considering Whether to Pursue College

Majority of College Students, 42% of All 18- to 29- Year Olds, Have Student Loan Debt

More than two-in-five (42%) Millennials between 18- and 29- years olds report that they, or someone in their household, had student load debt; 48 percent indicated that they had no debt. Unlike most questions in our survey, there was no statistical difference based upon age, gender or political party affiliation.

DO YOU, OR DOES SOMEONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD, CURRENTLY HAVE STUDENT LOAN DEBT?

	Yes	No
18-29	42%	48%
18-24	42%	47%
25-29	41%	50%
IN 4-YR COLL	54%	35%
DEM.	45%	49%
REP.	40%	53%
IND.	43%	46%
WHITE	46%	48%
BLACK	45%	38%
HISPANIC	32%	53%
MALE	43%	48%
FEMALE	41%	48%

7-in-10 Say That Financial Circumstances Played an Important Role in College Decision

Regardless of whether or not they have debt, 57 percent of Millennials under 30 believe that student debt is a major problem for young people in the United States -- and another 22 percent believe its a minor problem. Overall, 79 percent say its a problem, four percent say it is not a problem.

In total, 70 percent of our sample reported that financial circumstances played an important (41% very, 29% somewhat) role in their decision whether or not to pursue a college education. Those who were more likely to say that financial circumstances were important are:

- Community college and two-year college students (87% say it played an important role compared to 70% college students); and
- 18- to 29- year old Blacks (52% say it played a very important role compared to 38% of Whites).

When Millennials were asked who is most responsible for the rising amount of student debt in the U.S., 42 percent said colleges and universities, 30 percent the federal government -- students and state governments were held responsible by 11 and eight percent respectively.

While Edward Snowden's Legacy May Be An Open Question Among Millennials, Collecting Personal Information for National Security is Not

More than Half of Millennials Unsure About Edward Snowden, the Rest are Split Between Calling Him a Patriot and Traitor

Given the events associated with Edward Snowden and the NSA scandal earlier in 2013, our students focused on a series of questions aimed at understanding how young Millennials under 30 view the actions of Edward Snowden, freedom and privacy and what may or may not be appropriate methods of collecting personal data to aid in national security efforts.

When asked directly whether they considered Edward Snowden to be more of a patriot or traitor -- more than half (52%) indicated that they were unsure nearly five months after his story broke. Twenty-two percent (22%) would describe him as a patriot, and the same number (22%) said traitor was a more fitting description. We found that 18- to 29- year old Whites (25%) are significantly more likely than Blacks (15%) to consider Snowden a patriot.

Our poll respondents were then asked a hypothetical situation where "if you found yourself in a position similar to that of Edward Snowden, would you release the classified documents to the media, or would you not release the documents" -- and we found that by a margin of two-to-one, young Millennials under 30 would not release classified documents to the media (31% would not release and 15% would release). Again, 50 percent were unsure.

Millennials Strongly Opposed To Government Collecting Personal Electronic Communication for National Security Benefits

When 18- to 29- year olds were asked what, if any, kinds of personal information they approve of the government collecting to aid in national security, 30 percent approved of collecting social networking data and 24 percent approved of recording web browsing history. GPS (19%), telephone calls (18%), email (17%) and text messages (15%) -- all more personal forms of communication -- were met with significantly less approval.

However, when we changed the question slightly (this was a split sample question) and added what personal information, if any, do you approve of the U.S. government collecting from you to aid national security efforts, the results changed significantly. While social networking (19%) and web browsing history (15%) remained in the two places, both earned far less support when the possibility of collecting information from each respondent personally was suggested. GPS (14%), email (14%), telephone calls (13%) and text messages (11%) were all statistically tied with web browsing and were areas that more than 4-in-5 young Millennials preferred to keep off limits to the government, even to aid in national security efforts.

While there was no significant difference between younger and older age cohorts on the general question of government surveillance, when the question focused on surveillance of them personally, 18- to 24 year olds were significantly less likely to approve of these measures than 25- to 29 year olds.

In Trade-Off Exercise to Help Reduce Deficit, Majority from All Parties Favor “Buffet Rule,” Reducing Nuclear Warheads and Reducing Foreign Aid

“Buffet Rule” Considered Solid Option for Reducing Deficit by Democrats, Republicans and Independents

Similar to our survey design from the 2012 and 2013 Spring reports, we included a series of questions aimed at determining the preference that 18- to 29-year olds have for potential deficit reduction measures when they are paired against others in a pairwise comparison model. The objective of this series of questions is to look beyond traditional open-ended questions and forced rankings in an attempt to understand how various budget choices (reducing spending and increasing revenue) compare across a broad spectrum of priorities in a time of limited government resources.

Beginning with two lists of six options (12 in total) for reducing the federal budget deficit by approximately equal amounts, we randomly paired one against the other and asked survey respondents to choose which one is more important (and how much more important): Option A or Option B.

The first group, which policy experts believe would reduce the deficit by approximately \$160 to \$190 billion by 2020 if enacted today, included the following:

- Raise the retirement age for Social Security from 65 to 68;
- Increase gas tax by 15 cents per gallon;
- Reduce food stamp levels to 2008 levels and limit growth in spending on food stamps to the rate of inflation;
- Reduce US Navy fleet to 230 ships (from a projected 320 ships);

- Enact the “Buffet Rule,” a requirement that people making over \$1 million a year pay at least 30% of their income in taxes;
- Raise Medicare premiums to 35% of costs.

Within this series of ideas aimed to reduce the deficit, 18- to 29- year olds chose enacting the “Buffet Rule” 69 percent of the time it was paired against the five other options; this was the most popular initiative measured within this grouping and it won a majority of its pairings across Democratic (83%), Republican (57%) and Independent (69%) subgroups.

The second most popular initiative was reducing food stamp levels to 2008 levels and limiting growth in spending on food stamps to the rate of inflation; this concept was preferred 58 percent of the time when matched up against the other 5 initiatives -- however, unlike the Buffet Rule, it did not receive majority support from Democrats; this proposal won 44 percent of its match-ups from Democrats, compared to 76 percent among Republicans and 60 percent among Independents.

Democrats (63%) alternatively were more likely than Republicans (41%) or Independents (51%) to support a reduction in the Navy fleet as a way to reduce the federal deficit.

In one of a few areas of convergence in the survey, Democrats and Republicans largely viewed proposals focused on raising the retirement age for Social Security (this was preferred 38% of the time by Democrats, 45% by Republicans), increasing the gas tax by 15 cents per gallon (was preferred 36% of the time by Democrats, 33% by Republicans) and raising Medicare premiums to 35 percent of costs (was pre-

ferred 29% of the time by Democrats, 31% by Republicans) through the same lens.

Millennials Protecting of K-12 Funding and Social Security Benefits In Second Trade-Off Exercise

Public policy experts believe that each item from the second group of deficit reduction proposals could save the government \$70 to \$90 Billion by 2020 if enacted today. They include:

- Cut foreign economic aid in half;
- Increase gas tax by 6 cents;
- Reduce Social Security benefits, except for workers who earn below the 30th percentile of earnings;
- Significantly reduce the Earned Income Tax Credit, an offset to payroll taxes for low-income workers with children, and the Child Tax Credit;
- Reduce spending related to the nuclear arsenal by reducing U.S. nuclear warheads from approximately 2,000 to approximately 1,550.

Within this grouping, some consensus among the partisans was also evident as clear priorities emerged. For example, 71 percent (including 73% of Democrats, 78% of Republicans and 69% of Independents) preferred cutting foreign economic aid in half when measured against all other options and 70 percent (including 78% of Democrats, 59% of Republicans and 73% of Independents) preferred reducing the nuclear arsenal from 2,000 to 1,550 warheads when this was paired against the other 5 proposals.

Additionally, Millennials under 30 were strongly opposed to cutting federal K-12 funding by 25 percent (including 20% of Democrats, 23% of Republicans and 23% of Independents) and reducing Social Security benefits (including 35% of Democrats, 32% of Republicans and 35% of Independents) when this proposals were paired against the other five in their grouping.

The tables on the following two pages are ranked by the overall strength of each of the 12 proposals based upon the percentage of time that it “won” its match-up against every other proposal.

	Enact the "Buffet Rule," a requirement that people making over \$1 million a year...	Reduce food stamp levels to 2008 levels and limit growth...	Reduce US Navy fleet to 230 ships (from a projected 320 ships)	Raise the retirement age for social security from 65 to 68	Increase gas tax by 15 cents per gallon	Raise Medicare premiums to 35% of costs
Enact the "Buffet Rule," a requirement that people making over \$1 million...		63%	71%	78%	82%	78%
Reduce food stamp levels to 2008 levels and limit growth...	38%		53%	67%	76%	79%
Reduce US Navy fleet to 230 ships (from a projected 320 ships)	29%	47%		58%	71%	72%
Raise the retirement age for social security from 65 to 68	22%	33%	42%		56%	67%
Increase gas tax by 15 cents per gallon	18%	24%	29%	44%		53%
Raise Medicare premiums to 35% of costs	22%	21%	28%	33%	47%	

Percentages shown are how often the issue on each row preferred over the issue in the corresponding column as a way of reducing the debt. **Bold and Black = "Win"** - **Bold and Red = "Loss"** that is statistically significant

 INSTITUTE OF POLITICS	Cut foreign economic aid in half	Reduce spending related to the nuclear arsenal by reducing U.S. nuclear warheads...	Increase gas tax by 6 cents	Significantly reduce the Earned Income Tax Credit...	Reduce social security benefits...	Cut Federal K-12 spending by 25%
Cut foreign economic aid in half	49%	51%	77%	79%	85%	90%
Reduce spending related to the nuclear arsenal by reducing U.S. nuclear warheads...	49%	20%	80%	78%	84%	88%
Increase gas tax by 6 cents	23%	20%	60%	67%	72%	73%
Significantly reduce the Earned Income Tax Credit...	21%	22%	40%	51%	73%	73%
Reduce social security benefits...	15%	16%	33%	49%	63%	63%
Cut Federal K-12 spending by 25%	10%	12%	28%	27%	37%	37%

Percentages shown are how often the issue on each row preferred over the issue in the corresponding column as a way of reducing the debt. **Bold and Black** = "Win" - **Bold and Red** = "Loss" that is statistically significant

Conclusion

Similar to the way that the unprecedented engagement of young Americans was instrumental to Barack Obama's electoral successes in 2008 and 2012, enrollment by Millennials is also instrumental to the successful implementation of the Affordable Care Act, the president's signature domestic legislative achievement. And as we head into a vital period for recruiting young people into the healthcare.gov Marketplace, serious concerns abound:

- Currently, a solid majority of young Americans disapprove of the health care reform measure,
- By a margin of 5 to 1, they believe costs will increase, and
- By a margin of 2 to 1, they believe that quality of care will decrease.

Among the 22 percent in our survey who report that they have no insurance, less than one-third tell us they are likely to enroll; a plurality however are 50-50 and are therefore open to enrolling under the right circumstances.

The reasons for the current lack of support among Millennials for the Affordable Care Act are many, and few are surprising given the trends that our polling has revealed for the better part of the last four years. Young Americans hold the president, Congress and the federal government in less esteem almost by the day, and the level of engagement they are having in politics are also on the decline.

Millennials are losing touch with government and its programs because they believe government is losing touch with them. This is not to say that young Americans are rejecting politics, the role of government and the promise of America more generally, they are sending a message to those in power that for them

to re-engage in government and politics, the political process must be open, collaborative and have the opportunity for impact -- and not one that simply perpetuates well-worn single issue agendas.

While the fate of the Affordable Care Act may well be in the hands of technologists, marketers and regulators, America is bracing for another series of debates on economic issues that will define the role and scope of government for the next decade. And on these issues, whether the conversation is about student debt, tax policy, the role and scope of the State and Defense departments, education or entitlements, the Millennial generation holds views that are defined less by partisanship and more by the quality of the solution.

A majority of Millennials are seriously concerned about student debt; and they speak largely as one in their support of the "Buffet Rule," cutting foreign economic aid, cutting the number of nuclear warheads and preserving both federal K through 12 funding and Social Security benefits for most.

Millennials have come of age in an era of openness, whether that's in their online identities or in the way they engage in the public square. They have been telling us for some time that they have disapproved of the way Washington has been operating and the status quo is not acceptable. If we listen carefully, they are now beginning to tell us about their economic priorities for the future as well. Both parties and branches of government are ignoring them at their own peril.

Harvard Public Opinion Project

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Harvard's Institute of Politics (IOP) was established in 1966 as a memorial to President Kennedy and aims to inspire undergraduates to consider careers in politics and public service.

The Institute oversees the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum, one of the world's premier arenas for political speech, discussion, and debate, and runs a fellowship program offering a unique opportunity for political practitioners to spend semesters at Harvard and interact with students.

The IOP also offers dozens of paid internships for eight to ten weeks during the summer; a nonpartisan, quarterly journal written and run entirely by undergraduates; and a unique, nationwide survey project of young adults' political views.

Students are offered wide-ranging opportunities, including internships and conferences intended to provide opportunities for interaction with the people who shape politics and public policy. The IOP does not offer formal courses or degree-granting programs; instead, it provides avenues for practical experience and encourages students to examine critically and think creatively about politics and public issues. For more information, including past results of these polls, please visit us online at

www.iop.harvard.edu



Appendix

Methodology

The GfK Group (formerly Knowledge Networks) conducted a study of young adults on political issues on behalf of the Harvard University Institute of Politics. The goal of the project was to collect 2,000 completed interviews with KN panelists 18- to 29- years of age in English and Spanish. The main sample data collection took place from October 29, 2013 to November 11, 2013. A small pretest was conducted prior to the main survey to examine the accuracy of the data and the length of the interview.

Four thousand, nine hundred and twenty-one (4,921) KnowledgePanel members were assigned to the study. The cooperation rate was 42.5 percent resulting in 2,089 completed interviews. Forty-nine (49) interviews were conducted in Spanish with the remainder done in English.

The GfK Group (formerly Knowledge Networks) is passionate about research in marketing, media, health and social policy – collaborating closely with client teams throughout the research process, while applying rigor in everything we do. We specialize in innovative online research that consistently gives leaders in business, government, and academia the confidence to make important decisions. GfK has recruited the first online research panel that is representative of the entire U.S. population. Panel members are randomly recruited through probability-based sampling, and households are provided with access to the Internet and hardware if needed.

GfK recruits panel members by using address-based sampling methods [formerly GfK relied on random-digit dialing methods]. Once household members are recruited for the panel and assigned to a study sample, they are notified by email for survey taking,

or panelists can visit their online member page for survey taking (instead of being contacted by telephone or postal mail). This allows surveys to be fielded very quickly and economically. In addition, this approach reduces the burden placed on respondents, since email notification is less intrusive than telephone calls, and most respondents find answering Web questionnaires more interesting and engaging than being questioned by a telephone interviewer. Furthermore, respondents have the freedom to choose what time of day to complete their assigned survey.

Documentation regarding KnowledgePanel sampling, data collection procedures, weighting, and IRB-bearing issues are available at the below online resources.

www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp/reviewer-info.html

www.knowledgenetworks.com/knpanel/index.html

www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp/irbsupport/

RDD and ABS Sample Frames

KnowledgePanel members today may have been recruited by either the former random digit dialing (RDD) sampling or the current address-based sampling (ABS) methodologies. In this section, we will describe the RDD-based methodology; the ABS methodology is described in a separate section below. To offset attrition, multiple recruitment samples are fielded evenly throughout the calendar year.

KnowledgePanel recruitment methodology has used the quality standards established by selected RDD surveys conducted for the Federal government (such as the CDC-sponsored National Immunization Survey).

GfK employed list-assisted RDD sampling techniques based on a sample frame of the U.S. residential land-line telephone universe. For purposes of efficiency, GfK excluded only those banks of telephone numbers (a bank consists of 100 numbers) that had fewer than two directory listings. Additionally, an oversampling was conducted within a stratum of telephone exchanges that had high concentrations of African American and Hispanic households based on Census data. Note that recruitment sampling was done without replacement, thus numbers attempted in earlier waves were excluded from subsequent recruitment waves.

A telephone number for which a valid postal address can be matched occurred in about 67-70% of each sample at the time RDD was being used for recruitment. These address-matched cases were all mailed an advance letter informing them that they had been selected to participate in the KnowledgePanel. For purposes of efficiency, the numbers without a matched-physical address were under-sampled at a rate of 0.75 relative to the address-matched numbers. Both the minority oversampling mentioned above and this under-sampling of non-address households are accounted for appropriately in the in the panel's weighting procedures.

Following the mailings, telephone recruitment by professional interviewers/recruiters began for all sampled telephone numbers. Telephone numbers for cases sent to recruiters were dialed for up to 90 days, with at least 14 dial attempts for cases in which no one answers the phone, and for numbers known to be associated with households. As occurs for most telephone interviews, for those participants who were hesitant or expressed a soft refusal, extensive refusal conversion was also performed. The recruitment interview, about 10 minutes in length, begins with informing the household member that the household had been selected to join KnowledgePanel. If the household did not have a computer and

access to the Internet, the household member is told that, as reward for completing a short survey weekly, the household will be provided with free monthly Internet access and a laptop computer (in the past, the household was provided with a WebTV device, currently, netbooks are provided). All members of the household were enumerated, and some initial demographic and background information on prior computer and Internet use was collected.

Households that informed recruiters that they had a home computer and Internet access were asked to take GfK surveys using their own equipment and Internet connection. Incentive points per survey, redeemable for cash, are given to these "PC" (personal computer) respondents for completing their surveys. Panel members provided with a laptop computer and free Internet access do not participate in this per-survey points-incentive program. However, all panel members receive special incentive points for selected surveys to improve response rates and/or for all longer surveys as a modest compensation for the extra burden of their time and participation.

For those panel members receiving a laptop or netbook computer, each unit is custom-configured prior to shipment with individual email accounts so that it is ready for immediate use by the household. Most households are able to install the hardware without additional assistance, although GfK maintains a toll-free telephone line for technical support. The GfK Call Center contacts household members who do not respond to email and attempts to restore both contact and participation. PC panel members provide their own email addresses, and we send their weekly survey invitations to that email account.

All new panel members receive an initial survey for the dual purpose of welcoming them as new panel members and introducing them to how online survey questionnaires work. New panel members also complete a separate profile survey that collects essential demographic information such as gender,

age, race, income, and education to create a personal member profile. This information can be used to determine eligibility for specific studies and is factored in for weighting purposes. Operationally, once the profile information is stored, it does not need to be re-collected as a part of each and every survey. This information is also updated annually for all panel members. Once new members have completed their profile surveys, they are designated as “active,” and considered ready to be sampled for client studies. [Note: Parental or legal guardian consent is also collected for the purpose of conducting surveys with teenage panel members, aged 13 to 17.]

Once a household is recruited and each household member’s email address is either obtained or provided, panel members are sent survey invitations linked through a personalized email message (instead of by phone or postal mail). This contact method permits surveys to be fielded quickly and economically, and also facilitates longitudinal research. In addition, this approach reduces the burden placed on respondents, since email notification is less intrusive than telephone calls and allows research subjects to participate in research when it is convenient for them.

Address-Based Sampling (ABS) Methodology

When GfK first started panel recruitment in 1999, the conventional opinion among survey experts was that probability-based sampling could be carried out cost effectively through the use of national RDD samples. The RDD landline frame at the time allowed access to 96% of U.S. households. Due to the rapid rise of cell phone-only households, this is no longer the case. In 2009, GfK first used address-based sampling for panel recruitment to reflect the changes in society and telephony over recent years. Some of the factors that have reduced the long-term scientific viability of landline RDD sampling methodology are as follows: declining respondent cooperation in telephone surveys, the development of “do not call” lists to reduce unsolicited commercial calls, call screening with call-

er-ID devices, increased use of answering machines; dilution of the RDD sample frame as measured by the working telephone number rate (more fax lines and lines dedicated to other functions), and finally, the emergence of cell phone only households (CPOHH), since these households are typically excluded from the RDD frame because they have no landline telephone.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (January-June 2011), approximately 33.6% of all U.S. households cannot be contacted through RDD sampling—31.6% as a result of CPOHH status and 2% because they have no telephone service whatsoever. Among some age segments, the RDD non-coverage would be substantial: 47% of young adults, ages 18–24, reside in CPOHHs, 58% of those 25–29 years old, and 46% of those who are 30–34.

After conducting an extensive pilot project in 2008, GfK made the decision to move to use an address-based sample (ABS) frame in response to the growing number of cell phone only households that are outside the RDD frame. Before conducting the ABS pilot, we also experimented with supplementing RDD samples with cell phone samples. However, this approach was found to be much more costly, and raised a number of other operational, data quality, and liability issues (for example, calling cell phones while respondents were driving).

The key advantage of the ABS sample frame is that it allows sampling of almost all U.S. households. An estimated 97% of households are “covered” in sampling nomenclature. Regardless of household telephone status, those households can be reached and contacted through postal mail. Second, the GfK ABS pilot project revealed several additional advantages beyond expected improvement in recruiting adults from CPOHHs:

- Improved sample representativeness for minority racial and ethnic groups
- Improved inclusion of lower educated and lower income households
- Exclusive inclusion of the fraction of CPOHHs that have neither a landline telephone nor Internet access (approximately four to six percent of US households).

ABS involves probability-based sampling of addresses from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Randomly sampled addresses are invited to join KnowledgePanel through a series of mailings and, in some cases, telephone follow-up calls to non-responders when a telephone number can be matched to the sampled address. Operationally, invited households have the option to join the panel by one of several ways:

- Completing and returning a paper form in a postage-paid envelope,
- Calling a toll-free hotline maintained by GfK, or
- Going to a dedicated GfK web site and completing an online recruitment form.

After initially accepting the invitation to join the panel, respondents are then "profiled" online by answering key demographic questions about themselves. This profile is maintained through the same procedures that were previously established for RDD-recruited panel members. Respondents not having an Internet connection are provided a laptop or netbook computer and free Internet service. Respondents sampled from the ABS frame, like those sampled from the RDD frame, are offered the same privacy terms and confidentiality protections that we have developed over the years and that have been reviewed and approved by dozens of Institutional Review Boards.

Large-scale ABS sampling for KnowledgePanel recruitment began in April 2009. As a result, sample coverage on KnowledgePanel of CPOHHs, young adults, and minority population groups has been increasing steadily since that time.

Because current KnowledgePanel members have been recruited over time from two different sample frames, RDD and ABS, GfK implemented several technical processes to merge samples sourced from these frames. KN's approach preserves the representative structure of the overall panel for the selection of individual client study samples. An advantage of mixing ABS frame panel members in any KnowledgePanel sample is a reduction in the variance of the weights. ABS-sourced samples tend to align more closely to the overall demographic distributions in the population, and thus the associated adjustment weights are somewhat more uniform and less varied. This variance reduction efficaciously attenuates the sample's design effect and confirms a real advantage for study samples drawn from KnowledgePanel with its dual frame construction.

Team

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The GfK Group

The GfK Group has a strong tradition in working with sophisticated academic, government, and commercial researchers to provide high quality research, samples, and analyses. The larger GfK Group offers the fundamental knowledge for governmental agencies, academics, industries, industry, retailers, services companies and the media need to provide exceptional quality in research to make effective decisions. It delivers a comprehensive range of information and consultancy services. GfK is one of the leading survey research organizations worldwide, operating in more than 100 countries with over 11,000 research staff. In 2010, the GfK Group's sales amounted to EUR 1.29 billion.

For further information, please visit: www.gfk.com.