



METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1,172 registered voters 18-34 years old in the United States, October 5-11, 2022.

We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- targeted advertisements on Facebook and Instagram (1,143 respondents)
- text messages sent, via the Switchboard platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data (31 respondents)

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted all adults under the age of thirty-five. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented and raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented, so that the final sample was roughly representative of the population across different groups. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was commissioned by Teen Vogue, on behalf of Teen Vogue, and conducted online by Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, region, and 2020 presidential vote. Weighting parameters were based on demographic composition of all registered voters, obtained from the voter file. That is, if a given age bracket or gender group represented $x\%$ of registered voters, then that same group would be weighted to $x\%$ in this survey. Presidential results were obtained from publicly available data.

The modeled margin of error* for this survey is 3.4%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting.

* We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"(1) (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.

** The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents, and is calculated using Kish's approximation (2).

(1) <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.

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REPORTED QUESTIONS

1. Are you:
 - Male
 - Female
 - Transgender
 - Non-binary/non-conforming.
 - Other

2. In what year were you born? [TERMINATE IF 35 OR OLDER]

3. In what ZIP code do you currently live?

4. What is your race? [multi-select]
 - White/Caucasian
 - Black or African American
 - Hispanic or Latino/a
 - American Indian or Alaska Native
 - Asian / Pacific Islander
 - Something else (please specify)

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
 - High school diploma or less
 - Some college, but no degree
 - Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
 - Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
 - Graduate degree

6. Are you registered to vote?
 - Yes
 - No
 - Not sure

7. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:
 - Democrat
 - Republican
 - Independent/Other

[If independent/ no party affiliation] Do you consider yourself closer to:

 - The Democrats
 - The Republicans
 - Neither

[If Democrat/Republican] Do you consider yourself a:

 - Strong [Democrat/Republican]
 - Not so strong [Democrat/Republican]

8. How did you vote in the 2020 election for President, or for some reason were you unable to vote?
 - Joe Biden, the Democrat
 - Donald Trump, the Republican
 - Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
 - Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
 - Did not vote

9. How likely are you to vote in the upcoming election for Congress and other state and local offices?
 - Yes, definitely
 - Yes, probably
 - Maybe (50-50)
 - No, probably not

- *No, definitely not*
10. How motivated are you to vote in the November election on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you are not motivated at all and 10 means you are extremely motivated? (0 - not motivated at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 - extremely motivated)
11. Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by each of the following public officials?
[Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove]
- Joe Biden as President
 - Your own member of Congress
 - The U.S. House of Representative
 - The U.S. Senate
 - The U.S. Supreme Court
12. If the election for U.S. Congress were held today, who would you vote for?
- The Republican candidate
 - The Democratic candidate
 - Not sure
- [If not sure] If you had to choose, who would you vote for?
- The Republican candidate
 - The Democratic candidate
 - Not sure
 - Would not vote
13. Which of the following best describes how you identify politically?
- Progressive
 - Liberal
 - Moderate
 - Libertarian
 - Conservative
14. How would you say things in the country are going? Are they going in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?
- Right direction
 - Wrong track
15. Long-term, I am mostly:
- Optimistic about the future
 - Pessimistic about the future
16. Compared to this time last year, are you:
- More optimistic about the country
 - More pessimistic about the country
17. How favorable are your feelings about each of the following public figures, groups, and ideas? [Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Neutral | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | Never heard of them]
- The Democratic Party
 - The Republican Party
 - Joe Biden
 - Donald Trump
 - Kamala Harris
 - Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
 - Bernie Sanders
 - Tucker Carlson
 - Mitch McConnell
 - Nancy Pelosi
 - Stacey Abrams

- The Supreme Court
- Capitalism
- Socialism
- Teen Vogue
- Black Lives Matter
- MAGA Republicans

18. Which THREE of the following issues are the most important priorities facing your generation today?

- The economy & jobs
- Healthcare costs
- The right to vote
- Abortion rights
- Climate change
- Gun control
- Student debt
- Immigration issues
- Racism & discrimination
- Criminal justice reform
- LGBTQ rights
- Corporate greed
- Money in politics

19. How would you rate the current state of each of the following:

[Excellent | Good | Not so good | Poor]

- The economy & jobs
- Healthcare costs
- The right to vote
- Abortion rights
- Climate change
- Gun control
- Student debt
- Immigration issues
- Racism & discrimination
- Criminal justice reform
- LGBTQ rights
- Corporate greed
- Money in politics

20. Who do you trust more on each of the following issues:

[The Democrats | The Republicans | Neither]

- The economy & jobs
- Healthcare costs
- The right to vote
- Abortion rights
- Climate change
- Gun control
- Student debt
- Immigration issues
- Racism & discrimination
- Criminal justice reform
- Protecting LGBTQ rights
- Corporate greed
- Money in politics

21. What word best describes how you feel about voting in the upcoming election? [OPEN END]

22. When it comes to the economy in America, do you think it is:

- Basically running fine and needs no significant adjustments

- Not running well but only needs small reforms
- Fundamentally broken and needs large structural reforms

23. How much have you seen, heard, or read about each of the following:

[A lot | Some | Only a little | Nothing at all]

- The U.S. Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade.
- Governor Ron DeSantis flying asylum seekers to Martha's Vineyard.
- The death of Queen Elizabeth.
- The "Don't Worry Darling" movie premiere
- Protests in Iran after a young woman was killed by police for not wearing a headscarf.
- The Biden Administration forgiving up to \$10,000 in federal student loan debt.
- The Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act, a new bipartisan law to fix roads, bridges, and other infrastructure and to expand broadband access.
- The CHIPS and Science Act - a new law bill to bring the semiconductor industry back to the U.S.
- The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), a new law that invests in renewable energy, cuts the cost of prescription drugs, closes corporate tax loopholes, and reduces the deficit.
- The January 6th Committee's investigation and hearings.
- Donald Trump taking classified documents from the White House to Mar-a-Lago.
- The Bipartisan Safer Communities Act, a new law to help reduce gun violence that was passed after Uvalde.

24. Below are some things that President Biden and the current Congress have done in the past two years. Based on what you know, do you support or oppose each of the following?

[Strongly support | Somewhat support | Somewhat oppose | Strongly oppose | Not sure]

- Forgave up to \$10,000 in federal student loan debt for people making less than \$125,000 a year.
- The Bipartisan Safer Communities Act, a new law to help reduce gun violence and keep our schools safe that was passed after the shooting in Uvalde.
- The bipartisan Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act that was signed into law in November of 2021 and is investing \$1.2 trillion in roads, bridges, rail service, drinking water pipes, ports, broadband internet and the electric grid.
- New measures in the Inflation Reduction Act that cap co-pays for insulin at \$35 a month for seniors, extend health insurance premium subsidies, and allow Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices.
- New measures in the Inflation Reduction Act that closed tax loopholes so corporations pay a minimum corporate tax of 15% and go after wealthy tax cheaters.
- New measures in the Inflation Reduction Act that will cut greenhouse gas emissions in half by 2030 by investing \$369 billion to expand renewable energy and lower energy costs.

25. When it comes to combating climate change, do you think the Biden Administration is doing:

- Not enough
- The right amount
- Too much

26. Which of the following best describes your household:

- Currently paying off student loan debt
- Already paid off student loan debt
- Never had student loan debt
- Planning on taking on student loan debt in the future

27. Has passing the climate provisions in the Inflation Reduction Act made you:

- Much more supportive of Biden and Democrats
- Somewhat more supportive of Biden and Democrats
- Has not changed my opinion either way
- Somewhat less supportive of Biden and Democrats
- Much less supportive of Biden and Democrats

28. Has forgiving \$10,000 in federal student loan debt made you:

- Much more supportive of Biden and Democrats
- Somewhat more supportive of Biden and Democrats

- Has not changed my opinion either way
- Somewhat less supportive of Biden and Democrats
- Much less supportive of Biden and Democrats

29. Is each of the following:

[A significant step forward | Too little too late | A step backward]

- The \$369 billion investment in renewable energy and climate provisions in the Inflation Reduction Act.
- Forgiving \$10,000 in federal student loan debt.
- The bipartisan gun safety law that allows enhanced background checks for those under 21, funding to state red flag laws, partial closure of the boyfriend loopholes, and increases mental health and school safety funding.

30. Abortion should be:

- Legal in all cases
- Legal in most cases
- Illegal in most cases
- Illegal in all cases

31. As you may know, in June of this year, the conservative majority on the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade, the 1973 decision that established the right to an abortion. Does that make you more or less motivated to vote in November?

- Much more motivated
- Somewhat more motivated
- Makes no difference
- Somewhat less motivated
- Much less motivated

32. Thinking about the upcoming election, will you support:

- Candidates who support abortion rights
- Candidates who want to restrict abortion
- Abortion is unlikely to impact my vote choice

33. Thinking about the 2022 elections for U.S. Congress and other state offices, are you more likely to support a candidate who:

- Agrees with my stance on abortion access, even if they disagree with me on other issues.
- Agrees with my stance on most issues, even if they disagree with my stance on abortion access.

34. Now that Roe v. Wade has been overturned, abortion in my state is:

- Mostly illegal
- Mostly legal

35. How likely are you to consider a state's abortion laws when deciding where to live in the future?

- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Not too likely
- No chance at all

36. The changing abortion laws in the country:

- Directly impact me
- Indirectly impact me
- Don't impact me

37. Now that Roe v. Wade, has been overturned, how concerned are you about an unwanted pregnancy and your partner not having access to abortion care?

- Very concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Not too concerned

- Not concerned at all
38. [IF NOT MALE] Now that Roe v. Wade, has been overturned, how concerned are you personally about an unwanted pregnancy and not having access to abortion care?
- Very concerned
 - Somewhat concerned
 - Not too concerned
 - Not concerned at all
39. How much, if anything, have you seen, heard, or read about the candidates for Congress in your area recently?
- A lot
 - Some
 - Only a little
 - Nothing at all
40. What issue have you been hearing about the most from Democratic candidates during this election? [OPEN END]
41. What issue have you been hearing about the most from Republican candidates during this election? [OPEN END]
42. If Republicans had control of Congress, how likely do you think it is that they will try to do each of the following?
[Very likely | Somewhat likely | Not too likely | No chance at all]
- Pass a national ban on abortion.
 - Outlaw certain forms of contraception, like Plan B and IUDs.
 - Take away the right to gay marriage.
 - Take away the right to interracial marriage.
 - Make it harder for people with whom they disagree to cast a ballot.
 - Impeach Joe Biden.
 - Obstruct investigations into January 6th and pardon the insurrectionists.
 - Cut taxes on corporations.
 - Make it easier for people like you to afford things.
43. Are you more or less likely to support a candidate who:
[Much more likely | Somewhat more likely | Makes no difference | Somewhat less likely | Much less likely]
- Is under the age of 50
 - Identifies as a MAGA Republican
 - Believes the 2020 election was stolen from Donald Trump
 - Support abortion rights
 - Opposes abortion
 - Refuses to take corporate PAC donations
 - Supports the Green New Deal
 - Supports Medicare for All
 - Supports defunding the police
 - Says All Lives Matter
 - Is religious
 - Is not religious
 - Is a woman
 - Is a man
 - Is supported by the N.R.A.
 - Supports legalizing recreational cannabis
 - Supports building a wall on the border with Mexico
 - Doesn't believe in climate change
44. How much have you seen, heard, or read about each of the following:

[A lot | Some | Only a little | Nothing at all]

- The Electoral Count Reform Act, a bill to prevent a vice president from rejecting the official electoral states of slates when certifying an election that was passed in the House of Representatives.
- The For the People Act, an anti-corruption and voter protection bill that was passed in the U.S. House
- Proposals to abolish or reform the filibuster in the U.S. Senate
- The invasion of Ukraine by Russia.
- Efforts to ban certain books
- The “Don’t Say Gay” bill that was passed in Florida.
- Lizzo playing Jame Madison’s crystal flute onstage during her D.C. concert.

45. How likely do you think it is that there will be another civil war in America in your lifetime?

- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Not too likely
- Not likely at all

46. How concerned are you that:

[Very concerned | Somewhat concerned | Not too concerning | Not concerned at all]

- People who are not eligible to vote will cast ballots in the election.
- People who are eligible will be prevented from casting ballots in the election.
- Republicans will refuse to accept the results of elections if they lose.
- Democrats will refuse to accept the results of elections if they lose.
- There will be another attack like January 6th in response to the outcome of the next election.

47. Thinking about the upcoming election, are you:

- More motivated to vote compared to past elections
- About as motivated as I have been in past elections
- Less motivated to vote compared to past elections
- This is the first election I have been eligible to vote

48. Thinking about the upcoming election, are most of your friends:

- More motivated to vote compared to past elections
- About as motivated as they have been in past elections
- Less motivated to vote compared to past elections

49. Which TWO of the following are *most* responsible for polarization in America?

- Politicians themselves
- Donors & lobbyists
- The media
- Social media
- Racism
- Political correctness
- Older generations

50. What are ways that you get involved and advocate for the changes you want to see in your community?

Select all that apply.

- Voting in elections
- Posting on social media
- Signing petitions
- Changing my behavior (like recycling, not supporting unethical companies)
- Attending rallies or protests
- Educating myself on issues of importance
- Volunteering for causes I care about
- Donating money to causes I care about
- Mentoring someone

51. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Not sure]

- Most of our political leaders are too old to understand the issues impacting young people.
- My generation has to find other ways of making changes we need to see in this country because we can't rely on the government.
- Nothing changes for people like me, no matter which party is in power.
- Free speech in this country is secure.
- Once in elected office, politicians usually end up compromising and not getting any of their promises done.
- Social media companies have a responsibility to prevent the proliferation of hate, cyberbullying, and disinformation on their platforms.
- Democracies are the best form of government.
- My vote matters.

52. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Not sure]

- I spend too much time on social media.
- I've felt depressed in the past 6 months.

53. They are a 10 but...(Select all that apply)

- They are anti-choice
- They are pro-choice
- They are a devout Christian
- They are an atheist
- They identify as liberal
- They identify as conservative
- They identify as a MAGA Republican
- They own a gun
- They don't care about politics
- They talk about politics frequently
- They listen to Joe Rogan
- They watch the Real Housewives
- They are not on social media
- They post frequently on social media
- They say All Lives Matter
- They say Black Lives Matter
- They are into astrology
- They say there are only two genders

54. For each of the following traits, please indicate whether it better describes your generation, your parents' generation, or does it describe both equally?

[My generation more | My parents' generation more | Both equally]

- Hard-working
- Generous
- Educated
- Tough
- Too sensitive
- Accepting
- Self-centered
- Flexible
- Inventive

55. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in the next 25 to 30 years, African Americans, Latinos and people of Asian descent will make up a majority of the population. In general, is this a:

- Good thing for the country
- Neither a good thing or a bad thing
- A bad thing for the country

56. How often would you say you spend time on each of the following social media platforms?

[Multiple times a day | Once a day | A few times a week | Less often | Do not use]

- YouTube
- Facebook
- Instagram
- TikTok
- Twitter
- Snapchat
- WhatsApp
- Reddit
- LinkedIn
- Pinterest

57. Are you:

- Single
- Married
- Divorced
- Living with a partner
- Widowed

58. Which of the following comes closest to your living arrangement:

- I rent
- I own a home or am paying a mortgage
- I live in a house that someone else owns, but I don't pay rent

59. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be? Select all that apply.

- Straight or heterosexual
- Lesbian
- Gay
- Bisexual
- Transgender
- Non-binary
- Pansexual

60. Which of the following best matches your religious affiliation?

- Evangelical
- Protestant, Non-Evangelical
- Observant Catholic
- Non-observant Catholic
- Mormon / Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Sikh
- Buddhist
- Atheist
- Other
- Non-religious

61. For statistical purposes, what is your annual household income?

- Under \$20,000
- \$20,000 to \$34,999
- \$35,000 to \$49,999
- \$50,000 to \$74,999
- \$75,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 to \$124,999
- \$125,000 to \$149,999
- \$150,000 or more

