

**2020 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
ATP W59 JANUARY
FINAL TOPLINE
JANUARY 6-19, 2020
N=12,638**

Note on trends: Several questions have been asked both on the phone and online. These are labeled throughout the topline: "**phone trend for comparison.**" The extent of the mode differences varies across questions; while there are negligible differences on some questions, others have more pronounced differences. Caution should be taken when evaluating online and phone estimates. See report for more details.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=6,340]:

ELCTANTCPT Are you looking forward to the presidential election this fall?

Jan 6-19

2020

72	Yes
27	No
1	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Would you say you are looking forward to the presidential election this fall or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL) DK/Ref</u>
January 8-13, 2020	77	21	2
Feb 8-12, 2012	62	35	3
April 23-27, 2008	68	30	2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

PRZCMPGN How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who are running for president in 2020?¹

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>	May 10- June 6 <u>2016²</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28 <u>2016</u>	Mar 10- Apr 6 <u>2015³</u>
30	A lot	30	26	55	52	56	26
37	Some	37	37	27	31	28	40
21	Not much	22	23	9	11	9	23
11	None at all	11	14	8	5	6	11
*	No answer	*	*	1	1	1	*

¹ Phone trend for this question is not presented due to significant mode differences between the web and phone.

² In surveys conducted in 2016, question asked about candidates running for president in 2016.

³ W10 (March 10 – April 6, 2014) had a minor difference in question wording: "How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2016?"

ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:

DEMFIELD Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Democratic presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say the candidates are...

BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=5,861]:

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>
12	Excellent	16	13
51	Good	53	53
31	Only fair	27	30
5	Poor	4	4
1	No answer	1	1

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the DEMOCRATIC presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates or poor candidates?

BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS:

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
2020 Presidential Election					
July 10-15, 2019	23	42	25	5	4
2016 Presidential Election					
Sep 22-27, 2015	14	37	36	12	2
May 12-18, 2015	12	42	33	8	5
2008 Presidential Election					
February, 2008	30	50	16	2	2
January, 2008	28	50	18	2	2
November, 2007	16	51	28	2	3
October, 2007 ⁴	16	48	26	5	5
September, 2007	15	49	29	2	5
2004 Presidential Election					
January, 2004	8	39	41	6	8
December, 2003	5	40	39	7	9
September, 2003	4	40	39	5	12
1992 Presidential Election					
February, 1992	6	39	47	4	5
October, 1991	3	24	38	11	23
1988 Presidential Election					
January, 1988 (GP)	4	33	45	11	7

⁴ Before October 2007, answer choice read "Fair" not "Only fair." In October 2007 the question was asked both ways and no difference was found. As a result, October 2007 numbers combine both versions of the question. In 1988, 1991 and 1993 question asked about "men running for the [party] presidential nomination."

ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:

DEMNOE

Thinking about the 2020 presidential election, who would be your choice for the Democratic nomination for president?

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=5,861]:

	<u>First choice</u>			<u>Second choice</u>			<u>Any choice (first or second)</u>		
	Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>	Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>	Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>
Biden	26	27	26	11	9	8	37	36	34
Sanders	21	15	12	14	13	9	35	28	21
Warren	16	22	16	16	17	15	31	39	31
Buttigieg	7	5	5	7	5	5	13	10	11
Bloomberg	5	-	-	3	-	-	8	-	-
Yang	3	2	1	3	1	*	6	3	1
Klobuchar	2	1	1	4	1	1	6	2	1
Booker	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	3
Steyer	1	*	*	1	*	*	2	*	*
Harris	*	6	11	*	9	14	1	15	25
O'Rourke	*	2	1	*	1	2	*	3	2
Castro	*	1	1	*	1	*	*	2	1
Williamson	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*
Gabbard	*	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	1
Bullock	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	*
Bennet	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Patrick	*	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	-
Delaney	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ryan	-	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	*
Sestak	-	*	0	-	*	*	-	*	*
Messam	-	0	0	-	*	*	-	*	*
NET other responses	12	13		2	3		13	15	
No answer	5	5	18	33	28	36	34	11	18

DEMNOE TREND FOR COMPARISON:**BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS:**

May 10- June 6, 2016		<i>First choice</i>	<i>Second choice</i>
<u>Any choice</u>			
69	Hillary Clinton	48	21
55	Bernie Sanders	35	20
8	Other	4	5
12	No answer	12	54

	<u>Any choice</u>	<u>First choice</u>
Hillary Clinton		
May 10-June 6, 2016	69	48
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	67	45
Mar 2-28, 2016	68	46
Nov 24-Dec 21, 2015	67	46
Aug 11-Sept 8, 2015	57	40
Mar 10-Apr 6, 2015	51	41

	<u>Any choice</u>	<u>First choice</u>
Bernie Sanders		
May 10-June 6, 2016	55	35
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	57	39
Mar 2-28, 2016	56	37
Nov 24-Dec 21, 2015	45	30
Aug 11-Sept 8, 2015	31	21
Mar 10-Apr 6, 2015	4	2

ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) WHO NAME A CANDIDATE IN DEMNOE [N=6,245]:

DEMOCERTB And which better describes your view of the Democratic candidates for president?
[RANDOMIZE]

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS WHO NAME A CANDIDATE IN DEMNOE [N=5,198]:

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>
43	My first choice is really the only candidate I feel enthusiastic about	35
54	There are several candidates I feel enthusiastic about	63
2	No answer	1

ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:

DEMDEALFGHT Which is more important to you in a Democratic presidential candidate?
Someone who, if elected president, will focus on... [RANDOMIZE]

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANERS [N=7,013]:

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>
62	Finding common ground with Republicans on policies, even if it means giving up some things Democrats want	60
36	Pushing hard for policies Democrats want, even it makes it much harder to get some things done	38
2	No answer	2

ASK IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=1,9) [N=5,625]:

REPDEALFGHT Which is more important to you for Donald Trump to focus on [RANDOMIZE]?

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN-LEANERS [N=5,221]:

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>
47	Finding common ground with Democrats on policies, even if it means giving up some things Republicans want	51
51	Pushing hard for policies Republicans want, even it makes it much harder to get some things done	47
3	No answer	2

ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:

PRMRYSYT Overall, how good a job do you think this year's caucuses and primaries will do at selecting the best Democratic candidate for the general election?

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=5,861]:

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	
10	Very good job
67	Somewhat good job
18	Somewhat bad job
3	Very bad job
1	No answer

ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:

NHIAVOTE As you may know, Iowa and New Hampshire have their caucus and primary before other states. In general, do you think this is... [RANDOMIZE, WITH ITEM 3 ALWAYS LAST]

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=5,861]:

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	
9	A good thing
26	A bad thing
63	Neither a good thing or a bad thing
1	No answer

ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:

RICHDEM As you may know, some very wealthy Democratic primary candidates are personally funding their presidential campaigns. In general, do you think this is... **[RANDOMIZE, WITH ITEM 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=5,861]:

Jan 6-19

2020

24	A good thing
28	A bad thing
47	Neither a good thing or a bad thing
1	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

ASK FORM 1 [N=6,340]:

FREETRADEUS In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a...

Jan 6-19

2020

72	Good thing for the United States
25	Bad thing for the United States
4	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	(VOL) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 8-13, 2020	62	23	14
July 10-15, 2019	65	22	12
Apr 25-May 1, 2018	56	30	14
Apr 5-11, 2017	52	40	8
Oct 20-25, 2016	45	43	11
Aug 9-16, 2016	50	42	8
Mar 17-26, 2016	51	39	10
May 12-18, 2015	58	33	9
Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	59	30	10
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	41	12
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	52	34	14

In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World Trade Organization have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 4-7, 2010	35	44	21
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	32	25
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	44	35	21
April, 2008	35	48	17
November, 2007	40	40	20
December, 2006 ⁵	44	35	21
Late October, 2005	44	34	22
December, 2004	47	34	19
July, 2004	47	34	19

⁵ In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" In December 2003 the question wording asked about "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO;" full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question asked about: "...NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement..."

ASK FORM 2 [N=6,298]:

FREETRADEU In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a...

Jan 6-19

2020

69	Good thing for people like you
26	Bad thing for people like you
5	No answer

RANDOMIZE HC_MEDALL AND HC_MEDOPT, SHOW ON SAME SCREEN**ASK ALL:**

HC_MEDALL Would you favor or oppose a single national health insurance program run by the government, sometimes called "Medicare for all," that would replace private insurance?

Jan 6-19

2020

26	Strongly favor
29	Somewhat favor
18	Somewhat oppose
27	Strongly oppose
1	No answer

RANDOMIZE HC_MEDALL AND HC_MEDOPT, SHOW ON SAME SCREEN**ASK ALL:**

HC_MEDOPT Would you favor or oppose the government offering a health insurance plan, similar to Medicare, that Americans could choose to purchase instead of private insurance?

Jan 6-19

2020

29	Strongly favor
44	Somewhat favor
14	Somewhat oppose
12	Strongly oppose
1	No answer

ASK ALL:

FREECOLL Would you favor or oppose making tuition at public colleges and universities free for all American students?

Jan 6-19

2020

37	Strongly favor
26	Somewhat favor
15	Somewhat oppose
21	Strongly oppose
1	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

BILLION

Do you think the fact that there are some people in this country who have personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more is...

Jan 6-19

2020

19	A good thing for the country
23	A bad thing for the country
58	Neither a good thing or a bad thing
1	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK ALL CITIZENS (S_CITIZEN=1) [N=11,965]:**

TRUMPDEM2020

Again, thinking ahead to the presidential election that will take place in November 2020, do you think you will... **[SHOW OPTIONS 1-4 IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]**

Jan 6-19

2020

25	Definitely vote for Donald Trump
10	Probably vote for Donald Trump
10	Probably vote for the Democratic candidate
34	Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate
20	Don't know
1	No answer

Sep 3-15

2019

24
10
9
36
20
*

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=10,491]:

Jan 6-19

2020

28	Definitely vote for Donald Trump
10	Probably vote for Donald Trump
10	Probably vote for the Democratic candidate
38	Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate
13	Don't know
*	No answer

Sep 3-15

2019

28
10
9
39
14
*

ROTATE EMTPRESTRUMP AND WHOWIN2 BY FORM. ASK EMTPRESTRUMP FIRST IF FORM=1, ASK WHOWIN2FIRST IF FORM=2.

ASK ALL:

EMTPRESTRUMP How would you feel if Donald Trump was reelected in the November 2020 election?
[SHOW OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>
15	Excited	14
24	Relieved	24
35	Disappointed	34
23	Angry	26
3	No Answer	2

PANEL TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How do you feel about Donald Trump winning the presidential election?

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u> ⁶	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
18	Excited	12	10	14
25	Relieved	26	25	16
41	Disappointed	37	37	37
15	Angry	23	24	29
2	No Answer	2	4	4

ROTATE EMTPRESTRUMP AND WHOWIN2 BY FORM. ASK EMTPRESTRUMP FIRST IF FORM=1, ASK WHOWIN2FIRST IF FORM=2.

ASK ALL:

WHOWIN2 Regardless of who you support, who do you think will win the 2020 presidential election?
[SHOW OPTIONS 1-4 IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	
16	Donald Trump will definitely win
29	Donald Trump will probably win
19	Democratic candidate will probably win
6	Democratic candidate will definitely win
29	Don't know
1	No answer

PANEL TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Regardless of who you support, who do you think will win the 2016 presidential election...
[RANDOMIZE]

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	July 12- Aug 8 <u>2016</u>	June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>
29	Donald Trump	32	29	40	36
67	Hillary Clinton	64	67	56	59
4	No Answer	3	4	4	4

⁶ Prior to the November 2016 survey, this question was asked as a hypothetical, "How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election?"

WHOWIN2 PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

	<u>Republican</u>		<u>Democrat</u>		(VOL.) <u>Other/DK</u>
2012 Election					
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012	30	<i>Romney</i>	52	<i>Obama</i>	18
Oct 24-28, 2012	31	<i>Romney</i>	49	<i>Obama</i>	19
Sep 12-16, 2012	24	<i>Romney</i>	53	<i>Obama</i>	23
Jun 7-17, 2012	34	<i>Romney</i>	52	<i>Obama</i>	15
Mar 7-11, 2012 ⁷	32	<i>Romney</i>	59	<i>Obama</i>	9
2008 Election					
Mid-October, 2008	17	<i>McCain</i>	61	<i>Obama</i>	22
Mid-September, 2008	39	<i>McCain</i>	39	<i>Obama</i>	22
June, 2008	27	<i>McCain</i>	53	<i>Obama</i>	20
April, 2008 ⁸	42	<i>McCain</i>	47	<i>Obama</i>	11
March, 2008	38	<i>McCain</i>	50	<i>Obama</i>	12
2004 Election					
November, 2004	48	<i>Bush</i>	27	<i>Kerry</i>	25
Mid-October, 2004	54	<i>Bush</i>	27	<i>Kerry</i>	19
Early October, 2004	61	<i>Bush</i>	27	<i>Kerry</i>	12
September, 2004	60	<i>Bush</i>	22	<i>Kerry</i>	18
August, 2004	44	<i>Bush</i>	37	<i>Kerry</i>	19
July, 2004	42	<i>Bush</i>	38	<i>Kerry</i>	20
June, 2004	51	<i>Bush</i>	35	<i>Kerry</i>	14
May, 2004	52	<i>Bush</i>	31	<i>Kerry</i>	17
Early February, 2004	56	<i>Bush</i>	32	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	12
Mid-January, 2004	61	<i>Bush</i>	21	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	18
September, 2003	47	<i>Bush</i>	34	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	19
June, 2003	66	<i>Bush</i>	22	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	12
2000 Election					
November, 2000	43	<i>Bush</i>	32	<i>Gore</i>	25
Late October, 2000	48	<i>Bush</i>	38	<i>Gore</i>	14
Early October, 2000	33	<i>Bush</i>	46	<i>Gore</i>	21
June, 2000	51	<i>Bush</i>	33	<i>Gore</i>	16
October, 1999	70	<i>Bush</i>	23	<i>Gore</i>	7
1996 Election					
Late September, 1996 ⁹	12	<i>Dole</i>	79	<i>Clinton</i>	9
Early September, 1996	16	<i>Dole</i>	75	<i>Clinton</i>	9
July, 1996	19	<i>Dole</i>	72	<i>Clinton</i>	9
1992 Election					
October, 1992	30	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	61	<i>Clinton</i>	9
March, 1992	72	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	20	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	8
February, 1992	66	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	25	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	9
October, 1991	78	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	11	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	11

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

⁷ In March 2012, this question was asked both about Mitt Romney/Barack Obama and Rick Santorum/ Barack Obama, and read: "Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election if it is between..."

⁸ In March and April 2008, this question was asked both about John McCain/Barack Obama and John McCain/Hillary Clinton, and read: "Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election if it is between..."

⁹ In 1996 and October 1992, the question also asked about Ross Perot. Results here are included in the "Other/DK" category.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...¹⁰

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	Something <u>else</u>	No <u>answer</u>	Lean <u>Rep</u>	Lean <u>Dem</u>
27	29	29	13	2	17	22

CORRECTION (FEBRUARY 3, 2020): In previous version of topline, DEMDEALFGHT and REPDEALFGHT did not show filter logic. This update did not affect the report's substantive findings.

¹⁰ Party and PartyIn asked in a prior survey.