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Amid Campaign Turmoil, Biden Holds Wide Leads on Coronavirus, Unifying the Country

Most Trump, Biden supporters say their differences go beyond policies to ‘core American values and goals’

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand how Americans view the upcoming 2020 presidential election and the presidential candidates. For this analysis, we surveyed 11,929 U.S. adults, including 10,543 registered voters, during the last week of September and the first week of October 2020. The survey was in the field when Trump announced, early on the morning of Oct. 2, that he and first lady Melania Trump had contracted COVID-19.

Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the [ATP's methodology](#).

Here are the [questions used for the report](#), along with responses, and [its methodology](#).

Amid Campaign Turmoil, Biden Holds Wide Leads on Coronavirus, Unifying the Country

Most Trump, Biden supporters say their differences go beyond policies to ‘core American values and goals’

The 2020 presidential campaign has been repeatedly rocked by seismic events – from the outbreak of a devastating pandemic to President Donald Trump contracting [COVID-19](#). Yet in at least two important respects, not much has changed: Joe Biden continues to hold sizable advantages over Trump on most major issues and key personal traits, as well as in overall voter preferences. And voters continue to be highly focused on the election and attach great importance to its outcome.

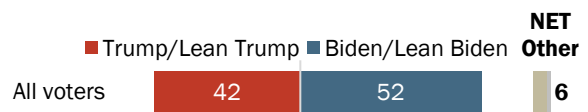
With less than a month to go before the election, a majority of registered voters (57%) say they are very or somewhat confident in Biden to handle the public health impact of the coronavirus, while 40% express a similar level of confidence in Trump. [In June](#), Biden held a narrower, 11 percentage point lead on handling the coronavirus outbreak (52% Biden, 41% Trump).

At a time of deep political divisions and [partisan antipathy](#), voters are far more likely to express confidence in Biden than Trump to unify the country. Half of voters (50%) say they are confident in Biden to “bring the country closer together,” compared with just 30% who express confidence in Trump.

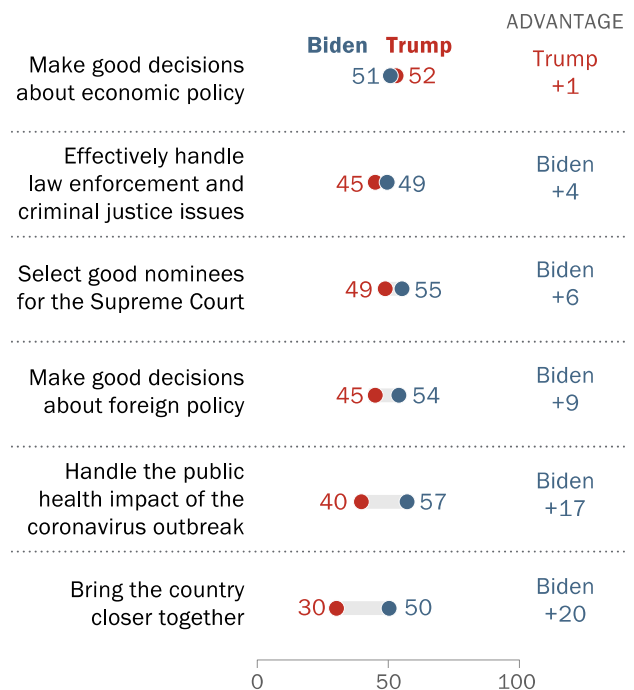
The new survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5 among 11,929 U.S. adults, including 10,543 registered voters, finds that

Biden has overall lead over Trump and holds advantages on most issues

% of registered voters who say, if the election were held today, they would vote for ...



*% of registered voters who are **very/somewhat confident** that ___ can do each of the following*



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Biden maintains an overall lead in voter preferences: 52% of registered voters say if the election were held today, they would vote for Biden or lean toward voting for him, while 42% support or lean toward voting for Trump. Another 4% of voters back Libertarian Jo Jorgensen, while 1% support Green Party candidate Howie Hawkins in the 2020 election. (*See detailed tables for full demographic breaks on voter preferences.*)

The survey was in the field when Trump announced on Twitter, early on the morning of Oct. 2, that he and first lady Melania Trump had contracted COVID-19. There are no significant differences in voter preferences, or in confidence in the two candidates to handle the impact of the coronavirus, before and after his announcement.

Trump's handling of the nation's economy remains a relative strong point. About half of voters (52%) express confidence in Trump to make good decisions about economic policy, one of the highest shares expressing confidence in the president on any of the six issues on the survey. However, about as many voters (51%) have confidence in Biden on the economy.

Since summer, there has been some improvement in views of the nation's economy. Among all voters, 35% say economic conditions are excellent or good, up from 28% in June. However, this change has come almost entirely among Trump supporters. And the gap in economic perceptions, already wide, has grown much wider. Two-thirds (67%) of Trump supporters now say that economic conditions are excellent or good, compared with 51% who said this in June. Just 11% of Biden supporters view economic conditions positively, which is little changed from four months ago (9%).

The survey finds that voters view Biden much more positively than Trump for compassion, honesty and being a good role model. Nearly twice as many voters say "compassionate" describes Biden very or fairly well than say it applies to Trump (67% vs. 34%). More than half of voters (53%) say Biden is honest, compared with 35% who describe Trump as honest. And far more voters say Biden is a good role model (54% vs. 28%).

The gap is narrower on other personal attributes. Biden holds a narrow 6-point edge in “courageous” (54% Biden, 48% Trump); slightly more say Trump than Biden is mentally sharp (50% Trump, 46% Biden). Among six personal traits included, Trump holds his widest edge in standing up for his beliefs: 69% say this describes Trump very or fairly well, compared with 61% who say it describes Biden well.

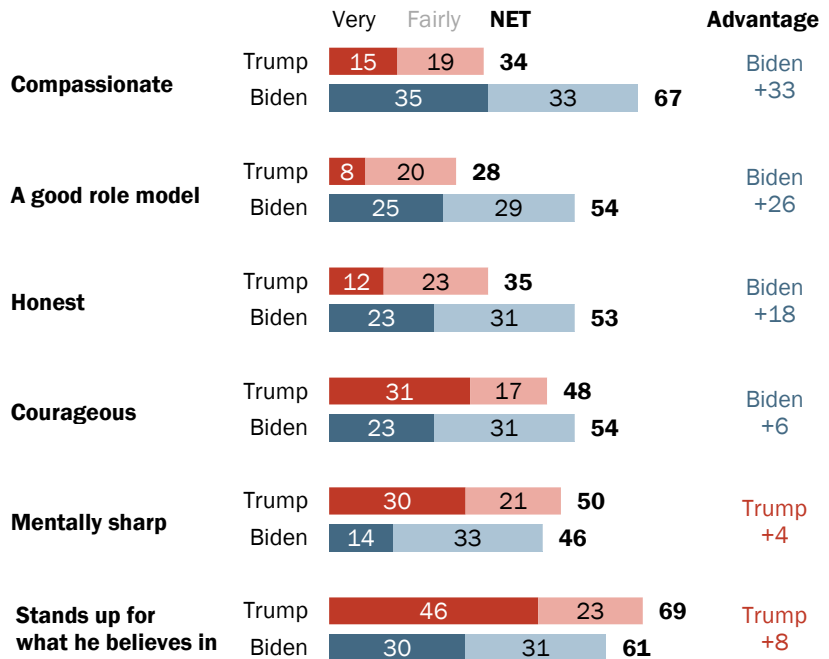
The share of Biden supporters who back him strongly has increased since August, though he still trails Trump in strong support. A 57% majority of voters who favor Biden say they support him strongly. Biden drew strong backing from fewer than half of his supporters (46%) two months ago. About two-thirds of those who back Trump (68%) say they support him strongly.

As was the case in the summer, voters’ preferences – regardless of whom they favor – remain very much centered on Trump. Just 36% of Biden voters view their vote more as an expression of support for the former vice president; 63% view it as vote *against* Trump. By contrast, 71% of Trump supporters say their vote is a vote *for* Trump. These views have changed only modestly since June.

The supporters of both candidates remain highly engaged in the election. Identical shares of registered voters who favor Trump and Biden (71% each) say they have given a lot of thought to the candidates running for president. And nearly eight-in-ten voters (78%) – again, comparable majorities of both candidates’ supporters – say it “really matters” who wins.

Far more voters describe Biden than Trump as compassionate and a good role model

% of registered voters who say ___ describes each candidate **very or fairly well**



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

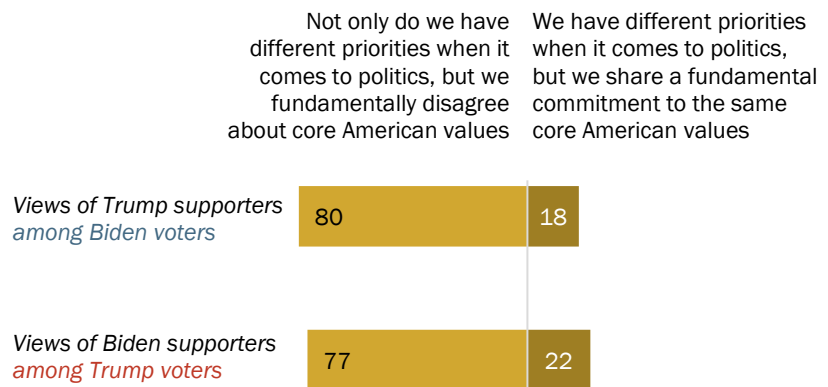
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While voters on both sides share a sense of the importance of the election, they also share concern about the country's future if the opposing candidate wins. Fully 89% of Trump supporters say that if Biden wins, they not only would be very concerned over the country's direction, they believe it would lead to "lasting harm" for the country. A nearly identical majority of Biden supporters (90%) say Trump's election would result in lasting harm to the United States.

And voters who support both Trump and Biden say their differences extend beyond policies to disagreements over core values. Overwhelming shares of voters who support each candidate say that, when asked to think about those who favor their opposing candidate, they not only have different views on politics and policies, they also have "fundamental disagreements on core American values and goals."

Only about one-in-five Trump and Biden supporters say they share the same core American values and goals

% of registered voters who say ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No response answers not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Roughly eight-in-ten of those who support Biden (80%) and Trump (77%) say they fundamentally disagree about core values; only about one-in-five say their differences are limited to politics and policies.

However, there is a widespread sense among voters that if their candidate *wins* the election, the next president should primarily focus on the concerns of all Americans, not just those who voted for him. This view – like the belief that the country may face lasting harm if the opposing candidate wins – is shared widely among the supporters of both candidates. Fully 89% of Biden supporters and 86% of Trump supporters say that if their candidate is victorious, he should focus primarily on the concerns of all Americans, even if it means disappointing some of his supporters.

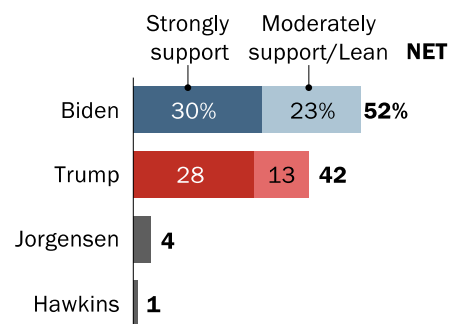
1. The Trump-Biden presidential contest

With less than a month until Election Day, Joe Biden maintains his lead over Donald Trump in the presidential race. Today, 52% of registered voters say that if the election were held today, they would cast their vote for Biden; a smaller share of registered voters say they would cast their ballot for Trump (42%). Jo Jorgensen captures 4% of registered voters while Howie Hawkins garners 1% support.

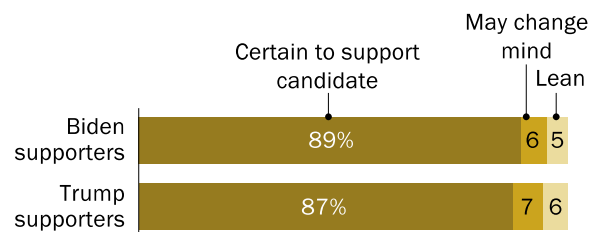
As was the case in 2016 at a similar point in the presidential campaign, voters feel certain about their choices: 89% of Biden voters say they are certain to support their preferred candidate; 87% of Trump voters say the same. Only small shares of either candidate's supporters say there is a chance they will change their mind (less than 10% of each).

Biden maintains lead over Trump; most voters are certain about their choice

% of registered voters who say, if the election were held today, they would vote for ...



% who say, when it comes to their candidate preference ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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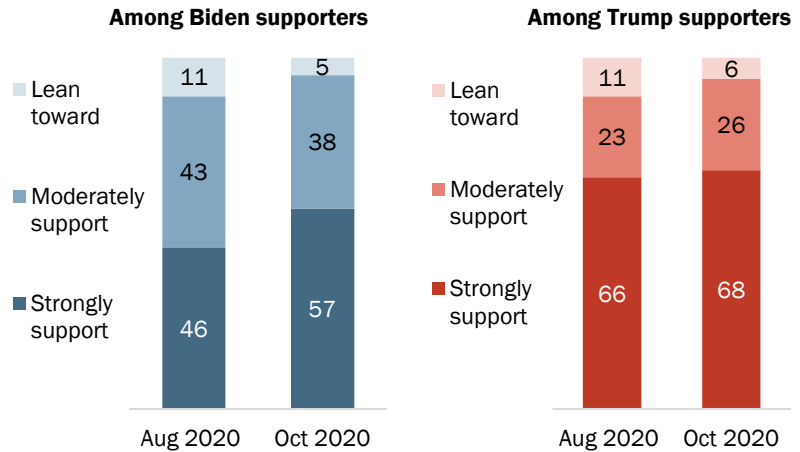
Trump, however, continues to hold an advantage in the share of his voters who say they support him strongly compared with Biden. Today, 68% of Trump voters say they “strongly support” their preferred candidate, compared with 57% of Biden’s voters.

Biden’s strong support has increased over the past two months: In August, 46% of his voters said they strongly support him. Today, a majority of his voters say this (57%).

This gap in strength of support mirrors other presidential election years with an incumbent president running for reelection. In 2012, Barack Obama held an advantage over Mitt Romney in strong support; and in 2004, George W. Bush enjoyed more strong support among his voters than John Kerry.

Strong support for Biden has increased substantially since August, but he still lags Trump in strong backing

% of registered voters who ___ preferred candidate



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Trump voters remain considerably more likely than Biden voters to say their choice in candidate is more of an expression of support “for” their preferred candidate. In contrast, Biden’s voters are considerably more likely to say their choice is mostly *against* Trump.

This dynamic is mostly unchanged since earlier this summer, though there has been modest movement among each coalition of voters. Today, Trump’s voters are slightly more likely to say their vote is against Biden (29% today vs. 24% then), while Biden’s voters are slightly less likely to say their choice is more a vote against Trump (67% then vs. 63% today).

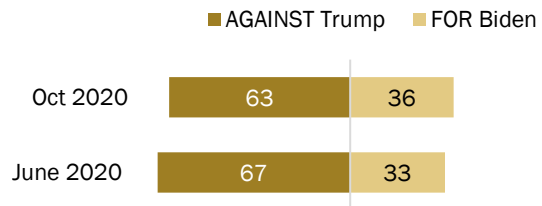
As in [June 2020](#), there remain sizable divides among Biden supporters in views of whether they see their vote more as for Biden or against Trump.

Among Biden’s supporters, Black voters and older voters are among the most likely demographic groups to say their choice is *for* Biden. In contrast, younger Biden supporters and White Biden supporters are far more likely to say their choice is more *against* Trump.

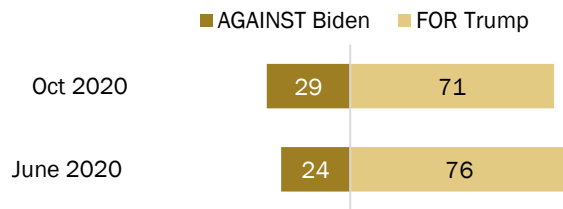
There is less variation in views among Trump voters, though Trump supporters under 50 years of age are slightly more likely than their older counterparts to say their vote is *against* Biden rather than *for* Trump.

Views of Trump remain central to election preferences – both among his supporters and Biden’s

% of **Biden supporters** who say their choice is more a vote ...



% of **Trump supporters** who say their choice is more a vote ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Familiar demographic divides in vote preferences

In the final weeks leading up to Election Day, Biden holds a 10 percentage point lead over Trump among registered voters in the presidential race (52% Biden, 42% Trump). Many of the demographic patterns of support for both candidates are similar to those in the 2016 presidential contest. (*See [detailed tables for full demographic breaks on voter preferences.](#)*)

Just as was the case four years ago, there is a sizable gender gap in candidate preference: Women voters continue to favor the Democratic candidate for president by 17 percentage points (55% to 39%). This is roughly on par with 2016.

In contrast, men are divided. Today, 49% favor Biden while 45% favor Trump. In 2016, men favored Trump by modest margins in preelection polls, as well as among [validated 2016 voters](#).

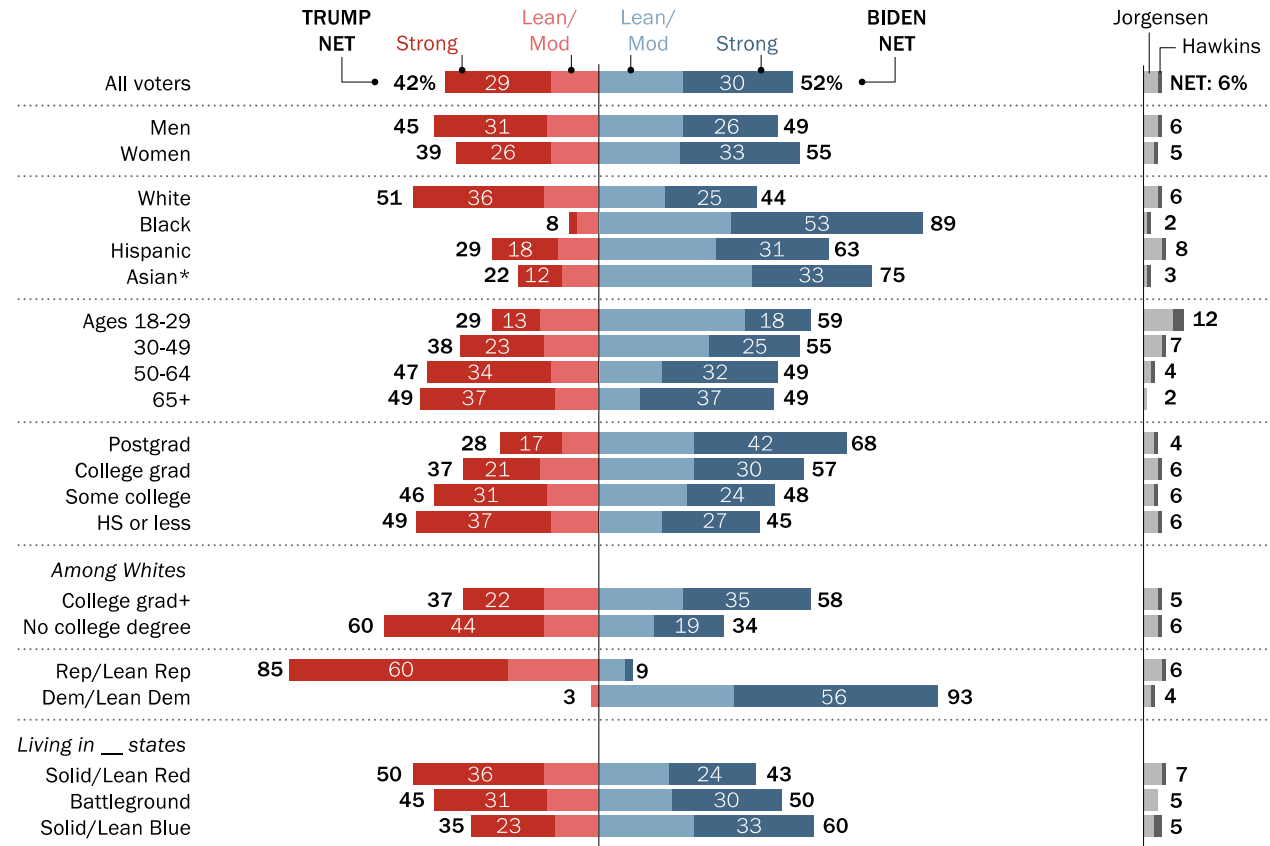
There are also sizable gaps by race and ethnicity. White voters prefer Trump to Biden (51% vs. 44%, respectively), though Biden is faring slightly better among White voters in the current race relative to Hillary Clinton in 2016.

And the sizable Democratic advantages among Black, Hispanic and Asian American voters are just as large for Biden as they were in 2016. Biden currently leads Black voters by 81 percentage points, Hispanic voters by 34 points and Asian voters by 53 points. *Note: Surveys are conducted in English and Spanish.*

Younger voters are by far the most supportive of Biden when comparing voter preferences by age: Voters under 30 support Biden over Trump by 30 percentage points (59% vs. 29%, respectively). Voters ages 30 to 49 also prefer Biden to Trump by a 17-point margin. But voters 50 and older are far more divided: 48% say they currently support or lean toward Trump, while a nearly identical share say they support or lean toward Biden (49%). This marks a shift from 2016 – when Trump held a modest lead over Clinton among voters in these age groups.

Trump leads among White voters, trails by wide margins among Black, Hispanic and Asian voters

% of registered voters who would vote for ___ if the 2020 presidential election were being held today



*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.

Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. "Other" candidates include those who say they are voting for Jorgensen, Hawkins or someone else. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. See appendix for details about battleground states.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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There continue to be large gaps in candidate preference by education. As in 2016, those with a college degree or more are more likely to support the Democratic candidate over Trump. Today, those with no college degree are slightly more divided: 47% say they would vote for Trump if the election were held today, while 46% say they would vote for Biden.

Education is also a dividing line among White voters: College-educated White voters favor Biden by 21 percentage points, while those without a college degree favor Trump by a similar margin.

Republican and Republican-leaning voters are slightly less supportive of their party's candidate than Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters. Today, 85% of Republican and Republican-leaning independent voters say they would cast a ballot for Trump; 9% say they would support Biden. Among Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters, 93% say they would cast a ballot for Biden if the election were held today; just 3% say they would vote for Trump.

Biden holds a wide lead in states viewed as likely to vote Democrat, or that lean Democratic ("blue" or "lean blue" states) in 2020. In these states, 60% of voters support Biden, while 35% favor Trump. Trump holds a narrow lead, 50% to 43%, in "red" or "red-leaning" states. Across nine states viewed as "battleground" states by election analysts – Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin – Biden holds a narrow edge (50% vs. 45%). (*[See Appendix for categorization of states.](#)*)

Voter engagement and candidate preferences

Just as Biden holds an advantage over Trump among all registered voters in the current survey, his lead over Trump looks similar across a variety of voter engagement metrics – ranging from about 8 to 12 percentage points.

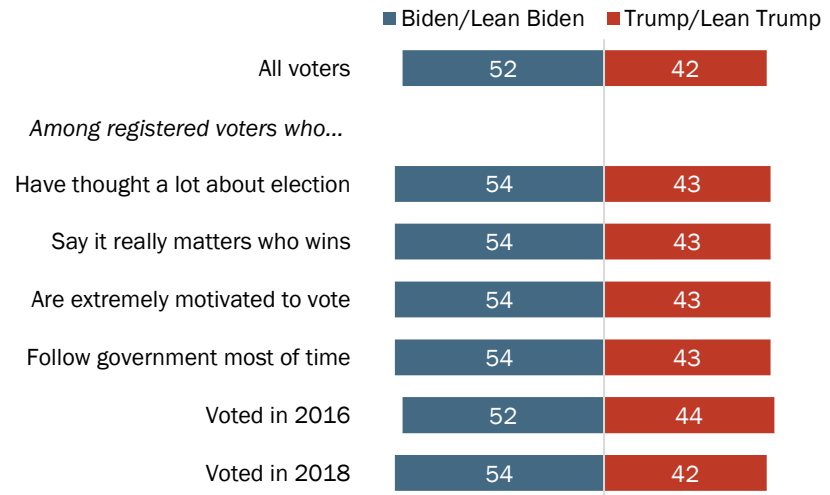
Biden has a lead among voters who have thought “a lot” about the election (54% vs. 43%, respectively), as well as among those who say “it really matters” who wins the presidential election this November (54% vs. 43%).

The Democratic candidate also leads Trump among those who say they are *extremely* motivated to vote, and among those who say they follow what is going on in government and public affairs *most* of the time (54% vs. 43% for each).

And among validated voters – voters whose record of voting in the presidential election were matched to a state-administered voter file – in the two most recent national elections, Biden outperforms Trump among each group: 8 percentage points among [2016 validated voters](#) (52% vs. 44%) and 12 points among [2018 validated voters](#) (54% vs. 42%).

Across various 2020 voter engagement metrics, candidate preferences look largely similar

% of registered voters who say, if the election were held today, they would vote for ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Biden leads among 2016 validated voters

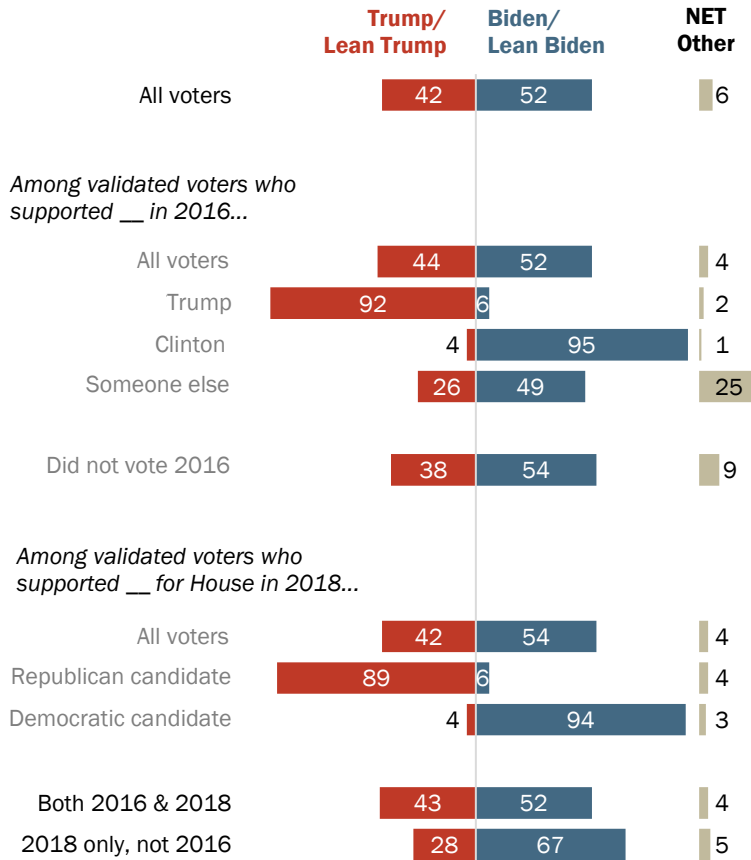
Trump and Biden mostly hold onto their party's coalition of voters in 2016, though there are some modest differences: About 6% of Trump's 2016 voters currently say they support or lean toward Biden for president, while 2% say they are supporting a third-party candidate.

Similarly, about 4% of validated Clinton voters say they prefer Trump for president this year; 1% say they are supporting a third-party candidate for president.

Biden also holds a modest advantage among those voters who say they supported Gary Johnson, Jill Stein or someone else in 2016: 49% say they lean toward or support Biden, while 26% say they support Trump. A quarter say they plan to vote for a third-party candidate again in 2020. Among those voters who did not vote in 2016, Biden also leads by 16 percentage points (54% vs. 38%).

Biden leads among those who supported Johnson and Stein in 2016, as well as among nonvoters four years ago

% of registered voters who support ...



Notes: See appendix for details about validated voters. Based on registered voters. "Other" candidates include those who say they are voting for Jorgensen, Hawkins or someone else. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Among validated 2018 midterm voters – which shifted decidedly toward the Democratic Party compared with 2016 – Biden captures 54% of these voters, while Trump garners 42% support.

Again, Trump and Biden mostly hold onto those voters who cast ballots for their parties' candidates in the midterm. However, about 10% of verified voters who cast a ballot for a Republican candidate for House in 2018 say they are considering voting for a candidate other than Trump in 2020. In contrast, Biden holds onto 94% of those voters who cast a ballot for a Democratic candidate for House in 2018.

As voters consider how to cast their ballot in the 2020 election this fall, there are sizable gaps in vote preference by method of voting.

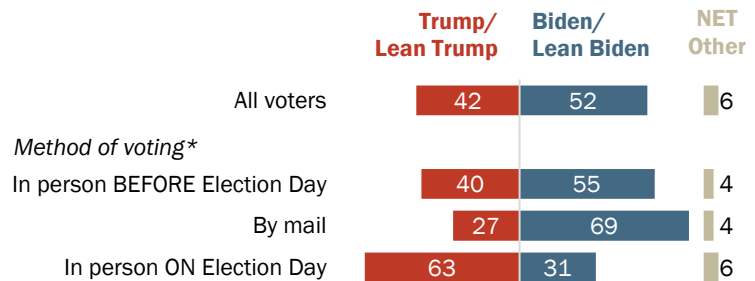
Mirroring divides in [preferred method of voting](#), Biden holds an advantage among registered voters who plan to cast their ballots in person before Election Day: 55% of these voters say they plan to support Biden or lean toward Biden, compared with 40% of in-person, early voters who plan to cast a ballot for Trump.

Biden's advantage among absentee or mail voters is even larger: 69% of these voters say they plan to cast a ballot – or have already cast their ballot – for Biden. Only about a quarter say they plan to vote for Trump (27%).

However, Trump captures a sizable majority of those who plan to vote *in person on Election Day*; 63% of these voters favor Trump, compared with three-in-ten who plan to vote for Biden.

Trump fares better among those who plan to vote on Election Day; Biden holds advantages among mail, early voters

% of registered voters who support ...



*Method of voting categories include those who have already voted.

Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. "Other" candidates include those who say they are voting for Jorgensen, Hawkins or someone else.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Third-party supporters less motivated to vote than Biden, Trump voters

Third party candidates garner 5% support among registered voters – 4% say they support or lean toward Libertarian candidate

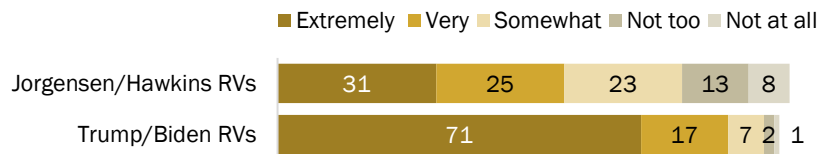
Jo Jorgensen for president while 1% say they plan to support Green Party candidate Howie Hawkins. Additionally, 1% of voters say they do not plan to vote for any of the four candidates asked about on the survey.

At a similar stage in the presidential cycle in 2016, 14% of registered voters said they planned to vote for a third-party candidate – almost three times as high as the share of registered voters who now say they support a third-party candidate.

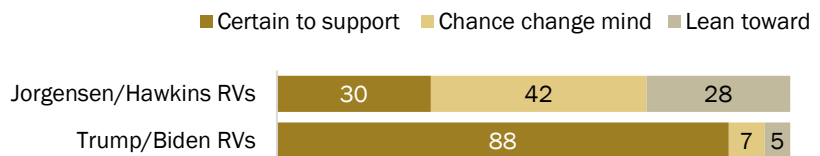
Compared with supporters of either of the two major party’s candidates, third-party voters are far less motivated to vote: 31% of Jorgensen and Hawkins voters say they are extremely motivated to vote compared with 71% of Trump and Biden voters.

Compared with Biden and Trump voters, third-party supporters are less motivated to vote, unsure of choice

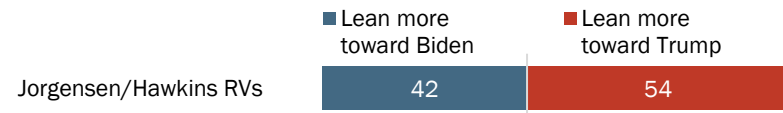
% of registered voters who say they are personally ___ motivated to vote in the presidential election



% of registered voters who say, when it comes to their candidate preference...



And even though you don't plan to support Donald Trump or Joe Biden, if you had to choose, would you say you ... (%)



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Those who say they do not support or lean toward a named candidate not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Third-party supporters are also far less certain about their choice in vote: Three-in-ten Jorgensen and Hawkins supporters say they’re certain to vote for their preferred candidate, while 42% say there is a chance they might change their mind and about three-in-ten (28%) say they lean toward their choice. An overwhelming majority of Trump and Biden supporters (88%) say they are certain to vote for their preferred candidate.

When asked who they would support if they had to choose between Biden and Trump, Jorgensen and Hawkins voters are roughly split: 54% say they would lean toward Trump, while 42% say they would lean toward Biden. In 2016, third-party voters were also split in their choice between Clinton and Trump.

2. Voters' feelings about the election and possible outcomes

When asked about their possible reactions to either Donald Trump or Joe Biden winning the November election, voters express more positive reactions to Biden winning the election – either excitement or relief – than to Trump being reelected as president.

About half of voters (53%) say they would feel either excitement or relief if Biden won the 2020 presidential election, compared with 46% who say they would have negative reactions – disappointment or anger – toward his possible victory.

By contrast, more voters say their reaction in response to Trump winning the election would be negative (57%) than positive (42%). About twice as many voters say they would be angry if Trump wins reelection (29%) than if Biden was elected president (14%).

A majority of Trump supporters (64%) say they would feel relieved if the president is reelected; far fewer (31%) say they would be excited. If Biden wins, more Trump supporters say they'd feel disappointment (66%) than anger (31%).

Biden's supporters are even more likely than Trump supporters to say they'd be relieved if their candidate wins (73% say this). And far more Biden (54%) than Trump supporters say they'd be angry if the *other* candidate wins.

Supporters of both candidates are somewhat less likely to say they would be angry in the event of the opposing candidate's election than they were [in August](#) (61% of Biden supporters then, 54% now; 37% of Trump supporters then, 31% now).

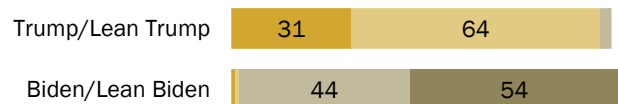
Biden supporters are far more likely than Trump supporters to say they'd be angry if opponent wins in November

Among registered voters, % who say they would feel ____ if **Donald Trump** was reelected in November

■ Excited ■ Relieved ■ Disappointed ■ Angry

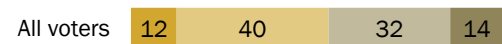


Among those who support ...

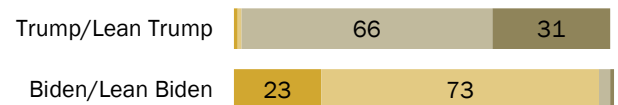


Among registered voters, % who say they would feel ____ if **Joe Biden** was elected in November

■ Excited ■ Relieved ■ Disappointed ■ Angry



Among those who support ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No response not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

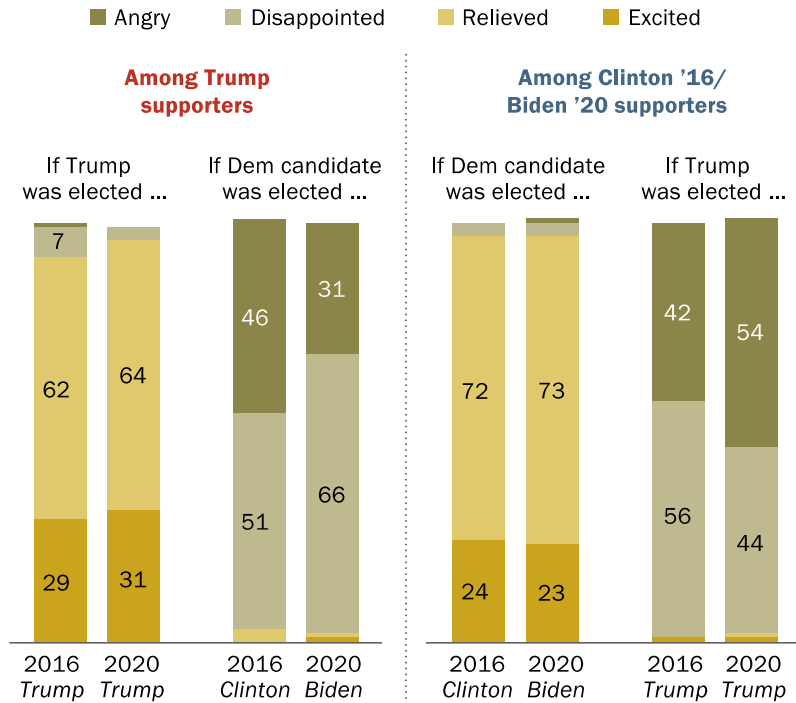
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Trump supporters have similar reactions to the prospect of victory in the election as they did in November 2016 before the election. As is the case today, most Trump supporters said they'd be relieved (rather than excited) if Trump beat Hillary Clinton. However, Trump supporters are somewhat less likely today to say they would be angry (rather than disappointed) if Biden won than said they would be angry if Clinton won in 2016 (31% now, 46% then).

By contrast, more Biden supporters say they'd be angered by a Trump victory compared with Clinton supporters four years ago (54% to 42%). As in 2016, about a quarter of Biden supporters would be excited by a Biden victory, while about three-quarters say they would feel relief.

Biden supporters more likely to be angry at possible defeat than Clinton supporters in 2016

Among registered voters, % who would feel ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No response not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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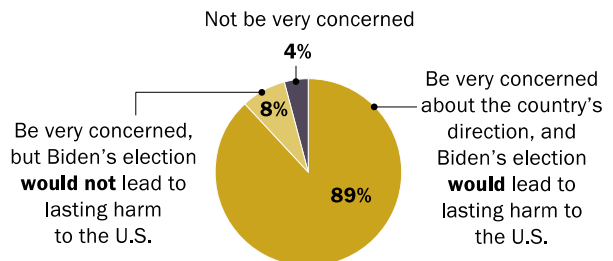
Many see ‘lasting harm’ if the other party’s candidate wins in November

Overwhelming majorities of both Biden and Trump supporters say that if the other candidate wins in November they would not only be very concerned about the country’s direction, but that this would lead to lasting harm to the nation.

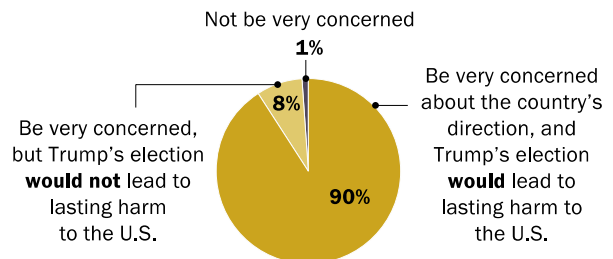
Fully 90% of Biden supporters say this about the prospect of Trump’s reelection, while 89% of Trump supporters say this about the prospect of Biden as president. Just 8% of both Biden supporters and 8% of Trump supporters say that although they would be very concerned if the other was elected, it would not result in lasting harm. Very few (just 4% of Trump supporters and 1% of Biden supporters) say they would not be very concerned about the country’s direction.

Both Trump and Biden supporters say if the other wins, it would result in lasting harm to the country

*% of **Trump supporters** who say they would ___ about the direction of the country if Joe Biden was elected president*



*% of **Biden supporters** who say they would ___ about the direction of the country if Donald Trump was reelected president*



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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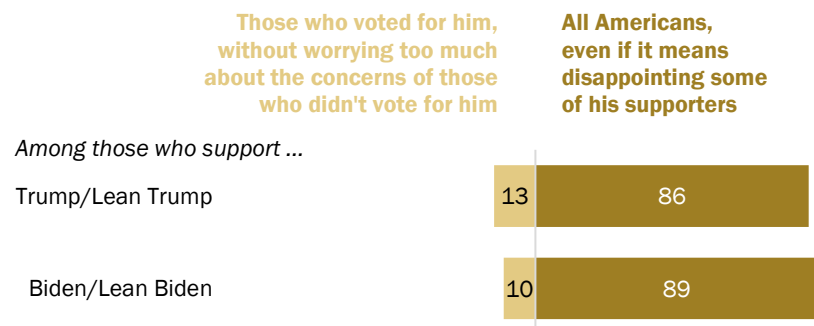
Trump and Biden supporters overwhelmingly want their candidate, if elected, to focus on concerns of all Americans

Majorities of both Trump (86%) and Biden (89%) supporters say that their preferred candidate, if elected, should focus on addressing the needs of all Americans, “even if it means disappointing some of his supporters.” Only about one-in-ten in each camp (13% of Trump and 10% of Biden supporters) say their candidate should focus on the concerns of “those who voted for him, without worrying too much about the concerns of those who didn’t vote for him.”

Although there are no major differences across demographic groups who express this viewpoint, younger supporters of both Trump and Biden are slightly less likely to say that their candidate should address the concerns of all Americans than older supporters.

Trump, Biden supporters say their candidate should address concerns of all Americans if they win

% of registered voters who say if their preferred candidate is re/elected, they should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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About half of voters say politics is a struggle between right and wrong

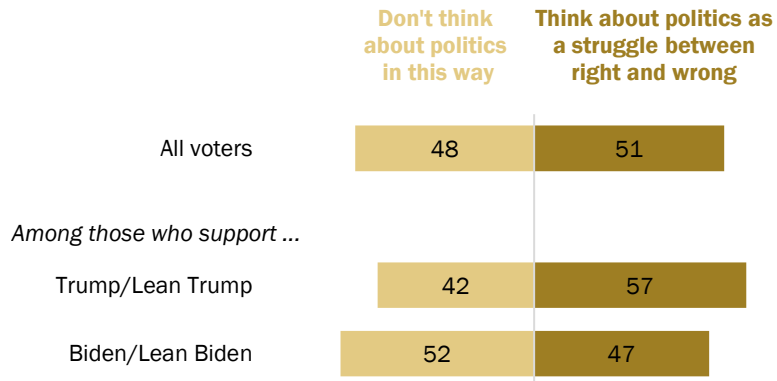
Roughly half of all voters (51%) say they think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong, while about as many (48%) say they don't think about politics this way. The share of voters saying politics is a struggle between right and wrong has increased 14 percentage points from 37% in January.

Trump voters are more likely than Biden voters to view politics as a struggle between right and wrong. A 57% majority of Trump voters say this, while roughly four-in-ten (42%) say they don't think about politics in this way.

Biden voters are about evenly divided: 47% say they think of politics as a struggle between right and wrong, while 52% say they do not.

Trump voters more likely than Biden voters to see politics as a struggle between right and wrong

% of registered voters who ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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3. Perceptions of Trump and Biden

Overall, voters feel colder about Donald Trump than they do about Joe Biden. When asked to rate the two candidates on a “feeling thermometer” where 0 is the coldest rating and 100 is the warmest rating, 51% of registered voters give Trump a “very cold” rating of less than 25 (including 40% who give him a zero – the lowest possible rating) while 38% give Biden a “very cold” rating (including 25% who give him a zero rating).

There is a more modest gap in the shares of expressing “warm” or “very warm” feelings: 43% give Biden a rating over 50, compared with 38% who give Trump a warm rating – with about one-in-three voters giving each of the candidates intensely positive ratings (a rating of more than 75 on the 100-point scale).

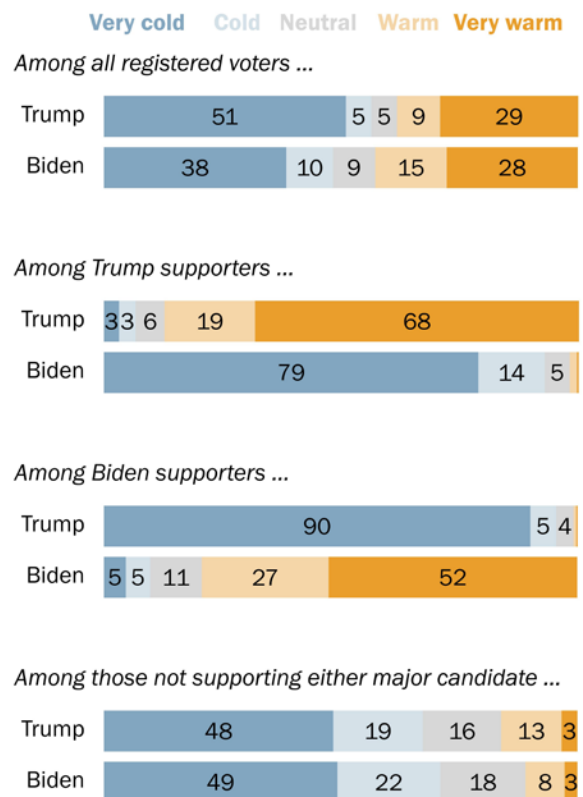
While large majorities of both candidates’ supporters have warm feelings about their own candidate, a larger share of Trump supporters than Biden supporters express very warm feelings. About two-thirds of Trump supporters (68%) have very warm feelings toward the president. About half of Biden’s voters (52%) feel similarly warm toward Biden.

When it comes to negative views of the other party’s candidate, nine-in-ten Biden supporters give Trump a very cold rating (including fully 73% who give him the lowest possible rating – zero). By comparison, 79% of Trump voters give Biden a very cold rating (with 55% rating him at 0).

Among the small share of voters who are not supporting either major party candidate (6%), clear majorities give both Trump and Biden cold ratings.

Biden viewed somewhat more warmly among voters than Trump

% of registered voters who rated each candidate _____ on a ‘feeling thermometer’ from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)



Notes: Based on registered voters. Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50), warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Refusals not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Overall, voters give Biden an average rating of 45 on the 100-point scale compared with Trump's score of 39. Across most demographic groups, Biden receives warmer ratings than Trump.

Among registered voters, Trump and Biden are viewed about equally on average by men (who give both candidates an average rating of 42), but women give Trump (36) substantially lower ratings than Biden (48). In 2016, men gave Clinton a significantly lower rating than Trump (34 to 41). Women's ratings of the two major party candidates are little different from 2016.

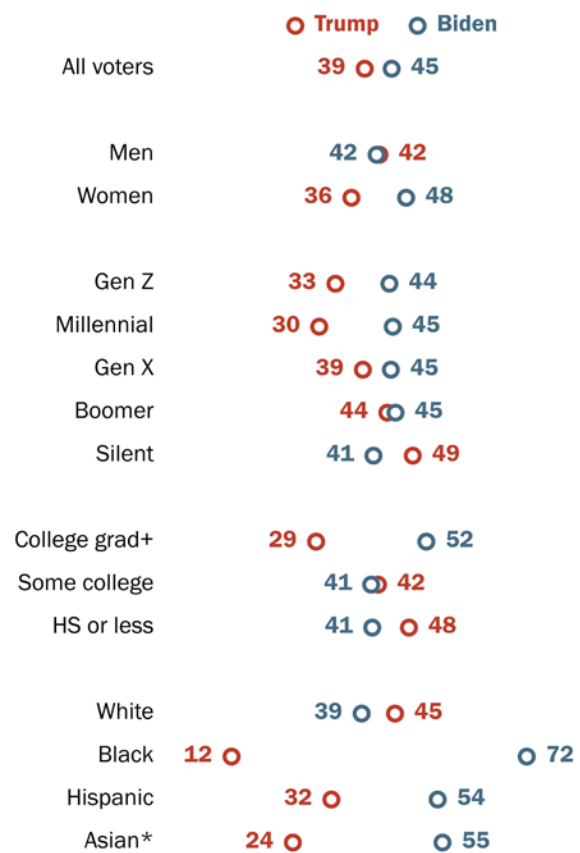
Older voters are much more likely to give Trump a warmer rating than younger voters. Generation Z (33) and Millennials (30) give Trump his lowest ratings among the generations, while the ratings of oldest voters – members of the Silent Generation – are warmest (49). Biden's average rating is more consistent across generations – he receives comparable ratings from Gen Z (44), Millennials (45), Gen X (45) and Baby Boomers (45). Biden's rating is slightly lower among Silents (41) than among younger generations of voters.

Educational divides in ratings of the two candidates are widest among those with a college degree or more. These voters give Biden an average rating 23 percentage points higher than Trump (52 vs. 29). Voters with some college education give both candidates about an equal rating, while those with a high school degree or less education are somewhat warmer toward Trump (48) than Biden (41).

White voters give Trump a warmer average rating than Biden (45 for Trump and 39 for Biden), while Biden is viewed more warmly than Trump among Hispanic voters (54 for

Biden viewed more warmly than Trump among most demographic groups

Among registered voters, average rating of ____ on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)



*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.

Notes: Based on registered voters. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Refusals were omitted from the calculation of averages.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Biden, 32 Trump), Asian American voters (55 Biden, 24 Trump) and particularly Black voters (Biden garners an average rating of 72 among Black voters, while Trump’s average rating among this group is just 12).

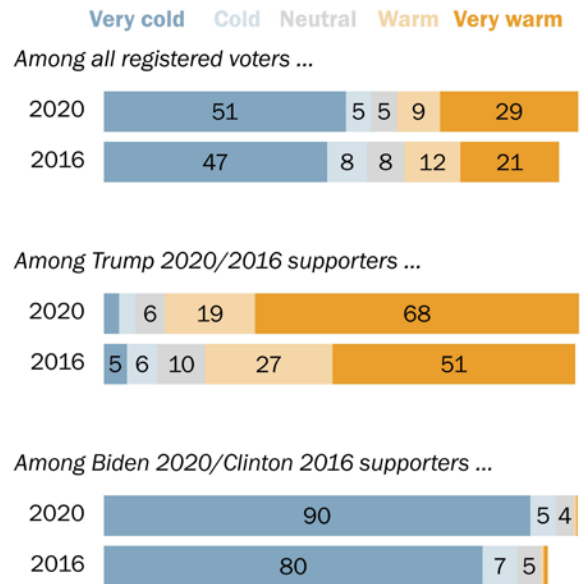
Compared with a similar point in the 2016 campaign, voters’ views of Trump are somewhat warmer. Much of this movement occurred after he won the 2016 general election and Republicans – many of whom who were initially somewhat skeptical of their party’s nominee – warmed to him.

At this point in the 2016 campaign, about half (51%) of those who said they were planning on voting for Trump gave him a very warm rating. Today about two-thirds of those who intend to vote for Trump (68%) rate him very warmly.

In 2016, 80% of voters who supported Hillary Clinton gave Trump a very cold rating. Today 90% of Biden voters do so. (Although at this point in the 2016 campaign, Clinton voters did not feel more warmly to Trump than Biden voters do today, a larger share – 7% – of Clinton voters declined to rate Trump at all four years ago.)

Trump’s voters have warmed to him since 2016; Democratic voters have grown colder

% of registered voters who rated Trump ____ on a ‘feeling thermometer’ from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)



Notes: Based on registered voters. Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50), warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Refusals not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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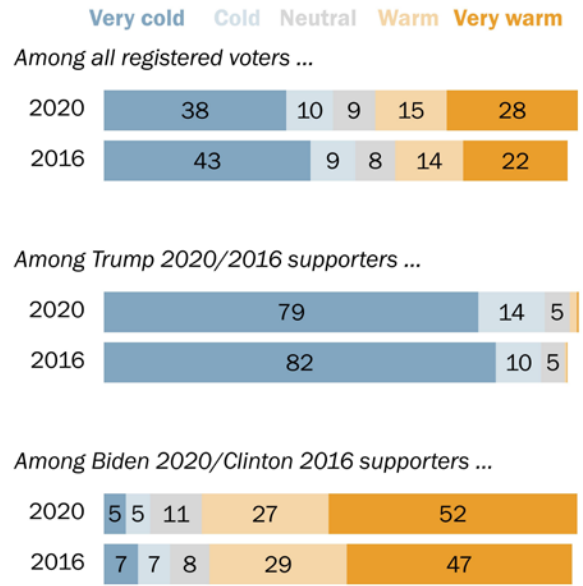
Biden receives slightly warmer ratings from voters this year than did Clinton at a similar point in 2016. Today, 38% rate Biden very cold compared with 43% who gave Clinton a very cold rating four years ago, and a slightly larger share of voters give him a very warm rating (28% vs. 22% for Clinton).

Among Trump supporters in 2016 and those today, there are only minor differences in ratings of his Democratic opponents: 82% gave Clinton a “very cold” rating in 2016, and roughly as many (79%) give Biden a very cold rating today.

Clinton supporters were only slightly less positive toward their candidate in 2016 than Biden voters are today (47% of her supporters gave Clinton a very warm rating in 2016, and 52% of Biden voters rate him very warmly today).

Voters slightly warmer toward Biden than they were toward Clinton in 2016

% of registered voters who rated Biden/Clinton ___ on a ‘feeling thermometer’ from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)



Notes: Based on registered voters. Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50), warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Refusals not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Biden seen as better able to handle COVID-19 outbreak than Trump

Overall, voters express higher levels of confidence in Biden than Trump across several domains, including handling the health impact of the coronavirus outbreak, making good foreign policy decisions and selecting good Supreme Court nominees. At the same time, roughly equal shares of voters express confidence in Trump and Biden on the economy, though more say they are *very* confident in Trump in this area.

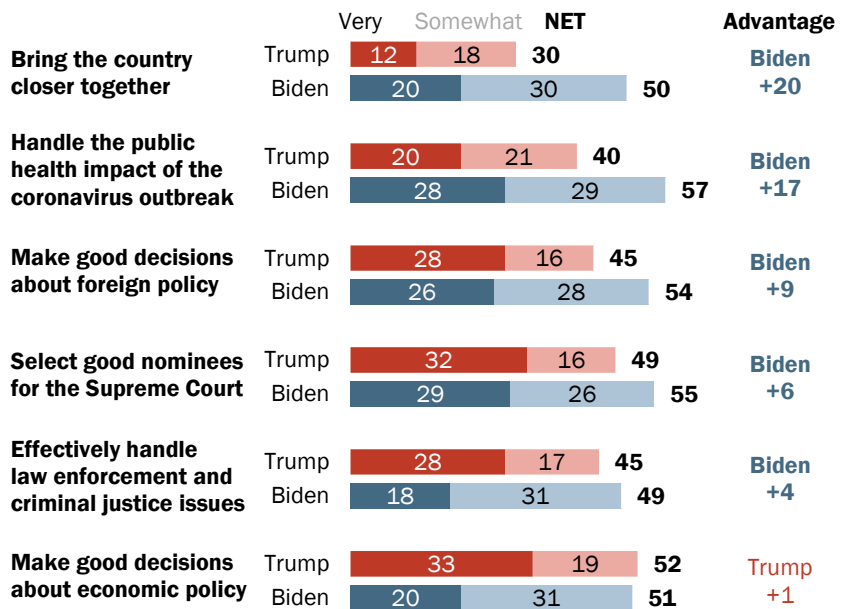
Majorities of registered voters say they are very or somewhat confident in Biden to handle the public health impact of the coronavirus outbreak (57%), select good nominees for the Supreme Court (55%) and make good decisions about foreign policy (54%). By comparison, half or fewer voters say the same for Trump in these areas.

Just three-in-ten voters say they are at least somewhat confident that Trump can bring the country closer together. By comparison, half of voters say they are confident in Biden to do this. A similarly large gap exists between the shares of voters who are at least somewhat confident in Biden to handle the public health

impact of the coronavirus outbreak (57%) and those who say the same about Trump (40%). *Note: The survey was in the field when Trump announced on Twitter, early on the morning of Oct. 2, that he and first lady Melania Trump had contracted COVID-19. There are no significant differences in confidence in the two candidates to handle the impact of the coronavirus before and after his announcement.*

Voters express more confidence in Biden than Trump to unite country, handle coronavirus outbreak

*% of registered voters who are **very/somewhat** confident that ____ can do each of the following*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Significant differences in **bold**.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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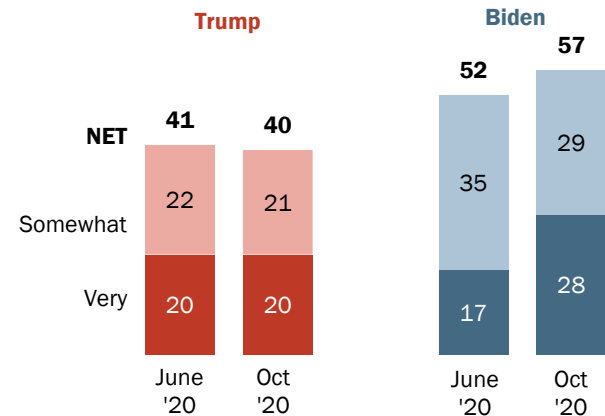
Trump and Biden garner similar levels of confidence from voters in their ability to effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues (45% Trump, 49% Biden) and to make good decisions about economic policy (52% Trump, 51% Biden), although more voters say they are *very* confident in Trump to handle these areas than say they are very confident in Biden.

Over the past several months, voters have grown more confident in Biden to handle the public health impact of the coronavirus outbreak, while views of Trump have remained stable. Currently, 57% say they are very or somewhat confident in Biden; in June, 52% said this. Four-in-ten say they are confident in Trump to handle the coronavirus outbreak – little changed since June.

Today, similar shares of voters express confidence in Trump to handle the economy (51% in June, 52% today). At the same time, confidence in Biden to make good decisions about economic policy has risen modestly (48% then vs. 51% today).

Voters' confidence in Biden to handle public health impact of COVID-19 grows

*% of registered voters who are **very/somewhat** confident that ___ can handle the public health impact of the coronavirus outbreak*



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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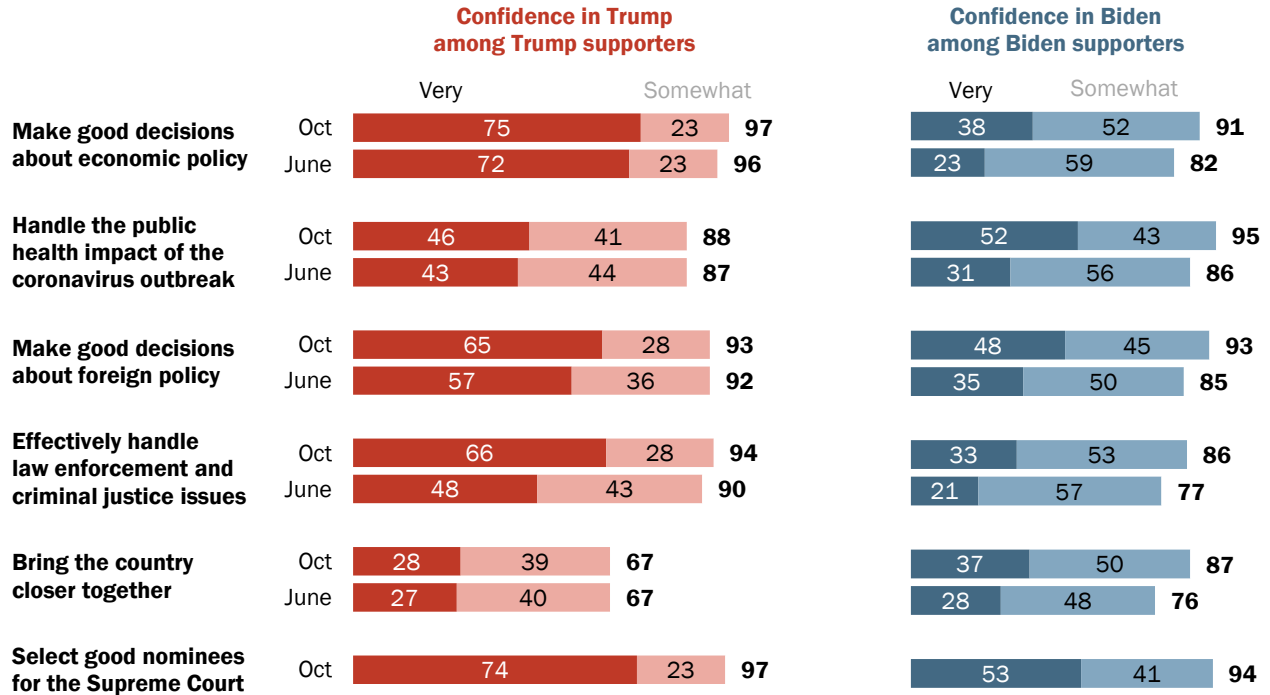
Both Trump and Biden supporters express high levels of confidence in their preferred candidate to handle these issues, but confidence in Biden has increased among his supporters since June, while confidence in Trump among his supporters remains relatively unchanged.

Biden supporters have grown much more confident in Biden across all issue areas. The share of Biden supporters who are very or somewhat confident that Biden can bring the country closer together has risen 11 percentage points since June, from 76% then to 87% today. Similarly, there are 9-point increases among Biden supporters in the shares expressing confidence that he can make good decisions about economic policy, handle the public health impact of the coronavirus outbreak and effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues.

Trump supporters' confidence in their candidate is little changed over this period, although more now say they are *very* confident that Trump can effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues than they were in June.

Biden supporters grow more confident in Biden; confidence in Trump among his backers remains high but little changed

% of registered voters who are ____ confident that their preferred candidate can do each of the following...



Notes: Based on registered voters. Question about selecting good nominees for the Supreme Court not asked in June.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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4. Voter engagement and interest, voting by mail and in person

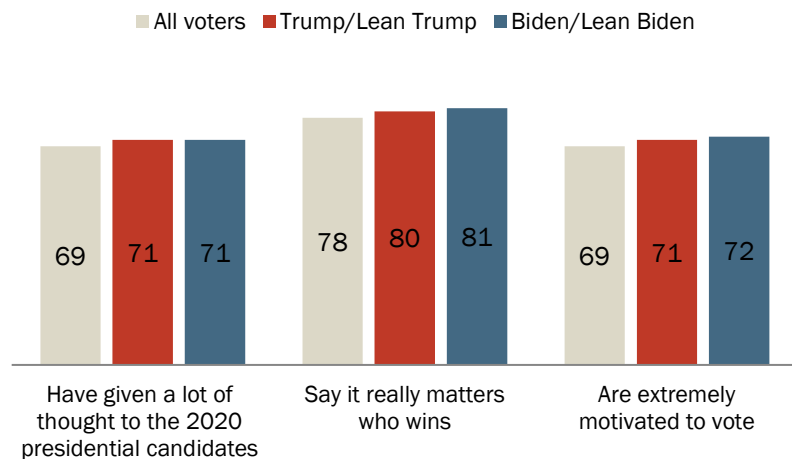
Voter engagement in the presidential election remains quite high. And interest and motivation to vote is equally strong among registered voters who support Donald Trump and those who favor Joe Biden.

On three measures of interest in the campaign and voting, there are no significant differences between Trump and Biden supporters.

Roughly seven-in-ten Trump supporters (71%) say they have given “a lot” of thought to the candidates, identical to the share of Biden supporters (71%) who say this.

Interest in the election and voting is equally high among Trump and Biden supporters

% of registered voters who ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. “Really matters” is share selecting top response on a four-point scale. See topline for full question wording.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Similarly, 80% of Trump supporters and 81% of Biden supporters say it really matters who wins.

A large majority of all registered voters (69%) say they are *extremely* motivated to vote in the presidential election; another 18% say they are *very* motivated to vote while 8% say they are somewhat motivated. Just 5% of registered voters say they are not too motivated or not at all motivated to vote in the presidential election.

The shares of Trump and Biden supporters who say they are extremely motivated to vote also are strikingly similar: 71% of Trump supporters and 72% of Biden supporters say they are extremely motivated to cast ballots.

However, as in past elections, there are demographic differences in the shares expressing strong interest in voting. To some extent, these differences are seen in both electoral coalitions.

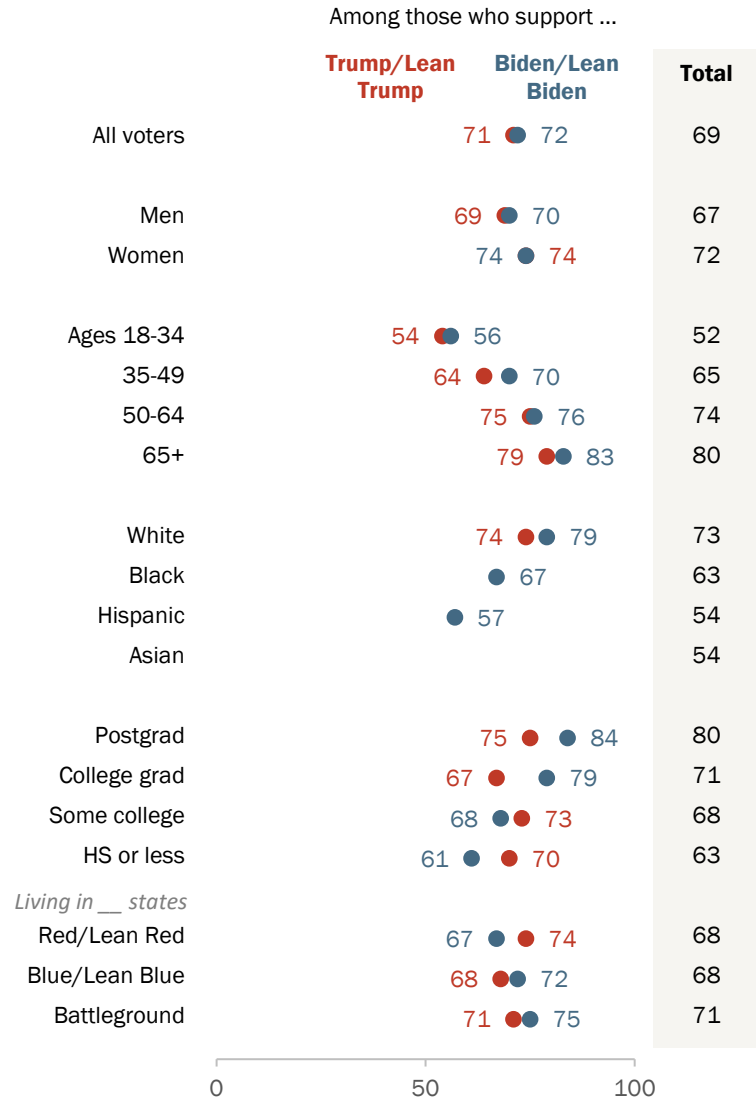
Young voters overall are less likely than older voters to say they are extremely motivated to vote in the presidential election. Only about half of registered voters ages 18 to 34 (52%) say they are extremely motivated to vote, compared with much larger shares of voters in older age categories.

Nearly equal shares of Trump (54%) and Biden supporters (56%) ages 18 to 34 say they are extremely motivated to vote. The shares expressing this view increase with age among both candidates' supporters; roughly eight-in-ten Biden (83%) and Trump supporters (79%) ages 65 and older say they are extremely motivated.

About three-quarters of White voters (73%) say they are extremely motivated to vote, compared with 63% of Black voters and 54% of both Hispanic voters and Asian American voters (54%).

White voters more likely than Black, Hispanic and Asian voters to be 'extremely motivated' to vote

% of registered voters who say they are personally **extremely** motivated to vote



*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.

Notes: Based on registered voters. White, Black, and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. See appendix for details on battleground state classification.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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These racial and ethnic differences are seen among Biden supporters: While 79% of White Biden supporters say they are extremely motivated to vote, smaller majorities of Black (67%) and Hispanic (57%) voters who back Biden say the same.

Among voters overall, those with higher levels of formal education are more likely than those with less education to say they have a strong desire to vote. But these differences are much more pronounced among Biden than Trump supporters. For example, there is a 23 percentage point gap in the shares of Biden supporters with postgraduate degrees (84%) and those with no more than a high school education (61%) who say they are extremely motivated to vote. Among Trump supporters, there is just a 5-point difference between postgraduates and those with more than a high school degree.

Overall, registered voters report slightly higher levels of motivation to vote in battleground states (71% extremely motivated) than in either red or blue states (68% extremely motivated). In the battleground states, there is little difference in voter enthusiasm between the two camps, with 75% of Biden supporters and 71% of Trump supporters saying they are extremely motivated to vote.

Trump and Biden supporters differ on how they plan to vote

The vast majority of voters (90%) say they plan to vote in the coming month, while 7% say they have already cast their ballot for president. About four-in-ten registered voters (39%) say they plan to cast their vote by absentee or mail-in ballot this year (or already have done so), compared with 33% who say they plan to vote in person on Nov. 3, and 21% who have voted in person or plan to vote in person at an early voting location before Election Day.

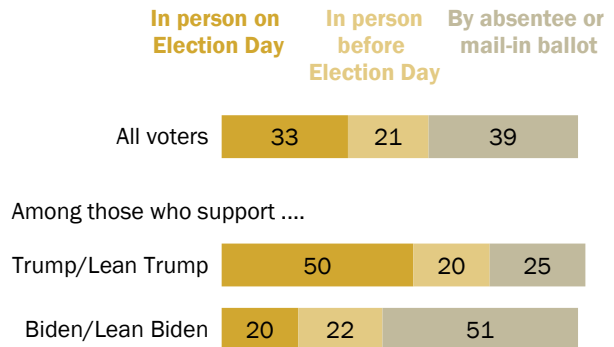
Trump supporters are more than twice as likely as Biden supporters to say they plan to vote in person on Election Day (50% vs. 20%). By contrast, 51% of Biden supporters say they plan to vote by mail or absentee (or have already voted this way). A quarter of Trump supporters (25%) say they plan to vote by mail or absentee.

In [August](#), before general election voting had begun in any state, 60% of Trump supporters said they would prefer to vote in person on Election Day, compared with 17% who preferred to vote by mail. Among Biden supporters, 23% said they preferred to vote in person on Election Day and 58% said they preferred to vote by absentee or mail-in ballot.

Among all registered voters, 6% say that this year is the first election year in which they are voting.

Wide differences between Trump, Biden supporters over *how* they plan to vote

% of registered voters who say they plan to cast their vote ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses and those who say they don't plan to vote or are not sure how they plan to vote not shown. Voting method categories combine those who plan to vote as well as those who say they have already voted.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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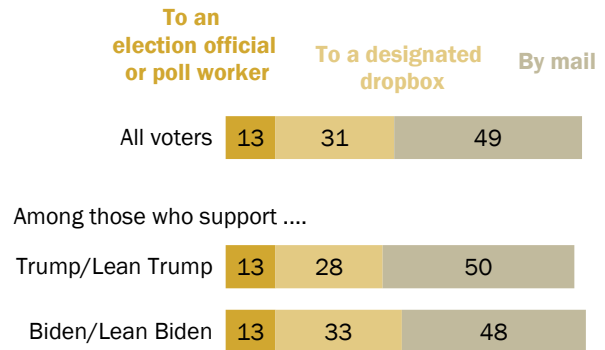
Despite ongoing concerns about the U.S. Postal Service's ability to deliver ballots in a timely manner this fall, nearly half of those voting by mail or casting an absentee ballot (49%) say they intend to return their ballots by mail or have already returned their ballot by mailing it in.

About three-in-ten (31%) of those voting by absentee or mail-in ballot have returned or plan to return their ballot to a designated drop box, and 13% have returned their ballot to an election official or poll worker or plan to return their ballot this way.

The shares of Trump supporters and Biden supporters who plan to return an absentee or mail-in ballot by mail are nearly identical, though Biden supporters are slightly more likely to say they plan to return their ballot to a drop box than Trump supporters.

Among mail voters, Trump and Biden supporters have similar plans for returning their ballots

% of registered voters voting by absentee or mail-in ballot who say they plan to return their ballot or have already returned their ballot ...



Notes: Based on registered voters who say they have voted by absentee or mail-in ballot or plan to vote by absentee or mail-in ballot. No answer responses and those who are not sure how they plan to vote not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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The methods by which voters have cast their votes or plan to cast their votes vary by age and race and ethnicity in addition to candidate preference.

Voters age 65 and older are more likely than those in other age groups to say they have or will cast their vote by absentee or mail-in ballot, with 47% of those 65 and older saying this. That compares with 41% of younger voters (those ages 18 to 34) and about a third of those ages 35 to 64.

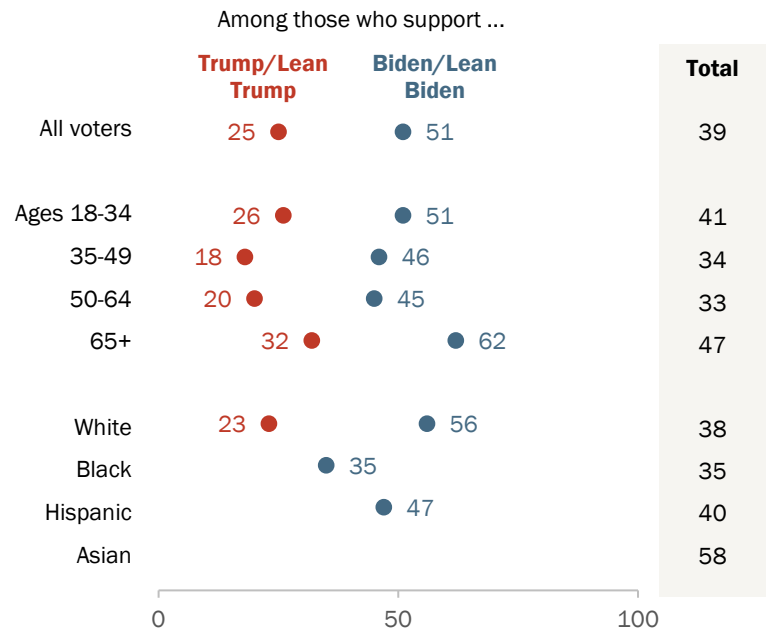
Across all age categories, Biden supporters are more likely than Trump supporters to say they have voted or will vote by absentee or mail-in ballot.

Among Biden supporters, White voters are 9 percentage points more likely than Hispanic voters to say they have voted or will vote by mail or absentee, and 21 points more likely than Black voters to say this.

These differences can be partly explained by the fact that Black voters are more likely to live in states with stricter requirements for voting by mail. However, [differences persist even after accounting for the geographic distribution of voters.](#)

Older voters most likely to say they have voted or will vote by absentee or mail-in ballot

% of registered voters who say they plan to cast their vote or already cast their vote **by absentee/mail-in ballot**



*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.
 Notes: Based on registered voters. White, Black, and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Voting method among Asian voters by candidate preference not shown due to insufficient sample size.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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5. Views of the state of the nation and the U.S. economy

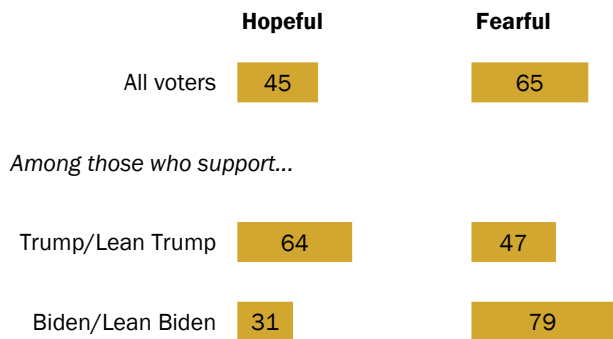
As the election nears, voters continue to be more fearful than hopeful about the state of the country. Nearly two-thirds of registered voters (65%) say they feel fearful about the state of the U.S., while fewer than half (45%) say they are hopeful. These views have changed little [since June](#).

Voters who support or lean toward Joe Biden are especially likely to say they feel fearful thinking about the state of the country. Nearly eight-in-ten Biden supporters (79%) say this, compared with about half of Donald Trump supporters (47%).

And Trump supporters are about twice as likely as Biden supporters to say they feel hopeful about the state of the country (64% vs. 31%)¹.

Nearly two-thirds of voters say they are ‘fearful’ about the state of the country

% of registered voters who say, in thinking about the state of the country these days, they feel ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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¹ CORRECTION (October 9, 2020): In the chart “Nearly two-thirds of voters say they are ‘fearful’ about the state of the country” the percent of “Trump/Lean Trump” supporters who are fearful has been updated to 47%. The percent of Biden/Lean Biden supporters who are hopeful has been updated to 31%. The text was also updated to reflect this. These changes did not affect the report’s substantive findings.

Public's views of economy turn more positive, with most of the increase among Republicans

Among the public overall, views of the economy have become somewhat more positive since the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic. A third of Americans now say that national economic conditions are excellent or good, up from 25% in June and 23% in April.

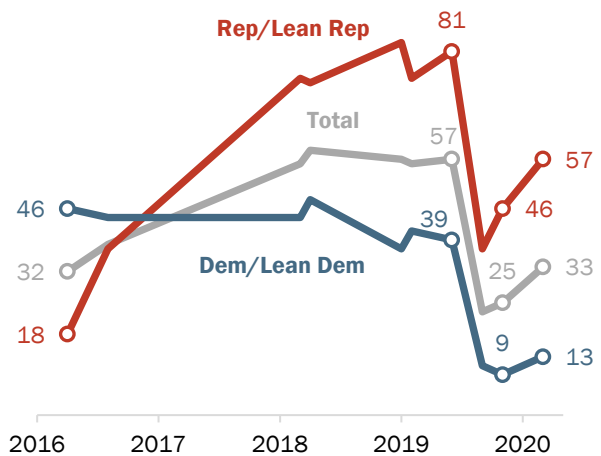
Most of the increase in positive economic views has come among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. The share of Republicans who say the economy is excellent or good has increased 11 percentage points since June and 20 points since April.

Democrats' views are little changed over this period. Currently, 13% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say economic conditions are excellent or good, up slightly from 9% in June.

Republicans also are more bullish about the economy's future. Among all adults, 52% say that economic conditions will be better in a year, 17% say they will be worse and 30% expect conditions to be about the same as they are now. Among Republicans, nearly two-thirds (65%) expect conditions to be better in a year, compared with about four-in-ten Democrats (42%).

Republicans' economic views turn more positive; less change among Democrats

% who rate national economic conditions as excellent or good



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Acknowledgments

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

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Others at Pew Research Center also gave valuable assistance on this project, including Research Associates Clair Gecewicz and Colleen McClain and Research Assistant Jesse Bennett.

Appendix

Categorization of battleground states in this report

To identify battleground states for the November presidential election, researchers consulted several experts' forecasts (including [Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball](#), the [Cook Political Report](#), [Inside Elections](#) and Nate Cohn's New York Times ratings) to come up with a categorization of each state as either likely to back the Democrat (blue/lean blue), likely to back the Republican (red/lean Red), or a "battleground state." The specific states in each category can be found in the accompanying table.

Categorization of battleground states

Blue/Lean blue	Battleground	Red/Lean red
California	Arizona	Alabama
Colorado	Florida	Alaska
Connecticut	Georgia	Arkansas
Delaware	Iowa	Idaho
District of Columbia	Michigan	Indiana
Hawaii	North Carolina	Kansas
Illinois	Ohio	Kentucky
Maine	Pennsylvania	Louisiana
Maryland	Wisconsin	Mississippi
Massachusetts		Missouri
Minnesota		Montana
Nevada		Nebraska
New Hampshire		North Dakota
New Jersey		Oklahoma
New Mexico		South Carolina
New York		South Dakota
Oregon		Tennessee
Rhode Island		Texas
Vermont		Utah
Virginia		West Virginia
Washington		Wyoming

Validated vote measures

2016 validated voters:

Measures of 2016 turnout and vote choice rely on panelists' responses to questions about voter turnout and candidate preference on American Trends Panel surveys conducted between Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016, Aug. 20–Oct. 28, 2018, and Aug. 3-16, 2020. Self-reported vote choice collected immediately after the election was used for panelists recruited prior to the 2016 election. For panelists recruited after the 2016 election and during the 2017 and 2018 panel recruitments,² a retrospective vote choice measure was collected in 2018. For panelists recruited after the 2016 election and during the 2019 and 2020 panel recruitments, a retrospective vote choice measure was collected in 2020.²

Panelists' turnout in 2016 was verified by matching the panelists to commercial voter file databases, which collect official state voting records. Researchers attempted to match panelists who completed the 2016 survey to five commercial voter file databases (see [this report](#) for a detailed discussion of how this was accomplished); panelists recruited after 2016 were matched to two commercial voter file databases. Panelists who were verified as having voted in at least one of the commercial voter databases were considered to be validated voters.

2018 validated voters:

Measures of 2018 turnout and vote choice rely on panelists' responses to questions about voter turnout and candidate preference on ATP surveys conducted between Nov. 7-16, 2018 and Aug. 3-16, 2020. Self-reported vote choice collected immediately after the election was used for panelists recruited prior to the 2018 election. For panelists recruited after the 2018 election, a retrospective vote choice measure was collected in 2020.

Panelists were matched to two commercial voter file databases. Panelists who were verified as having voted in at least one of the commercial voter file databases were considered to be validated voters.

¹ Panel recruitments are detailed in the methodology statement.

² The set of panelists for whom we have contemporaneous vote choice information were also asked the retrospective measure in 2018 and 2020. Comparing the responses to these three questions – measured about two years apart – revealed a great deal of stability in individual responses.

Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from the panel wave conducted Sept. 30 to Oct. 5, 2020. A total of 11,929 panelists responded out of 13,582 who were sampled, for a response rate of 88%. This does not include six panelists who were removed from the data due to extremely high rates of refusal or straightlining. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 5.4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 0.8%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 11,929 respondents is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points.

Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample of households selected

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	2,188
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,246
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	623
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	5,910
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS/web	5,900	4,720	2,338
June 1 to July 19, 2020	ABS/web	1,865	1,636	1,277
	Total	36,879	25,076	13,582

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2019 and 2020, respectively. Across these three address-based recruitments, a total of 17,161 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 15,134 (88%) agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 25,076 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 13,582 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.³ The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons age 18 and over, living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data which was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$15 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was Sept. 30 to Oct. 5, 2020. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on Oct. 2, 2020.

³ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling.](#)"

On Sept. 30 and Oct. 1, invitations were sent out in two separate launches: Soft Launch and Full Launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch which began with an initial invitation sent on Sept. 30, 2020. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within an average of six hours after receiving their invitation. All remaining English and Spanish panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Oct. 1, 2020.

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists that consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders. Interactive Voice Recording (IVR) reminder calls were made to 152 tablet households that previously provided consent to receive these reminders on Oct. 2, 2020.

Invitation and reminder dates

	Soft Launch	Full Launch
Initial invitation	9/30/2020	10/1/2020
IVR reminder	10/2/2020	10/2/2020
First reminder	10/3/2020	10/3/2020
Final reminder	10/5/2020	10/5/2020

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions left blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, six ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data was weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey (and the probability of being invited to participate in the panel in cases where only a subsample of respondents were invited). The base weights for panelists recruited in different years are scaled to be proportionate to the effective sample size for all active panelists in their cohort. To correct for nonresponse to the initial recruitment surveys and gradual panel attrition, the base weights for all active panelists are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table to create a full-panel weight.

For ATP waves in which only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate, a wave-specific base weight is created by adjusting the full-panel weights for subsampled panelists to account for any differential probabilities of selection for the particular panel wave. For waves in which all active panelists are invited to participate, the wave-specific base weight is identical to the full-panel weight.

In the final weighting step, the wave-specific base weights for panelists who completed the survey are again calibrated to match the population benchmarks specified above. These weights are trimmed (typically at about the 1st and 99th percentiles) to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and test of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey.

Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age x Gender	2018 American Community Survey
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	
Volunteerism	2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2016 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	Average of the three most recent Pew Research Center telephone surveys
Frequency of internet use	ATP 2020 ABS recruitment survey
Religious affiliation	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. The 2016 CPS was used for voter registration targets for this wave in order to obtain voter registration numbers from a presidential election year. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. The ATP 2020 ABS recruitment survey featured 1,862 online completions and 2,247 mail survey completions.

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Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30 – Oct. 5, 2020

Group	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	11,929		1.5 percentage points
<i>Half sample</i>	At least 5,936		2.2 percentage points
Registered voters	10,543		1.5 percentage points
<i>Half sample</i>	At least 5,237		2.1 percentage points
Trump/Lean Trump RVs	3,871		2.3 percentage points
<i>Half sample</i>	At least 1,933		3.3 percentage points
Biden/Lean Biden RVs	6,195		2.0 percentage points
<i>Half sample</i>	At least 3,050		2.8 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep RVs	4,324	47	2.2 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem RVs	6,053	51	2.0 percentage points
Validated 2016 voters	7,848		1.6 percentage points
Validated 2018 voters	7,594		1.6 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Dispositions and response rates

Final dispositions	AAPOR Code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	11,929
Logged onto survey; broke-off	2.12	98
Logged onto survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	66
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	1,374
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	109
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		6
Screened out		N/A
Total panelists in the survey		13,582
Completed interviews	I	11,929
Partial interviews	P	
Refusals	R	1,544
Non-contact	NC	109
Other	O	
Unknown household	UH	
Unknown other	UO	
Not eligible	NE	N/A
Total		13,582
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		87.73%

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	11.5%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	78.5%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 75	68.3%
Response rate to Wave 75 survey	87.83%
Cumulative response rate	5.39%

**2020 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 75 OCTOBER 2020
FINAL TOPLINE
SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 5, 2020
N=11,929**

ASK ALL:

SATIS All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	18	82	1
July 27-August 2, 2020	12	87	1
June 16-22, 2020	12	87	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	31	68	1
Mar 19-24, 2020	33	66	1
Oct 29-Nov 11, 2019	31	69	1
Oct 1-13, 2019	28	71	1
July 22-Aug 4, 2019	27	72	1
Nov 27-Dec 10, 2018	34	65	1
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 ⁴	36	63	1
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017 ⁵	32	68	0
Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	23	75	2
Jun 7-Jul 5, 2016 ⁶	19	80	1
Sep 15-Oct 3, 2014	25	75	0

[RANDOMIZE FEEL_COUNTRY_FEAR, FEEL_COUNTRY_HOPEFUL ON SAME PAGE]**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=5,936]:**

FEEL_COUNTRY_FEAR Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...

[DISPLAY RESPONSES IN ORDER]

Sep 30-Oct 5, <u>2020</u>		June 16-22 <u>2020</u>
63	Fearful	66
36	Not fearful	33
*	No answer	*

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=5,936]:

FEEL_COUNTRY_HOPEFUL Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...

[DISPLAY RESPONSES IN ORDER]

Sep 30-Oct 5, <u>2020</u>		June 16-22 <u>2020</u>
44	Hopeful	46
55	Not hopeful	53
*	No answer	*

⁴ In W31 and previous surveys, question was called SATISF.

⁵ The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only.

⁶ SATISF in the W18 survey was asked to a random half of the sample assigned to Form 2 [N=2,366].

ASK ALL:

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

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	56	27	11	5	*
July 27-Aug 2, 2020	46	29	16	8	1
June 16-22, 2020	43	31	17	9	*
Apr 7-12, 2020	42	33	18	7	*
Jan 6-19, 2020	30	37	21	11	*
Sept 3-15, 2019	30	37	22	11	*
July 22-Aug 4, 2019	26	37	23	14	*
2016 election					
May 10-June 6, 2016	55	27	9	8	1
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	52	31	11	5	1
Mar 2-28, 2016	56	28	9	6	1
Mar 10-Apr 6, 2015 ⁷	26	40	23	11	*

ASK ALL:

MATTERS Thinking about how you feel about the 2020 presidential election, where would you place yourself on the following scale?

[PROGRAMMING NOTE: PLEASE FLIP THE LABELS FOR HALF OF RESPONDENTS LEAVING THE SCALE ALWAYS 1→4]

	1 Really matters <u>who wins</u>	2	3	4 Doesn't really <u>matter who wins</u>	No <u>answer</u>
2020 election					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	67	16	9	8	1
July 27-Aug 2, 2020	68	14	8	9	*
Apr 7-12, 2020	64	17	9	8	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	62	19	10	9	*
2016 election					
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016 ⁸	62	19	8	10	*
Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	64	18	8	10	1
Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	61	19	9	10	1
June 7-July 5, 2016	62	20	9	9	0
Apr 5-May, 2016	57	22	10	9	1
Mar 2-Mar 28, 2016	65	18	8	9	1
Nov 24-Dec 21, 2015	58	22	10	8	1

⁷ 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?”

⁸ In 2015 and 2016, question read: “Thinking about how you feel about the 2016 presidential election and the next president, where would you place yourself on the following scale?”

ASK ALL CITIZENS (XCITIZEN=1) [N=11,479]:

VOTEGEN20 If the 2020 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FIRST FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED OPTIONS 3 AND 4, WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]

ASK IF CITIZEN AND NONE/OTHER CANDIDATE OR SKIPPED VOTEGEN20 (VOTEGEN20=5 OR REFUSED) [N=904]:

VOTEGEN20_LEAN As of TODAY, do you... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGEN20]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=10,543]:

Sep 30-Oct 5

2020

42	Donald Trump/lean Trump, the Republican
52	Joe Biden/lean Biden, the Democrat
4	Jo Jorgensen /lean Jorgensen, the Libertarian candidate
1	Howie Hawkins/lean Hawkins ⁹ , the Green Party candidate
1	None/other
*	No Answer

TREND FOR COMPARISON:**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

July 27- Aug 2, <u>2020</u>		June 16-22 <u>2020</u>	Apr 8-12 <u>2020</u> ¹⁰
45	Donald Trump, the Republican/Lean more toward Trump	44	45
53	Joe Biden, the Democrat/Lean more toward Biden	54	47
2	Vote for neither/Other	2	8
*	No Answer	*	*

2016 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

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> ¹¹	June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>
42	Donald Trump/Lean Trump	39	38	46	45
46	Hillary Clinton/Lean Clinton	46	45	50	51
6	Gary Johnson/Lean Johnson	10	10	n/a	n/a
4	Jill Stein/Lean Stein	4	4	n/a	n/a
1	None/Other	1	2	3	3
*	No Answer	0	1	1	1

⁹ Hawkins only asked in the 33 states and the District of Columbia where he is on the ballot.

¹⁰ Only W65 respondents who completed the survey on or after April 8, the day Bernie Sanders suspended his campaign for the Democratic nomination, were asked VOTEGENA or VOTEGENB.

¹¹ Surveys conducted July 12 – August 8 and June 7- July 5 asked only about Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Later waves included Gary Johnson and Jill Stein.

**ASK IF SELECTED [TRUMP, BIDEN, JORGENSEN, HAWKINS] IN VOTEGEN20 (VOTEGEN20=1,2,3,4)
[N=10,575]:**

VOTEGEN20CERT And would you say...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=9,932]:

Sep 30-Oct 5

2020

Among Trump supporters (VOTEGEN20=1) [N=3,657]

92	You are certain you will vote for Donald Trump
8	There is a chance you might change your mind
*	No answer

Among Biden supporters (VOTEGEN20=2) [N=5,994]

93	You are certain you will vote for Joe Biden
6	There is a chance you might change your mind
*	No answer

Among Jorgensen supporters (VOTEGEN20=3) [N=223]

44	You are certain you will vote for Jo Jorgensen
56	There is a chance you might change your mind
	No answer

Among Hawkins supporters (VOTEGEN20=4) [N=58]

29	You are certain you will vote for Howie Hawkins
69	There is a chance you might change your mind
2	No answer

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

ASK IF SELECTED CANDIDATE (VOTEGEN=1,2):

VOTEGEN2 And would you say ...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

July 27-Aug 2

2020

Among Trump supporters (VOTEGEN=1)

95	You are certain you will vote for Donald Trump over Joe Biden
5	There is a chance you might change your mind
*	No answer

Among Biden supporters (VOTEGEN=2)

94	You are certain you will vote for Joe Biden over Donald Trump
5	There is a chance you might change your mind
*	No answer

**2016 TREND FOR COMPARISON:
ASK IF SELECTED CANDIDATE (VOTEGEN=1,2):**
VOTEGEN2 And would you say ...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

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>
Among Trump supporters					
91	You are certain to vote for Trump	90	85	91	92
9	There is a chance you might change your mind	10	15	8	8
0	No Answer	0	0	0	0
Among Clinton supporters					
93	You are certain to vote for Clinton	88	85	90	91
6	There is a chance you might change your mind	12	14	9	7
*	No Answer	0	1	1	2

ASK IF JORGENSEN/HAWKINS IN VOTEGEN20 OR VOTEGEN20_LEAN (VOTEGEN20 OR VOTEGEN20_LEAN=3,4) [N=515]:

VOTEGEN20_2CAND And even though you don't plan to support Donald Trump or Joe Biden, if you had to choose, would you say you... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGEN20]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=381]:

Sep 30-Oct 5 <u>2020</u>	
54	Lean more toward Donald Trump
42	Lean more toward Joe Biden
4	No Answer

ASK IF CHOSE A CANDIDATE IN VOTEGEN20 (VOTEGEN20=1,2,3,4) [N=10,575]:

VOTESTRONG_4 Do you support [Donald Trump/Joe Biden/Jo Jorgensen/Howie Hawkins]...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=9,932]:

Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020		July 27-Aug 2, 2020
42	Trump/Lean Trump	45
29	<i>Strongly</i>	30
13	<i>Moderately/Lean</i>	15
52	Biden/Lean Biden	53
30	<i>Strongly</i>	24
23	<i>Moderately/Lean</i>	29
4	Jorgensen/Lean Jorgensen ¹²	
1	Hawkins/Lean Hawkins	
1	None/other	
*	No Answer	*

¹² Surveys conducted before September 30-October 5, 2020 did not list Jo Jorgensen or Howie Hawkins as response options.

PRIOR ELECTION PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:

	<i>Only</i>				<i>Only</i>				(VOL.)		
	<u>Trump</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	
Jun 15-26, 2016	42	19	22	1	51	23	27	1	7		
2012	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Johnson</u>	<u>Stein</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other/</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012	42	30	12	*	49	37	12	*	3	1	5
Oct 24-28, 2012	45	30	15	*	47	32	15	*	2	1	5
Oct 4-7, 2012	46	31	14	*	46	32	15	*	n/a	n/a	8
Sep 12-16, 2012	42	24	18	*	51	35	16	*	n/a	n/a	7
Jul 16-26, 2012 ¹³	41				51				n/a	n/a	7
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	43	15	28	1	50	32	18	*	n/a	n/a	6
Jun 7-17, 2012	46	17	27	1	50	30	20	*	n/a	n/a	5
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	42				49				n/a	n/a	9
Apr 4-15, 2012	45				49				n/a	n/a	6
Mar 7-11, 2012	42				54				n/a	n/a	4
Feb 8-12, 2012	44				52				n/a	n/a	4
Jan 11-16, 2012	45				50				n/a	n/a	6
Nov 9-14, 2011	47				49				n/a	n/a	4
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48				48				n/a	n/a	4
2008	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Barr</u>	<u>Other/</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 2008	39	21	18	*	50	35	14	1	1	1	9
Late October, 2008	36	20	15	1	52	39	12	1	3	1	8
Mid-October, 2008	38	21	16	1	52	36	16	*	n/a	n/a	10
Early October, 2008	40	21	18	1	50	36	14	*	n/a	n/a	10
Late September, 2008	42	23	19	*	49	33	15	1	n/a	n/a	9
Mid-September, 2008	44	25	19	*	46	30	15	1	n/a	n/a	10
August, 2008	43	17	26	*	46	27	19	*	n/a	n/a	11
July, 2008	42	17	24	1	47	24	22	1	n/a	n/a	11
June, 2008	40	14	26	*	48	28	19	1	n/a	n/a	12
2008	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Barr</u>	<u>Other/</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Late May, 2008	44				47				n/a	n/a	9
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8
Late February, 2008	43				50				n/a	n/a	7
2004	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>		<u>Other/</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 2004	45	34	11	*	46	29	16	1	1		8
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	45	28	16	1	1		9
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2		9
September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1		7
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2		6
July, 2004	44				46				3		7
June, 2004	46				42				6		6
May, 2004	43				46				6		5
Late March, 2004	44				43				6		7
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4		5

¹³ After July 2012, August 2008, June 2004, July 2000, July 1996, June 1992, and June 1988 the question specified vice presidential candidates.

PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED:

2004	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Kerry</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Nader</u>	<i>Other/</i>		
		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		<u>DK/Ref</u>		
Two-way trial heats:												
June, 2004	48				46				n/a		6	
May, 2004	45				50				n/a		5	
Late March, 2004	46				47				n/a		7	
Mid-March, 2004	43				52				n/a		5	
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a		8	
Early February, 2004	47				47				n/a		6	
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a		7	
October, 2003	50				42				n/a		8	
2000	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Only</i>				<u>Gore</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Nader</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<i>Other/</i>
		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>DK</i>		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>			
November, 2000	41	26	15	*	45	25	19	1	4	1	9	
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	1	7	
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4	1	7	
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5	*	8	
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	1	9	
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9	
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19	
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10	
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6	
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6	
Two-way trial heats:												
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6	
Mid-June, 2000	45	20	25	*	46	18	27	1	n/a	n/a	9	
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9	
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8	
February, 2000	46	19	27	*	45	18	26	1	n/a	n/a	9	
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5	
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7	
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7	
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5	
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5	
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6	
Early September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7	
1996	<u>Dole</u>	<i>Only</i>				<u>Clinton</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Perot</u>	<i>Other/</i>	
		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>DK</i>		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>			<u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 1996	32	17	15	*	51	26	24	1	9		8	
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8		7	
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7		7	
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8		6	
July, 1996	34				44				16		6	
March, 1996	35				44				16		5	
September, 1995	36				42				19		3	
July, 1994	36				39				20		5	
Two-way trial heats:												
July, 1996	42	11	30	*	53	20	31	1	n/a		5	
June, 1996	40	13	23	1	55	22	29	1	n/a		5	
April, 1996	40				54						6	
March, 1996	41				53						6	
February, 1996	44				52						4	
January, 1996	41				53						6	
July, 1994	49				46						5	

PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED:

	<i>Only</i>				<i>Only</i>				Perot	Other/ DK/Ref
	Bush Sr.	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Clinton	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		
1992										
Late October, 1992	34	20	14	--	44	26	18	--	19	3
Early October, 1992	35	14	21	--	48	23	25	--	8	9
June, 1992	31				27				36	6
Two-way trial heats:										
September, 1992	38	14	21	--	53	25	28	--	n/a	9
August, 1992	37	14	23	--	57	24	33	--	n/a	6
June, 1992	46	13	33	--	41	9	32	--	n/a	13
May, 1992	46	15	31	--	43	10	33	--	n/a	11
Late March, 1992	50	19	31	--	43	9	34	--	n/a	7
		<i>Only</i>				<i>Only</i>				Other/ DK/Ref
1988	Bush Sr.	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Dukakis	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		
October, 1988	50	24	26	--	42	20	22	--		8
September, 1988	50	26	24	--	44	19	25	--		6
May, 1988	40	12	28	--	53	14	39	--		7

ASK IF CHOSE TRUMP OR LEAN TRUMP (VOTEGEN20=1 or VOTEGEN20_LEAN=1):

DTFORAGNST

Would you say that your choice of Trump is more a vote...

ASK IF CHOSE BIDEN OR LEAN BIDEN (VOTEGEN20=2 or VOTEGEN20_LEAN=2):

JBFORAGNST

Would you say that your choice of Biden is more a vote...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=10,543]:

Sep 30-Oct <u>5, 2020</u>		June 16-22, <u>2020</u>
42	Trump/Lean Trump	44
30	<i>For Trump</i>	33
12	<i>Against Biden</i>	10
*	<i>Refused</i>	*
52	Biden/Lean Biden	54
19	<i>For Biden</i>	18
33	<i>Against Trump</i>	36
*	<i>Refused</i>	*
4	Jorgensen/Lean Jorgensen	
1	Hawkins/Lean Hawkins	
1	Vote for none/other	2
*	No answer	

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP EMTPRESBIDEN**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=5,993]:**

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; USE SAME ORDER FOR EMTPRESBIDEN**]

Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020		July 27-Aug 2, 2020	Jan 6-19 2020	Sep 3-15 2019
12	Excited	13	15	14
29	Relieved	27	24	24
33	Disappointed	27	35	34
25	Angry	31	23	26
1	No Answer	2	3	2

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

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

Nov 29- Dec 12 2016		Oct 25- Nov 8 2016 ¹⁴	Aug 16- Sept 12 2016	Apr 5- May 2 2016
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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP EMTPRSEBIDEN**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=5,993]:**

EMTPRESBIDEN How would you feel if Joe Biden was elected in the November 2020 election? [**SHOW OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME ORDER FOR EMTPRESTRUMP**]

Sep 30- Oct 5, 2020		July 27- Aug 2, 2020
10	Excited	8
42	Relieved	43
34	Disappointed	32
12	Angry	16
2	No answer	2

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you feel if Hillary Clinton won the presidential election in November 2016?

Oct 25- Nov 8 2016		Aug 16- Sept 12 2016	Apr 5- May 2 2016
11	Excited	13	15
36	Relieved	36	25
31	Disappointed	29	34
20	Angry	19	22
2	No Answer	4	4

^{13.} Prior to the November 2016 survey, this question was asked as a hypothetical, "How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election?"

RANDOMIZE BIDENWINFEEL AND TRUMPWINFEEL**ASK FORM 2 AND CHOSE TRUMP OR LEAN TRUMP (VOTEGEN20=1 or VOTEGEN20_LEAN=1):****[N=2,117]:**

BIDENWINFEEL Which comes closer to how you would feel about the direction of the country if Joe Biden was elected president in the upcoming election? **[SHOW OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME ORDER FOR TRUMPWINFEEL]**

BASED ON TRUMP/LEAN TRUMP REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,933]:

Sep 30-Oct 5,

2020

4	I would not be very concerned about the country's direction.
8	I would be very concerned about the country's direction, but think Biden's election WOULDN'T lead to lasting harm to the U.S.
89	I would be very concerned about the country's direction, and think Biden's election WOULD lead to lasting harm to the U.S.
*	No answer

ASK FORM 2 AND CHOSE BIDEN OR LEAN BIDEN (VOTEGEN20=2 or VOTEGEN20_LEAN=2):**[N=3,251]:**

TRUMPWINFEEL Which comes closer to how you would feel about the direction of the country if Donald Trump was reelected president in the upcoming election? **[SHOW OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME ORDER FOR BIDENWINFEEL]**

BASED ON BIDEN/LEAN BIDEN REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,050]:

Sep 30-Oct 5,

2020

1	I would not be very concerned about the country's direction.
8	I would be very concerned about the country's direction, but think Trump's election WOULDN'T lead to lasting harm to the U.S.
90	I would be very concerned about the country's direction, and think Trump's election WOULD lead to lasting harm to the U.S.
*	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL CITIZENS (XCITIZEN=1) [N=11,479]:

PLAN1 Do you plan to vote in the presidential election, have you already voted, or don't you plan to vote?

ASK IF CITIZEN AND PLAN TO VOTE (XCITIZEN=1 AND PLAN1=1) [N=10,043]:

HOWPLANVOTE How do you plan to cast your vote in the November election...

[REVERSE ORDER 3-1 FOR RANDOM HALF SAMPLE, KEEP 4 LAST]**ASK IF CITIZEN AND HAVE ALREADY VOTED (XCITIZEN=1 AND PLAN1 = 2) [N=857]:**HOWVOTED Did you cast your vote... **[REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]****ASK IF CITIZEN AND PLAN TO VOTE ABSENTEE (XCITIZEN=1 AND HOWPLANVOTE = 3) [N=3,897]:**PLANABSENT Do you plan to return your ballot... **[REVERSE ORDER 3-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE, KEEP 4 LAST]****BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS[N=10,543]:**

Sep 30- Oct 6 <u>2020</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>
90	Plan to vote	75
20	<i>In person at a polling place BEFORE Election Day</i>	--
33	<i>In person at a polling place ON Election Day</i>	--
32	<i>By absentee or mail-in ballot</i>	--
4	<i>In person to an election official or poll worker</i>	--
11	<i>To a designated dropbox</i>	--
15	<i>By mail</i>	--
2	<i>Not sure [anchor]</i>	--
4	<i>Not sure [anchor]</i>	--
7	Already voted	21
1	<i>In person at a polling place or early voting location</i>	--
1	<i>By absentee or mail-in ballot returned in person</i>	--
1	<i>By absentee or mail-in ballot dropped off at a designated dropbox</i>	--
4	<i>By mailing in your ballot</i>	--
2	Don't plan to vote	4
*	No answer	*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:Do you plan to cast your vote in [the general election] **[IF RSTATE=22 LOUISIANA: the November election]**...**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO PLAN TO VOTE:**

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>
24	Before Election Day	32
71	On Election Day	55
5	Not sure	13
*	No Answer	0

**ASK ALL CITIZENS WHO HAVE VOTED OR WHO PLAN TO VOTE (XCITIZEN=1 AND PLAN 1=1,2)
[N=10,900]:**

FIRSTVOTE20 Is this the first year you have ever voted, or have you voted in elections before this year?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N =10,353]:

Sep 30-Oct 5		
<u>2020</u>		
6	First year voting	
94	Have voted before	
*	No answer	

FIRSTVOTE20 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Is this the first year you have ever voted, or have you voted in elections before this year?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO PLAN TO VOTE:

Nov 7-16,		
<u>2018</u>		
3	First year voting	
97	Have voted before	
--	No answer	

ASK ALL:

THERMO We'd like to get your feelings toward a number of people on a "feeling thermometer." A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the person at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward them. [RANDOMIZE]

[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings]

	Rating of <u>0 to 24</u>	Rating of <u>25 to 49</u>	Rating of <u>50</u>	Rating of <u>51 to 75</u>	Rating of <u>76 to 100</u>	No <u>Answer</u>	<u>Mean rating</u>
ASK ALL:							
a. Donald Trump							
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	51	6	7	10	25	1	37
Apr 7-12, 2020	45	7	7	10	30	*	42
Oct 29-Nov 11, 2019	49	8	9	9	25	1	38
Sep 3-15, 2019	49	7	8	10	26	1	38
Feb 26-Mar 11, 2018	51	8	10	9	22	1	35
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	37	11	14	12	24	2	43
Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	48	9	9	11	18	4	35
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	53	8	9	11	17	3	32
b. Joe Biden							
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	38	10	12	15	24	1	43
Apr 7-12, 2020	37	14	16	15	17	*	40

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:
POLTCRSW

In general, do you think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong or don't you think about politics in this way?

Sep 30- Oct 5 <u>2020</u>		Jan 6-19, <u>2020</u>	Apr 29- May 13 <u>2019</u>
48	Think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong	37	42
51	Don't think about politics in this way	62	56
1	No answer	1	2

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Mar 7-14 <u>2018</u>		Sep 16-Oct 4 <u>2015</u>
42	Think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong	44
57	Don't think about politics in this way	54
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2

ASK ALL:
ECON1

Thinking about the nation's economy...
How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	4	29	42	25	*
June 16-22, 2020	4	22	44	30	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	4	19	38	38	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	16	42	33	9	*
Sep 16-29, 2019	10	46	35	8	*
July 22-Aug 4, 2019	14	43	32	11	*
Nov 7-16, 2018	13	46	31	9	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	12	45	32	11	*
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017	2	37	43	17	0
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	2	30	47	21	*
Apr 29-May 27, 2014	1	18	50	30	1

ASK ALL:
ECON1B

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be...

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	About the <u>same as</u> <u>now</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	52	17	30	1
June 16-22, 2020	50	22	27	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	55	22	22	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	29	26	45	1
Sep 16-29, 2019	20	32	48	*
July 22-Aug 4, 2019 ¹⁵	28	28	44	*

¹⁵ In the survey conducted from July 22- August 4, 2019, response options for this question were not randomized.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=5,993]:

DTCNF

Thinking about DONALD TRUMP's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Donald Trump can do each of the following?

	<u>Very confident</u>	<u>Somewhat confident</u>	<u>Not too confident</u>	<u>Not at all confident</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. Handle the public health impact of the coronavirus outbreak					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	17	22	16	45	1
June 16-22, 2020	18	22	16	43	1
b. Make good decisions about foreign policy					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	19	17	39	1
June 16-22, 2020	22	21	16	41	1
c. Make good decisions about economic policy					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	28	22	18	31	1
June 16-22, 2020	29	21	16	33	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	32	21	18	29	1
July 22-Aug 4, 2019	29	21	15	35	*

NO ITEM D

e. Effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	20	17	39	*
June 16-22, 2020	19	23	17	41	1
f. Bring the country closer together					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	11	18	20	51	1
June 16-22, 2020	11	19	19	50	1

NO ITEMS G-I

j. Select good nominees for the Supreme Court					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	27	19	17	36	1

DTCNF.j TREND FOR COMPARISON*Make good appointments to the federal courts*

Jan 6-19, 2020	27	19	17	36	1
July 22-Aug 4, 2019	25	20	19	36	1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=5,993]:

JBCONF Thinking about JOE BIDEN's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Joe Biden can do each of the following?

	<u>Very confident</u>	<u>Somewhat confident</u>	<u>Not too confident</u>	<u>Not at all confident</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. Handle the public health impact of the coronavirus outbreak					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	23	31	20	25	1
June 16-22, 2020	15	37	21	26	1
b. Make good decisions about foreign policy					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	22	30	18	29	1
June 16-22, 2020	16	33	21	28	1
c. Make good decisions about economic policy					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	17	33	19	30	1
June 16-22, 2020	12	35	23	29	1

NO ITEM D

e. Effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	15	34	19	31	1
June 16-22, 2020	11	35	25	28	1
f. Bring the country closer together					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	17	32	20	29	1
June 16-22, 2020	14	30	25	30	1

NO ITEMS G-I

j. Select good nominees for the Supreme Court					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	30	16	30	1

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=5,936]:

TRUMPDESC How well does each of the following describe DONALD TRUMP?

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. Courageous					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	27	21	13	38	1
June 16-22, 2020	25	19	13	41	1
b. A good role model					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	7	20	19	53	1
June 16-22, 2020	9	20	18	52	1

NO ITEM C

d. Honest					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	10	23	16	50	1
June 16-22, 2020	13	21	16	49	1
Feb 4-15, 2020	12	24	19	44	1

TRUMPDESC CONTINUED...

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>No answer</u>
NO ITEMS E-G					
h. Stands up for what he believes in Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	41	25	13	20	1
i. Compassionate Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	13	19	18	50	1
j. Mentally sharp Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	24	19	32	1

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=5,936]:

BIDENDESC How well does each of the following describe JOE BIDEN?

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. Courageous Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	21	32	25	20	2
June 16-22, 2020	13	31	27	26	3
b. A good role model Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	22	30	23	23	2
June 16-22, 2020	14	31	24	28	2

NO ITEM C

d. Honest Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	20	32	23	24	2
June 16-22, 2020	13	33	25	28	2
Feb 4-15, 2020	12	24	19	44	1

NO ITEMS E-G

h. Stands up for what he believes in Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	26	35	21	16	2
i. Compassionate Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	30	34	20	14	2
j. Mentally sharp Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	13	33	22	31	1

ASK FORM 1 IF CHOSE BIDEN OR LEAN BIDEN (FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN20=2 or VOTEGEN20_LEAN=2)) [N=3,337]:

EVAL_TV5 Thinking for a moment about the ordinary Americans who want to see Donald Trump reelected, which of these comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,145]:

Sep 30-
Oct 5
2020

18	We may have very different priorities when it comes to politics and policies, but we share a fundamental commitment to the same core American values and goals
80	Not only do we have very different priorities when it comes to politics and policies, but we have fundamental disagreements about core American values and goals
2	No answer

ASK FORM 1 IF CHOSE TRUMP OR LEAN TRUMP (FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN20=1 or VOTEGEN20_LEAN=1)) [N=2,116]:

EVAL_BVS Thinking for a moment about the ordinary Americans who want to see Joe Biden elected, which of these comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,938]:

Sep 30-
Oct 5
2020

22	We may have very different priorities when it comes to politics and policies, but we share a fundamental commitment to the same core American values and goals
77	Not only do we have very different priorities when it comes to politics and policies, but we have fundamental disagreements about core American values and goals
2	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK IF CITIZEN (N=11,479):**

REG Which of these statements best describes you?

Sep 30-Oct 5
2020

75	You are ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN that you are registered to vote at your current address
11	You are PROBABLY registered, but there is a chance your registration has lapsed
13	You are NOT registered to vote at your current address
1	No answer

ASK IF NOT REGISTERED VOTER (N=936):

PLANREG Do you plan to register so that you can vote in the upcoming election?

Sep 30-Oct 5		
<u>2020</u>		
54	Yes	
43	No	
3	No answer	

ASK IF REG=1,2 OR PLANREG=1 [N=11,174]:

VOTE_MOTIV Thinking about voting in the presidential election, would you say that you are personally...

	Extremely motivated <u>to vote</u>	Very motivated <u>to vote</u>	Somewhat motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not too motivated <u>to vote</u>	<u>Not at all</u> <u>motivated</u> <u>to vote</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	61	19	12	5	3	*

ADDITIONAL QUESTION HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK FORM 1 ONLY IF TRUMP/LEAN TRUMP (VOTEGEN20=1 OR VOTEGEN20_LEAN20=1) [N=2,116]:**DT_REPRE Which comes closer to your view about what Donald Trump's approach should be if he is reelected?
Donald Trump should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of...**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,938]:**

Sep 30-		
Oct 5		
<u>2020</u>		
86	All Americans, even if it means disappointing some of his supporters	
13	Those who voted for him, without worrying too much about the concerns of those who vote for him	
1	No answer	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY IF BIDEN/LEAN BIDEN (VOTEGEN20=2 OR VOTEGEN20_LEAN20=2) [N=3337]:JB_REPRE Which comes closer to your view about what Joe Biden's approach should be if he is elected?
Joe Biden should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of...**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,145]:**

Sep 30-		
Oct 5		
<u>2020</u>		
89	All Americans, even if it means disappointing some of his supporters	
10	Those who voted for him, without worrying too much about the concerns of those who vote for him	
1	No answer	

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING [N=11,929]:PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...¹⁶

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer</u>	<u>Lean Rep</u>	<u>Lean Dem</u>
27	29	29	14	1	18	21

¹⁶ Party and PartyIn asked in a prior survey.