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# As Voting Begins, Democrats Are Upbeat About the 2020 Field, Divided in Their Preferences

*Democrats uncertain about prospects for defeating Trump*

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## How we did this

This report analyzes the views of registered voters in the United States towards the upcoming presidential election. For our analysis, we surveyed 12,638 U.S. adults, including 10,491 registered voters (5,861 of whom are Democratic and Democratic leaners) in January 2020. Everyone who took part 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. Some of the analyses in the report also draw from prior surveys that members completed. For more details, see the [methodology for this report](#). And read more about [Pew Research Center's ATP here](#).

## Table of Contents

<b>As Voting Begins, Democrats Are Upbeat about the 2020 Field, Divided in Their Preferences.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1. The Democratic nomination contest.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>2. Political values and Democratic candidate support.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Acknowledgments.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Methodology.....</b>	<b>45</b>

# As Voting Begins, Democrats Are Upbeat About the 2020 Field, Divided in Their Preferences

## *Democrats uncertain about prospects for defeating Trump*

Ahead of the first contests in the 2020 election, Democratic voters are highly engaged with the race for their party's nomination, express positive views of the Democratic field and are united in opposition to Donald Trump.

Yet many Democrats are uncertain if their party's still-to-be-determined nominee can defeat Trump in the general election. Fewer than half (44%) expect victory for their party's candidate this fall, while 34% decline to express an opinion and 22% think Trump will win. Republican voters, by contrast, are highly confident that Trump will win reelection (80% say he will probably or definitely win).

The national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Jan. 6 to 19 among 10,491 registered voters, including 5,861 Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters, finds that Democrats' preferences for the nominee are deeply divided along ideological and demographic lines. (*Also new today – “Democratic voters generally satisfied with the primary process”*).

As many national and early primary state surveys have found, Democrats' preferences for the nomination are divided. Asked an open-ended question about their first choice for the nomination, 26% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters favor Biden, 21% Sanders, 16% Warren, 7% Buttigieg and 5% Bloomberg.

### Democratic voters are positive about the 2020 field, divided in preferences for the nomination

% of Dem/Lean Dem registered voters who ...

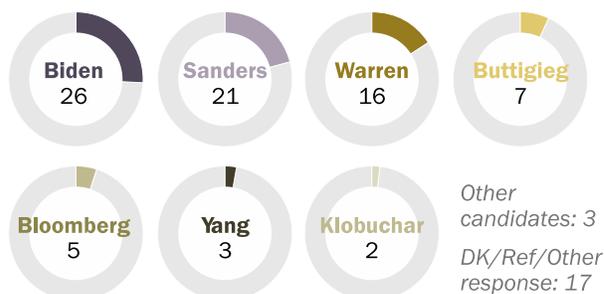
Are looking forward to the presidential election this fall

82

Have an excellent/good impression of the candidates running for the Democratic nomination

64

Name \_\_\_ as their first choice for the Democratic nomination



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters. Open-ended question.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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While Biden has an advantage over his rivals among conservative and moderate Democrats, who constitute about half of all Democratic voters, there is no clear leader among Democrats who describe their views as liberal, or among those who are *very* liberal. And as was the case in the primary campaign of 2016, Democrats are again divided by race and age: Biden leads among black Democrats, while white Democrats are closely divided. Sanders draws broad support among young Democrats, as he did four years ago, while Biden leads among older Democrats. ([See detailed tables for more information](#))

The survey finds that while Democrats are divided over who should be the party's nominee, they share similar attitudes on a wide range of political values and on many specific issues. Yet there also are differences among supporters of the Democratic candidates in attitudes about foreign policy, economic inequality and whether to seek compromise with Republicans.

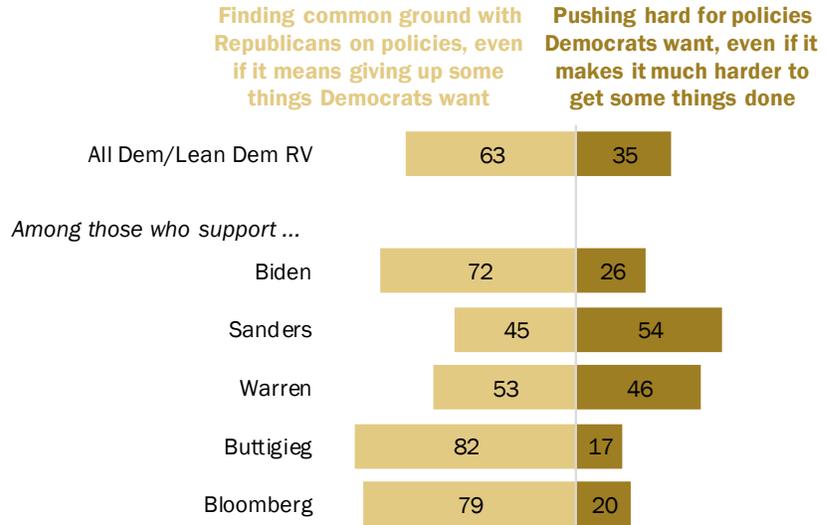
In some cases, these differences are a matter of degree rather than kind. For example, most Democratic voters, regardless of which candidate they prefer, support making tuition free at all public universities and building a single government healthcare program known as “Medicare for all,” which would replace private insurance. Yet only among Warren and Sanders supporters do majorities *strongly* support these ideas.

However, there are some clear-cut disagreements among Democrats, including whether it is more important for a Democratic candidate to “find common ground” with Republicans or to push hard for policies that Democrats want, even if this makes it harder to get some things done.

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### Sanders, Warren supporters less likely to prioritize seeking ‘common ground’ with Republicans

*% of Dem/Lean Dem registered voters who say it is more important for a Democratic presidential candidate, if elected, focus on ...*



Note: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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Overall, 63% of Democratic voters – including substantial shares of those who support Buttigieg (82%), Bloomberg (79%) and Biden (72%) for the nomination – say it is more important for a Democratic candidate to seek common ground with Republicans, even if it means giving up some things Democrats want.

Sanders and Warren supporters are much less supportive of finding common ground with Republicans. Roughly half of the Democrats who favor either candidate (54% of Sanders supporters, 46% of Warren supporters) say it is more important for a Democratic presidential candidate to push hard for policies Democrats want, even if this makes it harder to get things done.

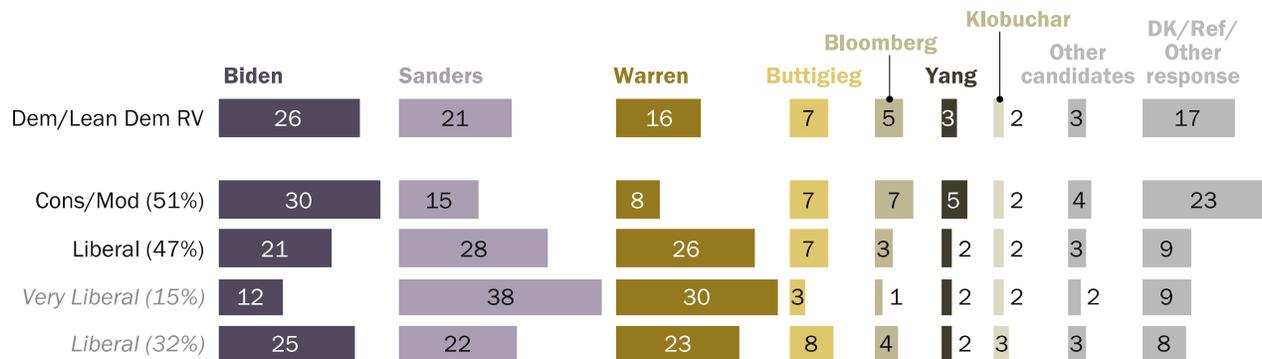
## Ideological divide in the Democratic contest

The share of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters who describe their political views as liberal has **increased markedly since 2000**, though growth has slowed in recent years. Overall, about half of Democratic voters (47%) identify as liberal, including 15% who say they are very liberal.

*Liberal* Democrats (who constitute about a third of all Democratic voters) have distinctly different preferences for the party's presidential nomination when compared with those who are *very liberal*. Nearly identical shares of liberal Democrats name Biden (25%), Warren (23%) and Sanders (22%) as their first choice for the nomination.

### Biden holds advantage among conservative and moderate Democrats; liberal Democrats are divided, while very liberal Democrats narrowly prefer Sanders

% of Dem/Lean Dem registered voters who name \_\_\_ as their first choice for Democratic nomination [OPEN-END]



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters. Open-ended question.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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Among very liberal Democratic voters, Sanders (38%) and Warren (30%) outpace the other candidates. Biden receives only about half as much support from very liberal Democrats (12%) as he does from liberals (25%).

The preferences of conservative and moderate Democrats are less divided. Biden holds a substantial advantage: 30% of moderate and conservative Democrats favor Biden, while 15% back Sanders and smaller shares favor other candidates.

## An early look at the general election

With the general election still more than nine months away, a large majority of registered voters (75%) say they are giving a lot or a little thought to the candidates running for president, while about as many (78%) say they are looking forward to the election in the fall.

Asked to look ahead to how they might vote in November, more voters say they will definitely or probably vote for the Democratic candidate (48%) than will definitely or probably vote for Trump (38%), while 13% express no preference.

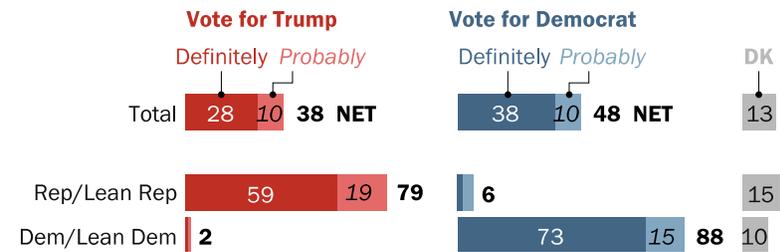
Currently, Democrats are more definite about their general election preferences than are Republicans: 73% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters say they will *definitely* vote for the party's nominee, while 59% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say they will definitely vote for Trump. The survey was conducted before Trump's Senate impeachment trial. (See [this report](#) for views of the Senate trial and Donald Trump.)

Yet Republicans are far more confident of victory in November. Nearly four-in-ten Republican voters (38%) think Trump will *definitely* win

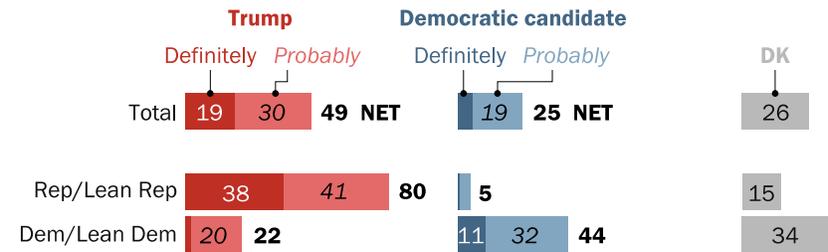
reelection, while another 41% say he will *probably* win. Among Democratic voters, just 11% say the Democratic candidate will definitely win, while 32% see a Democratic victory as probable. Democratic voters are far more likely than Republicans to decline to express an opinion about the outcome (34% vs. 15%).

### Early views of the general: More favor a Democrat than Trump, but just a quarter think a Democrat will win

% of registered voters who say they will ...



% of registered voters who think \_\_\_ will win in the 2020 presidential election



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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The expectation that Trump is likely to win reelection is consistent with past elections involving incumbents, particularly before the other party has chosen its nominee. In 2012, for example, [more voters consistently predicted victory](#) for Barack Obama than Mitt Romney. And at similar points in the 1992 and 2004 cycles, wide majorities predicted the incumbents would win against the still-to-be-named Democratic candidate.

When voters are asked to predict their reactions *if* Trump wins reelection, 57% express a negative emotion and say they would be either disappointed (32%) or angry (25%); fewer say they'd experience either relief (24%) or excitement (18%).

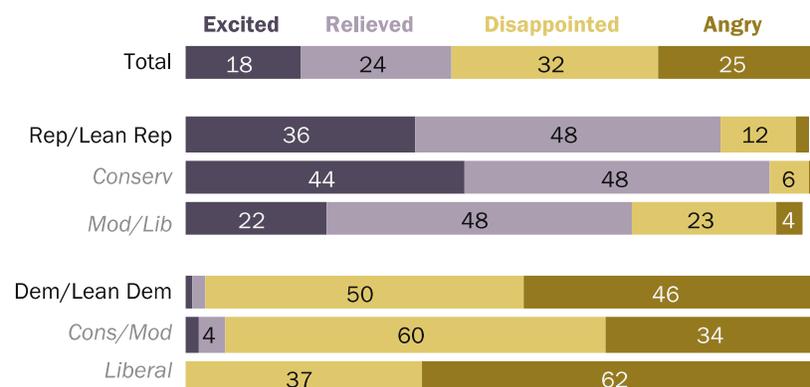
Most liberal Democratic voters express a strongly negative reaction to a possible Trump victory: 62% of liberal Democrats say they would be angry if Trump were reelected, compared with 34% of conservative and moderate Democrats.

Among Republican voters, conservatives are more likely than moderates and liberals to have strongly positive reactions to a Trump victory.

While 44% of conservative Republicans say they would be excited by Trump winning reelection, just 22% of moderate and liberal Republicans say the same.

**Liberal Democrats are far more likely than other Democrats to say they'd be angry if Trump wins again**

*% of registered voters who say they would feel \_\_\_ if Donald Trump is reelected in November*



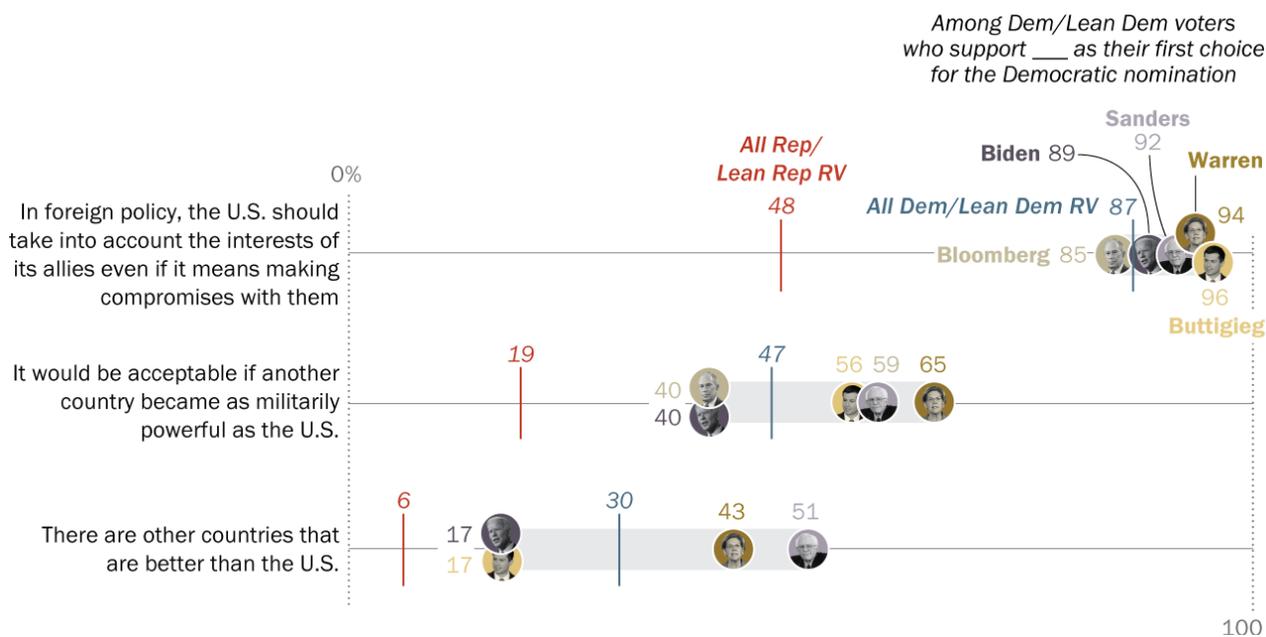
Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

## Democrats differ on whether illegal immigration is a problem – and if other countries are better than the U.S.

On topics ranging from immigration and foreign policy to aid to the poor and economic inequality, Democratic voters generally agree on broad principles. And in virtually every area, the differences *among* supporters of the Democratic candidates are far narrower than the differences *between* Republican and Democratic voters. Still there are sharp disagreements among Democrats on several policy goals – such as the importance of the U.S. maintaining its role as the world’s lone military superpower – and specific policies.

### Democratic voters broadly favor cooperation with U.S. allies, but disagree on the acceptability of another country becoming as militarily powerful as the U.S.

% of registered voters who say ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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**America’s place in the world.** Large majorities of supporters of leading Democratic candidates say the U.S. should take allies’ interests into account, even if it means making compromises with them, when conducting foreign policy. However, 65% of Warren supporters – and nearly as many Democrats who support Sanders (59%) and Buttigieg (56%) – say it would be acceptable if another country became as militarily powerful as the U.S. Only 40% of Biden and Bloomberg supporters say this. In addition, when asked about America’s global status, 51% of Sanders supporters and

43% of Warren supporters say there are other countries that are better than the U.S.; just 17% of Biden and Buttigieg backers say the same. Most Biden and Buttigieg supporters say either that the U.S. is among the leading group of nations or that it “stands above” all other countries.

**Immigration.** Democratic voters overwhelmingly say that the growing number of newcomers to the U.S. does more to strengthen U.S. society than threaten traditional American customs and values. But the candidates’ supporters differ on whether illegal immigration is a problem for the U.S. Majorities of Bloomberg (61%) and Biden supporters (59%) say illegal immigration is a very big or moderately big problem for the country, compared with fewer than half of Buttigieg (41%), and Warren and Sanders supporters (36% each). As with nearly all issues, these differences pale in comparison to the overall partisan gap in these views; 94% of Republican voters view illegal immigration as a problem, including 74% who say it’s a very big problem.

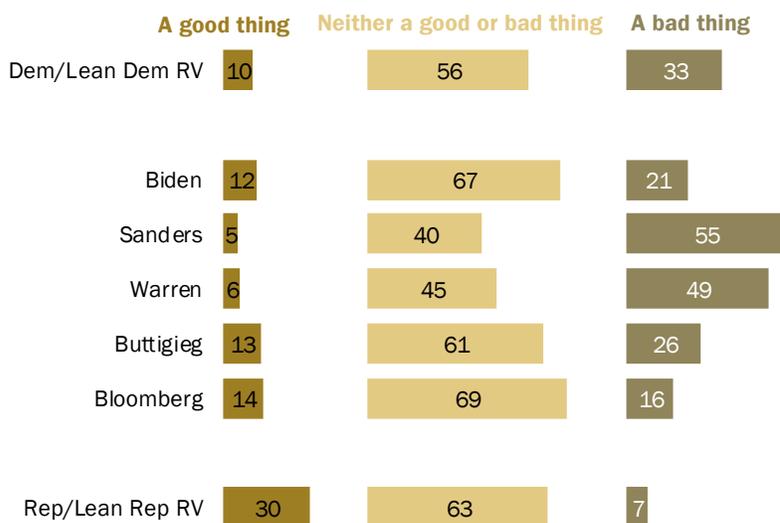
**Social safety net.** While Democrats generally favor more assistance to the needy, support for increased aid to the poor is higher among Warren and Sanders supporters (76%, 74%, respectively) than among Democrats who back Biden (56%), Buttigieg (48%) or Bloomberg (46%). Few Democrats, regardless of whom they support, favor *less* aid to the poor; rather, Biden, Buttigieg and Bloomberg supporters are more likely than Sanders and Warren supporters to say the government currently provides about the right amount of aid.

### Economic inequality.

Majorities of the supporters of leading Democratic candidates view economic inequality as a very big national problem; even larger shares say that business corporations in the

### Sharp divides among Democratic voters on impact of billionaires on the country

*% of registered voters who say the fact that there are some people in this country who have personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more is \_\_\_ for the country*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis included. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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U.S. have too much power. Yet Democrats disagree sharply about the impact of billionaires on the country. A majority of Sanders' supporters (55%) and 49% of Warren supporters say the fact that there are some people with personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more is a bad thing. By contrast, the predominant view among Bloomberg supporters (69%), as well as Biden (67%) and Buttigieg supporters (61%), is that this is neither good nor bad.

## Other major findings

**Democrats are positive about their presidential field, though less so than in 2008.** Overall, 64% of Democratic voters have an excellent or good impression of the candidates running for the Democratic nomination. That is much higher than at similar points during the 1988, 1992 and 2004 presidential campaigns. In January 2008, however, 78% had a positive view of the presidential candidates as a group.

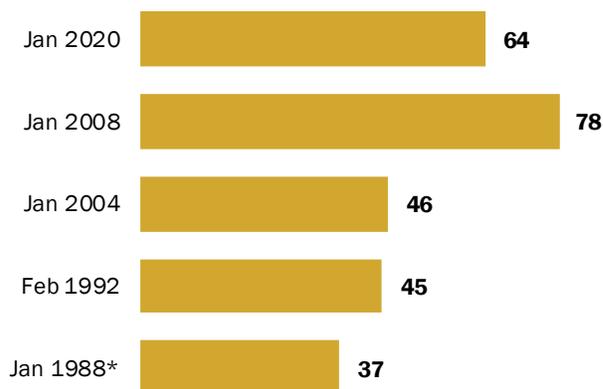
**A majority of Democrats still say they find 'several' candidates exciting.** As the Democratic caucuses and primaries get underway, only 43% of Democratic voters who express a preference for the nominee say they are *only* enthusiastic about their first choice; 54% say there are several candidates they feel excited about. These views have changed only modestly since August, when 35% were only enthusiastic about their first choice.

A majority of Democrats who support Bloomberg for the nomination (60%) say they are only enthusiastic about their first choice. Half of Sanders supporters and 45% of Biden supporters say they are only enthused about their top choice, as do 39% of Buttigieg supporters and 31% of those who back Warren.

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### Democrats positive about their party's 2020 field, but it's not 2008

*% of Dem/Lean Dem voters who say their impression of the candidates running for the Democratic nomination is excellent or good*



Notes: Surveys conducted in 2008 and prior were on the phone. Jan 1988 is all adult Democrats and Democratic leaners.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## 1. The Democratic nomination contest

Ahead of the first caucuses and primaries of 2020, Joe Biden enjoys a narrow lead as Democrats' top choice for president. In an open-ended question, 26% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters volunteer Biden as their top choice for the nomination. Slightly fewer say Bernie Sanders is their first choice (21%), while 16% say they would like Elizabeth Warren to be the nominee. Pete Buttigieg (7%), Michael Bloomberg (5%), Andrew Yang (3%) and Amy Klobuchar (2%) receive support from smaller shares of Democratic voters.

There continue to be notable demographic differences among Democrats in their primary preferences, particularly by age, education, and race and ethnicity. However, there are no significant gender differences in the preferences of Democratic voters.

Sanders is the clear first choice among Democratic voters ages 18 to 29: 40% say he is their first choice for the nomination, compared with 17% who support Warren and just 9% who name Biden. By contrast, a plurality of Democratic voters ages 50 and older name Biden as their first choice for the nomination.

In addition to support among older Democrats, Biden continues to receive strong support from black Democrats. Overall, 36% of black Democrats name Biden as their first choice; far fewer name Sanders (13%) or Warren (9%). The preferences of Latino Democrats are divided: 30% favor Sanders, while 22% back Biden and 11% support Warren.

Among non-Hispanic white voters, there are only modest differences between the shares who support Biden (24%), Sanders (21%) and Warren (19%) for the nomination.

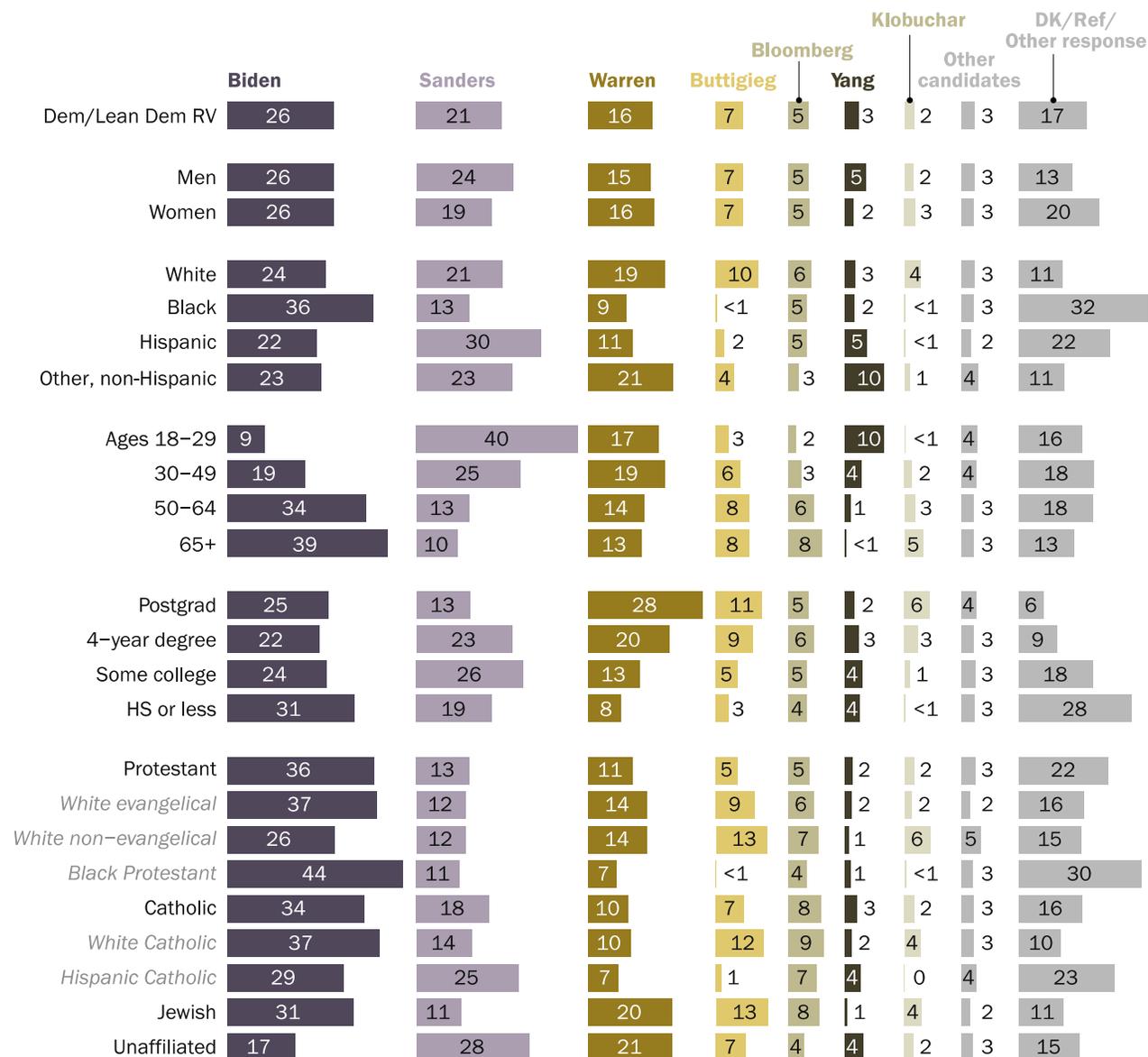
The age differences in candidate support are evident among whites, blacks and Hispanics. For example, while Biden draws the support of just 12% of non-Hispanic white Democrats under the age of 50, a third of whites ages 50 and older support him. Similarly, Biden's support is greater among blacks and Hispanics ages 50 and older than among those under 50. ([\*See detailed tables for a more granular examination of Democrats' preferences, including among smaller demographic subgroups\*](#)).

Warren runs relatively well among Democratic voters who have graduated from college, particularly those with a postgraduate degree. Among postgraduates, 28% say Warren is their first choice for the Democratic nomination; about as many name Biden (25%), while 13% name Sanders and 11% name Buttigieg. Among those with a four-year college degree (but no postgraduate degree), Sanders (23%), Biden (22%) and Warren (20%) all receive similar levels of support. Biden runs better than other Democratic candidates among Democratic voters with no college experience.

Biden receives support for the nomination from a plurality of all Protestants and Catholics. Jewish Democrats also are more likely to name Biden as their first choice for the nomination (31%) than other candidates, including Warren (20%) and Sanders (11%). Among religiously unaffiliated Democratic voters, 28% say Sanders is their first choice for the nomination compared with smaller shares who name Warren (21%) or Biden (17%).

## Democrats' preferences for the party's nomination are divided by age and race, not gender

% of Dem/Lean Dem voters who name \_\_\_ as their first choice for the Democratic nomination [OPEN-END]



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters. Open-ended question. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Non-Hispanics of other race(s) include Asians, Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islanders, American Indian/Alaska Natives and those of more than one racial background.  
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

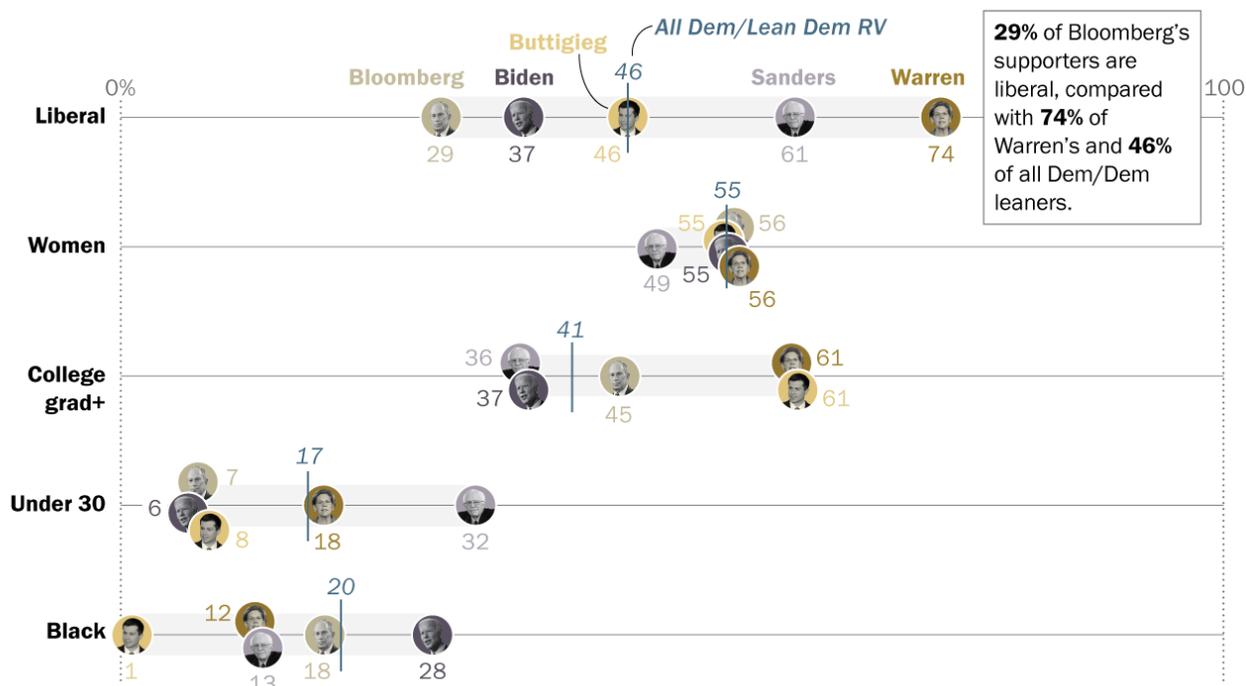
## Demographic profiles of Democratic candidates' supporters

Demographic differences in candidate preferences create distinct coalitions of supporters for the 2020 Democratic candidates. For instance, 74% of Warren supporters and 61% of Sanders supporters describe their political views as liberal, compared with just 37% of Biden supporters.

About a third of Sanders supporters are under the age of 30, compared with 18% of Warren supporters and just 6% of Biden supporters.

### Profiles of candidate support: Warren and Sanders' supporters include the largest shares of liberals

% of \_\_\_ supporters who are ...



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters. Open-ended question. Blacks include only those who are not Hispanic.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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Majorities of Warren and Buttigieg supporters (61% each) have four-year college degrees. Fewer than half of Biden (37%) and Sanders (36%) supporters are college graduates.

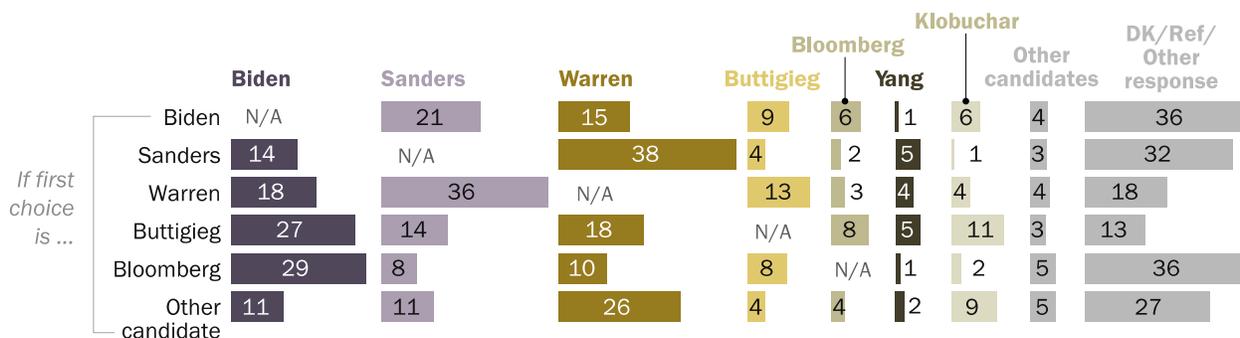
Overall, 28% of Biden's supporters are black Democrats compared with 13% of Sanders supporters, 12% of Warren's supporters and just 1% of Buttigieg's supporters.

When asked about their second choice for the nomination, 21% of Biden supporters name Sanders while 15% name Warren. However, a relatively large share of Democratic voters (36%) who support Biden do not volunteer a second choice.

More Sanders supporters (38%) name Warren as their second choice than any other candidate, but 32% give no second option. About a third of Warren supporters name Sanders as their second choice.

**Among Biden’s supporters, no clear second choice; many Democrats who support Sanders name Warren as a second choice, and vice versa**

*Second choice for the Democratic nomination among Dem/Lean Dem registered voters (%) [OPEN-END]*



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters. Open-ended question.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

## Candidate support among 2016 Democratic primary voters

In 2016, Pew Research Center tracked the preferences of Democratic voters [throughout the nomination contest](#). A relatively large share of Democrats (44%) changed their preferences for the nomination during that contest, while 29% consistently supported Hillary Clinton (naming her as first choice for the nomination in all three surveys conducted between December 2015 and April 2016) and 20% consistently backed Bernie Sanders.

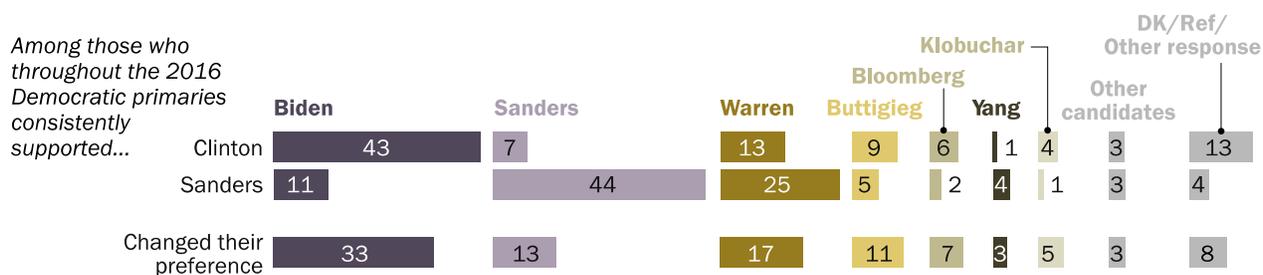
Looking at those same voters today, 43% of Democratic voters who consistently supported Clinton for the nomination in 2016 now support Biden. None of the other Democratic candidates garner more than 13% of this group's support for the nomination.

Among those who consistently supported Sanders in 2016, 44% favor him for the nomination today, while 25% support Warren.

And among the larger share of Democrats whose preferences were less consistent in late 2015 and early 2016, a third now support Biden, while 17% favor Warren and 13% back Sanders.

### Biden holds advantage among Democratic voters who consistently supported Hillary Clinton during the 2016 primaries

% of Dem/Lean Dem voters who name \_\_\_ as their first choice for the Democratic nomination [OPEN-END]



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters. Open-ended question. "Changed their preference" included those who named Clinton or Sanders in at least one survey but did not stay with a candidate throughout; includes many who were undecided at some point in three surveys conducted from Dec 2015 through April 2016. For more, see "In Clinton's March to the Nomination, Many Democrats Changed Their Minds."

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Democrats' enthusiasm for their first choice and the field

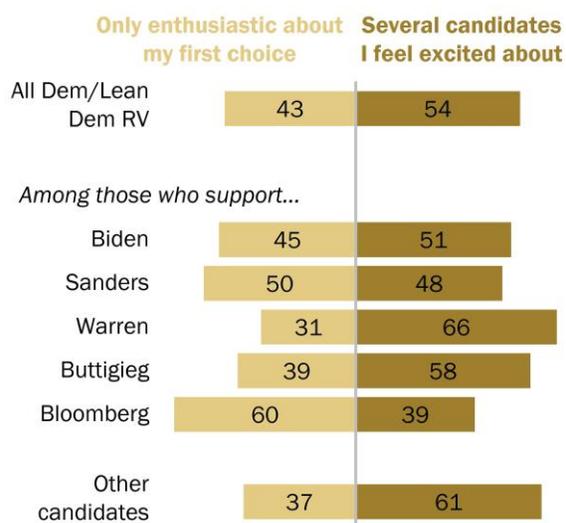
Overall, 54% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters who express a preference for a 2020 candidate say there are several candidates running for the nomination they feel enthusiastic about; a somewhat smaller share (43%) say they are only enthusiastic about their first choice.

As the Democratic primary contest has progressed, the share who say they are only enthusiastic about their first choice has increased 8 points, from 35% in August 2019.

Views on this question vary by candidate preference. Two-thirds of Warren supporters (66%) say there are several candidates they feel enthusiastic about, and 58% of Buttigieg supporters also take this view. Enthusiasm for candidates outside their first choice is somewhat lower among those who say their top choice is Biden (51%), Sanders (48%) or Bloomberg (39%).

### As voting begins, more than half of Democrats say they feel excited about several candidates

*% of Dem/Lean Dem voters who say each better describes their view of the Democratic candidates ...*



Notes: Based on Dem/Lean Dem registered voters who named one of the current candidates seeking the Democratic nomination for president. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

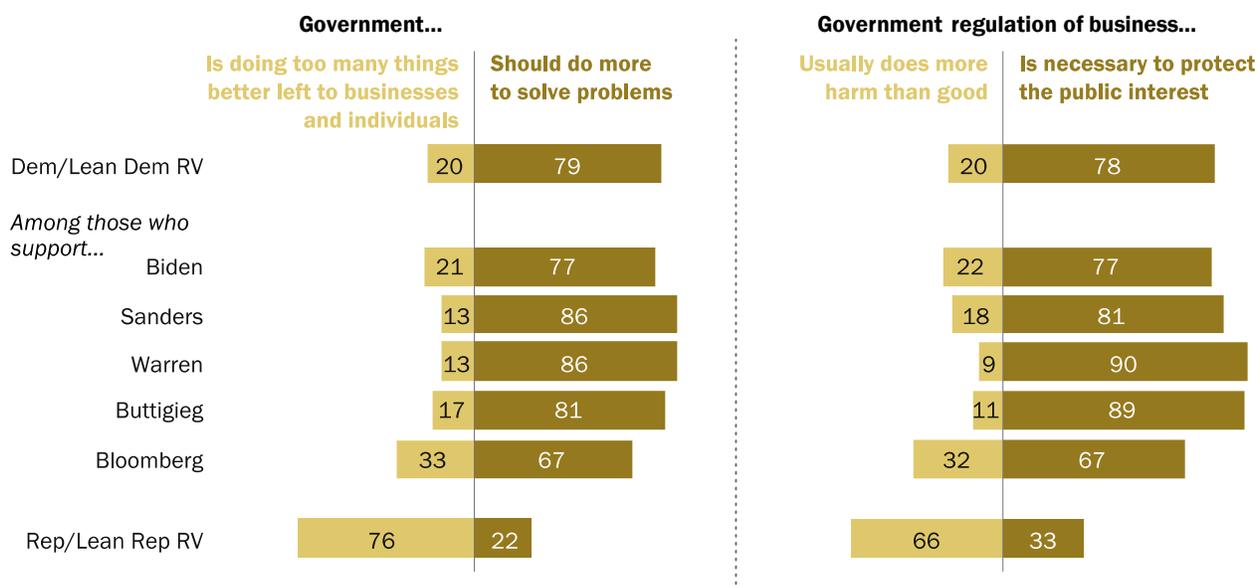
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## 2. Political values and Democratic candidate support

Large shares of Democratic voters prefer an active role for government and believe in the importance of its regulatory role. About eight-in-ten Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters say the government should do more to solve problems, while just 20% say it's doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals. Similarly, 78% say the government regulation is necessary to protect the public interest, compared with far fewer (20%) who say it usually does more harm than good.

### Large shares of Democratic voters believe in an active role for government

% of registered voters who say ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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These views are held by large majorities of the supporters of most top Democratic presidential candidates. The shares of Bloomberg supporters who believe in an active role for government and the need for regulation are modestly smaller than among other candidates' supporters. For instance, 67% of Bloomberg supporters say government should do more to solve problems, compared with 77% of Biden supporters and 86% of both Warren and Sanders supporters who say this.

Views among the supporters of all top Democratic candidates stand in stark contrast to views among Republicans: 76% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say the government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals and 66% say government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.

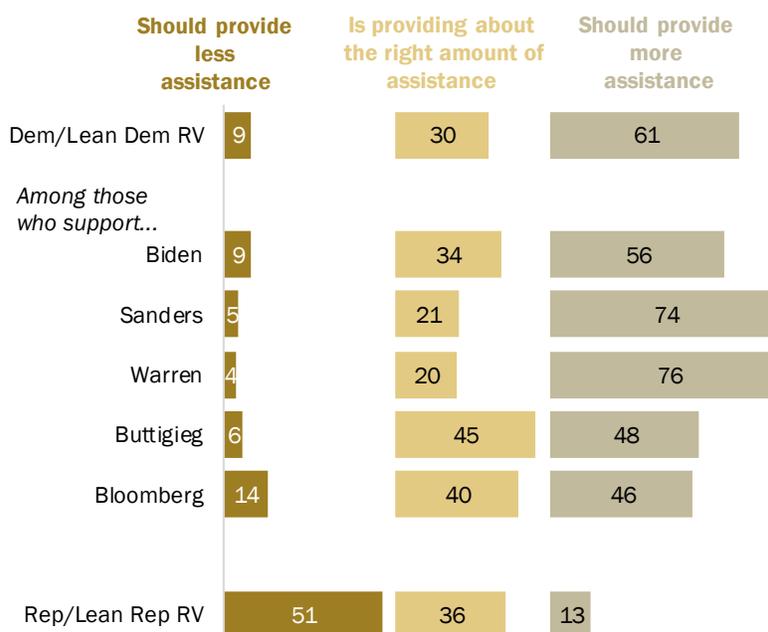
## Supporters of Democratic candidates differ in support for providing more aid to the needy

A majority of Democratic voters (61%) say the government should provide more assistance to people in need. Three-in-ten say the government is providing about the right amount of assistance to people in need, while just 9% say it should provide less assistance.

Warren and Sanders supporters stand out for their strong support for greater assistance to people in need. About three-quarters of Democratic voters who name Warren (76%) or Sanders (74%) as their first choice believe the government should provide more assistance to people in need. By contrast, smaller shares of Biden (56%), Buttigieg (48%) and Bloomberg (46%) supporters take this view. Backers of these three candidates are more likely than Warren and Sanders supporters to say the government is providing about the right amount of assistance to people in need. Few supporters of any Democratic candidate think government assistance to people in need should be cut.

### Large majorities of Sanders, Warren supporters say government should provide more assistance for needy

*% of registered voters who say, thinking about the assistance government provides to people in need, government ...*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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As with many questions about the role of government, the gap between the views of Republican voters and Democratic voters is quite large. Half of Republican and Republican-leaning voters think government should provide less assistance to people in need, while 36% say it's providing the right amount and only 13% say it should provide more.

On balance, more Democratic voters say that hard work is no guarantee of success for most people (55%) than say that most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard (45%).

This question highlights significant differences in views between the supporters of top Democratic candidates

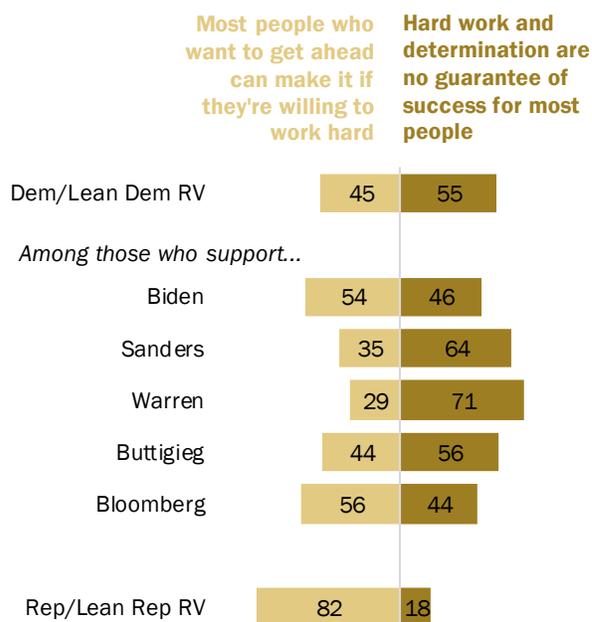
A narrow majority of Biden supporters (54%) say most people can make it if they're willing to work hard (46% say hard work is no guarantee of success for most people). Views among Bloomberg supporters are similar to those of Biden supporters.

Sanders and Warren backers are decidedly of the view that hard work is no guarantee of success for most people. About seven-in-ten Warren supporters (71%) say this, as do 64% of those who support Sanders.

Republicans overwhelmingly say hard work itself leads to success: 82% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say that most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard; just 18% say hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.

## Warren, Sanders voters skeptical of link between hard work and success

% of registered voters who say ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Views of college tuition and health insurance coverage

Democratic voters back the idea of making tuition at public colleges and universities free (81% are in favor), but there are differences in the degree of support by candidate preference.

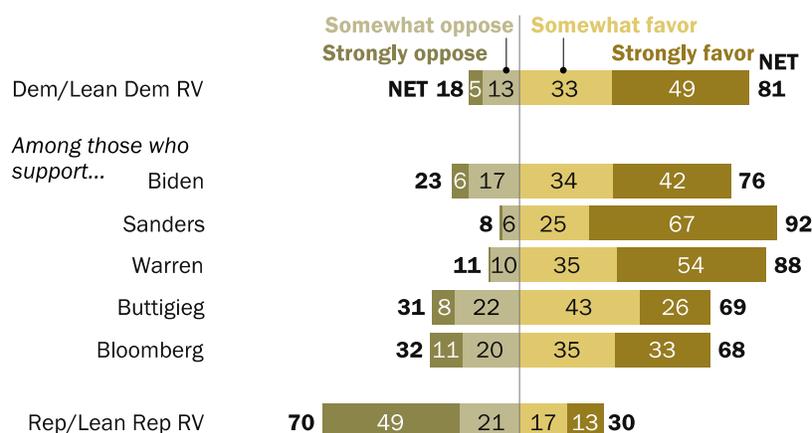
Fully 92% of Sanders voters say they favor making tuition free, including 67% who say they *strongly* favor the policy. A large share of Warren voters also support free tuition at public colleges and universities (88%); Warren supporters are somewhat less likely than Sanders' to back this policy strongly (54% vs. 67%).

Sizable but smaller majorities of Biden (76%), Buttigieg (69%) and Bloomberg (68%) supporters favor making tuition at public colleges and universities free for all Americans. Strong support is below 50% for all three groups of supporters.

About three-in-ten Bloomberg (32%) and Buttigieg (31%) supporters oppose free college tuition, as do 23% of Biden supporters. However, these shares pale in comparison to the share of Republican voters who oppose the policy (70%).

### Sanders and Warren supporters are more likely to strongly favor free tuition at public universities

% registered voters who say they \_\_\_ making tuition at public colleges and universities free for all American students



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown.

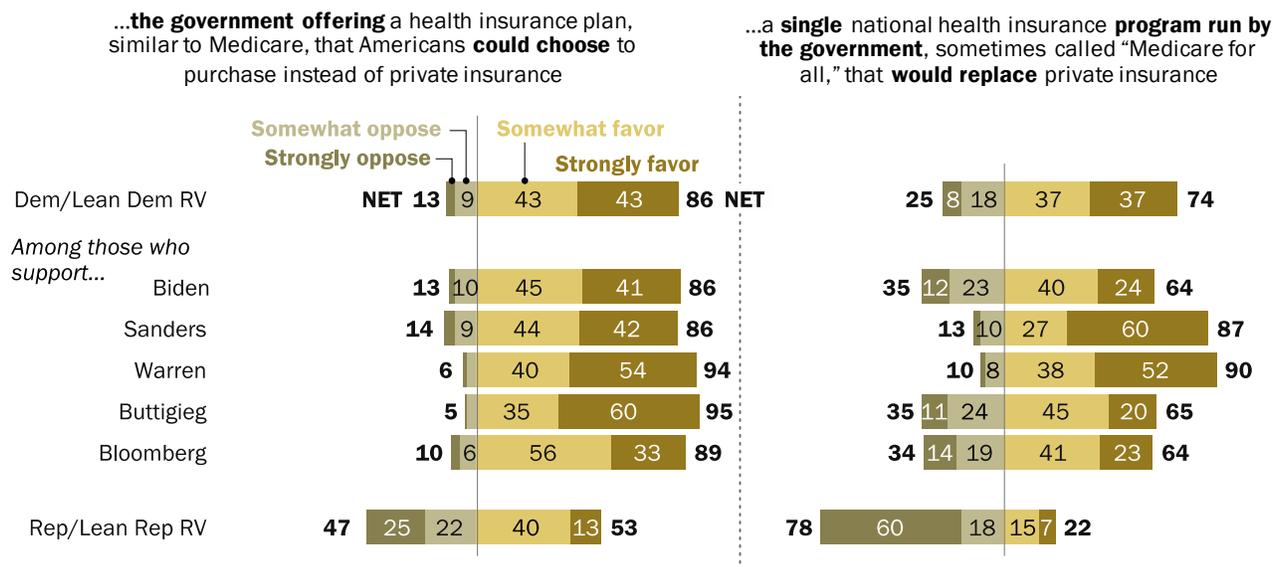
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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When it comes to health insurance policy, most Democratic voters say they would support a single-payer approach where a government health insurance program would replace private insurance. Support among Democrats is even higher for the government providing a public option that people could choose instead of private insurance plans.

### Most Democratic voters favor replacing private health insurance with a government run program; Even larger shares back public option to compete with private plans

% of registered voters who favor or oppose ...



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis are shown. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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Overall, 86% of Democratic voters support the government offering a health insurance plan, similar to Medicare, that Americans could choose to purchase instead of private insurance. A smaller but sizable majority of Democratic voters also say they support a single national health insurance program that would *replace* private insurance (74%).

Among Sanders voters, about equal shares say they favor the single-payer approach (87%) as the public option approach (86%). While overall levels of support are similar, Sanders supporters express more intense support for a single-payer program that would replace private health insurance plans: 60% say they favor this policy strongly, compared with 42% who strongly favor the government providing a public option, in addition to private plans.

Large shares of Warren voters express support for each of these two health care policy options: 94% favor the government offering a public option and 90% favor replacing private insurance with a government-run program. There is little difference in the intensity of support for these two policies among Warren voters.

Supporters of Biden, Buttigieg and Bloomberg are more likely to say they would support a government-run public option than a government-run program that would replace private insurance. For instance, 86% of Biden supporters favor the government offering a health insurance plan, similar to Medicare, that American could choose to purchase, compared with 64% who favor replacing private health insurance with a government-run program.

Republican voters are far less favorable toward both policies than Democrats. Overall, about half of Republican voters (53%) say they would favor a public option, while 47% say they would oppose this. Republicans broadly reject a “Medicare for all” approach that would replace private insurance completely; 78% oppose this plan, including 60% who strongly oppose it.

## Democratic voters overwhelmingly view economic inequality as problem, diverge in views of impact of billionaires

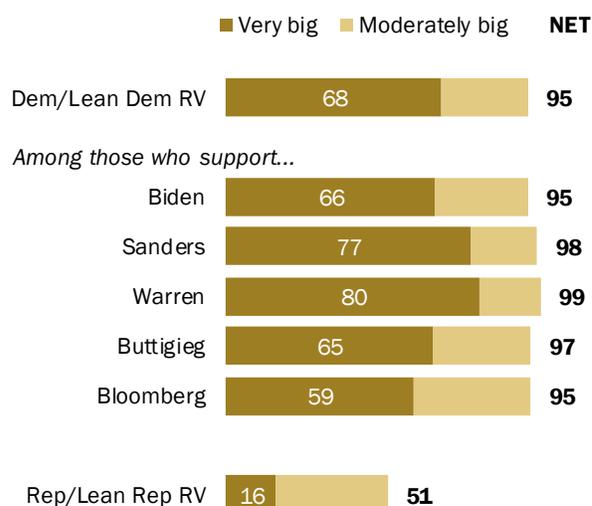
Nearly all Democratic voters (95%) say economic inequality is at least a moderately big problem for the country today, including 68% who say it is a very big problem. Among all Democrats and Democratic leaners, economic inequality only ranks behind issues like the affordability of health care and climate change [at the top of their list of national concerns](#).

Warren (80%) and Sanders (77%) supporters are especially likely to call economic inequality a very big problem compared with backers of other leading Democrats. Nonetheless, among all groups of Democratic supporters, more than nine-in-ten say economic inequality is at least a moderately big problem, including more than half who call it a very big problem.

This issue has one of the largest divides in terms of the priority placed on it by Republicans and Democrats: Half of Republican voters say economic inequality is at least a moderately big problem (only 16% say it is a very big problem). Overall, 49% of Republican voters say economic inequality is only a small problem, or not a problem at all.

### Democratic voters express widespread concern over economic inequality

*% of registered voters who say economic inequality is a \_\_\_ problem for the country today*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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While most supporters of leading Democratic candidates view economic inequality as a big national problem, there is disagreement over the impact of billionaires on the country.

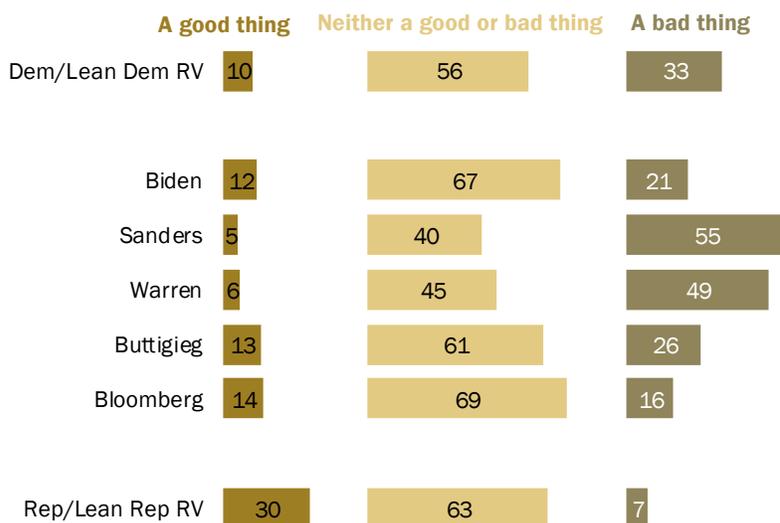
A narrow majority of all Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters (56%) say the fact that there are some people in the country who have personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more is neither a good thing nor a bad thing for the country. A third call this a bad thing, while just 10% say it is a good thing.

By 55% to 40%, more Sanders supporters view billionaires as a bad thing for the country than say it is neither good or bad. Warren supporters are roughly split between saying billionaires are a bad thing for the country (49%) and saying that they are neither good nor bad (45%).

Supporters of other Democratic candidates take a less negative view of the fact that there are people in the country with personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more. For instance, 69% of Bloomberg supporters and 67% of Biden supporters say this is neither good nor bad for the country.

### Sharp divides among Democratic voters on impact of billionaires on the country

*% of registered voters who say the fact that there are some people in this country who have personal fortunes of a billion dollars or more is \_\_\_ for the country*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis included. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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A majority of Republican voters (63%) say it's neither good nor bad that there are billionaires in the U.S. Just 7% say billionaires are a bad thing for the country; a greater share (30%) says they are a good thing.

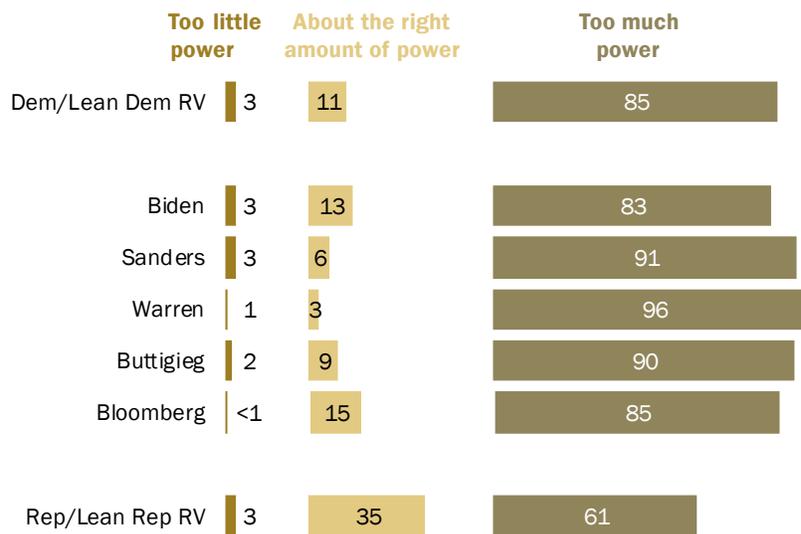
Democratic voters express concerns about the power and influence of major corporations in the country today, regardless of primary candidate preference. Large majorities of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters say major corporations in this country have too much power (85%). Much smaller shares say they have about the right amount of power (11%) or too little power (3%).

There is some bipartisan agreement on this issue: 61% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say major corporations have too much power, though the share of Republicans who say they have about the right amount of

power (35%) is still higher than the share of any Democratic candidate's supporters who say this.

## Most Democratic voters say major corporations have too much power in the country today

*% of registered voters who say that all in all, major corporations in this country today have ...*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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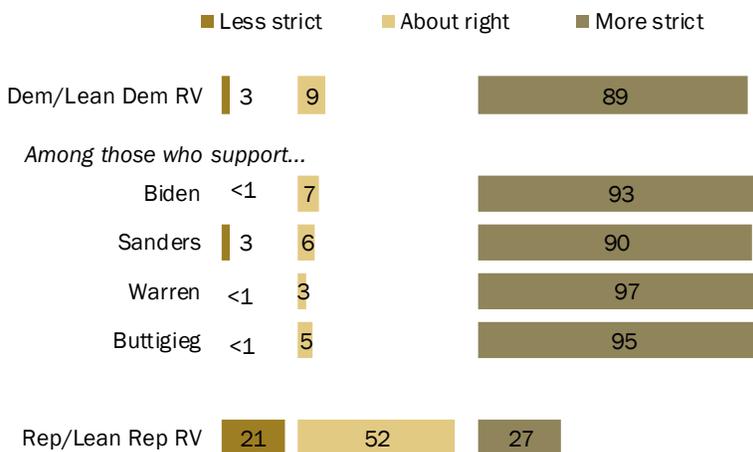
## Most Democratic voters say gun laws in this country should be stricter

An overwhelming share of Democratic voters say that gun laws in this country should be more strict than they are today (89%). Almost no Democrats say they should be less strict (2%); just 9% say they're about right.

Large majorities of Warren (97%), Buttigieg (95%), Biden (93%) and Sanders (90%) supporters think gun laws in the country should be more strict. By contrast, 52% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say that gun laws in this country are about right, while 27% say they should be more strict and 21% say they should be less strict.

### Large majorities of supporters of the Democratic candidates favor stricter gun laws

*% of registered voters who say gun laws in this country should be ...*



Notes: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis shown. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Modest differences in how candidates' backers view race, immigration

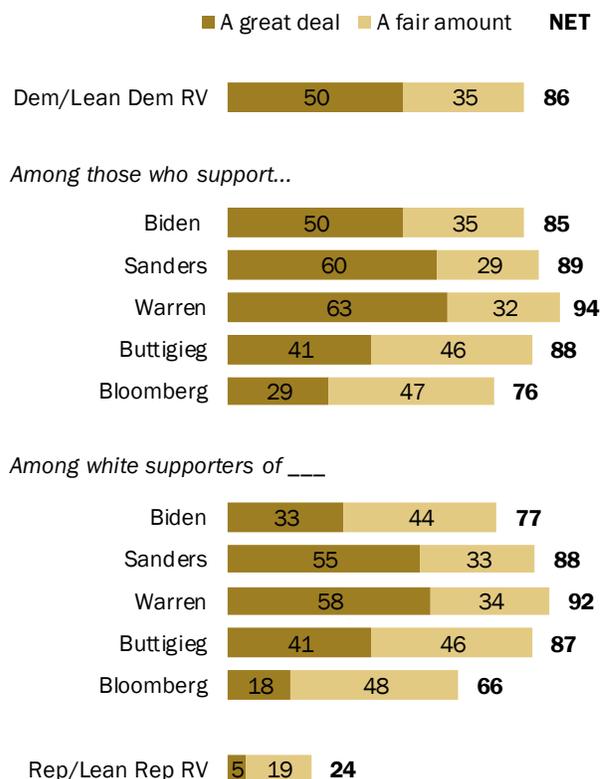
Large majorities of Democrats – regardless of which primary candidate they support – say white people benefit at least a fair amount from advantages in society that black people do not have, but there are differences in the degree to which this view is held.

For instance, about six-in-ten Warren (63%) and Sanders (60%) backers say white people benefit “a great deal” from societal advantages black people do not have, compared with half of Biden supporters (50%), 41% of Buttigieg supporters and just 29% of Bloomberg backers.

To some extent, these differences reflect the racial composition of each candidate's supporters, since [black Democrats are more likely than white Democrats](#) to say white people benefit a great deal from societal advantages that black people do not have. But differences on this question across candidates' supporters remain evident when controlling for race: White Sanders and Warren supporters are more likely than those who back Biden or Buttigieg – and much more likely than those who back Bloomberg – to say that whites benefit a great deal from advantages in society that black people do not have.

### Democrats say white people benefit from their race, but differ on how much

% registered voters who say white people benefit \_\_\_ from advantages in society that black people do not have



Note: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

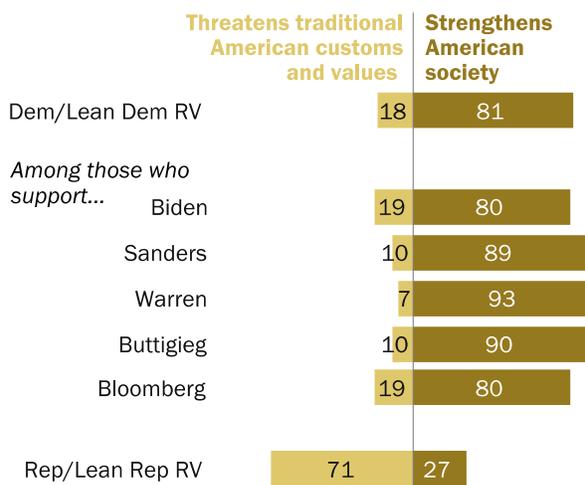
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A broad majority of Democratic voters take a positive view of the impact of people from other countries on the U.S. Overall, 81% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters say the growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society; just 18% say newcomers threaten traditional American customs and values.

These views vary little across the different candidates' supporters. Backers of Biden and Bloomberg are slightly less likely than other Democratic voters to take the view that newcomers strengthen American society; still, eight-in-ten of their supporters say this.

## Democratic voters see nation's newcomers as having a positive impact

*% of registered voters who say that the growing number of new comers from other countries ...*



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

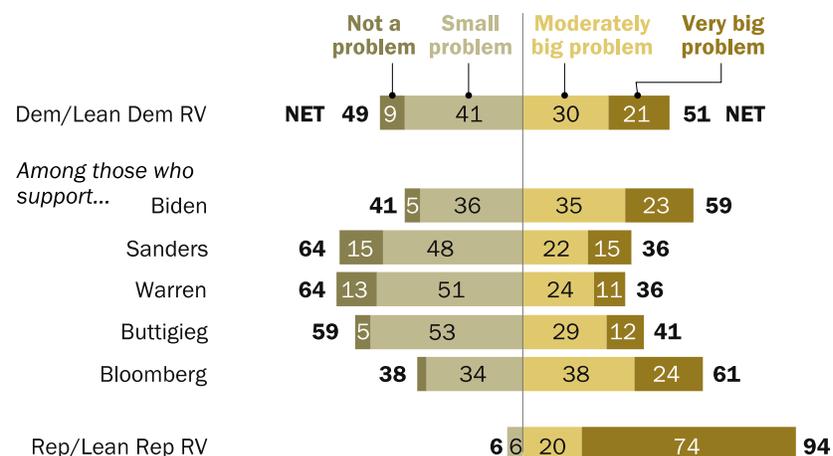
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The views of Republican registered voters stand in stark contrast: 71% say the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values.

Democratic voters do not view illegal immigration as among the top problems facing the country: 51% say it is a moderately big or very big problem; about as many (49%) say it is a small problem or not a problem. Democrats are much more likely to call [issues like health care affordability and climate change big problems](#). By contrast, illegal immigration ranks at the top of Republican voters' concern list: 94% say it's at least a moderately big problem, including 74% who call it a very big problem.

**Majorities of Bloomberg and Biden supporters call illegal immigration at least a moderately big problem**

*% of registered voters who say illegal immigration is \_\_\_ in the country today*



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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Majorities of Democrats who support Bloomberg (61%) and Biden (59%) call illegal immigration at least a moderately big problem in the country. Supporters of other Democratic candidates place less emphasis on the issue. For instance, just 36% of both Sanders and Warren supporters say illegal immigration is a moderately big or very big problem for the country.

## Near unity among Democratic voters in views of climate change

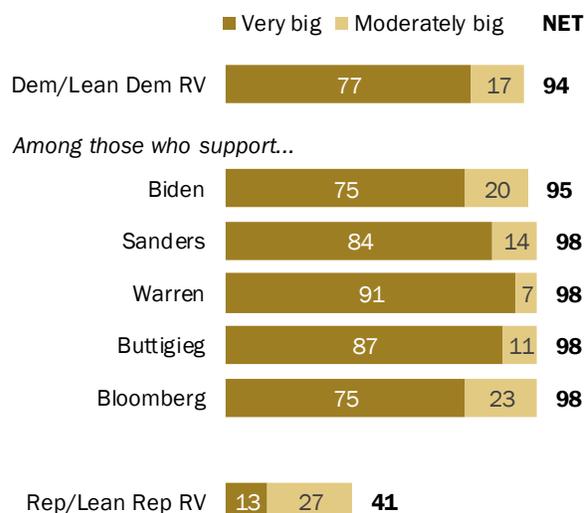
Concern over the issue of climate change is a view that unites supporters of top 2020 Democratic primary candidates. At least nine-in-ten of those who support leading Democratic candidates say climate change is a moderately big or very big problem for the country; three-quarters or more call it a very big problem. To the extent that differences exist across Democratic supporters, the differences are a matter of degree: 75% of Biden and Bloomberg supporters say climate change is a very big problem, compared with slightly larger majorities among supporters of other Democratic candidates.

The issue of climate change – like the issue of illegal immigration – highlights the wide gulf in partisan priorities. Just 41% of Republican voters say climate change is at least a moderately big problem for the country, including just 13% who say it is a very big problem.

---

### Shared concern over climate change among Democratic primary supporters

*% of registered voters who say **climate change** is a \_\_\_ problem for the country today*



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

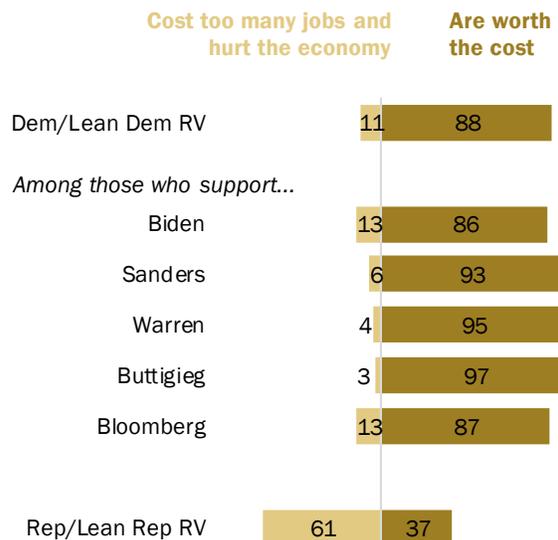
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Views on environmental laws also underscore the alignment of Democrats, in general terms, on the issues of climate change and the environment. Overall, 88% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters say stricter environmental laws are worth the cost, compared with just 11% who say they cost too many jobs and hurt the economy. Views among Democrats differ little on this question by primary candidate preference. By contrast, a majority (61%) of Republican registered voters say stricter environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.

## Democratic voters view stricter environmental laws as worth the cost

% of registered voters who say stricter environmental laws ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample size for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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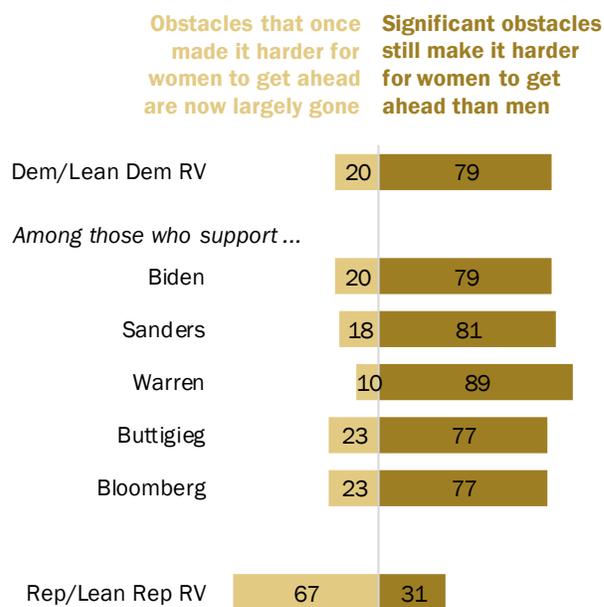
## Views on gender, same-sex marriage and religion

Large majorities of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters hold the view that “significant obstacles still make it harder for women to get ahead than men,” regardless of which primary candidate they support. For instance, 79% of Biden supporters and 81% of Sanders supporters believe significant obstacles continue to stand in the way of women’s advancement. But Warren supporters (89%) are especially likely to take this view.

Views on the obstacles men and women face in the country today remain a dividing line between Republicans and Democrats.

### Most Democratic voters say obstacles to women’s advancement remain

*% of registered voters who say ...*



Note: Based on registered voters. Only candidates with sufficient sample size to analyze are shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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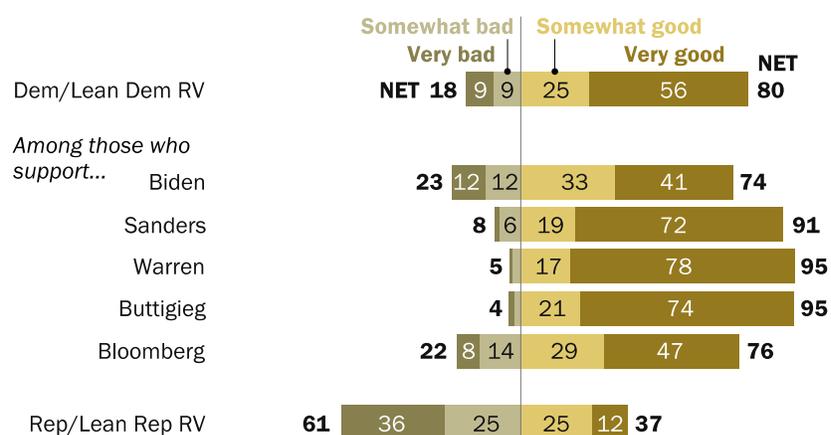
On the issue of same-sex marriage, most Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters (82%) say the legalization of same-sex marriage in the U.S. has been either a somewhat or very good thing for our society. While majorities of supporters of all Democratic primary candidates are more likely to say legalization of same-sex marriage has been good than bad for society, the intensity and universality of support for this change varies by primary candidate preference.

About three-quarters of Bloomberg (76%) supporters say the legalization of same-sex marriage has been a good thing for society, including 47% who say it has been a very good thing. Views among Biden supporters are similar.

By contrast, positive views of this societal change are more strongly and widely held among Democrats who support Warren, Buttigieg or Sanders: At least nine-in-ten say the legalization of same-sex marriage has been a good thing, including at least seven-in-ten who say it's been a very good thing.

### Most Warren, Buttigieg and Sanders supporters see legal same-sex marriage as 'very good' for U.S. society

% of registered voters who say the legalization of same-sex marriage in the U.S. has been a \_\_\_ thing for our society



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

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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As with views on obstacles to women's advancement, Republicans and Democrats are far apart in their views on the impact of legalizing same-sex marriage. Most Republican and Republican-leaning voters (61%) say legalizing same-sex marriage has been bad for U.S. society, including 36% who say the impact has been very bad.

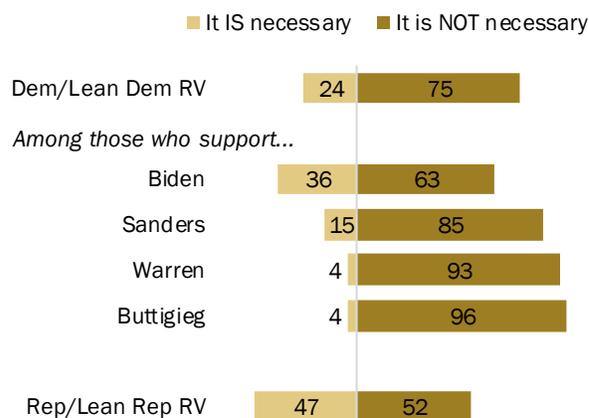
Most Democrats – regardless of candidate preference – say that it is not necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values.

This view is less widely held among Biden supporters (63%) than among backers of Buttigieg (96%), Warren (93%) and Sanders (85%). To some extent, this reflects Biden's greater level of support among black Democrats, who are more likely than white Democrats to say belief in God is necessary for morality; however, a gap is still seen between white backers of Biden (81% of whom say it is not necessary to believe in God to be moral and have good values) and white backers of Sanders, Warren and Buttigieg (95% or more of whom say belief in God is not necessary to believe in God to be a moral person).

Republicans are divided on this question: 52% of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters say it's not necessary to believe in God to be a moral person; about as many (47%) say this is necessary.

## Most Democrats say belief in God is not necessary in order to be a moral person

*% who say \_\_\_ to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values*



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Democrats are united in support of cooperation with U.S. allies, differ on importance of U.S. military superiority

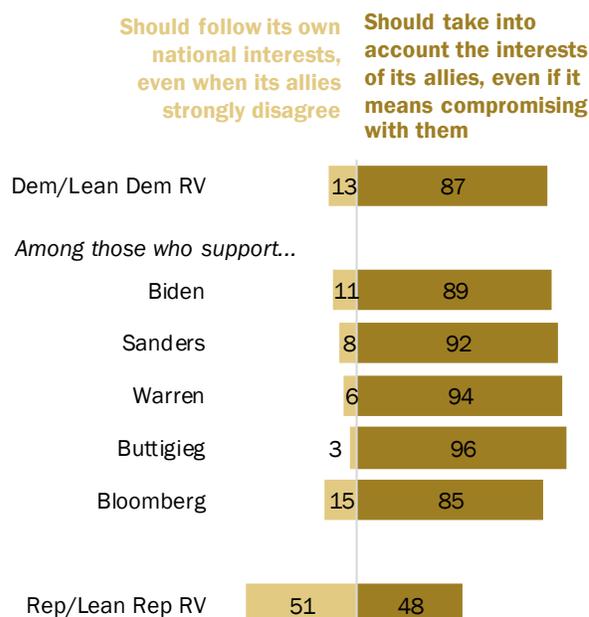
Democratic registered voters overwhelmingly agree that the United States should address the interests of its allies when conducting foreign policy. This view varies little among supporters of Democratic presidential candidates.

Fully 87% of Democratic voters say the U.S. should take into the account the interests of its allies when making foreign policy decisions, even if it means making compromises with them. Few (13%) say the U.S. should follow its own national interests, even when its allies strongly disagree.

Republican and Republican-leaning voters are divided over whether the United States should follow its own national interests, even when allies disagree (51%) or address the interests of allies, even if this means compromises (48%).

### Most Democrats support cooperating with U.S. allies; Republicans are divided

*% of registered voters who say that in foreign policy, the U.S. ...*



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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There is far less agreement among Democrats in views of whether U.S. policy should work to maintain its global military superiority. Among Democratic voters who name Warren as their first choice for the nomination, 65% say that in the future it would be acceptable if another country became as militarily powerful as the U.S.; just 31% say U.S. policies should try to maintain its position as the world's only military superpower.

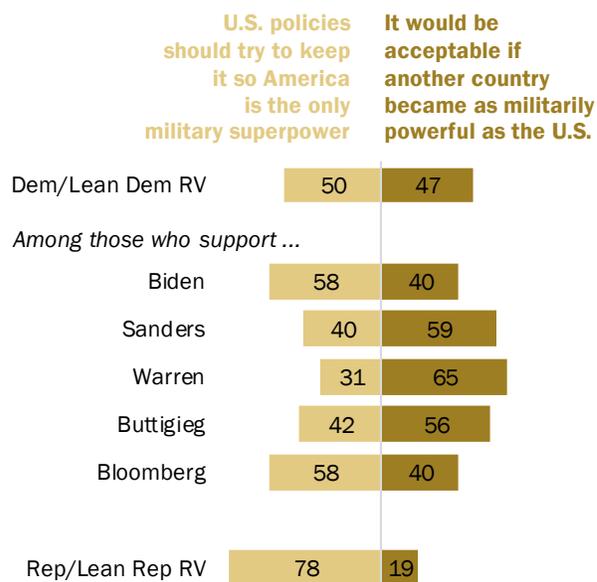
Majorities of those who support Sanders (59%) and Buttigieg (56%) also say it would be acceptable if another country became as militarily powerful as the U.S.

By contrast, identical shares of Biden and Bloomberg supporters (58% each) say U.S. policies should try to ensure that this country remains the only military superpower.

Republican voters, by a margin of about 4-to-1 (78% to 19%), say U.S. policies should try to keep it that America is the only military superpower.

## Democratic voters divided on goal of maintaining U.S. military superiority

*% of registered voters who say in the future...*



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Supporters of Democratic candidates are deeply divided on U.S. global standing

Democratic voters differ substantially in opinions about how the United States compares with other countries around the world.

Warren and Sanders supporters are more than twice as likely as those who support Biden and Buttigieg to say that there are other countries that are better than the U.S.

Among Sanders supporters, 51% say there are other countries that are better than the U.S., compared with 41% who say the U.S. is one of the greatest countries along with some others; 7% say the U.S. “stands above” every other country. About four-in-ten Warren supporters (43%) say there are other countries that are better than the U.S., while 53% say the U.S. is among the world’s greatest countries, and 4% say the U.S. stands above all others.

By contrast, majorities of Biden (72%) and Buttigieg (75%) supporters say the U.S. is one of the world’s greatest countries; just 17% of each group of supporters say there are other countries that are better than the U.S.

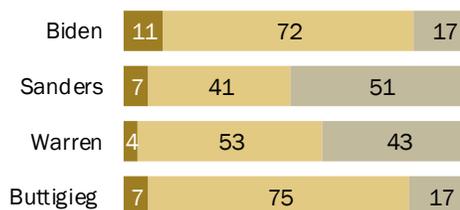
### Warren, Sanders backers more likely to see other countries as better than U.S.

*% of registered voters who say ...*

- U.S. stands above all other countries in the world
- U.S. is one of greatest countries, along with others
- Other countries are better than the U.S.



*Among those who support ...*



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019 and Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Positive views of free trade agreements cross party lines

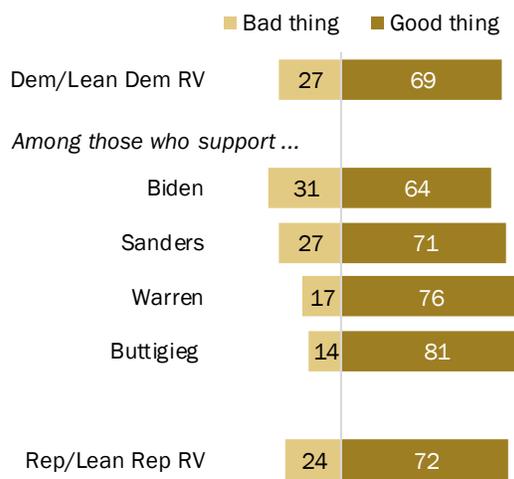
For the most part, Democratic voters express positive views of the personal impact of free trade agreements. Majorities of the supporters of Biden, Sanders, Warren and Buttigieg say free trade agreements have been a good thing for “people like them.”

Still, roughly three-in-ten Biden (31%) and Sanders supporters (27%) say free trade agreements have been bad for them. That’s higher than the shares of Warren (17%) and Buttigieg supporters (14%) who say this.

Notably, attitudes toward free trade agreements do not differ across partisan lines. Overall, similar shares of Democratic and Republican voters say their impact has been positive (69% and 72%, respectively).

### Most voters say free trade agreements have had a positive impact on them

*% of registered voters who say that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a \_\_\_ for people like them*



Notes: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown. Only candidates with sufficient sample sizes for analysis shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 6-19, 2020.

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## Acknowledgments

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## Methodology

### The American Trends Panel survey methodology

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. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted January 6 to January 19, 2020. A total of 12,638 panelists responded out of 15,463 who were sampled, for a response rate of 82%.

This does not include nine 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 5.3%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged onto the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 12,638 respondents is plus or minus 1.3 percentage points.

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#### 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	2,315
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,337
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	685
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	6,421
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS/web	5,900	4,720	4,705
	<b>Total</b>	<b>35,014</b>	<b>23,440</b>	<b>15,463</b>

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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Some analysis in this report relies on survey data drawn from a panel wave conducted September 3 to September 15, 2019. Responses captured in the September survey were combined with responses from the current wave.

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 which 9,942 agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample (ABS) of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. 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. For a random half-sample of invitations, households without internet access were instructed to return a postcard. These households were contacted by telephone and sent a tablet if they agreed to participate. A total of 9,396 were invited to join the panel, and 8,778 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. The same recruitment procedure was carried out on August 19, 2019, from which a total of 5,900 were invited to join the panel and 4,720 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. Of the 23,440 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 15,463 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling](#)."

## Weighting

The ATP data were weighted in a multistep process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original selection probability. The next step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on the dimensions listed in the accompanying table.

Sampling errors and test of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish.

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.

For the analysis focused on respondents who participated in both the September 2019 and January 2020 surveys, a set of weights was created using the same procedure to ensure that the profile of the combined sample was consistent with the demographic and political distribution in the full sample.

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### Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Gender	2018 American Community Survey
Age	
Education	
Race/Hispanic origin	
Country of birth among Hispanics	
Home internet access	
Region x Metropolitan status	2019 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	Average of the three most recent Pew Research Center telephone surveys.

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total US adult population.

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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:

*Survey conducted January 6-19, 2020*

<b>Group</b>	<b>Unweighted sample size</b>	<b>Weighted %</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	12,638		1.3 percentage points
Half sample	At least 6,298		1.9 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	5,221	44	2.0 percentage points
Half sample	At least 2,587		2.8 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	7,013	51	1.8 percentage points
Half sample	At least 3,486		2.6 percentage points
		<b>Weighted % of RVs</b>	
Rep/Lean Rep RV	4,407	46	2.1 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem RV	5,861	51	1.9 percentage points
<i>Among those who support...</i>			
Biden	1,640		3.5 percentage points
Sanders	1,029		4.3 percentage points
Warren	1,131		4.1 percentage points
Buttigieg	489		5.8 percentage points
Bloomberg	329		7.6 percentage points
<b>Based on combined September and January surveys:</b>			
<i>Among Dem/Lean Dem RV who support...</i>			
Biden	1,257		4.0 percentage points
Sanders	763		5.4 percentage points
Warren	907		4.8 percentage points
Buttigieg	396		6.8 percentage points
Bloomberg	239		9.0 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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

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

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

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

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

Jan 6-19

2020

72	Yes
27	No
1	No answer

**PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

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

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

PRZCMPGN How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who are running for president in 2020?<sup>2</sup>

Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>		Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	July 22- Aug 4 <u>2019</u>	May 10- June 6 <u>2016</u> <sup>3</sup>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28 <u>2016</u>	Mar 10- Apr 6 <u>2015</u> <sup>4</sup>
30	A lot	30	26	55	52	56	26
37	Some	37	37	27	31	28	40
21	Not much	22	23	9	11	9	23
11	None at all	11	14	8	5	6	11
*	No answer	*	*	1	1	1	*

<sup>2</sup> Phone trend for this question is not presented due to significant mode differences between the web and phone.

<sup>3</sup> In surveys conducted in 2016, question asked about candidates running for president in 2016.

<sup>4</sup> W10 (March 10 – April 6, 2014) had a minor difference in question wording: "How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2016?"

**ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:**

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

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

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

**PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

**BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS:**

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

<sup>5</sup> Before October 2007, answer choice read "Fair" not "Only fair." In October 2007 the question was asked both ways and no difference was found. As a result, October 2007 numbers combine both versions of the question. In 1988, 1991 and 1993 question asked about "men running for the [party] presidential nomination."

**ASK IF DEMOCRAT /LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:**  
 DEMDEALFGHT Which is more important to you in a Democratic presidential candidate?  
 Someone who, if elected president, will focus on... **[RANDOMIZE]**

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

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

**ASK IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=1,9) [N=5,625]:**  
 REPDEALFGHT Which is more important to you for Donald Trump to focus on **[RANDOMIZE]**?

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

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

**ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:**  
 PRMRYSYT Overall, how good a job do you think this year's caucuses and primaries will do at selecting the best Democratic candidate for the general election?

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

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

**ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:**  
 NHIAVOTE As you may know, Iowa and New Hampshire have their caucus and primary before other states. In general, do you think this is... **[RANDOMIZE, WITH ITEM 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

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

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

**ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (S\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2,9) [N=7,417]:**

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

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

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

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

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

**PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

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

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

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 4-7, 2010	35	44	21
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	32	25
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	44	35	21
April, 2008	35	48	17
November, 2007	40	40	20
December, 2006 <sup>6</sup>	44	35	21
Late October, 2005	44	34	22
December, 2004	47	34	19
July, 2004	47	34	19

<sup>6</sup> In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" In December 2003 the question wording asked about "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO;" full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question asked about: "...NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement..."

**ASK FORM 2 [N=6,298]:**

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

**RANDOMIZE HC\_MEDALL AND HC\_MEDOPT, SHOW ON SAME SCREEN****ASK ALL:**

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

**RANDOMIZE HC\_MEDALL AND HC\_MEDOPT, SHOW ON SAME SCREEN****ASK ALL:**

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

**ASK ALL:**

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

**ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

BILLION

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

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

TRUMPDEM2020

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

Sep 3-15

2019

24
10
9
36
20
*

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

Jan 6-19

2020

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

Sep 3-15

2019

28
10
9
39
14
*

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

**ASK ALL:**

EMTPRESTRUMP

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

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

**PANEL TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u> <sup>7</sup>	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
18	Excited	12	10	14
25	Relieved	26	25	16
41	Disappointed	37	37	37
15	Angry	23	24	29
2	No Answer	2	4	4

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

**ASK ALL:**

WHOWIN2

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

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

**PANEL TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Prior to the November 2016 survey, this question was asked as a hypothetical, "How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election?"

**WHOWIN2 PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

	<u>Republican</u>		<u>Democrat</u>		<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Other/DK</u>
<b>2012 Election</b>					
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012	30	<i>Romney</i>	52	<i>Obama</i>	18
Oct 24-28, 2012	31	<i>Romney</i>	49	<i>Obama</i>	19
Sep 12-16, 2012	24	<i>Romney</i>	53	<i>Obama</i>	23
Jun 7-17, 2012	34	<i>Romney</i>	52	<i>Obama</i>	15
Mar 7-11, 2012 <sup>8</sup>	32	<i>Romney</i>	59	<i>Obama</i>	9
<b>2008 Election</b>					
Mid-October, 2008	17	<i>McCain</i>	61	<i>Obama</i>	22
Mid-September, 2008	39	<i>McCain</i>	39	<i>Obama</i>	22
June, 2008	27	<i>McCain</i>	53	<i>Obama</i>	20
April, 2008 <sup>9</sup>	42	<i>McCain</i>	47	<i>Obama</i>	11
March, 2008	38	<i>McCain</i>	50	<i>Obama</i>	12
<b>2004 Election</b>					
November, 2004	48	<i>Bush</i>	27	<i>Kerry</i>	25
Mid-October, 2004	54	<i>Bush</i>	27	<i>Kerry</i>	19
Early October, 2004	61	<i>Bush</i>	27	<i>Kerry</i>	12
September, 2004	60	<i>Bush</i>	22	<i>Kerry</i>	18
August, 2004	44	<i>Bush</i>	37	<i>Kerry</i>	19
July, 2004	42	<i>Bush</i>	38	<i>Kerry</i>	20
June, 2004	51	<i>Bush</i>	35	<i>Kerry</i>	14
May, 2004	52	<i>Bush</i>	31	<i>Kerry</i>	17
Early February, 2004	56	<i>Bush</i>	32	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	12
Mid-January, 2004	61	<i>Bush</i>	21	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	18
September, 2003	47	<i>Bush</i>	34	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	19
June, 2003	66	<i>Bush</i>	22	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	12
<b>2000 Election</b>					
November, 2000	43	<i>Bush</i>	32	<i>Gore</i>	25
Late October, 2000	48	<i>Bush</i>	38	<i>Gore</i>	14
Early October, 2000	33	<i>Bush</i>	46	<i>Gore</i>	21
June, 2000	51	<i>Bush</i>	33	<i>Gore</i>	16
October, 1999	70	<i>Bush</i>	23	<i>Gore</i>	7
<b>1996 Election</b>					
Late September, 1996 <sup>10</sup>	12	<i>Dole</i>	79	<i>Clinton</i>	9
Early September, 1996	16	<i>Dole</i>	75	<i>Clinton</i>	9
July, 1996	19	<i>Dole</i>	72	<i>Clinton</i>	9
<b>1992 Election</b>					
October, 1992	30	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	61	<i>Clinton</i>	9
March, 1992	72	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	20	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	8
February, 1992	66	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	25	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	9
October, 1991	78	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	11	<i>Dem Candidate</i>	11

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

<sup>8</sup> In March 2012, this question was asked both about Mitt Romney/Barack Obama and Rick Santorum/Barack Obama, and read: "Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election if it is between..."

<sup>9</sup> In March and April 2008, this question was asked both about John McCain/Barack Obama and John McCain/Hillary Clinton, and read: "Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election if it is between..."

<sup>10</sup> In 1996 and October 1992, the question also asked about Ross Perot. Results here are included in the "Other/DK" category.

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

**ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING:**PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...<sup>11</sup>

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

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

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<sup>11</sup> Party and PartyIn asked in a prior survey.