This Washington Post-ABC News poll was conducted by telephone September 15-20, 2023, among a random national sample of 1,006 adults, with 75 percent reached on cell phones and 25 percent on landlines. Results have a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points for the full sample, including design effects due to weighting. Sampling, field work and data processing by Abt Associates of Rockville, MD.
*= less than 0.5 percent
(Full methodological details appended at the end.)

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

|  |  | Approv |  |  | Disapp | ve ------ | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NET | Strongly | Somewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly | opinion |
| 9/20/23 | 37 | 20 | 17 | 56 | 11 | 45 | 7 |
| 5/3/23 | 36 | 18 | 18 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 8 |
| 2/1/23 | 42 | 18 | 24 | 53 | 10 | 42 | 5 |
| 11/2/22 | 41 | 19 | 23 | 53 | 11 | 42 | 6 |
| 9/21/22 | 39 | 22 | 18 | 53 | 11 | 41 | 8 |
| 4/28/22 | 42 | 21 | 21 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 6 |
| 2/24/22 | 37 | 20 | 18 | 55 | 11 | 44 | 7 |
| 11/10/21 | 41 | 19 | 22 | 53 | 10 | 44 | 6 |
| 9/1/21 | 44 | 25 | 19 | 51 | 9 | 42 | 5 |
| 6/30/21 | 50 | 30 | 19 | 42 | 7 | 35 | 8 |
| 4/21/21 | 52 | 34 | 18 | 42 | 7 | 35 | 6 |

2. Looking back, do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump handled his job when he was president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

|  | -------- Approve | -------- | ------ | Disapprove ------ | No |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NET | Strongly | Somewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly | opinion |  |
| 9/20/23 | 48 | 33 | 14 | 49 | 8 | 41 | 3 |
| Compare to: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump has handled his job as president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

|  |  | Approve |  | - Disapprove ------ |  |  | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NET | Strongly | Somewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly | opinion |
| 1/13/21 | 38 | 27 | 10 | 60 | 8 | 52 | 2 |
| 10/9/20* | 44 | 30 | 13 | 54 | 9 | 45 | 3 |
| 9/24/20 | 44 | 28 | 16 | 53 | 8 | 46 | 2 |
| 8/15/20 | 43 | 29 | 15 | 55 | 7 | 47 | 2 |
| 7/15/20 | 39 | 28 | 11 | 57 | 9 | 48 | 3 |
| 5/28/20 | 45 | 32 | 12 | 53 | 11 | 42 | 3 |
| 3/25/20 | 48 | 34 | 15 | 46 | 11 | 35 | 6 |
| 2/17/20 | 43 | 31 | 12 | 53 | 11 | 42 | 4 |
| 1/23/20 | 44 | 35 | 10 | 51 | 9 | 42 | 4 |
| 10/30/19 | 38 | 30 | 8 | 58 | 10 | 48 | 5 |
| 9/5/19 | 38 | 27 | 11 | 56 | 8 | 48 | 6 |
| 7/1/19 | 44 | 32 | 12 | 53 | 8 | 45 | 3 |
| 4/25/19 | 39 | 28 | 12 | 54 | 9 | 45 | 6 |
| 1/24/19 | 37 | 28 | 9 | 58 | 9 | 49 | 5 |
| 11/1/18 | 40 | 28 | 12 | 53 | 9 | 43 | 8 |
| 10/11/18 | 41 | 29 | 12 | 54 | 7 | 46 | 6 |
| 8/29/18 | 36 | 24 | 12 | 60 | 7 | 53 | 4 |
| 4/11/18 | 40 | 25 | 15 | 56 | 10 | 46 | 4 |
| 1/18/18 | 36 | 24 | 13 | 58 | 9 | 49 | 5 |


| $11 / 1 / 17$ | 37 | 25 | 12 | 59 | 8 | 50 | 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| $9 / 21 / 17$ | 39 | 26 | 13 | 57 | 9 | 48 | 4 |
| $8 / 20 / 17$ | 37 | 22 | 15 | 58 | 13 | 45 | 5 |
| $7 / 13 / 17$ | 36 | 25 | 11 | 58 | 10 | 48 | 6 |
| $4 / 20 / 17$ | 42 | 27 | 15 | 53 | 10 | 43 | 5 |
| $* 10 / 9 / 20$ and prior "is handling" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Biden is handling [ITEM] ?

9/20/23 - Summary table
a. the economy

| $\underset{30}{\text { Approve }}$ | Disapprove <br> 64 | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23 | 62 | 15 |

Trend:
a. the economy

|  | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | 30 | 64 | 6 |
| $2 / 1 / 23$ | 37 | 58 | 4 |
| $9 / 21 / 22$ | 36 | 57 | 6 |
| $4 / 28 / 22$ | 38 | 57 | 5 |
| $2 / 24 / 22$ | 37 | 58 | 5 |
| $11 / 10 / 21$ | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| $9 / 1 / 21$ | 45 | 49 | 5 |
| $4 / 21 / 21$ | 52 | 41 | 7 |

b. the immigration situation at the U.S.-Mexico border

|  | - ------- Approve | -------- | ------ |  | Disapprove ------ | No |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NET | Strongly | Somewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly | opinion |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | 23 | NA | NA | 62 | NA | NA | 15 |
| $2 / 1 / 23$ | 28 | NA | NA | 59 | NA | NA | 13 |
| $6 / 30 / 21$ | 33 | NA | NA | 51 | NA | NA | 16 |
| $4 / 21 / 21$ | 37 | 16 | 20 | 53 | 10 | 42 | 11 |

Changing topics,
4. Would you describe [ITEM] these days as excellent, good, not so good or poor?

9/20/23 - Summary table
a. the state of the

| NET | Excellent | Good | NET | Not so good | Poor |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | 2 | 23 | 74 | 31 | 42 |
| 35 | 10 | 24 | 57 | 32 | 25 |
| 12 | 1 | 11 | 87 | 35 | 52 |
| 8 | 1 | 8 | 91 | 36 | 55 |
| 21 | 2 | 19 | 75 | 40 | 35 |

Trend:
a. the state of the nation's economy


| 9/21/22 |  | 24 | 3 | 21 | 74 | 36 | 38 | 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2/24/22 |  | 24 | 3 | 21 | 75 | 36 | 39 | 1 |
| 11/10/21 |  | 29 | 2 | 26 | 70 | 33 | 38 | 1 |
| 4/21/21 |  | 42 | 4 | 38 | 58 | 37 | 20 | 1 |
| 9/24/20 |  | 40 | 9 | 31 | 59 | 37 | 22 | 1 |
| 8/15/20 |  | 31 | 7 | 24 | 68 | 34 | 33 | 1 |
| 5/28/20 |  | 34 | 8 | 26 | 65 | 40 | 24 | 1 |
| 9/5/19 |  | 56 | 16 | 40 | 43 | 30 | 13 | 1 |
| 11/1/18 |  | 65 | 15 | 49 | 34 | 25 | 9 | 1 |
| 8/29/18 |  | 58 | 12 | 46 | 40 | 31 | 9 | 2 |
| 1/18/18 |  | 58 | 14 | 44 | 40 | 28 | 12 | 2 |
| 1/15/17 |  | 51 | 6 | 45 | 48 | 35 | 14 | 1 |
| 3/29/15 |  | 40 | 2 | 38 | 59 | 40 | 19 | 1 |
| 1/15/15 |  | 41 | 3 | 39 | 58 | 40 | 18 | 1 |
| 10/26/14 |  | 27 | 1 | 26 | 72 | 44 | 28 | 1 |
| 9/7/14 |  | 30 | 1 | 29 | 69 | 42 | 27 | 1 |
| 4/27/14 |  | 29 | 1 | 27 | 71 | 40 | 31 | 1 |
| 3/2/14 |  | 27 | 2 | 26 | 72 | 44 | 28 | * |
| 10/20/13 |  | 24 | 2 | 23 | 75 | 45 | 30 | 1 |
| 9/29/12 | RV | 18 | 2 | 16 | 81 | 42 | 39 | * |
| 8/25/12 |  | 15 | 1 | 14 | 84 | 39 | 45 | 1 |
| 8/5/12* |  | 13 | 1 | 12 | 87 | 42 | 44 | * |
| 5/20/12 |  | 17 | 1 | 16 | 83 | 47 | 36 | * |
| 2/4/12 |  | 11 | * | 11 | 89 | 46 | 42 | * |
| 11/3/11 |  | 10 | 1 | 9 | 89 | 43 | 47 | * |
| 7/17/11 |  | 10 | 1 | 9 | 90 | 40 | 50 | * |
| 6/5/11 |  | 11 | 1 | 10 | 89 | 46 | 44 | * |
| 1/16/11 |  | 13 | 1 | 12 | 87 | 45 | 41 | * |
| 10/28/10 |  | 9 | * | 9 | 90 | 41 | 49 | 1 |
| 10/3/10 |  | 9 | 1 | 8 | 90 | 40 | 50 | * |
| 9/2/10 |  | 8 | * | 7 | 92 | 40 | 53 | 0 |
| 7/11/10 |  | 10 | 1 | 9 | 90 | 44 | 46 | 0 |
| 6/6/10 |  | 12 | * | 11 | 88 | 43 | 45 | 0 |
| 1/16/09 |  | 5 | 1 | 5 | 94 | 32 | 62 | * |
| 9/22/08 |  | 9 | * | 9 | 91 | 34 | 57 | * |
| 4/13/08 |  | 10 | 1 | 9 | 90 | 39 | 51 | * |
| 2/1/08 |  | 19 | 1 | 18 | 81 | 43 | 38 | 0 |
| 12/9/07 |  | 28 | 3 | 25 | 72 | 40 | 32 | * |
| 11/1/07 |  | 35 | 3 | 32 | 64 | 39 | 26 | * |
| 4/15/07 |  | 42 | 5 | 37 | 57 | 37 | 20 | * |
| 12/11/06 |  | 50 | 7 | 42 | 50 | 36 | 14 | * |
| 10/22/06 |  | 55 | 10 | 45 | 45 | 28 | 17 | * |
| 10/8/06 |  | 47 | 7 | 40 | 53 | 37 | 16 | * |
| 3/5/06 |  | 43 | 5 | 38 | 57 | 37 | 19 | * |
| 1/26/06 |  | 40 | 5 | 35 | 60 | 37 | 23 | * |
| 12/18/05 |  | 45 | 5 | 39 | 55 | 38 | 17 | * |
| 11/2/05 |  | 35 | 3 | 32 | 65 | 36 | 29 | * |
| 9/11/05 |  | 40 | 3 | 37 | 59 | 37 | 22 | 1 |
| 6/5/05 |  | 44 | 3 | 40 | 56 | 38 | 19 | * |
| 4/24/05 |  | 37 | 2 | 35 | 63 | 44 | 20 | * |
| 9/26/04 | RV | 46 | 3 | 43 | 53 | 38 | 15 | 1 |
| 8/29/04 | RV | 45 | 3 | 41 | 55 | 37 | 18 | * |
| 7/25/04 |  | 46 | 4 | 42 | 53 | 39 | 14 | * |
| 6/20/04 |  | 45 | 4 | 41 | 55 | 38 | 17 | * |
| 4/18/04 |  | 43 | 4 | 39 | 57 | 39 | 18 | * |
| 3/7/04 |  | 39 | 2 | 37 | 60 | 38 | 22 | 1 |
| 1/18/04 |  | 42 | 3 | 39 | 58 | 42 | 16 | 0 |
| 12/21/03 |  | 42 | 4 | 39 | 57 | 41 | 16 | 1 |
| 10/29/03 |  | 33 | 1 | 32 | 67 | 45 | 23 | * |
| 9/13/03 |  | 30 | 2 | 27 | 70 | 45 | 25 | * |
| 8/11/03 |  | 32 | 2 | 30 | 68 | 43 | 25 | * |
| 4/30/03 |  | 35 | 1 | 34 | 64 | 46 | 19 | * |
| 2/9/03 |  | 28 | 1 | 27 | 72 | 49 | 23 | * |


5. Would you say you, yourself, are better off financially than you were when Biden became president, not as well off, or in about the same shape financially?

|  | Better off | Not as well off | About the same | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9/20/23 | 15 | 44 | 39 | 1 |
| 2/1/23 | 16 | 41 | 42 | 1 |
| 2/24/22 | 17 | 35 | 47 | 1 |
| Trump: |  |  |  |  |
| 11/1/18 | 25 | 13 | 60 | 2 |
| Obama: |  |  |  |  |
| 9/22/16 | 29 | 25 | 45 | 2 |
| 1/15/15 | 25 | 25 | 49 | 2 |
| 10/12/14 | 22 | 30 | 46 | 2 |
| 10/28/12 LV | 22 | 33 | 45 | 1 |
| 9/9/12 RV | 20 | 32 | 47 | * |
| 5/20/12 RV | 17 | 31 | 51 | 1 |
| 1/15/12 RV | 15 | 31 | 53 | 1 |
| 11/3/11 RV | 13 | 35 | 51 | 1 |
| 9/1/11 RV | 14 | 36 | 50 | 1 |
| 7/18/09 | 8 | 27 | 64 | * |
| G.W. Bush: |  |  |  |  |
| 10/5/04 LV | 30 | 30 | 40 | 1 |
| 10/29/03 | 22 | 27 | 50 | 1 |
| 9/13/03 | 21 | 30 | 49 | * |
| 8/11/03 | 17 | 25 | 58 | 1 |
| Clinton: |  |  |  |  |
| 6/11/00 | 34 | 14 | 50 | 2 |
| 7/19/98 | 30 | 15 | 52 | 3 |
| 3/1/98 | 32 | 9 | 57 | 1 |
| 6/23/96 | 29 | 22 | 49 | 0 |
| 2/27/94 | 12 | 17 | 71 | * |


| G. H.W. Bush: |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1 / 17 / 93$ | 27 | 28 | 44 | 1 |
| $8 / 9 / 92$ | 22 | 32 | 45 | 1 |
| $6 / 7 / 92$ | 19 | 32 | 49 | $*$ |
| $3 / 11 / 92$ | 20 | 33 | 49 | 1 |
| $2 / 2 / 92$ | 19 | 31 | 49 | $*$ |
| $12 / 15 / 91$ | 17 | 33 | 53 | $*$ |
| $10 / 21 / 91$ | 20 | 27 | 63 | 1 |
| $3 / 4 / 91$ | 19 | 18 |  | 1 |
| Reagan: |  |  | 39 |  |
| $1 / 16 / 89$ | 42 | 18 | 40 | 1 |
| $1 / 18 / 87$ | 37 | 23 | 39 | 1 |
| $9 / 8 / 86$ | 41 | 20 |  | 1 |


7. Do you support or oppose the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court eliminating the constitutional right to have an abortion? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

|  | NET | -- Suppo Strongly | Somewhat | NET | --- Oppo Somewhat | Strongly | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9/20/23 | 30 | 21 | 8 | 64 | 11 | 53 | 7 |
| 5/3/23 | 27 | 22 | 6 | 66 | 12 | 54 | 7 |
| 11/2/22 | 30 | 22 | 8 | 63 | 7 | 56 | 7 |
| 9/21/22 | 29 | 21 | 9 | 64 | 11 | 53 | 7 |

8. The federal government might have to partially shut down at the start of next month because of a dispute over spending and policy issues. Who do you think is mainly responsible for this situation - (Biden and the Democrats in Congress) or (the Republicans in Congress)?

| Biden and the | The Republicans | Both | Neither | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Democrats in Congress | in Congress | (vol.) | (vol.) | opinion |
| 40 | 33 | 19 | $*$ | 8 |

Compare to:

As you may know, the federal government has been partially shut down because (Trump and the Republicans in Congress) and (Pelosi and the Democrats in Congress) cannot agree on laws about border security. Who do you think is mainly responsible for this situation - (Trump and the Republicans in Congress) or (Pelosi and the Democrats in Congress)?

| Trump and the | Pelosi and the | Both | Neither | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republicans in Congress | Democrats in Congress | (vol.) | (vol.) | opinion |
| 53 | 34 | 10 | $\star$ | 3 |

As you may know, the federal government has been partially shut down because
(Donald Trump and Republicans in Congress) and (Democrats in Congress) cannot agree on laws about border security. Who do you think is mainly responsible for this situation - (Trump and Republicans in Congress) or (Democrats in Congress)?

|  | Trump and Republicans | Democrats | Both | Neither | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| in Congress | in Congress | $($ vol.) | (vol.) | opinion |  |
| $1 / 11 / 19$ | 53 | 29 | 13 | 2 | 4 |

As you may know, the federal government might have to partially shut down later this week if (Trump and Republicans in Congress) and (Democrats in Congress) cannot agree on laws about immigration and border security. Who do you think is mainly responsible for this situation - (Trump and Republicans in Congress) or (the Democrats in Congress) ?

|  | Trump <br> in Congress | Democrats in <br> in | Both | Neither | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1 / 18 / 18$ | 48 | Congress | $($ vol.) | $($ vol.) | opinion |

Who do you think was mainly responsible for the partial shutdown of the federal government - (Obama) or the (Republicans in Congress)?

|  | Obama | Republicans | Both | Neither | Nol.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (vol.) | opinion |  |  |  |  |
| $10 / 20 / 13$ | 29 | 53 | 15 | 1 | 2 |

As you may know, the federal government might have to partially shut down later this month if (the Obama administration) and (the Republicans in Congress) cannot agree on a plan to keep it running while they work on a new budget. Who do you think is mainly responsible for this situation - (the Obama administration) or (the Republicans in Congress)?

|  | Obama | Republicans | Both (vol.) | Neither (vol.) | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $3 / 13 / 11$ | 31 | 45 | 17 | 2 | 4 |

If the federal government shuts down because (Republicans) and (the Obama administration) cannot agree on a budget, who do you think would be more to blame:

|  | Obama | Republicans | Both (vol.) | Neither (vol.) | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $2 / 27 / 11$ | 35 | 36 | 17 | 1 | 10 |

As you may know, the Clinton administration and the Republicans have agreed to temporarily reopen the government offices that were closed for nearly three weeks while they worked on a new budget. Whose fault do you think this partial government shutdown mainly was -- Clinton's or the Republicans' in Congress?

|  | Clinton | GOP | Both (vol.) | Neither (vol.) | No opinion |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1 / 7 / 96^{*}$ | 27 | 50 | 20 | 1 | 2 |
| $1 / 3 / 96^{*}$ | 25 | 44 | 24 | 3 | 3 |
| $11 / 19 / 95$ | 24 | 51 | 20 | 1 | 4 |
| $11 / 13 / 95 * * *$ | 27 | 46 | 20 | 2 | 5 |
| $*$ Reworded and phrased in past tense |  |  |  |  |  |
| $* *$ "many" changed to "some" |  |  |  |  |  |
| $* * * P h r a s e d$ in future tense |  |  |  |  |  |

9. (ASK IF LEANED DEMOCRAT) Would you like the Democratic Party to nominate Biden to run for a second term as president in 2024 , or would you like the Democratic Party to nominate someone other than Biden as its candidate for president?

| Nominate | Nominate someone | No |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Biden | other than Biden | opinion |  |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | 33 | 62 | 5 |


| $5 / 3 / 23$ | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| $2 / 1 / 23$ | 31 | 58 | 10 |
| $9 / 21 / 22$ | 35 | 56 | 9 |

10. (ASK IF SOMEONE ELSE) Who would you like the Democratic Party to nominate as its candidate for president in 2024? (OPEN-END)

|  | $9 / 20 / 23$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Kamala Harris | 8 |
| Bernie Sanders | 8 |
| Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. | 7 |
| Gavin Newsom | 3 |
| Elizabeth Warren | 2 |
| Marianne Williamson | 2 |
| Pete Buttigieg | 1 |
| Cory Booker | 1 |
| Amy Klobuchar | 1 |
| Just someone else | 20 |
| Other | 8 |
| No opinion | 40 |

## 9/10 NET

$$
9 / 20 / 23
$$

Nominate Biden ..... 33
Nominate someone else NET ..... 62
Kamala Harris ..... 5
Bernie Sanders ..... 5
Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.
2
Gavin Newsom1
Marianne Williamson ..... 1
Pete Buttigieg ..... 1
Cory Booker
*
Amy Klobuchar
12
Just someone else
5
5
No opinion ..... 25
No opinion ..... 5
11. (ASK IF LEANED REPUBLICAN) Who would you like the Republican Party to nominate asits candidate for president in 2024? Which candidate would you lean toward?
9/20/23
Donald Trump ..... 54
Ron DeSantis ..... 15
Nikki Haley ..... 7
Mike Pence ..... 6
Tim Scott ..... 4
Chris Christie ..... 3
Vivek Ramaswamy ..... 3
Doug Burgum ..... *
Asa Hutchinson
6
No opinion ..... 4
Compare to:
(ASK IF LEANED REPUBLICAN) Who would you like the Republican Party to nominate as its
candidate for president in 2024? (OPEN-END)
5/3/23
Donald Trump

| Ron DeSantis | 20 |
| :--- | ---: |
| Mike Pence | 2 |
| Chris Christie | 1 |
| Nikki Haley | 1 |
| Asa Hutchinson | 1 |
| Tim Scott | 1 |
| Vivek Ramaswamy | $\star$ |
| Chris Sununu | $\star$ |
| Other | 4 |
| No opinion | 27 |

(ASK IF NOT DESANTIS, HALEY, HUTCHINSON, PENCE, SCOTT, OR TRUMP) What if the only candidates were (Ron DeSantis), (Nikki Haley), (Asa Hutchinson), (Mike Pence), (Tim Scott), and (Donald Trump) - who would you like the Republican Party to nominate as its candidate for president in 2024?

|  | $5 / 3 / 23$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Donald Trump | 22 |
| Ron DeSantis | 16 |
| Nikki Haley | 16 |
| Mike Pence | 13 |
| Tim Scott | 9 |
| Asa Hutchinson | 2 |
| None of these (vol.) | 3 |
| No opinion |  |
|  | 18 |
| NET VOTE PREFERENCE |  |


|  | $5 / 3 / 23$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Donald Trump | 51 |
| Ron DeSantis | 25 |
| Nikki Haley | 6 |
| Mike Pence | 6 |
| Tim Scott | 4 |
| Asa Hutchinson | 1 |
| None of these (vol.) | 1 |
| No opinion | 6 |

12. I'd like you to rate the chances that you will vote in the general election for president in 2024: Are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or less than that?

|  |  | Certain to vote | $\begin{gathered} \text { Probably } \\ \text { vote } \end{gathered}$ | Chances $50 / 50$ | Less than that | Don't think will vote (vol.) | ```Already voted (vol.)``` | No op. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9/20/23 | RV | 84 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 1 | NA | 1 |
| 9/20/23 |  | 76 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 3 | NA | 1 |
| 10/9/20 | RV | 83 | 5 | 4 | 2 | * | 4 | * |
| 9/24/20 | RV | 89 | 5 | 4 | 2 | * | * | 1 |
| 8/15/20 | RV | 86 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 1 | NA | * |
| 7/15/20 | RV | 86 | 5 | 5 | 2 | * | NA | 1 |
| 5/28/20 | RV | 84 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | NA | * |
| 4/25/19 | RV | 85 | 8 | 6 | 1 | * | NA | 1 |
| 10/31/16 | RV | 72 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| 10/30/16 | RV | 72 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| 10/29/16 | RV | 73 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 14 | 0 |
| 10/28/16 | RV | 76 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 0 |
| 10/27/16 | RV | 77 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 9 | * |
| 10/26/16 | RV | 78 | 6 | 4 | 3 | * | 8 | * |
| 10/25/16 | RV | 79 | 6 | 5 | 3 | * | 6 | * |


| 10/24/16 | RV | 78 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 5 | * |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10/23/16 | RV | 79 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 5 | * |
| 10/22/16 | RV | 80 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5 | * |
| 10/13/16 | RV | 85 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 9/22/16 | RV | 83 | 7 | 6 | 3 | * | 0 | * |
| 9/8/16 | RV | 81 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 1 | NA | * |
| 8/4/16 | RV | 81 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 1 | NA | * |
| 7/14/16 | RV | 79 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 1 | NA | 1 |
| 6/23/16 | RV | 79 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 2 | NA | * |
| 5/19/16 | RV | 80 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 2 | NA | * |
| 11/4/12 | RV | 68 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 20 | * |
| 11/3/12 | RV | 68 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 19 | * |
| 11/2/12 | RV | 70 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 18 | * |
| 11/1/12 | RV | 72 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 16 | * |
| 10/31/12 | RV | 73 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| 10/30/12 | RV | 75 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 13 | * |
| 10/29/12 | RV | 76 | 5 | 4 | 2 | * | 12 | * |
| 10/28/12 | RV | 77 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 11 | * |
| 10/27/12 | RV | 79 | 5 | 5 | 2 | * | 9 | * |
| 10/26/12 | RV | 79 | 6 | 5 | 2 | * | 8 | * |
| 10/25/12 | RV | 79 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 6 | * |
| 10/24/12 | RV | 79 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 6 | $\star$ |
| 10/23/12 | RV | 80 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 5 | * |
| 10/22/12 | RV | 82 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 4 | * |
| 10/21/12 | RV | 84 | 6 | 4 | 2 | * | 4 | * |
| 10/13/12 | RV | 85 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 9/29/12 | RV | 84 | 7 | 7 | 2 | * | 0 | * |
| 9/9/12 | RV | 83 | 7 | 6 | 4 | * | NA | 0 |
| 8/25/12 | RV | 81 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 1 |  | * |
| 7/8/12 | RV | 81 | 9 | 8 | 2 | * | " | * |
| 11/3/08 | RV | 68 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 22 | * |
| 11/2/08 | RV | 69 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 20 | * |
| 11/1/08 | RV | 71 | 5 | 3 | 2 | * | 19 | * |
| 10/31/08 | RV | 73 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 16 | * |
| 10/30/08 | RV | 74 | 6 | 4 | 1 | * | 15 | * |
| 10/29/08 | RV | 76 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 1 |
| 10/28/08 | RV | 77 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| 10/27/08 | RV | 76 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| 10/26/08 | RV | 78 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 10 | * |
| 10/25/08 | RV | 78 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 10 | * |
| 10/24/08 | RV | 79 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 8 | * |
| 10/23/08 | RV | 80 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 6 | * |
| 10/22/08 | RV | 81 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5 | * |
| 10/21/08 | RV | 82 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 4 | * |
| 10/20/08 | RV | 81 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | * |
| 10/19/08 | RV | 83 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | * |
| 10/11/08 | RV | 87 | 5 | 4 | 1 | * | 2 | 0 |
| 9/29/08 | RV | 87 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | NA | * |
| 9/22/08 | RV | 89 | 6 | 4 | 1 | * | NA | * |
| 9/7/08 | RV | 85 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | NA | * |
| 8/22/08 | RV | 84 | 10 | 4 | 2 | * | NA | * |
| 7/13/08 | RV | 79 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 2 | NA | 0 |
| 6/15/08 |  | 71 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 4 | NA | * |
| 3/2/08 |  | 78 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 2 | NA | * |
| 10/31/04 | RV | 76 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 12 | * |
| 10/30/04 | RV | 78 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 11 | * |
| 10/29/04 | RV | 79 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 11 | * |
| 10/28/04 | RV | 80 | 5 | 4 | 2 | * | 10 | * |
| 10/27/04 | RV | 81 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 8 | * |
| 10/26/04 | RV | 81 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 8 | * |


| 10/25/04 | RV | 81 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 7 | * |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10/24/04 | RV | 82 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 6 | * |
| 10/23/04 | RV | 82 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 6 | * |
| 10/22/04 | RV | 82 | 7 | 4 | 1 | * | 5 | * |
| 10/21/04 | RV | 82 | 7 | 5 | 1 | * | 4 | * |
| 10/20/04 | RV | 83 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | * |
| 10/19/04 | RV | 83 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | * |
| 10/18/04 | RV | 84 | 7 | 5 | 2 | * | 2 | * |
| 10/17/04 | RV | 84 | 7 | 5 | 2 | * | 2 | * |
| 10/16/04 | RV | 86 | 6 | 4 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| 10/15/04 | RV | 87 | 6 | 4 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| 10/14/04 | RV | 87 | 6 | 3 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| 10/13/04 | RV | 86 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 10/12/04 | RV | 87 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 10/11/04 | RV | 88 | 7 | 3 | 1 | * | * | * |
| 10/10/04 | RV | 90 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * | * | 1 |
| 10/9/04 | RV | 90 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * | * | * |
| 10/8/04 | RV | 90 | 5 | 3 | 1 | * | * | * |
| 10/7/04 | RV | 89 | 6 | 3 | 1 | * | * | * |
| 10/6/04 | RV | 87 | 7 | 4 | 1 | * | * | * |
| 10/5/04 | RV | 87 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| 10/4/04 | RV | 87 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| 10/3/04 | RV | 87 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 1 | * | 1 |
| 9/26/04 | RV | 87 | 8 | 4 | 1 | * | NA | * |
| 9/8/04 | RV | 87 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 |  | * |
| 8/29/04 | RV | 84 | 10 | 4 | 2 | * |  | 0 |
| 8/1/04 | RV | 85 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 1 |  | * |
| 7/25/04 | RV | 85 | 7 | 5 | 2 | * |  | * |
| 10/29/03 |  | 70 | 12 | 11 | 6 | 1 |  | 0 |
| 10/15/00 | RV | 82 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 |  | * |
| 10/9/00 | RV | 81 | 10 | 6 | 2 | * |  | * |
| 10/1/00 | RV | 81 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 1 |  | * |
| 9/6/00 | RV | 78 | 12 | 5 | 3 | 1 |  | * |
| $8 / 20 / 00$ | RV | 78 | 13 | 6 | 3 | 1 |  | 0 |
| $8 / 10 / 00$ | RV | 79 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 1 |  | * |
| 8/6/00 |  | 64 | 12 | 11 | 8 | 5 |  | * |
| 7/29/00 |  | 61 | 15 | 9 | 11 | 3 |  | * |
| 7/23/00 |  | 59 | 17 | 10 | 11 | 4 |  | * |
| 6/11/00 |  | 60 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 4 |  | * |
| 5/10/00 |  | 63 | 15 | 10 | 8 | 4 |  | 1 |
| $4 / 2 / 00$ |  | 62 | 14 | 9 | 9 | 5 |  | * |
| 3/11/00 |  | 63 | 14 | 9 | 9 | 4 |  | * |
| 2/27/00 |  | 69 | 12 | 10 | 4 | 5 |  | * |
| 2/6/00 |  | 67 | 12 | 10 | 8 | 3 |  | * |
| 1/16/00 |  | 65 | 14 | 10 | 6 | 4 |  | * |
| 12/15/99 |  | 64 | 13 | 8 | 9 | 6 |  | 1 |
| 10/31/99 |  | 72 | 11 | 10 | 5 | 3 | " | * |

13. If the 2024 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were (Donald Trump, the Republican) and (Joe Biden, the Democrat), for whom would you vote? Would you lean toward (Trump) or (Biden)?

| Trump | Biden | Other <br> (vol.) | Neither <br> (vol.) | Would not <br> vote | No <br> (vol.) | opinion |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | 51 | 42 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| $2 / 1 / 23$ | 48 | 44 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| $9 / 21 / 22$ | 46 | 48 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | RV | 52 | 42 | 1 | 3 |  |
| $2 / 1 / 23$ | RV | 48 | 45 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Compare to:

If the candidates for president in 2024 were (Donald Trump, the Republican) and (Joe Biden, the Democrat), would you (definitely vote for Trump, probably vote for Trump), (definitely vote for Biden, probably vote for Biden), or are you undecided about that? Who would you lean toward?

|  | - Vote Trump - - Vote Biden - |  |  |  |  |  |  | Someone else (vol.) | Neith. <br> (vol.) | Would <br> not <br> vote <br> (vol.) | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NET | Def | Prob | NET | Def | Prob | Undecid. |  |  |  | op |
| 5/3/23 | 44 | 36 | 9 | 38 | 32 | 6 | 12 | 1 | 3 | 1 | * |
| 5/3/23 RV | 45 | 37 | 8 | 39 | 33 | 6 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 1 | * |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Would |  |  |
|  |  | Vot | Trump | ---- |  | Vote | Biden ---- | Someone else | Neith. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { not } \\ & \text { vote } \end{aligned}$ | No |
|  | NET | Def | Prob | Lean | NET | Def | Prob Lean | (vol.) | (vol.) | (vol.) | op |
| 5/3/23 | 49 | 36 | 9 | 5 | 42 | 32 | $6 \quad 4$ | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 5/3/23 RV | 49 | 37 | 8 | 4 | 43 | 33 | 64 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

14. Do you think Joe Biden did or did not legitimately win the 2020 presidential election? (IF DID NOT) Do you think there has or has not been solid evidence of widespread voter fraud in the 2020 election?

|  | Did win legitimately | NE T | Solid evidence of fraud | No solid evidence of fraud | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9/20/23 | 60 | 29 | 22 | 7 | 12 |
| Compare |  |  |  |  |  |

$\left.\left.\begin{array}{cccc} & \text { Did win } \\ \text { legitimately }\end{array}\right) \begin{array}{c}\text { Did not win } \\ \text { legitimately }\end{array}\right)$ opinion

Regardless of whom you supported in the 2016 election, do you think Donald Trump's election as president was legitimate, or was he not legitimately elected?

10/5/17* Legitimate Not legitimate | L | N | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 |  |  |

*Washington Post-University of Maryland

```
15. Trump has been indicted on federal and state charges that he conspired to
illegally overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election and that he illegally
retained classified documents after leaving office. In facing these charges, do you
think Trump is being (held accountable under the law like anyone else), or do you
think he is being (unfairly victimized by his political opponents)?
    Held accountable Unfairly victimized No
    like anyone else by his political opponents opinion
9/20/23 53 40
Compare to:
Donald Trump has been charged in New York with 34 felony counts of falsifying business
```

records. Do you think this case was brought (appropriately to hold Trump accountable under the law like anyone else), or (inappropriately to try to hurt Trump politically)?

|  | Appropriately <br> to hold Trump <br> accountable | Inappropriately |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| to try to hurt | Trump politically | No opinion |  |
| $5 / 3 / 23$ | 49 | 44 | 7 |

16. The U.S. Constitution prohibits people who have taken an oath to the Constitution from holding public office if they have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States. Do you think Trump should or should not be prohibited from serving as president under this provision?

9/20/23
Should be
prohibited
44

## Should not be

No
prohibited
opinion
50
6

On another subject,
17. Based on what you know, do you think Congress should or should not begin impeachment proceedings that could lead to Biden being removed from office? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

|  | NET | Strongly | Somewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly | opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | 44 | 34 | 10 | 47 | 12 | 35 | 9 |

Compare to:
Based on what you know, do you think Congress should or should not impeach Trump and remove him from office? Do you feel that way strongly or only somewhat?

|  | ----- Should impeach ---- |  |  | -- Should not impeach --- |  |  | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NET | Strongly | S omewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly | opinion |
| 12/15/19 | 49 | 38 | 11 | 46 | 12 | 34 | 5 |
| 10/30/19 | 49 | 44 | 5 | 47 | 10 | 37 | 4 |

Based on what you know, do you think Congress should or should not begin impeachment proceedings that could lead to Trump being removed from office? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

|  | ------ Should begin ----- |  |  | --- | Should not begin ---- |  | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NET | Strongly | S omewhat | NET | Somewhat | Strongly |  |
| 7/1/19 | 37 | 29 | 8 | 59 | 13 | 46 | 4 |
| 4/25/19 | 37 | 29 | 9 | 56 | 13 | 43 | 6 |
| 3/29/19* | 41 | NA | NA | 54 | NA | NA | 5 |
| 1/24/19 | 40 | 33 | 7 | 55 | 13 | 42 | 6 |
| 8/29/18 | 49 | 40 | 9 | 46 | 13 | 33 | 5 |
| *3/29 Post-Schar School |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Based on what you know, do you think Congress should or should not impeach Clinton and remove him from office?

|  | NET | uld be in Strongly | ched --Somewhat | NET | d not be Somewhat | ached -- <br> Strongly | $\begin{gathered} \text { No } \\ \text { opin. } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 12/6/98 | 33 | NA | NA | 64 | NA | NA | 3 |
| 11/22/98 | 30 | NA | NA | 66 | NA | NA | 4 |
| 11/1/98 | 27 | NA | NA | 71 | NA | NA | 2 |
| 10/25/98 | 29 | NA | NA | 66 | NA | NA | 5 |
| 10/18/98 | 29 | NA | NA | 68 | NA | NA | 3 |
| 10/10/98 | 31 | 25 | 6 | 64 | 11 | 53 | 4 |


| 9/28/98 | 31 | 24 | 7 | 66 | 14 | 52 | 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9/21/98 | 41 | NA | NA | 57 | NA | NA | 2 |
| 9/14/98 | 38 |  |  | 59 |  |  | 3 |
| 9/13/98* | 30 | 26 | 3 | 64 | 8 | 56 | 6 |
| 8/23/98** | 24 |  |  | 70 |  |  | 6 |
| 8/19/98** | 30 |  |  | 65 |  |  | 5 |
| 8/17/98** | 25 |  |  | 69 |  |  | 6 |
| *Washington Post: "As you may know, the independent counsel Kenneth Starr has delivered a report to Congress summarizing his investigation of the Lewinsky matter. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Based on what you know or have heard..." |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "If he | es | sign |  |  |  |  |  |

18. The Republican speaker of the House has initiated an inquiry into whether Joe Biden should be impeached because of alleged involvement in his son's international business dealings. In this impeachment inquiry, do you think Biden is being (held accountable under the law like any president), or do you think he is being (unfairly victimized by his political opponents)?

|  | Held accountable | Unfairly victimized | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | like any president | by his political opponents | opinion |
| 58 |  | 32 |  |

19. (If re-elected, Biden would be 82 years old at the start of his second term) and (if elected again, Trump would be 78 years old at the start of his second term). Do you think only (Biden) is too old for another term as president, only (Trump) is too old for another term as president, both are too old for another term as president, or neither is too old for another term as president?

| Only Biden | Only Trump |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| is too old | is too old | Both are | Neither is | Nold | too old | opinion

Party ID. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as (a Democrat), (a Republican), an independent or what?

|  | Democrat | Republican | Independent | Other (vol.) | No opinion |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $9 / 20 / 23$ | 25 | 25 | 42 | 5 | 4 |
| $5 / 3 / 23$ | 26 | 25 | 41 | 5 | 3 |
| $2 / 1 / 23$ | 26 | 25 | 40 | 5 | 3 |
| $11 / 2 / 22$ | 27 | 27 | 39 | 4 | 3 |
| $9 / 21 / 22$ | 28 | 24 | 41 | 5 | 2 |
| $4 / 28 / 22$ | 29 | 25 | 40 | 5 | 2 |

2020 VOTE. Did you happen to vote in the last presidential election when Joe Biden ran against Donald Trump, or did you skip that one? Which candidate did you vote for?

Summary table among 2020 voters
9iden Trump Jorgensen Hawkins Other No opinion
*** END ***

METHODOLOGICAL DETAILS

This poll was jointly sponsored and funded by The Washington Post and ABC News. The poll is a random sample of adults in the United States, with interviews in English and Spanish.

This questionnaire was administered with the exact questions in the exact order as they appear in this document. Demographic questions are not shown. If a question was asked of a reduced base of the sample, a parenthetical preceding the question identifies the group asked. Phrases surrounded by parentheticals within questions indicate clauses that were randomly rotated for respondents.

A dual frame landine and cell phone telephone sample was generated using Random Digit Dialing procedures by Survey Sampling International (SSI). Interviewers called landline and cellphone numbers, interviewing the person reached on a cellphone if they were 18 years or older. For landlines, interviewers requested to speak with the youngest adult male or female at home. The final sample included 251 interviews completed on landines and 755 interviews completed via cellphone, including 586 interviews with adults in cellphone-only households.

This survey uses statistical weighting procedures to account for deviations in the survey sample from known population characteristics, which helps correct for differential survey participation and random variation in samples. The overall adult sample is weighted to correct for differential probabilities of selection among individuals who are landline-only, cellphone-only or dual users. Results are weighted match the demographic makeup of the population by sex, region, age, education and race/ethnicity according to the latest Current Population Survey Social and Economic Supplement. The sample is also weighted to match the average party identification in recent Post-ABC national polls.

All error margins have been adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, which is 1.4 for this survey. The design effect is a factor representing the survey's deviation from a simple random sample and takes into account decreases in precision due to sample design and weighting procedures. Surveys that do not incorporate a design effect overstate their precision.

The Washington Post is a charter member of AAPOR's Transparency Initiative, which recognizes organizations that disclose key methodological details on the research they produce.

Contact polls@washpost.com for further information about how The Washington Post conducts polls.

| Group | Sample size | Error margin | of weighted sample |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| National adults | 1,006 | $+/-$ | 3.5 points | 100 |
| Registered voters | 890 | 4 | 84 |  |
| Leaned Democrats | 396 | 6 | 41 |  |
| Leaned Republicans | 474 | 5.5 | 45 |  |

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