

Study #2201

1,003 U.S. adults ages 18 and over

Including 806 likely voters in the 2020 general election

Margin of error: ±3.1 percentage points based on all

Margin of error: ±3.5 percentage points based on 2020 likely voters

SELZER & COMPANY

October 17-23, 2019

Weighted by sex, age, and race

Shading in gray indicates tracking from previous polls.

Shading in green/peach indicates a base of likely voters in the 2020 general election.

Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

- A. First, I just need to confirm in what state you live. **(If needed:)** People sometimes take their phone number when they move to another state, so we just need to determine what state I'm talking to.

FIPS code

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing: [ITEM FROM LIST]?

(Based on all.)			Disapprove		
			Approve	e	Not Sure
A.	As president	Oct-19	40	50	10
		Nov-18	43	45	12
		Sep-18	39	50	11
B.	With the economy	Oct-19	50	39	10
C.	With immigration	Oct-19	40	53	7
D.	With trade with China	Oct-19	38	48	14
E.	With serving as a role model people admire	Oct-19	26	66	8
F.	With decisions on U.S. troops in Syria	Oct-19	32	51	17

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing: [ITEM FROM LIST]?

Based on 2020 likely voters; n=806. MoE: +/-3.5% pts.			Disapprove		
			Approve	e	Not Sure
A.	As president	Oct-19	43	51	6
		Nov-18	44	47	9
B.	With the economy	Oct-19	51	41	7
C.	With immigration	Oct-19	42	54	5
D.	With trade with China	Oct-19	41	48	11
E.	With serving as a role model people admire	Oct-19	28	66	6
F.	With decisions on U.S. troops in Syria	Oct-19	34	54	13

2. How likely is it you will vote in the November 2020 election for president and other offices—do you think you would definitely vote, probably vote, might or might not vote, or probably not vote?

	Definitely vote	Probably vote	Might or might not vote	Probably not vote	No t sur e
Oct-19	78	11	3	7	1
Nov-18	79	9	3	5	4

3. Based on 2020 likely voters; n=806. MoE: +/-3.5% pts. If a vote for president of the United States were held today, would you definitely vote to re-elect President Trump, consider someone else, or definitely vote to elect someone else, or would you not vote?

	Definitely vote to re-elect Trump	Consider someone else	Definitely vote to elect someone else	Would not vote	Not sure	
Oct-19	38	13	47	-	2	2020 LV; n=806; MoE: ±3.5pp
Nov-18	35	17	45	1	3	2020 LV; n=828; MoE: ±3.4pp

4. Based on 2020 likely voters; n=806. MoE: +/-3.5% pts. How important would you say it is to you personally to be engaged in campaign and election activities other than voting for the 2020 presidential election—very important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not that important?

	Very important	Fairly important	Just somewhat important	Not that important	Not sure
Oct-19	38	18	19	24	1

[Ask all.]

5. How confident are you that, across the country, the votes in the 2020 presidential election will be counted as voters intended—very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

	Very confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident	Not sure
Oct-19	25	43	18	10	4

6. Now, I'm going to mention some people in the news. For each, please tell me if your feelings are very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable. If you don't know enough about the person to answer, just say so. (Record "don't know" as "not sure." Rotate list.)

			Fav	Unfav	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Not Sure
A.	Joe Biden, former vice president of the U.S.	Oct-19	47	44	16	32	19	24	9
B.	Brett Kavanaugh, Supreme Court justice	Oct-19	36	34	21	15	11	23	29
C.	Mike Pence, vice president of the U.S.	Oct-19	44	44	24	21	16	28	12

D.	Rudy Giuliani, former New York City mayor and lawyer to President Trump	Oct-19	30	52	12	18	16	37	18
E.	Barack Obama, former president of the U.S.	Oct-19	61	34	38	24	12	22	4
F.	Amy Klobuchar, U.S. senator from Minnesota	Oct-19	23	20	7	16	11	9	57
G.	Bernie Sanders, U.S. senator from Vermont	Oct-19	49	42	21	29	16	26	9
H.	Donald Trump, president of the United States	Oct-19	42	54	27	15	10	44	4
		Nov-18	47	49	26	21	14	35	4
		Sep-18	42	50	25	17	12	38	8
I.	Elizabeth Warren, U.S. senator from Massachusetts	Oct-19	39	39	17	23	12	26	22
J.	Mitt Romney, U.S. senator from Utah	Oct-19	39	42	7	32	22	20	19
K.	Nancy Pelosi, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives	Oct-19	38	49	17	21	12	37	13

7. Since he took office in January of 2017, would you describe your feelings for President Trump as becoming a lot more favorable, a little more favorable, a little more unfavorable, or a lot more unfavorable?

	A lot more favorable	A little more favorable	A little more unfavorable	A lot more unfavorable	No change (VOL)	Not sure
Oct-19	23	15	13	43	4	2
Sep-18	22	18	11	43	5	2

8. I'm going to read some words and phrases that could describe some Americans. For each, please tell me if this is a word or phrase you would use to describe yourself—just answer yes or no. (Rotate. Mark all that apply. Multiple responses accepted, so total may exceed 100%.)

	Feminist	Politically incorrect	Tired of the circus in politics	Gun enthusiast	Believer in America first	Socialist	Progressive	Proud to be an American	Afraid for the future	None of these/not sure (VOL)
Oct-19	38	33	87	41	70	19	54	89	62	2
Sep-18	36	31	n/a	34	66	17	50	n/a	53	2

[Economy]

9. Do you feel you are moving closer to or farther away from your hopes for your personal finances?

	Moving closer	Moving farther away	Not sure
Oct-19	63	25	11
Nov-18	64	26	10

10. Do you think the U.S. economy is better or worse than it was at the beginning of 2017?

	Better	Worse	About the same (VOL)	Not sure
Oct-19	55	33	6	7

11. As you think about the next 12 months, do you expect the overall strength of the U.S. economy to be better or worse as compared to the way you see it now?

	Better off	Worse off	About the same (VOL)	Not sure
Oct-19	47	41	5	8

[Split form Q.13/14/15. Randomly assign a third of respondents to Form X, a third to Form Y, and a third to Form Z, independent of rotation on any other question(s).]

12. Record form type

32	X	Ask Q.13, then skip to Q.16
34	Y	Skip to Q.14, then skip to Q.16
34	Z	Skip to Q.15, then continue to Q.16

13. **Based on Form X respondents, n=312. MoE: +/-5.6% pts.** For each of the following changes to the criminal justice system, please tell me if this is something you strongly favor, mostly favor, mostly oppose, or strongly oppose. (Rotate list.)

	Favor	Oppose	Strongly Favor	Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sure
A. Sending non-violent offenders to programs other than prisons—such as drug courts, home arrest with GPS tracking, and so on	83	14	42	41	9	6	3
B. Reducing sentences for first-time violent offenders	37	56	12	25	30	26	7
C. Requiring judges to regularly review prisoners and release those who have been rehabilitated	74	21	35	39	13	8	6
D. Stopping the practice of sending people on parole back to prison for minor, non-criminal parole violations	57	37	24	33	22	15	7

14. **Based on Form Y respondents, n=348. MoE: +/-5.3% pts.** The United States incarcerates a greater proportion of its fellow citizens than any other nation— roughly eight times the global average. For each of the following changes to the criminal justice system, please tell me if this is something you strongly favor, mostly favor, mostly oppose, or strongly oppose. (Rotate list.)

	Favor	Oppose	Strongly Favor	Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sure
A. Sending non-violent offenders to programs other than prisons—such as drug courts, home arrest with GPS tracking, and so on	86	10	49	37	8	3	4
B. Reducing sentences for first-time violent offenders	41	54	17	24	30	23	5
C. Requiring judges to regularly review prisoners and release those who have been rehabilitated	77	17	35	42	10	7	6
D. Stopping the practice of sending people on parole back to prison for minor, non-criminal parole violations	56	37	24	33	23	14	6

15. **Based on Form Z respondents, n=343. MoE: +/-5.3% pts.** The United States incarcerates a greater proportion of its fellow citizens than any other nation: roughly eight times the global average. Black and Hispanic people have particularly high rates of incarceration. For each of the following changes to the criminal justice system, please tell me if this is something you strongly favor, mostly favor, mostly oppose, or strongly oppose. **(Rotate list.)**

	Favor	Oppose	Strongly Favor	Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sure
A. Sending non-violent offenders to programs other than prisons—such as drug courts, home arrest with GPS tracking, and so on	86	9	45	41	5	4	5
B. Reducing sentences for first-time violent offenders	37	55	16	21	28	26	9
C. Requiring judges to regularly review prisoners and release those who have been rehabilitated	76	18	36	40	12	6	6
D. Stopping the practice of sending people on parole back to prison for minor, non-criminal parole violations	62	30	32	30	18	12	8

16. Which of the following do you think is the MAIN purpose of sending people convicted of crimes to prison? **(Read list, including "other.")**

	Form X (n=312)	Form Y (n=348)	Form Z (n=343)	
25	27	25	24	To punish criminals
16	13	16	18	To rehabilitate criminals
44	48	44	42	To prevent criminals from committing additional crimes by removing them from society
9	9	8	10	Other (specify:)
6	3	7	5	Not sure

17. I'm going to mention some technology you might use in your everyday life. For each, please tell me if this is something you use frequently, occasionally, once in a while, or do not use. **(Rotate list.)**

If "Do not use" or "Not sure" for both, skip to Q.20.		Frequently	Occasionally	Once in a while	Do not use	Not Sure
A.	A smartphone with internet access	79	5	3	10	3
B.	A personal assistant device, also called a smart speaker, such as Alexa or Google Home	16	9	5	67	3

18. **Based on those who use smartphones, n=835. MoE: +/- 3.4% pts.** I have a couple of questions about your use of your smartphone for purposes other than placing a phone call, such as texting, using apps, or surfing the web. For each of the following, please tell me if this is something that happens in your life frequently, occasionally, once in a while, or never. **(Rotate list.)**

	Frequently	Occasionally	Once in a while	Never	Not Sure
A. Friends or family complain about how much time I use my phone	5	10	15	68	2
B. I use my phone to avoid interacting with friends and family in the room	6	8	12	74	1
C. Using my phone has had negative effects on my close relationships	4	9	15	69	2
D. Using my phone has had positive effects on my close relationships	34	22	13	27	3

19. **Based on those who use smart speakers, n=284. MoE: +/-5.8% pts.** For each of the following, please tell me if this is something that happens in your life frequently, occasionally, once in a while, or never. **(Rotate list.)**

	Frequently	Occasionally	Once in a while	Never	Not Sure
A. I carry on conversations with my smart speaker	8	14	13	59	5
B. My smart speaker makes me more efficient in doing tasks	24	23	16	33	4
C. I get frustrated with my smart speaker	12	21	20	42	5
D. I find my smart speaker enjoyable and even charming	18	28	16	34	4

20. About how often do you interact with immigrants in your daily life—every day, most days, several times a month, less than once a month, or possibly never?

	Every day	Most days	Several times a month	Less than once a month	Possibly never	Not sure
Oct-19	31	15	17	14	15	7

21. When it comes to the impact immigrants have on American culture, do you think immigrants mostly enrich American culture or are mostly a threat to American culture?

	Mostly enrich American culture	Mostly a threat to American culture	Not sure
Oct- 19	70	12	17

22. When it comes to the impact immigrants have on the American economy, do you think immigrants have a mostly positive effect or a mostly negative effect on the American economy?

	Mostly positive	Mostly negative	Not sure
Oct- 19	61	22	17

[Rotate order of Q.23-Q.25.]

23. Do you think President Trump should or should not be impeached and removed from office?

	Should be removed	Should not be removed	Not sure
Oct-19	42	44	14

24. Do you agree or disagree with the decision of the House of Representatives to open an impeachment inquiry into President Trump?

	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
Oct-19	48	42	10

25. Is it okay with you or not okay for political candidates in the U.S. to ask for assistance from a foreign government to help them win an election?

	Okay	Not okay	Not sure
Oct-19	7	81	11

These final questions are asked just to see what cross-section of U.S. residents we are interviewing.

100a. What is your age? (RECORD ACTUAL AGE AND CODE WITH APPROPRIATE AGE GROUP. IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, OFFER AGE GROUPS.)

b. (CODE PROPER CATEGORY :)

	Under 25	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 to 54	55 to 59	60 to 64	65 and over	Refused/not sure
Oct-19	13	9	8	10	8	7	12	8	8	18	-

101a. In the 2016 presidential election, did you vote for [Donald Trump] or [Hillary Clinton], for someone else, or did you not vote? [Rotate candidate names.]

	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	Someone else	Did not vote	Refused/not sure
Oct-19	31	27	12	20	9
Nov-18	33	30	10	20	7
Sep-18	32	35	9	20	4

101b. Did you happen to vote in the November 2018 midterm general election? (Nov-18: Did you happen to vote in the November general election just a couple of weeks ago?)

	Yes	No	Not sure
Oct-19	56	35	9
Nov-18	71	25	4

102. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent? (If Republican or Democrat, ask:) Do you consider yourself a strong [REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRAT]? (If independent, ask:) Do you lean more toward the Republicans or more toward the Democrats, or are you totally independent?

	Strong Republican	Republican	Lean Republican	Totally independent	Lean Democrat	Democrat	Strong Democrat	Other (VOL)	Refused / not sure
Oct-19	14	11	7	24	9	10	14	2	9

103. Do you consider yourself conservative, moderate, or liberal?

	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	None of these (VOL)	Not sure
Oct-19	33	36	19	2	10

104. What is the last grade of school you completed?

	High school graduate or less	Some college	Associate's (two-year) degree	Bachelor's (four-year) degree	Postgraduate work or degree	Refused/not sure
Oct-19	24	16	12	23	17	8

105. Do you have children under the age of 18 living at home?

	Yes	No	Refused / not sure
Oct-19	28	65	7

106. Would you describe the area where you live as a city, a suburb, a town, or a rural area?

	City	Suburb	Town	Rural	Refused/ not sure
Oct-19	33	25	15	19	8

107. Which of the following best describes your religious beliefs—Roman Catholic, Protestant, some other kind of Christian, Jewish, Muslim, other, or none?

	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Some other kind of Christian	Jewish	Muslim	Other	None	Refused / not sure
Oct-19	15	22	26	2	1	2	19	12

108. (Ask all.) Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

	Yes	No	Refused / not sure
Oct-19	26	63	11

109. (Ask all.) How often do you attend religious services: (Read list.)

	At least once a week	A couple of times a month	A few times a year	Less frequently than once a year	Never	Not sure
Oct-19	29	15	19	11	17	9

110a. With what racial or ethnic group do you identify most—White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, or some other group?

110b. (If not Hispanic, ask:) Are you from a Latino, Hispanic, or Spanish-speaking background? (If yes, code AC=3 in b. Then reclassify all into c.)

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Native America n	Other	Multi- racial (VOL)	Refused / not sure
110c.								
Oct-19	64	12	12	4	3	-	1	4

111. Is your total annual household income before taxes above or below \$50,000 per year?

- Below ASK b
- Above ASK c

b.	Is it above or below \$25,000 per year?	13	Below (<\$25,000)
		17	Above (\$25,000-\$49,999)
c.	Is it above or below \$75,000 per year?	15	Below (\$50,000-\$74,999)
			Above: Ask d
d.	Is it above or below \$100,000 per year?	10	Below (\$75,000-\$99,999)
		23	Above (\$100,000 and over)
		21	Refused/not sure

112. Phone type

	Cell phone only	Landline or some other type
Oct-19	56	44

113. What is your gender or sex: **(Let respondent volunteer. S&C will recode as appropriate.)**

	Male	Female	Other (specify:)
Oct-19	49	49	2

Code Census regions

114. REGN—see attachment for applicable states. Recode from Q.A.

	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Oct-19	18	22	35	25

METHODOLOGY

The Grinnell College National Poll, conducted October 17-23 for Grinnell College by Selzer & Co. of Des Moines, IA, is based on telephone interviews with 1,003 U.S. adults ages 18 or older, including 806 likely voters in the 2020 general election.

Interviewers with Quantel Research contacted households with randomly selected landline and cell phone numbers supplied by Dynata. Interviews were administered in English. Responses were adjusted by sex, age, and race to reflect the general population based on recent census data.

Percentages based on the full probability sample of 1,003 respondents may have a maximum margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points. This means that if this survey were repeated using the same questions and the same methodology, 19 times out of 20, the findings would not vary from the true population value by more than plus or minus 3.1 percentage points. Results based on smaller samples of respondents—such as by gender or age—have a larger margin of error. Results based on likely voters in the 2020 general election have a maximum margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

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