Grinnell College
National Poll

Shading in gray indicates tracking from previous polls.
Shading in peach indicates a base of likely voters in the 2024 general elections.

Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling: (**Rotate list, but A must always come first.**)

			Approve	Disapprove	Not Sure
A.	His job as president	Oct-23	**38**	**53**	**9**
		Mar-23	39	51	10
		Sep-22	36	51	13
		Mar-22	34	52	14
		Oct-21	37	50	12
B.	Relationships with Republicans in Congress	Oct-23	**37**	**51**	**12**
C.	The economy	Oct-23	**36**	**59**	**5**
		Mar-23	35	56	8
		Mar-22	31	57	13
		Oct-21	36	53	11
D.	Control over U.S. borders	Oct-23	**32**	**60**	**8**

2a. How likely is it you will vote in the November **2024** 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	Not sure
Oct-23	**76**	**10**	**4**	**9**	**-**
Mar-23	76	10	5	8	1
Oct-21	80	8	3	7	1

How likely is it you will vote in the 2022 general election—will you 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	Not sure
Sep-22	71	11	6	10	1

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	Not sure
Aug-20	77	9	3	9	2
Mar-20	71	14	5	10	1
Oct-19	78	11	3	7	1
Nov-18	79	9	3	5	4

2b. **Based on 2024 likely voters.** If the general election were held today, and the candidates for president were [Joe Biden for the Democrats] and [Donald Trump for the Republicans], for whom would you vote—[Joe Biden], [Donald Trump], someone else, or would you not vote? **(Rotate which name is asked first in question.)**

	Sample size; Margin of error	Donald Trump	Joe Biden	Someone else	Would not vote	Not sure
Oct-23	n=784; ±3.5% pts.	**40**	**40**	**18**	**1**	**1**
Oct-21	n=745; ±3.6% pts.	40	40	14	1	4

Based on 2020 likely voters. If the general election were held today, and the candidates for president were [Joe Biden for the Democrats] and [Donald Trump for the Republicans], for whom would you vote—[Joe Biden], [Donald Trump], someone else, or would you not vote? **(Rotate which name is asked first in question.)**

	Sample size; Margin of error	Donald Trump	Joe Biden	Someone else	Would not vote	Not sure
Aug-20	n=827; ±3.4% pts.	41	49	3	1	5
Mar-20	n=777; ±3.5% pts.	43	47	8	2	1

3. 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-23	14	9	9	29	8	10	15	2	3

4. **(Among self-identified Republicans and Republican-leaning independents; n=358. MoE: ±5.2 percentage points.)** I'm going to mention values some people hold. For each, please tell me if this is a value among most Democrats, some Democrats, or few Democrats. **(Read list. Rotate.)**

			Most Democrats	Some Democrats	Few Democrats	Not Sure
A.	Want the best for the country	Oct-23	23	23	50	4
B.	Support the Constitution	Oct-23	21	26	50	3
C.	Believe all people should be treated equally	Oct-23	35	27	35	3
D.	Value freedom	Oct-23	29	28	40	3
E.	Believe in the value of hard work	Oct-23	21	32	43	3
F.	Are open to compromise	Oct-23	10	28	59	3

4. **(Among self-identified Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents; n=323. MoE: ±5.5 percentage points.)** I'm going to mention values some people hold. For each, please tell me if this is a value among most Republicans, some Republicans, or few Republicans. **(Read list. Rotate.)**

			Most Republicans	Some Republicans	Few Republicans	Not Sure
A.	Want the best for the country	Oct-23	31	34	34	1
B.	Support the Constitution	Oct-23	35	33	31	2
C.	Believe all people should be treated equally	Oct-23	19	31	48	2
D.	Value freedom	Oct-23	47	24	27	2
E.	Believe in the value of hard work	Oct-23	43	32	21	4
F.	Are open to compromise	Oct-23	6	32	59	3

5. **(Among self-identified Republicans and Republican-leaning independents; n=358. MoE: ±5.2 percentage points.)** In your everyday life, how often would you say you have conversations about politics with people you know to be Democrats—At least once a week, several times a month, several times a year, or almost never?

	Several times a month or more	Several times a year or less	At least once a week	Several times a month	Several times a year	Almost never	Not sure
Oct-23	51	47	37	14	16	32	2

5. **(Among self-identified Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents; n=323. MoE: ±5.5 percentage points.)** In your everyday life, how often would you say you have conversations about politics with people you know to be Republicans—At least once a week, several times a month, several times a year, or almost never?

	Several times a month or more	Several times a year or less	At least once a week	Several times a month	Several times a year	Almost never	Not sure
Oct-23	49	51	26	23	18	33	-

6. Would support for the following positions make you more likely or less likely to favor a presidential candidate, or would it not matter? **(Rotate list.)**

			More Likely	Less Likely	Would not matter	Not sure
A.	Banning abortion nationwide with exceptions for rape, incest, and to preserve the life of the mother	Oct-23	34	47	16	2
B.	Banning assault rifles, such as AR-15s	Oct-23	41	39	19	1
C.	Banning gender-affirming medical treatment, such as puberty blockers, hormone therapy, or surgeries for youth under age 18	Oct-23	33	46	17	3
D.	Forgiving student loans	Oct-23	42	34	23	2
E.	Continuing U.S. military aid to Ukraine	Oct-23	41	29	27	3

7. For each of the following statements, please tell me if you strongly agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree. **(Rotate items A, B, and C in list, but D must always be last.)**

			Agree	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
A.	People with high levels of education and expertise do not understand the problems of ordinary people	Oct-23	51	46	23	28	30	16	2
		Mar-23	49	47	20	29	31	16	4
		Oct-21	47	49	20	27	29	20	4
B.	Ordinary people elected to office will do a better job of governing than professional politicians	Oct-23	65	31	31	34	23	9	3
		Mar-23	66	29	29	37	22	7	5
		Oct-21	64	27	37	27	19	8	9
C.	There are too many immigrants coming to the U.S.	Oct-23	52	44	34	18	24	20	4
		Mar-23	47	48	27	20	26	22	5
		Oct-21	45	50	30	15	23	27	5
D.	People in my area have never felt more fearful for their personal safety than they have lately	Oct-23	50	47	26	24	25	22	3

8. How confident are you that, across the country, the votes in the **2024** general election next year will be counted as voters intended—very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

	Very/smwt confident	Not too/ at all confident	Very confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident	Not sure
Oct-23	**62**	**37**	**32**	**30**	**20**	**16**	**1**
Mar-23	63	35	33	30	19	15	3

How confident are you that, across the country, the votes in the **2022** general election this year will be counted as voters intended—very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

	Very/smwt confident	Not too/ at all confident	Very confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident	Not sure
Sep-22	64	31	30	34	19	12	5
Mar-22	60	35	29	31	20	16	5
Oct-21	58	38	30	28	20	18	4
Mar-21	53	44	24	29	23	21	3
Aug-20	62	34	20	42	22	12	4
Mar-20	69	28	27	42	20	8	4
Oct-19	68	28	25	43	18	10	4

9. When it comes to the U.S. Constitution, do you tend to believe it needs major revisions, minor revisions, or no revisions?

	Major revisions	Minor revisions	No revisions	Not sure
Oct-23	15	41	42	2

10. For each of the following, would you say you mostly favor or mostly oppose the suggested revision to the U.S. Constitution? (**Rotate list.**)

			Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Not Sure
A.	Set limits on how many years senators and representatives can serve in Congress	**Oct-23**	86	12	1
B.	Abolish the Electoral College so that the president is determined by the national popular vote	**Oct-23**	59	37	4
C.	Limit citizenship to children with at least one parent who is a U.S. citizen at the time of the child's birth	**Oct-23**	49	44	7
D.	Create 15-year term limits for U.S. Supreme Court justices	**Oct-23**	67	29	4

11. Do you think American democracy is under a major threat, minor threat, or do you not think it is under a threat at all? **(From Oct 2021.)**

	Major threat	Minor threat	Not under threat	Not sure
Oct-23	**57**	**29**	**12**	**3**
Oct-21	52	29	14	4

12. In general, do you think new artificial intelligence technologies will have more of a positive impact or more of a negative impact on your life, or no real impact at all?

	Positive impact	Negative impact	No real impact	Not sure
Oct-23	25	46	24	5

13. Do you think technology companies and platforms such as Google, Apple, and Facebook do or do not have too much influence on your life?

	Do have too much influence	Do not have too much influence	Not sure
Oct-23	61	38	1

14. **(Code) Q.15 split form: Record the form the respondent hears.**

   50   Form A
   50   Form B

[FORM A: n=502. MoE: ±4.4 percentage points.]

15a. Do you agree or disagree that books addressing topics such as sexual orientation should be available to students in the library of a public middle school? **(Follow with:)** Do you strongly [AGREE/DISAGREE] or just mostly [AGREE/DISAGREE]?

	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree	Not sure
Oct-23	51	47	27	24	11	36	2

[FORM B: n=504. MoE: ±4.4 percentage points.]

15b. Many public school teachers say it is important to students' education that their school libraries have a wide range of materials available, even if some people think certain materials are controversial. Do you agree or disagree that books addressing topics such as sexual orientation should be available to students in the library of a public middle school? **(Follow with:)** Do you strongly [AGREE/DISAGREE] or just mostly [AGREE/DISAGREE]?

	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree	Not sure
Oct-23	52	46	38	14	13	33	2

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-23	11	8	8	7	8	6	9	8	10	24	1

101. In the 2020 presidential election, did you vote for [Donald Trump] or [Joe Biden], for someone else, or did you not vote? **[Rotate candidate names.]**

	Donald Trump	Joe Biden	Someone else	Did not vote	Refused/ not sure
Oct-23	**33**	**38**	**6**	**19**	**4**
Mar-23	32	38	5	20	4
Sep-22	33	38	5	18	6
Mar-22	33	36	9	16	6
Oct-21	36	37	6	16	5
Mar-21	35	36	5	17	7

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

	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	None of these (VOL)	Refused/ Not sure
Oct-23	32	37	22	4	5

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-23	25	20	13	23	18	2

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

	Yes	No	Refused/ not sure
Oct-23	25	73	2

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-23	31	27	18	22	2

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-23	12	19	30	3	-	6	25	4

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

	Yes	No	Refused/ not sure
Oct-23	27	69	4

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	Refused/ not sure
Oct-23	27	11	19	12	28	3

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.)**

110c.	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Native American	Other	Multi-racial (VOL)	Refused/ not sure
Oct-23	60	12	12	5	3	2	1	5

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?	14	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?	13	Below ($75,000-$99,999)
		30	Above ($100,000 and over)
		11	Refused/not sure

112.   Phone type

	Cell phone only	Landline or some other type
Oct-23	71	29

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

	Male	Female	Other (specify:)
Oct-23	48	50	2

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

	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Oct-23	18	20	38	24

119. **(Code from Q.A) Respondent lives in a state with a Republican or Democratic governor.**
(See attached spreadsheet for reference.)

	Republican	Democrat
Oct-23	45	55

METHODOLOGY

The Grinnell College National Poll, conducted October 10-15, 2023, for Grinnell College by Selzer & Co. of Des Moines, IA, is based on telephone interviews with 1,006 U.S. adults ages 18 or older.

Interviewers with Quantel Research contacted households with randomly selected landline and cell phone numbers. 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 1,006 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.

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