

Roanoke College Poll | November 12-20, 2023
Topline and Select Party Crosstabs

Hi, I'm _____ and I'm calling from Roanoke College. How are you? We're conducting a survey of Virginia residents regarding important issues and your opinion is very important to us; we're not selling anything and won't ask for any money. Your responses are anonymous and confidential. Are you 18 or older and a resident of Virginia?

Direction of US/VA and Approval Ratings

1. Do you think things in the country are generally going in the right direction or do you think things have gotten off on the wrong track?

	Right direction	Wrong track	Unsure	Refused
Nov. 2023	23%	74%	2%	1%
Aug. 2023	24%	73%	2%	1%
May 2023	25%	71%	3%	1%
Feb. 2023	27%	69%	2%	0%
Nov. 2022	28%	68%	4%	1%
Aug. 2022	25%	72%	3%	0%
May 2022	21%	77%	3%	0%
Feb. 2022	29%	67%	3%	1%
Nov. 2021	31%	66%	4%	0%
Sept. 2021	35%	58%	7%	1%
Aug. 2021	33%	58%	7%	2%
May 2021	42%	53%	5%	1%
Feb. 2021	39%	53%	8%	1%
Nov. 2020	28%	62%	9%	1%
Oct. 2020	30%	63%	6%	1%
Aug. 2020	16%	79%	4%	1%
May 2020	33%	61%	6%	0%
Feb. 2020	39%	53%	8%	0%
Nov. 2019	26%	65%	10%	0%
Aug. 2019	31%	61%	7%	1%
Feb. 2019	37%	56%	6%	1%
Nov. 2018	34%	58%	6%	2%
Aug. 2018	37%	56%	7%	1%
June 2018	30%	64%	6%	1%
Feb. 2018	31%	57%	10%	1%
Nov. 2017	24%	69%	7%	0%
Oct. 2017	30%	64%	6%	1%
Sept. 2017	30%	63%	7%	1%
Aug. 2017	29%	63%	8%	1%
Feb. 2017	31%	57%	10%	1%
Jan. 2017	32%	52%	16%	1%

2. Do you think things in the Commonwealth of Virginia are generally going in the right direction or do you think things have gotten off on the wrong track?

	Right direction	Wrong track	Unsure	Refused
Nov. 2023	50%	43%	6%	1%
Aug. 2023	49%	44%	6%	1%
May 2023	48%	45%	6%	1%
Feb. 2023	55%	39%	5%	0%
Nov. 2022	47%	48%	4%	1%
Aug. 2022	51%	45%	4%	0%
May 2022	50%	44%	5%	2%
Feb. 2022	47%	47%	5%	1%
Sept. 2021	52%	43%	5%	1%
Aug. 2021	52%	43%	4%	1%
May 2021	50%	40%	8%	2%
Feb. 2021	52%	40%	8%	1%
Nov. 2020	53%	37%	8%	2%
Aug. 2020	45%	49%	6%	0%
May 2020	57%	37%	6%	0%
Feb. 2020	49%	44%	6%	2%
Aug. 2018	58%	30%	10%	2%
Oct. 2017	48%	40%	12%	1%
Sept. 2017	52%	37%	11%	1%
Aug. 2017	46%	41%	11%	2%
Jan. 2017	52%	29%	18%	1%

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Glenn Youngkin is handling his job as Governor of Virginia?

	Approve	Disapprove	Mixed	Refused
Nov. 2023	52%	39%	3%	6%
Aug. 2023	51%	40%	3%	6%
May 2023	51%	40%	4%	5%
Feb. 2023	57%	35%	2%	4%
Nov. 2022	52%	41%	2%	5%
Aug. 2022	55%	35%	2%	7%
May 2022	53%	35%	2%	10%
Feb. 2022	50%	41%	3%	7%

4. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as President of the United States?

	Approve	Disapprove	Mixed	Refused
Nov. 2023	37%	58%	2%	3%
Aug. 2023	40%	57%	1%	2%
May 2023	42%	55%	2%	2%
Feb. 2023	38%	56%	2%	1%
Nov. 2022	41%	55%	3%	2%
Aug. 2022	39%	57%	3%	1%
May 2022	37%	57%	4%	2%

Feb. 2022	41%	53%	4%	3%
Oct. 2021	44%	50%	4%	2%
Sept. 2021	50%	45%	3%	2%
Aug. 2021	48%	43%	7%	2%
May 2021	47%	39%	9%	5%
Feb. 2021	47%	30%	8%	15%

5. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job?

	Approve	Disapprove	Mixed	Refused
Nov. 2023	14%	79%	3%	3%
Aug. 2023	18%	76%	3%	3%
May 2023	19%	75%	4%	2%
Feb. 2023	23%	69%	4%	2%
Nov. 2022	27%	68%	2%	2%
Aug. 2022	23%	68%	5%	4%
Feb. 2022	21%	72%	3%	4%
Aug. 2021	17%	71%	7%	5%
May 2020	20%	63%	13%	5%
Feb. 2020	20%	60%	16%	4%
Oct. 2017	10%	80%	8%	3%
Sept. 2017	11%	76%	10%	3%
Aug. 2017	7%	79%	10%	4%
Feb. 2017	20%	62%	12%	6%
Jan. 2017	19%	64%	12%	6%

6. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way the Virginia General Assembly is handling its job?

	Approve	Disapprove	Mixed	Refused
Nov. 2023	45%	42%	4%	9%
Aug. 2023	44%	42%	5%	9%
May 2023	50%	38%	5%	8%
Feb. 2023	48%	37%	4%	9%
Feb. 2022	44%	37%	5%	14%
Aug. 2021	41%	35%	7%	16%

Favorability Ratings of Political Figures

Please tell me if you have a generally favorable or unfavorable impression of the following people and organizations or if you don't know enough about them to have formed an opinion.

7. Glenn Youngkin

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Mixed/Unsure	DK/Refused
Nov. 2023	50%	39%	3%	8%
Aug. 2023	48%	41%	3%	9%
May 2023	46%	42%	2%	10%
Feb. 2023	52%	35%	2%	9%
Nov. 2022	50%	40%	1%	9%
Aug. 2022	51%	37%	3%	10%
May 2022	46%	37%	3%	15%

Feb. 2022	46%	42%	1%	12%
Oct. 2021	45%	37%	16%	1%
Sept. 2021	40%	41%	17%	3%
Aug. 2021	27%	21%	3%	50%

8. Joe Biden

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Mixed/Unsure	DK/Refused
Nov. 2023	39%	55%	3%	3%
Aug. 2023	43%	53%	1%	3%
May 2023	43%	52%	2%	3%
Feb. 2023	40%	55%	1%	2%
Nov. 2022	44%	51%	2%	3%
Aug. 2022	41%	55%	3%	2%
May 2022	38%	56%	3%	3%
Feb. 2022	43%	52%	2%	3%
Sept. 2021	51%	46%	2%	1%
Aug. 2021	48%	43%	5%	4%
Feb. 2021	47%	29%	14%	10%
Nov. 2020	46%	36%	9%	9%
Oct. 2020	53%	43%	3%	1%
Aug. 2020	51%	38%	7%	4%
May 2020	36%	39%	15%	10%
Feb. 2020	37%	37%	18%	8%

9. Donald Trump

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Mixed/Unsure	DK/Refused
Nov. 2023	33%	58%	5%	4%
Aug. 2023	30%	65%	3%	3%
May 2023	31%	63%	3%	3%
Feb. 2023	33%	58%	3%	4%
Nov. 2022	33%	60%	3%	3%
Aug. 2022	37%	58%	3%	3%
May 2022	34%	59%	4%	3%
Feb. 2022	37%	56%	3%	4%
Oct. 2021	37%	54%	6%	3%
Feb. 2021	24%	58%	14%	4%
Nov. 2020	33%	53%	10%	5%
Oct. 2020	41%	56%	3%	1%
Aug. 2020	37%	55%	7%	2%
May 2020	36%	49%	12%	4%
Feb. 2020	32%	54%	10%	4%
Sept. 2017	35%	54%	8%	3%
Aug. 2017	31%	53%	13%	3%
Feb. 2017	29%	49%	13%	9%
Jan. 2017	30%	48%	18%	4%
Jan. 2016	22%	63%	13%	2%
Nov. 2015	23%	55%	13%	9%

10. U.S. Supreme Court

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Mixed/Unsure	DK
Nov. 2023	42%	48%	3%	7%

Aug. 2023	42%	51%	2%	5%
Nov. 2022	40%	53%	3%	5%
Aug. 2022	37%	53%	3%	7%
May 2022	46%	42%	4%	9%

2024 Republican Nomination and Presidential Election Match-Ups

11. If you had to choose, who would you most prefer to be the Republican nominee for president in 2024?¹

Among Republican respondents:

Donald Trump	51%
Nikki Haley	10%
Ron DeSantis	14%
Tim Scott	1%
Chris Christie	2%
Vivek Ramaswamy	3%
Glenn Youngkin	10%
Someone else	4%
Unsure	4%

12. If you had to choose, who would be your second choice to be the Republican nominee for president in 2024?²

Among Republican respondents:

Donald Trump	15%
Nikki Haley	17%
Ron DeSantis	26%
Tim Scott	3%
Chris Christie	3%
Vivek Ramaswamy	10%
Glenn Youngkin	19%
Someone else	5%
Unsure	3%

13. Are you registered to vote in Virginia

Yes	89%
No	10%

13a. If no, how likely is it that you will register to vote in Virginia for the November 2024 election?

Very Likely	15%
Somewhat Likely	13%
Not Very Likely	15%
Not Likely at All	57%
Refused	1%

14. The 2024 presidential election is far away, but if the election for president were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were:

(All respondents)	Joe Biden	Donald Trump	Unsure/Refused
Nov. 2023	48%	44%	8%

Aug. 2023	51%	42%	7%
May 2023	54%	38%	8%
Feb. 2023	47%	45%	6%

15. If Donald Trump were the Republican nominee and Joe Biden the Democratic nominee, would you consider voting for an independent candidate running for president in 2024 or not?³

(All respondents)	Consider	Not Consider	Unsure/Refused
Nov. 2023	45%	53%	2%
Aug. 2023	47%	50%	3%

Issues in U.S. and Virginia Politics

16. How closely would you say you followed the legislative elections for the Virginia General Assembly? Very closely, somewhat closely, or not too closely?

	Very closely	Somewhat closely	Not too closely	Unsure/No answer
Nov. 2023	21%	42%	36%	0%
Aug. 2023	14%	41%	45%	0%

17. And do you think that the results of the legislative elections for the Virginia General Assembly will make it more likely, less likely, or make no difference in being able to get things done in Richmond?

	More likely	Less likely	No difference	Unsure/No answer
Nov. 2023	32%	25%	35%	9%

18. Which of the following do you feel is the most important issue facing Virginia today?

	Nov. 2023	Feb. 2023	Dec. 2022
Economy / Jobs	22%	24%	23%
Inflation	20%	22%	27%
Abortion	11%	5%	9%
Gun Policy	6%	10%	10%
COVID-19	0%	1%	1%
Race Issues	2%	4%	5%
Voting / Election Issues	3%	5%	4%
Climate Change	5%	4%	8%
Immigration	4%	4%	2%
Crime	11%	13%	8%
Education	12%		
LGBTQ+ Issues	1%		
Other / No Answer	2%	3%	3%

19. Changing topics, do you think abortion should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?

Legal – All	Legal – Some	Illegal All	Unsure/Refused
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Nov. 2023	34%	55%	8%	3%
Aug. 2023	36%	50%	12%	3%
Nov. 2022	42%	45%	11%	2%
Aug. 2022	40%	48%	10%	3%
May 2022	35%	53%	11%	1%
Aug. 2015	31%	46%	17%	6%
July 2013	30%	46%	18%	3%
Oct. 2012	32%	47%	15%	0%

Political Anxiety

20. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or never?

	Always	Most of the time	Sometimes	Never	Unsure/Refused
Nov. 2023	2%	15%	60%	22%	1%
May 2023	5%	14%	59%	20%	2%
Nov. 2022	4%	18%	56%	22%	1%
May 2022	2%	17%	56%	24%	1%
Nov. 2021	3%	18%	52%	27%	1%
Aug. 2021	1%	18%	63%	17%	2%
Feb. 2021	2%	16%	63%	16%	3%
Nov. 2020	1%	17%	60%	18%	4%
May 2020	0%	16%	64%	17%	2%
Nov. 2019	3%	13%	61%	20%	4%
Feb. 2019	1%	11%	70%	16%	2%
Nov. 2018	1%	13%	61%	22%	2%
May 2018	1%	11%	70%	18%	0%
Feb. 2018	2%	17%	62%	18%	2%
Nov. 2017	2%	14%	60%	24%	1%
Oct. 2017	1%	11%	72%	17%	0%
Aug. 2017	1%	14%	61%	23%	2%

21. Which of the following statements is closer to your view: Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government in Washington if they are willing to make the effort OR There's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government in Washington?

	Citizens can influence govt.	Cannot	Unsure /Refused
Nov. 2023	50%	49%	2%
May 2023	52%	46%	3%
Nov. 2022	58%	40%	3%
May 2022	52%	46%	2%
Nov. 2021	60%	38%	2%
Aug. 2021	55%	41%	4%
Feb. 2021	52%	45%	3%
Nov. 2020	61%	35%	4%
May 2020	47%	49%	4%
Nov. 2019	58%	38%	5%
Feb. 2019	56%	38%	6%
Nov. 2018	63%	30%	8%
May 2018	57%	41%	2%

Feb. 2018	65%	32%	4%
Nov. 2017	63%	34%	3%
Oct. 2017	57%	41%	2%
Aug. 2017	60%	37%	4%

22. Thinking about the way things are going in politics today ... on the issues that matter to you would you say your side has been winning more often than it's been losing, or losing more often than it's been winning?

	Winning	Losing	Both	Unsure/Refused
Nov. 2023	30%	60%	3%	6%
May 2023	28%	61%	3%	7%
Nov. 2022	32%	58%	3%	7%
May 2022	22%	65%	3%	9%
Nov. 2021	29%	58%	4%	9%
Aug. 2021	30%	49%	7%	14%
Feb. 2021	26%	50%	11%	14%
Nov. 2020	33%	42%	10%	15%
May 2020	29%	50%	11%	10%
Nov. 2019	28%	43%	12%	18%
Feb. 2019	27%	44%	16%	14%
Nov. 2018	34%	42%	14%	10%
May 2018	23%	60%	11%	7%
Feb. 2018	29%	51%	11%	9%
Nov. 2017	27%	53%	10%	10%
Oct. 2017	23%	61%	10%	6%
Aug. 2017	22%	57%	13%	8%

23. Which comes closest to your feelings about how the federal government is working? Are you enthusiastic, satisfied, dissatisfied, or angry?

	Enthusiastic	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Angry	Unsure/Refused
Nov. 2023	3%	19%	57%	19%	2%
May 2023	3%	24%	50%	19%	2%
Nov. 2022	6%	24%	51%	17%	1%
May 2022	3%	21%	52%	21%	3%
Nov. 2021	3%	26%	47%	20%	3%
Aug. 2021	2%	28%	45%	21%	5%
Feb. 2021	6%	32%	41%	14%	8%
Nov. 2020	2%	24%	49%	19%	6%
May 2020	3%	25%	49%	19%	5%
Nov. 2019	3%	21%	50%	19%	8%
Feb. 2019	1%	21%	49%	20%	8%
Nov. 2018	2%	25%	49%	18%	7%
May 2018	3%	15%	54%	26%	3%
Feb. 2018	3%	23%	45%	21%	8%
Nov. 2017	2%	19%	60%	14%	5%
Oct. 2017	3%	15%	55%	24%	3%
Aug. 2017	1%	15%	57%	22%	5%

24. When you think about the future of the United States, which do you agree with more: the country's best years are ahead of us or the country's best years are behind us?

	Best ahead	Best behind	Same/Unsure	Refused
Nov. 2023	41%	55%	3%	1%
May 2023	41%	55%	3%	1%
Nov. 2022	50%	46%	3%	1%
May 2022	44%	52%	4%	1%
Nov. 2021	49%	45%	5%	1%
Aug. 2021	54%	40%	5%	2%
Feb. 2021	59%	30%	9%	2%
Nov. 2020	62%	29%	8%	2%
May 2020	60%	31%	7%	1%
Nov. 2019	55%	32%	10%	3%
Feb. 2019	55%	35%	10%	0%
Nov. 2018	57%	33%	8%	2%
May 2018	56%	37%	7%	1%
Feb. 2018	56%	34%	10%	1%
Nov. 2017	57%	37%	6%	1%
Oct. 2017	57%	37%	6%	1%
Aug. 2017	56%	32%	11%	1%

25. Looking broadly at the important issues facing the United States, do you think that Americans are united in facing those challenges or is the nation divided?

	United	Divided	Both/Unsure	Refused
Nov. 2023	10%	90%	1%	0%
May 2023	14%	84%	2%	1%
Nov. 2022	16%	82%	1%	1%
May 2022	13%	85%	2%	0%
Nov. 2021	14%	84%	2%	0%
Aug. 2021	8%	89%	3%	1%
Feb. 2021	5%	91%	3%	1%
Nov. 2020	8%	88%	3%	1%
May 2020	10%	86%	4%	0%
Nov. 2019	7%	90%	4%	0%
Feb. 2019	8%	88%	4%	0%
Nov. 2018	6%	89%	3%	2%
May 2018	11%	87%	2%	0%
Feb. 2018	13%	84%	3%	0%
Nov. 2017	10%	86%	3%	1%
Oct. 2017	11%	88%	2%	0%
Aug. 2017	8%	88%	4%	0%

Satisfaction with Democracy, Trust in Institutions, and the Election Campaign

With 10 being the most satisfied, please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, on the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in:

	Average score
26. The United States	5.09
27. Your City or County	6.28
28. Virginia	6.39

Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10 how much you personally trust each of the following institutions. A score of 0 means you do not trust the institution at all and 10 means you have complete trust.

	Average score
29. The Legal System	4.74
30. The Police	6.02
31. Politicians	3.21
32. Political Parties	3.37
33. The State Legislature	4.89
34. The Governor	5.23
35. The Nation's Congress	3.92
36. The President	4.05

37. Do you recall seeing any campaign advertisements on television or social media posts during the past few months?

Yes	74%
No	26%
Unsure/Refused	1%

37a. [IF YES] Was the tone of the posts or advertisements primarily positive or negative, or do you not recall?

Positive	14%
Negative	48%
Both equally	4%
Do not recall	8%
No answer	1%

37b. [IF YES] Were the posts or advertisements you saw primarily about specific political issues or policies or where they primarily focused on the character or competency of the candidate?

Issues/Policies	28%
Character/Competency	39%
Both	5%
Unsure	2%

Demographics

38. Gender

Male	48%
Female	50%
Other/No answer	1%

39. Region

Central Virginia/Richmond	19%
Northern Virginia	35%
Shenandoah Valley	5%
Southside	8%
Southwest Virginia	10%
Tidewater	21%

40. Thanks so much for your patience. I have a few questions about you for statistical purposes. Are you currently married, living with a partner, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married?

Married	46%
Living with partner	8%
Divorced	9%
Separated	2%
Widowed	6%
Never married	27%
No answer	1%

41. How much education have you completed?

Less than high school	2%
High School	17%
Some college/technical school	25%
Associate's Degree	9%
Bachelor's Degree	29%
Advanced Degree	18%

42. In what year were you born? [CODED INTO CATEGORIES]

18-29	20%
30-44	26%
45-64	32%
65 or older	21%
Refused	1%

43. Are you of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

Yes, Hispanic	9%
No, not Hispanic	90%
Refused	1%

44. Would you consider yourself Caucasian or white, African-American or Black, Asian or some other race?

White / Caucasian	61%
African-American	18%
Asian/Other/multi-racial	18%
No response	3%

45. I'm going to read several income groups. When I come to the group that includes your annual family income, please stop me.

Less than \$20,000	9%
\$20,000-\$35,000	10%
\$35,000-\$50,000	12%
\$50,000-\$75,000	16%
\$75,000-\$100,000	16%
More than \$100,000	30%
Refused	7%

46. Politically speaking, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate or conservative?

Liberal	23%
Moderate	35%
Conservative	31%
Other/Unsure	6%
Don't know/No answer	4%

47. And would you describe your political party affiliation as Democrat, Republican, Independent, some other party or no affiliation?

Democrat	34%
Republican	27%
Independent	22%
Other/None	14%
Don't know/No answer	3%

47a. [IF INDEPENDENT, OTHER OR REFUSED] As of today, do you lean more toward the Democratic party or toward the Republican party?

Democratic Party	26%
Republican Party	30%
Independent/Neither	37%
Don't know/No answer	7%

Select Party Crosstabs

	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Independent</i>
USA Right Direction	43%	8%	19%
VA Right Direction	47%	50%	52%
Job Approval Youngkin	29%	80%	58%
Job Approval Biden	71%	4%	38%
Job Approval U.S. Congress	19%	14%	10%
Job Approval VA General Assembly	54%	40%	45%
Favorability Youngkin	27%	81%	56%
Favorability Biden	77%	3%	38%
Favorability Trump	9%	73%	31%
Favorability U.S. Supreme Court	31%	59%	43%
2024 Presidential Election Match-Ups (all respondents)			
Biden / Trump			
Nov. 2023	91% / 5%	3% / 89%	46% / 46%
Aug. 2023	95% / 5%	9% / 88%	55% / 34%
May 2023	88% / 11%	7% / 85%	56% / 35%
Feb. 2023	88% / 10%	6% / 90%	50% / 40%
Consider Independent candidate			
Nov. 2023	39%	37%	56%
Aug. 2023	40%	38%	54%
Abortion legal in some or all cases	95%	91%	85%
2023 Virginia General Assembly elections			
Very or somewhat closely followed	68%	69%	61%
More likely to make difference in Richmond	52%	16%	23%
Political Anxiety:			
Trust Government Always/Most of Time	25%	14%	12%
Dissatisfied/Angry w/ Federal Government	66%	80%	88%
Citizens Can Influence Government	64%	42%	47%
Your Side Winning on Issues	53%	15%	23%
Best Years Ahead	56%	29%	45%
U.S. Issues, Americans United	15%	10%	5%
On a scale of 0-10, satisfaction with how democracy works in:			
The United States	5.68	4.81	4.95
Your City or County	6.77	6.36	6.23
Virginia	6.67	6.00	6.31
On a scale of 0-10, level of trust in institutions:			
The Legal System	5.10	4.74	4.57
The Police	5.49	6.98	5.96
Politicians	3.62	3.26	2.96
Political Parties	3.92	3.59	3.07
The State Legislature	5.26	4.71	4.91
The Governor	4.13	6.83	5.38
The Nation's Congress	4.07	4.13	3.98
The President	6.52	1.98	3.62

Notes

¹ Frankovic, K., & Taylor, O. (2022, December 1). Whom do Republicans want as their 2024 nominee? *YouGov America*. <https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2022/12/01/who-republicans-want-as-2024-presidential-nominee>.

² UNH Survey Center. (2023, January 26). DeSantis opens lead over Trump in New Hampshire in race for 2024 GOP nomination. *All UNH Survey Center Polls*, 727, https://scholars.unh.edu/survey_center_polls/727.

³ NBC News. (2023, June 28). More Democrats than Republicans are open to a third-party presidential candidate. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/dems-republicans-are-open-third-party-presidential-candidate-rcna91368>