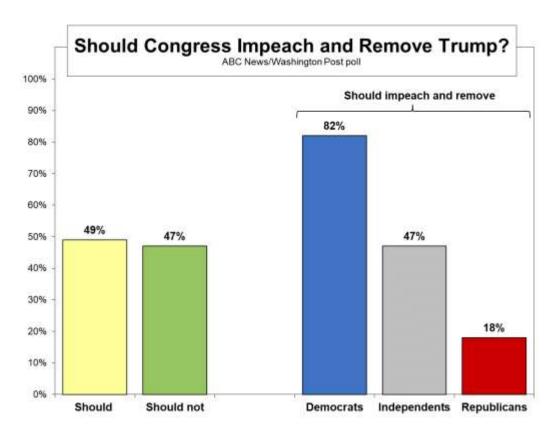
Americans Divide 49-47% on Impeachment With Criticism for Both Sides

Americans split essentially evenly on impeaching Donald Trump and removing him from office, with criticism on both sides of the issue – toward Trump, for his response to the inquiry, and toward congressional Democrats, for holding their initial hearings behind closed doors.

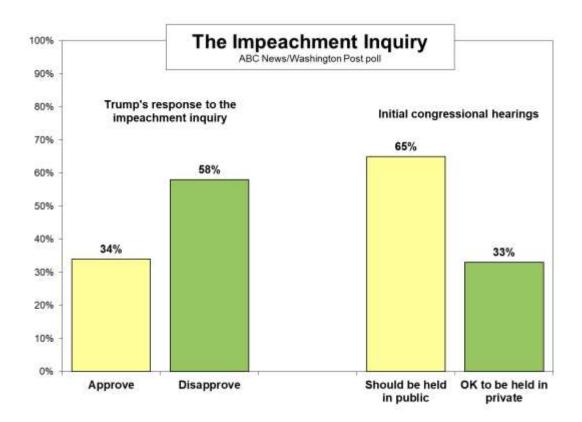
Against the backdrop of impeachment, Trump's job approval rating is stable and low, at 38 percent in the latest ABC News/Washington Post poll, with one notable result – a career low in approval among Republicans, 74 percent, down steeply from a career-high 87 percent in July.

The public divides 49-47 percent on whether or not Congress should impeach Trump and remove him from office. Support for impeaching and removing Bill Clinton was lower, from 27 to 41 percent in ABC/Post polls in 1998, with consistent majorities (57 to 71 percent) opposed.



Support for removing Trump soars to 82 percent among Democrats; it's 47 percent among independents and 18 percent among Republicans in this poll, produced for ABC by <u>Langer Research Associates</u>. Those are sharper partisan divisions than Clinton encountered two decades ago.

As noted, there are concerns about both sides. Fifty-eight percent disapprove of the way Trump has responded to the impeachment inquiry, while 50 percent disapprove of how the Democrats in Congress have handled it overall. More, 65 percent, say initial hearings should be public – a rebuke House Democrats may have sought to address in their vote Thursday for open hearings.

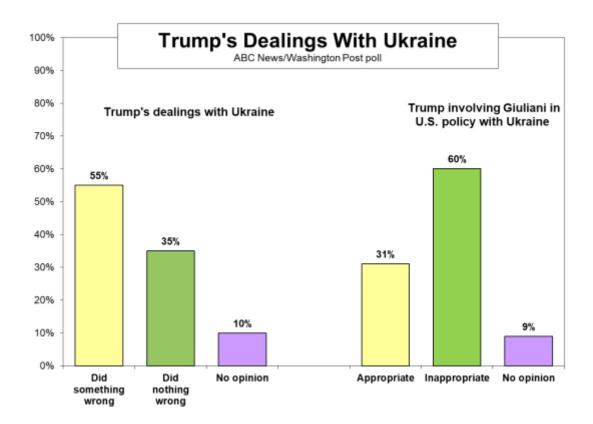


The public by 51-43 percent says that in investigating Trump, congressional Democrats are mainly interested in hurting him politically rather than in upholding the Constitution. Yet by a wider margin, 55-36 percent, they also say the Republicans in Congress, in defending Trump, are more interested in helping him politically than in upholding the Constitution. Partisan divisions on the question are vast.

Nor does House Speaker Nancy Pelosi get much in the way of public acclaim. Her job approval rating, at 38 percent, is identical to Trump's, although fewer disapprove (48 percent, vs. 58 percent for the president), with more undecided.

Substantively, 55 percent think Trump did "something wrong" in his dealings with Ukraine; fewer, 47 percent, think it was "seriously wrong," a view closely related to support for impeachment. Many fewer, 35 percent say he did nothing wrong, with 10 percent undecided.

Further, 60 percent say it was inappropriate for Trump to involve his personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, in U.S. policy toward Ukraine. Eighty-three percent of Democrats say so, as do 61 percent of independents, compared with a third of Republicans, 32 percent.



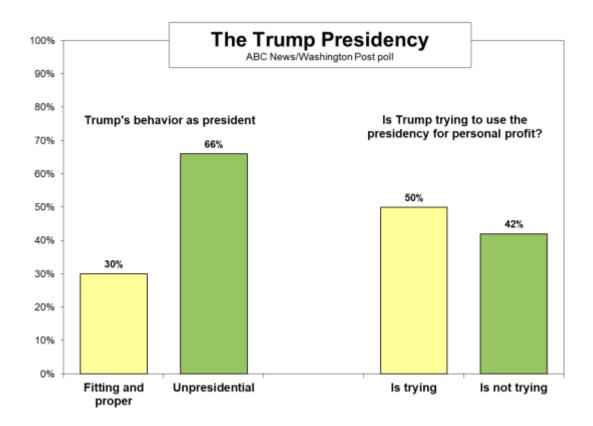
Given the Ukraine controversy, support for action against Trump is higher than support last summer for Congress beginning impeachment proceedings on other issues. In July, 37 percent supported such proceedings, compared with 49 percent for impeachment and removal now.

TRUMP CHALLENGES – The president's challenges aren't limited to the impeachment inquiry. More generally, 66 percent say that since taking office he's acted in a way that's unpresidential, and 58 percent say this has been damaging to the presidency overall. Just 30 percent say he's acted in a way that's "fitting and proper for a president of the United States," although that's up from a low of 24 percent in July 2017.

This view intersects with attitudes on impeachment. Among those who say Trump has acted in a way that's fitting and proper for a president, 94 percent oppose his impeachment and removal. Among those who say he's acted unpresidentially, 72 percent support it, and two-thirds of them feel strongly about it.

Another criticism, suggesting that Trump has used the office for personal gain, divides public sentiment. Half of Americans think he's trying to use the presidency to increase profits at his hotels and golf courses (with nearly all of them calling this unacceptable); 42 percent think he has not done this, with the rest undecided.

Again there's a link to impeachment support; removing Trump is backed by 81 percent of those who suspect him of trying to profit off the presidency, vs. 12 percent among those who don't.



Both these views – seeing Trump as acting unpresidentially and as using his office for personal profit – emerge in statistical analyses as independent predictors of support for impeaching and removing him from office, controlling for partisanship, ideology and demographics. That said, it's another view – that he did something wrong in his dealings with Ukraine – that's the strongest predictor. As such, even in the face of partisan predisposition, perceptions of the merits of the case against Trump are likely to be key in public attitudes ahead.

IMPEACHMENT/GROUPS – Views on impeaching and removing Trump differ dramatically among groups. In partisan terms, as noted, 82 percent of Democrats support this; by contrast, 59 percent of Republicans supported impeaching and removing Clinton in an ABC News poll in November 1998. Clinton's impeachment and removal also had less support from independents' than Trump's does today, 30 percent then vs. 47 percent now.

	All	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Support for impeaching and removing				
Donald Trump	49%	82%	47%	18%
Bill Clinton (November 1998)	30	9	30	59
Difference	+19 pts.	+73	+17	-41

Among other groups, 56 percent of women support impeaching and removing Trump, compared with 42 percent of men, a 14-point gender gap that largely reflects partisan differences between

women and men. (There was a 9-point gender gap on Clinton in November 1998; 35 percent of men and 26 percent of women favored taking his job.)

Impeachment and removal today has 20 points more support in urban than rural areas, with the suburbs between the two. It's most popular by far among liberals (79 percent), vs. 54 percent of moderates and 23 percent of conservatives. And it's much less popular among whites (39 percent) compared with people of other racial or ethnic backgrounds (among whom 66 percent support the president's removal from office).

Among whites, support for impeachment ranges from 59 percent among college-educated white women to less than half that, 24 percent, among non-college white men, a key Trump support group. There's also a gap in support for impeachment between independent women (56 percent) and independent men (39 percent), a consistent gender gap in other views of Trump.

APPROVAL – Even with the drama of potential impeachment aside, Trump's overall job approval rating has been remarkably stable across his presidency, and unusually low. He's ranged from 36 to 44 percent approval in 15 ABC/Post polls during his presidency, averaging 39 percent. An average of 56 percent have disapproved.

Trump is the first president since the early days of modern polling more than 70 years ago never to have achieved majority approval in office, and his average rating is 21 points below the average for his predecessors dating to Harry Truman at this point in their presidencies. Closest to Trump was Jimmy Carter, at 48 percent average approval.

Trump's falloff from 44 percent approval in July to 38 percent now (it also was 38 percent in September) includes the drop among Republicans, noted above, from 87 to 74 percent. He's also at just 22 percent approval among 18- to 29-year olds, matching the low. Other divisions, e.g. by partisanship, race/ethnicity, education and urbanicity, reflect those seen on impeachment.

Along with Republicans, conservatives are Trump's obvious mainstay, and another group to watch. From 77 percent job approval among conservatives in July, he's gone to 67 percent today. At the same time, 27 percent of Republicans, and 32 percent of conservatives, disapprove of how he has responded to the impeachment inquiry. Mitigating doubts in his base is among the president's tasks in the impeachment saga ahead.

METHODOLOGY – This ABC News/Washington Post poll was conducted by landline and cellular telephone Oct. 27-30, 2019, in English and Spanish, among a random national sample of 1,003 adults. Results have a margin of <u>sampling error</u> of 3.7 points, including the design effect. Partisan divisions are 29-23-38 percent, Democrats-Republicans-independents.

The survey was produced for ABC News by <u>Langer Research Associates</u> of New York, N.Y., with sampling and data collection by Abt Associates of Rockville, Md. See details on the survey's methodology <u>here</u>.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com at http://abcnews.com/pollingunit. Join our mailing list to get updates on all new poll releases.

Media contacts: Van Scott (212-456-7243) or Caragh Fisher (212-456-3437).

Full results follow.

5-6a, 25-28 previously released. 2-4, 6b-f, 10-17 held for release. *= less than 0.5 percent.

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

		Approve			Disappro	ove	No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
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

7. Since taking office, do you think Trump has acted in a way that's (fitting and proper for a president of the United States), or has he acted in a way that's (unpresidential)? (IF UNPRESIDENTIAL) Do you think that's damaging to the presidency overall, or not damaging?

	Fitting		Unpresid	dential	No
	and proper	NET	Damaging	Not damaging	opinion
10/30/19	30	66	58	9	3
7/1/19	28	65	NA	NA	7
1/18/18	25	70	NA	NA	5
7/13/17	24	70	56	14	6

8. Do you think Trump is or is not trying to use the presidency to increase profits at the hotels and golf courses he owns? (IF YES) Do you see that as acceptable or unacceptable?

		Is tryi	ing	Is not	No
	NET	Acceptable	Unacceptable	trying	opinion
10/30/19	50	4	46	42	8

9. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nancy Pelosi is handling her job as Speaker of the House?

	Approve				ove	No	
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
10/30/19	38	NA	NA	48	NA	NA	14
3/26/10	42	20	22	46	9	37	12

1/15/10	40	12	28	48	11	37	12
6/21/09	38	NA	NA	45	NA	NA	16
4/15/07	53			35			12
2/25/07	50			31			18
1/19/07	54	11	**	25	***	11	21

Compare to:

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Paul Ryan is handling his job as Speaker of the House of Representatives? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

		Approve			Disappro		No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET		Strongly	opinion
9/21/17	31	8	24	51	19	31	18
John Boehner							
4/17/11	43	13	30	40	20	20	17
1/16/11	39	12	28	27	14	14	33
Newt Gingrio	ah.						
11/7/98*		NA	NA	E O	NA	NA	1
	38	NA	NA	58	NA	NA	4
7/12/98	41			44			15
5/12/98	41			44			15
1/19/98	40			52			7
4/24/97	26			62			12
3/9/97	33			61			7
9/15/96 RV	39			54			7
1/7/96	30			61			8
11/19/95	27			65			8
6/8/95	35			50			15
3/19/95	37			48			15
3/5/95	38			51			11
1/29/95	40			48			12
1/4/95	35			37			28
12/20/94**	35	n .	**	43	m .	TT .	22
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18. 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 somewhat?

		Should impe	each	Sh	nould not in	mpeach	No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion
10/30/19	49	44	5	47	10	37	4

Compare to:

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			5	Should not begin			
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opinion	
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 Pos	t-Sch	ar School						

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

	5	Should be impeached		Should not be impeached			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
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

19. Do you approve or disapprove of the way [ITEM] the impeachment inquiry in the U.S. House of Representatives?

10/30/19 - Summary Table

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
a. Trump has responded to	34	58	9
b. the Democrats in Congress have handled	43	50	7

20. So far the House of Representatives' impeachment inquiry has interviewed witnesses in closed hearings, with lawmakers from both political parties participating. Do you think it is acceptable for initial impeachment hearings to be held in private, or should these hearings be held in public?

	Acceptable to be	Should be	No opinion	
	held in private	held in public		
10/30/19	33	65	2	

21. Regardless of your views on impeachment, do you think Trump did (something wrong) in his dealings with Ukraine, or do you think he did (nothing wrong)? (IF DID SOMETHING WRONG) Was this seriously wrong, or wrong, but not seriously?

		Did something wrong			No
	NET	Seriously	Not seriously	wrong	opinion
10/30/19	55	47	8	35	10

22. Was it appropriate or inappropriate for Trump to involve his personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, in dealing with U.S. policy involving Ukraine?

	Appropriate	Inappropriate	No opinion
10/30/19	31	60	9

23. In investigating Trump, do you think the Democrats in Congress are mainly interested in (upholding the Constitution) or mainly interested in (hurting Trump politically)? (Order of questions 24 and 25 randomized)

	Upholding	Hurting Trump	No
	Constitution	politically	opinion
10/30/19	4.3	51	5

24. In defending Trump, do you think the Republicans in Congress are mainly interested in (upholding the Constitution) or mainly interested in (helping Trump politically)? (Order of questions 24 and 25 randomized)

	Upholding	Helping Trump	No
	Constitution	politically	opinion
10/30/19	36	55	9

*** END ***