



PUBLIC OPINION  
STRATEGIES

turning questions into answers



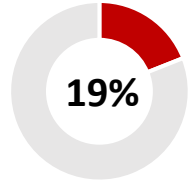
**NBC NEWS**

# NBC News Poll: November 2023

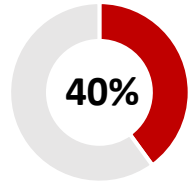
## Executive Summary

Prepared by: Bill McInturff

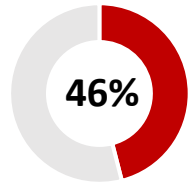
# NBC News Poll: November 2023 Headlines



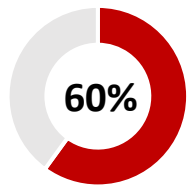
The proportion of American voters who feel confident that life for our children's generation will be better than it has been for us. This is a record low going back to 1990.



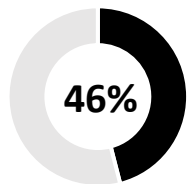
Joe Biden's job approval rating, the lowest of his presidency.



Donald Trump's support on the ballot test with Biden, ahead by two points. This is the first time Trump has been ahead of Biden in any NBC News polling in 2019, 2020, or 2023.



The percentage of 18 to 34 year old voters who oppose providing more funding and military aid to Israel. This is 41 points higher opposition than among voters 65 and older, an unusually large gap in policy preferences by generation.



The percentage of 18 to 29 year old voters on TikTok once a day or more. Twenty percent of all voters use TikTok this often as social media sites become more of a source for news and information.

# 2023: Mourning in America

**A RECORD HIGH** 73% of Americans for the year say that the direction of the country is off on the wrong track. We have not seen this level of sustained pessimism in the history of the NBC News Poll going back to 1989.

**A RECORD HIGH** 69% of Americans use negative words like **downhill**, **disaster/hard times**, or **wrong track** to describe where America is headed in the next year.

**A RECORD LOW** 19% of Americans feel confident that life for our children's generation will be better than it has been for us. This is the lowest number ever in over thirty years.

Majorities of voters believe that Joe Biden (70%) and Donald Trump (60%) **SHOULD NOT** run for president.

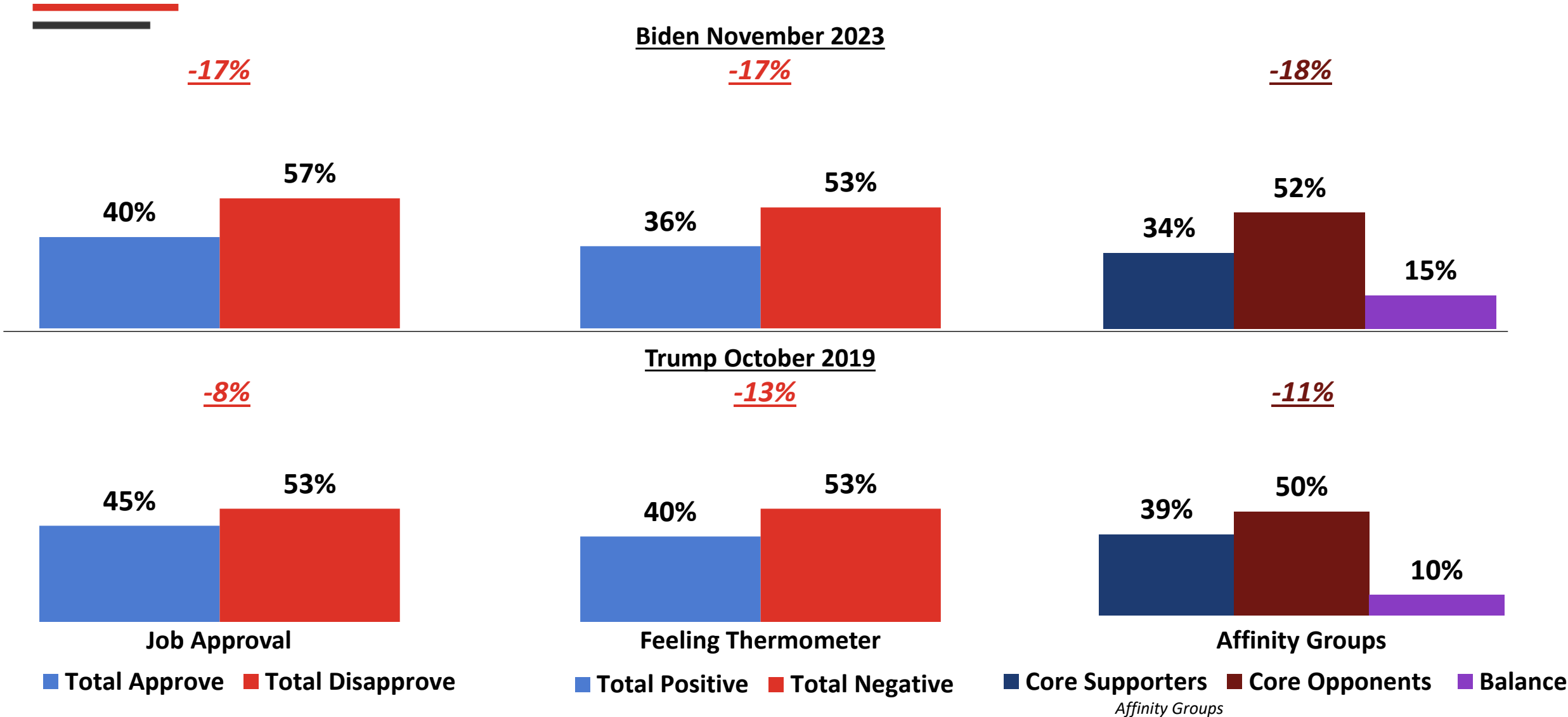
For Americans who say they are doing WORSE than expected at this stage in their life, they are focused on negative economic circumstances and inflation.



*Among the 27% of respondents who say that when thinking about where they are at this stage in their life are doing WORSE than they thought they would be.*



# President Biden's numbers are weaker than Trump's a year before the election.



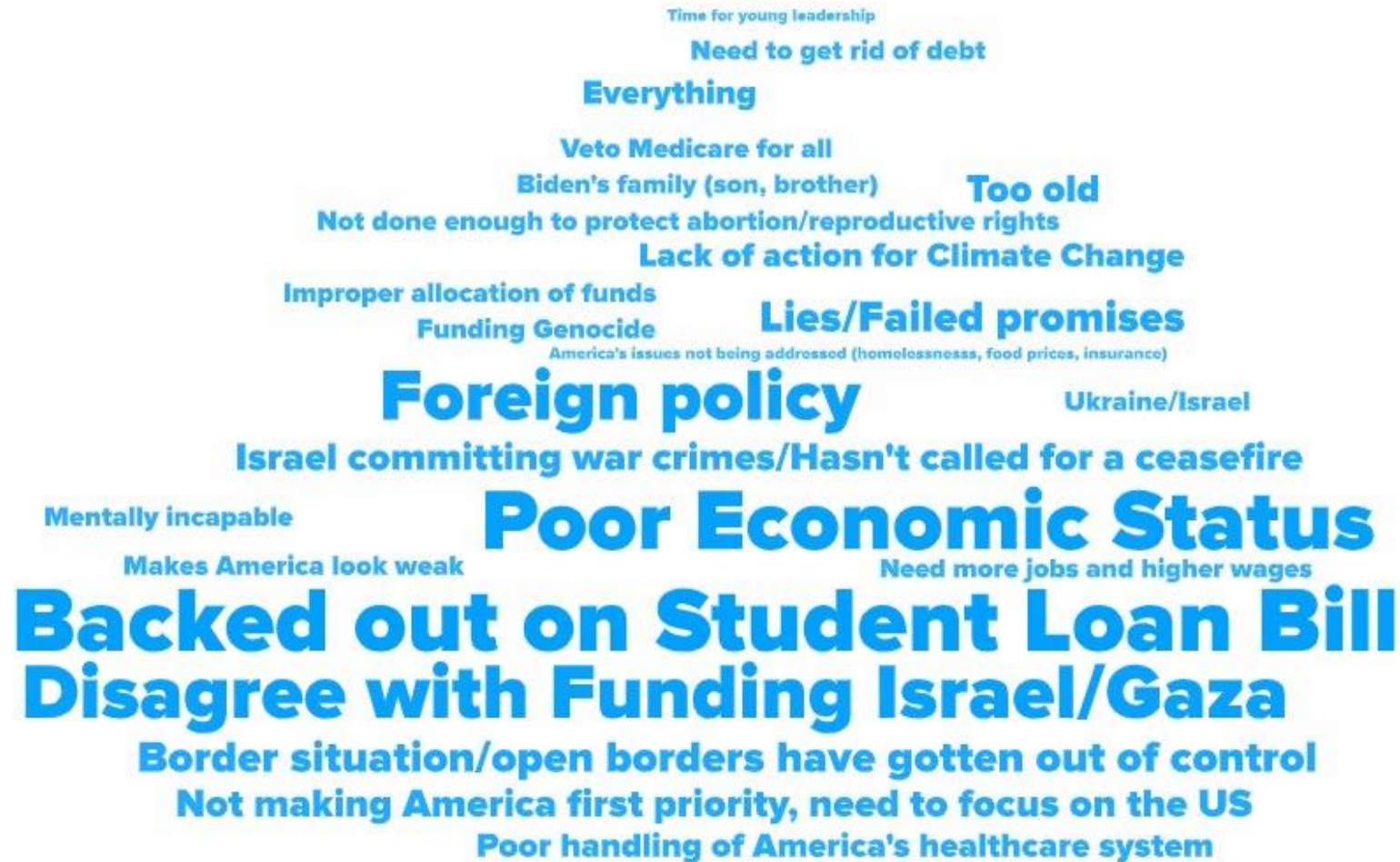
*Core Supporters: Approve of job as president AND positive image rating*  
*Core opponents: Disapprove of job as president AND negative image rating*  
*Balance: The remaining 15% who are not core supporters or core opponents*

A year before the election, President Biden has the lowest job approval of any incumbent running for re-election in NBC News polling history. Job approval tends to go down, not up. Within roughly the margin-of-error, final job approval is a pretty good predictor of the incumbent's vote.

Incumbent President	Job Approval Roughly One Year Out	Last Job Approval Before Election	Actual Final Incumbent Vote	Net Difference (Final Vote – Last Job Approval )
George H.W. Bush	63%	40%	38%*	-2%
Bill Clinton	46%	53%	49%*	-4%
George W. Bush	54%	49%	51%	+2%
Barack Obama	44%	47%	51%	+4%
Donald Trump	45%	45%	47%	+2%
Joe Biden	40%	?	?	?



Among Democrats, President Biden's disapprove number jumped from 15% in September to 21%. Here is why these Democrats disapprove of Biden's job performance.



Asked of Democrats Who Disapprove of Biden as President (N=84)

# 2024 Ballot by Key Groups... Trump is ahead of Biden for the first time in NBC polling in 2019, 2020, and 2023.



	Trump vs. Biden		
	Trump	Biden	D/S
<b>Total</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>+2%</b>
<b>Men</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>+20%</b>
<b>Women</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>+13%</b>
<b>Ages 18-34</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>+4%</b>
<b>Ages 35-49</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>+9%</b>
<b>Ages 50-64</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>+11%</b>
<b>Ages 65+</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>+12%</b>
<b>White Voters</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>+14%</b>
<b>Black Voters</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>+49%</b>
<b>Latino Voters</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>+2%</b>
<b>White Men</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>+30%</b>
<b>White Women</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>+1%</b>

	Trump vs. Biden		
	Trump	Biden	D/S
<b>Total</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>+2%</b>
<b>Democrats</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>87%</b>	<b>+81%</b>
<b>Independents</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>+11%</b>
<b>Republicans</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>+84%</b>
<b>White Working Class</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>+35%</b>
<b>Trump States</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>+20%</b>
<b>Swing States</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>-0-</b>
<b>Biden States</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>+8%</b>
<b>Persuadable Voters</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>+11%</b>

*Persuadable Voters: Voters who are NOT Core Republicans or Core Democrats with the latter two groups being defined as follows:*

*Core Republicans: Republican AND (Voted for Trump OR want a Republican-controlled Congress)  
Core Democrats: Democratic AND (Voted for Biden OR want a Democratic-Controlled Congress)*



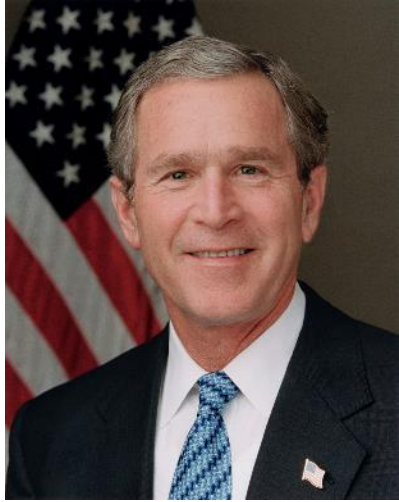
# National 2024 Ballot... Multiple surveys showing softer numbers for President Biden among younger voters since the Israel/Hamas war.



DATE	SURVEY	Trump	Biden	D/S	Trump	Biden	D/S
Nov. 2020	NBC News Exit Poll (18-29)	47%	51%	+4%	36%	60%	+24%
		2024 Ballot Among All Voters			2024 Ballot Among Youngest Reported Age Group		
		Trump	Biden	D/S	Trump	Biden	D/S
June/Sept Merge	NBC News (Ages 18-34)	45%	47%	+2%	33%	60%	+27%
Nov 10-14	NBC News (Ages 18-34)	46%	44%	+2%	46%	42%	+4%
Nov 10-13	Fox News (Ages 18-34)	50%	46%	+4%	44%	51%	+7%
Nov 9-13	Quinnipiac (Ages 18-34)	48%	46%	+2%	43%	52%	+9%
Oct 30 - Nov 3	CBS News (Likely Voters) (Ages 18-29)	51%	48%	+3%	37%	62%	+25%
Oct 27 - Nov 2	CNN (Ages 18-34)	49%	45%	+4%	48%	47%	+1%
Oct 11-15	CNBC AAES Q3 (Ages 18-34)	46%	42%	+4%	43%	46%	+3%
Oct 22 - Nov 3	NYT/Sienna Battleground States (Ages 18-29)	48%	44%	+4%	46%	47%	+1%

Unlike prior elections though, this election is more about Donald Trump than the incumbent president.

*Is your vote more FOR your candidate or AGAINST the other candidate?*



**61%**  
More about  
Bush



**28%**  
More about  
Romney



November  
2023  
**54%**  
More about  
Trump



**26%**  
More about  
Kerry



**66%**  
More about  
Obama



**31%**  
More about  
Biden

# Comparing Bad Actors' Feeling Thermometers

Date	Name
February 1991	Saddam Hussein
March 2022	Vladimir Putin

Total Positive	Neutral	Total Negative	Very Negative	Net Difference
3%	2%	94%	90%	-91%
1%	8%	88%	80%	-87%

November 2023	Hamas
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1%	11%	81%	72%	-80%
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April 2011	Muammar Gaddafi
June 2018	Kim Jong-un

2%	8%	76%	68%	-74%
3%	12%	67%	55%	-64%

# Voters ages 18-34 have a lower net positive rating of Israel than of Palestine.



	Positive	Negative	D/S
18-34	31%	22%	+9%
65+	61%	18%	+43%

	Positive	Negative	D/S
18-34	26%	37%	-11%
65+	64%	12%	+52%

	Positive	Negative	D/S
18-34	28%	29%	-1%
65+	18%	43%	-25%

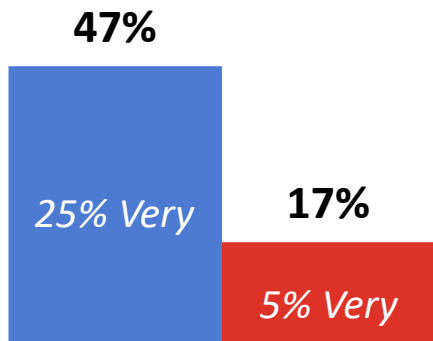
	Positive	Negative	D/S
18-34	1%	68%	-67%
65+	1%	89%	-88%

+30%

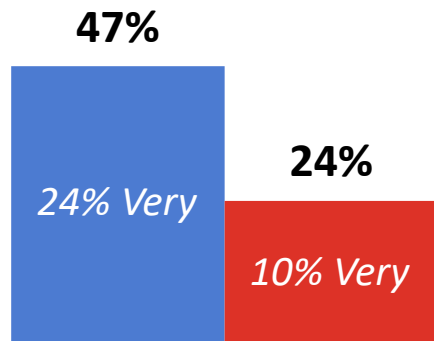
+23%

-18%

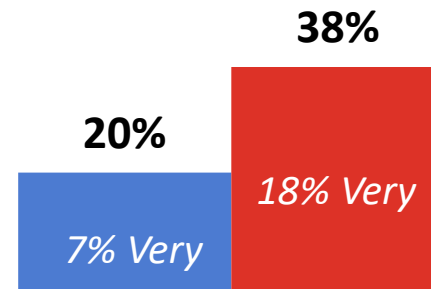
-80%



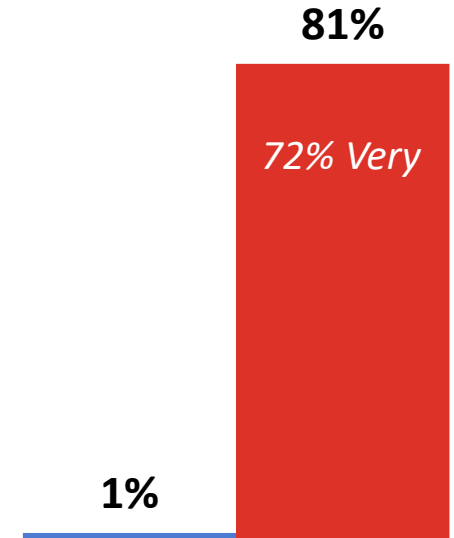
Israel  
February 2015



Israel  
November 2023



Palestine



Hamas

■ Total Positive

■ Total Negative

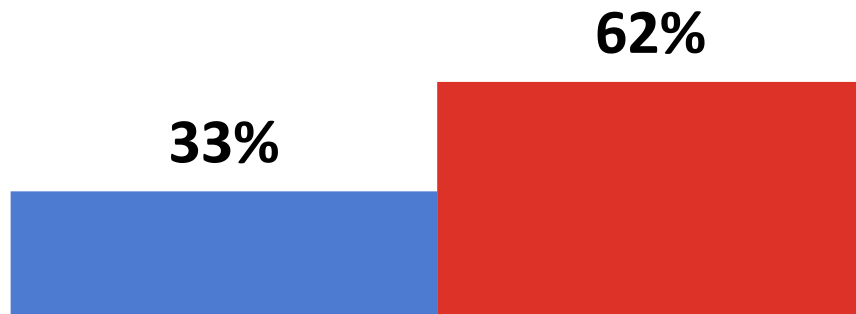
# Wide majorities of voters disapprove of Biden's handling of foreign policy and the war between Israel and Hamas.



	Approve	Disapprove	D/S
<b>GOP</b>	8%	89%	<b>-81%</b>
<b>IND</b>	22%	69%	<b>-47%</b>
<b>Dem</b>	65%	30%	<b>+35%</b>
<b>Biden Dem</b>	86%	10%	<b>+76%</b>
<b>Sanders/Warren Dem</b>	53%	42%	<b>+11%</b>
<b>Ages 18-34</b>	23%	70%	<b>-47%</b>
<b>Ages 65+</b>	50%	48%	<b>+2%</b>

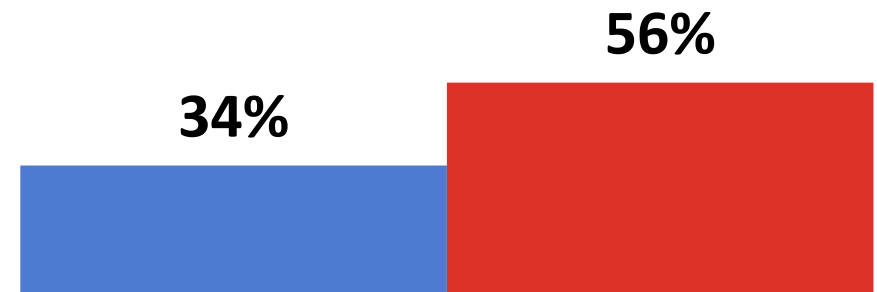
	Approve	Disapprove	D/S
<b>GOP</b>	22%	69%	<b>-47%</b>
<b>IND</b>	31%	59%	<b>-28%</b>
<b>Dem</b>	51%	41%	<b>+10%</b>
<b>Biden Dem</b>	73%	18%	<b>+55%</b>
<b>Sanders/Warren Dem</b>	32%	61%	<b>-29%</b>
<b>Ages 18-34</b>	20%	70%	<b>-50%</b>
<b>Ages 65+</b>	53%	41%	<b>+12%</b>

**-29%**



Foreign Policy

**-22%**



War Between Israel and Hamas

■ Approve ■ Disapprove

Biden and Israel data is among the largest difference by age on a policy issue we can recall. The Israel/Hamas war is hurting Biden among younger voters.

Biden Job Approval Among 18-34 Year Olds	
January – September 2023 Merge	Today
48% Approve / 45% Disapprove	31% Approve / 62% Disapprove

	Total
<b>Military Aid for Israel</b>	
Net Difference	+14%
Favor	55%
Oppose	41%

<b>Israeli Actions</b>	
Net Difference	+17%
Justified	47%
Too Far	30%

<b>Biden Israel/Hamas War Job Approval</b>	
Net Difference	-22%
Approve	34%
Disapprove	56%

Ages 18-34	Ages 35-49	Ages 50-64	Ages 65+
<b>Military Aid for Israel</b>			
-24%	-11%	+30%	+56%
36%	42%	63%	75%
60%	53%	33%	19%

<b>Israeli Actions</b>			
-11%	-9%	+41%	+39%
31%	32%	61%	61%
42%	41%	20%	22%

<b>Biden Israel/Hamas War Job Approval</b>			
-50%	-33%	-18%	+12%
20%	28%	36%	53%
70%	61%	54%	41%



# Favor or Oppose Funding Projects. Sanders/Warren Democrats disapprove of border security funding and oppose military funding for Israel by a wide margin.



	Favor	Oppose	D/S		Favor	Oppose	D/S		Favor	Oppose	D/S		Favor	Oppose	D/S				
GOP	93%	6%	+87%	GOP	38%	54%	-16%	GOP	66%	30%	+36%	GOP	34%	63%	-29%	GOP	52%	38%	+14%
IND	74%	23%	+51%	IND	58%	34%	+24%	IND	56%	39%	+17%	IND	51%	47%	+4%	IND	52%	39%	+13%
Dem	58%	37%	+21%	Dem	80%	16%	+64%	Dem	45%	49%	-4%	Dem	77%	20%	+57%	Dem	58%	28%	+30%
Biden Dem	71%	21%	+50%	Biden Dem	75%	19%	+56%	Biden Dem	65%	28%	+37%	Biden Dem	85%	13%	+72%	Biden Dem	61%	26%	+35%
Sanders Dem	45%	51%	-6%	Sanders Dem	88%	11%	+77%	Sanders Dem	28%	66%	-38%	Sanders Dem	73%	24%	+49%	Sanders Dem	55%	31%	+24%

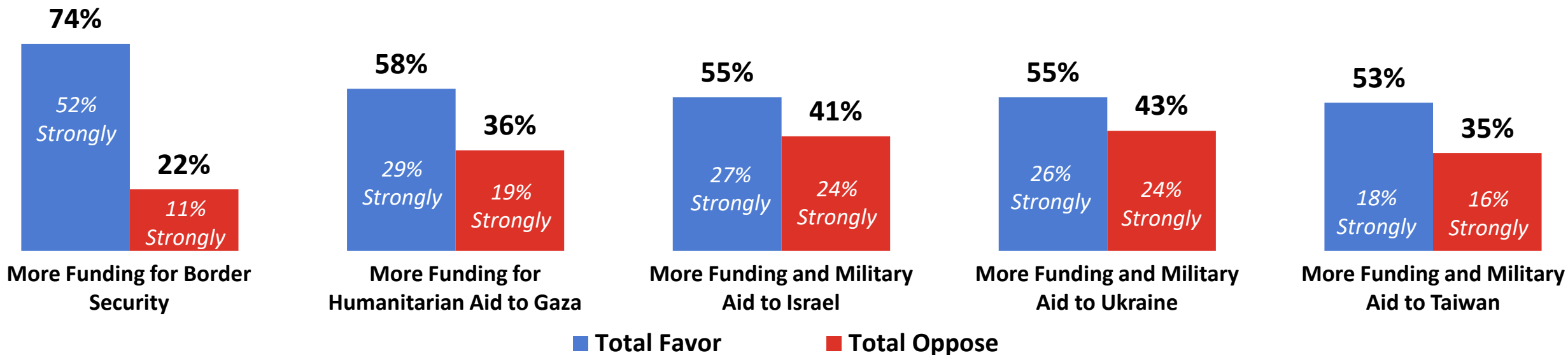
+52%

+22%

+14%

+12%

+18%



Now I'm going to mention a number of actions that the United States could take. For each one, please tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this action.

For the first time a majority of Americans report having a gun in the household.



*Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun of any kind?*

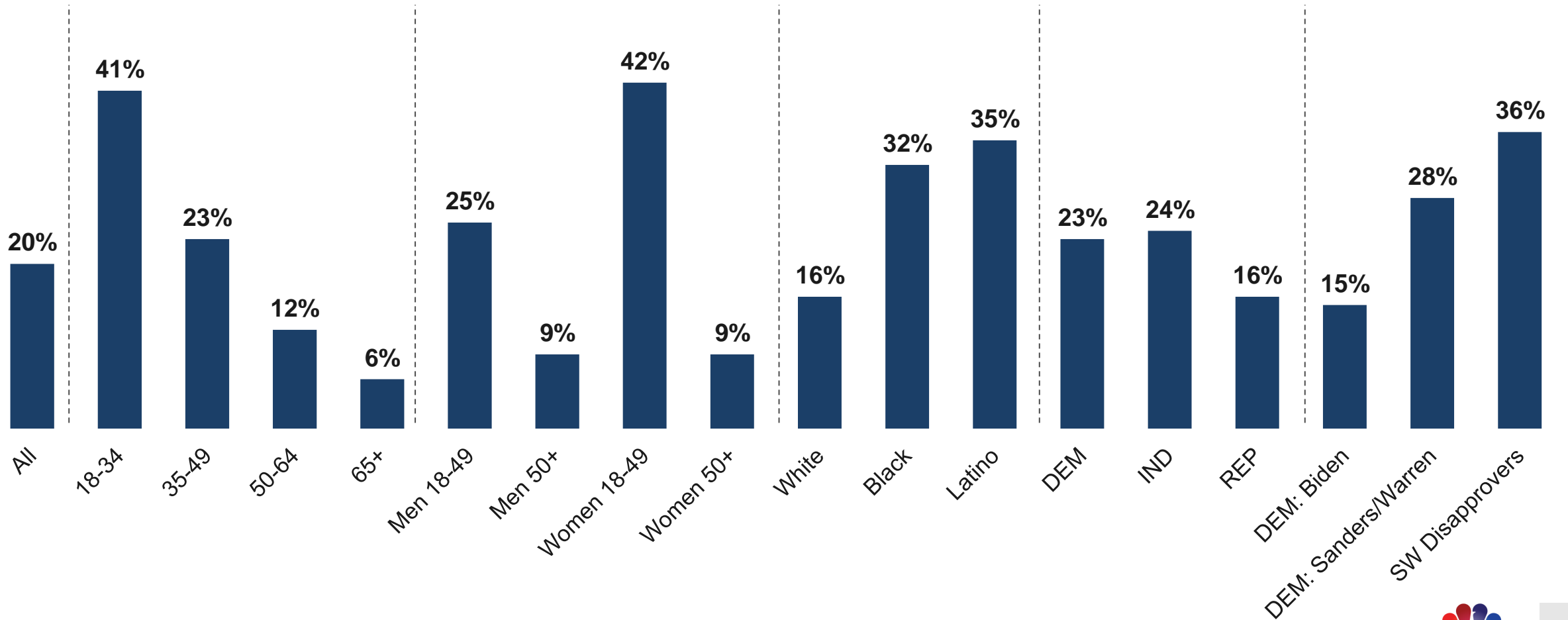
*Shown by %Yes/  
%Applies to Me*

	Total	Republicans	Independents	Democrats	Net Difference (GOP – Dem)
<b>March 2004</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>+24%</b>
<b>February 2013</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>+25%</b>
<b>August 2019</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>+31%</b>
<b>November 2023</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>+25%</b>

*The percentage among Black voter households who own a gun has increased from 24% to 41% in the last four years.*

# Daily TikTok Users

*Proportion of Voters who Use TikTok once a day or more often*



# Data Download: TikTok and 18-34-year-olds

	18-34-year-old TikTok Users	18-34-year-old NON TikTok Users
% of total sample	10%	15%
Party ID	D+19	D+3
Biden Approval	28%	34%
Biden-Trump	45%-43%	40%-48%
Congressional Preference (D-R)	55%-39%	46%-48%
Favor Ukraine funding and military aid	53%	47%
Favor Taiwan funding and military aid	47%	58%
Favor border security funding	51%	64%
Favor Israel funding and military aid	29%	40%
Favor humanitarian aid for Gaza	73%	64%
Biden Approval Israel-Hamas in Gaza	17%	22%
Israel justified-Israel too far	24%-50%	35%-37%



# PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

turning questions into answers