



## **Pennsylvania Presidential Election Survey**

**April 2024**

### **Key Findings**

1. With the 2024 Presidential Election six months away, former President Donald Trump holds a narrow 3 point lead (44% to 41%) over President Joe Biden in a head-to-head contest to win Pennsylvania's 19 Electoral College votes
2. When independent candidate Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is included as an option in the presidential race, Biden and Trump are tied (35%-35%) with Kennedy the choice of 18% of survey respondents.
3. President Biden's effort to win Pennsylvania this November is being undermined by poor job approval ratings (35%) and limited voter sentiment that he deserves a second term in the White House (33%)
4. Both Biden and Trump carry high unfavorable ratings among Pennsylvania voters as they head into the last half-year of the campaign with 57% of voters holding an unfavorable view of Biden and 55% maintaining an unfavorable view of Trump.
5. In the United States Senate race in Pennsylvania, 3 term incumbent Democrat Bob Casey Jr. holds a 4 point lead (45% to 41%) over Republican challenger David McCormick.
6. Pennsylvania voters are highly divided on which party's candidate they support in their Congressional district this fall with 45% indicating they plan to vote for a Democratic candidate and 44% intending to vote for a Republican candidate.
7. Pennsylvania's 48<sup>th</sup> Governor, Josh Shapiro continues to receive positive job approval reviews from Commonwealth voters with nearly 2 out of 3 (64%) approving of the first-term Democrat's work as the Commonwealth's chief executive.
8. Voter confidence in the use of mail ballots in Pennsylvania is mixed with about 4 in 10 (43%) reporting that they are either "not too confident" or "not confident at all" with voting by mail.
9. Confidence in mail ballots is highly affected by party registration status with 84% of Democrats confident (either very or somewhat) in this method compared with only 28% of their Republican counterparts.
10. Pennsylvania voters identified voter suppression (32%), voting fraud (25%) and the use of mail ballots (19%) as the biggest threats to Pennsylvania having a safe, secure and accurate election in 2024, with Democrats most concerned about voting suppression and Republicans concerns centered on fraud and mail ballot use.

## Methodological Statement

The following report contains the results of a telephone survey of 417 registered voters in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania between April 15 and 25, 2024. Respondents were interviewed in English on both landlines (82) and cell phones (335). With a randomly selected sample of respondents the margin of error for the surveys is +/- 6% at a 95% level of confidence. Margins of error for questions with smaller sample size will be larger. In addition to sampling error, one should consider that question wording and other fielding issues can introduce error or bias into survey results. The data has been weighted to gender, age, region, party, race, and educational attainment to reflect voter population parameters in Pennsylvania. The calculation of sampling error takes into account design effects due to the weighting identified above. In order to reach a representative sample of registered voters both land lines and cell phones were called up to 3 times. The sampling frame for the study is from the registered voters files of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Interviews were conducted by Communication Concepts of Easton Pennsylvania. Due to rounding, the totals provided in the frequency report may not total 100%. Data analysis and weighting were conducted through the use of the SPSS statistical software package Version 29.0.2. The survey instrument (presented in its entirety below) was designed by Dr. Christopher P. Borick in conjunction with the staff of the MCIPO. The survey was funded exclusively by the Muhlenberg College Institute of Public Opinion. For more detailed information on the methods employed please contact the MCIPO at 484-664-3444 or email Dr. Borick at [cborick@muhlenberg.edu](mailto:cborick@muhlenberg.edu).

## Survey Instrument and Frequency Report

Q1: Thank you. Which of the following categories best describes your current voting status? Are you registered as a \_\_\_\_\_? (READ LIST)

- 1. Democrat.....45%
- 2. Republican.....41%
- 3. Independent.....13%
- 4. Other Party.....<1%
- 5. Not Registered to Vote in Pennsylvania (END SURVEY)
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered) (END SURVEY)
- 99. Refused (Volunteered) (END SURVEY)

Q1A: How likely are you to vote in the November 2024 presidential election? Are you definitely going to vote, very likely to vote, not too likely to vote or definitely not voting?

- 1. Definitely Voting..... 77%
- 2. Very Likely to Vote.....20%
- 3. Not Too Likely to Vote..... 4%
- 4. Definitely Not Voting (**TERMINATE**)
- 5. Unsure (**VOLUNTEERED/TERMINATE**)

Q2: Now, I would like to ask your overall impression of a few political figures. For each name I read, please tell me if your impression of him is favorable or unfavorable. (ROTATE)

First, Joe Biden

- 1. Favorable.....36%
- 2. Unfavorable.....57%
- 3. Neutral/Not Sure..... 7%
- 4. Haven't heard of Him..... 0%

	December 2023	April 2024
Favorable	32%	<b>36%</b>
Unfavorable	55%	<b>57%</b>
Neutral/Not Sure	13%	<b>7%</b>
Haven't heard of Him	0%	<b>0%</b>

Q3: Next, Donald Trump

- 1. Favorable.....39%
- 2. Unfavorable.....55%
- 3. Neutral/Not Sure..... 6%
- 4. Haven't heard of Him..... 0%

	December 2023	April 2024
Favorable	33%	<b>39%</b>
Unfavorable	56%	<b>55%</b>
Neutral/Not Sure	11%	<b>6%</b>
Haven't heard of Him	0%	<b>0%</b>

Q4: Bob Casey Jr.

- 1. Favorable.....39%
- 2. Unfavorable.....33%
- 3. Neutral/Not Sure..... 20%
- 4. Haven't heard of Him..... 8%

Q5: David McCormick

- 1. Favorable.....28%
- 2. Unfavorable.....26%
- 3. Neutral/Not Sure..... 29%
- 4. Haven't heard of Him..... 17%

Q6: Next, do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as President?

- 1. Approve.....35%
- 2. Disapprove.....61%
- 3. No opinion (Volunteered).....5%

	December 2023	April 2024
Approve	34%	<b>35%</b>
Disapprove	57%	<b>61%</b>
No Opinion	9%	<b>5%</b>

Q7: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Josh Shapiro is handling his job as Governor of Pennsylvania?

- 1. Approve.....64%
- 2. Disapprove.....19%
- 3. No opinion (Volunteered).....17%

	December 2023	April 2024
Approve	51%	<b>64%</b>
Disapprove	21%	<b>19%</b>
No Opinion	28%	<b>17%</b>

Q8: Do you think Joe Biden deserves to be re-elected as President, or not?

- 1. Deserves re-election.....33%
- 2. Does not deserve re-elected.....64%
- 3. Not Sure..... 3%

	December 2023	April 2024
Deserves re-election	28%	<b>33%</b>
Does not deserve re-elected	65%	<b>64%</b>
Not Sure	7%	<b>3%</b>

Q9: Now, if the 2024 presidential election was being held today and the race was between Donald Trump and Joe Biden who would you vote for? (OPTIONS ROTATED)

- 1. Biden.....41%
- 2. Trump.....44%
- 3. Neither/Other (Volunteered).....14%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered).....1%

	December 2023	April 2024
Biden	42%	<b>41%</b>
Trump	41%	<b>44%</b>
Neither/Other	16%	<b>14%</b>
Not Sure	1%	<b>1%</b>

Q10: Next, if the 2024 presidential election was being held today and the race was between Donald Trump, Joe Biden and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. who would you vote for? (OPTIONS ROTATED)

- 1. Biden.....35%
- 2. Trump.....35%
- 3. Kennedy.....18%
- 4. Neither/Other..... 9%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered)..... 3%

Q11: Next, if the 2024 United States Senate race in Pennsylvania was being held today and the race was between Bob Casey Jr. the Democrat and David McCormick the Republican, who would you vote for.

- 1. Casey.....45%
- 2. McCormick.....41%
- 3. Neither/Other (Volunteered).....5%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered).....8%

Q12: If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in your district? The Democratic Party's candidate or the Republican Party's candidate? (OPTIONS ROTATED)

- 1. Democrat.....45%
- 2. Republican.....44%
- 3. Neither/Other (Volunteered).....5%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered).....7%

	December 2023	April 2024
Democrat	42%	<b>45%</b>
Republican	41%	<b>44%</b>
Neither/Other	16%	<b>5%</b>
Not Sure	1%	<b>7%</b>

Next, I have a few questions about your level of confidence in **the 2020 electoral process** in Pennsylvania. For each aspect of the election process that I mention, tell me if you are very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident or not confident at all with the aspect mentioned. First how confident are you: (ROTATE OPTIONS)

	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not Confident At All	Not Sure
Q13: That the final results of the 2020 election accurately reflected how Pennsylvanians	35%	23%	21%	20%	1%
Q14: That the 2020 elections in Pennsylvania were conducted in a fair way.	38%	21%	19%	21%	2%
Q15: That Joe Biden received the most votes in the presidential election in Pennsylvania.	40%	16%	19%	24%	1%
Q16: That there was widespread election fraud in the 2020 Presidential Election in Pennsylvania.	25%	18%	17%	39%	1%

How confident are you that, across the country, votes cast in the following methods will be accurately cast and counted in this November's elections.? First: (ROTATE OPTIONS)

	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not at all Confident	Not Sure
Q17: Paper Ballots	36%	37%	15%	11%	1%
Q18: Electronic Voting systems	51%	33%	9%	8%	<1%
Q19: Mail ballots	29%	28%	21%	22%	0%

Q20. Which of the following do you think is the biggest threat to Pennsylvania having a safe, secure and accurate election in 2024? (ROTATE OPTIONS)

- 1. Foreign interference in the election.....13%
- 2. Voting machines malfunctioning..... 7%
- 3. Voter fraud..... 25%
- 4. The use of mail ballots ..... 19%
- 5. Suppression of individuals from voting..... 32%
- 6. Other factor (Volunteered)..... 3%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered)..... 1%

Q21: Finally, I have a few questions about yourself. Which of the following categories best describes your racial identity? Are you (READ LIST)?

- 1. White/Caucasian.....79%
- 2. Black/African-American..... 8%
- 3. Hispanic/Latino..... 4%
- 4. Asian..... 2%
- 5. Native American..... <1%
- 6. Mixed race..... 5%
- 7. or other..... 1%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered)..... 1%

Q22: Which of the following categories best describes your religious affiliation? Are you (READ LIST)?

- 1. Catholic.....29%
- 2. Protestant..... 34%
- 3. Jewish..... 2%
- 4. Muslim..... 2%
- 5. Hindu..... 1%
- 6. Other Religion (Including agnostic).....25%
- 7. or Atheist ..... 5%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered)..... 1%

Q23: What is your highest level of education? (READ LIST)

- 1. Less than High School..... 2%
- 2. High School Graduate..... 25%
- 3. Some college or technical school..... 30%
- 4. College graduate (4 yr only)..... 27%
- 5. Graduate or professional degree..... 15%

Q24: In the 2020 Presidential election did you vote for:

- 1. Donald Trump.....43%
- 2. Joe Biden.....44%
- 3. Another Candidate..... 4%
- 4. Or did you not vote in the 2016 presidential election..... 8%
- 98. Not Sure (Volunteered)..... 1%

Q25: Which of the following categories best describes your family income? Is it (READ LIST)?

- 1. Under \$20,000.....5%
- 2. \$20,000-\$40,000.....13%
- 3. \$40,000-\$60,000.....21%
- 4. \$60,000-\$80,000.....20%
- 5. \$80,000-\$100,000.....15%
- 6. Over \$100,000.....27%

Q26: In which of the following age categories does your current age fall. READ LIST \_\_\_\_\_

- 1. 18-29.....16%
- 2. 30-49.....31%
- 3. 50-65.....27%
- 4. or Over 65.....27%

Q27: Finally, to which gender identity do you most identify? (READ LIST)

- 1. Male.....49%
- 2. Female.....51%
- 3. Or another category besides Male or Female.....<1%



## Selected Crosstabs

### Biden vs. Trump

	Biden	Trump	Neither/Other	Not Sure
Overall	41%	44%	14%	1%
Male	39%	47%	14%	0%
Female	43%	42%	13%	2%
White	40%	47%	12%	1%
Person of Color	45%	33%	20%	1%
No 4 Year Degree	33%	49%	16%	2%
4 Year Degree	51%	38%	10%	1%
18-29	45%	42%	14%	0%
30-49	38%	41%	18%	3%
50-65	36%	51%	13%	0%
Over 65	46%	43%	9%	2%
Biden 2020	80%	3%	17%	0%
Trump 2020	5%	88%	6%	1%
Democrat	76%	7%	15%	1%
Republican	5%	87%	5%	2%
Independent	28%	39%	33%	0%
Definitely Voting	43%	45%	11%	1%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	32%	43%	22%	3%

### Biden/Trump/Kennedy

	Biden	Trump	Kennedy	None of Them/Other	Not Sure
Overall	35%	35%	18%	9%	3%
Male	34%	38%	16%	9%	3%
Female	35%	32%	20%	9%	3%
White	33%	38%	18%	8%	3%
Person of Color	45%	21%	22%	12%	1%
No 4 Year Degree	28%	37%	23%	8%	3%
4 Year Degree	45%	32%	11%	10%	2%
18-29	35%	29%	32%	3%	0%
30-49	33%	32%	16%	13%	6%
50-65	31%	38%	20%	9%	2%
Over 65	40%	38%	11%	8%	3%
Biden 2020	68%	3%	15%	12%	2%
Trump 2020	5%	73%	17%	2%	4%
Democrat	64%	6%	14%	13%	2%
Republican	5%	71%	17%	3%	5%
Independent	24%	22%	35%	15%	4%
Definitely Voting	39%	37%	14%	7%	3%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	20%	29%	32%	16%	4%

### Casey vs. McCormick

	Casey	McCormick	Neither/Other	Not Sure
Overall	45%	41%	5%	8%
Male	45%	43%	5%	7%
Female	46%	39%	6%	10%
White	43%	45%	4%	8%
Person of Color	55%	25%	11%	8%
No 4 Year Degree	40%	43%	6%	11%
4 Year Degree	53%	38%	4%	5%
18-29	41%	33%	8%	19%
30-49	40%	45%	6%	10%
50-65	46%	44%	6%	4%
Over 65	54%	39%	3%	5%
Biden 2020	83%	8%	4%	4%
Trump 2020	10%	81%	5%	5%
Democrat	80%	7%	5%	8%
Republican	10%	79%	5%	6%
Independent	37%	39%	11%	13%
Definitely Voting	47%	42%	4%	7%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	39%	38%	10%	13%

### Congress: Democrat vs. Republican

	Democrat	Republican	Neither/Other	Not Sure
Overall	45%	44%	5%	7%
Male	43%	48%	4%	6%
Female	47%	41%	6%	7%
White	42%	47%	6%	6%
Person of Color	57%	31%	2%	10%
No 4 Year Degree	41%	48%	5%	7%
4 Year Degree	51%	39%	5%	6%
18-29	49%	42%	3%	6%
30-49	42%	43%	5%	9%
50-65	47%	45%	4%	5%
Over 65	43%	45%	6%	6%
Biden 2020	83%	7%	6%	5%
Trump 2020	7%	88%	2%	3%
Democrat	82%	6%	5%	7%
Republican	7%	87%	2%	5%
Independent	36%	38%	15%	11%
Definitely Voting	45%	44%	5%	6%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	45%	42%	4%	9%

**Joe Biden received the most votes in the presidential election in Pennsylvania.**

	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not Confident At All	Not Sure
Male	39%	11%	20%	28%	1%
Female	40%	21%	18%	20%	1%
White	37%	18%	19%	25%	1%
Person of Color	49%	10%	17%	21%	4%
No 4 Year Degree	34%	15%	22%	27%	2%
4 Year Degree	47%	18%	14%	20%	1%
18-29	42%	23%	19%	16%	0%
30-49	38%	20%	20%	21%	2%
50-65	32%	8%	23%	35%	2%
Over 65	47%	15%	15%	23%	1%
Biden 2020	76%	16%	6%	2%	0%
Trump 2020	4%	11%	35%	47%	2%
Democrat	73%	14%	5%	7%	1%
Republican	9%	15%	31%	44%	1%
Independent	22%	22%	28%	24%	4%
Definitely Voting	41%	14%	19%	25%	1%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	36%	21%	21%	20%	2%

**There was widespread election fraud in the 2020 Presidential Election in Pennsylvania.**

	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not Confident At All	Not Sure
Male	29%	19%	14%	38%	1%
Female	23%	16%	21%	39%	1%
White	25%	19%	17%	38%	1%
Person of Color	26%	13%	17%	44%	0%
No 4 Year Degree	28%	20%	16%	34%	2%
4 Year Degree	22%	14%	19%	45%	1%
18-29	20%	12%	23%	44%	2%
30-49	23%	18%	25%	34%	0%
50-65	35%	21%	11%	33%	1%
Over 65	22%	18%	12%	47%	2%
Biden 2020	5%	10%	15%	69%	0%
Trump 2020	46%	29%	16%	9%	1%
Democrat	11%	9%	18%	63%	0%
Republican	43%	30%	13%	12%	2%
Independent	20%	9%	28%	43%	0%
Definitely Voting	25%	18%	17%	40%	1%
Very/Not Too Likely	26%	18%	20%	35%	2%

### Mail Ballots

	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not Confident At All
Male	31%	24%	19%	27%
Female	26%	33%	23%	18%
White	29%	27%	20%	24%
Person of Color	30%	32%	23%	16%
No 4 Year Degree	25%	27%	22%	27%
4 Year Degree	34%	30%	19%	17%
18-29	20%	29%	34%	17%
30-49	25%	33%	21%	21%
50-65	25%	24%	23%	28%
Over 65	40%	27%	12%	21%
Biden 2020	53%	37%	7%	3%
Trump 2020	6%	20%	32%	42%
Democrat	50%	35%	12%	4%
Republican	8%	21%	29%	43%
Independent	25%	32%	25%	19%
Definitely Voting	30%	25%	20%	24%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	22%	38%	24%	16%

**Which of the following do you think is the biggest threat to Pennsylvania having a safe, secure and accurate election in 2024?**

	Foreign interference in the election	Voting machines malfunctioning	Voter fraud	The use of mail ballots	Suppression of individuals from voting	Other Factor	Not Sure
Male	14%	8%	25%	21%	29%	3%	1%
Female	12%	6%	26%	16%	36%	3%	1%
White	13%	7%	27%	19%	30%	2%	1%
Person of Color	12%	7%	17%	18%	42%	5%	0%
No 4 Year Degree	10%	7%	26%	22%	31%	3%	0%
4 Year Degree	16%	6%	24%	15%	34%	2%	2%
18-29	11%	12%	26%	12%	37%	0%	2%
30-49	11%	7%	29%	13%	36%	4%	0%
50-65	12%	4%	25%	27%	27%	4%	1%
Over 65	16%	7%	21%	21%	30%	2%	2%
Biden 2020	21%	8%	10%	4%	53%	3%	0%
Trump 2020	6%	5%	39%	33%	15%	1%	1%
Democrat	19%	10%	12%	8%	47%	4%	0%
Republican	6%	5%	41%	29%	15%	2%	1%
Independent	13%	4%	20%	22%	38%	2%	2%
Definitely Voting	13%	8%	25%	20%	32%	2%	1%
Very/Not Too Likely Voting	11%	5%	28%	15%	35%	4%	1%

## TIME SERIES FOR ELECTION PROCESS QUESTIONS

### Perspectives on 2020 Election Process and Results

	Very Confident			Somewhat Confident			Not Too Confident			Not Confident At All			Not Sure		
	2020	2021	<b>2024</b>	2020	2021	<b>2024</b>	2020	2021	<b>2024</b>	2020	2021	<b>2024</b>	2020	2021	<b>2024</b>
That the final results of the 2020 election accurately reflected how Pennsylvanians voted.	49%	35%	<b>35%</b>	8%	20%	<b>23%</b>	6%	15%	<b>21%</b>	34%	28%	<b>20%</b>	3%	1%	<b>1%</b>
That the 2020 elections in Pennsylvania were conducted in a fair way.	49%	39%	<b>38%</b>	11%	22%	<b>21%</b>	9%	14%	<b>19%</b>	31%	24%	<b>21%</b>	1%	1%	<b>2%</b>
That Joe Biden received the most votes in the presidential election in Pennsylvania.	52%	44%	<b>40%</b>	7%	12%	<b>16%</b>	9%	13%	<b>19%</b>	30%	29%	<b>24%</b>	3%	2%	<b>1%</b>
That there was widespread election fraud in the 2020 Presidential Election in Pennsylvania.	31%	29%	<b>25%</b>	10%	13%	<b>18%</b>	7%	16%	<b>17%</b>	50%	38%	<b>39%</b>	2%	4%	<b>1%</b>

### Confidence in Voting Methods

	Very Confident		Somewhat Confident		Not Too Confident		Not Confident At All		Not Sure	
	2021	2024	2021	2024	2021	2024	2021	2024	2021	2024
Paper Ballots	36%	<b>36%</b>	29%	<b>37%</b>	15%	<b>15%</b>	18%	<b>11%</b>	2%	<b>1%</b>
Electronic Voting systems	37%	<b>51%</b>	32%	<b>33%</b>	14%	<b>9%</b>	17%	<b>8%</b>	1%	<b>1%</b>
Mail ballots	29%	<b>29%</b>	21%	<b>28%</b>	13%	<b>21%</b>	37%	<b>22%</b>	1%	<b>0%</b>

### Biggest Threat to Integrity of Next Election

	FEBRUARY 2020	AUGUST 2020	OCTOBER 2020	DECEMBER 2020	DECEMBER 2021	APRIL 2024
Foreign interference in the election	17%	14%	8%	5%	8%	13%
Voting machines malfunctioning	22%	7%	3%	5%	6%	7%
Voter fraud	25%	39%	40%	33%	24%	25%
The Use of Mail Ballots	NA	NA	NA	NA	19%	19%
Suppression of individuals from voting	21%	30%	34%	30%	35%	32%
Other Factor (Vol)	15%	4%	5%	13%	5%	3%
Not Sure	1%	7%	11%	15%	4%	1%

*Note: "The Use of Mail Ballots" was not included in survey waves before 2021*