### A Poll About Donald Trump

This was a telephone survey of Likely General Election voters, with an oversample of Republican voters. The survey of General Election Voters — 1000 samples — has a margin of error of +/- 3.1% at a 95% confidence interval. The survey of 600 Likely Republican General Election voters has a margin of error of +/- 4.0% at a 95% confidence interval.

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#### **Poll Overview**

- 1. While Donald Trump's 'Total Favorable' numbers among Republicans have dropped only somewhat since October 2020, his *Very Favorable* numbers have dropped by 19 points. That erosion, which ties to disapproval of Trump's personality, is significant.
- 2. Trump opposing a candidate in a Republican primary does not appear to matter a great deal to Republican primary voters. 50% said Trump opposing a candidate makes no difference to them. 26% said they would be more likely to vote <u>against</u> a candidate Trump opposes; 24% said they would be more likely to vote <u>for</u> a candidate Trump opposes a margin of only 2 points.

By a margin of 89% to 8% Republican primary voters said a candidate's stand on issues matters more than a candidate's loyalty to Donald Trump.

3. In the 2024 Republican Presidential primaries 44% of the voters support Trump – while 56% support another candidate or are undecided. Trump's support with Independents who vote in Republican primaries is only 27%.

### **Erosion of Trump's Support**

In a poll taken last October, the New York Times/Siena College Research Institute reported Donald Trump's Favorable was 43%, his Unfavorable 54%. In this poll, completed on April 9, Donald Trump's Favorable was 43%, Unfavorable 53%.

	New York Times/	This Poll	+/-
	Siena		
Favorable	43	43	0
Unfavorable	54	53	-1

On the surface there appears to have been little change in Trump's overall numbers. But beneath the surface, in the numbers, there are important shifts that affect Trump, especially with Republicans. For example, with <u>all</u> voters Trump's *Very Favorable* and *Somewhat Favorable* changed:

Very Favorable	33	27	-6
Somewhat Fav.	10	16	+6

Trump's *Very Favorable* **declined** from 33% to 27%, which may not seem earthshaking but is an 18% decline in Donald Trump's base of support. The drop was even larger with Republican voters:

<u>Trump Favorable, Somewhat Favorable, Unfavorable with Republicans</u>

Very Favorable	77	58	-19
Somewhat Fav.	15	27	+12
Total Fav.	92	85	-7
Unfavorable	6	13	+7

Among Republicans, Donald Trump's *Very Favorable* dropped by 19 points. Then his *Somewhat Favorable increased* by 12 points and his *Unfavorables increased* by 7 points. Trump's Very Favorables, Somewhat Favorables, Unfavorables are reflections of three different worlds: Republicans moved from the most favorable world to a world that has a mixed view of Trump.

How those changes affect Trump becomes clearer when Republicans are asked whether they would vote for or against a candidate Donald Trump opposes in a primary. Each of the three groups gave a different answer:

	All	Very	Somewhat	Unfavorable to
	Republicans	Favorable	Favorable to	Trump
		to Trump	Trump	(13%)
		(58%)	(27%)	
Definitely Vote	14	21	4	8
Against				
More Likely	15	17	12	11
Against				
Total	29	38	16	19
Definitely Vote	9	9	2	23
For				
More Likely Vote	10	7	11	21
For				
Total	19	16	13	44
No Difference/	52	47	71	37
Don't Know				

Half (52%) of the Republicans said Trump opposing a candidate in a primary would make No Difference/Don't Know. This 'indifference' factor is significant.

Almost half (47%) of Trump's *Very Favorables* said his opposing a candidate would make No Difference/Don't Know.

71% of Trump's *Somewhat Favorables* said Trump opposing a candidate would make No Difference/ Don't Know.

Republicans who are *Very Favorable* to Trump would vote against a candidate Trump opposes in a primary by 22 points. By contrast, Republicans who are *Somewhat Favorable* to Trump would vote against the candidate by 3 points – 19 points less.

In all, Republicans – in all three groups -- would vote against a candidate Trump opposes in a primary by a margin of 10 points (29% to 19%).

As Republicans move from *Very Favorable* to *Somewhat Favorable*, Trump's attacks on a candidate in a primary matter less.

<u>Note</u>: When Republicans were asked whether they would *definitely* vote against a candidate Trump opposes, 14% said they would *definitely* vote against the candidate, while 9% would definitely vote **for** the candidate – a 5-point margin.

<u>Independents</u> can also vote in many Republican primaries, and when Independents (who vote in Republican primaries) are added the numbers become more unfavorable to Trump:

Independents (who vote in Republican primaries) are more likely to vote *for* than *against* a candidate Trump opposes – by a margin of 15 points.

Independents
(29% of primary voters)
15
6
21

Definitely For	20
More Likely For	16
Total	36

Among <u>all</u> Republican primary voters, including Independents, the numbers change to:

### All Republican Primary Voters: A Candidate Trump Opposes

	Republicans <i>and</i>
	Independents (who vote
	in Republican Primaries)
Definitely Against	14
More Likely Against	12
Total Against	26

# Vote For a Candidate Trump Opposes

Definitely For	12
More Likely For	12
Total For	24

No Difference/Don't	49
Know/ Refused	

When you add Independents (who vote in Republican Primaries): 26% of the primary voters are more likely to vote *against* a candidate Trump opposes, while 24% are more likely to vote *for* the candidate – only a 2-point margin.

### All Voters Poll/General Election

By party voters in our poll were:

Republican	36%
Democrat	37%
Independent	22%
Other	5%

## Biden and Trump: Favorable/Unfavorable

	Biden	Trump
Very Favorable	33	27
Somewhat Favorable	16	16
Very Unfavorable	40	47
Somewhat Unfavorable	7	6
Total Favorable	49	43
Total Unfavorable	47	53
Net	+2	-10

When asked: Who is to blame for broken Washington politics, the Republicans, the Democrats or both? – voters said:

	All	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
		Said	said	said
Republicans	26	57	4	13
Democrats	20	2	40	16
Both	52	39	54	68

Republicans are more likely to blame both (54%), Democrats are more likely to blame Republicans (57%), Independents were more likely to blame both (68%).

## <u>Trump's Favorable/Unfavorable</u>

	All	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
Very Fav	27	58	3	20
Somewhat Fav	16	27	3	17
Very Unfav	47	8	87	44
Somewhat Unfav	6	5	4	11
Total Fav	43	85	6	37
Total Unfav	53	13	91	55
Net	-10	+72	-85	-18

Trump's **popularity** with Independents is **upside-down** – he has a net negative of -18 points while Biden has a net positive with Independents of +2 points. Trump's unpopularity with Independents was a reason Biden won the election.

When asked how they voted in 2020 and how they would vote in 2024 voters said:

	2020	2024
Biden	46%	46%
Trump	44%	42%
Refused/ Undecided	10%	12%

With the Undecided voters in the hypothetical 2024 election Donald Trump is, again, upside-down: Favorable 30%, Unfavorable 54%.

<u>Ideology</u>
By Ideology Voters Are

Liberal	21%
Moderate	33%
Conservative	41%
Refused	5%

When asked: Would you say Trump is liberal, moderate or conservative in his political beliefs? – voters said:

Liberal	5
Moderate	12
Somewhat Conservative	25
Very Conservative	30

Do Very Conservative voters and Somewhat Conservative voters see Trump as sharing their ideology?

	Liberals	Moderate	Somewhat	Very
	(21%)	(33%)	Conservative	Conservative
			(16%)	(24%)
Trump is Liberal	6	6	4	5
Trump is Moderate	4	14	20	12

Trump is Somewhat	20	21	36	29
Conservative				
Trump is Very	30	25	23	45
Conservative				
DK/Refused	40	33	17	9

There are fractures in Trump's ideological base. When a voter who, say, describes himself as *Very Conservative* does not believe Trump is very conservative there is a disconnect that can lead to a weakening of Trump's support. 55% of the *Very Conservative* voters do *not* see Trump as Very Conservative. 64% of the *Somewhat Conservative* voters do *not* see Trump as Somewhat Conservative.

### Agree/Disagree

<u>Coronavirus</u>: 46% of voters approve of Trump's handling of Coronavirus, 51% disapprove, which mirrors the actual vote on election day.

Agree/Disagree: Donald Trump actually won the 2020 election.

	All	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
Agree	33	64	6	27
Disagree	58	23	93	61

Democrats overwhelmingly disagree. Independents disagree 2 to 1. Republicans agree. Claiming he won the 2020 election is a prop that holds Trump up with Republicans – but it fractures his support with Independents.

Agree/Disagree: Donald Trump is usually right on issues but he also exaggerates and says things that are inappropriate.

	All	Republicans	Republican Primary
			Voters
Agree	53	74	69
Disagree	40	21	25

Almost 74% of *Republicans* and 69% *Republican Primary Voters* agree Trump 'exaggerates and says things that are inappropriate.'

Agree/Disagree: Donald Trump brags and boasts.

	All	Republicans	Trump Very Fav.
Agree	91	87	83
Disagree	6	10	14

Again, Republicans and Trump's Very Favorables agree.

Agree/Disagree: Donald Trump is a bully.

	All	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
Agree	65	35	94	67
Disagree	32	62	4	28

Independents agree over 2 to 1. 35% of the Republicans agree – a fracture in Trump's base.

Agree/Disagree: Donald Trump lies.

	All	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
Agree	63	31	94	66
Disagree	29	58	4	24

Again, Independents agree by over 2 to 1. 31% of Republicans agree.

Agree/Disagree: Donald Trump stands up to Washington insiders.

	All	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
Agree	62	92	30	67
Disagree	32	7	58	30

That he fights Washington insiders is a major strength for Trump with both *Republicans* and *Independents*.

### Republican Primary Voters – 2024/Trump Endorsements

(Includes Independents)

When asked who they would vote for in the Republican 2024 primary, Republicans and Independents (who vote in Republican primaries) said:

	All	Republicans	Independents
Trump	44	50	27
Other Candidate/	56	50	73
Undecided			

Neither 44% (among all primary voters) nor 50% (among Republicans) is a strong number for Trump. Compare how Trump's *Very Favorables* and *Somewhat Favorables* vote:

	Very	Somewhat	Unfavorable
	Favorable	Favorable	(23%)
	(49%)	(24%)	
Trump	70	32	4
Other/Undecided	30	68	96

As Republicans moved from *Very Favorable* to *Somewhat Favorable* Trump's vote eroded. 70% of his *Very Favorables* vote for him compared to 32% of his *Somewhat Favorables* and 4% of his *Unfavorables*.

And Trump's *Very Favorables* are not monolithic – 30% of them do not vote for Trump.

When asked: Do you like both Trump's personality and his policies, like his policies but not his personality, or dislike both? – voters said:

	All Voters	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Like Both	22	44	2	18
Like Policy but not	30	46	8	36
Personality				
Dislike Both	46	7	88	40

When you combine <u>Like Policy but not Personality</u> and <u>Dislike Both</u>, in all, 53% of Republicans dislike Trump's personality and 76% of independents dislike Trump's personality.

Conservative voters also dislike Trump's personality:

	All	Somewhat	Very
	Conservatives	Conservative	Conservative
Like Both	42	32	49
Policy but not	42	45	40
personality			
Dislike both	13	20	9

Trump's personality is also a dividing line in the 2024 Republican primary:

	Like Both	Policy not	Dislike Both
(39% of primary		Personality	(15%)
	voters)	(43%)	
Vote Trump	71	36	1
Voter Other/	29	64	99
Undecided			

Again, Trump's 'base' is not monolithic – even among voters who 'Like Both Trump's Policy and Personality' 29% do not vote for Trump.

If the next Republican primary for President in your state was held today, and the candidates were Ted Cruz, Ron DeSantis, Nikki Haley, Kristi Noem, Mike Pence, Marco Rubio and Donald Trump for whom would you vote:

	All	Rep.	Ind.	Smwht	Very	Very	Smwht	Unfav.
	Primary	Voters	Voters	Cons.	Cons.	Fav	Fav.	Trump
	Voters					Trump	Trump	(23%)
						(49%)	(24%)	
Trump	44	50	27	41	56	70	32	4
DeSantis	9	11	5	8	12	9	15	4
Haley	9	7	15	10	4	3	8	25
Cruz	7	6	10	9	6	7	9	5
Pence	6	7	5	6	6	3	8	9
Rubio	2	2	3	4	1	-	3	6
Noem	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	0
Undecided	21	15	34	20	13	6	22	49
Total	44	50	27	41	56	70	32	4
Trump								
Total Not	56	50	63	68	44	30	68	96
Trump								

44% of the primary voters would vote for Trump – 56% would vote for another candidate or are undecided.

30% of Trump's *Very Favorables* would vote for another candidate or are undecided – the same fracture in his base of support. 68% of Trump's *Somewhat Favorables* and 96% of his *Unfavorables* would vote for another candidate or are undecided.

<u>Note</u>: There are other possible candidates who may run for the 2020 Republican nomination. We did not list all the potential candidates in hope of greater clarity. Subsequent polls will adjust the list of possible candidates.

What matters most to you in a Republican Primary? 1) A candidate's loyalty to Trump, or 2) a candidate's stands on issues?

Republican primary voters overwhelmingly said a candidate's stand on issues matters most – including 74% of the primary voters who are *Very Favorable* to Trump:

	All	Rep	Ind	Smwht	Very	Very	Smwht
				Cons.	Cons.	Fav	Fav.
						Trump	Trump
Loyalty to Trump	8	12	5	9	13	18	4
Stands on Issues	89	82	91	86	81	74	92

If Donald Trump comes out and opposes a Republican candidate in a Republican primary, would you say you would vote for or against that candidate? People who vote in Republican primaries said:

	All	Rep	Ind	Smwht	Very	Very	Smwht	Unfav.
				Cons.	Cons.	Fav	Fav.	Trump
						Trump	Trump	(23%)
						(49%)	(24%)	
Definitely For	12	9	20	8	9	8	6	28
More Likely For	12	10	16	13	9	7	9	24
More Likely Against	12	15	6	11	14	16	12	6
Definitely Against	14	14	15	11	19	23	3	9
No Diff	50	52	43	56	49	46	69	33
Def. Vote For	12	9	20	8	9	8	6	28
Def. Vote Against	14	14	15	11	19	23	3	9
Total For	24	19	36	21	18	15	15	52
Total Against	26	29	21	22	33	39	15	15
No Difference/	50	52	43	56	49	46	69	33
Refused								

Among Primary Voters: 14% *Definitely* vote against a candidate Trump opposes, while 12% *Definitely* vote for that candidate – a net margin of 2 points.

12% are *More Likely* to vote against a candidate Trump opposes, while 12 points are *More Likely* to vote for that candidate.

50% say Trump opposing a candidate makes no difference to them.

46% of Trump's *Very Favorables* say Trump opposing a candidate makes no difference to them.

#### Summary

General Election 2024 – Trump's Republican 'base' is not large enough to elect him in 2024 – to defeat Biden, Trump needs to win a majority of Independents. But 55% of the Independents are *Unfavorable* to Trump and his net negative (Fav. 37 vs. Unfav. 55) is -18 points. Those negatives, tied to Trump's personality, and rooted in his specific characteristics (e.g. exaggerating, bragging, bullying, lying) are not likely to change. A Republican candidate who does not carry the burden of Trump's negatives with Independents would be a stronger candidate to defeat Joe Biden in 2024.

<u>How Republicans View Trump</u> – 77% of Republicans were *Very Favorable* to Donald Trump in October of 2020. Five months later, 58% are *Very Favorable* to Trump – a drop of 19 points. At the same time, Trump's *Somewhat Favorable* increased by 12 points, and his *Unfavorables* increased by 7 points. That is an erosion of Trump's support among Republicans.

In the 2024 Republican primary Trump's *Somewhat Favorables* are less likely to support him, and so are Independents (29% of Republican primary voters). In addition, there are cracks in Trump's support among his *Very Favorables*: 44% would choose another candidate or are undecided in the Republican primary. Plus, 83% of Trump's *Very Favorable* agree he boasts and brags, 34% like his policies but dislike his personality, 35% agree Trump is a bully.

Trump's allies point to his 85% Favorable with Republicans and say 'the Republican party is Trump's party.' But, in fact, that's political hyperbole. 68% of the primary voters who are *Somewhat Favorable* to Trump do not vote for Trump in the 2024 primary. And 30% of the primary voters who are *Very Favorable* to Trump do not

vote for Trump. These numbers show an erosion of his support and a fracture in his base.

Of Republican primary voters: 44% like Trump's policy but *not* his personality – and 64% of those voters prefer another candidate to Trump. 39% like 'both Trump's policy and personality' – but 29% prefer another candidate. 15% dislike 'both Trump's policy and personality.'

82% of Republican primary voters say a candidate's stands on issues matter more than loyalty to Trump (12%).

If Trump opposes a candidate in a primary, 50% of the primary voters say it makes *No Difference* to them. Of the remaining 50%, 26% say they are more likely to vote *against* that candidate, while 24% are more likely to vote *for* that candidate – a 2-point margin.

Summary: Republican Primary 2024, Vote Trump/Not Trump

	Vote Trump	Not Trump
All	44	56
Republicans	50	50
Independents	27	73
Moderates	29	71
Somewhat Conservative	41	59
Very Conservative	56	44
Very Favorable to Trump	70	30
Somewhat Favorable	32	68
Like Both Trump's Policy	71	29
and Personality		
Like Trump's Policy but	36	64
not Personality		