



# TOPLINE & METHODOLOGY

## 538/Washington Post/Ipsos Republican Pre-Debate Survey

Conducted by Ipsos using KnowledgePanel®  
**A survey of Republican likely primary or caucus voters (ages 18+)**  
Interview dates: November 28 to December 5, 2023  
Number of interviews: 5,175

Margin of error: +/- 1.54 percentage points at the 95% confidence level for all respondents

NOTE: All results show percentages among all respondents, unless otherwise labeled. Reduced bases are unweighted values.

NOTE: \* = less than 0.5%, - = no respondents, N/A = not applicable

### Annotated Questionnaire:

Q1. Thank you for taking our survey! First, how likely is it that you will vote in the 2024 presidential primary or caucus in your state?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
Absolutely certain to vote	71%
Very likely	19%
About 50-50	10%
Not too likely	-
Not likely at all	-
Skipped	-
Likely (net)	100%
Not likely (net)	-

Q2. Now, thinking about the 2024 presidential primary or caucus in your state, would you be...?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
Most likely to vote in the Democratic primary or caucus	-
Most likely to vote in the Republican primary or caucus	100%
Not likely to vote in a primary or caucus	-
Skipped	-





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Q3. Which of the following topics are the most important issues facing the country? (Select up to three)

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Inflation or increasing costs	61%
Immigration	47%
Government budget and debt	35%
Political extremism or polarization	19%
Taxes	18%
Foreign conflicts or terrorism	18%
Crime or gun violence	16%
Election security or fraud	15%
Health care	13%
Abortion	10%
Education	8%
Opioid or drug addiction	7%
Climate change and the environment	7%
Economic inequality	4%
Unemployment	3%
Race and racism	3%
Natural disasters	1%
COVID-19/coronavirus	*
Other	3%
None of these	*
Skipped	*

Q4\_Sum1. Summary of Favorable - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Donald Trump	65%
Ron DeSantis	56%
Nikki Haley	47%
Vivek Ramaswamy	33%
Chris Christie	22%
Asa Hutchinson	11%
Doug Burgum	10%





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Q4\_1. Donald Trump - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	43%
Somewhat favorable	23%
Somewhat unfavorable	10%
Very unfavorable	22%
Heard of, no opinion	2%
Never heard of	*
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	65%
Unfavorable (net)	32%

Q4\_2. Ron DeSantis - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	22%
Somewhat favorable	34%
Somewhat unfavorable	13%
Very unfavorable	16%
Heard of, no opinion	10%
Never heard of	5%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	56%
Unfavorable (net)	28%





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Q4\_4. Doug Burgum - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	2%
Somewhat favorable	8%
Somewhat unfavorable	8%
Very unfavorable	7%
Heard of, no opinion	26%
Never heard of	48%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	10%
Unfavorable (net)	15%

Q4\_5. Chris Christie - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	4%
Somewhat favorable	19%
Somewhat unfavorable	22%
Very unfavorable	30%
Heard of, no opinion	14%
Never heard of	10%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	22%
Unfavorable (net)	52%





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Q4\_6. Nikki Haley - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	17%
Somewhat favorable	30%
Somewhat unfavorable	13%
Very unfavorable	10%
Heard of, no opinion	14%
Never heard of	17%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	47%
Unfavorable (net)	22%

Q4\_8. Asa Hutchinson - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	1%
Somewhat favorable	10%
Somewhat unfavorable	11%
Very unfavorable	12%
Heard of, no opinion	30%
Never heard of	35%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	11%
Unfavorable (net)	23%





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Q4\_9. Vivek Ramaswamy - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Very favorable	9%
Somewhat favorable	24%
Somewhat unfavorable	13%
Very unfavorable	15%
Heard of, no opinion	14%
Never heard of	25%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	33%
Unfavorable (net)	28%

Q5\_sum1. Summary of Considering - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Donald Trump	66%
Ron DeSantis	47%
Nikki Haley	39%
Vivek Ramaswamy	20%
Chris Christie	15%
Doug Burgum	4%
Asa Hutchinson	4%

Q5\_1. Donald Trump - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	66%
Not considering	27%
Don't know	5%
Skipped	1%





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Q5\_2. Ron DeSantis - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	47%
Not considering	37%
Don't know	14%
Skipped	2%

Q5\_4. Doug Burgum - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	4%
Not considering	67%
Don't know	25%
Skipped	4%

Q5\_5. Chris Christie - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	15%
Not considering	65%
Don't know	17%
Skipped	3%

Q5\_6. Nikki Haley - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	39%
Not considering	39%
Don't know	19%
Skipped	3%





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Q5\_8. Asa Hutchinson - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	4%
Not considering	68%
Don't know	24%
Skipped	4%

Q5\_9. Vivek Ramaswamy - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary? You can select as many as you like.

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Considering	20%
Not considering	55%
Don't know	22%
Skipped	3%







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Q6. Which of the following issues are the most important in determining who you will vote for in the Republican presidential primaries? Select up to three

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Getting inflation or increasing costs under control	52%
Controlling immigration	41%
Keeping America safe from foreign conflicts or terrorism	27%
Cutting government spending	24%
Ability to beat Joe Biden	21%
Someone fighting against liberalism and the woke agenda	20%
Lowering taxes	15%
Combatting political extremism or polarization	13%
Reducing crime or gun violence	10%
Protecting gun rights	10%
Improving election security or fighting election fraud	9%
Improving health care	8%
Limiting abortion	6%
Climate change	5%
Strengthening education	5%
Fighting against opioid or drug addiction	4%
Economic inequality	4%
Race and racism	2%
Reducing unemployment	2%
COVID-19 and coronavirus	*
Something else	3%
Don't know	1%
Skipped	*





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Q7\_Sum1. Summary of Excellent/Very good - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Donald Trump	57%
Ron DeSantis	39%
Nikki Haley	36%
Vivek Ramaswamy	24%
Chris Christie	14%
Doug Burgum	3%
Asa Hutchinson	3%

Q7\_1. Donald Trump - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Excellent	34%
Very good	24%
About average	12%
Poor	8%
Terrible	12%
Don't know	10%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	57%
Poor/Terrible (net)	20%





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Q7\_2. Ron DeSantis - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Excellent	10%
Very good	28%
About average	29%
Poor	8%
Terrible	6%
Don't know	18%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	39%
Poor/Terrible (net)	13%

Q7\_4. Doug Burgum - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Excellent	1%
Very good	2%
About average	17%
Poor	11%
Terrible	6%
Don't know	61%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	3%
Poor/Terrible (net)	18%





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Q7\_5. Chris Christie - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Excellent	2%
Very good	11%
About average	27%
Poor	17%
Terrible	14%
Don't know	27%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	14%
Poor/Terrible (net)	31%

Q7\_6. Nikki Haley - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Excellent	10%
Very good	26%
About average	23%
Poor	6%
Terrible	4%
Don't know	29%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	36%
Poor/Terrible (net)	10%





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Q7\_8. Asa Hutchinson - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
Excellent	*
Very good	2%
About average	18%
Poor	13%
Terrible	8%
Don't know	57%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	3%
Poor/Terrible (net)	21%

Q7\_9. Vivek Ramaswamy - Thinking about the upcoming Republican presidential debates, how well do you think each of these candidates is likely to do in a debate with the other Republicans?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
Excellent	7%
Very good	17%
About average	22%
Poor	10%
Terrible	7%
Don't know	36%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	24%
Poor/Terrible (net)	17%





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Q8. How likely is it that you will watch the upcoming Republican presidential debate on Wednesday, December 6?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
Likely (net)	61%
Absolutely certain	8%
Very likely	18%
About 50-50	35%
Not likely (net)	39%
Not too likely	19%
Not likely at all	20%
Skipped	*

Q9. [Base: Likely Republican Primary voters who say they are likely to watch the Dec. 6 Republican presidential debate in Q8] From the list below, which of the following are reasons why you are planning to watch the Republican presidential debate on Wednesday, December 6?

	Likely Republican Primary Voters Likely to Watch the Debate (N=3,138)
I want to be informed about what's going on in the race	60%
I'm trying to decide who to vote for	37%
I find debates entertaining or interesting	22%
I have nothing else to do	6%
Something else	3%
Skipped	*

Q10. [Base: Likely Republican Primary voters who say they are not likely to watch the Dec. 6 Republican presidential debate in Q8] From the list below, which of the following are reasons why you are not planning to watch the Republican presidential debate on Wednesday, December 6?

	Likely Republican Primary Voters <u>Not Likely</u> to Watch the Debate (N=2,024)
I find debates boring or not interesting	32%
I can do my own research on what's going on in the race	30%
I have something else to do	25%
I already know who I'm voting for	23%
Something else	12%
Skipped	1%



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Q11. Allowing the U.S. federal government to shut down if Congress does not agree on budget cuts - To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Strongly support	19%
Somewhat support	23%
Somewhat oppose	19%
Strongly oppose	31%
Don't know	9%
Skipped	*
Support (net)	41%
Oppose (net)	50%

Q12. Do you think abortion should be...

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Legal (net)	43%
Legal in all cases	11%
Legal in most cases	32%
Illegal (net)	56%
Illegal in most cases	44%
Illegal in all cases	11%
Skipped	2%



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Q13\_sum1. Extreme - Do you think most Americans would view a presidential candidate as extreme or not extreme if they took each of the following positions on abortion?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Abortion should be illegal in all cases	76%
Abortion should be legal in all cases	69%
Abortion should be illegal in most cases	39%
Abortion should be legal in most cases	35%

Q13\_1. Abortion should be legal in all cases - Do you think most Americans would view a presidential candidate as extreme or not extreme if they took each of the following positions on abortion?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Extreme	69%
Not extreme	29%
Skipped	2%

Q13\_2. Abortion should be legal in most cases - Do you think most Americans would view a presidential candidate as extreme or not extreme if they took each of the following positions on abortion?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Extreme	35%
Not extreme	63%
Skipped	2%

Q13\_3. Abortion should be illegal in most cases - Do you think most Americans would view a presidential candidate as extreme or not extreme if they took each of the following positions on abortion?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Extreme	39%
Not extreme	59%
Skipped	2%







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Q13\_4. Abortion should be illegal in all cases - Do you think most Americans would view a presidential candidate as extreme or not extreme if they took each of the following positions on abortion?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Extreme	76%
Not extreme	22%
Skipped	2%

Q14\_1. A new federal law banning abortion after six weeks of pregnancy except in the case of rape, incest, or when the mother's life is in danger - To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Strongly support	34%
Somewhat support	23%
Somewhat oppose	13%
Strongly oppose	24%
Don't know	6%
Support (net)	56%
Oppose (net)	37%
Skipped	1%

Q14\_2. A new federal law banning abortion after fifteen weeks of pregnancy except in the case of rape, incest, or when the mother's life is in danger - To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)</b>
Strongly support	41%
Somewhat support	26%
Somewhat oppose	11%
Strongly oppose	16%
Don't know	5%
Support (net)	67%
Oppose (net)	27%
Skipped	1%





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Q15. Do you think each state should make its own laws on abortion, or do you think the federal government should make one law for all states on this issue?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
Each state should make its own laws	57%
The federal government should make one law for all states	42%
Skipped	1%

Q16. Which of these is your main source of news?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
ABC, CBS, or NBC News	17%
Digital or online news	17%
FOX News	15%
Social media or YouTube	9%
Newsmax, OANN, Daily Wire, Daily Caller, or other conservative media	7%
Public television or radio	6%
New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, or USA Today	3%
CNN or MSNBC	2%
Your local newspaper	2%
Telemundo or Univision	1%
Other	8%
None of these	12%
Skipped	1%

Q17. How many of the previous three Republican presidential debates have you watched at least some of?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,175)
None of them	48%
1	21%
2	15%
All 3	15%
Skipped	*





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### About the Study

This 538/Washington Post/Ipsos poll was conducted November 28 to December 5, 2023, by Ipsos using the probability-based KnowledgePanel®. This poll is based on a nationally-representative probability sample of adults age 18 or older. Questions presented in this document were only asked of those who are likely to vote in the Republican primary or caucus (N=5,175).

The survey was conducted using KnowledgePanel, the largest and most well-established online probability-based panel that is representative of the adult U.S. population. Our recruitment process employs a scientifically developed addressed-based sampling methodology using the latest Delivery Sequence File of the USPS – a database with full coverage of all delivery points in the U.S. Households invited to join the panel are randomly selected from all available households in the U.S. Persons in the sampled households are invited to join and participate in the panel. Those selected who do not already have internet access are provided a tablet and internet connection at no cost to the panel member. Those who join the panel and who are selected to participate in a survey are sent a unique password-protected log-in used to complete surveys online. As a result of our recruitment and sampling methodologies, samples from KnowledgePanel cover all households regardless of their phone or internet status and findings can be reported with a margin of sampling error and projected to the general population. KnowledgePanel members receive a per survey incentive, usually the equivalent of \$1 (though for some it is \$2) in points, that can be redeemed for cash or prizes. No prenotification email for this study was sent prior to field. Panelists receive a unique login to the survey and are only able to complete it one time. Non-responders were sent reminders to increase participation.

The study was conducted in both English and Spanish. The full sample, pre screening, was weighted to adjust for gender by age, race/ethnicity, education, Census region, metropolitan status, household income, and party identification. The demographic benchmarks came from 2022 Current Population Survey (CPS) from the U.S. Census Bureau. Party ID benchmarks are from recent ABC News/Washington Post telephone polls. The weighting categories were as follows:

- Gender (Male, Female) by Age (18–29, 30–44, 45–59, and 60+)
- Race/Hispanic Ethnicity (White Non-Hispanic, Black Non-Hispanic, Other or 2+ Races Non-Hispanic, Hispanic)
- Education (High School graduate or less, Some College, Bachelor and beyond)
- Census Region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)
- Metropolitan status (Metro, non-Metro)
- Household Income (Under \$25,000, \$25,000-\$49,999, \$50,000-\$74,999, \$75,000-\$99,999, \$100,000-\$149,999, \$150,000+)
- Party ID (Democrat, Republican, Independent, Something else)

Twenty-four respondents were removed from the final data for refusing all of the survey items.

The margin of sampling error among those likely to vote in the Republican primary or caucus is plus or minus 1.54 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The margin of sampling error takes into account the design effect, which was 1.29. The margin of sampling error is higher and varies for results based on sub-samples. Sampling error is only one potential source of error. There may be other unmeasured non-sampling error in this or any poll. In our reporting of the findings, percentage points are rounded off to the nearest whole number. As a result, percentages in a given table column may total





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slightly higher or lower than 100%. In questions that permit multiple responses, columns may total substantially more than 100%, depending on the number of different responses offered by each respondent.

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### About Ipsos

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Our passionately curious research professionals, analysts and scientists have built unique multi-specialist capabilities that provide true understanding and powerful insights into the actions, opinions and motivations of citizens, consumers, patients, customers or employees. Our 75 solutions are based on primary data from our surveys, social media monitoring, and qualitative or observational techniques.

Our tagline "Game Changers" sums up our ambition to help our 5,000 customers move confidently through a rapidly changing world.

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