



# TOPLINE & METHODOLOGY

## 538/Ipsos January New Hampshire Pre-Debate Survey

Conducted by Ipsos using KnowledgePanel®  
A survey of the American general population (ages 18+)  
Interview dates: January 10-17, 2023  
Number of interviews: 5,568

Margin of error: +/- 1.55 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=5,568)
Absolutely certain to vote	68%
Very likely	21%
About 50-50	11%
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=5,568)
Most likely to vote in the Republican primary or caucus	100%
Most likely to vote in the Democratic primary or caucus	-
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=5,568)</b>
Inflation or increasing costs	59%
Immigration	57%
Government budget and debt	32%
Political extremism or polarization	19%
Taxes	17%
Foreign conflicts or terrorism	16%
Election security or fraud	16%
Crime or gun violence	14%
Health care	12%
Abortion	9%
Education	7%
Climate change and the environment	7%
Opioid or drug addiction	6%
Economic inequality	5%
Unemployment	3%
Race and racism	2%
COVID-19/coronavirus	1%
Natural disasters	1%
Other	3%
None of these	1%
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=5,568)</b>
Donald Trump	66%
Ron DeSantis	56%
Nikki Haley	47%
Vivek Ramaswamy	37%
Asa Hutchinson	10%





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Q4\_Sum2. Summary of Unfavorable - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Donald Trump	32%
Ron DeSantis	31%
Nikki Haley	29%
Vivek Ramaswamy	29%
Asa Hutchinson	24%

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=5,568)</b>
Very favorable	44%
Somewhat favorable	22%
Somewhat unfavorable	10%
Very unfavorable	23%
Heard of, no opinion	1%
Never heard of	*
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	66%
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=5,568)</b>
Very favorable	19%
Somewhat favorable	36%
Somewhat unfavorable	15%
Very unfavorable	16%
Heard of, no opinion	9%
Never heard of	4%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	56%
Unfavorable (net)	31%





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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=5,568)</b>
Very favorable	15%
Somewhat favorable	32%
Somewhat unfavorable	14%
Very unfavorable	15%
Heard of, no opinion	13%
Never heard of	11%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	47%
Unfavorable (net)	29%

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=5,568)</b>
Very favorable	1%
Somewhat favorable	9%
Somewhat unfavorable	11%
Very unfavorable	13%
Heard of, no opinion	32%
Never heard of	32%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	10%
Unfavorable (net)	24%

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=5,568)</b>
Very favorable	12%
Somewhat favorable	25%
Somewhat unfavorable	13%
Very unfavorable	16%
Heard of, no opinion	14%
Never heard of	19%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	37%
Unfavorable (net)	29%





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Q5\_sum1. Summary of Considering - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Donald Trump	66%
Ron DeSantis	43%
Nikki Haley	38%
Vivek Ramaswamy	21%
Asa Hutchinson	5%

Q5\_sum2. Summary of Not considering - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Asa Hutchinson	70%
Vivek Ramaswamy	56%
Nikki Haley	44%
Ron DeSantis	41%
Donald Trump	27%

Q5\_1. Donald Trump - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Considering	66%
Not considering	27%
Don't know	6%
Skipped	1%

Q5\_2. Ron DeSantis - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Considering	43%
Not considering	41%
Don't know	15%
Skipped	2%





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Q5\_3. Nikki Haley - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Considering	38%
Not considering	44%
Don't know	17%
Skipped	2%

Q5\_4. Asa Hutchinson - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Considering	5%
Not considering	70%
Don't know	21%
Skipped	3%

Q5\_5. Vivek Ramaswamy - Which of the following Republican candidates for president are you considering voting for in the Republican primary?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Considering	21%
Not considering	56%
Don't know	20%
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=5,568)</b>
Getting inflation or increasing costs under control	49%
Controlling immigration	48%
Keeping America safe from foreign conflicts or terrorism	26%
Cutting government spending	22%
Ability to beat Joe Biden	20%
Someone fighting against liberalism and the woke agenda	19%
Lowering taxes	14%
Combatting political extremism or polarization	13%
Reducing crime or gun violence	10%
Improving election security or fighting election fraud	9%
Improving health care	9%
Protecting gun rights	9%
Strengthening education	5%
Limiting abortion	5%
Climate change	4%
Economic inequality	4%
Fighting against opioid or drug addiction	3%
Reducing unemployment	2%
Race and racism	2%
COVID-19 and coronavirus	1%
Something else	4%
Don't know	1%
Skipped	1%





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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=5,568)</b>
Donald Trump	56%
Ron DeSantis	36%
Nikki Haley	32%
Vivek Ramaswamy	27%
Asa Hutchinson	3%

Q7\_Sum2. Summary of Poor/Terrible - 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=5,568)</b>
Asa Hutchinson	23%
Donald Trump	19%
Vivek Ramaswamy	18%
Nikki Haley	15%
Ron DeSantis	14%

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=5,568)</b>
Excellent	33%
Very good	23%
About average	14%
Poor	8%
Terrible	12%
Don't know	9%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	56%
Poor/Terrible (net)	19%







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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?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)
Excellent	8%
Very good	28%
About average	33%
Poor	9%
Terrible	6%
Don't know	16%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	36%
Poor/Terrible (net)	14%

Q7\_3. 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?

	Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)
Excellent	8%
Very good	24%
About average	29%
Poor	9%
Terrible	6%
Don't know	23%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	32%
Poor/Terrible (net)	15%

Q7\_4. 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=5,568)
Excellent	1%
Very good	2%
About average	19%
Poor	14%
Terrible	9%
Don't know	54%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	3%
Poor/Terrible (net)	23%





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Q7\_5. 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?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Excellent	9%
Very good	18%
About average	23%
Poor	10%
Terrible	7%
Don't know	31%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	27%
Poor/Terrible (net)	18%

Q8. As you may know, Donald Trump has not committed to participating in the Republican primary debate scheduled next Thursday in New Hampshire. If he decided to skip the debate, would you approve or disapprove of that decision, or do you not have an opinion?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Approve	30%
Disapprove	28%
Don't know / No opinion	41%
Skipped	*

Q9. If Donald Trump chooses to skip the Republican primary debate, do you think that shows strength/weakness, or neither on the part of Trump?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Strength	22%
Weakness	24%
Neither	53%
Skipped	1%





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Q10. How likely is it that you will watch the upcoming Republican presidential debate in New Hampshire hosted by ABC News and WMUR-TV on Thursday, January 18th?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Likely (net)	53%
Absolutely certain	5%
Very likely	15%
About 50-50	32%
Not likely (net)	47%
Not too likely	22%
Not likely at all	25%
Skipped	*

Q11\_sum1. Summary of Familiar - How familiar, if at all, are you with the following?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Colorado and Maine ruling that Donald Trump cannot appear on the primary election ballot as a candidate for president in these states	82%
Donald Trump asking the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the ruling in Colorado	75%
The U.S. House of Representatives voting to allow an investigation into whether President Joe Biden should be impeached	73%
Nikki Haley being asked about the cause of the Civil War in a town hall	45%

Q11\_sum2. Summary of Not familiar - How familiar, if at all, are you with the following?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Nikki Haley being asked about the cause of the Civil War in a town hall	54%
The U.S. House of Representatives voting to allow an investigation into whether President Joe Biden should be impeached	27%
Donald Trump asking the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the ruling in Colorado	24%
Colorado and Maine ruling that Donald Trump cannot appear on the primary election ballot as a candidate for president in these states	17%





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Q11\_1. Nikki Haley being asked about the cause of the Civil War in a town hall - How familiar, if at all, are you with the following?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Very familiar	21%
Somewhat familiar	24%
Not very familiar	24%
Never heard of this	30%
Skipped	1%
Familiar (net)	45%
Not familiar (net)	54%

Q11\_2. The U.S. House of Representatives voting to allow an investigation into whether President Joe Biden should be impeached - How familiar, if at all, are you with the following?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Very familiar	30%
Somewhat familiar	42%
Not very familiar	19%
Never heard of this	8%
Skipped	1%
Familiar (net)	73%
Not familiar (net)	27%

Q11\_3. Colorado and Maine ruling that Donald Trump cannot appear on the primary election ballot as a candidate for president in these states - How familiar, if at all, are you with the following?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Very familiar	43%
Somewhat familiar	39%
Not very familiar	10%
Never heard of this	7%
Skipped	1%
Familiar (net)	82%
Not familiar (net)	17%



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Q11\_4. Donald Trump asking the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the ruling in Colorado - How familiar, if at all, are you with the following?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Very familiar	38%
Somewhat familiar	37%
Not very familiar	15%
Never heard of this	9%
Skipped	1%
Familiar (net)	75%
Not familiar (net)	24%

Q12. Based on what you may know or feel, how likely, if at all, is it that the orders to remove Donald Trump from the ballots in Colorado and Maine will stay in place?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Very likely	3%
Somewhat likely	20%
Not very likely	46%
Not at all likely	29%
Skipped	1%
Likely (net)	24%
Not likely (net)	75%

Q13. Do you think the efforts in certain states to remove Donald Trump from the ballot are politically motivated or justified by law?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Politically motivated	73%
Justified by the law	10%
Both	11%
Don't know	6%
Skipped	*



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Q14. Do you think the efforts to remove Donald Trump from the primary election ballot in some states make him more likely to win in a general election against Joe Biden, less likely to win, or do they not make a difference?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
More likely to win	47%
Less likely to win	15%
Does not make a difference	38%
Skipped	1%

Q15\_1. Slavery - Do you personally think each of the following was a major cause, a minor cause, or not a cause of the American Civil War?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Major cause	67%
Minor cause	24%
Not a cause	7%
Skipped	2%

Q15\_2. The role of the federal government - Do you personally think each of the following was a major cause, a minor cause, or not a cause of the American Civil War?

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
Major cause	55%
Minor cause	33%
Not a cause	10%
Skipped	2%





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

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
ABC, CBS, or NBC News	17%
Digital or online news	17%
FOX News	16%
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	11%
Skipped	1%

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

	<b>Likely Republican Primary Voter (N=5,568)</b>
None of them	40%
1	18%
2	22%
3	10%
4 or more	10%
Skipped	1%





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### About the Study

This 538/Washington Post/Ipsos poll was conducted January 10 to January 17, 2024, 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=5,568).

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 2023 Current Population Survey (CPS) from the U.S. Census Bureau. Party ID benchmarks are from recent ABC News/Washington Post multi-night polls recent. 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)

Thirty-five respondents were removed from the final data for refusing all of the survey items.







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The margin of sampling error among those likely to vote in the Republican primary or caucus is plus or minus 1.55 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The margin of sampling error takes into account the design effect, which was 1.40. 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 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

Ipsos is one of the largest market research and polling companies globally, operating in 90 markets and employing over 18,000 people.

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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