TOPLINE & METHODOLOGY

538/Washington Post/Ipsos Republican Pre-Debate Survey

Conducted by Ipsos using KnowledgePanel®
A survey of Republican primary or cacus voters (ages 18+)
Interview dates: September 19-26, 2023
Number of interviews: 5,002

Margin of error: +/- 1.6 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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus (N=5,002)
Absolutely certain to vote	70%
Very likely	20%
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...?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Inflation or increasing costs	63%
Immigration	48%
Government budget and debt	33%
Election security or fraud	18%
Political extremism or polarization	18%
Crime or gun violence	18%
Taxes	18%
Health care	13%
Foreign conflicts or terrorism	10%
Opioid or drug addiction	9%
Abortion	9%
Climate change and the environment	8%
Education	8%
Economic inequality	4%
Unemployment	3%
Race and racism	3%
COVID-19/coronavirus	1%
Natural disasters	1%
Other	3%
None of these	*
Skipped	*

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Q4. How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

Total Favorable Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Donald Trump	67%
Ron DeSantis	58%
Nikki Haley	44%
Mike Pence	39%
Tim Scott	38%
Vivek Ramaswamy	36%
Chris Christie	20%
Doug Burgum	12%
Asa Hutchinson	12%
Will Hurd	7%

Total Unfavorable Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Chris Christie	52%
Mike Pence	50%
Donald Trump	30%
Ron DeSantis	26%
Asa Hutchinson	21%
Vivek Ramaswamy	21%
Nikki Haley	19%
Tim Scott	13%
Will Hurd	12%
Doug Burgum	12%

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Q4_1. Donald Trump - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	44%
Somewhat favorable	24%
Somewhat unfavorable	10%
Very unfavorable	20%
Heard of, no opinion	2%
Never heard of	*
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	67%
Unfavorable (net)	30%

Q4_2. Ron DeSantis - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	24%
Somewhat favorable	34%
Somewhat unfavorable	12%
Very unfavorable	14%
Heard of, no opinion	9%
Never heard of	6%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	58%
Unfavorable (net)	26%

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Q4_3. Mike Pence - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	8%
Somewhat favorable	31%
Somewhat unfavorable	26%
Very unfavorable	23%
Heard of, no opinion	9%
Never heard of	2%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	39%
Unfavorable (net)	50%

Q4_4. Doug Burgum - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	2%
Somewhat favorable	10%
Somewhat unfavorable	7%
Very unfavorable	6%
Heard of, no opinion	20%
Never heard of	54%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	12%
Unfavorable (net)	12%

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Q4_5. Chris Christie - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	4%
Somewhat favorable	17%
Somewhat unfavorable	22%
Very unfavorable	30%
Heard of, no opinion	13%
Never heard of	13%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	20%
Unfavorable (net)	52%

Q4_6. Nikki Haley - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	14%
Somewhat favorable	30%
Somewhat unfavorable	11%
Very unfavorable	8%
Heard of, no opinion	14%
Never heard of	22%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	44%
Unfavorable (net)	19%

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Q4_7. Will Hurd - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	1%
Somewhat favorable	6%
Somewhat unfavorable	6%
Very unfavorable	6%
Heard of, no opinion	21%
Never heard of	59%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	7%
Unfavorable (net)	12%

Q4_8. Asa Hutchinson - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	2%
Somewhat favorable	11%
Somewhat unfavorable	11%
Very unfavorable	10%
Heard of, no opinion	25%
Never heard of	41%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	12%
Unfavorable (net)	21%

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Q4_9. Vivek Ramaswamy - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	12%
Somewhat favorable	24%
Somewhat unfavorable	11%
Very unfavorable	10%
Heard of, no opinion	12%
Never heard of	30%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	36%
Unfavorable (net)	21%

Q4_10. Tim Scott - How favorable or unfavorable is your opinion of each of the following Republican presidential candidates?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Very favorable	11%
Somewhat favorable	27%
Somewhat unfavorable	8%
Very unfavorable	5%
Heard of, no opinion	17%
Never heard of	31%
Skipped	1%
Favorable (net)	38%
Unfavorable (net)	13%

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Q5. 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.

Total Considering Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Donald Trump	65%
Ron DeSantis	48%
Nikki Haley	31%
Vivek Ramaswamy	25%
Mike Pence	24%
Tim Scott	21%
Chris Christie	13%
Doug Burgum	5%
Asa Hutchinson	5%
Will Hurd	3%

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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	65%
Not considering	27%
Don't know	7%
Skipped	1%

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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	48%
Not considering	35%
Don't know	15%
Skipped	2%

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Q5_3. Mike Pence - 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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	24%
Not considering	60%
Don't know	13%
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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	5%
Not considering	63%
Don't know	30%
Skipped	3%

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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	13%
Not considering	67%
Don't know	18%
Skipped	2%

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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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	31%
Not considering	44%
Don't know	23%
Skipped	2%

Q5_7. Will Hurd - 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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	3%
Not considering	64%
Don't know	30%
Skipped	3%

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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	5%
Not considering	64%
Don't know	28%
Skipped	3%

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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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	25%
Not considering	48%
Don't know	25%
Skipped	2%

Q5_10. Tim Scott - 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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Considering	21%
Not considering	49%
Don't know	27%
Skipped	2%

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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.

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Getting inflation or increasing costs under control	54%
Controlling immigration	40%
Ability to beat Joe Biden	23%
Cutting government spending	22%
Someone fighting against liberalism and the woke agenda	22%
Keeping America safe from foreign conflicts or terrorism	20%
Lowering taxes	16%
Combatting political extremism or polarization	12%
Protecting gun rights	12%
Reducing crime or gun violence	11%
Improving election security or fighting election fraud	10%
Improving health care	9%
Limiting abortion	6%
Strengthening education	5%
Climate change	5%
Fighting against opioid or drug addiction	4%
Economic inequality	3%
Reducing unemployment	2%
Race and racism	2%
COVID-19 and coronavirus	1%
Something else	4%
Don't know	1%
Skipped	*

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Q7. 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?

Total Excellent/Very good Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Donald Trump	58%
Ron DeSantis	41%
Vivek Ramaswamy	31%
Nikki Haley	30%
Mike Pence	20%
Tim Scott	19%
Chris Christie	13%
Doug Burgum	4%
Asa Hutchinson	4%
Will Hurd	2%

Total Poor/Terrible Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Chris Christie	31%
Mike Pence	25%
Donald Trump	18%
Asa Hutchinson	18%
Will Hurd	14%
Ron DeSantis	13%
Doug Burgum	13%
Vivek Ramaswamy	11%
Nikki Haley	10%
Tim Scott	9%

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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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	35%
Very good	24%
About average	13%
Poor	8%
Terrible	10%
Don't know	9%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	58%
Poor/Terrible (net)	18%

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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	12%
Very good	29%
About average	27%
Poor	7%
Terrible	5%
Don't know	19%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	41%
Poor/Terrible (net)	13%

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Q7_3. Mike Pence - 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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	4%
Very good	17%
About average	37%
Poor	15%
Terrible	10%
Don't know	16%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	20%
Poor/Terrible (net)	25%

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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	*
Very good	3%
About average	17%
Poor	9%
Terrible	5%
Don't know	65%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	4%
Poor/Terrible (net)	13%

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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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	2%
Very good	11%
About average	26%
Poor	17%
Terrible	14%
Don't know	28%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	13%
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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	9%
Very good	22%
About average	23%
Poor	6%
Terrible	4%
Don't know	36%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	30%
Poor/Terrible (net)	10%

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Q7_7. Will Hurd - 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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	*
Very good	2%
About average	14%
Poor	8%
Terrible	5%
Don't know	69%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	2%
Poor/Terrible (net)	14%

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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	1%
Very good	3%
About average	18%
Poor	11%
Terrible	7%
Don't know	59%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	4%
Poor/Terrible (net)	18%

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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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	10%
Very good	21%
About average	18%
Poor	6%
Terrible	4%
Don't know	39%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	31%
Poor/Terrible (net)	11%

Q7_10. Tim Scott - 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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Excellent	3%
Very good	16%
About average	25%
Poor	6%
Terrible	3%
Don't know	46%
Skipped	1%
Excellent/Very good (net)	19%
Poor/Terrible (net)	9%

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Q8. To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

Total Strongly/Somewhat Support Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Impeaching President Biden	69%
Firing or removing significant numbers of federal workers	57%
Sending U.S. military forces to Mexico to fight drug cartels	44%

Q8_1. Firing or removing significant numbers of federal workers - To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Strongly support	26%
Somewhat support	31%
Somewhat oppose	14%
Strongly oppose	10%
Don't know	18%
Skipped	*
Support (net)	57%
Oppose (net)	25%

Q8_2. Impeaching President Biden - To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Strongly support	49%
Somewhat support	20%
Somewhat oppose	10%
Strongly oppose	13%
Don't know	8%
Skipped	*
Support (net)	69%
Oppose (net)	23%

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Q8_3. Sending U.S. military forces to Mexico to fight drug cartels - To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Strongly support	15%
Somewhat support	29%
Somewhat oppose	24%
Strongly oppose	22%
Don't know	10%
Skipped	*
Support (net)	44%
Oppose (net)	46%

Q9. Should the following things be legal or illegal?

Total Legal Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Birth control pills	88%
Emergency contraception like Plan B	58%
Medical abortions or abortion pills	43%
Surgical abortions	37%

Total Illegal Summary

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Surgical abortions	54%
Medical abortions or abortion pills	48%
Emergency contraception like Plan B	23%
Birth control pills	6%

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Q9_1. Surgical abortions - Should the following things be legal or illegal?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Legal in all cases	10%
Legal in most cases	26%
Illegal in most cases	37%
Illegal in all cases	16%
Don't know	9%
Skipped	*
Legal (net)	37%
Illegal (net)	54%

Q9_2. Medical abortions or abortion pills - Should the following things be legal or illegal?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Legal in all cases	14%
Legal in most cases	29%
Illegal in most cases	33%
Illegal in all cases	15%
Don't know	8%
Skipped	*
Legal (net)	43%
Illegal (net)	48%

Q9_3. Birth control pills - Should the following things be legal or illegal?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Legal in all cases	67%
Legal in most cases	21%
Illegal in most cases	4%
Illegal in all cases	3%
Don't know	5%
Skipped	*
Legal (net)	88%
Illegal (net)	6%

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Q9_4. Emergency contraception like Plan B - Should the following things be legal or illegal?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Legal in all cases	31%
Legal in most cases	28%
Illegal in most cases	13%
Illegal in all cases	10%
Don't know	18%
Skipped	1%
Legal (net)	58%
Illegal (net)	23%

Q10. To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
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	57%
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	67%

Q10_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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Strongly support	34%
Somewhat support	22%
Somewhat oppose	15%
Strongly oppose	21%
Don't know	7%
Skipped	1%
Support (net)	57%
Oppose (net)	36%

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Q10_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?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Strongly support	42%
Somewhat support	25%
Somewhat oppose	11%
Strongly oppose	15%
Don't know	7%
Skipped	1%
Support (net)	67%
Oppose (net)	26%

Q11. Overall, do you think the decision whether or not a woman can have an abortion should be (regulated by law) or should be (left to the woman and her doctor)?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
Regulated by law	44%
Left to the woman and her doctor	54%
Skipped	1%

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Q12. Which of these is your main source of news?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
FOX News	16%
CNN or MSNBC	2%
ABC, CBS, or NBC News	16%
New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, or USA Today	3%
Newsmax, OANN, Daily Wire, Daily Caller, or other conservative media	8%
Digital or online news	16%
Your local newspaper	3%
Public television or radio	6%
Social media or YouTube	9%
Telemundo or Univision	1%
Other	7%
None of these	12%
Skipped	*

Q13. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as ...?

	Those voting in the Republican Primary or Caucus
A Democrat	2%
A Republican	61%
An independent	33%
Something else	3%
Skipped	*

Q14. Do you generally lean towards the Republican or towards the Democrats?
Base: Independents/those who picked something else or skipped Q13

	Independent/Something else/Skipped (N=1,739)
Lean Democrat	10%
Lean Republican	71%
Neither	19%
Skipped	*

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About the Study

This 538/Washington Post/Ipsos poll was conducted September 19 to 26, 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=5,002).

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)

Fifteen 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 1.6 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The margin of sampling error takes into account the design effect, which was 1.28. 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

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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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