

Toplines
University of Massachusetts Amherst
January 2024 National Poll

Field Dates:	January 25, 2024 – January 30, 2024
Sample:	1064 Respondents
Margin of Error:	3.7%

YouGov interviewed 1064 respondents, none of whom were matched out to produce the final dataset. The unmatched cases were weighted to a sampling frame using propensity scores. The sampling frame is a politically representative "modeled frame" of US adults, based upon the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 CES surveys, including demographics and 2020 presidential vote.

The unmatched cases and the frame were combined, and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, region, and home ownership status. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame, and then post-stratified according to these deciles. The weights were then post-stratified on 2020 presidential vote choice, as well as a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), to produce the final weight.

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Graham Backman – Undergraduate Research Fellow
Bel Corder - Undergraduate Research Fellow
Emily DeGowin - Undergraduate Research Fellow
Kaitlyn Soper - Undergraduate Research Fellow

nteta@polsci.umass.edu
laraja@polsci.umass.edu
jrhodes@polsci.umass.edu
atheodoridis@umass.edu
lcuthbert@umass.edu
aeichen@umass.edu
mhertz@umass.edu
desnyder@umass.edu
gbackman@umass.edu
icorder@umass.edu
edegowin@umass.edu
ksoper@umass.edu

2024 GOP Presidential Candidate Preference (N=633)

Only asked respondents who indicated that they identify as Republicans (including leaners) and Pure Independents

If the (Insert R's State Here) Republican Presidential Primary were held today, which one of the following candidates would you support in the (Insert R's State Here) Republican Presidential Primary?

	Without Leaners	With Leaners
Donald Trump	65%	66%
Nikki Haley	17%	18%
Other (Text Box)	5%	5%
Don't Know	14%	11%

2024 General Election

If the 2024 election for president were held today, which one of the following candidates would you support?

	Without Leaners (N=1,064)	With Leaners (N=989)
Donald Trump	39%	43%
Joe Biden	36%	39%
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	7%	9%
Other (Text Box)	3%	4%
Not Sure	7%	4%
Probably won't vote	8%	N/A

Had to Choose

Only asked of respondents who indicated that they would vote for Kennedy, Some Other Candidate or that they were Not Sure.

If you had to choose between just Joe Biden and Donald Trump, which one of the candidates would you support?

	All (N=168)	RFK Jr. (N=70)	Other (N=36)	Not Sure (N=41)
Donald Trump	25%	33%	7%	20%
Joe Biden	29%	23%	39%	27%
Probably wouldn't vote	46%	44%	54%	53%

Convicted (N=504)

Only asked of respondents who indicated their support for former President Trump in 2024 General Election or Had to Choose.

Donald Trump is currently facing a number of criminal charges. If he is convicted before November's election, would that make you less likely to vote for Donald Trump?

Definitely Yes	7%
Probably Yes	15%
Probably No	27%
Definitely No	51%

Convicted Choice (N=102)

Only asked of respondents who indicated that they were less likely to vote for Trump if convicted.

If Donald Trump is convicted before November's election, which of the following candidates would you support?

Joe Biden	12%
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	27%
Other (Text Box)	17%
Not Sure	34%
Probably wouldn't vote	10%

2024 Rematch (N=1,064)

It is likely that the 2024 presidential election will be a rematch of the 2020 presidential election with former President Donald Trump facing President Joe Biden. In general, do you think that this potential rematch will be . . .

Very Good for the Country	15%
Somewhat Good for the Country	14%
Neither Good Nor Bad for the Country	26%
Somewhat Bad for the Country	19%
Very Bad for the Country	26%

Rematch Follow (N=480)

Only asked of respondents who answered that rematch would be bad for the country.

From the following list, please select the most important reasons why you believe that a rematch of the 2020 presidential election will be bad for the country. Please select all that apply.

These candidates are too old.	63%
These candidates are corrupt.	35%
The candidates are not addressing the issues that matter most to me.	38%
The candidates are too ideologically extreme.	27%
The candidates focus on old conflicts instead of the problems facing the country today.	48%

Better or Worse Trump (N=1,064)

	Much Better	Better	Neither Better nor Worse	Worse	Much Worse
Would it have been better or worse for the United States if former President Donald Trump did not run for president in 2024?	36%	17%	18%	12%	17%
Would it have been better or worse for the Republican Party if former President Donald Trump did not run for president in 2024?	31%	18%	23%	13%	14%

Better or Worse Biden (N=1,064)

	Much Better	Better	Neither Better nor Worse	Worse	Much Worse
Would it have been better or worse for the United States if President Joe Biden did not run for president in 2024?	34%	23%	26%	11%	6%
Would it have been better or worse for the Democratic Party if President Joe Biden did not run for president in 2024?	29%	25%	30%	10%	6%

Emotions (N=1,064)

	Fear	Hope	Happiness	Relief	Anger	Disappointment	Sadness	Pride
Imagine that former <u>President Trump</u> wins the 2024 presidential election. Which of the following do you think you would feel? Please select all that apply.	41%	39%	28%	35%	36%	46%	35%	19%
Imagine that President <u>Joe Biden</u> wins the 2024 presidential election. Which of the following do you think you would feel? Please select all that apply.	38%	27%	21%	35%	32%	50%	36%	13%

2024 Congressional Election

Only asked U.S. Senate Vote Choice to respondents in states with a Senate election in 2024.

	Democratic Party's Candidate		Republican Party's Candidate		Don't Know	
	Without Leaners	With Leaners	Without Leaners	With Leaners	Without Leaners	With Leaners
Looking ahead to the 2024 congressional election, if this election were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in your <u>congressional district</u> ? (N=1,064)	40%	43%	40%	42%	20%	15%
Looking ahead to the 2024 congressional election, if this election were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in the <u>Senate</u> election? (N=840)	43%	45%	36%	39%	21%	16%

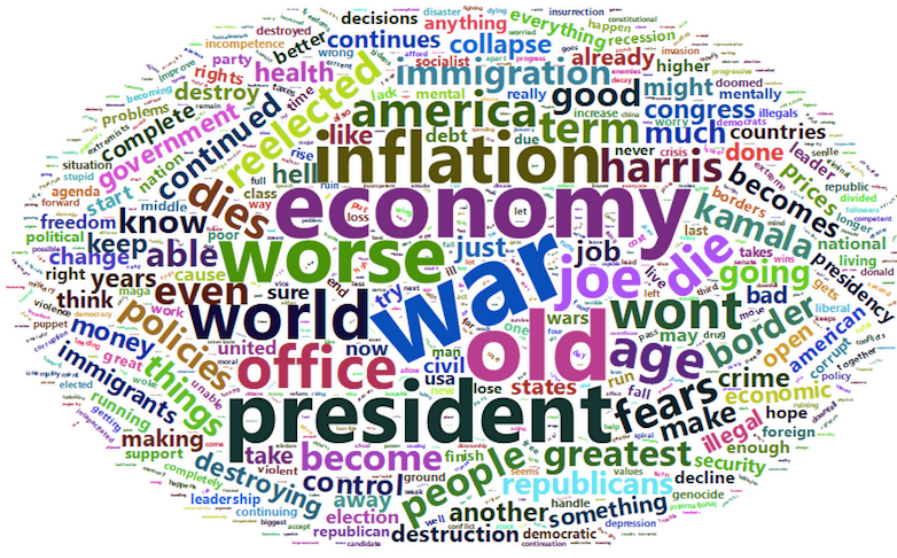
Election Violence (N=1,064)

How concerned are you about the possibility of violence associated with the 2024 presidential election?

Very concerned	36%
Somewhat concerned	37%
Not very concerned	16%
Not concerned at all	6%
Don't know	6%

Fear Biden (N=1,064) ⁱ

In a sentence or two, what is your greatest **fear** if Joe Biden is re-elected President in 2024?



Fear 1: International Fears/Immigration (Republicans more likely to mention)

“Boarder migrant and drug influx. Giving money to other countries as well as the migrants. There are enough problems in our own country we need to work on.”

Fear 2: Fears about Corruption (Republicans more likely to mention)

“He and his puppeteer, Barack Obama, will complete their destruction of the United States, dissolution of the Constitution, and legitimize pedophilia. Corrupt politicians will continue to profiteer off the American people. The judicial system and law & order will flounder.”

Fear 3: Gridlock and Inability to Solve Problems (Democrats more likely to mention)

“I fear the Republican Congress will continue to waste time causing trouble instead of working together to solve problems. I also fear extreme right groups will have violent outbursts.”

Fear 4: Age and Poor Health: Consequences for Foreign Policy/Security (Neither party more likely to mention)

“He might decay in the next four years or straight up die. He could also be put in a bad situation with an enemy of the U.S., but his attitude towards Taiwan gives me hope.”

Fear 5: Threats to Rights and Freedoms (Republicans more likely to mention)

“We won't have any more rights, they'll take our guns, we won't have food, they'll take over our banking, no mire freedom of speech, pretty much a continuation of what we are experiencing now”

Fear 6: No Fears (Democrats more likely to mention)

“I don't fear Joe Biden's Presidency. He is a man with integrity, knowledge, experience, impressive intellect, albeit with some senior moments. He has accomplished a lot during his Presidency. He is a man of the people, all, not just an elite few.”

Fear 7: Culture Wars (Neither party more likely to mention)

“More and higher taxes, higher cost of living ,more restrictions on small business and free enterprise.”

Fear 8: Poor (Mental) Health: General (Neither party more likely to mention)

“An incompetent fool suffering from mental decline.”

Fear Trump (N=1,064)

In a sentence or two, what is your greatest **fear** if Donald Trump is elected President in 2024?



Fear 1: Fears of Chaos, Instability, and Division (Neither party more likely to mention)

“That we’ll experience more of what happened during his former presidency, a disaster!”

Fear 2: Death of Democracy (Neither party more likely to mention)

“Death of democracy and rise of fascism, collapse of international order, rampant hellscape.”

Fear 3: Resistance or Violence from Democrats (Republicans more likely to mention)

“People who are anti-Trump will protest which will turn violent.”

Fear 4: Threats to Human Rights (Neither party more likely to mention)

“That he, with the help of his acolytes will become dictatorial, severely limit human rights, misuse the justice department to go after perceived enemies.”

Fear 5: Foreign War (Neither party more likely to mention)

“China and Russia will start World War 3.”

Fear 6: Resistance from Powerful Actors in Society (Neither party more likely to mention)

“The greatest risk of Trump being in office is that the other powers in our social system (media, bureaucracy, business) do not accept him, and therefore conflict between those powers is inevitable. This could cause tangible pain for the country if Trump's enemies decide, as they did during his last term, that causing damage to him and his supporters is more important than helping the country.”

Fear 7: Dictatorship (Neither party more likely to mention)

“He has threatened to be a dictator and the Republican party will just let him, dooming this country.”

Fear 8: Corruption (Neither party more likely to mention)

“He’ll run the country like a dictator and we’ll see even more corruption in government. Our democracy will not survive.”

Hope Biden (N=1,064)

In a sentence or two, what is your greatest **hope** for a Joe Biden presidency if he is re-elected president in 2024?



Hope 1: Progress on Progressive Policy Agenda (Neither party more likely to mention)

“A thriving economy, banning assault weapons, reinstating abortion rights, and more climate policies.”

Hope 2: Democrats Checked by Republicans and Courts (Republicans more likely to mention)

“He is held in check by a Republican house and Senate.”

Hope 3: End to Trump and MAGA (Democrats more likely to mention)

“Trump will be gone forever.”

Hope 4: Competence and Progress (Democrats more likely to mention)

“A mentally sane government without a daily scandal.”

Hope 5: Helping Working People and the Middle Class (Democrats more likely to mention)

“My greatest hope is that he will continue to look out for people like me by reducing prescription costs and junk fees. . .”

Hope 6: Hope He is Not Elected (Republicans more likely to mention)

"I'll need to pray harder that he doesn't win."

Hope 7: Hope He is Impeached or Leaves Office (Republicans more likely to mention)

“That he gets impeached on day one!!!!”

Hope 8: No Hope (Republicans more likely to mention)

“There is no hope for the US if he wins.”

Hope Trump (N=1,064)

In a sentence or two, what is your greatest **hope** for a Donald Trump presidency if he is elected president in 2024?



Hope 1: Better Economy and Secure Border (Republicans more likely to mention)

He fulfilled many of the things he promised during his last term. I believe he will again lift the economy for the middle class and close our borders. These are my two major concerns for the 2024 election.

Hope 2: No Hope (Democrats more likely to mention)

There is no hope! He has done great damage to the USA, created an unbelievable cult, doesn't care about anyone but himself, is ignorant, lazy, and losing his mind/memory.

Hope 3: Working for Americans, Focusing on the Job (Neither party more likely to mention)

My greatest hope for a Donald Trump presidency is he addresses all major and minor issues facing the country.

Hope 4: Getting the Country Back on Track/Back to Normal (Republicans more likely to mention)

We can get back on track with energy independence, closing up our borders, bringing American companies back from overseas, investing in American manufacturing and bolstering the economy

Hope 5: Addressing Undocumented Immigration and the “Deep State” (Republicans more likely to mention)

All the damage done by the Biden/Obama presidency is quickly undone. The Founding Father's Constitution for our country is restored and clarified as the law of the land. ALL illegal aliens are immediately rounded up and deported. Election manipulators and corrupt politicians are rounded up and punished accordingly.

Hope 6: Trump Dies, is Incapacitated, or Forced to Leave Office (Democrats more likely to mention)

That he'll never make it to the White House, even it means him going to prison, dying or suffering a massive heart attack or stroke.

Hope 7: Checks and Balances (Neither party more likely to mention)

Supreme Court rules against him on any of the appeals he & his attorneys request.

Hope 8: Hope that Trump Doesn't Destroy American Democracy (Democrats more likely to mention)

That he doesn't destroy democracy and teach and allow others to act like him. That it goes as fast as possible without much damage.

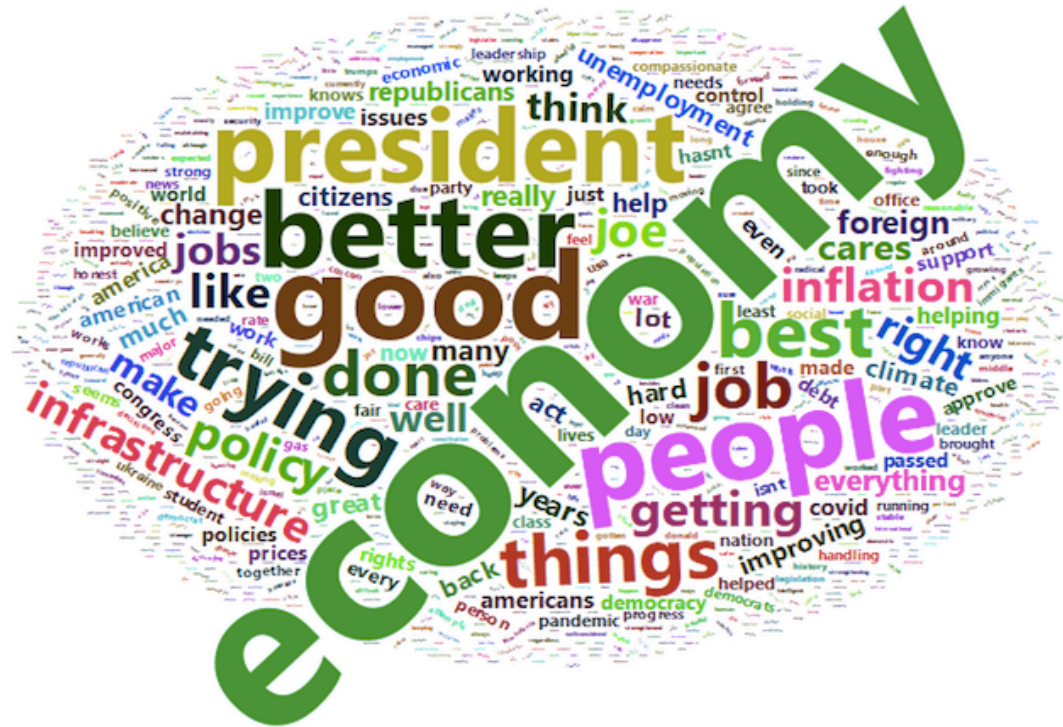
Approve (N=1,064)

Do you approve or disapprove of the way each is doing their job?

	January 2024			June 2023		
	Approve	Disapprove	Not Sure	Approve	Disapprove	Not Sure
President Joe Biden	39%	57%	5%	44%	52%	4%
U.S. Supreme Court	41%	48%	11%	41%	47%	12%
U.S. Congress	26%	62%	12%	28%	59%	13%
Department of Justice	42%	44%	15%	N/A		
United States Armed Forces	68%	18%	14%	N/A		

Biden Approval

In a word or two, please explain why you approve of the job that President Joe Biden is doing.



Biden Disapproval

In a word or two, please explain why you disapprove of the job that President Joe Biden is doing.



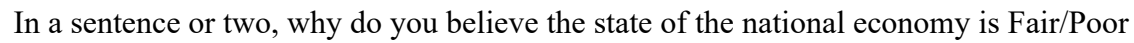
State of the National Economy and Individual Economic Situation (N=1,064)

Thinking about the state of our national economy, would you rate the nation's economy as . . .

Thinking about your own economic situation, would you rate your own economic situation as . . .

	Jan. 2024		Oct. 2022		May 2022	
	National	Own	National	Own	National	Own
Excellent	5%	6%	4%	6%	2%	6%
Good	25%	30%	17%	28%	19%	35%
Fair	36%	40%	34%	38%	37%	41%
Poor	35%	24%	46%	28%	42%	19%

In a sentence or two, why do you believe the state of the national economy is Excellent/Good



Finances (N=1,064)

In the past year, has there been a time when you did not have enough money to . . .

	Yes	No	Not Applicable
pay your rent or mortgage?	26%	52%	21%
pay the minimum payment on your credit card, medical, or student loan debt?	30%	53%	17%
buy food for you or your family?	35%	58%	7%
consider buying a home, even though you wanted to?	31%	26%	44%
consider having a child or more children, even though you wanted to?	14%	26%	60%
pay for childcare?	11%	27%	62%
save for big expenses like a college education or retirement?	38%	32%	30%
save for a vacation, new car, or improvements to your home?	52%	35%	13%

Inflation (N=1,064)

Rising prices (also called inflation) are a concern for consumers. How do you think the United States compares to other advanced countries when it comes to inflation in the past year?

More inflation than most	41%
About average	31%
Less inflation than most	14%
Don't know	15%

Growth (N=1,064)

A growing economy is something most people want. How do you think the United States compares to other advanced countries when it comes to economic growth in the past year?

More growth than most	21%
About average	37%
Less growth than most	27%
Don't know	15%

Biden Exceed Expectations (N=1,064)

Has President Biden exceeded, met, or fallen short of your expectations for his presidency?

	Jan. 2024	Jan. 2023	Dec. 2021	Apr. 2021
Exceeded expectations	9%	15%	9%	20%
Met expectations	33%	37%	36%	44%
Fallen short of expectations	58%	48%	55%	36%

Biden Issue Performance (N=1,064)

How well would you say that President Biden has handled...

	Very Well	Somewhat Well	Not Too Well	Not Well At All	Don't Know
the Israeli- Hamas War?	6%	25%	23%	36%	10%
jobs?	17%	25%	19%	33%	6%
climate change?	9%	27%	21%	31%	12%
taxes?	7%	25%	21%	37%	10%
inflation?	9%	21%	18%	46%	5%
immigration?	3%	23%	20%	47%	6%
crime?	6%	26%	17%	40%	11%
the Russian- Ukrainian conflict?	13%	29%	17%	33%	8%

Biden Legitimately Elected (N=1,064)

Do you believe that Joe Biden's victory in the 2020 presidential election was legitimate or not legitimate?

	Jan. 2024	Jan. 2023	Oct. 2022	May 2022	Dec. 2021	Apr. 2021
Definitely Legitimate	42%	40%	43%	47%	46%	49%
Probably Legitimate	17%	17%	15%	11%	12%	10%
Probably Not Legitimate	14%	13%	12%	11%	11%	10%
Definitely Not Legitimate	16%	18%	18%	19%	22%	24%
I'm Not Sure	12%	11%	12%	12%	9%	7%

Group Feelings (N=1,064)

Measured from 0 to 100 with 0 indicating “Coldest” and 100 indicating “Warmest.” Average Score for Each Group Presented Below.

On a scale from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest) how do you feel about the following?

	Average Score	Democratic Respondents	Independent Respondents	Republican Respondents
Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu	41	32	31	58
Hamas	18	20	23	12
Russian President Vladimir Putin	18	16	17	20
Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy	49	64	32	41

Israel Hamas War (N=1,064)

Do you support or oppose . . .

	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Neither	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
The military operation that the state of Israel has undertaken in Gaza in response to the Hamas terrorist attack on October 7, 2023?	23%	20%	32%	12%	14%
The provision of over \$10 billion in military aid to the state of Israel in support of their war against Hamas?	15%	21%	29%	15%	20%

Genocide (N=1,064)

The United Nations defines genocide as “an act committed with the intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, in whole or in part.” Do you believe that the state of Israel, in its war against Hamas in response to the terrorist attack on October 7, 2023, is committing genocide against the Palestinian people living in Gaza?

Definitely Yes	18%
Probably Yes	32%
Probably No	24%
Definitely No	26%

Ukraine Options (N=1,064)

Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, the United States has provided more than \$1 billion in military assistance to Ukraine, including anti-aircraft systems, anti-tank missiles, light armor weapons, firearms, and ammunition. Some have argued that further military steps are necessary to defeat Russia. Which of the following measures do you support or oppose the United States carrying out? (May 2022)

Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, the United States has provided more than \$45 billion in military assistance to Ukraine, including anti-aircraft systems, anti-tank missiles, light armor weapons, firearms, and ammunition. Some have argued that further military steps are necessary to defeat Russia while others believe the United States should not provide more assistance. Which of the following measures do you support or oppose the United States carrying out? (Jan. 2024)

	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022
	Strongly Support		Support		Neither Support nor Oppose		Oppose		Strongly Oppose	
Providing more weapons and other military assistance to Ukraine.	20%	33%	24%	23%	29%	25%	12%	8%	16%	10%
Carrying out cyber attacks on Russian military targets in Ukraine.	15%	24%	21%	20%	35%	33%	15%	10%	14%	13%
Carrying out cyber attacks on Russian military targets in Russia.	12%	21%	19%	18%	37%	35%	16%	11%	16%	14%
Using the U.S. military to attack Russian military targets in Russia.	4%	8%	9%	6%	32%	32%	26%	23%	29%	31%

Efforts

Since the events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6th, 2021, federal law enforcement agencies have identified, arrested, and charged hundreds of individuals who they suspect took part. Do you support or oppose *continuing* the federal effort to identify, arrest, and charge individuals who participated in these events?

	Jan. 2024	Oct. 2022	May 2022	Dec. 2021	Apr. 2021
Strongly Support	38%	40%	42%	46%	52%
Somewhat Support	14%	9%	11%	11%	13%
Neither Support nor Oppose	13%	15%	13%	13%	13%
Somewhat Oppose	7%	7%	6%	6%	7%
Strongly Oppose	20%	20%	21%	19%	10%
Don't know	8%	8%	7%	6%	5%

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Strongly Support	38%	69%	24%	10%
Somewhat Support	14%	16%	14%	12%
Neither Support nor Oppose	13%	9%	22%	13%
Somewhat Oppose	7%	1%	7%	14%
Strongly Oppose	20%	1%	15%	45%
Don't know	8%	3%	18%	6%

Harsh or Lenient

Do you think the legal punishments for people who have been convicted for their actions at the U.S. Capitol on January 6th, 2021 have been too harsh, too lenient, or about right?

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Way too harsh	16%	1%	17%	35%
Too harsh	15%	3%	17%	28%
About right	42%	52%	41%	30%
Too lenient	16%	25%	19%	4%
Way too lenient	11%	20%	6%	3%

Pardon

Do you believe those who have been convicted for their actions at the U.S. Capitol on January 6th, 2021 should be pardoned?

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Definitely Yes	16%	1%	12%	36%
Probably Yes	22%	13%	23%	32%
Probably Not	24%	19%	36%	23%
Definitely Not	38%	67%	30%	9%

Trump Charged

As you may know, former President Donald Trump has been indicted on federal charges that he conspired to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election. Do you think Trump is innocent or guilty of these charges?

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Definitely innocent	23%	3%	16%	50%
Probably innocent	19%	9%	20%	32%
Probably guilty	22%	22%	37%	13%
Definitely guilty	36%	66%	28%	5%

Trump Ballot

A number of states have recently considered whether former President Donald Trump is eligible to be on their state's presidential ballot based on their interpretation of the 14th amendment, which prohibits any individual who has taken part in an insurrection, or given aid or comfort to insurrectionists, from serving as a federal elected official. Do you support or oppose former President Donald Trump being removed from your state's 2024 presidential ballot given this provision of the 14th amendment?

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Strongly Support	31%	57%	24%	5%
Support	10%	15%	7%	5%
Neither Support Nor Oppose	16%	17%	26%	9%
Oppose	6%	3%	7%	11%
Strongly Oppose	30%	5%	21%	66%
Don't Know	6%	3%	15%	3%

Thomas Recuse

According to reports, Ginni Thomas, the wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, emailed state legislators in a number of states asking them to overturn the results of the 2020 election and also urged former President Trump's chief of staff, Mark Meadows, to continue efforts to overturn the 2020 election. Given this, do you think that Justice Clarence Thomas should or should not remove himself from cases related to the 2020 election?

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Definitely Should Remove Himself	37%	64%	32%	8%
Probably Should Remove Himself	27%	27%	34%	24%
Probably Should Not Remove Himself	16%	8%	15%	26%
Definitely Should Not Remove Himself	19%	1%	19%	41%

Trump Dictator

Former President Donald Trump recently said that if elected, he would be a dictator only on the first day of his second term. Do you think that this is a good or bad idea for the country?

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Definitely Good	15%	1%	12%	35%
Probably Good	24%	12%	24%	39%
Probably Bad	16%	16%	18%	16%
Definitely Bad	44%	71%	47%	10%

Next President

From the following list, please select the individual who is **next** in line to become President of the United States if President Joe Biden is no longer able or willing to serve as President of the United States.

	All (N=1,064)	Democrats (N=431)	Independents (N=209)	Republicans (N=424)
Kamala Harris	89%	91%	81%	90%
Mike Johnson	6%	5%	12%	5%
Patty Murray	2%	2%	3%	1%
Antony Blinken	3%	2%	4%	2%
Janet Yellen	1%	0%	0%	1%

Biden Impeach

	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Probably No	Definitely No
Do you think that the House of Representatives <u>will</u> impeach President Joe Biden?	6%	18%	55%	21%
Do you think that the House of Representatives <u>should</u> impeach President Joe Biden?	24%	17%	25%	34%

	Definitely Yes				Probably Yes				Probably No				Definitely No			
	All	Dem	Ind	Rep	All	Dem	Ind	Rep	All	Dem	Ind	Rep	All	Dem	Ind	Rep
Do you think that the House of Representatives <u>will</u> impeach President Joe Biden?	6%	2%	5%	12%	18%	16%	16%	22%	55%	51%	62%	55%	21%	31%	17%	11%
Do you think that the House of Representatives <u>should</u> impeach President Joe Biden?	24%	3%	19%	52%	17%	8%	23%	24%	25%	25%	37%	17%	34%	63%	21%	8%

Only asked of respondents that indicated that President Biden should be impeached.

In a sentence or two, please identify the reasons why you believe President Joe Biden should be impeached.



Why Biden Should Be Impeachedⁱⁱ

Only asked of respondents that indicated that President Biden should be impeached.

In a sentence or two, please identify the reasons why you believe President Joe Biden should be impeached.

Topic 1: Failure to Protect Border and Enforce Immigration Law

“A dereliction of duty in not following the laws regarding the border and encouraging people to have to work with cartels and make a dangerous trek and possibly be beholden to the cartels.”

Topic 2: General Corruption and Guilt for Crimes

“He sold his office. As a lifetime public servant, how did he become a multi-millionaire? He's a liar.”

Topic 3: Involvement in Hunter Biden Criminal Behavior

“For sharing classified documents with his son Hunter and also dealing in shady deals with Russia.”

Topic 4: General Corruption and Influence-Peddling

“There is evidence of corruption and influence peddling, and he is a doofus.”

Topic 5: General Harm to American Life/Conspiracy Theorizing

“Look at his history: biggest liar, most selfish pervert in existence.”

Topic 6: Failure to Protect the Country Against Foreign Influences

“He sold the US influence to other countries. He took documents out of the White House after he served and probably gave access to the Chinese.”

Topic 7: General Animosity toward Biden/General Claims of Harm to United States

“He is a horrible person.”

“Wants to destroy America.”

Topic 8: General Incompetence and Corruption

“First of all he is the man in charge. He took an oath to keep Americans safe. His policies have directly impacted the deaths of American citizens. His backwards dealings in Ukraine and other countries has our tax dollars going places Trump got us away from. The leash pullers of the Biden regime are really the ones to look at.”

Group Feelings (N=1,054)

Measured from 0 to 100 with 0 indicating “Coldest” and 100 indicating “Warmest.” Average Score for Each Group Presented Below.

On a scale from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest) how do you feel about the following?

	Average Score	Democratic Respondents (N=429)	Independent Respondents (N=207)	Republican Respondents (N=417)
Democrats	43	70	30	18
Republicans	41	23	31	68
African Americans	70	77	58	67
Jewish Americans	69	72	57	74
Immigrants	48	62	43	34

Racial Attitudes (N=1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	53%	21%	26%
Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	26%	23%	52%
I am angry that racism exists.	72%	21%	7%
The United States has never been a racist country.	12%	18%	70%
The main cause of the Civil War was the conflict over states' rights.	41%	28%	31%

Anti-Semitism (N=1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
Jews have too much power in the business world.	18%	35%	46%
Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.	22%	47%	31%
It is appropriate for opponents of Israel's policies and actions to boycott Jewish American owned businesses in their communities.	18%	39%	43%

Christian Nationalism (1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
The United States was founded as a Christian nation.	51%	26%	24%
The United States should always be a Christian nation.	39%	28%	33%
Christian values should influence everything our government does	34%	28%	38%

Islamophobia (N=1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
Islamist terrorists find strong support among Muslims.	38%	40%	22%
Muslims are not trustworthy.	19%	35%	46%
Muslims attract more attention due to their aggressive behavior	37%	32%	31%

Racial Identity Centrality (N=1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
The fact that I am [insert R's race] is an important part of my identity.	48%	32%	20%
Being [insert R's race] is an important part of how I see myself.	44%	32%	24%
What happens to [Insert R's Race] in this country has something to do with what happens in my life.	42%	40%	18%

Haley Race (N=1,064)

From the following list, please identify former South Carolina governor and 2024 Republican presidential candidate Nikki Haley's racial identity.

	All	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
White	25%	27%	20%	25%
Black or African American	3%	2%	5%	4%
Hispanic or Latino	2%	3%	2%	2%
Asian or Asian American	19%	19%	19%	19%
Native American	4%	4%	3%	5%
Middle Eastern	7%	9%	2%	7%
Two or More Races	14%	15%	11%	15%
Don't Know	25%	21%	38%	23%

Great Replacement (N=1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The growth in the number of immigrants in the country means that America is in danger of losing its culture and identity.	18%	20%	25%	12%	25%
Some elected officials want to increase immigration in order to bring in obedient voters who will vote for them.	24%	19%	28%	9%	20%
The growth in the size of minority communities in the country will NOT result in the declining influence of white Americans.	16%	19%	39%	15%	10%
Racial and ethnic diversity tends to strengthen the character of a nation.	25%	28%	31%	8%	8%

Immigrants and Blood (N=1,064)

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Immigrants are poisoning the blood of our country.	9%	12%	25%	15%	39%

Immigration Policies (N=1,064)

Do you support or oppose . . .

	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Neither Support Nor Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Allowing refugees and asylum seekers the ability to live and work in the United States for a temporary, but extendable, period of time?	21%	24%	24%	14%	17%
Building a wall along the border with Mexico?	36%	12%	17%	12%	22%
Allowing the children of immigrants (also known as “Dreamers”) who were brought to the United States illegally by their parents to become citizens if they meet citizenship requirements and commit no crimes?	35%	28%	17%	8%	12%
Allowing immigrants who are living in the United States illegally to become citizens if they meet citizenship requirements and commit no crimes?	27%	25%	19%	11%	19%

Responsible for Migrant Situation (N=1,064)

According to federal officials, since September 2022, more than 2 million refugees and asylum seekers have been caught crossing the U.S. Southern border breaking the record set in 2021. Who do you believe is most responsible for the migrant situation at the U.S. Southern border?

	All	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
President Joe Biden	41%	15%	40%	73%
House Republicans	9%	13%	8%	3%
Senate Democrats	5%	4%	5%	6%
Migrants	17%	21%	21%	9%
Governments in Latin America	28%	47%	26%	8%

Refugee Support (N=1,064)

After reading the following preamble, respondents were randomly assigned to only 1 of the 4 following questions.

As you may know, refugees fleeing conflict-ridden parts of the world can be resettled in the United States to begin a new life. Refugees are often resettled in small groups together so that they have a support network. All refugees who are resettled in the United States are subject to screening to make sure they do not pose a security or a health threat. Now, imagine that your community has been selected as a place for refugees from (insert nation-state here) to be resettled.

	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022	Jan. 2024	May 2022
	Strongly Support		Somewhat Support		Neither Support Nor Oppose		Somewhat Oppose		Strongly Oppose	
Would you support or oppose refugees from Venezuela being resettled in your community? (N=261)	17%	26%	22%	17%	34%	32%	12%	9%	16%	17%
Would you support or oppose refugees from Ukraine being resettled in your community? (N=272)	25%	33%	29%	21%	27%	31%	9%	6%	10%	9%
Would you support or oppose refugees from Syria being resettled in your community? (N=268)	19%	26%	11%	17%	39%	30%	12%	11%	20%	16%
Would you support or oppose refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo being resettled in your community? (N=263)	17%	24%	19%	20%	37%	38%	11%	9%	16%	10%

Enslaved (N=1,064)

Were any of your ancestors enslaved in the United States?

Yes	11%
No	67%
Not sure	22%

Enslaved Follow Up (N=111)

Only shown to respondents who answered that their ancestors were enslaved.

On a scale from 0 (uncertain) to 100 (completely certain), how certain are you that one or more of your ancestors were enslaved in the United States or another country?

Average Score	83
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Reparations (N=1,064)

Do you think the federal government should or should not make cash payments to the descendants of slaves?

	Jan. 2024	Jan. 2023	April 2021
Definitely Should	15%	15%	17%
Probably Should	19%	21%	21%
Probably Should Not	22%	21%	16%
Definitely Should Not	45%	42%	46%

Anti-Reparations (N=752)

Asked only of respondents who answered that the federal government should not make cash payments to the descendants of slaves.

From the list below, please indicate the most important reasons why you believe that the federal government should not make cash payments to the descendants of slaves.

	Jan. 2024	Jan. 2023	April 2021
Providing cash payments or benefits would be too expensive.	12%	6%	6%
Descendants of Slaves do not deserve cash payments.	29%	28%	38%
African Americans are treated equally in society today.	20%	21%	18%
Impossible to place a monetary value on the impact of slavery.	25%	27%	25%
It would be too difficult to administer a reparations program.	15%	18%	13%

Pro-Reparations (N=312)

Asked only of respondents who answered that the federal government should make cash payments to the descendants of slaves.

From the list below, please indicate the most important reason why you believe that the federal government should make cash payments to the descendants of slaves.

	Jan. 2024	Jan. 2023	April 2021
The United States never paid for the deaths of millions who died in slavery.	11%	22%	13%
Slavery is directly responsible for inequalities between African Americans and whites today.	25%	28%	28%
The United States never followed through on its promise to compensate freed slaves.	25%	24%	20%
Reparations provides meaningful recognition of the pain caused by ongoing discrimination.	22%	13%	22%
Reparations will help African Americans achieve a more just and equitable future.	17%	12%	18%

Higher Education Confidence (N=1,064)

How much confidence do you have that colleges and universities in the United States can . . .

	A Great Deal	Quite a Lot	Some	Not Much	Very Little
Prepare students for successful careers?	14%	25%	37%	14%	10%
Protect freedom of speech on campus?	13%	18%	33%	20%	16%
Ensure the safety of people of color?	14%	22%	39%	18%	8%
Prepare students for citizenship in American democracy?	11%	19%	37%	19%	14%
Ensure the safety of religious minorities?	9%	15%	37%	25%	14%

DEI Interest (N=1,064)

How much have you read, seen, or heard about the phrase Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (“DEI”)?

A Lot	21%
Some	31%
Not Much	21%
I have not heard of the phrase “Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion” (DEI).	28%

DEI Define (N=792)

In as few words as possible, please describe what you think the phrase Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (“DEI”) means.



DEI Training (N=1,064)

From the following list, please indicate if you believe the following professions should or should not receive Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) training?

	Definitely Should	Probably Should	Probably Should Not	Definitely Should Not
Medical Professionals	40%	31%	11%	18%
Teachers	41%	30%	11%	18%
Police Officers	46%	27%	10%	17%
Members of the U.S. Armed Forces	40%	30%	12%	18%
Public Employees	36%	34%	12%	18%
Private Sector Employees	28%	37%	16%	20%

DEI Policies (N=1,064)

Do you support or oppose . . .

	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Neither Support Nor Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Film and television executives considering racial, ethnic, and gender diversity in their casting decisions?	17%	19%	35%	11%	17%
The National Football League's (NFL) "Rooney Rule" which requires each NFL team to interview at least two external racial minority candidates for an open head coaching position?	13%	20%	43%	8%	16%

Sexism (N=1,064)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	29%	33%	38%
Women are too easily offended.	41%	27%	32%
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	28%	33%	39%

Abortion Emergency (N=1,064)

A number of states have enacted legislation that prohibits women from obtaining an abortion, but provides an exception for health care providers to perform abortions if it is deemed that the pregnancy represents a “medical emergency.” From the following list, please identify all of the circumstances that you believe should be deemed a “medical emergency” allowing health care providers to perform an abortion.

	All	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
The pregnancy will result in the death of the mother	77%	84%	71%	73%
The pregnancy will result in complications that will prevent the mother from participating in normal day-to-day activities permanently	54%	69%	50%	40%
The pregnancy will result in the mother becoming unable to have children in the future	42%	56%	43%	26%
The pregnancy will result in complications that will require the mother to stay in the hospital for an extended period of time, but with prospects for a full recovery	29%	44%	25%	14%
The fetus will not be able to survive outside the womb	67%	79%	61%	56%
The fetus will have a life-threatening condition after birth	59%	76%	53%	44%
The fetus will have a serious, but not life-threatening, condition after birth	34%	50%	26%	20%
Abortions should never be performed	11%	3%	18%	17%

Who Determines Emergency (N=1,064)

Who do you believe should make the final decision about whether an abortion is medically necessary? Please select all that apply.

	All	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Health Care Provider	45%	48%	41%	43%
State Attorney General	3%	2%	2%	5%
State Supreme Court	7%	6%	6%	10%
U.S. Supreme Court	9%	8%	11%	10%
The Pregnant Woman	53%	70%	47%	38%
Don't Know	16%	7%	29%	21%

SC Transparency (N=1,064)

Do you support or oppose . . .

	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Neither Support Nor Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Allowing cameras to film and broadcast oral arguments heard by the U.S. Supreme Court?	35%	27%	27%	7%	4%

Popular Culture v. Political Knowledge (N=1,064)

We are interested in how quickly and accurately people can answer questions about current events. Please indicate whether each statement is true or false.

	True	False
Amy Coney Barrett is a U.S. Supreme Court Justice.	78%	22%
Mike Johnson is the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.	76%	24%
The Democratic Party holds the majority in the U.S. House of Representatives.	38%	62%
Nikki Haley won the 2024 Iowa Republican Caucuses.	19%	81%
Tucker Carlson is no longer with Fox News.	81%	19%
Chuck Schumer is the U.S. Attorney General.	25%	75%
George Santos is currently a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.	30%	70%
Mitch McConnell is the U.S. Senate Minority Leader.	75%	25%
Taylor Swift is dating Patrick Mahomes of the Kansas City Chiefs.	33%	67%
Margot Robbie starred in last summer's <i>Barbie</i> movie.	84%	16%
Matthew Perry, who recently died, was most famous for his role in <i>Seinfeld</i> .	26%	74%
Beyonce and Jay-Z are divorced.	31%	69%
Argentine soccer star Lionel Messi joined Inter Miami of Major League Soccer.	61%	39%
Luke Combs is a famous actor.	26%	74%
Jeremy Renner was injured in a snow plow accident.	73%	27%
Buffalo Bills player Damar Hamlin suffered cardiac arrest on the field after a tackle	79%	21%

Demographic Breakdown of 2024 University of Massachusetts Amherst January National Poll (N=1,064)

Men	49%
Women	51%
18-29	19%
30-54	38%
>55	43%
HS or less	39%
Some Coll.	18%
Coll. Deg.	31%
Postgrad	12%
<\$40K	37%
\$40K-\$100K	40%
>\$100K	23%
Democrat	43%
Independent	22%
Republican	35%
Liberal	29%
Moderate	39%
Conservative	33%
White	67%
African American	13%
Hispanic	17%
Asian	3%
Biden	52%
Trump	48%

ⁱ We identified the major reasons for hope/fear for both Trump and Biden using structural topic modeling, a method for identifying thematic patterns in texts. We estimated a model with 8 topics, and used the words most associated with each topic, responses highly associated with each topic, and the partisan group most likely to employ the topic, to interpret the meaning of the topics. The topics are not mutually exclusive: responses can belong to more than one topic.

ⁱⁱ We identified the major reasons offered by respondents who indicted that President Biden should be impeached (N=404) using structural topic modeling, a method for identifying thematic patterns in texts. We estimated a model with 8 topics, and used the words most associated with each topic and responses highly associated with each topic to interpret the meaning of the topics. The topics are not mutually exclusive: responses can belong to more than one topic.