

The people and
President Trump:
one year on

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC
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Smell The Coffee: A Wake-Up Call For The Conservative Party

Call Me Dave: The Unauthorised Biography Of David Cameron (with Isabel Oakeshott)

Pay Me Forty Quid And I'll Tell You: The 2015 Election Campaign Through The Eyes Of The Voters

Well, You Did Ask: Why The UK Voted To Leave The EU

Hopes & Fears: Trump, Clinton, The Voters And The Future

The Lost Majority: The 2017 Election, The Conservative Party, The Voters And The Future.

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Contents

| | |
|---------------------|----|
| Key points | 5 |
| Methodology | 6 |
| Trump as President | 7 |
| Progress report | 15 |
| The domestic scene | 19 |
| Trump and the world | 26 |
| Full poll results | 30 |



Key points

- Few voters said they **regretted the decision** they made in November 2016 – though those who had voted positively for Trump were happier with their vote than those who had voted mainly against Clinton. Those who had switched to Trump having voted for Obama in 2012 were less happy than Trump voters overall.
- 88% of Clinton voters agreed that **Trump's tweets** were “often inflammatory or embarrassing, and he should stop tweeting”, while 65% of Trump voters thought they “allow him to communicate directly with the people without being filtered by the media, and he should continue tweeting.
- In a range of attributes, Trump's voters rated him highest on “**having a clear idea of what he wants to achieve**,” “making the right decisions even when they are unpopular,” and “leading the American military.” They gave slightly lower (though still high) marks for “making things happen and getting things done”, the area in which they had the highest hopes in our January 2017 research.
- 78% of Clinton voters believe that “**Donald Trump's campaign colluded with Russia** to influence the election, and Donald Trump personally was aware”. 63% of Trump voters believe “Russia tried to influence the presidential election, but there was no collusion with Donald Trump's campaign.” In our focus groups, Trump voters described the Mueller investigation as a “witch hunt” aimed at discrediting the President.
- 85% of Trump voters think there has been **progress delivering President Trump's agenda**, though only a quarter think there has been “a great deal” of progress. Trump voters who think there has been little progress are most likely to blame Republicans in Congress, followed by Democrats in Congress, ahead of Trump himself.
- Three quarters of Trump voters said they had thought he would do a good job and that he had **done at least as well as they expected** (including 28% who thought he had done even better). Only 12% of Trump voters expecting him to do a good job said he had done worse than they expected.
- In a list of twenty current and former politicians, **Defense Secretary James Mattis** received the highest overall favourability rating. Joe Biden, George W. Bush and Bernie Sanders were the only others to receive net positive ratings from voters as a whole. Trump voters gave their highest score to Mike Pence, one point ahead of President Trump; Clinton voters most favoured Joe Biden, followed by Elizabeth Warren.
- 90% of Clinton voters believe Trump “has a negative **reputation around the world**, and that is bad for America.” Most Trump voters think either that he has a positive reputation (49%), or that he has a negative reputation but that doesn't matter (36%).
- Both Trump and Clinton voters think it more likely than not that the US will take **military action against North Korea** during the Trump presidency, and that there is an even chance of military action against Iran.



Methodology

13,500 adults in the United States were interviewed online between 12 and 26 October 2017. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the United States. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

Eight focus groups with people of different backgrounds and voting histories were held between 29 October and 2 November 2017 in Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Las Vegas.

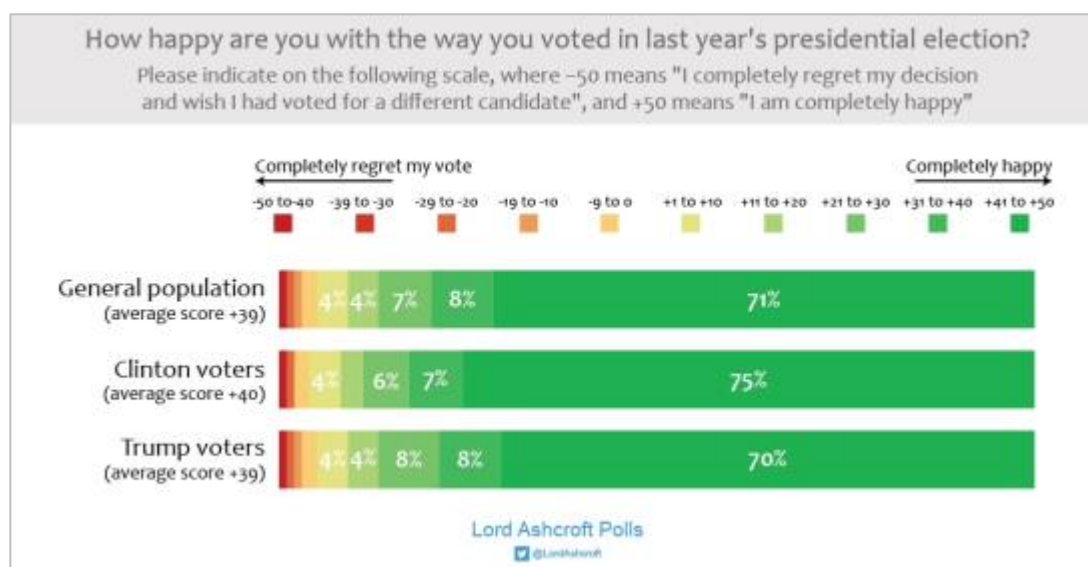
Extracts from the focus groups can be heard in the Election Anniversary Edition of the *Ashcroft In America* podcast, which is also available on the Lord Ashcroft Polls website, on iTunes, and at SoundCloud:

<https://soundcloud.com/user-660753355/ashcroft-in-america-election-anniversary-edition>

Trump as President

No regrets

Around one in three of those who voted either for Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton in November 2016 said they had been voting mainly against their opponent, rather than in positive support of their candidate. Half of Clinton voters who had backed Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary said they had been voting mainly against Trump in the general election; similarly, around half of Trump voters who had supported another candidate in the Republican primary (and two thirds of those who had backed John Kasich) said they had been voting mainly against Clinton in November.



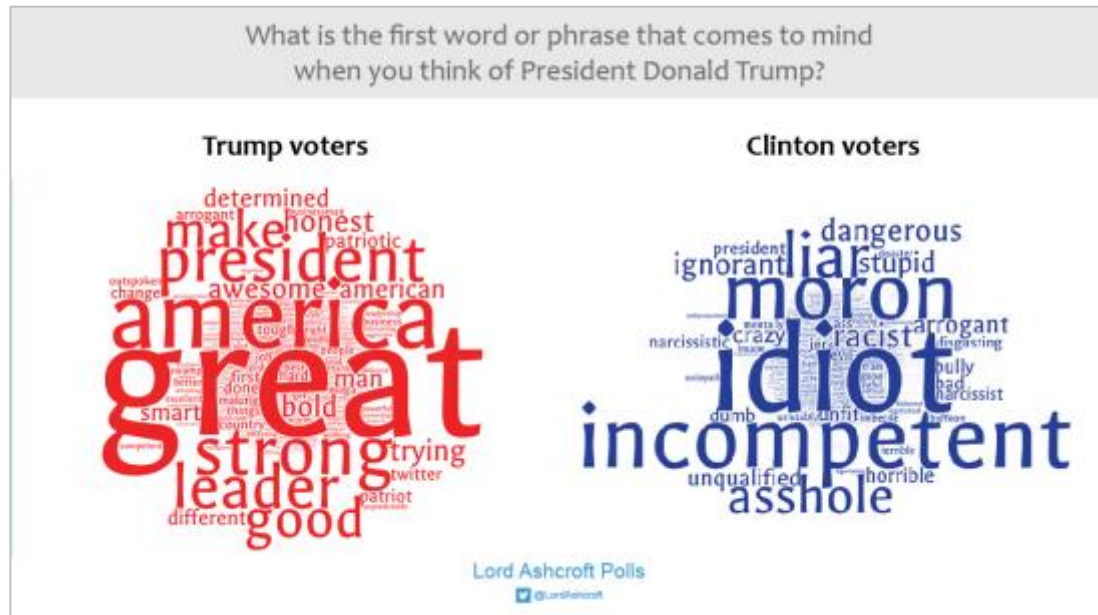
Few voters said they regretted the decision they had made in November 2016. Asked how happy they were with their choice on a scale from -50 ("I wish I had voted for a different candidate") and +50 ("completely happy"), Clinton and Trump voters gave almost identical mean scores (+40 and +39 respectively).

However, there were notable variations between different kinds of Trump voter. Those who had voted positively for the President gave a mean score of +44, and 81% gave a number between 41 and 50 (the highest range). Those who had been voting mainly against Clinton had a mean score of 32, with only 53% between 41 and 50. People who had voted for Obama in 2012 and Trump in 2016 were also less happy than Trump voters overall, with a mean score of +27 and only 46% in the 41-50 range.



Trump in a word

We asked our poll respondents for the first word or phrase that came to mind when they thought of Donald Trump as president. The difference in response between the two sets of voters is stark.



In our focus groups, most of those who had voted for Trump continued to support him. They cited a growing economy (“the stock market’s liking it. He’s doing well for my 401K”), efforts to bring back jobs to America, repeal of regulations – especially withdrawal from the Paris climate accord – and the general air of change he was bringing to Washington.

“I think he’s doing good. I think he’s what we needed to shake things up in this country. It’s just been so, just, blah for so many years.”

“He’s rebuking a lot of Obama’s foolishness. Regulations he’s cut. He’s pulled back the EPA a lot. He’s stepped away from that horrible environmental policy with the UN. He’s also working on that wall.”

“I’m in outside sales, and there is not one customer of mine since Trump got elected that’s not looking for people... I’ve heard of growth, but not this overall growth we’re seeing in the last six to eight months.”

“He’s trying. Nothing’s going to happen overnight, but he’s sure as hell trying.”

Trump voters



Predictably enough, those who had not voted for him were very critical: our participants described the Trump presidency as “disastrous”, “monstrous”, “an embarrassment”, “chaotic”, and very often “divisive”. However, none said they were very surprised by what they had seen, since he was the same person they had grown used to during the campaign: “Trump has always been Trump. The guy you see, it’s not like he’s changed.”

Most of the criticism was directed at the way President Trump went about his job, but a few saw him doing real damage below the surface in areas including environmental regulation and equality.

“He’s not the same kind of leader that some have been in the past. Look at Reagan, who was able to unite the country, put us all on the same team, while Trump is doing the opposite.”

“If there is a plan, he has definitely covered it up with his personality. Even if there is one, he definitely makes it seem like there’s not.”

“Trump has done a ton of things that aren’t covered, protections or regulations that are being rolled back. All this mockery and clownery is a distraction from all the stuff that is happening.”

“I just feel like, since Trump’s been President, we’re back in the fifties and sixties. I just feel like we kind of started over.”

Non-Trump voters

Much of the discussion, among both the President’s supporters and opponents, concerned his use of Twitter. For his detractors, Trump’s tweets summed up everything they disliked about his presidency: misplaced priorities, abusive language, and what they saw as a wish to divide rather than unite.

“There’s less class. Dude, come on, worry about what’s going on somewhere else, or something in the office, not what somebody said to you or if they made fun of you.”

“He’s supposed to be our leader and he’s belittling people and calling them names. I mean, even if my kids did that I would be ashamed.”

One regular complaint was that “we end up arguing and split on topics that don’t really matter”. A good example of this was the controversy over players “taking a knee” rather than standing for the national anthem before NFL games. Whatever they thought of the issue itself, non-Trump voters tended not to see it as something on which the President should comment,



let alone take a strong public stand: “I think he has no business talking about that at all or getting involved with it. We’re \$20 trillion in debt, our social security is running out, why is he even making any comment about that when we’ve got bigger and more important priorities for him to worry about?” Some thought they knew the answer: “It’s good red meat to fire up his base.” Indeed, most of the Trump supporters we spoke to agreed with him on the matter: “I think he should say something. He’s the President of the United States. These people are dying for our country, and these guys that are kneeling are totally disrespecting their sacrifice and their memory.”

Even many of Trump’s supporters said they disliked the way he used Twitter, often wishing he would choose his subjects and his words more carefully. However, many of them strongly defended his tweeting habit, saying it was an effective way of communicating without being distorted by the media or his own bureaucracy.

“I think he should just let things lie sometimes, let them bounce off... Sometimes with the stuff on Twitter he’s got to be the better person... He always has to have the last word, and that’s not very presidential to me.”

“Any time he feels he’s being attacked, he’s got to hit back. Which is a great personality to have if you’re a quarterback or, you know, a boxer.”

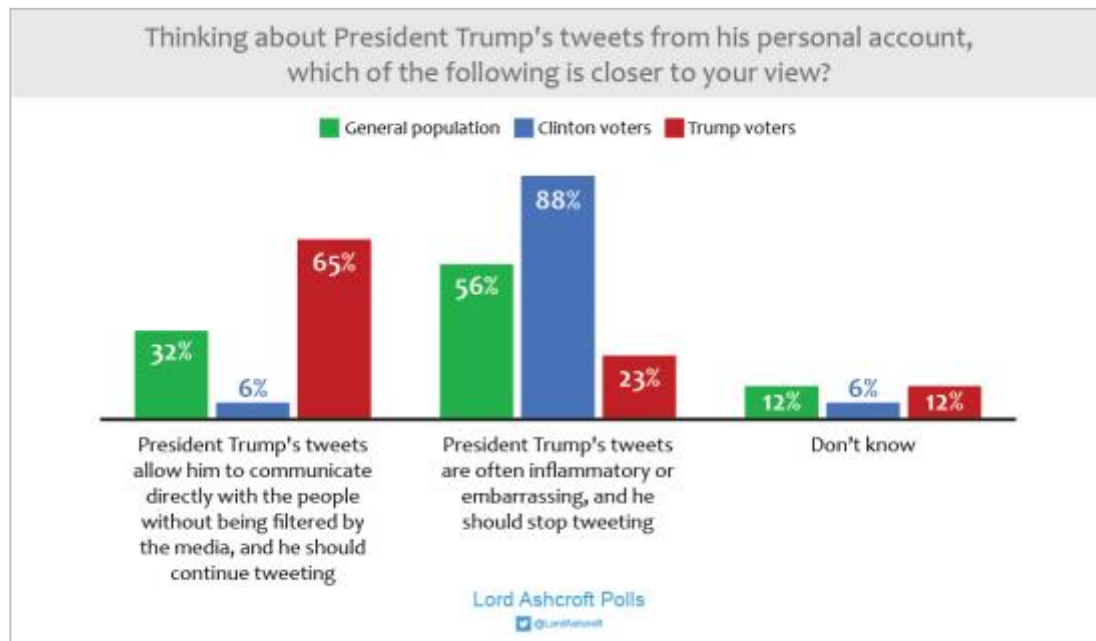
“If he didn’t vent on Twitter, he wouldn’t get out his views. The media’s not giving him a 50-50 chance to talk. So if he doesn’t do Twitter, nobody knows what he’s thinking.”

“Why do you have to hold him to a different standard to any other celebrity?”

Trump voters

In our poll, we found just over half of all respondents agreeing that Trump’s tweets were “often inflammatory or embarrassing, and he should stop tweeting”. More than half of all age groups, including 58% of those aged 18 to 24, took this view.

However, two thirds of those who voted for him – and three quarters of those who did so positively (though only half of those who were voting mainly against Clinton) – agreed that his tweets “allow him to communicate directly with people without being filtered by the media, and he should continue tweeting”.

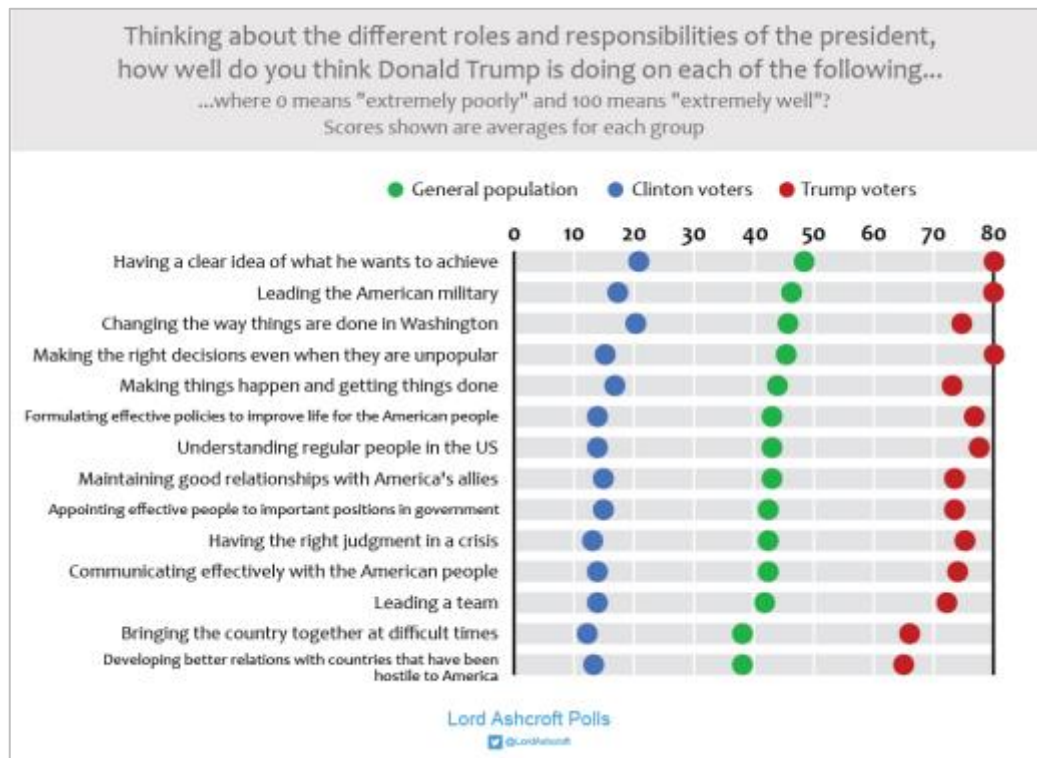


Doing the job

In January 2017, shortly before his inauguration, we asked Trump voters how well they expected the new president to do in various aspects of his job. The area in which they had the highest hopes was “making things happen and getting things done”, followed closely by “being able to lead a team” and “having a clear idea what he wants to achieve”.

In our recent research we asked how people thought he was actually doing on these measures. Making things happen and leading a team had fallen down the list slightly: Trump voters now gave the highest scores for “having a clear idea what he wants to achieve”, “leading the American military” and “making the right decisions even when they are unpopular”.

Positive Trump voters gave the president very high scores in all areas (between 72/100, for “developing better relations with countries that have been hostile to America”, and 86 for knowing what he wants to achieve, leading the military, and making the right decisions even when they are unpopular). Those who had voted for him more reluctantly gave lower but still positive scores of between 54 and 72.



In our focus groups, we asked those who did not like the Trump presidency to name something good about it. Only a few mentioned policy ("He's saying, 'if you don't want to bring your jobs back over here, and give these American workers work, I'm gonna tax y'all. He's doing what he said he was going to do as far as that's concerned"). Some were surprised and relieved that things were still functioning normally: "I thought gas was going to rise when Trump became President... certain things have just stayed the same;" "I think part of it is that the country hasn't blown up, it's still here. We're still working and our kids are still going to school, and while we would prefer a less arrogant person running our country, at the same time nothing drastic is happening at this moment."

More often, though, people would point to greater engagement in politics, and more awareness of the need to get out and vote.

"He's united people. Maybe it's a double-edged sword, but I think it's causing people to wake up, to be present, to be involved and active and pay attention in a way that we haven't before."

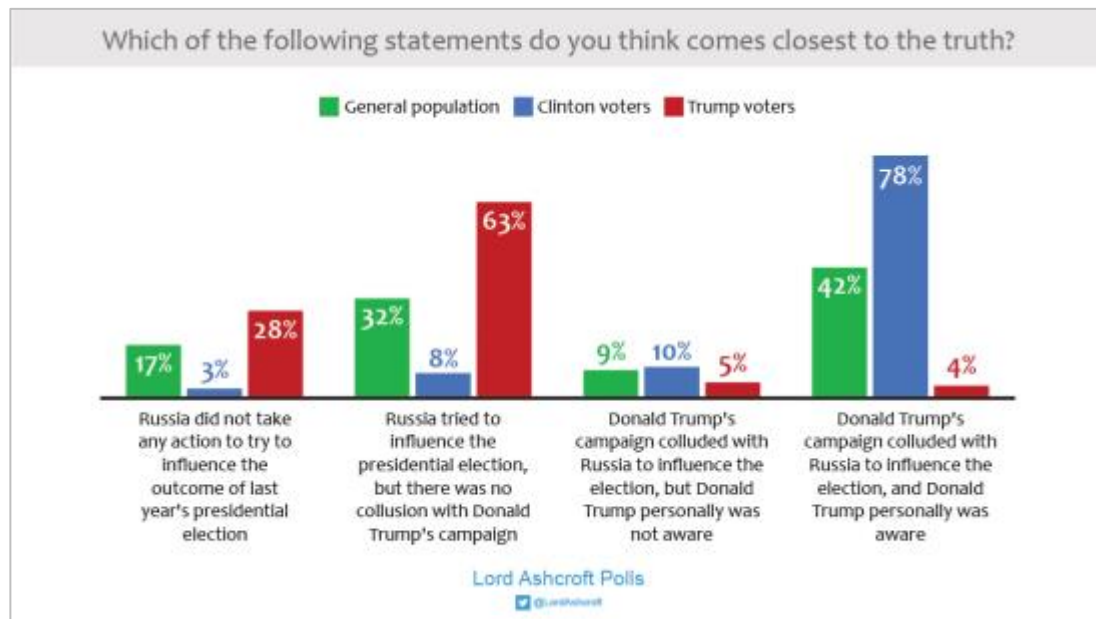
"I think he's got more people paying attention to what's going on in politics and the country. And maybe all those who didn't vote in the election thinking 'maybe I should have done something'."

Non-Trump voters



The Russian question

We asked what people made of the suggestion that Russia had intervened in last year's election on Donald Trump's behalf. Only 17% of all voters – and fewer than three in ten of those who voted for Trump – said they thought Russia had taken no action to try to influence the outcome. Two thirds of Trump voters (and one third of voters overall) thought Russia had acted, but there had been no collusion with the Trump campaign.



More than four in ten – including four in five of those who voted for Clinton – said they believed Russia had acted in collusion with the Trump campaign, and Donald Trump had been personally aware.

Our focus groups coincided with the first indictments in Special Prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation into links between Russia and the Trump campaign. The reaction to the news was sharply partisan. Those who did not support President Trump tended to think it was only a matter of time before collusion was proved: "In the indictments it doesn't show anything connected yet to Trump, but it's going back to the money, and to me this is just the very beginning of what will end up being his unravelling" (though some thought he may have taken steps to insulate himself personally from any involvement: "If I were Donald Trump running for President, I'd be like, 'mmm, I don't want to know about it'.")



To most of those who had voted for Trump, however, the investigation looked like an establishment-led “witch hunt” in which the investigators were trying to find anything they could to damage the President, whether it involved Russia or not.

“The Senate and House didn’t find anything for a year, nothing. They’re just digging, digging for something.”

“We try to influence other countries’ elections, they try to influence our elections, it’s been going on for thirty years, fifty years, as long as social media, even printed media has been around. But this year we’re gonna focus on it.”

“Now they’re asking for tax returns. What the hell has that got to do with anything? But that’s what’s going to happen. If they can’t get him for what they indicted him for, they’ll get him for something else. The Al Capone ruse.”

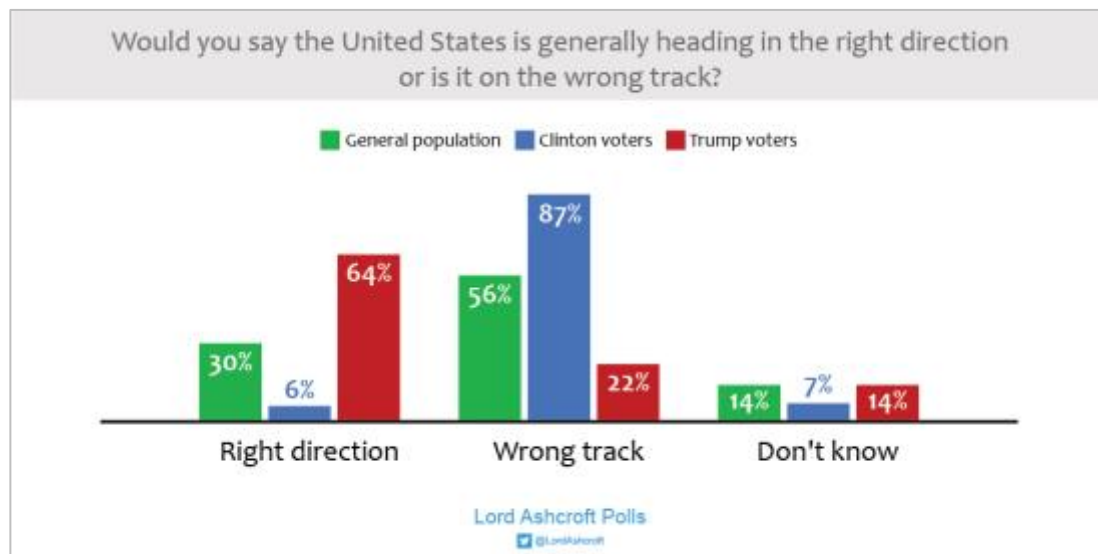
Trump voters



Progress report

Right direction, wrong track?

Perhaps not surprisingly, whether or not people think the United States is on the right track is closely related to how they voted in 2016.



Two thirds of those who voted for Trump said they thought the country was heading in the right direction. This included three quarters of those who did so positively, but only just over half of primarily anti-Clinton voters, and of those who switched from Obama to Trump. Two thirds of Republican activists (who made donations, put up yard signs, campaigned for candidates, attended political meetings or shared political content on social media) thought the country was heading in the right direction, compared to half of non-active Republican identifiers.

Nearly nine in ten Clinton voters – and a majority of Americans overall – said they thought the country was on the wrong track. Only 22% of those aged 18 to 34 said they thought America was heading the right way.

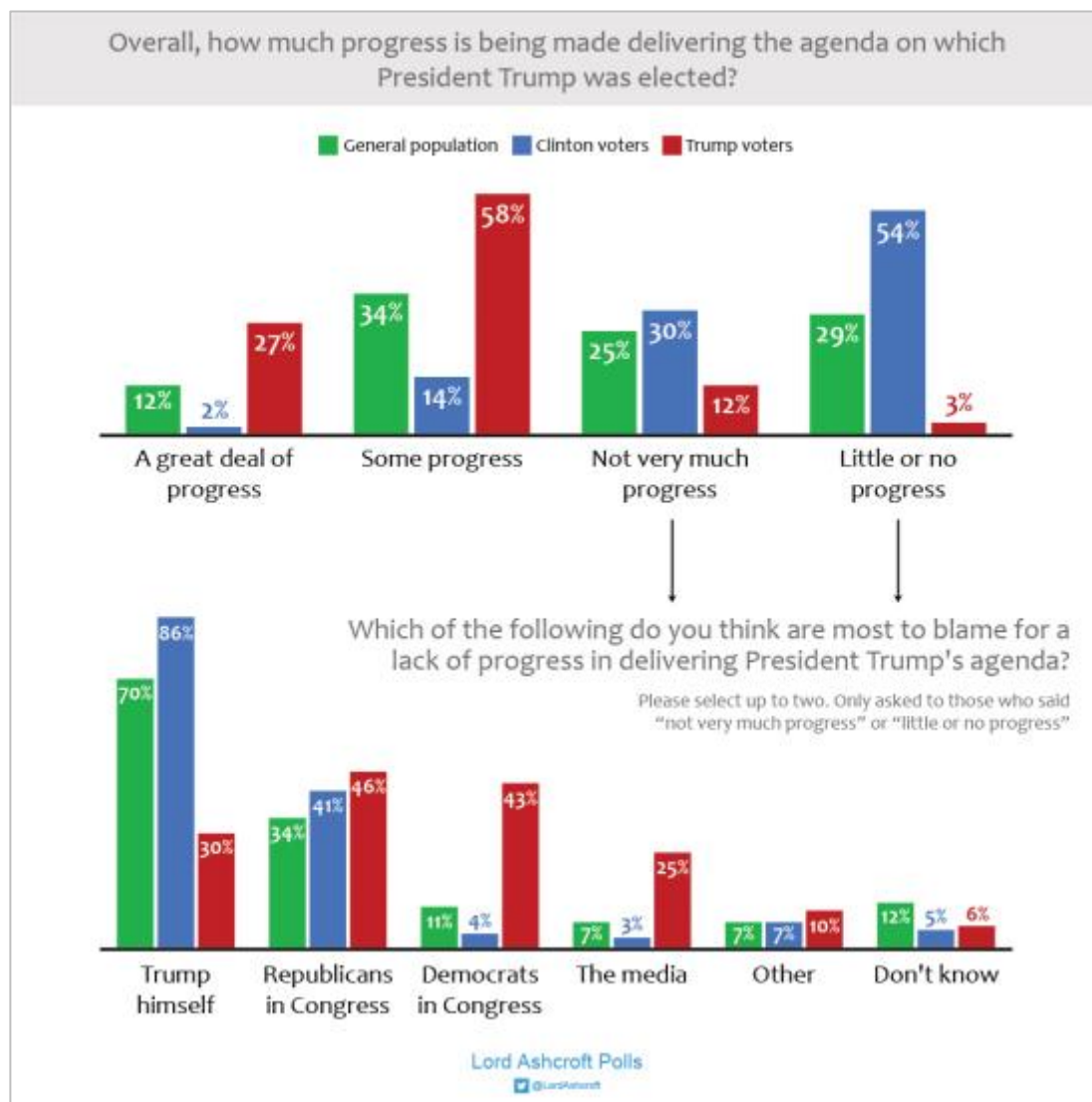
Men (34%) were more likely to think the country was heading the right way than women (25%). Six in ten 18 to 24 year-olds thought the United States was on the wrong track (the proportion doing so declining with age thereafter), as did three quarters of African-Americans.

Delivery

Eighty-five per cent of those who voted for President Trump said they thought progress was being made in delivering the agenda on which he was elected (though only a third of positive

Trump voters, and only 15% of those who voted mainly against Clinton, said they thought there had been “a great deal of progress”).

Just over half of voters overall said they thought there had been “not very much” or “little or no” progress. We asked these people who they thought was most to blame for this lack of delivery. Seven in ten Americans overall named the President himself as one of the two main culprits, but only three in ten of those who had voted for Trump thought this, and only one in five of those who did so positively. Nearly half of switchers from Obama to Trump thought Trump himself was responsible.



For Trump voters, the guilty parties were Republicans in Congress (especially for positive Trump supporters and Republican activists), followed closely by Democrats in Congress. In another question we found that voters as a whole – and Trump voters in particular – were more likely than not to agree that “Republican leaders in Congress actually want to see Donald Trump fail as President”. Three quarters of those who backed Trump last year put their level of agreement with this statement at above 50/100, and one in five put it above 90 (with a



mean score was 64). They also tended to agree (with a mean score of 68/100) that “Republican leaders in Washington need to be changed to others who will fight liberals and Democrat policies.”

These views were strongly reflected in our focus groups. Many Trump voters who were happy with the way he was tackling the job said they were nevertheless “frustrated” that change was not happening faster. Again, they directed most of the blame towards Congress, and Congressional Republicans in particular, for seeming more interested in protecting their “empire” than in helping the President improve things for the American people.

“I think Trump is more for the people and what needs to be done. Whereas everyone in Congress is looking at their own bottom line, not what’s better across the board.”

“Eight years they said they were going to get Obamacare overturned, then when the rubber hits the road and you have to lay your vote out there, then they wobble.”

“I don’t think they’re looking at what’s for the people, they’re looking at, ‘it’s Donald Trump, so I don’t care what it is, I’m not going to help it go through’.”

“I feel that Mr. Trump really hasn’t been given a chance to do his job... If I was a hifalutin’ Republican Congressperson or Senator, I wouldn’t want to have to rebuild everything we all worked together to build behind the scenes because this guy wants to tear it all apart.”

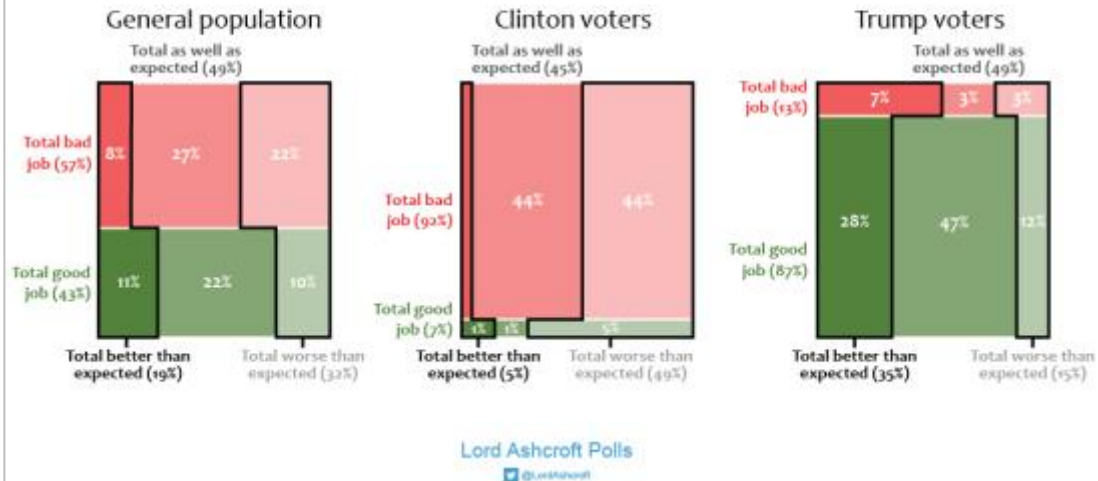
Trump voters

Expectations

Only 12% of Trump voters said they had expected him to do a good job but that he had done worse than they had anticipated – though just over one in five of those who voted mainly against Clinton, and those who had switched from Obama, took this view. Around half of Trump voters overall said he had so far lived up to their high expectations, and nearly one in three said he had done even better than they had expected. More than one third of those who had voted positively for Trump said he was doing even better than they had anticipated.

Clinton voters were evenly divided as to whether Trump in office had been as bad as they feared, or even worse.

Which of the following comes closest to your view of Donald Trump and his presidency?

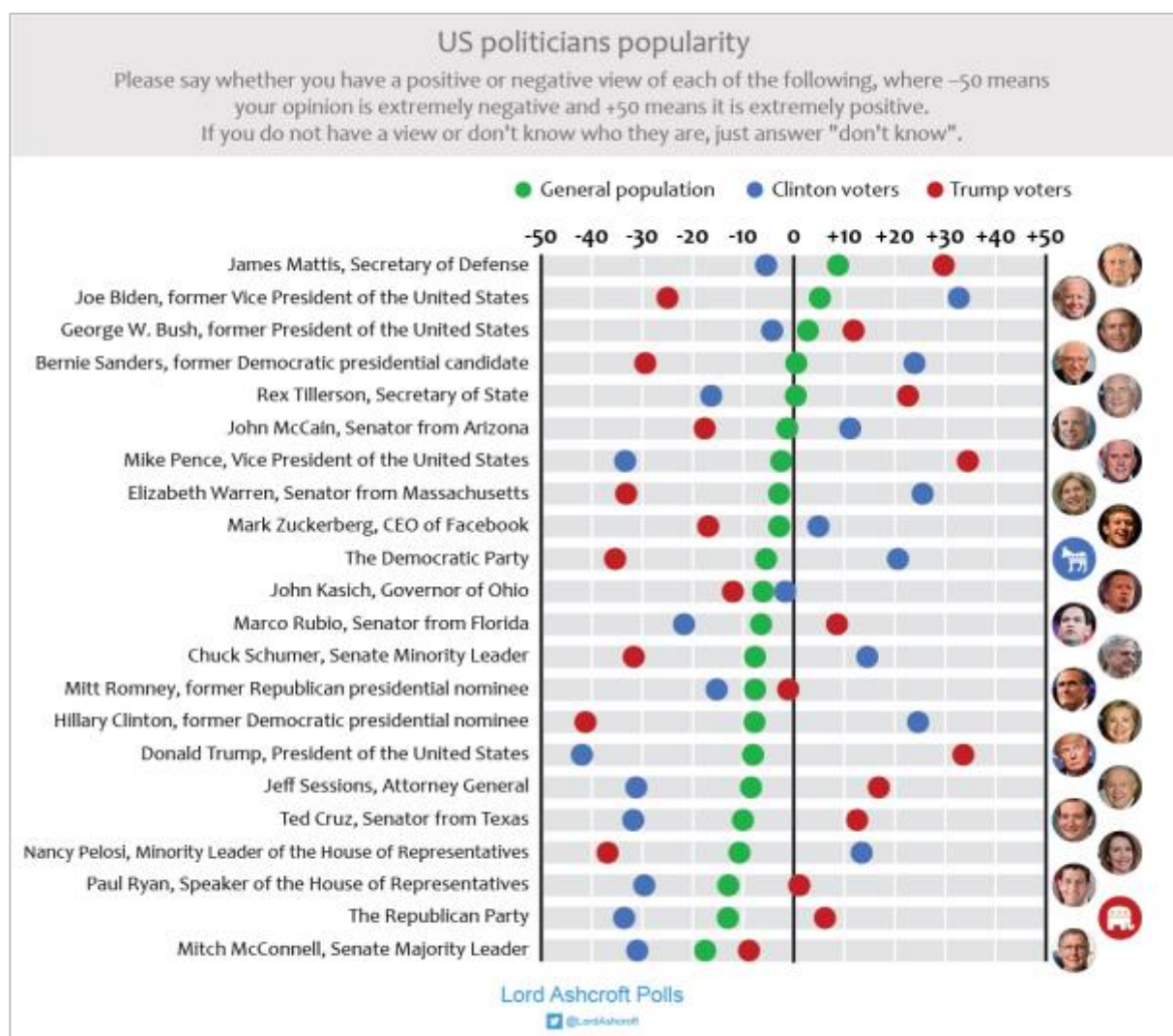


The domestic scene

The players

We asked people to say how positively or negatively they felt about various political figures, on a scale from -50 (extremely negative) to +50 (extremely positive).

Only four individuals emerged with a net positive score among the population as a whole: Defense Secretary James Mattis, former Vice President Biden, former President George W. Bush, and Bernie Sanders.



Trump voters gave the highest mean rating to Vice President Mike Pence (+35), one point ahead of the President himself. Trump voters' lowest mean score was for Hillary Clinton (-41), followed by House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (-37). They gave net negative scores for Senator John McCain, Governor John Kasich (both of whom were more popular among



Democrats), Senate Majority Leaders Mitch McConnell, and former presidential nominee Mitt Romney. House Speaker Paul Ryan just achieved a positive score (1) among Trump voters.

Notably, those who had voted positively for Trump gave him a mean favourability rating (41) nearly twice that awarded by those who had voted mainly in opposition to Hillary Clinton (22), whose score matched that given by those who switched from Obama to Trump. Republican activists also gave a higher mean rating (31) than non-active Republican identifiers (23).

It was notable that Trump voters saw the GOP itself in a much less positive light than most Republican politicians on the list. This was reflected elsewhere in the survey: Republican identifiers' mean agreement that the party "understands the problems of people like me" was just 61/100 (only 56 for Trump voters), though this was up from 54 in a similar poll we conducted in October 2016. The mean level of agreement with the statement among voters as a whole was unchanged at 37/100.

Those who had voted for Hillary Clinton gave their highest mean score to former Vice President Joe Biden (33), followed by Elizabeth Warren (26), Clinton (25) and Bernie Sanders (24). Their lowest scores were for President Trump (-42), Vice President Pence (-34) and Attorney General Jeff Sessions (-31).

Democratic identifiers took a much more positive view of their party than their Republican counterparts did of theirs. Their mean level of agreement that the Democratic party "stands for the values of people like me" was 75/100 (up from 68 in October 2016), while agreement among the general population was up from 43/100 to 47.

Deal or no deal?

Following the September deal between President Trump and the Congressional Democrats on raising the debt ceiling, a majority of both sets of voters said they would be happy to see more such deals in the future. It was notable, however, that Clinton voters were more likely to be in favour of Trump trying to make deals with Democrats, while Trump voters were (considerably) more enthusiastic about the idea of Democrats trying to make deals with him.

As you may know, President Trump and the Congressional Democrats recently agreed to a short-term deal on the federal debt. In future, do you think Donald Trump would be right or wrong to try to make deals with Democrats in Congress?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | |
|------------|----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton |
| Right | 57 | 63 | 65 | 62 | 69 | 69 | 73 |
| Wrong | 13 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| Don't know | 30 | 25 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 22 | 20 |



And in the future, do you think Congressional Democrats would be right or wrong to try to make deals with President Trump?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | |
|------------|----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton |
| Right | 56 | 79 | 81 | 78 | 52 | 53 | 53 |
| Wrong | 14 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 17 | 18 | 17 |
| Don't know | 30 | 16 | 15 | 17 | 30 | 30 | 30 |

The opposition

Voters as a whole, including Clinton voters and Democrat identifiers, gave the Democratic party higher marks for “opposing President Trump’s policies” than they did for “putting forward alternative ideas”.

On a 100-point scale, how good a job would you say the Democrats are doing on each of the following, where 0 means “a terrible job” and 100 means “an excellent job”?

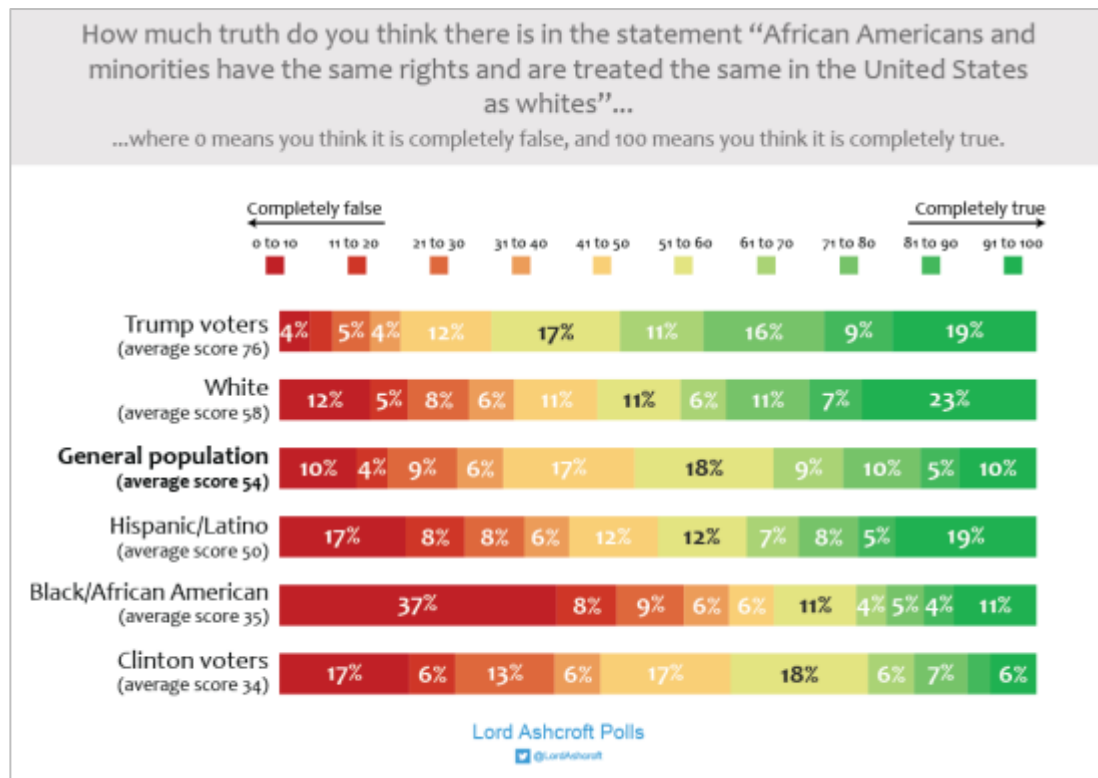
| Mean score /100 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Opposing President Trump's policies | 58 | 58 | 57 | 58 | 64 | 66 | 63 |
| Putting forward alternative ideas | 41 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 55 | 59 | 49 |

This was reflected in our focus groups of non-Trump voters, who very much wanted to see an alternative but struggled to see where it would come from: “I feel like all they do is criticise Trump at this point, but you’re not hearing them counter what he’s arguing for or trying to pass. So I don’t think they really have much time – it will take someone almost as drastic as Trump to come out of the woodwork with new ideas and ways to change”; “I think the emotions in the whole country are so escalated that it’s going to have to be someone who can emotionally reach people no matter how they voted.”

Race relations

We asked our poll respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the statement “African Americans and minorities have the same rights and are treated in the same way in the United States as whites”. The level of agreement ranged from 79/100 among those who voted positively for Donald Trump in the presidential election, to 35 among African Americans

themselves. The mean level of agreement was higher among Hispanics (50/100), but only reached 58/100 among white respondents.



Agreement with the statement “Donald Trump is a racist” was virtually unchanged since before the presidential election: 47/100 among white voters, 53/100 among the population as a whole, 66/100 among Hispanics, and 76/100 among African Americans.

Our focus groups discussed this issue at length in the context of President Trump’s tweets. Several African American and Hispanic participants said they thought President Trump’s language and tone, especially on Twitter, had led to an increase in racial tension. They often remarked that people had been given “permission” to express prejudice in public in a way they would not have done previously.

However, there was some disagreement within these groups as to whether Trump himself was a racist, or was simply playing up to racist tendencies within his electoral base.



“It definitely has a real-world effect. I mean, people are out in the open doing the strangest things. The blinds are open, the doors are unlocked. Now it’s like, ‘I can say whatever I want, whether it’s in the workplace, in the street, and you better accept it or else we have a problem’.”

“Where I work, I can tell now from maybe a year ago, the way people interact with me, and they look at me different. I had a guest call me a ‘Boy’, and I’ve been working at my hotel for seven years. Even my director, he said ‘oh, can you tell that black boy to...’ And I’m not even black.”

“I think he stirs the pot, and once he stirs the pot and it’s boiling over, he’s like ‘ah, well... Onto the next thing. How ‘bout that NFL taking a knee?’”

“We’re calling him a racist, but some of his top, best pals, it sounds corny, but are black. Before he became President. So we’re screaming he’s a racist but it’s a show. It’s the Donald Trump show.”

“Smart guy. I mean, he is a smart man. I hate it when people say Donald Trump’s stupid, or he doesn’t know what he’s doing. This is very calculated. It just looks stupid.”

African-American and Hispanic voters

Gun control

Our poll respondents were presented with four policy proposals relating to gun control. In each case we split the sample into three, asking the respective groups if they would support the policy as described, if they would support it if it were proposed by President Trump, and if they would support it if it were proposed by Democrats.

It is interesting to note how little difference it made who was supposedly suggesting the policy. Whether among Trump voters, Clinton voters or the population as a whole, there was no statistically significant difference in support for any of the policies whether it was billed as coming from Trump, the Democrats, or simply explained with no label attached.

Seven in ten voters overall, and two thirds of Trump voters, said they supported the idea of a federal law to bar perpetrators of domestic violence or other violent crimes from possessing firearms of any kind. Just over six in ten, and fewer than half of Trump voters, backed the creation of a national system of permits and background checks.

Just under half, including less than one in five Trump voters (but seven in ten Clinton voters) said they would support a federal buy-back of automatic and semi-automatic weapons and strict limits on individuals’ ammunition possession.



Less than one in ten Trump voters – but half of Clinton voters, and three in ten overall – supported allowing people injured by firearms that use smart gun technologies to sue gun manufacturers.

These figures show the level of support for each proposal as described, with no party label.

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| A federal law that would bar perpetrators of domestic violence or violent misdemeanors from purchasing or possessing any type of firearms | 70 | 67 | 65 | 71 | 82 | 82 | 84 |
| Creation of a National Permit to Purchase system that would require individuals to obtain a permit, contingent on a background check, before being able to purchase any type of firearms | 62 | 46 | 44 | 50 | 81 | 81 | 84 |
| A federally mandated buy-back of all automatic and semi-automatic guns, and strict limits on the purchase and possession of ammunition by individuals | 45 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 70 | 73 | 66 |
| A law to allow individuals and groups of individuals to sue gun manufacturers if they are injured by firearms that use smart gun technologies | 31 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 51 | 54 | 47 |

Tax reform

There was similarly little variation in support for four policies on tax whether they were said to be proposed by Trump, the Democrats, or described unlabelled. Closing tax loopholes on companies and using the money to cut taxes for individuals received widespread support across the board, including seven in ten Trump voters and eight in ten of those who voted for Clinton.

Raising taxes for those earning over one million dollars was even more popular among Clinton voters, but was backed by fewer than half of those who supported Trump, and two thirds of the public overall. Likewise, three quarters of those who voted for Clinton supported higher taxes on earnings over \$250,000, compared to fewer than half of Trump voters and a small majority of the general population.



Much less popular, with the support of less than one in six Trump or Clinton voters, was the idea of scrapping the Home Mortgage Interest deduction.

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Closing tax loopholes on companies, and using the money to lower taxes on individuals | 69 | 69 | 70 | 69 | 81 | 81 | 85 |
| Increasing taxes on those earning over \$1,000,000 | 66 | 49 | 47 | 51 | 86 | 86 | 90 |
| Ensuring no-one earning under \$250,000 has to pay higher taxes, but increase taxes for those earning over that amount | 58 | 45 | 43 | 48 | 76 | 78 | 77 |
| Eliminating the Home Mortgage Interest Deduction | 17 | 16 | 18 | 14 | 16 | 16 | 15 |

Healthcare

Clinton voters were three times as likely as Trump supporters to like the idea of a single-payer healthcare system in which the government covered healthcare costs for all Americans. The idea won the backing of exactly half of respondents overall. Even less generally popular – though with the support of three quarters of those who had voted for Trump – was the prospect of scrapping Obamacare even if it can't be replaced. Two thirds of Trump voters liked the idea of devolving all health policy and spending to the states, with no further involvement from the federal government – though less than one fifth of Clinton voters and only one in three overall thought this sounded sensible.

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Creating a single-payer healthcare system where the government covers healthcare costs for all Americans | 50 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 75 | 74 | 79 |
| Repealing the Affordable Care Act (also known as Obamacare), even if it can't be replaced | 35 | 74 | 78 | 68 | 8 | 8 | 5 |
| Devolving all decisions to the states so the federal government is no longer involved in health policy and spending | 34 | 64 | 67 | 61 | 17 | 18 | 15 |
| Allowing health insurance companies to consider pre-existing conditions when making decisions on insurance | 23 | 29 | 30 | 25 | 16 | 19 | 8 |

Least popular of all was the idea of allowing insurance companies to consider pre-existing conditions when making decisions about an individual's health insurance. Less than a quarter of voters overall supported this suggestion, and only three in ten of those who voted for Trump. This echoes research we conducted in January 2017, which found that though most Trump voters wanted to see the Affordable Healthcare Act repealed, two thirds of them wanted insurance providers still to be required to cover pre-existing conditions.

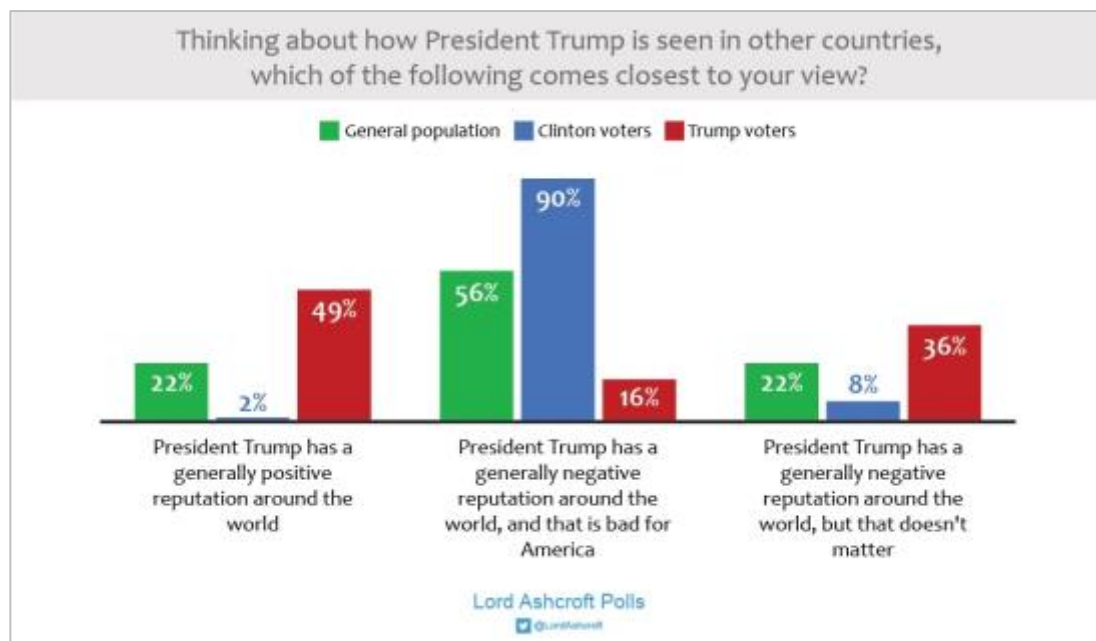


Trump and the world

The presidential reputation

In our poll we asked Americans how they thought President Trump was seen internationally. Overall, just over half – and nine in ten of those who had voted for Hillary Clinton – thought he had a generally negative reputation around the world, and that this was bad for America.

Those who had voted for Trump took a different view, especially those who had supported him positively. More than half of this group said they thought the President had a positive reputation around the world; a further one in three said he had a negative reputation, but that this didn't matter.



In our groups, Trump's opponents tended to think he was damaging America's standing in the world. Those who voted for him argued the opposite – that by being tough and standing up for America's interests, he was earning back the respect that they feared the country had lost.

"He's not a pushover. He's proud of our country, he's not afraid to say it. Obama was apologizing for our country."

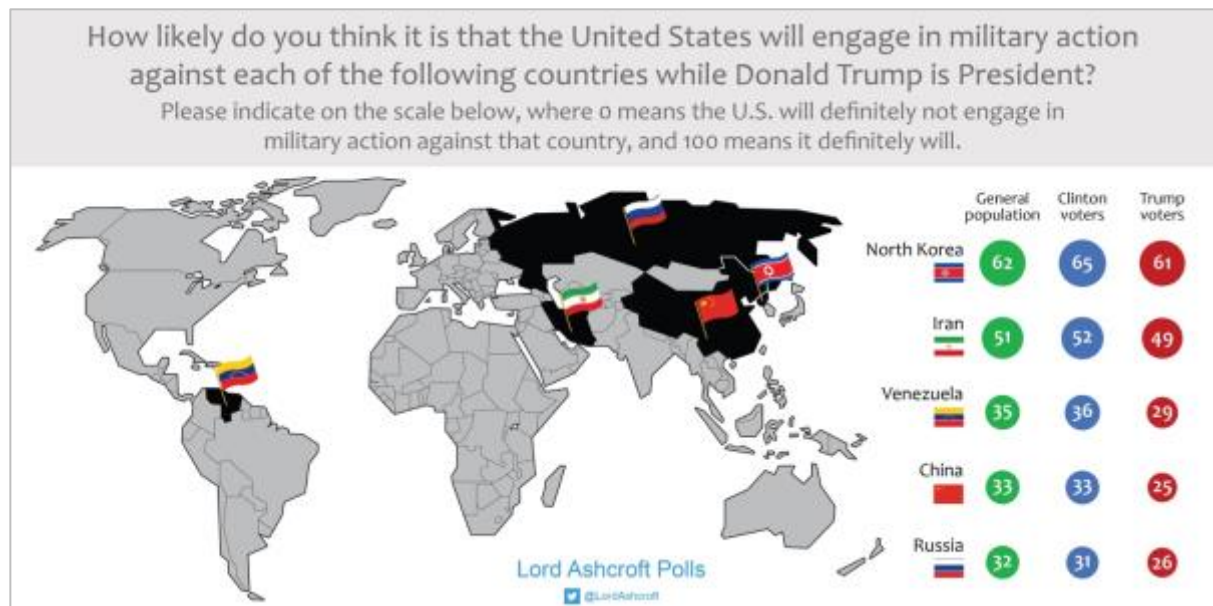
Trump voter

"They're probably laughing at us. It's probably changing our international standing too. We used to be at the top, people used to look at us as the standard, now we're kind of dropping down the list."

Non-Trump voter

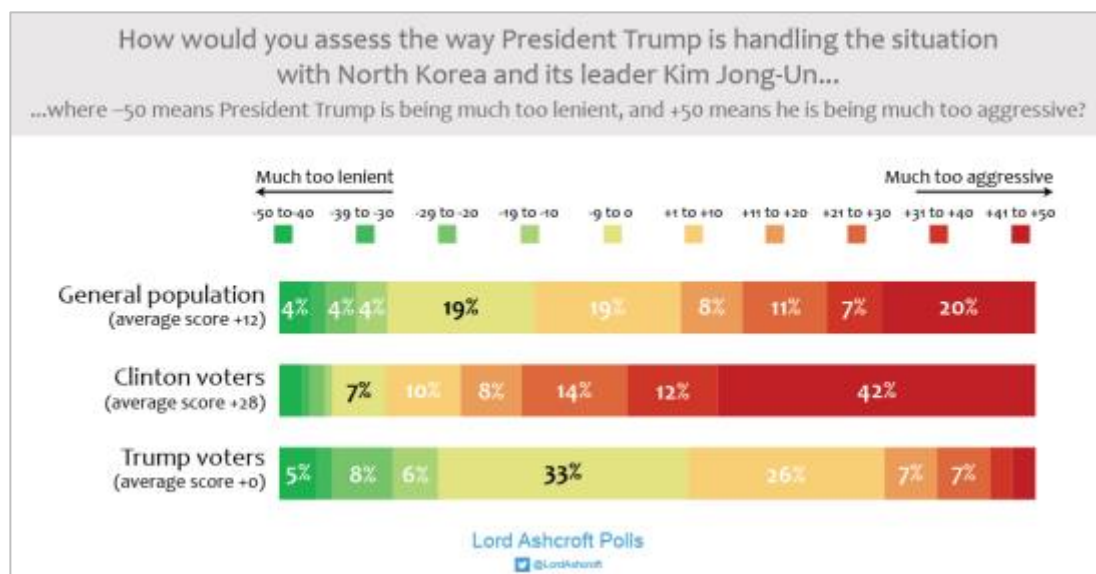
We also asked how likely people thought it was that the US would engage in military action against various countries during the Trump Presidency. In the case of North Korea, Americans overall thought military action was more likely than not, giving a mean likelihood score of 62 out of 100. Clinton voters thought action was slightly more likely than Trump voters, as was the case with all five countries listed.

People thought there was also a roughly even chance of US military action against Iran while Donald Trump is in the White House.



We explored the President's approach to North Korea further in the poll. Asked how they assessed his handling of the situation on a scale from -50 ("much too lenient") to +50 ("much too aggressive"), Trump voters gave a mean score of zero (that is, a perfect balance).

Non-Trump supporters tended to think the President's stance was on the aggressive side: Clinton voters gave a mean score of +28, and 42% put themselves in the range of +41 to +50. The mean score for Americans as a whole was +12.





Non-Trump supporters in our focus groups worried about the potential outcome of the situation with North Korea, not so much because of what President Trump was doing or not doing but because of his unpredictability. Some of those who voted for Trump had similar qualms. Mostly, however, they either supported his approach or favoured a more robust stance.

“One thing I do wish is that he was a little bit firmer in dealing with [Kim Jong-Un]. You can sanction somebody, but the guy just laughs at him every time he sanctions them. He’s like, yeah, I’ll just take away from my own people to live my lavish lifestyle... Just take him out.”

“I don’t know what the answer is. We could just go and make a parking lot out of the country. Do we wait for them to strike and possibly wreak havoc upon the United States, or do you take them out first?”

Trump voters

“We’re on the verge of a third world war. This guy is more dangerous than Donald Trump, if that’s a possibility. So with Rex Tillerson trying to negotiate or do something peaceful, and Trump intervening in every moment with his tweets and nonsense, this is an extremely serious issue.”

“I feel like it’s the flip of a coin, whether it’s going to be another war. If he starts saying something, the other guy is crazy too. It’s two crazy people going back and forth.”

Non-Trump voters

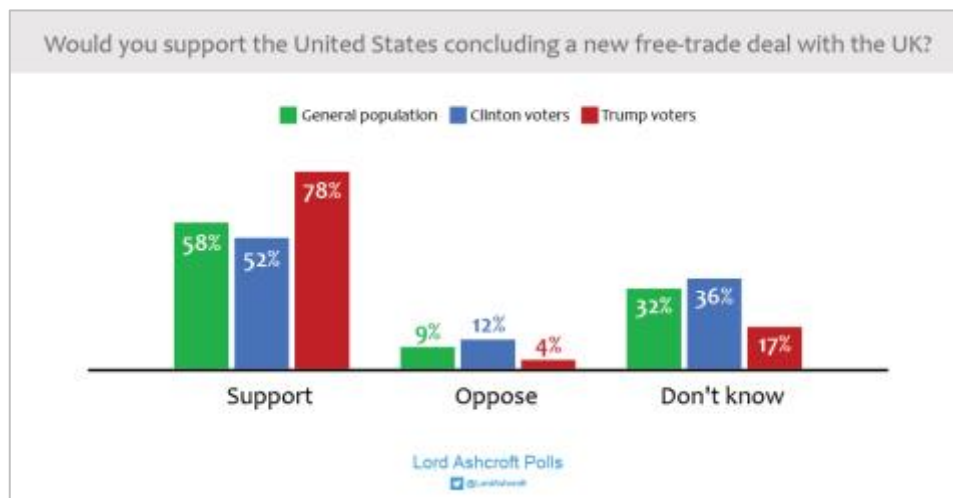
The terms of trade

We asked Americans whether they thought the terms on which the United States traded with various other countries most favoured US citizens, or those of the other countries in question. For the population as a whole, America’s trading arrangements seemed more or less equally advantageous in the case of Canada, the UK, Germany, Mexico and Japan, though China was thought to do slightly better out of US-China trade than the United States itself.

Those who had voted for Clinton saw America’s trading relationships in a more positive light, while Trump voters thought all five countries benefited from these relationships more than the US – marginally, in the case of Canada and the UK, and significantly in the case of Mexico and China.



Despite this, Trump voters were the most enthusiastic of all about the idea of a potential new free trade deal with the UK once Brexit is complete.





Full poll results

13,500 adults in the United States were interviewed online between 12 and 26 October 2017.
Data have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the United States.

1. Would you say the United States is generally heading in the right direction or is it on the wrong track?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Right direction | 30 | | 64 | 73 | 51 | 6 | 7 | 4 |
| Wrong track | 56 | | 22 | 15 | 32 | 87 | 86 | 91 |
| Don't know | 14 | | 14 | 11 | 17 | 7 | 7 | 4 |

2. [Those who voted for Trump in 2016]
Thinking back to your vote last year, would you say it was more FOR Donald Trump, or AGAINST Hillary Clinton?
3. [Those who voted for Clinton in 2016]
Thinking back to your vote last year, would you say it was more FOR Hillary Clinton, or AGAINST Donald Trump?

| | % | All Trump |
|-----------------|----|-----------|
| For Trump | 62 | |
| Against Clinton | 35 | |
| Don't know | 3 | |

| | % | All Clinton |
|---------------|----|-------------|
| For Clinton | 64 | |
| Against Trump | 33 | |
| Don't know | 3 | |

4. How happy are you with the way you voted in last year's presidential election? Please indicated on the following scale, where -50 means "I completely regret my decision and wish I had voted for a different candidate", and +50 means "I am completely happy with the way I voted".

| -50 to +50 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Mean happiness score | 39 | 39 | 44 | 32 | 40 | 42 | 38 |



5. Overall, how much progress is being made delivering the agenda on which President Trump was elected?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| A great deal of progress | 12 | | 27 | 34 | 15 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Some progress | 34 | | 58 | 57 | 60 | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Not very much progress | 25 | | 12 | 8 | 19 | 30 | 28 | 32 |
| Little or no progress | 29 | | 3 | 1 | 5 | 54 | 56 | 54 |

6. [Those answering 'not very much progress' or 'little or no progress']
Which of the following do you think are most to blame for a lack of progress in delivering President Trump's agenda? Please tick up to two.

| % naming in top two | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| President Trump himself | 70 | 30 | 20 | 34 | 86 | 87 | 88 |
| Republicans in Congress | 34 | 46 | 56 | 43 | 41 | 41 | 41 |
| Democrats in Congress | 11 | 43 | 48 | 43 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| The media | 7 | 25 | 29 | 25 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| The courts | 3 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Other | 4 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Don't know | 12 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |

7. Which of the following comes closest to your view of Donald Trump and his presidency?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------|----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton |
| I expected him to do a <u>bad</u> job... | | | | | | | |
| ...and he has | 27 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 44 | 45 | 44 |
| ...but he has done better than I expected | 8 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| ...and he has done even worse than I expected | 22 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 44 | 43 | 47 |
| I expected him to do a <u>good</u> job... | | | | | | | |
| ...and he has | 22 | 47 | 51 | 42 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| ...and he has done even better than I expected | 11 | 28 | 36 | 16 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| ...but he has done worse than I expected | 10 | 12 | 6 | 21 | 5 | 6 | 4 |



8. Thinking about the different roles and responsibilities of the president, how well do you think Donald Trump is doing on each of the following – where 0 means “extremely badly” and 100 means “extremely well”?

| Mean score /100 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|--------|------------|--------|--------|------------|
| | | All DT | For DT | Against HC | All HC | For HC | Against DT |
| Having a clear idea of what he wants to achieve | 48 | 80 | 86 | 71 | 21 | 20 | 20 |
| Leading the American military | 46 | 80 | 86 | 72 | 17 | 17 | 16 |
| Changing the way things are done in Washington | 46 | 75 | 81 | 66 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| Making the right decisions even when they are unpopular | 45 | 80 | 86 | 72 | 15 | 16 | 13 |
| Making things happen and getting things done | 44 | 73 | 79 | 64 | 17 | 17 | 15 |
| Formulating effective policies to improve life for the American people | 43 | 77 | 84 | 67 | 14 | 15 | 11 |
| Understanding regular people in the US | 43 | 78 | 84 | 67 | 14 | 14 | 11 |
| Maintaining good relations with America's allies | 43 | 74 | 80 | 64 | 15 | 15 | 12 |
| Appointing effective people to important positions in government | 42 | 74 | 79 | 65 | 15 | 16 | 13 |
| Having the right judgment in a crisis | 42 | 75 | 82 | 65 | 13 | 14 | 10 |
| Communicating effectively with the American people | 42 | 74 | 81 | 63 | 14 | 15 | 12 |
| Leading a team | 42 | 72 | 80 | 61 | 14 | 15 | 11 |
| Bringing the country together at difficult times | 38 | 66 | 73 | 54 | 12 | 13 | 9 |
| Developing better relations with countries that have been hostile to America | 38 | 65 | 72 | 54 | 13 | 14 | 10 |

9. Thinking about President Trump's tweets, which of the following is closer to your view?

| % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| President Trump's tweets allow him to communicate directly with people without being filtered by the media, and he should continue tweeting | 32 | 65 | 76 | 49 | 6 | 6 | 5 |
| President Trump's tweets are often inflammatory or embarrassing, and he should stop tweeting | 56 | 23 | 14 | 37 | 88 | 88 | 91 |
| Don't know | 12 | 12 | 10 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 4 |



10. Please say whether you have a positive or negative view of each of the following, where – 50 means your opinion is extremely negative and +50 means it is extremely positive. If you do not have a view or don't know who they are, just answer "don't know".

| Mean score, -50 to +50 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| James Mattis, Sec of Defense | 9 | 30 | 32 | 27 | -6 | -7 | -4 |
| Joe Biden, fmr VP | 5 | -25 | -28 | -22 | 33 | 35 | 30 |
| George W. Bush, fmr Pres | 3 | 12 | 10 | 15 | -4 | -4 | -5 |
| Bernie Sanders, fmr Dem cand | 1 | -30 | -32 | -27 | 24 | 24 | 26 |
| Rex Tillerson, Sec of State | 0 | 23 | 25 | 19 | -16 | -17 | -16 |
| John McCain, Senator, AZ | -1 | -18 | -21 | -13 | 11 | 11 | 12 |
| Mike Pence, Vice-President | -3 | 35 | 38 | 29 | -34 | -33 | -35 |
| Elizabeth Warren, Senator, MA | -3 | -33 | -35 | -33 | 26 | 28 | 23 |
| Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook CEO | -3 | -17 | -18 | -16 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| DEMOCRATIC PARTY | -6 | -36 | -37 | -35 | 21 | 26 | 11 |
| John Kasich, Governor, OH | -6 | -12 | -16 | -7 | -2 | -3 | 0 |
| Marco Rubio, Senator, FL | -7 | 9 | 9 | 9 | -22 | -23 | -21 |
| Chuck Schumer, Senate Min Ldr | -8 | -32 | -33 | -32 | 15 | 18 | 9 |
| Mitt Romney, fmr R nominee | -8 | -1 | -3 | 3 | -15 | -16 | -14 |
| Hillary Clinton, fmr D nominee | -8 | -41 | -42 | -43 | 25 | 33 | 9 |
| Donald Trump, President | -8 | 34 | 41 | 22 | -42 | -42 | -44 |
| Jeff Sessions, Attorney General | -9 | 17 | 20 | 12 | -31 | -31 | -33 |
| Ted Cruz, Senator, TX | -10 | 13 | 15 | 9 | -32 | -31 | -34 |
| Nancy Pelosi, House Min Ldr | -11 | -37 | -37 | -38 | 14 | 18 | 6 |
| Paul Ryan, Speaker of the House | -13 | 1 | 1 | 2 | -30 | -30 | -30 |
| REPUBLICAN PARTY | -13 | 6 | 9 | 2 | -34 | -35 | -33 |
| Mitch McConnell, Sen Maj Ldr | -18 | -9 | -9 | -10 | -31 | -31 | -33 |

11. As you may know, President Trump and the Congressional Democrats recently agreed to a short-term deal on the federal debt. In future, do you think Donald Trump would be right or wrong to try to make deals with Democrats in Congress?

| % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Right | 57 | 63 | 65 | 62 | 69 | 69 | 73 |
| Wrong | 13 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| Don't know | 30 | 25 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 22 | 20 |



12. And in the future, do you think Congressional Democrats would be right or wrong to try to make deals with President Trump?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------|----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Right | 56 | | 79 | 81 | 78 | 52 | 53 | 53 |
| Wrong | 14 | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 17 | 18 | 17 |
| Don't know | 30 | | 16 | 15 | 17 | 30 | 30 | 30 |

13. On a 100-point scale, how good a job would you say the Democrats are doing on each of the following, where 0 means “a terrible job” and 100 means “an excellent job”?

| Mean score /100 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Opposing President Trump's policies | 58 | 58 | 57 | 58 | 64 | 66 | 63 |
| Putting forward alternative ideas | 41 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 55 | 59 | 49 |

14. Below are a number of statements that people have made about American politics. Please say how much truth you think there is in each statement, where 0 means you think it is completely false, and 100 means you think it is completely true.

| Mean score /100 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|--------|------------|--------|--------|------------|
| | | All DT | For DT | Against HC | All HC | For HC | Against DT |
| The Republican Party understands the problems of people like me | 37 | 56 | 59 | 51 | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Republican leaders in Washington need to be changed to others who will fight liberals and Democrat policies | 51 | 73 | 77 | 68 | 31 | 32 | 28 |
| Donald Trump is a racist | 53 | 15 | 12 | 18 | 85 | 85 | 86 |
| The Democratic Party stands for the values of people like me | 47 | 16 | 15 | 16 | 74 | 79 | 66 |
| African-Americans and minorities have the same rights and are treated the same in the US as whites | 54 | 76 | 79 | 71 | 34 | 35 | 32 |
| Republican leaders in Congress actually want to see Donald Trump fail as President | 52 | 64 | 65 | 62 | 43 | 43 | 44 |



15. Which of the following statements do you think comes closest to the truth?

| | % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----|-----------|--------|------------|--------|--------|------------|
| | | | All DT | For DT | Against HC | All HC | For HC | Against DT |
| Russia did not take any action to try to influence the outcome of last year's presidential election | 17 | | 28 | 32 | 21 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Russia tried to influence the election, but there was no collusion with Donald Trump's campaign | 32 | | 63 | 61 | 68 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| The Trump campaign colluded with Russia to influence the election, but Donald Trump personally was not aware | 9 | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 12 |
| The Trump campaign colluded with Russia to influence the election, and Donald Trump personally was aware | 42 | | 4 | 2 | 6 | 78 | 80 | 78 |

16. How likely do you think it is that the United States will engage in military action against each of the following countries while Donald Trump is President? Please indicate on the scale below, where 0 means the US will definitely not engage in military action against that country, and 100 means it definitely will.

| Mean score /100 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| North Korea | 62 | 61 | 61 | 60 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Iran | 51 | 49 | 49 | 47 | 52 | 53 | 52 |
| Venezuela | 35 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 36 | 37 | 36 |
| China | 33 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 33 | 34 | 31 |
| Russia | 32 | 26 | 26 | 25 | 31 | 32 | 28 |

17. As you may know, North Korea has recently conducted a number of nuclear weapons tests. How would you assess the way President Trump is handling the situation with North Korea and its leader Kim Jong-Un, where -50 means President Trump is being much too lenient, and +50 means he is being much too aggressive?

| | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Mean score, -50 to +50 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 28 | 27 | 29 |



18. Thinking about the terms on which the United States trades with each of the following countries, please say in each case whether you think those terms most favour the citizens of that country (-50), the citizens of the United States (+50), or both equally (0).

| Mean score, -50 to +50 | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Canada | 2 | -2 | -3 | -2 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| UK | 1 | -2 | -2 | -2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Germany | -1 | -5 | -5 | -4 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Mexico | -2 | -14 | -15 | -13 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Japan | -3 | -8 | -8 | -8 | 0 | 0 | -1 |
| China | -9 | -19 | -19 | -19 | -6 | -5 | -7 |

19. As you may know, the UK has voted to leave the European Union, allowing it to negotiate new trade deals. Would you support or oppose the United States concluding a new free-trade deal with the UK?

| % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| Strongly support | 28 | 49 | 51 | 48 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Somewhat support | 30 | 29 | 29 | 30 | 33 | 33 | 35 |
| Somewhat oppose | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 7 |
| Strongly oppose | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Don't know | 32 | 17 | 16 | 18 | 36 | 37 | 34 |

20. Thinking about how President Trump is seen in other countries, which of the following comes closest to your view?

| % | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| President Trump has a generally positive reputation around the world | 22 | 49 | 59 | 32 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| President Trump has a generally negative reputation around the world, and that is <u>bad for America</u> | 56 | 16 | 9 | 25 | 90 | 89 | 93 |
| President Trump has a generally negative reputation around the world, but that <u>doesn't matter</u> | 22 | 36 | 32 | 43 | 8 | 8 | 6 |



21. [Sample 1] **Would you support or oppose the following policies on gun control?**
 [Sample 2] **...if Donald Trump proposed the following policies on gun control?**
 [Sample 3] **...if the Democrats proposed the following policies on gun control?**

“A federally mandated buy-back of all automatic and semi-automatic guns, and strict limits on the purchase and possession of ammunition by individuals”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 45 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 70 | 73 | 66 |
| If proposed by Trump | 45 | 21 | 18 | 23 | 70 | 73 | 68 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 42 | 19 | 16 | 20 | 69 | 72 | 65 |

“Creation of a National Permit to Purchase system that would require individuals to obtain a permit, contingent on a background check, before being able to purchase any type of firearms”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 62 | 46 | 44 | 50 | 81 | 81 | 84 |
| If proposed by Trump | 60 | 49 | 47 | 53 | 80 | 81 | 84 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 60 | 44 | 44 | 45 | 82 | 81 | 84 |

“A federal law that would bar perpetrators of domestic violence or violent misdemeanours from purchasing or possessing any type of firearms”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 70 | 67 | 65 | 71 | 82 | 82 | 84 |
| If proposed by Trump | 68 | 67 | 65 | 70 | 82 | 82 | 86 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 69 | 62 | 60 | 66 | 84 | 83 | 86 |

“A law to allow individuals and groups of individuals to sue gun manufacturers if they are injured by firearms that use smart gun technologies”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 31 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 51 | 54 | 47 |
| If proposed by Trump | 31 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 52 | 56 | 48 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 30 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 52 | 55 | 46 |



22. [Sample 1] **Would you support or oppose the following policies on taxes?**
 [Sample 2] **...if Donald Trump proposed the following policies on taxes?**
 [Sample 3] **...if the Democrats proposed the following policies on taxes?**

“Ensuring no-one earning under \$250,000 has to pay higher taxes, but increase taxes for those earning over that amount”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 58 | 45 | 43 | 48 | 76 | 78 | 77 |
| If proposed by Trump | 60 | 48 | 46 | 50 | 75 | 72 | 83 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 58 | 41 | 40 | 45 | 78 | 77 | 81 |

“Closing tax loopholes on companies, and using the money to lower taxes on individuals”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 69 | 69 | 70 | 69 | 81 | 81 | 85 |
| If proposed by Trump | 69 | 73 | 71 | 77 | 79 | 76 | 86 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 68 | 63 | 62 | 66 | 84 | 84 | 85 |

“Increasing taxes on those earning over \$1,000,000”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 66 | 49 | 47 | 51 | 86 | 86 | 90 |
| If proposed by Trump | 66 | 52 | 51 | 53 | 84 | 82 | 90 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 62 | 44 | 41 | 48 | 85 | 85 | 89 |

“Eliminating the Home Mortgage Interest Deduction”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 17 | 16 | 18 | 14 | 16 | 16 | 15 |
| If proposed by Trump | 18 | 18 | 17 | 18 | 15 | 16 | 12 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 17 | 15 | 17 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 16 |



23. [Sample 1] Would you support or oppose the following policies on healthcare?
 [Sample 2] ...if Donald Trump proposed the following policies on healthcare?
 [Sample 3] ...if the Democrats proposed the following policies on healthcare?

“Creating a single-payer healthcare system where the government covers healthcare costs for all Americans”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 50 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 75 | 74 | 79 |
| If proposed by Trump | 50 | 21 | 20 | 21 | 76 | 76 | 78 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 48 | 21 | 22 | 21 | 76 | 76 | 78 |

“Devolving all decisions to the States so the federal government is no longer involved in health policy and spending”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 34 | 64 | 67 | 61 | 17 | 18 | 15 |
| If proposed by Trump | 36 | 64 | 67 | 61 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 34 | 65 | 66 | 65 | 14 | 14 | 14 |

“Repealing the Affordable Care Act (also known as Obamacare), even if it can’t be replaced”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 35 | 74 | 78 | 68 | 8 | 8 | 5 |
| If proposed by Trump | 35 | 73 | 79 | 66 | 8 | 8 | 5 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 37 | 76 | 80 | 72 | 9 | 10 | 5 |

“Allowing health insurance companies to consider pre-existing conditions when making decisions on insurance”

| % strongly or slightly support | ALL | 2016 vote | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | All Trump | For Trump | Against Clinton | All Clinton | For Clinton | Against Trump |
| As described | 23 | 29 | 30 | 25 | 16 | 19 | 8 |
| If proposed by Trump | 23 | 29 | 32 | 26 | 14 | 14 | 12 |
| If proposed by Democrats | 23 | 27 | 28 | 26 | 17 | 20 | 9 |