

Biden v. Trump: The Sequel?

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC
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Lord Ashcroft Polls

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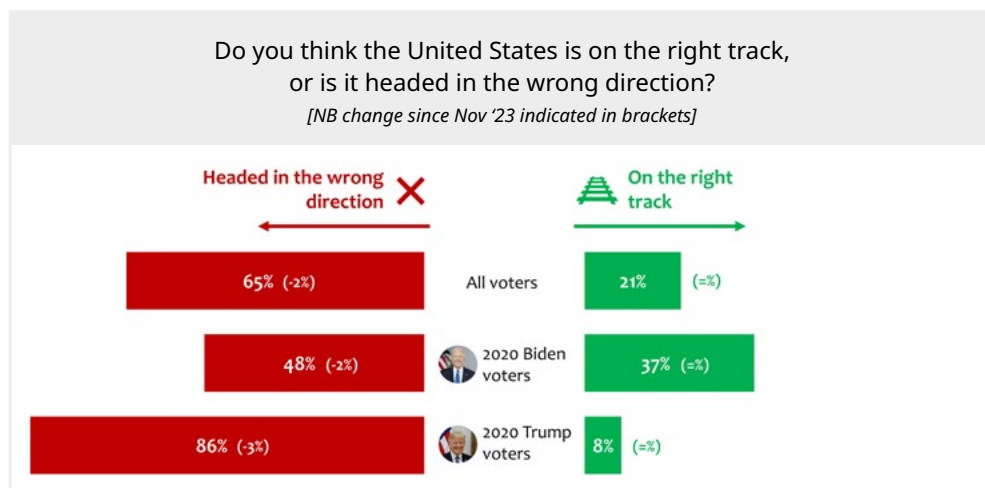
Methodological note

10,192 adults in the US were interviewed online between 17 and 28 January 2024. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the US. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

12 focus groups were held between 25 January and 2 February 2024 in Charlotte, NC; Detroit, MI; and Dallas, TX. Participants were drawn from a wide range of social and economic backgrounds and the groups comprised equal numbers of men and women overall. Separate groups were held with voters from the following political backgrounds:

- Likely Republican primary voters with a generally positive view of Donald Trump
- Likely Republican primary voters with a generally negative view of Donald Trump
- 2020 Biden voters with a generally negative view of President Biden's performance

State of the nation



Nearly two thirds (65%) of Americans in our 10,000-sample poll said they thought the US was heading in the wrong direction, compared to just over 1 in 5 (21%) who said the country was on the right track. Those who voted for Joe Biden in 2020 were more likely to say the US was heading in the wrong direction (48%) than the right one (37%).

This was reflected in our focus groups, in which voters of all political backgrounds were worried about the economy, the cost of living, border control, crime, political and social division, racial tension, and global instability.

“ We were making so much money when Trump was in, we were buying more trucks. We were making \$4.55 a mile when Trump was in, now we’re barely making \$1.80. I had 15 trucks, now I’m down to three.”

[2020 Trump]

“ Crime is out of control and nothing is being done about it. I work for a retailer and people just walk out with things. We just have to sit there and watch people steal. And we’re told not to do anything.”

[2020 Trump]

“ It feels like the world is going to blow up tomorrow”

[2020 Biden]

“ We’re going to have another 911 any day now because we have no idea who is in this country, what they’re doing, what they’re planning. It’s frightening.”

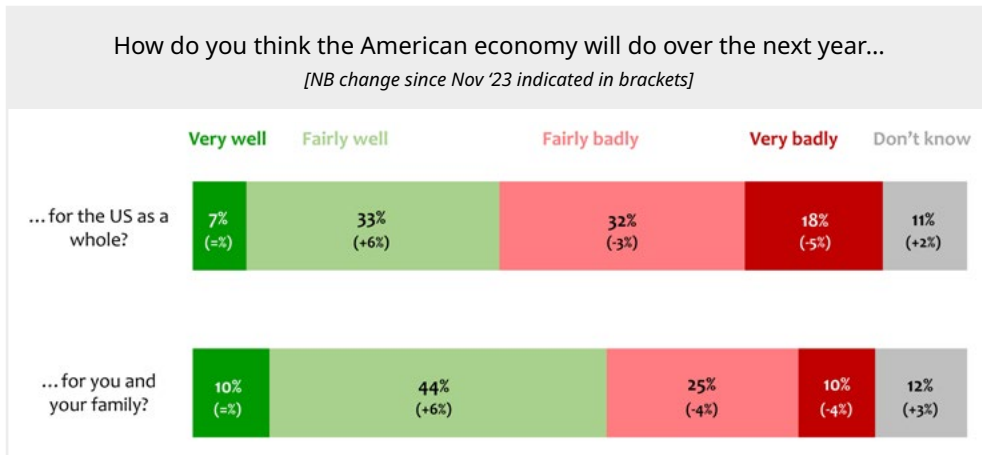
[2020 Trump]

“ There’s no sense of common ground, respecting, agreeing to disagree. I feel like as a Republican you have to watch what you say because somehow you’re a bigot.”

[2020 Trump]

“ There’s a fundamental mistrust that has pervaded the national conversation. A stinginess of spirit where people aren’t willing to extend grace long enough for them to complete their thought. It’s heartbreaking.”

[2020 Biden]

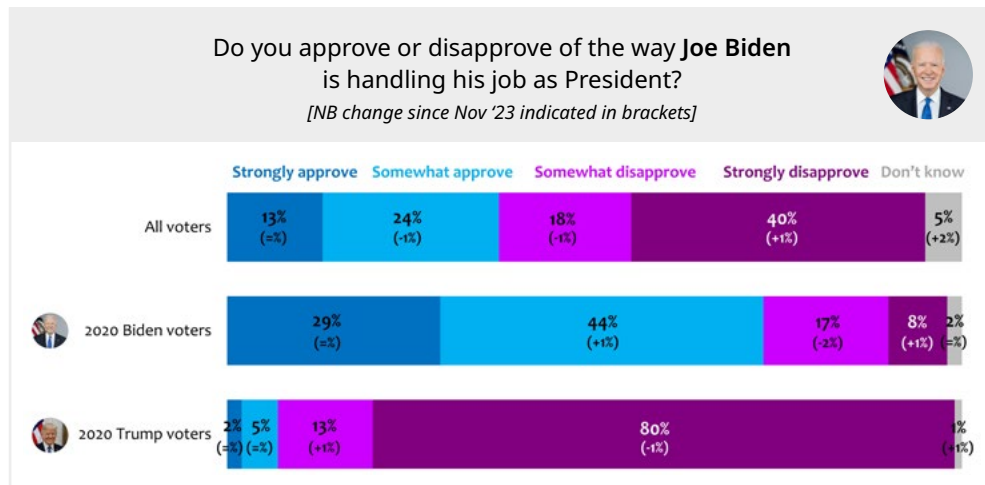


Our poll found that Americans were more likely to think the economy would be good for them personally over the next year than that it would do well for the country as a whole. Four in 10 thought the economy would do well for the US generally, compared to 50% who thought it would do badly. However, when it came to themselves and their families, voters were optimistic by 54% to 35%. Men were more optimistic than women, and black and Hispanic voters more optimistic than white voters, on both questions.

Some participants in our groups said business was improving, that gas prices had eased back slightly or that the stock market was performing well. However, few felt better off than they had in recent months and many said they still struggled with living costs, especially food.

- “It seems like it’s improving until you go to the grocery store. It’s weird that the market is up because your pocket is not up.” [2020 Trump]
- “We’re trending in the right direction and avoiding a severe recession. I’m not sure I’d chalk that up to the current administration.” [2020 Biden]
- “I’ve seen more stagnation of the economy. You have to give Biden credit for holding things together with paperclips and a band-aid.” [2020 Biden]

The Biden presidency



In our poll, Americans said they disapproved President Biden's job performance by 58% to 37%. One quarter (25%) of those who voted for Biden in 2020 said they disapproved of his performance as president. Disapproval was higher among 18-24s (64%) than among any other age group. While black voters approved by 54% to 38%, white and Hispanic voters disapproved by margins of 31 and 21 points respectively.

Those in our focus groups who had voted for Biden in 2020 usually said they had done so with fairly low expectations, and often simply as a means of removing President Trump. Specific hopes for the Biden presidency had included a more unifying approach, cancelling student debt and voting rights reform, which some felt had been delivered in part. A few named specific achievements, including greater civility, a stabilising economy, support for Ukraine and Israel, partial cancelling of student debt, and support for striking car workers.

“Did I have a lot of faith in the administration and sweeping changes and this glossy vision of unifying everyone? Well, no. But I had a cautious optimism that perhaps he could bring the country back together to some extent, and sadly it didn't come to fruition.” [2020 Biden]

“I feel like civility has been better with him in office. I don't know if that's because of him, or just that we don't have a guy there stirring it up.” [2020 Biden]

“For me it's kind of a break-even. I don't feel he's overachieved on things he set out to do based on how he was gaining my vote, but at the same time I was choosing between the lesser of two evils. I don't feel he has completely failed on some of the things he's set out to do, which may not directly impact me, but I'll take that win over absolutely nothing.” [2020 Biden]

“Standing with the auto workers when they were on strike. That took some guts.” [2020 Biden]

“I'm glad to have seen the support for Ukraine. I don't know if that would have happened with Trump. And he stands with Israel, which I'm for. And with Trump I never felt safe, that something irrational could always happen. But has Biden exceeded expectations? No, I don't think so.” [2020 Biden]

“The economy stayed afloat. We didn’t hit recession. And the Federal Reserve does report to him right now. And he did OK getting the financial legislation and the budget pushed through with a pretty obstinate right wing that was trying to derail things, so I give him some credit for that.” [2020 Trump]

Complaints about the Biden presidency were rather more numerous. These included lack of action on the Mexican border, shutting down the Keystone XL pipeline, too much emphasis on what they regarded as marginal issues, weakness in foreign affairs emboldening bad actors and failure to deliver on campaign promises. Some also felt the administration was too ready to give away money – including student debt cancellation, which was resented by people who had saved and paid for their own or their children’s college education – and that it had moved sharply to the left having campaigned on the moderate centre ground.

“The border. He hasn’t done anything about it. He’s letting it happen.” [2020 Biden]

“There is a lot of focus on petty things no-one cares about. Not fentanyl, not the border, not the economy. Bet let’s not sell gas stoves. Let’s force people to buy EVs. Stuff like that instead of fixing big problems.” [2020 Trump]

“I thought when he was elected he would be a little more in the middle, and it seems like he or whoever is advising him has pushed a lot further to the left.” [2020 Trump]

“I don’t look at [debt cancellation] as a good thing. I put three kids through college and we sacrificed our entire life. We didn’t put ourselves in debt, I didn’t get to do all the things everyone around me was doing, because we were saving for our kids’ college. I put myself through college and paid it all back. So for others just to get it paid off...” [2020 Trump]

“With the stimulus cheques he is making people dependent. People feel like that is what we need – oh I love Biden, he’s giving me another cheque. It makes people lazy, people don’t want to go to work.” [2020 Trump]

“It seems like every time we turn around they’re giving away money – student debt, giving businesses all this money... I’m a business owner, we got close to \$80,000 for this IRTC tax credit which was part of the covid thing. I mean I’ll take it, but they’re just giving away money.” [2020 Biden]

“When Trump was in office I felt like things were really settling down with these terrorist groups. As soon as Biden came in and he pulled out our troops, those terrorist groups came back up.” [2020 Trump]

“I think he’s losing the black vote because everything he ran on that had anything to do with us, he’s done none of it. Like the voting rights bill, which he hasn’t even attempted.” [2020 Biden]

Whatever their voting backgrounds, people in all our groups worried about Biden's age and health and many felt he could hardly do the job now, let alone in four years' time. This was a major factor for 2020 Biden voters considering whether to support him in 2024.

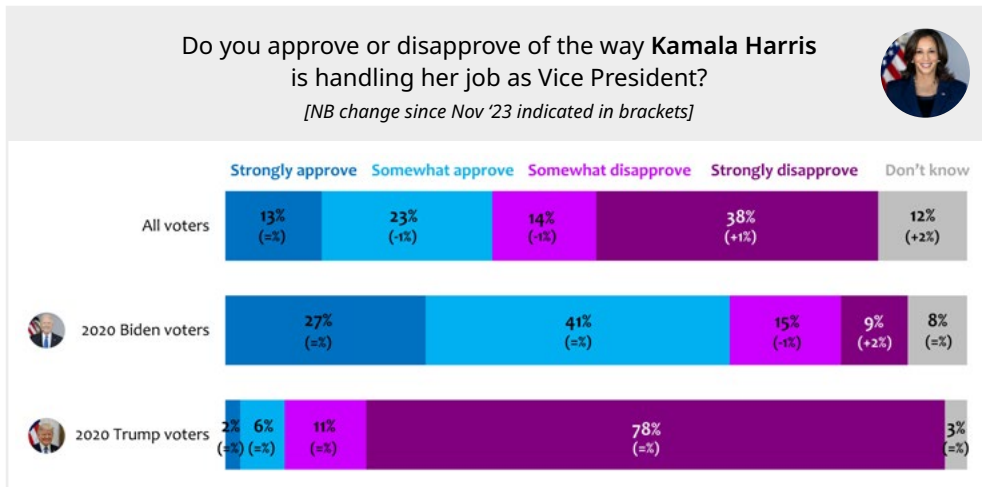
“Honestly, I don't think he has a freaking clue what's going on. It's the people that are running him, his handlers. Every time he speaks I get so nervous because I don't know what's going to come out.”

[2020 Trump]

“It's like when you tell your kid, hey, I trust you driving but I don't trust all the other people on the road. Putin's been in office a very long time, and the plays that are being made on a geopolitical scale... I'm sorry, I don't think the president has what it takes to lead us and lead the free world with all these conflicts going on.” [2020 Biden]

“I personally wish the Democratic party had another viable option.” [2020 Biden]





Disapproval of Kamala Harris's performance as vice president was slightly lower than Biden's (at 52%), but so was approval (at 36%). Black voters and those aged under 34 were the only groups to give Harris a slightly higher approval rating than Biden.

Our focus group participants tended to think Harris had been largely invisible, but had not exactly distinguished herself during her public performances. Some complained that she had been put on the Biden ticket to attract female and African American voters, but had then disappeared from view. Some noted that her that the border, for which she had been given special responsibility, was hardly a success story.

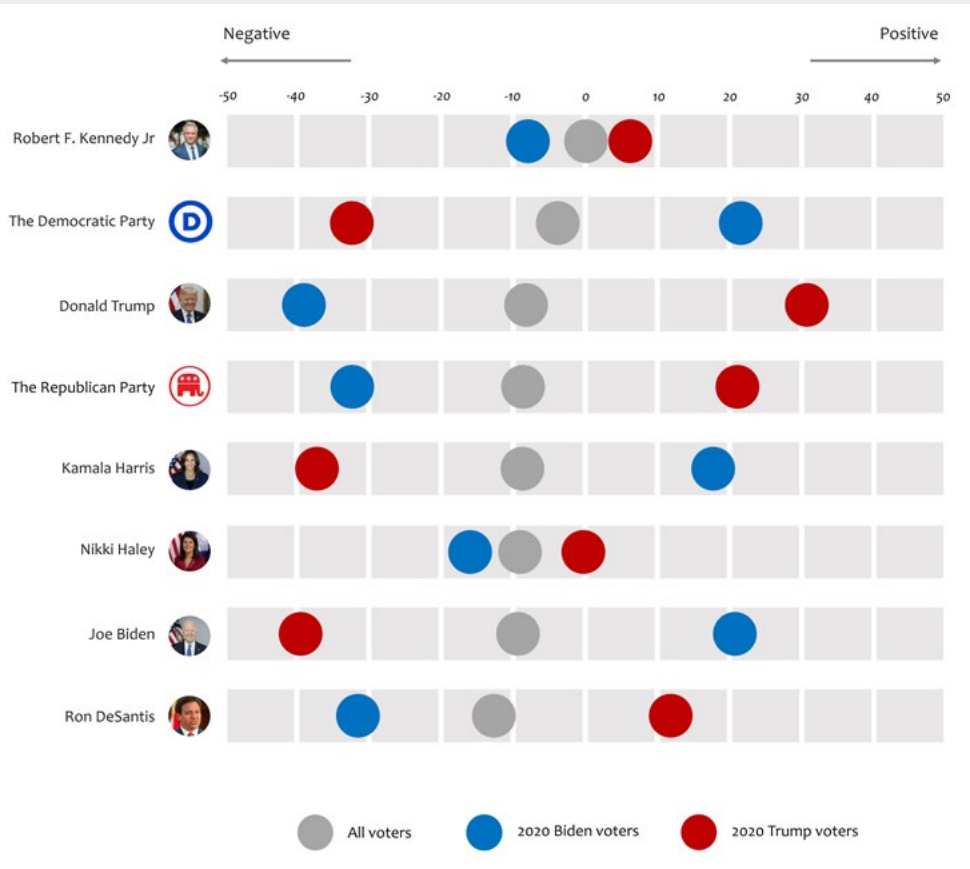
“ I feel like she catered to women, especially black women, to get our votes, but I can't think of anything she's done.” [2020 Biden]

“ I think she's in way over her head.” [2020 Biden]

“ When she first got elected she would just talk in circles and sound like an idiot. But you don't hear those anymore because I'm sure they've told her 'no more. Stop'.” [2020 Trump]

“ Who would vote for her? Maybe a woman who wears a mask driving on her own in her own car.” [2020 Trump]

How positively or negatively do you feel about each of the following where
 -50 means you feel very negative indeed and
 +50 means you feel very positive indeed?
 [NB mean scores]



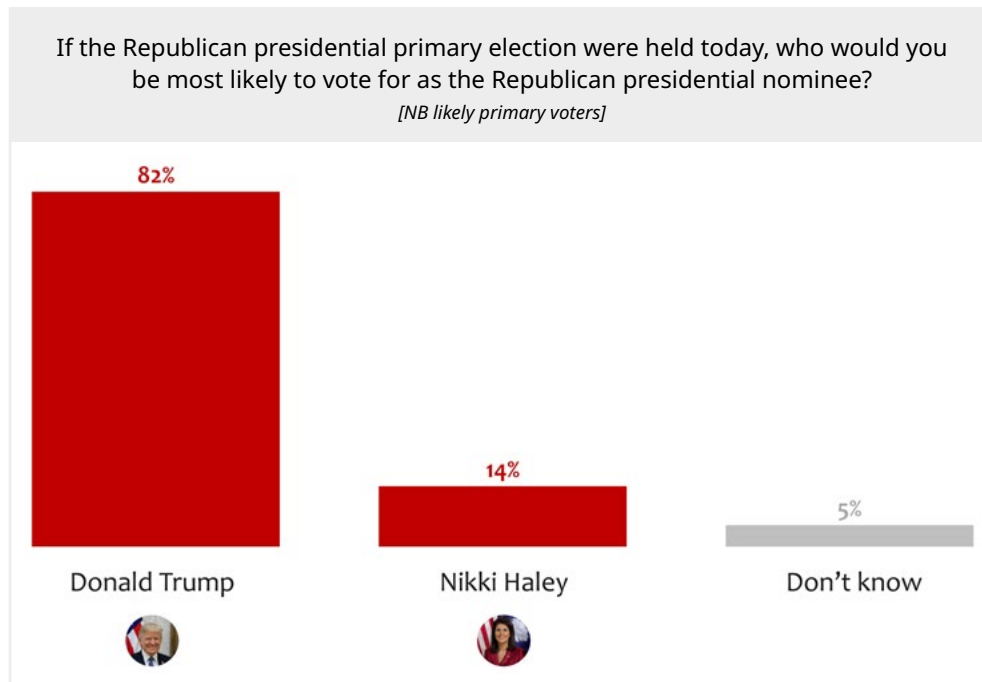
When we asked how voters felt about various politicians and parties we found that both Biden (-9.33) and Harris (-8.71) were rated more negatively overall than the Democratic Party (-3.81), while Donald Trump (-8.2) was rated slightly more positively than the Republican Party (-8.63).

It was also notable that 2020 Trump voters and Republicans gave Trump more positive ratings than 2020 Biden voters and Democrats gave Biden.

The highest-scoring of the politicians we asked about was Robert F. Kennedy Jr, with an overall score of +0.1. Notably – given that he was briefly a candidate for the Democratic nomination – he was rated more positively by 2020 Trump voters (+6.24) than by those who voted for Biden (-7.95).



Primary season



We found Donald Trump ahead of Nikki Haley by 82% to 14% among likely Republican primary voters (defined as registered voters who identify as Republican or Republican-leaning independents and who say they are likely to turn out to vote in their state's primary or caucus).

There was a clear correlation between education levels and support for Nikki Haley. However, even among those with graduate degrees she was behind by 43 points (68% to 25%), compared to 55 points among those with bachelor's degrees, 74 points among those with some college and 83 points among high school graduates.

Donald Trump

We asked our focus groups what they thought lay behind the continuing appeal of Donald Trump, and why he looked likely to secure the 2024 Republican nomination. The consistent answer was that while they might not always like his behaviour, they believed he would act on the issues they cared about and had the force of personality to get things done. Many added that this was demonstrated by his record in office: they cited a stronger economy, action on immigration and the border, efforts to even the terms of trade with China, the appointment of conservative judges to the Supreme Court, and a robust international stance resulting in outcomes like the Abraham Accords. They also liked that he was not a conventional politician and would not be swayed by corporations and political donors.

More sceptical voters pointed to stimulus cheques, a focus on business success (perhaps at the expense of other issues) and what they regarded as a cult of personality around Trump that could not be swayed by reason or evidence. Some who had previously supported Trump felt the downsides of another Trump term would outweigh any policy upsides.

Those inclined to support Trump expected that in a second term he would close the border, finish the wall, strengthen the economy, make the US more independent in terms of energy and manufacturing and extricate America from foreign wars. Opponents feared a repeat of the 'Muslim ban', isolationism, withdrawal from international treaties and cutting support for allies, worsening race relations, and the erosion of democracy to the point where Trump might attempt to stay in office indefinitely.

“ He’s said, day one I’m going to lock down that border. I’m going to open up the drilling. I’m going to get prices down, inflation down. He has actionable items, and the thing is, he already did it once. I don’t think he has to prove himself.” [2020 Trump]

“ He can’t be bossed.” [2020 Trump]

“ He was doing things for America, like the steel industry, the tariffs. It really started helping our economy. It’s so wrong that we send something to China and it gets whacked with tariffs, but they flood our country with their cheap goods.” [2020 Trump]

“ He’s divisive and you don’t really care for him that much, but he gets it done. He said he was going to nominate conservative Supreme Court justices, and he did. If you’re pro-life like I am, I would credit him with that.” [2020 Trump]

“ I would much rather put up with Trump’s behaviour than put up with what we have.” [2020 Trump]

“ My business is healthcare, and Trump got rid of a lot of regulations that were really not necessary. And as soon as Biden came in, a lot of those regulations came back. If I were to vote for Trump again and I knew I was going to get some of that back but not have to deal with all the other crap that comes with Trump, I’d be for it. But it’s not worth it.”

[2016 Trump, 2020 Biden]

“ You know he’ll get things done, but it’s how he gets them done. Do we want to deal with it for another four years, listening to his mouth?” [2020 Trump]

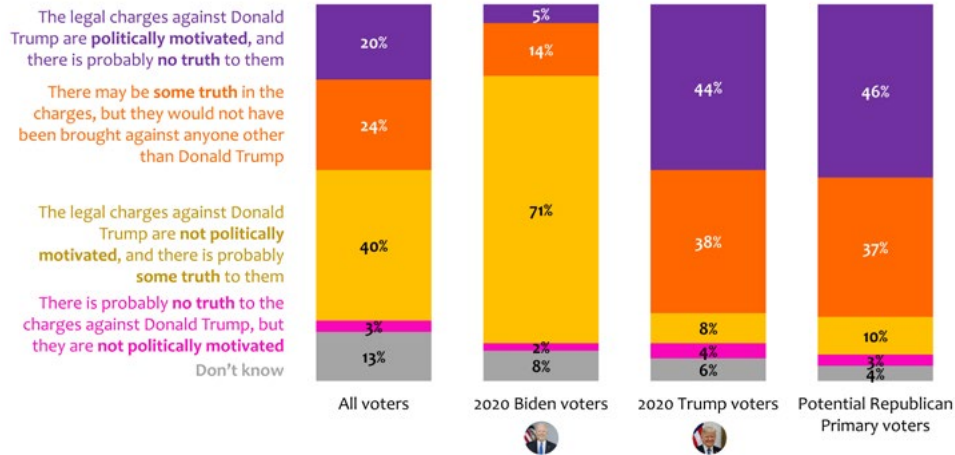
“ They’re like a cult. They’re really diehard and believe in everything he says. There’s no way you can sway them on their views and feelings.” [2020 Biden]



Several reluctant Trump supporters said they would happily back an alternative candidate if they had the same agenda and seemed capable of delivering it, but no such candidate was available as far as they could see.

- “There’s a power that he’s got that goes beyond him belittling people and all that. If he got elected, things would move up just for the fact that power is in office.” [2020 Trump]
- “If we had a bigger, better selection, somebody who can be equivalent to what Trump did for America, that would be a better situation. But he’s the only person running right now who genuinely cares about America. Trump is talking about the economy, making America stronger again, fighting for the police with the crime rates.” [2020 Trump]
- “I wouldn’t want to be his friend, I don’t enjoy a lot of the things about him, but I like a lot of the things he stands for and he gets these things done. He has this demanding personality and he can convince people and that’s really, really important. So I would say you can’t do Trump without being Trump.” [2020 Trump]

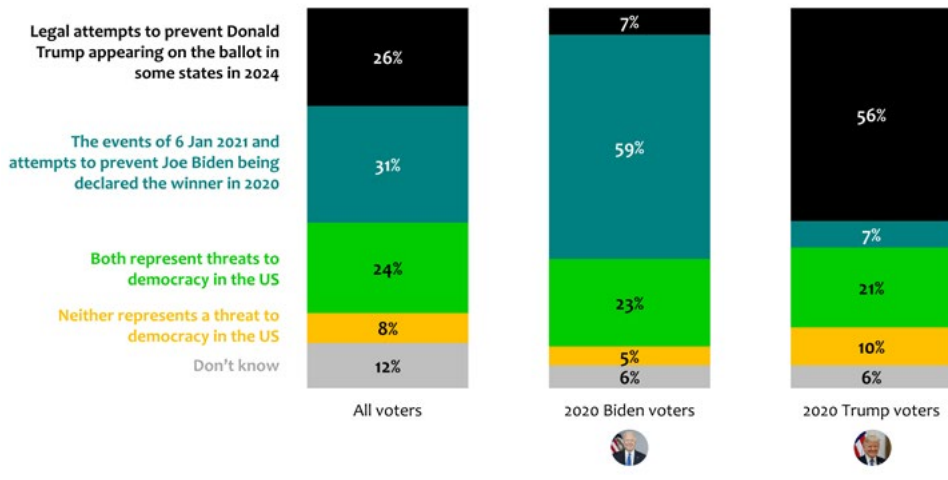
Which of the following comes closest to your own view?



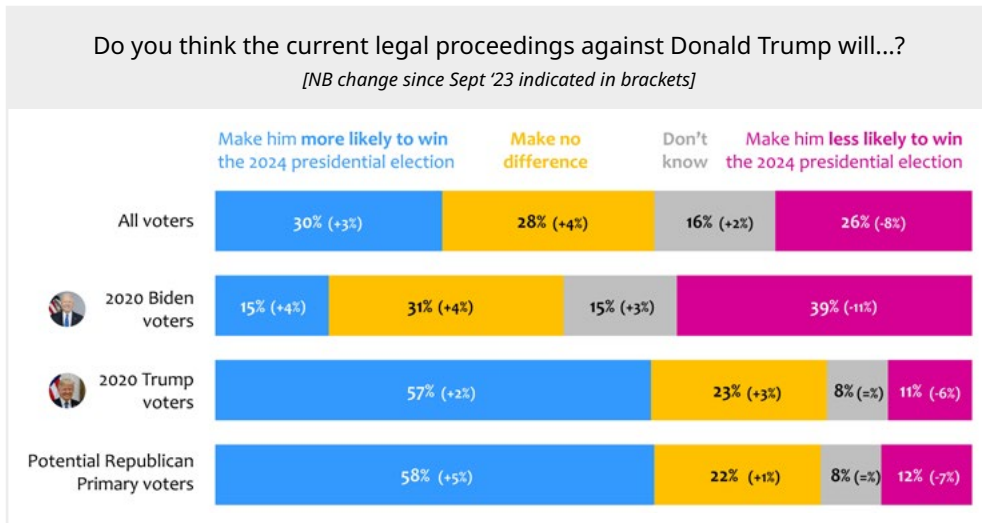
Voters as a whole were twice as likely to say the legal charges against Trump were probably true and not politically motivated (40%) as to say they were politically motivated and probably untrue (20%). Just under a quarter (24%) – including 14% of 2020 Biden voters and 38% of 2020 Trump voters – said there was probably some truth to the charges but they would not have been brought against anyone other than Donald Trump.

Asked what they saw as the bigger threat to democracy in the US, 31% named the events of 6 January 2021 and attempts to prevent Joe Biden being declared the winner. However, almost as many (26%) named legal attempts to prevent Donald Trump from appearing on the ballot in 2024 – though Trump and Biden voters had widely differing views on the question. Nearly a quarter (24%) thought both represented a threat to American democracy, while 8% said neither did.

Which of the following, if either, do you think represents a bigger threat to democracy in the US?



2020 Biden voters who strongly disapproved of his performance as president were substantially more likely to think attempting to remove Trump from the ballot was the bigger threat to democracy (20%), and that both represented a threat (34%), than Biden voters as a whole.



Only just over a quarter (26%) of voters thought the legal proceedings against Trump made him less likely to win the presidential election, down 8 points since our previous survey in November 2023. 28% thought they would make no difference to the outcome, and 3 in 10 (including 57% of his 2020 voters) thought the proceedings made him more likely to win.

Only 39% of 2020 Biden voters thought the indictments made a Trump victory less likely, down from 50% last November.

A number of Trump-supporting participants accepted that there could be some substance to the legal cases against him, just as some opponents accepted that the motivation to bring charges against him was probably partly political. A few previous Trump voters said they would find it difficult to vote for him if he were convicted by a jury, but most said they would still consider doing so, since the issues at stake were too important and the charges had in their view only been brought for political reasons.

“They are petrified he’s going to get another win. And we know they play dirty. They’re trying to come up with something to get him where he can’t run. That’s why he’s in court every other day.” [2020 Trump]

“I’m not saying he’s perfect, far from it. But I’ve never seen such an attack on one person from every angle in the political system. There’s something behind that. There’s a reason they don’t want him in there.” [2020 Trump]

“I think the indictments were warranted based on what he did, but was it politically motivated? Of course it was. That’s the nature of the country we live in. It’s Republican against Democrat. Everybody’s trying to get a hand up.” [2020 Biden]

“What do we tell Pakistan when they’ve jailed Imran Khan?” [2020 Biden]

“It would matter to me if he’d hurt somebody. But I do feel a lot of this stuff was just brought up to stop him running. Unless it’s violent, I don’t care.” [2020 Trump]

Many Trump supporters were inclined to believe the 2020 election had, to a greater or lesser degree, been rigged in favour of Joe Biden and the Democrats. They often linked the issue to what they saw as other instances in which government and media institutions had sought to work against Trump, such as the Russia-gate investigations, the Hunter Biden laptop story, the multiple indictments, attempts to have him removed from the ballot in Colorado and Maine, and MSNBC's refusal to cover Trump speeches.

“The Hunter laptop thing was so suppressed, and it all turned out to be true. And the Russia thing was a total hoax. Everything they go after him with is fake news. And how this thing with the open border so Biden can get their votes. That's what makes me think the election could have been stolen.” [2020 Trump]

“He doesn't have to speak about what happened in 2020. Him and what he stands for right now will be enough for him to get back into the White House.” [2020 Trump]

“At this point it's beating a dead horse. We can't go back and change it. It's time to move on. He needs to run for 2024 and move on and make things better.” [2020 Trump]

“Which TV station was it that was saying it won't report Trump's victory speeches, on a news station. We're not going to show you the leader our there when he won Iowa and New Hampshire. Really weird. And they're talking about him threatening democracy?” [2020 Trump]

Some Republican-leaning participants were worried that Trump would be too offputting for moderate and independent voters. More often, they countered that stagnating living standards and the need for change would spur plenty of people to switch from Biden or to get out and vote for the first time.

“Maybe if he was a little more conciliatory, it might make it easier for the suburban moms and stuff to pull the lever.” [2020 Trump]

“When they look at the ballot and see Biden and Trump, I think they'll go back in their mind and think 'how was it the last four years? Do I really want to vote for Biden just because Trump's got a big mouth, or whatever?' Common sense would be that we need change, let's vote for Trump.” [2020 Trump]

Nikki Haley

A number of participants had a positive view of Nikki Haley, especially in her neighbouring state of North Carolina. They mentioned her executive experience as a governor and foreign policy expertise, and some liked what they saw as her more moderate rhetoric on abortion and her position on supporting international allies including Ukraine. Some thought she was more likely to attract moderates and independents than Trump. They also saw her as more dignified and presidential than her Republican rival, and liked the fact that she was considerably younger than both parties' front runners.

“Very likeable, she speaks well. I think she's got a grip on what moderate Republicans are looking for. I think she would be respected in Congress and in other countries.” [2020 Trump]

“I've heard her speak on the topic of abortion and she's the only person in the primary to open the door for flexibility. She's a woman, she understands what the situation is out there. She seems to have an open mind and is not that rigid.” [2020 Trump]

“Even-keeled, not screaming, not calling people names. She would be presidential and carry herself the right way. She'd act the way a president should act. I don't think she'd waste time trying to get revenge on anybody.” [2020 Trump]

“I don't think she'd destabilise us globally. I don't think she'd pull us out of NATO or withdraw funding from Ukraine. So she's preferable there.” [2020 Biden]

“She's got the generational message. She's been saying they're too old. She's got a point. Maybe it is time for new leaders.” [2020 Biden]

Her Republican critics felt she represented the old GOP establishment, corporate America, the donor class, and a globalist rather than “America First” outlook (though all disliked Trump’s descriptions of her as “birdbrain” and an “impostor”). Many said they did not know much about her and would not take the trouble to find out since her prospects looked slight – though a few said the fact that she was well behind in the polls in her native South Carolina was not encouraging. While some former Biden voters said they would consider her if she became the Republican nominee, others felt she was still too conservative and many doubted that she would have what it took to win the nomination or beat an incumbent president in November.

“She’s a globalist neocon warmonger. Everything the Republican party used to be, she’s that.”

[2020 Trump]

“She’s already said she’s ready to just write a blank cheque to Ukraine.” [2020 Trump]

“The main thing I know is that in the state she was the governor of, she’s 20 points behind in the polls. So I’m thinking they know more about her than I do.”

[2020 Trump]

“She’s definitely not America First.” [2020 Trump]

“Being a Republican at heart, if she got the nomination I would have to look at Haley. But I don’t think she has enough experience in the game to do the job or get the vote.” [2020 Biden]

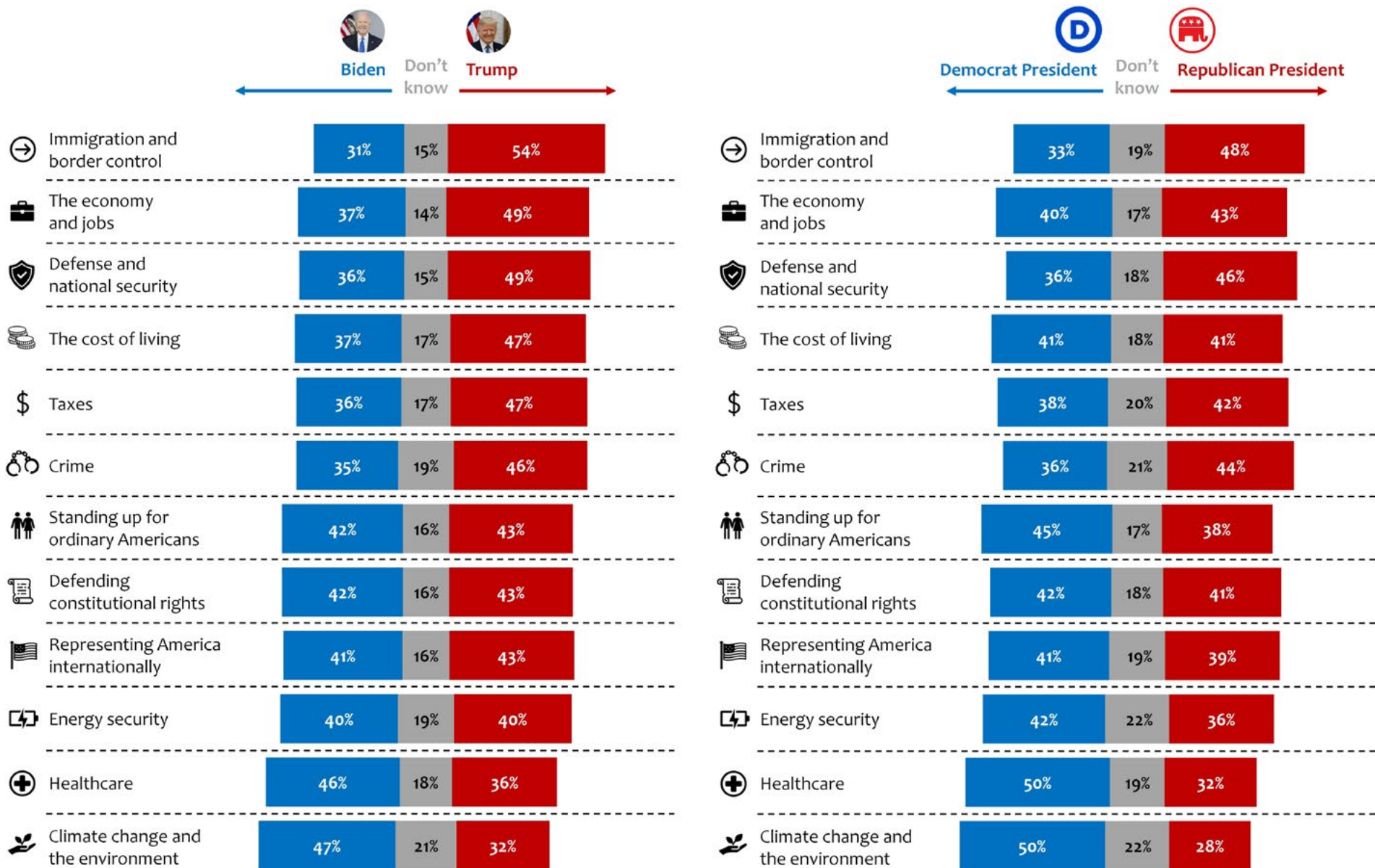
“I feel like she’s going to go in the direction of being more conservative. That’s what she did as governor. She took the Confederate flag down, which was good. But she would make immigration worse and talks about ‘the illegals’. And I’m pro-choice, which is a line I’m not willing to move on, and Haley would do the same things that conservative men have done.”

[2020 Biden]



The presidential election

Who do you think would do a better job on each of the following issues after the next election?





We asked half our sample whether Joe Biden or Donald Trump would do a better job on a range of issues. We asked the other half whether a generic 'Democratic president' or 'Republican president' would do a better job.

Trump had a clear lead over Biden on immigration and the border (23 points), defence and national security (13 points), the economy and jobs (12), taxes (11), crime (11) and the cost of living (10). He was marginally ahead on representing America internationally (2), standing up for ordinary Americans (1) and defending constitutional rights (1), and the two were tied when it came to energy security. Biden enjoyed clear leads on climate change and the environment (15) and healthcare (10).

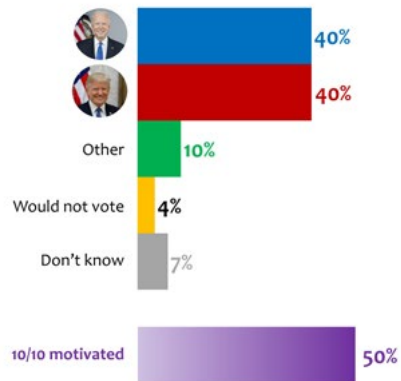
On every issue, Trump achieved a higher score than the generic Republican, while Biden achieved an equal or lower score than the generic Democrat.

Among the 8% of 2020 Biden voters who strongly disapprove of his performance as president, Trump leads on all issues except healthcare and the environment. However, among the 17% who only somewhat disapprove, Biden leads by substantial margins on everything except immigration and border control (on which they put Trump ahead by 4 points).

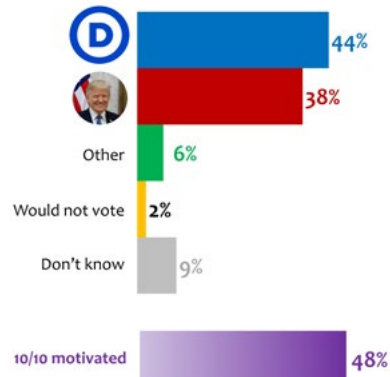
If the next presidential election were held today,
who would you vote for if the candidates were:

[NB % of registered voters saying they would be 10/10 motivated to vote in an election
between each pair of candidates is indicated in purple]

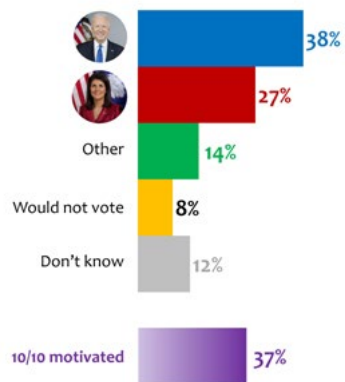
Joe Biden vs Donald Trump



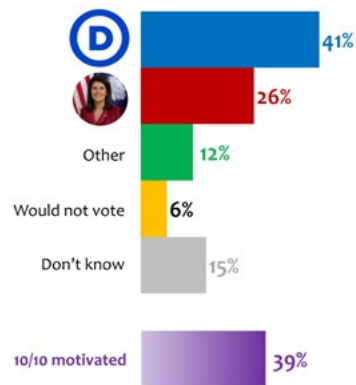
A Democrat other than Joe Biden vs Donald Trump



Joe Biden vs Nikki Haley



A Democrat other than Joe Biden vs Nikki Haley



When we asked how people would vote in the presidential election in various scenarios, we found Trump and Biden tied on 40% among registered voters – but Biden ahead of Haley by 11 points, and “a Democrat other than Joe Biden” ahead of both Trump (by 6 points) and Haley (by 15 points).

In the Biden-Trump match-up, Trump led among men (by 7 points), 18-24s (6), 25-34s (8), white voters (10) and Hispanic voters (1). He also led among non-graduates, by between 3 points (some college) and 20 points (those who did not complete high school).

Biden led among women (by 8 points), 45-54s (6), those aged 65+ (6), black voters (33, with Trump on 22%), and those with a bachelor’s (10) and postgraduate degrees (22).

Among 2020 Biden voters, 77% said they would vote again for Biden, 5% would switch to Trump, 9% said they would vote for another candidate and 8% said they didn’t know or would not vote.

Among 2020 Trump voters, 88% said they would vote again for Trump, 2% would switch to Biden, 5% to another candidate, and 5% said they didn’t know or would not vote.

Those who voted for Biden in 2020 but strongly disapproved of his performance as president said would vote for Trump over Biden by 31% to 14%, but more than half said either that they would vote for another candidate (35%) or didn’t know or would not vote (20%).

However, 2020 Biden voters who only somewhat disapproved of his performance backed Biden over Trump by 47% to 8%, with 24% saying they would vote for another candidate and 21% saying they didn’t know or would not vote.

We also asked all respondents how motivated they would be to turn out and vote in the presidential election in each of these scenarios, on a 10-point scale. In a Biden v. Trump election, 50% of registered voters said they would be 10/10 motivated to turn out, including 52% of 2020 Biden voters and 57% of 2020 Trump voters. The 10/10 proportion falls only slightly to 48% in a contest between Trump and a Democrat other than Biden, but drops to 37% in the event of a match-up between Biden and Nikki Haley.

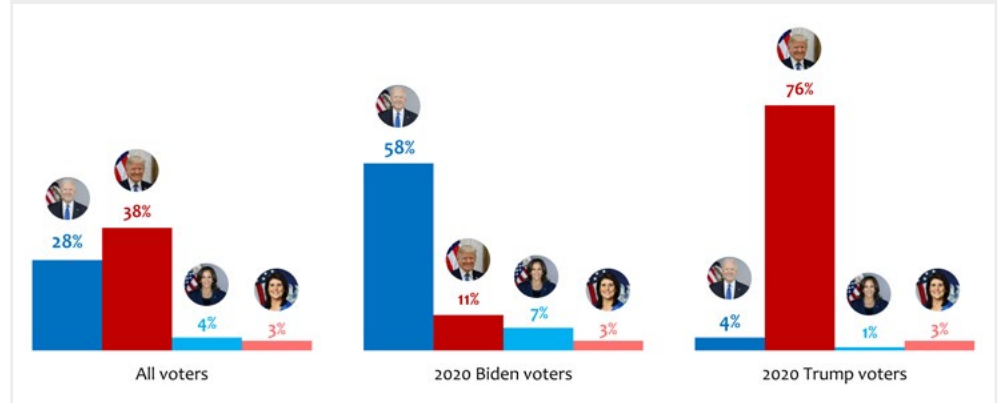
In our focus groups, voters for both 2020 candidates described the various dilemmas they would face as November approached.

- “ I voted for Biden thinking it was going to be a lot better, but it isn't. So now I feel discouraged even trying to get someone in there who could do well because they're all 70 or 80 years old, so we're going to end up in the same boat. What's the point in trying?” [2020 Biden]
- “ I feel less motivated this time. But I don't want to see Trump in office. And if that means having to vote for somebody that's not him, that's probably what it's going to be. I'm not going to be happy about it, but I'll do it.” [2020 Biden]

- “ I think voting for Biden now is questionable. What will the next four years look like, even if he can handle the next four years?” [2020 Biden]
- “ I don't think the Republicans have to worry about is in this room, they have to worry about our wives, who voted for Trump once but say they will never vote for him again.” [2020 Trump]
- “ If he dies on his sword about the last election, continues to make that a giant issue, he's going to turn people off. If he goes more mainstream, and starts talking about what he's going to do rather than the past, he might win a lot of us over.” [2020 Trump]
- “ The more I watch of Trump, the more I think 'oh my God, you're making this hard'.” [2020 Trump]



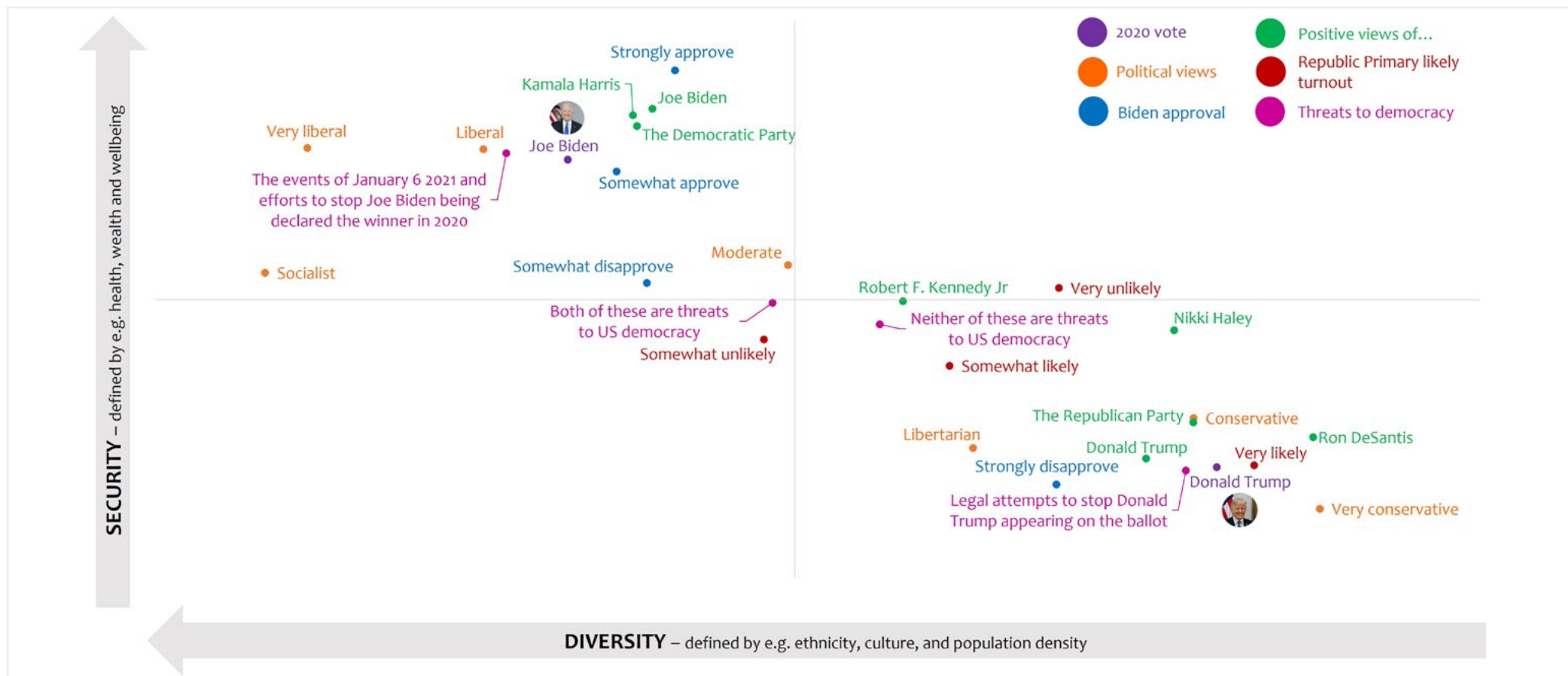
The next President will be sworn in on 20 January 2025. Regardless of who you might vote for, which of the following do you expect to take office as President?



Asked who they expected to be sworn in as president on inauguration day, 38% of Americans named Donald Trump and 28% named Joe Biden. Trump was thought the most likely victor by all age groups and by white and Hispanic voters – though black voters expected a Biden victory by 37% to 23%. In terms of education levels, those with postgraduate degrees were the only group more likely than not to expect a second Biden term.

More than three quarters (76%) of 2020 Trump voters expected a Trump victory, compared to 58% of 2020 Biden voters who expected Biden to be sworn in again.

The US political map



Our political map shows how different issues, attributes, personalities and opinions interact with one another. Each point shows where we are most likely to find people with that characteristic or opinion; the closer the plot points are to each other the more closely related they are.

Here we see that those most likely to vote in the Republican primary are close to those most likely to say they have a positive view of Donald Trump, while those with a positive view of

Nikki Haley are further from the Republican centre of gravity in the less prosperous, more diverse bottom-right quadrant. We also see that those with positive views of Robert F. Kennedy Jr. are also just in the bottom right – albeit roughly equidistant between 2020 Trump and Biden voters – rather than in top-left liberal Democrat territory. Those most likely to see the events of January 6th 2021 as a more serious threat to democracy than legal attempts to remove Trump from the ballot are also squarely in the more prosperous, diverse and liberal top-left quadrant.

About Lord Ashcroft

LORD ASHCROFT KCMG PC is an international businessman, philanthropist, author and pollster. He is a former treasurer and deputy chairman of the UK Conservative Party. He is also honorary chairman and a former treasurer of the International Democracy Union. He is founder and chairman of the board of trustees of Crimestoppers, vice-patron of the Intelligence Corps Museum, chairman of the trustees of Ashcroft Technology Academy, a senior fellow of the International Strategic Studies Association, former chancellor of Anglia Ruskin University and a former trustee of Imperial War Museums.

His political books include:

- Smell the Coffee: A Wake-Up Call for the Conservative Party
- Call Me Dave: The Unauthorised Biography of David Cameron
- Hopes and Fears: Trump, Clinton, the Voters and the Future
- Well, You Did Ask: Why the UK Voted to Leave the EU
- The Lost Majority: The 2017 Election, the Conservative Party, the Voters and the Future
- Jacob's Ladder: The Unauthorised Biography of Jacob Rees-Mogg
- Diagnosis of Defeat: Labour's Turn to Smell the Coffee
- Going for Broke: The Rise of Rishi Sunak
- Reunited Nation? American Politics Beyond the 2020 Election
- Red Knight: The Unauthorised Biography of Sir Keir Starmer
- First Lady: Intrigue at the Court of Carrie and Boris Johnson
- All To Play For: The Advance Of Rishi Sunak

His other books include:

- Victoria Cross Heroes, Volumes I and II
- Special Forces Heroes
- George Cross Heroes
- Special Ops Heroes
- Heroes of the Skies
- White Flag? An Examination of the UK's Defence Capability
- Unfair Game: An Exposé of South Africa's Captive-Bred Lion Industry
- Life Support: The State of the NHS in an Age of Pandemics
- In the Shadows: The Extraordinary Men and Women of the Intelligence Corps

